

Full V2, no V2, residual V2: Exploring variation through phases

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Abstract

This paper presents a new phase-based theory of verb-second and indeed a new model of the left periphery. I argue that V-to-C movement of the verb to the phase head Fin^0 has profound repercussions on clausal syntax which explains well-known differences between Modern Germanic V2 languages and Modern Romance non-V2 languages with respect to topicalisation. I also explore how the proposed analysis can account for the linear restriction on the prefield in V2 languages as well as the phenomenon of ‘residual verb second’ in otherwise non-V2 languages like Modern Romance.

Keywords: Verb-second, left periphery, topicalisation, phase theory, Romance, Germanic

1. Introduction

It is presumably fair to say that few syntactic phenomena have received so much attention in the research literature as the verb-second (V2) construction (den Besten 1983; Holmberg 1986, 2015; Roberts 1993; Holmberg & Platzack 1995; Vikner 1995; Vance 1997; Rouveret 2004; Walkden 2014; Wolfe 2018; Klævik-Pettersen 2019a, 2019b; Lohnstein & Tsiknakis 2019). This word order phenomenon characterises all Modern Germanic languages with the exception of English, while it is generally absent from the Modern Romance family, as illustrated by the following contrast (1-2). In Norwegian, the fronting of a non-subject constituent under topicalisation automatically triggers subject-verb inversion, leading to linear V2, while no such inversion takes place in French, leading to linear V3:

- (1) Boken har jeg ikke lest (Norwegian)
 Book-DEF have I not read
 ‘The book, I’ve read’
- (2) Le livre, je l’ ai lu (French)
 The book I it-CL have read
 ‘The book, I’ve read’

At the same time, both English and Modern Romance languages display certain constructions where V2 seems to be active, such as wh-questions (3) and some other syntactic contexts which are not identical across all languages, but which may loosely be described as *focal* in nature (4):

- (3) Qu’ a-t-il fait? (Wh-question, French)
 what has-he done
 ‘What did he do?’
- (4) Never have I seen such a mess (Negative Inversion, English)

The latter constructions are commonly referred to as ‘residual verb-second’ (Rizzi 1990), a term which suggests that these are remnants of a more generalised verb-second system in the past.¹ Indeed, both Old English (5) and several branches of Old Romance (6) have been analysed by a number of researchers as V2 systems:

- (5) On twam þingum hæfde God þæs mannes saule gegodod
 in two things had God the man’s soul endowed
 ‘With two things had God endowed man’s soul’
 (Old English; *The Homilies of Ælfric*, from Walkden 2014)

¹ The term is potentially misleading, since it is not obviously clear that these constructions are always diachronically linked to an erstwhile V2 syntax. Although there is continuity between the V2 language Old French and Modern French with respect to wh-questions like (3), it has also been argued that wh-questions already featured V2 order in the Germanic languages even before the latter developed generalised verb-second (Kiparsky 1995). If this is correct, it might suggest that V2 in wh-questions is an ancient Indo-European heritage.

- (6) Miels voudroie je morir a honor que vivre a honte
 better would I die in honour than live in shame
 ‘I would rather die with honour than live with shame’
 (Old French, 13th C.; *Tristan en Prose*, from Curtis 1963: 61)

This paper presents a novel answer to the old question of what it means to be a V2 language. I will demonstrate that we are in fact in need of new answers, since the old single CP-analysis that has commanded widespread consensus does not explain all relevant facts. Cartographic theories of the left periphery (Rizzi 1997 *et seq.*) have revealed that the single CP-analysis is not sufficient to explain the linear restriction in V2 languages. At the same time, I will also argue that CP-cartography is only capable of pointing out the problem without solving it. Possible solutions will be discussed, and a new analysis is offered which is grounded in phase-based derivation. The central claim is that the movement of the verb to the C-layer in V2 languages interferes with the properties of phase heads and that this has important syntactic repercussions that allow us to explain in a uniform fashion a series of seemingly unrelated facts, notably (i) resumption or non-resumption in topicalisation, (ii) Weak Cross-Over effects in Romance and Germanic, and (iii) the ‘linear V2’ restriction. I will also discuss how the proposed analysis can shed some light on the phenomenon of ‘residual verb second’ in otherwise non-V2 languages.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In section 2, the single CP-analysis of Germanic V2 as well as cartographic theories assuming an articulated left periphery are briefly presented and critically examined. This discussion serves to set the ground for section 3, where the new phase-based derivation of V2 is presented. In section 4, I briefly discuss whether the proposed analysis can help shed some light on the phenomenon of ‘residual verb second’ in otherwise non-V2 languages like Modern Romance, and I suggest a new account of the linear V2 constraint that follows naturally from the proposed analysis.

2. Verb-second: theory and problems

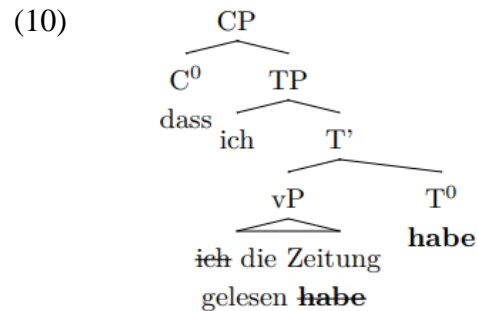
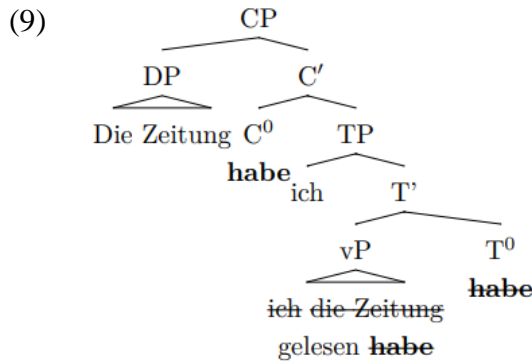
By the mid-‘90s, an analysis of verb second had emerged which commanded widespread approval. The analytical core stems from the work of Den Besten (1983)² and is based concretely on the facts of verb second as they appear in Continental Germanic (German and Dutch). This analysis capitalises on the complementary distribution of V2 and overt complementisers in these languages to suggest that the verb and the complementiser compete for the head position of the clause (C⁰). In a main clause (7), the verb moves to C⁰ and the initial constituent to the corresponding

