

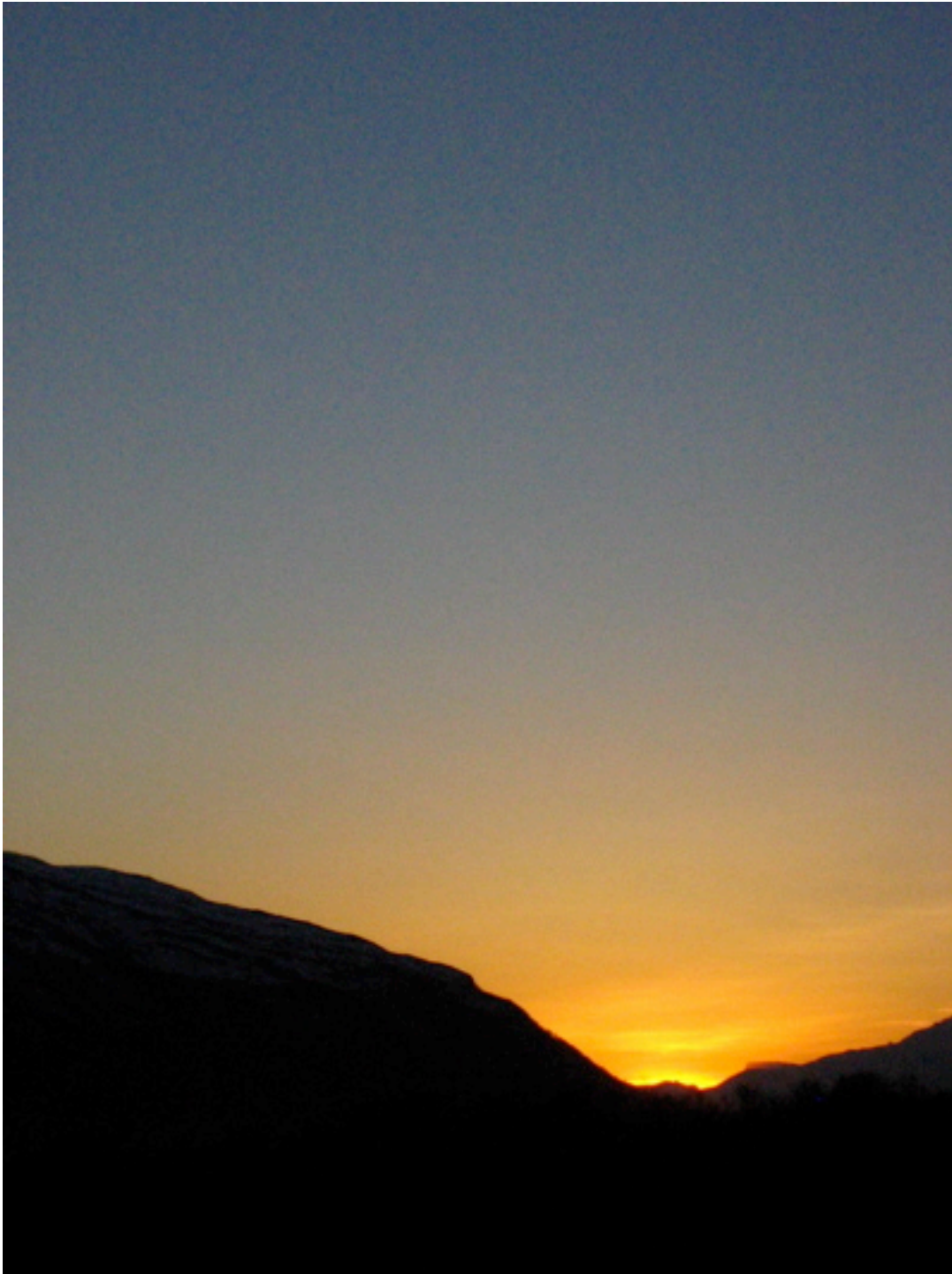
Speculations on the interaction of V-to-I and embedded V2

Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson

UiT – NORMS/CASTL

gunnar.hrafnbjargarson@hum.uit.no



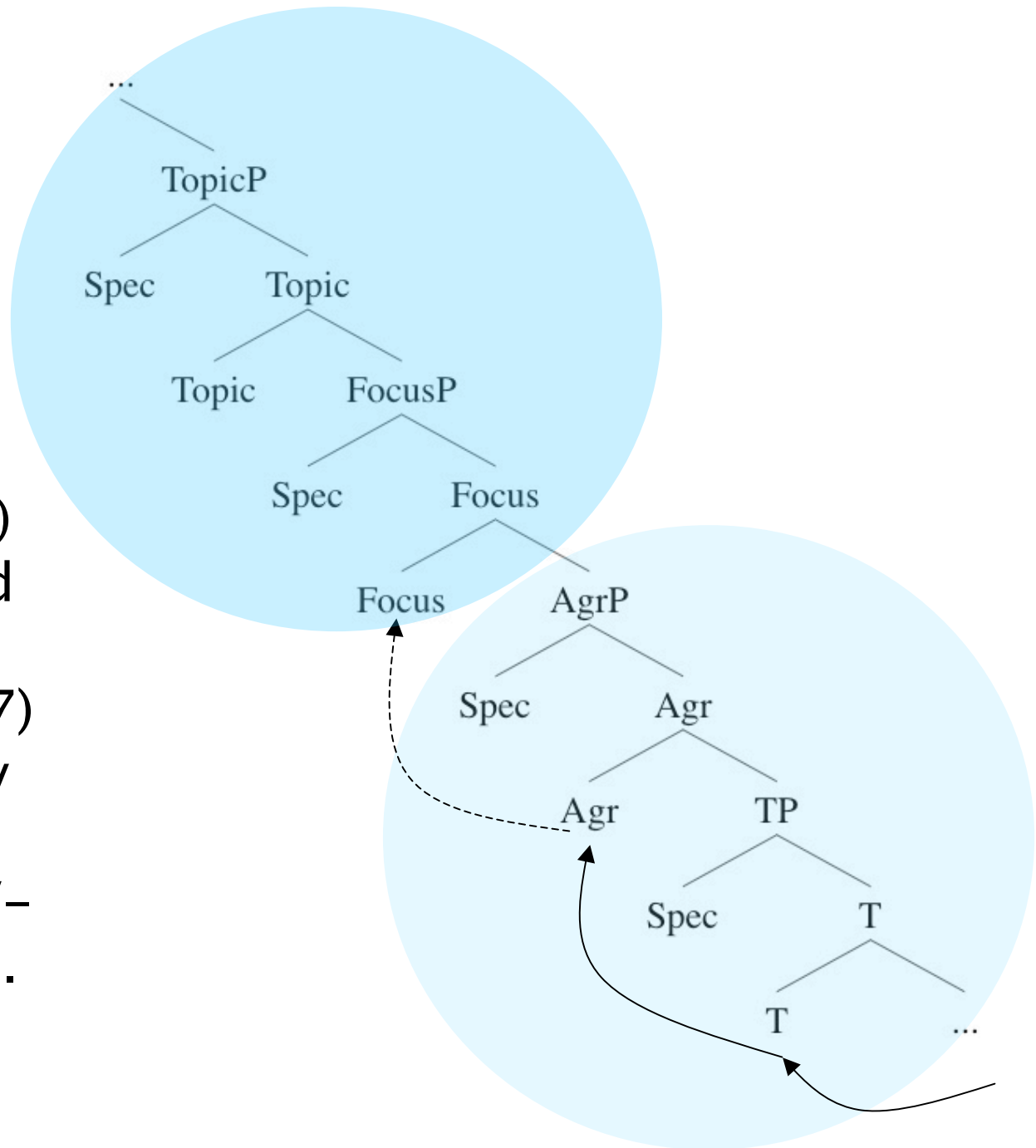


Hypothesis

No-connection hypothesis

- V2 and V-to-I movement do not interfere with each other. I.e. V2 is not dependent on the presence of V-to-I movement.
 - + Mainland Scandinavian (MSc) does not have V-to-I movement but V2 (in main clauses only) .
 - + V2 is not possible in all embedded clauses that have V-to-I movement in Icelandic (control infinitives, relative clauses, embedded questions).
 - Other “V2-like” phenomena (stylistic fronting, *pað*-insertion) depend on V-to-I movement.

- In embedded clauses (as opposed to main clauses) an articulated CP domain (à la Rizzi, 1997) is licensed by V-to-I movement (V-to-T-to-Agr).



Consequences

- All embedded clauses (in Ic.) have an articulated CP domain.
- All embedded clauses in Icelandic are potential V2 clauses.
- Hence, topicalization should in principle always be possible in embedded clauses (even questions).
- No real syntactic difference between stylistic fronting and topicalization.
- Cf. Rögnvaldsson (1986), Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson (1990), Johnson and Vikner (1994), Vikner (1995), Hrafnbjargarson (2004a,b).



Part I: Stylistic fronting

Background: SF

- Stylistic fronting is a leftwards movement of e.g. adverbs, particles, participles (also PPs and DP objects)
 - Þeir sem **ekki**_i hafa t_i greitt árgjald hafa ekki atkvæðisrétt
Those who haven't paid contingent fee don't have the right to vote.
- In Icelandic, and older stages of Mainland Scandinavian.
- Landing site:
 - IP, Spec (Holmberg 2000, and many others)
 - Adjunction to I (Jónsson 1991/1996, Poole 1996)
 - Somewhere between IP and CP (Fischer 2004)
 - FocusP/Focus (Hrafnbjargarson 2004a/b))
- Resembles topicalization but not entirely.

Background: SF vs. Topic

Stylistic Fronting	Topicalization
Past participles, particles, predicative adjectives, negation.	Object DPs, PPs, Adjs, some Advs, particles etc.
No emphasis or focus necessarily present. [GHH (2004):Fronted element is focussed and stressed.]	Emphasis or focus on fronted constituent.
Common in embedded clauses.	Uncommon in embedded clauses.
Accepted by all speakers. [GHH (2004): Judgements vary a lot.]	Judgements vary in relative clauses, questions, etc.
Clause-bounded.	Unbounded.
Subject gap required. [GHH (2004): Also possible in the presence of a weak subject pronoun.]	No subject gap required. [Rögnvaldss. (1986): Topical. generally better if subject gap.]

