

Issue **104**

December 2020

W P S S
WORKING PAPERS
IN
SCANDINAVIAN SYNTAX



Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax is an electronic publication for current articles relating to the study of Scandinavian syntax. The articles appearing herein are previously unpublished reports of ongoing research activities and may subsequently appear, revised or unrevised, in other publications.

The WPSS homepage:

<http://project.sol.lu.se/grimm/working-papers-in-scandinavian-syntax/>

The 105th volume of WPSS will be published in June 2021. Papers intended for publication should be submitted no later than May 1st, 2021.

Stockholm, December 2020,

Johan Brandtler, editor

Contact:

Johan Brandtler

Stockholm University

Department of Swedish Language and Multilingualism

106 91 Stockholm, Sweden

E-mail: johan.brandtler@su.se

Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax

ISSN: 1100-097x

Editor: Johan Brandtler, Stockholm University

Editorial Board: Valéria Molnár, Lund University

Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson, Lund University

Contents

The case of clausal arguments in Icelandic	1
<i>Mirko Garofalo</i>	
On causal <i>af-því-að</i>-clauses in Icelandic with a brief comparison to German verb final <i>weil</i>-clauses	29
<i>Ásgrímur Angantýsson & Łukasz Jędrzejowski</i>	

The case of clausal arguments in Icelandic

Mirko Garofalo
University of Iceland
mig@hi.is

Abstract

The paper proposes that case assignment and D-features are mainly responsible for the distribution of nominalized and bare clausal arguments in Icelandic. The data show that clausal arguments without the determiner *það* ('that') are only allowed when they are assigned structural case or in caseless positions, but not in instances of lexical case. Nominalized clausal arguments, by contrast, are only disallowed in caseless positions, exactly as DPs generally do. These facts suggest (a) that structural case has no formal case features that need to be checked, (b) that nominalized clausal arguments must be DPs and (c) that pronounless clauses must be bare CPs as they are resistant to lexical case assignment. However, if the D-feature of a functional head like T needs to be checked by a DP only, this operation has priority over case assignment, filtering out CPs by default from positions like Spec,T.

The existence of CP subjects in Icelandic contrasts with previous cross-linguistic hypotheses which claim that clausal subjects must be assigned structural case and need clausal nominalization (see e.g. Roussou (1991) for Modern Greek; Knyazev (2016) for Russian). The distributional and structural differences between nominalized and pronounless clauses in Icelandic also contrast with the possibility that bare clausal arguments are DPs (e.g. Knyazev (2016) for Russian) or that nominalized arguments are CPs (e.g. Stroik (1996) and Yoon (2001) for English).

1 Introduction

A complex puzzle in syntactic analysis is the distribution of clausal arguments,¹ and in particular of those which can be preceded by an overt pronoun or determiner (generally a definite article, a demonstrative pronoun or a personal pronoun). From a cross-linguistic perspective, the presence of determiners introducing clauses is well attested (e.g. Roussou (1991); Hartman (2012); Kim and Sag (2005); Delicado Cantero (2013); Pietraszko (2019); Jahromi (2011); De Cuba and Ürögdi (2010) among many others). A typical example of this phenomenon is pronoun *it* in English, which is able to surface before clausal subjects and clausal direct objects:

- (1) a. **It** is important [that you send this document as soon as possible]
- b. I heard **it** [that Sandra moved out]

¹ I want to thank Johan Brandtler for his useful comments on my article, as well as Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson, Gísli Rúnar Harðarson, Einar Freyr Sigurðsson and Anton Karl Ingason for our insightful discussions on the topic of clausal nominalization.

The examples above also have a pronounless counterpart, as shown in the following examples:

- (2) a. [That you send this document as soon as possible] is important
 b. I heard [that Sandra moved out]

Now, the important question in relation to clausal arguments preceded by an overt pronoun or determiner is why there is a need for such an element in the first place. In various accounts, the presence of a determiner has been linked to the need for a clausal argument to be *nominalized* (Roussou (1991); see also Delicado Cantero (2013), Borsley and Kornfilt (2000), Panagiotidis and Grohmann (2009), Kornfilt and Whitman (2011) among others about the concept of clausal nominalization), in the sense that the clausal argument, which is traditionally categorized as a CP, is embedded into a DP projection. A possible trigger of clausal nominalization is case assignment (e.g. Roussou (1991); cf. Hartman (2012)). Bare CPs, in fact, based on Stowell's (1981) *Case Resistance Principle*, are unable to be assigned case since they already provide case-assigning features. Therefore, the function of the determiner is simply checking case on behalf of a CP argument. In particular, clausal subjects appear to demonstrate the validity of this hypothesis. From a cross-linguistic perspective, the obligatory presence of a determiner apparently shows that clausal subjects need to be nominalized in order to check structural case (the examples are from Roussou (1991) and Hartman (2012) respectively):

- (3) [***To**] oti efighe] apodhiknii tin enohi tis MODERN GREEK
 the_{NOM} that left proves the_{ACC} guilt her
 'The fact that she left proves her guilt'
- (4) [***In**] ke Maryam raft] ma'alum e PERSIAN
 this_{NOM} that Maryam left clear is
 'It is clear that Maryam left'

Roussou (1991) elaborates further on the use of determiners, pointing out that clausal nominalization is ruled out *in situ* if case does not need to be assigned, as illustrated in the following example:

- (5) Ksero [(***to**) oti perase] MODERN GREEK
 know-1sg the_{ACC} that passed-3sg
 'I know he passed (the exam)'

Roussou's conclusion on the issue, at least in the case of Modern Greek, is that clausal nominalization is strictly dependent on case assignment across argument positions. However, this dependency is still a matter of debate. For instance, Knyazev (2016), analyzing Russian complement clauses, follows the previous cross-linguistic accounts in relation to the necessity for structural case to be assigned to clausal subjects. However, he extends the nominalization hypothesis to pronounless arguments, i.e. embedded clauses are DPs in case positions independently from the presence or absence of a determiner. The consequence of this generalization is that the role of the determiner is reduced to making case visible.

Now, Icelandic constitutes an important problem for these cross-linguistic analyses. From a structural perspective, I agree with the idea that clausal arguments preceded by a determiner are DPs, i.e. they are nominalized. But, differently from Knyazev's analysis of Russian and also other accounts which propose an all-DP model for clausal arguments (as well as an all-NP model, see Þráinsson (1979)), Icelandic exhibits a clear structural distinction between pronounless clausal arguments and nominalized clauses, which are CPs and DPs respectively (see section 2.2). What is more, differently from languages like Modern Greek, Russian or Persian, clausal subjects in Icelandic can be CPs, although they are allowed to surface in Spec,C only

(see section 3 for more details). Considering these facts, one question arises, that is whether Icelandic constitutes a problem for CRP, which represents the fundamental premise for linking case assignment to clausal nominalization. This question has been raised recently by Ingason (2018), who suggests that CPs in Icelandic are directly case-marked, due to the fact that floating quantifiers associated to clausal arguments are assigned case:

- (6) [Að hann kom, sá og sigraði] var öllu haldið fram
 that he came saw and won was all_{DAT} claimed
 ‘That he came, saw and won was all claimed’

However, the determiner *það*² (‘that’) in Icelandic can precede clauses obligatorily (see e.g. (7)), which poses a problem for Ingason’s proposal. If we say that CPs are able to be assigned case directly, there should be no need for determiners and, at least, we should expect to see no examples of mandatory determiners before clauses. But that is not the case. So, Icelandic still appears to remain CRP-compliant:³

- (7) Ég fagna [***(því)** að ég skuli hafa hætt við flugið]
 I rejoice that_{DAT} that I shall have cancelled flight.the
 ‘I rejoice in the fact that I cancelled my flight’

The reason for the presence of pronounless clauses as arguments must therefore be explained in a different way. Assuming that pronounless and nominalized clauses are CPs and DPs respectively in Icelandic and also considering the validity of CRP, I propose that their distribution is mainly determined by whether lexical or structural case is assigned and also by other additional factors. In particular, the distribution of these two argument types is affected by three main conditions. Firstly, if lexical case is assigned, the clausal argument must be nominalized (see the genitive subject of the predicate *verða vart* (‘be noticed’) in (8b)). In instances of structural case, by contrast, CP arguments can surface, which entails that no formal case features need to be checked. This is supported by the fact that nominative clausal subjects as in (8a) as well as clausal objects in nominative and accusative case (see (9)), which are all arguments that are traditionally supposed to be assigned structural case, are optionally preceded by *það* (note, however, that the position occupied by the clausal argument in (8a) is Spec,C and not Spec,T, see section 3 and 4 for a detailed discussion on this issue):

² The inflectional forms of the pronoun are *það* for both nominative and accusative case, *því* for dative and *þess* for genitive.

³ A secondary question in relation to Ingason’s observations is, provided that CPs are unable to be assigned case, how we can explain the fact that the quantifier is assigned dative case while the clausal argument does not need to be nominalized. If we want to maintain the restrictions applied by CRP on CPs, we can speculate that each component of the complement (notice here that the CP and the QP originally compose the clausal object of the verb *halda fram* (‘claim’) in active voice) is assigned case based on the selectional properties applied by the lexical item. As we will see in section 4, a subset of verbs like *spá* (‘predict’) tend to provide two selectional patterns, one where lexical case is assigned (for DPs and, possibly, QPs) and one caseless (for CPs and also for PPs). *Halda fram* behaves in the same way as *spá*, since the clausal argument in (6) can also be preceded by *það*:

- (i) [(**Því**) að hann kom, sá og sigraði] var öllu haldið fram
 that_{DAT} that he came saw and won was all_{DAT} claimed
 ‘That he came, saw and won was all claimed’

So, since the CP and the QP are two different components of the argument, if we suppose that every single component is assigned (or not assigned) case based on its phrase type, we could suppose that the CP is selected via caseless pattern, while the QP is selected via case-marked pattern.

- (8) a. [(**Það**) að ég sé ríkur] breytir öllu því sem þú hélt um mig
that_{NOM} that I am rich changes all that which you thought about me
‘The fact that I am rich changes everything you thought about me’
- b. [*(**Þess**) að hann væri farinn] varð ekki vart
that_{GEN} that he was gone became not aware
‘The fact that he left went unnoticed’
- (9) a. Björk harmaði [(**það**) að rannsakendurnir sendu ekki umsóknina]
Björk_{NOM} regretted that_{ACC} that researchers.the sent not application.the
‘Björk regretted it that the researchers didn’t submit their application’
- b. Nánast öllum í hópnum leiðist [(**það**) að Karl sé alltaf sá eini
nearly everyone in group.the is bored that_{NOM} that Karl_{NOM} is always that one
sem talar á þessum fundum]
who speaks in these meetings
‘Almost everyone in the group find boring that Karl is always the one who talks
in these meetings’

If structural case is characterized by a lack of formal features, there is a possibility that the facts about case assignment exhibited by Icelandic are more in line with the so-called *Dependent Case Theory* proposed in Marantz (2000), Preminger (2011) and much subsequent work. Therefore, in this paper I will adopt DCT in order to explain the distribution of nominalized and pronounless clauses (see section 2.3 for more details on DCT).

Secondly, if a determiner is optional after a verb that normally assigns lexical case, e.g. *spá* (‘predict’), it is plausible to think that the verb provides two selectional patterns, one of which is caseless and can host CP arguments. The existence of this kind of selectional pattern is supported by two pieces of circumstantial evidence. On the one hand, we can observe that a default *það* is allowed before clausal objects of verbs like *spá* after passivization and movement to Spec,C, but not before clausal objects of verbs that require a mandatory pronoun *in situ* in active voice, like *fagna* (‘rejoice’). The fact that a default *það* can only surface with verbs like *spá* might be a clue of the existence of a caseless pattern:⁴

- (10) a. Evrópusambandið hélt (**því**) fram [að við stunduðum ofveiðar]
European Union.the claimed that_{DAT} that we did overfishing
‘The European Union claimed that we did overfishing’⁵
- b. [**Því/Það** að við stunduðum ofveiðar] var haldið fram
that_{DAT/DEF} that we did overfishing was claimed
‘It was claimed that we did overfishing’
- (11) a. María fagnaði [*(**því**) að hann skyldi hafa útskrifast]
María_{NOM} rejoiced that_{DAT} that he should have graduated
‘I rejoiced in learning that he graduated’
- b. [**Því/*Það** að hann skyldi hafa útskrifast] var fagnað
that_{DAT/DEF} that he should have graduated was rejoiced
‘The news that he graduated were received with much joy’

On the other hand, the second piece of circumstantial evidence in favour of a caseless selectional pattern is a parallelism between PPs and CPs in Icelandic. In fact, *það* can also precede

⁴ *Halda fram* is a phrasal verb, so extraposition of the clausal argument is required in this case in active voice.

⁵ Adapted from miðjan.is/sjavarutvegsadherra-sagdi-vid-nadum-samkomulagi-vid-evropusambandi/.

prepositional phrases expressing time embedded into another PP projection (although this phenomenon is quite limited). Since, following CRP, prepositions are resistant to case assignment as they are case assigners, we can infer that *það* nominalizes the PP if case needs to be assigned, whereas the pronoun does not surface if the PP is selected via caseless pattern. Since the results of nominalization appear to be quite similar for object clauses and PPs as shown in the examples here below, it is plausible that verbs like *spá* provide an additional caseless selectional pattern exactly like the preposition *frá* ('from'):

- (12) a. Sara spáði [(því) að Gísli myndi sigra]
 Sara_{NOM} predicted that_{DAT} that Gísli_{NOM} would win
 'Sara predicted that Gísli would win'
- b. Reglurnar [frá (því) [PP í fyrra]] hafa breyst
 Rules.the from that_{DAT} last year have changed
 'The rules from last year have changed'

The third condition I propose is that if there is a D-feature of a functional head like T that needs to be checked by a DP argument, this operation has priority over case. We can see that whenever a clausal subject surfaces after the finite verb in Spec,T, it must be nominalized, as illustrated here below with the contrast between pre- and post-verbal position (note here that Icelandic is a V2-language):

- (13) a. [(það) að ég sé ríkur] breytir öllu því sem þú hélt um mig
 that_{NOM} that I am rich changes all that which you thought about me
 'The fact that I am rich changes everything you thought about me'
- b. Breytir [* (það) að ég sé ríkur] öllu því sem þú hélt um mig?
 changes that_{NOM} that I am rich all that which you thought about me
 'Does the fact that I am rich change everything you thought about me?'

A similar issue can be found in indirect objects. When a clausal indirect object in Icelandic is *in situ*, *það* is systematically mandatory. Pronominal obligatoriness is preserved when the clausal argument is passivized and moved to Spec,T, as we can expect. However, if the passivized clausal argument is moved to pre-verbal position, the pronoun is surprisingly optional. These facts suggest that both T and Appl (see Pylkkänen (2000; 2008) for more details on the *Applicative Head hypothesis*, also section 5) have a D-feature that can only be checked by DPs which surface in their specifier positions. In other words, CPs are filtered out in Spec,Appl as well as Spec,T because D-feature checking has priority over case, but not in Spec,C:

- (14) a. Þessi ritgerð svipti [* (það) að Konrad skyldi hafa fórnað sér]
 this essay deprived that_{ACC} that Konrad_{NOM} should have sacrificed himself
 öllu vægi í sögunni
 all importance in story.the
 'This essay deprived the fact that Konrad sacrificed himself of all its importance in the story'
- b. Var [* (það) að Konrad skyldi hafa fórnað sér] svipt öllu
 was that_{NOM} that Konrad_{NOM} should have sacrificed himself deprived all
 vægi í sögunni?
 importance in story.the
 'Was the fact that Konrad sacrificed himself deprived of all its importance in the story?'

- c. [(**Það**) að Konrad skyldi hafa fórnað sér] var svipt öllu
 that_{NOM} that Konrad_{NOM} should have sacrificed himself was deprived all
 vægi í sögunni
 importance in story.the
 ‘The fact that Konrad sacrificed himself was deprived of all its importance in the
 story’

From a cross-linguistic perspective, if the hypothesis presented in this paper is applicable to other languages as well, it means that the presence of obligatory determiners on clauses in languages like Modern Greek or Persian might be motivated by D-feature checking rather than structural case assignment.

On the other hand, from a structural perspective, we can already see that there is a distinction in Icelandic between pronounless clausal arguments and those preceded by *það*. It is not mere coincidence, for instance, that *það* is able to precede two categories, i.e. PPs and clausal arguments, which exhibit both some resistance to case assignment. So, since the latter appear to be unable to be assigned lexical case, they can not be DPs. Furthermore, the contrast between clausal subjects in pre- and post-verbal position shows that not all clausal arguments can be the same, otherwise we would expect *það* to be optional or mandatory in both positions.

In order to show in more detail the validity of these claims, I will mainly discuss the distribution of the determiner *það* before clausal subjects, clausal direct objects and clausal indirect objects in Icelandic. The paper will be divided into five sections. In the first, we will focus on the structural differences between nominalized and pronounless clauses and also on DCT. In the second, third and fourth section, we will take a closer look at clausal subjects, clausal direct objects and clausal indirect objects respectively. In the fifth, we will summarize the main results of our analysis.

2 Preliminary issues

2.1 Constituency of nominalized clauses

A preliminary step in our analysis of clausal arguments is exploring the external structure of nominalized and pronounless clauses and showing that they are two different types of arguments, i.e. DPs and CPs respectively. Let us start by taking a closer look at nominalized clauses. *Það* before clauses exhibits a very extended distribution across the board. Apart from the common subject and object positions (as we have seen in the case of English), we find examples of clausal nominalization in Icelandic before nominal predicates (as in (15a)), prepositional objects (see (15b)), indirect objects (as in (15c)), complements of nouns (e.g. (15d)) and adjectives (as in (15e)):

- (15) a. Vandamálið er [(**það**) að við skuldum meira núna]
 problem.the is that_{NOM} that we owe more now
 ‘The problem is that we owe more money now’
- b. Allardyce er svekkur yfir [(**því**) að hafa fengið sparkið]
 Allardyce_{NOM} is annoyed over that_{DAT} to have got kick.the
 ‘Allardyce was annoyed about the fact that he was fired’
- c. Ég veitti [*(**því**) að Jón var að gráta] enga athygli
 I gave that_{DAT} that Jón_{NOM} was to cry no attention
 ‘I paid no attention to the fact that Jón was crying’

- d. Þessi samningur er gerður til verndar [**(því)** að starfsmennirnir séu ekki
 this contract is made to prevention that_{DAT} that workers.the are not
 þvingaðir til að senda formlegt kvörtunarbréf]
 compelled to to send formal letter of complaint
 ‘This contract is made to prevent that the workers do not feel compelled to send
 a formal letter of complaint’
- e. Ég er feginn [**(því)** að þú skulir vera kominn]
 I am satisfied that_{DAT} that you shall be arrived
 ‘I’m happy that you have come’

An important fact to keep in mind here is that all the positions occupied by a clausal argument in the examples here above may well be occupied by a common (non-clausal) DP complement. This tells us from the start that nominalized clauses have a distribution similar to the one of DPs in general. But the main question is whether nominalized clauses *are* DPs and, before that, whether *það* and the clausal argument they precede form one constituent. If we take a look at languages like English, for example, we see that it is not the case, at least at the surface. Clausal extraposition in English systematically occurs when the pronoun precedes the clause so that they can never occupy the same position. Here is an example from clausal subjects:

- (16) a. * **It that you send this document as soon as possible** is important
 b. **It** is important **that you send this document as soon as possible**

According to Shahar (2008), the presence of anticipatory *it* itself is triggered by clausal extraposition, which is caused by the fact that a *that*-clause can not be assigned structural case consistently with CRP. Following the *Copy Theory of Movement*, which posits that every instance of movement in syntax leaves behind a copy of the moved constituent in its previous position (see e.g. Boskovic and Nunes (2007)), he suggests that *it* represents an underspecified (and phonetically realized) copy of the clausal argument left during clausal extraposition. In other words, *it* and the clausal argument are part of the same chain. Based on this approach, the pronoun and the clausal argument do not form a constituent, but are just two different manifestations of the clausal argument itself. However, the situation in Icelandic is incompatible with what Shahar proposes for English. Since Icelandic is a V2-language, there is only one syntactic position available before the finite verb and *það* can occupy it with the clausal argument. Therefore, both must be merged together in the same position (see also Þráinsson (1979), chapter 4, in particular the Base Hypothesis; also cf. Rosenbaum (1967)):

- (17) [(**Það**) að ég sé ríkur] breytir öllu því sem þú hélt um mig
 that_{NOM} that I am rich changes all that which you thought about me
 ‘The fact that I am rich changes everything you thought about me’

Now, if we interpreted *það* as an underspecified copy of the clausal argument, it would be difficult to believe that a constituent and the copy of the constituent itself can occupy the same position.⁶ Hence, it is more logical to suppose that they form one constituent. Furthermore, the

⁶ The presence of *það* and the clausal argument in the same position also contrasts with Ott (2014), who proposed that the CP argument is not merged in the same clause as *það*. Ott points out that both *það* and the CP should be assigned a θ -role by default based on the fact that they are both eligible to be arguments of a predicate and, if they were together in the same clause, they would incur into a violation of the θ -criterion (see Chomsky (1981)). Therefore, he proposes that they are assigned their θ -role by two different instances of a predicate, the latter of which (assigning its θ -role to the CP) is deleted at PF. This would mean that the CP is a remnant of an extra-sentential clause. However, also this is a problematic hypothesis. If they really were two different entities, their co-occurrence in the first syntactic position would be unexplicable, since there is only one position available before the finite verb.

presence of *það* can not be even triggered by clausal extraposition because this movement is optional in Icelandic and not mandatory (note here that, as Þráinsson (1979) has observed, the pronoun in (18b) is not necessarily an expletive, since post-verbal *það* is allowed in (18c)):

- (18) a. [**Það** að hann skuli vera farinn] er skrýtið
 that_{NOM} that he shall be gone is strange
- b. **Það** er skrýtið [að hann skuli vera farinn]
 that_{NOM} is strange that he shall be gone
 ‘It is strange that he left’
- c. Er **það** skrýtið [að hann skuli vera farinn]?
 is that_{NOM} strange that he shall be gone
 ‘Is it strange that he left?’

