

Syntactic doubling phenomena in Scandinavian

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0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to present a list of (potential) doubling phenomena drawn from Scandinavian varieties so as to contribute to the compilation of such phenomena across European languages.

A wide interpretation of ‘syntactic doubling’ will be employed.

Four other talks at the conference will discuss specific doubling phenomena in Scandinavian, namely:

- (i) Resumption; doubling of an extracted *wh*-subject (by a weak resumptive pronoun) in Northern Norwegian (Taraldsen)
- (ii) Tense/mood/aspect doubling in verbal complements in Swedish (and Norwegian) dialects (Wiklund)
- (iii) Subject pronominal doubling, sentence finally and sentence internally in Solv (Finland Swedish) (Östman)
- (iv) Preposition doubling in Icelandic (Jónsson)

1. Negation/modal particle doubling in Finland Swedish dialects

- (1) a. Har du en penna? *Finland Swedish*
have you a pen
‘Do you have a pen?’
b. **Inte** har du en penna **inte**?
not have you a pen not
‘You haven’t got a pen, have you?’
c. **Inte** har du en penna?
not have you a pen
‘Do you have a pen?’
d. *Har du en penna **int**?
have you a pen not
- (2) a. **Nog** är det så **nog** *Finland Swedish*
well is it so well
‘That’s the way it is!’
b. **Nu** är det så **nog**.
now is it so well
c. **Nu** är det så **nu**.
now is it so now

2. Subject clitic doubling in Swedish dialects (Älvdalen, Finland Swedish)

Älvdalen West Swedish (Dalarna) (Levander 1909):

- (3) a. **O** vet sakt **o** ed.
she knows sure she it
 'She probably knows.'
- b. **Ig** ar **ig** sakt **ig** mier i grytun.
I have I sure I more in pot-DEF
 'I sure have more in the pot.'
- c. **An** lar **n** nu **an** a feri launggo.
he must he now he have gone long
 'He must have gone long time ago.'

Österbotten Finland Swedish (Östman's abstract):

- (4) a. **An** a **han** joort he.
he has he done it
 'He has done it.'
- b. **An** a joort **han** he.
he has done he it
 'He has done it.'
- c. **Biilin** a **han** steiji täär hejla natten.
car-DEF has it.M stood there whole night-the
 'The car has been standing there the whole night'

3. Right peripheral doubling (colloquial Mainland Scandinavian)

A strong pronoun in the right periphery can double a strong or weak pronoun/DP in the clause.

- (5) a. Har **han** vært i Tromsø, **han**? *Norwegian*
has he been in Tromsø he
 'Has he been to Tromsø?'
- b. Har **'n** vært i Tromsø, **han/*'n**?
has'he.W been in Tromsø he.s/he.W
- c. **Han** har vært i Tromsø, **han**, ikke sant?
he has been in Tromsø he not true
 'He has been to Tromsø, right?'

The phenomenon is not restricted to questions, but it seems to be a clear root phenomenon (i.e. not found in embedded clauses).

- (6) a. **Han** har vært i Tromsø, **han**! (indicative)
he has been in Tromsø, he
 'He has (indeed) been to Tromsø!'
- b. Bare dra til Tromsø, **du**! (imperative)
only go to Tromsø you
 'Just you go to Tromsø!'
- c. Hvor bor **han/*'n** henne, **han**? (wh-question)
where lives he/he LOC he
 'Where does he live?'
- (7) Jeg lurer på ... (*embedded)
I wonder on
- a. ?*om **han** har vært i Tromsø, **han**.
if he has been in Tromsø he
- b. ?*hvor **han** bor henne, **han**.
where he lives LOC he

The right peripheral pronoun can double a full noun phrase, and it must precede clause typing particles, unlike right dislocated noun phrases.

- (8) a. **Kjell Inge** har mye penger, **han**
Kjell Inge has much money he
 'Kjell Inge has a lot of money!'
- b. (Han) **Kjell Inge**, **han** har mye penger, **han!**
he Kjell Inge, he has much money he
 'Kjell Inge has (indeed) a lot of money!'
- c. Hvor mye penger har **han** egentlig, **han Kjell Inge**?
how much money has he actually he Kjell Inge
 'How much money does he actually have, this Kjell Inge?'
- d. Hvor mye penger har **'n** egentlig **han** da, **han Kjell Inge**?
how much money has 'he actually he then he Kjell Inge
 'How much money does he actually have, then, this Kjell Inge'

Various types of constituents can be doubled in the right periphery this way, not just subjects and not just nominals, cf. Faarlund et al. (1997:908ff).

