

# On *wh*-questions and V2 across Norwegian dialects

## A microcomparative approach

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### 1. Introduction

The Norwegian (Mainland Scandinavian) main/embedded asymmetry: V-to-C (V2) in root clauses, no V-to-I in embedded clauses.

- (1) a. *Hva sa han egentlig?* (Standard) Norwegian  
what said he actually  
b. \**Hva han egentlig sa?*  
what he actually said  
c. \**Hva han sa egentlig?*  
what he said actually  
d. \**Hva egentlig sa han?*  
e. \**Hva egentlig han sa?*
- (2) a. *Jeg lurer på hva han egentlig sa.* (Standard) Norwegian  
I wonder on what he actually said  
'I wonder what he actually said.'  
b. \**Jeg lurer på hva sa han egentlig.*  
I wonder on what said he actually  
c. \**Jeg lurer på hva han sa egentlig.*  
I wonder on what he said actually
- (3) a. *Jeg likte faktisk denne filmen.*  
I liked in-fact this movie-DEF  
'I actually liked this movie.'  
b. \**Jeg faktisk likte denne filmen.*  
I in-fact liked this movie-DEF
- (4) a. *Jeg tror at jeg faktisk likte denne filmen.*  
I think that I in-fact liked this movie-DEF  
'I think that I actually liked this movie.'  
b. \**Jeg tror at jeg likte faktisk denne filmen.*  
I think that I liked in-fact this movie-DEF

The Norwegian (Mainland Scandinavian) subject/oblique asymmetry in embedded questions: the element *som* obligatorily follows *wh*-subjects, ungrammatical after non-subject *wh*-constituents.

- (5) a. *Jeg lurer på hvem \*(som) kommer på konferansen.*  
 I wonder on who SOM comes on conference-DEF
- b. *Jeg lurer på hva (\*som) han skal snakke om.*  
 I wonder on what SOM he shall talk about
- c. *Jeg lurer på hvor (\*som) han bor.*  
 I wonder on where SOM he lives
- d. *Jeg lurer på hvordan (\*som) du kan vite det.*  
 I wonder on how SOM you can know that
- (6) a. *Wh[-subject] Vfin Subject (Adverb) (V) (Object)*  
 b. *Wh[+subject] Vfin (Adverb) (V) (Object)*
- (7) a. *Wh[-subject] Subject (Adverb) Vfin (V) (Object)*  
 b. *Wh[+subject] SOM (Adverb) Vfin (V) (Object)*

The majority of Norwegian dialects (geographically speaking) exhibit lack of Verb Second in main clause *wh*-questions. (Iversen 1918:37; Sandøy 1987:104; Nordgård 1985, 1988; Åfarli 1986; Taraldsen 1986a; Lie 1992; Nilsen 1996a, 1996b; Fiva 1996; Rice & Svenonius 1998; Westergaard 2003a, 2003b; Westergaard & Vangnes forthcoming)

- (8) a. *Ka du sa?* Northern, Central, Western Norwegian  
 what you said  
 ‘What did you say?’
- b. *Ka sa du?*  
 what said you  
 ‘What did you say’

The lack of V2 conforms to the word-order pattern in embedded clauses, i.e. with no V-to-I and *som*-insertion with *wh*-subjects.

- (9) a. *Kem som kom på konferansen?* Northern, Central, Western Norw.  
 who SOM came on conference-DEF  
 ‘Who came to the conference?’
- b. *Ka (\*som) han snakka om?*  
 what SOM he talked about  
 ‘What did he talk about?’
- c. *Kor (\*som) han bor?*  
 Where SOM he lives  
 ‘Where does he live?’
- (10) a. *Ka han Josef aldri fikk vite?* Tromsø  
 what ART Joseph never got know  
 ‘What did Joseph never get to know?’
- b. *\*Ka han Josef fikk aldri vite?*  
 what ART Joseph got neverknow
- (11) a. *Kem som faktisk kom på konferansen?* Tromsø  
 who SOM in-fact came on conference-DEF  
 ‘Who did actually come to the conference?’
- b. *\*Kemsom kom faktisk på konferansen?*  
 who SOM came actually on conference-DEF

The “non-V2” dialects have V2 in declarative main clauses. Hence, the following examples are representative for “all” Norwegian dialects.

- (12) a. *Jeg kommer dessverre ikke på seminaret.* Norwegian  
 I come unfortunately not on seminar-DEF  
 ‘I will unfortunately not come to the seminar.’  
 b. \**Jeg dessverre kommer ikke på seminaret.*  
 c. \**Jeg dessverre ikke kommer på seminaret.*
- (13) a. *Dessverre kommer jeg ikke på seminaret.* Norwegian  
 Unfortunately come I not on seminar-DEF  
 ‘Unfortunately I will not come to the seminar.’  
 b. \**Dessverre jeg kommer ikke på seminaret.*  
 c. \**Dessverre jeg ikke kommer på seminaret.*
- (14) a. *På seminaret kommer jeg dessverre ikke.* Norwegian  
 on seminar-DEF come I unfortunately not  
 ‘To the seminar I can unfortunately not come.’  
 b. \**På seminaret jeg kommer dessverre ikke.*  
 c. \**På seminaret jeg dessverre kommer ikke.*

The lack of V2 is not uniform across the dialects which exhibit it.

	non-V2	“optional” V2	complexity constraint
<i>wh</i> [+SUBJ]	±	±	±
<i>wh</i> [-SUBJ]	±	±	±

Table 1: Typology for *wh*-grammars in Norwegian dialects

## 2. Dialectal variation I: The complexity constraint

- (15) a. *Kor du bor hen?* (16) a. \**Korhen du bor?* Tromsø  
 where you live LOC where-LOC you live  
 b. *Kor bor du hen?* b. *Korhen bor du?*  
 where live you LOC where-LOC live you  
 ‘Where do you live?’ ‘Where do you live?’
- (17) a. *Kar du bor hen?* (18) a. *Karhen du bor?* Nordmøre  
 where you live LOC where-LOC you live  
 b. *Kar bor du hen?* b. *Karhen bor du?*  
 where live you LOC where-LOC live you  
 ‘Where do you live?’ ‘Where do you live?’
- (19) a. *Ka han Jens sa?* Tromsø  
 what ART Jens said  
 ‘What did Jens say?’  
 b. *Kem han Jens snakka me?*  
 who ART Jens talked with  
 ‘Who did Jens talk to?’  
 c. *Kor han Jens bor?*  
 where ART Jens lives  
 ‘Where does Jens live?’

