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The CP-domain in Icelandic

1. Introduction

The problem:

(1) a. In Icelandic, conditions for topicalization, stylistic fronting and so-called Scandinavian word order depend on the type of the embedded clause. Which structural properties of embedded clauses give rise to these different conditions?
b. Why – and to what extent – is Icelandic different from related languages in this respect?

The sentence types in question:

(2) a. Ég held að María hafi aldrei hitt Harald (ordinary word-order) (Icel.)
I think that Mary has never met Harold
b. Ég held að Harald hafi María aldrei hitt ___ (**topicalization**)
I think that Harold has Mary never met
a/b: 'I think that Mary has never met Harold'

(3) a. Þetta er mál sem ___ hefur verið rætt (ordinary word-order) (Icel.)
This is a matter that has been discussed
b. Þetta er mál sem rætt hefur verið ___ (**stylistic fronting**)
This is a matter that discussed has been
a/b: 'This is a matter that has been discussed'

(4) a. Það er ein Íslendingasaga sem ég ___ hef ekki lesið (ordinary word-order) (Icel.)
There is one Icelandic saga that I have not read
b. Það er ein Íslendingasaga sem ég ekki hef ___ lesið (**Scandinavian word order**)
There is one Icelandic saga that I not have read
a/b: 'There is one Icelandic saga that I have not read'

2. Background and proposal

2.1 The Scandinavian word order and verb movement

The relevant adverbs in the discussion on V2/V3 (i.e. central sentence adverbs like 'never' that must precede the main verb):

(5) a. María hafði **aftur** séð Jón (Icel.)
'Mary had again seen John'
b. María hafði **aldrei** séð Jón
'Mary had never seen John'

c. María hafði séð Jón **aftur**
‘Mary had seen John again’
d. *María hafði séð Jón **aldrei**
‘Mary had seen John never’

(6) a. María spurði hvort þú hefðir séð Jón **aftur** (Icel.)
b. Maria spurgte om du havde set Jens **igen** (Dan.)
‘Mary asked if you had seen John again’
c. *María spurði hvort þú hefðir séð Jón **aldrei** (Icel.)
d. *Maria spurgte om du havde set Jens **aldrig** (Dan.)
‘Mary asked if you had seen John never’

V2 in main clauses, both in Icelandic and the Mainland Scandinavian languages:

(7) a. Jón **hefur ekki** séð myndina (Icel.)
‘John has not seen the movie’
b. *Jón **ekki hefur** séð myndina (Icel.)
‘John not has seen the movie’
c. Jon har **inte sett** filmen (Swed.)
‘John has not seen the movie’
d. *Jon har **sett inte** filmen (Swed.)
‘John has seen not the movie’

Icelandic keeps V2 in embedded clauses, unlike Swedish for instance:

(8) a. Ég spurði hvort Jón **hefði ekki** séð myndina (Icel.) V2
‘I asked if John had not seen the movie’
b. ?*Ég spurði hvort Jón **ekki hefði** séð myndina (Icel.) V3
‘I asked if John not had seen the movie’
c. *Jag frågade om Jon **hade inte** sett filmen (Swed.) V2
‘I asked if John had not seen the movie’
d. Jag frågade om Jon **inte hade** sett filmen (Swed.) V3
‘I asked if John had not seen the movie’

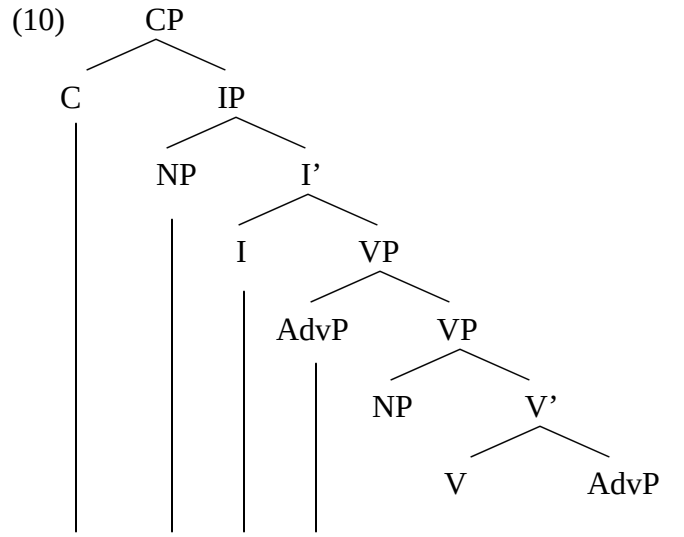
However, there are examples of V3 in some embedded clauses in Icelandic (marked):

(9) a. Það er ein íslensk mynd sem Jón **hefur ekki** séð
‘There is one Icelandic movie that John has not seen’
b. (?)Það er ein íslensk mynd sem Jón **ekki hefur** séð
‘There is one Icelandic movie that John not has seen’
c. Það er ein íslensk mynd sem hann **ekki hefur** séð
‘There is one Icelandic movie that he not has seen’

According to common assumptions about Scandinavian V3 (cf. e.g. Vikner 1995a and Holmberg & Platzack 1995) the verb could stay in situ in these cases as shown in (10b):

Hypothesis 1: Lack of V-to-I movement:

(10)



a. þegar konan hans$_i$ er ekki t_i *v* heima
b. þegar konan hans$_i$ ekki t_i er heima
'when his wife not is at home'

Problems:

(11) a. If the movement is inflectionally conditioned why does the verb not need to move?
b. The marked V3 in Icelandic has the same structure as the unmarked V3 in the Mainland Scandinavian languages.
c. This analysis cannot account for the variable distribution of NPs in Icelandic (cf. Vangsnes 1995).

