The Scandinavian Languages

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1. Introduction

The Scandinavian languages, i.e. Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish, are closely related Germanic languages (Indo-european), spoken in the northern part of Europe. To be more precise, Norwegian and Swedish are spoken on the Scandinavian peninsula, Danish is spoken in Jutland and on the Danish islands north of Germany, Icelandic is spoken on Iceland and Faroese on the Faroe Islands. Not quite 20 million people have a Scandinavian language as their mother tongue, with Swedish (8 milj.) as the largest and Faroese (40.000) as the smallest language. Whereas Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish are national languages,[1] Faroese is a provincial language, the Faroe Islands being a semi-independent possession of Denmark. Iceland and the Faroe islands were colonized by Scandinavians around A.D. 800; at about the same time Scandinavian vikings also settled on Orkney and Shetland, where a sixth Scandinavian language developed, known as Norn; it extincted around 1700.

In the Middle Ages, all Scandinavian languages were mutually comprehensible. Speakers of Mainland Scandinavian, i.e. Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, are still able to make themselves understood to each others when speaking their native tongue, although the rapid morpho-phonological development of Danish has gradually increased the problems for other Scandinavians to understand spoken Danish. Icelandic and Faroese have had their own developments, and these languages differ enough from the Mainland Scandinavian ones to require mutual learning for comprehension.

The countries where the Scandinavian languages are spoken constitute a socio-cultural area, sharing much of their history and displaying many common culture traits, as well as having comparable standards of living. In many respects the languages are no more different than dialects of a single language may be. However, the fact that the Scandinavian languages are

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[1] Besides being the national language of Sweden, Swedish is also an official language of Finland, together with Finnish (a Uralic language, not included among the Scandinavian languages). There are two Norwegian variants with official status as national languages: Bokmål and

national languages has led to the unusual sitiation that these highly similar languages are fairly well described, and for the last twenty years an intense research on comparative Scandinavian syntax has taken place. Recently the current grammatical knowledge of Norwegian and Swedish has been codified in two comprehensive grammars, *Norsk referansegrammatik* (c. 1220 pp., Faarlund et al. 1997) and *Svenska Akademiens grammatik* (c. 2700 pp., Teleman et al. 1999), respectively; a grammar of the corresponding size for Danish is almost finished (Hansen & Heltoft in prep.).

From a syntactic point of view, the Scandinavian languages roughly divide in two groups, which, following a suggestion by Haugen (1976, 23), will refer to as *Insular Scandinavian* (Icelandic, partly Faroese, Old Scandinavian) and *Mainland Scandinavian* (Danish, Norwegian, Swedish), respectively. In general, the insular Scandinavian languages have a richer inflectional system, which mainly accounts for the syntactic differences observed, as shown in Holmberg & Platzack (1995). Some of these differences will be discussed in the bulk of this paper. However, before proceeding we will point out some important syntactic properites that are common to all Scandinavian languages, insular as well as Mainland Scandinavian.

2. Syntactic properties common to all Scandinavian languages

Like all the Germanic languages except English the Scandinavian languages are *verb second* languages, meaning that at most one constituent may precede the tensed verb of the main clause. Consider the Swedish examples in (1); corresponding examples can be given for all the other Scandinavian languages. In the examples, the tensed verb is underlined, and the constituent in front of it is in semi bold face:

(1)a. **Han** *hittade faktiskt pengarna under sängen.*   (subj + tensed verb)
      he found   actually money-the under bed-the
      He actually found the money under the bed.

   b. **Under sängen** *hittade han faktiskt pengarna.*   (adverbial + tensed verb)
      under bed-the found he actually money-the

   c. **Faktiskt** *hittade han pengarna under sängen.*   (adverbial + tensed verb)
      actually found he money-the under bed-the

Nynorsk. Syntactically, these languages are almost identical (cf. Faarlund et al. 1997, 2), and we will therefore usually subsume them under the label Norwegian.

    d. ***Pengarna*** *<u>hittade</u> han faktiskt under sängen.*   (object + tensed verb)

      money-the found he actually under bed-the

    e. ***Sjuk*** *<u>var</u> han inte.*   (predicative + tensed verb)

      sick was he not

      He was not sick.

    f. ***Ut*** *<u>kastade</u> han bollen.*   (particle + tensed verb)

      out threw he ball-the

      He threw the ball out.

    g. *<u>Hittade</u> han faktiskt pengarna under sängen*?   (tensed verb initial yes/no-question)

      found   he   actually money-the under bed-the

      Did he actually find the money under the bed?

    h. ***Han*** *<u>kunde</u> faktiskt ha hittat pengarna under sängen.*   (subj + tensed auxiliary)[2]

      he might actually have found money-the under bed-the

      He actually might have found the money under the bed.

The reason for placing a particular phrase in first position is mainly pragmatical; often the choice is an effect of the unmarked distribution of information within a clause where the information-flow goes from more thematic to less thematic, where information is thematic when it is shared by speaker and hearer.

    A second property at the sentential level that is common to all the Scandinavian languages is the requirement that a referential subject must be overt, even if its reference is easily deduced from the context. This is shown for Swedish in (2); note that the subject pronoun in the second clause (underlined) cannot be left out in the corresponding example in any of the Scandinavian languages:

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[2] This example is included to show that verb second pertains to the tensed (finite) verb, irrespective of its status as main verb or auxiliary. Another property, common to all the Scandinavian languages that is illustrated by this example is that the auxiliaries, both finite and infinite ones, precede the main verb. This holds true for main clauses as well as for embedded clauses:

  (i) *Han undrade om jag faktiskt kunde ha hittat pengarna under sängen.*

    he wondered if I actually might have found money-the under bed-the

(2)*Igår köpte Johan en ny cykel. Den ställde *(han) i köket.*

      y'day bought Johan a new bike. It put he in kitchen-the

      Yesterday Johan bought a new bike. He put it in the kitchen.

A third syntactic property at the sentential level, common to all the Scandinavian languages, is the placement of the object (underlined) after the non-finite verb and in front of adverbials of time, location, manner and other content adverbials (in semi bold face), see the Swedish example in (3):

(3)*Han hade hittat <u>pengarna</u> **under sängen igår**.*

      he had found money-the under bed-the yesterday

      He had found the money under the bed yesterday.

There is no difference between main and embedded clauses in this respect: unless in first position, the object always follows the infinite verb.[3]

    A fourth syntactic property of all the Scandinavian languages is the use of prepositions and not postpositions (cf. *under sängen* 'under the bed' in (3)). In all the languages the preposition may also govern clauses, finite or infinitival:

(4)a. *efter att ha öppnat brevet ....*

      after to have opened letter-the

      after having opened the letter

   b. *efter att hon hade öppnat brevet*

      after that she had opened letter-the

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[3] Negated objects are exceptional in this respect, since they occur before the infinite verb, in the position of the negation. See Koch-Christensen (1986), and Kayne (1998) for a recent discussion. The object is underlined in the following examples:
  (i) a. *Han hade inte köpt <u>något</u>.*
      he had   not bought anything
    b. *Han hade <u>ingenting</u> köpt.*
      he had nothing bought

All the Scandinavian languages have what has been known as Object Shift, illustrated in (5a), i.e. a weak pronominal object (underlined) may occur to the left of sentential adverbials (semi bold face) that otherwise precede the object (5b); compare (5a) and (5c).

(5)a. *Han köpte <u>den</u> **inte**.*
      he bought it not
      He did not buy it.
  b. *Han köpte **inte** boken.*
      he bought not book-the
      He didn't buy the book
  c. **Han köpte boken **inte***.[4]
      he bought book-the not

Common to all the Scandinavian languages is furthermore the presence of a possessive reflexive *sin* (*Han tvättade <u>sin</u> bil* 'He washed his car', he = his, compare *Han tvättade <u>hans</u> bil* 'he washed his car' he ≠ his), the use of inflectional morphemes on the noun for both number and definiteness (*häst-ar-na* 'horse-s-the') and the placement of attributive adjectives in front of the noun (*den <u>stora</u> bilen* 'the big car'). Furthermore, while all the Germanic languages except modern English have attributive adjective agreement, the Scandinavian languages differ from the continental Germanic languages in also having predicative adjective agreement: *Studenten är <u>lat</u>* 'The student is lazy', *Studenterna är <u>lata</u>* 'The students are lazy-PL'.

