Syntax and Discourse

Case(s) of V3 orders in Icelandic with temporal adjuncts

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Abstract

Although Icelandic is a verb second language (V2), it sometimes allows for deviations from V2; for instance, V1 and V3. In this paper, I look at a type of V3 which consists of an adverbial adjunct occurring in front of *wh*-questions. I contrast this type with similar instances of V3 found in West Flemish (WF) and Standard Dutch (StD) (see Haegeman and Greco 2018). Assuming that Icelandic makes use of an extended left periphery, I suggest that the Icelandic V3 can be analyzed in a similar way as those in WF and StD, namely that the adverbial adjunct is outside of the regular main clause and that a movement of the finite verb along with a temporal index high into the left periphery licenses an external merger of the adjunct. In instances where V3 with initial adverbial adjunct is not allowed, i.e. to the left of a regular subject-initial sentence, the finite verb stays lower in the left periphery and external merger is not licensed.

1   Introduction

Languages that standardly have the finite verb in the second position (V2) occasionally allow for divergence from V2. In these cases, the verb can occur in the first position (V1), in third position (V3), or later in the clause. What these deviations from V2 have in common is that they are highly marked and only found under certain circumstances, discourse contexts or specific syntactic environments.

In this paper I take look at a certain type of V3 order that is allowed in Icelandic, a V2 language (for an overview, see Thráinsson 2007:17-31). The V3 type under discussion here typically occurs in spoken language and consists of a temporal adjunct appearing clause-initially. This is presented in (1), where the temporal adjunct is underlined and the finite verb of the main cause boldfaced.

(1) <u>*Þegar þú   ferð   til   Belgíu   í   sumar,*</u>   *hvað*
     when you   go   to   Belgium   PREP summer   what
     ætlarðu   *að   gera?*
     go.2SG   to   do
     'When you go to Belgium this summer, what are you going to do?'

Similar types of V3 orders are allowed in West Flemish (WF) and Standard Dutch (StD) (see Haegeman and Greco 2018).[1] This is shown in (2) with an example from WF.

(2)   *Als't*   *geijzeld*   *is*,   *ze*   **risschiert**   *heur*   *niet*   *buiten.*
        when it   frosty   is   she   risks   her   not   outside
        'When it is frosty, she does not venture outside.' (Haegeman and Greco 2018:2)

I contrast the Icelandic data with data from WF and StD discussed by Haegeman and Greco (2018) and attempt to apply their analysis to Icelandic. Icelandic seems to differ from WF and StD in two ways. Whereas WF and StD allow for this particular type of V3 orders with various types of main clauses, Icelandic only allows for it with *wh*-questions. Second, in Icelandic it seems like the phenomenon can be embedded, but in WF and StD it is bound to main clauses. Leaving aside the embedded examples in Icelandic, I argue that the main clause V3 with temporal adjuncts can be accounted for in a similar way as the WF and StD data. Following Haegeman and Greco (2018), an external merger of a temporal adjunct is assumed to be licensed through a movement of an element up to the edge of the left periphery, i.e. to ForceP on a split CP account. If movement to the edge of the periphery does not take place, an external merger of a temporal adjunct is not possible. I argue that in Icelandic, movement up to the edge of the left periphery only takes place in *wh*-questions. In other instances, the finite verb stays lower in the clause and hence an external merger cannot take place. This approach demands that Icelandic be regarded as having an articulated CP layer. [2]

      The paper is organized as follows. In Section 2.1 I briefly discuss V3 orders in V2 languages. In Section 2.2 I give examples of the relevant facts of West Flemish (WF) and Standard Dutch (StD) as presented in Haegeman and Greco (2018). This is followed by a clause-external account of the initial temporal adjunct which precedes a regular V2 clause (see Haegeman and Greco 2018). Section 3 is devoted to Icelandic. In 3.1 I briefly discuss the position of the finite verb in Icelandic. Section 3.2 deals with two different types of temporal adjunct clauses, the Peripheral Adverbial Clause (PAC) and the Central Adverbial Clause (CAC). Section 3.3 contains some examples of V3 in Icelandic that have a CAC as an initial adjunct. The examples are mainly based on the intuition of the present author, although other Icelandic speakers were regularly consulted.[3] Section 3.4 highlights the differences between Icelandic on the one hand and WF and StD on the other hand. A provisional analysis for Icelandic is also presented in this section. Finally, Section 4 concludes the paper.

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[1] Swedish also allows for similar structures, called *fritt annex*, which involve e.g. adverbs, particles, and sometimes full adverbial clauses, which seem to be semantically, but not fully syntactically, integrated into the main clause (Teleman et. al. 1999a:173, Teleman et. al. 1999b:101). I thank Johan Brandtler for bringing these facts to my attention.