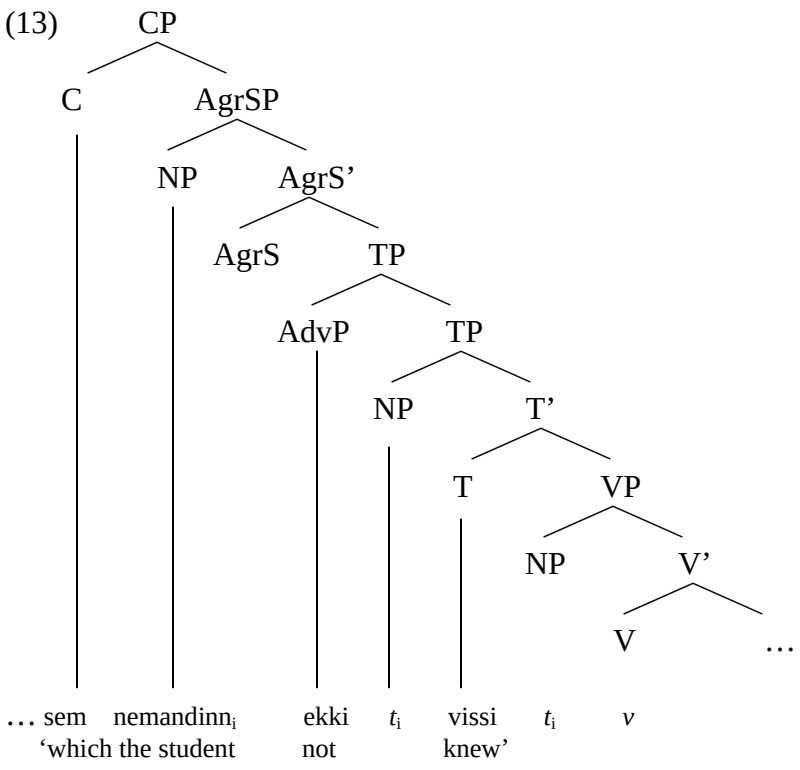
Another analysis:

(12) The IP is split in Icelandic but simple in the Mainland Scandinavian languages (cf. Þráinsson 1996 and Bobaljik and Þráinsson 1998). According to this analysis, the verb moves but still follows the adverb because there is an additional space in the structure for adverb adjunctions.

This is shown in (13):

Hypothesis 2: The verb moves but still follows the adverb:

(13)



2.2 Previous analyses of topicalization and stylistic fronting

Important observations in the literature so far about the sentence types in question and some of the remaining problems:

(14) Even though topicalization in matrix clauses is applicable in Icelandic and other Scandinavian languages (and in English as well if the V2 claim is ignored) the languages seem different in the sense that topicalization can be more easily or widely accepted in Icelandic than the other languages (see Magnússon 1990 and Rögnvaldsson and Þráinsson 1990). Because of this it has been implied that embedded clauses in Icelandic are more "matrix-like" than embedded clauses in related languages (cf. Vikner 1995b).

(15) However, it is not at all the case that all embedded clauses are equal in Icelandic. The acceptability of topicalization and expletive-insertion depends on the type of the embedded clause (cf. Magnússon 1990) and the same holds for the Scandinavian word-order (cf. Angantýsson 2001). Interestingly, the Scandinavian order seems to be most acceptable in the types of embedded clauses where topicalization is least acceptable, which needs an explanation.

(16) Icelandic, on the one hand, and the other Scandinavian languages on the other hand, do not only differ with respect to topicalization and V2/V3 in embedded clauses: they are also different w.r.t. stylistic fronting (although Faroese is similar to Icelandic in that respect) and that needs an explanation as well.

(17) It is a common assumption that topicalization is a movement to an empty subject position (cf. Þráinsson 2006). Stylistic fronting has also been analysed as such movement (cf. Maling 1980, Ottósson 1989, Platzack 1987, Rögnvaldsson and Þráinsson 1990 and Holmberg 2000) but it has also been analysed as an IP-adjunction (cf. Jónsson 1991, Poole 1992/1996 and Þráinsson 1993) or as a focus movement (cf. Hrafnbjargarson 2004). In order to attain deeper understanding of stylistic fronting it is necessary to compare it to the Scandinavian word-order.

