UNIVERSITÄT SALZBURG

The Germanic OV/VO bifurcation

– a V2 + Type-III production

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Slides are downloadable from my web-page

google: "Hubert Haider + downloadable"

Terminological clarification

- **OV/VO** in the **narrow** sense:
  VP is head-final/initial

- **OV/VO** in the **broad** sense = **strictly** OV/VO:
  any phrasal category is head-final/head initial

- Germanic OV languages – **'mixed'**
  Head-final: **VP, AP;** head-initial: **NP, PP**

- **V-2:** $[$ XP $[$ V_{fin} $[$ ..... $]]]$

  Knows he not thy voice?
  All's Well that Ends Well: IV, I
  Lies he not bed-rid and again does nothing **?**
  The Winter's Tale: IV, iv

Basic issue

The Germanic language family is heterogenous

- The Northern group is VO

- The continental Western group is (mixed) OV

- The predecessor languages are neither strictly OV nor strictly VO

- So, what happened?

Six observations

1. *Modern Germanic languages* **are V2** (with a *single exception, viz. modern English: e.g.* *[This trait [**acquired** [English not]]]).

2. Modern Germanic languages are either ***strictly VO*** or ‚mixed' **OV** (*single exception: **Yiddish** – no strict directionality for V° – **T3***)

3. The *older Germanic languages* are neither strictly **OV** nor strictly **VO**; (nor are they strictly V2). They are **T3** (**free directionality for V°**)

Six observations

4. *Romance* languages – as descendants of Latin – are *all strictly VO*

5. *Latin* was *neither strictly OV nor strictly VO* (but T3 and not V2)

6. **Slavic** languages are *neither strictly OV nor strictly VO. They are T3, and they are not V2.*

    *So, what triggered the OV/VO split in the **Germanic** family?*

Three questions

1. Is it merely accidental that there are *no OV languages* among the descendants of Latin?

2. Is it merely accidental that the *Germanic OV/VO split* coincides with the development of **V2**?

3. Is it merely accidental that a single Germanic language has ‚*survived'* (in isolation) that is *both, V2 and of the ‚older' type*?

The answer to the three questions, is **identical**.

1. Is it merely accidental that there are *no OV languages* among the descendants of Latin?

2. Is it merely accidental that the *Germanic OV/VO split* coincides with the development of V2?

3. Is it merely accidental that a single Germanic language has ‚survived' that is *both, V2 and of the ‚older' type*?

The answer is *NO*

Road map of the talk

1. There is a third type (in addition to VO and OV): **T3**
   = The directionality of the V-head of the VP is *under-specified (and therefore flexible).*

1. The older Germanic languages as well as Latin are languages of the ***third type.***

2. OV or VO structures are proper **subsets** of the third type.

Road map of the talk

4. VO (or OV) emerges when the **flexible** directionality of the third type gets changed into **rigid** directionality.

5. The **V2-property** makes the change of the third type compatible with both, **VO** or **OV** as result states.

6. The **Germanic split** is the **joint** result of a change to-wards *rigid directionality* **and** of a change towards *V2*.

A thing we know

The OV/VO split has **not** been triggered by the **decay of the inflection** system.

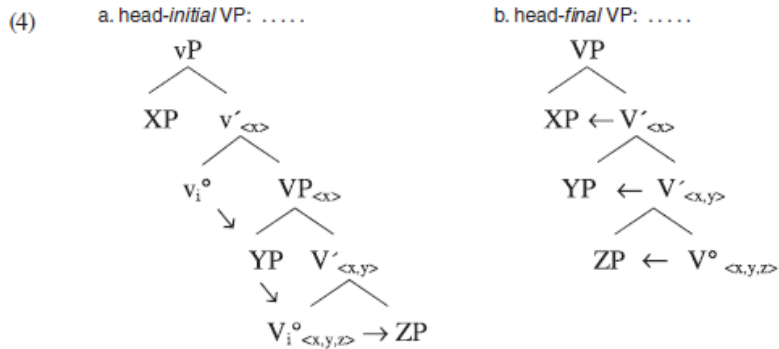This would provide neither a **necessary** nor a **sufficient** cause:

a. **Icelandic** has conserved the old inflection system best, but it has changed into a **strict VO** system.

b. **Afrikaans** has lost more of its inflection markings than any of the continental Scandinavian languages, but neverthe-less it has **remained OV**.