(Adapted from Rögnvaldsson (1986))

Background: SF vs. Topic

- Rögnvaldsson (1986):
 - No syntactic criteria can distinguish stylistic fronting from topicalization.
 - Clause-boundedness rather based on theme/rheme distinction. The stylistically fronted element cannot be a theme. The element moved out of a clause is always theme.

Svona leiðinlegur vissi enginn [að Jón væri ____]
Noone knew that John was that boring (p. 7 (16))
- Basically, my analysis of stylistic fronting also predicts that the differences between stylistic fronting and topicalization are minimal. Both target the same position: FocusP,Spec.

SF and V-to-I

- Stylistic fronting only occurs in clauses where V-to-I (V-to-T-to-Agr) movement is possible:
 - Subject relatives
 - Subject questions
 - Impersonal constructions
 - (Control infinitives?)
- In the history of Mainland Scandinavian, stylistic fronting plays a major role in the loss of V-to-I movement, cf. Platzack (1988), Falk (1993), Hrafnbjargarson (2004a/b).

Subject relative clauses

- (1) þeir [_{Topic} sem][_{FocusP} ekki [_{Focus} skila][_{AgrP} [_{Agr} t][_{NegP} t [_{Neg} t][_{TP} [_T t]
[_{VP} t skattframtali á réttum tíma verða sektaðir]]]]]

Those who do not hand in a tax return form in time will be fined

- (2) ... er það mjög brýnt að

... it is very important that

þær stjórnunareiningar [_{Topic} sem][_{FocusP} ekki [_{Focus} hafa] [_{AgrP} [_{Agr} t][_{NegP} t [_{Neg} t][_{TP} [_T t][_{VP} ennþá [_{VP} t [_{VP} skipað fulltrúa sína geri það sem allra fyrst ...]]]]]]

(<http://www.alefli.is/Fréttir.htm>)

*the managing units that have not yet nominated their representatives
do so as soon as possible ...*

Embedded questions

- (3) Hann mundi ekki, [_{TopicP} hver [_{FocusP} tekið [_{Focus} hefði][_{AgrP} [_{Agr} t][_{TP} [_T t]
[_{VP} t t ákvörðun um, hvað gera skyldi við líkið]]]]

He didn't remember who had taken the decision what to do with the body (<http://www.mmedia.is/mal214/domur/dhr1980a.html>)

- (4) en Indriði vissi ekki [_{TopicP} hverju [_{FocusP} fram [_{Focus} fór][_{AgrP} [_{Agr} t][_{TP} [_T t]
[_{VP} t t og tárin, sem eru fylgisveinar harmsins og einverunnar og menn ekki skammast sín fyrir, þegar enginn sér til, stytta honum svo stundir að hann gáði þess ekki, hvað tímanum leið]]]]

But Indriði didn't know what had happened and the tears, which are the companions of the despair and loneliness and men do not feel ashamed for, when noone sees, entertained him such that he didn't notice how the time passed.

(Jón Thoroddsen: *Piltur og stúlka*, <http://www.snerpa.is/net/roman/pilturog.htm>)

Impersonal constructions

- (5) að veiðar hefðu ekki áhrif á stofninn með því [TopicP [Topic að]
 [FocusP út [FocusP væri][AgrP [Agr t][TP [T t] [VP t [VP gefinn t kvóti]]]]]]
 og [TopicP [Topic að] [FocusP veitt [FocusP væri][AgrP [Agr t][TP [T t] [VP t [VP
 t til manneldis og undir eftirliti alþjóðastofnunar
*that fishing will not influence the stock because quota will be
 set out and it will be for human consumption, under the control
 of an international organisation*
 (<http://www.althingi.is/altext/123/03/r091/34601.shtml>)

Here SF is in complementary distribution with *það*-insertion:

- (6) að veiðar hefðu ekki áhrif á stofninn með því að það væri gefinn
 út kvóti og að það væri veitt til manneldis ...

Control infinitives(?)

- (7) *Einhverjir þeirra reyndu [_{TopicP} [_{FocusP} fram [_{Focus} að fara]
 [_{AgrP} PRO [_{Agr} t][_{TP} [_T t] [_{VP} t t í kosningunum]]]]]
Some of them tried to run for election
 (*Einhverjir þeirra reyndu að fram fara í kosningunum)

- (8) *Einhverjir þeirra reyndu [_{TopicP} [_{FocusP} lesið [_{Focus} að hafa]
 [_{AgrP} PRO [_{Agr} t][_{TP} [_T t] [_{VP} t t bókina]]]]]
Some of them tried to have read the book
 (*Einhverjir þeirra reyndu að lesið hafa bókina)

But

- (9) ?Ég hef reynt [_{TopicP} [_{FocusP} ekki [_{Focus} að verða][_{AgrP} PRO [_{Agr} t]
 [_{NegP} t [_{Neg} t] [_{TP} [_T t] [_{VP} t veikur í allan vetur]]]]] (?að ekki verða)
 All winter, I have tried not to become ill (ER, pc: *, sounds foreign)

ECM

Stylistic fronting and *það*-insertion are impossible in ECM clauses, which are usually analysed as not having a CP layer:

- (10) Smjörrið sem ég taldi [hafa verið stolið úr búrinu] fannst
- (11) ??Smjörrið sem ég taldi [stolið hafa verið úr búrinu] fannst
- (12) *Smjörrið sem ég taldi [það hafa verið stolið úr búrinu] fannst

The butter that I thought had been stolen from the pantry got found

We would expect both stylistic fronting and *það*-insertion to be possible here if it were independent of verb movement and V2.

