

V2 in the split CP: the case of German

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1 Introduction

It is generally assumed that V2 involves movement of the verb to a (high) position in the C-domain that exhibits the EPP property attracting another XP into the specifier of the very same position;

- Movement by the verb is assumed to be triggered by clausal typing

Furthermore, it is assumed that German exhibits a syntactically generalized form of V2 with Modern English only showing residual V2 and certain varieties exhibiting mixed V2 and V3 phenomena, like Kitzdeutsch, MLG and West Flemish, that are assumed to display what is called a relaxed V2 system.

I will argue for a new approach to V2 that allows for a uniform account of (mixed) V2 and V3 phenomena and does better justice to the historical developments in German and English and its varieties

In particular, I will argue that

- A) German does not have a uniform syntactic V2 system
- B) there are two cases of V2: high V2 with V_{fin} in Force and low V2 with V_{fin} in Fin
- C) V2 simply means that the verb moves into the C-domain; V2 has a syntactic part and a prosodic part
 - C.1 the syntactic part of V2 simply consists in the phase condition
 - C.2 the prosodic part of V2 consists in the condition that the finite verb must occupy a left peripheral position in its prosodic constituent in the phase edge
- D) the assumption of an EPP-feature can be dispensed with
- E) the phase edge in the C-domain is flexible

2 The diachronic issue: V2 in Older Germanic

Looking at historic data raises the question of how the V2 property can be characterized in systems that allow for V1 and V3 orders in the same functional domain (the data in (1bc) are taken from Haeberli (2002:248)).

- | | | | |
|-----|----|--|----|
| (1) | a. | <i>Com þa to lande lid-manna helm</i> (Beo 1623) | V1 |
| | | came then to land sailors _{Gen} protector | |
| | | ‘Then the protector of the sailors came to the shore’ | |
| | b. | <i>Him geaf þa se cync twa hund gildenra paeninga</i> | V2 |
| | | him gave then the king two hundred golden pennies | |
| | | ‘Then the king gave him two hundred golden pennies’ | |
| | c. | <i>Hiora umtrymnesse he sceal ðrowian on his heortan</i> | V3 |
| | | their weakness he shall atone in his heart | |
| | | ‘He shall atone their weakness in his heart’ | |
| (2) | a. | <i>Was liutu filu in flize, in managemo agaleize</i> (O I 1,1) | V1 |
| | | were people many in diligence in great effort | |
| | | ‘There were many people in diligence, in great effort’ | |

- b. *then scuóf hér namon* (T 59, 21) V2
 them_{Dat} created he names
 ‘He gave them names’
- c. *erino portun ih firchnussu* (I 157) V3
 iron doors I smatter
 ‘I will smatter iron doors’

2.1 Explaining the change in OE and OHG

Question: Why and how did German develop a generalized V2 system but English did not?

(3) Patterns of Verb placement in older West Germanic (from Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2010)

	syntactic realisation		
discourse relation	OHG	OS	OE
coordination	i) V1 ii) PRT+V2 (PRT) [FOC Vfin...]	i) V1 ii) PRT+V2 (PRT) [FOC Vfin...]	i) V1 ii) PRT+V2 (PRT) [FOC Vfin...]
subordination	A-Topic+V2 [TOP XP] [FOC Vfin...]	A-Topic+bgr Vlate focus [BGR XP ₁ ...XP _n] [FOC Vfin...]	A-Topic+bgr Vlate focus [BGR XP ₁ ...XP _n] [FOC Vfin...]

Proposal (cf. Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2010)

- the integration of an A-Topic into V1 clauses leads to the generalisation of the V2-rule in German
- the clause-initial position is reanalysed as an IS-neutral position, giving rise to an EPP-feature in Force
- the grammaticalization of a generalized V2 rule involves analysing Force as containing the feature [+DL]
- the parallel integration of an A-Topic into a V3 clause leaves English with a residual V2-rule

Questions: - How realistic is this scenario?

