

Embedded V2 in Norwegian and Swedish^{*}

Marit Julien
Lund university

Abstract

Embedded declarative V2 clauses can appear in a number of different contexts in Norwegian and Swedish. What all these clauses have in common is that they have illocutionary force—they are asserted. I argue that a syntactic Force head is responsible for the illocutionary force as well as for the V2 order. Thus, the syntax and the semantics of embedded V2 clauses are closely tied together. The analysis can be extended to root clauses with V2, so that all cases of V2 in Norwegian and Swedish gets a unified explanation. Although it needs to be investigated further, it is possible that the analysis holds for V2 clauses in other Germanic languages as well.

1. Introduction

The Mainland Scandinavian languages, Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish, like other Germanic V2 languages, normally have the finite verb in second position in main clauses, but in embedded clauses, the finite verb will normally follow the negation and other clausal adverbs.¹ The Swedish examples in (1) and (2) illustrate this.

^{*} Earlier versions of this paper have been presented at the Nordic Languages Researcher Seminar, Lund University, 27 September 2006, at the NoTa seminar, University of Oslo, 24 November 2006, at Grammar in Focus, Lund University, 9 February 2007, and at the Budapest-Lund Conference, The Research Institute for Linguistics, Budapest, 11 May 2007. I thank the audiences at these occasions for their helpful feedback.

¹ Exceptions exist to the normal main clause word order. Certain focusing elements, such as Norwegian *bare* or Swedish *bara*, both meaning ‘just, only’, can intervene between the initial phrase and the finite verb—see (i) and (ii). Moreover, at least *bare/bara* can be negated, which indicates that the intervening constituent is phrasal—see (iii) and (iv).

- (1)a. Jag **kan** *inte* göra allt själv. (S)
I can not do everything self
 ‘I cannot do everything myself.’
- b. * Jag *inte* **kan** göra allt själv. (S)
I not can do everything self
- (2)a. Min granne frågade om jag *inte* **ville** komma (S)
my neighbour asked if I not would come
 över.
over
 ‘My neighbour asked if I wouldn’t come over.’
- b. * Min granne frågade om jag **ville** *inte* komma (S)
my neighbour asked if I would not come
 över.
over

However, in some embedded clauses, above all in clauses introduced by the complementiser *at* (N/D)/*att* (S), the elements following the complementiser may appear in the order that is otherwise seen in main clauses; that is, an order where the finite verb is in second position, preceding clausal adverbs, if there are any. In these cases, the main clause order alternates, seemingly freely, with the ordinary embedded clause word order, as illustrated by the Swedish

-
- (i) Hun *bare* **utstråler** stjerne-kvalitet. (N)
she just radiates star-quality.
 ‘She just radiates star quality.’
- (ii) Hon *bara* **grät** och längtade tillbaka till Båtön. (S)
she just cried and longed back to Båtön.
 ‘She just cried and longed back to Båtön.’
- (iii) Hun *ikke bare* **sang**, men skrev viser selv. (N)
she not only sang, but wrote ballads self
 ‘She did not only sing, but wrote ballads herself.’
- (iv) Hon *inte bara* **såg** sur ut. Hon var det också. (S)
she not only looked cross PRT she was it too
 ‘She not only looked cross. She was too.’

examples in (3a) and (3b), the Norwegian examples in (4a) and (4b), and the Danish examples in (5a) and (5b). It is even possible to move a non-subject to the initial position of the embedded clause, as in (3c), (4c) and (5c).²

- (3)a. Skillnad-en är att vi inte skriv-er om politik (S)
difference-DEF is that we not write-PRES about politics
 eller sex.
or sex
 'The difference is that we do not write about politics or sex.'

- b. Skillnad-en är att vi skriv-er inte om politik (S)
difference-DEF is that we write-PRES not about politics
 eller sex.
or sex
 'The difference is that we do not write about politics or sex.'

- c. Skillnad-en är att om politik eller sex skriv-er (S)
difference-DEF is that about politics or sex write-PRES
 vi inte.
we not
 'The difference is that about politics or sex, we do not write.'

- (4)a. Eg er samd i at vi ikke kan forby alt (N)
I agree that we not can forbid everything
 som er usunt.
that is unhealthy
 'I agree that we cannot ban everything that is unhealthy.'

- b. Eg er samd i at vi kan ikke forby alt (N)
I agree that we can not forbid everything
 som er usunt.
that is unhealthy
 'I agree that we cannot ban everything that is unhealthy.'

² The following abbreviations are used in the glosses: ACC = accusative, DEF = definite, EMPH = emphatic, INF = infinitive, LOC = locative, NOM = nominative, PASS = passive, PL = plural, PRES = present, POSS = possessive, PRT = particle, REFL = reflexive, REL = relative.

- c. Eg er samd i at alt som er usunt **kan** (N)
I agree that everything that is unhealthy can
 vi ikkje forby.
we not forbid
 ‘I agree that everything that is unhealthy, we cannot ban.’

- (5)a. Feministisk filosofi viser, at vi **ikke skal** (D)
feminist philosophy shows that we not shall
 udelukke køns-spørgsmål-et.
exclude gender-question-DEF
 ‘Feminist philosophy shows that we must not exclude the gender question.’

- b. Feministisk filosofi viser, at vi **skal** *ikke* (D)
feminist philosophy shows that we shall not
 udelukke køns-spørgsmål-et.
exclude gender-question-DEF
 ‘Feminist philosophy shows that we must not exclude the gender question.’

- c. Feministisk filosofi viser, at køns-spørgsmål-et (D)
feminist philosophy shows that gender-question-DEF
skal vi *ikke* udelukke.
shall we not exclude
 ‘Feminist philosophy shows that the gender question, we must not exclude.’

The explanations that have been offered for embedded V2 in Mainland Scandinavian, and in Germanic more generally, are of two types. On the one hand, it has been claimed that the semantic and/or pragmatic properties of the embedded clause itself are crucial, since embedded V2 is more frequent in clauses that represent a proposition that is *asserted*, either directly, by the speaker, or indirectly, with the speaker referring to a claim that someone else has made (see Andersson 1975, G. Green 1976, Wechsler 1991, Holmberg & Platzack 1995). On the other hand, the possibility of having V2 order in an embedded sentence has been seen as a consequence of certain properties of the matrix predicate. De Haan & Weerman

(1986), Iatridou & Kroch (1992), and perhaps most famously, Vikner (1995), note that V2 is seen in clausal complements of certain verbs, called “bridge verbs”. But as Vikner points out, the verbs in question are not necessarily bridge verbs in the sense that they allow extraction out of the clause they have as complement. In fact, according to Vikner it seems that his “bridge verbs” are only distinguished as a group by their ability to take a V2 complement, and moreover, there is some variation between the Germanic languages as to which verbs have this property. Hence, Vikner concludes that its semantics is not what makes a verb a “bridge verb”.

What I will argue in this paper is that analyses of the first type are on the right track. V2 order in Mainland Scandinavian declarative embedded clauses is in fact closely tied to the semantics of the embedded clause itself: embedded V2 is only possible in embedded clauses that are asserted. More specifically, I propose that embedded V2 clauses have their own illocutionary force—they are statements. The illocutionary force is encoded in a syntactic head called Force, which is also responsible for the V2 order. It is possible that my analysis can be extended to other Germanic languages as well, although, as we shall see in section 5, there might be some cross-linguistic variation as to which V2 clauses are actually embedded.

The illocutionary force of embedded V2 clauses is discussed in some detail in section 2, where I also address the analysis put forward by Bentzen et al. (2007b), according to which the possibility for an embedded clause of having V2 order is connected to its possibility of being the “main point of utterance”, as they call it.

In section 3, I show that V2 clauses can be embedded under elements belonging to many different classes in Norwegian and Swedish, and in many cases one cannot say that it is the embedding element that makes embedded V2 possible. Generally, the matrix predicate has at most an indirect effect, as some predicates cannot take an asserted clause as complement for semantic reasons. What all cases of embedded V2 have in common is that the embedded V2 clause is asserted.

In section 4 I suggest a formal analysis of Mainland Scandinavian embedded V2, according to which the Force head is the source of the V2 order as well as of the asserted status of the embedded clauses under discussion. In my opinion, the biggest shortcoming of many earlier analyses is that they do not establish a connection between the semantics of embedded V2 clauses and their syntax. But in my analysis, the syntax and the semantics of the clause are two sides of the same coin. And as we will see, this analysis can also account for V2 in root clauses, so that the V2 phenomenon gets a uniform explanation.

Finally, in section 5, I turn to the proposal that seemingly embedded V2 clauses are not embedded after all, a proposal put forward by de Haan (2001) and Biberauer (2002). I show that in Mainland Scandinavian, the clauses under discussion are indeed embedded, and arguments to the contrary do not go through.

A brief summary concludes the paper.

2. The illocutionary force of embedded V2 clauses

In this section, I will first, in 2.1, give some more background for my proposal that embedded V2 clauses are asserted and have illocutionary force. After that, in 2.2, I compare my approach to the approach in Bentzen et al. (2007b), according to which V2 order is a possible but not necessary property in embedded clauses that serve as the *main point of utterance*.

2.1 Assertion and illocutionary force

The idea that embedded V2 is connected to the illocutionary force of the embedded clause is a further development of Hooper & Thompson's (1973) claim that root transformations, such as V2, can apply to an embedded clause only if that embedded clause is asserted. For them, *assertion* means that part of a declarative sentence that can be questioned or negated. They go on to note that

sentences consisting of a matrix clause and an embedded clause may contain two assertions, one represented by the matrix clause and one represented by the embedded clause. This is seen most clearly in embedding constructions with matrix verbs like *think*, as in (6a). Negating and questioning the matrix clause may target the proposition that the embedded clause represents, as illustrated in (6b) and (6c) (examples based on Hooper & Thompson's examples (145) and (146)).

- (6)a. I think the article was interesting.
- b. I didn't think the article was interesting.
- c. Did you think the article was interesting?

The fact that the proposition that the embedded clause in (6) represents can be questioned and negated shows that the proposition is asserted, according to Hooper & Thompson (1973).

As a matrix verb, *think* is however a somewhat special case, since it belongs to the group of verb called Negative Raising verbs—verbs that, when they are negated, typically invite a reading in which the negation targets the proposition represented by the embedded clause. But as Hooper & Thompson show, verbs that do not belong to this group sometimes also take complement clauses that are transparent with respect to negation and questioning. For example, the question in (7) can target the matrix clause or the embedded clause (Hooper & Thompson's example (150)).

- (7) Did you find out that you had not told the truth?

Thus, a very general conclusion that can be drawn from the discussion in Hooper & Thompson (1973) is that embedded clauses can be asserted. And as already mentioned, they also argue that root transformations can apply to an embedded clause only if the clause is asserted.

I will however make the more specific claim that embedded V2 clauses have illocutionary force and thus represent a speech act of

their own. In the terminology of Austin (1965), they are *statements*. Moreover, I take illocutionary force to be encoded in a syntactic head which I will call Force, following Rizzi (1997), and which is part of the C-domain. On my analysis, Force is responsible for V2 in Mainland Scandinavian main and embedded clauses as well as for the asserted status of declarative V2 clauses.