- (20) a. \**Korsn han Jens vesste det?* Tromsø  
 how ART Jens knew that  
 b. \**Koffør han Jens sa det?*  
 why ART Jens said that  
 c. \**Katti han Jens kommer?*  
 when ART Jens comes  
 d. \**Ka slags bil han Jens har kjøpt sæ?*  
 what kind-of car ART Jens has bought himself
- (21) a. *Kåles bil kjøpte du deg?* Nordmøre  
 what-kind-of car bought you yourself  
 ‘What kind of car did you buy?’  
 (Åfarli 1986:100)  
 b. *Kåles bil du kjøpte deg?*  
 what-kind-of car you bought yourself  
 ‘What kind of car did you buy?’

Åfarli (1986)(10 informants of varying age from 6 locations in Nordmøre) notes a preference for V2 with some *wh*-adverbs (‘why’ and ‘when’) in the Nordmøre dialect, but not sharp ungrammaticality with non-V2 as in the Tromsø dialect.

- (22) a. *OK Kåfer kjem du hit?* Nordmøre  
 why come you here  
 (Åfarli 1986)  
 b. ?? *Kåfer du kjem hit?*  
 why you come here
- (23) a. *OK Ka tid kjem du?* Nordmøre  
 what time come you  
 (Åfarli 1986)  
 b. ? *Ka tid du kjem?*  
 what time you come

Evidence (Merete Anderssen p.c.) suggesting that the complexity constraint is morphosyntactic rather than phonological (*pace* Rice and Svenonius 1998):

- (24) a. *Kas \_\_\_ kjøpte han?* (25) a. \**Kas \_\_\_ han kjøpte?* Tromsø  
 what-kn’a bought he  
 ‘Which kind did he buy?’  
 what-kn’a he bought  
 ‘Which kind did he buy?’  
 b. *Ka slags \_\_\_ kjøpte han?* b. \**Ka slags \_\_\_ han kjøpte?*  
 what kind-of bought he  
 what kind-of he bought

Further evidence (noted by Rice and Svenonius op.cit.) against a phonological basis for the complexity constraint – swear words can combine with the simple *wh*-elements and still be compatible with non-V2:

- (26) a. *Ka faen du sa?* Tromsø  
 what devil-DEF you said  
 ‘What the hell did you say?’  
 b. *Kem faen du trur du e?*  
 who devil-DEF you think you are  
 ‘Who the hell do you think you are?’

Fiva (1996)(questionnaire survey of ca. 40 adolescent Tromsø speakers):

- (27) *?(?) Kor mange eleva som møtte opp i dag?* Tromsø  
 how many pupils SOM met up in day (Fiva 1996:148)  
 ‘How many pupils showed up today?’

Nordgård (1985:12) on “Northern Norwegian” (4 informants; written questionnaire with standard Norwegian (bokmål) orthography):

- (28) a. *Kor mange som vil være med til London?* Northern Norw.  
 how many SOM will be with to London  
 ‘How many would like to come along to London?’  
 b. *?\*Kor mange kvinnelige forfattere fra den tredje verden som har fått Nobel-prisen i litteratur?*  
 How many female writers from the third world SOM have received the Nobel price in literature?

Conclusion on the Tromsø dialect: There is no (clear) complexity constraint in subject *wh*-questions, hence an(other) asymmetry with non-subject *wh*-questions (in addition to  $\pm$ som-insertion).

### 3. Dialectal variation II: Optional V2

#### 3.1. Non-subject *wh*-questions

Westergaard (2003a, 2003b)(corpus study of 1 adult Tromsø informant and 3 children acquiring the Tromsø dialect): V2 is always possible in non-subject *wh*-questions in the Tromsø dialect (*pace* Taraldsen 1986a, Rice and Svenonius 1998); V2 is more frequent with informationally *new* subjects, non-V2 is more frequent with informationally *given* subjects.

<b>Wh-element</b>	<b>V3</b>	<b>V2</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>Ka</i> (‘what’)	<b>124 (68.1%)</b>	<b>58 (31.9%)</b>	<b>182 (100%)</b>
<i>Kor</i> (‘where’)	<b>29 (43.3%)</b>	<b>38 (56.7%)</b>	<b>67 (100%)</b>
<i>Kem</i> (‘who’)	<b>11 (21.6%)</b>	<b>40 (78.4%)</b>	<b>51 (100%)</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>164 (54.7%)</b>	<b>136 (45.3%)</b>	<b>300 (100%)</b>

Table 2: The number of occurrences of V2 and V3 word order in non-subject *wh*-questions of the adult Tromsø speech in the files Ole.13-22). (Westergaard 2003a, 2003b, Westergaard & Vangsnes forthc.)

V2 word order tends to occur when the subject is a full DP and the verb is semantically light (typically ‘be’); non-V2 is more frequent when the subject is a pronoun or an expletive and the verb is not ‘be’. Sentences (29) and (30) are typical examples of the V2 and V3 constructions with the question word *kor* (‘where’).

