Issue 99

December 2017

Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax

Lund University

Universiteit Gent

Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax is an electronic publication for current articles relating to the study of Scandinavian syntax. The articles appearing herein are previously unpublished reports of ongoing research activities and may subsequently appear, revised or unrevised, in other publications.

The WPSS homepage:
http://project.sol.lu.se/grimm/working-papers-in-scandinavian-syntax/

The 100th volume of WPSS will be published in June 2018. Papers intended for publication should be submitted no later than April 15, 2018.

December 2017,

Johan Brandtler, editor

Contact:
Johan Brandtler
Stockholm University
Department of Swedish Language and Multilingualism
106 91 Stockholm, Sweden

E-mail: johan.brandtler@su.se

Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax
ISSN: 1100-097x

Contents

The exceptional status of the Swedish supine: on the parametric variation of past participial (non-)identity*

Dennis Wegner
University of Wuppertal

Abstract
While Germanic (and Romance) languages generally resort to one and the same participle for the formation of passive and perfect periphrases, Swedish is the odd man out in the Germanic paradigm. It employs a supine that is morphologically distinct from the past participle. The fact that this form allows for the formation of synthetic passives, occurs in the context of finite HAVE-omission, and is restricted to core verbal distributions suggests that the formal non-identity is mirrored by substantially distinct grammatical features. To be precise, the supine may autonomously license an external argument as well as introduce relevant temporal properties, two properties that are associated with HAVE in languages employing just a single past participle. This case of non-identity may eventually be related to the opposing poles of identity in the context of distinct auxiliaries, on the one hand, and non-identity with a single auxiliary (BE in Slavic languages like Bulgarian), on the other. The observation that there are Slavic languages (e.g. Kashubian) that lose their substantial distinction once a HAVE-perfect is grammaticalised points to a parametric correlation: whenever a given language resorts to participial periphrases to form the perfect and the passive, a distinction has to be encoded on distinct participial forms or on distinct auxiliaries, but not on both.

1 Introduction

A striking similarity of Germanic and Romance languages is that they employ one and the same morphological exponent for the formation of passive as well as perfect(ive) participles (consider e.g. *seen* in *John was seen by Mary* and *Mary has seen John*). This raises the question of whether this form, commonly referred to as the past participle, also bears the same syntacticosemantic properties, i.e. whether the shallow similarity is mirrored by substantial identity. While proponents of accidental homophony (see *inter alia* Drijkoningen 1989; Bierwisch 1990; Aronoff 1994) fail to account for why the forms in question are morphologically identical, the assumption of substantial past participial identity (see *inter alia* Roberts 1984; Toman 1986; Ackema 1999; Breul & Wegner 2017; Wegner 2017) finds support in a broad range of diachronic as well as synchronic considerations. Concerning the historical development of past participles, it is most striking that they stem from one and the same resultative deverbal adjective. This, of course, does not provide any conclusive evidence, as the forms in question may well have changed substantially during their grammaticalisation as proper past participles. However, the synchronic interaction of past participles with their auxiliaries as well as their bare instantiations add to the feasibility of an identity approach. This is also underpinned by divergent realisations of participial forms in specific constructions (e.g. in verbal clusters and instances of VP-preposing).

There is an interesting candidate for a family-internal deviation from the Germanic and Romance pattern of overarching identity, though. Swedish appears to be exceptional with

* I am grateful to the audience of the Germanic Linguistics Annual Conference 23 (GLAC) in Austin, Texas in general and Ida Larsson in particular for valuable comments and discussion. Further thanks are due to Dominik Rotering for proofreading and Johan Brandtler for helpful suggestions and editorial comments.

respect to past participial identity: it makes a morphophonological distinction between the supine (used to form the analytic perfect; e.g. (*har*) *sjungit* '(has) sung') and the past participle (used to form the periphrastic passive and adjectival instances; e.g. (*blev*) *sjunget* '(was) sung'). This poses the question of whether it boils down to a shallow distinction based solely on the expression of agreement (see Christensen & Taraldsen 1989) or rather marks a proper case of past participial non-identity (see Platzack 1989). The present paper makes a case for the latter view arguing that the supine has emancipated from the participial paradigm (by grammatically exploiting a phonologically-conditioned diversion, see Dammel 2012: 255ff.) and is now substantially distinct from the past participle. Following through on this assumption makes Swedish a non-identity language, although the question remains of how far it has actually waived its identity-heritage. In fact, outside of the Germanic and Romance paradigm cases of proper non-identity languages may easily be found and past participial identity thus cannot be a universal property of participial periphrases. South Slavic languages (e.g. Bulgarian and Slovenian), for instance, prominently feature past participial non-identity, as they introduce substantially distinct participial forms in configurations with a rough equivalent of the auxiliary BE in order to form passive and perfect periphrases. Eventually, then, it remains to be answered what the precise position of Swedish is in a continuum with the two extremes of (prototypical) identity and non-identity.

In order to tackle these issues, the present paper is structured as follows. Section 2 introduces some evidence in favour of the identity of past participles in passive and perfect periphrases in Germanic and Romance and outlines an approach to past participial identity. Chapter 3 focusses on the Swedish supine and investigates the claim that its morphological non-identity is mirrored by a substantial syntacticosemantic distinction. The subsequent fourth section attempts to provide an overview of the parametric variation of past participial (non-)identity by extending our perspective to Slavic. Finally, the fifth chapter offers some concluding remarks and points to a number of open questions and further areas of research.

2 The Identity of Past Participles

With respect to the formation of passive and perfect periphrases in Germanic and Romance languages, an interesting correlation concerns the fact that one and the same inflectional marking seems to make up the core of both constructions. Accordingly, the participial form that is instantiated in the passive constructions in (1) is morphophonologically identical to the one employed in the perfect periphrases in (2). The former uses, of course, usually feature combinations of the past participle with auxiliaries like BECOME or BE, while the latter are either formed with HAVE only or – with certain kinds of intransitive predicates – also with BE, depending on whether the language in question makes use of auxiliary alternation.

(1) a. John is (being) kissed by Mary. (English)
b. Johann wird von Maria geküsst. (German)
John becomes by Mary kissed
c. María er kysst (af Jóni). (Icelandic)
Mary is kissed by John

d. Jean est embrassé par Marie. (French)
John is kissed by Mary
'John is (being) kissed by Mary.'

(2) a. Mary has kissed John (English)
b. Maria hat Johann geküsst. (German)
Mary has John kissed
c. María hefur kysst Jón. (Icelandic)
Mary has kissed John
d. Jean a embrassé Marie. (French)
John has kissed Mary
'Mary has kissed John.'

What appears to challenge generalisations in terms of assuming that the morphological identity of passive and perfect participles is a property of the Germanic and Romance family, though, is that North Germanic as well as Romance languages quite regularly feature past participial (object-)agreement (see, e.g., Kayne 1989; Belletti 2006; D'Alessandro & Roberts 2008; Åfarli 2009). At first sight, the occurrence of agreement morphology seems to be tied to passive participles, whereas it is absent in perfect periphrases, as suggested by oppositions like the one in (3) (see Thráinsson 2007: 9).

(3) a. Maður var bitinn af hundi. (Icelandic)
the.man was bitten.AGR *by the.dog*
'The man was bitten by the dog.'
b. Hundurinn hefur bitið manninn.
the.dog has bitten the.man
'The dog has bitten the man.'

However, this may be exposed to be too simplistic a view, given that Italian and Nynorsk variants of Norwegian, amongst others, readily instantiate agreement morphology in the context of a BE-perfect.

(4) a. Cornelia è *arrivato/ arrivata. (Italian)
Cornelia is arrived/ arrived.AGR
'Cornelia has arrived.'
b. Gjestene er nett *kome/ komne. (Nynorsk)[1]
*the.guests are just arrived/ arrived.*AGR
'The guests have just arrived.'

What lends further support to the claim that the occurrence of agreement morphology is not sensitive to the distinction between passive and perfect participles is that object-agreement

[1] Note that it is generally debatable whether Scandinavian languages other than Danish employ a proper BE-perfect (see Larsson 2014a). Christensen & Taraldsen (1989: 53ff.) analyse (4b) as a BE-perfect and the presence of *nett* ('just') supports this intuition by forcing an eventive interpretation rather than a stative passive reading.

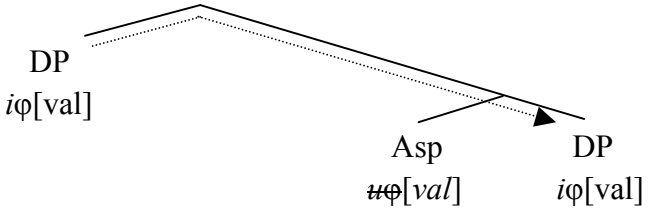
occasionally even appears in the context of a HAVE-perfect in Romance.[2] This becomes observable on the basis of French and Italian examples like those in (5), adapted from Bjorkman (2011: 155), Rowlett (2007: 226f.), and Franco (1994: 247).

(5) a. Jean l' a peint/ peinte. (French)
John it.CL *has painted/ painted*.AGR
'John has painted it.'
b. La maison que les filles on peint/ peinte.
the house that the girls have painted/ painted.AGR
'The house that the girls have painted.'
c. Quelles maisons avez-vouz repeintes?
which houses have-you repainted.AGR
'Which houses did you repaint?'

(6) Gianni l' ha *mangiato/ mangiata. (Italian)
Gianni it has eaten/ eaten.AGR
'Gianni has eaten it.'

On a more abstract level, it is striking that these configurations share with their passive counterparts that the internal argument is displaced out of the participial domain (see Belletti 2006: 495; Bjorkman 2011: 155f.). Accordingly, it is not far-fetched to tie the overt expression of agreement to syntactic configurations like the one sketched in (7).

(7) Past participial (object-)agreement:



overt spell-out of *u*φ[*val*] under *i*φ (asymmetrically) c-commanding *u*φ

The displacement of the internal argument may, of course, only be a necessary condition, where the question of whether or not agreement morphology eventually manifests hinges on further (parameterised) criteria. While we may hypothesise that this is merely a PF-issue rather than a substantial distinction in whether or not φ-features are syntactically valued, most important for the purposes of the present paper is that the expression of agreement is clearly not the manifestation of a distinction between perfect and passive forms. Since there is thus at least no immediate morphological evidence that sheds doubt on the identity of passive and perfect participles, let us briefly outline what an identity approach may look like (see Wegner 2017: 120ff. for a discussion of the problems and merits of a range of previous approaches).

The major issue that approaches to past participial identity have to cope with is that past participles exhibit quite distinct properties in passive and perfect uses. In fact, while passive

[2] The present paper is primarily concerned with Germanic, but it is precisely the discussion of past participial (object-)agreement that renders an extension to Romance languages worthwhile.

properties appear to be neutralised in perfect uses, perfect properties are absent in passive constructions. With respect to diathesis, past participles convey a passive interpretation in periphrases with BE/WERDEN as well as in auxiliaryless (or bare) cases,[3] as opposed to their active behaviour with HAVE. Although past participles in languages employing auxiliary alternation appear to exhibit active properties in the context of BE as well, these are formed on the basis of unaccusative predicates. The fact that these inherently lack an external argument marks the salient correlation with passive elements. A simple way to account for the diathetic properties of passive periphrases is by assuming that past participles inherently bear passive characteristics to the effect that the semantic role of the designated external argument is lexically marked for existential binding (see Rothstein 2001: 142). The introduction of an external argument that effectively renders the construction active after all, on the other hand, may be traced back to the contribution of HAVE in perfect periphrases (see, *inter alia*, Toman 1986; Cowper 1989; Ackema 1999; Ackema & Marelj 2012). Accordingly, the diathetic contributions of the past participial morpheme and HAVE may be found in (8) and (9) (cf. Wegner 2017: 166, 171, 200).

(8) Past participial morphology: The verb's external semantic role (if present) is marked for existential binding, which renders it inactive for syntactic purposes.
(9) HAVE: The perfect auxiliary retrieves the marked role (iff it locally governs the past participle) and assigns it to arguments that move through its specifier position.

While there are, of course, further semantic and syntactic restrictions on passivisation, this simple picture sufficiently grasps how past participles may transcend between passive and active interpretations by tracing the relevant distinction back to the perfect auxiliary.

This leaves the second side of the coin, namely the question of how one and the same form may denote perfect meaning in perfect periphrases, whereas it is interpreted as ongoing in periphrastic passives. This posed serious problems for many previous approaches to past participial identity and is usually held to substantially support the assumption of non-identity.[4] However, there are some more flexible alternatives based on a contribution that leaves open whether the event in question has come to an end (see Savova 1989: 68, 73f. for an approach based on 'precedence'; and Breul & Wegner 2017: 44f. for one based on the denotation of a 'post-time state'). While these are promising, they arguably are not explicit enough in the sense that they shift off central distinctions to implication. This may be avoided in an approach that attributes the perfect auxiliary HAVE relevant perfect properties (see Iatridou et al. 2001: 220f.; Klein 1999: 73). Evidence for this assumption may be derived from contexts featuring the divergent morphological realisations of past participles. One such phenomenon is *Infinitivus pro Participio* (henceforth IPP), which crops up in verbal clusters of West

[3] Bare instances come in various kinds: pre- (*the evacuated house*) and postnominal (*the house evacuated by the fire brigade*) modifiers as well as adverbial phrases (*Carried by his mother, the boy felt safe.*). They additionally occur in predicative use, e.g. in the copular constructions commonly referred to as stative passives (*The article is well-written*). Note that (at least some of) these bare cases supposedly are supplemented by adjectival properties, which renders them somewhat obscure in spite of the absence of an auxiliary.
[4] Approaches based on the aspectual contribution of perfectivity (see Zagona 1991; Grewendorf 1995; Giorgi & Pianesi 1997; Weber 2002; and Remberger 2006) as well as those based on (past) tense (see Zeller 1994; Ballweg 1988; Musan 1998; and Belitschenko 1980) fail to account for the imperfectivity of passive periphrases.

Germanic languages employing (a rough equivalent of) the participial prefix GE (see, e.g., Vanden Wyngaerd 1996; Hinterhölzl 1998; Schmid 2002; Wurmbrand 2005/to appear).

(10) a. dass sie ihm einen Brief hat schreiben *gewollt/ wollen.
that she him a letter has write want.PTCP/ *want*.INF
'that she (has) wanted to write him a letter'
b. dass er sie hat singen *gehört/ hören
that he her has sing hear.PTCP/ *hear*.INF
'that he has heard her sing'

These cases show the unexpected instantiation of an infinitival instead of a properly inflected past participial form. This also holds for the English phenomenon commonly referred to as Perfect(ive) Participle Paradox (henceforth PPP) (see Oku 1996; Urushibara 1997; Breul 2014). Examples of this (optional) phenomenon, which is triggered by VP-preposing rather than verb cluster formation, may be found in (11) (see also Emonds 1976: 31).

(11) a. We thought someone would fail the exam, and *fail it plenty of people have*.
b. Mary was not sure how he managed to persuade her, *but manage he has*.

The PPP may be analysed as an instance of 'impoverishment' (cf. Breul 2014: 462f.) and this analysis could also be transposed to the IPP.[5] Both of these phenomena lack semantic effects, but crucially only occur in the context of HAVE, whereas they are strictly barred with BE and BECOME. Thus, impoverished passive and BE-perfect cases like those in (12) and (13) are ungrammatical.

(12) a. dass sie schlafen gelassen/*lassen wurde (German)
that she sleep let.PTCP/ *let*.INF *became*
'that she was allowed to remain sleeping'
b. dass sie stehen geblieben/ *bleiben ist
that she stand remain.PTCP / *remain*.INF *is*
'that she remained standing'

(13) a. *They could not be sure whether anyone would see her, but see she was.
b. *dass sie schlafen lassen wurde (German)
that she sleep let.INF *became*
c. *dass er stehen bleiben ist
that he stand remain.INF *is*

Accordingly, there is no passive counterpart to the PPP (cf. Breul 2014: 453) and the same holds true for the IPP, which is additionally not available in the context of perfect BE.[6]

[5] Note that the PPP is strictly speaking also an instance of IPP, where there is just a different trigger.
[6] Dutch provides exceptions like the following: *is gaan zwemmen* ('has started to swim'), *is komen werken* ('has started to work'), *is blijven staan* ('has continued to stand') (cf. Haider 2010: 291). However, these are restricted to the BE-perfect and only possible with aspectual verbs. These arguably are conventionally associated with perfective properties, which is why semantic recoverability (see below) is not endangered.

An impoverishment-based analysis accounts for the absence of semantic effects[7] in a straightforward fashion by entailing that the PPP and IPP are PF-phenomena. However, we may arguably still derive important insights from these phenomena based on whether or not semantic recoverability is granted. In this light, let us take seriously the intuition that an impoverished form may only substitute a properly inflected one if this does not endanger the recovery of the meaning that is associated with it (cf. Breul 2014: 465f.). This condition is arguably met whenever HAVE heads a participial periphrasis, as the perfect auxiliary suffices as a cue for the parser to retrieve a proper perfect interpretation (cf. Wegner 2017: 250, 254f.). Hence, the application of impoverishment is granted in the IPP case in (14a), where the role of HAVE as a conveyor of perfect properties is additionally emphasised by the exceptional placement of the auxiliary (cf. Wegner submitted: 2).

(14) a. dass Malin den Jungen hat sehen können (German)
that Malin the boy has see can.IPP
'that Malin has been able to see the boy'
b. dass Malin den Jungen wird sehen können
that Malin the boy will see can
'that Malin will be able to see the boy'

While German embedded clauses are usually bound to place the finite element in the final position (arguably head-final T), there are two contexts in which the finite auxiliary may be preposed: verbal IPP-clusters embedded under perfect *haben* ('have'), as in (14a), and verbal clusters embedded under future *werden* ('will'), as in (14b). This, it is argued in Wegner (submitted), may be traced back to extraposition of the verb cluster in an attempt to provide relevant temporal information as soon as possible in the absence of other morphological cues.

While participial morphology is thus dispensable in the context of HAVE, this is not the case in periphrases with BE and WERDEN. With these semantically vacuous auxiliaries, the parser is not able to retrieve a proper passive or perfect interpretation without the help of participial morphology. Analogous evidence in favour of these claims may be drawn from the closely related but morphologically opposed phenomenon *Participium pro Infinitivo* (henceforth PPI) (see e.g. den Dikken & Hoekstra 1997; Wiklund 2001; Wurmbrand 2012). As Wiklund's (2001: 201) Faroese example in (15) makes clear, the PPI crops up in verbal clusters and induces their morphological harmony by inserting a superfluous piece of participial morphology.

(15) Han hevði viljað lisið/ lesa bókina. (Faroese)
He had want.PTCP *read*.PTCP/ *read*.INF *the.book*
'He had wanted to read the book.'

Given that this is once again only permitted with HAVE, the argument brought forth in the context of the IPP and PPP may be transferred to the PPI in a straightforward fashion: the

[7] This is most clearly observable in cases that allow for optionality, e.g. properly inflected variants of (11) and verbal clusters with continuative *lassen* ('let') (cf. Wegner submitted: 8).

superfluous participle does not autonomously denote a perfect(ive) interpretation. Rather, HAVE provides relevant perfect information and thus grants the perfect interpretation of the situation that the predicate it selects introduces. As the participial form is exclusively responsible for the passive or perfect interpretation in periphrases with BE/BECOME, though, these contexts do not give rise to the PPI.

Eventually, these considerations concerning divergent realisations are in line with the observation that bare instantiations may remain imperfective: consider *das (gerade) von Peter gelesene Buch* (lit. the currently by Peter read book) or *the book currently read by Peter*.[8] We may thus conclude that perfect information is not or at least not solely stored in the participial form in HAVE-perfect cases (cf. Breul 2014: 465). Past participles occurring in periphrastic passives (with BE or BECOME), on the other hand, express passive voice without the help of their auxiliaries (cf. Breul 2014: 465). A similar degree of autonomy may be attributed to past participles of verbs appearing in the BE-perfect, i.e. unaccusatives. These convey a perfect(ive) interpretation without the help of a relevant contribution by the auxiliary BE (cf. Wegner 2017: 166ff.). Whether or not a given participle may autonomously denote a perfective interpretation eventually hinges on the properties of their verbal host. It is only those predicates that denote a simple change of state (e.g. unaccusatives like *ankommen* 'arrive' and *verschwinden* 'disappear' or anticausatives like *zerbrechen* 'break' and *schmelzen* 'melt') that convey a perfective reading without the help of HAVE.[9] Predicates with event-structural properties that exceed simple changes of state (e.g. atelic cases like *sing*, *cough*, *burn*, *love* as well as those that feature an atelic causative phase like *build*, *read*, *find*, *lose*) by contrast are not rendered perfective (cf. Wegner 2017: 219ff.). Given that passives are always bound to be more complex than just denoting simple changes of state by virtue of the presence of an existentially-bound cause, these may never give rise to BE-perfects. In other words, 'perfective' participles are in complementary distribution with 'imperfective' ones in passive periphrases (hence the impossibility of passives derived from unaccusatives).

These assumptions are underlined by the historical development of past participles, which diachronically originate in resultative deverbal adjectives (cf. Ackema 1999: 145f., 150f.; Migdalski 2006: 142; Larsson 2009: 1; Łęcki 2010: 149f.). These could either directly modify a given sentential subject with the help of a copula like BE or modify the internal argument of a main verb like BECOME (ingressive) or HAVE (possessive). Such configurations often persist after the grammaticalisation of periphrases, e.g. in the form of the stative passive and stative perfect (cf. Migdalski 2006: 157).

[8] This, of course, leaves the question of why such cases may also denote a perfective reading, which may arguably be derived from the contextual embedding of such modifiers (cf. Rapp & von Stechow 2015).

[9] A well-known 'exception' is the class of (manner of) motion verbs. These are, however, (more or less strongly) associated with a sense of completion and thus denote a simple change of location (consider *rennen* 'run', which always takes BE as its auxiliary, and *tanzen* 'dance', which only does so with an explicit directional PP).

(16) a. Der Fisch ist gebraten. (German)
the fish is fried
'The meal is (in the resultative state of being) cooked.'
b. Das Mädchen hat die Augen verbunden.
the girl has the eyes tied
'The girl has eyes that are (in the resultative state of being) tied.'

What is striking about these stative occurrences is that they force an anti-causative and resultative interpretation. Accordingly, it is usually not possible to introduce an adjunct BY-phrase (or any event-related modifier) and the participial event is bound to be perfective. However, the grammaticalisation of the historical predecessors of these stative constructions as periphrases featured the (re-)introduction of a CAUSE for verbal instantiations (cf. Abraham 2000: 152f.). Therefore, an imperfective interpretation comes about in passive cases, whereas the perfect denotation may only be saved by attributing the perfect auxiliary HAVE relevant perfect information.

This leaves the question of what the precise semantic contribution of HAVE, which is supposed to allow an 'imperfective' past participle to give rise to a perfect interpretation, boils down to. While we will largely leave this pending for the purposes of the present paper (see Wegner 2017: 219ff. for discussion), let us assume that HAVE merely conveys the posteriority of R(eference time) with respect to E(vent time). Although this implies that E has ceased, this is not a necessity as cases of 'imperfective perfects' as triggered by adverbial modification, i.e. universal perfects like *He has loved her ever since he first saw her laugh*, show. Past participles that autonomously give rise to a perfective reading (e.g. the unaccusatives *arrived*, *disappeared*, *broken*, and *melted*), on the other hand, enforce boundedness and thus need not take recourse to the overt expression of posteriority, but rather automatically imply that E precedes R in its entirety (cf. Grewendorf 1995: 83). This accounts for why languages making use of auxiliary alternation may resort to a semantically vacuous auxiliary. HAVE-only languages, on the other hand, do not redundantly instantiate the same properties twice in unaccusative perfects like *She has disappeared*, but rather make the posteriority of R explicit in addition to the completion of E (cf. Abraham 2000: 152). Accordingly, the two contributions are not in complementary distribution.

Eventually, the contributions of the past participle and the auxiliary HAVE with respect to the denotation of perfect meaning may be summarised as in (17) and (18), in analogy to (8) and (9).

(17) Past participial morphology: An event is rendered perfective in case the participial morpheme attaches to a simple change of state. (Otherwise, only a homogeneous sub-event is brought to an end, which may or may not be the last of its kind, cf. Lübbe & Rapp 2011.)
(18) HAVE: The perfect auxiliary denotes the posteriority of R with respect to E, which implies (but cannot enforce) that the event affected by (17) is brought to an end.

As we have seen, there is a solid foundation for the assumption that past participles are substantially identical in Germanic and Romance languages. In fact, 'amalgamation'

approaches highlighting the two-fold contribution of the past participle and ascribing distinctions in behaviour to the underlying verb and the functional embedding under an auxiliary appear to be particularly worthwhile. These allow us to derive the purportedly contrasting properties of passive and perfect participles from a single form. While this is the predominant picture in Germanic and Romance, there seems to be an odd man out, namely the morphologically distinct participial form of the supine in Swedish.

3 An odd man out? The supine in Swedish

Swedish features an interesting exception with respect to the overarching similarities discussed so far. While this North Germanic exponent of course also makes use of participial periphrases for the denotation of perfect and passive meaning, it apparently resorts to a perfect participle that is morphologically distinct from the past (passive) participle (see Platzack 1989; Askedal 1995: 103). This is observable in (19).

(19) a. Boken blev skriven av Pelle. (Swedish)
the.book became written by Pelle
'The book was written by Pelle.'
b. Pelle har skrivit en bok.
Pelle has write.SUP *a book*
'Pelle has written a book.'

Christensen & Taraldsen (1989: 71) argue that this is merely a shallow distinction based on whether or not the participle carries agreement morphology, analogous to what we have seen above, e.g. with respect to Icelandic. However, as Platzack (1989: 309) points out, this is rendered highly unlikely by the occurrence of impersonal passives like the one in (20).

(20) Det blev drucket/ *druckit hela natten.
it was drink.PTCP.AGR / *drink*.SUP *all night*
'There was drinking all night.' (or 'People were drinking all night.')

Although there is *per definitionem* no syntactic object around with which the participial form could agree, inserting the supine form leads to ungrammaticality. Instead, a default singular neuter variant of the past participle has to be instantiated.[10] Accordingly, the supine is not simply identical to one of the participial forms employed in the passive, i.e. it is not just an invariant exponent of the past participle (cf. Larsson 2009: 26). Without going into detail regarding the properties of impersonal configurations here, let us just maintain that the past participle undergoes default valuation of *u*φ, instantiating a third person singular value (cf. Schäfer 2013: 354). This possibility is parameterised (and thus barred in English, for instance, as opposed to German) (cf. Ruys 2010).

The morphological distinction between the supine and the default past participial form most regularly comes forth with strong verbs like those in (21) (cf. Klingvall 2011: 57f.).

[10] Note that there might be room for agreement with the expletive here, but Platzack (1989: 309ff.) additionally provides an example in which the expletive is absent, which is why this is not a licit counter-argument.

(21) a. sjungit vs. sjunget
sing.SUP *sing*.PTCP
'sung'

b. vunnit vs. vunnet
win.SUP *win*.PTCP
'won'

c. bjudit vs. bjudet
bid.SUP *bid*.PTCP
'bid'

d. försvunnit vs. försvunnet
disappear.SUP *disappear*.PTCP
'disappeared'

e. bundit vs. bundet
tie.SUP *tie*.PTCP
'tied'

Additionally, distinct supine morphemes also crop up for weak verbs ending in unstressed *-a* as well as – in some dialects at least – those ending in a consonant (cf. Larsson 2009: 418f.; Klingvall 2011: 58), as the examples in (22) make clear.

(22) a. laga vs. lagad
prepare.SUP *prepare*.PTCP
'prepare' 'painted'

b. måla vs. målat
paint.SUP *paint*.PTCP

c. byggi vs. byggt
build.SUP *build*.PTCP
'built' 'painted'

d. glömmi vs. glömt
forget.SUP *forget*.PTCP

The occurrence of a proper morphological distinction raises the question of whether this is mirrored by a substantial syntacticosemantic difference in the properties of supines in contrast to past participles.[11] Platzack (1989: 305), as a proponent of this view, argues "that the Swedish supine is a specific non-finite active form of the verb". This assumption is substantially supported by the availability of synthetic passive variants of these forms. In fact, as the examples in (23) and (24) show, supines readily allow for the formation of synthetic passives, whereas past participles never inflect for passive morphology.

(23) a. har skrivits
has write.SUP.PASS
'has been written'

b. har sjungits
has sing.SUP.PASS
'has been sung'

c. har vunnits
has win.SUP.PASS
'has been won'

d. har bundits
has tie.SUP.PASS
'has been tied'

(24) a. *skrivets
write.PTCP.PASS

b. *sjungets
sing.PTCP.PASS

c. *vunnets
win.PTCP.PASS

d. *bundets
tie.PTCP.PASS

[11] The alternative – which might be instantiated in some Norwegian dialects, as will briefly be hinted at below – is that a formal differentiation has developed for the participle embedded under HAVE, which nonetheless does not signal distinct grammatical properties.

The fact that past participles in Swedish – just like in any other Germanic (or Romance) language – may not combine with a passive morpheme is, of course, anything but surprising given the inherent passive characteristics of these forms discussed in chapter 2.

Additionally, supines may only take on a verbal function. Accordingly, they crucially do not share the categorial flexibility of their past participial counterparts, which may appear in (more or less prototypical) adjectival positions. This is observable in (25), where the past participle occurs as an adnominal (in fact prenominal) modifier, and (26), where it shows up in a copular construction, in analogy to past participles in other Germanic languages, e.g. in German.

(25) den försvunne mannen
the disappear.PTCP *man*
'the man who has disappeared'

(26) Linnea är försvunnen.
Linnea is disappear.PTCP
'Linnea is in the resultative state of having disappeared.'

There is one context that appears to challenge this conclusion, namely the occurrence of not just past participles but also supines in the context of *få* ('get'), which is restricted to Swedish dialects (or 'colloquial Swedish') and not a functional part of Standard Swedish (cf. Klingvall 2011: 55fn4; Larsson 2009, 407f.; see also Ljunggren 1934: 47ff.). Accordingly, oppositions like the ones in (27), adapted from Larsson (2009: 407) and Platzack (1989: 311), occasionally come to the fore.

(27) a. De fick taget/ tagit från honom belöningen.
they got take.PTCP/ *take*.SUP *from him the.reward*
'They got the reward taken from him.'

b. Jag fick inte skrivet/ skrivit brevet än.
I got not write.PTCP/ *write*.SUP the.letter yet
'I have not got the letter written yet.'

