

Minimality and embedded V2 in Scandinavian*

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Abstract

The paper focuses on the syntactic and interpretive properties of subordinate clauses in Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic. Assuming a cartographic CP structure (Rizzi 1997; Haegeman 2006, a.o.), the syntactic properties and distribution of embedded V2 in Scandinavian follow from restrictions imposed by the information structure and are explained in light of relativized minimality. It is argued that the derivation of each embedded clause is specific to the final interpretation that such clause receives. It is proposed that embedded V2 and topicalization result from V-to-Fin and D-linking of a topic, which is an operator that A'-moves through Spec,FinP. The ungrammaticality of embedded topicalization and V2 in certain clauses (e.g. factive, Wh- or relative clauses) is explained as the result of a minimal intervention effects with the operator that derives the clause and contributes to interpretation of the sentence.

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1. Introduction

In Scandinavian languages, the V2 requirement holds for all main clauses and is basically realized through two different types of sentences with the linear order illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. XP V S ...
- b. S V (Adv/Neg)...

As it is, (1) does not tell us anything about the real position of the constituents, but merely illustrates the surface linear order, which is ambiguous with respect to the scope of the verb and the target position of the preverbal constituent.

The order in (1a) indicates that any non-subject constituent with a proper feature specification can precede the verb and gives rise to verb-subject inversion. By contrast, the preverbal element in (1b) is the subject.

The main problematic aspects in understanding the syntax of V2 clauses can be schematically summed up as follows:

- (i) How can we determine the scope of verb movement?

- (ii) Is there a root/embedded asymmetry?
 - (iii) Is there any structural difference between subject and non-subject initial V2 clauses?
- (i) The claim that the verb always reaches the complementizer field in Germanic main clauses (cf. Vikner 1995, a.o.) is originally based on the following observations: there is a complementary distribution between V2 and complementizers in embedded clauses of West Germanic languages (Dutch, German, see Den Besten 1977, 1983; Platzack 1985), and there is verb-subject inversion triggered when another constituent is topicalized (cf. 1a), which resembles the inversion found in root Wh- questions, for instance.
- (ii) The distribution of V2 in Scandinavian embedded clauses has been extensively discussed (Vikner 1995; Holmberg and Platzack 1995 and ref. therein; Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990; Brandtler 2008; Hróarsdóttir et al. 2007; Wiklund et al. 2007, 2009; Julien 2007 and 2009; a.o.). Following the proposal that cases of embedded V2 may result from verb movement to the CP field (cf. Vikner 1995 for a detailed comparative analysis), two main approaches attempt to explain embedded V2 in languages where the complementizers are not in complementary distribution with verb movement, e.g. Scandinavian languages, (cf. Heycock 2005): (a) embedded V2 is possible in clauses with a recursive CP (Vikner 1991, 1995; Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Watanabe 1992; Iatridou and Kroch 1992, cf. Vikner and Schwartz 1996); (b) verb movement targets a lower projection, so no

complementary distribution with complementizers is predicted.

(iii) Given that V2 is generalized to all main clauses in Scandinavian languages¹, it has been assumed that also subject-initial clauses (i.e. 1b) have V-to-C². Accordingly, both preverbal subjects and non-subjects should target the same position (or domain), but what distinguishes non-subject initial V2 clauses, (1a), from subject-initial V2 ones, (1b), is the character of the first position, which ideally should be A' in the former case, but A in the latter. This difference can be accounted for by either postulating that there is a subject position in the C-domain (cf. Platzack 2009; Poletto 2000 for Romance varieties) or that the specifier of the C-head may have both A- and A'-properties (cf. Haeberli 2002). I disregard the details of this debate and assume that subjects can A-move to the C-domain without being A'-extracted.

In this paper, I take Norwegian and Swedish as paradigmatic languages for the Mainland Scandinavian system. By contrast, the Insular Scandinavian system is represented here by Icelandic only. The Faroese system has a much more complex behavior which cannot be properly addressed in this

¹ The reader interested in Faroese is referred to Heycock et al. (2009); Thráinsson et al. (2004) and Bentzen et al. (2009), a. o.

² See Zwart (1997) for an asymmetric treatment of V2, according to which the verb targets a lower position in the IP field, in subject-initial clauses.

paper³. I propose that genuine cases of embedded V2 have V-to-Fin, i.e. the verb targets the lower complementizer position in a Split-CP system (Rizzi 1997; cf. Wiklund et al. 2007). By “genuine” here, I intend clauses where the verb moves higher than sentential adverbs in Mainland Scandinavian. For Icelandic, I assume that the position of the verb is not exclusively determined by a CP trigger, but may as well depend on mood marking (cf. Franco 2010b), by V-to-I, as proposed by Vikner (1995); Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998); Thráinsson (2010), a.o.

The proposal advanced in the paper capitalizes on the observation that the availability of V-to-Fin seems to depend on specific interpretative properties attributed to the sentence containing a V2 complement. This possibility is explained in syntactic terms as the result of a feature-checking mechanism probed by FinP, which encodes a [finiteness] feature (Rizzi 1997, Eide 2007) and may require a specification by a D-linking operator (OP), in virtue of its double verbal/nominal nature. Checking of [finiteness] is operated by V-to-Fin, whereas preverbal topics become D-linked by moving through Spec,FinP. The interpretation resulting from V-to-Fin is that the event expressed by the clausal predicate is independently anchored to the discourse. Clauses where V-to-Fin and embedded topicalization are impossible are derived by movement of a different OP, which binds a

³I disregard the details of the debate on the scope of verb movement in Icelandic embedded V2 clauses, namely whether it is due to independent V-to-I (Holmberg and Platzack 1995 and 2005; Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990; Thráinsson 2010, a.o.) or V-to-C (Hróarsdóttir et al. 2007; Wiklund et al. 2009). Cf. Fn 1 above.

variable merged in the lexical domain (strong island contexts) or in the functional domain of the clauses (as for the weak factive islands). Each type of OP-binding mechanism assigns a specific interpretation to the clause, for instance the propositional content of factive clauses is interpreted as presupposed. This account for the syntactic derivation of non-V2 clauses correctly predicts minimality effects with embedded topicalization.