- Is it true that English reanalysed topics in this way?

2.2 A closer look at V3 patterns in OE, OHG and OS (Walkden 2015)

OE:

- the pattern XP subject-given Vfin, where XP is not a wh-word or a *tho*-adverb is quite frequent
- preverbal subjects comprise both weak pronouns and full DPs

OHG:

- the pattern XP subject-given Vfin is less frequent and declining
- preverbal subjects comprise only weak pronouns

OS:

- V3 with XP subject-given Vfin does not seem to be a productive pattern

the pertinent change: a generalisation of V_{fin}-movement to Force⁰, first in OS and then in OHG

I think that this scenario is on the right track and I will provide some motivation for the scenario of Walkden (2015)

3 The V2-system in Cimbrian

Cimbrian & Mòcheno are analysed as relaxed V2 languages (Cimbrian: Bidese 2008, Bidese & Tomaselli 2005, 2010, Bidese & Cognola & Padovan 2012, Grewendorf & Poletto 2010, Kolmer 2012; Mòcheno: Bidese & Cognola & Padovan 2012, Cognola 2013, Togni 1990, Rowley 2003),

What does it mean that they instantiate a relaxed V2 system?

3.1 evidence for V2:

this is evidenced by the presence of subject-finite verb inversion (obligatory with subject pronouns):

- (4) a. Gestarn hatt-se gekhoaft in libar *Cimbrian*
 yesterday has-she bought the-acc book
 b. *Gestarn se-hatt gekhoaft in libar *Cimbrian*
 yesterday she-has bought the-acc book

the ungrammaticality of V1 main declarative clauses (exception: topic drop):

- (5) a. *Hatt-se gekhoaft in libar *Cimbrian*
 has-she bought the-acc book
 b. *(S) hat garenkt *Cimbrian*
 Expl has rained
 “It rained”

(4-5) show that one XP/an expletive and the finite verb have to always appear in CP in these two languages → typical properties of V2 languages (see den Besten 1983, Tomaselli 1990).

3.2 evidence for a low V2 system (as opposed to a high V2 system as in German):

a) two topics appear in CP:

- (6) *In Luca dar Maria hân-e-sar gezoaget gester*
 the-acc Luca the-dat Maria have=I showd yesterday (Cimbrian)
 “I have introduced Luca to Mary yesterday.”

b) when topic(s) precede an interrogative wh-element or a (contrastive) focus:

- (7) *Dar Maria, IN LIBAR hân=e gakhoaft, net di bombela* (Cimbrian)
 the-DAT Maria the- ACC book have=SUBJ.CL.1.SG bought not the sweets
 ‘It is the book that I bought Maria, not the sweets.’

Important: a wh-element or a focus can never be followed by a topic, i.e. the order of elements must be TOPIC-WH/FOCUS; *WH/FOCUS – TOPIC (see also Cognola 2013:chapter 4 for more examples on this):

- (8) a. *Bas en de boteiga hat=ar gekhoaft *Cimbrian*
 what in the shop has-he bought
 b. En de botega bas hatt-ar gakhoaft? *Cimbrian*
 in the shop what has-he bought
 “What did he buy in the shop?”

3.3 The distribution of subjects in Cimbrian

the distribution of subjects in Cimbrian gives important clues for what is really at the basis of the V2 rule

Take a look at the distribution of subjects in Cimbrian, a German dialect spoken in the village of Luserna, Trentino (field work carried out by Federica Cognola)

- | | |
|---|---|
| (9) a. Bas hatt-ar_i herta gekoaft dar Luca;
what has-he always bought the Luca | d. *Dar Luca hatt-ar_i herta gekhoaft in libar
the Luca has-he always bought a book |
| b. Bas hat-ta herta gekoaft dar Luca?
what has-DA always bought the Luca | e. *Dar Luca hat-ta herta gekhoaft in libar
the Luca has-DA always bought a book |
| c. *Bas hat herta gekoaft dar Luca?
what has always bought the Luca
“What has always Luca bought?” | f. Dar Luca hat herta gekhoaft in libar
the Luca has always bought a book
“Luca has always bought a book.” |

4 Subjects and wh-movement

It is important to note that in wh-questions the subject i) must stay in a low post-verbal position in these varieties, and ii) must cooccur with a subject clitic or with locative *da* attached to the finite verb, as illustrated in (10a). The typical subject-verb inversion of high V2 languages like in German is ungrammatical, as is illustrated in (10bc).

