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David Petersson, Lund University

Embedded V2 in Swedish - Two main clauses and a cataphoric pronoun

1. The syntax and semantics of prototypical main clauses and subordinate clauses in Swedish

I. Swedish is a verb second-language, meaning that the finite verb of a main clause holds the second position of the clause and can be preceded by no more than one constituent. A Swedish main clause has the following word order: topicalized constituent > finite verb > (subject) > sentence adverbial.

(1) *Gusten* <u>ska</u>   **nog**   flytta till Florida när han går i pension.
    Gusten will probably move to Florida when he goes in pension
    'Gusten is probably going to move to Florida when he retires.'

(2) När   han går i pension <u>ska</u> *Gusten*   **nog**   flytta till Florida.
    When he goes in pension will Gusten   probably move to Florida
    'When he retires, Gusten is probably going to move to Florida.'

(3) * När han går i pension *Gusten* <u>ska</u>   **nog**   flytta till Florida.
      When he goes in pension Gusten will probably move to Florida
      'When he retires, Gusten is probably going to move to Florida.'

 V2-word order normally only applies to main clauses. A prototypical Swedish subordinate clause has the following constituent order: complementizer > subject > sentence adverbial > finite verb.

(4) att amerikanskt kaffe **inte** är vatten.
     that american   coffee not is water
     'that american coffee is not water'

II. The structural asymmetry between main clauses and subordinate clauses can be described in terms of V-to-C movement. A strong finiteness feature in C° attracts the finite verb in a main clause. In a subordinate clause, this feature is lexicalized by a complementizer (Platzack, 1998).

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III. Main clauses and subordinate clauses also differ with respect to semantic/pragmatic interpretation. A prototypical main clause expresses a speech act, whereas a prototypical subordinate clause does not.

(5) Elvis bästa vän   bodde i Darmstadt.
    Elvis' best friend lived in Darmstadt.

(6) att Elvis bästa vän bodde i Darmstadt.
    that Elvis' best friend lived in Darmstadt.

IV. The connection between syntax and semantic/pragmatic interpretation can be formalized in a syntactic model with a split CP. Rizzi (1997) proposes a CP containing four functional projections: FinP, TopP, FocP and ForceP.

Rizzi (1997, p. 283) explains the CP as "the interface between a propositional content (expressed by the IP) and the superordinate structure (a higher clause or, possibly, the articulation of discourse, if we consider a root clause)".

The lower projection, FinP, faces inwards, towards the IP, whereas the higher projection, ForceP, faces outwards, towards a superordinate clause or the discourse (Rizzi, 1997, pp. 283-285).

Applied to Swedish, this means that if Force° is occupied by a complementizer, the clause is connected to, and anchored in, a higher CP and lacks an independent speech act value. But if Force° is held by the finite verb, the clause is the highest CP, facing towards the discourse or context, and has an independent speech act value.

2. "Embedded V2"

(7) Gusten sa   att fantomen   har inte tio tigrars styrka.
    Gusten said that the.phantom has   not   ten tigers strength
    'Gusten said that the Phantom doesn't have the strength of ten tigers.'

"Embedded" V2-clauses display properties which are contradictory with respect to the division into main clauses and subordinate clauses.

Reasons for analyzing "embedded" V2-clauses as subordinate clauses:

i) They are introduced by what seems to be a complementizer (*att*).

ii) From a logical point of view, they constitute necessary complements of the "matrix" verb.

Reasons for analyzing "embedded" V2-clauses as main clauses:

i) The finite verb has moved from V to C. (V-to-I-movement can be ruled out, since other constituents than subjects may be topicalized).

ii) Apart from the presence of the complementizer *att*, "embedded" V2-clauses display the same syntactic structure as prototypical main clauses.

iii) They express speech acts (normally assertions) (cf. Julien, 2007).

Properties of "embedded" V2-clauses:

A) "Embedded" V2-clauses do not occur in isolation. They must be preceded by a "matrix" clause.

B) From a logical point of view, an "embedded" V2-clause seems to function as an argument in relation   to the verb of the preceding clause.

C) "Embedded" V2 always contains the word *att* 'that'.

D) The finite verb of an "embedded" V2-clause has moved from V to C. In a model with a split CP, one   can assume that it has moved from V to Force°.

E) Both the "matrix" clause and the "embedded" V2-clause express speech acts.

3. The recursive CP-analysis

An analysis that aims to describe and explain "embedded" V2 must handle the following properties:

A) The *att*-clause displays V2 word order and has a speech act value of its own.

