

V2 in the History of French: A review of the Literature

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April 27, 2007

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Ce travail a été fait dans le cadre du projet *Modéliser le changement : les voies du français* (GTRC/CRSH), dirigé par France Martineau. Il a été supervisé par Mireille Tremblay, Queen's University.

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Section 1: Review of the Literature

0. Introduction

Changes in the syntax of languages are not yet well understood; however, an understanding of such change may well lead to a greater insight into syntax in general. One interesting example of syntactic change is the loss of the verb second constraint in the history of French.

Verb second word order, found in most of the modern Germanic languages, is an order in which the inflected verb is the second constituent in the clause and is preceded by another constituent of an arbitrary phrasal category. Unlike Modern French, Old French was a verb second language, as seen in (1):

- (1) a Itieus paroles distrent li frere de Lancelot.
 those words spoke the brothers of Lancelot
 'The brothers of Lancelot spoke those words.'
 (La Mort le Roi Artu 21, cited in Adams 1989, her (2b))
- b Ensi fut Joseph perdus une grant piece.
 thus was Joseph lost a long time
 (Le Roman du Graal 27, cited in Adams 1989, her (2d))

In (1a), the first constituent is the direct object, and in (1b) it is an adverb; the subject is found following the inflected verb, whereas in the modern non-V2 order it would be before the finite verb. V2 word order is found in most main clauses; the situation is less clear in subordinate clauses, as will be discussed later in this section.

Old French also had some other properties which could make its V2 nature less obvious, such as clitic object pronouns, as in (2a), and pro-drop, as in (2b):

- (2) a Tu m'as amé celéement et jou toi.
 you me-have loved in secret and I you
 'You have loved me in secret and I you.'
 (Le Roman du Graal 29, cited in Adams 1989, her (2c))

- b *Si est en si grant desconfort.*
 so is (he) in such great distress
 ‘He was in such great distress.’
 (La Chastelaine de Vergi 188, cited in Adams 1989, her (3a))

Object clitics such as *m'* in (2a) do not count as preverbal constituents for purposes of V2 (Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991, Adams 1987, Kroch 1989); thus, the only independent preverbal element in this sentence is the subject *tu*. The sentence in (2b), which has no phonologically realized subject, could be interpreted as a V2 sentence with a postverbal null subject or as a non-V2 sentence with the null subject before the verb. However, the distribution of null subjects suggests that *pro* follows the verb: they are found in the same environments as postverbal subjects, suggesting that *pro* is licensed only when it is postverbal (Adams 1987). In addition, since the underlying word order of OF was SVO, any sentence with an initial subject has a derived V2 order which is identical to its underlying order; as discussed in §3, this fact figures in many analyses of the loss of the V2 constraint.

In §1 we will give a brief summary of the most common analyses of V2 and evaluate various analyses of the V2 constraint which applied in Old French; in §2 we will discuss several theories of syntactic change; and in §3 we will look at some accounts of the loss of V2 in French.

1. The V2 constraint in Old French

Among the modern V2 languages, two types of verb second are generally recognized. The first to be described was asymmetric V2, in which the constraint only applies to main clauses (and the complements of bridge verbs such as “say”); this type of V2 is found in German, Dutch, and the mainland

Scandinavian languages, among others. This type of V2 is usually analysed as having the finite verb in C and the initial constituent in Spec,CP. This analysis explains the root-subordinate asymmetry, since in most subordinate clauses C is occupied by a lexical complementizer; the complements of bridge verbs, sometimes called embedded root clauses, contain an extra (or recursive) CP, so that the upper CP contains the lexical complementizer and the lower CP is used for V2 (Côté 1995, Hulk & van Kemenade 1995). The second type is symmetric V2, exemplified by Yiddish and Icelandic, in which the constraint applies to both main and embedded clauses. This type is most often analysed as having the finite verb in I, with Spec,IP as a topic position rather than one reserved for the subject (Côté 1995, Lemieux & Dupuis 1995). Asymmetric and symmetric V2 are also known as CPV2 and IPV2, respectively. Both these analyses have been proposed for Old French.

Old French seems to have verb second effects in a wider range of embedded clauses than the modern asymmetric V2 languages allow. Lemieux and Dupuis (1995) consider these constructions to be evidence that Old French had generalized embedded V2. In addition, they note that adverbs of negation (such as “pas”) appear between the verb and a postverbal subject in OF, whereas in Dutch and Danish (asymmetric V2 languages) the postverbal subject is adjacent to the verb. They also point out some evidence against an interpretation of embedded V2 clauses as CPs, namely that constituents can be extracted out of embedded V2 (which is not possible for embedded CPs such as the complements of bridge verbs), and that embedded V2 clauses are often subjunctive (subjunctive verbs, according to Lemieux and Dupuis, are dependent on the main clause verb, and therefore too clearly subordinate to be interpreted as an

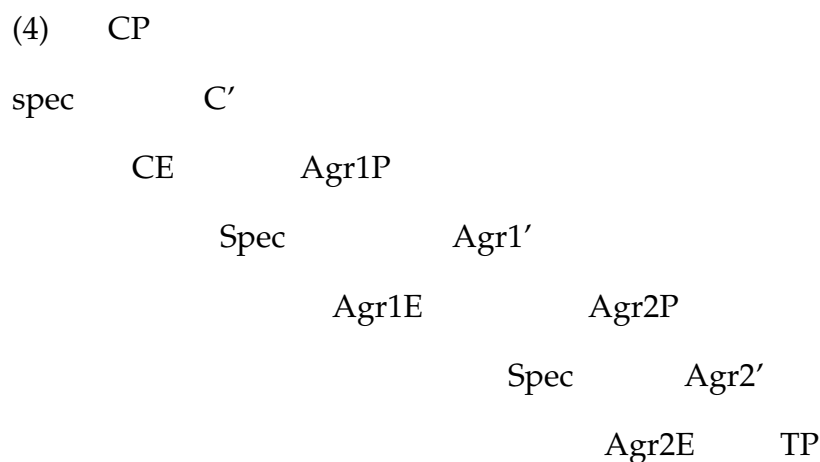
sentences are due to phonological reduction of *si* in XP-*si*-V structures, and V1 sentences are due to phonological reduction of *si* in *si*-V structures. When FinP is not present, the verb only moves to T, and V3 structures result. However, they do not explain what criteria determine when phonological reduction happens and when it doesn't.

Rouveret (2004) also assumes a more articulated CP but does believe that OF had Germanic-type V2. According to his analysis, the phrase structure of Old French underwent a change at the beginning of the 13th century. Before this change, ForceP was optional, so that both V2 sentences, with an initial constituent in Spec,ForceP, the inflected verb in Fin, and the subject within IP, and V1 sentences, with the inflected verb in Fin and no ForceP projection, were possible. After the change, ForceP became generalized to all structures; V2 sentences were then reanalyzed as having the subject in Spec,FinP and the verb in the head of an extra projection between FinP and ForceP. This change was due to a change in the location of the EPP: in the earlier system, EPP was a property of I, allowing the subject to stay inside IP; in the later system, however, EPP was a property of Fin, requiring the subject to move to Spec,FinP. This change is primarily intended to explain a change in the position of clitics: Old French clitics originally showed what are known as Tobler-Mussafia effects, in which the clitic appears before the verb in most contexts, except in V1 sentences where it follows the verb. Rouveret analyses these effects as requiring the possibility of [tense] not being dependent on a Quantificational/Modal trait (that is, governed by a projection hosting a Q/M trait). In his view, enclisis is impossible if [tense] is dependent on a Q/M trait, and there is always such a trait in ForceP. Because of this, after ForceP was generalised to all sentences, only

proclisis was available, so Tobler-Mussafia effects were no longer possible.