SOV vs. SVO

a. **Universally right-branching** phrases

b. **Identification** by the head: *minimal mutual c-command* under canonical
directionality (← / →)

Haider (2010:29). *The syntax of German*. Cambridge. C.U.P

(4)   a. head-*initial* VP: .....

vP
XP   v´$_{<x>}$
v$_i$°   VP$_{<x>}$
YP   V´$_{<x,y>}$
V$_i$°$_{<x,y,z>}$ → ZP

b. head-*final* VP: .....

VP
XP ← V´$_{<x>}$
YP ← V´$_{<x,y>}$
ZP ← V°$_{<x,y,z>}$

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SOV, SVO and **the 'third' type**

1. SOV   *directionality*: ←

[X ←[Y ←[Z ←V°]$_{VP}$

2. SVO   *directionality*: →

[X [V°$_i$ → [Y [e$_i$ →Z]]]]$_{VP}$

3. The *third* type   *directionality*: {← , →}

[X [Y [Z V°]$_{VP}$ = SOV   ←
☞[X ←[Y ←[V°→Z]$_{VP}$ ←/→
[X [V°$_i$ [Y [e$_i$ Z]]]]$_{VP}$ = SVO   →

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T3

Canonical directionality is **underspecified** (flexible)

Hence, T3 comprises three sub-patterns:

a. $[XP \leftarrow [YP \leftarrow [ZP \leftarrow V]$ uniformly „←" (OV)

b. $[XP \leftarrow [YP \leftarrow [V \rightarrow ZP]$ „→" and „ ←"

c. $[XP [V \rightarrow [YP [e \rightarrow ZP]]]]$ uniformly „→" (VO)

Prediction:

T3 shares the OV-properties resulting from „←"

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Yiddish and **Latin – Examples for the *third* type**

Yiddish (V2 + third type)
a. Maks hot [Rifken dos bukh ***gegebn***]$_{VP}$ Diesing (1997)
    Max   has Rebecca the book given
☞ b. Maks hot [Rifken ***gegebn*** dos bukh]$_{VP}$
c. Maks hot [***gegebn*** Rifken das bukh]$_{VP}$

Latin (third type)
d. Caesar singulis legionibus singulos legatos et quaestorem ***praefecit***
                                                                          [**Caesar**, Bell. Gall. 1,52]

☞ e. virtus [...] hominem ***iungit*** deo   [**Cicero** Acad. 2,139]

f. Nimirum ***dabit*** haec Thais mihi magnum malum [**Terentius** Eun. 508
    doubtless will-give this Thais me big trouble   (3,3,2)]

Gratias ago to Thomas Lindner (Univ. Salzburg) for the Latin data.

Diesing, Molly. 1997. Yiddish VP order and the typology of object movement in Germanic. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 15: 369-427.

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Examples from older Germanic languages

Haider 2010. Wie wurde Deutsch OV? In: *Historische Textgrammatik und Historische Syntax des Deutschen.* Arne Ziegler. Ed. Berlin: De Gruyter (p. 11-32).

Haider 2012: *Symmetry breaking in syntax.* Cambridge: C.U.P (chapter 5)

Old Englisch (Fischer & van Kemenade & Koopman & van der Wurff (2000:51))

a. Se mæssepreost *sceal* [mannum [***bodian*** þone soþan geleafan]]$_{VP}$
   Der Priester muss den Leuten predigen den wahren Glauben *(Ælet* 2 (Wulfstan1) 175)

b. þæt hi [urum godum [***geoffrian magon*** ðancwurðe onsægednysse]
   dass sie unserem Gott opfern mögen dankbares Opfer   *(ÆCHom* I, 38.592.31)

c. Ac he sceal [þa sacfullan ***gesibbian***]
   aber er muss die Streitenden versöhnen   *(Ælet2(Wulfstan1)* 188.256

d. Se wolde [***gelytlian*** þone lyfigendan hælend]
   Er wollte erniedrigen den lebendigen Heiland   *(Ælet* 2 (Wulfstan1)55.98

