

ON EPP EFFECTS

Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson

Abstract. In this paper I argue that EPP effects are of two different types, NP-movement and the Filled Left Edge Effect. While NP-movement is driven in Narrow Syntax by the computation of Person, some Filled Left Edge phenomena, including Icelandic Stylistic Fronting, seem to take place in PF. Even so, these phenomena also reflect the clausal computation, that is, the matching processes that value clause internal elements in relation to features of the speech event.

Keywords: EPP, expletives, movement, Person, Stylistic Fronting

1. Introduction ^{*}

EPP (The Extended Projection Principle) effects are of two different types:

(1) EPP effects:

- a. NP-MOVEMENT
- b. The FILLED LEFT EDGE EFFECT, FLEE for short (leading to the finite declarative clause having a spelled-out left edge),¹ exemplified by phenomena such as topicalization, locative inversion, expletive merger and Icelandic Stylistic Fronting

These two types of effects often overlap and they are also commonly conflated in the literature.² In the approach of Chomsky (2007), FLEE should follow from the Edge Feature. Much like EPP itself however, the notion ‘Edge Feature’ is unclear and poorly understood. According to Lasnik (2003:1) the “EPP has been ... a pervasive mystery since it was first formulated by Chomsky (1981)”. Introducing the ‘Edge Feature’ does not clarify or remove the mystery.

^{*} The research for this paper was supported by a grant from the Swedish Research Council, VR 421-2006-2086 (in cooperation with Verner Egerland). I am grateful to open minded and insightful reviewers and to Anders Holmberg and Terje Lohndal for valuable remarks and discussions.

¹ The informal notion ‘left edge’ refers to both Spec,CP in ‘full’ finite clauses and Spec,IP in clausal structures that lack an active CP layer, such as ECM infinitives. X-bar theoretic notions like Spec,CP and Spec,IP have no status in the approach adopted here (see section 2), but I use them occasionally as descriptive terms for expository ease.

² For recent overviews of the EPP and its history in generative research, see Lasnik 2003, Epstein & Seely 2006, Boeckx 2007.

While languages evidently display *effects* that have commonly been attributed to EPP, Universal Grammar contains no Extended Projection *Principle*.³ The terms ‘NP-movement’ and ‘FLEE’ are thus just convenient descriptive labels. On the basis of evidence from mainly Icelandic and English, I argue that these two types of EPP effects have common as well as different properties. Common to both types is that they are reflections of the clausal computation, that is, the grammatical machinery that values clause internal elements in relation to features of the *speech event*.⁴ They also differ, however, in that NP-movement typically involves *Person matching*, whereas FLEE may be substantiated by elements that do not match Person, including the Icelandic expletive *það* ‘there, it’ and non-arguments fronted by Stylistic Fronting (Holmberg 2000). An additional difference is that FLEE reflects computational relations only indirectly, in PF, while abstract NP-movement is directly driven in syntax, by the computation of Person.⁵

More specifically, I argue that EPP effects show that we need to tease apart the covert matching mechanisms behind them, that is:

- I. Matching of grammatical Person, **P_n**, in the I domain
- II. Matching of **Fin**(iteness), at the IP/CP boarder
- III. Matching of speech event participants features, **Λ** (‘speaker’ / ‘hearer’), higher in the C domain
- IV. Matching of a Context-Linking feature, **CL_n**, still higher in the C domain

I will illustrate that different types of EPP effects differ with respect to these matching relations, NP-movement regularly involving relations I-III, whereas Stylistic Fronting, for instance, involves only (negative) Fin matching. Case is unrelated to EPP effects in the present approach (see further section 3).

Before I can discuss EPP effects in more detail, general background assumptions about clausal structure and the computation must be introduced. I will do so in section 2. Section 3 discusses NP-movement and the syntactic impact of Person, and section 4 discusses the properties and distribution of different types of expletives, in particular Icelandic *það* and English *there*. I develop an analysis of Stylistic Fronting in section 5, and in section 6 I

³ My arguments to this effect are different from the arguments developed by others (e.g., Epstein & Seely 2006), but I will not compare my approach with alternative accounts of EPP effects; it would take us much too far afield.

⁴ See further shortly. The *syntactic* notion of the speech event, argued for in Sigurðsson (2004b *et seq.*) and assumed here, is much more limited in scope or minimalistic than the speech event notion of Jakobson (1959/1990).

⁵ I say ‘abstract’ NP movement because structures and constituents are not linked to phonological material in syntax in the approach assumed here and argued for in previous work (e.g. Sigurðsson 2006a). However, this aspect of my approach is not of any central importance for my present purposes.

discuss ‘EPP-exceptions’ in certain kinds of verb-initial clauses. Section 7 concludes the paper.

2. Clausal architecture

I adopt a cartographic approach to clausal architecture, inspired by the work of Rizzi (1997), Cinque (1999) and others. I cannot discuss the virtues of this approach in any detail here, so I will have to limit myself to introducing only those properties of it that are essential to my purposes in this article.

As has been widely discussed in the generative literature, Rizzi (1997) proposed an approach where C splits into several heads, including **Force**, **Foc(us)**, **Fin(iteness)** and multiple **Top(ics)**, where Force and Fin take the highest and the lowest positions, respectively. Abstracting away from Foc and multiple Top, this gives us the following minimal architecture for the ForceP, here simply referred to with the cover term CP:⁶

- (2) [CP Force ... Top ... Fin [IP ...

Fin corresponds roughly to the ‘core’ C, attracting the finite verb in V1 and V2 contexts, whereas Force and Top are ‘Spec,CP elements’, licensing e.g. topicalized arguments and *wh*-phrases (in cooperation with Foc).

Frascarelli (2007) and Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) argue, convincingly in my view, that several types of Top features must be distinguished (aboutness-shift topics, contrastive topics and familiar topics), suggesting that each type heads its own projection in the broad C domain. However, not only true argumental topics but also many adverbials are semantic variables, getting their values set in relation to elements in the context (either the deictic context or the discourse context). Thus, an adverb like *then* in *Then I saw Peter* is a temporal variable with roughly the meaning “time *y* simultaneous to or later than time *x*”, where time *x* is a contextually decided temporal referent. Generalizing, we may refer to the C heads that license context sensitive variables of this sort, arguments as well as adverbials, with the cover term *Context-Linkers*, **CLn** for short.⁷ We can thus replace (2) with the more general (3):

- (3) [CP Force ... CLn ... Fin [IP ...

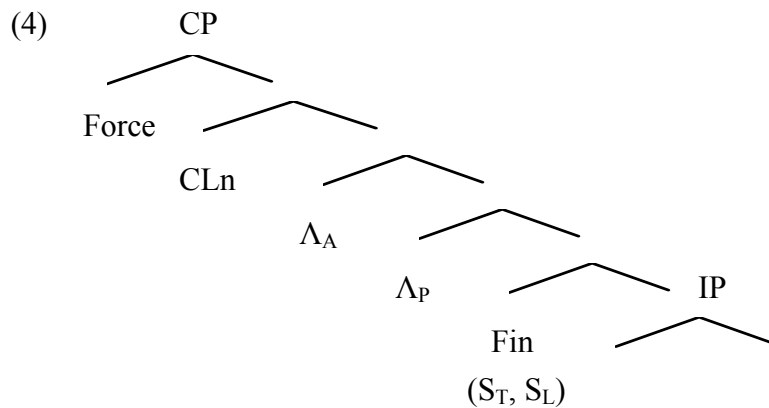
⁶ CP, IP and vP are here used as labels for domains, and not as X'-theoretic labels of projections. For an early, conceptually related split C domain approach to some of the issues discussed here, see Branigan (1996).

⁷ Context-linking is referred to as D(iscourse)-linking by Pesetsky (1987) and much subsequent work. Context-linking is the preferable notion, as it includes not only discourse-linking but also deictic linking (see shortly).

On this understanding, ‘topicalization’ of both arguments (*Peter I saw*) and adverbials (*Then I saw Peter*) in e.g. the Germanic languages involves movement into the vicinity of CLn. I use the term ‘vicinity of’ rather than ‘Spec of’ for reasons to be addressed shortly.

According to Rizzi & Shlonsky (2006:349) it “appears that Fin can be either nominal or verbal, but not both at the same time”. Adopting the approach in Sigurðsson (2004b), I assume instead that Fin splits into two separate (but commonly indistinguishable) head features, a temporal one and a locational one, that is, *Speech Time* and *Speech Location*, S_T and S_L (the basic NOW and HERE of the utterance). However, I will mostly be using only the cover term ‘Fin’, as it is sufficiently accurate for most of my purposes.

Following much recent work, I assume that the C domain also contains silent but probing (i.e., syntactically active) ‘speaker’ and ‘hearer’ features, referred to as the *logophoric agent*, Λ_A , and the *logophoric patient*, Λ_P , in Sigurðsson (2004a, 2004b *et seq.*).⁸ The CP structure that I will be assuming here is thus as follows:



CLn, Λ_A , Λ_P and Fin are inherent features of the syntactic speech event, in the sense argued for in Sigurðsson (2004b). Similar approaches have been developed in semantic terms in earlier works, including Sigurðsson (1990) and the influential study of Schlenker (2003).

