N'CLAV NORDIC COLLABORATION ON LANGUAGE VARIATION STUDIES

N'CLAV:s tredje Grand Meeting
Lysebu, Oslo den 13 – 16 augusti 2012

Abstrakthäfte

Inbjudna talare:

Lars-Olof Delsing *(Lunds universitet)*
Höskuldur Thráinsson *(Háskóli Íslands)*
Ida Toivonen *(Carleton University)*
Unn Røyneland *(Universitetet i Oslo)*

Andra talare:

Leiv Inge Aa (NTNU)
Kristine Bentzen (UiT)
Tanya Karoli Christensen (KU)
Kristin Melum Eide (NTNU)
Elisabet Engdahl (GU)
Pål Kristian Eriksen (UiO)
Ludvig Forsman (ÅA)
Piotr Garbacz (UiO)
David Håkansson (UU)
Torben Juel Jensen (KU)
Janne Bondi Johannessen (UiO)
Marit Julien (LU)
Therese Leinonen (SLS)
Filippa Lindahl (GU)
Björn Lundquist (UiT)
Helge Lødrup (UiO)
Hanna Óladóttir (HÍ)
Jeffrey Keith Parrott (KU)
Johanna Prytz (SU)
Sverre Stausland Johnsen (UiO)
Ásta Svavarsdóttir (HÍ)
Peter Svenonius (UiT)
Åshild Søfteland (UiO)
Ida Toivonen (CU)
Øystein Alexander Vangsnes (UiT)
Marit Westergaard (UiT)
Tor Anders Åfarli (NTNU)

Program

Monday, the 13th of August:

15.00 - 15.15 **Welcome** (Piotr Garbacz & Janne Bondi Johannessen)

15.15 - 16.15 **Ida Toivonen (Carleton University):** *Apocope of infinitival -a in Åland dialects of Swedish*.

16.15 - 16.30 Coffee break

16.30 - 17.00 **David Håkansson (Uppsala University):** *Relative subordination or pseudo-coordination? Complementizer-free constructions reminiscent of relative clauses in spoken South Swedish dialects* .

17.00 - 17.30 **Piotr Garbacz (University of Oslo):** *Parametric explanations in Scandinavian syntax*.

17.30 - 18.00 **Øystein Vangsnes (University of Tromsø) & Janne Bondi Johannessen (University of Oslo):** *Nordic Atlas of Linguistic Structures (NALS)*.

18.00 Break

19.00 Dinner

Tuesday, the 14th of August:

Breakfast 7.30 - 09.00

09.00 - 10.00 **Höskuldur Thráinsson (University of Iceland):** *On Quantity and Quality in Variation Studies*.

10.00 - 10.15 Coffee break

10.15 - 10.45 **Kristin Melum Eide (Norwegian University of Science and Technology):** *The Ghost of the Old Norse Subjunctive: the Norwegian Subjunctive Participle* .

10.45 - 11.15 **Marit Westergaard (University of Tromsø):** *Koffer dæm ikke sir det? [why they not say that]: Word order in wh-questions in North Norway*.

11.15 - 11.45 **Marit Julien (Lund University) & Helge Lødrup (University of Oslo):** *Double and upside down passives in Scandinavian*.

12.00 - 13.00 Lunch

13.15 - 14.15 **Lars-Olof Delsing (Lund University):** *The small and the large catastrophe*.

14.15 - 14.45 **Peter Svenonius (University of Tromsø), Kristine Bentzen (University of Tromsø), Jason Merchant (University of Chicago):** *Deep properties of surface pronouns: Pronominal predicate anaphors in Germanic*.

14.45 - 15.15 **Tor A. Åfarli (Norwegian University of Science and Technology):** *Demonstratives in halsadialecten (the Halsa dialect): data and analysis*.

15.15 - 15.30 Coffee break

15.30 - 16.00 **Pål Kristian Eriksen (The national Library of Norway):** *The more you look into it, the more fun it gets: Correlative comparatives in Norwegian and other languages*.

16.00 - 16.30 **Filippa Lindahl & Elisabet Engdahl (University of Gothenburg):** *Fronted pronominal objects in the mainland Scandinavian languages*.

16.30 - 17.00 **Sverre Stausland Johnsen (University of Oslo):** *Long-distance binding of Norwegian reflexives*.

17.00 - 19.30 Break (17.15 - 18.45 Group leader meeting)

19.30 Dinner

Wednesday, the 15th of August:

Breakfast 7.30 - 09.00

09.00 - 10.00 **Unn Røyneland (University of Oslo):** *Variation, stylization and heteroglossic linguistic practices among multiethnic Hip-hop youth in Oslo*.

10.00 - 10.15 Kaffepaus
10.15 - 10.45 **Hanna Óladóttir (University of Iceland):** *The fight against variation. Grammar Instruction in Icelandic Compulsory Schools*.
10.45 - 11.15 **Ásta Svavarsdóttir (University of Iceland):** *Variation and standardization from a historical perspective – the case of 19th cebntury Icelandic*.
11.15 - 11.45 **Ludvig Forsman (Åbo Akademi University):** *Deviations or cange? Traits in the Swedish of a semi-speaker in gammalsvenskby, Ukraine*.
11.45 - 12.15 **Tanya Karoli Christensen (University of Copenhagen):** *Expressing certainty and uncertainty in spoken Danish. On semantic variation and how it can be studied*.

12.15 - 13.15 Lunch

13.15 -12.45 **Therese Leinonen (The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland):** *Phonetic quantity as a social marker in urban Finland-Swedish*.
13.45 - 14.15 **Torben Juel Jensen (University of Copenhagen):** *Participles in Jutland – a real time study of regionalization and standardization*.

14.15 - 14.30 How to fill in the reinbursment forms? (Maia Andréasson)
14.30 - 14.45 Coffee break
14.45 - 18.45 **Excursion**

19.30 Conference dinner

Thursday, the 16th of August:

Breakfast 7.30 - 09.00

09.00 - 09.30 **Johanna Prytz (Stockholm University):** *In Search of (Null) Arguments: A Review of Tests for Argumenthood in Swedish*.
09.30 - 10.00 **Leiv Inge Aa (Norwegian University of Science and Technology):** Med *as "juxtaposer" – with complex predicative complements in PPs and particle constructions*.

10.00 - 10.15 Coffee break

10.15 - 10.45 **Åshild Søfteland (University of Oslo):** *Clefts and existentials in comparison – focus, presupposition and specification*.
10.45 - 11.15 **Björn Lundquist (University of Tromsø):** *Turning Objects into Locations in English and Mainland Scandinavian*.
11.15 - 11.45 **Jeffrey Keith Parrott (LANCHART Centre, University of Copenhagen):** *The convergent vestigial case of comparative objects*.

11.45 - 12.00 **Closure** (Maia Andréasson)

12.00 - 13.00 Lunch

Samtliga abstrakt i kronologisk ordning

Ida Toivonen (Carleton University): *Apocope of infinitival -a in Åland dialects of Swedish*

Abstract:

In the dialects of Swedish spoken on Åland, the infinitival ending -a is often dropped; e.g. kasta ~kast (to throw), *göra ~ gör* (to do), *hoppa ~ hopp* (to jump). A similar apocope also occurs in many other dialects of Swedish, especially the Swedish spoken on the Finnish mainland (Ahlbäck 1945, Tandefelt 1983, Harling-Kranck 1998, Lafage 2006). When the apocope would result in an /l/, /r/ or /n/ preceded by a consonant, a vowel /E/ or /ae/ is inserted before the /n/ /r/ or /l/: *ramla ~ rammel* (to fall), *ändra ~ änder* (to change), *hamna ~ hammen* (to end up).

The infinitival ending is not always apocopated, and this paper examines the variation in apocope on Åland. The variation is governed by a host of factors. One factor is geographic. The dialect that has been most carefully examined in this study is the one spoken in the village of Svartsmara on the main island. Here, the apocope follows a different pattern than in some other Åland locations; see, for example, the dialect spokenon Brändö in the Åland archipelago (Sundberg 1993).   The variation is also governed by linguistic factors. For example, the /-a/ cannot be dropped at the end of clauses. This linguistic constraint holds in all Åland dialects, as far as I am aware. Finally, the variation is governed by sociolinguistic factors such as age and register.   Interestingly, some young speakers who generally drop the /-a/ avoid apocope in words where apocope would lead to vowel epenthesis. The data presented in this paper are drawn from Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland's "Spara talet" recordings, as well as from an on-going project studying Swedish on Åland. The study has found infinitival /-a/ apocope to be a useful variable in the study of Åland dialects and linguistic variation within those dialects.

David Håkansson (Uppsala University): *Relative subordination or pseudo-coordination? Complementizer-free constructions reminiscent of relative clauses in spoken South Swedish dialects*

Abstract:
Modern Swedish is characterized by a strong subject position marking constraint, which oftentimes requires the insertion of expletive elements, even though these seem to carry little or no information. Such is the case for *det* 'it' as non-referential subject, but also for *som* 'that' as complementizer in subjectless relative clauses. South Swedish dialects, however, allow for constructions that are reminiscent of subjectless relative clauses while lacking an overt complementizer, as shown in (1) and (2).

(1)   *Där   är   ingen   bor   nuförtiden*
    there   is   no one   live   these days

(2)   *Hon   har   en   dotter   bor   i   samma   hus*
    she   has   a   daughter   live   in the same   house

In this talk, I will discuss these constructions. A fundamental question is, of course, if they can be analyzed as relative clauses, as they have been traditionally (Lech 1925; Ingers 1955; Ejskjær 1964) since the can be replaced by a relative clause opened by the complementizer *som* 'that':

(1') *Där är ingen [som bor nuförtiden]*
(2') *Hon har en dotter [som bor i samma hus]*

However, this traditional approach has been put into question, and instead, it has been suggested that the construction type represents instances of serial verb constructions (Pedersen 2007). In this talk, I will argue that both analyses are justified, but that they apply in different environments. The South Swedish structures in question appear in two varieties, depending on the matrix verbs. If the matrix verb is *ha* 'have' the construction must be analyzed as involving a serial verb construction. The use of matrix *vara* 'be', however, warrants a relative clause analysis. The consequences of the dual approach are that (i) subjectless, yet unheaded relative clauses in South Swedish do indeed exist, and that (ii) the subject marking constraint in Swedish is not as rigorous as has been claimed in the literature. In other words: There are several strategies available to make syntactic structure visible, not solely by way of expletive elements.

