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Preface

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Object shift and optionality. An intricate interplay between syntax, prosody and information structure*

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Abstract. The topic of my article is Object Shift and optionality, mainly from a Swedish viewpoint. I present the result of a survey, which shows that informant's intuitions concerning the wellformedness of shifted and non-shifted sentences vary to a large degree. For sentences with monotransitive verbs and monosyllabic object pronouns, such as *den* (it.common) 'it', the shifted alternative is preferred, whereas there is a tie for sentences with disyllabic object pronouns, such as *honom* 'him' and *henne* 'her'. The picture is similar for ditransitive constructions. Sentences with the order direct object > indirect object are generally rejected by the informants, even though such sentences are considered less ungrammatical if both objects have undergone Object Shift.

I also outline an analysis, according to which Object Shift is triggered by information structure, more specifically by a general propensity for old/thematic elements to appear in the middle field. However, Object Shift is blocked if ungrammatical structures arise, such as OV constituent order. The bias for monomorphemic pronouns to shift and a stronger tendency for bimorphemic pronouns to remain *in situ* is explained by the phonological properties of the lexical items involved. Thus, in order to understand OS we need to take different factors into account: information structure, syntax and prosody.

0. Introduction

Objects are canonically located to the right of the negation and other sentence adverbials in Swedish and the rest of the Scandinavian languages. However, objects may under certain circumstances appear to the left of sentence adverbials – such objects are assumed to have undergone Object Shift. In Swedish and the other Mainland Scandinavian languages, Object Shift (henceforth abbreviated

* Parts of the results of the investigation presented in this paper are published in Josefsson (2003) and (2010). The results have been presented at different occasions: at the workshop "Object positions – formal and functional approaches", Aarhus University, January 18–19, 2007, at the Grammar seminar, Lund University, spring 2007, and at "The 1st Tampa workshop on Syntax, Semantics, and Phonology", at "The 19th Southeast conference on Foreign Languages, Literature, and Film", University of South Florida at Tampa, February 2010. I thank the participants at those occations for valuable comments. All errors are my own. A special thanks goes to Christer Platzack for valuable comments.

OS) is possible if the object is a weak, i.e. unstressed, object pronoun; OS of full DP objects is not grammatical. The properties of OS are illustrated in (1):

(1) a Varför köper Johan inte bilen?
why buys Johan not car.the
'Why doesn't Johan buy the car?'

b *Varför köper Johan bilen inte?

c Varför köper Johan den inte?
why buys Johan it not
'Why doesn't Johan buy it?'

In this paper I address the question of the optionality of OS. Basing my argumentation on a survey I argue that OS is optional in Swedish, and that this optionality – as well as certain tendencies that will be discussed below – is related to prosodic properties of the lexical items involved in the construction. Although important, prosody does not trigger OS; what causes the pronoun to appear in the middle field is a general propensity for element representing old and/or thematic information to move leftwards in the sentence.

My paper is organized as follows: In section 1 I introduce some key features of OS. In section 2 I present the result of the survey on the grammaticality of shifted and "unshifted" sentences in Swedish. In section 3 I sketch the outlines of an analysis of OS based on prosodic properties and information structure. Section 4 contains a short summary.

1. Some key features of Object Shift

Object shift has been the subject of a vivid discussion in the literature, and its main properties are presumably well known. In this section I introduce some key features that are important for the points I make in this paper.

Object shift – the displacement of a weak object to the left of its canonical position – applies in all the Scandinavian languages. OS is restricted by what is usually referred to as Holmberg's generalization, which means that OS takes place only when all verbs have evacuated the VP (cf. Chomsky 1995: 352; for a definition of Holmberg's generalization, and Holmberg 1999). Consequently, in Swedish (and in the rest of the Mainland Scandinavian languages), OS is

restricted to simple tense main clauses (with one exception, see below). Furthermore, OS does not affect complements of prepositions or objects of verb particles:[1]

(2) a *Anders spelade honom inte med. cf. Anders spelade inte med honom.
Anders played him not with

b *Anders sparkade den inte ut. cf. Anders sparkade inte ut den.
Anders kicked it not out.

OS of pronouns is possible in all the Scandinavian languages. In addition, OS of full DP objects is possible in Icelandic. In the rest of this paper I will concentrate on Swedish; hence the term Object Shift will refer exclusively to pronominal OS (unless otherwise is stated). All examples will be from Swedish.

Object Shift comes in two versions. The type just described is sometimes called Short Object Shift. In Long Object Shift a weak object pronoun appears between the verb in C^{o} and a subject in Spec TP; see (3) for an example: [2]

(3) Det här lärde mig Maria igår.
this here taught me Maria yesterday
Maria taught me this yesterday.'

Both Short and Long OS will be discussed below.

2. Is OS obligatory or optional?

Even though OS has been discussed vividly the last 25 years, the optionality of OS has not been scrutinized in a serious way. In some cases researchers seem to resort more to stipulations than to empirical investigations when this question is discussed – maybe because optionality has been notoriously difficult to accommodate in a generative framework. For instance, in Chomsky (1993) it is assumed that OS applies generally to all objects, overtly or covertly. Holmberg (1991: 156) claims that OS is more or less obligatory in Swedish. Josefsson

[1] In Danish OS applies also in verb – particle constructions; importantly the order between verb particle and verb is the opposite in Danish, as compared to Swedish; hence the verb particle follows the object in Danish.

[2] For a more thorough discussion on Long Object Shift, see Holmberg (1986) and Josefsson (1992, 1993).

(1992) makes the same assumption. The underlying problem of optionality is of course how to define weak pronouns – such pronouns are more easily discerned in languages where strong and weak pronouns/clinics have distinct forms – this is not the case in the Scandinavian languages. In order to get an operative definition of weak pronouns Josefsson (1992) simply stipulates that weak object pronouns are object pronouns that have undergone OS. Consequently, OS is obligatory for weak pronouns. Such definitions are of course circular and devoid of all value.

In order to determine if OS is optional or obligatory in Swedish, 26 native speakers of Swedish were asked to assess the grammaticality of a set of 20 sentences containing shifted as well as non-shifted alternatives of the same sentences (see the Appendix).[3] All informants were native speakers of Swedish coming from different parts of Sweden and Finland. All were familiar to grammaticality judgment procedures; the majority of the informants were also trained linguists. In order to ensure that the informant's intuitions were not affected by any ongoing discussions about OS, linguists, who were known by the investigator to have worked previously on OS or who had been involved in the discussion around OS, were excluded from the investigation.[4]

The questionnaire contained two (in some cases three) examples of each sentence type, the only difference being that the weak object pronoun was *in situ* in one of the examples, but not in the other(s). In order to ensure that the pronouns in the test sentences were construed as weak by the informants, i.e. representing old and/or thematic information, the test examples contained at least two sentences, the test sentence plus one or two sentences providing context. Consider the Appendix for more details.

The informants were given the following instruction (my translation): "The best way is probably to read the sentences aloud, so that you can adapt your stress pattern. However, the parts in italics should consistently be unstressed".

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[3] Due to a technical error nine of the informants were never asked to assess sentences with a topicalized verb. See more below.

[4] In Josefsson (2003) the problems of linguists loosing their native language intuition when working a particular construction are discussed, a phenomenon that Josefsson (2003) termed "the ballerina syndrome".

Consider (4) for an example of a test sentence:[5]

(4) Jag tror faktiskt inte att hon är där. **Man ser ju** ***henne*** **inte**.
I believe in-fact not that she is there. One sees JU her not.
'I don't actually believe that she is there. One can't see her!'

The informants were asked to assess the wellformedness of the test sentences by using one of the five grades *, *?, ??, ? or OK. The grades were explained in the following way:

(5) Grammaticality grading

* helt ogrammatiskt	'completely ungrammatical'
?* icke välformat, men något bättre än *	'not well-formed, but slightly better than *'
?? mycket tveksamt	'very odd'
? något tveksamt	'slightly odd'
OK helt OK	'completely OK'

In order to work statistically with the data I applied the following principles of conversion:

(6) Principles of conversion

* = 0 p
*? = 1 p
?? = 2 p
? = 3 p
OK = 4 p

Let us now take a closer look at the results.

2.1 Shifted and unshifted monotransitive constructions

Our first example is OS in monotransitive sentences. In (7a and c) the pronoun is the monosyllabic ***den*** (it.common) 'it' and in (7b and d) the disyllabic ***honom*** 'him'. (7a), where OS has applied, should be compared to its unshifted

[5] Since there is no direct English counterpart to the particle ***ju*** it is simply glossed as JU. By using ***ju*** in a declarative sentence the speaker conveys an expectation that the listener already has knowledge about the facts that are presented, and also agrees with the speaker's point of view. The closest English translation would probably be 'as we know'.

counterpart in (7c), and the shifted example in (7b) should be compared to the unshifted example in (7d):

(7) Shifted and unshifted monotransitive sentences with one sentence adverbial

a Det låg en orm på stigen. Mannen såg den inte. Och därför
it lied a snake on path.the. man.the saw it not. and therefore

blev han biten. (Ex. 2)[6]
was he bitten
'There was a snake on the path. The man didn't see it. And for this reason he was bitten.'

b Han är en riktig diva. Jag gillar honom inte. (Ex. 16)
he is a real diva. I like him not
'He is a virtual diva. I don't like him.'

c Det låg enorm påstigen. Mannen såg inte den. Och därför blev
it lied a snake on path.the. man.the saw not it. and therefore was
han biten. (Ex. 7)
he bitten
'There was a snake on the path. The man didn't see it. And for this reason he was bitten.'

d Han är en riktig diva. Jag gillar inte honom. (Ex. 12)
he is a real diva. I like not him.
'He is a virtual diva. I don't like him.'

The informants' grammaticality judgments are shown in Table 1 below. (The informants are numbered from A to Z.)

Ex.	Sequence	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	M	m
(7a)	*den inte*	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	4	4	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3,8
(7b)	*honom inte*	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	3,8
(7c)	*inte den*	4	4	4	0	3	3	4	0	4	3	3	3	4	3	4	2	4	2	2	1	4	2	4	1	4	4	3	2,9
(7d)	*inte honom*	4	4	4	0	4	4	4	2	3	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	4	3	4	4	4	1	4	4	4	3,5

Table 1. Grammaticality of shifted and unshifted monotransitive sentences with one sentence adverbial. M = median, m = arithmetic mean value.

[6] The example number given after the examples refeRS to the numbering in the questionnaire.

Even though the shifted examples (7a) and (7b) received a higher arithmetic mean value, 3,8 for both, it is worth pointing out that nine of the 26 informants considered all four sentences above completely grammatical (shaded cells). Only 4 informants (cells marked by horizontal lines) differentiated between the two variants in a clear way, i.e. gave 0 or 1 (corresponding to * or ?*) to one of the alternatives while grading the other as 3 or 4 (corresponding to ? or OK). 7 informants preferred the shifted order *honom inte* (him not) over *inte honom*, while 4 informants preferred *inte honom* over *honom inte*. For *inte den/den inte* the picture is clearer; 13 informants preferred the shifted *den inte* (it.common not) over the unshifted alternative *inte den*, although one informant, informant A, made the opposite judgment.

Assuming a level of significance at $p \leq 0.05$, only the difference between *den inte* and *inte den* is significant ($p=0.0016$).[7] For *honom inte* vs. *inte honom* (ex. 17) no significant difference was found ($p=0.175$). If shifted vs. non-shifted monotransitive sentences i.e. (7a) + (7b) vs. (7c) + (7d) are compared, the difference is significant ($p=0.0011$). Speaking in more informal terms we may assume that there is a tendency: shifted sentences are preferred, but a difference is statistically significant only for sentences with the weak object pronoun *den* (it.common) 'it'.

Another set of sentences that involves monotransitive sentences is shown in (8). In (8a) the object pronoun precedes two sentence adverbials, in (8b) the pronoun appears between the two sentence adverbials, and in (8c) it remains *in situ*, i.e. in a non-shifted position:

(8) Shifted, halfway shifted and (fully) shifted monotransitive sentences with two sentence adverbials.

a Jag tror faktisktinte att hon är där. Man ser henne
I believe in-fact not that she is there. One sees her
ju inte. (Ex. 9)
JU not
'I don't believe, in fact, that she is there. One can't see her.'

b Jag tror faktiskt inte att hon är där. Man ser ju henne inte. (Ex. 1)

[7] The test used to calculate significance is "t-Test: Paired Two Sample for Means".

c Jag tror faktiskt inte att hon är där. Man ser ju inte henne. (Ex. 6)

The grammaticality judgments are shown in Table 2 below:

Ex.	Sequence	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	M	m
(8a)	*henne ju inte*	4	4	4	4	4	1	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	3	3	2	3	2	1	0	0	4	4	3	4	4	3,12
(8b)	*ju henne inte*	3	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	1	3	3	4	4	4	1	4	3	4	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	3,5
(8c)	*ju inte henne*	1	2	4	1	3	3	4	3	4	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	2	1	4	2	3	2	4	4	3	3,04

Table 2. Grammaticality of shifted and unshifted monotransitive sentences with two sentence adverbials. M = median, m = arithmetic mean value.

Even though (8b) received a higher arithmetic mean value than the others, the difference between the informants' assessments is not significant. For (8a) vs. (8b) p= 0.187; for (8b) vs. (8c) p= 0.117; for (8c) vs. (8a) p= 0.808.

2.2 Clauses with bitransitive verbs

The canonical order between direct and indirect objects in Swedish is indirect object > direct object. Three of the test sentences were of this type:

(9) Shifted and unshifted sentences with ditransitive verbs.

a. I sin bokhylla hittade mannen den poesibok som han hade köpt
in refl bookshelf found man.the the poetry-book that he had bought

till flickvännen. Men han gav henne den inte. (i bet. 'Han
to girl-friend.the but he gave her it not. (mean(ing) 'he

gav inte boken till sin flickvän.') Han hade nämligen ångrat
gave not book.the to refl girlfriend') he had namely regretted
sig. (Ex. 5
refl
'In his bookshelf the man found the poetry book that he had bought for his girlfriend, but he didn't give it to her; he had changed his mind.'

b. men han gav henne inte den. (Ex. 18)

c. men han gav inte henne den. (Ex. 19)

Table 3 shows the results of the grammaticality judgments of (9a)–(9c):

Ex.	Sequence	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	M	m
(9a)	*henne den inte*	4	4	4	1	4	1	4	4	4	4	4	0	2	4	1	2	3	3	3	1	0	2	4	4	3	4	3,5	2,85
(9b)	*henne inte den*	2	4	4	0	4	4	4	4	4	2	3	4	3	4	3	4	4	4	3	1	3	1	4	0	4	4	4	3,12
(9c)	*inte henne den*	4	0	4	0	4	4	4	3	3	2	3	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	1	3	4	2	3	0	4	4	3	2,96

Table 3. Grammaticality of shifted and unshifted ditransitive sentences with one sentence adverbial. M = median, m = arithmetic mean value.

As Table 3 shows, both the median and the arithmetic mean value point out the order indirect object > sentence adverbial > direct object as the preferred one. The second best choice appears to be when both objects remain *in situ*, and the least liked one is when both objects shift. Neither mean values are significant though; for (9a) vs. (9b) p=0.423; for (9b) vs. (9c) p=0.527; for (9a) vs. (9c) p=0.776. Hence, we conclude that OS is optional for bitransitive verbs.

It has been suggested in the literature that the reversed order of objects, direct object > indirect objects, is grammatical in Swedish (cf. Holmberg 1986: 207, Josefsson 1992: 73, Hellan & Platzack 1999: 131–132). This order of arguments seems to be rejected by the informants in the present study. Consider the examples:

(10) Shifted and unshifted sentences with ditransitive verbs, direct object > indirect object

a. I sin bokhylla hittade mannen den poesibok som han hade
in refl bookshelf found man.the the poetry-book that he had

köpt till flickvännen. Men han gav den henne inte. (i bet. 'Han
bought to girl-friend.the but he gave it her not. (mean. 'he

gav inte boken till sin flickvän.') Han hade nämligen
gave not book.the to refl girlfriend') he had namely

ångrat sig. (Ex. 13)
regretted refl

'In his bookshelf the man found the poetry book that he had bought for his girlfriend, but he didn't give it to her; he had changed his mind.'

b. men han gav den inte henne. (Ex. 15)

c. Men han gav inte den henne. (Ex. 11)

Table 4 shows the informants' assessments of (10a–b):

Ex	Sequence	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	M	m
(10a)	*den henne inte*	1	1	0	0	2	0	4	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0,81
(10b)	*den inte henne*	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,31
(10c)	*inte den henne*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,12

Table 4. Grammaticality judgments of shifted and unshifted ditransitive sentences with one adverbial. M = median, m = arithmetic mean value.

What Table 4 shows is that the order direct > indirect object cannot be considered grammatical in Swedish. However, it was accepted by a few informants, at least to some degree; only one informant considered one of the alternatives to be OK (= 4 p) (informant G, for the order in (10a)). We may also conclude that there seems to be different degrees of ungrammaticality; full shift of both objects in (10a), i.e. when both objects appear to the left of the sentence adverbial, was considered the least ungrammatical option of the three, and the alternative where both objects remain *in situ* is the worst case. If we compare the judgments shown in Table 4, we find that the difference between (10a) and (10b) is not significant (p=0.114), for (10b) vs. (10c) p=0.3634. However, the difference between (10a) and (10c) is significant, p= 0.0169.

2.3 Long Object Shift

There were two examples of Long Object Shift in the material, i.e. sentences where the weak object pronoun appears between the verb in C^{o} and a subject in a non-initial position.

(11) Long object shift with the verb *möta* 'meet' (11a) vs. the non-shifted alternative (11b)

a. I hallen mötte *honom* en hemsk syn. Den stora kistan var
in hall met him a horrifying sight. the big chest was

borta! (Ex. 3)
gone
'A horrifying sight met him in the hallway. The big chest was gone.'

b. I hallen mötte en hemsk syn honom. (Ex. 8)

(12) Long object shift with the verb *slå* 'strike'+ the non-shifted alternative

a. I det ögonblicket slog henne en skrämmande tanke. Hon hade
in that moment stroke her a frightening thought. she had

nog glömt dra ur sladden till strykjärnet. (Ex. 10)
probably forgotten pull out cord.the to iron
'In that moment she was struck by a frightening thought. She had probably forgotten to pull out the chord to the iron.'

b. I det ögonblicket slog en skrämmande tanke henne. (Ex. 14)

Consider Table 5, which shows the grammaticality judgments of LOS with the verb *möta* 'meet'.

Ex	Sequence	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	M	m
(11a)	*mötte honom* SU	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	3	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	3,81
(11b)	*mötte* SU *honom*	3	2	3	0	2	1	3	1	3	3	3	4	4	2	3	4	3	3	2	3	4	2	4	2	4	3	3	2,73

Table 5. Grammaticality judgements of Long Object Shift with the verb *möta* 'meet'. M = median, m = arithmetic mean value.

The informants considered (11a), i.e. the shifted alternative, to be significantly better than the unshifted alternative (p=0.00034).

Now consider LOS with the verb *slå* 'strike':

Ex.	Sequence	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	M	m
(12a)	*slog henne* SU	3	4	4	4	2	1	4	4	4	4	3	2	4	4	3	2	2	4	3	1	2	2	3	4	1	4	3	3
(12b)	*slog* SU *henne*	4	2	3	0	3	1	4	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	1	3	4	4	4	2	4	4	4	3,31

Table 6. Grammaticality judgments of Long Object Shift with the verb *slå* 'strike'. M = median, m = arithmetic mean value.

The difference between the mean value of the shifted and the non-shifted alternatives for the verb *slå* 'strike' in (12) is smaller than the corresponding figures for the verb *möta* 'meet' in (11); the difference is not significant (p=0.342). A tentative conclusion is that Long OS is optional for those verbs that allow it. Whether the shifted or unshifted variant is preferred seems to be at least to a certain extent a lexical question, i.e. dependent on the verb.

2.4 Object shift in verb fronting construction

The analysis proposed in Holmberg (1999) relies on the grammaticality of OS in main clauses with auxiliaries – provided the main verb moves to a sentence initial position. There is one example of this type in the questionnaire.

(13) Object shift with topicalized verb:

a. Kysst har han henne inte. Bara hållit försiktigt i handen. (Ex. 19)
kissed has he her not. just held lightly in hand.the
'He hasn't kissed her. Just held her hand lightly.'

b. Kysst har han inte *henne*. (Ex. 20)

The informant's intuitions about the grammaticality of examples such as (13a) and (13b) went in different directions: Nine informants accepted (13a), i.e. graded the sentence as OK or ?, whereas five informants graded it as * or ?* (i.e. considered it very odd or completely ungrammatical). Seven informants (out of 17) gave the two alternatives the same grade, whereas nine considered (13b) less grammatical than (13a); only one informant did the opposite, and graded (13b) as better than (13a).

Ex	Sequence	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	M	m
(13a)	*kysst … henne inte*	0	4	2	0	3	4	4	3	4	2	4	0	2	1	4	4	1	3	2
(13b)	*kysst … inte henne*	0	0	3	0	3	4	4	2	2	0	3	0	0	1	1	2	0	1	1

Table 7. Grammaticality judgments of Object Shift in verb fronting constructions. M = median, m = arithmetic mean value.

The arithmetic mean value for (13a) is 2, whereas it is only 1 for (13b). The difference between (13a) and (13b) is significant (p=0.0066). It is difficult to draw any definite conclusions as to the grammaticality of verb fronting in general – the picture is extremely scattered – but it seems as though simultaneous OS "helps up" the grammaticality of the construction. In a sense this reverses on of the ideas in Holmberg (1999): it is not verb fronting that makes OS possible in sentences with an auxiliary, it is OS that licenses verb fronting.

3. The role of case, information structure, and phonology

Object shift is defined as an operation that allows a weak object pronoun to appear in the middle field, i.e. to the left of one or more sentence adverbials. Why does this happen? And why can only weak object pronouns undergo OS in the Mainland Scandinavian languages? In this section I will attempt to give some new perspectives on the phenomenon.

First of all: Why are pronouns special – why do not full DP objects move? First of all, it is generally accepted that pronouns are the only nominals in Mainland Scandinavian that have morphological case, which allows them to appear in positions where other nominals are banned. This explanation, launched already in Holmberg (1986), provides an answer as to why only pronouns shift in Mainland Scandinavian, while also full DPs may undergo OS in Icelandic; in Icelandic also full DPs have morphological case.[8]

Another question is why a pronoun such as *den* (it.common) 'it' is more apt to appear to the left of sentence adverbials, as compared to *honom* 'him' (see section 2.1 above). This difference is unexpected if morphological case was the only clue to the story of OS.[9] In my view, this observation shows that we need to direct our attention to the phonological properties of pronouns, in particular to prosody – not because prosody triggers movement, but because prosody propagates or restricts movement.[10] One important feature of all weak,

[8] The idea that case is what blocks OS of full DPs leaves unexplained why OS of full DPs is not available in Faroese, and seems to have been absent or at least uncommon in Old Swedish. To account for this I will have to assume that morphological case in Faroese and Old Swedish is different from case in Icelandic, and not being able to exhaustively licence DPs.

[9] Another argument against case being the trigger for object shift is the fact that also weak selected adverbials such as *där* 'there' in the context of the verb *bo* 'live' may move (cf. Josefsson 1992):

(i) Därför bor Sten där inte längre.
therefore lives Sten there no longer
'Therefore Sten doesn't live there any more.'

(ii) *Därför bor Sten i Lund inte längre.
therefore lives Sten in Lund not longer

[10] See also e.g. Erteshik-Shir (2005, 2010) for analyses of OS in phonological terms.

Hosono (2010) aims at explaining OS in purely prosodic terms. She hypothesizes that "an object pronoun moves to cause downstep" (p. 28). In my view it is unclear exactly what it

unstressed personal pronouns is that they have – or may have – the same prosodic properties as inflection. In order to understand the importance of this we shall first take a look at the word accent system of Swedish.

Swedish has two word accents patterns, accent 1 and accent 2. The two accent patterns have a phonemic status, and the accent pattern may distinguish two meanings, for instance the accent 1 word *´anden* 'the duck' from the accent 2 word *`anden* 'the ghost'. Accent 2 is generally the accent used for bi- and multisyllabic words, whereas accent 1 is typically used for monosyllabic words. In general, affixation to a monomorphemic word will cause a change of accent pattern, and give the new, more complex word, an accent 2 contour. Inflectional suffixes such as the plural suffix have this effect, as well as the past tense suffix and the majority of the derivational suffixes:

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means to assume that an (often) optional element of a clause needs to move in order to give rise to a particular prosodic countour. Another problem of Hosono's approach is that it takes only subject-initial sentences into account; hence OS is explained as a verb – object relation. OS applies equally well to sentences where a subject intervenes between the finite verb and pronoun. The subject may even itself contain a prosodic phrase, for instance an attributive PP, cf. (i). Adverbials too may intervene beween the verb and the weak pronoun, cf. (ii):

(i) Staden var välbevakad. Därför brandskattade Valdemar Atterdag från
city.the was well.guarded. therefore plundered Valdemar Atterdag *from*
Danmark den inte.
Denmark it not
'The city was well guarded. Therefore V.A. from Denmark did not plunder it.

(ii) Staden var välbevarad, och därför brandskattade den danske kung
city-the was well.kept, and therfore plundered the Danish king
Valdemar Atterdag troligen den inte.
Valdemar Atterdag probably it not.
'The city was well preserved, and therefore the Danish king V.A. probaby did not plunder it.'

One of the main points of my article is that even though a verb *in situ* blocks OS, a weak object pronoun does not lean prosodically on the verb, but on its closest host to the left.

Another argument against Hosomi's approach is that it does not take the optionality of OS into consideration; as shown above OS is optional in Swedish.

The idea to investigate the prosodic properties of OS is most probably on the right track, though, and also to consider dialectal and other prosodic variations. However, it remains to be shown exactly in what way and to which extent such variation and OS relate.

(14) a *dam* 'lady' (accent 1) *damer* 'ladies' (accent 2)
b *sy* 'sew' (accent 1) *sydde* 'sewed' (accent 2)
c *saft* 'juice' (accent 1) *saftig* 'juicy' (accent 2)

There are some exceptions to the generalizations illustrated in (14). Certain types of inflection do not cause a shift of accent on monosyllabic words: the definite suffix in the singular on monosyllabic nouns and the present tense suffix on second conjugation verbs are two examples. The same holds for the diminutive suffix *-is*.[11]

(15) a *dam* 'lady' (accent 1) *damen* 'the lady' (accent 1)
b *stek* 'fry' (accent 1) *steker* 'fries' (accent 1)
c *dag* 'day' (accent 1) *dagis* 'daycare center' (accent 1)
d *dagiset* 'the daycare center (accent 1)

We may conclude that affixation does not always give rise to shift from accent 1 to accent 2. What is particular about weak object pronouns is that they in certain respects behave like a non-accent shifting affix. The cluster consisting of a monosyllabic verb and a weak object pronoun makes up a prosodic word; the first syllable (the verb) receives stress and the second syllable (the object pronoun) is unstressed; the constituent as a whole has accent 1. This is illustrated in (16):

(16) a Damen såg den inte. *såg den*: [ˊsoːgdən]
lady.the saw it.common.sg not Accent 1
'The lady didn't see it.'

b Därför såg damen den inte. *damen den*: [ˊbɑːɳətdən]
therefore saws lady.the it.common.sg not Accent 1
Therefore the lady didn't see it.

The "cluster" *såg den* in (16a) has the same prosodic contour as *damen* (lady.the) 'the lady' in (15a). Also *damen den* (child.the it.common) 'the lady it' in (16b) has accent 1, which means that the prosodic contour of *damen den* in (16b) is the same as that of *dagiset* (day.IS.the) 'the daycare center', in (15d), which has accent 1, consisting of a stressed syllable followed by two unstressed

[11] Another derivational suffix that does not give rise to an accent shift is the diminutive *-o,* as in *fett-o* (fat-O) 'fatso'.

syllables. The similarity between host + weak object pronoun and accent one words can be discerned only if the host for the object pronoun – the verb or the subject – has accent 1. If the host has accent 2 no accent shift will take place.

The idea is that a weak object pronoun is inflectional, from a prosodic point of view. The host for the object pronoun can be a verb, but also the last word of a DP subject, or an adverbial. If the subject is in a sentence initial position, as in (16a), the finite verb is normally the host, and if another constituent occupies Spec CP, the subject will serve as host for the object pronoun. If the subject in Spec IP is followed by an adverbial, this adverbial will be the host of the weak object pronoun.

The proposed analysis has much in common with the cliticization analyses of object shift, such as the ones proposed in Dimitrova-Vulchanova & Hellan (1991), Holmberg (1991), and Josefsson (1992, 1993), but the crucial difference is that the object is never assumed to cliticize onto the verb specifically or the verb chain.[12],[13] Instead the object pronoun cliticizes to any type of host that it finds to its left.[14] The assumption that OS could be explained in terms of the object pronoun cliticizing onto the verb or being dependent on the verb chain, which has been suggested in the literature, is probably a misinterpretation due to the observation that a weak object pronoun cannot appear to the left of a verb.[15]

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[12]Josefsson (1992) suggests, for instance, that a weak object pronoun may piggy-back on the verb and excorporate when the verb lands in I^o. From a theoretical point of view excorporation should not be ruled out, but OS is not an instance of excorporation. The mistake in Josefsson (1992) was to assimilate object shift with cliticization of the Romance type; it is probably much better to compare OS to scrambling in German.

[13] See also Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) for a discussion on the distinction between strong pronouns, weak pronouns and clitic pronouns.

[14] There is another type of clitic in Modern Swedish that is also free to cliticize on any other type of host, namely the the genitive marker *-s*. There seems to be consensus in the literature that this element is not a case marker but a syntactically free, but phonologially bound element, which cliticizes to the last word of a noun phrase.

[15] Within generative theory this restriction, called Holmberg's generalization (Holmberg 1986, 1999), is usually described in terms of movement: a weak object cannot bypass a verb. In my view it is not obvious that Holmberg's generalization is best formulated in terms of the verb blocking the weak object pronoun. As will be proposed below, it is probably better to describe the restriction as due to the result being an ungrammatical OV-configuration. It is not only weak object pronouns that are banned from movement to the middle field when a verb is left in the VP – all types of movement that result in an OV-configuration are ungrammatical in Swedish. See Josefsson (2010) for more discussion.

However, the fact that OS is not possible if the verb remains in the VP (Holmberg's generalization) is better explained by other, independent principles to which we shall return below.

The constituent *såg den* in (16a) consists of two syllables, one stressed and one unstressed. The corresponding constituent in (16b), *damen den*, has three syllables. One stressed syllable followed by two unstressed ones works fine in Swedish, but if too many unstressed syllable are stacked after each other, the derivation deteriorates – for simple phonological reasons. This might happen if the verb is disyllabic or more and/or the object pronoun is disyllabic. This, I claim, is why disyllabic pronouns, such as *henne* 'her' and *honom* 'him' are more "apt" to remain *in situ* (or at least what appears to be *in situ*), whereas monosyllabic object pronouns, such as *den* (it.common) 'it' are more inclined to appear in a shifted position (see 2.1 and 2.2 above). Speaking less technically, a monosyllabic pronoun is prosodically lighter, and is therefore more readily realized as inflection. There is no example of shifted and unshifted examples with *det* (it.neuter) 'it' or *dem* 'they' in the questionnaire, but we expect that these pronouns will behave as *den*.

The reason why informants disagree when assessing the test sentences could perhaps have to do with how natural the sentences sound, i.e. how likely we are to hear them in actual speech. Sentences such as those in (16) seem to be fairly natural; however, also a sentence such as (17) must be considered grammatical in my view, even though the stressed syllable *-mod-* in *förmodligen* is followed by no less than four unstressed syllables:

(17) Därför såg damen förmodligen honom inte.
therefore saw lady.the probably him not
'Therefore the lady probably didn't see him.

Note that the whole sequence *(för)modligen honom* is one prosodic word, [før´mu:dlɪgənhɔnɔm] pronounced with accent 1 (*förmodligen* is an accent 1 word, due to the prefix *för-*.)[16]

The issue is further complicated by the fact that some sentence adverbials, for instance *inte* 'not', seems to be able to acquire the same prosodic properties as

[16] The sequence *förmodligen honom inte* gave only three hits on Google, and *förmodligen henne inte* four hits.

described above for object pronouns. Hence, in a non-shifted example, such as (18) below, the sequences *såg* + *inte*, and *Bo* + *inte*, both have accent 1, which indicate that they are words, from a prosodic point of view:[17]

(18) a Bo såg inte den. såg inte [ˊso:gɪntə]
Bo saw it not Accent 1
'Bo didn't see it.'

b Därför såg Bo inte den. Bo inte [ˊbu:ɪntə]
therefore saw Bo it not Accent 1
'Therefore Bo didn't see it'

There is another property of the negation that has to be taken into consideration (which also might suggest a slightly different analysis). The Swedish negation *inte* 'not' is often reduced to a monosyllabic [ntə], which probably makes it even more inclined to cliticize prosodically onto its host to the left.[18] (To what extent this holds for other sentence adverbials remains to be investigated.) If this is correct either an object pronoun or a sentence adverbial, in particular the negation *inte*, could cliticize to its closest host to the left. However, both negation/sentence adverbial and object pronoun cannot cliticize simultaneously – they have to be assigned a linear order. Since disyllabic pronouns are heavier than monosyllabic ones, i.e. contain more syllables, they are more apt to stay in what appears to be *in situ*.[19],[20]

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[17] It might even be the case that the whole sequence *såg inte den* is a prosodic word. The intuition that *den* receives a slight amount of stress in this configuration could probably be explained as due to the tendency of rythmic alternation, see fn 20.

[18] It is often claimed that OS of pronouns is obligatory, or at least more obligatory, in Danish, as compared to Swedish. It could perhaps be fruitful to investigate whether these tendencies/restrictions are related to the pronounciation of the negation *ikke*, which clearly have different prosodic properties as well as rules for reduction, as compared to the Swedish negation *inte*. If the possibility of having weak object pronouns *in situ* in Swedish is related to the possibility of allowing the negation to be reduced to prosodic inflection, then it might be expected that OS is obligatory in language varieties where the negation cannot be reduced or realized as prosodic inflection. Also the prosodic profiles of object pronouns, which differ among the Scandinavian languages, have to be taken into consideration, as well as the general prosodic contour of sentences.

[19] "True" clitics, such as *'n* för *honom* 'him' and *'na* for *henne* 'her' provide even more arguments for the clitic status of object pronouns. These clitics may integrate prosodically on their closest host to the left.

Before closing this subsection a few words about the trigger for OS needs to be said. The proposed analysis explains why only weak object pronouns can undergo OS in the Mainland Scandinavian languages, not full DP objects: only pronominal objects have morphological case; hence they can survive without structural case. But why do objects move optionally? From the discussion in this paper it is evident that weak pronouns can indeed stay *in situ*, i.e. take any type of element to the left as their host.[21] The trigger of OS is probably a fundamental property of the language, a property that Swedish shares with the other Germanic languages and also the Romance languages. We know from work on information structure that there is a general propensity for backgrounded or given elements to move to the middle field; I claim that OS is due to this propensity, and so is scrambling of arguments and adverbials in German. The propensity in question correlates to Gundel's (1988:229) "given before new" principle, as well as Newmeyer's (1998:122) "thematic first explanation" (see also see Herring 1990:164, Molnár 2003, and Hinterhölzl and Petrova 2010 for

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(i) Boris såg'na'nte nåt mer.
Boris saw'her'not any more
'Boris didn't see her any more.'

(ii) Sen såg Boris'na'nte nåt mer.
then saw Boris'her'not any more
'After that Boris did'nt see her any more.'

The proper name *Boris* has accent 1. As expected the sequences *såg'na'nte* in (i) and *Boris'na'nte* in (ii) are prosodic words with one stressed syllable, *såg* and *Bo-*, and accent 1 contour.

[20] A weak object pronoun *in situ*, for instance in a sequence such as *inte den* 'not it', receives what might be conceived of as a slight amount of stress. However, it is not necessarily the case that this is focus stress; a sequence of unstressed syllables is subject to rhytmic alternation, normally expressed as differences in duration of the vowel (Engstrand 2004, 208f). It is important to keep this in mind, in order not to take rhytmic alternation to be focus induced stress, and consequently not draw the erroneous conclusion that weak pronouns left *in situ* always carry some kind of focus/stress.

[21] From a theoretical point of view, we cannot rule out the possibility that the sentence adverbial and the weak object pronoun both raise to the middle field, and that object pronoun that appears to be left *in situ,* for example in (17b*),* is in fact string adjacent to the sentence adverbial in the middle field.

more discussion). Weak object pronouns typically represent thematic or old information; leftwards movement of such elements to the middle field is expected.

If we assume that the trigger for OS is some version of Gundel's "given before new"-principle, why does a verb left in the VP block leftwards movement of the weak object pronoun? My answer is not an answer to this particular question; instead I resort to a much more pervasive principle of the language, which, however, is not yet fully understood: the directionality parameter. The verb doesn't block only weak pronouns, no object of any type, neither pronominal objects nor full DP objects, may "bypass" the verb ("Holmberg's generalization"), prepositions, or verb particles, since that would give rise to an OV constituent order (unless the object lands in a sentence-initial position). Swedish, being a VO-language does not allow OV. Furthermore, Swedish has prepositions not postpositions and the verb particle precedes the object.[22] The OV vs. VO parameter is a huge question complex, which cannot be investigated in this paper. However, if an adequate explanation to the OV vs. VO directionality parameter is given, then the question inherent in Holmberg's generalization dissolves.

In short: objects (and other elements) that represent old information objects have a tendency to move to the middle field, due to a general propensity for weak, but not strong, objects may undergo OS in the Scandinavian languages, since only elements that convey thematic/old information move to the middle field. Only pronominal objects may undergo object shift, since they are the only nominals endowed with morphological case.

4. Conclusions

The main conclusions from the discussion above are that OS is optional in Swedish, and that there is a great deal of variation between informants. Thus, it follows from the first conclusion that it is incorrect to claim that OS is

[22] The directionality parameter seems to hold in the IP-VP domain. Hence, if a verb particle is moved to Spec CP object shift may take place, as expected. In a similar way, OS is fine in Swedish with verb particle constructions if the verb particle belongs to the very small group of particles that take their complements to the left (as in Danish). See Josefsson (2010) for further discussion.

obligatory in Swedish. However, we might conjecture that OS could be obligatory for some speakers of Swedish. Such a conclusion does not follow directly from the data presented in this study – thorough investigations have to be pursued in order to confirm or reject such a supposition – but results from the survey indicate that this could well be the case. Some informants seem to consistently prefer shifted alternatives, whereas others prefer the non-shifted ones. From a theoretical point of view, this questions the possibility of getting answers to broad and general questions such as "Is OS obligatory in Swedish?". The results of this study bring focus on the question of optionality.

Grammaticality judgements vary among informants. It might be that finer instruments for evaluating grammaticality judgments can be worked out, but a reasonable assumption is that there will always be areas where speaker's intuitions vary – even between extreme values such as "completely acceptable" and "completely ungrammatical". Since intuitions concerning OS vary to such a large extent it is imperative that researchers on OS define very carefully the object for their study: If the purpose is to understand OS within the internal grammar of one certain individual, for instance in order to find out how grammaticality judgements on this construction interplay with grammaticality judgements of other constructions, it is fine to use data from only one single speaker. However, if a researcher wants to investigate the status of OS in Swedish, it is not enough to appeal to grammaticality judgments from one single speaker, not even data from a handful of speakers will suffice – more thorough investigations are needed, where a broader range of data is taken into consideration.

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Appendix: The questionnaire

Bästa informant!
Jag vore mycket tacksam för hjälp med bedömning av några meningar, d.v.s. om de är välformade eller inte. De aktuella meningarna är svärtade. Resten är bara kontext, som ska göra meningarna lättare att tolka. Markera med någon av följande symboler före varje mening.

* helt ogrammatiskt
?* icke välformat, men något bättre än *
?? mycket tveksamt
? något tveksamt
OK helt OK

Det bästa sättet är nog att läsa upp meningarna högt, så att man kan anpassa sin betoning. Kursiverade led ska dock genomgående vara obetonade. Naturligtvis garanteras du anonymitet.

1 Jag tror faktiskt inte att hon är där. **Man ser ju *henne* inte**.

2 Det låg en orm på stigen. **Mannen såg *den* inte.** Och därför blev han biten.

3 **I hallen mötte *honom* en hemsk syn.** Den stora kistan var borta!

4 **Inte gillade *hon honom*.** Men nog kunde hon fördra hans närvaro under en kortare tid.

5 I sin bokhylla hittade mannen den poesibok som han hade köpt till flickvännen. Men **han gav *henne den* inte**. (i bet. 'Han gav inte boken till sin flickvän.') Han hade nämligen ångrat sig.

6 Jag tror faktiskt inte att hon är där. **Man ser ju inte *henne*.**

7 Det låg en orm på stigen. **Mannen såg inte *den*.** Och därför blev han biten.

8 **I hallen mötte en hemsk syn *honom*.** Den stora kistan var borta!

9 Jag tror faktiskt inte att hon är där. **Man ser *henne* ju inte.**

10 **I det ögonblicket slog *henne* en skrämmande tanke.** Hon hade nog glömt dra ur sladden till strykjärnet.

11 I sin bokhylla hittade mannen den poesibok som han hade köpt till flickvännen. Men **han gav inte *den henne*.** (d.v.s. 'Han gav inte boken till sin flickvän.')) Han hade nämligen ångrat sig.

12 Han är en riktig diva. **Jag gillar inte *honom*.**

13 I sin bokhylla hittade mannen den poesibok som han hade köpt till flickvännen, men **han gav *den henne* inte.** (d.v.s. 'Han gav inte boken till sin flickvän.') Han hade nämligen ångrat sig.

14 **I det ögonblicket slog en skrämmande tanke *henne*.** Hon hade nog glömt dra ur sladden till strykjärnet.

15 I sin bokhylla hittade mannen den poesibok som han hade köpt till flickvännen, men **han gav *den* inte *henne*.** (i bet. 'Han gav inte boken till sin flickvän.') Han hade nämligen ångrat sig.

16 Han är en riktig diva. **Jag gillar *honom* inte.**

17 I sin bokhylla hittade mannen den poesibok som han hade köpt till flickvännen, men **han gav inte *henne den*.** (i bet. 'Han gav inte boken till sin flickvän.') Han hade nämligen ångrat sig.

18 I sin bokhylla hittade mannen den poesibok som han hade köpt till flickvännen, men **han gav *henne* inte *den*.** (i bet. 'Han gav inte boken till sin flickvän.') Han hade nämligen ångrat sig.

19 **Kysst har han *henne* inte.** Bara hållit försiktigt i handen.
20 **Kysst har han inte *henne*.** Bara hållit försiktigt i handen.

Tack för din medverkan!

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On Icelandic Object Shift*

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Abstract

In this paper I discuss Icelandic Object Shift from the perspective of the Icelandic intonational properties. I firstly show that the arguments based on the Mapping Hypothesis (Diesing 1992, 1997) make a wrong prediction for the applicability of Object Shift, and argue that Object Shift should be dealt with as a movement phenomenon different from full NP shift. Then I introduce the experiment carried out to observe the intonational properties of the constructions relevant to Icelandic Object Shift and present the experimental data. I propose a new hypothesis on Icelandic Object Shift: a weak object pronoun moves to avoid lengthening. On the basis of the hypothesis I present an account of Holmberg's Generalization for Icelandic Object Shift as follows: when a focus-accented main verb moves, a weak object pronoun moves to avoid lengthening and eliminate the focal effect on itself. When a weak object pronoun can avoid lengthening in situ, e.g. in complex tense forms in which its main vowel can be shortened after a focus-accented main verb in situ, it does not move. Comparing Icelandic Object Shift with Swedish Object Shift, I argue that they are caused by different factors.