This approach is conceptually related to the *performative hypothesis* (Ross 1970), but it is formally rather different from it (importantly, it does not involve any performative null-predicate and is embedded in a minimalist theory of Agree, see below). It is inspired by Bianchi (2003, 2006) and largely adopted in Frascarelli (2007), Holmberg et al. (2008), Baker (2008) and Zanuttini (2008). See also Di Domenico (2004), Speas (2004), Tenny (2006), Poletto & Zanuttini (2007), to mention only a few works that pursue related ideas. For speculations that silent speech event features might be needed to ‘round off’ the CP phase, see also Chomsky (2004:108 and 125, fn. 17).

⁸ I use lambda in line with θ and φ , but I opt for a capital Λ to avoid confusion with lambda calculus. As illustrated in Sigurðsson 2004b and 1990, the more common notions ‘speaker’ and ‘hearer’ are too simple and partly misleading, although I also use them, for ease.

I adopt the Inclusiveness Condition on the (narrowly syntactic) computation, stated as follows by Chomsky (1995:228):

A ‘perfect language’ should meet the condition of inclusiveness: any structure is ... constituted of elements already present in ... the items selected for [the] N[umeration]; no new objects are added in the course of computation ... in particular, no indices, bar-levels in the sense of X-bar theory, etc. ...

Accordingly, as seen, I do not indicate any X-bar levels or projections in (4) (or in syntactic structures in general). Throughout, I also adopt the approach in Sigurðsson (2004c, 2006a, 2006b) and Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008), where movement *tucks in* to the right of its probe rather than adding structure to its left. On this approach, Agree/Merge has properties that are reminiscent of those of a chemical reaction (where the negative electrons of one atom ‘agree’ with and are attracted by the positive nucleus of another atom): An abstract silent head feature \emptyset probes for a goal G inside of a structure X , potentially triggering movement of G as a part of the merging process (at a stage prior to the completion of Merge, when G and X are still distinct but ‘mutually attracted’ objects, no tampering or backtracking down into X thus being involved). If X contains an intervener INT between G and \emptyset , G has to move into the vicinity of \emptyset (or else G will be unlicensed, leading to a crash of the derivation).⁹

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|--|---|---|
| (5) | a. | Agree (\emptyset probes for G): | $[\emptyset] + [X (INT) \dots G \dots]$ | > |
| | b. | G moves (circumventing intervention,
yielding successful matching of $[\emptyset]$): | $[\emptyset] + [X G [X INT \dots G \dots]]$ | > |
| | c. | Completion of Merge: | $[Y \emptyset [X G \dots]]$ | |

Since \emptyset is silent, movement of G to the left edge of X illusorily looks like movement into ‘Spec,Y’ (\emptyset - G and G - \emptyset being overtly string identical).

All the CP features in (4) are abstract silent features, probing for IP-internal goals. Probing is an inescapable ‘reflex’, whereas successful matching is only mandatory if the probed structure contains a goal that can match the probe. A matching goal either moves (tucks in) into the vicinity of the probe, as in (5b), or is matched under distant Agree (in the absence of a potential intervener). In case the probed structure does not contain any matching goal, probing is legitimately vacuous (leading to default agreement morphology, as in many impersonal constructions). In contrast, grammar prohibits *vacuous matching*. A single item XY commonly matches a number of features, a pronominal subject like *she* for instance being

⁹ A special case of that arises when INT itself is an exhaustive matcher of \emptyset , thereby blocking G from matching it as well. For a discussion of what counts as an intervener, see Sigurðsson (2006b), cf. also Starke (2001), Rizzi (2001). Labels violate the Inclusiveness Condition and should arguably be dispensed with, but I use ‘X’ and ‘Y’ for expository ease.

both a negative matcher of the Λ features (‘neither the speaker nor the hearer’) and a positive matcher of CLn (in addition to matching IP internal features to be discussed shortly). However, merging an additional item, *X* or *Y*, that *only* matches a subset of the features matched by *XY* leads to a crash. An example would be a clause like **Who they said this?*, where *they* only matches a subset of the features matched by *who*. Another type, to be discussed in more detail, would be **There have probably been we elected*, where the expletive only matches a subset of the features matched by the subject *we*.

Grammar thus applies *optimal matching*, in the sense that it prohibits vacuous matching of this sort.¹⁰ Optimal matching is a kind of an Inclusiveness Condition on the numeration: Much as the Inclusiveness Condition excludes superfluous ‘alien’ objects from being added in the course of the derivation, optimal matching precludes completely redundant items from being included in the numeration. As a special case of optimal matching, positive matching takes precedence over negative matching, an issue I will return to.

These assumptions are not innocent or self-evident. Many constructions in various languages would seem to violate optimal matching. Left and right dislocated constituents would for instance seem to violate it and so would various other kinds of ‘partial copies’ and duplicates (like, e.g., *han* ‘he’ in a Swedish clause like *Han är duktig han*, lit. ‘He is smart he’, cf. Engdahl 2003). However, abstracting away from obvious (hence commonly tolerated) performance accidents, I hypothesize that all such apparently contentless elements in grammar are contentful or functional, matching at least one feature (commonly Foc(us)) that is not also matched by the copied constituent. Conversely, I hypothesize that the copied constituent always matches at least one feature that is not also matched by its copy. This may be a too optimistic hypothesis or view, but it is not clear what other theoretical options there are or even could be.

Adopting the approach suggested in Shlonsky (1989) and later developed by Sigurðsson (2000, 2004a, 2004b, etc.), I assume that Person and Number are separate clausal heads, **Pn** and **Nr** (see also Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008, Rezac 2008, Rizzi 2008).¹¹ I thus assume that universal clausal structure minimally contains the following heads (**M** = Mood):

- (6) [_{CP} Force ... CLn ... Λ_A ... Λ_P ... Fin ... [_{IP} Pn ... Nr ... M ... T ... [_{VP} v ... (NP) ...]]]

The individual features of the I domain (the T-complex), are thus independently active in syntax (the spelling out of T, M, Nr and Pn markers being a later morphological/PF process). While Pn and Nr are contentful categories, morphological Pn/Nr agreement of finite verbs in

¹⁰ See also ‘Maximize matching effects’ in Chomsky (2001:15).

¹¹ I am abstracting away from many features that are arguably heads in the clausal cartography, such as Foc(us), abstract Gender (as opposed to morphological gender) and numerous features of the modal and aspectual domains. Mostly, I will also be abstracting away from non-subject Person and Number.

languages like French and Icelandic is uninterpretable in the sense of Chomsky (1995 *et seq.*), arising in PF in the approach assumed here (see shortly).

In radical pro drop and non-agreement languages, such as Chinese, Pn and Nr may remain unexpressed in finite clauses, whereas they are commonly doubly spelled out in languages like French, German and Icelandic, both on an overt subject and in verbal agreement. English commonly expresses Pn and Nr on only arguments (*We stayed- \emptyset there*, etc.), and, e.g., Afrikaans and the mainland Scandinavian languages do so exclusively (lacking all finite verb agreement). Such variation in the overt expression of syntactic categories does not generally seem to have any deep syntactic or semantic correlates. Plausibly, though, adjacent silent features that are not separately treated by any process in syntax or morphology bundle up by simple addition, thereby functioning as a single head:

$$\Lambda_A + \Lambda_P = \Lambda_A - \Lambda_P (= \Lambda \text{ for short}) \quad S_T + S_L = S_T - S_L (= \text{Fin}) \quad \Lambda + \text{Fin} = \Lambda - \text{Fin}, \text{ etc.}$$

I adopt this *Head Unification* hypothesis, as informally stated in (7):

- (7) Adjacent silent heads bundle up, thereby functioning as a single head, unless they are separately active in the derivation¹²

In addition, inactive silent heads are obviously indistinguishable from their spelled out immediate neighbors in PF. Thus, using ‘T’ as a cover term for the T-complex is descriptively ‘PF-adequate’ for languages like Afrikaans and the mainland Scandinavian languages and ‘almost PF-adequate’ for English. However, Pn and Nr are separately active in the syntax of all these languages, and presumably universally, crucially partaking in the computation of arguments (and licensing their lexicalization, when they are spelled out).

Arguments are complex syntactic structures with phi-feature variables, Pn _{α} , Nr _{β} , etc. (cf. Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002, Platzack 2004 and others). As pointed out in Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008), a predication like *write* (*x*, *y*) or *write* (θ_1 , θ_2), can of course be expressed as in (8):

- (8) writer write (to) writee

However, this is not how language typically works. Rather, any argument must match the clausal Pn head as being either +Pn or –Pn, +Pn arguments in turn entering into a further matching

¹² I assume that bundled up features (in contrast to matched features) are in principle ‘domain homogeneous’, C domain features bundling up with only C domain features, etc. If so, I domain elements match C features, but are unable to silently bundle up with them.

relation with the Λ features, this second and higher matching yielding the actual person values of a pronoun. This is sketched below, where the arrow reads ‘gets valued as’:

$$(9) \quad \text{NP}_{\alpha\text{Pn}} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{NP}_{+\text{Pn}} \text{ or } \text{NP}_{-\text{Pn}}$$

$$(10) \quad \begin{array}{llll} \text{a.} & +\text{Pn} & \rightarrow & +\Lambda_A, -\Lambda_P = 1\text{P by computation} \\ \text{b.} & +\text{Pn} & \rightarrow & -\Lambda_A, +\Lambda_P = 2\text{P by computation} \\ \text{c.} & +\text{Pn} & \rightarrow & -\Lambda_A, -\Lambda_P = 3\text{P by computation} \\ \text{d.} & -\text{Pn:} & & = 3\text{P by default}^{13} \end{array}$$

Similarly, a vP event is either valued as +T(ensed) or –T, +T in turn entering into a further matching relation with (the S_T feature of) Fin.¹⁴ Thus, the I domain of grammatical features mediates between the (largely silent) ‘context domain’ of the C layer and the ‘content domain’ of the vP (this is inspired by Platzack 2001, who pursues the same intuition, though approaching and formalizing it differently).¹⁵

In this approach, all syntactic features are interpretable (uninterpretable agreement arising in PF, cf. Marantz 2000, Sigurðsson 2004c, 2006a). However, they enter syntax unvalued (uninterpreted), being valued (interpreted) in the course of the derivation, as just sketched for Person. The syntactic computation is thus about merging vP internal categories and valuing or interpreting them, via I features, in relation to C features.

