REDEFINING THE TYPOLOGY OF V2 LANGUAGES:
THE VIEW FROM MEDIEVAL ROMANCE AND BEYOND[1]

This article proposes a new typology of the V2 property, integrating new data from a corpus of Medieval Romance texts with data from Rhaeto-Romance, Early Germanic and Modern Germanic. The proposed analysis is that all V2 systems have a V-movement and phrasal movement trigger on the lowest left-peripheral head, Fin, and that in a subclass of V2 languages Force also has these properties. It is argued that the restrictions on and variation in licensing verb-initial and verb-third clauses within Romance and Germanic V2 systems fall out from the Fin/Force distinction.

1. Background

1.1. Introduction

Whether the Medieval Romance languages were Verb Second (V2) systems (Benincà 2004, 2006, 2013), sharing certain structural properties with well-studied Germanic languages, or SVO systems (Kaiser 2002 et seq.) remains one of the most controversial issues in Romance linguistics. Beyond this field, the debate has widespread implications for any proposed typology of the V2 property cross-linguistically and significant consequences for an understanding of the potential similarities and differences between the core clausal syntax of the Germanic and Romance languages.

This article draws on a new hand-annotated corpus of Medieval Romance texts to argue that the Medieval Romance languages were V2, understood here following recent formulations by Mohr (2009:157), Holmberg (2015) and Wolfe (2015b) as a systematic requirement that the finite verb raise into the C-layer and that this movement be accompanied by merger of a phrasal constituent in the C-layer.

Focussing on two case studies of microvariation within V2 systems, namely the licensing of V1 and V3 orders, I integrate the Medieval Romance languages into a wider typology of V2 languages and argue that the microvariation attested within these V2 systems can be captured by assuming that the locus of V2 effects within the C-domain can be distinct from one V2 system to another. It is proposed that this relatively simple assumption, which follows seminal work by Poletto (2002) for Rhaeto-Romance, allows us to capture a number of points of microvariation between V2 systems within Romance and Germanic which until now have resisted uniform accounts.

1.2. Working Assumptions

I assume that the left periphery of the clause is an articulated set of hierarchically ordered functional projections layered in 'fields' associated with specific pragmatico-semantic characteristics (Rizzi 1997; Poletto 2000; Benincà 2001; Benincà & Poletto 2004). The Frame field constitutes the left-most portion of the C-layer where the speech act is 'anchored' in terms of speech participants and locative and temporal deixis (Haegeman 2000:§5.5.1; Benincà & Poletto 2004:§4.2; Giorgi 2010), which is followed by a layer associated with illocutionary force and clause-typing (see Coniglio & Zegrean 2010 for recent discussion). This is followed by the Topic and Focus layer and, finally, Fin which intersects the C and T-layer and is associated with verbal finiteness (Rizzi 1997:283):

(1) [Frame…. [Force…. [Topic…. [Focus…. [Fin…. [TP….]]]]]]

I start with the working assumption that the core characteristics of V2 languages are the result of a V-movement-triggering Probe and a phrasal merger-triggering Edge Feature (EF) on one of these heads. In line with Haegeman (1996), Cardinaletti & Roberts (2002) and Ledgeway (2008), amongst many others, I hypothesise that this is Fin, though we come to revisit this assumption.

In the following discussion of the Medieval Romance data, I draw on a small corpus (c. 1000 clauses) of six Medieval Romance texts representing Old Sicilian, Venetian, Occitan, French and Spanish. To control so far as possible for genre and style, narrative prose was preferred when assembling the corpus, though due to the limited textual records for Venetian from the 14th century legal texts were used:[2]

Table 1. Textual Corpus for Medieval Romance

Sicilian *Libru de lu dialagu di sanctu Gregoriu*	1301-1350
Venetian *I monumenti del dialetto di Lio Mazor*	1312-1314
Spanish *Libro de los ejemplos del conde Lucanor y de Patronio*	1335
Occitan *La Vie de Sainte Douceline*	1200s
French *La Quête du Saint Graal*	1215-1230

1.3. Outline

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[2] Throughout the article texts from the main corpus analysis are accompanied by a page number, whilst those drawn from elsewhere have the name of the text and pagination as it appears in the source from which it is taken.

Section 2 follows with a discussion of the points of continuity between the Medieval Romance, Rhaeto-Romance, Early Germanic and Modern Germanic V2 systems, which are linked to the featural content of the head Fin. Section 3 presents two case studies of variation, where V3* and V1 orders licensed in Romance and Germanic V2 systems are compared and it is argued that the types of 'deviant' orders licensed depend on whether Fin alone or Fin and Force together bear the features responsible for V2. Section 4 brings together the account and outlines its broader significance.

2. On the Unifying Characteristics of V2 Grammars

2.1. Finite Verb Placement

In a grammar where Fin's V-Probe and EF require both V-movement and phrasal merger in the left periphery, one would predict that second position would be the preferred linear ordering for the finite verb.

Amongst most Modern Germanic languages and certain Rhaeto-Romance varieties, this prediction resolutely holds (Haiman & Benincà 1992:150; Vikner 1995:41; Holmberg & Platzack 1995:71; Manzini & Savoia 2005; van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman 2007:167; Haider 2010:1; Holmberg 2015:1)[3]. As discussed below, however, attempts in the Romance literature to characterise Modern Germanic V2 in terms akin to a linear order constraint are problematic on the grounds of a restricted class of V3* and V1 contexts across even Modern Germanic languages (cf. Section 2).[4]

Nevertheless, the observation that V1, V3 and V4* orders *are* more widely attested in various Early Germanic and Medieval Romance varieties is a genuine one (see for example Walkden 2014, 2015 for Early Germanic and Benincà 2004, 2006 for Medieval Romance alongside discussion below) and a core fact that any refined typology of V2 must account for.[5] Below I suggest that such an account, which systematically captures why such 'deviations' are permitted in some V2 systems to a greater extent than others, is possible for both Germanic and Romance.

The data in Table 1 clearly indicate that the Medieval Romance varieties considered pattern broadly with certain Early Germanic varieties in permitting V1, V3 and V4* orders. Note that V2 is the

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[3] Though see work by Bidese & Tomaselli (2010) on Cimbrian, Cognola (2013, 2015a) on Mòcheno and Haegeman & Greco (2016, to appear) on West Flemish for contemporary Germanic varieties where the linear ordering effect is "looser" than what is commonly described elsewhere in Germanic.

[4] Witness for example the observation by Rinke and Elsig (2010:2566) that "[a]s regards verb-initial and verb-third orders, they are clearly not a freely available option of verb-second grammars:.

[5] I distinguish here between V3 and V4* orders as two distinct sub-classes, though they are commonly treated together in the literature. In the analysis that follows I suggest in fact that many V2 languages permit V3 orders, whereas orders where four or more constituents precede the finite verb are more restricted in distribution.

preferred position for the finite verb in all varieties, though there is considerable variation between Medieval Romance varieties as to how widely V1 and V3* orders are attested:[6]

Table 1. Verb Placement in Medieval Romance Matrix Clauses

	Old French		Old Occitan		Old Sicilian		Old Venetian		Old Spanish	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
V1	0	0.00%	48	7.52%	52	8.21%	154	24.37%	11	2.29%
V2	475	75.16%	340	53.29%	318	50.24%	371	58.70%	436	90.83%
V3	155	24.53%	188	29.47%	189	29.86%	103	16.30%	32	6.67%
V4	2	0.32%	50	7.84%	61	9.64%	4	0.63%	1	0.21%
V5	0	0.00%	8	1.25%	11	1.74%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
V6	0	0.00%	4	0.63%	1	0.16%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
V7	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.16%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Total	632	100%	638	100%	633	100%	632	100%	480	100%

2.2. The Nature of the Prefield

The observation that the prefield of V2 systems is fundamentally distinct from that found in SVO systems appears many times in the literature on Germanic (Diesing 1990:44; Lightfoot 1995:40; Vikner 1995:41; Holmberg & Platzack 1995:71; Müller 2004:§2; Frey 2004b:3; Thráinsson 2007:17; Westergaard 2008:1843; Haider 2010:1; Holmberg 2015:1) and Romance (Haiman & Benincà 1992:150; Fontana 1993:100; Jensen 1994:359-362; Lombardi & Middleton 2004:569; Benincà 2004:262; Ledgeway 2007:125; Fernández Ordóñez 2009:10f; Poletto 2014:4) V2 systems and has at its core the observation that prefield in V2 systems is not a specialised subject position as in SVO systems, but can host a wide variety of constituents belonging to different grammatical categories with diverse pragmatic values. If the V2 constraint is framed in the terms outlined above as a bi-partite operation where Fin bears a V-Probe and an EF, such an observation falls out naturally from standard assumptions on clausal structure. Whereas in SVO systems, with V-movement to the T-*v*-V domain and 'EPP-effects' standardly on a T-related head, the immediately preverbal field will consist of functional projections associated with subjecthood, tense and

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[6] Interestingly the Old Venetian legal texts employed relatively widespread V1 which I argue below is nevertheless qualitatively restricted. The high proportion of V1 relative to other texts may be due to the fact that *Lio Mazor* features direct speech and first-hand accounts of legal disputes, which appear to favour both Narrative V1 associated with 'saying, telling, recounting' and deletion of a highly salient discourse antecedent, another sub-type licensed in certain V2 languages (see discussion below).

agreement (Pollock 1989; Guasti & Rizzi 2002; Cardinaletti 2004), this is not the case in V2 languages where C-projections associated principally with discourse-pragmatics appear immediately to the left of the moved verb (2). The occurrence of a non-subject constituent in initial position is of course accompanied by so-called 'inversion' of the verb and subject, which I discuss further below:

(2) [Frame…. [Force…. [Topic…. [Focus…. [Fin…. **V** [TP…. V̶]]]]]

Thus, in the Modern Germanic languages we find that although subjects can occur in the prefield with a high frequency (3a), a wide range of non-subject constituents can also occupy a position to the left of the finite verb (3b, c, d, e):

(3) a. Karl **hat** das Paket weggebracht

　　 Karl has the packet taken.away

　 'Karl took the packet away' (German, Frey 2004b:6)

　 b. Italiensk **snakker** Peter aldri når   han er i Italia

　　 Italian   speaks   Peter never when he   is in Italy

　 'Peter never speaks Italian when he is in Italy' (Norwegian, Westergaard 2009:17)

　 c. Heldigvis **er** den politiske kunst på vej   tilbage

　　 luckily   is the political art   on way back

　 'Luckily, political art is making a come-back' (Danish, Holmberg 2012:§2.3)

　 d. In 1642 **heeft** Tasman Nieuw-Zeeland ontdekt

　　 in 1642 has   Tasman New   Zealand discovered

　 'In 1642, Tasman discovered New Zealand' (Dutch, Zwart 2011:281)

As noted above, such orders have been extensively reported in the Medieval Romance languages and there is extensive evidence for them within our corpus:

(4) a. Kistu abbati **avìa**   hedificati multi munasterii

　　 this   abbot have.3SG.PST build.PTCP many monasteries

　 'This abbot had built many monasteries' (Old Sicilian, 246)

　 b. Questo **avrò**=e'

　　 this   have.1SG.FUT=I

　 'I will have this' (Old Venetian, 45)

　 c. Adoncs **dis**   le lectors mot consolatz   que…

　　 Then   say.3SG.PST the clerk   very comfortingly that

　 'The clerk then said, very comfortingly, that…' (Old Occitan, 150)

　 d. Et desque nascieron,   **dixo**   el Mal al   Bien…

and after born.3PL.PST say.3SG.PST the Bad to the Good

'and after they were born, the Bad said to the Good…' (Old Spanish, 189)

It can be demonstrated on the basis of the textual evidence that such orders are far from marginal in the texts considered. Witness the figures in Table 2, which show that non-subject constituents make up between 29.87% and 76.22% of matrix clauses within the samples:[7]

Table 2. Preverbal Constituents in Medieval Romance Matrix V2 Clauses

	Old French		Old Occitan		Old Sicilian		Old Venetian		Old Spanish	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Object DP	12	2.53	47	14.33	17	4.89	5	1.33	8	1.83
Object PP	38	8.00	33	10.06	16	4.60	15	4.00	9	2.06
Object Predicate	4	0.84	0	0.00	0	0.00	22	5.87	0	0.00
Object Infinitive	2	0.42	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.46
Indirect Object PP	5	1.05	2	0.61	7	2.01	3	0.80	9	2.06
Selected Adverb	22	4.63	16	4.88	21	6.03	34	9.07	17	3.90
Selected Adverbial Phrase	0	0.00	20	6.10	24	6.90	4	1.07	2	0.46
Selected Adverbial Clause	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Subject	220	46.32	78	23.78	151	43.39	263	70.13	154	35.32
Non-Selected Adverb	80	16.84	32	9.76	53	15.23	8	2.13	31	7.11
Non-Selected Adverbial Phrase	20	4.21	30	9.15	7	2.01	6	1.60	48	11.01
Non-Selected Adverbial Clause	1	0.21	10	3.05	4	1.15	0	0.00	43	9.86
Circumstantial Clause	0	0.00	7	2.13	43	12.36	8	2.13	25	5.73
When Clause	3	0.63	40	12.20	2	0.57	2	0.53	39	8.94
Temporal Clause	1	0.21	3	0.91	0	0.00	0	0.00	19	4.36
If Clause	0	0.00	4	1.22	1	0.29	1	0.27	6	1.38
Reason Clause	7	1.47	6	1.83	0	0.00	2	0.53	24	5.50
SI	60	12.63	0	0.00	2	0.57	2	0.53	0	0.00
Total Count	475	100.0	328	100.0	348	100.0	375	100.0	436	100.0
Total XP$_{Non-Subject}$—V-S	255	53.68	250	76.22	197	56.61	112	29.87	282	64.68
Total SVO	220	46.32	78	23.78	151	43.39	263	70.13	154	35.32

Caution should be exercised when attempting like-for-like comparison between small samples of text-languages and contemporary spoken data, on the grounds that register, style and the

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[7] A reviewer notes with interest that wh-clauses appear to be able to satisfy V2 in some Medieval Romance languages but not others. Further comparative research is needed on a wider statistical base, but it may be that this is linked to whether fronted clauses are base-generated high in the Frame-field and thus unable to satisfy a V2-related EF or merged lower in the C-layer in the Topic field where they are able to (see Axel 2004 and Donaldson 2012 for argumentation along these lines for the history of German and French).

sociolinguistic properties of the speaker cannot be controlled for in the same way. Nevertheless, it is significant to note that all the Medieval Romance varieties sampled have a higher proportion of XP$_{\text{Non-Subject}}$-V-S clauses than Yang's (2000:14) sample of Modern Dutch (23%), and all the texts examined except those of Venetian (which misses the threshold by only by 0.13%) surpass Lightfoot's (1995:41, 1999:153), by his own admission arbitrary, 30% [XP$_{\text{Non-Subject}}$-V] figure that he proposes is a necessary proportion of the input for a child to reconstruct a V2 grammar. Keeping appropriate reservations in mind, the observation is that non-subject-initial clauses with the verb in second position cannot be dismissed as marginal or unusual in the early stages of the Romance languages and furthermore that the relative proportions of non-subject-initial clauses may correspond approximately to uncontrosversially V2 Germanic languages.

