

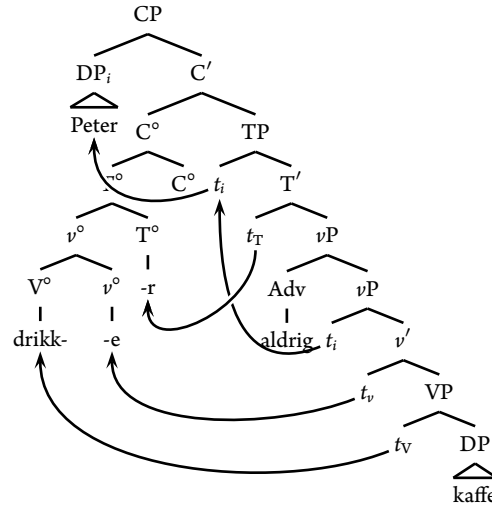
Today

§1 *Is V2 always movement to C°?*

- Subject initial main clauses
- Embedded clauses
- V°-to-I° movement

§2 *V2(-like) behavior outside Germanic*

- Romance
- Kashmiri



Terminology

- *Second Position:*
The position to which finite verbs move in verb second order.
- *First Position:*
The position before the the finite verb to which an XP typically moves in verb second order.

1 *Is V2 always movement to C°?*

- Vikner (1995) opens his discussion of verb-second order by assuming (as many people do and did at the time) that the phenomenon always involves movement of the verb to C°.
- Thus, under Vikner’s analysis, first and second positions are the same in every clause:
 1. First Position =_{def} SpecCP
 2. Second position =_{def} C°
- This is supposed to hold across Germanic.
- He offers some arguments that the verb always moves to C°, but there are several places where the evidence is actually quite thin.

We’re in the mid-90s, so remember that IP ≠ TP for the purposes of the following discussion.

And, presumably, residual V2 non-Germanic languages like French. As I’ll discuss below, Spanish is different enough that it cannot be the same as Germanic.

1.1 Subject-initial declarative main clauses

- None of the evidence that Vikner adduces in Chapter 3 shows that there must be V° -to- C° movement in subject-initial main clauses.
- Vikner's analysis, following Travis (1984) and ?, requires two movements:
 - i. I° -to- C° movement.
 - ii. Subject movement from SpecIP to SpecCP.
- Notice that the combined effects of such movements is entirely string vacuous. The adverb, which tells us that the verb has moved out of vP , is too low to tell us how far the verb has moved.

(1) *Danish: Two verb movement hypotheses*

Cf. Vikner 1995:47, (33)

SpecCP	C°	SpecIP	T°	Adv/Neg	VP
		Peter	drikker _V	ofte	t_V kaffe
Peter _i	drikker _V			ofte	t_V kaffe

- The evidence that Vikner actually presents in Ch. 3 doesn't really show that there has to be T° -to- C° movement in subject-initial root clauses.
 - The apparent complementarity of verbs with complementizers does not work here for a couple of reasons. For one, in embedded clauses in many of these languages (North Germanic, Yiddish), the complementizer is retained in embedded V2 clauses.
 - The argument from pronoun adjacency also fails here because it relies on cases where pronouns follow the verb. At best, this suggests that VSO order in root declaratives should be possible.
- Consequently, there is an open question about whether second position must always be C° in the Germanic languages. The evidence is compatible with I° being second position in subject-initial root declaratives.
- A real question is what the motivation for moving subjects to SpecCP should be.

See Travis (1984:124).

1.2 Embedded clauses

- Embedded clauses, by default, are not V2 clauses in German and Danish. In German this is easy to see because the verbs are all final. In Danish, all of the verbs follow *ikke*, the sentential negation.

Vikner 1995 antedates the German orthography reform of 1996; and so the examples retain the older spelling conventions.

(2) *Embedded non-V2 clause:*

- a. Er sagt, daß die Kinder diesen Film gesehen haben .
he says that the children this film seen have
'He says that the children have seen this film.'
- b. Vi ved, at Bo har ikke læst denna bog.
we know that Bo has not read this book.
'We know that Bo hasn't read this book.'