- (13) Fundurinn sem ég taldi fram hafa farið í Stokkhólmi var reyndar haldinn í Osló.

The meeting that I thought had taken place in Stockholm actually took place in Oslo.

The accessibility hierarchy: violations & abnormalities

{ negation
adverbs } > { past ppl
verb partcl } > predicative
adjectives

- (14) Já ég er ekki frá því að **út** væri **gott** að komast __ núna
Yes, it would be nice to be able to go outside now

(<http://www.atgangur.net/index.php?m=200407>)

- (15) Nemendur sem **áður** **lokið** hafa (__) __ sambærilegum
námsáföngum (__) ...

Students that have finished similar courses earlier ...

(<http://umsk.hvanneyri.is/umskolann.htm>, has been removed)



Part II: *paǝ*-insertion

Það and V2

- *Það* cannot be inserted in clauses without V-to-I movement.

(16) a. Við sáum vera dansað á bátnum

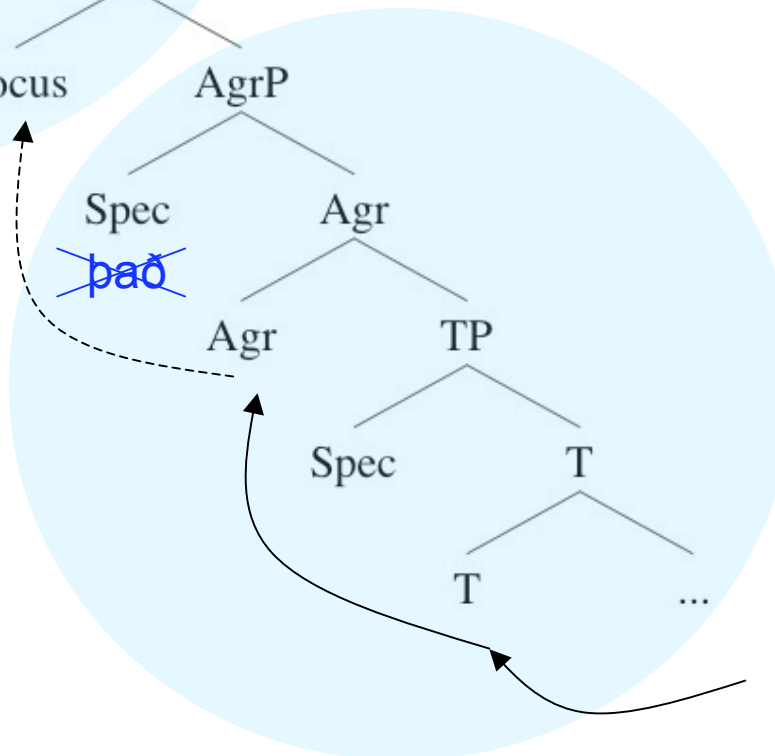
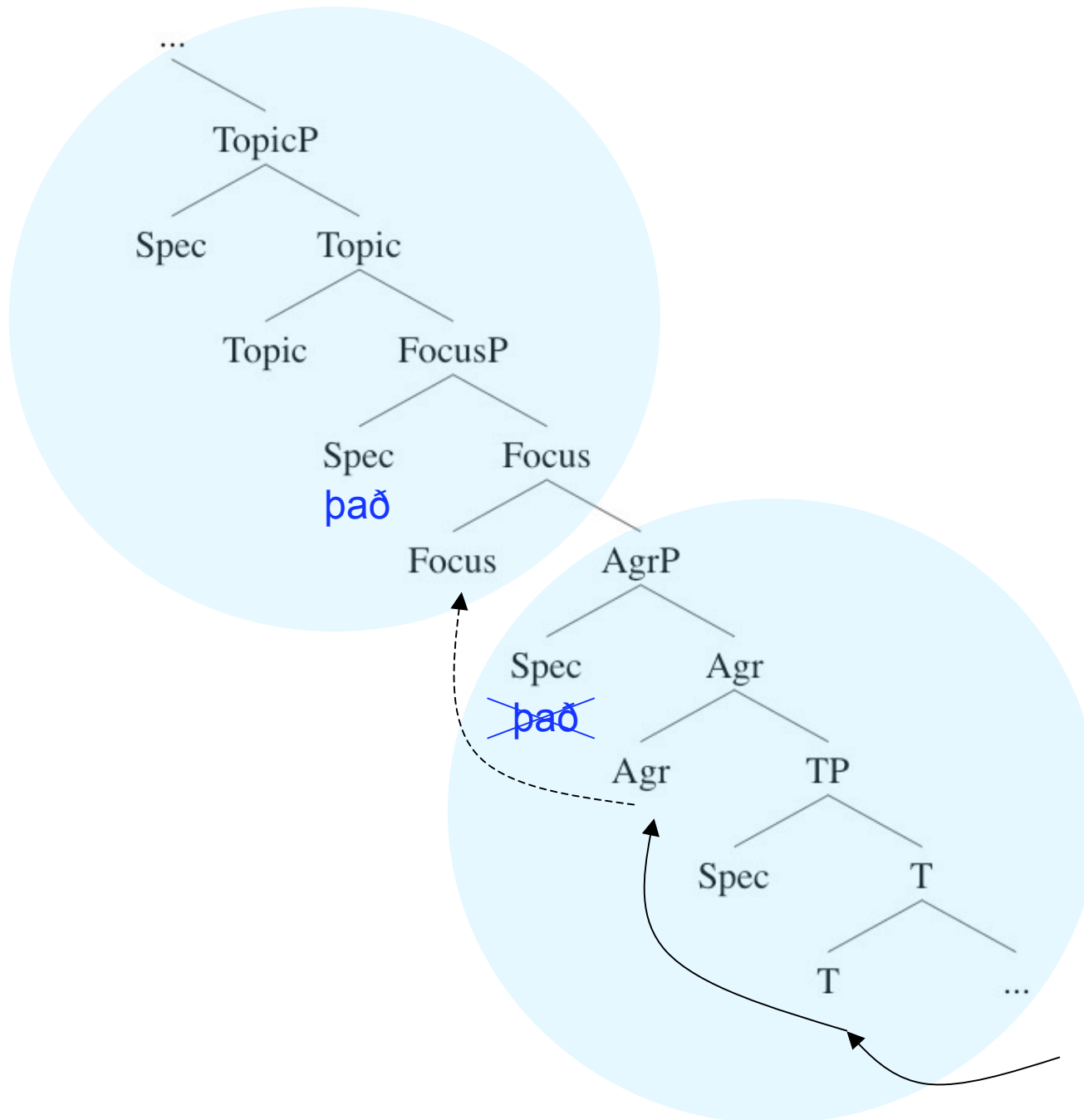
b. *Við sáum *það* vera dansað á bátnum.