These facts point to the evident conclusion that *það* and the clausal argument must form one constituent.

2.2 DPs vs. CPs

Now that we have determined that *það* and its associate clausal argument form one constituent, let us compare nominalized and pronounless clauses. As already said in the introduction, I agree with multiple cross-linguistic accounts (Borsley and Kornfilt (2000); Roussou (1991); Hartman (2012); Pietraszko (2019) among many others) on the idea that these two argument types differ and, in particular, that nominalized clauses are DPs while pronounless clauses are bare CPs. We might wonder, however, whether this approach is correct, also if we consider the existence of alternative cross-linguistic models like an all-DP model (cf. e.g. Knyazev (2016); Han (2005)), where the presence or absence of the determiner does not affect the structure of clausal arguments, or even an all-CP model (e.g. Stroik (1996); Yoon (2001)), which considers the determiner an internal specifier of the embedded C. In relation to Icelandic specifically, we also find an all-NP structural model presented by Þráinsson (1979), who is the first to write extensively on the use of anticipatory *það* (although his analysis had a major focus on clausal extraposition rather than the use of *það* itself).

The all-NP and all-DP model are quite similar at the surface, but they are based on different assumptions. In relation to the former model, Þráinsson observes that clausal arguments behave like NPs in Icelandic (note that the DP hypothesis had not been proposed yet at the time) as they undergo the same syntactic transformations, like passivization or coordination with other NPs. Considering these similarities, he suggests that clausal arguments must occupy the positions that host the arguments of a verb, defined at the time as NP slots, and proposes that pronounless clauses and clauses preceded by *það* are embedded into these NP slots. As a result, all clausal arguments are to be interpreted as NPs. This structural model, however, is problematic due to the fact that Þráinsson assumes that a CP can be embedded into a headless NP, which is not possible based on more recent syntactic theories, starting from X-bar theory. On the other hand, if we take a look at the all-DP hypothesis and Knyazev’s (2016) account for Russian in particular, it is case assignment that causes clausal arguments to be DPs in general. Knyazev observes that *that*-clauses are generally able to receive case in case positions in Russian, but case itself can remain unrealized except in prepositional objects and subject position (which makes his analysis similar to the one in Roussou (1991) or Hartman (2012)). As a consequence of these observations, clausal arguments have to be DPs independently from the presence of a determiner. Lastly, the third model we mentioned proposes an all-CP analysis of clausal arguments and is based on the assumption (valid for English) that the overt pronoun

is in complementary distribution with *wh*-movement in indirect questions, which suggests that *it* and a question pronoun contend embedded Spec,C position.

The Icelandic data, however, as we are going to see, supports an asymmetric model of clausal arguments, which excludes the all-NP/DP and the all-CP proposal. Let us start by observing *það* more closely. So far, as the reader has noticed, I assumed that *það* is a demonstrative pronoun, which by norm projects DPs. So, based on this assumption, nominalized clauses should be DPs instead of CPs because *það* is a determiner (against a CP analysis of nominalized clauses). However, one might raise an objection against this argument, claiming that *það* may be a personal pronoun (i.e. ‘it’) instead of a determiner, since the inflectional forms of demonstrative *það* and personal *það* are homophonous. Now, in Þráinsson (2005:339, footnote 10), it is suggested that *það* is a demonstrative pronoun due to the fact that complex DPs are generally introduced by a demonstrative pronoun:

- (19) **Sú** staðreynd að ...
 that fact that ...
 ‘The fact that...’

Þráinsson’s argument, however, is not strong enough, as one could argue that complex DPs and arguments preceded by *það* might be two distinct argument structures (especially because *það* is not followed by any noun). Therefore, I present here two arguments based exclusively on clauses preceded by *það* in order to prove that it is a demonstrative pronoun. Firstly, *það* is able to surface before clausal nominal predicates as we have already seen. Nominal predicates are characterized by agreement in gender, number and case with the subject, as we can see from the adjective *slæmur* (‘bad’) in (20a). If instead of an adjective we have a clausal argument, also the overt determiner is inflected per gender, number and case. When the pronoun occurs in masculine or feminine gender, the form that is grammatical is not *hann* (‘he’) or *hún* (‘he’) as would be expected for personal pronouns, but rather *sá* and *sú* (‘that’), which belong to the inflectional pattern of the distal demonstrative pronoun (see (20b)). The agreement in case is even more evident in Exceptional Case Marking constructions as in (20c) where both the subject and the nominal predicate surface in accusative case:

- (20) a. **Afleiðingin** er **slæm**
 consequence.the_{fem} is bad_{fem}
 ‘The consequence is bad’
- b. **Afleiðingin** er [**sú**/***hún**] að við skuldum meira núna].
 consequence.the_{fem} is that_{fem}/*she that we owe more now
 ‘The consequence is that we owe more money now’
- c. Ég tel **afleiðinguna** vera [**þá**/***hana**] að við skuldum
 I consider consequence.the_{fem-ACC} be that_{fem-ACC}/*her that we owe
 meira núna].
 more now
 ‘I consider the consequence to be that we owe more money now’

What is more, the inflectional properties of the numeral modifier *einn* (‘one, only’), which is able to follow *það*, also suggest that the pronoun must be demonstrative. In fact, in the following example, we can observe that *einn* can follow both the strong and the weak inflectional system of adjectives:

- (21) Hann hugsaði um [**það eitt/eina** að bjarga sjálfum sér]
 he thought about that only_{STR/WK} to save himself
 ‘He only thought about saving himself’

The same does not happen with personal pronouns. In no case they can be followed by *einn* inflected as a weak adjective. By contrast, demonstratives like *þessi* (‘this’) are allowed to do so:

- (22) a. Hann **einn**/***eini** var heima
 he only_{STR/WK} was home
 ‘He only was at home’
 b. Það **eitt**/***eina** var heima (where *það* = e.g. *barnið*, ‘the child’)
 it only_{STR/WK} was home
 ‘He/she (the child) only was at home’
 c. Þessi **einn/eini** var í geymslunni
 this only_{STR/WK} was in storage.the
 ‘This only was in the storage’

These arguments clearly show that *það* is a demonstrative pronoun and, therefore, a full-fledged D head which projects DPs.

Now, let us gather further evidence by focusing on the distribution of nominalized and pronounless clauses. An important fact to take into account is that nominalized clauses are unable to surface whenever DPs are not allowed (which also entails that case is not assigned at all in these instances). In fact, verbs like *ætla* (‘intend’) can select pronounless clausal arguments but neither allow *það* nor DPs. By contrast, other predicates like *heyra* (‘hear’) allow both DPs and *það* before clausal arguments:⁷

- (23) a. *Ég ætla **þetta**
 I intend this
 Lit.: ‘I intend this’
 b. Ég ætla [(*)**það**] að fara í bíó]
 I intend that_{ACC} to go in cinema
 ‘I intend to go to the cinema’

⁷ As pointed out by Johan Brandtler, the nominalized clause might be ruled out with the verb *ætla* because it is a non-factive verb. Although factivity has been linked in the linguistic literature to nominalized arguments (see e.g. Þráinsson (1979); Kastner (2015)) as we are also going to see in section 4, I believe that the ungrammaticality of (23b) does not depend on factivity. Let us take a look at the verb *heyra*, which is also a non-factive verb that can select nominalized clauses. The content of the embedded clause remains non-presuppositional independently from *það*:

- (ii) Ég heyrði [(**það**) að hann væri farinn] (en hann var ekki farinn)
 I heard that_{ACC} that he were gone but he was not gone
 ‘I heard that he left (but he didn’t leave)’

Það appears to have no influence over presuppositionality. This contrasts with other languages like English, where the pronoun *it* makes the content of an embedded clause presuppositional with the verb *hear* (see also Gentens (2016)):

- (iii) I heard that Mary won the competition (but Mary didn’t win)
 (iv) I heard **it** that Mary won the competition (# but Mary didn’t win)

- (24) a. Ég heyrði **þetta**
 I heard this_{ACC}
 ‘I heard this’
- b. Ég heyrði [(**það**) að hann væri farinn]
 I heard that_{ACC} that he were gone
 ‘I heard that he left’

Moreover, based on the examples we have observed so far, nominalized clauses are distributed throughout all case positions, independently from which case type is assigned – since *það* can only be optional or mandatory in case positions – while pronounless clauses are limited to certain case positions only. *Það* appears to be systematically optional with nominative and accusative clausal objects as well as nominative clausal subjects in pre-verbal position. Since these three argument types are associated with structural case, we can link them to structural case positions. It is true, though, that the pre-verbal position where nominative clausal subjects surface is not considered a case position, so we need to investigate this issue more thoroughly (we will discuss it in more detail in section 3). But let us observe for now the main contrast between nominalized and pronounless clauses with the following table:

(25) Clauses	Struct. case positions	Lex. case positions	Caseless positions
Nominalized	Yes	Yes	No
Pronounless	Yes	No	Yes

This contrast tells us that nominalized clauses are basically dependent on the distribution of DPs and, therefore, should be DPs as well. On the other hand, pronounless clausal arguments tend to be resistant to lexical case assignment⁸ but, interestingly, not to structural case. This contrasts with the traditional assumption that pre-verbal nominative clausal subjects must be preceded by an overt determiner.

An all-DP model for clausal complements is also problematic for Icelandic for another reason. Based on Knyazev’s approach, all clausal complements are embedded into a DP projection, which is generally a barrier for extraction. But consider the following examples from Icelandic (see Wood (2012); Þráinsson (1979); Ingason (2018)):

- (26) a. Þeir ákváðu [(**það**) að heimsækja Ólaf]
 they decided that_{ACC} to visit Ólafur_{ACC}
 ‘They decided to visit Ólafur’
- b. Ólaf_i ákváðu þeir [(***það**) að heimsækja _____i]
 Ólafur_{ACC} decided they that_{ACC} to visit

The clausal object *in situ* here can be preceded by *það* optionally. However, extraction from the clausal argument is allowed only when the pronoun does not surface. If all clausal arguments were really DPs, we would not expect this phenomenon to occur, as the DP projection would block extraction regardless of whether D is realized or not. If we interpret, on the other hand, pronounless clausal arguments as CPs, no structural restriction can prevent extraction. This confirms that there are complement clauses in case positions which are not embedded into a

⁸ In relation to lexical case positions, however, there is a subset of verbs assigning dative or genitive case that can unexpectedly select pronounless arguments (see section 4). As also mentioned in the introduction, I propose that these exceptional verbs provide an additional caseless selectional pattern which allows pronounless clauses to surface. In other words, pronounless arguments are incompatible with the lexical case features assigned by these verbs but they can still surface because they can be selected via caseless pattern. This is the reason why I state in the table that clauses without *það* are not allowed in lexical case positions as a general rule.

DP projection. It is true, though, that one can raise an objection to this argument because of clausal extraposition. Extraction from a clausal argument is prevented whenever extraposition of the argument itself has occurred. This happens because, as commonly assumed, extraposed phrases become extraction islands. Now, although we know that a nominalized clause is one constituent, we also know that the clausal argument can be extraposed leaving the pronoun behind. This might happen also when both elements stay side by side at the surface (see e.g. clausal objects in English). Considering all this, we can not be absolutely sure that *það* is in complementary distribution with extraction, since there is a possibility that movement is prevented by clausal extraposition. Although this can be a valid objection to the argument I presented due to the possibility for the clausal argument to be extraposed, one fact remains. When the pronoun does not surface, extraction from the clausal argument occurs. Therefore, the pronounless clause must be a CP, otherwise extraction would be impossible regardless of *það* or extraposition.

Another argument that can demonstrate the asymmetry between nominalized and pronounless clauses is the presence of *það* before indirect questions. In relation to the various arguments presented here above, one might raise an objection based on the all-CP model. As discussed earlier, the all-CP model proposes that the overt pronoun occupies embedded Spec,C position, which prevents *wh*-movement. Now, Spec,C position is the edge of a phase (Chomsky (2008)), which, based on the so-called *Phase Impenetrability Condition*, can undergo syntactic operations. Let us suppose that case assignment is one of these operations. So, one could hypothesize that all clausal arguments can still be CPs where *það* occupies or does not occupy Spec,C on the basis of whether case must be checked or not. In this way, there would be no need for a DP projection embedding the clause. But remember that the argument in favour of the pronoun being in embedded Spec,C is based on the complementary distribution between *it* and question pronouns in English. Now, in Icelandic, contrarily to English, *það* is able to precede indirect questions. So, *það* must be in a higher position than Spec,C, which might undermine the validity of the all-CP model for Icelandic:

- (27) Ég spurði um [**það** hvenær hann kæmi]
 I asked about that_{ACC} when he would come
 ‘I asked about when he would come’

If we want to maintain that all clausal arguments are CPs regardless of this contrast between English and Icelandic, we might try to explain the presence of *það* before indirect questions supposing that this type of clause in Icelandic has a more complex external structure, following, for example, the so-called split CP hypothesis (cf. Rizzi (1997) and much subsequent work). However, also this argument can be undermined. Let us consider the case of clausal subjects. From a derivational perspective, the category selected for being the subject is moved to matrix Spec,T (see section 3 for more details). Let us suppose that *það* is in a certain Spec position of the split CP structure. Assuming that the pronoun is the element that undergoes syntactic operations since it is also assigned case, we expect it to be moved to matrix Spec,T, especially because it is a light syntactic element:

- (28) Er **það** mikilvæg spurning [klukkan hvað hann kemur]?
 is that_{NOM} important question at what time he comes
 ‘Is it an important question at what time he’s coming?’

But the problem is that also the entire constituent can be moved to Spec T:

- (29) Er [það klukkan hvað hann kemur] mikilvæg spurning ?
 is that_{NOM} at what time he comes important question
 ‘Is it an important question at what time he’s coming?’

If we interpret these examples as instances of a DP subject, there is basically no issue. The entire constituent is moved to Spec,T and then the clausal argument embedded into the DP projection can be optionally extraposed. By contrast, if we interpret the clausal argument as a CP, we have to assume that the pronoun is moved upwards and that it leaves the CP behind (but it is not clear in which position the embedded clause is merged). But the movement of the entire constituent after syntactic operations that basically involve the pronoun only is more costly and not necessary. Since movement must be motivated, there is no reason why the entire constituent must move to subject position. Therefore, an all-CP model can hardly be considered valid for Icelandic.

In sum, the arguments presented here clearly show that there is a distinction between nominalized and pronounless clausal arguments. They have to be DPs and CPs respectively.

2.3 Dependent Case Theory

Now that we have established the nature of both argument types, we need to take a closer look at canonical argument positions with particular attention to the distribution of *það* and case assignment. As mentioned in the introduction, I find *Dependent Case Theory* (see e.g. Marantz (2000); Preminger (2011) and much subsequent work) more in line with the Icelandic data rather the traditional Case Theory (see Chomsky (1981) and much subsequent work after Government and Binding theory; Yip et al. (1987); see also Jónsson (2005) for Icelandic).

The main distinction between the two approaches consists in how case is assigned. In the traditional model, case is a feature that a certain head needs to check with an argument or complement. Depending on whether the case feature is assigned by a lexical item or by a functional item, case is defined as lexical or structural. In the DCT model, on the other hand, the instances that we define as structural case are the product of a relationship between nominals in the same domain and not the result of feature checking. DCT, for example, proposes that the nominative-accusative correlation, as well as the ergative-absolutive correlation in languages like Hindi or Basque is the consequence of the relation between the two DPs involved. Observe the model here below:

- (30) [... DP₁ ... [... DP₂ ...]]

In nominative-accusative languages, for instance, accusative case is the manifestation of what is called *dependent case*, i.e. the case assigned to one of the two nominals based on the relationship between DP₁ and DP₂. Supposing that neither argument needs to be assigned lexical case and that both nominals are part of the same clause, since DP₂ is c-commanded by DP₁, DP₂ takes accusative case morphology.

Let us take a closer look at how the process of case assignment in DCT works by observing the following hierarchy (see Marantz (2000)):

- (31) lexical/inherent case » dependent case » unmarked case » default case

After the derivational process starts, the first DP arguments to receive case are the ones which are assigned lexical case by the relevant lexical head. Subsequently, the remaining DPs get case by virtue of their relationships. Following the model in (30), the lower DP is assigned dependent case in nominative-accusative languages like Icelandic and it takes accusative case morphology. Then, after Spell-Out, if there are any remaining DPs that still have to be assigned

case, they get unmarked case, i.e. nominative, or default case if the DP is in a fragmented sentence, e.g. the object pronoun *me* instead of *I* in *me too* in English.

Compared to traditional case theory, DCT can explain the contrast that we have seen between clausal arguments in Icelandic and other languages. Whenever clausal subjects are assigned nominative case or clausal objects are assigned nominative or accusative case, the (invisible) case morphology they are assigned is the manifestation of either unmarked case or dependent case, which do not rely upon case features that need to be checked (the consequence of this would be that CRP might not apply to structural case). Since lexical case, on the other hand, depends on case features assigned by lexical items, it is incompatible with CPs and that is why clausal nominalization is required. By contrast, the data from Icelandic are unexpected if we follow the traditional notion of case, which is still based on case features, both for structural and lexical case.

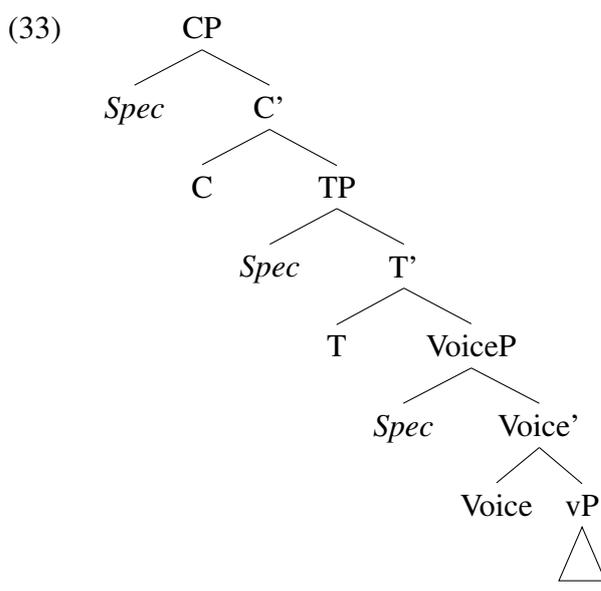
3 Clausal subjects

Now, let us focus on the analysis of clausal subjects. Let us recall here that subjects are able to surface in two positions in Icelandic (as it is a V2-language), either before or after the finite verb:

- (32) a. [(**Það**) að ég sé ríkur] breytir öllu því sem þú hélt um mig
 that_{NOM} that I am rich changes all that which you thought about me
 ‘The fact that I am rich changes everything you thought about me’
- b. Breytir [**það**] að ég sé ríkur] öllu því sem þú hélt um mig?
 changes that_{NOM} that I am rich all that which you thought about me
 ‘Does the fact that I am rich change everything you thought about me?’

Based on the contrast presented, clausal DPs are possible in both positions, but a CP subject is only possible in pre-verbal position.

In order to understand better the reasons for such a contrast, we need to have a clear idea of where these subjects surface in the syntactic structure. Let us take a look at the following tree diagram:



The first position that we can take into account is Spec,T. The Tense head (T), which is the syntactic representation of verbal tense,⁹ has the power of attracting the subject to Spec,T. It is usually assumed that, in the syntactic derivation, Spec,Voice is the default merge position for subjects (see e.g. Kratzer (1996)), as it has been noticed that subjects are not arguments of the verb and must be merged at a position higher than VP. Then, based on the so-called *Extended Projection Principle* (Chomsky (1981) and much subsequent work within the Minimalist Program), which prescribes that every sentence must have a subject (with consequent subject-verb agreement), the DP merged in Spec,Voice, which is the closest argument position c-commanded by T where a DP is merged, is promoted to Spec,T in order to check and mark for deletion the EPP-features of T (see also Chomsky (1993)). These EPP-features have been reinterpreted later on as a D-feature (Chomsky (1995)). Note here that, by standard assumptions, the subject in Spec,Voice is not supposed to move freely to higher positions on its own. Rather, since movement must be motivated, it should move by virtue of the D-feature in T itself.

An important question in relation to movement to Spec,T is whether DPs only or also other types of arguments can surface in that position. Let us observe those instances where a clause is embedded into another embedded clause. Since the conjunction occupies C, the item that follows must be the one surfacing in Spec,T. Now, let us look at the following examples:

- (34) ... að [***(*það*) að ég sé ríkur**] breytir öllu því sem þú hélt um mig
 ... that that_{NOM} that I am rich changes all that which you thought about me
 ‘... that the fact that I am rich changes everything you thought about me’
- (35) * ... að [**undir rúminu**] telst góður staður til að fela sig
 ... that under bed.the is considered good place to to hide oneself
 Meant: ‘... that under the bed is considered a good place to hide’

If we test DPs, CPs and PPs, only DPs turn out to be grammatical in Spec,T. Therefore, it seems that DPs are mandatory in subject position. There might be, however, a complication caused by so-called stylistic fronting (see e.g. Thráinsson (2007); Holmberg (2000); Ott (2009)). Whenever a subject gap occurs, various types of items (so, not only DPs) can be moved to Spec,T. Alternatively, expletive *það* takes Spec,T position if no element is fronted. Here is an example of a fronted past participle in an embedded clause:

- (36) a. ... að **það** var búist við því að hann hefði logið
 that it_{EXP} was expected that_{DAT} that he would have lied
- b. ... að **búist** var við því að hann hefði logið
 that expected was that_{DAT} that he would have lied
 ‘...That it was expected that he would lie’

Stylistic fronting, however, does not constitute a problem for our analysis of clausal arguments. In fact, also Mainland Scandinavian languages present the same distribution of subjects we have observed earlier (see the example here below; also cf. Josefsson (2006:footnote 12)), so that DPs tend to be mandatory in Spec,T. But, differently from Icelandic, they exhibit no instances of stylistic fronting (see e.g. Ott (2009)). In other words, stylistic fronting has no relevance for the distribution of CPs or DPs in subject position:

⁹ T is also a cover term for other features related to subject and verbal agreement such as person and number (see Sigurðsson (2012)), which can be represented as further projections in the syntactic structure, in case one wants to focus in more detail on them. Subject-verb agreement is not strictly relevant in our analysis, so we can simply focus on TP.