Literature:
Ejskjær, Inger, 1964: Nogle ejendommeligheder ved relativkonstruktioner i danske ømål og i skånsk. *Acta Philologica Scandinavica* 26:109–152.
Ingers, Ingemar, 1955: Berättelser av läraren Hans Almgren i Burlöv. *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv* 78:1–32.
Lech, Gillis, 1925: *Skånemålens böjningslära*. Lund.
Pedersen, Karen Margrethe, 2007: Nogle danske dialektale pseudosideordninger. *Nordisk dialektologi og sociolingvistik*, red. av Torben Arboe, 314–322. Århus: Århus universitet.

Piotr Garbacz (University of Oslo): *Parametric explanations in Scandinavian syntax*

Abstract:

Since the 1980's, much of the diachronic and synchronic variation within the syntax of Nordic languages has been explained by assuming a number of parameters. Holmberg & Platzack (1995), being one of the most important contributions to the parametric approach to Scandinavian syntax, argue that an agreement parameter and a case parameter account for at least fourteen syntactic distinctions between Mainland Scandinavian (Swedish, Danish, Norwegian) and Insular Scandinavian (Icelandic, Faroese, Old Scandinavian). The differences in question are for instance the presence or absence of V-to-I movement, null expletives, non-nominative subjects, DP-object shift, transitive expletives, and of Stylistic Fronting. The presence of these features in a language (group) is further connected to the presence of overt verb agreement and case morphology.

However, during the past years, the parametric approach has been under criticism, among other things for its reputed inability to make cross-linguistic predictions (e.g. Newmeyer 2004, 2006), but also for more theoretical reasons (e.g. Boeckx 2010, 2012). Parametric clustering, that is a number of syntactic properties depending on one parameter, has though been claimed for Scandinavian languages recently by Holmberg (2010a, b) and by Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson & Wiklund (2010), while Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2012) have resurrected the Rich Agreement Hypothesis.

In my talk, I will show that the parametric clustering is difficult to prove also for Scandinavian languages, in contrast with what have been claimed. The data are collected from a number of closely related varieties of Scandinavian, i.e. the Swedish Ovansiljan-vernaculars, Norwegian dialects, and various stages of Swedish. Such closely related varieties are often said to provide an ideal testing ground for parametric hypotheses.

Finally, I will ask the question how much of the Scandinavian syntax variation can be explained by the parametric approach and whether there are other alternative explanations.

References:

Boeckx, Cedric. 2010. *What Principles and Parameters Got Wrong*. Ms. http://ling.auf.net/lingBuzz/001118

Boeckx, Cedric. 2012. *Considerations pertaining to the nature of logodiversity, or How to construct a parametric space without parameters.* Ms. http://ling.auf.net/lingBuzz/001453

Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson & Anna-Lena Wiklund 2010: AGR and V2. *Theoretical Linguistics* 36, 57–68.

Holmberg, Anders & Christer Platzack. 1995. *The role of inflection in Scandinavian syntax*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Holmberg, Anders. 2010a. Parameters in minimalist theory: The case of Scandinavian. *Theoretical Linguistics* 36: 1–48.

Holmberg, Anders. 2010b. Replies to comments. *Theoretical Linguistics* 36: 85–91.

Koeneman Olaf & Hedde Zeijlstra. 2012. *One law for the rich and another for the poor: The Rich Agreement Hypothesis rehabilitated.* Ms. http://ling.auf.net/lingBuzz/001462

Newmeyer, Frederic. 2004. Against a parameter-setting approach to language variation.Linguistic Variation Yearbook 4:181-234.

Newmeyer, Frederic. 2006. A rejoinder to 'On the role of parameters in Universal Grammar: a reply to Newmeyer' by Ian Roberts and Anders Holmberg. *http://people.pwf.cam.ac.uk/mtb23/NSP/Rejoinder%20to%20R&H.pdf*

Janne Bondi Johannessen (University of Oslo) & Øystein Vangsnes (University of Tromsø):
Nordic Atlas of Linguistic Structures (NALS)

Abstract:

In our talk we will present the *Nordic Atlas of Linguistic Structures (NALS)*. It is based on the two important research infrastructures developed in the subprojects under the umbrella of the network Scandinavian Dialect Syntax (ScanDiaSyn), the Nordic Dialect Corpus and the Nordic Syntax Database.

The Nordic Dialect Corpus (NDC) (Johannessen et al. 2009) consists of recordings of spontaneous speech from all the Nordic countries, altoghether nearly 2.8 million words, by 797 informants in 223 places across five Nordic countries. It is available on the web through a user-friendly interface. The Nordic Syntax Database (NSD) (Lindstad et al. 2009) consists of evaluations of sentences by 888 informants in 198 places; each informant has evaluated on average 150 sentences presented in their dialect, grading them on a scale from 1 (totally unacceptable) to 5 (perfect). The linguistic contents of both resources has come about as a result of national subprojects. The Text Laboratory at the UiO has been responsible for the technical development, and both resources are available here: http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/scandiasyn/.

The Nordic Atlas of Linguistic Structures (NALS) consists of articles on a wide array of syntactic phenomena, and all have their empirical basis in the Nordic Syntax Database, with additional evidence from the Nordic Dialect Corpus. The idea of the NALS web site is similar to that of the *The World Atlas of Language Structures (*WALS*)* in that we present maps for separate linguistic phenomena.

In our talk we will first show some of the Nordic Syntax Database, and then introduce *The Nordic Atlas of Linguistic Structures* (NALS).

References

Johannessen, Janne Bondi, Joel Priestley, Kristin Hagen, Tor Anders Åfarli, and Øystein Alexander Vangsnes. 2009. The Nordic Dialect Corpus - an Advanced Research Tool. In Jokinen, Kristiina and Eckhard Bick (eds.): *Proceedings of the 17th Nordic Conference of Computational Linguistics NODALIDA 2009. NEALT Proceedings Series Volume 4*.

Lindstad, Arne Martinus; Nøklestad, Anders; Johannessen, Janne Bondi; Vangsnes, Øystein Alexander. 2009. The Nordic Dialect Database: Mapping Microsyntactic Variation in the Scandinavian Languages. In Jokinen, Kristiina and Eckhard Bick (eds.): *Proceedings of the 17th Nordic Conference of Computational Linguistics NODALIDA 2009. NEALT Proceedings Series;Volume 4.*

World Atlas of Language Structures (*WALS*): http://wals.info/

Höskuldur Thráinsson (University of Iceland): *On Quantity and Quality in Variation Studies*

Abstract:

Studies of regional variation in syntax are often, or even typically, limited to very few speakers in each location. In the SAND-project (Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects), for instance, only one or two speakers represented each "measuring point" in the oral interviews (there were 267 such measuring points, mostly in the Netherlands and Belgium), and in the Nordic Syntax Database that grew out of ScanDiaSyn there are at present (June 2012) data from 892 speakers from 192 locations, i.e. from roughly 4 speakers from each "measuring point".

In IceDiaSyn and FarDiaSyn (the Icelandic and Faroese parts of ScanDiaSyn) we opted for a different strategy. Since pilot studies had revealed very limited regional variation in the syntax of these languages, and considerable age-related variation, we decided to test many more speakers from each location. We thus aimed for 8 speakers from each of 4 age groups and typically ended up with 25–30 speakers from each "measuring point". In this paper I will discuss some of the results obtained by this method, attempting to answer questions like the following:

- What did we gain by testing so many speakers? What if we had only tested 2–4 speakers in each location?
- What do the results tell us about syntactic variation in Icelandic and Faroese?
- What do the results tell us about the individual grammars behind the data?

Kristin Melum Eide (Norwegian University of Science and Technology): *The Ghost of the Old Norse Subjunctive: the Norwegian Subjunctive Participle*

Abstract:

This paper will argue that in modern Norwegian there are constructions in which what looks like a past participle or supine is better described as an irrealis form. I refer to this participle as 'subjunctive participle'. Earlier analyses have resorted to concepts such as '*have*–omission', 'misplaced perfect' and 'morphological attraction' to account for the unexpected past participles in infinitival positions. I will present data showing that what looks like a past participle sometimes occurs in finite positions in Norwegian dialects, data that make those earlier analyses less convincing. My proposal follows my earlier analyses (Eide 2002; 2005): it assumes that this participle is a *distal* form; a form expressing modal remoteness (Langacker 1978; cf. Section 3.1. below) which amounts to a full-fledged irrealis marker; cf. also Julien (2003). Admittedly, the form has a rather restricted distribution in standard written Norwegian, but it occurs in many dialects and variants of spoken Norwegian in spite of the tendency of normative grammars to ban or ignore it.

I assume that the morphological collapse of the old subjunctive preterit form and the past participle led to the subjunctive preterit retaining its counterfactual meaning and disguising as a past participle although confined to constructions with a hypothetical or counterfactual meaning (cf. Sandøy, 1991; Dørum, 2000; and Julien, 2003 for related ideas). More specifically, the old subjunctive, subsumed by the supine, can still impose counterfactual or subjunctive meaning, provided its syntactic surroundings contain the right semantic elements to trigger it. What counts as a sufficient trigger varies between dialects and constructions, and I will examine some of those constructions. Relevant examples are listed in (1)—(3), all of which have counterfactual or hypothetical readings.

(1)   (a)   *Jon skulle vært på kontoret*
                      Jon shallPRET bePTCPL1 on officeDEF
                      'Jon should have been in his office'
         (b)   *Hu har måtta vorre her*
                      she has mustPTCPL bePTCPL here
                      'She must have been here '

(2)   (a)   *Det hadde vært artig å sett deg igjen*.
                      It had been fun to seePTCPL you again
                      'It would have been fun to see you again'
         (b)   *Har du arbeidd heile dagen utan å kokt kaffe?*
                      have you worked all day without to boilPTCPL coffee?
                      'Have you worked all day without making coffee?'

(3)   (a)   *Tænk om æ ha vorte det!*
                      Think if I haveINF becomePTCPL that
                      'Imagine if I had become that '
         (b)   *Da fått du en helt anna opplevels*
                      Then getPTCPL you a totally different experience
                      'Then you would have had a totally different experience '

My aim is to provide an empirical description of the selected constructions and show that analysing the participial form, or subjunctive participle, as irrealis in these contexts enables us to generalize over a range of seemingly different constructions.

Marit Westergaard (University of Tromsø): *Koffer dæm ikke sir det? [why they not say that]: Word order in wh-questions in North Norway*

Abstract:

In wh-questions in North Norwegian dialects, the typical situation is that long wh-elements require V2 word order, while there is variation between V2 and non-V2 in questions with the monosyllabic question words *ka, kor* and *kem* 'what', 'where' and 'who' (e.g. Vangsnes 2005). This is illustrated for the Tromsø dialect in (1)-(2).

(1) Koffør   drikk du? / *Koffør   du   drikk?   (Tromsø)
    why   drink   you /   why   you drink
    'Why do you drink?'
(2) Ka   drikk du? / Ka   du   drikk?
    what drink you / what you   drink
    'What are you drinking?'

