Generating External Arguments in Old Icelandic

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Цель статьи – дать унифицированное формалистическое описание позиций номинативных предложений в староисландском (СтИсл), используя аппарат Минималистической программы. В СтИсл финитивный глагол находится или в Т, и тогда генерируется немаркированный порядок слов типа SVO, или поднимается в С и тогда генерируется маркированный порядок слов типа V2 или V1. Анализ, согласно которому подлежащее передвигается до spec-AgrSP совместим как с ТР анализом предложений типа SVO, так и с СР анализом предложений типа V2 и V1.

The objective of this paper is to attempt a unitary Minimalist account of the positions available for nominative-case subjects in OIce. In OIce the finite verb has to occur in T and give rise to unmarked SVO patterns unless it raises to C and so gives rise to various marked V2 and V1 patterns. Movement of the subject to spec-AgrSP is compatible with the TP analysis of SVO clauses in OIce as well as with the CP analysis of V2 and V1 clauses.

Keywords: OIce word order, Minimalist Program, external arguments, VP-internal subject hypothesis, leftward movement, checking-theory

Icelandic being ill-lustrious for its quirky case constructions it is not by chance that such constructions have been given preference and precedence in most studies of agreement in both O(ld) Ice(landic) and Mod(ern) Ice(landic): the Minimalist Program (Thráinsson 1979; Sigurðsson 1985; Holmberb, Platzack 1990; Sigurðsson 1992; 1996; Jónsson 1996; Taraldsen 1995; Sigurðsson 2000; D'Alessandro 2003) and Optimality Theory (Rezac 2000; Hrafnbjargarsson 2001; Sigurðsson 2004; Thráinsson 2007).

When the positions of External Arguments have been discussed within the Principles & Parameters Framework, the External Arguments in OIce have on the whole been treated like those in ModIce, the major difference between OIce and ModIce being the existence of null subjects and objects: Government & Binding Theory (Platzack 1986; Holmberg 1988; Pollock 1989; Holmberg, Platzack 1995; Vikner 1995;

Haugan 2001) and the Minimalist Program (Vangsnes 1995; Bobaljik, Jonas 1996; Jonas 1996; Jónsson 1996; Vangsnes 2002; Thráinsson 2003; Craenenbroeck 2007).

Facts regarding OIce thematic subjects are best summarized in Haugan 2001. He discusses four possible Surface Structure positions available for External Arguments in OIce (2001: 161–188):

(I) Spec-IP – *Subject per se:*

(1) Að jólum gaf   *jarl*$_{SUB}$ honum   gullhring (Njála 159)
    at Christmas   gave   earl   him   gold-ring
    'At Christmas the earl gave him a gold ring'.

Here the subject NP *jarl* is generated in spec-VP of the 'higher' VP and is then raised to spec-IP with the *topicalized* PP *að jólum* being generated as complement of the 'lower' V-bar and further moved into spec-CP. The V *gaf* moves via the head I position of IP into the head C position of CP.

(II) Spec-CP – *Topicalization:*

(2) *Jarl*$_{SUB}$ gaf   honum   kaupskip (Vatn 1897)
    earl   gave   him   merchant-ship
    'The earl gave him a merchant ship'.

Here the subject NP *jarl* after being generated in spec-VP of the 'higher' VP moves first to spec-IP and then to spec-CP and is so *topicalized* while the V *gaf* moves via I into C.

(III) NP, VP – *Subject Shift:*

(3) Sá maður bjó   þá að Hofi í   Vopnafirði   er hét   Steinbjörn og
    this man lived then at Hof in   Vopnafjordur who was-named Steinbjorn and
    var kallaður körtur og hafði honum þar   land   gefið
    was called   short and had him   there land   given
    Eyvindur föðurbróðir hans$_{SUB}$ (Þorhv 2053)
    Eyvindur fatherbrother his
    'This man lived then at Hof in Vopnafjordur who was named Steinbjorn and was called short and there his uncle Eyvindur had given him land'.

(4) Oddur spyr hvort   hrossum   Þorbjarnar   höfðu   stolið
    Ottur asks whether horses   Thorbjorn's had   stolen
    útlendir menn eða utanhéraðsmenn   eða nábúar   hans$_{SUB}$ (Eyrb 550)
    foreign   men or out-of-district-men or neighbours his
    'Ottur asks whether Thorbjorn's horses were stolen by foreign men or men from outside the district or his neighbours'.