However, Rouveret does not pursue the cause of the change in phrase structure.

Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991) also propose an explanation for the loss of Tobler-Mussafia effects. Their analysis includes a more articulated inflectional structure for Old French up to the 13th century, with two (subject) AgrPs. In this structure, Agr2P plays the role normally assumed by AgrP, while Agr1P is a projection which hosts clitics and assigns nominative Case:



(adapted from Cardinaletti & Roberts, their (13))

In this account, Old French is an asymmetric V2 language, with verb movement to C in main clauses and to Agr1 in subordinate clauses; however, since the specifiers of both Agr1P and Agr2P are available for the subject, V2-type orders with postverbal subjects are possible in subordinate clauses until the 13th century. After the 13th century, they argue, Agr1P was lost, leaving only one AgrP; this made embedded V2 orders impossible after this point. The loss of Agr1P was caused by the loss of morphological case (since its function is to assign nominative case), and this loss in turn caused the loss of Tobler-Mussafia effects in the position of clitics (because clitics were hosted in Agr1E), as well as making preverbal null subjects impossible. According to C&R, this explains the

correlation between the appearance of clitic-first orders and changes in the contexts for null subjects.

This account may not be the most interesting one to pursue, as the existence of agreement projections has been argued against by Chomsky (1995:349-355), who notes that it is motivated solely by theory-internal reasons. In the interests of empirical falsifiability, it is thus desirable to postulate the existence only of projections “with intrinsic properties that are manifested at the interface levels” (Chomsky, 1995:355), not ones, such as the many Agr projections in C&R, which have no semantic or phonological consequences.

The loss of Tobler-Mussafia effects may not have been the only change in the phrase structure of French during the V2 period: some linguists have proposed analyses in which French has had both a symmetric and an asymmetric V2 constraint at different periods in its history. For example, Hulk and van Kemenade (1995) analyse OF as asymmetric and MidF as symmetric, while Côté (1995) believes that OF was originally symmetric and lost V2 in the process of changing to an asymmetric system. Since, in these analyses, the change is an integral part of the loss of V2, we will postpone discussion of them until §3.

2. Theories of language change

In this section, we will present a brief description of some of the major theories of language change that the discussion on the history of V2 has been couched in. Although they cannot be entirely separated, we feel that it is very important to make a distinction between the synchronic descriptions of various stages of a language, and the way in which the transition between those stages is expressed. This is because a certain theory of change can hold valuable insights,

even if the particular synchronic analysis used to exemplify it may not be 100% correct.

Roberts (1993) distinguishes three components in his theory of language change. A step, defined as “the appearance of a new construction, or a significant change in the frequency of a construction” (Roberts 1993: 158), is a diachronic relation between E-languages; a parametric shift is a diachronic relation between I-languages; and a Diachronic Reanalysis (DR), the reanalysis of a given structure, is a relation between the E-language of one generation and the I-language of the next. Diachronic Reanalyses are caused by the Least Effort Strategy, which prompts learners to choose the grammatical representation containing the shortest possible set of chains, and they often provoke parametric shifts by eliminating the evidence for a given parameter setting; Roberts suggests that they are always minimal, that is, that each reanalysis reduces the structure as little as possible. Although steps and DRs can reduce the frequency of constructions, only parametric shifts can make them ungrammatical. However, as Lightfoot (1997) points out, the distinction between a parametric shift and a Diachronic Reanalysis is not entirely clear; Roberts himself allows that “[a]ll DRs may turn out to be instances of Parametric Change” (1993: 159). As well, this theory does not explain why the LES should provoke a reanalysis in one generation of learners and not another.

Lightfoot (1991, 1995, 1997) proposes a theory of language change based on sudden reanalysis. He postulates that parameter settings are acquired based on specific triggering experiences in the linguistic environment. Based on data from Dutch and German regarding the acquisition of OV word order (Klein (1974); Clahsen & Smolka (1986), cited in Lightfoot (1991)), and data from its loss

in Old English (Bean (1983) and others), Lightfoot argues for “degree-0 learnability,” in other words, the idea that triggering experiences must be present in simple matrix clauses. Triggers must also be expressed robustly, that is, in a sufficient proportion of sentences, in order to cause the parameter to be set. Lightfoot believes that the linguistic environment is always changing, due to grammar-external factors; in cases of language change, a particular construction increases or decreases in frequency until the triggering experience has changed sufficiently for the parameter it expresses to be set a different way. Thus, Lightfoot’s theory involves a gradual drift in usage followed by a sudden change in grammar.

However, Kroch (1999) takes issue with this notion of “drift”, saying that empirical evidence for its existence is “at the least, uncertain” (Kroch, 1999:6). He claims that the problem lies in the fact that so-called “drifting” has no obvious motivation; therefore, it is unclear why the frequency of a certain form undergoing change should be incorrectly learnt in one case, but correctly learnt in practically all the other cases. He cites cases such as the stability of the frequency of the placement of adverbs in the history of English as an example where drift would have most likely occurred, but did not (Kroch, 1999:6-8). According to him, if the drift model was correct, the loss of V to I movement in Middle English would have caused an increase in the frequency of preverbal adverbs. However, the frequency of preverbal adverbial placement versus postverbal placement remained the same throughout time, thus rendering the motivation for the change in frequencies that bring about a reanalysis extremely unclear.

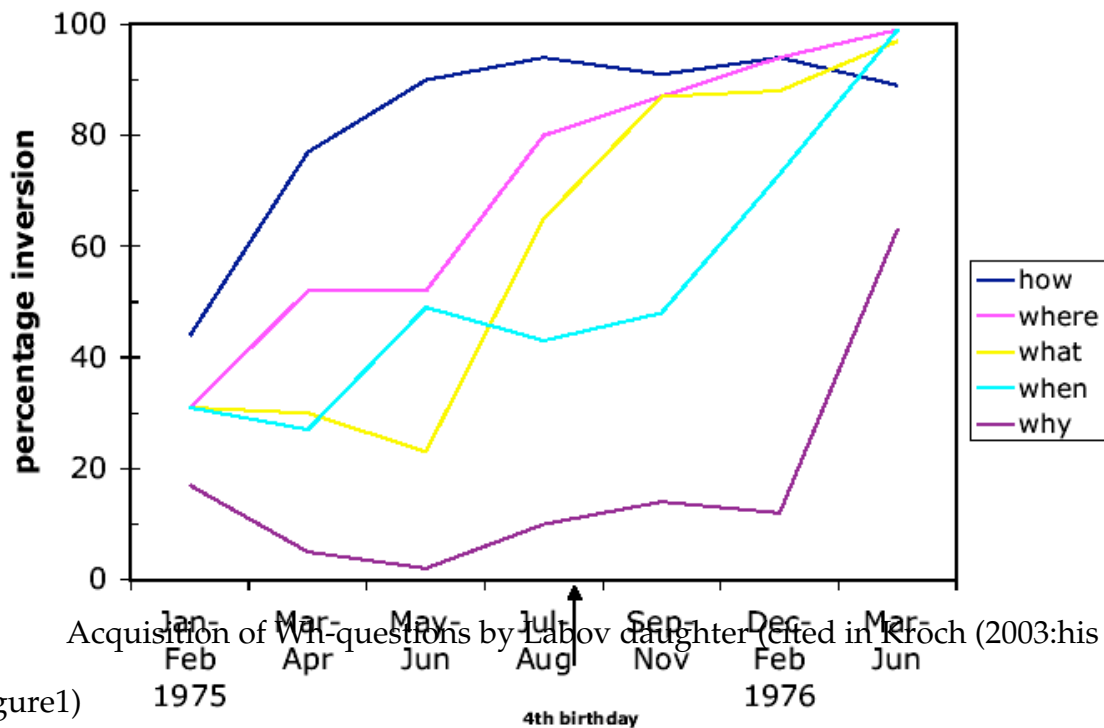
In order to avoid postulating drifts in usage frequencies that occur prior or independently of grammar change, Kroch (1989; 1999, 2003 a.o.) proposes the “imperfect transmission” (IT) model of language change. In this model, instead of the grammatical change occurring at the end of a long period of drift, it is the first stage in the process of change. According to the “IT”, change occurs when, for a variety of reasons, a child “mislearns” the grammar of its parents. They create a grammar that is different from the one they are exposed to, and it is this difference in grammar that creates a difference in the patterns of usage.

