

SHORT COMMUNICATION

# Cyclic cliticization in Icelandic

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## Abstract

This squib discusses the clitic DU (*-du/-ðu/-tu*) in Icelandic and compares it with other reduced forms of personal pronouns, such as *'ann* (for *hann* 'he') and *'ún* (for *hún* 'she'). We show that there are various restrictions found on DU which are not found on other reduced forms of personal pronouns in Icelandic. We argue that whereas reduced forms such as *'ann* and *'ún* are morphophonologically conditioned, DU is syntactically conditioned; it is not only clause-bounded but also phase-bounded.

**Keywords:** clitics; dative subjects; Icelandic; nominative objects; phases; phase extension; syntax

## 1. Introduction

Some of the personal pronouns in Icelandic have reduced forms when unstressed (e.g., Einarsson 1949, 28–29, Thráinsson 2007, 6–7; see also Smári 1920, 32).<sup>1</sup> This is the case for at least 2nd person singular *þú* (and plural *þið* — not discussed further here for space reasons), and 3rd person singular masculine and feminine *hann* and *hún*, respectively. The a-examples below show non-reduced forms whereas the b-examples show reduced forms.

- (1) a. Hvað sagðir **þú**?  
What said you.NOM.SG  
What did you say?  
b. Hvað sagðir-**ðu**?  
What said-you.NOM.SG/DU
- (2) a. Ég talaði við **hann**.  
I talked to him  
b. Ég talaði við **'ann**.  
I talked to 'im
- (3) a. Ég talaði við **hana**.  
I talked to her

- b. Ég talaði við 'ana.  
I talked to 'er

In this squib, we discuss an important difference between the reduced 2nd person singular form and the 3rd person singular forms. Whereas the latter are simple clitics that seem to have to do with morphophonology first and foremost (they are what Sigurðsson (1989, 208) calls “PF-cliticized”), the former is a special clitic (in the sense of Zwicky 1977; see also Zwicky 1985, Pullum & Zwicky 1983): its distribution is determined by the syntax. Primarily, it cannot dock just anywhere, but must cliticize to a finite or imperative verb. In addition, however, we argue that the 2nd person clitic and the verb need to be part of the same phase.

In Icelandic, the 2nd person singular pronoun is realized in most environments, when it is neutrally or emphatically/contrastively stressed, as *þú* ‘you’ (IPA = [θu]).<sup>2</sup>

- (4) a. Sýn þú það.  
show.IMP.SG you.NOM.SG it  
‘Show it.’  
b. Gerðir þú þetta?  
did.2SG you.NOM.SG this  
‘Did you do this?’  
c. Last þú bókina?  
read.PST.2SG you.NOM.SG the.book  
‘Did you read the book?’

However, when it immediately follows a finite or imperative verb it is sometimes realized as *-du*, *-ðu* or *-tu* (IPA = [tʏ], [ðʏ], and [tʰʏ], respectively) — in such cases, it attaches to the verb, as in (5). In the presence of another coronal consonant, the coronal consonant of the clitic can be deleted, so it is realized as simply *-u* (IPA = [ʏ]) (as shown in (5c)).<sup>3,4</sup> We refer to the clitic as DU (also in glosses), irrespective of its realization (as *-du/-ðu/-tu/-u*).

- (5) a. Sýn-du það.  
show.IMP.SG-DU it  
‘Show it.’  
b. Gerðir-ðu þetta?  
did.2SG-DU this  
‘Did you do this?’  
c. Last-u bókina?  
read.PST.2SG-DU the.book  
‘Did you read the book?’

Note also that DU is a realization of structural nominative case. There are other phonologically reduced forms of the 2nd person pronoun: nom. (*ð*)ú, acc. (*ð*)ig, dat. (*ð*)er/(*ð*)ér, gen. (*ð*)ín (see also H.Á. Sigurðsson 1989, 208–209).<sup>5</sup> Like *'ann* and *'ún*, but unlike DU, their use is not restricted to an environment immediately following a finite or imperative verb (but see H.Á. Sigurðsson 1989, 208–209 for some restrictions).<sup>6</sup>

- (6) a. **Ef** **þú** ert í vandræðum skalt-u tala við Jón.  
 if you.NOM.SG are in trouble shall-DU talk to Jón.  
 'If you are in trouble you should talk to Jón.'
- b. Ég **held** (**ð**)ig langi heim.  
 I think you.ACC.SG want home  
 'I think you want to go home.'
- c. Ég hefði viljað **hjálpa** **þér**.  
 I had.SBJV wanted help you.DAT.SG  
 'I would have wanted to help you.'

