

# Chapter 2

## The Morphosyntax of *-st*

### 2.1 Introduction

The majority of this book will focus on certain argument structure alternations, many of which involve the *-st* morpheme. An emphasis will be placed on the interface with semantics—thematic interpretation, in particular. I will argue that *-st* externally merges in certain argument positions, with potentially distinct interpretive consequences depending on where it merges. However, much of this analysis rests on a clitic analysis of *-st*, since it will originate in distinct positions but, like argument clitics cross-linguistically, will end up in a restricted set of positions in clausal functional structure. To set the stage for the analyses in later chapters, then, I first present morphosyntactic arguments in favor of a clitic analysis that are more or less independent of thematic concerns.

In some cases, I will present examples of *-st* verbs that will not receive a complete argument structural analysis in this book, if such verbs have properties that make it easier to set up the relevant tests. The examples in this chapter are thus intended to illustrate more general properties of *-st*, which seem to cut across verb classes and provide clues as to its formal properties. First, I discuss the analysis of *-st* as a clitic, and support this analysis by examining the morphosyntactic properties of *-st* and comparing it to those of clitics. Then, I discuss various possible implementations of the clitic analysis, for the sake of clarity, and outline a particular analysis in more detail.

### 2.2 On *-st* Morphology: What *-st* Is and Isn't

A major empirical contribution of this book is a detailed study of the *-st* morphology in Icelandic, which has taken to reflect the ‘middle voice’. The *-st* morpheme in Icelandic originally developed from the reflexive pronoun *sik* (modern day *sig*; see Ottósson 1992 on the historical development of *-st*). It has been the subject of

many studies, many of which focus on the different apparent ‘uses’ of *-st*. Works such as Vigfusson (1866), Smári (1920, 136ff.), Einarsson (1949, 147ff.), Valfells (1970), Ottósson (1986), H.Á. Sigurðsson (1989, pp. 259–263) and Anderson (1990) divide *-st* verbs into distinct classes, while other studies discuss or focus on one particular ‘use’ of *-st*, such as the reciprocal (Irie 1996), the reflexive (Roehrs 2005), the anticausative (Svenonius 2006) or the generic middle (Maling 2001, pp. 440–442). Examples of these uses are provided in (1).

- (1) a. Jóna og Siggi kysstust eftir ballið.  
 Jóna.NOM and Siggi.NOM kissed-ST after dance.the  
 ‘Jóna and Siggi kissed after the dance.’ (Reciprocal)  
 (Jónsson 2005, p. 399)
- b. Jón dulbjóst sem prestur.  
 John.NOM disguised-ST as priest  
 ‘John disguised himself as a priest.’ (Reflexive)  
 (Jónsson 2005, p. 400)
- c. Glugginn opnaðist af sjálfu sér.  
 window.the.NOM opened-ST by itself  
 ‘The window opened by itself.’ (Anticausative)  
 (H.Á. Sigurðsson 1989, p. 268)
- d. Rafmagnsbílar seljast (vel) hér.  
 electric.cars.NOM sell-ST (well) here  
 ‘Electric cars sell well here.’ (Generic Middle)

On the one hand, most of the different uses of *-st* do not seem particularly shocking from a cross-linguistic perspective, since similar uses are common for reflexive affixes, clitics and pronouns in the world’s languages. On the other hand, one sometimes gets the impression that *-st* is more idiosyncratic than most reflexive clitics. First, there are a number of *-st* verbs that take accusative direct objects and do not seem to have any semantics associated with anticausatives, reflexives, etc. These include motion verbs like *ffjarlægjast* ‘move away from’, *forðast* ‘avoid’, *nálgast* ‘approach’, and *varast* ‘avoid’, and certain psych-verbs like *ágirnast* ‘covet’, *ásælast* ‘covet’, *girnast* ‘crave’, *hræðast* ‘fear’, *óttast* ‘fear’, and *undrast* ‘marvel’. Verbs of this class have been taken to be arbitrarily listed lexical exceptions (Andrews 1982, p. 457).<sup>1</sup>

- (2) a. Pétur forðaðist Hlyn.  
 Peter.NOM avoided-ST Hlynur.ACC  
 ‘Peter avoided Hlynur.’

<sup>1</sup> In the present work, lexical exceptions arise as a consequence of various interacting factors, including most importantly the intersection of interpretive rules constraining the semantic contributions of lexical roots and the syntactic features of the structures containing them. This general issue, i.e., the distribution of roots among syntactic structures, will be discussed at length in what follows. In Sect. 6.6 I will suggest that motion verbs like (2a) have a syntax and semantics similar to the figure reflexives discussed in Chap. 4. In Sect. 5.4 I will suggest that experiencer verbs like (2b) have a syntax and semantics similar to DAT-NOM psych-verbs (see discussion surrounding (95) in Chap. 5). However, neither of the verbs in (2) will play a decisive role in what follows.

- b. Drengurinn undraðist mannfjöldann.  
 boy.the.NOM marveled-ST crowd.the.ACC  
 'The boy marveled at the crowd.'

Second, as noted in Ottósson (1986), H.Á. Sigurðsson (1989, p. 262) and Anderson (1990), *-st* can be used productively to form denominal activity verbs from nominal stems that often cannot be a verb without *-st*. This is even attested with proper names, as shown in (3). Nonce formations are often considered quite slangy and may be prescriptively frowned upon. However, there are some relatively common *-st* verbs formed from nominal stems, such as *ferðast* 'travel' from *ferð* 'trip', which are considered acceptable in the standard language.<sup>2</sup>

- (3) a. ég er núna í boston og er að **trompetast**  
 I am now in Boston and am to trumpet-ST  
 'Now I'm in Boston trumpeting.'  
 b. en allt í einu kom nonni og byrjaði að **nonnast**  
 but all at once came Nonni and began to Nonni-ST  
 'But all of a sudden, Nonni showed up and started acting like Nonni.'

Third, as noted by H.Á. Sigurðsson (1989, pp. 261–262), *-st* verbs very often require a preposition that is not required (or even possible) for the non-*-st* use of the same verb. This preposition can in turn take a finite or infinitival clausal complement, as in (4) or a DP complement, as in (5).

- (4) a. Ég vona (\*til) að ég nái prófinu.  
 I hope (\*for) that I pass exam.the  
 'I hope that I will pass the exam.'  
 b. Ég vonast \*(til) að ég nái prófinu.  
 I hope-ST \*(for) that I pass exam.the  
 'I hope that I will pass the exam.'  
 c. Ég vonast \*(til) að PRO ná prófinu.  
 I hope-ST \*(for) to PRO pass exam.the  
 'I hope to pass the exam.' (H.Á. Sigurðsson 1989, p. 261)
- (5) a. Ólafur dáði Pétur.  
 Ólafur adored Pétur  
 'Ólafur adored Pétur.'  
 b. Ólafur dáðist \*(að) Pétri.  
 Ólafur adored-ST \*(at) Pétur  
 'Ólafur admired Pétur.' (H.Á. Sigurðsson 1989, p. 262)

<sup>2</sup> Example (3a) taken from <http://gummiogolof.vitum.net/comments/recent?page=10> and (3b) taken from <http://gummig.blogcentral.is/?page=9>.

- c. Börnin            sækja sælgæti.  
children.the.NOM get candy  
'The children get candy.'
- d. Börnin            sækjast í sælgæti.  
children.the.NOM get-ST to candy  
'The children try to get candy.'

Despite the impression that the *-st* morpheme is idiosyncratic, its role in the overall Icelandic system has been quite stable over the past millennium; looking at descriptions of the Old Norse ancestor of *-st*, one does not find anything radically different from the present day system, other than some lexical differences. I will argue below that Icelandic *-st* is not particularly exceptional in terms of idiosyncrasy, either empirically (across languages) or systemically (within Icelandic). As we will see, I take the presence of *-st* to reflect certain properties of the syntax; it is involved in structure building and in generating verbal expressions, specifically in that it is one way of building a structure with a reduced valency.

One view of *-st* morphology has been that it is far too idiosyncratic to find a place in the syntactic system. I will argue that this is misguided in two ways. First, the argument assumes that there should be a direct semantic relationship between a root in one structure and the same root in another structure; the goal of the present work, in probing the syntax-semantics interface, can make no such *a priori* assumption. In fact, a direct relation between two fully built structures is impossible to state in the system proposed here. Second, the idiosyncrasy one finds with *-st* is no more severe than the idiosyncrasy one finds with all sorts of elements that no one would deny are part of the syntactic system, in the sense that they are generated in unique phrase-structural positions and subject to syntactic constraints.

Consider, for example, the relationship between the following three sentences. As shown in (6c), the root  $\sqrt{\text{FAR}}$  'go' with the *-st* morpheme can refer to dying, if the death is understood to have happened in some sort of accident.

- (6) a. Hann fór.  
he.NOM went  
'He went.'
- b. Hann er farinn.  
he.NOM is gone  
'He is gone.'  
'He has died.'
- c. Hann fórst í bílslysi.  
he.NOM went-ST in car.accident  
'He died in a car accident.'

The relationship between the non-*-st* verb *fara* 'go' and the *-st* verb *farast* 'die' has been taken to be among the idiosyncratic lexical properties of *-st* verbs that renders

them so problematic. However, there is systematicity here: *farast* is a change of state unaccusative marked with *-st*, and one of the more common uses of *-st* is to mark change of state unaccusatives. Moreover, the meaning of the root  $\sqrt{\text{FAR}}$  'go' in this structure is compatible with an independently attested meaning of  $\sqrt{\text{FAR}}$  'go', as shown in (6b). From the present perspective, there is a sense in which the structure generating (6c) is systematic, even if the 'sense' of the root  $\sqrt{\text{FAR}}$  'go' that emerges in this structure may not be *a priori* predictable.

The sense in which *farast* 'die' seems to be idiosyncratic is that it does not correspond to a transitive structure with the same meaning of the root, unlike the alternation between *drepa* 'kill' and *drepast* 'die'.<sup>3</sup>

- (7) a. Hann drap hundinn.  
he.NOM killed dog.the.ACC  
'He killed the dog.'
- b. Hundurinn drapst.  
dog.the.NOM killed-ST  
'The dog died / dropped dead.'
- (8) a. \*Ég fór hann í bílslysi.  
I.NOM went him.ACC in car.accident  
INTENDED: 'I killed him in a car accident.'
- b. Hann fórst í bílslysi.  
he.NOM went-ST in car.accident  
'He died in a car accident.'

While (7b) seems straightforwardly to be an anticausative of (7a), there seems to be no transitive variant to relate (8b) to. However, from the present perspective, this is a matter of what sorts of roots are compatible with a transitive structure, not a matter of *-st* being idiosyncratic.

In the following subsections, I will discuss a number of properties of *-st* and *-st* verbs. I first show that *-st* is not the usual way of making a reflexive or a passive. I then provide some reasons to think that *-st* has no case feature, but may have one or more  $\varphi$ -features.

### 2.2.1 Reflexive *-st* Verbs

Adding the *-st* morpheme to a verb is not the normal way of forming reflexives in Icelandic. While Smári (1920, p. 136) considered the reflexive use of *-st* to be the 'true' middle, and Anderson (1990, p. 251) claims that any verb with the right semantics will allow an *-st* reflexive, Ottósson (1986, p. 90) suggests that discussions of *-st* have been strongly influenced by considerations of its historical development

<sup>3</sup> However, with a prepositional prefix *fyrir* 'for', it can form an inherent reflexive *fyrirfara sér* meaning to 'commit suicide'. This is another example of the 'die' meaning with the root  $\sqrt{\text{FAR}}$  'go' which is independent of *farast* 'die'.

rather than its synchronic use. He argues for a division among *-st* verbs: those that are productive and predictable (such as anticausative middles), and those that are not. Reflexive *-st* verbs are argued to fall into the latter class.<sup>4</sup>

Many verbs, despite being perfectly compatible with reflexive semantics, do not allow an *-st* reflexive form. Inherent reflexives (verb phrases which are only possible with a coreferent object), do not allow *-st* (e.g. *hegða sér*/*\*hegðast* ‘behave oneself’; *skemmta sér*/*\*skemmtast* ‘enjoy oneself’). Verbs like *raka* ‘shave’ allow the reflexive pronoun *sig*, but not *-st* (*\*rakast*) (see Jónsson 2005, p. 398). It is also not possible to use *-st* on naturally disjoint verbs like *elska* ‘love’ to mean ‘love oneself’.<sup>5</sup>

(9) **Inherent Reflexive**

- |    |                       |      |    |                     |      |
|----|-----------------------|------|----|---------------------|------|
| a. | Jón hegðar sér        | vel. | b. | <i>*Jón hegðast</i> | vel. |
|    | John behaves REFL.DAT | well |    | John behaves-ST     | well |
|    | ‘John behaves well.’  |      |    |                     |      |

(10) **Natural Reflexive**

- |    |                      |    |                       |
|----|----------------------|----|-----------------------|
| a. | Jón rakaði sig.      | b. | <i>*Jón rakaðist.</i> |
|    | John shaved REFL.ACC |    | John shaved-ST        |
|    | ‘John shaved.’       |    |                       |

(11) **Naturally Disjoint**

- |    |                              |    |                        |
|----|------------------------------|----|------------------------|
| a. | Jón elskaði sjálfan sig.     | b. | <i>*Jón elskaðist.</i> |
|    | John loved self.ACC REFL.ACC |    | John loved-ST          |
|    | ‘John loved himself.’        |    |                        |

According to H.Á. Sigurðsson (1989), there are many “minimal pairs of reflexive verbs and middle verbs” (p. 264).

- (12) a. Steinninn { hreyfðist / *\*hreyfði sig* }  
 stone.the { moved-ST / *\*moved REFL.ACC* }  
 ‘The stone moved.’
- b. Páll { ?? hreyfðist / hreyfði sig }  
 Paul { ?? moved-ST / moved REFL.ACC }  
 ‘Paul moved.’ (H.Á. Sigurðsson 1989, p. 264, fn 31)

Moreover, many *-st* verbs which do have reflexive meaning seem to have an idiosyncratic semantic relationship with the corresponding non-*-st* verb that has to be learned for each verb individually. According to Ottósson (1986, p. 89), “Middle verbs which have been considered to be of the reflexive group generally do not have clear reflexive meaning, but rather some specialized meaning.”<sup>6</sup> Some cases of this will be discussed in Chap. 4, particularly in Sects. 4.3.3–4.3.4.

<sup>4</sup> Ottósson (1986) states this in terms of inflection (productive) versus derivation (non-productive or lexicalized). See note 38 below.

<sup>5</sup> Though *elskast* has a reciprocal use meaning ‘make love’.

<sup>6</sup> Original: “Miðmyndarsagnir sem taldar hafa verið til afturbeygilega flokksins hafa yfirleitt ekki hreina afturbeygilega merkingu, heldur einhverja sérhæfðari merkingu.” See also Jónsson (2005, p. 398) for the same claim.

Ottósson's conclusion that the middle/anticausative use of *-st* is primary has been generally accepted in the literature. H.Á. Sigurðsson (2002, p. 4) states: "there are some instances where a reflexive verb (e.g. *klæða sig* 'get dressed') can be replaced by an *-st*-verb (e.g. *klæðast* 'get dressed') but generally, this is not the case." Thrainsson's (2007) discussion of the syntax of *-st* alternations focuses on this use, and only covers the reflexive use in passing. Sigurjónsdóttir (1992), who focuses on the acquisition of classes of anaphora in Icelandic, does not include *-st* in her study. Jónsson (2011, pp. 105–106) notes that *-st* is not a 'bound variant' of the reflexive pronoun. In Chap. 4, I will discuss a particular kind of *-st* reflexive which I think is quite systematic and productive, and I will show how reflexive-like semantics can be derived while maintaining that *-st* is a clitic but without assuming that *-st* is a bound variant of the reflexive pronoun. Other reflexive *-st* verbs are discussed in Sect. 6.6.

### 2.2.2 *-st* Is Not (Usually) Passive

The *-st* morpheme is not normally passive, and differs in this respect from cognate morphemes in some other Scandinavian languages, most notably Swedish. I take the difference between the passive and anticausative to be that the passive has an understood external argument, and thus can occur with agentive *by*-phrases, purpose clauses, and agent-oriented modifiers, and may not occur with *af sjálfu sér* 'by itself'.

#### (13) Passive

- a. Rúðunni var splundrað { viljandi / \*af sjálfu sér }  
window.the.DAT was shattered { intentionally / \*by itself }  
'The window was shattered on purpose.'
- b. Rúðunni var splundrað (af ræningjunum ).  
window.the.DAT was shattered (by robbers.the.DAT )  
'The window was shattered by the robbers.'
- c. Rúðunni var splundrað (til þess að gera hann reiðan).  
window.the.DAT was shattered (for it to make him mad)  
'The window was shattered in order to make him mad.'

#### (14) Anticausative

- a. Rúðan splundraðist { \*viljandi / af sjálfu sér }  
window.the.NOM shattered-ST { \*intentionally / by itself }  
'The window shattered by itself.'
- b. Rúðan splundraðist (\*af ræningjunum ).  
window.the.NOM shattered-ST (\*by robbers.the.DAT )  
'The window shattered (\*by the robbers).'
- c. Rúðan splundraðist (\*til þess að gera hann reiðan ).  
window.the.NOM shattered-ST (\*for it to make him mad ).  
'The window shattered (\*in order to make him mad).'