While those configurations that involve a past participle range between a causative, benefactive/malefactive and an active reading (cf. Larsson 2012), only the latter is available with supines. In fact, speakers who allow for both past participles and supines to occur in the context of *få* ('get') apparently only allow for an active reading with supine forms. Accordingly, Platzack (1989: 311) points out that there is a subtle difference in meaning: the supine forces an agentive interpretation, whereas the past participial variant suggests that somebody else is responsible. Thus, causative and benefactive/malefactive readings entail that "the subject of GET is not (necessarily) interpreted as the agent of the participial event" (Larsson 2014b: 165). This follows naturally from the observation that rather than a proper participial periphrasis, such instances may be traced back to complex predicates (cf. Lødrup

1996), i.e. combinations of a lexical verb and an adjectival past participle.[12] Hence, it is not surprising that this construction is interpretively quite similar to the stative perfect (i.e. the combination of the lexical verb HAVE and an adjectival participle) (cf. Larsson 2014b: 167). Active formations with GET, on the other hand, are proper periphrases (cf. Lødrup 1996). This auxiliary appears to behave like HAVE (see (9)) with respect to the licensing of an external argument in the context of a past participle. Allowing it to combine with supines, on the other hand, presupposes that GET may also just raise a properly licensed external argument. Given that GET in this case is sensitive to the presence of a properly licensed external argument, it is not surprising that the supine is not allowed to take on passive morphology in these cases (cf. Larsson 2009: 409). In conclusion, then, occurrences of the supine in the complement of *få* ('get') do not challenge the assumption that the distribution of this item is restricted to verbal uses.

A further effect of the lack of passive properties on the participial form is that the semantic restrictions on passivisation that were hinted at in chapter 2 do not carry over to supines. Accordingly, a past participle may not be formed on the basis of the Swedish verb *innehålla* ('contain'), as we can see in Platzack's (1989: 308) example in (28), whereas its occurrence as a supine is flawless in perfect periphrases.

(28) *Radioaktivt avfall var innehållet i tunnan
radioactive waste was contain.PTCP *in the.barrel*
'Radioactive waste was contained in the barrel.'

Just like *innehålla* ('contain') in (28), passive occurrences of the English and German cognates *contain* and *beinhalten* are ruled out. This may be taken to stem from the fact that the suppressed external argument of the predicates in question is not associated with a sufficient amount of agentive properties. Thus, these may not occur as past participles, unless their external argument is taken care of by HAVE, cancelling the existential binding for which the argument in question is lexically marked by the past participial morpheme (see (8)). Eventually, then, these considerations support Platzack's (1989: 308) conclusion that supines and past (passive) participles in Swedish differ not only superficially, but rather the shallow difference is mirrored by substantially distinct features in terms of verbality and θ-grids.

Additional evidence in favour of a substantial difference may be drawn from the regular occurrence of bare supines in finite embedded clauses, as those in (29), partly based on Christensen & Taraldsen (1989: 82en20) and retrieved from the Swedish corpus *Språkbanken* (the Swedish Language Bank).

(29) a. eftersom Pelle redan skrivit en bok
since Peter already write.SUP *a book*
'since Peter had already written a book'

[12] This is supported by word order variation. In fact, in analogy with the stative perfect, the object usually occurs preverbally unlike its postverbal distribution in proper periphrases (cf. Larsson 2014b: 166f.).

b. att Sverige vunnit med 2-0 i fotbollen mot Spanien
that Sweden win.SUP *with 2-0 in football against Spain*
'that Sweden has won 2-0 against Spain in football'
c. men om man sjungit duet med Lasse Holm i melodifestivalen
but if one sing.SUP *duet with Lasse Holm at the.melody-festival*
'but if one has sung a duet with Lasse Holm at the melody-festival'

As these cases show, supines may readily occur without accompanying perfect auxiliaries in Swedish finite subordinate clauses, whereas this is ruled out not only in the other Scandinavian languages (cf. Larsson 2009: 375f.) but also in Germanic and Romance in general. In Swedish, by contrast, this is quite a common capacity, i.e. HAVE may optionally be omitted without any semantic effect.[13] Accordingly, instances featuring HAVE-omission exhibit the full range of perfect readings (cf. Larsson 2009: 377). As a matter of fact, the non-occurrence of HAVE generally shows a high degree of flexibility: "[i]t is not restricted to certain tenses, or to e.g. certain modal contexts [and] not directly dependent on the matrix tense, or even on the presence of a matrix clause" (Larsson 2009: 376f.). The latter observation shows in the fact that even exclamatives regularly allow for HAVE-omission (cf. Larsson 2009: 377), as the example in (30), taken from Andréasson et al. (2002: 70) makes clear.[14]

(30) Vilken snögubbe du (har/hade) byggt.
what snowman you have/had build.SUP
'What a snowman you have/had built!'

The specific interpretation of the omitted perfect auxiliary in terms of its finite tense value (present vs. past) is determined with the help of contextual information (cf. Larsson 2009: 377), which might render the omission of HAVE marked in cases in which relevant inferences cannot be drawn from the context (cf. Malmgren 1985). In fact, proper main clauses like the ones in (31) do not allow for HAVE-omission (cf. Julien 2002: 68).

(31) a. Pelle *(har) skrivit en bok.
Pelle has write.SUP *a book*
'Pelle has written a book.'
b. Han *(hade) sett henne.
He had see.SUP *her*
'He had seen her.'

The requirement for the overt presence of HAVE in these contexts may be traced back to the V2-property of Swedish main clauses. In other words, HAVE-omission is only licit in case the perfect auxiliary does not move to C (cf. Platzack 1986; Larsson 2009: 377). V2 (i.e. V-to-C

[13] While it is readily available in both the written and the spoken language, omission is more frequent in the former (cf. Kjellmer 2003: 16; Andréasson et al. 2002: 68f.).
[14] Further instances may be found in main clauses with *kanske* ('maybe') in which the finite auxiliary does not undergo movement to C (cf. Larsson 2009: 377; see also Bentzen 2014, Andréassson 2002 and Egerland 1998).

movement) affects the target position of finite elements and thus, amongst other things, serves the function of specifying the tense of a main clause in a fixed position. We may therefore conclude that the proper spell-out of HAVE is required whenever it is primarily responsible for realising the finite tense specification of the independent clause in question. Given that this specification may contextually be derived from the temporal properties of a main clause in the case of an embedded clause, it follows naturally that HAVE-omission is regularly possible and that the tense specification of a bare supine clause is taken to be the same as the matrix clause (cf. Julien 2002: 76). Accordingly, the examples in (29) may be embedded under a present tense main clause, in which case a present perfect comes about (*har* 'has'), or a past tense main verb, in which case we get a past perfect reading (*hade* 'had') (cf. Julien 2002: 75f.). With respect to exclamatives like the one in (30), it is the specific force specification of the clause that takes the focus off of the temporal specification, which is why the potential absence of a main clause does not pose any problems.

Returning to implications for the assumed non-identity in Swedish, whether the possibility of HAVE-omission in embedded clauses hinges on the occurrence of substantially distinct supine forms is a highly controversial matter. In fact, Larsson (2009: 378) argues that "HAVE-omission should not be tied to the specific morphology of the supine form in Present-Day Swedish", although she acknowledges that the 'participial' form may generally be vital for the identification of the omitted item. The main motivation for dissociating the special behaviour from the special form is an apparent mismatch in the diachronic development of the two: while finite auxiliaries could already be omitted in the 15th century,[15] "the morphological distinction between supine and past participle was not fully established even in the 17th century" (Larsson 2009: 378). Dwelling on the diachronic dimension for a second, it is striking that Swedish shares with the identity languages in Germanic and Romance that there originally was only a single past participial form (cf. Haspelmath 2000: 663). However, upon the grammaticalisation of passive and perfect periphrases, only past participles in the former elicit the syntactic configuration in (7), thus exhibiting object-agreement. In contrast, due to the argument structural contribution of HAVE, past participles in HAVE-perfect contexts remain invariant (cf. Dammel 2012: 254f.). Accordingly, a shallow distinction arose in Swedish as well as in some other Scandinavian and Romance languages (e.g. Icelandic and French). In addition, Swedish was independently subject to a phonological alternation that was rooted in vowel balance, i.e. the use of *-i-* after short syllables and the use of *-e-* after long ones (cf. Larsson 2009: 423). Since short syllables were soon lost in favour of long ones rendering vowel balance obsolete, this phonological alternation was transposed into a morphologically conditioned one, which gave rise to the *-et* vs. *-it* distinction at the end of the 18th century (cf. Dammel 2012: 256; Platzack 1989: 316). This morphological distinction was then exploited grammatically in natural language's strive for making optimal use of its means, which led to the substantial emancipation of the supine element from the participial paradigm.

Given the timing of the historical development of the supine, it indeed appears to be unlikely that the possibility for HAVE-omission is directly related to (or an immediate consequence of) the availability of an independent form. However, if we extend our view to

[15] Note that Kjellmer (2003: 16) claims that HAVE-omission did not establish until the latter half of the 17th century and had become regular by the 18th century, which would take the edge off the present discussion, but demands the thorough scrutiny of historical corpora, something that is left to future research.

other Germanic languages, (finite) HAVE-omission seems to be a common phenomenon that increasingly disappears upon the proper grammaticalisation of a HAVE-perfect. In German, for instance, auxiliary omission of HAVE (as well as BE) was common between the 15th and 18th century (cf. Curme 1935; Kjellmer 2003: 15), but it is questionable whether the grammaticalisation of the periphrastic perfect was complete by that stage. The participial form might still have been autonomously associated with a large(r) set of resultative properties, which supposedly facilitated the omission of temporal auxiliaries in subordinate clauses. With respect to Swedish, HAVE-omission could already have been around upon the development of the supine, but – rather than the latter directly causing the former – the availability of a distinct supine simply kept HAVE-omission functional. This certainly demands further attention in future research, but for the time being what we may conclude is that there may well be some relation between the two phenomena, although it is not one along the lines of causation.

Thus taking the role of the supine for the availability of HAVE-less finite clauses seriously allows us to derive a clearer picture of their morphosyntactic properties, which in turn potentially bears implications for the nature of past participles as well. In fact, what is virtually undeniable based on its combinability with passive morphemes is that the Swedish supine is exempt from the passivising operation that was associated with the past participial morpheme in (8) above. Rather than inducing changes to a predicate's argument structure, supines may apparently autonomously license all of their arguments to the effect that a passive configuration may only be derived with the help of an independent passiviser. In other words, nothing challenges Platzack's (1989: 308) conclusion that supines are inherently active. From a theoretical point of view, this also bears consequences for the properties of the perfect auxiliary HAVE, which – according to (9) – may retrieve a semantic role marked for lexical binding by virtue of associating it with an argument that moves through its local domain. This contribution is superfluous in Swedish due to the fact that HAVE may only ever combine with an *active* supine in order to form the periphrastic perfect.[16] This automatically bars the competing derivation featuring HAVE and a past participle on the basis of economy considerations: introducing a past participle that elicits a semantic role marked for existential binding and to be retrieved by HAVE is undesirable in the wake of the more economical alternative of directly introducing an active participial form, the supine. Accordingly, the syntactic contribution of HAVE in Swedish may be reduced to its raising characteristics, which have to be attributed to perfect auxiliaries on independent grounds (e.g. based on unaccusative periphrases like *He has arrived*).

This leaves the question of whether the supine also contains a larger set of relevant properties for the denotation of a perfect interpretation. If we take the autonomous expression of the whole range of perfect readings in HAVE-less embedded clauses and the fact that there are generally no occurrences that do not denote a perfect seriously, this appears to hold true. In fact, Julien (2001, 2003), Larsson (2009: 69) and Klingvall (2011: 56) suggest that the supine differs from the past participle in terms of its contribution of 'non-finite past tense' semantics.[17] An analysis along these lines does not only account for HAVE-omission in a

[16] Note that, as we could briefly see above, things might be a bit different with (active) GET in this respect.
[17] See also Eide (2009a, 2009b) for justifications of dissociating tense from inflection.

straightforward fashion, but arguably also provides what is necessary to model HAVE-selection. Actually, we may simply assume that the semantically vacuous HAVE (let us call this HAVE$_{\emptyset}$) is always sensitive to the presence of this past tense specification in Swedish. The supine, on the other hand, features a temporal property that all other past participles lack. These participles may only compute an (im)perfective value based on their aspectual information, but are devoid of any 'past tense' properties. While the presence of a perfective value suffices to derive via implication that the participial event lies in the past (and thus allows for BE-selection in languages resorting to auxiliary alternation), this is bound to be made explicit for imperfective participles with the help of HAVE (which could then be referred to as HAVE$_{post}$). In a nutshell, then, HAVE$_{\emptyset}$ is sensitive to the presence of non-finite tense (which prevents HAVE$_{\emptyset}$ from selecting a past participle instead of a supine), whereas HAVE$_{post}$ is sensitive to some aspectual value contributed by the past participle.

This account properly grasps that the overt presence of HAVE is a vital necessity (recall the IPP and PPP) in identity languages, as it does not only realise the external argument but also contributes relevant properties for the manifestation of a perfect interpretation. In the exceptional case of Swedish, on the other hand, HAVE may be dispensed with, as the supine bears active properties as well as a 'non-finite past tense' specification in addition to the past participial aspectual properties. This, in turn, suggests that HAVE is devoid of any relevant contribution apart from taking up finiteness (cf. Heinat 2012: 106f.), a specification that may be dispensed with in cases of HAVE-omission, as discussed above. This crucially sets the perfect auxiliary in Swedish apart from its Germanic (and Romance) relatives and makes it highly similar to the semantically vacuous auxiliaries BE and WERDEN. There are two complicating factors, though, that should briefly be addressed in the remainder of the present section: the shallow similarity of many supines to past participles and the fact that it is almost impossible to adduce data in favour of the temporal contribution of the supine.

With respect to the observable morphological distinctions between supines and past participles, it should be pointed out that there is no difference in behaviour with respect to whether or not a given supine is shallowly different. Accordingly, even supines whose morphological exponent is identical to a past participle like *packat* ('packed'), *besökt* ('visited'), and *tappat* ('lost') readily form bare embedded clauses. In other words, the parser may not always unambiguously identify the form in question as a supine on the basis of its morphology, as shown in (32).

(32) a. eftersom han köpt bilen
after *he* *buy*.SUP *the.car*
'after he had bought the car'

b. lång tid efter att isen smält/ smultit
long time *after that* *the.ice* *melt*.SUP.WEAK/ *melt*.SUP.STRONG
'a long time after the ice has melted'

While the fact that an active supine rather than a passive (past) participle is involved may straightforwardly be derived from the presence of the external argument in (32a), this is not a sufficient cue in (32b). Depending on whether it is employed in its weak or strong variant, *smälta* ('melt') may give rise to a supine that is homophonous to the past participle (*smält*) or

a specific supine form (*smultit*), both of which may readily occur in HAVE-less embedded clauses – quite unlike the strong participial form *smulten*. The appearance of homophony does not pose any problems, though. This may generally have to do with the fact that a past participle simply cannot occur as the core of a proper embedded clauses without the presence of an overt auxiliary like *bliva* (WERDEN) or – in the case of an adjectival past participle – the copula *vara* (BE). Additionally, most occurrences are clearly disambiguated by the obligatory presence of agreement morphology on the past participial counterpart. Furthermore, grammatical distinctions do, of course, not always have to be mirrored in a distinct spell-out. This is not much of a surprise once we consider that past participles in English, for instance, only show morphological marking distinct from past tense forms with a subset of verbs (consider *loved* in participial as well as past tense uses, as opposed to the morphological distinction between *saw* and *seen*).

Another complicating factor that has repercussions for the assumption that the supine carries (non-finite) tense is that we cannot tell whether the perfect auxiliary is syntactically absent in the case of HAVE-omission. In other words, it is not clear, whether this poses a case of substantial omission or should rather just be analysed as a case of phonological deletion. While the principled permissibility of bare supines in Swedish embedded clauses suggests that there really is a fully-fledged grammatical basis to these and its correlation with substantially distinct perfect forms is striking, the pervasive optionality suggests that we are primarily dealing with a PF-phenomenon.[18] Nevertheless, it is doubtlessly clear that at least the argument structural contribution of HAVE is fully dispensable. This seems to support the assumption of the substantial absence of HAVE. This finds further support in the observation that the perfect auxiliary's temporal contribution is supposedly also superfluous. This would entail that HAVE may be dispensed with as *all* the relevant properties are signalled by its supine complement in case the perfect auxiliary does not overtly have to mark finiteness. However, it is quite difficult to adduce reliable data for the supine's temporal contribution. Klingvall (2011: 60) presents the data in (33) in an attempt to support the 'non-finite past tense' contribution of the supine as opposed to its absence on a past participle.

(33) a. På måndag kommer jag att ha skrivit boken.
on Monday will I to have write.SUP *the.book*.
'On Monday I will have written the book.'
b. På måndag kommer boken att bli skriven.
on Monday will the.book to become write.PTCP
'The book will be written on Monday.'

According to Klingvall (2011: 60), these examples differ in terms of whether a complex or a simple tense is involved, which she traces back to the supine's contribution of non-finite tense. This is supposed to lead to the perfect interpretation in (33a), whereas (33b) marks a simple case and lacks anteriority. This is anything but conclusive evidence, though, given that past participles transcend between an imperfective and a perfective interpretation based on the

[18] Note, though, that there is room for proper syntactic optionality in the context of multiple grammar theory (see, e.g., Amaral & Roeper 2014).

properties of the embedded predicate. Additionally, the examples are anything but telling, since the supine is accompanied by HAVE and there is thus no way to tell whether it is HAVE or the supine that contributes the perfect properties. Unfortunately, there apparently are no proper bare counterparts to the periphrastic occurrences of supines (recall that occurrences in the context of GET are also periphrases) – apart from contexts with HAVE-omission that is. Hence, we will have to do with what we have and may thus only hypothesise that the supine indeed has taken over 'non-finite past tense' or posteriority (of R with respect to E) properties,[19] which are associated with HAVE in the identity languages.

Let us briefly dwell on the categorial issues that just came to the fore. As we have seen, the supine may apparently only be found in core clausal distribution, i.e. as the main predicate of a fully-fledged clause. This provides a sharp contrast to the rich distributional flexibility of past participles. This stems from the verbal properties of supines and the associated lack of adjectival variability, which in turn allows their past participial counterparts to appear in various kinds of bare instantiations (adnominal, adverbial, predicational). In other words, apart from its inability to inflect for finite morphology, the supine does not show any categorial ambivalence whatsoever.[20] Thus, we may follow Dammel (2012: 255ff.) in concluding that the supine has properly emancipated out of the adjectival system, whereas the past participle may only be supplemented with verbal properties in the context of HAVE (EA-realisation, finiteness). These observations bear some interesting implications for the amount of functional structure that we may attribute to supines as opposed to participles. Based on their ability to take up passive morphology and their inability to occur in adjectival positions, we might want to conclude that supines syntactically introduce v and thus autonomously license an external argument. The only participial leftover demanding them to be accompanied by an auxiliary is their inability to inflect for finiteness. This may well have to do with the supposed presence of non-finite past tense morphology (i.e. the correspondent to the posteriority attributed to HAVE in identity languages). As the supine already comprises a tense value, it may not value any further *u*T properties, hence its inability to inflect (unlike a bare verbal form that may take up a value like [past] due to its inherent lack of a tense value). The characteristic properties of autonomously licensing v and bearing a non-finite tense value, then, suffice to clearly set the supine apart from the past participle in terms of its categorial properties. The past participle by contrast lacks the possibility to autonomously realise an EA (hence license v) and only bears a set of aspectual information (defective perfectivity), but crucially lacks a value for its non-finiteness. This reasoning provides support for the traditional assumption that the past participle's argument structural restrictions follow from its adjectival properties, although its verbal use may at least reintroduce an (implicit) cause (see, e.g., Abraham 2000).

Let us now take a broader perspective by considering how the observed non-identity of passive and perfect participles in Swedish fits into a general classification with the opposing poles of past participial identity and non-identity.

---

[19] As Larsson (2009: 69fn55) puts it: "past participles differ from perfect participles precisely by not asserting anteriority". Note, though, that this is claimed to hold not just for supines, but for 'perfect participles' in general.

[20] In addition to the verbal characteristic of forming synthetic passives and the incompatibility with adjectival distributions, the verbal nature of supines is supported by their reluctance to incorporate particles: *är hemkommen* (lit. is come.home.PTCP) vs. *har kommit hem* (lit. has come.SUP home) (cf. Larsson 2014a: 382).

4 The parameterisation of past participial (non-)identity

So far we have seen that the prototypical pattern in Germanic and Romance languages is the use of one and the same past participial form in passive as well as perfect constructions. Swedish forms an exceptional case in terms of developing a substantial distinction from an initial identity by having it piggyback on an independent phonological distinction. Nevertheless, Swedish does not entirely waive its identity heritage, as may be seen on the basis of the supine's selectional requirement to be introduced in the context of HAVE, i.e. it is still the case that distinct auxiliaries are employed in passive and perfect periphrases. There are, however, clear exponents of fully-fledged participial non-identity outside of the Germanic and Romance language families. To be precise, non-identity is the universal pattern with respect to languages that form the passive and/or perfect synthetically (cf. Ackema 1999: 87f.). Additionally, though, there are also prototypical cases of languages that express both functions periphrastically but still resort to distinct participles. This may for instance be seen in (South) Slavic languages like Bulgarian and Slovenian.

Bulgarian morphologically distinguishes the so-called *l*-participle used to form the analytic perfect from a designated passive participles formed with *-en*/*-t* (cf. Pancheva 2003: 296; Marvin 2003: 141fn1), as observable in Broekhuis & Migdalski's (2003: 2f.) examples in (34).

(34) a. Paulina e pročela knigata
Paulina be read.PRF.PTCP.AGR.F.SG *the.book*
'Pauline has read the book.'
b. Knigata e pročetana ot Ivan.
the.book be read.PASS.PTCP.AGR *by Ivan*
'The book is read by Ivan.'

Given that Bulgarian is an aspectual language and hence overtly marks (im)perfectivity, it follows naturally that it resorts to distinct aspectual specifications in order to distinguish the major perfect uses. In fact, the perfect-forming *l*-participle may carry perfective (*obiknala*, lit. love.PFV.PTCP), imperfective (*običala*, lit. love.IPFV.PTCP) or neutral (*pila*, lit. drink.NEUT.PTCP) morphology (cf. Iatridou et al. 2001: 208ff.). The passive participle (*-en*/*-t*), on the other hand, only combines with imperfective morphology.[21] In contrast to employing such aspectual markers overtly indicating whether or not the situation has ceased, Germanic and Romance – as non-aspectual languages – arguably only bear covert aspectual information as part of the participial morpheme. The precise value that is elicited crucially is dependent on the event structure of the underlying predicate, as discussed in section 2.

Reminiscent of the situation in Swedish, the substantial non-identity of participial forms in Bulgarian leads to a large degree of flexibility with respect to bare instantiations. As pointed out by Iatridou et al. (2001: 218f.), bare uses of the *l*-participle are able to express a fully-fledged active perfect. This marks a crucial contrast to English (and other identity

[21] Additionally, what is striking is that these cases overtly mark participial subject-agreement regardless of whether the argument that fulfils this function is an internal or an external argument (cf. Spencer 2001: 291).

languages), where bare occurrences are bound to be object-oriented. Thus the contrast in the examples in (35), taken from Iatridou et al. (2001: 218), emerges.

(35) a. Zapoznah se sûs ženata pročela knigata.
met REFL *with the.woman read*.PRF.PTCP.F.SG *the.book*
'I met the woman who has read the book.'
b. I saw the boy *(who has) eaten the fish.

Apart from the subject-orientation in Bulgarian, what is striking is that these bare cases may denote all of the perfect variants that full clauses do (cf. Marvin 2003: 146f.), just like instances of HAVE-omission in Swedish. In identity languages, on the other hand, whether a resultative reading comes about in bare cases is dependent on the contextual embedding and the presence of adverbial modification (consider the imperfectivity of *the fish currently eaten by Bill*).

Intricately related to the substantial non-identity of passive and perfect participles in Slavic languages (apart from Bulgarian and Slovenian, these are Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian) is that they resort to one and the same auxiliary, namely the counterpart to semantically vacuous BE. This fits in neatly with the observation that all of the identity languages are bound to incorporate a substantial distinction on the basis of the auxiliary, as it cannot be made on the basis of the participle. In the non-identity languages, this picture is reversed, i.e. only a single auxiliary, namely one that is semantically vacuous, may be introduced. Thus, based on the small set of languages considered so far, a prediction with respect to parametric variation may be formulated, as in (36).

(36) The parameterisation of past participial (non-)identity
In languages resorting to participial periphrases for the perfect and the passive, a distinction has to be encoded on distinct participial forms or on distinct auxiliaries, but not both.

If we extend our attention to some further Slavic languages, this prediction indeed appears to be borne out. As a matter of fact, some exponents in the Slavic paradigm show the grammaticalisation of a HAVE-perfect. According to (36), the prediction now is that these cases should lose their morphological distinction once substantially different auxiliaries serve to convey the difference between a passive and a perfect interpretation. This holds true in Macedonian and Kashubian, where the morphological distinction between passive and perfect participles increasingly – yet to different degrees – collapses (cf. Migdalski 2006: 132). This may be seen in the Kashubian examples in (37) and the Macedonian ones in (38), adapted from Stone (2002: 777) and Migdalski (2006: 130f.).

(37) a. To dziecko je bité.
this child is beat.PTCP.AGR
'This child is (being) beaten.'

b. Jô móm tą białkã bité.
I have this woman beat.PTCP
'I have beaten this woman.'

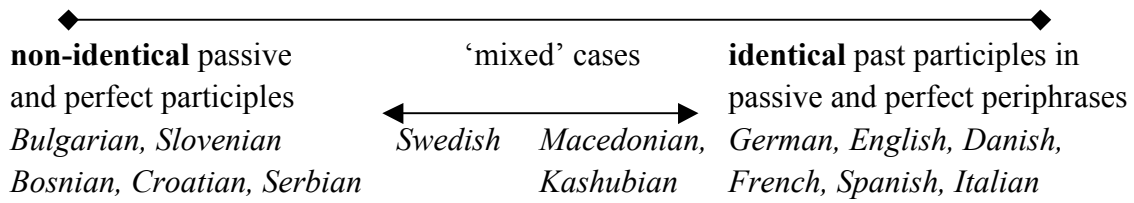
(38) a. Novata košula mu e skinata.
new shirt him be tear.PTCP.AGR
'His/her new shirt is torn.'

b. Ja imam skinato mojata nova košula.
Her have tear.PTCP *my.the new shirt*
'I have torn my new shirt.'

Kashubian employs a properly grammaticalised HAVE-perfect and even exhibits auxiliary alteration with the auxiliaries *bëc* ('be'), which is used to form the perfect with unaccusatives, and *miec* ('have'), which occurs with unergative and transitive predicates (cf. Migdalski 2006: 130). While the cases in (37) both employ the past participle (formed with *-en*/*-t*), it is additionally possible – without any semantic effect – to resort to the *l*-participle in passive and perfect periphrases (cf. Migdalski 2006: 131f.). Macedonian, on the other hand, is still in the process of grammaticalising its HAVE-perfect (cf. Graves 2000: 481ff.) and does not appear to develop an auxiliary alternation but rather becomes a HAVE-only language (cf. Migdalski 2006: 134). With respect to past participial identity, one and the same past participle may be employed in the context of *ima* ('have') and *sum* ('be') (cf. Migdalski 2006: 133ff.). This is observable in (38), adapted from Migdalski (2006: 136), which also shows that agreement distinctions similar to those of North Germanic and Romance arise. Somewhat reminiscent of the full interchangeability of Kashubian, it is however still possible to form a BE-perfect, in which case the interchangeability of the participial form is considerably restricted (cf. Graves 2000: 480ff., 493).

Eventually, this brief extension to cases of proper cases of distinct passive and perfect participles allows us to sketch a typological overview of the parameterisation of past participial (non-)identity. While the two opposing poles are formed by substantial identity (in Germanic and Romance) and proper non-identity (in Slavic), there are some more or less 'mixed' cases in-between.

(39) The parameterisation of past participial (non-)identity



While the constituency of the two opposing poles is quite straightforward, the situation is more diverse with respect to the exponents categorised here as 'mixed'. Although this term is somewhat problematic given that (non-)identity is a binary (rather than a gradual) opposition, we could see that the identity as opposed to non-identity has certain effects on the overall grammatical system. This renders the properties of a given language opaque and displaces it from the prototypical nature of one or the other extreme. In the case of Macedonian and

Kashubian, this is the case as the morphological distinction has not fully been dropped, although it is already in a stage in which it typically does not have any grammatical consequences anymore. In Swedish, on the other hand, a proper distinction has evolved, but the distinct auxiliary HAVE is still functional, although it has arguably been deprived of its substantial grammatical contribution.

5 Conclusion

The present paper has shown that there is parametric variation in the compositional distribution of passive and perfect properties in participial periphrases. In fact, while the Slavic language family exhibits substantially distinct passive and perfect participles in the context of a single auxiliary (BE), Germanic and Romance employ a single past participle but encode distinctions on the basis of resorting to distinct auxiliaries (HAVE and BE for the perfect, WERDEN and BE for the passive). Rather than bearing only one or the other properties, the past participle amalgamates argument structural (passive) and aspectual (event-structure dependent perfectivity) properties, which are crucially affected by the contribution of HAVE (EA-licensing and posteriority).

The cross-linguistic picture is more diverse than merely consisting of two opposed poles, though. Upon grammaticalising a proper HAVE-perfect, the Slavic languages Macedonian and Kashubian have increasingly lost their substantial distinction to the effect that the different participles are more or less interchangeable. While the Slavic cases certainly deserve more attention in future research, we have focussed on the odd man out in Germanic. Swedish differs from other Germanic and Romance languages by virtue of employing a morphologically distinct perfect participle, whose properties substantially differ from those of past participles. This shows in two respects. First, the supine clearly does not affect the argument structure of the predicate it is based on and hence remains active, as observable on the basis of its combinability with passive morphology. Second, the supine supposedly also features a non-finite temporal contribution, supposedly roughly corresponding to the posteriority that is conveyed by HAVE in identity languages. While it is difficult to gather data for the latter assumption, which renders the latter contribution somewhat shaky, the fact that only Swedish may regularly omit (finite) HAVE in cases in which a finiteness specification may be derived from the clausal context could be telling. HAVE-omission may well be out in other Germanic and Romance languages in these cases due to the relevant contribution of the perfect auxiliary, which is redundant in Swedish. What is clear, then, is that Swedish has effectively become a non-identity language, although HAVE remains as a (semantically vacuous) remnant of the former identity of passive and perfect participial forms.