The claim that embedded clauses can have their own illocutionary force is at present a rather controversial one. I am not the first one to put forward such a claim, however. Already Sadock (1974), using embedded performatives as examples, argued that speech acts can be embedded. More recently, Meinunger (2006) has proposed that embedded V2 clauses in German have illocutionary force. It is nevertheless often assumed that embedded clauses have no illocutionary force—see, for example, M. Green (2000) for a formal statement. Proponents of this view would say that what embedded clauses have is *clause type*, which should not be confused with illocution (see, for example, Brandt et al. 1992).

I totally agree that clause type is not the same thing as illocution. Presumably, all embedded (finite) clauses have a specification of clause type. For example, embedded *at(t)*-clauses in Scandinavian are declarative, whether or not they have V2 order. But my point is that embedded V2 clauses have something more, a meaning component that is not found in non-V2 clauses. On my view, this component is illocutionary force, or more precisely, *primary illocution*, in the terms of Allan (2006). Primary illocution is the illocution that is typically associated with a clause of a certain type. The primary illocution of a declarative clause is a statement, while the primary illocution of an interrogative clause is question, for example. I also assume, as argued by Allan (2006), that primary illocution is encoded in the grammar, thus contrasting with other illocutions that a given sentence may carry, which require pragmatics to be taken into account.

This means that the Force head that I take to be present in embedded V2 clauses, and also in matrix clauses, is not completely

identical to the Force head postulated by Rizzi (1997). Rizzi did not distinguish between illocutionary force and clause type, and he assumed that the Force head is where declarative markers and question markers are found in main clauses, and at the same time, it is the locus of the complementiser in embedded clauses. But on my view, marking a clause as declarative or interrogative is not the same as encoding its illocutionary force. Embedded clauses can be declarative without being statements, and interrogative without being questions. The examples in (8) demonstrate this:

- (8)a. I am sorry that I was so busy *that I could not come along*.
b. They asked me *if I wanted to come along*.

Here the italicised embedded clauses are clearly type marked, as declarative and interrogative, respectively, by the choice of complementiser. But the clause in (8a) is still no statement and the clause in (8b) is no question. This shows that the complementiser does not give the clause illocutionary force. The illocutionary force that we see in embedded V2 clauses must therefore reside in some other element. It is this other element that I call Force, and I take it to be, in embedded clauses, a syntactic head located below the head that hosts the subjunction (the details will be presented in section 4). In main clauses, on the other hand, there is no subjunction, and also no need to assume that (primary) illocution and clause type are encoded by different elements, so for main clauses my conception of Force is fully compatible with that in Rizzi (1997).³

To clarify what I mean by saying that embedded V2 clauses are statements, let us go back to the sentences that were given in (4a) and (4b). I repeat them here as (9a) and (9b):

³ It is interesting to note that Rizzi (1997) uses the matrix verbs *credere* and *pensare* in those Italian examples where he demonstrates that embedded clauses can have several constituents in the C-domain. Hence, it is possible that these expanded C-domains also belong to clauses that have illocutionary force, and that clauses without Force have fewer heads in their C-domain.

- (9)a. Eg er samd i at vi **ikkje kan** forby alt (N)
I agree that we not can forbid everything
 som er usunt.
that is unhealthy
 ‘I agree that we cannot ban everything that is unhealthy.’
- b. Eg er samd i at vi **kan** ikkje forby alt (N)
I agree that we can not forbid everything
 som er usunt.
that is unhealthy
 ‘I agree that we cannot ban everything that is unhealthy.’

In (9a), where the embedded clause has non-V2 order, the interpretation is that the speaker merely *mentions* the proposition represented by that clause. What the speaker asserts is the proposition represented by the sentence as a whole. But in (9b), where the embedded clause has V2 order, the interpretation is that the speaker *asserts* both the proposition that the embedded clause represents and the proposition represented by the sentence as a whole. In this case, someone else has obviously asserted the embedded proposition already, but by saying (9b), the speaker makes the very same statement, in addition to the statement that she agrees.

While the embedded assertion in (9b) is one that the speaker takes responsibility for, other embedded assertions are reported by the speaker, who then does not necessarily agree with them. Hooper & Thompson (1973) call embedded assertions of the latter type indirect assertions. In Scandinavian, embedded clauses representing indirect assertions can also have V2 order. A Swedish example is seen in (10).

- (10) Men samtidigt sa polis-en att man **vet** (S)
but at.the.same.time said police-DEF that one know
inte vad en s n d r kille kan g ra.
not what a such there guy can do.
 ‘But at the same time the police said that one doesn’t know what a guy like that can do.’

The assertion that embedded *att*-clause in (10) represents is not necessarily one that the speaker stands behind. The speaker just reports a claim made by someone else, but in doing so also reproduces the illocution, and accordingly, the embedded clause has V2 order, which on my analysis means that it contains a Force head.

However, if we manipulate the matrix clauses of (9) and (10), so that they do not easily allow their embedded clauses to be asserted, not even indirectly, embedded V2 is blocked:

- (11)a. Trur du at vi ⟨*kan⟩ ikkje ⟨^{OK}kan⟩ forby (N)
think you that we can not can forbid
 alt som er usunt?
everything that is unhealthy
 ‘Do you think that we cannot ban everything that is unhealthy?’
- b. Tror du att man ⟨*vet⟩ inte ⟨^{OK}vet⟩ vad (S)
think you that one know not know what
 en sån där kille kan göra?
a such there guy can do
 ‘Do you think that one doesn’t know what a guy like that can do?’

This is a strong indication that embedded V2 is tightly connected to illocution: only asserted *at(t)*-clauses can have V2 order.

2.2 Asserted embedded clauses and ‘main point of utterance’

The idea that embedded V2 clauses are asserted is challenged by Bentzen et al. (2007b), who propose instead that embedded V2 is connected to the *main point of utterance*, a term taken from Simons (2007). The concept ‘main point of utterance’, or MPU, is best understood in the context of question-answer pairs, where the main point of an utterance given in answer to a question is that part of the utterance that constitutes the actual answer (see Simons 2007 fn. 2). In some structures involving embedded clauses, either the whole sentence or the embedded clause can be the MPU. Thus, on the most natural interpretation of the answer in (12) (Simons’ example (4))

the whole sentence is the MPU, but in (13) (Simons' example (1)) it is the embedded clause contained in the answer that most people will take to be the MPU.

(12) Q: Why didn't Henry invite Louise to the party?

A: He thinks that she's left town.

(13) Q: Why didn't Louise come to the meeting yesterday?

A: I heard that she's out of town.

Bentzen et al. (2007b) argue, for Scandinavian, that embedded V2 is best explained in terms of MPU, as predicates that can embed a potential MPU also allow V2 complements. However, they emphasise that an embedded clause that is the MPU can but need not have V2 order, and an embedded V2 clause can but need not be the MPU. For them, there is thus no direct connection between being the MPU and having V2 order. Instead, they take the MPU reading and the V2 order to be "licensed by the same structural domain", which involves ForceP (Bentzen et al. 2007:114).

To demonstrate that V2 order is possible in embedded clauses that are not the MPU, and also that an embedded clause that is the MPU need not have V2 order, Bentzen et al. give examples like those in (14) (Norwegian, based on their examples (46) and (51)).

(14) Q: Hvorfor kom han ikke på fest-en? (N)

why came he not on party-DEF

'Why didn't he come to the party?'

A1: Kristine sa at han **fikk** ikke lov. (N)

Kristine said that he got not permission

'Kristine said that he was not allowed to.'

A2: Kristine sa at han *ikke* **fikk** lov. (N)

Kristine said that he not got permission

'Kristine said that he was not allowed to.'

Here we have a question with two possible answers, A1 and A2. A1 has V2 order whereas A2 has not, and moreover, both A1 and A2 have two readings, one where Kristine issues the prohibition and one where she just reports it. On the former reading, the whole sentence is the MPU, but on the latter reading, the embedded clause is the MPU. Hence, they conclude that V2 order is not a prerequisite for being the MPU, and being the MPU is not a prerequisite for having V2 order.

What this shows, in my opinion, is that the concept MPU does not lead to a proper understanding of embedded V2. Rather, (14) can be taken as evidence that the generalisation that embedded V2 clauses are asserted and contain a Force head is correct. In A1, the embedded clause contains a Force head and is asserted, according to this analysis, since it has V2 order. But whether or not Kristine is the issuer of the prohibition, the embedded clause represents an indirect assertion. In Kristine's utterance, on the other hand, the same proposition may have appeared as an indirect assertion or as a prohibition, but that makes no difference here. In A2, the embedded clause does not have V2 order and is not asserted. It just *reports* an illocution, without reproducing it. The reported illocution may still be the MPU, though.

The idea that an embedded clause with V2 is always asserted is however rejected by Bentzen et al. (2007b). One reason for this is the observation that V2 clauses can be embedded under semifactive verbs. Inspired by Hooper & Thompson (1973), they assume that if a clause is asserted, its content can felicitously be denied, and they then see examples like (15a) and (15b) as evidence that although both the reportive (Swedish) verb *säga* 'say' and the semifactive (Swedish) verb *upptäcka* 'discover' can take clausal complements with V2 order, only the complement of *säga* can be asserted (see examples (39) and (40) in Bentzen et al. 2007). In both examples, the embedded clause is followed by a clause that denies it, and this is felicitous when the matrix verb is *säga* but not when the matrix verb is *upptäcka*.

- (15)a. De sa att den bok-en **läste** han varje dag, (S)
they said that that book-DEF read he every day
 men det gjorde han inte.
but that did he not
 ‘They said that he read that book every day, but he didn’t.’
- b. De upptäckte att den bok-en **läste** han (S)
they discovered that that book-DEF read he
 varje dag, # men det gjorde han inte.
every day but that did he not
 ‘They discovered that he read that book every day, # but he didn’t.’

However, the negation test used in (15) cannot be a valid one. It cannot be part of the definition of assertions that it should be possible for the speaker to deny them as soon as she has asserted them. And as we saw in (6), this is not what Hooper and Thompson do. The reason why it nevertheless works better in (15a) than in (15b) is that the embedded assertion in (15a) is indirect and hence not necessarily one that the speaker stands behind, whereas the embedded assertion in (15b) is presupposed. But importantly, that the assertion of the embedded clause in (15b) is presupposed does not mean that it cannot also be asserted. Understood in the simplest way, being presupposed equals being part of the common ground, i.e. of the total body of background information that is known to all participants in a given conversation. If this is the case, there is no point in stating something that is also presupposed—it would be known by everyone present anyway. However, as Stalnaker (2002) points out, the speaker’s presuppositions need not actually be known by the hearer. It is appropriate for a speaker to treat a piece of information as presupposed if she can reasonably assume that the hearer is willing to add that piece to the common ground as soon as the utterance has been made. Moreover, whatever is entailed by a statement that a speaker makes will normally be included in the common ground after the statement is made. From the speaker’s point of view, the actual presupposition is presented as an *informative presupposition*,

and from the hearer's point of view, it is an example of *accommodation*. This is arguably what we see in (15b). Hence, (15b) is not a counterexample to the generalisation that embedded V2 clauses are asserted.