In a thesis aptly called *Koffer dæm sir det?* [Why they say that?], Nilsen (1996) discusses the dialect spoken in Nordreisa (north of Tromsø) with respect to the option of using non-V2 also in questions with long wh-elements. This feature is argued to be due to influence from Kven/Finnish at the beginning of the previous century.

The present paper provides some new data from 28 speakers from three different areas in Northern Troms (Nordreisa, Manndalen, Djupvik), consisting of grammaticality judgements as well as (semi-)spontaneous production. Surprisingly, the data show that these speakers generally do **not** produce non-V2 word order in questions with the long wh-elements, although this word order is frequent with the monosyllabic question words. On the other hand, these speakers to a large extent accept this word order in grammaticality judgement tasks. Furthermore, there is a statistically significant difference between short, long and phrasal wh-words in the acceptance of non-V2. The new data also show clear age differences, confirming the claim made by Sollid (2003) that this dialect feature is in the process of being lost.

The data from Northern Troms are compared to similar data collected at the island Senja (south of Tromsø), where speakers neither produce nor accept these sentences. The microvariation found across these dialects is discussed in terms of the different V2 grammars that are identified in Westergaard (2009). These grammars distinguish between different wh-elements, which are found to trigger a default V2 grammar (with verb movement to the Interrogative head), a default non-V2 grammar (without verb movement) or a mixed grammar dependent on information structure (with verb movement to a Topic head in the CP domain). The findings are also discussed with respect to some general issues in language acquisition and language change.

References

Nilsen, Hilde. 1996. *Koffer dæm sir det?* [Why they say that?] Cand. Philol. thesis, University of Tromsø.

Sollid, Hilde. 2003. *Dialektsyntaks i Nordreisa: Språkdannelse og stabilisering i møtet mellom kvensk og norsk* [Dialect syntax in Nordreisa: language creation and stabilization in a contact situation between Kven-Finnish and Norwegian]. PhD dissertation, University of Tromsø.

Vangsnes, Øystein A. 2005. 'Microparameters for Norwegian *wh*-grammars.' *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 5, 187-226. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Westergaard, Marit. 2009. 'Microvariation as Diachrony: A View from Acquisition.' *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 12.1, 49-79.

Marit Julien (Lund University) & Helge Lødrup (University of Oslo): *Double and upside down passives in Scandinavian*

Abstract:

In (Mainland) Scandinavian, passivisation of monoclausal structures normally targets the main verb. Modals, aspectual auxiliaries, and other verbs with auxiliary properties are not affected:

(1) *Barnehage-n   skal begynne å bygge-s   17   juni i år.*   (Nor)
     kindergarten-DEF shall begin   to build-PASS 17th June in year
     'The kindergarten will begin being built on the 17th of June this year.'

In biclausal structures, there can (unsurprisingly) be two cases of morphological passive marking corresponding to two cases of syntactic passivity:

(2) *Ola nekte-s   å operere-s.*   (Nor)
     Ola refuse-PASS to operate-PASS
     'Ola is refused an operation.'

(3) *Odell   uppge-s   peta-s   från topp-en.*   (Swe)
     Odell   indicate-PASS poke-PASS from top-DEF
     'Odell is allegedly being removed from the top ranks.'

More interestingly, we also find cases where two morphologically passive verbs, one of them an auxiliary or auxiliary-like verb, the other a main verb, appear to represent only one passivisation in the syntax. Many speakers do not accept this, but web searches indicate that these sentences are not uncommon. We refer to the construction as "double passive":

(4) *Kommuner   som bryter mot   bibliotekslagen bör   kunna-s*   (Swe)
     municipalities that break   against library-law-DEF ought   can-PASS
     utsätta-s   för   sanktioner.
     subject-PASS for   sanctions.
     'It ought to be possible for municipalities that violate the library law to be subjected to sanctions.'

In Norwegian, both periphrastic and suffixal passives can appear in double passives, as shown in (5)-(7), although there appears to be a preference for the latter:

(5) *Det som pleie-s   å gjøre-s er å snakke med pasient-en så mye man kan.*
     it   that tend-PASS to do-PASS is to talk   with patient-DEF as much one can
     'What one usually does is talk to the patient as much as possible.'

(6) *Bydel-en   ble begynt å utvikle-s   fra slutt-en av 1970-tallet.*
     district-DEF was begun to develop-PASS from end-DEF of 1970'ies
     'The district began to be developed at the end of the 1970'ies.'

(7) *Noen   som vet   hvorfor den plutselig ble sluttet å bli   sendt?*
     anyone that knows why   it suddenly   was stopped to be   sent
     'Anyone who knows why it suddenly stopped being aired?'

(8) *Bydel-en   begynte å utvikle-s   fra   slutt-en av 1970-tallet.*
    district-DEF   begun   to develop-PASS from end-DEF of 1970'ies
    'The district began to be developed at the end of the 1970'ies.'

In addition, the passive morphology is sometimes absent from the lower verb. The auxiliary can have *s*-passive or periphrastic passive. We will refer to this pattern as the "upside down" passive:

(9) *Undersökning av detta kommer inte kunna-s   göra förens   onsdag.*   (Swe)
    investigation of this comes   not   can-PASS   do   until   Wednesday
    'An investigation of this will not be possible to do until Wednesday.'

(10) *Han skal vel   også kunne-s   bruke   på venstre-sid-en i forsvar-et.*   (Nor)
     he   shall PRT   also can-PASS   use   at left-side-DEF in defence-DEF
     'He will supposedly also be useful on the left side of the defence.'

(11) *Noen   som husker   når den kom og   når   den ble   sluttet*   (Nor)
     anyone   that remembers when it   came and   when it   was   stopped
     å produsere?
     to produce
     'Anyone who remembers when it arrived and when they stopped producing it?'

Confronted with these data, one might think that the upside down-passive is a logical first step, with passivisation applying to the projection containing the main verb and the auxiliary, being marked on the auxiliary only but scoping over the projection as a whole. Then in the next step, the morphological marking spreads to the main verb and the double passive results.

However, there are indications that the double passive is an older phenomenon in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish than the upside down-passive. Hence, we will suggest another explanation for these passives. Starting from the construction where only the main verb is marked for passive, the marking spreads to the auxiliary, and the double passive arises. Syntactically, the passivisation still applies to the main verb, and the marking of the auxiliary is due to feature agreement (examples like (6) show that it is not simply copying of morphology).

Once the agreement relation is established, the cohesion between the auxiliary and the main verb gets stronger, and consequently, passivisation applying to the verbal complex can be marked on the auxiliary only, i.e. we get the upside down-passive.

Finally, we note that the passive marker -*s* also sometimes shows up as a marker of raising verbs, even in the absence of passivisation, as in (12) and (13):

(12) *Studie-n   identifiserte lærer-utdanning som et   av   hoved-område-ne   som*
     study-DEF identified   teacher-training as   one   of   main-areas-DEF   that
     treng-s å bli   bedre.
     need-S to become better
     'The study identified teacher training as one of the main areas that need to improve.'

(13) *Du kan jo   begynne-s å telle   i register-et   til Sears.*
     you can you.know begin-S   to count in register-DEF of Sears
     'You can begin counting in Sears' register, you know'

Lars-Olof Delsing (Lund University): *The small and the large catastrophe*

Abstract:

The loss of morphological case is a language change that has happened in many European Languages, but it is only in a few of them that we may study the process in detail. The two languages where this can be done in detail are English and Swedish.

In my talk I will describe the development in Old Swedish (1225-1526). I identify two main periods of change, which I call the small catastrophe (around 1300) and the big catastrophe (around 1450). In the small catastrophe there is some leveling of the case paradigms, but the four case system is retained. In the big catastrophe the whole system breaks down and all case distinctions are in principle lost on nouns and attributive elements, whereas the personal pronouns retains a nominative-oblique distinction (still retained in Modern Swedish).

My talk contains two main claims. First I will claim that what happens in the small catastrophe is that the case system is made syntactically redundant. Before 1300 the case pattern of many verbs are quite idiosyncratic. They may be divided into 9 main argument structures, where there are 16 different case patterns combined with these (NOM-DAT-ACC, NOM-ACC-GEN, NOM-GEN etc). In the small catastrophe the patterns are tidied up, so that DAT becomes the only lexical case, which becomes predictable from the thematic role, whereas the two structural cases (as before) will be predictable from the structural position. This means that genitive is lost as a verbal/adjectival case, and that accusative ceases to be a lexical case and becomes only structural.

In a situation where morphological case has become more or less redundant (i.e. predictable from a combination of thematic roles and structural positions) the case system becomes vulnerable. In a socially stable environment, the four case system could in principle live on forever, but social disturbances such as great demographic changes, migrations, language contact, etc. would threaten the system. I claim that the German influence on Swedish during the period 1350-1500 consists the main reason for the big catastrophe, where the four case system breaks down. I will show that the loss of case starts out in Stockholm and that it is also early in Kalmar, the two Swedish Hanseatic cities where we have texts that can bee investigate.

Basically, I claim that case must become redundant before it may be lost. I will end my talk with a discussion of how the loss of case in Faeroese and Mainland Scandinavian dialects can be understood in the light of these claims.

Peter Svenonius (University of Tromsø), Kristine Bentzen (University of Tromsø), Jason Merchant (University of Chicago): *Deep properties of surface pronouns: Pronominal predicate anaphors in Germanic*

Abstract:

Several Germanic languages have a predicate anaphora construction of the kind shown in (1) for English, Norwegian and German (López and Winkler 2000, Houser et al. 2007, Ström Herold 2009, Mikkelsen 2010, Anderssen and Bentzen 2012, van Craenenbroeck 2010):

(1) a. Jan can solve the problem; Anja can't (do it).
     b. Jan kan løse problemet; Anja kan ikke det. / Anja kan ikke gjøre det.
         Jan can solve the.problem Anja can not it   Anja can not do   it
     c. Jan kann die Aufgabe lösen; Anja kann es nicht. / Anja kann es nicht tun.
         Jan can the problem solve Anja can it not   / Anja can it not   do

The two kinds of VP-anaphora shown in English (1a) are typically distinguished as VP-ellipsis vs. *do it*. VP-ellipsis is classified as 'surface' anaphora, where syntactic properties of the anaphoric deletion site are relatively accessible, while *do it* exemplifies 'deep' anaphora, in which the anaphoric pronominal element has relatively opaque syntax (Hankamer and Sag 1976, Sag and Hankamer 1984). Surprisingly, applying the four standard diagnostics that distinguish VP-ellipsis from *do it* to other Germanic languages such as (1b)-(1c) yields mixed results.

