

# Rethinking Scandinavian verb movement

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## Abstract

This paper reconsiders the distribution of verb movement in Scandinavian in light of new data from Norwegian and Icelandic. The main claim is that Regional Northern Norwegian displays optional verb movement to the inflectional domain, whereas Icelandic has no independent verb movement at all to this domain, contrary to standard assumptions: All verb movement in Icelandic is to the CP domain of the clause. A remnant movement approach to verb movement is explored and it is proposed that movement to the CP domain and movement corresponding to V-to-I movement differ in amount of material pied-piped. The analysis presented captures the observed differences between the two movements.

*Keywords:* Icelandic, Norwegian, pied-piping, remnant movement, subject interpretation, V-to-I movement, verb movement, verb second.

## 0 Introduction

The standard assumption in studies of Scandinavian syntax has long been that Icelandic exhibits obligatory verb movement to the inflectional domain (V-to-I movement) independently of verb second (V2), whereas Norwegian and the other Mainland Scandinavian languages do not allow such verb movement (see e.g. Roberts 1985, Kosmeijer 1986, Vikner

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\* Each of the four authors has contributed equally to this paper; their names are in random order.

1995, Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998, Rohrbacher 1999, Bobaljik 2002, and references cited therein):

- (1) a. Jeg vet [hvorfor Hedda {\*kjøper} **ofte** {kjøper} sko]. (No.)  
*I know why Hedda buys often buys shoes*
- b. Ég veit [af hverju Hedda {kaupir} **oft** {\*kaupir} skó]. (Ic.)  
*I know why Hedda buys often buys shoes*  
 ‘I know why Hedda often buys shoes.’

New data, however, challenge the traditional view. Bentzen (2005, 2006a) demonstrates that verb movement in non-V2 contexts, such as (1), is *possible* rather than impossible in Regional Northern Norwegian dialects (henceforth ReNN), see (2a), and Angantýsson (2001) shows that verb movement is *optional* rather than obligatory in the same contexts in varieties of Icelandic, cf. (2b).<sup>1</sup>

- (2) a. Æ vet [koffer ho Hedda {kjøpe} **ofte** {kjøpe} sko]. (ReNN)  
*I know why she Hedda buys often buys shoes*

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<sup>1</sup>Regional Northern Norwegian (ReNN) refers to various Northern Norwegian dialects, from the Salten region in the South to Alta in the North. These dialects behave in a similar way with respect to the phenomena discussed here. Note, however, that ReNN does not include the dialect spoken in the city of Tromsø, which differs slightly from the other Northern dialects with respect to verb placement in embedded non-V2 contexts, see Bentzen 2006a. The ReNN data, based on a survey, are rendered in an approximate dialectal orthography throughout the paper. One of the authors (KB) is a native speaker of this dialect. Ic.<sub>var</sub> refers to a variety spoken by the two Icelandic authors of this paper (GHH and ÞH). Note that all of the Icelandic data presented here (except the data concerning the correlation between verb movement and *að* ‘that/to’ in section 2.2) are in accordance with data previously discussed in the literature (see e.g. Hrafnbjargarson 2004) and data collected by Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir and Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson in 1992.

- b. Ég veit [af hverju Hedda {kaupir} **oft** {kaupir} skó]. (Ic.<sub>var</sub>)

*I know why Hedda buys often buys shoes*

‘I know why Hedda often buys shoes.’

Taking these data into consideration, one could propose that ReNN and (varieties of) Icelandic both display optional independent V-to-I movement. In this paper, however, we present facts suggesting that the two verb movements are not of the same type. Whereas there is ample evidence that ReNN displays optional verb movement to the inflectional domain, the evidence for such movement in Icelandic turns out to be weaker than previously assumed. We are led to claim that Icelandic has no independent verb movement to the inflectional domain. Rather, all verb movement targets the CP domain of the clause.

(3) *Hypothesis 1:*

Regional Northern Norwegian displays optional independent V-to-I movement.

(4) *Hypothesis 2:*

Icelandic does not display independent V-to-I movement; all verb movement is to the CP domain.

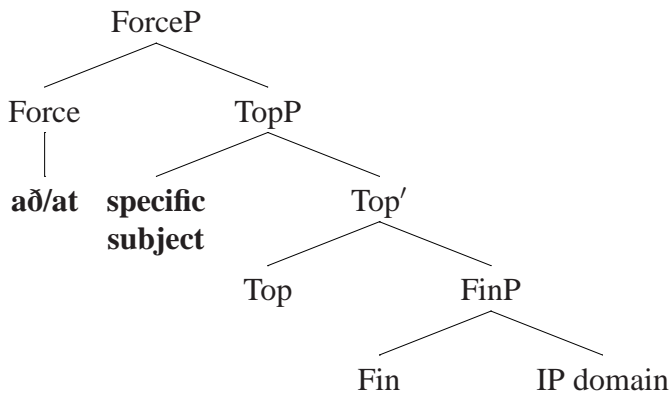
We will explore a remnant movement approach to verb movement. Whenever the verb appears displaced from its base position, this is the result of phrasal movement rather than head movement, see among others Koopman and Szabolcsi (2000), Mahajan (2003), Nilsen (2003), and Müller (2004). We argue that movement corresponding to V-to-I and V-to-C in traditional frameworks differ not only regarding the target domain of movement but also regarding the amount of material pied-piped. Verb movement to the IP domain of the clause involves movement of a remnant vP containing only the verb. Verb movement to the CP domain, in contrast, involves movement of a remnant XP containing the verb and exactly one

specifier (see Nilsen 2003, Müller 2004). It will become clear that the specifier is always the subject in non-V2 clauses and that our analysis correctly predicts differences between the two verb movements. Below, we present the basic structure we assume for the Scandinavian clause.

## 1 The basic structure of the Scandinavian clause

We adopt the split-CP domain in (5), based on Rizzi (1997), cf. Holmberg and Platzack (2005) and Hrafnbjargarson (2004, 2006).

### (5) The Scandinavian CP domain:<sup>2</sup>



In addition to ForceP, the projection which we assume hosts the complementizer (*að* in Icelandic and *at* in Norwegian), the CP domain contains (at least) two other projections: A Topic Phrase and a Finiteness Phrase. The former, we assume, is responsible for a specific reading of the subject, whereas a non-specific reading of the subject is assigned in Spec,TP (cf. the strong and weak readings of Milsark 1977).<sup>3</sup>

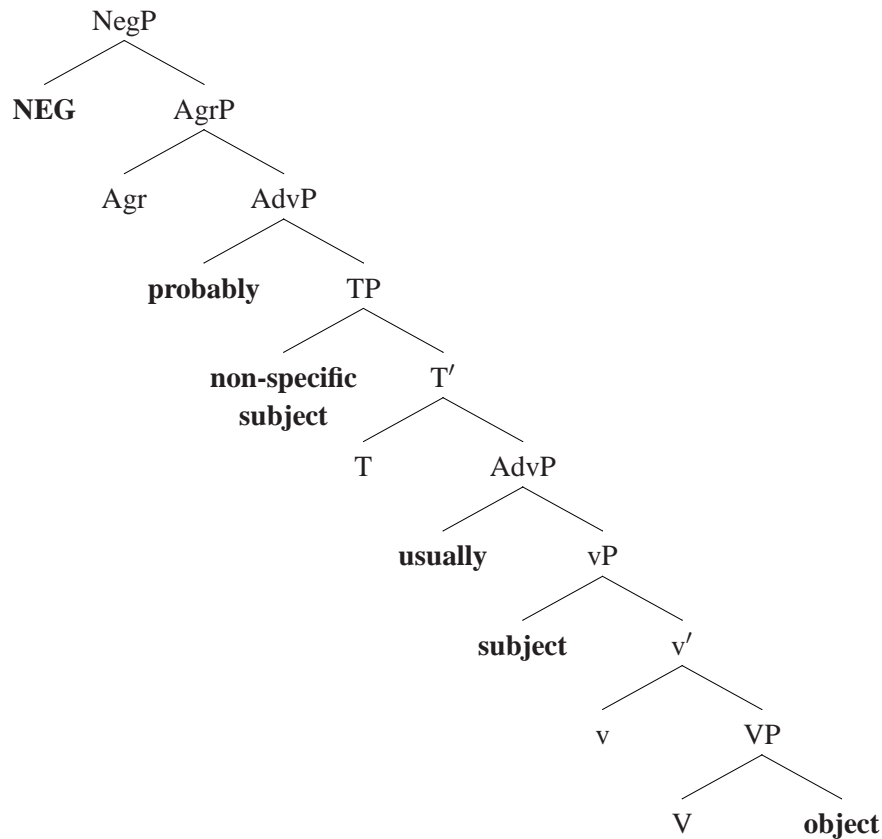
In order for the subject to receive an interpretation, it has to move to (or through) one of these two positions: Spec,TP (non-specific) or Spec,TopP (specific). A non-specific subject

<sup>2</sup>Throughout the paper, non-overt specifier positions are not included in the tree structures for reasons of space.

<sup>3</sup>See Nilsen 1997 and Svenonius 2002 on the distribution of strong and weak subjects with respect to adverbs.

may move further to Spec,AgrP and Spec,FinP. In these positions, it retains the non-specific reading. Following standard assumptions, higher adverbs are located above TP, whereas lower adverbs are located between TP and vP (cf. Cinque 1999).

(6) **The Scandinavian IP domain:**



In certain varieties of Scandinavian (including ReNN), verbs may precede higher adverbs but not negation in non-V2 contexts. The data suggest that negation acts as a blocker for verb movement within the IP domain of the clause. Although not crucial for the main claims made here, we therefore propose that negation is merged above AgrP, leaving the possibility open that its location may not be as fixed as we assume, cf. Cinque (1999), Nilsen (2003), and Svenonius (2006):

(7) **NegP > AgrP > High Adv(s) > TP > Low Adv(s)**

We will elaborate on the predictions that we make by assuming the above clause structure as we proceed. Before introducing the relevant data, we present the contexts which allow us to identify verb movement independently of V2, namely non-V2 contexts.