Also note that there is a problem with Bentzen et al.'s rejection of the claim that embedded V2 clauses are asserted. Remember that according to them, an embedded V2 clause is not necessarily the MPU, and an embedded clause that is the MPU does not necessarily have V2 order. Nevertheless, they take both V2 order and the property of being MPU to be licensed by Force. This must mean that (at least) all embedded clauses with V2 order and all embedded clauses that are the MPU must contain a Force head. But if it contains a Force head, it must have illocutionary force, which for an *at(t)*-clause should mean that it is asserted. Admittedly, the connection with Force is not worked out in detail in Bentzen et al. (2007b), but the suggestions that they make seem contradictory. Hence, connecting embedded V2 with illocutionary force appears to be the more promising line of reasoning after all.

3. Embedded V2: distribution and interpretation

Having claimed that embedded V2 clauses in Mainland Scandinavian have their own illocutionary force, I will now confront this claim with facts. That is, I am going to present the result of an investigation that I conducted in order to get an overview of the distribution of embedded V2 clauses in Norwegian and Swedish, and of the illocutionary properties of these clauses. What I did was search various tagged corpora (see the list of corpora in the appendix), using the string *<at(t) [max 4 words] V_{fin} Negation>*. Danish was left out of the investigation, since I do not know of any tagged Danish corpus. It should be noted, though, that according to Garbacz (2005), the order finite verb > negation is just as frequent in

Danish *at*-clauses as in their Norwegian and Swedish counterparts, so that it is very likely that my results are valid also for Danish.⁴

My searches returned *at(t)*-clauses where the subjunction is overt and the finite verb precedes the negation. Embedded V2 clauses where the subjunction is omitted, or where V2 is manifested in some other way, for example as topicalisation, were not detected. The examples I found were then organised along the lines of Hooper & Thompson (1973), who classify verbal and adjectival predicates according to whether or not they take an asserted or a presupposed clause as their complement. The question is now whether my findings support the hypothesis that asserted status is associated with V2 order.

3.1 Type A: Strongly assertive predicates

In this group we find reportive verbs, and adjectives like *true* and *clear*. Reportive verbs take clausal complements that are indirect assertions, whereas clauses embedded under the adjectives just mentioned will typically be asserted by the speaker. As expected, I found many examples of V2 clauses embedded under predicates of this type. Here is a small selection:

- (16)a. Så jeg bare sier at det **kan** jeg ikke gjøre. (N)
so I only say that that can I not do
'So I just say that I can't do that.'
- b. All-e seier at normalt **fer** *ikkje* Mikkel fram. (N)
all-PL say that normally go not Mikkel forward
'Everybody says that Mikkel does not behave normally.'

⁴ The frequencies that Garbacz (2005) gives, which are based on written and spoken corpora, are 27 % for Danish, 35 % for Swedish and 29 % for Norwegian.

- c. Jag har skrivit till honom att jag **tänker** inte (S)
I have written to him that I think not
träffa er mer.
meet you more
'I have written to him that I do not intend to see you any more.'
- d. Men det er klart at det **hadde** ikke så mye (N)
but it is clear that it had not so much
å si for oss.
to say for us
'But it is clear that it did not make much difference for us.'

3.2 Type B: Weakly assertive predicates

In this group we find some verbs of cognition, and predicates like *seem to* and *be possible*. These too take directly or indirectly asserted complements, and again I found many examples of embedded V2:

- (17)a. Hun mente at det viktig-ste **var** ikke at (N)
she thought that the important-SUP was not that
litteratur-list-en var lang.
literature-list-DEF was long
'In her opinion, the most important thing was not that the reading list was long.'
- b. Vi anser att problem-et **är** inte av teknisk (S)
we consider that problem-DEF is not of technical
natur.
nature
'We think that the problem is not of a technical nature.'
- c. Det er mulig at den helgen da **reiser** jeg (N)
it is possible that that weekend then go I
antageligvis til Oslo.
probably to Oslo
'It is possible that that weekend I will probably go to Oslo.'

3.3 Type C: Non-assertive predicates

These are predicates like *deny* and *be impossible*. They take non-asserted clausal complements, which are not expected to have V2 order. It is not surprising, then, that I did not find any such examples. Moreover, if we take an expression like (18a), with a non-assertive matrix predicate and an *at*-clause, and give the embedded clause V2 order, as in (18b), the result is not good at all:

- (18)a. Jeg tviler på at slike konserter faktisk **hjelper** (N)
I doubt on that such concerts actually help
 mot vold-en.
against violence-DEF
 ‘I doubt it that concerts like that actually have an effect on the violence.’
- b. * Jeg tviler på at slike konserter **hjelper** (N)
I doubt on that such concerts help
faktisk mot vold-en.
actually against violence-DEF

Thus, again there appears to be a close connection between being asserted and having V2 order. Since the matrix verb indicates that the speaker does *not* assert the proposition that the embedded clause represents, that clause cannot have V2 order here.

It is however worth noting that if a predicate of type C is negated, the result is a predicate of type B, and vice versa. As Andersson (1975) pointed out, the acceptability of V2 complements also switches. This becomes evident if we compare (18a) to (19) and (17b) to (20):

- (19) Jeg tviler ikke på at slike konserter **hjelper** (N)
I doubt not on that such concerts help
 faktisk mot vold-en.
actually against violence-DEF
 ‘But I do not doubt it that concerts like that actually have an effect on the violence.’

- (20)a. *Vi anser inte att problem-et **är** *inte* av (S)
 we consider not that problem-DEF is not of
 teknisk natur.
 technical nature
- b. Vi anser inte att problem-et *inte* **är** av (S)
 we consider not that problem-DEF not is of
 teknisk natur.
 technical nature
 ‘We do not think that the problem is not of a technical nature.’

In (19), having V2 order in the embedded clause is fully acceptable, although it is not good in (18a). Conversely, (20a), which is identical to (17b) except that the matrix verb is negated, is not grammatical with V2 order in the embedded clause. To get a grammatical sentence out of (20a) we must give the embedded clause non-V2 order, as in (20b).

Since the matrix verb is the same in (18a) and (19), and in (17b) and (20), it is clear that the acceptability of a V2 complement cannot be directly dependent on the matrix predicate. In other words, the concept “bridge verb” is not particularly relevant to the discussion of embedded V2. It is the matrix clause as a whole that in some cases allow and in other cases block V2 order in the embedded clause.

3.4 Type D: *Factive predicates*

Factive predicates take presupposed clausal complements, as Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1971) made clear, so these complements should, on traditional assumptions, not have V2 order. Judging by the Norwegian examples in (21) and (22), this seems to hold. The matrix verb *angre på* ‘regret’ in (21) and the adjective *rart* ‘strange’ in (22), both factive predicates, can take a non-V2 clause as complement but not a V2 clause.

(21)a. Jeg angrer på at jeg **tok** ikke tann-helse. (N)
I regret on that I not took tooth-health
'I regret it that I didn't choose dental health.'

b. * Jeg angrer på at jeg **tok** ikke tann-helse.
I regret on that I took not tooth-health

(22)a. Jeg synes egentlig det var rart at de (N)
I think really it was strange that they
aldri spurte meg.
never asked me
'I really think it was strange that they never asked me.'

b. ?* Jeg synes egentlig det var rart at de (N)
I think really it was strange that they
spurte aldri meg.
asked never me

But I did actually find some examples of embedded V2 after factive predicates. Some of these examples are shown in (23).⁵

(23)a. Jeg tenkte på at jeg **greide** ikke jobb-en (N)
I thought on that I managed not job-DEF
slik jeg skulle
such I should
'I thought about (the fact) that I was not able to do the job as I ought to.'

b. Alltid glemte de at den gutt-en **var** ikke (N)
always forgot they that that boy-DEF was not
som andre.
like others
'They always forgot that that boy was not like the others.'

⁵ Concerning (23b), note that Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1971) explicitly list 'forget' among the factive verbs.

- c. Han finn det rimeleg at Jens **vil** *ikkje* (N)
he finds it reasonable that Jens will not
nekta han det.
deny him it
'He finds it reasonable that Jens will not deny him it.'
- d. Det er elementært at ansvar **kan** *ikke* (N)
it is elementary that responsibility can not
delegere-s.
delegate-PASS
'It elementary that responsibility cannot be handed over.'

It can be shown that the matrix predicates in (23) are really factive. If we negate the matrix clauses, as in (24), or manipulate their modality, as in (25), the propositions that the embedded clauses represent are still presupposed. For some speakers, embedded V2 is less good in these cases, especially in (25), since the embedded clauses are no longer asserted, but the important point is that the presuppositions remain.

- (24)a. Jeg tenkte ikke på at jeg **greide** *ikke* jobb-en
I thought not on that I managed not job-DEF
slik jeg skulle.
such I should
'I did not think about the fact that I was not able to do the job as I ought to.'
- b. De glemte ikke at den gutt-en **var** *ikke* som andre.
they forgot not that that boy-DEF was not like others
'They did not forget that that boy was not like the others.'
- (25)a. Om du skulle tenke på at du (greier) *ikke*
if you should think on that you manage not
(greier) jobb-en slik du skal...
manage job-DEF such you shall
'If you should think about the fact that you are not able to do the job as you ought to...'

- b. De kan komme til å glemme at den gutt-en (var)
they can come to to forget that that boy-DEF was
ikke (var) som andre.
not was like others
‘They may come to forget that that boy was not like other people.’

In light of the discussion of (15b), with a V2 clause embedded under the semifactive *upptäcka* ‘discover’, it is not so surprising that factive predicates can embed V2 clauses after all. As I pointed out, it is possible for an embedded clause to be presupposed and at the same time asserted. Although the matrix predicate indicates that the embedded clause represents a presupposed proposition, the speaker can still assert the same proposition, presenting it either as new information to the hearer or as a reminder for speaker and/or hearer. This is why V2 clauses can even be embedded under factive verbs.

3.5 Type E: Semifactive predicates

This group includes predicates like *realise*, *discover* and *know*. They are factive in the indicative, but not in questions and in conditional clauses (Karttunen 1971). We would expect them to allow an asserted complement clause to have V2 order. And I did find quite a few V2 clauses embedded under semifactive predicates:

- (26)a. Eg visste at han **kunne** *ikkje* venja seg til det. (N)
I knew that he could not get used to it
‘I knew that he could not get used to it.’
- b. Da oppdaget han at han **var** *ikke* alene. (N)
then discovered he that he was not alone
‘Then he discovered that he was not alone.’
- c. Eddie innser at han **kan** *ikke* lenger leve (N)
Eddie realises that he can not longer live
med Mona
with Mona
‘Eddie realises that he can no longer live with Mona.’

- d. Du måste förstå att jag **kommer** inte hit (S)
you must understand that I come not here
av medlidande.
of pity
'You must understand that I don't come here out of pity.'

The embedded clauses in (26) are all still presupposed if we negate the matrix verb. Compare, for example, (26b) and (27):

- (27) Da oppdaget han ikke at han **var** ikke alene. (N)
then discovered he not that he was not alone
'Then he didn't discover that he was not alone.'

But if we manipulate the modality of the matrix clause, as in (28), the presupposition disappears (and so does the possibility of V2 order in the embedded clause):

- (28) Han kunne ha oppdaget at han $\langle^{OK}var\rangle$ ikke $\langle^{*}var\rangle$
he could have discovered that he was not was
alene.
alone
'He might have discovered that he was not alone.'