- (37) a. [(**Det**) att jag är rik] förändrade ditt omdöme om mig SWEDISH
 it that I am rich changed your opinion about me
 ‘The fact that I’m rich changed your opinion about me’
- b. Förändrade [***det**] att jag är rik] ditt omdöme om mig?
 changed it that I am rich your opinion about me
 ‘Did the fact that I’m rich change your opinion about me?’
- c. ... att [***det**] att jag är rik] förändrade ditt omdöme om mig
 ... that it that I am rich changed your opinion about me
 ‘... that the fact that I’m rich changed your opinion about me’

Thus, we can conclude that in Spec,T the clausal subject must be a DP, both in matrix and embedded clauses. Since the D-feature is responsible for subject movement from Spec,Voice to Spec,T, we can infer that the D-feature itself requires DPs to occupy Spec,T position and applies a filter to all non-DP types.

Let us move now to analyzing the pre-verbal position, which is actually more problematic. Assuming that the verb can surface either in T or C, two landing sites which represent the pre-verbal position are possible, Spec,T and Spec,C. But since CPs are not allowed in Spec,T, the only position they can occupy is Spec,C. Alternatively, Spec,C can also be occupied by a clausal DP subject in case it is topicalized (although it would result into a string-vacuous movement). This leads us to the following pattern. DP subjects can surface in both Spec,T and Spec,C, while CP subjects only in the latter, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (38) [Að ég sé ríkur] breytir öllu því sem þú hélt um mig (SPEC C)
 that I am rich changes all that which you thought about me
- (39) [**Það** að ég sé ríkur] breytir öllu því sem þú hélt um mig (SPEC T/C)
 that that I am rich changes all that which you thought about me
 ‘The fact that I am rich changes everything you thought about me’

The contrast between pre- and post-verbal position is crucial, as bare CP subjects are available in Icelandic but not in other languages like Persian or Modern Greek. How can we explain their existence? We might, for example, follow Koster (1978) in his analysis of clausal arguments and claim that clausal subjects are actually topics rather than real subjects, since they can not surface in Spec,T but only in Spec,C. But if a CP is not the subject of a sentence due to the fact that it can not surface in Spec,T, what is the real subject then in those instances? We might try to solve this problem by exploring the possibility that an invisible expletive checks the D-feature in T, since the expletive can not be phonetically realized after the finite verb in Icelandic:

- (40) **Það** rignir / Rignir (***það**)?
 it rains / rains it
 ‘It is raining / Is it raining?’

This, however, can be quite problematic from a cross-linguistic perspective. Expletives in Mainland Scandinavian languages, differently from expletive *það*, must be phonetically realized in post-verbal position. Since the distribution of clausal subjects in pre- and post-verbal position in Icelandic and, for example, Swedish, is similar, we would expect to see a realized expletive after the verb in Swedish if this hypothesis is correct. But this is not the case as illustrated in the following example:

- (41) * [Att jag är rik] förändrade **det** ditt omdöme om mig SWEDISH
 that I am rich changed it your opinion about me
 Meant: ‘The fact that I’m rich changed your opinion about me’

However, there is another possibility that might sound more reasonable than the invisible expletive hypothesis (but it will still remain a mere speculation left in this paper for further research). Recall our discussion on Shahar (2008). In his analysis of English, *it* represents an underspecified copy of the CP argument which is moved via extraposition. Now, although his model is not compatible with Icelandic, we can still apply some of its concepts to clausal subjects. If a CP argument can leave a copy which can be phonetically realized as *it* after movement, it also means that the copy itself can be a DP (or an NP if we follow Shahar’s terminology), perhaps after a process similar to *Trace Conversion* (see e.g. Takahashi (2010)). So, in Icelandic, if the CP has any possibility to move to Spec,T before being moved further to Spec,C, and leave there a trace that can become compatible with the D-feature in T, the CP itself would be the subject since the D-feature is checked by an element of its chain.

If this hypothesis turned out to be valid, we would be fully able to explain the asymmetrical distribution of *það* before and after the finite verb. Consider all the possible movement patterns of CP and DP subjects to Spec,T and Spec,C. We would have four different patterns, illustrated here below:

(42) Subject type	Up to Spec,T only	To Spec,T and further to Spec,C
CP	Ruled out	Yes
DP	Yes	Yes

This basically corresponds to the data we get from clausal subjects. The distribution in pre- and post-verbal position is asymmetrical simply because the D-feature in T rules out CP arguments that are not moving further than Spec,T. However, if the CP moves to Spec,C (i.e. topicalization), it leaves an unrealized copy which – provided that it is able to become a DP copy – can be checked by the D-feature.

But also this interesting possibility raises some questions. If the D-feature is responsible for movement, CPs should not be allowed to move at all from their original position. So, it is not clear how CPs can move in the first place. However, if we posited that the D-feature is not responsible for movement, things might change radically. Is there a possibility that CP and DP subjects are triggered to subject position by another feature? We might find a possible answer to this question in an exceptional instance of nominative clausal subjects. In the following examples, the clause that plays the role of the nominative subject is an *if*-clause, which by norm lacks a θ -role. As we can see, *if*-clauses need to be nominalized both in pre- and post-verbal position:

- (43) a. Eyðileggur [**það** ef hann kemur] allt planið?
 ruins that_{NOM} if he comes all plan.the
 ‘Does it ruin all the plan if he comes?’
- b. [**Það** ef hann kemur] eyðileggur allt planið
 that_{NOM} if he comes ruins all plan.the
 ‘It ruins all the plan if he comes’

Let us consider the facts here. Even if structural case does not rule out CPs, a bare *if*-clause is still not allowed to be a subject in Spec,C, due to the fact that it does not bear a θ -role. By contrast, both *that*-clauses (as well as indirect questions and infinitive clauses) and DPs do have the ability to bear a θ -role. Therefore, there is a possibility that the justification for movement of a CP or DP to subject position is their θ -role itself rather than the D-feature in T, which, on the other hand, needs to be checked by the DP that has moved to Spec,T. So, if we suppose that there is a θ -feature in T which is able to attract the closest argument c-commanded by T that can bear a θ -role, we might explain why *that*-clauses as well as DPs are able to move from

their merging position. Now, if the existence of such a feature is proven to be valid in future research, it is possible that the D-feature does not cause movement at all but still needs to be checked by DPs locally.

Before we move to clausal objects, let us also take a look at clausal subjects that are assigned lexical case. In these instances, *það* is mandatory both in pre- and post-verbal position:

- (44) a. [***Þess**] að hann væri farinn] varð ekki vart
 that_{GEN} that he was gone became not aware
 ‘The fact that he left went unnoticed’
 b. Varð [**þess**] að hann væri farinn] ekki vart?
 became that_{GEN} that he was gone not aware
 ‘Did the fact that he left go unnoticed?’

The contrast we see here with the nominative pattern shows that lexical case rules out CPs entirely, but structural case does not. If this is correct, then it also means that structural case has no case features that need to be checked, as DCT entails. In other words, nominative case is basically the product of unmarked case, which is realized through morphology only (although CPs can not show any sign of it). All this confirms the first condition proposed in the introduction, which is that CPs in Icelandic are resistant to lexical case but not to structural case.

4 Clausal direct objects

We can now move to clausal direct objects. Considering what we have discussed about clausal subjects, we can already make some predictions as to when *það* is optional or mandatory. In fact, since CP arguments are possible when structural case is assigned and ungrammatical with lexical case, we can predict that the same will happen in clausal direct objects as well. To a great extent, these predictions are correct, as shown in the following examples:¹⁰

- (45) a. Björk harmaði [(**það**) að rannsakendurnir sendu ekki umsóknina]
 Björk_{NOM} regretted that_{ACC} that researchers.the sent not application.the
 ‘Björk regretted it that the researchers didn’t submit their application’
 b. Nánast öllum í hópnum leiðist [(**það**) að Karl sé alltaf sá
 nearly everyone in group.the is bored that_{NOM} that Karl_{NOM} is always that
 eini sem talar á þessum fundum]
 one who speaks in these meetings
 ‘Almost everyone in the group find boring that Karl is always the one who talks in these meetings’

¹⁰ Since nominative and accusative *það* are homophonous, one might wonder whether the object of the verb *leiðast* (‘be bored of’) in (45b) is really in nominative case. Here is an example with a common DP which presents a morphological distinction between nominative and accusative case. As we can see, the object is assigned nominative:

- (v) Nánast öllum í hópnum leiðist **fundurinn**/***fundinn**
 nearly everyone in group.the is bored meeting.the_{NOM}/_{*ACC}
 ‘Almost everyone in the group find the meeting boring’

- c. Ég fagna [**(því)** að ég skuli hafa hætt við flugið]
I rejoice that_{DAT} that I shall have cancelled flight.the
'I rejoice in the fact that I cancelled my flight'
- d. Ég sakna [**(þess)** að María skuli ekki vera hér]
I miss that_{GEN} that María_{NOM} shall not be here
'I miss it that María is not here' (from Þráinsson 1979:230)

Accusative and nominative direct objects are the ones which are assigned structural case and, as we can see, the pronoun is optional. I assume that CPs are systematically allowed in these instances, as I am not aware of any example where *það* is mandatory in accusative or nominative clausal direct objects.

However, lexical case, this time, constitutes a problem for our predictions. Since lexical case corresponds to a formal case feature, we should expect the pronoun to be always mandatory as with predicates like *fagna* ('rejoice') and *sakna* ('miss') in (45c-d). But this contrasts with various verbs assigning dative case like *spá* ('predict') and some verbs assigning genitive case like *spyrja* ('ask') where the pronoun is unexpectedly optional:

- (46) a. Sara spáði [**(því)** að Gísli myndi sigra]
Sara_{NOM} predicted that_{DAT} that Gísli_{NOM} would win
'Sara predicted that Gísli would win'
- b. Ég gleymdi [**(því)** að ég átti að hitta Maríu]
I forgot that_{DAT} that I had to meet María_{ACC}
'I forgot that I had to meet María'
- c. Ég neitaði [**(því)** að ég væri kominn heim]
I denied that_{DAT} that I was come home
'I denied that I had come home'
- d. Lárus spurði [**(þess)** hvort María væri farin]
Lárus_{NOM} asked that_{GEN} whether María_{NOM} were gone
'Lárus asked whether María was gone'

The same asymmetry can be observed after syntactic transformations. When the clausal argument is passivized and moved to Spec,C, *það* remains mandatory with *fagna*-verbs or optional with *spá*-verbs, which might suggest that CPs and DPs are base-generated as such (differently from last resort nominalizations as proposed in Hartman (2012)). As we can expect, however, Spec,T position filters out CPs systematically, independently from the original distributional value of *það in situ*. Here is an example of the verb *spá* and *fagna*:

- (47) a. Katrín spáði [**(því)** að liðið hefði sigrað] þó að
Katrín_{NOM} predicted that_{DAT} that team.the would have won although
andstæðingarnir væru frekar sterkir
opponents.the were quite strong
'Katrín predicted that the team would have won although its opponents were quite strong'
- b. [**(Því)** að liðið hefði sigrað] var spáð þó að
that_{DAT} that team.the would have won was predicted although
andstæðingarnir væru frekar sterkir
opponents.the were quite strong
'The fact that the team would have won was predicted although its opponents were quite strong'

- c. Var [**(því)** að liðið hefði sigrað] spáð þó að
 was that_{DAT} that team.the would have won predicted although
 andstæðingarnir væru frekar sterkir?
 opponents.the were quite strong
 ‘Was the fact that the team would have won predicted although its opponents
 were quite strong?’
- (48) a. María fagnaði [**(því)** að hann skyldi hafa útskrifast] þrátt fyrir það
 María_{NOM} rejoiced that_{DAT} that he should have graduated despite that_{ACC}
 að hann hefði fengið lága meðaleinkunn
 that he had got low average.grade
 ‘I rejoiced in learning that he graduated regardless of the fact that he got a low
 average grade’
- b. Var [**(því)** að hann skyldi hafa útskrifast] fagnað þrátt fyrir það að
 was that_{DAT} that he should have graduated rejoiced despite that_{ACC} that
 hann hefði fengið lága meðaleinkunn?
 he had got low average.grade
 ‘Were the news that he graduated received with much joy regardless of the fact
 that he got a low average grade?’
- c. [**(Því)** að hann skyldi hafa útskrifast] var fagnað þrátt fyrir það að
 that_{DAT} that he should have graduated was rejoiced despite that_{ACC} that
 hann hefði fengið lága meðaleinkunn
 he had got low average.grade
 ‘The news that he graduated were received with much joy regardless of the fact
 that he got a low average grade’

The main question here is how we can account for such a contrast. One possibility that has already been proposed in the linguistic literature is the factivity hypothesis (Kallulli (2006); in the case of Icelandic, see Þráinsson (1979)). Based on the observations in Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1971), the factivity hypothesis posits that factive predicates (emotive factives in particular) tend to select structurally complex arguments, whereas non-factives select simpler argument structures. In particular, Þráinsson (1979) shows that *fagna*-verbs and *spá*-verbs reflect this asymmetry on the basis of whether *það* is mandatory or optional. In other words, the clausal object of *fagna*-verbs needs to be structurally complex due to the emotive factive component of the verb. *Spá*-verbs, on the other hand, can select CP arguments due to the fact that they are non-factives and, therefore, should select simpler clausal arguments. This hypothesis, however, has many exceptions. For instance, emotive factive verbs like *harma* (‘regret’) and many other predicates selecting a prepositional object like *vera svekkjur yfir* (‘be annoyed about something’) tend to exhibit an optional pronoun regardless of factivity:¹¹

- (49) Ég harma [(**það**) að ég skuli hafa hætt við flugið]
 I regret that_{ACC} that I shall have cancelled flight.the
 ‘I regret it that I have cancelled my flight’
- (50) Allardyce er svekkjur yfir [(**því)** að hafa fengið sparkið]
 Allardyce_{NOM} is annoyed over that_{DAT} to have got kick.the
 ‘Allardyce was annoyed about the fact that he was fired’

¹¹ Predicates like *vera svekkjur yfir* also have a verbal variant in middle voice, e.g. *svekkjast yfir*. Also in this case, the prepositional object presents an optional pronoun.

In other words, Þráinsson’s argument is problematic as factivity is unable to fully explain the distribution of clausal DPs and CPs. Alternatively, we might try, for example, to limit Þráinsson’s hypothesis to lexical case only instead of extending it to all object types, considering the fact that the contrast between *spá* and *fagna* on one hand and *spyrja* and *sakna* on the other is consistent with the factivity hypothesis. However, there are still some exceptions in instances of lexical case assignment that would remain unexplained, for example the verb *kreffast* (‘demand’), which requires a clausal DP despite the fact that it is not a factive verb:

- (51) Verkefnastjórinn krafðist [*(þess) að skýrslunni yrði skilað
 project-manager.the demanded that_{GEN} that report.the became submitted
 strax]
 immediately
 ‘The project manager demanded that the report was submitted immediately’

Thus, we need to explore a different possibility rather than following the factivity hypothesis. As of now, it is not clear to me why there is a distinction between *fagna*-verbs and *spá*-verbs, so I am not going to propose here an alternative model to the factivity hypothesis. However, in relation to *spá*-verbs, which represent the exception to the rule considering what we have discussed so far, I propose that their ability to select CPs depend on the fact that they provide an additional caseless selectional pattern. This hypothesis is supported by two pieces of circumstantial evidence. Firstly, clausal objects of *spá*-verbs like *halda fram* (‘claim’) can exhibit an optional default *það* after passivization and movement to Spec,C, whereas *fagna*-verbs are unable to do so.¹² The presence of a default *það* for a nominalized clausal argument might be a clue of the presence of a caseless pattern in the *spá* class.¹³

- (52) a. Evrópusambandið hélt (því) fram [að við stunduðum ofveiðar]
 European Union.the claimed that_{DAT} that we did overfishing
 ‘The European Union claimed that we did overfishing’
 b. [Því/Það að við stunduðum ofveiðar] var haldið fram
 that_{DAT/DEF} that we did overfishing was claimed
 ‘It was claimed that we did overfishing’
- (53) a. María fagnaði [*(því) að hann skyldi hafa útskrifast]
 María_{NOM} rejoiced that_{DAT} that he should have graduated
 ‘I rejoiced in learning that he graduated’
 b. [Því/*Það að hann skyldi hafa útskrifast] var fagnað
 that_{DAT/DEF} that he should have graduated was rejoiced
 ‘The news that he graduated were received with much joy’

Secondly, the possible presence of a caseless pattern can also be supported by the fact that not only is *það* able to precede clausal arguments, but also some prepositional phrases expressing time embedded into a PP, as illustrated in the following example:

- (54) Reglurnar frá (því) [PP í fyrra] hafa breyst
 Rules.the from that_{DAT} last year have changed
 ‘The rules from last year have changed’

¹² Þráinsson (1979:228ff.) obtained the same results with extraposed clausal arguments.

¹³ Some speakers, however, consider a default *það* less acceptable with *spá*-verbs as well.

- (55) Verðin eru ennþá að lækka frá **(því)** [PP í júlí]
 prices.the are still to decrease from that_{DAT} in July
 ‘The prices are still decreasing since July’
- (56) Þetta kemur fram í reglugerð heilbrigðisráðherra frá **(því)** [PP um helgina]
 this comes forth in regulation health.minister from that_{DAT} in weekend.the
 ‘This is stated in the health minister’s regulation of last weekend’¹⁴

Let us take a closer look at these constructions. The preposition *frá* (‘from’) generally assigns dative case to its complement. However, in this case, we have PPs as complements of the preposition. By norm, a preposition is unable to be assigned case due to the restrictions imposed by CRP. This is also proven by the very fact that *það* surfaces, which suggests that there is a need for the PP complement to be nominalized due to its incompatibility with case assignment. But since the pronoun is optional, we can draw one possible conclusion. The preposition *frá* has two selectional patterns, one where case is assigned (and which involves the presence of *það* for case checking) and the other one where no case is assigned and where the prepositional complement is able to surface without nominalization.¹⁵ Now, if we transpose this pattern to clausal direct objects, all this would support the idea that predicates like *fagna* are able to provide only one selectional pattern which involves lexical case assignment. Predicates like *spá*, on the other hand, behave exactly like the preposition *frá* with PP complements, as they provide two selectional patterns, one with lexical case assignment and one caseless.

The reader might wonder why I propose the existence of a caseless selectional pattern when it might be easier to suggest, considering the facts presented here, that verbs like *spá* simply select CPs and DPs while verbs like *fagna* can only select the latter and that the preposition *frá* in the constructions we have just seen can select DPs and PPs. The hypothesis of a caseless selectional pattern is less costly. The very fact that *það* can precede PPs and CPs tells us that they have something in common, which is the lack of ability to check case features. Moreover, there are predicates like *spyrja* which are able to take DPs, PPs and CPs as complements:

- (57) Lárus spurði [(þess) hvort María væri farin]
 Lárus_{NOM} asked that_{GEN} whether María_{NOM} were gone
 ‘Lárus asked whether María was gone’
- (58) Lárus spurði **um** [(það) hvort María væri farin]
 Lárus_{NOM} asked about that_{ACC} whether María_{NOM} were gone
 ‘Lárus asked whether María was gone’

From a derivational perspective, considering the status of verbs like *spyrja*, it is less costly for a lexical item to provide two selectional patterns based on case (lexical and caseless) rather than three selectional patterns based on the argument type. This is why I find the caseless pattern hypothesis simpler.

All the facts described here appear to be consistent with our hypothesis in relation to case assignment. First of all, we gathered more evidence that structural case does not correspond to formal case features since *það* is optional with nominative and accusative clausal objects. We can infer that accusative case for objects is the product of dependent case while nominative case for objects is the product of unmarked case, since the subject in the constructions with

¹⁴ This is a modified version of an actual example found in <https://www.umfi.is/utgafa/frettasafn/ithrottastarf-i-gang-a-hofudborgarsvaedinu-med-kvodum/>.

¹⁵ Unfortunately, this phenomenon is not so common among prepositions. I am not aware of any other preposition other than *frá* that can take a PP complement and even allow the presence of *það*. However, it still represents a precious source of data to explore the properties of anticipatory *það*.

nominative objects we have observed is assigned lexical case (dative) and is, therefore, unable to trigger dependent case. We have also seen that CPs are incompatible with lexical case features, and also that some predicates like *spá* are an exception to this rule. There is, however, some circumstantial evidence that suggests that verbs like *spá* provide an additional selectional pattern which can allow CPs to surface without checking case features. So far, I am not aware of why verbs like *fagna* are unable to provide a caseless selectional pattern, so this issue is left for further research.

