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# Relative inversion and non-verb-initial imperatives in Early Modern Swedish

Erik Magnusson Petzell

This article deals with two syntactic differences between Present-Day Swedish (PDSw) and Early Modern Swedish (EMSw): first, only EMSw allows VS and XVS word order to occur in relative clauses; second, only EMSw permits non-verb-initial imperatives. One structural difference between the varieties is assumed to be a prerequisite for all these word order differences: the subject position was spec-TP in EMSw but is spec-FinP in PDSw. Only the lower position (spec-TP) is compatible with inversion (VS) and fronting of non-subjects (XVS) in relative clauses as well as with imperative clauses having elements other than the imperative verb in the initial position. To be able to account for the latter phenomenon, however, an additional assumption is needed: the imperative type-feature, [imp], always accompanies the verb in PDSw but is tied to an operator in EMSw. The first assumption about differing subject positions is independently motivated by findings already in the previous literature. The second assumption about the differing behaviour of [imp] in the two varieties is supported by the distribution of imperative verbs over a wider range of syntactic contexts in EMSw than in PDSw.

**Keywords** Early modern Swedish, generative syntax, imperatives, relative clauses, subject positions, subject–verb inversion, topicalisation, verb-second, word order

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

In the Germanic V2-languages, inverted order between the finite verb and the subject, i.e. VS order rather than SV order, is a typical main clause phenomenon. Still, subordinate inversion does exist, to a greater extent in some V2-varieties than in others (see e.g. Rohrbacher 1999:14–20; Hrafnbjargarson & Wiklund 2009). This paper investigates a sub-type of subordinate inversion, namely inversion in relative clauses (relative inversion), in the history of Swedish. Whereas Present-Day Swedish (PDSw) does not permit VS word order in relative clauses, Early Modern Swedish (EMSw) does, at least in certain contexts; see (1a) below (cf. the PDSw counterpart in (1b) where the order is SV). We take Early Modern Swedish as referring to texts by authors born prior to 1700 but after 1500.

- (1) a. hwilket<sub>j</sub> **skall Mahomet 2:[secun]dus**  
*which shall Mahomet second*  
 hafwa giort \_\_\_<sub>j</sub> (Rålamb 1657–58:125)  
*have done*  
 ‘which Mahomet the Second is supposed to have done’
- b. vilket<sub>j</sub> **Muhammed den andre skall** ha giort \_\_\_<sub>j</sub>  
*which Muhammed the second shall have.INF done*  
 ‘which Muhammed the Second is supposed to have done’

Now, consider also the relative clauses in (2a–b) below, where the relative pronouns are followed by a fronted adverbial clause. These examples show the same word order difference in the relative matrix between the two varieties as was illustrated in (1a–b): the finite verb precedes the subject only in EMSw. However, there is another difference as well: in the EMSw example (2a), the gap corresponding to the relative pronoun is found in the intervening adverbial clause, whereas the gap in the PDSw example (2b) is within the relative matrix.

- (2) a. spånorna [...] hwilcka<sub>j</sub> enär han besåg \_\_\_<sub>j</sub> **befunnes de** och  
*threads.DEF which when he saw find.PST.PASS they also*  
 wara aff gull (Rålamb 1657–58:43)  
*be.INF of gold*  
 ‘when he saw the threads, they too were found to be of gold’
- b. **vilka<sub>j</sub>**, när han granskade dem, \_\_\_<sub>j</sub> **visade** sig vara av guld  
*which when he scrutinised.PST them show.PST REFL be.INF of gold*  
 ‘when he scrutinised them, they turned out to be of gold’

This combination of word order difference and difference in the distribution of gaps can be accounted for structurally by assuming that the subject position is spec-FinP in PDSw (following e.g. Platzack 2001, Stroh-Wollin 2002) but spec-TP in EMSw (following Magnusson 2007a, b, and Petzell 2010).

Such an account also felicitously predicts another, rarely discussed, difference regarding the use of imperatives in the two varieties. In PDSw, imperatives are obligatorily introduced by the imperative verb form; compare the verb-initial example in (3a) below to the ungrammatical (3a’), where the verb is preceded by an object (of a preposition). Non-verb-initial imperatives were, however, commonplace in EMSw, as shown in (3b).

- (3) a. **Gör med örterna** som du vill  
*do with herbs.DEF as you want.PRS*  
 ‘Do as you want with the herbs.’
- a’. \***Örterna gör med** som du vill  
*herbs.DEF do with as you want.PRS*
- b. **Örterna gör med** som du vill (Kockebook 1650:64)  
*herbs.DEF do with as you want.PRS*  
 ‘Do as you want with the herbs.’

Rather than assuming ad hoc that older imperative utterances could involve topicalisation of the same kind as in indicative clauses today, we will relate the presence of non-verb-initial imperatives in EMSw (as in (3b)) but not PDSw (as in (3a')) to the same structural difference regarding subject positions between the varieties that needs to be assumed anyway to account for the distribution of relative inversion (as in (1a) and (2a) above).

This paper is organised as follows. In Section 2, the relevant phenomena – relative inversion and non-verb-initial imperatives – are presented in more detail. Section 3 contains a theoretical discussion of the syntax of the C-domain and the upper part of the I-domain. It is argued that subjects always compete with other categories to satisfy locality constraints in A-bar movement. Since the subject is higher than anything else, it must always win in such a competition, blocking movement of other categories into the left periphery. Assuming (with Richards 1998) a Principle of Minimal Compliance, this blocking effect can, however, be eliminated if T or Fin – as the case may be – first raises past ('inverts with') the subject to the next head up. In Section 4, we return to the data and present a detailed analysis of the differences between EMSw and PDSw under investigation. The paper is summarised in Section 5.

## 2. EMPIRICAL BACKGROUND

This section contains the descriptive bulk of the paper: relative inversion is treated in Section 2.1, non-verb-initial imperatives in Section 2.2.

### 2.1 *Relative inversion*

In order to categorise relative inversion of the type illustrated in (1a) and (2a) above into relevant sub-types, we require a set of descriptive labels to refer to the clauses involved: there is the VS-initial clause that is present in both (1a) and (2a), and the adverbial clause located between the relative pronoun and the VS-initial clause in (2a). We will refer to the former as the VS-clause, to the latter as the X-clause, and to the combination of these as the XVS-clause.

As shown in (1a) above, there is a gap in a VS-clause that is not preceded by an X-clause. If there is an X-clause intervening between the relative pronoun and the VS-clause, EMSw cannot have VS-gaps. Still, there may be a gap in the X-clause, henceforth: an X-gap, as shown in (2a). Interestingly, there are also examples with no gap at all, henceforth: 0-gap examples, in which case one or two resumptive pronouns mark the relevant slot(s). Minimally, there is a resumptive pronoun in the X-clause, maximally in both the X-clause and the VS-clause. No

examples contain a resumptive pronoun in the VS-clause alone. Additional EMSw examples of VS- and X-gaps are given in (4), and examples with 0-gaps are in (5).

## (4) a. VS-gap

[åff hwilcken Summa]<sub>j</sub> **haffuer Oloff Andersson** bekåmidt  
*of which sum has Oloff Andersson got.PTC*  
 halfftridie hundred pund \_\_\_<sub>j</sub> (EMSw, from Falk 1993:223)  
*two-and-a-half hundred pounds*  
 ‘Of this sum, Olof Andersson has received 250 pounds.’

## b. X-gap

Engelske Ambassadeuren sände till denne nya Caimacam sin  
*English Ambassador.DEF sent.PST to this new Kaymakam REFL.POSS*  
 Tålck, hwilcken<sub>j</sub> när han hälsade \_\_\_<sub>j</sub> på Engelske  
*interpreter which when he greeted.PST on English*  
 Ambassadeurens wågnar **swarade**  
*Ambassador.DEF.POSS behalf answered.PST*  
**Caimacam** (Rålamb 1657–58:155)  
*Kaymakam*  
 ‘The English Ambassador sent his interpreter to this new Kaymakam [an Ottoman sub-governor]. When he [i.e. the interpreter] greeted the Kaymakam on behalf of the English Ambassador, the Kaymakam answered’

## (5) 0-gap

- a. dråpo een eller två i theras åsyn, hwilcket<sub>j</sub> när the sågo thet<sub>j</sub>,  
*killed.PST one or two in their sight which when they saw it*  
**gåfwo the** oss strax Penningar för them  
*gave they us soon money for them*  
 ‘[we] killed one or two in front of them. When they saw that, they soon gave us money in exchange for them’
- b. hwilcket<sub>j</sub>, ehuru wäll det<sub>j</sub> är något bittert 0-gap till Smaken,  
*which although well it is somewhat bitter to taste.DEF*  
 så **är det<sub>j</sub>** likkawist ene Menniskio mycket helsosamt  
*so is it all-the-same a human very healthy*  
 ‘although it tastes somewhat bitter, it is still very healthy for a human’
- c. then fierde flydde, hwilcken<sub>j</sub> när han<sub>j</sub> kom till 0-gap the andra  
*the fourth fled.PST who when he came to the other*  
 sina Stallbröder, berättandes them theras Affärd, **dråpå**  
*REFL.POSS comrades telling them their departure killed.PST*  
**the honom<sub>j</sub>** strax.  
*they him directly*  
 ‘The fourth fled. When he came to his other comrades and told them that they had left, they instantly killed him.’