² Other important contributions include Williams (1974), Koster (1975), Thiersch (1978), Platzack (1986), Holmberg (1986), de Haan and Weerman (1986), Zwart (1993), and Vikner (1995). Of particular theoretical importance are the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984) and the extension of the X'-schema to functional projections (Chomsky 1986), which saw the previously exocentric clause recast as a CP.

specifier. In embedded clauses (8), the complementiser is merged in C^0 , bleeding V-to-C movement:³

- (7) Die Zeitung habe ich gelesen
The paper have I read
'The paper, I've read'

- (8) Du weißt, dass ich die Zeitung
you know that I the paper
gelesen habe
read have
'You know that I've read the paper'



This simple analysis provides a principled explanation for word order in main and embedded clauses in Continental Germanic⁴. At first sight, it seems to give us the linear second position of the verb for free, since the clause is hypothesized to be a CP and there is only one specifier position left above the verb in C^0 . However, this is not entirely the case, since we still need to explain why we cannot for instance adjoin an adverbial to the root of the clause (12), in parallel fashion to what is possible in English:

- (11) Yesterday, I visited a friend

- (12) *Gestern, ich habe einen Freund besucht
yesterday I have a friend visited

³ The simplified trees in (9) and (10) incorporate the assumption that there exists a head-final TP in German, although the empirical evidence for this projection is scant if existent (see Haider 1993; Grewendorf 1993; Haider 2010 for discussion). Nothing hinges on this. Head-Movement is for simplicity shown as replacement rather than adjunction. For discussion on the nature of Head Movement, see Roberts (2011), Dékány (2018), and Preminger (2019).

⁴ It is also supported by other pieces of evidence such as the phenomenon of 'complementiser agreement' in certain continental varieties (Bayer 1984; Haegeman 1992; Zwart 1993), as well as the position of certain pronominal clitics that display enclisis on the verb in main clauses and on the complementiser in embedded clauses (Besten 1983). Notice also that omission of the complementiser in complement clauses leads obligatorily to verb-second order:

- (i) Er hat gesagt, die Zeitung hat/habe er gelesen
he has said the paper has he read
'He said that the paper, he had read'

A possible solution to this problem was found in Chomsky's (1986) idea that adjunction is a restricted operation. This spurred some researchers to postulate a universal 'ban on CP-adjunction' (Iatridou & Kroch 1992; Vikner 1995). On this view, the contrast between (11) and (12) is that adjunction attaches to the IP/TP in English, while it cannot attach to the CP in German or V2 languages in general. However, this solution faces problems of its own, since linear V3 can be obtained in other ways, for instance through left dislocation structures like (13). In order to account for such examples, which are grammatical across the board in Germanic V2 languages, it was suggested that CP-adjunction could indeed obtain provided the dislocated element carries the same index as a co-referential expression in Spec-CP (Iatridou & Kroch 1992; Vikner 1995):

- (13) Meinen Freund_i, den_i habe ich gestern besucht
 my friend him have I yesterday visited

Another problem is that the strict complementarity between V2 and complementisers does not hold for Northern Germanic V2 languages, where it is perfectly possible to have embedded V2 in certain contexts even without dropping the complementiser. Such cases were treated as an instance of CP-recursion with the complementiser selecting a CP-clause as a complement instead of a TP (de Haan & Weerman 1986; Holmberg & Platzack 1995; Vikner 1995).

- (14) Hun sa at avisen hadde hun ikke lest (Norwegian)
 she said that paper-DEF had she not read
 'She said that the paper, she had not read'

While both exceptional CP-adjunction and CP-recursion are extensions to the basic analysis that might capture the facts, they are clearly somewhat stipulative in nature. Furthermore, they have largely been superseded by later theoretical developments. The crucial problem in both cases, namely a shortage of phrase structural space in a single CP-model, has been offered new solutions by the advent of CP-cartography. Rizzi's (1997) cartographic model of the left periphery has shown that the (universal) representation of the clause as a simple CP is inadequate. In fact, many languages behave like Italian in allowing multiple left peripheral constituents. Furthermore, strong generalisations can be made regarding the information-structural value of these constituents as well as their relative order. These facts are accounted for in a natural way by assuming that the left periphery consists of a field of dedicated projections that can host various types of topics and foci. Left-dislocation structures and embedded V2 were problematic in the traditional single CP-model because of sheer phrase structural shortage. Cartography makes improvement on previous analyses in these cases since it does not have to resort to adjunction (15) or recursion (16). Omitting all non-lexicalised positions (projections, heads, and specifiers), the problematic cases can now be given a representation along the lines of (17-18):

tension between the rich phrase structural representations of the latter and the severely limited word order possibilities in V2 languages, which in the general case only allow a single constituent in front of the verb. The problem has been noted before, and solutions have been proposed. Hsu (2017), building on previous work by Giorgi and Pianesi (1996), suggests that the cartographic sequence is a primitive, but that languages differ as to whether all the features project individually or whether some of them can be ‘bundled’ on a single left peripheral head (see also Walkden 2017). In such a model it is possible to claim that topics and foci cannot co-occur in V2 languages because the latter bundle the topic and focus features on a single head, thereby only providing a single specifier (Klævik-Pettersen 2019a). A very similar solution is presented by Cournane and Klævik-Pettersen (forthcoming) who suggest that feature bundles are in fact the norm because of children’s default parse of the input. Such approaches do not explicitly reject cartography, but rather the strong universalist claim, sometimes embodied in the ‘One-Feature-One-Head’ dictum (Kayne 2005), which states that all features must head their own projection (Benincà & Poletto 2004; Cinque & Rizzi 2009; Rizzi 2013).

