

17. The Placement of Finite Verbs

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Total number of words: appr. **8,164**.

1. Introduction

In a clause in a Germanic language¹, there are three different positions in which the finite verb may occur:

- (1) a. The position immediately before the subject (this position will be called C°)
- b. The position immediately after the subject (this position will be called T°)
- c. The base position next to e.g. the object (this position will be called V°)

There is a choice associated with each of these positions, and this chapter² will show how the exact position of the finite verb in a particular type of clause in a given Germanic language depends on these three choices.

The first choice is whether or not the finite verb occurs in the position called C° (i.e. in the position immediately before the subject). This choice can be seen as one between having what is called V2 (which will be analysed below as involving V°-to-T°-to-C° movement), as in (2)a, where the finite verb is the second constituent, or not having V2, as in (2)b:

¹ Language abbreviations:

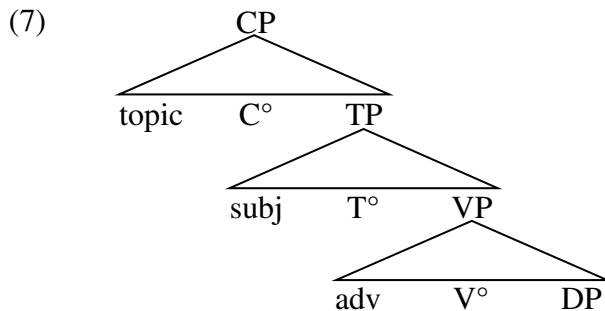
- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (i) Af. = Afrikaans | Ic. = Icelandic |
| Be. = Swiss German from Bern | ME. = Middle English |
| Da. = Danish | Öd. = Övdalian (Älvdalen) |
| Du. = Dutch | SG. = Swiss German from Sankt Gallen |
| En. = English | St. = Swabian German from Stuttgart |
| Fa. = Faroese | WF. = West Flemish |
| Fs. = Frisian | Yi. = Yiddish |
| Ge. = Standard German | Zü. = Swiss German from Zürich |
| Hd. = Hallingdalen | |

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To give an idea of the (simplified) analysis behind the use of the labels C° , T° and V° , here is what I take to be the structure of a clause (irrespective of whether it is a main or an embedded clause):

- (6) A clause is a CP,
the complement of the CP's head (= C°) is a TP, and
the complement of the TP's head (= T°) is a VP.

For a clause in a VO-language with no auxiliary verbs and with a mono-transitive main verb, the structure looks as follows:



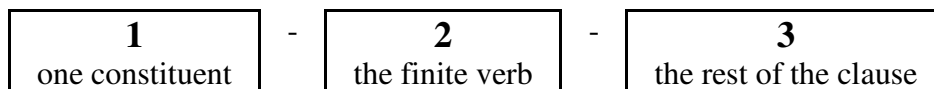
As will be illustrated below, the subject occurs at the left edge of TP and if there is a sentence-medial adverbial, it occurs at the left edge of VP. Furthermore, if the language in question had been OV, the sequence between the verb and its complement would be reversed.

2. Verb second (V2)

2.1 V2 in all main clauses

In most Germanic languages, not including Middle English and Modern English, all main clauses are verb second (V2). This means that the finite verb occupies the second position in the clause, irrespective of which constituent occupies the first position:

- (8) **Verb second = V2**



It might appear that also in English, the finite verb occupies the second position:

- (9) a. Da. Peter har sandsynligvis læst den her bog.
 b. Ic. Pétur hefur sennilega lesið þessa bók.
 c. Ge. Peter hat wahrscheinlich dieses Buch gelesen.
 d. Af. Pieter het waarskynlik hierdie boek gelees.
 e. En. Peter has probably read this book.

This is an illusion, though, and for declarative examples like (9), it only holds when we consider subject-initial main clauses with a finite auxiliary verb (cf. the discussion in section 3 below, especially footnote 4). If we look at declarative clauses that have e.g. an initial object, (10), or an initial adverbial, (11), we see that English clearly differs from the V2-languages. However, there are two sets of very specific circumstances, where also English has V2, namely after an initial *wh*-constituent, (12), or after an initial negative constituent, (17)b further below:

C°

- (10) a. Da. Den her bog har Peter læst.
 b. Ic. Þessa bók hefur Pétur lesið.
 c. Ge. Dieses Buch hat Peter gelesen.
 d. Af. Hierdie boek het Pieter gelees.
 e. En. * This book has Peter read.

- (11) a. Da. Nu har Peter læst den her bog.
 b. Ic. Nú hefur Pétur lesið þessa bók.
 c. Ge. Jetzt hat Peter dieses Buch gelesen.
 d. Af. Nou het Pieter hierdie boek gelees.
 e. En. * Now has Peter read this book.

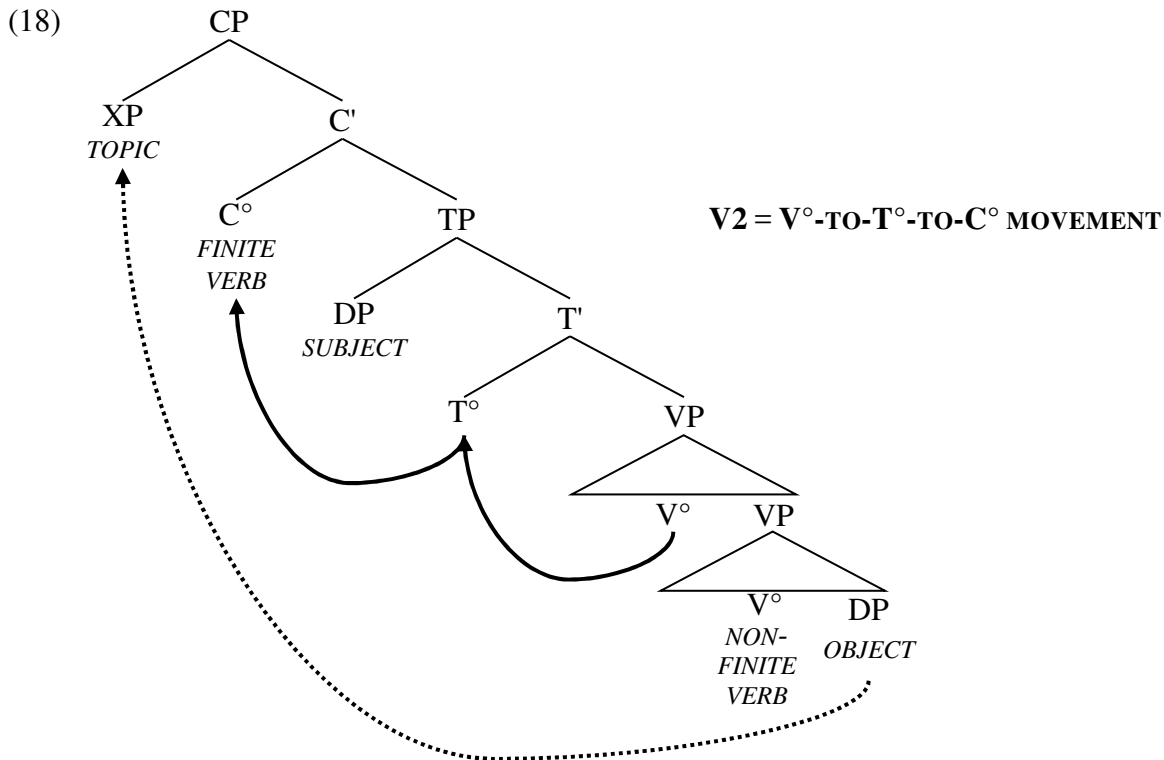
- (12) a. Da. Hvad for en bog har Peter læst?
 b. Ic. Hvaða bók hefur Pétur lesið?
 c. Ge. Welches Buch hat Peter gelesen?
 d. Af. Watter boek het Pieter gelees?
 e. En. Which book has Peter read?