There are some possible cases where constructions with *-st* do seem to show passive-like behavior, namely the ‘modal passives’ discussed in Sect. 6.3. In this book *-st* itself serves a purely syntactic function, occupying an argument position, and other material around it will be involved in the overall interpretive effect. Thus, the claim in Sect. 6.3 is that to the extent that an agent can be implied in an *-st* construction without an overt external argument, this implication arises from material that is merged higher than the VoiceP domain. These facts ultimately support the analysis of anticausatives proposed in Chap. 3.

### 2.2.3 *-st* Appears to be Caseless

I argue below that syntactically, *-st* is a clitic. However, it is important to observe that it is evidently not a CASE-BEARING clitic. There is no evidence that it has any case (or ‘Case’) feature or that it is licensed in the inflectional domain in the same way that full DPs are licensed; this is not surprising given that clitics are very often licensed in different ways or in different positions from full DPs, but it is worth pointing out explicitly.

It is perhaps impossible to argue conclusively that *-st* is not a case-bearing element; however, wherever a possible positive diagnostic exists, the facts do not point to the presence of any case feature on *-st*. One piece of evidence against *-st* bearing any case feature comes from the fact that *-st* verbs themselves can take DP arguments marked with every case in the language (nominative, accusative, dative and genitive).<sup>7</sup>

- (15) a. Ég forðaðist hana.  
I.NOM avoided-ST her.ACC
- b. Ég giftist henni.  
I.NOM married-ST her.DAT
- c. Ég þarfnaðist hennar.  
I.NOM needed-ST her.GEN

This does not, of course, completely rule out the possibility that *-st* is marked with different cases with different verbs, but it seriously complicates any attempt to link *-st* to morphological case.

As mentioned in Sect. 1.4.1, Icelandic is a very rich case-agreement language, exhibiting case agreement on predicative nominals and adjectives, for example. If *-st* were a case-bearing element, we might expect it to trigger case agreement on such elements. However, whenever *-st* shows up in such environments, it fails to diagnose the presence of any morphological case that is not present on some other element in the clause (cf. Andrews 1990, pp. 199–200; Barðdal and Eythórsson 2003, pp. 457, 460). For example, in (16a), while the predicate nominal *prest(ur)* ‘priest’ can agree with either the accusative reflexive pronoun or the nominative subject, only the

<sup>7</sup> See also Chap. 5 for numerous examples of *-st* verbs which take nominative objects.



nominative is possible with the *-st* variant in (16b). In ECM contexts such as (16c), where the subject is accusative, the DP in the *sem*-phrase is also accusative, so we cannot simply say that *-st* is itself enforcing nominative case.

- (16) a. Hún dulbjó sig sem { prestur / prest }  
 she.NOM disguised REFL.ACC as { priest.NOM / priest.ACC }
- b. Hún dulbjóst sem { prestur / \*prest }  
 she.NOM disguised-ST as { priest.NOM / \*priest.ACC }  
 'She disguised herself as a priest.'
- c. Ég sá hana dulbúast sem { \*prestur / prest }  
 I.NOM saw her.ACC disguise-ST as { \*priest.NOM / priest.ACC }  
 'I saw her disguise herself as a priest.'

Strictly speaking, this is compatible with *-st* bearing the same case as the 'other' argument in its clause, or with *-st* bearing some case feature but being unable to trigger agreement for some reason. Friðjónsson (1980, p. 106) discusses examples where inherently reflexive verbs, which cannot take non-reflexive objects, cannot trigger predicative agreement.

- (17) a. Hann hagaði sér sem (alger) bjáni.  
 he.NOM behaved REFL.DAT as (real) fool.NOM  
 'He acted like a real fool.'
- b. \*Hann hagaði sér sem (algerum) bjána.  
 he.NOM behaved REFL.DAT as (real) fool.DAT

This shows that overtly case-bearing elements cannot always trigger predicative agreement. But importantly, there is no positive evidence that *-st* bears any case of its own, abstract or otherwise.

### 2.2.4 *-st* Has One or More $\varphi$ -Features

Despite the fact that *-st* is invariant—it does not change form either in terms of person/number features or even appear in distinct phonologically conditioned allomorphs—there are reasons to think it has some  $\varphi$ -feature. First, when *-st* is present on a finite verb, no person distinctions on the verb can be made in the singular (Einarsson 1949, p. 100; Thomson 1987, pp. 434–440; Anderson 1990, p. 242; Taraldsen 1995, fn 2; H.Á. Sigurðsson and Holmberg 2008, p. 270), and this is demonstrably not for phonological reasons (cf. Anderson 1990; Wood 2010). Two examples of singular person syncretism is illustrated in Table 2.1. In Wood (2010), I proposed that singular syncretism arises with *-st* because *-st* can intervene for person agreement in a way that can be circumvented in the plural. Whatever the correct explanation is, the syncretism facts show that *-st* interacts with the  $\varphi$ -feature complex of verbal morphology.

**Table 2.1** *-st* Syncretism

Strong <i>-ur-verb</i> <i>mylja</i> ‘pulverize’—Present				Strong <i>-rð-verb</i> <i>þvo</i> ‘wash’—Present					
	Sg	Pl		Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl		
1	myl	mylj-um		mylj-um-st	1	þvæ	þvo-um		þvo-um-st
2	myl-ur	mylj-ið	myl-st	mylj-i-st	2	þvæ-rð	þvo-ið	þvæ-st	þvo-i-st
3	myl-ur	mylj-a		mylj-a-st	3	þvæ-r	þvo		þvo-st

The second indication that *-st* has some  $\varphi$ -feature comes from periphrastic personal passives. In Icelandic, passive participles require agreement between the promoted subject and the passive participle in case, number, and gender, when the derived subject is marked with structural nominative case (or structural accusative case, if the subject is embedded in an ECM context); see (18a). When dative or genitive objects are promoted to subject, however, they retain dative/genitive case, and there is no agreement; the participle shows up in a default form, which is homophonous with the 3rd person singular neuter form (glossed as ‘DFLT’ for ‘default’ below); see (18b).

- (18) a. Þeir voru barðir.  
 they.NOM.M were.3PL hit.NOM.M.PL  
 ‘They were hit.’
- b. Þeim var hrint.  
 them.DAT was.DFLT pushed.DFLT  
 ‘They were pushed.’ (H.Á. Sigurðsson 2011, p. 148)

An important property of *-st* verbs is that they may not be passivized when such passivization would require agreement on the participle. This holds even when a 3rd person neuter noun is used (where the needed form of the participle is known, available, and would correspond to the ‘default’ form, which is grammatical in the impersonal passive; cf. 20a).<sup>8</sup>

However, it is perfectly possible to use an *-st* verb in an impersonal passive construction (20a), or in a personal passive when the derived subject is dative or genitive (e.g. *krefjast* ‘demand’, *minnast* ‘remember’; cf. Anderson 1990, p. 247; Thráinsson 2007, p. 286) (20b)—both being constructions which never require or allow agreement. The difference between (19b) and (20a) is that in (19b), (nominative) neuter 3rd singular would have been expected because *forðast* ‘avoid’ would be expected to agree with the nominative subject, and *barnið* ‘the child’ happens to be 3rd singular neuter. In (20a), (nominative) neuter 3rd singular is expected because participles always take the default form in impersonal passives, not because an agreement relation is expected.

<sup>8</sup> An exception is that there are two posture verbs, *setjast* ‘seat oneself’ and *leggjast* ‘lie down’, which appear to take agreeing participle forms *sest(ur)* and *lagst(ur)*, respectively (which are nevertheless not passive) (Einarsson 1949, p. 148; Anderson 1990, p. 245; Thráinsson 2007, p. 286).

- (19) a. Ég forðaðist barnið.  
I.NOM avoided-ST child.the.N.ACC  
'I avoided the child.'
- b. \*Barnið var forðast.  
child.the.N.NOM was avoided.N.NOM.SG-ST  
INTENDED: 'The child was avoided.'
- (20) a. Það var forðast að nefna Jón.  
EXPL was.DFLT avoided.DFLT-ST to mention John  
'(People) avoided mentioning John.' (Ottósson 1992, p. 236)
- b. Peninganna var krafist (af þeim).  
money.the.GEN was demanded.DFLT-ST (by them)  
'The money was demanded (by them).' (Thráinsson 2007, p. 259)

However, there is at least one *-st* verb which seems to be able to passivize with a thematic object without assigning oblique case. This verb is *aðhafast* 'do', as in the attested example below.

- (21) ár frá ári án þess að nokkuð sé aðhafst í málinu.  
year from year without it that anything is.SBJV done-ST in issue.the  
'from year to year without anything being done about the matter.'  
(mim.hi.is)

The case of *nokkuð* 'anything' is syncretic for nominative and accusative. The verb *aðhafast* generally takes a neuter, general quantifier argument such as *eitthvað* 'something' or *ekkert* 'nothing', and in all examples I have found, the object is neuter, and syncretic for nominative and accusative. Because it is neuter, the 'agreeing' participle form is always syncretic with the default form. It is thus possible that the case-marking is never visible on the object of this verb, unlike the case in (19), where *forðast* 'avoid' does not always take an object that is syncretic. Halldór Sigurðsson (p.c.) provides the following examples, corroborating this conclusion:

- (22) a. Við aðhöfðumst sitthvað.  
we.NOM did something.N.NOM/ACC  
'We did something.'
- b. Sitthvað var aðhafst.  
something.N.NOM/ACC was done.DFLT/N.SG.NOM/ACC  
'Something was done.'
- c. Við aðhöfðumst ekkert.  
we.NOM did nothing.N.NOM/ACC  
'We did nothing.'
- d. Ekkert var aðhafst.  
nothing.N.NOM/ACC was done.DFLT/N.SG.NOM/ACC  
'Nothing was done.'

- (23) a. \*Við aðhöfðumst marga fundi.  
we did many meetings.M.ACC
- b. \*Margir fundir voru aðhafstir.  
many meetings.M.NOM were done.M.PL.NOM
- c. \*Við aðhöfðumst margar aðgerðir.  
we did many operations.F.NOM/ACC
- d. \*Margar aðgerðir voru aðhafstar.  
many operations.F.NOM/ACC were done.F.PL.NOM/ACC

In (22), we see *aðhafast* with neuter quantifiers that are syncretic for nominative and accusative; passivization is possible, and the participle takes the default form, which is the same as the form for the syncretic neuter nominative/accusative. (23a–b) show a non-syncretic masculine object, which is not possible in the passive or the active. (23c–d), with a nominative/accusative syncretic feminine object, show that it is not syncretism of the object itself that matters, but rather syncretism that leads to a participle in the default form. That is, the difference between (23d) and (22b,d) is that although all of them have nominative-accusative syncretism, only the neuter cases in (22b,d) are also syncretic for with the default form of the participle.

The generalization about passivization with *-st* verbs seems to be this:

- (24) **Passive of *-st* verbs generalization:** passivization of an *-st* verb is possible only if the expected form of the participle is guaranteed to be identical to the default form of the participle.

This generalization covers impersonal passives, passives of dative and genitive objects, and passives of a verb like *aðhafast*, which only takes neuter objects, but excludes examples like (19b), where *forðast* ‘avoid’ could have taken a non-neuter object (and thus been forced to compute an agreeing form). Moreover, it correctly predicts that in the New Impersonal Passive (NIP) construction, for speakers who accept it, an *-st* verb like *forðast* ‘avoid’ is acceptable. This is consistent with (24) because, as mentioned in Sect. 1.4.6, the NIP always takes the default form of the participle.<sup>9</sup>

- (25) % Það var forðast óholla matinn.  
EXPL was avoided.DFLT-ST unhealthy food.the.ACC  
‘The unhealthy food was avoided / (People) avoided the unhealthy food.’

These facts seem to suggest that *-st* has some  $\varphi$ -feature that interferes with the necessary agreement relation. Still, it does not have any interpreted  $\varphi$ -feature, and it does not interfere with DP licensing. Rather, it seems to have  $\varphi$ -features only on the morphological side. Thus, it triggers a reduced verbal paradigm, but it does not prevent a 1st person subject from being licensed; it only affects the morphological form of the verb. Similarly, it seems to be incompatible with participles that agree in

<sup>9</sup> Thanks to Einar Freyr Sigurðsson and Joan Maling for discussion of (25).

gender and number, but the latter agreement is not a semantically active agreement process; passive participles that do not agree (when the subject is oblique, for example) do not have a different thematic interpretation from passive participles that do agree. For these reasons, I will suppose that *-st* is  $\varphi$ -rich enough to allow it to merge in DP argument positions, and to force it to be licensed as a clitic in the clausal spine, but not so rich that it forces a particular person interpretation, and not so rich that it intervenes for  $\varphi$ -licensing in a way that prevents the syntactic system from operating as it usually does. To be specific, I assume the following feature compositions (see Halle 1997).

- (26)  $\{ [+PARTICIPANT], [+AUTHOR] \} = \acute{e}g$  'I'  
 $\{ [+PARTICIPANT], [-AUTHOR] \} = þú$  'you'  
 $\{ [-PARTICIPANT], [-AUTHOR] \} = sig$  'reflexive'  
 $\{ [-PARTICIPANT] \} = -st$

3rd person pronouns like *hann/hún/það* 'he/she/it' will be distinguished from these feature sets with gender features, and perhaps demonstrative like features as well (Kayne 2000), and plural pronouns will be distinguished with number features. Distinct case forms will be distinguished by case features [which may be inserted post-syntactically (cf. McFadden 2004)]. I assume that *-st* is the realization of a defective person bundle, consisting only of a  $[-PARTICIPANT]$  feature. Syntactically, this minimal feature bundle may merge in an argument position, but has to undergo special licensing (on which see below), and does not intervene for the licensing of full pronominal feature bundles. I assume, for example, that the Person head of H.Á. Sigurðsson and Holmberg (2008) probes for a full bundle of person features, including  $\{ [\pm PARTICIPANT], [\pm AUTHOR] \}$ . This particular analysis of the featural composition of pronouns and *-st* will not play a major role in the present study, but I note that it has the advantage of providing a means for understanding how reflexive-like elements may come to be reanalyzed over time as argument expletives, since *-st* is a featural subset of a reflexive pronoun.<sup>10</sup>

### 2.3 Clitic Properties of *-st*

Though *-st* has traditionally been regarded as a suffix (e.g. Andrews 1982, 1990; Ottósson 1986; Anderson 1990; Irie 1996; Enger 2002; see also Zaenen et al. 1985, p. 96), many authors have come to view it as being more like a clitic (see Kissock 1997; Svenonius 2006; Julien 2007, pp.226–232; H.Á. Sigurðsson 2012b). The view that it is a clitic is attractive in that the one function that *-st* seems to have consistently across the widest range of cases, as observed in H.Á. Sigurðsson (1989, p. 262), is

<sup>10</sup> Possibly, the restrictions on participles noted above can then be understood as a subcase of the general incompatibility of person features and gender features; since *-st* is inherently a defective person feature, it will only be possible in participles where there is never any gender specification.

that *-st* seems to absorb an argument position.<sup>11</sup> If *-st* is a clitic, this property can be accounted for by assuming that it merges in an argument position in the syntax and later cliticizes to the verb.<sup>12</sup> This is the analysis I will adopt in this book for the role of *-st* in Icelandic syntax. In this section, I will support this position by illustrating the morphosyntactic properties of *-st*, and showing that these properties either support or are at least consistent with a clitic analysis, on the basis of how clitics behave cross-linguistically.

The clitic analysis of *-st* has a number of advantages, including the possibility of accounting for the following properties:

- **Mobility:** *-st* has somewhat limited mobility. However, the mobility it does have strongly suggests that it is a clitic, since it is of a nature that is very rare for affixes.
- **Positioning:** *-st* normally sits outside tense and agreement morphology, as well as participial morphology.
- **Form:** *-st* is itself invariant, and interacts with the stem morphologically in ways that are basically limited to the immediate site of attachment.
- **Valency reduction:** *-st* verbs often alternate with non-*-st* verbs, such that the *-st* verb has one fewer argument. This is explained if *-st* is a clitic originating in an argument position.
- **Idiosyncrasy:** *-st* often has idiosyncratic effects on the meaning of the verb, but is often quite systematic and predictable. This fact has caused some problems under the assumption that it is an affix, because it is unclear what kind of affix it could be. Clitics, however, have just this property, with idiosyncratic requirements for particular verbs, as will be shown below.

Since the notion of neither ‘pronoun’ nor ‘clitic’ is unified or atomic (see Cardinaletti and Starke 1999; Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002; see also Börjars and Harries 2008), and neither should be taken to be primitives of linguistic theory, we should ask what properties that element has and how those properties compare to similar elements cross-linguistically. Clitics, paradigmatic voice affixes (as in Greek), and non-clitic reflexives used for middles (as in German) share the properties of valency reduction and idiosyncrasy. It is the mobility, positioning, and form of *-st* that make it look more like a clitic than an affix or non-clitic reflexive.

In what follows I will illustrate the above properties, address properties often considered to suggest that *-st* is not a clitic, and show that they actually turn out to be properties borne by elements that are uncontroversially considered clitics. They do not, therefore, show that *-st* is a suffix rather than a clitic. The form of the argument, then, is that there are several ways in which *-st* looks more like a clitic than anything else (mobility, positioning, form), and that its other properties are consistent with the

---

<sup>11</sup> H.Á. Sigurðsson (1989) excluded denominal *-st* verbs from this, and expressed appropriate skepticism about *-st* verbs with PP complements. However, I will argue in later chapters that both do, in fact, involve the absorption of an argument position, on cross-linguistic and language-internal grounds.