In what follows, we will discuss various restrictions on the use of DU. In Section 2, we show that DU must attach to a finite or imperative verb, and that even when the 2nd person pronoun is string-adjacent to a finite verb, DU is not possible if it is not in the same clause as the finite verb. Other reduced forms of personal pronouns are possible in this environment. This suggests that the use of DU is clause-bounded even though the use of other reduced forms is not. In Section 3, we show that DU is highly restricted as a nominative object, even when it immediately follows the finite verb. Other reduced forms of personal pronouns are grammatical in such contexts. We propose that this can be explained if the use of DU is not only clause-bounded, but phase-bounded. Finally, in Section 4 we show that DU can occur between the verb stem and the middle *-st* clitic, unlike other reduced pronouns. We conclude by sketching an approach to the syntax of clitic placement that may provide an account for the special properties of the DU clitic.

## 2. Clause-Bounded Cliticization

Whereas reduced forms like *'ann* 'he' or *'ún* 'she' can occur in a variety of environments, DU is only possible when it attaches to a finite verb. That this does not stem from an independent phonological requirement is shown by several contrasts. First, consider the examples in (7).

- (7) a. **Sem-du** ljóð fyrir kærustuna þína.  
 compose-DU poem for the.sweetheart your  
 'Write a poem for your sweetheart.'
- b. \*Lagið **sem-du** söngst fyrir kærustuna þína er mjög fallegt.  
 the.song that-DU sang for the.sweetheart your is very beautiful  
 'The song that you sang for your sweetheart is really beautiful.'
- c. Lagið **sem þú** söngst fyrir kærustuna þína er mjög fallegt.  
 the.song that you sang for the.sweetheart your is very beautiful  
 'The song that you sang for your sweetheart is really beautiful.'

The imperative stem of the verb *semja* 'write/compose' is *sem* (though see note 3 for an alternative), which is identical to the relative complementizer *sem*. However, we see that in (7) that while DU can attach to the verb form *sem*, it cannot attach to the complementizer *sem*. This shows that DU requires a finite verb as an attachment point, and that this is not for phonological reasons.<sup>7</sup>

The same conclusion follows from other forms, such as those in (8).

- (8) a. Ég hélt { \*að-u / \*ad-du / að þú } værir farinn.  
 I thought { \*that-DU / \*that-DU/ that you } were gone  
 'I thought that you were gone.'<sup>8</sup>
- b. { \*Kannski-ðu / Kannski þú } hafir verið að syngja.  
 { \*maybe-DU / maybe you } have been to sing  
 'Maybe you were singing.'

There is no phonological reason why DU should not be possible in (8). These examples further illustrate that DU is not a simple clitic, but a special clitic that needs to attach to a finite verb.

On the other hand, it is possible to use other reduced forms, such as (ð)ú, 'ann and 'ún with the complementizers *sem* and *að*, as shown in (9). In fact, (ð)ú would be the most natural pronunciation of the subject in (8) as well, as long as the subject is unstressed.

- (9) a. Lagið **semðu** söngst fyrir kærustuna þína er mjög fallegt.  
 the.song thatyou sang for the.sweetheart your is very beautiful  
 'The song that you sang for your sweetheart is really beautiful.'
- b. Lagið **sem'ún** söng fyrir kærastann sinn er mjög fallegt.  
 the.song thatshe sang for the.sweetheart her is very beautiful  
 'The song that she sang for her sweetheart is really beautiful.'
- c. Ég hélt að 'ann væri farinn.  
 I thought that he was gone  
 'I thought that he was gone.'

By comparing (7b) to (9a–b) and (8a) to (9c) we see that DU clearly differs from 'ann and 'ún. Note also, as pointed out by a reviewer, that the final consonant of the verb stem determines the phonetic realization of the coronal consonant in DU, but not in -ðu.

It is not enough, however, that DU is adjacent to a finite verb; it also needs to be in the same clause as the finite verb. As shown in (10), the complementizer *að* 'that' can sometimes be omitted in complement clauses (see also Thráinsson 2007, 409–410), especially when the subject of the embedded clause is a personal pronoun; when the complementizer is omitted in the examples in (10), the personal pronoun *þú/hann/hún* of the embedded clause is string-adjacent to the finite verb of the matrix clause.

- (10) a. Hún **heldur** [ (að) þú misskiljir mig. ]  
 she thinks that you.SG misunderstand.SBJV me  
 'she thinks (that) you misunderstand me.'
- b. Þú **veist** [ (að) þú átt þetta skilið. ]  
 you.SG know.2SG that you.SG have this deserved  
 'You know (that) you deserve this.'
- c. Ég **held** [ (að) hann elski mig. ]  
 I think that he loves.SBJV me  
 'I think (that) he loves me.'
- d. Þú **veist** [ (að) hún á þetta skilið. ]  
 you.SG know.2SG that she has this deserved  
 'You know (that) she deserves this.'

Despite being string-adjacent to a finite verb, and in a subject position, DU is not possible in such contexts.