The discussion of V2 goes back to at least Wackernagel (1892) and Fourquet (1938). A common analysis of V2 which goes back to den Besten (1977, published as 1983) and Thiersch (1978) and found its canonical form in Platzack (1985) and Chomsky (1986: 6) is that the finite verb in V2 main clauses occupies the same position that the subordinating conjunction (also called the complementiser, e.g. *that, if, because*) occupies in an embedded clause. This position is called C°:

C°

- (13) Da. a. ... at børnene har set den her film.
 b. Denne film har børnene ____ set ____.
- (14) Ic. a. ... að börnin hafa séð þessa mynd.
 b. Þessa mynd hafa börnin ____ séð ____.
- (15) Ge. a. ... dass die Kinder diesen Film gesehen haben.
 b. Diesen Film haben die Kinder ____ gesehen ____.
- (16) Af. a. ... dat die kinders hierdie film gesien het.
 b. Hierdie film het die kinders ____ gesien ____.
- (17) En. a. ... that the children have seen this film.
 b. None of these films have the children ____ seen ____.

and here is the tree structure for such V2-clauses (for German and other OV-languages, the order inside the two VPs is reversed with V° being rightmost):



The finite verb moves to C°, and some other constituent (e.g. the topic) moves into the specifier position of CP (CP-spec). This constituent in the first position can be e.g. the subject, the object, an adverbial, or an embedded clause. If the first constituent is not the subject, then the subject has to occur in the third position (i.e. the DP that is the specifier of TP).

If a clause does not have V2, then either the finite verb does not move at all (i.e. it stays in V°) or it moves to T° and stays there, see section 3 below.

Supporting evidence for the assumption that the finite verb (in a V2 main clause) occupies the same position that the complementiser occupies (in an embedded clause) may be found in conditional clauses, where the subject is preceded either by a complementiser (e.g. *if*) or by the finite verb (e.g. *had*), but not by both, cf. den Besten (1983: 117):

- C°
- (19) Da. a. Hvis jeg havde haft mere tid, ...
 Ic. b. Ef ég hefði haft meiri tíma, ...
 Ge. c. Wenn ich mehr Zeit gehabt hätte, ...
 Af. d. As ek meer tyd gehad het, ...
 En. e. If I had had more time, ...
- (20) Da. a. Havde jeg ____ haft mere tid, ...
 Ic. b. Hefði ég ____ haft meiri tíma, ...
 Ge. c. Hätte ich mehr Zeit gehabt ____, ...
 Af. d. Het ek meer tyd gehad ____, ...
 En. e. Had I ____ had more time, ...
- (21) Da. a. *Havde hvis jeg ____ haft mere tid, ...
 Ic. b. *Hefði ef ég ____ haft meiri tíma, ...
 Ge. c. *Hätte wenn ich mehr Zeit gehabt ____, ...
 Af. d. *Het as ek meer tyd gehad ____, ...
 En. e. *Had if I ____ had more time, ...

- (22) Da. a. * Hvis havde jeg ____ haft mere tid, ...
 Ic. b. * Ef hefði ég ____ haft meiri tíma, ...
 Ge. c. * Wenn hätte ich mehr Zeit gehabt ____, ...
 Af. d. * As het ek meer tyd gehad ____, ...
 En. e. * If had I ____ had more time, ...

Da. ... ville jeg have lavet et endnu længere hand-out.
 Ic. ... myndi ég hafa gert ennþá lengri úthendu.
 Ge. ... hätte ich ein noch längeres Thesenpapier gemacht.
 Af. ... sou ek 'n nog langer uitdeelstuk gemaak het.
 En. ... I would have made an even longer hand-out.

Consider finally the following examples from two V2-languages, Danish and German:

- | | CP-spec | C° | TP-spec | AdvP | V° | V° | DP |
|-------------|----------------------------------|-------|-----------|---|-------|-------|-------------------|
| (23) Da. a. | * Derfor | | jeg | desværre | burde | spise | mindre chokolade. |
| b. | Derfor | burde | jeg | desværre | | spise | mindre chokolade. |
| c. | * Derfor | burde | spise jeg | desværre | | | mindre chokolade |
| d. | * Derfor | | spise jeg | desværre | burde | | mindre chokolade. |
| | <i>Therefore (ought) (eat) I</i> | | | <i>unfortunately (ought) (eat) less chocolate</i> | | | |

- | | CP-spec | C° | TP-spec | AdvP | | DP | V° | V° |
|-------------|-----------------------------------|--------|-----------|--|--|--------------------|--------|---------|
| (24) Ge. a. | * Deswegen | | ich | leider | | weniger Schokolade | essen | sollte. |
| b. | Deswegen | sollte | ich | leider | | weniger Schokolade | essen. | |
| c. | * Deswegen | sollte | essen ich | leider | | weniger Schokolade | | |
| d. | * Deswegen | | essen ich | leider | | weniger Schokolade | | sollte. |
| | <i>Therefore (should) (eat) I</i> | | | <i>unfortunately less chocolate (eat) (should)</i> | | | | |

(23)a,b and (24)a,b again show that Danish and German are V2-languages, which is why the finite verb cannot occur to the right of the subject. (23)c and (24)c show that only one verb may undergo V2. (23)d and (24)d show that only a finite verb may undergo V2 (and not the infinitive *spise/essen* 'eat').

For a less simplified analysis of V2 than the one presented here, see. e.g. Holmberg (2015, forthcoming).