[2] Although many accounts of Icelandic precede the invention of an extended left periphery, some recent scholarship has assumed a split-CP layer (see e.g. Wiklund et al. 2007, Jónsson 2010).

[3] I would like to thank those who have provided judgements for the Icelandic examples in this paper, especially Brynhildur Stefánsdóttir (Cornell University) and Þórhallur Eyþórsson (University of Iceland).

2 V3 in V2 languages – West Flemish and Standard Dutch

2.1 V2 and V3

The V2 phenomenon is generally thought to consist of the finite verb occurring after the first constituent of the clause. The surface order of the constituents is often translated into an underlying structure where V2 is described via verb movement, i.e. the verb moves from V to T (and in some instances all the way to C) on a non-split-CP account (for an overview of Icelandic verb movement, see Thráinsson 2007). The verb-movement account of V2 is necessarily connected to the general description as it is supposed to capture the linear order of constituents. However, describing word order through linear order of constituents and verb movement does not always give the same results. Take for instance (3).

(3) *Á   morgun,   þá   **verður**   gaman.*
     in   tomorrow   then   will-be   fun
     'Tomorrow, it will be fun then.'

Based on the linear order of constituents, (2) can be regarded an instance of verb third (V3) since the finite verb is preceded by two constituents, namely *þá* 'then' and *á morgun* 'tomorrow'. On a verb-movement account, however, (2) might be regarded as conforming to "regular" V2, with the verb in C (assuming that this is the position that the finite verb occupies) and the adverb *þá* in Spec,CP; the additional adverbial á *morgun* is then considered to be outside of the regular clause. Of course, this raises the question what a clause is and what it means to be a part of a clause or external to it. I will get back to this question in Section 2.3. For the remainder of the paper, I will use V3 descriptively for utterances that seem to have the finite verb in third position according to the surface order of constituents. Regarding clausal structure, however, the verb can still be thought of as occupying its regular V2 position. Making use of a split-CP layer, the finite verb is assumed to occupy either ForceP or FinP (for discussion on the placement of the finite verb within the left periphery of V2 languages, see Poletto 2002, Wolfe 2016 and others).

2.2 V3 in StD and WF

Both West Flemish and Standard Dutch are V2 languages. Despite this, there are some instances of V3 word orders with adjuncts occurring clause-initially. The V3 sentences are thought to be confined to specific discourse contexts (Haegeman and Greco 2018), and the constituents that appear at the front of the clause are mainly temporal and conditional adjuncts (Saelens 2014). An example from WF is given in (4). All WF and StD examples are taken from Haegeman and Greco (2018).

(4) *Als't   geijzeld   is,   ze̲   **risschiert**   heur   niet   buiten.*
     when it   frosty   is   she   risks   her   not   outside
     'When it is frosty, she does not venture outside.' (Example (1a) in Haegeman and Greco 2018)

Importantly, V2 word order is also possible in this context as shown in (5).

(5) *Als't   geijzeld   is,   **risschiert**   ze   heur   niet buiten.*
     when it   frosty   is   risks   she   not   outside
     'When it is frosty, she does not venture outside.' Example (1d) in Haegeman and Greco 2018)

Haegeman and Greco (2018) note that the temporal adjuncts that give rise to V3 orders can be merged with various clause-types, e.g. subject initial declarative clauses (6), declarative clauses with a fronted element (7), and interrogative clauses with *wh*-words (8). The main restriction on this type of V3 seems to be that it is confined to main clauses, i.e. these V3 types do not appear in an embedded environment.

(6)   **Adj-subj-V**
        Als   mijn   tekst   klaar   is,   ik   zal   je   hem   opsturen.
        when   my   text   ready   is   I   will   you   him   send
        'When my text is ready, I will send it to you.'
                                                    (Example (21a) in Haegeman and Greco 2018)

(7)   **Adj-top-V**
        Oa-j   eur   entwa   vroagt, en   antwoord   en   kryg-je
        if-you her   something   ask   a   reply   NEG   get-you
        niet.
        not
        'If you ask her about something, a reply you will not get.'
                                                    (Example (28) in Haegeman and Greco 2018)

(8)   **Adj-wh-V**
        Oan-k   gereed zyn   met   dienen tekst,   aan   wien
        if.1SG-I   ready am   with   that   text   to   whom
        moen-k   hem   ipstieren?
        must.1SG-I him   send
        'When I am ready with that text, to whom shall I send it?'
                                                    (Example (27a) in Haegeman and Greco 2018)

Temporal adjuncts like those in (6)-(8) can also combine with imperatives. Although examples like the one in (9) do technically not exhibit V3, they do involve deviation from the V1 pattern expected in imperatives. The occurrence of a temporal adjunct in front of regular imperatives can be assumed to be licensed in a similar way as the examples in (6)-(8) (see discussion in Haegeman and Greco 2018).