(18) The problem with analyzing SF as a movement to an empty subject position (Spec IP) or as an adjunction to IP (or AgrsP/TP) is that it does not always have the same semantic/pragmatic effect. In some cases it has a focusing effect but in other cases it seems to have an effect similar to that of topicalization in matrix clauses (see examples in sections 3 and 4).

Assumption:

(19) Topicalized elements move to Spec CP in matrix clauses in all the Scandinavian languages and topicalized elements move to a Spec position below CP in embedded clauses.

I am following Hrafnbjargarson (2004) in the sense that I assume that 'real SF' is in fact a focus movement but my ideas about the CP/IP interaction and different conditions in different types of embedded clauses differ radically from his account.

2.3 Proposal

In order to account for the word order variation and fronting processes on the left periphery in Icelandic and the Mainland Scandinavian languages I propose the following:[1]

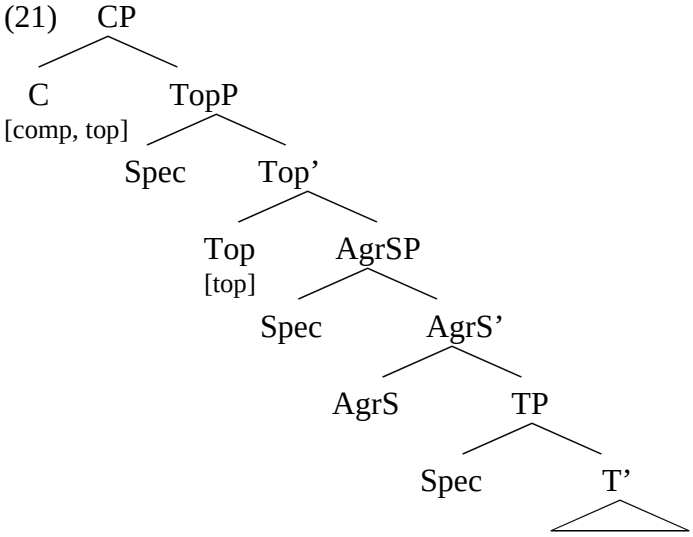
[1] The status of Faroese is a more complicated matter. It is often referred to as somewhere "between" Icelandic and the Mainland Scandinavian languages in terms of morphology because it preserves considerable nominal and verbal inflection, unlike the Mainland Scandinavian languages, but not to the same extent as Icelandic. Interestingly it also seems to stand in the middle with respect to V2 and V3 because there is variation in Faroese in that respect, basically in the way that most speakers accept V3 in all types of embedded clauses but V2 receives different judgments depending on the clause type: It is easiest in clauses that are complements of bridge-verbs and least accepted in relative clauses (see Þráinsson et al. 2004:242-245, 359-363 and 438-444). The conditions for the fronting processes might relate to the possibilities of V2 – that is that informants that accept V2 more generally would be more likely to accept stylistic fronting and embedded topicalization. This is a very interesting issue but it needs further research which is beyond the scope of this paper.

(20) a. In Icelandic, FocP can be merged above TP and TopP can be merged above AgrSP. Focused elements move to Foc to check the uninterpretable [foc] feature in the head of FocP. In order to get natural representation of the sentence a CP with a matching s-selectional [foc] feature (OP/*wh*-CP) must be merged to AgrSP. Topicalized elements move to Spec of TopP to check the uninterpretable [top] feature in the head of TopP. In order to get natural representation of the sentence a CP with a matching s-selectional [top] feature (*that*-CPs) must be merged to the AgrSP. Spec FocP and Spec TopP host relative operators and are landing sites for fronted *wh*-arguments (for discussion on TopP and FocP, see Rizzi 1997 – for discussion on [foc] and [wh] features, see for instance Cinque 1999, Rizzi 2001, Watanabe 2001 and references there).

b. The Mainland Scandinavian languages have no articulated CP domain. However, an additional CP (CP2) can be merged above IP in certain cases (CP-recursion, see Vikner 1995:65-67 and references there). CP2 contains an EPP feature that must be checked and a [matrix] feature that triggers verb movement. In order to get natural representation of a sentence with CP2 a CP with a matching s-selectional [matrix] feature (CPs that are complements of bridge verbs) must be merged above the CP2.

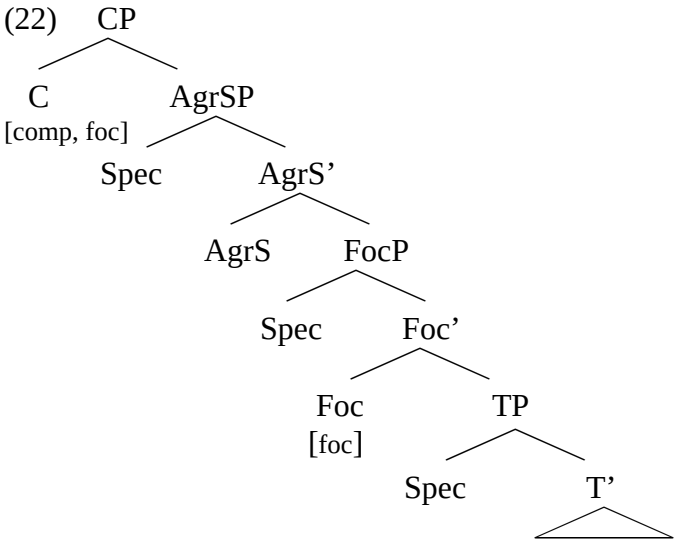
I suggest that the structure of *that*-clauses in Icelandic is as shown in (21) if there is a topicalized element in the clause:

(21)



For relative clauses and indirect questions with *wh*-pronouns in Icelandic I suggest the structure in (22), in case there is a focused element in the clause:

(22)



In addition, I assume that there is a third type of CP, i.e. an adjunct CP that has no inherent [top] or [foc] features.