5 Clausal indirect objects

Let us have a closer look now at indirect objects. Icelandic ditransitive constructions are interesting in relation to case assignment because different case patterns are attested (see Þráinsson (2005)):

- (59) dative+accusative (e.g. *gefa* ‘give’)
 dative+dative (e.g. *lofa*, ‘promise’)
 dative+genitive (e.g. *óska*, ‘wish’)
 accusative+dative (e.g. *svipta* ‘confiscate, deprive’)
 accusative+genitive (e.g. *spyrja* ‘ask’)
 accusative+accusative (very rare, e.g. *kosta* ‘cost’)

Indirect objects, therefore, can only surface in dative or accusative case. Here are two examples of double object constructions:

- (60) a. Karl spurði **mig margra spurninga**
 Karl spurði me_{ACC} many_{GEN} questions_{GEN}
 ‘Karl asked me many questions’
 b. Lögreglan svipti **hana ökuskírteininu**
 police.the confiscated her_{ACC} driving license.the_{DAT}
 ‘The police confiscated her driving license’

Indirect objects can also be clauses, even if this happens quite rarely. Interestingly, *það* is mandatory both when the object is assigned dative case and accusative case, which means that the clausal argument must be a DP:

- (61) a. Ég veitti [*(**því**) að Jón var að gráta] enga athygli
 I gave that_{DAT} that Jón_{NOM} was to cry no attention
 ‘I paid no attention to the fact that Jón was crying’
 b. Þessi ritgerð svipti [*(**það**) að Konrad skyldi hafa fórnað sér]
 this essay deprived that_{ACC} that Konrad_{NOM} should have sacrificed himself
 öllu vægi í sögunni
 all importance in story.the
 ‘This essay deprived the fact that Konrad sacrificed himself of all its importance in the story’

Now, how do we account for the exclusive presence of clausal DPs? Let us recall some facts that have emerged in clausal subjects and direct objects. First of all, the presence of mandatory *það* can either be linked to the impossibility for a CP to check lexical case or to the fact that only DPs are allowed in certain positions due to the presence of a D-feature as we have seen

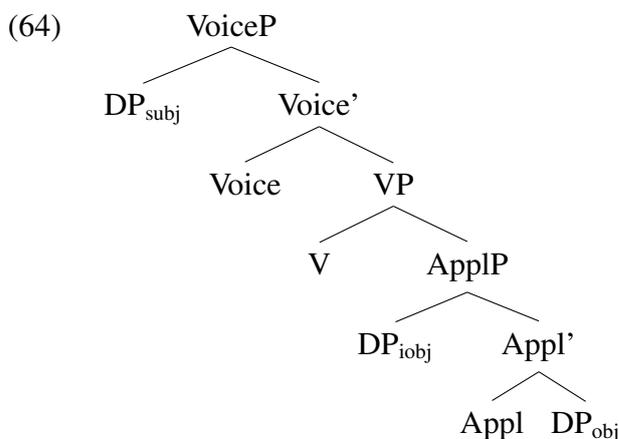
in the case of Spec,T. Furthermore, we have also observed that the distributional value of *það* does not change after movement (for example to Spec,C after passivization), except to Spec,T.

Now, let us focus on accusative case on indirect objects. Accusative indirect objects become nominative after passivization, as illustrated in the examples here below. This fact suggests that accusative is the structural case assigned to direct objects (see e.g. Wood (2015)). If this is a correct analysis, then the reason for a mandatory *það* can not be attributed to case:

- (62) Var **hún** svipt ökuskráttinu?
 was she_{NOM} confiscated driving license.the_{DAT}
 ‘Was her driving license confiscated?’
- (63) Var [***(það)** að Konrad skyldi hafa fórnað sér] svipt öllu
 was that_{NOM} that Konrad_{NOM} should have sacrificed himself deprived all
 vægi í sögunni?
 importance in story.the
 ‘Was the fact that Konrad sacrificed himself deprived of all its importance in the story?’

The reader might wonder here whether there is a possibility that pronominal obligatoriness in clausal indirect objects is determined by the fact that they might be PPs where a null P assigns case obligatorily. This hypothesis is based on the fact that many languages tend to have PPs as indirect objects. Moreover, it would be consistent, for example, with Collins and Thráinsson (1996), who simply assume that Icelandic indirect objects can be PPs. However, the presence of indirect objects in Spec T after passivization constitutes a problem for this possibility. We have already observed that the D-feature in T prevents non-DP types from surfacing in Spec T. So, the passivized indirect object can not be a PP. Consequently, it appears to be more likely that indirect objects are DPs rather than PPs.

What I propose as solution for this puzzle is that indirect clausal objects must be DPs due to another D-feature which needs to be checked. Assuming the *Applicative head* structure shown in (64) (Pylkkänen (2000; 2008) and much subsequent work), I suggest that Appl has a D-feature which is checked by the indirect object in Spec,Appl, exactly as the subject in Spec,T checks the D-feature in T (note here that only the low applicative structure is shown because Icelandic does not exhibit high applicative structures, see Wood (2015)):



Now, the presence of a D-feature in Appl is assumed in various accounts (described as an EPP-feature though, see e.g. Georgala and Whitman (2007); Georgala (2011)). But is this possibility confirmed by Icelandic? Let us take a look at the following example. When the accusative indirect object is passivized and moved to Spec,C, the pronoun is unexpectedly optional:

- (65) [(**Það**) að Konrad skyldi hafa fórnað sér] var svipt öllu
 that_{NOM} that Konrad_{NOM} should have sacrificed himself was deprived all
 vægi í sögunni
 importance in story.the
 ‘The fact that Konrad sacrificed himself was deprived of all its importance in the story’

Remember here that the distributional value of *það* should not change after movement. So, the fact that indirect objects can surface as CPs in Spec,C basically tells us that D-feature checking on Spec,Appl and Spec,T (after passivization of the indirect object) has priority over case, even if case is structural and is compatible with CP arguments.

By contrast, the same can not be said of dative indirect objects, as the pronoun remains mandatory in Spec,C as well. Therefore, it is plausible that dative case is the manifestation of lexical case in indirect objects, or at least of a case feature that needs to be checked:

- (66) [*(**Því**) að Jón var að gráta] var engin athygli veitt
 that_{DAT} that Jón was to cry was no attention given
 ‘No attention was paid to the fact that Jón was crying’

Now, the reader might wonder whether there is any possibility that it is V and not Appl that determines the argument type of indirect objects. Clausal direct objects show us that this can not be the case. In fact, in ditransitive constructions, clausal direct objects show us a similar CP/DP distribution to the one of direct objects of transitive constructions. The pronoun is, for instance, optional in accusative case, and can be optional or mandatory in instances of lexical case. Therefore, the argument types in direct objects must be determined by structural case or V (in instances of lexical case). By contrast, indirect object types are determined by Appl:

- (67) Karl sýndi mér [(**það**) að þeir voru búnir að strauja símann]
 Karl_{NOM} showed me_{DAT} that_{ACC} that they were finished to format phone.the
 ‘Karl showed me that they had formatted the phone’
- (68) Ég lofa þér [(**því**) að fara ekki þangað aftur]
 I promise you_{DAT} that_{DAT} to go not there again
 ‘I promise you to not go there again’
- (69) María oskar ykkur [*(**þess**) að prófið gangi vel]
 María_{NOM} wishes you_{DAT} that_{GEN} that exam.the goes well
 ‘María wishes for you that your exam goes well’

The facts from clausal indirect objects clearly confirm our preliminary hypothesis. Structural case is compatible with CPs as no case features need to be checked, while lexical case is not. Moreover, D-feature checking in Spec,T and Spec,Appl has priority over case assignment, so that CP arguments are ruled out in these positions.

6 Conclusions

In this paper, we have shown that clausal arguments in Icelandic can be DPs or CPs. This structural asymmetry is proven by the fact that DPs and CPs exhibit a different distribution across case and caseless positions. In particular, nominalized clauses can occupy case positions like DPs, but not caseless positions, which means that this type of arguments must be DPs as well. Moreover, data from extraction suggest that bare CPs must exist as arguments (differently from

an all-DP model in case positions proposed in Knyazev (2016) for Russian) since movement from the clausal argument is possible.

In relation to case assignment, the data from Icelandic show that structural and lexical case have a different effect on clausal arguments. Structural case is correlated with optional *það*, which means that CP arguments are allowed to surface, whereas the pronoun is mandatory when lexical case is assigned, which means that CPs are ruled out. The impossibility for CPs to check lexical case features is predicted by CRP, but structural case appears to not have any case features to check, differently from various cross-linguistic analyses that propose that clausal subjects must be assigned structural case (e.g. Roussou (1991); Hartman (2012); Knyazev (2016)). The lack of case features in instances of nominative and accusative case assignment suggest that the case system of Icelandic is more consistent with *Dependent Case Theory*. This distribution of DP and CP arguments is also influenced by two factors. First of all, some predicates assigning lexical case can provide an additional caseless selectional pattern, which allows CPs to surface. The same phenomenon can be observed with nominalized PPs selected by a preposition. Secondly, D-feature checking has priority over case assignment, filtering out CPs independently from whether lexical or structural case is assigned. D-features have an impact on Spec,T and Spec,Appl position.

References

- Borsley, R. D. and Kornfilt, J. (2000). Mixed extended projections. *Syntax and Semantics*, 32:101–131.
- Boskovic, Z. and Nunes, J. (2007). The copy theory of movement. *The copy theory of movement*, 107:13.
- Chomsky, N. (1981). *Lectures on binding and government*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chomsky, N. (1993). A minimalist program for linguistic theory. *The view from Building*, 20:1–52.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). Categories and transformations. In *The minimalist program*, pages 219–394. MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2008). On phases. *Current Studies in Linguistics Series*, 45:133.
- Collins, C. and Thráinsson, H. (1996). Vp-internal structure and object shift in Icelandic. *Linguistic inquiry*, pages 391–444.
- De Cuba, C. and Ürögdi, B. (2010). Clearing up the facts on complementation. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, 16(1):41–50.
- Delicado Cantero, M. (2013). Clausal substantivization in Spanish: syntax and constraints. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 33(2):106–120.
- Gentens, C. (2016). The discursive status of extraposed object clauses. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 96:15–31.
- Georgala, E. (2011). Scrambling verb-final languages and the underlying order of objects in ditransitive constructions. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, 17(1):105–114.

- Georgala, E. and Whitman, J. (2007). Ditransitives and applicative structure in greek. In *Proceedings from the Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, volume 43, pages 77–91. Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Han, H. J. (2005). A nominal-shell for CPs: Beyond subject CPs. In *Proceedings from the Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, volume 41, pages 95–109. Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Hartman, J. (2012). *Varieties of clausal complementation*. PhD thesis, MIT.
- Holmberg, A. (2000). Scandinavian stylistic fronting: How any category can become an expletive. *Linguistic inquiry*, 31(3):445–483.
- Ingason, A. K. (2018). Icelandic case-marked CP. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*, 63(3):444–453.
- Jahromi, A. M. (2011). Expletives in Modern Persian. *Acta Linguistica Asiatica*, 1(3):45–56.
- Jónsson, J. G. (2005). Merkingarhlutverk, rökliðir og fallmörkun [thematic roles, arguments and case-marking]. *Íslensk tunga III: Setningar*, pages 350–409.
- Josefsson, G. (2006). Semantic and grammatical genders in swedishindependent but interacting dimensions. *Lingua*, 116(9):1346–1368.
- Kallulli, D. (2006). Triggering factivity: Prosodic evidence for syntactic structure. In *Proceedings of 25th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, pages 211–219.
- Kastner, I. (2015). Factivity mirrors interpretation: The selectional requirements of presuppositional verbs. *Lingua*, 164:156–188.
- Kim, J.-B. and Sag, I. (2005). Variations in English object extraposition. In *Proceedings from the Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, volume 41, pages 251–265. Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Kiparsky, P. and Kiparsky, C. (1971). Fact. In Steinberg, D. and Jakobovits, L., editors, *Semantics*, pages 345–369. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Knyazev, M. (2016). *Licensing clausal complements: The case of Russian čto-clauses*. LOT.
- Kornfilt, J. and Whitman, J. (2011). Introduction: Nominalizations in syntactic theory. *Lingua*, 7(121):1160–1163.
- Koster, J. (1978). Why subject sentences dont exist. *Recent transformational studies in European languages*, pages 53–64.
- Kratzer, A. (1996). Severing the external argument from its verb. In Rooryck, J. and Zaring, L., editors, *Phrase structure and the lexicon. Studies in natural language and linguistic theory*, volume 33, pages 109–137. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Marantz, A. (2000). Case and licensing. *Arguments and case: Explaining Burzio's generalization*, pages 11–30.
- Ott, D. (2009). Stylistic fronting as remnant movement. *Working papers in Scandinavian syntax*, 83:141–178.

- Ott, D. (2014). Controlling for movement: Reply to Wood 2012. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, 92:58–65.
- Panagiotidis, E. P. and Grohmann, K. K. (2009). Mixed projections: Categorical switches and prolific domains. *Linguistic Analysis*, 35(1):141.
- Pietraszko, A. (2019). Obligatory CP nominalization in Ndebele. *Syntax*, 22(1):66–111.
- Preminger, O. (2011). *Agreement as a fallible operation*. PhD thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Pylkkänen, L. (2000). What applicative heads apply to. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in linguistics*, 7(1):197–210.
- Pylkkänen, L. (2008). *Introducing arguments*. MIT Press.
- Rizzi, L. (1997). The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of grammar*, pages 281–337. Springer.
- Rosenbaum, P. S. (1967). *The grammar of English predicate complement structures*. Cambridge: Mass, MIT Press.
- Roussou, A. (1991). Nominalized clauses in the syntax of Modern Greek. *UCLworking papers in linguistics*, 3:77–100.
- Shahar, J. (2008). *What some its are: Non-referential it, extraposition, and copies*. Ph.D. Thesis. City University of New York.
- Sigurðsson, H. Á. (2012). Minimalist *c/case*. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 43(1):191–227.
- Stowell, T. A. (1981). *Origins of phrase structure*. PhD thesis, MIT.
- Stroik, T. S. (1996). Extraposition and expletive-movement: A minimalist account. *Lingua*, 99(4):237–251.
- Takahashi, S. (2010). The hidden side of clausal complements. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 28(2):343–380.
- Thráinsson, H. (2007). *The syntax of Icelandic*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wood, J. (2012). Against the movement theory of control: Another argument from Icelandic. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 43(1):322–330.
- Wood, J. (2015). *Icelandic morphosyntax and argument structure*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Yip, M., Maling, J., and Jackendoff, R. (1987). Case in tiers. *Language*, pages 217–250.
- Yoon, H.-J. (2001). Expletive it in English. *Studies in Generative Grammar*, 11:543–562.
- Þráinsson, H. (1979). *On Complementation in Icelandic*. New York: Garland.
- Þráinsson, H. (2005). *Íslensk tunga III: Setningar: handbók um setningafræði*. Reykjavík: Almenna bókafélagið.

On causal *af-því-að*-clauses in Icelandic with a brief comparison to German verb final *weil*-clauses*

Ásgrímur Angantýsson & Łukasz Jędrzejowski
University of Iceland & University of Cologne

Abstract: The main aim of this paper is to examine adverbial causal *af-því-að*-clauses in modern Icelandic with a brief comparison to verb final causal *weil*-clauses in German. Semantically, we argue that *af-því-að*-clauses can be interpreted as content, epistemic or speech act related causal clauses. Syntactically, we show that *af-því-að*-clauses can be analyzed as central, peripheral or disintegrated adverbial clauses in the sense claimed by Haegeman (2003, 2009, 2010, 2012) and Frey (2011, 2012, 2016, to appear), attaching as Tense Phrase, Judge Phrase or Act Phrase adjuncts, respectively. Essentially, we take interpretative differences to follow from the distinct attachment heights. Main arguments for this tripartite division are based on binding data, negation scope, movement restrictions, and mood alternation.

Keywords: causal clauses, adverbial clauses, syntax, Icelandic, German

1 Introduction

In this paper, we examine the syntax of causal clauses in modern Icelandic. We mainly focus on causal clauses headed by one of the most common conjunctions, *af því að*, and briefly compare their properties with those of German verb final *weil*-clauses. In what follows, we put forward the following two main hypotheses abbreviated as H1 and H2:

- H1: *Af-því-að*-clauses can be interpreted as content, epistemic and speech act related causal clauses.
- H2: Causal *af-því-að*-clauses having the
- central adverbial clause status are content clauses throughout,
 - peripheral adverbial clause status can be interpreted as content or as epistemic clauses,
 - disintegrated adverbial clause status are not restricted to any particular semantic interpretation.

Bringing together H1 and H2, we argue that *af-því-að*-clauses are not restricted to any particular semantic interpretation and that they can attach – depending on their interpretation – at three distinct structural heights with regard to the host clause: i) T[ense]P[hrase], ii) J[udge]P[hrase], and iii) Act[P]hphrase. Concretely, we provide evidence showing that *af-því-að*-clauses can only be content clauses if they attach at the TP level, whereas higher merge

* This work was partially supported by the University of Iceland Research Fund. The second author acknowledges the support by the Daimler and Benz Foundation (grant number: 32-06/18), and the German Academic Exchange Service (grant number: 57445292). We also thank Johan Brandtler for his useful comments and Oddur Snorrason for his assistance in preparing the paper. Of course, all errors and inconsistencies are our own responsibility.

positions allow additional interpretations: epistemic or/and speech act related. To put it differently, it follows from H2 that the syntactic integration grade of the *af-því-að*-clause affects its interpretation: The deeper it is attached, the less semantic interpretations are available.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 shows that similar to English *because*-clauses both German verb final *weil*-clauses and Icelandic *af-því-að*-clauses can be interpreted as content, epistemic or speech act related causal clauses, providing empirical evidence for H1, and that they need not exhibit any striking differences on the surface. We discuss arguments showing that causal clauses headed by *weil* in German and by *af því að* in Icelandic can occupy three distinct syntactic merge positions with regard to the matrix clause, resulting in different interpretative and formal effects, and in H2. Essentially, we discuss predictions following from H1 and H2 and elaborate on their cross-linguistic validity. In Section 3, we briefly present a novel account of adverbial modifiers advocated by Krifka (to appear), show – based mainly on Frey (2016, to appear) – how it can be carried over to adverbial clauses, and apply this analysis to causal *af-því-að*-clauses. Finally, Section 4 summarizes the main findings.

2 Causal clauses

This section is concerned with causal clauses from a cross-linguistic perspective. In Section 2.1, we briefly discuss possible causal relations between the matrix clause and the subordinate clause and elaborate on Sweetser’s (1990) classification. In Sections 2.2 and 2.3, we examine causal clauses in German and Icelandic. An interim conclusion is provided in Section 2.4.

2.1 Semantic diversity

Causal clauses normally express, as defined by Cristofaro (2003: 161), a reason relation between two events, one of which (the dependent one) represents the reason for the other to take place (for a broader discussion on what a causal relation may be, the interested reader is referred to Copley & Wolff 2014). According to Sweetser (1990: 77), causal relations can be interpreted on three cognitive levels – the content domain, (1a), the epistemic domain, (1b), and the speech act domain, (1c):

- (1) a. John came back because he loved her.
- b. John loved her, because he came back.
- c. What are you doing tonight, because there's a good movie on.

(Sweetser 1990: 77, ex. 1a-c)

In the content domain, the proposition embedded in the causal clause is interpreted as a fact causing another fact. Concretely, the fact that John loved a female person is a reason for why he came back. A different interpretation arises in the epistemic domain, whereby the speaker specifies the reason for why (s)he thinks the matrix clause is true. Accordingly, the speaker

takes the event of John's coming back to be a reasonable argument to assume that he must (have) be(en) in love with a female person. Finally, the speech act causal clause in (1c) reveals the motivation for why the speaker is performing a speech act. Remarkably, although the examples (1a-c) receive the different semantic interpretations, they are all introduced by a single complementizer.

Before we discuss *af-því-að*-clauses in more detail, we give a brief overview of how German verb final causal *weil*-clauses behave. As they have been described in the literature in a more elaborate way (cf. Antomo & Steinbach 2010, Reis 2013, Scheffler 2013, Volodina 2011, among many others), their brief description will help us better understand how *af-því-að*-clauses behave.

2.2 German verb final *weil*-clauses

Frey (2016)'s departure point is Sweetser (1990)'s division presented in the previous section. However, whereas the latter traces this division back to pragmatic reasoning, the former argues for a clear distinction encoded in the grammar (see also Lang 2000 and Blühdorn 2008). We follow Frey's (2016) view, present his main arguments and show in Section 2.3 to what extent they can be carried over to *af-því-að*-clauses in Icelandic.

Similar to English, German also distinguishes content¹, (2a), epistemic, (2b), and speech act related causal clauses, (2c)²:

- (2) a. Maria ist sehr bleich, weil sie krank ist.
 Maria be.3SG very pale because she ill be.3SG
 'Maria is very pale because she is ill.'
- b. Maria ist krank, weil sie so bleich ist.
 Maria be.3SG ill because she so pale be.3SG
 'Maria is ill because she is so pale.'
- c. Maria ist krank, weil du dich doch immer
 Maria be.3SG ill because you REFL DISCP always
 für sie interessierst.
 for her.ACC be:interested.2SG
 'Since you are always interested in Maria, she is ill.'

What (2a–c) have in common is that they contain a subordinate adverbial causal clause headed by the inherent causal complementizer *weil* 'because' triggering verb final position. They differ both semantically and syntactically though, leading to the general conclusion that highly integrated causal clauses have a content reading, whereas lower integrated causal

¹ For illustrative reasons, we restrict ourselves to the complementizer *weil* 'because' and dispense with discussing other causal complementizers, e.g. *da* or *denn*; for more details, the interested reader is referred to Pasch (1983), Ravetto & Blühdorn (2011), Stede & Walter (2011), Frey (2016), Eberhard (2017), among many others.

² Examples discussed in this section are mainly from Frey (2016).

clauses may be interpreted as epistemic or speech act related causal clauses. Concretely, the *weil*-clause in (2a) provides an explanation for why Maria got pale, i.e., two facts are related to each other, whereby one fact is taken to cause another fact. Under these circumstances, neither an epistemic nor a speech act related interpretation is available. A different situation arises in the example given in (2b). Here, the speaker assumes Maria to be ill based on the observation that she got pale, taking the causal relation to be part of her/his estimation of the world. Note, however, that (2b) additionally allows a content interpretation, but it cannot be analyzed as speech act related.³ Finally, (2c) primarily reveals motivation for why the speaker is performing a speech act, but it is also possible to create contexts in which content and epistemic interpretations would be conceivable too. To illustrate this variability, consider the next example:

- (3) Deine Tante kommt zu Besuch,
 your aunt come.3SG to visit
 weil du (wohl) nach ihr ständig gefragt hast.
 because you presumably after her always ask.PTCP have.2SG
 i) ^{OK}content, ii) ^{OK}epistemic, iii) ^{OK}speech act related

(3) allows three different interpretations. A content interpretation follows straightforwardly without the epistemic discourse particle *wohl* ‘presumably’: The reason for aunt’s visit is the permanent asking for her, i.e., there is a reason relation between two events, whereby one event represents the reason for the other to take place. (3) can also be interpreted epistemically. Concretely, the speaker assumes permanent asking for the aunt to be the reason for why she will come to visit, but (s)he is not certain whether this is the reason of aunt’s visit. It might be a different reason. The use of the epistemic discourse particle *wohl* ‘presumably’ supports this interpretation and its occurrence is expected. As epistemic causal clauses are base-generated in JudgePhrase, they are expected to host epistemic and evidential expressions (see Section 3). Finally, (3) also allows a speech act related interpretation, according to which the speaker reveals the motivation for why (s)he is performing a speech act. Due to the addressee’s permanent asking, the speaker is making the assertion of aunt’s coming to visit. Following this line reasoning, the *weil*-clauses conveys a non-at-issue meaning (cf. Potts 2005 and Scheffler 2013) and is taken to be a performative update, not an informative update. As we show in Section 3, this semantic variation comes from the syntactic status of the *af-þvi-að*-clause.