German; Vikner 1995:64, (1a)

Danish; Vikner 1995:67, (3c)

- Part of this argument that there is always V-to-C is related to what happens in embedded V2 contexts. It's kind of tricky because of the complementizer issue noted above.
- In (most) Germanic languages, embedded topicalization can only happen under so-called BRIDGE VERBS. The verbs for 'say' and 'know' are typical bridge verbs.
- When embedded topicalization occurs, we can see that the verb moves to a position in front of the subject, indicating that V2 has occurred.

The list of verbs that permit this varies slightly from language to language, which has made it difficult to identify the properties that a bridge verb needs to have.

(3) *Embedded topicalization:*

- Er sagt, diesen Film haben die Kinder gesehen.
he says this film have the children seen
'He says that this film the children have seen.'
- Vi ved, at denna bog har Bo ikke læst.
we know that this book has Bo not read.
'We know that this book Bo hasn't read.'

German; Vikner 1995:64, (1c)

Danish; Vikner 1995:67, (3a)

- Critically, these same verbs allow embedding of subject-initial clauses with V2 order.

(4) *Embedded subject-initial V2*

- Er sagt, die Kinder haben diesen Film gesehen.
he says the children have this film seen
'He says the children have seen this film.'
- Vi ved, at Bo har ikke læst denna bog.
we know that Bo has not read this book.
'We know that this book Bo hasn't read.'

German; Vikner 1995:64, (1c)

Danish; Vikner 1995:67, (3b)

- In German, it is easy to see, again, that something is going on because the fronted verb and the complementizer *daß/dass* cannot coexist. This really suggests, as above, a link between verb movement and C°.

- (5) * Er sagt, daß die Kinder haben diesen Film gesehen.
he says that the children have this film seen
Intended: 'He says that the children have seen this film.'

German; Vikner 1995:64, (2a)

- In the Danish example (4b), we can see that the verb has moved in front of negation, as in a root clause. This is the only way of distinguishing it from the non-V2 clause in (2b), since the complementizer remains.
- Thus, the presence of the complementizer in embedded V2 contexts is suggested to be a bit of a red herring.
 1. Bridge verbs license embedded topicalization. This requires moving the topic and the finite verb in front of the subject.

See Vikner 1995, Ch.4, 124ff, for a discussion specifically about Danish.

2. Presumably, then, bridge verbs select CPs that trigger topicalization. Since verb movement is a concomitant of topicalization, it stands to reason that V2 must be movement to C°.
3. Since these same verbs license subject-initial embedded V2, it appears that subject-initial V2 must also be licensed by C°.
4. If V2 were movement to I°, it is not clear why V°-to-I° movement would be unavailable in embedded clauses not selected by bridge verbs. There would need to be V2 I°s and non-V2 I°s.

- If we follow this argument, then if subject-initial root declaratives do not involve V°-to-C° movement, they would end up being the only place where (finite) verbs do not move to C° in V2 orders. This is basically an argument from uniformity.
- The standard view of embedded clauses in (mainland) Scandinavian, then, has come to be that there needs to be (at least) two CP projections.

1.3 V-to-I movement

That said, it has often been proposed that subject-initial V2-clauses involve only movement to I°.

1.3.1 Weak pronouns

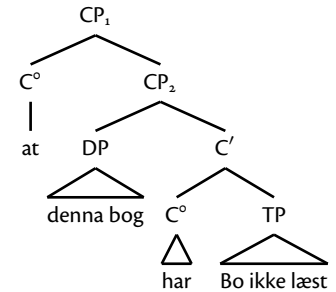
- Travis (1984), arguing for left-headed IPs in German and Yiddish, assumes that unless topicalization occurs in root clauses, verbs only move as far as I°.
- Travis notes that unstressed object pronouns cannot occupy the pre-verbal position, whereas unstressed subject pronouns are not so restricted. The pronoun *es*, 'it', must always be unstressed:

(6) *Preverbal unstressed es in Yiddish:*

- a. Es hot gegesn dos broyt.
it has eaten the bread
'It has eaten the bread.'
- b. *Es hot di froy geleyent.
it has the woman read.
'The woman read it.'

