



ScanDiaSyn

NORDISK DIALEKTSYNTAKS

Scandinavian Dialect Syntax

Mállýskutilbrigði í
norrænni setningagerð

Using infrastructure in micro-comparative syntax research

Some issues in Scandinavian *wh*-syntax

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English



How?

- (1) *How do you explain that?* (manner query)
- (2) *How tall are you?* (degree query)

Norwegian



Hvordan (Bokmål):

(1) a. ***Hvor-dan*** forklarer du det?

‘How do you explain that?’

b. ***Hvor høy*** er du?

‘How tall are you?’

Korleis (Nynorsk):

(1) a. ***Kor-leis*** forklarar du det?

‘How do you explain that?’

b. ***Kor høg*** er du?

‘How tall are you?’

How vs. where



English:

(1) *Where do you live?*

Norwegian:

(2)a. *Hvor bor du?* (Bokmål)

b. *Kor bur du?* (Norwegian)

	MNR	DEG	LOC
English	<i>how</i>	<i>how</i>	<i>where</i>
Norwegian (BM)	<i>hvordan</i>	<i>hvor</i>	<i>hvor</i>
Norwegian (NN)	<i>korleis</i>	<i>kor</i>	<i>kor</i>

Hindi



- (1) Tum-ne problem **kaise** solve kii (manner query)
you-Erg problem how solve do.Pfv.f
'How did you solve the problem?'
- (2) Tum-ne **kaisii** car khariid-ii (kind query)
you-Erg how.f car buy-Pfv.f
'What kind of car did you buy?'
- (3) Tum-ne **kaun** sii car khariid-ii (token query)
you-Erg who SAA.f car.f buy-Pfv.f
'Which car did you buy?'

(Rajesh Bhatt, p.c.)

Basque



- (1) **Nola** konpondu-ko duzu kotxe-a? (manner)
how fix-FUT you-have car-DET
'How will you fix the car?'
- (2) **Nola-ko** kotxe-a duzu? (kind)
how-of car-DET you-have
'What kind of car do you have?'
- (3) **Zein** kotxe-a duzu? (token)
which car-DET you-have
'Which car is yours?'

(Ricardo Etxepare, p.c.)

Rural Eastern Norwegian



- (1) **Åssen** ska'ru løse probleme? (manner)
how will-you solve problem-DEF
'How will you fix the problem?'
- (2) **Åssen** bil har'u? (kind)
how car have-you
'What kind of car do you have?'
- (3) **Åfferen** bil ær din? (token)
what-for-a car is yours
'Which car is yours?'

Tromsø Norwegian



- (1) **Korsn** ska du løse probleme? (manner)
how will you solve problem-DEF
'How will you fix the problem?'
- (2) **Korsn** bil har du? (kind)
how car have you
'What kind of car do you have?'
- (3) **Korsn** bil e din? (token)
how car is yours
'Which car is yours?'

Manner vs. kind vs. token



	MANNER	KIND	TOKEN
English	<i>how</i>	<i>what kind of</i>	<i>which</i>
Hindi	<i>kais-e</i>	<i>kais-</i>	<i>kaun</i>
Basque	<i>no-la</i>	<i>no-la-ko</i>	<i>zein</i>
Rural Eastern Norw.	<i>åssen</i>	<i>åssen</i>	<i>åffer-</i>
Tromsø Norwegian	<i>korsn</i>	<i>korsn</i>	<i>korsn</i>

Map: questionnaire data for [kind vs. token across Norwegian dialects](#)

Corpus: [“how+N”](#)

Sogn example (TOKEN)



(Western Norway)

Kelais kjønn da e?
how gender it is
'Which gender is it?'

(Corpus of elicited spontaneous
production of wh-questions)



The adnominal *wh*-cycle



“Over time expressions for KIND queries get extended to queries for TOKEN.”