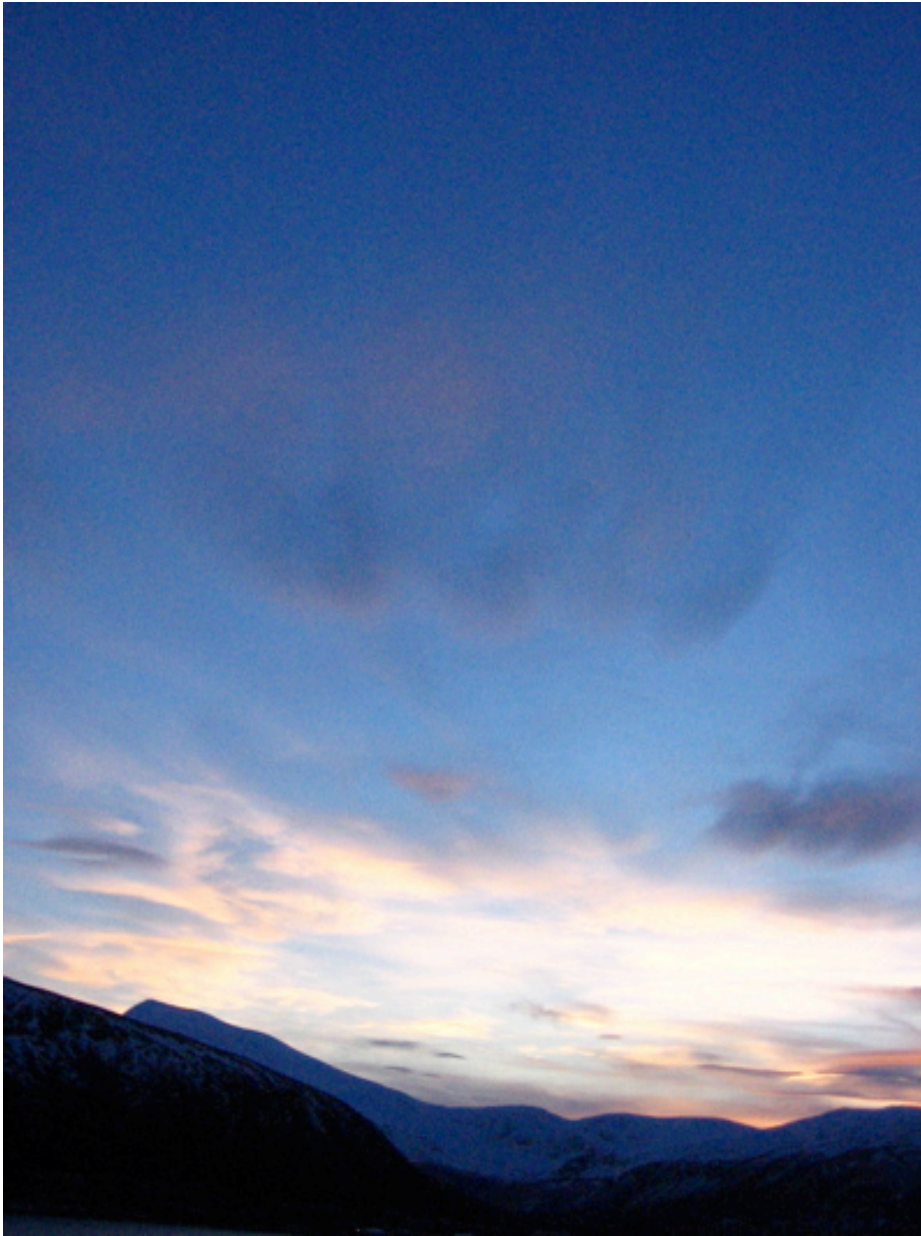
We saw people dance on the boat

(17) a. Okkur virðist hafa snjóað í alla nótt

b. *Okkur virðist *það* hafa snjóað í alla nótt

It seems to us as it has been snowing all night





Part III: Topicalization

Main clause V2

- (17) Pá denne bilen har Audi turt á ta i litt pá designsiden.
<http://www.dinside.no/php/art.php?id=104908>
- (18) Pá denna bilen hadde dom kapat hál i huven så att hela motorn skulle få plats.
http://www.hondaklubben.com/old_forum/topic.asp?TOPIC_ID=34686
- (19) I denne bil har vi monteret et Carin 520 navigationsanlæg ...
<http://www.mobil-navigation.dk/Chevrolet%20astrovan.htm>
- (20) Tá Sally umsíðir er flutt og hefur fingið familju sjálv, kemur Gillian knappliga ein dagin aftur, og í bilinum hefur hon ein deyðan mann. <http://www.byarbok.fo/ljod/ljodnyggjar.htm>
- (21) Á þessum bíl hefur Bent unnið til fjölda verðlauna.
<http://blog.central.is/svwaey?page=viewPage&id=325043>

Embedded V2

Accepted in the complements of bridge verbs:

- (22) Jeg ved at det her foredrag vil Sten ikke holde i Tromsø, men han vil da helt sikkert snakke om V-til-I-flytning.

I know that Sten will not give this talk in Tromsø but surely he will talk about V-to-I movement

- (23) Jeg vet at denne bussen har Peter ikke tatt til Narvik før, men han har da tatt en eller annen buss dit.

I know that Peter hasn't taken this bus to Narvik earlier but surely he has taken some bus there

- (24) Ég veit að þessa sögu hefur Höski aldrei sagt í setningafræðitímum, en hann hefur nú alveg örugglega sagt einhverjar aðrar.

I know that Höski has never told this story in syntax classes but surely he has told some other stories

- (25) Eg veit at hesa náðina finna vit ekki úti í náttúruni, men bert í Bíbliuni

I know that we don't find this divinity in nature but only in the Bible

Embedded V2 – MSc

Dispreferred in non-bridge contexts in Danish:

- (26) a. *Jeg beklager at den her fejl har jeg ikke opdaget før.
b. Jeg beklager at jeg ikke har opdaget den her fejl før.
I'm sorry I haven't noticed this failure earlier

Judgements vary in Norwegian:

- (27) a. */??Jeg beklager at denne feilen har jeg ikke oppdaga før.
b. Jeg beklager at jeg ikke har oppdaga denne feilen før.
I'm sorry I haven't noticed this failure earlier

Embedded V2 – Icelandic

Acceptable in most embedded clauses, even in a non-bridge context:

- (28) Ég viðurkenni fúslega að þessa vitleysu hafði ég ekki komið auga á fyrr.

