The syntax of the V3 particle *så* in the Swedish left periphery

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Abstract

A characteristic feature of the left periphery in Mainland Scandinavian is the particle *så* occurring optionally between certain fronted constituents and the finite verb in root clauses. Following Eide (2011) the particle will be analysed as a head high in the C-domain, a variety of declarative Force with the features [D-Force, −Top, −Foc]. It will attract mainly adjuncts, except wh-adjuncts. The corresponding particle in Fenno-Swedish has a freer distribution, having the features [D-Force, −Operator], meaning that it accepts as specifier any fronted phrase except pure operators. *Så* also occurs, in a different construction, checking the EPP of Fin in clausal complements of the conjunctions *eller* 'or' and *och* 'and' in Swedish.

1   Introduction[1]

A characteristic feature of the left periphery in Mainland Scandinavian is the particle *så* occurring optionally between certain fronted constituents and the finite verb in root clauses (all examples are Swedish, except where indicated otherwise).

(1)   Egentligen (så) vill   jag helst bli hemma.
       actually   SÅ   would I   rather stay home
       'I would actually rather stay home.'

The form *så* has a variety of meanings and functions, including that of a consecutive conjunction, as in (2a), or VP-proform, as in (2b), or AP-intensifier, as in (2c).

(2)   a.   Jag är trött, så jag blir hemma.
             'I'm tired, so I'll stay home.'
       b.   Gör så!
             'Do so!'
       c.   Du är så vacker.
             'You are so beautiful.'

In all these cases its use parallels that of its English cognate *so*. The particle *så* which is discussed in this paper, on the other hand, is an uninterpretable, expletive element which has no translation into English, and will be glossed as SÅ. In most varieties of Mainland Scandinavian the broad generalisation is that this particle occurs between an adjunct and the

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[1] Thanks to the organisers and participants of the workshop on V3 particles at the University of Ghent in September 2017, and especially Liliane Haegeman and Karen de Clercq, and to Johan Brandtler, the editor of WPSS.

finite verb in the left periphery (Holmberg 1986: 109-118, Nordström 2010, Eide 2011). It is typically optional. See Salvesen (to appear) on the history of this particle.

(3)a.   I morgon (så) har vi öppet som vanligt.
        tomorrow SÅ have we open   as   usual
        'Tomorrow we are open as usual.'

    b.   Troligtvis (så) är det ingenting.
        probably SÅ is it nothing
         'It's probably nothing.'

    c.   När jag vaknade (så) lyste   solen   på mig.
        when I   woke.up SÅ shone the.sun on me
        'When I woke up the sun was shining on me.'

    d.   Den här skjortan (*så) älskar jag.
        this here shirt   SÅ love   I
        'I love this shirt.'

(3d) exemplifies the fact that a fronted argument cannot co-occur with *så*, except in one dialect or family of dialects, namely Fenno-Swedish, a fact which will be discussed in section 6.

Eide (2011) and Nordström (2010) have argued that the Mainland Scandinavian left-periphery particle *så* is a head in the C-domain attracting mainly adjuncts to move to its specifier position. I will review and provide more arguments supporting this analysis, embedding it in a formal description of the 'fine structure of the left periphery' (cf. Rizzi 1997) in Swedish. I will discuss some cases where Swedish *så* has a different role, though. One is when *så* functions as a default 'checker of V2' in certain conjoined clauses. Another is characteristic of Fenno-Swedish, where *så* functions as an 'anti-operator' particle, as I will argue, allowing anything in its specifier position as long as it is not a pure operator. Yet another case, also characteristic of Fenno-Swedish, is when *så* functions as a link between a hanging topic and ForceP.

2.   The derivation of V3 with *så*

2.1   Så as checker of V2 in construction with externally merged adjuncts

An initially attractive idea is that *så* functions as a default satisfier of V2, employed whenever a constituent is externally merged in the C-domain, rather than being moved/internally merged there. This idea has been rejected by Nordström (2010) as well as Eide (2011). I will reject it as well for the cases of V3 *så* that they discuss, although, as I will show, this does not account for all occurrences of this particle. The following are some theoretical preliminaries.

I will adopt, in essence, the theory of V2 as found in Germanic languages but also in some Romance languages which is articulated in works such as Haegeman (1996), Roberts (2004), Beninca and Poletto (2004), Holmberg (2015, to appear). According to this theory, Fin in main clauses, the lowest head in the C-domain, has a V-feature attracting a verb and an

EPP-feature attracting a maximal category to 'its spec', i.e. to merge with FinP. This yields V2 order. The maximal category checking the EPP of Fin ('checking V2') is typically moved from inside IP, but, as discussed in Holmberg (to appear), may in some cases be externally merged with FinP. Whether the constituent in spec of Fin, checking V2, is internally or externally merged there, it will prevent movement of any other constituent from IP. This is the so called bottleneck effect: spec of Fin is a bottleneck through which movement to the C-domain has to go, and only one constituent can do that.

There is little reason to think that *så* is moved from inside IP (see Nordström 2010), so if it is responsible for checking the EPP of Fin, it would be externally merged with FinP. The structure of (1) with *så* would be (4), where the adverb as well as *så* would be externally merged in the C-domain, and *så* would check the EPP-feature of Fin.

(4)   [FinP egentligen [FinP så [FinP [vill, Fin] [IP jag helst <vill> bli   hemma]]]
         actually   [EPP]   I   rather want stay home

The structure of (1) without *så*, would have the structure (5), with the adverb moving from inside IP (hence the copy in IP), internally merging with FinP, checking the EPP of Fin.

