

THE PARTIAL V2 SYSTEM OF CLASSICAL PORTUGUESE

O SISTEMA V2 PARCIAL DO PORTUGUÊS CLÁSSICO

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ABSTRACT: In this paper, we investigate the nature of the partial V2 system of Classical Portuguese. This linguistic period licenses structures with subject inversion, suggesting the occurrence of verb movement to the CP system, just like in V2 languages. However, differently from a strict V2 grammar, Classical Portuguese also allows non-V2 linear word orders. Here, based on the left periphery proposed by Rizzi (1997), we give evidence that Classical Portuguese shows verb movement to Fin^0 , the same head where the verb is moved to in prototypical V2 languages (HAEGEMAN, 1996; MOHR, 2004; ROBERTS, 2004). We argue that the substantial difference between Classical Portuguese and V2 languages is reduced to the presence or not of an EPP feature in Fin^0 : V2 systems present this feature, while Classical Portuguese would not show it.

KEYWORDS: Periphery. Verb movement. EPP.

RESUMO: Neste trabalho, investigamos a natureza do fenómeno V2 parcial do português clássico. Essa fase linguística licencia construções de inversão do sujeito que sugerem ter havido movimento do verbo para o sistema CP, tal como em línguas V2. No entanto, ao contrário de uma gramática V2 padrão, o português clássico também permite que o verbo finito não apareça obrigatoriamente em segunda posição linear. Aqui, com base na proposta cartográfica de Rizzi (1997) para a periferia da sentença, apresentamos evidências de que o português clássico instancia movimento do verbo para Fin^0 , o mesmo núcleo para onde é alçado o verbo em línguas V2 prototípicas (HAEGEMAN, 1996; MOHR, 2004; ROBERTS, 2004). Mostramos que a diferença substancial do português clássico em relação a uma língua V2 se reduz à presença ou não de um traço EPP no núcleo Fin^0 : sistemas V2 apresentariam esse traço, ao passo que o português clássico careceria dessa propriedade.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Periferia. Movimento do verbo. EPP.

RESUMEN: En este trabajo, investigamos la naturaleza del fenómeno V2 parcial del portugués clásico. Esta fase lingüística licencia construcciones de inversión del sujeto que sugieren haber habido movimiento del verbo para el sistema CP, como en lenguas V2. Sin embargo, a diferencia de una gramática V2 estándar, el portugués clásico también permite órdenes de palabras que no sean V2 lineal. Aquí, con base en la propuesta cartográfica de Rizzi (1997) para la periferia de la sentencia, presentamos evidencias de que el portugués clásico instancia movimiento del verbo para Fin^0 , el mismo núcleo a donde se alza el verbo en lenguas V2 prototípicas (HAEGEMAN, 1996; MOHR, 2004; ROBERTS, 2004). Se demuestra que la diferencia sustancial entre el portugués clásico y una

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lengua V2 se reduce a la presencia o no de un rasgo EPP en Fin^0 : los sistemas V2 presentarían esse rasgo, mientras que el portugués clásico carecería de esa propiedad.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Periferia. Movimiento del verbo. EPP.

1 INTRODUCTION¹

Within a generative perspective, there is a huge debate whether Romance languages, in earlier stages, manifested some kind of V2 effect comparable to what is observed in grammatical systems like Dutch and German (see, among others, ADAMS, 1987; FONTANA, 1993; RINKE, 2009; ROBERTS, 1993; SALVI, 2001). A very interesting case is Classical Portuguese (henceforth ClaP).² On the one hand, ClaP allowed subject inversion constructions that suggest an operation of verb movement to the periphery of the clause, as in V2 languages. On the other hand, contrary to what is attested in a standard V2 grammar, ClaP licensed a finite verb not necessarily in linear second position, either by allowing clauses with initial verb order (V1) or by permitting sentences with more than one XP in pre-verbal position (>V2). In this paper, our main goal is to present an analysis that accounts for the mixed behavior of ClaP in relation to typical V2 languages. Following the cartographic view about the left periphery of the clause sketched in Rizzi (1997), our hypothesis is that ClaP manifests verb movement to Fin^0 , the same head where the verb is raised to in languages like Dutch and German (see HAEGEMAN, 1996; MOHR, 2004; ROBERTS, 2004). We will show that the key difference between ClaP and a prototypical V2 language is the presence or not of an EPP feature in Fin^0 : languages like Dutch and German have this feature, while ClaP lacks this property.

The present article is organized as follows. In section 2, we present a general view on the V2 phenomenon, pointing out in which aspects ClaP approaches and distances itself from languages that manifest this property. In section 3, we introduce the concept of split left periphery, reinterpreting the V2 constraint according to this new notion of the CP system. In section 4, we explain the partial V2 nature of ClaP, showing how the absence of an EPP feature in Fin^0 accounts for the peculiarities of this linguistic phase. In section 5, we discuss some data from Arabic, which behaves just like ClaP. Lastly, in section 6, we make some final remarks.

2 THE MIXED BEHAVIOR OF CLASSICAL PORTUGUESE

In descriptive terms, the V2 phenomenon, as seen in declarative matrix clauses of a language like Dutch, presents two core properties: i) finite verb preceded by only one XP, as the contrast between (1) and (2) shows; and ii) non-obligation of a pre-verbal XP as a syntactic subject (see (1b) and (1c)), a fact which, due to the first characteristic, results in the licensing of the verb-subject word order (VS) (HAEGEMAN, 1996, p. 139-140).

- (1) a. Marie **zal** morgen dit boek kopen.
 Marie will tomorrow this book buy
 b. Morgen **zal** Marie dit boek kopen.
 c. Dit boek **zal** Marie morgen kopen.

- (2) *Morgen dat boek **zal** Marie kopen.

