

Topics in Comparative Scandinavian and Germanic Syntax

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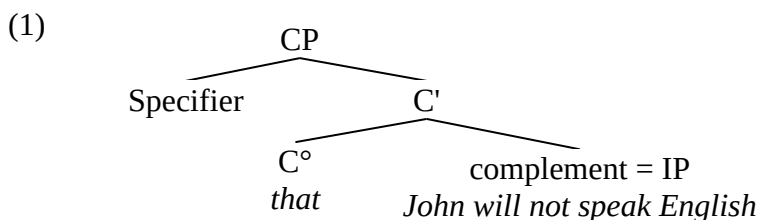
3b. CP, C°, and V2

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1. The left edge of embedded clauses

As you will recall from Haegeman & Guéron (1999, 81–97), IP is not always the highest maximal projection (XP) in the clause. Although in English, the entire clause may be an IP, it is sometimes a CP (Complementiser Phrase):



This structure thus gives us two positions at the beginning of the (embedded) clause to the left of the subject, namely **CP-Spec** and **C°**.

Although these two positions are never filled at the same time in embedded clauses in standard English, standard Danish or standard German, it would seem that they may actually be simultaneously filled in other Germanic and Romance varieties, e.g. Middle English (ME.), Middle Danish (MD.), colloquial Danish (Da.), Bavarian German (Ba.), Bern Swiss German (SG.), Flemish (Fl.), West Flemish (WF.), Québec French (QF.), and Bergamasco/Bergamàsch (Be.), a northern Italian dialect from Bergamo:

		CP-Spec	C°	IP
(2)	ME	Only the sight of hire <i>Only the sight of her</i>	whom <i>who</i>	that <i>that</i> I serve.
(3)	ME	I thanke yowe for þe lettire <i>I thank you for the letter</i>	which <i>which</i>	that <i>that</i> ye sende me be John Bekurton. <i>you sent me by John Beckerton</i>
(4)	MD	I [...] vide aldrig <i>You know never</i>	naar <i>when</i>	at <i>that</i> fremmede fiender offuerfalde oß. <i>foreign enemies attack us</i>
(5)	Da.	Han turde ikke sige <i>He dared not say</i>	hvorfor <i>why</i>	at <i>that</i> han selv havde været på politistationen. <i>he self had been on police-station-the</i>
(6)	Ba.	I woäß ned <i>I know not</i>	wann <i>when</i>	daß <i>that</i> da Xavea kummt. <i>the Xaver comes</i>
(7)	SG.	I ha ne gfragt <i>I have him asked</i>	wo <i>where</i>	dass <i>that</i> er wohnt. <i>he lives</i>
(8)	Fl.	Ik weet niet <i>I know not</i>	wie <i>who</i>	dat <i>that</i> Jan gezien heeft. <i>Jan seen has</i>
(9)	WF	Kweten niet <i>I-know not</i>	wannière <i>when</i>	da <i>that</i> Valère goa werekommen. <i>Valère will again-come</i>
(10)	QF	Je me demande <i>I me ask</i>	quoi <i>what</i>	que <i>that</i> tu fais. <i>you do</i>
(11)	Be.	Ga dumande <i>(I) him ask</i>	cusé <i>what</i>	che <i>that</i> 'l fa. <i>he does</i>

(2) = 1387, Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Knight's Tale*, line 1231, Lightfoot (1979, 321, (53b))

(3) = 1477, Margery Paston, *Letter to John Paston III, Feb. 1477*, Davis (1971, 663)

(4) = 1543, Peder Palladius, *En Visitatz Bog*, Jacobsen (1925, 124), Mikkelsen (1911, 504)

(5) = 1990, (KorpusDK, n.d.)

(6) = Bayer (1984, 24, (3a))

(7) = Penner & Bader (1995, 128, (13a))

(8) = Haegeman (1994, 382, (16b))

(9) = Haegeman (1992, 57, (33a))

(10) = Koopman (1983, 389)

(11) = Federica Venier, p.c.

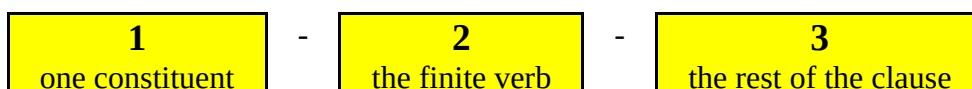
2. Verb second (V2)

2.1 V2 in main clauses in general

In all Germanic languages including Old English (OE.) but with the single exception of Modern English, there are clear indications that **all** main clauses are CPs.

The reason is that in main clauses, both the finite verb and a maximal projection may precede the subject. This is called "**verb second**" (V2), because the finite verb always occupies the second position in the clause (CP-Spec = 1st position and C° = 2nd position):

(12) Verb second = V2



In order to find out whether a language is V2, we obviously have to examine main clauses, but not subject-initial ones, because here even English and French might appear to be V2:

- (13) 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.
 f. Fr. Il a probablement lu ce livre.

This is an illusion, however. Only in (13)a,b,c,d does the subject occupy CP-Spec and the finite verb C°, whereas in (13)e,f the subject occupies IP-Spec and the finite verb I°.

We also cannot rely on *wh*-initial-clauses (clauses that begin with a question element) when you test for V2, because even English and French have V2 in main clause questions, as seen in (14) below.

We need to consider non-subject-initial and non-*wh*-initial clauses. Here it is clear that only the Germanic languages (with the exception of modern English) are "real" V2 languages, see (15), (16) below (French *il* = 'he'):

- (14) 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?
 f. Fr. Quel livre a-t- il lu?

- (15) 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.
 f. Fr. * Ce livre a-t- il lu.

- (16) 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.
 f. Fr. * Maintenant a-t- il lu ce livre,

Rizzi (1996, 64) refers to modern English and modern French as languages with "residual V2", because "real" V2 was fairly widespread in Old English, (17)a & (18)a, and Old French, (19), less so in Middle English, (20), and Middle French, (21), and it is quite limited in modern English and modern French (where it mainly occurs in main clause questions like (14)). For more detail on the loss of V2 in English, see Fischer et al. (2000, 104–37).

		CP-Spec	C°	IP	
(17) a.	OE	Hine	<u>bebyrigde</u>	se biscop of Ceastre.	
b.	En. *	This man	<u>buried</u>	the bishop of Chester .	(if <i>bishop</i> = AGENT and <i>man</i> = THEME)
c.	En.	This man		the bishop of Chester <u>buried</u> .	
d.	Ge.	Ihn	<u>beerdigte</u>	der Bischof von Chester.	
e.	Ge. *	Ihn		der Bischof von Chester <u>beerdigte</u> .	
f.	Da.	Ham	<u>begravede</u>	biskoppen af Chester.	
g.	Da. *	Ham		biskoppen af Chester <u>begravede</u> .	
j.	Ic.	Hana	<u>jarðaði</u>	biskupinn yfir Chester.	
i.	Ic. *	Hana		biskupinn yfir Chester <u>jarðaði</u> .	
(18) a.	OE	Æfter him	<u>com</u>	se abbot of Clunni.	
b.	En. *	After him	<u>came</u>	the abbot of Cluny.	
c.	En.	After him		the abbot of Cluny <u>came</u> .	
d.	Ge.	Nach ihm	<u>kam</u>	der Abt von Cluny.	
e.	Ge. *	Nach ihm		der Abt von Cluny <u>kam</u> .	
f.	Da.	Efter ham	<u>kom</u>	abbeden af Cluny.	
g.	Da. *	Efter ham		abbeden af Cluny <u>kom</u> .	
j.	Ic.	Eftir hann	<u>kom</u>	ábótinn í Cluny.	
i.	Ic. *	Eftir hann		ábótinn í Cluny <u>kom</u> .	
(19)	OF.	Par ces trois <i>By these three</i>	<u>sera</u> <i>will-be</i>	la Queste achevee. <i>the quest accomplished</i>	
(20)	ME.	Thanne <i>Then</i>	<u>hath</u> <i>has</i>	Ianuaire xxxi daies, Februaire 28, ... <i>January 31 days, February 28, ...</i>	
(21)	MF.	Si <i>Thus</i>	<u>suis</u> <i>am</i>	je aussi bien armé ... <i>I as well armed ...</i>	

