

Issue **101**

**December 2018**

**W P S S**

**WORKING PAPERS**

**IN**

**SCANDINAVIAN SYNTAX**



**Stockholm  
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The WPSS homepage:

<http://project.sol.lu.se/grimm/working-papers-in-scandinavian-syntax/>

The 102nd volume of WPSS will be published in June 2019. Papers intended for publication should be submitted no later than May 15, 2019.

December 2019,

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Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax

ISSN: 1100-097x

Editor: Johan Brandtler, Stockholm University

Editorial Board: Valéria Molnár, Lund University

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# Presentational sentences in Icelandic and Swedish: Roles and positions

Elisabet Engdahl, Joan Maling, Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson and  
Annie Zaenen<sup>0</sup>

## Abstract

In this article we report on a systematic comparison of presentational sentences in Icelandic and Swedish, looking in particular at possible thematic roles of the pivot and how they correlate with positional options. Despite some well-known differences between the languages (only Icelandic allows ‘high’ IP-pivots and pivots with transitive verbs), it turns out that the restrictions on VP-pivots are similar, both in terms of roles and positions. VP-pivots have to be Themes and may co-occur with other DPs, but only if the pivot is the last DP argument. We show how these restrictions to some extent reflect the argument structure proposed in Platzack (2010). In addition we show that we need to distinguish presentational sentences among the different Transitive Expletive Constructions discussed in Håkansson (2017).

## 1 Introduction

Word order in Icelandic and Swedish has received a lot of attention primarily among syntacticians in the last forty years or so, see e.g. Thráinsson (1979), Holmberg & Platzack (1995), Maling & Zaenen (1990), Vikner (1995) and Thráinsson (2007). In this article we focus on presentational sentences in Icelandic and Swedish with the aim of comparing how thematic roles and clause structure interact in these languages. In Section 2 we summarize the main differences, drawing in addition on previous research by Platzack (1983), Sigurðsson (2000) and Vangsnes (2002). In Section 3 we give an overview of the constraints on thematic roles that are relevant, building on Maling (1988), Zaenen et al. (2017) and Engdahl et al. (to appear). In Section 4 we analyse the patterns that emerge with the help of the argument structure proposed in Platzack (2010). Certain more marked constructions are discussed in Sections 5 and 6, before we conclude and point out directions for future research in Section 7.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>We are grateful to the audiences at *Grammar in Focus*, February 2018 in Lund and *the 11th Nordic Dialectologist conference*, August 2018 in Reykjavík for comments and suggestions, especially Lars-Olof Delsing, Cecilia Falk, Gunlög Josefsson, David Petersson, Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson and Øystein Vangsnes. Thanks to Peter Andersson, Maia Andréasson, Kristian Blenselius, Linnéa Bäckström, Benjamin Lyngfelt, Erik Petzell and Henrik Rosenkvist for help with the Swedish data and to Einar Freyr Sigurðsson, Höskuldur Thráinsson, Sigríður Magnúsdóttir and Sigríður Sigurjónsdóttir for help with the Icelandic data.

## 2 Main differences

By presentational sentences we understand sentences that assert the existence of a referent or present a hitherto unmentioned referent in a situation.<sup>2</sup> Presentational sentences typically have an expletive early in the sentence and an indefinite DP later. We will refer to this indefinite DP as the **pivot**.<sup>3</sup> Presentational sentences in Icelandic and Swedish share certain fundamental properties but there are some well-known differences. The pivot in Icelandic can appear either in the VP or (in several positions) in the higher IP domain (examples from Thráinsson (2007, 314)).

- (1) a. Það hafði alltaf verið **einhver köttur** í eldhúsinu.  
EXPL *had always been some.NOM cat.NOM in kitchen.DEF*  
'There had always been a cat in the kitchen.'
- b. Það hafði alltaf **einhver köttur** verið í eldhúsinu..  
EXPL *had always some.NOM cat.NOM been in kitchen.DEF*
- c. Það hafði **einhver köttur** alltaf verið í eldhúsinu.  
EXPL *had some.NOM cat.NOM always been in kitchen.DEF*

In this article we will mainly be concerned with differences between pivots inside the VP, which we refer to as VP-pivots, and pivots in the IP, which we refer to as IP-pivots (see Sigurðsson (2000); Vangsnes (2002) and Thráinsson (2007) for detailed discussion about the types of DPs which may appear as IP-pivots). For this reason we consistently use examples with auxiliaries or modal verbs in order to show the different pivot positions since it is not possible to distinguish them when there is only a main verb in second position. We note that presentational sentences are very sensitive to context. They tend to require locative or temporal anchors and they are often better with modal or inferential particles. Nevertheless we sometimes use simple constructed examples to bring out a distinction, for ease of comparison.

In Swedish only the position inside the VP is generally available:

- (2) a. Det har varit **en katt** i köket.  
EXPL *has been a cat in kitchen.DEF*  
'There has been a cat in the kitchen.'
- b. \*Det har **en katt** varit i köket.  
EXPL *has a cat been in kitchen.DEF*

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<sup>2</sup>Other terms for presentational sentences are 'existential sentences' and *there*-insertion constructions, see e.g. Milsark (1974) and Sundman (1980).

<sup>3</sup>In the examples, pivots are shown in bold. Other terms for pivots are 'logical subject' and 'associate (of the expletive)'.

In Icelandic, IP-pivots with transitive verbs are possible, see (3).<sup>4</sup>

- (3) a. Það hafa **einhverjir stúdentar** stungið smjörinu í vasann.  
EXPL have some students put butter.DEF in pocket.DEF  
'Some students have put the butter in their pockets.'
- b. \*Það hafa stungið **einhverjir stúdentar** smjörinu í vasann.  
EXPL have put some students butter.DEF in pocket.DEF
- c. \*Það hafa stungið smjörinu **einhverjir stúdentar** í vasann.  
EXPL have put butter.DEF some students in pocket.DEF
- d. Það hafa stungið smjörinu í vasann **einhverjir stúdentar**.  
EXPL have put butter.DEF in pocket.DEF some students

As shown by the fact that (3b,c) are ungrammatical, VP-pivots are not possible with transitive verbs which have Agent subjects; however, as we will see, they are possible with nonagentive dyadic predicates, see (14). (3d), where the pivot appears after the locative argument, is presumably a case of Heavy NP Shift of an IP-pivot. We try to avoid examples involving Heavy NP Shift.

The corresponding Swedish examples are all impossible:

- (4) a. \*Det har **några studenter** stoppat smöret i fickan.  
EXPL has some students put butter.DEF in pocket.DEF
- b. \*Det har stoppat **några studenter** smöret i fickan.  
EXPL has put some students butter.DEF in pocket.DEF
- c. \*Det har stoppat smöret i fickan **några studenter**.  
EXPL has put butter.DEF in pocket.DEF some students

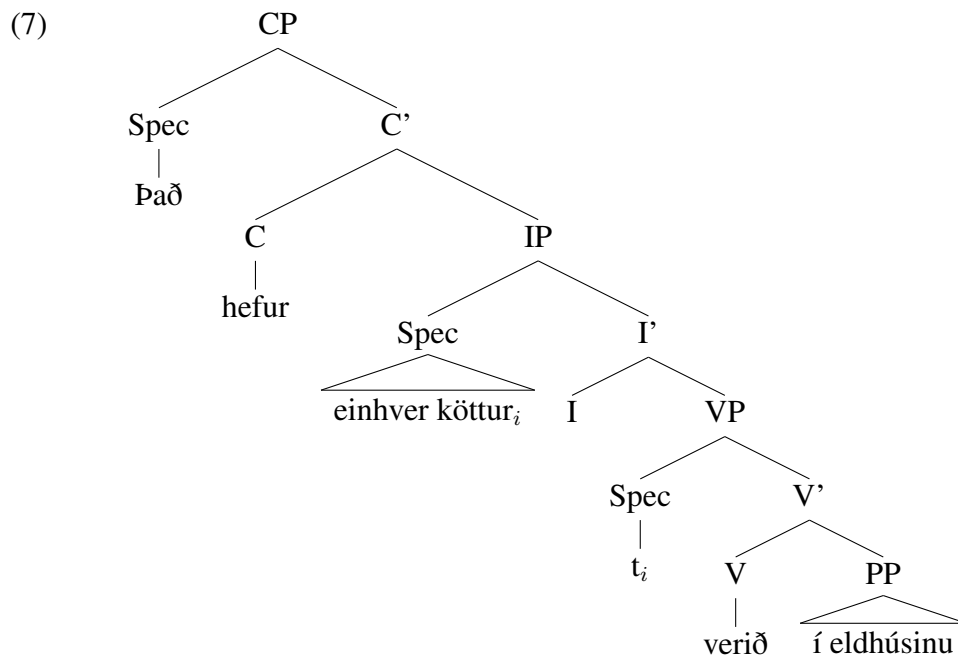
Ever since Platzack (1983) it has been customary to account for both these differences, i.e. that only Icelandic allows IP-pivots and transitive verbs, by assuming that the expletives are generated in different positions. The Icelandic expletive is assumed to be generated initially, in Spec,CP, and the Swedish expletive in Spec,IP or Spec,VP (see e.g. Sigurðsson (1991), Sigurðsson (2000), Christensen (1991), Vikner (1995), Vangsnes (2002), Thráinsson (2007), Platzack (2010)).<sup>5</sup> Support for this account comes from the fact that the Icelandic presentational expletive *það* only appears in Spec,CP, not sentence internally, in the IP, whereas the Swedish *det* is normally required in Spec,IP and consequently blocks pivots from appearing there.

