

The degree of verb movement in Standard and Northern Norwegian embedded clauses

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1 Introduction

▷ All the Scandinavian languages are V2 languages but only Icelandic and some varieties of Faroese are generally assumed to have verb movement past adverbs in embedded (non-V2) contexts (the Icelandic example taken from Vikner 1995:139):

- (1) a. Ég spurði [af hverju Helgi hefði **oft** lesið þessa bók]. (Ice)
I asked why Helgi had often read this book
- b. Jeg spurte [hvorfor Helge **ofte** hadde lest denne boken]. (StN)
I asked why Helge often had read this book
'I asked why Helge often had read this book.'

▷ Some non-standard varieties of Scandinavian languages also allow verbs preceding adverbs in non-V2 contexts: Kronoby (Platzack and Holmberg 1989, Alexiadou and Fanselow 2001); Northern Norwegian (Iversen 1918, Bentzen 2003, Bentzen to appear).

▷ **The aim of this paper** is to present data from Tromsø Northern Norwegian (TrNN) and Regional Northern Norwegian (ReNN), and compare these to Standard Norwegian (StN). The data will be discussed within a remnant movement approach.

▷ **Questionnaire:** 23 sentences with embedded clauses (13 actives and 10 passives): 18 clauses with multiple auxiliaries, 3 clauses with a single auxiliary, 1 clause with a finite main verb. Adverbs: *allerede* 'already,' *som oftest* 'usually,' *alltid* 'always,' and *aldri* 'never.' 1 sentence with multiple adverbs (*heldigvis som oftest* 'fortunately usually').

▷ **Subjects:** 4 speaker of TrNN and 4 speakers (plus the author) of ReNN.

▷ **Typical test sentence:**

- (2) Det e få som planlegg å se denna filmen på kino ettersom mange
it is few who plan to see this film.the on cinema as many
(allerede) har **(allerede)** kunnet **(allerede)** lasta den ned til sin egen
(already) have (already) could (already) loaded it down to their own
datamaskin.
computer
'Few people are planning to see this film in the cinema as many people may already have downloaded it to their own computer.'

2 Verb placement in embedded clauses in three varieties of Norwegian

▷ The two Northern varieties allow verbs to precede adverbs to varying degrees.

▷ **Factors that seem to play a role:**

- The type of adverb: *allerede* ‘already,’ *som oftest* ‘usually’ vs. *alltid* ‘always,’ *aldri* ‘never’
- The form of the verb: finite vs. non-finite
- The type of verb: main verb vs. auxiliary

- (3) Vi begynte å bli spente nå...
we began to become excited now...
 ‘We started getting excited now...’

StN:	✓	*	*
TrNN:	✓	✓	*
ReNN:	✓	✓	✓

... ettersom vi (allerede) ville (allerede) kunne (allerede) vite resultatet på fredag.
 ... *as we (already) would (already) could (already) know result.the on Friday*
 ‘... as we would be able to know the result already on Friday.’

- (4) Vi skjønnte ikke hvorfor de var så overrasket over at vi hadde et ekte Munch-maleri...
we understood not why they were so surprised over that we had a real Munch-painting...
 ‘We didn’t understand why they were so surprised we had a real Munch painting...’

StN:	✓	*	*
TrNN:	✓	*	*
ReNN:	✓	✓	*

... ettersom alle vel (alltid) måtte (alltid) ha (alltid) visst om det.
 ... *as all well (always) must (always) have (always) known about it*
 ‘... as everyone presumably always must have known about it.’

- (5) Hedda kommer til å ruinere seg...
Hedda comes to to ruin REFL...
 ‘Hedda will drive herself to economic ruin...’

StN:	✓	*
TrNN:	✓	*
ReNN:	✓	✓

... ettersom hun (så ofte) kjøper (så ofte) dyre designerklær.
 ... *as she (so often) buys (so often) expensive designer-clothes*
 ‘... as she so often buys expensive designer clothes.’

▷ **The patterns:**

- **StN:** All verbs have to follow all adverbs.
- **TrNN:** Main verbs have to follow all adverbs; finite auxiliaries may precede or follow certain adverbs (*allerede* ‘already,’ *som oftest* ‘usually’).
- **ReNN:** All finite verbs may precede or follow all adverbs; non-finite auxiliaries may precede or follow certain adverbs (*allerede* ‘already,’ *som oftest* ‘usually’).