(7) *Preverbal unstressed es in German:*

- a. Es hat das Brot gegessen.
it has the bread eaten
'It has eaten the bread.'
- b. Es wurde gegessen.
it was eaten
'It was eaten.'
- c. *Es hat sie gegessen.
It has she eaten
Intended: 'She has eaten it.'



For an even more cartographic approach, see Westergaard and Vangsnes (2005).

Travis 1984:117, (23), (22b)

Travis 1984:123, (32)–(34)

- Note here that the passive in (7b) shows us that movement of an unstressed internal object pronoun to a preverbal position is grammatical.
- If subject-initial clauses leave subjects in SpecIP, then this can be clearly stated as a restriction on SpecCP: Weak/unstressed pronouns cannot be topicalized.

The implicit argument here is that if subjects always move to SpecCP, then we would need to say that unstressed subject pronouns must behave differently from weak object pronouns, which is strange.

1.3.2 Ambiguity

- A second point Travis raises that the example in (8) ought to be ambiguous, but it is not.

- (8) Die Tochter hat die Mutter geküßt.
the daughter has the mother kissed.
- a. = 'The daughter has kissed the mother.'
b. ≠ 'The mother has kissed the daughter.'

Travis 1984:123, (35)

- Travis here claims that topicalization is blocked if that topicalization would lead to ambiguity; consequently we must be looking at a d-structure order.
- It's not clear how we could account for that in current theoretical assumptions.

How good is this argument in the languages where this ambiguity does not arise?

1.3.3 Yiddish

- One thing that's fairly well-agreed on is that unlike the other Germanic languages, Icelandic and Yiddish always display V2 order in embedded clauses, regardless of whether these clauses are embedded under bridge verbs.
- This is widely taken to show that verbs always move to I° in Icelandic and Yiddish.

- (9) Danish:
- a. *Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter havde ofte læst den.
I asked why Peter had often read it.
- b. Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter ofte havde læst den.
I asked why Peter often had read it.

Vikner 1995:145

- (10) Icelandic:
- a. Ég spurði af hverju Pétur hafði oft lesið hana.
I asked why Peter had often read it.
- b. *Ég spurði af hverju Pétur oft hafði lesið hana.
I asked why Peter often had read it.

Vikner 1995:145

- (11) Yiddish:
- a. Miriam hot gefregt ven Avrom hot deriber geleyent dos dozike
Miriam has asked when Avrom has therefore read this
bukh.
book
- b. *Miriam hot gefregt ven Avrom deriber hot geleyent dos dozike
Miriam has asked when Avrom therefore has read this
bukh.
book

Vikner 1995:139

- Diesing (1990) takes this one step further, arguing that V2 in Yiddish is actually V^o-to-I^o movement.
- As in Scandinavian, the finite complementizer remains overt in embedded clauses.
- Furthermore, all clauses in Yiddish – not just those under bridge verbs – can host topicalization. The verb for ‘doubt’ is a canonical non-bridge verb:

- (12) Jonas tsveyfelt az morgen vet Miriam fri oyfshteyn.
 Jonas doubts that tomorrow will Miriam early get.up
 ‘Jonas doubts that Mary will get up early tomorrow.’

Vikner 1995:72, (19d)

- Consequently SpecIP can be either an a topic position or an A' position.
- One of the coolest pieces of evidence for this comes from islands. In most Germanic languages, embedded V2 clauses are islands for extraction, suggesting material moves to SpecCP.

- (13) *V2 clause island in Swedish:*

Holmberg 1986:111

- a. Vilken fest_i sa hon [att vi inte skulle köpa roliga hattar till t_i]?
 which party said she that we not should buy fun hats for
 ‘Which party did she say that we should not buy fun hats for?’
- b. *Vilken fest_i sa hon [att roliga hattar_k skulle vi inte köpa t_k till
 which party said she that fun hats should we not buy h for
 t_i?]

- In Yiddish, embedded V2 clauses with topicalization are not islands for extraction.