(5)   [FinP egentligen [FinP [vill, Fin] [IP jag <egentligen> helst <vill> bli hemma]]]
                                      [EPP]

This is, you could say, what is proposed in Holmberg (1986), translated into modern terms. This presupposes that adverbs, although they can be externally merged in IP and moved to the C-domain, can alternatively be externally merged in the C-domain. In the former case the verb would immediately follow the adverb or other adjunct; in the latter case there would be *så* merging with FinP, checking the EPP of Fin, followed by external merge of the adjunct in the C-domain. The prediction is that *så* would only occur with constituents that can be externally merged in the C-domain, hence not with arguments, as in (2d). If wh-questions, including adjunct wh-questions, are always derived by movement, it would follow that *så* does not occur in wh-questions, including adjunct questions, which is correct.

(5)   a.   Vem (*så) talade du med?
                 who   SÅ talked you with
                 'Who did you talk to?'
         b.   Var   (*så) såg du Elsa?
                 where SÅ   saw you Elsa
                 'Where did you see Elsa.'

There are good reasons to reject this analysis, though. As pointed out by Eide (2011), we never find expletive (uninterpretable) *så* in initial position, as we might do if *så* were a default checker of the EPP of Fin. (6a) is an impersonal sentence where *så* could conceivably

serve to check the EPP of Fin, as the expletive pronoun does in (6b), but this does not happen, neither in combination with an expletive pronoun, nor without.[2]

(6) a. *Så kommer (det) ett tåg.
         SÅ comes there a train
     b. Det kommer ett tåg.
         there comes   a   train
         'There is a train coming.'

As an argument against the hypothesis that *så* only occurs with constituents that are externally merged in the C-domain, Nordström (2010) points out that PP arguments can, at least marginally, co-occur with *så*. Being arguments they must have moved from IP.

(7)a. Där **så** har jag aldrig bott   [Nordström 2010]
       there SÅ have I   never lived
       'There, I've never lived.'

   b. I det här   fönstret **så** skulle man kunna ställa pelargonian.   [Nordström 2010]
       in this here window SÅ would one could put   the.geranium
       'In this window you could put the geranium.'

Consider also (8).

(8) a. Anna$_i$ har i sin$_i$ /*hennes$_i$ dumhet   igen släppt ut katten.
         Anna has in SELF's her   foolishness again let   out the.cat

     b. I sin$_i$ /*hennes$_i$ dumhet   (så) har Anna$_i$ igen släppt ut katten.
         in SELF's her   foolishness SÅ   has Anna again let   out the.cat
         'In her foolishness, Anna has let the cat out.'

Scandinavian has a reflexive possessive which has to be bound in the local binding domain. The non-reflexice possessive pronoun, on the other hand, must be free in the local binding domain (Hellan 1988). The initial adjunct in (8b) therefore must be reconstructed for binding. By that criterion it must have moved. Yet it can occur with *så*. This is incompatible with the analysis of *så* as a default checker of the EPP of Fin occurring specifically with constituents externally merged in the C-domain.

Finally, there is a construction where *så* is indeed used as a default checker of V2, but it looks different from the standard cases of *så* in (1) and (2), and will be discussed below in section 4.

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[2] (6a) is well-formed if the initial *så* is the temporal adverb *så* 'then', one of the many uses of the form *så*.
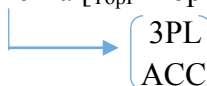(i)   Så   kommer ett tåg.
       then comes   a   train
       'Then a train comes.'

2.2 Så *as copy-left-dislocation*

An alternative idea is that the *så*-construction is a form of copy left-dislocation. A version of this analysis is articulated by Nordström (2010), another version by Eide (2011), also assumed and further articulated by Holmberg (to appear). Copy left-dislocation is the construction in (9).[3]

(9)   a.   Sockorna dom har jag tvättat.
               the.socks them have I   washed
               'I have washed the socks.'
        b.   Sportig det är han inte.
               sporty   that is he   not
               'Sporty he isn't.'
        c.   I morgon   då   öppnar vi tidigt.
               tomorrow then open   we early
               'Tomorrow we open early.'

An initial argument, predicate, or circumstantial adverbial is followed by a resumptive proform, followed by the finite verb and the rest of the clause. When the initial constituent is an argument or predicate, there is a corresponding gap in the IP. The discourse function of the initial constituent is topic (see Eide 2011). The traditional analysis is that the initial constituent is externally merged outside the core sentence, as a 'satellite', while the proform has moved from inside IP, satisfying V2 (Koster 1978, Holmberg 1986: 113-114). However, Eide (2011), Nordström (2010) and Holmberg (to appear) argue for an alternative analysis (see also Grohmann 2000, Grewendorff 2002 on German): The proform is a Topic head, projecting a Topic phrase (TopP), attracting a phrasal constituent which functions as aboutness topic. In accordance with the bottleneck hypothesis, the fronted constituent would first be attracted by Fin, merging with FinP, checking the EPP-feature of Fin, and would then move on and merge with TopP (Holmberg, to appear), attracted by an EPP-feature of Top. The relation between the fronted constituent and the 'proform' would be agreement: The Top head agrees with the fronted topic phrase, and is spelled out accordingly. The fronted object in, for example, (9a) is [3PL] with Accusative case assigned to it in the VP. These feature values are copied by the Top head, which gets spelled out as *dom* (in most varieties of colloquial Swedish).

(10)   [_{TopP} sockorna [_{TopP} Top [_{FinP} <sockorna> [_{FinP} har [_{IP} jag <har> tvättat <sockorna>]]]]]
                             →   3PL
                                  ACC

    If this analysis of copy-left-dislocation is accepted, then it is but a short step to assume that *så* is also a head in the C-domain, higher than Fin, which attracts not an

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[3] At one time it used to be called contrastive left-dislocation, misleadingly, as contrast is not a defining property of the construction.

argument or predicate, but an adjunct which has moved from IP, merging with FinP where it checks the EPP of Fin, and then moves on, triggered by an EPP-feature of *så*.