▷ **Interesting parallels:**

- Both TrNN finite auxiliaries and ReNN non-finite auxiliaries can precede *allerede* ‘already’ and *som oftest* ‘usually,’ but both are generally rejected in a position preceding *alltid* ‘always’ and *aldri* ‘never.’
- To the extent that TrNN finite auxiliaries and ReNN non-finite auxiliaries in front of the adverbs *allerede* ‘already’ and *som oftest* ‘usually’ are questioned or rejected by informants, this involves active rather than passive clauses, (6)-(7):

- (6) Det var ingen vits for kjendisen å skjule seg bak store solbriller...
it was no point for celebrity.the to hide REFL behind big sun-glasses
 ‘It was no point for the celebrity to hide behind big sun glasses...’

TrNN:

✓

*

ReNN:

✓

?

... ettersom han ville (som oftest) ha (som oftest) blitt gjenkjent overalt uansett.
 ... *as he would (as often.est) have (as often.est) be recognised everywhere anyway*
 ‘... as he usually would be recognized everywhere anyway.’

- (7) Det var ikke uvanlig at flere av studentene strøyk på dette kurset...
it was not unusual that several of students.the failed on this course.the...
 ‘It was not unusual that several students failed this course...’

TrNN:

?

*

ReNN:

✓

*

... ettersom man måtte (som oftest) ha (som oftest) lest hele pensum for å bestå eksamen.
 ... *as one must (as often.est) have (as often.est) read whole syllabus for to pass exam*
 ‘...as one usually had to have read the whole syllabus in order to pass the exam.’

- ▷ ReNN speakers are in general more reluctant to accepting the non-finite perfective auxiliary *ha* ‘have’ in front of adverbs, than they are to accepting a non-finite modal auxiliary in this position (cf. (3) vs. (7)).

3 Other approaches to the order of verbs and adverbs

▷ **Hierarchy of adverbs and Head Movement** (Cinque 1999):

Adverbs are strictly ordered and sit in the specifier of their own functional projections. Verbs may move to the intervening heads of these projections.

▷ **Problem:**

Two auxiliaries preceding the adverb in ReNN is potentially a violation of the Head Movement Constraint (cf. Bobaljik 1999 and Svenonius 2002 for similar problems):