- (14) *Extraction from V2 clause in Yiddish:*

Diesing 1990:62, (30)

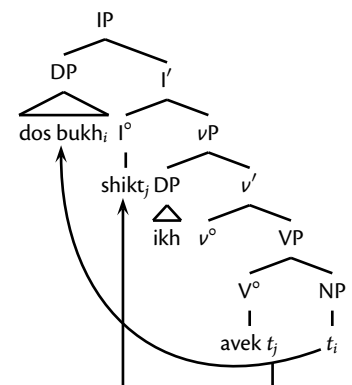
- Vemen_i hot er nit gevolt [az ot di bikher_k zoln mir gebn t_k t_i?]
 who.DAT has he not wanted that PRT the books should we give
 ‘To whom did he not want us to give the books.’

- This is probably related to the fact that *wh*-questions permit movement of the *wh*-element to a position before the topicalized element in embedded clause.

- (15) Ikh veys nit [far vos in tsimer shteyt di ku].
 I know not for what in room stands the cow
 ‘I don’t know why the cow is in the room.’

- When a non-subject topic occupies SpecIP, Diesing proposes that the subject remains in its base position (SpecVP for her; Spec_vP nowadays).

– Dos bukh shikt ikh avek.
 the book sent I away



2 V2 outside Germanic

An oft-cited case of V2-like behavior outside of Germanic is French subject clitic inversion, a case of what Rizzi calls RESIDUAL V2.

(16) *French subject clitic inversion:*

Rizzi 1996:75, (39)

- a. [[Elle a rencontré qui]]?
she has met who
- b. [Qui_i [elle a rencontré t_i]]?
who she has met
- c. * [a-t_k [elle t_k rencontré qui]]?
Has she met who
- d. [Qui_i a-t_k [elle t_k rencontré t_i]]?
who has she left

- Here, when *wh*-movement occurs, the auxiliary may move in front of the subject.
- This is very similar to what happens in questions in V2 languages, but other patterns are known.

2.1 V2-like behavior in Spanish questions

- Spanish has a basic SVO word order.

(17) Juan compró el libro.
Juan bought the book
'Juan bought the book.'

We'll be talking about other available word orders when we talk about [Ordóñez 1998](#) next week.

- Spanish questions and focus movements exhibit a pattern strikingly similar to verb second. The inflected verb immediately follows the focused element or the *wh*-phrase ([Goodall 2001](#), [Zubizarreta 1998](#)).

Clitics may intervene, however.

(18) *Focus movement:*

[Goodall 2001](#):196; (6), (7)

- a. * EL LIBRO Juan compró (no la revista).
the book Juan bought (not the magazine)
Intended: 'The book, Juan bought (not the magazine).'
- b. EL LIBRO compró Juan (no la revista).
the book bought Juan (not the magazine)
'The book, Juan bought (not the magazine).'

(19) *Wh-questions:*

Compare this to the French in (16b).

- a. * ¿Qué Juan compró?
what Juan bought
Intendend: 'What did Juan buy?'
- b. ¿Qué compró Juan?
what bought Juan
'What did Juan buy?'

- What makes Spanish noticeably different from the Germanic languages and French is that the subject cannot typically intervene between verbs if there is an auxiliary present.