1. Adnominal *how* in Norwegian/Scandinavian
2. The historical development of *which* in Germanic.
3. The use of ‘what kind of’ in Mainland Scandinavian (Norwegian vs. Danish/Swedish)

Germanic *which*



The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology
(<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O27-which.html>):

which †of what kind?; †what?; what one? OE.; as rel. adj. and pron. XII. OE. *hwilc* = OS. *(h)wilik*, MLG., MDu. *wilk*, ON. *hvílíkr*, corr. with a different grade to OE. *hwelc* = MDu. *wel(i)c*, *walc*, OHG. *hwelīh*, Goth. *hvileiks*; Gmc. formation on **χwa-* **χwe-* (see WHO) and **līka-* body, form; cf. EACH, SUCH

Scandinavian *hvílíkr*



J. Fritzner “Ordbog over det gamle norske sprog”:

hvílíkr, *adj.* □ **1)** hvordan, af hvilken Beskaffenhed; *hvílíkt hefir þú* dvs. hvorledes har du det, hvorledes staar det til med □ dig? Mar. 801³¹; *nú sér hann, hvílík □ eru þessi vápn, er hann hefir fundit □* Didr. 355³; *má af slíku marka, hvílíkr □ konungr hann hefir verit* Nj. 155 (269¹⁰).

[The Medieval Nordic Text Archive](#) (Menota)

Romance *qualis* → *quale/cual*



- (1) a. Qualis dux Hannibal est? Latin
QUAL leader Hannibal is
'What kind of leader is Hannibal?'
- b. Quale giorno dovremmo incontrarci? Italian
QUAL day should-we meet.CL
'Which day should we meet?'
- c. Cual día de la semana es tu favorito? Spanish
QUAL day of the week is your favorite
'Which day of the week is your favorite?'

‘what kind of’ in Scandinavian



(1) Kva slags type ventilasjon er det i einebustaden?
what kind-S type ventilation is it in single-living-unit-DEF
‘What kind of ventilation does the house have?’

	Search strings	+‘for’ : –‘for’ (tokens)
Bokmål (site:no)	<i>“hva (for) slags type”</i>	3:808
Nynorsk (site:no)	<i>“kva (for) slags type”</i>	0:108
Danish (site:dk)	<i>“hvad (for) slags type”</i>	0:2
Swedish (site:se)	<i>“vad (för) slags typ av”</i>	14:1
	<i>“vad (för) sorts typ av”</i>	6:0

Conclusion (adnominal *wh*-cycle)



There is evidence from several domains of extension from kind to token interpretation of adnominal *wh*:

1. Microcomparative data concerning adnominal 'how' in Norwegian/Scandinavian
2. The history of 'which' in Germanic (and Romance)
3. Web statistics for 'what kind of' across the standard Mainland Scandinavian languages.

Theoretical explanation:

Wh-movement takes place to the left periphery of the DP; a kind-querying element will pass over the D-position and may over time be associated with it.

How vs. where vs. what (I)



Rural Eastern Norwegian:

(1) a. **Å** gammal ær du?

WH old are you

b. **Å** bor du henne?

WH live you LOC

c. **Å** sa du for no?

WH said you for some

Å-ssen

Tromsø Norwegian:

(2) a. **Kor** gammel e du?

WH old are you

b. **Kor** du bor hen?

WH you live LOC

c. **Ka** du sa førr

nåkka?

WH you said for

some

Kor-sn

How vs. where vs. what (II)



	WH _{MANNER}	WH _{DEG}	WH _{LOC}	WH _{PRON}
English	<i>how</i>	<i>how</i>	<i>where</i>	<i>what</i>
Swedish	<i>hur</i>	<i>hur</i>	<i>var</i>	<i>vad</i>
Faroese	<i>hvussu</i>	<i>hvussu</i>	<i>hvar</i>	<i>hvat</i>
Danish/Bokmål Norw.	<i>hvor-dan</i> (<i>hvor-ledes</i>)	<i>hvor</i>	<i>hvor</i>	<i>hva(d)</i>
Nynorsk Norw.	<i>kor-leis</i>	<i>kor</i>	<i>kor</i>	<i>kva</i>
Sogn Norwegian	<i>ke-lais</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ke-st</i>	<i>ke</i>
Eastern Norwegian	<i>å-ssen</i>	<i>å</i>	<i>å... hen</i>	<i>å... (for no)</i>
Icelandic	<i>hvern-ig</i>	<i>hvað</i>	<i>hvar...</i>	<i>hvað...</i>

Two generalizations



$$how_{MNR} \geq how_{DEG}$$

$$how_{DEG} = where (= what)$$

Test cases: Kirkenær vs. Stange



Kirkenær:

åssen: *hæss(e)(n)*

hva: *hær, hå*

hvor: *hæ, ær, å, hå*

Stange:

åssen: *åssn*

hva: *å, (va)*

hvor: *å, (vorr)*

Hv- in Norwegian/Scandinavian



hv_{LEX} → kv: *kval*

v: *hval* (/ˈva:l/)

hv_Q → k: *kem, ka, kor, korsn, koffør, ...*

(h)å: *håkken, hå, høtt, håssen, håffør, ...*

v: *vem, va, vor, vordan, vorfor, ...*

K-forms in North, Central and West Norway

(H)å-forms in East Norway (and parts of Sweden)

V-forms in coastal areas of East Norway (plus Sweden and Denmark)

Test case: Alvdal



Alvdal:

åssen: *åssn*

hva: *ker, å, va*

hvor: *kerr, å, kæ, vorr*

how_{DEG} vs. how_{MNR}

Variation / accomodation

Hvordan vs. åssen in Oslo



Findings on the basis of the NoTa corpus of spoken Oslo Norwegian (Vangsnes 2008c):

	Totalt	Informants	Oslo Vest		
			Examples	Informants	Asker/Bærum
<i>åssen</i>	182	73	69 (37,9%)	29 (39,7%)	18 (24,7%)
<i>hvordan</i>	450	124	272 (60,4)	76 (61,3%)	16 (12,9%)

Adnominal *åssen/hvordan* in Oslo



	Total	Adnominal	%Det
<i>åssen</i>	182	18	9,89%
<i>hvordan</i>	450	11	2,44%

Conclusion:

The adnominal use of *åssen/hvordan* belongs primarily to a non-prestigious register of the Oslo dialect

Determiner *who* (Bulgarian)



- (1) a. **Koj** ti kaza tova?
who you.DAT.CL told this
'Who told you this?'
- b. **Koj-a** kola e tvoj-a-ta?
which-F car.F be.3sg your-F-DEF.F
'Which car is yours?'
- c. **Kakv-a** kola ima-sh?
what-F car.F have-2SG
'What (kind of) car do you have?'

Marina Pantcheva (p.c.)

Determiner *who* (Greek)



(2) a. **Pjos** su to ipe afto?
who you.GEN it said this
'Who told you this?'

b. **Pjo** aftokinito ine (to) diko su?
which car is the yours
'Which car is yours?'

c. **Ti** (idus) aftokinito exis?
what (kind.GEN) car have.2SG
'What (kind of) car do you have?'

Marika Lekakou (p.c.)

Determiner *who* (Old Norse)



Old Norse:

(3) a. Hverr á hestinn?
WHO-M.SG.NOM owns horse.ACC-DEF.M.ACC
'Who owns the horse?'

b. Konungr spyrr hverr utlendr hann var.
king.NOM asks WHO-M.SG.NOM nationality.SG.NOM he
was
'The king asks of which nationality he is.'

Icelandic:

(4) a. Hver á hestinn?
who.M.SG.NOM owns horse.ACC-DEF.M.ACC

b. Hvaða/*hver maður á hestinn
which/who.M.SG.NOM man.SG.NOM owns horse.ACC-
DEF.M.ACC

Determiner *who* (Norw. dialects)



- Google: "[Hvem båt](#)" – web searches can indeed be used to study this area of grammar, but one has less control with metadata.
- [Amund B Larsen](#) – digital copy available at the National Library (NB); OCR scan searchable on the NB web site, but not from the outside.
- [Nordic Dialect Corpus \(shortcut\)](#)
- [NoTa-korpuset](#) – Corpus of spoken Oslo Norwegian:

	<i>hvilken</i>	<i>hvilken (A) N</i>	<i>hvilken som helst</i>	<i>hvem (A) N</i>
□	145	89	5	4

Dictionaries etc.



Norsk Ordbok:

- [håkken](#)
- [korleis](#)

Rietz' Svenskt dialektlexikon (Projekt Runeberg):

- [hvílíkr](#)

J. Fritzner

etc.

Conclusions



- A corpus is a useful tool.
- For some purposes corpus data are highly useful, for other purposes corpus data will be highly insufficient; in some cases questionnaires provide much more clearcut and detailed answers.
- Corpus data require careful interpretation (as do all data sampling).
- There is a jungle of resources for language (variation) studies out there.