In the rest of this paper we will highlight cases of syntactic variation between the Scandinavian languages, starting with word order variation at the sentence level in section 3 and proceeding to word order variation within the noun phrase in section four. In these sections we will mainly consider differences between Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian. Faroese often takes an intermediate position, having some word order properties common with Icelandic, other common with the Mainland Scandinavian languages. A short overview will be given in section 5 below. In many respects, the syntax of the Middle Age versions of Danish, Norwegian and Swedish has a lot in common with the syntax of modern Icelandic. There are many

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[4] Note that the Icelandic counterpart to (5c) is well-formed. An indefinite object may, however, not precede the adverbial:
  (i) **Hann keypti bækur ekki.*
      he bought books not

morphological similarities as well; thus, e.g., modern Icelandic as well as Middle Age Mainland Scandinavian have morphological case, subjunctive forms of the verb and subject-verb agreement in person and number; these inflections have disappeared in modern Mainland Scandinavian. This development is the subject of section 6.

When dealing with the syntactic variation within the Scandinavian languages, we will sometimes only illustrate the variation at hand, at other points we will also indicate how this variation can be accounted for in recent Principles and Parameters theory. These accounts are based on the theoretical presupposition of the Minimalist program (Chomsky 1995, 1998, 1999) that there is a universal set of principles common for all human languages, and that variation at the structural level is the result of a combination of this universal set of principles with language particular lexical properties. Readers not interested in these attempts to explain a particular variation may skip this discussion, and still get an understanding of the degree of syntactic variation found within the Scandinavian languages.

3. Word order at the sentence level

3.1. Introduction

Scandinavian word order at the sentence level is the subject of this section. In many respects the Scandinavian languages are almost identical with respect to sentential word order, although there are some interesting differences, mainy between Icelandic and modern Mainland Scandinavian.

There is wide consensus today that the clause is universally structured as in (6):

(6)

CP

TP

VP
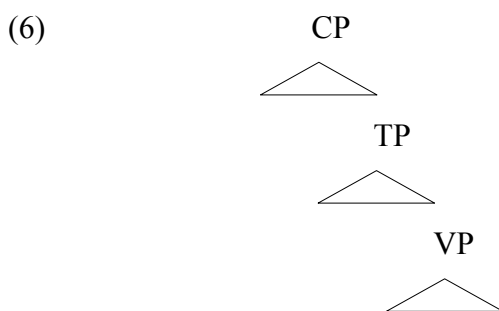
VP is the domain where deep semantic roles are assigned (the Agent and Patient of an event, e.g.), TP is the locus of tense and event structure, including sentence adverbials, and CP is a domain where the clause is anchored to the context and the speaker's here and now, and where sentence force is indicated, distinguishing declarative, interrogative, etc. For the Scandinavian

languages the structure in (6) is mirrored in the word order of the clause, in the sense that the topic, as well as force indicators, are usually found at the left edge of the clause, and semantic roles not expressed by the subject are usually found at the end of the clause, together with event modifying content adverbials. In our account of word order properties, we will discuss the domains in the order of Merge, i.e. we will start with VP.

3.2. The verb phrase

3.2.1. Overview

The schematical word order of the verb phrase for all the modern Scandinavian languages is outlined in (7a), with examples from Icelandic and Swedish in (7b-c); as we will see, at this level of abstraction, the Scandinavian word order is identical to the English one:

(7)a. VERB   OBJECT   CONTENT ADVERBIALS

    b. *skilja*   *bíllina*   *heima á morgun*   Icelandic

    c. *lämna*   *bilen*   *hemma i morgon*   Swedish

       leave   car-the   home tomorrow

There is no real understanding of how the content adverbials are represented structurally. However, assuming that the computation of the clause starts with the verb and that it firstly merges with the internal argument, the adverbials must be in Spec-VP, producing the VP-structure outlined in (8):

(8)
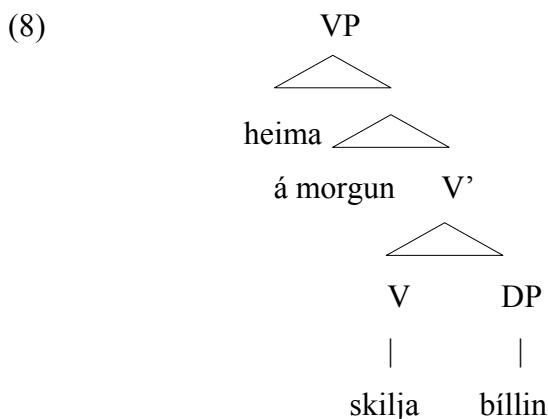
Since both the (infinite) verb and the object precedes the content adverbials, we conclude that both the verb and the object are raised to higher positions. See Josefsson & Platzack (1998) for further arguments, and Koizumi (1993) for a similar account of the English facts.

To determine where the verb and the object are raised, we have to consider also the position of the external argument. There is wide consensus today (Arad 1999, Chomsky 1995, 1999, etc.) that the external argument is merged as a specifier of little *v*, schematically as in (9), where the boldfaced DP is the external argument., and CA represents the content adverbials:

(9)
vP
DP   v'
v°   VP
CA   VP
V°   Objekt
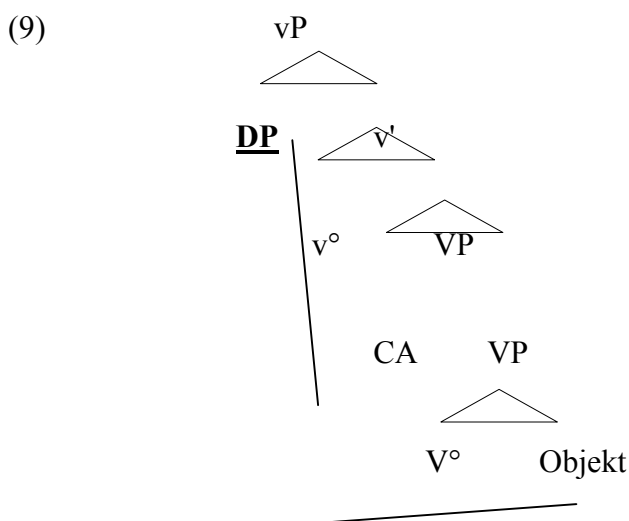
To avoid a violation of the Shortest Move principle, we will assume that the object is attracted to a Spec-vP lower than the external argument, as indicated by the arrow in the diagram, see Chomsky (1998) for a discussion. The verb is presumably attracted by a higher head, outside of vP, using v° as an intermediate landing site. We will return to discuss this raising below.

3.2.2. The verb particle

The main difference between the Scandianvian languages at VP is the order of verb particles and the object. Danish almost always must have the particle after the object, whereas Swedish must have it before the object.[5] Compare the examples in (10), where the particle is in semi bold face, and the object is underlined:

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[5] Some Swedish dialects, like Fenno-Swedish, put the particle after the object when the particle has a locative reading. As a matter of fact, this is not totally impossible in the standard language either, as shown in (i), especially when the object is a weak pronoun:
   (i) %*Han kastade <u>den</u> **ut** (genom fönstret).*
       he throw   it out throuch window-the

(10) a. *Han tog <u>et lommetørklæde</u> **op***.   Danish

  he took an handkerchief up

  b. *Han tog **upp** <u>en näsduk</u>*.   Swedish

  he took up an handkerchief

Norwegian and Icelandic have both possibilities, as shown by the following examples from Svenonius (1996)

(11) a. *Han spiste <u>tørrfisken</u> **opp***.   Norwegian

  he ate dry.fish-the up

  b. *Han spiste **opp** <u>tørrfisken</u>*.

  he ate up dry.fish-the

  He ate up the dried fish.

(12) a. *Ég ger>i <u>nokkra bíla</u> **upp***.   Icelandic

  I fixed some cars up

  b. *Ég ger>i **upp** <u>nokkra bíla</u>*.