Fischer, Olga & Ans van Kemenade & Willem Koopman & Wim van der Wurff. 2000. *The syntax of Early English.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Examples from older Germanic languages

Haider 2012: *Symmetry breaking in syntax.* Cambridge: C.U.P (chapter 5)

Older Icelandic (Hróarsdóttir 2000; Schallert 2006:157-158)

a. hafer Þu [Þinu lidi [***jatat*** Þeim]]
   have you your help promised them

b. hefir hann [***ritað*** sýslungum sínum bréf]
    has he written country-fellows his (a) letter

c. Því eg get ekki [meiri liðsem [Þér ***veitt***]]
   since i can not more help you offer

Hróarsdóttir, Thorbjörg. 2000. *Word order change in Icelandic. From OV to VO.* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Schallert, Oliver. 2006. *Hybride OV/VO Systeme und syntaktischer Wandel zu OV und VO in den germanischen Sprachen.* Diploma-Thesis, FB Linguistik, Univ. Salzburg.

Examples from older Germanic languages

Haider 2012: *Symmetry breaking in syntax.* Cambridge: C.U.P (chapter 5)

Old High German (Notker)

a. áz sie [nîoman [***nenôti*** des chóufes]]   (NB 22,13)

    dass sie niemand NEG-nötigten des Kaufes

b. tánne sie [búrg-réht [***scûofen*** demo líute]]   (NB 64,13)

    dass sie Burgrecht gewährten dem Volk

c. Úbe dû [dero érdo$_{DAT}$ [dînen sâmen$_{AKK}$ ***beuúlehîst***]] (NB 47,4)

    ob du [der Erde [deinen Samen gibst]]

d. Tisêr ûzero ordo [...] mûoze [***duingen*** mit sînero
unuuendigi [diu uuendigen ding]]   (NB 217,20)

    diese äußere Ordnung muss bezwingen mit seiner Unwandelbarkeit die
unwan-delbaren Dinge

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From flexible to fixed directionality

The disappearance of T3

a.   [XP ←[YP ←[ZP ← V]   uniformly „←" (OV)

b.   [XP ←[YP ← [V →ZP]   „→" and „ ←"

c.   [XP [V →[YP [e → ZP]]]]   uniformly „→" (VO)

Cancle the option (b), and what you get is either **VO** or **OV**!

In other words: a **T3** dialect **splits** into a VO- and an OV-dialect.

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From **flexible** to **fixed** directionality

Latin to **Romance** (**VO only**)

a. external drift: **creolization**

b. internal drift: **Aux-V order** advantage

The rise of analytic tenses complicated the verb syntax because of the rise of Aux-V structures.

The avoidance of centre-embedded VPs produced Aux-V patterns with Aux fronting.

Economy invites base-generating these patterns. The result is a VO structure.

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From **flexible** to **fixed** directionality

Germanic: the **OV / VO split** and the **rise of V2**

V2 is catalytic for **fixing the directionality** and it **opens a choice**

☞ *V2 +* ***Third type***   *potential (trace) positions of V_{fin} and V*

XP **V**$_{fin}$ YP ZP	**3**
XP Aux$_{fin}$ V YP	**3 + 2**
XP Aux$_{fin}$ YP V	**3**
XP Aux$_{fin}$ YP V ZP	**3 + 2**

☞ *V2 +* ***fixed***   *potential (trace) positions of V_{fin} and V*

XP **V**$_{fin}$ YP ZP	**1**	(**VO**) or **1** (**OV**)
XP Aux$_{fin}$ V YP	**1+1**	(**VO**)
XP Aux$_{fin}$ YP V	**1**	(**OV**)

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*V2 +**Third type*** *potential (trace) positions of V_{fin} and V*

Two of the structures in detail:

☞ XP V_{fin} YP ZP   **3**

a.   XP V_{fin} YP ZP **e**
b.   XP V_{fin} YP **e** ZP
c.   XP V_{fin} **e** YP ZP

☞ XP Aux_{fin} V YP   **3 + 2**

i.   the three variants from above (a. – c.)
      plus
ii.   Aux-V order, or

iii. V-Aux order

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From flexible to fixed directionality

Germanic: the OV / VO split and the rise of V2

And why has Yiddish conserved its third type grammar?