(9)   *Oa't   vanavond   te   kukt   wordt,   zet   de   chauffage*
        if.it   tonight   too   cold   becomes   switch   the   heating
        maar   aan.
        PRT   on
        'If it becomes too cold tonight, do switch on the heat.'
                                                    (Example (27d) in Haegeman and Greco 2018)

In all the cases of V3 (and the V2 in (9)) the initial adjunct is followed by "a more or less marked break" (Haegeman and Greco 2018:15).


2.3   Haegeman and Greco's Analysis
Working with Broekhuis and Corver's (2016) definition of clause-external elements, Haegeman and Greco claim that the temporal adjuncts in the V3 orders are clause-external. According to Broekhuis and Corver (2016), clause-external material includes constituents that occur to the left of the CP. This means that only one constituent is supposed to precede the head of C and if additional material is observed it must be outside the normal clause. The fact that the leftmost element is set aside from the rest of the clause by a marked break in intonation indicates that the element is clause-external, as argued by both Broekhuis (2016) and Haegeman and Greco (2018). Additionally, the clause-external material may have a special function in the discourse. This ties in with another assumption about clause-external material, i.e. that they are not moved from a base position inside the clause, but rather externally merged to the left of the CP layer (Holmberg 2015, Haegeman and Greco 2018). On an account like this, the clause structure of the examples in (6)-(9) is as shown in (10).

(10)   [Adjunct [$_{CP}$ … [$_{TP}$ …]]]   (Haegeman and Greco 2018:35)

Haegeman and Greco (2018) call the projection that is associated with the externally merged adjunct FrameP and claim that it "creates a discourse unit in which Adj-XP serves as a framing device for the assertion in ForceP." The proposed structure is shown in (11). Note that ForceP corresponds to the CP layer in (10).

(11)
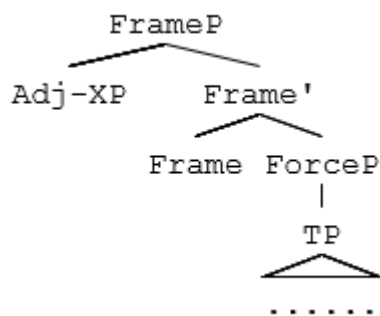
Although the adjuncts that give rise to V3 are generated outside of the normal clause, they do have a connection with main clause they are associated with. Haegeman and Greco (2018) capture this connection by proposing that the main clause has a temporal modal connector (or index) that ties the adjunct temporally to the main clause and licenses the external merger of it in FrameP. Since locality conditions have to be satisfied in order for elements to be merged in FrameP, the temporal index has to be moved up to the edge of the periphery, i.e. to ForceP. On Haegeman and Greco's (2018: 38) account, this happens through the movement of the finite

verb up to Force. If no movement up to ForceP takes place, an external merge of elements in FrameP cannot happen.

3 Icelandic V3 clauses with temporal adjuncts

3.1 Verb position in Icelandic

Icelandic is a symmetric V2 language, with the finite verb occurring in second position, both in main and subordinate clauses (cf. Thráinsson). An example of a main clause is given in (12).

(12) *Þessa bók*   **hefur**   *drengurinn*   *ekki*   *lesið.*
     this   book-the.ACC   has.3SG   boy-the.NOM   not   read
     'This book, the boy has not read.'

In (13) the clause from (12) has been embedded. As can be seen in (13b), V2 is maintained after topicalization within the embedded clause. Note that embedded V2 in Icelandic is not limited to embedding under verbs of assertion, as in (13), but it also occurs when the main clause has non-assertive verbs (see, e.g., Vikner 1995:71-72). In this way, Icelandic is different from Mainland Scandinavian.

(13)   a.   *Konan*   *veit*   *að*   <u>*drengurinn*</u>   **hefur**
          woman-the.NOM   knows.3SG   that   boy-the.NOM   has.3SG
          lesið   *bókina.*
          read   book-the.ACC
          'The woman knows that the boy has read the book.'

     b.   *Konan*   *veit*   *að*   <u>*þessa*</u>   <u>*bók*</u>
          woman-the.NOM   knows.3SG   that   this.ACC   book.ACC
          hefur   *drengurinn*   *lesið.*
          has.3SG   boy-the.NOM   read
          'The woman knows that THIS BOOK the boy has read.'

In addition to V2, Icelandic also has V1 orders that are restricted to certain types of clauses, e.g. yes/no questions, commands and narrative inversion (for a general overview and references see Thráinsson 2007:28-31, for declarative V1 see Sigurðsson 2018). I give her only an example of a yes/no question (14).