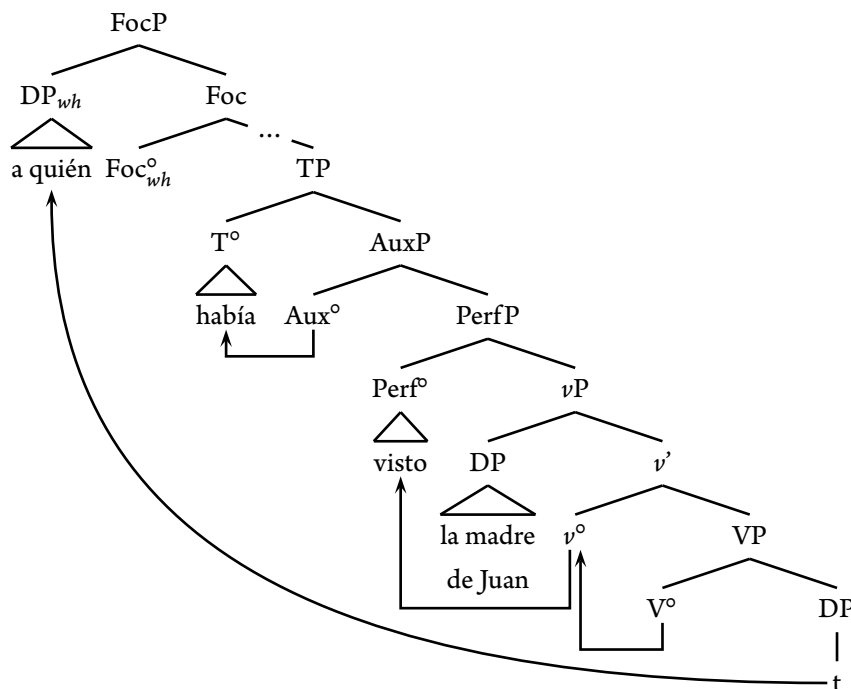
(20) *Wh-questions with auxiliaries:*

- *¿A quién había la madre de Juan visto?
 DOM who had the mother of Juan seen
Intendend: ‘Who had Juan’s mother seen?’
- ¿A quién había visto la madre de Juan?
 DOM who had seen the mother of Juan
 ‘Who had Juan’s mother seen?’

Goodall 2001:210; (49); Compare with the French in (16d).

- One typically assumes in Germanic V2 that the subject is in SpecIP and the verb moves past the verb from T° to C°. That explanation is not satisfactory here.
- A standard view (see, e.g., Depiante and Vicente 2012) is that the finite verb is always in T°, and that when *wh*-movement occurs, the subject must remain in its base position in SpecvP.

Leaving the subject *in situ* is similar to the trick employed by Diesing (1990) for Yiddish.



This assumes something like a VP-shell analysis for auxiliaries and participial morphology.

- Perf° is an inflectional position hosting perfective morphology.
- The auxiliary is introduced in a higher position and moves to T°.

- The trick here is that we must still use verb movement to get the right relative ordering of the subject and the participial verb. We must move the verb above the subject position.
- The fact that there is some complementarity with preverbal subjects is also very reminiscent of V2 in Germanic.
- This has led to a debate about where preverbal subjects sit in the structure. If subjects are in SpecTP, why does verb movement force the subject to be postverbal?

This is something we'll come back to when we talk about Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998 and the Strong Agreement Hypothesis.

- It's important to remember, too, that the finite verb need not be, strictly speaking, in the second position, since Spanish allows multiple elements in the left periphery:

(21) Yo a él libros no le deajo.
I to him books no 3.DAT.CL lend
'Books, I don't lend him.'

Goodall 2001:200; (17) & (18)

(22) Ese libro, ¿cuándo lo compraste?
that book, when 3.CL bought.2SG
'That book, when did you buy it?'

2.2 V2 in Kashmiri

A more distant case of V2 occurs in Kashmiri, as described by Rakesh Bhatt (1999) (not Rajesh). Typically the subject occurs before the finite verb, and the non-finite verbs appear clause-finally.

Thus, it appears that German has the same basic word order as Kashmiri in root declaratives.

(23) *Basic word order in Kashmiri:*

Simplified from Bhatt 1999:41, (30a,b)

- a. laRk-an khy-av batI
boy.ERG ate food.NOM
'The boy ate the food.'
- b. kory-av ch-u batI khyo-mut
girls-ERG AUX food.NOM eat-PERF
'The girls have eaten the food.'

Any single constituent may occur before the verb if it is focused.

(24) *V2 order in Kashmiri:*

Bhatt 1999:93, (15a–d)

- a. rameshan dyut raath laRk-as kalam.
Ramesh.ERG gave yesterday boy-DAT pen.NOM
'It was Ramesh who gave a pen to the boy yesterday.'
- b. raath dyut rameshan akh laRk-as kalam.
yesterday gave Ramesh.ERG one boy-DAT pen.NOM
'It was yesterday that Ramesh gave a pen to the boy.'
- c. laRk-as dyut rameshan raath kalam.
boy-DAT gave Ramesh.ERG yesterday pen.NOM
'It was the boy that Ramesh gave a pen to yesterday.'
- d. kalam dyut rameshan raath laRk-as.
pen.NOM gave Ramesh.ERG yesterday boy-DAT
'It was a pen that Ramesh gaveto the boy yesterday.'