• The internal drift towards fixed directionality is *counter-balanced* by an external environmental influence:

• Yiddish speaking societies are multilingual. Their surrounding languages have been languages of the *third type, too.* (**Slavic** languages).

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T3 word order in Slavic languages

a. čto Maša *pokazyvaet* Petru svoj dom   (Russian)

    that Mary shows Peter her house

    čto Maša Petru *pokazyvaet* svoj dom

    čto Maša Petru svoj dom *pokazyvaet*

b. **Kakuju** Ivan **mašinu** *kupil* svoej žene?   (Russian)

   which Ivan **car** bought his sister

c. **Jaki** Iwan **samochód** *kupił* swoje jżonie?   (Polish))

   which Iwan **car** bought his sister

   'which car did Iwan buy his sister'

Summary

1. The Indo-European proto-languages are languages of the third type.

2. The descendant languages of Latin are *exclusively VO* since they have *not developed* V2 as facilitator of the OV option.

3. The *grammaticalization of V2* facilitates and spurs the grammaticalization of rigid headedness and invites VO on a par with OV.

4. Yiddish survived as a ‚third type' V2 language by accidental necessity: adstrate effect of third type languages (Slavic).

5. The *Germanic split (change towards fixed headedness)* is a straight-forward consequence of maintaining a balanced tractability for the antecedent-gap relations of moved verbs

6. V2 plus *fixed headedness* opened *two equally accessible, alternative instantiations*: OV or VO. Both have found their instantiations.

Appendix on OV, VO and the Third type

	OV	VO	3rd
XP YP ZP **V**	☑	*	☑
XP YP **V** ZP	*	*	☑
XP **V** YP ZP	*	☑	☑
Compactness	-	+	-
Scrambling	+	-	+
Edge effect	-	+	-
Clustering	+	-	+
Aux-V-variation	+	-	+
Functional subject	-	+	+/-
Expletive funct. subj.	-	+	+/-
Subject-effects	-	+	-

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German as representative of the properties of an OV-based clause structure.

See Haider 2010, The Syntax of German. CUP (Ch.1): OV, and therefore

- not *compact,* and hence *scrambling*
- *no edge effect* in the middle field
- *no unique functional* subject position
- *verb clustering* instead of stacked verbal projections
- variation in the order of main verb and auxiliaries
- *no subject effects* for movement

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Appendix: OV/VO complementarities

☞ *Compactness positively correlates with* **head-initial**

[h° (*YP) argument]   (YP as an intervener; non-selected)

(1) a. [Nachrichten [auf dem Handy *empfangen*]]$_{VP}$

   b. das [*Empfangen* von/der Nachrichten auf dem Handy]$_{NP}$

   c.*das [*Empfangen* auf dem Handy von/der Nachrichten]

   d.*[*receive* on the cell phone messages]$_{VP}$

Scrambling

(2) a. dass er dieses Bild$_i$ keinem e$_i$ zeigte

   b. *that he showed this picture$_i$ nobody e$_i$

   c. *die Weitergabe an keinen$_i$ dieses Bildes e$_i$

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Appendix

☞ *Edge effect positively correlates with* **head-initial**

(3)a. exactly as often (**as everyone else*) complain

   b. sich so oft (*wie jeder andere*) beschweren

   c. [Stolz auf seine Leistungen] war er nicht

   d. ein [stolzer (**auf seine Leitungen*)] Politiker

   e. a [proud (**of his accomplishments*)] politician

   f.   Der Politiker ist [stolz auf seine Leistungen] gewesen.