These tests show that the matrix predicate in (26b) is semifactive. Corresponding tests can be applied to the constructions in (26a), (26c) and (26d). And as we have seen, they all involve embedded V2 clauses. These clauses are arguably all asserted. In (26a) and (26d), and possibly also in (26b), they represent direct assertions, assertions that originate in the speaker, whereas in (26c) it is more natural to see it as representing an indirect assertion, that is, an assertion that the speaker reproduces. In (27), the embedded clause can also represent an assertion that the speaker stands behind, but in (28), the counterfactive modality of the matrix clause does not allow the embedded clause to be asserted. Consequently, the embedded clause cannot have V2 order in this case.

3.6 Embedded V2 in other contexts

In addition to embedded V2 clauses embedded under the predicate types that were presented above, I also found embedded V2 in various contexts that do not fit into Hooper & Thompson's classification. Some embedded V2 clauses were predicates in copula constructions, as exemplified in (29):

- (29)a. Mitt poeng er at vi **kjenner** ikke omfang-et. (N)
my point is that we know not extent-DEF
 'My point is that we do not know the extent.'
- b. Problem-et er at jeg **klarer** ikke å legge (N)
problem-DEF is that I manage not to put
 fortid-en bak meg.
past-DEF behind me
 'The problem is that I can't leave the past behind me.'
- c. Vad jag menar är att det **är inte** ett medvetet (S)
what I mean is that it is not a deliberate
 val.
choice
 'What I mean is that it isn't a deliberate choice.'

In all the examples in (29), the embedded postcopular clause is best interpreted as an assertion on the part of the speaker. Hence, the correlation between being asserted and having V2 order holds here too.

I also found embedded V2 clauses were complements of prepositions, as in the following examples:

- (30)a. Det blir samme type bortsett fra at vi (N)
it becomes same type aside from that we
har ikke noen som bor under.
have not anyone that lives under
 'It makes the same type except that we don't have anyone living underneath.'

- b. Han hade fostrats till att ord **skulle inte** (S)
he had raised.PASS to that words should not
beslöjas.
conceal.PASS
 ‘He had been raised to think that words should not be concealed.’
- c. Barn-en får en känsla av att de **är inte** (S)
child-DEF.PL get a feeling of that they are not
värd-a att satsas på.
worth-PL to invest.PASS on
 ‘The children get a feeling that they are not worthy of being invested in.’

As we see, the prepositional phrases containing the V2 clauses in these examples have different syntactic functions. In (30a), the phrase introduced by *bortsett fra* ‘except’ is a free adverbial, and the proposition that the embedded clause represents is asserted by the speaker quite independently of the matrix clause proposition. In (30b), the PP containing the clause is a part of the VP, and in (30c), it is the complement of a noun. In both cases, the most likely interpretation is that the embedded clause is an indirect assertion, one that the speaker reproduces in accordance with the original assertion made by someone else.

Other embedded V2 clauses were complements to nouns, as in (31), or to the inanimate third person pronouns *den* (non-neuter) or *det* (neuter), as in (32). (Note that in (32c), the pronoun has stranded the clause that it is construed with.)

- (31)a. Så trekker han konklusjon-en at annet **er** (N)
then draws he conclusion-DEF that other is
ikke å vente.
not to expect
 ‘Then he draws the conclusion that anything else is not to be expected.’

- b. Dei skreiv ut attest at han **var** *ikkje* (N)
they wrote out documentation that he was not
 drukna i dette distrikt-et.
drowned in this district-DEF
 ‘They wrote a documentation that he had not drowned in this district.’
- (32)a. Men sak-en er den, at man **kan** *ikke* forsvare (N)
but issue-DEF is it that one can not defend
 sig våpen-løs mot en moderne armé.
REFL weapon-less against a modern army
 ‘But the thing is that one cannot defend oneself unarmed against a modern army.’
- b. Det stranda alt saman på det at folk (N)
it stranded all together on it that people
hadde *ikkje* tru på det.
had not belief in it
 ‘It all failed because people had no belief in it.’
- c. Det är kanske en tröst att det **gör** *inte* kyrka-n (S)
it is maybe a comfort that that does not church-DEF
 heller.
either
 ‘It is perhaps a little comfort that the church does not do that either.’

In the two examples in (31), the embedded clauses are interpreted as indirect assertions, originating with the matrix clause subjects. The sentence in (32a) would have been grammatical even without the underlined *den*, so that pragmatically it is like the examples in (29). As for the examples in (32b) and (32c), the embedded clauses here most likely represent assertions that originate with the speaker, and moreover, these assertions may well be the main assertions of the respective utterances.

There were also many examples of embedded V2 clauses introduced by *slik at* ‘such that’, *for det at*, ‘because’, *for at* ‘because’,

därför att ‘because’ and other clause introducers that in themselves invite an asserted clause:

- (33)a. Vi bodde i annen-etasje i en villa slik at vi (N)
we lived in second-floor in a villa such that we
hadde jo ikke hel-e hus-et.
had PRT not whole-DEF house-DEF
‘We lived on the first floor of a villa, so that we did not have the whole house.’
- b. Så vi hadde god tid for det at vi (N)
so we had good time for it that we
kunne ikke sjekke inn før klokke-a to.
could not check in before clock-DEF two
‘So we had plenty of time because we could not check in before two o’clock.’
- c. Men jeg betal-er ikke noenting jeg for at jeg (N)
but I pay-PRES not anything I for that I
har ikke penger til det.
have not money to it
‘But I don’t pay anything because I don’t have the money for it.’
- d. Jag är skeptisk, därför att jag **tycker inte** (S)
I am sceptical because that I think not
slut-förvars-metod-en är den rätt-a.
end-defence-method-DEF is the right-DEF
‘I am sceptical, because I don’t think the end defence method is the right one.’

In these examples, both the main clauses and the embedded clauses are asserted, and in addition, a causal relation is said to hold between them. Strikingly, exactly the same information can be conveyed with the embedded clause made into a root clause. For example, (33a) is semantically and pragmatically equivalent to (34):

- (34) Vi kunne ikke sjekke inn før klokke-a to, og (N)
we could not check in before clock-DEF two and
 derfor hadde vi god tid.
therefore had we good time
 ‘We could not check in before two o’clock, and because of this we had plenty of time.’

In (34), the proposition ‘we could not check in before two o’clock’ is clearly asserted, and so is the proposition ‘we had plenty of time’. But since (34) means the same thing as (33a), I conclude that both propositions are also asserted in (33a), where one of them appears in an embedded clause.

Finally, I found lots of examples of V2 in clauses embedded under degree expressions of the type *so X that*. Following Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson (1999 vol. 4 p. 632) I will call these constructions *consequence of degree*. Some of them are shown in (35).⁶

- (35)a. Jeg hadde så mye å gjøre at jeg **kunne** ikke (N)
I had so much to do that I could not
 prioritere det.
give.priority.to it
 ‘I had so much to do that I could not give priority to it.’
- b. Dei jævla-ne kjører så pil-råde at (N)
those bastards-DEF drive so EMPH-rotten that
 det **går** ikkje an.
it goes not PRT
 ‘Those bastards drive so rotten that it is not acceptable.’
- c. Hjart-a buldra slik at han **hørde** ikkje (N)
heart-DEF boomed such that he heard not
 lenger andre lydar.
longer other sounds
 ‘His heart boomed so that he could no longer hear other sounds.’

⁶ Note that X is not spelled out in (35c), so that the construction looks similar to the one in (33a). The two constructions are however different. In (33a), *slik at* is a complex subjunction, but in (35c), *slik* is a manner adverb that takes a clause as its complement.

- d. Jag var så elegant att det **går** *inte* att beskriva! (S)
I was so elegant that it goes not to describe
 ‘I was so elegant that it cannot be described.’

Again, the propositions in the embedded clauses might as well be presented as root clauses. For example, (35a) has the same meaning as (36):

- (36) Jeg kunne ikke prioritere det, (for) jeg hadde (N)
I could not give.priority.to it for I had
så mye å gjøre.
so much to do
 ‘I could give priority to it, (as) I had so much to do.’

Here the proposition ‘I could not give priority to it’ is clearly asserted. The similarity between (35a) and (36) suggests that the embedded clause in (35a) is asserted as well.

Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson (1999) also say that the embedded clause in the consequence of degree-construction can be asserted. On their view, the embedded clause is asserted when the matrix clause is asserted, but presupposed when the matrix clause is presupposed. We would then expect V2 in the embedded clause to be possible only when the matrix clause is asserted. If we compare (35a) to the examples in (37), this seems to hold. In (35a) the clause *jeg hadde så mye å gjøre* ‘I had so much to do’ is asserted, and its complement has V2 order, but in (37) the same clause is presupposed, and then its complement cannot have V2 order, which indicates that it is not asserted:

- (37)a. Det var synd at jeg hadde så mye å gjøre (N)
it was pity that I had so much to do
 at jeg ikke **kunne** prioritere det.
that I not could give.priority.to it
 ‘It was a pity that I had so much to do that I could not give priority to it.’

- b. * Det var synd at jeg hadde så mye å gjøre (N)
it was pity that I had so much to do
 at jeg **kunne** ikke prioritere det.
that I could not give.priority.to it

But it appears that the polarity and the modality of the matrix clause also play a role. All the matrix clauses in (38) are asserted. But since the matrix clause in (38ab) is negated, and the matrix clause in (38cd) presents the embedded clause as hypothetical, the embedded clauses are not asserted in any of these cases, and consequently, they cannot have V2 order.

- (38)a. Jeg har aldri så mye å gjøre at jeg ikke (N)
I have never so much to do that I not
kan prioritere det.
can give.priority.to it

‘I have never so much to do that I cannot give priority to it.’

- b. * Jeg har aldri så mye å gjøre at jeg **kan** (N)
I have never so much to do that I can
 ikke prioritere det.
not give.priority.to it

- c. Jeg håper jeg ikke får så mye å gjøre at (N)
I hope I not get so much to do that
 jeg ikke **kan** prioritere det.
I not can give.priority.to it

‘I hope I won’t get so much to do that I cannot give priority to it.’

- d. * Jeg håper jeg ikke får så mye å gjøre at (N)
I hope I not get so much to do that
 jeg **kan** ikke prioritere det.
I can not give.priority.to it

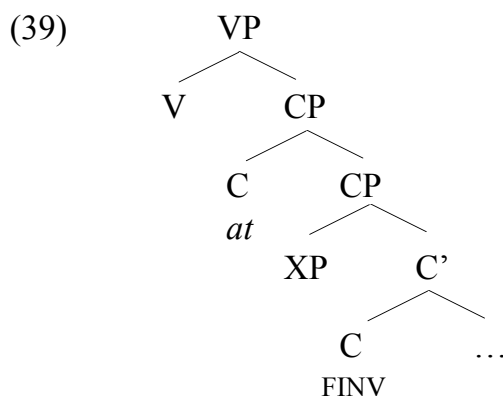
All in all, it appears that the embedded clause in the consequence of degree-construction can have V2 order if and only if it is asserted. The properties of the matrix clause play a role, but only indirectly.

3.7 Summary

What we have seen in this section is that embedded clauses with V2 order are found in many different contexts in Norwegian and Swedish.⁷ What all embedded V2 clauses have in common is that they are asserted, but unlike what Hooper & Thompson (1973) assumed, an asserted clause can at the same time be presupposed. Furthermore, whether or not an embedded clause can be asserted is at best only indirectly dependent on the matrix predicate. Other factors, like polarity and modality, also play a role, and in some cases the choice of matrix predicate does not matter at all.