Given that in such sentences (1) the subject is generated VP-internally but surfaces as clause-final constituent and (2) the subject has to be checked in spec-IP, three possible analyses can be assumed within a Government & Binding Approach:

(i) there is a *pro* in spec-IP being linked to both spec-VP and this position to the right where the subject is supposed to move;

(ii) the subject moves first to spec-IP and is then extraposed to the right, leaving a trace in both spec-VP and spec-IP;

(iii) there may be the possibility of *Adjunction* of the subject to CP.

Here my intuitions lie with (iii) but with *Subject Shift* involving *Extraposition* of a (heavy) subject NP this renders it beyond the scope of the current discussion.

(IV) Spec-VP – *Subject in situ*:

(5) Nú mælti það *allur múgur*$_{SUB}$ að þeir kváðust til konungs
    now said that   all crowd   that they told   to king
    vilja yfir sér   þann er líkastur væri Haraldi (GísL 903)
    want over themselves   that who most-like were Harald
    'Now all the people said that they wanted as their king that one who was most like
    Harald'.

Here the subject NP *allur múgur* stays in place in the specifier position of the 'higher' VP with spec-IP being filled by *pro* while the *að*-clause is *extraposed* to adjoin to the V-bar immediately below the 'lower' VP as its complement. Then the direct object NP *það* is *scrambled* to the left of the subject NP and the AdvP *nú* is *topicalized* after the V *mælti* moves from V to C via (I).

My goal in writing this paper is to attempt a unitary Minimalist account of the positions available for nominative-case subjects in OIce founded on Chomsky (1995: 2000) and Radford (2004) by conflating Haugan's positions (I), (II) and (IV). The following stipulations need to be stated, to begin with:

(i) OIce is characterized by an underlying SVO order and this basic word order correlates primarily with grammatical relations and syntactic factors[1].

(ii) OIce is a configurational language that is consistently head-initial. The OIce VP is then head-initial with extensive leftward movement of non-finite verbs, objects and adverbial/prepositional phrases giving rise to word order variation[2].

(iii) OIce is a split IP language where AgrSP and TP are separate projections. The function of TP is to anchor the situation[3] indicated by the verb with respect to time and the function of AgrSP is to anchor the verbal situation with respect to the subject. CP is the domain where the discourse properties of the clause are set and VP is the domain where the thematic properties of the clause are fixed[4].

(iv) In OIce movement is induced by scopal and discourse-related properties.

(v) In OIce subjects are generated VP-internally.

(vi) In OIce *topicalized* elements end up in spec-CP.

(vii) In OIce *Scrambling* involves leftward movement of an Internal Argument or Adjunct to a non-case-marked position.

Just like ModIce, OIce has a verb second (V2) constraint whereby the verb must appear in clause-second position which holds in both main and embedded clauses and so is a 'symmetric V2 language' in Vikner, 1995's terminology. Following Holmberg, Platzack 1995 the standard analysis posits that the verb end up in C with some other overt material appearing in spec-CP. Recent research, however, assumes that the verb surface in T in subject-initial clauses though it occurs in C in non-subject initial

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[1] S. however Faarlund 1990.

[2] S. however Rögnvaldsson 1996.

[3] 'Situation' is here used according to the definition proposed by B. Comrie, 'i. e. a situation may be either a state, or an event, or a process' (Comrie 1976: 13).

[4] This falls more in line with Vangsnes 2002 but also draws on ideas expressed in Chomsky 2000 and further supported by Grohmann 2003. It is also possible that in Ice root modals assign a theta-role to the subject in addition to the theta-role assigned to the subject by the main verb (cf. Thráinsson, Vikner 1995).

clauses (Thráinsson 2003). The claim that V2 always involves verb movement out of the TP domain gains ground from the fact that both verbs and Complementizers occupy the position immediately left of the subject. This basic piece of evidence pro is well undermined by a split IP analysis, as is shown below.

Staying with the split IP analysis V-to-T movement in subject-initial clauses involves adjunction of the V-head to the T-head but the verb moves from T into C via AgrS in non-subject initial clauses, so that the V2 requirement is satisfied in both cases. Movement has to be accounted for and this falls out naturally from the theory (Chomsky 1995; 2000) as the system works on the basis of Full Interpretation so that no uninterpretable features are allowed at L(ogical) F(orm), if the computation is to converge.