- (29) *Kor er pingvinen henne?* (INV in the file Ole.16)  
 where is penguin.DEF LOC  
 ‘Where is the penguin?’
- (30) *Kor du har fått det henne?* (INV in the file Ole.22)  
 where you have got that LOC  
 ‘Where did you get that?’

Lie (1992:73)(on the Hedalen dialect, Valdres (“inner” Eastern Norway): “*Hå du si?* [What you say?] is according to my intuition preferably used to have someone repeat something. If one encourages someone to say something new, I would rather say *Hå si du?* [What say you?]]” (my translation, ØAV)

Åfarli (1986): V2 and non-V2 can be used interchangeably without significant differences in meaning in the Nordmøre dialect, but there is a slight preference for V2 the “heavier” the subject is.

- (31) a. *Kåles gammel hattkaill du tala med i går?* (Åfarli 1986)  
 which old ‘hat-man’ you talked with yesterday  
 ‘Which old ‘hat-man’ were you talking to yesterday?’  
 b. *?Kåles gammel hattkaill onkelen din fra Oslo tala med i går?*  
 which old hat-man’ uncle.DEF your from Oslo talked with ‘ieri’  
 ‘Which old ‘hat-man’ was your uncle from Oslo talking to yesterday?’

### 3.2. Subject wh-questions

Insertion of *som*, and thus non-V2, appears to be obligatory (in subject wh-questions) in both the Nordmøre and the Tromsø dialect.

- (32) a. *\*Kåin kjem der?* Nordmøre  
 who comes there (Åfarli 1986; Nordgård 1985)  
 b. *Kåin så kjem der?*  
 who SOM comes there
- (33) a. *\*Kåles mann kjem der?* Nordmøre  
 what-kind-of man comes there (Åfarli 1986; Nordgård 1985)  
 b. *Kåles mann så kjem der?*  
 what-kind-of man SOM comes there
- (34) *Kem \*(som) har drukke opp all vinen?* Northern Norwegian  
 who SOM has drunk up all wine-DEF (Nordgård 1985:11)  
 ‘Who has drunk all the wine?’
- (35) *Kor mange studenta \*(som) kom på førellesninga?* Tromsø  
 how many students SOM came on lecture-DEF (Westergaard p.c.)  
 ‘How many students came to the lecture?’

### 4. Six “attested” varieties

Out of the 16 varieties predicted by the typology, 6 can be discerned on the basis of the existing literature (in particular Nordgård 1985; with further information in Åfarli 1986, Lie 1992, Fiva 1996).

Nordmøre	non-V2	“optional” V2	complexity constraint
<i>wh</i> [+SUBJ]	+	–	#
<i>wh</i> [–SUBJ]	+	+	–

Table 3: wh-grammar for the Nordmøre dialect

<b>Tromsø</b>	non-V2	“optional” V2	complexity constraint
<i>wh</i> [+SUBJ]	+	–	#
<i>wh</i> [-SUBJ]	+	+	+

Table 4: *wh*-grammar for the Tromsø dialect

<b>Central Norwegian</b>	non-V2	“optional” V2	complexity constraint
<i>wh</i> [+SUBJ]	+	+	+
<i>wh</i> [-SUBJ]	+	+	+

Table 5: *wh*-grammar for Central Norwegian (based on Nordgård 1988:32)

<b>Hordaland</b>	non-V2	“optional” V2	complexity constraint
<i>wh</i> [+SUBJ]	+	+	?? <sup>1</sup>
<i>wh</i> [-SUBJ]	-/? <sup>1</sup>	#	#

Table 6: *wh*-grammar for Hordaland (based on Nordgård 1985:17, 1988:32)

<sup>1</sup>“Only one of the sentences with complex *wh*-phrases without inversion is accepted [...] It is impossible in the Hordaland dialects to have non-inverted word-order when the fronted complex determiner [e.g. *how many*] is a non-subject. However, judgements vary when subject *wh*-phrases of this sort are fronted. 50% of these constructions are accepted. [...] Fronted *wh*-adjuncts without inversion cause ungrammaticality, though one informant accepts the variant with *hvor* (=where).” (Nordgård 1985:17) (There are 3 Hordaland speakers in Nordgård’s study.)

<b>Rogaland</b>	non-V2	“optional” V2	complexity constraint
<i>wh</i> [+SUBJ]	+	+	+
<i>wh</i> [-SUBJ]	+	+	+ <sup>2</sup>

Table 7: *wh*-grammar for Rogaland (based on Nordgård 1988:32)

<sup>2</sup> The Rogaland dialect has the same settings as Central Norwegian, but they are nevertheless distinct in Nordgård’s study: (bare) *wh*-adverbs are better with non-V2 in Rogaland than in Central Norwegian. This possibly coincides with a difference in complexity for one of the two *wh*-adverbs (‘how’ and ‘when’) used in the investigation: the standard (bokmål) *hvordan* ‘how’ used in the questionnaire has the form *koss* in Rogaland but *korsn* in Central Norwegian. (There are 2 Rogaland speakers in Nordgård’s study.)

<b>N.-Østerdalen</b>	non-V2	“optional” V2	complexity constraint
<i>wh</i> [+SUBJ]	–	#	#
<i>wh</i> [-SUBJ]	+	+	?

Table 8: *wh*-grammar for the Nord-Østerdalen dialect (based on Lie 1992:69)

<b>Eastern Norwegian</b>	non-V2	“optional” V2	complexity constraint
<i>wh</i> [+SUBJ]	–	#	#
<i>wh</i> [-SUBJ]	–	#	#

Table 9: *wh*-grammar for Eastern Norwegian

## 5. The history and use of *som*

Etymology: *som* (Old Norse *sem/sum*) is a derivative of the same root as *samme* ‘same’ (Old Norse *samr*); thus cognate with English *same*, Latin *simul-*, Greek *homos*.