<sup>12</sup> How this interacts with the thematic structure is the primary topic of subsequent chapters, so I will have nothing to say about it here.

clitic analysis. I then outline a specific proposal for how *-st* is positioned in the clause, which incorporates elements from the literature on Romance and Slavic clitics, as well as what is understood about Icelandic clause structure.

### 2.3.1 Positioning and Distributional Properties

The clitic analysis of *-st* is supported by the fact that *-st* generally sits outside tense and agreement morphology, unlike typical ‘Voice-like’ morphemes both cross-linguistically, and within Icelandic (cf. Julien 2007, pp. 226–232), but like well-studied ‘*s*’ clitics in Romance and Slavic. In contrast to this, the suffix *-na*, which marks the intransitive variant of the causative alternation for many verbs (see Chap. 3 for detailed discussion), appears inside tense and agreement morphology.<sup>13</sup>

- (27) a. Hún **opna-ði** hurðina.  
she.NOM open-3SG.PST door.the.ACC  
‘They opened the door.’
- b. Hurðin **opna-ði-st**.  
door.the.NOM open-3SG.PST-ST  
‘The door opened.’
- (28) a. Jón **hita-ði** vökvann.  
John.NOM heat-3SG.PST liquid.the.ACC  
‘John heated the liquid.’
- b. Vökvinn **hit-na-ði**.  
liquid.the.NOM heat-NA-3SG.PST  
‘The liquid heated.’

Along the same lines, *-st* appears outside participial morphology, as shown in (29a), while *-na* occurs inside participial morphology, as shown in (29b).

- (29) a. Ólafur hefur lengi **dá-ð-st** að Pétri.  
Olaf.NOM has long admire-PTCP-ST at Peter.DAT  
‘Olaf has long admired Peter.’
- b. Vatnið hefur **hit-na-ð** vel.  
water.the.NOM has heat-NA-PTCP well  
‘The water has heated (up) well.’

The appearance of *-st* outside of tense, agreement, and participial morphology suggests that it is a clitic.

It is true that *-st* is not as mobile as some clitics, for example in Romance and Slavic languages. It basically attaches to the (non-auxiliary) verb in some way. It is

<sup>13</sup> Note that the *-na* in *opna* ‘open’ is not the *-na* suffix of (28b), as it appears in both the causative and anticausative variants.

worth keeping in mind, though, that it is clearly licensed as part of the verbal complex (i.e. the lexical verb and associated affixes and functional structure), and the verbal complex itself is rather rigid in Icelandic, being subject to an apparently rather strict syntagmatic distribution. However, like clitics, it does have some degree of mobility. First, it can sit outside a 2nd person imperative weak pronoun for some speakers; this is non-standard, but well-attested and described (Kissock 1997; Thráinsson 2007, p. 285).

- (30) a. Set-**st-tu** á stólinn.  
sit-ST-2SG.NOM.SUBJ on chair.the  
'Have a seat on the chair.'
- b. % Set-**tu-st** á stólinn.  
sit-2SG.NOM.SUBJ- ST on chair.the  
'Have a seat on the chair.'

Attested examples of the non-standard positioning of *-st* can be found on the web.<sup>14,15</sup>

- (31) a. % Ger-**ðu-st** meðlimur í klúbbnum.  
do-2SG.NOM.SUBJ-ST member.SG.NOM in club.the  
'Become a member of the club.'
- b. % Kom-**du-st** að því hvort  
come-2SG.NOM.SUBJ-ST to it whether  
það eru laus störf hjá RÚV.  
EXPL are free jobs at RÚV  
'Find out whether there are open jobs at RÚV.'
- c. % Bú-**ðu-st** frekar við  
expect-2SG.NOM.SUBJ-ST rather with  
svölum bardagasenum í slow-motion.  
cool battle.scenes in slow-motion  
'Rather, expect cool battle scenes in slow motion.'

Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson points out the example in (32), which was found on an advertisement for a music festival. He remembers noticing people using this form in Sauðárkrokur, and perhaps other areas in the north, such as Akureyri. Another attested example, in (33), was found on a website for whale-watching in Húsavík, also on the northern coast of Iceland.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> I would like to thank Einar Freyr Sigurðsson for discussion of these examples.

<sup>15</sup> Example (31a) taken from <http://www.makeupstore.se/isis/club.php>, (31b) taken from [http://itu.dk/~oskarsson/2011/tasks\\_ruv\\_new.pdf](http://itu.dk/~oskarsson/2011/tasks_ruv_new.pdf) and (31c) taken from [http://www.psx.is/forums/topic/16939-hver-er-sidhasta-mynd-sem-adh-thu-sast/page\\_st\\_1600](http://www.psx.is/forums/topic/16939-hver-er-sidhasta-mynd-sem-adh-thu-sast/page_st_1600).

<sup>16</sup> Example (32) taken from <http://www.gaeran.is/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Tonlistarhatidin-Gaeran2013-Veggspjald.jpg> and (33) taken from <http://islandermedetta.is/spjald/24325>.



- (32) % Fylg-du-st                      með okkur!  
 follow-2SG.NOM.SUBJ-ST with us  
 ‘Follow us!’ (i.e. on facebook)
- (33) % Fylg-du-st                      með okkur á fréttasíðu okkar  
 follow-2SG.NOM.SUBJ-ST with us    on website    our  
 eða finndu okkur á Facebook, Twitter, YouTube og Flickr.  
 or find us    on Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Flickr  
 ‘Follow us on our website or find us on Facebook, Twitter,  
 YouTube and Flickr.’

As pointed out by Kissock (1997), this is rather striking evidence that *-st* is a clitic. The *-tul-ðul-du* morpheme, which I gloss as ‘2SG.NOM.SUBJ’, is a weak form of the nominative 2nd person singular pronoun *þú*. (That is, it is not an agreement affix.) It consists of a dental consonant, which can be deleted in the presence of another dental consonant, plus *-u* (IPA = [Y]). It attaches to the right side of the imperative stem. This is illustrated for non-*-st* verbs in the following examples.

- (34) a. Kom-**du** hingað!    b. Borða-**ðu**!    c. Þek-**tu** það!  
 come-2SG here.to    eat-2SG    cover-2SG it  
 ‘Come here!’    ‘Eat!’    ‘Cover it!’

The fact that *-st* can, for some speakers, attach to the right of a weak subject pronoun supports the claim that *-st* is a clitic rather than a suffix, since a suffix would not be expected to be separable from the element it attaches to by a separate, nominative subject.

Another example of the distributional flexibility of *-st* comes from the fact that, for various speakers and at various stages of Icelandic, *-st* has been able to occur between tense and agreement morphology (cf. Thráinsson 2007, p. 285). According to Ottósson (1992), this distribution reached its height toward the end of the 19th century, when it began to give way to the now overwhelmingly more common variant (outside tense/agreement morphology). Ottósson claims that strong prescriptive pressures played a role in this shift historically. Speakers I have consulted find that forms such as the following are not alien to them, and one can find examples of the non-standard form online, as well as discussions of it, indicating that it is still alive in the language.<sup>17,18</sup>

- (35) a. % Sjá-u-st-um!  
 see-PL-ST-1PL  
 ‘We’ll see each other later!’

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, <http://deeza.blogspot.com/2009/05/af-hverju-segja-sumir-alltaf-vi.html>.

<sup>18</sup> Anton Karl Ingason (p.c.) points out that one also finds *sjá-um-st-um*, with two instances of the 1st person plural morpheme *-um*; in fact, one even finds *sjá-um-st-um-st*, with two instances of both agreement and *-st*, but it is not clear at this time what the status of this form is.

- b. % Við hitt-u-st-um seinna!  
 we meet-PL-ST-1PL later  
 ‘We’ll meet up later!’

Where the standard (and more frequent) form is:

- (36) a. Sjá-um-st!  
 see-1PL-ST  
 ‘We’ll see each other later!’  
 b. Við hitt-um-st seinna!  
 we meet-1PL-ST later  
 ‘We’ll meet up later!’

I gloss the *-u-* morpheme preceding *-st* in (35) as a plural marker, which is consistent with the morphology of the language. That a single inflectional feature can appear in two places in an inflectional complex is attested cross-linguistically (see Baker and Willie 2010).<sup>19</sup>

There are a number of ways of describing/analyzing this alternation, and choosing among them won’t be crucial here. For clarity, I will sketch a few possibilities. One possibility is that *-st* is a head in (35) and a clitic, as proposed here, in (36). This would force the epenthesis analysis of the extra *-u-* described in footnote 19, since it would be hard to imagine where a plural marker would come from otherwise, assuming it is higher in the clause structure than VoiceP. However, it is not clear that this analysis is tenable, since *-st* still seems to occur outside tense morphology, even when it is inside agreement morphology.<sup>20</sup> H.Á. Sigurðsson (2012b, p. 217) describes the difference in terms of a uniform cliticization analysis, analyzing the difference as having to do with the timing of cliticization:

In the older standard variety, the *-st*-element cliticizes onto the finite verb after roll-up  $v/V$ -to-T-to-Nr-to-Pn, first yielding  $v/V$ -T, then  $v/V$ -T-Nr, then  $v/V$ -T-Nr-Pn, and finally  $v/V$ -T-Nr-Pn-*st* by shallow cliticization [...]. In the other variety, *-st* cliticizes onto T prior to  $v/V$ -raising, first yielding *T-st*, then  $v/V$ -*T-st*, then  $v/V$ -*T-st*-Nr, and finally  $v/V$ -*T-st*-Nr-Pn. (H.Á. Sigurðsson 2012b, p. 217)

Another possibility is that the variation has to do with the positioning of *-st* in functional structure (or positioning of the verb and functional material around a fixed position for *-st*).

<sup>19</sup> H.Á. Sigurðsson (2012b), discussing a different example (*virt-u-st-um* ‘appear’), suggests it is epenthetic, which is also consistent with the morphophonology of Icelandic, since *-u-* is arguably an epenthetic vowel in a number of contexts (Orešnik 1985; though see Ingason 2013 for a different view). However, it is not clear why epenthesis should occur in (35a), in particular, given the well-formedness of the infinitival form *sjá-st* ‘see-ST’ (which is also the 3rd person plural form in the present tense).

<sup>20</sup> For example, the *-t-* of *vir-t-u-st-um* ‘appear’ is a past tense morpheme for the verb *virðast*. However, matters might be even more complicated than already indicated; according to Thráinsson (2007, p. 285) *-st* may also appear to the left of the past tense marker *-uð-* in the non-standard form of verbs like *andskot-u-st-uð-um* ‘work.hard-PL-ST-PST-1PL’.

The analysis of the alternation in (35)–(36) is obviously tied up very closely with the analysis of *-st* in the first place. Here, I would only like to point out that the fact that *-st* occurs inside agreement morphology for some speakers in some cases actually supports a clitic analysis, since clitics are attested occurring with or inside agreement morphology, usually subject to some variation. Laenzlinger (1994) provides an example of a clitic appearing inside agreement morphology in colloquial French, and Harris and Halle (2005) and Kayne (2010a) analyze clitics in varieties of Spanish occurring with/inside agreement morphology. An example from Spanish is presented in (37) for the clitic *lo* ‘it’ and the plural morpheme *-n*.<sup>21</sup>

- (37) a. vénda-**n-lo**  
 see-PL-it  
 ‘They sell it.’
- b. vénda-**n-lo-n**  
 see-PL-it-PL  
 ‘They sell it.’
- c. vénda-**lo-n**  
 see-it-PL  
 ‘They sell it.’

In the ‘normative’ (37a), the inflectional plural marker appears at the right edge of the finite verb, and the clitic *-lo* attaches to the right of that. This resembles the standard situation with *-st*, which occurs to the right of all inflectional material. (37b–c) resemble the non-standard positioning of *-st*, in that a (plural) inflectional marker appears to the right of the clitic. If the extra *-u-* in (35) is a plural marker, as proposed above, then non-standard Icelandic looks like (37b), except with the outer-most morpheme expressing person as well as number; if it is epenthetic, then non-standard Icelandic looks like (37c), with an inflectional marker to the right of the clitic. Either way, the appearance of *-st* inside agreement morphology in non-standard Icelandic is consistent with a clitic analysis of *-st*, since clitics show this behavior in other languages.

### 2.3.2 Paradigmatic Properties: The ‘Form’ of *-st*

Nevins (2011a, b) notes that clitics differ from agreement affixes in that clitics do not vary with tense and aspect. Clitics can be affected morphophonologically by their attachment site, but they do not vary paradigmatically, according to Nevins. This property holds of *-st*; it surfaces as [st] in present and past tense, indicative and subjunctive, on perfect participles and infinitives. In fact, it only has one form; its shape does not change depending on morphophonology or based on syntax.

<sup>21</sup> See also Brandt (2003, p. 118) on Senise, and Manzini and Savoia (2011) for a more general discussion.

Note that *-st* also differs from agreement morphemes, which do not show up on non-finite forms in Icelandic. In Icelandic, perfect participles and infinitives never show agreement (though passive participles do show agreement for case, number and gender). The appearance of *-st* on perfect participles and infinitives is thus consistent with and supports a clitic analysis of *-st*.

A related property of *-st* which resembles clitics is the fact that *-st* cannot appear on nominalizations or ‘stative progressive’ *-andi* participles. First, consider nominalizations. The *-st* verb *undrast* ‘marvel’ can correspond to a nominalization, but *-st* cannot appear there.

- (38) a. Drengurinn undra-ði-st mannfjöldann.  
 boy.the.NOM marvel-ed-ST crowd.the.ACC  
 ‘The boy marveled at the crowd.’
- b. undr-un drengsins  
 marvel-NMLZ boy.the.GEN  
 ‘the boy’s marvelment’
- c. \* { undr-un-st / undr(a)-st-un } drengsins  
 { marvel-NMLZ-ST / marvel-ST -NMLZ } boy.the.GEN  
 ‘the boy’s marvelment’ (Adapted from Jóhannsdóttir 1995, p. 68)

This is similar to the typical situation in Romance, where clitics cannot surface in nominalizations (whether reflexive or non-reflexive; cf. Kayne 1975, p. 186, fn 143). Pesetsky (1995, p. 99) for example, discusses nominalizations such as *étonnement* ‘amazement’, which have the meaning of the reflexive but do not allow a reflexive clitic. The same goes for the inherent reflexive *s’évanouir* ‘faint’ and *évanouissement* ‘fainting fit’.<sup>22</sup>

- (39) a. Je m’étonne.  
 I REFL-amaze  
 ‘I am amazed.’
- b. l’étonne-ment de Jean  
 the.amaze-NMLZ of John  
 ‘John’s amazement’

Note that since *-st* can appear on non-agreeing participles and infinitives, this cannot be explained by treating *-st* as part of the functional agreement complex. If *-st* is not agreement, it is either a clitic or derivational affix. The nominalization facts are more consistent with its being a clitic, since nominalizations can often include derivational affixes, but not argument clitics. Note, for example, that the *-na* morpheme mentioned in (28) and analyzed in more detail in Chap. 3 can appear inside nominalizations such as *hnig-n-un* ‘decline’ (from the verb *hnig-na* ‘decline’) and *brot-n-un* ‘breaking’ (from the verb *brot-na* ‘break’).

Similar to nominalizations are *-andi* participles, illustrated below. Note that *rogast* ‘struggle’ is an ‘inherent’ *-st* verb: it always occurs with *-st* in its finite, infinitive, and

<sup>22</sup> Thanks to Richard Kayne (p.c.) for help with the French examples.

participial forms, and does not alternate with any non-*st* verb. Nevertheless, while it can occur as an *-andi* participle, *-st* cannot appear with such a participle.<sup>23</sup>

- (40) a. Þarna { rogaðist / \*rogaði } hann með þetta.  
 there { struggled-ST / \*struggled } he.NOM with this  
 ‘There he struggled with this.’
- b. Þarna kom hann  
 there came he.NOM  
 { \*rog-andi-st / \*rog-st-andi / rog-andi } með kassa.  
 { \*struggle-ing-ST / \*struggle-ST-ing / struggle-ing } with boxes  
 ‘There he came, struggling along with boxes.’

(Adapted from Ottósson 1992, p. 236)

The paradigmatic distribution of *-st* supports a clitic analysis. Like clitics, it does not vary with tense and aspect, and in fact does not vary in form at all. Also like clitics, it occurs on non-agreeing verbal forms, such as infinitives and perfect participles. Like clitics in Romance, it cannot occur on nominalizations either, nor can it occur on *-andi* participles [which might turn out to be a kind of nominalization, though some do clearly show verbal behavior on a number of diagnostics; (cf. Thráinsson 1999)].

In this and the previous section, I have argued that certain properties of *-st* suggest that it is most appropriately analyzed as a clitic. First, it has a certain amount of mobility, in that it can appear to the right of a weak subject pronoun in imperatives or to the left of that pronoun. Second, it usually occurs outside tense and agreement, like clitics, though it can occur within certain agreement forms in non-standard varieties, much like clitics in Spanish and other languages. Third, its form does not change paradigmatically with the verb. Fourth, it appears on non-finite forms. Fifth, it does not occur on nominalizations. Taken together, these facts make *-st* look more like a clitic than anything else, cross-linguistically.