## 2 Verb placement in non-V2 contexts

In the introduction, we put forward the rather controversial proposal that ReNN displays optional independent verb movement to the IP domain, whereas Icelandic does not. Our claim is that all verb movement in Icelandic is to the CP domain. Note first that the order where the verb precedes adverbs and negation cannot as such be taken as an indication of independent verb movement to the IP domain. This is so because all Scandinavian languages are V2 languages, meaning that the finite verb always sits in the second position in main clauses, preceding all adverbs and negation. Moreover, it will not suffice to look at embedded clauses in general to identify independent V-to-I movement, since V2 is allowed in some of these (see e.g. Vikner 1995). This is typically the case for *that*-clauses embedded under so-called bridge verbs (*say, believe, see, know*, etc.), see (8a).<sup>4</sup> Such clauses also allow topicalization of a non-subject, accompanied by subject-verb inversion, as in (8b). This means that verb movement to the CP domain is possible in these clauses, and therefore that they cannot be used as diagnostics for independent verb movement to the IP domain.

- (8) a. Jeg vet [at Per **har** ikke sagt det til noen]. (No.)

*I know that Per has not said it to anyone*

‘I know that Per hasn’t told anyone.’

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<sup>4</sup>See Julien 2006 and Bentzen et al. 2007 on the distribution of embedded V2 in Scandinavian.

- b. Han sa [at slike bøker **ville** barna hans neppe lese].

*he said that such books would children his hardly read*

‘He said that such books would his children hardly read.’

In order to identify independent V-to-I movement, we therefore need to look at non-V2 contexts, i.e. contexts in which topicalization of a non-subject is impossible. Such environments include embedded *wh*-questions, (9a), relative clauses, (9b), and certain embedded adverbial clauses (e.g. conditionals, concessions, and clauses of purpose and reason), (9c).<sup>5</sup>

- (9) a. \*Jeg vet [hvorfor **sko** kjøper Hedda ofte]. (No.)

*I know why shoes buys Hedda often*

- b. \*De [som **på kino** går regelmessig] trenger ikke TV.

*those that on cinema go regularly need not TV*

- c. \*... [ettersom **oppgaven** leverte noen studenter sannsynligvis].

*as assignment.the handed.in some students probably*

As the above examples show, topicalization of a non-subject yields an ungrammatical result, excluding an analysis of such clauses in terms of traditional V2. This means that if we still find the word order in which the verb precedes adverbs and negation in such clauses, we have identified an instance of verb movement that is independent of V2. Below, we will take a closer look at the availability of verb movement in non-V2 contexts in ReNN and Icelandic.

## 2.1 Regional Northern Norwegian

Norwegian, along with the other Mainland Scandinavian languages, is generally assumed not to allow verb movement across adverbs and negation in non-V2 contexts. This is indeed the

<sup>5</sup>Other contexts that resist V2 are e.g. complements to nouns and *that*-clauses in initial position.

case for many Norwegian dialects. However, Bentzen (2005, 2006a) has shown that in ReNN, finite main verbs and auxiliaries may either precede or follow adverbs in non-V2 contexts, regardless of whether the adverb is high or low in the structure (in terms of the Cinque 1999 hierarchy):

- (10) a. Æ vet koffer ho Hedda {kjøpe} **ofte** {kjøpe} sko. (ReNN)  
*I know why she Hedda buys often buys shoes*  
 ‘I know why Hedda often buys shoes.’
- b. Dem som {går} **regelmessig** {går} på kino treng ikke TV.  
*those that go regularly go on cinema need not TV*  
 ‘Those who regularly go to the cinema, don’t need a TV.’
- c. ... ettersom når studenta {levere} **sannsynligvis** {levere} oppgaven.  
*as some students hand.in probably hand.in assignment.the*  
 ‘... as some students probably hand in the assignment.’

What is crucial in the above examples is that the verb may precede the adverbs. However, verbs may not occur in front of negation:

- (11) ... ettersom når studenta {\*leverte} **ikke** {leverte} oppgaven. (ReNN)  
*as some students handed.in not handed.in assignment.the*  
 ‘... as some students didn’t hand in the assignment.’

The verb movement pattern found in the finite non-V2 contexts above is also observed in non-finite clauses. In control infinitives, the verb may either precede or follow adverbs, (12a), but has to follow negation, (12b).



- (12) a. Ho prøvde å {komme} **oftere** {komme} tidsnok på skolen. (ReNN)

*she tried to come often.er come in.time on school.the*

‘She tried to be in time for school more often.’

- b. Ho prøvde å {\*komme} **ikke** {komme} førr seint på skolen.

*she tried to come not come too late on school.the*

‘She tried to not be to late for school.’

Similarly, the verb may either precede or follow adverbs in ECM infinitives but again it obligatorily follows negation:<sup>6</sup>

- (13) a. Æ mistenkte han førr å {ha} **allerede** {ha} sett den filmen. (ReNN)

*I suspected him for to have already have seen that film.the*

‘I suspected him of already having seen that film.’

- b. Æ mistenkte han førr å {\*ha} **ikke** {ha} sett den filmen.

*I suspected him for to have not have seen that film.the*

‘I suspected him of not having seen that film.’

On the standard assumption that adverbs such as *ofte* ‘often’, *allerede* ‘already’, *regelmessig* ‘regularly’, and *sannsynligvis* ‘probably’ are merged outside of vP, the order where the verb precedes these adverbs identifies verb movement out of the vP domain. The ban on verb movement across negation in ReNN non-V2 contexts indicates that the relevant verb move-

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<sup>6</sup>The fact that the subject of an infinitive embedded under *mistenke* ‘suspect’ can be an expletive shows that we are dealing with an ECM infinitive:

- (i) Æ mistenke det førr å regne **ofte** her. (ReNN)

*I suspect EXPL for to rain often here*

‘I suspect that it often rains here.’

ment is not to the CP domain of the clause. Further evidence comes from the fact that the verb may intervene between higher and lower adverbs, see (14). In this position, the verb is undoubtedly within the IP domain.

- (14) ... ettersom dem {levere} **sannsynligvis** {levere} **ofte** {levere} oppgava. (ReNN)

*as they hand.in probably hand.in often hand.in assignments*

‘... as they probably often hand in assignments.’

Thus, our hypothesis 1, repeated below, is supported by the empirical findings:

- (15) *Hypothesis 1 supported*

Regional Northern Norwegian displays optional independent V-to-I movement.

## 2.2 Icelandic

We now turn to Icelandic, which on standard assumptions is assumed to have obligatory verb movement in non-V2 contexts. This is indeed true for some embedded clauses, as exemplified by the embedded *wh*-question in (16), where the verb obligatorily precedes the adverb *alltaf* ‘always’. The verb is therefore assumed to have moved out of vP. Since it may not precede the subject and since topicalization of a non-subject is impossible in this environment, verb movement has been claimed to target the IP domain, rather than the CP domain of the clause.

- (16) Hann spurði hvort að hún {hefði} **alltaf** {\*hefði} sungið falskt. (Ic.)

*he asked whether that she had always had sung out.of.tune*

‘He asked whether she had always sung out of tune.’

Recently however, the standard view has been challenged. Angantýsson (2001) has shown that varieties of Icelandic have *optional* verb movement in non-V2 contexts similar to those

illustrated for ReNN in the previous section (see also Hrafnbjargarson 2004). Some relevant examples involving negation are shown in (17).<sup>7</sup>

- (17) a. Ég veit hvaða mynd Jón {hefur} **ekki** {hefur} séð. (Ic.var)  
*I know which film Jón has not has seen*  
 ‘I know which film Jón has not seen.’
- b. Ég veit um eina bók sem Jón {hefur} **ekki** {hefur} lesið.  
*I know of one book that Jón has not has read*  
 ‘I know of one book that Jón has not read.’
- c. ... fyrst einhverjir stúdentar {skiluðu} **ekki** {skiluðu} verkefnum.  
*as some students handed.in not handed.in assignment*  
 ‘... as some students did not hand in assignments.’

As illustrated in (17), verb movement is optional in embedded questions, relative clauses, and adverbial clauses in varieties of Icelandic. The word order where the verb follows sentential adverbs and negation was already noticed in Smári (1920).

Taking the above data into consideration one could propose that Icelandic displays optional rather than obligatory independent V-to-I movement just like ReNN. As we will show there are reasons to believe that this is not the case. We will be led to propose that all verb movement in Icelandic is to the CP domain. We present two main pieces of evidence for

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<sup>7</sup>The examples in (17a-b) are based on Angantýsson 2001. Note that the verb type (main or auxiliary) does not influence grammaticality judgments in the Icelandic data discussed here. However, for certain speakers of Icelandic the length and the type of subject affect the verb movement pattern. These speakers allow the absence of verb movement when the subject is a pronoun or more than disyllabic. We will not discuss this further, but see Angantýsson 2001.

this claim. The first concerns the relative order of verbs and adverbs/negation. The second concerns the position of the verb in non-finite clauses.