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1. Introduction

The Scandinavian languages have a movement phenomenon called *Object Shift* OS, in which an object pronoun moves out of VP (Holmberg 1986, 1999)[1]:

(1) a. Jag kysste henne inte. (Swe.)
I kissed her not
'I didn't kiss her.'

b. Jag kysste henne inte [$_{VP}$ kysste henne]
(Holmberg 1999:1,(1))

In Danish, Icelandic, and most varieties of Norwegian an object pronoun cannot be left if it is unstressed and simple, whereas in most of the Swedish dialects and some of the Norwegian varieties an object pronoun can be stranded even if it is weak.[2] An object pronoun can move when a main verb moves too (2a). When a main verb does not move, an object pronoun cannot move either, see (2b). Verb movement does not occur in embedded clauses (2c), in which OS does not occur either. The fact that only when a main verb moves, an object pronoun can move too is called *Holmberg's Generalization* (Holmberg 1986).

(2) a. Jag kysste (^{OK}henne) inte [$_{VP}$ kysste ($^{(OK/*)}$henne)]. (Swe.)
I kissed her not her
'I didn't kiss her.'

b. Jag har (*henne) inte [$_{VP}$ kysst (^{OK}henne)].
I have her not kissed her
'I haven't kissed her.'

[1] In this work the terminology *Object Shift* is used to refer to pronominal shift only. I refer to movement of noun phrases as full NP shift.

[2] See Josefsson (2003) for an argument for optional Swedish OS based on a quantitative investigation.

c. … att jag (*henne) inte [$_{VP}$ kysste (^{OK}henne)]
that I her not kissed her
'… that I didn't kiss her'
(Holmberg 1999:1,(1a-c))

Icelandic differs from the other Scandinavian languages in two points. First, Icelandic has main verb movement in embedded clauses, in which OS takes place:

(3) … að hann þekki hana ekki [$_{VP}$ þekki hana]. (Ice.)
that he knows her not
'… that he doesn't know her'
(Holmberg and Platzack 1995:144,(6.7))

Second, it is widely claimed that strong object pronouns and full NPs can optionally move in Icelandic (4a), whereas they cannot move in the other Scandinavian languages (4b).[3]

(4) a. Jón keypti (^{OK}HANN/^{OK}bók Chomskys) ekki (^{OK}HANN/^{OK}bók Chomskys). (Ice.)
Jón bought it book Chomsky's not it book Chomsky's
'Jón didn't buy IT/Chomsky's book.'
(Holmberg 1986:229,(205c-f))

b. Dom känner (*HONOM/*Gunnar) alla (^{OK}HONOM/^{OK}Gunnar). (Swe.)
they know him Gunnar all him Gunnar
'They all know HIM/Gunnar.'
(Holmberg 1986:223,(193,d))

Full NP shift is subject to Holmberg's Generalization. In complex tense forms (5), which contain an Aux, a main verb does not move. A full NP cannot move either.

[3] But see Nilsen (1997), who claims that full NP shift is not impossible in the Scandinavian languages other than Icelandic, and Josefsson (2003) for an argument against this claim.

(5) Jón hefur (*þessa bók) aldrei lesið (^{OK}þessa bók). (Ice.)
Jón has this book never read this book
'Jón has never read this book.'
(Thráinsson 2007:31,(2.26a-b))

Since OS and full NP shift share the property that they are subject to Holmberg's Generalization, attempts have been made to provide a unified account for them. In many accounts it is widely (and tacitly) assumed that the object that is new to the discourse and/or focused remains inside VP, whereas the object that is old information and/or defocused moves out of VP (*The Mapping Hypothesis*, Diesing 1992, 1997). The arguments based on the Mapping Hypothesis, however, make a wrong prediction concerning the applicability of OS, as we see below. In Hosono (2010) I suggest the possibility that the presence of OS in Swedish is closely related to the intonational properties of the language. In this paper I discuss Icelandic OS from the perspective of the Icelandic intonational properties by presenting experimental data of the constructions relevant to OS. I propose a new hypothesis on Icelandic OS and provide an account of Holmberg's Generalization for Icelandic OS on the basis of the hypothesis. I argue that Icelandic OS is caused by factors different from those that cause Swedish OS.

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2 I show that the arguments based on the Mapping Hypothesis (Diesing 1992, 1997) make a wrong prediction for the applicability of OS. I argue that OS should be dealt with as a movement phenomenon different from full NP shift. In section 3 I introduce the phonological properties of Icelandic. I also introduce the experiment carried out to observe the intonational properties of the constructions relevant to Icelandic OS and present the experimental data. In section 4 I propose a new hypothesis on Icelandic OS on the basis of the literature (Árnason 1999, Gussmann 2002): a weak object pronoun moves to avoid lengthening. On

the basis of the hypothesis I provide an account of Holmberg's Generalization for Icelandic OS. In section 5 I compare Icelandic OS with Swedish OS. I argue that they are caused by different factors. In section 6 I conclude this paper.[4]

2. Previous accounts of Icelandic Object Shift

It is widely claimed that a shifted full NP is interpreted as specific and/or old information, whereas a non-shifted full NP can be interpreted as new information and/or focused in the unmarked case. In (6a) *Stríð og frið* 'War and Peace' appears in question A and is the topic in answer B. Being old information, that phrase is easily fronted. In (6b), on the other hand, the same phrase has not appeared in question A. It is part of a focused predicate in answer B and cannot move.

(6) a. A: Þekkir Jón Stríð og frið? (Ice.)
knows Jón War and Peace
'Does Jón know War and Peace?'

B: Já, hann les (^{OK}Stríð og frið) alltaf (?Stríð og frið) í fríinu sínu.
yes he reads W&P always W&P in vacation-the his
'Yes, he always reads War and Peace in his vacation.'

b. A: Hvað gerir Jón í fríinu sínu?
what does Jón in vacation-the his
'What does Jón do in his vacation?'

---

[4] In Icelandic expletive construction, an argument may be located in different positions:
i) Það hefur (^{OK}einhver köttur) verið (^{OK}einhver köttur) í eldhúsinu.
there has some cat been some cat in the-kitchen
'There has been some cat in the kitchen.'
(Vangsnes 2002:44,(1))
I do not discuss movement of NPs in expletive construction in this paper.

B: Hann les (*Stríð og frið) alltaf (^{OK}Stríð og frið).
he reads W&P always W&P
'He always reads War and Peace.'
(Thráinsson 2007:76,(2.107-108))

Based on these facts, Diesing (1992) proposes the Mapping Hypothesis, which claims that the object that is focused and/or new information remains inside VP whereas the object that is specific and/or old information moves out of VP. Specifically, an indefinite NP tends to be interpreted as new information and remains inside VP (7a); it may move, when it is defocused due to focalization of the main verb (7b). An in-situ definite NP is awkward for its familiar status and must move out of VP; this awkwardness improves when it receives a contrastive interpretation (8). An indefinite pronoun must stay inside VP for its novel and new status (9). A definite pronoun is specific in its inherent nature; it must move out of VP (10).

(7) a. Hann las (*bækur) ekki (^{OK}bækur). (Ice.)
he read books not books
'He didn't read books.'
(Diesing 1997:412,(71a-b))

b. Ég LES bækur ekki …
I read books not
'I don't READ books (, but only BUY them).'
(Diesing 1997:412,(71d))

(8) Jón keypti (^{OK}bókina) ekki ($^{*?}$bókina). (Ice.)
Jón bought the-book not the-book
'Jón didn't buy the book.'
(Diesing 1997:416-417,(78,80))

(9) Jeg har ingen paraply, men jeg køper (*en) muligens (^{OK}en) i morgen. (Nor.)
I have no umbrella but I buy one possibly one tomorrow
'I have no umbrella, but I will possibly buy one tomorrow.'
(Diesing 1997:413,(74-75))

(10) Hann las (^{OK}þær) ekki (*þær). (Ice.)
he read them not them
(Diesing 1997:413-414,(76))

The Mapping Hypothesis has been assumed so far in many accounts of OS and full NP shift (Diesing 1992, 1997; Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Holmberg 1999; Chomsky 2001; Sells 2001; Vikner 2001; Fox and Pesetsky 2005; Erteschik-Shir 2005a,b; Broekhuis 2008; among others). Since OS and full NP shift are both subject to Holmberg's Generalization, the account that can unify OS and full NP shift has been sought (e.g. Collins and Thráinsson 1996, Diesing 1997, Chomsky 2001).[5]

Chomsky (2001) presents an account of OS within the phase theory.[6] According to Chomsky, only when the difference in interpretation is reflected on the semantic interface, is the EPP that triggers movement (or the second merge) assigned to a phasal head. The relevant phasal head here is the functional head of a verbal category, v*. Assuming that *Marit* in (11a) is interpreted as focus and/or new information in its original position, whereas *henne* in (11b) is interpreted as defocused and/or old information, Chomsky argues that the former remains inside VP (12a), whereas the latter moves from inside VP to [Spec,v*P] due to the EPP assigned to v* (12b).

(11) a. Jag kysste inte Marit. (Swe.)
I kissed not Marit
'I didn't kiss Marit.'

[5] But see Bobaljik and Jonas (1996), who discuss full NP shift separating it from OS.
[6] See Chomsky (2001) for detailed derivational mechanisms within the phase theory.

b. Jag kysste henne inte.
I kissed her not
'I didn't kiss her.'

(12) a. … [$_{v*P}$ inte [$_{v*P}$ v* [$_{VP}$ kysste Marit]]]

b. … [$_{v*P}$ inte [$_{v*P}$ henne [$_{v*P}$ v* [$_{VP}$ kysste henne]]]

In (12b), the negation *inte* is merged after movement of an object pronoun; a main verb vacates to a higher position. Thus, movement of an object pronoun to [Spec,v*P] is string-vacuous: it does not affect the order of the preceding negation and the following object pronoun. Movement of an object pronoun to the position between a main verb and the negation where it is actually pronounced is claimed to be a PF-movement.

The accounts on the basis of the Mapping Hypothesis predict that the object pronoun that is familiar and presupposed in the discourse could not remain in situ. OS in some Scandinavian varieties is optional and a weak object pronoun can appear in the position following the negation, as illustrated in (2a). Due to the assumption of a string-vacuous movement to [Spec,v*P], however, the phase system can cover not only the case of a moved object pronoun but also that of an unshifted object pronoun, which makes this system tenable for this prediction.

The other prediction is that the object pronouns that carry new information and/or focus could not move. They can actually move, however. As we saw in section 1, strong object pronouns can optionally move. They are assigned phonological prominence, the properties of which we turn to later, and they can receive the interpretation of focus by themselves, e.g. by being contrastively focused. In addition, shifted weak object pronouns, though they are not assigned phonological prominence, can carry part of new information and/or

focus (Engdahl 1997; Sells 2001; Hosono 2006, 2007):

(13) a. *Sentence-focus*:
What's up? – [$_{Foc}$ John always kisses me (in presence of others!)].
i) ^{OK}Jan kysser mig alltid. (Swe.)
Jan kisses me always
ii) ^{OK}Jan kysser alltid mig.

b. *Predicate-focus*:
What did John always do? – He always [$_{Foc}$ kissed me].
i) ^{OK}Han kysste mig alltid.
he kissed me always
ii) ?Han kysste alltid mig.

A typical case of sentence-focus (13a) is the answer to 'out-of-the-blue' questions such as 'what happened?', in which nothing is presupposed. The answer contains only new information: the entire answer sentence carries the focus (Lambrecht 1994). The subject *John* is already presented in the question (13b). The answer sentence has a topic-comment structure in which the subject is a topic and the predicate carries the focus, making a comment on the subject (Lambrecht 1994). In both of these cases the object pronoun *mig* can move across a sentential adverb (i.e. *alltid*). It might be argued that object pronouns such as the first person are the most salient in the discourse, which enable them to move. However, the first speaker who makes a question does not need to know in advance the contexts such that the adressee and John love each other, etc. In that sense those object pronouns can fully carry part of new information in the contexts above. The same applies to Icelandic[7]:

[7] Judgment of Icelandic is made by Halldór Á. Sigurðsson (p.c.).

(14) a. *Sentence-focus*:
What's up? – [$_{Foc}$ John always kisses me (in presence of others!)].
i) ^{OK}Jón kyssir mig alltaf. (Ice.)
Jón kisses me always
ii) *Jón kyssir alltaf mig.

b. *Predicate-focus*:
What did John always do? – He always [$_{Foc}$ kissed me].
i) ^{OK}Hann kyssti mig alltaf.
he kissed me always
ii) *Hann kyssti alltaf mig.

The fact that OS applies not only when an object pronoun is defocused and/or is old information but also when it carries (part of) new information and/or focus indicates that the semantic effects that are imposed on an object pronoun itself are not decisive for its movement and the trigger of OS cannot be attributed to them. This further indicates that OS should be dealt with as a different type of movement than full NP shift, where a new interpretation different from the one in the original position is always produced for a moved NP: a shifted full NP is always interpreted as specific and/or old information, whereas a non-shifted full NP is interpreted as new information and/or focused in the unmarked case, as we saw above.[8]

3. The intonational properties of Icelandic Object Shift

In this section I introduce the intonational properties of Icelandic, and present experimental data of the constructions relevant to Icelandic OS. Icelandic does not have the kind of word tones observed in Swedish and Norwegian (Árnason 1999). Word stress is almost obligatorily located on the first syllable. Weak final

[8] The argument here does not provide an account for the fact that full NP shift is subject to Holmberg's Generalization in the same way as OS, as illustrated in (5). I leave this for future research.

vowels often disappear when the next word starts with a vowel (Dehé 2006). Icelandic has several peculiar phonological properties, among which is preaspiration (Árnason 1999, Gussmann 2002). Icelandic plosives are either aspirated or unaspirated, but are not aspirated after sonorants such as vowels. The sequence of geminated plosives and the plosive followed by a sound like [l] and [n] appear as 'a preaspirated plosive which itself is unaspirated' (Gussmann 2002:55), which results in the insertion of [h] before the plosive. Thus, the negation *ekki*, which is a typical diagnosis of the presence or absence of OS but a weak sentential element, is pronounced with preaspiration as [ehki].

Another peculiar phonological property of Icelandic is found in the compounding process (Árnason 1999, Gussmann 2002). The rhythmic pattern of combined words is arranged by reducing the secondary stress of the first element and maintaining the primary stress of the second element. Thus, *ˈforustˌa*[9] 'leadership' + *ˈsauður* 'sheep' results in *ˈforustuˌsauður* 'leading sheep', in which the secondary stress of the first element is reduced and the primary stress of the second element is kept as the secondary stress of the entire compound. The vowel of the first syllable of the first element may or may not maintain its length, but that of the second element does not keep its length. Thus, *gler* [klɛ:r] 'glass' + *auga* [œi:ɣa] 'eye' results in *glerauga* [klɛ:rœiɣa] 'glass eye', in which the long vowel of the first element is maintained. *Haf* [ha:v] 'ocean' + *gola* [kɔ:la] 'breeze' results in *hafgola* [havkɔla] 'sea breeze', in which the long vowel of the first element is not kept any longer. The long vowel of the second element, on the other hand, is maintained in neither of the cases.

The pitch accent system of Icelandic is similar to that of English (Árnason 1999). Phrasal accent is located on the rightmost constituent in the unmarked case. Declarative sentences are realized by either H*L or L*H, and downstep is observed in both patterns (Dehé 2006, 2009). The domain in which

[9] 'ˈ' shows the location of the primary stress, and 'ˌ' that of the secondary stress.

downstep occurs in Icelandic is an intonational phrase, normally a sentence. Downstep is interrupted and upstep, which makes a following H higher than the preceding H in turn, occurs until a focused element appears. Contrastive and non-contrastive foci are realized by either H*L or L*H, in the latter of which pitch often maintains its height until it falls in sentence-final position. The property that characterizes the Icelandic intonational system is that the focus of a sentence is realized by focus accent as well as lengthening of either vowels or consonants (Árnason 1999, Gussmann 2002). Vowels are lengthened when they are either i) word-final, e.g. *frí* [fri:] 'holiday', ii) followed by only one consonant, e.g. *von* [vɔ:n] 'hope (noun)', which may be followed by another vowel, e.g. *vona* [vɔ:na] 'to hope (verb)', or iii) followed by a consonant cluster consisting of [p,t,k,s] and [v,j,r], e.g. *nepja* [nɛ:pja] 'cold weather'.

I carried out an experiment to observe the intonational properties of the constructions relevant to Icelandic OS. The constructions investigated are simple tense forms with (15a) or without (15b) OS, complex tense forms (15c), and embedded clauses (15d). In (15a) an object pronoun is either weak or strong; in (15b) it is strong. *Verb Topicalization* (15e), a contrastive verb-focus construction in which a past participle moves to sentence-initial position and OS also occurs, was added due to the theoretical significance related to this construction (Holmberg 1999, Chomsky 2001).

(15) a. Simple tense forms with OS:
E.g. Ég keypti hann ekki. / Ég kyssti HANA ekki
I bought it not I kissed her not
'I didn't buy it.' 'I didn't kiss HER.'

b. Simple tense forms without OS:
E.g. Ég kyssti ekki HANA.
I kissed not her
'I didn't kiss HER.'

c. Complex tense forms:
E.g. Ég hef ekki séð hann.
I have not seen it
'I haven't seen it.'

d. Embedded clauses:
E.g. Ég sagði að ég kyssti hana ekki.
I said that I kissed her not
'I said that I didn't kiss her.'

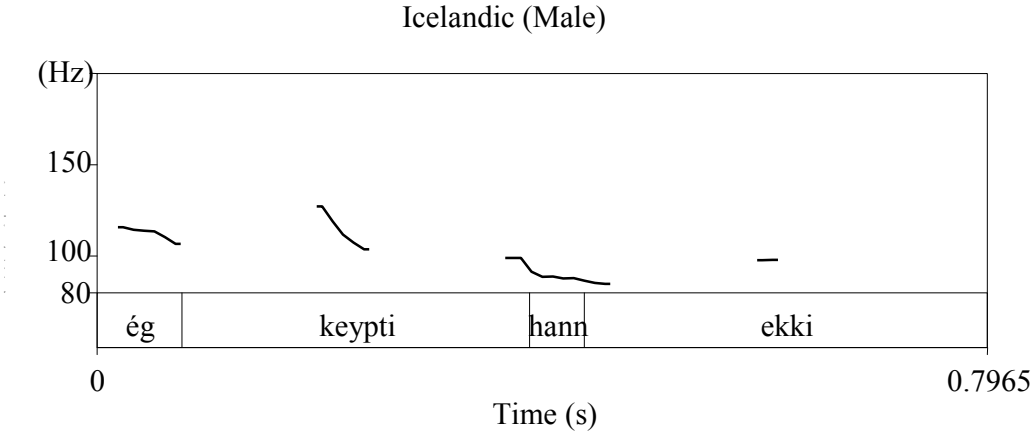
e. Verb Topicalization (Holmberg 1999):
E.g. Kysst hef ég hana ekki.
kissed have I her not
'I haven't KISSED her.'

Test sentences contain either a monosyllabic pronoun (e.g. *hann* 'it') or a disyllabic pronoun (e.g. *hana* 'her'). On the basis of the literature on information structure (Lambrecht 1994, Vilkuna 1995, Kiss 1998), appropriate contexts were built with a question and the answer, the latter of which corresponds to each relevant construction: e.g. polarity-focus: *keyptir þú bílinn?* (bought you the-car 'did you buy the car?') – *nei, ég keypti hann ekki* (no I bought it not 'no, I didn't buy it'). See Appendix for the material used. Data were collected from two male speakers. They were asked to read each question-answer pair in an appropriately rapid speech, in such a way as they speak in real-life conversation. One speaker rejected the Verb Topicalization construction (as well as simple tense forms without OS of weak object pronouns) as awkward. The other speaker was asked to read all sentence forms, some of which were taken as reference data. PRAAT was used for recording, and each sentence pair was recorded five times.[10]

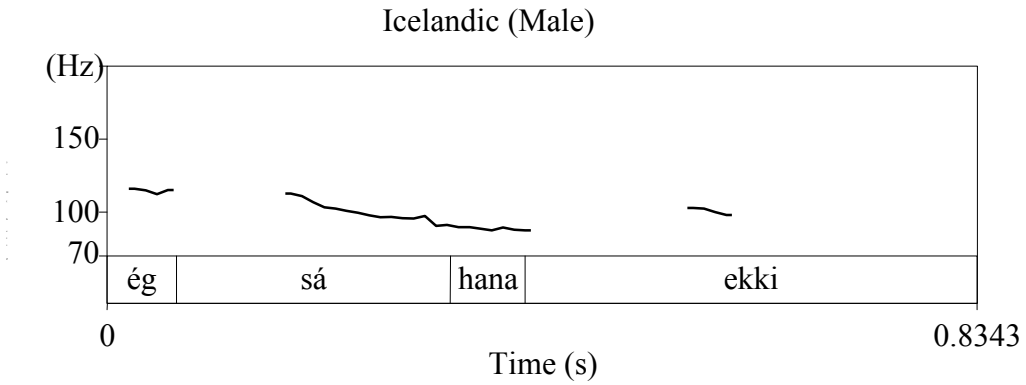
[10] See Hosono (2010) for the details of the experiment concerning Swedish OS. There, test sentences for female informants were slightly different from those for male informants in order to trigger more real imagination and natural reading.

The pitch picture of simple tense forms with OS of weak object pronouns is typically represented by (16). A main verb is focus-accented. In the case of monosyllabic object pronouns (16a) pitch extraordinarily lowers from the pitch peak on the first syllable *keyp-* of the main verb *keypti*, through the object pronoun *hann*, to the negation *ekki*. The first syllable *e-* of the negation is pronounced in liaison with the nasal *-nn* of the preceding object pronoun. In the case of disyllabic object pronouns (16b) too pitch lowers (extraordinarily in some cases) from the pitch peak on the main syllable of the main verb *sá*, through the object pronoun *hana*, to the negation. The final vowel *-a* of the object pronoun drops before the initial vowel *e-* of the negation, and the latter is pronounced in liaison with the nasal *-n-* of the object pronoun. In both cases duration of the main vowel of the object pronoun is quite short.

(16) a. Ég keypti hann ekki.
I bought it not
'I didn't buy it.'



b. Ég sá hana ekki.
I saw her not
'I didn't see her.'

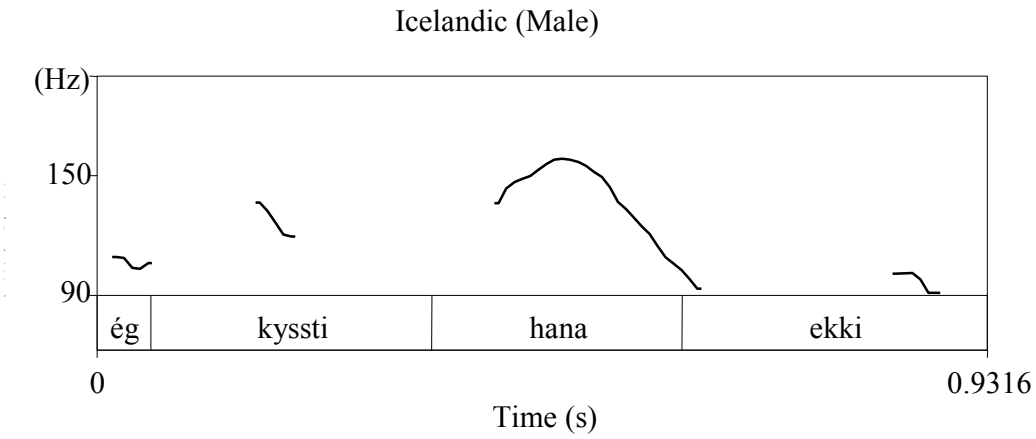


Simple tense forms with OS of strong object pronouns are pronounced in either of two ways. One informant pronounced in such a way that both focus accent and pitch peak come on the first syllable *han-* of the object pronoun *hana*; rise-fall pitch occurs on that first syllable (17a).[11] The other informant pronounced in such a way that focus accent and pitch peak come on the main verb and pitch falls from it to the negation *ekki* (17b). In the utterance of both speakers the vowel of the first syllable *han-* of the object pronoun is lengthened and that of the second syllable *-a* is slightly lengthened too.

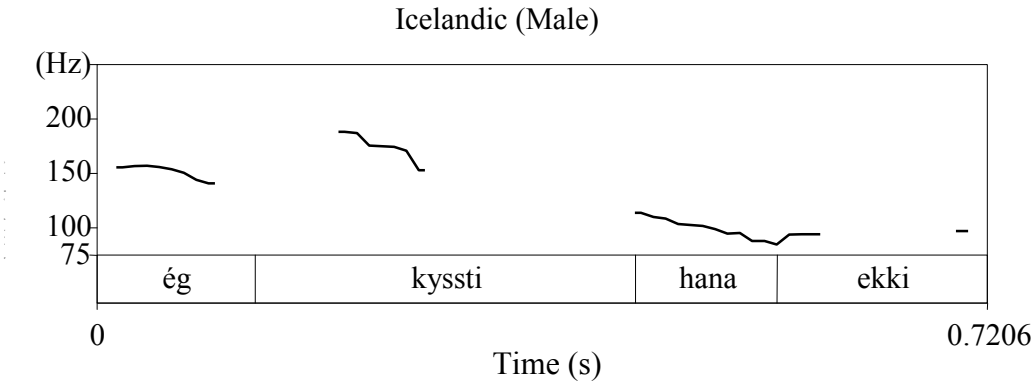
(17) Ég kyssti HANA ekki.
I kissed her not
'I didn't kiss HER.'

[11] This speaker slipped the tongue in all the five recordings. This indicates that the pitch pattern (17a) in which a shifted object pronoun carries the focus accent of a sentence is quite awkward for Icelandic speakers.

a.



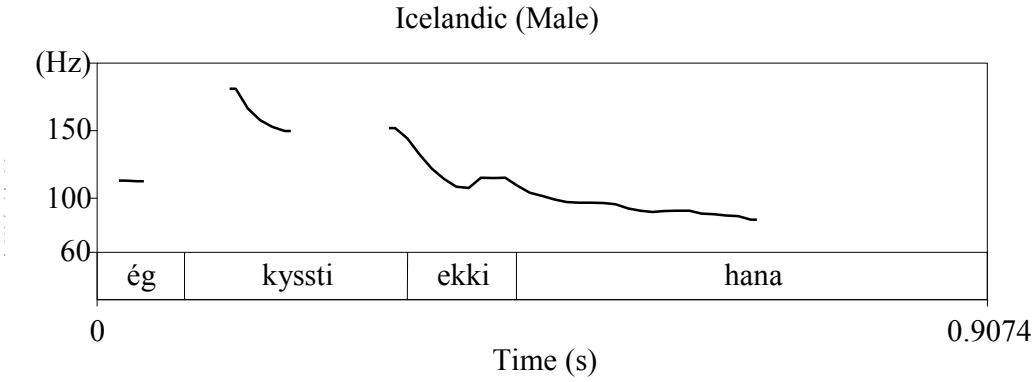
b.



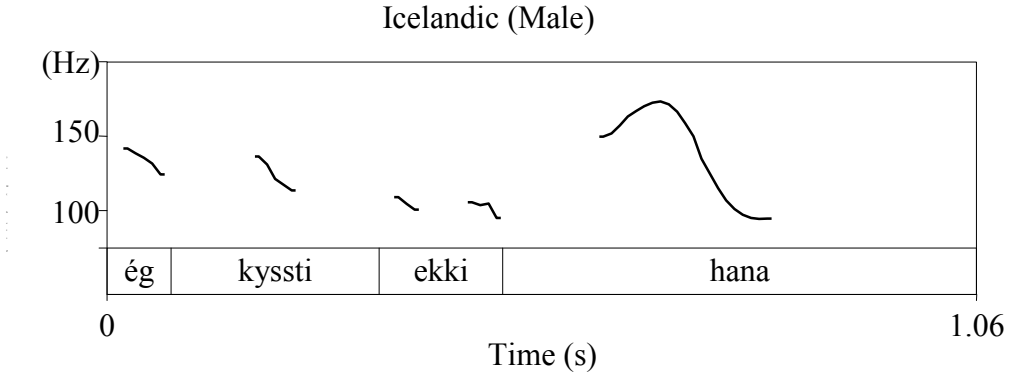
Simple tense forms without OS of strong object pronouns too are pronounced in either of two ways. One speaker pronounced in such a way that focus accent and pitch peak come on the main verb, and pitch falls from it to the sentence-final object pronoun *hana* (18a). The other speaker pronounced in such a way that pitch level is maintained towards the pitch peak that comes on the first syllable *han-* of the object pronoun, on which focus accent is also located (18b). Here too, the vowel of the first syllable *han-* of the object pronoun is lengthened and that of the second syllable *-a* is also lengthened in the utterance of both speakers.

(18) Ég kyssti ekki HANA.
I kissed not her
'I didn't kiss HER.'

a.

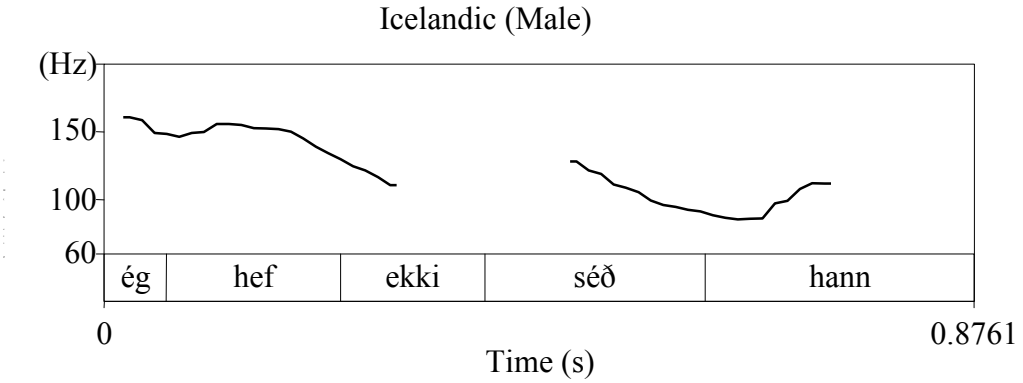


b.



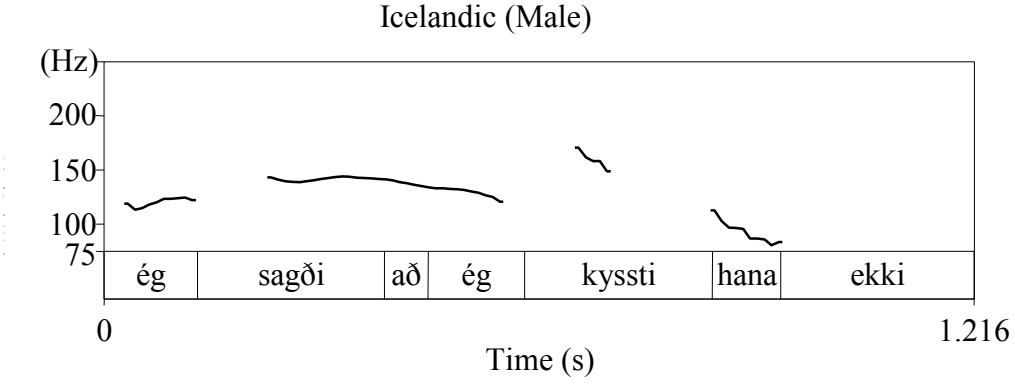
The pitch picture of complex tense forms is typically shown in (19). Pitch peak comes on the main syllable of the Aux *hef* and downstep occurs from it, though focus accent comes on the main syllable of the past participle *séð*. The initial [h] of the object pronoun *hann* is dropped. Duration of the main vowel of the object pronoun is rather short.

(19) Ég hef ekki séð hann.
I have not seen it
'I haven't seen it.'



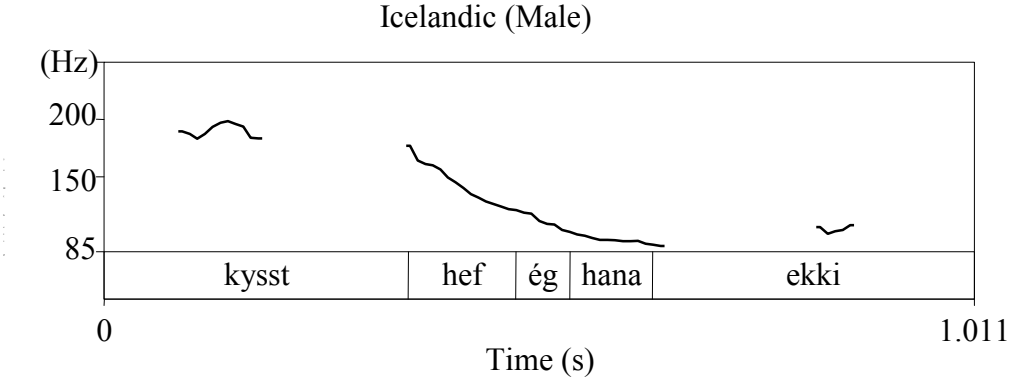
The pitch picture of embedded clauses is typically illustrated by (20). Pitch level is maintained from the first syllable *sag-* of the main verb of a main clause *sagði* to the subject of an embedded clause *ég*. Focus accent and pitch peak come on the first syllable *kyss-* of the main verb of an embedded clause *kyssti*, and pitch extraordinarily falls from it, through the object pronoun *hana*, to the negation *ekki*. Duration of the main vowel of the first syllable *han-* of the object pronoun is quite short, with its final vowel *-a* dropping. The negation is so weak that its segmental sounds are voiceless in some cases, as illustrated below.

(20) Ég sagði að ég kyssti hana ekki.
I said that I kissed her not
'I said that I didn't kiss her.'



Finally, the pitch picture of Verb Topicalization is typically illustrated by (21). Focus accent and pitch peak come on the main syllable of the sentence-initial past participle *kysst*. Pitch extraordinarily falls from the past participle to the negation *ekki*. The final vowel *-a* of the object pronoun *hana* drops before the initial vowel *e-* of the negation, and the latter is pronounced in liaison with the nasal *-n-* of the object pronoun. Duration of the main vowel of the first syllable *han-* of the object pronoun is rather short.

(21) Kysst hef ég hana ekki.
kissed have I her not
'I haven't KISSED her.'



4. Avoidance of lengthening as the cause of Icelandic weak pronoun shift

As introduced in section 3, the remarkable property of the Icelandic intonational system is that the focus of a sentence is realized by focus accent as well as lengthening of either vowels or consonants (Árnason 1999, Gussmann 2002). Thus, focalization of an object pronoun is realized in such a way that it carries the focus accent of a sentence and its main vowel is lengthened. This is illustrated by (17a), in which pitch peak comes on the shifted focus-accented object pronoun *hana* and the vowel of its first syllable *han-* (as well as the final vowel) is lengthened, and by (18b), in which pitch rises towards the

sentence-final focus-accented object pronoun *hana* and the vowel of its first syllable (as well as the final vowel) is lengthened. The data presented in the previous section show that there is another way to produce a focal effect on an object pronoun even when it does not carry the focus accent of a sentence, i.e. by lengthening the vowel of its main syllable. This is illustrated by (18a), in which the vowel of the first syllable *han-* (and the final vowel) of the sentence-final object pronoun *hana* is lengthened, but focus accent and pitch peak come on the main verb *kyssti*. In simple tense forms with OS of weak object pronouns, on the other hand, duration of the main vowel of an object pronoun is rather short, as illustrated by (16a-b). Then, I propose a hypothesis on Icelandic OS as follows:

(22) Icelandic Object Shift:
A weak object pronoun moves to avoid lengthening.

A main verb carries the focus of a sentence and focus accent comes on it in simple tense forms in the unmarked case. An object pronoun can be given a focal effect on itself only by lengthening its main vowel, even when it is not assigned focus accent. Thus, it must move to avoid lengthening and eliminate the focal effect on itself. The same argument applies to the cases of embedded clauses (20) and Verb Topicalization (21). The main verb *kyssti* in an embedded clause carries the focus of a sentence, and focus accent and pitch peak come on it. The contrastively focused past participle main verb *kysst* carries the focus of a sentence in Verb Topicalization, and focus accent and pitch peak come on it. In both cases the focal effect on the object pronoun *hana* must be eliminated by moving it and avoiding lengthening of its main vowel.

A question arises why an object pronoun can avoid lengthening in the shifted position in simple tense forms. Recall the environments in which vowels

are lengthened: when they are either i) word-final, e.g. *frí* [fri:] ‘holiday’, ii) followed by only one consonant, e.g. *von* [vɔ:n] ‘hope (noun)’, which may be followed by another vowel, e.g. *vona* [vɔ:na] ‘to hope (verb)’, or iii) followed by a consonant cluster consisting of [p,t,k,s] and [v,j,r], e.g. *nepja* [nɛ:pja] ‘cold weather’. If an object pronoun is not in any of these environments, lengthening can be avoided. In simple tense forms with OS of weak monosyllabic object pronouns (16a) the first syllable *e-* of the negation *ekki* is pronounced in liaison with the nasal *-nn* of the preceding object pronoun *hann* (23a). In simple tense forms with OS of weak disyllabic object pronouns (16b) the final vowel *-a* of the object pronoun *hana* drops before the initial vowel *e-* of the negation and the latter is pronounced in liaison with the nasal *-n-* of the object pronoun (23b).

(23) a. Ég keypti hann ekki.
[jə k^{h}eft+an+ehki][12]

b. Ég sá hana ekki.
[jə sɔ(w)+an+ehki][13]

In the situations above the main vowel of an object pronoun is not located in word-final position. It is not followed by a specific kind of consonant clusters either. It is followed by one consonant [n] and another vowel [e] of the negation. However, the negation is a weak sentential element and the initial vowel [e] of the negation is little heard in most cases. In addition, the negation is pronounced with preaspiration, which results in [ehki]. This situation yields the environment in which the main vowel of an object pronoun is followed by the consonants, [n],

[12] The ending vowel *-i* of the main verb *keypti* and the initial [h] of the object pronoun both drop.

[13] The initial [h] of the object pronoun drops and a linking sound [w] is inserted between the main vowel of the main verb *sá* and that of the object pronoun.

[h], and [k].[14] I argue that owing to this new environment, an object pronoun can get out of any of the three environments given above and avoid lengthening.[15] Lengthening of an object pronoun can in fact occur in the shifted position as illustrated by (17b), in which the vowel of the first syllable *han-* of the shifted object pronoun *hana* is lengthened with focus accent and pitch peak coming on the main verb *kyssti*. Recall that the vowel of the second syllable *-a* is also maintained in the case of focused object pronouns. This produces the environment in which the main syllable of the object pronoun is followed by the sequence of one consonant [n] and another vowel [a].[16]

It is predicted from the hypothesis above that an object pronoun cannot avoid lengthening of its main vowel in the position following the negation in simple tense forms. This is attested by the data of simple tense forms without OS of weak object pronouns that were read by one speaker as reference data. The context is that an object pronoun is old information and defocused, i.e. 'did you buy the car? – no, I didn't buy it'. Compared with simple tense forms with OS of weak object pronouns (16a-b), the vowel of the main syllable[17] of the monosyllabic object pronoun *hann* (24a) and the vowel of the first syllable *han-* (and the final vowel too) of the disyllabic object pronoun *hana* (24b) are lengthened to a considerable extent. Thus, the fact that lengthening of the main vowel of an object pronoun cannot be avoided in the position following the

[14] The latter two sounds are voiceless in some cases, as illustrated in (20).

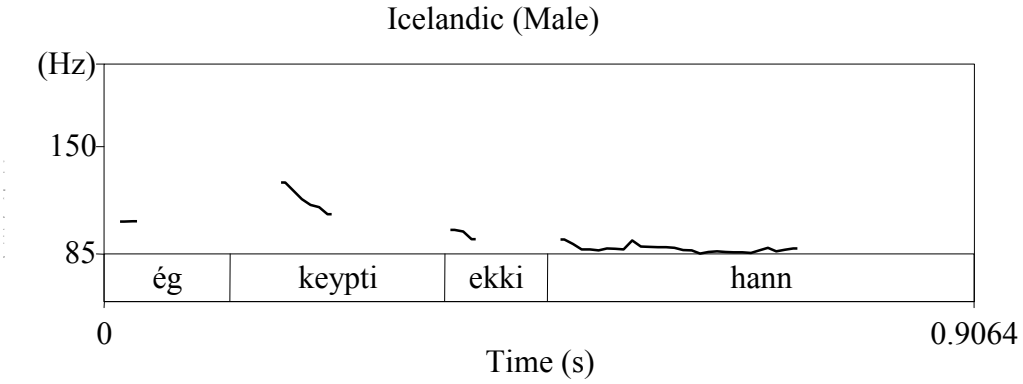
[15] Christer Platzack (p.c.) points out whether the same argument can apply to sentential adverbials other than the negation *ekki*. Detailed phonological properties are not clear for the time being. But when an object pronoun moves across, e.g. *alltaf* 'always' and *aldrei* 'never', the consonant clusters *-llt-* in the former and *-ldr-* in the latter follow the nasal of the object pronoun. This enables the object pronoun to get out of the three environments in which vowels are lengthened.

[16] In the case of monosyllabic object pronouns such as *hann* the nasal following the main syllable is maintained by being lengthened, i.e. [han:]. This yields the environment in which an object pronoun is followed by one consonant [n].

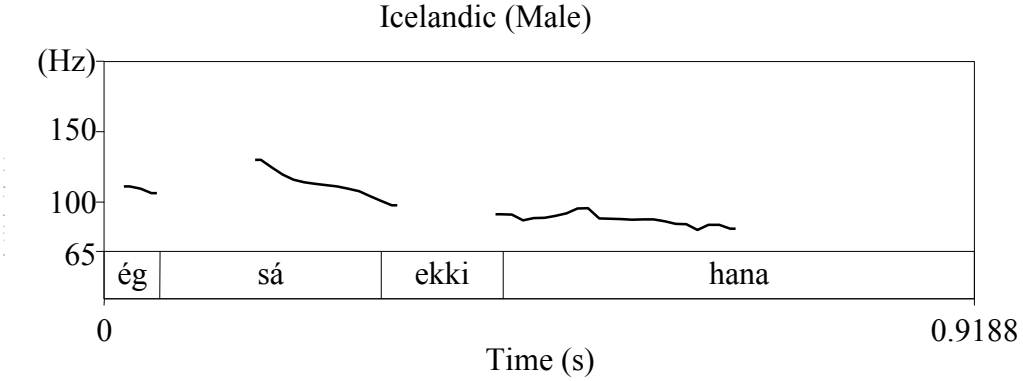
[17] Or the nasal *-nn*. This point does not affect the discussion here.

negation accounts for obligatoriness of Icelandic OS in simple tense forms.[18]

(24) a. Ég keypti ekki hann.
I bought not it
'I didn't buy it.'



b. Ég sá ekki hana.
I saw not her
'I didn't see her.'



Another prediction is that in the situation in which lengthening can be avoided in situ a weak object pronoun does not move. Recall that in complex tense forms (19) duration of the main vowel of the object pronoun *hann* is rather

[18] The reason why the vowel of the main syllable of an object pronoun is lengthened in this position is derived from the property of the Icelandic pitch accent system that phrasal accent is located on the rightmost constituent in the unmarked case.

short in the position following the past participle *séð*. The question is why the main vowel of an object pronoun can be short in this position. Focus accent is located on the preceding past participle. With the initial [h] dropped, the sequence of the past participle and the following object pronoun is pronounced as if they were one word. Recall that in the compounding process the vowel of the first syllable of the first element may or may not maintain its length, but that of the second element does not keep its length, as illustrated by, e.g. *gler* [klɛ:r] 'glass' + *auga* [œi:ɣa] 'eye' = *glerauga* [klɛ:rœiɣa] 'glass eye'. The same situation is produced for the sequence of the past participle and the following object pronoun and the sequence is pronounced like a compound, which enables the main syllable of the in-situ object pronoun to be shortened.[19] Then, I present an account of Holmberg's Generalization for Icelandic OS as follows: when a focus-accented main verb moves, a weak object pronoun moves to avoid lengthening and eliminate the focal effect on itself. When a weak object pronoun can avoid lengthening in situ, e.g. in complex tense forms in which its main vowel can be shortened after a focus-accented main verb in situ, it does not move.