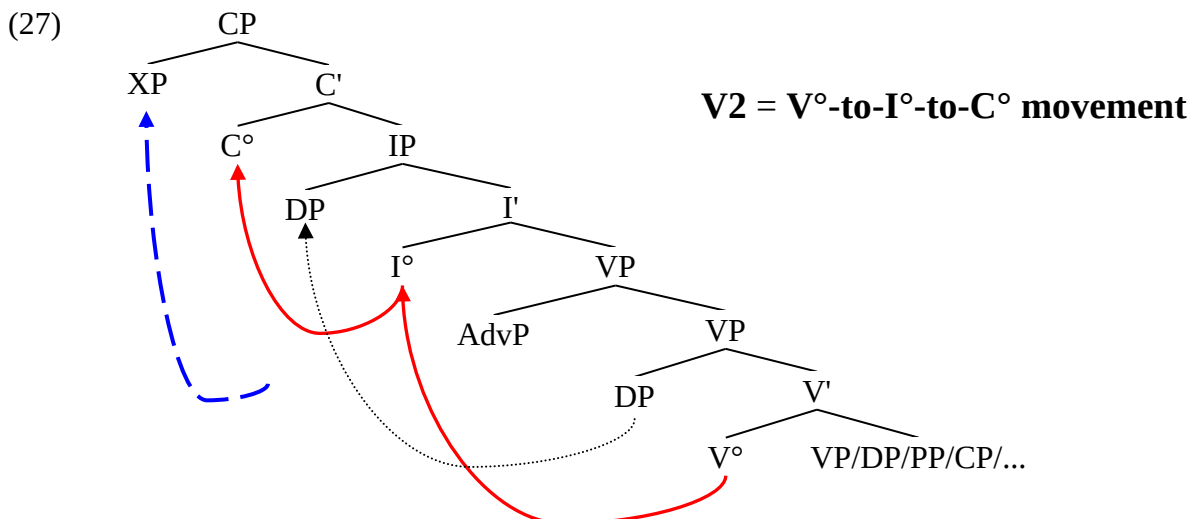
- (17)a = ca. 1140, *the Peterborough Chronicles*, Shores (1971, 91)
 (18)a = ca. 1140, *the Peterborough Chronicles*, Shores (1971, 118)
 (19) = ca. 1225, *La Queste del Saint Graal*, Vance (1997, 44, (11a))
 (20) = 1391, Geoffrey Chaucer, *A Treatise on the Astrolabe*, Skeat (1872, 6)
 (21) = ca. 1456, *Jehan de Saintré*, Vance (1997, 267, (22b))

(Note that *this man* in (17)c and *after him* in (18)c are not actually in CP-spec, but adjoined to IP.)

The analysis is that the finite verb in V2 main clauses occupies the same position that the complementiser (e.g. *that*, *if*, *because*) occupies in an embedded clause, namely C° (Haegeman and Guéron 1999, 98; Vikner 1995, 2020; but for a less simplified analysis, see Holmberg 2015, 2020):

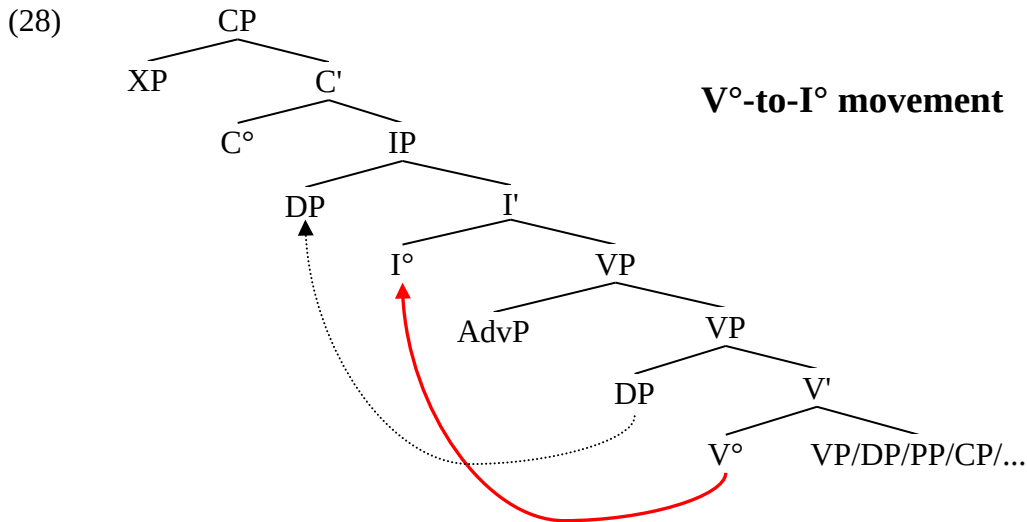
		CP-Spec	C°	IP
(22)	En.	a. ...	<u>that</u>	the children have seen this film.
		b. Only this film	<u>have</u>	the children ____ seen ____.
(23)	Da.	a. ...	<u>at</u>	børnene har set den her film.
		b. Denne film	<u>har</u>	børnene __ set ____.
(24)	Ic.	a. ...	<u>að</u>	börnin hafa séð þessa mynd.
		b. Þessa mynd	<u>hafa</u>	börnin __ séð ____.
(25)	Ge.	a. ...	<u>dass</u>	die Kinder diesen Film gesehen haben.
		b. Diesen Film	<u>haben</u>	die Kinder ____ gesehen ____.
(26)	Af.	a. ...	<u>dat</u>	die kinders hierdie film gesien het.
		b. Hierdie film	<u>het</u>	die kinders ____ gesien ____.

Here is the structural analysis for V2:



If there is no V2 in a given clause, then there are two possibilities (see also CoSy-05-06):

- Either there is V°-to-I° movement,
- or there is no verb movement at all.



A further indication that the finite verb in main clauses occupies the same position as the complementiser does in embedded clauses 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:

			C°					
(29)	En.	a.	<u>If</u>	I	had	had	more time,	...
	Da.	b.	<u>Hvis</u>	jeg	havde	haft	mere tid,	...
	Ic.	c.	<u>Ef</u>	ég	hefði	haft	meiri tíma,	...
	Ge.	d.	<u>Wenn</u>	ich		mehr Zeit	gehabt hätte,	...
	Af.	e.	<u>As</u>	ek		meer tyd	gehad het,	...
(30)	En.	a.	<u>Had</u>	I	_____	had	more time,	...
	Da.	b.	<u>Havde</u>	jeg	_____	haft	mere tid,	...
	Ic.	c.	<u>Hefði</u>	ég	_____	haft	meiri tíma,	...
	Ge.	d.	<u>Hätte</u>	ich		mehr Zeit	gehabt _____,	...
	Af.	e.	<u>Het</u>	ek		meer tyd	gehad _____,	...
(31)	En.	a.	* <u>Had if</u>	I	_____	had	more time,	...
	Da.	b.	* <u>Havde hvis</u>	jeg	_____	haft	mere tid,	...
	Ic.	c.	* <u>Hefði ef</u>	ég	_____	haft	meiri tíma,	...
	Ge.	d.	* <u>Hätte wenn</u>	ich		mehr Zeit	gehabt _____,	...
	Af.	e.	* <u>Het as</u>	ek		meer tyd	gehad _____,	...
(32)	En.	a.	* <u>If had</u>	I	_____	had	more time,	...
	Da.	b.	* <u>Hvis havde</u>	jeg	_____	haft	mere tid,	...
	Ic.	c.	* <u>Ef hefði</u>	ég	_____	haft	meiri tíma,	...
	Ge.	d.	* <u>Wenn hätte</u>	ich		mehr Zeit	gehabt _____,	...
	Af.	e.	* <u>As het</u>	ek		meer tyd	gehad _____,	...

En.	...	I	would	have	made	an	even	longer	hand-out.
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	uitdeeltuk gemaak het.

- (33) Da. Hun så på ham, ...
She looked at him, ...

		C°					
a.	... som	<u>om</u>	han	havde	begået	en stor	forbrydelse.
b.	... som	<u>havde</u>	han	_____	begået	en stor	forbrydelse.
c.	* ... som	<u>om</u> <u>havde</u>	han	_____	begået	en stor	forbrydelse.
d.	* ... som	<u>havde om</u>	han	_____	begået	en stor	forbrydelse.
	... as	(if)/(had)	he	(had)	committed	a major	crime

- (34) Ge. Sie schaute ihn an, ...
She looked him at, ...