In the next few sections, I will turn to properties of *-st* which do not in themselves suggest a clitic analysis, but are entirely compatible with it, despite occasional claims to the contrary in some cases. First, I will discuss the morphophonological properties of *-st*, and show that these are attested with clitics. Second, I discuss the fact that some verbs require *-st*, and show that this is also characteristic of clitics. Finally, I discuss the fact that *-st*, despite being a clitic, is not just a ‘bound variant’ of a reflexive pronoun, is not necessarily referential, and does not distribute like a DP. All of these are properties of clitics, contrary to what is sometimes assumed.

<sup>23</sup> According to Ottósson (1992, p. 236, fn 29), *-st* was attested outside *-andi* in earlier stages of Icelandic, possibly at times due in part to influence from Latin. These constructions resemble some English *-ing* progressives, though it would be very misleading to conflate them. As pointed out by Friðjónsson (1982), they often need some adverb of temporal quantification (such as *alltaf* ‘always’) when they are not stative. See Jóhannsdóttir (2007, 2011) for an interesting discussion of verbal *-andi* participles to see how they differ from English *-ing* progressives.

### 2.3.3 Morphophonological Properties

The stem to which *-st* attaches does have some morphophonological interaction with *-st*. For example, dentals (*s*, *st*, *t*, *tt*, *d*) are often lost from the stem, as illustrated in Table 2.2. In one case, [ð] is lost from the stem in the present tense: *bregð* + *st* → *bregst*. Usually, it is retained in the present tense, as exemplified by *býðst* ‘offer’ in Table 2.3. This deletion could be (partly) phonotactic, since *býð* and *bregð* have different coda structures. However, [ð] is usually dropped in supine forms, unless it is preceded by /á/ [IPA=au] in the supine stem form (Thomson 1987, p. 380) so it is also at least partly morphophonological.<sup>24</sup>

The only point I would like to make here is that contra Zwicky and Pullum (1983), elements which are uncontroversially considered clitics can also induce stem allomorphy of this sort. Citing Bermúdez-Otero and Payne (2011), Nevins (2011a, p. 959) [see also Nevins (2011b)] discusses Spanish, where the object clitic *os* ‘you.PL’ forces the deletion of the imperative ending *-d*.

- (41) a. *¡amad!*                      b. *¡ama*                              =*os!*                      (\**amad=os*)  
       love.2PL.IMPER            love.2PL.IMPER            =2PL.REFL  
       ‘Love!’                      ‘Love yourselves!’

Nevins (2011a, b) provides several other examples where clitics induce allomorphy, and, in fact, undergo allomorphy. The latter is not found with Icelandic *-st*, which, as far as I know, surfaces as [st] regardless of the phonological properties of its stem. This is distinct from Russian *-sja*, which is similar to *-st* in many respects, but does undergo allomorphy (between *-s*’ and *-sja*) depending on the phonological properties of the stem.

In fact, for the most part, *-st* does not induce much stem allomorphy either. The allomorphy it does induce is confined to the edge where *-st* attaches; it does not, for

**Table 2.2** Dental deletion with *-st* (data from Thomson 1987, p. 380)

Dental	<i>-st</i> verb	Non- <i>st</i> stem	Output	
-s-	<i>kjósast</i>	<i>kýs</i>	+ <i>st</i> → <i>kýst</i>	PRESENT
-t-	<i>látast</i>	<i>læt</i>	+ <i>st</i> → <i>læst</i>	PRESENT
-d-	<i>haldast</i>	<i>held</i>	+ <i>st</i> → <i>helst</i>	PRESENT
-st-	<i>breastast</i>	<i>brast</i>	+ <i>st</i> → <i>brast</i>	PAST
-tt-	<i>hitta</i>	<i>hitt</i>	+ <i>st</i> → <i>hist</i>	SUPINE

**Table 2.3** -ð- (non)deletion with *-st* (data from Thomson 1987, p. 380)

<i>-st</i> verb	Non- <i>st</i> stem	Output	
<i>bjóðast</i>	<i>býð</i>	+ <i>st</i> → <i>býðst</i>	PRESENT
<i>bregða</i>	<i>bregð</i>	+ <i>st</i> → <i>bregst</i>	PRESENT
<i>sjá</i>	<i>séð</i>	+ <i>st</i> → <i>sést</i>	SUPINE
<i>dá</i>	<i>dáð</i>	+ <i>st</i> → <i>dáðst</i>	SUPINE

<sup>24</sup> The ‘supine’ is the invariant form of the past participle that occurs in the perfect aspect.

example, induce stem suppletion or vowel shifts. Nor does it interfere with vowel shifts that occur independently of it. Rather, *-st* attaches to the right edge of the verb and the morphophonological effects it has are limited to that site.<sup>25</sup> Since clitics also induce such stem effects, the latter do not undermine a treatment of *-st* which puts it on par with a clitic.

### 2.3.4 *Inherent -st Verbs*

Clitics are often obligatory with particular verbs, much like Icelandic *-st* is. Rivero (2004, pp. 248, 265) for example, mentions Bulgarian ‘laugh’, which requires a reflexive clitic, as does the Polish DAT-NOM construction for ‘please’.

- (42) Gitarzyście podobają \*(się) rokowe numery.  
 guitarist.DAT please.PRS.3PL \*(REFL) rock songs.NOM  
 ‘The guitarist likes rock songs.’

(Luiza Newlin-Lukowicz p.c.)

The reflexive clitic is obligatory with *podobac* ‘please’, which is reminiscent of various Icelandic DAT-NOM psych-verbs with obligatory *-st* (e.g. *þókna\*(st)* ‘please’, *gremja\*(st)* ‘anger’, etc.; see Sect. 5.4 and further discussion in the next section).<sup>26</sup> Similarly, in Italian, verbs which require reflexive clitics are often called ‘inherent’ reflexives. This term is less intuitive for Icelandic *-st* verbs, since Icelandic has inherently reflexive verbs which do not allow *-st*, but rather require a case-marked reflexive direct object (see Sect. 1.4.4). Nevertheless, abstracting away from the terminology, Italian reflexive clitics and Icelandic *-st* look similar in this regard. We see a very close pair with ‘anger’ in (43–44).

<sup>25</sup> Though see Ottósson (2008, p. 190) for interesting properties of the Old Norse *-mk* morpheme, which was the 1st person predecessor to *-st*. Briefly, *-mk* in Old Norse apparently made the verb stem take on the 1st person plural form, even if it agreed with a 1st person singular argument.

- (i) a. <sup>ᵀ</sup>ek kþollumk      b. <sup>ᵀ</sup>ek kalla mik  
 I.NOM call.1PL.MK      I.NOM call.1SG me/myself  
 ‘I call myself.’ (Ottósson 2008, p.190)

Ottósson (2008) argues that contrary to appearances, (ia) does not involve a 1st person plural verb form, but rather a *-umk* variant of *-mk* that triggers umlaut, making it look like the 1st person plural suffix *-um* is present. The *-mk* morpheme no longer exists in Icelandic, however.

<sup>26</sup> See Kański (1984), Kubiński (1987), Kupść (2000a, b) and Goledzinowska (2004) for further discussion of verbs that require a reflexive clitic in Polish. Thanks to Luiza Newlin-Lukowicz for discussing the Polish facts with me.

- (43) a. \* Gianni ha arrabbiato { Lucia / se stesso }  
 Gianni has angered { Lucia / himself }  
 INTENDED: ‘Gianni has angered Lucia/himself.’  
 b. Gianni si è arrabbiato.  
 Gianni SI is angered  
 ‘Gianni got angry.’ (Manzini et al. 2009)
- (44) a. \* Jón reiddi { Maríu / sjálfan sig }  
 John angered { Mary / himself }  
 INTENDED: ‘John angered Mary/himself.’  
 b. Jón reiddist.  
 John angered-ST  
 ‘John got angry.’ (Halldór Sigurðsson p.c.)

Neither Italian *arrabbiarsi* ‘anger’ nor Icelandic *reiðast* ‘anger’ can occur in a transitive form without *si/-st*, as shown in (43a) and (44a), respectively. Both require *si/-st*, and form inchoative intransitives.

### 2.3.5 *The Idiosyncrasy of -st: Special Meaning Is No Special Problem*

An issue related to the ‘inherent’ *-st* verbs discussed in the previous subsection that has been emphasized in the past is the fact that many *-st* verbs seem to correspond in an idiosyncratic way to their non-*-st* counterparts. The conclusions drawn from this, I believe, have been too strong. For example, Asarina (2011) discusses anticausative alternations where the dative case on a direct object is not preserved on the *-st* anticausative variant, which includes examples such as (45):

- (45) a. Ásta splundraði rúðunni.  
 Ásta shattered window.the.DAT  
 ‘Ásta shattered the window.’  
 b. Rúðan splundraðist.  
 window.the.NOM shattered-ST  
 ‘The window shattered.’

Citing Anderson (1990), she compares such alternations with the following alternations:<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> The descriptions in parenthesis correspond to her discussion of them.



- (46)
- |    |                            |   |   |
|----|----------------------------|---|---|
| a. | <i>klæða</i> ‘dress’       | – | <i>klæðast</i> ‘dress oneself’ (reflexive)                  |
| b. | <i>heyra</i> ‘hear’        | – | <i>heyrast</i> ‘be audible’ (semantic effect)               |
| c. | <i>blessa</i> ‘bless’      | – | <i>blessast</i> ‘succeed’ (non-transparent semantic effect) |
| d. | <i>eldri</i> ‘older’(adj.) | – | <i>eldast</i> ‘get older’ (deadjectival)                    |
| e. | <i>bjálfi</i> ‘fool’(noun) | – | <i>bjálfast</i> ‘act foolish’ (denominal)                   |

On the basis of these multiple types of *-st* alternations, as well as the idiosyncratic relation of *-st* verbs to their non-*-st* counterparts, Asarina (2011, p. 157) concludes that “there is no reason to think that there is a true syntactic correspondence between the object of [(45a)] and the subject [(45b)].”<sup>28</sup> However, the problem with this conclusion is that the anticausative alternation is completely regular and predictable, and corresponds in a straightforward way to anticausative alternations cross-linguistically, where there is, in fact, assumed to be a syntactic correspondence between the object and the subject.

Asarina (2011) is not alone in this conclusion. In the literature on *-st* and its Old Norse ancestor, it is often taken for granted that *-st* is a suffix and efforts are taken to determine whether it is an inflectional suffix or a derivational suffix. Typically, the way this works is to assign a list of characteristics of each and determine which list *-st* matches. The assumption relevant to the present discussion is that derivational suffixes are supposed to be unpredictable semantically, while inflectional suffixes are supposed to have no unpredictable semantic effect. The conclusion is always either that *-st* is derivational, or else it is derivational in some uses but inflectional in the anticausative uses [see for example Ottósson (1986), Enger (2002), and references therein].<sup>29</sup>

However, looking at inherent reflexives, in Icelandic and other languages, it becomes clear that the special meaning effects of *-st* are by no means ‘special’ to affixes at all, derivational or otherwise. As emphasized in Árnadóttir et al. (2011), some verbs are ‘inherent reflexives’ in that their meaning with a reflexive pronoun is different than with a non-reflexive pronoun. For example, *skemmta sér*, with a reflexive pronoun, means ‘have fun’, whereas *skemmta* with a non-reflexive pronoun means ‘entertain’.

- (47)
- |    |                                       |           |
|----|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| a. | Jón skemmti sér                       | í gær.    |
|    | Jón entertained REFL.DAT              | yesterday |
|    | ‘Jón had fun yesterday.’              |           |
| b. | Jón skemmti öllum                     | í gær.    |
|    | Jón entertained everyone.DAT          | yesterday |
|    | ‘Jón entertained everyone yesterday.’ |           |

<sup>28</sup> Asarina (2011) was specifically talking about *týna* ‘lose’, but the point is the same.

<sup>29</sup> In Sect. 3.5.6, I discuss why, from the present perspective, anticausative uses of *-st* seem to be more “lexically predictable”; see also Sect. 4.3.3.

As Árnadóttir et al. (2011) put it: “In [47a], it is stated that Jón had fun, but this does not necessarily entail that he did anything special to entertain himself; it is actually more likely that someone else entertained him.”

As pointed out in H.Á. Sigurðsson (2002), the effect of a reflexive pronoun on the meaning of a predicate can be quite extreme, as shown in the following examples:

- (48) a. *taka til* ‘clean up’ — *taka sig til* ‘get oneself ready’  
 b. *taka upp* ‘record’ — *taka sig upp* ‘move (live somewhere else)’  
 c. *taka út* ‘suffer; withdraw cash’ — *taka sig vel út* ‘look good’  
 d. *taka við* ‘receive; take over’ — *taka við sér* ‘respond’

The fact that the presence of a reflexive pronoun—a separable word—can affect the meaning of a verb means that the fact that *-st* can affect the meaning of a verb cannot be an argument that *-st* is a suffix, let alone a ‘derivational’ suffix. Again, I do not want to imply that *-st* is a ‘reduced version’ or ‘bound variant’ of the reflexive pronoun. The point here is just that semantic interactions between *-st* and the verb do not say anything about the clitic/affix distinction one way or another.

In Icelandic, simplex reflexives seem to be more likely to have idiosyncratic effects than complex ‘self’ reflexives. This is illustrated in the following example.

- (49) a. Jón gaf {??sér / **sjálfum sér** / Pétri }  
 Jón gave {??REFL.DAT / self.DAT REFL.DAT / Pétur.DAT }  
 bók í jólagjöf.  
 book in Christmas.present  
 ‘John gave himself/Pétur a book for a Christmas present.’  
 b. Jón gaf {**sér** / ??sjálfum sér / \*Pétri }  
 Jón gave {REFL.DAT / ??self.DAT REFL.DAT / \*Pétur.DAT }  
 þessa forsendu.  
 this premise  
 ‘Jón proposed this premise.’  
 ??/\* ‘John gave himself/Pétur this premise.’

(Adapted from Árnadóttir et al. 2011, p. 79)

When *gefa* ‘give’ takes a simplex reflexive indirect object pronoun, the meaning is different from when it takes a complex reflexive indirect object or a non-reflexive indirect object. What the meaning is will depend on the internal argument, so that *gefa sér forsendu* means ‘propose a premise’. Einar Freyr Sigurðsson (p.c.) points out that *gefa sér tíma* ‘lit. give refl time’ means ‘take the time’ or ‘set aside time’.

Similarly, consider the French examples in (50) from Campanini and Schäfer (2011).

- (50) a. Je me suis envoyé deux bières.  
 I REFL am sent two beers  
 READING A: 'I sent two beers to myself.' (literal, non-preferred)  
 READING B: 'I drank two beers.'
- b. J'ai envoyé deux bières (à moi-même)  
 I've sent two beers (to me-SELF)  
 'I sent two beers to myself.'  
 \* 'I drank two beers.'

According to Campanini and Schäfer (2011) (who cite Fabienne Martin for these examples), the preferred reading of (50a) is 'I drank two beers'. That is, the combination of a direct object and a reflexive clitic can have an idiosyncratic semantic effect on the verbal root, which normally means 'send'. This is only possible with the reflexive clitic, not the reflexive pronoun, as shown in (50b). However, since French reflexive clitics act as the basic reflexive marker in the language, the literal 'send' reading is available with the reflexive clitic, in addition to the 'drink' reading.

French marks many anticausatives with the 'reflexive' clitic, as illustrated in (51).

- (51) L'image s'agrandit.  
 the.picture REFL-widens  
 'The picture becomes wider.' (Schäfer 2008, p. 20)

Do we say that the French reflexive clitic in (50a) is having a special effect on the meaning of the verb the way that the Icelandic reflexive pronoun is in (49b), or is the clitic behaving more like *-st* in its more 'idiosyncratic' uses? Is it important to distinguish the 'special meaning' effects of *-st* in (46) from the 'special meaning' effects of the reflexive pronoun in (48), in a way that forces us to attach *-st* in the lexicon?<sup>30</sup>

Suppose that there is a sense in which the French reflexive clitic is ambiguous between an *-st*-like use and a reflexive pronoun-like use. This would mean that French morphology is collapsing a syntactically real distinction that is made in Icelandic, a common state of affairs in cross-linguistic comparison. This means in turn that there is nothing particularly remarkable about Icelandic, in the sense that there is nothing strange about having a clitic which has generally regular properties, but which conditions idiosyncratic meaning of a verbal root in certain structures.

Many cases in French of the 'partitive' clitic *en* and the 'locative' clitic *y* involve idiosyncratic root meaning.<sup>31</sup> Postal (1992, p. 24) provides the following examples,

<sup>30</sup> This sort of reasoning can of course lead to saying that reflexive pronouns and particles are attached to certain verbs in the lexicon, as idioms, but this then, forces the lexicon to itself build up or be sensitive to syntactic structure (cf. Culicover and Jackendoff 2005). This then means, in practice, that at least part of the 'lexicon' is post-syntactic: something must be able to have the rules to build and store the structures. If so, then this is already a step in the direction argued for in the present book, which argues that in general, structure is built prior to interpretation.

<sup>31</sup> Kayne (2008) proposes that 'locative' clitics are not inherently 'locative' on their own; see also Kayne (1975, pp. 102–114) and Kayne (2004) (the latter reprinted in Kayne 2005).

noting that “French probably has hundreds of cases of inherent clitics of one of these forms.”