Importantly, my analysis makes various predictions which are summarized in (23-24) and will be explored in the next sections:

(23) Icelandic:
- a. In general, fronting and focusing should be easier in embedded clauses than main clauses because embedded clauses involve more available positions for topic and focus elements.
- b. Extraction of subjects in *that*-clauses should be possible (through SpecTop).
- c. Topicalization of various elements (heads and XPs) should be easier in *that*-clauses than in relative clauses and indirect questions because the former have an s-selectional [top] feature that matches the topicalized element but the latter do not.
- d. In object relative clauses and indirect questions with *wh*-objects, focusing of heads should be applicable but focusing of XPs should be excluded since the object must pass the Spec FocP.
- e. Assuming that the verb must move to AgrS in expletive constructions expletive insertion should be excluded in relative clauses with NPs and indirect questions with *wh*-pronouns since the verb moves only to T. In other types of embedded clauses it should be possible.
- f. What has traditionally been called Stylistic Fronting represents in fact two different processes: focusing in CP-FocP constructions and topicalization in CP-TopP constructions. This means that "SF" should have different effects depending on the type of embedded clause in which it occurs.
- g. SF of particles and past participles should be prohibited in CP-Top constructions since that process is in fact topicalization (these elements do not topicalize in matrix clauses, as shown in (23-24).

(24) Mainland Scandinavian:
- a. In general, conditions for fronting and focusing should be similar in embedded clauses and main clauses.
- b. Extraction of subjects in *that*-clauses should be difficult (no landing site available).
- c. Topicalization should be difficult except in CPs that are complements of bridge verbs.
- d. SF should be impossible in object relative clauses and indirect questions (no FocP).

3. Exploring the data

3.1 Topicalization

A common type of topicalization in matrix clauses in Icelandic (the other Scandinavian languages behave similarly) (from Þráinsson 2006:260-261):

(25) a. Ég hef aldrei hitt Harald
I have never met Harold
b. **Harald** hef ég aldrei hitt ___ (NP)
Harold have I never met

(26) a. Haraldur hefur ekki búið á Akureyri.
Haraldur has not lived in Akureyri
b. **Á Akureyri** hefur Haraldur ekki búið. (PP)
in Akureyri has Harold not lived
c. **Ekki** hefur Haraldur __ búið á Akureyri. (adv.)
not has Harold lived in Akureyri

(27) a. Strákarnir hafa tekið bækurnar upp.
boys-the have taken books-the up
b. ***Upp** hafa strákarnir tekið bækurnar. (particle)
up have boys-the taken books-the

(28) a. Strákarnir hafa lesið bækurnar.
boys-the have read(past part.) books-the
b. ?***Lesið** hafa strákarnir bækurnar. (past participle)
read(pp.) have boys-the books-the

What is interesting here is what can not topicalize, that is particles and past participles.[2]

Embedded topicalization is more restricted in Danish than in Icelandic (Vikner 1995b:72):

(29) a. Jón hélt því fram að **þessum peningum** hefði María stolið (Icel.)
b. Johan påstod at **disse penge** havde Maria stjålet (Dan.)
'John claimed that this money had Mary stolen'

(30) a. Jón harmar að **þessa bók** skuli ég hafa lesið (Icel.)
b. *Johan beklager at **denne bog** har jeg læst (Dan.)
'John regrets (that) this book have I read'

According to my analysis the topicalized element is in Spec Top in Icelandic ((29a) and (30a)) but in Danish Spec CP2 is only available in (29b) as opposed to (30b).

Topicalization is nevertheless ungrammatical in some types of embedded clauses in Icelandic, that is relative clauses and clauses with a *wh*-pronoun (cf. Magnússon 1990):

[2] According to my analysis, elements of this type cannot fill Spec positions. The reason for these restrictions on topicalization is not clear but it is appealing to relate it to formal properties of the landing sites, i.e. whether it is a head position or XP position.