<sup>4</sup>This famous example first occurred in print in Platzack (1983) but is due to Höskuldur Thráinsson who heard it in the teachers' coffee room in Árnagarður. See also Thráinsson (1986, 245). Icelandic Transitive Expletive Constructions have been widely discussed in the generative literature, see in particular Bobaljik & Jonas (1996). See also Håkansson (2017) and the references there.

<sup>5</sup>Sigurðsson (2010) develops another analysis in terms of feature matching, but the differences are not crucial for this article.

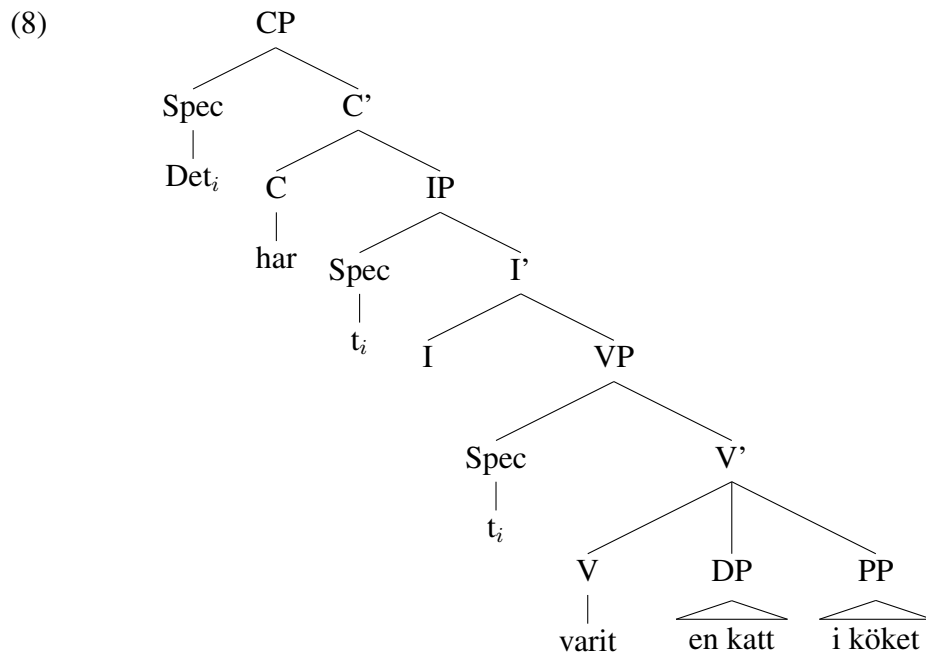
- (5) Hefur (\*það) verið **einhver köttur** í eldhúsinu?  
*has EXPL been some cat in kitchen.DEF*  
 ‘Has there been a cat in the kitchen?’
- (6) Har \*(det) varit **en katt** i köket?  
*has EXPL been a cat in kitchen.DEF*  
 ‘Has there been a cat in the kitchen?’

The simplified trees in (7) and (8) illustrate this.<sup>6</sup> In the Icelandic tree, the expletive *það* is generated in Spec,CP and the pivot *einhver köttur* ‘some cat’ is first generated in Spec,VP and then raised to Spec,IP.



In the Swedish tree, the expletive *det* is generated in Spec,VP and then raised, first to Spec,IP and then to Spec,CP.

<sup>6</sup>We here leave out the raising of the auxiliary to C and the internal structure of the VP.



The evidence for assuming that the expletive in Swedish is generated in Spec,VP, comes from data like (9) where the expletive appears in an untensed small clause:

- (9) Vi såg det komma **några barn** på vägen.  
*we saw EXPL come some children on road.DEF*  
 ‘We saw some children come on the road.’

In addition to these differences, Maling (1988) showed that there are additional thematic and positional restrictions on the pivot in both languages and we now take a closer look at these, starting with the thematic role constraints.

### 3 Thematic role constraints

There are some studies looking at what types of verbs are used in presentational sentences in the Scandinavian languages, see e.g. Sundman (1980), Askedal (1986) and Sveen (1996). Ekberg (1990) looks at theta roles, more specifically at the locative argument. Here we concentrate on the thematic role of the pivot, limiting ourselves to the most common ones, Theme, Experiencer, Goal and Agent.<sup>7</sup>

#### Theme pivots

Presentational sentences often have verbs that express existence, appearance and disappearance. These verbs tend to be unaccusative and the single argument is a

<sup>7</sup>Engdahl et al. (to appear) investigates in addition Cause, Instrument and Stimulus in Swedish.



Theme. In Icelandic, the pivot has the same case as it has as an ordinary subject, Zaenen et al. (1985), Sigurðsson (1989), Zaenen et al. (2017). The verb *sökkva* ‘sink’ takes a nominative subject and the pivot is also nominative, as shown in (10), whereas the verb *reka* ‘drift, strand’ takes an accusative subject, as shown in (11).

- (10) a. *Bátarnir höfðu sokkið.*  
*boats.NOM.DEF had sunk*  
 ‘The boats had sunk.’
- b. *Það höfðu sokkið margir bátar.*  
*EXPL had sunk many.NOM boats.NOM*  
 ‘Many boats had sunk.’
- (11) a. *Nökkra hvali hefur rekið á land í nótt.*  
*several.ACC whales.ACC has drifted to land in night*  
 ‘Several whales have stranded overnight.’
- b. *Það hefur rekið nokkra hvali á land í nótt.*  
*EXPL has drifted several.ACC whales.ACC to land in night*

In modern Swedish, nouns are not case marked so it is harder to tell what the case of the pivot is. In those few cases where case is realized, the pivot has nominative case.<sup>8</sup> In some dialects spoken in the area north of Lake Siljan, the distinction between nominative and accusative is still upheld and the pivot is in the nominative as shown in the following example from Orsa taken from Ringmar & Olander (2018).

- (12) a. *E kum je kulla dar.*  
*EXPL comes a.NOM girl.NOM there*  
 ‘There comes a girl there.’
- b. *I sjår jena kullu dar.*  
*I see a.ACC girl.ACC there*  
 ‘I see a girl there.’

Most verbs that take a Theme argument are intransitive, but there are some non-agentive transitive verbs which allow Theme pivots (Platzack (1983), Malting (1988)). Interestingly these verbs allow two arguments in the VP, unlike the agentive transitive verbs shown in (3) and (4). We return to these shortly.

- (13) *Det hade hänt henne något konstigt.*  
*EXPL had happened her something*  
 ‘Something strange had happened to her.’

<sup>8</sup>See e.g. Teleman et al. (1999, Vol 3, 387), Zaenen et al. (2017, 268).

- (14) Það hafði hent hana **eitthvað** **skrýtið**.  
 EXPL *had happened her.ACC something.NOM strange*  
 ‘Something strange had happened to her.’

## Experiencer pivots

As pointed out in Maling (1988), Experiencers are infelicitous as pivots in Swedish, see (15a). The verb *frysa* ‘freeze’ can also take an inanimate Theme argument which is fine as a pivot, (15b).

- (15) a. \*Det har frusit **några barn** i lägret.  
 EXPL *have frozen some children in camp.DEF*  
 Intended: ‘Some children have felt cold in the camp.’  
 b. Det har frusit **några vattenledningar** i källaren.  
 EXPL *have frozen some water-pipes in basement*  
 ‘Some water pipes have frozen in the basement.’

Testing whether the same contrast arises in Icelandic turns out to be complicated by the fact that the change of thematic roles tends to go together with a change in case.<sup>9</sup>

The generalization for Icelandic seems to be that where there is a choice between VP- and IP-pivots, Experiencer IP-pivots are preferred, both with adjectives, as in (16), and with verbs ((16) and (17) from Maling (1988, 184f.):

- (16) a. Það hefur **mörgum börnum** verið kalt.  
 EXPL *has many.DAT children.DAT been cold*  
 ‘Many children have felt cold.’

<sup>9</sup> For example, the Experiencer pivot in (1a) is dative whereas the Theme pivot in (1b) is accusative.

- (1) a. Það hafði hitnað **nokkrum börnum** í sólskininu það mikið að þau  
 EXPL *had heated some.DAT children.DAT in sunshine.DEF so much that they*  
 urðu veik.  
*became ill*  
 Intended: ‘Some children had got so warm in the sunshine that they became ill.’  
 b. Það höfðu hitnað **nokkrar vatnsleiðslur** það mikið að ekki var hægt að  
 EXPL *had heated some.ACC water-pipes.ACC so much that not was possible to*  
 snerta þær.  
*touch them*  
 ‘Some water pipes had got so warm that it wasn’t possible to touch them.’

HÁS finds (1b) with a Theme pivot slightly less unnatural than (1a) but thinks both examples are stilted and probably better with IP-pivots.