		C°					
a.	... als	<u>ob</u>	er	ein großes	Verbrechen	begangen	hätte.
b.	... als	<u>hätte</u>	er	ein großes	Verbrechen	begangen	_____.
c.	* ... als	<u>ob</u> <u>hätte</u>	er	ein großes	Verbrechen	begangen	_____.
d.	* ... als	<u>hätte ob</u>	er	ein großes	Verbrechen	begangen	_____.
	... as	(if)/(had)	he	a	major crime	committed	(had)

To see in more detail how V2 works, consider the following examples from three V2-languages, Danish, German and Afrikaans (this is parallel to (49)-(52) on p. 16 of CoSy-05-06):

	CP-spec	C°	IP-spec	AdvP	V°	V°	DP
(35) 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.
	Therefore (ought) (eat) I unfortunately (ought) (eat) less chocolate						

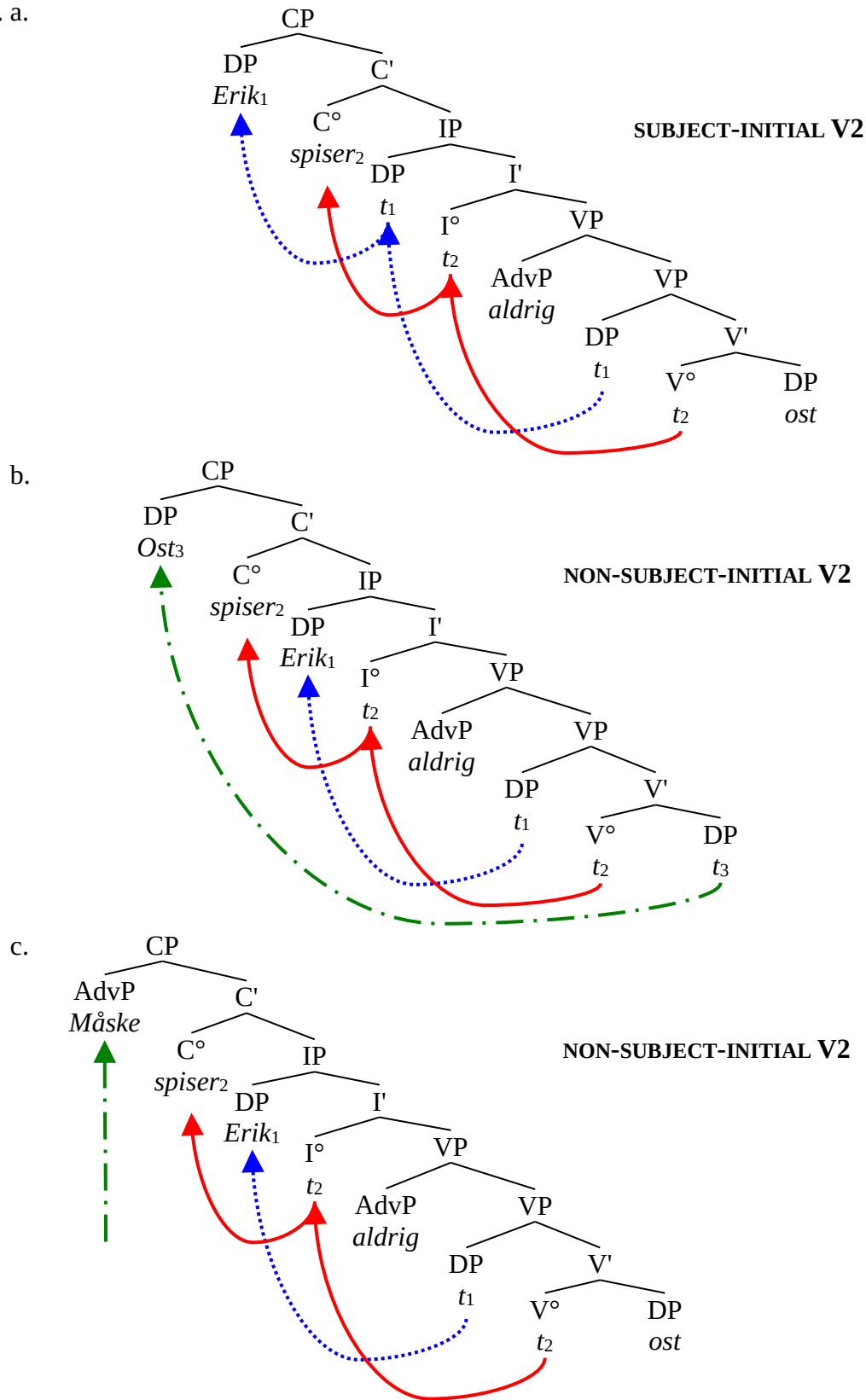
	CP-spec	C°	IP-spec	AdvP	DP	V°	V°
(36) Ge. a.	* Deshalb		ich	leider	weniger Schokolade	essen	sollte.
b.	Deshalb	sollte	ich	leider	weniger Schokolade	essen.	
c.	* Deshalb	sollte	essen ich	leider	weniger Schokolade.		
d.	* Deshalb		essen ich	leider	weniger Schokolade		sollte.
	Therefore (should) (eat) I unfortunately less chocolate (eat) (should)						

	CP-spec	C°	IP-spec	AdvP	DP	V°	V°
(37) Af. a.	* Daarom		ek	ongelukkig	minder sjokolade	eet	moet.
b.	Daarom	moet	ek	ongelukkig	minder sjokolade	eet.	
c.	* Daarom	moet	eet ek	ongelukkig	minder sjokolade.		
d.	* Daarom		eet ek	ongelukkig	minder sjokolade		moet.
	Therefore (should) (eat) I unfortunately less chocolate (eat) (should)						

- (35)a,b, (36)a,b and (37)a,b (again) show that Danish, German and Afrikaans are V2-languages, which is why the finite verb cannot occur to the right of the subject.
- (35)c, (36)c, and (37)c show that only one verb may undergo V2.
- (35)d, (36)d, and (37)d show that only a finite verb (like *burde/sollte/moet*) may undergo V2 (and not e.g. the infinitive *spise/essen/eet* 'eat').

Finally, here is how V2 works in three Danish main clauses:

(38) Da. a.



- a. = Erik eats never cheese
 b. = Cheese eats Erik never
 c. = Maybe eats Erik never cheese

2.2 V2 in English main clauses

As some of the examples above show, English has to have V2 in main clause questions, even though it is the only Germanic language not to have V2 in all main clauses:

		CP-Spec	C°	
(39)	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 ____?
	f.	Af.	Watter boek	<u>het</u> Pieter ____ ____ gelees ____?
(40)	a.	En.	Why	<u>has</u> Peter ____ read this book?
	b.	En. *	Why	Peter <u>has</u> read this book?
	c.	Da.	Hvorfor	<u>har</u> Peter ____ læst den her bog?
	d.	Ic.	Af hverju	<u>hefur</u> Pétur ____ lesið þessa bók?
	e.	Ge.	Warum	<u>hat</u> Peter ____ dieses Buch gelesen ____?
	f.	Af.	Waarom	<u>het</u> Pieter ____ hierdie boek gelees ____?

English also has to have V2 with topicalised negative elements:

		CP-Spec	C°	
(41)	a.	En.	Never	<u>have</u> the children ____ seen such a bad film.
	b.	En. *	Never	the children <u>have</u> seen such a bad film.
	c.	Da.	Aldrig	<u>har</u> børnene ____ set sådan en dårlig film.
	d.	Ic.	Aldrei	<u>hafa</u> börnin ____ séð svona slæma mynd.
	e.	Ge.	Nie	<u>haben</u> die Kinder ____ so einen schlechten Film gesehen _.
	f.	Af.	Nooit	<u>het</u> die kinders ____ so 'n slechte film gesien _ nie.

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

Two things indicate that *only*-expressions like *only in America* are negative:

I. The interpretation of *only in America* is "nowhere except in America", cf. also how this is expressed in e.g. French by means of a negative particle and *but*:

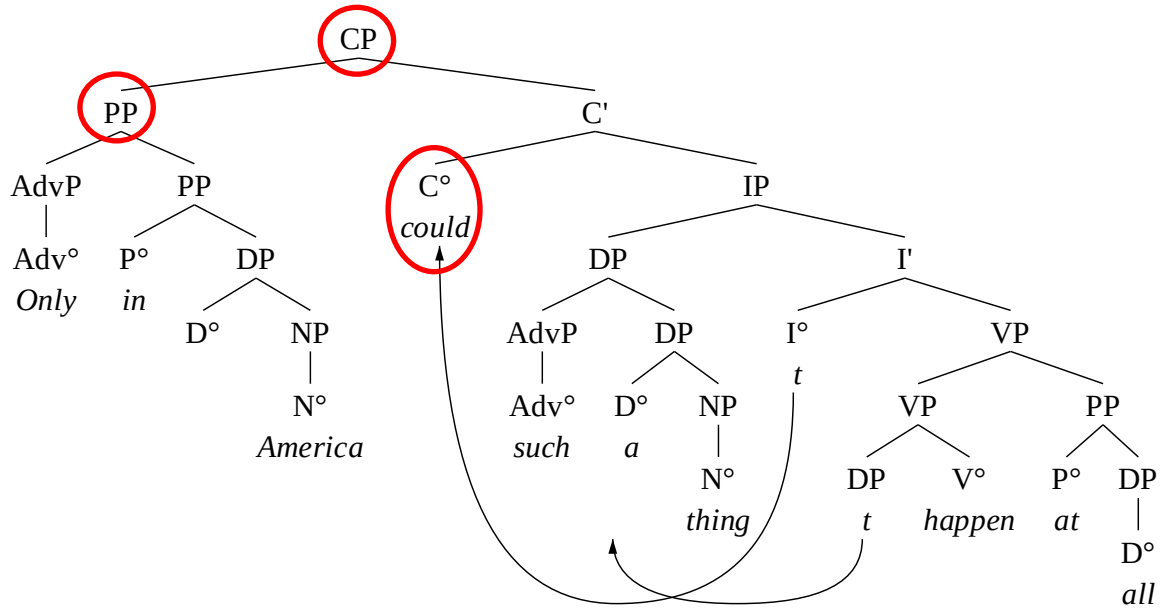
(43)	Fr.	Des histoires comme la mienne <u>n'</u> arrivent qu' en Amérique.
		<i>Stories like the mine not happen but in America</i>