Turning now to Haugan's analysis, the subject may end in spec-IP – *Subject per se*. Cf.:

(6) Kóngur segir „ef þú kemur dróttningu svo í mitt vald sem hann
    ing   says if you bring   queen   so in my power as he
    þá skal egSUB gefa þér þrjá kastala og gera þig jarl" (NítS 439).
    then shall I   give you three castles and make you earl
    'The king says „if you get the queen in my power the way he did then I shall give you three castles and make you an earl"'.

Within a Minimalist Framework the clause italicized in (6) will be derived as follows[5]:

(7)
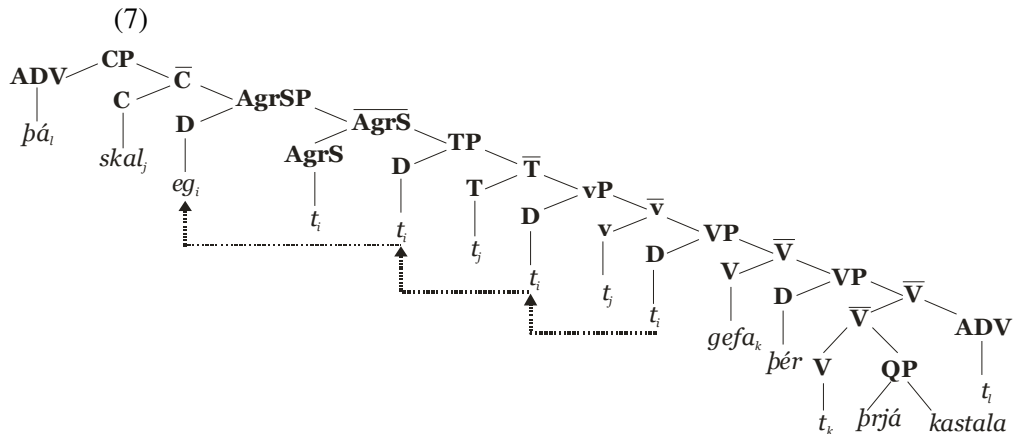
Here the verb *gefa* moves from the head V position of the 'lower' VP to the V position of the 'higher' VP, the auxiliary *skal* is raised in a successive-cyclic fashion from v – T – AgrS – C to provide phonological material to satisfy the V2 requirement, the subject *eg* raises successive-cyclically from spec-VP 'higher' – spec-vP – spec-TP – spec-AgrSP and the adverbial *þá* moves into spec-CP again in order to satisfy the V2.

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[5] Formal representations are simplified by omission of those modules of the theory which lie beyond the scope of the present paper.

The Extended Projection Principle (EPP) is related to checking of a categorial D-feature in AgrSP, the functional domain where the subject-related φ-features are checked (Chomsky 1995). One way of checking the D-feature is by raising a thematic subject to spec-AgrSP. Let's see what this entails for the analysis in (7). Here the subject *eg* is generated in spec-VP 'higher' whereby it is assigned the Theta-role Agent by the V-bar *gefa$_k$ þér t$_k$ þrjá kastala þá* and is then moved into spec-vP. Once in spec-vP *eg* is assigned nominative case granted that T licenses nominative case on the External Argument in spec-vP. As a finite T also triggers movement to spec-TP the subject pronoun *eg* moves out of spec-vP into spec-TP and it moves further into spec-AgrSP to satisfy the EPP. Put another way the subject checks its nominative case-feature with T in spec-TP before raising to spec-AgrSP to check its categorial D-feature with AgrS.

In an earlier version Chomsky suggests that the subject targets spec-TP to check the case-feature of T and then moves to spec-AgrSP to check the agreement-features of AgrS (Chomsky 1992). Vangsnes explores this idea from a 'more functionalist perspective' and assumes that functional projections – CP, (Agr)SP[6], and TP – are headed by abstract heads – κ, σ, and τ, respectively – and that abstract heads must be identified, stated as the Identification Principle (Vangsnes 1999). Under this analysis a functional category F in an extended projection P is identified if a constituent containing at least one feature relevant for F is merged in the head or specifier position of F. A definite subject will necessarily move to spec(Agr)SP and a non-definite subject will meet the requirement for a successful anchoring if it moves to spec(Agr)SP. Vangsnes's Identification Principle is then the trigger needed to induce subject movement (should it be otherwise A-movement would violate *Greed* (Chomsky 1995) and it is also an elegant way of handling facts related to the properties of definite and indefinite subjects in Ice).

