

The Norwegian function word ‘så’ and Norwegian CP syntax

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1. INTRODUCTION

Norwegian has V2 in main clauses (1), but not in embedded clauses (2):

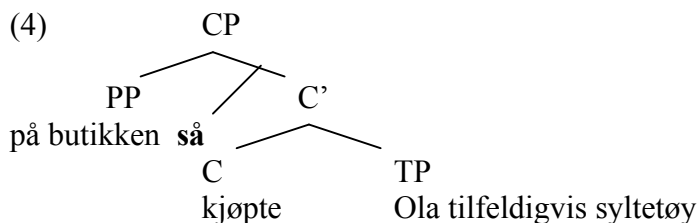
- (1) Ola **kjøpte** tilfeldigvis syltetøy på butikken
Ola bought accidentally jam on shop.the
‘Ola accidentally bought jam at the shop’

- (2) Jeg lurer på om Ola tilfeldigvis **kjøpte** syltetøy
I wonder on if Ola accidentally bought jam
‘I wonder if Ola accidentally bought jam’

- The V2-pattern in (1) may be violated by the insertion of ‘så’, and we get a så-construction:

- (3) På butikken **så** kjøpte Ola tilfeldigvis syltetøy.
On shop.the så bought Ola accidentally jam

- What’s interesting here is that we have V3 (counting *så* as the second constituent), and still inversion between the subject and V.

- (4)
- 
- ```
graph TD
 CP --> PP[på butikken]
 CP --> C_prime[C']
 C_prime --> C[så]
 C_prime --> TP1[TP]
 TP1 --> C2[kjøpte]
 TP1 --> TP2[TP]
 TP2 --> S[Ola tilfeldigvis syltetøy]
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### 1.1 Previous accounts

- Ekerot (1988): a thorough functionalist approach of this construction in both written and spoken corpora. *Perhaps the biggest study*
- Holmberg (1986: 116): an analysis almost similar to the analysis of left-dislocation constructions; *så* assumed to be a XP, and the initial constituent extra posed: [<sub>E</sub> Maria<sub>i</sub> [<sub>S</sub>'' så [<sub>S</sub>' förstår [<sub>S</sub> e<sub>i</sub> [<sub>T</sub>' inte v ...]]]]]
- the Norwegian Reference Grammar (Faarlund et al. 1997): an overview of the *så*-construction

### 1.2 Goals

I will give an overview of and propose an analysis for the *så*-construction. My working hypothesis is that *så* is best analyzed as a head.

### 1.3 Organization

First, I will examine shortly the word *så* in Norwegian. In section three I turn take a closer look at the construction. Next, we investigate the properties of *så*, and in section five I discuss the status of *så*. Then, in section six the proposal for the analysis is presented.

## 2. 'SÅ' IN NORWEGIAN

### Conjunction (Faarlund et al. 1997: 1141)

- (5) Det vart dårleg ver, så vi avlyste turen  
*it became bad weather så we cancelled trip.the*  
'The weather turned bad, hence we cancelled the trip.'

### Complementizer (Faarlund et al. 1997: 1141)

- (6) Eg må lese meir, så eg ikkje stryk til eksamen  
*I must read more så I not fail to exam.the*  
'I have to read more, so I don't fail the exam.'

### Consecutive use (cf. Lindström 2004)

- (7) Han formulerte seg så at alle ble overbevist.  
*he formulated himself so that all became convinced*  
'He formulated himself in such a way that everybody was convinced.'

Homophony with (all uses of) the relative complementizer *som* in many Norwegian dialects

- (8) a. Den morgenen så Bernie Pryde døde  
b. Den morgenen som Bernie Pryde døde ...  
*that morning.the when Bernie Pryde died...*  
'That morning when Bernie Pryde died'

### Adverbial

- (9) a. Så drog dei heim (temporal) (Faarlund et al. 1997: 1141)  
*then went they home*  
'Then they went home'  
b. Det var så fint at du ville komme! (degree) (op.cit)  
*it was so nice that you would come*  
'It was so nice that you would come'  
c. Jeg spiser nå fisk så!  
*I eat MOD fish MOD*  
'I do eat fish!'

### Emphatic use

- (10) A: Heldigvis er ingen syke.  
*luckily is no.one sick*

B: Jo! Johan så, han er da syk!  