4. The analysis

We will now turn to the question of what a formal analysis of Mainland Scandinavian embedded V2 might look like. The traditional explanation, after den Besten (1983) and Platzack (1983), is that V2 in main clauses is the result of the finite verb moving to C, the head where the subjunction is found in embedded clauses. Embedded V2 is then usually taken to involve CP-recursion, as in (39).



⁷ One can also note that the contexts I found are in accordance with what Jørgensen (1978) reports from spoken Swedish, de Haan (2001) from Frisian, Biberauer (2002) from colloquial Afrikaans, and Heycock et al. (2003) from Faroese.

In this structure there are two C heads, one hosting the subjunction and another hosting the finite verb (see de Haan & Weerman 1986, Wechsler 1991, Iatridou & Kroch 1992, Vikner 1995, Holmberg & Platzack 1995).

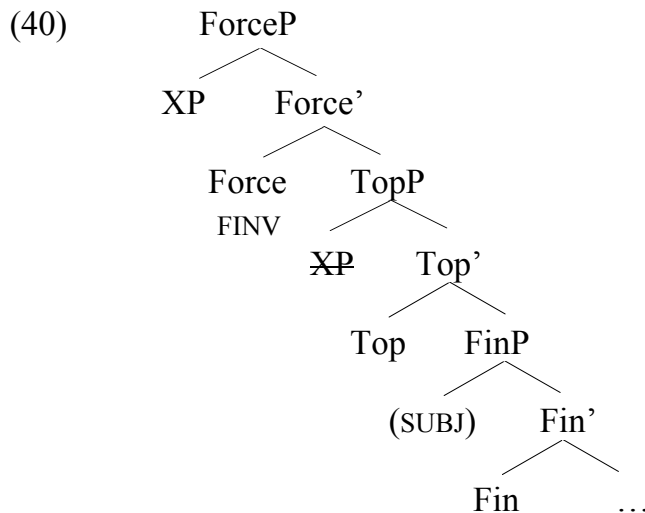
Some of those who have dealt with embedded V2 have tried to explain why CP-recursion should only be possible in the complement of certain verbs—see for example de Haan & Weerman (1986) and Iatridou & Kroch (1992). But it should now be clear that the question is mistaken, since embedded V2 does not follow directly from any property of the matrix verb. What matters is that the matrix clause as a whole allows an asserted complement clause.⁸ The interesting question is therefore: What is the connection between the asserted status of the embedded V2 clause and its word order?

One answer to this question was provided by Holmberg & Platzack (1995), who said that when a C head in Mainland Scandinavian is lexicalised by a finite verb, that CP gets a main clause interpretation, which means that it has its own illocutionary force. This solution is compatible with the data, but it has the drawback that the main assumption, that a finite verb in C gives a main clause interpretation, is only a stipulation.

As I made clear in section 2, I take illocutionary force, in embedded clauses as well as in main clauses, to be encoded in a Force head. The Force head is part of the C-domain, and in a root clause it will be the highest head. I further propose that the Force head is responsible for V2 in Mainland Scandinavian (and possibly in Germanic in general). More specifically, the Force head must have an unvalued feature that can be valued by the finite verb. One possibility is that it is an unvalued finiteness feature. Only finite clauses have illocutionary force, which means that the presence of

⁸ De Haan & Weerman (1986) mention V2 in the "consequence of degree" construction as a problem, since it is not in line with their generalisation that embedded V2 is only possible if the higher C in the embedded clause is lexically governed by a verb with the right properties. This problem disappears under my analysis.

illocutionary force requires the presence of finiteness. That Force is only merged over finite clauses will be guaranteed if Force has an unvalued finiteness feature, which must be valued by the finite verb. Hence, in clauses containing Force, the finite verb will move all the way up to Force. In addition, Force has an EPP-feature, which triggers movement of some phrasal constituent to Spec-ForceP. This phrase will be whatever phrase is closest to Force. If the clause has a topicalised constituent, this constituent is first attracted to the Spec of a Top head that is located below Force, as shown in (40), and after Force is merged, the topicalised constituent will move to Spec-ForceP. Next follows the finite verb, in Force. The subject, unless it is topicalised, will be sitting in the Spec of Fin, the head that encodes finiteness (Rizzi 1997, Platzack 1998).⁹ If the subject is topicalised, it will move to Spec-TopP and then to Spec-ForceP.



V2 clauses with a non-focused subject in initial position are however different from other V2 clauses (see e.g. Travis 1984, Zwart 1993, van Craenenbroek & Haegeman 2007). One argument from Norwegian is that weak subject pronouns can be in clause-

⁹ I take Fin to be like the C head discussed in Pesetsky & Torrego (2001), in the sense that it has an unvalued tense feature that can be valued by a phrase carrying nominative case, the nominal counterpart of tense.

initial position, as long as they have something to cliticise to—see (41a). Weak object pronouns, on the other hand, never appear in initial position, only strong object pronouns do—see (41b) and (42c).

(41)a. ...å {a/n} sa det sjølv også. (N)

and she/he said it self also

‘and she/he said so herself/himself too.’

b. * ...å {a/n} prata eg med også. (N)

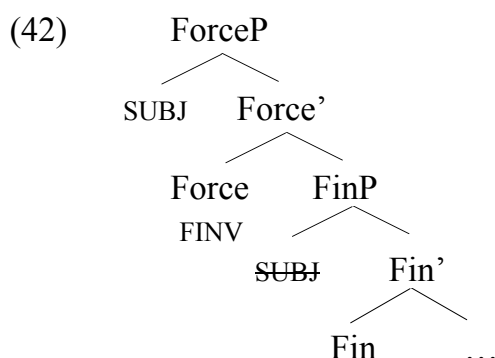
and she/he talked I with also

c. ...å {ho/han} prata eg med også. (N)

and she/he talked I with also

‘and with her/him I talked as well.’

In other words, subjects but not objects can be in initial position without being focused. On my analysis the reason is that an object can end up in initial position only if it first moves to Spec-TopP, whereas a subject can move directly from Spec-FinP. That is, if there is no topicalised constituent, there is no Top head either. The next projection down from ForceP is then FinP, and consequently, the subject will be attracted to Spec-ForceP. The result is as illustrated in (42).



My next claim is that embedded V2 clauses are formed by merging a subjunction over the structures shown in (40) and (42), so

that the subjunction heads its own projection above ForceP.¹⁰ The idea that the subjunction can embed ForceP is supported by Northern Sami, where a *wh*-question can be embedded under the subjunction *ahte* ‘that’. In (43a), I show that *ahte* is also a declatative complementiser. In (43b), we have a normal interrogative main clause, with the question word *maid* ‘what’ in initial position. In (43c) the very same clause is embedded under the subjunction *ahte*.¹¹

- (43)a. Mun dovddan ahte duodai lean ustibiid luhtte.
 I feel.PRES.1SG that really am friends with
 ‘I feel that I really am among friends.’
- b. Maid áigu dievdu muitalit?
 what.ACC wants man.NOM tell.INF
 ‘What does the man want to tell?’

¹⁰ This is also proposed in Stroh-Wollin (2002), but her analysis of the C-domain in asserted *at(t)*-clauses is different from mine when it comes to details.

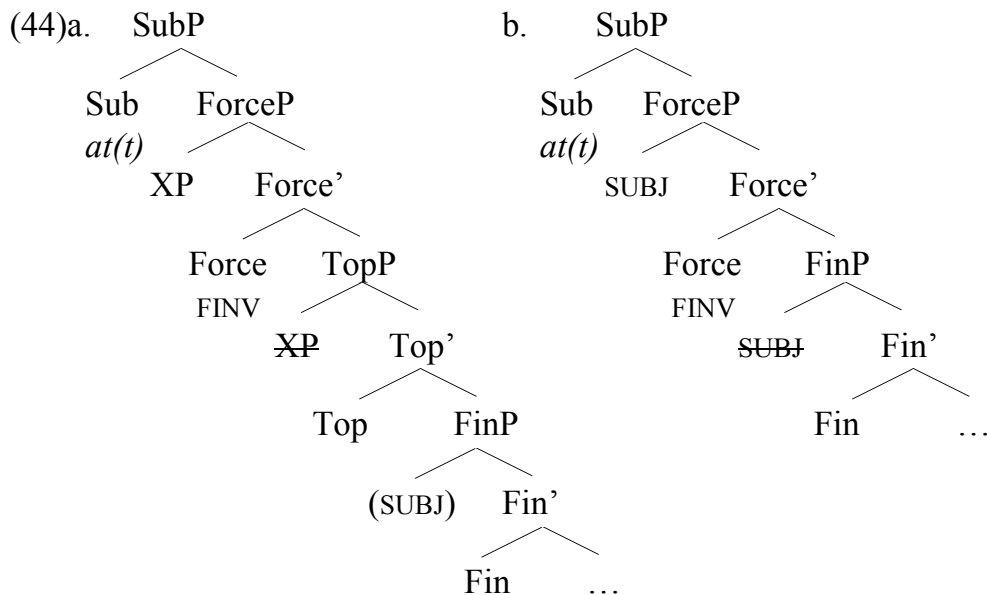
¹¹ In Swedish it is also possible for embedded interrogative clauses to have the same form as the corresponding main clauses. That is, they can have V2 order, but unlike Northern Sami, no subjunction is then present. Two examples are shown here:

- (i) Kvinna-n undrar [var-t **ska** hon gå och hur långt
 woman-DEF wonders where-to shall she go and how far
 är det]?
 is it
 ‘The woman wonders, where should she go and how far is it?’
- (ii) Min fråga var bara lite ironisk, jag vet [vad **ska** du
 my question was just little ironic, I know what shall you
 göra där].
 do there
 ‘My question was just a little ironic, I know what you are going to do there.’

Constructions of this form belong to the colloquial language, and according to Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson (1999, vol. 4 p. 467) they are nowadays becoming more frequent. And interestingly, Biberauer (2002) reports that similar constructions are very frequent in modern spoken Afrikaans.

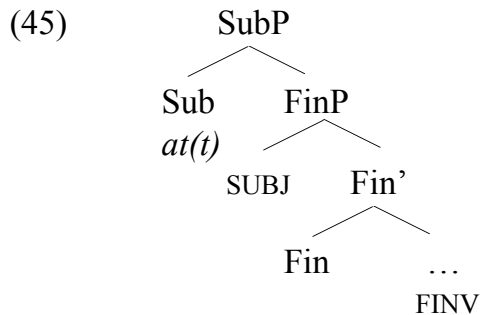
- c. Mus čuožžila gažaldat ahte maid áigu
me.LOC arises question.NOM that what.ACC wants
 dievdu mitalit.
man.NOM tell.INF
 'For me the question arises, what does the man want to tell.'

In short, embedded V2 clauses with a topicalised constituent have the syntactic structure shown in (44a), whereas embedded V2 clauses with a non-focused subject in initial position have the syntactic structure shown in (44b).¹²



For comparison I show in (45) the structure of an embedded non-V2 clause. Here the subjunction is merged directly with FinP, which has the subject as its specifier.

¹² The structures shown in (44a) and (44b) are in fact compatible with the suggestion in Vikner (1995) that embedded V2 might be involving an extra functional projection below C. My Sub would then correspond to Vikner's C, and my Force would be the extra functional projection. Writing before the publishing of works like Rizzi (1997) and Cinque (1999), which add numerous functional projections to the standard clause model, Vikner rejects the idea, however, not wanting to introduce another functional projection in addition to DP, IP and CP.