While this already provides an interesting picture, many questions remain to be answered with respect to past participial non-identity in Germanic. Most pressing here is whether there are additional instances of substantially distinct perfect participles. Certain dialects of Norwegian, for instance, apparently also exhibit morphologically distinct perfect participles (cf. Larsson 2014a: 382). What immediately suggests that these are not substantially distinct, though, is that they are quite unlike their Swedish counterparts in terms of barring the formation of synthetic passives and do not allow for HAVE-omission in finite embedded clauses. Apart from these special cases, there are further instances of the principled

omission of HAVE in Germanic that have not been discussed in the present paper, namely counterfactual configurations in which the auxiliary is expected to occur as the complement of a past tense modal, contrary to fact (see Taraldsen 1984; Julien 2002; Larsson 2014c). This possibility might have to do with the fact that counterfactual cases convey a situation that does not apply and did not do so anytime in the past (cf. Julien 2002: 68; see also Iatridou 2000), i.e. a proper perfect interpretation may supposedly be neglected. Additionally, the PPI-configurations briefly mentioned in chapter 2 deserve closer scrutiny in the light of past participial non-identity in Swedish, which exhibits the so-called *dubbelsupinum* 'double supine' (or 'Supinum pro Infinitivo', SPI) (cf. Larsson 2014d; Julien 2003).[22]

Apart from these future ventures, the parameterisation of past participial (non-)identity that came forth in the present paper clearly underlines that economy plays an important role in the organisation of grammar. In fact, there appears to be universal tendency to either reduce redundant morphological marking or associate proper grammatical distinctions with it. Hence, those languages that do encode a grammatical distinction on the auxiliate do not superfluously encode distinctions by means of resorting to different auxiliaries, whereas those that do not are bound to use different auxiliaries. In case the grammatical system is altered in such a way that a distinction is incorporated into an ingredient that did not encode one before (on the auxiliary in Macedonian and Kashubian, on the one hand, and on the participle in Swedish, on the other), the system makes up for this by increasingly dropping the other distinction. This, however, may be a time-consuming process, as documented by the possibility to use both participial forms without any semantic effects in Macedonian and Kashubian and the survival of a semantically reduced version of HAVE in Swedish.

[22] A potential way to account for these without faultily claiming that perfect meaning is expressed twice might be found in the claim that the presence of HAVE indicates a proper perfect interpretation only for the topmost supine, as it only governs this one and the second instance is just a result of imposing verb cluster harmony. Particularly interesting, then, is whether there are dialects in which HAVE-omission intersects with the formation of an SPI.

References

Abraham, Werner. 2000. Das Perfektpartizip: seine angebliche Passivbedeutung im Deutschen. *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik*, vol. 28, 141–166.

Ackema, Peter & Marelj, Marijana. 2012. To have the empty theta-role. In: M. Everaert, M. Marelj & T. Siloni (eds.), *The Theta System – Argument Structure at the Interface*, 227–250. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ackema, Peter. 1999. *Issues in Morphosyntax*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Åfarli, Tor. 2009. Passive and participle agreement in Norwegian dialects. *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik*, vol. 49, 167–181.

Amaral, Luiz & Roeper, Tom. 2014. Multiple grammars and second language representation. *Second Language Research*, vol. 30, 3–36.

Andréasson, Maia, Karlsson, Susanna, Magnusson, Erik & Tingsell, Sofia. 2002. *Har/hade*-bortfall. Hur finit är ett naket supinum? In: B. Melander, U. Melander Marttala, C. Nyström, M. Thelander & C. Östman (eds.), *Svenskans beskrivning 26. Förhandlingar vid Tjugosjätte sammankomsten för svenskans beskrivning. Uppsala den 25–26 oktober 2002*, 67–74. Uppsala: Hallgren & Fallgren.

Andréasson, Maia. 2002. *Kanske – en vilde i satsanalysschemat*. (Meddelanden från Institutionen för svenska språket 41.) Gothenburg: Institutionen för svenska språket, Gothenburg University.

Aronoff, Mark. 1994. *Morphology by Itself*: *Stems and Inflectional Classes*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Askedal, John Ole. 1995. Geographical and Typological Description of Verbal Constructions in Modern Germanic Languages. In: J. O. Askedal & H. Bjorvand (eds.), *Drei Studien zum Germanischen in alter und neuer Zeit*, 95–146. Odense: Odense University Press.

Ballweg, Joachim. 1988. *Die Semantik der deutschen Tempusformen*: *Eine indirekte Analyse im Rahmen einer temporal erweiterten Aussagelogik*. Düsseldorf: Schwann.

Belitschenko, Iwan. 1980. Zu Besonderheiten der temporalen Bedeutungen der Partizipien im Deutschen im Vergleich zu den Temporalbedeutungen der finiten Verbalformen. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Ges. – Sprachw. Reihe*, vol. 29, 375–378.

Belletti, Adriana. 2006. (Past) Participle Agreement. In: M. Everaert & H. C. van Riemsdijk (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, 493–521. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Bentzen, Kristine. 2014. Verb placement in clauses with initial adverbial 'maybe'. *Nordic Atlas of Language Structures* (NALS), vol. 1, 225–239.

Bierwisch, Manfred. 1990. Verb-cluster formation as a morphological process. In: G. E. Booij & J. van Marle (eds.), *Yearbook of Morphology 1990*, 173–199. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Bjorkman, Bronwyn M. 2011. *BE-ing default*: *the morphosyntax of auxiliaries*. PhD dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.

Breul, Carsten & Wegner, Dennis. 2017. German and English past participles in perfect and passive contexts: an identity view. *Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. 42, 1–58.

Breul, Carsten. 2014. The perfect participle paradox: some implications for the architecture of grammar. *English Language and Linguistics*, vol. 18, 449–470.

Broekhuis, Hans & Migdalski, Krzysztof. 2003. Participle fronting in Bulgarian as XP-movement. In: L. Cornips & P. Fikkert (eds.), *Linguistics in the Netherlands 2003*, 1–12. Nijmegen: Meertens Institute / University of Nijmegen.

Christensen, Kirsti K. & Taraldsen, Knut T. 1989. Expletive Chain Formation and Past Participle Agreement in Scandinavian Dialects. In: P. Benincà (ed.), *Dialect Variation and the Theory of Grammar*, 53–83. Dordrecht: Foris.

Cowper, Elizabeth. 1989. Perfective [-en] IS Passive [-en]. In: E. J. Fee & K. Hunt (eds.), *Proceedings of the Eighth West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, 85–93. Stanford, CA: Stanford Linguistics Association by the Center for the Study of Language and Information, Ventura Hall, Stanford University.

Curme, George O. 1935. *A Grammar of the English language, vol. 1: Parts of Speech*. Boston: Heath.

D'Alessandro, Roberta & Roberts, Ian. 2008. Movement and agreement in Italian past participles and defective phases. *Linguistic Inquiry*, vol. 39, 477–491.

Dammel, Antje. 2012. Partizipien II zwischen Flektiertheit und Unflektiertheit: Deutsch, Afrikaans, Schwedisch und oberdeutsche Sprachdialekte im Sprachkontrast. In: B. Rothstein (ed.), *Nicht-flektierende Wortarten*, 247–274. Berlin: de Gruyter.

den Dikken, Marcel & Hoekstra, Eric. 1997. Parasitic Participles. *Linguistics*, vol. 35, 1057–1089.

Drijkoningen, Frank. 1989. *The Syntax of Verbal Affixation*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Egerland, Verner 1998. On verb-second violations in Swedish and the hierarchical ordering of adverbs. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, vol. 61, 1–22.

Eide, Kristin Melum. 2009a. Finiteness: the haves and the have-nots. In: A. Alexiadou, J. Hankamer, T. McFadden, J. Nuger & F. Schäfer (eds.), *Advances in Comparative Germanic Syntax*, 357–390. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Eide, Kristin Melum. 2009b. Tense, finiteness and the survive principle: Temporal chains in a crash-proof grammar. In: M. T. Putnam (ed.), *Towards a Derivational Syntax: Survive-minimalism*, 91–132. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Emonds, Joseph. 1976. *A Transformational Approach to English Syntax*. New York: Academic Press.

Franco, Jon. 1994. On the absence of Spanish past participial object clitic agreement: the AGRo parameter in Romance. *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca 'Julio de Urquijo' Donostia-San Sebastián*, vol. 28, 247–262.

Giorgi, Alessandra & Pianesi, Fabio. 1997. *Tense and Aspect*: *From Semantics to Morphosyntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Graves, Nina. 2000. Macedonian – a language with three perfects? In: Ö. Dahl (ed.). *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe*, 479–493. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Grewendorf, Günther. 1995. Präsens und Perfekt im Deutschen. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. 14, 72–90.

Haider, Hubert. 2010. *The Syntax of German*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2000. Periphrasis. In: G. E. Booij, C. Lehmann & J. Mugdan (eds.), *Morphology: An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation* (HSK 17.1), 654–664. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Heinat, Fredrik. 2012. Finiteness in Swedish. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, vol. 90, 81–110.

Hinterhölzl, Roland. 1998. The syntax of IPP-constructions and the structure of the lower middlefield in Westgermanic. *UPenn Working Papers in Linguistics*, vol. 5, 59–70.

Iatridou, Sabine, Anagnostopoulou, Elena & Izvorski, Roumyana. 2001. Observations about the form and meaning of the perfect. In: K. L. Hale & M. J. Kenstowicz (eds.), *Ken Hale*: *A Life in Language*, 189–238. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Iatridou, Sabine. 2000. The grammatical ingredients of counterfactuality. *Linguistic Inquiry*, vol. 31, 231–270.

Julien, Marit. 2001. The syntax of complex tenses. *The Linguistic Review*, vol. 18, 125–167.

Julien, Marit. 2002. Optional *ha* in Swedish and Norwegian. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics*, vol. 5, 67–95.

Julien, Marit. 2003. Dobbelsupinum og irreal modus. *Norsk lingvistisk tidsskrift*, vol. 21, 135–161.

Kayne, Richard. 1989. Facets of Romance past participle agreement. In: P. Beninca (ed.), *Dialect Variation and the Theory of Grammar*, 85–103. Dordrecht: Foris.

Kjellmer, Göran. 2003. On nonoccurring perfective *have* in Modern English. *Studia Neophilologica*, vol. 75, 11–20.

Klein, Wolfgang. 1999. Wie sich das deutsche Perfekt zusammensetzt. *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik*, vol. 113, 52–85.

Klingvall, Eva. 2011. On past participles and their external arguments. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, vol. 87, 53–80.

Larsson, Ida. 2009. *Participles in time*: *the development of the perfect tense in Swedish*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg.

Larsson, Ida. 2012. Inte helt passiv: Konstruktion med *få* + particip i tal och skrift. *Språk & Stil*, vol. 22, 27–61.

Larsson, Ida. 2014a. HAVE and BE + participle of an unaccusative verb. *Nordic Atlas of Language Structures (NALS)*, vol. 1, 381–395.

Larsson, Ida. 2014b. GET and HAVE + past participle or supine. *Nordic Atlas of Language Structures (NALS)*, vol. 1, 165–181.

Larsson, Ida. 2014c. Conditional clauses and the shape of HAVE. *Nordic Atlas of Language Structures (NALS)*, vol. 1, 287–299.

Larsson, Ida. 2014d. Double supine. *Nordic Atlas of Language Structures (NALS)*, vol. 1, 300–306.

Łęcki, Andrzej M. 2010. *Grammaticalisation paths of* Have *in English*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.

Ljunggren, Ragnar 1934. *Supinum och dubbelsupinum*: *Syntaktiska studier*. Uppsala: Uppsala universitets årsskrift.

Lødrup, Helge. 1996. The theory of complex predicates and the Norwegian verb *få* 'get'. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, vol. 57, 76–91.

Lübbe, Anja & Rapp, Irene. 2011. Aspekt, Temporalität und Argumentstruktur bei attributiven Partizipien des Deutschen. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. 30, 259–299.

Malmgren, Sven-Göran. 1985. Om utelämning av hjälpverbet *ha* i förbindelse med supinum. In: S. Allén, L.-G. Andersson, J. Lofstrom, K. Nordenstam & B. Ralph (eds.), *Svenskans beskrivning* 15, 347–358. Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg.

Marvin, Tatjana. 2003. Past participles in reduced relatives: a cross-linguistic perspective. *Linguistica*, vol. 43, 141–160.

Migdalski, Krzysztof. 2006. *The Syntax of Compound Tenses in Slavic.* Tilburg: University of Tilburg.

Musan, Renate. 1998. The core semantics of the perfect. *ZAS papers in linguistics*, vol. 10, 113–145.

Oku, Satoshi. 1996. Perfective Participle Paradox in English VP-Fronting. In: A. Dubach Green & V. Motapanyane (eds.), *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Eastern States Conference on Linguistics '96 (ESCOL)*, 282–293. Ithaca: Cornell University.

Pancheva, Roumyana. 2003. The aspectual makeup of Perfect participles and the interpretations of the Perfect. In: A. Alexiadou, M. Rathert & A. von Stechow (eds.), *Perfect Explorations*, 277–306. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Platzack, Christer 1986. Comp, Infl, and Germanic Word Order. In: L. Hellan & K. Koch Christensen (eds.), *Topics in Scandinavian Syntax*, 185–234. Dordrecht: D. Reidel.

Platzack, Christer. 1989. The Swedish Supine: An Active Verb Form or the Non-agreeing Form of the Past Participle? In: D. Jaspers, W. Klooster, Y. Putseys & P. Seuren (eds.), *Sentential Complementation and the Lexicon*: *Studies in Honour of Wim de Geest*, 305–319. Dordrecht: Foris.

Rapp, Irene & von Stechow, Arnim. 2015. The temporal orientation of prenominal past participles in German. In: C. Fortmann, A. Lübbe & I. Rapp (eds.), *Situationsargumente im Nominalbereich*, 289–312. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Remberger, Eva-Maria. 2006. *Hilfsverben*: *Eine minimalistische Analyse am Beispiel des Italienischen und Sardischen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Roberts, Ian G. 1984. Verbal case and auxiliary selection with participles. *Wiener linguistische Gazette* (Supplement 3), 216–220.

Rothstein, Susan. 2001. *Predicates and their Subjects*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Rowlett, Paul. 2007. *The Syntax of French*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ruys, Eddy. 2010. Expletive selection and CP arguments in Dutch. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics*, vol. 13, 141–178.

Savova, Milena. 1989. On the invariant meaning of English past participles. *Philologia*, vol. 21–22, 68–77.

Schäfer, Florian. 2013. Passives of reflexive verbs: the repair of a Principle A violation. In: P. Brandt & E. Fuß (eds.), *Repairs – The Added Value of Being Wrong*, 335–364. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Schmid, Tanja. 2002. *West Germanic IPP-Constructions*: *An Optimality Theoretic Approach.* Stuttgart: University of Stuttgart.

Spencer, Andrew. 2001. The paradigm-based model of morphosyntax. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, vol. 99, 279–313.

Språkbanken – the Swedish Language Bank. Accessed throughout 2016 via KORP from <https://spraakbanken.gu.se/korp/>.

Stone, Gerald. 2002. Cassubian. In: B. Comrie & G. G. Corbett (eds.), *The Slavonic Languages*, 759–794. London: Routledge.

Taraldsen, Knut Tarald. 1984. Some phrase structure dependent differences between Swedish and Norwegian. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, vol. 9, 1–45.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 2007. *The Syntax of Icelandic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Toman, Jindřich. 1986. A (word-) syntax for participles. *Linguistische Berichte*, vol. 105, 367–408.

Urushibara, Saeko. 1997. Facets of the English past participle. In: M. Ukaji, T. Nakao, M. Kajita & S. Chiba (eds.), *English Linguistics*: *A Festschrift for Akira Ota on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday*, 130–146. Tokyo: Taishukan.

Vanden Wyngaerd, Guido. 1996. Participles and Bare Argument Structure. In: W. Abraham, S. D. Epstein, H. Thráinsson & C. J.-W. Zwart (eds.), *Minimal Ideas*, 283–304. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Weber, Heinrich. 2002. Partizipien als Partizipien, Verben und Adjektive: Über Kontinuität und Fortschritt in der Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft. In: A. Murguía (ed.), *Sprache und Welt*: *Festgabe für Eugenio Coseriu zum 80. Geburtstag*, 191–214. Tübingen: G. Narr.

Wegner, Dennis. 2017. The identity of past participles in passive and perfect constructions. Doctoral dissertation, University of Wuppertal, Wuppertal.

Wegner, Dennis. submitted. Timely recovery: exceptional Aux-V order and the recoverability of temporal information. Manuscript, University of Wuppertal, Wuppertal.

Wiklund, Anna-Lena. 2001. Dressing up for vocabulary insertion: the parasitic supine. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, vol. 19, 199–228.

Wurmbrand, Susi. 2005/to appear. Verb clusters, verb raising, and restructuring. In: M. Everaert & H. van Riemsdijk (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax* (2nd edn.). Oxford: Blackwell.

Wurmbrand, Susi. 2012. Parasitic participles in Germanic: evidence for the theory of verb clusters. *Taal & Tongval*, vol. 64, 129–156.

Zagona, Karen. 1991. Perfective *Haber* and the theory of tenses. In: H. Campos & F. Martínez-Gil (eds.), *Studies in Spanish Linguistics*, 379–403. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Zeller, Jochen. 1994. *Die Syntax des Tempus*: *zur strukturellen Repräsentation temporaler Ausdrücke*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Dennis Wegner
University of Wuppertal
English and American Studies
Gaußstraße 20
421 19 Wuppertal, Germany
dwegner@uni-wuppertal.de

Grimm's "floating" datives: Applicatives and NP/DP configurationality in Icelandic from a diachronic perspective

Heimir van der Feest Viðarsson
University of Iceland

'Free' dative benefactives, elements that do not clearly belong to the obligatory argument structure of the verb, have long been considered elusive by linguists, referred to by Grimm (1837), for instance, as datives *floating in-between*. Applicative Theory (e.g. Pylkkänen 2008, Marantz 2013) has made this notion more precise by identifying certain cross-linguistically attested readings with specific structural positions, High vs. Low. In this paper I attempt to combine this theory in the context of diachronic change in Icelandic with recent discussion about NP/DP configurationality and the absorption of benefactives and external dative possessors into the nominal domain (Van de Velde 2010, Van de Velde & Lamiroy 2017). It is shown that Old Norse allowed a wide range of dative benefactives and that High and Low structural positions of applicatives could both be filled simultaneously by a dative. Both these positions typically require prepositional marking in Modern Icelandic. Since Icelandic thus lost 'free' dative benefactives while retaining its morphological case system, deflection arguably cannot be invoked as an explanation. Based on the approach of Van de Velde & Lamiroy (2017) and data obtained mainly from the IcePaHC and MÍM corpus of Icelandic, it is argued that the rise of obligatory determiners in the history of Icelandic may at least go some way towards accounting for these (and perhaps other) changes.

1 Introduction

The means by which affectedness is marked cross-linguistically varies considerably (see e.g. Radetzky & Smith 2010, Zúñiga & Kittilä 2010).[1] The major ways of denoting benefactive or malefactive relations within Germanic are by case-marking and/or by adpositions. Other means attested cross-linguistically are, e.g., serial verb constructions and applicativisation (cf. Zúñiga & Kittilä 2010: 7-10). From a generative perspective, it could be suggested that these strategies are not fundamentally different but rather varying outcomes depending on where and how an Appl(icative) head, denoting affected (or 'applied') readings, is spelled out (see Marantz 1993, 2013, Pylkkänen 2008, Wood 2013, Wood & Sigurðsson 2014). In this paper I provide an account of the functional projection ApplP across time in Icelandic. The availability of bare dative applicatives has undergone drastic changes since Old Norse (including but not limited to Old Icelandic), an observation that has received little attention in the literature on historical developments in Icelandic. It will be argued that non-thematic or 'free' datives, present in Old Norse as exemplified in (1) below, were lost in the history of Icelandic:

1 Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the *25th Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics* at a workshop on *Morphosyntactic Variation and Change in Germanic* in Reykjavík 13-15 May 2013, the *16th Diachronic Generative Syntax Conference at the* Research Institute for Linguistics – Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest on 3 July 2014, *29. Rask-ráðstefnan um íslenskt mál og almenna málfræði* in Reykjavík on 31 January 2015 and the *39th Penn Linguistics Conference* at the University of Pennsylania on 22 March 2015. I would like thank the organisers and audiences for valuable questions and comments on parts of this paper. Furthermore, I thank the University of Amsterdam, the ACLC and the Meertens Institute in the Netherlands for their support in an earlier project (2010-2012), allowing me to carry out important foundational work relating to the syntax of the dative as well as the corpus study on ditransitives, briefly reported on in Section 5. The usual disclaimers apply.

(1) a. þaa kleyiaði **honum** hinn minnzti fingr aa hinni hægri hendi framanverðr
then itched him.$_D$ the.$_N$ smallest finger on the right hand anterior
'Then the front of his right hand little finger itched.' (MAR 153)

b. allt bitu **honum** annan veg vápnin
allt bit him.$_D$ different way weapons-the.$_N$
'The weapons bit completely differently for him (=his weapons)' (EG 31)

In present-day Icelandic, the bare datives in these constructions have all been replaced by a different strategy, such as by (oblique subject) experiencer constructions, prepositional phrases and possessive pronouns. The same essentially carries over to dative benefactives in double object constructions, which have a limited distribution in Modern Icelandic (cf. also Holmberg & Platzack 1995, Maling 2003, Viðarsson [to appear]). Based on proposals recently advanced in the literature, I will argue that the observed changes from Old Norse to present-day Icelandic can be understood in terms of increasing NP/DP configurationality (cf. also Lander & Haegeman 2014, Van de Velde & Lamiroy 2017). In a nutshell, the proposal involves the grammaticalisation of determiners giving rise to tighter structures, whereby clause-level elements such as various kinds of non-thematic or 'free' datives get absorbed into the nominal domain (cf. Van de Velde & Lamiroy 2017). This particular process will be treated here as an instance of the Head Preference Principle (van Gelderen 2009).

The rise of a fully grammaticalised D head from a phrasal modifier led to tighter, more configurational and hierarchical structures in the extended NP projection. As a result, a number of displacement processes were lost, including Left Branch Extraction of nominal modifiers (see e.g. Platzack 2008, Lander & Haegeman 2014) and datives denoting possession both internal and external to PPs (see Skard 1952, Bjarnadóttir 2011). These changes led to an overall increasingly rigid word order along the lines argued for by Bošković (2009, 2012) cross-linguistically and Ledgeway (2012) for the development from Latin to the modern Romance languages. Interestingly, the loss of these phenomena in Icelandic occurred in the absence of any relevant morphological deflection in the nominal domain and must, therefore, be due to other factors.

The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 provides a theoretical background to dative applicatives where it will be emphasised that 'free' datives involve affectedness rather than possession, the latter arising from the context or by properties of the verb or the argument. In section 3 Old Norse and Modern Icelandic applicatives are contrasted, indicating that fundamental changes have occurred in the licensing of overtly marked morphological datives, especially those associated with high (=eventive) readings. Section 4 outlines a possible account of the changes observed based on increasing configurationality in the NP/DP domain. Both quantitative and qualitative evidence obtained from the Icelandic Parsed Historical Corpus (Wallenberg et al. 2011) will be used to argue that Icelandic has been moving from an emergent article or 'hypodetermining' system with a flexible word order towards a rigid system with a full-fledge definite article. Section 5 briefly considers a possible extension of this account to diachronic word order variation in canonical ditransitive constructions. The paper concludes with a brief summary.

2 Theoretical background

There is no general consensus in the literature as to how datives as in (1) above are to be analysed. These datives are usually considered to be benefactives (or malefactives), but scholars have also

assumed that they are experiencers or that they denote possession (see discussion below). Zúñiga & Kattilä (2010) point out that the definition is often circular, as the role or function of a benefactive is defined in terms of whether or not an action or a situation is to the benefit of a participant.[2] Grimm (1837) already observed that certain datives, which may or may not be directly associated with specific verbs, are notoriously difficult to analyse, appearing to hover somewhere in-between:

(2) "Solcher dative, die zwischen dem von verbum abhängigen casus in der mitte schweben, gibt es in der alten und neuen sprache eine menge, und der verschiedensten abstufung." (Grimm 1837: 705).

From a typological perspective, the formal realisation of beneficiaries varies both across and within languages, the major mechanisms being (i) case-marking, (ii) adpositions, (iii) serial verb constructions and (iv) applicativisation (Zúñiga & Kattilä 2010: 7-10). Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 383) do not recognise the benefactive as a thematic relation, as it is not "part of a verb's logical structure." The benefactive sense is then either due to prepositions, e.g. for in English, or applied verb forms, e.g. in Chichewa (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 384). These authors distinguish at least three types of beneficiaries: (i) recipient beneficiaries, (ii) 'plain' beneficiaries and (iii) deputative/substitutive beneficiaries, as exemplified in (3) (based on Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 383-384):

(3) a. Robin baked **Sandy** a cake (recipient beneficiary)
b. Robin baked a cake **for Sandy** (plain beneficiary)
'[i.e. to show her she could do it, to amuse her, etc.]'
c. Robin baked a cake **for Sandy** (deputative beneficiary)
'[i.e. so that she wouldn't have to]'

Languages may also vary with respect to the nature of beneficiary markers. Whereas some languages allow beneficiaries to mark only a specific type, others may employ more general beneficiary markers, e.g. benefactive vs. malefactive; plain benefactive, deputative-benefactive and/or benefactive-recipient (see e.g. Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, Zúñiga & Kattilä 2010, Colleman 2010).

In generative syntax, a unified theory of introducing arguments into the syntactic structure has been proposed under the heading of Applicative Theory (see e.g. Marantz 1993, 2013, Pylkkänen 2008, Wood 2013, Wood & Ármann Sigurðsson 2014, and many others). Arguments project into Appl(icative) phrases and are associated with an 'applied' (or affected) meaning, which depends mainly on the structural position of the Appl head. Syntactically these heads come in two guises, High and Low. High applicatives are typically elements negatively or positively affected by the action denoted by the verb, whereas low applicatives are in a relation with other arguments, often being possessors or recipients, e.g. of the theme in the traditional double object construction (cf. Pylkkänen 2008):

2 They propose the following working definition:

(i) "The beneficiary is a participant that is advantageously affected by an event without being its obligatory participant (either agent or primary target, i.e. patient). Since normally only animate participants are capable of making use of the benefit bestowed upon them, beneficiaries are typically animate." (Zúñiga & Kattilä 2010:2)

(4) a. High applicatives denote a relation between an event and an individual.
b. Low applicatives denote a relation between two individuals.

Although two main configurations are usually distinguished depending on whether Appl relates an argument to an event or relates two arguments, more combinations are available (cf. Marantz 2013, Wood 2013):

(5)	Type	Complement Category	Syntactically	Semantically
a.	High	vP	High	High
b.	High-Low	DP	Low	High
c.	Low	DP	Low	High

The middle High-Low type refers to so-called eventive DPs, such as *trip* as opposed to *shirt*, which can be conceived of as events: *The trip only took 10 minutes* vs. *the shirt only took 10 minutes*. The eventive reading of *shirt* is only possible if it refers to an event (e.g. the making of the shirt), whereas a trip is naturally eventive as something that takes time (see e.g. Wood 2013, Marantz 2013). Thus, eventive DPs are generated in a syntactically Low Appl position but have High Appl semantics.

From this perspective, datives such as the ones exemplified in (31) and (3) above are all applicatives. However, the syntactic status of these elements, e.g. whether they behave like indirect objects or raise to subject, is subject to variation. At least traditionally, datives like (31) are often seen as indirect objects and are sometimes anlysed as 'external possessor' constructions as opposed to NP-internal possessive pronouns (see e.g. Van de Velde & Lamiroy 2017). In the literature on Icelandic, however, they have been considered a part of a separate oblique subject construction involving a lexically case-marked dative which raises to subject position, selected in (31a) by the Old Norse verb *kleyja* (Icelandic *klæja*) 'to itch'. In that case, the dative is usually treated as an 'experiencer', either solely or interchangeably with 'benefactive' (for discussion, see e.g. Jónsson 1997-1998, Eythórsson & Jónsson 2005; Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 196-200, 207-208 on the double object construction).

Among the modern Germanic languages, German stands out in its use of dative case to denote a wide variety of relations, similar to those above, whereas e.g. Dutch, English and the Scandinavian languages are much more restricted (cf. Hole 2005, McFadden 2006, Tungseth 2007, Colleman 2010). In German, a benefactive dative ditransitive construction can be formed productively with verbs to denote an affected meaning:

(6) Ich repariere **ihm** das Auto (German)
I repair him the car
'I repair the car for him'

The dative can also be interpreted possessively ('repaired his car') but this is not necessarily the case (for extensive discussion, see Hole 2005, Boneh & Nash 2013).[3] The affected dative can also

3 Boneh & Nash (2013) suggest that the possessive reading depends entirely on the nature of the theme. A native speaker of German confirms that the car in (6), indeed, does not have to be 'his car', as seen by the fact that it is still grammatical if *the car* is replaced by *the neighbour's car*. Hole (2005:220) provides the following contrast indicating that what is sometimes claimed to be a possessor dative is actually more like a perceiver or experiencer:
(i) [Paul died first.]

be used in contexts where there is no external (agentive) argument, where the unmarked order appears to be DAT > NOM (cf. Hole 2005: 226):

(7) a. **Ihm** juckt die Kopfhaut (German)
him.$_{D}$ itches the.$_{N}$ scalp
'His scalp itches.'
b. **Ihm** ist die Mutter gestorben
him.$_{D}$ is the.$_{N}$ mother died
'His mother died on him.'

The interpretation of these affected datives varies depending on the context, another reading being the 'unintentional causer' (cf. Wood 2013):

(8) **dem Hans** zerbrach die Vase (German)
The.$_{D}$ Hans broke the.$_{N}$ vase
'The vase broke on Hans (=affecting him)'

Affected datives in German are strictly speaking not 'free' because the presence of an argument embedded more deeply in the structure is required (cf. Hole 2005: 227):

(9) a. Ed hat **ihr** die Wäsche gewaschen (German)
Ed has her.$_{D}$ the laundry washed
'Ed did her laundry for her.'
b. Ed hat (*ihr) gewaschen
Ed has her.$_{D}$ washed.laundry
'Ed did the laundry (*for her).'

Thus, the intransitive verb *waschen* 'do/wash laundry' does not licence an affected dative, whereas the corresponding transitive structure does. Hole (2005) develops an account in terms of variable binding to account for this contrast. As will be discussed below, there is some potential evidence that Old Norse affected datives could be completely free in this sense, raising the question whether the same held for Old Germanic in general.

