A crosslinguistic perspective on the relationship between information structure and V2

In this work we intend to examine the syntactic and pragmatic properties of a well-known phenomenon, namely Verb Second (V2) – and its V3 exceptions – analyzing its effects on focalization and topicalization. Our research question is about the still not fully understood issue of the "trigger" activating verb raising in a split left periphery. The definition of verb second we adopt - moving from Holmberg (2015) - is a purely syntactic one and amounts to saying that the clause structure is characterized by a double movement: i) the inflected verb moves to the C domain and ii) the fronted Vf must be preceded by at least one constituent/XP.[1] We propose a new typology of V2 from a different theoretical angle based on the following factors:

A) the criterial versus generalized nature of the verb second structure, i.e. the trigger of verb movement has to be parametrized in terms of features and therefore positions.

B) the information structural nature of the preposed element(s) which can be either a Topic, a Focus or have a neutral status (subjects have a special status) (see among others Grewendorf 2012, Wolfe 2018).

C) the possibility to circumvent the linear restriction yielding V3 and V* languages.

The first factor singles out languages like Armenian, where V2 is criterial for all types of Focus: In Modern Eastern Armenian, V2 alternates with unmarked SOV and it is essentially related to the Focus-criterion, so that the fronted XP results to be always in (any type of) focus independently from its syntactic function (Giorgi & Haroutyunian 2020 exx.1, 10, 5, 4):

(1) a.   Siran-ə   salor-ə   ker-el   ē
         Siran-ART   plum-ART   eat-PRF.PTCP AUX.3SG
         'Siran has eaten the plum.'

   b.   Yerek   ē   Siran-ə   salor-ə   ker-el
         Yesterday   AUX.3SG   Siran-ART   plum-ART   eat-PRF.PTCP
         'Yesterday-foc Siran has eaten the plum.'

   c.   Salor-n   ē   Siran-ə   ker-el
         Plum-ART AUX.3SG   Siran-ART   eat-PRF.PTCP
         'Siran has eaten the plum-foc.'

   d.   Siran-n   ē   salor-ə   ker-el
         Siran-ART AUX.3SG   plum-ART   eat-PRF.PTCP
         'Siran-foc has eaten the plum.'

The second criterion isolates languages like Kashmiri, where V2 is generalized, but still concerns only focussed elements (with the exception of the subject). From Manetta (2011, exx. 11a and 11b):

(2)   mohn-as di-ts   aslam-an   kitaab raam-ini k~trl raath
       Mohan-DAT give.PST-FSG Aslam-ERG book Ram-DAT for yesterday
       'Aslam gave MohanFOC a book for Ram yesterday.'

(3)   kitaab di-ts   aslam-an   mohn-as   raam-ini khatrl raath
        book   give.PST-PSG Aslam-ERG Mohan-DAT Ram-DAT for yesterday
        'Aslam gave Mohan a bookFOC for Ram yesterday.'

The third criterion applies to languages which allow for Topics to satisfy the V2 property and isolates strictly linear V2 German(ic) from languages with recursive Topics like Old Italian (and the older stage of Old French):

(4) a.   E   per questi intendimenti ha catuno   trovata sua legge (VeV 75)

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[1] Hence, we will not consider VSO languages like the Celtic ones, which indeed have T to C (see Roberts 2005) but do not require XP fronting and will concentrate our survey on both SOV and SVO languages.

and by these meanings has each.one found his law

'Through these meanings each one has found his law'

b. E per volontà de le Virtudi tutta questa roba tra' poveri dispense (VeV 99)

and for will of the virtues all this stuff among poor dispensed

'And according to the will of the Virtues dispensed all these goods among the poors'

c. *una fertra* FEI lo reis Salomon ... *Las colones* FEI d'argent e *l'apoail* FEI d'or; *li degrai*

a sedan-chair made the king Solomon …The columns made of-silver and the-support

per unt hom i montava COVRÌ de pur pura. (oPied.; *Sermoni subalpini*, 232)

made of gold; the steps through which man there mounted covered of purple

"King Solomon made a sedan chair. He made the columns of silver and the support of gold; he covered the steps on which one climbed up with purple."

In a strict V2 languages like German, the mandatory V2 requirement is satisfied by just one constituent which can be either Topic or Focus:

(5) A: Hast Du meine Brille gesehen?

Have you my glasses seen? `have you seen my glasses?`

B: Deine Brille habe ich auf den Tisch gelegt

Your glasses have I on the table put ´Your glasses, I have put them on the table´

(6) EIN HANDY hat er sich gekauft, und kein Tablet

A cell phone has he himself bought, and not.a tablet

´He bought a cell phone, not a tablet´

The typology can be summarized in the following table:

	A) generalized Vf to C	B) XP on the left of Vf = only FOCUS	C) linear restriction respected
German	+	-S; -O	+ (just one XP on the left of Vf)
Old Italian	+	-S; -O	- (more the one XP V3, V*)
Kashmiri	+	-S; +O	- (more the one XP V3)
MEA	-	+S; +O	- (more the one XP V3, V*)

We propose that the fundamental change in the CP system from criterial to generalized V2 is not the outcome of a progressively increasing set of criteria, but takes place when Topics are able to satisfy the V2 property, as in Old Romance and Germanic. These languages allow for Topics resumed by null operators and not by clitics. This is the crucial step in the evolution from criterial to generalized V2. This development is an effect of the evolution in the system of resumptive (clitic) pronouns, which has crucially changed in Romance when V2 was lost.

References: Giorgi & Haroutyunian, 2020, V2 and V3 in Modern Eastern Armenian. Woods & Wolfe (eds) *Rethinking Verb Second*, OUP; Grewendorf, G. 2012 Wh movement as Topic Movement. In Brugè et al. OUP. **Holmberg,** 2015. Verb Second, in Kiss & Alexiadou (eds.) *Syntax Theory and Analysis*. Mouton de Gruyter. **Manetta** 2011, *Peripheries in Kashmiri and Hindi-Urdu. The Syntax of Discourse driven Movement*, John Benjamins. **Roberts,** 2005, *Principles and Parameters in a VSO Language*, OUP. Wolfe, S. 2018, *Verb second in Medieval Romance*. OUP.