The same effect occurs in French and in northern Italian dialects (cf. Cardinaletti 2004, 2010 among others), as is illustrated in (11).

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| (10) a. Bas hatta / hatt=ar _i gekoaft dar Luca;
what has-da/has-he bought the Luca
“What did Luca buy?” | <i>Cimbrian</i> |
| b. Was hat der Luca gekauft
what has the Luca bought | <i>German</i> |
| c. *Bas hatt / hatta /hatt-ar dar Luca gekoaft?
what has/has-da the Luca bought | <i>Cimbrian</i> |
| (11) a. Que a-t-il vu?
what has-t-he seen | <i>French</i> |
| b. *Que a Jean vu?
what has John seen | <i>French</i> |

Background: the subject serves to anchor the predicate; this is achieved by movement of the subject [Spec,FinP], where it is assigned a specific value for its event argument and its individual argument.

4.1 V2, phase edges and Minimality

I assume the split-CP structure in (40) following Rizzi (1997) and Benincà (2001) among others; furthermore, I submit that the finite verb moves to Fin° in all main clauses in Cimbrian (see Bidese & Tomaselli 2005, 2010, Cognola 2013, under review).

- (12) [ForceP[TopicP*.... [FocusP ... TopicP*[FinP[TP]]]]

observation:

- the licensing of discourse anaphoric subjects interferes with wh-movement into the C-domain

- (13) a. *Dar Mario bas hat=ta/hat gakhoaft? *Cimbrian*
 what has/has-da the Luca bought
 b. *Bas dar Mario hat=ta/ hat gakhoaft? *Cimbrian*
 what the Mario has-da / has bought
 c. Dar Mario_j bas hat=ar_j gakhoaft? *Cimbrian*
 the Mario what has-he bought
 "What did Mario buy?"

the crucial data is the ungrammaticality of (13b): why should wh-movement be blocked by a preverbal referential subject, arguably occupying [Spec,FinP] which counts as an A-position (Rizzi 2005, 2006)?

Note: a) minimality of A-movement is not at stake; since the subject moves to a higher A-position;
 b) the utterance is anchored by a discourse given subject in [Spec,FinP];
 c) but nothing in the theory rules out: A'-movement of an object across the subject in an A-position.

observation:

- the subject has to stay low to allow movement into the higher C-domain;

Bottleneck-effect (cf. Haegeman 1996, Roberts 2004, Cardinaletti 2010)

Proposal: FinP counts as a phase-edge in the C-domain, implying that all movement operations targeting higher positions in the C-domain must either go through [Spec,FinP] or as a last resort - enter into an Agree-relation with Fin°;

Analysis: the topics above FocP are base generated, the ones below are derived via movement from a clause internal position; hence the latter but not the former interfere with focus and wh-movement and the licensing of the subject;

Evidence: it seems that the phase edge in Italian is FocP; topics above FocP behave as being base generated there (cf. Frascarelli 2007); topics below FocP show reconstruction effects (cf. Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2016)

- (14) a. [ForceP[A-topic C-topic [FocusP Fam-topic* [FinP[TP]]]]]
 b. [ForceP base-generated topics [FocusP derived topics [FinP]]]]

- (15) Quale studente Gianni ha interrogato ieri
 Which student John has examined yesterday

- (16) *Il suo vicino di tavolo, qualcuno lo ha presentato ad ogni ospite*
 a. somebody introduced his own neighbour to every guest **1.77**
 b. somebody introduced each of the guests with their neighbour **0.69**
 c. Il libro di Leo_i a quale studente lui_j lo ha mandato (lack of a Principle C-effect)
 The book of Leo to which student he it has sent

Hypothesis: V_{fin} indicates the phase edge in the C-domain in languages that allow a flexible edge position

- the highest position that the finite verb targets in the C-domain counts as the phase edge of the C-domain, implying that higher material is either base-generated and not prosodically integrated with the utterance, or enters into an Agree-relation with the phase head.