  I fixed up some cars

  I fixed up some cars.

When the object is a weak pronoun, it is placed before the particle in Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic; in Swedish it still tends to follow the particle:[6] Evidently, the optionality of particle shift of DPs in Norwegian and Icelandic is similar to the one found in English.

(13) a. *Hun har hengt <u>det</u> **opp***.   Norwegian

  she has hung it up

  b. *Hon har hängt **upp** <u>det</u>*.   Swedish

  she has hung up it

The Swedish Academy grammar (Teleman et al. 1999) analyzes *ut* 'out' as a locative adverbial in cases like this.

[6] Reflexive pronouns may precede the particle in Swedish.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the particle and the object, independently of their relative order, always precedes content adverbials (14a,b), and that the verb is always left adjacent to the particle, except when it is in the verb second position (14c):

(14) a. *Hun har hengt billedet opp på veggen.*   Norwegian
          she has hung picture-the up on wall-the
      b. *Hun har hengt opp billedet på veggen.*   Norwegian
          she has hung up picture-the on wall-the
      c. *Till slut åt Kalle verkligen upp torrfisken.*   Swedish
          at last   ate Kalle really   up dry.fish-the

We will abstain from presenting an account of the obligatory pronoun shift around the particle in Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic, but concentrate on discussing some thoughts about the optionality of DP particle shift in Norwegian and Icelandic, the obligatory order object—particle in Danish, and the obligatory order particle—object in Swedish. The account we present is a modification of Svenonius (1996), who does not discuss the obligatory orders in Swedish and Danish, and does not consider the placement of the particle and the object in front of the content adverbials.

Partly following Svenonius (1996), we assume that the particle merges with the object DP, and that this combination merges with the verb, yielding (15):

(15) [$_{VP}$ spise [$_{PP}$ opp tørfisken]]

As mentioned above the verb raises to a position outside of vP, passing through v°, and, the object raises to a lower Spec-vP. Since the particle precedes content adverbials, it is assumed that it cliticizes to the verb and raises with the verb as a free rider at least as far as v°.[7] This gives us object—particle order in case the particle is stranded in v°, and particle—object order in case the particle follows the verb out of vP, as indicated in (16); we use embedded clauses to avoid verb second effects.

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[7] Consider in this connection the fact that the particle may also overtly occur left adjoined to the verb, as in (i); such cases are not discussed here:
   (i) *Fisken blev **upp**äten.*
        fish-the became upeaten
        The fish was eaten up.

(16) a. at han$_{SU}$tog$_V$ [$_{vP}$ t$_{SU}$ et lommetørklæde [$_{v°}$ op t$_V$] [$_{VP}$ fra lommen …]]   Danish

　　　　that he took　　　　　an handkerchief　　　up　　from pocket-the

　　 b. att han$_{SU}$ [tog upp]$_V$ [$_{vP}$ t$_{SU}$ en näsduk [$_{v°}$ t$_V$] [$_{VP}$ från fickan …]]   Swedish

　　　　that he　took up　　　　an handkerchief　　from pocket-the

As we will see in the next section, the difference between Swedish and Danish in (16) provides for a difference with respect to Object Shift in these languages in constructions with the particle.

　　To account for the optional word order in Icelandic and Norwegian, where the counterparts of both (16a) and (16b) are well formed, we obviously have to design our description in such a way that stranding the particle in v° or outside of vP are equally costly. We will not provide a discussion of these matters here.

3.3. The Middle field (TP)

The middle field is built up around TP, presumably containing a number of positions related to mood, tense, aspect, as suggested in Cinque (1999). In addition, we find different kinds of sentence adverbials here, including the negation. In our presentation we will concentrate on some points of variation between the Scandinavian langauges, namely Object Shift, the position of the verbs that are not in the V2-position, and a middle field position for the subject.

3.3.1. Object Shift

In all the Scandinavian languages an object may occur in the middle field, preceding the negation and other sentence adverbials, under certain conditions. See Holmberg & Platzack (1996, chapter 6) for an overview. In Mainland Scandinavian only pronominal objects may occur in this position, while in Icelandic any definite DP object may do so. As Holmberg (1999) has shown, Object Shift is prevented across any phonologically visible non-adjunct category that c-commands the object position in vP. Compare the well-formed example in (17) with the ungrammatical ones in (18), where Object Shift is blocked by the presence of a verb (18a), a particle (18b), a preposition (18c) or another argument (18d).

(17) *Jag kysste henne inte t$_{OB}$*　　　　(Swedish)

　　 I　kissed　her　not

(18) a. **att jag henne inte kysste t$_{OB}$.*　　Swedish

　　　　that I　her　　not kissed

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b. *_Jag skrev det inte upp t_$_{OB}$.

   I wrote it not up

c. *_Jag talade henne inte med t_$_{OB}$.

   I   spoke her   not with

d. *_Jag gav den inte Elsa t_$_{OB}$.

    I gave it not Elsa

In Danish, Icelandic and Norwegian, where the object may be placed in front of the particle, as shown in the previous section, Object Shift in cases like (18b) is well-formed:[8]

(19) _Jeg skrev det måske ikke t_$_{OB}$ _op_.   Danish

      I wrote   it   maybe not   up

Holmberg (1999) argues that Object Shift is a PF operation, and that an important prerequisite is that the shifted object is not a focus.

   Icelandic is exceptional among the Scandinavian languages in that Object Shift applies freely to full definite DPs as well as to weak pronouns, provided the DPs are not focused.

(20) a. _Ég les aldrei • essar bækur._   Icelandic

        I   read never these books

     b. _Ég les • essar bækur aldrei._

        I read these books never

See Holmberg (1999) and Chomsky 2000 for recent attempts to account for this optionality.

3.3.2. The position of the verb in the Middle field

In main clauses the finite verb in Scandinavian is always raised to the C-domain (verb second), as we will discuss in the next section. In embedded clauses the Mainland Scandinavian finite verb usually occupies a lower position within the middle field (21), and the infinitival verb never

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[8] For the same reason a Swedish example corresponding to (18d) but with a PP instead of an indirect object is well-formed:
   (i) _Jag gav den_$_{OB}$ _inte t_$_{OB}$ _till Elsa_.
       I gave it   not   to Elsa

moves higher than the middle field (22a), unless it is topicalized, as e.g. in (22b), taken from Holmberg (1999); this is presumably a case of VP fronting.

(21) *att John faktiskt hade köpt boken*   Swedish, the same in Da, Norw[9]

      that John actually had bought book-the

(22) a. (*Han lovade*) *att inte läsa boken*.   Swedish; the same in Da, Norw

        he   promised to not read book-the

        He promised not to read the book.

     b. *Kysst henne har jag inte* (*bara hållit henne i handen*)   Swedish

        kissed her have I not   only   held   her by hand-the

        Kissed her I haven't (only held her by the hand).

As shown in (22a), the non-finite verb in Mainland Scandinavian control infinitives is found after the negation and other sentence adverbials.[10] In Icelandic, on the other hand, the infinitive precedes the negation in control infinitives, but follows the negation in case it is governed by an auxiliary:

(23) a. *Skúli lofa>i a> lesa aldrei bókinna*.

        Skúli promised to read never book-the

     b. *Skúli má aldrei lesa bókinna*.

        Skúli must never read book-the

     c. **Skúli má lesa aldrei bókinna*.