- (11) a. \*Hún **heldur-ðu** misskiljir mig.  
 She think.3SG-DU misunderstand.SBJV me  
 Intended: 'She thinks you misunderstand me.'
- b. \*Þú **veist-u** átt þetta skilið.  
 you.SG know.2SG-DU have this deserved  
 Intended: 'You know (that) you deserve this.'

The other reduced forms are, however, fine in this position.

- (12) a. Ég **held** (**ð**)ú misskiljir mig  
 I think.1SG you.SG misunderstand.SBJV me  
 'I think (that) you misunderstand me.'
- b. Ég **held** 'ann elski mig.  
 I think.1SG he loves.SBJV me  
 'I think he loves me.'
- c. Þú **veist** 'ún á þetta skilið.  
 you.SG know.2SG she has this deserved  
 'You know she deserves this.'

This is a clear indication that reduced forms like DU need to be accounted for differently from, e.g., 'ann or 'ún. We will argue that the distribution of DU is determined in the syntactic component of grammar, whereas 'ann, 'ún (and the like) can be accounted for in the (morpho)phonological component.

### 3. Nominative Objects and Phase-Bounded Cliticization

So far, we have argued that DU must attach to a finite verb, and that it must be in the same clause as that verb. Some syntactic phenomena that have often been treated as being clause-bounded actually seem better accounted for as being phase-bounded on a closer look (Ingason & Wood 2017). We will now suggest that the same might be true for DU.

In this section, we will look at Icelandic dative-nominative verbs, i.e., verbs that have two arguments, one in the dative and one in the nominative. Many Icelandic dative-nominative verbs are asymmetric, i.e., the dative case argument is always structurally higher than the nominative case argument, and is the only argument available to move to the subject position. Some dative-nominative verbs are symmetric, however, where either the dative or the nominative case argument can move to subject position (see, e.g., Bernóðsson 1982, Rögnvaldsson 1996, Jónsson 1997–1998, 2003, 160, Barðdal 2001, Eythórsson & Barðdal 2005, Barðdal, Eythórsson & Dewey 2014, Wood & H.Á. Sigurðsson 2014).<sup>9</sup> In this section we will show that DU is ungrammatical as a nominative object on asymmetric dative-nominative verbs, but sometimes acceptable with symmetric dative-nominative verbs, and we will propose that this suggests that DU is phase-bounded.

One confound for the data in this section is that some speakers do not fully accept 2nd person forms as nominative objects, even in the non-reduced form (H.Á. Sigurðsson 1992). Consider the examples in (13). Whereas all speakers seem to find 1st or 2nd person agreement with nominative objects ungrammatical, as shown in (13b), there is some variation regarding examples like (13a), where we see a 2nd person nominative object and default 3rd person agreement on the finite verb; see discussion in H.Á. Sigurðsson 1992.

- (13) a. ?Henni líkaði þú.  
her.DAT liked.3SG you.NOM.SG  
‘She liked you.’  
b. \*Henni líkaðir þú  
her.DAT liked.2SG you.NOM.SG  
‘She liked you.’ (H.Á. Sigurðsson 1992, 72–73)

The first author (alphabetically ordered) of this squib finds examples of the type in (13a) grammatical and we are here relying on his judgments — the judgments in (13), as well as in (14), are his. See H.Á. Sigurðsson (1992, 76) for more discussion.<sup>10</sup>

For (14), note that the past tense form *leiddist* is syncretic between 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular agreement (this is the case also for other verbs ending in the “middle voice” *-st* morpheme—their present tense singular form is syncretic for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person). As pointed out by H.Á. Sigurðsson (1992, 76, 1996) and H.Á. Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008), this seems to have the effect that speakers find dative-nominative patterns with a 2nd person singular pronoun as a nominative object more acceptable than non-syncretic verb forms, as in (13a) above.

- (14) Henni leiddist þú.  
her.DAT was.bored.3SG you.NOM.SG  
‘She was bored by you.’ (Sigurðsson 1992, 75)

With this in mind, it should be mentioned that the reason why the first author, whose judgments are shown above, finds the example in (15a) below better than (13a) above may have to do with the fact that present tense *líkar* in (15a) is syncretic between 2nd and 3rd (default) persons whereas past tense *líkaði* in (13a) can only reflect 3rd (default) person (or 1st person) agreement and not 2nd person agreement.

### 3.1 Asymmetric dative-nominative verbs

Up to now, two properties stick out in relation to the clause-bounded 2nd person clitic DU: It is always in the nominative case and it is always a subject. We might then ask whether DU is possible as a nominative object. Turning first to asymmetric dative-nominative verbs, this does not seem to be the case. (15) shows verbs that allow 2nd person nominative objects, and (16) shows that DU is not possible.

- (15) a. Mér líkar þú ekki.  
me.DAT like you.NOM.SG not  
‘I don’t like you.’