(Kiöping 1674:92, 51, 90)

The resumptive pronoun in 0-gap examples can be either a subject or a non-subject in either the X-clause or the VS-clause: in (5a), *thet* is an object in the X-clause;

in (5b), the first *det* is a subject in the X-clause, the second *det* a subject in the VS-clause; in (5c), finally, *han* is a subject in the X-clause and *honom* an object in the VS-clause.

In examples with a gap, the distribution is different. In VS-clauses, the gap can never – naturally – be a subject, since an overt subject is a prerequisite for VS order in the first place. In the X-clause, on the other hand, it would be feasible with a gap in the subject position. Still, no such examples have been retrieved. We take this absence to be due to some sort of comp–trace filter (however this restriction is best formulated). Whatever prohibits examples such as (6a) below (where there is a trace after the extracted subject in the subordinate clause – see the grammatical (6a'), where the trace instead corresponds to an extracted object) in PDSw, also prohibits – presumably – the occurrence of subject-gaps in X-clauses in EMSw (see the constructed example in (6b)).

- (6) a. \*Kalle<sub>i</sub> frågade vi [hur t<sub>i</sub> hade lagat maten].  
*Kalle asked.PST we how had.PST prepared.PTC food.DEF*
- a'. Maten<sub>j</sub> frågade vi Kalle [hur han hade lagat t<sub>j</sub>].  
*food.DEF asked.PST we Kalle how he had.PST prepared.PTC*  
 'We asked Kalle how he had prepared the food.'
- b. \*vilken<sub>i</sub> [när t<sub>i</sub> såg oss] gick vi iväg  
*which when saw us went we away*

In both (6a) and (6b) there is an illicit trace directly after the *wh*-element initiating the embedded clause.

## 2.2 Non-verb-initial imperatives

In the introduction, it was shown that EMSw permits non-verb-initial imperatives (recall (3b) above); two more examples are given in (7). This word order is ungrammatical in PDSw (recall (3a') above).<sup>1</sup>

- (7) a. till ett fierdingpund tag ett halft skålpund Socker  
*to a fourth.pound take.IMP a half bowl.pound sugar*  
 'Take half a pound of sugar to a fourth-pound.'
- b. Socker och Canel lägg ofwan där till  
*sugar and cinnamon put.IMP above there to*  
 'In addition, put sugar and cinnamon on top.'
- (Ny och fullkomlig koke-bok 1737:116/76, 121/81)

At first, it appears as if these imperative clauses in EMSw involve topicalisation, i.e. fronting of a phrase to the highest spec position in the clause. This is how the

phenomenon is characterised by Delsing (1999). However, there is no need to assume any difference between the varieties regarding topicalisation; it explains nothing but the observed patterns (i.e. it is an ad hoc explanation).

In addition, an analysis of the examples in (7) in terms of topicalisation does not help us understand how imperatives can also be embedded in EMSw; consider (8), where the imperative verb form (*skrif* ‘write’) occurs inside a relative clause.

- (8) af hwilket 24 skrif then Figur wid högra Handen  
 of which 24 write.IMP the figure by right hand.DEF  
 står (Agrells räknelära 1655:42)  
 stands  
 ‘Of this 24, write the figure that is by your right hand.’

Clearly, to understand how an imperative verb can be embedded, we need to understand more about the nature of imperative force.

### 3. SUBJECT POSITIONS, INVERSION AND THE NATURE OF IMPERATIVE FORCE

#### 3.1 A broad outline of clause structure

Following Chomsky (2001) and Pesetsky & Torrego (2001), we can assume that the syntactic system is driven by the elimination of uninterpretable features. An uninterpretable feature ([uF]) is always eliminated by an interpretable counterpart ([F]); either [F] moves to a position structurally local to [uF] – this is the case if [uF] is marked with an EPP-feature – or a link is established from a distance between [uF] and a lower position containing [F]. Here, we will be concerned with local elimination only.

Both relative inversion and non-verb-initial imperatives involve placement of elements in the initial part of the clause that differs from the possible placement of the corresponding elements in PDSw. In EMSw, S and V invert in contexts where they cannot invert today, and imperative verbs need not, unlike today, be clause-initial. In order to understand these differences we must consider the structural properties of the topmost area of the clause, in particular the C-domain but also the upper part of the I-domain.

The analysis argued for in the following is more or less identical to the one in Petzell (2010), which is to a large extent inspired by the analysis argued for by Stroh-Wollin (2002); she has in turn developed the ideas presented in Branigan (1996), Rizzi (1997) and Platzack (1998), but unlike the latter she maintains that main clauses and subordinate clauses are structurally different, i.e. they represent

different phrase-types. In the present analysis, the difference between independent utterances and subordinate clauses is reduced to a question of feature distribution.<sup>2</sup>

All finite clauses are treated as structurally identical maximal projections labelled TypePs. Type<sup>o</sup> hosts uninterpretable features associated with clausal type ([utype]<sub>EPP</sub>) and structural status ([ustatus]<sub>EPP</sub>). The interpretable features that are capable of eliminating [utype]<sub>EPP</sub> are of several kinds: [dec] gives a declarative reading, [rel] a relative reading, [wh] an interrogative meaning, [excl] an exclamative reading, etc. The ones that are capable of eliminating [ustatus]<sub>EPP</sub>, however, are but two: [comp], which makes the clause subordinate, and [force], which makes it independent. The feature [comp] is connected to a visible or invisible complementiser, [force] often, but not always, to a finite verb. In exclamatives, [force] is apparently tied to the same element that hosts the type-feature, in (9a) below, to the interjection *Jävlar* ‘Damn it’ (see Magnusson 2007a:212; Stroh-Wollin 2011; see also Section 3.3 below). The type-feature [dec] is tied to all phrases that can be fronted in a declarative utterance, e.g. PPs, AdvPs and DPs (see (9b–d)).<sup>3</sup> The type-feature [rel] is associated with both relative pronouns and relative operators (see (9e–f)). Relative pronouns are often homonymous with interrogative pronouns (i.e. pronouns marked with the type-feature [wh]). There are, however, some distinct forms in the two paradigms, which indicate that it is indeed necessary to keep rel-marking and *wh*-marking separate in Swedish. The possessive *vars* ‘whose’ in (9e) is uniquely relative. Likewise, *vem* ‘who’ can only initiate a question (see (9g)).

- (9) a. [IntP<sub>[excl][force]</sub> Jävlar] vad du är bra!  
           *damnit what you are good*  
           ‘Damn it, you’re good!’
- b. [PP<sub>[dec]</sub> På morgonen] äter han numera en stor tallrik gröt.  
           *on morning.DEF eats he nowadays a big bowl porridge*  
           ‘In the morning he eats a big bowl of porridge nowadays.’
- c. [AdvP<sub>[dec]</sub> Numera] äter han en stor tallrik gröt på morgonen.  
           *nowadays eats he a big bowl porridge on morning.DEF*  
           ‘Nowadays he eats a big bowl of porridge in the morning.’
- d. [DP<sub>[dec]</sub> En stor tallrik gröt] äter han numera på morgonen.  
           *a big bowl porridge eats he nowadays on morning.DEF*  
           ‘A big bowl of porridge he eats in the morning nowadays.’
- e. mannen [DP<sub>[rel]</sub> vars bror] bor här  
           *man.DEF whose brother lives here*  
           ‘the man whose brother lives here’
- f. mannen [DP<sub>[rel]</sub> Op] som bor här  
           *man.DEF that lives here*  
           ‘the man that lives here’
- g. Vi undrade [DP<sub>[wh]</sub> vem] hans bror var.  
           *we wondered.PST who his brother was*  
           ‘We wondered who his brother was.’