The finite verb is then not in Fin, but lower down, as seen from the fact that clause adverbials will intervene between the subject and the finite verb, as in (46):

- (46) Her deler jeg faktisk ditt syn, selv om vi (N)
here share I actually your view even if we
kanskje ikke alltid kommer til samme konklusjoner.
maybe not always come to same conclusions
 ‘Here I actually share your view, even if we maybe do not always reach the same conclusions.’

A possible interpretation is that there are several adverb-related projections between the subject and the verb (Cinque 1999, Nilsen 2000). So it seems that in Mainland Scandinavian, only Force will normally make the verb move higher up, and consequently, only clauses that have their own illocutionary force will have V2 order.¹³

¹³ In North Norwegian, the finite verb can precede certain clause adverbs in embedded clauses of many types (see Bentzen 2003, 2005). As the example in (i) shows, this word order can look like V2:

- (i) Plass-en som han **krangle** vanligvis til sæ, va opptatt
seat-DEF REL he quarrel usually to REFL was occupied
idag.
today
 ‘The seat that he usually manages to squabble his way into was occupied today.’

But as Bentzen (2005) points out, topicalisation is impossible in these cases, and in addition, the verb never precedes the negation. It is likely that (i) has the structure given in (45), but with the verb higher up than in other dialects.

To sum up, on my analysis embedded V2 does not involve any recursion of syntactic projections. The subjunction and the finite verb are located in heads that have different content. The subjunction and the finite verb do not compete for the same syntactic position, and the contrast between main clauses with V2 and embedded clauses without V2 is not the result of such competition. Instead, the contrast is there because the V2 clause contains a Force head and the non-V2 clause does not. The consequence is that an embedded V2 clause has its own illocutionary force, just like root clauses.

5. Embedded V2 clauses—not really embedded?

De Haan (2001) claims that Frisian V2 clauses that seem to be embedded are not really embedded after all. Biberauer (2002) reaches a similar conclusion for a subset of all seemingly embedded non-verb-final clauses in Afrikaans. In this section, I will address these proposals, and I will show that they do not apply to Mainland Scandinavian. In Mainland Scandinavian, seemingly embedded V2 clauses are indeed embedded.

Biberauer (2002) firstly argues that some of those embedded clauses in Modern Spoken Afrikaans that have the finite verb in an early position (as opposed to final position) are TPs. They are characterised, according to Biberauer, by having the subject, and not some other constituent, in initial position, and an auxiliary, that is, a T element, as finite verb. Other non-verb-final clauses—among others, those where the finite verb precedes a clausal adverb or negation—are genuine V2 clauses, but Biberauer takes them to be not embedded, but juxtaposed with their “matrix” clause. Consequently, there are no truly embedded V2 clauses in Afrikaans.

The embedded clauses that are the topic of this paper, by contrast, have the finite verb in second position, they allow topicalisation, and they have their own illocutionary force. Hence, they are clearly different from the clauses that Bentzen discusses.

The TP analysis is not available for the Scandinavian clauses discussed in this paper, since they either have a clausal adverbial following the finite verb or a non-subject in initial position. Hence, they have to be juxtaposed with what seems to be their matrix clause, if we are to follow Biberauer. However, she does not present any syntactic arguments to support her analysis; she just notices that embedded V2 clauses are informationally independent of their matrix clauses, and that the content of the embedded clause could in some cases just as well be presented in a matrix clause. This is exactly the point I made in 3.6. I noted, for example, that the statement represented by the embedded clause in (33b), which I repeat below, could alternatively be conveyed by a root clause, as was shown in (34).

- (33)b. Så vi hadde god tid [for det at vi (N)
 so we had good time for it that we
 kunne ikke sjekke inn før klok-k-a to].
 could not check in before clock-DEF two
 ‘So we had plenty of time because we could not check in before
 two o’clock.’

But I do not see this as an argument that the clause introduced by *for det at* ‘because’ in (33b) is not *syntactically* subordinate in this particular construction. Here it is an adverbial clause inside its matrix clause, and the fact that alternative realisations are possible does not change that. The clause still represents a statement, though, as I am claiming that all declarative V2 clauses do, embedded or not.

Biberauer (2002) does on the other hand mention some criteria that can be used to identify truly embedded clauses. Among these criteria are pronoun change and sequence of tense effects. We have already seen examples of both these phenomena in Norwegian and Swedish embedded V2 clauses, and a couple of even clearer cases are shown in (47) and (48). In the (a) examples, we see sentences with embedded V2 clauses. The embedded clause represents an utterance in (47a) and a thought in (48a). In the (b) examples, I give

the form that the original utterance or thought must have had. As we see, pronoun change and sequence of tense obtains here. Hence, following Biberauer we have indications that the embedded V2 clauses in (47a) and (48a) are really embedded.

- (47)a. Han sade till GP att han **hade** inte ens hunnit (S)
he said to GP that he had not even had.time.to
 tänka på OS.
think about the Olympics
 ‘He told GP [a Swedish newspaper] that he had not even had time to think about the Olympics.’
- b. Jag **har** inte ens hunnit tänka på OS.
I have not even had.time.to think about the Olympics
 ‘I have not even had time to think about the Olympics.’
- (48)a. Hel-e tid-en visste han at det **var** ikke dette (N)
all-DEF time-DEF knew he that it was not this
 han skulle sagt.
he should said
 ‘All the time he knew that this was not what he should have said.’
- b. Det er ikke dette jeg skulle sagt.
it is not this I should said
 ‘This is not what I should have said.’

De Haan (2001) presents more substantial arguments in defence of the analysis that I will refer to as the coordination analysis, according to which seemingly embedded V2 clauses in West Frisian are in fact coordinated with their “matrix” clause, and what seems to be a subjunction is instead a conjunction. De Haan further claims that seemingly embedded V2 clauses are related to an empty element in their “matrix” clause, which gives the illusion that they are embedded. This means that when a V2 clause appears to be an argument of the matrix verb, the empty element inside the matrix clause is the real argument, and consequently, the thematic relation

that seems to hold between the matrix verb and the V2 clause is not evidence that the clause is embedded under the verb.

The examples that were presented in (32), with embedded V2 clauses related to the pronouns *den* ‘it.NON-NEUTER’ or *det* ‘it.NEUTER’ might be seen as support for this analysis, if the pronouns are taken to be overt counterparts of the empty elements that de Haan postulates. However, if we look closer at the issue from a Scandinavian point of view, the arguments that de Haan puts forward in favour of the coordination analysis either do not go through or are not quite convincing.

First of all, de Haan points out that embedded V2 clauses (as I will call them in order to keep things simple) share other properties with main clauses, in addition to the V2 word order. They allow topicalisation, and they may contain speaker oriented interjections. We have already seen, in examples (3)–(5), that embedded V2 clauses in Mainland Scandinavian allow topicalisation. That they also allow speaker oriented interjections is demonstrated by the following (authentic) Norwegian example:

- (49) Jeg så det, men tenkte at søren heller, jeg **lar** (N)
I saw that but thought that dammit I let
meg ikke diktere.
me not dictate
 ‘I could see that, but I thought that dammit, I will not take orders.’

These properties follow, on my view, from the asserted status of the embedded clause. The clause is a statement of its own, it contains a Force head, and because of this, its internal syntax is identical to the internal syntax of ordinary root clauses that express statements.

Next, de Haan observes that in Frisian, an embedded V2 clause cannot be initial in its matrix clause. He takes this as another piece of evidence that V2 clauses are not embedded—meaning that they cannot occupy a structural position inside another clause. In the case of Scandinavian, it is true that V2 clauses cannot as easily be fronted as their non-V2 counterparts. For example, the Norwegian

construction in (50a), which is like (4a) except that the embedded non-V2 clause is fronted, is perfectly fine, but (50b), where the fronted embedded clause has V2 order, is much less good. Note that the problem here is not the V2 order as such, since (4b), where the very same embedded clause appears in postverbal position, is fully grammatical. It is the fronting of the V2 clause that makes the construction as a whole less acceptable.

- (50)a. At vi *ikkje* **kan** forby alt som er (N)
that we not can forbid everything that is
usunt, er eg samd i.
unhealthy am I agreed in
 ‘That we cannot ban everything that is unhealthy, I agree.’

- b. ?* At vi **kan** *ikkje* forby alt som er (N)
that we can not forbid everything that is
usunt, er eg samd i.
unhealthy am I agreed in
 ‘That we cannot ban everything that is unhealthy, I agree.’

It appears, though, that in some cases fronting of a V2 clause is possible after all. Consider (51), where we find two manipulated versions of the authentic Norwegian example in (23b). Both in (51a) and in (51b), the embedded clause has been fronted, but it has non-V2 order in the former case and V2 order in the latter. At least to my ear, (51b) is only marginally less acceptable than (51a).

- (51)a. At den gutt-en *ikke* **var** som andre glemte (N)
that that boy-DEF not was like others forgot
de alltid.
they always
 ‘That that boy was not like the others, they always forgot.’

- b. ? At den gutt-en **var** *ikke* som andre glemte (N)
that that boy-DEF was not like others forgot
de alltid.
they always
 ‘That that boy was not like the others, they always forgot.’

The tendency for embedded V2 clauses to resist fronting is probably due to their discourse status. Fronted constituents are often topics, and clauses that are topics must have a content that is given in the discourse. That is, the proposition that they represent should be presupposed rather than asserted, and since V2 clauses are necessarily asserted, they are normally not good as topics. But as I argued in 2.2, some embedded V2 clauses are also presupposed, in addition to being asserted. We see an example of this in (51b)—the content of the embedded clause is treated as given but at the same time the hearer is reminded of it. It is its presupposed status that allows the clause to appear as a topic in initial position.

Fronted constituents in Scandinavian can however also be focused. Hence, we would expect that in a context where an embedded V2 clause is clearly focused, for example in the sense that it represents the relevant new information in an answer to a *wh*-question, it should be able to appear in the initial position of its matrix clause. This is borne out. In (52a), we have an example with an embedded V2 clause. In (52b), we have a pseudo-cleft version of (52a), with the embedded V2 clause as focus, and in (52c), we have an inverted pseudo-cleft, with the focused embedded V2 clause in initial position. All three versions would be perfectly acceptable as answers to a question like “What did she say?”

- (52)a. Hun sa at poet **kan** du ikke bli. (N)
she said that poet can you not become
 ‘She said that you cannot become a poet.’
- b. Det hun sa var at poet **kan** du ikke bli. (N)
it she said was that poet can you not become
 ‘What she said was that you cannot become a poet.’
- c. At poet **kan** du ikke bli var det hun sa. (N)
that poet can you not become was it she said
 ‘That you cannot become a poet was what she said.’

We can now conclude that having an embedded V2 clause in the initial position of its matrix clause is not barred for structural reasons, at least not in Norwegian. Instead, it is the asserted status of embedded V2 clauses that in many cases prevent them from appearing in that position.

Another argument put forward by de Haan in support of the coordination analysis is that extraction from embedded V2 clauses is not possible. This has also been claimed earlier, by Andersson (1975), Holmberg (1986) and de Haan & Weermann (1986), and it has come to be seen as an established fact. However, I have found speakers of Norwegian and of Swedish who can do such extractions.¹⁴ That is, while all Norwegian and Swedish speakers accept (53ab), where the object of a non-V2 embedded clause has been moved to the initial position of a matrix clause, some of them also accept (54ab), where the embedded clause has V2 order.