- b. Mér leiðist þú.  
me.DAT is.bored.by you.NOM.SG  
'I am bored by you (i.e., I find you boring).'
- c. Þeim finnst þú skemmtileg.  
them.DAT find you.NOM.SG funny  
'They find you amusing.'

- (16) a. \*Mér líkar-ðu ekki.  
me.DAT like-DU not
- b. \*Mér leiðist-u.  
me.DAT is.bored.by-DU
- c. \*Mér finnst-u skemmtileg.  
me.DAT find-DU funny

(17) shows that this distribution of DU cannot be stated purely phonologically; when DU is a subject, it can attach to a verb that ends in /ar/, /ist/, and /nnst/, respectively.

- (17) a. Hér málar-ðu á hverjum degi.  
here paint-DU on every day  
'Here you paint every day.'
- b. Hér virðist-u hærrí en þú ert.  
here seem-DU taller than you are  
'Here you seem taller than you are.'
- c. Hér finnst-u strax. (Feldu þig frekar þarna.)  
here find-DU immediately (hide yourself rather there)  
'Here you will be found right away. Hide over there instead.'

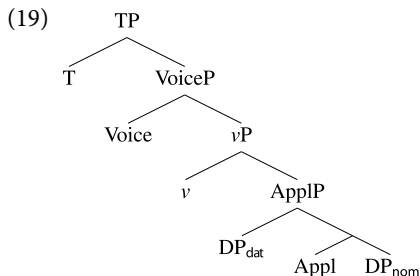
Even though DU does not work in (16), the PF-cliticized forms are fine in the same environment.

- (18) a. Mér leiðist (ð)ú.  
me.DAT is.bored.by you  
'I am bored by you.'
- b. Mér leiðist 'ann ekki.  
me.DAT is.bored.by he.NOM not  
'I am not bored by him.'
- c. Mér líkar 'ún ekki.  
me.DAT like she.NOM not  
'I don't like her.'
- d. Þeim finnst 'ún skemmtileg.  
them.DAT find she.NOM funny  
'They find her amusing.'

This again shows a fundamental distributional difference between the two types of reduced forms.

Following Wood and H.Á. Sigurðsson (2014), the dative DP in these examples originates in the specifier of an Appl(icative) phrase and the nominative DP in the complement of the Appl head, as shown in the tree in (19).<sup>11</sup> As this is the

structure of an asymmetric dative-nominative verb, the dative (and not the nominative) will move to SpecTP to become the subject.



On Wood and H.Á. Sigurðsson's (2014) analysis, Appl is a phase-head (cf. McGinnis 2008). This results in finite verbs, which originate in *v* and move to the phase-head C in Icelandic, not being computed in the same phase as Appl and its complement (Chomsky 2001). The point that is relevant to us is that the nominative object, as the complement of a phase head, is not in the same phase as the finite verb, which c-commands that phase head. The fact that DU is not possible as a reduced form on nominative objects suggests that the use of DU is phase-bounded, not only clause-bounded. This suggestion is corroborated by symmetric dative-nominative verbs, which we turn to next.

### 3.2 Symmetric dative-nominative verbs

The verb *líka* 'like' in (15)–(16) above is asymmetric in that the dative is obligatorily the higher argument; the nominative argument cannot move to subject position. As mentioned above, there are also symmetric (also called 'alternating') DAT-NOM verbs where either the dative or the nominative can be structurally higher and move to the subject position. The examples in (20)–(21) show that *henta* 'suit' is a symmetric verb and *líka* 'like' is not. In (20a), the nominative case argument is in situ and the dative argument has A-moved to SpecTP, whereas in (20b) the nominative has A-moved to SpecTP. For *líka*, on the other hand, it is ungrammatical to have the nominative argument A-move and leave the dative argument in situ, as shown in (21b). The sentence in (21a) is grammatical, however, where the nominative argument is in situ and the dative argument A-moves.

- (20) a. Mér hefur aldrei hentað þetta.  
 me.DAT has never suited this.NOM  
 'This has never suited me.'  
 b. Þetta hefur aldrei hentað mér.  
 this.NOM has never suited me.DAT

(Wood & H.Á. Sigurðsson 2014, 277)

- (21) a. Mér hefur aldrei líkað þetta.  
 me.DAT has never liked this  
 'I have never liked this.'



- b. \*Þetta hefur aldrei líkað mér.  
 this.NOM has never liked me.DAT

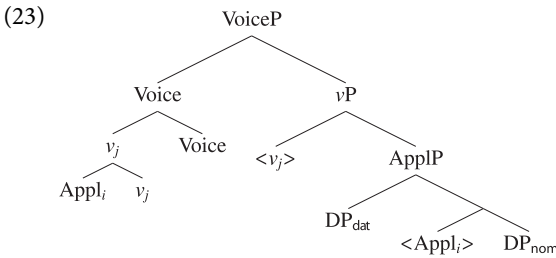
(Wood & H.Á. Sigurðsson 2014, 277)

Since the nominative argument can be the subject in symmetric DAT-NOM verbs, we expect DU to be possible. That is borne out, see (22).

