

STYLISTIC FRONTING

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Abstract. If stylistic fronting is analyzed as a feature-driven movement into an articulated CP-domain, in particular FocusP in the sense of Rizzi (1997), it is possible to account for two facts about stylistic fronting that so far have received little attention, namely that stylistic fronting has semantic effects and that there are differences in stylistic fronting in subordinate clauses with no overt subject and subordinate clauses with a weak subject pronoun. In this article, I will propose that there are two types of stylistic fronting, stylistic fronting of XPs into FocusP-Spec and stylistic fronting of heads into Focus°. Stylistic fronting of XPs can only be found in clauses with no overt subject, whereas stylistic fronting of heads can be found both in clauses with no overt subject and in clauses with a weak subject pronoun.

1. What is stylistic fronting?

Stylistic fronting (cf. Falk 1993, Holmberg 2000, Jónsson 1991, 1996, Maling 1980, 1990, Platzack 1988, Sells 2002 among others), also known from Swedish linguistics as *kile-konstruktionen* ‘the wedge construction’, is a leftwards movement of e.g. an adverb, or a participle, or a verb particle, etc.) into a position that precedes the finite verb. Stylistic fronting is found in the Insular Scandinavian languages (ISc), i.e. in Icelandic and in Faroese, even if Faroese has stylistic fronting to a slightly smaller extent than Icelandic (Petersen et al 1998:217). Stylistic fronting is not found in the modern Mainland Scandinavian languages (MSc), i.e. Danish, Norwegian and Swedish as the Danish examples in (2) and (4) show.

● *Stylistic fronting of a verb particle*

(1) *Icelandic*

Svo leit hann á þá sem **inn**_i höfðu komið t_i

Then looked he at those that in had come

‘Then he looked at those that had come in’

(2) *Danish*

*Da kiggede han på dem som **ind**_i var kommet t_i

Then looked he at those that in was come

• *Stylistic fronting of an adverb*

(3) *Faroese*

Konan sum **heim**_i fór t_i var systir hansara

Woman-the that home went was sister his

‘The woman that went home was his sister’ (Petersen et al. 1998:217, (139c))

(4) *Danish*

*Kvinden som **hjem**_i gik t_i var hans søster

Woman-the that home went was his sister

Stylistic fronting did, however, exist in the older MSc languages as the Old Danish (1100-1325) and Middle Danish (1325-1550) examples in (5) and (6) show. Both Old Danish and Middle Danish had V^o-to-I^o movement (cf. section 4.2.):

(5) *Old Danish*

vatn hvært, ær **æi**_i ær t_i mæþ damme fæst

water every which not is with dam closed

‘every water that is not closed off with a dam’

(1200, *Skånske lov*, Falk & Torp 1900:296)

(6) *Middle Danish*

som **sagd**_i er t_i ved Propheten

as said is with prophet-the

‘as is told by the prophet’ (1550, *The Bible*, Falk & Torp 1900:296)

1.1. *Stylistic fronting and the loss of V°-to-I° movement*

Platzack (1988:226) and Vikner (1995:161) note that in the MSc languages, sentences with stylistic fronting could be reanalyzed by language acquirers as sentences with neither stylistic fronting nor V°-to-I° movement. Because of stylistic fronting, it is not always visible that Icelandic and Old Danish have V°-to-I° movement. In fact only stylistic fronting of participles, particles, adjectives, etc. is visible, not stylistic fronting of adverbs and the negation as stylistic fronting of these elements would be string vacuous.

The modern MSc languages and Faroese do not have V°-to-I° movement, whereas Icelandic does. In these languages, word order in embedded clauses is usually not ambiguous with respect to V°-to-I° movement; in Icelandic, the finite verb precedes the negation or the sentence adverb, in modern MSc and Faroese, the finite verb follows the negation or the sentence adverb:

(7) *Icelandic*

... hvort [IP Danirnir_i **hafi**_v [NegP ekki t_v [VP t_i t_v drukkið bjór]]]

... whether Danes-the have not drunk beer

‘... whether the Danes did not drink beer’

(8) *Danish*

... om [IP danskerne_i [NegP ikke [VP t_i **har** drukket øl]]]

... whether Danes-the not have drunk beer

‘... whether the Danes did not drink beer’

V°-to-I° movement is not always visible in clauses where stylistic fronting is possible. Although Icelandic does have V°-to-I° movement and MSc does not, Danish and Icelandic can have the same word order if in Icelandic, the negation or an adverb undergoes stylistic fronting:

(9) *Icelandic*

Fólk sem *aldrei_i* **hefur_v** [_{AdvP} *t_i* *t_v* [_{VP} *t_v* drukkið bjór]] ...

People that never has drunk beer ...

‘People that have never tasted beer ...’

(10) *Danish*

De mennesker som [_{AdvP} *aldrig* [_{VP} **har** drukket øl]] ...

The people that never have drunk beer ...

‘The people that have never tasted beer ...’

The difference is that in Icelandic, both V°-to-I° movement and stylistic fronting take place, whereas in Danish, neither of the two movements take place. Nevertheless, the Icelandic sentence has the same word order as the word order seen in Danish embedded clauses. This is the crucial point of the observation that sentences with stylistic fronting could be reanalyzed as sentences with neither stylistic fronting nor V°-to-I° movement. When the language still had V°-to-I° movement, V°-to-I° movement changed the base-generated word order, **adverb** - **verb_{fin}**, to the surface word order, **verb_{fin}** - **adverb**. At the same time, stylistic fronting made it possible to reestablish the base-generated word order by fronting of the adverb. This word order could then be reanalyzed as the base-generated word order, i.e. word order without V°-to-I° movement and stylistic fronting.

Falk (1993:184) observes that in Old Swedish, the loss of V°-to-I° movement and the loss of stylistic fronting took place simultaneously, i.e. that examples such as (6)

where a participle has undergone stylistic fronting were not found anymore but examples such as (5) where a negation seems to have undergone stylistic fronting continued to exist.

1.2. *The landing site of stylistic fronting*

In the literature, there are two different main theories about the landing site of the element that undergoes stylistic fronting. First, Holmberg (2000), Maling (1980, 1990), Platzack (1987, 1988), Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson (1990), and Sells 2002, assume that the landing site of stylistically fronted elements is IP-Spec. Second, Holmberg & Platzack (1995), Jónsson (1991, 1996), and Poole (1996), assume that stylistic fronting is adjunction to I^0 . Here, I will only consider the former theory, namely movement into IP-Spec. For a discussion of the differences between the two theories and the drawbacks of the latter, see Holmberg (2000: 453-455). In addition, Fischer (to appear) has argued for an analysis where the landing site of the element that undergoes stylistic fronting is a position between the IP and the CP domain. In fact, the analysis argued for in what follows is very similar to her analysis.

2. **Restrictions on stylistic fronting**

2.1. *The subject gap*

Maling (1980: 181, 1990: 77) shows that stylistic fronting is only possible if there is a **subject gap** in the clause, i.e. if there is no overt subject in the normal subject position. Subject gaps are found in embedded subject questions, (11a), and in subject relative clauses, (11b). Subject gaps are also found in impersonal passives, (12):

(11) *Icelandic*

- a. Hann spurði hver **sullað**_i hefði_v [_{VP} t_v t_i bjórnum]
 He asked who spilt had beer-the

‘He asked who had spilt the beer’

b. Hann henti út öllum sem **stolið**_i höfðu_v [_{VP} t_v t_i smjöri]

He threw out all that stolen had butter

‘He threw out everyone that had stolen butter’

(12) *Icelandic*

Allir vissu að **stolið**_i hafði_v [_{VP} t_v verið t_i smjöri]

All knew that stolen had been butter

‘Everyone knew that butter had been stolen’

In Icelandic, indefinite subjects can be left within the VP (cf. Rögnvaldsson 1982, 1983, 1984*a*, 1984*b*, Thráinsson 1986, 1999, Sigurðsson 1989, Sigurðsson 1991, Vikner 1995*b* and Bobaljik & Jonas 1997). This affects the possibility of stylistic fronting. If the indefinite subject does not raise to IP-Spec, there is a subject gap in IP-Spec and stylistic fronting is possible:¹

(13) *Icelandic*

Allir vissu að **stolið**_i hafði_v [_{VP} t_v verið t_i smjöri]

All knew that stolen had been butter

‘Everyone knew that butter had been stolen’

Instead of having stylistic fronting in sentences such as (13), some Icelanders prefer to insert an expletive subject into the subject gap:²

(14) *Icelandic*

a. ... hvort [_{IP} **það** hafi_v [_{VP} **einhverjir Danir** t_v drukkið bjór]]

... if there have some Danes drunk beer

‘... if any Danes have drunk beer’

- b. ... sem [_{IP} **það** kom_v [_{VP} fyrst [_{VP} t_v til tals]]] að slíkt húsnaði þyrfti
 ... that it came first to speech that such housing was needed
 ‘... that it was first mentioned that such housing was needed’

2.2. The accessibility hierarchy

The subject gap is not the only restriction on stylistic fronting. Maling (1980:185, 1990:81) pointed out the existence of the so-called *accessibility hierarchy*:

(15) The accessibility hierarchy (adapted from Maling 1980: 185, 1990: 81)

{	Negation <i>ekki</i>	}	{	Past participle	}	Predicative		
{	Sentence adverb	}	>	{	Verb particle	}	>	adjective
{		}		{		}		

If there is more than one potential candidate for stylistic fronting in the clause, for example a negation and a participle, only the leftmost one in the hierarchy can be stylistically fronted:

(16) *Icelandic*

- a. Hérna er bjórinn sem **ekki**_i hefur t_i verið drukinn enn
 Here is beer-the that not has been drunk yet
 ‘Here is the beer that has not been drunk yet’
- b. *Hérna er bjórinn sem **drukinn**_i hefur ekki verið t_i enn
 Here is beer-the that drunk has not been yet

If there is a participle and a verb particle in the clause, both can undergo stylistic fronting because verb particles and participles are equally prominent in the hierarchy:

(17) *Icelandic*

- a. Hann sýndi mér flöskurnar sem **inn**_i hafði verið smyglað t_i

He showed me bottles-the that in had been smuggled

‘He showed me the bottles that had been smuggled in’

- b. Hann sýndi mér flöskurnar sem **smyglað**_i hafði verið t_i inn

He showed me bottles-the that smuggled had been in

‘He showed me the bottles that had been smuggled in’

Likewise, if there is a negation and an adverb in the clause, both can undergo stylistic fronting:

(18) *Icelandic*

- a. Hann henti öllu sem **ekki**_i hafði t_i áreiðanlega verið tæmt

He threw away all that not had undoubtedly been emptied

‘He threw away everything that had not undoubtedly been emptied’

- b. Hann henti öllu sem **áreiðanlega**_i hafði t_i ekki verið tæmt

He threw away all that undoubtedly had not been emptied

‘He threw away everything that undoubtedly had not been emptied’ (18)

3. Stylistic fronting on the left periphery

3.1. *The semantic effects of stylistic fronting*

The two sentences in (18) have, as the English translations show, two different interpretations. What I would like to claim is that stylistic fronting is not an optional movement operation. Instead, stylistic fronting is a way to focus a specific element in the clause (this has previously been suggested by Sigurðsson 1997 which was rejected by Holmberg 2000: 450). The two sentences in (17), repeated here as (19)b and (19)c, also have two different meanings, depending on which of the two, a verb particle or a participle have been stylistically fronted. In (19)b, there is a focus on the verb particle *inn* ‘in’ which undergone stylistic fronting, and in (19)c, there is a focus on the past

participle *smyglað* ‘smuggled’ which has been stylistically fronted (the focus is indicated in the English translation by small capitals):

(19) *Icelandic*

- a. Hann sýndi mér flöskurnar sem hafði_v [_{VP} t_v verið smyglað inn]
 He showed me bottles-the that had been smuggled in
 ‘He showed me the bottles that had been smuggled in’
- b. Hann sýndi mér flöskurnar sem **inn**_i hafði_v [_{VP} t_v verið smyglað t_i]
 He showed me bottles-the that in had been smuggled
 ‘He showed me the bottles that had been smuggled IN’
- c. Hann sýndi mér flöskurnar sem **smyglað**_i hafði_v [_{VP} t_v verið t_i inn]
 He showed me bottles-the that smuggled had been in
 ‘He showed me the bottles that had been SMUGGLED in’

The sentence in (19)b is ambiguous. It can have the same contrastive focus reading as if the particle had been stressed inside the VP, i.e. there were some bottles that were smuggled in but also some bottles that were smuggled out. The bottles that were shown were the bottles that were smuggled in, not those that were smuggled out. In addition to the contrastive focus reading, the sentence in (19)b can have a so-called *verum* focus (Höhle 1992). If there is a *verum* focus on the particle, the sentence has the interpretation that there is a number of bottles, some of which the smugglers managed to smuggle in, other which the smugglers did not manage to smuggle in. The bottles that were shown were the bottles that were smuggled in, not those that the smugglers did not manage to smuggle in. The sentence in (19)a cannot have a contrastive focus reading (unless the particle is stressed) nor can it tell us anything about whether the smugglers did not manage to smuggle some bottles in. The sentence in (19)c, where the participle

has been stylistically fronted, is also ambiguous. It can have a contrastive focus as if the participle had been stressed inside the VP, i.e. there were some bottles that were smuggled in but also some that were thrown in etc. The sentence in (19)c also has *verum* focus. The interpretation is that there is a number of bottles, some of which were smuggled in, other which were not smuggled in. The bottles that were shown were the smuggled bottles, not those not smuggled. The sentence in (19)a cannot have a contrastive focus reading (unless the participle is stressed) nor can it tell us anything about bottles not being smuggled.