(31) a. Þeir sögðu [að **í bæinn** hefði rútan komið klukkan sjö __] (*that*-clause)
they said that to town-the had bus-the come clock seven
'They said that the bus had come to town at seven o'clock.'
b. ?Þeir spurðu [hvort **í bæinn** hefði rútan komið klukkan sjö __] (*wh*-adverb)
they asked whether in town-the had bus-the come clock seven
c. *Þeir spurðu [hvern **í bæinn** hefði rútan flutt __ klukkan sjö] (*wh*-pronoun)
they asked whom(A) to town-the had bus-the carried clock seven
d. *Þetta er strákurinn [sem **í bæinn** flutti rútan __ klukkan sjö] (relative clause)
this is boy-the that to town-the carried bus-the clock seven

The difference between (31a) and (31c-d) is straightforward according to my proposal because TopP can only be merged in the first one. The 'weirdness' of (31b) is due to the fact that the CP in question does not have an inherent [top] feature.

3.2 Stylistic fronting

Examples of SF in the Scandinavian languages (see Þráinsson 2006 and references there):

(32) a. en ... som **likir** var __ enom hofman (older Swed.)
one that alike was a courtier
'one that looked like a courtier'
b. ... som **sodhne** ärw __ j lupinj (Swed., 16th century)
that boiled are in lupin
'... that are boiled in lupin.'
c. *den, som **först** är __ att göra mål (Swed.)
he who first is to score goal
d. *Hvem tror du **stjålet** har __ sykkelen? (No)
who think you stolen has bike-the
e. Konan, sum **heim** fór __ , var systir hansara. (Far.)
woman-the that home went was sister his
f. *Kvinden som hjem gik var hans søster (Dan.)
woman-the that home went was sister his

Various types of fronted elements in a relative clause, including particles and past participles that did not undergo topicalization in matrix clauses (cf. Þráinsson 2006):

(33) a. Þetta er mál sem __ hefur verið rætt.
this is issue that has been discussed
b. Þetta er mál sem **rætt** hefur verið __ (past part.)
this is issue that discussed has been
(34) a. Þetta er mál sem __ hefur ekki verið rætt.
this is issue that has not been discussed
b. Þetta er mál sem **ekki** hefur __ verið rætt. (neg. adv.)
this is issue that not has been discussed
'This is an issue that hasn't been discussed.'
(35) a. Þetta er mál sem __ hefur komið upp.
this is issue that has come forth
'This is an issue that has come forth.'
b. Þetta er mál sem **upp** hefur komið __ . (particle)
this is issue that forth has come

In the cases above, the fronted elements are in the Foc position and they can easily be stressed.

Examples like (36) are also usually referred to as SF (cf. Hrafnbjargarson 2004:91):

(36) Allir vissu að **stolið** hafði verið smjöri
All knew that stolen had been butter

Interestingly, it seems odd to stress the fronted elements in (36) as opposed to the fronted elements in (33-35). In my view, this is because the fronted element in (36) is topicalized (i.e. in the Spec of TopP) and not in a focus position (Foc).

3.3 Scandinavian word order

V3 is very difficult in *that*-clauses and the same holds for indirect questions with 'whether':

(37) a. Kennarinn segir að Jón hafi ekki lesið bókina
b. ?*Kennarinn segir að **Jón ekki hafi** lesið bókina
'The teacher says that John not has read the book'
(38) a. Kennarinn segir að hann hafi ekki lesið bókina
b. ?Kennarinn segir að **hann ekki hafi** lesið bókina
'The teacher says that he not has read the book'
(39) a. Kennarinn spurði hvort Jón hefði ekki lesið bókina
b. ?*Kennarinn spurði hvort **Jón ekki hefði** lesið bókina
'The teacher asked whether John not had read the book'
c. Kennarinn spurði hvort hann hefði ekki lesið bókina
d. ?Kennarinn spurði hvort **hann ekki hefði** lesið bókina
'The teacher asked whether he not had read the book'

Perfectly grammatical in indirect questions with 'who' and relative clauses:

(40) a. Kennarinn spurði hverjum Jón hefði ekki getað gefið þessa bók
b. Kennarinn spurði hverjum **Jón ekki hefði** getað gefið þessa bók
'The teacher asked to whom John not had could given the book'
c. Kennarinn spurði hverjum hann hefði ekki getað gefið þessa bók
d. Kennarinn spurði hverjum **hann ekki hefði** getað gefið þessa bók
'The teacher asked to whom he not had could given the book'
(41) a. Ég veit um eina Íslendingasögu sem Jón hefur ekki lesið
b. Ég veit um eina Íslendingasögu sem **Jón ekki hefur** lesið
'I know about one Icelandic saga which John not has read'
(42) a. Það er ein bók þarna sem Jón hefur ekki lesið
b. Það er ein bók þarna sem **Jón ekki hefur** lesið
'There is one book there that John not has read'

The fronting of the central sentence adverbs in the examples above has the same effects as the 'real SF' examples, i.e. focusing effects, and it can be applied in exactly the same kinds of embedded clauses.