(14) **Ferð-u**   *til*   *Þýskalands*   *í*   *sumar?*
     go-you.2SG   PREP   Germany   PREP   summer
     'Are you going to Germany this summer?'

Contrary to yes/no questions, questions with *wh*-elements have a regular V2 pattern. This is shown in (15) with the *wh*-word *hvert* 'where to'.

(15) *Hvert*   ***ætlar***   *þú*   *að*   *fara*   *í*   *frí?*
     where-to   go.2SG   you   to   go   PREP   vacation
     'Where are you going to go for a vacation.'

Although Icelandic generally follows V2 (and V1 in certain circumstances), there are instances where the finite verb appears to be in the third position within the clause. This was noted by Maling (1980), but others have also discussed deviations from V2 (e.g. Thráinsson 1986, Sigurðsson 1986, Angantýsson 2001, Angantýsson and Jonas 2016). I give here two examples of V3 orders. In (16), the adverbial *kannski* 'maybe' appears between the subject and the finite verb.

(16) *Þú*   *kannski*   ***kemur***   *í*   *kvöld.*
     You   maybe   come.2SG   PREP   evening
     'Maybe you will come this evening.'

The example in (17) involves an NP in the accusative case which bears stress and is detached from the rest of the clause with a comma intonation. This type of V3 has sometimes been referred to as Contrastive Dislocation (Thráinsson 2007:358-359).

(17) *Harald,*   *hann*   ***þekki***   *ég*   *ekki.*
     Haraldur.ACC   him.ACC   know.1SG   I   not
     'Haraldur, I don't know him.'

As mentioned above, there is an additional type of V3 in Icelandic which has not been previously discussed in the literature. This type involves V3 orders with clause-initial temporal adjuncts, comparable to the West Flemish and Standard Dutch data in section 2.2. Before I turn to the Icelandic V3 data, I will first briefly discuss two types of adverbial clauses which are relevant for the present context and must be kept distinguished.

3.2.   Different types of temporal adjuncts

Haegeman (2012 and some earlier work) distinguishes between two types of adverbial clauses: peripheral adverbial clauses (PAC) and central adverbial clauses (CAC). The two types behave in a different way with respect to the fronting of elements within the clause and their integration into a main clause. According to Haegeman and Greco (2018), CACs and PACs can also give different results when they are combined with full V2 main clauses to form V3 orders.

     Peripheral adverbial clauses have been noted to allow for so called main clause phenomena (MCP) (see e.g. Haegeman 2002, 2012 for English and Angantýsson and Jonas 2016 for Icelandic). This means that they behave more like full clauses, for instance by allowing topicalization of various elements. Additionally, PACs stand in a different temporal relationship with the main clause they are associated with; they typically modify "the speech act as whole" and not the main clause itself (Haegeman and Greco 2018:17). Interestingly, PACs freely allow V3 patterns in both West Flemish and Standard Dutch (Haegeman and Greco 2018:17). An example of an Icelandic sentence containing a peripheral adverbial clause,

with topicalization, is given in (18). The adverbial connector *á meðan* 'while' is here taken to introduce contrastiveness and does not carry temporal meaning.

(18) *Í* *ensku* *eru* *sterkbeygðar* *sagnir* *taldar* *óreglulegar,*
      PREP English are strong verbs assumed irregular
      á meðan *í* *fornensku* *eru* *þær* *taldar* *reglulegar.*
      while PREP Old-English are they assumed regular
      'In English, strongly conjugated verbs are considered irregular, while in Old English they are considered regular.' (Example (15d) from Angantýsson and Jonas 2016)

Central adverbial clauses are considered to be more integrated into the main clause than PACs since they modify the clause they are associated with. Additionally, contrary to PACs, fronting of arguments and adjuncts is dispreferred in CACs (Haegeman 2012). This holds for Icelandic CACs, although there is some variation among speakers (Angantýsson and Jonas 2016). In (19) I give an example of an Icelandic CAC.

(19) *Þegar* *þú* *ferð* *til* *Belgíu* *í* *sumar…*
      when you go to Belgium PREP summer
      'When you go to Belgium this summer…'

As can be seen in (20), fronting of adjuncts and arguments is ungrammatical in the clause under discussion.

(20) a. **Þegar* *í* *sumar* *ferð* *þú* *til* *Belgíu…*
         when PREP summer go you to Belgium
         Intended: 'When, THIS SUMMER, you go to Belgium…'

      b. **Þegar* *til* *Belgíu* *ferð* *þú* *í* *sumar…*
         when to Belgium go you PREP summer
         Intended: 'When TO BELGIUM you go this summer…'

WF and StD differ slightly when it comes to CACs. While WF speakers accept them with V3 word order in all clause types, Standard Dutch speakers do not accept them with V3 orders with a clause-initial subject. Haegeman and Greco (2018:24) give the following example which is acceptable in West Flemish but ungrammatical in Standard Dutch.