The paper is structured as follows: section 2 briefly illustrates the distribution of V2 in different types of embedded clauses; section 3 illustrates the proposal: the ungrammaticality of embedded V2 is explained with the hypothesis that the A'-movement of a (non-subject) argument to a preverbal position triggers minimality effects with the movement of a subordinating OP. In section 4, the scope and trigger of verb movement in V2 clauses are accordingly defined.

2. Distribution of embedded V2 in Scandinavian

With respect to embedded V2, Scandinavian differs from West Germanic in that verb movement is not in complementary distribution with overt complementizers. Scandinavian embedded V2 may surface in either of the two options given in (2) below (cf. with main clause V2 in (1) above).

- (2) a. C XP V S ...

b. C S V (Adv/Neg)...

The two orders illustrated in (2) have a different distribution in embedded contexts, which has been discussed by previous literature (see Wiklund et al. 2009, a.o.) and can be accounted by a comparative analysis of clause-typing. Due to the restricted distribution of clauses with the order in (2a), Scandinavian languages have been referred to as “limited embedded V2” (Vikner 1995:65), in contrast to West Germanic (e.g. German).

In line with the facts presented in this paper, the difference concerning embedded V2 in Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic can be summed up as follows:

- (3) a. Mainland Scandinavian has “limited embedded V2”, that has been attributed to the selectional properties of bridge-verbs (Vikner 1995), but this proposal has some problems (Hróarsdóttir et al. 2007, Julien 2007). When embedded V2 is not ' possible, the clause can neither have the order in (2a) nor the one in (2b);
- b. According to Vikner (1995) Icelandic has so-called “symmetric V2”⁴, since V2 is found also in non-

⁴ The alleged “symmetry” results from linear constraints on word order. In Icelandic the verb is in second position both in main and subordinate clauses, whereas Mainland Scandinavian languages display a more salient

complement clauses, such as relative clauses, and clauses in adjunct or subject position (Heycock 1995, and ref. therein). Nonetheless, some clauses can only have the order in (2b), not the one in (2a), in Icelandic; i.e. in some clauses no topicalization is possible but subject-initial V2 is instead attested.

In a recent paper, Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009) challenge the claim that Icelandic has so-called symmetric V2, and remark that some clauses allow the order in (2a) but impose a restriction on the type of fronted XP. For instance, locative and temporal phrases can be topicalized more freely than argument phrases, also in weak-island contexts (i.e. factive clauses, cf. Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009) for data and a fine-grained distinction).

2.1. Declarative complements

According to the data presented by Hróarsdóttir et al. (2007), and Wiklund et al. (2009), embedded non-subject initial V2 is possible only in a restricted range of contexts both in Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic⁵. This type

root/embedded asymmetry due to the fact that the verb generally follows phrasal adverbs and negation in subordinate clauses.

⁵ Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian are not the same, because “the word order V>Neg is found also in contexts where the same word order is impossible in the Mainland Scandinavian languages” (Wiklund et al. 2009).

of V2-clauses necessarily entails V-to-C, since the presence of a preverbal non-subject constituent (here simply referred to as “topic”) “forces” verb-subject inversion. Apparently, non-subject initial embedded V2 clauses have a similar distribution in all Scandinavian languages, although a non-V2 clause (i.e. where the verb follows sentential adverbs or negation in a subject-initial clause) is in principle “always an option” in Mainland Scandinavian embedded contexts (Brandtler 2008; Julien, in prep.), whereas the situation is exactly the opposite in Icelandic (i.e. V3 orders are marginal, when accepted, cf. Angantýsson 2007).

It has been argued that the distribution of embedded V2 in declarative complements varies according to the selectional properties of the matrix predicate (cf. Hooper and Thompson's 1973 classification, Hróarsdóttir et al. 2007; Julien 2007 and in prep.; Wiklund et al. 2009; Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund 2009). These properties are summed up as follows. (i) **Assertive and weak assertive complements**, complements to some **perception verbs** and to verbs indicating a **mental state** (see Wiklund et al. 2009 for details) allow embedded V2 both with the linear order given in (2a) (non-subject-initial V2) and the one in (2b) (subject-initial V2) in Icelandic as well as in Mainland Scandinavian. In other words, both verb movement and topicalization may obtain in these complements in the two language groups. (ii) **Factive complements, non-assertive complements or complements to modified/negated assertive and semi-factive verbs** generally have a different behavior in Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian.

With some degree of variation both subject-initial and non-subject-initial V2 is ungrammatical in Mainland Scandinavian (see (5) below), whereas Adv/Neg-V orders are grammatical. I will propose that the variation depends on the interpretation assigned to the entire clause, rather than on fixed selectional properties of the matrix predicate (cf. Section 3). In Icelandic, subject-initial V2 (as in 4b) is the default option, whereas S Adv-V orders are marginal, if not ungrammatical (see Angantýsson 2007 and Thráinsson 2010).

Non-assertive/Factive complements

(Icelandic)

(4) *Hann sá eftir*

He regretted

a. *að þetta lag **hafði** hann ekki sungið

that this song had he not sung

“He regretted that he didn’t sing this song”

b. *að hann* **hafði** ekki sungið

that he had not sung

“He regretted that he had not sung”

[Hróarsdóttir et alia (2007), 56: (18); (19)]

(Swedish)

(5) **Han ágrade*

He regretted

a. *att den här sången hade han inte sjungit*

that this here song.the had he not sung

“He regretted that he didn’t sing this song”

b. **att han hade inte sjungit*

that he had not sung

“He regretted that he had not sung”

[Hróarsdóttir et alia (2007), 58, 59: (23);(22)]

(iii) Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009) argue that in Icelandic a V2 clause formed by a preverbal topic and V-S inversion is an acceptable complement to a factive verb like *harma*, but not to the predicate *sá eftir* (both verbs mean “to regret”). They attribute this difference to the pragmatics of the two predicates (the first can embed a clause containing new information for the addressee, whereas the latter cannot), which is also compatible with the present proposal.

Points (i)-(iii) provide only a descriptive generalization which excludes more controversial facts. In some cases, modified or negated semi-factives or assertive predicates allow embedded topicalization not only in Icelandic but also in Mainland Scandinavian⁶. The presence of embedded

⁶ For an example of embedded topicalization under negated semifactives and assertive verbs see section 3.

V2 in Mainland Scandinavian seems to depend on specific interpretative properties attributed to the sentence containing a V2 complement. This possibility is explained in syntactic terms by the proposal in sections 3-4.

