

What's the better move? On verb placement in embedded clauses in three varieties of Norwegian

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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 is 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]. (Nor)
I asked why Helge often had read this book.the
'I asked why Helge often had read this book.'

▷ Nilsen (2003): *All* verbs have to follow *all* adverbs in Norwegian:

- (2) ... at det **ikke lenger** **alltid helt** kunne ha blitt ordnet. (Nor)
... that it not any.longer always completely could have been fixed

▷ However, some non-standard varieties of Scandinavian languages also allow verbs preceding adverbs in non-V2 contexts, i.e. in contexts where topicalisation is not possible (Kronoby (Platzack and Holmberg 1989, Alexiadou and Fanselow 2001); Northern Norwegian (Iversen 1918, Bentzen 2003, Bentzen to appear)).

▷ Embedded V2 is possible in many varieties of Scandinavian languages, typically in clauses embedded under so-called *bridge* verbs (*say, tell, think, believe...*):

- (3) a. Hun fortalte [at hun kjøpte ofte dyre designerklær].
she told that she bought often expensive designer-clothes
'She told me that she often bought expensive designer clothes.'
b. Hun fortalte [at ifjor kjøpte hun ofte dyre designerklær].
she told that last-year bought she often expensive designer-clothes
'She told me that she often bought expensive designer clothes last year.'
- (4) *Hun ruinerte seg [ettersom ifjor kjøpte hun ofte dyre designerklær].
she ruined REFL as last-year bought she often expensive designer-clothes
'She drove herself to economic ruin as she often bought expensive designer clothes last year.'

▷ 70 possible permutations of verbs and adverbs in (2); Regional Norwegian allows 22!

2 Verb placement in embedded clauses in three varieties of Norwegian

▷ Eastern Norwegian (EastN) doesn't allow verbs preceding adverbs; Tromsø Northern Norwegian (TrNN) and Regional Northern Norwegian (ReNN) allow it to varying degrees.

▷ **Factors that seem to influence verb placement with respect to adverbs:**

- The type of adverb:
heldigvis/alltid/aldri 'fortunately/always/never' > *allerede/som oftest* 'already/usually' > *helt* 'completely'
- The form of the verb: finite vs. non-finite
- The type of verb: main verb vs. auxiliary

(5) Vi begynte å bli spente nå...
we began to become excited now...
'We started to get excited now...'

EastN:	✓	*	*
TrNN:	✓	✓	*
ReNN:	✓	✓	✓

... ettersom vi allerede ville kunne vite resultatet på fredag.
... ettersom vi ville allerede kunne vite resultatet på fredag.
... ettersom vi ville 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.'

(6) 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...'

EastN:	✓	*	*
TrNN:	✓	*	*
ReNN:	✓	✓	*

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

(7) Hedda kommer til å ruinere seg...
Hedda comes to to ruin REFL...
'Hedda will drive herself to economic ruin...'

EastN:	✓	*
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:**

- **EastN:** 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’).

3 Other approaches to the order of verbs and adverbs

3.1 Hierarchy of adverbs and Head Movement (Cinque 1999)

▷ Adverbs are strictly ordered in an hierarchy and sit in the specifier of their own functional projections. Verbs may move to the intervening heads of these projections (cf. Nilsen 1998, Nilsen 2003, Østbø 2003 on the order of adverbs in Norwegian).

▷ TrNN and ReNN will allow the verb to move higher up in the hierarchy than EastN will.

- (8) [... **ville**_i [_{AspAnteriorP} allerede [**t**_i kunne vite resultatet]]] TrNN/ReNN
would already could know result.the
- (9) [_{Neg} ikke **kunne**_i [_{AspTerminativeP} lenger **t**_i [_{AspPerfectP} alltid **t**_i [_{AspCompletiveP}
not could any.longer always
 helt [**t**_i ha blitt ordnet]]]]] TrNN/ReNN
completely have been fixed

• **Problem 1:**

Verb movement in TrNN and ReNN does not necessarily correspond to ‘height’ in terms of Cinque’s hierarchy (only relevant parts of which are included in (10)):

- (10) [... √**Verb** [_{AspHabitualP} som oftest √**Verb** [_{AspAnteriorP} allerede ***Verb** [_{AspPerfectP}
usually already
 alltid... TrNN/ReNN
always

• **Problem 2:**

Cinque (2004): some adverbs may occur more than one position, related to different interpretations. However ...

- ... almost all adverbs in TrNN and ReNN would potentially have at least two positions.
- ... the different positions of adverbs in TrNN and ReNN are not always obviously correlated to different interpretations of these adverbs.