- (22) Ef þú ert eldri en 30 ára, þá hentar-ðu okkur ekki.  
 if you are older than 30 years then suit-DU us.DAT not  
 ‘If you are older than 30, then you do not suit us.’

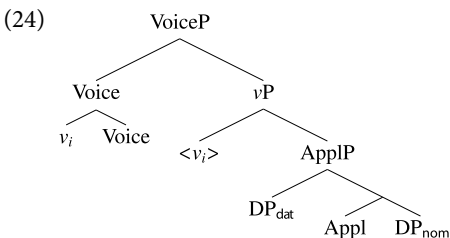
In such cases, DU and the finite verb are computed in the same phase. A question that arises is how the two come to be phase-local to each other. That is, how can the nominative argument become the subject?

On Wood and H.Á. Sigurðsson’s (2014) analysis, the phase-head Appl head-moves to  $\nu$  in the derivation of symmetric verbs, thereby extending the Appl phase (as in den Dikken’s 2007 theory of phase-extension by head-movement). This is shown in (23).



The consequence is that the complement DP (the nominative case argument) and SpecApplP (the dative case argument) become equidistant to  $c$ -commanding heads, and both are in the same phase; either DP will be able to move to subject position.

For asymmetric verbs, on the other hand, Appl does not move to  $\nu$ , although  $\nu$  moves to Voice, etc., as shown in (24).



Therefore, the Appl-phase is not extended, the nominative DP is unable to move to subject position, and the nominative and the verb remain in distinct phases.

This leads to the question of whether a nominative object of a symmetric verb — where the phase is extended — can cliticize onto a finite verb without becoming the

subject; that is, when the dative moves to SpecTP to be the subject. To look into this, we need subject tests where the 2nd person pronoun is demonstrably the object and at the same time it immediately follows the finite verb.) shows such tests which he applies to asymmetric DAT-NOM verbs Jónsson (1996).

- (25) a. \*Ef þessi bók líkar Jóni, þá kaupir hann hana.  
 if this book.NOM likes Jón.DAT then buys he it  
 b. \*Ég veit ekki hvort þessi bók líkar Jóni.  
 I know not whether this.NOM book.NOM likes Jón.DAT  
 c. \*María er óánægð, þótt þessi bók líki Jóni.  
 María is unhappy although this.NOM book.NOM likes Jón.DAT  
 (Jónsson 1996, 120)

In the embedded clauses above, the finite verb moves to T and the nominative argument moves to a position below C, presumably SpecTP, which is ungrammatical for asymmetric verbs. These tests are supposed to show that the nominative argument of the verb *líka* 'like' cannot move to subject position. Moreover, this also shows that these constructions resist topicalization, which would be another way to derive the word order NOM-verb-DAT.

The theme argument of the symmetric verb *henta* 'suit' can move to this position, however, suggesting that the nominative argument of symmetric verbs can become the derived subject.

- (26) a. Ef þessi bók hentar Jóni, þá kaupir hann hana.  
 if this.NOM book.NOM suits Jón.DAT then buys he it  
 b. Ég veit ekki hvort þessi bók hentar Jóni.  
 I know not whether this.NOM book.NOM suits Jón.DAT  
 c. María er óánægð, þótt þessi bók henti Jóni.  
 María is unhappy although this.NOM book.NOM suits.SBJV Jón.DAT

We conclude from (25)–(26) that the argument immediately following the finite verb in these constructions is not the subject but rather an object.

We are therefore now in a position to look at 2nd person pronoun objects of symmetric verbs and whether they can cliticize. For this purpose, we consulted a few speakers and asked for their judgments for symmetric and asymmetric verbs, both when the object is spelled out as *þú* and as a clitic DU. For symmetric verbs, the judgments were mixed, both for the a- and the b-sentences, and we are therefore marking all the sentences in (27), (29) and (31) with the sign '%'.<sup>12</sup>

(27) Symmetric

- a. %Ef þessu fyrirtæki hentar þú, þá ræður það þig.  
 if this.DAT firm.DAT suits you.NOM.SG then hires it you  
 b. %Ef þessu fyrirtæki hentar-ðu, þá ræður það þig.  
 if this.DAT firm.DAT suits-DU then hires it you  
 'If this company finds you suitable, then it will hire you.'

(28) Asymmetric

- a. %Ef þessum yfirmanni líkar þú, þá ræður hann þig.  
 if this.DAT boss.DAT likes you.NOM.SG then hires he you  
 'If this boss likes you, then he will hire you.'