On the one hand, the fact that semi-factive predicates like “to know” may select V2 complements (with either S-V-Adv order or preverbal topics) in all Scandinavian languages indicates that factivity *per se* is not a good criterion to discriminate V2 from non-V2 complements. On the other hand, the restrictions on embedded V2 display an interesting correlation with the presence of a syntactic island (weak factive islands, negative islands, Wh-islands).

Let us assume that Scandinavian embedded V2 patterns as illustrated above (cf. (i)-(iii); Wiklund et al. 2009, Bentzen 2010 and Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund 2009). We can now infer which types of predicates/matrix clauses select V2 complements on the basis of (i)-(iii). Two questions arise at this point: **Question 1.** What blocks *topicalization* in declarative complements to (most) non-assertive and factive predicates in Scandinavian? **Question 2.** What triggers *verb movement* in certain clause-types in Icelandic but blocks it in their Mainland Scandinavian correlates?

The importance of providing complete, separate answers to questions 1 and 2 is crucial for understanding the mechanisms yielding surface V2, and disambiguating the scope of verb movement. Some recent accounts propose that Scandinavian embedded V2 is related to the interpretation of the whole matrix clause (Julien 2007); or to the possibility

that the subordinate clause is interpreted as expressing the so-called Main Point of Utterance (MPU, conveying the pragmatically relevant content of the sentence, Wiklund et al. 2009, following Hróarsdóttir et al. 2007). Nevertheless, a clear definition of the *syntactic* licensing conditions for embedded V2 has not been given yet (although Bentzen 2010 discusses the possibility of a minimality-based approach).

Moreover, an account of embedded V2 based on its pragmatics cannot be applied to Insular Scandinavian, or at least not to Icelandic, since Icelandic can have embedded surface V2 even in those clauses where it is not “pragmatically” expected by the aforementioned accounts. Rather, a syntactic explanation for the target of verb movement in Icelandic embedded clauses is required (cf. Question 2 above). There is reason to believe that the pragmatics of Icelandic embedded clauses is connected to different syntactic properties of this language. In recent work (Franco 2010b), I suggest that the presence of morphological subjunctive in Icelandic (but not in other Scandinavian languages) enables the activation of a syntactic mood-checking mechanism, with different, mood-related, interpretive properties. The resulting word order is surface linear V2 order, but this is due to the encoding of Mood in the high IP field, and to scope interaction with other sentential adverbials.

Regardless the different interpretations that V2 vs. non-V2 clauses may have, a separate issue is which syntactic device blocks topicalization in the embedded clause types considered so far (cf. Question 1). This question

extends to other clause-types as well, where topicalization is not possible.

2.2. Other types of subordinate clauses

In this subsection, I first discuss non-subject initial V2 and then subject-initial V2 clauses.

In addition to clauses that usually display weak island properties (e.g. factive or modified/negated assertive complements), other clause-types do not allow non-subject initial V2 in Scandinavian.

Typical non-V2 subordinate clauses in Mainland Scandinavian are those derived by A'-dependencies (relative clauses; indirect Wh- questions), as well as indirect Y/N questions and certain adverbial clauses. Compare the declarative non-subject initial complements in (4) and (5) to the relative clauses in (6) and the indirect questions in (7):

Relative clauses

(Icelandic)

- (6) a. **stelpa*n [*sem bókina gaf* Haraldur ekki]
 girl.the that book.the gave Harald.NOM not
 “The girl to whom Harald didn’t give the book”

(Swedish)

- b. **den flicka* [*som sitt hår har kammat*]

the girl that her hair has combed

“The girl that has combed her hair”

Indirect Wh- questions

(Icelandic)

(7) a. **þeir spurðu [hvern í bæinn*

They asked who to town.the

hefði rútan flutt klukkan sjö]

had bus.the carried clock seven

“They asked whom the bus had carried to town at
seven o’clock”

(Swedish)

b. **Jag undrade [vem (som)*

I wondered who that

till partner skulle hon välja]

as partner would she choose

“I wondered who she would choose as a partner”

The ungrammaticality of topicalization in extraction contexts (e.g. relative or interrogative clauses) can be explained in terms of minimality, i.e.

argument topicalization creates an island to A'-extraction in Germanic. For this reason, non-subject initial V2 is often considered a root phenomenon (de Haan 2001; Heycock 2005 for references); obtaining in embedded clauses with a root status, but not in clauses that are dependent on a matrix, i.e. real subordinates. The present paper shares the idea that embedded (non-subject initial) V2 is not straightforwardly interpretable as a root phenomenon (cf. Heycock 2005)⁷, following the suggestion made for the interpretation of contrastive topics in English (Bianchi and Frascarelli 2009).

With regard to adverbial clauses, Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009) argue that embedded topicalization, when possible, is limited to certain types of clauses even for speakers of the less restrictive variety of Icelandic (Icelandic A, cf. Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009), pp. 27-28). Specifically, temporal and conditional clauses pattern together with embedded Wh- clauses⁸ in not allowing any kind of preverbal topic in any Scandinavian language. By contrast, concessive, purpose and reason clauses may allow a topic, not only in Icelandic but also in Swedish, “if the fronted element is a spatial or temporal adjunct” (Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009), p. 29):

⁷ Nor is V2 analyzed as the straightforward result of the selectional properties of the matrix verb (e.g. Vikner 1995, who defines classes of “bridge verbs” on the basis of their semantic features).

⁸ In *hvort*- (whether-) clauses topicalization is more acceptable. Cf. also Thráinsson 2007 and the discussion in section 3.

(Swedish)

(8) *Han gömde sig så att **hela dagen***

He hid self so that whole day.the

skulle hans mor tro att han var på skolan

would his mother believe that he was at school.the

“He hid himself so that his mother the whole day would think
that he was at school”

[Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009), 29, 13b]

With regard to subject-initial clauses, Mainland Scandinavian patterns differently from Icelandic once again. On a par with those declarative complements where non-subject initial V2 is not possible (cf. Section 2.1), neither subject-initial relative clauses nor indirect questions can have verb movement across a sentential adverb or negation in Mainland Scandinavian, as (9b) and (10b) show. By contrast, the common⁹ linear order of these types of clauses in Icelandic is (C) S V Adv/Neg, as illustrated by examples (9a) and (10a).

⁹ According to Angantýsson (2007), and data I collected in a small survey on 7 Icelandic speakers of different ages, (C) S Adv V orders are also possible in some subordinate clauses, although only marginally accepted in many cases. Interestingly, V3 orders are more acceptable in relative clauses and indirect questions, whereas usually rejected in contexts where embedded topicalization is an option (e.g. in declarative complements of assertive predicates, see Angantýsson 2007 for details). This restriction on V3 is explained by assuming that V-raising depends on a specific feature-checking requirement active in some clause-types but not in others, cf. section 4.

Relative clauses

(Icelandic)

- (9) a. *maðurinn sem hann **talar** stundum við*
man-the that he talks sometimes to
“The man to whom he sometimes talks”

(Swedish)

- b. *den flicka som inte **har**/***har** inte kammat sitt hår än*
the girl that not has/has not combed her hair yet
“The girl that hasn’t combed her hair yet”

Indirect Wh- questions

(Icelandic)

- (10) a. *Maria spurði hvern hann **talaði** stundum við*
Maria asked whom he talked sometimes with
“Maria asked to whom he sometimes talked”

(Swedish)

b. *Jag undrar vem som inte **har**/***har** inte blivitt sjúk än*

I wonder who that not has has not become ill yet

“I wonder who has not been ill yet”

[Thráinsson 2007, 401, 8.22, Julien, 2007, 121, 20]

Disregarding the descriptive “general vs. limited embedded V2” distinction, these facts receive a principled explanation in terms of what triggers V-movement in each language. As proposed in Franco (2010)b and compatibly with Thráinsson (2010), the fact that Icelandic has unmarked embedded V2 may result from V-to-Fin (arguably for the same contexts where Mainland Scandinavian allows embedded V2), or from V-to-I, triggered by a functional head in the IP field (e.g. Mood). The facts sketched in sections 2.1 and 2.2 are summed up in (11).

(11) a. *Subject-initial V2 (S V adv)*

Embedded subject-initial V2 is always possible in Icelandic regardless the type of predicate in the matrix. In Norwegian and Swedish, the verb can neither cross sentential adverbs nor negation in Wh-islands, adverbial clauses, indirect Y/N questions, and complement to modified or non-assertive and factive verbs. For these languages, embedded subject-initial V2 is possible in arguably the same contexts where

non-subject initial V2 is allowed (cf. Wiklund et al. 2009).

b. *Non-subject-init. V2 (XP V S)*

Non-subject initial V2 (where XP is an argument) is ungrammatical/very degraded for all Scandinavian languages in exactly the same contexts (e.g. weak and strong islands).

Since what distinguishes subject from non-subject initial V2 clauses is the presence of a preverbal, non-subject topic, and on the basis of (11a), we may conclude that in the clauses where *S V Adv* is ruled out in Mainland Scandinavian, there is a syntactic mechanism blocking topicalization of an internal argument (both in Mainland and Insular Scandinavian).

Given the facts in (8) (cf. Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund 2009, and Franco 2009), we can further distinguish two different types of topicalization, as in (12a) and (12b):

(12) a. **Fronting locative/temporal adverbials**

Possible in declarative clauses, some adverbial clauses and marginally in indirect Y/N questions across Scandinavian languages. Not possible in subordinate clauses derived as A'-dependencies

(relative clauses, embedded Wh- clauses).

b. **Fronting of internal arguments**

Generally ungrammatical or very degraded in Wh-islands, adverbial clauses, indirect Y/N questions, and complement to modified or non-assertive and factive verbs.

The facts described in (11) and (12) are explained in the remainder of the paper with a relativized-minimality account for deriving different types of Scandinavian embedded clauses.

3. The proposal

The impossibility of fronting an internal argument in Wh- islands, adverbial clauses, Y/N questions, and complements to modified or non-assertive and factive verbs is explained under the hypothesis that argument topicalization triggers minimality effects with the variable-binding relation created by a subordinating operator (cf. Haegeman 2010). This hypothesis raises the following problem:

Why is Mainland Scandinavian subject-initial V2 not attested in the clause types mentioned above, given that preverbal subjects, contrary to

topics, do not trigger minimality effects with OP-variable binding?¹⁰

The answer is connected to the scope of verb movement. Specifically, I argue that there is an independent reason for which V-to-Fin¹¹ cannot take place, and Mainland Scandinavian subject-initial V2 is also ruled out.¹² V-to-Fin is triggered when [finiteness] requires overt checking on FinP. The interpretation resulting from V-to-Fin is that the event expressed by the clausal predicate is independently anchored to the discourse. In clauses without V-to-Fin, by contrast, the predicate does not need anchoring because the embedded clause inherits the discourse-reference of the matrix clause¹³.

Let us consider in detail how intervention effects are triggered where embedded topicalization takes place, and why such effects arise in some

¹⁰ This question makes sense only if we assume that subjects can be A-moved to the CP (cf. Haeberli 2002), otherwise subject-initial V2 is ruled out for Mainland Scandinavian in reason of the fact that these languages do not have independent V-to-I (cf. Vikner 1995, Holmberg and Platzack 1995), and assuming that subject-initial V2 must involve A'-movement of the subject. I thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out to me. However, the assumption that subjects are always A'-moved in subject-initial V2 clauses (take, for instance, main clauses) is equally problematic because subject topicalization is in fact an extraction which should trigger ECP effects on Spec, TP, unless a strategy to extract the subject is enforced (cf. Rizzi and Shlonsky 2006). This is an open issue.

¹¹ I adopt a cartographic approach (Rizzi 1997). Accordingly, the CP is split in several functional heads: *(Sub) ... Force ... (Topic) ... (Focus) ... (Mod) ... Fin*. See Franco (2010b) for a detailed description of their properties in Scandinavian.

¹² The fact that Icelandic has unrestricted subject-initial embedded V2 is discussed in Franco (2010b).

¹³ The study of the consequences for the computation of the truth-conditions and the pragmatic properties of clauses with independent vs. anaphoric discourse anchoring is left to future research.

(Icelandic)

- The impossibility to find topicalization in a clause subordinated to a matrix is explained by minimality. In subordinate clauses, an operator “blocks” the

periphery¹⁴. Consider the schematic representation of the periphery of a subordinate clause given in (14):

$$(14) \quad [\text{SubP} \mathbf{OP}_{\text{sub}} \text{ForceP} \langle \mathbf{OP}_{\text{sub}} \rangle \text{Force}[\text{default}] (\text{TopP} * \mathbf{OP-XP}) \text{ModP} \\ \text{FinP} \langle \mathbf{OP}_{\text{sub}} \rangle \text{Fin} [\dots \text{VP} \text{V} \dots]$$

In this perspective, the acceptability of non-argument fronting in some types of adverbial clauses, as in (8) above, must depend on more factors: (i) Temporal/local adverbials are not operators and front to ModP (cf. Rizzi 2001, Haegeman 2006); (ii) ModP must be an available position in the clause (i.e. its selection depends on the clause-type); (iii) the adverbial clause is not derived by movement of an OP minimally intervening with the preposed adverbial.

The fact that ModP is a potential probe for adverbial preposing only in some types of adverbial clauses, i.e. in concessive, purpose and reason clauses (cf. Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund 2009), but not in temporal and (central) conditional clauses must depend on the specific mechanism for the derivation of each clause-type. In clauses formed by A'-extraction (e.g. in relative and embedded Wh- clauses), adverbial preposing to ModP is generally not licensed, at least in Mainland Scandinavian. In this case Spec,FinP is occupied by the unspelled copy of the Wh-OP (the Wh-OP

¹⁴ An anonymous reviewer points out that an operator in the left periphery may not necessarily block it, since higher projections, hosting elements that do not interfere with the OP path might still be available. I share this view, however the availability of such projections (e.g. Hanging topic, cf. Bianchi and Frascarelli 2009) seems restricted to root clauses.

eventually moves to SubP), thus Spec,FinP is an unavailable intermediate step for adverbial preposing to Spec,ModP¹⁵.

3.1. *Wh- islands*

As is known from a vast literature, Wh-clauses are derived by movement of a Wh-OP to a position in the complementizer domain. According to Rizzi (1997), the verb/subject inversion of Wh- questions found in many languages is a residual V2 phenomenon. In Rizzi's view, a Wh- criterion requires the creation of a local configuration between the Wh-moved item and the verb. The Wh- item targets a criterial position in the C-domain (located in the Focus field, cf. Rizzi 1997, and Benincà and Poletto 2004) where its features can be interpreted. The notion of "criterion" is closely related to that of illocution, because, in dependent clauses, the Wh- position in the Focus field is a non-criterial intermediate step for the Wh-OP, which targets the higher Sub(ordinator)P. In his seminal cartographic work, Rizzi (1997) shows that movement of a Wh-OP (such as in questions) gives rise to minimality effects with other OP-fronting operations.

The consequent prediction is that topicalization is impossible when another OP has fronted, i.e. in island contexts. This is borne out by facts concerning both indirect and direct Wh- questions. The basic interpretive

¹⁵Icelandic seems to allow adverbial preposing more often, in connection with the availability of the stylistic fronting mechanism in the grammar. See Franco (2009) for details and Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009) for additional facts.

difference between main and subordinate Wh-clauses (e.g. direct and indirect questions) consists of the lack of independent illocutionary force in the latter. The Wh-OP is a subordinator (see also Manzini, this volume, for a proposal concerning the status of complementizers), and does not undergo criterial movement (and criterial freezing) to a WhP in the Focus field. This different featural endowment gives indirect Wh-clauses the sentential force (cf. Zanuttini and Portner 2003) but not the illocutionary force of direct questions. In other words, indirect questions have the interrogative clause type but cannot be independent questions because they lack illocution.

Assuming that preverbal topics in Scandinavian have an OP-status (cf. Eythórsson 1996), the derivation of subordinate Wh-clauses by movement of a Wh-OP triggers minimality effects with topicalization, as expected. This is shown in the structure given in (15) below:

$$(15) \quad [\text{SubP}[+\text{int}] \text{Wh-OP}_{\text{Force}[\text{def}]} \emptyset (\text{TopP } * \text{XP})_{\text{WhP}} <\text{Wh-OP}>_{\text{FinP}} <\text{Wh-OP}>_{\text{Fin}} \emptyset [\text{IP} \dots]$$

Such effects are visible in (7b) repeated below for convenience:

(Swedish)

$$(16) \quad *Jag \textit{ undrade } [\text{ForceP} \textit{ vem (som)}]$$

I wondered who (that)

till partner skulle hon välja]

as partner would she choose

“I wondered who she would choose as a partner”

If Y/N questions are derived by movement of a Y/N-OP, analogously to Wh-clauses, topicalization is in principle ruled out. It seems conceptually plausible that indirect Y/N questions are formed by movement of a truth-conditional OP, related to the interpretation of the matrix predicate and whose semantics consists of the exclusive disjunction of the answer pair. In Icelandic, however, minimality effects of a fronted topic in an indirect Y/N question are not as serious as those of indirect Wh-questions, as shown by the pair in (17). The fact that any topicalization is ruled out in *direct* Y/N questions may be explained by the fact that in root clauses the OP-movement is criterial, i.e. related to the interrogative illocution.

(Icelandic)

(17) *þeir spurðu*

They asked

a. **[hvern í bæinn hefði rútan flutt klukkan sjö]*

who to town.the had bus.the carried clock seven

“They asked whom the bus had carried to town at

seven o’clock”

b. *?[hvort í bæinn hefði rútan*

whether to town.the had bus.the

komið klukkan sjö]

come clock seven

“They asked whether the bus had come to town at

seven o’clock” [Thráinsson 2007, 352, 7.27]

The different degree of degradation of the two sentences in (17) may be directly dependent on the different number of matching features in the two A'-moved elements (i.e. the interrogative OP and the topic, cf. Starke 2001). In (17a) the topic is a PP with at least a [+N] feature that interferes with the features of the extracted Wh-argument *hvern*. By contrast, the Y/N-OP *hvort* in (17b) does not seem to have much in common with the topicalized constituent, beside its OP-status.

A similar analysis explains the ungrammaticality of topicalization in relative clauses derived with OP-movement to a position in the high left periphery. In the cartographic literature, this position is labeled RelP and located quite high in the C-domain structure. Given the clause-typing nature of the relative OP, I assume that RelP is SubP [+rel]. This analysis is supported by the fact that topicalization in relative clauses is ungrammatical in all Scandinavian languages, as illustrated in the examples repeated below:

(Icelandic)

- (18) a. **stelpa*n [*sem bókina gaf Haraldur ekki*]

girl.the that book.the gave Harald.NOM not

“The girl to whom Harald didn’t give the book”

(Swedish)

b. **den flicka [som sitt hår har kammat]*

the girl that her hair has combed

“The girl that has combed her hair”

In (18) the occurrence of a topic creates an intervention effect with the A'-movement of the relative OP and yields an ungrammatical result.¹⁶

3.2. Weak islands (factive and non-assertive clauses)

¹⁶A'-extraction out of a relative clause is in some cases possible, in Swedish, as is shown in (i.a) (Christer Platzack, p.c.) and (i.b), (Björn Lundquist, p.c.). The possibility to extract seems to depend on the type of relative clause: topicalization is grammatical out of a subject relative, but not out of an (in)direct object relative, as in (i.c):

(i) ***Blommor*** känner jag en man

Flowers know I a man

a. [*som säljer*]
who sells

b. [*som kan sälja dig*]
who can sell you

c. **[som du kan sälja]*
who you can sell

(i) reveals a subject/object asymmetry in A'-dependencies, which is found elsewhere in Mainland Scandinavian, such as in the complementation structure of relative clauses and indirect questions (cf. Thráinsson 2007, section 8.3 and ref. therein; Boef and Franco, in prep.).

A problematic point is raised by the split between two groups of declarative complements: those allowing topicalization and V2 (usually identified with complements to “bridge-verbs”, cf. section 2) and those that do not. Why is topicalization blocked in the latter group, i.e. in factive and non-assertive complements and often in modified/negated assertive complements? It can also happen that negated or modified factive/non-assertive complements allow topicalization, whereas their non-negated/modified counterparts do not (cf. Julien 2007). How can the present proposal solve this puzzle?

I propose that all declarative clauses where topicalization is banned are subordinated by an OP-variable binding mechanism. According to Meinunger (2004), embedded V2 clauses are derived by movement of a semantic assertive OP (ASS), which binds the V2 clause. Such OP is the head of a Speech Act projection. Meinunger's proposal is not fully compatible with the present one, under the assumption that V2 topics (XP in (19)) are indeed OPs, because the presence of two OPs in the same structure should in principle determine some scope-related effects¹⁷. However, the interpretation of a sentence like (20) seems quite straightforward, and does not reveal any such effect.

¹⁷ It is not clear to me whether Meinunger assumes that the ASS-OP is moved from a position in the V2 clause (left periphery) or is based generated in the matrix CP. In any case this OP takes scope over the V2 clause where another OP (the topic) has fronted.

- (19) [SAP**ASS-OP**... [SubP[decl] Force[ass]<ASS-OP> (TopP **XP**) FinP Fin V [IP...

(Swedish)

- (20) *Han sa [att den här sången kunde*

He said that this here song.the could

han sjunga på bröllopet]

he sing on wedding.the

“He said that he couldn’t sing this song at the wedding”

This problem is obviated if we assume that the topicalization is itself movement of a D-linking OP that pragmatically anchors the fronted constituent to the discourse. This characterization of embedded V2 clauses accounts for the interpretive relevance of the phenomenon without attributing independent illocution to embedded V2 clauses, similarly to what has been proposed for embedded C-topics in English by Bianchi and Frascarelli (2009).

Instead, non-V2 complements, Wh- and relative clauses are derived by a subordinator OP, and the nature of the OP itself varies. I disregard the proposal that there is a silent noun¹⁸, and propose that what is bound by the

¹⁸There is vast literature suggesting that factive complements are derived by merger of a silent noun (e.g. “the fact”, optionally overt in some cases) to the edge of the subordinate (cf. Watanabe 1993; Zanuttini and Portner 2003; Aboh 2005; Krapova 2008, a. o.). This mechanism consists of A'-binding a silent NP in the C-domain by means of an OP selected by the matrix predicate.

OP is a variable merged in the functional field¹⁹, with the function of making the propositional content of the clause interpreted as presupposed. The nature of the OP deriving presupposed clauses is in some respects similar to the OP of indirect Y/N questions, with the difference that in presupposed clauses the OP is assigned a truth value (OP_T), whereas in Y/N questions the OP encodes the disjunction of opposite truth-values.

The prediction is that movement of an OP creates a (weak) island. It is well known that factive complements have weak island properties (cf. Rooryck 1992). The expectation is borne out by the fact that topicalization of an XP in a “factive” clause is impossible, because it triggers intervention effects with the A’-chain created by the movement of the OP to SubP, in this type of complements. The C-domain structure of the complement to a factive predicate such as the Scandinavian equivalent of *regret* in (22), where topicalization is ungrammatical, is given in (21):

$$(21) \quad [_{\text{Matrix:} \textit{regret}} [_{\text{SubP}} \text{OP}_{\text{ForceP}} \langle \text{OP}_T \rangle \text{TopP} (*\text{XP}) / (\langle \text{OP}_T \rangle) \\ \text{FinP} \langle \text{OP}_T \rangle_{\text{Fin}} \emptyset \dots$$

(Swedish)

$$(22) \quad *Han \textit{ångrade} [att \textit{den här sången}]$$

¹⁹Cf. with Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970) who propose that adjunct extraction out of factive complements is blocked by extra structure, and with Basse (2008) for a recent reformulation. For an opposite proposal, according to which *non*-factives are derived by OP-movement, see De Cuba (2006, 2010) and Nichols (2001).

He regretted that this here song.the

hade han inte sjungit]

had he not sung

“He regretted that he didn’t sing this song”

The same analysis applies to the complements of non-assertive predicates, such as *deny*, whose factual content of belief is either denied or rejected by the speaker (in this case the value computed on the variable will not be T (true) but F (false)).

3.3. Negative islands and declarative complements of modified predicates

The same proposal extends to negated or modified assertive complements. These complements are derived by movement of an *irrealis* (-R) OP meeting the selectional requirements imposed by the modified or negated matrix predicate onto its complement. Facts seem much more controversial in this case. The first expectation is that, whenever an assertive or semifactive matrix predicate is negated or modified (e.g. by a modal), topicalization is not possible, but this is in contrast with both Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic facts:

(Icelandic)

(23) *Þau sögðu ekki [að svona mat*

they said not that such food

borðaði hann bara á þorranum

ate he only on þorri.month

“They didn’t say that he only ate such food during January
and February.” [Wiklund et al. 2009, 59]

As a consequence, we cannot assume that whenever an assertive/semi-factive matrix predicate is negated or modified topicalization is impossible or dispreferred. Here I limit my observations to cases where it indeed is.

I propose that embedded topicalization in negated/modified assertive or semi-factive complements is blocked in relation to the scope of negation/modifier, which are standardly assumed to have operator properties.

3.4. Predictions

Let us consider two cases: (i) the matrix assertive or semi-factive predicate is negated; (ii) the matrix predicate is modified, e.g. by a modal verb.

(i) According to De Haan (2001), V2 is not possible if negation is interpreted as having scope over the embedded clause²⁰. This means that a

²⁰This has been noted for the interpretation of embedded V2 in West Frisian by De Haan (2001):

- (i) *Hy komt net*
he comes not
- a. [omdat it min waar **wie**].

matrix negation scoping over the entire sentence binds a variable in the embedded clause. This is derived syntactically with a subordinating OP (OP_{-R}) linked to the matrix negation. The OP moves to the left periphery of the embedded clause and prevents any topicalization, as in (24):

$$(24) \quad [\text{Matrix: } \textit{not say/discover} \text{ } [\text{SubP} \text{OP}_{-R} \text{ForceP} \langle \text{OP}_{-R} \rangle (\text{TopP} * \text{XP}) \\ \text{FinP} \langle \text{OP}_{-R} \rangle [\text{IP} \langle \text{OP}_{-R} \rangle$$

The structure in (24) cannot apply to all complements of negated assertive/semi-factive verbs because such a generalization would be disconfirmed by facts (see the perfect grammaticality of topicalization in (25) below). The grammaticality of preverbal non-subjects in the embedded clauses in (25) can be attributed to the restricted scope of negation. Indeed, the matrix predicates in (25) are not NEG-raising verbs (cf. Rooryck 1992):

(Norwegian)

- (25) a. *Jeg visste **ikke** [at slike hus*

I knew not that such houses

selger de faktisk hver dag på det meklerfirmaet.]

because it bad weather was

“He doesn’t come because it was bad weather” (but for some other reason)

- b. *[omdat it **wie** min waar].*

because it was bad weather

“He doesn’t come because it was bad weather” (i.e. the reason why he doesn’t come is bad weather).

sell they actually every day at that real.estate.agency

“I didn’t know that they sell such houses every day
at that real-estate agency.”

b. *Men mekleren sa ikke*

But broker.the said not

[at *slike hus* selger han regelmessig.]

that such houses sells he regularly

“But the broker didn’t say that he sells such houses on
a regular basis.”

By contrast, a NEG-raising predicate such as *believe* disallows embedded topicalization because its negation scopes over its complement, compare (26) below with (25a):

(Norwegian)

(26) **Jeg tror ikke [at slike hus selger*

I believe not that such houses sell

de faktisk hver dag på det meklerfirmaet]

they actually every day at that real.estate

“I did not believe that they actually sell such houses every
day at the real estate agency”

This analysis is further supported by the fact that when the matrix negation licenses an NPI in the embedded clause, *ens* in (27), thus scoping over it, topicalization is not possible:

(Swedish)

(27) *Jag visste inte*

I knew not

a. *[att de **ens** sålde sådana hus]*

that they even sold such houses

“I did not know that they even sell such houses”

b. **[att sådana hus sålde de **ens**]*

that such houses sold they even

“I did not know that they even sell such houses”

[Christer Platzack, p.c.]

(ii) The matrix predicate is modified, for instance by a modal verb. The modifier contributes to the selectional properties of the matrix predicate which in turn selects a subordinate clause inheriting the matrix illocution. Wide scope of the modal on the whole clause results in the structure below:

(28) [Matrix: *could say/discover*

[SubP **OP**_{-R} ForceP<OP_{-R}> (TopP ***XP**) FinP<OP_{-R}> [IP <OP_{-R}>...

According to (28), the *irrealis* OP selected by the modified matrix predicate binds a variable in the functional field of the embedded structure. The modal scope width is ensured by the presence of the *irrealis* OP, whose movement in the embedded left periphery “blocks” embedded topicalization²¹:

(Norwegian)

(29) *Han kunne komme til å oppdage*

He could come to to discover

[# *at der var han helt alene*]

that there was he completely alone

"It might so happen that he would discover that there he was
completely alone" [Julien, p.c.]

In a relativized minimality framework, the modal nature of OP_{-R} cannot explain why intervention effects should after all be expected when fronting a (non-modal) operator-XP such as a preverbal topic in a V2 clause. Indeed,

²¹Richard Larson (p.c.) remarks that it is not necessary to postulate OP movement in these cases, and the derivation could be an instance of long-distance Agree, as long as the minimality effects can be accounted in terms of intervention in the checking mechanism of the features encoded in the C-domain. This suggestion is worth exploring.

Julien (in prep.) reports that some Swedish and Norwegian speakers accept topic-extraction not only from subject-initial (30a), but even from non-subject initial embedded clauses (30b)²² and contrary to what is commonly expected (cf. Andersson 1975, De Haan 2001):

(Norwegian)

(30) *Den artikkelen* sa ho

this paper.DEF said she

a. %*[at ho **hadde** ikkje tid til å lese]*

that she had not time to to read

“This paper she said that she didn’t have time to read.”

b. %*[at I GÅR **fekk** ho ikkje tid til å lese]*

that yesterday got she not time to to read

“That article, she said that, yesterday, she could not find the time to read it.”

[Julien (in prep.), 27, 45-46]

²²According to Julien (in prep), Swedish patterns in the same way. Christer Platzack (p.c.) judges the Swedish translation of (30a) OK, but that of (30b) ungrammatical, which suggests that focalized non-subjects (a temporal adverbial in the case above) and preverbal subjects in a V2 clause have a different feature specification.