5 Frame adverbials in the V2 system and clausal anchoring

5.1 The role of frame adverbials

- IP-related temporal (and locative) adverbs express a relation between the reference event and the event time /location
- frame adverbials shift or restrict the reference event itself, as is illustrated in (17):

- (17) A: Last year Christmas was fun. We had 5 days of free holidays.
B: In not many years Christmas will fall on a Wednesday again

5.2 Frame adverbials and V3

the pattern frame adverbial > subject > V_{fin} springs up in various contemporary dialects as well as diachronically:

Frame adverbials in Westflemish versus Standard Dutch (Haegeman & Greco 2017):
temporal adverbials allow for a V2 or a V3 pattern in West Flemish, with the crucial difference that the V3 pattern does not allow for a reconstructed reading

- (18) a. Oan-k toekwamen viel den eletriek ut.
when I arrived fell the electricity out
'When I arrived there was a power failure'.
b. Oan-k toekwamen, den eletriek viel ut.
when I arrived, the electricity fell out
'When I arrived there was a power failure.'

in Dutch on the other hand the pattern found in (19b) is ruled out with subject-initial clauses, as is illustrated in (20).

- (19) a. Als er morgen een probleem is, MIJ moet je niet bellen.
If there tomorrow a problem is, me must you not call
'If there is a problem tomorrow, don't call ME!'
b. *Als er morgen een probleem is, je moet mij niet bellen.
If there tomorrow a problem is, you must me not call
'If there is a problem tomorrow, you don't have to call me!'

However, no difference between subject-initial and non-subject initial V2 clauses appears with what seem to be clear cases of clause external elements, as is indicated in (23)

- (20) a. Als je honger hebt, er ligt brood in de kast.
if you hunger have, there lies bread in the cupboard
'If you're hungry, there's some bread in the cupboard.'
b. Als je geïnteresseerd bent, morgen kan ik tickets krijgen voor Morricone.
if you interested are, tomorrow can I tickets obtain for Morricone.
'If you're interested, I can get tickets for Morricone tomorrow.'

- (21) a. wenn es morgen ein Problem gibt, wen soll ich kontaktieren?
if it tomorrow a problem exists, whon should I contact?
- b. wenn es morgen ein Problem gibt, MICH brauchst du nicht anzurufen
if it tomorrow a problem exists, ME need you not call up
- c. * wenn es morgen ein Problem gibt, ich ruf dich an
if it tomorrow a problem exists, I call you up
- d. wenn es morgen ein Problem gibt, PETER kann dir helfen
if it tomorrow a problem exists, PETER can you help

main problem with the account of Greco & Haegeman:

V3 orders also occur in Old English, where authors have proposed that the verb stays in a lower position, to be identified with FinP (cf. Hinterhölzl & van Kemenade 2015)

however, there are good reasons to assume that frame adverbials can occur inside ForceP; Speyer proposes on the basis of ENHG data the structure in (26); Petrova (2012) proposes a similiar hierarchy on the basis of similar observations on the left periphery of MLG; note that it is exactly frame adverbials that give rise to V3 orders in these varieties (examples taken from Petrova 2012):