If verb movement is all the way to the CP domain, we predict that the verb must precede all adverbs and negation. When the verb does not move, on the other hand, it must follow all adverbs and negation. This prediction is borne out:<sup>8</sup>

- (18) a. Hann spurði hvort hún **hefði** sennilega ekki oft sungið falskt. (Ic.<sub>var</sub>)  
*he asked whether she had probably not often sung out.of.tune*
- b. \*Hann spurði hvort hún sennilega **hefði** ekki oft sungið falskt.  
*he asked whether she probably had not often sung out.of.tune*
- c. \*Hann spurði hvort hún sennilega ekki **hefði** oft sungið falskt.  
*he asked whether she probably not had often sung out.of.tune*
- d. Hann spurði hvort hún sennilega ekki oft **hefði** sungið falskt.  
*he asked whether she probably not often had sung out.of.tune*  
 ‘He asked whether she hadn’t probably often sung out of tune.’

The verb may move to the left of all adverbs and negation, (18a), or it may stay in situ and thereby follow all adverbs and negation, (18d). These are the only two options for the verb in Icelandic, cf. (18b, c). In this sense Icelandic differs from ReNN, where, as noted above, the verb can intervene between higher and lower adverbs.

The second piece of evidence concerns non-finite clauses. Starting with ECM infinitives, we assume that these lack a CP domain, as has been proposed for other languages (see e.g. Ura 2001, Adger 2003, and references included there). As shown in (19), topicalization is not possible in these clauses, nor is the complementizer *að* ‘that/to’, see (20).

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<sup>8</sup>Note that the word order in (18a) is the only option in standard Icelandic.

(19) a. Hann taldi hana syngja í sturtunni **með hárri raust**. (Ic.)

*he believed her sing in shower.the with high voice*

b. \*Hann taldi **með hárri raust** syngja hana í sturtunni.

*he believed with high voice sing her in shower.the*

‘He believed her to be singing in the shower in a loud voice.’

(20) Hann taldi { \*að } hana { \*að } syngja í sturtunni. (Ic.)

*he believed to her to sing in shower.the*

Note that adverbs and negation are possible in Icelandic ECM infinitives, see Hrafnbjargarson (2004) and Christensen (2005). Hence, the IP domain is present in these (for the same conclusion about Swedish, cf. Wiklund 2007). Crucially, however, the verb has to follow adverbs and negation in ECM infinitives, see (21) and (22).<sup>9</sup>

(21) Ég taldi hann { \*hafa } **ekki** { hafa } sungið í sturtunni. (Ic.)

*I believed him have not have sung in shower.the*

‘I believed him not to have sung in the shower.’

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<sup>9</sup>That the negation is within the embedded clause is evident from the relative order of indefinite objects and the negation. As can be seen in (ia), indefinite objects do not undergo Object Shift. Thus, the order where negation follows the object in (ib) cannot be the result of Object Shift in the main clause. Therefore, the negation belongs to the embedded clause.

(i) a. Við sjáum { \*þingmenn } **ekki** { þingmenn } hjóla í vinnuna á hverjum degi. (Ic.)

*we see MPs not MPs bike to work on each day*

‘We don’t see MPs bike to work every day.’

b. Við teljum þingmenn **ekki** lesa bækur á hverjum degi.

*we consider MPs not read books on each day*

‘We consider MPs to not read books every day.’

(22) Hann taldi hana {\*syngja} **alltaf** {syngja} í sturtunni. (Ic.)

*he believed her sing always sing in shower.the*

‘He believed her to always sing in the shower.’

Note that the verb has to follow even very low adverbs (lower than *alltaf* ‘always’). While this lack of verb movement is predicted on our proposal, it is unexpected on the standard V-to-I analysis of Icelandic.

Turning to control infinitives, these include a CP domain, which can be seen from the obligatory presence of *að* ‘that/to’ in (23). As seen in (24), verb movement is required past all sentential adverbs and negation.

(23) Hún reyndi \*(að) koma ekki alltaf á réttum tíma í skólann. (Ic.)

*she tried to come not always on right time in school.the*

‘She tried to not always be on time in school.’

(24) Hún reyndi að {koma} **ekki** {\*koma} **alltaf** {\*koma} á réttum tíma í skólann.

*she tried to come not come always come on right time in school.the*

‘She tried to not always be on time in school.’ (Ic.)

Again, note that the Icelandic verb movement differs from that found in ReNN in that it does not occur in ECM infinitives. Furthermore, Icelandic but not ReNN verb movement crosses negation in control infinitives. These data constitute strong support in favor of taking verb movement in Icelandic to always involve movement to the CP domain rather than to the inflectional domain of the clause. Let us make the logic of the argument explicit. ECM infinitives contain an inflectional domain, as is evident from the possibility of including adverbs and negation in such clauses. Still, verb movement is not available. This indicates that Icelandic does not have independent V-to-I movement. When the CP domain is missing, the

verb must stay in situ, arguably because verb movement, when it occurs, always targets this domain of the clause. Thus, the Icelandic verb movement in traditional non-V2 contexts is not the same as the verb movement we find in similar contexts in ReNN.

An additional piece of evidence is related to *að* ‘that/to’. A closer look at some varieties of Icelandic shows that the overt realization of *að* is contingent on verb movement. When there is verb movement, *að* is optional; when there is no verb movement, *að* is impossible.<sup>10</sup>

- (25) a. Hann spurði hvort (að) hún hefði **alltaf** sungið falskt. (Ic.)

*he asked whether that she had always sung out.of.tune*

- b. Hann spurði hvort (\*að) hún **alltaf** hefði sungið falskt.

*he asked whether that she always had sung out.of.tune*

‘He asked whether she always had sung in the shower.’

- (26) a. Það var í sturtunni sem (að) hún hafði **alltaf** sungið falskt. (Ic.)

*It was in shower.the that that she had always sung out.of.tune*

- b. Það var í sturtunni sem (\*að) hún **alltaf** hafði sungið falskt.

*It was in shower.the that that she always had sung out.of.tune*

‘It was in the shower that she had always sung out of tune.’

Examples (25b) and (26b) show that *að* is optional when there is verb movement in embedded questions and relative clauses, respectively. When there is no verb movement, *að* is obligatorily absent, see (25a) and (26a).

This fact again undermines the standard analysis of verb movement in Icelandic as targeting the IP domain of the clause but favors the present proposal. Given that verb movement

<sup>10</sup>This turns out to be the opposite of the pattern found in German where verb movement into the CP domain and the presence of the complementizer *dass* ‘that’ are in complementary distribution.

is to the CP domain, it is an expected possibility that it interacts with the spell-out of the complementizer. On the basis of the above facts, we consider hypothesis 2 supported:

(27) *Hypothesis 2 supported*

Icelandic does not display independent V-to-I movement; all verb movement is to the CP domain.

Before we present more detailed analyses of verb movement in ReNN and Icelandic that capture the facts presented above, we briefly discuss the consequences of these facts for the Rich Agreement Hypothesis.

### **2.3 The Rich Agreement Hypothesis**

The new data presented here weaken the Rich Agreement Hypothesis (RAH), which proposes a correlation between the absence/presence of rich verbal morphology and independent V-to-I movement (cf. Vikner 1995, Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998, Rohrbacher 1999, Koenenman 2000, Bobaljik 2002). There are two versions of the RAH. According to the strong (bi-directional) version of this hypothesis, a language has independent verb movement to the inflectional domain if and only if there is sufficiently ‘rich’ verbal morphology (Vikner 1995 and Rohrbacher 1999). This version correctly accounts for the standard languages as well as the Swedish dialect of Älvdalen (Levander 1909) and the Norwegian dialect of Hallingdalen (Venås 1977 and Trosterud 1989).<sup>11</sup> Norwegian does not have sufficiently rich morphology

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<sup>11</sup>The dialect of Hallingdalen has distinctive number agreement, but not person agreement. The dialect does not have verb movement. Älvdalsmålet, in contrast, has distinctive number/person agreement and has been claimed to display obligatory verb movement. Recent investigations, however, show that verb movement is not obligatory in present day Älvdalsmålet, see (i) exemplifying a relative clause (from Wiklund 2007). The dialect therefore seems to pose a problem for the RAH. On verb movement and negation in Älvdalsmålet, see Garbacz 2006.



and therefore not independent V-to-I movement. Icelandic has sufficiently rich morphology and therefore independent V-to-I movement (in traditional analyses of this verb movement):

- (28) a. Jeg vet [hvorfor Hedda {\*kjøper} **ofte** {kjøper} sko]. (No.)  
*I know why Hedda buys often buys shoes*
- b. Ég veit [af hverju Hedda {kaupir} **oft** {\*kaupir} skó]. (Ic.)  
*I know why Hedda buys often buys shoes*  
 ‘I know why Hedda often buys shoes.’

The strong version, however, does not account for the ReNN data. This is so because ReNN, like standard Norwegian, displays ‘poor’ verbal morphology, but still allows independent verb movement to the inflectional domain, (29a). Faroese, the Norwegian dialect of Tromsø, and the Swedish dialect of Kronoby have also often been referred to in this connection, see Lockwood (1977), Jonas (1996), Petersen (2000), Heycock et al. (2003), and Thráinsson et al. (2004) on Faroese, Iversen (1918) on the Tromsø dialect, and Bobaljik (2002), Platzack and Holmberg (1989), Vikner (1995), and Alexiadou and Fanselow (2002) on the Kronoby dialect.<sup>12</sup> In fact, our data are also problematic for the weak (uni-directional) version of the correlation proposed by Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) and Bobaljik (2002). On this

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- (i) An sagd noddh so an (add) **older** (add) sagd för. (Älvdalsmålet-Sw.)  
*he said something that he had never had said before*  
 ‘He said something that he had never said before.’

<sup>12</sup>Note that the Kronoby example which is used in the literature (Platzack and Holmberg 1989) involves a *that*-clause with verb movement across negation:

- (i) He va bra et han tsöfft **int** bootsen. (Kronoby-Sw.)  
*it was good that he bought not book.the*  
 ‘It was good that he didn’t buy the book’

version, rich inflectional morphology implies verb movement to the inflectional domain, but not necessarily the other way around. This includes the ReNN data, but it does not capture the optionality of verb movement found in varieties of Icelandic, (29b).