In main clauses, stylistic fronting has a semantic effect:

(20) *Icelandic*

a. Bækur hafa verið lesnar

Books have been read

‘Books have been read’

b. **Lesnar**_i hafa verið t_i bækur

Read have been books

‘Books have been READ’

(20)a is only a statement about books being read, whereas the sentence in (20)b has a *verum* focus where a situation where books have been read is contrasted with a situation where books have not been read. Finally, stylistic fronting of a negation also has semantic effects:

(21) *Icelandic*

a. Allir sem höfðu ekki fengið lýsi veiktust

All that had not received cod liver oil sick.PASS

‘Everyone that had not received cod liver oil became sick’

b. Allir sem **ekki**_i höfðu t_i fengið lýsi veiktust

All that not had received cod liver oil sick.PASS

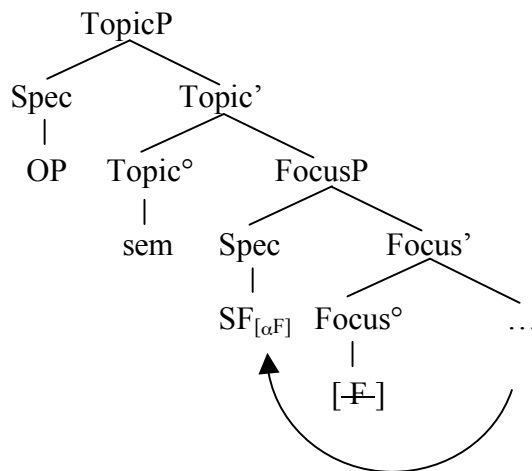
‘Everyone that had NOT received cod liver oil became sick’

The sentence in (21)b contrasts those that did not receive any cod liver oil with those that did receive some. It implies that those that received cod liver oil did not become sick. From the sentence in (21)a, we cannot make predictions about those that received cod liver oil.

3.2. Stylistic fronting as feature-driven movement

As I have mentioned, my claim is that stylistic fronting has semantic effects and that it therefore cannot be optional. This could be reflected in an analysis where stylistic fronting is a feature-driven movement operation into an articulated CP-domain:³

(22) *Stylistic fronting as feature-driven movement*



If this is the correct analysis, Focus° has an uninterpretable focus feature which is checked and deleted when something with an interpretable focus feature moves into FocusP-Spec or Focus°.⁴ In the tree in (22), an element with an interpretable focus feature has undergone stylistic fronting into FocusP-Spec and the uninterpretable focus feature on Focus° has been checked and deleted. In section 6, it will become clear that it

is crucial that there are two different positions for stylistic fronting; a specifier position and a head position. XPs undergo stylistic fronting into FocusP-Spec and heads undergo stylistic fronting into Focus°.

If stylistic fronting is a movement into FocusP-Spec/Focus° driven by focus features on Focus°, Holmberg (2000) would be mistaken that stylistic fronting is only movement of phonological features. According to Chomsky (2001:15), “displacement interspersed in the phonological component should have little semantic effect”. Because stylistic fronting does have a semantic effect, it must be assumed that stylistic fronting takes place in narrow syntax.

This again affects Holmberg’s (2000) claim that since only phonological features are being moved, both heads and XPs can undergo stylistic fronting into a Spec-position already filled by a trace. As I will show, this is incompatible with the fact that there exist two types of stylistic fronting in Icelandic, stylistic fronting of heads and stylistic fronting of XPs. Stylistic fronting of heads is possible when there is no overt subject as well as in the presence of a weak subject pronoun, whereas stylistic fronting of XPs is only possible when there is no overt subject, not in the presence of an overt weak subject pronoun. An analysis where stylistic fronting is movement of phonological features will not be able to distinguish between the two.

The analysis I would like to propose makes two crucial predictions. First, it is predicted that two elements can undergo stylistic fronting at the same time and that the two elements cannot both be XPs or both be heads. If it is assumed that stylistic fronting is movement of phonological features, this cannot be accounted for as PF-movement is indifferent to what is being moved, a head or an XP. Second, it is predicted that if FocusP-Spec is filled, only heads can undergo stylistic fronting. Such a prediction

cannot be accounted for if stylistic fronting is movement of phonological features for the same reason as before; PF-movement is indifferent to what is being moved. As I will show in sections 5 and 6, the present analysis can account for these observations.

The latter prediction is not always borne out. If there is a full DP subject or a full subject pronoun in FocusP-Spec, it would be expected (contrary to what is attested) that stylistic fronting of a head were possible. This can be accounted for in the following way. If it is assumed that full DP subjects and full subject pronouns have an inherent focus feature, as opposed to weak subject pronouns and indefinite subjects, a full DP subject or a full subject pronoun that moves into FocusP-Spec will check the focus feature on Focus°. If the focus feature has been deleted, stylistic fronting cannot take place.

(23) *Distribution of definiteness and focus features*

	Definiteness	Focus	SF
Full pronoun / DP subject	+	+	–
Weak subject pronoun	+	–	+
Indefinite DP subject	–	–	+
Expletive	–	+	–

Such a distribution of features would predict that stylistic fronting can occur if there is a weak subject pronoun or an indefinite DP subject in the clause. Full DP subjects and full subject pronouns check the focus feature on Focus° and stylistic fronting is not possible, weak subject pronouns do not have an inherent focus feature, so something else has to check the focus feature on Focus°, hence, stylistic fronting of heads is possible in the presence of a weak subject pronoun. The assumption is that if the

language makes a distinction between full and weak subject pronouns, it will do so by means of differences in focus features.

This would also account for the fact that XPs can undergo stylistic fronting in the presence of an indefinite DP subject. Indefinite DP subjects are the only subjects that do not have to move to the CP domain, thus leaving FocusP-Spec open for either an expletive or a stylistically fronted XP. In accordance with this, I will assume that the expletive is a semantically empty focus element that is inserted into FocusP-Spec to check the focus feature on Focus^o.⁵

3.3. *A preview of the analysis*

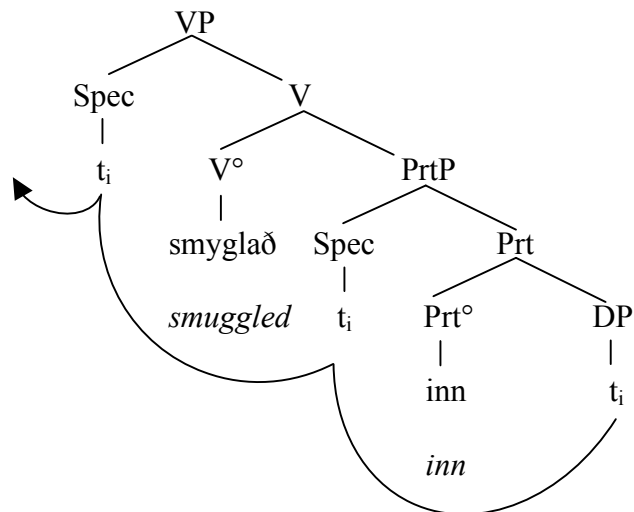
Before I turn to stylistic fronting in Old and Middle Danish, I would like to show how the data in section 3.1 can be analyzed as instances of stylistic fronting into FocusP. A more detailed discussion of the analysis will be given in section 6. The examples in (19), repeated here as (24), show stylistic fronting of a verb particle, (24)a, and a main verb participle, (24)b:

(24) *Icelandic*

- a. Hann sýndi mér flöskurnar sem **inn**_i hafði_v [_{VP} t_v verið smyglað t_i]
 He showed me bottles-the that in had been smuggled
 ‘He showed me the bottles that had been smuggled IN’
- b. Hann sýndi mér flöskurnar sem **smyglað**_i hafði_v [_{VP} t_v verið t_i inn]
 He showed me bottles-the that smuggled had been in
 ‘He showed me the bottles that had been SMUGGLED in’

Under the assumption that participles and particles are minimal projections, and not maximal projections at the same time, these should undergo stylistic fronting as heads, not as XPs.⁶

(25) *Participles and particles as heads*



If stylistic fronting is feature-driven movement into FocusP, the verb particle in (24)a, repeated here as (26), will undergo stylistic fronting into Focus°:

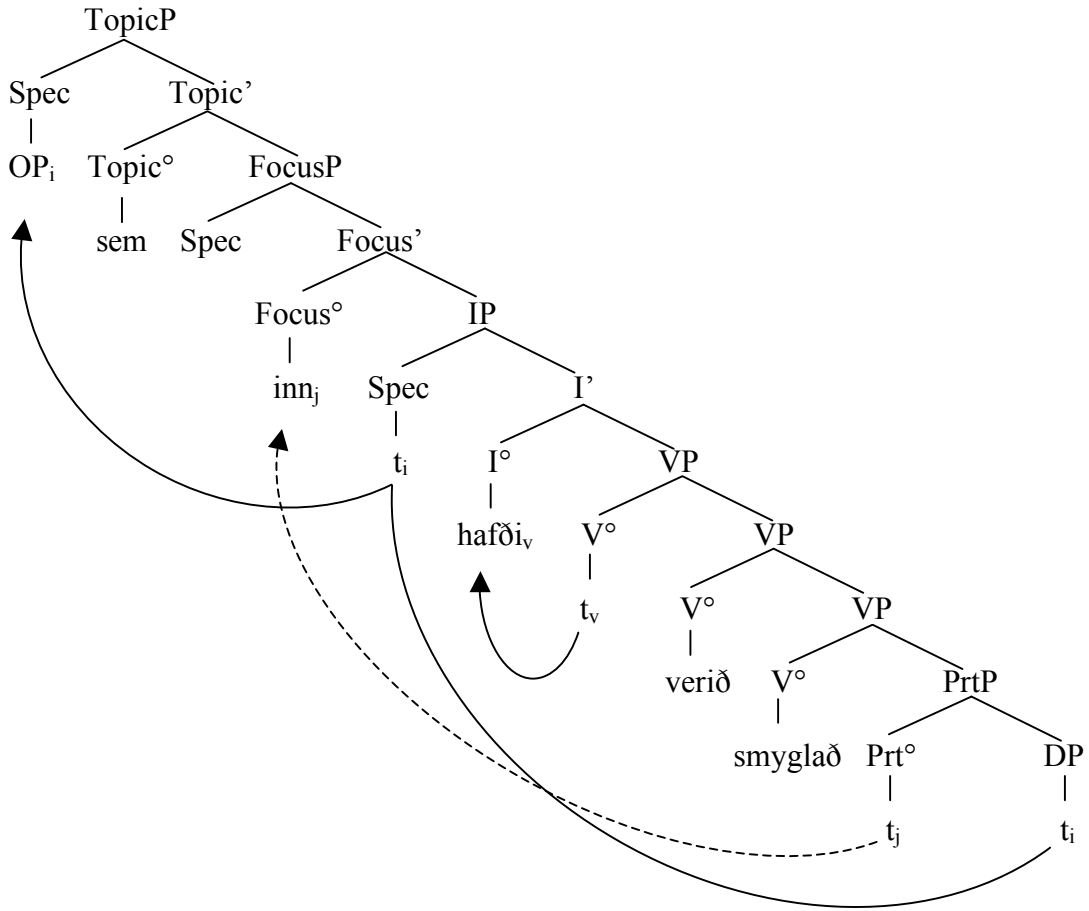
(26) *Icelandic*

Hann sýndi mér flöskurnar sem **inn**_i hafði_{i_v} [_{VP} t_v verið smyglað t_i]

He showed me bottles-the that in had been smuggled

‘He showed me the bottles that had been smuggled IN’

(27) *Stylistic fronting of a particle into Focus°*



In the tree in (27), the particle has an interpretable focus feature and is stylistically fronted into Focus°. The uninterpretable focus feature on Focus° is thereby checked and deleted.