*MOD Johan så he is MOD ill*  
 B': \*Johan så, er da syk!

### 3. THE SÅ-CONSTRUCTION

- root phenomenon
  - *så* is associated with declarative force, not interrogative
  - non-obligatory constituents can act as the *så*-satellite
  - obligatory constituents cannot act as the *så*-satellite
- (The examples a-c, e-g, k, l are from Faarlund et al. 1997: 816ff)

- (11) a. \*Denne boka så har eg lesi  
 this book så have I read  
 'This book, I have read'
- b. Da vi hadde gått i fleire timar, så kom vi fram til  
*when we had walked for several hours, så came we till to*  
 ei hytte  
*a cabin*  
 'After we had been walking for several hours, we came to a cabin'
- c. Viss du ikkje er fornøgd, så får du klage  
*if you not are happy så must you complain*  
 'If you are not happy, then you have to complain'
- d. At du ikke er fornøyd, (\*så) er ikke min feil  
*that you not are happy så is not my fault*  
 'It is not my fault that you're not happy'
- e. I London så budde vi på hotell  
*in London så lived we on hotel*  
 'In London we stayed at a hotel'
- f. På dette hotellet (\*så) budde vi i ferien.  
*on this hotel.the så lived we in vacation.the*  
 'At this hotel, we stayed in the vacation'
- g. På henne (\*så) tenkjer eg heile tida  
*on her så think I all time.the*  
 'I think of her all the time'
- h. Nå så bor vi ikke i Stavanger lenger.  
*now så live we not in Stavanger longer*  
 'We don't live in Stavanger anymore.'
- i. Likevel så kjøper nordmenn dyre biler som  
*still så buy Norwegians expensive cars as*  
 bare det.  
 just that  
 'Still Norwegians buy expensive cars'
- j. Heldigvis så kommer sola snart tilbake!

- fortunately så comes sun.the soon back*  
'Fortunately, the sun is soon coming back'
- k. Som din rettleiar **så** vil eg rå deg til å  
*as your advisor så will I advise you to to*  
skifte prosjekt  
*change project*  
'As your advisor, I will advise you to change project'
- l. Alle så kom dei og gratulerte meg  
*everyone så came they and congratulated me*  
'They all came and congratulated me'

### Questions

- Where is *så*?
- What's its categorial status?
- Why do we have inversion? – Why are *så* and the verb adjacent?

### 4. PROPERTIES OF *SÅ*

- Declarative, **not** an interrogative (Ekerot 1988):

- (13) a. For det tredje **så** er kontakten sett i  
*for the third så is contact.the put in*  
'Thirdly, the plug is connected'
- b. Kort sagt **så** ble det for vanskelig å  
*short said så became it for difficult to*  
fortsette  
*continue*  
'Short said, it became too difficult to continue.'
- (14) a. For det tredje, er kontakten sett i?  
b. For det tredje, hvordan er kontakten satt i?  
c. \*For det tredje **så** er kontakten sett i?  
d. \*For det tredje **så** hvordan er kontakten satt i?  
e. For det tredje, så, hvordan er kontakten satt i?

#### ➤ *så* ⇒ declarative force

- Communicative, **not** propositional interpretation of the initial adverbial (Ekerot 1988)

- (15) a. For dem som ikke kjenner meg(,) heter jeg Christine  
*for those who not know me call I Christine*  
'For those who don't know me, my name is Christine'
- b. For dem som ikke kjenner meg så heter jeg Christine  
*for those who not know me så call I Christine*

a) is ambiguous:

(i) either it can be interpreted as information about my name to those who don't know me, (ii) or my name is Christine for those who don't know me, while I have another name for those who know me.

b) has unambiguously the interpretation (i), according to Ekerot (1988)

➤ **communicative adv > så**

- Topic, **not** focus (Ekerot 1988)

- (16) a. Plötsligt brukade han dyka upp och lika plötsligt  
*suddenly used he shows up and even suddenly*  
 försvinna.  
*disappear.*  
 'He suddenly used to show up and even suddenly disappear'
- b. Plötsligt så stod Kalle där.  
*suddenly så stood Kalle there*  
 Suddenly Kalle was there'
- c. Det var plutselig at han brukte å dukke opp  
 It was sudden that he used to show up
- d. \*Det var plutselig at Kalle stod der  
 It was sudden that Kalle stood there

➤ 'Plötsligt' in a) is in focus, and fronted out of an embedded infinitival clause. In b, 'plutselig' is the topic (Ekerot 1988: 118ff).