2.3. 'Inversion' Phenomena

A third syntactic property which is common to all V2 grammars is what can loosely be termed 'inversion effects'. Although there is microvariation between varieties as to what triggers inversion, the generalisation holds that in all V2 systems a class of constituents merged in the C-layer block further movement into the left-periphery, keeping constituents within the T-*v*-V layer. This is most transparently observed with so-called 'Germanic' inversion (Adams 1987:4; Roberts 1993:56; Salvesen 2013:136; Poletto 2014:3-8), where in the presence of a fronted non-subject, the subject appears between the finite auxiliary which has raised into the C-layer and a verbal complement standardly taken to demarcate the left edge of the *v*-V-complex (Cinque 2001). Compare the Modern Germanic examples in (3c, d) with the Rhaeto-Romance example (5) and the Medieval Romance data (6):

(5) Duman **mangia** la muta pom
    tomorrow eat.3SG the girl apples
    'Tomorrow the girl will eat apples' (Rhaeto-Romance S.Leonardo, Poletto 2002:223)

(6) a. Ja vos=**avoit** il si longuement servi
       already you=have.3SG.PST he so long serve.PTCP
    'He has already served you such a long time' (Old French 119)
    b. Acostumat **avia** li sancta de pagar a Dieu las horas
       accustom.PTCP have.3SG.PST the saint to pay.INF to God the hours
    'The Saint had become used to reciting her hours to God' (Old Occitan 159)
    c. et en faciendo estos seguramientos, **ha** él ya pensado
       and in make.PROG these assurances have.3SG.PST he already think.PTCP
    'And in making these assurances, he has already thought…' (Old Spanish 141)
    d. quasi per virtuti de Deu non **potissi** lu focu passari chillu locu duvi
       as-if by virtue of God NEG can.3SG.PST.SBJV the fire pass.INF that place where
       era lu episcupu
       be.3SG.PST the bishop
    'Seemingly through the virtue of God, the fire was not able to spread through that place where the bishop was' (Old Sicilian 36)

   e. e così **er'**=<u>e'</u>   rivà   a casa de Macho de Robin
      and so   be.1SG.PST=I arrive.PTCP at house of Macho de Robin
     'and I thus arrived at the house of Macho de Robin' (Old Venetian 22)

These effects receive a straightforward account under 'bottleneck' approaches to V2 (Haegeman 1996, 2012:109-111; Poletto 2002; Roberts 2004; Cardinaletti 2010) under which all constituents reaching the left-periphery via internal merge must pass through Spec-FinP. Even if a merged constituent then moves higher to the Topic-Focus layer, it will leave an identical copy in SpecFinP which blocks further movement into the C-layer. In (6a), assuming that *ja* 'already' is base-generated in the T-domain (Cinque 1999:32; Ledgeway in press:§2.1.1), raises to satisfy Fin's EF and then moves into the Focus-layer, its copy in SpecFinP will block any further movement to CP. The subject thus remains either in its base-generated position within the *v*-VP complex or moves to a position within the articulated field of subject projections within the T-layer (see Wolfe 2015b for discussion of the interaction between subject positions and V2 in Romance). [8]

Therefore, 'bottleneck' effects are a unifying property of V2 grammars, and are derived straightforwardly from the featural makeup of Fin in Germanic and Romance V2 systems.

2.4. Summary

Our hypothesis is that V2 grammars share at least three characteristics across Germanic and Romance: (i) a preference for placing the finite verb in second position, (ii) a prefield not specialised for subjects and (iii) bottleneck effects where only one element reaches the left periphery via movement. These characteristics are derived straightforwardly if we assume that in all V2 grammars, Fin bears both a trigger for V-movement and an EF.

3. Variation in V2 Grammars

Beyond these points of continuity there are points of microvariation in Romance and Germanic. In what follows I focus on two such points: the occurrence of matrix V3* orders and matrix V1 clauses. I propose that in addition to Fin-V2 systems, a subclass of V2 grammars exist where a high left-peripheral head, Force, also attracts the finite verb and a phrasal constituent. This proposal feeds into a novel typology of V1 and V3* licensing in V2 grammars.

3.1. V3 Orders*

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[8] Cognola (2013, 2015a) presents data from Mòcheno which suggest multiple moved Topics can co-occur in this particular V2 language. If correct, this likely suggests that there may be further variation and that the analysis of Haegeman (1996, 2012) and Roberts (2004) under which a single generalised EF blocks all further movement to the left periphery may need refinement in some cases. We could thus develop a fine-grained typology where the precise Relativised Minimality constraints on movement to the left periphery could be generalised in some V2 languages, yet sensitive to the precise discourse features of the moved element in others.

In Early Germanic (Axel 2007:200-233; Petrova 2011; Walkden 2015), Modern Germanic (Frey 2004a; Bildhauer & Cook 2010:69-70), Medieval Romance (Vance, Donaldson & Steiner 2009; Donaldson 2012; Wolfe in press) and Rhaeto-Romance (Poletto 2002; Fuss 2005:179-181; Casalicchio & Cognola 2014) V3* is far from a unitary phenomenon.

Consider first data from 13th century Occitan, 14th century Sicilian and 12th century Spanish. These languages license the co-occurrence of multiple XPs within the Frame-Topic-Focus layer yielding V3 and V4* orders (cf. Table 1 for Occitan and Sicilian). This phenomenon has led to the label 'relaxed V2' for Medieval Romance varieties (Benincà 1983-4; Franco 2009:9; Casalicchio & Cognola 2014) and is widespread in early Romance texts, typically occurring where a thematic constituent precedes an informationally new constituent:[9]

(7) [Topic Illi, [Focus per amor del   Senhor, [Fin… lur=**lavava**   los pes…]]]
          she   for love of-the Lord   them=wash.3SG.PST the feet
      'Through her love of the Lord, she washed their feet' (Old Occitan 45)

(8) [Frame tamen poy di la   morti loru], [Topic li   ossa loru] [Focus pir virtuti divina [Fin…
          then after of the death their   the bones their   by virtue divine
      operannu   miraculi]]]]
      perform.3PL miracles
      'Then after their death, their bones perform miracles through divine virtue' (Sicilian 262)

(9) [Frame Si nos d'aquí   non imos [Topic en paz] [Focus nunca [FinP… **bivremos**]]]]
          if we from=here NEG go.1PL   in peace   never   live.1PL
      'If we don't leave here, we'll never live in peace' (Old Spanish, *Alexandre* 254)