Likewise, the participle in (24)b, repeated here as (28), will undergo stylistic fronting into Focus°:

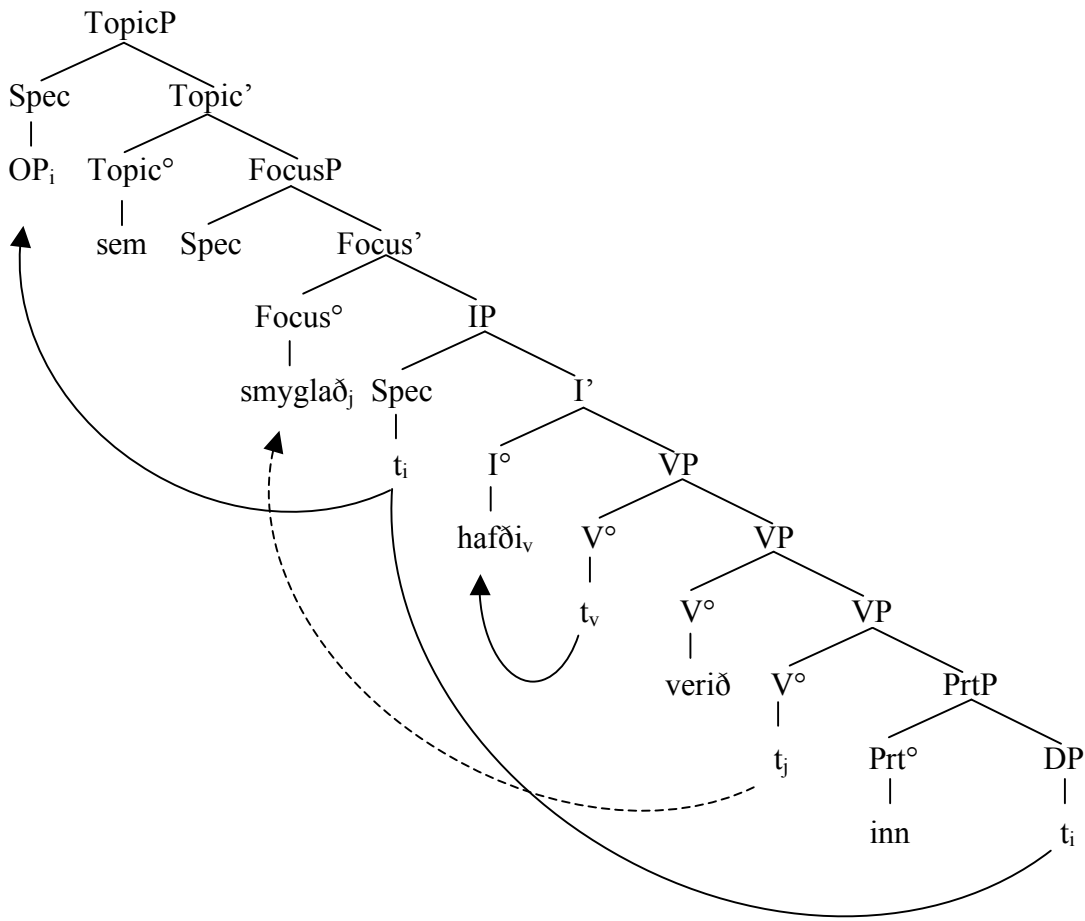
(28) *Icelandic*

Hann sýndi mér flöskurnar sem **smyglað**_i hafði_v [VP t_v verið t_i inn]

He showed me bottles-the that smuggled had been in

‘He showed me the bottles that had been SMUGGLED in’

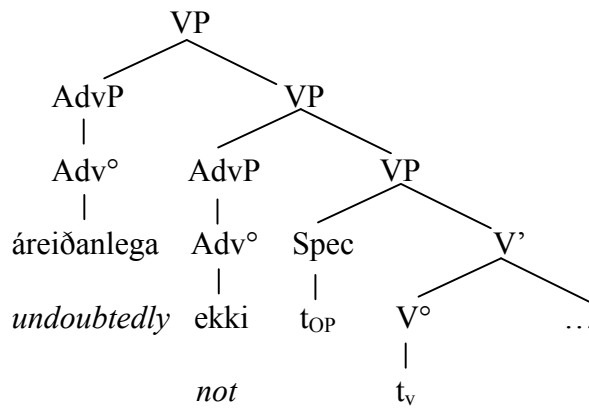
(29) *Stylistic fronting of a participle into Focus°*



In the tree in (29), the participle has an interpretable focus feature and is stylistically fronted into Focus°. The uninterpretable focus feature on Focus° is thereby checked and deleted.

If the negation and other sentence medial adverbs are minimal and maximal projections at the same time, it is at this point impossible to say whether the negation and adverbs undergo stylistic fronting as XPs or as heads. I will assume that the negation and sentence adverbs are adjoined to the left edge of the VP.⁷

(30) *Sentence negation and adverbs as maximal and minimal projections*



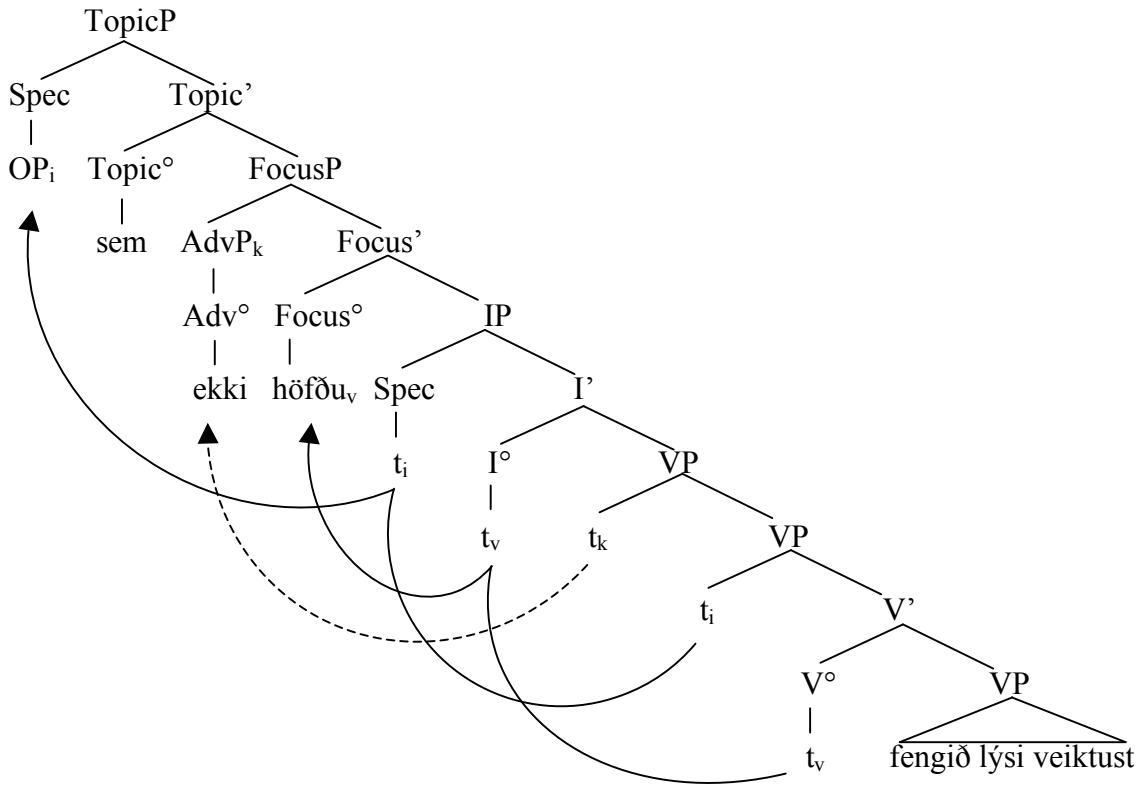
The example in (21)b, repeated here as (31), shows stylistic fronting of a negation:

(31) *Icelandic*

Allir sem **ekki**_i höfðu t_i fengið lýsi veiktust
 All that not had received cod liver oil sick.PASS
 ‘Everyone that had NOT received cod liver oil became sick’

There are two possibilities. Either, the negation has undergone stylistic fronting as an XP into FocusP-Spec, or it has undergone stylistic fronting as a head into Focus°. For the time being, I will only show stylistic fronting of the negation as an XP:

(32) *Stylistic fronting of a negation into FocusP-Spec*



In the tree in (32), a negation with an interpretable focus feature has undergone stylistic fronting into FocusP-Spec. The uninterpretable focus feature on Focus° is checked and deleted. The same would apply if the negation had undergone stylistic fronting as a head. An element with an interpretable focus feature that is stylistically fronted into Focus° will check and delete the uninterpretable focus feature on Focus°.

In section 6, it will become clear that the negation and other sentence adverbs can undergo stylistic fronting both as XPs and as heads.

4. What can undergo stylistic fronting?

4.1. *An overview*

In the literature, many claims have been made about what can undergo stylistic fronting.

In her original article Maling (1980: 185, 1990: 81) notes that the negation and sentence

adverbs, predicative adjectives, verb particles and past participles can be stylistically fronted. In addition to these elements, Holmberg (2000: 448) claims that DPs and PPs can undergo stylistic fronting as well. Jónsson (1996: 95-96) follows Maling (1980, 1990), although he mentions that also negative objects can undergo stylistic fronting.

In the following sections, I will show which elements could undergo stylistic fronting in the Middle Danish manuscript *Sjælens Trøst* ‘Consolation of the Soul’ and various Old Danish texts. Stylistic fronting of negative objects, negation and medial adverbs as well as stylistic fronting of DPs and PPs will be discussed separately.

4.2. A short note on V° -to- I° movement in *Sjælens Trøst*

The two versions of the Middle Danish manuscript *Sjælens Trøst* (Cod.Ups. C 529 and Cod.Holm. A 109) are the oldest texts in the corpus *Dansk Sprog- og Stilhistorisk Database* (Ruus 2001), both dated ca. 1425. In these two texts, there are seventy-four embedded clauses which are introduced by the complementizers *at* ‘that’, *vm* ‘if’ or *(for) thy at* ‘because’ and which contain a sentence medial adverb or a negative object or a universal quantifier. If we furthermore discount the clauses that do not have an overt subject and the clauses that are embedded under a bridge verb (which allow for embedded V2), we are left with fifty-one embedded clauses:

(33) V° -to- I° movement in *Sjælens Trøst*

Unambiguous V° -to- I° movement	40	78%
Unambiguously no V° -to- I° movement	1	2%
Ambiguous w.r.t. V° -to- I° movement	10	20%

Forty of the fifty-one clauses (78%) unambiguously show V° -to- I° movement. One sentence shows unambiguously no V° -to- I° movement. In the remaining ten sentences,

the subject is a pronoun. These ten sentences could either be analyzed as having both V°-to-I° movement and stylistic fronting of a sentence adverb or neither V°-to-I° movement nor stylistic fronting.

4.3. *Stylistic fronting in Old and Middle Danish*

In *Sjælens Trøst*, there are 729 relative clauses introduced by the relative particle *som* ‘that’. 671 of the examples are subject relative clauses or relative clauses with a subject pronoun. 231 (34%) of the 671 examples show stylistic fronting. Stylistic fronting is found in twenty-two relative clauses with an overt pronoun. Fifteen relative clauses with an overt pronoun show unambiguous V°-to-I° movement.⁸

(34) Stylistic fronting in relative clauses in *Sjælens Trøst*

Stylistic fronting with no overt subject	209	(90%)
Stylistic fronting with overt subject pronoun	22	(10%)
Total	231 (34% of 671)	

In the relative clauses that did not have an overt subject, stylistic fronting of adjectives, adverbs, full or pronominal DPs, prepositional phrases, infinitives, participles, the negation and verb particles can be found. Interestingly, there were only seven sentences with stylistic fronting of a negation (which is by far the most common case of stylistic fronting in Icelandic), whereas in ninety-six sentences a full DP or a pronominal DP was stylistically fronted (which is rather rare in Icelandic). There are three examples where more than two elements seem to undergo stylistic fronting at the same time.

(35) Stylistic fronting in subject relative clauses (no overt subject)

Element that undergoes SF	Number	%
<i>Adjective</i>	18	8,6
<i>Adverb</i>	36	17,2
<i>DP (full / pronoun)</i>	96	45,9
<i>Infinitives</i>	4	1,9
<i>Negation</i>	6	2,9
<i>PP</i>	38	18,2
<i>Participle</i>	7	3,3
<i>Verb particle</i>	1	0,5
<i>DP + Adverb</i>	1	0,5
<i>Adverb + Participle</i>	1	0,5
<i>Adjective + Negation</i>	1	0,5
Total	209	100

Just as in Icelandic, the Old Danish sentential negation *æi*, (36), and the Middle Danish sentence negation *ey*, (37), could undergo stylistic fronting:

(36) *Old Danish*

hwre boskap skiftes ther *æi*_i er t_i barn til

how marriage is divided where not is child to

‘How to separate a childless marriage’ (1241, *JLOV.81.22*)

(37) *Middle Danish*

som *ey*_i combir honumt_i til skatha

which not becomes him to harm

‘which does not harm him’ (1425, *SJTR*)

Likewise, the Old Danish sentence adverb *førre* ‘previously’, (38), and the Middle Danish sentence adverb *altidh* ‘always’, (39), could undergo stylistic fronting:

(38) *Old Danish*

swo sum **førre**_i er t_i melt

such as previously is said

‘such as previously has been said’ (1241, *JLOV.87.21*)

(39) *Middle Danish*

jomfru maria som **altidh**_i hiælpir t_i sina venir

Virgin Mary who always helps POSS friends

‘Virgin Mary who always helps her friends’ (1425, *SJTR*)

Not only the sentence negation and sentence adverbs could undergo stylistic fronting in Old and Middle Danish; the examples in (40) and (41) show stylistic fronting of a predicative adjective:

(40) *Old Danish*

løk thær **hwitæ**_i æræ t_i innen

onions that white are inside

‘onions that are white inside’ (1300, *HHARPE.216.3*)

(41) *Middle Danish*

oc samansanka thæt som **sant**_i ær, t_i oc faghort

and collect that which true is and beautiful

‘and collect those things that are true and beautiful’ (1425, *SJTR*)

In Old and Middle Danish, verb particles could also undergo stylistic fronting. In (42), Old Danish *ut* 'out' and in (43), Middle Danish *til* 'to' have been stylistically fronted:

(42) *Old Danish*

oc thæt thær **ut**_i ær cummæt t_i

and that which out is come

'and that which has come out'

(ca. 1300, *HHARPE.220.3*)

(43) *Middle Danish*

æn thæn ene pelegrimmen som **til**_i com t_i

but the one pilgrim that to came

'but the pilgrim that arrived'

(1425, *SJTR*)

In Old and Middle Danish, main verb infinitives could undergo stylistic fronting. In (44), Old Danish *swæria* 'swear' has been stylistically fronted, and in (45), Middle Danish *kryba* 'crawl' has been stylistically fronted:

(44) *Old Danish*

hwær thæn ær **swæria**_i scal t_i j them tolf mannum

which one that swear shall in the twelve men

'which one that shall swear in the twelve-man-oath'

(1200, *SKLOV.25.14*)

(45) *Middle Danish*

alt thæt som **kryba**_i can t_i vpa jordhene

all that that crawl can upon earth-the

'everything that can crawl upon the earth'

(1425, *SJTR*)

Like in Icelandic, main verb participles could undergo stylistic fronting in Old and Middle Danish. In (46), Old Danish *dræpæt* 'killed', and in (47), Middle Danish *skrivit* 'written' have undergone stylistic fronting:

(46) *Old Danish*

oc alt thet hin hørær til ær **dræpæt_i** hauær t_i

and all that the one belongs to who killed has

'and all the things belonging to the one who has killed' (1300, *ELOV.61.22*)

(47) *Middle Danish*

Tha mintis honum thæt som **skrifvit_i** staar t_i

Then remembered him that which written stands

'Then he remembered what is written' (1425, *SJTR*)

In *Sjælens Trøst*, three relative clauses show stylistic fronting of two elements at the same time. In the example in (48), both the DP *sina venir* 'his friends' and the adverb *altidh* 'always' have undergone stylistic fronting:⁹

(48) *Middle Danish*

æn vælsighnathir vare gudh som [**sina venir**]_i **altidh_k** hiælpir_v t_k t_v t_i

but blessed be god that POSS friends always helps

'but blessed be God that always helps his friends' (1425, *SJTR*)

In this section, I have shown that Old and Middle Danish had stylistic fronting just as Icelandic. In the three languages, relative clauses where the sentence negation or a sentence medial adverb seem to have undergone stylistic fronting are ambiguous with respect to both V°-to-I° movement and stylistic fronting. In these languages, relative clauses where a predicative adjective, verb particle or a main verb participle have undergone stylistic fronting are not ambiguous with respect to stylistic fronting but they are ambiguous with respect to V°-to-I° movement.