We will assume that all finite verbs in (9) are associated with the feature [force]. At first, such an assumption appears problematic since not all finite clauses are independent; cf. the subordinate clauses in (9a) and (9e–g). In these cases, we could argue, however, that the force-feature is simply invisible to LF, given that it never reaches TypeP, where features of this sort are relevant, but instead remains in VP.<sup>4</sup> Still, there are non-independent clauses where the finite verb inverts with the subject, which indicates that it is indeed in Type<sup>o</sup>; compare the comparative conditional in (10a) and the verb-initial conditional in (10b).

- (10) a. Han betedde sig som vore han galen.  
*he acted.PST REFL as were he mad*  
 ‘He acted as if he was mad.’  
 b. Kommer du hit blir jag glad.  
*come.PRS you here become.PRS I happy*  
 ‘If you’ll come here, I’ll be happy.’

If [force] is assumed to be tied to all indicative verbs (rather than all finite verbs), comparative conditionals would not pose a problem for our analysis; as in (10a), the verb in comparative conditionals is in the subjunctive. Not even the presence of a force-feature on the (indicative) verb in (10b) need be problematic. In fact, it may shed some light on the distributional difference between conditionals initiated by a complementiser (*om* ‘if’) and verb-initial conditionals as in (10b). Unlike *om*-initial conditionals, verb-initial conditionals must appear initially; see (11a–b) below. Yet, they are never independent – the conditional interpretation can only be obtained when the verb-initial clause is tied to another matrix (as in 10b); otherwise, it is interpreted as a question (see (11c)). This intermediate status of verb-initial conditionals could be seen as an effect of [force] on the one hand being present on *kommer* ‘come’, but on the other hand being subordinate to another head with a force-feature (*blir* ‘become’).

- (11) a. \*Jag blir glad kommer du hit.  
*I become.PRS happy come.PRS you here*  
 b. Jag blir glad om du kommer hit.  
*I become.PRS happy if you come.PRS here*  
 ‘I’ll be happy if you’ll come here.’  
 c. Kommer du hit?  
*come.PRS you here*  
 ‘Will you come here?’

It should be noted that a Type-head containing [force] may certainly be embedded in other contexts; this is shown in (12a) below, where there is a TypeP headed by [force] in the complement of a narrative complementiser (‘CP-recursion’). The effect of this embedding is that the proposition is interpreted as asserted by the speaker, an interpretation that is hardly made if there is a single TypeP headed by [comp],

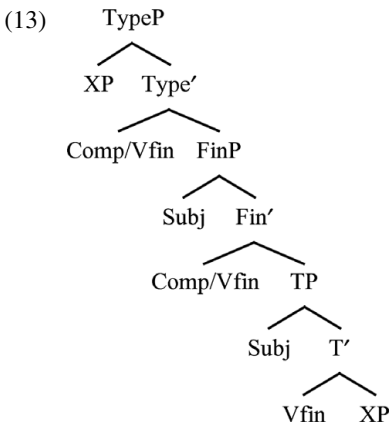


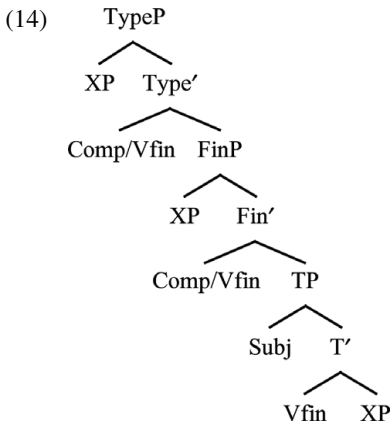
as in (12b) (for a discussion, see Andersson 1975). No comparable difference is demonstrable in the case of conditionals. Semantically, verb-initial conditionals as in (10b) (where [force] is in Type<sup>o</sup>) and *om*-initial conditionals as in (11b) (where TypeP is headed by [comp]) are equivalent.

- (12) a. Han fick medge att Palme beundrade han väldigt mycket.  
*he got.PST admit.INF that Palme admired.PST he very much*  
 b. Han fick medge att han beundrade Palme väldigt mycket.  
*he got.PST admit.INF that he admired.PST Palme very much*  
 'He had to admit that he admired Palme very much.'

The phrase below TypeP, FinP, also hosts two uninterpretable features, one attracting the finite head (the verb or the complementiser) ([ufin]<sub>EPP</sub>) (see Holmberg & Platzack 1989, 1995) and one attracting the subject (see Branigan 1996). In EMSw, on the other hand, spec-FinP was not a pure subject position. Instead, the canonical position for subjects was spec-TP. Exactly what type of feature attracts the subject is not crucial for the present analysis. Magnusson (2007a, b) and Petzell (2010) suggest that in both EMSw and PDSw there is a pure subject feature in FinP, the difference between the varieties being that only in PDSw is this subject feature accompanied by an EPP-feature. Although such an account felicitously predicts the difference between the placement of subjects in the two varieties, it fails to predict the presence of non-subjects in spec-FinP in EMSw. Clearly, there must be some separate uninterpretable feature in FinP that is general enough to attract subjects as well as non-subjects.

The distribution of heads and phrases in the C-domain and the upper part of the I-domain in PDSw is presented in (13), and the EMSw system is shown in (14).





Motivations for this subject difference are given in Section 3.2. Inversion is handled in Section 3.3, and imperative force in Section 3.4.

### 3.2 Subject positions

The subject in PDSw has, since the late 1990s, been assumed to reside in the lower part of the C-domain (Platzack 1998, drawing on Branigan 1996; see also Platzack 2001; Stroh-Wollin 2002; Josefsson, Platzack & Håkansson 2003; Magnusson 2003, 2007a, b; Petzell 2010). The most important empirical motivation to support such a claim is presented in Platzack (2001): since children acquiring the language produce V2-errors and subject-related errors (i.e. violations of the demand for an overt subject) during the same stage of acquisition, the two phenomena (V2/overt S) are assumed to belong to the same clausal domain (see Platzack 2001:369–370). If V2 is a C-phenomenon, so is the realisation of S.

Magnusson (2003, 2007a, b) and Petzell (2010) suggest that subjects in EMSw, unlike subjects in PDSw, reside in the topmost spec position in the I-domain; we will refer to this as spec-TP. Magnusson (2003) connects this positional difference between subjects in the two varieties with the weaker demand for an overt subject in EMSw. This weaker demand is seen by Magnusson (2007a, b) and Petzell (2010) as a consequence of a stricter coordinator in the modern variety, ruling out any instantiation of asymmetrical coordinate gaps.

In Magnusson (2007a, b) as well as in Petzell (2010), the empirical motivation for assuming the subject to reside in spec-TP (rather than spec-FinP) comprises two types of coordination data. First, EMSw permits second conjuncts with Subject–Adverbial–Verb word order (SAV) in main clause coordination; see the examples in (15a) and (16a) below. The preverbal adverbial (AV) indicates that the verb remains in situ, i.e. in VP. Since definite subjects (as the subjects in the SAV sequences in (15a) and (16a)) are never realised inside VP, the SAV subjects must be in a higher

subject position: spec-TP or spec-FinP. If they are assumed to be in spec-FinP as in PDSw, we are unable to account for the absence of V2; the uninterpretable feature in Fin<sup>o</sup> ([ufin]<sub>EPP</sub>) cannot be left uneliminated; see the structures in (15b) and (16b). Overt verbal movement over A to T<sup>o</sup> is, on the other hand, not expected to occur at this relatively late stage of Swedish (see Falk 1993). Consequently, only if SAV subjects are assumed to reside in spec-TP is it possible to predict the post-adverbial position of the finite verb; see (15b') and (16b').