The account of OS in terms of lengthening further provides an account for the difference between obligatory movement of weak object pronouns and optional movement of strong object pronouns in simple tense forms on one hand, and an account for the difference between movement of strong object pronouns and that of full NPs on the other. First, lengthening of the main vowel of an object pronoun can freely take place both in the shifted position (17a) and in the position following the negation (18b). This accounts for optionality of movement of strong object pronouns. Lengthening, on the other hand, cannot be avoided in the position following the negation (24a-b) but can be avoided in the

[19] Lengthening of the main syllable of an in-situ focused object pronoun can freely take place in complex tense forms, as expected.

shifted position (16a-b). This accounts for obligatoriness of movement of weak object pronouns. Thus, the distribution of weak object pronouns in simple tense forms is strictly dependent on the environments in which lengthening can be avoided. Second, a focused full NP needs both focus accent and lengthening to receive the interpretation of focus. Focus accent is most likely assigned in sentence-final position due to the Icelandic intonational property that phonological prominence is assigned the rightmost constituent in the unmarked case. An object pronoun, on the other hand, can be given a focal effect on itself only by lengthening its main vowel, without being assigned focus accent. Thus, movement of focused full NPs is not possible, whereas movement of strong object pronouns can be optional.

5. Comparison with Swedish Object Shift

In Hosono (2010) I argue on Swedish OS that an object pronoun moves and causes downstep. The focus of a sentence is realized by a focal H contour in Swedish (Bruce 1977). The focus of a sentence is carried by a main verb and focus accent is located on it in the construction that has a weak object pronoun in the unmarked case. The focal effect on another sentential element such as a sentential adverbial that could be produced by an additional focal H contour should be eliminated. Hence, an object pronoun moves and causes downstep. This applies to simple tense forms and Verb Topicalization. In the case in which downstep cannot occur, on the other hand, OS does not occur either. This is the cases of complex tense forms in which pitch must rise towards a focus-accented past participle main verb and embedded clauses in which pitch must rise towards a focus-accented main verb. Holmberg's Generalization for Swedish OS is accounted for as follows: when main verb movement takes place, an object pronoun moves and causes downstep to prevent a focal H contour from arising

after a focus-accented main verb. In the environments in which downstep cannot occur, e.g. in complex tense forms and embedded clauses in which pitch must rise towards a focus-accented main verb in situ, OS does not occur either.

We saw in section 3 that downstep occurs in Icelandic declarative sentences in the unmarked case. The data presented in this paper show that downstep occurs regardless of whether OS applies or not. Though contrastive and non-contrastive focus can both be realized by either H*L or L*H in Icelandic, simple tense forms with OS of weak object pronouns are realized by H*L only. This is illustrated by (16a-b), in which a downstep occurs (extraordinarily in some cases) from the focus-accented main verb *keypti* to the negation *ekki*. The same applies to embedded clauses (20), in which pitch sharply falls from the first syllable *kyss-* of the main verb in an embedded clause *kyssti* that carries the focus of a sentence, and Verb Topicalization (21), in which pitch extraordinarily falls from the main syllable of the past participle *kysst* that carries the focus of a sentence. Simple tense forms with OS of strong object pronouns can also be realized by H*L. This is illustrated by (17b), which is uttered in the way that focus accent is located on the first syllable *kyss-* of the main verb *kyssti* and pitch falls from the pitch peak on it. Even simple tense forms without OS of strong object pronouns can be realized by H*L. This is illustrated by (18a), in which the focus accent of a sentence is located on the first syllable *kyss-* of the main verb *kyssti* and pitch peak comes on it. These data convincingly show that Icelandic OS does not occur due to the requirement to cause downstep, and that Icelandic OS and Swedish OS are caused by different factors. This is not surprising, with the difference in the intonational properties between the two languages taken into account. First of all, Icelandic does not have the kind of word tones that exist in Swedish. In addition, Icelandic has many peculiar phonological and intonational properties, as we saw in section 3. The argument made here that a weak object pronoun moves to avoid lengthening

and eliminate the focal effect on itself indicates that a weak object pronoun moves for its own purpose in Icelandic, whereas an object pronoun moves and arranges the information structure of an entire sentence in Swedish.

In Hosono (2010) I suggest that OS is caused by the interaction between syntactic word order, the information structure of an entire sentence, and the intonational properties of the Scandinavian languages. This claim is extended to Icelandic OS too. Icelandic has the intonational property that the focus of a sentence is realized by focus accent as well as lengthening of either vowels or consonants. An object pronoun can be given a focal effect on itself only by lengthening of its main vowel even when it is not assigned a focus accent. To avoid lengthening a weak object pronoun moves in simple tense forms in which a main verb carries the focus of a sentence in the unmarked case. Thus, Icelandic OS cannot be accounted for with any loss of the three factors given above. Furthermore, the argument that a weak object pronoun moves to avoid lengthening of its main vowel indicates that movement of a weak object pronoun is phonologically motivated to a significant extent. OS is then a purely phonological movement, as suggested by Hosono (2010).

6. Conclusion

In this paper I have discussed Icelandic OS from the perspective of the Icelandic intonational properties. I firstly showed that the arguments based on the Mapping Hypothesis make a wrong prediction for the applicability of OS, and argued that OS should be dealt with as a movement phenomenon different from full NP shift. Then I introduced the experiment carried out to observe the intonational properties of the constructions relevant to Icelandic OS and presented the experimental data. I proposed a new hypothesis on Icelandic OS: a weak object pronoun moves to avoid lengthening. On the basis of the hypothesis

I presented an account of Holmberg's Generalization for Icelandic OS as follows: when a focus-accented main verb moves, a weak object pronoun moves to avoid lengthening and eliminate the focal effect on itself. When a weak object pronoun can avoid lengthening in situ, e.g. in complex tense forms in which its main vowel can be shortened after a focus-accented main verb in situ, it does not move. Comparing Icelandic OS with Swedish OS, I argued that they are caused by different factors.

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Appendix: Test Sentences (for Male Informants)

A. Keyptir þú bílinn? – Nei, ég keypti hann ekki.
(Did you buy the car? – No, I didn't buy it.)

A'. Keyptir þú bílinn? – Nei, ég keypti ekki hann.
(Did you buy the car? – No, I didn't buy it.)

B. Hefur þú séð spurningaþáttinn? – Nei, ég hef ekki séð hann.
(Have you seen the quiz show? – No, I haven't seen it.)

C. Sást þú Önnu? – Nei, ég sá hana ekki.
(Did you see Anna? – No, I didn't see her.)

C'. Sást þú Önnu? – Nei, ég sá ekki hana.
(Did you see Anna? – No, I didn't see her.

D. Kysstir þú Önnu? – Nei, ég kyssti ekki HANA. En ég kyssti Hönnu.
(Did you kiss Anna? – No, I didn't kiss HER. But I kissed Hanna.)

D'. Kysstir þú Önnu? – Nei, ég kyssti HANA ekki. En ég kyssti Hönnu.
(Did you kiss Anna? – No, I didn't kiss HER. But I kissed Hanna.)

E. Hefur þú kysst Önnu?
– Kysst hef ég hana ekki. En ég hef haldið í höndina á henni.
(Have you kissed Anna?)
– No, I haven't KISSED her. But I have held her by the hand.)

F. (Imagine the following conversation continues right after E above.)

Hvað sagðir þú? – Ég sagði að ég kyssti hana ekki.
(What did you say? – I said that I didn't kiss her.)

Why Object Shift does not exist in Övdalian*

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Abstract

I discuss the absence of Object Shift in Övdalian from the perspective of the Övdalian intonational properties by presenting experimental data of the constructions relevant to Övdalian non-Object Shift. I argue that the reason why Object Shift does not exist in Övdalian lies in the intonational properties peculiar to this Scandinavian variety that the final H peak occurs on the sentence-penultimate position in the short domains that consist of a main verb and the following weak element(s). I account for the fact that Övdalian is not subject to Holmberg's Generalization as follows: movement of a focus-accented main verb provides the sentence-penultimate position on which the final H peak occurs for the element immediately to its left; this forces weak object pronouns not to move across that element so that they themselves might not occupy the sentence-penultimate position.

1. Introduction

Object Shift OS is a movement phenomenon observed in the Scandinavian languages, where a weak, unstressed object pronoun moves across a sentential

* Many thanks to Christer Platzack and Anders Holmberg for helpful advice and valuable comments and suggestions for this work. Special thanks to Piotr Garbacz for his invaluable help in collecting data from native speakers of Övdalian. I would like to thank the informants who participated in recording (Lund University, December 2009). I take all responsibility for the interpretation of recording data and any errors. I dedicate this work to Gösta Bruce. Without his great interest in and support for this work during my stay in Lund, autumn 2009, it could not appear.

adverb like the negation (Holmberg 1986).[1] Below, the weak object pronouns, *henne* in Swedish (1a), *den* in Norwegian (1b), *ham* in Danish (1c), and *hann* in Icelandic (1d), all move across the negation.

(1) a. Jag kysste henne inte [$_{VP}$ kysste henne]. (Swe.)
I kissed her not
'I didn't kiss her.'

b. Jon sparket den ikke [$_{VP}$ sparket den]. (Nor.)
Jon kicked it not
'Jon didn't kick it.'

c. Peter mødte ham ikke [$_{VP}$ mødte ham]. (Dan.)
Peter met him not
'Peter didn't meet him.'

d. Jón keypti hann ekki [$_{VP}$ keypti hann]. (Ice.)
Jón bought it not
'Jón didn't buy it.'

In Danish, Icelandic, and most varieties of Norwegian OS is obligatory in simple tense forms, whereas in most of the Swedish dialects and some of the Norwegian varieties OS is optional (2a). An object pronoun cannot move when main verb movement does not take place, i.e. in complex tense forms that contain a finite Aux(iliary) verb (2b) and in embedded clauses in which a main verb does not move (2c). This fact is called *Holmberg's Generalization* (Holmberg 1986): OS can occur only when main verb movement takes place.

[1] In this work the terminology *Object Shift* is exclusively used to refer to weak pronoun shift/cliticization. I do not discuss full NP shift observed in Icelandic in this paper.

(2) a. Jag såg *den* inte. Jag såg inte *den*. (Swe.)
I saw it not I saw not it
'I didn't see it.'

b. Jag har inte sett *den*. *Jag har *den* inte sett.
I have not seen it I have it not seen
'I haven't seen it.'

c. … att jag inte såg *den* *… att jag *den* inte såg
that I not saw it that I it not saw
'… that I didn't see it.'

Though (either obligatory or optional) OS is observed in most of the Scandinavian languages/dialects, OS never occurs in Övdalian (or the Älvdalen dialect of Swedish) even when verb movement takes place (Hellan and Platzack 1999, Garbacz 2009).[2] The fact that OS does not exist in Övdalian was first pointed out by Levander (1909:124): '[n]egationen *inte* sättes alltid före objektet' ('the negation *inte* is always placed before the object').[3] Unlike the other Scandinavian varieties as illustrated in (1a-d), a weak object pronoun *mig* does not move across the negation (3).[4]

(3) a. An såg it mig. (Övd.)
he saw not me
'He didn't see me.'

[2] According to Broekhuis (2008), Finland-Swedish and Falster-Danish do not have OS either. According to Anders Holmberg (p.c.), OS is optional in Finland-Swedish. As there is no information available to me concerning Falster-Danish, I make no comments on this Scandinavian variety here.

[3] The translation is by the author.

[4] According to Garbacz (2009:116-118), the negation *inte* changes its form depending on the environments in which it appears. I turn to this point in section 2.

b. *An såg mig inte.
he saw me not
(Garbacz 2009:64,(10c))

A main verb can freely move across the negation in Övdalian embedded clauses (4a). Thus, the negation directly precedes an object pronoun in embedded clauses (4b) in the same way as in main clauses.

(4) a. Eð ir biln so an will it åvå. (Övd.)
it is the-car that he wants-to not have
'This is the car that he doesn't want to have.'
(Garbacz 2009:150,(12b))

b. Ig sagd at ig tjysst it an.
I said that I kissed not him
'I said that I didn't kiss him.'

The fact that Övdalian is not subject to Holmberg's Generalization has not been extensively discussed despite much literature on OS (Diesing 1992, 1997; Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Holmberg 1999; Chomsky 2001; Sells 2001; Vikner 2001; Josefsson 2003; Fox and Pesetsky 2005; Erteschik-Shir 2005a,b; Broekhuis 2008; among others). Since most of the literature seek the derivational mechanism of OS, it has not been clarified what factors prevent OS in Övdalian.[5]

Hosono (2010a,c) suggests that the presence of OS in the Scandinavian languages is closely related to their intonational properties. In this paper I discuss the absence of OS in Övdalian from the perspective of its intonational

[5] See Hosono (2010a,c) for the argument against the derivational mechanism of OS proposed by Chomsky (2001).

properties by presenting experimental data. I argue that the absence of OS in Övdalian is accounted for with the intonational properties peculiar to this variety taken into consideration.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2 I introduce the intonational properties of Övdalian. I present experimental data of the constructions relevant to Övdalian non-OS. In section 3, I argue that the reason why OS does not exist in Övdalian lies in the intonational properties peculiar to this Scandinavian variety that the final H peak occurs on the sentence-penultimate position in the short domains that consist of a main verb and the following weak element(s). I account for the fact that Övdalian is not subject to Holmberg's Generalization as follows: movement of a focus-accented main verb provides the sentence-penultimate position on which the final H peak occurs for the element immediately to its left; this forces weak object pronouns not to move across that element so that they themselves might not occupy the sentence-penultimate position. In section 4 I briefly conclude this paper.

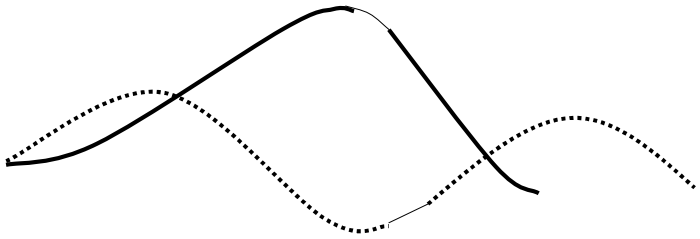
2. The Intonational Properties of Övdalian Non-Object Shift Constructions

Most of the Swedish dialects maintain a distinction between word tone accents, accent 1 and accent 2, each of which is associated with the tonal pattern of High-Low HL (Bruce 1977). Accent is associated with L for accent 1 and with H for accent 2. To realize accent 2, a stressed syllable must be followed by another syllable. This indicates that all monosyllabic words have accent 1. One of the Swedish intonational properties is that the focus of a sentence is realized by the focal H contour. It overlaps the pitch contour of a focus-accented word for

accent 1, which produces a single-peaked pitch contour. For accent 2 it is added to the HL contour of a focus-accented word in so-called ‘double-peaked’ dialects such as the EAST dialect represented by Stockholm Swedish.

According to Kristoffersen (2008), Övdalian maintains the difference in word tone in the same way as most of the Swedish dialects. Övdalian accent 1 words have a stressed syllable that consists of L and the following H. For sentence-final monosyllabic words the H peak occurs in the center of a stressed syllable, which is followed by a final L. For sentence-final disyllabic words the H peak occurs in the final part of the stressed syllable, which is followed by L on the next, final syllable. For sentence-final tri- and multi-syllabic words the H peak occurs early in the second syllable, with L coming on the final syllable. Thus, for a disyllabic accent 1 word *skenet* [stʃːneð] ‘the shine’ in sentence-final position the H peak occurs in the final part of the stressed syllable *sken-*, which is followed by L on the next syllable *-et*. The Övdalian accent 2 is classified into the same group as the EAST dialect, but has a complex melodic tone. The pitch contour of sentence-final disyllabic accent 2 words is like L-H-L-H(-L), in which each syllable is associated with H. Thus, when a disyllabic accent 2 word *skina* [skainɑ] ‘to shine’ comes to sentence-final position, both the stressed first syllable *skin-* and the following syllable *-a* consist of rise, a H peak, and fall. The pitch contours of accent 1 and accent 2 disyllabic words are illustrated below.

(5) Pitch contours of Övdalian accent 1 and accent 2 disyllabic words[6]:



——— : (vowel of) accent 1; ····· : (vowel of) accent 2;
thin line: consonant
(From Kristoffersen 2008:137,Fig.19)

A word is necessary concerning the negation *inte*, a typical diagnosis of the presence or absence of OS. It is an accent 2 word and normally appears in a sentence-internal position in Övdalian (Garbacz 2009).[7] The final vowel [e] appears when it is in sentence-final position or before a pause. It is reduced to either *int* or *it*, the latter of which cannot be stressed.

I carried out an experiment to observe the intonational properties of the constructions relevant to Övdalian non-OS. The constructions investigated are simple tense forms (6a), complex tense forms (6b), and embedded clauses in which verb movement takes place (6c). *Verb Topicalization* (6d), a contrastive verb-focus construction, was added due to the theoretical significance related to this construction (Holmberg 1999, Chomsky 2001). In Verb Topicalization a past participle moves to sentence-initial position. OS does not occur in Övdalian but can occur in the other Scandinavian varieties.

[6] The accent 1 word is *skenet* 'the shine'; the accent 2 word is *skina* 'to shine'.
[7] Övdalian has another negative form *itjä*, which appears only in either sentence-initial or sentence-final position (Garbacz 2009). I leave this form aside in this paper.

(6) a. Simple tense forms:

E.g. Ig tjyöpt it åna. (Övd.)
I bought not it
'I didn't buy it.'

b. Complex tense forms:

E.g. Ig ar it si'tt an.
I have not seen it
'I haven't seen it.'

c. Embedded clauses:

E.g. Ig sagd at ig tjysst it an.
I said that I kissed not him
'I said that I didn't kiss him.'

d. Verb Topicalization:

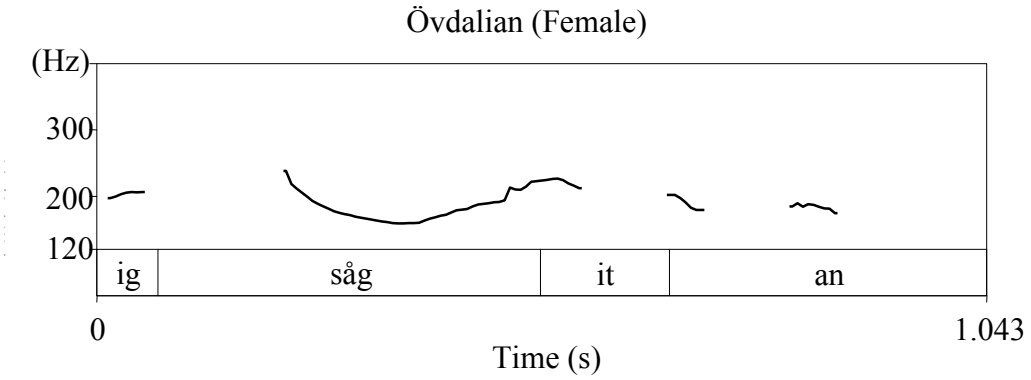
E.g. Tjysst ar ig it an.
kissed have I not him
'I haven't KISSED him.'

Test sentences contain either a monosyllabic pronoun (e.g. *an* 'it, him') or a disyllabic pronoun (e.g. *åna* 'it, her'). On the basis of the literature on information structure (Lambrecht 1994, Vilkuna 1995, Kiss 1998), appropriate contexts were built with a question and the answer, the latter of which corresponds to each relevant construction: e.g. polarity-focus: *tjyöpt du buotję?* (bought you the-book 'did you buy the book?') – *näj, ig tjyöpt it åna* (no I bought not it 'no, I didn't buy it'). Data were collected from three informants (two female and one male). They were asked to read each question-answer pair in an appropriately rapid speech, in such a way as they speak in real-life conversation. The test sentences presented to the female informants were

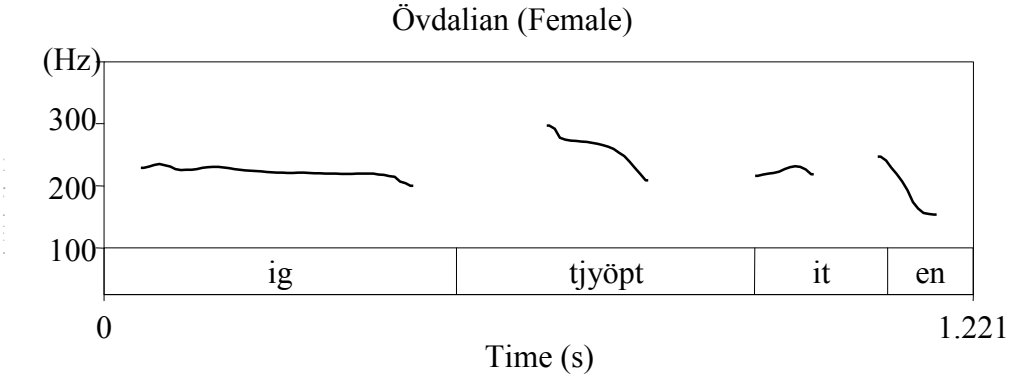
slightly different from the ones presented to the male informant in order to trigger more real imagination and natural reading. The forms of person pronouns and the negation can differ depending on the villages where the informants come from (Garbacz 2009). They were asked to choose the forms that they prefer. See Appendix for the material used. PRAAT was used for recording. With the age of the informants taken into consideration (the male informant and one of the female ones were 65, the other female informant in her late fifties), two recordings were done for each sentence pair.

The pitch pictures of simple tense forms with monosyllabic weak object pronouns are illustrated in (7). A main verb is focus-accented. In the case of accent 1 verbs (7a) pitch falls and rises inside the main syllable of *såg*. The pitch peak comes on the main syllable of the negation *it*, and pitch falls finally on the main syllable of the object pronoun *an*. In the case of accent 2 verbs (7b) pitch falls on the main syllable of *tjyöpt* and rises (or maintains the level in some cases) on the main syllable of *it*. Pitch falls finally on the main syllable of the object pronoun *en*.

(7) a. Ig såg it an.
I saw not him
'I didn't see him.'



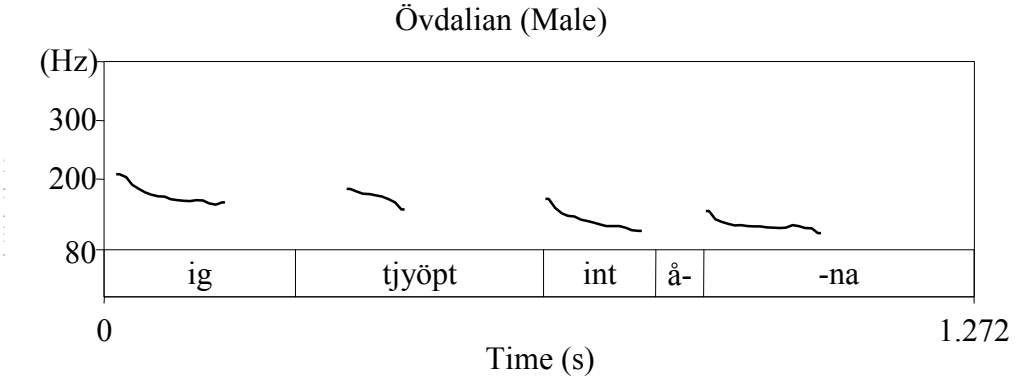
b. Ig tjyöpt it en.
I bought not it.
‘I didn’t buy it.’



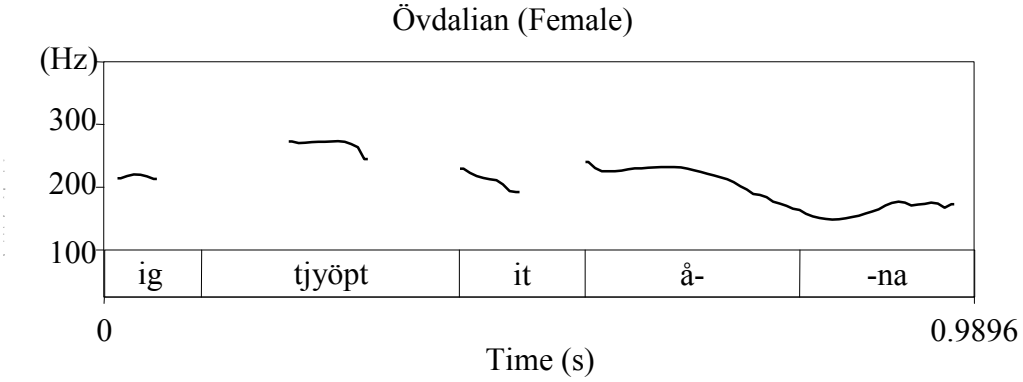
The pitch pictures of simple tense forms with disyllabic weak object pronouns are illustrated in (8). The first pattern is (8a). Pitch falls on the main syllable of a focus-accented main verb *tjyöpt*. Pitch level gradually lowers until the second, final syllable *-na* of the object pronoun *åna*. The first syllable *å-* of *åna* is always dropped when it is weak. The second pattern is (8b). Pitch falls from the main syllable of *tjyöpt* to the main syllable of the negation *it*. Pitch slightly rises and falls on the first syllable *å-* of *åna*. Pitch slightly rises and falls again on its second syllable *-na*.

(8) Ig tjyöpt it/int åna.
I bought not it
‘I didn’t buy it.’

a.

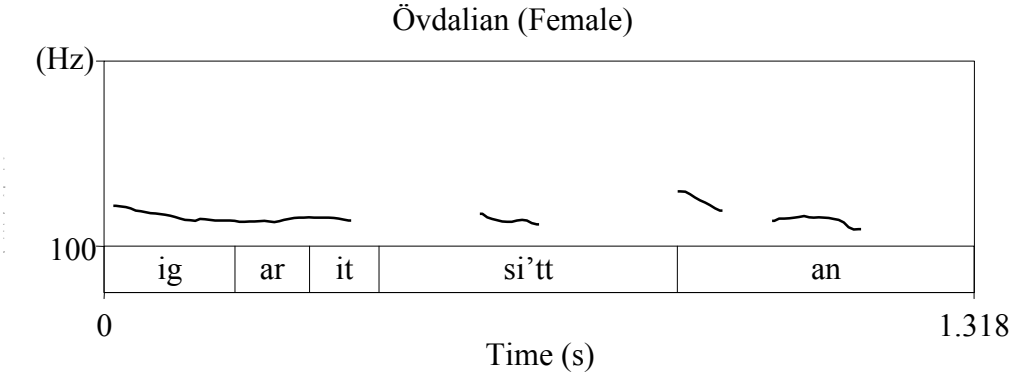


b.



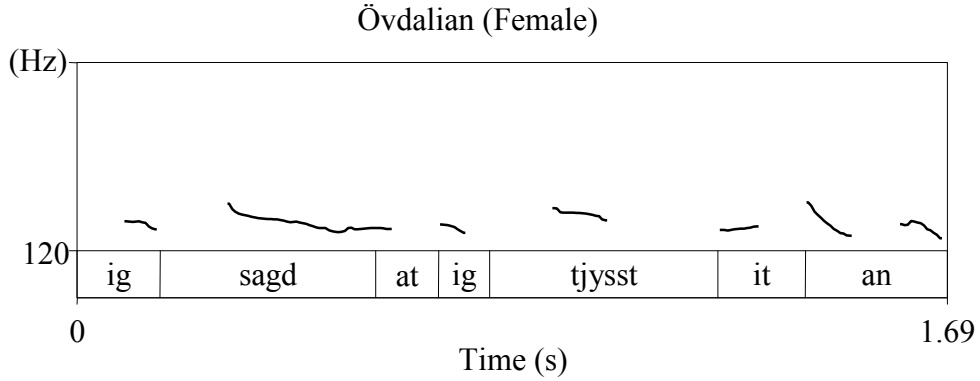
The pitch picture of complex tense forms is illustrated in (9). Pitch level is maintained until the negation *it*. Pitch falls and rises inside the main syllable of a focus-accented past participle *si'tt* that has accent 1, and falls on the object pronoun *an* in sentence-final position.

(9) Ig ar it si'tt an.
I have not seen it
'I haven't seen it.'

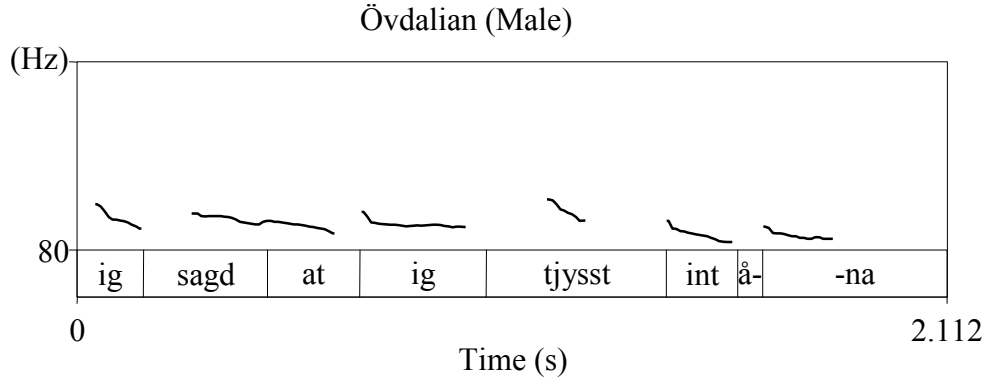


The pitch pictures of embedded clauses are illustrated in (10). In the case of monosyllabic object pronouns (10a) pitch level is kept until the subject of an embedded clause *ig*. The pitch peak comes on the main syllable of a focus-accented accent 2 main verb *tjysst*, and pitch falls from it. Pitch slightly rises on the main syllable of the negation *it*, and falls on the main syllable of the object pronoun *an* in sentence-final position. In the case of disyllabic object pronouns (10b) too pitch level is maintained until the subject of an embedded clause *ig*. The pitch peak comes on the main syllable of *tjysst*, and pitch gradually falls from it until the second, final syllable *-na* of the object pronoun *åna*. The first syllable *å-* of *åna* is dropped.

(10) a. Ig sagd at ig tjysst it an.
I said that I kissed not him
'I said that I didn't kiss him.'



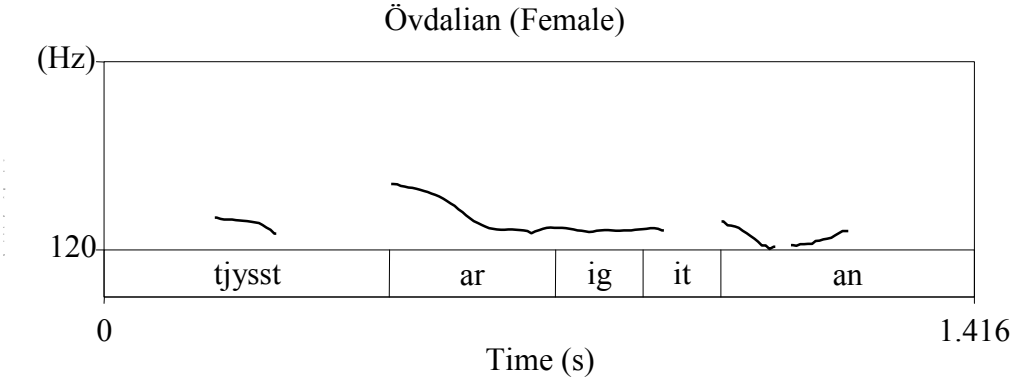
b. Ig sagd at ig tjysst int åna.
I said that I kissed not her
'I said that I didn't kiss her.'



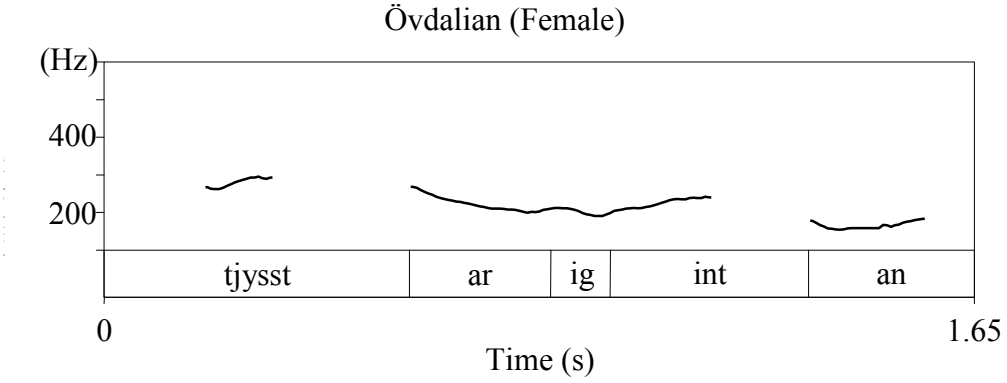
Finally, the Verb Topicalization construction shows several different pitch pictures. The sentence-initial past participle *tjysst* is focus-accented in all cases. The first pattern is (11a). After pitch falls on the main syllable of *tjysst*, its peak comes on the main syllable of the Aux *ar*. Pitch falls from it and pitch level is maintained. Pitch slightly rises on the main syllable of the negation *it* and falls finally on the main syllable of the object pronoun *an*. In the second pattern (11b) pitch peak comes on the main syllable of *tjysst*. After pitch falls from it, pitch level is maintained until the subject *ig*. Pitch rises again on the main syllable of the negation *int* and falls finally on the main syllable of *an*. In the third pattern

(11c) too pitch peak comes on the main syllable of *tjysst*. Pitch gradually falls from it until the second, final syllable *-na* of the object pronoun *åna*. The first syllable *å-* of *åna* is dropped .

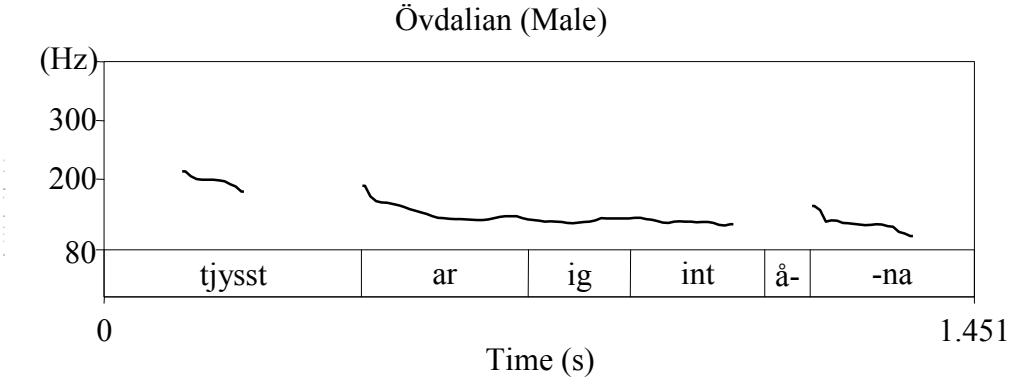
(11) a. Tjysst ar ig it an.
kissed have I not him
'I haven't KISSED him.'



b. Tjysst ar ig int an.
kissed have I not him
'I haven't KISSED him.'



c. Tjysst ar ig int åna.
kissed have I not her
'I haven't KISSED her.'



3. Final H Peak on the Sentence-Penultimate Position

What is noticed from the data above is that in the short domains that consist of a main verb and the following weak sentential element(s), the entire pitch contour is realized like that of a multi-syllabic verb. That is, in complex tense forms (9) pitch falls and rises inside the main syllable of a monosyllabic past participle *si'tt* that has accent 1 and falls again on the main syllable of the following object pronoun *an*. The entire pitch contour from the past participle to the object pronoun looks like that of a disyllabic accent 1 verb as illustrated in (5). This also holds for the cases that contain the negation, in which the number of syllables increases. We saw in the previous section that for sentence-final tri- and multi-syllabic accent 1 words the H peak occurs early in the second syllable, which is followed by L on the final syllable. In (7a) pitch falls and rises inside the main syllable of an accent 1 main verb *såg*; the pitch peak comes on the main syllable of the negation *it*, and pitch falls from it to the main syllable of the sentence-final object pronoun *an*. The entire pitch contour from the main verb,

through the negation, to the object pronoun looks like that of a trisyllabic accent 1 verb. Recall also that in the pitch contour of sentence-final accent 2 words the H peak occurs not only on the first stressed syllable but also on the following unstressed syllable. In (7b) pitch falls from the peak on the main syllable of an accent 2 main verb *tjyöpt*, rises on the main syllable of the negation *it*, and falls finally on the main syllable of the object pronoun *en*. The entire pitch contour from the main verb, through the negation, to the object pronoun is like that of a trisyllabic accent 2 verb.

The same holds for the case of embedded clauses. In (10a) pitch peak comes on the main syllable of an accent 2 main verb *tjysst* in the embedded clause and pitch falls from it. Pitch slightly rises on the main syllable of the negation *it* and falls on the main syllable of the sentence-final object pronoun *an*. The entire pitch contour from the main verb of the embedded clause, through the negation, to the object pronoun looks like that of a trisyllabic accent 2 verb. The same holds even for the case of Verb Topicalization. In (11b), for instance, pitch peak comes on the main syllable of the sentence-initial past participle *tjysst* that has accent 2. After pitch falls from it, pitch level is maintained until pitch rises again on the main syllable of the negation *int*. Pitch falls finally on the main syllable of the object pronoun *an*. The entire pitch contour from the past participle until the sentence-final object pronoun is like that of a multi-syllabic accent 2 verb.

These facts show that in the relevant short domains described above the final H peak occurs on the sentence-penultimate position for both accent 1 and accent 2 words in Övdalian. This is illustrated in the case of complex tense forms (9) in which the final H peak comes on the past participle *si'tt* that directly precedes the object pronoun *an*. This is also illustrated in the cases of simple

tense forms (7a-b), embedded clauses (10a), and Verb Topicalization (11b), in all of which the final H peak comes on the negation *it/int* that is followed by the final L of an object pronoun. Also in the cases (8a), (10b), and (11c), in which the first syllable *å-* of the object pronoun *åna* is dropped and the main syllable of the negation *int* is located in the sentence-penultimate position, pitch slightly rises on the negation.

I argue that the reason why OS does not exist in Övdalian lies in the intonational properties peculiar to this Scandinavian variety that the final H peak occurs on the sentence-penultimate position in the short domains that consist of a main verb and the following weak element(s). The negation reduces itself to either of the monosyllabic forms *it* and *int* when it is weak. But the reduced forms keep their word accent, which enables them to be located in the sentence-penultimate position where some prominence can be produced. However, most object pronouns are monosyllabic from their origin. Disyllabic object pronouns are reduced quite often when they are weak and do not keep their accent. Thus, weak object pronouns cannot come to the sentence-penultimate position, since they could be assigned phonological prominence by the final H peak that occurs on that position.[8]

It is predicted that in the presumed OS order such as **ig såg an it* (I saw him not), **ig tjyöpt en it* (I bought it not), etc, in which an object pronoun would be in the sentence-penultimate position, the focusing effect on the object pronoun should be produced. This is attested by Garbacz (2009:64,ft.48): some

[8] Disyllabic object pronouns may tolerate some prominence. This is illustrated in (8b), in which the first syllable *å-* of the object pronoun *åna* is not reduced. The first syllable is located in the sentence-penultimate position and the entire contour of the object pronoun looks like that of accent 2 words as illustrated in (5). For the nature of unshifted weak object pronouns, see Hosono (2010b).

of the Övdalian speakers accept the OS order, but they judge the shifted object pronoun as focused.[9]

The order of the negation and the following object pronoun is produced by movement of a main verb from the position between them to a higher position. When the main verb does not move, it is located in the sentence-penultimate position on which the final H peak comes. This is illustrated in complex tense forms (9), in which the in-situ focus-accented past participle *si'tt* is located in the sentence-penultimate position. When a focus-accented main verb moves as in simple tense forms (7a-b), however, the sentence-penultimate position is vacated and the element that was located immediately to the left of the verb before verb movement took place, i.e. the negation, occupies that position on which the final H peak comes instead of the moved verb. If a weak object pronoun moved across the negation, the object pronoun itself would occupy the sentence-penultimate position instead of the negation. Thus, the fact that Övdalian is not subject to Holmberg's Generalization is accounted for as follows: movement of a focus-accented main verb provides the sentence-penultimate position on which the final H peak occurs for the element immediately to its left; this forces weak object pronouns not to move across that element so that they themselves might not occupy the sentence-penultimate position.

In my papers (Hosono 2010a,c) I have suggested that OS is caused by the interaction between syntactic word order, the information structure of an entire sentence, and the intonational properties of the Scandinavian languages.

[9] The reduced form *it* of the negation can actually appear in sentence-final position according to the data in Garbacz (2009). Hence, the reason why OS is not allowed in Övdalian cannot be attributed to the morpho-phonological property of the reduced forms of the negation.

This argument is extended to Övdalian non-OS too. Övdalian has the intonational property that the final H peak occurs on the sentence-penultimate position in relevant short domains. When a focus-accented main verb vacates to a higher position, the final H peak comes on the element immediately to its left that occupies the sentence-penultimate position instead of the moved verb. This prevents weak object pronouns from moving across that element, since if they moved, they themselves would occupy the sentence-penultimate position. Thus, to account for Övdalian non-OS, all the three factors given above are required. I have also suggested that OS in the Scandinavian languages/dialects is a purely phonological movement. In the same way, the absence of OS in Övdalian is purely phonological, since the intonational properties peculiar to Övdalian prevent OS from taking place.

4. Conclusion

In this paper I have discussed the absence of OS in Övdalian from the perspective of its intonational properties, by presenting experimental data of the constructions relevant to Övdalian non-OS. I argued that the reason why OS does not exist in Övdalian lies in the intonational properties peculiar to this Scandinavian variety that the final H peak occurs on the sentence-penultimate position in the short domains that consist of a main verb and the following weak element(s). I accounted for the fact that Övdalian is not subject to Holmberg's Generalization as follows: movement of a focus-accented main verb provides the sentence-penultimate position on which the final H peak occurs for the element immediately to its left; this forces weak object pronouns not to move

across that element so that they themselves might not occupy the sentence-penultimate position.

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Appendix

Test Sentences for Female Informants

A. Tjyöpt du buotję? – Näj, ig tjyöpt it åna/en.
(‘Did you buy the book? – No, i didn’t buy it.’)

B. Ar du si’tt filmin? – Näj, ig ar it si’tt an.
(‘Have you seen the movie? – No, I haven’t seen it.’)

C. Såg du Jan? – Näj, ig såg it an.
(‘Did you see Jan? – No, I didn’t see him.’)

D. Tjysst du Jan? – Näj, ig tjysst it/int an. Men ig tjysst Johan.
('Did you kiss Jan? – No, I didn't kiss him. But I kissed Johan.')

E. Ar du tjysst Jan? – Tjysst ar ig it/int an. Men ig ar eldeð an i hand.
('Have you kissed Jan? – I haven't KISSED him. But I have held him by the hand.')

F. Wen sagd du? – Ig sagd at ig tjysst it/int an.
('What did you say? – I said that I didn't kiss him.')

Test Sentences for Male Informants

A. Tjyöpt du buotję? – Näj, ig tjyöpt int åna.
('Did you buy the book? – No, i didn't buy it.')

B. Ar du si'tt filmin? – Näj, ig ar int si'tt an.
('Have you seen the movie? – No, I haven't seen it.')

C. Såg du Anna? – Näj, ig såg int åna.
('Did you see Anna? – No, I didn't see her.')

D. Tjysst du Anna? – Näj, ig tjysst int åna. Men ig tjysst Lena.
('Did you kiss Anna? – No, I didn't kiss her. But I kissed Lena.')

E. Ar du tjysst Anna? – Tjysst ar ig int åna. Men ig ar eldeð ån i and.
(‘Have you kissed Anna? – I haven’t KISSED her. But I have held her by the hand.’)