If we follow a minimalist clause structure as the one presented in (3) (CHOMSKY, 1995 and subsequent works), these two characteristics of V2 languages mentioned above may be formally interpreted as the result of V-movement from T^0 to C^0 and raising of any XP to [Spec, CP], as is usually proposed within the generative tradition (DEN BESTEN, 1983). Assuming that adjunction to CP is not possible in V2 languages, such an analysis straightforwardly derives the obligation of the finite verb in the second position,

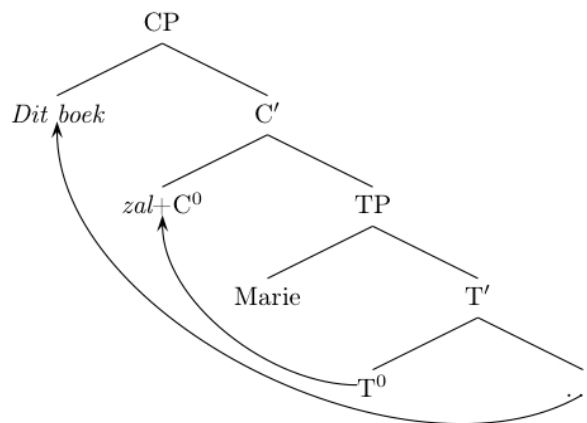
¹ This paper is a condensed and revised version of parts of Antonelli's (2011) chapters 1, 2 and 4.

² We understand ClaP as a grammatical period in the history of European Portuguese, which ranges from the XIV to the end of the XVII century, is considered an intermediate phase between Old Portuguese and Modern European Portuguese (GALVES; NAMIUTI; PAIXÃO DE SOUSA, 2006).

since there would be only one spot above C^0 available to the displacement of an XP. One additional interesting point is that, within this proposal, there is an explanation for the VS sequence, given that, in that specific word order, the verb would be hierarchically above the position of the grammatical subject in the TP field (that is, [Spec, TP]). In (4), we present a simplified representation of the V2 order with subject-verb inversion, as exemplified in (1c).³

(3) $[_{CP} \dots C^0 [_{TP} \dots T^0 [_{vP} \dots v^0 [_{VP} \dots V^0 \dots]]]]$

(4)



From the ClaP texts we investigated,⁴ It was possible to attest word orders that, descriptively, are similar to those found in Dutch, as seen in (5).

- (5) a. O Imperador **recebeo** a mãi, o Patriarca, e os Portuguezes muito bem, (Céu)
 the Emperor received the mother the Patriarch and the Portuguese very well
 'The Emperor received his mother, the Patriarch and the Portuguese people very well'
- b. elle **disse** as graves penas que padecia, (Céu)
 he said the serious pains which suffered
 'He said about the serious pains he suffered'
- c. Ali **ficaram** os Hespanhoes comendo alguns mantimentos que tinham, (Céu)
 there stayed the Spaniards eating some food which had
 'The Spaniards stayed there, eating some food they had'

³ The V2 effect is much more complex than we present in this section. In fact, there are two types of V2 languages: those that admit the verb in the second position only in matrix sentences (German and Dutch, for example), usually called asymmetric V2 languages, and those that manifest the V2 restriction in both matrix and subordinate clauses (Yiddish and Icelandic, for example), usually called symmetric V2 languages. For asymmetric V2 languages, the standard analysis is the one presented here, that is, verb movement to C^0 and fronting of some XP to [Spec, CP]. For symmetrical V2 languages, some authors argue that, in both matrix and subordinate clauses, the verb moves to a head below C^0 , T^0 , with the pre-verbal constituent being raised to [Spec, TP] since this specifier would be an A-bar position (DIESING, 1990; SANTORINI, 1995). Within this perspective, the presence of a complementizer in subordinate clauses would not prevent the licensing of the V2 word order. Here, however, we will follow the results of Schwartz and Vikner (1996), who present a set of arguments in favor of the hypothesis that symmetrical V2 languages also involve the CP system.

⁴ The ClaP data that we will present throughout the article is extracted from three texts whose authors were born in Portugal in the XVII century (see the list below). All this material is part of the *Tycho Brahe Corpus* (TBC), a historical corpus of Portuguese available in electronic format and freely accessible (GALVES; ANDRADE; FARIA, 2017).

1. *Cartas*, by António Vieira (1608-1697);
2. *Vida e Morte de Madre Helena da Cruz*, by Maria do Céu (1658-1753);
3. *A Vida do Padre António Vieira*, by André de Barros (1675-1754).

The choice for authors born in the XVII century stems from the fact that, in this specific period of ClaP, there is a relatively stabilized grammar (PAIXÃO DE SOUSA, 2004), allowing us, therefore, to have an adequate view of this grammatical phase of Portuguese.

- d. Assim **guardava** a alta Providência do céu aquela vida, (Barros)
 so protected the high Providence from heaven that life
 ‘So the heaven’s high Providence protected that life,’
- e. O fim da minha jornada **verá** Vossa Excelência pelas cartas de Sua Majestade que remete a Vossa Excelência o Residente, (Vieira)
 the end of my journey will-see Your Honor by letters from Your
 Majestade que remete a Vossa Excelência o Residente, (Vieira)
 Majesty that sends to Your Honor the Ambassador
 ‘Your Honor will see the end of my journey through Your Majesty’s letters that the Ambassador sends to Your Honor,’
- f. Notavel informação **deu** este Espirito em poucas palavras. (Céu)
 remarkable information gave this Spirit in few words
 ‘This Spirit gave remarkable information in a few words.’

The examples in (5) show not only constructions with a verb in the second position but also sentences in which the initial XP can be a constituent of different syntactic functions (the subject in (5a) and (5b), an adverb in (5c) and (5d) and the direct object in (5e) and (5f)). Note that, in (5c)-(5f), the presence of an adverb or the direct object seems to trigger the linear VS sequence, just as in a grammatical V2 system. In view of this similarity, we could ask ourselves if, in terms of formalization, ClaP would be a V2 grammatical system, that is, a grammar that instantiates movement of the finite verb to C^0 and fronting of some XP to [Spec, CP].⁵

Strong evidence that ClaP licensed systematic verb movement to the CP domain in declarative matrix clauses, as in V2 languages, comes from a construction called Germanic inversion, that is, syntactic structures in which a postponed subject occurs between an auxiliary verb and the main verb. English, as seen in (6), presents this linear word order in interrogative sentences.

- (6) What **has** Mary **said**?

Quite interesting is the fact that the same kind of inversion attested in English was possible in the context of declarative sentences in ClaP. As the data below shows, in each of the examples, the subject occurs between the auxiliary verb and the main verb, as in English.