- b. ?\*Það hefur verið **mörgum börnum** kalt.  
EXPL *has been many.DAT children.DAT cold*
- (17) a. Það hafa **margir lögreglumenn** óttast fjölgun  
EXPL *have many.NOM policemen.NOM feared increase.ACC*  
slysa.  
*accidents.GEN*  
'Many policemen have feared an increase of accidents.'
- b. \*Það hafa óttast **margir lögreglumenn** fjölgun  
EXPL *have feared many.NOM policemen.NOM increase.ACC*  
slysa.  
*accidents.GEN*
- (18) a. Það hefur bara **fjórum stúdentum** leiðst þetta.  
EXPL *has only four.DAT students.DAT been-annoyed this*  
'Only four students have been annoyed at this.'
- b. \*Það hefur bara leiðst **fjórum stúdentum** þetta.  
EXPL *has only been-annoyed four.DAT students.DAT this*

Note that the restriction pertains to the pivot: an Experiencer can only marginally be realized as a VP-pivot. But it is OK to have a presentational sentence with a VP-internal Experiencer as long as there is a Theme pivot, as shown in (13) for Swedish and in (14) for Icelandic, repeated below. However, if we make the Theme argument definite, thereby forcing the indefinite Experiencer to be interpreted as the pivot, the result is ungrammatical in both languages.

- (19) a. Det hade hänt henne **något konstigt**.  
EXPL *had happened her something strange*  
'Something strange had happened to her.'
- b. \*Det hade hänt **många** den konstiga saken.  
EXPL *had happened many the strange thing.DEF*  
Intended: 'Many people had experienced the strange thing.'
- (20) a. Það hafði hent hana **eitthvað skrítið**.  
EXPL *had happened her.ACC something.NOM strange*  
'Something strange had happened to her.'
- b. \*Það hafði hent **marga menn** skrítni hluturinn  
EXPL *had happened many.ACC men.ACC strange thing.DEF*  
Intended: 'Many men had experienced the strange thing.'
- c. \*Það hafði **marga menn** hent skrítni hluturinn  
EXPL *had many.ACC men.ACC happened strange thing.DEF*

Note that the version with Experiencer IP-pivot is also ungrammatical here, (20c), unlike the cases we looked at before, (16)–(18). This shows a further restriction on pivots, namely that only the argument that is realised as subject in an ordinary, non-presentational, sentence is felicitous as a pivot.<sup>10</sup> The verb *henda* ‘happen’ normally takes the Theme argument as subject, (21), and this argument may also be realised as a pivot, either as a VP-pivot (20a) or IP-pivot (21b).

- (21) a. Eitthvað skrýtið hafði hent hana.  
*something strange had happened her.ACC*  
 ‘Something strange had happened to her.’  
 b. Það hafði **eitthvað skrýtið** hent hana.  
*EXPL had something strange happened her.ACC*  
 ‘Something strange had happened to her.’

This means that it is possible to have more than one argument in the VP in active presentational sentences in both Swedish and Icelandic provided that the pivot is a Theme. In Swedish there is a clear difference between (22a) with a Theme pivot and (22b) with an Agent pivot.

- (22) a. Det hade slagit henne **en tanke**.  
*EXPL had struck her a thought*  
 ‘A thought had struck her.’  
 b. \*Det hade slagit henne **en polis**.  
*EXPL had hit her a police-officer*

This contrast is not as clear in Icelandic since some speakers find (23b) almost as acceptable as (23c) with an agentive IP-pivot.

- (23) a. Það hafði slegið hana **óhugur**.  
*EXPL had struck her dejection*  
 ‘Dejection had struck her.’  
 b. (?) Það hafði slegið hana **einhver lögreglumaður**.  
*EXPL had hit her some police-officer*  
 ‘Some police officer had hit her.’  
 c. Það hafði **einhver lögreglumaður** slegið hana.  
*EXPL had some police-officer hit her*  
 ‘Some police officer had hit her.’

Given that we here have a long pivot and a short pronominal object, it seems likely that some kind of “heaviness balance” may be at play, as discussed with respect to Stylistic Fronting in Sigurðsson (2017). See also Indriðadóttir (2017).

<sup>10</sup>This restriction is mentioned in Maling (1988) who illustrates it with the verbs *óttast* ‘fear’ and *hræða* ‘frighten’.

## Goal pivots

Goal arguments are not acceptable as pivots at all in Swedish and in Icelandic only as IP-pivots, as shown in Maling (1988). The pattern is clear with transaction verbs there the Goal argument simultaneously is a Recipient, see the Swedish example in (24) and the Icelandic minimal pair in (25).

- (24) \*Det hade mottagit **en student** priset.  
EXPL *have received a student prize*.DEF
- (25) a. Það hafa **nokkrir** fengið verðlaunin.  
EXPL *have some.NOM received prize.ACC.DEF*  
'Some people have received the prize.'  
b. \*Það hafa fengið **nokkrir** verðlaunin.  
EXPL *have received some.NOM prize.ACC.DEF*

Passive versions of ditransitive verbs have two arguments in the VP. In Swedish only the version where the Theme argument is the pivot is grammatical; (26b) with an indefinite Goal pivot is ungrammatical.

- (26) a. Det hade tilldelats studenten **ett pris**.  
EXPL *had award.PASS student.DEF a prize*  
'The student had been awarded a prize.'  
b. \*Det hade tilldelats **en student** priset.  
EXPL *had award.PASS a student prize.DEF*  
Intended: 'A student had been awarded the prize.'

In Icelandic it is also possible to have two arguments in the VP if the Theme argument is the pivot. (27a) is grammatical and the Theme is interpreted as the pivot. If we block this interpretation by making the Theme argument definite, the example is ungrammatical,(27b). The version with an IP-pivot is OK, (27c), as expected.

- (27) a. Það höfðu verið gefnar einhverjum lögreglumanni  
EXPL *had.PL been given.PL.NOM some police-man.DAT*  
**fjórar stolnar bækur.**  
*four stolen books.PL.NOM*  
'Four stolen books had been given to some police man.'  
b. \*Það höfðu verið gefnar **einhverjum lögreglumanni**  
EXPL *had.PL been given.PL.NOM some police-man.DAT*  
þessar bækur.  
*these books.PL.NOM*  
Intended: 'These books had been given to some police man.'

- c. Það höfðu **einhverjum lögreglumanni** verið gefnar  
 EXPL *had.PL some* *police-man.DAT been given.PL.NOM*  
 þessar bækur.  
*these books.PL.NOM*  
 ‘These books had been given to some police man.’

In (27) the verb *höfðu* agrees in number and the participle *gefnar* agrees in number and case with the nominative pivot. In (28), where the pivot is dative, there is default third person singular agreement.<sup>11</sup> This may be the reason why some speakers find (28a) easier to judge than (27a).

- (28) a. Það hafði verið skilað **einhverjum lögreglumanni fjórum**  
 EXPL *had.SG been returned.SG some* *police-man.DAT four*  
**stolnum bókum.**  
*stolen books.PL.DAT*  
 ‘Four stolen books had been returned to some police man.’
- b. \*Það hafði verið skilað **einhverjum lögreglumanni**  
 EXPL *had.SG been returned.SG some* *police-man.DAT*  
 þessum bókum.  
*these books.PL.DAT*  
 Intended: ‘These books had been returned to some police man.’
- c. Það hafði **einhverjum lögreglumanni** verið skilað  
 EXPL *had.SG some* *police-man.DAT been returned.SG*  
 þessum bókum.  
*these books.PL.DAT*  
 ‘These books had been returned to some police man.’

Goals/recipients with transaction verbs hence behave like Experiencers; they are not possible as pivots in Swedish and only possible as IP-pivots in Icelandic. Mal-ling (1988) found a similar pattern with the Icelandic verbs *hjálpa* ‘help’ and *þakka* ‘thank’ which have been analysed as taking a Goal argument. However, with these verbs there is variation. Some speakers accept VP-pivots in addition to IP-pivots.

- (29) a. Það var **gömlum manni** hjálpað yfir götuna.  
 EXPL *was old.DAT man.DAT helped across street.DEF*  
 ‘An old man was helped across the street.’
- b. ok/?\* Það var hjálpað **gömlum manni** yfir götuna.  
 EXPL *was helped old.DAT man.DAT across street.DEF*

<sup>11</sup>On agreement in passives, see Zaenen et al. (1985) and Thráinsson (2007, 134ff.).

Platzack (2005) suggests that an affected Goal can be reanalysed as a Patient, i.e. an affected Theme. This could explain the variation with these verbs (cf. Maling (2001)). The cognate Swedish verb *hjälpa* is fine with a pivot.

- (30) Det skulle hjälpas **en man** över gatan.  
 EXPL *should help*.PASS *a man over street*.DEF  
 ‘There was a man who needed to be helped across the street.’

### “Agent” pivots

As first pointed out in Anward (1981), pivots with unergative verbs are possible in Swedish but only with “reduced agentivity” (Teleman et al. (1999, 3:400f.), Zaenen et al. (2017), Engdahl et al. (to appear)). It is, for instance, infelicitous to add subject oriented adverbs to a presentational sentence with a verb like *arbeta* ‘work’.