*så* seems to be 'higher' in the structure than focus adverbials:

- (17) a. I går så gikk han fra alt  
*yesterday så left he from everything*  
 'Yesterday he left everything'
- b. I går så bare gikk han fra alt  
*yesterday så just.focus left he from everything*  
 'Yesterday he just left everything'
- c. I går (\*bare) så gikk han fra alt

➤ **topic > så > focus**

- wide, **not** narrow scope (Ekerot 1988)

- (18) a. [I forrige uke] fortalte Per til faren at han  
*in last week told Per to father.the that he*  
 hadde kjørt opp  
*had drove up*  
 'Last week Per told his father that he had got his drivers license'
- b. Per fortalte i forrige uke til faren at han hadde kjørt opp.
- c. Per fortalte til faren [at han hadde kjørt opp i forrige uke].
- d. I forrige uke så fortalte Per til faren at han hadde kjørt opp.

a. can be interpreted as either b. or c. However, if we insert *så* between the initial adverbial and the rest of the sentence (d), only the wide scope interpretation of the time adverbial is maintained (Ekerot 1988).

- (19)
- |    |                                        |           |                        |                |                   |                            |
|----|----------------------------------------|-----------|------------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| a. | [Ne i kjellern]                        | dytta     | Ola                    | dama (Trøndsk) |                   |                            |
| b. | [Ne i kjellern]                        | så dytta  | Ola                    | dama (Trøndsk) |                   |                            |
| c. | Ned                                    | i         | kjelleren <sub>i</sub> | (*så)          | dytta             | Ola [dama t <sub>i</sub> ] |
|    | <i>down<sub>DIR</sub></i>              | <i>in</i> | <i>cellar.the</i>      |                | <i>pushed Ola</i> | <i>woman.the</i>           |
|    | ‘Ola pushed the woman into the cellar’ |           |                        |                |                   |                            |
| d. | Nede                                   | i         | kjelleren              | (så)           | dytta             | Ola dama                   |
|    | <i>down<sub>LOC</sub></i>              | <i>in</i> | <i>cellar.the</i>      |                | <i>pushed Ola</i> | <i>woman.the</i>           |
|    | ‘In the cellar, Ola pushed the woman’  |           |                        |                |                   |                            |

a. is ambiguous between the meaning in c. and d., while b. is unambiguously interpreted as d.

➤ *så*-satellite ~ wide scope

- left-dislocation anaphor vs. *så* (Cf. Grohmann 2003)
- DPs – co-referential overt element: pronoun (han, hun, den, det)
  - subjects, objects of the verb
  - objects of prepositions
- place, time adverbials – co-referential overt element: pro-adverb (der, da, her, dit, hit)

DPs (subject, object):

- (20)
- |    |                                                                      |                  |                  |                  |                              |                           |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| a. | Morten <sub>i</sub> ,                                                | han <sub>i</sub> | er               | på               | skolen                       |                           |
|    | <i>Morten,</i>                                                       | <i>he</i>        | <i>is</i>        | <i>at</i>        | <i>school.the</i>            |                           |
|    | ‘Morten, he is at school’                                            |                  |                  |                  |                              |                           |
| b. | [Mora                                                                | til              | ungene           | nedenfor         | her] <sub>i</sub> ,          | henne <sub>i</sub> så jeg |
|    | <i>mother.the</i>                                                    | <i>to</i>        | <i>kids.the</i>  | <i>down.fore</i> | <i>here, her</i>             | <i>saw I</i>              |
|    | på butikken                                                          |                  |                  |                  |                              |                           |
|    | <i>in shop.the</i>                                                   |                  |                  |                  |                              |                           |
|    | ‘The mother of the children down here, I saw her in the shop’        |                  |                  |                  |                              |                           |
| c. | [Skolebøkene                                                         | i                | norsk            | fra              | videregående] <sub>i</sub> , |                           |