- (15) a. Och ehuruwäl Wattnet uthi Persiska Inloppet är mycket salt, hafwa  
*and although water.DEF in Persian entrance is very salty have.PRS*  
 the lijkwäl een mycket frisk Syn, och **theras Ögon aldrig**  
*they still a very healthy eyesight and their eyes never*  
**förderfwas**  
*ruin.PRS.PASS*  
 'Although the water in the Persian entrance is very salty, they still have  
 very good eyesight; their eyes are never ruined.'  
 (Kiöping 1674:79)
- b. [<sub>TypeP</sub> [ehuruwäl Wattnet uthi Persiska Inloppet är mycket salt] hafwa,  
 [<sub>FinP</sub> the t<sub>v</sub> lijkwäl een mycket frisk Syn] och  
 \*<sub>[FinP</sub> theras Ögon <sub>[FinO</sub> [ufin]<sub>EPP</sub>] aldrig förderfwas]]
- b'. [<sub>TypeP</sub> [ehuruwäl Wattnet uthi Persiska Inloppet är mycket salt] hafwa,  
 [<sub>TP</sub> the t<sub>v</sub> lijkwäl een mycket frisk Syn] och  
 [<sub>TP</sub> theras Ögon [<sub>TO</sub> e] aldrig förderfwas]]
- (16) a. dänne dagh hadhe iagh låthit uthskriffwa Häradz Tingh, män  
*this day had.PST I let.PTC summon.INF hundred's court but*  
**Laghläsaren emoth min wethskap hadhe** uppskutit till  
*law.reader.def against my knowing had.PST postponed.PTC-it to*  
 dän 16 (Rosenhane 1652:37)  
*the 16*  
 'On this day, I had summoned the court of the hundred; but the judge  
 had – without me knowing – postponed it until the 16th.'
- b. [<sub>TypeP</sub> [dänne dagh] hadhe<sub>v</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> iagh t<sub>v</sub> låthit uthskriffwa Häradz Tingh]  
 män  
 \*<sub>[FinP</sub> Laghläsaren <sub>[FinO</sub> [ufin]<sub>EPP</sub>] emoth min wethskap hadhe uppskutit till  
 dän 16]]
- b'. [<sub>TypeP</sub> [dänne dagh] hadhe<sub>v</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> iagh t<sub>v</sub> låthit uthskriffwa Häradz Tingh] män  
 [<sub>TP</sub> Laghläsaren [<sub>TO</sub> e] emoth min wethskap hadhe uppskutit till dän 16]]

Second, it was possible in EMSw to use second conjuncts with VS word order not only in a main clause context (as in Old Swedish, Alving 1916:22–44), but also inside a subordinate clause; see (17a) below. With the subject in spec-FinP as in PDSw, the initial finite verb would have to reside in Type<sup>o</sup>, which would mean that we are dealing with coordination on a TypeP-level, see (17b). If the subject resides in spec-TP, on

the other hand, we can assume the example to involve FinP+FinP-coordination; see (17c).

- (17) a. Blef han för den skul så ondh på henne och sade, at hon  
*became he for that sake so mad on her and said.PST that she*  
 nu har någ råt om migh och **skule hon** nu  
*now has enough cared.PTC about me and should she now*  
 inte längre inbila sig något herewäle  
*not longer imagine.INF REFL any dominance*  
 öfwer mig. (Horn 1657:80)  
*over me*  
 ‘Therefore, I was very angry with her, and he said that she has now cared for  
 me enough and she shouldn’t imagine that she could dominate me any longer.’
- b. [<sub>TypeP</sub> at hon nu har någ råt om migh] och  
 [<sub>TypeP</sub> skule hon nu inte längre inbila sig något herewäle öfwer mig]
- c. [<sub>TypeP</sub> at<sub>s</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> t<sub>s</sub> hon nu har någ råt om migh] och  
 [<sub>FinP</sub> skule hon nu inte längre inbila sig något herewäle öfwer mig]]

The most critical problem with the TypeP-analysis in (17b) is that it involves coordination of two TypePs with different structural status. The status of conjunct 1 is subordinate, since it is headed by the feature [comp] (associated with the complementiser), but the status of conjunct 2 is independent, since it is headed by [force] (associated with the finite verb).<sup>5</sup> Apart from the fact that the VS sequence in this particular context must be interpreted as being part of the complement of the verb *säga*, ‘say’, i.e. embedded under *at*, we lack independent evidence that EMSw, unlike its modern counterpart, in fact allowed TypePs with different structural statuses (main clauses and subordinate clauses) to be coordinated. None of these difficulties arise if the conjuncts in (17a) are treated as FinPs, as in (17c), which is only possible if the subject in EMSw is assumed to be in spec-TP.

If the subject does not need to move into FinP in EMSw, spec-FinP should be able to host non-subjects. In other words, our analysis predicts there to be something of an A-bar position just below Type<sup>o</sup> in EMSw but not in PDSw (i.e. spec-FinP). Presumably, this is where the adverbial clause, i.e. X, in XVS-clauses and clause-initial phrases in non-verb-initial imperatives reside.

Håkansson (2008) argues that subjects were even lower in Old Swedish (OSw) than in EMSw, namely spec-vP, and that spec-TP was an A-bar position at this earlier stage. If we combine Håkansson’s account with the present analysis we get two A-bar positions above the subject but still below Type<sup>o</sup> in OSw: spec-FinP and spec-TP. Given such a structure we would in fact expect OSw to permit one pattern that we do not find in EMSw: relative clauses with XVS word order containing a trace after a relativised phrase in the VS-clause rather than a resumptive pronoun as in EMSw (recall the 0-gap examples discussed in Section 2.1 above). In EMSw, the X blocks relativisation (movement), since there is no A-bar position above X but below

[comp]: the subject is in spec-TP and X is in spec-FinP. In OSw, on the other hand, there is such a position available: the subject is in spec-vP, and X in spec-TP leaving spec-FinP free for a relativised phrase to pass through.<sup>6</sup> There are OSw examples that seem to indicate that this prediction is correct; see (18), where the relativised object of *æta* ‘eat’ has moved past both the subject (*mæn* ‘men’) and the X (*ey* ‘not’).

- (18) aff them dyurom **som ey magho mæn** æta (Penta 1330s:130, 19)  
*of the.DAT animals.DAT that not may.3PL men eat.INF*  
 ‘of the animals that men cannot eat’

First, we should note that the OSw X is non-clausal, unlike X in EMSw. Second, the relative clause is initiated by the relative complementiser (*som* ‘that’) and not by a pronoun as in the majority of examples in EMSw. To investigate relative inversion in OSw more thoroughly, and to relate it to relative inversion in EMSw, is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of the present article.

### 3.3 Inversion

We will assume that spec-TypeP-movement has nothing to do with information structure. It is certainly evident that the clause-initial position has relevance for what is perceived as the topic of an utterance (cf. the label topicalisation), but it is not at all clear why this should be a matter of syntax (see Engdahl’s 1999 critique of Rizzi 1997, who assumes that focus- and topic-features syntactically motivate phrasal movement to the C-domain; see also Platzack 2008). In our view, it is syntactically relevant only that [utype]<sub>EPP</sub> needs to be eliminated, i.e. THAT something with a relevant interpretable feature moves into TypeP.<sup>7</sup> Syntax does not, however, specify WHY this or that constituent is raised to first position in a certain case. This latter concern lies outside the domain of syntax proper. All phrases that are compatible with placement in spec-TypeP are assumed to have the status of possible spec-TypeP candidates in every derivation. This means that syntax does not care what phrase eventually ends up in spec-TypeP, as long as some phrase does.<sup>8</sup>

Yet, it is well known that syntactic operations are restricted by some sort of economy principle, according to which feature matching always needs to be as local as possible. This principle is usually labelled Shortest Move (SM) and appears in the literature in several versions (see e.g. Rizzi 1990, Chomsky 1995). Here, we will assume the SM formulation of Richards (1998), quoted in (19); minimal domain means maximal phrase.

- (19) *Shortest Move (SM)*

A feature F must attract another feature G, such that G’s minimal domain is not separated from F by any other feature that could participate in this attraction relation. (Richards 1998:614)

Since subjects in PDS<sub>w</sub> have always raised to a higher spec position than other spec-TypeP candidates prior to the merging of Type<sup>o</sup> (i.e. to spec-FinP), the type-feature associated with the subject ([dec], [rel] or [wh]) will always be structurally closer to [utype]<sub>EPP</sub> than any other type-feature in the clause. Still, only some clauses are subject-initial, i.e. comply with SM by moving the subject to spec-TypeP; see (20a) below. In (20b), a phrase within VP marked with the type-feature [dec] (the object [<sub>DP</sub> *en björn*]) has moved across FinP to spec-TypeP in violation of SM, since VP (the minimal domain of [<sub>DP</sub> *en björn*]) is separated from [utype]<sub>EPP</sub> by the dec-feature of [<sub>DP</sub> *jag*] in spec-FinP.<sup>9</sup>

- (20) a. *Jag såg en björn.*  
*I saw a bear*  
 ‘I saw a bear.’  
 a’ [<sub>TypeP</sub> [utype]<sub>EPP</sub> [dec] *jag*<sub>i</sub> *såg*<sub>v</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* *t<sub>v</sub>* ... [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* *t<sub>v</sub>* [dec] [*en björn*]]]]  
 b. *En björn såg jag.*  
*a bear saw I*  
 ‘A bear, I saw.’  
 b’. [<sub>TypeP</sub> [utype]<sub>EPP</sub> [dec] [*en björn*]<sub>j</sub> *såg*<sub>v</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> [dec] *jag*<sub>i</sub> *t<sub>v</sub>* ... [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* *t<sub>j</sub>*]]]  
 Elimination of [utype] with the dec-feature in VP rather than the dec-feature in FinP violates SM.