F. Wen sagd du? – Ig sagd at ig tjysst int åna.
(‘What did you say? – I said that I didn’t kiss her.’)

On Unshifted Weak Object Pronouns in the Scandinavian Languages*

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Abstract

I discuss the properties of unshifted weak object pronouns in the Scandinavian languages on the basis of the experimental data of Övdalian non-Object Shift constructions. I propose a hypothesis on unshifted weak object pronouns: the level stress effect occurs on (the series that consists of a sentential adverb and) an unshifted weak object pronoun. The presence or absence of the level stress effect is accounted for in association with that of main verb movement. When a focus-accented main verb moves, an object pronoun directly follows a sentential adverb, which brings about the level stress effect on the former or the combination of the two. When a main verb does not move, its word accent is maintained in situ, which prevents the level stress effect from occuring on the following object pronoun. With the experimental data of the EAST dialect of Swedish, I show that the level stress effect actually occurs in Swedish non-Object Shift constructions. I also suggest the possibility that in the Scandinavian varieties that have level stress Object Shift is optional, as observed in Finland-Swedish.

* Many thanks to Christer Platzack and Anders Holmberg for helpful advice and valuable comments and suggestions for this work. I would like to thank the informants who participated in recording (Lund University, October-December 2009). Special thanks to Piotr Garbacz for his invaluable help in collecting data from native speakers of Övdalian. I take all responsibility for any errors.

1. Introduction

Scandinavian languages have a movement phenomenon called *Object Shift* OS, in which a weak, unstressed object pronoun moves across a sentential adverb like the negation (Holmberg 1986).[1] The weak object pronouns, *henne* in Swedish (1a), *den* in Norwegian (1b), *ham* in Danish (1c), and *hann* in Icelandic (1d), all move across the negation.

(1) a. Jag kysste henne inte [$_{VP}$ kysste henne]. (Swe.)
I kissed her not
'I didn't kiss her.'

b. Jon sparket den ikke [$_{VP}$ sparket den]. (Nor.)
Jon kicked it not
'Jon didn't kick it.'

c. Peter mødte ham ikke [$_{VP}$ mødte ham]. (Dan.)
Peter met him not
'Peter didn't meet him.'

d. Jón keypti hann ekki [$_{VP}$ keypti hann]. (Ice.)
Jón bought it not
'Jón didn't buy it.'

In Danish, Icelandic, and most varieties of Norwegian OS is obligatory in simple tense forms, whereas in most of the Swedish dialects and some of the Norwegian varieties OS is optional (2a). An object pronoun cannot move in, e.g. complex tense forms in which a past participle main verb does not move due to

[1] In this work the terminology *Object Shift* is used to refer to weak pronoun shift/cliticization only. I do not discuss full NP shift observed in Icelandic in this paper.

the presence of a finite Aux(iliary) verb (2b). The fact that OS can occur only when main verb movement takes place is called *Holmberg's Generalization* (Holmberg 1986).

(2) a. Jag såg *den* inte. Jag såg inte *den*. (Swe.)
I saw it not I saw not it
'I didn't see it.'

b. Jag har inte sett *den*. *Jag har *den* inte sett.
I have not seen it I have it not seen
'I haven't seen it.'

In Övdalian (or the Älvdalen dialect of Swedish) OS never occurs even when verb movement takes place (Levander 1909, Hellan and Platzack 1999, Garbacz 2009). In (3) a weak object pronoun *mig* does not move across the negation.[2]

(3) a. An såg it mig. (Övd.)
he saw not me
'He didn't see me.'

b. *An såg mig inte.
he saw me not
(Garbacz 2009:64,(10c))

The properties of the weak object pronouns that stay in situ either optionally or obligatorily have not been extensively discussed despite much literature on OS (Diesing 1992, 1997; Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Holmberg 1999; Chomsky 2001; Sells 2001; Vikner 2001; Josefsson 2003; Fox and Pesetsky 2005;

[2] According to Garbacz (2009:116-118), the negation *inte* changes its form depending on the environments in which it appears. I turn to this point in section 2.

Erteschik-Shir 2005a,b; Broekhuis 2008; among others).

Hosono (2010a,b,c) suggests that the presence or absence of OS is closely related to the intonational properties of the Scandinavian languages. In this paper I discuss the properties of unshifted weak object pronouns in the Scandinavian languages on the basis of the experimental data of Övdalian non-OS constructions. I propose a hypothesis on unshifted weak object pronouns, and show that it can apply to the Scandinavian varieties that have optional OS.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2 I introduce the intonational properties of Övdalian and the experimental data of Övdalian non-OS constructions. In section 3 I propose a hypothesis on unshifted weak object pronouns: the level stress effect occurs on (the series that consists of a sentential adverb and) an unshifted weak object pronoun. The presence or absence of the level stress effect is accounted for in association with that of main verb movement. I present experimental data of the EAST dialect of Swedish, and show that the level stress effect actually occurs in Swedish non-OS constructions. I also suggest the possibility that in the Scandinavian varieties that have level stress OS is optional, as observed in Finland-Swedish. In section 4 I briefly conclude this paper.

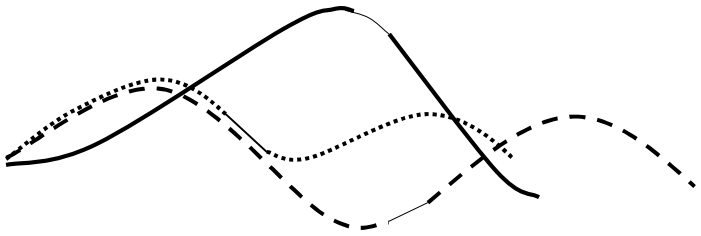
2. The Intonational Properties of Unshifted Weak Object Pronouns

Most of the Swedish dialects maintain a distinction between two word accents, accent 1 and accent 2 (Bruce 1977). Accent 1 is associated with a H(igh) tone, whereas accent 2 is associated with a L(ow) tone. To realize accent 2, a stressed syllable requires another syllable to follow it. This indicates that all

monosyllabic words have accent 1. The Swedish dialects are classified into either the variety in which both accent 1 and accent 2 are single-peaked or the variety in which accent 1 is single-peaked but accent 2 is double-peaked, the latter of which is represented by the EAST dialect (Stockholm Swedish) (Bruce and Gårding 1978). Övdalian is classified into the double-peaked variety. According to Kristoffersen (2008), Övdalian has a complicated word tone melody. The stressed syllable of Övdalian accent 1 words consists of L and the following H. The tone of Övdalian accent 2 disyllabic words is described as L-H-L-H(-L).

A remarkable feature of Övdalian is level stress (Bye 1996, Kristoffersen 2008, among others). Level stress occurs only in the accent 2 disyllabic words that maintain a light root syllable (i.e. have a short vowel), but not in those that have a heavy root syllable (i.e. have a long vowel or a diphothong). It is often observed in sentence-final position. The light root syllable of level stress words sounds like being stressed equally to the second syllable, though it is only the heavy root syllable that receives stress in normal accent 2 words. Accent 2 sounds like level stress also when accent 2 words are shortened due to lack of intonational prominence. Thus, in a light root word *komma* [kʉmo] ‘to come’ the first syllable *komm-* sounds like being stressed equally to the second syllable *-a*, whereas in a heavy root word *skina* [skainɑ] ‘to shine’ only the first syllable *skin-* is assigned a stress. I present the illustration of the pitch contour of level stress words below. Compare it with the pitch contours of accent 1 and accent 2 words.

(4) Pitch contours of level stress words and accent 1 and accent 2 disyllabic words in Övdalian[3]:



——— : (vowel of) accent 1; - - - : (vowel of) accent 2;

····· : (vowel of) level stress; thin line: consonant

(From Kristoffersen 2008:138,Fig.20)

According to Kristoffersen (2008), duration of the final vowel of a level stress word is longer than that of its first vowel in sentence-final position due to general lengthening. Intensity does not differ between the first syllable of a level stress word and its final syllable in sentence-final position.[4] Kristoffersen argues that the perceptual peculiarity of level stress is caused by the difference in timing of the H peak. In heavy root syllables of accent 2 words H occurs early associated with accent (i.e. LH*L-). But in light root syllables H occurs later due to their short vowels (i.e. L*HL-). This causes the latter to be heard like accent 1 that consists of L and the following H. The occurrence of another H peak on the second syllable, however, causes the entire light root word not to be heard like a normal accent 1 word. The result is that the series of the first and second syllables of level stress words are interpreted as the combination of independent

[3] The accent 1 word is *skenet* [stʃːneð] 'the shine', the accent 2 word *skina* [skainɑ] 'to shine', and the level stress word *komma* [kʉmo] 'to come'.

[4] According to Kristoffersen, vowel quantity (i.e. tense-lax) does not differ between the first and final vowels in such words as *fara* [fɔrɔ] 'to go', which I leave aside here.

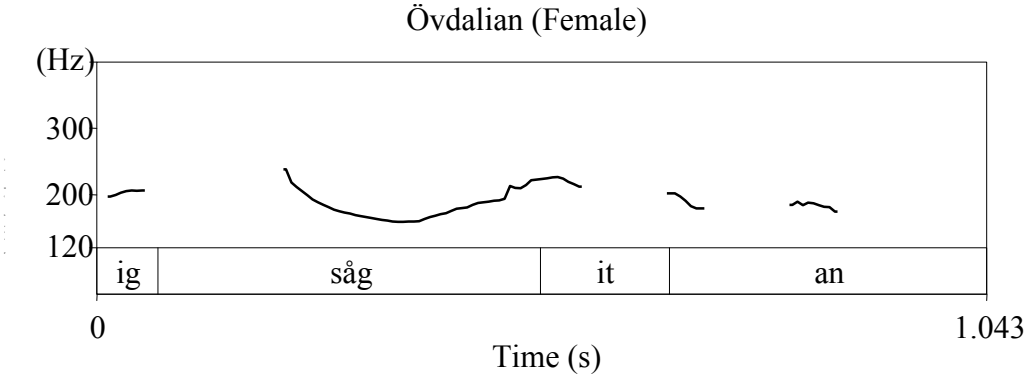
accent 1 syllables (Kristoffersen 2008:148).

I make a brief statement on the negation *inte*, a typical diagnosis of the presence or absence of OS. It is an accent 2 word and normally appears in a sentence-medial position in Övdalian (Garbacz 2009). It is reduced to either *int* or *it*, with the final vowel [e] dropped. The latter form *it* cannot be stressed.

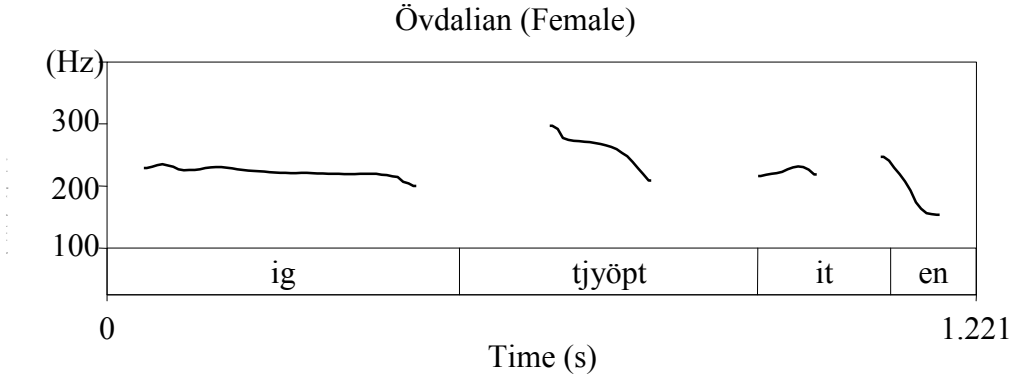
I present the experimental data of simple tense forms and complex tense forms of Övdalian non-OS constructions.[5] In all cases a main verb is focus-accented. I mention the pitch properties of each construction mainly focusing on those of the negation and the following object pronoun. The pitch pictures of simple tense forms with monosyllabic weak object pronouns are illustrated in (5). In (5a), which has an accent 1 verb, pitch peak comes on the main syllable of *it*. Pitch falls from that syllable but keeps its height. Pitch contour shows a slight wave of fall-rise-fall on the main syllable of *an* in sentence-final position. In (5b), which has an accent 2 verb, pitch rises (or maintains the pitch level in some cases) on the main syllable of *it*. The pitch level is kept until the main syllable of *en*, and pitch lowers sentence-finally.

(5) a. Ig såg it an.
I saw not him
'I didn't see him.'

[5] See Hosono (2010c) for the details of the procedures of the experiment and the materials actually used.



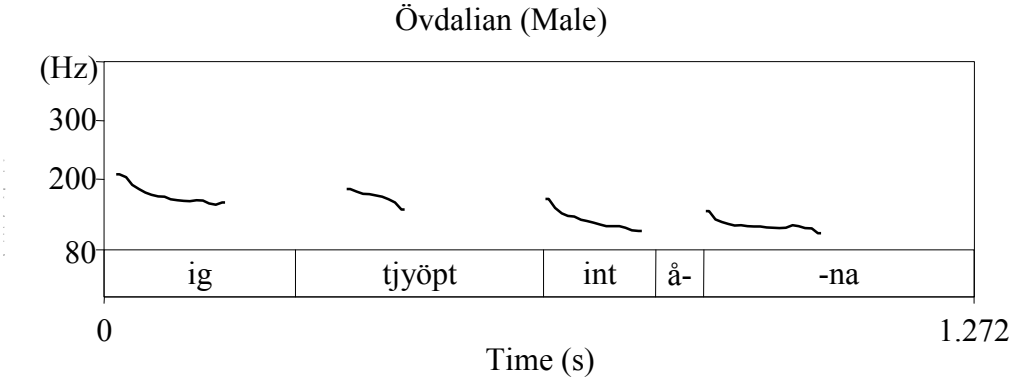
b. Ig tjyöpt it en.
I bought not it.
'I didn't buy it.'



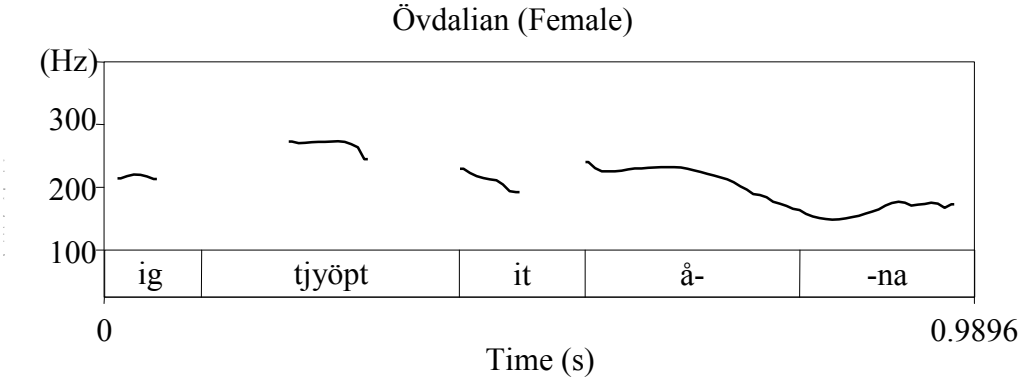
The pitch pictures of simple tense forms with disyllabic weak object pronouns are illustrated in (6). The disyllabic object pronoun *åna* is an accent 2 word. The first pattern is (6a). Pitch slightly rises on the main syllable of *int* and falls from it. The first syllable *å-* of *åna* is always dropped when it is weak. Pitch contour shows a little wave of fall-rise-fall on the second syllable *-na* of *åna*. The second pattern is (6b). Pitch falls from the main syllable of a main verb to that of *it*. Pitch slightly rises and falls on the first syllable *å-* of *åna*. Pitch contour shows a mini-wave of fall-rise-fall on the second syllable *-na* of *åna*.

(6) Ig tjyöpt int/it åna.
I bought not it
'I didn't buy it.'

a.

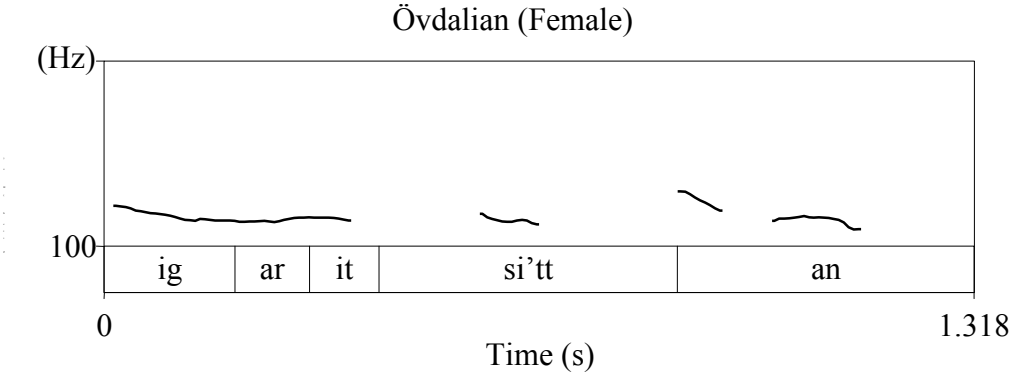


b.



The pitch picture of complex tense forms is illustrated in (7). Pitch level is maintained until *it*. Pitch falls and rises inside the main syllable of *si'tt* that has accent 1. Pitch falls finally on the main syllable of *an*.

(7) Ig ar it si'tt an.
I have not seen it
'I haven't seen it.'

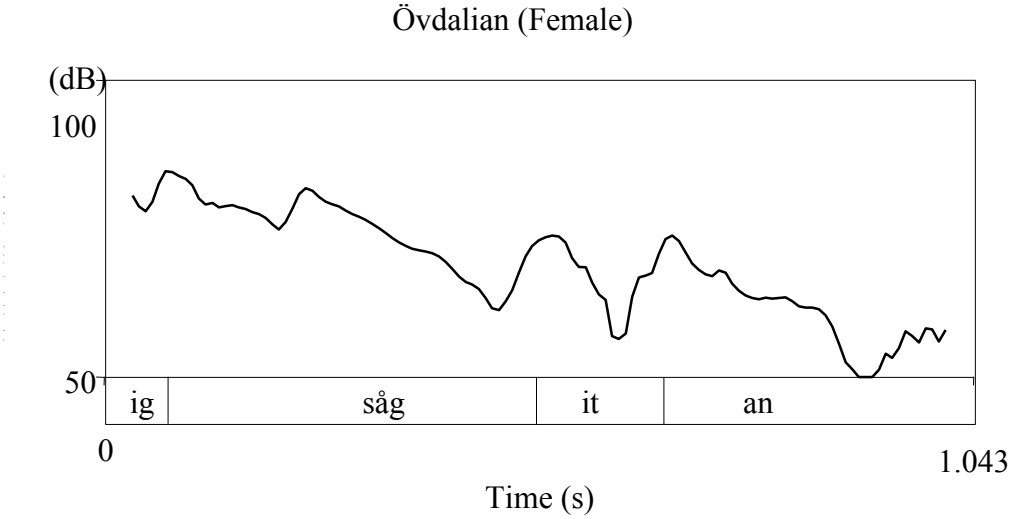


3. Level Stress Effect on Unshifted Weak Object Pronouns

In non-OS simple tense forms an object pronoun follows the negation that has accent 2 and is located sentence-finally. Duration of the main syllable of monosyllabic object pronouns *an* and *en* is long (5a-b). Duration of the second syllable *-na* of a disyllabic object pronoun *åna* is long too when its first syllable *å-* is dropped after the negation (6a). Due to those long syllables the object pronouns are assigned a slight prominence though they are unstressed.

Intensity of the main syllable of object pronouns is almost at the same degree as that of the main syllable of the negation. This is illustrated in (8). Intensity of the main syllable of *an* (the fourth peak) is at the same degree as that of the main syllable of *it* (the third peak).

(8) Ig såg it an.
I saw not him
'I didn't see him.'



Duration of the main syllable of the negation, on the other hand, is quite short, and in most cases pitch does not fall from it to a considerable degree. This indicates that the H peak comes on the main syllable of the negation in a later timing than it comes on that of normal accent 2 words. Even in the cases like (6a) in which pitch appears to fall from the main syllable of the negation early, the pitch contour of the second syllable *-na* of *åna* is fall-rise-fall. The pitch contour of the main syllable of monosyllabic object pronouns is fall-rise-fall too, as illustrated in (5a). This indicates that those syllables start from L as in the accent 1 contour. All of these facts indicate that the effect that occurs on level stress words described in the previous section is brought about on the series that consists of the negation and the following object pronoun. In (6b) in which the first syllable *å-* of *åna* is not dropped, duration of the second syllable *-na* is as long as that of the first syllable, which gives the second syllable a slight prominence. The pitch contour of the second syllable is fall-rise-fall, i.e. an accent 1-like contour. These properties make the object pronoun like a level stress word. Then, I propose a hypothesis on unshifted weak object pronouns:

(9) Unshifted Weak Object Pronouns in the Scandinavian Languages:

The level stress effect occurs on (the series that consists of a sentential adverb and) an unshifted weak object pronoun.

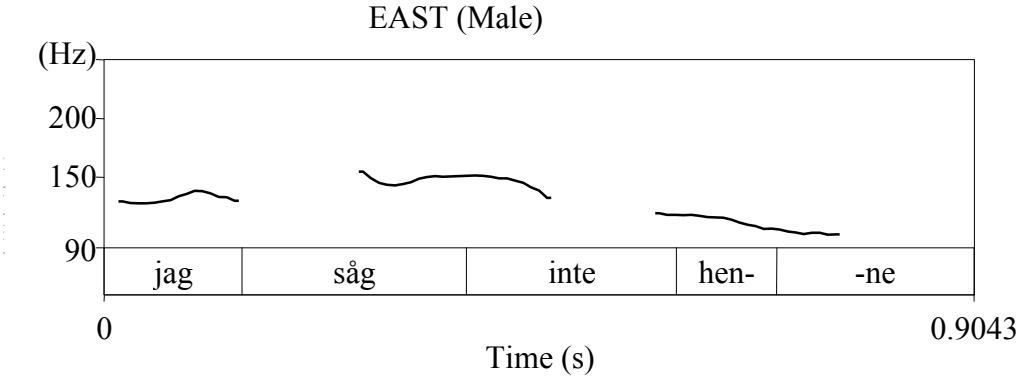
In non-OS simple tense forms a main verb carries the focus of a sentence and is focus-accented. The form of the negation that has accent 2 must be reduced to either *it* or *int*. Due to the weakness and short duration, the H peak comes on its main syllable in a late timing, which makes it sound like a light root. The following object pronoun is also a weak sentential element, but due to the long duration of its main syllable (or the second syllable when the first one is dropped) it is assigned a slight prominence. These situations yield the environment in which both the negation and the following object pronoun are heard at the same degree of stress, which brings about the effect that occurs on level stress words on the combination of the two. In the case in which the first syllable *å-* of *åna* is not dropped after the negation (6b) the first vowel is like a light root due to the weak status of the object pronoun; the second vowel is slightly prominent due to its long duration. Thus, they are heard at the same degree of stress, which brings about the level stress effect on the object pronoun.

It is predicted that when a weak object pronoun does not directly follow a sentential adverb like the negation, the level stress effect does not occur. This is attested by the case of complex tense forms (7) in which a weak object pronoun follows a past participle. Pitch falls and rises inside the main syllable of a monosyllabic accent 1 past participle *si'tt* and falls again on the main syllable of *an*. The accent 1 of the past participle is maintained, and the entire pitch contour from the past participle to the object pronoun looks like that of a disyllabic accent 1 verb as illustrated in (4). Note that the absence of the level

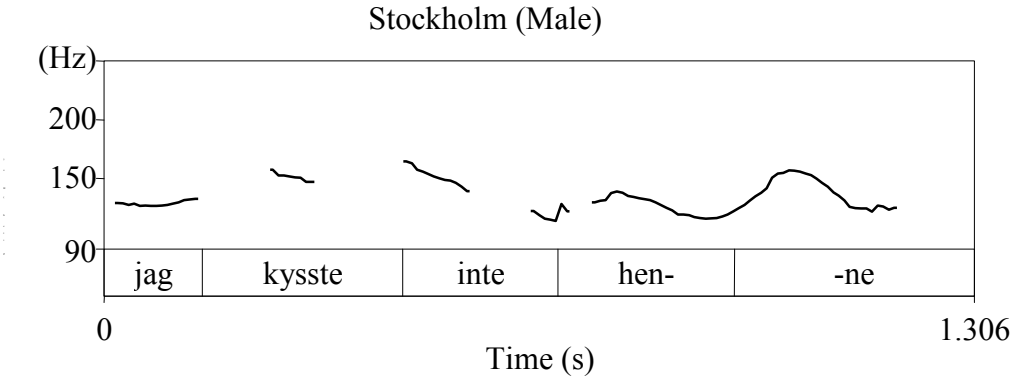
stress effect in complex tense forms is derived from the fact that the past participle does not move. On the other hand, the presence of the level stress effect in simple tense forms is derived from the fact that due to movement of a main verb from the position between the negation and an object pronoun to a higher position, the series that consists of the latter two appears. Thus, in the same way that the presence or absence of OS is accounted for in association with that of main verb movement (i.e. Holmberg's Generalization), the presence or absence of the level stress effect is also accounted for in association with that of main verb movement. When a focus-accented main verb moves, an object pronoun directly follows a sentential adverb, which brings about the level stress effect on the former or the combination of the two. When a main verb does not move, its word accent is maintained in situ, which prevents the level stress effect from occuring on the following object pronoun.

Another prediction is that the level stress effect occurs on the relevant sentential element(s) also in the Scandinavian varieties that have optional OS. Josefsson (2003) argues that unshifted weak object pronouns are acceptable for most of Swedish speakers, and concludes that OS is optional in Swedish. I present the data of the EAST dialect. In polarity-focus (10a), in which an object pronoun is old information, the unshifted object pronoun *henne* is weak. Duration of its first syllable *hen-* is relatively short. Pitch does not fall from that first syllable to a considerable degree, which indicates that H comes on it in a later timing than usual. This data shows that the level stress effect actually occurs on unshifted weak object pronouns in Swedish non-OS constructions. Compare (10a) with contrastive-focus (10b), which illustrates a double-peaked picture of the contrastively focused unshifted object pronoun *henne*. Duration of its first syllable *hen-* is long and H comes on its center.

(10) a. Jag såg inte henne.
I saw not her
‘(Did you see Anna? – No,) I didn’t see her.’



b. Jag kysste inte HENNE.
I kissed not her
‘I didn’t kiss HER (, but kissed Lena).’



Another prediction is that in the Scandinavian languages/dialects that have level stress a weak object pronoun can remain unshifted. This is attested by Finland-Swedish, which has level stress (Kristoffersen 2008) and in which OS is optional (Anders Holmberg, p.c.). Kristoffersen states that the way of realizing level stress in Finland-Swedish differs from Övdalian. Contrary to the late H timing in Övdalian, the H peak comes on the stressed syllable of level stress

words in an earlier timing than it comes on that of accent 2 heavy root words in Finland-Swedish.[6] Unlike Övdalian, Finland-Swedish does not maintain the difference in word accent (Bruce and Gårding 1978). This suggests that regardless of whether the relevant Scandinavian variety maintains the difference in word accent or not, the possibility for a weak object pronoun to remain unshifted is derived from the property that the level stress effect is brought about. Aside from the Swedish varieties, an object pronoun can stay in situ in Falster-Danish (Broekhuis 2008). OS is optional also in the Ærø/South Fyn dialect and the Femø Island dialect of Danish (Erteschik-Shir 2005a,b).[7] Though detailed intonational properties of these dialects are not clear, a possibility is that the Scandinavian varieties that have optional OS are correspond to those that have level stress. I leave this investigation for future research.

Hosono (2010b) argues concerning Swedish OS that since a main verb carries the focus of a sentence and is focus-accented in the OS construction in the unmarked case, an object pronoun moves and causes downstep to prevent an additional focal H contour that could produce the focusing effect on a sentential element other than the main verb, e.g. a sentential adverb like the negation, from arising. This argument is closely related to the claim here. The sentential element on which the level stress effect occurs either is reduced or lacks intonational prominence. Pitch level is not maintained until such a less

[6] Recall the cases like (6a) in which pitch appears to fall from the main syllable of the negation *int* early. They are interpreted in such a way that the H peak comes early on the main syllable of the negation, which is quite a similar situation in Finland-Swedish. This suggests the possibility that it is not the late H timing as claimed by Kristoffersen but the shortness of the vowel of a stressed syllable and the low prominence of that syllable that are primary factors in bringing about the level stress effect.

[7] The Ærø dialect has the kind of tone as in Swedish (Erteschik-Shir 2005a:71).

prominent sentential element. This is illustrated in (10a), in which pitch peak comes on the main verb *såg* and pitch gradually lowers until the object pronoun *henne*. This contrasts (10b), in which pitch level is maintained and the pitch peak comes on the focused object pronoun *henne* in most cases. Thus, in the Swedish varieties in which the level stress effect occurs downstep has already occurred from a focus-accented main verb, which does not force an object pronoun to move. In those varieties in which the level stress effect does not occur, on the other hand, the focal H contour can always occur, which makes OS obligatory.

In a series of papers Hosono (2010a,b,c) suggests that both OS and non-OS are caused by the interaction between syntactic word order, the information structure of an entire sentence, and the intonational properties of the Scandinavian languages. This applies to the account of unshifted weak object pronouns too. A main verb carries the focus of a sentence and is focus-accented in the non-OS construction in the unmarked case. When the main verb moves from the position between a sentential adverb like the negation and an object pronoun to a higher position, the object pronoun directly follows the sentential adverb. This environment brings about the level stress effect on the former or the combination of the two. Thus, the properties of unshifted weak object pronouns are accounted for in terms of the interaction between the three components given above. Hosono also suggests that OS in the Scandinavian languages/dialects is a purely phonological movement. In the same way, obligatory or optional non-OS is purely phonological, since the possibility for weak object pronouns to remain unshifted depends on the occurrence of the level stress effect.

4. Conclusion

In this paper I have discussed the properties of unshifted weak object pronouns in the Scandinavian languages on the basis of the experimental data of Övdalian non-OS constructions. I proposed a hypothesis on unshifted weak object pronouns: the level stress effect occurs on (the series that consists of a sentential adverb and) an unshifted weak object pronoun. The presence or absence of the level stress effect was accounted for in association with that of main verb movement. When a focus-accented main verb moves, an object pronoun directly follows a sentential adverb, which brings about the level stress effect on the former or the combination of the two. When a main verb does not move, its word accent is maintained in situ, which prevents the level stress effect from occuring on the following object pronoun. With the experimental data of the EAST dialect of Swedish, I showed that the level stress effect actually occurs in Swedish non-OS constructions. I also suggested the possibility that in the Scandinavian varieties that have level stress OS is optional, as observed in Finland-Swedish.

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Local licensing in Faroese expletive constructions

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Abstract

Certain varieties of Faroese display a so far unnoticed co-occurrence restriction in expletive constructions. Although there are two subject positions in the IP domain, SpecAgrSP for the overt expletive and SpecTP for the associate subject, these positions can only be filled simultaneously if expletive and associate subject are separated by the finite verb. This will be accounted for by the assumption that an associate subject needs to be locally licensed by a c-commanding verb, which is not possible if an overt expletive intervenes in the licensing relation. Asymmetries between existential constructions and transitive expletive constructions (TEC) with simple and complex tense and with non-negative and negative associate subject as well as data from former stages of Mainland Scandinavian reveal that local licensing applies to associate subjects in positions in which a TEC subject can be licensed.

1 Introduction

The data I collected during the NORMS Dialect Workshop on the Faroe Islands in August 2008 displayed a co-occurrence restriction in expletive constructions that, to the best of my knowledge, has not been noted before. As illustrated in (1), an expletive may optionally occur in clause-medial position in Faroese. Moreover, an associate subject can occur to the left of a non-finite verb at least in certain varieties of Faroese, referred to as Faroese I in Bobaljik & Jonas (1996) and Jonas (1996a); see (2). This pattern was shown by about two thirds of my informants. However, co-occurrence of an overt expletive and an associate subject in these clause-medial positions is prohibited: The sequence *expletive – associate subject* as in (3) was judged ungrammatical by my informants.[1]

[1] Equivalent examples are presented as (marginally) acceptable in Thráinsson et al. (2004: 285/86). However, my informants, who were asked to judge the acceptability of the test sentences on a scale from 5 (good) to 1 (bad), clearly rejected the construction in (3). Median for the construction in (1): 5, in (2)b: 4,5 and in (3): 1.

(1) a. Í dag hava tað verið **nakrir hundar** úti í garðinum. *Fa*
b. Í dag hava verið **nakrir hundar** úti í garðinum.
today have(there) been some dogs out in garden-the

Fa I

(2) a. Tað hava verið **nakrir hundar** úti í garðinum.
b. Tað hava **nakrir hundar** verið úti í garðinum.
there have some dogs been out in garden-the

(3) *Í dag hava tað **nakrir hundar** verið úti í garðinum. *Fa I*
today have there some dogs been out in garden-the

The paper investigates the ban on clause-medial co-occurrence of overt expletive and associate subject in Faroese I. Section 2 argues in favor of two subject positions in the IP domain, SpecAgrSP for the expletive and SpecTP for the associate subject. However, as discussed in section 3.1, simultaneous filling of these two positions is only possible if the overt expletive and the associate subject are separated by the finite verb. This is accounted for by the assumption that the associate subject requires local licensing by a c-commanding verb. Asymmetries between existential constructions and transitive expletive constructions (TEC) with simple and complex tense (section 3.2) and with non-negative and negative associate subject (section 3.3) indicate that the licensing condition only applies to associate subjects in SpecTP in Faroese: The sequence *expletive – associate subject* is possible as long as the associate subject occurs in a lower position (V°-Comp and SpecNegP, respectively). Mainland Scandinavian data from around 1900 presented in section 4 point to the conclusion that the co-occurrence restriction is not confined to associate subjects in SpecTP after all but more generally applies to associate subjects in positions in which a TEC subject can be licensed. Section 5 summarizes the results.

2 The structure of IP

2.1 Two subject positions in the IP domain

Clause-medial co-occurrence of an overt expletive and an associate subject as in (3) is not only prohibited in Faroese I but is also ungrammatical in the other Scandinavian varieties – Icelandic, (4), Mainland Scandinavian represented by Danish here, (5), and Faroese II, (6).

(4) *Í dag hafa það **einhverjir hundar** verið í garðinum. *Ic*
today have there some dogs been in garden-the

(5) *I dag har der **nogle hunde** været i haven. *Da*
today have there some dogs been in garden-the

(6) *Í dag hava tað **nakrir hundar** verið úti í garðinum. *Fa II*
today have there some dogs been out in garden-the

However, the sentences in (4)-(6) are ruled out for independent reasons. In Icelandic, an overt expletive cannot appear in subject position in main clauses, (7). Occurrence of an associate subject to the left of a non-finite verb is possible, (8).

(7) a. *Í dag hafa það verið **einhverjir hundar** í garðinum. *Ic*
b. Í dag hafa verið **einhverjir hundar** í garðinum.
today have (there) been some dogs in garden-the

(8) a. Það hafa verið **einhverjir hundar** í garðinum. *Ic*
b. Það hafa **einhverjir hundar** verið í garðinum.
there have some dogs been in garden-the

In Mainland Scandinavian, in contrast, the presence of an overt expletive is obligatory, (9), but an associate subject cannot precede a non-finite verb, (10).[2]

[2] Christer Platzack (p.c.) pointed out to me that the associate subject may occur to the left of a non-finite verb in impersonal *bli*-passives in Swedish, giving rise to examples like (i), where the expletive occurs string-adjacent to the associate subject:

(9) a. I dag har der været **nogle hunde** i haven. *Da*
b. *I dag har været **nogle hunde** i haven.
today have(there) been some dogs in garden-the

(10) a. Der har været **nogle hunde** i haven. *Da*
b. *Der har **nogle hunde** været i haven.
there have some dogs been in garden-the

As regards occurrence of an overt expletive in subject position, Faroese seems to be between Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian as overt expletives are optional in all varieties of Faroese; see (1) above repeated here as (11). However, Faroese II differs from Faroese I in that an associate subject cannot occur to the left of a non-finite verb; compare (2) with (12).

(11) a. Í dag hava tað verið **nakrir hundar** úti í garðinum. *Fa*
b. Í dag hava verið **nakrir hundar** úti í garðinum.
today have (there) been some dogs out in garden-the

Fa II

(12) a. Tað hava verið **nakrir hundar** úti í garðinum.
b. *Tað hava **nakrir hundar** verið úti í garðinum.
there have some dogs been out in garden-the

Thus, Faroese I differs from the other Scandinavian varieties in that both overt expletive and associate subject may occur between a finite verb and a non-finite verb; see (1) and (2) above. But importantly, clause-medial co-occurrence of the two constituents is prohibited, (3).

(i) Blev det några studenter skadade vid olyckan? *Sw*
was there any students hurt at accident-the (Christer Platzack, p.c.)

The associate subject is not in SpecTP but in a lower position in this case: It follows a non-finite auxiliary; see the discussion in section 3.

(ii) a. *Hade det några studenter blivit skadade? *Sw*
b. Hade det blivit några studenter skadade?
had there been any students hurt (Christer Platzack, p.c.)

Early approaches to Scandinavian expletive constructions suppose that the contrasts between Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian as to the clause-medial occurrence of overt expletives, (7) vs. (9), and associate subjects, (8) vs. (10), result from the fact that Icelandic has expletive topics whereas Mainland Scandinavian has expletive subjects (see Platzack 1983, 1987, Tomaselli 1990, Sigurðsson 1989, and Maling 1987). As a topic, the expletive is inserted in SpecCP in Icelandic if no other constituent occupies this position; consequently, it cannot occur in SpecIP. SpecIP being empty, the associate subject can move there. This is illustrated in (13).

(13) Ic	SpecCP	C°	SpecIP		V°	Comp	Adv	ex.
a. *	XP	aux	<u>expl</u>	…	v	**sub**	adv	(7)a
b.	XP	aux		…	v	**sub**	adv	(7)b
c.	<u>expl</u>	aux		…	v	**sub**	adv	(8)a
d.	<u>expl</u>	aux	**sub**	…	v	t_{sub}	adv	(8)b

In Mainland Scandinavian, in contrast, the expletive is a subject and thus must be inserted in SpecIP, from where it can move to SpecCP; see (14). Since SpecIP is occupied by the trace of the expletive, the associate subject cannot move to this position.

(14) MSc	SpecCP	C°	SpecIP		V°	Comp	Adv	ex.
a.	XP	aux	<u>expl</u>	…	v	**sub**	adv	(9)a
b. *	XP	aux		…	v	**sub**	adv	(9)b
c.	<u>expl</u>	aux	t_{expl}	…	v	**sub**	adv	(10)a
d. *	<u>expl</u>	aux	t_{expl} **sub**	…	v	t_{sub}	adv	(10)b

Under the above assumptions, Faroese I would have to have both expletive topics and expletive subjects: An overt expletive may be inserted in SpecIP as it can optionally occur in this position, (1), or it may be inserted in SpecCP, permitting movement of the associate subject to SpecIP, (2); see also (15) below. Moreover, the prohibition against the clause-medial sequence *expletive - associate subject* shown in (3) above would follow from the fact that the two constituents compete for the same position, (15)e.

(15) Fa I		SpecCP	C°	SpecIP		V°	Comp	Adv	ex.
a.		XP	aux	<u>expl</u>	…	v	**sub**	adv	(1)a
b.		XP	aux		…	v	**sub**	adv	(1)b
c.		<u>expl</u>	aux		…	v	**sub**	adv	(2)a
d.		<u>expl</u>	aux	**sub**	…	v	t_{sub}	adv	(2)b
e.	*	XP	aux	<u>expl</u> **sub**	…	v	t_{sub}	adv	(3)

However, the pattern observed in Faroese II is problematic for the above analysis. Overt expletives in SpecIP are optional in all varieties of Faroese, but associate subjects cannot occur to the left of a non-finite verb in Faroese II; see (11) and (12) above. Thus, although an overt expletive apparently need not be inserted in SpecIP, the associate subject cannot occupy this position. This is unexpected under the assumption that the possibility of not having an overt expletive in subject position paves the way for the associate subject to occur to the left of a non-finite verb. Instead, the data strongly suggest that these two phenomena are not directly related.

In addition, the fact that an overt expletive may optionally occur in SpecIP in Icelandic embedded questions such as (16) contradicts the hypothesis that *það* 'there' is a syntactic topic that can only be inserted in SpecCP.[3] (On further arguments against the topic approach to Icelandic expletives see Hornstein 1991.)

(16) a. ... hvort <u>það</u> hefur **einhver útlendingur** verið ... *Ic*
b. ... hvort hefur **einhver útlendingur** verið ...
... í sumarhúsinu.
whether (there) has some foreigner been
in summerhouse-the
(Thráinsson 2007: 26)

[3] The tendency that overt expletives are more likely to emerge in embedded clauses than in main clauses can also be observed in Faroese. While overt expletives are optional in main clauses, (1), they are obligatory in embedded clauses, (i).

(i) a. Hon spurdi um <u>tað</u> budði **ein gamal maður** i hesum húsinum. *Fa*
b. *Hon spurdi um budði **ein gamal maður** i hesum húsinum.
she asked if (there) lived an old man in this house-the
(Thráinsson et al. 2004: 283)

That the overt expletive in (16)a occupies SpecIP is corroborated by the fact that embedded questions prohibit topicalisation, independent of whether or not the expletive is present. The ungrammatical sentences in (17)b and (17)c indicate that CP recursion is not allowed in embedded questions. Thus, the expletive in (16)a and (17)a must occupy SpecIP.

(17) Prófessorinn langaði að vita ... *Ic*
professor-the wanted to know

a. [$_{CP}$ hvort [$_{IP}$ það hefði **einhver** lokið ritgerðinni]]
b. *[$_{CP}$ hvort [$_{CP}$ í gær hefði [$_{IP}$ það **einhver** lokið ritgerðinni]]
c. *[$_{CP}$ hvort [$_{CP}$ í gær hefði [$_{IP}$ **einhver** lokið ritgerðinni]]
if yesterday had (there) someone finished thesis-the

(Vangsnes 2002: 47)

In addition, the examples in (16)a and (17)a show that an overt expletive in SpecIP can in fact co-occur with an associate subject to the left of a non-finite verb in an embedded clause. As illustrated in (18), this is also marginally acceptable in Faroese I.

Fa I

(18) a. ?Hon spurdi um tað høvdu **nakrir hundar** verið úti í garðinum.
she asked if there had some dogs been out in garden-the
b. ??Hon spurdi um tað hevði **onkur** keypt húsini hjá Róa.
she asked if there had somebody bought houses-the of Roa

(Zakaris Svabo Hansen, p.c.)

Thus, the above data point to the conclusion that there are two subject positions to the left of a non-finite verb and consequently contradict the hypothesis that the ungrammaticality of the clause-medial sequence *expletive – associate subject* in (3) results from the fact that the two constituents compete for the same position.

Note that there is evidence that an associate subject to the left of a non-finite verb appears in the IP domain. It precedes all non-finite auxiliaries, (19), and, as Bobaljik & Jonas (1996) observe, it precedes an object that has moved out of VP

by Object Shift in a transitive expletive construction like (20); see Holmberg (1986, 1999) and Engels & Vikner (2007) on Object Shift.

(19) a. Það mun *hafa verið* **gód mynd** ... *Ic*
b. *Það mun *hafa* **gód mynd** *verið* ...
c. Það mun **gód mynd** *hafa verið* ...
... i sjónvarpinu.
there must good film have been on TV
(adapted from Vikner 1995: 212)

(20) a. Það borðuðu **margir strákar** *bjúgun* ekki. *Ic*
there ate many boys sausages-the not
(Bobaljik & Jonas 1996: 214)
b. ?Það drekka sennilega **sumir krakkar** *hana* aldrei.
there drink probably some kids it never
(Vangsnes 2002: 45)

As supported by the phenomena described above, newer approaches to expletive constructions (e.g. Bobaljik & Jonas 1996, Jonas 1996a,b, Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998, and Vangsnes 2002) suppose that there are two subject positions in the IP domain, which will be taken here to be SpecAgrSP for the expletive and SpecTP for the associate subject.