4.4. Absence of V^o -to- I^o movement in Icelandic

Jónsson (1996), following Maling (1980, 1990), argues that only heads undergo stylistic fronting in Icelandic. However, he also mentions that negative objects can be stylistically fronted. The claim is that the movement of the negative object in (49)b is parallel to the stylistic fronting of the participle in (49)c (Jónsson 1996:69, (151) and (152)):¹⁰

(49) Icelandic

- a. Þeir sem hafa_v [NegP **engan mat**] [VP t_v borðað] eru í hættu
 Those that have no food eaten are in danger
- b. Þeir sem [**engan mat**]_i hafa_v [NegP t_i [VP t_v borðað]] eru í hættu
 Those that no food have eaten are in danger
- c. Þeir sem **borðað**_i hafa_v [NegP [engan mat] [VP t_v t_i]] eru í hættu
 Those that eaten have no food are in danger
 'Those that have eaten no food are in danger'

This does, of course, question Jónsson's (1991, 1996) analysis that stylistic fronting is strictly movement of heads. There is no difference in the grammaticality of the example in (49)b, where a negative object, i.e. an XP, has undergone stylistic fronting, and the example in (21)b, where a negation (which is also an XP under Jónsson's 1996:95-100 analysis) has undergone stylistic fronting. Similar examples can be found in Middle Danish:¹¹

(50) Middle Danish

- en pelegrim gangande i væy in som [**inkte companskap**]_i hafðhe mæth
 a pilgrim walking on road-the that no acquaintance had with
 thøm lafva t_i

them made

'a pilgrim walking along the road that had made no acquaintance with them'

(1425, *SJTR*)

In the same way that sentences where a sentence negation or a sentence medial adverb seems to have undergone stylistic fronting are ambiguous with respect to V°-to-I° movement and stylistic fronting, the example in (49)b is also ambiguous with respect to V°-to-I° movement and stylistic fronting. It is thus possible to say that the negative object is in NegP-Spec and that the verb has not moved from V° to I°, cf. that the same order is possible in modern Mainland Scandinavian:

(51) *Danish*

At Peter **ingen penge** *har* fået kom som en overraskelse

That Peter no money has received came as a surprise

'That Peter received no money, came as a surprise'

If it is assumed that negative objects can undergo stylistic fronting, the sentence in (49)c becomes problematic because it violates the locality condition of stylistic fronting. According to the accessibility hierarchy, the negative object that occupies the same position as the sentence negation in Icelandic, should block stylistic fronting of the participle. This is clearly not the case as the example in (49)c shows. To avoid this problem, I shall try to analyze (49)b as a sentence without stylistic fronting. There is evidence that the finite verb can be left in situ in sentences with negative objects as shown in example (52)b.¹²

(52) *Icelandic*

a. Hún hélt því virkilega fram að [IP maðurinn_i haf_i [NegP **engan mat**

She claimed it really PRT that man-the had no food

[_{VP} t_i t_v borðað]]]

eaten

'She really claimed that the man had eaten no food'

b. ??Hún hélt því virkilega fram að [_{IP} maðurinn_i [_{NegP} **ENGAN MAT**

She claimed it really PRT that man-the NO FOOD

[_{VP} t_i hafi borðað!!]]]

had eaten

'She really claimed that the man truly had eaten NO FOOD!!!'

It is not possible for the participle to undergo stylistic fronting in the same sentence as the example in (53) shows. This is because of the overt definite subject; it cannot be because of blocking by the negative object as mentioned above.

(53) *Icelandic*

* ... maðurinn_k **borðað**_i hafi_v [_{NegP} engan mat [_{VP} t_k t_v t_i]]

... man-the eaten has no food

Note however, that what at first sight looks like stylistic fronting of a sentence negation in (54)a and a sentence adverb in (54)b (if the subject is in FocusP-Spec and the negation/adverb is stylistically fronted into Focus^o) is less marked than the stylistic fronting of a participle in (53):¹³

(54) *Icelandic*

a. ?... maðurinn **ekki**_i hafi_v [_{NegP} t_i t_v [_{VP} t_v borðað neinn mat]]

... man-the not has eaten any food

... the man has not eaten any food'

b. ?... maðurinn **örugglega**_i hafi_v [_{AdvP} t_i t_v [_{VP} t_v borðað eitthvað]]

... man-the surely has eaten something

'... the man surely has eaten has eaten something'

With respect to stylistic fronting, the examples in (53) and (54) should be equally ungrammatical. A plausible explanation of the acceptability of examples like (49)b and (54) might be that instead of showing stylistic fronting of the negative object, the negation or the sentence adverb, the examples show lack of V° -to- I° movement. In (53), the verb precedes the negative object, which indicates that it has moved from V° to I° . In the examples in (52)b and (54), the verb cannot have moved from V° to I° for the following reason: Stylistic fronting is impossible in clauses with an overt subject. This means that the negative object in (52)b, the negation in (54)a, and the adverb in (54)b have to be in their base-generated positions, adjoined to the left edge of the VP, and this again means that the finite verb must still be inside the VP in (52)b, (54)a, and (54)b. The fact that these examples are not completely unacceptable further supports an analysis different from stylistic fronting, e.g. that the finite verb has not moved from V° to I° . If these examples had had stylistic fronting, they should be as ungrammatical as the sentence in (53).

The reason why example (49)b is more acceptable than examples (52)b and (54) might have something to do with the absence of the subject, i.e. when there is no subject in the clause the verb does not necessarily have to move to I° . According to this, the sentences in (49)b and (54) could be analyzed as shown in (55) and (56):

(55) *Icelandic*

Þeir sem [_{NegP} **engan mat** [_{VP} *hafa* borðað eru í hættu]]

Those that no food have eaten are in danger

'Those who have eaten no food are in danger'

(56) *Icelandic*

a. ?... maðurinn [_{NegP} **ekki** [_{VP} *hafi* borðað neinn mat]]

... man-the not has eaten any food

'... the man has eaten no food'

b. ?... maðurinn [_{AdvP} **örugglega** [_{VP} *hafi* borðað eitthvað]]

... man-the surely has eaten anything

'... the man surely has eaten anything'

The fact that what might at first glance seem like stylistic fronting in sentences with full subjects only involves (alleged) stylistic fronting of negative objects, (49)b, (52)b, and (55), of negation, (54)a/(56)a, and of sentence adverbials, (54)b/(56)b, and not of participles (53) or of verb particles makes the analysis of these cases not as stylistic fronting but as absence of V° -to- I° movement even more plausible. Any clause with stylistic fronting of a negation or an adverb is ambiguous with respect to both V° -to- I° movement and stylistic fronting: The order **negation** - **verb_{fin}** or the order **adverbial** - **verb_{fin}** could either be due to V° -to- I° movement and stylistic fronting taking place (as in Icelandic) or neither (as in modern Mainland Scandinavian) taking place.

Clauses in which a participle has undergone stylistic fronting are not ambiguous with respect to stylistic fronting: The order **participle** - **verb_{fin}** is a clear indication that stylistic fronting has taken place. However, such clauses are still ambiguous with respect to V° -to- I° movement, because the presence or absence of V° -to- I° movement is only discernible when the finite verb precedes/follows a medial adverbial, but as the presence of a medial adverbial would block stylistic fronting of a participle, sentences with stylistic fronting of a participle necessarily do not contain any medial adverbials, and are therefore ambiguous with respect to V° -to- I° movement.

In this section, I have argued that although it might seem that negated objects can undergo stylistic fronting, such examples should instead be analyzed as not having V°-to-I° movement. This has the advantage of explaining why it is possible to have stylistic fronting of a participle across such a negated object, as in (49)c.

4.5. *PPs and DPs*

Based on examples such as (57) and (59), Holmberg (2000: 448-449) claims that also DPs and PPs can undergo stylistic fronting in Icelandic.

(57) *Icelandic*

Flestir sem [**í Ósló**]_i hafa verið t_i hafa gengið eftir Karl Johan
 Most that in Oslo have been have walked along Karl Johan
 'Most of those that have been in Oslo have walked along Karl Johan Street'

(58) *Icelandic*

Þeir sem [**pá erfiðu ákvörðun**]_i verða að taka t_i
 Those that that hard decision have to take
 'Those who have to take that hard decision'

Parallel examples can also be found in Old and Middle Danish:

(59) *Old Danish*

þe ær [**af grimmi natura**]_i ære t_i
 those that of evil nature are
 'those that are of evil nature' (1241, *Skånske lov*, Falk & Torp 1900:142)

(60) *Middle Danish*

folkit som [**i husit**]_i voro t_i the hørdho røstena hænnas
 people-the that in house-the were they heard voice hers
 'the people that were in the house heard her voice' (1425, *SJTR*)

(61) *Old Danish*

ær [**the børn**]_i hauær t_i with thæn kunæ ær døth ær
that the children has with the woman that dead is
'that has the children with the woman that is dead' (1216-50, *VLOV*2.47.24)

(62) *Middle Danish*

alla the som [**thæna bok**]_i læsa t_i ælla hœra t_i
all those that this book read or hear
'all those that read or hear this book' (1425, *SJTR*)

Stylistic fronting of pronouns is marked but stylistic fronting of weak pronouns and clitic pronouns is less marked than stylistic fronting of full pronouns.¹⁴

(63) *Icelandic*

Allir sem '**ana**_i sáu t_i voru hrifnir
All that her.WEAK saw were impressed
'Everyone that saw her was impressed'

Nouns can also undergo stylistic fronting, but like stylistic fronting of pronouns, it is slightly marked. If the noun has the definite article suffix, as in (64), the sentence is rather marked:¹⁵

(64) *Icelandic*

??Allir sem **myndina**_i sáu t_i voru hrifnir
All that painting-the saw were impressed
'Everyone that saw the painting was impressed'

It is less marked if the noun is less specific and as Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson (personal communication) points out, it is more acceptable if the full DP is not unique but picked

out of a set. In the example in (65), it is *homebrew aquavit* as opposed to for example *bought aquavit*:

(65) *Icelandic*

?Allir sem **heimabruggað brennivín**_i hafa drukkið t_i vita þetta

All that homebrew aquavit have drunk know this

'Everyone that has drunk homebrew aquavit knows this (that you become sick)'

PPs can also be stylistically fronted if the complement of the preposition is a pronoun but it is less marked if the pronoun is cliticized onto the preposition. The preposition can neither be stylistically fronted on its own nor is it possible to strand the preposition:¹⁶

(66) *Icelandic*

a. Allir sem [**úr** 'enni]_i drukkut_i veiktust

All that from her.CLITIC drank sick.PASS

'Everyone that drunk out of it (the bottle) became sick'

b. ??Allir sem [**úr henni**]_i drukku t_i veiktust

All that from her drank sick.PASS

c. *Allir sem **úr**_i drukku t_i henni / 'enni veiktust

All that from drank her / her.WEAK sick.PASS

d. *Allir sem **henni**_i / 'enni_i drukku **úr** t_i veiktust

All that her / her.WEAK drank from sick.PASS

In Middle Danish pronouns could undergo stylistic fronting too:

(67) *Middle Danish*

mangom storkom som **honum**_i skulde hiælpa t_i at draba hans maga

many storks that him should help to kill his seagulls

'many storks that should help him to kill his seagulls' (1425, *SJTR*)

Stylistic fronting of nouns was also possible, both with and without the definite article suffix:

(68) *Old Danish*

then ær **hór**_i hauær gjort t_i with bondæns kunæ

the one that adultery has committed with farmer-the's wife

'the one that has committed adultery with the farmer's wife' (1250, *ELOV.61.4*)

(69) *Middle Danish*

kalla fram budhit som **brefvit**_i hafðhe fort t_i

call forth messenger-the that letter-the had brought

'call forth the messenger that had brought the letter' (1425, *SJTR*)

The examples in (59)-(62) show that PPs and full DPs could undergo stylistic fronting in Old Danish and Middle Danish. Parallel to Icelandic, PPs with pronominal complements could undergo stylistic fronting in Old and Middle Danish:

(70) *Old Danish*

han for later thet ær [**with hanum**]_i warthær gjort t_i

he forgives that which with him becomes done

'he forgives what will be done with him' (1250, *ELOV.62.1*)

(71) *Middle Danish*

oc hwat som [**mæth hænne**]_i var gjort t_i

and what that with her was done

'and what was done with her' (1425, *SJTR*)

The difference is that it is difficult to tell whether the pronouns in the Old and Middle Danish examples in (71) are as weak as they are in the Icelandic examples in (66) above.