II. Like negative expressions, expressions like *only in America* may trigger so-called "negative polarity items" like *anybody*, *ever*, *at all*, ..., (cf. exercise 5 from CoSy-03-04):

(44)	En.	a.	Only in America	<u>could</u>	such a thing	____	happen	at all.
		b.	* In America		such a thing	could	happen	at all.
		c.	In America		such a thing	could not	happen	at all.

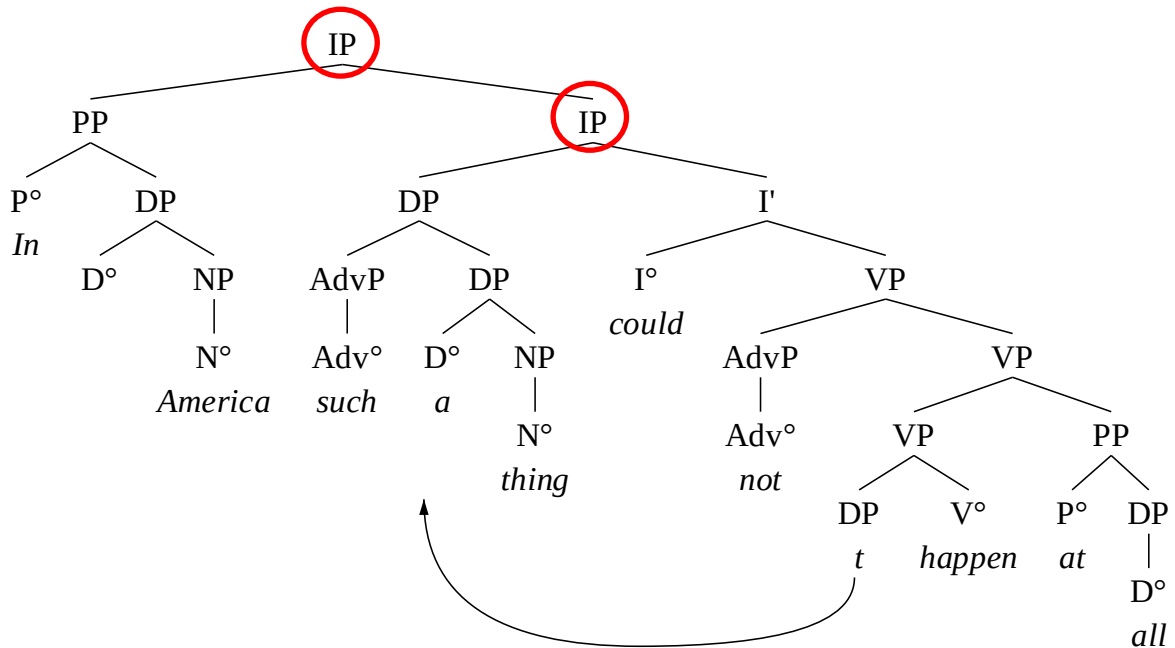
Here is the structure of (44)a, with V2 because of the topicalised negative element *only in America*, cf. (42):

(45)



Here is the structure of (44)c, where there is no V2 because there is no topicalised negative element. Instead, the topic is adjoined to IP:

(46)



Ignore this:

[CP [PP [AdvP [Adv° Only]]][PP [P° in] [DP [D°]][NP [N° America]]]][C' [C°_i could][IP [DP_j [AdvP [Adv° such]]][DP [D° a][NP [N° thing]]]][I' [I° t<i>]][VP [VP [DP t<j>]] [V° happen]]][PP [P° at] [DP [D° all]]]]]]]

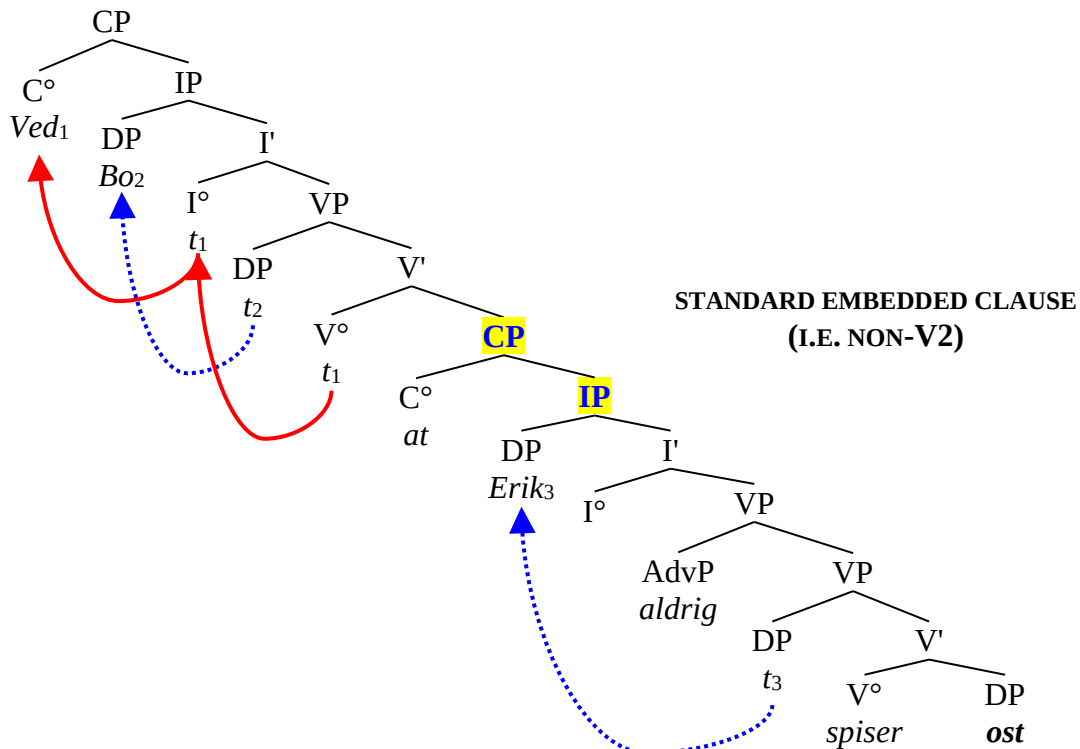
[IP [PP [P° In] [DP [D°]][NP [N° America]]]][IP [DP_j [AdvP [Adv° such]]][DP [D° a][NP [N° thing]]]][I' [I° could][VP [AdvP [Adv° not]]][VP [VP [DP t<j>]] [V° happen]]][PP [P° at] [DP [D° all]]]]]]]

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2.3 V2 in embedded clauses

The standard form of an embedded clause is an IP inside a CP:

(47) Da.



Knows Bo that Erik never eats cheese?

However, sometimes it is also possible to have what has been called "embedded main clauses". (Can you see why this label is a contradiction?)

These are **embedded** clauses with main clause word order, i.e. with **V2**.