Such orders, where preverbal constituents that seemingly lexicalise *both* the Topic and Focus layer co-occur, are not typologically exceptional in V2 systems (cf. Cognola 2013:217, 2015a:94-95 for Mòcheno and Bhatt 1999:§4.1 for Kashmiri). Petrova (2012) highlights Middle Low German examples such as the following, which she argues result from the co-occurrence of a Topic with "informationally-structurally vacuous PPs" (2012:183). Modifying the analysis only slightly and noting that the PPs in Petrova's data appear to contribute discourse-new information, as they standardly do in Medieval Romance (Wolfe 2016), we could suggest that an example such as (10) results from the co-occurrence of Topic and Focus:[10]

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[9] See Wolfe (2015a) on Old Sicilian and Old Sardinian, Poletto (2014:21) on Old Italian, Fontana (1993:§3.4.2) and Fernández Ordóñez (2009:18-20) on Old Spanish and Labelle (2007:303) and Mathieu (2012:339-341) on Old French.
[10] In fact, although Petrova (2012) does not discuss Informational Focus specifically, she includes examples such as the following, where an indefinite DP object occurs preverbally. Such examples are cases of Information Focus *par excellence* in the Modern Romance languages where it is still licensed today (Cruschina 2006:364, 2012:60), suggesting MLG did license left-peripheral Information Focus:
    (i) Ene vrowen name   he do…
        a   wife   take.3SG.PST he then
        'He then took a wife' (*SW* 97, 18, Petrova 2012:168)

(10) [Topic Adelger [Focus mit sinen   vrunden [Fin…**vor**   do to deme   keisere]]]
            Adelger   with his.DAT friends.DAT   go.3SG.PST then to this.DAT emperor
         'With his friends, Adelger went to this emperor' (SW 108, 3, Petrova 2012:183)

This characteristic is shared with Old High German (Speyer 2010:§5.3; Walkden 2014:70-71, 2015:243), though note that some qualification is in order, as Axel (2007:215) shows that the co-occurrence of multiple XPs which we would standardly locate in the Topic-Focus layer (11) is restricted to the earliest Old High German texts:

(11) [Topic Dher selbo forasago] [Focus auch in andreru stedi [Fin… **chundida**   dhazss…]]]
            the   same prophet   also in other   place   proclaim.3SG.PST that
         'The same prophet made known also elsewhere that' (I 348, Axel 2007:215)

Finally, consider Old English, which shows the best-documented cases of V3* orders within Germanic (Bean 1983:70; Van Kemenade 1987:109f; Tomaselli 1995:347-350; Kroch, Taylor & Ringe 2000:366-367; Haeberli 2002:248-252; Pintzuk & Haeberli 2008:370; Walkden 2015:243):

(12) [Ðysne yrming]   [æfter his forðsiðe] **wurðodon**   þa hæðenan eac for healicne god
        this   poor-wretch after his decease   worship.3SG.PST the heathens also for high   God
        'After his decease, the heathens also worshiped this poor wretch instead of God' (Wulfstan 223, 58, Haeberli 2002:248)

Whilst noting that the [DPThematic PP VFin] order in (12) bears a striking resemblance to the Topic + Focus orders found in our Medieval Romance texts and also noting that the prepositional phrase is informationally new in this particular passage of text, we should keep in mind the detailed empirical studies presented by Walkden (2014:69-70, 2015), who proposes that cases of V3 in Old English can be captured under an analysis where an Aboutness Topic and Familiar Topic (cf. Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007) co-occur. I do not take a stance on whether all cases of V3 in Old English clauses with V-to-C movement can be analysed as involving multiple topics (cf. also Koopman 1996) or whether the Focus layer is involved here, but note the commonality between these two analyses is that multiple constituents co-occur in the Topic-Focus layer.

I conclude therefore that 12th century Spanish, 13th century Occitan, 14th century Sicilian, Old English, Early Old High German and Middle Low German licensed multiple XPs in the Topic-Focus layer.

In Medieval Romance such orders were not licensed uniformly. In French texts from c.1200 onwards, V3 orders were only licensed where the initial constituent belonged to a restricted class of frame-setting adverbs, wh-clauses and adverbial clauses (Skårup 1975:435-459; Roberts 1993:144; Vance 1997:61-62; Donaldson 2012:1043). V3 is also only attested with a base-generated Frame-Setter in certain varieties of 14th century Venetian and 13th century Spanish (Wolfe 2015b):

(13) a. Et [quant il est   apareilliez], [il] **prent**   ses armes…
        and when he be.3SG appear.PTCP he take.3SG his weapons
      'When he appeared, he took his weapons…' (Old French 129)
      b. Et [luego que llego   a la puerta] [el diablo] **abrioge**=la
         And soon that arrive.3SG.PST at the door   the devil   open.3SG.PST=it
      'And as soon as he arrived at the door, the devil opened it' (Old Spanish 204)
      c. [Unde] [Brat] **levà**   la ma(n)
         thus   Brat raise.3SG.PST the hand
      'Brat then raised his hand' (Old Venetian 51)

Similar restrictions hold in later Old, Middle and New High German (Axel 2004, 2007:227-233). Whilst noting that V3* orders of the type discussed in (11) are most prevalent in early Old High German texts, Axel (2004:24) notes that V3 obtaining with an initial adverbial clause is "frequently attested until well into the Early New High German period" (2004:24):

(14) [Dhuo ir   himilo   garauui   frumida] [dhar] **uuas**   ih
       when   he the-heavens' equipment   created   there   be.3SG.PST   I
     'When he fashioned the heavens, I was there' (Isidor 91, Axel 2004:30)

Crucially Axel (2004:38) shows that such clauses precede illocutionary particles "at the leftmost edge of the C-domain", indicating that they lexicalise a very high position within the C-layer.

In Rhaeto-Romance, Fuss (2005:179-181), drawing in part on previous work by Oetzel (1992), notes examples like the following, where an initial Frame-Setter also permits V3 in the Vallader and Surmeiran Rhaeto-Romance languages:[11]

(15) [in quel istess mumaint] [il trid uorsin] **as**   transmüdet   in ün bel   prinz
       in this same moment   the ugly bear   REFL transform.3SG in a   handsome prince
     'In this moment the ugly bear changed into a handsome prince' (Vallader)

(16) [La seira   anturn las nov] [Tina] sa **prepara**   per sorteir
      the evening around the nine Tina REFL prepare.3SG to   go.out.INF
     'In the evening around nine, Tina gets ready to go out' (Surmeiran)

We can thus identify a second class of V2 system where V3 orders are only licit when the initial constituent lexicalises the Frame-field, standardly involving an initial clause or adverbial phrase.[12]

Turning to the third and final class, the Frame-field can be lexicalised in a highly restricted set of V3 orders, but only with a constituent which is traditionally analysed as 'left-dislocated'.[13] Thus

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[11] Poletto (2002) also shows such cases to be marginally acceptable in the variety of San Leonardo.