- b. \*Ef þessum yfirmanni líkar-ðu, þá ræður hann þig.  
if this.DAT boss.DAT likes-DU then hires he you

## (29) Symmetric

- a. %Ég veit ekki hvort þessu liði gagnist þú  
I know not whether this.DAT team.DAT is.of.use.SBJV you.NOM.SG  
neitt að ráði.  
anything to degree  
'I don't know whether you will be of use to this team to any degree.'
- b. %Ég veit ekki hvort þessu liði gagnist-u neitt  
I know not whether this.DAT team.DAT is.of.use.SBJV-DU anything  
að ráði.  
to degree

## (30) Asymmetric

- a. %Ég veit ekki hvort þessum manni leiðist þú en ef  
I know not whether this.DAT man.DAT is.bored you.NOM.SG but if  
svo er skaltu láta lítið fyrir þér fara.  
so is shall.DU let little for you go  
'I don't know if this man is bored by you but if that's the case, you should keep a low profile.'
- b. \*Ég veit ekki hvort þessum manni leiðist-u en ef svo er  
I know not whether this.DAT man.DAT is.bored.by-DU but if so is  
skaltu láta lítið fyrir þér fara.  
shall.DU let little for you go

## (31) Symmetric

- a. %María ætlar ekki að ráða þig, þótt henni hentir  
María intends not to hire you although her.DAT suits.SBJV  
þú í sjálfu sér vel.  
you.NOM.SG in self well  
'María doesn't intend to hire you, although you suit her well per se.'
- b. %María ætlar ekki að ráða þig, þótt henni hentir-ðu í  
María intends not to hire you although her.DAT suits.SBJV-DU in  
sjálfu sér vel.  
self well

## (32) Asymmetric

- a. %Maríu líkar ekki við þig, þótt henni leiðist þú  
María likes not to you although her.DAT is.bored.by you.NOM.SG  
ekki.  
not  
'María doesn't like you, although she isn't bored by you.'
- b. \*Maríu líkar ekki við þig, þótt henni leiðist-u ekki.  
María likes not to you although her.DAT is.bored.by-DU not

Zeroing in on DU, while no speaker we asked accepted all of these sentences, there was a clear contrast, where DU was sometimes accepted with the symmetric verbs, but never with the asymmetric verbs. What is particularly interesting from the

current perspective is the contrast between the b-examples in (27), (29) and (31) on the one hand, and the b-examples in (28), (30) and (32), on the other. The former show the principled conditions under which nonsubject DU is possible (even if it varies in acceptability across speakers): when it encliticizes to a finite verb in the same phase. It is worth emphasizing here that in (27), (29), (31), the dative is the subject and the nominative is the object. (Recall the contrast between (25) and (26) earlier.) So this contrast cannot be explained by appealing to some special status of the nominative (for agreement or subjecthood), since symmetric verbs behave just like asymmetric verbs when the dative is the subject (H.Á. Sigurðsson, 2006, 304).

We have mentioned that DU may only attach to a finite verb or imperative verb. However, when we established that generalization in section 2, we had only looked at subjects, which will generally not be to the right of nonfinite verbs, so there we did not have the opportunity to check this generalization fully. Nominative objects of symmetric verbs—which are in the same phase as those verbs—show us that indeed, DU may not attach to a nonfinite verb. Consider the examples in (33).

- (33) a. %Mér hefur alltaf **reynst** þú vel.  
 me.DAT has always turned.out you.NOM.SG well  
 ‘You have always turned out well for me (in my view).’  
 b. \*Mér hefur alltaf **reynst-u** vel.  
 me.DAT has always turned.out-DU well  
 c. %Ef mér **reynist-u** vel. . .  
 if me.DAT turn.out-DU well  
 ‘If you turn out well for me. . .’

The verb *reynast* ‘turn out’ is a symmetric verb (cf. Barðdal 2001), so we expect cliticization to be possible (for speakers who allow object clitic DU in the first place), and indeed it is, as shown in (33c).<sup>13</sup> However, although a nonreduced 2nd person pronoun is possible next to a nonfinite participle, as shown in (33a), DU is not possible there, as shown in (33b). This shows, independently of other constraints, that DU may not attach to a nonfinite verb.

What we conclude from the discussion above is that for some speakers DU seems to work only as a subject clitic. These speakers reject all examples of DU in object position. Other speakers, however, allow DU when it is the object but only with symmetric verbs, suggesting that DU must be computed within the same phase as its host, i.e., the finite verb.<sup>14</sup>

#### 4 Interaction with *-st*

Further support for the claim that DU is a special clitic comes from its interaction with another special clitic in Icelandic, the *-st* clitic that is traditionally described as realizing middle voice. As pointed out by Kissonock (1997), Thráinsson (2007, 285) and Wood (2015, 76–77, 100–101), DU generally appears outside of (i.e., to the right of) the *-st* clitic, with one exception: in imperative clauses only, nonstandard Icelandic allows *-st* to occur outside of (i.e. to the right of) DU.

