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## The emergence of a strict V2 system

**Introduction** Early Old Swedish – a Verb Second (V2 language) – exhibit clauses where more than one element can precede the finite verb. In (1), a free relative precedes an adverbial clause, which in turn is followed by a resumptive element, *þa* ‘then’. Counting the surface constituents, the sentence must be considered to be a V4 clause.

- (1) [hwar sum spillir not fore andrum manni]. [huggær swa sundær at hun  
who REL destroys something for other man chops so in.pieces that she  
ær ængu nyt]. **þa** böte atær skapæn . ok mæþ þre markær.  
is no use PA pay after damage and with three marks  
'If somebody destroys something that belongs to another man and to such an extent that it may no more be used, he should pay for the damage and in addition three marks.'

*Upplandslagen*, 1300–1350

**Fronted free relative clauses** In order to account for these violations of the V2 structure, we need to take a closer look at fronted free relative clauses in Old Swedish. There are two different types: one headed by a WH word, the other headed by a pronoun. Both clauses may immediately precede the finite verb, but they may also be followed by a resumptive element: either the resumptive adverbial *tha* (2) or a pronoun (3).

- (2) Nu [hwar swm wil annan til swar stemnæl]. **þa** stemni han<sub>i</sub> aa þingi [...]  
NU who REL will other to answer convene PA convene he on thing  
'One who wants to sue somebody else should convene him to the thing'
- Yngre Västgötalagen* 1280–1399
- (3) *þy at* [huar, sum æruir mōpur ælla fābur], han<sub>i</sub> ma egh frænda arf  
for that who REL inherits mother or father he must NEG friends inheritance  
*foruærka*.  
destroy  
'for the one who inherits his mother or father should not destroy the inheritance of his  
friends'
- Östgötalagen*, 1300–1399

**A rich left periphery** There are six different possible combinations depending on the kind of free relative (introduced by a WH word or a pronoun) and the kind of resumption in the clause proper (resumptive adverbial, pronoun or nothing). The distribution is far from random; rather it is indicative of a rich left periphery in Old Swedish. In the earliest texts, the language permits stacking of elements in the left periphery, something which permits us to evaluate the hierarchical relationship between the different constituents. In (4), the free relative co-occurs with an adverbial clause.

- (4) Nu [uarþær kona dighær i hore ællas ætsku spiælle]. [þæn sum *þy ualt*].  
NU becomes woman big in whore or incest the.one REL it caused  
han<sub>i</sub> ær sakær uip biskup at þrim markum.  
he is guilty by bishop at three marks  
'If a woman gets pregnant from infidelity or incest, the one who caused it owns the  
bishop three marks.'
- Östgötalagen*, 1300–1399

By using stacking as a method to map the left periphery of the Old Swedish main declarative clauses, we find that their internal order is as in (5).

(5) WH-relative ... adverbial clause ... DP-relative

Using a split CP approach, I will propose that the clausal hierarchy in Early Old Swedish is as in (6), where the finite verb moves to Fin<sup>o</sup>, and where both the resumptive and the pronoun target SpecFinP. A consequence of this approach is that Fin<sup>o</sup> is the locus of V2 (see approaches by Poletto (2002); Walkden (2015), Wolfe (2015) and subsequent work).

- (6) [HangingTopicP WH<sub>fin</sub> [SceneSettingP Adv<sub>fin</sub> [LeftDislocationP DP<sub>fin</sub> [FinP pronoun/*þa* [Fin<sup>o</sup> V<sub>fin</sub> ...]]]]]

**Changes in Fin<sup>o</sup>** This analysis is partly in line with Kiparsky (1995), who suggests that subordinate clauses in the Old Germanic languages were not embedded, but merely adjoined to the main clause. The data from Old Swedish, however, do not unambiguously support such a claim. On the contrary, the earliest texts seem to bear witness to the transition between an older system, where SpecFinP could not host elements containing a finite verb, and where SpecFinP could only be satisfied by Move. This is the case of the archaic structure, where a free relative following a WH word is base generated to the left of the clause-proper, and where the adverb *tha* is moved into first position of the V2 clause, occupying SpecFinP. In the next step, *tha* is reanalysed as a CP particle (see Wolfe (submitted) for similar analysis for Old French), and SpecFinP may now be satisfied by Merge (see Ledgeway (2008) for a discussion of the distinction between Merge and Move in V2 clauses). Finally, SpecFinP allows elements containing a finite verb (e.g. subordinate clauses).

By Early Modern Swedish (1526–1700), stacking is no longer attested. Fronted free relative clauses may only be followed by a pronoun, as in (7). Taken together, this indicates that fronted clauses by now are all derived by movement and that the language has reserved pronouns for resuming a left dislocated free relative clause.

- (7) *Huilken aff idher vthan synd är, han kaste första stenen på henne.*  
which of you without sin is he throw first stone at her  
'Let him who is without sin cast the first stone.' EMS, Gustav Vasa's Bible 1526

Based on this, we may distinguish between three different stages in the history of Swedish (8):

- (8) *Fronted clauses: Merge > Merge/Move > Move*  
STAGE 1 STAGE 2 STAGE 3

**Conclusion** Old Swedish is in transition between stages 1 and 2, while Modern Swedish clearly has reached stage 3. As a consequence of the new configuration of SpecFinP, subordinated clauses became more integrated, and the possibility of base generating subordinate clauses became severely restricted, if at all possible. The formal consequence is that Old Swedish changed from being a semi-relaxed V2 language permitting V>3 word orders into a so-called strict V2 language.

## References

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