[12] These languages also licensed forms of left dislocation at this stage, which I exclude from discussion here for reasons of space. See Fontana (1993) and Bouzouita (2014) on Spanish and Roberts (1993:101-108), Mathieu (2012:237) and Salvesen (2013:§3.5.1) on French.

consider the following examples from Modern German (on which see Frey 2004b:21; Shaer & Frey 2004:469-483; Haider 2010:3) and Modern Dutch (Van Riemsdijk & Zwarts 1997):

(17) [Den Käse], [den] **hat** die Maus gefressen
    the.ACC cheese that.ACC have.3SG the mouse eaten
  'The cheese, the mouse has eaten it' (Modern German, Haider 2010:3)

(18) [De Hollanders], [die] **zijn** te flegmatiek
    The Dutch they be.3PL too phlegmatic
  'The Dutch, they are too phlegmatic' (Modern Dutch, Van Riemsdijk & Zwarts 1997:13)

Avoiding a review of the enormous literature on these constructions (see Boeckx & Grohmann 2005 for recent discussion), we suggest, following proposals in the literature, that the initial constituent in such constructions is 'outside' the clausal core (Shaer & Frey 2004:499) and that the 'dislocated' constituents are first-merged in the Frame field. Hanging Topic constructions where there is no overt resumptive element are also licensed in German (Cinque 1977:112f; Shaer & Frey 2004; Haider 2010:245) (19), Dutch (De Vries 2009:293; Zwart 2011:197) and the Rhaeto-Romance variety discussed by Poletto (2002:231), [14] where Hanging Topics are essentially the only constituents able to trigger V3 in matrix declaratives (20) and an analysis of base-generation in Frame can also be adopted (Frascarelli 2000:§3.2; Aboh 2004:306; Benincà & Poletto 2004:§5; Sturgeon 2008:50):

(19) Den Hans, jeder **mag** ihn
    the.ACC Hans everyone like.3SG him
  'Hans, everyone likes him' (German, Shaer & Frey 2004:466)

(20) L liber, a Giani ti l'**ai** bel dé
    the book, to Giani it have.1SG already given
  'I already give the book to John' (S.Leonardo Rhaeto-Romance, Poletto 2002:231)

This final class of V2 systems therefore only permits V3 in cases where the initial constituent is first-merged in the Frame field. However, the elements which can lexicalise this field are heavily restricted to Hanging Topics and Left Dislocations.

I propose that this tripartite typology of V3 licensing can be captured under a theory of V2 which assumes that either Fin or both Fin and Force can be the locus of the property cross-linguistically (Poletto 2002, 2013; Walkden 2015; Wolfe 2015b). The first class of languages (Early Old Sicilian, Occitan, and Spanish, Old English, Middle Low German and Early Old High German) can license

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[13] I use the term 'left dislocated' here, but as shown by Frey (2004a) in particular, this construction in Germanic patterns separately from Romance Clitic Left Dislocation in a number of details. As such, these structures should be viewed as having overlapping properties but certain key differences between the two families, which their unitary label does not necessarily highlight.

[14] Though note the observation by Zwart (2011:197) that the Hanging Topic construction with an *in situ* resumptive "does not appear to be actually used by speakers of Dutch".

V3* orders with multiple constituents lexicalising the Frame-Topic-Focus field. We thus assume that in these languages V-movement targets Fin.[15] Once one XP is merged in Spec-FinP to satisfy Fin's EF, nothing *a priori* prevents base-generation or XPs in the fields higher than this XP's eventual landing site, making the correct prediction that multiple constituents can co-occur in the Frame-Topic-Focus field and furthermore that V4* orders are found. Thus, a Focus initial clause would have the simplified structure as follows, with optional base-generated XPs in the Topic and Frame fields:

(21) $[_{\text{Frame}}$ **(XP$_{\text{Frame-Setter}}$)** $[_{\text{Force}}$…. $[_{\text{Topic}}$ **(XP$_{\text{Topic}}$)** $[_{\text{Focus}}$ **XP$_{\text{Focus}}$** $[_{\text{Fin}}$ ~~XP$_{\text{Focus}}$~~ $[_{\text{Fin}}$ **V**$]$ $[_{\text{TP}}$…. ~~V~~ $]]]]]$

In the second class of languages we have no evidence that multiple constituents can lexicalise the Topic-Focus layer. Instead the initial constituent is always a Frame-Setter, although this field can be lexicalised by a relatively large class of constituents with adverbial value. We suggest, following a similar proposal in Poletto (2002) and Walkden (2015), that in these languages Force bears a V-movement trigger and EF, and as such, the class of constituents that can precede the merged constituent in Force is restricted to the Frame field due to the structurally high bottleneck in Spec-ForceP, as in (22):[16]
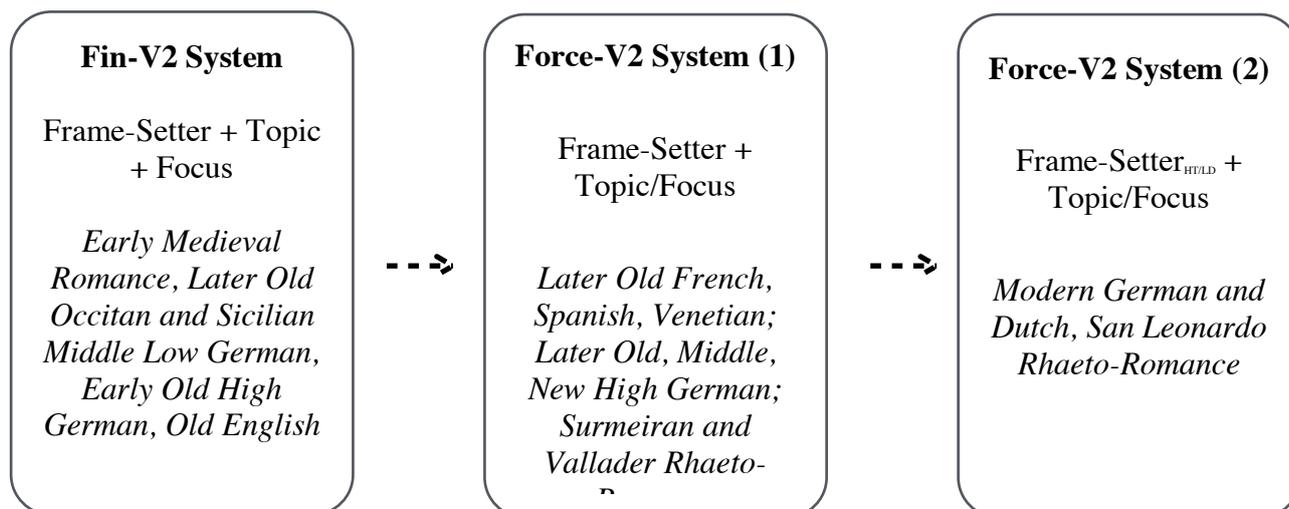
(22) $[_{\text{Frame}}$ **(XP$_{\text{Frame-Setter}}$)** $[_{\text{Force}}$ **XP$_{\text{Topic}}$** $[_{\text{Force}}$ **V**$]$ $[$….$]]]$

The third class is a further subtype of Force-V2 systems, where the class of elements lexicalising the Frame field only includes Hanging Topics and Dislocations. Relevant in this regard are comments by Axel (2004) and Donaldson (2012), who show that in the history of German and French, adverbial clauses became increasingly integrated into the clausal core, which in our view would involve a reanalysis of Frame-Setter to Topic, resulting in a state of affairs where only Hanging Topics and Left Dislocations lexicalise the upper CP-field. This leads to a proposed typology of declarative V3 constructions in V2 languages as follows:

Figure 1. V3* in V2 Languages

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[15] See Wolfe (2015b) for this proposal for certain Early Medieval Romance varieties, Axel (2007) for Old High German and Walkden (2014, 2015) on Old English

[16] Note that this account does not rule out that moved constituents can reach SpecForceP via the Topic-Focus layer, as highlighted by Poletto (2002). This may in fact be a way of marrying the existence of Force-V2 systems with the standardly tight cartographic mapping between syntax and semantics (cf. Cinque & Rizzi 2009).