2.2 Cross-linguistic variation as to the structure of IP

The previous section argued for two subject positions in the IP domain, SpecAgrSP and SpecTP. However, the availability of SpecTP would seem to be subject to cross-linguistic variation. While an associate subject may occur to the left of a non-finite verb in Icelandic and Faroese I, this is ungrammatical in Mainland Scandinavian and Faroese II; compare (2) and (8) with (10) and (12) above, repeated in (21)-(24).

(21) a. Það hafa verið **einhverjir hundar** í garðinum. *Ic*
b. Það hafa **einhverjir hundar** verið í garðinum.
there have some dogs been in garden-the

(22) a. Tað hava verið **nakrir hundar** úti í garðinum. *Fa I*
b. Tað hava **nakrir hundar** verið úti í garðinum.
there have some dogs been out in garden-the

(23) a. Tað hava verið **nakrir hundar** úti í garðinum. *Fa II*
b. *Tað hava **nakrir hundar** verið úti í garðinum.
there have some dogs been out in garden-the

(24) a. Der har været **nogle hunde** i haven. *Da*
b. *Der har **nogle hunde** været i haven.
there have some dogs been in garden-the

This variation correlates with contrasts as to the acceptability of transitive expletive constructions (TECs): TECs are only possible in languages where SpecTP is available. They are acceptable in Icelandic, (25), and Faroese I, (26), but ungrammatical in Faroese II, (27), and Mainland Scandinavian, (28).[4]

[4] However, as Karen Margrethe Pedersen (p.c.) pointed out to me, TECs seem to be possible in some Danish dialects, (i); see also Pedersen & Sørensen (*to appear*). Correspondingly, the associate subject in an intransitive expletive construction can occur to the left of the non-finite verb, (ii).

(i) a. Der skal **nogen** passe dem. *Falster*
there should somebody care-for them
b. Har der **nogen** sagt dig det? *Eastern Jutland*
has there somebody told you this
c. Så havde der **en hund** bidt dem i buksebenene. *Sjælland*
so had there a dog bit them in trousers-the
(Pedersen & Sørensen, *forthcoming*)

(ii) a. Så kunne der godt **en damper** løbe over dem. *Sjælland*
so could there well a steamer run over them
b. Nu vil der snart **én** drukne. *Eastern Jutland*
now will there soon one drown
c. Har der **nogen** været inde ved dig? *Western Jutland*
has there somebody been in by you (Pedersen & Sørensen, *forthcoming*)

(25) Það byggðu **margir Íslendingar** hús í Þórshöfn. *Ic*
there built many Icelanders house in Tórshavn
(Jonas 1996b: 168)

(26) Tað bygdu **nakrir Íslendingar** hús í Havn. *Fa I*
there built some Icelanders house in Tórshavn
(Jonas 1994: 50)

(27) *Tað bygdu **nakrir Íslendingar** hús í Havn. *Fa II*
there built some Icelanders house in Tórshavn
(Jonas 1994: 50)

(28) *Der byggede **nogle islændinge** hus i Tórshavn. *Da*
there built some Icelanders house in Torshavn

The above contrast is accounted for by the assumption that the associate subject of a TEC cannot remain in its VP-internal base position, Spec*v*P.[5] In Icelandic and Faroese I, the associate subject can be licensed in SpecTP. In contrast, in Faroese II and Mainland Scandinavian, where SpecTP is not available, the associate subject cannot be licensed and consequently TECs are ungrammatical. (Unavailable positions are marked by shading in (29).)

Notice that the co-occurrence restriction observed in Faroese I does not seem to hold in these dialects: Both overt expletive and associate subject appear in clause-medial positions in (i)b,c and (ii).

[5] Note that the associate subject of a TEC must precede all non-finite verbs.

(i) a. *… að það mundi hafa borðað **einhver** þetta epli. *Ic*
b. *… að það mundi hafa **einhver** borðað þetta epli.
c. … að það mundi **einhver** hafa borðað þetta epli.
that there would somebody have eaten this apple
(Vikner 1995: 191)

(29) TEC			CP – AgrSP	SpecTP	Spec*v*P	V°	Comp	ex.
Ic/	a.	*	expl v		**sub**	t_v	obj	-
Fa I	b.		expl v	**sub**	t_{sub}	t_v	obj	(25)/(26)
MSc/	c.	*	expl v		**sub**	t_v	obj	(27)/(28)
Fa II	d.	*	expl v	**sub**	t_{sub}	t_v	obj	(27)/(28)

no SpecTP in MSc/Fa II

licensing of TEC associate subject in SpecTP

no licensing of TEC associate subject in Spec*v*P

In contrast to TECs, the associate subject of an existential construction can be licensed in its base position (as complement of V°; see Vikner 1995). In addition, it may move to and be licensed in SpecTP if this position is available in the given language. This is illustrated in (30).

(30) existential			CP – AgrSP	SpecTP	V°	Comp	Adv	ex.
Ic/	a.		expl aux		v	**sub**	adv	(2)a/(8)a
Fa I	b.		expl aux	**sub**	v	t_{sub}	adv	(2)b/(8)b
MSc/	c.		expl aux		v	**sub**	adv	(10)a/(12)a
Fa II	d.	*	expl aux	**sub**	v	t_{sub}	adv	(10)b/(12)b

no SpecTP in MSc/Fa II

licensing of existential associate subject in SpecTP

licensing of existential subject in V°-Comp

The variation across the Scandinavian languages as to the availability of SpecTP has been considered to be due to a structural contrast between the languages (i.e. the position is not projected at all in some varieties, e.g. Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998 and Koeneman & Neeleman 2001) or to differences in checking requirements (i.e. though present, the position cannot be occupied by an associate subject, e.g. Bobaljik & Jonas 1996 and Vangsnes 2002). For reasons of exposition, I will follow the former analysis here but nothing hinges on this assumption.

In addition, the approaches to expletive constructions differ in the theoretical implementation of why the availability of SpecTP varies across the Scandinavian languages (see Richards 2006). Basically, two main camps can be distinguished: (a) those approaches which attribute the (non)availability of SpecTP to the presence/absence of full DP Object Shift (Bures' generalisation; e.g. Bures 1992, 1993, Bobaljik & Jonas 1996, Koster & Zwart 2001, and Richards 2006), and (b) those approaches which attribute it to verb movement (Vikner's generalisation; e.g. Vikner 1990, 1995, Sigurðsson 1991, Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998, and Koeneman & Neeleman 2001).

In this connection, notice that full DP Object Shift is not possible in Faroese, (31), although SpecTP is available at least in Faroese I; see (2)/(26). This points to the conclusion that the availability of SpecTP does not depend on the acceptability of full DP Object Shift.

(31) a. Eg las **ikki** bókina. *Fa*
b. *Eg las bókina **ikki**.
I read book-the not (Thráinsson et al. 2004: 245)

According to Vikner's generalisation, the availability of a clause-medial position for the associate subject presupposes V2 and V°-to-I° movement. While all of the Scandinavian languages are V2, they vary as to V°-to-I° movement. V°-to-I° movement takes place in embedded clauses in Icelandic but not in Mainland Scandinavian (at least not to the same extent; see Bentzen 2007 and Wiklund et al. 2007). Moreover, Bobaljik & Jonas (1996) and Jonas (1996a,b) claim that embedded V°-to-I° movement is optional in Faroese I but ungrammatical in Faroese II. Comparison with data on verb movement collected by Kristine Bentzen, Piotr Garbacz, Caroline Heycock, and Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson during the NORMS Dialect Workshop on the Faroe Islands showed that V°-to-I° movement in embedded clauses was rejected by my Faroese II informants whereas it was judged slightly better, though still strongly marked, by my Faroese I informants. (See also Bentzen et al. 2009 on Faroese verb movement).

(32) a. *Það kom á óvart að María **ekki** les bækur. *Ic*
b. Það kom á óvart að María les **ekki** bækur.
it was unexpected that Maria read not books
(Jonas 1996b: 173)

(33) a. Eg spurdi hví Jógvan **ikki** hevði lisið bókina. *Fa I*
b. Eg spurdi hví Jógvan hevði **ikki** lisið bókina.
I asked why Jogvan had not read book-the
(Jonas 1996a: 95)

(34) a. Eg spurdi hví Jógvan **ikki** hevði lisið bókina. *Fa II*
b. *Eg spurdi hví Jógvan hevði **ikki** lisið bókina.
I asked why Jogvan had not read book-the
(Jonas 1996a: 95)

(35) a. Det er uventet at Marie **ikke** læser bøker. *Da*
b. *Det er uventet at Marie læser **ikke** bøker.
it is unexpected that Marie reads not books

Vikner (1995: 186/87) claims that I° is only able to (Case-)license the associate subject position to the left of the non-finite verb, which he takes to be SpecVP, if I° is filled and does not already assign another case. Only in V°-to-I° languages such as Icelandic and Faroese I is I° "filled" (strong) and may thus assign Case to SpecVP. In the languages without V°-to-I° movement such as Mainland Scandinavian and Faroese II, SpecVP is not licensed since I° is not filled. A subject thus cannot surface in this position.[6,7]

As discussed in the following section, licensing of an associate subject in clause-medial position (here taken to be SpecTP) seems to be subject to an even

[6] Movement through I° on the way to C° does not suffice to permit Case assignment to SpecVP in Mainland Scandinavian and Faroese II.

[7] SpecVP is not licensed in non-V2 languages like English and French either, where I° already assigns nominative to SpecIP under Spec-head agreement. This rules out TECs and existential associate subjects in clause-medial position altogether. In V2 languages, in contrast, C° is taken to assign nominative case to the constituent in SpecIP even if no V°-to-I°-to-C° movement takes place as e.g. in embedded clauses. The availability of the clause-medial position and TECs are thus not expected to be root-clause phenomena only.

stronger restriction: It requires a local relationship between the associate subject and the finite verb.

3 Local licensing of associate subjects in SpecTP

3.1 Position of the finite verb

It was shown above that although both an overt expletive and an associate subject may occur between a finite verb and a non-finite verb in Faroese I, (1) and (2), the clause-medial sequence *expletive – associate subject* is ungrammatical in existential constructions; see (3) repeated here as (36)a. The same holds for TECs; compare (26) with (36)b.

(36) a. *Í dag hava tað **nakrir hundar** verið úti í garðinum. *Fa I*
today have there some dogs been out in garden-the

b. *Allarhelst hefur tað **onkur** keypt husið hjá Róa.
probably has there somebody bought house-the of Roa

Given that there are two subject positions in the IP domain in Faroese I (SpecAgrSP for the expletive and SpecTP for the associate subject), as argued for in the previous section, this restriction cannot be due to the fact that the two constituents compete for the same position. In fact, co-occurrence of an overt expletive and an associate subject in the IP domain is marginally acceptable in embedded questions; see (18) repeated here as (37). (Remember that the expletive must be located in SpecAgrSP in (37) as embedded questions do not permit CP recursion; see (17) above.)

Fa I

(37) a. ?Hon spurdi um tað høvdu **nakrir hundar** verið úti í garðinum.
she asked if there had some dogs been out in garden-the

b. ??Hon spurdi um <u>tað</u> hevði **onkur** keypt húsini hjá Róa.
she asked if there had somebody bought houses-the of Roa
(Zakaris Svabo Hansen, p.c.)

Recall that V°-to-I° movement is optional in embedded clauses in Faroese I, (33). Interestingly, simultaneous filling of SpecAgrSP and SpecTP is ungrammatical if V°-to-I° movement does not take place, as shown by the example in (38).

Fa I

(38) a. *Hon spurdi um <u>tað</u> **nakrir hundar** høvdu verið úti í garðinum.
she asked if there some dogs had been out in garden-the

b. *Hon spurdi um <u>tað</u> **onkur** hevði keypt húsið hjá Róa.
she asked if there somebody had bought house-the of Roa
(Zakaris Svabo Hansen, p.c.)

What distinguishes the grammatical sentences in (37) from the ungrammatical ones in (36) and (38) is that the finite verb intervenes between the expletive in SpecAgrSP and the associate subject in SpecTP in the former but precedes and follows both constituents in the latter examples, respectively. Thus, co-occurrence of an overt expletive and an associate subject in the IP domain is apparently only possible if the finite verb intervenes between the two constituents.

That it is not pure string-adjacency between an overt expletive and an associate subject that is prohibited is shown by the examples in (39).[8] An intervening adverb does not yield acceptability.

(39) a. *Í dag hava <u>tað</u> *kanska* **nakrir hundar** verið úti í garðinum. *Fa I*
today have there maybe some dogs been out in garden-the

[8] This hypothesis is also corroborated by the fact that the sequence *expletive – associate subject* is acceptable as long as the associate subject does not occur in SpecTP; see sections 3.2 and 3.3 below.

b. *Í dag hevur tað *kanska* **onkur** keypt húsið hjá Róa.
today has there maybe somebody bought house-the of Roa

Apparently, an overt expletive must be separated from the associate subject by an intervening verb. Similar to the embedded clauses in (37), this is the case in the main clauses in (40), where the overt expletive occupies SpecCP and the finite verb occurs in C°.

(40) a. Tað hava **nakrir hundar** verið úti í garðinum. *Fa I*
there have some dogs been out in garden-the

b. Tað keypti **onkur** husið hjá Róa.
there bought somebody house-the of Roa

The above data suggest that an associate subject in SpecTP needs to be locally licensed by the finite verb. Assume that the associate subject carries a D-feature, which must be probed by a c-commanding verb. Thereby, the exact structural position of the verb is not relevant: It may appear in AgrS° or C°; see (37) and (40) above. However, it is important that the licensing relation is local: Licensing of the associate subject in SpecTP is not possible if an overt expletive intervenes between the verb and the associate subject; see (36).[9] In this case the verb cannot probe the associate subject's D-feature because there is a closer one, namely the one of the expletive. The hypothesis that the intervening expletive's D-feature blocks licensing of the associate subject in SpecTP is supported by the fact that an intervening adverb, which does not carry the relevant feature, does not yield ungrammaticality; see (41).

[9] Note that only overt constituents count for licensing. First, checking has to be carried out by the verb in its surface position. If it could be done by the verb trace in AgrS°, the ungrammaticality of (36) would be unexpected. Second, given that the overt expletive is always merged in SpecAgrSP, from where it may move to SpecCP, the sentences in (40) indicate that only the overt expletive but not its trace in SpecAgrSP blocks local licensing.

(41) a. Það hava *kanska* **nakrir hundar** verið úti í garðinum. *Fa I*
there have maybe some dogs been out in garden-the

b. Það hevur *kanska* **onkur** keypt húsið hjá Róa.
there has maybe somebody bought house-the of Roa

To sum up, clause-medial co-occurrence of overt expletive and associate subject would seem to depend on local licensing, as illustrated in (42).

(42) Fa I			Spec CP	C°	Spec AgrSP	AgrS°	Spec TP	…	Aux°	…	V°	…	ex.
local	a.		expl	aux	t_{expl}	t_{aux}	**sub**	…	t_{aux}	…	v	…	(1)
licensing	b.			Comp	expl	aux	**sub**	…	t_{aux}	…	v	…	(37)
no local	c.	*	XP	aux	expl	t_{aux}	**sub**	…	t_{aux}	…	v	…	(36)
licensing	d.	*		Comp	expl		**sub**	…	aux	…	v	…	(38)

Asymmetries between existential constructions and TECs with simple and complex tense and with non-negative and negative associate subjects discussed in the following sections show that the above licensing requirement only applies to associate subjects in SpecTP. The sequence *expletive – associate subject* is acceptable as long as the associate subject occurs in a lower position.

3.2 Simple versus complex tense

Intervention of an overt expletive between the finite verb and the associate subject is not prohibited as such. The sequence *expletive – associate subject* is acceptable in existential constructions with simple tense, (43), but not in ones with complex tense, (44). These facts indicate that an associate subject in the IP domain but not one in VP-internal position is subject to the licensing condition discussed in the previous section.

(43) a. Það vóru **nakrir hundar** úti í garðinum. *Fa I*
b. Í morgun vóru það **nakrir hundar** úti í garðinum.
in morning-the were there some dogs out in garden-the

(44) a. Það hava **nakrir hundar** verið úti í garðinum. *Fa I*
b. *Í morgun hava það **nakrir hundar** verið úti í garðinum.
in morning-the have there some dogs been out in garden-the

In the simple tense case in (43), the exact structural position of the associate subject is obscured by V°-to-I°-to-C° movement. The associate subject could be located in the complement position of V° or in the specifier position of TP. In contrast, the only position to the left of a non-finite verb available to the associate subject in (44) is SpecTP. As discussed in the previous section, an associate subject in this position needs to check its D-feature with the c-commanding verb, which is not possible if an overt expletive intervenes in the checking relation since there would then be a D-feature closer to the verb. Under the assumption that an associate subject in V°-Comp does not require local licensing, the contrast between (43) and (44) follows: In (43)b but not in (44)b the sequence *expletive – associate subject* may have a structure, in which the associate subject is licensed, as illustrated in (45).[10]

[10] As there are semantic restrictions on associate subjects in clause-medial and post-lexical position (see Vangsnes 2002), the acceptability of (43)b is expected to be dependent on the type of DP.

(45) Fa I: existential				CP-AgrSP	SpecTP	V°	Comp	Adv	ex.
no intervening expletive	simple	a.		expl v		t_v	**sub**	adv	(43)a
	tense	b.		expl v	**sub**	t_v	t_{sub}	adv	(43)a
	complex	c.		expl aux		v	**sub**	adv	(2)a
	tense	d.		expl aux	**sub**	v	t_{sub}	adv	(44)a
intervening expletive	simple	e.		v expl		t_v	**sub**	adv	(43)b
	tense	f.	*	v expl	**sub**	t_v	t_{sub}	adv	-
	complex	g.		aux expl		v	**sub**	adv	(1)a
	tense	h.	*	aux expl	**sub**	v	t_{sub}	adv	(44)b

intervening expletive blocks licensing of associate subject in SpecTP

In contrast to existential constructions, TECs do not permit the sequence *expletive – associate subject* at all, irrespective of simple or complex tense.

(46) a. Það keypti **onkur** husið hjá Róa. *Fa I*
b. *Allarhelst keypti það **onkur** husið hjá Róa.
probably bought there somebody house-the of Roa

(47) a. Það hefur **onkur** keypt husið hjá Róa. *Fa I*
b. *Allarhelst hefur það **onkur** keypt husið hjá Róa.
probably has there somebody bought house-the of Roa

Given that the associate subject of a TEC cannot remain in its base position Spec*v*P but must move to SpecTP (see section 2), the above pattern is expected. Independent of simple and complex tense, the associate subject cannot be licensed if it is separated from the licensing verb by an intervening overt expletive.

(48) Fa I: TEC				CP – AgrSP	SpecTP	Spec*v*P	V°	Comp	ex.
no intervening expletive	simple	a.	*	expl v		**sub**	t_v	obj	-
	tense	b.		expl v	**sub**	t_{sub}	t_v	obj	(46)a
	complex	c.	*	expl aux		**sub**	v	obj	-
	tense	d.		expl aux	**sub**	t_{sub}	v	obj	(47)a
intervening expletive	simple	e.	*	v expl		**sub**	t_v	obj	(46)b
	tense	f.	*	v expl	**sub**	t_{sub}	t_v	obj	(46)b
	complex	g.	*	aux expl		**sub**	v	obj	(47)b
	tense	h.	*	aux expl	**sub**	t_{sub}	v	obj	(47)b

intervening expletive blocks licensing of associate subject in SpecTP

licensing of TEC associate subject in SpecTP

no licensing of TEC associate subject in Spec*v*P

3.3 Non-negative versus negative associate subject

Asymmetries between expletive constructions with non-negative associate subject and ones with negative associate subject point to the conclusion that it is not an associate subject in the IP domain but more specifically an associate subject in SpecTP that requires local licensing. While the clause-medial sequence *expletive – associate subject* is ruled out for existential constructions with a non-negative associate subject, it is possible in existential constructions with a negative subject; see the contrast between (49) and (50).

(49) a. Það hava **nakrir hundar** verið úti í garðinum.*Fa I*
b. *Í morgun hava tað **nakrir hundar** verið úti í garðinum.
in morning-the have there some dogs been out in garden-the

(50) a. Það hava **eingir hundar** verið úti í garðinum.*Fa I*
b. Í morgun hava tað **eingir hundar** verið úti í garðinum.
in morning-the have there no dogs been out in garden-the

There is reason to believe that a negative associate subject to the left of a non-finite verb need not occupy SpecTP as there is a special position for negative phrases in the IP domain. Under a sentential negation reading, a negative object cannot remain *in situ* in the Scandinavian languages but must undergo Negative Shift: The negative phrase moves to SpecNegP, where it checks its [+negative] feature (see K. K. Christensen 1986, 1987, Rögnvaldsson 1987, Jónsson 1996, Svenonius 2000, 2002, K. R. Christensen 2005, and Engels 2009, *to appear* on Negative Shift).

(51) a. *Ég hef [$_{VP}$ sagt **ekkert**] *Ic*
a'. Ég hef [$_{NegP}$ **ekkert** [$_{VP}$ sagt t_O]]

b. *Eg havi [$_{VP}$ sagt **einki**] *Fa*
b'. Eg havi [$_{NegP}$ **einki** [$_{VP}$ sagt t_O]]

c. *Jeg har [$_{VP}$ sagt **ingenting**] *Da*
c'. Jeg har [$_{NegP}$ **ingenting** [$_{VP}$ sagt t_O]]
I have nothing said

Like negative objects, negative associate subjects cannot remain in VP-internal position but must undergo Negative Shift. As a result, non-negative associate subjects in Danish and Faroese II differ from negative ones in that the former cannot precede a non-finite verb whereas the latter must do so; compare (52) and (54) repeated from (10) and (12) with (53) and (55).[11]

[11] While string-vacuous Negative Shift is possible in all Scandinavian languages, there is a considerable amount of cross-linguistic variation as to non-string-vacuous Negative Shift; see Engels (2009, *to appear*). For instance in Norwegian, Negative Shift cannot cross a verb *in situ*, (i). As a consequence, negative associate subjects are ruled out in existential constructions with complex tense, (ii), while they may appear in constructions with simple tense, where Negative Shift can apply string-vacuously, (iii).

(i) a. Jeg sa **ingenting** t_V t_O. *No*
I said nothing

b. *Jeg har **ingenting** sagt t_O.
I have nothing said

(52) a. Der har været **nogle hunde** i haven. *Da*
b. *Der har **nogle hunde** været i haven.
there have some dogs been in garden-the

(53) a. *Der har været **ingen hunde** i haven. *Da*
b. Der har **ingen hunde** været i haven.
there have no dogs been in garden-the

Fa II

(54) a. Tað hava verið **nakrir hundar** úti í garðinum.
b. *Tað hava **nakrir hundar** verið úti í garðinum.
there have some dogs been out in garden-the

(55) a. *Tað hava verið **eingir hundar** úti í garðinum. *Fa*
b. Tað hava **eingir hundar** verið úti í garðinum.
there have no dogs been out in garden-the

The above contrast between negative and non-negative associate subjects as to the ability to occur to the left of a non-finite verb is accounted for by the assumption that SpecNegP may only host a negative phrase: Negative Shift takes place for checking of [+negative] and consequently may only affect constituents with a corresponding feature. A non-negative associate subject to the left of a non-finite verb, in contrast, would have to occur in SpecTP, which is not available in Mainland Scandinavian and Faroese II (see section 2). This is illustrated in (56).[12]

(ii) a. *Det har vært **ingen hunder** i hagen. *No*
b. *Det har **ingen hunder** vært t_O i hagen.
there have no dogs been in garden-the

(iii) Det var **ingen hunder** t_V t_O i hagen. *No*
there were no dogs in garden-the

[12] Note that TP dominates NegP: An associate subject precedes an Object Shifted object, (20), and an Object Shifted object precedes a Negative Shifted one, (i).

(i) Hun låner ham sikkert **ingenting**. *Da*
she lends him surely nothing

(56) Da/Fa II: existential			CP - AgrSP	SpecTP	SpecNegP	V°	Comp	Adv	ex.
[-neg]	a.		expl aux			v	**sub**$_{[-n]}$	adv	(52)a/(54)a
	b.	*	expl aux		**sub**$_{[-n]}$	v	t_{sub}	adv	(52)b/(54)b
	c.	*	expl aux	**sub**$_{[-n]}$		v	t_{sub}	adv	(52)b//(54)b
[+neg]	d.	*	expl aux			v	**sub**$_{[+n]}$	adv	(53)a/(55)a
	e.		expl aux		**sub**$_{[+n]}$	v	t_{sub}	adv	(53)b/(55)b
	f.	*	expl aux	**sub**$_{[+n]}$	t_{sub}	v	t_{sub}	adv	-

no SpecTP in MSc/Fa II

no [-neg] in SpecNegP

no [+neg] in VP

As illustrated in (49)a and (50)a above, both non-negative and negative associate subjects may precede a non-finite verb in Faroese I, where both SpecTP and SpecNegP are in principle available to the associate subject of an existential construction. However, in contrast to a non-negative associate subject in SpecTP, a negative one in SpecNegP would seem not to require local licensing: An overt expletive may intervene between the finite verb and a negative associate subject; see the contrast between (49)b and (50)b. Hence, local licensing would seem to be restrained to associate subjects in SpecTP in Faroese I.[13]

[13] The negative associate subject in SpecNegP is licensed by virtue of being [+negative].

(57) Fa I: existential				CP – AgrSP	SpecTP	SpecNegP	V°	Comp	Adv	ex.
no intervening expletive	[-neg]	a.		expl aux			v	**sub**$_{[-n]}$	adv	(2)a
		b.	*	expl aux		**sub**$_{[-n]}$	v	t_{sub}	adv	-
		c.		expl aux	**sub**$_{[-n]}$		v	t_{sub}	adv	(49)a
	[+neg]	d.	*	expl aux			v	**sub**$_{[+n]}$	adv	(55)a
		e.		expl aux		**sub**$_{[+n]}$	v	t_{sub}	adv	(50)a
		f.		expl aux	**sub**$_{[+n]}$	t_{sub}	v	t_{sub}	adv	(50)a
intervening expletive	[-neg]	g.		aux expl			v	**sub**$_{[-n]}$	adv	(1)a
		h.	*	aux expl		**sub**$_{[-n]}$	v	t_{sub}	adv	(49)b
		i.	*	aux expl	**sub**$_{[-n]}$		v	t_{sub}	adv	(49)b
	[+neg]	j.	*	aux expl			v	**sub**$_{[+n]}$	adv	-
		k.		aux expl		**sub**$_{[+n]}$	v	t_{sub}	adv	(50)b
		l.	*	aux expl	**sub**$_{[+n]}$	t_{sub}	v	t_{sub}	adv	-

intervening expletive blocks licensing of associate subject in SpecTP

no [-neg] in SpecNegP

no [+neg] in VP

In contrast to existential constructions, a negative associate subject does not cancel out the co-occurrence restriction on clause-medial overt expletives and associate subjects in TECs. Just as with non-negative associate subjects, an overt expletive must not intervene between a negative associate subject and the finite verb; see (58) and (59).

(58) a. Það hevur **onkur** keypt husið hjá Róa. *Fa I*
b. *Allarhelst hevur tað **onkur** keypt husið hjá Róa.
probably has there somebody bought house-the of Roa

(59) a Það hevur **eingin** keypt husið hjá Róa. *Fa I*
b. *Allarhelst hevur tað **eingin** keypt husið hjá Róa.
probably has there nobody bought house-the of Roa

This follows under the assumption that the associate subject of a TEC does not only have to leave its base position Spec*v*P but must be licensed in SpecTP. Like a non-negative associate subject, a negative associate subject of a TEC thus has to move to SpecTP, where it would have to be locally licensed.

(60) Fa I: TEC				CP - AgrSP	Spec TP	Spec NegP	Spec *v*P	V°	Comp	ex.
no intervening expletive	[-neg]	a.	*	expl aux			**sub**$_{[-n]}$	v	obj	-
		b.	*	expl aux		**sub**$_{[-n]}$	t_{sub}	v	obj	-
		c.		expl aux	**sub**$_{[-n]}$		t_{sub}	v	obj	(58)a
	[+neg]	d.	*	expl aux			**sub**$_{[+n]}$	v	obj	-
		e.	*	expl aux		**sub**$_{[+n]}$	t_{sub}	v	obj	-
		f.		expl aux	**sub**$_{[+n]}$	t_{sub}	t_{sub}	v	obj	(59)a
intervening expletive	[-neg]	g.	*	aux exp			**sub**$_{[-n]}$	v	obj	(58)b
		h.	*	aux expl		**sub**$_{[-n]}$	t_{sub}	v	obj	(58)b
		i.	*	aux expl	**sub**$_{[-n]}$		t_{sub}	v	obj	(58)b
	[+neg]	j.	*	aux expl			**sub**$_{[+n]}$	v	obj	(59)b
		k.	*	aux expl		**sub**$_{[+n]}$	t_{sub}	v	obj	(59)b
		l.	*	aux expl	**sub**$_{[+n]}$	t_{sub}	t_{sub}	v	obj	(59)b

intervening expletive blocks licensing of associate subject in SpecTP

no licensing of TEC associate subject in SpecNegP

no licensing of TEC associate subject in Spec*v*P

The hypothesis that the associate subject of a TEC must occur in SpecTP, irrespective of whether it is negative or non-negative, is corroborated by the fact that a negative associate subject does not make TECs possible in Mainland Scandinavian, where SpecNegP but not SpecTP is available. In other words, a TEC associate subject cannot be licensed in SpecNegP; the sentence in (61) is ungrammatical.

(61) *Der har **ingen** sagt det. *Da*
there has nobody said that

However, at least some speakers of Swedish accept TECs if the associate subject is negative. Notably, the negative associate subject seems to require local licensing: The construction is only possible if the expletive appears in clause-initial position but not if it intervenes between the finite verb and the negative associate subject; see also section 4 below.

(62) a. Det ska **ingen jävel** slå mina barn. *Sw*
b. *I dag ska det **ingen jävel** slå mina barn.
today shall there no bastard beat my child
(David Håkanson, p.c., and Christer Platzack, p.c.)

3.4 Summary

Though there are two subject positions in the IP domain in Faroese I (section 2), they can only be filled simultaneously by an overt expletive (SpecAgrSP) and an associate subject (SpecTP) if the constituents are separated by an intervening verb (section 3.1). This was accounted for by the assumption that the associate subject in SpecTP requires local licensing: The finite verb needs to check the D-feature of the associate subject in SpecTP. This is only possible if there is no closer goal, i.e. if there is no overt expletive that intervenes between the finite verb and the associate subject.

The asymmetries between existential constructions and TECs with simple/complex tense (section 3.2) and negative/non-negative associate subject (section 3.3) showed that this licensing condition only applies to associate subjects in SpecTP in Faroese I. The sequence *expletive – associate subject* is acceptable as long as the associate subject occurs in a lower position (CompV° and SpecNegP, respectively).

As discussed in the following section, Mainland Scandinavian data from around 1900 point to the conclusion that the co-occurrence restriction is actually not confined to SpecTP but applies to associate subjects in positions in which a TEC subject can be licensed.

4 A similar phenomenon in Mainland Scandinavian around 1900

While TECs are ungrammatical in present-day Mainland Scandinavian, (28) and (61) above, traditional grammars present data that show that TECs were possible with quantified and negative associate subjects in Mainland Scandinavian around 1900 (Diderichsen 1946, Ljunggren 1926, Mikkelsen 1911, Wallin 1936, and Western 1921; see also K. K. Christensen 1991).

(63) Der kan **mange** sige det. *No*
there can many say that (Falk & Torp 1900: 8)

(64) Der maa **ingen** sige det. *Da*
there must nobody say that (Diderichsen 1946: 187)

(65) Det kan **ingen** göra den saken bättre än han. *Sw*
there can nobody do this thing better than he (Wallin 1936: 368)

Likewise, quantified associate subjects could optionally precede a non-finite verb in existential constructions, and negative ones even had to do so, just as they do in present-day Danish and Swedish; see (53) above.

(66) a. Der har ligget **mange** under åben himmel i nat. *Da*
b. Der har **mange** ligget under åben himmel i nat.
there have many laid under open sky last night
(Mikkelsen 1911: 29)

(67) a. Der må da have været **nogen** hjemme. *Da*
b. Der må da **nogen** have været hjemme.
there must really somebody have been at-home
(Mikkelsen 1911: 29)

(68) a. *Det har varit **ingen** här. *Sw*
b. Det har **ingen** varit här.
there has nobody been here (Wallin 1936: 368)

(69) a. *Det har kommit **inga tidningar**. *Sw*
b. Det har **inga tidningar** kommit.
there are no newspapers come (Ljunggren 1926: 323)

As shown in section 3.3 above, there is a special position for negative phrases to the left of a non-finite verb in Scandinavian, namely SpecNegP. Similarly, there would seem to be a special position for quantified phrases to the left of a non-finite verb, SpecQP. As shown by the example in (70) from Ljunggren (1926), a quantified object could precede or follow a non-finite verb; see also Western (1921: 221/22). Movement of a quantified object to the left of a non-finite verb, referred to as Quantifier Shift, was possible in all Scandinavian languages and still optionally applies in present-day Icelandic, (71); see Rögnvaldsson (1987), Jónsson (1996), Svenonius (2000), and Thráinsson (2007).

(70) a. Jag har fått **många tidningar** av honom. *Sw*
b. Jag har **många tidningar** fått av honom.
I have many newspapers received by him
Ljuggren (1926: 323)

(71) a. Strákarnir höfðu hent **miklu grjóti** í bílana. *Ic*
b. ?Strákarnir höfðu **miklu grjóti** hent í bílana.
boys-the had much rock thrown in cars-the
(Svenonius 2000: 262)

Van der Wulff (1999), Tanaka (2000) and Ingham (2003) report a restriction to negative associate subjects for Middle English expletive constructions similar to the one observed in former stages of Mainland Scandinavian: TECs and existential constructions with clause-medial associate subject were only possible with negative associate subjects. Based on van Kemenade (1997: 332), Ingham (2003: 437) accounts for this by assuming that the case feature normally associated with I° could be transmitted to the next functional head below it (Neg°), permitting licensing of an associate subject in SpecNegP.[14]

[14] As *v*° is not a functional head, an associate subject could not remain in Spec*v*P; TECs with non-negative associate subject were thus ruled out.

Following Ingham (2003), the restriction to TECs with negative or quantified associate subject in Mainland Scandinavian around 1900 can be captured by the assumption that SpecTP was unavailable at that stage, just as it is in present-day Mainland Scandinavian, but that a quantified or negative associate subject could be licensed in SpecQP and SpecNegP, which is not possible anymore (see section 3.3). This is illustrated in (75) below. Like an associate subject in SpecTP in Faroese I, an associate subject in SpecQP or SpecNegP is taken here to require licensing by D-feature checking with the c-commanding finite verb.

Interestingly, Falk & Torp (1900: 8-10), Western (1921: 65) and Ljunggren (1926: 344) claim that an overt expletive is only acceptable in clause-initial position in TECs; see the (a)-examples in (72)-(74). If some other constituent is topicalized, an overt expletive cannot appear: Clause-medial co-occurrence of overt expletive and associate subject as in (72)b-(74)b is ungrammatical.

(72) a. Der kan **ikke mange** tale bedre. *No*
b. *Bedre kan der **ikke mange** tale.
better can there not many speak (Falk & Torp 1900: 10)

(73) a. Der forlanger **ingen** det av dig. *No*
b. *Det forlanger der **ingen** av dig.
it demand there nobody from you (Western 1921: 65)

(74) a. Der har **mange** ønsket det samme. *No*
b. *Det samme har der **mange** ønsket.
the same have there many wished (Western 1921: 65)

The above contrast suggests that licensing of an associate subject in SpecQP and SpecNegP has to be local: The associate subject cannot be licensed if an intervening overt expletive blocks D-feature checking by the finite verb; see (75).

(75) MSc 1900: TEC				CP – AgrSP	SpecTP	Spec Neg/QP	Spec*v*P	V°	Comp	ex.
no intervening expletive	[-n/q]	a.	*	expl aux			**sub**$_{[-n/q]}$	v	obj	-
		b.	*	expl aux		**sub**$_{[-n/q]}$	t_{sub}	v	obj	-
		c.	*	expl aux	**sub**$_{[-n/q]}$		t_{sub}	v	obj	-
	[+n/q]	d.	*	expl aux			**sub**$_{[+n/q]}$	v	obj	-
		e.		expl aux		**sub**$_{[+n/q]}$	t_{sub}	v	obj	(73)a
		f.	*	expl aux	**sub**$_{[+n/q]}$	t_{sub}	t_{sub}	v	obj	-
intervening expletive	[-n/q]	g.	*	aux exp			**sub**$_{[-n/q]}$	v	obj	-
		h.	*	aux expl		**sub**$_{[-n/q]}$	t_{sub}	v	obj	-
		i.	*	aux expl	**sub**$_{[-n/q]}$		t_{sub}	v	obj	-
	[+n/q]	j.	*	aux expl			**sub**$_{[+n/q]}$	v	obj	(73)a
		k.	*	aux expl		**sub**$_{[+n/q]}$	t_{sub}	v	obj	(73)c
		l.	*	aux expl	**sub**$_{[+n/q]}$	t_{sub}	t_{sub}	v	obj	(73)c

no SpecTP in MSc 1900

no [-neg/-q] in SpecNeg/QP

licensing of TEC associate subject in SpecNeg/QP

intervening expletive blocks licensing of associate subject in SpecNeg/QP

no licensing of TEC associate subject in Spec*v*P

Thus, the co-occurrence restriction on clause-medial overt expletives and associate subjects would seem to apply only to associate subjects in positions in which a TEC associate subject can be licensed: It applies to associate subjects in SpecTP in Faroese I, where TECs are possible with all types of subjects (see (36), (46)b and (59)b above), and to associate subjects in SpecNegP/SpecQP in former stages of Mainland Scandinavian, where TECs are restricted to negative and quantified subjects (see (72)b-(74)b above as well as (76)b and (78)b below). In contrast, in present-day Mainland Scandinavian and Faroese, where SpecNegP is not a licensing position for TEC subjects anymore, an overt expletive may intervene between the finite verb and the associate subject in SpecNegP (see section 3.3 and the examples in (50) above and (77) below). In

other words, the local licensing requirement is restricted to associate subjects in TEC subject positions.

Recall that in Faroese I, the associate subject of an existential construction cannot occur in SpecTP either if it is not separated from the overt expletive by an intervening verb; i.e. the associate subject of an existential construction requires local licensing, too. Similarly, Falk & Torp (1900: 10) present data that show that the clause-medial sequence *expletive – associate subject* was also ruled out for quantified associate subjects in existential constructions in former stages of Mainland Scandinavian.

No

(76) a. Der har **fire mænd** redet over broen idag.
b. *Idag har der **fire mænd** redet over broen.
c. Idag har der redet **fire mænd** over broen.
today has there ridden four men over bridge-the

(Falk & Torp 1900: 10)

If my proposal is on the right track and local licensing is generally required for associate subjects in positions where a TEC associate subject can be licensed, it is predicted that the sequence *expletive – associate subject* was ungrammatical in existential constructions with a negative associate subject in Mainland Scandinavian around 1900 although this sequence is grammatical in certain varieties of present-day Mainland Scandinavian; see (77) and footnote 11. This diachronic contrast is expected by the fact that SpecNegP was a licensing position for TEC associate subjects in former stages of Mainland Scandinavian, which it is not anymore; compare (61) with the examples in (63)-(65).

(77) I dag har der **ingen hunde** været i haven. *Da*
today have there no dogs been in garden-the

Unfortunately, I could not find an equivalent example in the traditional grammars mentioned above. But David Håkanson (p.c.), who seems to be able to license an associate subject in SpecNegP (see (62) above), just as it was possible in Mainland Scandinavian around 1900, rejects the sequence *expletive -*

negative associate subject in existential constructions, supporting the above hypothesis.[15]

(78) a. Det har **inga hundar** varit i trädgården. *Sw*
b. *Idag har det **inga hundar** varit i trädgården.
today have there no dogs been in garden-the
(David Håkanson, p.c.)

5 Conclusion

Though there are two subject positions in the IP domain in Faroese I, SpecAgrSP for the expletive and SpecTP for the associate subject (see section 2), these positions can only be filled simultaneously as long as the expletive does not disturb local licensing: An associate subject in SpecTP has to be licensed by checking its D-feature against a c-commanding verb; this is only possible as long as there is no D-feature closer to the finite verb, i.e. as long as there is no overt expletive that intervenes between the finite verb and the associate subject (see section 3.1). Asymmetries between existential constructions and TECs with simple/complex tense and non-negative/negative associate subject show that the licensing condition only applies to associate subjects in SpecTP in Faroese I. The sequence *expletive - associate subject* is possible if the associate subject occupies a lower position, CompV° and SpecNegP, respectively; see sections 3.2 and 3.3. Data from Mainland Scandinavian around 1900 point out that the co-occurrence restriction is actually not confined to associate subjects in SpecTP but generally applies to associate subjects in positions in which a TEC associate subject can be licensed.

[15] For Christer Platzack (p.c.), who also accepts the example in (62)a, the contrast in (78) is not that sharp as he judges (78)a only marginally acceptable; see also footnote 11.

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Issues in the syntax of Scandinavian embedded clauses*

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Abstract

The paper focuses on the syntactic and interpretive properties of subordinate clauses in Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic. Assuming a cartographic CP structure (Rizzi 1997; Haegeman 2006, a.o.), the V-to-Fin movement surfacing as linear V2 is determined by structural and interpretive properties of the complementizer domain in some embedded clauses. It is illustrated how the syntactic properties and distribution of embedded V2 in Scandinavian follow from restrictions imposed by minimality. A separate section addresses the issue of embedded subject-initial clauses in Icelandic where the inflected verb precedes phrasal adverbs or negation, by contrast to the linear order commonly encountered in Mainland Scandinavian embedded clauses.

1. Introduction

The V2 requirement holds for all main clauses in Scandinavian languages and is basically realized through two different types of sentences with the linear order illustrated in (1).

(1)a. XP V S …
b. S V (Adv/Neg)…

The order in (1)a. indicates that any non-subject constituent with a proper feature specification can precede the verb and give rise to verb-subject inversion. By contrast, the preverbal element in (1)b. is the subject, which naturally undergoes A-movement (not A'-movement) to a peripheral, preverbal position.

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The syntactic nature of V2 is still problematic and currently under debate, and a unitary account of V2 must take into consideration both orders provided in (1). On the basis of the verb-subject inversion phenomenon connected to V2-topicalization (cf. (1)a.), it has been claimed that the verb reaches the complementizer field in Germanic main clauses (cf. Vikner 1995, a.o.). Given that V2 is generalized to all main clauses in Scandinavian languages[1], it has been assumed that also subject-initial clauses (i.e. (1)b.) have V-to-C. Accordingly, what distinguishes non-subject initial V2 clauses, (1)a., from subject-initial V2 ones, (1)b., is the first position: A' in the former case, but A in the latter. This difference can be accounted for either by the hypothesis that there is a subject position in the C-domain (cf. Platzack 2009; Poletto 2000 for Romance varieties) or that the specifier of the lower C-head may have both A- and A'- properties (cf. Haeberli 2002). I disregard the details of this debate and assume that subjects can A-move to the C-domain in Scandinavian without being A'-extracted (unconstrained A'-extraction of subjects generally have problematic consequences, cf. Rizzi's 2004 account of ECP effects).

The distribution of V2 in Scandinavian embedded clauses has been extensively discussed (Vikner 1995; Holmberg and Platzack 1995 and references therein; Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990; Brandtler 2008; Hróarsdóttir et al. 2007; Wiklund et al. 2009; Julien 2007 and 2009; a.o.). In this paper:

- I limit the discussion of the pragmatics of embedded V2 clauses to aspects that are essential for their syntactic derivation;
- I disregard the details of the debate on the scope of verb movement in Icelandic embedded V2 clauses, namely whether it is due to independent V-to-I (Holmberg and Platzack 1995 and 2005; Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990; Thráinsson 2010, a.o.) or V-to-C (Hróarsdóttir et al. 2007; Wiklund et al. 2009);
- I take Norwegian and Swedish as paradigmatic languages for the Mainland Scandinavian system. By contrast, the Insular Scandinavian system is represented here by Icelandic only. Faroese is also an Insular Scandinavian language, but its system has a much more complex behavior which cannot be properly addressed in this paper. Accordingly, Faroese data are not discussed for expository and space reasons[2];
- I focus on the differences among various linear orders that yield a surface V2 string. I offer a syntactic account for deriving embedded non-subject-initial and subject initial V2. As for non-subject initial V2, I distinguish

[1] With few exceptions related to the possibility of S-Adv V or Adv-S V with certain adverbs (cf. Vikner 1995; Thráinsson 2007, a.o.).