   g. The politician has been [proud of his accomplishments]

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Appendix

☞ *Edge effect* positively correlates with 'canonically *head-initial'. Hence no edge-effect in T3 (predicted):*

(4) a. V prošlom godu [gorazdo <u>bol´še</u> ***čem Igor´***] <u>vyjgrala</u> tol´ko

maša

in previous year [*much <u>more</u> **than Igor***] <u>won</u> only Mary

'Last year, only Mary has much more won than Igor'

Edge effect in English:

b. Last year, only Igor has more (**than Mary**) won

Appendix

☞ *Verb clustering instead of stacked verbal projections* (see Haider 2010, ch.7.4)

A single piece of evidence shall suffice here today: *nominalized clusters*

- <u>Nominalization</u> is a word formation process. It operates on *<u>zero-level</u> categories.* Hence, the nominalised cluster must be a zero-level category, that is, a cluster of head-to-head adjoined verbs: [[verstreichen$_{V°}$lassen$_{V°}$]$_{V°}$ müssen$_{V°}$]**$_{V°}$**

- The <u>genitival object</u> is immediate evidence for the nominalization of the cluster rather than the phrasal nominalization of a VP: *das Betretenlassen der Wohnung*$_{Gen}$

vs. [dein [idiotisches [bei Rot über die Kreuzung fahren]**$_{VP}$**]]

Appendix

☞ *Verb clustering instead of stacked verbal projections* (see Haider 2010, ch.7.4)

(4) a. [Klagefristen [verstreichen lassen]]$_{VP}$

b. das Verstreichenlassen$_{N°}$ der/von Klagefristen   (attested)

c.*the lett(ing) expire of deadlines

d. [Deadlines [verstreichen lassen müssen]]$_{VP}$

e. das Verstreichenlassenmüssen$_{N°}$ der/von Deadlines

f.*the need(ing) let expire (of) deadlines

g. das Gehenlassenmüssen$_{N°}$ (attested)

h. dass sie uns [[gehen lassen]$_{V°}$ müssen]$_{V°}$

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Appendix

Aux-Verb order variation (because of clustering)

(5) *a. dass man das bedenken müssen wird*

b. dass man das bedenken wird müssen

c. dass man das wird bedenken müssen

d. dat hij niets gezien *kan* hebben   Dutch

e. dat hij niets *kan* gezien hebben

f. dat hij niets *kan hebben* gezien   (ANS 1984: 1069)

g. dass er es würde haben sehen müssen

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Appendix

☞ *Functional subject* and *expletive functional subject*

(6) a. dass ja mitunter Syntaktikern *Unsinn*$_{NOM}$ erzählt wird
b.*that sometimes is/are told syntacticians *nonsense*

c. dass (*es*) (zu häufig) gehustet wurde während des Konzerts
d.*that (*there*) too often coughed was during the concert

e. Ofte vart *(*det)* telefonert   *Norwegian*
f. Ofte telefonere*s *(*det)*

g. *Oft wurde (*es) telephoniert*

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Appendix

☞ *Subject effect* in *VO,* but not in *OV*

(7) a.   Es ist unklar*, wen was* schockiert hat

b.*It is unclear*, whom what* has shocked

c.   *Wer* hat behauptet dass sie *was* schockiert hat?

d.*Who* claimed that *what* has shocked them?

e.   Wen$_i$ würde [e$_i$ damit zu konfrontieren] den Versuch wert sein?

f.* Who(m)$_i$ would [to confront e$_i$ with that] be worth the attempt?

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Summary of the Appendix

- *OV and VO do not exhaustively partition the set of structures modulo headedness directionality. There is a third type.*

- *The third type has not been duly recognized and investigated yet.*

- *OV is the result of universal right-branching and head-final*

- *Clustering is a genuine OV property; but, only in V-movement languages has it immediate distributional effects. In Japanese or Korean it is mistaken for a transparency phenomenon of VPs.*

- *OV languages share a complex set of properties that distinguish them from VO. VO properties are not a subset of OV properties.*