- (52)
- a. *vouloir* ‘want’ – *en vouloir* ‘have a grudge against’
  - b. *connaître* ‘know’ – *s’y connaître* ‘be knowledgeable about’
  - c. *aller* ‘go’ – *s’en aller* ‘go away’
  - d. *prendre* ‘take’ – *s’en prendre* ‘take it out on; attack’

Note that many of these also involve the reflexive clitic *s’/se*. Russi (2008) provides an enormous number of similar examples for Italian ‘locative’ *ci*, ‘partitive’ *ne*, and ‘reflexive’ *si*. The fact that there are so many “inherent *-st* verbs” should not worry us in our attempt to understand the regular syntactic properties and functions of *-st*. The same semantic issue for *-st* arises for verbal particles, separable reflexives, and reflexive clitics, among other elements in the ‘first phase’ of the syntactic derivation of the verb phrase. It is an interesting and important issue in general, but it is not specific to *-st*, which behaves like other argument clitics cross-linguistically.<sup>32</sup>

Taking *-st* to be a clitic, to some extent, clarifies a question of whether *-st* should be thought of as a ‘derivational’ suffix or an ‘inflectional’ suffix. In traditional terms, it is neither. In descriptive terms, the label is not important; what is important is that it is a syntactically independent element which interacts with other elements in the way that syntactically independent elements (including reflexive clitics, locative/partitive and pronominal clitics, separable reflexive pronouns and verbal particles) usually do. It is not the goal of this book to account for every minute detail of every *-st* verb/alternation; the fact that there are many semantically idiosyncratic *-st* verbs/alternations is the same fact as the fact that there are many idiosyncratic inherent reflexives, which are often expressed with reflexive clitics in many languages. The point of this subsection is simply to show that *-st* is not different from argument clitics with respect to idiosyncratic interpretation in any important way, supporting the approach in subsequent chapters in which *-st* merges in an argument position.

### 2.3.6 Alternating with a ‘Word’

The question of whether *-st* alternates with a ‘word’ is usually asked with a certain specific analysis in mind, namely, that it is a phonologically reduced version of a reflexive pronoun. This makes sense diachronically, since *-st* arose from a reflexive pronoun. The assumption, then, is that if *-st* were still a clitic, it would be a clitic version of a reflexive pronoun. On this view, the clitic *-st* would be much like the imperative weak pronouns seen in (30–34) above: basically we would see the same linear distribution as with the non-clitic versions, with basically the same morphosyntactic properties (case marking, etc.). However, Ottósson (2008, p. 189) notes

<sup>32</sup> One important reason *-st* might seem special is probably the lack of a productive reflexive reading, making its other uses stand out more.

that *-st* does not have the same linear distribution as the reflexive pronoun.<sup>33</sup> For example, the reflexive pronoun cannot move with the verb to the V2 position, unlike *-st*, and *-st* cannot be left behind in the position where the reflexive pronoun sits.

- (53) a. Þá { tróðst / \*tróð sér } hún gegnum  
 then { squeezed-ST / \*squeezed REFL.DAT } she.NOM through  
 mannþröngina.  
 crowd.the  
 ‘Then she squeezed (herself) through the crowd.’
- b. Þá tróð hún { \*st / sér } gegnum mannþröngina.  
 then squeezed she.NOM { \*-ST / REFL.DAT } through crowd.the  
 ‘Then she squeezed (herself) through the crowd.’

However, even clitics that plausibly (or at least possibly) correspond to some full DP, such as productive reflexive clitics in Romance and Slavic, do not distribute like a full DP. (54) illustrates for Serbo-Croatian the distinct distribution of reflexive pronouns and reflexive clitics.

- (54) a. Petar brani sebe.  
 Petar defends REFL.ACC  
 ‘Peter defends himself.’
- b. Petar se brani.  
 Petar REFL.ACC.CL defends  
 ‘Peter defends himself.’ (Zec 1985, p. 365)

Serbo-Croatian is a second-position clitic language, and it is often proposed that clitics of this kind cluster on C, or at least in the CP domain, much as verbs in V2 languages are attracted to C or the CP domain (see e.g. Čavar and Wilder 1994). Whatever the distribution of Icelandic *-st* is, it is clear that distributional facts of the sort in (53) do not provide evidence against a clitic analysis.

There are many situations where *-st* does not seem to be referential, and does not alternate with a full DP argument, which might seem to suggest that it is not an argument clitic.<sup>34</sup> One example is the verb *skammast* ‘be ashamed’, which is actually an inherent reflexive with *-st*; that is, when *-st* is present, an additional genitive reflexive pronoun is required.<sup>35</sup>

- (55) a. Jón skammast \*(sín).  
 John.NOM shames-ST \*(REFL.GEN)  
 ‘John is ashamed of himself.’

<sup>33</sup> Ottósson (2008) discusses the Old Norse ancestor to *-st* (which was *-sk*, *-mk* with 1st person subjects), which patterns, as far as I can tell, like modern Icelandic *-st* in the relevant respects.

<sup>34</sup> In fact, I will propose that *-st* is never referential, despite originating in an argument position in the syntax.

<sup>35</sup> When *-st* is not present, the verb *skamma* means ‘scold’ and takes an accusative object.

- b. \* Jón skammast mín.  
 John.NOM shames-ST me.GEN  
 INTENDED: ‘John is ashamed of me.’

However, reflexive clitics share this property in many cases; they do not always ‘absorb’ an argument position and take on a referential role. Consider the following example from the Northern Italian Dialect ‘Bellinzonese’ (see also Kayne 2000, p. 148).

- (56) A **ma sa** lavi i cavii.  
 SCL 1SG.DAT REFL wash the hair  
 ‘I wash my hair.’ (Cattaneo 2009, p. 163)

Here, a reflexive clitic *sa* co-occurs with an ‘extra’ 1st person dative clitic *ma*. The fact that *sa* apparently has no (independent) referential role, and does not alternate with a full, overt argument, does not mean that it is not a clitic with a syntactic function in the language. Thus, the observation that *-st* does not always alternate with a full argument or that it can occur with another reflexive pronoun does not mean that it is not a clitic with a syntactic function in Icelandic.

Another example where clitics do not alternate with an argument position involves clitic doubling, of the sort seen for indirect objects in many varieties of Spanish, and even for direct objects in some varieties (examples from Anagnostopoulou 2006).

- (57) a. Miguelito (**le**) regaló un caramelo a Mafalda.  
 Miguelito DAT gave a candy a Mafalda  
 ‘Miguelito gave Mafalda a piece of candy.’ (All Spanish)
- b. **Lo** vimos a Juan.  
 ACC saw.1PL a Juan  
 ‘We saw John.’ (Rioplatense Spanish)

There are also cases of reflexive clitics that add some kind of thematic or aspectual component, but do not appear, on the face of it, to ‘replace’ an argument. For example, Italian *si* in (58b) seems to be serving a function similar to the English particle *away* in (59b).

- (58) a. \* Il mare ha mangiato la spiaggia.  
 the sea has eat.PTCP the beach
- b. Il mare **si** è mangiato la spiaggia.  
 the sea REFL is eat.PTCP the beach  
 ‘The sea ate away the beach.’ (Italian)  
 (Folli and Harley 2004, p. 96)

- (59) a. \* The sea ate the beach.  
 b. The sea ate away the beach.

With ‘Optional *Si/Se* Constructions’ (OSCs) (Campanini and Schäfer 2011), a reflexive clitic may have an aspectual effect with certain verbs, for which it does not obviously ‘replace’ an argument.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Thanks to Sara Sanchez Alonso for discussion of the Spanish sentences.

- (60) a. Juan leyó la Biblia (durante dos horas).  
 John read the Bible (for two hours)  
 ‘John read the Bible (for two hours).’
- b. Juan se leyó la Biblia (?\*durante dos horas).  
 John REFL read the Bible (?\*for two hours)  
 ‘John read the Bible.’
- (Spanish)  
 (Campanini and Schäfer 2011)

To be clear, I am not claiming that these facts are inconsistent with the view that *si/se* begins in an argument position. In Chap. 6, I will suggest that there are constructions in Icelandic where the presence of *-st* indicates the presence of a null particle, and in Chap. 5, I will propose that sentences like (60) do involve three thematic structural positions. The point is simply that the appearance of an argument clitic does not always, on the surface, seem to clearly replace an argument.

The question one needs to ask is what properties of Icelandic morphosyntax relevant to *-st* changed in the synchronic grammars over time. The assumption in a lot of historical work seems to be that it changed from a clitic to a suffix, and concomitant property changes are, or should be, relatable to the difference between clitics and suffixes. I have already noted that the criteria supposedly correlated with the change from a clitic to a suffix are actually properties of clitics as well, so they do not argue in particular for a suffix analysis: saying that *-st* went from being a clitic to being a suffix does not account for any of the actual grammatical properties of *-st*.

### 2.3.7 Summary

The claim in this book is that *-st* is a clitic, in the specific sense that it originates in the argument-introduction domain (in an argument position) and later attaches to its verbal host. The claim is not that *-st* is a phonologically reduced version of a reflexive pronoun or any other element. It is an independent element with its own properties.<sup>37</sup> But if we look at its properties in detail, it seems to be more closely related to what have been called ‘pronominal clitics’ in other languages, especially reflexive clitics. In (61), I summarize the argument in favor of this position:

- (61) **Summary of the argument that *-st* is a clitic:** *-st* has some properties that make it look more like a clitic than anything else, namely its positioning, its mobility, its uniform form, and its appearance on non-finite forms but not on nominalizations. Other properties of *-st* fail to show that *-st* must be a suffix:
- a. Some verbs require *-st*; but some verbs require reflexive pronouns in Icelandic, which are not suffixes, and some verbs require reflexive clitics in other languages.

---

<sup>37</sup> Though see (26) on the possibility that it is, in some sense, a ‘featural subset’ of the reflexive pronoun.

- b. Some verbs change their meaning in the presence of *-st*; but some verbs change their meaning in the presence of a simplex reflexive pronoun in Icelandic, which is not a suffix, and the same holds for reflexive clitics in other languages.
- c. *-st* does not always alternate with a full word; but clitics do not generally alternate with a full word—sometimes they do, and sometimes they don't.
- d. *-st* does not distribute like a full word; but clitics do not generally distribute like full words.
- e. *-st* interacts phonologically with the stem it attaches to; but this interaction is limited and involves the site of (phonological) attachment only, and is consistent with the behavior of clitics cross-linguistically.

In fact, it seems that the claim that *-st* is anything *other* than a clitic raises far more problems than it solves, including the endlessly inconclusive question about whether it is 'derivational' or 'inflectional' suffix referred to above.<sup>38</sup> As a clitic, we can collapse the problems involved in understanding *-st* with similar problems across languages. The surprising character becomes less surprising, and *-st* begins to fit into what we know about clitics cross-linguistically. This is not a solution to those problems, of course. We want to understand the behavior of (the elements we call) clitics, and also want to understand them in the sense that there is no UG primitive notion of 'clitic'.

## 2.4 Possible Clitic Analyses of *-st*

The exact analysis of clitic *-st* is independent of most of the rest of this book. What will be important is that it is a valency-reducing clitic which merges in an argument position before ending up in its final position. This is in principle compatible with many different approaches to cliticization. In this section, I will outline some possibilities and present a more-or-less cartographic analysis which draws in part from the literature on Romance and Slavic clitics.

---

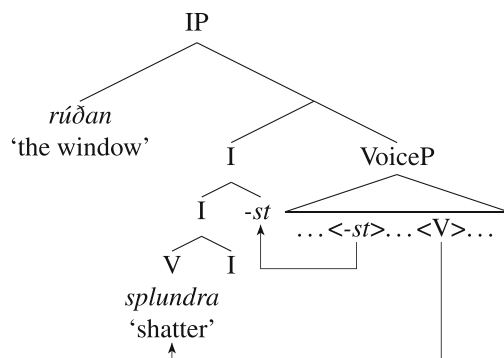
<sup>38</sup> If in addition, there is no primitive difference between 'derivation' and 'inflection', then the question of whether something is 'derivational' or 'inflectional' is not only the wrong question for *-st*, but the wrong question for any linguistic element. The same holds for the distinction between 'clitic' and 'affix', which is why I am trying to emphasize what *-st* does, in comparison to what the elements that people have called 'clitics' do, instead of emphasizing what criteria we should use to 'categorize' clitics more generally. See Marantz (2001) for insightful discussion of the idea that the important distinction is about whether a morpheme attaches inside or outside the (phase) domain of the lexical root (what Marantz calls 'inner' versus 'outer' affixation), and that this does not match up with the traditional derivational/inflectional distinction. In the present work, the claim is that *-st* participates in the construction of verb phrases, not verb words, and that any idiosyncrasies it seems to induce are idiosyncrasies related to the internal structure of the verb phrase, not *-st* itself.



### 2.4.1 Right Adjunction

One possibility is to take cliticization to involve plain right adjunction to the verbal head at the appropriate time in the derivation.

(62)



However, this analysis requires violating the linear correspondance axiom Kayne (1994, 2010b), and probably requires an undesirable amount of stipulation in encoding of the timing of adjunction for different kinds of V (infinitive, participial, etc.). Also, it would be hard to exclude *-st* forms of nominalizations, *-andi* participles, and so forth. It is possible that a satisfactory right adjunction analysis could be developed, but I will set this possibility aside for now.

### 2.4.2 Defective Goal

Another possibility is that *-st* is incorporated into the verb complex through Agree, as in the defective goal analysis of Roberts (2010) (see also Holmberg 2010; and see Livitz 2014 for an elegant discussion of the differences between Roberts 2010 and Holmberg 2010). For Roberts (2010), a defective goal is a goal which has a subset of features of the probe. When the probe and goal enter into an Agree relation, mutually valuing each other's features, the goal is formally indistinguishable from a moved copy of the probe. For example, suppose *-st* has the feature set {D, 3rd person} (where D is a categorial feature), and a probing C head has the features {D, *u*PERS, *u*NUM}.<sup>39</sup> When C enters into Agree with *-st*, C will be valued as 3rd person, but will in addition have a number feature. The lower copy of *-st* will be a defective goal, and be incorporated into C. One possible advantage to this analysis is that Roberts (2010) analyzes verb movement and cliticization with the same mechanisms. Thus, the fact that *-st* seems to stay attached to or very close to the verb might be accounted for, if one can rule out for Icelandic the mechanisms Roberts (2010) uses to derive

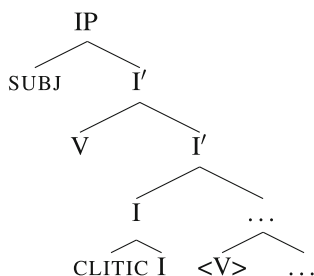
<sup>39</sup> Or, as suggested above, *-st* has the feature set {D, -PARTICIPANT}, and C has the features {D, *u*PARTICIPANT, *u*AUTHOR, *u*NUM}.

the more variable clitic placement in other languages. Another possible advantage to this approach involves the relation between clitic-second Slavic languages and verb-second Germanic languages. Since we know that multiple clitics can cluster in the ‘second position’, and we know that verbs can also be required to appear in this position, there is nothing to stop a verb and a clitic like *-st* from clustering in this position in Icelandic. Of course, *-st* does not always end up with the verb in the second position, since it can appear on participles and infinitives. However, Čavar and Wilder (1994) show that, in non-restructuring clauses, Slavic second-position clitics show up on the right side of infinitive verbs and certain participial gerunds (built on present and past participles). I have not worked out the details of this approach in sufficient detail, so I will set it aside for now.

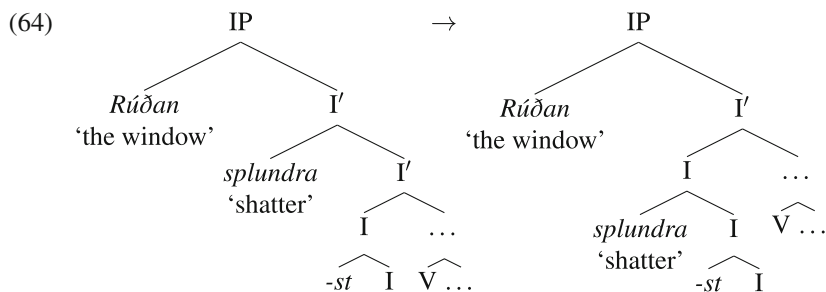
### 2.4.3 Adjunction to *X'* or Movement to Dedicated Specifier Position

Another possibility is to assume a tradition going back to Kayne (1989, 1991) for Romance clitics in which they do not (necessarily) form a syntactic constituent with their host. Analyses of this sort have been developed extensively for clitic languages which have formed the cross-linguistic comparison class in this chapter. I will discuss this possibility in more detail in this section in order to connect the clitic analysis of *-st* to this literature. Kayne (1989) and many since have proposed that clitics adjoin to a functional head and appear as enclitics or proclitics depending on whether the verb moves to their left or their right. In Kayne 1991, enclitics were proposed to be derived by adjoining the verb to the intermediate projection of the head to which the clitic adjoins. A rough schematization of this is as follows:

(63)



For *-st*, there are two possibilities, and the choice between them is not important for present purposes. First, we might have the exact configuration as (63) above, followed by ‘morphological merger’ in the sense of Marantz (1984, 1988) and more recently, Matushansky (2006) (see also Mavrogiorgos 2010). Then, any further head movement operations would carry *-st* along with it. Morphological merger is illustrated in (64).