        Skúli must read never book-the

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[9] The corresponding Icelandic word order is given in (i):
(i) `a> Jón haf>i raunverulega keypt bókina`   (Icelandic)
    that John had actually bought book-the
We will argue in the next section that the finite verb in embedded Icelandic clauses of the type in (i) is in the C-domain; this is thus a clear difference between Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic. There are, however, also embedded clauses in Icelandic with the finite verb after a sentence adverbial, presumably in a middle field position (Maling 1980):
(ii)   •*egar ég loksins fann lagi>*
    when I finally found the tune
This word order is mainly found in adverbial clauses, and will not be discussed further in this paper.
[10] The sentential negation is usually classified as an adverb in Scandinavian. More precisely, we assume that the negation word is the specifier of a NegP, which has its place in the sentential

The difference between Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic in control infinitives with respect to the position of the infinitival verb viz-à-viz the negation and other sentence adverbials can be accounted for if we assume that the Icelandic infinitive in control infinitives is rasied to the C-domain, whereas the Mainland Scandinavian infinitive is stuck in the middle field. Judging from the surface order, the Mainland Scandinavian infinitive, as well as the tensed verb in embedded clauses, is raised to a position below NegP, whereas the Icelandic infinitive is raised to a position above NegP (and other sentence adverbials). We will assume the Mainland Scandinavian position to be T°, and the Icelandic position to be Fin°; see below section 2.4.[11]

3.3.3. Floating subjects

With the exception of Danish, all the Scandinavian languages allow for floating subjects. Being verb second languages, we expect to find the subject immediately after the finite verb when it is not in first position, as is illustrated in (24); in this and the following examples, the subject is in semi bold face and the adverbials are underlined:

(24) *Nu borde **Kalle** väl faktiskt inte säga mer*.   Swedish

　　　now should Kalle probably actually not say more

As we will argue in the next section, the position of the subject immediately after the finite verb is a position within the C-domain, presumably Spec-FinP.

　　However, the subject in (24) may also occur further to the right, as shown in (25a-c):

(25) a. *Nu borde väl **Kalle** faktiskt inte säga mer*.

　　　　now should probably Kalle actually not say more

　　　b. *Nu borde väl faktiskt **Kalle** inte säga mer*.

　　　　now should probably actually Kalle not say more

　　　c. *Nu borde väl faktiskt inte **Kalle** säga mer*

　　　　now should probably actually not Kalle say more

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hierarchy of adverbs described by Cinque 1998. In Danish the negation is more 'head-like'. In particular, it cannot be moved to spec-CP, the way it can in the other Scandinavian languages.

Since we do not want to have sentence adverbials both in the C-domain and in the middle field, we will assume that the subject has not raised to Spec-FinP in cases like (25), but is stuck in Spec-TP. This assumption is supported by the fact that the relative order of sentence adverbials is the same, whether they precede or follow the subject, as indicated in (24) and (25).

3.4. The Left periphery

3.4.1. Introduction

The initial part of the sentence, constituting the highest part of sentence structure, here called the left periphery, contains several projections of features regulating the place of the sentence in its context. Following Rizzi (1997) we discern a Force Phrase (ForceP) which is a projection of the sentence type feature, indicating sentence type (declarative, interrogative, imperative), a Finite Phrase (FinP) projected of the finiteness feature which regulates the subject-predicate relation and anchors the utterance to the time and location of the speaker; without this anchoring, a statement cannot be truth evaluated. In many languages, including the Scandinavian ones, FinP also hosts an EPP feature, which is to say, it must have a specifier. Encompassed between ForceP and FinP are projections for Topic and Focus, yielding the universal structure of the left periphery outlined in (26):

(26)   ForceP

      Force°   TopP

            Top°   FocP

                  Foc°   FinP

                        Fin°   TP
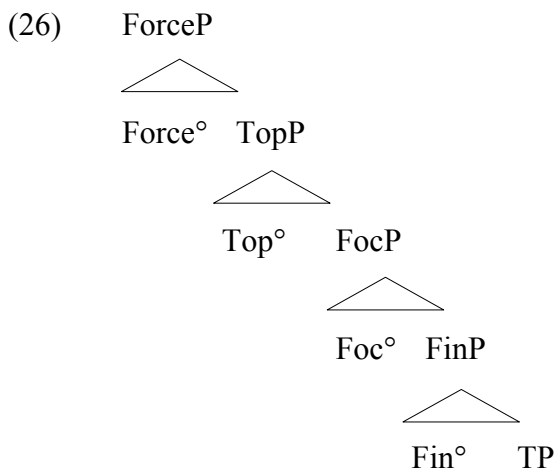
In Rizzi's conception of the left periphery, based on Italian data, there are Topic phrases both above and below the Focus phrase. The structure in (26) is enough for our purposes, however,

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[11] The theory is thus consistent with a syntactic derivational view of verb inflection: what is merged in VP is the verb stem. The tensed form is a result of verb movement to T. See Julien (2000).

and furthermore it is not clear that the Scandinavian languages offer support for multiple Topic phrases.

Below we will discuss a number of syntactic differences between Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic which all involve the left periphery. As we will see, these differences are the results of a single inflectional difference between these languages: the finite verb in Icelandic, but not in Mainland Scandinavian, is inflected for person. Building upon ideas in Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998) and Pesetsky & Torrego (2000), we assume that the person inflection hosts an uninterpretable finiteness feature uFin.[12] For Mainland Scandinavian, which does not have person inflection, the feature uFin is contained in the nominative DP.

Two additional assumptions about the left periphery are needed: as mentioned, all the Scandinavian languages are verb second language, which means that Fin° must be filled; this might be a trivial phonological property according to Chomsky (1999) with no deeper syntactic implication besides word order, although the consequence in the case of Icelandic is that the uninterpretable feature uFin is raised to Fin° as a free rider and thus eliminated. We will also assume that all the Scandinavian languages are alike in that FinP hosts an EPP feature that attracts an element with phonological features.

It follows from the discussion so far that both the head and the specifier of FinP must be filled in a Scandinavian language. The syntactic differences we will discuss below all result from the single parametric difference, the location of uFin in the person inflection of the verb in Icelandic, in the nominative DP in Mainland Scandinavian.

3.4.2. Expletive Subject

Like English, Mainland Scandinavian must have a visible subject in all finite clauses, expletive or real. Icelandic, on the other hand, must have a visible element in front of the finite verb, but there is no obligation for this element to be a subject.[13] Consider the examples in (27) and (28): in

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[12] Following Chomsky 1995: ch. 4, 1998, 2000 we assume that syntactic features come in two varieties, interpretable and uninteråretable. The latter have to be eliminated in the course of the syntactic derivation. This is what drives syntactic operations, including movement.

[13] With varying degree of acceptance, all the Scandinavian languages can have declaratives which apparently are introduced by the finite verb. This is often found in oral tellings, and known as Narrative inversion; a Swedish example is given in (i). The present framework forces us to assume that we are actually dealing with deletion here, see Mörnsjö (2000) for a similar account.

(i) Så låg han bara där. Kommer hon in där, kände han igen henne, började han darra i hela kroppen

so lay he just there comes she in there recognized he her   began he to-tremble in whole body-the

(27) the Swedish example is introduced by an expletive subject *det* 'it', whereas the Icelandic example, which apparently has the same structure, is introduced by the filler word •*a*›. The difference between the expletive subject and the filler is evident when the sentence is introduced by an adverbial or any other constituent which is a non-subject: in this case the expletive subject in Swedish inverts with the finite verb, whereas the Icelandic filler must be absent:

(27) a. *Det regnade igår.*   Swedish
      b- •*a*› *rigndi ígær*   Icelandic
         it   rained   yesterday
(28) a. *Igår regnade *(det).*   Swedish
      b. *Ígær rigndi (*•a›)*   Icelandic
         Yesterday rained it

This difference follows from the assumptions about the left periphery presented above. In both Swedish and Icelandic the finite verb must be in Fin°, due to the verb second requirement. Icelandic has person agreement with the feature uFin, which follows the verb to Fin° as a free rider. In this position uFin is checked by the finite feature and deleted. The EPP feature of FinP forces the insertion of •*a*› in Spec-FinP, or the fronting of some other element of the clause, like the adverbial in (23b). There is no place or function for •*a*› when *igær* is fronted,

   Consider next the Swedish examples. After the raising of the finite verb to Fin°, the Swedish grammar still has to eliminate the EPP feature of FinP and the uFin feature of the expletive *det*. Placing *det* in Spec-FinP fulfills both demands at the same time. The fronting of the adverbial in (23a) has no consequences for FinP; in particular the expletive subject is still needed in Spec-FinP.