- (31) a. Det har arbetat **2000 människor** här.  
 EXPL *has worked 2000 people here*  
 ‘2000 people have worked here.’  
 b. Det har (?\*motvilligt) arbetat **2000 människor** (?\*motvilligt)  
 EXPL *has (reluctantly) worked 2000 people (reluctantly)*  
 här.  
*here*  
 Intended: ‘2000 people have reluctantly worked here.’

A verb like *sjunga* ‘sing’ can appear both with an ordinary subject (32a) and in a presentational construction (32b), but a manner adverb is only felicitous in the former case.

- (32) a. Många islänningar hade sjungit entusiastiskt på matchen.  
*many Icelanders had sung enthusiastically at game*.DEF  
 ‘Many Icelanders had sung enthusiastically at the game.’  
 b. Det hade sjungit **många islänningar** (?\*entusiastiskt) på  
 EXPL *had sung many Icelanders enthusiastically at*  
 matchen.  
*game*.DEF

If the subject is in Spec,CP or Spec,IP, it is possible to add a degree modifier as in (33a), but not to the presentational version. This applies both to unergative verbs like *arbeta* ‘work’ and to motion verbs like *springa* ‘run’.

- (33) a. Barnen hade sprungit mycket på gräsmattan.  
*children.DEF had run a-lot on lawn.DEF*  
 ‘The children had run around a lot on the lawn.’  
 b. \*Det hade sprungit **några barn** mycket på gräsmattan.  
*EXPL had run some children a-lot on lawn.DEF*

In Icelandic both IP and VP-pivots are possible with these verbs, as shown in (34).

- (34) a. Það hefur **margt fólk** unnið hér.  
*EXPL has a-lot-of people worked here*  
 ‘Many people have worked here.’  
 b. Það hefur unnið **margt fólk** hér.  
*EXPL has worked a-lot-of people here*

But there is a preference for IP-pivots when the agentivity is emphasized through an adverb or modifier.

- (35) a. Það hefur **margt fólk** unnið hér gegn vilja sínum.  
*EXPL has a-lot-of people worked here against will their.REFL*  
 ‘Many people have worked here reluctantly.’  
 b. ?Það hefur unnið **margt fólk** hér gegn vilja sínum.  
*EXPL has worked a-lot-of people here against will their.REFL*
- (36) a. Það hafa **nokkrir Íslendingar** sungið af innlifun í hverjum leik.  
*EXPL have some Icelanders sung of empathy in every game*  
 ‘Some Icelanders have sung enthusiastically at every game.’  
 b. ?Það hafa sungið **nokkrir Íslendingar** af innlifun í hverjum leik.  
*EXPL have sung many Icelanders of empathy in every game*
- (37) a. Það hefur **margt fólk** unnið mikið hér.  
*EXPL has a-lot-of people worked a-lot here*  
 ‘A lot of people have worked here.’  
 b. ?Það hefur unnið **margt fólk** mikið hér.  
*EXPL has worked a-lot-of people a-lot here*

Comparing Swedish and Icelandic, it turns out that readings which are unavailable in Swedish are available in Icelandic, but only with IP-pivots. Compare the b-versions of the Swedish examples in (31)–(33) with the a-versions of the Icelandic examples in (35)–(37).

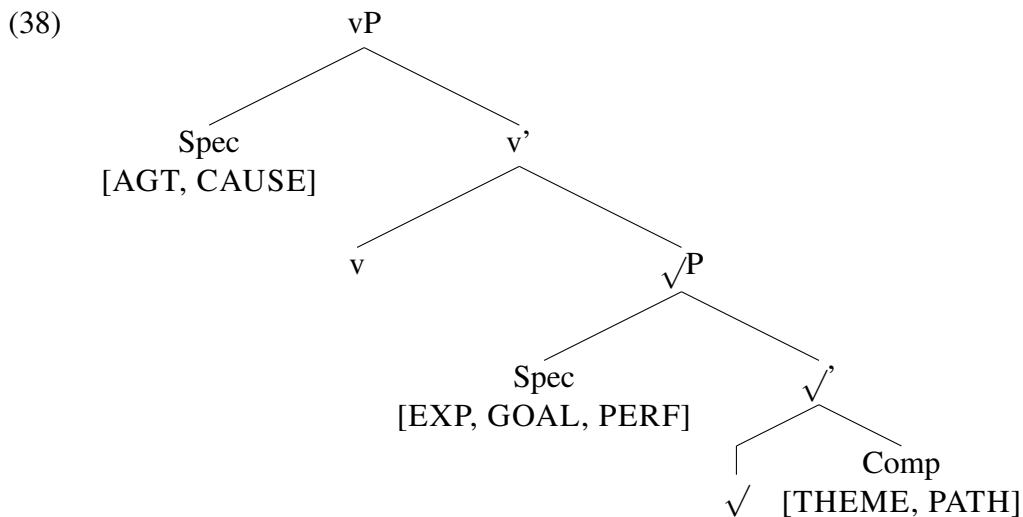


## Summary

The overview has shown that the same thematic restrictions apply to VP-pivots in both languages. Theme pivots are in general possible whereas Experiencers and Goals are infelicitous. Since Swedish only allows VP-pivots, this means that some intended messages cannot be expressed as presentational sentences, see e.g. (15a) and (24). In Icelandic, which has the option of IP-pivots, the corresponding sentences are OK with IP-pivots, see (16) and (25). For both languages the generalization holds that if there is more than one DP in VP, then only Theme pivots are available and they have to follow other DPs, see e.g. (19) and (20). As for pivots of unergative verbs, these are OK as VP-pivots in both languages as long as the agentivity of the pivot is not highlighted, see (31)–(33) and (35)–(37). Next we turn to how these patterns can be accounted for, starting from the argument structure proposed in Platzack (2010).

## 4 Platzack's argument structure

In his comprehensive overview of the grammar of Swedish, Christer Platzack assumes a basic structure with a Root phrase ( $\sqrt{P}$ ), dominated by vP, as shown in (38) Platzack (2010, 175).<sup>12</sup> Families of thematic roles are linked to complement and specifier positions in the tree as indicated.



On Platzack's Minimalist account, arguments are (first) merged in these positions and then moved further up, in order to check various features. In non-presentational sentences, the highest argument is normally raised to a Spec position in IP or CP. Presentational sentences in Swedish arise when an expletive

<sup>12</sup>A shorter English version is found in Platzack (2009).

is merged in Spec,vP, i.e. the position reserved for Agents of transitive verbs, and then raised. Consequently, no other Agent can be merged there and we don't find any transitive presentational sentences. In Icelandic, where the expletive is merged in Spec,CP, Agents can be merged in Spec,vP and then raise to become IP-pivots.

Building on Christensen (2010), Platzack assumes that intransitive verbs of motion and position don't take Agent arguments since only transitive verbs have Agents. Instead the argument of motion verbs is merged in the specifier of the root and bears the role *Performer*.<sup>13</sup>

- (39) **Performer:** the actant who carries out the action or the movement or assumes the position that the verb refers to, e.g. *springa* 'run', *sitta* 'sit', *stá* 'stand'.

A Theme argument is merged in the complement of the root where also Path arguments can appear. The root may be predicated of its complement but not of its specifier which gives us a way of distinguishing Performers from Themes and Paths (Platzack (2010, 177)). Compare the grammatical (40a), where the verb is predicated of the Path argument, with the ungrammatical (40b).

- (40) a. en sprungin sträcka (a run distance)  
 b. \*en sprungin pojke (a run boy)

A verb like *springa* 'run' can take both a Performer and a Path argument, provided that the Performer is raised and realised as an ordinary subject, (41a); the presentational version in (41b) is ungrammatical.

- (41) a. Några pojkar har sprungit en mil.  
*some boys have run a mile*  
 'Some boys have run a mile.'  
 b. \*Det har sprungit **några pojkar** en mil.  
 EXPL *have run some boys a mile*  
 c. Det har sprungit **några pojkar** på vägen.  
 EXPL *have run some boys on road.DEF*  
 'Some boys have run on the road.'

Given the argument structure in (38), it is somewhat surprising that (41b) is unavailable since there are two argument positions available in the vP. Recall, however, the generalization from section 3 that when there is more than one argument in the VP (now vP), only Theme pivots are available. The data in (41)

<sup>13</sup> Christensen (2010) refers to this role as *Materialitet*. We follow Sigurðsson (1989, 320ff.) and call it *Performer*.

suggests that we rephrase this in the following way: a pivot has to be the *last DP argument* in the vP. As (41c) shows, a pivot may still be followed by a PP.<sup>14</sup>

A similar pattern shows up with cognate objects. A verb like *sjunga* ‘sing’ takes a Performer and a Theme argument, as shown by the predication test in (42).

- (42) a. en sjungen sǫng (a sung song)  
 b. \*en sjungen kvinna (a sung woman)

Both Performer and Theme may be realised in an ordinary sentence, (43a), but not in a presentational sentence (43b). As expected, (43c), where the pivot is followed by a locative, is OK.

- (43) a. Kvinnorna hade sjungit psalmer i kyrkan.  
*women.DEF had sung psalms in church.DEF*  
 ‘The women had sung psalms in the church.’  
 b. \*Det hade sjungit **några kvinnor** psalmer i kyrkan.  
*EXPL had sung some women psalms in church.DEF*  
 c. Det hade sjungit **några kvinnor** i kyrkan.  
*EXPL had sung some women in church.DEF*  
 ‘Some women had sung in the church.’