Having laid out my background assumptions about clausal architecture and the computation, I now move on to discuss EPP effects, first NP-movement (section 3) and then FLEE (sections 4-6).

3. Person computation and NP-movement

It has been argued that case is not a syntactic feature (see Sigurðsson 2008b and the references there, e.g. Marantz 2000), and there is now a broad consensus that “Case assignment is divorced from movement” (Chomsky 2001:17). A wide array of facts considered in Zaenen et al. (1985) and in Sigurðsson (1989) and subsequent work indicates that this is correct (see e.g. (15) below), raising the question of what other factors might drive NP-movement. In Sigurðsson (2003), I proposed that Person matching is the crucial factor behind it, at least in nominative-accusative

¹³ The ‘no person’ approach to the 3 person (of Benveniste 1966 and others) has long been tantalizingly ‘correct and incorrect’, as is well known. The dilemma disappears under the present approach.

¹⁴ This is a simplification, but it is sufficiently accurate for my present purposes.

¹⁵ More is required to account for Number computation and for in-/exclusiveness of plural arguments, but I will not go into further details here. This sketch is sufficiently detailed to demonstrate the general approach.

systems.¹⁶ This hypothesis falls into place in the approach outlined above, as I will illustrate in the following.

Reconsider the structure in (6) = (11):

- (11) [_{CP} Force ... C_{Ln} ... Λ_A ... Λ_P ... Fin ... [_{IP} P_n ... N_r ... M ... T ... [_{vP} v ... (NP) ...]]]

In order to get valued as +P_n and to subsequently match the Λ features, an NP has to move into the vicinity of P_n, where it tucks in. Notice that if the argument would only need to match P_n, it should be able to do so under distant Agree. That is, the reason why it has to raise is plausibly that it also has to match the Λ features of the C domain, i.e., it cannot match both P_n and Λ across P_n by distant Agree. In other words, (12) below is well formed, whereas (13) is not. The notation P_n/NP indicates that the moved NP tucks in under P_n, thereby matching P_n. The P_n matching values NP as NP_{+P_n}, NP_{+P_n} in turn, matching the Λ features, positively or negatively.¹⁷

- (12) [_{CP} ... Λ -Fin ... [_{IP} ... P_n/NP_{+P_n} ... [_{vP} v ... NP _{α P_n} ...]]]
 \uparrow _____ Agree _____ $\uparrow\uparrow$ _____ Move _____ \uparrow

- (13) * [_{CP} ... Λ -Fin ... [_{IP} ... P_n ... [_{vP} v ... NP _{α P_n} ...]]
 \uparrow _____ Agree _____ \uparrow
 \uparrow _____ *Agree _____ \uparrow

As indicated, I assume that (the locational factor of) Fin and Λ bundle up in structures like (12), by Head Unification (yielding Λ -Fin). Plausibly, also, a fully matched probe like P_n in (12) that has attracted its goal thereby vanishes as a syntactic object, that is, P_n/NP_{+P_n} = NP_{+P_n}. However, for expository ease, I will use the notation X/Y here to indicate that Y has been attracted by X .

The Definiteness Effect (the correlation between definiteness, NP-movement and P_n) bears on this approach. By (10c,d), 3_p is either a ‘true’, computed person, +P_n, or ‘no person’ (default, arbitrary or generic 3_p, i.e. –P_n). Definiteness and Person are closely related categories (cf. Lyons 1999:313ff), both interpreting vP internal thematic elements (propositional event participants) in relation to participants that are deictically or contextually known or given (speech event/discourse participants). The relation between these categories

¹⁶ Boeckx 2007 also argues in favor of Person being crucially important with respect to (certain) EPP effects. Others, including Miyagawa 2005, have also pursued (different implementations of) the idea that EPP effects result from more than one matching correlation.

¹⁷ P_n matching of Λ -Fin is an (extended) A-relation and not an A'-relation. Thus, Chomsky's (2008) disjunction of A- and A'-chains is not relevant here.

(Def and Pn) seems to be such that they are independent computational features (valuing arguments as +Def or –Def and as +Pn or –Pn), the value +Def nonetheless preconditioning the value +Pn.¹⁸ If so, all +Pn arguments should also be +Def, which seems to be essentially correct. The correlation does not hold in both directions: Clearly, not all +Def arguments are semantically also ‘truly personal’ (*the car, the country*, etc.). However, all +Def arguments that are in the 1st or the 2nd persons and many 3rd person +Def arguments get valued +Pn by computation. It is thus plausible to assume that the formal Person valuing for +Def arguments tends to get ‘grammaticalized’ or conventionalized as +Pn, yielding 3p by computation rather than by default. If we assume that this is true of languages like English and Icelandic, we have an account of the core facts of the Definiteness Effect in these languages, that is, it can then be analyzed as involving raising of +Pn arguments.¹⁹ Consider (14):

- (14) a. There have probably been **some democrats** elected to the board.
 b. * There have probably been **the democrats** elected to the board.
 c. * There have probably been **I/you/we/they** elected to the board.

Chomsky (2001:7) argues that “expletives must have the feature [person]”. That seems to be true of English *there*, as suggested by the fact that its associate triggers number agreement (plural *have* in (14a)), but cannot trigger true person agreement. That follows if *there* enters into a matching relation with Pn, which is thus ‘taken’ (Richards 2004). It also follows that the expletive is incompatible with the true person matching pronouns in (14c), that is, the personal pronouns are ‘stronger’ Pn matchers than the expletive, thus rendering it superfluous and hence ungrammatical (i.e., including it in the numeration would violate optimal matching).

This is simple and elegant. However, Icelandic illustrates that the issues at stake are more complex. First, it shows that the Definiteness Effect is not about the expletive but about the argument NP (cf. e.g. Sigurðsson 1989). This is illustrated in (15), where the clause-initial

¹⁸ In a sense, definiteness is a general focalizer, narrowing the ‘relevant set of discourse elements’, S_{disc}. True person narrows the set still further, down to ‘(speech and discourse) local participants’.

¹⁹ See also Lyons (1999:313ff) for arguments that “definiteness and person should be conflated.” However, a number of facts indicate that this may be a too optimistic view, in which case clausal architecture or its computation is more complex than assumed here. One such fact, pointed out by a reviewer, is that English locative inversion is compatible with definite postverbal NPs (*Among the guests of honor was sitting the mayor/my friend Rose*), as opposed to anaphoric pronouns (**Rose_i? Among the guests of honor was sitting she_i/her_i*, cf. Bresnan 1994:86). Another such fact is that Icelandic tolerates certain violations of the Definiteness Effect by definite full NPs, to a limited extent, whereas subject pronouns never fail to raise (see Thráinsson 2007, chapter 6). All facts of this sort suggest that the present approach may need to be complemented by a finer grained theory of definiteness and NP types, a task that I will however not undertake here.

element is the context-linking adverbial *þá* ‘then’, there thus not being any expletive in the clause:

- (15) a. *Þá hafa sennilega verið kosnir einhverjir demókratar í stjórnina.*
 then have.3PL probably been elected some democrats.NOM to board.the
 ‘Then there have probably been some democrats elected to the board.’
- b. **Þá hafa sennilega verið kosnir demókratarnir í stjórnina.*
 then have.3PL probably been elected democrats.the.NOM to board.the
- c. *Þá hafa demókratarnir sennilega verið kosnir í stjórnina.*
 then have.3PL democrats.the.NOM probably been elected to board.the
 ‘Then the democrats have probably been elected to the board.’

Second, Icelandic shows that nominative case is fully grammatical vP-internally, as in (15a) (this is a general phenomenon in Icelandic and many other languages, see the discussion in e.g. Sigurðsson 1989, 2008a, 2008b). Nonetheless, the definite NP in (15b,c) has to raise. Parallel facts are illustrated for a personal pronoun in (16):

- (16) a. **Þá höfum sennilega verið kosnir við í stjórnina.*
 then have.1PL probably been elected we.NOM to board.the
- b. *Þá höfum við sennilega verið kosnir í stjórnina.*
 then have.1PL we.NOM probably been elected to board.the

These facts raise the question of why +Pn and +Def subjects should have to move from a legitimate nominative case position.²⁰

Simple as it is, this is a big problem for the approach to Agree developed in Chomsky (2000, 2001): Since the clause in (16a) does not contain any NP other than precisely the nominative *við*, it is not ruled out by containing a non-licensed ‘extra’ NP (in contrast to the English (14b, c)), and, seemingly, intervention does not arise either, suggesting that the finite verb should be free to probe for the person of the nominative. As seen in (15a), it does probe the nominative for number, so why should it not also be able to probe it for person?