3. Towards a new derivation of V2

In what follows, I will present a revised version of the traditional verb-second analysis. On the empirical side, the aim is to account for the linear restriction on the prefield, but I will also maintain that the analysis sheds light on other and seemingly unrelated phenomena in particular with regards to topicalisation in V2 and non-V2 languages. To the extent that the proposed analysis has profound consequences on the syntax of the clause and the left periphery and indeed on the very definition of these core concepts, it might also be described as a model. As a point of departure, consider again the following examples of topicalisation in Norwegian and French reviewed in the introduction (cf. (1) and (2), repeated below for convenience).

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------------|
| (1) | Boken har jeg lest
book-DEF have I read
‘The book, I’ve read’ | (Norwegian) |
| (2) | Le livre, je l’ ai lu
the book I it-CL have read
‘The book, I’ve read’ | (French) |

Observe that, beyond the difference in verb position following from V2 vs. no V2, the topicalised element is doubled with a resumptive clitic in French, while this is not the case in Norwegian. The opposite pattern is equally ungrammatical in both languages:

- | | |
|------|--|
| (20) | *Boken har jeg lest den
book-DEF have I read it |
| (21) | *Le livre j’ ai lu
the book I have read |

There is no obvious reason why resumption should be directly related to the movement of the verb, and yet one can replace Norwegian with any other Germanic V2 language and French with any other Modern Romance non-V2 language and the pattern remains the same. It is descriptively true to say that resumption takes place in Romance because topicalisation involves a left dislocation (De Cat 2007; Delais-Roussarie et al. 2004), whereas this is not the case in Germanic, but this merely pushes the question back a step, leading us to ask why this should be the case. It is even more surprising given that the fronted element on reasonable assumptions moves to the specifier of the same projection – TopicP – in both languages and that this projection universally carries the same feature. Indeed, there is no interpretive difference involved, just a simple syntactic reflex in the form of resumption in French which is absent from Norwegian and other V2 languages. Notice also that during the V2 stage of Old French, regular topicalisation did not involve resumption, an observation which reinforces the impression that there is indeed a deeper connection between verb-second syntax and topicalisation:

- (22) Car cest don li dona Nostres Sires... (Old French, 13th C.)
 for this gift him-CL gave our lord
 ‘For Our Lord gave him this gift...’
 (*La Vie de Saint Eustace*, XXXIV, 7-8, from Murray 1929: 45)

Resumption is not the only thing that distinguishes topics in V2 languages from their counterparts in Modern Romance. Generally speaking, topics in Romance are not sensitive to Weak Cross-Over (WCO), while foci are (Cinque 1990; Rizzi 1997; Cardinaletti 2006; De Cat 2007), as illustrated by the contrast in (23-24). In Germanic V2 languages, topics do in fact give rise to WCO (25):

- (23) Gianni_i, sua_i madre lo_i ha sempre apprezzato (CILD)
 Gianni his mother him-CL has always appreciated
- (24) *GIANNI_i sua_i madre ha sempre apprezzato (Focalisation)
 Gianni his mother has always appreciated
- (25) *Johnny_i har moren hans_i alltid likt (V2-topicalisation)
 Johnny has mother his always liked

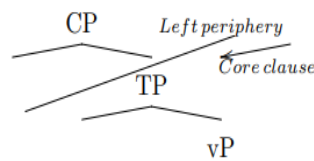
This is again a surprising fact which seems to be purely syntactic in nature, since it is obviously not attractive to ascribe any inherently different properties to topics or foci between Germanic and Romance. In other words, the observable differences with respect to resumption and Weak Cross-Over should accrue to the topics through properties of the derivation of the clause. The resumption facts point to a connection with the V2 property. This suggests that V-to-C movement somehow interacts with the relationship between dislocated elements and their resumptive or other co-referential expressions.

Building on this cue, I start with the observation, presumably uncontroversial, that the syntax of the clause in all languages contains a *core* and a *periphery*. Furthermore, some of the elements in the periphery are in *dislocation*, an intuitive but

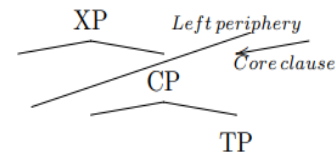
rarely defined term (but see Haegeman 2000; Boeckx & Grohmann 2005) that refers to elements which are somehow ‘outside’ the core clause. Notice that in Modern Romance, the term *left periphery* is synonymous with the C-domain, and if we restrict ourselves to topics for the moment, these are in dislocation precisely because they are situated in the left periphery.

Suppose now that the situation is different in V2 languages. The C-domain is an absolute term and allows no redefinition, but the intuition I want to pursue is that the left periphery or what counts as a dislocation does not start with the C-domain in V2 languages. In the most concrete sense, I hypothesize that the core clause is larger in V2 languages than in non-V2 languages like Modern Romance, as illustrated in the following phrase markers:

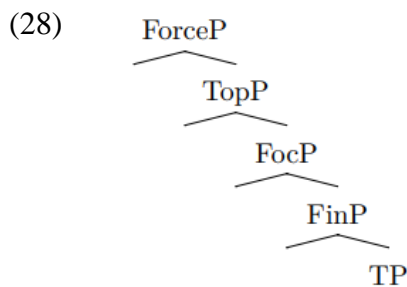
(26) The Romance clause



(27) The Germanic V2 clause



It is important to stress that (26-27) only represents the basic idea in schematic form. It does not say anything concrete about the precise architecture of the C-domain and should thus be compatible with fully cartographic approaches as well as those assuming fewer and more multi-functional projections. This means that ‘CP’ in the rightmost phrase marker (the Germanic V2 clause) can represent a specific projection, like in the single-CP model, or alternatively a shorthand for larger cartographic structures. However, since the evidence clearly points towards an articulated C-domain in Italian and other Romance languages, meaning ‘CP’ is clearly a shorthand in the leftmost phrase marker in (26), the most ambitious interpretation is to assume that this is the case for V2 languages as well. This is what I will assume here. For concreteness, I will adopt a slightly revised version of Rizzi’s original proposal (1997), essentially the one proposed by Benincà & Poletto (2004):⁶