I readily admit that I hadn't noticed this failure earlier

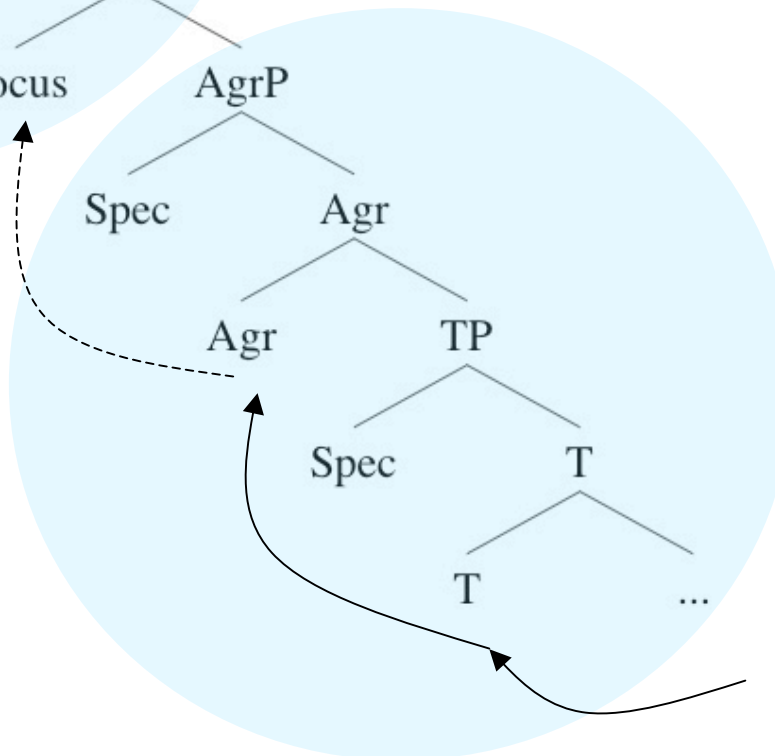
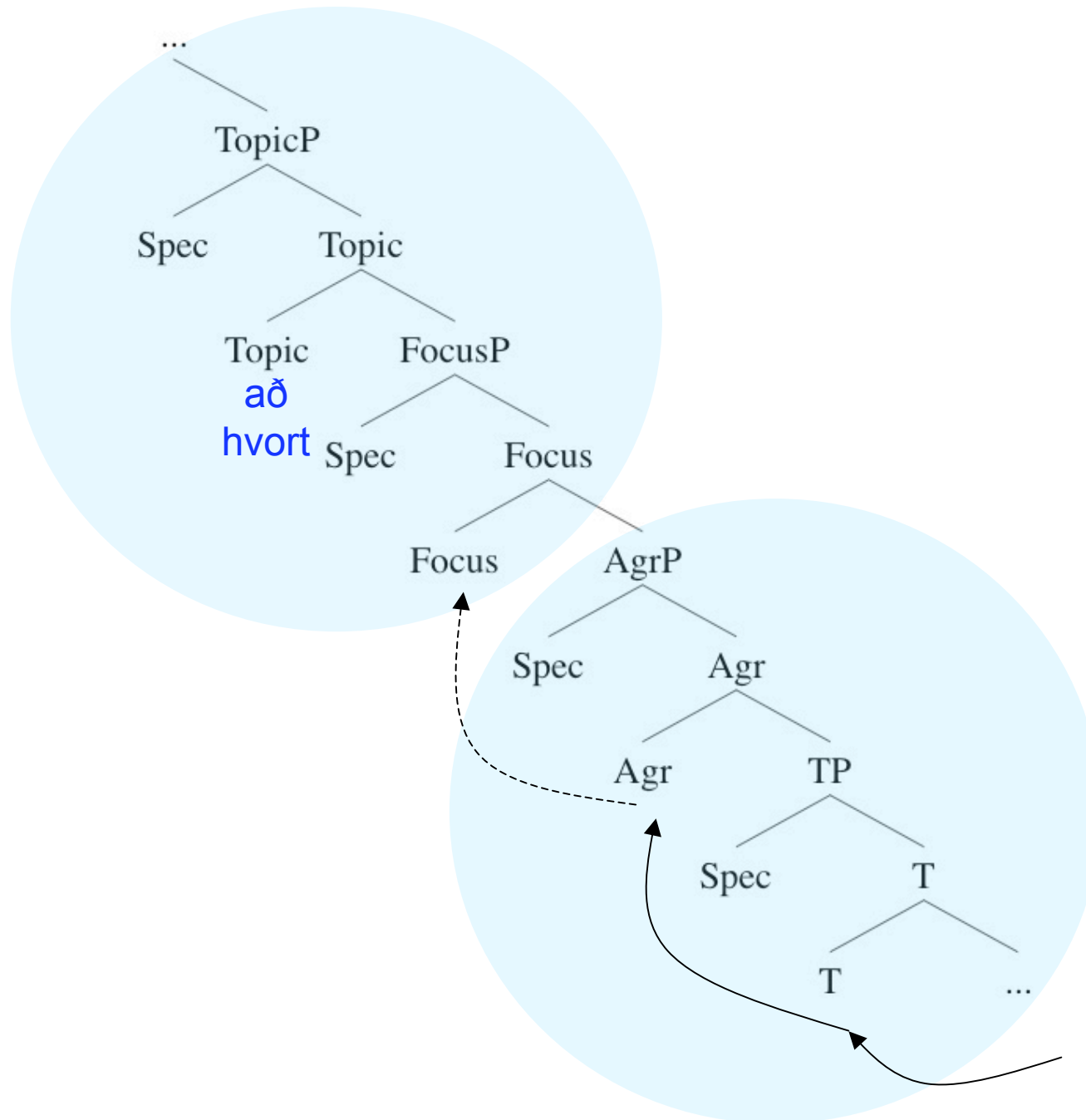
Not acceptable in embedded questions or relative clauses:

- (29) *Ég veit ekki hvort þessa mynd hafi þau séð á kvikmyndahátíðinni.

I don't know whether they've seen this film at the film festival

- (30) *Súrheyið sem þessum rollum hafði bóndinn gefið var ónýtt.

The silage the farmer had given to these sheep was spoilt



V2 in embedded questions

- (29) Ég veit ekki hvort í Frakklandi eða Írlandi hafi þingmenn risið upp og haldið því fram að ...
I do not know whether in France or Ireland MPs have risen up and claimed that ... (<http://www.alþingi.is/altext/116/11/r30135005.shtml>)
- (30) Ég velti því fyrir mér hvort í Frakklandi eða Írlandi hafi þingmenn ekki risið upp og haldið því fram að ...
I wonder whether in France or Ireland MPs have not risen up and claimed that ...
- (31) Ég man ekki hvort í þeim tillögum birtust líka hugmyndir sem hafa oft verið til umræðu ...
I do not remember whether in these proposals, also ideas that have been discussed appeared ... (<http://www.alþingi.is/altext/130/O3/r01171657.shtml>)
- (32) Ég velti því fyrir mér hvort í þeim tillögum hafi einhverjar hugmyndir um breikkun Hringbrautar ekki komið fram...
I wonder whether in these proposals, some ideas about the enlarging of Hringbraut have not appeared ...