(29) a. Æ vet [koffer ho Hedda {kjøpe} **ofte** {kjøpe} sko]. (ReNN.)

*I know why she Hedda buys often buys shoes*

b. Ég veit [af hverju Hedda {kaupir} **oft** {kaupir} skó]. (Ic.<sub>var</sub>)

*I know why Hedda buys often buys shoes*

‘I know why Hedda often buys shoes.’

Although we have shown that the original formulations of the correlation between rich inflection and verb movement cannot be maintained, our data do not exclude the possibility that there is such a correlation. Crucially, however, it seems to involve the CP domain, instead of the IP domain of the clause. We will not elaborate on this in the current paper.

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The example does not show unambiguous V-to-I movement. In many Scandinavian dialects, topicalization as well as verb movement across negation is possible in exactly this context, suggesting that it may involve embedded V2. Support for this comes from recent fieldwork, where Kristine Bentzen has established that the Kronoby dialect does not have verb movement across negation in unambiguous non-V2 contexts, such as embedded questions, see (iia). Nevertheless, verb movement across adverbs is possible in such contexts, in parallel with ReNN, see (iib). We are indebted to Jan-Ola Östman for the orthographic rendering of the Kronoby-Swedish examples.

(ii) a. On föstoo int fövaa an (\*vila) **int** (vila) tjööp nny biil. (Kronoby-Sw.)

*she understood not why he wanted not wanted buy new car*

b. On föstoo int fövaa an (vila) **så tókält** (vila) tjööp nny biil.

*she understood not why he wanted so often wanted buy new car*

‘She did not understand why he wanted to by a new car so often.’

These data do not change the problematic status of the Kronoby dialect with regard to the strong version of the RAH.

### 3 Verb movement as remnant movement

Traditionally, verb movement out of vP has been analysed as head movement of the verb to I (in case of V-to-I movement) or C (in case of V2), see e.g. Pollock (1989), Holmberg and Platzack (1995), and Vikner (1995). Recently, however, *remnant movement* has been explored as an alternative to head movement, see e.g. Hinterhölzl (1997, 2006), Hróarsdóttir (2000), Koopman and Szabolcsi (2000), and Mahajan (2003). Remnant movement refers to phrasal movement of a constituent from which material has been extracted prior to movement. Below, we propose that the two types of verb movement encountered in ReNN and Icelandic translate into two types of XP movement which differ in amount of material pied-piped. In brief, we propose that the verb movement targeting the CP domain of the clause always pied-pipes a specifier, whereas verb movement targeting the IP domain involves only one overt element, namely the verb.

Although an in-depth discussion of the potential advantages of remnant movement over head movement approaches to verb movement cannot be provided here, we want to mention two issues. First, head movement, which in standard minimalism is viewed as a head-head adjunction operation, is countercyclic and therefore does not respect the Extension Condition (operations must apply to the root of the tree), see Chomsky (1995, 2000). Various proposals have been made to solve this problem, e.g. the proposal that head movement takes place in the PF component (Chomsky 2000) and therefore is not subject to conditions on cyclicity. Attempts have also been made to keep head movement in “narrow syntax” by defining the operation in such a way that it does extend the tree, see e.g. Matushansky (2006). Here, we explore remnant movement to derive the effects of verb movement. Because remnant movement is phrasal, it always applies at the root of the tree.

Second, and more relevant for the current discussion, head movement approaches to verb movement have been shown to run into problems accounting for cases where more than one verb have moved past sentential adverbs, see Bobaljik (1999), Svenonius (2002), Nilsen (2003), and Cinque (2004) for discussion. The problem arises also for ReNN data, see Bentzen (2005):

- (30) a. ... ettersom han **ofte** har spilt piano. (ReNN)  
           *as he often has played piano*
- b. ... ettersom han har **ofte** spilt piano.  
           *as he has often played piano*
- c. ... ettersom han har spilt **ofte** piano.  
           *as he has played often piano*  
           ‘... as he has often played the piano.’

On the assumption that the adverb is merged above the perfective auxiliary, examples such as (30c) suggest that both verbs have crossed the adverb. Applying head movement to both verbs would involve two steps. First, the main verb would have to cross the auxiliary and the adverb. Then the auxiliary would have to move across the adverb and the main verb. Both of these steps are violations of the Head Movement Constraint (see Travis 1984) as they involve movement of one head across another. One alternative is to assume that the adverb is merged below the perfective auxiliary. Then only the participle has to move to derive (30c), but (30a) would have to involve movement of the adverb. In a tentative solution to this problem, Cinque (2004) employs multiple merging sites for adverbs depending on their interpretation. Such a solution is problematic for the ReNN data since we would be forced to assume at least two merging positions for each adverb. Furthermore, it is not immediately clear that different

surface positions of adverbs in ReNN contribute to different interpretations. We therefore propose that word orders like the one in (30c) are derived via movement of a constituent containing both verbs. For proposals along these lines, see Nilsen (2003) and Bentzen (2005).<sup>13</sup> We will not return to cases of multiple verb movement. Although we cannot exclude that some version of head movement can account for the data presented here, we explore remnant movement as an alternative to head movement.

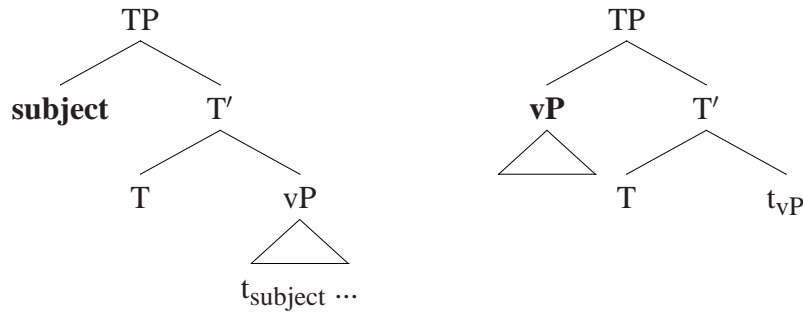
Before presenting our analyses, we provide some background assumptions. Starting with verb movement to the IP domain, our proposal is partly inspired by Mahajan (2003) and Biberauer and Richards (2006). We suggest that there are two ways of satisfying the EPP-feature of T. Besides the option of having the subject moving on its own to Spec,TP, we assume that some languages allow EPP-satisfaction by a vP in Spec,TP. One or more of the arguments may have left vP prior to the relevant movement to Spec,TP.<sup>14</sup> Both ways of satisfying the EPP, we propose, are available in ReNN and Icelandic, as well as in the other Scandinavian languages:

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<sup>13</sup>On our proposal, the derivation of (30b) does not involve a locality violation for the following reason. Prior to movement of the vP containing the finite auxiliary, the VP containing the participle and the object has evacuated vP. We assume that evacuated constituents do not induce locality effects because evacuation is not triggered by features (cf. Müller 2004).

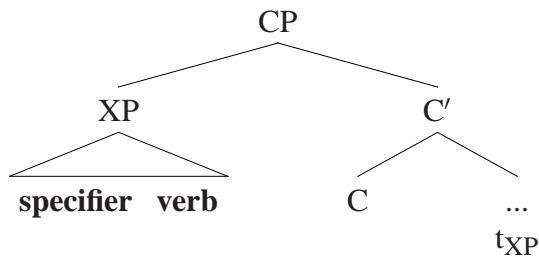
<sup>14</sup>We acknowledge that evacuation of the kind applied in remnant movement approaches raises questions concerning triggers, targets, and order preservation. These are left unanswered here, see Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000, Nilsen 2003, and Kayne 2005 for some discussion.

(31) **Satisfying EPP:**



Turning to verb movement to the CP domain, we follow Nilsen (2003) and Müller (2004) in assuming that V2 is derived by fronting a projection (labelled  $\Sigma$ P in Nilsen 2003) containing the finite verb and exactly one specifier to the CP domain of the clause:

(32) **Verb movement to the CP domain:**



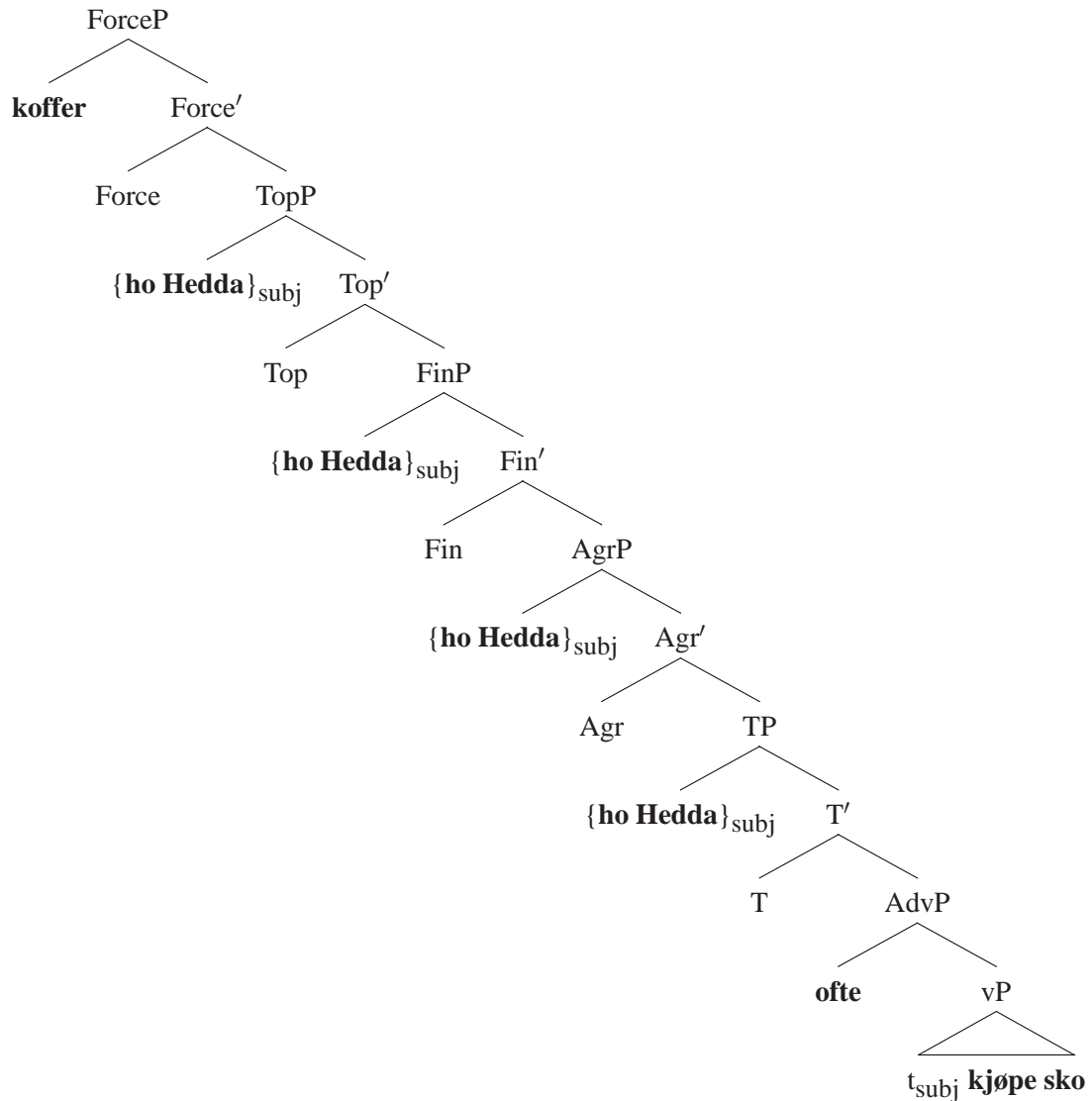
Our analysis differs from that proposed by Nilsen (2003) in three ways: (i) Nilsen assumes that  $\Sigma$ P attracts the topic (the element carrying a topic feature) to its specifier position prior to movement in all V2 clauses. On our analysis, the presence of  $\Sigma$ P is restricted to cases involving fronting of non-subjects. In subject initial V2, a vP containing the subject and the verb is fronted to the initial position. (ii) Rather than assuming  $\Sigma$ P to always be merged immediately above vP, we propose that  $\Sigma$ P is merged right above the element carrying [+Topic], attracting the [+Topic] element to its specifier position. This assumption immediately takes care of a problem for such analyses, noted in Biberauer and Roberts (2004). The problem concerns topicalization of adverbs merged in positions above the XP that is fronted in these

approaches, where XP originates in a fixed position. (iii) Nilsen assumes that the finite verb is attracted to  $\Sigma$ . This head movement is not necessary in our analysis. Instead, we propose that the verb stays within vP and that verb movement involves phrasal movement at all stages of the derivation.

### **3.1 An analysis of ReNN verb movement**

On our proposal, the EPP-feature of T may be checked off either by moving the subject to Spec,TP or by moving a (remnant) vP to this position. In clauses with no verb movement, the subject will move to Spec,TP checking the EPP-feature. It may either remain in this position, or move on to Spec,AgrP, Spec,FinP, or Spec,TopP, see (33). As we will see in the next section, Icelandic clauses without verb movement are analysed in the same way.

(33) **Embedded *wh*-question without verb movement:**

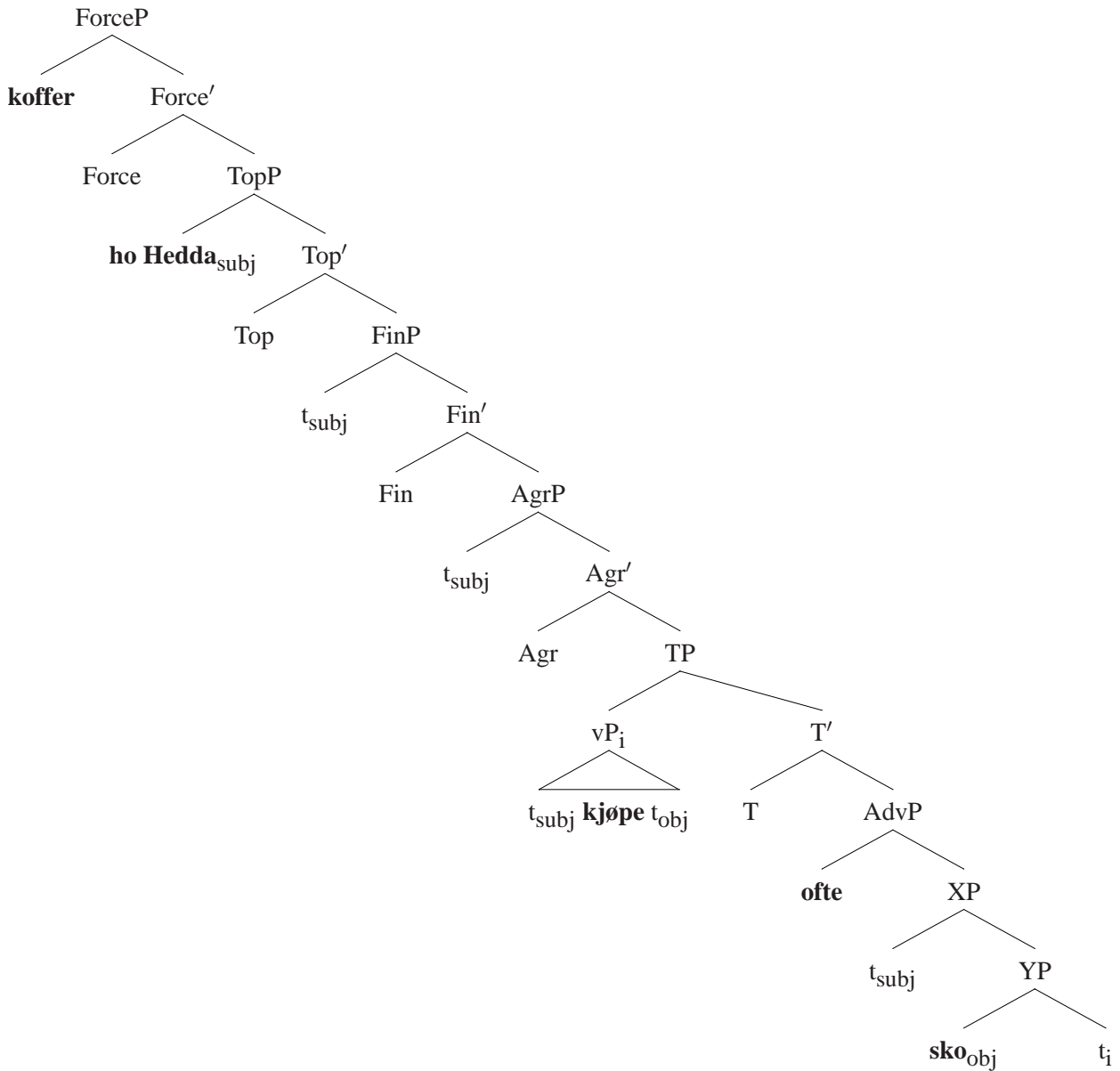


In clauses with independent verb movement to the inflectional domain, it is the vP that moves to Spec,TP, checking the EPP-feature. We will adopt a proposal made by Bentzen (2006a,b) that this involves movement of a remnant vP containing *only* the verb in ReNN. All other material apart from the verb must have been evacuated from the vP before it moves:<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup>In case of multiple verb movement, see (30c) above, we assume that participles may pied-pipe along with the vP. Likewise, Object Shift is assumed to be a result of pied-piping, see section 3.3. Crucially, specifiers cannot be pied-piped when XP movement targets the IP domain of the clause.



(34) ReNN embedded *wh*-question with verb movement:



Assuming that the relevant movement is relatively free within the boundaries of IP, the analysis correctly predicts at least three possible positions for the verb in ReNN non-V2 contexts:

(35) [AgrP [vP ...V...] Agr [AdvP sannsynligvis [TP [vP ...V...] T [AdvP ofte [vP ...V...]]]]]

If the vP does not move, the verb will occur in its base position, i.e. following lower adverbs (*vanligvis* ‘usually’, *ofte* ‘often’, etc.). If the vP moves into the IP domain of the clause, it tar-

gets Spec,TP. In this position, the verb will precede lower adverbs but follow higher adverbs (*sannsynligvis* ‘probably’). From Spec,TP, the vP may successively move on to Spec,AgrP, where the verb will precede higher adverbs:

- (36) ... ettersom dem {levere} **sannsynligvis** {levere} **ofte** {levere} oppgava. (ReNN)  
*as they hand.in probably hand.in often hand.in assignments*  
 ‘... as they probably often hand in assignments.’

Crucially, the remnant vP may not move all the way up to the CP domain in ReNN non-V2 contexts, as such movement would entail verb movement across negation:

- (37) ... ettersom dem {\*levere} **ikke** {levere} **ofte** {levere} oppgava. (ReNN)  
*as they hand.in not hand.in often hand.in assignments*  
 ‘... as they do not often hand in assignments.’