Holmberg (to appear), following Eide (2011), identifies the copy-left-dislocation head as Force-Top, heading Force-TopP. It combines the properties of Force (in Haegeman's 2004, 2010, 2012 sense) with the properties of a Topic head. The force that is encoded by Top is declarative, call it D-Force, distinct from Q-Force, which heads direct questions (see Holmberg 2016: 17-22). In parallel fashion, the head *så* would be another exponent of D-Force. I will now make this theory more explicit, as follows:

D-Force has three exponents:

(11)   a.   [D-Force]   (spelled out as null)
        b.   [D-Force, +Top, uϕ, EPP]   (spell-out determined by agreement)
        c.   [D-Force, -Top, -Foc, EPP]   (spelled out *så*)

D-Force merges with FocP or, in the absence of FocP, with FinP. (11b) is the head of the copy-left-dislocation construction, (11c) is the head of the *så*-construction. (11a) is the null exponent, by hypothesis present whenever (11b,c) are not. The effect of the feature +Top in (11b) is that the uϕ-probe can only probe, and the EPP-feature can only attract, constituents with a topic feature. The effect of the features [-Top, -Foc] in (11c) is that the EPP feature can only attract constituents that have neither topic nor focus-features. This will be elaborated in section 3.

ForceP is the highest head in the CP-phase, the maximal range of movement from IP. ForceP can merge with other constituents including hanging topics and various speech-act-modifying items. I will lump those together as constituents of the 'Frame-field' (Beninca and Poletto 2004, Eide 2011, Holmberg, to appear).[4]

The structure of the left periphery of a root clause would be (12), where Force, if it is declarative Force, may have a [+Top] feature or a [-Top, -Foc] feature paired with an EPP-feature.

(12)   (Frame) [$_{ForceP}$ Force [$_{FocP}$ (Focus) [$_{FinP}$ Fin IP]]]

As discussed, root clause Fin has a V-feature attracting the highest verb and an EPP-feature attracting a constituent usually by movement/internal merge, but in some cases by external merge. If the constituent merged with FinP has a focus feature, it will be attracted by Focus to

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[4] ForceP can be embedded as a complement of the high complementiser which introduces so called embedded root clauses, as in (i).
(i)   Han sa   att troligen   så är det ingenting.
          he   said that probably SÅ is it   nothing
          'He said that probably it's nothing.'
(ii)   Det är klart att   sportig det är han inte.
          it   is clear that sporty   that is he not
          'Clearly, he is not sporty.'
The notion of Force here is therefore not the one assumed in Rizzi (1997), where the high complementiser would be an exponent of Force, but closer to the one assumed in Haegeman (2004, 2010, 2012). Force in this sense is illocutionary force, a property of root clauses and certain types of embedded.clauses only

merge again with FocP. If Force is declarative and has features matching the constituent merged with FinP, that constituent will be attracted to merge with ForceP.

3.   Categories that can and cannot occur with *så*

The following categories cannot occur with *så* (I return to the case of Fenno-Swedish in section 6): fronted arguments (DPs, CPs, PPs), fronted predicates (VPs, APs, predicative NPs) and wh-phrases.

(12)   Fronted arguments:
   a.   Den här skjortan (*så) älskar jag.   (DP-fronting)
           this here shirt   SÅ   love   I
           'I love this shirt.'
   b.   Att du   kan sjunga (*så) vet jag.   (CP-fronting)
           that you can sing   SÅ know I
           'I know that you can sing.'
   c.   Till Oslo (*så) vill   hon inte flytta. (Argument PP-fronting)
           to Oslo   SÅ wants she not move
           'She doesn't want t move to Oslo.'

(13)   Fronted predicates
   a.   Spela piano (*så) kan han .   (VP-fronting)
           play piano   SÅ   can he
           'Play the piano he can.'
   b.   Sportig (*så) är han inte.   (Predicative AP-fronting)
           sporty   SÅ is he   not
           'He is not sporty.'
   c.   Ordförande (*så) vill   jag inte bli.   (Predicative NP-fronting)
           chairperson SÅ want I   not become
           'I don't want to become chairperson.'

(14)   Fronted wh-phrases
   a.   Vilka fåglar (*så) känner du igen?   (Argument wh-movement)
           which birds SÅ   know   you PRT
           'Which birds do you recognise?'
   b.   När (*så) dog Karl XII?   (Adjunct wh-movement)
           when SÅ died Charles XII
           'When did Charles XII die?'

As mentioned (see (7a,b)), argument PPs are sometimes at least marginally acceptable with *så*.

Fronted arguments and predicates can all be copy-left-dislocated, i.e. can occur with an overt agreeing topic-marker. In the case of fronted CPs or predicates, the marker will be

det 'it', the default topic-marker. This is exemplified in (15); compare (15a) with (12b) and (15b) with (13a).

(15)   a.   Att du kan sjunga **det** vet jag.   (CP-fronting)
               that you can sing   it   know I
               'I know that you can sing.'

        b.   Spela piano **det** kan han.   (VP-fronting)
               play piano it can he
               'Play the piano he can.'

The generalisation is that *så* and the agreeing topic marker have complementary distribution, as codified in (11).[5] With wh-questions neither is possible. Wh-phrases move only as far as FocP, and are not attracted by any variety of Force (but see section 6 on Fenno-Swedish). In direct questions (root clause questions) Force is question-Force (Q-Force; see Holmberg 2016: 17-22).