2.2 V2 in English main clauses

As already mentioned, it is assumed that English is not a V2-language, but nevertheless, there are two sets of very specific circumstances, where even English has V2.

One V2-context is (non-subject-initial) interrogative main clauses (i.e. direct questions):

- | | | C° | | | | |
|---------|-----|-----------------|--------------|--------|----------------------|--------------------|
| (25) a. | En. | Which book | <u>has</u> | Peter | __ read | ____ ____? |
| b. | En. | * Which book | | Peter | <u>has</u> read | ____ ____? |
| c. | Da. | Hvad for en bog | <u>har</u> | Peter | __ læst | ____ ____? |
| d. | Ic. | Hvaða bók | <u>hefur</u> | Pétur | __ lesið | ____ ____? |
| e. | Ge. | Welches Buch | <u>hat</u> | Peter | ____ | ____ gelesen ____? |
| g. | Af. | Watter boek | <u>het</u> | Pieter | ____ | ____ geleees ____? |
| (26) a. | En. | Why | <u>has</u> | Peter | __ read this | book? |
| b. | En. | * Why | | Peter | <u>has</u> read this | book? |

- c. Da. Hvorfor har Peter ____ læst den her bog?
 d. Ic. Af hverju hefur Pétur ____ lesið þessa bók?
 e. Ge. Warum hat Peter dieses Buch gelesen ____?
 g. Af. Waarom het Pieter hierdie boek gelees ____?

The other English V2-context is when there is an initial negative constituent:

C°

- (27) a. En. Never have the children ____ seen such a bad film.
 b. En. *Never the children have seen such a bad film.
 c. Da. Aldrig har børnene ____ set sådan en dårlig film.
 d. Ic. Aldrei hafa börnin ____ séð svona slæma mynd.
 e. Ge. Nie haben die Kinder so einen schlechten Film gesehen ____.
 g. Af. Nooit het die kinders so 'n slegte film gesien ____ nie.

C°

- (28) a. En. Only in America could such a thing ____ happen.
 b. En. *Only in America such a thing could happen.
 c. Da. Kun i Amerika kunne sådan noget ____ ske.
 d. Ic. Aðeins í Bandaríkjunum gæti eitthvað svona ____ gerst.
 e. Ge. Nur in Amerika könnte so etwas passieren ____.
 g. Af. Net in Amerika kon so 'n ding gebeur ____.

Notice that in the above examples, the finite verb is an auxiliary (cf. the discussion in section 3 below, especially footnote 4). When the finite verb is a main verb, *do*-insertion is necessary:

C°

- (29) En. a. Which book did Peter ____ read ____ ?
 b. *Which book read Peter ____ ?
 c. *Which book Peter read ____ ?

C°

- (30) En. a. Never did the children ____ see such a bad film.
 b. *Never saw the children ____ such a bad film.
 c. *Never the children saw such a bad film.

As seen in (9) and (31)a, subject-initial main clauses in English may look as if they are V2, but if an element is inserted to the left of the subject, the verb does not insist on occurring in second position, (31)b (see also (2) above):

- (31) En. a. The city council has unfortunately never considered this possibility.
 b. Unfortunately, the city council has never considered this possibility.

Furthermore, at least for those cases where the finite verb is a main verb, it can be shown that subject-initial main clauses are not V2, because the finite verb has to follow any sentence-medial adverbials, and because *do*-insertion is not necessary:

V°

- (32) En. a. The city council never considered this possibility.
 b. Which city council never considered this possibility?
 c. No city council ever considered this possibility.
 d. Unfortunately, the city council never considered this possibility.

It would thus seem that in English, V2 is restricted to interrogative main clauses and to clauses with negative preposing, provided in both cases that the initial element is not the subject. No other main clauses in English are V2³, cf. also (10)e and (11)e.

3. V°-to-T° movement

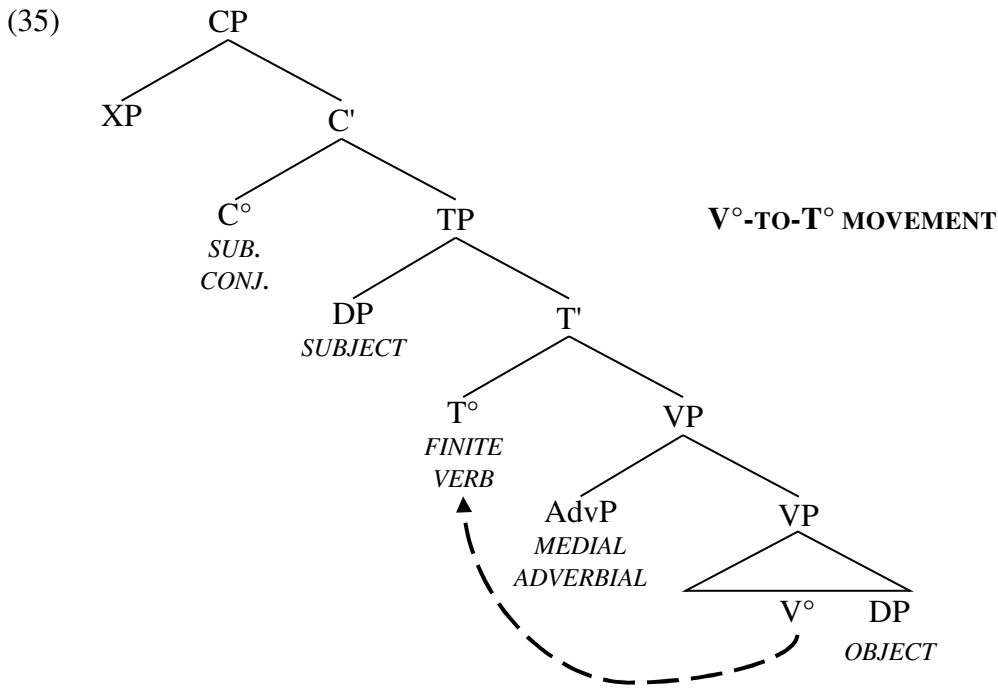
Let us now consider what happens in situations where V2 cannot apply, i.e. where the finite verb cannot occur in the position immediately left of the subject. This leaves two options, namely that the finite verb occurs either in the position immediately right of the subject (i.e. in the position called T°), as in (33), or in its base position (i.e. the one called V°), as in (34).

		C°	TP-spec	T°	AdvP	V°	DP
(33)	a.	En.	* That John	<u>eats</u>	often		tomatoes (surprises most people.)
	b.	Da.	* At Johan	<u>spiser</u>	ofte		tomater (overrasker de fleste.)
	c.	Fa.	* At Jón	<u>etur</u>	ofta		tomatir (kemur óvart á tey flestu.)
	d.	Ic.	Að Jón	<u>borðar</u>	oft		tómata (kemur flestum á óvart.)
	e.	Yi.	Az Jonas	<u>est</u>	oft		pomidorn (iz a khidesh far alemen.)