V3 is very difficult in some adjunct clauses but marginally acceptable in others:

(43) a. Kennarinn tók bókina svo að Jón gat ekki lesið hana
b. ??Kennarinn tók bókina svo að **Jón ekki gat** lesið hana
'The teacher took the book so that John not could read it'

(44) a. Kennarinn lagði prófið fyrir þótt nemendurnir hefðu ekki lesið bókina
b. ?Kennarinn lagði prófið fyrir þótt **nemendurnir ekki hefðu** lesið bókina
'The teacher propounded the test though the students not had read the book'
c. Kennarinn lagði prófið fyrir þótt þau hefðu ekki lesið bókina
d. Kennarinn lagði prófið fyrir þótt **þau ekki hefðu** lesið bókina
'The teacher propounded the test though they not had read the book'

(45) a. Jón fer venjulega á fyllerí þegar eiginkonan er ekki heima
b. (?)Jón fer venjulega á fyllerí þegar **konan hans ekki er** heima
'John usually gets drunk when his wife not is at home'
c. Jón fer venjulega á fyllerí þegar hún er ekki heima
d. Jón fer venjulega á fyllerí þegar **hún ekki er** heima
'John usually gets drunk when she not is at home'

My suggestion is that adjunct CPs have no inherent [foc] features and therefore the focusing is not natural (the *when*-clause seems though to have some kind of [wh] or [foc] properties).

The 'Icelandic word order' occurs in certain types of embedded clauses in the Mainland Scandinavian languages (Vikner 1995b:85):

(46) a. Hun sagde at vi ikke skulle købe denne bog (ordinary V3 order)
b. Hun sagde vi ikke skulle købe denne bog (V3 and *that*-deletion)
c. Hun sagde at vi skulle ikke købe denne bog (V2)
d. ??Hun sagde vi skulle ikke købe denne bog (V2 and *that*-deletion)
'She said that we should not buy that book'

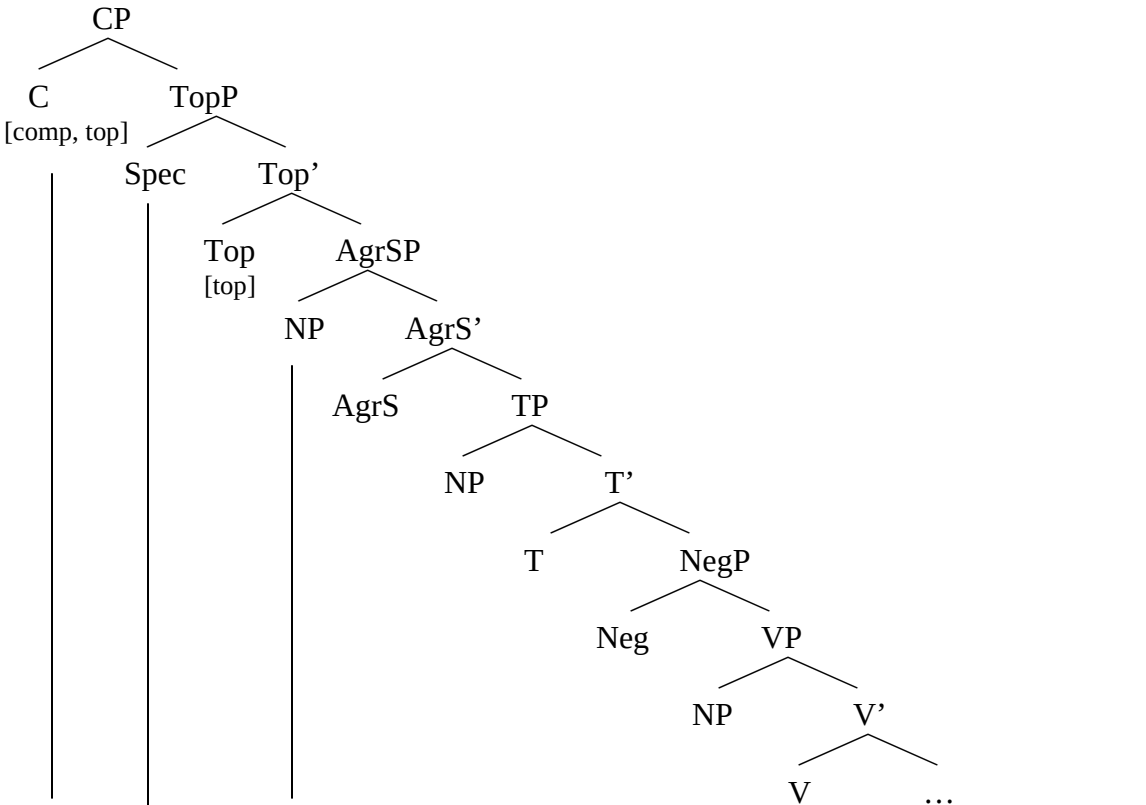
Following Vikner (1995), I am assuming that these examples are instances of V-C movement. It is interesting that the complementizer is optional in the default word order but not in the V2 sentences. In my view, this is because additional structure is needed in the latter case (CP-recursion).[3]

[3] As shown in this section, the Scandinavian order in Icelandic depends to some extent on stress and prosody. The sentence adverb usually requires extra stress and 'light' pronouns are preferred in the subject position. In my view the reason for this is that the adverb has been focused (thus usually stressed) and therefore it is more natural to have a pronoun with old information (in the sense of Kuno 1980) as a subject rather than a proper noun with new information in the discourse (see the discussions on sentence stress in Cinque 1993 and stress-shifting operations in Neeleman and Reinhart 1998:334-335 and 341-343).

