TOPIC, FOCUS & V-SECOND

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1. It is the last of the headings which is in focus. A fully general account of the V-second phenomenon cannot be accomplished without trespassing into the area of topic and focus.
First of all the initial position, clearly delimitated by the verb-position, plays a crucial role in topic- and focus interpretation. What is even more important is the role of topic/focus in the emergence of the whole V-second pattern in a typological perspective. It will be claimed (in sect. 7) that the parameter-value responsible for V-second owes its existence to the reanalyzability of topic/focus patterns.

Since I am mainly concerned with V-second, I will be content with a workable definition of topic and focus, omitting details.
Following v.a. Jacobs (1984) TOPIC/COMMENT should be kept distinct from FOCUS/BACKGROUND. They have in common, however, that they both serve a discourse guiding function: The topic-comment relation is an aboutness-relation The topic identifies the point of reference for the comment. Focus_ing is foregrounding vis à vis a presupposed background.

Both relations manifest themselves in various patterns, some of which overlap: Topics occur sentence-initially and a means of focus_ing in German is fronting. Focus is determined by intonation, i.e. focused constituent contains the pitch-accent(cf.Stechow/Uhmann 1984).
It is this correlation which provides insight into a curious asymmetry in German:

(1)/XP-V_{fin} ...../

Whatever constituent appears in the XP-position in (1) is stressed obligatorily except for nominative NPs or adverbials; i.e. they can be stressed but they need not.,
This seems to indicate that for some elements fronting means focus_ing whereas for others this is not the case.

(2) a) Dieses Problem, das interessiert mich
b) Einen Syntaktiker, den interessiert das Problem
c) Gestern, da hat sich einer dafür interessiert

(3) a) Dieses Problem interessiert mich
b) Einen Syntaktiker interessiert das Problem
c) Gestern hat sich einer dafür interessiert

(2) illustrates an explicit topic construction. The corresponding items in (3) are main declaratives of the canonical form (1). (2a) und (2c) are contextually equivalent with (3a) and (3c), respectively. (3b), however, begins with a focused phrase, and is not equivalent with (2b), where the corresponding phrase is topic.
The question is then - given that the judgement is accurate - why a nominative NP or an adverbial can keep its topichood, but an object gets rid of it. Since the difference between (3b) and (3a,c) rests on the fact that the initial phrase is obligatorily stressed in (3b), it is worthwhile to strengthen the empirical basis by a clear-cut phenomenon, where stressability leads to a distributional difference. This phenomenon is the distribution of the 3. p.n.sg. pronoun 'es'. This pronoun cannot be stressed. Hence it can be used as a dignostic criterion for a stress-position.

(4) a) *daß jemand ihm es gesagt hat
b) daß es jemand ihm gesagt hat
c) daß jemand es ihm gesagt hat
d) daß jemand ihm's gesagt hat

The distributional restriction for 'es' - it cannot appear as the last in a series of arguments - can be accounted for easily if it is recognized that the preverbal position receives the main sentence stress. 'Es' cannot be put in focus by overt focus-inducers for the same reason. It would have to be stressed.

(5) a) *Ich habe { auch / sogar / nur } es* ihm verschwiegen

b) Ich habe {auch / sogar / nur} das ihm verschwiegen

If 'es' is replaced by a demonstrative which can receive stress, acceptability is restored.
The crucial observation is that a nominative 'es' can appear sentence-initially but no non-nominative one:

(6) a) Es hat die Blumen zertrampelt (es: e.g. the horse)
b) {*Es / Das} hat der Elefant gefressen (Es: e.g. the hay)

Whenever the nominative receives stress, 'es' becomes unacceptable.

(7) a) Was hat nun was zertrampelt?
b) *Es hat der Elefant zertrampelt (es: e.g. das Gras)
c) *Es hat es zertrampelt (es_1: the horse, es_2: the grass)

(7a), a multiple question, induces an answer with multiple foci, hence an 'es' in focus.
The distribution of 'es' in initial position discriminates clearly between nominatives and non-nominatives.
For adverbials the situation is similar but it has to be demonstrated indirectly, because a sequence of prepostion 'es' is replaced by the lexicalized variant 'da'+preposition:

(8) a) mit es - damit
b) über es - darüber
c) für es - dafür
d) neben es- daneben
e) vor es - davor
f) hinter es -dahinter

As indicated in (8) stress rests on the second syllable.
It shifts to the first if the item is focused:

(9) Womit hat er nicht gerechnet? (: focusing the PO)

{Dāmit / Damīt} sicher nicht!

(10) {Dāmit / Damīt} hat er sicher nicht gerechnet

The difference between (9) and (10) shows that a sentence initial adverbial may stay without focus-stress, a property shared by a nominative NP but not by non-nominative NPs. What is the relevant difference and how does it enter into the system of focus assignment?
One might be tempted to attribute the difference to serialization: If nominative precedes the other NPs in basic order the relative order is not changed if it is fronted. Fronting of another NP, however, would have to be licensed, e.g. by focusing.
This temptation must be resisted, however. There are nominative NPs which are preceded by other NPs (s. Haider 1983, den Besten 1983) and nevertheless they remain unstressed.

(11) a) daß dem Mann das Haus gefällt
b) daß den Kritiker ein Musical nicht beeindruckt
c) Es gefällt dem Mann
d) Es beeindruckt den Kritiker nicht

Serial or structural position cannot be used to make the relevant distinction.
Since there is no obvious alternative the question has to be put in a more general perspective.
Assuming that the sentence initial position is a derived position (cf. Koster 1975, Thiersch 1978, den Besten 1976) we may ask for the licensing conditions for an item to occur in initial position. Obviously the licensing conditions are different for nominative and non-nominative NPs. For

the latter, the licensing context is focusing, but what is it for nominative NPs?
It will turn out that an answer leads to the core of case assignment and the V-second parameter.

2. Verb-second

A satisfactory account of this phenomenon must provide an answer to the following questions:

1. What is the trigger? (i.e. the typological parameter)
2. How does the trigger relate to UG?
3. How can it emerge?(i.e. in a diachronic perspective)
4. How can it disappear?
   (How did English as the only Germanic language lose this property?)

So far there is consensus only w.r.t. the second question; The verb-second phenomenon should be related with the COMP position, a proposal which originates from den Besten's (1976) stimulating approach.
Even though there is agreement in the basic approach, it is unclear why there should be a phenomenon like that: Whatever it is that makes a verb move to the second position, this position involves COMP.

To date there are several attempts to analyze the V-second phenomenon in German. They all have in common that they assume two independent positions, one for the fronted element and one for the finite verb. The latter position is the position for complementizers, too. This guarantees a complementary distribution.[1)]

1

It is this assumption - two independent positions - which is refuted with a most convincing battery of arguments in Reis (1983). Any serious proposal has to be measured against the standards set up by her.
First of all the problem of overgeneration must be solved.
For ease of reference let us call the first position A and the second B.

(1) $[\ XP \ldots A \quad \{ V_f \ldots / C(omplementizer) \ldots B \}\ ]$

If the two positions could be filled independently we would expect the following array to be grammatical as a whole which is not the case:

(2)

	i) main clause		ii) subordinate clause	
	A	B	A	B
a)	*Ø	Ø	*Ø	Ø
b)	*XP	Ø	*XP	Ø
c)	*XP	C	*XP	C
d)	*C	V_f	*C	V_f
e)	XP	V_f	XP	V_f
f)	Ø	C	Ø	C
g)	V_f	Ø	*V_f	Ø
h)	*Ø	V_f	Ø	V_f

First it is surprising that the very same pairings are either grammatical or ungrammatical both for main and embedded clauses (2a-d), (2e,f). The pairings (2gh) involve theory internal considerations. Taken superficially they could be collapsed in the statement that V-initial structures are possible both in embedded and main clauses.

(2) is a non-exhaustive summary of patterns that do or do not occur. What is missing in addition is the fact that there is an inverse markedness factor:
(2e) is unconstrained for main clauses, but limited for embedded. (2f) is the unmarked pattern for embedded clauses but stylistically constrained for main clauses.
Examples (which are taken mainly from Reis (1983) for (2c) and (2f) are given in (3) and (4) respectively:

(3) a) Ob Hans wohl verschlafen hat?
b) Daß Hans aber auch immer zu spät kommen muß!
c) Wenn er doch endlich hier wäre!

(4) a) Die Illusion, er könne nochmals von vorne anfangen, hat er noch immer
b) Solange man sich wünscht man wäre woanders als man ist, ist man unglücklich

The alternation between 'daß'-complement and lack of 'daß' with main-clause word order is limited to a subset of elements that take finite clausal complements. The verb in (5a) tolerate the alternation, those in (5b) don't.

(5)a) hoffen, glauben, wünschen, sagen, ahnen, behaupten, ...
b) bedauern, bereuen, sich freuen, ausschließen, bemerken, beabsichtigen, ...

The subset (5a) turns out to be an interesting one: The examples in (5a) are bridge verbs, i.e. they allow wh-extraction in those varieties of German that allow extraction across 'daß'.

It is exactly the complementizer-less construction which allows wh-extraction also in those variants of German that do not extract across 'daß':

(6) a) Wann$_i$ sagte sie [e$_i$ würde sie zurück sein]?
b) Wer$_i$ behauptete er vor Zeugen [e$_i$ wäre ein Esel]?

(6) is an example for (2b). If daß-drop correlates with the bridge-property, it is the escape-hatch for distant extraction that would be otherwise blocked by the complementizer.

(2h) must be kept distinct from (2g), which is the standard

interrogative pattern.

(7) a) Hat sie dich gesehen?
b) kommt sie?

This pattern cannot occur in embedded clauses except for conditionals.

(8) a) Die Frage, ob er bleiben dürfe, stieß auf Unverständnis.
b) *Die Frage, dürfe er bleiben, stieß auf Unverständnis.
c) Wenn du bleibst, gehe ich
d) Bleibst du, gehe ich.

It will become clear in the course of the discussion that (8b) is ruled out by the same condition that rules out a wh-item in the preverbal position of a daß-drop clause.

(9) a) Wer sagte dir daß sie wen heiraten würde ?
b) Wer sagte dir sie würde wen heiraten ?
c) *Wer sagte dir wen würde sie heiraten ?

For the time being it is sufficient to note that the finite verb in 2g) is in complementary distribution with a wh-item (10a), which is not the case for (2b), cf. (10b).

(10) a) * Hat sie wen gesehen?
b) Wann sagte sie hätte sie wen gesehen?

These observations already lead to the main thrust of Reis' criticism. She notes that there are crucial asymmetries between main and subordinate clauses, which are not accounted for in current analyses.
I will discuss them in the order of her presentation.

(R1) i) Wh-question with V/2 occur without exception in main clauses only
ii) Wh-questions in embedded clauses are exclusively verb-final (Reis 1983, W 1)

(R2) In subordinate clauses wh-items are equivalent to complementizers but not in main clauses (Reis 1983, W2)

(R3) The only XPs that can introduce a clause with verb-final structure are wh-phrases and relative-phrases (Reis 1983, W5)

(R4) In verb-initial structures there cannot occur a wh-phrase (Reis 1983, W 4)
A wh-phrase must be placed at the beginning of the clause which is in its scope (W6).

(R2) deserves some explication. The non-equivalence can be illustrated with several phenomena:

In main clauses wh-phrases have the same distributional properties as any XP in initial position.

(11) a) Wen hat sie gesehen?
b) Den Mann hat sie gesehen.

In embedded clauses, however, a wh-item is equivalent to a complementizer.

(12) a) Ich weiß nicht, {wen / ob} sie getroffen hat
b) *Ich weiß nicht, sie ihn getroffen hat

In main clauses a wh-item may be left - in a stylistically marked context - in situ, which is not possible in embedded clauses (Reis 1983: 26).

(13) a) Und ihr kommt nun endgültig wann?
b) *Darf ich wissen ihr nun endgültig wann kommt?

Daß-drop and extraction is possible only if the extracted item is placed into the matrix-COMP:

(14) a) Wann sagte sie dir [- würde sie glauben [- wäre die günstigste Zeit]]
b) *Ich frage mich wann sie glaubt [- wäre die günstigste Zeit]

These asymmetries seem to undermine the general assumption that wh-movement is movement towards the COMP-position . Reis concludes her criticism by presenting as a counterproposal the asymmetry hypothesis: Only embedded clauses have a COMP-position. This conclusion is criticized by Scherpenisse (1983), arguing that her arguments are arguments against two independent (COMP-)positions but are not strong enough to support the asymmetry-thesis.
I shall try to demonstrate that the valuable insights of Reis can be captured whithout abandoning the canonical sentence pattern: COMP-S.

3. The grammar of verb-second

In Chomsky (1981) he introduces the element INFL which comprises the tense/mood/aspect features. This element is responsible for the finiteness of the verb. In English there is a categorial position immediately preceding the verb phrase, which INFL is assigned to. For German (and I dare say for all the other germanic languages) there is no evidence comparable to the distribution of English modals, to justify a categorial position for INFL. Surprisingly enough, all the other germanic languages are verb-second. Projecting the English model on the other languages - i.e. placing INFL adjacent to the finite verb - is

both unjustified and bars on a priori grounds an explanation for the exceptionality of English, as a germanic language.

It is the inflected part of the verb that moves in German. This asymmetry between inflected vs. non-inflected parts of the verb or the verbal cluster calls for an analysis in terms of the element that determines inflection, namely INFL.

Given the assumption that INFL is a syntactically autonomous entity, it may occur in non-adjacent positions to the verb. Agreement, however, requires adjacency. This can be observed independently in other areas where agreement is operative, e.g. adjective-noun, noun-relative pronoun (cf. Haider 1983a).

There are three possibilities for non-adjacent INFL-verb configurations to remain consistent with the principles of grammar.

i) INFL may be realized on a dummy verb (cf. English: do-support)
ii) the verb may move to the INFL-position
iii) INFL may move to the verb

I want to argue that the verb-second phenomenon should be dealt with in terms of the last two options.

In German there is a direct correlation (cf. 2.(9)) between the presence/absence of a complementizer and the verb position: Absence of the complementizer triggers verb-sencond in the embedded clause. This points to the conclusion that complementizers and INFL both are to be found in COMP.

These insights can be found in explicit or implicit form in most treatments of the phenomenon under discussion: It is

the finite verb that moves to COMP.

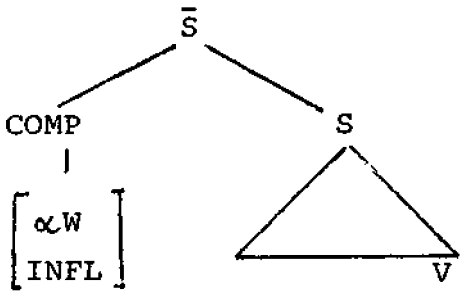
What was lacking, however, was the precise identification of the trigger and a precise execution of the idea, overcoming the problems noted by Reis (1983). The trigger is the position of INFL. This answer provokes the question, why INFL should be split from the verb at all. The hypothesis put forward by Platzack (1983) and Koopman (1983) in terms of the adjacency requirement for nominative assignment I do not share for principled reasons, which will be discussed in sect. 7, together with an alternative proposal.
Let us assume for the time being that the position of INFL in COMP is the relevant parametrization for a verb-second language (cf. Koopman 1983, Haider 1983).

The validity of this claim rests in the long run also on a successful execution.

The problem that cannot be tackled by current proposals is the interdependency between the A and B position, if these positions are available independently.

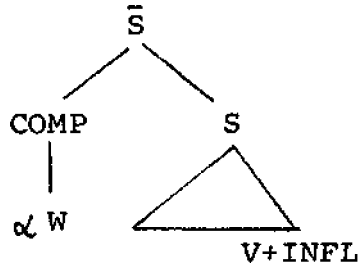
Therefore the solution must be sought without resort to all these variants. If there is only one position for both complementizer and INFL the straightforward structural assignment for German must be (1):

3-1.

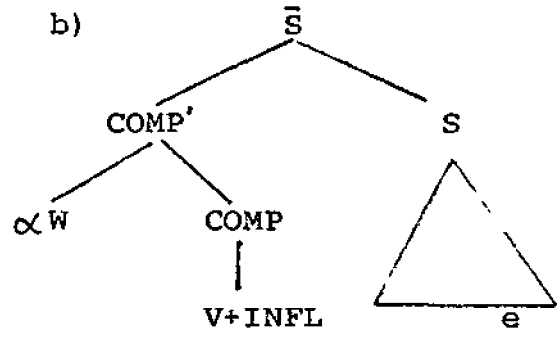


It is a brute fact that a complementizer does not co-occur with a fronted verb. This follows from the assumption that COMP can be occupied by a single element only. Consequently one of the feature-sets has to leave COMP whenever the other stays. We can observe two options in German:

3-2. a)



b)



Either INFL is mapped on the verb or the W-feature is adjoined to COMP. The whole range of possible combinations can be derived from a few properties, which are easy to make explicit:[2)]

1. There is a difference between the base position of COMP and the derived adjunction position. Some elements can occur only in the base position.[3)] These are the genuine complementizers. (cf. Lasnik/Saito 1984).

3-3. a) Basic COMP-Elements: complementizers, e.g. daß, ob, wenn; INFL
b) Optional basic COMP-elements wh-phrases, d-phrases (relative phrases)

2. Displaced COMP-features must be mapped on appropriate lexical item.

This condition is crucial in many respects. First of all it allows features to remain in COMP, without being taken

up by a lexical element. This is presumably the case for a [-w] feature in COMP in English main clauses.
Secondly it forces the verb to move into COMP, unless the INFL features are expelled from COMP.[4] Finally it will turn out that it allows a general account for the absence of wh-infinitivals in German.

3 -1. together with these two assumptions is sufficient for deriving all grammatical patterns as well as for excluding the ungrammatical ones. Let us start with the first set of table 1-2. This is the type of overgeneration that must be ruled out both for main and embedded clauses.

3-4. a) *Ø Ø
b) *XP Ø
c) *XP C
e) *C V_f

In 3-3.a INFL was characterized as a base-element in COMP. Base-elements do not move unless they are forced to. 3-4. a) could arise only by spontaneous demotion of INFL to V. But this cannot happen. Since the A position is empty, INFL will stay in its position, the verb will not receive its inflection-features, the clause will be finite and infinite simultaneously, which is impossible.

If XP occurs in the A position, this means that the B position is available for INFL (3-4.b).
This position could be emptied by spontaneous demotion only, hence the same reasoning applies again. (3-4.c) has six subcases. XP can be either a topicalized constituent, being [-W], or a Wh-phrase or the expletive elment 'es', being [-w], too. The complementizer can be either [+W] or [-W].
Any of these combinations is ungrammatical for a very simple reason: COMP contains the W-feature which can be specified

for one of the two available specifications, plus or minus. This feature will, however, be mapped on the complementizer. Hence there is no feature left for an XP to take it up. This amounts to the effect that it is impossible to have two different items, both of a W-type, in COMP:

3-5. a) * es [-W]-daß
b) * es [-W] - ob
c) * XP [αW] - daß
d) * XP [αW] - ob

The last case of overgeneration, (3-4.d), is a violation of the requirement that a complementizer stay in the base position.

It is worth emphasizing that this account relies only on COMP-properties and is independent of the status of the clause, i.e. main or embedded. This reflects the fact that this type of overgeneration holds for both embedded and non-embedded clauses.
Having dealt with impossible derivations, let us turn to the grammatical options and start with the main clauses:

3-6. a) XP V_f
b) Ø C
c) V_f Ø
d) Ø V_f (cf. 1-2.)

(3-6.a) is the canonical pattern for main, declarative clauses. A XP [-W] is not compatible with the base position of COMP, hence Infl cannot be expelled. V moves to pick up INFL and forces [αW] to adjoin to COMP. There it will be mapped on a phrase moved to COMP by an instance of 'move α':

3-7. a) Ein Auto hat er ihr geschenkt
[αW]
b) Welches Auto hat er ihr geschenkt ?
[αW]

Since move-α is compulsory only for wh-phrases, it may not take place for /-W/. In this case the /-W/ feature is picked up by the expletive element 'es'.

3-8. /Es [spielt][jetzt für sie das Mozarteumorchester die Sinfonie Nr. 36, C-dur KV 425/

Since 'es' picks up a 'spurious' W-feature in COMP, it is obvious why it cannot occur in embedded clauses: There is no W-feature available, since it is mapped on the complementizer (cf. 3-5.).

Why it has to disappear not only in Wh-questions but also in yes-no questions will become clear immediately.

(3-6.b) results from inserting a complementizer in the base-position of COMP, thus expelling INFL. Since complementizers cannot appear anywhere else than in their base position this option produces main clauses with clause final finite verb. The possibility that INFL is adjoined to COMP, which would result in a /V_f - C/ combination is ruled out by the same reason that ruled out (3-4.d). Complementizers and INFL are both basic COMP elements. INFL is either realized in its base position or mapped on an appropriate element, i.e. the verb.

The interesting case is in this respect (3-6c.).

At first sight this pattern looks puzzling. There is a finite verb in first position, but INFL could not have been there. On the other hand the finite verb must occur in the A position. If V-initial structures are analyzed as having the verb in B position, the W-features are not picked up.

The solution, however, is very simple, if it is recognized

that the pattern (3-6c) is an interrogative pattern. We know from wh-questions, that the /+W/ feature must be picked up. It is natural to generalize this property to all types of questions. (3-6c) is generated as follows:
The verb is fronted to the INFL-position to receive the inflection features. Consequently, the W-feature leaves the basic position for the adjunction position.

3-9. $[_{\alpha W} \quad [\ V_{INFL}\ ]\ ]$
$\quad\quad COMP' \quad COMP$

Let us assume that the W-feature in 3-9. is /+W/.
This means that it can be mapped only on an element that qualifies for interrogative interpretation! Interrogative clauses have either an initial Wh-phrase or an initial finite verb.
A general account requires to view the finite verb on a par with Wh-phrases in its ability to match the /+W/ feature.
So (3.10) is derived from (3-9.) in exactly the same way as Wh-interrogatives:

3-10. $[V_{INFL} \quad [\ e\ ]\ ]$

From this analysis it becomes clear why (3-6d) is excluded: It violates the second assumption, i.e. that displaced COMP-features must be mapped on lexical items.

Let us turn now to embedded clauses and continue with (3-6d) which is a well-formed pattern for embedded clauses with one qualification: The first position can be phonetically empty, but the feature /αW/ must be mapped. This is possible exactly in the case of extraction.

3.11 Wann$_i$ sagte sie dir $[\underset{\bar{S}}{[}\ e_i\ [\text{würde}]]$ sie kommen$]$

The trace of the extracted Wh-element occupies the adjunction position.
This possibility is excluded for main clauses, since the adjunction position in main clauses is the top-most position, hence can never contain a trace of extraction.[5)]
Let us proceed to the other patterns, which I repeat for ease of reference:

3-12. a) XP V_f
b) Ø C
c) V_f Ø
d) Ø V_f

The question why (3-12c) is excluded in embedded clauses must be related with a constraint on (3-12a): The XP in an embedded V-second structure must be *[-W]*, cf. (2-9c).

3-13. a) Sie sagte [[sie würde] wann kommen] ?
b) * Sie sagte [[wann würde] sie kommen]?

(3-13a) is a well-formed echo-question, but (3-13b) is ill-formed under any interpretation.
Whatever constraint rules out (3-13b) will rule out (3-12c) as well. What they have in common is the structure (3-14).

3-14. [XP [ ]]
[+W]

In 3-13b XP is "wann", in 3-12c it is the finite verb which is a [+W] element, according to the analysis presented above (cf. 3-10).

(3-12b) is the canonical structure for embedded clauses: The base position of COMP is occupied by a complementizer expelling INFL. What remains to be accounted for is (3-12a) and the restriction that XP must be *[-W]*.

This leads us to the subcategorization properties of verbs.

Verbs subcategorize their complements. Verbs that take sentential complements subcategorize them for finiteness and for $[\pm W]$. I assume, following Kayne (1984), that it is the head that is subcategorized. For sentences this means the COMP position in either interpretation, i.e. taking COMP as head or INFL.
What is subcategorized is the base position of COMP.
That the adjunction position does not count is easy to demonstrate.

3-15. a) Er glaubt { *wann / daß } sie gekommen ist
b) Wann glaubte er [e_i sei sie gekommen] ?
c) * Er fragte sich [wann sei sie gekommen]

"Glauben" does not tolerate a $[+W]$-element in the base position (3-15a), but it allows the trace of such an element in the adjunction position.
"Fragen" is a verb that requires a $[+W]$-complement. (3-15c) shows that this requirement is not met when the W-element shows up in the adjunction position.

If it is the base position where subcategorization must be met it follows that complementizers and wh-phrases in embedded clauses trigger the final position for the verb. Subcategorization requires a lexical element to appear in the base position, hence INFL has to leave it.

As a consequence of the subcategorization of the base position a clause with initial V-position, i.e. the yes-no question type (3-10.) is excluded under embedding. This type is characterized by the verb in the adjunction position, but this does not qualify for subcategorization.

Interestingly enough a non-subcategorized embedded *[+W]*-clause shows exactly the expected alternation:

3-16. a) Wenn sie nicht kommt, gehe ich
b) *[*kommt *[e]]*sie nicht, gehe ich

On the assumption that a finite clause is subcategorized for either *[+W]* or *[-W]* we would expect verb-final complement clauses only, since subcategorization can be met only if the required element appears in the base position. The existence of the pattern (3-12a), however, calls for a less tight subcategorization requirement: A subclass of verbs - the bridge verbs - which subcategorize *[-W]* either accept a 'daß'-complement or a verb-second complement, provided that COMP does not contain a wh-Element.
How can the subcategorization property of these verbs be relaxed to accomodate the two options? The answer is to be found in the negative specification of the /α W/ value:
In the narrow interpretation the W-feature is either plus or minus.
[-W], however, can be interpreted in a weaker sense:

3-17. *[-W]* $\supset$ non *[+W]*

The presence of a minus-W feature implies the absence of a plus-W feature.
(3-17) is only an implication, not an equivalence, since the absence of a *[+W]* element does not imply the presence of a *[-W]* element.
(3-17) seems to be a convenient characterization for the class of verbs that allow daß-drop:
The requirement that the base position of COMP must contain a *[-W]*-element is replaced by the weaker requirement that the whole COMP must not contain a *[+W]*-element.

This account explains also the observation of Reis (1983: 15,D3)

that daß-drop is only possible for complement-clauses. If daß-drop depends on subcategorization it should be possible only in subcategorized contexts.

Now we can return to Reis' generalizations R1-R4 in section 2 and derive them in the system proposed here.

(R1): Wh-questions with V-second cannot appear in complement clauses since V-second can occur only if the complementizer is dropped. This is possible only in two cases: Either there is weak subcategorization, i.e. $\neg[+W]$ instead of /-W/ or it is a conditional. In the first case V-second is possible but a wh-phrase is excluded. In the latter the /+W/ feature cannot be realized by a wh-phrase, since then the sentence-type would change, so the possibility left is that the verb picks up the W-feature. This is possible because conditionals are not subcategorized.

3-18. a) Sie hätte die Lösung gefunden, wenn sie nur intensiv genug gesucht hätte
b) Sie hätte die Lösung gefunden, hätte sie nur intensiv genug gesucht.

In main clauses, COMP is free from sub-categorization restrictions. The verb in the INFL position forces the W-feature into the adjunction position.

(R2): In the main clause wh-items occur in the adjunction position, in embedded clauses in the base position of COMP. Therefore Reis is perfectly right: Positionally they are not equivalent.
It's a timely question why wh-phrases can occur in the base position of COMP. What distinguishes Wh-phrases from ordinary XPs?
The answer is straightforward, they are morphologically overt functional elements. They are positively specified for a

syntactic characteristic, i.e. *[+W]*. This feature determines a welldefined syntactic class. This is not the case for the *[-W]*-feature. On the one hand it partitiones the set of complementizers, but on the other hand it goes together with the complement of the class of *[+W]*-elements: Any constituent can fulfill a *[-W]*-function, but not in the base-position of COMP. If we reserve this position for uniquely specified elements, we receive the desired distinction: XPs cannot occur in the base position of COMP unless they are of a unique type: Either they are complementizers or a unique COMP-bound category.

This characterizes not only (R2) but also (R3): If only wh-phrases (and relative phrases) are possible base candidates, it is clear why they are the only XPs that correlate with the final position of the verb: If the base position is filled, INFL must leave.

(R4): German is a language type where the interrogative quality of a clause is marked in COMP. Thus it differs from other types of languages where wh-items remain in situ. In a well-formed wh-clause, the wh-element must occur in COMP, except for stylistically marked contexts, like echo-questions.
If, however, the verb is initial, this means that it occupies the adjunction position of COMP, hence no position is left for the wh-item. This option is available only in multiple-question constructions. Since there is only one XP slot, other wh-items remain in situ. So the question is, why is (3-19a) a wellformed multiple question but not (3-19b):

3-19. a) Wer hat mit welcher Firma verhandelt?
b) * Hat er mit welcher Firma verhandelt?

An answer proposed by Aoun/Hornstein/Sportiche (1981) rules

out (3-19b) on semantic grounds. There is no well-formed logical form assignable to a clause being both a yes-no question and a wh-question. A wh-question like (3-19a) triggers a paired list as answer:

3-20. a) Für welches x, für welches y (x hat mit y verhandelt)
b) A mit Firma B, X mit Firma Y, ...

(3-19b) would require a pairing of yes/no values with individual-constants. On the assumptions that the list pairs contain elements of the same type (i.e. individual constants) the distinction between (3-19a) and b) is semantic.

It is worth pointing out that from the perspective presented here it was justified to summarize the two independent statements of Reis under one heading, namely R4: The common feature is the necessity for a wh-item to be placed into COMP. The choice of position, adjunction or base is handled by subcategorization.
Since a wh-item is a possible candidate for the base position this option cannot be ruled out for main clauses: Placing the wh-item in the base position makes INFL move to the verb, hence there are verb-final main wh-clauses:

3-20. a) Wer da nur dahintersteckt?
b) Wenn er doch endlich hier wäre! (Reis 1983:12)

A sentence like (3-20a) does not exploit the full structural capacity of COMP. This invites the interpretation that there is a constraint. Since it cannot be a syntactic one a stylistically marked value is attached to it; a musing question. (3-20a) relates to the question why embedded clauses have complementizers whereas main clauses do not, i.e. why

there is no restriction on the base position of COMP. This seems to me to be the residue of Reis (1983: 2,16) asymmetry hypothesis, which she formulates as: "Main clauses are unmarked COMP-less; embedded clauses are introduced by COMP in the unmarked Case." 6)

6

This hypothesis I cannot maintain for several reasons, conceptual as well as empirical ones. If one accepts the position of INFL to be COMP - the trigger of V-second - there cannot exist a sentence without COMP, since COMP contains the head of the sentence.
An empirical reason can be found in the extraction-pattern of daß-drop complements. According to Reis (1983: 2) verb-second and verb-initial clauses are without a COMP position. On the other hand she assumes that there are no embedded verb-initial clauses (Reis 1983: 15).
Hence a clause like (3-21a) must be a verb-second clause, i.e. a clause without COMP. Obviously these clauses allow extraction, the trace of which marks the first position. The same type of extraction, however, is possible with any XP, cf. (3-21b).

3-21. a) Wen$_i$ sagte sie dir, e$_i$ habe sie übersehen?
b) Ihn$_i$ sagte sie mir, e$_i$ habe sie übersehen

It remains unclear, however, why in (3-21b) the extraction has to take place from the preverbal position, since she assumes only for wh-phrases a fronting rule (Reis 1983: 40).

If extraction is - under the standard assumption - COMP - to COMP movement, it is obvious why (3-22) is ungrammatical. Under the asymmetry-hypothesis, however, an ad hoc qualification is necessary.

(3-22) *Ihn sagte sie mir, sie habe eingeladen

One possibility is to restrict extraction to the peripheral

position. This is not sufficient, however:

(3-23)a)Ich frage mich ob er nur meint sie hätten jetzt genug.
b)#Ich frage mich $\underline{\text{wann}}_i$ er meint e_i hätten sie genug

Although (3-23a) allows daß-drop, extraction is nevertheless impossible. Intuitively, the reason is obvious. There is a matching-effect: The antecedent of the empty adjunction position must be in an adjunction position itself. It is not clear to me how this insight could be implemented under the asymmetry hypothesis: Daß-drop is according to this hypothesis an option for certain verbs. They allow main-clause-type complements which allow extraction (cf. 3-21).

If daß-drop is analyzed as a subcategorization option the ungrammaticality of (3-23b) is predictable: Daß-drop is the consequence of non- *[+W]* -subcategorization, i.e. a wh-element is excluded from COMP. The difference between (3-23b) and (3-21a) is that the wh-phrase in (3-21a) is not subcategorized: It could be replaced by a non-wh-phrase without affecting grammaticality.
This is not possible for a subcategorized wh-phrase:

(3-24) a) ?Ich fragte sie, <u>wen</u> sie glaube, daß man einladen könnte
b) *Ich fragte sie, <u>ihn</u> sie glaube, daß man einladen könnte
c) ?Sie sagte, <u>ihn</u> glaube sie, daß man einladen könnte

Since 'fragen' subcategorizes a *[+W]*-head position, (3-24b) is ungrammatical.

It is easy to capture the matching effect in terms of a requirement on the antecedent-gap chain: a subcategorized head of a chain cannot be antecedent of a non-subcategorized empty category.

Since chains transmit the properties of the head (thus fulfilling the subcategorization on the extraction site), the adjunction position of the embedded clause is occupied by an element of a chain of a subcategorized /+W/-element. This clashes with the non/+W/ condition on daß-drop. The chain combines two conflicting subcategorization requirements. That it is subcategorization, not embedding, that matters can be demonstrated with 3-25 and 3-26.

3-25. ? Er ahnte, [ihn aufzunehmen]$_i$ würde es heißen [e_i wäre ein zu großes Risiko]

3-25, though somewhat clumsy, is far more acceptable than (3-23b).

(3-26) seems to be fully acceptable.

(3-26) Sie sagte, morgen$_i$ glaube sie [e_i würde es günstiger sein]

The difference in grammaticality between 3-26 and 3-23 on the one hand and the lack of such a difference in (3-21) points to the conclusion that subcategorization is a decisive factor. As 3-27 shows, a subcategorization requirement can be met only in the basic position.

(3-27) a) Ich frage mich, wann er kommen wird
b)*Ich frage mich, wann wird er kommen
c)*Ich frage mich, daß er wann kommen wird

If a verb subcategorizes a /+W/-complement, a /+W/-element must occur in the basic position. A wh-element in the adjunction position (3-26b) does not qualify for subcategorization, i.e. for fullfilling a /±W/-requirement. This goes together with the fact that in main-clauses the adjunction position does not constrain the range of element that pick up the

[αW]-feature. It is only the intrinsic, lexical, quality that determines the interpretation of the initial phrase. The basic position, however, is more constrained: The only XPs that can occur here must be [+W]. Being an XP and occurring in the basic position entails being [+W].
Hence a chain that leads to a basic position leads to a structural [+W]-position.
The /αW/-adjunction position is a neutral position, the basic position is pecified for [+W]. Hence a chain that leads to a basic position, but not a chain leading to an adjunction position is a [+W]-chain.
This quality clashes with the restriction on the [-W]-quality of the adjunction position of daß-drop complements. They tolerate [αW] chains, but not [+W]-chains. It is the structural quality that matters, not the intrinsic. Since the basic position is available only for [+W]-XP s by necessity, only [+W]-phrases can occur there. This must not be confused with an [αW]-chain that is headed by a [+W]-item.

It is instructive to take relative-phrases into account. They differ from interrogative phrases: A Relative phrase can only occur in the basic COMP-position, hence they always head a [+W]-chain.
This is the reason why there is no daß-drop variant for relative clauses:

(3-28) a) ?ein Mann, den sie glaubt, daß niemand mag,
b) *ein Mann, den$_i$ sie glaubt [e$_i$ mag] niemand

Now we are in a position to formulate a counterargument against Reis' asymmetry hypothesis. According to that hypothesis only embedded clauses do have COMP, V-2structures - the unmarked main clause pattern - however, are without COMP:

First of all, the restriction against [+W]-elements in the adjunction position of the complement of daß-drop verbs couldn't be related to the fact that verbs subcategorize the COMP-position, since V-2 complements

do not have such a position, according to Reis (1983).

Secondly, it is unclear why in embedded clauses a wh-phrase cannot appear in a V-2 pattern: under the asymmetry-hypothesis Reis' correct observation that embedded wh-phrases must be equivalent to complementizers remains an unexplained fact. Thirdly it would be strange if there were embedded clauses without COMP and if they are subject to constraints that apply to clauses with COMP, i.e. constraints imposed by verbs which require the presence or the absence of a wh-item in that very COMP-position.

In view of the successful derivation of the different properties from the standard assumption that any clause has a COMP-position, her defensive position is not justified any longer.

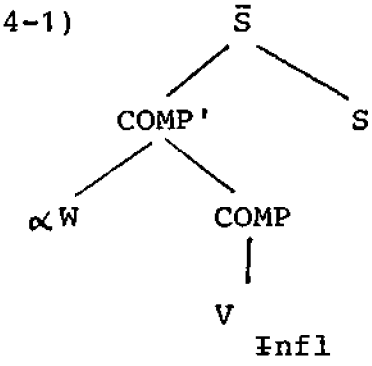
4. V-second: a summary

The distribution of the finite verb is determined by the properties of COMP and the position of INFL.Unless INFL is forced to leave the basic COMP position the verb has to move to that position to receive the features for inflection. There is a dependency between Infl and COMP-features being 'competitors' for the same position. The basic COMP-position can be filled only by one representative for the two feature sets.
If /&W/ is taken, INFL is mapped on V, if Infl is taken by the verb that moves to COMP, /&W/ is adjoined to COMP.

4.1 main clauses

4.1.1 expanded COMP

(4-1)



[∝W]:

a) es (-W)
b) XP (-W)
c) XP (+W)
d) V_{INFL} (+W)

If there is no element belonging to S to take up the w-feature the expletive elment 'es' occurs. Since it is an expletive COMP-element, it 'disappears' whenever its position is occupied. Thus it is obvious that it cannot appear within S.

(4-2) a) Es steht ein Mann vor der Tür
b) Es wurde gekämpft
c) * daß es ein Mann vor der Tür steht
d) * daß es gekämpft wurde
e) * Steht es ein Mann vor der Tür?
f) * Wurde es gekämpft?
g) * Ein Mann steht es vor der Tür
h) * Gekämpft wurde es

Grammaticality of c-h is restored immediately if 'es' is removed.

(2f,g) shows that the finite verb occurs in the adjoined position: V is moved to INFL and then, like any constituent may move to the [∝W]-position.
The fact that 'es' disappears with V-fronting correlates with another fact: Pronouns can be dropped in German in [∝W]-position if nominative or accusative.

(4-3) a) Ø habe ich schon auf den Tisch gelegt
b) Ø habe es schon auf den Tisch gelegt
c) * Heute habe ich Ø schon auf den Tisch gelegt
d) * Heute habe Ø es schon auf den Tisch gelegt

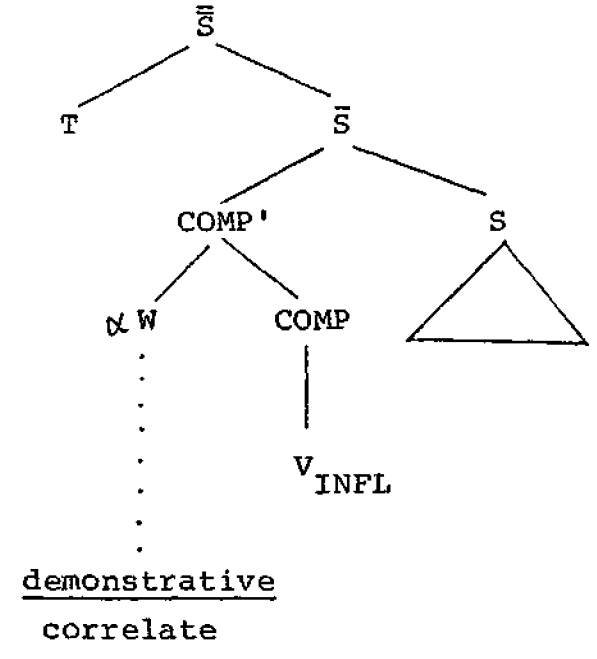
One account is given in Huang (1983). He assumes that topics can be replaced by an empty operator. If initial V is to occupy the /αW/-position the immediate prediction is that there cannot occur empty operators, hence questions are predicted to be as ungrammatical as (3cd), which is the fact: [7]

(4-4) a) * habe ich schon auf den Tisch gelegt?
b) * habe es schon auf den Tisch gelegt?

What is left, is the straightforward case, that a constituent of S appears in the adjunction-position as a representative of /αW/, being either [+W] or [-W], according to intrinsic properties of XP.

A subcase of (4-1) is (4-5), where (4-1) is embedded in a topic-construction:

(4-5)



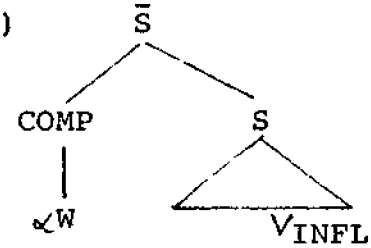
In a topic construction there must occur a demonstrative pronoun (or phrase) as a correlate in /W/ or, if occupied, in S.

(4-6) a) die Callas, diese Sängerin bewundert er immer
b) die Syntax, die kann ihm gestohlen werden
c) deine schlaue Lösung, wo bleibt die denn?
d) deinen schlauen Einfall, hast du den schon vergessen?
e) daß er sich bei dir entschuldigt, es darauf ankommen zu lassen, kam dir wohl nicht in den Sinn?

(4-6c,d) show that the demonstrative remains within S if the /αW/-position is occupied. (4-6e) is instructive, because it shows that it is a demonstrative, not a relative pronoun, that occurs in these construction: Relative pronouns only occur in basic -COMP-position, never within S. (4-6e), where /αW/ is occupied by a whole clause shows that the demonstrative stays within that clause.

4.1.2 unexpanded COMP in main clauses

(4-7)



/αW/:
a) daß
b) ob
c) wenn
d) wh-or d-phrases

(4-7) is the only possible configuration for non-expanded COMP, irrespective of embedding: Only a basic COMP-element can expel INFL. But if INFL stays, the verb will move to COMP and expel /αW/.

All instances of (4-7) as a main clause have a particular stylistic value, which reflects the fact that an available

option - i.e. expanded COMP - is not chosen. They are either exclamative or musing questions.
All other complementizers introduce adverbial clauses.

4.2 embedded clauses

4.2.1 expanded COMP

In subcategorized clauses COMP can be expanded to give rise to a V-2 pattern as a consequence of the relaxed subcategorization requirement of bridge-verbs: non[+W] instead of [-W].

The only expanded COMP in non-subcategorized clauses is possible only where there is an alternative, functionally equivalent, pattern for the original complementizer. This is the case of conditionals: If we classify 'wenn' as [+W], the alternation with a V-initial structure is straightforward, since V-initial pattern arise exactly in a [+W]-configuration:

4-8. a) Wer ist gekommen?
b) Ist er gekommen?

The reason why the interrogative V-initial pattern cannot occur in embedded, subcategorizal clauses is a consequence of a missing counterpart of daß-drop for [+W] complementizers. Since daß-drop is a bridge verb property and verbs that subcategorize [+W] complements are no bridge-verb, complementizer-drop would be surprising.

Conditional clauses, however, are adverbial, so subcategorization is not involved. Thus both [+W]-patterns, [+W]-complementizer or V-initial can be exploited alternatively:

4-9. a) Ich wäre geblieben, wenn ich nur etwas mehr Zeit gehabt hätte
b) Ich wäre geblieben, hätte ich nur etwas mehr Zeit gehabt

c) Wenn du geschwiegen hättest, wärest Du ein Philosoph geblieben

d) Hättest du geschwiegen, wärest Du ein Philosoph geblieben

4.2.2 unexpanded COMP in embedded clauses

This pattern reflects the fact that it is the basic position which is crucial for subcategorization: Since only embedded clauses are subcategorizeable, embedded clauses normally have a specific complementizer element in the basic COMP-position and consequently are V-final.

5. The nominative asymmetry

Now we are in a position to present a hypothesis on which to answer the question why a nominative argument in the adjunction-position is not focused whereas other arguments are.

The answer has to be sought in the idea of licensing. What licenses the appearance of an element in the clause initial position?

Obviously it is not the fact that the *[±W]* feature must be mapped on a lexical item. This could be involved only for *[+W]*. *[-W]*, however, can be represented by the expletive 'es'.

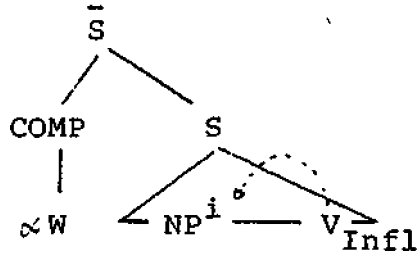
It seems then, that there are two licensing factors: one for fronting any element (including nominative perhaps) and one for nominative NP. The general factor is focusing. A fronted XP is interpreted as being focused, hence receives stress.

The other factor is INFl. This feature is responsible for the assignment of nominative: A case-index governed by Infl is realized as nominative. Government, however, is directional (cf. Haider 1984a). In German *[+V]*-categories (verb, adjective) are regressive governors, *[-V]* categories (prepostions, and N for adnominal genitive) are progressive

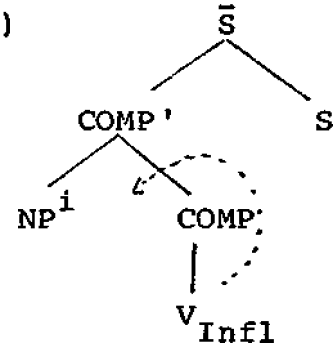
governors. Regressive means that the governee has to be on the left side of the governor, progressive on the right.

Infl is exceptional. Since the Infl position is outside S, there are two ways for assigning nominative:
Infl is mapped on V, then it governs progressively or V moves to Infl.

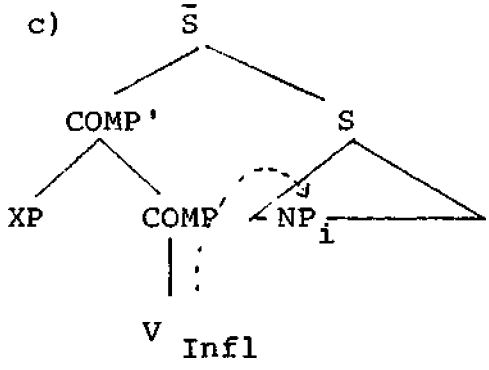
(5-1) a)



b)



c)



If the NP that becomes nominative is in fronted position it will be governed by Infl and its index is realized as nominative. In (5-1a) and b) Infl governs regressively. In (5c), however, it has to govern progressively.

The licensing condition for fronting nominative is the unmarked, i.e. regressive directionality of Case realization by Infl. This condition does not hold for other NPs, hence nominative NPs have a special licensing context for the fronted position.

The reason why adverbials pattern with nominative can be understood if adverbials are contrasted with arguments: Adverbials can occur in any position in the clause:

(5-2) a) daß heute morgen zwei Kinder den Bus veräumt haben
b) daß zwei Kinder heute morgen den Bus versäumt haben
c) daß zwei Kinder den Bus heute morgen versäumt haben
d) Heute morgen haben zwei Kinder den Bus versäumt

If we interpret their distributional freedom as lack of a specific base position, i.e. theycan chose any position, th n they will appear in the [αW]-position as well.

6. Additional evidence and consequences

6.1 Inflected COMP

Haegeman (1982) for Famish, as well as Reis (1983) for German, discuss 'inflected' complementizers:
A copy of the inflection-morphology is attacked to COMP.

(6-1) a) weilste/obste/daßste endlich komst
b) warumste kommst; wennste magst
c) denste kennst; demste ähnlich siehst (Reis 1983: 3.4.2)

If Infl is a basic Comp element, these dialects show that Infl is copied on V: It is realized in its base position and the verb receives a copy.
This phenomenon does occur only in the base position of COMP, which is predicted by the analysis.

6.2 Lack of wh-Infinitivals

In German there are no counterparts to English wh-infinitivals like (6-2):

(6-2) a) It is unclear what to do
b) I do not know who to ask

This fact can be deduced from the analysis:
Whether a clause is finite or infinite is a subcategorized property. There are verbs which allow only finite complements and others which allow infinites only.
Subcategorization is checked in the base-position of COMP:
The property to be checked in infinitival clauses is a property of INFL. This is the first premiss. The second premiss is that Infl cannot be mapped on V if it is non-finite. This follows from the fact that V does not move to the Infl position: If a mapping were required we would expect the verb to move like in the finite clause.
In the infinite clause Infl stays in the base position.
Now let us assume that the embedded clause is a wh-clause. This entails that another subcategorization requirement must be met in the base position of COMP, namely [+W]: A [+W]-element must appear in that position.

These requirements, however, cannot be met simultaneously: If a wh-element is placed into the required position and Infl cannot move it will be obliterated and that results in a headless constituent. For the time being let us take this as an account for the ungrammaticality. There is a more precise account which I can sketch only, for reason of space-limiation: As discussed in Haider (1984) and Evers (1984 .) there is a correlation between the presence ofthe element 'zu' and the presence of INFL.

'Zu', however is the prerequisite for there being a PRO-subject. Hence, if there is no Infl, there will be no 'zu', there will be no PRO, since this NP would be assigned case violating the Realization Principle (Haider 1983). If there cannot be a PRO, the θ-criterion is violated.

The way in which Tappe (1984) tries to tackle the problems, is problematic. He assumes that infinitival clauses do not have COMP, hence there is no position to place wh-items in initial position.

He commits an equivocation: Absence of complementizer means absence of COMP. It is obvious, that this view is to simple, taking into consideration the variety of functions the peripheral position called COMP is involved in.

Moreover it means to give up and resign in answering the question why there are these particular differences between English and German: Do all English infinitival sentences have COMP or only those with 'for'?

Next he is unable to account for the related phenomenon, why there are no ECM-constructions with 'zu', unless he claims that absence of COMP entails government of the embedded subject, thus ruling out PRO.

But then we would expect no control infinitivals at all: The absence of COMP should go together with the absence of $\bar{S}$, hence we expect only ECM constructions (like in Latin).

Finally there is a problem with wh-extraction out of infinitivals: If there is no COMP, how can subjacency violations be avoided?
In the account presented here, there is a straight forward derivation:
Infl stays in the base position and a wh-item is moved out via the adjunction position (6-4).

(6-4) a) $\underline{\text{Wen}}_i$ hat er gehofft $[e_i$ Infl$]$ dort e_i anzutreffen $]$
b) $\underline{\text{Wen}}_i$ hat er gehofft $[e_i$ würde$]$ er dort e_i antreffen $]$
c) $\underline{\text{Wen}}_i$ hat er gehofft $[e_i$ daß er dort e_i antreffe $]$

6.3 Lack of ECM-complements with 'zu'-infinitives

In German there are no equivalents to (6-3).

6-3. a) I believe him to have succeeded
b) I expect him to leave

It is a standard assumption that these constructions result from a process of $\bar{S}$-deletion. Deletion of $\bar{S}$, however, means loss of COMP. If COMP is lost then Infl is lost, too, if Infl is a COMP-feature. But Infl is the head of the clause: If there is no Infl there is no clause.
Given that Infl is a COMP-feature, it is an immediate consequence that there cannot occur an infinitival clausal complement with exceptional Case marking.
The constructions amenable to an ECM-analysis are all bare infinitivals. It is argued in Haider (1984) that 'zu' blocks Case-assignment to the external argument. It is de-blocked by INFL. No Infl means no deblocking, hence no Case that could be realized exceptionally.

8

6.4 Lack of infinitival complementizers [8)]

English (cf. 'for') has but German lacks infinitival complementizers (cf. Tappe 1984). On the assumption that 'infinitival' is to be interpreted as *[-tense]*, i.e. a negative specification with no morphological realization, Infl is not mapped on V in infinitival clauses. Infl stays with its negative specification in COMP. A complementizer and INFL are in complementary distribution, since both occur in the basic COMP-positon. If Infl cannot leave this position, there is no room for a complementizer.

6.5 The obligatoriness of V-Raising with 'NP-raising' verbs

The equivalents of English NP-raising verbs (e.g. seem) occur in V-raising constructions only (cf. Evers 1975 1984) V-raising is a process of clause union (cf. Evers 1984). The question is, why clause union is obligatory for these verbs in Dutch and German and why in English they keep their sentential complement. The answer is straightforward in the context discussed above: NP-raising presupposes $\bar{S}$ deletion. Deleting $\bar{S}$, however, means loss of COMP. Loss of COMP is loss of Infl in German and Dutch. If there is no Infl, there is no head for a clause. It is the absence of Infl which brings about clause union. The same conclusion is arrived at by Evers (1984) from a different perspective.
In English, deletion of $\bar{S}$ does not affect Infl.

6.6 Summary

This short excursus to infinitival-constructions shows that the assumptions which turned out to be basic for the analysis of the distribution of finite verbs lead to consequences for infinitival constructions which shed a new light on hitherto unexplained puzzles.

7. The emergence and loss of V-second

The V-2 property is typologically exceptional. This should be reflected in its account. Any account that ties it to basic principles of the grammar must explain why most languages do not have this property. This is the draw-back of Platzack's (1983) and Koopman's (1983) proposal.
They want to derive it from the premiss that Case assignment obeys strict adjacency. Hence Infl must be adjacent to the NP that receives nominative.
They seem to forget that any SOV language without V-2 contradicts their premiss. Furthermore the adjacency-requirement has been observed only for one language in one context, namely verb-object-sequences in English, which cannot be split by adverbials. But French already is an counterexample.

But even a charitable interpretation is at a loss: Given that adjacency holds only for V-second languages, we would expect that nominative and finite verb are an inseparable couple: Where nominative occurs the verb will be next to it. This, however, is simply wrong. German is a strict V-2 language, the nominative, however, can be shown to appear in any position in the clause.
This indicates that their account is too principled.
It is both typoligically and empirically inadequat.

7.1 The fronting-hypothesis

In his study on the development of V-2 in German, Lenerz (1984) proposes an account in terms of the reanalysis of a V-initial pattern. It is well known (cf. Maurer 1923) that in OHG V-initial clauses were not necessarily interrogative, but also possible declarative patterns. Given that fronting is a means of focus/topic formation it does not come as a surprise that V-fronting is a common feature for all the classic languages. It is observed in Greek, Sanskrit, Avestan. For Latin I refer to a detailed study by Dressler (1970). Lenerz argues that there was a reanalysis of this fronting variant, reanalyzing the fronted position as the tense - position. I agree with this approach, except that I assume it is the INFL position.

(7-1) The Germanic reanalysis

a) $[_{\bar{S}}\ T/F \quad [_{S}\ S\ O\ V\ ]$

b) $[_{\bar{S}}\ V_{INFL} \quad [_{S}\ S\ O\ V\ ]$ ⟩ REANALYSIS

c) $[_{\bar{S}}\ INFL \quad [\ S\ O\ V\ ]$

d) $[_{\bar{S}}\ T/F\ \ INFL\ [\ S\ O\ V\ ]$

If those instances where V is fronted are reanalyzed as movements to basic INFL position then, INFL being basic, there is still the position for Topic/Focus. Basic Infl plus T/F position makes Germanic a V-second language.

Being a V-movement language, another reanalysis was possible, which I discuss here as a kind of interlude, because it is necessary for gaining insight into the language type discussed by Koopman (1983).

(7-2) The Scandinavian reanalysis

a) $[\ NP_i \quad V_j \quad [\ e_i \quad O \quad e_j\ ]$

$\Downarrow$ OV → VO

b) $[\ NP_i \quad V_j \quad [\ e_i \quad e_j \quad O\ ]$

English took part in this reanalysis which may have been enhanced also by extraposition patterns, especially in embedded clauses (cf. Lightfoot 1979)

(7-3) The English Reanalysis

a) $[_{\bar{S}}\ NP_i \quad INFL \quad [_S\ e_i \quad VP\ ]$

b) $[_S\ NP \quad INFL \quad VP\ ]$

According to Lightfoot (1979) it is the peculiar development of English modals which is the trigger.
In several respects the modals became a syntactically unique class of verbs. They lost for instance their tense paradigm and could appear only finite.
The reanalysis was favored at least for two reasons: First of all, the modals, being finite only, occured in the INFL position only. Making this Infl-Position a basic clause position was a way to characterize the modals as a class of verbs that occur only in this position and furthermore that they always go together with another verb, the verb of the VP.

Reanalysis however made Infl adjacent to V, hence there is no movement. In those cases where non-adjacency would lead to movement a dummy verb is inserted.
It is crucial that the modals in all other Germanic languages still function as plain verbs.
This gives considerable support to Lightfoot's analysis.
The English reanalysis, however, entails the loss of the V-second property. Infl is adjacent to V_i hence the triggering environment is missing. Ironically, the paradigm language of linguistic research turns out to be the exceptional Germanic language.

(7-4) The Koopman-languages

a) $[_{\bar{S}}\ NP_i \quad INFL \quad [_S\ e_i \quad O\ V]]$

b) $[_S\ NP \quad INFL \quad [_{VP}\ O \quad V\ ]]$

Koopman (1983) claims that (7-4b) is the structure for the languages she investigated:
Auxiliaries and finite verbs precede their complements, infitivals follow. This is accounted for by movement of V to Infl.
The position of INFL, however, is derived from the adjacency requirement of Case assignment.
Since this assumption is highly questionable, the question arises, given that Koopmans analysis is correct, how such a type can come into being:
In the perspective presented above, (7-4) can be the result of the same reanalysis that we find for English. (7-4) results from (7-1) via (7-3) without (7-2)! We can take this as evidence for the independence of (7-2) and (7-3).
The prediction is that proto-Vata and proto-Gbadi have been ordinary verb-second SOV languages, like German or Dutch.

* The basic assumption of this paper - Infl as trigger of V-second - I presented first at the Syntax-Workshop at the International Summer School in Salzburg (July-August 1982). A satisfactory execution of this idea, however, was hampered by the kind of problems discussed in Reis (1983). It was her paper that stimulated the present version. The questions she raises set the standard against which any attempt with explanatory ambitions has to be measured.
I wish to thank W.ABRAHAM, G.CINQUE, A.EVERS, M.PRINZHORN, and the participants of GGS 1984 and of the Symposium on German Syntax (Venice) for helpful comments.

FOOTNOTES

1) A non-exhaustive list contains:

den Besten (1976;1983:60)

$[_{\bar{\bar{X}}}\ \underset{COMP}{\ }\ COMP\ V\ ]\ ,\ [_{\bar{\bar{X}}}\ ]\ -\ V$

Cremers/Sassen (1983:46)

$[_{\bar{S}}\ [_{COMP}\ XP\ ][_{S}\ [_{INFL}\ V\ ]\ [_{S}\ \ldots\ ]]]$

Koster (1978:201)

$[_{E}\ XP\ [_{\bar{S}}\ [_{COMP}\ ]\ [\ V_{f}\ ][_{S}\ \ldots\ ]]]$

Lenerz (1981:172)

$[_{\bar{S}}\ [_{COMP}\ A\ B\ ][_{S}\ \ldots\ ]]$

Koopman (1983:207)

$[_{\bar{S}}\ [_{INFL}\ XP\ V_{f}\ ]\ [_{S}\ \ldots\ ]]$

Olsen (1982:41)

$[_{\bar{S}}\ [_{COMP}\ A\ \ B\ ][_{S}\ \ldots\ ]]$

Platzack (1983:7)

$[_{\bar{S}}\ XP\ [_{S}\ [_{CONFL}\ ]\ NP\ VP\ ]]$

Scherpenisse (1984, sect. 2)

$[_{\bar{S}}\ XP\ [_{\bar{S}}\ V_{f}\ [\ \ldots\ ]]]$

2) This possibility does not necessarily entail that INFL is a constitutent. It may be interpreted as a feature-complex which may attach - subject to parametrization - to a specific position, e.g. the head of V^{max} or COMP.

3) What is called base position here is identical with what is meant by head of Comp in Lasnik/Saito (1984). I avoid the term head, since it suggests that Comp could be a head-projection.

4) This must not be understood teleologically, i.e. as if it were the function of INFL to make a verb a finite verb and therefore should move to V or V should move to INFL. Rather, it is the statement of a correlation:If V moves to COMP it receives the features determining finiteness. If it does not, it will receive these features only if another element occupies COMP and the features get displaced. It is easy to rule out a sentence with Infl-features left in Comp and V in final position:Infl-features are spelled out morphologically as affixes and would be stranded in Comp. A sufficient condition is proposed by Lasnik (1981:162):

"A morphologically realized affix must be a syntactic dependent at surface structure".

5) There is a similar construction which is apparently V-initial, but it can be shown (cf.sect.4, ex. 4-4.) that it is still a V-second pattern with deleted pronoun, or, according to Huang (1983) an empty topic-operator.

i) Ø habe ich schon gelesen.
ii) Ø muss es mir nochmals ansehen.

This pattern must not be mixed up with declarative V-initial variants, typical of exaggerated reporting style:

iii) Ich gehe zum Tisch und setze mich. Kommt da plötzlich einer auf mich zu und ...

This is an instance of 3-10. where the verb picks up [-W] instead of [+W], the regular pattern of yes-no-questions.

6) Scherpenisse (1984) objects, correctly I think, that the absence of a complementizer element does not necessarily entail that there is no COMP position.

7) This prediction was brought to my attention by G.Cinque.

8) It is interesting to note that the fact that Dutch has an optional complementizer 'om' correlates with a sub-categorized adjunction position in COMP:Embedded wh-clauses can have both the wh-phrase and the complementizer in COMP. If 'om' is in the adjunction position - a conclusion which is inevitable, since INFL occupies the base position - then the COMP-position for wh-extraction is blocked by 'om'. This is the case, indeed:
"An infinitival clause introduced by the complementizer 'om' is an island." de Haan (1979:119).

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