[2] The reader interested in Faroese is referred to Heycock et al. (2009); Thráinsson et al. (2004) and Bentzen et al. (2009), a. o.

preverbal arguments from temporal/local adverbial preposing on the basis of the data provided in Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009) and Franco (2009). The issue of embedded subject-initial V2 in Icelandic (by contrast to Mainland Scandinavian) is addressed in a separate section.

The paper proposes a detailed account for the syntactic derivation of Scandinavian embedded V2 clauses and is structured as follows: section 2 briefly illustrates the distribution of V2 in different types of embedded clauses; section 3 explains the background assumptions and the approach adopted; section 4 illustrates the proposal: the ungrammaticality of embedded V2 is explained with the hypothesis that the A´-movement of a (non-subject) argumental constituent to a preverbal position triggers minimality effects with the movement of a subordinating operator. Section 5 provides an account for the grammaticality of embedded subject-initial V2 in Icelandic by contrast to its ungrammaticality in Mainland Scandinavian. The scope and trigger of verb movement in V2 clauses are accordingly defined. I summarize my arguments and make further speculations in Section 6.

2. Facts: distribution of embedded V2 in Scandinavian

Scandinavian embedded V2 differs from that found in West Germanic in one significant respect, i.e. verb movement is not in complementary distribution with overt complementizers. Basically, Scandinavian embedded V2 may surface in either of the two options given in (2) below (cf. with main clause V2 in (1) above).

(2)a. C XP V S …
b. C S V (Adv/Neg)…

The two orders illustrated in (2) above have a different distribution in embedded contexts, which has been discussed by previous literature (see Wiklund et al. 2009, a.o.) and can be accounted by looking at the structure of embedded clauses in Mainland Scandinavian vs. Icelandic.

In a recent paper, Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009) challenge the claim that Icelandic has so-called symmetric V2[3]. In line with the facts presented in this paper, the difference concerning embedded V2 in Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic can be summed up as follows:

[3] The claim that Insular Scandinavian, by contrast to Mainland Scandinavian, has symmetric V2 is made by Vikner (1995) a.o. The alleged "symmetry" results from linear constraints on word order. In Icelandic the verb is in second position both in main and subordinate clauses, whereas Mainland Scandinavian languages display a more salient root/embedded asymmetry due to the fact that the verb generally follows phrasal adverbs and negation in subordinate clauses.

(3) a. Mainland Scandinavian has a more restricted embedded V2. When V2 is not possible, the clause can neither have the order in (2)a. nor the one in (2)b.

b. Icelandic has a less restricted embedded V2. Some clauses can only have the order in (2)b., but not the one in (2)a.; i.e. in some clauses no topicalization is possible but subject-initial V2 is instead attested.

Moreover some other clauses allow the order in (2)a but impose a restriction on the type of fronted XP (cf. Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009) for data and discussion). Let us consider in more detail the clauses where V2 may or may not occur.

2.1. Declarative complements

According to the data presented by Wiklund et al. (2009), embedded non-subject initial V2 is possible only in a restricted range of contexts both in Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic. This type of V2-clauses necessarily entails V-to-C since the presence of a preverbal non-subject constituent (here simply referred to as "topic") "forces" verb-subject inversion. Apparently, non-subject initial embedded V2 clauses have a similar distribution in all Scandinavian languages, although a non-V2 clause (i.e. where the verb follows sentential adverbs or negation in a subject-initial clause) is in principle "always an option" in Mainland Scandinavian embedded contexts (cf. Brandtler 2008; Julien, in prep.), whereas the situation is exactly the opposite in Icelandic (i.e. V3 orders are marginal, when accepted, cf. Angantýsson 2007).

The distribution of embedded V2 in declarative complements seems to vary according to the type of predicate (cf. Hooper and Thompson's (1973) classification) as discussed in recent works (Hróarsdottir et al. 2007; Julien 2007 and in prep.; Wiklund et al. 2009; Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund 2009) and can be summed up as follows.

(i) Assertive and weak assertive complements, complements to some perception verbs and to verbs indicating a mental state (see Wiklund et al. 2009 for details) allow embedded V2 both with the linear order given in (2)a (non-subject-initial V2) and the one in (2)b (subject-initial V2) in Icelandic as well as in Mainland Scandinavian. Both verb movement and topicalization may obtain in these complements in the two language groups.

(ii) Factive complements, non-assertive complements or complements to modified/negated assertive and semi-factive verbs generally have a different behavior in Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian. With some degree of variation depending on the interpretation of the matrix predicate (or on its selectional properties) both subject-initial and non-subject-initial V2 is

ungrammatical in Mainland Scandinavian (see (5) below), whereas Adv/Neg-V orders are grammatical. In Icelandic subject-initial V2 (as in (4)b.) is the default option, whereas S Adv-V orders are marginal, if not ungrammatical (see Angantýsson 2007 and Thráinsson 2010).

Non-assertive/Factive complements

(4) a. *Hann sá eftir [að þetta lag **hafði** hann ekki sungið] (Icelandic)
He regretted that this song had he not sung
"He regretted that he didn't sing this song"
b. Hann sá eftir [að hann **hafði** ekki sungið]
He regretted that he had not sung
"He regretted that he had not sung"
[Hróarsdóttir et alia (2007), 56: (18); (19)]

(5) a. *Han ångrade [att den här sången **hade** han inte sjungit] (Swedish)
He regretted that this here song.the had he not sung
"He regretted that he didn't sing this song"
b. *Han ångrade [att han **hade** inte sjungit]
He regretted that he had not sung
"He regretted that he had not sung"
[Hróarsdóttir et alia (2007), 58, 59 : (23);(22)]

(iii) Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009) argue that in Icelandic a V2 clause formed by a preverbal topic and V-S inversion is an acceptable complement to a factive verb like *harma*, but not to the predicate *sá eftir* (both verbs mean "to regret"). They attribute this difference to the pragmatics of the two predicates (the first can embed a sentence containing new information for the addressee, whereas the latter cannot).

Points (i)-(iii) provide only a rough, descriptive generalization which excludes more controversial facts. In some cases, modified or negated semi-factives or assertive predicates allow embedded topicalization not only in Icelandic but also in Mainland Scandinavian[4]. The presence of embedded V2 in Mainland Scandinavian seems to depend on some specific interpretative properties attributed to the sentence containing a V2 complement. This possibility is explained in syntactic terms by the account proposed in section 4.

On the one hand, the fact that semi-factive predicates like "to know" may select V2 complements (with either S-V-Adv order or preverbal topics) in all Scandinavian languages indicates that factivity *per se* is not a good criterion to

[4] For an example of embedded topicalization under negated semifactives and assertive verbs see section 4.

discriminate V2 from non-V2 complements[5]; on the other hand, the restrictions on embedded V2 display an interesting correlation with the presence of a syntactic island (weak factive islands, negative islands, Wh- islands).

Let us assume that Scandinavian embedded V2 is a root phenomenon on a par with West Germanic and that it patterns as illustrated above (cf. (i)-(iii); Wiklund et al. 2009 and Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009)) for ease of classification[6]. Accordingly, we can infer which types of predicates/matrix clauses select root complements on the basis of (i)-(iii). Two questions arise at this point:

Question 1. What blocks topicalization in declarative complements to (most) non-assertive and factive predicates in Scandinavian?

Question 2. What triggers verb movement in certain clause-types in Icelandic but blocks it in their Mainland Scandinavian correlates?

The importance of providing complete, separate answers to Question 1 and 2 is crucial for understanding the mechanisms yielding surface V2.

Many different perspectives have been offered to account for the distribution of embedded V2 so far. Some recent accounts propose that Scandinavian embedded V2 is related to the interpretation of the whole matrix clause (Julien 2007); or to the possibility that the subordinate clause is interpreted as expressing the so-called Main Point of Utterance (MPU, conveying the pragmatically relevant content of the sentence, Wiklund et al. 2009, in line with Hróarsdóttir et al. 2007). Nevertheless, a clear definition of the syntactic licensing conditions for embedded V2 has not been given yet.

Moreover, an account of embedded V2 based on its pragmatics cannot be applied to Insular Scandinavian, or at least not to Icelandic, since Icelandic can have embedded V2 even in those clauses where it is not "pragmatically" expected according to the aforementioned accounts. Rather, a syntactic explanation for the target of verb movement in Icelandic embedded clauses is required (cf. question 2 above). There is reason to believe that the pragmatics of

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[5] An interesting parallel can be drawn with subjunctive mood, which is morphologically preserved only in Icelandic, among the Scandinavian languages. In accounting for the syntactic properties of Icelandic finite complements, Thráinsson (2007) observes that there are interpretive differences between subjunctive and indicative complements to predicates that allow both (such as *að veita*, to know, see section 5). However, the use of subjunctive cannot be connected to factivity *tout court*, and it interacts in a complex way with the speaker's presupposition (see Thráinsson (2007), chapter 8). Sigurðsson (2009) discusses the relation between factivity and indicative/subjunctive alternation in Icelandic in greater detail. See section 5 below.

[6] I am not assuming that the classification summed up in (i)-(iii) above is empirically correct, but I need a simple and schematic set of data in order to illustrate the syntactic mechanisms that allow or block embedded topicalization. The proposal is such that any actual divergence from the generalization given in (i)-(iii) above can be easily accounted for.

Icelandic embedded clauses is connected to different syntactic properties of this language. The hypothesis explored in this paper is that the presence of morphological subjunctive in Icelandic (but not in other Scandinavian languages) enables the activation of a syntactic mood-checking mechanism. In line with the analysis offered by Sigurðsson (2009), I address the issue of Icelandic subject-initial embedded V2 clauses in relation to mood selection and factivity (see section 5 below).

Regardless of the different interpretations that V2 vs. non-V2 clauses may have, a separate issue is which device blocks topicalization in the embedded clause types considered so far (cf. question 1). This question extends to other clause-types as well, where topicalization is not possible. An overview of these other subordinate clause-types is given in the next subsection.

2.2. Other types of subordinate clauses

In addition to clauses generally displaying weak island properties (e.g. factive or modified/negated assertive complements), other clause-types do not generally allow non-subject V2 in Scandinavian (cf. Table 1 below).

Subordinate clauses analyzed as non-V2 in the literature on (Mainland) Scandinavian are those derived by A'-dependencies (relative clauses; indirect Wh- questions), as well as indirect yes/no questions and some adverbial clauses. Compare the declarative non-subject initial complements in (4) and (5) to the relative clauses in (6) and the indirect questions in (7):

Relative clauses

(6)a. *stelpan [sem bókina **gaf** Haraldur ekki] (Icelandic)
girl.the that book.the gave Harald(NOM) not
"The girl to whom Harald didn't give the book"

b. *den flicka [som sitt hår **har** kammat] (Swedish)
the girl that her hair has combed
"The girl that has combed her hair"

Indirect Wh- questions

(7) a. *þeir spurðu [hvern í bæinn **hefði** rútan flutt klukkan sjö] (Icelandic)
They asked who to town.the had bus.the carried clock seven
"They asked whom the bus had carried to town at seven o'clock"

b. *Jag undrade [vem (som) till partner **skulle** hon välja] (Swedish)
I wondered who that as partner would she choose
"I wondered who she would choose as a partner"

The ungrammaticality of topicalization in extraction contexts (e.g. relative or interrogative clauses) has been explained in terms of minimality, i.e.

argument topicalization creates an island to A´-extraction in Germanic. For this reason, non-subject initial V2 is often considered a root phenomenon; obtaining in embedded clauses with a root status, but not in clauses that are dependent on a matrix, i.e. real subordinates. The present paper proposes that embedded (non-subject initial) V2 is not straightforwardly interpretable as a root phenomenon, following the suggestion made for contrastive topicalization in English (Bianchi and Frascarelli 2009).

With regard to adverbial clauses, Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009) argue that embedded topicalization, when possible, is limited to some types of clauses even for speakers of the less restrictive variety of Icelandic (Icelandic A, cf. Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009) pp. 27-28). Specifically, temporal and conditional clauses pattern together with embedded Wh- clauses[7] in not allowing any kind of preverbal topic in any Scandinavian language. By contrast, concessive, purpose and reason clauses may allow a topic, not only in Icelandic but also in Swedish, "if the fronted element is a spatial or temporal adjunct" (Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009), p. 29):

(Swedish)
(8) Han gömde sig så att **hela dagen** skulle hans mor tro att
He hid self so that whole day.the would his mother believe that
han var på skolan
he was at school.the
"He hid himself so that his mother the whole day would think that he was at school" [Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009), 29, 13b]

With regard to subject-initial clauses, Mainland Scandinavian patterns differently from Icelandic once again. On a par with those declarative complements where non-subject initial V2 is not possible (cf. Section 2.1), neither subject-initial relative clauses nor indirect questions can have verb movement across a sentential adverb or negation in Mainland Scandinavian, as (9)b and (10)b show. By contrast, the common[8] linear order of these types of

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[7] In *hvort*- (whether-) clauses topicalization is more acceptable. Cf. also Thráinsson 2007 and the discussion in section 4.

[8] According to Angantýsson (2007), and data collected in a small survey on 7 Icelandic speakers of different ages, (C) S Adv V orders are also possible in some subordinate clauses, although only marginally accepted in many cases:
(i)a. Það er ein íslensk mynd sem Haraldur **hefur** ekki séð. (Icelandic)
there is one Icelandic movie that Harold has not seen
"There is one Icelandic movie that Harold has not seen"
b. Það er ein íslensk mynd sem Haraldur ekki **hefur** séð
there is one Icelandic movie that Harold not has seen

clauses in Icelandic is (C) S V Adv/Neg, as illustrated by examples (9)a and (10)a.

Relative clauses

(9)a. maðurinn sem hann **talar** stundum við (Icelandic)
man-the that he talks sometimes to
"The man that he sometimes talks to"

b. den flicka [som inte **har** / ***har** inte kammat sitt hår ån] (Swedish)
the girl that not has / has not combed her hair yet
"The girl that hasn't combed her hair yet"

Indirect Wh- questions

(10) a. Maria spurði [hvern hann **talaði** stundum við] (Icelandic)
Maria asked whom he talked(subj) sometimes to
"Maria asked whom he talked to sometimes"

b. Jag undrar [vem som inte **har** / ***har** inte blivit sjuk än] (Swedish)
I wonder who that not has been ill yet
"I wonder who hasn't been ill yet"

[Thráinsson 2007, 401, 8.22, Julien, 2007, 121, 20]

The facts sketched in sections 2.1 and 2.2 are summed up in Table 1.

The pattern given in Table 1 for topicalization (XP V S) refers to cases where the preverbal element is an internal argument, whereas fronting of a locative or temporal PP seems less restricted not only in Icelandic[9] but also in Swedish (cf. (8) above). Accordingly, the lower part of Table 1 indicates the contexts where (at least) argument topicalization is blocked.

"There is one Icelandic movie that Harold has not seen" [Angantýsson (2007), 239, 3]

Interestingly, V3 orders are more acceptable in relative clauses and indirect questions, whereas usually rejected in contexts where embedded topicalization is an option (e.g. in declarative complements of assertive predicates, see Angantýsson 2007 for details). This restriction on V3 could be explained by assuming that V-raising depends on a specific feature-checking requirement active in some clause-types but not in others. The intuition is that such requirement is imposed by the information structure. See discussion in section 4 below.

[9] Cf. Holmberg (2000) on stylistic fronting and Franco (2009), for an account of the differences between topicalization, stylistic fronting and locative inversion

Table 1. Subject and Non-subject initial V2 in Scandinavian embedded clauses[10]

Clause Type	**Structure**	**Swedish**	**Norwegian**	**Icelandic**
Assertive	S V adv	Ok	Ok	Ok
Say/believe	XP V S	Ok	Ok	Ok
Semi-factive	S V adv	Ok	Ok	Ok
Discover	XP V S	Ok	Ok	Ok
Modified assertive	**S V adv**	*	*	**Ok**
Would say	**XP V S**	*	*	***/?**
Non-assertive /factive	**S V adv**	*	*	**Ok**
Doubt/regret	**XP V S**	*	*	***/?**
Relative clauses	**S V adv**	*	*	**Ok**
	XP V S	*	*	*
Yes/No questions	**S V adv**	*	*	**Ok**
	XP V S	*	*	***/?**
Wh- questions	**S V adv**	*	*	**Ok**
	XP V S	*	*	*
Adverbial clauses	**S V adv**	*	*	**Ok**
	XP V S	*	*	*

The facts summed up in Table 1 yield the following descriptive generalizations:

(11) a. Subject-initial V2 (S V adv)

Table 1 shows that embedded subject-initial V2 is always possible in Icelandic regardless the type of predicate in the matrix. The verb can neither cross sentential adverbs nor negation in Norwegian and Swedish in the lower part of Table 1.

b. Non-subject-initial V2 (XP V S)

Non-subject initial V2 (where XP is an argument) is ungrammatical/very degraded for all Scandinavian languages in exactly the same contexts. Since what distinguishes subject from non-subject initial V2 clauses is the presence of a preverbal, non-subject topic, we may conclude that **in the lower part of Table 1 there is a syntactic mechanism blocking topicalization of an internal argument.**

Given the facts in (8) (cf. Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009) and Franco 2009), we can further distinguish two different types of topicalization, cf. (12)a

[10] Table 2. is inspired by the work of Hróarsdottir et al. (2007), Wiklund et al. (2009) and Hrafnbjargarson & Wiklund (2009) although it differs from their data in relevant respects. Moreover, they limit their analysis to declarative complement clauses.

and b. Their distribution with respect to contexts generally not allowing non-subject initial V2 (lower part of Table 1) is the following:

(12) a. Fronting of locative/temporal adverbials
Possible in declarative clauses, some adverbial clauses and marginally in indirect Y/N questions across Scandinavian languages.
Not possible in subordinate clauses derived as A´-dependencies (relative clauses, embedded Wh- clauses).
b. Fronting of internal arguments
Generally ungrammatical or very degraded in all the lower part of Table 1.

The facts described in (11) and (12) are explained in the remainder of the paper with a relativized-minimality account for deriving different types of Scandinavian embedded clauses.

3. Background assumptions

3.1. The cartography of the C-domain

I follow a cartographic approach (Rizzi 1997; 2004; Benincà and Poletto 2004; Haegeman 2006, a.o.) for the syntactic analysis of Scandinavian embedded V2. The syntactic structure of the left periphery of the clause is assumed to be as in (13):

(13) $[_{CP}$ Sub Force Topic Focus Mod Finiteness $[_{IP}$ …

The structure in (13) is based on the following assumptions:

a. SubP is the subordinator phrase hosting some particles and subordinating adverbs. It is ranked above ForceP and it is related to the specific type of clause. Sentential force, often realized as a specific clause-type, is to be distinguished from the illocutionary force, encoding the pragmatics of the speech act, even though a sharp separation of these two features is often difficult, at least morphosyntactically (cf. Zanuttini and Portner 2003).

b. ForceP encodes the illocutionary force (e.g. assertion; order; request), which is not necessarily conflated with the clause-type or sentential force (e.g. yes-no question; Wh- question; declarative). As mentioned above, the distinction between clause-type and illocutionary force is still unclear, although there is crosslinguistic evidence that they do not stand in a one-to-one relation, so different illocutions can be encoded under the same sentential form. In embedded clauses, ForceP hosts declarative and other types of complementizers

responding to the selectional requirements of SubP and inheriting the features of the matrix.

c. The middle-projections of the C-domain are as in Benincà and Poletto (2004), with the proper modifications regarding language specific properties. As argued by Haegeman (2006) and Bianchi and Frascarelli (2009) for English, Scandinavian topicalization has different properties from Romance Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD). Among the different types of possible dislocations, those which seem to characterize better the phenomenon generically labeled as "V2 topicalization" are focus fronting or contrastive topic[11]. The properties of foci are well described in Benincà and Poletto (2004): the focus occurring in V2 contexts often –although not necessarily- bears a contrastive feature. This is also a characteristic of the type of many topics involved in V2 constructions, with the difference that topics are presupposed, or, at least, not newly introduced in the sentence, albeit contrasting with some other information. I do not dwell longer on this distinction, and just assume that the occurrence of V2 contrastive topics, as well as of foci, is highly restricted because their features trigger minimality effects with the movement of a vast range of other items. I also assume that subjects can be dislocated to the focus or topic field, provided that they bear the necessary features to be focalized or topicalized, but preverbal subjects[12] in V2 clauses may as well be weak (cf. also point e. below).

d. the lower field of the complementizer phrase is occupied by ModP (Modifier phrase) where adverbs and adverbials can be preposed in order to acquire discourse prominence (cf. Rizzi (2001); Haegeman (2006) for a detailed characterization of ModP). Contrary to Focus and Contrastive Topic, this position is *not targeted by operators*, and does not trigger minimality effects with operator movement.

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11 See also Bianchi and Frascarelli (2009).

12 As Christer Platzack (p.c.) observes, weak objects can also be topicalized in Swedish, as *den* in the example below:

(i) I går köpte Kalle en ny cykel. *Den* ställde han i garaget (Swedish)
yesterday bought Kalle a new bike. It put he in garage.the

However (i) contrasts with the Norwegian facts in (ii) discussed by Julien (2007): weak preverbal subjects but not weak preverbal objects are possible.

(ii) a. å *a/n* sad et sjølv også (Norwegian)
and she/he said it self also
"and she/he said so herself/himself too"
b. * å *a/n* prata eg med også
and she/he talked I with also
c. å *ho/han* prata eg med også
and she/he talked I with also
"and with her/him I talked as well"

Deeper investigations on this issue are needed.

e. Assuming that V2 is V-to-C at least in main clauses, in subject-initial V2 orders there is at least one subject position in the C-domain, where subjects are A-moved, as proposed by Poletto (2000) for Northern Italian Dialects (NID) and by Platzack (2009) for Scandinavian. It is an open issue whether preverbal subjects have a dedicated projection in the C-domain or coincide with Spec,FinP.

f. The border between the C-domain and IP is marked by the projection FinP, encoding the finiteness feature of a clause. In addition, FinP encodes the formal counterparts of features that are relevant for the interpretation of the subject of predication. It is no new idea that subject features are checked and valued on Fin by a local relation with the subject in its criterial position (SubjP in IP, cf. Cardinaletti 2004), or with the verb, in which case these features have a morphosyntactic realization in the verbal inflection. Moreover, FinP may encode the formal counterparts of other features that are interpreted on the respective the C-domain criterial position (cf. Rizzi and Shlonsky 2006).[13] For the present purposes it is sufficient to remark that these properties of Fin are crucial in the derivation of V2, as long as V2 is understood as V-to-Fin. Under the assumption that movement is always triggered, V-to-Fin must result from some specific requirement for the realization of Fin. In sections 4 and 5, I consider when such a requirement is imposed on the clausal syntax.

3.2. Haegeman's intervention account of Main Clause Phenomena

In the present perspective, the impossibility of Scandinavian embedded non-subject initial V2 in some clauses is related to the fact that an operator has moved. This analysis is in line with Haegeman's (2010) intervention account of main clause phenomena, where the derivation of different types of English adverbial clauses is explained in terms of mininality effects triggered by OP-fronting.

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[13] Consider, for instance, a Wh- object question as in (i).

(i) Who did you meet __?

In (i), FinP bears the formal counterpart of the phi-features expressed by the subject (or verbal inflection, in, say, a null subject language) with which it enters a local relation. Since the interrogative clause-type requires an "activation" of the Force-Fin system in order to express the illocution of an information request, the formal counterpart of the Wh- features on Fin also needs to be checked and valued. This operation is done by the Wh- operator, which ends up in its criterial position, located in the Focus field, as proposed by Rizzi (1997) and subsequent cartographic work. The (simplified) structure of (i) is shown in (ii) below:

(ii) [$_{\text{Force[request]}}$ $_{\text{WhP}}$ **Who** $_{\text{Wh}}$ **did** $_{\text{FinP}}$ <Who> $_{\text{Fin[UWh;UPhi-;Fin]}}$ <did> $_{\text{IP}}$ **you** …$_{\text{VP}}$ **meet** <Who>]?

The phi-features on Fin may be checked and valued in some other optional way, allowing the extraction of the subject from a lower position, with the possibility for it to "skip" the criterial position SubjP where it would otherwise be frozen (cf. Rizzi and Shlonsky 2006 and 2007 who propose that locative inversion is also a strategy of subject extraction).

The impossibility of embedded topicalization is explained by following Haegeman's (2010) intuition about the behavior of conditionals in English. In her paper, Haegeman (2010) distinguishes between two types of conditionals in English:

- central (i.e. "real") conditionals. Haegeman argues that only central conditionals are incompatible with argument fronting because they are syntactically derived by OP-movement.

- peripheral conditionals are "echoic", in the sense that they can "echo Q-propositions about a nonfactual world." (Declerck and Reed 2001:83). Despite having the sentential form of a conditional, peripheral conditionals are not real subordinates because they do not express the condition for the realization of certain consequences. Instead they provide the background information to a statement, a question, a command, etc.

This contrast is visible in the pair given in (14) below, where sentence a. is a central conditional, whereas sentence b. is a peripheral one:

(14)a.*If <u>water</u> you heat up to 100° C, it will boil.
b.If <u>some precautions</u> they have indeed taken, many other possible measures they have continued to neglect [b. is from Haegeman (2010), 642: (44)]

In Scandinavian as well as in English, counterfactual conditionals may be expressed with a verb-initial clause (i.e. with verb-subject inversion "V S…" instead of "*if* S V…"). Franco (2010) observes that "V1 counterfactuals, in Scandinavian as well as in English, belong to the central conditional class, and they do not allow argument fronting":

(15) *Had <u>some precautions</u> they taken, such consequences would have been avoided

Haegeman (2010) suggests that counterfactuals and other central conditionals in English are derived by movement of a subordinating operator to the left periphery. Topicalization of some other constituent interferes with the binding relation created by the subordinating operator and minimality effects arise. Crucially, Germanic argument topicalization has been analyzed as involving A′-movement of an operator (cf. Haegeman 2006; to app. and Eythórsson 1996), contrary to what happens in Romance with CLLD. This hypothesis seems corroborated by all the cases where topicalization creates an island to extraction, i.e. when the fronted element is an argument, but allegedly not when it is a local/temporal adjunct (cf. section 2.1 above). In her discussion of the properties of the left periphery, Haegeman (2004) shows that preposed adverbials target a low C-domain position already identified by Rizzi (2001) as

ModP. Fronting to ModP does not trigger minimality effects because it does not involve OP-movement, contrary to internal argument topicalization (in Germanic).

Not only counterfactuals, but also other types of conditionals can be expressed with a V1 order in Scandinavian. This is shown by the following Icelandic example:

(16)a. Jón verður gódur [*ef* hann æfir sig] (Icelandic)
Jon becomes good if he practises self
b. Jón verður gódur [**æfi** hann sig]
Jon becomes good practice(subj) he self
"John will be good if he practices"
c. [***Æfi*** Jón sig] verður hann gódur
practice(subj) Jon self becomes he good
"If John practices, he will be good" [Thráinsson 2007, 30, 2.24]

According to Haegeman's (2010) analysis of adverbial clauses central conditionals, i.e. "real" conditionals expressing a condition for the realization of the content of the matrix, are dependent clauses. In (16) the relation of subordination to a matrix is expressed by a syntactic operator encoding the sentential force of the clause, whereas the illocutionary force is inherited from the matrix (a real subordinate does not have its own illocutionary force). Accordingly, the target position of a subordinating operator in the clausal structure is Spec,SubP, where clause-type features are encoded. This subordination operator requires a lexical realization, either as an overt complementizer (*ef*) or V-raising. The complementary distribution of the latter with a conditional complementizer is thus explained under the assumption that the two carry out the same function in the complementation structure (cf. Franco 2008, 2010 for a discussion).

Scandinavian languages seem to be slightly different from English, with respect to the topicalization possibilities. In Swedish, argument fronting is impossible not only in central, but also in peripheral conditionals (Christer Platzack, p.c.). A tentative explanation for the restrictions on topicalization in Swedish peripheral conditionals is that peripheral conditionals are also derived by operator movement in Swedish (and presumably in other Scandinavian languages), on a par with other adverbial clauses where no independent illocutionary Force is selected. Under this assumption, the prediction is that peripheral conditionals in Scandinavian do not mark indipendent illocutionary force with the V2 argument-topicalization strategy. If this prediction is correct, then no strict correlation between independent illocution and embedded V2 can

be established, i.e. embedded V2 can no longer be considered a root phenomenon.

4. The proposal

The impossibility to front an internal argument in the lower part of Table 1 above is explained under the hypothesis that A'-OP-moved constituents (i.e. argument topicalization) trigger minimality effects with the variable-binding relation created by a subordinating operator (* in Table 1). This hypothesis raises the following problem:

a) Why is Mainland Scandinavian subject-initial V2 not attested in the lower part of Table 1, given that preverbal subjects, contrary to topics, do not trigger minimality effects with OP-variable binding?

The answer is connected to the scope of verb movement. Specifically, it is argued that there is an independent reason for which V-to-Fin cannot take place, and Mainland Scandinavian subject-initial V2 is also ruled out. This issue is addressed in section 5, together with the counterpart regarding Icelandic, namely:

b) Why is embedded subject-initial V2 possible (and indeed preferred) in every context in Icelandic?

Let us now consider in detail how intervention effects are triggered where embedded topicalization takes place, and why such effects arise in some clauses but not in others. All clauses where topicalization is impossible are dependent on the matrix, and cannot receive a root interpretation (see Heycock 2006 for an overview of root interpretation of embedded V2; De Haan 2001 on West Frisian for the relation between V2 topicalization and root interpretation, and Haegeman 2006 and to app.). Recall that argument topicalization is ruled out in weak islands (cf. (4)a and (5)a); and Wh- islands (relative clauses (cf. (6)) and embedded Wh- clauses (cf. (7)). Topicalization is equally impossible in many adverbial clauses, as illustrated by the Icelandic temporal clause below (cf. also Table 1):

(18) *Ég fór [þegar <u>í baðkerinu</u> voru 20 mýs] (Icelandic)
I left when in bathtub.the were 20 mice
"I left when there were 20 mice in the bathtub"
[Thráinsson 2007, 328, 6.42]

The impossibility to find topicalization in a clause subordinated to a matrix is explained by minimality. In subordinate clauses, an operator "blocks" the periphery. Consider the schematic representation of the periphery of a subordinate clause given in (19):

(19) [$_{SubP}$ **OP$_{sub}$** Sub H° $_{ForceP}$<OP$_{sub}$> Force[default] ($_{TopP}$ ***OP-XP**) $_{FinP}$ <**OP$_{sub}$**> $_{Fin}$…

In this perspective, the acceptability of non-argument fronting in some types of adverbial clauses, as that in (8) above, must depend on more factors:

1. Temporal/local adverbials are not operators and front to ModP
2. ModP must be an available position in the clause (i.e. its selection depends on the clause-type)
3. The adverbial clause is not derived by movement of an OP minimally intervening with the preposed adverbial.

The fact that ModP is a potential probe for adverbial preposing only in some types of adverbial clauses, i.e. in concessive, purpose and reason clauses (cf. Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009)), but not in temporal and (central) conditional clauses must depend on the specific mechanism for the derivation of each clause-type. In clauses formed by A'-extraction (e.g. in relative and embedded Wh- clauses), adverbial preposing to ModP is generally not licensed, at least in Mainland Scandinavian. In this case Spec, FinP is occupied by the unspelled copy of the Wh-OP (the Wh-OP eventually moves to SubP), thus Spec,FinP is an unavailable intermediate step for adverbial preposing to Spec,ModP[14].

4.1. Wh- islands

As is known from a vast literature, Wh-clauses are derived by movement of a Wh- operator to a position in the complementizer domain. According to Rizzi (1997), the verb/subject inversion of Wh- questions found in many languages, among which English, is a residual V2 phenomenon. In Rizzi's view, a Wh-criterion requires the creation of a local configuration between the Wh-moved item and the verb. The Wh- item targets a criterial position in the C-domain (located in the Focus field, cf. Rizzi 1997, and Benincà and Poletto 2004) where its features can be interpreted. The notion of "criterion" is closely related to that of illocution, because, in dependent clauses, the Wh- position in the Focus field is a non-criterial intermediate step for the Wh-OP, which targets the higher SubP. In his seminal cartographic work, Rizzi (1997) shows that movement of Wh- operators (such as in questions) gives rise to minimality effects with other OP-fronting operations. The expectation following from this

[14] Icelandic seems to allow adverbial preposing more often, in connection with the availability of the stylistic fronting mechanism in the grammar. I cannot discuss this issue here, but see Franco (2009) for details and Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009) for additional facts.

analysis is that topicalization is impossible when an OP has fronted, that is to say in island contexts. This is borne out by facts concerning both indirect and direct Wh- questions. The basic interpretive difference between main and subordinate Wh-clauses (e.g. direct and indirect questions) consists of the lack of independent illocutionary force in the latter. The Wh-OP is a subordinator, and does not undergo criterial movement (and criterial freezing) to a WhP in the Focus field. This different featural endowment gives indirect Wh- clauses the sentential force but not the illocutionary force of direct questions. In other words, indirect questions have the interrogative clause type but cannot be independent questions because they lack illocution.

Given the operator-status of preverbal topics in Scandinavian, the derivation of subordinate Wh-clauses by movement of a Wh-OP triggers minimality effects with topicalization, as expected. This is shown in the structure given in (20) below:

(20) $[_{SubP[+int]}$ Wh-OP $_{Force[def]}$ Ø $(_{TopP}$ *XP) $_{WhP}$ < Wh-OP> $_{FinP}$ < Wh-OP> $_{Fin}$ Ø $[_{IP}$…

Such effects are visible in (7)b. repeated below for convenience:

(21) *Jag undrade $[_{ForceP}$vem (som) $[_{IP}$ till partner **skulle** hon välja] (Swedish)
I wondered who (that) as partner would she choose
"I wondered who she would choose as a partner"

As long as yes/no questions are derived by movement of a Y/N-OP, analogously to Wh- clauses, topicalization is in principle ruled out. It seems conceptually plausible that indirect Y/N questions are formed by movement of a truth-conditional OP, related to the interpretation of the matrix predicate and whose semantics consists of the exclusive disjunction of the answer pair. In Icelandic, however, minimality effects of a fronted topic[15] in an indirect Y/N question are not as serious as those of indirect Wh-questions, as shown by the pair in (22). The fact that any topicalization is ruled out in direct Y/N questions may be explained by the fact that in root clauses the OP-movement is criterial, i.e. related to the interrogative illocution.

(22)a. *þeir spurðu [hvern í bæinn **hefði** rútan flutt ___ klukkan sjö] (Icelandic)
They asked who to town.the had bus.the carried clock seven
"They asked whom the bus had carried to town at seven o'clock"
b. ??þeir spurðu [hvort í bæinn **hefði** rútan komið klukkan sjö]

[15] At least for a fronted locative/temporal adverbial, if not for an argumental topic.

They asked whether to town.the had bus.the come clock seven
"They asked whether the bus had come to town at seven o'clock"
[Thráinsson 2007, 352, 7.27]

The different degree of degradation of the two sentences in (22) may be directly dependent on the different number of matching features in the two A'-moved elements (i.e. the interrogative OP and the topic, cf. Starke 2001). In (22)a. the topic is a PP with at least a [+N] feature that interferes with the features of the extracted Wh-argument. By contrast, the Y/N-OP in (22)b does not seem to have much in common with the topicalized constituent, beside its OP status[16]. Nevertheless, further research is needed on the properties of these clauses.

A similar analysis explains the ungrammaticality of topicalization in relative clauses, derived with OP-movement to a position in the high left periphery. In the cartographic literature, this position is labeled RelP and located quite high in the C-domain structure. Given the clause-typing nature of the relative OP, I assume that RelP is SubP [+rel]. This analysis is supported by the fact that topicalization in relative clauses is ungrammatical[17] in all Scandinavian languages, as illustrated in the examples repeated below:

(23) a. *stelpan [sem bókina **gaf** Haraldur ekki] (Icelandic)
girl.the that book.the gave Harald(NOM) not
"The girl to whom Harald didn't give the book"
b. *den flicka [som sitt hår **har** kammat] (Swedish)
the girl that her hair has combed
"The girl that has combed her hair"

In (23) the occurrence of a topic creates an intervention effect with the A'-movement of the relative OP and yields an ungrammatical result. However, A'-extraction out of a relative clause is in some cases possible, in Swedish, as is shown in (24)a. (Christer Platzack, p.c.) and (24)b. However, it seems that the possibility to extract depends on the type of relative clause: topicalization is grammatical out of a subject relative, but not out of an (in)direct object relative, as in (24)c[18]:

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[16] The function of the Y/N-OP is simply determined by selectional requirements of the matrix predicate.

[17] By contrast, relative clauses are a favorable environment to stylistic fronting. For an analysis of stylistic fronting and a proposal on the syntax of Scandinavian relative clauses see Franco (2009) and references therein.

[18] I thank Björn Lundquist for judging sentences 24b and c.

(24) a. **Blommor** känner jag en man [som säljer ___] (Swedish)
Flowers know I a men who sells
b. **Blommor** känner jag en man [som kan sälja dig ___]
Flowers know I a man who can sell you
c. ***Blommor** känner jag en man [som du kan sälja ___]
Flowers know I a man who you can sell

The facts in (24) reveal a subject/object asymmetry in the creation of A´-dependencies, which is found elsewhere in Mainland Scandinavian, such as in the complementation structure of relative clauses and indirect questions (cf. Thráinsson 2007, section 8.3 and references therein, and Boef and Franco, in prep.).

4.3. Weak islands: Factive and non-assertive declarative complements

A problematic point seems to be raised by the split between two groups of declarative complements: those that allow topicalization and V2 (so-called "bridge-verb complements", cf. section 2) and those that do not. Why is topicalization blocked in the latter group, i.e. always in factive and non-assertive complements and often in modified/negated assertive complements? Why do assertive complements allow internal-argument topicalization (and V2), whereas topicalization is usually ungrammatical if the assertive complement is modified? It can also happen that a negated or modified factive/non-assertive complement allows topicalization, whereas its non-negated/modified counterpart does not (cf. Julien 2007 for relevant data). How can the present proposal solve this puzzle?

The intuition is that all declarative clauses where topicalization is banned are subordinated by an operator-variable binding mechanism. In this sense this solution is in contrast with what has been proposed by Meinunger (2004). According to him, embedded V2 clauses are derived by movement of a semantic assertive operator (ASS). However, the presence of an assertive operator would block the A'-OP-movement of a topic and yield an ungrammatical result, as shown in the structure in (25), but contrary to facts, cf. (26):

(25) …[$_{\text{SubP[decl]}}$ ForceP[ass]] **ASS-OP** $_{\text{Force}}$ H° ($_{\text{TopP}}$ ***XP**) $_{\text{FinP}}$ <ASS-OP> $_{\text{Fin}}$ V [$_{\text{IP}}$…

(26) a. Han sa [att <u>den här sången</u> **kunde** han sjunga på bröllopet] (Swedish)
He said that this here song.the could he sing on wedding.the
"He said that he couldn't sing this song at the wedding"

This problem is obviated if we assume that the topicalization is itself movement of a semantic OP whose function is to include the propositional content of the embedded V2 clause in the evaluation process that potentially

updates the discourse Common Ground between speaker and hearer. This characterization of embedded V2 clauses accounts for the interpretive relevance of the phenomenon without attributing independent illocution to embedded V2 clauses, similarly to what has been proposed for embedded C-topics in English by Bianchi and Frascarelli (2009).

Instead, non-V2 complements are derived by a subordinator operator, similarly to what happens for Wh- and relative clauses, with the difference that the nature of the operator itself varies. There is vast literature suggesting that factive complements are derived by merger of a silent noun (e.g. "the fact", optionally overt in some cases) to the edge of the subordinate (cf. Watanabe 1993; Zanuttini and Portner 2003; Aboh 2005; Krapova 2008, a. o.). This mechanism consists of A'-binding a silent NP in C-domain by means of an OP selected by the matrix predicate. In this paper I disregard the proposal that there is a silent noun, and propose that what is bound by the OP is a variable merged in the functional field, with the function of making the propositional content of the clause interpreted as presupposed. The nature of the OP deriving presupposed clauses is in some respects similar to that of indirect Y/N questions, with the difference that in the first case the OP is assigned a truth value (OP_T), whereas in the latter cases it encodes the disjunction of opposite truth-values. The prediction is that movement of an OP creates a (weak) island. It is well known that factive complements have weak island properties (cf. Rooryck 1992, and references therein). The expectation is then borne out by the fact that topicalization of an XP in a "factive" clause is impossible because it triggers intervention effects with the A´-chain created by the movement of the OP to SubP, in this type of complements. The C-domain structure of the complement to a factive predicate such as the Scandinavian equivalent of *regret* in (28), where topicalization is ungrammatical, is given in (27):

(27) $[_{\text{Matrix:}}$*regret* $[_{\text{SubP}}OP_{\text{ForceP}}<OP_T>_{\text{Force}}$ $H°_{\text{TopP}}$ (***XP**)/$(<OP_{\text{Truth}}>)_{\text{FinP}}<OP_{\text{Truth}}>_{\text{Fin}}$ Ø ...

(28) *Han ångrade [att <u>den här sången</u> **hade** han inte sjungit] (Swedish)
He regretted that this here song.the had he not sung
"He regretted that he didn't sing this song"

The same analysis applies to the complements of non-assertive predicates, such as *deny*, whose factual content of belief is either denied or rejected by the speaker (in this case the value assigned to the variable will not be T (true) but F (false)). A common point in all more recent analyses of the semantic/pragmatic import of embedded V2 clauses seems to be the central role of the speaker in determining the actual interpretation of the clause.

4.4. Negative islands and declarative complements of modified predicates

The same proposal can be extended to negated or modified assertive complements. This type of complements are derived by movement of an *irrealis* (-R) operator meeting the selectional requirements imposed by the modified or negated matrix predicate onto its complement. Facts seem much more controversial in this case. Following the proposed analysis, the first expectation would be that whenever an assertive or semifactive matrix predicate is either negated or modified (e.g. by a modal) topicalization is not possible, but this is in contrast with both Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic facts, cf. for instance (29) below:

(29) Þau sögðu *ekki* [að svona mat **borðaði** hann bara á þorranum] (Icelandic)
they said not that such food ate he only on þorri.month
"They didn't say that he only ate such food during January and February."
[Wiklund et al. 2009, 59]

As a consequence, we cannot assume that whenever an assertive/semi-factive matrix predicate is negated or modified topicalization is impossible. For the present purposes I limit my observations to cases where topicalization in the complement clauses of modified/negated assertive and semi-factive predicates is impossible or dispreferred.

I propose that embedded topicalization in negated/modified assertive or semi-factive complements is blocked in relation to the scope of negation/modifier. These elements are standardly assumed to have operator properties. Scope-related interpretive properties of negation and modals are in fact visible in the restrictions on the position of negation and on the linear order of negation and modals (cf. Moscati 2007). A detailed discussion of such properties is out of the scope of the paper; for the present purposes, let us consider two cases:

(i) the matrix assertive or semi-factive predicate is negated.

(ii) the matrix predicate is modified, for instance by a modal verb.