Six “uses” in contemporary Norwegian:

- (i) comparative/correlative complementizer (cf. 36)
- (ii) relative complementizer (obligatory with subject correlates, optional otherwise (cf. 37))
- (iii) predicate marker in essive small clauses (cf. 38)
- (iv) obligatory element in subject clefts, impossible otherwise (cf. 39)
- (v) obligatory element in (embedded) subject *wh*-questions, (almost) impossible otherwise (cf. 40)
- (vi) obligatory element in subject exclamatives, optional otherwise (cf. 41)

Use (i) is the only one in the earliest Old Norse texts, use (ii) evolved in Old Norse; the other uses seem to be non-existent in Old Norse (remains to be investigated, especially for (iii)). (Contemporary Icelandic only has use (ii) and (iii).)

(i) comparative/correlative use of *som*:

- (36) a. *Jon er like gammel som Marit.*  
 Jon is just-as old SOM Marit.  
 ‘Jon is the same age as Marit.’
- b. *Så mange stillinger (som) dere har, vil vi aldri få.*  
 so many positions SOM you have will we never get  
 ‘We will never get as many positions as you have.’
- c. *Som jeg sa, er etymologien til som interessant.*  
 SOMI said is etymology-DEF to *som* interesting  
 ‘As I said the etymology of *som* is interesting.’

(ii) relative use of *som*:

- (37) a. *fondet \*(som) har finansiert prosjektet*  
 fund-DEF SOM has financed project-DEF  
 ‘the fund which has financed the project’
- b. *fondet (som) vi søkte penger fra*  
 fund-DEF SOM we sought money from  
 ‘the fund that we applied for money from’
- c. *fondet (som) vi opprettet*  
 fund-DEF SOM we established  
 ‘the fund that we established.’

(iii) *som* as predicate marker in essive small clauses:

- (38) a. *Jon jobbet der fire år som lærer.*  
 Jon worked there four year as teacher  
 ‘Jon worked there for four year as a teacher.’
- b. *Vi bør anse problemet som løst.*  
 we should consider problem- DEF as solved  
 ‘We should consider the problem solved.’

(iv) *som* used in clefts (Swedish use *som* instead of *at* in (39c)):

- (39) a. *Det var Ola \*(som) utløste brannalarmen.*  
 it was Ola SOM triggered fire-alarm-DEF  
 ‘It was Ola who triggered the fire alarm.’  
 b. *Det var brannalarmen (?\*som) Ola utløste.*  
 it was fire-alarm-DEF SOM Ola triggered  
 ‘It was the fire alarm that Ola triggered.’  
 c. *Det var da \*(som)/(?at) Ola skjønte han hadde dumma seg ut.*  
 it was then SOM/that Ola realized he had dumbbed himself out  
 ‘It was then that Ola realized that he had made a fool out of himself.’

(v) *som* used in embedded subject *wh*-questions

- (40) a. *Petter undersøkte hvem \*(som) hadde gitt Ola fyrstikken.*  
 Petter inquired who SOM had given Ola match-DEF  
 ‘Petter inquired about who had given Ola the match.’  
 b. *Petter undersøkte hvem (\*som) Jon hadde gitt fyrstikken.*  
 Petter inquired who SOM Jon had given match-DEF  
 ‘Petter inquired about who Jon had given the match.’  
 c. *Petter undersøkte hva (\*som) Jon hadde gitt Ola.*  
 Petter inquired what SOM Jon had given Ola.  
 ‘Petter inquired about what Jon had given Ola.’  
 d. *Petter undersøkte hvorfor (\*som) Jon hadde gitt Ola fyrstikken.*  
 Petter inquired why SOM Jon had given Ola fyrstikken  
 ‘Petter inquired about why Jon had given Ola the match.’

There seems to be some variation across speakers concerning the confinement to subject *wh*-questions only. The following four examples were found in the Oslo corpus of tagged texts – all examples are ungrammatical for ØAV:

- (i) *Når påtalemyndigheten ber retten foreta oppnevning av sakkyndige, skal den skriftlig angi hva som i tilfelle ønskes undersøkt og hva som det ønskes uttalelse om.*  
 ‘When the authorities ask the court to appoint experts, it shall specify in writing what should be investigated and *what SOM there* is-wanted a statement about.’  
 (ii) *... medmindre skadelidte mottar ytelser fra ordninger som skal gi en bestemt brutto uansett hva som folketrygden yter.*  
 ‘... unless the offended receives benefits from arrangements that give a certain gross number no matter *what SOM the public insurance extends*.’  
 (iii) *... tar han opp nasjonens problemer og legger ut om sine forslag til løsninger, eller skryter av hva som hans regjering angivelig alt har oppnådd.*  
 ‘... he takes on the problems of the nation and outlines his suggestions for solutions or brags about *what SOM his government purportedly already has achieved*.’  
 (iv) *Nå får dei vite kva som de har bestemt to månader etterpå.*  
 ‘Now they will know *what SOM you-PL* have decided two months later.’

(vi) *som* is obligatory in subject exclamatives, optional in other cases:

- (41) a. *Så mange mennesker \*(som) springer rundt her, da!*  
 so many people SOM runs around her then  
 ‘How many people there are running around here!’  
 b. *Så mange mennesker (som) det var her, da!*  
 so many people som it was here then  
 ‘How many people there are here!’  
 c. *Så fin kjole (som) du har kjøpt deg!*  
 so nice dress SOM you have bought yourself  
 ‘What a nice dress you have bought!’