As suggested above, the reason does not seem to have to do with Pn matching as such (yielding +Pn); if only that was at stake, plain Agree should do:

- (17) [CP .. [IP Pn .. [vP NP ..]]
 ↑ ___ Agree ___ ↑

²⁰ Another question raised by examples like (15a) in the Scandinavian languages is why these languages differ from English in allowing indefinite NPs in the object position of passives and unaccusatives (cf. English **Then there have probably been elected some democrats* vs. *Then there have probably been some democrats elected*). I will not discuss this intriguing question here.

Plausibly, therefore, the reason why the pronoun in (16) has to raise into the vicinity of Pn is that it does not only have to match Pn but also the Λ features, in order to yield the exact value of +Pn, as 1, 2, or 3 (by computation), see (12)-(13) above. On this account, Λ -Fin may probe Pn/NP_{+Pn} under Agree, as in (12), whereas it cannot probe NP _{α Pn} across Pn, as in (13), Pn in that case acting as an intervener. That is, clauses like (16a) are ruled out by covert intervention of Pn, between NP _{α Pn} and Λ -Fin.

If definite NPs like *the democrats* in (14b) and *demókratararnir* in (15b,c) are valued as +Pn, as suggested above, thus being 3p by computation rather than by default, this analysis of the ungrammaticality of (16a) extends to (14b) and (15b).

Pn-matching is independent of case, a conclusion that gains further support from so-called quirky agreement. As has been widely discussed (see Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008 and the references there), nominative 3p objects control number agreement in Icelandic DAT-NOM constructions, as illustrated in (18):

- (18) Henni mundu ekki líka þeir.
her.DAT would.3PL not like they.NOM
‘She would not like them.’

In contrast, nominative objects never control (unambiguous) 1st and 2nd person agreement, as illustrated in (19):

- (19) a. * Henni mundum ekki líka við.
her.DAT would.1PL not like we.NOM
Intended: ‘She would not like us.’
b. * Henni munduð ekki líka þið.
her.DAT would.2PL not like you.NOM.PL
Intended: ‘She would not like you.’

The agreement contrast between (18) and (19) is understandable if Icelandic quirky subjects are as ‘subjecty’ as they are by entering a covert Agree relation with Pn, Pn thus not being able to also overtly agree with the nominative object. This is illustrated in (20) and (21):²¹

- (20) her.DAT would.3PL not like they.NOM
- | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-----|
| DAT | Pn / Nr | NOM |
| ↑__covert__↑ | ↑__overt__↑ | |

²¹ The diagrams in (20)-(21) are just surface descriptions. As discussed in Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008, the Pn-agreement relation is arguably established prior to A-movement.

it was.3PL shot.NOM.M.PL whales.NOM.M.PL
 ‘There where some whales shot.’

The Swedish expletive *det* triggers (underlined) agreement of the participle *skjutet*, whereas both verbal and participial agreement in Icelandic is controlled by the post-verbal nominative associate of *það*, *það* itself never having any agreement effects whatsoever. Rather, it merely instantiates the FLEE in (1b), repeated here:

(1) EPP effects:

- a. NP-MOVEMENT
- b. The FILLED LEFT EDGE EFFECT, FLEE for short (leading to the finite declarative clause having a spelled-out left edge), exemplified by phenomena such as topicalization, locative inversion, expletive merger and Icelandic Stylistic Fronting

Thus, *það* is subject to a remarkable restriction, *The Clause Initial Constraint*, CLIC.²² That is, it is confined to the first position in finite clauses, both main and subordinate clauses, thereby differing from referential subjects, in fact from all other lexical items in the language. This is illustrated with English glosses in (24):

- (24) a. **Það** had been sold some boats at the auction.
 b. Had (***það**) been sold some boats at the auction?
 c. Then had (***það**) been sold some boats at the auction.
 d. ... that [**það** had been sold some boats at the auction].
 e. ... whether [then had (***það**) been sold some boats at the auction].
 f. ... at what time [**það** had been sold some boats at the auction].
 g. I believed [(?**það**) have been sold some boats at the auction].²³

In the influential analysis of Platzack (1987) and Holmberg & Platzack (1995), it was assumed that *það* was strictly confined to (an unsplit) Spec,CP and hence that subordinate clauses with *það* had to be analyzed as involving a recursive CP layer, as illustrated for two examples in (25):

²² The term The Clause Initial Constraint was coined in Sigurðsson 2004b, but the properties of the Icelandic expletive have been widely discussed. See, for instance, Thráinsson 1979, 2005, 2007, Rögnvaldsson 1984, Zaenen 1985, Platzack 1987, Ottósson 1989, Sigurðsson 1989, Magnússon 1990, Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990, Jónsson 1991, 1996, Holmberg & Platzack 1995, Holmberg 2000, Vangsnes 2002.

²³ Some speakers accept the expletive in ECM infinitives (see Thráinsson 1979:357, 446, 481f), but authentic examples are hard to find, it seems (on Google, for instance). I restrict my account to my own (and, I believe, the central) variety, where the expletive is unacceptable in ECM albeit not as sharply ungrammatical as in post-verbal position in finite clauses.

- (25) a. ... [_{CP}¹ Ø [_{C'} that [_{CP}² **það** [_{C'} had [_{IP} ...
 b. ... [_{CP}¹ at what time [_{C'} Ø [_{CP}² **það** [_{C'} had [_{IP} ...

However, if only recursion of C and its projections was involved, both its occurrences should be featurally non-distinct, which, if taken to its extreme, predicts that grammar allows endlessly duplicated, non-distinct features. It is not a trivial matter to theoretically exclude such an approach, but it will remain unattractive unless it can be embedded in a theory that somehow restricts featural ‘stuttering’ (this may be just a matter of pragmatics, but that remains to be shown, as far as I know). In fact, it is evident that the C heads in the structures in (25) are featurally distinct, hence being differently lexicalized and also licensing different types of ‘specifiers’. Thus, the expletive is only licensed in the lower CP, that is, the order of CP¹ and CP² is irreversible: ***það** *that had*, etc.

Expletive *það* in embedded clauses is common and neutral, as extensively demonstrated by Magnússon (1990). Consider (26):

- (26) a. ... að **það** væri draugur í eldhúsinu.
 ... that there was ghost in kitchen.the
 ‘... that there was a ghost in the kitchen.’
 b. ... hvort (að) **það** væri draugur í eldhúsinu.
 ... whether (that) there was ghost in kitchen.the
 c. ... hvenær (að) **það** væri draugur í eldhúsinu.
 ... when (that) there was ghost in kitchen.the
 d. ... eins og (að) **það** væri draugur í eldhúsinu.
 ... as if (that) there was ghost in kitchen.the
 e. ... þegar (að) **það** væri draugur í eldhúsinu.
 ... when (that) there was ghost in kitchen.the

And so on. As very clearly demonstrated by Magnússon (1990), *það* is neutral in almost any kind of subordinate clauses, with basically only one type of exceptions, namely:

- (27) *Það* may act as an intervener between an operator and a variable

That is, *það* is excluded from many relatives, comparatives, interrogatives and clauses extracted from. This holds in particular if the variable is the subject of the ‘gapped’ clause, as in (28):

- (28) a. Þetta er maður sem (***það**) elskar allar bækur.
 this is man who (*there) loves all books
 ‘This is a man who loves all books.’

- b. Hún spyr hver (***það**) elski allar bækur.
 she asks who (*there) loves all books
- c. Þessi maður veit ég að (***það**) elskar allar bækur.
 this man know I that (*there) loves all books

This is much as in English and many other related languages (apart from the fact that Icelandic does not show any *that*-trace effects). I will return to this in section 5, where I argue that it is directly accounted for if *það* has a matching function that is already served by the empty subject variable.²⁴

The most central and general fact about *það* is CLIC, namely that *það* must not be spelled out *when some other element takes the first position of the clause*. We saw this in (24) and it is further illustrated in (29) (for the transitive expletive construction, but the same holds for other expletive constructions, such as intransitive existential predicates and weather predicates):

- (29) a. **Það** höfðu margir stúdentar lesið auglýsinguna í gærdag.
 there had many students read announcement.the in yesterday
 ‘Many students had read the announcement yesterday.’
- b. Margir stúdentar höfðu (***það**) lesið auglýsinguna í gærdag.
- c. Auglýsinguna höfðu (***það**) margir stúdentar lesið í gærdag.
- d. Í gærdag höfðu (***það**) margir stúdentar lesið auglýsinguna.

This even holds in yes/no-questions, where Spec,CP is not lexicalized:

- (30) Höfðu (***það**) margir stúdentar lesið auglýsinguna í gærdag?
 had (*there) many students read announcement.the in yesterday

²⁴ Notice that the distribution of Icelandic *það* is markedly different from the distribution of German (existential) *es* ‘there’, the latter being strictly confined to main clause initial position (cf. Mohr 2005):

- (i) a. **Það** er draugur í eldhúsinu.
 there is ghost in kitchen.the
 ‘There is a ghost in the kitchen.’
- b. ... hvers vegna **það** er draugur í eldhúsinu.
 ... what for there was ghost in kitchen.the
 ‘... why there is a ghost in the kitchen’.
- (ii) a. **Es** ist ein Gespenst in der Küche.
 there is a ghost in the kitchen
- b. * ... warum **es** ein Gespenst in der Küche ist.
 ... why there a ghost in the kitchen is

In Sigurðsson (2004b), I proposed an analysis where *það* negatively matches Fin (its locational factor) and other speech event features under distant Agree, *það* thereby representing the values $-\Lambda$, $-\text{Fin}$.²⁵ As illustrated in (31), where ‘[Ø]’ denotes phonetic emptiness, this gives us a uniform account of the CLIC in both main and subordinate clauses:²⁶

- (31) a. *Main clauses:* [CP [Ø] Fin/*það* [IP Pn ... ‘there’]
Subordinate clauses:
 b. Declarative: [CP *að* Fin/*það* [IP Pn ... ‘that there’]
 c. Interrogative: [CP *hvort* (*að*) Fin/*það* [IP Pn ... ‘whether (that) there’]
 d. Conditional: [CP *ef* (*að*) Fin/*það* [IP Pn ... ‘if (that) there’]
 e. Temporal: [CP *þegar* (*að*) Fin/*það* [IP Pn ... ‘when (that) there’]
 f. ...