(i) The matrix assertive or semi-factive predicate is negated. According to De Haan (2001), V2 is not possible if negation is interpreted as having scope over the embedded clause[19]. This means that a matrix negation scoping over the

[19] This has been noted for the interpretation of embedded V2 in West Frisian by De Haan (2001):

(i) a. Hy komt net [omdat it min waar **wie**].
he comes not [because it bad weather was]
"He doesn't come because it was bad weather (but for some other reason)"

b. Hy komt net [omdat it **wie** min waar].
he comes not [because it was bad weather]
"He doesn't come because it was bad weather"

entire sentence binds a variable in the embedded clause. This is derived syntactically with a subordinating operator (OP_{-R}) linked to the matrix negation. The operator moves to the left periphery of the embedded clause and prevents any topicalization, as schematically represented in (30):

(30)[$_{\text{Matrix:}}$ *not say/discover* [$_{\text{SubP}}$$OP_{-R}$ $_{\text{ForceP}}$< OP_{-R} > $_{\text{Force}}$ H° ($_{\text{TopP}}$ ***XP**) $_{\text{FinP}}$< OP_{-R} > $_{\text{Fin}}$ Ø [$_{\text{IP}}$ < OP_{-R} >

The structure in (30) cannot represent the derivation for <u>all</u> complements to negated assertive/semi-factive verbs because such a generalization would be disconfirmed by facts. See, for instance, the perfect grammaticality of topicalization in the examples below:

(31)a. Jeg visste *ikke* [at <u>slike hus</u> selger de faktisk (Norwegian)
I knew not that such houses sell they actually
hver dag på det meklerfirmaet.]
every day at that real.estate.agency
"I didn't know that they sell such houses every day at that real-estate agency."

b. Men mekleren sa *ikke* [at <u>slike hus</u> selger han regelmessig.]
But broker.the said not that such houses sells he regularly
"But the broker didn't say that he sells such houses on a regular basis."

The grammaticality of preverbal non-subjects in the embedded clauses in (31) can be attributed to the restricted scope of negation. Indeed, the matrix predicates in (31) are not NEG-raising verbs (cf. Rooryck 1992). A NEG-raising predicate such as *believe* disallows embedded topicalization because its negation scopes over its complement, compare (32) below with (31)a.:

(Norwegian)
(32)*Jeg tror *ikke* [at <u>slike hus</u> **selger** de faktisk hver dag på det meklerfirmaet]
I believe not that such houses sell they actually every day at that real.estate
"I did not believe that they actually sell such houses every day at the real estate agency"

This analysis is further supported by the fact that when the matrix negation licenses an NPI in the embedded clause, thus scoping over it, topicalization is not possible:

(33) a. Jag visste inte [att de *ens* sålde sådana hus] (Swedish)

(i.e. the reason why he doesn't come is bad weather)

I knew not that they even sold such houses
"I did not know that they even sell such houses"

b. *Jag visste inte [att <u>sådana hus</u> **sålde** de *ens*]
I knew not that such houses sold they even
"I did not know that they even sell such houses" [Christer Platzack, p.c.]

(ii) The matrix predicate is modified, for instance by a modal verb. The modifier contributes to the selectional properties of the matrix predicate which in turn selects a subordinate clause inheriting the matrix illocution. Wide scope of the modal on the whole clause results in the structure in (34) below:

(34) [$_{\text{Matrix:}}$ ***could*** *say/discover* [$_{\text{SubP}}$ **OP$_{\text{-R}}$** $_{\text{ForceP}}$<OP$_{\text{-R}}$> $_{\text{Force}}$H° ($_{\text{TopP}}$ ***XP)** $_{\text{FinP}}$<OP$_{\text{-R}}$> $_{\text{Fin}}$ Ø [$_{\text{IP}}$ <OP$_{\text{-R}}$>...

According to (34), the irrealis OP selected by the modified matrix predicate binds a variable in the functional field of the embedded structure. The modal scope width is ensured by the presence of the irrealis OP, whose movement in the embedded left periphery "blocks" embedded topicalization[20]. This is shown in example (35):

(35) Han kunne komme til å oppdage [# at **der** var han helt alene]
He could come to to discover that there was he completely alone
"It might so happen that he would discover that there he was completely alone" [Julien, p.c.]

In a relativized minimality framework, the modal nature of OP$_{\text{-R}}$ cannot explain why intervention effects should after all be expected when fronting a (non-modal) operator-XP such as a preverbal topic in a V2 clause. Indeed, Julien (in prep.) reports that some Swedish and Norwegian speakers accept topic-extraction not only from subject-initial (36a), but even from non-subject initial embedded clauses (36b)[21] and contrary to what is commonly expected (i.e., no extraction out of a V2 clause, cf. Andersson 1975 and De Haan 2001):

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[20] Richard Larson (p.c.) remarks that it is not necessary to postulate OP movement in these case, and the derivation could be an instance of long-distance Agree, as long as the minimality effects can be accounted in terms of intervention in the checking mechanism of the features encoded in the C-domain. This is another possible solution worth exploring, although identification of the intervening features seems quite problematic.

[21] According to Julien (in prep), Swedish patterns in the same way. Christer Platzack (p.c.) judges the Swedish translation of (36)a OK, but that of (36)b ungrammatical, which seems to indicate that focalized non-subjects (a temporal adverbial in the case above) and preverbal subjects in a V2 clause must have a different feature specification. Differences in

(Norwegian)
(36)a. %*Denne artikkelen* sa ho [at ho **hadde** ikkje tid til å lese ___]
this paper.DEF said she that she had not time to to read
"This paper she said that she didn't have time to read."
b.%*Den artikkelen* sa ho at I GÅR **fekk** ho ikkje tid til å lese
that article.DEF said she that yesterday got she not time to to read
"That article, she said that, yesterday, she could not find the time to read it." [Julien (in prep.), 27, 45-46]

The extraction facts in (36) above can be explained syntactically with relativized minimality, without needing to assume that embedded V2 is related to an assertion (Julien, in prep.). Let us consider the syntax of the complement clauses in (36). In (36)a. there is no plausible candidate acting as an intervener to A'-topic extraction, under the assumption that the subject *ho* is in an A-position in non-V2 as well as in V2 clauses. On the other hand, acceptance of a complement clauses with the order ADV-V-Subj is subject to variation among speakers (cf. fn. 21). In the present analysis this variation is explained with the possibility to front locative and temporal adverbials to a non-quantificational position in the C-domain (ModP). Moreover, the two A'-moved constituents, i.e. I GÅR and the extracted topic *Den artikkelen,* have such a different feature specification that they may not trigger relevant minimality effects. The prediction following from this analysis is that arguments or adjuncts undergoing A'-OP movement to a (higher) quantificational position in the C-domain must instead create an island to extraction, inasmuch as they act as interveners to further A'-movement. Such prediction is borne out by facts attested not only in Mainland Scandinavian, but also in Icelandic:

(37) *Hver sagði han [að **þessar bækur** hefði __ gefið Kára]? (Icelandic)
Who said he that these books had given Kari.DAT
"Who did he say had given these books to Kari?"
[Hrafnbjargarson et al. 2010, 11a]

It is known from Vikner (1995) (cf. also Hrafnbjargarson et al. 2010) that argument or adjunct extraction out of subject-initial V2-clauses is ungrammatical in all Germanic V2 languages but Yiddish and Icelandic (given proper restrictions on the mood of embedded predicate, in the latter):

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extraction possibilities between Swedish and Norwegian are also discussed elsewhere (Hrafnbjargarson et al. 2010, Boef & Franco in prep., a.o.).

(38)a. Hvernig sagði hún [að börnin **höfðu** alltaf lært sögu __]? (Icelandic)
How said she that children-the have(COND) always learned history
b.*Hvordan sagde hun [at børnene **havde** altid lært historie __]? (Danish)
How said she that children-the have always learned history
"How did she say that the children have always learned history?"

The unacceptability of (38)b vs. the partial acceptability of (36)a and the full acceptability of (38)a does not depend on the subject status because all subjects of the examples above are allegedly in A-position. Instead, V-raising across a sentential adverb or negation seems to be licensed by other factors, independently of the nature of the preverbal constituent. An analysis of the feature-checking mechanism triggering embedded verb second is required, and a tentative proposal is sketched in next section.

5. The problem of embedded subject-initial clauses

This section focuses on the following issues, already addressed at p. 15 above, and repeated below:

a) Why is Mainland Scandinavian subject-initial V2 not attested in the lower part of Table 1 given that preverbal subjects, contrary to topics, do not trigger minimality effects with OP-movement?

b) Why is embedded subject-initial V2 possible in every context in Icelandic?

Relevant examples are repeated below for convenience:

Non-assertive/Factive complements

(39)a. Hann sá eftir [að hann **hafði** ekki sungið] (Icelandic)
He regretted that he had not sung
"He regretted that he had not sung"
b. Han ångrade [att han inte **hade**/***hade** inte sjungit] (Swedish)
He regretted that he had not sung
"He regretted that he had not sung"
[Hróarsdóttir et al. 2007, 58-59, 19, 22]

Negated/Modified assertive complements

(40) a. Ég vissi ekki [að þú **varst/værir** ekki bestur] (Icelandic)
I knew not that you were(ind)/(subj) not best
"I didn't know that you were not the best"
b. Vi anser inte [att problemet inte **är** / ***är** inte av teknisk natur] (Swedish)
We consider not that problem.the not is/is not of technical nature
"We don't think that the problem is not of technical nature"

Relative clauses

(41) a. maðurinn sem hann **talar** stundum við (Icelandic)
man-the that he talks sometimes to
"The man that he sometimes talks to"

b. den flicka [som inte **har** / ***har** inte kammat sitt hår än] (Swedish)
the girl that not has / has not combed her hair yet
"The girl that hasn't combed her hair yet"

Indirect Wh- questions

(42) a. Maria spurði [hvern hann **talaði** stundum við] (Icelandic)
Maria asked whom he talked(subj) sometimes to
"Maria asked whom he talked to sometimes"

b. Jag undrar [vem som inte **har** / ***har** inte blivit sjuk än] (Swedish)
I wonder who that not has been ill yet
"I wonder who hasn't been ill yet"
[Thráinsson 2007, 401, 8.22, Julien, 2007, 121, 20]

The issue is two-folded:

- on the one hand, it is not clear what prevents the verb from raising to the C-domain in the above-mentioned clause types in Mainland Scandinavian.
- on the other hand, this asymmetry is not observed in Icelandic, because subject-initial embedded clauses are always V2. Nonetheless, whether the Icelandic subordinate clauses in (39)-(42) are V-to-C is a very controversial point. Why would the verb move to a higher position in Icelandic than in Mainland Scandinavian? This is an old question that has been repeatedly addressed in the literature (an interesting analysis of Icelandic verb movement is given in Thráinsson 2010).

In the cases in (39)-(42) the difference between Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian cannot lie on the preverbal element (a subject, i.e. an A-element, in both cases). Verb raising in Icelandic would need to be triggered by some feature-checking mechanism which is not active in Mainland Scandinavian. It is no new idea that Icelandic V-fronting can be related to the full specification of tense and agreement features on the verbal head (Holmberg and Platzack 1995), given all the necessary precautions against a hasty generalization on the relation between richness of inflection and verb movement. Nevertheless, independent V-to-I does not suffice to explain why V3 orders are usually unattested or marginal, in embedded clauses. Specifically, why are Adv-V orders (even with high sentential adverbs) so infrequent in Icelandic embedded clauses, contrary to Mainland Scandinavian ones? If the verb were fronted to a high position in the

IP, why is a higher phrasal adverb not allowed to follow or precede the preverbal subject *and* the verb[22]?

As pointed out in Thráinsson (2010) with reference to a study conducted on embedded V3 orders resulting from Adv – V ordering (Angatýsson 2007), some subordinate clauses allow V3 provided that the subject is not indefinite. Indefinite subjects cannot occupy an IP-peripheral position (such as Spec,AgrSP) in Icelandic (see Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998). As a consequence, a V3 order is possible only with a definite subject when the negation *ekki* is exceptionally adjoined to Spec,TP, as in (43)b below.

(43)a. Það var Hrafnkelssaga [sem hann/Haraldur/einhver **hafði** *ekki* lesið].
it was Hrafnkel's saga that he/Harold/somebody had not read
b. Það var Hrafnkelssaga [sem hann/Haraldur/?*einhver *ekki* **hafði** lesið].
it was Hrafnkel's saga that he/Harold/somebody not had read
"It was Hrafnkel's saga that he/Harold/somebody hadn't read"
[Thráinsson 2003, 183]

In Thráinsson's (2010) analysis, a sentence like (43)a shows that the verb moves to T, rather than to C. According to Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998), V3 orders are made possible by "exceptional adverb placement", thus one should expect that "the kind of modification produced by a high adverb might not be equally compatible with all types of embedded clauses" (Thráinsson 2010). He further observes that: "This type of V3 order is indeed mostly found in certain types of embedded clauses, namely relative clauses, interrogative clauses and certain types of adverbial clauses, such as temporal clauses and concessive clauses. […] These are the clauses that are *least main-clause like and where it is most difficult to get embedded topicalization* (see especially Magnússon, 1990). Hence we would not expect to get V-to-C in Icelandic in these clauses. Thus the fact that the Vfin-Adv order is nevertheless the default order in these "non-V2" (i.e., non-V-to-C) clauses in Icelandic is a strong argument against a general V-to-C-type analysis of Icelandic Vfin-Adv order, such as the one proposed by Bentzen (2007) and her colleagues." (pp. 22-23, italics mine).

According to Thráinsson, embedded V2 in Icelandic is the result of verb movement to some inflectional position in the IP field related to the richness of agreement. Further support to this hypothesis actually comes from the following facts, contrasting with Hróarsdóttir et al.'s (2007) observation that the Icelandic

[22] There is vast literature supporting the idea of a subject position in the C-domain, see Platzack 2009 for Scandinavian, or Poletto 2000 for Romance. This is a broad topic that deserves an independent treatment.

verb must precede the entire adverb cluster if more than one phrasal adverb is present in a clause, and cannot be in an intermediate position[23]:

(44)a. Hún fór ekki heim, sem hún *sennilega* **hefði** átt að gera.
she went not home which she probably had should to do
"She didn't go home, which she probably should have done."
b. Hún fór heim, sem hún *sennilega* **hefði** *ekki* átt að gera.
she went home which she probably had not should to do
"She went home, which she probably shouldn't have done."

Example (44)b. shows that the verb *can* appear between two adverbs if the clause allows V3 (a relative clause in this case). Following Thráinsson, I assume that V-Adv order is just the result of verb movement to an IP-peripheral position, rather than V-to-C, in the Icelandic clauses corresponding to non-V2 contexts in Mainland Scandinavian.

Notice that Icelandic is the only Scandinavian language that preserves subjunctive morphology on the verb. Consider for instance the following examples:

(45)a. Hún spurði [hvort tunglið **væri** úr osti] (Icelandic)
she asked if moon.the was(subj) from cheese
"She asked if the moon was made of cheese"
b. Hún verður ekki ánægð [nema tunglið **sé** úr osti]
She will.be not happy unless moon.the be(subj) from cheese
"She will not be happy unless the moon is made of cheese"

The subordinate clauses in (45), an indirect question and an adverbial clause, are considered non-V2 contexts. The fact that the verb is in the subjunctive form guarantees V-fronting to a quite high position in the IP where subjunctive mood is checked. Following Cinque (1999), the

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[23] Hróarsdóttir et al. (2007) base their observation on the following evidence, which Thráinsson (2010) claims to be misleading because the complement introduced by *að* is not one where V3 is possible. Cf. (44) above, which is grammatical according to Thráinsson (2010).

(i) a. *Hann segir að María **ekki oft hafi** sungið falskt. (Ic)
he says that Mary not often has sung out-of-tune
b. *Hann segir að María **ekki hafi oft** sungið falskt
not has often
c. Hann segir að María **hafi ekki oft** sungið falskt.
has not often
"He says that Mary has not often sung out of tune."

indicative/subjunctive mood distinction is operated by the unmarked vs. marked status of an *irrealis* feature on a Mood head just below T:

(46) [IP $\text{Mood}_{\text{speech-act}}$ $\text{Mood}_{\text{evaluative}}$ $\text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}}$ $\text{Mod}_{\text{epistemic}}$ T(past) T(future) **$\text{Mood}_{\text{irrealis}}$** . . .

Whether or not we agree with the specific proposal of Cinque (1999) for subjunctive, we can still assume that Icelandic subjunctive verbs move to a dedicated higher structural position than their Mainland Scandinavian (default indicative) counterparts where subjunctive morphology is absent[24]. In other words, we can analyze the different behavior of Icelandic with respect to embedded V2 possibilities as the consequence of different morphosyntactic properties allowing mood feature-checking. Although a detailed comparison of mood marking in Scandinavian is out of the scope of this paper, I briefly consider some relevant aspects in which Icelandic mood marking differs from the Mainland Scandinavian one. To this purpose, I base my hypothesis on recent work by Sigurðsson (2009) for Icelandic and Eide (2008)a and b for Norwegian, as an instance of Mainland Scandinavian. Both authors agree that subjunctive morphology in a complement clause, when available, expresses the speaker's lack of commitment with respect to the truth of the proposition expressed by the embedded clause. As the most conservative of Old Norse morphology among the Scandinavian languages, Icelandic has productive subjunctive.

Sigurðsson (2009) observes the distribution of subjunctive in clauses embedded under specific predicates with respect to their factive/non-factive status, according to the following scheme (main clause predicates are reported in English for ease of exposition):

(47) Mood selected by main clause predicates in relation to their factivity (Icelandic)

a. (Semi-)Factives:
discover, know, see; be obvious; the fact, the truth → usually **indicative**

b. Non-factives:
believe, hope, say, think; be thinkable; the idea, the lie → usually **subjunctive**

c. True factives:
deplore, embrace, regret, rejoice; be fun, be deplorable → usually **subjunctive**
modal *skulu* + infinitive

[24] Christer Platzack (p.c.) remarks that this hypothesis would predict that the verb moves to a higher position in Older versions of Mainland Scandinavian, where subjunctive mood was morphologically marked. Testing this prediction is left to future research.

Sigurðsson (2009) defines the interpretive property of presence vs. lack of speaker's commitment with respect to the truth of the reported clause encoded by the indicative/subjunctive alternation as a "speaker truthfulness responsibility" feature. Support for this analysis comes from facts concerning the category of semi-factives in (47)a., where subjunctive complements are also possible, but receive a different interpretation:

(48)a. Jón vissi að María **kom** heim. (Icelandic)
John knew that Mary came.IND home
"John knew that Mary came home."
(i.e., 'John knew about the fact that Mary came home')
b. Jón vissi að María **kæmi** heim.
John knew that Mary came.SBJ home
"John knew that Mary would come home."
(i.e., 'John was confident that Mary would come home')
[Sigurðsson 2009, 16, 38]

The indicative in the complement clause in (48)a indicates that the speaker makes himself responsible for its truth. By contrast, the speaker does not take responsibility for the truth of the complement in (48)b, where the subjunctive is used to report the matrix subject's point of view. As a consequence, the absence of more than one preverbal constituent in subjunctive clauses (yielding a surface V2 order) is related to the interpretive properties of the clause itself. Namely, additional preverbal elements (such as high adverbs, typically related to some modality or to the speaker´s point of view, cf. (46) above) would create a conflict with the interpretive properties of subjunctive mood. In syntactic terms, we may think of the scope-related properties of mood as a binding relation between FinP, where features related to the clause finiteness are interpreted and the IP position targeted by V-movement (i.e. $\text{Mood}_{\text{irrealis}}$).

Verb movement alone (without specific subjunctive morphology) in Mainland Scandinavian cannot be associated in a parallel fashion to the Speaker Truthfulness Responsibility feature expressed by the indicative vs. subjunctive use in Icelandic (Sigurðsson 2009). The question is how Mainland Scandinavian checks mood features and how these strategies are connected to V2 order. A useful indication in this direction comes from Eide's (2008)b analysis of mood in Norwegian. Eide observes that mood is not morphologically encoded in Norwegian: there are only non-productive relics of a subjunctive (used in lexicalized expressions), whereas mood is usually expressed by means of modals, particles and lexical verbs.

Eide points out that Norwegian has modal particles, despite lacking morphological mood marking on inflected verbs:

- *Mun* → contraction of Old Norse verb *munu* (may)
- *Tro/tru* → *å tro* (believe)
- *Kanskje* → *Kann* (can)+ *Skje* (happen) (=maybe)

She observes that: "A peculiar trait of these particles is that they may give rise to exceptional non-V2 word order in main clauses; the data in (49a) and (49b) are from Faarlund et al. (1997: 946).

(49)a. Kven tru som har gjort dette? (Nynorsk)
who tru that have done this
Who did this, I wonder?"

b. Hvem mon har vært her før oss? (Bokmål)
who mon have been here before us?
Who have been here before us, I wonder?"

c. Kanskje Ola kommer også? (Bokmål)
maybe Ollie comes too?
Maybe Ollie comes too?"

Another solution adopted to obviate the lack of morphological subjunctive in Modern Norwegian is the use of preterite (to express that a clause is a mere report, without speaker's commitment to its truth, cf. Eide 2008b) and of modal verbs such as *ville* (≈would); *kunne* (≈could); *skulle* (≈should); *måtte* (≈might), which are all different expressions of *irrealis* mood. Specifically, *skulle* and *måtte* are used in conditional adverbial clauses and in relative clauses respectively:

(50)a. De situasjoner som måtte/ *skulle oppstå... (Norwegian)
The situations that must.PRET/ should occur
"Those situations that might occur..."

b. Skulle/*måtte en slik situasjon oppstå
Should/must.PRET a such situation occur
"Should such a situation occur..." [Eide 2008b., 12, 20]

Only in restrictive relative clauses like (50)a has *måtte* a possibility reading, rather than an obligation one, which indicates that it is used to mark the *irrealis* character of the clause. The use of *skulle*/*måtte* in the contexts exemplified in (50) is a development related to the loss of subjunctive morphology: in Old Norse the same clauses are instead expressed by preterite subjunctive forms. This overview of Norwegian and Icelandic facts concerning mood expressions is aimed at illustrating the differences between these two languages. The fact that a specific subjunctive morphology is available in Icelandic favors the possibility that the inflected (subjunctive) verb morphologically realizes a dedicated position in the IP (see Cinque 1999). In

this case, verb movement is triggered by a mood-checking mechanism, rather than being associated to V-to-C. According to Sigurðsson (2009), subjunctive is negatively marked for the "Speaker Truthfulness Responsibility" feature, contrary to other indicative V2 complements. Following what has been proposed above for the interpretation of factive complements, Sigurðsson's "Speaker Truthfulness Responsibility" feature can be restated in terms of a pragmatic requirement for "Truth-condition evaluation". V-Adv order in subject initial embedded clauses in Icelandic would depend on the requirement to "evaluate the T-conditions" of the propositional content of the clause. In this case the V2 results from genuine V-to-C as the syntactic realization for the independent "evaluation of the T-conditions" of the clause. The satisfaction of the "Truth-condition evaluation" requirement can be alternatively ensured by the binding operation between Fin and Mood (e.g. resulting in V-to-Mood in Icelandic). In the latter case, the feature responsible for the interpretation of the T-conditions of the propositional content of the embedded clause receives a different value. Crucially, in this case the T-conditions of the embedded clause are not pragmatically evaluated in the discourse, which is syntactically realized by the lack of V-to-C, in Mainland Scandinavian, as well as in Icelandic. In Icelandic however, the verb can still reach a quite high position in the IP domain. The Icelandic rich verbal morphology enables both mood and tense/agreement expression on the verbal head that targets the dedicated projection[25] (cf. Cinque 1999).

Notice that in many subordinate cases the V2 effect may as well be only apparent: the verb targets a high position in the IP domain, which is why sentential adverbs follow it. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that V3 orders are also possible in sentences of this type, i.e. in clauses where no active "Truth-condition evaluation" feature attracts the verb to the complementizer domain. This is the case for restrictive relative clauses, but also for Wh- and adverbial complements. Crucially, clauses where mood is expressed by morphological subjunctive (Old Norse; Icelandic) or by obviative forms (e.g. Norwegian modal particles, cf. (46) above) generally allow V3 orders as well (cf. Angantýsson 2007 for facts on Icelandic). This suggests that subject-initial embedded V2 is the result of a more complex interplay of different factors, and

[25] Christer Platzack (p.c.) points out that there is V-Adv order but no subjunctive in Icelandic control infinitives. There are many proposal trying to account for this problem, but I do not have a satisfactory explanation. The identification of the specific feature-checking mechanisms involved in the derivation of control complements would require a more detailed discussion than what is offered in this paper. In this respect, I follow Thráinsson's (2007) suggestion: "One possibility is that the infinitival subject PRO in Icelandic control infinitives needs special licensing by the verb, perhaps because of its case properties [discussed above]." (p. 452 and cf. section 8.2.2.). Along these lines, V-to-I in control infinitives would depend on a different requirement, related to subject-licensing.

the surface linear order of Icelandic hides the real target positions of verb movement that are related to the morphosyntactic and interpretive properties of the verb (cf. Vikner 1995).

This analysis is also compatible with Eide's (2008)a and b explanation of V2. Eide shows that the Scandinavian verbal paradigm expresses morphologically a finiteness feature, in contrast to English where this distinction has been lost. Eide (2008)a illustrates the transition from the Old English paradigm of weak verbs, very similar to that of modern Mainland Scandinavian, to the present-day English impoverished verbal morphology. She explains the absence of productive V2 in present-day English with the fact that finiteness is no longer encoded in the verbal morphology, under the assumption that Mainland Scandinavian V2 clauses are derived by V-to-C movement. A natural question, at this point, is: how can we explain the absence of V2 from many types of embedded clauses in Mainland Scandinavian, given that the verbal morphology still expresses finiteness?

Eide (2008)a addresses this issue in a footnote, where, with regard to verb movement in subordinate clauses, she argues: “I assume that V2 is connected to assertion (like Bentzen et al. 2007; Klein 1998; and others), but this is a one-way relation, not a biconditional. When the Force-related “V2” head contains the trigger for V2, only a finite verb can fulfil the requirements of this head, and the V2 probe thus scans its checking domain for [+finiteness]. This does not imply that a [+Finite] verb obligatorily moves to V2, overtly or covertly, when the V2-trigger is not present, as in subordinate clauses.” (fn. 14). Eide's explanation is based on the more or less implicit assumption that V-to-C in V2 clauses is not only dependent on finiteness, but also on some pragmatic properties. In the analysis proposed here, embedded V-to-Fin does not necessarily yield a root interpretation, therefore assuming that the verb movement is triggered to check an “assertion” feature seems inappropriate. The alternative hypothesis sketched above is that the verb moves to FinP in order to make the T-conditions of the complement clause available in the evaluation process, taking place at the level of discourse pragmatics (cf. Speas and Tenny 2003). Following this hypothesis, the V2 complement is not analysed as an independent speech act, but as a falsifiable proposition (cf. Bianchi & Frascarelli 2009).

Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic have main clause V2 because the verb morphology marks finiteness; Icelandic also has verb movement to a quite high position in the IP in subordinate clauses, because the verb morphology marks agreement and mood. Mainland Scandinavian verbs cannot raise so high in the IP in the subordinate clauses because they do not have agreement and mood morphology. The fact that Mainland Scandinavian verbal morphology expresses finiteness regardless of the clausal context (main or subordinate clauses) does not entail that the verb must move to the C-domain anyway (i.e.

to FinP). In this sense, V-to-C must be triggered by an active [+finiteness] probe (as is that requiring Truth-condition evaluation), so we may hypothezise that subordinate clauses do not require V-to-C movement because finiteness alone is already expressed by merger of a complementizer or subordinating particle. Instead, subordinate V-to-C would be probed by an extra feature related to the Truth-condition evaluation, since complementizers and subordinating particles are in general not properly specified to enter the feature-checking mechanism of such a feature.

Further investigations on the features encoded in finite verbs in V2 languages is needed in order to explain the relation between verb movement, finiteness checking and complementation structures. Future research may also explore the semantic properties of subjunctive in Icelandic, which have been briefly discussed above[26]. For the present purposes, facts illustrated so far have been discussed with the aim of explaining the differences between Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian languages with respect to embedded subject-initial V2.

6. Final remarks and some speculations

I conclude with a few words on "real" embedded V2 contexts, i.e. contexts where the verb is expected to raise to C and topicalization is also possible. What triggers V-to-C in subject initial embedded V2 of this kind? Given that these clauses do not have verb-subject inversion, we cannot assume that V-to-C depends on the operator status of the preverbal topic. Two possibilities then emerge:

1. The preverbal subject is A'- moved on a par with preverbal topics and triggers V-to-C. This hypothesis is of course disconfirmed for cases where weak pronominal subjects precede the verb in V2 clauses.

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[26] Interestingly, Thráinsson (2007) and Sigurðsson (1990) observe some relation between factivity and subjunctive mood, based on the fact that subjunctive complements entail some kind of presupposition (cf. Thráinsson 2007, p.400). Consider for instance (i), where the truth of the propositional content expressed by the embedded clause cannot be negated.

(i) Jón harmar [að María skuli vera hér] #en hún er ekki hér.
John regrets that Mary shall(subj) be here #but she is not here
"John regrets (the fact) that Mary is here #but she is not here" [Thráinsson 2007, 400, 8.18]

In light of what has been discussed so far, clauses where subjunctive mood forces a factive reading cannot in principle allow V2-topicalization, since the factive clause is derived by movement of an OP that would trigger minimality effects with a topic. Following this intuition, movement of a factive operator (perhaps binding the mood position related to subjunctive in IP) to the C-domain would be one strategy to make mood interpretable at the interface. On the presence of a mood feature in the C-domain and related feature-checking strategies in Southern Italian Dialects (non-V2, Romance varieties) see Damonte (2008).

2. V-to-C is triggered by some specific feature encoded in Fin, assuming that this position is the target of verb movement. This hypothesis has the advantage of solving the economy problem that would emerge under the assumption that V-to-C is required by fronting an OP to the C-domain, namely that V-to-C is dependent on topic fronting. According to Rizzi (1997) a criterion on the C-domain is satisfied if either the specifier or the head of a criterial projection is overtly realized, but a realization of both (as suggested by Roberts and Roussou 2002 for V2) would be anti-economic.

If V-to-C no longer depends on the movement of a constituent to a C-specifier (e.g. Spec,TopP in our cartography), the economy problem is circumvented, because the preverbal constituent could be in the specifier of a higher criterial projection and the verb in the lower C-head, i.e. Fin. At this point the question is how to explain the V2 constraint that one and only one preverbal element can move, once we discard the idea of locality relation between preverbal XP and V postulated in terms of Spec-Head relation. This is not problematic as long as the preverbal element is A'-OP moved: any other A'-movement to the left periphery is banned by minimality[27]. But why multiple frontings are not possible in subject-initial V2 clauses, given that the subject is A-moved?

A tentative answer to the latter question concerns the trigger of V-to-C. I have argued that embedded V2 cannot be the result of fronting of an assertive operator (ASS) of the kind postulated by Meinunger (2004), because such operator would give rise to minimality effects with the preverbal topic. However, I have argued with Eythórsson (1996) that argument V2-topics are operators. We can assume the ASS-operator identified by Meinunger (2004) is instead a T-conditional-OP associated to the topic and assigns it an operator-status in V2 clauses. This association could be done on a low functional projection immediately above the vP level (by analogy to what is proposed by Duffield (2007) for the syntactic encoding of an "assertive" feature).

In subject-initial clauses the subject cannot move to the functional projection encoding the Truth-condition evaluation requirement on the low vP periphery (an A'-position), but needs to be A-moved to a higher position[28]. Klein (1998; 2006) claims that finiteness encodes both tense and assertion features in Indoeuropean languages, and Duffield (2007) provides support to this claim by showing that an assertive particle is merged in the left vP periphery in

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[27] Relativized minimality (cf. Rizzi 1990) accounts better for different degrees of degradation of clauses where different types of frontings are tested.

[28] One optional way to give the subject an OP-status by moving it first to the functional A'-position in the low vP periphery is to adopt a strategy enabling subject dislocation (or extraction); i.e. a strategy that independently satisfies the subject criterion as is formulated by Rizzi (2004); Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007).

Vietnamese, where verb movement cannot mark assertion by moving to the finiteness projection.

If we transpose this analysis in a cartographic perspective, and we reconsider the assertion feature as a more general requirement on the interpretation of the propositional content (T-conditions), T-conditions would need to be checked on Fin in Indoeuropean, and V-to-Fin in Germanic is a plausible strategy for that, given the absence of special "assertive" particles of the Vietnamese type (cf. Duffield 2007) in V2 languages (as well as in other Indoeuropean languages). Accordingly, I assume that a Truth-condition-OP binds the V-head as a variable and triggers V-to-Fin. The Truth-condition-operator can have an overt realization in a preverbal topic or be null, as in subject-initial V2 clauses. In both cases, the null operator bans extraction in Mainland Scandinavian (for minimality of T-conditions-OP and Wh-extraction). By contrast, extraction out of a subject-initial V2 clause is possible in Icelandic under the assumption that in this case no OP triggers V-to-Fin because the embedded clause is not evaluated as an separate proposition, but V2 is the result of V-to-I (cf. also Thráinsson 2010):

(51)a. **Vem* sa han [att han **hade** inte gett *t* den här boken]? (Swedish)
whom said he that he had not given this here book
"Who did he say that he had not given this book to?"

b. *Hverjum* heldur þú [að María **gefi** ekki *t* svona bækur]? (Icelandic)
whom think you that Mary gives not such books
"Who do you think that Mary does not give such books to?"
[Thráinsson (2010) 19, 28-29]

In this perspective, V2 as V-to-Fin is:
(i) triggered by a feature-checking mechanism, namely [Truth-condition evaluation] on FinP;
(ii) associated to movement of a Truth-condition-OP, which explains restrictions on V2 clauses by minimality;
(iii) non-redundant for economy principles, as it lexically realizes the head of a projection that would otherwise remain silent, given that the T-cond-OP, whether null or associated to an A'-constituent, targets a higher position.

With regard to the latter point, it seems plausible that the Truth-condition-OP be selected by the matrix clause in order to enter the discourse pragmatics. This hypothesis would explain the synergy between Force and Fin in V2-clauses. A structural representation of a non-subject initial V2 clause is given below:

(52) [$_{SubP}$ $_{ForceP}$**OP$_{Truth\text{-}cond}$** $_{Force}$*at/att/að* $_{TopP}$[<OP$_{Truth\text{-}cond}$> **XP**]$_{Top}$ $_{FinP}$<[<OP$_{Truth\text{-}cond}$> XP]>$_{Fin}$ **V$_{[+truth\text{-}cond]}$** [

The hypothesis sketched above is compatible with the idea that there is a connection between the properties of functional projections located in the periphery of each phase, similarly to what Poletto (2005) argues for Old Italian. In the specific case of V-to-C, the interpretive properties of V2 clauses, related to their illocutionary force, would require the activation of a projection allegedly encoding discourse-related features at the edge of the vP phase, which provides the propositional content. However, further research and deeper investigations are needed in this direction in order to understand the exact derivation of V2.

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ELLERHUR and other Yes/No-question operator candidates in Swedish*

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Abstract. Our point of departure is a new use of the question tag *eller hur* (or how) 'isn't it?' in Swedish:

(i) Eller hur ska vi åka till Italien i sommar?
or how shall we go to Italy in summer
'We will go to Italy this summer,. won't we?'

We argue that *eller hur* used in this way is an overt Yes/No-question operator, and that it patterns with *visst* and *nog*, which we propose are two other Yes/No-question operators in Swedish.

We also discuss *eller hur* that combines with a *that*-clause, a configuration that yields a sentence that in most cases is construed as an ironic statement. We argue that this instance of *eller hur* is not a question operator, but what we term a non-verbal matrix, and furthermore that *eller hur*, followed by a that-clause, patterns with other non-verbal matrices with a similar meaning, such as *visst* 'sure' and *säkert* 'sure'.

1 Introduction

The default question tag in Swedish is *eller hur* (or how). Just like its English counterpart *isn't it*, *eller hur* is used in contexts where the speaker expects the listener to agree with the statement just made. Consider (1) for an example:

(1) Filmen var bra, eller hur?
film.the was good, or how
'The film was good, wasn't it?"

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A new way of using *eller hur* has developed, especially among children and youngsters. *Eller hur* can nowadays be used in a clause initial position, which is illustrated in (2). In what follows we will annotate *eller hur* in its new use as *ELLERHUR*.

(2) ELLERHUR var filmen bra?
ELLERHUR was film.the good
'The film was good, wasn't it?'

As (2) shows, *ELLERHUR* precedes the finite verb, which indicates that it is a fully integrated part of the clause; hence we gather that its syntactic status differs from *eller hur* in examples such as (1); as a tag question *eller hur* is most reasonably right dislocated.[1]

In its new use, *ELLERHUR* may also precede a *that*-clause.

(3) ELLERHUR att filmen var bra.
ELLERHUR that film.the was good

As will be elaborated in more detail in section 3, the meaning of sentences such as (3) depends on the context; typically the sentences convey an ironic meaning.[2]

Our paper has several purposes: Y/N-question operators in Swedish is the topic of section 2. First of all we present an analysis of the new *ELLERHUR* + finite verb. In short, we argue that *ELLERHUR* in examples such as (2) is a Y/N-question

[1] We take no definite stand as how to right dislocation should be analysed syntactically, but assume that right dislocated elements are located in a separate syntactic domain, associated with the preceding clause semantically.

[2] Yet another recently developed use of *ELLERHUR* should be mentioned. Consider (i).

(i) A: Svenskläraren är typ jordens tråkigaste människa.
Swedish teacher.the is like earth.the's most.boring person
'The Swedish teacher is like the most boring person on earth'
B: Eller hur!
or how
'I agree!'

In the example above, *ELLERHUR* is used as an answer. By uttering *ELLERHUR*, speaker B signals that he or she agrees with the statement made by speaker A. There is most probably a connection between all the new uses of *ELLERHUR*, but the nature of this relation will not be explored in this paper.

operator. Secondly, we argue that Swedish has more Y/N-question operators, in particular *visst* and *nog*, and that *ELLERHUR* patterns with these operators. In section 3 we argue that *ELLERHUR* immediately preceding a *that*-clause, as in (3), is an example of what we call a non-verbal matrix. In this latter use *ELLERHUR* does not have any question operator properties. Section 4 contains a short summary.

2 Y/N-question operators in Swedish

2.1 ELLERHUR *in V2-constructions, a recently emerged Y/N-question operator*

As pointed out in the introduction, *ELLERHUR* in its new use may precede the finite verb in main clauses. Consider (4), which is a repetition of (2) above.

(4) ELLERHUR var filmen bra?
ELLERHUR was film.the good
'The film was good, wasn't it?'

The fact that *ELLERHUR* in (4) triggers V2 shows beyond doubt that it is an integrated part of the clause, on a par with fronted objects or adverbials, elements that all trigger V2. Compare (4) to the examples in (5).

(5) a Filmen tänkte vi se.
film.the thought we see
'We planned to see the film.'

b Idag tänkte vi se film.
today thought we see film
'We planned to see a film today.'

c Förmodligen tänker de se film.
probably think they see film
'They'll probably see a film.'

We assume that tag questions, such as *isn't it* in English and *eller hur* in Swedish, are not integrated syntactically into the preceding "host clause". Thus, a sentence such as (1) consists of a statement, *Filmen var bra* 'The film was good', followed by a question with the intended meaning 'Don't you agree that the film was good?'. The two syntactic constituents make up one utterance. The function of a tag question is to ask the listener for support. This is also the meaning that *ELLERHUR* in its new sentence initial position conveys. What is important is that *ELLERHUR* is an integrated part of the clause. There is thus just one single CP in (4), a Y/N-question, and the clause-initial element, *ELLERHUR*, is what makes the constituent a question.

The expected answer to (4) is "Yes, it was.", "Yes, the film was fantastic" or alike. The fact that *ELLERHUR* turns the sentence into a Y/N-question suggests that *ELLERHUR* in a clause initial position is a question operator, more specifically an overt instance of the null question operator Q that Katz & Postal (1964) have postulated for English.[3] This conclusion might come as somewhat surprising; to the best of our knowledge overt Y/N-question operators have not been suggested for Swedish previously. However, such operators are quite frequent in other languages. For instance, Platzack (2010: 58) argues that Old Icelandic *hvart* is an operator of this kind, see (6a), and Radford (1988:296) shows that Y/N-question operators are found in Yiddish, Polish, Estonian, see (6b–d):

(6) a Hvart má G. heyra mál mitt? (Old Icelandic)
OP may G. hear speech my
'May G hear my speech now?'

b Tsi hot er geleient dos bux? (Yiddish)
OP has he read DET book
'Has he read the book.'

c Czy zamykacie okna? (Polish)
OP you.close windows
'Do you close the windows?'

[3] The idea that Swedish has null Yes/No-question operators of the type assumed for English are discussed for instance in Platzack (1998) and (2010), as well as in Waldmann (2008, 39).

d Kas suitsetate? (Estonian)
OP you.smoke
'Do you smoke?'

e Tsi hot er geleient dos bux? (Yiddish)
OP has he read DET book
'Has he read the book.'

Other languages with overt Y/N-questions operators are Bulgarian and Japanese (see Platzack 2010, 58). Also Latin appears to have overt Y/N-question operators. Consider (7), which shows examples with *-ne*, *nonne*, and *num*.

(7) a Vides-ne?
See.you-OP
'Do you see?'

b Nonne vides?
OP see.you
'Don't you see?'

c Num vides?
OP see.you
'Do you really see?'

The particle *nonne* seems to be the negative correspondent to *-ne*; it conveys an expectation for a negative answer, whereas *-ne* conveys an expectation for a positive answer. However, the Latin question particle that seems to correspond most closely to *ELLERHUR* is *an*:

(8) Hostes facile vincemus. An non pares iis sumus?
Enemies easily overcome.2PL OP not equal to.them be.2PL
'We shall beat the enemies easily. Or, aren't we equally good?'

The particle *an*, in our view a Y/N-question operator, conveys a strong expectation for a positive answer.

The examples in (6)–(8) show that overt Y/N-question operators are found in closely as well as not so closely related languages; hence it not so strange that we find them in Swedish too.

2.2 Other Y/N- question operator candidates in Swedish

An interesting question is why *ELLERHUR* has become a Y/N-question operator in Swedish – as pointed out above this seems to be a fairly recent development. A clue to an answer is suggested in an article by the Swedish columnist Ingemar Unge (2009).[4] Unge comments on the new use of *ELLERHUR*, and suggests that children make an analogy between the word *visst*. From a functional point of view the ”old” use of *eller hur*, i.e. as a tag question, and *visst* in sentence initial position yields the same meaning; hence, from a functional point of view, (9a) and (9b) are equivalents.

(9) a Filmen var bra, eller hur?
film.the was good, ELLERHUR
’The film was good, wasn’t it?”

b Visst var filmen bra?
VISST was film.the good
’The film was good, wasn’t it?’

We find it plausible that the tag *eller hur* has been reanalysed as an operator, Q-*ELLERHUR* due to the functional similarity between *visst* and *eller hur*. However, a more precise description of a possible grammaticalization process is out of the scope of this paper.

If we take a closer look at (9b), we find that it in fact provides evidence for at least one more Y/N-question operator in Swedish, namely *visst*. *Visst* in the initial position of a sentence such as (9b) unambiguously triggers inversion and yields a question interpretation. On a par with *ELLERHUR* it also conveys a strong expectation that the listener will agree with the speaker; the expected answer is “Yes, it was” or something similar.

If we continue our investigation we find yet another candidate for a Y/N-question operator, namely *nog*:

[4] See also Strömqvist (2008).

(10) Nog var filmen bra?
NOG was film.the good
'Wasn't the film good?'

Examples such as (10) show that *nog* is a Y/N-question operator too, or at least that it can be used in this way. The examples in (9b) and (10) do not need any particular linguistic context, neither before nor after in order to be felicitous.

So far we have argued that there are three Y/N-question operators in Swedish: *ELLERHUR*, *visst*, and *nog*. In addition to being Y/N-question operators, *ELLERHUR* and *visst* seem to convey about the same degree of expectation that the listener will agree with the speaker.[5] *Nog* conveys a similar type of expectance, but to a lesser degree than the other two.