The anaphoric properties of Norwegian *gjøre det* 'do it' appear to cross-cut the diagnostics for deep and surface anaphora: *gjøre det* shows some properties of syntactic transparency and other properties which are associated with an underlying opaque pronominal analysis. We show in this paper how the apparently conflicting results can be accommodated with a sophisticated view of the syntax of such anaphoric elements, and that this analysis is consistent with, and sheds light on, a restrictive view of the syntax-semantics interface.

'Deep' anaphoric properties: Two indications that *gjøre det* is a 'deep' anaphor are that it does not require a linguistic antecedent and that it does not allow extraction of subparts. For example, in a scenario where X's child is pantomiming breaking the window with a hammer, X can reassure an onlooker by saying (2) (cf. English *He won't do it*).

(2) Han gjør det ikke.
     he   does it   not
     'He won't do it.'

With a modal verb, VP ellipsis alternates with *gjøre det*, as illustrated in (3a), but A′ extraction is allowed only with VP ellipsis and not with *gjøre det*, as illustrated in (3b).

(3) a. Jeg vil bake flere   kaker, men han vil ikke (gjøre det).
         I   will bake several cakes but he will not (do   it)
     b. Hvilke kaker vil du bake, og hvilke kaker vil du ikke (*gjøre det)?
         *which cakes will you bake and which cakes will you not (*do   it)*

'Surface' anaphoric properties: Two indications that *gjøre det* is a 'surface' anaphor are that it supports missing antecedent anaphora (MAA) in (4) and that it allows inverse quantifier scope (IQS) in (5).

(4)   Guro skriver aldri med penn. Jens gjør alltid   det. Den er grønn.
        Guro writes never with pen$_M$. Jens does always it$_N$. It$_M$ is green.

(5)   En av studentene i gruppe A svarte   feil   på hvert spørsmål, og en av studentene
        one of the.students in group A answered wrong on every question   and one of the.students
        i   gruppe B gjorde også det.   (scopally ambiguous)
        in group B did   also it

Object shift (OS) turns out to distinguish the deep anaphora cases from the surface anaphora ones. The weak pronominal object in deep anaphoric (2) shows the classic OS pattern in obligatorily preceding negation, while the pronominal element in MAA (4) obligatorily follows the adverb *alltid*, i.e. no OS. The same is true of IQS examples, as seen in (5), where *det* follows *også*. Thus, we may suppose that the pronominal element *det* in surface anaphoric examples in combination with *gjøre* does not undergo OS and is different from the pronominal element in deep anaphoric cases; these latter, parallel to English *do it*, cannot take stative antecedents.

The sum of these facts suggests an analysis along the lines of Sportiche's 1995 account of similar facts in French. The nonshifting pronominal element with light *gjøre* takes a null VP complement, which has the syntactic properties necessary to support MAA and IQS. The pronominal element itself acts as a blocker for A′-extraction, as argued for similar Danish facts by Houser et al. (2007) The shifting pronominal element, on the other hand, is simply a deep anaphor, and the verb *gjøre* in those cases is actually a main verb rather than a light verb. Exactly the same syntactic properties can be seen if *gjøre* in those cases is substituted by a similar lexical verb like *klare* 'manage' or *prøve* 'try'. Thus, 'surface' similarities can be deceiving.

References

Anderssen, Merete and Kristine Bentzen. 2012. Scandinavian object shift as IP-internal topicalization. *Nordlyd* 39 1: 1–23. Available at http://septentrio.uit.no/index.php/nordlyd/issue/view/205.

van Cræenbroeck, Jeroen. 2010. *The Syntax of Ellipsis: Evidence from Dutch dialects.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Hankamer, Jorge and Ivan Sag. 1976. Deep and surface anaphora. *Linguistic Inquiry* 7 3: 391–426.

Houser, Michael J., Line Mikkelsen, and Maziar Toosarvandani. 2007. Verb phrase pronominalization in Danish: Deep or surface anaphora? In *Proceedings of WECOL 34*, edited by Eric Brainbridge and Brian Agbayani, pp. 183–195.

López, Luis and Susanne Winkler. 2000. Focus and topic in VP-anaphora constructions. *Linguistics* 38 4: 623–664.

Mikkelsen, Line. 2010. On what comes first in a verb-second language. Ms. University of California, Berkeley.

Sag, Ivan A. and Jorge Hankamer. 1984. Toward a theory of anaphoric processing. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 7 3: 325–345.

Sportiche, Dominique. 1995. French predicate clitics and clause structure. In *Small Clauses: Syntax and Semantics vol. 28*, edited by Anna Cardinaletti and Maria Teresa Guasti, pp. 287–324. Academic Press, New York.

Ström Herold, Jenny. 2009. *Proformen und Ellipsen. Zur Syntax und Diskurspragmatik prädikativer Anaphern im Deutschen und im Schwedischen.* Media-Tryck, Lund.

Tor A. Åfarli (Norwegian University of Science and Technology): *Demonstratives in halsadialecten (the Halsa dialect): data and analysis*

Abstract:

I want to take a closer look at demonstratives in *halsadialekten* (located in Nordmøre, Møre og Romsdal county, Norway). Demonstratives in this dialect are interesting for several reasons. First, they show separate dative forms when the DP as a whole is in a dative position. Second, they have separate distal and proximal forms in sg and pl. Third, the distal and proximal forms interact in systematic ways with the adverb-like reinforces *der* 'there' and *her* 'here'. Fourth, sometimes the reinforcers may bear suffixes signaling definiteness.

In this talk, I will concentrate on the distal – proximal distinction and the reinforcers (definite and non-definite) associated with the distal/proximal demonstratives. I will start by giving a fairly detailed overview of the data, and then I will argue that the empirical patterns that are revealed are explained by means of a particular syntactic analysis.

To give an impression of the empirical patterns, consider (1), which illustrates proximal/distal demonstratives with possible reinforcers in parantheses, and (2), which illustrate demonstratives and reinforcers with definite suffixes.

(1) a. E lika **ne (her) kakå** bæst, men **na kakå (der)** va ikkje så go.
     I like this-PROX (here-PROX) cake-DEF best, but that-DIST cake-DEF (there-DIST) was not so nice

   b. Du skal reparer **se (her) brytarainn**, ikkje **sa (der)** bortpå der.
     you shall repair these-PROX (here-PROX) switches-DEF, not those-DIST (there-DIST) at there

(2) a. E lika **ne herrå** bæst, men **na derrå** va ikkje så go.
     I like this-PROX here-PROX-DEF-F-SG best, but that-DIST there-DIST-DEF-F-SG was not so nice

   b. Du skal sjå på **ne herrinn**, ikkje **na derrinn** bortpå der.
     you shall look at this-PROX here-PROX-DEF-M-SG switches, not that-DIST there-DIST-DEF-M-SG at there

As for the analysis, I will assume the analysis put forward in Julien (2005) as a point of departure, but following Myklebust (2012), I will argue that demonstratives are generated in D, not in a designated Dem position above DP (like in Julien 2005). Furthermore, I will follow Bernstein (1997) and Myklebust (2012) in assuming that there is a reinforcer projection between the D-projection and the ⵎ-projection/n-projection (in Juliens analysis). Also, I will assume that the reinforcer head is a possible bearer of definiteness features and proximal/distal-features that agree with corresponding features in D, thus accounting for the possible definitness on prenominal reinforcers in the first place, and for the particular proximal/distal agreement patterns shown between demonstratives and reinforcers.

References:

Åfarli (2010) Nominalfrasesystemet i halsadialekten: morfologi og syntaks, ms., INL, NTNU
Bernstein (1997) Demonstratives and reinforcers in Romance and Germanic languages, *Lingua* 102: 87-113
Julien (2005) *Nominal phrases from a Scandinavian perspective,* Amsterdam: Benjamins
Myklebust (2012) "Hva er de derre greiene der?" En syntaktisk analyse av komplekse demonstrativ i muntlig norsk, Master's Thesis, INL, NTNU.

Åshild Søfteland (University of Oslo): *Clefts and existentials in comparison – focus, presupposition and specification*

Abstract:

Both cleft and existential constructions are much debated in the literature, but they are not often compared. Especially in Norwegian (and Swedish), where most dialects have *det* ('it') as the subject in both, it can be hard to tell them apart. Using material from the Nordic Dialect Corpus and NoTa Oslo, I will show that it is difficult to make *it/there*-sentences of spontaneous speech fit into the traditional, categorical boxes.

A sentence like (1) would traditionally be regarded as either a cleft or an existential depending on the context and the pronunciation:

(1)   *Det   var   EI JENTE   som   kom   på besøk til henne.*
       (It/there   was   A GIRL   who   came   to see her.)

The Norwegian and Danish reference grammars have clear-cut definitions of the two constructions. They both consider the *specificity* of the highlighted NP as the most important categorizing feature; the reading of 1) as an existential construction should always coincide with a reading of the highlighted NP as specific. This is despite the fact that NPs like this are often non-specific in corresponding "regular" existential sentences: *Det kom EI JENTE på besøk til henne.* (*There came A GIRL to see her*.)

I would claim, however, that the differences in *presupposition* more clearly separate the two types, especially in analyses of spontaneous speech. Prototypically, *there*-existentials are "all-new", while *it*-clefts have presupposed relative clauses.

I will also discuss to what extent the highlighted NPs could be said to have *focus* in these constructions. This clearly depends on how the term is defined.

Filippa Lindahl & Elisabet Engdahl (University of Gothenburg): *Fronted pronominal objects in the mainland Scandinavian languages*

Abstract:

Swedish, Norwegian and Danish all allow fronting of object pronouns as in (1)–(3). The examples are from the Nordic Dialect Corpus.[1]

(1) a. de ville ha reda på man hade gjort sin första bilaffär
   och den_i gjorde jag e_i 1950 strax före julen.   sv

   b. fast den_i tror jag de har rivit e_i nu, den kåken$_i$ sv

(2) a. og så fikk vi tak i en annen ovn inni Bjerkvika men den_i liker jeg sj- ikke e_i e #   no

   b. den perfekte ferien$_i$ den_i trur jeg vi hadde e_i i fjor   no

(3) a. så har jeg en sort mappe på den størrelse dér og den_i lægger jeg e_i på # håndvasken   da

   b. min far han sagde jo altså den første bil der kom til ærø den_i var de jo bange for e_i da

We assume these are all examples of topicalization, and the purpose of this talk is to investigate this type of fronting from the perspective of information packaging and cognitive status.

   Engdahl (1997) describes two types of topics in the Scandinavian languages: *contrastive* and *continuous*. Topics of the latter type receive no particular stress, and serve to "establish cohesion between the two utterances" (p. 72). One of her examples is given in (4).