5. Pronouns and the Subject Gap

5.1. Platzack (1988) and Old Swedish

As mentioned above, Maling (1980, 1990) points out that stylistic fronting is only possible if there is no overt subject in the clause. Platzack (1988: 227-228), however, points out that in Old Swedish, stylistic fronting was also possible in clauses with a pronominal subject.

(72) Old Swedish

æn han **eigh**_i bannaþe t_i ihesus namne

if he not cursed Jesus' name

'if he did not curse the name of Jesus' (1350, Falk 1993:165, (15a))

As Platzack (1988:228, (22a) and (22b) mentions, it is possible to analyze the example in (72) in two different ways. Either the pronoun *han* 'he' is cliticized onto the complementizer or it is in the subject position (IP-Spec). If the pronoun is cliticized onto the complementizer, it leaves a subject gap (in IP-Spec) and the negation can be stylistically fronted. If the pronoun is in IP-Spec, the example in (72) illustrates the embedded clause word order of the modern MSc languages, i.e. **subject - negation - verb_{fin} -object**:

(73) a. [_{CP} [_{C°} æn han] [_{IP} eigh_i bannaþe_v [_{NegP} t_i [_{VP} t_v ...]]]]

b. [_{CP} [_{C°} æn] [_{IP} han [_{NegP} eigh [_{VP} bannaþe ...]]]]

In Old Swedish, stylistic fronting of some elements that typically front, namely adjectives, infinitives, pronominal objects, etc. was extremely rare. Almost all of the

examples that have subject pronouns and that seem to involve stylistic fronting in Old Swedish either contain a sentence negation or an adverb (Cecilia Falk, personal communication). Because of this, Falk (1993:191) concludes that these examples did not show stylistic fronting, but lack of V°-to-I° movement.

5.2. Middle Danish

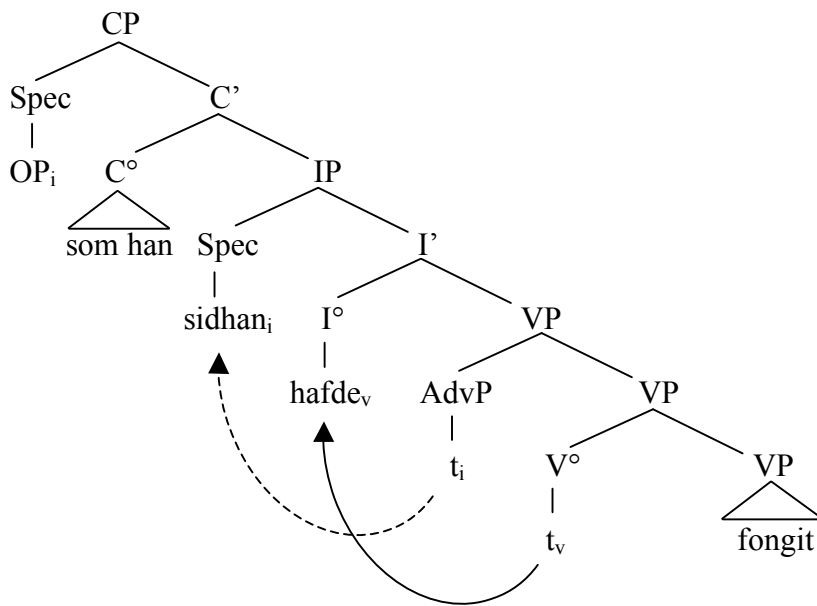
Similar examples can be found in Middle Danish. In the two manuscripts of *Sjælens Trøst* there are fourteen relative clauses with an overt subject pronoun where stylistic fronting also seems to occur. In all the clauses, the stylistically fronted element is either a negation or an adverb. Here, it is also difficult to tell whether the pronoun is cliticized onto the complementizer:

(74) Middle Danish

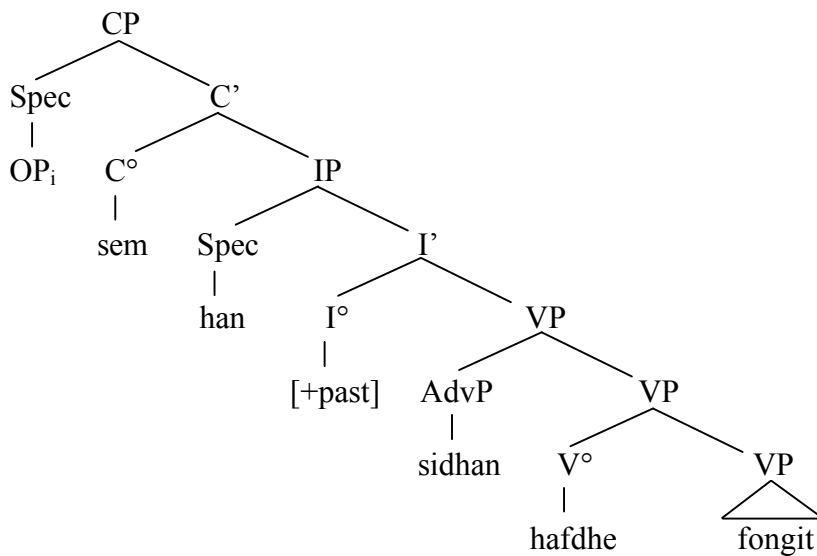
som	han	sidhan _i	hafdhe	t _i	fongit	
that	he	then	had		received	
'that he then had received'						(1425, <i>SJTR</i>)

This example, like the Old Swedish example in (72), is ambiguous with respect to stylistic fronting and V°-to-I° movement. It can be analyzed in two different ways, namely as showing both V°-to-I° movement and stylistic fronting, as in (75), and as showing neither V°-to-I° movement nor stylistic fronting, as in (76). If there is V°-to-I° movement, the pronoun is cliticized onto the complementizer, thereby leaving a subject gap in IP-Spec and the sentence adverb is stylistically fronted. If the other option is taken, (76), where the pronoun is in IP-Spec, and no stylistic fronting takes place, we would have to assume that Middle Danish did not have obligatory V°-to-I° movement:

(75) *V°-to-I° movement option (clitic version)*



(76) *No V°-to-I° movement option*



Examples such as (77), from the same source, do however show that Middle Danish had

V°-to-I° movement:

(77) *Middle Danish*

vm [_{IP} [min man]_i hafvir_v [_{NegP} **inkte** t_v [_{VP} t_i t_v rætfongit gooz]]]

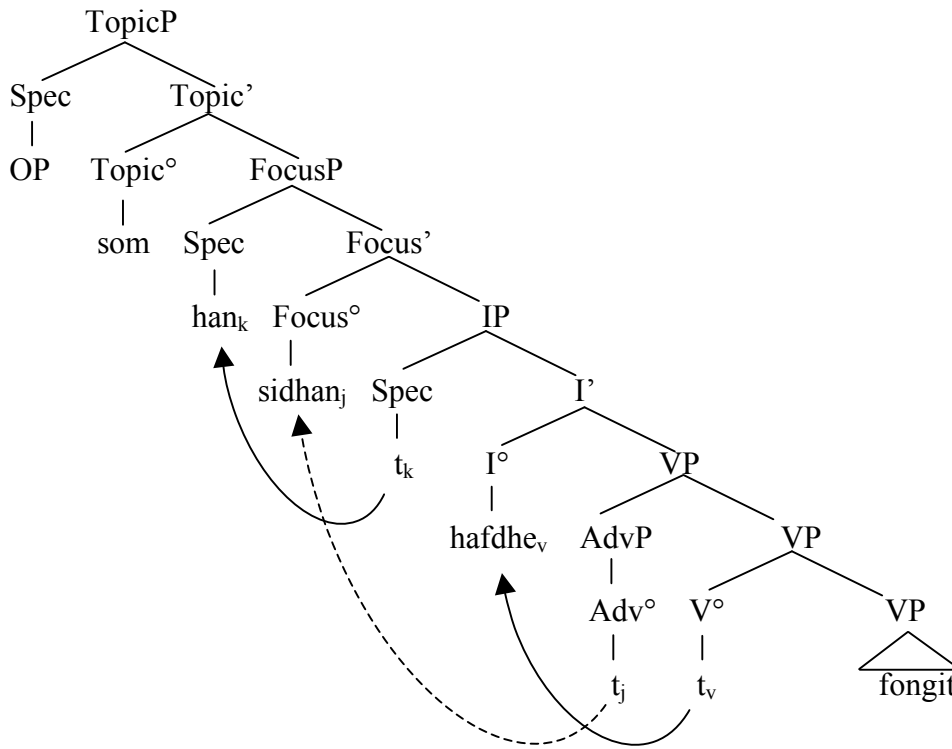
if my man has not rightly received goods

'if my husband has not rightly received goods' (1425, *SJTR*)

This does not exclude the fact that the example in (74) could be an instance of the same lack of V°-to-I° movement that Falk (1993:191) claims for Old Swedish. Middle Danish seems to behave exactly like Old Swedish. As I have mentioned, the only examples of stylistic fronting that can be found in relative clauses with an overt subject pronoun either seem to involve stylistic fronting of a negation or stylistic fronting of an adverb. The same can be said about the ten embedded sentences that do not seem to have V°-to-I° movement discussed in section 4.2. All of these sentences have a subject pronoun and they could all be analyzed as having V°-to-I° movement and stylistic fronting of a negation or an adverb. I choose to follow Falk (1993:191) in concluding that the Middle Danish example in (74) does not show stylistic fronting of a sentence adverb but only lack of V°-to-I° movement.

Apart from this, there is a third possible analysis of (74), namely as a sentence that has both V°-to-I° movement and stylistic fronting:

(78) V° -to- I° movement (articulated CP option)



A sentence analyzed as a sentence with V° -to- I° movement and stylistic fronting into an articulated CP-domain can be reanalyzed as a sentence with no articulated CP-domain, where neither V° -to- I° movement nor stylistic fronting take place. I will discuss this alternative analysis in detail in section 6.

The problem with Platzack's (1988) analysis is the assumption that the subject pronoun cliticizes onto the complementizer in C° . If it is assumed that the subject pronoun moves out of its specifier position, there should not be any difference with respect to which elements may be stylistically fronted in relative clauses with an overt subject pronoun, i.e. we should find stylistic fronting not only of the sentence negation and sentence adverbs (which is attested), but also stylistic fronting of participles, verb

particles, DPs and PPs (which is not found). As I will show in the next section, this difference is attested in Icelandic in a slightly different way.

5.3. *Icelandic*

Although it is marked, it is possible to have stylistic fronting in Icelandic in contexts of the same type as in the previous sections, i.e. in subordinate clauses where the subject is a pronoun. The crucial difference between Icelandic on the one hand and Old Swedish and Middle Danish on the other is that not only is stylistic fronting of adverbs possible in Icelandic in the presence of a subject pronoun but also stylistic fronting of participles, predicative adjectives and verb particles. As has been claimed for Swedish, it is better if the subject pronoun is at least phonologically cliticized onto the complementizer.¹⁷

(79) *Icelandic*

- a. Allt sem **‘ann** hafði **lesið** í bókinni var satt

All that he.WEAK had read in book-the was true

- b. ?Allt sem **‘ann** **lesið**_i hafði t_i í bókinni var satt

All that he.WEAK read had in book-the was true

- c. *?Allt sem **hann** **lesið**_i hafði t_i í bókinni var satt

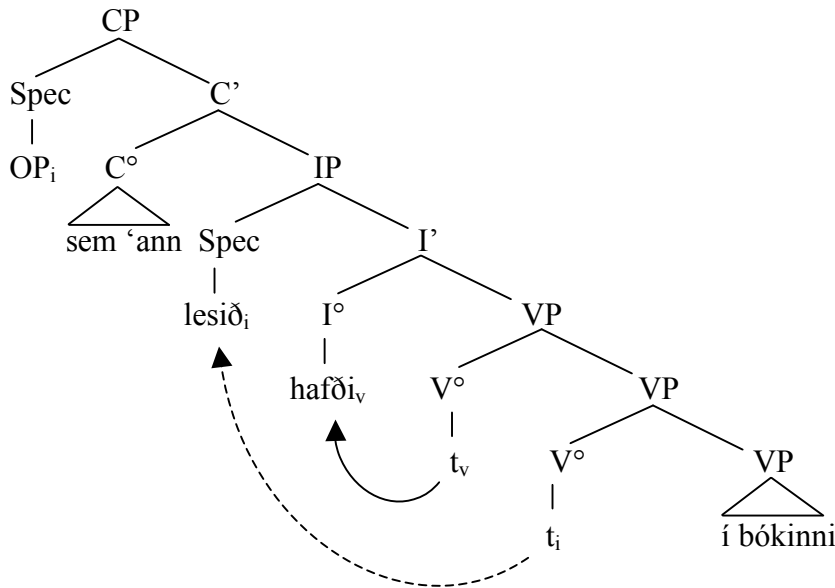
All that he read had in book-the was true

'Everything that he had read in the book was true'

If the clitic analysis in (73)/(75) is the correct analysis, the Icelandic sentence in (79)b has the structure in (80). The difficult question here is which position it is that the stylistically fronted element has moved into. The assumption made in the previous section was that the element that undergoes stylistic fronting moves into IP-Spec, i.e. into the subject gap. This is however clearly problematic because in subordinate clauses with an overt subject pronoun, IP-Spec must be assumed to contain the trace of the

subject pronoun. If stylistic fronting is, as I have tried to show, something else than movement of phonological features, this trace should block movement into this position.