Note that Matushansky (2006) proposes that all head movement is derived in this way, i.e. by merging the head to the root (I' in (64), at the relevant stage of the derivation). Thus, if *-st* forms a complex head, it would go through a similar intermediate stage of adjoining to I'. The other option is to assume that encliticization of *-st* does not involve forming a complex head, but would appear to be a verbal suffix if it always ended up adjacent to the verb (Julien 2002, 2007).<sup>40</sup>

A question raised by this approach is which functional head's projection is the landing site of the clitic (assuming that "IP" is too imprecise), and where this landing site is positioned in the clause. In Icelandic, *-st* always, as far as I know, ends up attached to a complex including the (lexical) verb; it is always an enclitic, never a proclitic; and as we have seen, it can attach on a verb in a low position, such as a perfect participle or infinitive. There is abundant evidence for a high clitic position at the left IP periphery (or even a high clitic field arranged into a fine-grained substructure; see Cattaneo 2009 for a particularly fine-grained cartographic proposal, and Săvescu 2009 for a different view). The left periphery is also, it has been proposed, the region of the clause where Slavic "second-position" clitics live (see Čavar and Wilder 1994; Roberts 2010, inter alia). There is also abundant evidence for a low clitic position/field. Tortora (2002) argues that low enclitics in Borgomanerese, a Northern Italian Dialect remarkable for its lack of proclitics or clitic climbing, occupy a low position around the vP periphery, where aspect is encoded: "This idea requires that we locate a functional head somewhere relatively low, namely, among the lower, pre-VP, adverbs" (Tortora 2002, p. 755). Borgomanerese is relevant in the present context, in that its clitics are always enclitics, and do not climb; they distribute like Icelandic *-st* in many ways, including encliticizing onto perfect participles.<sup>41</sup>

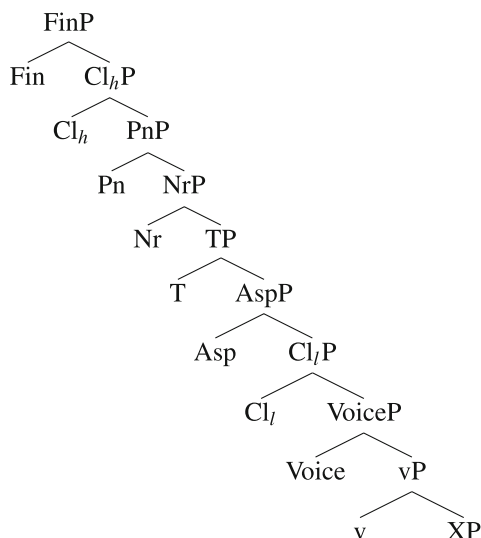
<sup>40</sup> That is, depending on one's assumptions, it does not necessarily need to form a complex head to be a morphophonological word.

<sup>41</sup> They differ in that they can attach to a limited number of prepositional and adverbial elements in addition; *-st* cannot do this.



Here, T reflects the agreement field where there are arguably P(erso)n and N(umbe)r heads as well, as proposed in H.Á. Sigurðsson and Holmberg (2008).

(68)

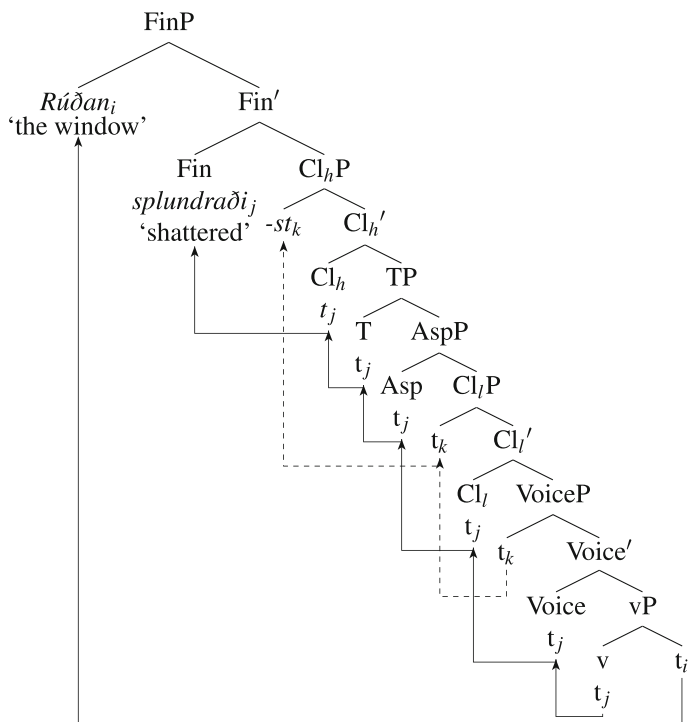


These Pn and Nr heads might be decomposed even further, given various proposals which make crucial use of extra positions, especially in the domain of clitic ordering, and one of these positions might even be identified with the  $Cl_h$ P (cf. Poletto 2000; Săvescu 2009, p. 93, fn 46; Manzini and Savoia 2011; Myler 2014).<sup>42</sup> However, the clausal architecture in (67) is sufficient for present purposes. In this view the *-st* clitic in a sentence like (69) would move to the specifier of  $Cl_l$ P, as illustrated in (70).

- (69) Rúðan splundraðist.  
 window.the.NOM shattered-ST  
 'The window shattered.'

<sup>42</sup> In the spirit of the research program pursued in this book, Anton Karl Ingason (p.c.) thus asks whether the Cl heads whose specifiers host clitics are ever overt. I would suggest that they are sometimes overt, perhaps in the form of inflectional (agreement) affixes on the verb. One possibility is that the non-standard positioning of *-st* in (35) discussed earlier reflects the spellout of the Cl head rather than the specifier, assuming that Cl and its specifier agree in whatever  $\varphi$ -features *-st* possesses. The latter proposal might require either that the 1st person agreement morpheme *-um* is a realization of Fin, or that it is a realization of Pn and Cl actually occurs between Pn and Nr in (72). The latter adjustment would make sense if PnP is actually AuthorP and  $Cl_h$ P is actually ParticipantP. See Myler (2014) for a related proposal applied to Quechua clause structure.

(70)

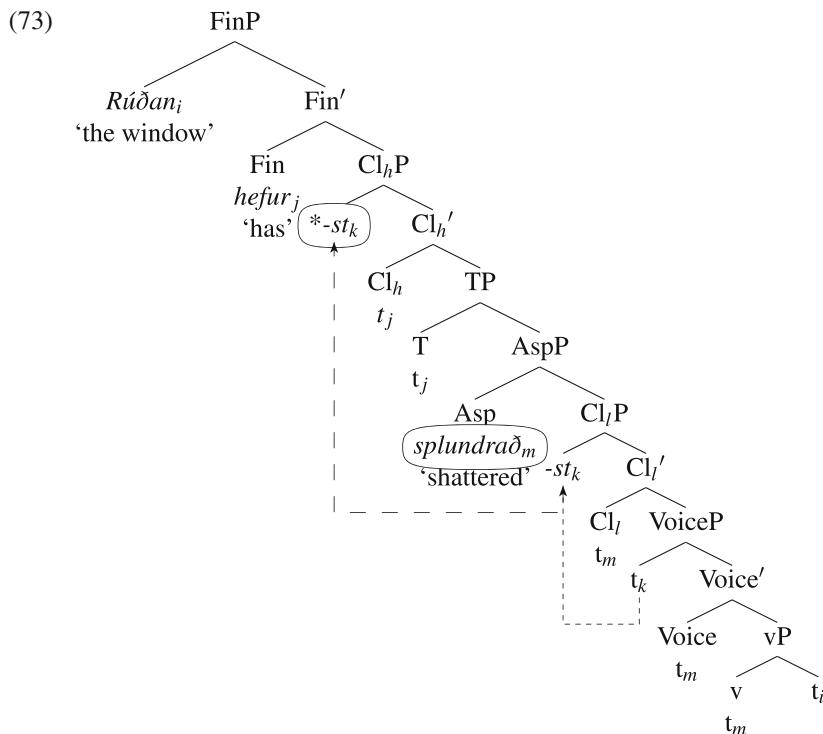


In this structure, I omit intermediate specifiers. As discussed in detail in Chap. 3, I propose that the clitic *-st* originates in SpecVoiceP in the derivation of anticausative sentences such as (69). It moves first to SpecCl<sub>l</sub>P and then to SpecCl<sub>h</sub>P. The latter movement is only possible if the verb subsequently moves to its left, as it does in the above structure. The internal argument moves to the subject position (presumably cyclically through intermediate specifiers, not shown above).

When the verb cannot move further, because there is an auxiliary present, the second movement of *-st* to SpecCl<sub>h</sub>P is not possible, as illustrated by the following data and tree. Since this is for illustrative purposes, I make the excessively oversimplified and almost certain to be wrong assumption that the auxiliary *hafa* 'have' is base generated in T, and that the perfect participle morphology is generated directly in Asp.

(71) Rúðan hefur splundrast.  
window.the.NOM has shattered-ST  
'The window has shattered.'

(72) \*Rúðan hefst splundrað.  
window.the.NOM has-ST shattered



### Technical Note

In this book, I assume the existence of head movement, and that Icelandic verb movement is derived by head movement. There may be theoretical reasons to abandon head movement in general (see Sect. 1.2.1), and there may be empirical reasons to abandon the head movement analysis of Icelandic/Scandinavian verb movement. Various authors have attempted to analyze Icelandic verb movement as remnant XP movement (see references in Sect. 1.4.3). If these analyses are successful and correct, it is hard to imagine how they would be incompatible with the general claims in this chapter (cf. Julien 2007, p. 230).

In (73), *-st* cannot move to the high clitic position, because the verb *splundrað* ‘shattered’ cannot move any further, due to the presence of the auxiliary. It may seem strange that clitic movement is dependent on verb movement, but this is actually similar to the distribution of weak pronouns, which undergo object shift.

- (74) a. *Ásta splundraði {henni} ekki {\*henni}.*  
*Ásta.NOM shattered {it.F.DAT} not {\*it.F.DAT}*  
 ‘Ásta didn’t shatter it.’
- b. *Rúðan splundraði {st} ekki {\*st}.*  
*window.the.NOM shattered {ST} not {\*ST}*  
 ‘The window didn’t shatter.’
- (75) a. *Ásta hefur {\*henni} ekki splundrað {henni}.*  
*Ásta.NOM has {\*it.F.DAT} not shattered {it.F.DAT}*  
 ‘Ásta hasn’t shattered it.’
- b. *Rúðan hefur {\*st} ekki splundra(ð) {st}.*  
*window.the.NOM has {\*ST} not shattered {ST}*  
 ‘The window has not shattered.’

I am not claiming that the distribution of *-st* is identical to that of weak pronouns. For example, the pronoun in (74a) is not entirely impossible in the unshifted position if the pronoun *henni* ‘her’ is stressed. My suggestion is that whatever underlies Holmberg’s Generalization (HG)—the generalization that a weak pronoun can move overtly to some position only if the verb subsequently does so as well—plausibly underlies the restriction against moving *-st* to the clausal clitic position in (73). That is, the fact that *-st* does not always move to the clausal clitic position is not an argument against the claim that it moves there when the appropriate conditions are met.

With an analysis positioning *-st* among clausal functional heads independently of the verb itself, we have a possible account of the non-standard positioning of *-st* in imperatives shown earlier in (30)–(33). I repeat the example from (31a) in (76a), and compare it with the standard variant in (76b). Here, I underline the weak subject pronoun and put a box around *-st* for expositional clarity.<sup>43</sup>

- (76) a. % Ger-ðu-st meðlimur í klúbbnum.  
 do-2SG.NOM.SUBJ-ST member.SG.NOM in club.the  
 ‘Become a member of the club.’
- b. Ger-st-u meðlimur í klúbbnum.  
 do-ST-2SG.NOM.SUBJ member.SG.NOM in club.the  
 ‘Become a member of the club.’

Importantly, the weak subject pronoun that appears in imperatives is not limited to imperatives. It may occur in ordinary finite clauses as well, whenever the subject would immediately follow the finite verb. This is true whether *-st* is present, as in (77b), or not, as in (77a). However, when *-st* is present, it precedes the weak subject pronoun, and cannot follow it, as illustrated in (77c).

- (77) a. Þá gerð-ir-ðu mig glaðan.  
 then did-2SG-2SG.NOM.SUBJ me happy  
 ‘Then you made me happy.’

<sup>43</sup> Example (76a) taken from <http://www.makeupstore.se/isis/club.php>.



- b. Þá gerð-**i-st**-**u** meðlimur.  
 then did-2SG-ST-2SG.NOM.SUBJ member  
 ‘Then you became a member.’
- c. \* Þá gerð-**ir-ðu**-**st** meðlimur.  
 then did-2SG-2SG.NOM.SUBJ-ST member  
 INTENDED: ‘Then you became a member.’

Thus, the non-standard positioning of *-st* in sentences like (76a) is not the result of a purely morphophonological preference to put *-st* to the right of the weak subject pronoun.

To understand why this might be, we need an understanding of how imperative clauses differ from declaratives. Zanuttini (2008) proposes that imperatives involve a special functional head which she calls a Jussive head.<sup>44</sup> According to Zanuttini et al. (2012), this head forms a morphosyntactic bundle with other inflectional heads, which together act as one head. Specifically, Zanuttini et al. (2012) propose that Jussive and T probe together as one head in the syntax.<sup>45</sup> Now, supposing that the Jussive head is a kind of C head (since it encodes clausal force), forcing Jussive and T to form a syntactic unit creates an ordering problem with respect to the  $Cl_h$  head. The  $Cl_h$  head normally occurs higher than T, but lower than C. So should it occur higher than the combined T-Jussive, or lower? I would suggest that either option is available in principle. The standard language has settled on putting it higher, as illustrated in (78a), but speakers can easily internalize a grammar that puts it lower, as illustrated in (78b).

- (78) a. [CP **ger** [ $Cl_h$ P **st** [T-JussiveP **u** [ ...  
 b. [CP **ger** [T-JussiveP **ðu** [ $Cl_h$ P **st** [ ...

I will have to leave the details of this idea for future work. For now, the point is that by positioning *-st* in the clausal spine separately from the verb, and adopting Zanuttini et al.’s (2012) proposal for the structure of imperative clauses, we have the potential for an explanatory account of why the positioning of *-st* is special in imperatives. To be clear, we do not have an explanation for why one ordering is chosen over another. What we have is an explanation for why it is imperative clauses that are special in the first place: forming an imperative clause disrupts the normal sequence of clausal functional projections, and in so doing, disrupts the normal positioning of *-st* among those projections.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> This head is responsible not just for imperatives, but also for exhortatives and promissives (Zanuttini et al. 2012).

<sup>45</sup> With respect to the bundling proposal, Zanuttini et al. (2012) draw on H.Á. Sigurðsson (2009, 2010); see especially H.Á. Sigurðsson (2012a) for further, general discussion.

<sup>46</sup> As pointed out to me by Einar Freyr Sigurðsson, an alternative analysis might invoke a morphological reordering known in the DM literature as Local Dislocation (Embick and Noyer 2001; Embick 2007a, b; Embick and Marantz 2008). Investigating how this would feed or bleed other morphophonological operations, and how it might be restricted to imperatives, is something I must leave for future research.

Now, there is some debate as to the distribution of verbs in the clause in Icelandic, and the position one takes on that debate will have direct consequences for the particular analysis of *-st* for those cases. For example, Angantýsson (2001, 2007, 2011) has discussed in detail the fact that finite verbs in Icelandic may, in certain kinds of clauses, follow the kinds of adverbs normally invoked in diagnosing verb movement (see also H.Á. Sigurðsson 1986; Thráinsson 1986). Verbs with *-st* do not, as far as I know, distribute any differently in this respect.

- (79) Það var ein spurning sem  
EXPL was one question that  
hann **ekki brást** vel við.  
he not responded-ST well to  
'There was one question that  
he did not respond positively to.' (Ásgrímur Angantýsson p.c.)
- (80) Hún fór fyrst þau **ekki áfældust**  
she left since they not blamed-ST  
réttu fólkið fyrir yfirsjónina.  
right people.the.ACC for oversight.the.ACC  
'She left since they didn't blame  
the right people for the oversight.' (Ásgrímur Angantýsson p.c.)

Angantýsson (2001, 2007, 2011) and Thráinsson (2010) propose that these cases involve exceptionally high positioning of the adverb, and do not indicate a low position for the verb itself. This is not unreasonable; Zanuttini (1997) has argued on the basis of extremely complex facts in Romance languages (including various dialects) that there are four positions where clausal negation can appear, within a language and cross-linguistically, and it is an open question the extent to which languages use all of them. If the verb is in the same position regardless of the positioning of adverbs, nothing more needs to be said with respect to *-st*.<sup>47</sup> The other view of this fact, espoused by Bentzen (2005, 2007), Wiklund et al. (2007, 2009), Hróarsdóttir et al. (2007), Bentzen et al. (2007a, b), and Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009), is that these cases involve lack of verb movement, which for them is remnant vP movement. If so, this would suggest that *-st* is not in the clausal clitic position in such cases, but possibly occupies the lower clitic position.<sup>48</sup> The choice does not make much of a difference here; if the verb is low, it is like a low infinitive or participle, and *-st* wouldn't move just like object-shift cannot take place. If the verb is in the same position in both cases, then the issue of placing *-st* in the right position does not arise in any special way.

A second case involves Stylistic Fronting, a kind of movement which moves an adverb, participle, particle, adjective, DP or PP to the preverbal position whenever

<sup>47</sup> This does, however, raise the question of why the availability of those positions should correlate with clause type.