        Another generalization is that categories in the left periphery which do not interact with V2, do not occur with *så*. This includes hanging topics and various speech-act-related particles, all constituents in the Frame-field. Compare (16a,b,c). In (16a) the initial PP is fronted, checking V2, and it can therefore occur with *så* (having moved a second time, internally merging with ForceP). In (16b) the initial PP is a hanging topic, as shown (or induced) by the particle *ja*, a hanging-topic-marking device (see Eide 2011, Holmberg, to appear). The hanging topic does not itself check V2, which is why the adverb då 'then', by hypothesis moved from within IP, checking V2 on the way, is required. (16c) shows that the hanging topic does not co-occur with *så*.

(16)   a.   I lördags   (så) hade dom stängt hela dagen.
               on Saturday SÅ had they closed all   day
               'On Saturday they were closed all day.'

        b.   I lördags   ja, *(då) hade dom stängt hela dagen.
               on Saturday PRT then had they closed all   day
               'On Saturday, that day they were closed all day.'

        c.   *I lördags ja, (så) hade dom stängt hela dagen.

 (17) shows that the particle <u>hördu</u>, roughly 'well' or 'you know', does not check V2, and also does not occur with *så*.[6]

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[5] Matters are complicated by the fact that *så* can co-occur with *då* 'then' in what looks like copy-left-dislocation (as pointed out by the WPSS editor Johan Brandtler), except that the prosody indicates otherwise.
(i)   I morgon, DÅ   så har vi öppet som vanligt.
          tomorrow then SÅ have we open as   usual
          'Tomorrow we are open as usual.'
The proform *då* cannot have the unstressed form typical of the Topic head. See Eide (2011) for discussion. I take it that this construction is a case of an adverbial externally merged in the Frame-field, with *då* moved from within TP to the spec of Force realized as *så*. See section 7, though, for cases where *så* and copy-left-dislocation do occur together.
[6] (16c) can be interpreted as a yes-no question, which is irrelevant here.

(17) a.   Hördu det   var ingen   hemma.
              PRT   there was nobody home
              'Well, there was nobody home.'
      b.   *Hördu var det   ingen   hemma.
               well   was there nobody home
      c.   *Hördu så var det   ingen   hemma.
               well   SÅ was there nobody home

According to Holmberg (2013, 2016) the answer particles *ja* 'yes' and *nej* 'no' are in Focus position in the C-domain, often with the entire FinP deleted, leaving just the focused particle spelled out.[7] As shown in (18a,b), they do not check V2 and they do not co-occur with *så*.

(18)   Question: Kommer du?
                       'Are you coming?'
        a.   Ja (jag kommer).
                yes I   come
        b.   *Ja (så) kommer jag.

(16, 17, 18) also all serve to corroborate that *så* itself does not check V2, as was also argued in section 2.1.

As for categories that can occur with *så*, with one exceptions to be discussed below, the generalisation is that any kind of adjunct that can be fronted at all, can occur with *så*, in Swedish. This includes circumstantial adverbials (CPs and PPs mostly), most kinds of sentence adverbs, and conjunctive adverbs and particles (that is words and phrases meaning 'yet', 'however', 'on the contrary', etc.).

(19)   a.   Om han kommer, (så) går jag.   (Conditional clause)
                if he comes   SÅ go I
                'If he comes, I will leave.'
        b.   Som jag nyss sa, (så) tar vi paus nu. (Speech act-modifying clause)
                as   I   just said SÅ take we break now
                'As I just said, we're taking a break now.'
        c.   I morgon (så) har vi öppet som vanligt. (Time adverbial PP)
                tomorrow SÅ have we open as   usual
                'Tomorrow we're open as usual.'
        d.   Med vänstra ögat (så) ser jag nästan ingenting. (Instrumental adverbial PP)
                with left   eye SÅ see I   almost nothing
                'With my left eye, I can't see almost anything.'

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[7] There is an additional answer particle in Scandinavian, namely *jo*, which is a polarity-reversing particle, like German *doch* and French *si*: It disconfirms the negative alternative of a negative question (Farkas and Bruce 2009, Holmberg 2016: 167). Like *ja* and *nej* it is a focus-particle in the C-domain.

e.   Tydligen   (så) var   dom inte nöjda. (Epistemic adverb)
     apparently SÅ were they not satisfied
     'Apparently they were not satisfied.'

f.   Ärligt   talat   (så) har   jag fått nog.   (Speech act adverb)
     honestly speaking SÅ have I   had enough
     'To be honest, I've had enough.'

g.   Ofta (så) vet   man inte vart   man ska   vända sig. (Aspectual adverb)
     often SÅ know one not where one should turn   SELF
     'Often you don't know where t turn.'

h   Därför (så) kan du gå nu. (Conjunctive adverb)
     therefore SÅ can you go now
     'That's why you can go now.'

i.   Trots allt (så) var det en lyckad   semester.   (Conjunctive adverb)
     after all   SÅ was it a   successful holiday
     'It was a pleasant holiday, after all.'

j.   Tvärtom   (så) ska du tvätta dem i kallt vatten. (Conjunctive adverb)
     on.the contrary SÅ shall you wash them in cold water
     'On the contrary, you should wash them in cold water.'

Så is also very commonly used with topic-shift expressions, as in (20) (Egerland 2013, Holmberg, to appear).

(20) a.   Vad äpplena   beträffar (så) får ni   gärna ta   av dem.
           what the.apples concern   SÅ can you well   take of them
           'As for the apples, you can just take some.'

     b.   Apropå takplattor (så) vet   jag var   du kan få dom billigt.
           as.for   roof tiles   SÅ know I   where you can get them cheaply
           'As for roof tiles, I know where you can get them cheap.'