## 6. Analysis

Westergaard and Vangsnes (forthcoming)(CP inspired by, in particular, Rizzi 1997, 2001, Benincà 2001, Benincà and Poletto forthcoming):

- (42) [<sub>CP</sub> Int(errogative) Top(ic) Foc(us) Wh Fin(iteness) [<sub>IP</sub> AgrS T
- a parameterized requirement for lexicalized heads (in the left periphery): [ $X^{\circ}_{EPP}$ ] (cf. table 10).
  - simple (bare) *wh*-elements are non-projecting in some dialects, projecting in others: a non-projecting *wh*-element in Spec-XP “counts” as an  $X^{\circ}$  (cf. 43, 45).
  - *som* is an  $X^{\circ}$  in some dialects, an XP in others.

	Int	Top	Foc	Wh	Fin
Eastern Norw.	[ $Int^{\circ}_{EPP}$ ]	[ $Top^{\circ}_{EPP}$ ]			
Tromsø	[ $Int^{\circ}_{EPP}$ ]	[ $Top^{\circ}_{EPP}$ ]			
Nordmøre		[ $Top^{\circ}_{EPP}$ ]			
English	[ $Int^{\circ}_{EPP}$ ]				

Table 10: Parameterized requirements on  $C^{\circ}$  heads in three Norwegian dialects and English

- (43) a. *korsn* ‘how’ <— *kor* + *-leis(en)* ‘how + ADV.SUFF’ Tromsø  
 b. *koffør* ‘why’ <— *kor* + *før* ‘how + for’  
 c. *katti* ‘when’ <— *ka* + *tid* ‘what + time’

The loss of case, number, and directional affixes made reanalysis as non-projecting elements possible:

- (44) a. *ka* ‘what’ <— *hva-t*  
 b. *kem* ‘who’ <— *hver-r*  
 c. *kor* ‘where’ <— *hvar* ‘where’, *hva-ðan* ‘where-from’, *hvar-t* ‘where-to’

- (45) a.
- ```

    graph TD
      IntP --> Wh0[Wh°]
      IntP --> IntPrime[Int']
      Wh0 --- Ka[Ka]
      Wh0 --- Kem[Kem]
      Wh0 --- Kor[Kor]
      IntPrime --> Int0[Int°]
      IntPrime --> Ellipsis[...]
    
```
- b.
- ```

    graph TD
      IntP --> WhP[WhP]
      IntP --> IntPrime[Int']
      WhP --- WhPrime[Wh']
      WhPrime --- Wh0[Wh°]
      Wh0 --- Hva[Hva]
      Wh0 --- Hvem[Hvem]
      Wh0 --- Hvor[Hvor]
      IntPrime --> Int0[Int°]
      IntPrime --> Ellipsis[...]
    
```

A general licensing/identification requirement (‘visibility condition’) on categories (Vangsnes 1999, 2001):

The Identification Principle:

A category must be identified in overt syntax.

Identification<sub>def:</sub>

A category C in a phrase structural object PSO is identified iff an element E of PSO that contains at least one feature relevant for F is merged in either the head or specifier position of C.

LEXICON		
Categories (universal)	Functional (FC) {C <sup>n</sup> , I <sup>n</sup> , D <sup>n</sup> , ...}	Substantive (SC) {V, N, A, ...}
Elements (language particular)	Functional (FE) {that <sub>C</sub> , the, -ed, -s, ...}	Substantive (SE) {run, car, new, ...}
Op(erators)	∅	

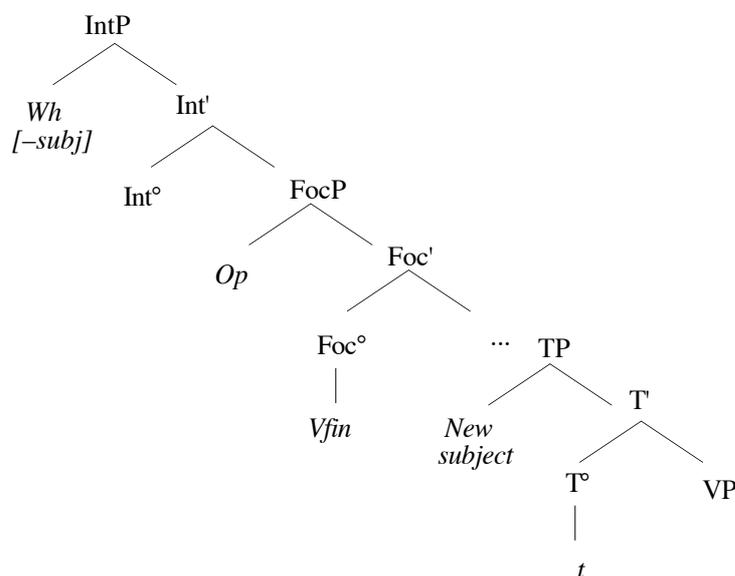
Table 11: *The lexicon*

Westergaard and Vangsnes (forthcoming):

- AgrS° can be identified by a verb which head moves to the Left Periphery attracted by a C head; or by the subject in Spec-AgrSP.
- *wh*-subjects move directly from Spec-TP to Spec-WhP (past AgrSP) and on to Spec-IntP (cf. Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir forthcoming).
- *som* is an anaphoric *functional element* (≈ ‘expletive’, cf. Taraldsen 1986b); it is inserted in AgrSP whenever verb movement through AgrS° does not take place; serves to identify AgrS°.
- Given subjects occupy Spec-AgrSP, new subjects occupy Spec-TP.
- “New information” involves Focus; Foc° is present in the PSO; a focus operator occupies Spec-FocP; V-to-Foc serves to identify Foc°.

- (46) a. Vi ved hvem\*(der) taler med Margrethe. Danish  
*we know who there talks with Margrethe* (Taraldsen 1986b:151ff)
- b. Vi ved hvem\*(som) taler med Margrethe.  
*we know who SOM talks with Margrethe*

(47)



The subject in a V2 *wh*-question can occur either before or after a sentence adverb (=given vs. new/focussed), but in a non-V2 *wh*-questions it *must* precede the sentence adverb. This supports Westergaard's (2003a, 2003b) quantitative finding.