<sup>48</sup> Note that object shift past negation is impossible in these cases as well.

there is no overt DP in the subject position (Maling 1980, 1990; Jónsson 1991; Holmberg 2000; Hrafnbjargarson 2004; Ott 2009; Wood 2011; H.Á. Sigurðsson 2013; Ingason and Wood submitted). Of relevance here is the fact that participles, whether they have *-st* or not, can be fronted, as shown in (81b).

- (81) a. Maðurinn sem hefur **troðist**  
 man.the who has squeezed-ST  
 gegnum mannþröngina heitir Jón.  
 through crowd.the is.named John  
 ‘The man who has squeezed through the crowd is named John.’
- b. Maðurinn sem **troðist** hefur  
 man.the who squeezed-ST has  
 gegnum mannþröngina heitir Jón.  
 through crowd.the is.named John  
 ‘The man who has squeezed through the crowd is named John.’

Here again, there are two possibilities, depending on the correct analysis of Stylistic Fronting. If Stylistic Fronting of participles is remnant XP movement, as argued in Ott (2009), then nothing more about *-st* needs to be said; *-st* simply remains in the fronted XP with the verb.<sup>49</sup> If Stylistic Fronting of participles is head movement (Maling 1980, 1990; Jónsson 1991; Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Poole 1996; Hrafnbjargarson 2004), then the natural assumption would be that this movement allows *-st* to move to the clausal clitic position, as proposed above. To maintain the analogy with Object Shift, note that in mainland Scandinavian, topicalizing a verbal participle allows a pronoun to undergo Object Shift:

- (82) a. Jag har inte **kysst henne**.  
 I have not kissed her
- b. \*Jag har **henne** inte **kysst**.  
 I have her not kissed
- c. **Kysst** har jag **henne** inte.  
 kissed have I her not  
 ‘I have not kissed her.’ (Holmberg 1999)

In (82a–b), the participle is left in its ordinary position, and the pronoun cannot shift to the left of negation *inte* ‘not’. However, topicalizing a participle, as in (82c), does allow the pronoun to shift. If *-st* can move to the clausal clitic position only when the verb moves to its left, and if Stylistic Fronting is not remnant XP movement, it may be that Stylistic Fronting allows *-st* to move just like verb topicalization allows a pronoun to shift.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Note in this regard that Icelandic does not have VP-movement carrying VP-internal constituents, a micro-typologically remarkable property of the language which might be explained if all VP-internal constituents vacate the VP independently of verb fronting.

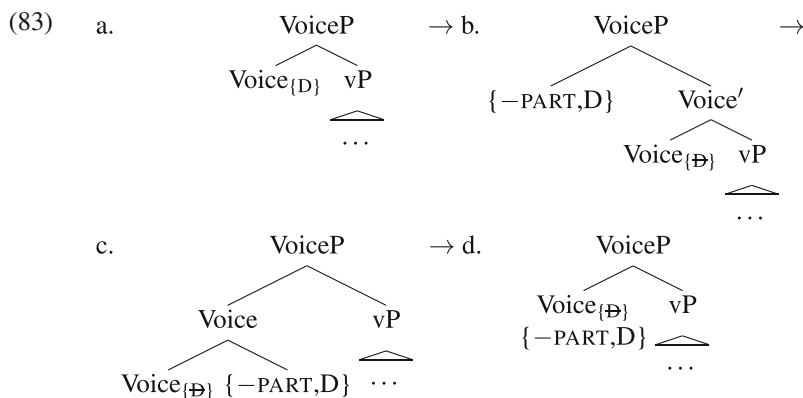
<sup>50</sup> This, of course, entails that the finite verb is in a different position from the auxiliary above when *-st* attaches to the finite verb, and would require a finer-grained clause structure in general.

## 2.5 Does It Matter If *-st* Is a Clitic?

I have spent the bulk of this chapter arguing that *-st* should be understood, from a morphosyntactic perspective, as an argument clitic. I have also explored various properties of *-st*, and suggested that it lacks case features, that it has some  $\varphi$ -feature (possibly [ $-\text{PARTICIPANT}$ ]) but that the  $\varphi$ -feature is not interpreted. However, it is worth asking whether any of this matters for the remainder of the proposal pursued in this book. Suppose *-st* had a case feature; would that affect its morphosyntax or range of uses? Suppose some other language has what is clearly a non-clitic, inflectional affix that otherwise behaves exactly like *-st* in every way—should we be surprised? Or suppose this affix does everything that *-st* does except that it cannot form intransitive denominal activity verbs (see Sect. 6.1). Now should we be surprised?

My own view is that it may or may not turn out to matter that *-st* is caseless argument clitic, but that at our current level of understanding it is nevertheless important to clarify the exact morphosyntactic properties of morphemes like *-st*. This is because I have developed an analysis within a particular set of theoretical assumptions. These assumptions guide both the questions I ask and the way that I ask them, as well as the kinds of answers that are available. It is worth it to know what would happen if some of those assumptions should change. Translating among theories is sometimes a trivial exercise, but sometimes it is not. The morphosyntactic status of *-st*, as compared to similar elements cross-linguistically, has often not been explicitly clarified in the linguistic literature, and doing so is ultimately important to our understanding of the morphosyntax of argument structure alternations more generally. I might have a theory where it does not matter whether *-st* is a clitic or whether it has a case feature, but a related theory might only allow the analyses in this book under a clitic analysis of *-st*.

At present, various mechanisms exist for manipulating syntactic features and for pronouncing them. For example, suppose that we allow both m(orphological)-merger (Matushansky 2006), which rebrackets a head and its specifier into a complex head, and fusion (Halle and Marantz 1993), which fuses the features of a complex head into one single head. Now, imagine a language like Icelandic, except that when *-st* is in SpecVoiceP, it undergoes m-merger, and then fusion, with Voice.



In (83a), we have a  $\text{Voice}_{\{D\}}$  with an unchecked D-feature. In (83b), the feature bundle suggested earlier to underlie *-st* merges in  $\text{SpecVoiceP}$ , checking the D-feature of  $\text{Voice}_{\{D\}}$ . I have proposed that this feature bundle will, in Icelandic, move to a clitic licensing position and be pronounced in that position as *-st*. However, suppose that instead, this feature bundle undergoes m-merger with  $\text{Voice}_{\{D\}}$ , as indicated in (83c), followed by fusion, as indicated in (83d). This, then, would allow the derivation of marked anticausatives, but if  $\text{Voice}_{\{D\}}$  is pronounced, it would be pronounced as an ordinary Voice affix (or free-standing morpheme, if *v* does not raise to Voice in the hypothetical language under consideration).

In a theoretical world allowing m-merger and fusion, and moreover allowing these processes to apply in exactly the way outlined above, the clitic/affix distinction would clearly not matter for the derivation of anticausatives. All that would matter is that a non-thematic feature bundle can check the D-feature of  $\text{Voice}_{\{D\}}$ . As far as anticausatives are concerned, all of the discussion in this chapter would be irrelevant. However, suppose that we are in a theoretical world without m-merger or fusion, one where checking the D-feature by merging a non-thematic feature bundle in the specifier of  $\text{Voice}_{\{D\}}$  prevents that feature bundle from being realized as an affix. If the feature bundle could not be licensed, then marked anticausatives would have to be derived in some other way. In that world, it may well matter that *-st* actually has the morphosyntax of a clitic, i.e. that *-st* is positioned in the clausal spine independently of the verb it attaches to.

Empirically, there is good reason to doubt the importance of the clitic/affix distinction for anticausatives (and for that matter, reflexives; cf. Sells et al. 1987). In Albanian, for example, anticausatives occur with what is known as non-active Voice morphology, terminology also applied to Greek. In both Greek and Albanian, non-active morphology also appears on passives, some reflexive verbs, etc. In Albanian, however, non-active morphology is expressed through the choice of auxiliary in the perfect, with a suffix in the progressive, and with a clitic in the aorist (Kallulli 2006, 2007; Kallulli and Trommer 2011). This state of affairs strongly suggests that the syntactic features involved in deriving anticausatives can wind up being expressed as either affixes or clitics.<sup>51</sup>

However, what is much less certain is whether the clitic/affix distinction, or the features of *-st* more generally, matter for its wider range of uses in the language. For example, let's return to (83). In Chap. 4, I propose that for figure reflexive *-st* verbs, *-st* merges not in  $\text{SpecVoiceP}$ , but lower, in  $\text{SpecCP}$ . Would we expect (the features underlying) *-st* to end up fused to  $\text{Voice}_{\{D\}}$  in the hypothetical language characterized by the processes in (83)? It is certainly possible; it is possible that the feature bundle needs to merge and fuse with  $\text{Voice}_{\{D\}}$  in order to be licensed, so it raises and adjoins to  $\text{Voice}_{\{D\}}$ , and then fuses with it. But if so, that would be a clearly distinct process. The external argument would check the D-feature, and the mechanism raising the

---

<sup>51</sup> The text discussion should not, however, be understood as claiming that the Albanian system should be analyzed as in (83). See Kallulli and Trommer (2011) for a recent analysis that adopts some assumptions from Distributed Morphology (although, as they note, they also adopt a non-standard version of impoverishment).

feature bundle to  $\text{Voice}_{\{D\}}$  would have to stated independently. It is just as possible that figure reflexives would not be derivable in the hypothetical language, because the feature bundle only finds a morphosyntactic home when it starts out in  $\text{SpecVoiceP}$ , and triggers m-merger and fusion. If so, then it in fact does matter that *-st* is clitic, or more specifically, that the feature bundle spelled out as *-st* does not necessarily have to have a relationship with the  $\text{Voice}_{\{D\}}$  head.

Similar remarks go for other claims about the morphosyntactic properties of *-st*. I claimed, for example, that *-st* has no case features. Does this matter? What if it did have a case feature—would that change anything? The answer here depends of course on one's view of case features. But let's suppose for concreteness that case features are added to DPs post-syntactically on the basis of their structural environment (Marantz 2000; McFadden 2004; H.Á. Sigurðsson 2012b). In Chap. 5, I propose that *-st* generally cannot merge in  $\text{SpecAppIP}$  because elements in  $\text{SpecAppIP}$  are assigned dative case. Perhaps if *-st* did bear case features, it would be perfectly able to merge in  $\text{SpecAppIP}$ , adding a whole class of possible *-st* verbs to the language. For this issue, then, the absence of case features seems to matter for the general character of valency alternations in the language.<sup>52</sup>

So the general answer is that the overall importance of the morphosyntactic properties of *-st* discussed in this chapter depends ultimately on a range of other theoretical assumptions, especially with regard to how cross-linguistic variation should ultimately be handled. A reviewer points out that according to Baker et al. (1989), the passive morpheme in English is a syntactic and semantic argument. But that proposal was made in the context of a web of specific theoretical assumptions characterizing Government and Binding era theories. What it means to be a syntactic argument is, strictly speaking, distinct from the present theory.<sup>53</sup> The point of this chapter is to defend a specific view of how (the feature bundle underlying) *-st* goes from the first-merged positions proposed in the remaining chapters to its final position attached to the verbal complex: it checks a feature of an argument introducing head (with the thematic consequences discussed in the remaining chapters) and moves to a position in the clausal spine near the verb to which it eventually attaches.

---

<sup>52</sup> On the flip side of this, according to the analysis in Schäfer (2008, 2012), the anticausative marker in German, which is the reflexive pronoun *sich*, does have a case feature. A reviewer suggests that *-st* has a more flexible set of uses than German *sich*, and that this might be related to the presence or absence of case features. The reviewer points out that Russian *-sja*, also arguably caseless, seems to be similar Icelandic *-st*, an observation also made by Ottósson (1992). In assessing the extent to which this holds it will be important to take into account German phrasal idioms containing *sich*; but the question certainly warrants further consideration.

<sup>53</sup> Which is not to say that the insights of Baker et al. (1989) cannot be translated into other frameworks, including the present one; it is just that the claims made and terminology used there cannot be directly imported without comment into the present theory.

## 2.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the morphosyntactic properties of *-st* verbs and reviewed several possibilities for a clitic analysis of *-st*. I detailed especially the possibility that *-st* moves independently of the verb and does not form a surface constituent with it. That analysis is also consistent with what is known about clitics cross-linguistically and Icelandic clause structure in general. If a weaker analysis were necessary, however, it would change neither the arguments that *-st* is best analyzed as a clitic, nor any of the thematic analyses presented in subsequent chapters. What would change those analyses would be a demonstration that *-st* is not a clitic at all. This seems unlikely to me; clitics behave differently cross-linguistically, and affixes do not normally behave the way *-st* does (see especially 31); that is, *-st* is closer to a clitic than anything else. What is important here is not terminology; what is important is that *-st* occupies an argument position syntactically and then later forms a (morphophonological) unit with the verb.

## References

- Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2006. Clitic doubling. In *The Blackwell companion to syntax*, eds. Martin Everaert, and Henk van Riemsdijk, vol. I, Chap. 14, 519–581. Malden: Blackwell.
- Anderson, Stephen R. 1990. The grammar of Icelandic verbs in *-st*. In *Modern Icelandic syntax*, eds. Joan Maling, and Annie Zaenen, 235–273. New York: Academic Press.
- Andrews, Avery. 1982. The representation of case in Modern Icelandic. In *The mental representation of grammatical relations*, ed. Joan Bresnan, 427–503. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Andrews, Avery. 1990. Case structures and control in Modern Icelandic. In *Modern Icelandic syntax*, eds. Joan Maling, and Annie Zaenen, 427–503. New York: Academic Press.
- Angantýsson, Ásgrímur. 2001. Skandinavísk orðaröð í íslenskum aukasetningum [Scandinavian word order in Icelandic embedded sentences]. *Íslenskt mál og almenn málfræði* 23: 95–122.
- Angantýsson, Ásgrímur. 2007. Verb-third in embedded clauses in Icelandic. *Studia Linguistica* 61(3): 237–260.
- Angantýsson, Ásgrímur. 2011. The Syntax of Embedded Clauses in Icelandic and Related Languages. University of Iceland Doctoral Dissertation.
- Árnadóttir, Hlíf, Thórhallur Eythórsson, and Einar Freyr Sigurðsson. 2011. The passive of reflexive verbs in Icelandic. *Nordlyd* 37: 39–97.
- Asarina, Alevtina Alya. 2011. Case in Uyghur and beyond. MIT Doctoral Dissertation.
- Baker, Mark, Kyle Johnson, and Ian Roberts. 1989. Passive arguments raised. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20(2): 219–251.
- Baker, Mark, and Willie Udo Willie. 2010. Agreement in Ibibio: From every head to every head. *Syntax* 13(2): 99–132.
- Barðdal, Jóhanna, and Thórhallur Eythórsson. 2003. The change that never happened: The story of oblique subjects. *Journal of Linguistics* 39(3): 439–472.
- Bentzen, Kristine. 2005. What's the better move? On verb placement in Standard and Northern Norwegian. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 28(2): 153–188.
- Bentzen, Kristine. 2007. The degree of verb movement in embedded clauses in three varieties of Norwegian. *Nordlyd* 34: 125–144.
- Bentzen, Kristine, Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir, and Anna-Lena Wiklund. 2007a. Extracting from V2. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 79: 119–128.

- Bentzen, Kristine, Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir, and Anna-Lena Wiklund. 2007b. The Tromsø guide to the force behind V2. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 79: 93–118.
- Bermúdez-Otero, Ricardo, and John Payne. 2011. There are no special clitics. In *Morphology and its interfaces*, eds. Alexandra Galani, Glyn Hicks, and George Tsoulas, 57–96. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Börjars, Kersti, and Pauline Harries. 2008. The clitic-affix distinction, historical change, and Scandinavian bound definiteness marking. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 20(4): 289–350.
- Brandt, Patrick. 2003. Cipient Predication: Unifying Double Object, Dative Experiencer and Existential/Presentational Constructions. Utrecht University Doctoral Dissertation.
- Campanini, Cinzia, and Florian Schäfer. 2011. Optional *se*-constructions in Romance: Syntactic encoding of conceptual information. *Generative Linguistics in the Old World (GLOW)* 34.
- Cardinaletti, Anna, and Michal Starke. 1999. The typology of structural deficiency: A case study of the three classes of pronouns. In *Clitics in the languages of Europe*, ed. Henk van Riemsdijk, 145–233. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Cardinaletti, Anna, and Ur Shlonsky. 2004. Clitic positions and restructuring in Italian. *Linguistic Inquiry* 35(4): 519–557.
- Cattaneo, Andrea. 2009. It is All About Clitics: The Case of a Northern Italian Dialect Like Bellinzonese. New York University Doctoral Dissertation.
- Ćavar, Damir, and Chris Wilder. 1994. “Clitic Third” in Croatian. *Linguistics in Potsdam* 1: 25–63.
- Culicover, Peter W., and Ray Jackendoff. 2005. *Simpler syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Déchaine, Rose-Marie, and Martina Wiltschko. 2002. Decomposing pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33(3): 409–442.
- Einarsson, Stefán. 1949. *Icelandic: Grammar, texts, glossary*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press.
- Embick, David. 2007a. Blocking effects and analytic/synthetic alternations. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 25: 1–37.
- Embick, David. 2007b. Linearization and local dislocation: Derivational mechanics and interactions. *Linguistic Analysis* 33(3–4): 303–336.
- Embick, David, and Rolf Noyer. 2001. Movement operations after syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32(4): 555–595.
- Embick, David, and Alec Marantz. 2008. Architecture and blocking. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39(1): 1–53.
- Enger, Hans-Olav. 2002. The story of Scandinavian *-s(t)* retold: Grammaticalising a clitic to a derivational affix. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 23(1–2): 79–106.
- Folli, Raffaella, and Heidi Harley. 2004. Flavors of *v*: Consuming results in Italian and English. In *Aspectual inquiries*, eds. Roumyana Slabakova, and Paula Kempchinsky, 95–120. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Friðjónsson, Jón G. 1980. Sambeyging með afturbeygðum sögnum [Agreement with reflexive verbs]. *Íslenskt mál og almenn málfræði* 2: 97–117.
- Friðjónsson, Jón G. 1982. Um lýsingarhátt nútíðar [On the present participle]. *Íslenskt mál og almenn málfræði* 4: 191–219.
- Goledzinowska, Magdalena. 2004. Syntactic transitivity of SE-reflexives in Polish. *University of Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics* 22: 93–120.
- Halle, Morris. 1997. Impoverishment and Fission. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 30: 425–450.
- Halle, Morris, and Alec Marantz. 1993. Distributed Morphology and the pieces of inflection. In *The view from Building 20: Essays in linguistics in honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, eds. Kenneth Hale, and Samuel Jay Keyser, 111–176. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Harris, James, and Morris Halle. 2005. Unexpected plural inflections in Spanish: Reduplication and metathesis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36(2): 195–222.
- Holmberg, Anders. 1999. Remarks on Holmberg’s Generalization. *Studia Linguistica* 53(1): 1–39.
- Holmberg, Anders. 2000. Scandinavian Stylistic Fronting: How any category can become an expletive. *Linguistic Inquiry* 31: 445–483.



- Holmberg, Anders. 2010. Null subject parameters. In *Parametric variation: Null subjects in minimalist theory*, eds. Theresa Biberauer, Anders Holmberg, Ian Roberts, and Michelle Sheehan, 88–124. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holmberg, Anders, and Christer Platzack. 1995. *The role of inflection in Scandinavian Syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hrafnbjargarson, Gunnar Hrafn. 2004. Stylistic Fronting. *Studia Linguistica* 58(2): 88–134.
- Hrafnbjargarson, Gunnar Hrafn, and Anna-Lena Wiklund. 2009. General embedded V2: Icelandic A, B, C, etc. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 84: 21–51.
- Hróarsdóttir, Þorbjörg, Anna-Lena Wiklund, Kristine Bentzen, and Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson. 2007. The afterglow of verb movement. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 80: 45–75.
- Ingason, Anton Karl. 2013. Icelandic umlaut as morpheme specific phonology. Paper presented at Phonology 2013, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Nov 10.
- Ingason, Anton Karl, and Jim Wood. Submitted. *Clause-bounded movement: Stylistic Fronting and phase theory*. Manuscript: University of Pennsylvania and Yale University.
- Irie, Koji. 1996. Modern Icelandic *-st* reciprocal verbs. *Tokyo University Linguistics Papers* 15: 273–296.
- Jóhannsdóttir, Kristín M. 1995. The argument structure of deverbal nominals in Icelandic. *University of Tromsø Working Papers in Linguistics* 25: 61–88.
- Jóhannsdóttir, Kristín M. 2007. Temporal adverbs in Icelandic: adverbs of quantification vs. frequency adverbs. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 30(2): 157–183.
- Jóhannsdóttir, Kristín M. 2011. Aspects of the Progressive in English and Icelandic. University of British Columbia, Vancouver Doctoral Dissertation.
- Jónsson, Jóhannes Gísli. 1991. Stylistic Fronting in Icelandic. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 48: 1–43.
- Jónsson, Jóhannes Gísli. 2005. Merkingarhlutverk, rökliðir og fallmörkun [Thematic roles, arguments and case-marking]. In *Setningar* [Sentences] Íslensk tunga III [The Icelandic Language III], ed. Höskuldur Thráinsson, 265–349. Reykjavík: Almenna bókafélagið.
- Jónsson, Jóhannes Gísli. 2011. Reflexive *sig* is an argument. *Nordlyd* 37: 99–118.
- Julien, Marit. 2002. *Syntactic heads and word formation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Julien, Marit. 2007. On the relation between morphology and syntax. In *The Oxford handbook of linguistic interfaces*, eds. Gillian Ramchand, and Charles Reiss, 209–238. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kallulli, Dalina. 2006. A unified analysis of passives, anticausatives and reflexives. In *Empirical issues in formal syntax and semantics*, eds. O. Bonami, and P. Cabredo Hofherr, vol. 6, 201–225. Paris: Colloque de Syntaxe et Sémantique à Paris. <http://goo.gl/6rbdMi>.
- Kallulli, Dalina. 2007. Rethinking the passive/anticausative distinction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38(4): 770–780.
- Kallulli, Dalina, and Jochen Trommer. 2011. Closest c-command, agree and impoverishment: The morphosyntax of non-active voice in Albanian. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 58(3): 277–296.
- Kański, Zbigniew. 1984. Arbitrary Reference and Reflexivity: A Generative Study of the Polish Pronoun *Się* and its English Equivalents. University of Silesia, Katowice Doctoral Dissertation.
- Kayne, Richard S. 1975. *French syntax: The transformational cycle*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Kayne, Richard S. 1989. Null subjects and clitic climbing. In *The null subject parameter*, eds. Osvaldo A. Jaeggli, and Kenneth J. Safir, 239–261. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Kayne, Richard S. 1991. Romance clitics, verb movement, and PRO. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22: 647–686.
- Kayne, Richard S. 1994. *The antisymmetry of syntax*. Malden: MIT Press.
- Kayne, Richard S. 2000. Person morphemes and reflexives. In *Parameters and universals*, ed. Richard S. Kayne, 131–162. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kayne, Richard S. 2004. Here and there. In *Lexique Syntaxe, et Lexique-Grammaire/Syntax, Lexis & Lexicon Grammar: Papers in Honour of Maurice Gross*, eds. C. Leclère, E. Laporte, M. Piot, and M. Silberstein, 253–275. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Kayne, Richard S. 2005. *Movement and silence*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Kayne, Richard S. 2008. Expletives, datives, and the tension between morphology and syntax. In *The limits of syntactic variation*, ed. Theresa Biberauer, 175–217. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Kayne, Richard S. 2010a. Toward a syntactic reinterpretation of Harris and Halle (2005). In *Selected papers from 'Going Romance' Groningen 2008*, eds. Reineke Bok-Bennema, Kampers-Manhe Brigitte, and Bart Hollebrandse, vol. 2. Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory, 145–170. John Benjamins.
- Kayne, Richard S. 2010b. Why are there no directionality parameters? In *Proceedings of the 28th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, eds. Mary Byram Washburn, Katherine McKinney-Bock, Erika Varis, Ann Sawyer, and Barbara Tomaszewicz, 1–23. Somerville: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Kissock, Madelyn. 1997. Middle verbs in Icelandic. *American Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 9(1): 1–22.
- Kubiński, Wojciech. 1987. Reflexivization in English and Polish: An Arc Pair Grammar analysis. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Kupść, Anna. 2000a. An HPSG Grammar of Polish Clitics: Institute of Computer Science, Polish Academy of Sciences, and Université Paris 7 Doctoral Dissertation.
- Kupść, Anna. 2000b. Lexical analysis of Polish multifunctional reflexive marker. In *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics 8: The Philadelphia meeting 1999*, eds. Tracy H. King, and Irina A. Sekerina, 214–237. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications.
- Laenzlinger, Christopher. 1994. Enclitic clustering: The case of French positive imperatives. *Rivista di grammatica generativa* 19: 71–104.
- Livitz, Inna. 2014. Deriving Silence Through Dependent Reference: Focus on Pronouns. New York University Doctoral Dissertation.
- Maling, Joan. 1980. Inversion in embedded clauses in Modern Icelandic. *Íslenskt mál og almenn málfræði* 2: 173–193.
- Maling, Joan. 1990. Inversion in embedded clauses in Modern Icelandic. In *Modern Icelandic syntax*, eds. Joan Maling, and Annie Zaenen, 71–90. New York: Academic Press.
- Maling, Joan. 2001. Dative: The heterogeneity of the mapping among morphological case, grammatical functions, and thematic roles. *Lingua* 111(4–7): 419–464.
- Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2011. Mesoclitisis in the imperative: Phonology, morphology or syntax? *Lingua* 121: 1101–1120.
- Manzini, M. Rita, Anna Roussou, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2009. *The morphosyntax of non-active voice in Greek and Albanian*. Manuscript.
- Marantz, Alec. 1984. *On the nature of grammatical relations*. Malden: MIT Press.
- Marantz, Alec. 1988. Clitics, morphological merger, and the mapping to phonological structure. In *Theoretical morphology*, eds. M. Hammond, and M. Noonan, 253–270. New York: Academic Press.
- Marantz, Alec. 1991/2000. Case and licensing. In *Arguments and case: Explaining Burzio's Generalization*, ed. Eric Reuland, 11–30. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Marantz, Alec. 2001. Words. Paper presented at the 20th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics, University of California Santa Cruz. <http://goo.gl/y9Drfq>.
- Matushansky, Ora. 2006. Head movement in linguistic theory. *Linguistic Inquiry* 37(1): 69–109.
- Mavrogorgos, Marios. 2010. *Clitics in Greek: A minimalist account of proclisis and enclisis*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- McFadden, Thomas. 2004. The Position of Morphological Case in the Derivation: A Study on the Syntax-Morphology Interface. University of Pennsylvania Doctoral Dissertation.
- Myler, Neil. 2014. Cliticization feeds agreement: A view from Quechua. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*.
- Nevins, Andrew. 2011a. Multiple agree with clitics: person complementarity vs. omnivorous number. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 29: 939–971.
- Nevins, Andrew. 2011b. Prospects and challenges for a clitic analysis of (A)SL agreement. *Theoretical Linguistics* 3(4): 173–187.

- Orešnik, Janez. 1985. On the epenthesis rule in Modern Icelandic. In *Studies in the phonology and morphology of Modern Icelandic*, ed. Magnús Pétursson, 59–90. Hamburg: Buske.
- Ott, Dennis. 2009. Stylistic Fronting as remnant movement. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 83: 141–178.
- Ottósson, Kjartan. 1986. Mörk orðmyndunar og beygingar: Miðmynd í nútímaíslensku [The boundaries between derivation and inflection: The middle in Icelandic]. *Íslenskt mál og almenn málfræði* 8: 63–119.
- Ottósson, Kjartan. 1992. The Icelandic Middle Voice. University of Lund Doctoral Dissertation.
- Ottósson, Kjartan. 2008. The Old Nordic middle voice in the pre-literary period: Questions of grammaticalisation and cliticization. In *Interdependence of diachronic and synchronic analyses*, eds. Josephson Folke, and Ingmar Söhrman, 185–219. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Pesetsky, David. 1995. *Zero syntax: Experiencers and cascades*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Poletto, Cecilia. 2000. *The higher functional field: Evidence from North Italian Dialects*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Poole, Geoffrey. 1996. Optional movement in the minimalist program. In *Minimal ideas*, eds. Werner Abraham, Samuel D. Epstein, Höskuldur Thráinsson, and Jan-Wouter Zwart, 199–216. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Postal, Paul M. 1992. *Strange pronouns*. Manuscript, T.J.: Watson Research Center, IBM.
- Rivero, María Luisa. 2004. Datives and the non-active voice/reflexive clitics in Balkan languages. In *Balkan syntax and semantics*, ed. Olga Miseska-Tomic, 237–267. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Roberts, Ian G. 2010. *Agreement and head movement: Clitics, incorporation, and defective goals*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Roehrs, Dorian. 2005. Icelandic case fluctuation and movement into theta-positions. *University of Connecticut Working Papers in Linguistics* 13. <http://goo.gl/qYXIGe>.
- Russi, Cinzia. 2008. *Italian clitics: An empirical study*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Săvescu Cuicivara, Oana. 2009. A Syntactic Analysis of Pronominal Clitic Clusters in Romance: The View from Romanian. New York University Doctoral Dissertation.
- Schäfer, Florian. 2008. *The syntax of (anti-)causatives*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Schäfer, Florian. 2012. The passive of reflexive verbs and its implications for theories of binding and case. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 15: 213–268.
- Sells, Peter, Annie Zaenen, and Draga Zec. 1987. Reflexivization variation: Relations between syntax, semantics, and lexical structure. In *Working papers in grammatical theory and discourse structure: Interactions of morphology, syntax, and discourse*, eds. Masayo Iida, Stephen Wechsler, and Draga Zec, 169–238. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 1986. Verb post-second in a V2 language. In *Scandinavian Syntax*, eds. Östen Dahl, and Anders Holmberg, 138–149. Stockholm: Institute of Linguistics.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 1989. Verbal Syntax and Case in Icelandic. University of Lund Doctoral Dissertation.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 2002. *The Icelandic verb phrase: A description*. Manuscript: University of Lund. <http://goo.gl/in02uD>.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 2009. Language quarks. *Iberia* 1(1): 169–183.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 2010. On EPP effects. *Studia Linguistica* 64(2): 159–189.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 2011. On the new passive. *Syntax* 14(2): 148–178.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 2012a. On UG and materialization. *Linguistic Analysis* 37(3–4): 367–388.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 2012b. Minimalist C/case. *Linguistic Inquiry* 43(2): 191–227.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 2013. *On Stylistic Fronting*. Manuscript: University of Lund. <http://goo.gl/xKOj0B>.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann, and Anders Holmberg. 2008. Icelandic dative intervention: Person and number are separate probes. In *Agreement restrictions* eds. Roberta D’Alessandro, Susann Fischer, and Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, 251–280. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Sigurjónsdóttir, Sigríður. 1992. Binding in Icelandic: Evidence from Language Acquisition. University of California, Los Angeles Doctoral Dissertation.

- Smári, Jakob Jóh. 1920. *Íslensk setningafræði [Icelandic Syntax]*. Reykjavík: Bókaverzlun Ársæls Árnasonar.
- Svenonius, Peter. 2006. Case alternations and the Icelandic passive and middle. In *Passives and impersonals in European languages*, eds. Satu Manninen, Diane Nelson, Katrin Hiietam, Elsi Kaiser, and Virve Vihman. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <http://goo.gl/Ihgh4S>.
- Taraldsen, Knut Tarald. 1995. On agreement and nominative objects in Icelandic. In *Studies in comparative Germanic syntax*, eds. Hubert Haider, Susan Olsen, and Sten Vikner, 307–327. Dordrecht: Kluwer (Papers presented at the 7th Workshop on Comparative Germanic Syntax: held at the University of Stuttgart in Nov. 1991).
- Thomson, Colin D. 1987. *Icelandic inflections*. Hamburg: Buske.
- Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 1986. V1, V2, V3 in Icelandic. In *Verb-second phenomena in Germanic languages*, ed. Hubert Haider, and Martin Prinzhorn, 169–194. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 1999. *Íslensk setningafræði [Icelandic Syntax]*. Reykjavík: Málvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands.
- Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 2007. *The syntax of Icelandic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 2010. Predictable and unpredictable sources of variable verb and adverb placement in Scandinavian. *Lingua* 120(5): 1062–1088.
- Tortora, Christina. 2002. Romance enclisis, prepositions, and aspect. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 20(4): 725–757.
- Valfells, Sigríður. 1970. Middle voice in Icelandic. In *The Nordic languages and modern linguistics*, ed. Hreinn Benediktsson, 551–571. Reykjavík: Vísindafélag Íslendinga.
- Vigfusson, Guðbrandr. 1866. Some remarks upon the use of the reflexive pronoun in Icelandic. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 11(1): 80–97.
- Wiklund, Anna-Lena, Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, Kristine Bentzen, and Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir. 2007. Rethinking Scandinavian verb movement. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 10(3): 203–233.
- Wiklund, Anna-Lena, Kristine Bentzen, Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, and Þorbjörg Hróarsdóttir. 2009. On the distribution and illocution of V2 in Scandinavian *that*-clauses. *Lingua* 119(12): 1914–1938.
- Wood, Jim. 2010. Singular *-st* syncretism and featural pied-piping. Paper presented at the Yale Syntax Colloquium Series, April 16. <http://goo.gl/h13Ggg>.
- Wood, Jim. 2011. Stylistic Fronting in spoken Icelandic relatives. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 34(1): 29–60.
- Zaenen, Annie, Joan Maling, and Höskuldur Thráinsson. 1985. Case and grammatical functions: The Icelandic passive. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 3(4): 441–483.
- Zanuttini, Raffaella. 1997. *Negation and clausal structure: A comparative study of Romance languages*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Zanuttini, Raffaella. 2008. Encoding the addressee in the syntax: Evidence from English imperative subjects. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 26(1): 185–218.
- Zanuttini, Raffaella, Marjorie Pak, and Paul Portner. 2012. A syntactic analysis of interpretive restrictions on imperative, promissive, and exhortative subjects. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 30(4): 1231–1274.
- Zec, Draga. 1985. Objects in Serbo-Croatian. In *Proceedings of the eleventh annual meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, eds. Mary Niepokuj, Mary Van Clay, Vassiliki Nikiforidou, and Deborah Feder, 358–371.
- Zwicky, Arnold M., and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 1983. Cliticization vs. inflection: English *n't*. *Language* 59(3): 502–513.



<http://www.springer.com/978-3-319-09137-2>

Icelandic Morphosyntax and Argument Structure

Wood, J.

2015, XXI, 316 p. 76 illus., Hardcover

ISBN: 978-3-319-09137-2