The Icelandic verbs *hlaupa* ‘run’ and *syngja* ‘sing’ behave in the same way as the Swedish verbs with respect to the predication test.

- (44) a. hlaupna vegalengdin (the run distance)  
 b. \*hlaupnu strákar (the run boys)  
 c. sungnu sálmar (sung psalms)  
 d. \*sungnu konur (sung women)

The Path and the Theme arguments may co-occur with an ordinary subject, as well as with an IP-pivot, but not with a VP-pivot.

- (45) a. Einhverjir strákar hafa hlaupið (eina) mílu.  
*some boys have run a mile*  
 ‘Some boys have run a mile.’  
 b. Það hafa víst **einhverjir strákar** hlaupið mílu.  
*EXPL have they-say some boys run mile*  
 ‘Apparently some boys have run a mile.’

<sup>14</sup>The wording *last DP argument* was chosen since it means it is not necessary to determine whether locatives are arguments or adjuncts in certain cases.

- c. \*Það hafa víst hlaupið **einhverjir strákar** mílu.  
EXPL *have they-say run* *some boys mile*
- (46) a. Konurnar höfðu sungið sálma í kirkjunni.  
*women.DEF had sung psalms in church.DEF*  
'The women had sung psalms in the church.'
- b. Það höfðu víst **einhverjar konur** sungið sálma í kirkjunni.  
EXPL *had they-say some women sung psalms in church.DEF*  
'Apparently some women had sung psalms in the church.'
- c. \*Það höfðu víst sungið **einhverjar konur** sálma í kirkjunni.  
EXPL *had they-say sung some women psalms in church.DEF*
- d. Það höfðu víst sungið **einhverjar konur** í kirkjunni.  
EXPL *had they-say sung some women in church.DEF*  
'Some women had apparently sung in the church.'

In the section on "Agent" pivots, we pointed out that they are only possible as VP-pivots if the agentivity is played down. Given the structure in (38) and the data presented in this section, it seems better to analyse them as Performers, i.e. as merged in the specifier of the root rather than in the specifier of vP. By analysing them as Performers, and not as Agents, we have an explanation for how come presentationals with verbs like *arbeta* 'work' and *sjunga* 'sing' are possible in Swedish, see (31) and (32), whereas examples with Agents of true transitive verbs like *stoppa* 'put' are not (4). Furthermore we can retain the difference with respect to where the expletive is merged: in Spec,vP for Swedish and Spec,CP for Icelandic. In addition it is no longer surprising that an Agent argument of a transitive verb cannot appear in the vP in Icelandic, as shown in (3b,c), repeated here as (47).

- (47) a. \*Það hafa stungið **einhverjir stúdentar** smjörinu í vasann.  
EXPL *have put some students butter.DEF in pocket.DEF*
- b. \*Það hafa stungið smjörinu **einhverjir stúdentar** í vasann.  
EXPL *have put butter.DEF some students in pocket.DEF*

Given the structure in (38), an Agent argument is merged in the specifier of vP, i.e. initial in the vP, which excludes both the ungrammatical examples in (47), assuming, as Platzack does, that the verb is merged in v. Furthermore, (47a) violates the pattern we have observed several times, viz. that a pivot has to be the

last argument in the vP. At present we don't have a good account for this but we note that in both Swedish and Icelandic, the last argument in the vP often carries the main sentence accent, especially in utterances with wide focus. Presentational sentences typically involve wide focus and the main accent normally falls on the pivot.

Overall we find that Platzack's argument structure in (38) provides a good starting point for analysing the possible word orders in presentational sentences in both languages. However, we have not attempted to spell out what a similar argument structure for Icelandic would look like when you also take into consideration the case marking associated with the different verb types.

## 5 Negated IP-pivots

Up until now we have ignored the fact that IP-pivots are actually possible in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish as well, in particular with negated phrases, see e.g. Ljunggren (1926), Wallin (1936), Platzack (1983), Christensen (1991, 148f.), Teleman et al. (1999, 2:432ff.) and Engels (2010).<sup>15</sup>

- (48) a. Det har **ingen** varit här. Wallin (1936, 368)  
 EXPL *has nobody been here*  
 'There has been nobody here.'
- b. Det har inte varit **någon** här.  
 EXPL *has not been anybody here*  
 'There hasn't been anybody here.'
- c. \*Det har varit **ingen** här.  
 EXPL *has been nobody here*
- d. \*Det har inte **någon** varit här.  
 EXPL *has not anybody been here*

(48a) is an alternative to the probably more common (48b). A DP with incorporated negation is not possible in the vP, (48c), and negation + indefinite is not possible in the IP, (48d). Icelandic behaves similarly, but note that the indefinite *neinn* is possible as a low IP-pivot, (49d).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup>These are similar to objects with incorporated negation which have to be placed before a non-finite verb (see e.g. Engels (2012); Engdahl (2017)).

- (1) Jag har ingenting sagt.  
*I have nothing said*  
 'I haven't said anything.'

<sup>16</sup>Note that *neinn* is not possible in Spec,vP:

- (49) a. Það hefur **enginn** verið hér.  
EXPL *has nobody been here*  
'There has been nobody here.'
- b. Það hefur ekki verið **neinn** hér.  
EXPL *has not been anybody here*  
'There hasn't been anybody here.'
- c. \*Það hefur verið **enginn** hér.  
EXPL *has been nobody here*
- d. Það mun ekki **neinn** hafa verið hér.  
EXPL *will not anybody have been here*  
'There won't have been anybody here.'

Engels (2010, 126ff.), assumes that in negated clauses, pivots could appear in a separate position, SpecNegP above vP, in all the Mainland Scandinavian languages around 1900. Similarly, quantifiers such as Danish *mange* 'many' and *flere* 'several' could appear in Spec,QP above vP. However, corpus searches in Swedish historical materials in *Korp* (1,3 G) show that these examples were rare, probably not much more common than they are now.

There is however an interesting interaction between the expletive and negated pivots, discussed in Engels (2010). As shown in (48a), a negated IP-pivot is possible when the expletive is initial. If the initial position is not available, the expletive is normally realised after the finite verb in Swedish (see e.g. (6)), but this is sometimes not possible when there is a negated IP-pivot, as shown in (50a).<sup>17</sup>

- (50) a. Har (?\*det) **ingen** varit här?  
*has EXPL nobody been here*
- b. Har \*(det) inte varit **någon** här?  
*has EXPL not been anybody here*

As expected, the expletive is required in the case of a VP-pivot, (50b). In Icelandic, no expletive can appear, as expected.

- (51) a. Í dag hefur (\*það) **enginn** verið hér.  
*in day has EXPL nobody been here*  
'Nobody has been here today.'

(1) \*Það mun ekki hafa **neinn** verið hér.  
EXPL *will not have anybody been here*

<sup>17</sup>Engels assumes, based on a detailed investigation of Faroese, that the expletive can appear in SpecAgrSP after a finite auxiliary. But if the expletive blocks the D-feature checking of the pivot subject by the finite verb, the result is ungrammatical. Sigurðsson (2010, 173) makes a similar proposal for the distribution of *það* in subordinate clauses: "*það* can act as an intervener between an operator and a variable, blocking a matching relation between the two".

- b. Í dag hefur (\*það) ekki verið **neinn** hér.  
*in day has EXPL not been anybody here*

A search for overt expletive in IP and a negated IP-pivot in *Korp* yielded a few examples. Almost all of these examples occur in older novels from around 1900 and involve the verb *finnas* ‘exist’.

- (52) Här talade dräng och husbonde och matmor och piga med  
*here spoke farm-hand and farmer and mistress and servant with*  
 varandra, som om det **ingen skillnad** fanns mellan dem.  
*each-other as if EXPL no difference existed between them*  
 (Lagerlöf: *Liljecronas hem*, 1911)

‘Here a farm hand and a farmer as well as a mistress and a servant spoke to each other as if there were no differences between them.’

The verb *finnas* looks like a passive although it no longer has the passive meaning ‘be found’. In general overt expletives and negated pivots work better if the verb is passive.

- (53) a. Om (?\*det) **ingen** kommer, måste vi säga till.  
*if EXPL nobody comes must we say to*  
 ‘If nobody comes, we have to report it.’  
 b. Om det **inget** görs åt saken, måste vi säga till.  
*if EXPL nothing do.PASS to thing.DEF must we say to*  
 ‘If nothing is done to this, we have to report it.’

If negated phrases occur in a special SpecNegP position, one might expect them to be able to co-occur with an IP-pivot, but, as Christensen (1991) and Engels (2010) note, this is not generally possible, see (54c), adapted from Christensen (1991, 156f.). There may, however, also be some interaction with focus; some speakers find (54d) better.

- (54) a. Jón hefur **engar bækur** keypt.  
*Jón has no books bought*  
 ‘Jón hasn’t bought any books.’  
 b. Það hefur víst **einhver málvísindamaður** keypt bókina.  
*EXPL has they-say some linguist bought book.DEF*  
 ‘Some linguist has apparently bought the book.’  
 c. \*Það hefur víst **einhver málvísindamaður** engar bækur keypt.  
*EXPL has they-say some linguist no books bought*

- d. ?Það hefur vísit bara **einn málvísindamaður** enga bók keypt.  
 EXPL *has they-say only one linguist no book bought*  
 ‘Apparently only one linguist bought no book.’