In all instances, then, *það* tucks in immediately to the right of Fin.

Expletive *það* is excluded in the presence of a regular definite subject, as positive matching takes precedence over negative matching (a subcase of optimal matching). A first person subject pronoun, for instance, matches both Λ_A and the locational factor of Fin positively (as being +Speech Local), thereby excluding the expletive (from simultaneously matching Λ_A and the locational Fin feature negatively).

If the finite verb in verb-second languages moves into the vicinity of Fin (and sometimes also to Force), as commonly assumed, we have a simple account of CLIC:

- (32) *Það* is only licensed in the immediately subjacent vicinity of Fin, hence it a) blocks the finite verb from moving to Fin, and b) cannot occur any lower in the structure

Thus, (33a) and (33d) are well-formed, whereas (33b) and (33c) crash:

- (33) a. [CP ... Fin/*það* [IP Pn V_{fin} ... *það var kalt* ‘p. was cold’
 b. * [CP ... Fin/V_{fin}/*það* [IP Pn ∇_{fin} ... * *var það kalt?* ‘was p. cold?’
 c. * [CP ... Fin/V_{fin} [IP Pn/*það* ∇_{fin} ... * *var það kalt?* ‘was p. cold?’
 d. [CP ... Fin/V_{fin} [IP Pn ∇_{fin} ... *var kalt?* ‘was cold?’

²⁵ As I also argued, a distinction has to be made between negative matching (yielding negative valuing) and no matching (yielding no valuing).

²⁶ The analysis in (31) is slightly different from my 2004b approach, where I assumed that *það* is in Spec,IP (as in, e.g., Ottósson 1989, Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990, Magnússon 1990). On the present approach, the complementizer *að* is not a lexicalized Fin, but a ‘lexicalizer’ of Λ , higher in the CP domain. *Hvort*, *ef*, *þegar* in (31c-d) are plausibly Force elements, still higher than Λ .

This follows as *það*, in contrast to English *there*, Swedish *det*, etc, does not match Pn, thus having no ‘business’ other than negatively matching Λ -Fin. In contrast, Mainland Scandinavian *det* and English *there* and *it* attach to (tuck in under) Pn, hence not competing for Fin with the finite verb:

- (34) a. [CP ... Fin/*was* [IP Pn/*it* ... *was it cold?*
 b. [CP ... Fin/*var* [IP Pn/*det* ... *var det kallt?* (Swedish)

Finally, notice that topicalization of e.g. an object or an adverbial is not, as such, incompatible with *það*. Rather, in accordance with (32), the presence of *það* would block obligatory V2 verb raising, yielding ungrammatical structures like *XP – *það* – (subj –) V_{fin}.

5. Teasing FLEE further apart: Stylistic Fronting

Mainland Scandinavian *det* as well as English *there* and *it* are largely obligatory in the absence of a ‘stronger’ (positive) Λ -Fin matcher; the examples in (36) are Swedish:

- (35) a. Did ***(it)** rain much?
 b. I believe ***(it)** is raining.
 c. Does ***(there)** seem to be anyone in the house?
- (36) a. Regnade ***(det)** mycket?
 rained it much
 b. Har ***(det)** blivit valt en ny president?
 has there been elected a new president
 c. Jag anser ***(det)** vara för kallt för att bada.
 I consider it be too cold for (one) to swim
 d. Verkar ***(det)** kanske ha varit någon i huset?
 seems there maybe have been somebody in house.the

Due to CLIC, expletive *það* is excluded from comparable clauses in Icelandic:

- (37) a. Rígndi (**það*) mikið?
 rained it much
 b. Hefur (**það*) verið kosinn nýr forseti?
 has there been elected new president
 c. Ég tel (*??það*) vera of kalt til að synda.
 I consider it be too cold for (one) to swim

- d. Virðist (??það) kannski hafa verið einhver í húsinu?
 seems there maybe have been somebody in house.the

As we have seen, we have an account of the Icelandic facts if *það* is only licensed in the immediately subjacent vicinity of Fin, thus neither being available in infinitives nor in finite clauses with verb raising to Fin.

In English and Swedish a [person] element (e.g. *there* and *det*) matches both Pn and Λ -Fin in finite clauses, only Pn in ECM infinitives, and neither in PRO infinitives:

- (38) a. [CP ... Λ -Fin ... [IP Pn/*there* ^{ok}*there* in finite clauses
 b. [IP Pn/*there* ^{ok}*there* in ECM
 c. * [CP ... [IP Pn/*there* **there* in PRO infinitives

The unacceptability of *það* in ECM infinitives like (37c) is expected if ECM structures contain no Fin but do contain Pn (licensing English *there*). This analysis is further supported by the fact that ECM infinitives are sensitive to the Definiteness Effect in much the same manner as finite clauses:

- (39) a. Ég taldi hafa verið selda **fjóra bíla**/*bílana.
 I believed have been sold four cars.ACC/*cars.the.ACC
 ‘I believed there to have been four cars sold.’
 b. Ég taldi **bílana** hafa verið selda.
 I believed cars.the.ACC have been sold

Recall, however, that matching Pn as such should be possible under mere Agree, that is, Move is triggered by a matching relation with a still higher head. In finite clauses the head in question, as we have seen, is Λ -Fin, but in ECM it is the matrix clause object Pn (cf. Sigurðsson 2006b). Matching of both the infinitival subject Pn head and the matrix object Pn heads yields the well-known amalgam matrix object / subordinate subject properties of ECM NPs (discussed at length with respect to Icelandic in Thráinsson 1979).

EPP effects thus boil down to an interplay of Person matching and matching of CP speech event features, either involving both types of matching relations or only one of them. It follows that parameterization or other kinds of generalizations in terms of ‘EPP’ are unprincipled and theoretically underivable. Such generalizations can be catching descriptive approximations, but they tell us nothing about how grammar works.

Icelandic Stylistic Fronting, **SF**, offers additional evidence that the mechanisms behind EPP effects must be teased apart, that is:

- (40) a. Pn matching

- b. Fin matching
- c. Λ matching
- d. CLn matching

SF has several rather special characteristics (Maling 1980, Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990, Jónsson 1991, Holmberg 2000, among others):

- (41) a. SF fronts non-subjects, typically an adverb or a participle but sometimes a particle, a preposition, an infinitive, a PP or an N(P)
- b. SF seemingly targets the canonical subject position (Spec,IP)
- c. SF is preconditioned by a ‘subject gap’, that is, it only applies in case the canonical subject position is (phonologically) empty or vacated²⁷
- d. SF applies in finite clauses only, most commonly in subject gapped subordinate clauses (relative clauses, etc.) but also in main clauses that meet the subject gap condition; it is also finite clause bounded

A few examples (the dashes indicate the position from where the fronted element has moved).²⁸

- (42) a. **Tekin** hefur verið ___ sú ákvörðun að fresta kosningunum.
 taken has.3SG been the decision to postpone election.the
 ‘They have decided to postpone the election.’
- b. **Sagt** er ___ að **kosið** verði ___ í júní.
 said is.3SG that elected will-be.3SG in June
 ‘It is said that there will be election in June.’
- c. Þetta er vandamál sem **leysa** þyrfti ___ strax.
 this is problem that solve would-need.3SG at-once
 ‘This is a problem one would need to solve at once.’
- d. Við gerum þetta, eins og **um** var talað _____.
 we will-do this as about was.3SG spoken
 ‘We will do this, as had been discussed.’

²⁷ According to Hrafnbjargarson (2004), SF is only mildly degraded (one question mark) in the presence of a (phonological) subject clitic, yielding the order Comp-Cl-SF (type: ‘that’(h)e read had’). I do not share Hrafnbjargarson’s intuition in this respect, that is, all such examples are clearly ungrammatical to me. In view of the fact that such examples can be found in Italian (Cardinaletti 2003), some Icelandic speaker variation in this respect is perhaps not unexpected. However, I have never come across an authentic Comp-Cl-SF example in any form of Icelandic, so I refrain from considering such examples here.

²⁸ As suggested by the examples in (42), SF typically fronts event-denoting categories, in the absence of any category that denotes a (speech local) participant.

In most respects, SF has much the same distribution as expletive *það*, suggesting that SF elements are in some sense ‘expletives’ (Holmberg 2000):

- (43) a. SF and *það* are both excluded in the presence of a definite (Pn matching) subject
- b. SF elements are always clause initial, like *það*, that is, both *það* and SF are ruled out when the finite verb moves to Fin
- c. SF and *það* are both generally excluded in infinitives

These facts are illustrated for SF in (45)-(46), which should be compared to the grammatical examples in (44):

- (44) a. **Skrifuð** hefur verið ný bók um þessar tilraunir.
written has.3SG been new book about these experiments
‘There has been a new book written about these experiments.’
- b. **Skrifað** hefur verið um þessar tilraunir.
written has.3SG been about these experiments
‘Somebody has written about these experiments.’