|    | <i>school.books.the</i>                                              | <i>in</i>        | <i>Norwegian</i> | <i>from</i>      | <i>high.school,</i>          |                           |
|    | dem <sub>i</sub> fyrte jeg opp med t <sub>i</sub>                    |                  |                  |                  |                              |                           |
|    | <i>those fired I up with</i>                                         |                  |                  |                  |                              |                           |
|    | ‘The school books in Norwegian from high school, I lit up with them’ |                  |                  |                  |                              |                           |
| d. | Morten <sub>i</sub> ,                                                | jeg              | så               | han <sub>i</sub> | i går                        |                           |
|    | <i>Morten</i>                                                        | <i>I</i>         | <i>saw</i>       | <i>him</i>       | <i>yesterday</i>             |                           |
|    | ‘Morten, I saw him yesterday’                                        |                  |                  |                  |                              |                           |

Adverbials:

- (21)
- |    |           |                             |                  |             |                    |           |             |
|----|-----------|-----------------------------|------------------|-------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|
| a. | [På       | Lillehammer] <sub>i</sub> , | der <sub>i</sub> | bor         | foreldrene         | til       | Lars.       |
|    | <i>on</i> | <i>Lillehammer</i>          | <i>there</i>     | <i>live</i> | <i>parents.the</i> | <i>to</i> | <i>Lars</i> |

- ‘The parents of Lars live in Lillehammer’
- b. [I forgårs]<sub>i</sub>, da<sub>i</sub> fikk Per en bot  
*in day.before.yesterday then got Per a ticket*  
 ‘The day before yesterday, Per got a ticket’
- c. [I lomma]<sub>i</sub>, dit<sub>i</sub> puttet jeg pengene  
*in pocket.the there put I money.the*  
 ‘I put the money in the pocket’

- the anaphor may have phonetic/emphatic stress/be in focus
- the anaphor has semantic content
- the anaphor is referential
- the antecedent is set apart from the rest of the clause with comma intonation

- (22) a. [I forgårs]<sub>i</sub>, da<sub>i</sub> fikk Per en bot  
*in day.before.yesterday then got Per a ticket*  
 ‘The day before yesterday, Per got a ticket’
- b. [I forgårs]<sub>i</sub>, da<sub>i</sub> **så** fikk Per en megabot  
*in day.before.yesterday then så got Per a mega.penalty*
- c. \*[I forgårs]<sub>i</sub>, **så** da<sub>i</sub> fikk Per en megabot  
*in day.before.yesterday så then got Per a mega.penalty*

#### ➤ **dislocated XP > anaphor > så**

- Left-dislocation and ‘topic’

- (23) For det første, i går (så) var jeg ikke her.  
 firstly yesterday (så) was I not here  
 ‘Firstly, I wasn’t here yesterday’

#### ➤ **dislocated XP > topic**

#### **Summary**

- (24) dislocated XP > communicative/topic/anaphor > så > propositional/focus  
 ----- wide scope ----- så --- narrow scope -
- ‘optional’ adverbials/constituents > så

### **5. THE SÅ-CONSTRUCTION AND LEFT DISLOCATION**

- (25) [CP XP<sub>x</sub> [CP pro-word<sub>x,i</sub> C [TP .... t<sub>i</sub> .....]] (cf. Zwart 1998; Prince 1998; Grohmann 2003)

- (26) [CP satellite [CP-D d-word<sub>i</sub> C-D [IP ...t<sub>i</sub>...]]] (Zwart 1998)

#### **5.1 The initial XP**

- (27) [E Maria<sub>i</sub> [S’ så [S’ förstår [S e<sub>i</sub> [I’ inte v ...]]]]] (Holmberg 1986)

- The anaphor in LD may be spelt out in the base-generated position the anaphor cannot be in base-position in *så*-construction or in topicalizations

- (28) a. Kari<sub>i</sub>, mor klemte **henne<sub>i</sub>** til farvel.  
*Kari, mother hugged her to goodbye*  
 ‘Kari, mother hugged her goodbye’  
 b. [I bilen]<sub>i</sub>, mor klemte Kari til farvel **der<sub>i</sub>**  
*in car.the mother hugged Kari to goodbye there*  
 ‘In the car, mother hugged Kari goodbye there’  
 c. \*[I bilen]<sub>i</sub> **så** klemte mor Kari til farvel **der<sub>i</sub>**  
 d. \*[I bilen]<sub>i</sub> klemte mor Kari til farvel **der<sub>i</sub>**
- (29) a. [~~I bilen~~]<sub>i</sub>, **der<sub>i</sub>** klemte mor Kari til farvel  
 b. \*~~[I bilen]~~ **så** klemte mor Kari til farvel

- The LD-satellite is set apart from the rest of the clause with comma intonation, the *så*-satellite is not

➤ The *så*-satellite seems to be within the CP-domain

## 5.2 *så*

- (30) [<sub>CP</sub> XP [<sub>FP</sub> *så*? V or [<sub>CP</sub> XP *så*? [<sub>FP</sub> V

- If [<sub>CP</sub> XP [<sub>FP</sub> *så* ]] why not [<sub>CP</sub> XP V [<sub>FP</sub> *så* ] ]?