More research is clearly needed on the information structure of presentational constructions and on the effects of focusing adverbs such as *only* and negation. It seems likely that the few examples with negated IP-pivots that we find in present-day Mainland Scandinavian languages are remnants from an earlier stage and have not led to the general option for IP-pivots which we find in Icelandic.

## 6 Transitive Expletive Constructions and Definiteness

In this section we take a closer look at the second main difference, viz. the purported absence of presentationals with transitive verbs in Swedish. Håkansson (2017) shows that some transitive expletive constructions have been possible in Swedish throughout history and that they are still used in many dialects. One common type involves a negated IP-pivot with a transitive verb, illustrated in (55a), originally from Wallin (1936, 368), or with a negated quantifier as pivot, as in (55b), originally from Ljunggren (1926, 351f.).

- (55) a. Det kan **ingen** göra den saken bättre än han.  
 EXPL *can nobody do that thing.DEF better than he*  
 ‘Nobody can do that better than him.’  
 b. Det köper inte **många** sina kläder så billigt som hon.  
 EXPL *buys not many their.REFL clothes as cheaply as she*  
 ‘Not many people buy their clothes as cheaply as she does.’

The examples in (55) look like presentationals with indefinite pivots and corresponding examples in Icelandic are possible.

- (56) a. Það getur **enginn** gert þetta betur en hann.  
 EXPL *gets nobody done this better than he*  
 ‘Nobody can do that better than him.’  
 b. Það kaupa ekki **marginir** jafnódýr föt og hún.  
 EXPL *buy not many as-cheap clothes as she*  
 ‘Not many people buy such cheap clothes as she does.’

The verbs *göra* ‘do, make’ and *köpa* ‘buy’ are agentive and should not appear in Swedish presentationals on Platzack’s account, where Agents and expletives are in complementary distribution in Spec,vP, see (38). Håkansson suggests that



Swedish also has the option of merging an expletive directly in Spec,CP, like Icelandic. This may be a motivated assumption although it then remains unclear how come this option is not used more generally. It seems plausible that the type of IP-pivot is relevant here. As we saw in Section 5, IP-pivots in Swedish tend to be negated or quantified.

Another common type in Håkansson's data is shown in (57), from the Nordic Dialect Corpus.

- (57) nej sa jag, det ska jag inte köpa någon bil. (NDC)  
*no said I EXPL shall I not buy any car*  
 'No, said I, I will definitely not buy a car.'

This type is characterized by having an initial *det* and a personal pronoun in IP. However, (57) is probably not a presentational construction since the highest DP is definite. This type is clearly ungrammatical in Icelandic, as shown in (58).

- (58) \*Það ætla ég ekki að kaupa neinn bíl.  
*EXPL shall I not to buy any car*

According to Sigurðsson (1989, 296), a pivot in Icelandic has to be “informationally ‘heavy’ or *nontopical*” by which he understands that it cannot be available in the context. Since anaphoric pronouns typically have referents which are available in the context, they are predicted to be unavailable as pivots. For Sigurðsson it is hence not the definiteness of the personal pronoun which excludes it as a pivot but rather the fact that it is not informationally heavy.<sup>18</sup> Many of Håkansson's Swedish examples with personal pronouns in IP seem to have been used as exclamatives or protests against a suggested action. In this respect they clearly differ from presentational sentences which typically introduce an event, a situation or a new referent.

Presentational sentences with definite pivots can, however, be found in Icelandic, as shown in Rögnvaldsson (1984) and discussed in Sigurðsson (1989, 295f.), Thráinsson (2007) and Sigurðsson (2010).

- (59) a. Hvað kom fyrir?  
*what came for*  
 'What happened?'  
 b. Það festist **rútan** á leiðinni norður.  
*EXPL got-stuck bus.DEF on way.DEF north*  
 'The bus got stuck on the way north.'

<sup>18</sup>Note, however, that putting contrastive stress on the pronoun does not improve the example.

(1) \*Það hef **ÉG** ekki keypt bílinn.  
*EXPL have I not bought car.DEF*

(59b) is only possible if it is common knowledge that only one bus runs that way and the bus hasn't been mentioned in the context. There are, however, more restrictions on presentationals with definite pivots. They are hardly used with transitive verbs and they are degraded with IP-pivots. More work is clearly required on the interaction between definiteness and pivothood in Icelandic.

In modern Swedish, examples like (59) are not possible, although they may have been possible in Old and Early Modern Swedish. Håkansson cites some examples with definites like *konungen* 'the king' and *thän timen* 'that time' Håkansson (2017, 276f.)). But there is at least one construction where a definite non-topical DP is possible as pivot, (60).<sup>19</sup> A similar construction is available in Icelandic, (61).

- (60) Det hade kommit **den ena studenten efter den andra**.  
 EXPL *had come the one.DEF student.DEF after the other.DEF*.  
 'One student after another had come.'

- (61) Það hafði komið **hver stúdentinn** á fætur öðrum.  
 EXPL *had come every student.DEF on feet others.DAT*  
 'One student after another had come.'

Håkansson makes a lexical distinction between expletive topic *det*, which is never realized in post-finite position, and presentational *det*, which is required in post-finite position.<sup>20</sup> Sigurðsson (1989, 298) talks of lexicalization of a 'presentative' operator *það*. It seems clear that we need to distinguish different types of expletives in different constructions. We see this clearly in Icelandic, where *það* in clefts is obligatory also in post-finite position, unlike presentational *það*, as first noted in Thráinsson (1979).

- (62) a. Það var Chomsky sem skrifaði Syntactic Structures.  
 EXPL *was Chomsky that wrote Syntactic Structures*  
 'It was Chomsky who wrote Syntactic Structures'  
 b. Var \*(það) Chomsky sem skrifaði Syntactic Structures?  
 was EXPL *Chomsky that wrote Syntactic Structures*

In Icelandic clefts, *það* is presumably merged in Spec,vP and then raised to Spec,IP and possibly Spec,CP, just like presentational and cleft *det* in Swedish.

<sup>19</sup> (60) is modelled on Håkansson's authentic (51b).

<sup>20</sup> Yet another type of expletive is *det* used with extraposed object clauses. Håkansson (2018) shows that this expletive almost always appears initially, in Spec,CP, in modern Swedish.

## 7 Conclusions and further work

In this article we have carried out a comparison of presentational sentences in Icelandic and Swedish. By systematically distinguishing IP-pivots from VP-pivots, we have been able to establish that there are similar restrictions on roles and positions in both languages. VP-pivots have to be Themes and may co-occur with other DPs but only if the Theme pivot is the last DP argument in the vP. We speculate that this restriction may reflect the information structural function of presentational sentences, viz. to introduce a new, and often focussed, referent, but further investigations, including phonological ones, are required. As for IP-pivots, they are only generally available in Icelandic where they are the preferred option for Agents, Experiencers, Goals and Performers. One consequence of this is that we find presentational sentences in Icelandic which cannot be expressed as presentationals in Swedish. Negated IP-pivots are possible to some extent in Swedish. When they are used, the presentational expletive *det* is infelicitous after the finite verb. This suggests that we need to look further at the interaction between what Håkansson (2017) calls expletive topic *det* and the presentational expletive *det*.

In Section 4 we showed how the different word orders and thematic role assignments could be analysed given the argument structure proposed in Platzack (2010). There are, however, many aspects that we didn't consider and which require further research. For instance, we have said nothing about the mapping between thematic roles and case marking in Icelandic, see e.g. Zaenen et al. (1985), Maling (2001), Jónsson (2003), Jónsson (2005), Sigurðsson (2012a) and Sigurðsson (2012b).

In order to progress on this comparative path, we would need more comparable corpus data and more informant studies so that we can establish preference patterns, e.g. for IP-pivots and VP-pivots. In particular, we need to look more closely at the use conditions for IP-pivots in Icelandic. As shown in e.g. Vangsnes (2002, 46ff.) and Thráinsson (2007, 317ff.), some partitives and *all*-quantifiers are possible as IP-pivots but impossible as VP-pivots. Are these a new type of presentational constructions?

In a wider perspective we would of course like to address the questions when and why presentational sentences are used and whether there are any systematic differences between Icelandic and Swedish in this respect. This will involve looking more carefully at discourse structure and information structure, both of which are challenging.

## Corpora

*Korp* <https://spraakbanken.gu.se/korp/>

*Nordic Dialect Corpus* <http://tekstlab.uio.no/nota/scandiasyn/>

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# 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<sup>1</sup>

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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<sup>1</sup> 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)  $[\text{FinP } \text{egentligen } [\text{FinP } \text{så } [\text{FinP } [\text{vill}, \text{Fin}] [\text{IP } \text{jag } \text{helst } \langle \text{vill} \rangle \text{ bli } \text{hemma } ]]]]$   
 actually  $\xrightarrow{\quad}$  [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)  $[\text{FinP } \text{egentligen } [\text{FinP } [\text{vill}, \text{Fin}] [\text{IP } \text{jag } \langle \text{egentligen} \rangle \text{ helst } \langle \text{vill} \rangle \text{ bli } \text{hemma } ]]]]$   
 $\xrightarrow{\quad}$  [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.<sup>2</sup>

- (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<sub>i</sub> har i sin<sub>i</sub> /\*hennes<sub>i</sub> dumhet igen släppt ut katten.  
 Anna has in SELF's her foolishness again let out the.cat  
 b. I sin<sub>i</sub> /\*hennes<sub>i</sub> dumhet (så) har Anna<sub>i</sub> 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-reflexive 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.