Basing the model in the principles and parameters (P&P) framework (for an overview, see Chomsky, 1995: chapter 1), Kroch (2003), following Clahsen (1991) and Penner (1992; both cited in Kroch, 2003), assumes that language learners set linguistic parameters in an irreversible way. Therefore, when the learner first encounters some input that makes reference to a certain parameter, she will set it accordingly. If all the following input that she is exposed to is consistent with this parameter setting, the learner will simply assume that this is the target grammar and nothing further will happen. However, if, later on, she comes into contact with data which contradicts the first parameter setting, seeing as she cannot simply re-set the parameter, nor can she put the parameter on both settings, the learner creates a separate grammar which has the parameter in question set in the opposite way. The learner is now “bilingual” or “bidialectal”, in the sense that she has two (or more) separate grammars in her head and can use either one of them. The two grammars do not, however, coexist completely harmoniously; they are in what Kroch (1989 and later work) and Pintzuk (1991 and later work) call “grammar competition”. In a first language acquisition sense, this term corresponds to a situation where a child mistakenly acquires a

parameter setting that is clearly different from the majority of input sentences she is exposed to. According to Kroch (2003), if the learner is young enough and the primary linguistic data conclusively support the second, newer grammar, then she will begin using the second grammar at the expense of the first. After a period of variation/competition, the second grammar will “win out” over the first, i.e. it will become the dominant one all but eradicating the first.

Kroch (2003) claims that a concrete example of this type of grammar competition is found in the study of Labov & Labov (1976). In this study, the Labovs recorded thousands of their four-year old daughter’s wh-questions and note that the acquisition of questions formed with “why” undergoes a radically different pattern with respect to the presence of inversion than the other Wh-words:

(5)



Kroch interprets these results in the following way: until roughly December 1976, the Labovs’ daughter had inaccurately set the “inversion” parameter as – in the

case of why-questions, but as + in the case of the other wh-questions. Having been exposed to overwhelming evidence of the existence of a grammar with the +inversion setting, she then creates one which enters into competition with the existing –inversion grammar. The +inversion grammar ends up replacing the original grammar by June, 1976.

Kroch (1989 and subsequent work) proposes a model of language change which essentially mirrors the process of grammar competition in acquisition, but on a larger scale. According to this model, language change occurs when the primary linguistic data available to learners consistently requires the creation of two grammars, the competition between which is not eradicated within the critical period of acquisition. Speakers can, therefore, live their entire lives with multiple grammars, and they make choices as to frequencies at which they use one grammar over the other that are “probabilistically influenced by features of context and situation” (Kroch, 1989:3).

Following authors such as Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968, cited in Kroch, 1989) and Osgood and Sebeok (1954 cited in Kroch, 1989), Kroch assumes that the time course of language change follows an ‘S’-shaped curve, with “new forms replacing established ones only slowly in the beginning of a change, then accelerating their replacement in the middle stages of a change and finally, as the old forms become rare, slowing their advance once again” (Kroch, 1989:3). Kroch (1982, 1989) goes even further in his characterization of the shape that language change takes by proposing a specific mathematical function, the logistic¹, as the

¹ The equation of the logistic curve is
$$p = \frac{e^{k+st}}{1+e^{k+st}}$$
 where p is the fraction of the

underlying form of a syntactic change. Although, as Kroch (1989:4) notes, it is impossible to verify exactly which function is the proper characterization of the time course of language change, other models that have been used, such as the cumulative function of the normal distribution (Aldrich and Nelson, 1984, cited in Kroch, 1989), “generally differ so little from the logistic that they can provide no improvement in fit to empirical data.” Also, the logistic has been widely used in other fields to model population behaviour, such in epidemiology and population biology (ex. Spiess, 1989, cited in Kroch (1989)); therefore, the logistic seems to be a plausible model to apply to grammar competition and replacement.

Further support for parameter-based grammar competition comes from the rate that the time course of language change takes. If one assumes that the grammars in competition differ in the setting of an abstract parameter, one would expect to see the result of a parametrical difference to take the form not of a single difference in form, but as a series of correlated changes that instantiate the abstract change. Therefore, we would expect all the elements affected by the parametrical change to be change at the same rate. This is known in Kroch (1989 and subsequent work) as the “constant rate hypothesis”. More specifically, it is the claim that, although the rate of use of different grammatical options in competition will most likely differ across contexts at each period in time, the rate of change will be the same across contexts (Kroch, 1989:6). The realization of this hypothesis can be illustrated through the case of the loss of V2 in the history of

advancing form, t is the time variable, and s and k are constants.

French.² As shown in (6), the losses of pro-dropped subjects, full NP subject inversion, and pronoun-subject inversion proceed at the same rate, as would be expected if they were the result of a change in a certain “V2 parameter”.

(6)