Fin-V2 System		Force-V2 System (1)		Force-V2 System (2)
Fin-V2 System Frame-Setter + Topic + Focus *Early Medieval Romance, Later Old Occitan and Sicilian Middle Low German, Early Old High German, Old English*	- - →	**Force-V2 System (1)** Frame-Setter + Topic/Focus *Later Old French, Spanish, Venetian; Later Old, Middle, New High German; Surmeiran and Vallader Rhaeto-*	- - →	**Force-V2 System (2)** Frame-Setter$_{HT/LD}$ + Topic/Focus *Modern German and Dutch, San Leonardo Rhaeto-Romance*

3.2. V1 and Null Constituents

Wolfe (2015d) establishes an empirical typology of V1 in Medieval Romance and shows that the Early Medieval Romance languages, along with 13th century Occitan and 14th century Sicilian, licensed a form of preverbal Null Subject which is attested in contexts of continuing topicality and rhematicity (cf. also Benincà 2004:290; Poletto 2005:231; Ledgeway 2007:137; Salvi 2012:108-109):

(23) a. **Tornau**　　　al　　monisterio
　　　　return.3SG.PST to-the monastery
　　　'[He] returned to the monastery' (Old Sicilian 86)
　　　b. **Amava**　　e　**queria**　　　luechs solitaris
　　　　love.3SG.PST and want.3SG.PST places solitary
　　　'She loved and wanted places where she could be alone…' (Old Occitan 107)
　　　c. **Vint**　　　en Bethléém
　　　　come.3SG.PST in Bethlehem
　　　'[He] came to Bethlehem' (Old French, *QLR* I, 58)
　　　d. **Tiene**　dos arcas　lennas de oro　esmerado

has.3SG two chests full   of gold fine
'[He] has two chests full of finest gold' (Old Spanish, *Cid* 5)

There are striking parallels between these data and those reported for a number of Early Germanic languages (Sigurdsson 1993; Walkden 2013, 2014:Ch.5; Van Gelderen 2013; Kinn, Rusten & Walkden forthcoming). Looking to Old English and early Icelandic, we see that V1 clauses are licensed (Sigurdsson 1989:139, 1993:251; Van Kemenade 1987:44-45; Rusten 2013:§3; Walkden 2013:161; Kinn, Rusten & Walkden forthcoming:§3) and are frequently found in contexts encoding continuing topicality (Sigurdsson 1993; Van Gelderen 2013:274-277; Rusten 2013:989):

(24) **Wæs**   ærest læded to Bretta   biscopum
     be.3SG.PST first   led   to Britons.GEN bishops
     'He was first led to the priests of the Britons' (Old English, Walkden 2013:161)

(25) **finn**   það á þér
     find.1SG that for you
     'I will find that for you' (Old Icelandic, Kinn, Rusten & Walkden forthcoming:23)

Significant differences are observable between these V2 systems and Later Old French, however, where Null Subjects are standardly found in surface V2 clauses with a non-subject XP in initial position (Vanelli, Renzi & Benincà 1985:175; Roberts 1993:84f; Hulk & van Kemenade 1995:236; Vance 1997:200) (26). Axel (2005, 2007:142-148) makes near-identical observations concerning the occurrence of Null Subjects in Old High German:

(26) Or   vos=**dirai**   la senefiance de ceste chose
     now you=tell.1SG.FUT the significance of this   thing
     'I will now tell you the significance of this thing' (Old French 143)

(27) Sume **hahet**   in cruci
     some nail.2PL to cross
     'You will crucify some of them' (Old High German, Monsee Fragments, Axel 2005:27)

Third and finally, consider Modern German, Dutch and Icelandic in this regard. They do not license referential Null Subjects in written language but do seemingly license a spoken phenomenon involving a null preverbal constituent in Topic-drop contexts where the initial Topic has a high degree of discourse-salience and is typically deictically anchored in the 'here and now' (Huang 1984; Sigurdsson 1989:145f, 2011:279; Önnerfors 1996, 1997; Sigurdsson & Maling 2010:60f; Kinn 2015):

(28) Q: Was **ist**   mit Peter?
         what be.3SG with Peter
    'What about Peter?'
     A: **Kann**   erst später kommen
          can.3SG only later come.INF
    'He can't come until later' (Modern German, Axel 2007:153)

(29) (Dat) **wist**   ik niet
      that know.PST.1SG I NEG
    'I didn't know that' (Modern Dutch, Zwart 2011:198)

(30) (Ég) **þekki**   það ekki
      I   recognise.1SG that NEG
    'I don't recognise that' (Modern Icelandic, Sigurdsson 2011:271)

The first class of V2 systems therefore permit initial referential null subjects yielding V1 clauses, the second class permit referential null subjects but only in post-verbal position in surface V2 clauses and the third class only permit highly salient Topics to be deleted from the left edge of the clause in colloquial, spoken language. These patterns, as with V3, also fall out from the Fin/Force distinction.

Building on the earlier insights of Benincà (2004:290, 2006:69) and Poletto (2006:§2, 2014:21-23), the first class of languages in Medieval Romance are analysed in Wolfe (2016) as involving a null pronominal pro_{Top}, which differs minimally from its counterpart in standard null subject languages (Roberts 2010) in bearing an unvalued Topic feature, which motivates its raising through Spec-FinP to the Topic layer, thus satisfying Fin's EF and permitting the licensing of a surface V1 clause:

(31) $[_{Frame} .... [_{Force} .... [_{Topic} \textbf{\textit{pro}}_{\textbf{Top}} [_{Focus} .... [_{Fin} pro_{Top} [_{Fin} \textbf{V}_{\textbf{Fin}}] [_{TP} pro_{Top} ...]]]]]]$

Walkden (2013, 2014:Ch.5) presents a parallel analysis of Old English data in which a null argument is "valued by agreement with a null aboutness topic" (2013:171). Although there are minor technical differences between the two analyses, they have in common that (i) they account for the preverbal occurrence of null subjects, (ii) a Topic-related head plays a role in licensing null arguments and (iii) (some) null arguments raise to the C-layer in these V2 languages.[17] If, as

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[17] A reviewer highlights that a subclass of null Topics may not undergo movement to the C-layer but may instead be base-generated in the C-layer. I do not rule this out here, but note that a base-generation account would entail a

suggested above, Old English and the Medieval Romance varieties permitting null subjects are Fin-V2 languages, the preverbal licensing falls out naturally from the type of V2 system: with the finite verb moved to Fin, the licensing head for pro_{Top} structurally dominates the finite verb, and null subjects are thus predicted to occur preverbally.

I suggested above that Later Old French was a Force-V2 system and furthermore that a similar analysis may be applicable to Later Old High German. This means that pro_{Top} is predicted to be ruled out in preverbal position as the licensing environment for the Null Subject is structurally lower than the finite verb in Force:

(32) $[_{Frame} \dots [_{Force} [_{Force} \textbf{V}_{\textbf{Fin}}] [_{Topic} \textbf{\textit{pro}}_{\textbf{Top}} [_{Focus} \dots [_{Fin} \textit{pro}_{Top} [_{Fin} \textbf{V}_{\text{Fin}}] [_{TP} \textit{pro}_{Top} \dots]]]]]]$

This prediction is very clearly borne out in Later Old French. It would also readily account for Axel's (2005, 2007) Old High German data, though further diachronic work would be needed to establish whether the Early Old High German texts licensing multiple XPs in the Topic-Focus layer are the same ones to show counterexamples to Axel's postverbal null subject generalization, which has been questioned in the literature (Walkden 2014:186).