Based on the discussion above, we should be careful when referring to affected datives as 'possessives' as is often done in the literature (see e.g. Hole 2005 and Boneh & Nash 2013 for a critical discussion). However, they clearly do participate in 'external possessor constructions' as an alternative means to NP-internal possessive pronouns. The possessive sense can arguably be mostly or wholly attributed to properties of the theme, as evidenced in the Old Germanic examples in (10–11) below, taken from Van de Velde & Lamiroy 2017):

---

a. Dann starb auch seine Mutter
then died also his mother
'Then his mother died, too.'
b. # Dann starb **ihm** auch seine Mutter
Then died him.$_{D}$ also his mother
'Then his mother died on him, too.'

Despite the fact that Paul is dead, one can still refer to Paul's mother using an internal possessor (*seine Mutter*), whereas this is not the case when the affected dative is used in (i-b). This an argument against treating 'free datives' as denoting possession.

(10) So riuzit **thir** thaz herza (Old High German)
then mourns you.$_{D}$ the heart
'Then your heart will mourn' (Havers 1911: 285)

(11) Thiu hlust uuarð **imu** farhauuan (Old Saxon)
the ear was him.$_{D}$ hewn
'His ear was cut off' (Havers 1911: 293)

(12) svát **þer** brotnar beina hvat (Old Norse)
so-that you.$_{D}$ break bones.$_{G}$ each.$_{N}$
'So that all your bones will break.' (Havers 1911: 268)

It is often suggested that the replacement of the case-marking strategy by adpositions is a direct consequence of the collapse of the morphological case systems in Dutch, English and Mainland Scandinavian, where most of these constructions are ungrammatical with a bare dative (see e.g. Tungseth 2007). In contrast, German still retains much of its case inflection. This generalisation is not without problems, however. Icelandic could be argued to have retained even more of its case morphology than German (e.g. Barðdal 2009), yet 'free' dative applicatives have, since the Old Norse period, become extremely restricted if not confined to idiomatic expressions and a limited set of verbs selecting specifically for oblique subjects (on which, see e.g. Jónsson 1997-98, Jónsson & Eythórsson 2005).

Van de Velde & Lamiroy (2017) proposes an alternative account of the loss of this family of constructions, focusing on the West-Germanic and Romance languages. As will be discussed in more detail below, they suggest that the loss of these constructions in many of the modern Indo-European languages is not due to changes in the morphological case systems. Rather, they propose that these languages have drifted from non-configurational NP structures towards tighter, hierarchically structured NPs, in which grammaticalised determiners have taken over the possessive uses of the dative. They suggest an account of these grammaticalisation patterns from a constructional view where grammaticalisation is seen as the rise of abstract, lexically underspecified constructions with specialised slots for determination and modification. From a generative view point, it appears that what is at issue here is basically that phrases (presumably adjuncts) have been reanalysed as heads of designated functional projections; this is basically what van Gelderen (2009) refers to as the Head Preference Principle. In an attempt to incorporate the basic insight of Van de Velde & Lamiroy's account I will sketch an account based on the term 'construction' in a loose sense, built by what I take to be heads and phrases, and apply it to the history of Icelandic. However, before doing so, a brief overview of some the basic facts are in order.

3 Contrasting Old Norse and Modern Icelandic

While it is often observed that the case system of Old Norse is still preserved in Modern Icelandic in all the relevant respects, the same cannot be said about the licensing of dative case besides its canonical uses as the default case of indirect objects of ditransitives (see Section 5) or lexical thematic case on themes. In present-day Icelandic, 'free' dative applicatives now usually require some means of marking other than morphological case (but see Ingason 2016: ch. 3 on certain uses

of applicatives in the NP). In order to express a construction like (7) or (8) above, Modern Icelandic may sometimes make use of the oblique subject construction with an experiencer, as in (13a), but otherwise typically requires a possessive pronoun or a PP construction:

(13) a. **Hann**/**honum** klæjar *(í) höfuðið (Modern Icelandic)
Him.$_A$/him.$_D$ itches in head-the.$_N$
'His head itches.'
b. Móðir **hans** er látin
Mother his.$_G$ is diseased
'His mother is dead.'
c. Vasinn brotnaði **hjá honum**
Vase-the.$_N$ broke at him.
'The vase broke on him.'

The dative found in (13a) is considered to be an instance of Dative Substitution, a phenomenon by which the accusative experiencer subject of psych verbs tends to become dative (see e.g. Viðarsson 2009 and Barðdal 2011 for discussion). I will return briefly to the issue of oblique subjects below. Note for now, however, that (13a) does not illustrate the productive use of the accusative/dative case to realise experiencers or applied arguments but rather exemplifies the idiosyncrasy of a limited class of verbs taking oblique subjects. Its use is, therefore, very different from the possessive pronoun in (13b) and the prepositional argument in (13c) which are not associated with any particular verb-dependent features in the lexicon.

With the exception of a handful of verbs, Modern Icelandic does not allow full-fledged benefactive dative ditransitives (see e.g. Holmberg & Platzack 1995, Maling 2001, 2003, Barðdal 2007, Radetzky & Smith 2010), in fact much like the situation in present-day Standard Dutch (cf. Colleman 2010). Thus, the only way to produce a ditransitive construction like (3) or (6) above is in the form of a prepositional ditransitive construction:

(14) a. Páll bakaði (***Eiríki**) köku (Modern Icelandic)
Paul.$_N$ baked Eric.$_D$ cake.$_A$
b. Páll bakaði köku *(**handa**) **Eiríki**
Paul$_N$ baked cake.$_A$ for Eric.$_D$
'Paul baked Eric a cake.'

(15) a.*Páll lagaði **Eiríki** bílinn (Modern Icelandic)
Paul.$_N$ repaired Eric.$_D$ car-the.$_A$
b. Páll lagaði bílinn **fyrir Eiríki**
Paul.$_N$ repaired car-the.$_A$ for Eric.$_A$
'Paul repaired the car for Eric.'

As already shown in (12) above, applicatives corresponding to (7) were grammatical in Old Norse, in stark contrast to Modern Icelandic. According to the possessive tradition (see e.g. Skard 1951), these datives are not of the 'free', non-thematic type found in German but rather datives licensed in PPs denoting (mostly inalienable) possession. Example (16) is a case in point:

(16) ofarla bíta ek sá **einum hal** | orþ illrar konu (Old Norse, Poetic Edda)
high bite I saw one.D man.D words.N evil.G woman.G
'The evil words of the woman bit one man high, I saw' (Havers 1911: 268)

Arguably, the dative in (16) is not an argument of the verb *bíta* 'to bite' as can be seen by the fact that the transitive verb *bíta* 'to bite' takes an object in the accusative case. Skard (1951: 10) suggests that a prepositional phrase has been understood here, e.g. *í höfuð* 'in head', corresponding roughly to 'bites in one's head', as implied by *ofarla* 'high'. Skard's study clearly demonstrates that Old Norse had a robust system of datives usually occurring with (or dependent) on PPs (see also Bjarnadóttir 2011). So the question is whether a PP is really necessary to license these datives.

From the perspective of Applicative Theory, there is no particular reason to assume that these are any different from the sorts of Appls we find in the German-style system. However, it can be demonstrated that Old Norse datives truly are 'free' in the relevant sense, much as in German. The following Old Norse prose examples, again with *bíta* 'bite' as in (16), illustrate this point:

(17) hvárt reiðið þér svá slæliga sverðin, er ek sé, at ekki bíta **yðr**?
whether brandish you so poorly swords-the REL I see that not bite you.D
'Do you brandish the swords so poorly, because I see they do not bite for you?' (HKR 449)

(18) allt bitu **honum** annan veg vápnin
All bit him.D different way weapons-the.N
'The weapons bit completely differently for him.' (EG 31)

Note that the applicative *yðr* in (17) is formally ambiguous between an accusative patient and a dative benefactive, but the context implies that this is indeed the affected reading, not the patient one. The affected reading is also the only one possible in (18). It thus seems that these datives are similar to the ones we find in German.

We also find datives applicatives with unaccusative verbs such as *eyðask* 'erode', *fallask* 'fall', *hverfa* 'vanish', *koma* 'come' and *kleyja* 'itch':

(19) a. Geirr fann af skynsemi sinni at **honum** eyddusk skotin
Geirr felt of reason his that him.D eroded shots-the.N
'Geir sensed that his shots were being wasted.' (EB 222)

b. **Skopta** hvarf skyrta
Skopti.D vanished shirt.D
'Skopti's shirt vanished.' (STU 469-470)

c. blicnaði hann oc varð faulr sem nár oc felluz **honom** hendr (ÓH 173)
paled he and became pale as corpse and fell him.D hands.N
'He became pale as a corpse and his hands fell motionless.'

d. litlv siðar com **diacnanvm** las-avr ... i brvnina
little later came deacon-the.D arrow.N in edge-the.A
'A little later, an arrow came for the deacon, hitting the edge.' (STU 217)

e. þaa kleyiaði **honum** hinn minnzti fingr aa hinni hægri hendi framanverðr
then itched him.D the.N smallest.N finger.N on the right hand anterior
'Then the front of his right hand little finger itched.' (MAR 153)

Some such cases are still preserved in Modern Icelandic, usually in an idiomatic and/or figurative sense. The phrase *e-m fallast hendur* 'sby is overwhelmed by sth' survives as an idiomatic expression, unlike the obvious literal sense expressed in (19c). Naturally, the expression is not confined to *fallast hendur* 'fall hands' in Old Norse but combines with a variety of phrases, including *andsvǫr* 'answers', *kveðjur* 'greetings', *læknidómr* 'healing', *orðtǫk* 'expressions' and so on (see ONP: *falla*). The dative in Modern Icelandic is, therefore, a matter of learning an idiomatic expression, whereas in Old Norse the dative applicative is arguably a part of a productive system of expressing affectedness.

We also find dative applicatives with the copula *vera* 'to be' and *verða* 'become':[4]

(20) a. **Þér** er tungan long orðin
you.$_{D}$ is tongue.$_{N}$ long become
'Your tongue has become long.' (POST 175)
b. **Honum** varð þar eptir gǫltr ok hafr
him became there after boar and buck
'A boar and a buck of his were left behind.' (ONP: *verða*; Hrafnkels saga)

Interestingly, the dative applicative can bind the reflexive possessive pronoun, showing not only that it c-commands the nominative phrase but that the applicative really denotes affectedness rather than possession, expressed explicitly by the possessive pronoun:

(21) 'Viti þat sá ungi maðr er sat næst kónginum, at eptir varð **honum**
know that the young man REL sat next king-the that after became him.$_{D}$
yfirklæði sitt.'
coat his.$_{REFL}$
'May the young man, sitting next to the king, know that his coat was left behind.'
(ONP: *verða*; Æfintýr (Dǿmisǫgur): Exempla)

Although (21) is very suggestive and similar evidence is attested for applicative datives with possessive pronouns in PPs (cf. Kristín Bjarnadóttur 2011), one would like to subject these data to tests comparable to what has been done for German (see e.g. footnote 3 above). Since the discourse context is insufficiently clear and we cannot consult native speakers, there is no way to be certain that a dative applicative in the above contexts denotes possession, possession and affectedness or affectedness alone. However, there are arguably at least two ways to achieve this in other isolated cases: (i) in contexts where there is nothing to be possessed to begin with or (ii) in contexts where the possessee is distinct from the reference of the dative. These will now be dealt with in turn, focusing on ditransitive structures.

While there is no shortage of dative benefactive ditransitive constructions in Old Norse, they tend to involve benecipients, i.e. caused possession of something (see Viðarsson [to appear]). Possible candidates for relations other than possession include cases like the following:

4 The example in (20b), from Hrafnkels saga, was pointed out to me by Thórhallur Eythórsson.

(22) a. Kona ein spurði hvat eldrinn skyldi. „Til Bœjar,“ segir hann, „at elda
woman one asked what fire-the should to Bær says he to fire
Þorvaldi bað.“
Thorvald.$_{D}$ bath.$_{A}$
‘A woman asked what the fire was meant for. “To (the farm) Bær,” he says, “to warm a bath for Thorvald with fire.” (STU 395)

b. ... er þar firir iarn hurð. oc ængi maðr er nu þar **honum** upp at luka.
... is there fore iron door and no man is now there him.$_{D}$ up to open
‘It was shut with an iron door and no one there to open (it) for him.’ (ÞIÐR 315)

Recall that according to Applicative Theory, there are two distinct functional projections present in the syntax, High and Low ApplP, and these are responsible for the different semantics available to applicative constructions cross-linguistically. Presumably, the datives in (22) denote a sense of plain or deputative benefaction, associated above with High Appl. The split structure of ApplP into High and Low, respectively, gives rise to an interesting prediction. Since these two readings do not reside in the same functional projection, they ought in principle not to be mutually exclusive. This is stated in (23):

(23) Applicative Theory predicts possible co-occurrence of High and Low applicatives.

Boneh & Nash (2013) demonstrate for French that only distinct types of datives can co-occur (or be accumulated), and consequently distinguish between core vs. non-core datives. This distinction largely coincides with the Low vs. High contrast above. Example (24) exemplifies this property:

(24) Ce matin, j’ai juste à me repasser quelques chemises à ma femme.
This morning, I’ve only to 1SE iron several shirts for my wife
‘This morning, I only have to iron some shirts for my wife.’

The non-core argument *à me* ‘to me’ does not interfere with the core argument *à ma femme*: the non-core argument establishes a relation between the event and the ironing, whereas the core argument establishes a relation between the shirt and the wife.

Co-occurring High and Low Appls corresponding to (24) are difficult to find in corpora that are not syntactically annotated. The Icelandic Parsed Historical Corpus (cf. Wallenberg et al. 2011) codes for co-occurrences of these sorts, analysing these applicatives as a third object (NP-OB3) or as coindexed with a direct object (NP-OB2). Instances found in IcePaHC turn out to be datives that are co-referential with the subject and these are confined to the Old Norse period (IcePaHC clause reference in brackets):

(25) Vér skulum **oss** biðja **drottin** várn miskunnar með tárum
we shall us.$_{D}$ ask lord.$_{A}$ our.$_{A}$ mercy.$_{G}$ with tears
‘Let us ask our Lord for mercy for us with tears.’ (1150.HOMILIUBOK.REL-SER,.2066)

(26) ... at þeir gleymdu at æsta **sér** **guð** undankvámu ...
... that they forgot to ask REFL.$_{D}$ god.$_{A}$ escape.$_{G}$
‘… that they forgot to ask God for their escape.’ (1350.MARTA.REL-SAG,.896)

While interesting, co-referential datives are known in the Old Norse literature but have been dismissed/explained away as only involving two rather than three internal arguments, either by suggesting to amend them by adding a (supposedly understood) dative-assigning verb responsible for the 'third' argument, e.g. *fá* 'give' (Haugan 2000: 168) or by assuming that reflexives do not function as objects in some languages (Maling 2001: 432f., fn. 9). Despite the obvious fact that configurations of this sort are not very likely to be richly attested in any corpus, let alone a historical corpus of a limited size, it would be an embarrassment for the present account if all potential cases of a third argument were always amenable to either of the conditions mentioned by Haugan (2000) and Maling (2001). Indeed, they are not.

A closer scrutiny of Old Norse sources reveals that co-occurring or accumulated applicatives do not always involve either coreferential or reflexives arguments. A putative example of this sort is discussed by the IcePaHC parsing team on their forum, attested in Gísla saga, a late 13th-century text. However, the proper analysis in terms of the different applicative relations is not particularly clean-cut. (Note that this example is not found in the IcePaHC corpus but is provided by Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson to demonstrate that they did not always involve reflexives in Old Norse.)

(27) En eigi mun eg biðja **Gísla ykkur** bjargar héðan af.
but not will I ask Gísli.$_{A}$ you.$_{D}$ rescue.$_{G}$ here of
'But I will not ask Gísli for rescue for you now.'
(https://github.com/antonkarl/icecorpus/issues/351)

The expression *biðja e-n e-s* 'ask sby sth' features the ACC-GEN verb *biðja* 'ask, beg'. However, the verb can also occur with an indirect object in the dative (DAT-GEN), *biðja e-m e-s* 'ask sth for sby'. Both uses are realised 'simultaneously' in (27) within a single clause. Although it seems that *Gísla* 'Gísli' is properly analysed as the indirect object, he is not affected in a straightforward beneficient (or maleficient) way in the sense that applicatives usually are. It is thus not necessarily obvious which argument counts as the 'second' and 'third' or High and Low in this configuration. For now, let us refer to *Gísli* using the ambiguous term 'plain benefactive'.[5]

A putative example I found by coincidence in the same source as (26) appears to be more straightforward in terms of the High/Low readings and does not involve a reflexive pronoun—an example par excellence conforming to (23):

(28) veittu mér þat, at þú sker **mér** skyrtu, Auðr, **Þorkeli bonda mínum**
provide me that that you.$_{N}$ cut me.$_{D}$ shirt.$_{A}$, Auðr.$_{N}$ Þorkell.$_{D}$ husband.$_{D}$ my.$_{D}$
'Please do this for me, Auður, that you cut me a shirt for my husband Þorkell.' (GÍSL 11)

In (28) all Appl positions are filled: the High/eventive Appl is filled by a dative 3rd person pronoun, disjoint from the 2nd person subject, which is again disjoint from the Low/complement Appl 3rd person dative noun phrase , i.e., the canonical indirect object (recipient or benecipient). It may be no coincidence that the 'third' argument, the High applicative, is a pronoun rather than a full NP. It is known cross-linguistically that non-thematic datives tend to be pronouns, often restricted only to 1st

5 The dative *ykkur* 'you' also poses a problem since it is not obvious whether that phrase is (positively) affected by the asking (the High, eventive reading) or whether it is the recipient/benecipient of the help (the Low, complement-complement reading), or both. Accumulating two identical applicatives ought not to be possible as they would be competing for the same structural position.

and 2nd person pronouns. Ethical datives, for instance, generally only allow 1st and 2nd person in French, usually having the pragmatic effect of addressing or reflecting the views of the speaker or hearer (see e.g. Boneh & Nash 2013). Nonetheless, the High Appl in (28) really does appear to be a full-fledge participant, as witnessed by the fact that it is not coreferential with the subject.

What (25)-(28) all show beyond reasonable doubt is that merging a High Appl argument was a possibility in Old Norse, suggesting in turn that Old Norse patterns more with German, perhaps with Old Germanic in general (cf. Van de Velde & Lamiroy 2017), than with Modern Icelandic. These observations also lend support to the view that the Old Norse case system is different from the one found in Modern Icelandic in a fundamental way (see also Viðarsson 2009, Viðarsson [to appear]).

An important question that remains is what may have triggered these changes. In the following section I would like to explore a proposal made by Van de Velde & Lamiroy (2017) that the loss of these dative constructions correlates with changes at the level of the NP.

4 Towards an explanation

The fuzzy borders between affected datives, experiencers and possessors have already figured a number of times in the discussion above. Van de Velde & Lamiroy (2017) make extensive use of this in their account which can roughly be summarised as follows. Ancient Indo-European languages had an extremely flexible word order and seem to lack the extended NP structure typically found in the modern European varieties (see also e.g Ledgeway 2011). Over time, 'clause-level elements' such as adjectives, quantifiers and pronouns modifying the noun grammaticalised into determiners, giving rise to a hierarchically structured NP constituent with designated determiner slots. This move towards greater configurationality resulted in NP-external material getting obsorbed in the NP, whereby the dative external possessors were replaced with NP-internal possessors. The rise of a grammaticalised determiner system is also seen as having led to the loss of discontinuous structures where elements could be separated from the phrases they modified, citing cases such as (29) from Latin:

(29) a. magno cum dolore
great.$_{ABL}$ with grief.$_{ABL}$
'with great grief' (Ledgeway 2011: 393)
b. nostrum ridebant inuidiam
our.$_{A}$ they.laughed unpopularity.$_{A}$
'They mocked at our unpopularity' (Ledgeway 2011: 394)

Discontinuous structures used to be features of both the Germanic and Romance languages but were gradually lost (cf. e.g. Faarlund 1990, 2004, Platzack 2008, Lander & Haegeman 2014 on Old Norse). As discussed at length by Van de Velde & Lamiroy (2017), there appears to be an inverse correlation between the extent of the grammaticalisation of the article and the retention of the external possessor. Thus, the external possessor is least retained in languages where the definite article has progressed the most, i.e. NP configurationality follows an English > Dutch > German cline in West-Germanic and a French > Italian > Spanish cline in Romance. This is demonstrated on the basis of a number of properties, one of which being the ability for possessives to co-occur with the article (cf. also Van de Velde 2010 on the rise of the article in Dutch):

(30) a. (*le) mon livre (French)
the my book
'my book'
b. il mio libro (Italian)
the my book
'my book'
c. el libro mio (Spanish)
the book my
'my book'

Similar claims concerning the status of determiners and co-occurrence of demonstratives, (alleged) definite articles and possessives in Old Norse are made by Lander & Haegeman (2014: 291-292). They argue that Old Norse lacked a fully grammaticalised definite article, being an 'NP language' rather than 'DP language' (see e.g. Bošković 2009, 2012), correlating with its having a very flexible word order e.g. in terms of discontinuous phrases as in (29). Some of these are exemplified below from the Old Norse MÍM corpus (see also Platzack 2008 for further discussion and analysis):[6]

(31) *Discontinuous phrases in Old Norse*
a. **Hversu marga**$_i$ munum vér [$_{NP}$ ___$_i$ **menn**] þurfa [...]?
how many.$_A$ will we.$_N$ men.$_A$ need
'How many men will we need?' (MÍM: Brennu-Njáls saga)
b. **Tvö**$_i$ hafði hann [$_{NP}$ ___$_i$ **lög**] ok mörg sár önnur ok stór
two.$_A$ had he.$_N$ stabs.$_A$ and many.$_A$ wounds.$_A$ other.$_A$ and large.$_A$
'He had two stab wounds and many other big wounds.' (MÍM: Sturlunga sga)
c. **Góða**$_i$ áttu þeir [$_{NP}$ ___$_i$ **ferð**] um heiðina …
good.$_A$ had they.$_N$ trip.$_A$ over heath-the.$_A$
'They had a good trip over the heath.' (MÍM: Sturlunga saga)
d. **Vinur**$_i$ var hann [$_{NP}$ ___$_i$ **Eiríks jarls**]
friend.$_N$ was he.$_N$ Eric.$_A$ earl.$_G$
'He was a friend of earl Eiríkr.' (MÍM: Bjarnar saga Hítdælakappa)
e. **Þann**$_i$ vissi ek [$_{NP}$ ___$_i$ **mann**] bestan í heimi
that.$_A$ knew I.$_N$ man.$_A$ best.$_A$ in world
'That man was the best one I knew in this world.' (MÍM: Heimskringla)

With regard to most of the features discussed by Van de Velde & Lamiroy (2017), scrutinised in more detail below, Old Norse patterns with the languages which have least NP configurationality and most productive use of dative applicatives (or dative external possessors). Conversely, Modern Icelandic shares most of its features with languages with most NP configurationality and least productive use of dative applicatives.

I take the grammaticalisation of the definite article, demonstratives and possessive pronouns in (30) as mutually excluding determiners to be an instance of the Head Preference Principle (e.g van Gelderen 2009: 232):

6 The examples in this section are cited from the tagged, historical corpus of Old Norse, *Mörkuð íslensk málheild* (MÍM, <http://mim.hi.is/index.php?corpus=for>). The corpus mostly consists of the Icelandic sagas, thus typically representing 13th-14th century Old Norse.

(32) **Head Preference Principle (HPP)**
Be a head, rather than a phrase

By the HPP, a phrasal modifier in a 'non-configurational' NP is reanalysed as a functional head, in this case a D(eterminer). Before the reanalysis takes place, these modifying elements can co-occur e.g. as in Italian, cf. (30b). Once a modifier has been reanalysed as a D head, it will be blocked by any other existing D head in the same phrase, thus ruling out the co-occurrence of a definite article and a possessive pronoun. The status of these elements is definitely not a matter of setting an NP/DP parameter globally for the whole language. As Van de Velde (2010) discusses in detail, each element (or construction) becomes gradually more configurational, as the determiner diachronically emerges through lexical diffusion. The same point is also argued extensively by Ledgeway (2012) with regard to developments from Latin to the Romance languages. Thus, these languages as a whole did not develop from 'non-configurational' to 'configurational' but rather individual constructions did. This is, therefore, a much weaker claim than the sort of system-wide non-configurationality originally argued for by Hale (1983) on languages like Warlpiri, which Faarlund (1990) adopted originally in his analysis of Old Norse, rightly criticised by Rögnvaldsson (1995) in certain important respects (see e.g. Platzack 2008 and Stroh-Wollin 2015 for formulations in strictly configurational terms).

By the criteria discussed by Van de Velde & Lamiroy (2017), Old Norse arguably did not have a fully grammaticalised article system (cf. also Lander & Haegeman 2014, Stroh-Wollin 2015, 2016). What later develops into an article could co-occur at least with demonstratives and possessive pronouns, indicating furthermore that the latter two elements, too, had not become D heads themselves (see Van de Velde 2010: 268-269). Before turning to these properties in more detail, observe first that the definite adnominal article is a late innovation in Old Norse, lacking in Runic and Eddic Old Norse, save the pre-adjectival one (cf. Stroh-Wollin 2009, Nygaard 1867: 47-48, 1905: 33-34):

(33) ÞioðrikR hinn þurmoði
Theoderic the bold (Runic, 9th century; cf. Stroh-Wollin 2009: 6)

The first instances of *hinn* 'the' without an adjectival attribute, the precursor of the bound definite marker, are considered to stem from the 11th century (see Stroh-Wollin 2009: 6, 2015: 13). Nygaard (1905: 35) furthermore points out that even in the attested prose (12th century onwards), the definite article is not yet systematically found ("ikke ... gjennemført") where one expects to find definite forms (see Nygaard 1905: 35-47, Lander & Haegeman 2014: 287-291). I am not aware of any study documenting the grammaticalisation of *hinn* as a definite determiner in the history of Icelandic but the following results obtained from IcePaHC of the major definiteness patterns are suggestive of fundamental changes in this domain diachronically:[7]

7 The data shown in Figure 1 were obtained by extracting NPs immediately dominating a D- and an ADJ-element, where the D-element immediately dominates the lemma *hinn* 'the' and ADJ (weak/strong) either precedes or follows N. The results were manually checked for consistency and coding errors. The determiner *sá* 'that/the' was left out of consideration (see Figure 2), meaning that the 'double definiteness' pattern, labelled D A N-D, always featured *hinn* as a free article and as a definite noun with the bound *-inn* form, i.e. both simultaneously. These cases did not include demonstrative uses of *hinn* that select the bound form (meaning 'the other'). Double definiteness in the N D A and N-D A patterns (i.e. N-D DA) was conflated with N D A. The N-D A pattern was often difficult to distinguish from N-Ds occurring with depictives, 'afterthoughts' and various other NP-external elements.

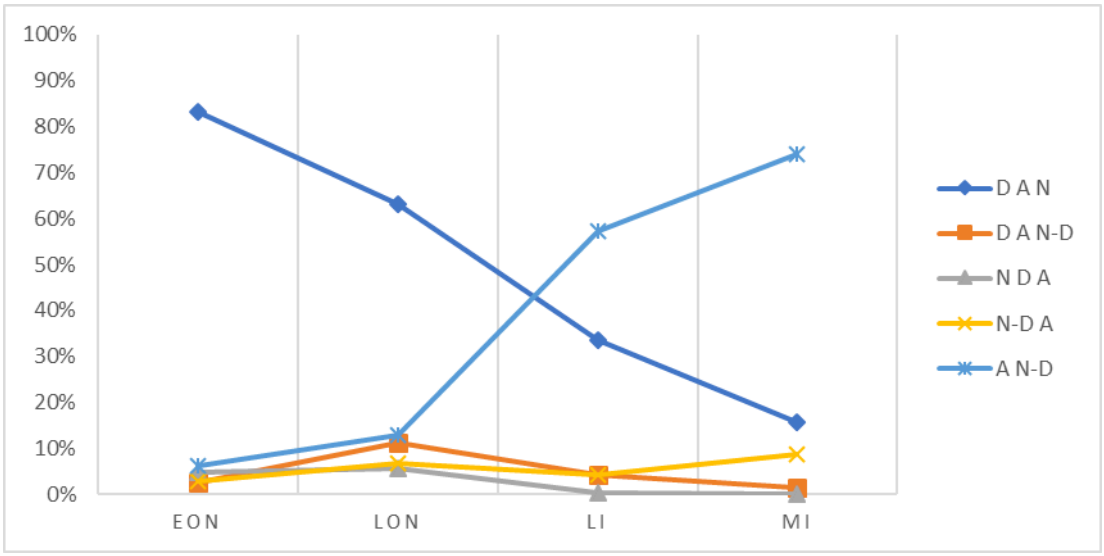


Figure 1. Proportion of each definiteness pattern found within each period. Periods: Early Old Norse-Icelandic 1150-1350 (N=443), Late Old Norse-Icelandic 1350-1550 (N=177), Later Icelandic 1550-1800 (N=274), Modern Icelandic 1800-2008 (N=850). Notation: D 'definite article *hinn* (free form)', A 'adjective', N 'noun', N-D 'definite noun (*-inn*, bound form)'.

What Figure 1 reveals is that, in the presence of both an adjective and a noun, the suffixed article (A N-D) gradually replaces the free-standing article (D A N) as the dominant strategy for marking definiteness. As no attempt was made to distinguish between weakly and strongly inflected adjectives, A N-D (as well as N-D A, cf. footnote 7) conflates two distinct patterns, viz. the weak NP-internal and the strong NP-external one (see Pfaff 2015 on this distinction in Modern Icelandic).[8] The existence in Early and Late Old Norse of the post-nominal adjectival article pattern (N D A), cf. (33) above, albeit not strictly confined to epithets or name-like designations, indicates that the free-standing article modifies the adjective rather than the noun. The fact that the post-nominal adjective with a suffixed article pattern (N-D A) survives into the modern period suggests that it was reanalysed on par with the A N-D pattern as involving a true adnominal definite determiner.