- (9) a. **Dem** er det synd på, **dem!** (oblique argument)
them is it pity on them
 'They can be pitied (indeed)!'
- b. **Nå** skal det bli koselig, **nå!** (temporal adverb)
now shall it become cosy now
 'Now we're going to have pleasant time!'
- c. Du har **jo** glømt meg, **jo!** (sentence particle)
you have yes forgotten me yes
 'You forgot about me!'
- d. Det var **så** kjedelig, **så!** (measure adverb)
It was so boring so
 'It was so boring!'

4. Complementizer "doubling"

The appearance of *that* after other complementizers is quite frequent in (non-standard) Scandinavian.

Norwegian web examples:

- (10) a. ... så blir det iverksatt **når at** du har mottatt utstyret ditt ...
 '... then it will be carried out **when that** you have received your equipment'
- b. **Hvis at** det finnes en gud, og en himmel og et helvete, ...
 'If **that** there exists a God, and a heaven and a hell, ...'
- c. Ofte kan vi lure **på om at** endringen skjer for reformens egen skyld, ...
 'Often can we wonder **if that** the change happens for the sake of the reform itself'
- d. **Siden at** det var kort og enkelt så leste du det ikke?
 'Since **that** it was short and simple you didn't read it?'

Icelandic web examples:

- (11) a. Einnig væri gaman að heyra **ef að** fólk er að vinna við að þýða aðra
 components/modules (getur einhver sagt mér hvað það heitir á íslensku).
 'It would also be fun to hear **if that** people are working on translating other
 components/modules (can somebody tell me what that is in Icelandic).'
- b. **Pegar að** ég skoða síðu er eitt af aðalatriðum hjá mér að athuga **hvort að** mér
 finnst síðan vera trúverðug.
 'When **that** I look at a page one of my main concerns is to check **whether**
that I find the page credible.'

- c. Heimasíða á vegum Háskólans í Osló **sem að** fjallar um norskan persónuverndarrétt.
‘Homepage on behalf of the University of Oslo **SOM that** is about Norwegian civic rights.’

According to Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson (p.c.) the presence of *að* after some other complementizer requires the finite verb to precede sentence adverbials (in cases where verb movement is otherwise optional, cf. Angantýsson 2001).

- (12) Ég veit um eina bók ... *Icelandic*
I know about a book
a. sem (að) Jón hefur ekki lesið.
SOM that Jón has not read
b. sem (*að) Jón ekki hefur lesið.
SOM that Jón not has read
‘I know about a book that John hasn’t read.’

- (13) Hann þurfti að fara snemma ...
he had-to to leave early
a. fyrst (að) bíllinn var ekki kominn úr viðgerð.
since that car-DEF was not come from repair
b. fyrst (*að) bíllinn ekki var kominn úr viðgerð.
since that car-DEF not was come from repair
‘He had to leave early since the car hadn’t come from repair.’

In Mainland Scandinavian the element *som* is obligatory in subject relatives and in embedded subject *wh*-subject questions: it resumes the subject position.

- (14)a. mannen *(som) skreiv til meg *Norwegian*
man-DEF SOM wrote to me
‘the man who wrote to me’
b. Jeg veit ikke hvem *(som) skreiv til meg
I know not who SOM wrote to me
‘I don’t know who wrote to me.’

Sometimes *som* also appears with long extraction of *wh*-subjects.

- (15)a. Hvem trodde du (*som) kom til å vinne? *Standard Norw.*
who thought you SOM was-going to win
b. Kem trodde du som kom tel å vinne? *Tromsø North Norw.*
who thought you SOM was-going to win
c. Kem trudde du *(at) han kom tel å vinn? *Bodø North Norw.*
who thought you that he was-going to win
All: ‘Who did you think would win?’

In Danish the expletive *der* ‘there’ can replace *som* in subject relatives and embedded subject *wh*-questions, but the two may also cooccur, even with *at* intervening (Inge Lise Pedersen, p.c.).