- (22) [ForceP [FrameP [FocP [TopP [FinP [VP/IP ...]]]]]] (Speyer 2008)
- (23) [Dar nach] [die edel kungin] fuer enhalb Ofen auf das Laslaes Wans gueeter mit grossem kummer
after that the noble queen went beyond Ofen to the-Gen Laslae-GenWan-Gen properties with great grief (113.10.16; Speyer 2008, 481)
- (24) [An den selven tiden], [Dyocletianus] buwede den palas to Rome (Petrova 2012; 60)
in the same days, Diocletian built the-Acc palace in Rome
das gehetan is Terme Dyocletiani (SW 113, 17)
Rel called is Baths of.Diocletian
'In the same days, D. built in Rome the palace that is called Baths of Diocletian.'

frame adverbials give rise to V3 structures in contemporary Kiez-Deutsch (cf. Wiese 2009, 2017)

- (25) Heute ich geh Aldi
today I go Aldi (a type of supermarket)
'today I will go to Aldi'

Analysis of the data in (21); Frame adverbials can occur outside and inside of ForceP; the minimal structure is preferred; with a Force-internal Frame adverbial and a subject in [Spec,FinP] movement of the frame adverbial to [Spec, ForceP] to be interpreted as [+DL] is more economic than movement of the subject, resulting in the structure (26ab) depending on whether verb movement is triggered by the V2 system of a language:

- (26) a. [ForceP wenn es ein Problem gibt, ruf [FinP ich [TP dich an]]
b. [ForceP wenn es ein Problem gibt, [FinP ich ruf [TP dich an]]]

5.3 An alternative account

V2 as a complex parameter (cf. Hinterhölzl 2017 for further details):

- a) V_{fin} moves into the C-domain -> in a V2 language the verb must minimally occur in FinP

- b) FinP or a projection above it counts as phase head, implying that constituents from an IP-internal position must move through the phase edge
- c) languages with flexible phase edges indicate the phase edge via verb movement

Consequences:

- A) wh-movement in a language with FinP as phase edge will trigger obligatory verb movement to ForceP
- B) reanalysis of a clause-external Topic (with pro-drop) as derived by movement from a clause internal position triggers verb movement to ForceP, independently of whether the V2-clause is derived from an original V1 clause or from a system allowing for V3 orders (low V2)
- C) uniform high V2 in standard German and Dutch could be due to movement of a clause-internal adverb to FrameP or to a prosodic condition that was triggered by the integration of A-topics

- the first option: base generation vs. movement of frame topics is hard to prove diachronically
- one would have to show that low readings of the frame adverbial in the V3 pattern in OE are systematically excluded by the context
- in modern German, there is evidence that frame adverbials are base-generated in the C-domain:

- (28) a. Als Peter₁ nach Hause kam, hat er₁ sofort seine Freundin angerufen
 When Peter to home came, has he immediately his girl-friend up-called
 'When Peter came home, he immediately called up his girl-friend'
- b. ??Als er₁ die Arbeit abgegeben hatte, ist fast jeder Student₁ nach Hause gefahren
 When he the work delivered had, is almost every student to home driven
 'When he had delivered his exam, almost every student went home'

- the difference between OE and OHG in the V3-pattern could point to the relevance of a prosodic condition

consequence:

- a) the verb is analyzed as occupying Fin⁰ giving rise to V3 orders of the type frame + Subject + V_{fin}
- b) verb movement to Force⁰ is interpreted as being due to a prosodic condition
- since both A-topics and adjuncts are mapped onto separate phonological phrases, the prosodic condition in uniform V2 languages could be (28); (29) violates (28) if V_{fin} is in FinP and FinP is the phase edge; solution: the subject is analysed as discourse linker (a topic) in [Spec,ForceP] and V_{fin} moves to Force to respect (28), as is indicated in (30).

- (28) Prosodic edge condition:
 V_{fin} must occupy a left-peripheral position in its prosodic phrase in the phase edge

(29) [ForceP (Frame) [FinP ((Subj) V_{fin}).....]]

(30) [ForceP (Subj / Frame)_{+DL} (V_{fin})]

- E) dialects and language-stages that have not grammaticalized the prosodic condition in (28) will allow for V3 orders in subject-initial clauses with material that can be taken to be base generated in the C-domain in the first position

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