- (48) a. *Ka mente egentli han Ola med det der?* Tromsø  
 what meant really ART Ola with that there  
 b. *Ka mente han Ola egentli med det der?*  
 what meant ART Ola really with that there  
 'What did Ola really mean by that?'
- (49) a. *Ka han Ola egentli mente med det der?* Tromsø  
 what ART Ola really meant with that there  
 b. \**Ka egentli han Ola mente med det der?*  
 what really ART Ola meant with that there  
 'What did Ola really mean by that?'  
 c. \**Ka han Ola mente egentli med det der?*  
 what ART OLA meant really with that there

The Tromsø dialect:

[Int <sup>°</sup> <sub>EPP</sub> ]	<i>som</i> = X <sup>°</sup>	simple <i>wh</i> = [wh <sup>°</sup> ]
+	+	+

Table 12: *Lexical properties of the Tromsø dialect*

- [Int<sup>°</sup><sub>EPP</sub>]; simple (bare) *wh*-elements are non-projecting and may therefore serve to lexicalize Int<sup>°</sup>, allowing for non-V2 with a complexity constraint.
- *som* is an X<sup>°</sup>; it moves to Int<sup>°</sup> in subject *wh*-questions, and therefore no complexity constraint in subject *wh*-questions .
- *som* is an X<sup>°</sup>; therefore no optional V2 since *som* will move to Foc<sup>°</sup>.

The Nordmøre dialect:

[Int <sup>°</sup> <sub>EPP</sub> ]	<i>som</i> = X <sup>°</sup>	simple <i>wh</i> = [wh <sup>°</sup> ]
-	+	?

Table 13: *Lexical properties of the Nordmøre dialect*

- no [Int<sup>°</sup><sub>EPP</sub>], therefore no lexicalization requirement of Int<sup>°</sup> (no V2), and therefore no complexity constraint.
- *som* is an X<sup>°</sup>; therefore no optional V2 since *som* will move to Foc<sup>°</sup>.

Eastern Norwegian:

[Int <sup>°</sup> <sub>EPP</sub> ]	<i>som</i> = X <sup>°</sup>	simple <i>wh</i> = [wh <sup>°</sup> ]
+	-	-

Table 14: *Lexical properties of Eastern Norwegian*

- [Int<sup>°</sup><sub>EPP</sub>]; simple (bare) *wh*-elements are projecting; therefore always verb movement to Int<sup>°</sup>.

Trøndelag/Rogaland:

$[\text{Int}^{\circ}_{\text{EPP}}]$	$\text{som} = \text{X}^{\circ}$	simple $\text{wh} = [\text{wh}^{\circ}]$
+	–	+

Table 15: *Lexical properties of the Trøndelag and Rogaland dialects*

- simple (bare)  $\text{wh}$ -elements are non-projecting and may therefore serve to lexicalize  $\text{Int}^{\circ}$ , allowing for non-V2 with a complexity constraint.
- $\text{som}$  is an XP; it can lexicalize neither  $\text{Int}^{\circ}$  nor  $\text{Foc}^{\circ}$ ; therefore a complexity constraint also in subject  $\text{wh}$ -questions and therefore optional V2 in both subject and non-subject  $\text{wh}$ -questions.

“Complete separation” between subject and non-subject cannot be accommodated by the analysis (*status quo*), i.e. Hordaland and Nord-Østerdalen is not (yet) accounted for.

Working hypothesis: Hordaland is in a transition phase, targetting the following settings, which predict obligatory non-V2 in subject  $\text{wh}$ -questions, “counter to facts”:

$[\text{Int}^{\circ}_{\text{EPP}}]$	$\text{som} = \text{X}^{\circ}$	simple $\text{wh} = [\text{wh}^{\circ}]$
+	+	–

Table 16: *(Targetted) lexical properties of the Hordaland dialect*

- $[\text{Int}^{\circ}_{\text{EPP}}]$ ; simple (bare)  $\text{wh}$ -elements are projecting and cannot lexicalize  $\text{Int}^{\circ}$ ; therefore V2 (verb movement to  $\text{Int}^{\circ}$ ) in non-subject  $\text{wh}$ -clauses.
- $\text{som}$  is an  $\text{X}^{\circ}$ ; it can lexicalize both  $\text{Int}^{\circ}$  and  $\text{Foc}^{\circ}$  and there is thus no complexity constraint in subject  $\text{wh}$ -questions.

Originating from an adjective it is plausible that  $\text{som}$  began its career as a functional element (FE) as a specifier. Possible later “chain of events”, starting from an Eastern Norwegian type grammar:

- (50) i.  $\text{som}$  is reanalyzed as  $\text{X}^{\circ}$  —> *Hordaland*  
 ii.  $\text{Int}^{\circ}$  is reanalyzed as not having the  $[\text{X}^{\circ}_{\text{EPP}}]$  feature —> *Nordmøre*
- (51) i. simple  $\text{wh}$  are reanalyzed as non-projecting —> *Trøndelag/Rogaland*  
 ii.  $\text{som}$  is reanalyzed as  $\text{X}^{\circ}$  —> *Tromsø*  
 (iii.  $\text{Int}^{\circ}$  is reanalyzed as not having the  $[\text{X}^{\circ}_{\text{EPP}}]$  feature —> *Nordmøre*)

Summary of the proposed account for the dialectal variation: The dialectal differences pertaining to  $\text{wh}$ -questions in Norwegian dialects are governed by three factors (Westergaard and Vangsnes forthcoming):

- (i) The properties of  $\text{som}$ : whether it is an  $\text{X}^{\circ}$  or and XP.
- (ii) The properties of simple  $\text{wh}$ -elements: whether they are projecting or not.
- (iii) The properties of  $\text{Int}^{\circ}$  ( $\approx \text{Force}^{\circ}$ ): whether it must be lexicalized or not.