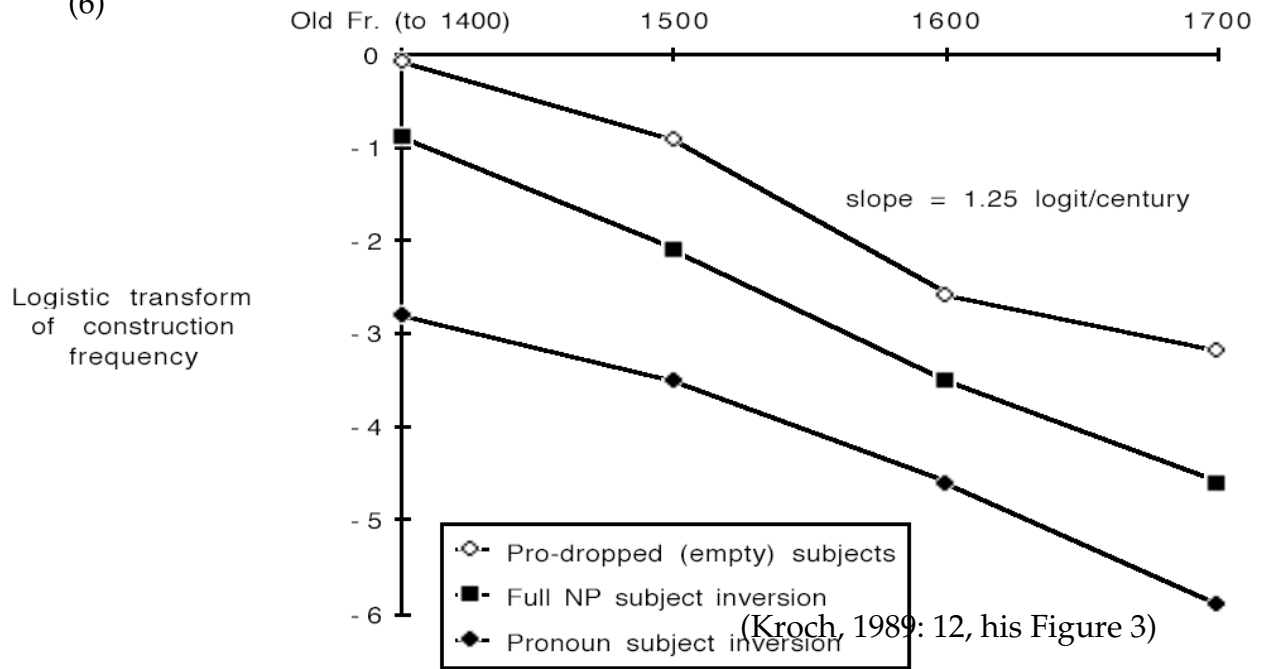


Figure 3: The decline of inversion and null subjects in Middle French.¹
 (adapted from Fontaine 1985:90).

Another approach that strongly links language change with acquisition is that of Yang (2000). Yang compares the tension that exists between the discrete and symbolic nature of grammatical competence and the variable, heterogeneous nature of performance with the tension that exists between the discrete basis of Mendelian genetic and the continuous distribution of genotypes in populations. He views language acquisition as being similar to evolution: it is as a “variational process in which the distribution of grammars changes as an adaptive response to the linguistic evidence in the environment” (Yang, 2000:234). As in Kroch’s model, this “variational process” is realized through multiple grammar competition and replacement. In this model, within the finite collection of grammars that make up UG, each grammar G_i is associated with a weight p_i ,

² For a discussion of Kroch’s claims about the cause of the loss of V2, see section 3.

which denotes the probability with which the learner will access the grammar. Acquisition works as follows: when an input sentence is presented, a grammar is selected. The probability that certain grammar is selected is determined by its weight. The grammar is then used to analyze the sentence. If the sentence can be successfully parsed using the selected grammar, it is rewarded: i.e. its weight is increased, and the weights of all the other grammars are indirectly punished: i.e. their weights are decreased. If the selected grammar fails to parse the input, it is punished and the other grammars are rewarded. This process continues until a single grammar has a weight that ensures that it will be exclusively selected.

If we assume, as is common, that UG remains constant from generation to generation, then language change must be due to a situation where two generations are exposed to different linguistic evidence, which results in different knowledge of language. According to Yang, the “different linguistic evidence” can arise in a variety of ways such as through the migration of foreign speakers who introduce novel forms into the language, through linguistic innovation, or through more general social and cultural factors (237). These factors will create a situation where the input evidence will seem to reflect two conflicting grammars. The proportion of expressions that belong to Grammar 1 (G1) that are incompatible with Grammar 2 (G2) is called the advantage of G1, and the proportion of expressions in the environment that belong to G2 that are incompatible with G1 is called the advantage of G2. Therefore, according to Yang’s theory of acquisition, Grammar 2 will overtake Grammar 1 if the advantage of grammar G2 is higher than G1. The change takes the shape of the logistic, as shown in (7):

(7)

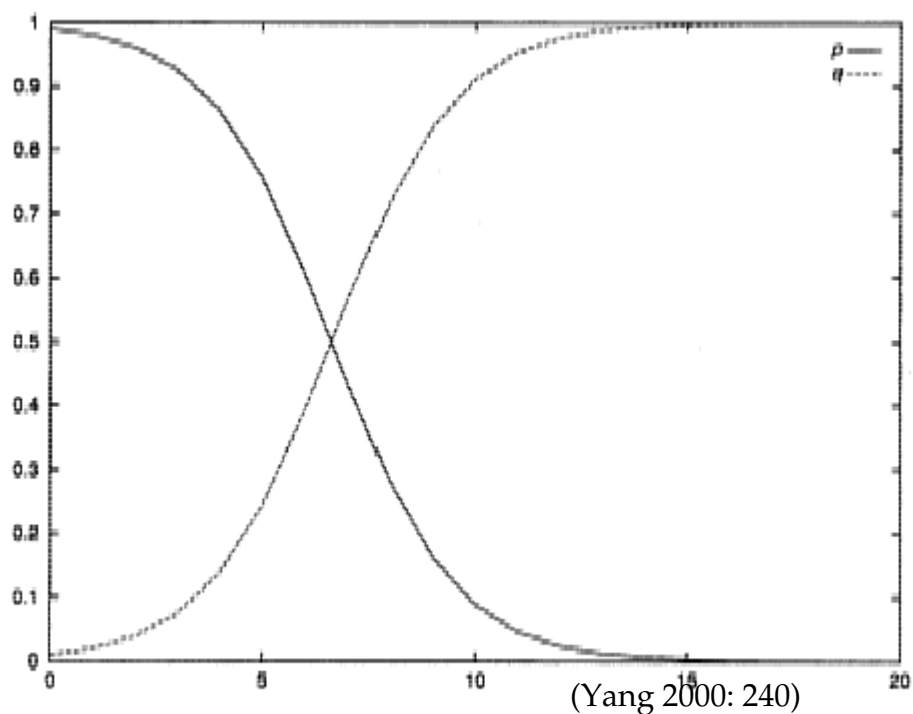


FIGURE 3. One grammar (q) replacing another (p) over time. The X-axis denotes the number of generations. Due to the repeated "punishment" of unsuccessful grammars that it proposes, a corollary of Yang's model is that, once a grammar is on the rise, it is unstoppable (239).

Another theory which takes an evolutionary look at language acquisition and change is that of Clark and Roberts (1993), who characterize language acquisition as natural selection among hypotheses about the target grammar. In

their theory, hypotheses are made up of sets of parameters and encoded as strings of binary digits. Each hypothesis translates into a parsing device; these parsing devices are tested against each input datum, and their fitness is judged based on how they interpret the datum³. The most important factor is the well-formedness of each parse, specifically the number of basic grammatical principles which are violated. Other factors are also considered, including the elegance of the parse, measured as the number of nodes contained in it, and the number of superset parameters; these factors are important when distinguishing among equally grammatical interpretations. A superset parameter is one which, when set a given way, produces a set of sentences which includes all sentences that could be generated with the parameter set the other way. If the learner were to incorrectly postulate the superset setting, there would be no evidence available to disprove this hypothesis, and the language acquired would be a superset of the target language; in order for this not to happen, such hypotheses must be selected against, as per the Subset Condition of Berwick (1985). When the relative fitness of the hypotheses is determined for a given datum, the most fit hypotheses are selected for special “mating operations”: a crossover mechanism, by which a new hypothesis is formed from parts of two old ones,