(4) Igår köpte jag en jeansjacka. Den_j ska jag ha e_j på mig imorgon. (Engdahl 1997, p. 72)

Erteschik-Shir (2007) makes a slightly different distinction. In her terminology, a topic that refers to a newly introduced referent in the previous sentence, as in (4), is called a *switch topic* whereas the term *continued topic* is used in case the topic was the topic of the preceding sentence as well. This is exemplified in (5), where the topic of A's utterance is continued in B's.

(5) A: Hans$_i$ kan jeg godt lide.
    B: Ham$_i$ kan jeg også lide e_i. (Erteschik-Shir 2007, p.12)

The Scandinavian languages differ from English, where unstressed personal pronouns are normally not topicalized; compare the English version of (2a) in (6).

(6) a. * but it$_i$ I don't like e_i
    b.   but I don't like it
    c.   but that (one)$_i$ I don't like e_i

The pronoun *it* cannot receive stress and cannot be topicalized, which suggests that topicalization in English always involves some notion of contrast. Gundel (2010) argues

---

[1] http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/scandiasyn/

that the difference between *it* and *that* reflects the cognitive status of their referent, i.e. how accessible it is to the speaker and the addressee. Borthen & Haugereid (2005, p. 222) make a similar point, viz. that unaccented personal pronouns signal that their discourse referent has to be the current center of attention. This is the natural class of nominals that are prohibited in English topicalization, they claim, and they also argue that Norwegian patterns with English in this respect. However, the Scandinavian languages use fronted pronominal objects in many more contexts than English, as shown by (1)–(3).

Using data from the Nordic Dialect Corpus, we investigate fronted object pronouns in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, looking in particular at the role of the initial pronoun in the discourse context. We try to establish its cognitive status and to what extent this influences its prosodic realization and the information packaging of the utterance.

References

Borthen, K. & Haugereid, P. (2005). Representing referential properties of nominals. *Research on Language and Computation* 3:221–246.

Gundel, J. (2010). Reference and Accessibility from a Givenness Hierarchy Perspective. *International Review of Pragmatics*. vol. 2. p. 148–168.

Engdahl, E. (1997). Relative clause extractions in context. *Working papers in Scandinavian syntax*. vol. 60. p. 51–79.

Erteschik-Shir, N. (2007). *Information Structure: The Syntax-Discourse Interface*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sverre Stausland Johnsen (University of Oslo): *Non-local binding in tenseless clauses*

Abstract:

1. Introduction. This paper presents data from Østfold Norwegian (ØN) showing that a reflexive can be bound out of finite and non-finite clauses if they are semantically tenseless. The analysis proposes that tenseless clauses trigger restructuring with interclausal verb raising, and that non-local binding thus can be reduced to a restructuring effect.

2. ØN Data. The 3. person reflexive *seg* can be bound out of a finite clause when embedded under a perception verb (1):

(1a) ?Reven$_i$ hørte/så/lukta   [at   noen   jakta   på   seg$_i$]
      The-fox   heard/saw/smelled   that   someone   chased   on   self
       'The fox heard/saw/smelled that someone was chasing him'

(1b) *Reven$_i$ sa/trudde/frykta   [at   noen   jakta   på   seg$_i$]
      The-fox   said/believed/feared   that   someone   chased   on   self
       'The fox said/believed/feared that someone was chasing him'

seg can be bound out of a non-finite clause when embedded under verbs such as *la* 'let' (2) and *tvinge* 'force' (3):

(2) Læreren$_i$?lot/*ba   elevene$_j$ [PRO$_j$ stå   bak   seg$_i$]
     The-teacher   let/told   the-students   stand (inf.)   behind   self
      'The teacher let/told the students (to) stand behind him'

(3) Læreren$_i$?tvang/*beordra   elevene$_j$ til [å PRO$_j$ stå   bak   seg$_i$]
     The-teacher   forced/ordered   the-students   to to   stand (inf.)   behind   self
      'The teacher forced/ordered the students to stand behind him'

3. Tenselessness. The non-finite complements of *la* and *tvinge* are tenseless (Wiklund 2007). The finite clauses embedded under perception verbs in ØN are special in three domains that clearly point to tenselessness: 1) Sequence Of Tenses is obligatory (4), 2) Double Access Reading is unavailable (5), 3) Temporal adverbs cannot disagree (6):

(4) Per   sa/så   [at Kari   var   med   barn]
     Peter   said/saw   that Kate   was   with   child
Interpretations: Peter said: "Kate is pregnant" or "Kate was pregnant"
                       Peter saw: /Kate is pregnant/ but not */Kate was pregnant/

(5) Per   sa/*så   [at Kari   er   gravid]
     Peter   said/saw   that Kate   is   pregnant

(6a) I dag   sa   Per   [at det   regna   i fjord]
(b)   I dag   så   Per   [at det   regna   (*i fjord)]
      Today   said/saw   Peter   that   it   rained   last year

The conclusion becomes: *Complement tenselessness licenses non-local binding*

4. Analysis. In the movement theory of binding (Chomsky 1986, Reuland 2001), where the reflexive moves to T, the reflexive can be structurally bound by a higher subject only if T has

24

undergone further movement to the matrix T with pied-piping of the reflexive. Reinhart and Reuland (1991) analyze non-local binding in Norwegian (not ØN) precisely in this way, but as admitted in Reuland 2006, no motivation for the raising of T can be identified:

verb raising with pied-piping

(7) Jon$_i$ bad oss [snakke om seg$_i$]

reflexive moves to T

    John asked us talk (inf.) about self
    'John asked us to talk about him' (Reinhart and Reuland 1991)

Clausal tenselessness is also a prerequisite for restructuring to occur, where an interclausal T-to-T movement has a wide range of language specific effects (Wurmbrand 2006, Wiklund 2007). I thus analyze the non-local binding in ØN as a restructuring effect, with T-to-T raising with pied-piping of the reflexive, but only for *tenseless* clauses. Tenselessness itself is thus the trigger for the T-raising.

5. Restructuring in ØN. Restructuring exists independently in ØN, when tenseless non-finite clauses optionally copy the finite morphology of the matrix clause (Wiklund 2007). As the following examples show, the same verbs that allow verb copying are the same verbs that license non-local binding:

Verb copying
(8) Jeg hadde ikke **latt/*bett** 'n$_i$ [PRO$_i$ **gjort** det]
    I had not let (perf.)/told (perf.) him done (perf.) it
    'I would not have let/told him (to) do it'

Long-distance binding
(9) Læreren$_i$?lot/*ba elevene$_j$ [PRO$_j$ stå bak seg$_i$]
    The-teacher let/told the-students stand (inf.) behind self
    'The teacher let/told the students (to) stand behind him'

6. Conclusion. Under a movement approach to restructuring and binding, non-local binding in ØN falls out as a restructuring effect. Two seemingly unrelated phenomena in ØN can be seen as effects of a single operation – T-to-T raising. Further research on other languages might reveal how other syntactic processes are able to influence binding, and whether semantic tense is one of them, as in ØN.

7. References.
Chomsky, N. 1986. *Knowledge of language: Its nature, origin, and use*. New York.
Reinhart, T. and Reuland, E. 1991. Anaphors and logophors. In *Long-distance anaphora*, ed. J. Koster and E. Reuland, 283-321, Cambridge University press.
Reuland, E. 2001. Primitives of binding. *Linguistic inquiry* 32:439-492.
Reuland, E. 2006. Long-distance binding in Germanic languages. In *The Blackwell companion to syntax III*, ed. M. Everaert and H. van Riemsdijk, 85-108. Malden.
Wiklund, A.-L. 2007. *The syntax of tenselessness*. New York.
Wurmbrand, S. 2006. Verb clusters, verb raising, and restructuring. In *The Blackwell companion to syntax V*, ed. M. Everaert and H. van Riemsdijk, 229-343. Malden.

Unn Røyneland (University of Oslo): *Variation, stylization and heteroglossic linguistic practices among multiethnic Hip-hop youth in Oslo*

Abstract:

Increasing resentment towards multiculturalism, fueled by sentiments of fear and anger, has intensified the struggle for belonging and identity among the mixed and diverse populations of Europe. This paper considers Hip Hop performances by Oslo youth of immigrant backgrounds in the context of this struggle.

Recent work on language and identity among urban youth in Norway suggests that Hip Hop plays a decisive role in the creation and formation of multiethnolectal urban speech styles (Brunstad, Røyneland & Opsahl 2010; Knudsen 2010). A similar phenomenon has been documented among Eastern European immigrants and Latino youth in New York City (Cutler 2008; Slomanson & Newman 2004).

Drawing on these studies I argue that immigrants as well as native-born youth are drawn to Hip Hop's oppositional symbolism and use language in ways that challenge hegemonic language ideologies. I show that variation, stylization and heteroglossic language practices function as a means for hip-hop-affiliated youth *to differentiate themselves from others,* to *signal social and discursive stances*, and as a way to *resist and transform traditional social and ethnic categories*.

In addition I argue that certain kinds of linguistic practices cannot be fruitfully analyzed within a traditional sociolinguistic variationistic framework. As shown by Eckert (2000; 2008) and others, counting variants and providing statistical analyses may hide rather that reveal highly context sensitive social meanings and plastic patterns of use.

References

Brunstad, E., Røyneland, U. & Opsahl, T. (2010). Hip Hop, Ethnicity and Linguistic Practice in Rural and Urban Norway. In M. Terkourafi, (ed.), *Languages of Global Hip Hop*. New York: Continuum, 222-255.

Cutler, C. (2008). Brooklyn style: Hip-hop markers and racial affiliation among European immigrants in New York City. *International Journal of Bilingualism 12*(1-2): 7-24.

Eckert, P. (2000). *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Eckert, P. (2008). Where do ethnolects stop? Cornips, Leonie & Jacomine Nortier (eds.) Ethnolects? The emergence of new varieties among adolescents. Special Double Issue *International Journal of Bilingualism*, vol. 12, nr. 1&2IJB, p. 25-43.

Knudsen, J. S. (2010). 'Playing with Words as if it was a Rap Game': Hip-Hop Street Language in Oslo. In P. Quist & B. A. Svendsen (eds.) *Multilingual Urban Scandinavia*. *New Linguistic Practices*. Clevedon, Avon, England and Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, 156-170.

Slomanson, P. & Newman, M. (2004). Peer group identification and variation in New York Latino English laterals. *English World-Wide 25*(2): 199-216.