Frey (2016) applies several syntactic tests to figure out to what extent German causal clauses headed by *weil* are integrated into the host clause: i) binding, ii) prefield position, iii) embeddability along with a *that*-clause, and iv) V-to-C movement in the subordinate clause. We discuss them in turn.

It is a well-established observation that a quantifier can bind an agreeing pronoun occurring in the subordinate clause iff the quantifier c-commands the pronoun. Otherwise,

³ It is not easy to get a content interpretation in such cases. But imagine a situation, for example, in which a professor of medicine explains symptoms of an illness to his students in a hospital. By referring to a particular patient, he might want to utter (2b) in a context in which his students did not expect the patient to be ill.

binding should not be possible. If we expect causal clauses to attach at different structural heights, they are also expected to differ with regard to binding, as the following data illustrate:

- (4) a. Fast jeder Anwesende_i wurde bleich,
 nearly every attendant become.3SG.PST pale
 weil er_i erschrocken ist.
 because he frightened be.3SG
 'Almost every attendant got pale because he was frightened.'
- b. *Fast jeder Anwesende_i muss krank sein,
 nearly every attendant must.3SG ill be.INF
 weil er_i so bleich ist.
 because he so pale be.3SG
 Intended: 'Almost every attendant must be ill because he is so pale.'
- c. *Fast jeder Kollege_i ist krank,
 nearly every colleague be.3SG ill
 weil du dich doch immer für ihn_i interessierst.
 because you REFL DISCP always for him.ACC be:interested.2SG
 Intended: 'Almost every colleague is ill because you are always interested in him.'

Variable binding is only possible in (4a), i.e., into the content causal clause, leading to the conclusion that it must be inside the c-command domain of the quantified DP in the matrix clause. Epistemic, (4b), and speech act related causal clauses, (4c), on the other hand, disallow variable binding supporting the view that they are not c-commanded by the quantifier.

To distinguish between epistemic and speech act related causal clauses, Frey (2016: 156) convincingly shows that only the former can occupy the prefield position of the matrix clause:

- (5) a. [CP [Spec,CP [CP Weil Maria sehr bleich ist]],
 because Maria very pale be.3SG
 [C⁰ muss] sie krank sein].
 must.3SG she ill be.INF
 'Since Maria is very pale, she must be ill.'
- b. *[CP [Spec,CP [CP Weil du dich doch immer für sie
 because you REFL DISCP always for her.ACC
 interessierst]], [C⁰ ist] Maria krank].
 be:interested.2SG be.3SG Maria ill
 Intended: 'Since you are always interested in Maria, she is ill.'

It straightforwardly follows that speech act related causal clauses cannot be part of the matrix clause, whereas content and epistemic causal clauses can, suggesting that the former must adjoin outside the matrix clause altogether. These two diagnostic criteria allow us to draw a clear border line and to postulate three different types of adverbial clauses (see Frey 2011, 2012, 2016 for more details).

Furthermore, speech act related causal clauses – contrary to the other two types – cannot be embedded along with a selected *that*-clause:

- (6) a. Peter sagte zu Maria, [CP dass sie so bleich ist,
Peter say.3SG.PST to Maria that she so pale be.3SG
[CP weil sie erschrocken ist]].
because she frightened be.3SG
'Peter said to Maria that she is so pale because she was frightened.'
- b. Peter sagte zu Maria, [CP dass sie krank sein muss,
Peter say.3SG.PST to Maria that she ill be.INF must.3SG
[CP weil sie so bleich ist]].
because she so pale be.3SG
'Peter said to Maria that she must be ill since she is so pale.'
- c. *Peter sagte zu Maria, [CP dass Fritz krank ist,
Peter say.3SG.PST to Maria that Fritz ill be.3SG
[CP weil sie sich doch immer für ihn interessiert]].
because she REFL DISCP always for him.ACC be:interested.3SG
Intended: 'Peter said to Maria that Fritz is ill since she is always interested in him.'

Finally, Frey (2016) argues that causal *weil*-clauses exhibiting V-to-C movement constitute a different clause type and should be analyzed as disintegrated adverbial clauses regardless of their interpretation:

- (7) a. Fritz ist sehr bleich, weil er ist_i erschrocken t_i.
Fritz be.3SG very pale because he be.3SG frightened
'Fritz is very pale because he was frightened.'
- b. Fritz muss krank sein, weil er ist_i so bleich t_i.
Fritz must.3SG ill be.INF because he be.3SG so pale
'Fritz must be ill because he is so pale.'

- c. Fritz ist krank, weil du interessierst_i dich doch
 Fritz be.3SG ill because you be:interested.2SG REFL DISCP
 immer für ihn t_i.
 always for him.ACC
 'Since you are always interested in Fritz, he is ill.'

Similar to the examples given in (5a–c) with the finite verb in-situ, cases in (7a–c) illustrate the semantic diversity of causal clauses with the finite verb in the second position. In other words, the position of the finite verb has no impact on how to interpret the causal clause. However, syntactically they behave differently and we can prove it by moving the verb second causal clause to the prefield position:

- (8) a. *[_{CP} [_{Spec,CP} [_{CP} Weil er ist_i erschrocken t_i]],
 because he be.3SG frightened
 [_C⁰ ist] Fritz sehr bleich].
 be.3SG Fritz very pale
 Intended: 'Because he was frightened, Fritz is very pale.'

- b. *[_{CP} [_{Spec,CP} [_{CP} Weil er ist_i so bleich t_i]],
 because he be.3SG so pale
 [_C⁰ muss] Fritz krank sein].
 must.3SG Fritz ill be.INF
 Intended: 'Since he is so pale, Fritz must be ill.'

- c. *[_{CP} [_{Spec,CP} [_{CP} Weil du interessierst_i dich doch immer für
 because you be:interested.2SG REFL DISCP always for
 ihn t_i]], [_C⁰ ist Fritz krank].
 him.ACC be.3SG Fritz ill
 Intended: 'Since you are always interested in Fritz, he is ill.'

What this data illustrates is that regardless of the semantic interpretation of the verb second causal clause, a movement to the prefield position of the matrix clause is prohibited. (8c) is expected based on the speech act interpretation. But also content as well as epistemic causal clauses cannot be moved to Spec,CP. Crucially, variable binding is also disallowed:

- (9) *Kaum jemand_i war beleidigt,
 hardly someone be.3SG.PST offended
 weil er_i wurde_j unterbrochen t_j.
 because he PASS.AUX.3SG.PST interrupt.PTCP
 Intended meaning: 'Almost nobody was offended because he was interrupted.'

(9) convincingly illustrates that even content causal clauses exhibiting V-to-C movement prohibit variable binding. Accordingly, only verb final *weil*-clauses appear to be integrated adverbial clauses.

Based on we have seen so far, we can recapitulate our observations as follows:

Table 1: Selected properties of causal *weil*-clauses in German

	causal clause type	binding	prefield position	embeddability with a <i>that</i> -clause	V-to-C movement
1.	content	+	+	+	+
2.	epistemic	–	+	+	+
3.	speech act related	–	–	–	+

In the next section, we examine *af-því-að*-clauses in Icelandic and show to what extent the criteria applied by Frey (2016) can be carried over cross-linguistically.

2.3 Icelandic *af-því-að*-clauses

In this section, we examine the syntactic properties of *af-því-að*-clauses and apply three out of the four tests discussed in Section 2.2, i.e. binding relations, prefield position of the matrix clause, and embeddability with a *that*-clause. In addition, we introduce a new test, namely the possibility of the exceptional verb third in subordinate clauses (see Angantýsson 2020 for an overview). Icelandic is a ‘core V2 language’ in terms of Holmberg’s (2015) classification, meaning that subject-initial V2 is the default word order both in matrix clauses and embedded clauses. Since certain types of the order *subject – sentence adverb – finite verb* are almost impossible in main clauses and quite difficult in *that*-clauses in Icelandic (this holds true if the adverb in question is the negation *ekki* ‘not’, for instance), we hypothesize that this word order is most acceptable in content causal clauses, less so in epistemic causal clauses and least acceptable in speech act related causal clauses. Finally, we look into mood alternations in causal clauses. At this working paper stage, the judgments of the Icelandic examples are only based on the first author’s native intuition. Importantly, it should be kept in mind that many Icelandic speakers dislike subject-initial V3 orders in general (see Thráinsson & Angantýsson 2015: 308–313).

Not much has been written about *af-því-að* clauses, or causal clauses in general, in Icelandic (see a brief overview and references in Thráinsson 2005:148–149). However, and before we attempt to apply the tests, an important observation should be mentioned. As originally discussed by Sigurðsson (1981), the syntactic behavior of “conjunctions” like *af því að* is unexpected if they are simply analyzed as conjunctions. He shows that morphologically and semantically they behave as a sequence of an adverbial phrase (*af því* ‘from/because of it’ in this case) plus one of the common simple conjunctions in Icelandic (*að* ‘that’ in this case). Furthermore, Sigurðsson (1981) points out that complex adverbial phrases of this type resemble a NP taking a CP as its complement. Consider the following examples (based on Sigurðsson 1982):

- (10) a. [Sú staðreynd [að málfræðingar eru skrýtnir]] er óræk
 the fact that linguists be.3PL strange is irrefutable
- b. Sú staðreynd er óræk [að málfræðingar eru skrýtnir].
 the fact be.3SG irrefutable that linguists be.3PL strange
 ‘The fact that linguists are strange is irrefutable.’
- (11) a. [Af því [að Jón brást]] fór María.
 because Jón fail.3SG.PST leave.3SG.PST María
- b. Af því fór María [að Jón brást].
 because leave.3SG.PST María that Jón fail.3SG.PST
 ‘Because Jón failed, María left.’

In (10b) and (11b) the *that*-clauses have been extraposed from their heads in a very similar way, i.e. the NP-head and the adverbial heads respectively. Admittedly though, (11b) is quite marked as opposed to (10b). The main point here is that the “complex conjunction” *af því að* arguably has its inner syntactic structure.

Semantically, Icelandic *af-því-að*-clauses do not deviate from how English *because*-clauses or German verb final *weil*-clauses behave. Likewise, they allow three different interpretations, as well:

- (12) a. Jón kom aftur af því að hann elskaði hana.
 Jón come.3SG.PST back because he love.3SG.PST her
 ‘Jón came back because he loved her.’
- b. Jón elskaði hana, af því að hann kom aftur.
 Jón love.3SG.PST her because he come.3SG.PST back
 ‘Jón loved her, because he came back.’
- c. Hvað ertu að gera í kvöld, af því að
 What be.2SG doing tonight because
 það er góð mynd í bíó.
 there be.3SG a good movie in the cinema
 ‘What are you doing tonight, because there is a good movie in the cinema.’

All subordinate clauses in (12) are introduced by the morphologically complex conjunction *af því að* ‘because’ (literally ‘because of it that’), but they give rise to different interpretations. Essentially, (12a–c) are exactly comparable to (1a–c) in English or – to be more precise – to (2a–c) in German, strongly supporting H1. Accordingly, (12a) is primarily interpreted as *content*, (12b) as *epistemic*, and (12c) as *speech act related*. It is crucial to keep in mind, though, that a single *af-því-að*-clause can give rise to three different interpretations. Consider (13), an Icelandic version of the German example given in (3):

- (13) Frænka þín kemur í heimsókn
 aunt your come.3SG in visit
 af því að þú hefur (líklega) alltaf verið að spyrja eftir henni.
 because you have.2SG presumably always been to ask after her
 i) ^{OK}content, ii) ^{OK}epistemic, iii) ^{OK}speech act related

Likewise, (13) is not restricted to any particular interpretation and depending on the context it can be considered content, epistemic or speech act related. Again, as set out in Section 3, this variation should be attributed to the syntactic status and attachment height of the causal clause itself.

The first test concerns quantifier relations in Icelandic *af-því-að*-clauses and the distinction between content causal clauses, on the one hand, and epistemic and speech act related causal clauses, on the other hand:

- (14) a. Næstum hver einasti þátttakandi_i varð fögur
 nearly every attendant become.3SG.PST pale
 af því að honum_i var brugðið.
 because he be.3SG.PST frightened
 ‘Almost every attendant got pale because he was frightened.’
- b. *Næstum hver einasti þátttakandi_i hlýtur að vera veikur
 nearly every attendant must.3SG to be.INF sick
 af því að hann_i var fögur.
 because he be.3SG.PST pale
 Intended: ‘Almost every attendant must be ill because he is so pale.’
- c. *Næstum hver einasti þátttakandi_i er veikur
 nearly every colleague be.3SG sick
 af því að þú ert alltaf svo spenntur fyrir honum_i.
 because you be.2SG always so interested in him.ACC
 Intended: ‘Almost every colleague is ill because you are always interested in him.’

Icelandic, like German, allows variable binding into the content causal clause, as in (14a), while the epistemic, (14b), and the speech act related, (14c), causal clauses disallow such binding.

The second test regards the prefield position of the matrix clause and the special status of speech act related causal clauses as opposed to the two other sentence types:

- (15) a. [CP [Spec,CP [CP Af því að hún er veik]] [C⁰ er] María mjög fögl.
 because she be.3SG ill be.3SG María very pale
 ‘Because she is ill, María is very pale.’

- b. [CP [Spec,CP [CP Af því að hún er svo föll]] [C⁰ hlýtur] María
 because she be.3SG so pale must.3SG María
 að vera veik].
 be.INF ill.
 ‘Since she is so pale, María must be sick.’
- c. *[CP [Spec,CP [CP Af því að þú ert alltaf svo spenntur fyrir
 because you be.2SG always so interested in
 henni]] [C⁰ er] María veik].
 her be.3SG María sick
 Intended: ‘Since you’re always so interested in her, María is ill.’

Both the content causal clause in (15a) and the epistemic causal clause in (15b) can easily occupy the prefield position of the matrix clause, but the speech act related one in (15c) cannot be a part of the matrix clause. Again, this is the same pattern as in German.

The third test also has to do with the special status of speech act related causal clauses:

- (16) a. Pétur sagði Maríu [CP að hún væri svona föll
 Pétur say.3SG.PST María that she be.3SG.SBJV.PST so pale
 [CP af því að henni hefði verið brugðið]].
 because she have.3SG.SBJV be.PST.PART frightened
 ‘Peter said to Maria that she is so pale because she was frightened.’
- b. Pétur sagði Maríu [CP að hún hlyti að vera veik
 Pétur say.3SG.PST María that she must.3SG be.INF ill
 [CP af því að hún væri svo föll]].
 because she be.3SG.SBJV.PST so pale
 ‘Peter said to Maria that she must be ill because she is so pale.’
- c. *Pétur sagði Maríu [CP að Friðrik væri veikur
 Peter say.3SG.PST Maria that Friðrik be.3SG.SBJV.PST ill
 [CP af því að hún væri alltaf svo spennt fyrir honum]].
 because she be.3SG.SBJV.PST always so excited for him.ACC
 Intended: ‘Peter said to Maria that Friðrik was ill because she is always so excited to see him.’

As in German, speech act related causal clauses in Icelandic – contrary to the other two types – cannot be embedded along with a selected *that*-clause.

The fourth test concerns the relative order of the finite verb and a sentence adverb like the negation in different types of causal clauses in Icelandic (in all cases, the default order would be *finite verb – adverb*).

- (17) a. Jón spyr og spyr [CP af því að hann ekki veit].
 Jón ask.3SG and ask.3SG because he not know.3SG
 ‘Jón asks and asks because he doesn’t know.’
- b. ?Jón hlýtur að vita allt um málið,
 Jón must.3SG know.INF everything about case.ACC
 [CP af því að hann ekki spyr].
 because he not ask.3SG
 ‘Jón must know everything about the case since he doesn’t ask.’
- c. *Ætlarðu einn í bíó [CP af því að þú ekki spurðir
 go.2SG alone to cinema.DEF.ACC because you not ask.2SG
 hvort ég vildi koma með].
 whether I want.1SG.PST come.INF along.
 Intended: ‘Are you going to the cinema alone, because you didn’t ask whether I
 wanted to come along.’

Subject-initial verb third of this type is difficult or impossible in main clauses and “matrix-like” embedded clauses, i.e. subordinate clauses that allow main clause phenomena like topicalization (cf. Angantýsson 2020). Interestingly, the prediction that this order should be hard to get in disintegrated adverbial clauses as (17c) is borne out. The epistemic adverbial clause in (17b) is somewhat marked but the eventually related one in (17a) is fine. Thus, apparently, we have an additional test providing fine-grained distinctions between the three types of causal clauses in symmetrical V2 languages like Icelandic.

What we could observe so far is that variable binding into a causal clause is only possible in Icelandic when the causal clause is interpreted as content clauses, (14a). The same holds for German verb final *weil*-clauses, (4a). However, variable binding is not possible into verb second *weil*-clauses, (9), indicating a different syntactic status, even if it is interpreted as a content clause. Keeping this difference in mind, one might want to establish whether Icelandic subject-initial verb third causal clauses pattern with the canonical *af-því-að*-clauses, (12a–c), or whether they constitute a separate clause type. Binding data convincingly show that the former is the case:

- (18) a. ?Enginn nemandi_i féll á prófinu
 no student fail.3SG.PST on the.exam.DAT
 af því að hann_i ekki lærði.
 because he not study.3SG.PST.
 ‘No student failed the exam because he didn’t study.’

- b. *Enginn nemandi_i undirbjó sig_i almennilega,
no student prepare3SG.PST himself properly

af því að hann_i ekki náði prófinu.
because he not pass.3SG.PST the.exam.DAT

Intended: ‘No student prepared properly for the exam because he didn’t pass the exam.’

- c. *Enginn nemandi_i vill koma,
no student want.3SG come.INF

af því að þú aldrei getur verið kurteis við hann_i.
because you.SING never can.3SG be.PTCP polite to him

Intended: ‘No student wants to come because you can never be polite to him.’

(18a) clearly illustrates that variable binding is possible – even if marked – into the subject-initial verb third causal *af-því-að*-clause, while it is ruled out in contexts where an epistemic, (18b), or a speech act related interpretation, (18c), obtains. Another argument for the special status of subject-initial verb third causal *af-því-að*-clauses comes from the movement to the left edge of the matrix clause:

- (19) a. [CP [_{Spec,CP} [CP Af því að Jón ekki veit]]
because Jón not know.3SG
[C⁰ spyr] hann allan tímann].
ask.3SG he all the time

‘Because Jón doesn’t know, he keeps asking.’

- b. ?[CP [_{Spec,CP} [CP Af því að Jón ekki spyr]]
because Jón not ask.3SG
[C⁰ hlýtur] hann að vita allt Um málið].
must.3SG he to know.INF everything about case.ACC

‘Since Jón doesn’t ask, he must know everything about the case.’

- c. *[CP [_{Spec,CP} [CP Af því að þú ekki spurðir hvort ég vildi
because you not ask.2SG whether I want.1SG.PST
koma með]] [C⁰ ætlarðu] einn í bíó]?
come.INF along go.2SG alone to cinema.ACC

Intended: ‘Since you didn’t ask whether I wanted to come along: Are you going to the cinema alone?’

Similar to the examples presented in (15a–c), subject-initial verb third causal *af-því-að*-clauses cannot be fronted if they receive a speech act related interpretation. This straightforwardly follows from their disintegration status. Content, (19a), and epistemic,

(19b), on the other hand, can be moved to the prefield position of the matrix clause. The variable binding and fronting data indicate that contrary to the situation observed in German, verb position in the *af-því-að*-clause does not change the syntactic status of the causal clause itself.

An important characteristic feature of causal clauses in Icelandic is that they show some variation in mood selection. The default mood is the indicative as in (20a) but if there is a negation in the main clause, both moods are available, giving rise to different interpretations as in (20b) and (20c) (examples from Sigurðsson 1990: 327):

- (20) a. Jón fór af því að hann var/*væri reiður.
 John left because he was.IND/SBJV angry
 'John left because he was angry.'
- b. Jón fór ekki af því að hann var reiður.
 John left NEG because he was.IND angry
 'John didn't leave because he was angry.'
 (= It is not the case that John left, and the reason was that he was angry)
- c. Jón fór ekki af því að hann væri reiður.
 John left NEG because he was.SBJV angry
 'John didn't leave because he was angry.'
 (= John left, but the reason was not that he was angry)

In (20a) and (20b) the content of the causal clause is presupposed and the subjunctive is not an option. In (20c), the subjunctive indicates that the content of the *af-því-að*-clause is not presupposed. In other words, *ekki* 'not' in (20c) negates the possible explanation provided in the *af-því-að*-clause.⁴

Based on what we have seen so far, we can recapitulate our observations as follows:

Table 2: Selected properties of causal *af-því-að*-clauses in Icelandic

	causal clause type	binding	prefield position	embeddability with a <i>that</i> -clause	subject initial verb third
1.	content	+	+	+	+
2.	epistemic	–	+	+	?/+
3.	speech act related	–	–	–	–

⁴ Interestingly enough, German does not pattern with Icelandic in this respect. If the matrix verb bears indicative morphology and is negated, subjunctive morphology is disallowed in the causal clause:

- (i) *Fritz ist nicht gekommen, weil er krank wäre.
 Fritz be.3SG NEG come.PTCP because he ill be.3SG.SBJV
 Intended meaning: 'Fritz didn't come because he is ill.'

For discussions on the general status of negation and subjunctive morphology, see Portner (1997, 2018) and references cited therein.

In Section 2.4, we compare German *weil*-clauses with their Icelandic counterparts introduced by *af því að* and highlights their striking similarities calling for a unifying analysis.

