

投稿論文

# Pro-Drop and Verb Second in Old French : A Weak Phonological Approach to X-second Phenomena

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**[Abstract]**

It has been argued that there is a connection between null subjects and the verb second (V2) order in the Old French (OF) of the 12th and 13th centuries. However, such a connection poses a number of problems if one tries to link V2 with the *pro*-drop parameter. The present paper claims that null subjects in OF are not *pro*, but results of argument deletion imposed by a certain PF requirement governing X-second phenomena, thus supporting the claim that V2 requires PF considerations (cf. Anderson (1993), Bošković (2001), and Chomsky (1994, 1995)).

Key words

 V2, pro-drop, Syntax-Phonology Interface

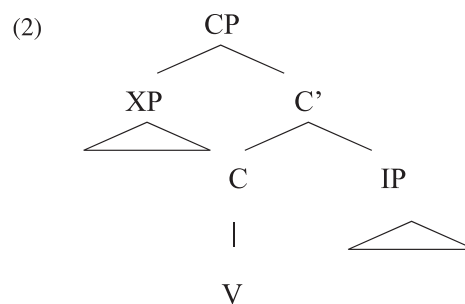
## 1. Theoretical Background

One of the most important findings in Generative Linguistics during the past decades is that every syntactic constituent has its head. The bare phrase structure theory in Chomsky (1994, 1995) derives this endocentricity from the structure building operation Merge, eliminating stipulations of the X'-theory and trying to give a deeper explanation to the phrase structure of human language. Thus, under the bare phrase structure theory, phenomena previously accounted for by substantially referring to the X'-theory raises a new issue. Such phenomena include the Verb Second (=V2) requirement as indicated by the contrast in (1), where the finite verb has to occupy the second position of the sentence:

- (1) a. Diesen Roman **las** ich schon letztes Jahr (German)  
       This book **read** I already last year  
       b. \*Diesen Roman ich **las** schon letztes Jahr.

The V2 requirement on the finite verb has been

accounted for by crucially relying on an X'-theoretic assumption that only one specifier is allowed per maximal projection. It has been argued that in the V2 order, the initial element occupies the spec of the highest maximal projection — CP, and the finite verb raises to the head of the maximal projection C, as schematically illustrated by (2):

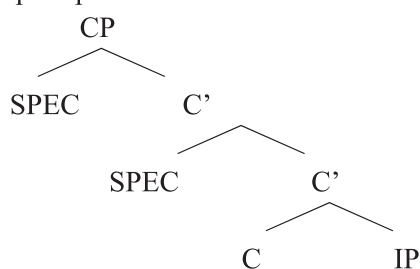


Given this assumption, (1a) is well formed because the highest constituent Diesen Roman can move to the spec of CP. On the other hand (1b) is ill-formed, because the pronoun ich cannot find its appropriate landing site or the finite verb does not rise to C.

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However, this widely accepted account is hard to maintain under the bare phrase structure theory, since the assumption refers to the X'-schematic property, which seems to be underivable once we discard the X'-theory. The operation Merge concatenates two syntactic objects and creates a new syntactic object. So, by definition, the operation can create a structure containing multiple specifiers, as illustrated in (4):

(4) Multiple Specifiers



An obvious question then is: How can we derive the V2 effects? If we adopt the bare phrase structure theory, it virtually implies that there is no room for any purely syntactic approaches to V2 effects. Thus, a fruitful line of research seems to be to consider the role of PF in V2 phenomena, a direction suggested in Chomsky (1995): the V2 property may belong to the phonological component.

V2, as the term suggests, involves a property of linear order. Given the most restrictive assumption that syntax is order-free (cf. Kayne (1993), Chomsky (1994, 1995)), a natural place to look at should be the Syntax-PF/ Morphology interface. The task, then, is to derive the V2 effects by exploring "division of labor" between Syntax and PF. Incorporating the core insights of Anderson (1993) that X-second phenomena such as second position clitics and V2 should be given a unified treatment, Bošković (2001) argues convincingly that in order to account for X-second phenomena, "division of labor" between Syntax and PF is essential, putting forth the weak phonological approach to X-second phenomena. Since this approach is the only approach that can be translated into the recent version of a minimalist program in a straightforward way, an issue concerning V2 is, therefore, to evaluate the validity of the approach.

The aim of this paper is to show that the weak

phonological approach not only provides a natural account for null subjects in the Old French (=OF) of the 12th and 13th centuries, but also solves a dilemma concerning null subjects and V2 in OF.