Ungrammaticality in the presence of a definite subject or verb raising:

- (45) a. *Skrifuð hefur **bókin** verið / verið **bókin** um þessar tilraunir.
written has.3SG book.the been / been book.the about these experiments
- b. *Hefur **skrifað** verið um þessar tilraunir?
has.3SG written been about these experiments

Ungrammaticality in infinitives:

- (46) a. *Hún vonast til að **skrifað** hafa ___ um þessar tilraunir
she hopes for to written have about these experiments
fyrir jól.
before Christmas.
- b. ?*Hún taldi **skrifað** hafa verið ___ um þessar tilraunir í Science.
she believed written have been about these experiments in Science
- c. *Hún virðist **skrifað** hafa ___ um þessar tilraunir í Science.
she seems written have about these experiments in Science

Like SF, *það* is degraded in all these contexts. In one respect, however, the distribution of *það* and SF is radically different:

(47) *Það* may act as an intervener between an operator and a variable, whereas SF does not generally block operator-variable ‘binding’ (see (53)-(54) below)²⁹

This is illustrated (in part only) in (48)-(49); the dashes here indicate an empty target position for *það* vs SF.³⁰

- (48) a. * Þetta er bók sem **það** hefur verið skrifuð um einmitt þetta.
 this is book that there has been written about exactly this
 b. Þetta er bók sem **skrifuð** hefur verið um einmitt þetta.
 ‘This is a book that has been written about exactly this.’
 c. Þetta er bók sem ___ hefur verið **skrifuð** um einmitt þetta.
 this is book that has been written about exactly this

- (49) a. * Veit hún hver **það** hefur skrifað um þetta?
 knows she who that has written about this
 b. Veit hún hver **skrifað** hefur um þetta?
 knows she who written has about this
 ‘Does she know who has written about this?’
 c. Veit hún hver ___ hefur **skrifað** um þetta?
 knows she who has written about this

- (50) a. * Hver heldur þú að **það** hafi skrifað um þetta?
 who believe you that there has written about this
 b. Hver heldur þú að **skrifað** hafi um þetta?
 who think you that written has about this
 ‘Who do you think has written about this.’
 c. Hver heldur þú að ___ hafi **skrifað** um þetta?
 who think you that has written about this

SF does not have any clear semantic effects, a fact that led Holmberg (2000) to suggest that it is a syntactic movement that satisfies ‘EPP’ by moving only the phonological features of a word or a

²⁹ I only present the core facts, but, as has been discussed by e.g. Rögnvaldsson (1984) and Magnússon (1990), some other factors may affect the well-formedness of expletive *það*. Thus, while it is impossible when the variable is a subject, it is commonly well-formed when the variable is a prepositional complement or an adverbial. This tallies with the analysis proposed here, but I refrain from going into further details.

³⁰ In fact there is another difference: *það* is more easily compatible with transitive verbs (the transitive expletive construction) than is Stylistic Fronting, at least in my speech (type **Það** *have many students bought this book*, vs ??**Bought** *have many students this book*). I will not develop an analysis of this difference here.

constituent, stranding its semantic and formal features. However, assuming that syntax can divorce meaningful units from their phonological representations calls for, 1) a general theory of such form-meaning splits (principles, conditions, etc.), and, 2) a theory of why and how form-meaning pairs should come into being in the first place (cf. Burton-Roberts & Poole 2006).³¹

I propose the following understanding: SF often has (formal) stylistic flavor to it, but it does not correlate with propositional semantics, so it is not surprising that it generally has vague or even non-deictic semantic effects.³² Like expletive *það*, however, it negatively matches Fin (its speech local component). There is one crucial difference, though, explaining why SF is possible in ‘binding domains’ in examples like the ones in (48)-(50) above, while *það* is impossible there:

- (51) a. *Það* matches both (the speech local feature of) Fin *and* the speaker/hearer CP features (thus, representing –Speech Local as well as –Λ)
- b. A stylistically fronted element matches only (the speech local feature of) Fin (representing only –Speech Local)

Given that copies of A'-moved subjects are valued +Pn, they are like regular definite subjects in being matchers of the speaker/hearer CP features (Λ), thus rendering the expletive superfluous and ill-formed.

That copies of A'-moved subjects have largely the same matching properties as regular overt subjects is evidenced by various factors, for instance verb agreement (the empty subject copy might be in Spec,vP rather than Spec,IP, but the difference is irrelevant here, as far as I can judge):

- (52) a. Hvaða málfræðingar heldur þú að ___ hefðu/*hefði skrifað svona?
what linguists.PL think.2SG you that had.3PL/*3SG written such
‘Which linguists do you believe would have written like this?’
- b. Hvaða málfræðingar heldur þú að **skrifað** hefðu/*hefði svona?
what linguists.PL think.2SG you that written had.3PL/*3SG such

On the present tucking-in approach to movement, the structure of the stylistically fronted version in (52b) is roughly as in (53) (where I make no distinction between Agree and Agree+Move):

³¹ There are strong reasons to believe that syntactic structures and syntactic ‘words’ have no phonological material attached to them, but that assumption is not available under the general approach pursued by Holmberg (2000).

³² Hrafnbjargarson (2004:93ff) claims that SF may have truth-conditional focus effects. I do not share that intuition. Hrafnbjargarson (2004:93) says that Sigurðsson (1997) suggested that “stylistic fronting is a way to focus a specific element in the clause”, but I only pointed out that it was *compatible* with contrastive focus, given the right context.

(53) [CP wh ... [CP ... ~~wh~~ ... Λ ... Fin/*skrifað* [IP Pn/e_{subj}
 \uparrow _____ $\uparrow\uparrow$ _____ $\uparrow\uparrow$ _____ \uparrow

The corresponding ungrammatical structure containing *það* is sketched in (54):

(54) *[CP wh ... [CP ... ~~wh~~ ... Λ -Fin/*það* [IP Pn/e_{subj}
 \uparrow _____ $\uparrow\uparrow$ _____ $\uparrow\uparrow$ _____ * _____ \uparrow

That is, *það* blocks Pn/e_{subj} from matching the Λ -Fin head by intervention, hence being ungrammatical (like expletives in comparable constructions in related languages).

A fact highlighted by this approach, but not explained by it (or by any other approach I'm aware of), is that the locational component of Fin *does not need to be overtly matched*, as seen in (52a) and the c-examples in (48)-(50). In the next section, I will discuss some further examples bearing on this issue.

6. The optionality problem

In addition to topicalization (CLn-matching), Icelandic has three overt 'EPP strategies':

- NP-movement matching Person locally (Pn/NP_{+Pn}), and commonly also matching CP speech event features under Agree, that is, Fin (its speech local factor), the speaker/hearer features, Λ , and potentially also CLn (in the absence of a 'stronger' CLn-matcher, such as a topicalized object or a context-linking adverbial)
- Expletive merger, negatively matching Fin and Λ but not matching Pn
- Stylistic Fronting, negatively matching only Fin

Icelandic thus demonstrates that EPP effects are reflections of distinct matching relations that overlap rather generally in languages like English, but can be teased apart when a richer cross-linguistic variation is scrutinized.

There can be little doubt that Pn and the features of the speech event are meaningful features of Universal Grammar. That is, EPP effects are not just some mystery but follow from factors that are central to language and 'make perfect sense'. Nonetheless, there are numerous 'EPP exceptions', even in English:

- (55) a. As (*it) is well known ...
 b. As far as (*it) can be seen ...
 c. She is much smarter than (*it/*there) is her boss.

- d. (I) saw him yesterday. (I) was a bit surprised.

Facts of this sort should not, in my view, be interpreted such that EPP effects are uninteresting or unimportant, but they should get *some* theoretical interpretation.

‘EPP violations’ quite generally lead to ungrammaticality in English and they are commonly awkward in Icelandic too (cf. Kosmeijer 1993), as illustrated in (56); the minus sign in front of (56a) denotes a variable and a commonly degraded acceptability, that is, clauses of this sort are only fully acceptable to some speakers.³³

- (56) a. – Ég vona að ___ verði ekki of kalt til að synda.
 I hope that will-be not too cold for to swim
 ‘I hope it won’t be too cold (for one) to swim.’
 b. Ég vona að **það** verði ekki of kalt til að synda.
 I hope that it will-be not too cold for to swim
 c. Ég vona að **ekki** verði of kalt til að synda.
 I hope that not will-be too cold for to swim

Thus, it seems clear that filling the left edge is in some sense a ‘desirable goal’. Leaving it empty is typically construction specific, that is, clauses with a phonologically empty left edge strongly tend to serve some special function, as partly illustrated in (57); the dashes indicate a phonetically empty left edge (Spec,CP):

- (57) a. ___ Hafa þau lesið bókina? Question
 have.3PL they read book.the
 b. ___ Lásu þau því bókina og ... Narrative Inversion³⁴
 read.3PL they thus book.the and
 ‘Thus they read the book and’
 c. ___ Kemur bílinn! V1 exclamatives
 comes3SG car.the
 ‘Ah, there comes the car!’
 d. ___ Las hana ekki. Colloquial argument drop
 read.1SG it not
 ‘(I) didn’t read it.’

³³ *Að*- ‘that’ clauses of this sort are also variably acceptable to individual speakers, depending on a number of factors, such as the semantics of the matrix predicate and the mood of the subordinate clause. I put this aside here.

³⁴ Typical of certain narrative texts, signalling ‘narrative cohesion’ (usually conditioned by a maintained aboutness topic).