Since these *as for*-phrases are clearly externally merged in the C-domain, not moved from IP, I argue in Holmberg (to appear) that they can be externally merged with FinP, checking V2. If the D-Force which is spelled out as *så* is merged, they move from there to merge with ForceP. Alternatively, they can be externally merged in the Frame-field, with no interaction with V2 or *så*. This seems slightly more natural with (20b) than (20a) (see Egerland 2013).

(21) Apropå takplattor, jag vet   var   du kan få dom billigt.
     as.for   roof tiles   I   know where you can get them cheaply
     'As for roof tiles, I know where you can get them cheap.'

     An interesting exception is negation. The sentential negation can be fronted in Swedish, but cannot co-occur with *så*.

(22)   Inte (*så) vet   jag nånting   om   deras planer.
        not   SÅ know I   anything about their plans
        'I don't know anything about their plans./Don't ask me about their plans.'

This is true for fronted negative adjuncts in general (see Heino 1984).

(23)   a.   Ingenstans (*så) kan man byta   kläder.
                nowhere   SÅ can one change clothes
                'You can't change anywhere.'
        b.   Aldrig (*så) får man höra ett dugg.
                never   SÅ can one hear a   drizzle
                'You never get to hear anything.'

This is all predicted by the theory including (11), according to which *så* is a spell-out of the features [-Top,-Foc], an 'anti-Topic' and 'anti-Focus head. It will not attract arguments (DPs, CPs, or PPs), as arguments in the C-domain are topics (except the subject, see below). It will not attract predicates, since the fronted predicates are topics, too, more specifically contrastive topics. A natural continuation of, for example (13c) is …*men jag kan bli kassör* 'but I can be treasurer'.[8] It will not attract wh-phrases, as they are focus-operators (Rizzi 1997).

The definition of focus that we need here is: α is Focus if α binds a variable in IP. That IP contains a variable means that it does not denote a proposition but a set of alternative propositions, identical except for the value of the variable. A fronted whP binds a variable but does not assign a value to it. The answer particles, as mentioned, are focused. They are focused by virtue of binding a polarity-variable in IP, to which they assign positive or negative value. According to Holmberg (2016) every finite sentence is headed by a polarity feature which is inherently unspecified, positive or negative, [±Pol, hence is a variable. A negation will assign negative value to the polarity variable. In the absence of negation, the polarity feature is assigned [+Pol] by default. In yes-no questions the polarity variable remains a variable, assigned a value in the answer. The answer to a yes-no question is typically made up of a copy of the IP of the question, containing the polarity variable, merged with an answer particle in focus position. The answer particle assigns a value, either positive or negative, to the variable.

Finally, the fronted negation and negative adjuncts are polarity-focus elements, binding and assigning negative value to the polarity variable in IP.

The categories that do occur with *så* would thus have in common that they have neither topic nor focus function. The prediction is right in the case of the various fronted adverbs that like to occur with *så*. It seems blatantly false, though, in the case of the *as-for* phrases, whose function is specifically to introduce a new topic or re-introduce an old topic. The way to see it may be that, in the case of the *as-for* phrase, the formal topic feature of the

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[8] The fronted arguments can be contrastive, but need not be. They may just introduce a new topic or may be continuing topics.

relevant constituent is checked/valued internally to the phrase, so the *as-for* phrase itself does not have a Top-feature, and as such can be attracted by the D-Force head spelled out as *så*.[9]

It is unclear what the hypothesis predicts for fronted adverbial clauses, like the conditional clause in (19a) or the temporal clause in (24):

(24)   När   det blir   vinter, (så) far vi till södern.
         when it becomes winter SÅ   go we to south
         'When winter comes, we go South.'

This looks like a topic-comment relation. I put this case aside for further research.[10]

The hypothesis also makes a blatantly false prediction for subjects. It predicts that the subject could be attracted by *så*, as the subject which checks V2 in Fin as a default device need not have any topic or focus function. It can even be an expletive pronoun, yet it cannot occur with *så*. This remains a problem in the theory articulated here.

4.   On the meaning of *så*

Nordström (2010) ascribes a semantic function to *så*: "så [...] is a relational predicate that introduces a new point of departure in the discourse by relating the proposition in its complement to the constituent in its specifier." This characterization does accord with some of the constructions where *så* is used. It accords particularly well with the *as-for* topic construction, as in (20a,b). It also accords well with the use of *så* in connection with preposed adjunct clauses, as in (20a), where, as mentioned, *så* is highly natural. The conditional clause in the specifier of *så* provides the background for the proposition in the complement, and the whole expression can be characterised as presenting a new point of departure. And it accords well with the semantics of clauses with a preposed conjunctive adverb, such as (19j), repeated here as (25).

(25)   Tvärtom   (så) ska du tvätta dem i kallt vatten.
         on.the contrary SÅ shall you wash them in cold water
         'On the contrary, you should wash them in cold water.'

(25) can be described as presenting a point of departure which is new in relation to the understood contrary proposition. With a bit of imagination this characterisation can be extended to the other sentences with conjunctive adverbs in (19). But in all these cases *så* is optional. An alternative analysis is that the conjunctive adverbs themselves serve to introduce a proposition conveying a new point of departure, with or without *så*.

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[9] Johan Brandtler points out that assuming the distinction between sentence topics and framing topics in Chafe (1976:50), the generalization would be that *så* can co-occur with framing topics but not with sentence topics. A*s for*-phrases would qualify as framing topics, given this distinction. Chafe's framing topics tend not to be classified as topics in current cartographic theory, although their framing function is acknowledged, as they populate the Frame field. I assume the more restricted definition of topic here.