It is not usually possible to have more than one constituent before the verb:

One exception here is in left-dislocation structures, which, incidentally, is also true of German.

(25) *V2 order in Kashmiri:*

Bhatt 1999:93, (15e–f)

- a. *tem raath dyut akh laRk-as kalam.
he.ERG yesterday gave one boy-DAT kalam.NOM
- b. *tem raath akh laRk-as dyut kalam.
he.ERG yesterday one boy-DAT gave kalam.NOM

- c. * tem raath akh laRk-as kalam. dyut
 he.ERG yesterday one boy-DAT kalam.NOM gave

Like Icelandic and Yiddish, Kashmiri permits general embedded V2. Notice that the mainland Scandinavian order is ungrammatical

(26) *General embedded V2:*

Bhatt 1999:98, (25)

- a. me buuz ki rameshan vuch raath shiila
 I heard that Ramesh saw yesterday Sheila
 'I heard that it was Ramesh who saw Sheila yesterday.'
- b. me buuz ki raath vuch rameshan shiila
 I heard that yesterday saw Ramesh Sheila
 'I heard that it was yesterday that Ramesh saw Sheila.'
- c. me buuz ki shiila vuch rameshan raath
 I heard that Sheila saw Ramesh yesterday
 'I heard that it was Sheila who Ramesh saw yesterday.'
- d. * me buuz ki rameshan raath vuch shiila
 I heard that Ramesh yesterday saw Sheila
 'I heard that Ramesh saw Sheila yesterday.'

One place Kashmiri looks really different from Germanic, though, is in *wh*-questions, which require that the *wh*-phrase be immediately before the finite verb. Typically, movement of some other element still occurs to the position immediately before the *wh*-element.

(27) *Wh-questions in Kashmiri:*

Bhatt 1999:107, (36) & (37)

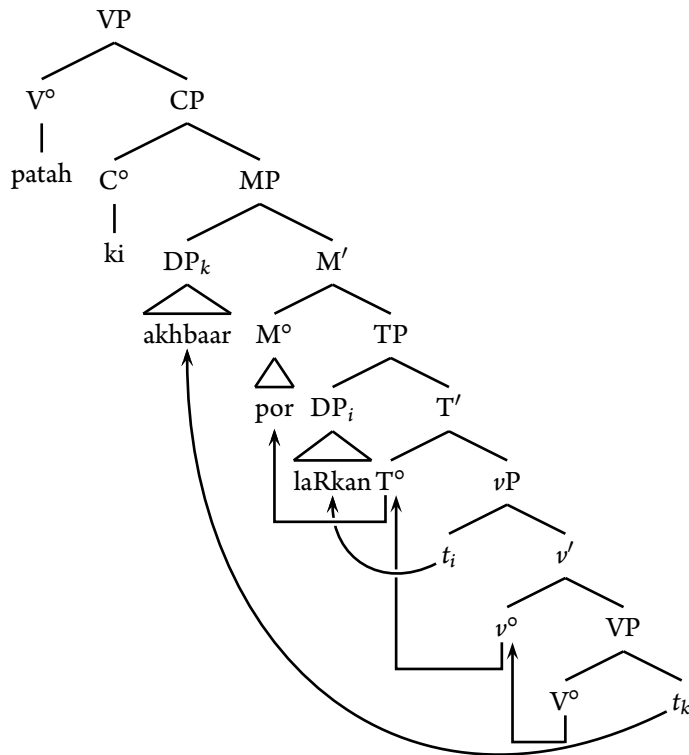
It is very interesting that this is the opposite order to what is found in embedded questions in Yiddish, as in (15).

- a. ? kyaa dyutnay rameshan tse
 what.NOM gave Ramesh.ERG you.DAT
 'What is it that Ramesh gave you?'
- b. rameshan kyaa dyutnay tse
 Ramesh.ERG what.NOM gave you.DAT
 'As for Ramesh, What is it that he gave you?'
- c. tse kyaa dyutnay rameshan
 you.DAT what.NOM gave Ramesh.ERG
 'As for you, what is it that Ramesh gave?'
- d. raath kyaa dyutnay rameshan tse
 yesterday what.NOM gave Ramesh.ERG you.DAT
 'As for yesterday, what is it that Ramesh gave you?'