Apparently, the SM violation in (20b’) is not crucial; clauses with fronted non-subjects are indeed perfectly grammatical. As illustrated by Richards (1998:614–627), there are several constructions in other languages that seem to violate SM, e.g. object shift in Icelandic and certain participle constructions in French. Characteristic of the SM violations discussed by Richards is that they are all preceded by operations that do not violate SM.<sup>10</sup>

The fact that a licit operation with respect to SM appears to be able to ‘save’ an otherwise illicit operation leads Richards to the assumption that there must be some kind of loophole in the grammar of human languages. He formulates this loophole as a universal principle, the Principle of Minimal Compliance (PMC), stating that a given restriction may be circumvented if it has previously been obeyed. The principle is quoted in (21), and discussed in the following.

(21) *Principle of Minimal Compliance (PMC)*

For any dependency D that obeys constraint C, any elements that are relevant for determining whether D obeys C can be ignored for the rest of the derivation for purposes of determining whether any other dependency D’ obeys C.

*Richards’ definition of relevance*

An element X is relevant for determining whether any dependency D with a head A and a tail B obeys constraint C if

- (a) X is along the path of D  
 (that is,  $X = A$ ,  $X = B$  or A c-commands X and X c-commands B), and  
 (b) X is a member of the class of elements to which C makes reference.

(Richards 1998:601)

Let us now re-consider the structure in (20b') above, repeated below as (22). As already noted, the movement of the non-subject (the object) to spec-TypeP violates SM, since the subject is a structurally closer candidate for fronting. However, the raising of the verb from  $\text{Fin}^0$  to  $\text{Type}^0$  – an operation that fully obeys SM – includes the subject in path D (spec-FinP is between the head of the verbal movement,  $\text{Type}^0$ , and its tail,  $\text{Fin}^0$ ). Given PMC, the subject is not taken into consideration when the next movement is being evaluated with respect to SM. Long distance fronting of VP-elements can thus be permitted.<sup>11</sup>

- (22) [ $\text{TypeP}$  [ $\text{utype}$ ] $_{\text{EPP} [\text{dec}]}$  [ $\text{en}$  björn]<sub>j</sub> såg<sub>v</sub> [ $\text{FinP}$  [ $\text{dec}$ ] jag<sub>i</sub> t<sub>v</sub> ... [ $\text{VP}$  t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>j</sub>]]]  
 No SM violation given PMC.

This analysis of long distance fronting can straightforwardly be extended to subordinate clauses. In the relative clause in (23) below, the relativised object of *såg* 'saw' (*Op*) has moved to spec-TypeP over the subject in spec-FinP. Just as in main clauses, such an operation must be preceded by head movement from  $\text{Fin}^0$  to  $\text{Type}^0$ , since the dec-feature of the subject that is structurally closer to [ $\text{utype}$ ] $_{\text{EPP}}$  than the rel-feature of the object needs to be hidden from the SM mechanism; a raising of the complementiser *som* 'that' in (23a') thus serves the same purpose as the raising of the finite verb *såg* 'saw' in (20b') (for independent evidence of complementiser movement, see e.g. Roussou 2000, Roberts 2004, Rizzi & Schlonsky 2007). Consequently, inversion with the subject cannot be viewed as a strictly verbal phenomenon, but a characteristic of all finite heads, i.e. both complementisers and finite verbs.

- (23) a. björnen som jag såg  
*bear.DEF that I saw*  
 'the bear that I saw'  
 a'. [ $\text{TypeP}$  [ $\text{rel}$ ] *Op*]<sub>j</sub> som<sub>s</sub> [ $\text{FinP}$  [ $\text{dec}$ ] jag t<sub>s</sub> såg t<sub>j</sub>]]  
 No SM violation given PMC

The fact that [dec] can never co-occur with [comp] inside TypeP (see (24a–b) below) is irrelevant as far as the elimination of [ $\text{utype}$ ] $_{\text{EPP}}$  is concerned. Both [dec] on the subject and [rel] on the relativised object are capable of eliminating [ $\text{utype}$ ] $_{\text{EPP}}$  and are thereby competing for movement into TypeP; the fact that [dec] and [comp] are incompatible is a separate matter. We will simply conclude that some combinations of type- and status-features are illicit. Presumably, it is such a combinatory restriction that is responsible for the absence of relative inversion in PDSw (where inversion, unlike inversion in EMSw, always involves movement of the finite verb to  $\text{Type}^0$ );

see (24c–d). Here, [rel] associated with the pronoun and [force] on the finite verb are both contained within the same TypeP, a combination that is – apparently – not allowed. The ban on certain feature pairs in TypeP is clearly an LF-restriction (see Magnusson 2007a:281–282).

- (24) a. \*mannen igår som han såg en björn  
*man.DEF yesterday that he saw a bear*  
 b. mannen [<sub>TypeP</sub> [<sub>dec</sub>] igår [<sub>comp</sub>] som [<sub>FinP</sub> han såg en björn]]  
 \*[[dec] [comp]]  
 c. \*dokumentet vilket såg du alltså här  
*document.DEF which saw you thus here*  
 d. dokumentet [<sub>TypeP</sub> [<sub>rel</sub>] vilket [<sub>force</sub>] såg [<sub>FinP</sub> du alltså här]]  
 \*[[rel] [force]]

In relative clauses that are initiated by a relative pronoun, we need to assume the presence of an invisible complementiser (*Comp*); see (25a–a') below. This complementiser has been base generated in *Fin*<sup>o</sup> and then moved to *Type*<sup>o</sup> concealing the subject from the SM device and thereby allowing non-subject fronting, just as the overt *som* 'that' in (23). Without a complementiser trace in *Fin*<sup>o</sup>, we expect verb movement to this head (to eliminate the feature [<sub>u</sub>fin]<sub>EPP</sub>), but such movement never occurs; see (25b), with the ungrammatical V–adverbial order which V-to-*Fin* movement would generate.

- (25) a. dokumentet vilket du alltså såg här  
*document.DEF which you thus saw here*  
 'the document which you thus saw here'  
 a'. dokumentet [<sub>TypeP</sub> vilket<sub>t</sub> *Comp*<sub>s</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> du t<sub>s</sub> alltså såg t<sub>j</sub> här]]  
 b. \*dokumentet vilket du såg alltså här  
*document.DEF which you saw thus here*

For an alternative analysis of relative clauses lacking an overt complementiser, see Stroh-Wollin (2002, in particular pages 294–297).

### 3.4 Imperative force

In the generative literature, imperative force has been linked to a feature [imp] that is tied to the imperative verb form (identical to the verb stem in Swedish) residing in the highest phrase of the clause, i.e. *TypeP* in our model (see e.g. Platzack & Rosengren 1998). It is, however, not evident why [imp] and the verb would always go together. We know that other type-features are not necessarily bound to overt (visible) lexical items, even though they may indeed be so. The polarity feature ([p<sub>ol</sub>]), for instance, comes with the invisible operator *Q* in yes/no questions, but is associated with the complementiser in the corresponding subordinate clauses (see (26a–b) below; also Magnusson 2007a:214–215). Furthermore, an exclamative feature is sometimes



associated with an interjection (as in (26c); see also (9a) above), but sometimes it is not. In the latter case, we may assume an invisible exclamative operator (*E*) in TypeP; see (26d).

- (26) a. [<sub>TypeP</sub> [<sub>[pol]</sub> *Q*] [<sub>[force]</sub> *Har*] du ätit]?  
           *have.PRS you eaten*  
           ‘Have you eaten?’
- b. Jag undrar [<sub>TypeP</sub> [<sub>[pol][comp]</sub> *om*] du har ätit].  
    *I wonder.PRS whether you have.PRS eaten*  
    ‘I wonder if you’ve eaten.’
- c. [<sub>TypeP</sub> [<sub>[excl][force]</sub> *Fan*] att du aldrig kan lära dig detta]!  
           *damn that you never can learn.INF you this*  
           ‘Damnit, why can’t you ever learn this!’
- d. [<sub>TypeP</sub> [<sub>[excl][force]</sub> *E*] Att du inte går iväg]!  
           *that you not go.PRS away*  
           ‘Why don’t you go away!’