[10] Possibly the topic in (24) is not the temporal clause but the DP 'winter', checked within the temporal clause, As such, the temporal clause itself would not have a topic feature, and would thus be attractable by *så*.

I would maintain that the role of *så* in all the examples listed above in (19), (20), and (21) is purely formal, not contributing anything to the semantics or pragmatics of the sentences, which is, indeed, why it can be omitted.[11]

5.   *Så* as default checker of V2

There is one case where it does look like *så* checks the EPP of Fin. Consider (26):

(26)   a.   Du kan koka gröt,   **eller** du <u>kan</u> steka ägg, **eller** du <u>kan</u> bara rosta ett par
               you can cook porridge or   you can fry   egg or   you can just toast a   pair

               brödskivor.
               bread.slices

       b.   Du kan koka gröt,   **eller** *(så) <u>kan</u> du steka ägg, **eller** *(så) <u>kan</u> du bara
               you can cook porridge or   SÅ can you fry egg   or   SÅ can you just
               rosta ett par brödskivor.
               toast a   pair bread.slices
               'You can make porridge, or you can fry some egg, or you can just make some
               toast.'

In (26b) *så* is obligatory, in the sense that either there is movement of the subject to check the EPP of Fin, as in in (26a), or the particle *så* is merged. This can be understood if (a) the conjunction *eller* 'or' is incapable of checking the EPP of Fin, because it is a head merged high in the C-domain, or even outside of the C-domain, not a maximal category moved from IP, and (b) *så* can serve as a default checker of the EPP of Fin after all, in certain contexts.

   That is to say, uninterpretable *så* in Swedish comes in two guises: Either it is the spellout of a variety of D-Force, or it is merged with FinP as a default checker of the EPP of Fin.

   Consider also the conjunction *och* 'and' in (27):

(27)   a.   Du kan koka gröt,   **och** du <u>kan</u> steka ägg, **och** du   kan rosta ett par
               you can cook porridge and you can fry   egg and you can toast a   pair
               brödskivor.
               bread.slices

       b.   Du kan koka gröt,   **och** *(så) <u>kan</u> du steka ägg, **och** *(så) <u>kan</u> du   rosta
               you can cook porridge and   SÅ can you fry   egg and   SÅ can you toast
                ett par brödskivor.
                a   pair bread.slices
                ¨You can cook porridge, and you can fry some egg, and you can make some
               toast.'

---

[11] Salvesen (to appear) claims that the C-particle *så* is not actually optional in spoken Norwegian, but is used consistently, at least in some contexts. This, I take it, is not because there has been any change in the semantic properties of the particle, but is a case of low-level variation in a spell-out rule.

I would claim that (27b) also has an instance of expletive *så* checking the EPP of Fin, as an alternative to moving a phrase (the subject) to FinP, as in (27a). There is a reading where *så* in (27b) means 'subsequently/then', but there is also a reading where it is expletive. Under that reading (27a,b) are semantically and pragmatically identical. In (26), with *eller* 'or', the expletive reading is the only reading.

6. Fenno-Swedish

Fenno-Swedish, the family of dialects of Swedish spoken in Finland, has a number of syntactic properties which sets it off from most or all dialects spoken in Sweden. One of them is that the V3 particle *så* is much more widely used. On the face of it, almost any initial constituent can occur with *så*. All the examples in this section are Fenno-Swedish.[12]

(28) a. Till exempel reseskildringar **så** tycker jag att är väldigt intressanta.
          for example travelogues   SÅ think I that are very   interesting
          'I think that travelogues, for example, are very interesting.'

      b. Både grodor och paddor **så** simmar ut till holmar i skärgården.
          both frogs   and toads SÅ swim   out to islets   in the.archipelago
          'Frogs and toads both swim out to islets in the archipelago.'

      c. Toaletten **så** är här till höger   och rakt   fram.
          the.toilet SÅ is here to the.right and straight ahead
          'The toilet is to the right and straight ahead.'

      d. Den där   låten **så** har jag int hört på många år.
          that there tune SÅ have I   not heard in many years
          'That tune I haven't heard in many years.'

In these examples *så* occurs with an initial argument. This seems to be particularly common when the initial argument is aboutness topic and somewhat heavy. Unlike the situation in other varieties of Swedish, it can also appear in wh-questions, particularly (and perhaps exclusively) adjunct questions, as in (29) or questions with a D-linked wh-phrase, as in (30).

(29) a. <u>När</u>   **så** far vi nästa gång till Paris?
          when SÅ go we next time to Paris
          'When are we going to Paris next time?'
      b. <u>Var</u>   **så** sa du att du int vill   sitta?
          where SÅ said you that you not want sit
          'Where did you say that you don't want to sit?'

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[12] Some of the sentences in this section have been observed in use, in spoken Fenno-Swedish. Some are made up and checked with other speakers of Fenno-Swedish, but only a small number, so far. There is presumably a good deal of variation in Fenno-Swedish regarding these constructions. A systematic investigation remains to be done. All the examples except the citation (29c) retain standard Swedish spelling, except that the negation has the Fenno-Swedish monosyllabic form.

    c.   Äh, <u>varför</u> **så** kunde jag int va å knacka i sovrumstaket   före   jag
                oh   why SÅ could I   not be to knock in the.bedroom.ceiling before I
                lade   Frida?
                put.to.bed Frida
                'Oh, why didn't I knock in the bedroom ceiling before putting Frida to bed?'
                http://www.forum.mammapappa.com/viewtopic.php?p=142284   (accessed
                26.06.2016)

(30)   <u>Vilken av dom här reseskildringarna</u> **så** tycker du att är intressantast?
           which of these here travelogues   SÅ think you that is most interesting
           'Which of these travelogues do you think is most interesting?'