		C°	TP-spec	T°	AdvP	V°	DP
(34)	a.	En.	That John		often	<u>eats</u>	tomatoes (surprises most people.)
	b.	Da.	At Johan		ofte	<u>spiser</u>	tomater (overrasker de fleste.)
	c.	Fa.	At Jón		ofta	<u>etur</u>	tomatir (kemur óvart á tey flestu.)
	d.	Ic.	* Að Jón		oft	<u>borðar</u>	tómata (kemur flestum á óvart.)
	e.	Yi.	* Az Jonas		oft	<u>est</u>	pomidorn (iz a khidesh far alemen.)

A common analysis of this difference (which goes back to Emonds [1978] and Pollock [1989]) is that two languages have V°-to-T° movement, namely Icelandic and Yiddish, as opposed to English, Danish and Faroese. In Icelandic and Yiddish, the finite verb is therefore taken to always move from its position in V° to a position further left, namely T°. This movement can only be detected if something occurs to the right of T° but to the left of V°, in this case the medial adverbial *often*:

³ What Huddleston and Pullum (2002:97) call subject-auxiliary inversion are thus cases of V2, whereas what Huddleston and Pullum (2002:97, 1385) call subject postposing or subject-dependent inversion (including locative inversion and quotative inversion) are not cases of V2, cf. that the former but not the latter allows the subject to occur between a finite auxiliary and a non-finite main verb.



The following examples from Middle English and from two conservative Mainland Scandinavian dialects display the same difference. In embedded clauses, the finite verb precedes the medial adverbial or negation in Middle English and in the Swedish dialect Övdalian (from Älvdalen, see e.g. Garbacz [2010]), whereas the finite verb follows the medial adverbial or negation in the Norwegian dialect from Hallingdalen:

- T° AdvP V°**
- (36) a. ME. ... and he swore that he talkyd neuer wyth no man.
 ... *and he swore that he talked never with no man*
 ((36)a is from 1460, William Paston I, *Letter to John Paston I, May 2, 1460*, Davis [1971]: 164)

- T° AdvP V°**
- b. Öd. Ba fo dye at ig uild int fy om
 Just because that I would not follow him
 ((36)b is from Levander [1909: 123], see also Platzack and Holmberg [1989: 70])

- T° AdvP V°**
- c. Hd. ... fisk, jammvært om støræls'n på o ikki va myky skrytæ tå
 ... *fish, although size-the of them not was much brag about*
 ((36)c is from Venås [1977: 243], see also Trosterud [1989: 91] and Platzack and Holmberg [1989: 70])

Among the Germanic VO-languages, the ones without V°-to-T° movement are modern English⁴ and five of the seven Scandinavian variants: Danish, Faroese, Hallingdalen Norwegian, Norwegian, and Swedish, cf. (34) above.

Among the Germanic OV-languages, only one language, Yiddish⁵, (34)e above, seems to clearly have V°-to-T° movement. The discussion of the other Germanic OV-languages will therefore have to wait until section 6 below.

⁴ For English, it must be added that only finite main verbs stay in V°, whereas finite auxiliary verbs seem to occur in T°, cf. the difference between (31) and (32) above.

Consider finally the following examples from the two languages with V°-to-T° movement, Icelandic and Yiddish:

	C°	TPsp	T°	AdvP	V°	V°	DP				
(37) Ic. a.	* Að	Jón		oft	<u>hafi</u>	borðað	tómata	(kemur flestum á óvart.)			
b.	Að	Jón	<u>hafi</u>	oft		borðað	tómata	(kemur flestum á óvart.)			
c.	* Að	Jón	<u>hafi</u>	<u>borðað</u>	oft		tómata	(kemur flestum á óvart.)			
d.	* Að	Jón		<u>borðað</u>	oft	<u>hafi</u>	tómata	(kemur flestum á óvart.)			
(38) Yi. a.	* Az	Jonas		oft	<u>hot</u>	gegesn	pomidorn	(iz a khidesh far alemen.)			
b.	Az	Jonas	<u>hot</u>	oft		gegesn	pomidorn	(iz a khidesh far alemen.)			
c.	?? Az	Jonas	<u>hot</u>	<u>gegesn</u>	oft		pomidorn	(iz a khidesh far alemen.)			
d.	* Az	Jonas		<u>gegesn</u>	oft	<u>hot</u>	pomidorn	(iz a khidesh far alemen.)			
				<i>That John</i>	<i>(has)</i>	<i>(eaten)</i>	<i>often</i>	<i>(has)</i>	<i>(eaten)</i>	<i>tomatoes</i>	<i>(surprises most people.)</i>

(37)a,b and (38)a,b again show that Icelandic and Yiddish have V°-to-T° movement, and this is why the finite verb cannot remain in V°. (37)c and (38)c show that only one verb may undergo V°-to-T° movement. (37)d and (38)d show that only a finite verb may undergo V°-to-T° movement.

For a less simplified analysis of V°-to-T° movement than the one presented here, see e.g. Bobaljik (2003) and Koenenman and Zeijlstra (2014).

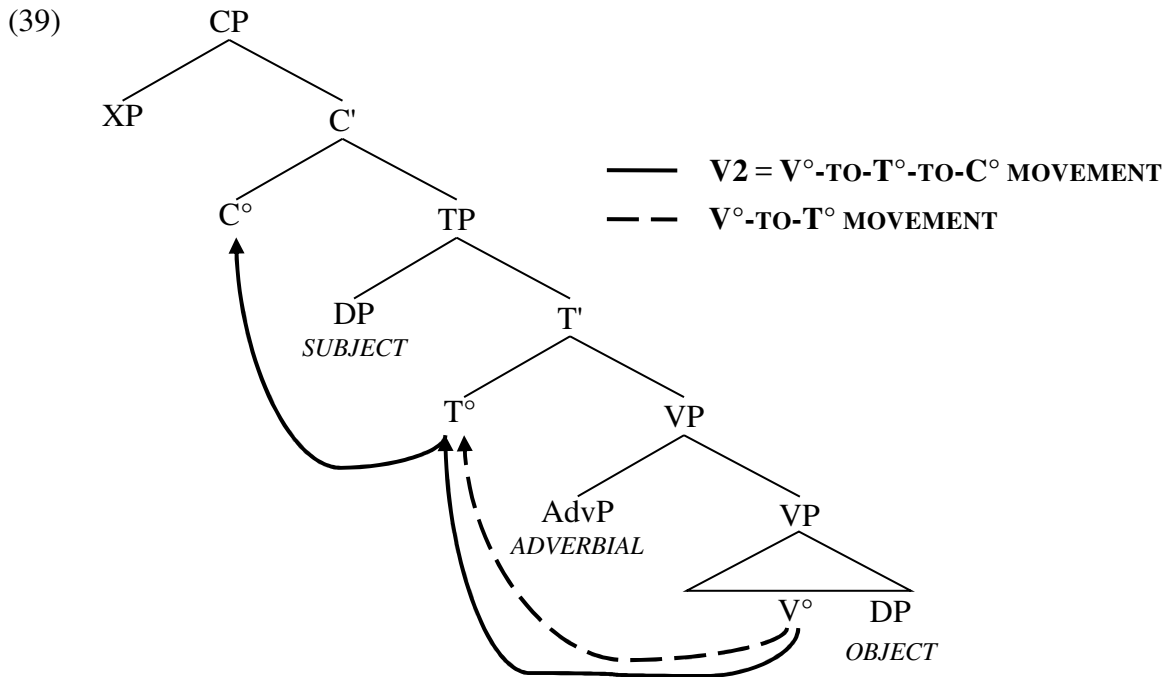
4. Differences between V°-to-T° movement and V2