(7) above claims that the auxiliary *skal* is generated in v and raised successive-cyclically to T – AgrS – C. Following Thráinsson, 2007 (and earlier) V-raising is forced if the language has a split IP which provides a straightforward account of *skal's* movement from v into T. V2, however, is the result of movement of a finite verb to C and of some other constituent (XP) to spec-CP *(Topicalization)*. Under standard assumptions fronting of an operator XP to CP triggers V-to-C movement. In the case of (7) then fronting of the adverbial *þá* to spec-CP will entail fronting of *skal* to C via AgrS. This is tantamount to assuming that a fronted operator has to occur in a specifier-head relation with a feature borne by an inflectional head and that this requirement triggers V-movement to C in violation of *Greed*.

The current analysis stands in line with Kiparsky (1995) stipulating that movement to C occurs only if C is present in a language. Functional heads such as C and T have categorial features and may have case features and provide the environment where φ-features can be checked. Allowing that categorial features are strong and start

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[6] Vangsnes's '(Agr)SP' has semantic relevance, specifically it anchors the verbal situation with respect to the participants, in particular to the most prominent participant: the subject. He labels his functional category '(Agr)SP' as the existence of the functional domain is motivated on semantic grounds (Vangsnes 1999; 2002). Structurally speaking Vangsnes's '(Agr)SP' can be identified with AgrSP.

movement entails that the C-head, once introduced, carries strong categorial features and triggers overt verb movement. In (7), once in T, the tense-features of *skal* are checked by adjunction and the agreement-features of *skal* are checked by percolation. At this stage the situation indicated by *skal* is anchored with respect to both time and participants and no further movement is required. It is only after C is projected that *skal* raises to C passing through AgrS as required by *Shortest Move*.

Finally the adverbial *þá* raises to spec-CP to satisfy V2 despite the closest candidate for *Topicalization* being the subject *eg*. It has been suggested that fronting of a non-subject in subordinate clauses may be constrained by discourse factors (Kroch, Taylor 1997). In much the same way discourse-based information structure might favour *Topicalization* of a non-subject in main clauses. With CP being the domain where the discourse properties of the clause are anchored, movement of the topical adverb *þá* can be driven by the need to check some discourse-related feature of *þá* against C[7].

A different position of the External Argument is revealed in *Topicalization* – subject in spec-CP (Haugan 2001). Cf.:

(8) Segir Gísli að Vésteinn var þar kominn *og*
    says *Gisli* *that* *Vestein* *was* *there* *come* *and*
    *hann*SUB hefir gefið þeim báðum saman gripina
    he has given them both together costly things-the
    og sýnir honum og biður hann af hafa slíkt er hann vill (GíslS 863)
    and shows him and asks him of have such that he wants
    'Gisli says that Vestein has come there and he has given them both costly things and shows him and asks him to have what he wants'.

Staying with Haugan 2001 the subject *hann* will be base-generated in spec-VP 'higher' and *topicalized* to spec-CP. In quite a different vein I propose the following analysis of subject-initial clauses (as the one italicized in (8)) in OIce, based on Thráinsson's analysis for ModIce (Thráinsson 2003; 2007):

(9)
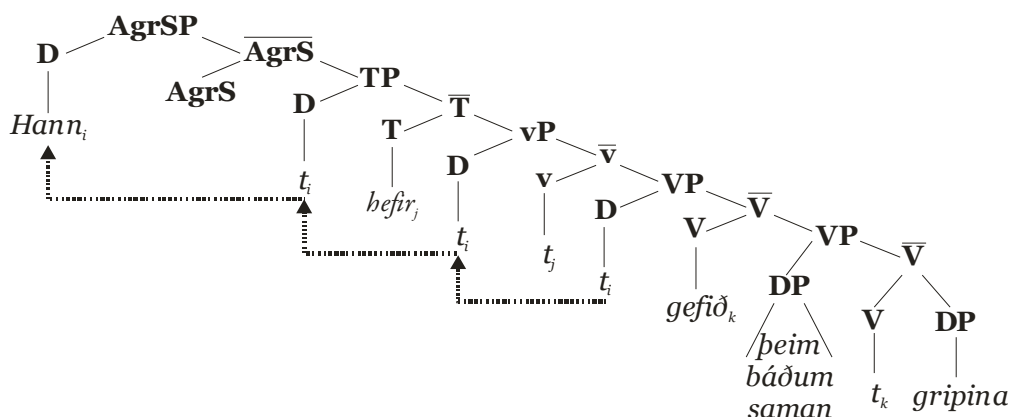
[7] Say a 'topic/focus-feature' as will be argued for in connection to (13).