- (7) a. A este tempo **estava** Dom Christovão **curando-se** em casa da Rainha; (Céu)
 to this time was Don Christovão recovering in house of Queen
 ‘At this time Don Christovão was recovering in the Queen’s house;’
- b. e sobre isto mesmo **havia** eu **falado** com Luís Hiens, (Vieira)
 and about this very had I spoken to Luís Hiens
 ‘and I had spoken to Luís Hiens about this;’

Usually, the Germanic inversion pattern seen in interrogatives clauses of English is analyzed as a case of movement of the finite verb to C^0 (see, among others, PESETSKY; TORREGO, 2001; RIZZI, 1996; RIZZI; ROBERTS, 1996). In view of the fact that this type of construction is possible in declarative sentences of ClaP, it is natural to think that, in this context, the grammar of this period also allowed the finite verb to be raised to the periphery of the clause, a point which could be understood as a piece of evidence that, with regard to the position of the verb, there is a formal similarity with V2 languages.⁶

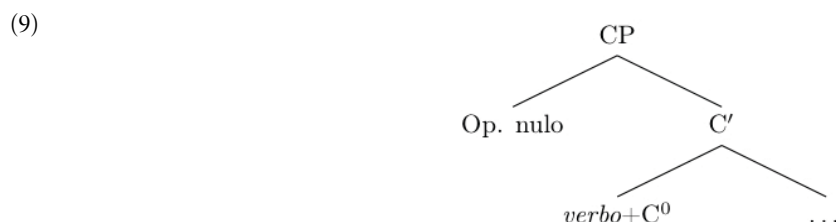
⁵ This is the analysis that Ribeiro (1995) proposes for Old Portuguese.

⁶ It is important to highlight that the VS linear order, by itself, is not an argument in favor of the hypothesis of verb movement to the CP domain. In Italian, for example, there is what is usually called Romance inversion, in which the postponed subject, unlike Germanic inversion, appears after the entire verbal complex (that is, auxiliary verb plus main verb), as the example in (i) illustrates.

However, although it could be said that, like a V2 language, ClaP manifested verb movement to the periphery of the sentence,⁷ The grammar of this stage does not necessarily require the presence of one and only one XP in a pre-verbal position. For example, the data we analyzed shows that, in matrix declarative sentences, V1 clauses are attested, as can be seen in (8).

- (8) a. e **ficou** ElRei de Portugal pondo (como lá dizem) as linhas de sua casa. (Céu)
and stayed King of Portugal putting as there say the lines of his house
'and the King of Portugal stayed at home.'
- b. **havia** esta Religiosa professado de Fevreyro, (Céu)
had this Sister confessed of February
'This Sister had confessed in february.'
- c. **Tinha** ele conquistado naquela Quaresma principalmente as almas dos
had he conquered in-that Lent mostly the souls of Portugueses; (Barros)
'In that Lent, he had particularly conquered the souls of Portuguese people.'

All examples in (8) are cases of Germanic inversion, thus suggesting that there was a movement of the verb to the periphery of the sentence. However, the obvious problem with these verb-initial data is that they do not satisfy the V2 language requirement forcing [Spec, CP] to be filled in by an XP. One way to resolve this challenge would be to admit the presence of a null operator in the CP specifier, as outlined in (9).



The idea that, in V1 sentences, there is a null operator in a pre-verbal position is the one advocated by Roberts (1993), for example, for cases of apparent V1 order in rigid V2 languages. One such case is yes/no interrogative clauses, as exemplified in (10) and (11) with data from German and Dutch, respectively.

- (10) Hat Johann das Buch gelesen?
has Johann the book read
'Has Johann read the book?'

- (11) Kommt je broer nog?
come your brother still?
'Is your brother still coming?'

In the context of declarative clauses in ClaP, assuming the presence of a null operator in V1 sentences presents us with an optionality

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- (i) **Ha** **parlato** Gianni.
has spoken Gianni
'Gianni has spoken.'

Belletti (2001) assumes that the VS linear pattern seen in Italian consists of structures in which the inflected verb remains in the TP domain, with the postponed subject occupying a lower position in the periphery of VP.

⁷ For other arguments that ClaP licensed systematic verb movement to the CP system in matrix clauses, see Antonelli (2011).

problem: the requirement for V2 systems determining the presence of some material in [Spec, CP] would be satisfied either by an XP phonetically realized or by a null operator. As is known, in typical V2 languages, such as Dutch and German, the question of optionality in matrix declarative sentences does not arise, given that the V1 order is not licensed in this context, a fact which weakens this type of proposal for ClaP.

However, even if we were to assume the presence of a null operator in V1 sentences, we would still face the problem of sequences with more than one XP in pre-verbal position ($V > 2$), as exemplified in (12).

- (12) a. [Finalmente], [muito mais] nos **tomaram** os holandeses nos mares do Brasil, (Vieira)
 finally much more us took the Dutch in seas of Brazil
 ‘The Dutch finally taken from us much more in the seas of Brazil’
- b. [Em fim], [como quer que seja], **ficou** Halehan conquistando toda a Pérsia,
 in end as want that be stayed Halehan conquering all the Persia,
 Arabia, Suria, Palestina, e outras Províncias, (Céu)
 Arabia, Syria, Palestine and other provinces
 ‘Whatever happened, Halehan finally conquered all the Persia, Arabia, Syria, Palestine and other provinces’

With respect to the examples in (12), there is a problem opposite to that of V1 sentences. In this case, the challenge is not the absence of a constituent in [Spec, CP], but the presence of a greater number of elements than the availability of positions in the periphery of the clause.