- (16) Jeg ved ikke... *(partly colloquial) Danish*
I know not
a. hvem **som** har gjort det.
who SOM has done it
b. hvem **der** har gjort det.
who THERE has done it
c. hvem **som der** har gjort det.
who SOM THERE has done it

- d. hvem **som at der** har gjort det.
who SOM that THERE has done it
- e. hvem **som at** har gjort det.
who SOM that has done it
- f. hvem **at der** har gjort det.
who that THERE has done it

A *that*-clause may be introduced by a determiner

- (17) Jeg håper det *(at) vi slår dem i finalen Norwegian
I hope it that.C we beat them in final-DEF
 'I hope that we will beat them in the final'

In the Sunnmøre dialect of West Norwegian, however, the same determiner-looking element appears right after the *that*-complementizer and the complementizer can be left out.

- (18) Ei trur (at) **de** vi ska klare å slå Hareid. Sunnmøre West Norw.
I think that.C it we shall manage to beat Hareid
 'I think that we will manage to beat Hareid.'

The *it*-element is impossible with *wh*-extraction and with embedded topicalization (Jardar Eggesbø Abrahamsen, p.c.), suggesting that it is a placeholder for a left peripheral landing site rather than a double of the complementizer.

- (19) a. *Kenn du trur **de** dåke ska klare å slå? Sunnmøre
who you think it you will manage to beat
 b. *Kven du trur **de** ei e?
who you think it I am
- (20) a. Jon fortalde at i morgo reise han til Italia på ferie. Sunnmøre
Jon told that tomorrow leaves he to Italy on holiday
 'Jon said that tomorrow he will leave for Italy on holiday.'
 b. *Jon fortalde **de** i morgo reise han til Italia på ferie.
Jon told it tomorrow leaves he to Italy on holiday

5. Doubling in the Scandinavian noun phrase

5.1. Double definiteness

- (21) a. mann-en (22) a. den unge mannen Norwegian
man-DEF the young man-DEF
 'the man' 'the young man'
 b. *den mann b. de tre mennene
the man the three men-DEF
 'the three men'
- (23) den pene (*den) snille (*den) unge mannen
the handsome the kind the young man-DEF
 'the handsome, kind, young man'

	lex. det.	def. suff.	indef. art.
m.sg.	<i>d-en</i>	<i>-(e)n</i>	<i>en</i>
f.sg.	<i>d-en</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>ei</i>
n.sg.	<i>d-e</i> <det>	<i>-e</i> <-et>	<i>et</i>
pl.	<i>d-i</i> <de>	<i>-ne</i>	<i>-(no'n <noen>)</i>

Table 1: The morphology of articles in Bokmål Norwegian

5.2. Double indefiniteness

- (24) a. **e** stort **e** hus *Northern Swedish*
a big a house
 ‘a big house’
 b. **en** ful **en** kar
a ugly a guy
 ‘an ugly guy’
 c. **en** stor **en** ful **en** kar
a big a ugly a guy
 ‘a big, ugly guy’

The postadjectival article has a plural form, it is compatible with mass nouns, and it appears with the negative polarity variant of the indefinite article (Delsing 1993:143).

- (24) a. Denna var he stor **a** husa. *Northern Swedish*
there was it big a.PL houses
 ‘There were some big houses over there.’
 b. Vi ha fått fint **e** ver.
we have gotten nice a weather
 c. He va håller int na gott **e** tjött.
it was neither not any good a meat

5.3. Nominal agreement

Leikanger West Norwegian (Sogn):

- (25) a. alt detta góa øle mitt
 all.N.SG this.N.SG good.DEF.N.SG beer-DEF.N.SG my.N.SG
 ‘all this good beer of mine’
 b. addle denna góa frukti mí
 all.F.SG this.F.SG good.DEF.F.SG cider-DEF.F.SG my.F.SG
 ‘all this good fruit of mine’
 b. addle denna góe síderen min
 all.M.SG this.M.SG good.DEF.M.SG cider-DEF.M.SG my.M.SG
 ‘all this good cider of mine’
 c. adle dessa góe epli míne
 all.PL these(.PL) good.DEF.PL apples-DEF.PL my.PL
 ‘all these good apples of mine’