2.4 Interim conclusion

So far we have observed a strong distributional resemblance of *weil*-clauses in German and *af því að*-clauses in Icelandic. Semantically, they can be interpreted as content, epistemic or speech act related causal clauses. Syntactically, these three types differ with regard to variable binding, movement to a higher position of the matrix clause, and the attachment possibility to a declarative complement clause. The main difference between German and Icelandic concerns verb movement in the causal clause. Whereas in German all three semantic interpretations allow V-to-C movement making the subordinate clause disintegrated, the position of the finite verb in Icelandic causal clauses does not change its syntactic status. When causal clauses exhibit the verb third word order, a content interpretation is preferred, an epistemic interpretation sounds somewhat marked, and a speech act interpretation is ruled out. Data from variable binding and fronting confirm this observation. Apart from this cross-linguistic difference (mainly due to the internal clause structure of the particular languages, cf. Haider 2005), the tripartite division of causal clauses is the same in both languages. This means that we should expect the same predictions in both languages. One way to check this is to look at causal clauses used as adnominal adverbial clauses, i.e., subordinate clauses modifying a noun.

To our knowledge, Blühorn (2013) was the first who observed that selected types of adverbial clauses can modify nouns in a way similar to relative clauses, although they are introduced by an adverbial complementizer. In passing he mentions the following German verb final *weil*-clause (example taken from Blühorn 2013: 176; ex.85)

- (21) [DP Eine Ablehnung [CP [C⁰ weil] das Geld fehlt]]
 a rejection because the money lack.3SG
 wäre eine Enttäuschung.
 be.3SG.SBJV a disappointment
 ‘A rejection due to lack of money would be a disappointment.’
 i) ^{OK}content, ii) *epistemic, iii) *speech act related

However, Blühorn (2013) does not elaborate on such examples, nor does he provide any analysis. Interestingly enough, Icelandic behaves similarly and allows adnominal causal clauses introduced by *af því að*, as (22) shows:

- (22) [DP Höfnun [CP [C⁰ af því að] það vantaði fjármagn]]
 refusal because it.EXPL miss.3SG.PST money.ACC
 væri vonbrigði.
 be.3SG.SBJV a disappointment
 ‘A rejection due to lack of money would be a disappointment.’

i) ^{OK}content, ii) *epistemic, iii) *speech act related

In (21)–(22) the causal clause is part of the DP, of *eine Ablehnung* in (21) and of *höfnun* in (22) describing the reason for why a rejection would be a disappointment. By forming a single syntactic DP constituent together with the head noun,⁵ we expect the causal clause to be interpreted only as a content causal clause. This prediction is borne out, because neither an epistemic nor a speech act related interpretations are feasible in (21)–(22). This is mainly due to the fact that epistemic and speech act related clauses do not operate on the content level which, in turn, is required for an adnominal causal clause to be licensed (cf. Lubomierski 2020 for more details).

If the three types of causal clauses discussed above can be upheld across languages, it is desirable to develop a unified account. Based on Icelandic, we propose such an account in the next section.

3 Analysis

In this section, we analyze the variation of causal clauses presented in Section 2. First, we compare Frey (2016) with Frey (to appear) and explain how they differ. Then, we outline a novel account of adverbial modifiers proposed by Krifka (to appear) on which Frey (to appear) is based. Putting them together, we, finally, propose our analysis of causal *af-því-að*-clauses covering their semantic and syntactic variation.

Following and extending the analysis of adverbial clauses developed by Haegeman (2003, 2010, 2012), Frey (2016, to appear) proposes to analyze the three different causal clauses along the following lines:

Table 3: Causal clauses, their syntactic status and possible interpretations according to Frey (2016, to appear)

	adverbial clause type	possible interpretation of the causal clause	attachment height	
			Frey (2016)	Frey (to appear)
1.	central adverbial clause	content	TP	TP
2.	peripheral adverbial clause	content, epistemic	ForceP	JP
3.	disintegrated dependent clause	content, epistemic, speech act related	outside the matrix clause structure	outside the matrix clause structure

Cross-linguistically, adverbial clauses are usually divided into three main groups: i) central adverbial clauses, ii) peripheral adverbial clauses, and iii) disintegrated adverbial clauses, cf.

⁵ Adnominal adverbial clauses have not attracted much attention in the literature. To our knowledge, there are only a few papers on the market: two on adnominal conditional clauses in English by Frana (2017) and Lassersohn (1996) and one on German *falls*-clauses by Blümel (2019). Recently, Lubomierski (2020) additionally examined adnominal causal clauses in German. What these studies have shown is that adnominal adverbial clauses are integrated adverbial clauses behaving like restrictive relative clauses.

e.g. Haegeman (2003, 2006, 2010, 2012) for English, Frey (2011, 2012, 2016) for German, Angantýsson (2011, 2017) and Angantýsson & Jonas (2016) for Scandinavian languages, among many others.⁶ Whereas central adverbial clauses are claimed to depend on the illocutionary force of the matrix clause, be part of it and attach at the TP level, peripheral adverbial clauses are associated with the high functional projection ForceP and possess their own illocutionary force. Disintegrated adverbial clauses, in turn, always have independent illocutionary force, are not part of the syntactic structure of the host clause, are true orphans in the sense claimed by Haegeman (2009), and combine with the matrix clause by establishing a rhetorical discourse relation. Crucially, it has to be stressed that content causal clauses can be central, peripheral and disintegrated adverbial clauses. Epistemic causal clauses can be treated either as peripheral or as disintegrated adverbial clauses. Finally, speech act related causal clauses can be only analyzed as disintegrated adverbial clauses. Frey (2016) takes central adverbial clauses to attach as TP adjuncts, peripheral adverbial clauses as ForceP adjuncts, and disintegrated adverbial clauses as adjuncts merging outside the matrix clause structure. Frey (to appear) modifies his previous account, by replacing ForceP with J[udge]Phrase. This change is mainly due to Krifka's (to appear) novel approach to adverbial modifiers. We briefly summarize it here, as we make use of it in our analysis too.

Krifka (2015, 2018, 2019, to appear) takes assertions to be linguistic objects requiring a formal representation in the syntax. Crucially, he makes a distinction between propositions, judgements, and commitments. A proposition ϕ is represented by a Tense Phrase, TP. Private judgements are assumed to be encoded in a Judge Phrase, JP, equipped with a syntactic head that turns a proposition ϕ into the propositional function that a judge x judges the proposition ϕ to be true. It is represented as $x J- \phi$, whereby $J-$ stands for the head of the JP. Public assertions are expressed in a Commitment Phrase, ComP, possessing the head \vdash turning a proposition ϕ into the propositional function that speaker x is publicly committed in world i to ϕ : $x \vdash_i \phi$. On top of that, it is necessary to distinguish assertions from questions. According to Krifka (to appear: 6), „[i]n an assertion, a speaker makes a public commitment to a proposition, whereas in a question, the speaker restricts the possible continuations of a conversation so that the addressee makes a public commitment to a proposition.“ This means that both assertions and questions are based on commitments and, correspondingly, equipped with ComP. In order to keep them apart, Krifka makes use of the functional ActPhrase, ActP, and takes “•” to represent an assertion operator, whereas “?” stands for a question operator. Either operator is also a syntactic head of ActP, which is the highest structural category in the clause structure. Based on Woods (2016), Krifka takes ActP to represent speech acts in the syntax and to be able to occur not only in main clauses but also in selected types of subordinate clauses.⁷ Applying this model to Icelandic which is consistently head-initial (cf.

⁶ Recent studies have shown, though, that a more fine-grained classification of adverbial clauses might be needed, cf., for example, Endo (2012) and Endo & Haegeman (2019).

⁷ Frey (to appear: 30) disagrees with this view and proposes, mainly based on Green (2000), a principle of the unembeddability of ActP:

- (i) Principle of the unembeddability of ActP: an ActP cannot be syntactically embedded.

Our data suggest, though, that selected types of subordinate clauses can host ActP modifiers.

Haider 2005, 2012, 2014, Hróarsdóttir 2000 and Thráinsson 2007), we end up with the following clause structure:

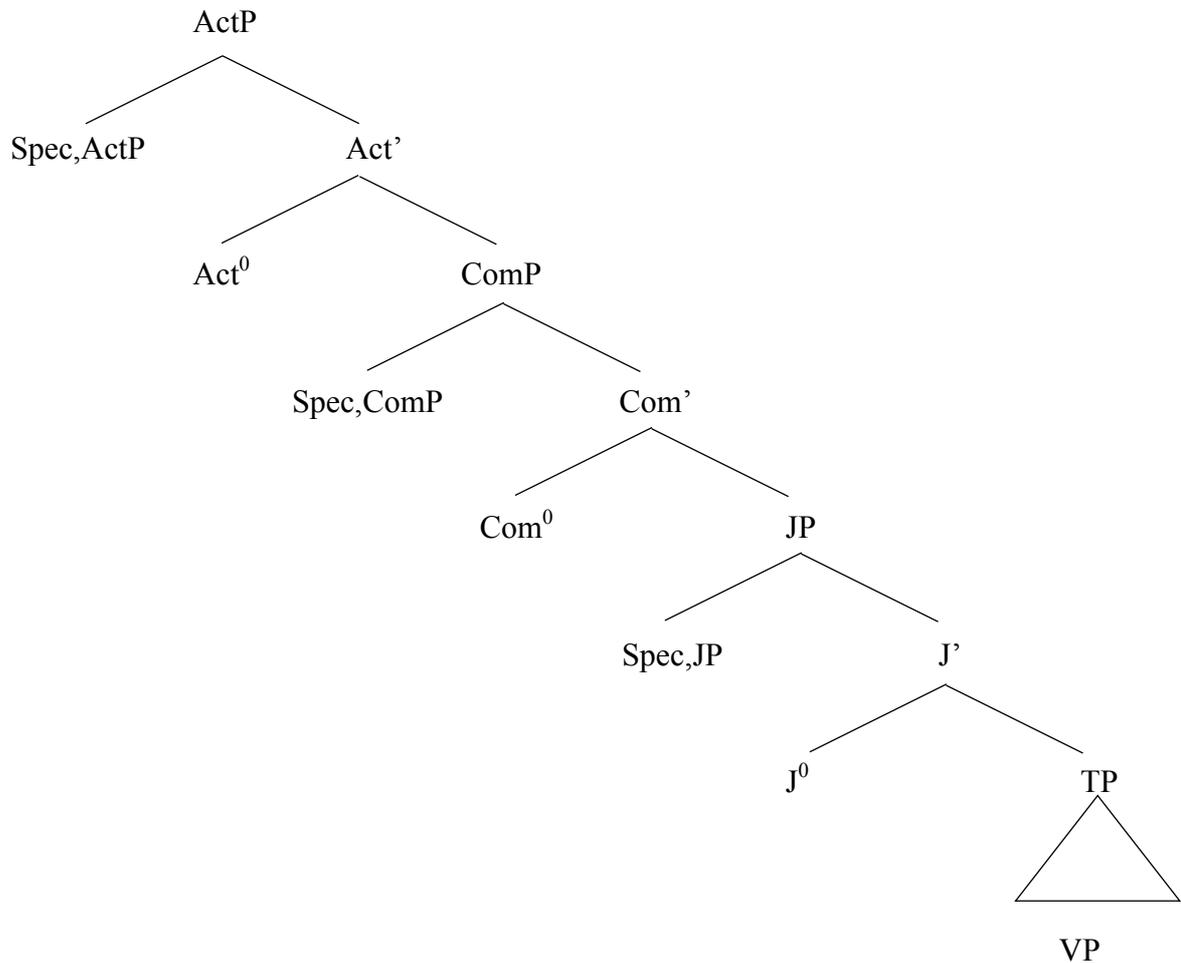


Figure 1: Syntactic representations of propositions, judgements, commitments, and speech acts according to Krifka (to appear)

Evidence for the availability of the functional projections ActP, ComP, and JP comes from adverbial modifiers associated with the particular projection. A sample of selected Icelandic adverbial modifiers is given below (see also Angantýsson 2019 for some differences between Faroese and Icelandic):

(23) Adverbial modifiers in Icelandic:

- a. JP modifiers: *sannarlega* 'certainly', *líklega* 'probably', *sennilega*, 'probably', *greinilega* 'obviously', *að því er virðist* 'apparently', *að því er sagt er* 'allegedly'
- b. ComP modifiers: *ég get svarið það* 'by God; I can swear it', *ég sver* 'I swear', *í alvöru talað* 'seriously; in seriousness/reality', *í fullri alvöru* 'in full seriousness', *án gríns* 'without fun'
- c. ActP modifiers: *í hreinskilni sagt* 'honestly', *ef svo má segja* 'if one can say so', *meðal annarra orða* 'by the way', *sem betur fer* 'fortunately', *í fyrsta/öðru lagi* 'firstly/secondly' *skiljanlega* 'understandably', *samt* 'however'

An example containing adverbial modifiers representing all functional layers is provided in (24).

- (24) *Samt* er *Simon* *án gríns* *alveg* *örugglega* *njósna*ri.
 however be.3SG Simon without fun completely certainly spy
 ‘However, Simon is seriously certainly a spy.’

samt (‘however’) is a classical ActP modifier, *án gríns* (‘seriously’) is a commitment phrase by means of which the speaker increases the strength of the commitment, and *örugglega* (‘certainly’) is an epistemic adverb representing speaker’s attitude towards what is embedded. The most natural word order is when the ActP modifier *samt* occurs on the left edge of the clause and when it c-commands the commitment phrase *án gríns* and the epistemic adverb *örugglega*. A partial derivation of (24) can be portrayed as follows:

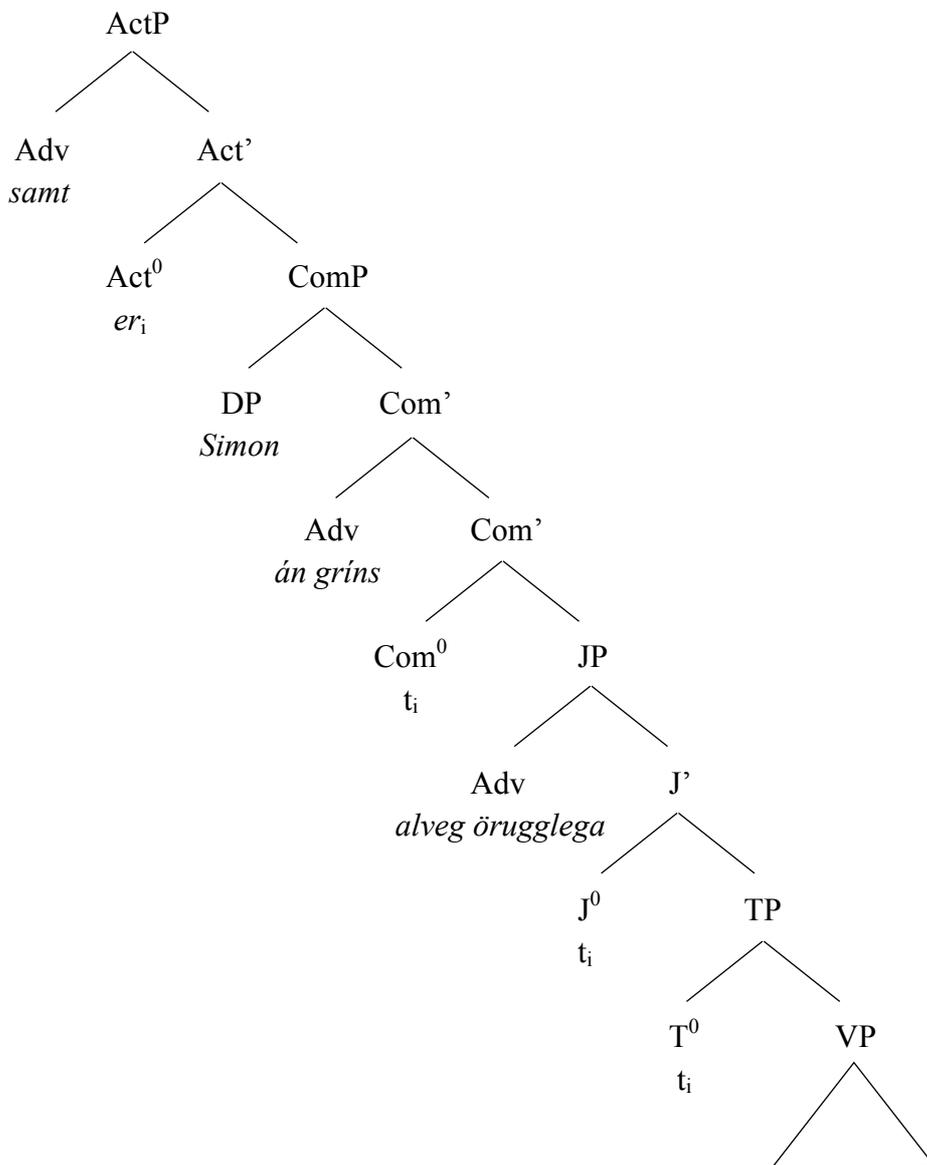


Figure 2: Partial derivation of (24)

The adverbial modifiers are taken to be base-generated in the functional projections, ActP, Comp, and JP. The finite verb, *er* ('is') in (24), moves as V-head to the Act⁰ position, where the speech act itself is determined. The account developed by Krifka (to appear) allows, of course, other (more marked) word order variants of (24):

- (25) a. Símon er samt án gríns alveg örugglega njósnnari.
 b. Símon er alveg örugglega njósnnari samt án gríns.⁸
 c. Símon er án gríns samt alveg örugglega njósnnari.
 d. ?Símon er alveg örugglega njósnnari án gríns samt.

All four variants are acceptable in Icelandic, but they do not sound as natural as (24) does. (25a-d) do not pose a challenge to the base-generation approach of adverbial modifiers with respect to a rigid word order. (25a-d) can be derived by scrambling operations. We refrain from discussing the scrambled variants of adverbial modifiers here in more detail and focus on word orders representing the base-generation of adverbial modifiers. This explains why speech act related causal clauses should attach as ActP modifiers, epistemic causal clauses as JP modifiers, and content causal clauses as TP modifiers:

⁸ The commitment phrase *án gríns* 'seriously' in this case might be analyzed as a constituent merging outside the clause. A similar observation can be made with regard to clauses exhibiting the XP-*þá*-pattern as in (i):

- (i) Án gríns, þá er Símon í raun og veru alveg örugglega njósnnari.
 without fun EXPL be.3SG Simon in fact and reality completely certainly spy
 'In full seriousness, Simon is in fact completely certainly a spy.'

Space limitations prevent us from discussing such cases in more detail. The interested reader is referred to Jónsson (2019).

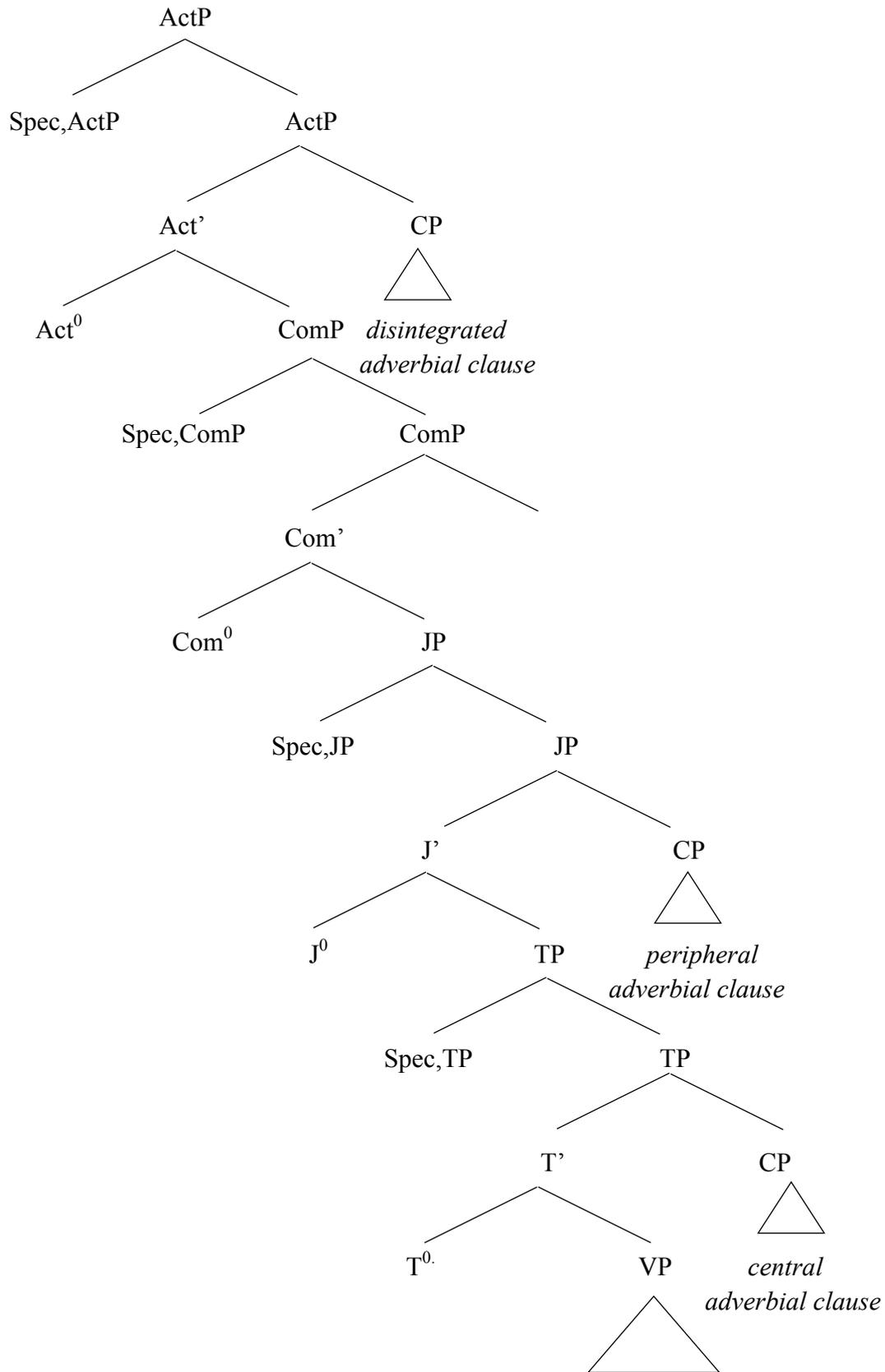


Figure 3: Attachment heights of adverbial clauses according to Frey (to appear)

Now, if causal clauses are base-generated in the dedicated functional projections, they are expected to host adverbial modifiers associated with the particular functional projections. This prediction is borne out. A content causal clause cannot host any adverbial modifiers if it is analyzed as a central adverbial clause:

- (26) *Jón kom aftur af því að hann sennilega elskaði hana.
 Jón come.3SG.PST back because he probably love.3SG.PST her
 Intended: ‘Jón came back because he apparently loved her.’