Facts like (55) and (57) suggests that the *Fill the Left Edge* requirement in (58) applies:

- (58) Fill the left edge unless leaving it empty serves some special function X,
 X subject to cross-linguistic variation

This generalization has a suspicious conspiracy flavor and is arguably not a Narrow Syntax principle. Nonetheless, it is evidently a part of the expressive (externalization) strategies applied in individual languages such as English and Icelandic, that is, it seems to be a common PF or performance target.

Arguably, silent but syntactically active elements are present in the left edge of all the clauses in (57): a question particle (operator) in (57a), a ‘maintained topic’ in (57b), a context-linking adverbial in (57c), and a positively set logophoric agent (‘speaker’) feature, $+\Lambda_A$, in (57d).³⁵ More problematically, however, there are also some true exceptions from (overtly) Filled Left Edge, that is, cases where leaving the left edge empty does *not* seem to serve any special function, as in (59):³⁶

- (59) a. Við förum þegar ___ verður kallað á okkur.
 we go when will-be.3SG called on us
 ‘We will go when somebody calls (for) us.’
 b. Getum við farið eitthvert þar sem ___ er betra næði?
 can we go somewhere where is.3SG better peace
 ‘Can we go somewhere where it is more quiet?’
 c. Við fórum ekki fyrr en eftir að ___ byrjaði að rigna.
 we went not before than after began.3SG to rain
 ‘We did not leave until after it began raining.’
 d. Láttu mig vita ef ___ slokknar ekki á ljósinu.
 let me know if goes-out.3SG not on light.the
 ‘Let me know if the light does not go out.’
 e. Það er ekki satt, eins og ___ sést á þessu.
 it is not true, as is-seen.3SG on this

³⁵ Actually, these elements are only segmentally silent, as clauses containing them have different prosodic properties (as far as I know, this has not been measured for Icelandic but speakers have clear intuitions in this regard; cf. also the measurement results for Swedish in Mörmjö 2002:149ff). Since these elements thus have both semantic and phonological correlates, they are arguably syntactically present.

³⁶ Notice, however, that the ‘gap’ in most cases of this sort is in the scope of some operator (temporal, comparative, relative, interrogative, ...). This is presumably a relevant factor, but it does not alter the fact that phonologically empty left edges are common (in operator scope domains), even in cases where the phonological emptiness serves no special function (in these cases, it also seems to me, the left edge emptiness does not have any discernable prosodic correlates).

‘It is not true, as can be seen by this.’

- f. Þetta var galli sem ég hélt að ___ mætti laga.
 this was flaw that I thought that might.3SG fix
 ‘This was a flaw I thought one could fix.’

It has sometimes been claimed or assumed that examples like these are marked and rare (e.g., Kosmejer 1993), but they are neutral, and comparable authentic examples are easily found (e.g., on Google).

Icelandic ‘true EPP violations’ of this sort are confined to impersonal constructions. One might therefore wish to argue that they contain an expletive or an impersonal *pro* which negatively matches Pn and the CP speech event features under distant Agree (cf. Holmberg 2005 on somewhat similar facts in Finnish). There are two problems with this approach, though. First, EPP effects, both NP movement and Filled Left Edge, are *overt* effects. It frankly does not seem to make much sense to assume that these overt effects are *obligatorily* triggered by feature matching relations and then say that these same feature matching requirements may be satisfied by silent (semantically meagre) elements. Second, both the expletive and Stylistic Fronting are optional (without any clear semantic correlates) in many examples of this kind, as illustrated in (60):

- (60) a. Láttu mig vita ef ___ slokknar ekki á ljósinu. = (59d)
 let me know if goes-out.3SG not on light.the
 ‘Let me know if the light does not go out.’
 b. Láttu mig vita ef **það** slokknar ekki á ljósinu.
 let me know if it goes-out.3SG not on light.the
 c. Láttu mig vita ef **ekki** slokknar á ljósinu.
 let me know if not goes-out.3SG on light.the

The unavoidable conclusion is that the matching correlations signaled by merger of *það* and Stylistic Fronting need not always be overtly expressed. In other words, the Fin matching part of Filled Left Edge, indicating that a new Fin domain is being initiated, seems to be a performance target, a ‘desirable PF goal’. In this respect, Filled Left Edge differs from (prototypical) NP-movement, which is syntactically driven by the computation of Person.

If this analysis is on the right track, many traditional ‘syntax’ operations actually take place in PF, rather than in Narrow Syntax in the minimalist sense (PF comprising much of GB-theoretic S-structure). Another way to put this is to say that PF is more complex and ‘more syntactic’ than often assumed.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed clausal structure and EPP effects, in particular in the light of facts and phenomena in Icelandic and English, mainly NP-movement, expletive merger and Stylistic Fronting. I have argued that these overt EPP effects illustrate that we need to tease apart the covert matching mechanisms behind them, that is:

- I. Matching of grammatical Person, **Pn**, in the I domain
- II. Matching of **Fin**(iteness), at the IP/CP boarder
- III. Matching of speech event participants, **Λ** (‘speaker’ / ‘hearer’), higher in the C domain
- IV. Matching of a Context-Linking feature, **CLn**, still higher in the C domain

While NP-movement regularly involves relations I-III, expletive merger (in Icelandic) involves only negative Λ and Fin matching, and Stylistic Fronting involves only negative Fin matching. The latter two phenomena, as well as topicalization (involving positive CLn-matching), yield a *Filled Left Edge*, i.e., they show or bear witness to the *Filled Left Edge Effect*, FLEE.³⁷ NP-movement commonly seems to do so as well, when the moved NP is clause-initial. In many or most such cases, the NP arguably matches C features under distant Agree, thus not moving into the C domain (in the absence of an intervener).

All this might seem to be amenable to a strictly syntactic analysis. Problematically for such an analysis however, there are numerous true exceptions from Filled Left Edge, that is, cases where leaving the left edge empty does not serve any special function, as far as can be seen. This suggests that Filled Left Edge, in contrast to NP-movement, is a performance target, that is, a ‘desirable PF goal’ rather than a syntactic requirement. Nonetheless (and interestingly), the PF processes yielding Filled Left Edge reflect syntactic matching relations. NP-movement, on the other hand, seems to be both syntactically driven (by Person computation) and to also take place in syntax, prior to transfer.

References

- BAKER, M. 2008. *The syntax of agreement and concord*. Cambridge University Press.
- BENVENISTE, É. 1966. *Problèmes de linguistique générale*. Paris: Gallimard [English translation: 1971. *Problems in General Linguistics*. Translated by M. E. Meek. Cora Gables, FA: University of Miami Papers].
- BIANCHI, V. 2003. On Finiteness as Logophoric Anchoring. In *Temps et point de vue/ Tense and point of view*, ed. by J. Guéron & L. Tasmovski, 213–246. Université Paris X.
- BIANCHI, V. 2006. On the syntax of personal arguments. *Lingua* 116:2023–2067.

³⁷ This is a simple statement of facts. Topicalization is not ‘EPP-driven’ (nothing is on the present approach), but it leads to Filled Left Edge, thus bearing witness to (the epiphenomenon of) FLEE.

- BOECKX, C. 2007. Case and Agreement – The Syntax of A-Dependencies. Ms. Harvard University.
- BRANIGAN, P. 1996. Verb-second and the A-bar syntax of subjects. *Studia Linguistica* 50:50–79.
- BRESNAN, J. 1994. Locative inversion and the architecture of universal grammar. *Language* 70:72–131.
- BURTON-ROBERTS, N. & POOLE, G. 2006. ‘Virtual conceptual necessity’, feature dissociation and the Saussurean legacy in generative grammar. *Journal of Linguistics* 42:575–628.
- CARDINALETTI, A. 2003. Stylistic Fronting in Italian. In *Grammatik i fokus / Grammar in Focus*. Festschrift for Christer Platzack 18 November 2003, ed. by L. Delsing, C. Falk, G. Josefsson, and Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson, Vol II: 47–55. Lund: Department of Scandinavian Languages.
- CHOMSKY, N. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- CHOMSKY, N. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- CHOMSKY, N. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: the framework. In *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, ed. by R. Martin, D. Michaels, and J. Uriagereka, 89–155. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- CHOMSKY, N. 2001. Derivation by phase. In *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, ed. by M. Kenstowicz, 1–52. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- CHOMSKY, N. 2004. Beyond explanatory adequacy. In *Structures and Beyond - The Cartography of Syntactic Structure*, Vol. 3, ed. by A. Belletti, 104–131. New York: Oxford University Press.
- CHOMSKY, N. 2007. Approaching UG from Below. In *Interfaces + Recursion = Language? Chomsky's Minimalism and the View from Syntax-Semantics*, ed. by H. M. Gärtner & U. Sauerland, 1–30. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- CHOMSKY, N. 2008. On Phases. In *Foundational Issues in Linguistic Theory. Essays in Honor of Jean-Roger Vergnaud*. Ed. by R. Freidin, C. P. Otero & M. L. Zubizarreta, 133–166. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- CINQUE, G. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- DÉCHÂINE, R. & WILTSCHKO, M. 2002. Decomposing pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33:409–442.
- DI DOMENICO, E. 2004. Placed, non-placed and anaphorically placed expressions. *Italian Journal of Linguistics / Rivista di Linguistica* 16:63–105.
- ENGDAHL, E. 2003. Med fokus på subjektet [‘With focus on the subject’]. In *Grammar in Focus / Grammatik i fokus*, Festschrift for Christer Platzack, ed. by L. Delsing, C. Falk, G. Josefsson and Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson, 95–105. Lund: Institutionen för nordiska språk.