³ C&R provide a fitness metric for mathematically calculating the relative fitness of the grammars. This metric is shown in (i):

$$(i) \quad \frac{(\sum_{j=1}^n v_j + b \sum_{j=1}^n s_j + c \sum_{j=1}^n e_j) - (v_i + bs_i + ce_i)}{(n-1)(\sum_{j=1}^n v_j + b \sum_{j=1}^n s_j + c \sum_{j=1}^n e_j)}$$

In this equation, n represents the number of parsing devices; $\sum_{j=1}^n v_j$ represents the total number of grammatical violations of all parsing devices; v_i represents the number of violations by the parsing device whose fitness is being determined; $\sum_{j=1}^n s_j$ represents the total number of superset settings in the population of hypotheses; s_i represents the number of superset settings in the grammar being evaluated; $\sum_{j=1}^n e_j$ represents the total number of nodes generated by all parsers; e_i represents the number of nodes (the elegance) of the parser being evaluated; and b and c are constants, greater than 0 and smaller than 1, used to weight the elegance and superset factors so that they have less impact than does failure to parse.

and a mutation operator, which forms new hypotheses by randomly changing parameter settings. Over time, parameter settings which are frequently expressed in the input will be selected for, while those which are unable to interpret the input will be selected against; thus, the population of hypotheses will tend towards the optimal settings for the target language. This process does not, however, guarantee that the learners' grammars will be identical to those of their parents. If a parameter is unambiguously expressed in the language, it is stable, but if the evidence becomes ambiguous between various settings, the language will be unstable and therefore prone to change. Instability can arise for various reasons: phonological changes may make syntactic parameter settings difficult to interpret; a change in one parameter may destabilize another one; or the language may become "shifted," with learners setting parameters in such a way that they interact to produce a superset language. Once a language becomes unstable, according to Clark & Roberts, learners turn to UG-internal factors, specifically elegance and the Subset Condition, to choose between hypotheses.

This model is similar to Yang (2000) in that, as in his model, the outcome of language acquisition is determined by the compatibilities of grammars with the linguistic input data in a "Darwinian selectionist manner" (Yang, 2000:240), the differences between the two models being primarily that Clark and Roberts (1993) do not accept, like Kroch and Yang, the existence of multiple grammars within the head of a single speaker. These evolutionary theories are impressive, but as Kroch (1999) notes, theories such as that of Clark and Roberts "are useful hypotheses, no doubt, but unless they can be further specified to make empirically testable predictions, they will remain speculative" (1999:35).

3. The loss of V2

Having discussed these various theories of syntactic change, we now turn to the specific example of the loss of the verb second constraint in French. Most analyses of the loss of V2 in French hinge upon the development of constructions which were ambiguous between a V2 and non-V2 structure, and could thus be reanalysed by learners. For example, one factor which is generally cited as contributing to the loss of V2 in French is the fact that the underlying word order is SVO. Because of this underlying order, any sentence in which the subject is the initial constituent is ambiguous: it could be a derived verb second order, or it could simply be the underlying order, with no verb second constraint having applied. However, although it is probably one of the contributing factors, underlying SVO order is not sufficient to explain the loss of V2: the Scandinavian languages have both SVO order and V2 (Platzack 1995).

Platzack proposes that at the time that verb second was lost, most sentences in the input were ambiguous. In addition to the most frequent word order being SVO, the cliticisation of subject pronouns made many sentences with initial non-subjects ambiguous:

- (8) En verité, il a esté et est bon valeton
 in truth he has been and is good valet-DIM
 'In truth he has been and is a good little valet.'
 (Jehan de Saintré, cited in Platzack 1995, his 9b)

Sentences such as (8) could either be interpreted as non-V2 sentences in which there are two constituents before the verb, or as V2 sentences in which the clitic does not count, like the object clitic in (2a), repeated here as (9):

- (9) Tu m'as amé celéement et jou toi.
 you me-have loved in secret and I you
 'You have loved me in secret and I you.'
 (Le Roman du Graal 29, cited in Adams 1989, her (2c))

Once sentences with subject clitics became interpreted as non-V2 sentences, this order would be possible with nominal subjects as well. One problem with this analysis, however, is that there does not seem to be a period when these orders are only possible with pronouns and not with nominal subjects (Vance 1995), and the relative proportion of pronouns and full NPs in this type of structure remained stable throughout the MidF period (Lemieux & Dupuis 1995).

In a similar analysis, Hulk & van Kemenade (1995) propose that the difference between (CP-)V2 languages and non-V2 languages lies in the relative salience of the functional heads C and I; thus, a language may be C-oriented or I-oriented. The motivation for verb raising is thus a licensing condition: in a C-oriented language, C must be lexicalized. In their analysis, Old French was a C-oriented language, with restrictions on embedded V2, but during the Middle French period it shifted to become an I-oriented language, showing similar characteristics to IPV2 languages such as Yiddish (an increase in the frequency of V>2 main clauses, embedded V2 sentences and V1 sentences). These characteristics appeared because fronting by adjunction to IP, as well as by movement to CP, became possible. Hulk & van Kemenade believe that this can be traced back to the cliticisation of subject pronouns: sentences with a fronted initial constituent and a preverbal subject pronoun can be interpreted in two ways, with the initial constituent in Spec,CP or adjoined to IP. Eventually, this ambiguity gave rise to XSV sentences with a full NP subject, which could only be interpreted using IP-adjunction. The loss of V2, according to Hulk and van Kemenade, is attributable to the loss of rich verbal agreement; without this inherent morphological licensing, movement of the subject to Spec,IP was necessary to license the φ -features of I. This meant that Spec,IP was no longer

simple inversion and null subjects. Several changes between OF and MidF made the V2 constraint difficult to acquire. In Middle French, V>2 and SVO orders became more common than in Old French; Roberts suggests that this is because MidF was a transitional system in which matrix clauses could be either CPs, in which an asymmetric V2 constraint has applied, or AgrPs, which allow non-V2 sentences. The development of complex inversion in the 15th century further weakened the evidence for V2, since complex inversion requires CP to have two specifier positions, which is incompatible with V2. In addition, there was an expansion in the contexts in which null subjects were allowed; Roberts attributes this to preverbal null subjects becoming possible, so that sentences with null subjects became ambiguous. Because of all these factors, while Middle French still allowed V2, it did not provide the clear evidence of V2 that was available in Old French. In the 16th century, according to Roberts, learners switched to the simpler non-V2 analysis and lost the option of nominative Case assignment under government. Once this option was lost, postverbal subjects were no longer possible; this ruled out V2, as well as simple inversion, because the subject had to precede the verb even when there was another topicalised constituent. It also made pro-drop impossible: although preverbal as well as postverbal null subjects were possible before the change, Roberts suggests that in languages where pro is licensed only under agreement, a morphologically rich Agr is required to identify it. However, rich agreement markers were lost from French during the 12th or 13th century, so that pro-drop became impossible once licensing under government was no longer an option.

There are several difficulties with Roberts' analysis. First, the reason for preverbal null subjects becoming possible is not explained. It is not obvious why

a morphologically rich Agr is not needed to license pro under agreement in languages where licensing under government is also possible; if it were needed, preverbal null subjects would be impossible in Middle French. It is also not clear why the V2 constraint should have been lost at that particular time.