(80) *V°-to-I° movement option (clitic version) ≈ (75)*



The movement of the participle into IP-Spec in (80) is also problematic as it is improper movement if participles are assumed to be heads. This also raises the question about the analysis of subject relative clauses, i.e. whether the null operator occupies IP-Spec at some point in the derivation. I will follow Mikkelsen (2002a:80-81) who assumes that the operator is base-generated in a thematic position (i.e. within the VP). To be assigned case, the null operator moves through IP-Spec on its way to Topic-Spec. The trace in IP-Spec will block stylistic fronting into this position (i.e. if stylistic fronting is something else than PF-movement).¹⁸

Furthermore, examples such as (81)b show that the clitic analysis in (80) cannot be the correct analysis as it is impossible to front XPs if there is an overt subject pronoun in the clause, whereas stylistic fronting of XPs is much better when there is no subject at all, as in (82)b. If the clitic analysis in (80) was the correct analysis, exactly

the opposite predictions would be made. Under such an analysis, we would expect that stylistic fronting of XPs was equally good as stylistic fronting of heads, if not better because IP-Spec is normally occupied by XPs not heads.

(81) *Icelandic*

- a. Allt sem ‘ann hafði lesið í **bókinni** var satt
 All that he.WEAK had read in book-the was true
 'Everything that he had read in the book was true'
- b. * Allt sem ‘ann [í **bókinni**]_i hafði lesið t_i var satt
 All that he.WEAK in book-the had read was true

(82) *Icelandic*

- a. Allir sem höfðu lesið í **bókinni** voru hrifnir
 All that had read in book-the were impressed
 'Everyone that had read in the book was impressed'
- b. Allir sem [í **bókinni**]_i höfðu lesið t_i voru hrifnir
 All that in book-the had read were impressed
 'Everyone that had read in the book was impressed'

As mentioned above, there should be no difference with respect to which elements may front if it is assumed that the subject pronoun has cliticized onto the complementizer or if it is assumed that stylistic fronting is movement of phonological features. At first sight, it seems that the conclusion to be drawn from these facts is that there must be two different positions for stylistically fronted elements, one for heads and another for XPs, since one of those (heads) is available both in stylistic fronting with an overt subject pronoun and with no overt subject, whereas the other (XPs) is only available in stylistic fronting with no overt subject, not in stylistic fronting with an overt subject pronoun.

This also shows that the subject pronoun could not have cliticized onto C° , since this would not result in a difference between stylistic fronting in clauses with a weak subject pronoun and stylistic fronting in clauses with no overt subject. Instead, the weak subject pronoun must occupy a separate position adjacent to the complementizer. This position is available for stylistic fronting in sentences with no overt subject, not in sentences with overt subjects.

5.4. *Summary*

There are at least two problems with the previous analyses of stylistic fronting: First, the Icelandic examples involving subject pronouns show that not all elements can be stylistically fronted if there is an overt subject in the clause. If it is assumed that the subject pronoun has cliticized onto the complementizer or that stylistic fronting is movement of phonological features, the prediction is that the same elements can be stylistically fronted as in embedded clauses with no overt subject. The data presented here contradicts this prediction. Second, the most prominent hypothesis about stylistic fronting has until now been that stylistic fronting is movement into IP-Spec, i.e. into the subject gap. This is however clearly a problematic solution as the position must already contain a trace of the moved subject pronoun or a null operator (in subject relative clauses and embedded subject questions). Therefore, we have to find an analysis that can account for the difference between stylistic fronting in clauses with no overt subject and stylistic fronting in clauses with an overt subject pronoun.

6. **Stylistic fronting into the CP-domain**

In the literature, *CP-recursion* has been suggested as an explanation for V2 in embedded clauses in the Germanic languages (cf. Holmberg 1986, Platzack 1986, Iatridou & Kroch 1992, and Vikner 1995). Although topicalization is very limited in

embedded clauses in Icelandic, it can be found with bridge verbs like *segja* 'say', (85)b. Topicalization can also be found in subordinate clauses that are complements of non-bridge verbs like *viðurkenna* 'admit', (83), but in embedded questions like (84) it is not allowed.

(83) *Icelandic*

Hann viðurkenndi að [þessa mynd]_i hafði hann ekki séð t_i
 He admitted that this film had he not seen
 'He admitted that he had not seen this film'

(84) *Icelandic*

*Ég vildi vita hvort [þessa mynd]_i hafi hann séð t_i
 I wanted know if this film has he seen

(85) *Icelandic*

- a. Hann sagði að hann hefði oft séð þessa mynd
 He said that he had often seen this film
 'He said that he had often seen this film'
- b. Hann sagði að [þessa mynd]_i hefði hann oft séð t_i
 He said that this film had he often seen
 'He said that he had often seen this film'

Based on the data presented in the last sections, I have suggested that stylistic fronting should be analyzed as CP-recursion as well. More specifically, the assumption is that the recursive CP is FocusP in an articulated CP-domain in the sense of Rizzi (1997:287ff). As I have mentioned, I assume that stylistic fronting is a feature-driven movement into FocusP. An analysis where the element that undergoes stylistic fronting moves into IP-Spec cannot account for the differences found in subordinate clauses with

an overt subject pronoun. As shown in examples (79)b and (81)b, repeated here as (86)a and (86)b, stylistic fronting of heads is much better than stylistic fronting of XPs in relative clauses with an overt subject pronoun:

(86) *Icelandic*

a. ?Allt sem **‘ann** lesið_i hafði t_i í bókinni var satt

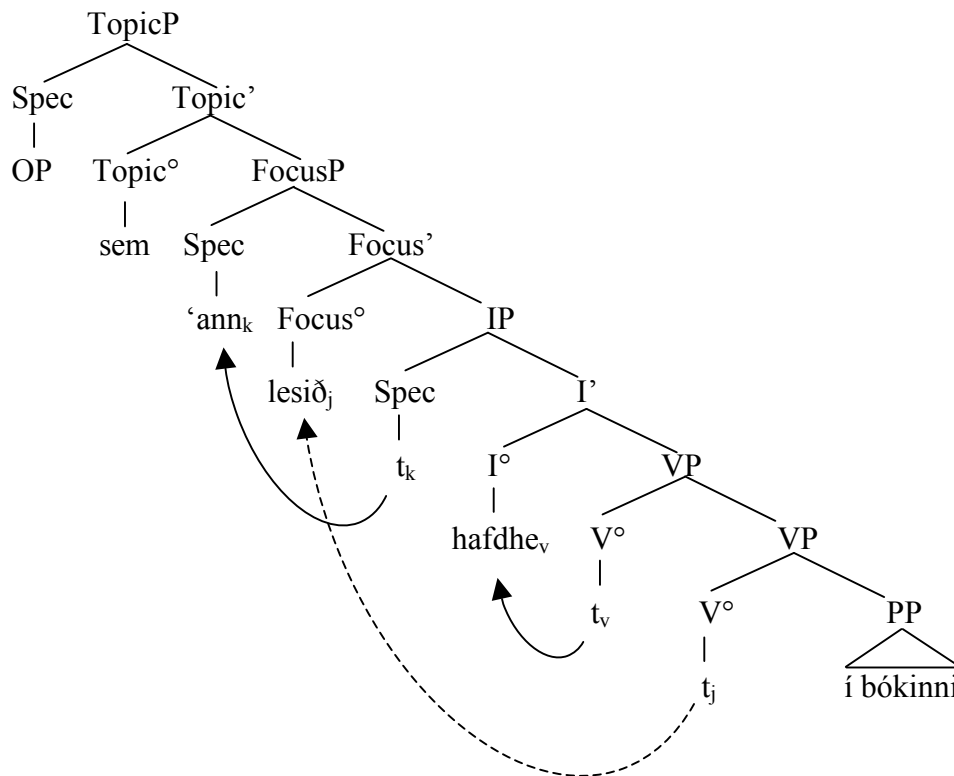
All that he.WEAK read had in book-the was true

b. *Allt sem **‘ann** [í bókinni]_i hafði lesið t_i var satt

All that he.WEAK in book-the had read was true

This difference would follow if stylistic fronting was analyzed as feature driven movement into Focus° as suggested in section 3.2:

(87) *Stylistic fronting into Focus°*



The weak pronoun that occupies FocusP-Spec blocks stylistic fronting of the PP *í bókinni* 'in the book' into this position. Only stylistic fronting of heads is possible and the participle *lesið* 'read' is stylistically fronted into Focus°.

Further evidence from Icelandic supports this hypothesis as two different elements can undergo stylistic fronting simultaneously in relative clauses with no overt subject:

(88) *Icelandic*

- a. Hann henti öllu sem hafði [**áreiðanlega**] [**ekki**] verið tæmt
 He threw away all that had undoubtedly not been emptied
 'He threw away everything that had undoubtedly not been emptied'
- b. Hann henti öllu sem [**áreiðanlega**]_i hafði t_i ekki verið tæmt
 He threw away all that undoubtedly had not been emptied
 'He threw away everything that UNDOUBTEDLY had not been emptied'
- c. Hann henti öllu sem [**áreiðanlega**]_i [**ekki**]_k hafði t_i t_k verið tæmt
 He threw away all that undoubtedly not had been emptied
 'He threw away everything that had UNDOUBTEDLY NOT been emptied'

The example in (88)c shows that two adverbs can undergo stylistic fronting at the same time. This must indicate that adverbs are structurally ambiguous between being a head and an XP. The example in (88)b shows that if the sentential adverb is base-generated above the negation, the adverb can undergo stylistic fronting. Note that the example in (88)b shows V°-to-I° movement.

In (88)c, where both the adverb and the negation had undergone stylistic fronting, the adverb preceded the negation. The example in (88)c shows that if the adverb is base-generated below the negation, the negation precedes the adverb when both are stylistically fronted.

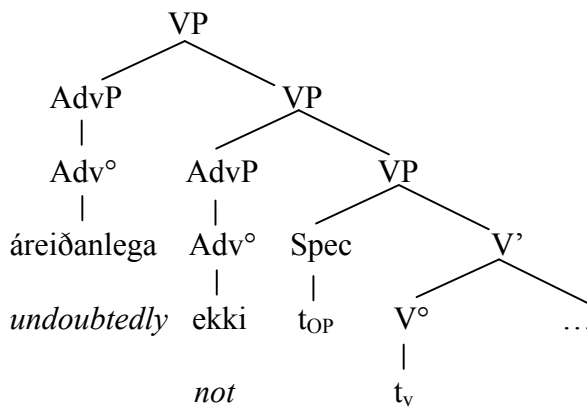
(89) *Icelandic*

- a. Hann henti öllu sem hafði [ekki] [áreiðanlega] verið tæmt
 He threw away all that had not undoubtedly been emptied
 'He threw away everything that had not undoubtedly been emptied'
- b. Hann henti öllu sem [ekki]_i hafði t_i -áreiðanlega verið tæmt
 He threw away all that not had undoubtedly been emptied
 'He threw away everything that NOT had undoubtedly been emptied'
- c. Hann henti öllu sem [ekki]_k [áreiðanlega]_i hafði t_k t_i verið tæmt
 He threw away all that not undoubtedly had been emptied
 'He threw away everything that had NOT UNDOUBTEDLY been emptied'

The example in (89)b shows that the negation can undergo stylistic fronting without the adverb also being stylistically fronted. Note that the example in (89)b shows V°-to-I° movement.

It is standardly assumed that the negation in Icelandic is an AdvP in the specifier position of NegP (cf. Jónsson 1996:95-100). As was shown in (30), the assumption here is that the negation and sentence adverbs are adjoined to the left edge of VP and that these are minimal and maximal projections at the same time:

(90) *Sentence negation and adverbs as maximal and minimal projections*



Under this assumption, i.e. that the negation and other adverbs are maximal and minimal projections at the same time, we would expect nothing else than that two adverbs can be stylistically fronted at the same time. In some cases, the negation is stylistically fronted as a head, (89)c; in other cases, it is stylistically fronted as an XP, (88)b and (89)b. In the cases where the negation is stylistically fronted as a head, some other adverb can be stylistically fronted as an XP, in the cases where the negation is stylistically fronted as an XP, some other adverb can be stylistically fronted as a head.

The fact that adverbs are either stylistically fronted as heads or as XPs is furthermore supported by that fact that the adverb that is stylistically fronted as an XP can be modified by another adverb, whereas the adverb that is stylistically fronted as a head cannot.

(91) *Icelandic*

Hann henti öllu sem ...