- (53)a. Denne artikkel-en_i sa ho at ho *ikkje* **hadde** (N)
this paper-DEF said she that she not had
tid til å lese t_i.
time to to read
 ‘This paper she said that she didn’t have time to read.’
- b. Den här artikel-n_i sade hon att hon inte **hade** (S)
this paper-DEF said she that she not had
tid att läsa t_i.
time to read
 ‘This paper she said that she didn’t have time to read.’

¹⁴ These speakers come from the north of Norway and from the southern part of Sweden, from Dalecarlia and from Finland. However, my investigation was too small to reveal whether the phenomenon shows geographic or just individual variation. In any case, it is clear that there is variation on this point both in Norwegian and in Swedish, and that Bentzen et al. (2007a), by claiming that extraction from V2 clauses is possible in Norwegian but not in Swedish, make unwarranted generalisations.

- (54)a. % Denne artikkel-en_i sa ho at ho **hadde** (N)
this paper-DEF said she that she had
ikkje tid til å lese t_i.
not time to to read
 ‘This paper she said that she didn’t have time to read.’

- b. % Den här artikel-n_i sade hon att hon **hade** (S)
this paper-DEF said she that she had
inte tid att läsa t_i.
not time to read
 ‘This paper she said that she didn’t have time to read.’

A subset of those that accept (54ab) even accept extraction out of a V2 clause with a factive matrix clause, as in (55ab).

- (55)a. % Denne artikkel-en_i glømte ho at ho **hadde** (N)
this paper-DEF forgot she that she had
allereie lese t_i.
already read
 ‘This paper she forgot that she had already read.’

- b. % Den här artikel-n_i glömde hon att hon (S)
this paper-DEF forgot she that she
***hade** redan läst t_i.*
had already read
 ‘This paper she forgot that she had already read.’

It is also the case that Swedish speakers in Finland and many speakers of Norwegian do not have any *that*-trace effect, meaning that they can move the subject out of an embedded (complement) clause with an overt complementiser, as illustrated in (56).¹⁵

¹⁵ Bentzen et al. (2007a) say that Swedish displays the *that*-trace effect. They do not mention Finland Swedish, which is known to lack the effect.

- (56)a. Denne art-en_i trur eg at t_i *ikkje* **finst** (N)
this species-DEF think I that not is.found
 i Sibir.
in Siberia
 ‘This species, I think it is not found in Siberia.’
- b. Den här sort-en_i tror jag att t_i *inte* **finns** (S)
this kind-DEF think I that not is.found
 i Sibirien.
in Siberia
 ‘This kind, I think it is not found in Siberia.’

Those speakers who do not have a *that*-trace effect and who also can do extraction out of embedded V2 clauses, can move the subject out of an embedded V2 clause, as shown in (57):

- (57)a. Denne art-en_i trur eg at t_i **finst** *ikkje* (N)
this species-DEF think I that is.found not
 i Sibir.
in Siberia
 ‘This species, I think it is not found in Siberia.’
- b. Den här sort-en_i tror jag att t_i **finns** *inte* (S)
this kind-DEF think I that is.found not
 i Sibirien.
in Siberia
 ‘This kind, I think it is not found in Siberia.’

Finally, some speakers can even move a constituent out of a V2 clause that have a non-subject in initial position, as in the Norwegian example in (58a) and the Swedish example in (58b).¹⁶

¹⁶ The speakers who can do this are a subset of the speakers who accept (54). Again, Bentzen et al. (2007a) make too strong a generalisation, saying that this type of extraction is not possible in Scandinavian at all.

- (58)a. % Den artikkel-en_i sa ho at I GÅR **fekk** ho (N)
that article-DEF said she that yesterday got she
ikkje tid til å lese t_i.
not time to to read
'That article, she said that yesterday she could not find the time to read it.'
- b. % Den här artikel-n_i sade hon att IGÅR **fick** (S)
this article-DEF said she that yesterday got
hon inte tid att läsa t_i.
she not time to read
'This article, she said that yesterday she could not find the time to read it.'

As I have tried to indicate, in such cases the fronted constituent in the embedded clause will get a contrastive focus interpretation, while the constituent that has moved to the matrix clause will be the topic of the whole expression.

The fact that it is possible for some speakers of Scandinavian to move constituents out of one V2 clause and into another, is strong evidence, in my view, that the clause where the constituent originates is embedded under the clause it lands in.

As for the question of what makes this movement possible, it should first be noted that ForceP must be a phase, in the sense of Chomsky (2001) and later work, since a completed matrix ForceP necessarily gets spelled out. Speakers that do not allow movement out of an embedded V2 clause probably have a grammar that do not provide any possibility of moving a constituent out of that phase. Speakers that do allow movement out of an embedded V2 clause, on the other hand, must be able to generate constituents with features that force movement of that constituent into the matrix clause. But crucially, this movement cannot cross another chain of the same type, which means that the embedded clause cannot have a fronted constituent with the same type of active features as those on the constituent that tries to move into the matrix clause. If this was the case, the fronted constituent would intervene, and there could be not

extraction of another constituent. But if the constituent that moves into the matrix clause is a topic, while the constituent that is fronted inside the embedded clause is focused, as in (58), there is no intervention problem, since topic and focus movement are different types of movement.¹⁷

De Haan (2001) goes on to state that in Frisian, a quantifier in the “matrix” clause cannot bind a pronoun in an “embedded” V2 clause, and that a negation in the “matrix” clause cannot take scope over the “embedded” clause. Both facts indicate that the “embedded” clause is not embedded. But again, the quantifier argument does not hold for Scandinavian. Among those speakers of Norwegian that I have asked, there are some who see no problem with the binding relation indicated in (59), where the quantifier *alle* ‘all’ in the matrix clause binds the pronoun *dei* ‘they’ in the embedded V2 clause.

¹⁷ For example, topic movement gives no Weak Crossover effects, and it can feed anaphor binding, while focus movement have the opposite properties (see Rizzi 1997 for a more detailed discussion). The behaviour of topic and focus movement with respect to Weak Crossover is illustrated in (i), and the effect of these movement operations with respect to anaphor binding is shown in (ii).

- (i)a. Mary_i, her_i mother praised t_i. (TOPIC)
 b. *JOHN_i, his_i mother praised t_i. (FOCUS)
- (ii)a. [For Mary_i]_j, John made a picture of herself_i t_j. (TOPIC)
 b. * [FOR MARY_i]_j, John made a picture of herself_i t_j. (FOCUS)

However, the two movement types share certain properties: they both allow reconstruction and give Strong Crossover effects, as illustrated in (iii) (reconstruction) and (iv) (Strong Crossover):

- (iii)a. * [Mary_i’s mother]_j, she_i visited often t_j. (TOPIC)
 b. * [MARY_i’S MOTHER]_j, she_i visited often t_j. (FOCUS)
- (iv)a. [A picture of herself_i]_j, Mary_i was eager to have t_j. (TOPIC)
 b. [A PICTURE OF HERSELF_i]_j, Mary_i was eager to have t_j. (FOCUS)

- (59) % All- e_i har sagt at dei **kan** ikkje komma. (N)
all-PL have said that they can not come
 ‘All have said that they cannot come.’

Moreover, Bentzen et al. (2007a) present a Swedish example with the same type of binding (their example (4b)), and claim it to be fully acceptable. The example is the following:

- (60) Varje man_i sa att hans i mamma **hade** inte läst (S)
every man said that his mommy had not read
bok-en.
book-DEF
 ‘Every man said that his mommy had not read the book.’

The reason why some speakers of Norwegian dislike the binding relation in (59) needs to be investigated, but in any case, the fact that some speakers accept it, together with the fact that (60) is grammatical, suggest that we have a case of embedding after all.

When it comes to the scope of negation, on the other hand, Norwegian behaves like Frisian. Example (61a), with an embedded non-V2 clause, is ambiguous; it can mean either ‘the reason why she didn’t come was the bad weather’, or ‘the reason why she came was not the bad weather’. In the former case, the embedded clause is outside the scope of the matrix negation, while in latter case, the embedded clause is inside the scope of the matrix negation and therefore necessarily syntactically subordinate to it. But in (61b), where the embedded clause has V2 order, only one interpretation is available, namely, the one with the embedded clause outside the scope of the matrix negation.

- (61)a. Ho kom ikkje fordi det **ikkje var** bra vêr. (N)
she came not because it not was nice weather
 ‘She didn’t come because the weather wasn’t nice.’ (ambiguous)
- b. Ho kom ikkje fordi det **var** *ikkje* bra vêr.
she came not because it was not nice weather
 ‘She didn’t come, because the weather wasn’t nice.’

However, the reading that (61b) yields does not have to mean that the seemingly embedded clause is not really embedded. An alternative explanation is that it is a consequence of the discourse status of the embedded clause. Since the embedded clause has V2 order, it is a statement of its own, just like the matrix clause. It follows that (61b) contains two statements: 1) ‘she didn’t come’, 2) ‘the weather was not nice’, and in addition, statement 2 is presented as the cause of statement 1. It follows that the second reading of (61a), with the embedded clause inside the scope of the matrix negation, is not available for (61b), although the structural relation between the matrix negation and the embedded clause in itself should allow it.

De Haan further claims that the special kind of clausal coordination that looks like embedding can be iterated, but then all the matrix clauses involved must be V2 clauses. That is, a seemingly embedded V2 clause must be connected directly to another V2 clause. He illustrates this requirement with Frisian examples like the following (his example (51a)):

- (62) Ik tocht [dat Teake <sei> *niis* <*sei> [dat hy **hie** it *net*
I thought that Teake said just said that he had it not
witten]].
known
 ‘I thought that Teake just said that he had not known it.’

Here we have a construction with double clausal embedding. Since the most deeply embedded clause has V2 order, the intermediate clause must also be a V2 clause, as indicated.

Scandinavian behaves differently from Frisian also in this respect. Searching the corpora mentioned in the introduction to section 3, I found several examples of multiple clausal embedding where a non-V2 clause intervenes between two V2 clauses. I show some of these examples in (63) and (64).

In each of the examples in (63), clause 1 is the root clause, clause 2 is immediately subordinate to the root clause and has non-V2 order—both the subject and a clausal adverb precede the finite

verb. Clause 2 in its turn embeds clause 3, which has V2 order, with the finite verb preceding the negation. Irrelevantly, clause 1 in (63a) also has a conditional clause in initial position.

- (63)a. [₁ [₄ Läser man de lång-a dikten i sin helhet] (S)
reads one the long-DEF poems in REFL.POSS entirety
 ser man, [₂ att det mera **är** fråga om broderliga
sees one that it more is question about brotherly
 råd [₃ att man **ska** inte vänta sig för mycket av
advice that one shall not expect REFL too much of
 äktenskap-et.]]]
marriage-DEF

‘If one reads the long poems in their entirety, one sees that it is more a question of brotherly advice not to expect too much of marriage.’

- b. [₁ Det kom för han [₂ **at** Svanhild *kanskje ville* (N)
it came for him that Svanhild maybe would
 seie [₃ **at** slike tankar **var** *ikkje* noke for ein
say that such thoughts were not anything for a
 mann]]].
man

‘It occurred to him that Svanhild would maybe say that thoughts like that did not suit a man.’