It seems considerably less natural in the bare, argument questions in (31).

(31)   a.   <u>Vem</u> (***så**) talar du med?
            who SÅ talk you with
            'Who are you talking to?'
      b.   <u>Vilket nummer</u> (***så**) tänker du välja?
            which number   SÅ intend you choose

The answer particles do not occur with *så*, even in Fenno-Swedish.

(32)   Vill du komma med?
       want you come   along
       'Do you want to come along?'
      a.   Ja det vill   jag.
            yes it   want I
            'Yes I do.'
      b.   *Ja **så** vill jag (det).

Topicalized predicates with *så* were accepted by most informants after some hesitation. This is indicated by a question mark

(33)   a.   Spela piano (?så) kan han nog.
            play piano SÅ can he indeed
            'Play the piano, he can, indeed.'
      b.   Sportig (?så) är han int.
            sporty SÅ is he not
            'He's not sporty.'
      c.   Ordförande (?så) vill   jag helst int bli.
            chairperson SÅ   want I   rather not become
            'I would rather not be chairperson.'

Like Standard Swedish, Fenno-Swedish does not allow *så* with a fronted negation, or (though less clearly) with fronted negative arguments or adverbs.

(34) a. Int (*så) vet   jag vad man kan göra.
          not   SÅ know I   what one can do
          'I don't know what you can do.'
      b. Ingenting (*så) får   man veta.
          nothing   SÅ   may one   know
          'They don't tell you anything.'
      c. Ingenstans (?så) har   man sett något vargspår
          nowhere   SÅ   have one seen any   wolf.tracks
          'Nobody has seen wolf tracks anywhere.'

There is a sentential, modal particle *nog* which is more common in Fenno-Swedish than in Standard Swedish, and characteristically occurs in fronted position. It can be loosely characterised as encoding affirmative emphasis. It does not occur with *så*.

(35) Nog (*så) vet   jag vad han vill.
      NOG SÅ   know I   what he wants
      'I do know what he wants.'

A way to understand this is if *så* in Fenno-Swedish is anti-focus but not anti-topic. More precisely, while *så* in Standard Swedish (and other varieties of Mainland Scandinavian, as far as we know) is the spell-out of the feature bundle (36a), *så* in Fenno-Swedish is the spell-out of (36b).

(36) a. [D-Force, -Top,-Foc, EPP]   [Standard Swedish]
      b. [D-Force, -Foc, EPP]   [Fenno-Swedish]

This will rule out *så* with the answer particle in Fenno-Swedish. It will also rule out fronting of negative constituents, which are focus by virtue of assigning a value to the sentential polarity variable (Holmberg 2016). It will allow fronting of the topic arguments in (28). We can understand the wh-movement facts if we allow for an additional movement of (certain) adjunct wh-phrases and d-linked wh-phrases from FocP to ForceP.
       Consider the following observation, and compare it with (30).

(37) Av de här reseskildringarna **så** vilken tycker du att   är intressantast?
      of these travelogues   SÅ which think you that is most.interesting
      'Which of these travelogues do you think is most interesting?'

This can be analysed as derived by subextraction of the PP [*av de här reseskildringarna*] from the complex wh-phrase [*vilken av de här reseskildringarna*] 'which of these travelogues', moving it to the spec of ForceP, headed by *så*, as depicted in (38).

(38)   [ForceP PP så [FocP [vilken ~~PP~~] [FinP [~~vilken PP~~] Fin [TP … [~~vilken PP~~]...]]]]]

Considering the fact that (37) and (30) are exact synonyms, an alternative to subextraction is, in Fenno-Swedish, to move the whole whP, but with 'scattered deletion' applying in LF, such that the wh-word in (30), albeit pronounced there, is not interpreted in the specifier of ForceP position, but in the specifier of Focus position. I have indicated this by capitalizing the copy of the wh-word in the lower, interpreted position in (39), representing the derivation of (30). The highest copy merged with ForceP would thus be spelled out as overt but lack interpretation.

(39)   [ForceP [vilken PP] så [FocP [~~VILKEN PP~~] [FinP [~~vilken PP~~] Fin [TP … [~~vilken PP~~]...]]]]]

This could be extended even to cases like (29a,b,c), if adjunct wh-phrases have a covert NP, which can undergo movement to ForceP headed by *så*. (40) would be the structure of (29a).

(40)   [ForceP [när TIME så [FocP [~~NÄR TIME~~] [FinP [~~när TIME~~] Fin [TP … [~~när TIME~~]...]]]]]

'Pure operator' wh-items would not have an NP component which would be allowed in the spec of ForceP headed by the [-Foc] feature spelled out as *så*.

7.   When *så* and copy-left-dislocation do not have complementary distribution

Consider the following examples of Fenno-Swedish: [13]

(41)   a.   Den här boken **så** den har en ovanlig bakgrund.
               this here book SÅ it   has an unusual background
               'This book has an unusual history.'
         b.   Toaletten **så** den är här till höger,   och rakt fram.
               the.toilet SÅ it   is here to the.right and straight on
               'The toilet is on the right here, and then straight on.'
         c.   Hur det sen gick   med företaget   **så** det vet   jag ingeting om.
               how it   then went with the.enterprise SÅ it   know I   nothing about
               'How the enterprise managed later, I know nothing about.'