<sup>2</sup> (6a) is well-formed if the initial *så* is the temporal adverb *så* 'then', one of the many uses of the form *så*.

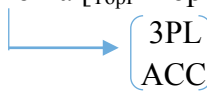
(i) Så kommer ett tåg.  
 then comes a train  
 'Then a train comes.'

## 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).<sup>3</sup>

- (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) [<sub>TopP</sub> sockorna [<sub>TopP</sub> Top [<sub>FinP</sub> <sockorna> [<sub>FinP</sub> har [<sub>IP</sub> jag <har> tvättat <sockorna>]]]]]
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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

<sup>3</sup> 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,  $u\phi$ , 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  $u\phi$ -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).<sup>4</sup>

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) [<sub>ForceP</sub> Force [<sub>FocP</sub> (Focus) [<sub>FinP</sub> 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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<sup>4</sup> 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 to 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).<sup>5</sup> 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 *hördu*, roughly ‘well’ or ‘you know’, does not check V2, and also does not occur with *så*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> (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.<sup>7</sup> 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.'

<sup>7</sup> 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. Tydiligen (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 to 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’.<sup>8</sup> It will not attract wh-phrases, as they are focus-operators (Rizzi 1997).

The definition of focus that we need here is:  $\alpha$  is Focus if  $\alpha$  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, [ $\pm$ 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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<sup>8</sup> 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*.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup>

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*.

<sup>9</sup> 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. As *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.

<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup>

## 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 kan steka ägg, **eller** du kan 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) kan du steka ägg, **eller** \*(så) kan 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 (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 kan 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) kan du steka ägg, **och** \*(så) kan 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.’

<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

- (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. När **så** far vi nästa gång till Paris?  
when **SÅ** go we next time to Paris  
‘When are we going to Paris next time?’
- b. Var **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?’

<sup>12</sup> 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, varför så kunde jag int va å knacka i sovrumbstaket 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) Vilken av dom här reseskildringarna 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. Vem (\*så) talar du med?  
who SÅ talk you with  
'Who are you talking to?'
- b. Vilket nummer (\*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) [<sub>ForceP</sub> PP så [<sub>FocP</sub> [vilken PP] [<sub>FinP</sub> [~~vilken PP~~] Fin [<sub>TP</sub> ... [~~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) [<sub>ForceP</sub> [vilken PP] så [<sub>FocP</sub> [~~VILKEN~~ PP] [<sub>FinP</sub> [vilken PP] Fin [<sub>TP</sub> ... [~~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) [<sub>ForceP</sub> [när TIME så [<sub>FocP</sub> [~~NÄR~~ TIME] [<sub>FinP</sub> [~~när~~ TIME] Fin [<sub>TP</sub> ... [~~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:<sup>13</sup>

- (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 ingenting om.  
 how it then went with the.enterprise SÅ it know I nothing about  
 ‘How the enterprise managed later, I know nothing about.’

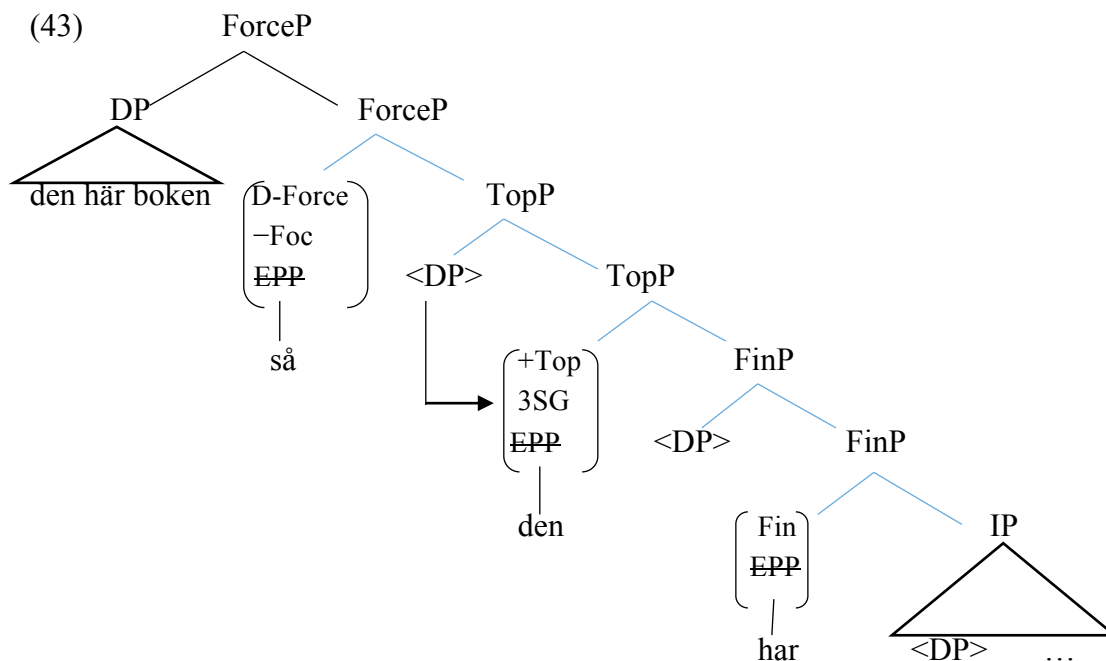
This is ostensibly V4: the initial phrase is followed by *så* and a proform, and then the finite verb. Is the initial phrase internally or externally merged? Is the proform the Topic head or a fronted resumptive pronoun? The test from the possessive reflexive gives an indication: The initial phrase can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

<sup>13</sup> 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<sub>i</sub> dotter så henne har han<sub>i</sub> nog inte sett på flera år.  
his.REFL daughter SÅ her has he PRT not seen for many ears
- b. Hans<sub>i/j</sub> dotter så henne har han<sub>i</sub> 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).



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, valuing its  $u\phi$ -features, and finally to D-ForceP, spelled out as *så*.

There are still more complications, though. Consider (44).

- (44) Sebastian så vet ni var han 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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# Icelandic declarative V1: a brief overview.

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## Abstract

This squib is a brief state of the art overview of declarative V1 in Icelandic, old and modern. Three (relevant) types of such clauses are discussed: Narrative Inversion, with an overt topical subject directly after the verb, Presentational V1, with an overt non-topical subject, and Null-subject V1. Narrative Inversion is a robust main clause phenomenon, whereas Presentational V1 and Null-subject V1 are found in subordinate clauses, albeit less frequently than in main clauses. The restrictions on declarative V1 have remained largely stable throughout the history of Icelandic. All three types are continuity/linking orders, hence typical of narrative and other cohesive texts, but very rare, almost nonexistent, in common discourse types in spoken language. Overall, declarative V1 is more characteristic of and common in Old Icelandic texts than in Modern Icelandic texts, presumably as the bulk of the preserved Old Icelandic texts are narrative texts, while such texts are only a fraction of accessible Modern Icelandic texts.

Icelandic, old and modern, is a verb-second (V2) language, with *SIX* (Subject-Verb-X) as the neutral and most common order in declarative clauses. Nevertheless, it also has a range of *verb-initial declaratives* (V1 declaratives).<sup>1</sup> As in most other Germanic varieties, informal topic drop and conjunction reduction commonly yield V1 orders, disregarded here (but see Sigurðsson 1989, 2011).<sup>2</sup>

Three relevant V1 declarative types can be discerned, depending on the properties of the subject. See (1).

- (1) a. **Narrative Inversion (NI):** VS orders with an overt *topical subject* directly after the finite verb: “Wrote I/she/they/Mary (etc.) then a letter”. The subject is a given topic at the clausal level (hence most commonly in the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular, Sigurðsson 1990, 1994), often with a preceding coreferential aboutness topic at the discourse level (Sigurðsson 2018).
- b. **Presentational V1:** V(X)S orders with an overt *non-topical subject*, usually indefinite and commonly late in the sentence: “Came then many ships”.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, “declaratives” in contrast to interrogatives, imperatives, and exclamatives.

<sup>2</sup> V1 arises in subordinate clauses by extraction, “Mary know I that \_\_\_ saw him” (‘I know that Mary saw him’), etc. (see Zaenen 1985). I set this aside here.

- c. **Null-subject V1:** V1 orders with a null subject, *pro*, nonreferential in Modern Icelandic (expletive, arbitrary, or generic), but either nonreferential or referential in Old Icelandic (where referential *pro* was not frequent, though): “Had thus often been rather nice there” = ‘It had thus ...’

See the Modern Icelandic examples in (2)–(4).