• **Problem 3:**

Bobaljik’s Paradox effects (cf. Bobaljik 1999 and Svenonius 2002): Two auxiliaries preceding the adverb in ReNN is potentially a violation of the Head Movement Constraint:

- (11) [... **ville**_i **kunne**_j [_{AspAnteriorP} allerede [**t**_i **t**_j vite resultatet]]] ReNN
would could already know result.the

3.2 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), depending on interpretation.

▷ TrNN and ReNN apparently allow more adjunction points for adverbs than EastN will.

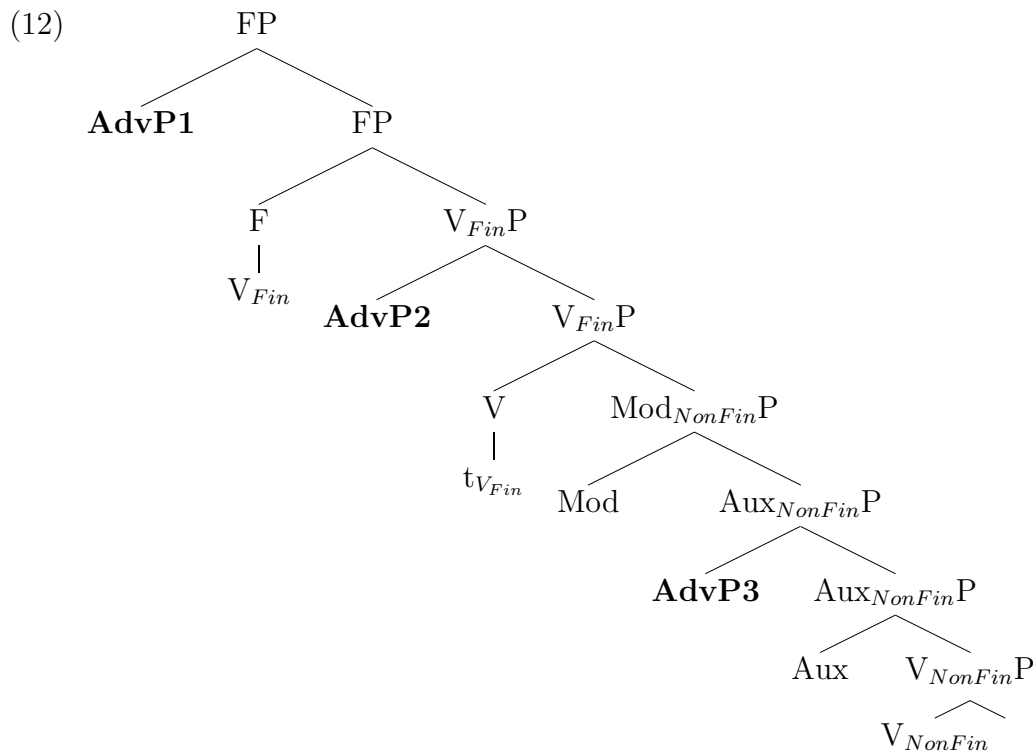


Table 1: Adjunction points for *allerede* ‘already’ and *alltid* ‘always’:

	EastN	TrNN	ReNN
AdvP1	√ <i>allerede</i> √ <i>heldigvis/alltid</i>	√ <i>allerede</i> √ <i>heldigvis/alltid</i>	√ <i>allerede</i> √ <i>heldigvis/alltid</i>
AdvP2	* <i>allerede</i> * <i>heldigvis/alltid</i>	√ <i>allerede</i> * <i>heldigvis/alltid</i>	√ <i>allerede</i> √ <i>heldigvis/alltid</i>
AdvP3	* <i>allerede</i> * <i>heldigvis/alltid</i>	* <i>allerede</i> * <i>heldigvis/alltid</i>	√ <i>allerede</i> * <i>heldigvis/alltid</i>

• **Problem 1:**

The various adjunction points in TrNN and ReNN do not necessarily correspond to different interpretations.

• **Problem 2:**

EastN adverbs may only be adjoined in the highest position, even when they modify only the VP.

• **Problem 3:**

When there is more than one adverb in a sentence, how is the internal order between them determined? In ReNN, both *heldigvis* ‘fortunately’ and *allerede* ‘already’ may be adjoined in either AdvP1 or AdvP2. Still, when they co-occur there’s a strict order between them:

- (13) a. ... ettersom vi heldigvis ville allerede kunne vite resultatet på fredag.
 ... *as we fortunately would already could know result.the on Friday*
 b. *... ettersom vi allerede ville heldigvis kunne vite resultatet på fredag.
 ... *as we already would fortunately could know result.the on Friday*

4 A remnant movement account

▷ Nilsen (2003): A remnant movement account for the order of verbs and adverbs in EastN:

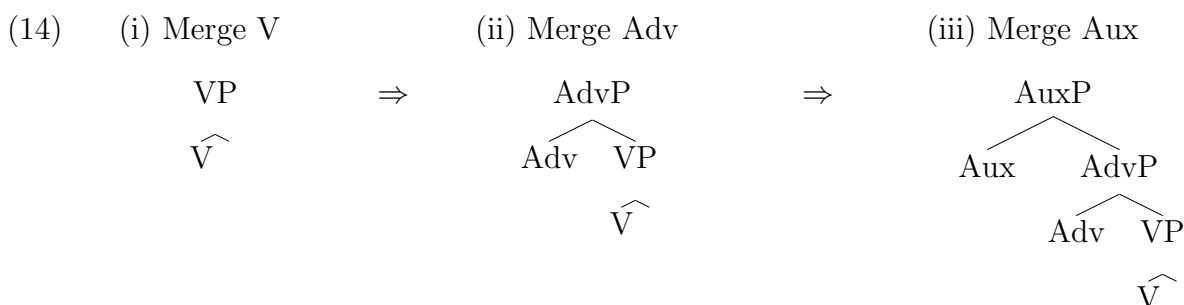
- scope-based merge: adverbs are merged immediately above the verb they scope over
- adverbs attract the closest verbal projection
- verbs attract the closest adverb projection

▷ Here: reformulating Nilsen (2003) slightly:

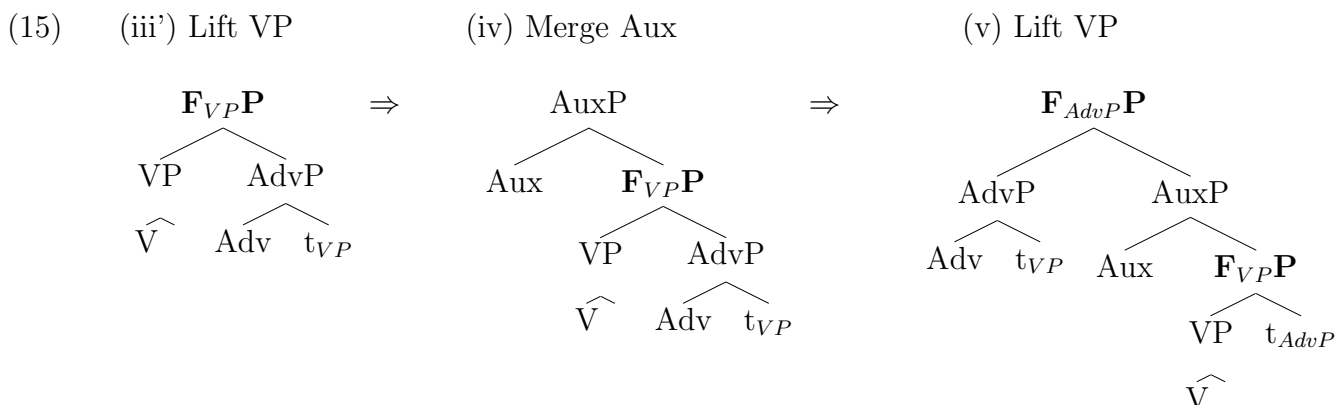
Generalisation 1:

Every auxiliary has a VP lifter ($F_{VP}P$) below it and an AdvP lifter ($F_{AdvP}P$) above it.

▷ An auxiliary lacking the lifters will end up preceding adverbs that it takes scope over:



▷ An auxiliary with these lifters will end up following adverbs that it takes scope over:



▷ **EastN**: 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: Neither the finite nor the non-finite auxiliary have the lifters (= ReNN order $\mathbf{Aux}_{Fin}-\mathbf{Aux}_{NonFin}-\mathbf{Adv}-\mathbf{V}$ in (5)):

[vite]	
	MERGE Adv
[allerede [vite]]	
	MERGE V
[kunne [allerede [vite]]]	
	MERGE V
[ville [kunne [allerede [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 (5)):

[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: Both the finite and the non-finite auxiliary have the lifters (= EastN/TrNN/ReNN order $\mathbf{Adv}-\mathbf{Aux}_{Fin}-\mathbf{Aux}_{NonFin}-\mathbf{V}$ in (5)):

[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]]]]	

▷ 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 (7) above and (16) below:

- (16) 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 (16):

[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 (7) and (16) be derived?

▷ **Suggestion I:**

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

Derivation 5: Potential derivation of (16) 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 (16) 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]]]]	

5 Summing up

▷ I argue that a remnant movement approach can account for the Norwegian data in a better way than a head movement approach or a ‘multiple adjunction points for adverbs’ approach can.

▷ 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 **EastN**, 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 **EastN** 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 (17)-(18) can be derived by assuming the presence or absence of the lifters below and above auxiliaries.

- (17) 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: | * | * |
| (18) | ReNN: | ✓ | ✓ |
- ... 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 (17), 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 (17), 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 (18), 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 (18), 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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