On the Composition of COMP and Parameters of V2
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0. Introduction:
By far, the bulk of current accounts of Verb Second (V2) phenomena in the Germanic languages is concerned with characterizing the root/subordinate asymmetry of V2. The standard way is to derive this asymmetry by taking the Comp position to be occupied either by a lexical complementizer or by the moved finite verb (Vf). Since complementizers are found only in subordinate contexts, finite verbs cannot move to Comp, yielding the asymmetry. However successful the standard account may be for what we shall call an Asymmetric (A)V2 language like German, the existence of Parallel (P)V2 languages like Yiddish (den Besten and Moed-van Walraven 1986, Diesing 1990, etc.) and Icelandic (Thrainsson 1986) where V2 is found in both root and subordinate contexts constitutes an important litmus test of the adequacy of various accounts of A-V2 as an overall theory of V2 phenomena, for we are in agreement with Weerman (1989) that it is desirable to have a unified account of Germanic V2. In fact, in this paper, we go a step further and add to the picture Kashmiri, a language outside the Germanic family, which nevertheless patterns as a P-V2 language, and propose an account that will generalize over Germanic and Kashmiri.

We proceed to do so in the following manner. First, we develop a theory of complementizers based on evidence from languages with a richly developed complementizer system. We then employ the results of this analysis to construct a parametric theory of V2, that is, a theory that accounts for both A-V2 and P-V2 languages in a principled way. We conclude the paper with a discussion of some consequences of our analysis.

1. The Composition of Comp:
The category complementizer has been firmly established among the stock of syntactic categories since the influential work of Bresnan (1972). Its utility has been greatly enhanced recently with the proposal of "Generalized X-bar Theory" of Chomsky (1986) which gives it a full-fledged two-level projection on a par with lexical categories. We begin our query into the complementizer system of natural languages by noting that "complementizer" is not a unified category, both functionally and structurally.

1. Among the Germanic languages, only Icelandic and Yiddish lack the root/subordinate asymmetry, while Modern English lacks V2 altogether.
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Japanese

(3a) John-ga ki-ta
John NOM come-Past
John came.

(3b) Bill-wa [John-ga ki-ta to] omotta
Bill-TOP John-NOM come-PAST SUB thought
Bill thought that John came.

Given this, we would like to hypothesize, following the recent logic of giving each functional feature its separate projection (Pollock 1989, Chomsky 1989) and the usual assumptions about cross-linguistic uniformity, that the category "Comp" should be dissociated into a category that indicates clause-type, or Mood; and for subordinate clauses, a category of Subordinators. The lexical complementizer system of English conflates the two categories, while in Korean, Japanese and Kashmiri, they are kept apart.

2. Parameters of Verb Second: Earlier Accounts:

The V2 phenomenon shows the root-subordinate asymmetry in certain languages (most of Germanic), while other languages (Icelandic, Yiddish, Kashmiri) allow it in both main and subordinate clauses. As we noted earlier, standard accounts of German V2 derive the asymmetry by taking the landing site of V2 to be the Comp, which is taken up by the lexical Comp in embedded clauses, hence blocking V2.

However, the standard account provides little room for variation found in V2 across languages, unless of course: (i) some V2 is effected by movement to a different position, or (ii) if the clausal structure of A-V2 and P-V2 languages are different in some systematic way. In fact, the proposals that address the split in V2 to date have pursued either of these options.

2.1. Diesing (1990):

Diesing, analyzing Yiddish, a P-V2 language, offers the following answer. In Yiddish, V2 is achieved by V-movement to INFL, rather than to Comp. That is why in embedded clauses V2 is possible even in the presence of the complementizer az as shown in (4).

(4) Avrom gloybt az Max shikt avek dos bukh
Avrom believes that Max sends away the book

The first constituent, or Topic, would therefore have to occupy the Spec of IP position. As this position is usually assumed to the position of subjects, she proposes that Yiddish allows Sp(IP) to function either as an A or an A-bar position. Since I is free for the verb to move into even in embedded clauses, one gets the desired result - parallel V2. This is illustrated schematically below:

Kashmiri

(2a) 6a khyam-t-nea bat+ I eat-SUBJUNCTIVE rice I would like to eat food.

(2b) tem dop ki su kheyi-hee-ne yi he said SUB he eat-SUBJUNCTIVE-Neg this
He said that he would not eat it.

(2c) Bill-an prutsh maaj+ ki so heky-aa az yith Bill-ERG asked mother SUB she can-INTER today came
Bill asked (his) mother if she can come today.
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CP - the "minimally necessary A-bar position" to be generated in such a case yielding V3 order. However, we know this is not the case.

2.2. Weereman (1989):
One of the goals that Weereman sets for himself is a unified account of V2. Thus, the A-V2 vs. P-V2 contrast is one of the problems that he tackles head-on.