This ambivalence in the associate behaviour of type-features should constitute a natural domain for parametric variation. The type-feature [*imp*] would be no exception; it is expected either to be tied to an operator (*I*) or associated with a lexical item. Like [*excl*] (but unlike [*pol*]), [*imp*] is intrinsically paired with the feature [*force*]. Suppose that [*imp*] is associated with the imperative verb (i.e. *Vstem*) in PDSw but tied to an operator (*I*) in EMSw. Adding the subject difference, both systems generate verb-initial imperatives with post-verbal subjects (when overt), as shown in (27) below; in (27a), *Vstem* must move to Type<sup>o</sup> in order for the [*imp*]–[*force*] feature pair to get there; in (27b), these features (being tied to the operator *I*) are instead merged directly in Type<sup>o</sup>, whereas the verb remains in Fin<sup>o</sup>.<sup>12</sup> In both cases, (S) ends up to the right of the verb.<sup>13</sup>

- (27) a. PDSw: [<sub>TypeP</sub> [<sub>[imp][force]</sub> *Vstem*]<sub>v</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> (S) *t<sub>v</sub>*]]  
       b. EMSw: [<sub>TypeP</sub> [<sub>[imp][force]</sub> *I*] [<sub>FinP</sub> *Vstem* [<sub>TP</sub> (S)]]]

The crucial effect of the combination of the subject difference and the difference regarding the associate status of [*imp*] is that there is room for a non-subject above the imperative verb (i.e. in spec-FinP) in EMSw but not in PDSw, offering us an account of the occurrence of non-verb-initial imperatives in the older variety but not in the modern one.

#### 4. ACCOUNTING FOR THE DIFFERENCES

In Section 3, we introduced two structural differences between PDSw and EMSw: one regarding the position of subjects (spec-FinP in PDSw, spec-TP in EMSw) and the other concerning the imperative type-feature [*imp*] (which is assumed to be verbally associated only in PDSw). In this section, the structural analysis is put to the test when we return to the data introduced in Section 2.

#### 4.1 Relative inversion

It follows from the independently motivated difference with respect to the position of subjects between EMSw and PDSw (see Section 3.2 above) that inverted word order is possible in relative clauses in the older variety only. Relative VS must have S in spec-TP. If S is in spec-FinP as in PDSw, VS order can only be obtained via movement of the finite verb into TypeP, which prohibits the establishment of subordinate status since the verb carries the feature [force].

Furthermore, we need to make clear that although spec-FinP was something of an A-bar position in EMSw, the subject in spec-TP would always be the least complicated choice structurally – the element in spec-TP is simply the closest candidate to fill spec-FinP. Consequently, the modern Comp + SV order (as in (1b) above) is by far the most typical order in EMSw as well; see (28).

- (28) a. med hwilket han och underhåller the andra Fäder  
*with which he also supports the other fathers*  
 ‘with which he also supports the other fathers’ (Kiöping 1674:82–83)
- b. [<sub>TypeP</sub> [med hwilket]<sub>j</sub>] Comp<sub>s</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> han<sub>i</sub> t<sub>s</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> och [<sub>VP</sub> underhåller the andra Fäder t<sub>j</sub>]]]]

As in PDSw, the (invisible) complementiser moves from Fin to Type thereby (given PMC) concealing the subject (*han*) and making relativisation of the non-subject (*med hwilket*) licit.<sup>14</sup>

In VS examples like the one in (29), the subject remains in spec-TP and the non-subject relative pronoun is therefore first moved to spec-FinP before it advances to spec-TypeP. However, for a non-subject to be able to move to spec-FinP, the subject in spec-TP needs to be concealed, just like the subject in (28). Complementiser movement is not an option here, since complementisers are always base-generated above TP (either in FinP, from where it moves to TypeP, or, as here, directly in TypeP). Instead, movement of the finite verb does the job, which leads to inverted word order in these cases.

- (29) a. Hwilket<sub>j</sub> **skall Mahomet 2:[secun]dus** hafwa  
*which shall Mahomet second have.INF*  
 giort \_\_\_<sub>j</sub> (VS-gap; Rålamb 1657–58:125)  
*done*  
 ‘which Mahomet the Second is supposed to have done’
- b. [<sub>TypeP</sub> rel-pro<sub>j</sub>] Comp [<sub>FinP</sub> t<sub>j</sub> V<sub>v</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> S t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>j</sub>]]]

XVS examples share with the VS examples the characteristic of having moved a non-subject to spec-FinP over the subject in spec-TP, a subject concealed from the SM-device by inversion. In the XVS examples, the element fronted to spec-FinP is an entire adverbial clause, the X. The relative pronoun in spec-TypeP of an XVS-structure is linked to either a resumptive pronoun or to a gap in the adverbial

clause X, 0-gap examples and X-gap examples respectively; this is shown in (30) and (31).

(30) *0-gap*

- a. dråpo een eller två i theras åsyn, hwilcket<sub>j</sub> när the sågo  
*killed.PST one or two in their sight which when they saw*  
 the<sub>tj</sub>, **gåfwo the** oss strax Penningar för them (Kiöping 1674: 92)  
*it gave they us soon money for them*  
 ‘[We] killed one or two in front of them. When they saw that, they soon  
 gave us money in exchange for them.’
- b. [<sub>TypeP</sub> rel-pro *Comp* [<sub>FinP</sub> [X-clause]<sub>k</sub> V<sub>v</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> S t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>k</sub>]]]

(31) *X-gap*

- a. spånorna [...] hwilcka<sub>j</sub> enär han besåg \_\_\_<sub>j</sub> **befunnnes de** och  
*threads.DEF which when he saw find.PST.PASS they also*  
 wara aff gull (Rålamb 1657–58:43)  
*be of gold*  
 ‘when he saw the threads, they too were found to be of gold’
- b. [<sub>TypeP</sub> rel-pro<sub>j</sub> *Comp* [<sub>FinP</sub> [X-clause t<sub>j</sub>]<sub>k</sub> V<sub>v</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> S t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>k</sub>]]]

Presumably, 0-gap examples ((30a)) represent subordinate versions of left dislocation. In PDSw, left dislocated elements must correspond to a pronominal copy within the first clausal domain possible. For comparison, consider the characterisation in The Swedish Academy Grammar (SAG:4:446): ‘den pronominella kopian [står] normalt inte senare i satsen än som fundament eller del av fundamentet’ [the pronominal copy does not normally come later in the clause than in or within spec-CP]. If we assume that the same restrictions apply to EMSw (the unmarked assumption), single resumptive copies in the VS part of an XVS-clause are predicted to be avoided – X would be the preferred place for such a pronoun – a prediction that is borne out. As was pointed out above, resumptive pronouns in 0-gap examples never occur in the VS-clause alone.

Examples involving X-gaps (i.e. (31a)) are – in one respect – structurally equivalent to examples involving movement of relative pronouns from spec-FinP to spec-TypeP (i.e. VS-gap examples as in (29)). In both cases, there is an instance of FinP-to-TypeP-movement.<sup>15</sup> The filling of spec-TypeP by long distance relativisation (which would generate gaps in the VS part of an XVS-clause) is blocked by the fact that the only possible PMC-concealer of X is the finite verb, which cannot reside in TypeP together with [rel], as already noted. In other words, the PMC-analysis predicts there to be no VS-clauses with gaps if X intervenes. Precisely this type is unattested. On the other hand, when an X-clause is followed by SV word order, as in the PDSw example in (2b) above, X has no such blocking effect, indicating that the X-clause is less integrated, i.e. parenthetical, in these cases. Apart from the lack of a blocking effect, the parenthetical nature is also reflected in the absence of gaps after the relative pronoun within an X-clause that is followed by SV.

Examples with a gap in both an X-clause and a VS-clause are also unattested. In such a structure, long distance movement into spec-TypeP would, as it were, coincide with local movement. It is, however, blocked by the fact that the trace within the X-clause would not c-command its trace in the VS-clause being itself contained in the deeply embedded X-clause; see the constructed example in (32).

- (32) \*<sub>[TypeP vilket<sub>j</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> [<sub>TypeP</sub> när han såg t<sub>j</sub>] plockade [<sub>TP</sub> du upp t<sub>j</sub>]]]</sub>  
*which when he saw picked.PST you up*

Why the relative pronoun in VS examples ((29) above) always moves to spec-TypeP, but an X-clause internal element only optionally does so (see (30) and (31) above) is an intriguing question. It is clearly related to another question: Why may some non-subjects stay in spec-FinP, and not others? Evidently, there is some mechanism restricting what XPs may dwell in FinP after spell-out. For instance, the proposed analysis is unable to block by itself the generation of main clause strings of the type XPVXPS; if V moves to TypeP to conceal the XP in spec-FinP, any XP should be up for topicalisation. But for some reason, the non-subject in spec-FinP can seldom remain there. Even proper subjects, e.g. subjects that come in the form of an infinitival phrase, are banned from spec-FinP in PDSw, indicating that something is the matter independently of the analysis proposed here;<sup>16</sup> compare the grammatical (33a) below, where the subject *att simma* ‘to swim’ is clause-initial (i.e. has moved through spec-FinP), to the ungrammatical (33b), where it is postverbal (i.e. resides in spec-FinP).