These results largely confirm the above claims according to which the adnominal article is an emergent property in Early Old Norse. They do not show quantitatively, however, how Old Norse changed from a hypodetermining language, i.e. "expressions which are inherently definite are not marked by an article" (cf. Leiss 2007: 88, see also Stroh-Wollin 2009, Lander & Haegeman 2014), to a language with a full-fledged, obligatory definite article. According to Leiss (2007: 88-89), systematically marked thematic arguments as definite but not rhematic arguments even when they were semantically definite. To address quantitatively the overall rise of an obligatory determiner, regardless of whether nouns are modified by adjectives, we can study its raw frequency of occurrence. Since definiteness was not only marked by the emergent definite article *hinn*/*-inn* 'the' but could alternatively be realised with the demonstrative pronoun *sá* 'that', Figure 2 includes both *hinn/-inn* and *sá* for comparison, normalised per 100,000 words:[9]

8 I would like to thank Alexander Pfaff for valuable discussions about this/these pattern(s). The weak vs. strong contrast is clearly an important distinction to make, although it does not change the fact that the D A N pattern gave way to a pattern featuring the bound form of the article. Interestingly, A N-D in both Old Norse periods feature the strong form of the adjective, whereas the N-D A pattern occurs with strongly and weakly inflected adjectives.

9 The data shown in Figure 2 were automatically extracted based on the co-occurrence of NPs and the relevant lemmata (*sá*, *hinn*). Unlike Figure 1, these data have not yet been verified by hand for consistency and coding errors.

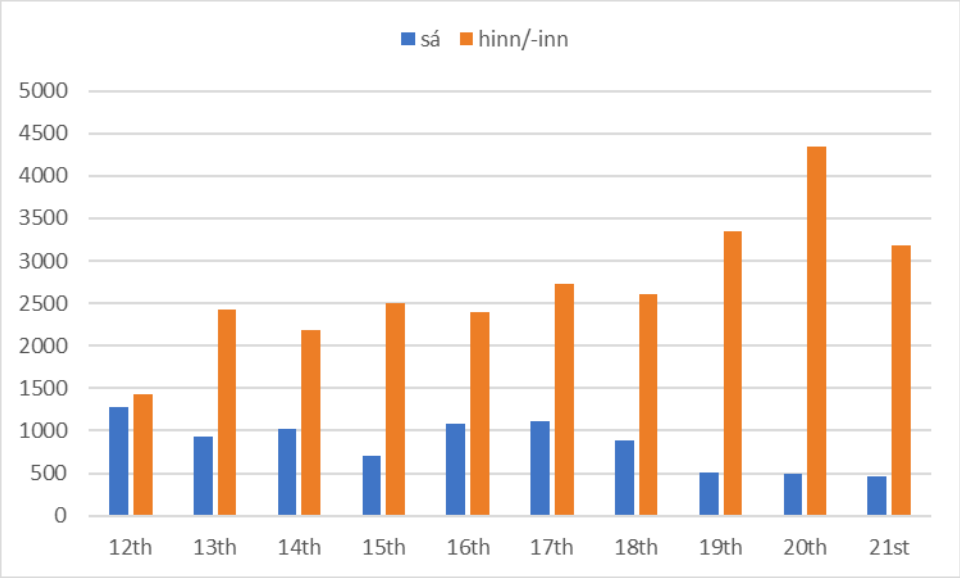


Figure 2. Frequency of use normalised per 100,000 words. Demonstrative/article *sá* 'that' vs. demonstrative/article *hinn* 'the (free)' and *-inn* 'the (bound)'.

The results in Figure 2 imply that the definite article in the oldest prose was used much less frequently than in later periods. The near identical frequency of *sá* and *hinn* could also be taken as evidence that the definite article fails Van de Velde's (2010: 268) exclusiveness criterion, indicating that the demonstrative *sá* denotes a similar function. Further developments indicate that *sá* and *hinn/-inn* become more divergent and that the latter is increasing in frequency, again, in line with the above claims that it changes from being optional to being obligatory.

Turning more closely now to Van de Velde's (2010: 268-269) criteria, the dominant definiteness pattern in Early and Late Old Norse (D A N), as opposed to the generalised suffixed article system of Late and Modern Icelandic (A N-D), fails a wide array of definite determiner tests. Examples (34)–(38) below from the Old Norse MÍM corpus (see above) serve to illustrate this point; note that the structures are all ungrammatical in Modern Icelandic.

First of all, Old Norse possessives and the supposed article were not yet in complementary distribution:

(34) a. **þín** **hin** mesta gæfa (MÍM: Brennu-Njáls saga)
your the greatest fortune
b. **sína** **hina** ágæstu menn (MÍM: Heimskringla)
their the greatest men

Second, an adjective could precede the possessive pronoun:

(35) þessir hinir **góðu** **mínir** félagar ok fóstbræður (MÍM: Sturlunga saga)
these the good my fellows and foster-brothers

Third, possessives could occur to the right of modifiers:

(36) a. **þrjá** **sína** menn (MÍM: Grænlendinga saga)
three his men

b. **fjórir mínir** félagar (MÍM: Þórðar saga hreðu)
four my fellows
c. **það eitt sitt** efni (MÍM: Sturlunga saga)
that one his solution

Fourth, the demonstrative did not entail definiteness (dem > poss):

(37) a. **þessa sína** dóttir, Droplaugu (MÍM: Fljótsdæla saga)
this her daughter Droplaug
b. **þessi mín** andsvör (MÍM: Heimskringla)
these my answers
c. **sá þinn** bóndi (MÍM: Laxdæla saga)
that your husband

Fifth and finally, the possessive did not entail definiteness (poss > dem):

(38) a. **sína þá** heimanferð (MÍM: Egils saga)
His that departure
b. skaða **sínum þessum** (MÍM: Brandkrossa þáttur)
harm his this

Van de Velde & Lamiroy (2017) suggest that the rise in configurationality in the NP resulted in an increasingly rigid word order so that the datives which had had 'floating' properties became an integral part of the NP. As early as Havers (1911), in fact, changes in the use of the dativus (in)commodi or dativus sympatheticus constructions have been associated with pronouns and nominal possessive genitives. Thus, Havers (1911: 273-274) claims that pronominal sympathetic datives are usually preposed in the Poetic Edda, which generally predates the oldest Old Norse prose by a couple of centuries, whereas the dative tends to occur in a post-nominal position in the prose (*var hann senn ór augliti **mér*** 'he was soon out of my sight'). Havers suggests that this is due to the possessive pronouns which also follow the noun. The postposing of nominal sympathetic datives is similarly considered to be related to the postposing of nominal possessive genitives (*sneiþk af haufuþ **húna þinna*** 'I cut off the head of your sons'). These observations thus arguably point in the same direction, viz. that elements outside the NP get absorbed into the nominal domain on the model of NP-internal possessives.

Havers' (1911) claims regarding the Old Norse prose are more or less confirmed by Bjarnadóttir's (2011) study. When datives are used possessively with a prepositional phrase, the dative is usually found following the noun it modifies in much the same way as possessive pronouns do. However, 22% of dative pronouns are separated from the noun by movement out of the PP. Of the datives that undergo movement, 86% are personal pronouns and reflexives (Bjarnadóttir 2011: 27).

(39) a. þá seldi hann **í hendur Eiríki syni sínum ríki** (PP>DAT, Old Norse)
then sold he.$_{N}$ in hands Eric.$_{D}$ son.$_{D}$ his.$_{REFL\cdot D}$ state.$_{A}$ (Bjarnadóttir 2011: 33)
b. seldi hún **sonum sínum í hendur** bú sitt (DAT>PP, Old Norse)
sold she.$_{N}$ sons.$_{D}$ her.$_{REFL\cdot D}$ in hands farm.$_{A}$ her.$_{REFL\cdot A}$ (Bjarnadóttir 2011: 33)

The system of PP dative possessives is in competition with the possessive pronoun already in Old Norse. However, inalienable possession with a PP as in (39) is denoted by a dative in over 90% of the cases (Bjarnadóttir 2011: 27). These dative possessives are moribund in Modern Icelandic, at best, surviving only in certain (often archaic) fixed expressions. It appears that the dative possessive with inalienable possessions in a PP begins its decline as early as the 16th century (see Bjarnadóttir 2011: 9-10, with references). Hence, the loss of the dative applicatives is presumably a gradual process where the morphological datives are reanalysed as NP-internal elements, taking the guise of possessive pronouns or possessive PPs as in Modern Icelandic:

(40) María greiðir **hárið á sér / hár(ið) sitt** (Modern Icelandic)
Mary combs hair on her.$_{\text{REFl}}$ hair-(the) her.$_{\text{REFL}}$

More research is clearly needed to fully establish a link between the rise of the article in Old Norse and the loss of non-thematic datives. However, what I hope to have shown is that these aspects of Old Norse really are fundamentally different from the system we find in Modern Icelandic. Old Norse appears to provide empirical support for two separate Appl projections, a High and a Low Appl, each with different semantics, which can spell out morphological case, with no recourse to prepositional marking being necessary. Modern Icelandic, in contrast, typically spells out these relations as prepositions or resorts to an alternative possessive pronoun strategy. Increasing NP configurationality might be a potential trigger for this change. Although much is still unclear regarding the timing of the reanalysis argued to have taken place within the NP, this approach clearly fares better and is superior to the common alternative to relate the changes in question (in other related languages) to deflection.

Another potentially important issue which I have not touched upon here is the status of the oblique subject construction in Icelandic. It has been suggested in the literature that a case system like the German one which licenses 'free datives' may be expected to lack oblique subjects (see Wood 2013). The differences may then depend on where in the structure Appl is merged: Voice licensing in German vs. v licensing in Icelandic (see Alexiadou et al. 2013, Wood 2013). However, the claim that 'free datives' of the German kind and oblique subjects should be mutually exclusive runs counter to the literature on oblique subjects in Old Norse. This raises a very intriguing question, viz. whether or not obliques that pass subjecthood tests in Modern Icelandic generally all do so in Old Norse as well. Or was the phenomenon more restricted in Old Norse, perhaps excluding the sorts of non-thematic datives which could (by hypothesis) be used productively (as shown in (16)-(21))?

Although there is an interesting overlap, the claim that Icelandic has become 'more configurational' should not be equated with Faarlund's (1990) stronger claim that Old Norse was non-configurational or that oblique subjects are purely a modern phenomenon (Faarlund 1990, 2001, 2004). The way I see it, the partial fusion of a productive system of applied datives and the oblique subject construction may have been facilitated, or made possible, by the fact that oblique subjects already existed as a construction in Old Norse (cf. e.g. Rögnvaldsson 1995, Eythórsson & Barðdal 2005). The structural ambiguity often observed between experiencers, benefactives and possessives makes a reanalysis in these contexts a rather likely scenario in language change in my view.

5 Beyond 'free' datives

The rise of NP/DP configurationality should arguably not be considered in isolation, being a part of a change towards a rigid word order more generally from Old Norse to Icelandic. The loss of a flexible OV/VO system in favour of rigid VO in the early modern period is a well-known case, documented in most detail by Hróarsdóttir (2000, 2008). As Hróarsdóttir (2008) shows, the choice between OV and VO was highly sensitive to information structure and it is likely that this carries over to variation in internal/external possessors to some extent as well. Bjarnadóttir (2011) points to a decline in datives possessives in the 16th century (cf. above) and Hróarsdóttir's studies indicate that OV was losing ground in the 17th century.

What has not been mentioned in this context, however, is that the relative position of internal arguments to one another has also become more rigid. Nowhere is this as clear as with double objects in Modern Icelandic where the order *indirect object – direct object* (IO-DO) is basically the only one allowed, the reverse DO-IO typically being acceptable only in the (rare) case of *animate* direct objects with ditransitives observing the canonical dative-accusative pattern (see e.g. Collins & Thráinsson 1996). Old Norse, in contrast, allowed the DO-IO order in a variety of contexts, including inanimate direct objects and case patterns other than DAT-ACC (examples from the IcePaHC corpus, cf. Wallenberg et al. 2011):

(41) a. þótt hann gæfi **sýn** **ánni** (DAT-ACC, Old Norse)
although he gave.$_{SUB}$ vision.$_{A}$ sheep.$_{D}$
'(The bishop performed even greater miracles) even if he would give vision to this (blind) sheep.' (1210.JARTEIN.REL-SAG,.30)

b. Fyrst kvenna hét hún **því heiti** **Guði** að halda hreinlífi (DAT-DAT)
First women.$_{G}$ promised she that commitment God.$_{D}$ to keep chastity
'First among women, she made the commitment to God to keep chastity.'
(1150.HOMILIUBOK.REL-SER.17)

c. þá biður Sigvatur skáld **leyfis** nökkverju síðar **konung** að … (GEN-DAT)
then asks Sigvatur poet permit.$_{G}$ some(time) later king.$_{A}$ to
'Then Sigvatur the poet sometime later asks permission to the king to …'
(1275.MORKIN.NAR-HIS,.298)

The fact that an adverb could occur in-between the two objects as in (41c) suggests that DO-IO is due to a scrambling operation similar to that Hróarsdóttir (2000) takes to underlie the OV pattern, rather than base generation as Collins & Thráinsson (1996) propose for the much more restricted DO-IO order in Modern Icelandic.

The gradual loss of the DO-IO order in the history of Icelandic has not yet been documented in detail. As Table 1 shows,[10] based on my study of the IcePaHC corpus, there is a sharp decline in the 'scrambled' order observable already in Late Old Norse: from 44% in the period 1150-1300 to 26% in 1350-1550. This rather small dataset of 814 cases includes all case frames and no distinction is made between different environments (main/embedded, basic V2, OV, VO and mixed OV/VO configurations). Importantly, the same overall trend is observed even if we focus only on typical *give*-type DAT-ACC verbs and also when cases were confined to basic main verb V2 contexts as in

10 The data in Table 1 were collected based on a query where the clause level (IP*) immediately dominates NP-OB1 and NP-OB2 in either order, subsequently verified for consistency and coding errors.

(41), to avoid interference from the loss of OV. (The animacy constraint was not applicable since direct objects were rarely animate.)

Table 1. Proportion IO-DO vs. DO-IO order with ditransitives in Icelandic (1150-2008), based on IcePaHC (Wallenberg et al. 2011).

Time period	**IO-DO**	**DO-IO**	**Total**
1150-1350	56% (122)	44% (97)	219
1350-1550	74% (183)	26% (65)	248
1550-1800	76% (142)	24% (44)	186
1800-2008	93% (150)	7% (11)	161

I take these changes to be largely consistent with the overall view outlined above. The relevant structures become successively more rigid and 'tighter', although the NP/DP distinction as formulated by Bošković (2009, 2012) does not extend to (clause-internal) scrambling of the type discussed here. How these pieces ultimately all fit together must be left for future research, as well as the question of whether the loss of DO-IO contributed further to the demise of close interaction between word order and information structure, which ultimately resulted in the loss of OV altogether (rather than the other way round).

6 Concluding remarks

Icelandic is standardly regarded as a potential counterexample to morphologically-triggered syntactic change because of its relative conservatism in the morphological case system (but not its syntax more generally). If the loss of 'free' datives is related to the loss or simplification of the morphological case system, as has been proposed in the literature, how can this development be adequately accounted for in a language like Icelandic with an 'intact' case system? Inspired by Van de Velde (2010), Van de Velde & Lamiroy (2017) and Lander & Haegeman (2014), among others, a potential answer to this question has been sought in fundamental changes that have occurred in the NP/DP domain. In the oldest attested period, Icelandic and various related languages seem to lack a fully grammaticalised definite article. As determiners successively take on the role of establishing discourse status, word order is neither crucial nor sufficient to single out given vs. new referents. As a result, the close interaction we find in Old Norse, and various related languages, between information structure and linearisation is easily compromised.

If this proposal is on the right track, these tighter, hierarchically integrated DP structures with specialised slots for determination and modification led to the absorption of clause-level datives into the nominal domain. Whereas Old Norse allowed for a variety of datives to denote affectedness and/or possession, which could even be realised simultaneously in two separate projections, HighApplP and LowApplP, Modern Icelandic typically requires alternative strategies. While it has been suggested here that there is a link between the rise in configurationality within the NP/DP and rigid word order, perhaps even more generally beyond 'free' datives, more research into the intermediate levels is clearly needed to be able to develop this account further.

Texts

EG *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar* I. 2001. A-Redaktionen. Bjarni Einarsson (ed.). Editiones Arnamagnæanæ A 19. C.A. Reitzels forlag, København.

EB *Eyrbyggja saga: The Vellum tradition*. 2003. Forrest S. Scott (ed.). Editiones Arnamagnæanæ A 18. C.A. Reitzels forlag, København.

GÍSL *Gísla saga Súrssonar*. 1929. Finnur Jónsson (ed.). Det kongelige nordiske oldskrift-selskab, København.

HKR *Heimskringla* I-IV. 1893-1900. Nóregs konunga sǫgur af Snorri Sturluson. Finnur Jónsson (ed.). Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur XXIII. S. L. Møllers bogtrykkeri, København.

MAR *Mariu saga.* 1871. Legender om Jomfru Maria og hendes Jertegn. Det norske Oldskriftselskabs Samlinger 11-16. C. R. Unger (ed.). Christiania.

MÍM *Mörkuð íslensk málheild*. Fornrit. Sigrún Helgadóttir (ed.). Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic studies. URL: <http://mim.hi.is/?corpus=for>.

ÓH [Ólafs saga helga]: *Den store saga om Olav den hellige* I-II. 1941. Efter pergamentshåndskrift i kungliga biblioteket i Stockholm nr. 2 4to med varianter fra andre håndskrifter. Kjeldeskriftfondet. Oscar Albert Johnsen & Jón Helgason (eds.). Jacob Dybwad, Oslo.

POST *Postola sögur*. 1874. Legendariske Fortællinger om Apostlernes Liv, deres Kamp for Kristendommens Udbredelse samt deres Martyrdød. C. R. Unger (ed.). B. M. Bentzen, Christiania.

STU *Sturlunga saga* I-II. 1906-1911. Efter membranen Króksfjarðarbók udfylt efter Reykjarfjarðarbók. Det kongelige nordiske oldskrift-selskab. Kr. Kålund (ed.). Gyldendanske boghandel – Nordisk forlag, København og Kristiania.

ÞIÐR *Þiðriks saga af Bern* I-II. 1905-1911. STUAGNL XXXIV. Henrik Bertelsen (ed.). S. L. Møller, København.

References

Alexiadou, Artemis, Elena Anagnostopoulou & Christina Sevdali. 2013. Patterns of Dative-Nominative Alternations. *Proceedings of NELS* 41, 15-28.

Barðdal, Jóhanna. 2007. The Semantic and Lexical Range of the Ditransitive Construction in the History of (North) Germanic. *Functions of Language* 14.1, 9-30.

Barðdal, Jóhanna. 2009. The Development of Case in Germanic. In: Jóhanna Barðdal & Shobhana Chelliah (eds.), *The Role of Semantic, Pragmatic and Discourse Factors in the Development of Case*, 123-159. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Barðdal, Jóhanna. 2011. The Rise of Dative Substitution in the History of Icelandic: A Diachronic Construction Grammar Approach. *Lingua* 121.1, 60-79.

Bjarnadóttir, Kristín. 2011. *Dativus sympatheticus*, Unpublished ms., University of Iceland. URL: <http://www.lexis.hi.is/kristinb/datsymp11.pdf>.

Boneh, Nora & Léa Nash. 2013. Core and Noncore Datives in French. In: Beatriz Fernandez and Ricardo Etxepare (eds.), *Variation in Datives. A Microcomparative Perspective*, 22-49. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bošković, Željko. 2009. More on the No-DP analysis of article-less languages. *Studia Linguistica* 63.2, 187-203.

Bošković, Željko. 2012. On NPs and Clauses. In: Günther Grewendorf & Thomas Ede Zimmermann (eds.), *Discourse and Grammar: From Sentence Types to Lexical Categories*, 179-242. Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Colleman, Timothy. 2010. Lectal variation in Constructional Semantics: "Benefactive" ditransitives in Dutch. In: Dirk Geeraerts, Gitte Kristiansen & Yves Peirsman, *Advances in Cognitive Sociolinguistics*, 191-221. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Collins, Chris & Höskuldur Thráinsson. 1996. VP-Internal Structure and Object Shift in Icelandic. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27.3, 391-444.

Eythórsson, Thórhallur & Jóhanna Barðdal. 2005. Oblique subjects: A common Germanic inheritance. *Language* 81.4, 824-881.

Faarlund, Jan Terje. 1990. *Syntactic Change. Toward a Theory of Historical Syntax*, Mouton de Gruyter.

Faarlund, Jan Terje. 2001. The notion of oblique subject and its status in the history of Icelandic. In: Jan Terje Faarlund (ed.), *Grammatical Relations in Change*, 99-135. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Faarlund, Jan Terje. 2004. *The syntax of Old Norse: With a survey of the inflectional morphology and a complete bibliography.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gelderen, Elly van. 2009. Grammaticalization from a biolinguistic perspective. In: Rudolf Botha & Chris Knight (eds.), *The Prehistory of Language*, 225-243. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Grimm, Jacob. 1837. *Deutsche Grammatik.* Vol. IV. Göttingen: Dieterichsche Buchhandlung.

Hale, Ken. 1983. Warlpiri and the grammar of non-configurational languages. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory Linguistic Theory* 1:5-47.

Haugan, Jens. 2000. *Old Norse word order and information structure*. PhD dissertation. Norwegian University of Science and Technology.

Havers, Wilhelm. 1911. *Untersuchungen zur Kasussyntax der indogermanischen Sprachen.* Straßburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner.

Hole, Daniel. 2005. Reconciling "possessor" datives and "beneficiary" datives–towards a unified voice account of dative binding in German. In: Claudia Maienborn & Angelika Wöllstein (eds.), *Event arguments: Foundations and applications*, 213-242. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Holmberg, Anders & Platzack, Christer. 1995. *The Role of Inflection in Scandinavian Syntax.* New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hróarsdóttir, Þorbjörg. 2000. *Word Order Change in Icelandic: From OV to VO*. Linguistik Aktuell 35. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Hróarsdóttir, Þorbjörg. 2008. Types of DPs in OV order. *Studia Linguistica* 62.3, 261-286.

Ingason, Anton Karl. 2016. Realizing Morphemes in the Icelandic Noun Phrase. Publicly Accessible Penn Dissertations. 1776. URL: <https://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/1776>.

Jónsson, Jóhannes Gísli. 1997-1998. Sagnir með aukafallsfrumlagi. *Íslenskt mál og almenn málfræði* 19-20, 11-43.

Jónsson, Jóhannes Gísli & Thórhallur Eythórsson. 2005. Variation in subject case marking in Insular Scandinavian. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 28.3, 223-245.

Lander, Eric T. & Haegeman, Liliane. 2014, Old Norse as an NP language: With observations on the Common Norse and Northwest Germanic runic inscriptions. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 112.3, 279-318.

Ledgeway, Adam. 2012. *From Latin to Romance: Morphosyntactic Typology and Change.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leiss, Elisabeth. 2007. Covert patterns of definiteness/indefiniteness and aspectuality in Old Icelandic, Gothic, and Old High German. In: Elisabeth Stark, Elisabeth Leiss & Werner Abraham (eds.), *Nominal determination. Typology, context constraints, and historical emergence*, 73-102. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Maling, Joan. 2001. Dative: The Heterogeneity of the Mapping among Morphological Case, Grammatical Functions, and Thematic Roles. *Lingua* 111, 419-464.

Maling, Joan. 2003. Það rignir þágufalli á Íslandi. Verbs with Dative Objects in Icelandic. *Íslenskt mál og almenn málfræði* 24, 31-105.

Marantz, Alec. 1993. Implications of Asymmetries in Double Object Constructions. In: Sam A. Mchombo (ed.), *Theoretical Aspects of Bantu Grammar*, 113-150. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Marantz, Alec. 2013. Verbal argument structure: Events and participants. *Lingua* 130, 152-168.

McFadden, Thomas. 2006. German inherent datives and argument structure. Daniel Hole, André Meinunger & Werner Abraham (eds.). *Datives and Other Cases*, 49-77. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Nygaard, Marius. 1867. *Eddasprogets Syntax* II. Giertsen, Bergen.

Nygaard, Marius. 1905. *Norrøn syntax*. Kristiania: H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard).

ONP = *Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog*. Helle Degnbol, Bent Chr. Jacobsen, Eva Rode, Christopher Sanders, James E. Knirk & Þorbjörg Helgadóttir (eds.). Den arnamagnæanske commission, København. URL: <http://www.onp.hum.ku.dk/.>

Platzack, Christer. 2008. Left Branch Extraction of nominal modifiers in old Scandinavian. In: Thórhallur Eythórsson (ed.), *Grammatical Change and Linguistic Theory: The Rosendal papers*, 357-374. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Pfaff, Alexander Peter. 2015. *Adjectival and Genitival Modification in Definite Noun Phrases in Icelandic: A Tale of Outsiders and Inside Jobs*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Tromsø.

Pylkkänen, Linda. 2008. *Introducing arguments.* MIT Press, Cambridge.

Radetzky, Paula & Tomoko Smith. 2010. An areal and cross-linguistic study of benefactive and malefactive constructions. In: Fernando Zúñiga & Seppo Kittilä (eds.), *Benefactives and Malefactives: Typological perspectives and case studies*, 97-120. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Rögnvaldsson, Eiríkur. 1995. Old Icelandic: A non-configurational language? *NOWELE: North-Western European Language Evolution* 26, 3-29.

Rögnvaldsson, Eiríkur. 1996. Frumlag og fall að fornu. *Íslenskt mál og almenn málfræði* 18, 37-69.

Skard, Vemund. 1951. *Dativstudien: Dativus Sympatheticus und Dativus Comparationis in der norrönen Sprache.* Oslo: Jacob Dybwad.

Stroh-Wollin, Ulla. 2009. On the development of definiteness markers in Scandinavian. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 83.1, 1-25.

Stroh-Wollin, Ulla. 2015. Understanding the gradual development of definiteness marking: the case of Swedish. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 95, 11-32.

Stroh-Wollin, Ulla. 2016. The emergence of definiteness marking in Scandinavian – new answers to old questions. *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 131: 129-169.

Tungseth, Mai. 2007. Benefactive across Scandinavian. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 80, 187-228.

Van Valin, Robert D. & Randy J. LaPolla. 1997. *Structure, Meaning, and Function.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van de Velde, Freek. 2010. The emergence of the determiner in the Dutch NP. *Linguistics* 48.2, 263-299.

Van de Velde, Freek & Lamiroy, Béatrice. 2017. External possessors in West Germanic and Romance: Differential speed in the drift toward NP configurationality. In: Daniel Van Olmen, Hubert Cuyckens & Lobke Ghesquière, *Aspects of Grammaticalization: (Inter)Subjectification and Unidirectionality*, 353-399. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Viðarsson, Heimir F. 2009. Tilbrigði í fallmörkun aukafallsfrumlaga: Þágufallshneigð í fornískensku? *Íslenskt mál og almenn málfræði* 31, 15-66.

Viðarsson, Heimir F. [to appear]. Tilbrigði til forna. In: Höskuldur Þráinsson, Ásgrímur Angantýsson & Einar Freyr Sigurðsson (eds.), *Tilbrigði í íslenskri setningagerð*, vol. III. Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands.

Wallenberg, Joel, Anton Karl Ingason, Einar Freyr Sigurðsson. & Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson. 2011. *Icelandic Parsed Historical Corpus.* Version 0.9. URL: <http://www.linguist.is/icelandic_treebank>.

Wood, Jim. 2013. The unintentional causer in Icelandic. *Proceedings of NELS* 41, 193-204.

Wood, Jim & Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson. 2014. *Let* Causatives and (A)symmetric DAT-NOM Constructions. *Syntax* 17.3, 269-298.

Zúñiga, F. & Kittilä, S. 2010. Introduction: Benefaction and malefaction from a cross-linguistic perspective. In: Fernando Zúñiga & Seppo Kittilä (eds.), *Benefactives and Malefactives: Typological perspectives and case studies*, 1-28. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Heimir van der Feest Viðarsson
University of Iceland
The Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies
Neshagi 16
107 Reykjavík, Iceland
hfv3@hi.is

The distribution of embedded V2 and V3 in modern Icelandic

Ásgrímur Angantýsson
University of Iceland

Abstract
This paper aims at giving a comprehensive and current overview of the key empirical facts regarding embedded V2 and V3 in Icelandic, including age-related variation, and to compare this to what has been shown for other Scandinavian varieties. It is shown that Icelandic is a robust symmetric V2-language, meaning that it exhibits V2 as the default worder order both in matrix and subordinate clauses. In general, preposing is easier in matrix clauses than in subordinate clauses, with the exception of Stylistic Fronting (SF) which is more easily applicable in embedded contexts. As discussed in the paper, recent research has shown that the simple typological picture of the late 1990s is in reality much more articulated, in particular with respect to age-related variation. The fact that younger speakers of Icelandic do not accept embedded topicalization and SF as much as older speakers could be interpreted as an 'ongoing change' in Icelandic. However, it must be taken into account that these constructions are more common in the written language and in a formal style of speech. If the results regarding V3 in Icelandic are taken to indicate an 'ongoing change', then there are two changes that must be recognized: In relative clauses the conditions for V3 are reminiscent of the conditions for Topicalization and SF (less accepted by younger people), while in complement-clauses V3 is more accepted by younger people than older (innovation).

1 Introduction[1]

This paper is concerned with the distribution of embedded V2 and V3 in modern Icelandic. Jónsson's (1996) observation that there appear to be two varieties of Icelandic – Icelandic A, which quite generally permits embedded V2, and Icelandic B, which exhibits the more limited embedded V2 pattern seen in the Mainland Scandinavian languages – has led to much detailed empirical work during this millennium (cf. Thráinsson 2007 for a partial overview, and references, Angantýsson 2011, and Thráinsson et al. 2013, 2015, 2017). In light of this past work, the main purpose of the paper is to give a comprehensive and current overview of the key empirical facts, including age-related variation in modern Icelandic, and to compare this to what has been shown for other Scandinavian varieties, including some of the lesser studied systems which were part of the Scandinavian Dialect Syntax project (2005–2010). The main result is that the simple typological picture of the late 1990s is, in reality, much more articulated, and that a careful consideration of the Icelandic facts has much to offer both V2 and variation-oriented theorists.