   It was mentioned in connection with our discussion of the Icelandic example (28b) above that the raising of the adverbial *igær* 'yesterday' to Spec-FinP was triggered by EPP in FinP: if the adverbial is not fronted, a first position filler •*a*› must be inserted in Spec-FinP. Since Spec-FinP is filled by the expletive subject in the corresponding Swedish example (28a), we conclude that the fronted adverbial in (28a) must be in a position above Spec-FinP, presumably in Spec-TopP. Whether or not the adverbial in Icelandic is vacuously raised from Spec-FinP to Spec-TopP is a question we do not want to answer here. More important for our discussion is the observation that the finite verb in (28a) cannot remain in Fin°, as it presumably does in the Icelandic example

17

(28b), but must raise to a higher head, maybe Top°. This raising, which preserves verb second, can be seen as a consequence of Shortest Move: the subject *det* is closer to Spec-TopP than the adverbial *igår*, and hence the raising of the adverbial should be banned. However, the subsequent raising of the finite verb removes the obstacle, according to the Principle of Minimal Compliance (Richards 1998). See Platzack (2000).

3.4.3. Transitive Expletives

As is evident from the discussion in the previous section, Swedish but not Icelandic has an expletive subject; Icelandic •*a*›, seemingly corresponding to Swedish *det* in (27), is simply a filler of Spec-FinP, whereas Swedish *det* has nominative Case and thus the uninterpretable feature uFin, making it a real subject. As a consequence it must be moved to Spec-FinP to eliminate uFin. In Icelandic, where uFin is a part of the verb inflection, no single DP is forced to move to Spec-Fin. In particular, the subject of a transitive verb may remain lower down in the structure, in which case the filler •*a*› is inserted in Spec-FinP to eliminate the EPP feature of FinP, which will produce sentences like (29a), known as the Transitive Expletive Construction; see Sigur›sson 19??Vikner 1995, Bobaljik & Jonas 1996. The corresponding Swedish sentence is ungrammatical, due to the impossibility of eliminating the nominative feature uFin in the ”real” subject:

(29) a. •*a*› *hefur einhver éti*›   *hákarlinn*   Icelandic

    b. **Det har någon ätit   hajen.*   Swedish

       it   has someone eaten shark-the

3.4.4. Stylistic Fronting

The raising of the adverbial *igær* ’yesterday’ to Spec-FinP in (28b) is available in Icelandic, but not in Swedish, as should be obvious from the discussion above: the EPP feature of FinP must be checked by a subject in Spec-FP in Swedish, otherwise the feature uFin will remain, ruling out the derivation. This restriction is not found in Icelandic, where uFin is part of the person agreement of the finite verb and hence is deleted when the verb raises to Fin°. Since the EPP is satisfied by any phonological material in Spec-FinP, only independent principles like Shortest Move will determine which element is fronted in Icelandic. See Holmberg (2000) for discussion of these matters. In the general case, the element closest to Spec-FinP must be selected, thus when the subject is available, it is the subject that is raised.. In such cases the Icelandic example

18

is identical to the Swedish one. When the subject for some reason is not present, or remains in some lower position of the clause, however, an adverbial, the object, the predicative or the infinite verb is raised to Spec-FinP. This fronting, which is easier to detect in embedded clauses, is known as Stylistic Fronting; see Holmberg 2000 for references. Some examples, from Jónsson (1991) and Holmberg (2000), are presented in (30):

(30) a. *•etta er tilbo› sem <u>ekki</u> er hægt   a› hafna*
          this is offer that   not is possible to reject

      b. *•eir sem <u>•essa erfi›u ákvör›un</u> ver›a a› tak.a*
          those that this difficult decision have to take

      c. *Hver heldur •ú a› <u>stoli›</u> hafi hjólinu?*
          who think you that stolen has the-bike

3.4.5. Oblique subjects

The presence of uFin in the person inflection of the finite verb is also a necessary prerequisite for oblique subjects in Iclandic and the absence of uFin in the person inflection of the finite verb is one reason why Mainland Scandinavian does not have oblique subjects. The other reason is the absence of an active morphological case system. The possibility to use DPs in dative, genitive and accusative as subjects in modern Icelandic has been noticed by many scholars. These oblique DPs share most subject properties with nominative DPs; the only subject property they lack, besides nominative case, is the possibility to agree with the tensed verb. See Sigur›sson (1989) for an overview of the relevant properties. One of these properties, the placement after the finite verb when the subject is not sentence initial, is illustrated in the following sentences, taken from Sigur›sson (1989); in these examples, the oblique subject is underlined.

(31) a. *Haf›i <u>mér</u>   •ví lei›st Haraldur.*
          had   me.DAT   thus bored Harold.NOM

      b. *Vanta›i <u>•ig</u>   vinnu?*
          lacked you.ACC job.ACC

      c. *Gætti <u>verkjanna</u>   mjög lengi?*
          noticed pains-the.GEN very long
          Were the pains noticeable very long?

The subject properties found with Oblique subjects can all be derived from their position in Spec-FinP. According to the discussion above, these DPs are not raised to Spec-FinP to check any feature of their own: the uFin feature is part of the verb inflection and checked in Fin° when the verb raises to this position, and we take for granted that the morphological case is checked by the main verb, if checking is necessary in such cases. The mechanism that forces the oblique subject to go to Spec-FinP is the EPP feature of FinP, in combination with the fact that the oblique subject is the highest argument of VP, and thus available for raising to FinP without violating Shortest Move. (For some tricky cases where a violation of Shortest Move seems to be involved, see Platzack (1999)).

3.4.6. Embedded Subject Questions

Consider next the following difference between Swedish and Icelandic:

(32) a. *Hon frågade vad *(som) låg   i byrån.*   Swedish
    b. *Hún spurdi   hva> (*sem) lá   í skúffunni.*   Icelandic
        she   asked   who   that was-lying in chest-the

Swedish must have the complementizer *som* after the wh-word in embedded subject questions, whereas *sem* is not allowed in Icelandic. **As a complementizer, *som* meets the requirement that Fin should be filled**. The difference between Swedish and Icelandic follows from the previously stated assumptions about the left periphery. In both Swedish and Icelandic, wh-words must raise to Spec-FocP. Since it is the subject that is raised in (32), we take it for granted that the wh-word checks the EPP-feature in Spec-FinP in both languages. Being the subject, the Swedish wh-word also carries the uFin-feature that is checked in Spec-FinP. In Icelandic, where uFin is in the person inflection of the finite verb, no complementizer is allowed in Fin°, since that would prevent raising of the finite verb to Fin°, as is necessary to eliminate uFin. Norwegian is like Swedish in this respect. The counterpart to *som* in Danish embedded subject questions is *der*, which arguably is not a complementizer but the expletive pronoun *der* (see Taraldsen 1991, Vikner 1991, Holmberg 2000). In terms of the present analysis, *der* would, in that case, be merged in spec-FinP, checking uFin.

3.4.7. Embedded Word Order

In embedded clauses, the relative order of the finite verb and sentence adverbials is different in Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic: whereas the verb follows the adverbial(s) in Mainland Scandinavian, it precedes the adverbial(s) in Icelandic; in these examples the adverbial is underlined and the finite verb is in bold face:

(33) a. *Jag vet att Maria <u>inte</u> **läste** boken.*   Swedish

       I know that Mary not read book-the

      b. *Ég veit aᵈ María **las** <u>ekki</u> bókina.*   Icelandic

       I   know that Mary read not book-the

The word order difference in (33) follows immediately from our account: the Swedish complementizer *att* 'that' is merged in Fin°, giving this head phonological content, and the subject *Maria* is raised to Spec-FinP to eliminate EPP and uFin. Subsequently, the complementizer is raised to Force° to indicate that we have an embedded declarative. The finite verb is stuck in T°, below the negation and other sentence adverbials.

