

### V3 in Estonian

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V2 is a signature property of the Germanic languages, but outside Indo-European is much more sparsely attested: Holmberg's (2015) survey article lists only Karitiana and Estonian. Since any property of V2 found only in Germanic (or Indo-European) might be due to historical contingency, it is important to investigate these unrelated languages when assessing any hypothesis about V2 as a syntactic "type".

In this paper we investigate deviations from strict V2 in the Finno-Ugric language Estonian, and compare them to those found in Germanic. We find that violations of strict V2 are essentially nonexistent in written Estonian, with the few potential examples assimilable to known properties of strict V2 Germanic languages (e.g. Barbiers' 1995 'pseudo-DP' analysis of Dutch S-Adv-V clauses like those in (1)).

- (1) Kuule, keegi vist **kolista-b** eesuks-e kallal  
Listen someone probably knock-3SG front.door-GEN against  
'Listen, someone seems to be knocking on the front door.'

However, non-subject-initial V2 is reported to be found more robustly in spoken than written Estonian (Lindström 2005), and apparent violations of V2 are more frequent overall in spoken than written Estonian, particularly with the verb in third position, as in (2). This paper focuses particularly on V3 clauses of this type.

- (2) eile ma **nägin** tõelist kummitust  
yesterday I-NOM see-PST-1SG true-PAR.SG ghost-PAR.SG  
'I saw a real ghost yesterday.'

We argue that spoken Estonian V2 violations are not of a type that is alien to Germanic, but rather provide additional evidence for a "relaxed V2" syntactic subtype (cf. Cognola 2015, Wolfe 2016), the core of which is also attested in Germanic urban vernaculars and which is sensitive to information-structural considerations.

#### References

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