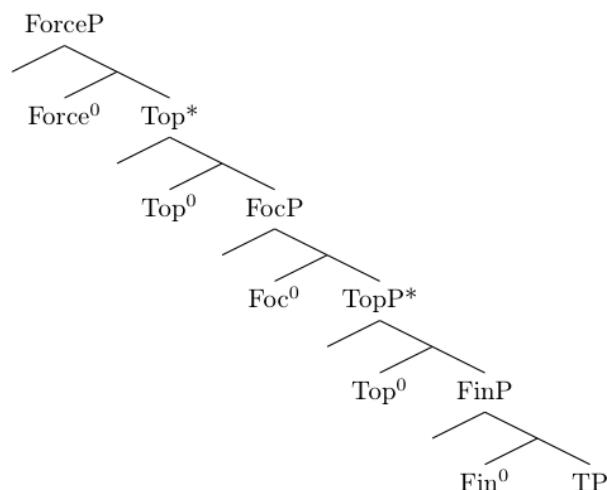
In view of what we have discussed so far, we can conclude this section by saying that, of the two operations that we assume to occur in the CP system of V2 languages, that is, verb movement to C^0 and raising of any XP to [Spec, CP], ClaP seems to mandatorily manifest only the first one. Thus, the question that naturally arises is: although it always presents the movement of the verb to the CP system in matrix sentences, why, unlike strict V2 languages, ClaP does not obey the linear constraint requiring one XP and only one obligatorily to precede the finite verb? In what follows, we will try to answer this question by closely following Rizzi’s cartographic proposal (1997) for the periphery of the sentence and Roberts’ (2004) analysis for the derivation of linear V2 word order.

3 SPLIT CP AND THE DERIVATION OF THE V2 WORD ORDER

3.1 RIZZI’S (1997) PROPOSAL FOR THE CP SYSTEM

Investigating aspects related to the periphery of the sentence, Rizzi (1997) defends a split for the functional category CP. In his proposal, the left periphery of the clause would have a structure like that presented in (13).

(13)



In (13), there are four distinct projections, each with a specific structural or semantic/pragmatic importance. ForceP and FinP would be responsible for placing the CP system in contact with the upper and lower structure, respectively. In relation to TopP and FocP, the function of these categories, in particular, would be to express, respectively, information like the topic (-comment) and focus (-presupposition).

The theoretical motivation for the existence of ForceP and FinP, the first at the upper end and the second at the lower end of the periphery of the clause, comes from the fact that one of the roles of the CP system is to relate both to the structure above the sentence (that is, a higher clause or, in the case of matrix sentences, the articulation of the speech) as well as to the structure below C⁰ (that is, the propositional content expressed by TP). In the case of the first type of relationship, it is known, for example, that complementizers express the fact that a sentence is declarative, interrogative, etc., and, as such, can be selected by a constituent above them. For Rizzi, information of this nature is encoded in the ForceP head. As for the second type of relationship established in the CP system, it is well known that the choice of a complementizer reflects certain properties of the verbal system of the clause. English is a typical example of this connection, given that the complementizer *that* co-occurs with a finite verb, whereas the complementizer *for* is associated with an infinitive verb. In Rizzi's proposal, this information related to the finiteness of the sentence is expressed in the periphery of the clause by the FinP head.

In empirical terms, a kind of evidence in favor of the existence of ForceP and FinP can be obtained by comparing languages such as Portuguese and Irish with regard to the linear order of complementizers in relation to sentential adverbial phrases.⁸ In Portuguese, adverbs of this type necessarily occur to the right of the complementizer "que" (that), as the following example attests.

- (14) a. O João disse **que** [ontem] a menina vendeu os livros.
 the João said that yesterday the girl sold the books
 'John said that the girl sold the books yesterday.'
 b. *O João disse [ontem] **que** a menina vendeu os livros.⁹

In Irish, McCloskey (1996) points out that sentential adverbs necessarily precede the complementizer *go*, as the example (15) shows.

- (15) Is dóiche [faoi chean cúpla lá] **go** bhféadfaí imeacht.
 is probable at-the-end couple day that could leave

Given that complementizers such as "que" in Portuguese and *go* in Irish simultaneously mark that a sentence is declarative and that it

⁸ A similar situation is observed when comparing English and Irish (ROBERTS, 2004).

⁹ In both (14^a) and (14^b), the adverb must be interpreted as a modifier of the clause introduced by the complementizer. The same applies to (15) in Irish.

is finite, nothing more natural than to think that, within Rizzi's cartographic proposal, these elements are associated with the heads Force⁰ and Fin⁰. Assuming the hypothesis that, trans-linguistically, there may be differences as to the position where the complementizer is realized phonetically (that is, Force⁰ or Fin⁰), the asymmetry observed in relation to the linear order of adverbial phrases could be explained by arguing that, in Portuguese, the complementizer "que" rises from the FinP head to the ForceP one in the visible syntax itself. Since this last head is structurally above the possible topic positions of the CP system where adverbs could be located, the natural consequence is that the *complementizer-adverb* word order is necessarily triggered, as (14a) shows. Regarding Irish, in turn, we could admit that the complementizer is phonetically realized in Fin⁰, that is, structurally below the topic projections. Consequently, the *adverb-complementizer* order would be triggered, as the example (15) really confirms. In the case of this language, Fin⁰ would not be attracted to Force⁰ in the visible syntax. This proposal for the difference between Portuguese and Irish is outlined in (16).

(16) [ForceP [Force *que*] ... [TopP Adv ... [FinP [Fin *go*] [TP ...]]]]

In addition to these selection relations between the CP domain and the upper and lower structural systems, other functions independent of selection restrictions can also be expressed at the periphery of the clause, such as discursive notions of the topic (-comment) and focus (-presupposition). In Rizzi's proposal, the codification of such concepts would also involve a specifier-head relationship in the CP system, and not the creation of an adjunction structure: topics would occupy the specifier of one of the possible topic projections, while focused constituents would occupy [Spec, FocP].¹⁰ It is important to note, however, that, for Rizzi, the categories TopP and FocP are projected only if necessary, that is, only if there is a specific element codified with a topic or focus feature since such an element will need this property to be checked within a specifier-head relationship in the appropriate category of the periphery of the sentence.

Concerning the evidence for the structural order of FocP in relation to the topic categories, Rizzi presents the Italian data listed in (17).¹¹

- (17) a. Credo che a Gianni, QUESTO, domani, gli dovremmo dire
 Top Foc Top TP
 'I believe that to Gianni, THIS, tomorrow we should say.'
- b. Credo che domani, QUESTO, a Gianni, gli dovremmo dire
 Top Foc Top TP
- c. Credo che domani, a Gianni, QUESTO gli dovremmo dire
 Top Top Foc TP
- d. Credo che a Gianni, domani, QUESTO gli dovremmo dire
 Top Top Foc TP
- e. Credo che QUESTO, a Gianni, domani, gli dovremmo dire
 Foc Top Top TP

¹⁰ As Mioto (2001) observes, the hypothesis that the CP system encompasses TopP and FocP allows us to make some predictions that would not be directly available in an approach that involves adjunction. One of them has to do with the impossibility of topicalizing quantified expressions, as seen in (i) with examples from Brazilian Portuguese.

- (i) *Tudo, o João comprou (ele) na feira.
 all the João bought it in market.
 'John bought everything in the market.'
- (ii) *Nenhum velho, o João respeita (ele).
 No old-man the João respects him
 'John respects no old man.'

Mioto argues that the ungrammaticality of the above sentences can be derived from restrictions imposed by Top⁰ regarding the type of element enabled to occupy its specifier: a quantificational operator, for example, would be intrinsically incompatible with this position. In a model in which there would be only an adjunction, it is not obvious how a particular element would be prevented from being in an adjunction to the periphery of the clause.

¹¹ Throughout the text, focused constituents will be indicated by using capital letters.

f.	Credo che	QUESTO,	domani,	a Gianni,	gli dovremmo dire
		Foc	Top	Top	TP

As seen in the examples above, a sequence of topics can be followed by a focused constituent, which in turn can be followed by a sequence of topics. Bearing in mind that only one focus phrase can appear in the periphery of the sentence (see (18) below), in contrast to the possibility of topic recursion, the fact that a focused element can be preceded and followed by a sequence of topics shows that the FocP projection is hierarchically between TopP projections.¹²

- (18) *A GIANNI IL LIBRO darò (non a Piero, l'articolo)
TO GIANNI THE BOOK I will give (no to Piero, the article)

3.2 V2 WORD ORDER IN THE CARTOGRAPHIC PERIPHERY

If we admit that the split CP system is a characteristic of all languages,¹³ the derivation of the V2 effect, as presented in section 2, since it is a phenomenon commonly analyzed in terms of the result of operations in the CP domain, imposes the following challenge, as well summarized by Poletto (2002, p. 2):

If the CP layer has to be conceived as a number of distinct functional projections, each hosting a different type of element and checking distinct semantic features, the traditional account of the linear restriction in terms of V to C movement is no longer valid, and we need to reformulate it in the new perspective.

An interesting way to solve this challenge is developed by Roberts (2004). The author argues that, in V2 languages, Fin^0 must present a lexical realization either via movement or via concatenation (*Merge*). In matrix clauses, the verbal constituent would be responsible for satisfying this requirement, while in subordinate sentences, this function would be in charge of the complementizer, which would be merged directly in Fin^0 .¹⁴ As for the need for the verb to be the second constituent in matrix sentences, such a requirement comes from another property of Fin^0 , namely, the presence of an EPP feature in that head. By EPP, Roberts understands the requirement encoded in a constituent X^0 , determining that its specifier be filled with an appropriate XP. Thus, due to the EPP, Fin^0 would force the fronting of some phrase to $[\text{Spec}, \text{FinP}]$.¹⁵ If the fronted XP has no topic or focus feature, its final position will be in $[\text{Spec}, \text{FinP}]$ (see (19)). If a discursive feature is present, the move to TopP or FocP will occur through $[\text{Spec}, \text{FinP}]$, since the EPP of Fin^0 must be checked (see (20)).

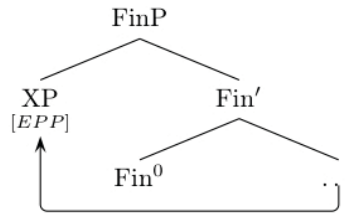
¹² Several studies propose a refinement of the left periphery, particularly with regard to the linear order between topics and focus. Benincà and Poletto (2004) and Poletto (2006), for example, argue that the focus category is not interpolated by topic projections, as initially articulated in Rizzi. These authors show, among other evidence, that a focus phrase, as an operator, must be derived through the A-bar movement. Topics, in turn, would be inserted directly in the position where they are located. Within this framework, if a topic is merged before the focus is moved, there would be a problem of relativized minimality, since the focus would be crossing the topic. Thus, topics must necessarily precede a focus. For the purposes of our discussion of the derivation of the V2 word order in Clap, Rizzi's initial proposal is sufficient.

¹³ See Mohr (2004) for arguments that V2 languages, in particular those of the Germanic branch, present a split CP system. For counter arguments to this type of proposal, see Abraham (1997).

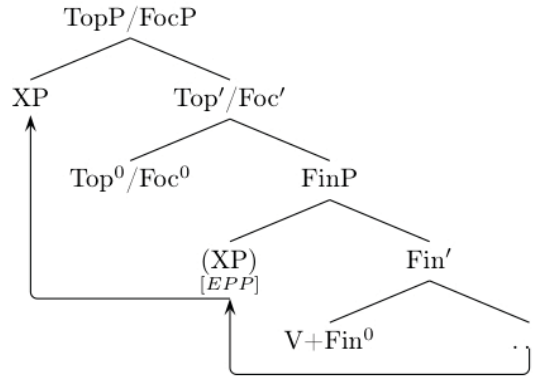
¹⁴ This would explain, for example, the matrix/subordinate asymmetry with regard to verb movement to the periphery of the clause, a fact attested in languages like German. Regarding the assumption that the complementizer is generated in Fin^0 , thus preventing V-movement to the CP system in embedded clauses, this is supported by the fact that, among other things, the complementizer is also responsible for expressing the finiteness of the sentence. For symmetric V2 languages, we could think that the complementizer is generated directly in Force^0 so that the verb would be able to move to Fin^0 both in matrix sentences and at subordinate structures.

¹⁵ The hypothesis that, in V2 languages, the obligatory movement of an XP to the CP system is a consequence of the EPP is an idea also proposed in Chomsky (2000, 2001), Haegeman (1996), Laenzlinger (1998), Roberts (1993) and Roberts and Roussou (2002).

(19)

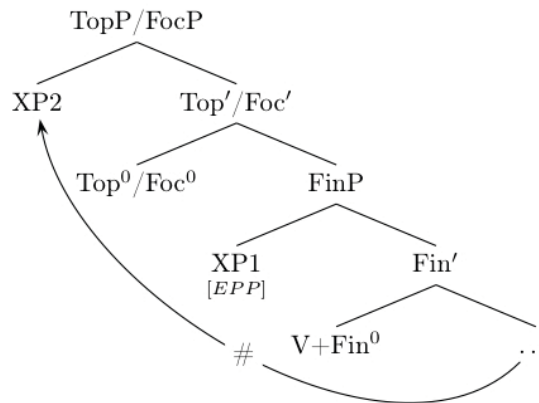


(20)



It remains to explain why more than one constituent is not possible in pre-verbal position, although, theoretically, other specifiers above [Spec, *FinP*] may be available for the fronting of phrases (see (13)). Since the movement of an *XP* to [Spec, *FinP*] in strict V2 languages is motivated only by the EPP feature of *Fin⁰*, Roberts proposes that the element moved is not of any particular type in the typology of potential barriers, a fact which would make it capable of blocking the raising of any other phrase to a specifier position located above in the structure, as outlined in (21).

(21)



In short, we could say that, within this perspective, the ungrammaticality of sentences with more than two phrases in pre-verbal position derives from the fact that, once an *XP* is moved to (or through) [Spec, *FinP*] in order to satisfy the EPP feature, this would block the movement of another phrase to any other available specifier above [Spec, *FinP*].¹⁶

¹⁶ An alternative analysis is that of Pinto (2011), who advocates verb movement to *Force⁰* in asymmetric V2 languages and verb movement to *Fin⁰* in symmetrical V2 languages. A problem with this proposal is the impossibility of explaining V2 constructions with D-pronouns, as seen in German, a typical asymmetric V2 language (ROBERTS, 2004, p. 317).

- (i) [Den Mann], [den] **habe** ichgesehen.
the man him have I seen

4 A NEW LOOK AT CLASSICAL PORTUGUESE

As seen in section 2, the ClaP data we analyzed shows that, in the grammar of this period of Portuguese, there is systematic verb movement to the periphery of the clause, just like in V2 languages. However, differently from a standard V2 system, we saw that the linear constraint requiring a finite verb in the second position is sometimes not obeyed, either because of sentences with the verb in an absolute first position or because of sentences that license more than one constituent in pre-verbal position.

Here, we would like to propose that, in ClaP, there is the same type of requirement observed in V2 languages, that is to say, the Fin^0 head must present a lexical realization either via movement or via a merger operation. In matrix sentences of ClaP, such as in Dutch or German, for example, the finite verb would be responsible for satisfying such a requirement. This would explain why ClaP resembles a V2 grammar with regard to the verb position syntax. However, unlike a system in which the V2 constraint is strictly observed, our proposal is that, in the grammar of ClaP, the Fin^0 head would not be specified with an EPP feature forcing the raising of an XP to [Spec, FinP]. This hypothesis is an extension of the idea already defended in the literature that, trans-linguistically, not all languages have an EPP feature in T^0 determining that [Spec, TP] be filled in by an XP, either via subject movement or via insertion of an expletive (see BOBALJIK; WURMBRAND, 2005; WURMBRAND, 2006; ROUVERET, 2010). For example, English can be considered a typical language with an EPP feature in T^0 , since, when there is no subject that can move to [Spec, TP], there is necessarily a visible expletive occupying that position.

- (22) a. John hit Bill.
b. It rains.

Icelandic, although a Germanic language like English, presents a different behavior regarding the requirement determining an XP in [Spec, TP]. Consider the example (23), taken from Wurmbrand (2006).

- (23) Þa höfðu komið gestir í heimsókn.
then have come guests-NOM for a.visit
'Then, guests came for a visit.'

In (23) above, because there is a nominative DP following the non-finite verb, it is plausible to think that such DP does not move to [Spec, TP]; on the contrary, it would remain in its internal position within the VP domain. If EPP is assumed to be a universal feature of T^0 , we would need to ask ourselves how it would have been satisfied in the Icelandic example under analysis, given the absence of phonetically visible material in [Spec, TP]. One possibility would be to say that [Spec, TP] is filled in by an expletive *pro*. This explanation, however, sounds somewhat speculative for at least one reason: in Icelandic, there are syntactic contexts in which a visible expletive is realized. For example, in declarative matrix clauses, it is perfectly possible the presence of the expletive *það* in pre-verbal position, presumably in [Spec, FinP], given the V2 nature of Icelandic.

- (24) Það hafa verið nokkrir kettir í eldhúsinu.
EXP have been some cats in kitchen.the
'There have been some cats in the kitchen.'

From the example (24), the question that naturally arises is the following: since Icelandic licenses, in certain structural configurations, a phonetically visible expletive, what would motivate the presence of an expletive *pro* in sentence (23)? In reality, the most natural thing would be to expect a visible expletive in [Spec, TP], and not an expletive *pro*. However, in the post-verbal position, the expletive *það* is ungrammatical, as the example (25) confirms.

If the immediately pre-verbal element occupies [Spec, ForceP], as proposed by Pinto, the sentence in (i) should be ungrammatical, since, in theory, there is no higher specifier position that can host the phrase, *Den Mann*. In Robert's analysis, this type of data does not present difficulties, since we could think that the constituent in the first position is a kind of topic merged directly in the periphery of the sentence. In this configuration, given that there was no movement over the pronoun that satisfies the EPP feature of Fin^0 , the grammaticality of the construction is satisfactorily derived.

- (25) Í dag hafa (*það) verið nokkrir kettir í eldhúsinu
 today have (*EXPL) been some cats in kitchen.the
 ‘Today, there have been some cats in the kitchen.’

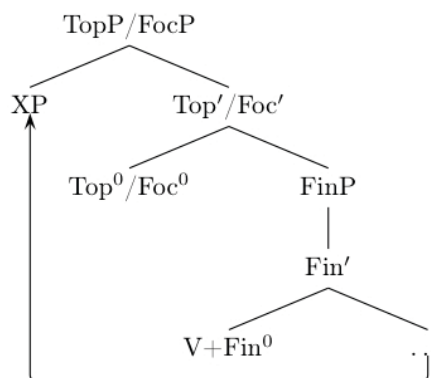
As a result, an alternative analysis would be to argue that, in Icelandic, [Spec, TP] is not even projected, thus allowing us to conclude that, in this particular language, the TP head is not specified with the EPP feature.¹⁷ Consequently, we would have an argument to defend the idea that not all languages have an EPP feature in T⁰ requiring [Spec, TP] to be projected and filled by an XP.

If, in fact, there is trans-linguistic variation as to the presence of the EPP feature in the functional head T⁰, as we have just presented, it is natural to think that across languages, there is the same type of variation in other functional heads, theoretically enabled to receive an EPP feature. Thinking specifically about the issues that interest us in this paper, we argue that certain languages have an EPP feature in Fin⁰, as would be the case with German or Dutch, thus resulting in obligatory XP fronting to [Spec, FinP] (or simply insertion of an XP), whereas other languages would not have the Fin⁰ head specified with such a feature, thus making it unnecessary for [Spec, FinP] to be projected and filled by a displaced phrase. Our hypothesis is that ClaP would fit into this second category of languages.

The effects of this proposal on the grammar of ClaP are quite interesting. When we initially consider the sentences with V2 linear order, the basic idea is that the pre-verbal XP would occupy a specifier position above FinP – either the specifier of a TopP category or [Spec, FocP], depending on the discursive feature motivating its raising to the periphery of the sentence. Such an XP would move without passing through [Spec, FinP], given the absence of the EPP property in Fin⁰. In (26), we present the example (5e) again, a V2 linear sentence of ClaP now followed by the structural representation that we propose.

- (26) a. O fim da minha jornada **verá** Vossa Excelência pelas cartas de Sua
 the end of my journey will-see Your Honor by letters from Your
 Majestade que remete a Vossa Excelência o Residente, (Vieira)
 Majesty that sends to Your Honor the Ambassador
 ‘Your Honor will see the end of my journey through Your Majesty’s letters that the Ambassador
 sends to Your Honor,’

b.



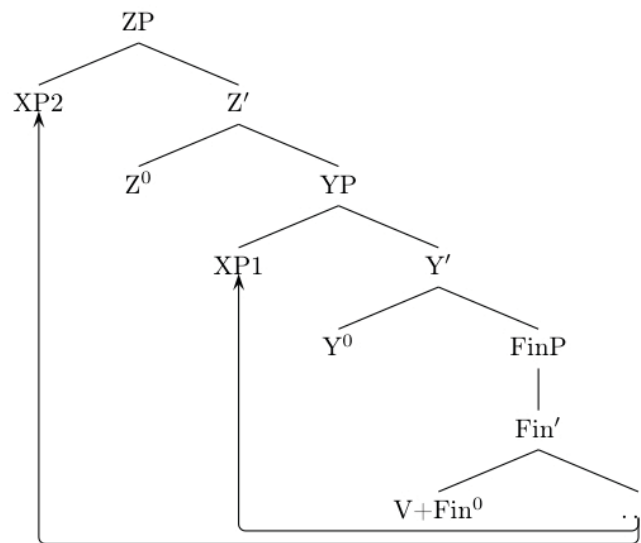
With regard to V3 clauses, pre-verbal constituents would also occupy structural positions above the FinP domain. The fact that there is no EPP feature in Fin⁰ would make it possible to raise multiple constituents (provided that relativized minimality restrictions are obeyed), since no phrase would need to move to [Spec, FinP] and, consequently, block the fronting of other elements, as in fact occurs

¹⁷ Assuming that there is really no expletive *pro* in Icelandic, the only way to maintain the hypothesis that T⁰ is also specified with the EPP feature would be to follow Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's (1998) idea for null subject languages like Italian and Spanish. That is, it could be argued that in the Icelandic examples presented, it is the finite verb that would check the EPP feature of T⁰. However, since Icelandic does not have the same properties of the null subject languages discussed by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, doing analysis in this direction would lack empirical ground.

in rigid V2 languages. In (27), we present the structure of a V3 sentence within this proposal.

- (27) a. [_{XP2} Em fim], [_{XP1} como quer que seja], **ficou** Halehan conquistando tôda a Pérsia,
 in end as want that be stayed Halehan conquering all the Persia,
 Arabia, Suria, Palestina, e outras Províncias, (Céu)
 Arabia Syria Palestine and other provinces
 ‘Whatever happened, Halehan finally conquered all the Persia, Arabia, Syria, Palestine and other provinces,’

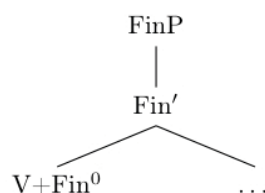
b.



As for V1 clauses, they would be derived whenever there was no topic or focus feature determining the fronting of some XP to the relevant specifiers above FinP. In this specific type of construction, the only requirement codified in the left periphery of the sentence would be the one forcing the lexical realization of Fin⁰. As can be easily seen, the non-obligatory nature of a pre-verbal XP would result from the absence of an EPP feature in the FinP head, as outlined in (28b).

- (28) a. **Tinha** ele conquistado naquela Quaresma principalmente as almas dos
 had he conquered in-that Lent particularly the souls of
 Portuguese; (Barros)
 Portuguese
 ‘In that Lent, he had particularly conquered the souls of Portuguese people;’

b.



The analysis proposed here for ClaP predicts that the word order with post-verbal subjects is the standard linear sequence in that language since there would be no pragmatic-discursive requirement requiring the displacement of phrases to the periphery of the sentence. We say this because, if actually the finite verb systematically rises to Fin⁰, whereas the subject, unless specified with a topic or focus feature (that is, a marked option), is raised up to [Spec, TP], it is plausible to think that the VS order is derived more frequently, since, in sentences in which the subject does not need to rise to TopP or FocP, the verb will be hierarchically above the

subject. In fact, the most attested word order is the VS sequence, as confirmed in Table 1.

	N	%
S-V	147	37,60
V-S	244	62,40
Total	391	100,00

Table 1: Pre and post-verbal subjects in matrix clauses with transitive verbs – ClaP

Source: from author

As seen in Table 1, ClaP shows a clear preference for post-verbal subjects. This type of quantitative result corroborates the prediction of our analysis that the standard word order in ClaP is that with a postponed subject.

5 A LOOK AT ARABIC

In this section, we would like to make some considerations about Arabic, showing how this language, like ClaP, can also be characterized as manifesting both the V-movement property to the CP system in matrix sentences and the absence of the typical blocking effect of an EPP feature. Let us begin this discussion by presenting some evidence in favor of the hypothesis of generalized verb movement to the periphery of the sentence in Arabic matrix clauses. One evidence is presented by Benmamoun (1999) from existential constructions. As in English, structures of this type in Arabic involve a locative expletive equivalent to *there* and an NP marked with a nominative case.