- c. [₁ Det ble vel for mye press [₂ **sånn at** de (N)
it became PRT too much pressure so that they
 etter hvert **fant** ut [₃ **at** de **kunne** ikke ha skole
by and by found out that they could not have school
 der lenger]]].
there longer

‘I guess the pressure became too great, so that they after a while found out that the school could not stay there any longer.’

In each of the examples in (64), clause 1 is also the root clause, and it embeds a relative clause, clause 2. Relative clauses can hardly be seen as coordinated with their matrix clause, and in Mainland Scandinavian, they never take V2 (see Bentzen 2005, Garbacz 2005). Nevertheless, inside the relative clause there is another embedded

clause, clause 3, that has V2 order. In addition, clause 3 in (64a) is coordinated with a clause whose word order is ambiguous between V2 and non-V2, clause 3 in (64b) has an embedded clause which likewise is indeterminate, and clause 3 in (64c) embeds an interrogative non-V2 clause.

- (64)a. [1 Kvar gong [2 han frimodig **har** kunna (N)
every time he candidly has could
gitt tilkjenne [3 at han **lever** *ikkje* sjølv meir, men
made.known that he lives not self more but
Kristus lever i han]], då **har** han svikta].
Christ lives in him then has he failed
‘Every time he has been able to candidly make known that he
himself is not alive anymore, but that Christ lives through him,
he has failed.’
- b. [1 Jeg hadde ei venninne på svømming-a (N)
I had a female.friend on swimming-DEF
[2 som **sa** til meg [3 at du **må** ikke tro [4 du
that said to me that you must not think you
er noe bedre enn meg]]]].
are any better than me
‘I had a (female) friend in my swimming group who said to me
that you mustn’t think you are any better than me.’
- c. [1 Så det **var** sønn-en min det [2 som **sa** til meg (N)
so it was son-DEF my it that said to me
her forleden [3 at jeg **vet** ikke [4 åssen det **er**
the.other.day that I know not how it is
å være ung i dag.]]]]
to be young today
‘So it was my son who said to me the other day that I don’t know
what it is like to be young nowadays.’

It is evident that in Norwegian and Swedish, an embedded V2 clause can have a non-V2 embedded clause as its matrix clause. More generally, the arguments that de Haan (2001) presents as support for his coordination analysis are not valid for Norwegian

and Swedish. In these languages, seemingly embedded V2 clauses are actually embedded.

And note that if it should be true for certain Germanic languages that some V2 clauses that seem to be embedded are in fact root clauses, that would not make my analysis of V2 less appropriate. The connection that I have claimed to exist between V2 order and illocutionary force could still be maintained. We would instead have to look more closely at the distinction between embedding and coordination.

6. Conclusion

In Norwegian and Swedish, V2 clauses can be embedded in many different syntactic environments. Hence, the concept “bridge verb” is not really relevant to the analysis of embedded V2. Instead, what all V2 clauses, embedded or not, have in common, in addition to their word order, is illocutionary force. For declarative V2 clauses, which are focused in this paper, this means that they are all asserted; they are statements. I propose that illocutionary force is encoded in a syntactic Force head. Force is the highest head of the clause itself, and can only be preceded by a subjunction. Moreover, Force is the source of the V2 order. It has an unvalued finiteness feature, which triggers movement of the finite verb to the Force head, and it also has an EPP-feature, which triggers movement of the closest available phrasal constituent to Spec-ForceP.

Embedded V2 clauses in other Germanic languages have been observed to have similar discourse properties as their counterparts in Swedish and Norwegian. This suggests that the analysis proposed here can be extended to all V2 clauses in Germanic. However, it is possible that seemingly embedded V2 clauses in some varieties of Germanic are not embedded after all. If so, my analysis of V2 can still be maintained for these clauses, since it takes the internal syntax of embedded V2 clauses and root V2 clauses to be the same.

Appendix: Investigated corpora

NoTa. Tagged Norwegian corpus, spoken language, ca. 1 million words. The Text Laboratory, University of Oslo.

<http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/oslo/index.html>

The Oslo Corpus of Tagged Norwegian Texts, Bokmål section. Tagged Norwegian corpus, written language, ca. 18,5 million words. The Text Laboratory, University of Oslo.

<http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/norsk/bokmaal/index.html>

The Oslo Corpus of Tagged Norwegian Texts, Nynorsk section. Tagged Norwegian corpus, written language, ca. 3,8 million words. The Text Laboratory, University of Oslo.

<http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/norsk/nynorsk/index.html>

PAROLE. Tagged Swedish corpus, written language, ca. 19 million words. Swedish Language Bank, Göteborg University.

<http://spraakbanken.gu.se/parole/>

References

Allan, Keith. 2006. "Clause-type, primary illocution, and mood-like operators in English." *Language Sciences* 28, 1–50.

Andersson, Lars-Gunnar. 1975. Form and function of subordinate clauses. Doctoral dissertation, Göteborg University.

Austin, John L. 1965. *How to do things with words*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Bentzen, Kristine. 2003. "V-to-I movement in the absence of morphological cues: Evidence from adult and child Northern Norwegian." *Nordlyd* 31:3, 573–588.

Bentzen, Kristine. 2005. "What's the better move? On verb placement in Standard and Northern Norwegian." *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 28:2, 153–188.

Bentzen, Kristine; Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir & Anna-Lena Wiklund. 2007a. "Extracting from V2." *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 79, 119–128.

- Bentzen, Kristine; Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir & Anna-Lena Wiklund. 2007b. "The Tromsø guide to the force behind V2." *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 79, 93–118.
- Biberauer, Theresa. 2002. "Reconsidering embedded verb second: How 'real' is this phenomenon?" *Working Papers in English and Applied Linguistics* (published by the Research Centre for English and Applied Linguistics, University of Cambridge) 8, 25–60.
- Brandt, Margareta; Marga Reis, Inger Rosengren & Ilse Zimmermann. 1992. "Satztyp, Satzmodus und Illokution." In Inger Rosengren (ed.) *Satz und Illokution*, vol. 1, pp. 1–90. Max Niemeyer, Tübingen.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. "Minimalist inquiries: the framework." In Robert Martin, David Michaels & Juan Uriagereka (eds.) *Step by step: Essays in minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, 89–155. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. "Derivation by Phase." In Michael Kenstowicz (ed.) *Ken Hale: A life in language*, pp. 1–52. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and functional heads*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Craenenbroeck, Jeroen van & Liliane Haegeman. 2007. "The derivation of subject-initial V2." *Linguistic Inquiry* 38, 167–178.
- de Haan, Germen J. 2001. "More is going on upstairs than downstairs: Embedded root phenomena in West Frisian." *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 4:3–38.
- de Haan, Germen & Fred. P. Weerman. 1986. "Finiteness and verb fronting in Frisian." In Hubert Haider & Martin Prinzhorn (eds.) *Verb second phenomena in Germanic languages*, pp. 77–110. Foris, Dordrecht.
- den Besten, Hans. 1983. "On the interaction of root transformations and lexical deletive rules." In Werner Abraham (eds.) *On the formal syntax of Westgermania*, pp. 47–131. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Garbacz, Piotr. 2005. "Relationen mellan negationen och det finita verbet i fastlandsskandinaviska bisatser." Paper presented at *Grammar in Focus* 2005, Lund University.

- Green, Georgia. 1976. "Main clause phenomena in subordinate clauses." *Language* 52, 382–397.
- Green, Michell S. 2000. "Illocutionary force and semantic content." *Linguistics and Philosophy* 23, 435–473.
- Faarlund, Jan Terje; Lie, Svein & Vannebo, Kjell Ivar. 1997. *Norsk referansegrammatikk*. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.
- Heycock, Caroline; Anthony Alderson, Jonathan Brennan, Golda Fischer, Victoria Gall, Nicole Gregoire, Teo Juvonen, Tom Kelly, Sophie Krauss, Jennifer Pope & Sofia Sanchez-Romero. 2003. Verb movement and the Philosopher's Stone: Some data from Faroese, Danish, and Swedish. Ms., University of Edinburgh.
- Holmberg, Anders. 1986. Word order and syntactic features in the Scandinavian languages and English. Doctoral dissertation, University of Stockholm.
- Holmberg, Anders, & Christer Platzack. 1995. *The role of inflection in Scandinavian syntax*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Hooper, Joan & Sandra Thompson. 1973. "On the applicability of root transformations." *Linguistic Inquiry* 4, 465–497.
- Iatridou, Sabine & Anthony Kroch. 1992. "The licensing of CP recursion and its relevance to the Germanic verb-second phenomenon." *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 50, 1–25.
- Jørgensen, Nils. 1978. *Underordnade satser och fraser i talad svenska: funktion och byggnad*. Ekstrand, Lund.
- Julien, Marit. To appear. "Så vanleg at det kan ikkje avfeiest: Om V2 i innføydde setningar." In Janne Bondi Johannessen & Kristin Hagen (eds.). *Språk i Oslo: Ny forskning omkring talespråk*. Novus, Oslo.
- Karttunen, Lauri. 1971. "Some observations on factivity." *Papers in Linguistics* 4:1, 55–69.
- Kiparsky, Paul & Carol Kiparsky. 1971. "Fact." In Danny D. Steinberg & Leon A. Jakobovits (eds.) *Semantics: An interdisciplinary reader in philosophy, linguistics and psychology*, pp. 345–369. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Meinunger, André. 2006. "On the discourse impact of subordinate clauses." In Valéria Molnár & Susanne Winkler (eds.) *The architecture of focus*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Nilsen, Øystein. 2000. *The syntax of circumstantial adverbials*. Novus, Oslo.

- Pesetsky, David & Ester Torrego. 2001. "T-to-C movement: Causes and consequences." In Michael Kenstowicz (ed.) *Ken Hale: A life in language*, pp. 355–426. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Platzack, Christer. 1983. "Germanic word order and the COMP/INFL parameter." *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 2.
- Platzack, Christer. 1998. "A visibility condition for the C-domain." *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 61, 53–99.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. "The fine structure of the left periphery." In Liliane Haegeman (ed.) *Elements of grammar*, pp. 281–337. Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Sadock, Jerrold M. 1974. *Toward a linguistic theory of speech acts*. Academic Press, New York.
- Simons, Mandy. 2007. "Observations on embedding verbs, evidentiality, and presupposition." *Lingua* 117, 1034–1056.
- Stalnaker, Robert. 2002. "Common Ground." *Linguistics and Philosophy* 25, 701–721.
- Stroh-Wollin, Ulla. 2002. *Som-satser med och utan som*. Doctoral dissertation, Uppsala University.
- Teleman, Ulf, Staffan Hellberg & Erik Andersson. 1999. *Svenska Akademiens grammatik*. Svenska Akademien, Stockholm.
- Travis, Lisa. 1984. *Parameters and effects of word order variation*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Vikner, Sten. 1995. *Verb movement and expletive subjects in the Germanic languages*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Wechsler, Stephen. 1991. "Verb second and illocutionary force." In Katherine Leffel & Denis Bouchard (eds.) *Views on phrase structure*, pp. 177–191. Dordrecht, Kluwer.
- Zwart, Jan-Wouter. 1993. *Dutch syntax: A minimalist approach*. Doctoral dissertation, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.