Pushing this hypothesis further, note that it makes a very strong prediction. In Force-V2 systems with restricted V3, we expect only null elements whose licensing environments are structurally above the finite verb in Force° to be able to trigger V1; that is to say, elements we would independently locate in the Frame-Force layer. There are at least two reasons to think this prediction correct. Firstly, note that Modern German, Dutch and Icelandic, which would constitute Force-V2 systems under our account, do not license referential Null Subjects, but do license a 'deictically-anchored' null Topic in preverbal position (cf. Huang 1984; Cardinaletti 1990; Van Kampfen 1997:Ch.4; Sigurðsson 2011:279). Sigurðsson (2011) in fact assumes that these Topics are licensed by a very high head in the C-layer associated with the discourse participants, an observation that fits

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departure from the Defective Goals-based approach to null arguments developed in Roberts (2010) which allows us to make a number of interesting predictions concerning the availability of null Topics in Medieval Romance and beyond.

with much previous literature assuming features associated with speaker deixis are located in the Frame field (Haegeman 2000:143f, 2006:1662). Wolfe (2015b) shows that Later Old Venetian, a Force-V2 system, also licensed deictic null Topic structures of this kind, showing that this generalisation also holds for Romance. Nothing *a priori* rules out the existence of these Topic-drop constructions in the Fin-V2 systems, as null elements lexicalising the Frame field in addition to the Topic field are predicted to be licit. Sigurdsson (1993:248) suggests such cases exist in Old Icelandic and Walkden (2013:169) does not rule out the possibility tout court for Old English. Similar proposals are put forward for the earliest Old High German texts by both Cognola (2015b) and Axel & Weiss (2011). However, differentiating between this specific sub-class of Topic-drop characteristic of spoken discourse and the more widespread V1 structures found in written language in Fin-V2 systems is methodologically challenging to say the least.
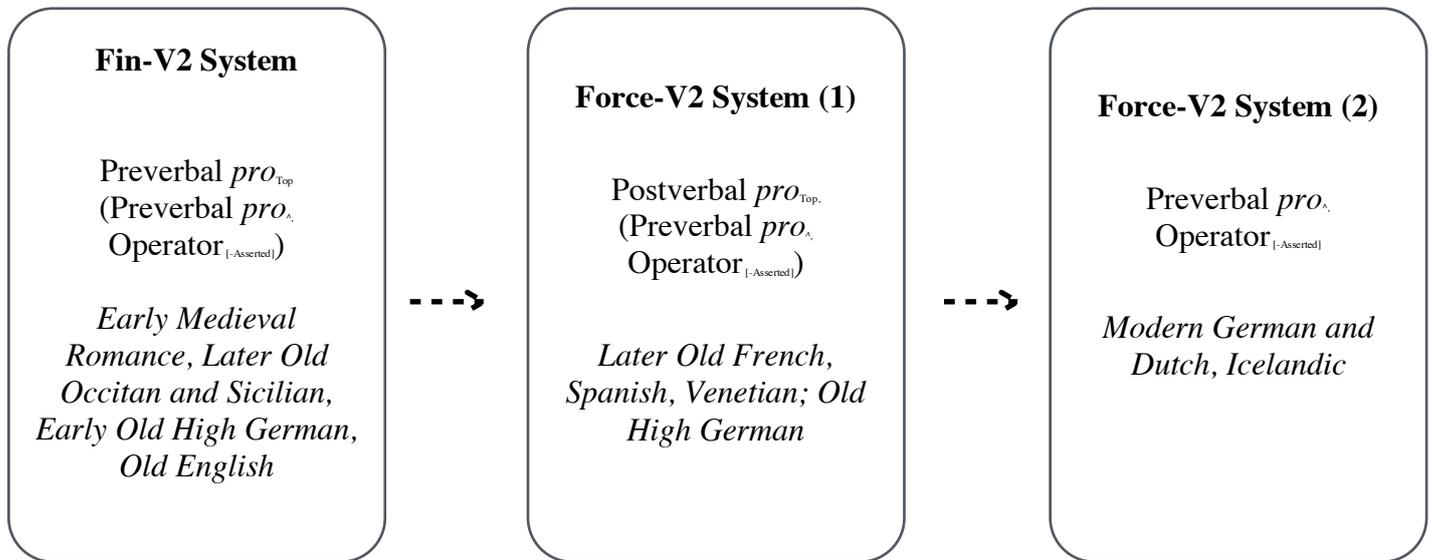
Secondly, note that Later Old Spanish and Later Old Venetian, which are Force-V2 systems along with Modern German, Dutch and Icelandic, license V1 narrative inversion structures (Zwart 1993; Önnerfors 1996, 1997; Thráinsson 2007:29; Wolfe 2015b, 2015d), which are argued by Reis (2000a, 2000b) to be associated with non-asserted illocutionary force and analysed by Zwart (1997:220) as involving a null discourse operator. Given that illocutionary force is at stake, we could plausibly locate this operator in Spec-ForceP on pragmatico-semantic grounds. Note that such orders are also attested in the Fin-V2 systems in Early Romance (Fontana 1993:100-111; Roberts 1993:Ch.2; Wolfe 2015b, 2015d) and Early Germanic (Sigurdsson 1989, 1993; Axel 2007:215; Petrova 2011:212), which is predicted under a V-to-Fin account where null elements can be licensed throughout the C-layer. This second case would therefore again involve a null element in a preverbal position to the left of Force°. The licensing of preverbal null elements in Force-V2 systems is schematised as follows:

(33) [$_{Frame}$ (*pro*.) [$_{Force}$ (**Operator**$_{[-Asserted]}$) [$_{Force}$ **V**$_{Fin}$] [....]]]

Our proposal is therefore that the licensing of V1 structures involving Null Subjects and Null Topics is sensitive to the locus of the V2 property. We can thus identify at least three classes of V2

systems in this regard, the first two of which license referential Null Subjects, whilst the third does not:

Figure 2. V1 in V2 Languages

Fin-V2 System Preverbal *pro*_{Top} (Preverbal *pro*_^ Operator_[-Asserted]) *Early Medieval Romance, Later Old Occitan and Sicilian, Early Old High German, Old English*	**Force-V2 System (1)** Postverbal *pro*_{Top} (Preverbal *pro*_^ Operator_[-Asserted]) *Later Old French, Spanish, Venetian; Old High German*	**Force-V2 System (2)** Preverbal *pro*_^ Operator_[-Asserted] *Modern German and Dutch, Icelandic*

4. Summary and Further Research

4.1 A New Typology

The discussion in Section 2 shows very clearly that V2 effects are not licensed exclusively within Germanic and that the long-held intuition in the literature (Thurneysen 1892; Skårup 1975; Benincà 1983) that there exist significant structural parallels between the Germanic languages and the Medieval and Rhaeto-Romance languages can be maintained on a solid empirical footing. I suggested that the similarities between the languages regarding verb placement, the structure of the left periphery and 'bottleneck effects' can be linked to the featural makeup of Fin, the lowest head in the articulated left periphery of Rizzi (1997). I proposed that all the V2 systems considered have unmarked V-to-Fin movement and furthermore a systematic requirement that a constituent be merged in Spec-FinP.