(21) *Als* *mijn* *tekst* *klaar* *is,* *ik* **zal** *je* *hem* *opsturen.*
      when my text ready is I will you him send
      'When my text is ready, I'll send it to you.'

                                        (Example (21a) from Haegeman and Greco 2018)

In my examples of Icelandic V3 clauses, shown in the next section, I focus on CACs in Icelandic, using the temporal adverbial clause presented in (19). I do this in order for the data to be as similar as possible to the WF and StD data given in Haegeman and Greco (2018).

3.3   Icelandic V3 with temporal adjuncts

In (22) the temporal CAC seems to give rise to a V3 order in Icelandic in a similar way as in WF (and StD) above. The finite verb in the main clause in marked in boldface.

(22) | *Þegar* | *þú* | *ferð* | *til* | *Beglíu* | *í* | *sumar,* | *hvað* |
      |---------|------|--------|-------|----------|-----|---------|--------|
      | when | you | go | to | Belgium | PREP | summer | what |

  ætlarðu   *að*   *gera?*
  going   to   do
  'When you go to Belgium this summer, what are you going to do?'

Comparing (22) to (23), in (23a) we have a regular word order where the finite verb follows a *wh*-word which has been moved to Spec,CP, with a temporal CAC generated inside a main clause. The example in (23b), on the other hand, is a type of echo question where the CAC has been topicalized and the *wh*-words remains *in situ*.

(23)   a. *Hvað*   **ætlarðu**   *að*   *gera*   *þegar*   *þú*   *ferð*   *til*   *Belgíu*
          what   going-you   to   do   when   you   go   to   Belgium

  í   *sumar?*
  PREP   summer
  'What are you going to do when you go to Beligum this summer?'

  b. *Þegar*   *þú*   *ferð*   *til*   *Belgíu*   *í*   *sumar*
     when   you   go   to   Belgium   PREP   summer

  ætlarðu   *að*   *gera*   *hvað?*
  going-you   to   do   what
  'When you go to Belgium this summer, what are you going to do?'

While the CACs in (23a) and (23b) are merged within the main clause, this is presumably not the case in (23). In (22), an intonational break is required between the CAC and the main clause. Additionally, if we assume that the *wh*-word occupies Spec,CP (or Spec,Force in a split CP layer) of the clause, then the CAC can be accounted for with external merge after the derivation of the main clause has taken place. On this account, the CAC in (20) could be assumed to be clause-external in the sense of both Broekhuis and Corver (2016) and Haegeman and Greco (2018).

Although the examples above all included a *wh*-question, it may be noted that V3 orders with an initial adjunct also work with questions that have the same form as declaratives. This

is shown in (24) with a prepositional phrase and a particle *hérna* occurring in front of the question.[4]

(24) (*Hérna),   fyrir   partýið   á   morgun*…   *ég   má*
       here   for   parthy-the   PREP   morrow   I   can
       alveg   kaupa   fullt   fullt   af   rauðvíni?
       ADV   buy   lots   lots   of   red wine
       'Listen, for the party tomorrow…. I can buy lots and lots of red wine?'

Interestingly, a temporal adjunct that gives rise to V3 as in (22) does not work with declarative clauses. This is shown in (25).

(25) **Þegar   þú   ferð   til   Belgíu   í   sumar,*
       when   you   go   to   Belgium   PREP   summer,
       þú   ætlar   að   heimsækja   Oostende.
       you   going   to   visit   Ostend
       Intended: 'When you go to Belgium this summer, you are going to visit Ostend.'

Even with a strong prosodic break there is a stark contrast between (22), which is grammatical, and (25) which is not. However, if the initial adjunct contains a *wh*-word, such as *hvað (svo) sem* 'whatever', a combination with a subject-initial declarative is possible (26).[5]

(26) *Hvað (svo) sem   þú   segir, hann   er   ekkert að   fara   í*
       whatever   you   say   he   is   not   to   go   PREP
       þetta   partý
       this   party
       'Whatever you say, he's just not going to this party.'

Other instances of an adverbial adjunct occurring in front of a main clause include imperatives (27) and yes/no questions (28). In both these types, a deviation from the expected order is observed even though it does not always result in V3. If the imperative contains the negation *ekki* 'not', it occurs either to the right of a finite verb (27a) or to the left of a non-finite verb (27b).