This analysis makes the prediction that verb movement should interact with subject interpretation, see Bentzen (2006b). Recall from section 1 that we assume two positions for subject interpretation: Spec,TP for a non-specific reading, and Spec,TopP for a specific reading. The subject has to move to or through one of these positions in order to get an interpretation. In embedded clauses where there is no verb movement, both positions are available to the subject, see (33). The subject first moves to Spec,TP, where it checks the EPP-feature and is assigned a non-specific reading. From there, it may move on to the higher projections Spec,AgrP and Spec,FinP. In these positions, the subject retains its non-specific reading. If it moves all the way to Spec,TopP, however, it will receive a specific reading. In other words, given that both Spec,TP and Spec,TopP are available to the subject, we expect such clauses to be ambiguous with respect to subject interpretation. As illustrated by the two possible readings of (38), this expectation is met.

(38) ... ettersom **nån studenta sannsynligvis** levere oppgaven. (ReNN)

*as some students probably hand.in assignment.the*

i. ‘... as some specific students probably hand in the assignment.’

ii. ‘... as some students or other probably hand in the assignment.’

In contrast, when there is verb movement, it is the remnant vP (containing only the verb) that moves to Spec,TP, checking the EPP-feature of T, see (34). In this case, the subject is prohibited from moving to Spec,TP.<sup>16</sup> Consequently, a non-specific reading is unavailable, and the subject is forced to move to Spec,TopP for assignment of interpretation. In this position, the subject receives a specific reading. Our prediction is thus that in ReNN non-V2 contexts with verb movement, the subject should be unambiguously specific. As shown in (39), this is borne out. The structure is given in (40).<sup>17</sup>

(39) ... ettersom **nån studenta** levere **sannsynligvis** oppgaven. (ReNN)

*as some students hand.in probably assignment.the*

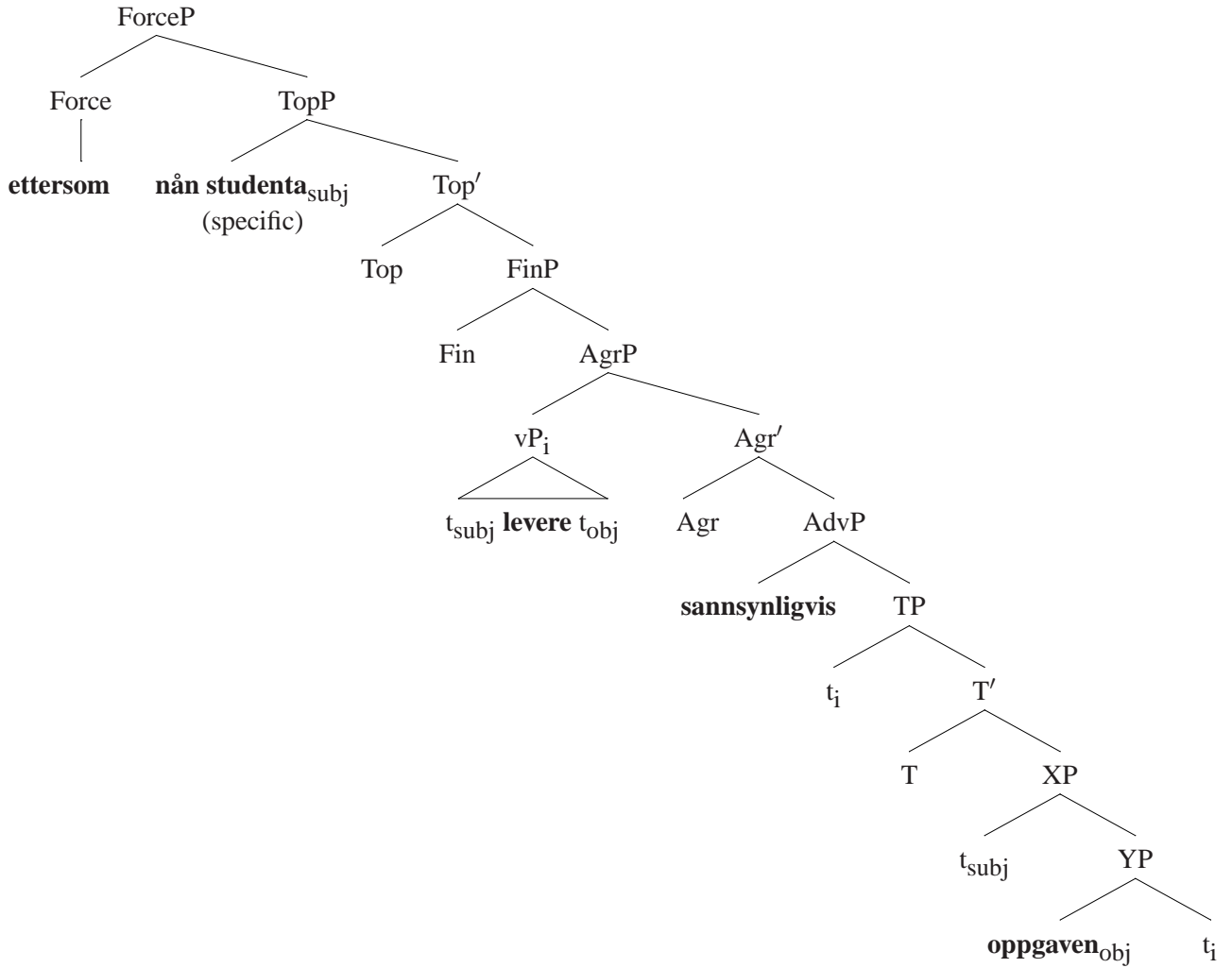
i. ‘... as some specific students probably hand in the assignment.’

ii. \*‘... as some students or other probably hand in the assignment.’

<sup>16</sup>We crucially assume that multiple specifiers are not available.

<sup>17</sup>Note that elements which generally refrain from being topics, such as negative quantifiers and existential subjects, cannot co-occur with verb movement. This again indicates that verb movement requires strong subjects.

(40) **ReNN vP movement to IP and subject interpretation:**



Next, we turn to our analysis of Icelandic verb movement in non-V2 contexts.

### 3.2 An analysis of Icelandic verb movement

We have argued that verb movement to the IP domain is movement of a remnant vP containing only the verb; an analysis that captures the ReNN data. In contrast, we suggest that verb movement to the CP domain is movement of a remnant vP containing the verb and at least and at most one specifier. This analysis is based on the account of verb movement in V2 main clauses proposed by Nilsen (2003) and M  ller (2004). In other words, remnant vP movement to the CP domain always pied-pipes a specifier. Given that topicalization is impossible in

non-V2 contexts, as shown in section 2, the pied-piped element is always the subject in these contexts. Hence, on our proposal, there are two types of remnant vP movement, differing in target position and in the amount of material pied-piped along with the verb:

(41) **Two types of remnant vP movement:**

Remnant vP movement to the *IP domain*: [<sub>vP</sub> t<sub>Subj</sub> Verb]

Remnant vP movement to the *CP domain*: [<sub>vP</sub> Specifier Verb]

The first one corresponds to the verb movement identified in ReNN. The second one corresponds to the verb movement identified in Icelandic and as we will see extends to subject initial V2 clauses in general.

Before proceeding with the details of Icelandic verb movement, note that this proposal derives one more difference between ReNN and Icelandic. In case of verb movement, adjacency between the subject and the verb is obligatory in Icelandic but not required in ReNN, see e.g. (18) and (36). The relevant parts of the former are repeated below:

(42) ... hvort hún {**hefði**} sennilega {**\*hefði**} ekki {**\*hefði**} oft {**hefði**} sungið ...

*whether she had probably had not had often had sung*

‘... whether she had not probably often had sung ...’ (Ic.<sub>var</sub>)

Since there is no independent verb movement to the IP domain in Icelandic on our proposal, the vP (containing the verb and the subject in subject initial clauses) has to move all the way to the CP domain. On its way, the remnant vP moves through Spec,TP, checking the EPP-feature of T. The available target positions for the remnant vP in the CP domain are Spec,FinP and Spec,TopP. Therefore, Icelandic should differ from ReNN in not allowing the verb to intervene between adverbs, nor between adverbs and negation. As we have seen, this is correct.

Our analysis also makes the crucial prediction that Icelandic should differ from ReNN regarding available subject readings. Given that remnant vP movement to the CP domain always pied-pipes the subject in non-V2 contexts, verb movement in Icelandic embedded clauses should not force a specific subject reading. That is, since the vP containing both the subject and the verb moves through Spec,TP to check the EPP-feature, the subject may receive a non-specific reading. Moving into the CP domain, the vP may move either to Spec,FinP, or to Spec,TopP. In the former case, the subject will retain its non-specific reading. In the latter case, it will receive a specific interpretation. Thus, non-V2 clauses with verb movement are predicted to be ambiguous with respect to subject interpretation in Icelandic, contrary to similar clauses in ReNN, which only allow the specific subject interpretation. This is borne out:

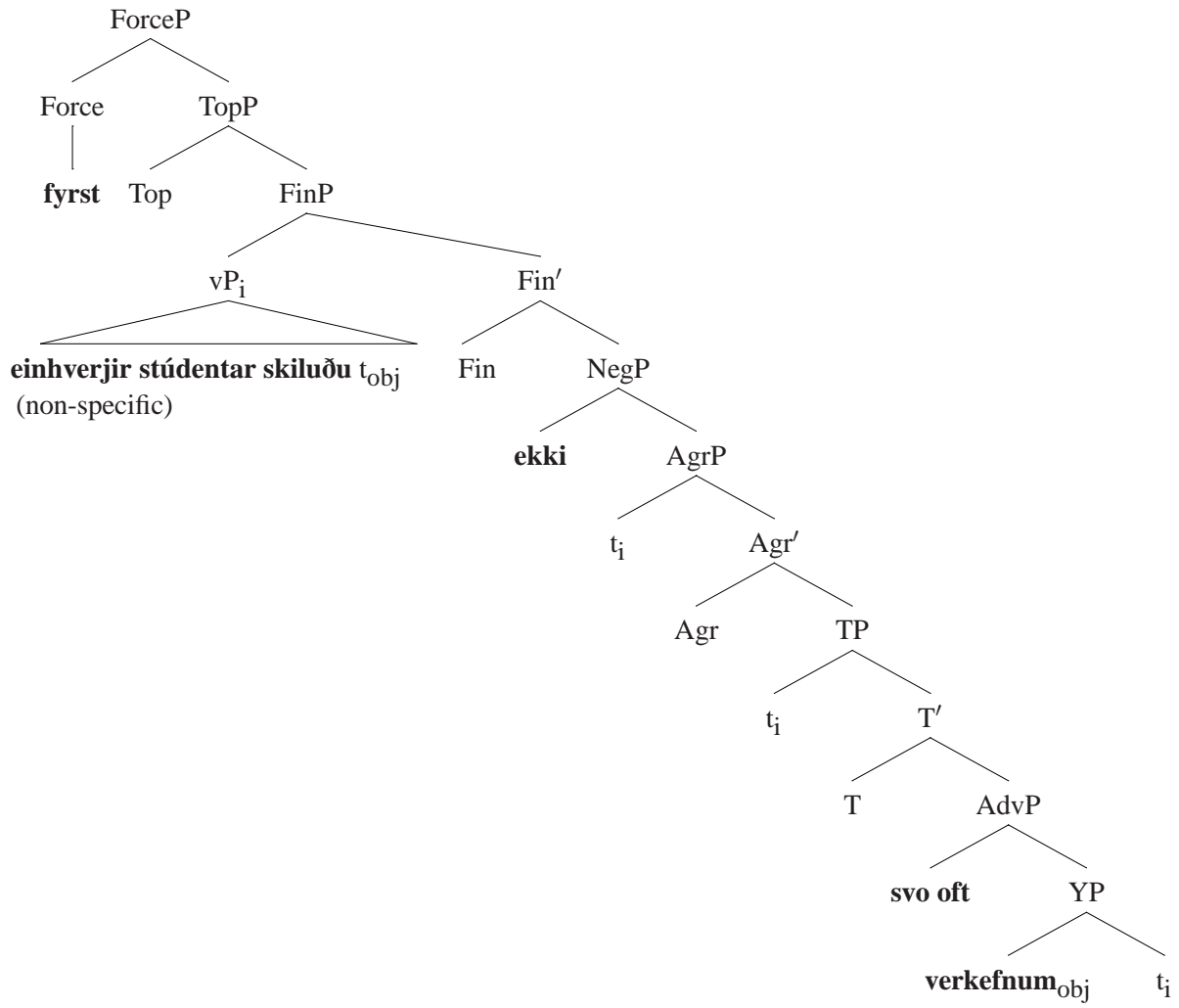
(43) ... fyrst **einhverjir stúdentar** skiluðu **ekki svo oft** verkefnum. (Ic.var)

*as some students handed.in not so often assignments*

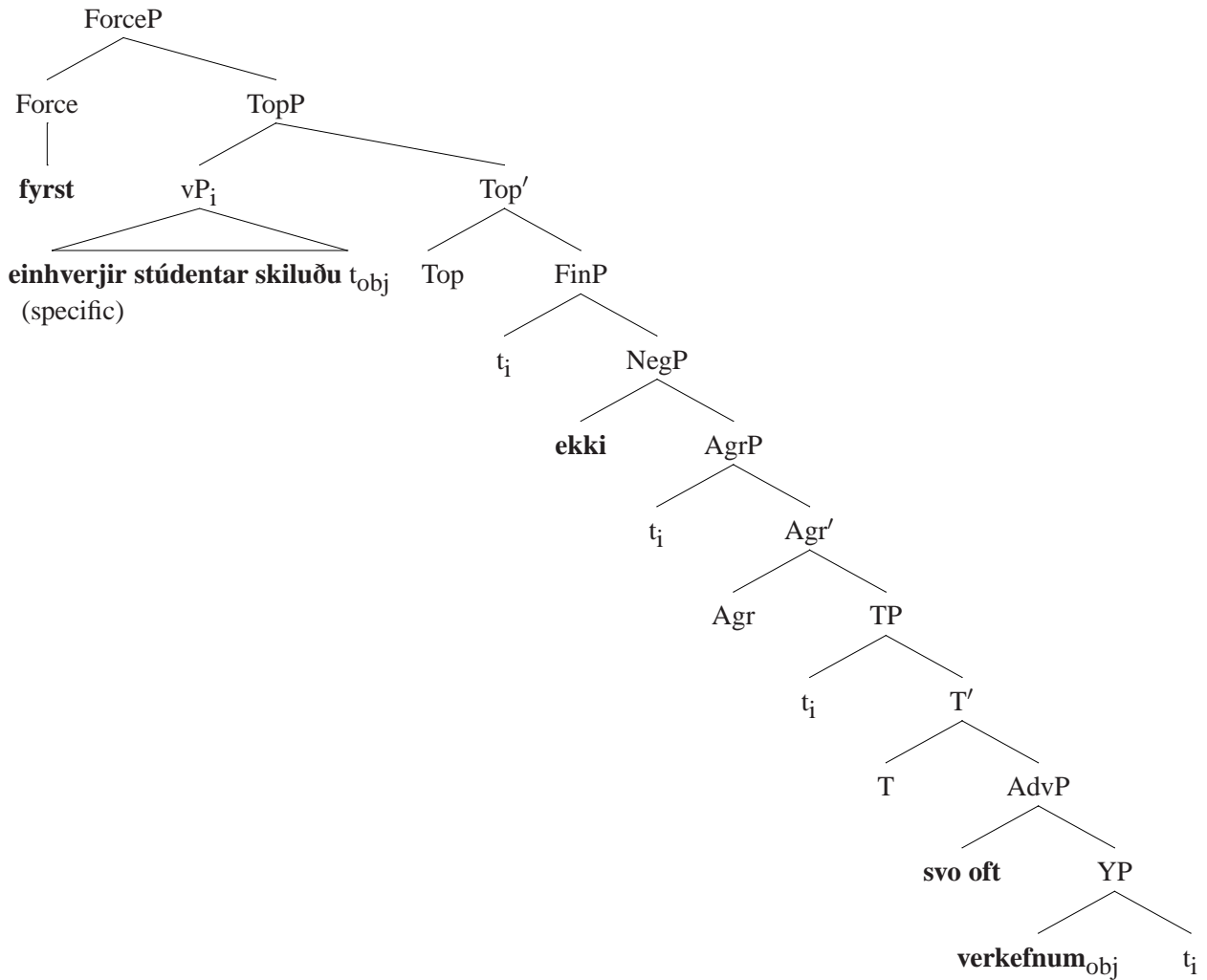
- i. '... as some students or other probably usually handed in assignments.'
- ii. '... as some specific students probably usually handed in assignments.'

The derivations for the different interpretations of (43) are illustrated in (44) and (45), respectively.

(44) Icelandic vP movement to CP and non-specific subjects:



(45) Icelandic vP movement to CP and specific subjects:



To sum up, in ReNN, verb movement of the remnant vP to Spec,TP makes a non-specific reading unavailable to the subject, since the subject is not contained within the remnant vP. In order to receive an interpretation, the subject is required to move to Spec,TopP, where a specific reading is assigned. In Icelandic, there is no such requirement on the subject since it is pied-piped along with the verb through Spec,TP. Therefore, a non-specific reading is available in Icelandic, also in non-V2 clauses with verb movement.



### 3.3 Two types of movement

We have provided an analysis of two types of verb movement without any reference to head movement. Problems associated with head movement therefore do not arise. In this sense, our analysis differs from approaches such as the ones suggested in e.g. Nilsen (2003) and Biberauer and Richards (2006), which make use of both remnant movement and head movement to account for verb placement.

If our proposal is correct, verb movement to the CP domain always involves pied-piping of a specifier in contrast to verb movement to the IP domain which never does. Although we will have to leave this interesting consequence for future research and leave the many questions that arise unanswered here, we believe that this difference between the two movements may have to do with the discourse related function of the CP domain, cf. Nilsen (2003).

Our proposal that verb movement is remnant movement opens up the possibility that other elements may be part of the same movement, e.g. weak pronouns. See Hróarsdóttir (2000) and Nilsen (2003) for analyses of Object Shift along these lines. This means that weak pronoun shift does not exist. The relevant elements cannot cross the verb because what is moving is vP or a larger constituent, deriving Holmberg's Generalization (see Holmberg 1986):<sup>18</sup>

- (46) a. [ Han leste  $t_{obj}$  ]<sub>i</sub> ikke boka<sub>obj</sub>  $t_i$  (No.)  
*he read not book.the*  
'He did not read the book.'

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<sup>18</sup>Object Shift is impossible across any phonologically visible non-adjunct category c-commanding the object position in the verb phrase, see Holmberg 1999.

- b. [ Han leste den ]<sub>i</sub> ikke t<sub>i</sub>

*he read it not*

‘He did not read it.’

#### 4 Verb second

The modified picture presented here calls for a rethinking of alleged differences between V2 and non-V2 contexts. Under our analysis, every embedded clause in Icelandic is a potential V2 clause in accordance with what has previously been claimed for Icelandic (see e.g. Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990, Johnson and Vikner 1994, and Vikner 1995). In fact, the present proposal takes one further step in assuming that every embedded clause involving verb movement *is* a V2 clause in Icelandic (which has also been proposed by Hrafnbjargarson 2004). This is so because the verb movement that we find in traditional non-V2 clauses in Icelandic is of the same type as the one found in V2 clauses, namely fronting of a remnant XP containing the verb and exactly one specifier to the CP domain of the clause.