- (33) a. [<sub>TypeP</sub> [<sub>InfP</sub> Att simma]<sub>i</sub> kan [<sub>FinP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> vara roligt]]].  
*to swim.INF can be.INF fun*  
 ‘To swim can be fun.’  
 b. \*<sub>[TypeP Ibland kan [<sub>FinP</sub> [<sub>InfP</sub> att simma] [<sub>TP</sub> vara roligt]]]</sub>  
*sometimes can to swim.INF be.INF fun*

In sum, the subject difference between PDSw and EMSw is the crucial structural difference one needs in order to explain why the different types of relative inversion no longer occur. Examples with a gap always involve movement of a relative pronoun to the spec position of the highest phrase in the C-domain (TypeP) via spec-FinP. Examples without a gap, in contrast, contain a directly merged pronoun in spec-TypeP and an adverbial clause (X-clause) in spec-FinP. Neither of these types is available in PDSw, since in the modern variety, spec-FinP can contain only subjects.

## 4.2 Non-verb-initial imperatives

Having consolidated the subject difference between PDSw and EMSw, non-verb-initial imperatives fall neatly into place. There is no need for any additional assumption that EMSw imperatives, unlike PDSw imperatives, allowed material

which is normally consistent only with a declarative interpretation of the clause in spec-TypeP. Instead, the phrase heading a non-verb-initial imperative utterance would have its place in spec-FinP, since this position was not restricted to subjects in EMSw. And, given the assumption that [imp] comes with an invisible operator, *I*, and is not verbally associated in EMSw (cf. section 3.3), the verb may stay in Fin<sup>0</sup>; see (34).

- (34) a. *Örterna gör med som du vill* (Kockebok 1650:64)  
*herbs.DEF do with as you want.PRS*  
 ‘Do as you want with the herbs.’  
 b. [<sub>TypeP</sub> [<sub>[imp][force]</sub> *I*]<sub>[FinP</sub> XP Vstem [<sub>TP</sub> (S)]]

Furthermore, the lack of imperative force on the Vstem as such predicts that it be less restricted in its distribution than in PDSw.<sup>17</sup> And this prediction is, as we have seen, borne out. Unlike today, the Vstem in EMSw may be used in subordinate contexts; the example in (8) above is repeated as (35).

- (35) *af hwilket 24 skrif then Figur wid högra Handen star*  
*of which 24 write.IMP the figure by right hand stands*  
 ‘Of this 24, write the figure that is by your right hand.’ (Agrélls räknelära 1655:42)

A relative clause lacking a tensed verb might strike us as somewhat odd but nothing in principle prohibits dependent clauses from being tenseless: the combination of (S) and V is not set in time, but is, just like independent imperatives (although indirectly, via its matrix clause), anchored in the moment of speech.

### 4.3 A note on Latin influence

There are still remnants in PDSw of the embedded construction illustrated in (35). In the short-hand style of dictionaries, the phrase *om vilket se* (lit. ‘of which see’) is used to direct the reader forward. Referring phrases of this exact sort occur in Latin: *quod vide*. Presumably, the Swedish *om vilket se* should be seen as an instance of adaptation to the Latin equivalent, an adaptation that has occurred in other European languages as well (e.g. English *which see*). The Latin phrase is not to be analysed as a subordinate clause containing an imperative verb form. Rather, it is an instance of so called relative connection, whereby a *wh*-phrase is used in a non-interrogative (i.e. relative) way in an independent utterance.

Suppose that the usage of embedded imperatives on the whole in older Swedish – including not only fixed phrases such as *om vilket se* but also the productive usage illustrated in (35) above – is in fact imported from Latin. If so, it is not evident that they are embedded at all. In the source language (i.e. Latin), this is clearly not the case. It might be, then, that the *wh*-phrases with a relative meaning in older Swedish had the same lexical status as their Latin equivalents (not marked for structural type),

differing from relative *wh*-phrases in PDSw, which are restricted to subordinate clauses (i.e. must not be combined with [force]).

The non-interrogative use of *wh*-words is certainly to be derived from Latin influence (see Noreen 1904:411; Wessén 1941:79; Lindblad 1943:132ff.; Wollin 1983:139–142; Höder 2010:266), but the question is how much of the original distribution was imported.<sup>18</sup> To implement the Latin relative connection into the syntax of independent utterances would mean to combine non-interrogative, i.e. relative *wh*-words, with typical root clause characteristics such as inverted order between S and V and imperative mood, i.e. exactly those combinations that occur in EMSw. Consequently, there is – in principle at least – the possibility that what distinguishes EMSw from PDSw is the status of relative *wh*-phrases: if these are as free in their distribution as their Latin counterparts, it explains the combination of such phrases with inversion and with imperatives.

Such an account, however, fails to explain why EMSw – but not PDSw – permits non-verb-initial imperatives initiated by ordinary XPs. Such a difference is impossible to relate to a stipulated lexical difference between older and more modern relative *wh*-words. Also, there are other structural differences between the varieties that remain unresolved, namely the coordinate differences discussed in Section 3.2 that would have to be related to the subject difference anyway.

Apparently, Latin influence is responsible for the introduction of relative *wh*-words, but the implementation of relative connection must have been handled within the domain of subordination. What is more, there are embedded imperatives in Old Swedish (OSw) that can hardly be characterised as Latin transfer; see (36) and also Platzack (2007), who presents similar examples from Old Icelandic.

(36) *Old Swedish*

Jak manar thik ... At thu **sigh** mik sannindh. (Delsing 1999:51)  
 I urge you that you say.IMP me truth  
 'I urge you to tell me the truth.'

Even if the *wh*-initial imperatives from the Early Modern era were treated as independent utterances expressing relative connection of the Latin type, we would still need an independent account of embedded imperatives in OSw.

Our analysis accounts for all relevant differences between older varieties of Swedish and the modern language, assuming only two structural differences between the varieties: the status of spec-FinP and the locus of [imp]. No stipulated difference regarding the status of relative *wh*-phrases is needed.<sup>19</sup>

## 5. SUMMARY

In this article, we have addressed two seemingly unrelated syntactic differences between PDSw and EMSw, and presented a unified account of them. The

first difference regards the use of inversion and non-subject fronting in relative clauses. The second difference regards the position of imperative verb forms. Unlike PDSw, EMSw permits both VS word order (inversion) and XVS word order (where X is an adverbial clause) in relative clauses. In addition, it was common in EMSw, but is ungrammatical in PDSw, to have non-verb-initial imperatives.

Two underlying (and sometimes conspiring) structural discrepancies between PDSw and EMSw are assumed to be responsible for the syntactic differences at hand. First, there is the status of spec-FinP, a position that is restricted to subjects in PDSw but not in EMSw (where the canonical subject position is instead spec-TP). Second, there is the status of the imperative type-feature [imp], which is always tied to the imperative verb form (in practice, the verbal stem – Vstem) in PDSw, but tied to an operator in EMSw.

When the subject resides in spec-TP (as in EMSw), subject–verb inversion can be obtained via verbal movement to Fin<sup>o</sup>, i.e. within the complement of the highest head in the C-domain, Type<sup>o</sup>, which contains a complementiser in relative clauses. With the subject in spec-FinP, however, the verb needs to move into Type<sup>o</sup> itself to create inversion, thereby ruling out relative clauses as a possible context for VS order. In addition to making relative inversion possible, a lower subject position (spec-TP) leaves the field clear for non-subjects in spec-FinP; hence, there is XVS word order in EMSw but not PDSw relative clauses. As for imperatives, the subject-difference alone cannot account for the possibility in EMSw of initiating imperatives with, for instance, objects. There is certainly room for an initial non-subject in spec-FinP, but this non-subject would only be clause-initial if the imperative verb had its place below spec-FinP. Given that [imp] is not tied to the Vstem in EMSw, such a low verbal position in imperatives is feasible.

The assumption that subjects reside in spec-TP in EMSw is independently motivated by coordinate data in the previous literature, and the assumption that the subject position is spec-FinP in PDSw is supported by findings in the previous literature on language acquisition. The imp-difference is certainly stipulated to begin with, but it correctly predicts the Vstem to be less restricted in its syntactic distribution in EMSw than in PDSw. Indeed, only in the older variety may the Vstem occur in embedded contexts.