This is ostensibly V4: the initial phrase is followed by *så* and a proform, and then the finite verb. Is the initial phrase internally or externally merged? Is the proform the Topic head or a fronted resumptive pronoun? The test from the possessive reflexive gives an indication: The initial phrase can be moved from IP.

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[13] All the sentences in this section except (42a,b) have been observed in use. It is by no means clear how widely they are accepted, though, by speakers of Fenno-Swedish. Personally, I would reject (44), for example.

(42)   (Vad med hans barn? 'What about his children?')
    a.   Sin$_i$ dotter   **så** henne har han$_i$ nog inte sett på flera år.
          his.REFL daughter SÅ her   has he   PRT not seen for many ears
    b.   Hans$_{i/j}$ dotter   **så** henne har han$_i$ nog inte sett   på flera   år.
          his   daughter SÅ her   has he   PRT not seen for many years
          'His daughter he hasn't seen for many years.'

The possessive reflexive is well formed in (42a), which indicates that the DP containing it has moved from within IP, ensuring that the reflexive possessive is bound by the subject (see Holmberg, to appear). The possessive pronoun in (42b) can also be coreferential with the subject, which indicates that the initial DP can, alternatively, be externally merged as a hanging topic. Reconstruction of the DP with the possessive pronoun, as if it had moved, would yield a Principle B violation. It should be noted, though, that these are preliminary findings, based on the judgments of a handful of informants. Under the movement analysis, the structure of, for example (41a) would be (43).

(43)
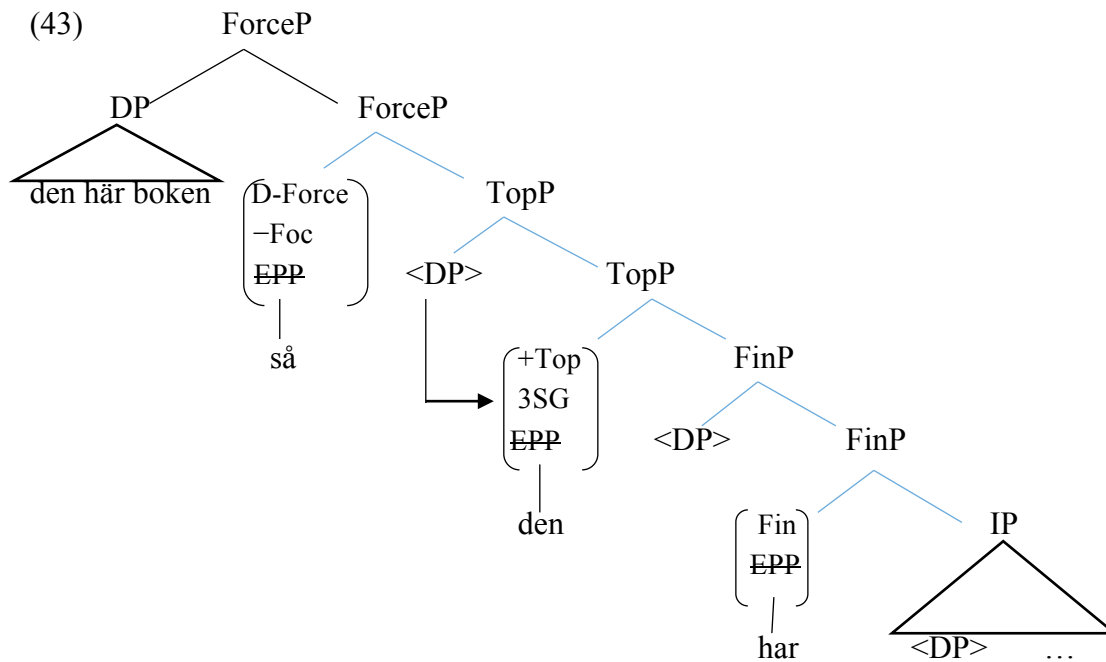
That is to say, in this case the agreeing Top head would be dissociated from D-Force, and co-occur with *så* spelling out D-Force. The topicalised DP would move first to FinP, checking V2, then to TopP, valueing its uϕ-features, and finally to D-ForceP, spelled out as *så*.
    There are still more complications, though. Consider (44).

(44)   Sebastian **så** vet   ni   var   <u>han</u> sitter?
     Sebastian SÅ know you where he sits
     'Sebastian, do you know where his place is?'

In this case the initial DP, followed by *så* and the finite verb, has a resumptive pronoun in IP. That is to say, the initial DP is not moved from IP. What is even more puzzling is that the

sentence is a yes-no question, meaning that the Force here is not declarative. It also means that the EPP of Fin is checked in whatever way it is generally checked in yes-no questions; neither *så* nor the initial DP are needed for this purpose. This suggests that the initial DP is a hanging topic, in which case the function of *så* is not that in (39). I leave this construction for future research (see footnote 13). There is clearly still more to say about the use of Fenno-Swedish *så*.

8.   Summary

The Mainland Scandinavian 'V3 particle' *så* occurs in the C-domain of root clauses, typically between an initial adjunct and the finite verb. It is argued, following Eide (2011), that the particle is a head, an exponent of declarative Force, made up of the features [D-Force, −Top, −Foc, EPP]. This entails that the particle wants a specifier which is neither Topic nor Focus.

There is another variety of *så*, a phrasal category in the C-domain, introducing a root clause conjoined by the conjunction *eller* 'or' or *och* 'and'. In this case the particle 'checks V2', i.e. satisfies the EPP of Fin, as an alternative to fronting the subject.

In Fenno-Swedish *så* has a wider distribution, occurring also with topicalized arguments. The only categories which clearly do not occur with *så* are fronted pure operators, including the negation, affirmative particle *nog*, and bare wh-words.

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