- the anaphor in LD can be modified/focalized, *så* cannot

- (31) a. Morten, [**bare han**] ble igjen til slutt  
*Morten, just he was behind to end.the*  
 ‘Morten, only he stayed till the end.’  
 b. Om sommeren, [**bare da**] kan vi plukke blåklokker, men...  
*in summer.the only then can we pick blue.bells*  
 ‘In the summer, only then one can pick bluebells’  
 c. \*Om sommeren [**bare så**] kan vi plukke blåklokker *makes no sense*

- while the anaphor in LD can have emphatic stress, *så* cannot (cf. Faarlund 1980)
- while the pro-word in LD is an anaphor, *så* has little semantic content

➤ *så* seems to be a head

## 6. PROPOSAL

### 6.1 Westergaard & Vangsnes (2005)

Westergaard & Vangsnes (2005) assume an EPP-head feature in a C-head, which has to be checked by an X<sup>0</sup>. The EPP-head has to be lexicalized according to the principle of identification (Vangsnes 1999, 2001). In the C-field, the Fin<sup>0</sup> also needs to be licensed, either

by the subject or the finite verb. Declaratives are analysed in the following way, with V checking the EPP.

➤ Declaratives: [<sub>TopP</sub> XP V [<sub>IP</sub> ...]]

Wh-questions in many Norwegian dialects yield V3 (when the wh-word is a subject). In these dialects, *som* checks the EPP, and not V (W&V 2005; Vangsnes 2005) (W & V 2005: 141):

- (32) a. Kem som egentli trur på nåkka sånt?  
           *who som actually believes on something such*  
       b. \*Kem som trur egentli på nåkka sånt?  
           *who som believes actually on something such*  
           ‘Who actually believes in something like that?’

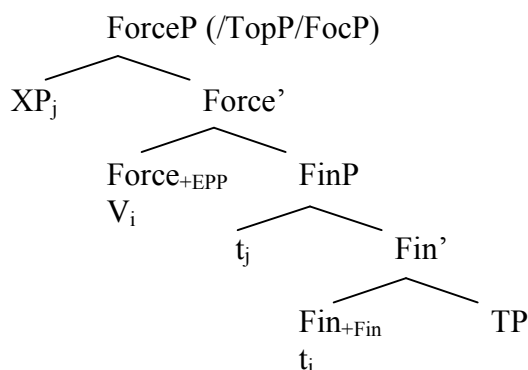
➤ wh-interrogatives: [<sub>IntP</sub> Kem<sub>j</sub> som<sub>i</sub> [<sub>WhP</sub> t<sub>j</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>AgrSP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> trur på t<sub>j</sub> nåkka sånt