Hanna Óladóttir (University of Iceland): *The fight against variation*

Abstract:

Traditionally, when language is discussed in schools in Iceland, teachers take their stance in the written register. This can be explained by the fact that one of the schools' main purposes from day one is to teach children to read and write, and from then on this seems to steer the discussion about language. As the written register is in itself standardized and very conservative, the discussion about variation, within morphology and syntax in particular, is bound to be minimal, and even to the extent that it is not considered part of the language. The discussion about language is also strongly influenced by ideas about language preservation where variation and language change, which are usually referred to as "linguistic errors", are not welcomed, to say the least. The consequences of this fight against variation deserve a thorough examination. Therefore, the main questions asked in my doctoral thesis are: Which ideas do Icelandic school teachers have about language, language norms and their own role when it comes to grammar teaching? What influences does it have on the students' attitudes towards their own language? To shed light on this, I will discuss the results from a pilot study I did last October in one school where I interviewed one 10th-grade teacher and six of his students. The school in question can be considered conservative in its way of teaching and therefore a good example of a school where traditional ideas about the language, including variation, are dominant.

Ásta Svavarsdóttir (University of Iceland): *Variation and standardization from a historical perspective – the case of 19th cebntury Icelandic*

Abstract:

The paper will be a presentation of a new research project, *Linguistic Variation and the Emergence of a National Standard in 19th Century Icelandic*. Fundamental changes took place in Icelandic society in the 19th and 20th centuries, which affected the language in various ways. During this period, the status of Icelandic changed from that of a remote minority language in the Danish kingdom to a national language in a sovereign state, used in all spheres of society. In assuming the role of an official language, a common linguistic norm had to be defined and developed. We are focusing on the beginnings of the standardization of Icelandic in the 19th century, and studying its linguistic, sociolinguistic and ideological foundations. At this time, there were no official institutions in the country that could propose a standard, which thus largely came to be formed by influential individuals.

The dominant model for the emerging standard was the medieval language and the attitudes tended towards language purification, both with respect to variants deriving from post-medieval language change and from language contact. The questions we want to answer concern the nature and the spread of internal and external linguistic changes; the distribution of linguistic variants and their correlation with sociolinguistic and stylistic factors; and the influence of expressed opinions on linguistic features and of organized intervention on the linguistic development. Earlier research has revealed the importance of the medieval linguistic model in 19th and 20th century language ideology, but it has never been investigated empirically if and how contemporary linguistic and sociolinguistic factors affected the proposed standard.

We will be analyzing selected linguistic variables, relevant with respect to the standardization, by applying a variationist approach and methodology. We apply two corpora of written texts from the 19th century as a basis for our analysis, one of private letters and other personal writings, and the other of newspapers and journals. Indications of an emerging standard are both sought in actual language use and in contemporary views on language use expressed in 19th century newspapers and textbooks. The frequency and distribution of different variants are studied and correlated with stylistic and sociolinguistic factors in order to reveal their potential influence on the choice of standard variants. The results of the project will contribute to our understanding of how and to what extent linguistic changes can be affected by language standardization.

Ludvig Forsman (Åbo Akademi University): *Deviations or cange? Traits in the Swedish of a semi-speaker in gammalsvenskby, Ukraine*

Abstract:

In the study of dying or endangered languages, it is often assumed that the language of the last speakers is characterised by a high degree of linguistic reduction (cf. for instance Evans 2001). Dorian (1973) has coined the term "semi-speaker" , which has subsequently been widely used referring to last speakers, whose command of the dying language is clearly deviating from the traditional norm (a.k.a. *imperfect terminal speakers*).

In this paper I will approach the concept of language death through a close study of one semi-speaker. The case under examination is that of "Svetlana", a speaker of the Estonian-Swedish dialect of Gammalsvenskby in Ukraine. The Gammalsvenskby community, which was founded by settlers from Dagö (Hiiumaa) in modern day Estonia in 1782, has gone through a radical language shift from Swedish to Ukrainian in the 1930's. Today, all fluent speakers of this Ukrainian Swedish dialect (approximately 10 speakers) are born in 1937 or earlier. However, during fieldwork in the village in 2011 I also met Svetlana, born in 1963, who turned out to be a semi-speaker of the dialect. Although Ukrainian is clearly her first language, Svetlana has no problems conversing in the Swedish language of her mother and father; nonetheless, her language shows clear deviations from the more traditional norm of all other remaining speakers.

In my paper I will proceed from a comparison between the traditional dialect, such as described by Karlgren (1953 [1906]) and Man'kov (2010a,b; 2011a,b) and spoken by other, fluent speakers in my recordings on the one hand, and the clearly different grammar of Svetlana's Swedish on the other. Clearly, it cannot be denied that Svetlana's Swedish shows great influence from her Ukrainian first language. There are, however, many traits in her "reduced" Swedish, which can also be related to variation among the fluent speakers and the structure of the traditional dialect. The argument put forward is that the deviations in the language of the so-called imperfect terminal speakers in dying languages do not necessarily differ very much from language change under more "normal" circumstances, apart from the rate of change.

References:

Dorian, Nancy C. 1973. Grammatical change in a dying dialect. *Language*, vol. 49, pp. 413–438.

Evans, Nicholas. 2001. The last speaker is dead – long live the last speaker! In: Newman, Paul & Martha Ratliff (eds.): *Linguistic Fieldwork*, pp. 250–281. Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge University Press.

Karlgren, Anton. 1953 [1906]. Gammalsvenskby. Uttal och böjning i Gammalsvenskbymålet. Med kommentarer utgivet av Nils Tiberg. *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv* B. 56, 5–32.

Man'kov 2010a. Маньков А. Е. Диалект села Старошведское. Вестник Православного Свято-тихонского Гуманитарного Университета [= Вестник ПСТГУ] III:1(19), 7–26.

Man'kov 2010b. Маньков А. Е. Грамматические категории существительного в диалекте села Старошведское. Вестник ПСТГУ III:2(20), 92–111.

Man'kov. 2011a. Маньков А. Е. Словоизменение существительных в диалекте села Старошведское. Вестник ПСТГУ III:2(24), 32–43.

Man'kov. 2011b. Маньков А. Е. Диалект села Старошведское: материалы к описанию прилагательных и местоимений. Вестник ПСТГУ III:3(25), 37–54.

Tanya Karoli Christensen (University of Copenhagen): *Expressing certainty and uncertainty in spoken Danish. On semantic variation and how it can be studied*

Abstract:

In this paper I will present some of the central issues in my research project for the LANCHART Center where I attempt to overcome some of the obstacles against studying both structure and variation within the same framework, and against integrating semantics into the variationist enterprise. I suggest some perspectives rethinking the traditional Labovian methodology with its focus on semantic equivalence, and present recent results from a study of epistemic adverbs in spoken Danish. In continuation of these results, I argue that semantic variation exists, and that it may be socially significant.

Therese Leinonen (The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland): *Phonetic quantity as a social marker in urban Finland-Swedish*

Abstract:

Quantity has been considered one of the most salient social markers in Helsinki Swedish (Reuter 1982:197). Extra long consonants in stressed V:C syllables have been characteristic for the speech of upper class Swedish in Helsinki. In contrast, rural Finland-Swedish dialects are characterized by very short consonant durations in V:C sequences. The long consonant durations in Helsinki as well as the short consonant durations in rural dialects differ from quantity patterns of Swedish spoken in Sweden and both seem to be a result of language contact with Finnish.

Acoustic measurements of phonetic quantity so far only exist for highly educated speakers from Helsinki (Reuter 1982) and for rural Finland-Swedish dialects (Schaeffler 2005). The aim of this paper is to study phonetic quantity in Swedish spoken in four cities in Finland. The four cities have different demographic language structures. In Helsingfors (fi. Helsinki) and Åbo (fi. Turku) only 5-6% of the population are Swedish-speaking. Vasa (fi. Vaasa) has a Swedish minority of 25% and is surrounded by a dominantly Swedish-speaking countryside. Mariehamn on the Åland Islands is dominantly Swedish (89%). Spontaneous speech data from 46 speakers in two age groups and with different social background were analysed.

The results show significant differences across the four cities. Vowel duration is the most important cue for discriminating between V:C and VC: sequences in the southern cities, which means that consonant duration can be used as a social marker. In Vasa, on the other hand, vowel duration as well as consonant duration is used for differentiating V:C and VC: sequences. In Åbo, there is a significant difference between older and younger speakers. While the older speakers are characterized by long consonant durations in V:C syllables, similar to the durational data from Helsinki, younger speakers from Åbo have markedly shorter consonant durations resembling those of the Vasa speakers.

References:

Reuter, M. 1982. Kvantitet i Helsingforssvenskan. Licentiate thesis, Helsinki University.
Schaeffler, F. 2005. Phonological quantity in Swedish dialects: typological aspects, phonetic variation and diachronic change. Ph.D. thesis, Umeå University.

Torben Juel Jensen (University of Copenhagen): *Participles in Jutland – a real time study of regionalization and standardization*

Abstract:

The Danish speech community is a very standardized community. During the last century a strong standardization process has taken place in all areas of the country. The change has happened rather fast, and in many old dialect areas there has been a rapid shift from one generation to the next, where local linguistic forms have been substituted by standard forms.

This paper presents a real time study of standardization and regionalization processes with respect to the use of past participles of strong verbs in the western part of Denmark. Dialect variants of the past participle are among the most commonly noted linguistic differences between speakers from the western and eastern parts of Denmark, and it is also considered to be one of the most resistant dialect features in Jutland, the peninsula constituting the western part of Denmark.

Analyses of a large corpus of recordings with informants from two localities show that the use of the dialectal *en*-form of the past participle suffix has been in decline during the last 30 years. The *en*-forms are replaced by three other forms one of which is (partly) dialectal, one regional and one standard Danish. The study indicates that a regionalization process has taken place prior to the time period studied, but that it has now been overtaken by a Copenhagen based standardization process. The study also shows interesting differences between the two localities, arguably due to the geographical location and size, and to the position of the different participle forms in the traditional local dialects.

All in all, the analyses show a pattern of dedialectization, where local dialect forms are substituted by standard forms more or less from one generation to the next (but also during the life span of the individual informants), and where factors such as age, gender, social class and the frequency of the lemma all play a part in the process of change.

Johanna Prytz (Stockholm University): *In Search of (Null) Arguments: A Review of Tests for Argumenthood in Swedish*

Abstract:

Null objects are generally considered more frequent both in Old Norse and in Modern Icelandic than in Modern Mainland Scandinavian languages (Rögnvaldsson 1990; Sigurðsson 1993). Clearly, there is cross-linguistic variation among the Scandinavian languages with respect to restrictions on null objects. However, the null object phenomenon is not particularly well studied, at least not in Mainland Scandinavian languages (but see e.g. Åfarli and Creider 1987; Vikner 2003 and Sigurðsson 2011).

A fundamental problem when studying null objects is that we do not really know what a null object is – there are at least two different kinds distinguished in the international literature, sometimes referred to as definite (1a) and indefinite (1b) null complements (e.g. Fillmore 1986):

(1)   a.   *Hon öppnade en bok och försökte läsa Ø.*
               she opened a book and tried read
               'She opened a book and tried to read.'
    b.   *Han sitter och läser.*
               he sits and reads
               'He is reading.'