A factor that may confuse the picture is that *visst* and *nog* may have other meanings too, in particular when they show up in the canonical sentence adverbial position in the middle field:[6]

(11)a Filmen var visst bra.
film.the was VISST good
'I heard that the film was good.'

b Filmen var nog bra.
salmon.the was NOG good
'The film was probably good.'

It is possible that the meaning of *visst* and *nog* as Y/N-question operators are related to the meaning of *visst* and *nog* in the middle field, but for the sake of exposition it is probably instructive to think of them as different lexemes: VISST_{OP} and $\text{VISST}_{\text{ADVL}}$ as well as NOG_{OP} and NOG_{ADVL}. The meaning of $\text{VISST}_{\text{ADVL}}$ in (11a) conveys a report modality 'from what I have heard', whereas NOG_{ADVL} in

[5] The questions that are formed with the Y/N-question operator ELLERHUR are not purely information seeking, but "tendentious", in the sense that they convey an expectation for a particular answer. However, this is not exclusive to *ELLERHUR*-questions, also Y/N-question with a null Y/N-question operator (assuming Postal & Katz 1964 analysis of such operators) may be tendentious in the same way. (Thanks to Valeria Molnár for clarifying this.)

[6] See Petersson (2008) for an extensive discussion of the meanings of *inte* 'not', *visst*, and *nog* in different positions in the clause.

(11b) conveys a certain amount of uncertainty, corresponding to English 'probably'.

In addition, sentences such as (12a) and (12b) with a sentence-initial *visst* and *nog* can acquire a concessive reading when followed by a *but*-sentence:

(12)a Visst var laxen god, men räkorna var godare.
VISST was salmon.the good, but shrimps.the were better
'The salmon was surely good, but the shrimps were better.'

b Nog var laxen god, men räkorna var godare.
NOG was salmon.the good, but shrimps.the were better
'The salmon was surely good, but the shrimps were better.'

Drawing on Petersson (2008), we suggest that *visst* in (12a) is another lexeme, more specifically a concessive adverbial; in a sentence initial position *visst* can be exchanged for the concessive adverbial *visserligen*. The same applies to *nog* in (12b). The meaning of (13) is about the same as that of (12a) and (12b).

(13) Visserligen var laxen god, men räkorna var godare
VISSERLIGEN was salmon.the good, but shrimps.the were better
'The salmon was good, but the shrimps were better.'

We will indicate this use of *visst* and *nog* with a subscript: $visst_{VISSERLIGEN}$ and $nog_{VISSERLIGEN}$.[7] [8]

[7] Yet another confusing fact is that $visst_{VISSERLIGEN}$ may be used independently.

(i) Visst, jag har inte problem med det.
VISST$_{visserligen}$, I have not problem with it'
'Sure, I don't have any problems with that.'

Strangely enough *visserligen* cannot be used in this way:

(ii) *Visserligen, jag har inte problem med det.
VISSERLIGEN I have not problem with that

As the translation indicates, the English equivalent to *visst* in (i) is 'sure'.

Yet another use of *visst*, is as a stressed adverbial in the middle field:

(iii) Jag har VISST betalat!
I have VISST payed
'You're wrong; I have indeed payed!'

As the translation of (iii) shows this use of *VISST* implies that the speaker opposes the listener.

According to the proposed analysis, *visst* and *nog* in (11) are not Y/N-question operators, even though examples such as (11a) and (11b) may pragmatically be construed as Y/N-questions. However, when this happens, it is due to pragmatics, not to the presence of any syntactic operator. For this reason *visst* and *nog* in (11) are best viewed as ordinary sentence adverbials. When carrying a Y/N-question operator function, *visst* and *nog* have to be in Spec CP – the designated position for sentence type operators. This also explains why the Y/N-question operator *ELLERHUR* cannot appear in the middle field, the default location for sentence adverbials.

(14) Laxen var visst/nog/*ELLERHUR god.

There are at least four more candidates for Y/N-question operators in Swedish, *kanske* 'maybe', the negation *inte* 'not', *månne* 'maybe' and *månntro* 'maybe'.[9] We discuss these candidates in turn.

From a diachronic perspective *kanske* 'maybe' is presumably derived from the verbs *kan* 'can' and *ske* 'happen'. As (15) shows, *kanske* may show up clause initially as well as in the middle field, (There are a number of other possible positions for *kanske*, which will not considered here.)

(15) a Kanske var hon trött.
maybe was she tired
'Maybe she was tired.'

b Han hade kanske varit i London.
he had maybe been in London
'Maybe he had been in London.'

The uses of *visst* exemplified in (i) and (iii) are most probaby related to each other as well as to other uses of *visst*, but since this connection has no direct bearing on our study, we will not pursue any further investigations.

[8] The issue is further complicated by the fact that *visserligen* may show up in the middle field – though conveying the same concessive meaning as clause-initial *visserligen*:

(i) Laxen var visserligen god, men räkorna var godare.
salmon.the was VISSERLIGEN good, but shrimps.the were better

An elaborate analysis of *visserligen* in (i) is not central to the present study.

[9] Since there are no equivalents to *månne* and *månntro* in English, no English glossing will be given.

The example in (15a) is not a Y/N-question, which indicates that *kanske* is not an operator here. However, by virtue of the modal character of *kanske* 'maybe' – it conveys uncertainty –, both sentence initially *kanske* and *kanske* in the middle field have a strong tendency to trigger a question interpretation. However, we claim that this is due to pragmatic factors, and that *kanske* is not a Y/N-question operator here.

The negation *inte* 'not' may occur sentence initially too:

(16) Inte ska vi ha lax till lunch.
not shall we have salmon for lunch
'We shouldn't have salmon for lunch, should we?'

Just like sentences with *kanske* + finite verb (c.f. (15a)), sentences with *inte* 'not' in a sentence-initial position (followed by the finite verb) display a quite strong tendency to be construed as questions. However, as opposed to sentences with sentence-initial *ELLERHUR* + finite verb, such sentences may have a number of other pragmatic functions too, for instance what we could characterize as a "rhetoric or overpolite question":

(17) Inte ska jag sitta på hedersplatsen!
not shall I sit on honorseat.the
'I shouldn't sit on the honor seat, should I?'

To conclude, we argue that *inte* 'not' in examples such as (16) and (17) is not a question operator. Instead, it is a sentence adverbial, where the meaning component that we tentatively term IRREALIS may promote a question interpretation pragmatically. However, the same pragmatic function may be conveyed by *inte* 'not' in the middle field, which is the canonical position for sentence adverbials:

(18) Ni vill inte ha lite kaffe?
you want not have some coffee
'You don't want some coffee, do you?'

Månne is another Y/N-question operator candidate. The canonical position for *månne* is clause-finally, or the middle field. For this reason, Teleman & al. (1999)

classify *månne* as a sentence adverbial.[10] Teleman & al. point out, though, that *månne* (though somewhat marginally) may occur sentence-initially too:

(19) Månne är det arbetarrörelsen, som hon är fixerad till?.
MÅNNE is it labor movement.the, which she is attached to?
'Maybe it's the labor movement that she is attached to?'
(Teleman & al (1999 4, 743)).

According to Teleman & al. (1999) (19) is a declarative clause. We need to emphasize that examples such as (19) are infrequent in modern Swedish; the use of *månne* is in many ways obsolete.

Teleman & al. (1999) also point out that *månne* is more frequently used in the middle field:

(20) Är det månne arbetarrörelsen som hon är fixerad till?

Examples such as (20) show that it is difficult to make a general statement about the operator status of *månne* in Swedish. One possibility could be that the Y/N-question operator status of *månne* is unclear in Swedish, another that some speakers have two lexical items in their mental grammar: $månne_{OPERATOR}$ and $månne_{ADVL}$, whereas others have only $månne_{ADVL}$. (Many speakers, especially young people, probably lack *månne* altogether in their mental lexicon.) A third answer would be to take a diachronic point of view and say that $månne_{OPERATOR}$ is on its way out of the language. We do not take any definite stand as to which of the possible descriptions is most adequate.

The fourth candidate for a Y/N-question operator is *månntro*. It seems that *månntro* has the same properties as *månne,* described above. Occasional examples with *månntro* + finite verb can be found on the Internet:

[10] The corresponding particle in Danish is *mon*. Erteshik-Shir claims that *mon* + finite verb is ungrammatical in Danish (Erteshik-Shir 2010). However, *mon* may combine with a *that*-clause in Danish, which is a parallel to Swedish *månne* as a non-verbal matrix. See section 3 for more discussion.

(21) Månntro är fröken hemma i Värnamo?
MÅNNTRO is miss home in Värnamo
'Do you maybe come from Värnamo, miss?'

The example in (21) is one of the few examples of *månntro* + finite verb found on Google. It is a quote from a folk song, which is probably not coincidental; *månntro* in this use is obsolete. Our conclusion is that *månntro* has the same operator status as argued for *månne* above, in other words that it is difficult to establish if it is a Y/N-question operator or not; however, it might be that *månntro* is an operator in the mental lexicon of some speakers.

The discussion in this section shows that it can be difficult to tease apart cases with a Y/N-question operator in a clause initial position from sentences with another element, primarily a sentence adverbial in this position, which pragmatically may evoke a question interpretation. Nevertheless we have tried to make a distinction; hence, according to the proposed analysis *ELLERHUR*, *visst* and *nog* are Y/N-question operators when followed by the finite verb, *kanske* and *inte* do not have such operator status, and *månne* and *månntro* have an unclear status. What confuses the picture is that there are other, homonymous instances of *visst* and *nog*. From a diachronic point of view the operator status of *ELLERHUR* is due to a fairly recent language development. In view of this it might be the case that *kanske* and *inte* are in the progress of developing towards an operator status, or rather that *kanske* 'maybe' and *inte* 'not' will split into $kanske_{OP}$ and $kanske_{ADVL}$ as well as $inte_{OP}$ and $inte_{ADVL}$.

3 *ELLERHUR* + *that*-clause – an example of a non-verbal matrix

The purpose of this section is to show that *ELLERHUR* + *att*-sentences are best analysed as non-verbal matrices, i.e. elements that show up in ForceP, encoding illocutionary force without being verbs. We start out by discussing *ELLERHUR* in this configuration, and continue to other instances of non-verbal matrices, such as *visst* 'sure' and *säkert* 'sure', which parallel with *ELLERHUR*.

A sentence initial *ELLERHUR* is found also in constructions where *ELLERHUR* is immediately followed by a *that*-clause (henceforth we will refer to such constructions as *ELLERHUR att*-sentences). Such sentences are different from the *ELLERHUR*-sentences discussed in section 2, where *ELLERHUR* is analyzed as a Y/N-question operator. We argue that *ELLERHUR att*-sentences are declaratives, not questions; hence *ELLER HUR* is not a Y/N-question operator in these sentences.

Depending on the context in which they occur, *ELLERHUR att*-sentences have two basic uses. In the first use the speaker holds the propositional content of the *att*-clause to be true and expects the hearer to confirm this. In the second use the speaker expresses his or her disbelief regarding the propositional content of the *att*-clause. We refer to the first use as "the sincere reading" and to the latter as "the ironic reading". (22) shows an authentic example of an *ELLERHUR att*-sentence with the sincere reading.

(22) A. Eller hur att photoshop är mammas gata för dig?
ELLERHUR that photoshop is mother's street for you

B I vissa perioder sitter jag i Photoshop mer än jag sover,
in some periods sit I in Photoshop more than I sleep

det säger nog en hel del
that says probably a whole part

A 'Photoshop is right up your alley, isn't it?'
B 'In some periods, I spend more time working with Photoshop than I do sleeping, that probably says a lot.'

Although *ELLERHUR att*-sentences with a sincere reading seem to be quite common, the ironic reading, as exemplified in (23) below, appears to be much more frequent.

(23) Sedan Aleksander Lukasjenko valdes till president 1994 har
since A. L. was.elected to president 1994 has

landet gått från skakig demokrati till en ren
country.the gone from shaky democracy to a pure

diktatur. I söndagens val fick han 82,6 procent av ,
dictatorship. in Sunday's election got he 82.6 percent of

rösterna enligt de preliminära resultaten
votes.the according.to the preliminary results

från valkommissionen.
from referendum.committee

– Eller hur att han fick ?!
ELLERHUR that he got

'Since Aleksander Lukasjenko was elected president in 1994, the country has gone from a shaky democracy to a pure dictatorship. In the elections last Sunday, he received 82.6 percent of the votes, according to the preliminary results from the elections committee.
– Sure he did/Yeah, right!'

(23) is an excerpt from a political blog. The author comments on an election held in Belarus. She first cites the preliminary results from the elections committee and then comments on them with the *ELLERHUR att*-sentence, dismissing them as unreliable. The comment consists of *ELLERHUR* followed by an (elliptic) *att*-clause. The propositional content of the *att*-clause is identical to that of the preceding declarative sentence. However, it is quite clear that the author does not consider this proposition to be true. Instead, by using the sentence introduced by *ELLERHUR*, she expresses her strong disbelief. The meaning of *ELLERHUR att*-sentences conveying the ironic reading can be formalized as "it is not the case that p.".[11]

With the ironic reading, the question flavour is gone, which indicates that *ELLERHUR att*-sentences are not questions, but declaratives. It is true that sincere *ELLERHUR att*-sentences are easily construed as questions, which could be taken

11 It should be mentioned that *visst att* can be used in more or less the same way as the ironic *ELLERHUR att*.

to indicate that ELLERHUR might be a Y/N-question operator in these cases. However, since we want to present a unified account of *ELLERHUR att*-sentences, we propose that *ELLERHUR* in *ELLERHUR att*-sentences is not a Y/N-question operator. We argue instead that *ELLERHUR* followed by a *that*-clause is best analyzed as *a non-verbal matrix*. However, before elaborating on this idea we will present the basic theoretical outset of our analysis.

Following a widely spread view, we assume that the main clause/subordinate clause asymmetry in Swedish is related to V-to-C movement. We assume that the finite verb in a Swedish main clause moves from V to C°, whereas C°, in a subordinate clause, is occupied by a complementizer. The finite verb of a subordinate clause stays *in situ*, (cf. among others, den Besten, 1983; Holmberg and Platzack, 1995; Vikner, 1995). Drawing on Rizzi (1997), we also assume that there is a close correlation between semantic interpretation and syntactic structure, which can be described and explained in a split CP-model, where illocutionary force and clause type are coded in ForceP. In Swedish, illocutionary force is typically associated with the finite verb having moved to Force°. We assume that only the highest available ForceP in a given syntactic structure, typically the ForceP of the main clause, can be specified for an independent illocutionary force. The role of a complementizer is to anchor a CP in a superordinate structure. In Swedish, Force° in a subordinate clause, is typically occupied by a complementizer; consequently, the clause lacks an independent speech act value. In main clauses the verb has undergone V-to-Force movement, which renders the clause an independent speech act value.

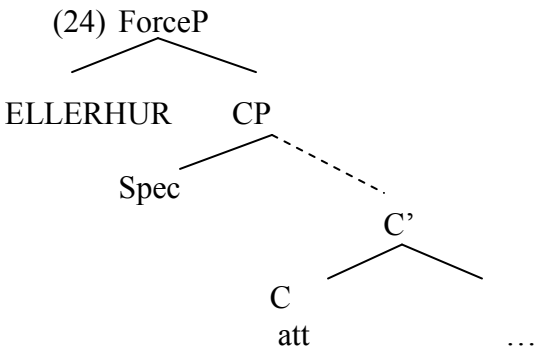
Let us now return to the *ELLERHUR att*-sentences. It is clear that these sentences are complete, independent, and well formed utterances, which means that they express speech acts on their own. More specifically, they are declaratives, which means that they typically function as statements or questions. Given our assumption that illocutionary force is coded in ForceP, we conclude that *ELLERHUR att*-sentences contain a Force projection. The question is where and how the illocutionary force of an *ELLERHUR att*-sentence is coded.

An *ELLERHUR att*-sentence consists of two parts: the expression *ELLERHUR* and an *att*-clause. Given our basic theoretical assumptions, the possibility that the

illocutionary force of an *ELLERHUR att*-sentence is coded in the *att*-clause can quite easily be ruled out. The *att*-clause is introduced by the complementizer *att*, which presumably occupies Force°. Since we assume, that the role of a complementizer is to anchor a subordinate CP in a superordinate, matrix CP and also that only the highest CP of a clause structure can carry an independent specification for illocutionary force, we conclude that the *att*-clause does not carry the illocutionary force. This conclusion is also consistent with the observation that an *att*-clause in general does not express a speech act.[12]

Since we have ruled out the possibility that the illocutionary force of an *ELLERHUR att*-sentence is coded syntactically in the *att*-clause, we conclude that *ELLERHUR* must be the element that carries the illocutionary force. *ELLERHUR* is not verbal; it is what we term a non-verbal matrix, to which the *att*-clause is subordinated. As illustrated in (24), *ELLERHUR* is located in the topmost ForceP.[13]

(24)



If our analysis is on the right track and *ELLERHUR* is a non-verbal matrix, *ELLERHUR att*-sentences deviate considerably from the prototypical pattern of

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[12] It should be pointed out that an *att*-clause, in certain contexts, independently can express speech acts in Swedish. An example is given in (i).

(i) Att han inte skäms!
that he not is.ashamed
'He should be ashamed of himself!'

However, independent *att*-clauses, such as that in (i), are used to express exclamative speech acts. An *att*-clause can not express a declarative speech act on its own.

[13] According to standard assumptions a complementizer occupies the head of Force. It might be the case that this holds for non-verbal matrix elements such as *ELLERHUR* too, but we will leave the question open. In any case, we assume that the presence of *ELLERHUR* (as well as other non-verbal matrix elements, see below) in ForceP excludes the presence of other elements encoding illucutionary force in the ForceP.

Swedish main clauses where illocutionary force is coded by the finite verb moving from V to Force°. For this reason, the idea of a non verbal matrix may come across as somewhat odd. In recent literature, however, similar analyses have been suggested for other constructions in Swedish. Our analysis of *ELLERHUR att*-sentences resembles that of Julien (2009), who discusses *plus(s)-at(t)*-clauses and related constructions in Mainland Scandinavian. (25) is one of the examples discussed by Julien.

(25) Finns en del spelare som kan bli riktigt grymma i framtiden,
are a few players that can become really wicked in future.the

plus att de har en bra tränare också
plus that they have a good trainer too
'There are a few players that can become really good in the future, and they have a good coach too.'

In short, Julien argues that *plus att de har en bra tränare också* should be analysed as a declarative clause, consisting of a regular subordinate clause, *att de har en bra tränare också*, which is subordinated to *plus*, which is what she terms a "minimal matrix" (Julien, 2009, 132).

The idea of a non-finite, or minimal, matrix has also been suggested for exclamatives, such as (26).

(26) Fan att du aldrig lär dig!
damn that you never learn REFL.
'Why don't you ever learn!'

The *att*-clause in (26) looks just like any other subordinate clause. However, it is often considered to be an independent main clause since it expresses a speech act and doesn't need a matrix (the interjection *fan* can be left out). According to Magnusson (2007) and Stroh-Wollin (2008), however, these exclamative clauses are subordinated. They suggest that the interjection *fan* in an exclamative such as (27) is an element that occupies ForceP (Magnusson) or a non finite matrix (Stroh-Wollin), and that this element takes the *att*-clause as its complement.

The *plus*(*s*)-*at*(*t*) sentences discussed by Julien (2009) and the exclamative clauses discussed by Magnusson (2007) and Stroh-Wollin (2008) are very similar to *ELLERHUR-att* sentences, discussed in this paper. Other non-verbal matrix candidates are *visst* and *säkert* 'sure':

(27)a Visst att du är Bill Gates.
VISST that you are Bill Gates
'Sure you're Bill Gates.'

b Säkert att du är Bill Gates.
sure that you are Bill Gates
'Sure you're Bill Gates.'

Both (27a) and (27b) typically convey irony.

To conclude: We propose that *ELLERHUR* in *ELLERHUR att*-sentences is a non-verbal matrix, located in the topmost Force projection. *ELLERHUR* patterns with *visst* 'sure' and *säkert* 'sure', which may be used in the same way.

4 Summary

In our paper we discuss *ELLERHUR* and other Y/N-question candidates in Swedish, as well as *ELLERHUR* and similar elements followed by a that-clause.

We have suggested that *ELLERHUR*, when followed by the finite verb, is a Y/N-question operator. It turns the sentence into a question with a strong expectation that the listener will agree with the speaker. This use of *ELLERHUR* is very similar to *VISST* and *NOG*, which also turn the sentence into a question. Hence, we argue that *VISST* and *NOG* are Y/N-question operators too. It is possible that *MÅNNE* and *MÅNNTRO* are Y/N-question operators of the same type. However, they are both obsolete, and it is difficult to establish their status in modern Swedish.

We have also argued that *ELLERHUR*, when followed by a *that*-clause, is not an operator, but a non-verbal matrix, on a par with elements such as *visst* 'sure' and *säkert* 'sure', followed by a *that*-clause. The elements in question are located in the topmost Force-projection, hence they determine the illocutionary Force of the

whole projection. Elements such as *ELLERHUR, visst,* and *säkert* + *that*-clauses often acquire a question interpretation, but as opposed to *ELLERHUR/VISST/NOG* + finite verb, this interpretation is not obligatory. For this reason we assume that *ELLERHUR*, *visst,* and *säkert* are not question operators in this configuration, but adverbials. The bias towards a question interpretation for such sentences is due to pragmatic factors, probably factors of the same kind as those responsible for the tendency for *kanske*- and *inte*-sentences to be interpreted pragmatically as questions.

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Causers as derived Subjects – An unaccusative view from Finnish

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Abstract

This paper revisits causative morphosyntax in Finnish. A fine-grained semantic investigation provides preliminary evidence of two types of predicates, which both qualify as causatives from a morphological perspective, but only one of which turns out to be genuinely causative semantically. In light of these previously unnoticed facts, the paper revisits, adopts and adapts the idea that agentive and causative predications are fundamentally distinct. The differences are not captured by positing multiple semantic flavors for *v*, but by instead base-generating Agents and Causers in different positions. This paper provides *prima facie* support for an unaccusative derivation of causative constructions, where the Causer is a derived Subject.

1. Introduction

Several studies posit that syntactic causativization, a productive word formation process in many typologically unrelated languages, involves layered event structure, i.e. biclausal syntax (Comrie 1976, Aissen 1979, Marantz 1984, Burzio 1986 and much subsequent non-lexicalist work; Marantz 1997, Hale & Keyser 2002, Ramchand 2008). Assuming that the causing event, denoted as *v*P, dominates VPs, Causers and Agents end up overlapping configurationally (and

conceptually), the general assumption being that Agents, too, are introduced by *v* (see also Chomsky 1995, Kratzer 1996 and related work).

In this report, I present preliminary remarks which call the configurational identity of Causers and Agents, typically referred to as "external arguments", into question, while at the same time defending the constructionalist ideology where lexical conceptual structure does not monopolize argument realization. Based on data from Finnish, an otherwise well-documented causative language, I argue that a fundamental distinction needs to be established between Causers and Agents. The idea is not new, but its implementation in the present paper departs radically from previous accounts. Crucially, *v* is disambiguated semantically: its putative agentive and causative properties (as recently discussed in Folli & Harley 2005, among others) are teased apart and the causative component is relocated to VP-internal structure. Under this view, *v* is always agentive and only Agents can be external arguments. Causers, on the other hand, are derived Subjects of (dyadic) unaccusative predicates subcategorizing for a Small Clause complement (see also Alsina 1992 and Davis & Demirdache 2000). The syntactic derivation of causatives adopted in this paper mirrors the one proposed in Pesetsky (1995), although the two analyses differ in details (see also Belletti & Rizzi 1988 for the causative psych derivation).

2. Finnish causatives – a morphological note

In languages like Finnish, causativization is a productive morphosyntactic process. The causative infix is realized as /ttA/ and it is known to be compatible with both unaccusative and agentive bases (Pylkkänen 1999 and others):

(1) a. jää sulaa
ice.NOM melts
'the ice melts'
b. Liisa sulattaa jäätä/jään
Liisa.NOM melt.CAUS ice.PART/GEN
'Liisa causes the ice to melt/Liisa melts the ice'
c. Liisa nauraa
Liisa.NOM laughs
d. Liisa naurattaa Maria
Liisa.NOM laugh-CAUS Mari.PART
'Liisa is making Mari laugh'

In this paper, I adhere to Shibatani's (1976) early definition of causative constructions, according to which causativization brings about a new state and that, consequently, denying a causative construction yields a contradiction (e.g. *John opened the door, but the door didn't open*). Shibatani's definition adequately captures the telic nature of causatives, as well as the well-known fact that causatives are typically Vendler's accomplishments in aspectual terms.

On closer examination, it turns out that causative affixes in Finnish sporadically lack causative force under Shibatani's definition. In other words,

not all -ttA- affixed verbs qualify as *bona fide* causative predicates, misleading morphological (and semantic) appearances notwithstanding. If this conclusion is accurate, the Finnish data highlight that (morpho)syntactic properties are *not* uniformly semantically predictable (cf. Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995). The semantics and the morphological form of a predicate do *not* necessarily reflect (nor predict) its argument structure.

2.1. Agents are not Causers – the role of intentionality revisited

A striking property in a subclass of – seemingly causativized – verbs is that they are emphatically Agent-oriented. Consider the examples in (2); as illustrated by adverbial modification, these verbs only allow an intentional and deliberate interpretation on the Subject:

(2) a. Liisa rakennutti talon (tarkoituksella/*vahingossa)
Liisa.NOM build-CAUS house.GEN (deliberately/*by accident)
'Liisa built a house'
b. Liisa kasvatti tomaatteja/tomaatit (tarkoituksella/*vahingossa)
Liisa.NOM grow-CAUS tomatoes.PART/GEN (deliberately/*by accident)
'Liisa grows tomatoes'
c. Liisa nauratti Maria (tarkoituksella/*vahingossa)
Liisa laugh-CAUS Mari.PART (deliberately/*by accident)
'Liisa made Mari laugh'

A relevant question to ask is whether the agentive Subject 'Liisa' in (2) also could be interpreted as a Causer. While a spontaneous answer to this question might be affirmative – Jackendoff's (1990) famous "actor test" and the morphological makeup of the verb certainly encourage this conclusion – Shibatani's definition of causatives (see above) suggests otherwise. After all, denying the constructions in (2) repeatedly fails to produce a contradiction; the typical "change of state" associated with causatives is not implicated with this particular set of "causative" verbs:

(3) a. Liisa rakennutti talon, mutta talo ei tullut koskaan valmiiksi
Liisa build.CAUS house.GEN but house NEG came never ready
'Liisa built a house, but the house was never finished'
b. Liisa kasvatti tomaatteja/tomaatit, mutta tomaatit eivät kasvaneet
Liisa.NOM grow.CAUS tomatoes.ACC but tomatoes.NOM NEG grow
'Liisa grew tomatoes, but the tomatoes didn't grow'
c. Liisa nauratti Maria, mutta Mari ei nauranut
Liisa laugh-CAUS Mari.PART but Mari.NOM NEG laugh
'Liisa made Mari laugh, but Mari didn't laugh'

The absence of contradiction in (3) appears to correlate (negatively) with another semantic property known to be of syntactic relevance, namely affectedness of the DO.[1] Observe that the Causee in (2) (*the house* and *the tomatoes*) is not affected in any clear sense. In (2c), '*Mari*' is affected only if interpreted as Experiencer.

[1] The notion of "affectedness" has been given various definitions in the literature and is here intended in a non-aspectual sense (cf. Tenny 1994 and others).

If Liisa's actions are agentive and deliberate, the most natural interpretation for *Mari* is not that of Experiencer, but merely a Theme (I return to this below).

Assuming that affectedness is a typical "proto-Patient" property associated with Causees (Dowty 1991, Alsina 1992, among others), the lack of Patient-oriented affectedness suggests that the DOs in (2) are not Causees. Consequently, the Subject would not be a Causer. Observe that the critical distinction does not transpire with Jackendoff's (1990) [+/- actor] parameter (see also Randall *et al.* 2004). In sum, absence of contradiction under negation and lack of proto-Patient properties on the DO suggest that the constructions in (2) are not well-behaved causatives, despite morphological appearances.

Another set of verbs, likewise affixed with -ttA-, exhibit markedly different behavior in terms of contradiction and affectedness. Consider the following examples:

(4) a. Liisa hajotti ikkunan
Liisa break-CAUS the window
'Liisa broke the window'

b. Liisa sulatti jään
Liisa melt-CAUS the ice
'Liisa caused the ice to melt'

c. Liisa nauratti $\text{Maria}_{\text{Experiencer}}$ (see also 2c)
Liisa laugh-CAUS Mari.PART
'Liisa made Mari laugh'

It is uncontroversial that in (4), the DO (*window* and *ice*) is an affected argument and thus patterns with proto-Patients/Causees. The example in (4c) is particularly interesting. Here, as opposed to (2c), *Mari* is an Experiencer and therefore psychologically affected by Liisa's actions, just like proto-Patients. Liisa's actions, however, could be non-intentional and it seems to me that it is precisely potential non-intentionality that renders possible the Experiencer reading on *Mari*.

The possibility of a non-intentional reading on the Subject turns out to be a general property of (4), one that differentiates these constructions from the ones in (2). All of the constructions in (4) above freely allow the presence of non-intentional adverbs like 'by accident':

(5) a. Liisa hajotti ikkunan (tarkoituksella/vahingossa)
Liisa break-CAUS the window (deliberately/by accident)
'Liisa broke the window'

b. Liisa sulatti jään (tarkoituksella/vahingossa)
Liisa melt-CAUS the ice (deliberately/by accident)
'Liisa caused the ice to melt'

c. Liisa nauratti Maria$_{\text{Experiencer}}$ (tarkoituksella/vahingossa)
Liisa laugh-CAUS Mari.PART (deliberately/by accident)
'Liisa made Mari laugh deliberately/by accident'

Secondly, as the examples in (6) make clear, denying constructions like (4) *does* result in a contradiction, a fact that confirms their (telic) causative status. Psychological causatives also fall into this category, as illustrated in (6c):

(6) a. Lisa broke the window, but the window didn't break **(contradiction)**
b. Lisa melted the ice, but the ice didn't melt **(contradiction)**
c. Lisa made Mary laugh, but Mary didn't laugh **(contradiction)**

Assuming that telicity is also one of the central properties associated with unaccusatives (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995, Randall *et al*. 2004, Roberts 2010, among others), the data in (6) and the differences between (5) and (3) implicate that predicates like (5) might be unaccusatives (the relevant auxiliary selection tests are inapplicable in Finnish). I return to discuss this issue in more detail in the following section.

In sum, the facts illustrated in (5)-(6) suggest that the Subject in (4) is semantically distinct from intentional Agents: it is a *Causer*.

2.2. Agentive nominalizations and passivization

Having established two different types of causative predicates (only one of which patterns with genuine causatives), it is interesting to note that the two verb classes consistently differ also in terms of other morphosyntactic phenomena. In particular, the two types also differ regarding the formation of agentive nominalizations and passivization. Agentive nominalizations, productively

formed in Finnish with the affix *–ja*, are expectedly only felicitous with the verbs in (2).

(7) a. Liisa kasvattaa tomaatteja → Liisa on tomaattien kasvattaja
Liisa grows tomatoes Liisa is tomatoes.GEN grower
'Liisa grows tomatoes' 'Liisa is a tomato-grower'
b. Liisa rakennutti talon → Liisa on talon rakennuttaja
Liisa built a house Liisa is house.GEN builder
'Liisa built a house' 'Liisa is a house-builder'

The nominalizations in (8) are well-formed only under the highly unnatural reading where Liisa is interpreted as an intentional Agent (i.e. Liisa habitually breaks windows knowingly):

(8) a. Liisa hajotti ikkunan → ?*Liisa on ikkunan hajottaja
Liisa broke the window Liisa is window.GEN breaker
'Liisa broke the window' 'Liisa is a window-breaker'
b. Liisa sulatti jään → ?*Liisa on jään sulattaja
Liisa melt the ice Liisa is ice.GEN melter
'Liisa melted the ice' 'Liisa is an ice-melter'

Secondly, while both types of verbs can undergo passivization, the examples in (9) illustrate that the output is always implicitly agentive. The non-intentional interpretation associated with Causers is typically not recovered in passives (see also Veenstra 2004):

(9) a. ikkuna rikottiin tarkoituksella/?vahingossa
window.NOM break-CAUS.PASS deliberately/by accident
'the window was broken on purpose/by accident'
b. jää sulatettiin tarkoituksella/?vahingossa
ice.NOM melt-CAUS.PASS deliberately/by accident
'the ice was melted on purpose/by accident'

Restrictions concerning causative passivization turn out to be typologically more widespread. Alalou & Farrel (1993) report similar constraints regarding passivization in Berber. Restrictions of similar sort are also attested in Modern Greek and Romance (Aissen 1979). In fact, sometimes non-active morphology is used in the causative verb itself (see Guasti 1993:77 for discussion on the San Nicola dialect of Italian). These restrictions are not universal, however. The Swedish counterparts to (9) are impeccable also under the non-intentional reading (Christer Platzack, p.c.):

(10) fönstret krossades av misstag
window break.PASS by mistake
'the window was broken by mistake'

Based on the data presented in this section, I now proceed to a syntactic analysis of Finnish causatives, which I assume to be constructions lacking external arguments. Causers, as opposed to Agents, are treated as derived Subjects.

3. The syntactic structure of causative vs. agentive predication

A central aspect in the syntactic analysis proposed below is the semantic disambiguation of *v*: the analysis departs from recent views where (non)-intentional properties of Subjects are captured by postulating different semantic flavors for *v* (see Folli & Harley 2005 for recent discussion). Here, *v* is consistently underspecified semantically and exclusively introduces Agents. Non-intentional Subjects (here: Causers) are not introduced by semantically different *v*s; they are not introduced by *v*s at all, but rather VP-internally. In other words, as I mentioned above, Causers are not external arguments, but derived Subjects of configurationally unaccusative predicates. The unaccusative approach to causatives also provides an immediate explanation for the restrictions on passivization discussed in 2.2: constructions with derived Subjects generally resist passivization (Perlmutter & Postal 1984, Pylkkänen 2002, Kupula 2010, among others).

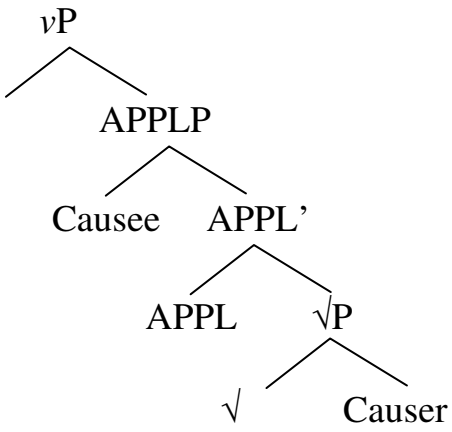
Following Den Dikken (1995), Kupula (2008), among others, I assume that affectedness can be represented syntactically and that it is a property of Small Clause Specifiers. Under this assumption, Causees – as affected arguments – are base-generated as Small Clause Specifiers. This view is also in line with Marantz's (1989) observations on causative constructions in Georgian, specifically the idea that Causees might be Small Clause Subjects (see also Guasti 1993:42). The proposal differs from Marantz's approach in that I assume

that also the Causer originates internally to the Small Clause (cf. Pesetsky 1995:202-210).

Following Marantz (1993), Pylkkänen (1999, 2002), among others, I assume that causatives are applicative constructions. This assumption is supported by the functional similarity of applicative and causative morphemes, as well as the typological fact that these morphemes are frequently syncretic (see Baker 1988 and, more recently, Peterson 2007).[2] In Finnish causatives, APPL must be "high" in Pylkkänen's (2002) sense, if the Mirror Principle on morphological linearizarion is valid (see the derivation in 12). The high applicative approach is also fully compatible with the generally accepted idea that causatives denote a relationship between Causers and the caused event (Pustejovsky 1995, Pylkkänen 2002, among many others). The Causer is projected as the complement of an acategorial root and the applicative phrase is topped with an unaccusative *v*P.

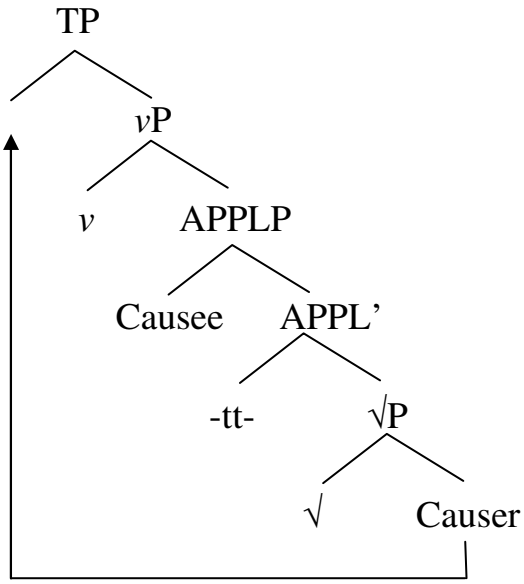
[2] In fact, Kemmer & Verhagen (1994) point out the verb "give" is a causative form of a possessive predicate (kor-e) in Ainu. They also point out that in some languages the causative marker is synchronically or diachronically the word "give" (see also Peterson 2007).

(11)



The high applicative structure is equally compatible with Alsina's (1992) insight regarding causative morphemes as three-place predicates, which not only establish a relation between Causers and the caused event, but also Causers and Causees (the Patient), i.e. two individuals. While the relationship between two individuals could be mediated by a different type of APPL (Pylkkänen's "low" APPL), it can also be assumed that high APPL mediates a relationship between two individuals (here: the Causer and the Causee) because the acategorial root has no argument structure of its own. As a result of being category-neutral and void of argument structure, I also assume that bare roots lack Case assigning properties. The Causer therefore needs to undergo Case-driven movement to Spec-TP (see also Pesetsky 1995:202-210 who proposes a virtually identical movement dependency for Causers). Prominence relations (Grimshaw 1990) are satisfied in the post-movement configuration:

(12)



In this view, Causers are derived Subjects. While psychological causatives have been analyzed along similar lines, (Belletti & Rizzi 1988, Pesetsky 1995 among many others), the idea has not, to my knowledge, been explored in the realm of non-psych causatives. The data in (5)-(6), however, indicate that psychological causatives behave on a par with non-psych causatives (cf. Pesetsky 1995).

Observe that the derivation in (12) also explains the familiar backward binding effects in languages like English and Finnish which are both negative in terms of the V2 parameter (Platzack 2008 argues, based on Germanic, that backward binding of this sort might be restricted to V2-negative languages):

(13) a. each other's remarks made John and Mary angry (Pesetsky 1995:218)
b. toistensa huonot arvosanat huolestuttivat Jukkaa ja Mattia
each other.GEN bad grades preoccupy Jukka.PART and Matti.PART
'each other's bad grades preoccupied Jukka and Matti'

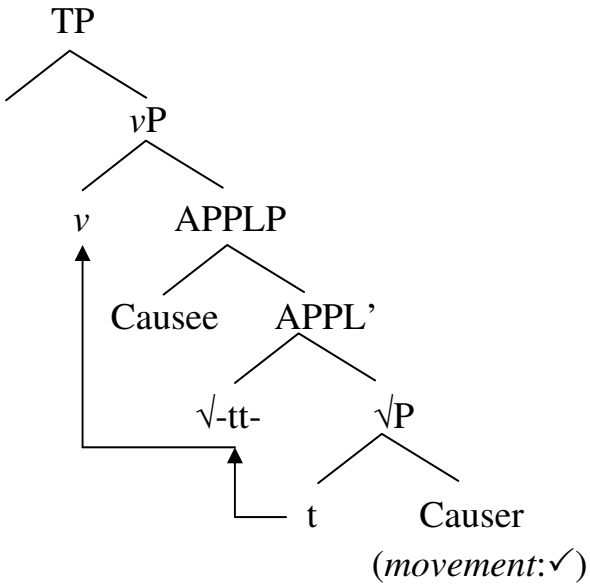
The problematic aspects regarding the derivation in (11) are evident, however. First of all, the movement of the Causer violates the MLC; intervention effects are therefore expected. Additional problems arise in terms of the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), if the applicative phrase (or Small Clauses in general) is treated as a phase (for arguments that high APPL heads a phase, see McGinnis 2001).

As a solution to the first problem, I adopt Belletti & Rizzi's (1988) original argument based on Italian: the Causer and the Causee are not equally good candidates for Case-driven movement in (11), because the Causee bears inherent Case and therefore cannot enter into Case checking operations. McFadden (2006) presents convincing additional evidence for this view from a Germanic perspective. This way of reasoning also solves the well-known dilemma regarding the compatibility of Burzio's Generalization with unaccusative syntax. Alternatively, it can be assumed that the Causee checks its Case features under agreement with *v*. The Causer, on the other hand, can only check its features via movement (irrespective of Burzio's Generalization), under the assumption that roots are not proper Case licensers. The displacement of the Causer is also required for EPP-reasons.

As for the related concern, i.e. the potential PIC-violation mentioned above, I propose a phase extension analysis as a solution (see Den Dikken 2006, 2007; Kupula 2008 and *to appear*). This solution also contributes beneficially to the locality issue discussed above. First of all, morphological causativization in Finnish reflects left-adjoining of the root to APPL. APPLP being a phase, further head movement of the √-APPL compound triggers phase extension in Den Dikken's (2006, 2007) sense. Phase extension has locality-relaxing consequences for the domain of the phase (locus of the Causer). The syntactic consequences of phase extension are thus very similar to Chomsky's (1995) "equidistance", here due to phase restructuring as a result of, arguably narrow-syntactic, head movement (see also a re-application of the mechanism in Modern Greek in Kupula 2008, 2010 and *to appear*):[3]

[3] As a matter of fact, the overtness of applicative/causative morphology in Finnish causatives might provide an additional piece of support for the unaccusative approach suggested above. I have argued extensively in Kupula (2010), based on Modern Greek and other languages, that overt applicative morphology is systematically triggered in the absence of external arguments (Spec,*v*P) due to the generalized Doubly Filled Comp Filter. A similar line of reasoning would be compatible also in Finnish "genuine" causatives.

(14)



In sum, the difference between agentive and causative predications is that only Agents are projected as external arguments. Also, while a "Causer" can be interpreted as intentional, the "Causer" becomes an "Agent", when this reading obtains. The distinction I propose is that Causers are always non-intentional while Agents are always intentional. As a result of expressing this distinction by base-generating the arguments in different positions, for which Finnish provides good motivation, the possible semantic flavors of *v* are sharply constrained: *v* only comes with agentive properties (cf. Folli & Harley 2005).

As for the syntactic structure of *agentive* predication, these structures have a monoclausal base without Small Clause complements (here: applicative phrases). The external argument (Agent) is merged to the familiar designated position for these arguments (Spec,*v*P or Voice). Lack of affectedness observed

in connection with (2) is clearly consistent with lack of Small Clause complements.

4. Summary and conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed causative affixation in Finnish and concluded that causative morphemes sporadically lack causative force, a fact that gives rise to a misleading sort of a "pseudo-causative", assuming that Shibatani's definition of causatives is appropriate. The pseudo-causative variant seems to resist contradiction under negation and appears not to be associated with affectedness of the DO. The issue evidently awaits further research, but these facts, combined with diverging data regarding agentive nominalizations and passivization, provide initial plausibility for the existence of two verb groups, only one of which is genuinely causative, despite morphological appearances.

More specifically, the Finnish data clearly illustrates that a verb can be morphologically (and semantically) causative without introducing a Causer argument. Therefore, assuming that morphological properties are part of the lexical semantic representation of a predicate, the interaction between lexical semantic structure and syntax appears to be constrained and argument realization appears not to be fully "semantically determined" (as argued in lexicalist frameworks like Levin & Rappaport 1995).

I have treated causatives as dyadic unaccusatives, assuming that Causers and Patients originate in a Small Clause structure headed by a (high)

applicative head. Under this view, causative constructions are basically very similar to double object constructions (see also Baker 1988 among others). Spec,APPL is thematically underspecified and can be associated with various thematic labels, Causees being one of them.

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