## 6.2 Assumptions

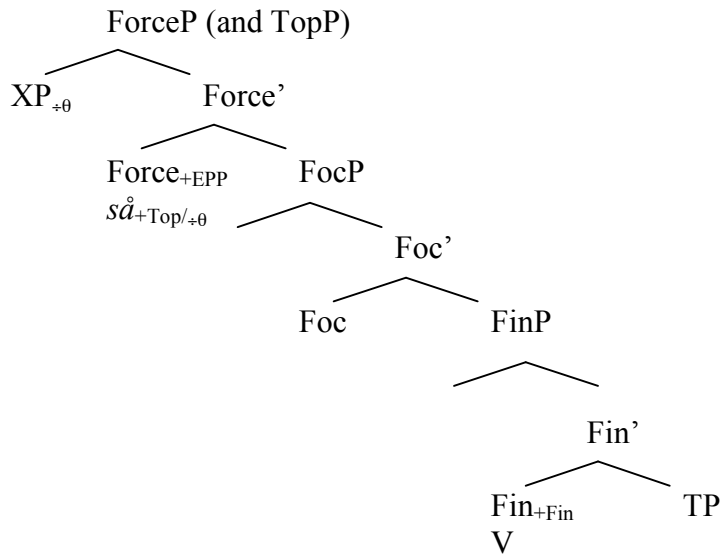
- A split-CP structure (Rizzi 1997); topic always precede focus (Benincà & Poletto 2005)
- Adopting a similar analysis as Westergaard & Vangsnes (2005), with the EPP-head feature and the licensing of Fin
- *så* is an X<sup>0</sup> and an instantiation of declarative force and topichood
- *så* is able to license the EPP-head feature
- the *så*-satellite sits in the specifier of *så*

- (33) a. the *så*-construction: [<sub>ForceP/TopP</sub> XP *så* [<sub>FocusP</sub> (bare) V<sub>i</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> t<sub>i</sub>  
       b. the initial YP is in focus: [<sub>ForceP/focusP</sub> YP V<sub>i</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> t<sub>i</sub>

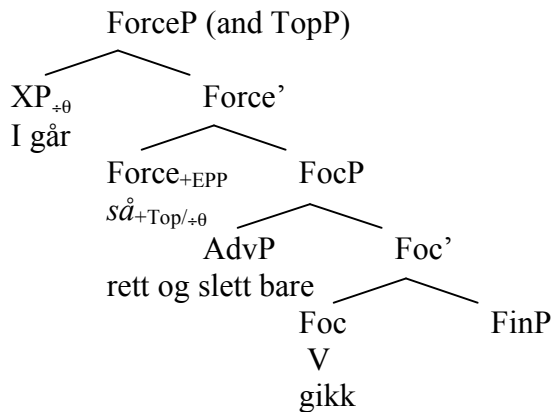
- (34) Declarative



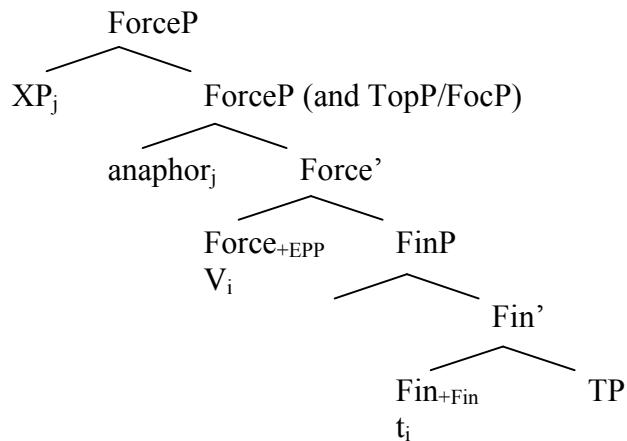
(35) Declarative with *så*



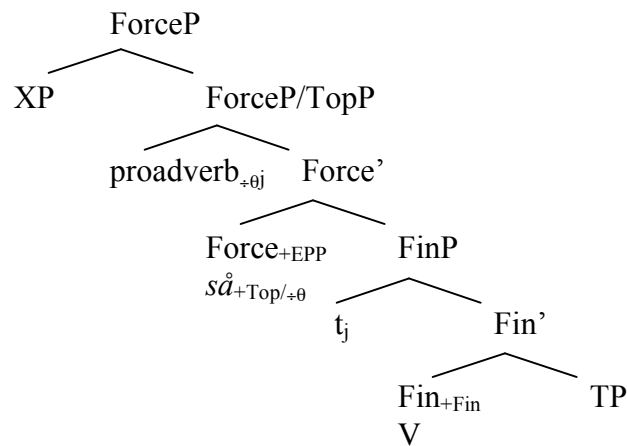
(36) Declarative with *så* and the verb in focus



(37) Left-dislocation and declarative, with the anaphor immediately following the dislocated element



(38) Left-dislocation with  $s\check{a}$



**Problems**

- Where is V?
- Why cannot the subject move past V?
- (and the problem with embedded clauses)

**7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

- I have here outlined the main properties of the  $s\check{a}$ -construction
- I sketched an analysis of the construction that clearly separates it from left-dislocation
  - The LD-element is an adjunct, the  $s\check{a}$ -element is a specifier
  - The LD-anaphor is an XP,  $s\check{a}$  is an  $X^0$
  - $\Rightarrow$  under the surface, they are as distinct as possible

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