He threw away all that ...

a. ... [**ekki**]_k [**alveg áreiðanlega**]_i hafði t_k t_i verið tæmt

... not most undoubtedly had been emptied

b. ... [**alveg áreiðanlega**]_i [**ekki**]_k hafði t_i t_k verið tæmt

... most undoubtedly not had been emptied

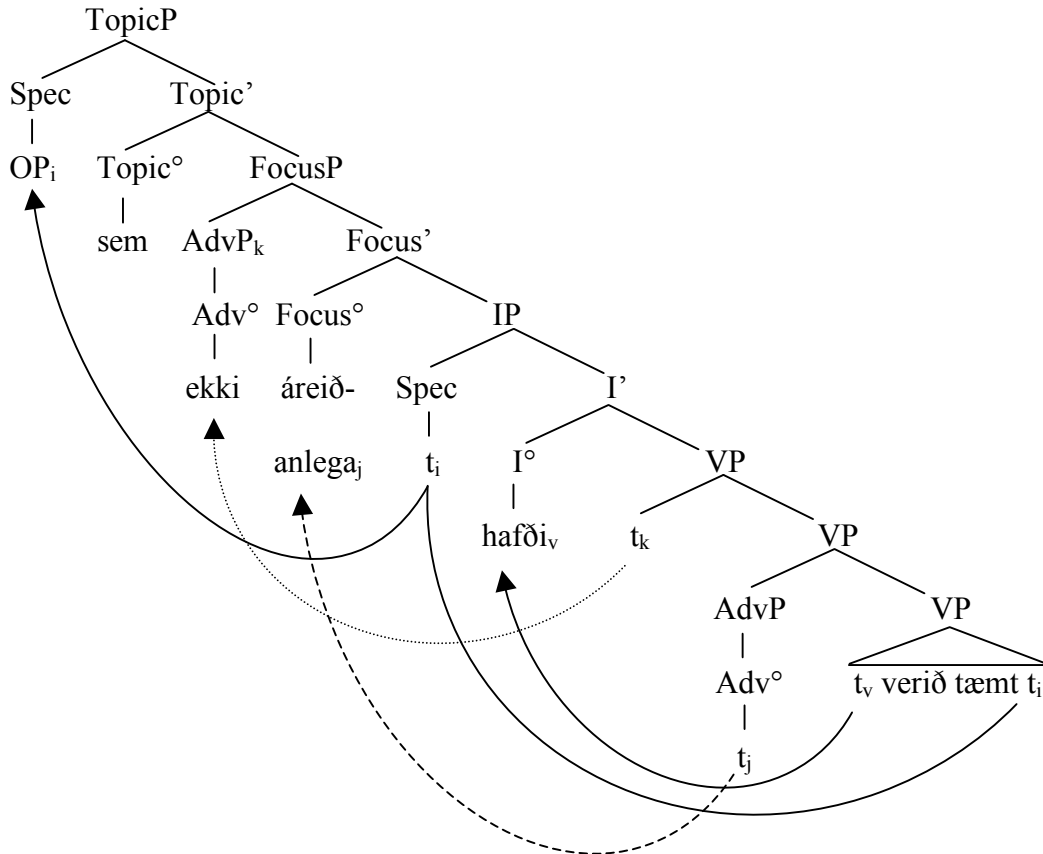
'He threw away everything that had most undoubtedly not been emptied'

This, as well as the fact that only heads can undergo stylistic fronting in relative clauses with overt subject pronouns, would follow if stylistic fronting were analyzed as movement into FocusP. An example such as (89)c, repeated here as (92), where a negation undergoes stylistic fronting into FocusP-Spec and an adverb into Focus° could be analyzed as in(93):

(92) *Icelandic*

Hann henti öllu sem [ekki]_k [áreiðanlega]_i hafði t_k t_i verið tæmt
 He threw away all that not undoubtedly had been emptied
 'He threw away everything that had NOT UNDOUBTEDLY been emptied'

(93) *Stylistic fronting into FocusP-Spec and Focus°*

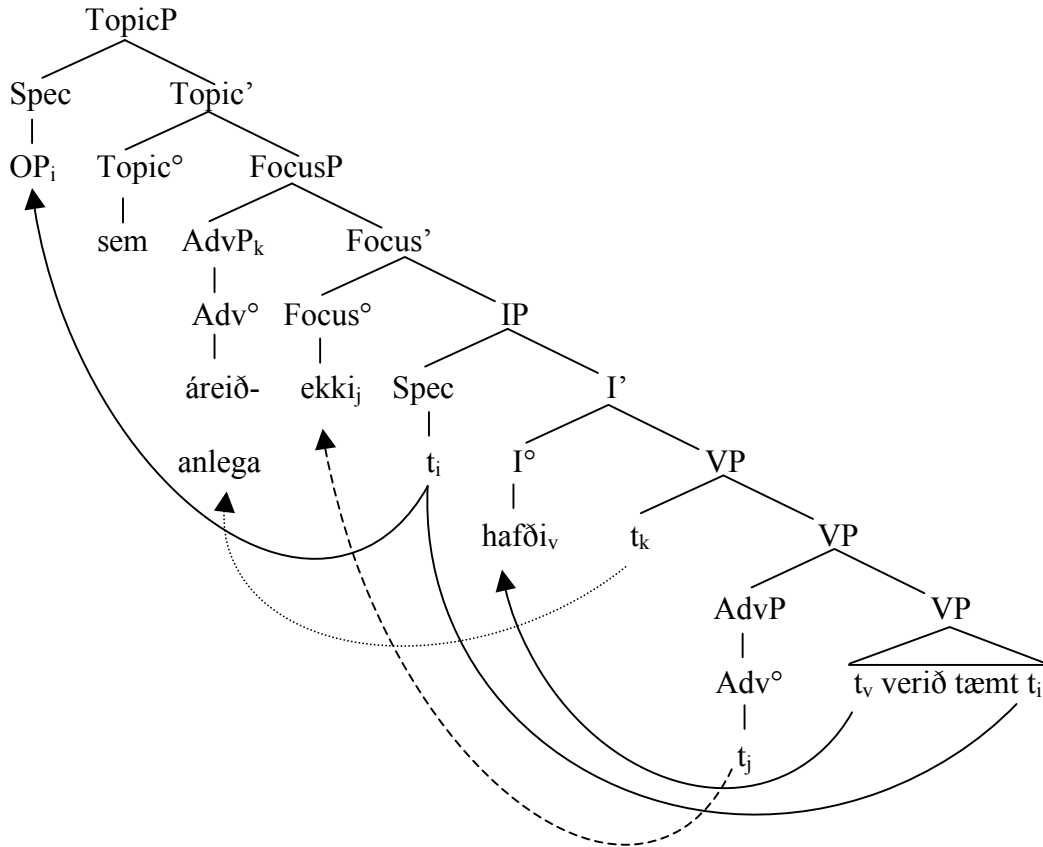


An example such as (88)c, repeated here as (94), where an adverb undergoes stylistic fronting into FocusP-Spec and a negation into Focus° could be analyzed as in (95):

(94) *Icelandic*

Hann henti öllu sem [áreiðanlega]_i [ekki]_k hafði t_i t_k verið tæmt
 He threw away all that undoubtedly not had been emptied
 'He threw away everything that had UNDOUBTEDLY NOT been emptied'

(95) *Stylistic fronting into FocusP-Spec and Focus°*



As already mentioned, only heads can be stylistically fronted in relative clauses with an overt subject pronoun. The weak pronoun occupies the position XP elements can front into (i.e. FocusP-Spec) and only Focus° is available for stylistic fronting. The prediction is that DPs and PPs will never undergo stylistic fronting in clauses of this type, cf. (87).

The subject gap restriction can be accounted for in the following way. If it is assumed that full DP subjects have an inherent focus feature, the uninterpretable focus feature on Focus° will be checked and deleted whenever there is a full DP subject in the clause. To fulfill the requirement on verb second, the finite verb moves to Focus°.

Under the assumption that weak subject pronouns do not have an inherent focus feature, the focus feature on Focus° will not be deleted when there is a weak subject pronoun in the clause. Therefore, a head with a focus feature may move into Focus° to check and delete the uninterpretable focus feature.

In clauses with no overt subject, FocusP-Spec and Focus° are both available for stylistic fronting. In this situation, there are three possibilities. First, as has been mentioned, an XP is stylistically fronted into FocusP-Spec and a head is stylistically fronted into Focus° simultaneously, as in (95) and (93).

As was shown in (29), a participle in a sentence such as (96) undergoes stylistic fronting into Focus°, the analysis in (29) is repeated in (97)

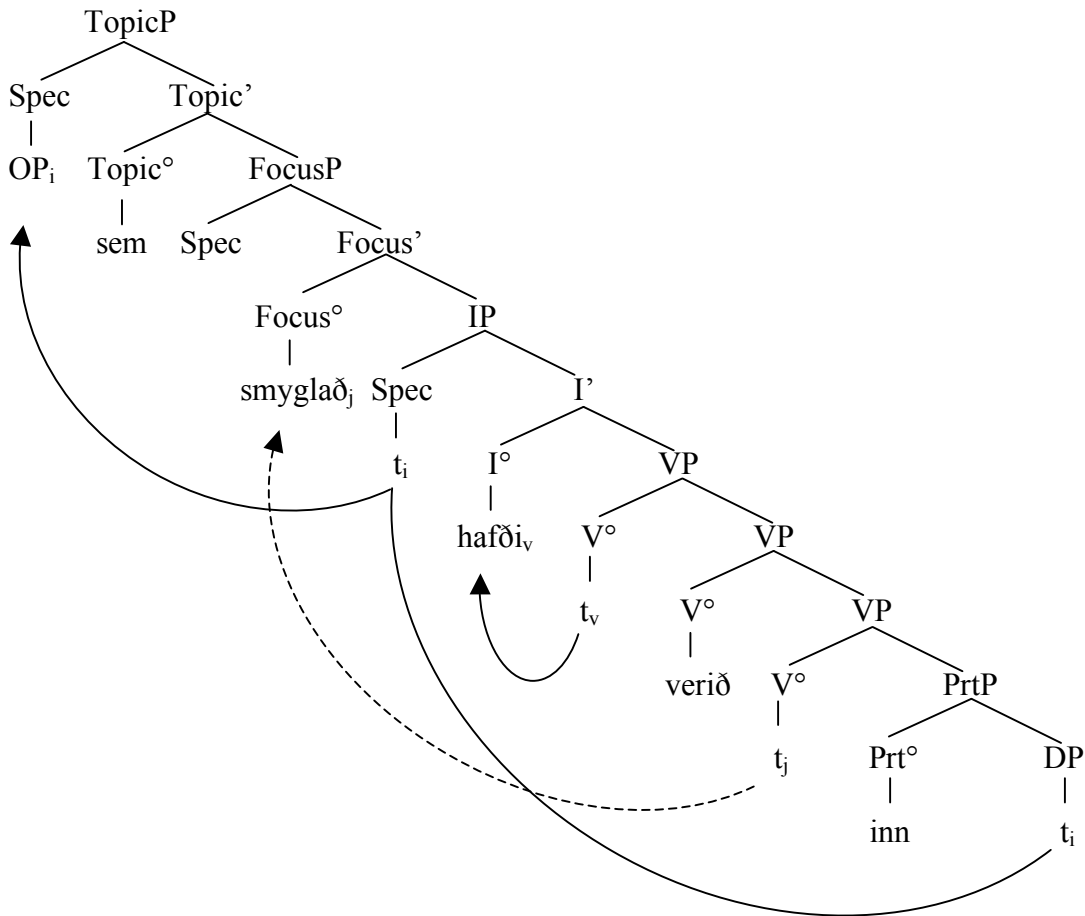
(96) *Icelandic*

Hann sýndi mér flöskurnar sem **smyglað**_i hafði_v [VP t_v verið t_i inn]

He showed me bottles-the that smuggled had been in

‘He showed me the bottles that had been SMUGGLED in’

(97) *Stylistic fronting of a participle into Focus°*



(58), repeated here as (98), shows that stylistic fronting of full DPs is possible in Icelandic. In the tree in (99), the DP *þá erfiðu ákvörðun* 'that hard decision' is stylistically fronted into FocusP-Spec.

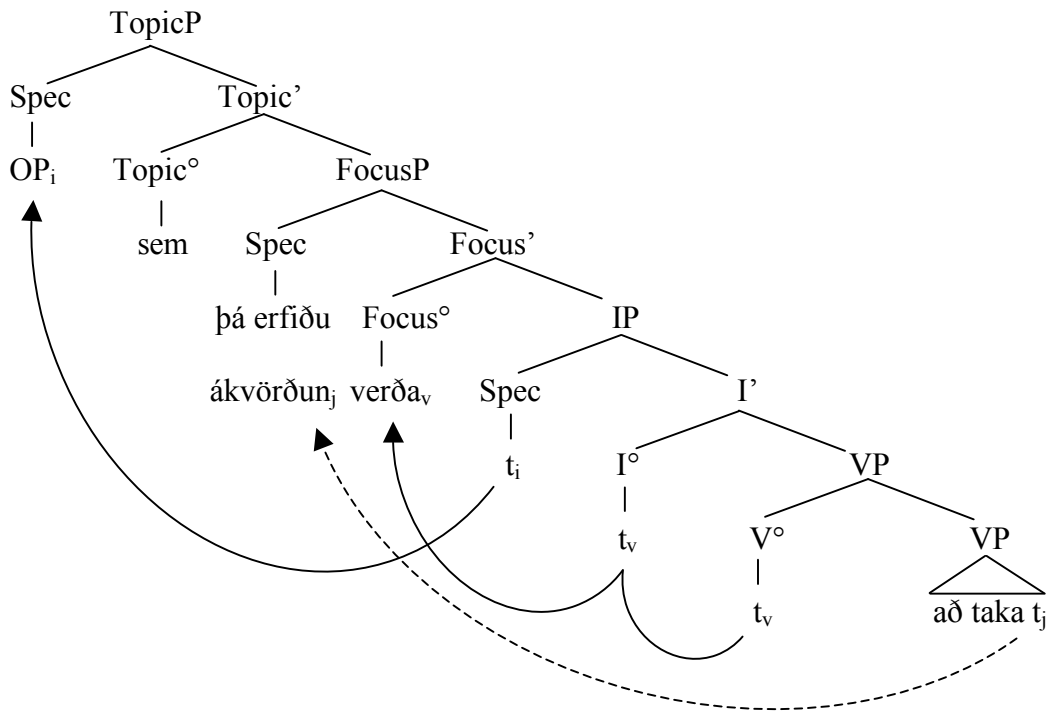
(98) *Icelandic*

Þeir sem [**þá erfiðu ákvörðun**]_i verða að taka t_i

Those that that hard decision have to take

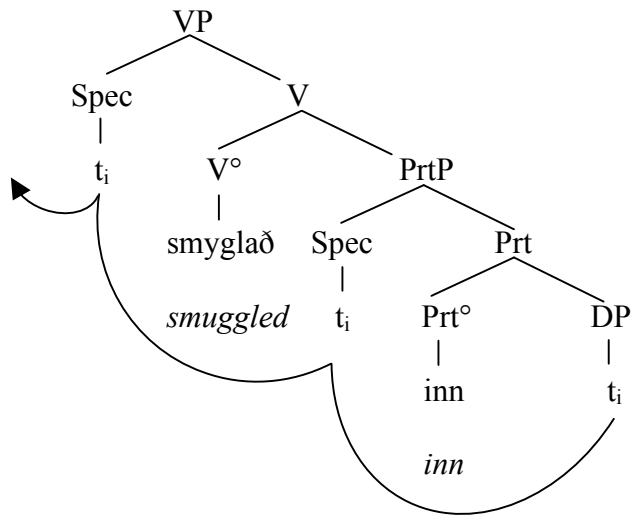
'Those who have to take that hard decision'