There are two main differences between V°-to-T° movement and V2:

⁵ As opposed to all the other Germanic languages, it is not immediately obvious whether Yiddish is a VO- or OV-language. The reason is that both VO- and OV-orders are possible, and that it can be independently shown that Yiddish has both scrambling (which moves objects leftwards) and extraposition (which moves objects rightwards). Other properties therefore have to be taken into account, and a number of such other properties would seem to receive a more satisfactory analysis if Yiddish is not VO, but OV. These include the behaviour of verb particles, the lack of agreement on predicative adjectives, the variation in verb sequences, and coordinated VPs, cf. Hall (1979), Geilfuss (1991), Vikner (2001a,b, 2003), Haider (2005), and Wallenberg (2009, 2013).

Another option might be that Yiddish (as the only Germanic language) is indeterminate with respect to the VO/OV-choice, as suggested in chapter 16 above and in Haider (2010:7, 2013:102)

Finally, a number of analyses have taken Yiddish to be VO, e.g. den Besten and Moed-van Walraven (1986:113), Diesing (1997:388), Sadock (1998), Vikner (1995, 1997).



V°-to-T° movement applies to all finite verbs, whereas V2 only applies to finite verbs in main clauses (and some embedded clauses). In other words, although V2 is not completely restricted to main clauses, it is only possible in a subset of finite embedded clauses, whereas V°-to-T° movement is obligatory for all finite verbs.

In a clause with V°-to-T° movement but without V2, the first element is the subject and the second element is the finite verb. In a clause with V2, the second element is also the finite verb, but the first element can be any constituent (subject, object, adverbial, embedded clause, ...).

The reason why the embedded clauses in (33)-(34) above are subject clauses is that this is a context where main clause word order (i.e. V2) is NOT allowed, see (40), and also (33)b,c. This is relevant because there are also many embedded contexts where both main, (41) and (42), and embedded clause word orders, (43), are possible:

- | | | C° | | C° | | V° | |
|---------|-------|----------------------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| (40) a. | Da. * | (At) tomater | <u>spiser</u> | Johan | ofte | | overrasker de fleste. |
| b. | Fa. * | (At) tomatur | <u>etur</u> | Jón | ofta | | kemur óvart á tey flestu. |
| | | <i>That tomatoes</i> | <i>eats</i> | <i>John</i> | <i>often</i> | | <i>surprises most people</i> |
| (41) a. | Da. | Hun siger at | tomater | <u>spiser</u> | Johan | ofte. | |
| b. | Fa. | Hon sigur at | tomatur | <u>etur</u> | Jón | ofta. | |
| | | <i>She says that</i> | <i>tomatoes</i> | <i>eats</i> | <i>John</i> | <i>often</i> | |
| (42) a. | Da. | Hun siger at | Johan | <u>spiser</u> | ofte | tomater. | |
| b. | Fa. | Hon sigur at | Jón | <u>etur</u> | ofta | tomatur. | |
| | | <i>She says that</i> | <i>John</i> | <i>eats</i> | <i>often</i> | <i>tomatoes</i> | |
| (43) a. | Da. | Hun siger at | | Johan | ofte | <u>spiser</u> tomater. | |
| b. | Fa. | Hon sigur at | | Jón | ofta | <u>etur</u> tomatur. | |
| | | <i>She says that</i> | | <i>John</i> | <i>often</i> | <i>eats tomatoes</i> | |

Provided the special conditions for V2 in English are observed, the judgments are very similar here:

- (44) En. a. * C° That in no way could we C° be held responsible must now be clear.
 b. That we could in no way be held responsible must now be clear.
- (45) En. The judge emphasised ...
 a. ... that in no way could we be held responsible.
 b. ... that we could in no way be held responsible.

In e.g. German, embedded V2 is only possible if the subordinating conjunction is left out. This is not the case in Scandinavian, Yiddish and English, where the subordinating conjunction has to precede the embedded V2-clause, cf. (41), (42) and (45)a. In other words, the complementary distribution shown in (19)-(22) does not hold here, and we therefore need two C° -positions (sometimes called CP-recursion), one for the conjunction and one for the finite verb (see e.g. Julien [2015] or Nyvad, Christensen and Vikner [2017] and references there for more detailed analyses).⁶

According to Vikner (2001b: 226), three conditions seem to be necessary for embedded V2 to be possible⁷ (whereas the non-V2-options are always possible, even when these three conditions are not observed, as shown below):

- (46) a. An embedded V2-clause requires certain matrix verbs (verbs of saying and believing).
 b. An embedded V2-clause requires the matrix verb not to be negated.
 c. An embedded V2-clause has to occur in object position.

5. Deriving V° -to- T° movement

Both V2 and VO/OV seem to "run in the family", i.e. these features are often shared by closely related languages, cf. (5) above. However, this is clearly not the case with V° -to- T° movement, cf. e.g. that Icelandic (which has V° -to- T° movement) is much more closely related to the other Scandinavian languages (almost all of which do not have V° -to- T° movement) than it is related to Yiddish or French (both of which has V° -to- T° movement).