It should be evident by now that a derivation similar to the one just outlined for Swedish would be impossible in Icelandic: with the complementizer *aᵈ* inserted in Fin°, the requirement that Fin° must be filled is met, but the uninterpretable uFin of person agreement would not be eliminated. The only available way for Icelandic to resolve the situation is to raise the finite verb to Fin°, which erases uFin and makes Fin° visible, and later on insert *aᵈ* in Force°. This will assure that the finite verb precedes the negation and other sentence adverbials in the middle field. The fact that the Mainland Scandinavian complementizer *att* may be omitted/deleted under certain conditions (just like *that* in English), while the Icelandic *aᵈ* may not be, may be construed as support for the assumption that the complementizers are merged in different positions.[14]

In Faroese there is dialectal variation regarding the position of the finite verb. We return briefly to Faroese in a separate section. It should be noted that the order finite verb-adverbial is not obligatory in all embedded clauses in Icelandic, either: in relative clauses and adverbial clauses it is optional (see Sigurᵈsson 1992: xx).

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[14] See Branigan 1996 for a theory which is close to the one presented here. See Koeneman 2000 for another recent account of verb placement in Scandinavian.

4. NP-structure

As we have tried to show, in the case of sentential syntax and VP-syntax the variation among the Scandinavian languages mainly follows the Mainland-Insular Scandinavian division. There is variation within Mainland Scandinavian, but it is relatively minor. In the case of noun phrase-internal syntax the variation does not follow the Mainland-Insular division. There is as much variation between, say, Bokmål Norwegian and Standard Swedish as there is between Bokmål and Icelandic. On the whole there is a striking amount of variation regarding noun phrase internal syntax among the Scandinavian languages. Not only do the standard languages each have their own distinct ways of combining articles, adjectives, demonstratives, quantifiers, possessives, and head nouns, but almost every local dialect appears to have its own NP-syntax. To take an example, there are at least seven distinct ways of saying 'John's book' in Scandinavia, with additional minor variations, such as the choice of preposition in (34vii), or dative instead of genitive case on the possessor.

(34)   i.   *Jons bok*

       Jon's book

    ii. *bok Jons*

       book Jon's

    iii. *Jons boken*

       Jon's book.DEF

    iv. *boken Jons*

       book.DEF Jon's

    v. *boken hans Jon(s)*

       book.DEF his Jon('s)

    vi. *Jon sin bok*

       Jon his.REFL book

    vii.   *boken til Jon*

       book.DEF to Jon

See Taraldsen 1990, Delsing 1993, Holmberg & Sandström 1996a. We will not discuss possessive constructions here, though, but present some views on another controversial topic in Scandinavian NP-syntax, namely the interplay of attributive adjectives and definiteness marking.

In simple NPs definiteness is expressed by a suffix on the head noun in all the Scandinavian languages.

(35) a. *bók-in*   Icelandic

     b. *bok-a*   Norwegian

     c. *bog-en*   Danish

      'the book'

The definite suffix is inflected for gender, number and (in Isc) case. Historically the definite suffix is assumed to be derived from a postnominal demonstrative *hinn* 'this', a hypothesis supported by the observation that the inflectional paradigm of the Old Norse demonstrative *hinn* is exactly the same as the paradigm of the suffixed article. Indefiniteness is expressed by a free, prenominal indefinite article (inflected for gender and number) in Mainland Scandinavian and Faroese, by the absence of an article in Icelandic and Old Scandinavian.

(36) a. *bók*   Icelandic

     b. *en bok*   Swedish

      'a book'

A straightforward analysis of the suffixed definite article, henceforth abbreviated 'Dx', is that it is a form of D, merged with NP forming a regular head-initial [D NP] , but triggering noun movement, so that it ends up as a suffix on the noun.[15]

Some initial support for the movement hypothesis is provided by the possessive construction (38a), characteristic of Icelandic, Norwegian, and Northern Swedish. The counterpart in Danish and Standard and Southern Swedish is (38b):

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[15] Another possibility is that the order N-Dx is the result of NP-movement to spec-DP. The word order of (i) is a complication for the NP-movement hypothesis.

(i) *bilden av kungen*

    picture.DEF of king.DEF

    'the picture of the king'

It can still be derived on the assumption that *av kungen*, the complement of N, first moves to a position between D and N (assuming that all phrases are underlyingly head-initial, and that all movement is leftwards), before the remnant NP moves to specDP. Below we will suggest that there is at least one case where N-Dx order is derived by NP-movement.

(38) a. *bókin mín*   Icelandic

     b. *min bog*   Danish

The contrast can be decribed as a difference in the features of the possessive pronoun, as follows: In all the languages the possessive pronoun is merged in prenominal position. In Icelandic, Norwegian and Northern Swedish the possessive pronoun does not itself encode definiteness, and therefore allows merge of the definite article, which triggers noun movement. In Danish, Standard and Southern Swedish the possessive pronoun itself encodes definiteness, and therefore precludes merge of an article.[16]

   Attributive adjectives pose a serious complication: In indefinite NPs the adjectives are prenominal.

(39) *en ny bil*

     a new car

In view of (4a) one might expect at least some of the Scandinavian languages to have postnominal attributive adjectives in construction with the definite suffix. This does not occur, however. Instead we find the following pattern.

(40) a. *nyja billinn*   Icelandic

     b. *den nya bilen*   Norwegian, Swedish, Faroese

     c. *den nye bil*   Danish

     d. *nybilen*   Northern Swedish

        'the new car'

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[16] See Taraldsen 1990, Delsing 1993, Holmberg & Sandström 1996, Vangsnes 1999. At first blush the possessive pronoun looks the same in (5a,b), but a closer look reveals that while the prenominal pronoun is unrestricted, the postnominal pronoun is obligatorily weak (in the sense of Cardinaletti & Starke 1998). For example, the prenominal pronoun can be coordinated, the postnominal pronoun cannot.
(i)   *min og din bok*   Norwegian
(ii)   **boka min og din*

In Icelandic definite noun phrases the adjective precedes noun+suffix. In Norwegian, Standard Swedish and Faroese the adjective precedes noun+suffix, but in addition they have a free definite article preceding the adjective. Danish has a free definite article preceding the adjective and the suffixless noun. Yet another variant is exhibited by Northern Swedish: the adjective is incorporated in the definite form of the noun.

In most recent works on the Scandinavian NP the Mainland Scandinavian free definite article is seen as a kind of expletive: the adjective blocks movement of the noun to D, triggering insertion of the free article to 'license D' in some sense; see Santelmann 1993; see Kester 1998 for a review of the literature. The fact that Icelandic doesn't need the free article, would be an effect of the richer morphology of Icelandic; see Vangsnes 1999. This is relatively straightforward in the case of Danish, but less so in Faroese, Norwegian, and most varieties of Swedish, where a free and a suffixed article are both required, in construction with attributive adjectives. The double definiteness marking exhibited by this construction is a classical problem in Scandinavian grammar. The question is, which of the two articles is the interpretable one, encoding definiteness, and which is expletive? Or are they both interpretable, but fulfilling different, complementary functions in relation to definiteness, specificity, familiarity, or some such notions?

Within traditional Swedish and Norwegian grammar, for instance Lundeby 1965, the free article is sometimes called 'the article of the adjective', implying that its function is specifically to license the adjective. Kester 1998   presents a modern version of this idea: Following Higginbotham 1985 she assumes that the adjective as well as the noun is a predicate which has a theta-role that needs to be discharged. The theta-role is formally an open position in the lexical make-up of the lexical head. In DPs, unlike VPs, this theta-role is generally not discharged by theta-role assignment, but by virtue of being bound by a determiner, so called theta-binding. If and only if every predicate is theta-bound by a determiner, the noun phrase is saturated, and only then can the noun phrase function as an argument. The reason why (41) is ungrammatical in Swedish, Norwegian and Faroese is, according to Kester, that the adjective is not theta-bound, and the noun phrase therefore is not saturated.

(41)   *nya bilen

     new car.DEF

The suffixed article can theta-bind the noun, but not the the adjective. Following Cinque 1994, Kester assumes that attributive adjectives are merged as specifiers of functional heads encoding properties like 'size', 'age', 'material', etc. We will label these heads '*a*'. She also assumes that the suffixed article is a head, called F, situated between D and NP, which attracts the noun out of NP; see also Giusti 1997, Vangsnes 1999. The structure of (41) is therefore (42), where the adjective is outside the scope of the definite article.