The organization of the paper is as follows. In section 2, I describe the 'core' V2-properties of modern Icelandic, modelling the examples and presentation partly on Holmberg's (2015) discussion of the V2-phenomenon. Section 3 focuses on selected V2

[1] I want to thank Johan Brandtler, Dianne Jonas, Hans-Martin Gärtner and Heimir van der Feest Viðarsson for their helpful suggestions and corrections. Remaining errors are of course mine. Some parts of the paper were presented at a linguistic workshop held at the University of the Faroe Islands on February 21st 2017. I wish to thank the audience for useful questions and comments.

constructions in Icelandic, namely subject-initial V2, embedded topicalization, stylistic fronting and expletive insertion, building on results of speaker surveys undertaken in the Icelandic Dialect Syntax project (IceDiaSyn). Section 4 reports on the IceDiaSyn results for the exceptional V3-construction in Icelandic. In section 5, I address some comparative and theoretical issues and attempt to clarify the status of Icelandic among the Scandinavian languages with respect to embedded V2 and V3. In short, it turns out that Icelandic is not as different from the other Scandinavian languages as sometimes assumed in the literature, and also that there is considerable age-related variation with respect to embedded V2/V3 and related constructions within Icelandic. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2 Icelandic as a core I-V2 language

According to Holmberg's (2015) definition, Icelandic has all the characteristics of a 'core V2-language'. The examples in (1) present various categories that can be the first constituent in matrix V2-clauses:

(1) a. [Ég] hef í hreinskilni sagt aldrei séð refi á þessum slóðum. (subject)
I have honestly said never seen foxes in this area
'I have honestly never seen foxes in this area'

b. [Refi] hef ég í hreinskilni sagt aldrei séð á þessum slóðum. (object)
foxes have I honestly said never seen in this area

c. [Í hreinskilni sagt] hef ég aldrei séð refi á þessum slóðum.
honestly said have I never seen foxes in this area
(speech act adverb)

d. [Hvað] pantaðir þú af matseðlinum? (wh-phrase)
what ordered you from menu-the
'What did you order from the menu?'

e. [Gáfulegur] getur hann varla talist. (predicate)
intelligent looking can he barely be supposed
'One can hardly say that he is intelligent looking'

f. [Ekki] get ég sagt að hann sé mjög gáfulegur. (negation)
not can I say that he is very intelligent looking

g. [Neyðarlegast af öllu] var að detta af sviðinu. (comparative adjective)
most embarrassing of all was to fall off stage-the
'The most embarrassing thing was falling off the stage'

h. [Samt] vilja þeir segja upp samningnum. (conjunctive particle)
still want they denounce contract-the
'Still they want to denounce the contract'

i. [Handan við hæðina] stendur lítið hús. (locative phrase)
behind hill-the stands little house
'Behind the hill there is a house'

j. [Lesnar] voru bækur um vináttu. (participle)
read were books about friendship
'Some books about friendship were read'

k. Rignt hafði alla nóttina (participle)
rained had all night
'It had rained all night'

l. [Það] stendur lítið hús handan við hæðina. (expletive)
there stands little house behind hill-the
'There is a housebehind the hill'

In (1a), the subject is in its default position while (1b-c) show argument fronting and adjunct fronting, respectively. Movement of the wh-phrase is obligatory in questions such as (1d) in Icelandic, with the exception of echo-questions. Examples (1f-i) include fronting of adjectives, negation, a conjunctive particle, and a prepositional phrase. In (1j-k), there are examples of stylistically fronted past participles. Finally, (1l) shows expletive insertion which is restricted to clause-initial position in Icelandic. All of these main-clause V2-phenomena have been widely discussed in the literature (for a thorough overview, especially on topicalization, stylistic fronting and expletive insertion, see Thráinsson 2007: 341–393).

Some restrictions on the fronted elements are shown in (2):

(2) a. *[Lesið] hafa margir bókina. (participle)
read have many book-the

b. *[Upp] höfðu sumir nemendurnir tekið bækurnar. (particle)
up have some students-the taken books-the

c. *María vill að Jón giftist henni og [giftast henni] mun hann. (verb phrase)
Mary wants that John marries her and marry her will he

d. *[Bara] búa allir í Reykjavík. (certain adverbs, see below)
just live all in Reykjavík

Examples (2a-b) show that stylistic fronting is not always possible in main clauses with a postponed subject. However, preposing of this sort is easily applicable in certain types of embedded clauses as we will see in section 6.3. VP-fronting (2c) is also impossible and the same holds true for fronting of adverbs as in (2d) (Brandtler and Håkansson 2017 discuss and analyze adverbs of this type in Swedish).

Only one category can precede the finite verb in main clauses in Icelandic:

(3) a. *[Á virkum dögum] [dagblöðin] les hann alltaf.
on weekdays newspapers reads he always

b. *[Hvers vegna] [einn] viltu ekki vera / *[Einn] [hvers vegna]
why alone want-you not be / alone why
viltu ekki vera?
want-you not be

In (4), there is an (apparent) exception from the requirement on one constituent preceding the finite verb:

(4) [Í gær] [um fimmleytið] [þegar ég kom heim úr vinnunni] hitti ég
yesterday around five when I came home from work met I
gamlan félaga.
old fellow
'Yesterday, around five, when I was on my way back from work I met an old friend of mine'

Under the assumption that these adverbials form a complex adverbial phrase with each adverbial adjoined to the next one, one can say that sentences of this type act in accordance with V2 (see discussions on stacked circumstantial adverbials in Holmberg 2015). Another possibility is that a cartographic analysis along the lines of Rizzi (1997 and much later work) is relevant in this context.

Some well known exceptions showing other than V2 order in main clauses are given in (5–7):

(5) a. Les hann blöðin á hverjum degi? (V1: yes/no-question)
reads he newspapers-the each day
'Does he read the newspapers every day?'

b. Farðu heim! (V1: imperative)
go-you home
'Go home!'

c. Hringir síminn! (V1: exclamative)
rings phone-the

d. Veit ekki. (V1: subject ellipsis)
know-I not
'I don't know'

e. Komu þeir þá að stórum helli. (V1: narrative inversion)
came they then to big cave
'Then they came to a big cave'

f. [Æfi Jón sig] verður hann góður (V1: conditional clauses)
practice-subj. John self become she good
'If John practices he will be good'

(6) a. [Upphæðin], [þeir] ákváðu hana strax. (V3: left dislocation)
amount-the they determined it immediatelly
'They determined the amount immediately'

b. [Þennan mann], [hann] hef ég ekki séð. (V3: 'contrastive' left dislocation)
this man he have I not seen
'I have not seen this man'

(7) a. [Við] [einfaldlega] getum ekki gert þetta. (V3: exceptional adverbs)
we simply can not do this
'We simply can't do this'

b. Ég [í kjánaskap mínum] hélt að ... (V3: exceptional prepositional phrase)[2]
I in foolishness my thought that
'I thought in my follishness that...'

c. [Kannski] [hann] komi á morgun. (V3: adverb fronting triggering V3)
maybe he comes-subj. tomorrow
'Maybe he will come tomorrow'

Default V1-order in yes/no-questions (5a) and imperatives (5b) is a general feature of V2-languages and V1 in exclamatives (5c) and subject ellipsis resulting in V1 (5d) are also quite common in the Germanic V2-languages (see the overview in Holmberg 2015 and Jouitteau 2010). Declarative V1 as in (5e), or so-called narrative inversion (Sigurðsson 1983, 1990), and V1 in conditional clauses without a conjunction are less common (see Thráinsson 2007:30). Icelandic also exhibits the left dislocation construction (6) which is found in many Germanic languages (see Thráinsson 1979 and later work). In (7a-b), there are examples of adverbs/PPs intervening between the subject and the finite verb in a matrix declarative sentence, and (7c) presents a conjunction-like use of the adverb *kannski* 'maybe' (see Thráinsson 1986, Sigurðsson 1986, Thráinsson 2007: 53, 343).

Icelandic is an 'I-V2' (symmetric V2) language as opposed to the Mainland Scandinavian 'C-V2' (asymmetric V2) languages in Holmberg's (2015) terms, meaning that subject-initial V2 is the default word order both in matrix and subordinate clauses. Compare the Icelandic and Norwegian examples in (8) below.

(8) a. Hann efast um [að hún hafi ekki (*hafi) hitt þennan mann. (Icelandic)
he doubts that she has not has met this man
b. Han tvilte på [at hun (*hadde) ikke (hadde) møtt denne mannen]. (Norwegian)
he doubts that she has not has met this man
'He doubts that she has not met this man'

In the general case, the finite verb must precede the sentence adverb in examples such as (8a) in Icelandic. In Norwegian, the opposite holds (8b). However, there are quite well documented exceptions in the literature (see for instance Angantýsson 2007 and Thráinsson 2010 for Icelandic and Bentzen 2007 for the Mainland Scandinavian languages):

(9) a. Ég veit um eina Íslendingasögu [sem hann (hefur) ekki (hefur) lesið]. (Ice.)
I know about one Icelandic saga which he has not has read
'I know of one saga which he has not read'
b. Eva säger [att hon (ser) aldrig (ser) på TV]. (Swedish)
Eva says that she watches never watches TV
'Eva says she never watches the TV'

[2] Johan Brandtler (p.c.) points out that in Swedish, at least, (7a) requires no special intonation or pause, whereas the PP in (7b) does. This actually seems to hold true for Icelandic as well so the structures are probably not syntactically equivalent.

The negation-Vfin order in (9a) is excluded in matrix clauses in Icelandic and restricted to certain types of embedded clauses as we will see in section 4. In Mainland Scandinavian, the mainclause-like Vfin-negation order is mostly restricted to certain types of assertive complement clauses (see, for instance, Julien 2015).

3 Embedded V2

In the following subsections, I focus on the results from the Icelandic Dialect Syntax questionnaires (Thráinsson et al. (eds.) 2013, 2015, 2017) regarding (i) subject-initial V2, (ii) embedded topicalization, and (iii) stylistic fronting and expletive insertion, respectively. There are several theoretical reasons for linking these constructions together. First, it is usually assumed that stylistic fronting, topicalization and expletive insertion all make use of a similar, or even the same, position to the left of the canonical position of the finite verb. Second, if one assumes that verb movement is related to rich verbal morphology, the subject-initial V3-order in languages like Icelandic (see section 4) raises questions about the nature of V-to-I movement. The third reason is that it is relevant to explore the interaction between stylistic fronting and expletive insertion, i.e. the similarities and differences between the distribution of these phenomena in different types of embedded clauses without a pre-verbal subject, and to discover the extent to which it is possible to leave the subject position empty. Finally, the acceptability of all of these word order phenomena depends to some extent on clause type (see discussion below). Since there was interesting variation with respect to age but not the other socio-linguistic variables in the IceDiaSyn project, the discussion is restricted to the results from the oldest group (ages 65–70) and the youngest group (age 15).[3]

3.1 Subject-initial V2 and pre-VP adverbs

As frequently mentioned in the literature, V2 is always the default word order in all types of subject-initial embedded clauses in Icelandic (see for instance Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998; Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Vikner 1995, and much later work). An overview is given in (10–13):

(10) Kennarinn segir að Haraldur **hafi ekki** lesið bókina (*that*-clause)
teacher-the says that Harold has not read book-the
'The teacher says that Harold has not read the book'

(11) Kennarinn spurði hvort Haraldur **hefði ekki** lesið bókina (indirect question)
teacher-the asked whether Harold had not read book-the
'The teacher asked if Harold had not read the book'

(12) Ég veit um eina Íslendingasögu sem Haraldur **hefur ekki** lesið (relative clause)
I know about one Icelandic saga which Harold has not read
'I know about one book that Harold has not read'

[3] In the following overview tables, the total number of informants is a bit higher than in the final reports of the Icelandic Syntactic Variation project (Thráinsson et al. 2013, 2015, 2016). The reason is that the statistics presented here were prepared before the final revision of the IceDiaSyn data collection. However, this should not affect the overall results and the comparison between the two age-groups.

(13) Kennarinn tók bókina svo að Jón **gat ekki** lesið hana (adverbial clause)
teacher-the took book-the so that John could not read it
'The teacher took the book so John could not read it'

Not surprisingly, examples of subject-initial V2 received very positive judgements in the IceDiaSyn project as shown in Table 1 (Overview questionnaire II, see Thráinsson and Angantýsson 2015 – the most common response in each age-group is in bold type).

Table 1: V2 in a complement clause and a relative clause in Icelandic.

	Youngest group (359 informants)			**Oldest group (185 informants)**		
	OK	?	*	OK	?	*
(14) Ég held að Anna **hafi ekki** lesið bókina I think that Anna has not read book-the 'I think Anna has not read the book'	**91.4**	4	4.6	**98.4**	1.6	0
(15) Hún spurði hvort þeir **hefðu alltaf** verið she asked whether they had always been flughræddir afraid of flying 'She asked if they had always been afraid of flying'	**83.8**	9.7	6.6	**89.6**	7.1	3.3
(16) Þar var alls konar matur sem henni **líkaði ekki** there was all kind of food that she liked not 'There was all kind of food that she didn't like'	**73**	15	12	**84.5**	9	6.5

Most of the informants fully accepted the V2-order and relatively few put a question mark. In section 4, we will see to what extent V3 is also an option in embedded clauses in Icelandic.

3.2 Embedded topicalization

It has been claimed that topicalization is more readily accepted in embedded clauses in Icelandic than in the Mainland Scandinavian languages (cf. Holmberg and Platzack 1995: 78–79; Magnússon 1990; Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990; Vikner 1995: 72); however, for a different view see Ottósson (1989), Jónsson (1996: 36–37) and Wiklund et al. (2007, 2009). Consequently, it has been proposed that embedded clauses in Icelandic are more "matrix-like" than embedded clauses in related languages (Iatridou and Kroch 1992; Santorini 1992, 1994; Vikner 1995). The view that Icelandic is systematically different from the Mainland Scandinavian languages with respect to embedded topicalization (ET), is challenged by the data discussed here. We will come back to such comparative issues in section 5.

In this subsection, and also in my presentation of subject-initial V3, I organize the data in accordance with Hooper and Thompson's (1973) influential classification of predicates that take clauses as their complements.[4] Table 2 presents examples of topicalization in *that*-clauses

[4] The following examples illustrate Hooper and Thompson' (H&T 1973) classification of predicates that take clauses as their complements (see also Heycock 2006, Levin 1993, Simons 2007):

(i) a. John says [that Mary has not read the book] (class A)
b. John thinks [that Mary has not read the book] (class B)
c. John doubts [that Mary has not read the book] (class C)

that are complements of different types of matrix predicates (from Overview questionnaire III, see Thráinsson and Angantýsson 2015). According to Hooper and Thompson's theory, main clause phenomena like topicalization should be most acceptable in complements of predicates of types A, B and E:

Table 2: Topicalization in *that*-clauses

		Youngest group (261 informants)			**Oldest group (159 informants)**		
		OK	?	*	OK	?	*
(17) Hann sagði að **þjóðsönginn** gæti hann ekki sungið He said that the national song could he not sing 'He said that he could not sing the national anthem'	**A**	20.5%	25.1%	**54.4%**	**65%**	17.8%	17.2%
(18) Hann hélt að **þá mynd** hefðum við ekki séð He thought that that movie had 1st.pl not seen 'He thought that we had not seen that movie'	**B**	24.7%	26.7%	**48.6%**	**71.3%**	14%	14.7%
(19) Ég veit þó að **til Aþenu** hefur hún aldrei komið I know though that to Athens has she never come 'I do however know that she has never been to Athens'	**E**	22.9%	29.5%	**47.7%**	**83.6%**	10.7%	5.7%
(20) Hann uppgötvaði að **þá bók** hafði hann ekki lesið He discovered that that book had he not read 'He discovered that he had not read that book'	**E**	**47.5%**	24.5%	28%	**87.8%**	6.4%	5.8%
(21) Ég efast samt um að **þennan mann** hafi hún hitt I doubt however that this man has she met 'Nonetheless, I doubt, that she has met this man'	**C**	26.2%	22.4%	**51.4%**	**55.1%**	16.7%	28.2%

d. John regrets [that Mary has not read the book] (class D)
e. John realizes [that Mary has not read the book] (class E)

In a sentence like (ia), that is with a predicate like 'say' and a sentential complement, the proposition of either the main sentence or of the complement clause alone represents the main assertion. In the latter case, the main clause predicate has a "parenthetical" reading. If the predicate in the main clause is a verb like 'think', as in (ib), the complement proposition represents the main assertion in the normal case (H&T 1973: 477–478). This means that complements of predicates A and B can be assertive. Complements of predicates like 'doubt' (ic) are non-assertive. Factive predicates like 'regret' (id) "express some emotion or subjective attitude about a presupposed complement" and their complements are "clearly not asserted" (H&T 1973: 479). Finally, (semi-)factive predicates like 'realize' (ie) "assert the manner in which the subject came to know that the complement proposition is true". Hooper and Thompson claim that complements of this type can be asserted (1973: 480), and this can be supported by examples like *I was just discovering that the bike has disappeared*. The most straightforward interpretation is that the latter assertion is the main assertion of the utterance, i.e. "the bike has disappeared".

	Youngest group (261 informants)			Oldest group (159 informants)		
	OK	?	*	OK	?	*
(22) Ráðherrann harmar að **það mál** **D** The minister regrets that that matter skuli þeir ekki hafa rætt should they not have discussed 'The minister regrets that they had not discussed that matter'	25%	29.4%	**45.6%**	**40.8%**	19.7%	39.4%

In general, the youngest speakers do not accept embedded topicalization as readily as the oldest speakers. "A natural sentence" is the most commonly given response in the oldest group with the exception of (22), while "unacceptable sentence" is the most commonly given response in the youngest group with the exception of (20). Among the oldest informants, the acceptability of topicalization depends to a certain extent on the type of the predicate in the matrix clause. In the complements of the predicates of classes A (17), B (18) and E (19–20) it receives a significantly higher score than in complements of predicates C (21) and D (22). This fits nicely with Hooper and Thompson's (1973) classification of predicates taking *that*-clauses as their complements. In both age-groups, topicalization receives the most positive judgements in the complement of *uppgötva* 'observe' (class E). These results show that for many speakers of Icelandic the type of the predicate in the matrix clause matters.

Table 3 shows the reactions to topicalization in an indirect question and XP-fronting in a relative clauses with an overt subject (also Overview questionnaire III):

Table 3: Topicalization in indirect questions and relative clauses

	Youngest group (261 informants)			Oldest group (159 informants)		
	OK	?	*	OK	?	*
(23) Ég veit þó ekki hvort **til Rómar** hefur I know though not whether to Rome has hún komið she come 'I do not however know whether she has been to Rome'	5%	12.4%	**82.6%**	1.3%	8.3%	**90.4%**
(24) Þetta er strákurinn sem **í París** hitti This is the boy that in Paris met ég síðast I last time 'This is the boy who I met in Paris last time'	7.4%	8.1%	**84.5%**	0.6%	5.1%	**94.2%**

In both age-groups (and overall), topicalization received a very low overall score in indirect questions (23) and in a relative clause with an overt subject (24). This is consistent with Magnússon's (1990) survey of the acceptability of embedded topicalization in clauses of this type, and not surprising from a comparative perspective (see for instance Rizzi 2001, Cinque 2004, Haegeman 2012 and references there for discussions on intervention effects in clauses of this type).

No examples of topicalization in adverbial clauses were included in the IceDiaSyn questionnaires but there are several mentions in the literature regarding the (im)possibility of fronting in adverbial clauses. Some scholars seem to assume that topicalization is not possible in adverbial clauses (Franco 2009: 146; Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund 2009: 28) while others accept it to some extent (Angantýsson 2011; Magnússon 1990; Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990: 25). Haegeman (2012, and much previous work) argues that there is a crucial difference between the external and internal syntax of 'central' adverbial clauses (CACs) and 'peripheral' adverbial clauses (PACs). Under her analysis, central adverbial clauses are adjoined to the VP or IP/TP, while peripheral clauses are coordinated with the associate clause. Haegeman's theory predicts that in a V2-language such as Icelandic the peripheral ones should allow main clause phenomena while the central ones should not. This prediction seems to be borne out (see further discussions in Angantýsson 2011):

(25) a.*María sótti tíma **á meðan** ÞÍNA bók voru þeir að nota (CAC *temporal*)
Mary attended classes while your book were they using
en ekki á meðan MÍN var notuð
but not while mine was used

b. **?Á meðan** ÞÍNA bók eru þeir að nota í tveimur námskeiðum (PAC *contrast*)
while your book are they using in two courses
hafa þeir ekki einu sinni pantað MÍNA á bókasafnið
have they not even ordered mine at library-the
'While they are using your book in two courses they haven't even ordered mine.'

The following examples of argument fronting in PACs further support Haegemans' theory (26a is from Magnússon 1990:114 and 26b was found online by Dianne Jonas, see Angantýsson and Jonas 2016):

(26) a. Stína sagði að bókin í heild væri frekar leiðinleg **jafnvel þótt/þótt**
Stína said that book-the in whole was rather boring although
einstaka kafla gæti hún alveg hugsað sér að lesa aftur.
some chapters could she well think herself to read again
'Stína said that the book as a whole was rather boring although she could imagine herself reading some selected chapters again.'

b. Í ensku eru sterkbeygðar sagnir taldar óreglulegar, **á meðan**
in English are strong verbs assumed irregular while
í fornensku eru þær taldar reglulegar.
in Old-English are they assumed regular
'In Modern English strong verbs are assumed irregular while in Old English they are assumed regular.'

For many speakers, both examples are perfectly fine. In contrast, temporal CACs resist both argument and adjunct fronting:

(27) a.***Þegar** reglulega pistla byrjaði hún að skrifa aftur hélt
when regular columns began she to write again thought
ég að hún yrði ánægðari.
I that she would be more glad
b.*Hann sá hana **þegar** í gær fór hún út.
he saw her when yesterday went she out

However, as mentioned by Angantýsson and Jonas (2016), the fronting of adjuncts is generally easier than argument fronting in adverbial clauses (see also Jónsson 1996: 42–43 on the distinction between sentence-intial adjunct topics and fronted argument topics in embedded contexts in Icelandic).

Summing up the basic facts regarding embedded topicalization (ET) in Icelandic, one can say that ET is generally accepted in *that*-complements of predicates A, B and E in Hooper and Thompson‘s (1973) theory, but receives less positive judgements in non-assertive complement clauses. For most speakers ET is excluded in relative clauses and indirect questions. Adverbial clauses generally resist topicalization, apparently with the exception of peripheral adverbial clauses to some extent. In section 5.2, we will come back to some comparative issues regarding embedded topicalization.

3.3 Stylistic fronting and expletive insertion

Stylistic Fronting (SF) is “an optional fronting operation which moves an ordinarily post-verbal constituent to the preverbal domain” (Wood 2011). As originally pointed out by Maling (1980), SF in Icelandic is most typically found in embedded clauses with a “subject gap”:[5]

(28) a. Þetta er mál sem __ hefur verið rætt um.
this is matter that has been discussed about
b. Þetta er mál sem **rætt** hefur verið __ um. (SF)
this is matter that discussed has been about
c. *Þetta er mál sem **það** hefur verið rætt um. (Expl.)
this is matter that there has been discussed about
‘This is a matter that has been discussed.’

[5] Nowadays, only the Insular Scandinavian languages have stylistic fronting as a productive construction but it existed in the older Mainland Scandinavian languages as well (see Holmberg 2000, Delsing 2001, Thráinsson 2007: 376–377, and references there). However, Engdahl (2012) shows examples of “frozen“ SF expressions in modern Swedish. It is also interesing that Old Icelandic exhibits examples of stylistic fronting that sound strange in the modern language (Rögnvaldsson 2005).

(29) a.?Ég held að __ hafi verið rætt um málið á fundinum.
I think that has been discussed about matter-the at meeting-the
b. Ég held að **rætt** hafi verið __ um málið á fundinum. (SF)
I think that discussed has been about matter-the at meeting-the
c. Ég held að **það** hafi verið rætt um málið á fundinum. (Expl.)
I think that there has been discussed about matter-the at meeting-the
'I think that the matter has been discussed at the meeting.'

(30) a. Þeir sem __ hafa verið í Ósló segja að …
those that have been in Oslo say that
b. Þeir sem **í Ósló** hafa verið segja að … (PP fronting)
those that in Oslo have been say that
c.*Þeir sem **það** hafa verið í Ósló segja að … (Expl.)
those that there have been in Oslo say that
'Those who have been in Oslo say that ...'

A comparison of the (a) examples indicates that some subject gaps can be left empty while others preferably need to be filled. Sentences (28b) and (29b) are typical examples of SF. The (c) examples show that SF is not always open to expletive insertion. Example (30b) features SF-like movement of an XP within an embedded clause containing a subject gap.

Stylistic Fronting has been discussed extensively in the syntactic literature, but the kinds of data that are taken to be representative of SF vary from paper to paper. Some linguists regard all fronting in clauses containing a subject gap as SF (e.g. Holmberg 2000, Hrafnbjargarson 2004). Others suggest that only head movement should count as SF (e.g. Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Jónsson 1991; Poole 1992, 1996; Thráinsson 1993). Yet others consider SF and topicalization to be one and the same phenomenon (Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990). Finally, SF has also been analyzed as an instant of remnant movement (Müller 2004, Franco 2009, Ott 2009, 2016): the apparent heads moved by SF are analyzed as phrases that have been emptied of all material except for the head (for a more detailed discussion on various approaches to SF, see Angantýsson 2011:145–183; Holmberg 2006; Thráinsson 2007: 341–393). Consequently, the results concerning the nature of SF and its structural properties vary substantially. In my discussion here, I use the term SF in a broad sense and include "borderline cases" of SF and Topicalization such as (30b).

Table 4 shows what kind of judgements SF received in *that*-clauses, indirect questions and relative clauses (Overview questionnaire III, see Thráinsson and Angantýsson 2015):

Table 4: Stylistic Fronting in different types of embedded clauses

	%Youngest group (261 informants)			%Oldest group (159 informants)		
	OK	?	*	OK	?	*
(31) Allir vissu þó að **stolið** hafði verið everybody knew though that stolen had been skjávörpum some projectors 'Everybody knew though that some projectors had been stolen'	**49.2**	27.3	23.5	**53.5**	21.7	24.5
(32) Hún spurði hvort **rætt** hefði verið she asked whether talked had been við Helgu to Helga 'She asked if Helga had been talked to'	**59.5**	21	19.5	**85.4**	8.9	5.7
(33) Þetta er eitt af þeim vandamálum this is one of the problems sem **upp** hafa komið that up has come 'This is one of the problems that have emerged'	**59.8**	22.4	17.8	**91.1**	5.7	3.2
(34) Þetta er frumvarp this is a parliamentary proposal sem **lagt** hefur verið fram á Alþingi that put has been forth at Alþingi' 'This is a parliamentary proposal that has been propounded at Althingi'	**64.5**	18.1	17.4	**92.4**	4.4	3.2
(35) Þeir sem **erfiðustu ákvarðanirnar** those who the most difficult decisions tóku voru ekki öfundsverðir made were not enviable 'She asked if Helga had been talked to'	30	31,2	**38.8**	**85.9**	8,3	5,8
(36) Þeir sem **erfiðustu verkin** those who the most difficult work höfðu unnið hættu þó fyrr had done stopped earlier 'However, those who had done the most difficult work quit earlier'	28,1	27,3	**44.6**	**59.9**	21	19,1

Overall, the acceptance rate of unambiguous examples of SF (31–34) is relatively high. However, the acceptance ratio of the youngest group is significantly lower than that of the oldest group. Among the oldest speakers, SF is much more degraded in complement clauses than in other clause types. The oldest group also responded positively to XP fronting in relative clauses with a main verb in the finite position (35), but less so if there was an auxiliary in the clause (33). While the majority of the adolescents fully accept unambiguous instances of SF (31–34), the most commonly given response for XP fronting in relative clauses (35–36) was "ungrammatical". The acceptance rate of examples (35–36) among the adolescents was similar to that of ET in *that*-clauses as shown in section 3.2. Among the oldest speakers, the fronting of a past participle in a subjectless impersonal passive had a higher acceptance ratio in complement clauses (31) than in indirect questions (30). The different conditions for SF in different clause types will become clearer in the following discussion.

Since it has sometimes been proposed that the function of SF (as well as expletive insertion) is to fill subject gaps (cf. Holmberg 2000), it is interesting to chart the extent to which it is possible to leave the subject position empty. Table 5 presents examples for impersonal passives:

Table 5: Subject gap in *that*-clauses

	%Youngest group (261 informants)			**%Oldest group (159 informants)**		
	OK	?	*	OK	?	*
(37) Eigendurnir segja <u>að</u> hafi verið the owners say that has been unnin skemmdarverk committed sabotage 'The owners say that some sabotage has been committed'	34.8	29.3	**35.9**	25.6	25	**49.4**
(38) Í blöðunum segir <u>að</u> hafi verið in the newspapers says that have been bjargað þremur sjómönnum saved three fishermen 'In the newspapers it is reported that three fisherman have been saved'	**37.7**	26.5	35.8	3.8	18,5	**77.7**
(39) Allir vissu <u>að</u> hafði verið stolið everyone knew that had been stolen skartgripum some jewelry 'Everybody knew that some projectors had been stolen'	33	27.2	**39.8**	12,8	26.3	**60.9**

All these examples receive rather negative judgements, especially among the oldest speakers. A comparison of (39) and (31) shows that both age-groups prefer SF over a subject gap.

Table 6 presents examples of subject gaps (Ø) and Expletive Insertion (Expl) in indirect questions and *that*-clauses whose *wh*-objects have been extracted (Overview questionnaire II, see Thráinsson and Angantýsson 2015):

Table 6: Subject gap and expletive insertion in indirect questions and extraction environments

	%Youngest group (261 informants)			**%Oldest group (159 informants)**		
	OK	?	*	OK	?	*
(40) Þau vita ekki hvort hafa verið **Ø** they know not whether have been rottur undir gólfinu rats under the floor 'They don't know if there have been rats under the floor'	27.4	23.6	**49**	17.9	25.6	**56.4**
(41) Þau vissu ekki hvort **það** væru **Expl** they knew not whether EXPL were komnir gestir arrived guests 'They didn't know if any guests had arrived'	**76.4**	17.4	6.2	**70.1**	14	15.9
(42) Hvern hélst þú að hefði verið **Ø** who thought you that had been talað við talked to 'Who did you think that had been talked to?'	**48.2**	24.9	26.8	**58.5**	21.4	20.1
(43) Hvaða máli hélst þú að **það** **Expl** which matter thought you that EXPL hefði verið sagt frá had been told about 'Which matter did you think that had been reported?'	**48.8**	29.5	21.7	28.9	26.3	**44.7**

In the indirect questions in (40–43), most speakers strongly prefer expletive insertion to subject gap and there is no significant difference between the age-groups in this respect. In the extraction constructions in (42–43), the youngest speakers show no strong preferences between the two versions while the oldest group prefers leaving the subject position empty to inserting the expletive.