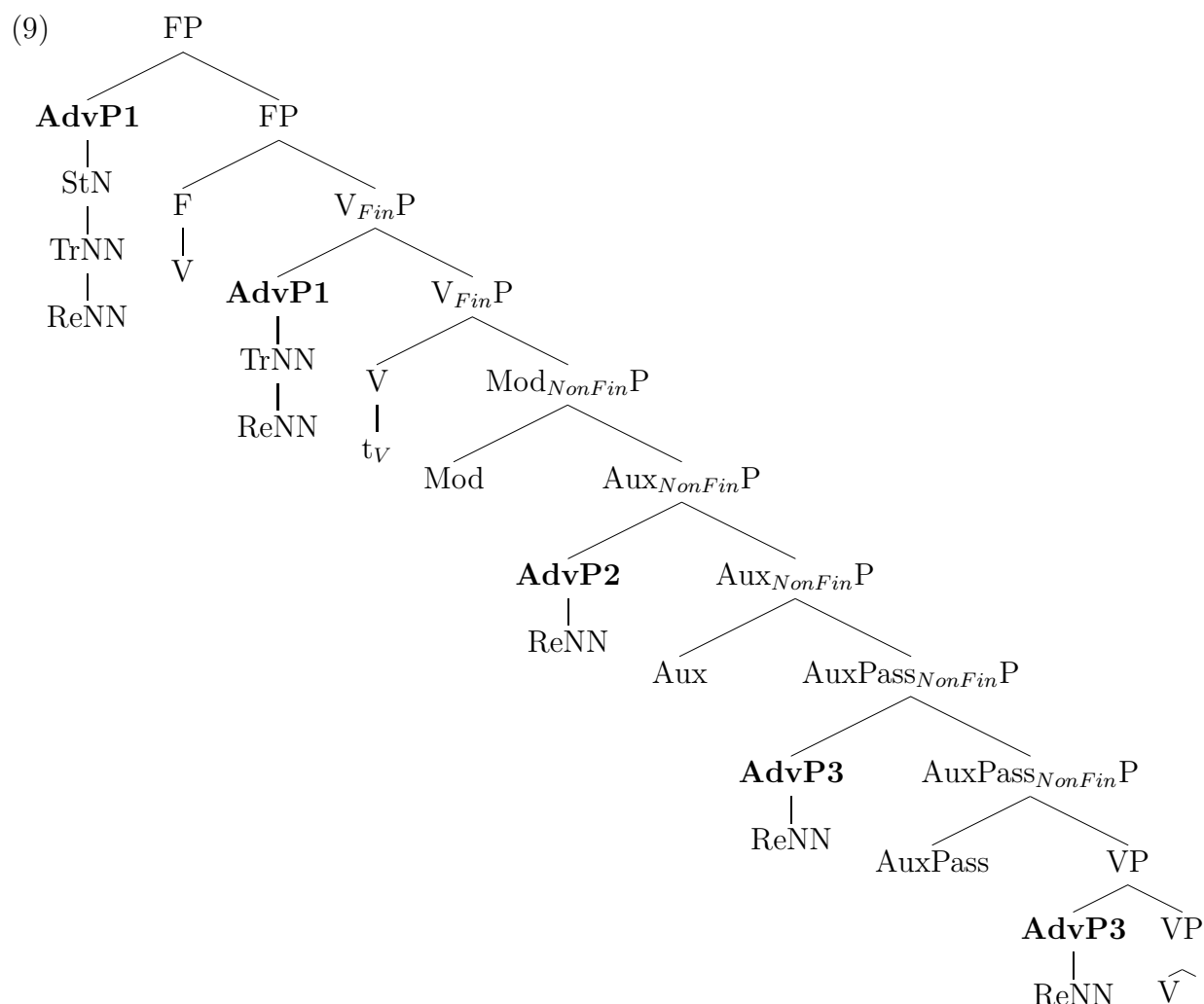
- (8) [... hadde_i kunnet_j [_{AspFreq(I)} som oftest [t_i t_j bli lurt med inn]]]
had could as often.est be cheated with in

▷ **Multiple adjunction points for adverbs** (Svenonius 2002, Ernst 2002):

Adverbs are adjuncts and may be adjoined at various points in the structure (e.g. above VP and TP). Adjunction points for StN, TrNN, and ReNN adverbs might look something like (9).

▷ **Problem:**

Different adjunction points in TrNN and ReNN do not necessarily correspond to different interpretations. Adverbs must (StN) or may (TrNN/ReNN) be adjoined in the highest position even when they modify only the VP.¹



¹See Bentzen (to appear) for a more detailed discussion of these two approaches.

4 A remnant movement account

- ▷ Nilsen (2003): A remnant movement account for the order of verbs and adverbs in StN:
 - scope-based merge: adverbs are merged immediately above the verb they scope over
 - adverbs attract the closest verbal projection
 - verbs attract the closest adverb projection

▷ Here: reformulating Nilsen (2003) slightly:

Generalisation 1:

Every auxiliary has a VP lifter below it and an AdvP lifter above it.

- ▷ An auxiliary with these lifters will end up following adverbs that it takes scope over.
- ▷ An auxiliary lacking the lifters will end up preceding adverbs that it takes scope over.
- ▷ **StN**: Generalisation 1 is obligatory for all verbs.
- ▷ **TrNN**: Generalisation 1 is obligatory for non-finite auxiliaries, but optional for finite auxiliaries.
- ▷ **ReNN**: Generalisation 1 is optional for both non-finite and finite auxiliaries.