B) The "embedded" clause seems to function as an argument of the verb in the first clause.

C) The "embedded" V2-clause contains the word *att* 'that', which is normally regarded as a complementizer.

The core problem is that the finite verb and the complementizer commonly are assumed to compete for the same structural position.

A solution that has often been suggested is a recursive CP. According to such an analysis, the "embedded" V2-clause has two CPs: a lower one which hosts the finite verb and a higher one which is occupied by the complementizer (cf. Vikner, 1995; Holmberg & Platzack, 1995).

4. Problems with the recursive CP-analysis

A) "Embedded" V2-clauses cannot be topicalized.

(8) Att   Nobels grammatikpris   inte finns glömmer Gusten ofta bort.
  That   Nobels grammar-prize not exists forgets   Gusten often PART.
  'That the Nobel Prize for grammar doesn't exist is something that Gusten often
   forgets.'

(9) * Att   Nobels grammatikpris   finns   inte glömmer Gusten ofta   bort.
  That Nobels grammar-prize exists not forgets   Gusten often PART.
  'That the Nobel Prize for grammar does not exist is something that Gusten
   often forgets.'

B) "Embedded" V2-clauses are islands for movement.

Constituents cannot be extracted out of "embedded" V2-clauses. This kind of movement is normally possible in the case of a regular *att*-clause.

(10) <u>Den boken</u>   vet   jag   att   Gusten   in~~te har l~~äst   den boken
    That book   know   I   that Gusten   not ~~has read~~ that book
   'That book, I know Gusten hasn't read.'

(11) *<u>Den boken</u>   vet   jag   att   Gusten   har ~~inte l~~äst   den boken.
    That book   know   I   that Gusten has ~~not read~~   that book
    That book, I know that Gusten hasn't read.

C) Deictic adjustment is not necessary.

In indirect speech, the quoted clause is anchored in, or related to, the finiteness of a matrix clause. The deictic expressions in the quoted clause are adjusted to the 'here' and 'now' of the matrix clause. In direct speech the deictic expressions of the quoted clause are not adjusted to the 'here' and 'now' of the "matrix" clause. Instead, direct speech must be construed as two clauses with separate and independent speech act and finiteness values (cf. Petersson, 2008).

(12) Jag äter gröt   här.
    I   eat   porridge here

(13) Han sa,   jag äter   gröt   här.
    He   said: I   eat   porridge here.

(14) Han sa   att   han åt   gröt   där.
    He   said   that   he   ate porridge   there.

"Embedded" V2-clauses pattern with quoted clauses in direct speech. They are not deictically adjusted to their matrices. Instead they have their own independent finitness and speech act values.

(15) Han sa att jag inte äter sill här. (indirect speech. Deictic adjustment applies.)
He said that I not eat herring here.
'He said that I don't eat herring here.'

(16) Han sa att jag äter inte sill här. ("Embedded" V2. Deictic adjustment does not apply.)
He said that I eat not herring here.
'He said: I don't eat herring here.'

D) The "embedded" clause can be an imperative clause.

(17) Han hälsade mig välkommen i united states och **sa att drick** inte för mycket så du
He greeted me welcome in united states and said that drink not too much so.that you
hamnar i finkan.
end.up in jail
'He wished me welcome in the united states and said, don't drink too much, so you end up in jail.'

5. "Embedded" V2-clauses are not embedded

A) Constructions containing "embedded" V2-clauses do not consist of a matrix clause and a subordinate clause. Both clauses are independent main clauses.

B) This leads to two new problems:
   i) The first clause lacks and argument.
   ii) *att* 'that' has no status.

Both problems are solved through a reanalysis of the word *att* 'that'.

***Att* is not a complementizer, but a pronominal element which functions as an argument within the first clause of a sentence containing an "embedded" V2-clause. *Att* does not occupy the C-domain of the "embedded" clause. Instead it holds the complement position of the VP in the first clause. Its referent is the "embedded" V2-clause.**

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Just like German *dass* and english *that*, the Swedish complementizer *att* has developed from the demonstrative pronoun *þat/þät*. It has originally had a demonstrative use, functioning as a constituent within the "matrix". Gradually, however, "it has moved into the subordinate clause, lost its accent and its actual meaning and finally turned into a pure conjunction (Wessén, 1965, 74-75).

At(*t*) is still used as a (normally enclitic) pronoun in some Swedish dialects. It is neuter, singular and corresponds to the standard form *det*.

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