Chomsky (1995: 222) says about the ability of constituents to move in the syntax: "*Minimalist assumptions suggest that this property should be reduced to morphology-driven movement.*" This is the objective of quite a number of accounts, including the one in Vikner (1997, 1999), where finite verb movement is linked to verbal inflectional morphology in the following way:

⁶ The idea is thus that (41), (42) and (45)a must have two CPs where the standard cases as discussed in section 3 above only need one CP. Walkden (2017) suggests a different way of having two CPs instead of one. Taking his point of departure in cartographic analyses of the left edge of the clause, in particular Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007), he suggests that one-CP analysis of the standard cases should be seen as a syncretion of the six (or more) projections in the left periphery (viz. ForceP, ShiftP, ContrP, FocP, FamP and FinP) into one single CP. Based on data with not one but two phrases preceding the finite verb from modern urban vernacular Danish, German, Norwegian and Swedish, (as also discussed in section 3.1 of chapter 32 below), Walkden (2017) goes on to suggest these are cases with a different structure, where the first four projections (ForceP, ShiftP, ContrP and FocP) are syncretised into one CP-like projection, and the last two (FamP and FinP) are syncretised into a different CP-like projection. Thus clear predictions are made as to which types of phrases can be in either the first or the second pre-verbal position in these modern urban vernaculars.

⁷ Even though the following three contexts do not involve two CPs, the conditions in (46) also seem to hold for

- (i) a. embedded V2 in German
 b. embedded non-V2-topicalisation in English, and
 c. optional *that/at* as subordinating conjunction in English and Danish.

- (47) An SVO-language has V°-to-T° movement if and only if person morphology is found in all tenses. (Vikner 1997: 207, (23))

There are many alternatives to this particular implementation of a link between V°-to-T° movement and a rich verbal inflectional system, e.g. Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998), Rohrbacher (1999), Thráinsson (2009), Biberauer and Roberts (2010), Koenenman and Zeijlstra (2014). These suggestions (since Bobaljik [2003] commonly subsumed under the label RAH, i.e. Rich Agreement Hypotheses) are all based on the fact that all the Germanic VO-languages without V°-to-T° movement (i.e. Danish, English, Faroese, Hallingdalen, Norwegian, and Swedish) have a much poorer verbal inflectional system than the Germanic (and Romance) languages that have V°-to-T° movement, e.g. Icelandic and Yiddish (and French).

Furthermore, these six languages also have in common both that they have a relatively poor verbal inflectional system, which was much richer not that long ago, and that they used to have V°-to-T° movement which they only lost relatively recently. In most of them, this change took place between 1450 and 1700, whereas in Faroese, it is much more recent (see Heycock et al. 2012).

The suggested link between V°-to-T° movement and a rich verbal inflectional system has also received a large amount of criticism, e.g. Sprouse (1998), Alexiadou and Fanselow (2002), Bobaljik (2003), Bentzen, Hrafnbjargarson, Hróarsdóttir and Wiklund (2007), Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2010), Holmberg (2010), Angantýsson (2011), Heycock and Wallenberg (2013), Harbour (2016), Heycock and Sundquist (2017).

Some of these criticisms interestingly suggest alternative derivations which then lead to sets of predictions different from the predictions derived by the RAH, even if they frequently end up including revised versions of the RAH. An example of this is Heycock and Wallenberg (2013), which suggests a link with the availability of embedded V2, and given that embedded V2 is and was possible in all Scandinavian languages including Icelandic, which has not lost V°-to-T° movement, Heycock and Wallenberg (2013: 151-154) have to include a version of the RAH in their analysis.

Other criticisms do not link the difference to any other properties of the languages in question, and so no new predictions can be derived. This is of course not a completely unknown situation, in fact, it is rather like the situation concerning V2, where it is difficult to see which properties of Danish and English could be directly linked to the former, but not the latter, being V2. Given that there are a great many accounts available as to which properties of Icelandic and Danish could be directly linked to the former, but not the latter, still having V°-to-T° movement, such accounts still merit serious consideration.

6. V°-to-T° movement and the OV-languages

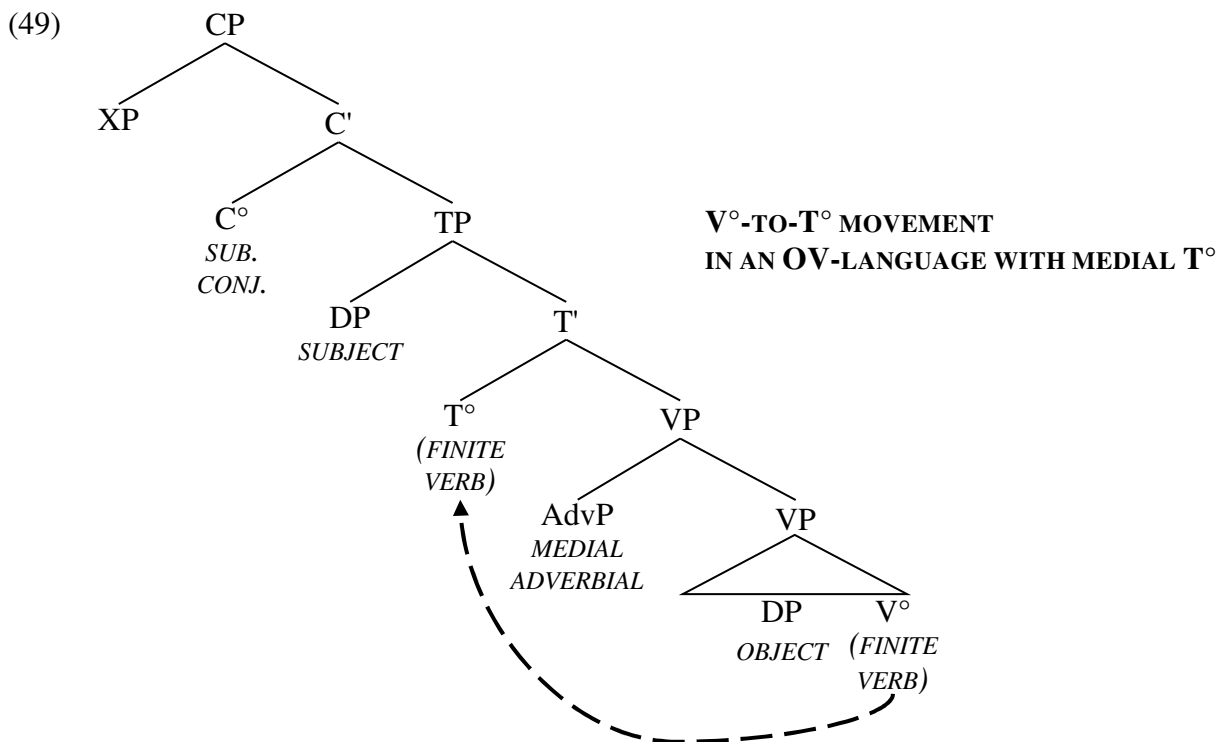
So far all Germanic OV-languages except Yiddish have been left out of the discussion of V°-to-T° movement. Some formulations of the Rich Agreement Hypothesis, including (47), explicitly only cover the VO-languages, whereas other formulations, e.g. the one in Koenenman and Zeijlstra (2014), apply to VO- and OV-languages alike.