A definite null object is often referential. This is the kind that is most well studied in Scandinavian syntax. However, according to Fillmore (1986), the key property of the definite null complement is that the referent is specific and retrievable from the (extralinguistic) context. This singles out the definite null complements from the indefinite null complements, where the referent is generally unknown or irrelevant. Under this definition, null object phenomena raise questions concerning what an object really is. In fact, we might ask what, if anything, is omitted in examples like (2a), (b) and (c), and what the difference is between the different complements in (2), including Ø in (2a):

(2)   a.   *Hon ringer.*
               she calls
               'She is calling.'
    b.   *Hon ringer till honom.*
               she calls to him
               'She is calling him.'
    c.   *Hon ringer honom.*
               she calls him
               'She is calling him.'
    d.   *Hon ringer ett samtal (till honom).*
               she calls a call to him
               'She is placing a call to him.'

In order to answer these questions, a study of null objects must take the distinction between arguments and non-arguments into account. In the literature, categories such as arguments, complements and adjuncts are often taken for granted, and the use of the different terms varies. Notably, while e.g. Toivonen (2012) talks about arguments, Dowty (2003) uses the term complement.

Needham & Toivonen (2011) and Toivonen (2012) present a number of different tests for argumenthood from the literature, such as word order tests, alternation tests and extraction tests. It is not immediately clear, however, that the different tests distinguish between the same categories.

In this talk, I review the tests for argumenthood using Swedish data, taking Toivonen (2012) as a starting point. Since the discussion is typically based on English data, all tests do not directly transfer to Swedish. The tests are also attributed to different domains, and sometimes it is unclear what properties the different tests really test for – some of them are clearly of a more semantic nature while others are more syntactic.

The critical question for my continued work on null objects in Swedish is what distinguishes overt arguments from non-arguments and null arguments. Another fundamental question is how arguments and non-arguments relate to notions such as complement and adjunct. These two questions both have implications for our understanding of cross-linguistic variation in null objects among the Scandinavian languages, and they are both addressed in this talk.

References

Dowty, David 2003: The Dual Analysis of Adjuncts and Complements in Categorial Grammar. In: Ewald Lang, Claudia Maienborn and Cathrine Fabricius-Hansen (eds.): *Modifying Adjuncts*. 33–66. Berlin. Mouton de Gruyter.

Fillmore, Charles 1986: Pragmatically Controlled Zero Anaphora. In: *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 12: 95–107.

Needham, Stephanie & Ida Toivonen 2011. Derived Arguments. In: Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King (eds.): *Proceedings of the LFG11* Conference, 401–421. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Rögnvaldsson, Eiríkur 1990. Null Objects in Icelandic. In: Joan Maling and Annie Zaenen (eds.): *Modern Icelandic Syntax, Syntax and Semantics* 24, 367–379. San Diego: Academic Press.

Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann 1993. Argument-drop in Old Icelandic. *Lingua* 89: 247–280.

Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann 2011. Conditions on Argument Drop. *Linguistic Inquiry* 42.2: 267–304.

Toivonen, Ida 2012. *Between arguments and adjuncts*. Handout from ICNGL11, Freiburg.

Vikner, Sten 2003 Null Objects under coordination in Yiddish and Scandinavian. In: Lars-Olof Delsing, Cecilia Falk, Gunlög Josefsson and Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson (eds.): *Grammar in Focus: Festschrift for Christer Platzack, vol. II*, 365–375. Dept. of Scandinavian Languages, University of Lund.

Åfarli, Tor and Chet Creider 1987. Nonsubject Pro-Drop in Norwegian. *Linguistic Inquiry* 18.2: 339–345

Leiv Inge Aa (Norwegian University of Science and Technology): Med *as "juxtaposer" – with complex predicative complements in PPs and particle constructions*

Abstract:

Jespersen (1924) introduced non-verbal clauses using the term *nexus*, and he noted that they were quite frequently complements of *with*, and Danish *med* (p. 123f):

(1)   I sat at work in the schoolroom *with the window open*.

(2)   *med hænderne tomme* 'with the hands empty'

60 years later, these were analysed in GB approaches as small clauses, e.g. in Beukema & Hoekstra (1984). And 20 years after that, I added a similar construction to the group of SCs introduced by *med*, namely a variant with relativization (Aa 2004, 2006):

(3)   Johan fekk ei kake *med lys på* R   'John got a cake *with candles on* R/*it*'

This analysis was also inspired by Bech (1998), who showed that a combination of (1–3) is possible in *tough movement* constructions:

(4)   Det er fint *med lys på kaka* 'It is nice *with candles on the cake*'

(5)   Kaka er fin *med lys på* R 'The cake is nice *with candles on* R/*it*'

Med seems to be unique (alongside with *utan* 'without') in the sense that it can introduce these SCs, which is impossible for e.g. *på* ('on') and *av* ('of').

(6)   a. ei samling **med** tusenvis av ulike plater (i)

'a collection with thousands of different records (in)'

b. ei samling **på** tusenvis av ulike plater (*i)

c. ei samling **av** tusenvis av ulike plater (*i)

Interestingly, *med* has the ability to introduce quite complex particle constructions as well:

(7)   a. Ta med boka ned → b. Ta boka med ned → c. Ta med ned boka 'bring *with* the book down'

(8)   a. Trill med sykkelen hit → b. Trill sykkelen med hit → c. Trill med hit sykkelen 'roll *with* the bike over here'

(9)   a. Få med katten inn → b. Få katten med inn → c. Få med inn katten 'get *with* the cat in'

Again, other particles, whether they are traditional transitive Ps or directionals, and whether they combine with one or the other, cannot do this:

(10)   a. Ta [PRT **med**] [PP opp / ned / inn / ut / bak / fram / rundt / over / *på / *til / *i]   boka.   'take with ... the book'

b. Ta [PRT **på**] [PP *opp / *ned / *inn / *ut / ??bak / *fram / ??framme / *rundt / *over / *på / *til / *i] hatten.   'put on ... the hat'

c. Få [PRT **i**] [PP *opp / *ned / *inn / *ut / ??bak / *fram / ??framme / *rundt / *over / *på / *til / *i]   veden.   'put in ... the wood'

d. Dra [PRT **rundt**] [PP *opp / *ned / *inn / *ut / *bak / *fram/ *framme / *rundt / *over / *på / *til / *i] snora.   'pull around ... the string'

e. Kast [PRT **ut**] [PP *opp / *ned / *inn / *ut / ??bak / *fram / ??framme / *rundt / *over / *på / *til / *i] hunden.   'throw out ... the dog'

Now, Jespersen (1924, 1940) claimed *med* to have a very vague meaning when introducing a nexus, and illustrated with examples where the nexus seemed to negate the preposition. I followed up this in Aa (2004, 2006) and analysed *med* in (3) as a prepositional complementizer. In this talk, I will rather suggest that the syntactic properties exhibited by *med* in the examples above can be explained in terms of its basic semantics, namely *juxtaposing* of two elements. Anderson (2010: 48) claims that

juxtaposition is a basic semantic ingredient in all *med* constructions, and we can refer to this as the basic *Grammar Semantics* of *med* (the semantics that is linguistically relevant), in the sense of e.g. Bouchard (1995). Normally, the complement of *med* is juxtaposed with something ahead of the preposition, e.g. the subject or the verbal action, cf. the following instrumental and locative constructions:

(11) Han slo med ein hammar 'he hit with a hammer'
(12) Han stod med døra 'he stood with (by) the door'

My suggestion is then that *med* can not only juxtapose e.g. a subject with *med*'s complement, but also license a second juxtaposition, namely that of the subject and the predicate within *med*'s own complement:

(13) *med* →   *1ˢᵗ juxtaposition*

kake   lys på *R*

2ⁿᵈ juxtaposition

lys   på *R*
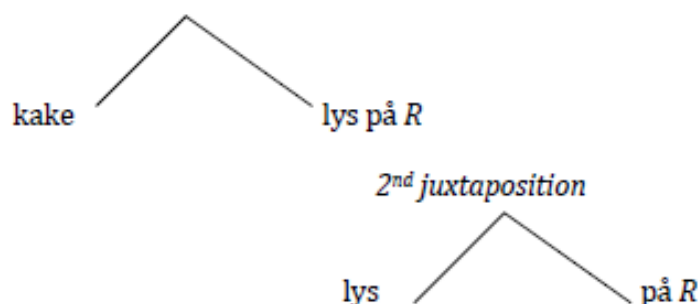
Eventually, I will see how this can also explain the converging complex particle constructions in (7–9) and (10a).

References:

Aa, L.I. (2004). *Gul oppgåve med svarte striper (på) – om relativaktige småsetningar innleidde av* med. MA thesis, NTNU, Trondheim.

Aa, L.I. (2006). "*Med* som innleiande funksjonsord til småsetningar med og utan relativisering." *Norsk lingvistisk tidsskrift* 24: 193–228.

Anderson, M. (2010). *Med [blikket på mæ]. Ein syntaktisk analyse av spatiale preposisjonar og kasus i vestnesdialekten.* MA thesis, NTNU, Trondheim.

Bech, E. (1998). *Det-konstruksjoner og løfting med utgangspunkt i psykologiske predikater.* MA thesis, NTNU, Trondheim.

Beukema, F. & T. Hoekstra (1984). "Extractions from *With* Constructions". *Linguistic Inquiry,* vol. 15: 689–698.

Bouchard, D. (1995). *The Semantics of Syntax. A Minimalist Approach to Grammar.* Chicago og London: The University of Chicago Press.

Jespersen, O. (1924). *The Philosophy of Grammar.* London: George Allen & Unwin.

Jespersen, O. (1940). *Modern English Grammar. On Historical Principles. Part V: Syntax. Fourth Volume.* London og København: George Allen & Unwin and Ejnar Munksgård.

Pål Kristian Eriksen (The national Library of Norway): *The more you look into it, the more fun it gets: Correlative comparatives in Norwegian and other languages*

Abstract:
'Correlative comparatives' (alternatively 'comparative correlative') is not a very well known linguistic term. It refers to a construction in which two events/states are expressed as having a causal connection; each event contains a comparative element, i.e. an adjective or adverb or quantifier in the comparative degree, and a main feature of the causal connection between the two events is that the two comparatives are proportional to each other in strength. In English correlative comparison is expressed through the *the…, the…* construction (1), and in Norwe-gian through similar constructions (2):

(1) The more we get together, the happier we'll be.

(2) Jo mer du spiser, jo feitere blir   du.
     ? more you eats   ? fatter   becomes you
     'The more you eat, the fatter you get.'