His basic insight about the two P-V2 Germanic languages - Yiddish and Icelandic is that these are very much like Modern English which has lost productive V2 altogether. Therefore, his theory of V2 is in the main catered directly to the A-V2 languages.

His proposal is this: UG allows only two, not three, verbal positions in a clause - C and V. All root clauses are "referential," and in referential clauses, the verb needs to be "(S)-identified" verbally. The S-identifier of V is the C. This means therefore that the C has to be verbal in root clauses. V-to-C, which gives rise to V2, is a means of achieving such verbal S-identification.3 Embedded clauses are non-referential (pronominal or anaphoric) in the typology of his "verbal" Binding Theory, and in such clauses, the identifier of the V must be non-verbal, i.e., a lexical complementizer.

He notes that P-V2 languages seem to have a third verbal position between the C and the base V position. The most likely candidate for this position is I, but since he wants to eliminate the I node from clause structure universally, he cannot bring it back just for the P-V2 languages. Therefore, Weereman claims that the "third" verbal position in these languages arises due to the fact that certain elements, such as negation, act as blockades, blocking the percolation of the finiteness feature from the V to S (which is Vmax in his system). In an English sentence like (8) below, a dummy auxiliary is inserted to bear the finiteness feature of the main verb.

He takes this account for English and extends it to Yiddish and Icelandic. According to Weereman, the relevant difference between English and these languages is that while English prohibits lexical verbs (theta-assigning verbs - cf. Pollock 1989, Chomsky 1989) from moving over the blockade, Yiddish and Icelandic allow it. Therefore, even in the presence of a lexical Comp, the finite V appears to be in second position, having moved over the blockade. In root clauses, the movement of the verb is to C (via Aux, if there is a blockade), as in German, since C must be verbal.

(8)

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CP /  \
  C /  
  C Vmax
  John / V
  do-insertion => does / V
  not / V
  like Bill [+fin]
```

Heereman (1990:55) what might appear to be the principle banning the projection of CP in Yidish main clauses which stipulates that only the minimal amount of A-bar structure should be generated. She claims that this guarantees that a CP will not be generated in matrix clauses in Yiddish.

The problem with this stipulation is that it is rather vague. For example, under one interpretation of this principle main clauses could have both CP and IP if there is both a Topic and a WH-element, since the minimal amount of A-bar structure needed in this case appears to call for both the Spec of IP and of CP.

One might try to circumvent the generation of Spec of both categories by inserting a dummy auxiliary to bear the finiteness feature of the main verb.

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3. A non V2 language like English achieves the identification of V "inherently" by structural means.
To summarize, in Weerman's account P-V2 in root clauses is V-to-(Aux)-to-
V, while in embedded clauses, it is V-to-Aux. While his account is flexible enough
to extend from A-V2 to P-V2, the success of his account for P-V2 languages rests
heavily on his "blockade theory".

A problem with this theory is that while English provides some evidence that
elements such a Neg block verb movement - in the form of the Do-Insertion rule
and non-inflecting modals - Yiddish and German are exactly alike in relevant respec-
ts to make an independent confirmation of the theory difficult.

A technical difficulty with this proposal is that since the Aux position is sim-
ply the adjointed position above the blockade, it is difficult to guarantee that it will be
the second position in the S, since the intervention of adverbials could turn it into
a third or fourth position. To guarantee that it will be second, one must treat all
these elements as "blockades", forcing the verb to move over them. This does not
seem highly motivated.

However, there are various elements of his overall approach which find a di-
rect counterpart in our analysis, which was developed independently of his work.

3. A Proposal:
In order to begin our query for a parametric theory of V2, let us make the plausible
assumption that clause-type or mood marking is required universally on all clauses.
However, languages may differ in the way in which these distinctions are
marked.

The methodologically sound way of finding an answer to the question of the
ways in which mood can be marked is to look at languages that offer overt morph-
syntactic clues. We have seen that this is the situation with Korean. Korean pos-
sessive marker marks separate lexical categories of mood markers. These are morphologically
verbal affixes. Since on the surface they are suffixed to the verbal stem, we can hypo-
thesize that verb movement to Mood obligatorily takes place.

\[(9)\]
\[
\text{John-i} \quad \text{wa-ss-i} \\
\text{John-NOM come-PAST-DECL}
\]

\[(10)\]
\[
\text{MP} \\
/ \ \\
M' \\
/ \ \\
TP M \\
/ \ \\
NP T -ta \\
/ \ \\
John-i VP T \\
/ \ \\
V -ss \\
/ \ \\
wa-
\]

We can assume that it is the verbal nature of these mood markers, reflected in their
morphological status, which triggers verb movement, and that verb movement to Mood
can make mood marking visible for the clause.

We propose that something very similar is going on with V2 clauses. The
sole difference between V2 languages and Korean is that while there is an affixal
mood morpheme overtly present to attract verb movement in Korean, the (verbal)
mood in V2 languages (at least the Germanic languages - Kashmiri has overt mood
markers that are, of course, verbal affixes) is empty at D-structure. However, it
attracts the verb for the same reason that the affixal mood morphemes do in Korean
- to make mood marking visible (cf. Weerman 1989).

This provides an immediate answer to a fundamental question for any V-
raising account of V2 - namely, why the impossibility of V2 in the presence of lexical
Comps in the A-V2 languages does not lead to ungrammaticality. It is because the
function performed by V2 is fulfilled by the lexical complementizer which also
indicates mood/clause-type distinctions. It also answers the question of why the
movement of verb can fulfill this function in V2 clauses - mood is verbal.

Given this, we must recognize in UG at least two general ways in which mood marking
can be made visible - verbal and non-verbal. Korean and V2 clauses employ verbal mood identification, whereas languages like Chinese, with separate
mood particles (such as the question particle ma) and non V2 clauses headed by
lexical complementizers choose non-verbal mood identification.

4. Subordinators and Complementizers:
With this background, let us now put forth the hypothesis that the lexical
complementizer of V2 languages may either be pure Subordinators (or subor-
dinator comp), or may indicate both the clause type/mood and subordinate
status. We shall reserve the term "complementizer" to refer to the latter category.
Distinct from this newly defined category of Comp, we will also recognize lex-
eses whose sole function is mood-marking, Mood.

In the former languages, the structure of embedded clauses will be as in
(11a), while in the latter, it will be as in (11b).

\[(11a)\]
\[
\text{(VP) } \quad \text{MP} \\
/ \ \\
\text{Spec M' } \\
/ \ \\
\text{Spec C' } \\
/ \ \\
\text{Comp } \\
/ \ \\
V
\]

\[(11b)\]
\[
\text{(VP) } \\
V MP6 \\
/ \ \\
\text{Spec C } \\
/ \ \\
\text{Comp } \\
/ \ \\
\text{...V}
\]

From this, we can make the deduction that if a V2 language has Comp's, V2
will be prohibited in subordinate clauses, since there is no available landing site
(Mood) for the verb. On the other hand, if the V2 language has a subordinator and
Mood, V2 is still possible (to Mood) and required in subordinate clauses, since
otherwise there would be no way of determining the clause type (we are assuming

5. Weerman’s answer to this question is that lexical complementizers may also
function as S-identifiers of verbs.

6. We have treated the subordinator as being adjoined to MP and not heading its
own projection. We might have to allow subordinators to project a full X-bar
theoretic structure in order to account for some subtleties of WH-movement
differences between Kashmiri and Yiddish.
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A summary of the parametric theory of V2 is given in (14):

(14)
I. Mood marking is obligatory in all clauses, main and subordinate.
II. The strategies of Mood marking in Universal Grammar may be verbal (empty mood or affixal mood attracting V-movement) or non-verbal (structural or through lexical complementizers).
III. The category known as "Comp" should be decomposed into Mood and Subordinators. Some languages lexicalize/conflate the two, whereas others lexicalize them separately.