The structure of this paper is as follows. The next section provides a survey of relevant facts about OF and states hitherto neglected (or unnoticed) problems with the interaction between the *pro*-drop parameter and the V2 parameter. In section 3, adopting the weak phonological approach, I argue that null subjects in OF are deleted arguments and the deletion operation is imposed by a PF requirement that derives V2 effects. Section 4 provides an account of relevant properties of null subjects in OF.

## 2. Data and Issues

### 2.1. V2 and Null Subjects in Old French

In this subsection, I discuss two properties of OF: V2 and null subjects, and then follow with a brief discussion of two generalizations that seem to suggest a link between V2 and null subjects in OF.

It is generally accepted that OF is a V2 language.<sup>1</sup> The finite verb occupies the second position of matrix clauses, regardless of the type of the initial constituent:

- (5) a. SUB +V + OBJ (OF)  
 Il **regarde** l'enfant, ...  
 He **looks-at** the-child  
 "He looks at the child, ..."  
 (*La Queste del Saint Graal*, 2, 29; Vance (1997))
- b. PP+ V +SUB OBJ (OF)  
 A cel conseil **ot** Nichodemus amis  
 At that meeting **had** Nichodemus-nom friends-Acc  
 "Nicodemus had friends at that meeting."  
 (*Roman du Graal*, 26; Adams (1987))
- c. AP+ V +SUB ... (OF)  
 Bel sont il voirement  
 beautiful are they truly  
 "They are truly beautiful"  
 (*La Queste del Saint Graal*, 156, 22; Vance (1997))
- d. Adv+ V +SUB+OBJ (OF)  
 Einsint aama la damoisele Lancelot  
 Thus loved the young lady-Nom Lancelot-Acc

"Thus the young lady loved Lancelot."

(*La Mort le Roi Artu* p38; Adams (1987))

As pointed by Adams (1987), Foulet (1982), Hirschbuhler (1995), Roberts (1993), Vance (1997) and Vanelli, Renzi, and Beninca (1983), and others, OF allows omission of the subject as shown in (6):

- (6) Si firent grant joie la nuit. (OF)  
 So made.3.pl. great joy that night  
 "So (they) had a very good time that night"  
 (*Robert de Clari XII*; Adams (1987))

It has been argued that there might be a link between V2 and null subjects in OF because these two properties seem to be contingent on each other. The argument is based on the following two observations.

First, as reported by Adams (1987), Foulet (1982), Hirschbuhler (1995), Hulk and van Kemenade (1995), Lemieux and Dupuis (1995), Roberts (1993), Vance (1997) and Vanelli, Renzi, and Beninca (1983), and others, the basic context in which omission of the subject is possible is in the "inverted" V2 order. The following examples illustrate this point.

- (7) a. Tresqu'en la mer **conquist** la tere altaigne (OF)  
 Until the sea conquered the land high  
 '(He) conquered the high land all the way to the sea'  
 (*Roland*, 1.3; Roberts (1993))  
 b. Après **conquist** Orenges la cité (OF)  
 After conquered Orange the city  
 'Afterwards (he) conquered the city of Orange'.  
 (*Le Charroi de Nîmes* 1.7; Roberts (1993))  
 c. Si firent grant joie la nuit. (OF)  
 So made (they) great joy that night  
 "So (they) had a very good time that night"  
 (*Robert de Clari XII*; Adams (1987))

Second, there is also a historical correlation between V2 and null subjects in OF. Adams (1987) and Roberts (1993) observe that null subjects and V2 in OF underwent changes during the Middle French period and both disappeared by

around the 16th century.

## 2.2. Two Problems with connecting the V2 parameter to the Pro-drop parameter

As shown in 2.2, there seems to be a connection between null subjects and V2 in OF. Technical details aside<sup>2</sup>, previous analyses have argued that there is a certain syntactic device that connects the *pro*-drop parameter with the V2 parameter, on the assumption that null subjects in OF are *pro* (cf. Adams (1987), Roberts (1993), Vance (1997)). But I will argue below that such an approach, assuming the parametric connection between the *pro*-drop parameter and V2, is problematic at least in the following two respects and ultimately faces a dilemma.

### 2.2.1. Problem 1: Is there a connection between Pro-Drop and V2?

If a parametric option that allows *pro* were related to the V2 option, we expect some sort of implicational relations between the two. However, V2 can be neither a necessary condition nor a sufficient condition for the availability of referential *pro* as in (8).