- (34) a. %Ger-ðu-st meðlimur í klúbbum.  
 become-DU-ST member in the.club  
 ‘Become a member of the club.’  
 b. Ger-st-u meðlimur í klúbbum.  
 become-ST-DU member in the.club  
 ‘Become a member of the club.’

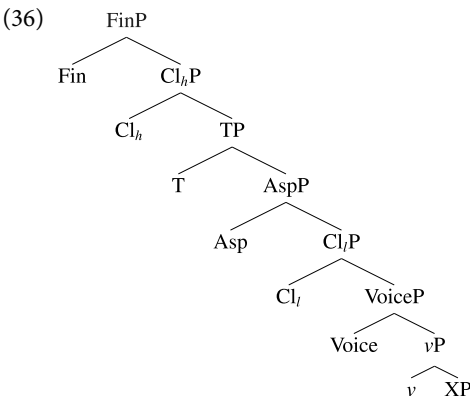
What is not mentioned in those works is that this is not possible with the simple clitic *ðu*.<sup>15</sup>

- (35) a. \*Ger-ðu-st meðlimur í klúbbum.  
 become-you.SG-ST member in the.club  
 ‘Become a member of the club.’  
 b. Ger-st-(ð)ú meðlimur í klúbbum.  
 become-ST-you.SG member in the.club  
 ‘Become a member of the club.’

This difference supports our claim that DU is a special clitic, while the other reduced forms (including *(ð)ú*, *’ann* and *’ún*) are simple clitics.

### 5 Implications

Our general claim in this squib is that whereas reduced forms such as *’ann* ‘he’, *’ún* ‘she’ and *(ð)ú* are (morpho)phonologically conditioned, DU is not only phonologically reduced, but has a restricted syntactic distribution as well. We have established that (i) it must attach to a finite verb, (ii) it must be in the same phase as the finite verb, and (iii) for some speakers it must be a subject. We have not given an analysis of the cliticization process and we leave that for future research. However, it is important to note that accounting for DU in object position of symmetric verbs is not straightforward. Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004) argue for two clitic positions within the clause. In Wood’s (2015, 96–103) implementation of that for Icelandic, he labels the higher projection  $Cl_hP$  and the lower  $Cl_lP$ ;  $FinP$  is the lowest projection of a split CP.



For some speakers, then, DU must always move to the higher clitic position, and with the finite verb moving to Fin, this results in a very local requirement for DU cliticization.

For other speakers it may be enough to move the clitic to the lower clitic position — or, perhaps, it does not need to move at all. Either way, even though, on the surface, the finite verb immediately precedes DU, syntactically these two are relatively far apart from each other. If it either moves to the lower clitic position or does not move at all, then the only locality requirement for the realization of *-du/-ðu/-tu* seems to be phase-locality and that the finite verb and DU are string-adjacent to one another. Alternatively, however, we might hypothesize that the DU clitic always moves to the high  $Cl_h$  position, even when it is an object, and the finite verb will move to Fin. In that case, it may be that string adjacency need not be stated as a separate condition, but derives from the syntax of the clitic and the verb.

We leave development of these possibilities as a topic for future research.

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## Notes

1. The following conversation between A and B shows that the reduced *-ðu* cannot be stressed. A tells B, without any emphasis on ‘you’, to shut up. B responds by saying something like ‘No, YOU shut up’, with a contrastive stress on ‘you’. Here it would have been ungrammatical to use *-ðu*.

- (i) A: Þegi-ðu!  
shut.up.IMP.SG-you.SG/DU  
‘Shut up!’
- B: Nei, þegi ÞÚ! / \*Nei, þegi-ÐU!  
no shut.up.IMP.SG you no shut.up.IMP.SG-you.SG/DU  
‘No, YOU shut up!’

Note that the other reduced forms of pronouns, such as those in (2b), (3b) and (6), also cannot be stressed.

2. As a reviewer points out, when *þú* ‘you’ in imperatives like (4a) is stressed neutrally, it has a poetic or biblical flavor. For some speakers, this form feels so archaic that it may not be considered part of the modern language. See, however, note 3 on the “clipped imperative”.

3. Note that for many verbs, when the imperative is followed by emphatic *þú*, the imperative stem can end with a coronal consonant which seems to derive from DU (Orešnik, 1972; Hansson, 1999).

- (i) Sýnd þú það.  
show.IMP.SG you it  
‘Show it.’ (cf. Hansson  
1999, ex.4c)

This form, known as the “clipped imperative,” appears to blend the coronal from (5a) (without the /u/; *sýn-du*) and the emphatic pronoun from (4a). (cf. Hansson 1999, ex.4c) claims that the clipped imperative shows that the coronal consonant of the clitic has been reanalyzed as part of the imperative stem, except when that stem ends in a vowel, a claim which can account for some lexically idiosyncratic morphophonological interactions between the verb root and the coronal. If so, then imperative stems will always end in

either a vowel or a coronal obstruent, so the clitic will always be realized as either *-ðu* (after vowels) or *-u* (after coronal obstruents) in imperatives.