Choice of options in II and III interacts to yield A-V2 and P-V2 languages. P-V2 arises when a language has an empty Mood that hosts verb movement in embedded clauses. However, this is possible only if the language lexicalizes Mood and Subordinator separately. If they are lexicalized together as Comp, another means of Mood-marking must be sought, one that crucially does not involve verb movement to empty Mood. This is the situation with embedded clauses in A-V2 languages. In the next section, we turn to some consequences of our proposal.

6. Some Consequences:
6.1. Subordinators and WH-movement in Indirect Questions:
In languages with simple subordinator Comps, the elements analyzed traditionally as Comp - Korean ko and Japanese to and Kashmiri ki and Hungarian hogy - always proved problematic when viewed as items parallel to that because in indirect questions, the WH-word follows these lexemes rather than preceding them (as it should under the CP analysis). We show an example of the relative ordering of WH and subordinator in Kashmiri to illustrate this point.

(15) tse chay khabar ki kyaa kor tem
you Aux know that what did he

(16) *tse chay khabar kyaa ki kor tem
you Aux know what did he

This is in contrast to the situation in Swedish, Norwegian and Dutch (and also Danish) where in indirect questions, the WH-word precedes a lexical complementizer [adapted from Platzack 1986:41(ex. 33b), Taraldsen 1986:8(ex. 16), and Weerman 1989:51(ex. 87)].

(17) Han undrar vem som ej inte hade oppnat dorren
I wonder who that not had opened the door
(18) Vi vet hvem som ikke skjorte dette sporsmalet
We know who that not understood this question
(19) Henk vraagt [t en wiec t (of) t [t Marie een boek geefi]]
H asks who whether M a book gives

These are the contrasts to the situations that are illustrated in the following examples. It is natural to assume that WH, when it moves in syntax, moves to the Spec of the head that carries Mood information, since WH is sensitive to clause-type and we can assume that this sensitivity is reflected as Spec-Head agreement. Therefore, in Kashmiri, where Mood and Subordinator are kept apart in embedded clauses, WH should move to the Spec of M, as shown in (20) below. This is also the head to which V moves in V2. This gives rise to 'ki-WH-VF' order, as desired.

Unlike root clauses, embedded clauses with V2 begin with the lexeme ki, which is taken to be the complementizer in most accounts of Kashmiri and other Indic languages. We propose here that ki is a simple marker of subordination. Therefore, only the subordinate clause has an additional layer of structure above the MP, but both clauses possess a verbal M node, which is responsible for the P-V2 observed in Kashmiri.

(13) VP (structure of 12a)
Mood and Subordinator in ki-clauses, the introducers of RCs and AdvCs are lexemes which conflate both Mood and Subordinator. If this is the case, we predict these clauses to behave like embedded clauses in German, showing no V2, since no Mood is available separately.

Our hypothesis that a language may possess both kinds of complementizer system is not ad hoc. When we turn to languages with morphologically rich complementizer systems, we see exactly the situation we hypothesized for Kashmiri. Nominalizations in Korean and Quechua provide the relevant examples. Korean possesses an agglutinative, and partially templatic type of morphology. The following is a rough representation of templatic slots in verbal morphology (Yoon 1989).

(24) Stem- (Caus/Pass)-(Honorific)-Tns-(Tns/Aspect-Retro Tns)-Mood-(SUB)
mek-hi-si-ess-ess-te-la-ko
eat-PASS-HON-PAST-PERF-RETRO-MOOD-SUB

The affixes indicating Mood occupy slot 7. When a clause is nominalized, the nominalizing affix takes up the same slot.

(25) John-i pap-ul mek-ess-um
J-NOM meal-ACC eat-PAST-NML
'John's having eaten the bread'

However, while we have seen that the verbal Mood markers can be followed by the Subordinator ko, the nominalizing verb does not allow further affixation of ko.

Bill-TOP John-NOM meal-ACC eat-PAST-NML-SUB knows

Yoon (1989) provides detailed evidence that nominalizer should be treated as a nominal Comp, based on its occupying the same morphological slot and on its sensitivity to selection by matrix predicates. This is the kind of behavior expected of Comps in languages like English. On the basis of this and the obvious subordinate status of nominalized clauses, we can hypothesize that the nominal complementation system lexiconizes both subordination and mood, while they are kept apart in the verbal system. Thus, within the same language, we have both the Kashmiri type and the German type of complementation systems. This certainly makes plausible the account we offered for Kashmiri non-V2 clauses.

To conclude, in this paper, we have proposed a parametric account of the V2 phenomenon that generalizes over Germanic and Kashmiri. We did so by dissociating the category “complementizer” into Mood and, Subordinators. Assuming that clause-type marking is obligatory, we: (a) argued that verb movement will be prohibited in the subordinate clauses of the A-V2 languages (e.g., German), whose Comps indicate both the clause-type and the subordinate status, but possible in P-V2 (Yiddish, Icelandic, Kashmiri) languages, where the Comp is a simple subordinator, and (b) examined some consequences of this proposal.

References
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A Non-Unified Analysis of Agentive Verbs
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1. Introduction

In this paper we distinguish two subclasses of active verbs: direct causation verbs and indirect causation verbs. This distinction will be formalized in the lexical representation of the verbs by means of two different causation predicates: CAUSE and DO. We define CAUSE as the predicate that denotes indirect causation by an external argument, and DO as the predicate that denotes direct causation by an external argument. The distinction between direct and indirect causation will be motivated by the analysis of argument structure alternations exhibited by change of state and motion verbs in English and French. Our focus will be on verbs that manifest alternations in the realization of arguments in subject position.

We begin by examining two English alternations that arise with verbs that are simultaneously CAUSE and DO verbs. Then we consider verbs in English and French that optionally manifest either direct or indirect causation. Comparing the two languages, we find that where English appears to have only one causative-inchoative alternation, French clearly has two. It is a well-known fact that the mapping from semantics to

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1. The terms CAUSE and DO have been borrowed from the lexical semantics (cf. Lakoff 1966, 1972, Dowty 1979). It should be pointed out that our use of these terms departs somewhat from that of these authors. In particular, we do not use the notions of intentionality or volitionality to distinguish these two predicates.