Derivation 1: Both the finite and the non-finite auxiliary have the lifters (= StN/TrNN/ReNN order **Adv**–**Aux_{Fin}**–**Aux_{NonFin}**–**V** in (3)):

[vite]	
	MERGE Adv
[allerede [vite]]	
	LIFT VP
[vite [allerede]]	
	MERGE V
[kunne [vite [allerede]]]	
	LIFT AdvP
[allerede [kunne [vite]]]	
	LIFT VP
[kunne [vite [allerede]]]	
	MERGE V
[ville [kunne [vite [allerede]]]]	
	LIFT AdvP
[allerede [ville [kunne [vite]]]]	

Derivation 2: Only the non-finite auxiliary has the lifters; the finite one lacks them (= TrNN/ReNN order $\mathbf{Aux}_{Fin}-\mathbf{Adv}-\mathbf{Aux}_{NonFin}-\mathbf{V}$ in (3)):

[vite]	
	MERGE Adv
[allerede [vite]]	
	LIFT VP
[vite [allerede]]	
	MERGE V
[kunne [vite [allerede]]]	
	LIFT AdvP
[allerede [kunne [vite]]]	
	MERGE V
[ville [allerede [kunne [vite]]]]	

Derivation 3: Neither the finite nor the non-finite auxiliary have the lifters (= ReNN order $\mathbf{Aux}_{Fin}-\mathbf{Aux}_{NonFin}-\mathbf{Adv}-\mathbf{V}$ in (3)):

[vite]	
	MERGE Adv
[allerede [vite]]	
	MERGE V
[kunne [allerede [vite]]]	
	MERGE V
[ville [kunne [allerede [vite]]]]	

▷ This system also works if there are multiple adverbs as well as multiple verbs. Some examples of this are included in the Appendix.

▷ **Complication:** In ReNN, finite verbs may also precede adverbs which they do not take scope over, as in (5) above and (10) below:

(10) Det gjorde ikke noe at han ikke var invitert på festen ettersom han
it did not anything that he not was invited on party.the as he
 (heldigvis) kunne (heldigvis) bli lurt med inn likevel.
(fortunately) could (fortunately) be cheated with in anyway
 ‘It didn’t matter that he had not been invited to the party as he fortunately could
 be sneaked in anyway.’

▷ This cannot be derived by leaving out or including lifters below and above the finite verb, as shown in Derivation 4:

Derivation 4: Unsuccessful derivation of (10):

[lurt]	
	MERGE V
[bli [lurt]]	
	LIFT VP?
[bli [lurt]]	
	MERGE V
[kunne [bli [lurt]]]	
	LIFT AdvP?
[kunne [bli [lurt]]]	
	MERGE Adv
[heldigvis [kunne [bli [lurt]]]]	

▷ Proposal: ReNN has something like Generalisation 2 (in addition to the optional Generalisation 1):

Generalisation 2:

The finite verb optionally moves past an outscoping adverb.

▷ How would sentences like (5) and (10) be derived?

▷ **Suggestion I:**

ReNN finite verbs move to a higher position by head movement.

Derivation 5: Potential derivation of (10) I:

[lurt]	
	MERGE V
[bli [lurt]]	
	MERGE V
[kunne [bli [lurt]]]	
	MERGE Adv
[heldigvis [kunne [bli [lurt]]]]	
	HEAD MOVE V_{Fin}?
[kunne [heldigvis [bli [lurt]]]]	

▷ **Suggestion II:**

ReNN finite verbs have a lifter immediately above them lifting everything below them, a \forall lifter, followed by a $V_{Fin}P$ lifter above that again.

Derivation 6: Potential derivation of (10) II:

[lurt]	
	MERGE V
[bli [lurt]]	
	MERGE V
[kunne [bli [lurt]]]	
	LIFT \forall?
[[bli [lurt]] [kunne]]	
	MERGE Adv
[heldigvis [bli [lurt [kunne]]]]	
	LIFT $V_{Fin}P$?
[kunne [heldigvis [bli [lurt]]]]	

Summing up:

▷ To describe the data in the three varieties of Norwegian, two generalisations were suggested:

Generalisation 1:

Every auxiliary has a VP lifter below it and an AdvP lifter above it.

- ▷ In **StN**, Generalisation 1 is obligatory for all auxiliaries.
- ▷ In **TrNN**, Generalisation 1 is obligatory for non-finite auxiliaries, but optional for finite auxiliaries.
- ▷ In **ReNN**, Generalisation 1 is optional for all auxiliaries.

Generalisation 2:

The finite verb may move past an outscoping adverb.