Epistemic, (27a), and speech act related causal clauses, (27b), on the other hand, tolerate adverbial modifiers. This is to be expected because they cannot be analyzed as central adverbial clauses:

- (27) a. Jón elskaði hana,
 Jón love.3SG.PST her
 af því að hann sennilega kom aftur.
 because he probably come.3SG.PST back
 ‘Jón loved her because he apparently came back.’
- b. Hvað ertu að gera í kvöld, af því að
 What be.2SG doing tonight because
 það er sennilega góð mynd í bíó.
 there be.3SG probably a good movie in the cinema
 ‘What are you doing tonight because there is apparently a good movie in the cinema.’

However, they differ with respect to what kind of modifiers they can combine with. Whereas epistemic causal clauses having the peripheral adverbial clause status are not able to license ActP modifiers, speech act related causal clauses do not exhibit any such restrictions:

- (28) a. *Jón elskaði hana,
 Jón love.3SG.PST her
 af því að hann í hreinskilni sagt kom aftur.
 because he honestly speaking come.3SG.PST back
 Intended: ‘Jón loved her because he, honestly, came back.’
- b. Hvað ertu að gera í kvöld
 what be.2SG doing tonight
 af því að það er í hreinskilni sagt góð mynd í bíó.
 because there be.3SG honestly speaking good movie in cinema
 ‘What are you doing tonight because, honestly, there is a good movie in the cinema.’

Note that we do not argue that content causal clauses cannot host ActP modifiers. Quite the contrary: If they have the disintegrated adverbial clause status, they are expected to host all types of modifiers. This prediction is borne out by examples like (29):

- (29) Ég held að við ættum ekki að ráða Jón af því að
 I think that we should NEG to hire.INF Jón because
 hann er í hreinskilni sagt án gríns alveg örugglega njósnari
 he be.3SG honestly speaking without fun completely certainly spy
 ‘I think that we shouldn’t hire Jón because, honestly, he is seriously certainly a spy.’

(29) is to be interpreted as a content related clause. interpreted as eventuality related. The speaker intertwines two states of affairs on the content level explaining that there is a reason why Jón should not be hired. At the same time, (29) hosts the ActP modifier *í hreinskilni sagt* ‘honestly’, the ComP modifier *án gríns* ‘seriously’, and the JP modifier *örugglega* ‘certainly’, whereby the former c-commands the latter. If, on the other hand, content causal clauses are central adverbial clauses, they disallowed all kinds of modifiers, as exemplified in (29) above.

Finally, adnominal causal clauses do not tolerate adverbial modifiers:

- (30) *[_{DP} Höfnun [_{CP} [_C⁰ af því að] það líklega vantaði pening]]
 refusal because it.EXPL probably miss.3SG.PST money.ACC
 væri vonbrigði.
 be.3SG.SBJV a disappointment

Intended: ‘A rejection probably due to lack of money would be a disappointment.’

The ungrammaticality of (30) straightforwardly follows from the fact that strongly integrated adverbial clauses do not tolerate any adverbial modifiers.

4 Conclusion

In this paper, we investigated the syntax of causal clauses in modern Icelandic introduced by the morphologically complex complementizer *af því að*. Semantically, we showed that *af-því-að*-clauses are not restricted to any particular causal interpretation in terms of Sweetser’s (1990) classification. Correspondingly, *af-því-að*-clauses can give rise to a content, an epistemic or a speech act related interpretation, which are encoded in the grammar and do not come about pragmatic reasoning. Syntactically, *af-því-að*-clauses can be analyzed as central, peripheral or disintegrated adverbial clauses, attaching at three distinct structural heights: TP, JP and ActP. Generally, discussing the Icelandic data we could also confirm the observation made about German *weil*-clauses, according to which less integrated structures have more interpretative freedom than more strongly integrated ones (cf. Antomo & Steinbach 2010, Frey 2016, Reis 2013).

Abbreviations

1/2/3 – 1st/2nd/3rd person, ACC – accusative, DAT – dative, DISCP – discourse particle, EXPL – expletive, GEN – genitive, IMP – imperative mood, IND – indicative mood, INF – infinitive, NEG – negation, PASS.AUX – passive auxiliary, PART – participle, PL – plural, PST – past tense, PTCF – participle perfect, REFL – reflexive pronoun, SG – singular, SBJV – subjunctive mood.

References

- Antomo, Mailin & Markus Steinbach. 2010. Desintegration und Interpretation: *Weil-V2-Sätze an der Schnittstelle zwischen Syntax, Semantik und Pragmatik*. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. 29:1, 1–37.
- Angantýsson, Ásgrímur. 2011. The Syntax of Embedded Clauses in Icelandic and Related Languages. Doctoral dissertation, University of Iceland, Reykjavík.
- Angantýsson, Ásgrímur. 2017. Stylistic fronting and related constructions in the Insular Scandinavian Languages. In: Höskuldur Thráinsson, Caroline Heycock, Hjalmar P. Petersen & Zakaris Svabo Hansen (eds.), *Syntactic Variation in Insular Scandinavian* [Studies in Germanic Linguistics 1], 277–306. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Angantýsson, Ásgrímur. 2019. On the relative order of central adverbs in the Insular Scandinavian languages. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, vol. 103, 30–41.
- Angantýsson, Ásgrímur. 2020. The distribution of embedded V2 and V3 in modern Icelandic. In: Sam Wolfe & Rebecca Woods (eds.), *Rethinking Verb Second*, 240–264. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Angantýsson, Ásgrímur & Dianne Jonas. 2016. On the syntax of adverbial clauses in Icelandic. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, vol. 96, 126–139.
- Blühdorn, Hardarik. 2008. Epistemische Lesarten von Satzkonnectoren – wie sie zustande kommen und wie man sie erkennt. In: Inge Pohl (ed.), *Semantik und Pragmatik – Schnittstellen* [Sprache – System und Tätigkeit 59], 217–252. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Blühdorn, Hardarik. 2013. Syntaktische Nebensatzklassen im Deutschen. *Pandaemonium*, vol. 16:21, 149–218.
- Blümel, Andreas. 2019. Adnominal conditionals in German. *Linguistics Vanguard* 5:s3, 1–9.
- Copley, Bridget & Phillip Wolff. 2014. Theories of causation should inform linguistic theory and vice versa. In: Bridget Copley & Fabienne Martin (eds.), *Causation in Grammatical Structures* [Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 52], 11–57. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cristofaro, Sonia. 2003. *Subordination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Eberhardt, Ira. 2017. From a focus particle to a conjunction: Diachronic and synchronic analysis of German *zumal*. *Language*, vol. 93:2, e66–e96.
- Endo, Yoshio. 2012. The syntax-discourse interface in adverbial clauses. In: Lobke Aelbrecht, Liliane Haegeman & Rachel Nye (eds.), *Main Clause Phenomena. New Horizons* [Linguistik Aktuell / Linguistics Today 190], 365–383. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Endo, Yoshio & Liliane Haegeman. 2019. Adverbial clauses and adverbial concord. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics*, vol. 4:48, 1–32.
- Frana, Ilaria. 2017. Modality in the nominal domain: The case of adnominal conditionals. In: Ana Arregui, María Luisa Rivero & Andrés Salanova (eds.), *Modality across Syntactic Categories* [Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 63], 49–69. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Frey, Werner. 2011. Peripheral adverbial clauses, their licensing and the prefield in German. In Eva Breindl, Gisella Ferraresi & Anna Volodina (eds.), *Satzverknüpfungen. Zur Interaktion von Form, Bedeutung und Diskursfunktion* [Linguistische Arbeiten 534], 41–77. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Frey, Werner. 2012. On two types of adverbial clauses allowing root-phenomena. In: Lobke Aelbrecht, Liliane Haegeman & Rachel Nye (eds.), *Main Clause Phenomena. New Horizons* [Linguistik Aktuell / Linguistics Today 190], 405–429. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Frey, Werner. 2016. About some correlations between formal and interpretative properties of causal clauses. In: Ingo Reich & Augustin Speyer (eds.), *Co- and Subordination in German and Other Languages* [Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 21], 153–179. Hamburg: Buske.
- Frey, Werner. to appear. On the status of different dependent clauses. In: Jutta M. Hartmann & Angelika Wöllstein (eds.), *Propositionale Argumente im Sprachvergleich: Theorie und Empirie / Propositional Arguments in Cross-Linguistic Research: Theoretical and Empirical Issues* [Studien zur deutschen Sprache]. Tübingen: Narr.
- Green, Mitchell S. 2000. Illocutionary force and semantic content. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, vol. 23:5, 435–473.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 2003. Conditional clauses: External and internal syntax. *Mind and Language*, vol. 18:4, 317–339.
- Haegeman, Liliane (2006): Conditionals, factives and the left periphery. *Lingua* 116(10): 1651–1669.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 2009. Parenthetical adverbials: The radical orphan approach. In: Benjamin Shaer, Philippa Cook, Werner Frey & Claudia Maienborn (eds.), *Dislocated Elements in Discourse: Syntactic, Semantic and Pragmatic Perspectives*, 331–347. London: Routledge.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 2010. The internal syntax of adverbial clauses. *Lingua*, vol. 120:3, 628–648.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 2012. *Adverbial Clauses, Main Clause Phenomena, and the Composition of the Left Periphery* [The Cartography of Syntactic Structures 8]. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haider, Hubert. 2005. How to turn German into Icelandic – and derive the OV-VO contrast. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics*, vol. 8:1, 1–53.
- Haider, Hubert. 2012. *Symmetry Breaking in Syntax* [Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 136]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haider, Hubert. 2014. The VO-OV split of Germanic languages – A T3 and V2 production. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Germanic Linguistics and Semiotic Analysis*, vol. 19:1, 57–79.

- Haiman, John & Sandra A. Thompson. 1984. "Subordination" in Universal Grammar. *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics*, 510–523.
- Holmberg, Anders. 2015. 'Verb second'. In: Tibor Kiss & Artemis Alexiadou (eds.), *Syntax — Theory and Analysis. An International Handbook III*, 242–283. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hróarsdóttir, Thorbjörg. 2000. *Word Order Change in Icelandic – From OV to VO* [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today 35]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Jónsson, Jóhannes Gísli. 2019. The XP-*þá*-construction and V2. In: Ken Ramshøj Christensen, Henrik Jørgensen & Johanna L. Wood (eds.), *The Sign of the V – Papers in Honour of Sten Vikner*, 341–360. Aarhus University: Department of English, School of Communication & Culture.
- Krifka, Manfred. 2015. Bias in Commitment Space Semantics: Declarative questions, negated questions, and questions tags. *Proceedings of SALT 25*: 328–345.
- Krifka, Manfred. 2018. Semantic types of complement clauses: Propositions, judgements and commitments. Talk delivered at the Conference 'Ars Grammatica: Theorie und Empirie im Sprachvergleich zum Schwerpunktthema Sachverhalts-/propositionale Argumente' at the Institut für Deutsche Sprache in Mannheim.
- Krifka, Manfred. 2019. Commitments and beyond. *Theoretical Linguistics*, vol. 45:1-2, 73–91.
- Krifka, Manfred. to appear. Layers of assertive clauses: Propositions, judgements, commitments, acts. In Jutta M. Hartmann & Angelika Wöllstein (eds.), *Propositionale Argumente im Sprachvergleich: Theorie und Empirie / Propositional Arguments in Cross-Linguistic Research: Theoretical and Empirical Issues* [Studien zur deutschen Sprache]. Tübingen: Narr. Tübingen: Narr.
- Lang, Ewald. 2000. Adversative connectors on distinct levels of discourse: A re-examination of Eve Sweetser's three-level approach. In Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen & Bernd Kortmann (eds.), *Cause – Condition – Concession – Contrast. Cognitive and Discourse Perspectives* [Topics in English Linguistics 33], 235–256. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Laserson, Peter. 1996. Adnominal conditionals. *Proceedings of SALT 6*: 154–166.
- Lubomierski, Lisa. 2020. Adnominale Kausalsätze im Deutschen. Bachelor thesis, Universität zu Köln.
- Pasch, Renate. 1983. Die Kausalkonjunktionen *da*, *denn* und *weil*: drei Konjunktionen – drei lexikalische Klassen. *Deutsch als Fremdsprache*, vol. 20:6, 332–337.
- Portner, Paul. 1997. The semantics of mood, complementation, and conversational force. *Natural Language Semantics*, vol. 5:2, 167–212.
- Portner, Paul. 2018. *Mood* [Oxford Surveys in Semantics and Pragmatics 5]. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Potts, Christopher. 2005. *The Logic of Conversational Implicatures* [Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 7]. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ravetto, Miriam & Hardarik Blühdorn. 2011. Die Kausalkonjunktionen *denn*, *weil*, *da* im Deutschen und *perché*, *poiché*, *siccome* im Italienischen. In: Gisella Ferraresi (ed.), *Konnektoren im Deutschen und im Sprachvergleich. Beschreibung und grammatische Analyse* [Studien zur deutschen Sprache 53], 207–250. Tübingen: Narr.

- Reis, Marga. 2013. *Weil-V2-Sätze und (k)ein Ende? Anmerkungen zur Analyse von Antomo & Steinbach (2010)*. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. 32:2, 221–262.
- Scheffler, Tatjana. 2013. *Two-dimensional Semantics. Clausal Adjuncts and Complements* [Linguistische Arbeiten 549]. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 1981. Fjölyrtar aukateningar? [‘Multi-word subordinate conjunctions?’] *Íslenskt mál*, vol. 3: 59–76.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 1990. Long distance reflexives and moods in Icelandic. In: Joan Maling & Annie Zaenen (eds.), *Modern Icelandic Syntax* [Syntax and Semantics 24], 41–69. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Stede, Manfred & Maik Walter. 2011. Zur Rolle der Verknüpfungsebene am Beispiel der Kausalkonnektoren. In: Eva Breindl, Gisella Ferraresi & Anna Volodina (eds.), *Satzverknüpfungen. Zur Interaktion von Form, Bedeutung und Diskursfunktion* [Linguistische Arbeiten 534], 149–179. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Sweetser, Eve. 1990. *From Etymology to Pragmatics. Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure* [Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 54]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 2005. *Setningar: Handbók um íslenska setningafræði. Íslensk tunga III* [‘Sentences: A Handbook on Icelandic Syntax. Icelandic Language III’]. Co-authors: Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson, Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson, Sigríður Magnúsdóttir, Sigríður Sigurjónsdóttir and Þórunn Blöndal. Reykjavík: Almenna bókafélagið.
- Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 2007. *The Syntax of Icelandic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thráinsson, Höskuldur & Ásgrímur Angantýsson. 2015. Orðaröð í aukasetningum [‘Word order in embedded clauses’]. In: Thráinsson, Höskuldur, Ásgrímur Angantýsson and Einar Freyr Sigurðsson (eds.), *Tilbrigði í íslenskri setningagerð. II. Helstu niðurstöður. Tölfræðilegt yfirlit* [‘Variation in Icelandic Syntax. II. Main Results. Statistical Overview’], 299–330. Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands.
- Volodina, Anna. 2011. Sweetser’s Drei-Ebenen-Theorie: Theoretische Überlegungen vor dem Hintergrund einer korpuslinguistischen Studie über konditionale und kausale Relationen. In: Gisella Ferraresi (ed.), *Konnektoren im Deutschen und im Sprachvergleich: Beschreibung und grammatische Analyse* [Studien zur deutschen Sprache 53], 127–155. Tübingen: Narr.
- Wood, Rebecca Louise. 2016. Investigating the Syntax of Speech Acts: Embedding Illocutionary Force. Doctoral dissertation, University of York, York.

These working papers have been sponsored by the Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities (NAVF) (no. 1–27) and by the Swedish Research Council for the Humanities and the Social Sciences (HSFR) (no. 28–42), as well as by Erik Philip-Sørensen's stiftelse (no. 42–43). Issues 80–92 were sponsored by the Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University. Issues 93–99 were published by Ghent University and Lund University. As of issue 100, WPSS is published by Stockholm University and Lund University.

PUBLISHED BY JUNE 2019

1. Tarald Taraldsen: Som (1983)
2. Christer Platzack: Germanic word order and the COMP/INFL parameter (1983)
3. Anders Holmberg: The finite sentence in Swedish and English (1983)
4. Kirsti Koch Christensen: The categorial status of Norwegian infinitival relatives (1983)
5. Lars Hellan: Anaphora in Norwegian and theory of binding (1983)
6. Elisabet Engdahl: Parasitic gaps, subject extractions, and the ECP (1983)
7. Elisabet Engdahl: Subject gaps (1984)
8. Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson: Icelandic word order and *flað*-insertion
Höskuldur Thráinsson: Some points on Icelandic word order (1984)
9. Tarald Taraldsen: Some phrase structure dependent differences between Swedish and Norwegian (1984)
10. Jan Engh: On the development of the complex passive
Lars Hellan: A GB-type analysis of complex passives and related constructions (1984)
11. Tor A. Åfarli: Norwegian verb particle constructions as causative constructions (1984)
12. Martin Everaert: Icelandic long reflexivization and tense-connectedness (1984)
13. Anders Holmberg: On raising in Icelandic and Swedish
Anders Holmberg: On certain clitic-like elements in Swedish (1984)
14. Toril Fiva: NP-internal chains in Norwegian (1984)
15. Kirsti Koch Christensen: Subject clitics and A-bound traces (1984)
16. Annie Zaenen, Joan Maling, Höskuldur Thráinsson: Passive and oblique case
Joan Maling, Annie Zaenen: Preposition-stranding and oblique case (1984)
17. Nomi Erteschik-Shir: Der (1985)
18. Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Subordinate V/I in Icelandic. How to explain a root phenomenon (1985)
19. Kirsti Koch Christensen: Complex passive and conditions on reanalysis (1985)
20. Christer Platzack: The Scandinavian languages and the null subject parameter (1985)
21. Anders Holmberg: Icelandic word order and binary branching (1985)
22. Tor A. Åfarli: Absence of V2 effects in a dialect of Norwegian (1985)
23. Sten Vikner: Parameters of binder and of binding category in Danish (1985)
24. Anne Vainikka: Icelandic case without primitive grammatical functions (1985)
25. Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Moods and (long distance) reflexives in Icelandic (1986)
26. Wim Kosmeijer: The status of the finite inflection in Icelandic and Swedish (1986)
27. Robin Cooper: Verb second - predication or unification? (1986)
28. Joan Maling: Existential sentences in Swedish and Icelandic: Reference to Thematic Roles (1987)
29. Tor A. Åfarli: Lexical structure and Norwegian passive and ergative constructions (1987)
30. Kjell-Åke Gunnarsson: Expressions of distance and raising (1987)
31. Squibs, Remarks and Replies (Klaus von Bremen, Christer Platzack) (1987)
32. Cecilia Falk: Subjectless clauses in Swedish (1987)
33. Anders Holmberg: The Structure of NP in Swedish (1987)
34. Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: From OV to VO: Evidence from Old Icelandic (1988)
35. Lars Hellan: Containment and Connectedness Anaphors (1988)
36. Tomas Riad: Reflexivity and Predication (1988)
37. Squibs, Remarks and Replies (Elly van Gelderen, Arild Hestvik, Tomas Riad) (1988)
38. Sten Vikner & Rex A. Sprouse: Have/Be-Selection as an A-Chain Membership Requirement. (1988)
39. Sten Vikner: Modals in Danish and Event Expressions (1988)
40. Elisabet Engdahl: Implicational Universals: Parametric Variation in GB and GPSG. (1988)
41. Kjell-Åke Gunnarsson: Expressions of Distance, Prepositions and Theory of Theta-Roles (1988)

Beginning with no. 42, the papers were no longer published as separate issues. There are two issues each year, one in June and one in December.

42. [December 1988]

Lars Hellan: The Phrasal Nature of Double Object Clusters
Anders Holmberg & Christer Platzack: On the Role of Inflection in Scandinavian Syntax
Barbro Lundin & Christer Platzack: The Acquisition of Verb Inflection, Verb Second and Subordinate Clauses in Swedish
Lars Olof Delsing: The Scandinavian Noun Phrase
Gunnel Källgren & Ellen F. Prince: Swedish VP-Topicalization and Yiddish Verb-Topicalization

43. [June 1989]

Torbjørn Nordgård: On Barriers, Wh-movement and IP-Adjunction in English, Norwegian and Swedish
Bonnie D. Schwartz & Sten Vikner: All Verb Second Clauses are CPs.
Christer Platzack & Anders Holmberg: The Role of AGR and Finiteness.

44. [December 1989]

Special Issue on Comparative Germanic Syntax

Tor Áfarli: On Sentence Structure in Scandinavian Languages.
Jan Anward: Constraints on Passives in Swedish and English.
Kathrin Cooper & Elisabet Engdahl: Null Subjects in Zurich German.
Cecilia Falk: On the Existential Construction in the Germanic Languages.
Lars Hellan: A Two Level X-bar System.
Jarich Hoekstra & László Marác: On the Position of Inflection in West-Germanic.
Kjartan G. Ottósson: VP-Specifier Subjects and the CP/IP Distinction in Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian.
Charlotte Reinholtz: V-2 in Mainland Scandinavian: Finite Verb Movement to Agr.
Wolfgang Sternefeld: Extractions from Verb-Second Clauses in German.
Sten Vikner: Object Shift and Double Objects in Danish.
Chris Wilder: Wh-Movement and Passivization in Infinitive Predicates

45. [June 1990]

Helge Lødrup: VP-topicalization and the Verb *gjøre* in Norwegian.
Christer Platzack: A Grammar Without Functional Categories: A Syntactic Study of Early Swedish Child Language
Halldór Sigurðsson: Icelandic Case-marked PRO and the Licensing of Lexical A-positions.