- (2) **Skrifaði** ég þá grein ... NI  
 wrote I then article  
 ‘Then I wrote an article ...’  
 (*Lögmannaþingið* 2002,2: 26, on timarit.is)
- (3) **Voru** þá nokkrir drengjanna farnir í burtu. Presentational V1  
 were then some boys-the gone in way  
 ‘Some of the boys had then left.’  
 (*Timinn* 1966, [http://timarit.is/view\\_page\\_init.jsp?pageId=3260235](http://timarit.is/view_page_init.jsp?pageId=3260235))
- (4) **Var** beðið eftir dómara til kl. 5.30. Null-subject V1  
 was waited after referee till clock 5.30  
 ‘(Some) people waited for a referee until 5.30.’  
 (*Timinn* 1966, [http://timarit.is/view\\_page\\_init.jsp?pageId=3260235](http://timarit.is/view_page_init.jsp?pageId=3260235))

V1 declaratives of this sort (or these sorts), in particular in Old Icelandic, have been widely discussed. For variably extensive treatments (from brief comments to whole works), see, for example, Lund (1862), Braune (1894), Mock (1894), Bernstein (1897), Falk & Torp (1900), Nygaard (1900, 1906), Netter (1935), Hallberg (1965), Heusler (1967), Rieger (1968), Haiman (1974), Kossuth (1978a, 1978b, 1980, 1981), Platzack (1985), Sigurðsson (1990, 1994, 2018), Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson (1990), Thráinsson (2007), Faarlund (2008), Franco (2008), Butt et al. (2014), Booth (2018).

### Common properties

Common to all three types is that they either contain no overt subject or only a “demoted” subject, not in focus (resisting accentuation). All three types are “continuity” or “linking” orders, hence typical of *cohesive texts*, but very rare, almost nonexistent, in common discourse types in spoken language (conversations, short statements, out of the blue comments, etc.).<sup>3</sup> In

<sup>3</sup> While exclamative V1 is natural in the spoken language (Sigurðsson 1990, n. 10). Declarative V1 is often found in dialogues in the sagas. As argued by Sigurðsson (1994: 155–158), however, what is camouflaged as “direct discourse” in the sagas is hardly representative of spoken language, but rather to be seen as part of the

Old High German, in contrast, “V1-clauses serve to introduce a new discourse referent ... and therefore are typically used in presentational sentences, foremost in the beginning of texts or episodes” (Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2010: 316). This is orthogonal to Icelandic, where declarative V1 *never* initiates an episode, neither in longer narratives nor in short anecdotes. The introduction of a new discourse referent is compatible with Presentational V1, though, but obviously incompatible with NI and Null-subject V1.

Declarative V1, in particular NI, is most common in narrative texts, above all the Old Icelandic sagas and related genres in later Icelandic, such as biographies and history writings of various sorts (including personal letters and newspaper obituaries, even sports reports, to some extent, see (3) and (4)). Another genre where it is easily found is reasoning texts (political, scholarly). Due to its continuity/linking function, declarative V1 (of all three types) is particularly common in *ok-/og-* ‘and’ conjuncts, but virtually nonexistent in adversative *en-* ‘but’ conjuncts (Sigurðsson 1990, 1994; see also Platzack 1985).<sup>4</sup> In addition, all three types commonly contain linking discourse particles/adverbials (temporal, locative, logical) in the middle field, such as *þá* ‘then’, *því* ‘thus’, *þess vegna* ‘therefore’; see (2) and (3).

### Distinguishing properties

All three types are rare in subordinate clauses. However, the instances of V1 found in subordination (relativization and extraction apart) are almost exclusively either Null-subject V1 or Presentational V1 (see Sigurðsson 1990, 1994 for a detailed study of NI and Presentational V1 in this respect). NI, in contrast, is a robust root phenomenon. See (5).

- (5) a. \* þegar verður hann kominn \*NI  
       when will-be he come
- b. þegar verða komnir bjórkælar við nammibarinn Presentational V1  
       when will-be come beer-coolers at candybar.the  
       ‘when beer coolers will have been introduced at the candybar’  
       hross.blog.is/blog/hross/entry/343764/- March 11, 2010

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author narration (see also Netter 1935). The saga dialogues and monologues (often long and narrative) are of course not recorded spoken language, instead involving fictive scene settings of verbal events that supposedly took place centuries before they were first shaped in writing, in the style of formally trained and educated scribes.

<sup>4</sup> In the Old Icelandic counts in Sigurðsson 1994 (Table III), declarative V(X)S turned out to be 8,3 times more common than SV after *ok*, whereas SV was 213 times more common than V(X)S after *en*. A quick search in <http://timarit.is/> (2018-12-05) shows that declarative V(X)S is common in modern newspaper texts after *og* (“and went we then to ...”, etc.) but exceedingly rare after *en* (“but went we then to ...”).

- c. þegar verður komið í ... Null-subject V1  
 when will-be come into  
 ‘when (some) people will get into ...’  
 sigurjonn.blog.is/blog/sigurjonn/?offset=10 – March 11, 2010

Another distinguishing property, in the *modern* language, has to do with expletive *það* ‘it, there’. As expletive *það* is incompatible with topical subjects (see Sigurðsson 1989, Engdahl et al. 2018), there is no competition between NI and *það*-initial order. On the other hand, expletive *það* has long been gaining ground in presentational clauses and in clauses with nonreferential *pro*, at the expense of Presentational V1 and Null-subject V1. See (6)–(8).

- (6) \*Það skrifaði ég þá grein.  
 there wrote I then article  
 Intended: ‘Then I wrote an article.’
- (7) (Það) hafa því margir stúdentar lesið bókina.  
 (there) have thus many students read book-the  
 ‘Thus, many students have read the book.’
- (8) a. (Það) var því farið að syngja sálma.  
 (there) was thus begun to sing psalms  
 ‘Thus, (some) people began singing psalms.’  
 b. (Það) er því oft kalt í íbúðinni.  
 (it) is thus often cold in apartment-the  
 ‘It is thus often cold in the apartment.’

### Frequency and grammaticality

Overall, there is no question that declarative V1 is more common in Old Icelandic texts than in Modern Icelandic texts. The loss of referential *pro* and the increased frequency of expletive *það* have contributed to this development for Null-subject V1 and Presentational V1, but the statistical effect of this in the written language is marginal (Butt et al. 2014); referential *pro* was not highly frequent in Old Icelandic, and the expletive is commonly considered too informal for written style. For NI, the effect is obviously zero. Nevertheless, it is clear that NI is more salient in the preserved Old Icelandic texts than in Modern Icelandic texts in general.

The results in Butt et al. (2014) and in Kossuth (1978a) show markedly reduced declarative V1 frequency in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> It is not immediately obvious how to interpret these results. At first sight, they might seem to indicate an ongoing historical change, but an alternative explanation is that the bulk of the preserved Old Icelandic texts are narrative texts, while such texts are only a fraction of accessible Modern Icelandic texts. The results in Sigurðsson 1990, 1994 suggest that declarative V1 has been a strongly genre- and style-related phenomenon throughout the history of Icelandic. In Sigurðsson's word order counts, the frequency of declarative V1 turned out to be *higher* in the 20<sup>th</sup> century texts studied than in the Old Icelandic texts with which they were compared. See (9).

(9) The ratio  $V(X)S/SV+V(X)S$  in non-conjoined declarative main clauses in Sigurðsson (1994, 62, 149):

Old Icelandic texts:	24%
20 <sup>th</sup> century texts:	38%

The text with the lowest  $V(X)S/SV+V(X)S$  ratio (7%) in these counts is a religious text from around 1200, and the second lowest result (9%) was actually found for the famous *Brennu-Njals saga*, from around 1300, indicating that V1 is not only genre related but also highly individual and style related.

The 20<sup>th</sup> century texts studied by Sigurðsson were specifically selected as they were expected to show high frequency of V1, but that just underscores the point: when comparable texts are compared one gets largely compatible results, across the centuries. In addition, the syntactic restrictions on V1 have remained stable. It is largely a main clause (root) phenomenon in both Old and Modern Icelandic, it has a continuity/linking function in both Old and Modern Icelandic, it commonly contains linking discourse particles/adverbials in the middle field across the centuries, and it is especially frequent in *og*- 'and' conjuncts but virtually nonexistent in adversative *en*- 'but' conjuncts in both Old and Modern Icelandic.

Stylistic fashion is amenable to fluctuation over time. Declarative V1 is rather unfashionable nowadays (I dare say). It is easy to find Modern Icelandic texts, even otherwise rather traditional narrative texts, with close to zero occurrences of declarative V1. Declarative V1 has clearly moved farther to the outskirts of language use over time. But this does not indicate a *grammatical* change. Declarative V1 is perfectly grammatical in Modern Icelandic.

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<sup>5</sup> Butt et al. (2014) draw their results from the IcePaHC corpus. The corpus contains some tagging errors (e.g., conflating topic drop and V1, it seems), but the effects of this are probably statistically marginal in most cases.



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These working papers have been sponsored by the Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities (NAVF) (no. 1–27) and by the Swedish Research Council for the Humanities and the Social Sciences (HSFR) (no. 28–42), as well as by Erik Philip-Sørensen's stiftelse (no. 42–43). Issues 80–92 were sponsored by the Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University. Issues 93–99 were published by Ghent University and Lund University. As of issue 100, WPSS is published by Stockholm University and Lund University.

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