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[4] The particle *hérna* frequently occurs in spoken language and although it can be left out, the presence of it does make the example sound more natural. A speaker consulted on this example noted that if a tag question is added (24) becomes even better:

  (i) *Hérna,   fyrir partýið   á morgun*…   *ég   má   alveg   kaupa   fullt   fullt*
       here   for party   tomorrow   I   can   ADV   buy   lots   lots
       af   rauðvíni,   er   það   ekki?
       of   red wine   is   it   not
       'Listen, for the party tomorrow … I can buy lots and lots of red wine, can't I?'

[5] As pointed out by Haegeman and Greco (2018), the type of the initial adjunct really seems to matter when it comes to possibility of combining them with regular main clauses. Since examples such as the one in (26) do not include CACs, these are not discussed further in this paper.

(27)   a. _Þegar_   _þú_   _ferð_   _til_   _Belgíu_   _í_   _sumar_, **gleymdu**
         when   you   go   to   Belgium   PREP   summer   forget
       ekki   að   _heimsækja_   _Ghent_.
       not   to   visit   Ghent
       'When you go to Belgium this summer, do not forget to visit Ghent.'

       b. _Þegar_   _þú_   _ferð_   _til_   _Belgíu_   _í_   _sumar_,   _ekki_
         when   you   go   to   Belgium   PREP   summer   not
       gleyma _að_ _heimsækja_   _Ghent_.
       forget   to   visit   Ghent
       'When you go to Belgium this summer, do not forget to visit Ghent.'

In yes/no-questions, negation can occur either after (28a) or before (28b) a finite verb.

(28)   a. _Þegar_   _hann_ _fór_   _til_   _Belgíu_   _í_   _sumar_, **heimsótti**
         when   he   went   to   Belgium   PREP   summer   visited.3SG
       hann   _ekki_   _Oostende_?
       he   not   Ostend
       'When he went to Belgium this summer, didn't he visit Ostend?'

       b. _Þegar_   _hann_ _fór_   _til_   _Belgíu_   _í_   _sumar_, _ekki_
         when   he   went   to   Belgium   PREP   summer not
       heimsótti _hann_ _Oostende_?
       visited.3SG   he   Ostend
       'When he went to Belgium this summer, didn't he visit Ostend?'

In subordinate clauses, it seems it may be acceptable to have a temporal adjunct (CAC), giving rise to V3.[6] Apparently, the CAC can occur either after the interrogative complementizer (the _wh_-word) (29a) or directly before it (29b). Alternatively, one might want to consider the possibility that the CACs in (29a) and (29b) are more like parentheticals than adjuncts that are externally merged in an embedded position.

(29)   a. _?Hún_   _spurði_ **hvort**,   _þegar_ _drengurinn_   _færi_   _til_   _Belgíu_
         she   asked   whether   when   boy-the   go   to   Belgium
       _í_   _sumar_,   _hann_   **myndi** _heimsækja_   _Oostende_.
       PREP   summer   he   would   visit   Ostend
       'She asked whether, when the boy would go to Belgium this summer, he would visit
        Ostend.'

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[6] I say _may be_ because I have not tested examples such as the ones in (29). My own intuition tells me that they are not ungrammatical, although they might be slightly degraded. Possibly, these are of a different type than the example in (22).

(29) b. *?Hún*   *spurði, þegar drengurinn færi til Belgíu*
     she   asked, when boy-the   go   to   Belgium
     í   *sumar,*   **<u>hvort</u>**   *hann*   **myndi** *heimsækja*   *Oostende.*
     PREP   summer,   whether   he   would visit   Ostend
     'She asked, when the boy would go to Belgium this summer, whether he would visit Ostend.'

In any case, a special prosodic break on each side of the CAC is needed in order for (29a) and (29b) to be acceptable.

         As with main clauses, V3 orders with temporal CAC adjuncts do not work in embedded declarative clauses. Thus both (30a), with the CAC occurring after the complementizer, and (30b), with the CAC before the complementizer, are ungrammatical.[7]

(30) a. **Hún*   *sagði* **<u>að</u>**,   *<u>þegar drengurinn færi til Belgíu</u>*
     *s*he said   that   when boy-the   go   to   Belgium
     <u>í</u>   *<u>sumar,</u>*   *hann*   **myndi** *heimsækja*   *Oostende.*
     PREP   summer   he   would visit   Ostend
     Intended: 'She said that, when the boy would go to Belgium this summer, he would visit Ostend.'

     b. **Hún*   *sagði, <u>þegar drengurinn færi</u>*   *<u>til</u>*   *<u>Belgíu</u>*
     she said,   when boy-the   would-go   to   Belgium
     <u>í</u>   *<u>sumar,</u>*   **<u>að</u>**   *hann*   **myndi** *heimsækja*   *Oostende.*
     PREP   summer,   that   he   would visit   Ostend
     Intended: 'She said, when the boy would go to Belgium this summer, that he would visit Ostend.'