Like Roberts, Vance (1995) notes the increased range of elements not triggering V2. As well, she claims that there are actually two types of inversion in Old French: verb-second type inversion (11a), with the finite verb in C and the subject in Spec,IP, and free inversion (11b), where the subject is at the right periphery of VP:

- (11) a Sor ceste pierre edefierai je m'eglise
 on this rock will-build I my-church
 (*Queste del Saint Graal* 101,31, cited in Vance 1995, her (1))
- b Si plorerent assez a cest departement cil qui plus
 thus cried much at this departure those who most
 cuidoient avoir les cuers et durs et orgueillox
 thought to-have the hearts both hard and proud
 (*Queste del Saint Graal* 26,19, cited in Vance 1995, her (5a))

Some sentences are ambiguous between the two types of inversion, as (12):

- (12) maintenant s'en ala la damoisele
 now refl-'en' went the maiden
 'now the maiden went away'
 (*Queste del Saint Graal* 112,22, cited in Vance 1995, her (7))

Vance (1995) gives evidence that the proportion of free inversion and ambiguous structures, compared to the total number of inversion structures, increased from the 13th to the 15th century. She suggests that the ambiguity of many inverted clauses, as well as the ambiguity of SVO sentences and the increase in V>2 orders, may have contributed to the loss of the verb second constraint. However, Côté (1995) points out that there are fewer V1 orders in Old French than would be expected if OF had productive free inversion, since this construction involves

As a consequence of the gradual shift to phrase-final stress, V2 effects were lost during the 15th century. This analysis raises the question of why Modern French is not a VSO language: it only describes the loss of one of the components of V2, while the loss of the second component, verb fronting, is unaccounted for.

Kroch (1989) also bases the loss of V2 on the change in phrasal accent. After the change in accent, there was only one stress per intonation phrase; since topicalisation requires two stresses within one intonation phrase, it was no longer possible after this change. Once topicalisation became impossible, preposed constituents were reanalysed as being left-dislocated rather than topicalized. Since left-dislocated constituents don't count for V2, this led to more V3 orders, weakening the evidence for V2. It is not clear, however, why the change in phrasal accent took place.

Ferraresi & Goldbach (2002) analyse the loss of V2 word orders as a change in the structure of the left periphery. As discussed in §1, they believe that V2 effects are due to PF reduction of sentence particles such as *si* in FinP. This same phonological reduction, along with semantic bleaching, led to the loss of *si* (and other similar particles). The semantic bleaching, in the case of *si*, was partially due to homonymy: *si* could also be a subordinating conjunction 'if', an adverbial intensifier 'so', or an adverb of manner 'thus'. Once the sentence particles were lost, there was not enough evidence for learners to posit a separate FinP projection, so FinP merged with one of the adjacent projections; this meant that V2 orders could no longer occur. This account concentrates on the loss of *si*; it is not clear why other particles would also be lost.

4. Conclusion

In §1 we gave an overview of analyses of V2; in §2 we presented several theories of language change; in §3 we discussed some possible causes of the loss of V2 in French. There are many factors which may have played a part in the loss of the verb second constraint in French. Perhaps there is no single cause for this change, but rather a set of circumstances which, taken as a whole, made V2 word order too difficult to maintain.

Section 2: Article Summaries

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
Rivero 1993	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Syntax: verb second, V-to-C, pro-drop • History of Romance languages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 types of V-to-C in Old Romance (incompatible with each other): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Long Head Movement (other languages) : non-finite V-to-C, spec-CP empty; analytic future (infinitive + pronominal clitic + finite auxiliary) to avoid clitic in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ evidence from Old Spanish (analytic futures restricted to main sentences (like V2), & not found in wh-questions), Slavic languages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 		Hirschbuhler (1990)	

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		<p>initial position, occurs with unrestricted pro-drop</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ V2 (OF): finite V-to-C, spec-CP filled (prevents LHM); finite V in second position in root clauses, occurs with restricted distribution of pro-drop & synthetic future 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ evidence from OF (as compared w OSp – lack of analytic future) 				
Côté 1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • history of French 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 13th c Fr shows a mixture of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence from mainland Scandinavian, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	wrt structure of symmetric V2:	wrt structure of symmetric V2: Vikner	

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		symmetric & asymmetric V2 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OF was a symmetric V2 language up to the 12th c • Fr lost V2 instead of becoming an asymmetric V2 lang – due to change in Case assignment – no unambiguous evidence for V-to-C 	Icelandic, Yiddish & OF subordinate clauses <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence from OF: subordinate clauses, V1 main clauses • evidence from mainland Scandinavian, Icelandic, Yiddish, & OF: position of adverbs 		Thráinsson (1994), Iatridou & Kroch (1992) wrt V2 in 13 th c F: Roberts (1993) wrt language change: Kroch (1994) wrt role of Case: Roberts (1993), Hulk & van Kemenade (1995), Santorini (1995)	(1994, 1995) wrt reasons for loss of V2: Roberts (1993), Adams (1987, 1988), Platzack (1995), Hulk & van Kemenade (1995), Vance (1995)	
Lemieux & Dupuis (1995)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • syntax: structure of V2 • history of French 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Middle French is still V2 • OF & MidF 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • evidence from MidF (14th & 15th c): null & postverbal subjects • evidence from 		wrt Yiddish V2: Diesing (1990) wrt Icelandic V2:	Adams (1987) wrt landing site of V: Roberts (1992)	see also Dupuis, Lemieux & Gosselin (1992)

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		are IP-V2 – V moves to Agr; pronominal subjects (incl null subj) are in Spec,TP, NP subj move at LF	OF, MidF, Dutch, Danish: object extraction, ordering of negation & postverbal subject	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> lower proportion of V2 in embedded clauses due to something other than unavailability of landing site for V (eg, lack of adverbial elements inducing V2); loss of V2 due to reanalysis of these elements rather than change in V movement 	<p>Rögnavaldsson & Thráinsson (1990)</p> <p>wrt phrase structure: Pollock (1989), Pesetsky (1989)</p> <p>wrt Case & agreement: Rizzi (1990), Tomaselli (1990)</p> <p>wrt adverbials: Marchello-Nizia (1979)</p>		
Vance 1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> history of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> OF had several 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> evidence from OF 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> some sentences 		wrt free inversion in	

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
	French	<p>types of subj-V inversion:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ V2 (“Germanic”) – non-subj in Spec,CP, V in C, subj in Spec,IP ○ “free inversion” – VP-final nominal subj <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • in MidF, inversion became less common, & proportion of free inversion increased • V2 (V-to-C) was regular in 13th c OF, but MidF 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • evidence from 13th-15th c Fr texts • evidence from texts (types of initial constituents) 	are ambiguous wrt the type of inversion used		OF: Adams (1987)	

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		has productive V3	that occur w inverted & non-inverted subj)				
Adams 1989	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • nature of V2 • history of French 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • V2 occurs when a language has both verb fronting and initial stress • French lost V2 due to a change in stress patterns followed by reanalysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • evidence from German & OF (possible initial constituents, stress patterns), Breton (stress patterns) • evidence from OF & MidF (position of weak & tonic pronouns, loss of enclisis, cliticisation of subject pronouns; relative dating of change in stress & increase in XSV orders) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wrt eurhythmy: Hayes (1984) 		
Arteaga	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • minima 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • D-features 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • evidence from 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • language 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marantz 		