(8)

Language	Verb Second Requirement	Referential <i>pro</i>
Old French	Yes	Yes?
German	Yes	No
Icelandic	Yes	No
Norwegian	Yes	No
Faroese	Yes	No
English	No	No
Chinese	No	Yes
Japanese	No	Yes
Italian	No	Yes
Spanish	No	Yes

This cross-linguistic observation suggests that the connection between null subjects and V2 in OF seems to be language-specific and hence it is impossible to account for the connection by associating the V2 parameter with the *pro*-drop parameter.

### 2.2.2. Problem 2: Skewed *Pro*?

It is also problematic to simply assume that OF is a

*pro*-drop language because null subjects in OF are rather different from *pro* in other *pro*-drop languages in the following two respects.

First, unlike *pro* in Spanish and Italian, null subjects in OF are not governed by Chomsky's (1981) Avoid Pronoun Principle. Observe the following contrast:

- (9) a. *Italian* (cf. Vanelli, Renzi, and Benincà (1985))  
 Il professore<sub>i</sub> ha parlato dopo che **pro**/**\*lui**<sub>i</sub> è  
 the professor<sub>i</sub> has spoken after that **pro**/**he**<sub>i</sub> is  
 arrivato  
 arrived.  
 'The professor<sub>i</sub> spoke after he<sub>i</sub> arrived'
- b. *Old French* (*Villehardouin XXV*: Adams (1987))  
 Einsi corurent par mer tant que il vindrent à  
 Thus ran.3.pl. by sea until they came to  
 Cademelêe.  
 Cadmêe  
 "Thus (they)<sub>i</sub> ran by sea until they<sub>i</sub> came to Cad-  
 mêe."

In (9a), the subject of the adverbial clause in Italian has to be *pro* in order to get the indented interpretation, as predicted by the Avoid Pronoun Principle. (9b), however, shows that a null subject in OF is never obligatory even in a similar context. Though the exact nature of the Avoid Pronoun Principle is not clear, assume that the principle is "a subcase of a conversational principle of not saying more than is required (Chomsky (1981: 65))." In (9b), the omission of the subject of the matrix clause indicates that *pro* can be used in order to refer to the set of individuals in question. However, contrary to what the Avoid Pronoun Principle predicts, the overt pronoun *il* can be used in the subordinate clause. Thus, the contrast casts a serious doubt on the assumption that null subjects in OF are *pro* in the "standard" sense.

Second, the distribution of null subjects in OF even differs from that of null subjects observed in discourse related languages like Japanese. In OF, the matrix null subject can be coreferent with overt pronouns in the complement clause. Observe the contrast between (10a) and (10b):

- (10) a. *Old French* (*Roam du Graal*: Adams (1987))  
 Lors s'acorderent que **il**<sub>i</sub> diroient que il<sub>i</sub>  
 Then agreed.3pl. that they would say that they  
 l'avoient baillié par le  
 him had in their charge by the  
 commandement Nichodemus  
 commandment (of) Nicodemus.  
 "lit. then (**they**)<sub>i</sub> agreed that **they**<sub>i</sub> would say that  
**they**<sub>i</sub> had charge of him by the command of  
 Nicodemus."
- b. *Japanese*  
 ec<sub>i/\*j</sub> [guuzen kare<sub>j</sub>-ga Hanako-ni at-ta  
 Ec<sub>i/\*j</sub> [by chance he<sub>j</sub>-Nom Hanako-Acc meet-past  
 to] sinjiteiru  
 that] believes  
 "He<sub>i/\*j</sub> believes [that he<sub>j</sub> met by chance]"
- c. (\*? Guuzen) John-ga [Tom-ga Hanako-ni at-ta  
 by chance John-Nom [Tom-Nom Hanako-Acc  
 meet-past  
 to] sinjiteiru  
 that] believes  
 "lit. (By chance) John believes [Tom met Hanako]"
- d. Guuzen Tom-ga Hanako-ni at-ta  
 by chance Tom-Nom Hanako-Acc meet-past  
 "lit. By chance Tom met Hanako"

(10a) indicates that the coreference between the omitted matrix subject and the two embedded subjects is possible in OF.<sup>3</sup> As for (10b), a few notes should be added. Since Japanese is a head-final language, it is necessary to assure that the matrix subject (but not the embedded one) is omitted in (10b). (10c) indicates that the adverb *guuzen* (= by chance) cannot modify the verb *sinjiteiru* (= believe), presumably because of its semantic incompatibility with this particular verb. (10d) indicates that it cannot modify the embedded verb from this position, either. Thus we can use the adverb to indicate the left edge of the embedded clause. Keep this in mind. Consider (10b) again. What (10b) indicates is that the omitted matrix subject and the embedded subject have to be disjoint in reference.