Bhatt's (1999) analysis is fairly similar to that of Vikner (1995). He argues for a split CP-type analysis.

Bhatt (1999:166) claims that the constituents before *wh*-elements are adjoined to MP. Munshi and Bhatt (2009) (Rajesh, this time) suggest that there is a lower functional position that attracts *wh*-elements.

- (28) me chi patah ki akhbaar por laRkan.
 I AUX know that newspaper.NOM read.PST boy.ERG
 'I know that the boy read the newspaper.'



- C° houses subordinators/complementizers like *ki*.
- M° (for Mood) is a position in the left periphery to which the finite verb always moves.
- SpecMP is first position.

3 Head movement and V2

- It's worth contemplating why we (usually) think V2 order are derived by verb movement and concomitant phrasal movement.
- One reason is that the material in first and second position varies in such a way so as to not plausibly be a constituent.

(29) *V2 variations in German:*

- Die Kinder haben diesen Film gesehen.
the children have this film seen.
'The children have seen this film.'
- Diesen Film haben die Kinder gesehen.
This film have the children seen.
'This film, the children have seen.'
- Er sagt, daß die Kinder diesen Film gesehen haben.
He says that the children this film seen have.
'The children saw the film.'

- If we take standard theoretical assumptions about verbs and verb phrases, it seems very unlikely that the material in first and second position is in fact a constituent.
- Moreover, there is the fact that only the highest verb moves to second position (Travis 1984), whereas any XP may occupy first position.

(30) *Die Kinder gesehen diesen Film haben.
the children seen this film have.

Müller (2004) will ask us to depart from our typical theoretical commitments.

In other words, the movement to first position is far less restricted than the movement to second position.

-
- In sum, the material in first position seems to move independently from the material in first position.
 - Thus, reducing this to a single phrasal movement seems unlikely, and the standard analysis has been to have each piece move separately.

References

- Alexiadou, Artemis, and Elena Anagnostopoulou. 1998. Parameterizing Agr: Word Order, V-movement and EPP-checking. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16:491–539.
- Bhatt, Rakesh Mohan. 1999. *Verb Movement and the Syntax of Kashmiri*. Studies in Natural Language & Linguistic Theory. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Depiante, Marcela, and Luis Vicente. 2012. El movimiento y la morfología del verbo. In *El movimiento de constituyentes*, ed. José M^a. Brucart and Ángel J. Gallego, 95–106. Visor Libros.
- Diesing, Molly. 1990. Verb Movement and the Subject Position in Yiddish. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 8:41–79.
- Goodall, Grant. 2001. The EPP in Spanish. In *Objects and Other Subjects: Grammatical Functions, Functional Categories and Configurationality*, ed. William D. Davies and David Dubinsky, 193–223. Amsterdam: Springer.
- Holmberg, Anders. 1986. Word Order and Syntactic Features in the Scandinavian Languages and English. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Stockholm.
- Müller, Gereon. 2004. Verb-Second as vP-First. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 7:179–234. URL <https://dx.doi.org/10.1023/B:JCOM.0000016453.71478.3a>.
- Munshi, Sadaf, and Rajesh Bhatt. 2009. Two locations for negation: Evidence from Kashmiri. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 9:205–240.
- Ordóñez, Francisco. 1998. Postverbal asymmetries in Spanish. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16:313–345.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1996. Residual Verb Second and the Wh-Criterion. In *Parameters and Functional Heads: Essays in Comparative Syntax*, ed. Adriana Belletti and Luigi Rizzi, 63–90. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Travis, Lisa DeMena. 1984. Parameters and Effects of Word Order Variation. Doctoral Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.
- Vikner, Sten. 1995. *Verb Movement and Expletive Subjects in the Germanic Languages*. Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Westergaard, Marit R., and Øystein Alexander Vangsnes. 2005. Wh-questions, V₂, and the Left Periphery in Three Norwegian Dialect Types. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 8:117–158.
- Zubizarreta, Maria Luisa. 1998. *Prosody, Focus and Word Order*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.