Interestingly, for embedded declarative clauses, there are examples in Old Icelandic where a temporal adjunct precedes the complementizer, even though it seems to modify the embedded clause (Nygaard 1905, Rögnvaldsson 2005:620).

(31) *Nú*   *er*   *þar*   *til*   *máls*   *að*   *taka*   *<u>um</u>*   *<u>vorið</u>* **<u>að</u>**
     now   is.3SG   there   PREP   talk.GEN   to   take   PREP   spring that
     Börkur **fer**   *til*   *Þorskafjarðarþings*   *með*   *fjölmenni*
     Börkur goes.3SG   PEP   Þorskafjarðarþing   PREP   many-people
     og   *ætlar*   *að*   *hitta*   *vini*   *sína.*
     and   intends.3SG   to   meet   friends   his
     'Now it is reported that Börkur goes <u>during the summer</u> to Þorskafarðarþings with many people and intends to meet his friends.' (Gísla saga Súrssonar, ch. 28)

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[7] Interestingly, if the CAC in (29) is changed into a simple temporal adjunct like *í sumar* 'this summer', the example in (29b) becomes ungrammatical in the intended reading. If *í sumar* is thought to belong to the main clause and denote the time of the question 'She asked the boy this summer…' the example is always grammatical. Presumably, this has to do with the type of adverbial used. As stated above, I have here chosen to only test CAC temporal clauses in this paper.

According to Rögnvaldsson, examples such as (31) are not found in Modern Icelandic. This is in itself very interesting and suggests a diachronic change. This, however, remains to be investigated and will not be discussed further in this paper.

3.4   *Where does Icelandic fit in?*

The Icelandic data in Section 3.3 differ from the WF and StD data in two ways. First, Icelandic only allows CAC adjuncts with V3 orders in *wh*-questions. Second, while the V3 phenomenon is limited to root clauses in WF and StD, it seems like it can be embedded in Icelandic. Leaving aside the examples of embedded V3 in Icelandic, I briefly discuss how and why main clause V3 in *wh*-questions works for Icelandic. First, *Table 1* summarizes what is possible in each language.

	Central Adverbial Clauses adj		
	adj-subj-V	adj-top-V	adj-wh-V
StD	X/OK	OK	OK
WF	OK	OK	OK
Icelandic	X	X	OK

Table 1: V3 orders with CACs in Standard Dutch, West Flemish and Icelandic.

As mentioned in section 2.3, Haegeman and Greco (2018) link the merger of an external element in FrameP with a temporal index that is moved to the edge of the CP layer (to ForceP) of the main clause. On their account, the index is connected to the finite verb. In sentences where an external temporal adjunct cannot be merged, there is no verb movement to ForceP. This is the case with regular V2 clauses in StD where the subject occupies the first position: the finite verb presumably stays in Fin and, as a result, a CAC adjunct cannot be merged externally.[8] In WF, however, the finite verb always moves to ForceP and licenses the external merger.

Assuming that Icelandic functions in a similar way to StD, i.e. that the finite verb stays low in regular V2 declarative sentences, the observation that CACs cannot be externally merged in such clauses is immediately accounted for: the temporal index needed for the external merger has not been moved to the edge of the clause and external merger in FrameP cannot be licensed. The tricky part, however, is to understand why Icelandic seems to allow for CACs with *wh*-questions and NOT with V2 declarative clauses with topicalization. If V2 clauses with topicalized elements are derived in a similar way as in Dutch, i.e. with a verb movement up to C (or ForceP) and the topicalized element in Spec,CP (or Spec,ForceP), then one would expect CACs to be able to merge externally with such clauses in Icelandic. This is, however, not possible, as is shown in (32).

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[8] In *Table 1* it looks like StD allows for CACs with V2 subject-initial clauses. This is because StD allows for a certain type of V2 subject-initial clauses with CACs, namely those that have a focus on the subject. Haegeman and Greco (2018) suggest that in these cases, a movement up to the edge of the CP layer has taken place.

(32) a.*_Þegar_   _hann_ _kom_ _frá_ _Belgíu,_   _Haraldi_   **_gaf_**
       when   he   came from Belgium   Harald.DAT gave

      Jón   _súkkulaði._
      John.NOM   chocolate
      Intended: 'When he came from Belgium, to Harald John gave chocolate'

   b. *_Þegar_   _hann_ _kom_ _frá_ _Belgíu,_ _súkkulaði_ **_gaf_** _Jón_
      when   he   came from Belgium chocolate   gave   John.NOM

      Haraldi
      Harald.DAT
      Intended: 'When he came from Belgium, chocolate gave John to Harald.'

