Breton embedded V2 and post-syntactic operations

This is a study of how embedded domains are integrated into the syntactic structure. I develop a typology of verb second orders in Breton embedded domains by comparing corpus data and the elicitation data with traditional native speakers from three different dialectal points in Leon and Kerne. The results suggest that some structures undergo a post-syntactic Merge operation at *TRANSFER* before Spell-Out (Wurmbrand 2012). These structures show signs of less integration, among which ban on movement, or resolution of the V2 requirement by last resort strategies against the syntactic rules of head movement constraints or excorporation.

Breton V2. Like Old Romance, Rhaeto-Romance, Karitiana, Germanic Mòcheno or Cimbrian, Breton has a rich left-periphery allowing for V3. Some V3 orders (and more) appear in embedded domains. In (1), the base-generated topic subject of the passive satisfies V2 in the structural region between the ForceP projection and the Fin head, spelled-out as a pre-Tense particle *a* (2). The recursive projection hosting scene-setting adverbials is higher. This rich high periphery hosts elements accidentally satisfying V2 as a by-product of information structure. Breton V2 is typologically peculiar in that it is *linear* (Borsley & Kathol 2000): functional heads count as preverbal constituents, including Q particles (3), preverbal negation (4) or verbal heads (5)-(7). Avoidance of verb-first shows post-syntactic symptoms, as it does not seem to impact semantics or information structure. It allows for syntactic misbehaviours, like *Long Head Movement* (5) or excorporation, leading to analytical tenses (6) or doubling (7) as a last resort. The *linear V2* generalization predicts that embedded domains headed by a complementizer should show no extra V2 effect.

(1) *Bep bloazh neuze e veze dreset, ablamour, pa vez fall an amzer,*
each year then prt was rebuilt because when was bad the weather
a-wechoù ar paper sablet a veze roget gant ar gwallamzer…
sometimes the paper sanded prt was destroyed by the bad weather
'It was rebuilt every year, because, when the weather is bad, the sanded paper was sometimes destroyed by the bad weather.' embedded T4, *Plougerneau*

(2) [Hanging topics [scene setting advs. [$_{TopP}$ XP subj. [$_{FocP}$ [$_{FinP}$ [*a/e*-V] [$_{IP}$ …

(3) **Hag** *eo gwir an dra-se* ?
Q is true the thing-here
'Is that true?'

(4) (Yann ha Lisa) **ne** *brenint ket ul levr d'am breur warc'hoazh.*
Yann & Lisa neg will.buy.3PL neg a book to'my brother tomorrow
'Yann and Lisa will not buy a book for my brother.'

(5) *Prenet en deus _ Yann ul levr d'am breur.* LHM,
bought has Yann a book to'my brother Stylistic Fronting
'Yann has bought a book for my brother.'

(6) *Prenañ a ra Yann ul levr d'am breur.* analytic tense =
buy prt does Yann a book to'my brother excorporation + *do* support
'Yann buys a book for my brother.'

(7) *Gouzout a ouzon ar wirionez.* excorporation + copy pronunciation
to.know prt know.1SG the truth
'I know the truth.'

Typology. Much like in Germanic, embedded V2 appears in different adjunct clauses denoting cause (1), complements of verbs of saying and thinking (8), including forms of the complementizer 'if' (9) & (10), relatives of temporal nouns (11).

(8) *Me oar   a-walh **lar** <u>eur vuoh wenn</u> he-deus kalz a lêz.*   *Uhelgoat*
     I know enough that a   cow white she-has lot of milk

(9) *N' ouzon ket **hag** (<u>lennet</u>) e deus (*lennet) an urioù*   *Plougerneau*
     Neg know neg Q   read has   read   the book
     'I don't know if he has read the book.'

(10) *N' ouzon ket **ha** (<u>lennet /-g-eñ</u>) en deus (lennet) al levr.*   *Treger*
     neg know neg Q   read / expl   prt has   read   the book
     'I don't know if he has read the book.'   *Lesneven*

(11) *Bevañ a reomp un amzer **hag** <u>gouzout</u> a ra   (ar vugale) diouzh an ordinatourien*
     live prt do.we a time   that to.know prt does the children from   the computers
     'We live a time where the children know better of the computers (than their parents).'

Tests. These embedded V2 orders show less integration in the structure: they can not be moved (13), and matrix negation does not have scope over them (14) (they also show a looser pragmatic integration and have restrictions on extraction from them).

(12) (*Peogwir eo lezireg*), *n'eo   ket deuet,* (*peogwir eo lezizeg*).
       because is lazy   NEG'is not come   because is lazy   embedded C-T…

(13) *(*Peogwir lezizeg eo*), *n'eo   ket deuet,* (*peogwir lezireg eo*)
       because lazy   is   NEG'is not come   because lazy   is   embedded C-XP-T…
     'He didn't come because he is lazy.'

(14) CONTEXT: 'Don't be nasty! He didn't come with me only because I have a car and he didn't want to walk…'
     N'eo   ket deuet peogwir (eo) lezireg (*eo), met evit kaozeal samples.
     NEG'is not come because is lazy   is   but for discuss together
     'He didn't come because he is lazy but for us to have a discussion.'

Analysis. One speaker allows for multiple C heads (15) but accepts very few embedded V2 (16), mild counter evidence for a CP recursion analysis for selected CPs (Vikner 1995, Holmberg & Platzack 1995, Watanabe 1992, Iatridou & Kroch 1992, Heycock 2000). Last-resort verbal head movement in (9)-(11) suggests that the V2 word order rearrangement takes place in a post-syntactic morphological component before spell-out. In these less integrated embedded clauses, the completed FinP phase is first sent to *TRANSFER*. The V2 requirement applies, triggering Merge of an expletive, short-distance constituent inversion (LHM, Stylistic Fronting), or excorporation. Only after do the complementizer and its embedded sentence Merge, making it impossible for the V2 requirement to be saturated by the presence of the complementizer. Embedded V2 is also possible in fully integrated structures like the protasis of conditionals, but it never allows for last-resort expletives/verbal head fronting. Dialectal variation shows a gradation in the richness of their left-periphery (Eastern dialects persistently allow for less options, and Plougerneau in Leon for more (17)).

(15) *N'ouion   ket **(la) ma** teuio.*   *Kerne*
     NEG'know.I not that if come.FUT
     'I don't know if she will come.'

(16) *Me oar   mat lar (*<u>'r vuoh wenn</u>) ' ra ('r vuoh wenn) kalz laezh.*   *Kerne*
     I   know well that   a cow white   does a cow white lot   milk
     'I know well that a white cow produces a lot of milk.'

(17)a.   *Kontant e vichen   **ma** <u>d'ar gouel</u>   e teufe   Yann.*   *Leon (Plougerneau)*
    b. * /? *Kontant e vichen   **ma** <u>d'ar gouel</u>   e teufe   Yann.*   *Leon (Lesneven)*
    c. *   *Kontant ' vefen   **ma** <u>d'ar fest</u>   e teufe   Yann.*   *Kerne*
           happy prt be.COND if to'the party prt would.come Yann
     'I would be happy for Yann to come to the party.'