### 2.3. A Dilemma?.

On the basis of the cross-linguistics and language-internal evidence, we can conclude that the observed connection between null subjects and V2 cannot be reduced to the assumption that OF takes the positive value for both the *pro*-drop parameter and the V2 parameter. Furthermore, the arguments presented in 2.2 strongly suggest that null subjects in OF should be treated differently from *pro* in *pro*-drop languages.

Notice though that the situation is something of a dilemma. Once we simply dissociated null subjects in OF from V2, we lost the account of the connection between null subjects and V2. What is required here is to throw problematic assumptions away and to find an alternative account for the connection.

If the present discussion so far is correct, the origin of the problem lies in the very assumption that a null subject in OF is *pro* in the standard sense. In what follows, I claim that null subjects in OF are deleted pronouns and the deletion is forced by a certain PF condition proposed by Bošković (2001).

## 3. The Weak Phonological Approach to Null Subjects and V2 in OF

### 3.1. Weak Phonological Approach to X-second

Let us begin with briefly reviewing the weak phonological approach in Bošković (2001). His proposal is designed to give a systematic account to a number of Syntax/PF-interface phenomena including second position clitics and V2, which would be unpredictable if one stuck to the assumption that the highest copy is always pronounced. The leading idea is that syntax "freely" creates copies and PF determines the right one to pronounce. He proposes that elements subject to the second position requirement have the following lexical specification, on which PF determines which copy to pronounce.

- (11) a. #\_\_\_\_\_ (# = a boundary of an Intonational Phrase).  
 b. suffix

The basic mechanism is schematized in (12).

- (12) a. # X Y X ...  
 b. # ✕ Y X (Deletion of X)  
 c. # ✕ [Y+X] (Morphological Merger)

Suppose that X and Y are copies created by movement and that the lexical specification (11) is imposed on X. In (12a), the leftmost X, which is adjacent to the boundary of intonational phrase, cannot be pronounced, since (11) requires that X be a suffix and left-adjacent to a boundary of intonational phrase; thus, it is deleted as indicated by (12b). After Morphological Merger applies to the surviving X and Y, they form a "unit" as in (12c).<sup>4</sup> By forming such a "unit", the two requirements in (11) on X are satisfied.

Assume, following Bošković's (2001) weak phonological approach, that (11) governs V2 phenomena. More specifically, the matrix finite verb in OF has the lexical specification (11a).<sup>5</sup> Then, a natural prediction is that a deletion operation driven by (11a) is also possible in OF. I argue below that Bošković's theoretical insights can be extended to the cases of null subjects in OF.

### 3.2. A proposal

The present claim is that null subjects in OF are pronouns deleted by virtue of (11a), on the assumption that (11a) is a lexical specification for the matrix finite verb in OF.<sup>6</sup> This deletion process is forced under the configuration of (13), where two constituents precede the finite verb:

- (13) a. #XP subject V...  
 b. #XP subject V... (Deletion of the subject)  
 c. # [XP+V] (Morphological Merger)

In other words, the operation is required to satisfy (11a). The relevant derivational steps are given in (14).

- (14) a. Si firent grant joie la nuit. (OF)  
 So made.3.pl. great joy that night  
 "So (they) had a very good time that night"  
 (*Robert de Clari XII*; cf. Adams (1987))  
 b. Si **il** firent grant joie la nuit. (overt syntax)  
 So they made.3.pl. great joy that night  
 c. Si **il** firent grant joie la nuit.(deletion of the subject

*il* at PF)

So (they) made.3.pl. great joy that night

The crucial assumption is that the null subject in (14a) is not *pro* but is base-generated as a "normal" pronoun that can be phonologically overt if certain conditions are met. (14b), as it is, violates the second position requirement on the finite verb (= (11a)). Thus the subject *il* is deleted as in (14c).

#### 4. An Analysis

This section shows that the present proposal readily provides an account for the link between the subjects and V2 in OF, without posing the problems mentioned in 2.2.

First, the fact that null subjects in OF are restricted to the inverted V2 context follows directly from (13). In the present account, null subjects in OF are deleted subjects and they are deleted due to the second position requirement (11a). One necessary condition for the deletion operation is more than one constituent precedes the finite verb. This configuration is available only if some element precedes the subject. This situation is the same as the inverted V2 order.