The fact that externally merged CACs only work with _wh_-questions and not with declaratives implies that there is a need to connect the licensing mechanism with the use of a _wh_-word. It might be possible to claim either that the temporal index is carried up to the left periphery with the _wh_-word itself, or that a strong clause typing feature, i.e. [Q], is required in order for the licensing to go through. This would assume that the movement of the temporal index up to the edge of the left periphery works slightly differently Icelandic than in both Standard Dutch and West Flemish.

      Another way to account for the Icelandic data is to assume that topicalization is associated with a TopP or a FocP projections that is below the ForceP projection but above other projections in the clause. This structure is shown in (33).

(33)   [$_{ForceP}$ [$_{Force}$] [$_{TopP/FocP}$ **topicalized element** [$_{Top/Foc}$ **verb**] [$_{FinP}$ … [$_{TP}$ …]]]]

On this account, it would be possible to assume that Icelandic works in exactly the same way as StD and WF. For locality conditions to be met for the licensing of FrameP, the temporal index that originates within the main clause must be moved with the finite verb up to ForceP. In Icelandic, this would only happen in _wh_-questions, since in other instances the finite verb stays lower in the clause, either in TopP/FocP, FinP, or as low as in TP. In _wh_-questions, the _wh_-element would be moved to Spec,ForceP and the finite verb to Force (28); consequently an external merger of an adjunct in FrameP is licensed.

(34)   [$_{ForceP}$ **_Wh_-element** [$_{Force}$ **verb**] [$_{TopP/FocP}$ [$_{Top/Foc}$] [$_{FinP}$ … [$_{TP}$ …]]]]

Both (33) and (34) build on the assumption that Icelandic has an articulated CP layer. However, in addition to explaining the differences between the possibility of V3 in main-clause _wh_-questions and the ungrammaticality of V3 in other types of main clauses, a split CP account may facilitate accounting for embedded _wh_-questions and the possibility of V3. Recall that in example (29b) a CAC clause that was temporally related to the embedded clause was noted to precede the embedding _wh_-element. For convenience the example is repeated here as (35).

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(35)   *?Hún* *spurði,* <u>*þegar*</u> *drengurinn*   *færi*   *til*   *Belgíu*
        she   asked, when boy-the   go   to   Belgium
        <u>*í*   *sumar,*</u>   <u>***hvort***</u>   *hann* ***myndi*** *heimsækja*   *Oostende*.
        PREP summer,   whether   he   would visit   Ostend
        'She asked, when the boy would go to Belgium this summer, whether he would visit Ostend.'

If the *wh*-element *hvort* 'whether' is assumed to move to ForceP the example in (29) might be accounted for in much the same way as main clause *wh*-questions, i.e. with movement to ForceP licensing a temporal adjunct which is externally merged in FrameP. This type of approach would require embedded clauses to have an articulated CP-layer which is a somewhat controversial assumption and not in line with the analysis of Haegeman and Greco (2018).

    Although the analysis sketched out here seems promising for V3 in *wh*-main clauses in Icelandic, still some questions remain, for instance how to account for embedded clauses where a temporal adjunct goes between the embedding *wh*-element and the rest of the embedded clause (cf. example (29a)). This will be a task for future investigation.

4   Conclusions

In this paper, I have discussed examples of V3 orders in Icelandic that involve a temporal central adverbial clause that occurs to the left of a regular V2 clause. I contrasted the data with V3 clauses of the same type from Standard Dutch and West Flemish.

    Just as in WF and StD, the Icelandic V3 clauses require a prosodic break between the central adverbial clause and the main clause. This might be taken to suggest that the CAC is merged externally on top of a regular V2 clause.

    Contrary to WF and StD, Icelandic only allows V3 orders (that include an initial CAC) with *wh*-questions. In both WF and StD CACs can be merged with V2 sentences that involve *wh*-question words or topicalization. Additionally, WF allows for a regular subject-initial V2 clause to combine with a CAC temporal adjunct. Finally, Icelandic seems to allow for the V3 pattern to be embedded. This is, however, not possible in StD and WF. Leaving aside examples of embedded V3 with temporal adjuncts (which might be a case of parentheticals), I suggested that Icelandic main clause V3 with an adverbial adjunct occurring in front of a *wh*-question might be accounted for in the same way as the WF and StD data: a finite verb from the main clause has to carry a temporal index to ForceP. The reason why Icelandic only allows for V3 with CACs in *wh*-questions is that those are the only instances where the finite verb goes up into ForceP. In other cases, the finite verb stays lower, presumably either in TopP/FocP, FinP, or as low as TP.

5   References

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