The extraction facts in (30) can be explained syntactically with relativized minimality, without assuming that embedded V2 is related to an assertion (Julien, in prep.). In (30a) there is no plausible candidate acting as an intervener to A'-topic extraction, under the assumption that the subject *ho* is in an A-position both in non-V2 and in V2 clauses. Acceptance of a complement clause with the order Adv-V-Subj, (30b), is subject to variation among speakers. This variation is explained with the possibility to front locative and temporal adverbials to a non-quantificational position in the C-domain (ModP). Moreover, the extracted topic *Den artikkelen* has such a different feature specification with respect to the fronted adverbial *I GÁR* that it may not trigger relevant minimality effects in undergoing extraction. The prediction is that arguments or adjuncts undergoing A'-OP movement to a (higher) quantificational position (e.g. contrastive Topic or Focus, cf. Bianchi and Frascarelli 2007) in the C-domain create an island to extraction, inasmuch as they act as interveners to further A'-movement. Such prediction is borne out by facts, cf. Hrafnbjargarson et al. (2010), attested not only in Mainland Scandinavian, but also in Icelandic:

(Icelandic)

(31) **Hver sagði han*

Who said he

[að þessar bækur hefði gefið Kára]?

“Who did he say had given these books to Kari?”

[Hrafnbjargarson et al. 2010, 11a]

It is known from Vikner (1995) (cf. also Bentzen 2010, and Hrafnbjargarson et al. 2010) that argument or adjunct extraction out of subject-initial V2-clauses is ungrammatical in all Germanic V2 languages but Yiddish and Icelandic (given proper restrictions on the mood of embedded predicate, in the latter):

(Icelandic)

- (32) a. *Hvernig sagði hún [að börnin **höfðu***
How said she that children-the have(COND)
alltaflært sögu]?
always learned history

(Danish)

- b. **Hvordan sagde hun [at børnene **havde***
How said she that children-the have
altid lært historie __]?
always learned history
“How did she say that the children have always
learned history?”

The unacceptability of (32b) vs. the partial acceptability of (30a) and the

full acceptability of (32a) does not depend on the subject status because all subjects of the examples above are allegedly in A-position. Instead, V-raising across a sentential adverb or negation seems to be licensed by other factors, independently of the nature of the preverbal constituent. An analysis of the feature-checking mechanism triggering embedded verb second is required, and a tentative proposal is sketched in next section.

4. The trigger of V-to-Fin

Let us consider contexts where the verb is expected to raise to Fin²³ and topicalization is also possible. In the present perspective, the possibility to have embedded topicalization in some clauses tells us that in those clauses the verb may raise to Fin even if the preverbal element is the subject. This holds for both Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic, but does not amount to say that all subject-initial V2 clauses in Icelandic have V-to-Fin (*pace* Wiklund et al. 2007, cf. Thráinsson 2010). The question is what triggers V-to-Fin in subject-initial embedded V2 clauses where topicalization is alternatively possible, for instance in declarative complements. Given that these clauses do not display verb-subject inversion, we cannot assume that V-to-Fin depends on the OP status of the preverbal topic. Two possibilities then emerge: 1. The preverbal subject is A'-moved on a par with preverbal topics and triggers V-to-Fin. This hypothesis is disconfirmed for cases

²³ For additional support for V-to-Fin see Haegeman 1996; Cardinaletti 1990, 1992, 2010 and references therein.

where weak pronominal subjects precede the verb in V2 clauses; 2. V-to-Fin is triggered by some specific feature encoded in Fin, assuming that this position is the target of verb movement. This hypothesis has the advantage of solving the economy problem that emerges under the assumption that V-to-Fin is required by fronting an OP to the C-domain, namely that V-to-Fin is dependent on topic fronting. According to Rizzi (1997) a criterion on the C-domain is satisfied if either the specifier or the head of a criterial projection is overtly realized, but a realization of both (Roberts and Roussou 2002) would be anti-economic.

The question is how to explain the V2 constraint (one and only one preverbal element can move), once we discard the idea of a locality relation between preverbal XP and V postulated in terms of Spec-Head relation. As long as the preverbal element is A'-OP moved any other A'-movement to the left periphery is banned by minimality²⁴. But why multiple frontings are not possible in subject-initial V2 clauses, if the subject is A-moved?

A tentative answer concerns the trigger of V-to-Fin. I argue with Eythórsson (1996) that argument V2-topics are OP, and I derive this property from their need to anchor to the discourse via a D-linking operation targeting the CP (cf. also Sigurðsson 2011).

I suggest that FinP encodes both verbal and nominal features, i.e.

²⁴Relativized minimality (cf. Rizzi 1990) accounts for different degrees of degradation of clauses where different types of frontings are tested. For a discussion of how an intervention account could explain the distribution of embedded V2 see also Bentzen (2010).

Finiteness and Definiteness. In a V2 clause, FinP is the active probe triggering V-to-Fin to check [finiteness], and requiring a specification by a D-linking OP (associated to an overt topic). Topics become D-linked by moving through Spec,FinP, on their way to the criterial Spec,TopP position. In clauses without V-to-Fin, the feature specification of the subordinate FinP is simply “inherited” from the matrix.

In V2 clauses, the feature specification of FinP bans Wh-extraction in Mainland Scandinavian. Extraction out of a subject-initial V2 clause is instead possible in Icelandic because, in this case, V2 is the linearization of V-to-I (cf. also Thráinsson 2010):

(Swedish)

- (51) a. **Vem* sa han [att han *hade* inte
 whom said he that he had not
 gett den här boken]?
 given this here book
 “Who did he say that he had not given this
 book to?”

(Icelandic)

- b. *Hverjum* heldur þú
 whom think you
 [*að María gefi ekki t svona bækur*]?

that Mary gives not such books

“Who do you think that Mary does not
give such books to?”

[Thráinsson (2010) 19, 28-29]

5. Conclusion

The intervention account for the syntax of embedded V2 hereby presented is based on facts that suggest the presence of a semantic/pragmatic (null) OP, triggering minimality effects with the Wh- fronting. Such OP has specific clause-typing properties and depends on the selectional requirements of the matrix predicate and on the interpretation of the whole sentence. In this perspective, V2 as V-to-Fin is non-redundant for economy principles, as it lexically realizes the head of a projection that would otherwise remain silent, given that the D-linking OP associated to a constituent, targets a higher criterial position.

The contribution of this proposal amounts to provide a unitary syntactic account of embedded V2 in various Scandinavian languages. I have argued that embedded V2 depends on the interpretive properties of each specific clause, and is restricted by relativized minimality. With respect to existing proposals, this idea proves itself particularly effective in explaining some cases of embedded verb second that would otherwise be

unpredicted (cf. Section 3).

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