- (29) kaana hunaaka Taalib-un fii l-fiadiiqati
 was EXPL student-NOM in the-garden
 ‘There was a student in the garden.’

An interesting fact about these constructions is that the expletive necessarily appears to the right of the auxiliary verb. This can be seen by comparing (29) above with (30) below.

- (30) *hunaaka kaana Taalib-un fii l-fiadiiqati
 EXPL was student-NOM in the-garden

Benmamoun assumes that, in existential constructions, the expletive is located in [Spec, IP],¹⁸ Whereas the NP marked with a nominative case occupies the specifier of the lexical projection, as in English. In view of this, the author argues that, because the finite verb always precedes the expletive, it is necessary to assume, consequently, that the verb has been raised to the periphery of the clause.

Another argument that seems to favor the hypothesis of verb movement to the CP system in matrix sentences comes from a comparison with the word order in embedded contexts. In matrix clauses, the VS word order is perfectly acceptable, as shown in the example (31) (SHLONSKY, 1997, p. 7).

- (31) katabat Mona risaalatan.
 wrote Mona letter
 ‘Mona wrote a letter.’

¹⁸ In a minimalist terminology, this position would correspond to [Spec, TP].

In embedded clauses introduced by the complementary *ʔanna*, on the other hand, the VS order is ungrammatical (32a), while the SV order is grammatical (32b) (MOHAMMAD, 2000, p 18 and 19).

- (32) a. *hasiba ʔahmadu ʔanna ʔakala ʔaliyyan attuffāhata.
 thought Ahmed que ate Ali the-apple
 ‘Ahmed thought that Ali ate the apple.’
 b. hasiba ʔahmadu ʔanna ʔaliyyan ʔakala attuffāhata.

A similar point can be said about embedded clauses introduced by the complementizer *ʔinna*, which also does not admit the postposition of the subject (33a), but rather the SV word order (33b) (MOHAMMAD, 2000, p 18 and 19).¹⁹

- (33) a. *qāla ʔahmadu ʔinna ʔakala ʔaliyyan attuffāhata
 said Ahmed that ate Ali the-apple
 ‘Ahmed said that Ali ate the apple.’
 b. qāla ʔahmadu ʔinna ʔaliyyan ʔakala attuffāhata

This asymmetry between main and embedded clauses is expected if we adopt an analysis that postulates V-movement to the CP system. In matrix sentences, such a movement would produce the verb-subject inversion that is attested in (31). In embedded contexts, due to the presence of the complementizer in the periphery of the clause, the raising of the verb to the CP system is blocked, thus making the VS word order impossible, as evidenced in (32a) and (33a).

From these evidences in favor of the hypothesis of verb movement to the periphery of the sentence, we could say that, like V2 languages, Arabic also presents, in matrix clauses, raising of the finite verb to *Fin*⁰, the lowest head of the cartographic periphery that we assume here. However, although similar to rigid V2 languages with regard to the verb position syntax, Arabic would differentiate itself from a language like German in that it does not manifest the linear order constraint requiring the verb to appear in the second position in matrix sentences. In fact, although it is possible to license clauses with V2 linear order (see (34)), Arabic also admits both sequences with more than one constituent in pre-verbal position (see (35)) and sequences with the verb in an absolute first position (see (31)) (AOUN; BENMAMOUN, 1998, p. 572 and 584).

- (34) Naadya ʔeef Kariim mbeerih.
 Nadia saw Karim yesterday
 ‘Nadia, Karim saw yesterday.’

- (35) Nəkte Naadya ʔabbaruw-a.
 joke Nadia told-her
 ‘A joke, Nadia, they told her.’

Since Arabic presents word orders that do not necessarily fit within a V2 paradigm, it seems to us that we could extend the same proposal for ClaP to Arabic. Specifically, we could say that, similar to the grammar of the Classical Portuguese period, Arabic would differ from a V2 language only in terms of the specification of the EPP feature in *Fin*⁰. In other words, Arabic and German, for example, would be identical with regard to the constraint determining movement from V to *Fin*⁰ in matrix clauses. However, unlike German, Arabic would not have the *Fin*⁰ head specified with the EPP property. Given the idea that the EPP of *Fin*⁰ attracts only one XP to [Spec, *FinP*], blocking the movement of other phrases to specifiers above *FinP*, the fact that Arabic does not present an EPP feature in *Fin*⁰ would allow the licensing of one or more XP's in pre-verbal position, since any move to specifiers above *FinP* would not be blocked. This would satisfactorily derive sentences with V2 or V3 linear word order. If it is not necessary to focus or topicalize any constituent, a V1 sequence would be derived. In fact, as already pointed out in the literature, the unmarked order in Arabic is precisely that with a verb in the initial position (SHLONSKY, 1997).

¹⁹ The choice between one or the other complementizer is determined by the verb of the matrix clause.

6 FINAL REMARKS

In this article, we analyze ClaP discussing in which aspects it approaches a V2 language and in which aspects there are differences. We could see that the grammar of this period of Portuguese comes close to a V2 grammar for manifesting verb movement to the periphery of the sentence in matrix clauses. The big difference would be related to the absence of the restriction requiring the verb to occur in the second position, since, in ClaP, not only V2 linear sequences but also V1 and V3 word orders are licensed. Assuming the proposal for a split CP system and the idea that the EPP is the feature responsible for both raising the pre-verbal XP to the periphery of the sentence as well as for blocking the displacement of more than one phrase, we proposed here that ClaP would not be specified with this property in the Fin⁰ head. This scenario would allow the derivation of the different word orders attested in ClaP. Trans-linguistically, we saw that this proposal receives support from a language like Arabic.

Of course, some questions remain unanswered. For example, what would motivate a language to have or not to have the specification of an EPP feature in a given head? In other words, why would German and Dutch have the Fin⁰ head specified with this property, while ClaP, and possibly Arabic, would not have such a specification in Fin⁰? In this paper, we will not try to answer that question, since it seems to us that, for a formulation that satisfactorily tackles this type of problem, we would need to address the relevance itself of something like an EPP feature for the computational system. We leave this and other questions for future work.

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