(Putative) main finding: The re-setting of the parameter ( $+\text{Int}^{\circ}_{\text{EPP}}$  —>  $-\text{Int}^{\circ}_{\text{EPP}}$ ) must be preceded by lexical reanalysis of some sort (setting aside situations of language contact). In other words, the Nordmøre dialect must have passed through a stage where it was like either the Trøndelag or the Hordaland dialect.

## 7. Clause typing and the status of complementizers

What about the general root/embedded asymmetry in Norwegian (Mainland Scandinavian) wrt. to verb movement?

- (1) a. *Hva sa han egentlig?* (Standard) Norwegian  
 what said he actually  
 b. \**Hva han egentlig sa?*  
 what he actually said  
 c. \**Hva han sa egentlig?*  
 what he said actually  
 d. \**Hva egentlig sa han?*  
 e. \**Hva egentlig han sa?*
- (2) a. *Jeg lurer på hva han egentlig sa.* (Standard) Norwegian  
 I wonder on what he actually said  
 ‘I wonder what he actually said.’  
 b. \**Jeg lurer på hva sa han egentlig.*  
 I wonder on what said he actually  
 c. \**Jeg lurer på hva han sa egentlig.*  
 I wonder on what he said actually

Conjecture: Int<sup>o</sup> is not present in embedded questions. (Rationale: Embedded questions are not questions in and of themselves (i.e. “(explicit) requests for an answer”), but rather reported questions.)

The proposed analysis ([±Top<sup>o</sup><sub>EPP</sub>]) captures ‘embedded V2 topicalization’ (cf. Vikner 1995) and the difference between Norwegian/Scandinavian and English.

- (52) *Ole fortalte oss at ...*  
 Ole told us that  
 a. ... *sønnen hans skullegifte seg i morgen.*  
 son-DEF his would marry REFL in to-morrow  
 b. *i morgen skullesønnen hans gifte seg.*  
 in to-morrow would son-DEF his marry REFL  
 c. \**i morgen sønnen hans skulle gifte seg.*  
 in to-morrow son-DEF his would marry REFL
- (53) Oliver told us that ...  
 a. his son was getting married tomorrow.  
 b. ?tomorrow his son was getting married  
 c. \*tomorrow was his son getting married.

### Problem:

If Int<sup>o</sup> equals Rizzi’s Force<sup>o</sup> and there is no Int<sup>o</sup> in embedded clauses: what about complementizers? (*At/that* precedes the embedded topic.)

Solution:

- Embedded clauses are closed off by a prepositional/Case-related layer of functional heads which determines their ‘force’ and establish their relation to the matrix clause, i.e. they are either PPs (non-argumental/adverbial) or KPs (argumental/nominal).
- Complementizers license the P/K heads; some are merged as heads, others as specifiers (cf. *if* vs. *whether* and extraction).

Such a solution sheds light on the many correlations, synchronic as well as etymological, between complementizers ~ prepositions ~ determiners (cf. English *that, for, to*). Norwegian *om* is both a complementizer ‘if’ and a preposition ‘about’ and has turned into a main clause (yes/no) question particle in the Rogaland dialect.

- (54) a. *Jeg lurer på om du har vært i Stavanger.* Norwegian  
I wonder on if you have been in Stavanger  
b. *Jon skrev ei bok om kjærlighet.*  
Jon wrote a book about love
- (55) *Om du har vore i Stavanger?* Rogaland  
if you have been in Stavanger  
‘Have you been to Stavanger?’

*Wh*-elements parttake in the licensing of P/K heads. This is why they (typically) move to the left of embedded clauses and this is why they can turn into complementizers (cf. Romance *que/che*, Norwegian *hvis* ‘if’ (from ‘whose’)).

## 8. Conclusion

Specific proposal:

Three factors govern the variation in main clause *wh*-questions across Norwegian dialects:

- The properties of *som*: whether it is an  $X^{\circ}$  or an XP.
- The properties of simple *wh*-elements: whether they are projecting or not.
- The properties of  $\text{Int}^{\circ}$ : whether it must be lexicalized or not.

General proposal:

(Micro)parametric variation is an effect of lexical variation; variation in the properties of the Categories, and variation in the inventory and properties of Elements.

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## Appendix I: Variation in the properties of *som*

Nordgård (1985): In “non-Eastern Norwegian” *som* can replace *at* ‘that’ in extraction of a *wh*-subject from an embedded clause.

- (1) a. *Jens tror at Jon er i baren nå.* Eastern Norwegian  
 Jens thinks that Jon is in bar-DEF now  
 ‘Jens thinks that Jon is in the bar right now.’  
 b. \**Jens tror hvem som er i baren nå.*  
 Jens thinks who SOM is in bar-DEF now  
 c. *Hvem tror Jens (\*som) er i baren nå?*  
 who thinks Jens that/SOM is in bar-DEF now  
 ‘Who does Jens think is in the bar right now?’
- (2) a. *Jens tror at Jon er i baren nå.* “Non-Eastern” Norwegian  
 Jens thinks that Jon is in bar-DEF now  
 ‘Jens thinks that Jon is in the bar right now.’  
 b. *Kem hanJens tror (som)er i baren nå?*  
 who ART Jensthinks SOM is in bar-DEF now  
 ‘Who does Jens think is in the bar right now?’

In many of the “non-Eastern” Norwegian dialects *som* is homophonous to the consequential complementizer *så* (‘so, therefore’) and the measure adverb *så* (‘so’). Specifically not the case for the Tromsø dialect.