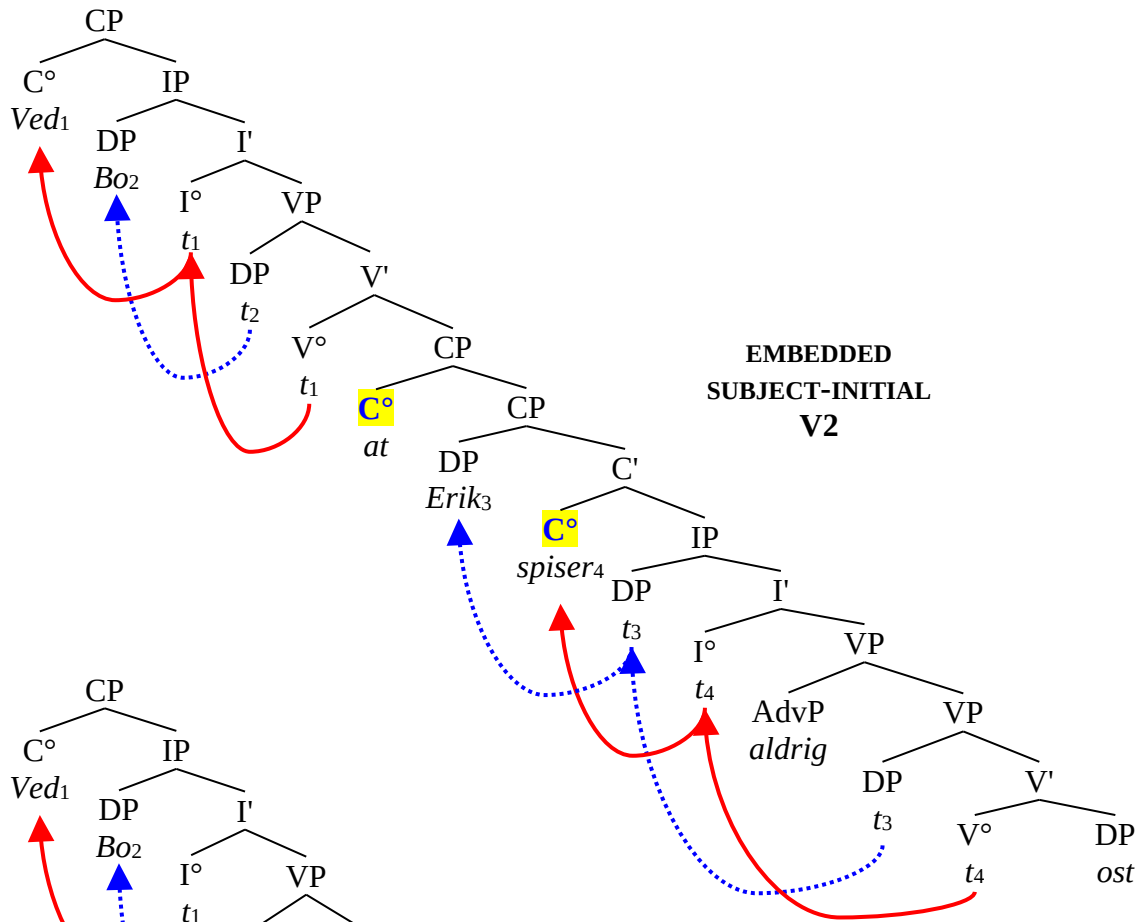
- In Vikner (1995, 80–87), I analyse such clauses as cases of a CP inside another CP, as is also done in this hand-out.
 - In Nyvad et al. (2017) and in Vikner et al. (2017), we suggest a cP/CP-analysis. In (48)a,b, *at* would be in c°, whereas *spiser* would be in C°.
- (Our cP/CP-analysis is very much inspired by the vP/VP-analysis, which was discussed on pp. 6-7 of CoSy-03-04).

(48)a is an embedded **subject-initial** V2 clause, whereas (48)b is an embedded **non-subject-initial** V2 clause, cf. (38)a,b above.

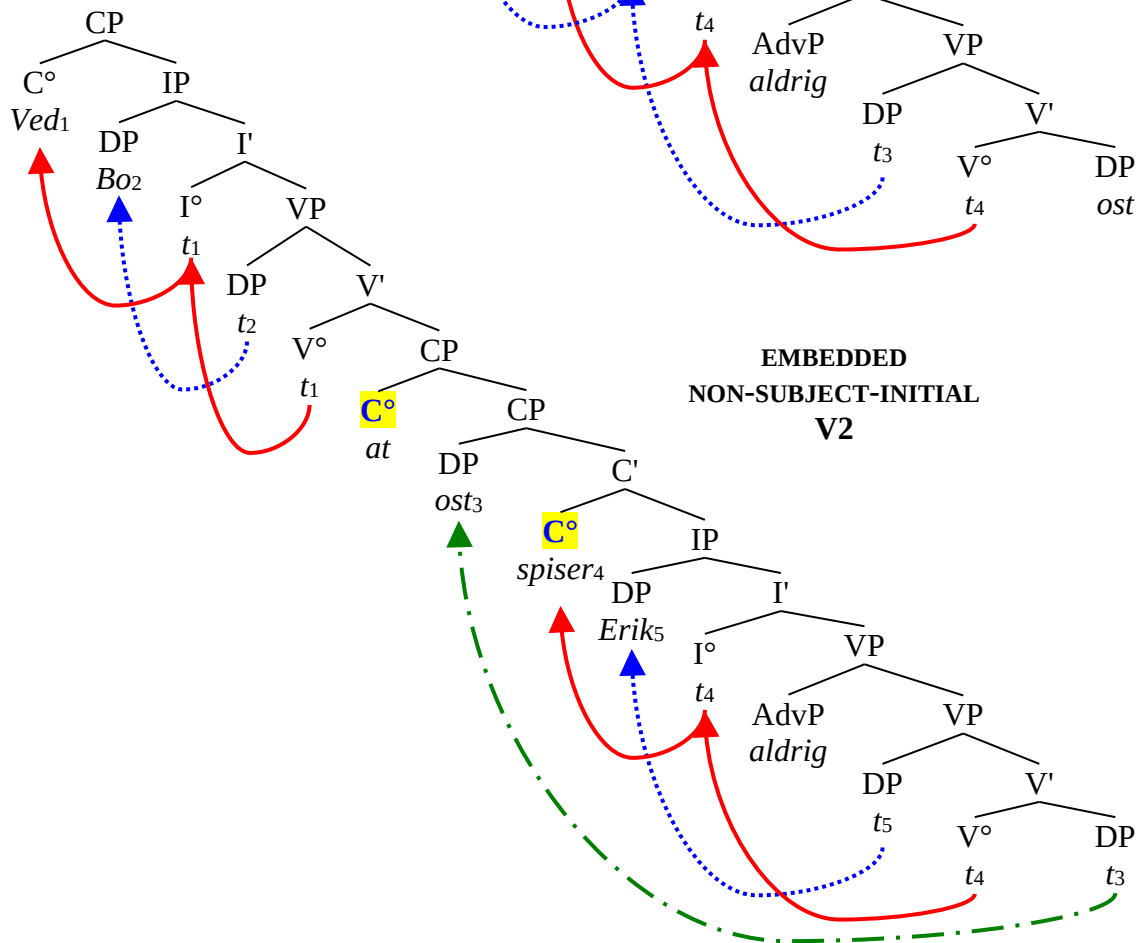
That (48)a is embedded V2 rather than e.g. V°-to-I°-movement can be seen from the fact that exactly those contexts that allow (48)a also allow (48)b (and vice versa). This is explained if (48)a and (48)b are the same phenomenon: embedded V2.

(48) Da.

a.



b.



- a. Knows Bo that Erik eats never cheese?
 b. Knows Bo that cheese eats Erik never?

Embedded V2 is realised in different ways in Danish, English and German.

Embedded V2 in English is only possible with a negative element in CP-spec (cf. § 2.2), whereas in Danish and German, there is no such restriction.

(49) En. I think ...

	C°		C°			
a.	...		(that)	Max would never read papers on the train.	-V2	
b.	* ...	that papers	would	Max _____ never read on the train.	V2	
c.	* ...		would	Max _____ never read on the train.	V2	
d.	...	that under no circumstances	would	Max _____ ever read papers on the train.	V2	
e.	* ...		would	Max _____ ever read papers on the train.	V2	

In English and Danish, the complementiser *that/at*, which is optional in normal embedded clauses, is **obligatory** with embedded V2 (for a different view, see Jensen and Christensen 2013).

		C°		C°		
(50) Da.	a.	Jeg tror <i>I think</i>		(at) (that)	Max aldrig læser aviser i toget. <i>Max never reads papers in train-the</i>	-V2
	b.	Jeg tror	at i toget	læser	Max aldrig _____ aviser.	V2
	c.	* Jeg tror <i>I think</i>	(that) i toget <i>in train-the</i>	læser <i>reads</i>	Max aldrig _____ aviser. <i>Max never papers</i>	V2

(51) Da. Jeg tror ...
I think ...