- EPSTEIN, S. D. & SEELY, T. D. 2006. *Derivations in Minimalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- FRASCARELLI, M. 2007. Subjects, topics and the interpretation of referential pro. An interface approach to the linking of (null) pronouns. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25:691–734.
- FRASCARELLI, M. & HINTERHÖLZL, R. 2007. Types of topics in German and Italian. In *On Information Structure, Meaning and Form*, ed. by S. Winkler & K. Schwabe, 87–116. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- HOLMBERG, A. 2000. Scandinavian Stylistic Fronting: how any category can become an expletive. *Linguistic Inquiry* 31:445–483.
- HOLMBERG, A. 2005. Is there a little pro? Evidence from Finnish. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36:533–564.
- HOLMBERG, A., NAYDU, A. & SHEEHAN, M. 2008. Control of null subjects in finite clauses in three partial null-subject languages. To appear in *Studia Linguistica*.
- HOLMBERG, A. & PLATZACK, C. 1995. *The Role of Inflection in Scandinavian Syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- HRAFNBJARGARSON, Gunnar Hrafn. 2004. Stylistic Fronting. *Studia Linguistica* 58:88–134.
- JAKOBSON, R. 1959/1990. The Speech Event and the functions of language. In *On Language*, ed. by L. R. Waugh & M. Monville-Burston, 69–79. London: Harvard University Press.
- JÓNSSON, Jóhannes Gísli. 1991. Stylistic Fronting in Icelandic. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 48:1–43.
- JÓNSSON, Jóhannes Gísli. 1996. *Clausal Architecture and Case in Icelandic*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts.
- KOSMEIJER, W. 1993. *Barriers and Licensing*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Groningen.
- LASNIK, H. 2003. On the Extended Projection Principle. *Studies in Modern Grammar* 31:1–23.
- LYONS, C. 1999. *Definiteness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MAGNÚSSON, Friðrik. 1990. *Kjarnafærsla og það-innskot í aukasetningum í íslensku* [Topicalization and það-insertion in subordinate clauses in Icelandic]. Reykjavík: Institute of Linguistics.
- MALING, J. 1980. Inversion in embedded clauses in Icelandic. *Íslenskt mál og almenn málfræði* 2: 175–193 [republished 1990 in *Modern Icelandic Syntax*, ed. by J. Maling & A. Zaenen, 71–91. San Diego: Academic Press].
- MARANTZ, A. 2000. Case and Licensing. In *Arguments and Case: Explaining Burzio's Generalization*, ed. by E. Reuland, 11–30. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- MIYAGAWA, S. 2005. On the EPP. To appear in *MITWPL: Proceedings of the EPP / Phase Workshop*, ed. by N. Richards & M. McGinnis, MIT Working Paper in Linguistics.

- MOHR, S. 2005. *Clausal Architecture and Subject Positions: Impersonal Constructions in the Germanic Languages*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- MÖRNSJÖ, M. 2002. *V1 Declaratives in Spoken Swedish* [doctoral dissertation, Lund University]. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- OTTÓSSON, K. G. 1989. VP-Specifier Subjects and the CP/IP Distinction in Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 44:89–100.
- PESETSKY, D. 1987. Wh-in-situ: Movement and unselective binding. In *The Representation of (In)definiteness*, ed. by Eric Reuland & G. B. Alice Meulen, 98–129. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- PLATZACK, C. 1987. The Scandinavian Languages and the Null-Subject Parameter. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 5:377–401.
- PLATZACK, C. 2001. The computational system as a minimal feature driven device and the tripartite TP/VP-hypothesis of the universal clause. *GLOW Newsletter* 46:46–47.
- PLATZACK, C. 2004. Agreement and the Person Phrase Hypothesis. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 73:83–112.
- POLETO, C. & ZANUTTINI, R. 2007. Sentential particles and remnant movement. Ms., Università di Venezia and Georgetown University.
- REZAC, M. 2008. The syntax of eccentric agreement: the Person Case Constraint and absolutive displacement in Basque. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 26:61–106.
- RICHARDS, M. 2004. Object Shift and Scrambling in North and West Germanic: A Case Study in Symmetrical Syntax. Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University.
- RIZZI, L. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of Grammar. Handbook in Generative Syntax*, ed. by L. Haegeman, 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- RIZZI, L. 2001. Relativized minimality effects. In *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*, ed. by M. Baltin & C. Collins, 89–110. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- RIZZI, L. 2008. On delimiting movement. Paper presented at the 31st GLOW Colloquium, Newcastle upon Tyne.
- RIZZI, L. & SHLONSKY, U. 2006. Satisfying the Subject Criterion by a non subject: English Locative Inversion and Heavy NP Shift. In *Phases of Interpretation*, ed. by Mara Frascarelli, 341–361. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- RÖGNVALDSSON, E. 1984. Icelandic Word Order and *það*-insertion. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 8.
- RÖGNVALDSSON, E. & THRÁINSSON, H. 1990. On Icelandic word order once more. In *Modern Icelandic Syntax*, ed. by J. Maling and A. Zaenen, 3–40. San Diego: Academic Press.
- ROSS, J. R. 1970. On declarative sentences. In *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*, ed. by R. Jacobs & P. Rosenbaum, 222–277. Waltham, MA: Ginn & Co.
- SCHLENKER, P. 2003. A plea for monsters. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 26:29–120.
- SHLONSKY, U. 1989. The hierarchical representation of subject verb agreement. Ms., Haifa University.

- SIGURÐSSON, Halldór Ármann. 1989. *Verbal Syntax and Case in Icelandic*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Lund. [Published 1992 in Reykjavík: Institute of Linguistics].
- SIGURÐSSON, Halldór Ármann. 1990. Long distance reflexives and moods in Icelandic. In *Modern Icelandic Syntax*. Syntax and Semantics 24, ed. by J. Maling and A. Zaenen, 309–346. San Diego: Academic Press.
- SIGURÐSSON, Halldór Ármann. 1997. Stylistic Fronting. Ms., University of Iceland [presented at “Subjects, Expletives, and the EPP”, Tromsø].
- SIGURÐSSON, Halldór Ármann. 2000. The locus of case and agreement. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 65:65–108.
- SIGURÐSSON, Halldór Ármann. 2003. Case: abstract vs. morphological. In *New Perspectives on Case Theory*, ed. by E. Brandner and H. Zinsmeister, 223–268. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- SIGURÐSSON, Halldór Ármann. 2004a. Meaningful silence, meaningless sounds. In *Linguistic Variation Yearbook 2004*, Volume 4, ed. by P. Pica et al., 235–259. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- SIGURÐSSON, Halldór Ármann. 2004b. The syntax of Person, Tense, and speech features. *Italian Journal of Linguistics / Rivista di Linguistica* 16:219–251 [special issue, ed. by V. Bianchi and K. Safir].
- SIGURÐSSON, Halldór Ármann. 2004c. Agree and agreement: Evidence from Germanic. In *Focus on Germanic Typology*, ed. by W. Abraham, 61–103. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- SIGURÐSSON, Halldór Ármann. 2006a. Agree in syntax, agreement in signs. In *Agreement Systems*, ed. by C. Boeckx, 201–237. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- SIGURÐSSON, Halldór Ármann. 2006b. The Nominative Puzzle and the Low Nominative Hypothesis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 37:289–308.
- SIGURÐSSON, Halldór Ármann. 2008a. The case of PRO. In *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 26:403–450.
- SIGURÐSSON, Halldór Ármann. 2008b. The No Case Generalization. To appear in *Germanic Syntax*, ed. by A. Alexiadou, F. Schäfer & T. McFadden. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- SIGURÐSSON, Halldór Ármann & Holmberg, A. 2008. Icelandic Dative Intervention: Person and Number are separate probes. In *Agreement Restrictions*, ed. by R. D’Alessandro, S. Fischer & G. H. Hrafnbjargarson, 251–279. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- SPEAS, M. 2004. Evidentiality, logophoricity and the syntactic representation of pragmatic features. *Lingua* 114:255–276.
- STARKE, M. 2001. Move Dissolves into Merge: a Theory of Locality. Doctoral dissertation, University of Geneva.
- TENNY, C. L. 2006. Evidentiality, experiencers, and the syntax of sentience in Japanese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 15:245–288.
- THRÁINSSON, H.. 1979. *On Complementation in Icelandic*. New York: Garland.

- THRÁINSSON, H. 2005. *Íslensk tunga III: Setningar* [Icelandic Language III: Syntax]. Reykjavík: Almenna bókafélagið.
- THRÁINSSON, H.. 2007. *The Syntax of Icelandic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- VANGSNES, Ø. A.. 2002. Icelandic expletive constructions and the distribution of subject types. In *Subjects, Expletives, and the EPP*, ed. by P. Svenonius, 43–70. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ZAENEN, A. 1985. *Extraction Rules in Icelandic*. New York: Garland.
- ZAENEN, A., Maling, J. & Thráinsson, H.. 1985. Case and grammatical functions: the Icelandic passive. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 3:441–483.
- ZANUTTINI, R. 2008. Encoding the addressee in the syntax: Evidence from English imperative subjects. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 26:185–218.

SOL, Centre for Language and Literature
Lund University
Box 201, SE 221 00 Lund

halldor.sigurdsson@nordlund.lu.se
<http://www.sol.lu.se/>