In (9) the auxiliary *hefir* moves from the head v position of vP into the head T position of TP and the subject *hann* raises successive-cyclically from spec-VP 'higher' – spec-vP – spec-TP – spec-AgrSP to satisfy the V2.

One checking account is to assume that the auxiliary *hefir* needs to check features against AgrS in a language with a split IP. As vP is not in the checking domain of AgrS such features cannot be checked in situ. Up to now I have tacitly assumed that the auxiliary raises from v into T but movement of *hefir* from v into T actually involves adjunction of *hefir* to the T-head with the result that the features of the TP at that point contain the features of the adjoined auxiliary *hefir*. Hence *hefir* needs to raise no further than T and not all the way to AgrS to have its features checked. In line with Vangsnes, 1999 I posit the abstract heads τ and σ for T and AgrS respectively and assume that *hefir* raises to adjoin to τ in T to check its tense-feature while its agreement-features percolate to AgrS to get checked against σ. In OIce then the finite verb has to occur in T when it does not move to C as in (7). Movement to T is sufficient not because the finite verb lacks features which require checking against AgrS (or σ) but since by moving to T the verb is close enough to enter a checking relation with AgrS due to feature percolation within TP.

In (9) the subject pronoun *hann* is assigned the θ-role Agent by the V-bar *gefið*$_k$ *þeim báðum saman t*$_k$ *gripina* in spec-VP 'higher' and *hann* is assigned nominative case in spec-vP by the finite T (or by the abstract τ). Next the subject *hann* targets spec-AgrSP via spec-TP for checking purposes, so that *hann* gets its nominative case-feature checked with τ and its categorical feature – with σ and it also satisfies the EPP.

At this stage all the relevant features are checked off and the computation heads for Spell-Out unless we posit C projecting into CP and move the composite head *hefir* + τ to adjoin to σ in AgrS and further move the composite head *hefir* + τ + σ to adjoin to κ in C. Then we will also need to postulate a strong topic(focus)-feature on the subject *hann* which can be checked by movement of *hann* into spec-CP. In such case the V2 requirement will be met by movement of the subject into spec-CP whereas in (9) above V2 is satisfied by movement of the subject as far as spec-AgrSP, the latter being both more economical and requiring *less effort*.

Back to Haugan 2001, the subject remains in the position where it is generated, i. e. spec-VP – *Subject in situ.* Cf.:

(10) Töluðu   það sumir   menn$_{SUB}$
     told   that some   men
     að Gestur   mundi fífla   hana   um   veturinn (Bárð 645)
     that Gestur   would beguile   her   during winter-the.
     'Some men told that Gestur would beguile her in the winter'.

Or the subject may move into spec-AgrSP as is shown below:

(11)

CP
OpF C̄
þá_l C AgrSP
     C D
     Töluðu_j
         Það_k QP AgrSP
              sumir AgrS AgrSP
              menn_i AgrS AgrS̄
                       AgrS QP TP
                       t_j t_i T T̄
                              T QP VP
                              t_j t_i V V̄
                                        V VP
                                        t_j D VP
                                           t_k V V̄
                                                V CP
                                                t_j að Gestur
                                                     mundi fífla hana
                                                     um veturinn

Here the subject *sumir menn* is raised successive-cyclically from spec-VP 'higher' – spec-TP – spec-AgrSP, the pronominal object *það* is *scrambled* to the left of AgrSP and the main verb *töluðu* raises in a successive-cyclic fashion from V 'lower' – V 'higher' – T – AgrS – C to produce a V1 clause (Narrative Inversion).