If any of the above mentioned versions of the Rich Agreement Hypothesis, including (47), would apply to the nine Germanic OV-languages/dialects in (48) below, then we would expect only Dutch and Afrikaans not to have V°-to-T° movement, whereas West Flemish, Frisian, German, Swabian German from Stuttgart, and the Swiss German variants from Sankt Gallen, Zürich, and Bern should all have V°-to-T° movement. However, in all of these languages, the finite verb does not precede the sentential adverb in those embedded clauses where main clause word order is not possible. In fact, the finite verb does not even precede its own object in any of these cases:

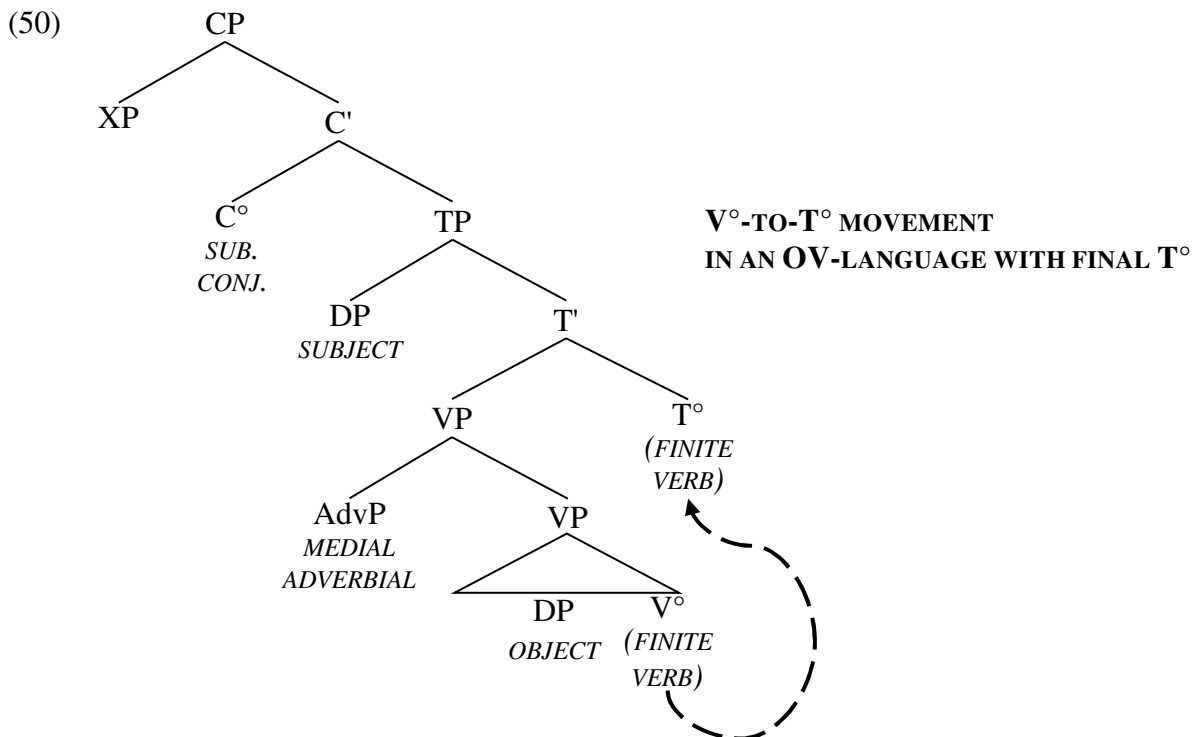
- | | | | Adv | Object | Verb | |
|---------|-----|-----|-------|--------|---------|--|
| (48) a. | Du. | Dat | Johan | vaak | tomaten | <u>eet</u> (verrast de meeste mensen.) |

b. Af.	Dat	Johan	gereeld	tamaties	<u>eet</u>	(verras die meeste mense.)
c. WF.	Da	Johan	dikkerst	tematen	<u>eet</u>	(verwondert de meeste mensen.)
d. Fs.	Dat	Johan	faak	tomaten	<u>yt</u>	(die de measte minsken nij.)
e. Ge.	Dass	Johann	oft	Tomaten	<u>isst</u>	(überrascht die meisten Leute.)
f. St.	Dass	dr Johann	oft	Tomada	<u>isst</u>	(ieberrascht der maschde Leid.)
g. SG.	Dass	de Johann	öpedie	Tomaate	<u>äst</u>	(überascht di meischte Lüt.)
h. Zü.	Dass	de Johann	hüüfig	Tomaten	<u>isst</u>	(überrascht di mäischte Lüüt.)
i. Be.	Dass	dr Johann	hüüfig	Tomaten	<u>isst</u>	(überrascht di meischte Lüt.)
	<i>That</i>	<i>John</i>	<i>often</i>	<i>tomatoes</i>	<i>eats</i>	<i>(surprises most people)</i>

Assuming that all of these languages are OV (see also chapter 16 above), there are still two open questions namely whether T° precedes VP, as in (49), or follows it⁸, as in (50), and whether there is V° -to- T° movement, as in (49)/(50) with the arrows, or not, as in (49)/(50) without the arrows:



⁸ As opposed to what has been assumed so far, this part of the discussion introduces a further complication, namely that OV-languages may not only be V° -final but also T° -final.



Let us go through the different options, referring to the German versions of (33)/(34)/(48):

- (51) Ge. a. *Dass Johann isst oft Tomaten (überrascht die meisten Leute.)
 b. *Dass Johann oft isst Tomaten (überrascht die meisten Leute.)
 c. Dass Johann oft Tomaten isst (überrascht die meisten Leute.)
That John (eats) often (eats) tomatoes (eats) (surprises most people)

As this is a context where embedded V2 is excluded, (51)a would have to have the structure in (49) with the arrow. The ill-formedness of (51)a could then be due to T° being final in German and/or to German not having V°-to-T° movement. (The corresponding example in Yiddish, (33)e, is grammatical.⁹)

The ill-formedness of (51)b must be caused by German being an OV- rather than a VO-language, i.e. the order inside the German VP is DP-V° (and not V°-DP as in English or in the Scandinavian languages).

As for the well-formedness of (51)c, it may either be the result of V°-to-T° movement provided T° is final, as in (50) with the arrow, or it may be the result of the lack of V°-to-T° movement, in which case we don't know whether T° is medial or final, i.e. the structure could be either of (49) and (50) but crucially without the arrows.

Many analyses have taken German - and by extension many of the other examples in (48) - to have V°-to-T° movement to a final T°, e.g. den Besten (1986: 247), Grewendorf (1990: 87), Webelhuth (1992: 73), Vikner (1995: 153). However, there is a growing number of arguments against

⁹ The view that Yiddish has V°-to-T° movement, as shown by (33)e, taken together with the analysis of verb-final embedded clauses in German etc. as not having V°-to-T° movement at all – as discussed in connection with (52)-(54) below - leads to the following reinterpretation: Where Santorini (1992, 1993) and Wallenberg (2012, 2013) suggest that between 1400 and 1800, Yiddish changed from having V°-to-T° movement to a final T° to having V°-to-T° movement to a medial T°, I would like to suggest that Yiddish instead changed from not having V°-to-T° movement at all to having V°-to-T° movement to a medial T°.

this and in favour of not having V° -to- T° movement at all, cf. also e.g. Haider (1997a,b, 2010, 2013, 2015), of which I will only mention two.¹⁰

As discussed in e.g. Vikner (2005), a number of complex verbs in German and Dutch have a peculiar distribution. They occur as non-finite verbs in both main and embedded clauses, (52)a,b, but as finite verbs, they only occur in embedded clauses, (52)c, and not in main clauses, (52)d,e:

- (52) Ge. a. Sie will bausparen.
 She wants (to) building-save
 ('She wants to save money with a building society')
- b. ... weil sie bausparen will.
 ... *because she building-save wants*
 ('... because she wants to save money with a building society')
- c. ... weil sie bauspart.
 ... *because she building-saves*
 ('... because she saves money with a building society')
- ((52)a,c adapted from Eisenberg 1998: 226, 324, (16a))
- d. * Erst jetzt spart sie bau.
 e. * Erst jetzt bauspart sie.
 Only now (building-)saves she (building)
 (Intended: 'Only now does she save money with a building society.')

These data support the view that clause-final finite verbs do not undergo V° -to- T° movement. What (52)a-c have in common is that the verbs here are all in V° , i.e. these verbs are unable to leave V° . Vikner (2005) suggests that the reason could be that they then would have to be treated either as separable or as non-separable verbs, and the special property of these verbs is that they have to fulfill the conditions on verbs of both types.

The second argument for the view that in most OV-languages, clause-final finite verbs do not undergo V°-to-T° movement concerns the high amount of variation in the sequence of verbs found in embedded clauses like

- (53) a. Du. ... dat hij haar hoort roepen.
 b. Ge. ... dass er sie rufen hört.
 ... *that he her (shout) hears (shout)*

both across the nine different Germanic OV-languages/dialects already discussed in (48) above and across six different constructions (perfect, passive, durative, causative, perception verbs, and modal verbs), as discussed in Vikner (2001b: 66-99) (see also chapter 18 below on infinitival structures).

This variation in embedded clauses where one of the two verbs is finite, as in (53)a,b, is almost identical to the variation in the sequence of the verbs in main clauses where none of the two verbs in question are finite, (54)a,b:

- (54) a. Du. Hij zal haar horen roepen.
 b. Ge. Er wird sie rufen hören.
He will her (shout) hear (shout)

¹⁰ There is yet another logical possibility, namely V°-to-T° movement to a medial T°, followed by movement of the remnant VP to a position further left than T°, cf. Haegeman (2001) and references there. Such an analysis would however not seem to be compatible with data of the types discussed in (52)-(54) below.

In other words, it makes no significant difference whether the higher of the two verbs concerned is finite, as *hoort/hört* in (53)a,b, or non-finite, as *horen/hören* in (54)a,b, which again would seem to indicate that in embedded clauses in the nine OV-Germanic languages in (48), there is no obligatory movement that involves only finite verbs. Again the conclusion is that there is no V° -to- T° movement in the nine Germanic OV-languages in (48).¹¹

Consider first the consequences for the derivation of V° -to- T° movement by means of the Rich Agreement Hypothesis. The data above present us with the following problem:

If the RAH is valid for both VO- and OV-languages in Germanic, then seven of the nine Germanic OV-languages in (48), including German, ought to have V° -to- T° movement, but the data discussed in connection with (52)-(54) speak against this.

If the RAH is valid for only for VO-languages in Germanic, then we have nothing to say about the difference between German (48)e and Yiddish (33)e, even though this difference would seem to be related to V° -to- T° movement.

Let us turn to the consequences for the clause structure in Germanic. If German and the other OV-languages in (48) lack V° -to- T° movement, then we have no evidence as to whether T° is medial or final in these languages, i.e. the structure could be either (49) or (50) but crucially without the arrows. This again makes it a distinct possibility that T° precedes VP, (49), which would have the interesting consequence that the only difference between the clause structure of Germanic OV-languages and that of Germanic VO-languages is the position of V° , compare (49) to e.g. (39).

7. Conclusion

I have proposed an analysis where Germanic clauses consist of (among other things) CPs, TPs and VPs. Within the Germanic languages, we find variation with respect to all three in relation to the position of the finite verb:

The CP is the locus of the difference between V2-languages and non-V2-languages, where in the former group, the finite verbs in all main clauses (and in some embedded ones) moves to C° .

The TP is the locus of the difference between languages with V° -to- T° movement and languages without it, where in the former group, all finite verbs in all clauses move to T° . Given that if the clause in question is V2, the verb will then move on from T° to C° , the effect of V° -to- T° movement can only be observed in clauses where V2 does not apply.

Finally, the VP is the locus of the difference between VO- and OV-languages. The VO- or OV-property holds for all verbs in a language, even if its effect can only be observed for verbs which have moved neither to C° /V2, nor to T° .

Here is the table of these three properties:

¹¹ Notice that although Koenenman and Zeijlstra (2014:604, (60)) assume ArgP to be head-final, so that Arg^o (which corresponds to T° in the present paper) occurs to the right of the VP:

(i) [ArgP [_{VP} [_{VP} *subject object* V°] v°] *affix* Arg^o].

this does not have to imply a rightwards V° -to-Arg^o movement. Koenenman and Zeijlstra (2014:604) further say that their analysis is both compatible with a rightwards V° -to-Arg^o movement and with an analysis where no such movement is necessary, as the verb is already string-adjacent to Arg^o.

(55)	Languages	finite verb in C° (V2)	finite verb in T°	VO/OV	
a.	Icelandic, Övdalian (Älvdalen)	+	+	VO	} SCANDINAVIAN (= NORTH GERMANIC)
b.	Danish, Faroese, Hallingdalen, Norwegian, Swedish	+	–	VO	
c.	Yiddish	+	+	OV	} CONTINENTAL WEST GERMANIC
d.	Afrikaans, Dutch, Frisian, German, Swabian, Swiss German, West Flemish	+	–	OV	
e.	Middle English	–	+	VO	
f.	English	–	–	VO	
g.	-	–	+	OV	
h.	-	–	–	OV	

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