(99) *Stylistic fronting into FocusP-Spec*



Under the assumption that participles and verb particles can only be minimal projections, we would expect that these could not undergo stylistic fronting at the same time:

(100) *Participles and particles as heads*



As the examples in (101) show, this prediction is correct, a participle and a verb particle cannot undergo stylistic fronting at the same time:

(101) *Icelandic*

* Hún brenndi allt sem **hent**_i **út**_k hafði verið t_i t_k

She burnt all that thrown out had been

* Hún brenndi allt sem **út**_k **hent**_i hafði verið t_i t_k

She burnt all that out thrown had been

Nor can three categories undergo stylistic fronting simultaneously:

(102) *Icelandic*

* Hann henti öllu sem [**áreiðanlega**]_i [**ekki**]_k [**tæmt**]_l hafði t_i t_k verið t_l

He threw away all that undoubtedly not emptied had been

Not only two adverbs can undergo stylistic fronting in the same clause. Examples such as (103)a where an adverb has undergone stylistic fronting as an XP and a participle as a

head are attested,¹⁹ but examples such as (103)b where the order of the adverb and the participle is reversed, are ungrammatical:

(103) *Icelandic*

a. Nemendursem **áður_i** **lokið_k** hafa_v t_i t_v t_k sambærilegum námsáföngum

Students that before finished have similar courses

'Students that have finished similar courses before'

b. *Nemendur sem lokið_k áður_i hafa_v t_i t_v t_k sambærilegum námsáföngum

Students that finishedbefore have similar courses

The consequence of an analysis such as the one I have proposed here is that all embedded clauses in Icelandic have to be analyzed as having an articulated CP-domain. This means that all embedded clauses in Icelandic are potential V2 clauses, and hence topicalization should in principle always be possible. This is in accordance with what has been claimed for Icelandic (cf. Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990, Johnson & Vikner 1994, and Vikner 1995).

So why does a language lose stylistic fronting? Falk (1993:184) observes that the loss of V°-to-I° movement and the loss of stylistic fronting took place simultaneously in Old Swedish, i.e. that examples where a participle, or a verb particle, or a pronoun has undergone stylistic fronting were not found anymore but examples such where a sentential adverb or a negation seems to have undergone stylistic fronting continued to exist. The answer to this question may lie in the analysis I have presented here. If we rephrase the question to “why does a language have stylistic fronting?”, it is possible to argue that it is the movement of the verb from V° to I° that licenses CP-recursion or an articulated CP-domain.²⁰ This possibility exists in Icelandic. In Icelandic, the movement of the verb from V° to I° licenses the kind of articulated CP-domain I have tried to

argue for here. Therefore, Icelandic has stylistic fronting in clauses with no overt subjects and in embedded clauses with weak subject pronouns, and therefore, Icelandic has general embedded V2. In the Mainland Scandinavian languages, the verb only moves to I° in main clauses on its way to C°. Otherwise, the verb never moves into I°. Therefore, I° cannot license an articulated CP-domain in the Mainland Scandinavian languages, and therefore we do not find stylistic fronting or general embedded V2 in the Mainland Scandinavian languages.

Support for the hypothesis that the movement of the verb into I° licenses the articulated CP-domain comes from Icelandic ECM constructions. As the example in (104) shows, stylistic fronting is allowed in impersonal passives:

(104) *Icelandic*

- a. Hann sagði að einhverjum bókum hefði verið hent
He said that some books had been thrown away
'He said that some books had been thrown away'
- b. Hann sagði að **hent**_i hefði verið t_i einhverjum bókum
He said that thrown away had been some books
'He said that some books had been THROWN AWAY'

As the examples in (105) show, the verb does not move from V° to I° in Icelandic ECM constructions:

(105) *Icelandic*

- a. Ég taldi hann **ekki** hafa hent einhverjum bókum
I believed him not have thrown away some books
'I believed him not to have thrown away some books'
- b. *Ég taldi hann hafa_v **ekki** t_v hent einhverjum bókum

I believed him have not thrown away some books

In (105)b, the verb cannot precede the sentential negation. This shows that the verb could not have moved from V° to I° and as the example in (106)b shows, stylistic fronting is impossible in ECM constructions, even if the clause that is embedded under the ECM verb is an impersonal passive.

(106) *Icelandic*

a. Ég taldi einhverjum bókum hafa verið hent

I believed some books have been thrown away

'I believed some books to have been thrown away'

b. *Ég taldi **hent**_i hafa verið t_i einhverjum bókum

I believed thrown away have been some books

The example in (106)b crucially shows that stylistic fronting is impossible unless the verb has moved from V° to I° . I take this to indicate that stylistic fronting depends on V° -to- I° movement. The movement of the verb into I° licenses the articulated CP-domain into which elements are stylistically fronted. If there is no V° -to- I° movement, the articulated CP-domain is not licensed and stylistic fronting cannot take place.

7. Conclusion

In this article, I have shown that stylistic fronting in Icelandic has a semantic effect and that stylistic fronting therefore cannot be analyzed as movement of phonological features alone. Instead, I have proposed that stylistic fronting should be analyzed as a feature-driven movement into an articulated CP-domain in the sense of Rizzi (1997:287ff). To be more specific, I have proposed that stylistic fronting is movement into FocusP. If full DP subjects and full subject pronouns are assumed to have an inherent focus feature, as opposed to indefinite DP subjects and weak subject pronouns,

it is possible to account for the fact that stylistic fronting is only found in clauses with no overt subject, or in the presence of weak subject pronouns and indefinite DP subjects. The uninterpretable focus feature on Focus° attracts the full DP subject or the full subject pronoun. The focus feature is thereby checked and deleted and stylistic fronting cannot take place. If it is assumed that weak subject pronouns are definite, just as full DP subjects and full subject pronouns, these also move to FocusP-Spec but since weak subject pronouns do not have an inherent focus feature, it is possible to stylistically front into Focus° to check and delete the uninterpretable focus feature.

This accounts for the difference that can be found in subordinate clauses with no overt subject, and subordinate clauses with an overt weak subject pronoun. In subordinate clauses with an overt weak subject pronoun, only stylistic fronting of heads is possible, i.e. stylistic fronting into Focus° , not stylistic fronting of XPs because the overt subject pronoun occupies the position into which XPs normally are stylistically fronted.

I have argued that stylistic fronting depends on V° -to- I° movement. The movement of the verb into I° licenses the articulated CP-domain into which elements are stylistically fronted. If there is no V° -to- I° movement, the articulated CP-domain is not licensed and stylistic fronting cannot take place. A support for this hypothesis comes from Icelandic ECM constructions. In ECM constructions, V° -to- I° movement does not take place and furthermore, stylistic fronting is impossible in clauses embedded under an ECM verb. If there is V° -to- I° movement the articulated CP-domain is licensed and stylistic fronting can take place.

The Mainland Scandinavian languages lost V° -to- I° movement and stylistic fronting at the same time. This is in accordance with the hypothesis that the movement

of the verb from V° to I° licenses an articulated CP-domain. When the language loses V° -to- I° movement, the articulated CP-domain cannot be licensed anymore and as a consequence of this, the language loses stylistic fronting.

¹ Note that the example in (13) is a counterexample to the prediction made in Holmberg (2000: 465) that a stylistically fronted element cannot move across the subject.

² The example in (14b) was found at http://www.mfb.is/byggidn/Januar2003/greinar_2003_11.htm.

³ Sells (2002) argues that an analysis where stylistic fronting targets a position so high up in the structure, cannot account for the restrictions on stylistic fronting. I think that the focus nature of stylistic fronting shows that the target position must lie within the CP-domain.

⁴ The “focus” feature that I am assuming here is not a focus feature in the normal understanding of focus, e.g. focus vs. topic. I only use the term focus for this formal feature because I am assuming that stylistic fronting is movement into FocusP. It could also be an instance of an EPP feature or some other formal feature α .

⁵ Following Platzack (1983), Koch Christensen (1991) and Falk (1993) Vangsnes (2000: 198) proposes that the expletive is an empty topic element.

⁶ The traces in (25) are the traces of a null operator that moves to TopicP-Spec in relative clauses.

⁷ It is also possible to analyze the negation and the sentence adverbs more along the lines of Cinque (1999) where the negation is a AdvP in NegP-Spec and the sentence adverbs are AdvPs in the specifier of some functional projection, i.e. ModP, AspP, PolP, etc.

⁸ In the three versions of the Middle Danish manuscript *Karl Magnus’ Krønike* ‘Karl Magnus’ Chronicle’, which are the second oldest texts in Ruus (2001), dated 1480, 1509 and 1534 respectively, there are eighty-three clauses introduced by *som* ‘that/as’. Only three of those could be analyzed as having stylistic fronting. In all three cases it is the adverb *før* ‘earlier’ in combination with *er sagt* ‘is told’ that seems to have undergone stylistic fronting:

(i) *Middle Danish*

som før er sagt

as earlier is told

‘as is told earlier’

(1534, KMK)

In the texts in the corpus that are from later periods, stylistic fronting of participles and predicative adjectives can be found. The most frequent constructions are *som sagt er* ‘as is told’ (the latest from 1642

in *Christian IV's breve* 'Letters of Christian IV') and *som skrevet staaer* 'as stands written' (the latest example is from 1638 in Jesper Brochmand's *Huus-Postill* 'Book of sermons'). All of the examples could be analyzed as instances of OV word order. They might also be lexicalized as they only contain the verbs *er/var/bliffuer* 'is/was/becomes' or *staaer* 'stands'.

⁹ An alternative analysis would be that (48) is simply an example of OV word order as found very frequently in Danish in the 16th century, (Falk & Torp 1900:295), and especially after 1648, (Skautrup 1944-68:II.303). However, Henrik Jørgensen (personal communication) has pointed out to me that *Sjælens Trøst* was written too early for this. Nevertheless, the example in (48) raises the question whether stylistic fronting might have played a role in the reanalysis of VO word order as OV word order in Scandinavian. As shown in the table in (35), stylistic fronting of DPs (which yields OV surface word order) was very common in Middle Danish. Together with language contact with German, stylistic fronting might have made the reanalysis easier.

¹⁰ I assume that the negative object has been moved from its base-generated position into NegP-Spec. For a discussion on the movement of the negative object (called NEG-shift) in the Scandinavian languages see Koch Christensen (1991}, Christensen 2003a, Christensen (2003b) and references there.

¹¹ An alternative analysis would be that *inkte* in (50) is the sentence negation 'not' (cf. example (77)) and (50) is an example of OV word order. Cf. fn. 9.

¹² There is no consensus among speakers of Icelandic whether (52)b is marked or ungrammatical. I think it is marked but I think it is possible in some very restricted contexts (for example when expressing surprise).

¹³ Jóhanna Barðdal (personal communication) tells me that she finds (54)b more marked than (54)a. I do not think there is a difference.

¹⁴ My seven informants do not agree on the grammaticality of the sentence in (63). I (as well as some of my informants) find it fully acceptable.

¹⁵ As before, my informants do not agree on the grammaticality of the sentence in (64). I find it rather marked.

¹⁶ My informants do not agree on the acceptability of (66)a and (66)b. Some find them grammatical, others not. I find (66)a fine, whereas I find (66)b rather marked.

¹⁷ My informants do not agree on the grammaticality of the sentences in (79). Many of my informants agree with me that (79)b is significantly less marked than (79)c. One of my informants finds both (79)b and (79)c ungrammatical, another finds (79)b as well as (79)c grammatical.

¹⁸ Mikkelsen (2002a:80-81) gives an analysis of Danish relative clauses where the null operator does not have to move through IP-Spec on its way to the CP-domain. Instead, an expletive subject *der* may be inserted into IP-Spec. Note that in Icelandic subject relative clauses, expletive *það* cannot be inserted into IP-Spec. I take this to indicate that the null operator has indeed moved through IP-Spec to be assigned case.

¹⁹ The example in (103) was found at <http://umsk.hvanneyri.is/umskolann.htm>.

²⁰ Although all the examples that I have discussed here (except (88b) and (89b))