At this point, an obvious question is how our analysis captures the difference between V2 and traditional non-V2 clauses. We will focus on Icelandic in what follows but we believe that our analysis extends to V2 clauses in Scandinavian in general (and possibly to all cases of V2). Recall that whereas topicalization of objects and adjuncts is possible in V2 contexts, (47a) and (47b), this is impossible in traditional non-V2 contexts, cf. (47c).

- (47) a. **Svona skó** kaupir Heiða sennilega. (Ic.)

*such shoes buys Heiða probably*

‘Such shoes, Heiða probably buys.’

- b. Ég veit [að **svona skó** kaupir Heiða sennilega].

*I know that such shoes buys Heiða probably*

‘I know that Heiða probably buys such shoes.’

- c. \*Ég spurði [af hverju **svona skó** kaupir Heiða sennilega].

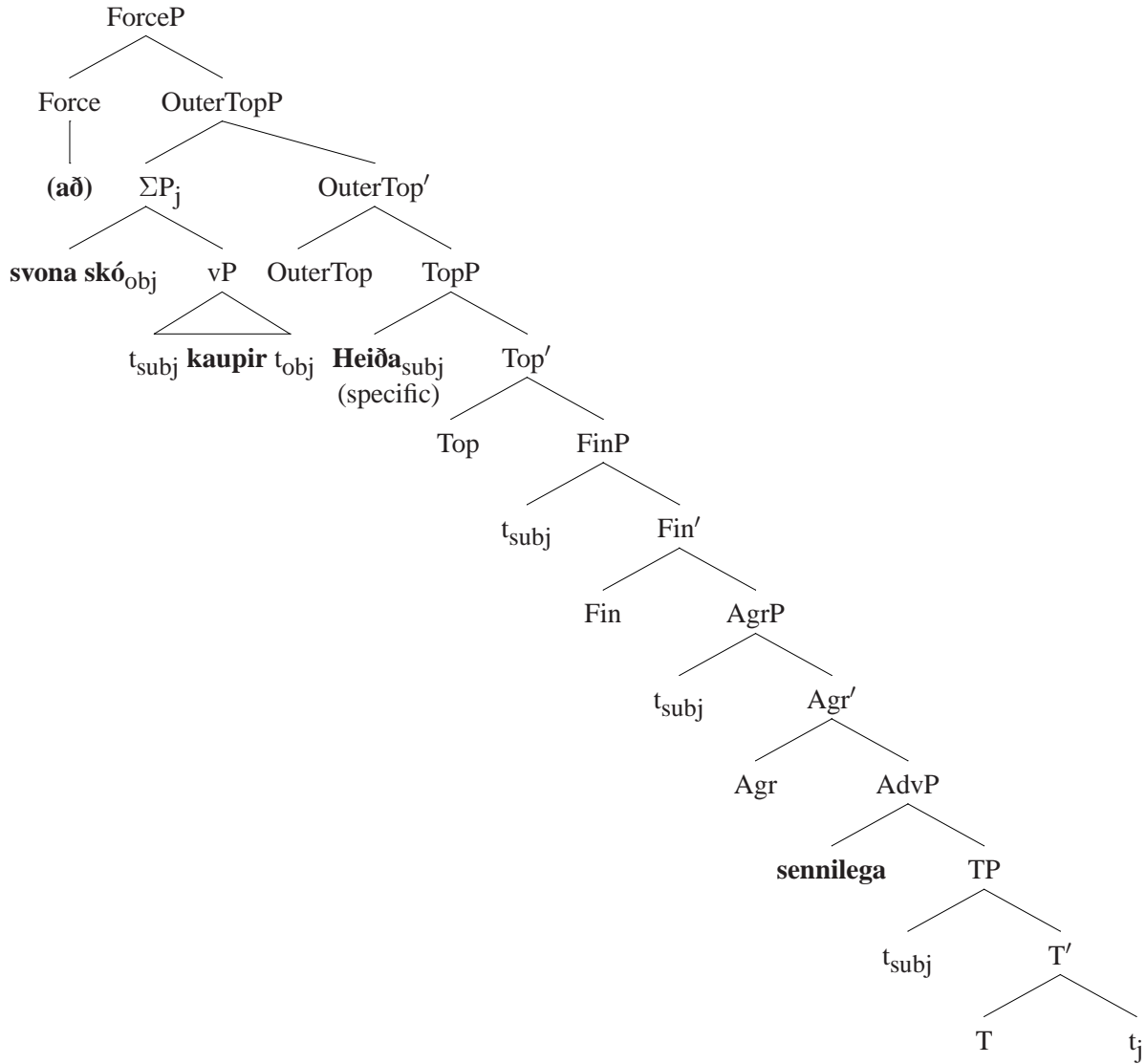
*I asked why such shoes buys Heiða probably*

We propose that V2 clauses differ from traditional non-V2 clauses in containing an additional TopP, i.e. OuterTopP, making topicalization of constituents other than the subject possible.<sup>19</sup> The crucial difference between OuterTopP, on the one hand, and TopP and FinP, on the other hand, concerns the type of remnant constituent licensed in these projections. TopP and FinP license a remnant vP containing the verb along with the subject, cf. (45) and (44), whereas OuterTopP licenses a remnant  $\Sigma$ P containing the verb and one non-subject specifier:

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<sup>19</sup>A similar analysis has been argued for independently by Angantýsson 2006.

(48) Non-subject initial V2 clauses:



Importantly, our analysis predicts that both subject readings should be available in the presence of a topicalized object. This is borne out in both Norwegian and Icelandic:

(49) a. **Pennan draug** sáu víst **einhver börn** oft. (Ic.)

*this ghost saw apparently some children often*

‘Some [non-specific] children apparently saw this ghost often.’

b. **Pennan draug** sáu **einhver börn** víst oft.

*this ghost saw some children apparently often*

i. ‘Some [non-specific] children apparently saw this ghost often.’

ii. ‘Some [specific] children apparently saw this ghost often.’

As the translations indicate, the examples in (49) may have different interpretations, depending on the position of the subject. In (49a), where the subject follows the adverb *víst* ‘apparently’, it must be situated in Spec,TP. In this position, it receives a non-specific reading. In (49b), where the subject precedes this adverb, it is either in Spec,FinP (retaining its non-specific reading) or in Spec,TopP where it receives a specific reading.

## 5 Summary

In this paper, we have put forth two hypotheses about verb movement in Regional Northern Norwegian (ReNN) and Icelandic:

(50) *Hypothesis 1:*

Regional Northern Norwegian displays optional independent V-to-I movement.

(51) *Hypothesis 2:*

Icelandic does not display independent V-to-I movement; all verb movement is to the CP domain.

We have provided the following evidence in favor of these. In ReNN non-V2 clauses (finite as well as non-finite), verbs may not cross negation, but they may cross both higher and lower adverbs, as well as intervene between these. In Icelandic non-V2 clauses, the verb must precede negation and all adverbs if it moves. This movement is obligatory in control

infinitives (which involve the CP domain) but impossible in ECM infinitives (which lack the CP domain). Moreover, verb movement interacts with the complementizer in some varieties.

Table 1: *Verb movement*

	<b>ReNN</b>	<b>Icelandic<sub>var</sub></b>
<i>Non-V2<sub>finite</sub></i>	(*V) Neg (V) Adv <sub>H</sub> (V) Adv <sub>L</sub> (V)	(V) Neg (*V) Adv <sub>H</sub> (*V) Adv <sub>L</sub> (V)
<i>ECM</i>	(*V) Neg (V) Adv <sub>H</sub> (V) Adv <sub>L</sub> (V)	(*V) Neg (*V) Adv <sub>H</sub> (*V) Adv <sub>L</sub> (V)
<i>Control</i>	(*V) Neg (V) Adv <sub>H</sub> (V) Adv <sub>L</sub> (V)	(V) Neg (*V) Adv <sub>H</sub> (*V) Adv <sub>L</sub> (*V)
<i>C-Interaction</i>	No	Yes

We have presented an analysis of these data in terms of remnant XP movement. On our proposal, verb movement to the IP domain differs from verb movement to the CP domain in amount of material pied-piped: (i) Verb movement to the IP domain involves movement of a remnant vP that only contains the verb. This is an option in ReNN but not in Icelandic. (ii) Verb movement to the CP domain always pied-pipes a specifier. This is an option both in Icelandic and ReNN:

(52) **Two types of remnant vP movement:**

Remnant vP movement to the *IP domain*: [<sub>vP</sub> t<sub>Subj</sub> Verb]

Remnant vP movement to the *CP domain*: [<sub>XP</sub> Specifier Verb]

The proposal correctly predicts an adjacency requirement between the subject and the verb in the latter type of verb movement. Moreover, a difference between the two movements regarding interaction with subject interpretation becomes an expected possibility. Given that the subject has to evacuate from a vP that targets the IP domain of the clause, it may compete with the verb for the same position(s).

Table 2: *Verb movement and subjects in non-V2*

	<b>ReNN</b>	<b>Icelandic</b>
<i>Subject interpretation</i>	interaction	no interaction
<i>Adjacency Subject - Verb</i>	not required	required

The difference between traditional non-V2 and V2 contexts amounts to the presence of OuterTopP in the latter, making pied-piping of non-subjects available.

The observation that Scandinavian non-V2 verb movement comes in (at least) two types raises the question of how other languages displaying verb movement behave in this respect. The current trend of studying microvariation will hopefully lead to answers to this question.

### **Acknowledgements**

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