In (11) V-raising is triggered with OIce being a split IP language (cf. Thráinsson's observations for ModIce – Thráinsson 2003; 2007) so that the verb *töluðu* moves out of the VP domain having set the thematic properties of the clause in order to adjoin to τ. At this point *töluðu* can check its tense-features against τ and it can check its agreement-features against σ by percolation. Fronting of the composite head *töluðu* + τ + σ to adjoin to κ is possible after C is projected through adjunction to σ specified by *Shortest Move*.

The subject *sumir menn* being within reach in spec-VP 'higher' is case-licenced by T and so it moves to spec-TP to check its nominative case-feature with τ. Next *sumir menn* moves into spec-AgrSP to check its categorial feature with σ satisfying in this way the EPP. If the subject *sumir menn* stayed in situ in its base position it would have to be checked in spec-VP 'higher' somehow. The only way to do this in a framework which *scrambles* *það* to the left of VP is to posit a *pro* in spec-AgrSP (spec-IP in Haugan 2001) being linked to both spec-VP and spec-TP. The licensing of *pro* is a long way to being unchallengeable and convincing arguments pro non-insertion of *pro* in such contexts are to be found in Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou 1998 and Biberauer 2003 with special focus on Germanic.

Once the composite head *töluðu* + τ + σ surfaces in C (is adjoined to κ) the pronoun object *það* moves out of spec-VP 'lower' to adjoin to the left of AgrSP, i. e. *það* is *scrambled* to a position higher than VP contrary to Haugan 2001. Granting that Ice is a V2 language with V-to-T movement and V-to-C movement, *Scrambling* in Ice occurs in both main and subordinate clauses bounded by T in subordinate clauses and either T or C in main clauses (Wallenberg 2009). Generalizing facts about ModIce the current analysis claims that the position of C is the ultimate barrier to *Scrambling* in OIce main clauses, hence *það* is *scrambled* to the left of AgrSP in a split-IP language, as in (11) above.

Essentially (11) assumes that the italicized clause in (10) above is a focused construction where the finite verb moves to a high position in CP and is preceded by a null operator with a discourse related function.

The position of the External Argument in the clause italicized in (12) below is characterized as another instant of *Subject in situ* (Haugan 2001: 179). What is of in-

terest here is not specifically the position targeted by *sumir menn* but the clause-initial position of the correlate *það* in surface syntax. Cf.:

(12) Það   munu   sumir menn_{SUB} mæla   segirkonungur
     that   will   some men   tell   says king
     að þú   takist mikið á   hendur
     that you   take   much in   hands
     slík   skáld   sem   ort   hafa   um   mig   áður
     such   skalds   as   made verses have   about me   before
     eftir   nokkrum   málefnum" (SneglÞ 661)
     after   some   case-circumstances.
     '„Some men will tell", the king says „that you take much in hand such as skalds have said in verses about me before regarding some case circumstances"'.

Maximizing structural symmetry with (10) above the italicized clause in (12) will be analyzed as follows:

(13)
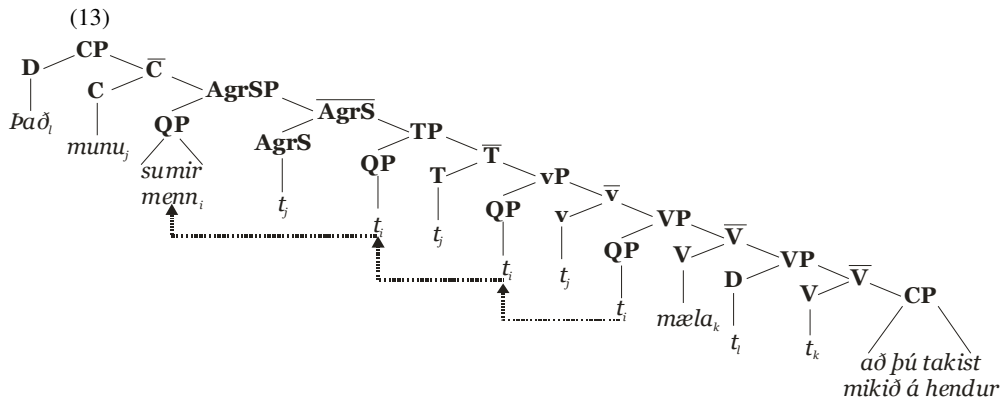
Here the main verb *mæla* surfaces in the head V position of the 'higher' VP and the auxiliary *munu* targets the head C position of CP so satisfying the V2 requirement while in (11) it is the main verb *töluðu* that targets the head C position of CP resulting in what looks like a V1 order on the surface.