4. Overview and additional examples of new predictions that are borne out

The actual structures of the two main types of CPs in Icelandic are shown in (47) and (48):

(47) CP/TopP-clauses:



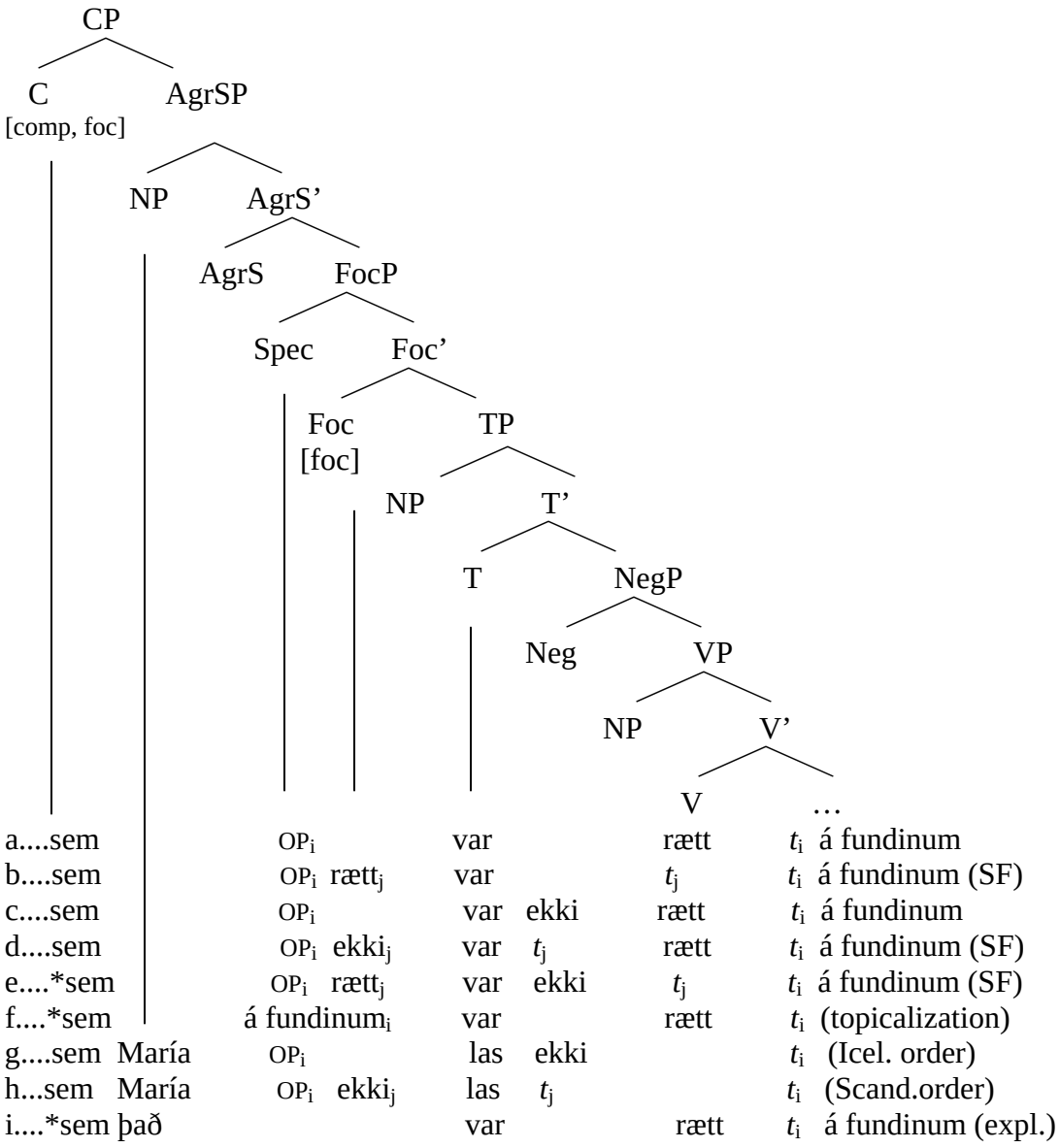
a....að		það verði				lesin	bók (*það*-insertion)
b....að	lesin$_j$	verði				t_j	bók (SF)
c....að	ekki$_i$	verði			t_i	lesin	bók (SF)
d....*að	lesin$_j$	verði			ekki	t_j	bók
e.…að	þessum peningum	hefði	María			stolið	(topicalization)
f....að		María las			ekki		bókina (Icel. order)
g...*að	María ekki	las					bókina (Scand.order)

Translations:
a-b. '(I think)...that some book will be read'
c-d. '(I think)...that no book will be read'
e. 'that this money had Mary stolen'
f-g. 'that Mary didn't read the book'

Examples like (47b-c) are instances of topicalization, not 'real SF' which is a focusing process. Note that the SpecTop is not available for subjects as (47g) shows.