(42) [$_{aP}$ [$_{AP}$ nya] [$_{a'}$ *a* [$_{FP}$ bil+en [$_{NP}$ t]]]]

According to Kester F encodes 'familiarity', while D encodes 'specificity'. See Vangsnes 1999 for a more fine grained analysis of the semantics of nominal heads.

The adjectival head *a* is also not capable of binding the predicate variable of its specifier adjective. Therefore a free definite article must be merged. As for Danish, which has no Dx, but only a free article in construction with attributive adjectives, either it has no F, or F has no morphological realization.

As shown, Icelandic doesn't need a free determiner. Old Scandinavian, too, managed without a free determiner. Plausibly this is linked to some other property which Icelandic and Old Scandinavian have but the other Scandinavian languages do not have. An idea articulated by Holmberg 1994, Holmberg & Sandström 1996a and Kester 1996 is that the crucial property is morphological Case. In Higginbotham's 1985 terms, morphological Case would be able to theta-bind the adjective, perhaps by virtue of being represented as an abstract head K, c-commanding aP-NP.

(43) [$_{KP}$ K [$_{aP}$ nyja [$_{a'}$ *a* [$_{FP}$ billinn]]]]

An alternative is that morphological Case provides the additional feature needed for the adjectival head *a* to theta-bind the adjective in its spec.[17] Vangsnes 1999 argues that the crucial

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[17] As discussed in Holmberg 1994, at least among the languages in Europe, languages without articles all have fairly rich Case morphology, and conversely, languages without Case morphology all have articles.

property is gender morphology: In Icelandic and Old Scandinavian, but not in modern Mainland Scandinavian, the attributive adjective is marked for gender. [18]

We still need an explanation why D must be a *free* article in Mainland Scandinavian and Faroese. In other words, why can't D be a suffixed article attracting the noun (or NP) to yield *bilen nya* from [$_{DP}$ –en [nya [(F) [bil]]]], neither in Danish nor the other languages.[19] As mentioned, the received view is that the adjective blocks noun movement. In fact, given an appropriate version of Cinque's 1994 theory, the adjective itself will not block noun movement, but the head *a* will, by virtue of the HMC, unless *a* itself can attract the noun, and then D can attract *a* with an adjoined noun. So, assuming that Scandinavian *a* does not attract the noun, noun movement to D across an adjective is impossible. Within this theory the adjective itself, a specifier of *a*, will block NP-movement to specDP by virtue of (some version of) Shortest Move or the Minimal Link Condition. Hence the order *bilen nya* cannot be derived by NP-movement, either.

An attractive consequence of this theory (not mentioned by Kester 1996) is that it explains straightforwardly why the free article is not needed in Faroese and Swedish in those cases where the adjective-noun combination is a name, as in *Vita Huset* 'the White House', *Döda Havet* 'the Dead Sea' etc.: see Delsingt (1993: 117f.), Lockwood (xx). The adjectives in these expressions are not descriptive, but part of a name. Formally, they do not have a theta-role to discharge (in Higginbotham's 1985 terms), and therefore do not need a c-commanding determiner. In Faroese and Swedish the free determiner is, in fact, frequently left out as soon as a convention has been established between a set of interlocutors to use an adjective-noun combination to refer to a specific object. The determinerless form *nya bilen* can be used when, say, the interlocutors have two cars at their disposal, in which case a convention can be established, more or less ad hoc, to

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[18] In Vangsnes's terms, the gender feature makes the adjective capable of licensing D (to put it simply), by actually moving covertly to D. It could be mentioned that although the Case-morphology of nouns and pronouns is rich enough in Icelandic and Old Scandinavian,, morphological Case-marking on attributive adjectives is minimal, distinguishing only between nominative and oblique. Faroese is a potential counterexample to the Case-hypothesis as well as the gender-hypothesis, since Faroese has morphological Case, and has gender marked on attributive adjectives, yet requires a free determiner. Holmberg 1994, Holmberg & Platzack 1995, and Vangsnes 1999 all point to the fact that Case as well as gender-marking is reduced in Faroese compared with Icelandic or Old Scandinavian.

[19] Kester's 1996 has an explanation in terms of checking theory: If the noun moved to D, it would check and thereby eliminate the feature required to theta-bind the adjective. However, this presupposes that checking eliminates interpretable features, which is impossible, as discussed in Chomsky 1995, ch. 4.

refer to them as *nya bilen* 'the new car' and *gamla bilen* 'the old car', respectively. In this case, too, the adjective is not descriptive, but 'identifying', in the manner of a proper name. That is to say, it doesn't have a theta-role to discharge, and therefore doesn't need a free determiner.[20]

The theory also offers an interesting outlook on the incorporated adjectives in Northern Swedish. Note first that the incorporated adjectives are, or can be, truly descriptive. They can also be stacked.

(44) *Ser du storsvartbilen jänna*?
      see you big-black-car-DEF there
      'Do you see that big, black, car?'

Note also that the incorporation takes place only in construction with the definite form of the noun. Indefinite noun phrases generally have the form (45b) in NSw dialects. The standard form is (45c). No dialect has the form (45a).

(45) a. **en storsvartbil*
      b. *en stor en svart en bil*
      c. *en stor svart bil*
          'a big black car'

Plausibly the incorporation is a way of bringing the adjective within the scope of the definite suffix, so that the definite suffix can theta-bind the adjective as well as the noun, in which case the free determiner is redundant. In the indefinite noun phrase the article is, and has always been, a free article, which c-commands, and thereby takes scope over the adjective(s) and the noun with no need for movement or incorporation. In definite noun phrases the article is a suffix

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[20] As mentioned, Danish doesn't have Dx in construction with descriptive attributive adjectives, and also does not do so in names: *Det Hvide Hus* 'The White House', *Det Døde Hav* 'The Dead Sea'. Norwegian, for some reason, either behaves like Danish or employs a form of compounding: *Det Hvite Hus* but *Døde Havet*, the latter with compound intonation. The generalization is that proper names never show double definiteness. The question is why proper names have an article at all, given that there is no need for theta-binding. Possibly it is just a segment of the name with no syntactic function, as in, say, *The Hague*. On the other hand, there are languages which consistently use articles with proper names, including, in fact, many Scandinavian dialects; see Delsing 1993.

attracting a noun or NP, which calls for something special to ensure theta-binding of the adjective.

In terms of language change, the form [Adj N-Dx] was licit as long as there was Case-morphology (or adjectival gender morhology, according to Vangsnes 1999). When the Case-morphology (or gender morphology) disappeared, perhaps for independent phonological reasons, basically two strategies emerged to compensate for the loss and ensure theta-binding of the adjective: One was to bring the adjective within the scope of the suffixed article by a form of incorporation or compounding (Northern Swedish), the other was to introduce a free definite article (other Mainland Scandinavian languages and Faroese). [21]

How is the Norther Swedish A+N compound derived? Sandström & Holmberg 1994 have a proposal: They assume that N+Dx is derived by N-movement to D. In Northern Swedish the movement applies across the adjective, analyzed as a head taking NP as complement (following Abney 1987), as in (46a).

(46)   a. [$_{DP}$ [bil–en] [$_{AP}$ ny [$_{NP}$ t]]]

     b. [$_{DP}$ [ny-bil–en] [$_{AP}$ t [$_{NP}$ t]]]

This movement violates the HMC, but the HMC-violation is then repaired by movement and incorporation of the adjective into the N+D head, as in (46b), given that the derived head *nybilen* can have only one index, so that the resulting head chain is (*nybilen, t, t*)

This presupposes a representational view of conditions on movement: A movement may violate a condition, for example the HMC, if the violation can be repaired by subsequent operations, so that the end result respects all the relevant constraints.

An alternative is that N+Dx is derived by XP-movement to specDP. In the case of adjective-incorporation, the phrase that moves is *a*P, made up of a series of adjectives and a noun. In PF, the A+(A)+N+D sequence is spelled out as a word. It follows that the order of adjectives is the same in the synthetic definite DPs as in analytic DPs, namely the order discussed by Cinque 1994; this was a complication in the theory of Sandström & Holmberg1994.