(11) and (13) assume that VP is the domain where the thematic properties of the clauses are determined by the main verb *töluðu/mæla,* but cf. also Thráinsson, Vikner 1995. TP being the domain where the verbal situation is anchored with respect to time, in (11) the verb *töluðu* raises to adjoin to τ in order to check its tense-feature, whereas in (13) the auxiliary *munu* is generated in v and raised to T so that its tense-feature is checked by adjunction to τ. At this stage the situation indicated by *töluðu/munu* is also anchored with respect to the subject *sumir menn* as the agreement-features of *töluðu/-munu* are checked against σ by percolation to AgrS. As C is projected it triggers movement of *töluðu/mun* + τ from T to C via AgrS resulting in adjunction of *tölu-ðu/mun* + τ + σ to κ. Thus V/v-to-C movement takes place with the effect of forming a C-bar and now the EPP requires that spec-CP be filled. This proves unproblematic to (13) where the pronominal object *það* is adjoined to the left of C-bar to form a CP whose function is to anchor the verbal situation with respect to discourse, but it is far from so in (11) where *það* is adjoined to the left of AgrSP. One way to satisfy the EPP in (11) is to merge a null discourse-related OpF(ocus) in spec-CP which will specify

that the CP thereby formed is to be interpreted as a marked construction. By extension CPs like *Töluðu það sumir menn...* can be analyzed as V2 focusing constructions which are so interpreted by virtue of having a silent OpF in Spec-CP. This, however, leaves open the question why the pronoun *það* is *scrambled* in (11) but *topicalized* in (13). One checking account is to assume a strong topic/focus-feature on the correlate *það* in (13) so that movement of *það* will be triggered by the need to check this feature with κ in C. The latter account can be extended to CPs like *...þá skal eg gefa þér þrjá kastala* where it is the ADV *þá* that is *topicalized.*

In (11) and (13) the subject *sumir menn* surfaces in spec-AgrSP but in (13) *sumir menn* passes through spec-vP as well to become the subject of *munu*. In (11) *sumir menn* is assigned nominative case in spec-VP 'higher', the position where it is base-generated, by the abstract τ head but in (13) *sumir menn* needs to move into spec-vP in order to get case-licenced. In both (11) and (13) case-checking occurs with *sumir menn* raising to spec-TP and agreement-checking – with *sumir menn* raising to spec-AgrSP. No further movement of the subject *sumir menn* is possible as all the relevant subject features are checked at this stage in a spec-head relation with τ and σ respectively.

In much the same way the subject *sumir menn* targets spec-AgrSP in a clause with SVO order like the one italicized in (14) below:

> (14) Sumir menn$_{SUB}$ segja að Sigmundur Brestisson utan af Færeyjum
> some men   say   that Sigmundur Brestison   from of Faroe Islands
> *hafi verit í þessum bardaga   með Hákoni jarli og*
> has   been   in this   battle-day with Hakon   earl   and
> *hafi höggvit báðar hendur af Búa...* (ÓlafTrygg 173)
> has hewn   both hands   of Bui...
> 'Some men say that Sigmundur Brestison from the Faroe Islands has been with earl Hakon in this battle and has hewn both the hands of Bui...'

Here the SVO pattern which is often described as the normal unmarked word order in OIce correlates with *Sumir menn segja að...* being a TP(AgrSP) rather than a CP.

By way of conclusion

A unified Minimalist account of the positions available for nominative-case subjects in OIce can be achieved and gains ground on theory-internal and language-independent evidence. In OIce the finite verb has to occur in T (resulting in unmarked SVO patterns) when it does not raise to C (giving rise to various marked V2 and overtly V1 patterns). In subject-initial clauses the V/v-to-T movement analysis gains precedence over the V/v-to-AgrS analysis not because the finite verb lacks features to check against σ in AgrS but since movement to T is a more efficient way of feature-checking as it meets the *least effort* condition and the Economy Principles. Movement of the finite verb to AgrS, however, is the way to satisfy *Shortest Move,* if C (containing an abstract κ with discourse related function) is projected forcing the verb to move out of T in order to satisfy V2 in non-subject initial clauses. The latter being CPs they are required by the EPP to have their spec-CP filled. If a constituent can be found that is marked by a strong topic/focus-feature it is *topicalized* giving rise to canonical V2 non-subject initial clauses. If not, a silent OpF(ocus) is merged in spec-CP, resulting in superficially V1 clauses.