	C°		C°		
...	at	under ingen omstændigheder	ville	Max _____ læse aviser i toget.	V2
...	that	under no circumstances	would	Max _____ read papers in train-the	

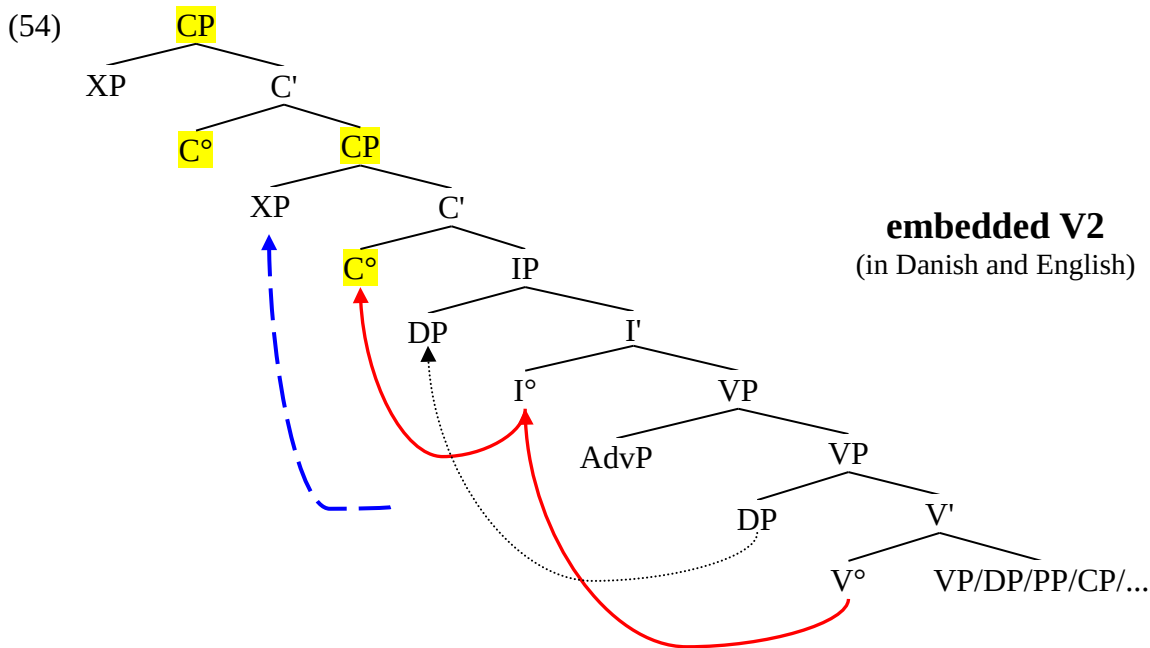
In German, the complementiser *dass* 'that', which is obligatory in normal embedded clauses, is completely **impossible** with embedded V2.

		C°		C°		
(52) Ge.	a.	Ich glaube <i>I think</i>		dass <i>that</i>	Max nie im Zug Zeitungen liest. <i>Max never in-the train papers reads</i>	-V2
	b.	* Ich glaube	dass im Zug	liest	Max nie Zeitungen _____.	V2
	c.	Ich glaube <i>I think</i>	(that) im Zug <i>in-the train</i>	liest <i>reads</i>	Max nie Zeitungen _____. <i>Max never papers</i>	V2

(53) Ge. Ich glaube ...
I think ...

	C°		C°		
...		unter keinen Umständen	würde	Max im Zug Zeitungen lesen _____.	V2
...		under no circumstances	would	Max in-the train papers read	

The recursive CP-analysis in (48) is therefore only necessary for embedded V2 in English and Danish:



One major difference between main clause V2 and embedded V2 is that embedded V2 is **never obligatory**, but always **optional**.

Three conditions have to be observed for embedded V2 to be possible (Vikner 2001, 226) - whereas the non-V2 option is always possible, even when these conditions are not observed, as shown below:

- (55) 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 (Mikkelsen 1911, 586).
 c. An embedded V2 clause has to occur in object position.

(Even though the following three have no CP-recursion, the conditions in (55) also hold

- ① for embedded V2 in German,
- ② for embedded non-V2 topicalisation in English, and
- ③ for optional *at/that* in English and Danish.)

In other words, four (overlapping) contexts are relevant:

- (56) a. **Embedded clauses in the complement position of verbs of saying and meaning** (the so-called "bridge verbs"), e.g.
antydde 'hint, *angive* 'indicate', *berette* 'report', *beslutte* 'decide', *betone* 'emphasise',
erfare 'learn', *formode* 'assume', *føle* 'feel', *huske* 'remember', *håbe* 'hope', *mene* 'mean',
påstå 'claim', *se* 'see', *sige* 'say', *slå fast* 'ascertain', *svare* 'answer', *synes* 'think',
tro 'think', and *vide* 'know'.
 (list from Vikner 1995, 71)
- b. **Embedded clauses in the complement positions of other verbs**, e.g.
bede om 'ask for', *beklage* 'regret', *bekræfte* 'confirm', *bevise* 'prove', *fortryde* 'regret',
holde hemmeligt 'keep secret', *tillade* 'permit', *tvivle på* 'doubt', *tænke på* 'think of',
 and *være glad for* 'be happy'.
 (list from Vikner 1995, 71)
- c. **Embedded clauses in the complement positions of negated verbs.**
- d. **Embedded clauses outside the complement position**
 (including topicalised object clauses and all subject clauses).

The following clauses cannot be V2 even though they are object clauses in the object position, because they are **not objects of the right kind of matrix verbs**, (55)a/(56)b. The matrix expressions below are not verbs of saying or believing, but factive (i.e. they presuppose the truth of their object clauses).

(57) En. I was very sorry ...

	C°		C°		
a.	...		<u>that</u>	Max would never read papers on the train.	-V2
b.	* ...	<u>that</u>	<u>would</u>	Max _____ ever read papers on the train.	V2
c.	* ...		<u>would</u>	Max _____ ever read papers on the train.	V2

(58) Da. Jeg er meget ked af ...
I am very sorry of ...

	C°		C°		
a.	...		<u>at</u>	Max aldrig læser aviser i toget.	-V2
	...		(that)	Max never reads papers in train-the	
b.	* ...	<u>at</u>	<u>læser</u>	Max aldrig _____ aviser.	V2
c.	* ...		<u>læser</u>	Max aldrig _____ aviser.	V2
	...	(that) in train-the	reads	Max never papers	

(59) Ge. Es tut mir leid ...
It makes me sorrow

	C°		C°		
a.	...		<u>dass</u>	Max im Zug nie Zeitungen liest.	-V2
	...		that	Max in-the train never papers reads	
b.	* ...	dass	<u>liest</u>	Max nie Zeitungen _____.	V2
c.	* ...		<u>liest</u>	Max nie Zeitungen _____.	V2
	...	(that) in-the train	reads	Max never papers	

As for the second condition, (55)b/(56)c, the following clause cannot be V2 even though they are object clauses in the object position, because they are **objects of negated matrix verbs**:

(60) En. I don't think ...
Da. Jeg tror ikke ... (I think not ...)

	C°		C°		
a.	En. ...		<u>that</u>	Max <u>understood</u> a word yesterday.	-V2
b.	Da. ...		<u>at</u>	Max <u>forstod</u> et ord i går.	-V2
c.	En. * ...	(that) yesterday	<u>understood</u>	Max _____ a word	V2
d.	Da. * ...	(at) i går	<u>forstod</u>	Max _____ et ord	V2
e.	En. * ...	(that) yesterday		Max <u>understood</u> a word	-V2
f.	Da. * ...	(at) i går		Max <u>forstod</u> et ord	-V2

(61) Ge.	a.	Ich glaube <u>nicht</u> <i>I think not</i>	C°		C°	<u>dass</u> <i>that</i>	Max ein Wort verstanden hat <i>Max a word understood has</i>	-V2
	b.	* Ich glaube <u>nicht</u>	dass	Max	<u>hat</u>		ein Wort verstanden ____.	V2
	c.	* Ich glaube <u>nicht</u> <i>I think not</i>	(that)	Max	<u>has</u>		ein Wort verstanden ____. <i>a word understood</i>	V2
	d.	* Ich glaube <u>nicht</u>	dass	gestern	<u>hat</u>		Max ein Wort verstanden ____.	V2
	e.	* Ich glaube <u>nicht</u> <i>I think not</i>	(that)	yesterday	<u>has</u>		Max ein Wort verstanden ____. <i>Max a word understood</i>	V2

Finally two types of examples are relevant to the third condition, (55)c/(56)d. An embedded clause cannot be V2 when it is the **subject of another clause**:

(62) En.	a.	<table border="1"><tr><td>C°</td></tr><tr><td></td></tr></table>	C°			<table border="1"><tr><td>C°</td></tr><tr><td><u>That</u></td></tr></table>	C°	<u>That</u>	Max <u>would</u> never read papers ...	-V2
	C°									
C°										
<u>That</u>										
b.	* <table border="1"><tr><td><u>That</u></td></tr></table>	<u>That</u>	under no circumstances	<table border="1"><tr><td><u>would</u></td></tr></table>	<u>would</u>	Max _____ ever read papers ...	V2			
<u>That</u>										
<u>would</u>										
c.	* <table border="1"><tr><td></td></tr></table>		Under no circumstances	<table border="1"><tr><td><u>would</u></td></tr></table>	<u>would</u>	Max _____ ever read papers ...	V2			
<u>would</u>										

... on the train surprised his parents.

(63) Da.	a.	C°		C°	<u>At</u> Max aldrig læser aviser i toget, ...	-V2
				<i>(that)</i> Max never reads papers in train-the ...		
	b.	* <u>At</u>	i toget	<u>læser</u>	Max aldrig _____ aviser, ...	V2
	c.	*	i toget	<u>læser</u>	Max aldrig _____ aviser, ...	V2
		<i>(That)</i>	<i>in train-the</i>	<i>reads</i>	<i>Max never papers</i> ...	

... overraskede hans forældre.
... surprised his parents

(64) Ge.	a.	C°		C°	<u>Dass</u> <i>That</i>	Max im Zug nie Zeitungen liest, ... <i>Max in-the train never papers reads ...</i>	-V2
	b.	* <u>Dass</u>	im Zug	<u>liest</u>	Max	nie Zeitungen ____, ...	V2
	c.	*	Im Zug	<u>liest</u>	Max	nie Zeitungen ____, ...	V2

(That) in-the train reads Max never papers
... hat seine Eltern überrascht.
... has his parents surprised

An embedded clause cannot be V2 when it is the **topicalised object of another clause**, also (55)c/(56)d:

(65) En.	a.	<table><tr><td>C°</td></tr><tr><td></td></tr></table>	C°			<table><tr><td>C°</td></tr><tr><td><u>That</u></td></tr></table>	C°	<u>That</u>	Max would never read papers ...	-V2
	C°									
C°										
<u>That</u>										
b.	* <table><tr><td><u>That</u></td></tr><tr><td></td></tr></table>	<u>That</u>		under no circumstances	<table><tr><td><u>would</u></td></tr><tr><td></td></tr></table>	<u>would</u>		Max _____ ever read papers ...	V2	
<u>That</u>										
<u>would</u>										
c.	* <table><tr><td></td></tr><tr><td></td></tr></table>			Under no circumstances	<table><tr><td><u>would</u></td></tr><tr><td></td></tr></table>	<u>would</u>		Max _____ ever read papers ...	V2	
<u>would</u>										

... on the train, I had already heard the day before.

(66) Da.	a.	<table><tr><td>C°</td></tr><tr><td></td></tr></table>	C°			<table><tr><td>C°</td></tr><tr><td><u>At</u> (that)</td></tr></table>	C°	<u>At</u> (that)	Max aldrig læser aviser i toget, ...	-V2
	C°									
	C°									
	<u>At</u> (that)									
				Max never reads papers in train-the ...						
b.	*	<table><tr><td><u>At</u></td></tr><tr><td></td></tr></table>	<u>At</u>		i toget	<table><tr><td><u>læser</u></td></tr><tr><td></td></tr></table>	<u>læser</u>		Max aldrig _____ aviser, ...	V2
<u>At</u>										
<u>læser</u>										
c.	*		i toget	<table><tr><td><u>læser</u></td></tr><tr><td></td></tr></table>	<u>læser</u>		Max aldrig _____ aviser, ...	V2		
<u>læser</u>										
		<table><tr><td>(That)</td></tr><tr><td></td></tr></table>	(That)		in train-the	<table><tr><td>reads</td></tr><tr><td></td></tr></table>	reads		Max never _____ papers ...	
(That)										
reads										

... har jeg allerede hørt.

... have I already heard

(67) Ge.	a.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
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2.4 Summary of V2

- V2 is the double movement of an XP into CP-Spec and of the finite verb into C°.
- V2 takes place in main clauses, obligatorily.
- In modern English, V2 requires that CP-spec contains either a negative element or a *wh*-element.
- In the other Germanic languages, V2 is not constrained in any such way.
- V2 takes place in certain types of embedded clauses as well, but only optionally.
- Embedded V2 requires *that/at* in English and Danish, but does not allow *dass* in German.

3. Main clause *yes/no*-questions

In all the Germanic languages, main clause *yes/no*-questions are V1 ("verb first"), i.e. they have a finite verb in clause-initial position. If we assume that the empty CP-Spec contains an invisible *wh*-element (a so-called empty operator), these examples are parallel to the examples in the previous §, i.e. they are really "V2" rather than "V1":

	CP-Spec	C°	
(68) a. En.	[_{wh} ____]	Has	Peter ____ read this book ?
b. Da.	[_{wh} ____]	Har	Peter ____ læst den her bog ?
c. Ic.	[_{wh} ____]	Hefur	Pétur ____ lesið þessa bók ?
d. Ge.	[_{wh} ____]	Hat	Peter ____ dieses Buch gelesen ____ ?

Assuming an empty *wh*-element in CP-spec in (68) might seem to be just a trick (a so-called *ad hoc* assumption) to save the analysis of the previous § that all main clauses in the Germanic languages (except English) are V2.

However, if the assumption of an empty *wh*-element in CP-spec in (68) has other consequences, then it is not *ad hoc*.

Here are three reasons why the assumption is not *ad hoc*:

- (69) a. It correctly predicts that verb-initial main clauses are interpreted as *yes/no*-questions.
 b. It correctly predicts that verb-initial main clauses trigger *do*-support in English.
 c. It accounts for the link between inversion in *yes/no*-questions and clause-initial *wh*-elements in *wh*-questions noted in part (b) of Greenberg's (1963, 83) "Universal 11".

As for (69)a, the strings of words in (68) may clearly only be interpreted as questions.

As for (69)b, given that an initial *wh*-element (or an initial negative topic) is needed to trigger subject-auxiliary inversion and *do*-support, (70)b, assuming an empty *wh*-element in the first position of a main clause *yes/no*-questions will correctly predict subject-auxiliary inversion and *do*-support in (71)b:

- (70) En. a. Yesterday Joe bought three books.
 b. When **did** Joe buy three books ?

- (71) En. a. Joe bought three books.
 b. [_{wh} ____] **did** Joe buy three books ?

As for (69)c, let us have a closer look at the link between inversion in *yes/no*-questions and clause-initial *wh*-elements in *wh*-questions noted in the second half of Greenberg's (1963, 83) "Universal 11".

- (72) **Universal 11** (Greenberg 1963, 83)
- a. Inversion of statement order [in interrogative word questions] so that verb precedes subject occurs only in languages where the question word or phrase is normally initial.
 - b. This same inversion occurs in yes-no questions only if it also occurs in interrogative word questions.
- (73) **"Translation"** (using terms used in the first year courses):
- a. Subject-verb inversion occurs in *wh*-questions only if the language has clause-initial *wh*-elements.
 - b. Subject-verb inversion occurs in *yes/no*-questions only if it occurs in *wh*-questions.
- (74) **Inference:**
- Subject-verb inversion occurs in *yes/no*-questions only if the language has clause-initial *wh*-elements.

To see what exactly Greenberg means, let us take a step back (cf. also Vikner 2007, 471–74). What is assumed here is that languages may differ with respect to the following two things:

I. Languages may or may not have clause-initial *wh*-elements (e.g. English does, Turkish does not):

- | | | |
|-----------------|--|--|
| (75) a. English | <u>What</u> had Harry read ? | <i>wh</i> -ELEMENTS CLAUSE INITIAL |
| b. Turkish | Hasan <u>ne</u> oku -du ?
<i>Hasan what read -PAST</i>
"What did Hasan read?" | <i>wh</i> -ELEMENTS NOT NECESSARILY
CLAUSE INITIAL
Kornfilt (1997, 10, (36)) |

II. Languages may or may not have subject-verb inversion in *yes/no*-questions (e.g. English does, Turkish does not):

- | | | | |
|---------|---------|---|---|
| (76) a. | English | <u>Has</u> Alfred gone to the cinema ? | SUBJECT-VERB INVERSION
IN <i>yes/no</i> -QUESTIONS |
| b. | Turkish | Ahmet sinema-ya <u>git-ti</u> mi ?
<i>Ahmet cinema-DAT go-PAST Q</i>
"Did Ahmet go to the cinema?" | NO SUBJECT-VERB INVERSION
IN <i>yes/no</i> -QUESTIONS
Kornfilt (1997, 5, (11)) |

If subject-verb inversion in *yes/no*-questions did **not** presuppose clause-initial *wh*-elements, then we would expect to find two different types of languages with subject-verb inversion in *yes/no*-questions:

- (77) a. Languages that have subject-verb inversion in *yes/no*-questions (E.G. ENGLISH)
as well as clause-initial *wh*-elements
- b. Languages that have subject-verb inversion in *yes/no*-questions (NOT ATTESTED!)
but not clause-initial *wh*-elements

This is not the case, however. As Greenberg (1963, 83) observes, cf. (72) above, a language has subject-verb inversion in *yes/no*-questions, (76)a, only if it has clause-initial *wh*-elements, (75)a.

This is where the potentially *ad hoc* assumption of an empty *wh*-element in CP-spec in (68) above comes in, i.e. the assumption of an empty *wh*-element in the initial position of main clause *yes/no*-questions in e.g. English.

Under this assumption, *yes/no*-questions with subject-verb inversion as in (76)a are parallel to questions with clause-initial *wh*-elements, (75)a, in that in both types, the initial element is a *wh*-element. The observation that (76)a only occurs in languages that also have (75)a is thus explained, as both are examples of the **same** structure, **clause-initial *wh*-elements**. It is therefore also correctly predicted that a language which does not have initial *wh*-elements, like Turkish in (75)b, will not have subject-verb inversion in *yes/no*-questions either, (76)b.

As **the assumption of an empty *wh*-element in CP-spec in (68)** not only has the desired consequences -

but also some rather different consequences -

❶ making all main clauses in Danish, Icelandic and German into V2-clauses -

❷ explaining why verb-initial main clause are always interpreted as *yes/no*-questions,

❸ explaining why main clause *wh*-questions, (70)b, and main clause *yes/no*-questions, (71)b, behave alike in English w.r.t. subject-auxiliary inversion and *do*-support,

and

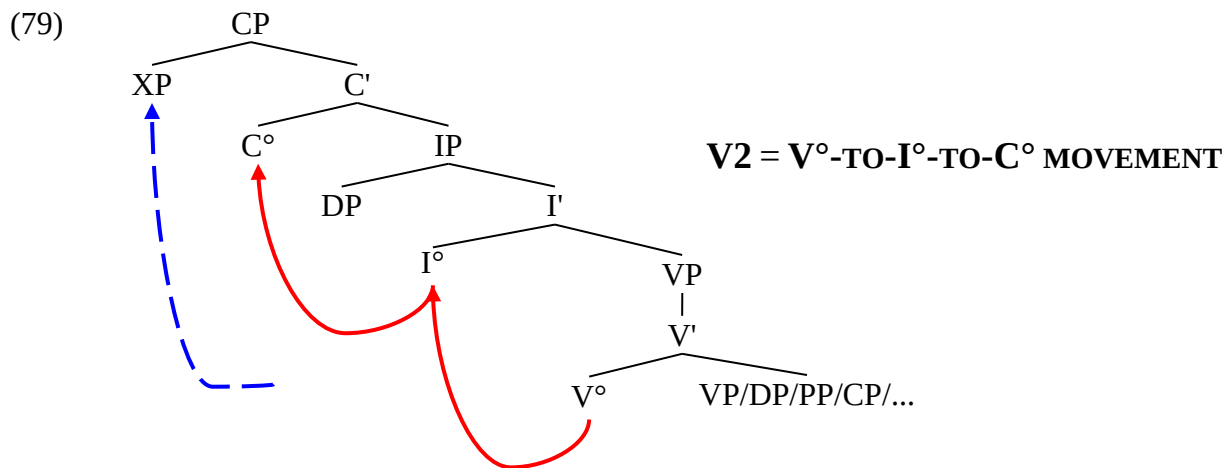
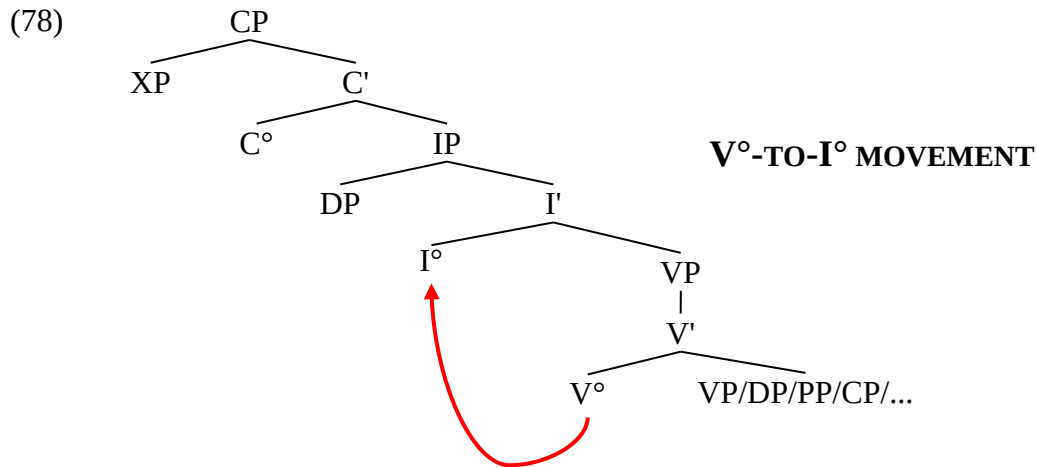
❹ explaining why *yes/no*-questions have inversion only in those languages where *wh*-questions have clause-initial *wh*-elements -

it can no longer be considered to be *ad hoc*.

(Notice, by the way, that sometimes *ad hoc* assumptions simply have to be made. For an assumption to be *ad hoc* is not necessarily a disaster, but it could be a serious disadvantage if the hypothesis containing the *ad hoc* assumptions competes with other hypotheses that do not contain any *ad hoc* assumptions.)

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

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



- V°-to-I° movement applies in **all finite clauses**, whereas V2 only applies **in main clauses and some embedded clauses**. In other words, although V2 is not actually 100% restricted to main clauses, it is not possible in all finite embedded clauses, whereas V°-to-I° movement is obligatory in all finite clauses.
- In a clause with V°-to-I° movement but without V2, (78), **the first element is the subject** and the second element the finite verb. In a clause with V2, (79), the second element is also the finite verb, but **the first element can be any maximal projection**.

At least in languages without V°-to-I° movement (like Danish and Faroese in (80)-(86)), V2 can only apply in main clauses and some embedded clauses, whereas if a language has V°-to-I° movement, it applies in all finite clauses:

- (80) a. Da. * Johan ofte spiser tomater. (main clause needs V2)
 b. Fa. * Jón ofta etur tomatar.
John often eats tomatoes

- (81) a. Da. Johan spiser ofte tomater. (V2)
 b. Fa. Jón etur ofta tomatar.
John eats often tomatoes

- (82) a. Da. Tomater spiser Johan ofte. (V2)
 b. Fa. Tomatir etur Jón ofta.
Tomatoes eats John often

The reason why the embedded clauses in (42)/(43) and (60)/(61) on the previous hand-out, 3a, were subject clauses is that this is a context where main clause word order (i.e. V2) is NOT allowed in these languages, see (83) below, and also (42)b,c on the previous hand-out, 3a. This is relevant because there are also many embedded contexts where both main, (84) & (85), and embedded clause word orders, (86):

- (83) a. Da. * (At) tomater spiser Johan ofte overrasker de fleste.
 b. Fa. * (At) tomatir etur Jón ofta kemur óvart á tey flestu.
That tomatoes eats John often surprises most people
- (84) a. Da. Hun siger at tomater spiser Johan ofte.
 b. Fa. Hon sigur at tomatir etur Jón ofta.
She says that tomatoes eats John often
- (85) a. Da. Hun siger at Johan spiser ofte tomater.
 b. Fa. Hon sigur at Jón etur ofta tomatir.
She says that John eats often tomatoes
- (86) a. Da. Hun siger at Johan ofte spiser tomater.
 b. Fa. Hon sigur at Jón ofta etur tomatir.
 c. She says that John often eats tomatoes

As already stated on p. 14 above, especially in (55):

One major difference between main clause V2 and embedded V2 is that embedded V2 is **never obligatory**, but always **optional**.

Three conditions have to be observed for embedded V2 to be possible (Vikner 2001, 226) - whereas the non-V2 option is always possible, even when these conditions are not observed, as shown below:

- (87) 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 (Mikkelsen 1911, 586).
 c. An embedded V2 clause has to occur in object position.

(Even though the following three have no CP-recursion, the conditions in (87) also hold

- ❶ for embedded V2 in German,
- ❷ for embedded non-V2 topicalisation in English, and
- ❸ for optional *at/that* in English and Danish.)

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