

V2 effects in the world's languages.

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Germanic languages, with the major exception of Modern English, are characterized by the regular occurrence of the finite verb in second position in main clauses, particularly declaratives, a property widely known as 'verb second' (V2). In the classical formal approach this configuration is assumed to result from the attraction of the finite verb to the highest clausal head (C) along with the appearance of an element in its outer edge (Thiersch 1978, den Besten 1983).

Old Romance languages, even though they display V>2 orders quite robustly, have also been characterized as obeying a similar syntactic constraint: the occurrence of the finite verb in *at least* second position (cf. Jouitteau (2009)). While some researchers assume that Old Romance languages have a non-V2 system with V2 configurations following from stylistic, pragmatic or information-structural factors (e.g. Kaiser (1999), (2002), Sitaridou (2011), Elsig (2012), Varga (2017) for Old Romance and Haerberli (2005) for Old English), others propose to conceive of Germanic V2 as part of a wider set of V2 effects obtaining in various other languages (e.g. Old English (Pintzuk (1993)), Old Romance (e.g. Benincà (2013), Salvi (2012), Wolfe (2015))). In recent generative work, the latter approach has been framed in the rich model of the sentential left periphery in the wake of Rizzi (1997).

Modern English and Modern Romance languages likewise display V2 effects in specific contexts, in particular main *wh*-interrogatives (cf. (1), (2) and (3)):

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------|
| (1) | Which battery type would you recommend? | <i>English</i> |
| (2) | Quel livre a-t-elle acheté ?
which book has-she bought
'Which book did she buy?' | <i>French</i> |
| (3) | ¿Qué libro ha comprado María?
which book has bought Mary
'Which book did Mary buy?' | <i>Spanish</i> |

These languages have been labelled 'residual' V2 (Rizzi 1996), the implications being that the V2 effects are the residue of an earlier general V2 grammar, and that, in these constructions, the finite verb moves to C to enter into a Spec-Head relation with the fronted *wh*-phrase. However, these languages also deviate to various degrees from V2 order in the contexts at issue, a state of affairs that challenges the classical V2 approach in terms of verb-movement to the left periphery (e.g. Suñer (1994), Barbosa (2001), Goodall (2004)). A case in point is the order of the subject and the finite verb in Spoken French and Brazilian Portuguese, in which the former regularly precedes the latter (e.g. Ambar (2008), Kato (2012)):

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----------------------------|
| (4) | Quel livre Marie a acheté ?
which book Mary has bought | <i>Spoken French</i> |
| (5) | Que livro a Maria comprou?
which book DET Mary bought
'Which book did Mary buy?' | <i>Brazilian Portuguese</i> |

Among the many other languages that exhibit similar V2 effects is Basque, an SOV language that is typologically different from, yet, for centuries, in close contact with

- Does language contact play a role in V2 effects being an areal phenomenon in e.g. Europe?
- What do changes in word order in the history of particular languages teach us on the nature of V2 as well as its typology?

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