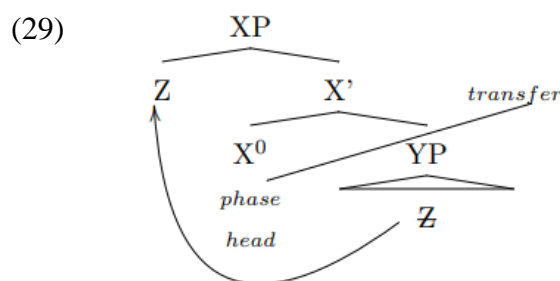
I will revisit this model of the CP in section 4, where I suggest that the position of the focus projection with respect to FinP might potentially be different, but for the moment

⁶ Benincà & Poletto (2004) explicitly consider even TopP and FocP to be shorthands for larger fields of different kinds of topics and foci. I abstract away from this here, since the objective is only to account for the incompatibility of topics and foci, as well as the particular properties of topics in V2 languages.

the importance in (28) is that it contains a topic projection. The hypothesis is that the C-domain contains the same projections in all languages, but that the C-domain does not equal the left periphery in all languages. Needless to say, such a hypothesis should not just be stipulated, but rather made to follow in a natural way from independently established principles of grammar. The idea I will pursue here is that the relevant *explanans* is the theory of phases (Chomsky 2000; for extensive discussion, see Gallego 2012). I will therefore quickly present the basic motivations and rationale behind phase theory.

3.1. Phase theory

The hypothesis that the sequentiality of derivation is punctuated or broken down in successive, smaller steps is almost as old as the generative program itself, and phase theory represents the current continuation of this hypothesis within the Minimalist research program (Chomsky 2000). A phase is a privileged point in the derivation where the phrase marker that has been constructed until that point is sent off to the sensory-motor (SM) and conceptual-intentional (CI) interfaces for articulation and interpretation. The phase is complete when a phase head is introduced; this head activates the process of transfer that ships its complement to the interfaces. Once transfer has taken place, the complement of the phase head is no longer accessible to the derivation, a condition known as the phase impenetrability condition (PIC). It follows from this that any element Z destined to enter a syntactic relationship with another element at a later stage in the derivation must be evacuated to the edge of the phase, which then serves as an escape hatch. Observe that both the edge and the phase head itself remain active after transfer has taken place:



Chomsky's main conceptual motivation with phase theory is to reduce the computational strain on the system and to eliminate the 'representational levels' of PF and LF, which no longer exist in the traditional sense if the derivation accesses the interfaces repeatedly (multiple spell-out). On the empirical level, an important appeal of phase theory is that it can be used to define locality effects in syntax. In this respect, phases are the successors to barriers and bounding node in the GB framework. If phases exist, and if phase heads are indeed the heads of regular projections in the clausal spine rather than something else entirely, a crucial issue is to decide the locus of phase heads in the derivation. The Minimalist program being driven by legibility concerns at the interfaces, a natural hypothesis would be to consider phases to be syntactic objects which possess a certain autonomy at the SM and CI levels. Chomsky hypothesises that phases are the syntactic correlates of a proposition. This does not only apply to a finite clause, but also to the verb phrase with all theta-roles assigned. Chomsky therefore considers CP and transitive vP to be phases, will TP and VP do

not qualify. While other proposals have been voiced (such as the PP (Abels 2003) or the DP (Ott 2009); for full discussion, see Gallego 2012), a certain consensus has emerged over the phasal status of vP and CP. However, we are again faced with the problem that ‘CP’ is not a precise notion in a cartographic model. The question becomes which head(s) in an articulated left periphery might be phase heads. If only the latter are capable of sending the phrase markers to the interfaces, it follows with logical necessity that the maximal projection of the clause must be a phase and that Force⁰ must accordingly be a phase head. Considering next that subordinate clauses in general lack independent illocutionary force and that many of them do not allow left peripheral constituents like topics or foci at all, it seems equally plausible to consider Fin⁰ a phase head. On a conceptual level, this view fits nicely with Rizzi’s observation that the left periphery serves as an interface between the syntax of the clause and the higher level of discourse:

We can think of the complementizer system as the interface between a propositional content (expressed by the IP) and the superordinate structure (a higher clause or, possibly, the articulation of discourse, if we consider a root clause). As such, we expect the C system to express at least two kinds of information, one facing the outside and the other facing the inside. (Rizzi 1997: 282)

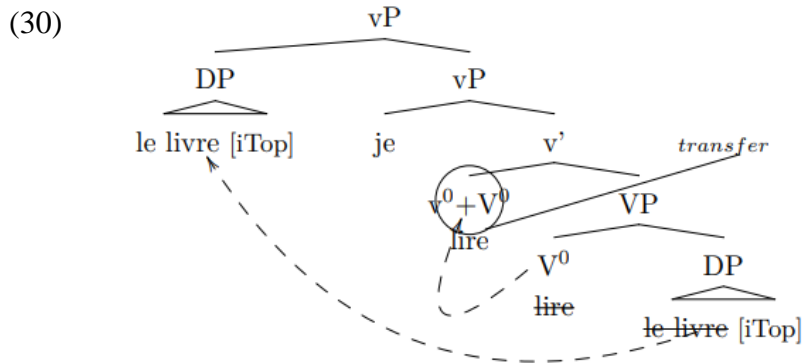
On this view, then, the role of Fin⁰ is to introduce the last derivational act, which is intimately tied to the encoding of information structure by means of the projections FocP and TopP. Once this stage is completed, the phase Force⁰ is introduced, providing the clause with illocutionary force, and sending it off to the interfaces for articulation and interpretation.