46. [December 1990]

Halldór Sigurðsson: Feature Government and Government Chains
Lena Ekberg: Theta Role Tiers and the Locative PP in Existential Constructions
Sjur Nørstebø Moshagen & Trond Trosterud: Non-Clause-Bounded Reflexives in mainland Scandinavian
Cecilia Falk: On Double Object Constructions

47. [June 1991]

Norbertt Hornstein: Expletives: a comparative study of English and Icelandic
Lars-Olof Delsing: Quantification in the Swedish Noun Phrase
Helge Lødrup: The Norwegian Pseudopassive in Lexical Theory
Gunlög Josefsson: Pseudocoordination – A VP + VP Coordination

48. [December 1991]

Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson: Stylistic Fronting in Icelandic
Kirsti Koch Christensen: Complex Passives Reanalyzed
Kjartan G. Ottósson: Icelandic Double Objects as Small Clauses

49. [June 1992]

Halldór Sigurðsson: The Case of Quirky Subjects
Anders Holmberg: Properties of Non-heads in Compounds: A Case Study
Gunlög Josefsson: Object Shift and Weak Pronominals in Swedish
Peter Svenonius: The Extended Projection of N: Identifying the Head of the Noun Phrase

50. [December 1992]

Sabine Iatridou and Anthony Kroch: The Licensing of CP-recursion and its Relevance to the Germanic Verb Second Phenomenon.

Christer Platzack: Complementizer Agreement and Argument Clitics.

Halldór Sigurðsson: Agreement as Visible F-government.

Tor A. Áfarli: Seeds and Functional Projections.

51. [June 1993]

Molly Diesing & Eloise Jelinek: The Syntax and Semantics of Object Shift.

52. [December 1993]

Gunlög Josefsson: Scandinavian Pronouns and Object Shift

Anders Holmberg: Two Subject Positions in IP in Mainland Scandinavian

53. [June 1994]

Hans-Martin Gärtner & Markus Steinbach: Economy, Verb Second, and the SVO - SOV Distinction.

Kyle Johnson & Sten Vikner: The Position of the Verb in Scandinavian Infinitives: In V° or C° but not in I°.

Christer Platzack: Null Subjects, Weak Agr and Syntactic Differences in Scandinavian.

54. [December 1994]

Jan-Wouter Zwart: The Minimalist Program and Germanic Syntax. A Reply to Gärtner and Steinbach

Knut Tarald Taraldsen: Reflexives, pronouns and subject / verb agreement in Icelandic and Faroese

Christer Platzack: The Initial Hypothesis of Syntax: A Minimalist Perspective on Language Acquisition and Attrition

55. [June 1995]

Sten Vikner: V°-to-I° Movement and Inflection for Person in All Tenses

Anders Holmberg & Görel Sandström: Scandinavian Possessive Constructions from a Northern Swedish Viewpoint

Höskuldur Thráinsson and Sten Vikner: Modals and Double Modals in the Scandinavian Languages

Øystein Alexander Vangsnes: Referentiality and Argument Positions in Icelandic

56. [December 1995]

Gunlög Josefsson: The Notion of Word Class and the Internal Make-up of Words

Lars Hellan and Christer Platzack: Pronouns in Scandinavian Languages: An Overview

Joan Maling and Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson: On Nominative Objects in Icelandic and the Feature [+Human]

57. [June 1996]

Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Icelandic Finite Verb Agreement

Peter Svenonius: The Optionality of Particle Shift

Helge Lødrup: The Theory of Complex Predicates and the Norwegian Verb *få* 'get'

Thorbjörg Hróarsdóttir: The decline of OV Word Order in the Icelandic VP

58. [December 1996]

Øystein Alexander Vangsnes: The role of gender in (Mainland) Scandinavian possessive constructions

Anna-Lena Wiklund: Pseudocoordination is Subordination

Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson: Word Order Variation in the VP in Old Icelandic

Tor A. Áfarli: An Argument for a Minimalist Construal of Case Licensing

59. [June 1997]

Øystein Nilsen: Adverbs and A-shift

Kristin M. Eide & Tor A. Áfarli: A Predication Operator: Evidence and Effects

Christer Platzack: A Representational Account of Restrictive and Non-Restrictive Relatives: The Case of Swedish

60. [December 1997]

Sten Vikner: The Interpretation of Object Shift, Optimality Theory, and Minimalism
Jóhanna Barðdal: Oblique Subjects in Old Scandinavian
Elisabet Engdahl: Relative Clause Extractions in Context
Anders Holmberg: Scandinavian Stylistic Fronting: Movement of Phonological Features in the Syntax

61. [June 1998]

Verner Egerland: On Verb-Second Violations in Swedish and the Hierarchical Ordering of Adverbs
Gunlög Josefsson & Christer Platzack: Short Raising of V and N in Mainland Scandinavian
Christer Platzack: A Visibility Condition for the C-domain
Gunlög Josefsson: On the Licensing and Identification of (Optionally) Null Heads in Swedish

62. [December 1998]

Cedric Boeckx: Agreement Constraints in Icelandic and Elsewhere.
Jens Haugan: Right Dislocated 'Subjects' in Old Norse.

63. [June 1999]

Jan Terje Faarlund: The notion of oblique subject and its status in the history of Icelandic
Elisabet Engdahl: Versatile Parasitic Gaps
Benjamin Lyngfelt: Optimal Control. An OT perspective on the interpretation of PRO in Swedish
Gunlög Josefsson: Non-finite root clauses in Swedish child language

64. [December 1999]

Inger Rosengren: Rethinking the Adjunct
Maria Mörnjö: Theories on the Assignment of Focal Accent as Applied to Swedish
Jóhanna Barðdal: The Dual Nature of Icelandic Psych-Verbs
Christer Platzack: The Subject of Icelandic Psych-Verbs: a Minimalist Account

65. [June 2000]

Inger Rosengren: EPP and the Post-finite Expletive
Anders Holmberg: Expletives and Agreement in Scandinavian Passives
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: The Locus of Case and Agreement
Jóhanna Barðdal and Valeria Molnár: Passive in Icelandic – Compared to Mainland Scandinavian

66. [December 2000]

Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: To be an oblique subject: Russian vs. Icelandic
Marit Julien : Optional *ha* in Swedish and Norwegian
Hjalmar P. Petersen: IP or TP in Modern Faroese
Christer Platzack & Gunlög Josefsson: Subject Omission and Tense in Early Swedish Child Language

67. [June 2001]

Thórhallur Eythórsson: The Syntax of Verbs in Early Runic
Jóhanna Barðdal & Thórhallur Eythórsson: The Evolution of Oblique Subjects in Scandinavian
Gunlög Josefsson: The True Nature of Holmberg's Generalization Revisited – Once Again
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Case: abstract vs. morphological

68. [December 2001]

Hubert Haider: How to Stay *Accusative* in Insular Germanic
Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson: An Optimality Theory Analysis of Agreement in Icelandic DAT-NOM Constructions.
Nomi Erteschik-Shir P-syntactic motivation for movement: imperfect alignment in Object Shift
Zeljko Boskovic: PF Merger in Scandinavian: Stylistic Fronting and Object Shift
Susann Fischer & Artemis Alexiadou: On Stylistic Fronting: Germanic vs. Romance
Lars-Olof Delsing: Stylistic Fronting, Evidence from Old Scandinavian

69 [June 2002]

Line Mikkelsen: Reanalyzing the definiteness effect: evidence from Danish
Verner Egerland: On absolute constructions and the acquisition of tense
Peter Svenonius: Strains of Negation in Norwegian
Anders Holmberg & Thorbjörg Hróarsdóttir: Agreement and movement in Icelandic raising constructions

70 [December 2002]

Joan Maling: Icelandic Verbs with Dative Objects
Jóhanna Barðdal: "Oblique Subjects" in Icelandic and German
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Agree and Agreement: Evidence from Germanic

71 [June 2003]

Arthur Stepanov: On the "Quirky" Difference Icelandic vs. German: A Note of Doubt.
Janne Bondi Johannessen: Negative Polarity Verbs in Norwegian.
Verner Egerland: Impersonal Pronouns in Scandinavian and Romance.
Erik Magnusson: Subject Omission and Verb Initial Declaratives in Swedish.
Thórhallur Eythórsson & Jóhanna Barðdal: Oblique Subjects: A Germanic Inheritance!

72 [December 2003]

Ken Ramshøj Christensen: On the Synchronic and Diachronic Status of the Negative Adverbial *ikke/not*.
Luis López: Complex Dependencies: the Person-Number restriction in Icelandic.
Katarina Lundin-Åkesson: Constructions with *læta* LET, reflexives and passive -s –
a comment on some differences, similarities and related phenomena.
Thorbjörg Hróarsdóttir: Economy: On simplicity, default values and markedness in
language acquisition and change.
Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson: On Stylistic Fronting Once More
Thórhallur Eythórsson & Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson: The Case of Subject in Faroese

73 [June 2004]

Øystein Alexander Vangsnes: On *wh*-questions and V2 across Norwegian dialects.
A survey and some speculations.
David Hákansson: Partial *wh*-movement in the history of Scandinavian
Christer Platzack: Agreement and the Person Phrase Hypothesis

74 [December 2004]

Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Agree in Syntax, Agreement in Signs
Ute Bohnacker: Is V2 really that hard to acquire for second language learners?
On current universalist L2 claims and their empirical underpinnings
Johan Brandtler: Subject Omission and Discourse Anchorage in Early Swedish Child Language

75 [June 2005]

Jóhanna Barðdal & Thórhallur Eythórsson: Case and Control Constructions in
German, Faroese and Icelandic: Or How to Evaluate Marginally-Acceptable Data?
Fredrik Heinat: Reflexives in a phase based syntax
Gunlög Josefsson: How could Merge be free and word formation restricted:
The case of compounding in Romance and Germanic
Christer Platzack: Uninterpretable features and EPP: a minimalist account of
language build up and breakdown

76 [December 2005]

Björn Rothstein: Perfect parasitism in inferential contexts. On the inferential present perfect in Swedish.
Kristín M. Jóhannsdóttir: Temporal adverbs in Icelandic: Adverbs of quantification vs. frequency adverbs.
Katarina Lundin Åkesson: The multifunctional *ba* – A finiteness marker in the guise of an adverbial.
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Accusative and the Nom/Acc alternation in Germanic.
Fredrik Heinat: A note on 'long object shift'.

77 *June [2006]*

Marit Julien: On argument displacement in English and Scandinavian
Christer Platzack: Case as Agree Marker
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: PF is more ‘syntactic’ than often assumed
Jackie Nordström: Selection through Uninterpretable Features. Evidence from Insular Scandinavian
Camilla Thurén: The syntax of Swedish present participles. The lexical category problem.
Johan Brandtler: On Aristotle and Baldness – Topic, Reference, Presupposition of Existence, and Negation

78 *December [2006]*

Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir, Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, Anna-Lena Wiklund and Kristine Bentzen: The Tromsø guide to Scandinavian verb movement.
Terje Lohndal: The phrase structure of the copula.
Ute Bohnacker: Placing verbs and particles in non-native German and Swedish.
Björn Rothstein: Why the present perfect differs cross linguistically. Some new insights.
Henrik Rosenkvist: Null subjects in Övdalian.
Piotr Garbacz: Verb movement and negation in Övdalian.

79 *[June 2007]*

Geoffrey Poole: Defending the “Subject Gap” Requirement: Stylistic Fronting in Germanic and Romance
Jan Terje Faarlund: From clitic to affix: the Norwegian definite article
Terje Lohndal: *That*-t in Scandinavian and elsewhere: Variation in the position of C
Tor A. Áfarli: Features and Agreement. Expletive *det* ‘it’ and *der* ‘there’ in Norwegian dialects
Kristine Bentzen, Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir and Anna-Lena Wiklund:
The Tromsø guide to the Force behind V2
Kristine Bentzen, Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir and Anna-Lena Wiklund:
Extracting from V2

80 *December [2007]*

Željko Bošković: Don’t feed your movements: Object shift in Icelandic
Werner Abraham & Elisabeth Leiss: On the interfaces between (double) definiteness, aspect, and word order in Old and Modern Scandinavian
Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir, Anna-Lena Wiklund, Kristine Bentzen & Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson:
The afterglow of verb movement
Henrik Rosenkvist: Subject Doubling in Oevdalian
Marit Julien: Embedded V2 in Norwegian and Swedish
Britta Jensen: In favour of a truncated imperative clause structure: evidence from adverbs
Mai Tungset: Benefactives across Scandinavian

81 *[June 2008]*

Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson & Joan Maling: Argument drop and the Empty Left Edge Condition (ELEC) Gunlög Josefsson: Pancakes and peas – on apparent disagreement and (null) light verbs in Swedish
Fredrik Heinat: Long object shift and agreement
Johan Brandtler: On the Structure of Swedish Subordinate Clauses

82 *December [2008]*

Elly van Gelderen & Terje Lohndal: The position of adjectives and double definiteness
Terje Lohndal, Mari Nygård & Tor A. Áfarli: The structure of copular clauses in Norwegian
Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir: Verb particles in OV/VO word order in Older Icelandic
Johan Brandtler: Why we should ever bother about *wh*-questions. On the NPI-licensing properties of *wh*- questions in Swedish
Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson: Liberalizing modals and floating clause boundaries
Tavs Bjerre, Eva Engels, Henrik Jørgensen & Sten Vikner: Points of convergence between functional and formal approaches to syntactic analysis.

83 [June 2009]

Ulla Stroh-Wollin: On the development of definiteness markers in Scandinavian.
Anna-Lena Wiklund: In search of the force of dependent V2: A note on Swedish.
Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir: Restructuring and OV order.
Eva Engels: Microvariation in object positions: Negative Shift in Scandinavian.
Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir: Notes on language change and grammar change.
Dennis Ott: Stylistic fronting as remnant movement.

84 [December 2009]

Maia Andreasson: Pronominal object shift – not just a matter of shifting or not
Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson & Anna-Lena Wiklund: General embedded V2: Icelandic A, B, C, etc.
Gunlög Josefsson: "Disagreeing" pronominal reference and gender in Swedish
David Petersson: Embedded V2 does not exist in Swedish
Henrik Rosenkvist: Referential null-subjects in Germanic languages – an overview
Anna-Lena Wiklund: The syntax of Surprise: unexpected event readings in complex predication
Marit Julien: The force of the argument
Anna-Lena Wiklund: May the force be with you: A reply from the 5th floor

85 [June 2010]

Mayumi Hosono: Scandinavian Object Shift as the cause of downstep
Jackie Nordström: The Swedish *så*-construction, a new point of departure
Anton Karl Ingason: Productivity of non-default case

86 [December 2010]

Gunlög Josefsson; Object Shift and optionality. An intricate interplay between
syntax, prosody and information structure
Mayumi Hosono: On Icelandic Object Shift
Mayumi Hosono: Why Object Shift does not exist in Övdalian.
Mayumi Hosono: On Unshifted Weak Object Pronouns in the Scandinavian Languages.
Eva Engels: Local licensing in Faroese expletive constructions.
Irene Franco: Issues in the syntax of Scandinavian embedded clauses.
David Petersson & Gunlög Josefsson: ELLERHUR and other Yes/No-question operator candidates
in Swedish.
Mikko Kupula: Causers as derived Subject – An unaccusative view from Finnish

87 [June 2011]

Jim Wood: Icelandic *let*-causatives and Case.
Eva Klingvall: On past participles and their external arguments.
Ulla Stroh-Wollin: Embedded declaratives, assertion and swear words.
Verner Egerland: Fronting, Background, Focus: A comparative study of Sardinian and Icelandic.
Caroline Heycock, Antonella Sorace, Zakaris Svabo Hansen, Sten Vikner & Frances Wilson:
Residual V-to-I in Faroese and its lack in Danish: detecting the final stages of a syntactic change.

88 [December 2011]

Henrik Rosenkvist; Verb Raising and Referential Null Subjects in Övdalian
Kari Kinn: Overt non-referential subjects and subject-verb agreement in Middle Norwegian
Mayumi Hosono: Verb Movement as Tense Operator Movement
Jim Wood & Einar Freyr Sigurðsson: Icelandic Verbal Agreement and Pronoun Antecedent Relations
Eva Klingvall: On non-copula *Tough* Constructions in Swedish
David Petersson: Swedish exclamatives are subordinate

89 [June 2012]

Eva Engels: Wh-phrases and NEG-phrases in clauses and nominals.
Fredrik Heinat: Adjective and clausal complementation.
Mayumi Hosono: Information structure, syntax and information properties of multiple *Wh*-questions.

90 [December 2012]

Ermenegildo Bidese, Andrea Padovan, Alessandra Tomaselli: A binary system of complementizers in Cimbrian relative clauses
Camilla Thurén: The syntax of Swedish copular clauses
Eva Klingvall: Topics in pseudo passives
Fredrik Heinat: Finiteness in Swedish.
Gunlög Josefsson: "Disagreeing" doubling *det*

91 [December 2013]

Roland Hinterhölzl: Economy conditions and coreference: From minimal pronouns to referential acts
Dorian Roehrs: Possessives as Extended Projections
Björn Lundquist: On inter-individual variation and mid-distance binding in Swedish
Verner Egerland: The Apropos-Topic, the Concerning-Topic and the syntax-pragmatics interface

92 [June 2014]

Elisabet Engdahl & Filippa Lindahl: Preposed object pronouns in Mainland Scandinavian
Katarina Lundin: An unexpected gap with unexpected restrictions
Dennis Ott: Controlling for movement: Reply to Wood (2012)
Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: About pronouns

93 [December 2014]

Filippa Lindahl: Relative Clauses are not always strong islands
Gunlög Josefsson: Pseudo-coordination with *gå* 'go' and the "surprise effect"
Jóhanna Barðdal, Þórhallur Eythórsson & Tonya Kim Dewey: Alternating Predicates in Icelandic and German
Mayumi Hosono: Scandinavian Verb Particle Constructions and the Intonational Principles

94 [June 2015]

Marit Julien: Microvariation in Norwegian long distance binding
Fredrik Heinat & Anna-Lena Wiklund: Scandinavian Relative Clause Extractions
Mayumi Hosono: On Verb Movement in the *Labeling Algorithm*-Based Derivation

95 [December 2015]

Jan Terje Faarlund: The Norwegian infinitive marker
Ulla Stroh-Wollin: Understanding the gradual development of definiteness marking: the case of Swedish
Martje Wijers: Forgotten factors in the development of dependent clauses in Swedish as a second language

96 [June 2016]

Special Issue on Icelandic

Jim Wood: How roots do and don't constrain the interpretation of Voice
Anton Karl Ingason, Einar Freyr Sigurðsson & Jim Wood: Displacement and subject blocking in verbal idioms
Jim Wood, Matthew Barros & Einar Freyr Sigurðsson: Clausal ellipsis and case (mis)matching in Icelandic
Þórhallur Eythórsson & Sigríður Sæunn Sigurðardóttir: A brief history of Icelandic weather verbs
Ásgrímur Angantýsson & Dianne Jonas: On the syntax of adverbial clauses in Icelandic

97 [December 2016]

Hans-Martin Gärtner: A note on the Rich Agreement Hypothesis and varieties of "Embedded V2"
Verner Egerland & Dianne Jonas: *Enough already!* On directive modal particles in English and Swedish
Mayumi Hosono: Exceptional movement from/into the Criterial Position
Anton Karl Ingason, Iris Edda Nowenstein & Einar Freyr Sigurðsson: The Voice-adjunction theory of 'by'-phrases and the Icelandic impersonal passive
Jóhannis Gísli Jónsson: Testing agreement with nominative objects

98 [June 2017]

Christer Platzack & Inger Rosengren: What makes the imperative clause type autonomous? A comparative study in a modular perspective.

Ásgrímur Angantýsson: Subordinate V2 and verbal morphology in Övdalian

Tam Blaxter & David Willis: Pragmatic differentiation of negative markers in the early stages of Jespersen's cycle in North Germanic

Ingun Hreinberg Ingridadóttir: Weight effects and heavy NP shift in Icelandic and Faroese

99 [December 2018]

Dennis Wegner: The exceptional status of the Swedish supine. On the parametric variation of past participial (non-)identity.

Heimir van der Feest Viðarsson: Grimm's "floating" datives. Applicatives and NP/DP configurationality in Icelandic from a diachronic perspective.

Ásgrímur Angantýsson: The distribution of embedded V2 and V3 in modern Icelandic

100 [June 2018]

Cecilia Falk: From impersonal to passive verb.

Eric Lander: Revisiting the etymology of the Norse negative clitic *-a/-at*.

Mayumi Hosono: Constraints on movement.

Joachim Kokkelmans: Elvis Presley, God and Jane: the Germanic proprial article in a contrastive perspective.

101 [December 2018]

Elisabet Engdahl, Joan Maling, Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson & Annie Zaenen: Presentational sentences in Icelandic and Swedish – Roles and positions.

Anders Holmberg: The syntax of the V3 particle *sá* in the Swedish left periphery.

Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson: Icelandic declarative V1: a brief overview

102 [June 2019]

Sigríður Sæunn Sigurðardóttir: Syntax and Discourse: Case(s) of V3 orders in Icelandic with temporal adjuncts.

Christopher D. Sapp: Relative *sá* and the dating of Eddic and skaldic poetry.

103 [December 2019]

Mayumi Hosono: A generalization on the Complementizer-Trace Effect from the intonational perspective.

Ásgrímur Angantýsson: On the relative order of central sentence adverbs in the Insular Scandinavian Languages.

Issues 1–43, 45, 66, 67 are out of stock. It is still possible to get copies of 44, 46–65, 68–80 by sending an order to the editor. Beginning with issue 81 (June 2008), the articles published in WPSS are available online: <http://projekt.ht.lu.se/grimm/working-papers-in-scandinavian-syntax/>