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[21] A factor which we have ignored entirely here is the 'weak-strong' or definite-indefinite inflection on adjectives, found in all the Scandinavian languages. The question is, does it realize an uninterpretable feature or does it play a more active role, somehow? Is it a realization of *a*?

(47) *en stor svart bil, *en svart stor bil*

   a   big black car

   s*torsvartbilen, *svartstorbilen*

Still, the fact that Northern Swedish DPs do not make use of a free determiner or any additional inflectional morphology indicates that the adjective-incorporation is not just a matter of phonology, but is syntactic, with effects in LF as well as PF: The adjective(s), the noun, and the article undergo a syntactic operation as a result of which the suffixed definite article theta-binds both the adjective and the noun in LF, and is spelled out as a form of compund in PF. We leave the precise nature of this operation for future research.[22]

As an additional comment on theta-binding: An expression such as *the new car* denotes a single object which is new and is a car. This is ensured if the adjective and the noun have the same theta-binder. This, in turn, suggests that only one of the articles in the Faroese-Norwegian-Swedish double definiteness DPs is a theta-binder. Given the assumptions made above, following Kester 1996 and Cinque 1994, this should be the free determiner. In that case, what is Dx doing there? Either it is just agreement morphology, in other words, it encodes only uninterpretable features (see Giusti 1997 for an elaboration of this hypothesis) or it encodes some other feature(s), not related to theta-binding.

Support for the contention that the free article alone is the theta-binder, and hence the one which determines the reference of the noun phrase, is provided by the following observation (due to Tarald Taraldsen p.c.): There is a clear contrast between (48a,b): (48a) necessarily denotes only one person, while (48b) preferably denotes two:

(48)   a. *den unge professorn och nyblivne fadern*

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[22] As discussed by Holmberg & Sandström 1996b it is characteristic of Northern Swedish that definite noun phrases always exhibit an overt definite article, namely the definite suffix. This includes possessive constructions. Out of the possessive constructions listed under (1), all and only those that employ Dx (that is iii, iv, v, and vii) are characteristic of Northern Swedish dialects. It also includes generic noun phrases; compare the Northern Swedish (i) and Standard Swedish (ii).
(i)   *koen je klook*
      cows.DEF are clever
(ii)   *Kor är kloka*.
      cows are clever
      'Cows are clever'

the young professor.DEF and recent father.DEF

    b. *den unge professorn och den nyblivne fadern*

       the young professor.DEF and the recent father.DEF

This follows if the free article alone is the theta-binder. In (48a) there is but one free article, in (48b) there are two. The number of suffixed articles makes no difference.

On the other hand there is conflicting evidence that Dx is interpretable while the free article is, or at least can be, expletive, discussed by Delsing 1993: 128-9 and Kester 1996: 141ff. The following example is Delsing's:

(49) *Det finns inte den minsta anledning(*-en) att betvivla detta.*

      there is   not the smallest reason (-Dx) to doubt this

In this context an argument is normally subject to the definiteness effect. The free article is possible in this context but Dx isn't. This effect is seen typically in construction with superlative adjectives. Whatever the explanation, the observation militates against the hypothesis that Dx is expletive.

5. A Note on Faroese

The Faroe islands are geographically about half way between Mainland Scandinavian and Iceland. The grammar of Faroese is also in many respects half way between Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic.

In terms of inflectional morphology Faroese is 'more Insular than Mainland', as it has both Case and subject-verb agreement morphology. The Case and agreement paradigms are simpler, though, than the Icelandic and Old Scandinavian counterparts. As for Case, the genitive has ceased to be 'completely active' in modern spoken Faroese, according to Petersen & al. (1998). As for subject-verb agreement, the most striking difference between Faroese and Icelandic/Old Scandinavian is that there is no person distinction in the plural of finite verbs; see Petersen & al. 1998, Rohrbacher (1994).

As they note, in this respect Northern Swedish is closer to Romance than Germanic languages, in terms of the typology of Longobardi 1994.

As for the phenomena which we have discussed above in 3.3 (the middle field) and 3.4 (the left periphery), the broad tendency is that structures and operations which are obligatory in Icelandic and nonexistent in Mainland Scandinavian are optional or subject to dialectal variation in Faroese. For instance, with regard to the position of the finite verb in relation to the negation and other adverbs in embedded clauses, the most commonly occurring order is Adv-Vfin, as in Mainland Scandinavian, but the Insular Scandinavian order Vfin-Adv occurs as well. According to Petersen & al. (1998) there is considerable variation in the use of Vfin-Adv order in written Faroese, and speakers vary in their acceptance of this order; see Jonas 1996: ch. 4.

As shown above in section 3.4.2, in Icelandic the expletive always precedes the finite verb, while in Mainland Scandinavian it precedes or follows the finite verb; see (27,28). In Faroese the expletive may optionally follow the finite verb (examples from Petersen & al. 1998).

(50) a. **Ta›** eru mys í ba›ikarinum.
          there are mice in bathtub-DEF

      b. Eru (**ta›**) mys í ba›ikarinum?

      c. **Ta›** regnar ofta í Havn.
          it rains often in Torshavn

      c. Í Havn regnar (**ta›**) ofta.

Above we proposed that the crucial difference between Insular and Mainland Scandinavian is

that the Insular Scandinavian person agreement feature in T has a uFin feature. This triggers movement of T to Fin in all finite clauses in Insular Scandinavian, and eliminates the need for an expletive, except to check the EPP-feature of Fin. The Faroese facts follow if Faroese person agreement has a uFin feature optionally.[23] When it has the feature, T must move to Fin, together with the verb, in which case there is no need for an expletive, except to check the EPP-feature of Fin.

As we might expect, Faroese has transitive expletives (at least some speakers do; see Jonas 1996), oblique subjects, and Stylistic Fronting; all properties of a language with uFin in T. On the other hand it has deletion of the complementizer *at* 'that', which we suggested is a characteristic of languages without uFin in T; See Petersen & al. 218f. As predicted, the complementizer *i›*

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[23] Alternatively, Faroese has two kinds of person agreement, one with uFin, the other without.

'as', 'that', the Faroese counterpart to Swedish and Norwegian *som*, is optional in embedded subject questions (see Petersen & al.: 221); cf. section 3.4.6.

This predicts certain correlations of properties in Faroese. For instance, insofar as an oblique subject presupposes person agreement with uFin, and consequently obligatory movement of T to Fin, the prediction is that oblique subjects should not be allowed in embedded clauses where the finite verb follows the negation, indicating that T has not moved to Fin. This prediction is false (Johan í Lon Jakobsen, p.c.). Since we have to allow for a certain amount of 'peripheral grammar', with fixed expressions, archaic forms, semi-productive rules etc., the following is a more interesting formulation of the prediction: There are a number of verbs in Faroese which take either an oblique or a nominative subject, the former typically in written, the latter in spoken language. Petersen & al. mention *dáma* 'like', *leingjast* 'long, years', *mangla* 'need', and a few more. The following is one of their examples:

(51) *Honum/hann leingist alti＞ heimaftur.*

  he-DAT/he-NOM longs always back home

  'He is always homesick.'

The prediction is that there should be a preference for using the nominative when T manifestly has not moved to Fin, that is in embedded clauses with Adv-Vfin order. The prediction is hard to test given the stylistic differences between the two alternatives, but presumably not impossible.[24]

As for noun phrase structure, Faroese is 'more Mainland than Insular'. For example, Faroese has double definiteness in construction with attributive adjectives and demonstratives, just like Norwegian and Swedish.

(52) *tann gamla bókin*

  the old book-DEF

Also Icelandic and Old Scandinavian but like the Mainland Scandinavian languages, Faroese has an indefinite article.

(53) a. *Ég sá bát.*   Icelandic

      I saw boat

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[24] Jonas (1996) reports some correlations of the expected kind. In particular, among the speakers she consulted, those who accepted transitive expletives were the ones who also accepted the order Vfin-Adv in (non-bridge) embedded clauses.

b. *Eg sá *(ein) bát.*   Faroese

c. *Jag såg*(en) båt*   Swedish

   'I saw a boat.'

6. Historical Notes

7. Summary and conclusion

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