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## NOTES

1. Disregarding clause-initial arguments, there is variation within the modern Scandinavian languages with respect to what types of adverbial element may precede an imperative verb form. Swedish and Danish appear to be relatively restricted, permitting only *baralbare* ‘just’ to precede imperatives (*Bara ta den, du!*, lit. ‘just take it, thank you’), whereas Norwegian is less restricted, permitting pre-imperative negation (*Ikke tenk!tenk mer/mere på det!*, lit. ‘not think more on it’). In other Germanic varieties, however, object-initial imperatives are possible, e.g. in standard German (see Reis & Rosengren 1992). It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss these modern inter-Scandinavian and inter-Germanic differences. Still, it is worth noting that what we claim to be a structural prerequisite for object-initial imperatives in EMSw (canonical subject position below the C-domain) has been argued to be a characteristic of German too. For instance, te Velde (2006:310) maintains that the nature of coordinate ellipsis in German indicates that subjects (inverted as well as non-inverted) are always in spec-TP unless they are emphatic.
2. In Magnusson (2007a) the analysis of the C-domain resembles that of Stroh-Wollin (2002) to a greater extent. There, independent utterances are treated as ForcePs (a label originally suggested by Rizzi 1997), whereas subordinate clauses are labelled CompPs.
3. When such phrases contain the feature [wh], it is this feature, not [dec], that eliminates [utype]. Whether [wh] outranks [dec] at a phrasal level or is simply the more prominent of the two features is not entirely clear. Still, we might think of the fact that, unlike [dec], [wh] is visible to LF below Type<sup>o</sup> as a piece of support for the latter alternative (see also note 17 in Section 4.2 below).
4. Alternatively, we could think of [force] as a feature that relates the clause to the context/discourse; when it is found in a dependent clause, it simply indicates the relation between the matrix and the embedded finiteness. However, we still need to assume that some features are invisible when they are below TypeP, e.g. [dec] in (9g). Here, the DP *hans bror* ‘his brother’ would be marked [dec], but this does not affect the status of the clause as interrogative since [dec] is in spec-FinP and not in spec-TypeP; see also Section 4.2 below, especially note 17.
5. Within the FinP-conjuncts in (17c), however, the status feature of the highest head is presumably irrelevant (as noted in Section 3.1 above); what matters here is the fin-feature that is present in both conjuncts.
6. Seeing as OSw thus displays XVS order below the C-domain, we would have a case of V2-within-IP in the sense of Schwarz & Vikner (1996). Previously, such an analysis of V2 has been proposed for Icelandic (Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990) and Yiddish V2 (Diesing 1990). See also Rohrbacher (1999:69–70, 80–81), who argues that Yiddish V2 is always within IP, but Icelandic V2, only within IP in embedded contexts.
7. In this context, ‘relevant’ means ‘capable of eliminating [utype]<sub>EPP</sub>’. A further discussion of different type-features, their distribution and compatibility with the status-features [force] and [comp] is beyond the scope of this article; see Magnusson (2007a:203–225).
8. This treatment of movement to the clause-initial position bears some resemblance to the analysis of A-bar movement in Platzack (1996). However, the notion [repe], introduced by Platzack to account for movement that is not triggered by feature-attraction (i.e. feature-elimination in contemporary minimalism), still implies that syntax ‘knows’ what constituent raises above C<sup>o</sup>. More recently, A-bar movement has been analysed as movement triggered by an edge-feature (Chomsky 2008, Platzack 2010). Such an account is clearly less minimal than an account in terms of elimination of type-features: an



edge-feature is purely syntactic whereas type-features are motivated by LF (and are thereby syntax-external). What motivates movement to the clause-initial position is, however, of secondary interest for the proposed analysis, as long as there are several candidates for fronting in every clause.

9. We will disregard any possible violation of Chomsky's (2001) Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) since it has no direct bearing on the point we are making. Whether or not the VP-internal candidate is inside VP or on its left side (which would have to be the case if derivation works in phases and VP is a phase) is of secondary concern here, since it is below the subject in spec-FinP and further from TypeP in either case.
10. Precedence in space, not time (see Chomsky 2007:6; Magnusson 2007a:283–284; Platzack 2010:85–86)
11. The analysis of inversion as a PMC-motivated phenomenon was first suggested by Platzack (2004) dealing with *wh*-questions. Note that this analysis to some extent resembles the treatment of inversion within the asymmetrical analysis of verb-second (Travis 1984, Zwart 1993), where movement of the finite verb over S occurs only to create a landing site for fronted elements.
12. The imperative structures in (27) contain a FinP just like other finite clauses. Such an analysis is not entirely uncontroversial. According to Platzack & Rosengren (1998), imperatives lack tense and mood, and, since the authors assume (p. 181) the presence of tense and mood to be a prerequisite for finiteness, they reach the conclusion that imperatives are non-finite (non-propositional) speech acts, i.e. TypePs without any FinP, TP or MoodP in their complements. As pointed out by Stroh-Wollin (2002:164), this is probably going too far; there is, after all, some propositional content in an imperative utterance: there is a verbal component and a nominal addressee (implicitly at least) that is anchored in the here-and-now of the speaker.
13. In fact, post-verbal placement of imperative subjects is mandatory only in PDSw. Before the modern system emerged, Swedish imperative subjects could precede the verb, occupying the same position as clause-initial non-subjects; see (i). Pre-imperative placement of a second person pronoun does occur today, but it is always followed by a pause, indicating that it is extra-clausal. Also, it is non-nominative, which is visible in those varieties that make a morphological distinction between vocative and nominative case; see (ii).

(i) Thu bliff her qwar (OSw; from Delsing 1999:51)  
*you.NOM remain.IMP here PART*  
 'Stay here, you!'

(ii) Dô, sät dej ner! (Gothenburg dialect)  
*you.VOC sit.IMP you down*  
 'Hey you, sit down!'

14. That there is indeed an invisible complementiser present is indicated by the low placement of the finite verb (*underhåller* 'support') below the sentence adverbial (*och* 'also'); without a complementiser being base-generated in Fin (before moving into TypeP), the verb would have to move to Fin. Recall the discussion of example (24) at the end of Section 3.3 above.
15. Formally, we cannot determine whether the relative pronoun moves out of the X-clause, stranding it in spec-FinP, to spec-TypeP or whether it pied-pipes the entire X-clause, leaving nothing behind in spec-FinP. Examples with an overt complementiser would disambiguate between the two, but no such examples have been retrieved. Compare the

construed example *vilket som när han såg gick han hem* (lit.: ‘which that when he saw went he home’), where the complementiser *som* ‘that’ is between the relative pronoun and the X-clause indicating that the pronoun has moved by itself, to *vilket när han såg som gick han hem* (lit.: ‘which when he saw that went he home’), where *som* is preceded by both pronoun and X-clause indicating that the X-clause accompanies the pronoun to TypeP. Intuitively, the pied-piping alternative appears unlikely.

16. For a discussion of similar restrictions on the subject position in English, see Haegeman & Guéron (1999:115ff.).
17. To be precise, a prerequisite for making this prediction is that [imp], like [wh] but unlike [dec], is interpretable below TypeP. When a wh-marked phrase is in spec-FinP in a declarative clause, the clause gets an interrogative dimension; see (i). On the other hand, when a dec-marked phrase occupies the corresponding position in an interrogative clause, the question status is unaffected, i.e. the dec-feature is invisible to LF; compare (ii), where [dec] is in FinP, to (iii), where the initial *wh*-phrase has moved through FinP.

- (i) Då gick vem på toa!?  
*then went who on toilet*  
 ‘Then, who went to the toilet!?’
- (ii) Vem fick du se?  
*who got.PST you see.INF*  
 ‘Who did you get to see?’
- (iii) Vem fick se dig?  
*who got.PST see.INF you*  
 ‘Who got to see you?’

If [imp] is like [wh], we can explain why the imperative verb is banned from a clause such as (35) in PDSw; even if [imp] is below TypeP, it conflicts with the type-feature on the relative pronoun.

18. To our knowledge, no-one has suggested that relative connection was in fact imported into the Swedish system. Of the cited scholars dealing with relative pronouns and Latin influence, only Wollin (1981, p. 18) mentions relative connection; he assumes the Swedish equivalent to the Latin construction always to be subordinate.
19. In OSw, it appears to have been obligatory to have an overt subject in embedded imperatives of the type exemplified in (36) (Delsing (1999:55)). The *wh*-initial embedded imperatives of the EMSw type (as in (35)) instead pattern with independent imperatives, where an explicit subject is used only occasionally. We have no explanation for this difference.

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