- (3) a. *Kem so kjemme í brúdleupe?* Leikanger (Western Norw.)  
 who SOM comes in wedding-DEF  
 ‘Who’s coming to the wedding?’  
 b. *Eg ha fòsove meg so dú má koyra meg.*  
 I have overslept myself so you must drive me  
 ‘I have overslept so you’ll have to drive me.’  
 c. *Fisken va só stóre.*  
 Fish-DEF was so big  
 ‘The fish was this big.’
- (4) a. *Kem som kommer i bryllupet?* Tromsø  
 who SOM comes in wedding-DEF  
 ‘Who’s coming to the wedding?’  
 b. *Æ har fòrsove mæ så du må kjøre mæ.*  
 I have overslept myself so you must drive me  
 ‘I have overslept so you’ll have to drive me.’  
 c. *Fisken va så stor.*  
 Fish-DEF was so big  
 ‘The fish was this big.’

Eastern Norwegian exclamatives cannot be introduced by a *wh*-element, unlike the other dialects. Instead *så* is used.

- (5) a. *Så stor du har blitt!* Eastern Norwegian  
 so big you have become  
 ‘How tall you’ve become!’  
 b. *Så mange presanger dere har fått!*  
 so many presents you have received  
 ‘How many presents you have received!’  
 c. *Så fin kjole du har!*  
 so nice dress you have  
 ‘What a nice dress you have!’
- (6) a. *\*Hvor stor du har blitt!* Eastern/Standard Norwegian  
 how big you have become  
 b. *\*Hvor mange presanger dere har fått!*  
 how many presents you have received  
 c. *\*Hvor fin kjole du har!*  
 how nice dress you have
- (7) a. *Ko stóre dú e vorten!* Leikanger (Sogn)  
 how big you are become  
 ‘How tall you’ve become!’  
 b. *Ko mánge presanga di ha fått!*  
 how many presents you have received  
 ‘How many presents you’ve received!’  
 c. *Ko fine kjóle dú ha!*  
 how nice dress you have  
 ‘How nice a dress you have!’
- (8) Eastern Norwegian:  
*at ≠> som; som ≠ så; så* introduces exclamatives, *wh*-element do not  
Western Norwegian:  
*at => som; som = så; wh*-elements introduce exclamatives  
Tromsø (Northern Norwegian?):  
*at => som; som ≠ så; wh*-elements introduce exclamatives

## Appendix II: Some notes on clefts

Lie (1992) proposes that the non-V2 *wh*-questions have evolved from clefts, and he notes a possible intermediate stage:

- (1) a. *Ka va det du sa?* Hedalen  
 what was it you said  
 b. *Ka va du sa?*  
 What was you said  
 c. *Ka du sa?*  
 what you said

Some *wh*-adverbs are awkward as clefted elements (cf. the Nordmøre examples).

- (2) a. *Hvem er det som banker på min dør?*  
who is it SOM knocks on my door  
b. *Hva er det som plager deg?*  
what is it SOM bothers you  
c. *Hvor er det du bor?*  
Where is it you live  
d. *??Hvordan er det du vet det?*  
how is it you know that  
e. *??Hvorfor var det du sa det?*  
why was it you said that  
f. *Når er det du står opp om morgenen?*  
when is it you stand up in morning-DEF
- (3) *Hvor mange studenter er det som vanligvis stiller spørsmål?*  
how many students is it SOM usually raise questions  
'How many students is it who usually raise questions?'

### Appendix III: English Verb Second and the [C] property of *wh*-elements

The English subject/oblique asymmetry.

- (1) a. Who came/\*Who did come?  
b. Who saw you/\*Who did see you?  
c. Who do you like so much/\*Who you like so much?  
d. Who do you have an appointment with/\*Who you have an appointment with?
- (2) a. Which man (eventually) took (\*eventually) the job?  
b. Which man (eventually) entered (\*eventually) the room?

V2/*do*-support is due to a requirement for a lexicalized Int<sup>o</sup>: why no V2 with *wh*-subjects?

Notice a striking difference between English and Norwegian (Scandinavian) *wh*-elements: the English ones can be relativizers whereas the Norwegian ones generally cannot.

- (3) a. the man **who** called me  
b. the chair **which** broke  
c. the place **where** it happens  
d. the man **whose** car I crashed
- (4) a. \*mannen **hvem** ringte meg  
man-DEF who called me  
b. \*stolen **hvilken** knakk  
chair- DEF which broke  
c. stedet **hvor** det skjer  
place-DEF where it happens  
d. %mannen **hvis** bil jeg kolliderte med  
man- DEF whose car I collided with
- Norwegian

- (5) a. stedet **der** det skjer  
 place- DEF there it happens  
 the place where it happens  
 b. \*the place **there** it happens
- (6) a. the reason **why** I love you  
 b. the moment **when** I return
- (7) a. \*grunnen **hvorfor** jeg elsker deg  
 reason- DEF why I love you  
 b. grunnen til at jeg elsker deg  
 reason- DEF to that I love you  
 ‘The reason why I love you.’
- (8) a. den dagen **når** jeg kommer tilbake (Standard) Norwegian  
 that day-DEF when I come back  
 ‘the day when I return’  
 b. \*den dagen **katti** æ kommer tilbake Tromsø  
 that day-DEF what-time I come back
- (9) **What** I know is this.
- (10) a. Det jeg vet, er følgende. Norwegian  
 that I know is following  
 What I know is the following.  
 b. \***Hva** jeg vet, er følgende.  
 what I know is following

Claim (Westergaard and Vangsnes forthcoming): English *wh*-elements are endowed with a [C] feature, by hypothesis a  $X^0$  feature. When this feature is combined with nominative Case it can check the  $[Int^0_{EPP}]$  by way of establishing a link with the clausal extended projection (including IP).