4. A reviewer points out that the vowel *-u* can also be elided in hiatus contexts, as discussed in H.Á. Sigurðsson and Maling (2010), and illustrated in the following examples.

- (i) Brjót-tʰ í skál.  
break.IMP.SG-DU in bowl  
'Break into a bowl.'
- (ii) Far-ðʰ í frí.  
go.IMP.SG-DU on vacation  
'Go on vacation.'
- (iii) Vel-dʰ ekki þessa mynd.  
choose.IMP.SG-DU not this picture  
'Don't choose this picture.'

This vowel deletion is not specific to the clitic DU, but applies to all word-final unstressed vowels; see Dehé (2008) for further discussion of such vowel deletion.

5. The lenition of initial *p* is also found in other *p*-initial function words, as pointed out to us by Gunnar Ólafur Hansson (p.c.). Note that in writing, *ð* is never written word-initially. In the examples, *ð* word-initially in pronominal forms like *ðu* is meant to reflect pronunciation. Note, however, that *-ðu* is standardly written in word forms like *heldurðu* 'do you think', *geturðu* 'can you', etc., that contain the clitic; *-du*, *-tu* and *-u* are also written in forms like *komdu* 'come you', *vertu* 'be (imperative)', and *veistu* 'do you know', respectively.

6. A reviewer notes that for him/her, *-ðu* might not be possible in imperatives; we leave the exploration of this observation for future research.

7. A reviewer points out that *sem* as a verb stem differs from relative *sem* prosodically, so that the latter is unstressed but the former is not. However, we cannot see how this could be the basis for a phonological account of the contrast, since DU may attach to unstressed syllables, as it does in (1b) and (5b), among other examples.

8. We include the *ad-du* form because in other cases when DU attaches to /ð/, the result is /d-d/, e.g. *bræðþú > bræd-du* 'melt (imperative)'.  
9. We adopt the terms symmetric and asymmetric from Wood and H.Á. Sigurðsson (2014), who in turn adopt this terminology from work on applicatives going back to Bresnan and Moshi (1990), Marantz (1993); see McGinnis (2008) for an overview.

10. The judgments in (13)–(14) can be compared to the results in Sigurðsson's (1992) survey among seven Icelandic linguists. All seven judged (13b) unacceptable. Three of them found (13a) unacceptable whereas two found it acceptable. One gave it two question marks and one linguist gave it one question mark. No one in Sigurðsson's survey found (14) completely unacceptable, however, although one linguist gave it '?\*'; three linguists found it acceptable and three gave it one question mark.

11. For more on datives as arguments of Appl, see Cuervo (2003), McFadden (2004), McGinnis (2008), Schäfer (2008), H.Á. Sigurðsson (2012), Wood (2015), and E.F. Sigurðsson (2017).

12. We asked six native speaker linguists, in addition to the first author, for judgments of the sentences in this section. They were allowed to use any notation they wished, and gave additional comments on each example to clarify their judgments. It should be noted that some speakers found it somewhat difficult to judge the sentences because they did not find it easy to match the arguments with the intended thematic roles. To take an example, they found it a bit odd to have the 2nd person pronoun as the theme in (27a) rather than the benefactive. Two speakers found all of the DU object clitic examples, with symmetric and asymmetric verbs, to be fully ungrammatical. The remaining four speakers found a contrast, where DU was possible with one or more of the symmetric verbs, but completely out for the asymmetric verbs. Two speakers found the clitic DU in (29b) to be better than full *þú* in (29a). Speakers also varied with respect to the availability of full *þú*, with some finding it quite marked for some of these sentences. For our purposes, the important contrast is the one with the clitic DU: it is only possible with the symmetric verbs, and not the asymmetric verbs.

13. The judgments here are based on three speakers. Two found (33a) and (33c) possible, though slightly odd, and (33b) fully unacceptable. The third speaker rejected all three examples.
14. A reviewer raises an alternative hypothesis to account for these facts, namely that there is a constraint saying that 2nd person clitics can only cliticize to verbs with 2nd person agreement morphology. This would rule out object cliticization, since nominative objects cannot trigger 2nd person agreement. However, we do not think this alternative is viable. First, DU can easily cliticize to imperative verbs, which do not show 2nd person agreement. So there can be no general constraint along these lines. Second, the improvement of 2nd person nominative objects under 2nd/3rd person syncretism in verbal agreement only makes sense if we think of the verb as in some way 2nd person and 3rd person simultaneously; this suggests that the relative verbs are in fact 2nd person, and should therefore allow DU cliticization under the reviewer's suggestion.
15. As mentioned earlier, one reviewer has doubts about the availability of *-ðu* in imperatives, and that reviewer is unsure whether *-ðu* is possible for him/her in (35b).

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