Skellefteå North Swedish (Västerbotten)(Vangsnes 1999:99, 149ff):

- (26) a. **men** hest/*hestn m. (27) a. **mine** hestn/*hest m.
 my horse/horse-DEF my horse-DEF/horse
 b. **mín** bok/*boka f. b. **mine** boka/*bok f.
 my book/book-DEF my book-DEF/book
 c. **mett** hus/*huse n. c. **mine** huse/*hus n.
 my house/house-DEF my house-DEF/house
 d. **mín** hesta/bökkren/hus pl. d. **mine** hesta/bökkren/husa pl.
 my horses/books/houses my horses-/books-/houses-DEF

5.4. Demonstrative reinforcement

- (28) a. denne boka *Norwegian*
this book-DEF
 b. den herre boka
the here.AFF book-DEF
 c. den **herre** **her** boka
the here.AFF here book-DEF

- d. den **herre** **her** boka **her**
the here.AFF here book-DEF here
- e. den **herre** boka **her**
the here.AFF book-DEF here
- (29)a. den **derre** (#**der**) boka som du snakka om
the there.AFF there book-DEF som you talked about
 ‘that book that you were talking about’
- b. den **derre** boka (#**der**) som du snakka om
the there.AFF book-DEF there som you talked about
 ‘that book that you were talking about’
- c. den **derre** (**der**) boka som du har i hånda
the there.AFF there book-DEF som you have in hand-DEF
 ‘that book that you have in your hands’
- d. den **derre** boka (**der**) som du har i hånda
the there.AFF book-DEF there som you have in hand-DEF
 ‘that book that you have in your hands’
- (30)a. ?den herre boka her til Per *Norwegian*
the here-AFF book-DEF here to Per
- b. *den herre boka til Per her
the here-AFF book-DEF to Per here
- c. den herre boka mi her
the here-AFF book-DEF my here
- d. *den herre boka her mi
the here book-DEF here my
- (31)a. den herre boka her om syntaks *Norwegian*
the here-AFF book-DEF here about syntax
 ‘this book (here) about syntax’
- b. *den herre boka om syntaks her
the here book-DEF about syntax here
- (32)a. den herre boka her som jeg kjøpte på salg
the here-AFF book-DEF here that I bought on sale
 ‘this book that I bought on sale’
- b. *den herre boka som jeg kjøpte på salg her
the here-AFF book-DEF that I bought on sale here

5.4. The periphrastic genitive

Jutlandic Danish and Western and colloquial Norwegian has a periphrastic genitive like the one to be discussed by Weiß.

- (33)a. Petter sitt / *hans hus *colloquial Norwegian*
Petter his-M.REFL / his.FREE house
 ‘Petter’s house’
- b. Petter sin bil
Petter his-M car
 ‘Petter’s car’
- c. Petter sine biler
Petter sin-PL cars
 ‘Petter’s cars’

- (34) a. mitt sitt/*mitt hus Northwestern Norwegian “innovation”
 my his/my house
 ‘my house’
 b. ditt sitt/*ditt hus
 your his/your house
 ‘your house’

6. Tense/mood/aspect doubling

- (35) a. Han försökte o skrev. *dialectal Swedish*
 he tried and wrote (Wiklund’s abstract)
 ‘He tried to write.’
 b. Försök o skriv!
 try.IMP and write.IMP
 ‘Try to write!’
 c. Han hade kunnat skrivit.
 he had can.PPC write.PPC
 ‘He had been able to write.’
- (36) a. Det *o*ska jeg ikke *o*ka sige. *dialectal Danish*
 that shall I not can say (Inge Lise Pedersen, p.c.)
 ‘I can’t say.’
 b. Det *o*må *o*ka gå ^an
 that must can go PTC
 ‘That must be allowed’
 c. Vi *o*må *o*ska ^dreje ^her
 we must shall turn here
 ‘We must have to turn here,’
 d. Hvis vi mister de penge, så *o*vil det *o*ka ^mærkes
 if we loose those money then will it can be-noticed
 ‘If we loose those money, then it will be noticeable.’

7. Conclusion

There is quite a bit of syntactic doubling in Scandinavian both on a wide and a narrow understanding of the term!

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