Second, the historical connection between V2 and null subjects in OF is also predictable. Under the present approach, what determines the availability of null subjects in OF is the second position requirement (11a), which also determines the V2 order in OF. Thus a prediction is that if the requirement becomes inactive for some reason, then V2 and null subjects both should disappear. I claim that this is what happened in the historical development of French: Null subjects and V2 in OF underwent changes during the Middle French period and both disappeared by around the 16th century. It should be noted that the present approach, if correct, can capture the connection without recourse to the linkage between the *pro*-drop parameter and the null subject parameter — a desired result.

Third, the cross-linguistic observation about the connection between (referential) *pro*-drop and V2 is no longer a problem. If OF allowed (referential) *pro*, OF would be unusual, since V2 languages do not freely allow referential null subjects. Under the present account, the alleged *pro* in OF is a deleted argument. So the right statement would be

that V2 languages do not freely allow referential *pro*.

(15)

Language	Verb Second Requirement	Referential <i>pro</i>
Old French	Yes	No? (the deletion of subjects is possible)
German	Yes	No
Icelandic	Yes	No
Norwegian	Yes	No
Faroese	Yes	No
English	No	No
Japanese	No	Yes
Italian	No	Yes
Spanish	No	Yes

Finally, referential properties of null subjects in OF are no longer surprising. The relevant examples are repeated here as (16). In (16a), OF null subjects differs from *pro* in Italian, since it is governed by (11a). This is probably the reason why the Avoid Pronoun Principle does not seem to be active in OF. Furthermore, the curious coreferential possibility in (10a) which is repeated as (16b) is also given a natural account. In (16b), the matrix null subject in the matrix can be coreferent with the overt pronouns in the complement clauses. The reason is that the matrix null subject is introduced into the syntactic computation as an "overt" pronoun and sent to the LF interface.

- (16) a. Einsi corurent par mer tant que il vindrent à  
 Thus ran.3.pl. by sea until they came to  
 Cademelée.  
 Cadmée  
 "Thus (they<sub>i</sub>) ran by sea until they<sub>i</sub> came to  
 Cadmée." (OF)  
 (Villehardouin XXV; cf. Adams (1987: p2))
- b. Lors s'acorderent que il<sub>i</sub> diroient que il<sub>i</sub>  
 Then agreed.3pl. that they would say that they  
 l'avoient baillié par le  
 him had in their charge by the  
 commandement Nichodemus (OF)  
 commandment (of) Nicodemus.)  
 (Roamn du Graal pp. 25-26; cf. Adams (1987: p2))  
 "lit. then (they<sub>i</sub>) agreed that they<sub>i</sub> would say that  
 they<sub>i</sub> had charge of him by the command of

Nicodemus."

## 5. Summary

This paper has argued that null subjects in OF are not *pro*, but the pronoun deleted at PF, on the assumption that V2 is a PF phenomenon. The deletion of the subject is forced to satisfy the second position requirement in (11a). The present proposal not only captures the connection between null subjects and V2 in OF but also overcomes the problem with postulation of the linkage between the *pro*-drop parameter and the V2 parameter. So as far as the present argument is on the right track, it supports the following two claims: (a) V2 is a property of PF (cf. Anderson (1993), Bošković (2001), and Chomsky (1994, 1995)); (b) A uniform account of X-second phenomena is possible (cf. Anderson (1993) and Bošković (2001)).

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<sup>1</sup> V2 in OF is asymmetric in that V2 order is basically a root phenomenon. Adams (1987), Foulet (1982) and Vance (1997) report that the inverted V2 order in embedded contexts are limited to the complement of bridge verbs and indirect interrogatives. In this paper, we do not discuss V2 in embedded clauses. It should be noted that the existence of asymmetric V2 languages does not affect the validity of the assumption that V2 requires

PF considerations. Anderson (1993) reports that Wackernagel (1892) suggests in his description of German that asymmetric V2 effects can be due to some phonological reason by pointing out that a matrix clause and an embedded clause have different intonation patterns.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Adams (1987) tries to derive the intended result from identification conditions on *pro*. Roberts (1993) derives them from certain properties of Agr. I do not review those proposals here.

<sup>3</sup> Note that anaphoric relations like (10b) are also unavailable in Italian and Spanish as the Avoid Pronoun Principle predicts.

<sup>4</sup> Departing from Marantz (1984, 1998), Bošković assumes that Merger does not necessarily exchange a structural relation between two elements.

<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that (11b) has to be modified because the verb in OF does not seem to be an affix. What is crucial for the present discussion is Morphological Merger of the initial element with the finite verb in the V2 order.