3.2. *Deriving topics in V2 and non-V2 languages*

Having adopted the hypothesis that the derivation consists of (at least) three derivational steps and that these are driven by the phase heads v⁰, Fin⁰ and Force⁰, I will now consider topicalisation in non-V2 languages, using Modern French as an example. Recall the properties of topics in Modern Romance reviewed above, namely (i) their dislocated position and obligatory link to a coreferential resumptive in the core clause, as well as (ii) their insensitivity to Weak Cross-Over. A sentence like (2), repeated for convenience below, contains a DP ‘le livre’ which carries an interpretable topic feature. In the vP/VP complex, which constitutes the first phase of the derivation (30), all the theta-roles (not shown in the figure) are checked. The topic feature moves to the edge of the phase head v⁰ before the latter activates transfer⁷:

⁷ Questions arise, the most fundamental probably being how discourse-features like topic or focus come to be associated with items in the derivation in the first place, given that they do not seem to be lexical features. For discussion and analysis, see Aboh (2010). Another central question is what drives the movement of a DP like ‘le livre’ in (30). The relevant probe is the Topic projection situated in the left periphery, but this projection is situated in another phase and should not be able to interact with the VP-internal DP across the phase head v⁰. A possibility is that phase heads can see unchecked features and attract their carriers to the edge of the phase, or that the unchecked feature itself prompts the DP to move (possibly via an EPP-feature), in a ‘foot-driven’ approach to movement (Craenenbrock 2006).

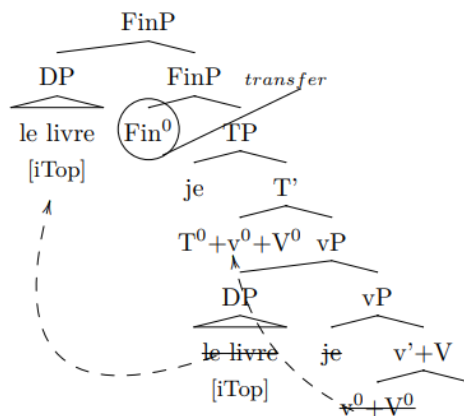
- (2) Le livre, je l' ai lu (French)
 the book I it-CL have read
 'The book, I've read'



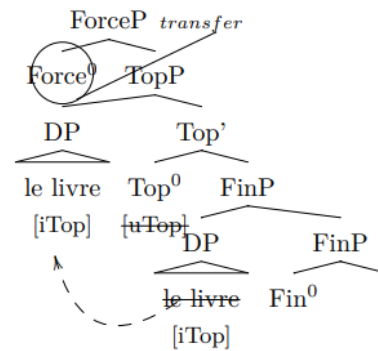
The next phase of the derivation carries the finite verb to T^0 , attracted by an interpretable tense feature that values the uninterpretable counterpart on the lexical verb, thereby establishing tense morphology after spell-out and providing the event with a precise temporal anchorage for the interpretive component. Furthermore, the presence of uninterpretable ϕ -features on the head T^0 turns the latter into a probe which searches for a goal with matching features. The subject in Spec-vP carries interpretable ϕ -features and is therefore attracted to the specifier of TP. This is the final obligatory operation of a French main clause, which is ready to be shipped to the interfaces by the phase head Fin^0 . In this particular case, however, the topic feature on the DP 'le livre' causes the latter to move to the edge of FinP before transfer takes place. The idea that I pursue is that Fin^0 is not just a phase head, but that it is responsible for the very creation of the left periphery. When Fin^0 activates transfer of the core clause to the interfaces, any constituent that has been moved to the edge of FinP will be in the left periphery, which also means that the constituent will be in dislocation, which leads to a certain rupture at PF when spelled out. This is not a general property of phase heads, since v^0 does not punctuate the derivation in such a drastic manner, although claims have been made that the vP does contain a left periphery as well (Belletti 2004). This is presumably because the VP sent off by v^0 and the TP sent off by Fin^0 are part of the core clause and compulsory sequences in any derivation. In the final phase, the only operation of any interest is the movement of the topic to its final destination in Spec-TopP as well as the selection of an illocutionary force by the phase head Force^0 , which then sends the left periphery to the interfaces. The dual semantics of the DP is accounted for in two different phases; the theta-roles are checked in the vP, and the topichood is established in the left periphery. At the phonological component, the lower copy is spelled out as a resumptive pronoun which cliticizes to the verb in T^0 .⁸

⁸ This is a movement-based account of CILDs. It also possibly to imagine that CILDs are simply first-merged directly in Spec-TopP in the final phase of the derivation. This distinction does not matter for the present analysis, which only insists that the insertion of the head Fin^0 creates the left periphery. Notice also that on a movement analysis, the CILD topic has in fact crossed over the subject through movement, but the lack of Cross-Over effect is explained by assuming that the CILD and the resumptive are located in different phases and that WCO is obviated through the binding of the resumptive by the subject. On an analysis of

(31)



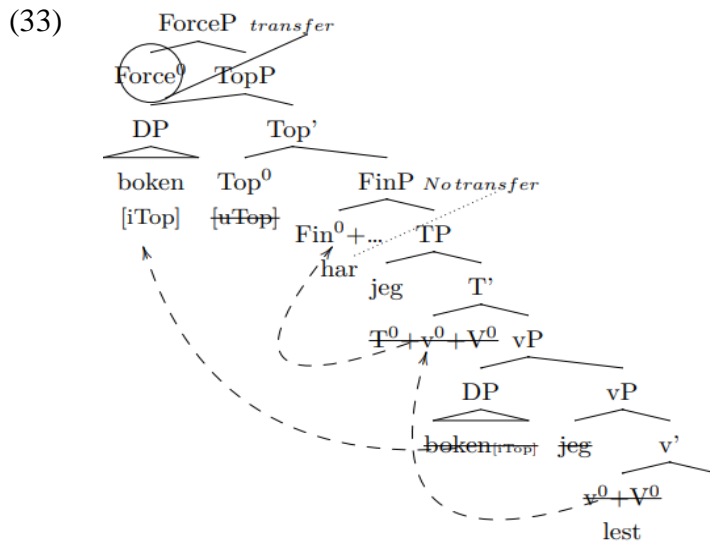
(32)



This analysis accounts in a natural way for both the obligatory resumption and the lack of WCO that characterize CILD topics in Romance. Resumption follows from the fact that all arguments of the verb must be expressed inside the core clause to satisfy the argument structure of the verb. The absence of WCO is accounted for through the fact that, although the CILD topic has in fact moved across the subject, the two are separated by a phase, and the subject can bind the resumptive inside the core clause, thereby obviating WCO.