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
1998	list syntax	may be optionally strong/weak in some languages, including OF	OF: possible positions of subject & object DPs	change occurs because of change in the relative strength of features	(1995) • wrt V2: den Besten (1983), Travis (1986), Adams (1987), Roberts (1993), Rizzi (1990)		
Clark & Roberts 1993	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • language acquisition • language change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • language acquisition involves competition between grammars; language change happens when the input is compatible with several grammars <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ grammars are 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • possibility for children to acquire a different grammar from their parents; evidence from French (expression of parameters: XSV & XVS orders, subject clitics) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • if the input as a whole is unstable, learners may acquire a grammar that fails to parse some parts of it; markedness (=instability) is due to interaction of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clark (1990, 1992) • wrt changes in French: Roberts (1992) 		

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		encoded as strings of binary parameters ○ fitness of each grammar determined based on ability to parse input, preference for subset hypotheses, & compactness of representation	○ subset & compactness : limited computational resources	parameters, not an inherent property of some parameter settings			
Fleischman 1992	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> history of French discourse-syntax interface 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>si</i> fulfills V2 & marks subject continuity (while pronouns mark change of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> evidence from OF & MidF: position in sentence, cooccurrence with other elements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 		

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		reference); in MidF it loses its discourse function					
Ferraresi & Goldbach 2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • history of French syntax of V2 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • V2 effects due to reduction of phonological material in Fin (sentence particles), unlike Germanic V2 • loss of V2 effects = loss of FinP due to loss of sentence particles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • evidence from OF (V3 & V1 orders, sentence particles, preverbal constituents in V3), Celtic (sentence particles) • evidence from OF (clitic groups, homonymy) & MidF (frequency of <i>si</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wrt split CP: Rizzi (1997) • Giorgi & Pianesi (1997) 		
Cardinaletti, Anna; Roberts, Ian (1991)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nominal-Case assignment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • some languages have two subject AgrP's (one 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • evidence from Icelandic (V2 in embedded clauses), Old French (V2 in 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wrt to potential A-positions: Rizzi (1991) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wrt analysis of Tobler-Mussafia effects: 	

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Syntax of Old French • Syntax of Old English 	<p>directly below Comp, one lower); higher one assigns nominative case</p> <p>a) clitics occupy Agr1E (head of higher AgrP); verbal inflection in Agr2E</p> <p>b) Agr1E (or AgrE in languages</p>	<p>wh-clauses), Yiddish (embedded topicalization)</p> <p>a) evidence from German (ordering of clitics wrt each other & full subject), medieval Romance (Tobler/Mussafia law on position of clitics), Old English and Old High German (interaction of clitics & V2)</p> <p>b) possible subject positions in</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wrt Dutch clitics: Zwart (1991) • wrt Romance clitics: Mussafia (1983) • clitics always in head positions: Kayne (1991) • wrt Nominative -Case assignment: Koopman & Sportiche (1991) • wrt null subjects: Rizzi (1986) • wrt connection 	<p>Alberton (1990), Benincà (1989)</p>	

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		<p>with only one) assigns Nom under agreement where it is a clitic position, or where it contains an inflected V which is coindexed with the NP in the specifier; possibility of assigning under government is a parametric choice</p> <p>c) pro licensed in configurations where</p>	<p>Icelandic, German, OE, OF, Dutch, Italian, English</p> <p>c) distribution of pro in Icelandic, German, OF</p>		<p>between V2 & null subjects in OF: Vanelli, Renzi & Benincà (1986)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wrt distribution of referential null subjects in OF texts: Hirschbuhler (1990) 		

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		<p>Nom can be assigned, except with Spec-head coindexation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OF does not have generalized embedded topicalization (does have Stylistic Fronting): subj can be in either Agr a) after 13th c., only one Agr, which cannot license null subj under agreement (inflectional morphology too) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • embedded V2 rare with overt subjects (except in very early texts), although common with null subjects a) in embedded clauses, referential null subjects not seen in prose after 12th c; clitic-first orders in yes/no questions appear in 13th 				

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		<p>poor): related to loss of Tobler-Mussafia effect & morphological case</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OE clitics are in Agr1E; V can be in Agr1E or CE in main clauses, Agr2E in embedded clauses 	<p>c prose; OF case system lost between 12th & 14th c; among Germanic lang, morphological case correlates with double Agr</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • distribution of clitic pronouns wrt V and subject 				
Hulk, Aafke; Kemenade, Ans van (1995)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • syntax: verb second, pro-drop • history of English • history 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • languages may be C- or I-oriented; dominant head must be lexicalised a) I licensed by having 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • V2 languages have V-to-C when no complementizer in C a) impersonal sentences: I 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lightfoot (1979) • Wrt OF: Adams (1987) • Wrt embedded V2 in OF: 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wrt OF as IV2: Hirschbuhler & Junker (1988), Lemieux & Dupuis 	

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
	of French	<p>φ-features identified (syntactically or morphologically); V can assign Case iff governed by fully licensed I</p> <p>b) pro-drop: pro must be governed by designated Case-assigning head (C or I); content must be identified</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OF: C-oriented language; referential pro licensed when 	<p>not fully licensed, so V cannot assign Case (but P or morphology can)</p> <p>b) cross-linguistic distribution of full and expletive pro-drop</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • referential pro-drop only in root clauses 		Vance (1988)	(1995)	

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		<p>V+I moves to C</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MidF: increase of V3 structures, embedded V2 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) cliticization of subject pronouns: XP-pronoun-Vf ambiguous between CP and IP interpretation; this leads to shift from C-orientation to I-orientation b) later I loses morphological φ-features; subj NP in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • V2 becomes allowed in complements of non-bridge V <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) V1 structures & embedded V2 (characteristics of IV2 lang) become more common; pro-drop available in root and nonroot contexts b) V2 & pro-drop disappear 				

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		<p>Spec,IP becomes obligatory</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OE: C-oriented lang <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) pronominal subjects usually before V; when discrepancy between nominal and pronominal subjects lost, nominal subjects use pronominal pattern in many dialects b) as V2 declines, Eng changes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Root/nonroot asymmetry <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) data from Wycliffite sermons (MidE) b) loss of expletive pro-drop 				

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		from C-oriented to I-oriented • I has φ -features in OF but not in OE	• distribution of referential pro-drop, subjects	• Eng: Spec,IP obligatorily subject position; cannot be IV2			
Platzack, Christer (1995)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Syntax: verb second, pro-drop History of English History of French 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> English & French lost V2 because they had SVO & subject clitics: unambiguous V2 sentences were rare Nominal Agr (connected to agreement morphology, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ME: pronominal subjects keep same patterns after object clitics lost; inversion optional in 14th c MF: subject pronouns become clitics ME: subject-V agreement weakened in 14th c; 14th c sentences with 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> wrt theoretical framework: Holmberg & Platzack (1988, 1995(?)), Platzack & Holmberg (1989) wrt reasons for loss of V2: Kemenade (1987), Adams (1987) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> wrt loss of V2: Vance (1989), Weerman (1989) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> theoretical framework: V2 lang have finiteness ([\pmF]) feature in C, non-V2 lang in I a) [+F] must govern Nominative; Nominative must be governed by head

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		V-to-I & pro-drop) lost at the same time as V2 in Eng, but later in Fr	<i>do</i> have tense on both verbs (Infl-lowering); pro-drop declines MF: pro-drop extended to more contexts after loss of V2		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> wrt loss of V-to-I in Eng: Pollock (1989) 		hosting [+F] or by chain whose head is governed by [+F] b) Agr (hosted in I) may be nominal or not; nominal Agr bears Nominative Case & allows pro-drop
Roberts, Ian (1993)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> syntax: verb second, null subjects history of French history 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> in V2 contexts, C morphologically selects Agr to incorporate with it; head containing Agr must 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> evidence from German (pro-drop, clitics), West Flemish (complementizer agreement), Dutch (clitics) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> wrt structure of I: Pollock (1989), Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) wrt Case-assignment: 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> wrt to structure of OF V2: Adams (1988), Dupuis (1989) wrt pro-drop in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> first point from ch. 1, next 4 from ch. 2, last point from 3.4

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
	<p>of English</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> language acquisition 	<p>have filled spec</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fr lost option to assign Nominative under government a) OF null subjects were licensed under government b) V2 lost because Nominative became only assigned by agreement (subject had to be before V) OF originally 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> distribution of simple & complex inversion a) distribution of null subjects b) distribution of SV and VS orders distribution of V2, free 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> possibility of V2 & null subjects depends on setting of Nominative-assignment parameter 	<p>Sportiche (1988), Koopmann & Sportiche (1990)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> wrt incorporation: Baker (1988), Rizzi & Roberts (1989) wrt interrogative inversion: Rizzi (1990) wrt licensing of pro : Rizzi (1986), Jaeggli & Safir (1989) wrt stylistic fronting in OF: Dupuis (1989), 	<p>OF: Adams (1987), Dupuis (1988, 1989)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> wrt MidF subject pronouns as clitics: Adams (1987) 	

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		<p>had 2 AgrPs, V2 movement to the higher one; Agr1 lost in 13th c., V2 became movement to C</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MidF: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) more elements became able to appear initially without triggering inversion; CP reanalysed as AgrP b) Agr able to license pro under agreement when C not present 	<p>inversion, null subjects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) evidence from MidF, Swedish, Icelandic: V movement, possibility of V3 orders b) distribution of pro 		<p>Lema & Rivero (1990)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wrt left dislocation in OF: Foulet (1921), Schulze • wrt null subjects in MidF: Vance (1989), Hirschbuhler (1991) • Subset Principle in acquisition: Berwick (1985) • Wrt V2 in OE: Kemenade (1987) 		

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Least Effort Strategy in acquisition: sentences interpreted to contain shortest possible chains • MidE lost V2 because it acquired Nominative-assignment under agreement, after subject pronouns decliticized 					
Yang, Charles D. (2000)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • model of language acquisition & change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • variational approach: language acquisition is a competition process among a population of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • research in mathematical psychology; gradualness of acquisition 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wrt competition-based learning: Atkinson, Bower & Crothers (1965), Bush & 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wrt theory of learning: Gibson & Wexler (1994) • wrt final state of acquisition 	

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		<p>grammars</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • language change is change in the distribution of grammars <p>a) caused by change in the linguistic evidence, not by individual mislearning</p> <p>b) if one grammar has an advantage over another, it will overtake it</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • advantage of V2 lost in French because of null subjects 	<p>a) competence of children acquiring language; scale of language change</p> <p>b) mathematical evidence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • distribution of subject inversion & pro-drop in MidFr 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • same analysis may extend to other Western 	<p>Mosteller (1951, 1958)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wrt what determines outcome of acquisition: Clark & Roberts (1993) • wrt variation in grammars: Kroch (1989), Kroch & Taylor (1997), Kroch, Taylor, & Ringe (2000), Pintzuk (1991), Santorini (1992) • wrt to dialects of 	<p>: Clark & Roberts (1993)</p>	

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		and increase in V>2 patterns • in MidE: a) south: with loss of morphological case, clitics reanalyzed as NPs, increasing the advantage of SVO over V2 b) north: contact with south leads to mixture of grammars & weakening of V2	• distribution of inversion with nominal & pronominal subjects	Romance languages	MidE: Kroch & Taylor (1997) • wrt link between subject clitics & V2: Kemenade (1987) • wrt link between clitics & morphological case: Kiparsky (1997)		
Kroch, A. (1989)	Language Change	• Constant rate hypothesis:	• Loss of V2 in French (Fontaine,	• Grammatical analysis that	Weinreich, Labov & Herzog (1968).	Bailey (1973)	“The change from one grammar to

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		<p>when one grammatical option replaces another with which it is in competition across a set of linguistic contexts, the rate of replacement, properly measured, is the same in all of them.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The set of contexts of change is not defined by a shared surface property (like a particular word or morpheme), 	<p>1985): the rate of loss of inversion and null subjects is roughly the same as the loss of V2 order.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The rate of the rise of reprise (left dislocation) is the same as the decline of V2. 	<p>defines the contexts of change is quite abstract, as synchronic syntactic studies suggest.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Quantitative studies can provide direct evidence as to the causation of change. 	<p>Adams (1987)</p>	<p>Stein (1986)</p>	<p>another is necessarily instantaneous and its causes are necessarily external” (p.2) “the process of language change is not a fact of grammar but a fact of language use and so must be studied with tools appropriate to that domain.” (p.3) “Variation often reflects choices that are not categorically determined by linguistic principles at any level but</p>

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		<p>but by syntactic structure.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Linguistic changes follow and ‘S-shaped’ curve. • The loss of V2 in French was due to a change in phrasal accent which forces proposed constituents to move from the topicalization position to the position of left-dislocation. • The dislocated NPs don’t 					<p>instead are only probabilistically influenced by features of context and situation” (p.3)</p>

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		<p>count for the V2 constraint, and as sentences of this type increase in frequency, positive evidence for V2 decreases.</p>					
<p>Rouveret (2004)</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tobler-Mussafia law is syntactic rather than prosodic; enclisis vs proclisis determined by whether V is dependent (dominated by a quantificational or modal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> evidence from OF: XP-V-clitic structures have dislocated initial constituent (not V2); evidence from distribution of Portuguese & OF clitics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Herman (1954) Kayne (1994) Nash & Rouveret (2002) Rizzi (1997) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Benincà (1984, 1995, 2003); Hirschbühler & Labelle (2002) 	

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • feature • V2 defined only by “Germanic inversion”; V2 languages can have split CP • OF had asymmetry between V2 & V1 sentences (richer left periphery in V2) until 12th c <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) V2 sentences have V in Fin & initial constituent in Spec,ForceP; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • evidence from OF: embedded V2, repeated <i>que</i>, V>2 a) evidence from OF: distribution of proclisis & enclisis (wrt V2) 				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • but not always Germanic inversion in OF: see Vance (1995), Roberts (1993) for free inversion

Article	Context	Major claims	Major Arguments	Implications	Authors following	Authors against	Comments
		<p>always has a Q/M feature (so always proclisis)</p> <p>b) Spec,Fin P can sometimes also be filled</p> <p>c) DisP above ForceP hosts dislocated constituents</p>	<p>b) evidence from OF: V>2 structures w initial object + adverbial</p> <p>c) evidence from OF: V>2 structures w resumptive pronouns</p>				

Section 3: Bibliography of V2 in French

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