The structure in (48) reflects that SF in relative clauses and indirect questions with *wh*-pronouns is in fact focusing:

(48) CP/FocP-clauses:



Translations:
a-b. ‘(the issue)...that was discussed on the meeting’
c-e. ‘(the issue)...that was not discussed on the meeting’
f. ‘(the issue)...that was discussed on the meeting’
g-h. ‘(the book) that Mary didn’t read’
i. ‘(the issue)...that was discussed on the meeting’

Comments on (48):

(49) Examples (48b) and (48d) show real SF with focusing effects. (48e) violates the Head Movement Constraint and the same actually holds for (47d).[4] In (48f) the Spec of FocP is not available for an XP because of the relative operator. The similarity between real SF and the Scandinavian word order is clear in (48h) and (48d) where the negation is focused in both cases. Finally, (48i) shows that the acceptability of the expletive depends on full verb movement to Agr which is not the case in CP/FocP-clauses (it only moves to the T position).

Further examples of the predictions that this analysis makes (cf. prediction (23f)):

(50) a. Þau héldu að ___ væri gaman að koma með gjöf handa Jóni
b. Þau héldu að **gaman** væri ____ að koma með gjöf handa Jóni
‘They thought it might be fun to bring a gift to John’

(51) a. Þetta er mál sem __ hefur verið rætt í þaula.
this is issue that has been discussed thoroughly
b. Þetta er mál sem **rætt** hefur verið í þaula
this is issue that dicussed has been thoroughly
‘This is an issue that hasn’t been discussed.’

According to my analysis (50) is a CP-TopP clause and in that case it sounds strange to stress the fronted element and focus interpretation is odd whereas (51) is a CP-FocP clause and in that case the fronted element can easily be stressed and interpreted as focus element.

Another consequence of my analysis (prediction (23g)) is that particles and past participles should not undergo fronting in CP-TopP clauses because such movement would involve topicalization (recall that topicalization of such elements was disallowed in matrix clauses) and this is borne out as well:

[4] Maling (1980:185) points out that if there is more than one potential candidate for SF in a clause only the leftmost one in the following accessibility hierarchy can be stylistically fronted: negation/sentence adverb >> past participle/verb participle >> predicative adjective.

(52) a. Guðmundur held ég að hafi tekið upp bókina
Guðmundur think I that has taken up the book
b. *Guðmundur held ég að **upp** hafi tekið bókina
Guðmundur think I that has taken up the book

(53) a. Strákarnir held ég að hafi lesið bækurnar.
boys-the think I that have read books-the
b. ??Strákarnir held ég að **lesið** hafi bækurnar.
boys-the think I that read have books-the

Sentence (52b) is completely ungrammatical and (53b) is very bad as well. This is also a new observation as far as I know.

5. Summary and conclusion

(54) I adopt the idea that the IP is split in Icelandic but simple in the Mainland Scandinavian languages (cf. Þráinsson 1996 and Bobaljik and Þráinsson 1998). According to this analysis, the verb moves but still follows the adverb in the case of V3 in Icelandic. I point out that SF doesn't always have the same semantic/pragmatic effect which is a problem for all the previous analyses of the phenomenon. It has been argued that SF has a focusing effect (Hrafnbjargarson 2004) which is, in my view, true for some cases of so-called SF but not others. Along the lines of Rizzi (1997) I propose that in Icelandic, FocP can be merged above TP in case certain type of CP (OP/*wh*-CP) is merged to AgrSP. Similarly, I suggest that TopP can be merged above AgrSP in case certain type of CP (*that*-CP) is merged to AgrSP. According to my analysis, the Mainland Scandinavian languages have no articulated CP domain but following Vikner (1995) I assume that an additional CP (CP2) can be merged above IP in case the CP(1) is a complement of a bridge verb.

I explore various examples of word order variation in different types of embedded clauses and show how they can be accounted for according to my analysis. The acceptability of embedded topicalization depends on the type of embedded clause in question in that it doesn't work in relative clauses and clauses with a *wh*-pronoun. I show that the fronting process – traditionally called SF – has focusing effects in some cases (e.g. in relative clauses) but not in others (e.g. *that*-clauses). This difference has not been pointed out in the literature before, as far as I know. Finally, I show that Scandinavian word order is fine either with an unstressed pronoun or a full NP in the subject position in indirect questions with a *wh*-pronoun and in relative clauses. In temporal clauses it is fine if the subject is an unstressed pronoun but in most other embedded clauses it is difficult both with a full NP and an unstressed pronoun.

One of the most interesting conclusions is that so-called stylistic fronting is a result of two different processes: topicalization (e.g. in *that*-clauses) and focusing (e.g. in relative clauses). Some of the fronting processes in embedded clauses that traditionally have been called SF in the literature are thus analyzed as topicalization. This analysis also emphasizes the similarities between 'real' stylistic fronting (as in relative clauses) and the V3 phenomenon in Icelandic, called Scandinavian word order; both are focusing processes that occur in similar constructions.

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