Now we move on to consider topicalisation in V2 languages like Norwegian. The first phase of the derivation, the vP, is identical to what was assumed to be the case for French and for Romance in general. The second phase also proceeds in the same fashion, until insertion of the phase head Fin^0 in the syntax. This is where a crucial difference obtains, since the head Fin^0 is equipped with a feature that attracts the finite verb. It matters little exactly what feature this is, but suppose for concreteness that is an uninterpretable finiteness feature. The hypothesis is as follows: the movement of the verb to Fin^0 has the effect of deactivating the phase or destroying the phasal properties of Fin^0 , with the result that no left-periphery is created. Instead, the core clause extends, including the Topic projection in the C-domain situated below the next phase head, Force^0 . Both the head and the foot of the movement chain of the topic are squarely within the core clause, which is thus bigger in a V2 language, since it includes parts of the C-domain which are located in the left periphery in non-V2 languages.

CILD as base-generated directly in the left periphery, there is no cross-over in any sense of the word. Notice however that this analysis must make further assumptions regarding facts like overt case morphology on the dislocated topic (found in German and Icelandic) or even something as fundamental as the very co-referentiality of the CILD and the resumptive. Both facts follow directly on a movement analysis.



This situation explains the properties of topics in V2 languages. They cannot be resumed since the double expression of the same argument within the core clause would lead to gross incoherence with respect to theta-assignment. This analysis aligns well with intuition, since the flavour of ungrammaticality of examples like (20) is precisely that of redundancy, of not being able to assign an interpretation to both the DP and the resumptive. Furthermore, it seems very likely that this explains the presence of a WCO-effect as well. Provided the movement analysis of CILD in Romance presented above is correct, the difference is in fact not whether movement has taken place, since this holds for both groups of languages. Rather, the crucial distinction is whether the landing site of movement in Spec-TopP is situated in the left periphery, as in Romance, or inside the core clause, as in Germanic V2 languages. Ultimately, it is the exceptional movement of the verb to Fin^0 in V2 languages that underlies both set of facts, since this movement deactivates the phase and ‘postpones’ the creation of a left periphery. It is important to note that Germanic V2 languages also have a left periphery. This left periphery is only activated in cases of linear V3. In such cases, the initial constituent is precisely in dislocation and a resumptive is required:

- (34) Naboen min, ham kjenner jeg godt (Norwegian)
 neighbour mine him know I well
 ‘My neighbour, I know him well’

Furthermore, such V3-examples allow us to understand the nature of the WCO-effect better. In fact, if the resumptive is situated in the prefield of the verb, WCO still obtains, showing that it is not sufficient to just locate the DP and the resumptive in different phases (34). On the other hand, if the resumptive remains in situ, co-referentiality is possible. This shows that the crucial fact is not whether the topic is situated in a different phase than the resumptive or not, but rather whether the clause-internal resumptive is C-commanded by the DP which contains the coreferential expression (35). The latter is a marginal construction in Norwegian, since the in-situ placement of the resumptive is not generally accepted, but what matters here is that the WCO is finally obviated in such cases:

- (35) * Johnny_i, ham_i har moren hans_i alltid bortskjemt (Norwegian)
 Johnny him has mother his always spoiled
- (36) ? Johnny_i, moren hans_i har alltid bortskjemt ham_i
 Johnny mother his has always spoiled him
 ‘Johnny, his mother has always spoiled him’

These facts provide strong additional evidence in favour of the analysis proposed here, since both resumption and WCO correlate perfectly with dislocation, both between Romance and Germanic V2 languages and within Germanic V2 languages. Of course, V3-structures like (34–36) raise the question of what head is responsible for the creation of the left periphery involved in linear V3 in Germanic V2 languages. The natural answer is Force⁰ since we already concluded that Force⁰ is a phase head. If so, the left periphery or dislocation domain in Germanic V2 must be even higher than Force⁰, possibly simply Spec-ForceP. This would align well with observations made by Benincà & Poletto (2004) and Wolfe (2018) that there is at least one projection above ForceP, reserved for ‘scene-setting’ elements or Hanging Topics. However, it must be noted that the dislocated element in such V3 structures can be both case-marked (in German) and embedded (in Norwegian), which does not point towards a high position above Force⁰. There is still an unresolved issue here, but I must leave that aside in this paper.

4. Residual verb-second

In the preceding sections, I have proposed a new analysis of V2 languages and thereby also a new way of accounting for the differences between the latter and non-V2 languages like Modern Romance. The analysis was motivated by the different properties of topics in V2 and non-V2 languages, and the hypothesis is that the movement of the verb to the phase head Fin⁰ in V2 languages renders the phase inactive, meaning no left periphery is created at this derivational point. The attractiveness of this analysis is that it does not postulate any inherent differences between V2 and non-V2 languages with respect to phase structure or the featural content or derivation of topics. The variation is explained in terms of phasehood, tying movement of the verb, resumption and WCO together in a single model with minimal assumptions.