- ▷ In **StN** and **TrNN**, Generalisation 2 does not apply, but it optionally applies in **ReNN**.

A Appendix

Generalisation 1 (repeated here) also holds for clauses with multiple adverbs in addition to multiple auxiliaries.

Generalisation 1:

Every auxiliary has a VP lifter below it and an AdvP lifter above it.

The various word orders shown in (11)-(12) can be derived by assuming the presence or absence of the lifters below and above auxiliaries.

- (11) Vi leverte radioen til Hårek...
we delivered radio.the to Hårek...
 ‘We handed the radio over to Hårek...’
- | | | |
|--------------|---|---|
| StN: | ✓ | * |
| TrNN: | ✓ | ✓ |
| ReNN: | ✓ | ✓ |
- ... ettersom han (heldigvis som oftest) hadde (heldigvis som oftest) kunnet ordne den.
 ... *as he (fortunately as often.est) had (fortunately as often.est) could fix it*
 ‘... as he fortunately usually had been able to fix it.’

- | | | |
|--------------|---|---|
| StN: | * | * |
| TrNN: | * | * |
| ReNN: | ✓ | ✓ |
- (12) ... ettersom han (heldigvis) hadde (heldigvis) kunnet som oftest ordne den.
 ... *as he (fortunately) had (fortunately) could as often.est fix it*
 ‘... as he fortunately usually had been able to fix it.’

Derivation 7:

The StN/TrNN/ReNN order **Adv–Adv–Aux_{Fin}–Aux_{NonFin}–V** in (11), which is derived when both the finite and the non-finite auxiliary have the lifters below and above them:

[ordne den]	MERGE Adv
[som oftest [ordne den]]	LIFT VP
[ordne den [som oftest]]	MERGE V
[kunnet [ordne den [som oftest]]]	LIFT AdvP
[som oftest [kunnet [ordne den]]]	MERGE Adv
[heldigvis [som oftest [kunnet [ordne den]]]]	LIFT VP
[kunnet [ordne den [heldigvis [som oftest]]]]	MERGE V
[hadde [kunnet [ordne den [heldigvis [som oftest]]]]]	LIFT AdvP
[heldigvis [som oftest [hadde [kunnet [ordne den]]]]]	

Derivation 8:

The TrNN/ReNN order **Aux_{Fin}–Adv–Adv–Aux_{NonFin}–V** in (11), which is derived when the finite auxiliary lacks the lifters below and above it, but the non-finite auxiliary has them:

[ordne den]	MERGE Adv
[som oftest [ordne den]]	LIFT VP
[ordne den [som oftest]]	MERGE V
[kunnet [ordne den [som oftest]]]	LIFT AdvP
[som oftest [kunnet [ordne den]]]	MERGE Adv
[heldigvis [som oftest [kunnet [ordne den]]]]	MERGE V
[hadde [heldigvis [som oftest [kunnet [ordne den]]]]]	

Derivation 9:

The ReNN order **Adv–Aux_{Fin}–Aux_{NonFin}–Adv–V** in (12), which is derived when the finite auxiliary has the lifters below and above it, but the non-finite auxiliary lacks them:

[ordne den]	
	MERGE Adv
[som oftest [ordne den]]	
	MERGE V
[kunnet [som oftest [ordne den]]]	
	MERGE Adv
[heldigvis [kunnet [som oftest [ordne den]]]]	
	LIFT VP
[kunnet [som oftest [ordne den [heldigvis]]]]	
	MERGE V
[hadde [kunnet [som oftest [ordne den [heldigvis]]]]]	
	LIFT AdvP
[heldigvis [hadde [kunnet [som oftest [ordne den]]]]]	

Derivation 10:

The ReNN order **Aux_{Fin}–Adv–Aux_{NonFin}–Adv–V** in (12), which is derived when both the finite and the non-finite auxiliary lack the lifters below and above them:

[ordne den]	
	MERGE Adv
[som oftest [ordne den]]	
	MERGE V
[kunnet [som oftest [ordne den]]]	
	MERGE Adv
[heldigvis [kunnet [som oftest [ordne den]]]]	
	MERGE V
[hadde [heldigvis [kunnet [som oftest [ordne den]]]]]	

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