Problem ... relative clauses

- (33) *Guð sem **þessi börn höfðu Adam og Eva aldrei sýnt** reiddist og gerði þau að álfum og huldufólki.

God that Adam and Eve had never shown these children got angry and made them into elves and hidden people

The problem is that only **subjects**
“topicalize” in relative clauses.

English

In English, topicalization seems to target a lower position in relative clauses than embedded questions.

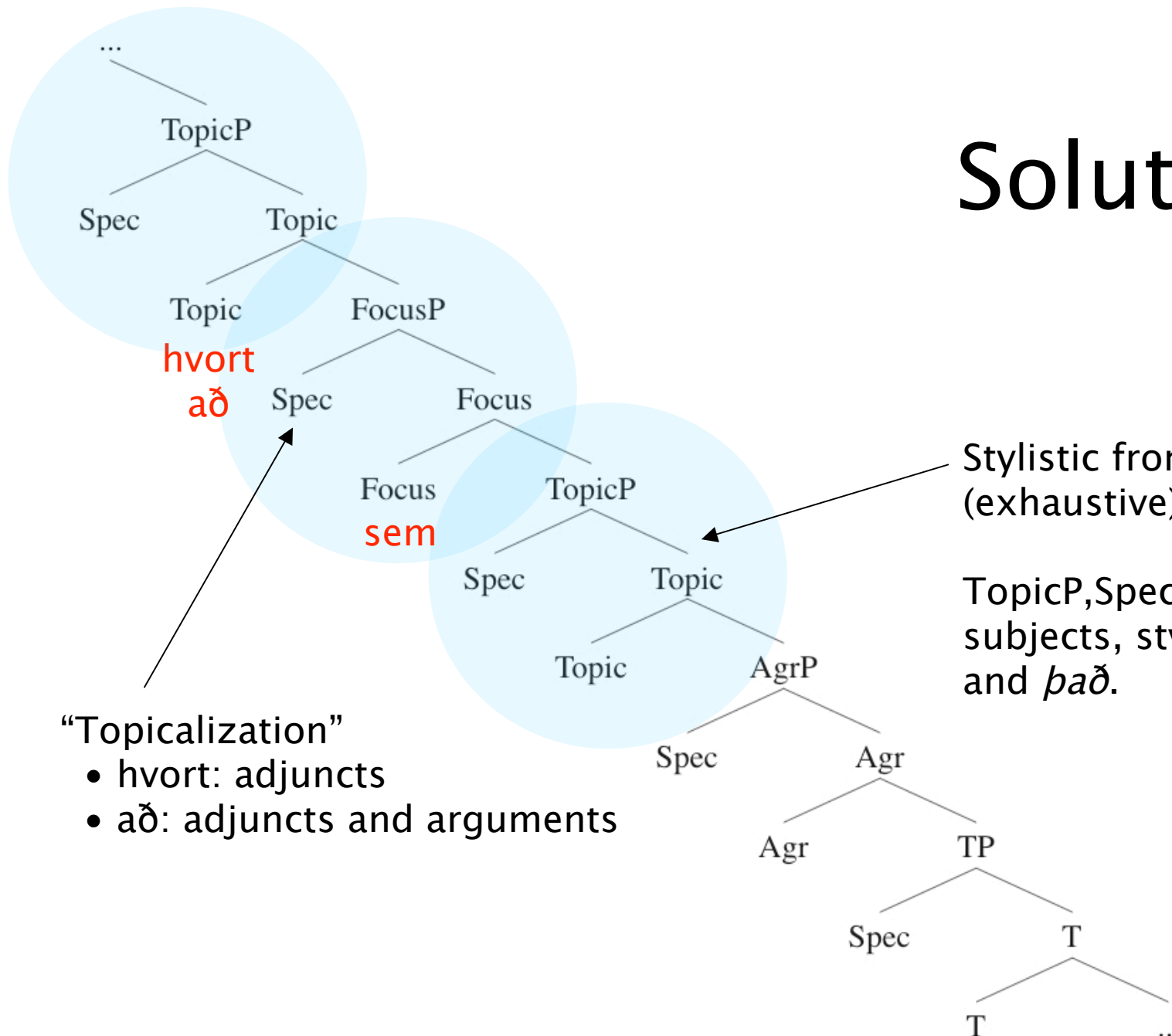
(34) The man who yesterday was seen in the market hasn't turned up at home today.
(no alternatives for yesterday)

(35) John was wondering whether yesterday Peter had bought fish in the market.
(alternatives, I crucially want to know whether he did it today)

Solution?

- The relative complementizer sits lower than other complementizers.
 - In stead of two-layered CP domain (TopicP, FocusP) we have a three-layered domain (TopicP, FocusP, TopicP).

Solution?



Stylistic fronting
(exhaustive)

TopicP, Spec reserved for
subjects, stylistic fronting
and *pađ*.

“Topicalization”

- hvort: adjuncts
- ađ: adjuncts and arguments