The question to be considered here is to what extent this model can say something about ‘residual verb second’ in otherwise non-V2 languages. This amounts to asking why it is the case that a certain subset of V2 contexts remains active even when generalised V-to-Fin⁰ has been lost. If we consider what contexts these are, the most commonly shared construction are wh-questions, which feature V-to-C movement in both English and many Romance varieties. Beyond this, there is a repertoire of particular contexts, not identical across languages, which apparently favour movement of the verb. Generalising broadly, we may say that these are *focal* domains (see the various relevant contributions to this issue). This does not mean that any initial focus must always be directly followed by the verb, but rather that cases of apparent verb movement seem to be restricted to focal as opposed to topical contexts. What counts as a focus or alternatively as the ‘right kind of focus’ might possibly vary.

I choose to put aside the precise nature of the criteria and focus on how we might explain the movement that does take place. As a first observation, notice that, at least if we restrict our attention to Germanic and Romance, foci do not show any different behaviour between V2 and non-V2 languages. At least as a general truth, resumption is ruled out and WCO always obtains. In the previous section, we saw that this is precisely the behaviour of (non-dislocated) topics in Germanic V2 languages, and it was suggested that the reason for this is that topics are simply clause-internal in a V2 language, since they do not cross an active phase head after Fin^0 has been deactivated by movement of the verb.

Suppose now that we pursue the logic of the model one step further by saying that there is no inherent syntactic difference between topics and foci either, apart from the feature they carry. This suggests that foci do not cross a phase head in either group of languages, in other words that focus is always clause-internal. For Romance or non-V2 languages in general, this would mean that foci are situated below the phase head Fin^0 . While this is in contradiction with cartographic models, which generally postulate FocP as the lowest left-peripheral head (Rizzi 1997; Benincà & Poletto 2004), linguists have argued before that foci do not target a specific projection in the left periphery. In fact, focus seems available in various positions in the clause. Germanic languages have focus in situ, allowing a focal reading without apparent displacement. French allows short movement of adjectives within the DP to trigger focal readings, and Szendrői (2012) argues that the same applies in the English DP. Middle field scrambling in both Romance (Martins 2011; Samek-Lodovici 2015) and Continental Germanic (Neeleman & Koot 2008) is intricately connected to focal readings. A possible way of interpreting these facts is that there is no dedicated focus position anywhere, and that focus movement is driven entirely by concerns of scope, in order to compute the domain of contrast, in the sense of Neeleman et al. (2009). A short movement computes a very local contrast. For instance, DP-internal focus movement of an adjectival modifier evokes alternative sets relative to that specific modifier (Szendrői 2012). Middle field scrambling serves to evoke contrasts with respect to theta-bearing arguments of the verb. Pursuing this logic, it is reasonable to suppose that the largest scope a focus can ever attain, is when the entire proposition is the domain of contrast.⁹

I therefore speculate that focus only moves as high as to a position above the core-clause, without occupying a left peripheral position. This is precisely the conclusion that is reached by Samek-Lodovici (2015) based on evidence from Italian. Within the phasal theory of the left periphery that is presented here, this means that focus in Romance languages is sent to the interfaces by the phase head Fin^0 , rather than the higher phase head Force^0 . If this is the case, several new generalizations emerge

⁹ The term ‘entire proposition’ here refers to a clause with a gap which is precisely where the focus has moved from. The argument of a focus is therefore strictly speaking not a proposition, since what follows a clause-initial focus cannot be assigned neither a truth value nor truth conditions without resolving the variable bound by the focus itself. This is precisely what distinguishes it from a topic, since a topic takes an argument – the comment – which does contain an entire proposition, and which does in fact establish truth conditions. The fact that Germanic topics leave a gap, in other words no resumptive, is therefore an exceptional fact of V2 languages from which the ‘focal’ properties of V2 topics follow very naturally in the model presented here.

(37-39), where the tentative (39) could potentially unify V-to-C movement in full V2 systems and residual V2 constructions:

- (37) Focus is never left-peripheral, meaning it is never situated above a phase head in the C-domain
- (38) The left periphery only contains topics. In a V2 language, topics can be clause internal
- (39) Criterial movement to a *clause-internal* position above the core clause triggers movement of the verb

The epithet *clause-internal* is fundamental here. This would apply to foci in general if the hypothesis of a clause-internal, non-left peripheral position is correct, and it exceptionally applies to topics in V2 languages because the generalised movement of the verb to Fin^0 has deactivated the phase, meaning even TopP is clause-internal in these languages. There is a conceptual plausibility to this idea since the clause is an Extended Projection of the verb. If the analysis presented here is on the right track, this might shed new light on the elusive trigger behind head movement of the verb (Chomsky 1995, 2000), which seems at least partly related to ‘extending’ the phrase marker.

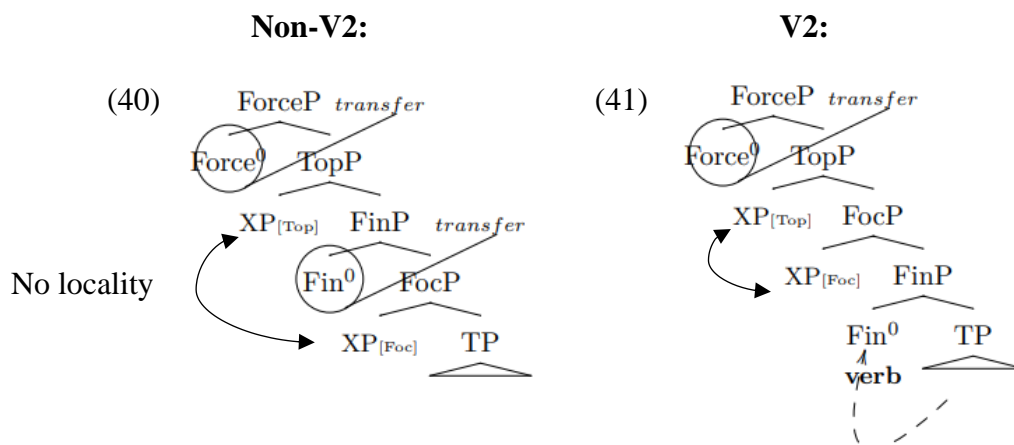
Summarizing, this is a revised model of the left periphery which departs from the standard view of the left periphery as an absolute term, co-extensive with the C-domain. The suggestion is that the left periphery is created by the first phase head introduced in the syntax after the core clause has been constructed. Fin^0 is assumed to universally be a phase head, but V-to- Fin movement of the verb renders the phase inactive, thereby postponing the creation of the left periphery until the insertion of the higher phase head Force^0 . From this several natural differences in topicalization between V2 languages and non-V2 languages have been shown to follow.¹⁰

At first sight, it seems like the analysis of focus outlined above (cf. 37) cannot be extended to Germanic V2 languages. I have claimed that the verb moves to Fin^0 , but foci can manifestly appear in the prefield in V2 languages and must accordingly occupy a higher position than FinP . But notice that this also follows naturally from the

¹⁰ In presenting this new model, a convenient generalization has been adopted all along, namely that the finite verb only moves to T^0 in Romance, apart from in the so-called ‘residual V2’ contexts which have been discussed briefly. While this is true for the great majority of Romance varieties, several linguists have argued that V-to- Fin movement takes place in a much wider range of contexts, or even across the board in declaratives, in the Western Iberian (WI) languages European Portuguese, Galician, Asturian (Gupton 2014; Fernández-Rubiera 2013; Raposo & Uriagereka 2005), as pointed out by a reviewer. This is of itself no problem to the theory presented here, as long as these languages behave as expected in the contexts where V-to- Fin does take place. Under V-to- Fin movement, it should be possible for topics not to be resumed, unless the resumptive is a mere formal argument without interpretable ϕ -features (clitic doubling). Topic-Focus sequences should be heavily constrained, although one cannot rule out the combination of a high, first-merged topic above the phase head Force^0 and a following focus. If the hypothesis of generalized V-to- Fin in WI is correct, and if the aforementioned predictions are not borne out – barring independent factors – this would constitute counterevidence that calls for a revision. On the other hand, it is not the case, as suggested by the reviewer, that the assumed position of FocP above FinP in WI is counter to the model; it is in fact exactly what is expected if the verb moves to Fin (cf. 41).

analysis proposed here; since head movement of the verb to Fin^0 has deactivated the phase, a focalised constituent may move higher, even above FinP .

I will round off by suggesting that this might in fact be the key to finally understanding the linear restriction in V2 languages that the cartographic model is incapable of explaining (see section 2.1). We recall that topic-focus sequences are not possible in Germanic V2 languages¹¹, while these do in fact exist in Romance languages like Italian. The present analysis might capture this discrepancy as well. Since the verb does not move to Fin^0 in most varieties of Romance, the latter retains its phasal status, thereby creating a left periphery when inserted in the syntax. If the focus position is internal to the clause, as suggested in the previous section, it is sent to the interfaces by the phase head Fin^0 . This is not the case for topics, which are clearly situated in the left periphery above FinP . It matters little if topics are moved there, as suggested in this paper, or first-merged directly in the left periphery. The important takeaway is that topic-focus sequences work because the two elements are spelled out in different phases, and this obviates locality such that the focus cannot block the topic (40). In Germanic V2 languages, however, the topic position is also clause-internal, since the phasehood of FinP has been deleted by movement of the verb. Furthermore, if focus has no dedicated position, as suggested here, it will move to the highest position inside the core clause, which will be above FinP in a V2 language. This means that focus will in fact block topics, which explains why it is not possible to combine them in a V2 language (41):



¹¹ I must again stress that this only applies to the combination of a vanilla topic of the non-resumed kind and a focus, since a dislocated topic and a focus may indeed co-occur, inducing linear V3. The initial topic here is clearly in the Germanic left periphery, which must be a very high position, possibly above Force P (see section 3.2)

- (i) Den boken, hvorfor kjøpte du den? (Norwegian)
 that book-DEF why bought you that
 ‘That book, why did you buy it?’

5. Conclusions

In this paper I have presented not only a slightly revised analysis of V2, but indeed a completely new model of the left periphery. According to this model, the C-domain does not universally coincide with the left periphery of the clause. The core clause is simply larger, in a concrete sense of the word, in V2 languages, and this has important repercussions on the nature of topicalisation, explaining the lack of resumption and the presence of Weak Cross-Over effects. This is the basic idea, and I have suggested that one possible way of motivating this distinction is through phase theory; there might be other ways. On the present hypothesis, the left periphery is created by the operation *transfer* effected by the phase head Fin^0 , and the latter has lost its status as a phase head in V2 languages through head movement of the verb, meaning no transfer takes place and no left periphery is created at that point of the derivation.

As in theory development in general, the focus has been on a very limited set of data, drawn in this case from Germanic V2 languages and Romance non-V2 languages. It remains to be seen whether this model can scale up and tackle more diverse data from other languages. As presented here, the model makes very strong generalisations: that the left periphery only contains topics, that left peripheral topics must always be resumed inside the core clause by an overt or covert element, that the failure to provide such a resumptive will lead to WCO, and that foci are never left peripheral in the sense of this model. It is very unlikely that all these generalisations hold, meaning adjustments might have to be made or even that the model must be rejected.¹² Whether phase theory is the best avenue is also an open question, but the basic idea of a non-peripheral C-domain in V2 languages holds a lot of promise, since it allows us to tie together in a very minimalist fashion a set of seemingly unrelated phenomena.

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¹² Even Modern English provides counterevidence, since a topic in this only Germanic non-V2 language is in fact not picked up by a resumptive: (i) That book, I want to read. It is possible to speculate that English has lost V-to-C movement but somehow retained the non-phasal status of Fin^0 . This would explain why focus-topic sequences are ungrammatical in English as well but is otherwise very speculative.

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