Movement of the subject to spec-AgrSP is compatible with the TP analysis of SVO clauses in OIce as well as with the CP analysis of V2 and V1 clauses in which the subject immediately follows the finite verb. If an object is *scrambled* to precede the subject in such clauses then it raises to adjoin to the left of AgrSP. With OIce being a left-headed TP and left-headed vP language *Scrambling* in such cases is predicted by the theory: the finite verb moves to C, if an element is *scrambled* above vP and TP.

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SOURCES

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Генериране на външни аргументи в староисландския език

Яна Чанкова (Благоевград)

Тази статия използва апарата на Минималистичната програма, за да предложи унифицирано формалистично описание на позициите на номинативните подлози в СтИсл. В СтИсл финитният глагол се намира или в проекция Т, при което се генерира немаркиран словоред от тип SVO, или се изкачва в проекция C, при което се генерира маркиран словоред от тип V2 или V1. В изречения с подлог в начална позиция, анализ, който постулира движение на глагола от вид V/v-T, е предпочетен пред анализ, при който глаголът извършва движение от вид V/v-AgrS, не защото финитният глагол не притежава черти, които да провери срещу абстрактната глава σ в проекция AgrS, а защото движението до Т е по-ефективният начин за проверяване на тези черти в съответствие с Принципите за икономия на езика. Движението на финитния глагол до AgrS, обаче, става задължително, в случаите когато функционалната проекция C, съдържаща абстрактната глава κ бъде проектирана от Лексикона, крайният резултат от което са изречения от тип V2, в които подлогът не заема начална позиция. Ако на този етап от деривацията съществува елемент, който е маркиран със силна топик-черта, той бива топикализиран, т. е. придвижва се в проекция spec-CP. В случаите, в които подобен елемент липсва, нулев оператор OpF се свързва със spec-CP, за да генерира изречения със словоред V1. Анализ, според който подлогът се придвижва до проекция spec-AgrSP, е съвместим както с ТР анализа на изречения от тип SVO, така и със СР анализа на изречения от типове V2 и V1.

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Категориите на комичното в перспективата на иронията в когнитивно-прагматичен аспект[1]

Димитрина Хамзе (Пловдив)

Цель статьи – показать многоспектральный иллокутивный потенциал категорий комического как ансамбля иерархических имплицитных и эмплицитных речевых актов. Креативная специфика комем делает их уникальными коммуникативными единицами и выделяет таксономический характер иронии как их семантический прототип и инвариант. Что касается вопроса эффективности коммуникативного акта в перспективе комических категорий, устанавливается, что на него нельзя ответить однозначно, так как его успешный характер не соизмеряется с его темпоральным ограничением до момента говорения, а имеет перспективно-результативный характер.

The article aims at presenting the multifaceted illocutionary potential of the categories of the comic as an ensemble of hierarchically related implicit and explicit speech acts. The creative specificity of comemes makes them unique communicative units and highlights the taxonomic character of irony as their prototype and invariant. When viewed from the perspective of the categories of the comic the efficacy of a communicative act can never be measured unequivocally since its success and effects are not concurrent with its temporal restriction to the moment of speaking, but rather have a prospective-resultative character.

Ключови думи: ирония, пародия, гротеска, концептуализация, импликатура, речеви акт, илокуция, перлокуция

1. Прагматичната онтология на представителните комеми[2] – ирония, пародия, гротеска – едва ли буди съмнение, но дълбокото проучване на илокутивния им потенциал и приложението им тепърва предстои. Като езикови конструкти те са ярко и артистично отражение на *полифункционалността* на езика в действие:

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[1] Основният терминологичен апарат на прагматиката е представен в книгата на Ст. Димитрова *Лингвистична прагматика*. София, 2009.
[2] Езикова единица, която генерира комика, произвежда комичен ефект и упражнява естетическа и ректификационна функция.