I suggested, however, that both within Germanic and Romance there are significant points of microvariation as regards the licensing of V1 and V3. Whilst certain Early Germanic and Medieval Romance varieties permitted the licensing of multiple constituents in the Frame-Topic-Focus layer, a remaining class of languages restrict the initial constituents in V3 orders to base-generated constituents lexicalising the Frame field. We suggested that the first class of languages are Fin-V2 systems and the class restricting V3 to Frame-Setter-initial clauses are Force-V2 systems. Within the Force-V2 systems, we need a further subdivision between languages where a variety of left-dislocations, adverbial expressions and wh-clauses can lexicalise Frame (Later Old, Middle and New High German; certain Surseilvan and Vallader Rhaeto-Romance varieties; Later Old French, Spanish and Venetian) and those where Frame can only be lexicalised by Hanging Topics and dislocations (Modern German, Dutch and Icelandic and the Rhaeto-Romance variety of San Leonardo).

A similar typology linked to the Fin-Force distinction can be drawn up for V1 clauses. Whilst preverbal topical null subjects licensed in the Topic layer are found in the Fin-V2 systems, this is not the case in the remaining Force-V2 systems, where only null constituents lexicalising the Frame-Force layer are licensed in preverbal position. Whilst a subtype of Force-V2 system licenses referential Null Subjects in postverbal position (Later Old High German; Later Old French, Spanish and Venetian) this is not the case in the final subtype of system, typical of Modern Germanic, where only deictic null Topics licensed in the Frame field and a non-assertive operator lexicalising the Force field are licensed, two structures which can also be found in other Force-V2 systems.[18]
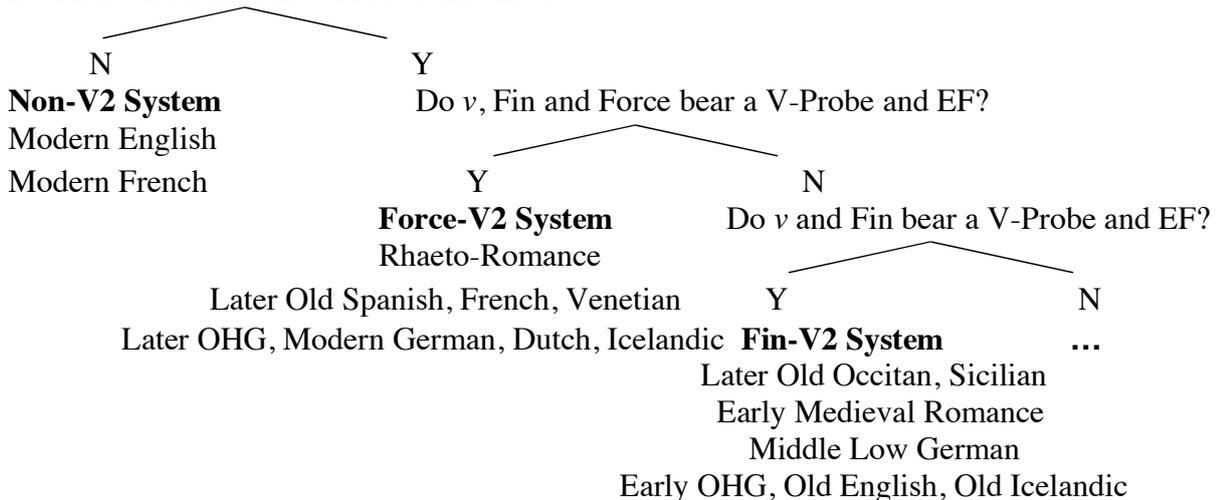
In featural terms, we can therefore put forward the more general proposal that a commonality across all V2 systems is that Fin bears a V-Probe and an EF. In a subtype of V2 systems, which are stricter

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[18] It may be that the restrictions on null subjects/Topics to postverbal position in root clauses renders them unstable in the system, leading to further limits on their distribution diachronically. This appears to be the correct analysis for the history of German (Axel 2007), French (Roberts 1993; Vance 1997) and Venetian (Poletto 1995).

in descriptive terms, Force also bears a V-Probe and an EF. I have proposed that the variation attested as regards V1 and V3 is linked to distinction, but that languages can vary in how they lexicalise the functional projections before the finite verb.[19]

Following the approach to parametric variation put forward in Roberts (2012) and Biberauer & Roberts (2015), this variation can be modelled in a hierarchical fashion as follows, which encodes both the differences between SVO and V2 systems and the distinction between Fin and Force-V2:

Do Phase Heads bear V-Probes and EFs?

N — **Non-V2 System** Modern English Modern French

Y — Do *v*, Fin and Force bear a V-Probe and EF?

Y — **Force-V2 System** Rhaeto-Romance Later Old Spanish, French, Venetian Later OHG, Modern German, Dutch, Icelandic

N — Do *v* and Fin bear a V-Probe and EF?

Y — **Fin-V2 System** Later Old Occitan, Sicilian Early Medieval Romance Middle Low German Early OHG, Old English, Old Icelandic

N — …

Crucially however, this hierarchy based on the features of individual functional heads does not capture the full array of variation. Our proposal above, for example, was that the difference between the Force-V2 languages as regards V3 is linked to how the systems in question lexicalise the Frame field, thus suggesting that *both* the featural makeup of functional heads and the lexical properties of individual languages should be kept in mind when drawing up a typology of the V2 property.

4.2 Future Research

This article has outlined an integration of the Romance V2 data into a broader typology of Verb Second systems. As has been shown, this exercise bears fruit, insomuch as a number of typological predictions hold up against *both* the Germanic and the Romance data as regards the Fin/Force distinction. Nevertheless, we should be wary of interpreting these predictions in terms that are too strong until an attempt has been made to synthesise the more familiar Germanic and Romance data with the less-well-known cases of V2 effects that may be found in Kashmiri (Bhatt 1999), Dinka

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[19] Note that the postverbal field is of course not predicted to be identical in makeup within the various subtypes of V2 systems. I leave aside this aspect of the variation here due to space limitations, but note that this is likely relevant, for example, when deriving the differences between Later Old High German and Later Old French, which license postverbal referential null subjects (Vance 1997; Axel 2005), and the Modern Germanic languages, where Null Subjects, if licensed in postverbal position, are standardly non-referential (cf. Biberauer 2010 for overview).

(Van Urk 2015) and Celtic (Willis 1998; Roberts 2004; Jouitteau 2008), so as to avoid a sampling bias in any proposed typology.

A clear test for the predictions made in this article clearly lies in the diachronic domain. In particular, the account predicts that in a reanalysis from a previous Fin-V2 stage to a later Force-V2 stage, the possibility for multiple XPs to occur in the Frame-Topic-Focus layer should decrease at the same time that we observe a decrease in null elements lexicalising the Topic field (i.e., pro_{Top}). Further research is needed on this point, but the generalisation does seem to hold in both Germanic (Fuss 2003; Axel 2007; Walkden 2014) and Romance (Labelle 2007; Wolfe 2015b; Labelle & Hirschbühler in press).

The article makes a more general point, however, that in future research the Romance data should be central in any typology of the V2 phenomenon. Taken alongside the Germanic data, they highlight that there is a rich typology of variation amongst V2 languages, but that this variation can be captured systematically.

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