In Table 7, there are examples of a subject gap and expletive insertion in temporal clauses with a weather predicate, and a relative clause with no insertion or fronting (Overview questionnaire III, see Thráinsson and Angantýsson 2015):

Table 7: Subject gap and Expletive Insertion in temporal clauses and relative clauses

	%Youngest group (261 informants)			%Oldest group (159 informants)		
	OK	?	*	OK	?	*
(44) Það breytist þegar fer að rigna **Ø** it changes when starts to rain 'It changes when it starts to rain'	**65**	18.5	16.5	**90.6**	5.7	3.8
(45) Þær verða opnaðar þegar **það** **Expl** they will be opened when EXPL fer að snjóa starts to snow 'They will open when it starts to snow'	**84.9**	7.3	7.7	**67.7**	19.6	12.7
(46) Það er mál sem hefur verið **Ø** this is a matter that has been mikið rætt um á kaffistofunni much discussed in the coffee room 'It is a matter that has been much discussed in the coffee room'	**60.1**	23.3	16.7	**65.2**	21.5	13.3

The option of "leaving a subject gap" in temporal clauses (44) scores very highly among the oldest speakers, whereas inserting an expletive in such clauses (45) does not get judged as positively – in the youngest group, the situation is reversed. These results can be interpreted as showing a tendency towards an increased use of the expletive in Icelandic. The relative clause (46) received quite positive judgements in both age groups although the oldest speakers accepted comparable sentences with SF to a higher extent.

In section 6.4.2, we will come back to some comparative issues regarding stylistic fronting and related constructions in Icelandic, Faroese, and Övdalian.

4 Embedded V3

4.1 Introduction

As mentioned in section 2, the different word order in embedded clauses in Icelandic on the one hand and the Mainland Scandinavian languages on the other hand is a widely discussed issue in the literature:

(47) a. Ég spurði hvort Jón **hefði ekki** séð myndina (Icel.)
I asked if John had not seen movie-the
'I asked if John had not seen the movie'

b.?*Ég spurði hvort Jón **ekki hefði** séð myndina (Icel.)
I asked if John not had seen movie-the

c.*Jag frågade om Jon **hade inte** sett filmen (Swed.)
I asked if John had not seen movie-the

d. Jag frågade om Jon **inte hade** sett filmen (Swed.)
I asked if John not had seen movie-the
'I asked if John had not seen the movie'

This syntactic difference has frequently been connected with the different degrees of verbal morphological inflection in these languages. It is a common assumption that the verb moves into IP/TP in Icelandic in order to check morphological features but stays in situ in the VP in the Mainland Scandinavian languages (see for instance Angantýsson 2007, 2011; Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998; Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Jonas 1996; Koeneman and Zeijlstra 2014; Thráinsson, 2003, 2010, and references there).

Even though the finite verb usually precedes a sentence adverb in Icelandic, the adverb can precede the verb in some embedded clauses as shown in (48–49):[6]

(48) a. Það er ein íslensk mynd sem Haraldur **hefur ekki** séð
there is one Icelandic movie that Harold has not seen
b. (?)Það er ein íslensk mynd sem Haraldur **ekki hefur** séð
there is one Icelandic movie that Harold not has seen
c. Það er ein íslensk mynd sem hann **ekki hefur** séð
there is one Icelandic movie that he not has seen
'There is one Icelandic movie that Harold/he has not seen'

(49) a. Ég veit hvaða mynd Haraldur **hefur ekki** séð
I know what movie Harold has not seen
b. Ég veit hvaða mynd Haraldur **ekki hefur** séð
I know which movie Harold not has seen
c. Ég veit hvaða mynd hann **ekki hefur** séð
I know which movie he not has seen
'I know which movie Harold/he has not seen'

The word order as illustrated in (48a) and (49a) is definitely the unmarked one, but as seen from the remaining examples, the V3 order is also possible. Examples (48b) and (49b), with a proper noun in the subject position, are slightly marked as opposed to (48c) and (49c) which have unstressed pronouns as subjects.[7]

---

[6] For a thorough discussion of the distribution and stigmatization of embedded V3 in older Icelandic, especially in the 19th century, see Viðarsson 2016.

[7] The relevant adverbs in my discussion on subject-initial embedded V2/V3 are pre-VP sentence adverbs, i.e. adverbs that precede the VP and cannot follow it when there is an auxiliary in the clause. The temporal adverbs aftur 'again' and aldrei 'never' behave differently in this respect:

(ii) a. María hafði **aftur** séð Jón
Mary had again seen John
'Mary had seen John again'
b. María hafði **aldrei** séð Jón
Mary had never seen John
'Mary had never seen John'
c. María hafði séð Jón **aftur**
Mary had seen John again
'Mary had seen John again'
d. *María hafði séð Jón **aldrei**
Mary had seen John never
'Mary had never seen John'

The examples in (ii) show that both the adverbs can precede the non-finite verb but only aftur can follow it.

In the following subsections, I focus on the results from the IceDiaSyn questionnaires regarding subject-initial V3 (Thráinsson et al. 2013, 2015, 2016). As before, the discussion is restricted to the results from the oldest and youngest age-groups.

4.2 V3 in various types of embedded clauses

Table 8 presents the results for subject-initial V3 in *that*-clauses and indirect questions in Icelandic (IceDiaSyn – Overview questionnaire III):

Table 8: Subject-initial V3 in that-clauses and indirect questions

	%Youngest group (261 informants)			**%Oldest group (159 informants)**		
	OK	?	*	OK	?	*
(50) Kennarinn segir að Haraldur **ekki** hafi lesið bókina teacher-the says that Harold not has read book-the 'The teacher says that Harold has not read the book'	27.4	15.1	**57.9**	15.3	8.3	**76.4**
(51) Hann spurði hvort hún **alltaf** hefði sungið falskt he asked whether she always had sung falsely 'He asked whether she had always sung falsely'	19.8	16.3	**64**	16.7	12.8	**70.5**
(52) Hann spurði hvort þeir **aldrei** hefðu borðað svið he asked whether they never had eaten sheep heads 'He asked whether they never had eaten sheep heads'	14.2	20.3	**65.5**	8.9	9.6	**81.5**
(53) Þeir spurðu hvort hann **aldrei** færi í bað They asked whether he never took a bath 'They asked whether he never took a bath'	18.8	21.9	**59.2**	7.6	15.8	**76.6**
(54) Kennarinn spurði hverja hann **ekki** vildi leika við teacher-the asked who he not wanted to play with 'The teacher asked who he didn't want to play with'	29.8	20.5	**49.6**	16.7	25.6	**57.7**

In general, the V3 order gets rather negative judgements. Interestingly, the youngest group is more positive than the oldest group towards the Adv-Vfin order. This could be taken as an indication of ongoing change in Icelandic toward the Mainland Scandinavian word order.

Table 9 shows what kind of judgements subject-initial V3 received in adverbial clauses (Overview questionnaire III):

Table 9: Subject-initial V3 in adverbial clauses

	%Youngest group (261 informants)			%Oldest group (159 informants)		
	OK	?	*	OK	?	*
(55) Vala tók bókina svo að Haraldur **ekki gat** lesið hana Vala took book-the so that Harold not could read it 'Vala took the book so Harold couldn't read it'	8.4	11.9	**79.7**	6.3	12.7	**81**
(56) Hann lagði prófið fyrir þótt nemendurnir **ekki hefðu** lesið bókina he propounded the test though students-the not had read book-the 'He propounded the test even though the students had not read the book'	32.2	20.9	**46.9**	21	16.6	**62.4**
(57) Henni líður miklu betur þegar hann **ekki mætir** she feels much better when he not shows up 'She feels much better when he does not show up'	21.3	27.1	**51.6**	26	28.6	**45.5**
(58) Það er leiðinlegt þegar formaðurinn **ekki mætir** It is bad when director-the not shows up 'It is bad when the director does not show up'	20.4	35.4	**44.2**	**36.8**	28.4	34.8

The youngest group is more positive than the oldest group towards the Adv-Vfin order in adverbial clauses conjoined with *þótt* 'though' (56) which is the same situation as in *that*-clauses and indirect questions. In adverbial clauses conjoined with *þegar* 'when' (52–53), there is no substantial difference between the age-groups.

Table 10 presents the results for relative clauses (also from Overview questionnaire III):

Table 10: Subject-initial V3 in relative clauses

	%Youngest group (261 informants)			%Oldest group (159 informants)		
	OK	?	*	OK	?	*
(59) Ég veit bara um eina mynd sem hann **ekki sá** I know only of one movie that he **not saw** 'I only know of one movie that he did not see'	31.5	25.7	**42.8**	**41.6**	24.7	33.8
(60) En það sem hann **ekki sagði** skipti meira máli but what that he not said mattered more 'But what he did not say mattered more'	**34.1**	32.2	33.7	**55.7**	20.9	23.4

Here the situation is reversed: The oldest group is more positive towards the Adv-Vfin order than the youngest group ("a natural sentence" is the most commonly given response).

Table 11 presents examples of Adv-Vfin order as well as the (default) Vfin-Adv order, for comparison (Overview questionnaire II – the sentence pairs where not adjacent in the questionnaire):

Table 11: Comparison of V2 and V3 in subject-initial embedded clauses

	%Youngest group (359 informants)			%Oldest group (185 informants)		
	OK	?	*	OK	?	*
(61) Ég held að Anna **hafi ekki** lesið bókina I think that Anna had not read book-the 'I think that Anne has not read the book'	**91.4**	4	4.6	**98.4**	1.6	0
(62) Ég held að Stebbi **ekki hafi** þvegið gólfið I think that Stebbi not has washed floor-the 'I think that Steve not has washed the floor'	29.6	4.8	**65.5**	14.8	2.7	**82.5**
(63) Hún spurði hvort þeir **hefðu alltaf** verið she asked whether they had always been 'She asked whether they had always been afraid of flying'	**83.8**	9.7	6.6	**89.6**	7.1	3.3
(64) Hún spurði hvort þeir **alltaf hefðu** verið hræddir við mýs she asked whether they always had been afraid of mice 'She asked whether they always had been afraid of mice'	20.5	6.6	**72.9**	7.7	4.9	**87.4**
(65) Þar var alls konar matur sem henni **líkaði ekki** there was all kind food that she liked not 'There was all kind of food that she liked not'	**73**	15	12	**84.5**	9	6.5
(66) Þar var margt fólk sem hann **ekki þekkti** there were many people who he not knew 'There were many people there who he not knew'	27.8	22.5	**49.7**	**47.8**	25.5	26.6

Most speakers accept the Vfin-Adv order as expected. Regarding the Adv-Vfin order, the pattern is similar to what was shown in tables 8 and 9. In the *that*-clause (62) and the indirect question (64), the V3 order scores relatively higher among the younger speakers than among the older informants, while the reverse situation holds in relative clauses.[8]

5 Comparative issues

5.1 V2 and V3 in subject-initial clauses

Table 12 summarizes Angantýsson's (2011) results for Vfin-Adv (V2) and Adv-Vfin (V3) orders in three different types of embedded clauses in the Icelandic (from IceDiaSyn), Faroese (48 informants), Övdalian (52 informants) and Western-Jutlandic (24 informants). In order to make the comparison easier, only the figures for fully accepted sentences (OK) are shown:

[8] In the interviews conducted in connection with the IceDiaSyn project (including the pilot study), it turned out that the Adv-Vfin order was considered better if the sentence adverb was stressed (the examples were from relative clauses) (see Thráinsson and Angantýsson 2015).

Table 12: Comparison of the acceptability of verb/adverb placement in different types of embedded clauses in Icelandic, Faroese, Övdalian and Western-Jutlandic

	Complements of predicates A, B, E		Complements of predicates C, D (not tested in Icelandic)		Relative clauses	
	Vfin-Adv	Adv-Vfin	Vfin-Adv	Adv-Vfin	Vfin-Adv	Adv-Vfin
Icelandic (youngest group)	91%	29%			73%	31%
Icelandic (oldest group)	98%	15%			85%	48%
Faroese	62%	90%	21%	98%	23%	94%
Övdalian	52%	69%	30%	82%	32%	85%
Western Jutlandic	28%	89%	13%	92%	13%	100%

The contrast between Icelandic and Western-Jutlandic is very clear and in accordance with the standard view that in Icelandic the Vfin-Adv order is the default one in all clause types, while the Adv-Vfin order is the default in all clause types in Mainland Scandinavian. The acceptance of the exceptional Adv-Vfin order in Icelandic depends heavily on clause type. In Western-Jutlandic, it was expected that complements of predicates A, B and E would most easily allow the exceptional Vfin-Adv order. However, it was found that complements of such predicates only allowed this order slightly more frequently than other clause types. The standard view is that Faroese and Övdalian lie somewhere between the two poles of Icelandic and Western-Jutlandic with respect to word order in embedded clauses. Faroese appears to be very similar to Western-Jutlandic with respect to Adv-Vfin order, having this as the unmarked word order in all clause types. The main difference between Faroese and Western-Jutlandic lies in the acceptance of the Vfin-Adv order in complements of assertive predicates, where Faroese scores much higher than Western-Jutlandic.[9] This difference is unexpected under a pure "assertion analysis" of verb movement in complement clauses in languages like Faroese and Danish (see discussions in Heycock et al. 2012 and Angantýsson 2016). In Övdalian, Adv-Vfin is the unmarked word order in all clause types except for indirect questions, where the Vfin-Adv order scores higher (not shown here, see Angantýsson 2015). The acceptance of Vfin-Adv in Övdalian is also quite high in complements of predicates A, B and E. Thus, Faroese and Övdalian can be viewed as much closer to Mainland Scandinavian than Icelandic with respect to verb placement in embedded clauses.

[9] Heycock et al. (2012: 566) compare the frequencies of V2 and V3 in 353 embedded clauses in Faroese and 316 embedded clauses in Danish (newspaper texts in both cases) and show that the frequency of the finite verb preceding the negation is 41% in Faroese complement clauses, whereas in Danish complement clauses it is only 1%. Furthermore, they show, for instance, that the frequency of the finite verb preceding the negation is 35% in Faroese adverbial clauses conjoined with *svo* 'so' + adjective/adverb + *að* 'that' (*svo skammarlegt að hann **vildi ekki** tala um það* 'so embarrassing that he would not talk about it'), but in Danish there were no examples of the V2-order order in such clauses. In the research project "Syntactic variation in Faroese" (Thráinsson 2015) it also turned out that more than 50% of the informants accepted the V2-order in a conditional clause and more than one third accepted it in a concessive clause.

5.2 Embedded topicalization

Table 13 presents a simplified overview of Angantýsson's (2011) questionnaire results regarding embedded topicalization in Icelandic, Faroese, Övdalian and Western-Jutlandic. A plus sign symbolizes positive reactions and a minus sign symbolizes negative reactions. If both symbols are given it means that there is variation and the first symbol represents the more general reaction. If only one symbol is given it means that there was relatively little variation. An empty box means that the clause type in question was not tested:

Table 13: An overview of the acceptability of embedded topicalization in different types of embedded clauses in Icelandic, Faroese, Övdalian and Western-Jutlandic

	Icel.	**Far.**	**Övdal.**	**West.-Jutl.**
Embedded Topicalization				
that-clauses with predicates of types A, B and E	+/–	+	+/–	+/–
that-clauses with predicates of types C and D	–/+	–	–/+	–/+
Indirect questions	–	–	–	–
Adverbial clauses		–	–	–
Relative clauses	–	–	–	–

The four languages behave similarly with respect to Embedded Topicalization: ET is only generally accepted in *that*-clauses that are complements of predicates A, B and E. Faroese is the "best-behaved" language in terms of Hooper and Thompson's (1973) classification of predicates with respect to ET as it was also with respect to Vfin-Adv order.

In (67–71) there are some claims from the literature about the empirical situation regarding Embedded Topicalization in the Scandinavian languages:

(67) Topicalization is more easily or widely accepted in embedded clauses in Icelandic than in the Mainland Scandinavian languages (Holmberg and Platzack 1995: 78-79; Magnússon 1990; Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990; Vikner 1995: 72).

(68) Embedded Topicalization obeys similar restrictions in Icelandic to those in the Mainland Scandinavian languages (Jónsson 1996; Ottósson 1989; Wiklund et al. 2007, 2009).

(69) There are two varieties with respect to ET in Icelandic. Speakers of variety A allow topicalization quite freely in embedded clauses except for temporal clauses and embedded clauses that contain a trace, while speakers of variety B allow ET only in the complements of bridge verbs (Jónsson 1996: 39).

(70) In Icelandic, Topicalization in *that*-complements, including complements of non-assertive predicates like *efast um* 'doubt', is fine (Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990).

(71) In both Icelandic and the Mainland Scandinavian languages Topicalization in complements of non-assertive predicates like *efast um* 'doubt' and factive predicates like *sjá eftir* 'regret' is bad or impossible (Bentzen et al. 2007).

The data discussed here (and in more detail in Angantýsson 2011, and Thráinsson et al. 2013, 2015, 2017) can be viewed as supporting (68) and (69) as opposed to (67), although it does not exclude the possibility that some speakers of Icelandic allow ET more widely than most

speakers of the Mainland Scandinavian languages do. The description in (70) is correct for many speakers of Icelandic (especially in the older group) and (71) is true for many speakers of Icelandic and probably for many speakers of the standard Mainland Scandinavian languages as well. However, (70) and (71) are too strong as descriptions of either "Icelandic" or "Mainland Scandinavian". What this means is that there is considerable variation in the use and acceptance of embedded topicalization in complement clauses. The fact that younger speakers of Icelandic are less likely to accept (embedded) topicalization is particularly interesting. To my knowledge, it is not clear whether the other Scandinavian languages behave alike in this respect.

5.3 Stylistic fronting and expletive insertion

The linguistic variables involved in the discussion in 6.3.3 on stylistic fronting and related constructions involve many different types of fronted or inserted elements, different clause types and various kinds of subject gaps that affect the movement of elements within the sentence. Table 14 presents an overview of those parts of Angantýsson's (2011) questionnaire results that can be compared between languages:[10]

Table 14: A comparison of the acceptability of SF and related constructions in different types of embedded clauses in Icelandic, Faroese and Övdalian

	Icel.	**Far.**	**Övdal.**
Stylistic fronting (of past participles)			
that-clauses (impersonal passives)	+/–	+/–	–
Indirect questions (impersonal passives)	+		–
Relative clauses	+	+/–	–
Expletive insertion			
Temporal clauses (weather predicates)	+/–	+	+
Relative clauses		+	+
Subject gaps			
Temporal clauses (weather predicates)	+/–	–	
Relative clauses	+/–	–/+	+/–

In Icelandic and Faroese, SF was more widely accepted in relative clauses than in *that*-clauses. The Övdalian speakers completely rejected fronting of past participles in both clause types. In all languages, expletive insertion received a high score in temporal clauses with weather predicates. In Faroese and Övdalian, expletive insertion was also accepted in relative clauses, which was very different from the situation in Icelandic, where such insertion is bad (this was not tested in the IceDiaSyn project). Leaving the subject position empty in relative clauses was generally acceptable in Icelandic and, to a certain extent in Övdalian, while most speakers rejected it in Faroese. Most of the older speakers of Icelandic also accepted subject gaps in

[10] As before, a plus symbolizes positive reactions and a minus symbolizes negative reactions. If both symbols are used it means that there is variation and the first symbol represents the more general reaction. If only one symbol is used it means that there was relatively little variation. An empty box means that the clause type in question was not tested.

temporal clauses with weather predicates while most of the Faroese speakers and many of the younger speakers of Icelandic rejected such examples.

The production data presented in Angantýsson (2011) showed that past participles are the most commonly fronted elements in Icelandic relative clauses while adverbs were the most commonly fronted elements in complement clauses. It also turns out that instances of SF are in many cases fixed idioms where the expected unmarked variant is doubtful or ungrammatical. The investigation of subject gaps and expletive insertion showed that the 'importance' of the expletive depends to a certain extent on the clause type. In *that*-clauses containing a postponed (indefinite) subject, it is difficult or impossible to leave the pre-verbal subject position empty while in indirect questions introduced with *hvort* 'whether', relative clauses, and various types of adverbial clauses expletive insertion seemed to be optional. An important result was that expletives and SF-elements are not always interchangeable, which is surprising if SF and expletive insertion are assumed to have the same function, i.e. to check an EPP feature (Holmberg 2000; see discussions in Angantýsson 2017).

6 Concluding remarks

Icelandic is a robust symmetric V2-language, meaning that it exhibits V2 as the default worder order both in matrix and subordinate clauses. Various categories can occur in the first position, including the subject, object, wh-phrases, negation, expletive, adverbials, prepositional phrases, adjectives, participles and certain types of particles. Under certain circumstances, (apparently) more than one constituent can precede the finite verb. In general, preposing is easier in matrix clauses than in subordinate clauses, with the exception of stylistic fronting which is more easily applicable in embedded contexts.

As discussed in the paper, recent research has shown that the simple typological picture of the late 1990s is in reality much more articulated, in particular with respect to age-related variation. The fact that younger speakers of Icelandic do not accept embedded topicalization and SF to the same extent as older speakers could be interpreted as an 'ongoing change' in Icelandic. Nevertheless, it must be taken into account that these constructions are more common in the written language and in a formal style of speech, and that perhaps the older informants are more likely to accept more 'ceremonious' language use, even though they are asked to give judgements about what they themselves use in spoken language. The data from the interviews in the IceDiaSyn-project confirm that people consider these constructions formal and 'sophisticated' (Thráinsson and Angantýsson 2015). If the results regarding Adv-Vfin word order in Icelandic are taken to indicate an 'ongoing change', then there are two changes that must be recognized: In relative clauses the conditions for V3 are reminiscent of the conditions for Topicalization and SF (less accepted by younger people), while in complement-clauses V3 is more accepted by younger people than older (i.e. here it is an innovation). It is also interesting that the younger speakers in general are less willing than the older speakers to leave the subject position empty and, at the same time, more willing than the older speakers to insert the expletive. This is reminiscent of the situation in Faroese.

In Icelandic, embedded topicalization is generally accepted in *that*-clauses that are assertive complements of predicates A, B and E in Hooper and Thompson's (1973) theory, but it receives less positive judgements in non-assertive complement clauses. For most speakers ET is excluded in relative clauses and indirect questions. For adverbial clauses, the

general picture is that they resist topicalization, apparently with the exception of peripheral adverbial clauses to some extent. This is very similar to the situation in Faroese, Övdalian and Western-Jutlandic.

There are interesting similarities and differences between SF and related constructions in Icelandic and Faroese. In both languages, expletive insertion is preferred over SF in complement clauses, but in Faroese, unlike in Icelandic, expletive insertion is preferred over SF in adverbial clauses and relative clauses as well. In most cases, fronting past participles is easy in Faroese, as it is in Icelandic, but fronting particles seems to be heavily restricted in Faroese, unlike in Icelandic. In Övdalian, all the examples of SF in Angantýsson's (2011) survey received very low overall scores. Those results are consistent with Garbacz's (2010) claim that SF is not productive in Övdalian any longer.

References

Angantýsson, Ásgrímur. 2007. Verb-third in embedded clauses in Icelandic, *Studia Linguistica* vol. 61:3, 237–260.

Angantýsson, Ásgrímur. 2011. The Syntax of Embedded Clauses in Icelandic and Related Languages. Doctoral dissertation, University of Iceland, Reykjavík.

Angantýsson, Ásgrímur. 2015. On the morpho-syntax of verb/adverb placement and fronting in embedded clauses in Modern Övdalian. In: K. Bentzen, J.B. Johannesson, & H. Rosenkvist (eds.), *Studies in Övdalian Morphology and Syntax. New research on a lesser-known Scandinavian language*, 47–85. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Angantýsson, Ásgrímur. 2016. Verb-second in embedded clauses in Faroese, *Studia Linguistica*. DOI: 10.1111/stul.12053.

Angantýsson, Ásgrímur. 2017. Stylistic Fronting and Related Constructions in the Insular Scandinavian Languages. In: H. Thráinsson, C. Heycock, Z. S. Hansen, & H. P. Petersen (eds.), *Syntactic Variation in Insular Scandinavian – Studies in Germanic Linguistics*, 277–306. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Angantýsson, Ásgrímur, & Dianne Jonas. 2016. On the Syntax of Adverbial Clauses in Icelandic, *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* vol. 96, 126–139.

Bentzen, Kristine. 2007. Order and Structure in Embedded Clauses in Northern Norwegian. Doctoral dissertation, University of Tromsø.

Bobaljik, Jonathan D., & Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 1998. Two Heads Aren't Always Better than One, *Syntax* vol. 1, 37–71.

Brandtler, Johan, & Håkansson, David. 2017. V2 eller V3?: Om preverbal placering av adverbial i svenskan, *Norsk lingvistisk tidsskrift* vol. 35:1, 11–26. Novus Forlag, Oslo.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 2004. Issues in adverbial syntax, *Lingua* 114 (6): 683–710.

Delsing, Lars-Olof. 2001. Stylistic Fronting. Evidence from Old Scandinavian', *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* vol. 68, 147–171.

Engdahl, Elisabet. 2012. Review of Ásgrímur Angantýsson: The Syntax of Embedded Clauses in Icelandic and Related Languages, *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* vol. 35, 91–96.

Franco, Irene. 2009. Verbs, Subjects and Stylistic Fronting. A Comparative Analysis of the Interaction of CP Properties with Verb Movement and Subject Positions in Icelandic and Old Italian. Doctoral dissertation, University of Siena.

Garbacz, Piotr. 2010. Word Order in Övdalian. Doctoral dissertation, University of Lund.

Haegeman, Liliane. 2012. *Adverbial clauses, main clause phenomena, and the composition of the left periphery. The cartography of syntactic structures*, vol. VIII. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Heycock, Caroline. 2006. Embedded Root Phenomen. In M. Everaert & H. v. Riemsdijk (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, vol. II, 174–209. Blackwell, Oxford.

Heycock, Caroline, Sorace, Antonella, & Hansen, Zakaris S. 2010. V-to-I and V2 in Subordinate Clauses: An Investigation of Faroese in Relation to Icelandic and Danish. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* vol. 13:3, 61–91.

Heycock, Caroline, Sorace, Antonella, Hansen, Zakaris S., Wilson, Frances, & Vikner, Sten. 2012. Detecting the Late Stages of Syntactic Change: The Loss of V-to-T in Faroese, *Language* vol. 88:3, 558–600.

Holmberg, Anders. 2000. Scandinavian Stylistic Fronting: How Any Category Can Become an Expletive, *Linguistic Inquiry* vol. 31, 445–483.

Holmberg, Anders. 2006. Stylistic Fronting. In M. Everaert & H. v. Riemsdijk (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, vol. IV, 532–565. Blackwell, Oxford.

Holmberg, Anders. 2015. Verb second. In T. Kiss & A. Alexiadou (eds.), *Syntax — Theory and Analysis. An International Handbook*, volume I, 242–283. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Holmberg, Anders, & Platzack, Christer. 1995. *The Role of Inflection in Scandinavian Syntax*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Hooper, Joan, & Thompson, Sandra. 1973. On the applicability of Root Transformations, *Linguistic Inquiry* vol. 4, 465–497.

Hrafnbjargarson, Gunnar Hrafn. 2004. Stylistic Fronting, *Studia Linguistica* vol. 58, 88–134.

Iatridou, Sabine and Anthony Kroch. 1992. The Licensing of CP-recursion and its Relevance to the Germanic Verb-Second Phenomenon, *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax 50*: 1–24.

Jouitteau, Melanie. 2010. A typology of V2 with regard to V1 and second position phenomena: An introduction to the V1/V2 volume, *Lingua* vol. 120, 197–209.

Jonas, Dianne. 1996. Clause structure and verb syntax in Scandinavian and English. Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Boston.

Jónsson, Jóhannes Gísli. 1991. Stylistic Fronting in Icelandic, *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* vol. 48, 1–44.

Jónsson, Jóhannes Gísli. 1996. Clausal Architecture and Case in Icelandic. Doctoral dissertation. GLSA, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Julien, Marit. 2015. The force of V2 revisited, *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* vol. 18:2, 139–181.

Koeneman, Olaf, and Zeijlstra, Hedde. 2014. The Rich Agreement Hypothesis Rehabilitated. *Linguistic Inquiry* vol. 45:4, 571–615.

Levin, B. 1993. *English Verb Classes and Alternations*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Magnússon, Friðrik. 1990. *Kjarnafærsla og* það-*innskot í aukasetningum í íslensku*. [‘Topicalization and there-insertion in embedded clauses in Icelandic.’] Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands, Reykjavík.

Maling, Joan. 1980. Inversion in Embedded Clauses in Modern Icelandic, *Íslenskt mál* vol. 2, 175–193.

Müller, Gereon. 2004. Verb-Second as vP-First, *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* vol. 7, 179–234.

Ott, Dennis. 2009. Stylistic Fronting as Remnant Movement’, *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* vol. 83, 141–178.

Ott, Dennis. 2016. Stylistic Fronting as Remnant Movement, *Studia Linguistica*. DOI: 10.1111/stul.12053

Ottósson, Kjartan G. 1989. VP-specifier Subjects and the CP/IP Distinction in Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian, *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* vol. 44, 89–100.

Poole, Geoffrey. 1992. The Case Filter and Stylistic Fronting in Icelandic, *Harvard Working Papers in Linguistics* vol. 1, 19–31.

Poole, Geoffrey. 1996. Optional Movement in the Minimalist Program. In: W. Abraham, S. D. Epstein, H. Thráinsson, & C. J.-W. Zwart (eds.), *Minimal Ideas*, 199–216. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery. In: Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of Grammar. Handbook in Generative Syntax*, 281–337. Kluwer, Dordrecht.

Rizzi, Luigi. 2001. Relativized Minimality Effects. In: M. Baltin & C. Collins (eds.), *Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*, 89–110. Blackwell, Oxford.

Rögnvaldsson, Eiríkur. 2005. Setningafræðilegar breytingar í íslensku [‘Syntactic changes in Icelandic.’]. In: H. Thráinsson (ed.), *Setningar – Handbók um setningafræði*, *Íslensk tunga III*, 602–635. Almenna bókafélagið, Reykjavík.

Rögnvaldsson, Eiríkur, & Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 1990. On Icelandic Word Order Once More. In: J. Maling & A. Zaenen (eds.), *Modern Icelandic Syntax*. *Syntax and Semantics* vol. 24, 3–40. Academic Press, San Diego.

Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 1986. Verb Post-Second in a V2 Language. In Ö. Dahl & A. Holmberg (eds.), *Scandinavian Syntax*, 138–149. Institute of Linguistics, University of Stochholm.

Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 1989. *Verbal Syntax and Case in Icelandic*. Department of Scandinavian Languages, University of Lund.

Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 1990. V1 declaratives and verb raising in Icelandic. In: J. Maling and A. Zaenen (eds.), *Syntax and semantics* vol. 24. *Modern Icelandic syntax*, 41–69. Academic Press, New York.

Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 2010. On EPP Effects, *Studia Linguistica* vol. 64:2, 159–189.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 1979. *On Complementation in Icelandic*. Garland, New York.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 1986. V1, V2, V3 in Icelandic. In: H. Haider & M. Prinzhorn (eds.), *Verb Second Phenomena in Germanic Languages*, 169–174. Foris, Dordrecht.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 1993. On the Structure of Infinitival Complements, *Harvard Working Papers in Linguistics* vol. 3, 181–213.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 2003. Syntactic Variation, Historical Development and Minimalism. In: R. Hendrick (ed.), *Minimalist Syntax*, 152–191. Blackwell, Oxford.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 2007. *The Syntax of Icelandic*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 2010. Predictable and Unpredictable Sources of Variable Verb and Adverb Placement in Scandinavian, *Lingua* vol. 120, 1062–1088.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 2015. Tilbrigði í færeyskri og íslenskri setningagerð [‘Variation in Faroese and Icelandic Syntax.’]. In: T. Sigurðardóttir & M. A. Garðarsdóttir (eds), *Frændafundur* vol. 8, 183–21. Fróðskapur, Tórshavn.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur, & Ásgrímur Angantýsson. 2015. Um orðaröð í aukasetningum [‘On word order in embedded clauses’]. In: H. Thráinsson, Á. Angantýsson, & E. F. Sigurðsson (eds.), *Tilbrigði í íslenskri setningagerð. II. Helstu niðurstöður. Tölfræðilegt yfirlit* [‘Variation in Icelandic syntax. II. Main results. A statistical overview.’], 299–330. Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands, Reykjavík.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur, Hjalmar P. Petersen, Jógvan í Lon Jacobsen & Zakaris Svabo Hansen (2004). *Faroese. An Overview and Reference Grammar*. Føroya Fróðskaparfelag, Tórshavn.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur, Ásgrímur Angantýsson, & Einar Freyr Sigurðsson (eds.). 2013. *Tilbrigði í íslenskri setningagerð. I. Markmið, aðferðir og efniviður.* [‘Variation in Icelandic syntax. I. Goals, methods and materials.’] Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands, Reykjavík.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur, Ásgrímur Angantýsson, & Einar Freyr Sigurðsson (eds.). 2015. *Tilbrigði í íslenskri setningagerð. II. Helstu niðurstöður. Tölfræðilegt yfirlit.* [‘Variation in Icelandic syntax. II. Main results. A statistical overview.’]. Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands, Reykjavík.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur, Ásgrímur Angantýsson, & Einar Freyr Sigurðsson (eds.). 2017. *Tilbrigði í íslenskri setningagerð. III. Sérathuganir.* [‘Variation in Icelandic syntax. III. Selected topics.’]. Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands, Reykjavík.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur, Ásgrímur Angantýsson, & Heimir Freyr Viðarsson. 2015. Kjarnafærsla, stílfærsla, leppsetningar og frumlagseyða [‘Topicalization, stylistic fronting and subject gaps.’]. In: H. Thráinsson, Á. Angantýsson, & E. F. Sigurðsson (eds.), *Tilbrigði í íslenskri setningagerð. II. Helstu niðurstöður. Tölfræðilegt yfirlit.* [‘Variation in Icelandic syntax. II. Main results. A statistical overview.’], 275–297. Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands, Reykjavík.

van der Feest Viðarsson, Heimir. 2016. The Syntax of Others: ‘Un-Icelandic’ Verb Placement in 19th- and Early 20th-Century Icelandic. In: I. T.-B. v. Ostade & C. Percy (eds.), *Prescription and Tradition in Language: Establishing Standards across Time and Space*. Multilingual Matters vol. 165, 152–167. Bristol/Blue Ridge Summit: Multilingual Matters.

Vikner, Sten. 1995. *Verb Movement and Expletive Subjects in the Germanic Languages*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Wiklund, Anna-Lena, Gunnar H. Hrafnbjargarsson, Thorbjörg Hróarsdóttir, Kristine Bentzen. 2007. Rethinking Scandinavian verb movement, *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* vol. 10:3, 203–233.

Wiklund, Anna-Lena, Kristine Bentzen, Gunnar H. Hrafnbjargarson, and Thorbjörg Hróarsdóttir. 2009. On the distribution and illocution of V2 in Scandinavian *that*-clauses, *Lingua* vol. 119, 1914–1938.

Wood, Jim. 2011. Stylistic Fronting in Spoken Icelandic Relatives, *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* vol. 34:1, 29–60.

Ásgrímur Angantýsson
University of Iceland
School of Education
Stakkahlíð
IS-105 Reykjavík, Iceland
asgriman@hi.is

Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax — Previous issues

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 Sciencies (HSFR) (no. 28–42), as well as by Erik Philip-Sörensen's stiftelse (no. 42–43). Issues 80–92 were sponsored by the Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University. As of no. 93, WPSS is published by Ghent University and Lund University.

PUBLISHED BY JUNE 2016

1. Tarald Taraldsen: Som (1983)
2. Christer Platzack: Germanic word order and the COMP/INFL parameter (1983)
3. Anders Holmberg: The finite sentence in Swedish and English (1983)
4. Kirsti Koch Christensen: The categorial status of Norwegian infinitival relatives (1983)
5. Lars Hellan: Anaphora in Norwegian and theory of binding (1983)
6. Elisabet Engdahl: Parasitic gaps, subject extractions, and the ECP (1983)
7. Elisabet Engdahl: Subject gaps (1984)
8. Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson: Icelandic word order and flað-insertion
   Höskuldur Thráinsson: Some points on Icelandic word order (1984)
9. Tarald Taraldsen: Some phrase structure dependent differences between Swedish and Norwegian (1984)
10. Jan Engh: On the development of the complex passive
    Lars Hellan: A GB-type analysis of complex passives and related constructions (1984)
11. Tor A. Åfarli: Norwegian verb particle constructions as causative constructions (1984)
12. Martin Everaert: Icelandic long reflexivization and tense-connectedness (1984)
13. Anders Holmberg: On raising in Icelandic and Swedish
    Anders Holmberg: On certain clitic-like elements in Swedish (1984)
14. Toril Fiva: NP-internal chains in Norwegian (1984)
15. Kirsti Koch Christensen: Subject clitics and A-bound traces (1984)
16. Annie Zaenen, Joan Maling, Höskuldur Thráinsson: Passive and oblique case
    Joan Maling, Annie Zaenen: Preposition-stranding and oblique case (1984)
17. Nomi Erteschik-Shir: Der (1985)
18. Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Subordinate V/I in Icelandic. How to explain a root phenomenon (1985)
19. Kirsti Koch Christensen: Complex passive and conditions on reanalysis (1985)
20. Christer Platzack: The Scandinavian languages and the null subject parameter (1985)
21. Anders Holmberg: Icelandic word order and binary branching (1985)
22. Tor A. Åfarli: Absence of V2 effects in a dialect of Norwegian (1985)
23. Sten Vikner: Parameters of binder and of binding category in Danish (1985)
24. Anne Vainikka: Icelandic case without primitive grammatical functions (1985)
25. Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Moods and (long distance) reflexives in Icelandic (1986)
26. Wim Kosmeijer: The status of the finite inflection in Icelandic and Swedish (1986)
27. Robin Cooper: Verb second - predication or unification? (1986)
28. Joan Maling: Existential sentences in Swedish and Icelandic: Reference to Thematic Roles (1987)
29. Tor A. Åfarli: Lexical structure and Norwegian passive and ergative constructions (1987)
30. Kjell-Åke Gunnarsson: Expressions of distance and raising (1987)
31. Squibs, Remarks and Replies (Klaus von Bremen, Christer Platzack) (1987)
32. Cecilia Falk: Subjectless clauses in Swedish (1987)
33. Anders Holmberg: The Structure of NP in Swedish (1987)
34. Halldor Ármann Sigurðsson: From OV to VO: Evidence from Old Icelandic (1988)
35. Lars Hellan: Containment and Connectedness Anaphors (1988)
36. Tomas Riad: Reflexivity and Predication (1988)
37. Squibs, Remarks and Replies (Elly van Gelderen, Arild Hestvik, Tomas Riad) (1988)
38. Sten Vikner & Rex A. Sprouse: Have/Be-Selection as an A-Chain Membership Requirement. (1988)
39. Sten Vikner: Modals in Danish and Event Expressions (1988)
40. Elisabet Engdahl: Implicational Universals: Parametric Variation in GB and GPSG. (1988)
41. Kjell-Åke Gunnarsson: Expressions of Distance, Prepositions and Theory of Theta-Roles (1988)

Beginning with no. 42, the papers were no longer published as separate issues. There are two issues each year, one in June and one in December.

42. [December 1988]
Lars Hellan: The Phrasal Nature of Double Object Clusters
Anders Holmberg & Christer Platzack: On the Role of Inflection in Scandinavian Syntax
Barbro Lundin & Christer Platzack: The Acquisition of Verb Inflection, Verb Second and Subordinate Clauses in Swedish
Lars Olof Delsing: The Scandinavian Noun Phrase
Gunnel Källgren & Ellen F. Prince: Swedish VP-Topicalization and Yiddish Verb-Topicalization

43. [June 1989]
Torbjørn Nordgård: On Barriers, Wh-movement and IP-Adjunction in English, Norwegian and Swedish
Bonnie D.Schwartz & Sten Vikner: All Verb Second Clauses are CPs.
Christer Platzack & Anders Holmberg: The Role of AGR and Finiteness.

44. [December 1989] ***Special Issue on Comparative Germanic Syntax***
Tor Åfarli: On Sentence Structure in Scandinavian Languages.
Jan Anward: Constraints on Passives in Swedish and English.
Kathrin Cooper & Elisabet Engdahl: Null Subjects in Zurich German.
Cecilia Falk: On the Existential Construction in the Germanic Languages.
Lars Hellan: A Two Level X-bar System.
Jarich Hoekstra & Lásló Marácz: On the Position of Inflection in West-Germanic.
Kjartan G. Ottósson: VP-Specifier Subjects and the CP/IP Distinction in Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian.
Charlotte Reinholtz: V-2 in Mainland Scandinavian: Finite Verb Movement to Agr.
Wolfgang Sternefeld: Extractions from Verb-Second Clauses in German.
Sten Vikner: Object Shift and Double Objects in Danish.
Chris Wilder: Wh-Movement and Passivization in Infinitive Predicates

45. [June 1990]
Helge Lødrup: VP-topicalization and the Verb *gjøre* in Norwegian.
Christer Platzack: A Grammar Without Functional Categories: A Syntactic Study of Early Swedish Child Language
Halldór Sigurðsson: Icelandic Case-marked PRO and the Licensing of Lexical A-positions.

46. [December 1990]
Halldór Sigurðsson: Feature Government and Government Chains
Lena Ekberg: Theta Role Tiers and the Locative PP in Existential Constructions
Sjur Nørstebø Moshagen & Trond Trosterud: Non-Clause-Bounded Reflexives in mainland Scandinavian Cecilia Falk: On Double Object Constructions

47. [June 1991]
Norbertt Hornstein: Expletives: a comparative study of English and Icelandic
Lars-Olof Delsing: Quantification in the Swedish Noun Phrase
Helge Lødrup: The Norwegian Pseudopassive in Lexical Theory
Gunlög Josefsson: Pseudocoordination – A VP + VP Coordination

48. [December 1991]
Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson: Stylistic Fronting in Icelandic
Kirsti Koch Christensen: Complex Passives Reanalyzed
Kjartan G. Ottósson: Icelandic Double Objects as Small Clauses

49. [June 1992]
Halldór Sigurðsson: The Case of Quirky Subjects
Anders Holmberg: Properties of Non-heads in Compounds: A Case Study
Gunlög Josefsson: Object Shift and Weak Pronominals in Swedish
Peter Svenonius: The Extended Projection of N: Identifying the Head of the Noun Phrase

50. [December 1992]

Sabine Iatridou and Anthony Kroch: The Licensing of CP-recursion and its Relevance to the Germanic Verb Second Phenomenon.
Christer Platzack: Complementizer Agreement and Argument Clitics.
Halldór Sigurðsson: Agreement as Visible F-government.
Tor A. Åfarli: Seeds and Functional Projections.

51. [June 1993]

Molly Diesing & Eloise Jelinek: The Syntax and Semantics of Object Shift.

52. [December 1993]

Gunlög Josefsson: Scandinavian Pronouns and Object Shift
Anders Holmberg: Two Subject Positions in IP in Mainland Scandinavian

53. [June 1994]

Hans-Martin Gärtner & Markus Steinbach: Economy, Verb Second, and the SVO - SOV Distinction.
Kyle Johnson & Sten Vikner: The Position of the Verb in Scandinavian Infinitives: In V° or C° but not in I°.
Christer Platzack: Null Subjects, Weak Agr and Syntactic Differences in Scandinavian.

54. [December 1994]

Jan-Wouter Zwart: The Minimalist Program and Germanic Syntax. A Reply to Gärtner and Steinbach
Knut Tarald Taraldsen: Reflexives, pronouns and subject / verb agreement in Icelandic and Faroese
Christer Platzack: The Initial Hypothesis of Syntax: A Minimalist Perspective on Language Acquisition and Attrition

55. [June 1995]

Sten Vikner: V°-to-I° Movement and Inflection for Person in All Tenses
Anders Holmberg & Görel Sandström: Scandinavian Possessive Constructions from a Northern Swedish Viewpoint
Höskuldur Thráinsson and Sten Vikner: Modals and Double Modals in the Scandinavian Languages
Øystein Alexander Vangsnes: Referentiality and Argument Positions in Icelandic

56. [December 1995]

Gunlög Josefsson: The Notion of Word Class and the Internal Make-up of Words
Lars Hellan and Christer Platzack: Pronouns in Scandinavian Languages: An Overview
Joan Maling and Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson: On Nominative Objects in Icelandic and the Feature [+Human]

57. [June 1996]

Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Icelandic Finita Verb Agreement
Peter Svenonius: The Optionality of Particle Shift
Helge Lødrup: The Theory of Complex Predicates and the Norwegian Verb *få* 'get'
Thorbjörg Hróarsdóttir: The decline of OV Word Order in the Icelandic VP

58. [December 1996]

Øystein Alexander Vangsnes: The role of gender in (Mainland) Scandinavian possessive constructions
Anna-Lena Wiklund: Pseudocoordination is Subordination
Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson: Word Order Variation in the VP in Old Icelandic
Tor A. Åfarli: An Argument for a Minimalist Construal of Case Licensing

59. [June 1997]

Øystein Nilsen: Adverbs and A-shift
Kristin M. Eide & Tor A. Åfarli: A Predication Operator: Evidence and Effects
Christer Platzack: A Representational Account of Restrictive and Non-Restrictive Relatives: The Case of Swedish

60. (December 1997)
Sten Vikner: The Interpretation of Object Shift, Optimality Theory, and Minimalism
Jóhanna Barðdal: Oblique Subjects in Old Scandinavian
Elisabet Engdahl: Relative Clause Extractions in Context
Anders Holmberg: Scandinavian Stylistic Fronting: Movement of Phonological Features in the Syntax

61. [June 1998]
Verner Egerland: On Verb-Second Violations in Swedish and the Hierarchical Ordering of Adverbs
Gunlög Josefsson & Christer Platzack: Short Raising of V and N in Mainland Scandinavian
Christer Platzack: A Visibility Condition for the C-domain
Gunlög Josefsson: On the Licensing and Identification of (Optionally) Null Heads in Swedish

62. [December 1998]
Cedric Boeckx: Agreement Constraints in Icelandic and Elsewhere.
Jens Haugan: Right Dislocated 'Subjects' in Old Norse.

63. [June 1999]
Jan Terje Faarlund: The notion of oblique subject and its status in the history of Icelandic
Elisabet Engdahl: Versatile Parasitic Gaps
Benjamin Lyngfelt: Optimal Control. An OT perspective on the interpretation of PRO in Swedish
Gunlög Josefsson: Non-finite root clauses in Swedish child language

64. [December 1999]
Inger Rosengren: Rethinking the Adjunct
Maria Mörnsjö: Theories on the Assignment of Focal Accent as Applied to Swedish
Jóhanna Barðdal: The Dual Nature of Icelandic Psych-Verbs
Christer Platzack: The Subject of Icelandic Psych-Verbs: a Minimalist Account

65 [June 2000]
Inger Rosengren: EPP and the Post-finite Expletive
Anders Holmberg: Expletives and Agreement in Scandinavian Passives
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: The Locus of Case and Agreement
Jóhanna Barðdal and Valeria Molnár: Passive in Icelandic – Compared to Mainland Scandinavian

66 [December 2000]
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: To be an oblique subject: Russian vs. Icelandic
Marit Julien : Optional *ha* in Swedish and Norwegian
Hjalmar P. Petersen: IP or TP in Modern Faroese
Christer Platzack & Gunlög Josefsson: Subject Omission and Tense in Early Swedish Child Language

67 [June 2001]
Thórhallur Eythórsson: The Syntax of Verbs in Early Runic
Jóhanna Barðdal & Thórhallur Eythórsson: The Evolution of Oblique Subjects in Scandinavian
Gunlög Josefsson: The True Nature of Holmberg's Generalization Revisited – Once Again
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Case: abstract vs. morphological

68 [December 2001]
Hubert Haider: How to Stay *Accusative* in Insular Germanic
Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson: An Optimality Theory Analysis of Agreement in Icelandic DAT-NOM Constructions.
Nomi Erteschik-Shir P-syntactic motivation for movement: imperfect alignment in Object Shift
Zeljko Boskovic: PF Merger in Scandinavian: Stylistic Fronting and Object Shift
Susann Fischer & Artemis Alexiadou: On Stylistic Fronting: Germanic vs. Romance
Lars-Olof Delsing: Stylistic Fronting, Evidence from Old Scandinavian

69 [June 2002]
Line Mikkelsen: Reanalyzing the definiteness effect: evidence from Danish
Verner Egerland: On absolute constructions and the acquisition of tense
Peter Svenonius: Strains of Negation in Norwegian
Anders Holmberg & Thorbjörg Hróarsdóttir: Agreement and movement in Icelandic raising constructions

70 [December 2002]
Joan Maling: Icelandic Verbs with Dative Objects
Jóhanna Barðdal: "Oblique Subjects" in Icelandic and German
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Agree and Agreement: Evidence from Germanic

71 [June 2003]
Arthur Stepanov: On the "Quirky" Difference Icelandic vs. German: A Note of Doubt.
Janne Bondi Johannessen: Negative Polarity Verbs in Norwegian.
Verner Egerland: Impersonal Pronouns in Scandinavian and Romance.
Erik Magnusson: Subject Omission and Verb Initial Declaratives in Swedish.
Thórhallur Eythórsson & Jóhanna Barðdal: Oblique Subjects: A Germanic Inheritance!

72 [December 2003]
Ken Ramshøj Christensen: On the Synchronic and Diachronic Status of the Negative Adverbial *ikke/not.*
Luis López: Complex Dependencies: the Person-Number restriction in Icelandic.
Katarina Lundin-Åkesson: Constructions with *låta* LET, reflexives and passive -s –
a comment on some differences, similarities and related phenomena.
Thorbjörg Hróarsdóttir: Economy: On simplicity, default values and markedness in
language acquisition and change.
Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson: On Stylistic Fronting Once More
Thórhallur Eythórsson & Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson: The Case of Subject in Faroese

73 [June 2004]
Øystein Alexander Vangsnes: On *wh*-questions and V2 across Norwegian dialects.
A survey and some speculations.
David Håkansson: Partial *wh*-movement in the history of Scandinavian
Christer Platzack: Agreement and the Person Phrase Hypothesis

74 [December 2004]
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Agree in Syntax, Agreement in Signs
Ute Bohnacker: Is V2 really that hard to acquire for second language learners?
On current universalist L2 claims and their empirical underpinnings
Johan Brandtler: Subject Omission and Discourse Anchorage in Early Swedish Child Language

75 [June 2005]
Johanna Barðdal & Thórhallur Eythórsson: Case and Control Constructions in
German, Faroese and Icelandic: Or How to Evaluate Marginally-Acceptable Data?
Fredrik Heinat: Reflexives in a phase based syntax
Gunlög Josefsson: How could Merge be free and word formation restricted:
The case of compounding in Romance and Germanic
Christer Platzack: Uninterpretable features and EPP: a minimalist account of
language build up and breakdown

76 [December 2005]
Björn Rothstein: Perfect parasitism in inferential contexts. On the inferential present perfect in Swedish.
Kristín M. Jóhannsdóttir: Temporal adverbs in Icelandic: Adverbs of quantification vs. frequency adverbs.
Katarina Lundin Åkesson: The multifunctional *ba* – A finiteness marker in the guise of an adverbial.
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Accusative and the Nom/Acc alternation in Germanic.
Fredrik Heinat: A note on 'long object shift'.

77 June [2006]
Marit Julien: On argument displacement in English and Scandinavian
Christer Platzack: Case as Agree Marker
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: PF is more 'syntactic' than often assumed
Jackie Nordström: Selection through Uninterpretable Features. Evidence from Insular Scandinavian
Camilla Thurén: The syntax of Swedish present participles. The lexical category problem.
Johan Brandtler: On Aristotle and Baldness – Topic, Reference, Presupposition of Existence, and Negation

78 December [2006]
Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir, Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, Anna-Lena Wiklund and Kristine Bentzen: The Tromsø guide to Scandinavian verb movement.
Terje Lohndal: The phrase structure of the copula.
Ute Bohnacker: Placing verbs and particles in non-native German and Swedish.
Björn Rothstein: Why the present perfect differs cross linguistically. Some new insights.
Henrik Rosenkvist: Null subjects in Övdalian.
Piotr Garbacz: Verb movement and negation in Övdalian.

79 [June 2007]
Geoffrey Poole: Defending the "Subject Gap" Requirement: Stylistic Fronting in Germanic and Romance
Jan Terje Faarlund: From clitic to affix: the Norwegian definite article
Terje Lohndal: *That*-t in Scandinavian and elsewhere: Variation in the position of C
Tor A. Åfarli: Features and Agreement. Expletive *det* 'it' and *der* 'there' in Norwegian dialects
Kristine Bentzen, Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir and Anna-Lena Wiklund: The Tromsø guide to the Force behind V2
Kristine Bentzen, Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir and Anna-Lena Wiklund: Extracting from V2

80 December [2007]
Željko Bošković: Don't feed your movements: Object shift in Icelandic
Werner Abraham & Elisabeth Leiss: On the interfaces between (double) definiteness, aspect, and word order in Old and Modern Scandinavian
Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir, Anna-Lena Wiklund, Kristine Bentzen & Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson: The afterglow of verb movement
Henrik Rosenkvist: Subject Doubling in Oevdalian
Marit Julien: Embedded V2 in Norwegian and Swedish
Britta Jensen: In favour of a truncated imperative clause structure: evidence from adverbs
Mai Tungset: Benefactives across Scandinavian

81 [June 2008]
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson & Joan Maling: Argument drop and the Empty Left Edge Condition (ELEC) Gunlög Josefsson: Pancakes and peas – on apparent disagreement and (null) light verbs in Swedish
Fredrik Heinat: Long object shift and agreement
Johan Brandtler: On the Structure of Swedish Subordinate Clauses

82 December [2008]
Elly van Gelderen & Terje Lohndal: The position of adjectives and double definiteness
Terje Lohndal, Mari Nygård & Tor A. Åfarli: The structure of copular clauses in Norwegian
Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir: Verb particles in OV/VO word order in Older Icelandic
Johan Brandtler: Why we should ever bother about *wh*-questions. On the NPI-licensing properties of wh- questions in Swedish
Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson: Liberalizing modals and floating clause boundaries
Tavs Bjerre, Eva Engels, Henrik Jørgensen & Sten Vikner: Points of convergence between functional and formal approaches to syntactic analysis.

83 [June 2009]
Ulla Stroh-Wollin: On the development of definiteness markers in Scandinavian.
Anna-Lena Wiklund: In search of the force of dependent V2: A note on Swedish.
Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir: Restructuring and OV order.
Eva Engels: Microvariation in object positions: Negative Shift in Scandinavian.
Þorbjörg Hróarsdottir: Notes on language change and grammar change.
Dennis Ott: Stylistic fronting as remnant movement.

84 [December 2009]
Maia Andreasson: Pronominal object shift – not just a matter of shifting or not
Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson & Anna-Lena Wiklund: General embedded V2: Icelandic A, B, C, etc.
Gunlög Josefsson: "Disagreeing" pronominal reference and gender in Swedish
David Petersson: Embedded V2 does not exist in Swedish
Henrik Rosenkvist: Referential null-subjects in Germanic languages – an overview
Anna-Lena Wiklund: The syntax of Surprise: unexpected event readings in complex predication
Marit Julien: The force of the argument
Anna-Lena Wiklund: May the force be with you: A reply from the 5th floor

85 [June 2010]
Mayumi Hosono: Scandinavian Object Shift as the cause of downstep
Jackie Nordström: The Swedish *så*-construction, a new point of departure
Anton Karl Ingason: Productivity of non-default case

86 [December 2010]
Gunlög Josefsson; Object Shift and optionality. An intricate interplay between syntax, prosody and information structure
Mayumi Hosono: On Icelandic Object Shift
Mayumi Hosono: Why Object Shift does not exist in Övdalian.
Mayumi Hosono: On Unshifted Weak Object Pronouns in the Scandinavian Languages.
Eva Engels: Local licensing in Faroese expletive constructions.
Irene Franco: Issues in the syntax of Scandinavian embedded clauses.
David Petersson & Gunlög Josefsson: ELLERHUR and other Yes/No-question operator candidates in Swedish.
Mikko Kupula: Causers as derived Subject – An unaccusative view from Finnish

87 [June 2011]
Jim Wood: Icelandic *let*-causatives and Case.
Eva Klingvall: On past participles and their external arguments.
Ulla Stroh-Wollin: Embedded declaratives, assertion and swear words.
Verner Egerland: Fronting, Background, Focus: A comparative study of Sardinian and Icelandic.
Caroline Heycock, Antonella Sorace, Zakaris Svabo Hansen, Sten Vikner & Frances Wilson: Residual V-to-I in Faroese and its lack in Danish: detecting the final stages of a syntactic change.

88 [December 2011]
Henrik Rosenkvist; Verb Raising and Referential Null Subjects in Övdalian
Kari Kinn: Overt non-referential subjects and subject-verb agreement in Middle Norwegian
Mayumi Hosono: Verb Movement as Tense Operator Movement
Jim Wood & Einar Freyr Sigurðsson: Icelandic Verbal Agreement and Pronoun Antecedent Relations
Eva Klingvall: On non-copula *Tough* Constructions in Swedish
David Petersson: Swedish exclamatives are subordinate

89 [June 2012]
Eva Engels: Wh-phrases and NEG-phrases in clauses and nominals.
Fredrik Heinat: Adjective and clausal complementation.
Mayumi Hosono: Information structure, syntax and information properties of multiple *Wh*-questions.

90 [December 2012]
Ermenegildo Bidese, Andrea Padovan, AlessandraTomaselli: A binary system of complementizers in Cimbrian relative clauses
Camilla Thurén: The syntax of Swedish copular clauses
Eva Klingvall: Topics in pseudo passives
Fredrik Heinat: Finiteness in Swedish.
Gunlög Josefsson: ”Disagreeing” doubling *det*

91 [December 2013]
Roland Hinterhölzl: Economy conditions and coreference: From minimal pronouns to referential acts
Dorian Roehrs: Possessives as Extended Projections
Björn Lundquist: On inter-individual variation and mid-distance binding in Swedish
Verner Egerland: The Apropos-Topic, the Concerning-Topic and the syntax-pragmatics interface

92 [June 2014]
Elisabet Engdahl & Filippa Lindahl: Preposed object pronouns in Mainland Scandinavian
Katarina Lundin: An unexpected gap with unexpected restrictions
Dennis Ott: Controlling for movement: Reply to Wood (2012)
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: About pronouns

93 [December 2014]
Filippa Lindahl: Relative Clauses are not always strong islands
Gunlög Josefsson: Pseudo-coordination with gå ‘go’ and the “surprise effect”
Jóhanna Barðdal, Thórhallur Eythórsson & Tonya Kim Dewey: Alternating Predicates in Icelandic and German
Mayumi Hosono: Scandinavian Verb Particle Constructions and the Intonational Principles

94 [June 2015]
Marit Julien: Microvariation in Norwegian long distance binding
Fredrik Heinat & Anna-Lena Wiklund: Scandinavian Relative Clause Extractions
Mayumi Hosono: On Verb Movement in the *Labeling Algorithm*-Based Derivation

95 [December 2015]
Jan Terje Faarlund: The Norwegian infinitive marker
Ulla Stroh-Wollin: Understanding the gradual development of definiteness marking: the case of Swedish
Martje Wijers: Forgotten factors in the development of dependent clauses in Swedish as a second language

96 [June 2016] ***Special Issue on Icelandic***
Jim Wood: How roots do and don’t constrain the interpretation of Voice
Anton Karl Ingason, Einar Freyr Sigurðsson & Jim Wood: Displacement and subject blocking in verbal idioms
Jim Wood, Matthew Barros & Einar Freyr Sigurðsson: Clausal ellipsis and case (mis)matching in Icelandic
Thórhallur Eythórsson & Sigríður Sæunn Sigurðardóttir: A brief history of Icelandic weather verbs
Ásgrímur Angantýsson & Dianne Jonas: On the syntax of adverbial clauses in Icelandic

97 [December 2016]
Hans-Martin Gärtner: A note on the Rich Agreement Hypothesis and varieties of “Embedded V2”
Verner Egerland & Dianne Jonas: *Enough already!* On directive modal particles in English and Swedish
Mayumi Hosono: Exceptional movement from/into the Criterial Position
Anton Karl Ingason, Iris Edda Nowenstein & Einar Freyr Sigurðsson: The Voice-adjunction theory of ‘by’-phrases and the Icelandic impersonal passive
Jóhannis Gísli Jónsson: Testing agreement with nominative objects

Christer Platzack & Inger Rosengren: What makes the imperative clause type autonomous? A comparative study in a modular perspective.

Ásgrímur Angantýsson: Subordinate V2 and verbal morphology in Övdalian

Tam Blaxter & David Willis: Pragmatic differentiation of negative markers in the early stages of Jespersen's cycle in North Germanic

Ingun Hreinberg Ingriðadóttir: Weight effects and heavy NP shift in Icelandic and Faroese

Issues 1–43, 45, 66, 67 are out of stock. It is still possible to get copies of 44, 46–65, 68–80 by sending an order to the editor. Beginning with issue 81 (June 2008), the articles published in WPSS are available online: http://projekt.ht.lu.se/grimm/working-papers-in-scandinavian-syntax/