I have glossed the Norwegian morpheme *jo* as *?*, because its identity in terms of part of speech and in terms of syntactic function is far from clear, nor is the English morpheme *the* any clearer.

For a typologist this is an extremely hard research topic, simply because descriptive grammars hardly ever mention it, so it is very difficult to come by typological data on correlative comparison. In my talk I will thus limit myself to the language I know best – my native Norwegian – and a handful of European languages, for which it is easier to find both data and informants. I will mainly concentrate on the syntax of the Norwegian construction(s), but will use data from other languages to illuminate the Norwegian data further in depth, and present some clues in the direction of an analysis of the construction. The talk is mainly intended to show the complexity, the weirdness and the beauty of correlative comparatives.

Björn Lundquist (University of Tromsø): *Turning Objects into Locations in English and Mainland Scandinavian*

Abstract:

The cross-linguistic variation that will be described and analysed in this talk is the one shown below in (1). In English and Norwegian, it is possible to use the particles *out* and *ut* respectively in a prepositional fashion selecting a Ground directly (cf. Svenonius 2010). In Danish and Swedish the equivalent particles require an extra overt preposition to mediate between them and the Ground DP. The same difference is seen for the particle *in* (though English show a different pattern here).

(1) a. I chased him out the door.   English
     b. Jeg jaget ham ut/inn døren.   Norwegian
     c. Jeg jagede ham ud/ind **ad** døren.   Danish
     d. Jag jagade ut/in honom **genom** dörren.   Swedish

In (2), we show the same pattern with the particles *down/ned/ned/ner* and *up/opp/op/upp*.

(2) a. They carried him down/up the stairs.   English
     b. De bar ham ned/opp trappen.   Norwegian
     c. De bar ham ned/op **ad** trappen.   Danish
     d. De bar ner/upp honom **för** trappan.   Swedish

To our knowledge, this locus of systematic variation between English and Norwegian on the one hand and Danish and Swedish on the other has not been noted previously in the literature (though Hulthén 1944 noticed the variation between the Scandinavian languages) .

'Particles' used as prepositions have a number of peculiar semantic and selectional properties. Firstly, they are highly constrained and require a very specific kind of DP Ground element to be felicitous. In the English examples in (3) below, we see that *up/down* require a DP like *the hill*, and are ungrammatical with a DP like *the table* ("She carried the box down/up the hill/*the table."). Intuitively, with *up/down*, a DP complement is only felicitous if it can name a whole PATH structure, to which the particle is only contributing a directionality. We think the case of *out* in English is similar. The constructions are only felicitous if the DP complement is interpreted as a portal of some sort, not as the Source location ("He threw the ball out the window/*the stadium."). We think that once again the DP complement here must determine the PATH structure itself, with the particle providing Direction. The difference between the *up/down* particles and the *out* particle is that the PATH structure required by the former is extended, while for the latter it is a punctual transition. We show that the same constraints apply to the construction in Norwegian.

The main question that will be addressed is whether the English/Norwegian sentences in 1-2 have the same underlying structure as the Danish/Swedish sentences in 1-2. The answer will be Yes (with some exceptions). The second issue to be addressed is how to best analyze the surface variation shown in 1-2. Two proposals will be discussed: (i) English has a phonologically null preposition that is used in 1-2, and (ii) English and Norwegian has a couple of elements that simultaneously can be act as particles and prepositions. If (i) is correct, we expect to find a more systematic variation between the languages (i.e., we expect that the null preposition should be available in other contexts as well, see Lundquist and Ramchand 2011 for possible candidates), but if (ii) is correct, we expect no systematic (or 'parametric') variation. The talk will end with a discussion about advantages and disadvantages in locating cross-linguistic variation in phonologically null lexical/functional elements, as opposed to in the feature set-up of individual (or groups of) lexical/functional elements.

Selected references: Lundquist, Björn and Gillian Ramchand. 2011. Verbs of contact in English, Swedish and German. In *Proceedings from CGSW 23 and 24*, edited by Rhona Alcorn, Peter Ackema, and Caroline Heycock. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. Svenonius, Peter. 2010. Spatial P in English. In *The Cartography of Syntactic Structures. Vol 6*, edited by Guglielmo Cinque and Luigi Rizzi. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Jeffrey Keith Parrott (LANCHART Centre, University of Copenhagen): *The convergent vestigial case of comparative objects*

Abstract:

The vestigial-case Germanic languages fall into two distinct types according to the behavior of their pronominal case forms in diagnostic morphosyntactic structural environments.

For Danish and English, Subject Forms (SFs: *jeg, du, hun, han, vi, I, de*) appear only as subjects of finite clauses; Oblique Forms (OFs: *mig, dig, hende, ham, os, jer, dem*) are clearly 'elsewhere' allomorphs, occurring by default in predicates (*Det er mig/*jeg*), clefts, pronoun-headed relatives, and in isolation, *inter alia*. OF-default entails the attestation of variable case mismatches in coordinate determiner phrases (CoDPs, *[hende og hendes bror] har selvfølgelig gået i de samme institutioner*), as robustly evidenced in both Danish and English (Parrott 2007; 2009 and references). Exceptional SFs occur variably in linearly fixed expressions that are endowed with 'special', typically social meanings (e.g., *This is she* vs. *Wasn't that just she?*) (Parrott 2012).

In direct contrast, SFs appear to be the default in Swedish and Dutch (among others), occurring near-categorically in predicates (*Det är jag/*mig*). Interestingly, when exceptional OFs do occur variably in Swedish predicates, they have special meanings (Sigurðsson 2006). As expected, case mismatches in CoDPs are totally unattested in Swedish (Thráinsson 2007: 184-185) and are predicted to be impossible in Dutch (among others). The SF-default Germanic vestigial case languages thus seem to resemble transparent case languages, in Germanic and beyond, which attest Nominative case on predicates and do not allow case mismatches in CoDPs.

It is worth explaining, then, why the patterns of SF- and OF-default vestigial case variation converge again for objects of comparatives (e.g., *end, som*). In Danish, English, and Swedish, SFs are prescribed when a predicate pronoun is the implicit subject of an elided finite clause (1b, 1d). However, actual usage is overwhelmingly OF (1a), apparently without any disambiguation (1c-d) involving case forms.

(1)   a.   Jeg kan lide filmen mere end ham.
       b. %? Jeg kan lide filmen mere end han.
       c.   Jeg kan lide filmen mere end [jeg kan lide] ham.
       d.   Jeg kan lide filmen mere end han [kan lide filmen].

Thus, both OF- and SF-default vestigial case languages behave the same way in this structural environment, attesting OFs as comparative objects; but they behave quite unlike transparent case languages, in Germanic and beyond, which typically attest Nom on comparative objects (e.g. German, *Ich bin größer als er/*ihn/*ihm*).

I first suggest that the case behavior of comparative objects distinguishes vestigial and transparent case languages because their underlying post-syntactic mechanisms for case are substantially different (Parrott 2012). For German and Icelandic, I follow McFadden (2004, among others) in regarding Nom as a default case; it is assigned to comparative objects because there is no other local DP to license 'structural' Accusative case assignment, nor any specified, possibly abstract P(reposition) head to assign Dative or other 'inherent' cases

(assuming the comparative itself to be a species of C[omplementizer]). Note that Nom would still be the default for comparative objects even if it was assigned by null elided structure.

However, I would like to furthermore suggest that the case convergence on comparative objects in both OF- and SF-default vestigial case languages is a coincidence, involving different aspects of again substantially different post-syntactic case mechanisms (Parrott 2012). In Danish and English, comparative objects are simply among the many heterogeneous elsewhere environments for case allomorphy, so OFs are inserted there by default. In Swedish, and by prediction Dutch and other SF-default vestigial case languages, comparative objects are assigned an oblique feature [obl] by a general 'inherent' case assigning rule that applies to pronominal complements of any head x.

Selected References

McFadden, T. 2004. The Position of Morphological Case in the Derivation: A Study on the Syntax-Morphology Interface, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Parrott, J. K. 2007. Distributed Morphological Mechanisms of Labovian Variation in Morphosyntax, Doctoral Dissertation, Georgetown University.

Parrott, J. K. 2009. 'Danish vestigial case and the acquisition of Vocabulary in Distributed Morphology', *Biolinguistics*, 3 (2-3): 270-304.

Parrott, J. K. 2012. 'Post-syntactic mechanisms of vestigial case in (North) Germanic', University of Copenhagen.

Sigurðsson, H. Á. 2006. 'The Nom/Acc alternation in Germanic', In *Comparative Studies in Germanic Syntax*, eds. J.M. Hartmann and L. Molnárfi, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Thráinsson, H. 2007. *The Syntax of Icelandic*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lista över samtliga deltagare:

Leiv Inge Aa (Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet)

Maia Andréasson (Göteborgs universitet)

Kristine Bentzen (Universitetet i Tromsø)

Tanya Karoli Christensen (Københavns Universitet)

Lars-Olof Delsing (Lunds universitet)

Kristin Melum Eide (Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet)

Elisabet Engdahl (Göteborgs universitet)

Pål Kristian Eriksen (Universitetet i Oslo)

Thórhallur Eythórsson (Háskóli Íslands)

Ludvig Forsman (Åbo Akademi)

Piotr Garbacz (Universitetet i Oslo)

David Håkansson (Uppsala universitet)

Torben Juel Jensen (Københavns Universitet)

Janne Bondi Johannessen (Universitetet i Oslo)

Marit Julien (Lunds universitet)

Henrik Jørgensen (Aarhus Universitet)

Ida Larsson (Stockholms universitet)

Therese Leinonen (Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland)

Anna Lianes (Universitetet i Bergen)

Filippa Lindahl (Göteborgs universitet)

Björn Lundquist (Universitetet i Tromsø)

Helge Lødrup (Universitetet i Oslo)

Randi Neteland (Universitetet i Bergen)

Hanna Óladóttir (Háskóli Íslands)

Jeffrey Keith Parrott (Københavns Universitet)

Johanna Prytz (Stockholms universitet)

Henrik Rosenkvist (Lunds universitet)

Unn Røyneland (Universitetet i Oslo)

Sverre Stausland Johnsen (Universitetet i Oslo)

Ásta Svavarsdóttir (Háskóli Íslands)

Peter Svenonius (Universitetet i Tromsø)

Per Sigmund Sævik Bøe (Universitetet i Bergen)

Åshild Søfteland (Universitetet i Oslo)

Höskuldur Thráinsson (Háskóli Íslands)

Ida Toivonen (Carleton University)

Øystein Alexander Vangsnes (Universitetet i Tromsø)

Marit Westergaard (Universitetet i Tromsø)

Tor Anders Åfarli (Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet)