



Wh*-questions, V2, and the Left Periphery of Three Norwegian Dialect types

MARIT R. WESTERGAARD and ØYSTEIN A. VANGSNES

Department of Linguistics & Center for Advanced Study in Theoretical Linguistics, University of Tromsø, Breivika, N-9037 Tromsø, Norway (E.mail: Marit.R. Westergaard@hum.uit.no, Oystein.Vangsnes@hum.uit.no)

Key words: information structure, left periphery, microparameters, Norwegian dialects, subject positions, verb movement, verb second, *wh*-questions

Abstract. In this paper, we present data from three Norwegian dialect types, NOR-1, NOR-2 and NOR-3, which differ with respect to the verb second (V2) requirement in *wh*-questions: NOR-1 (represented by Standard Norwegian) requires V2 in all main clauses, NOR-3 (represented by the Nordmøre dialect) lacks this requirement in all *wh*-questions, while NOR-2 (represented by the Tromsø dialect) lacks the requirement in questions with a short *wh*-word. Focusing on NOR-2, we will show that the choice of word order (V2 or V3) is dependent on the information status of the subject. We will argue that this can be related to the position subjects have in the IP domain, more specifically that given subjects occur in Spec-AgrSP and new information subjects occur in Spec-TP. Furthermore, based on the split-CP analysis we will account for the word order differences in the three Norwegian dialect types by postulating a parameterized requirement for filling different C heads. The analysis proposed will also account for why the complementizer *som* is inserted in NOR-2 and NOR-3 whenever the *wh*-constituent is the subject of the clause. In addition, on the basis of a comparison with Norwegian we will provide an analysis of the English subject/oblique asymmetry in *wh*-questions, i.e., of the fact that there is no auxiliary inversion/*do*-support in main clause subject *wh*-questions.

1. Introduction

All Norwegian dialects exhibit verb second (V2) word order in declarative main clauses, including clauses with a topicalized constituent. However, as is fairly well known, some Norwegian dialects do not have a V2 requirement in *wh*-questions and thus allow questions with a non-V2 order, henceforth for convenience referred to as ‘V3’, although the presence of sentence adverbs and particles can in fact yield a V4 or even

* This paper was presented at the 17th Comparative Germanic Syntax Workshop in Reykjavík, 9–10 August 2002. We would like to thank the audience for stimulating feedback. Moreover, we thank Marit Julien and two anonymous reviewers for detailed comments on an earlier version of the paper.

V4⁺ order. According to Lie (1992), the lack of V2 in *wh*-questions is a relatively widespread phenomenon, found predominantly in northern and northwestern parts of the country. It has also been shown (see Nordgård 1985; Åfarli 1986a, b; Fiva 1996) that there is some variability with respect to the type of *wh*-words allowed in V3 constructions as well as to the status of V2 in the dialects which allow V3. However, there seem to be two major varieties among these dialects: in one dialect type (mainly spoken in the north) the lack of V2 is allowed only if the *wh*-constituent is short (normally monosyllabic), whereas in the other variety (mainly spoken in western parts of the country) there is no V2 requirement regardless of the type of *wh*-constituent¹. In this article these two dialect types will be called NOR-2 and NOR-3, respectively, and they will be compared to Standard Norwegian, which we will call NOR-1.

We can thus distinguish three different grammars for V2 in Norwegian dialects. Standard Norwegian, represented by the written standard *bokmål*, is in this respect considered to be a dialect type as it corresponds (more or less) to the variety spoken in and around the capital Oslo and eastern parts of the country. NOR-2 will be represented by the Tromsø dialect, as discussed by Taraldsen (1986a), Fiva (1996), Rice and Svenonius (1998), and Westergaard (2003), while NOR-3 will be represented by the Nordmøre dialect, as discussed in Åfarli (1986a). For the sake of comparison we will include English, as it is indeed puzzling that some Norwegian dialects lack V2 in exactly the environment where English does exhibit this effect. The fact that the Norwegian dialects show V2 in declarative clauses whereas English does not suggests that there are several sources for V2, and our account of the phenomenon will be designed accordingly.

The differences between the three dialect types and English can be represented schematically as in Table 1, where we for the time being disregard the well-known fact that English does not exhibit V2 in *wh*-questions with a *wh*-subject. (This idiosyncratic property of English will be addressed below.)

Table 1. The V2 requirement in three Norwegian grammars + English

	NOR-1 (Standard Norwegian)	NOR-2 (Tromsø dialect)	NOR-3 (Nordmøre dialect)	English
Declarative V2	+	+	+	–
(Generalized) WH V2	+	+	–	+
Short WH V2	+	–	–	+

Below we will discuss some recent data on the Tromsø dialect, which is a relatively well documented case of NOR-2. Fiva (1996) describes a study done on the Tromsø dialect, in which speakers' judgments were tested (in interviews and questionnaires), and it was found that speakers accept *wh*-questions with V3 as well as V2 word order. Nevertheless, in Taraldsen (1986a) and Rice and Svenonius (1998), it is argued that the true dialect form is always without verb movement, i.e., V3, and the fact that speakers also accept *wh*-questions with V2 is attributed to influence from Standard Norwegian. A more recent study (Westergaard 2003) gives us access to spontaneous production in a corpus that has been collected for a study of three children acquiring the Tromsø dialect.² Westergaard has analyzed a sample of the adult data and shows that both V3 and V2 word orders in *wh*-questions are well represented in spontaneous speech. A closer examination of the data reveals that the choice of V2 over V3 in the relevant *wh*-questions is not random but in fact sensitive to the information status of the subject: a subject in a V3 structure is contextually *given* whereas a subject in a V2 construction tends to be contextually *new* information.

The approach that we will develop in this paper rests on two basic assumptions. First, we assume a version of the split-CP analysis of Rizzi (1997), and, second, we will argue that there exists a parameterized requirement for checking distinct (functional) C heads by another (lexical) head. This requirement can be met by verb movement, typically yielding V2. For example, NOR-3 will have a strong head feature in the head Top(ic), accounting for V2 order in topicalizations, while the feature in a C head that we call Int(errogative) must be weak as there is no V2 requirement in *wh*-questions. English, on the other hand, will have exactly the opposite values. This will enable us to account both for the variation across dialect types as well as the interaction between V2 and V3 within the dialects. At a more detailed level we will argue that short *wh*-words are non-projecting elements in the Tromsø dialect and therefore able to check Int^o *qua* heads, thereby obviating the need for the verb to move to this position in NOR-2-type dialects. Moreover, the difference in the information status of the subject in V2 and V3 constructions is accounted for by positing two different subject positions in the IP domain, a higher one (Spec-AgrSP) for given information and a lower one (Spec-TP) for new information.

However, a number of more specific problems and issues will arise as we proceed. In particular we will see that there is an interesting subject/oblique asymmetry in NOR-2 and NOR-3 *wh*-questions in that the complementizer *som* (otherwise found in Norwegian embedded

wh-questions, clefts, and relative clauses) must be inserted when the *wh*-constituent is the subject, but cannot be inserted when the fronted *wh*-constituent is a non-subject. The same asymmetry is also found in embedded *wh*-questions of all the three dialect types, a fact suggesting a unified approach.

The structure of the paper is as follows: in the next section we will outline the basic distinction between the three dialect types with respect to V2 and V3 word order. In Section 3 we report on the study of Westergaard (2003) and show how word order is related to information structure in NOR-2. In the subsequent section we outline the main aspects of our theory of a split CP with parameterized requirements for the different heads, thus accounting for the differences between the word order in *wh*-questions vs. topicalized structures and main vs. embedded clauses in the three Norwegian dialect types and English. In Section 5 we give an account of the difference between the information structure of the subject in the V2 and V3 constructions, accounting for the possibility of V2 in NOR-2 and NOR-3 by arguing that an informationally new subject is linked to a focus operator in the Specifier of FocP. This operator will attract the verb to the head position of FocP. Section 6 is devoted to the licensing of the head Fin° , which relates the position of adverbials in V3 *wh*-questions to movement of the informationally given subject to Spec-FinP. Section 7 deals with subject questions, where insertion of the relative complementizer *som* is required in NOR-2 and NOR-3 but not in NOR-1 main clause *wh*-questions. The difference between these two dialect types and NOR-1 is accounted for by positing that *som* is a head in the former dialect types while it is an XP in the latter. The subject/oblique asymmetry of English *wh*-questions is discussed in Section 8. On the basis of the observation that English *wh*-elements to a much higher degree than Norwegian ones have a relativizing capacity, we argue that the English ones have a C feature which in combination with nominative case is able to meet the requirement that Int° be checked by a head, in this case a ‘head feature’. Section 9 summarizes the account presented in this paper and points out that the three dialect types are in fact minimally different.

2. V2 vs. V3 in the three dialect types

In all three types of Norwegian there is a V2 requirement in declarative main clauses, as illustrated by the topicalized structures in example (1).

This requirement also holds in subject-initial clauses, as seen by the position of the adverb in relation to the finite verb in (2).

- (1) a. Island (*jeg) liker *(jeg) faktisk. NOR-1
 b. Island (*æ) like *(æ) faktisk. NOR-2
 c. Island (*e) lika *(e) faktisk. NOR-3
 Iceland I like I actually
 Iceland I actually like.
- (2) a. Jeg (*faktisk) liker (faktisk) Island. NOR-1
 b. Æ (*faktisk) like (faktisk) Island. NOR-2
 c. E (*faktisk) lika (faktisk) Island. NOR-3
 I actually like actually Iceland
 I actually like Iceland.

Another important property which holds across the three dialects is that embedded clauses generally do not exhibit V2, as shown by the position of the verb in relation to the sentence adverb *egentlig* ‘really’ in the embedded questions in (3).

- (3) a. Jeg lurer på hva (*sa) han egentlig *(sa). NOR-1
 b. Æ lurepå ka (*sa) han egentli *(sa). NOR-2
 c. E lurepå ka (*sa) han egentle *(sa). NOR-3
 I wonder what said he really said
 I wonder what he really said.

In addition to declarative main clauses, the V2 requirement also holds in all types of main clause *wh*-questions in Standard Norwegian (NOR-1), as shown in (4a) and (4b). In the dialect type NOR-3, on the other hand, there is no V2 requirement in main clause *wh*-questions. In this respect NOR-3 is in some sense the opposite of English, as we see in (5a) and (5b).

- (4) a. Hvem liker du best? NOR-1
 who like you best
 Who do you like best?
- b. Hvilken bil kjøpte du?
 which car bought you
 Which car did you buy?

- (5) a. Kåin du lika best? NOR-3
 who you like best (Examples from Åfarli 1986a)
 Who do you like best?
- b. Kåles bil du kjøpte?
 which car you bought
 Which car did you buy?

However, it should be noted that according to Åfarli (1986a), the V3 word order found in examples (5a) and (5b) is optional, while the V2 order of Standard Norwegian (and English, of course) is obligatory. Åfarli claims that all of his informants also accept V2 in these *wh*-questions and that V2 is sometimes even preferred over V3³. That is, the lack of a V2 requirement certainly does not mean that V2 order is ungrammatical in these questions.

In the dialect of Tromsø (NOR-2), which will be the focus of our investigation, there is a distinction in the V2 requirement based on the length of the *wh*-word. As shown in (6), the question words *korfor*, *korsen*, and *katti* ('why', 'how', and 'when') always require the finite verb to be in the second position. In contrast, V2 is not required after the monosyllabic *wh*-words *ka*, *kem*, and *kor* ('what', 'who', and 'where'), as shown in (7).

- (6) a. Korfor gikk ho?/ *Korfor ho gikk? NOR-2
 why went she/ why shewent
 Why did she go?
- b. Korsen har dem det?/ *Korsen dem har det?
 how have they it/ how they have it
 How are they doing?
- c. Katti kommer du?/*Katti du kommer?
 when come you/ when you come
 When are you coming?
- (7) a. Ka ho sa? NOR-2
 what she said
 What did she say?

- b. Kem det er?
who it is
 Who is it?
- c. Kor du bor?
where you live
 Where do you live?

However, the *wh*-questions with the monosyllabic question words in (7) are also considered grammatical with V2 word order by speakers of this dialect, as shown in (8). In addition, there does not seem to be any significant difference in meaning between the two word orders when the sentences are uttered in isolation (but see Section 3 below).

- (8) a. Ka sa ho? NOR-2
what said she
 What did she say?
- b. Kem er det?
who is it
 Who is it?
- c. Kor bor du?
where live you
 Where do you live?

Interestingly, while NOR-1 has the finite verb in second position also in subject questions (see (9a)), V3 order is required in both NOR-2 and NOR-3 when the *wh*-word is the subject of the sentence. In this case the complementizer *som* is obligatory in second position, as shown in (9b) and (9c). Notice also that in subject questions the restriction that the *wh*-word be short no longer holds in NOR-2 as longer *wh*-phrases functioning as subject also require *som*-insertion, as illustrated in (10).

- (9) a. Hvem kommer der? NOR-1
 who comes there
 Who is coming there?
- b. Kem som kommer der?/*Kem kommer der? NOR-2
 who SOM comes there/who comes there
 Who is coming there?
- b. Kåin så kjem der?/*Kåin kjem der? NOR-3
 who SÅ comes there/who comes there (Example from Åfarli 1986a)
 Who is coming there?
- (10) Kor mange som kom? NOR-2
 where many SOM came
 How many came?

More detailed data on the behavior of *som* in the three dialect types will be discussed in Section 7. The position of adverbials in the two constructions will be dealt with in Section 5. Let us next consider how the two word orders seem to be related to differences in information structure.

3. Information structure and word order in NOR-2

As mentioned in the introduction, Westergaard (2003) has investigated a sample of the adult speech produced in a corpus collected for an acquisition study of three children acquiring the Tromsø dialect. This sample consists of all *wh*-questions produced in ten one-hour recordings by one of the adult investigators (INV), who is a native speaker of the Tromsø dialect. In some previous work on this dialect, e.g., Taraldsen (1986a), it has been argued that the true dialect form is always V3. Rice and Svenonius (1998, p. 3) also claim that while V2 is accepted by dialect speakers, V3 is invariably chosen in contexts of neutral intonation. Speakers' acceptance of V2 is argued simply to be due to the influence from standard Norwegian. Table 2 displays the word order produced in the non-subject *wh*-questions in Westergaard's corpus sample. It is clear that the data go against the claims in previous work as this adult speaker of the Tromsø dialect produces both V2 and V3, the former word order occurring in a little less than half of the sentences. V3

Table 2. The number of occurrences of V2 and V3 word order in non-subject *wh*-questions in adult speech in NOR-2 (INV in the files Ole. 13–22)

WH-word	V3	V2	Total
<i>Ka</i> ‘what’	124 (68.1%)	58 (31.9%)	182 (100%)
<i>Kor</i> ‘where’	29 (43.3%)	38 (56.7%)	67 (100%)
<i>Kem</i> ‘who’	11 (21.6%)	40 (78.4%)	51 (100%)
Total	164 (54.7%)	136 (45.3%)	300 (100%)

is more frequent after *ka* ‘what’ than after the other two question words, especially *kem* ‘who’.

A closer look at the data reveals certain patterns in the adult production concerning the choice of verbs and subjects preferred in the two constructions. A detailed discussion of these patterns can be found in Westergaard (2003). Basically, V2 word order tends to occur when the subject is a full DP and the verb is a semantically light verb, most often *være* ‘be’, while the V3 structure is preferred when the subject is a pronoun or an expletive and the verb is not *være*. Sentences (11) and (12) are typical examples of the V2 and V3 constructions with the question word *kor* ‘where’.

- (11) Kor er pingvinen henne? (INV in the file Ole.16)
where is penguin.DEF LOC
 Where is the penguin?

- (12) Kor du har fått det henne? (INV in the file Ole.22)
where you have got that LOC
 Where did you get that?

It should be noted that no combination of subject and verb type produces a truly ungrammatical result. For example, a full DP subject is fully acceptable in a V3 construction, but when it occurs, it tends to be familiar from the context, as shown in (13):

- (13) Kor sykebilen skal kjøre henne? (INV in the file Ole.14)
where ambulance.DEF shall drive LOC
 Where should the ambulance drive?
 (in a situation where the investigator and the child are
 playing with cars)

The situation for the other two question words, *ka* ‘what’ and *kem* ‘who’, is similar to that of *kor*-questions. In the V3 structures, the pattern preferred is full DP subject and a verb other than *være* ‘be’. In the V2 structures, the verb preferred is *være* just as in the *kor*-questions – in fact, this is the only verb that occurs in the V2 *ka*- and *kem*-questions in this corpus. There is however one important difference in the choice of the subject in these V2 constructions: there are far more pronoun or expletive subjects than DP subjects in the *ka*- and *kem*-questions, while with the question word *kor*, it is the V3 structure which is preferred when the subject is a pronoun. The difference is that the pronoun subject in the V2 construction is not of the type which often occurs in the V3 structure, viz. a personal pronoun such as *du* ‘you’ or *han* ‘he’. In all cases in the V2 *ka*- and *kem*-questions, the pronoun subject is *det* ‘it/that’, which in most cases seems to be a demonstrative pronoun, referring to something which has not been mentioned in previous discourse. Sentence (14) is thus a typical example of a V2 *ka*-question from the corpus.

- (14) *Ka er det (der) for noenting?*
 (INV in Ole.13-22, altogether 35 examples)
what is it (there) for something
 What is it/that?

The patterns found in this corpus do not seem to be the effect of a real syntactic constraint, as both word orders are grammatical in all cases. However the preferences for subject and verb types in the two constructions are very clear and highly statistically significant (see Westergaard 2003). Thus, these patterns cannot be the result of random choices made by the speaker either. We need to look at the sentences in context to see that the preferences for one word order over another is related to the information status of the subject.

In the V3 structures the subject is virtually always familiar or given information. This seems to be why a pronoun or expletive is often favored in this construction, and when the subject in a V3 structure is a full DP, it is always definite and familiar from the context. In fact, there seems to be a certain definiteness restriction on this pre-verbal position, which is not found in the V2 structure, as shown in (15).⁴ It should be noted, however, that in this case, an expletive construction would be preferred, in which case either order would be grammatical, as shown in (16):

- (15) *?Kor en blå brikke er?/Kor er en blå brikke?
where a blue piece is/ where is a blue piece
 Where is a blue piece?
- (16) Kor er det en blå brikke?/Kor det er en blå brikke?
where is it a blue piece/ where it is a blue piece
 Where is there a blue piece?

One especially revealing example is the sequence of questions from the adult given in (17). The first sentence in bold face is an example where the adult is introducing something new in the conversation (the dog), and thus a V2 structure is used. In the second bold-face sentence the new element (the donkey) is introduced first, and then, once it is given information, it can be referred to by a pronoun – and put into pre-verbal position. The third example is different in that the given information (the rooster) has been mentioned in the previous discourse but is still referred to by a full DP. The pre-verbal position is nevertheless available for this element because of its informational status as given information.

- (17) OLE : xx mjau mjau sir pusekattan.
miow miow say kitty.DEF/PL
- INV : ja.
yes
- INV : **⟨ka sir⟩[/]ka sir hunden da?** (V2)
what says/what says dog.DEF then
- OLE : voff voff.
(imitating a dog)
- INV : **og eselet da # ka det sir?** (V3)
and donkey.DEF then # what that says
- A few lines later:
- INV : hanen ja.
rooster.DEF yes
- OLE : hanen # og den + /.
rooster.DEF # and that
- INV : **ka hanen sir?** (V3)
what rooster.DEF says (File Ole.17)

As we have not conducted any investigation of NOR-3 dialects, it is difficult to say if a similar distinction in the information structure is responsible for the preference between the two word orders. However, we will assume that this is the case, based on Åfarli's (1986a) observation that the V3 order is more acceptable if the subject is short (often a pronoun), as in (18a), while the V2 order is preferred if the subject is heavier, as in (18b).

- (18) a. Kåles gammel hattkaill du tala med i går? NOR-3
 which old 'hat-man' you talked with yesterday

(Åfarli 1986a)

Which old 'hat-man' were you talking to yesterday?

- b. Kåles gammel hattkaill onkelen din fra Oslo
 tala med i går?
 which old 'hat-man' uncle.DEF your from Oslo
 talked with yesterday

Which old 'hat-man' was your uncle from Oslo
 talking to yesterday?

At the end of this section one reservation should be made: the corpus referred to here is of course very small and produced by only one speaker of NOR-2. However, although it is obvious that more data collection and analysis is desirable, it is quite likely that these patterns can be generalized to the dialect as a whole. Westergaard (2003) shows that in the production of the three children in the study acquiring the Tromsø dialect (two of whom have never met the adult speaker investigated), both V2 and V3 orders are attested from the earliest files of the children, i.e., before the age of two. Crucially, the same patterns for subject and verb types preferred with the two word orders as in the adult data are also in place in the children's production from an early age. This indicates that these patterns must be present in the general input these children are exposed to.

Summing up then, the choice of verbs and subjects involved in the V2 and V3 constructions as well as the interpretation of the various examples from the corpus in context strongly indicate that the choice between the two structures depends on the information status of the subject. The V2 construction is preferred when the subject is new information (often represented by a full DP) while the V3 construction is used when the subject is familiar in the context (often ex-

pressed by a pronoun or an expletive), thus given information. This of course corresponds to a well-known tendency in information structure: old/given information is placed as early as possible in the sentence, while focused (and often heavier) elements tend to occur towards the end.

4. Split CP and a parameterized requirement on filled C° heads

The aim of the remaining sections is to develop an analysis which captures both the comparative issues raised above as well as the grammar-internal variation between V2 and V3 in *wh*-questions. In order to do so we will first of all adopt a version of the Split-CP hypothesis initiated by Rizzi (1997). The C° heads that we will assume for our present purposes are the following, linearly and hierarchically ordered.

- (19) [_{CP}Int(errogative) Top(ic) Foc(us) Wh Fin(iteness)]_{IP}

In principle, we adhere to the view expressed in Benincà and Poletto (forthcoming) that there is a field of Topic heads and a field of Focus heads where the individual Topic and Focus heads can be distinguished on semantic and pragmatic grounds. In fact we take the Wh head to belong to the Focus field. This head may furthermore be identified with the ‘low’ Wh head suggested by Rizzi (2001). A crucial assumption about the Wh head is that it attracts *wh*-constituents.⁵

The Int head corresponds in some sense to the more well-known Force head of Rizzi’s analysis, but we will assume that clause typing is not an effect of the varying properties of Force° but rather of what heads are present in the left periphery in the various cases. More specifically, if Int° is present, the clause will be typed as an interrogative clause; if it is absent, the clause may be a declarative clause. We will also argue that all declarative main clauses, both clauses with explicit topics as well as subject initial clauses, are introduced by the Top° head.

In other words, not all of the heads in (19) need to be present in all clauses. Importantly however, we follow Vangsnes (1999, 2001) in assuming that when a functional head is present, it is subject to a general licensing condition, termed ‘identification’, which requires that some overt material be merged either in its specifier or head position at some step in the derivation. A similar idea is presented in Holmberg

(1994). This assumption is one of the main triggers for movement (internal merge) in our approach.

As our main microparametric tool we will argue that grammars vary with respect to whether or not distinct C° heads must be lexicalized. Following current customary reasoning, initiated by Chomsky (2000), we will think of this as whether or not a head feature is endowed with the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) property. The notation we will use is $[X^\circ_{\text{EPP}}]$, where X is further qualified according to the specific C° head in question. However, the crucial non-standard assumption in this respect is that, unlike the mechanism usually associated with the checking of features with the EPP property, a $[+ \text{EPP}]$ *head* feature requires an X° to be checked by an X° element, and it will not suffice that some suitable XP is merged in the specifier position of the head in question.

This general approach can immediately be illustrated by comparing declarative clauses in Norwegian and English. Recall first of all that a common property of all three of the Norwegian dialects is that they show a strict V2 requirement in main clause declaratives, both topicalized structures and subject-initial clauses, as shown in examples (1) and (2), repeated below as (20) and (21) for convenience. English, on the other hand, does not exhibit V2 in either of the two constructions, as illustrated by the sentences in (22):

- | | | |
|---------|---|-------|
| (20) a. | Jeg (*faktisk) liker (faktisk) Island. | NOR-1 |
| b. | Æ (*faktisk) like (faktisk) Island. | NOR-2 |
| c. | E (*faktisk) lika (faktisk) Island. | NOR-3 |
| | <i>I actually like actually Iceland</i> | |
| | I actually like Iceland. | |
| (21) a. | Island (*jeg) liker *(jeg) faktisk. | NOR-1 |
| b. | Island (*æ) like *(æ) faktisk. | NOR-2 |
| c. | Island (*e) lika *(e) faktisk. | NOR-3 |
| | <i>Iceland I like I actually</i> | |
| | Iceland I actually like. | |
| (22) a. | I (actually) like (*actually) Iceland. | |
| b. | Iceland (*like) I actually *(like). | |

We will argue that the source for V2 in declarative main clauses across the three Norwegian dialect types is an $[X^\circ_{\text{EPP}}]$ feature on the Top° head. This feature requires Top° to be lexicalized, and the

requirement is met by raising the finite verb. For English, on the other hand, we argue that there is no $[X^{\circ}_{EPP}]$ feature on Top° , and hence, there is no verb movement in topicalizations. As mentioned above, we argue that also subject-initial declaratives are introduced by Top° , and we take it that in such cases the subject moves to Spec-TopP as a sort of default topic. In simple terms the difference between Norwegian and English in this respect can be summarized by the (partial) derivations in (23) and (24).⁶

- (23) a. $[_{TopP}Jeg_i [_{Top^{\circ}}liker_j \dots [_{IP} t_i faktisk t_j Island$
 b. $[_{TopP} I_i [_{Top^{\circ}} \text{---} \dots [_{IP} t_i \text{ actually like Iceland}$
- (24) a. $[_{TopP} Island_i [_{Top^{\circ}}liker_j \dots [_{IP} jeg faktisk t_j t_i$
 b. $[_{TopP} Iceland_i [_{Top^{\circ}} \text{---} \dots [_{IP} I \text{ actually like } t_i$

Consider then the dialectal differences in Norwegian main clause *wh*-questions. The present approach suggests that the trigger for V2 in *wh*-questions is different from the trigger for V2 in declaratives. Recall that only NOR-1 (Standard Norwegian) has a strict V2 requirement in main clause *wh*-questions, while NOR-3 does not exhibit this requirement for any type of *wh*-element, cf. examples (4) and (5), repeated below as (25) and (26). The dialect type NOR-2 allows V3 word order in questions with a monosyllabic *wh*-constituent and thus seems to have the V2 requirement only in cases of multisyllabic *wh*-elements, cf. examples (6) and (7), repeated here as (27) and (28).

- (25) a. Hvem liker du best? NOR-1
 who like you best
 Who do you like best?
 b. Hvilken bil kjøpte du?
 which car bought you
 Which car did you buy?
- (26) a. Kåin du lika best? NOR-3
 who you like best (Examples from Åfarli 1986a)
 Who do you like best?
 b. Kåles bil du kjøpte?
 which car you bought
 Which car did you buy?

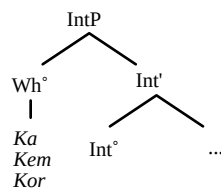
- (27) a. Korfor gikk ho?/*Korfor ho gikk? NOR-2
 why went she/ why she went
 Why did she go?
- b. Korsen har dem det?/*Korsen dem har det?
 how have they it/ how they have it
 How are they doing?
- c. Katti kommer du?/*Katti du kommer?
 when come you/ when you come
 When are you coming?
- (28) a. Ka ho sa? NOR-2
 what she said
 What did she say?
- b. Kem det er?
 who it is
 Who is it?
- c. Kor du bor?
 where you live
 Where do you live?

Leaving NOR-2 aside for the moment, we will argue that the difference between NOR-1 and NOR-3 is that, while the former has the $[X^{\circ}_{EPP}]$ feature on Int° , the latter dialect type does not. In other words, there is a requirement for a lexicalized Int° head in NOR-1 but not in NOR-3. This then accounts for V2 word order being obligatory in NOR-1 in all types of *wh*-questions, while V3 word order is always possible in NOR-3 regardless of the type of *wh*-constituent.

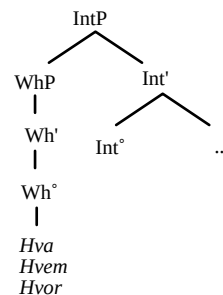
For NOR-2 we will argue that this variety shares with NOR-1 the requirement that Int° be checked by a head. This is necessary to explain the obligatory V2 word order in questions with longer *wh*-constituents, i.e., the sentences in (27). In order to account for the existence of V3 word order in NOR-2, as shown in (28), we will follow Taraldsen's (1986a) suggestion that the short *wh*-elements are head-like elements in this dialect. More specifically, we will argue that the short *wh*-elements in the standard cases are non-projecting. When such a non-projecting element occupies Spec-IntP, it will c-command Int° (*qua* head), and we argue that the resulting configuration suffices to meet the requirement

imposed by the $[\text{Int}^\circ_{\text{EPP}}]$ feature and thus obviates the need for verb movement. In other words, the short *wh*-elements have a special lexical status in NOR-2, compared to NOR-1, and the difference between the two dialects can be illustrated as in (29), showing the local configuration in IntP of a main clause *wh*-question.

(29) a. NOR-2:



b. NOR-1:



As for NOR-3, we cannot determine whether the simple *wh*-elements are non-projecting or not since V3 is possible also with complex *wh*-words and -constituents.

One may of course ask why there should be such a difference between the dialects with respect to the status of the short *wh*-elements, as there is no overt morphological difference to correlate this with: in no dialect type are the elements overtly morphologically complex. Our answer is that the difference is due to an (arbitrary) lexical reanalysis that has taken place in NOR-2 but not in the other two dialect types. The etymological origins of the Norwegian short *wh*-elements were arguably morphologically complex. The pronominal ones, *ka/hva* ‘what’ and *kem/hvem* ‘who’, were inflected for gender, number, and case in Old Norse (as they still are in Icelandic). Similarly, the origin of the locative *wh*-adverb *kor/hvor* ‘where’ was inflected for direction/location. The disappearance of this inflection, we would argue, has made it possible to reanalyze the elements as clitic-like. This is what has happened in NOR-2, but it has so far not taken place in NOR-1 and NOR-3. It should be noted in passing that the *wh*-element *kor/hvor* has a dual origin in Norwegian, stemming both from the locative *hvar* ‘where’ and the degree adverb *hversu* ‘how’.⁷

When we then consider the *wh*-elements that do not allow V3 in NOR-2, we can in fact ascribe to them a more complex morphological

structure. Consider the elements *katti* ‘when’, *korsen* ‘how’, and *koffør* ‘why’. The origin of the first one is no doubt *ka tid*, literally ‘what time’. As for the other two, we recognize the adverbial element *ko(r)*- on the one hand and *-sen* and *-før* on the other. The latter “ending” is evidently the preposition *før* ‘for’ whereas *-sen* presumably is a contraction of *sånn* ‘such’.⁸ We argue that this fairly transparent morphological complexity of *katti*, *korsen*, and *koffør* has prevented a reanalysis of these as clitic non-projecting elements in NOR-2.⁹

We then have an account of why and how the three Norwegian dialect types differ with respect to the V2 requirement in main clauses: NOR-3 differs from NOR-1 and NOR-2 by virtue of a different setting of a microparameter (the requirement that Int° be checked by a head), whereas NOR-2 differs from the other two dialect types because certain lexical items (the simple *wh*-elements) have a different categorial status (as projecting in NOR-1 and NOR-3 and as non-projecting in NOR-2).

When comparing the Norwegian dialects to English above, we attributed the lack of V2 in English declaratives to a negative setting for the filled Top° parameter. As for English *wh*-questions, the situation is somewhat more complicated since there seems to be a V2 requirement (i.e., auxiliary inversion/*do*-support) with oblique *wh*-constituents but not with *wh*-subjects, as illustrated by the examples in (30). We will nevertheless claim that the V2 effect seen in the oblique cases reveals the ‘true nature’ of English *wh*-questions and that the Int° head in English is endowed with the $[\text{Int}^\circ_{\text{EPP}}]$ feature. The lack of V2 in cases with *wh*-subjects then calls for an extraordinary analysis, and we will return to this issue in Section 8 below.

- (30) a. Who do you like so much?/*Who you like so much?
 b. Who actually saw you?/*Who did actually see you?

Finally, let us consider the word order of embedded clauses. As shown in example (3) above, repeated here as (31), all the three Norwegian dialects (as well as English) share the property that there is no V2 requirement in embedded *wh*-questions.

- (31) a. Jeg lurer på hva (*sa) han egentlig *(sa). NOR-1
 b. Æ lure på ka (*sa) han egentli *(sa). NOR-2
 c. E lure på ka (*sa) han egentle *(sa). NOR-3
I wonder what said he really said
 I wonder what he really said.

Table 3. The requirements for filled C heads in three Norwegian dialect types and English

	NOR-1	NOR-2	NOR-3	English
[Int [°] _{EPP}]	+	+	–	+
[Top [°] _{EPP}]	+	+	+	–
[Foc [°] _{EPP}]	–	–	–	–
[Wh [°] _{EPP}]	–	–	–	–

If embedded questions also involved the functional head Int[°], we would expect NOR-1 and NOR-2, as well as English, to show V2 effects in this context too, unless the requirement for a filled Int[°] was somehow restricted to main clauses only. We will however argue that embedded *wh*-questions do not have an Int[°] head, i.e., that their force is not the same as that of main *wh*-questions. The intuition here is that the sentences in (31) in fact are not real questions, as they do not (linguistically speaking) signal that the speaker wants an answer from the listener. Our suggestion is that an embedded *wh*-question is (minimally) introduced by the Wh[°] head, and we argue that this head is not endowed with the [X[°]_{EPP}] feature in any of the Norwegian dialects nor in English.

To conclude this section, we give an overview in Table 3 of the requirements for filled C[°] heads in the three Norwegian dialects and English, as discussed so far.

5. V2, focus, and subject positions

As we saw in Section 3, there is a strong correlation between V3 word order in *wh*-questions and given subjects in NOR-2. In this section we will give an account of the possibility of V2 order in NOR-2 and NOR-3 *wh*-questions and have a closer look at the position of the subject in relation to sentence adverbs. As illustrated by the examples in (32), the subject can occur on either side of a sentence adverb in V2 constructions. In the V3 cases where the finite verb is not moved to second position, on the other hand, the subject must follow sentence adverbs, as shown in (33). Again, this parallels the general situation in embedded clauses in all dialects of Norwegian, as illustrated by the examples from NOR-1 in (34).

- (32) a. Ka **mente egentli** han Ola med det der? NOR-2
 what meant really ART Ola with that there
 b. Ka **mente** han Ola **egentli** med det der?
 what meant ART Ola really with that there
 What did Ola really mean by that?

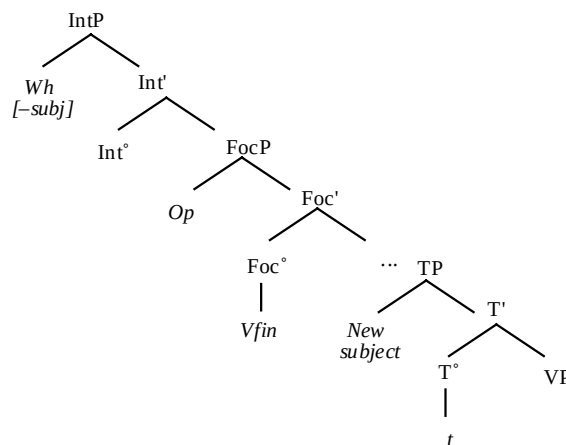
- (33) a. Ka han Ola **egentli mente** med det der? NOR-2
what ART Ola really meant with that there
 b. *Ka **egentli** han Ola **mente** med det der?
what really ART Ola meant with that there
 What did Ola really mean by that?
 c. *Ka han Ola **mente egentli** med det der?
what ART OLA meant really with that there
- (34) a. Jeg lurte på hva **Ola egentlig mente** med det der. NOR-1
I wondered on what Ola really meant with that there
 b. *Jeg lurte på hva Ola **mente egentlig** med det der.
I wondered on what Ola meant really with that there
 I was wondering what Ola really meant by that.

In order to account for this pattern we will first of all argue that there are distinct positions for given and new subjects and that sentence adverbs such as *egentlig* intervene between the two positions. More specifically, we argue that new subjects are merged in Spec-TP whereas given subjects are merged in Spec-AgrSP, and we take this to be a principle of Universal Grammar (UG). In other words we assume the IP structure illustrated in (35).

- (35) CP [_{IP} AgrSP **Given subjects**] [TP **Sentence Adverbs**] [TP **New subjects**]

Second, we view new information as a variety of focus. More specifically, we argue that new subjects coincide with the presence of a

(36)



focus operator in the specifier of Foc° . The focus operator binds the new subject, but since the operator itself is a covert element, some overt element is required to license the presence of the Foc° head, i.e., according to the general licensing condition of Vangsnes (1999) referred to in section 4. This is achieved by raising the finite verb to Foc° , a process which yields V2 word order, as illustrated in (36).¹⁰

The V2 word order in NOR-2 questions with simple *wh*-elements is thus different from other *wh*-questions in that V2 is not the result of verb movement to Int° but rather to the head Foc° . Thus V3 word order in *wh*-questions in NOR-2 coincides with given subjects because there is no trigger for V-to- Foc movement in such cases. On the other hand, V2 word order coincides with new subjects because the presence of the focus operator triggers verb movement to Foc° across the subject (and sentence adverbs). The relevant part of the derivations of (32a) and (33a) can then be rendered as in (37).

- (37) a. $[_{\text{IntP}} \text{Ka} [_{\text{FocP}} \text{Op mente}_i \dots [_{\text{AgrSP}} t_i \quad [_{\text{TP}} \text{egentli han Ola } t_i \text{ med det der?}$
 b. $[_{\text{IntP}} \text{Ka} \dots \quad [_{\text{AgrSP}} \text{han Ola}_i [_{\text{TP}} \text{egentli } t_i \text{ mente med det der?}$

As mentioned in Section 3, we have not performed an empirical investigation of whether pragmatic factors govern the choice of V2 vs. V3 in NOR-3. However, based on Áfarli's (1986a) observations mentioned in connection with example (18) that V3 order is more acceptable if the subject is short (often a pronoun) while V2 is preferred if the subject is heavy, we will assume that the choice of the two word orders is dependent on information structure just as in NOR-2. Thus V2 word order in *wh*-questions in NOR-3 dialects will always be the result of verb movement to Foc , no matter what the status of the *wh*-constituent is.

We are then left with the case in (32b), i.e., where the subject precedes the sentence adverb in a V2 *wh*-question. In section 3 we showed that V2 word order in NOR-2 *wh*-questions is preferred when the subject conveys new information. In this section we have argued that the position for new subjects is Spec-TP, i.e., a position following sentence adverbs. The subject in (32b) should thus be *given* information, indicating that V2 word order in *wh*-questions is in fact compatible with both given and new subjects (while V3 order is restricted to given subjects). Evidence to support this is the fact that an unstressed subject pronoun, the canonical instance of a given nominal,

is felicitous only if it precedes the sentence adverb in a V2 *wh*-question, as illustrated by the examples in (38).

- (38) a. Ka mente han egentli med det der? NOR-2
 b. *Ka mente egentli han med det der?
 c. Ka mente egentli HAN med det der?
what meant (he) really (he) with that there
 What did he really mean by that?

The question remains why there is verb movement (and V2 order) in (32b). If the subject is given information, it will not be bound by a focus operator which in turn triggers verb raising to Foc° . Our solution to this will be that we assume that also (32b) involves raising of the verb to Foc° , but that the focus operator in Spec-FocP binds some other constituent than the subject. As support for this view we may notice that sentential stress is felicitous on several of the constituents in the sentence. Consider the examples in (39), where stress is indicated with capitals.

- (39) a. Ka MENTE han Ola egentli med det der? NOR-2
 b. Ka mente han Ola EGENTLI med det der?
 c. Ka mente han Ola egentli med det DER?
what meant ART Ola actually with that there
 What did Ola really mean by that?

We would like to emphasize that this is a tentative conclusion, as it should be noted that stress assignment as such does not seem to be dependent on V2. This is illustrated by the examples in (40) below. It may, however, be the case that the examples in (40) involve contrastive stress, whereas the ones in (39) do not, and that contrastive stress does not have any word order effects *per se*. In any event, further research on the correlation between V2, focus, and stress is needed before definite conclusions can be drawn.¹¹

- (40) a. Ka DU egentli mene om den her saka?
 b. Ka du EGENTLI mene om den her saka?
 c. Ka du egentli MENE om den her saka?
 d. Ka du egentli mene om den HER saka?
what you really mean about this here matter
 What do you really think about this matter?

Let us nevertheless add a final observation about stress assignment. Also initial *wh*-constituents may be stressed in NOR-2, but interestingly this is compatible with V2 only in cases with an oblique *wh*-constituent, also when this constituent is a simple *wh*-element, as we see in (41). Our explanation for this is that a stressed simple *wh*-element does in fact project an internal structure, and Int° will therefore not be c-commanded by an overt head in such cases. For this reason the verb must move to Int° to meet the requirement imposed by the $[\text{Int}^\circ_{\text{EPP}}]$ feature.

- (41) a. KA sa han Ola?
 what said ART Ola
 b. *KA han Ola sa?
 what ART Ola said
 WHAT did Ola say?

6. The licensing of Fin°

In this section we will discuss the position of adverbials in V3 *wh*-questions and relate it to the licensing of the head of the FinP , the projection which closes off the CP domain on the right-hand side in our model, cf. the overview in (19) above, repeated here:

- (42) $[_{\text{CP}} \text{Int(errogative)} \text{Top(ic)} \text{Foc(us)} \text{Wh} \quad \text{Fin(iteness)}]_{\text{IP}}$

Let us first consider the well-known subject/oblique asymmetry in English with respect to the syntax of main clause *wh*-questions, which we saw in example (30) above. Whereas fronting of oblique *wh*-constituents requires V2 (instantiated by auxiliary inversion/*do*-support), fronting of *wh*-subjects does not, as shown by the examples in (43).

- (43) a. Who (actually) came/*Who did (actually) come?
 b. Who (actually) saw you/*Who did (actually) see you?
 c. Who do you like so much/*Who you like so much?
 d. Who do you have an appointment with/
 *Who you have an appointment with?

Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) suggest that an uninterpretable tense feature with the EPP property in (an unsplit) C° can be checked by

On a general note, the idea does not immediately carry over to our model, which assumes a split CP. Let us nevertheless assume that the mechanism that Pesetsky and Torrego discuss is valid and that it pertains to the licensing of *finiteness* within the CP domain, in other words to the category Fin° . Let us more specifically assume that Fin° can be licensed by either V/T-to- Fin° movement or by subject movement to Spec-Fin° .

(44) a. Ka han Ola egentli sa? NOR-2
what ART Ola really said
 b. *Ka egentli han Ola sa?
what really ART Ola said
 What did Ola really say?

In fact, the same effect concerning subject placement can be observed also in NOR-1 embedded *wh*-questions. In cases where a non-subject *wh*-constituent is extracted, as in the examples in (45), there is a clear contrast between placing the subject before or after a sentence adverb. This pattern is straightforwardly accounted for if the subjects must

move to a position higher than sentence adverbs, in this case Spec-FinP, in order to license Fin°. The subject thus cannot occupy Spec-TP in (45).

- (45) Jeg lurer på ... NOR-1
I wonder on
 I wonder ...
- a. ... hvem Ola egentlig har tenkt å invitere.
who Ola actually has thought to invite
- b. ?* ... hvem egentlig Ola har tenkt å invitere.
who actually Ola has thought to invite
 ... who Ola actually has thought of inviting.
- c. ... hvorfor Ola egentlig inviterte dem.
why Ola actually invited them
- d. ?* ... hvorfor egentlig Ola inviterte dem.
why actually Ola invited them
 ... why Ola actually invited them.

We are now in a position to tackle the phenomenon of *som*-insertion in Norwegian subject *wh*-questions.

7. Som-insertion

Recall from Section 2 that subject *wh*-questions are special in the dialects that allow V3 (NOR-2 and NOR-3) in that the element *som* is inserted after the fronted *wh*-constituent. *Som*-insertion can in fact be seen as a type of V3 word order in subject *wh*-questions, and it should be noted that the finite verb will follow sentence adverbs in such cases, thus suggesting that there is no V-to-C-movement, as seen in (46). Moreover, *som*-insertion with non-subject *wh*-constituents is ungrammatical, as illustrated by the examples in (47a) and (47b). In other words, there is a clear subject/oblique asymmetry with respect to *som*-insertion.

- (46) a. Kem som egentli trur på nåkka sånt? NOR-2
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 something like that?

- (47) a. Kem(*som)du sku treffe på byen i kveld? NOR-2
 who SOM you should meet in town.DEF tonight
 Who were you supposed to meet in town tonight?
- b. Kem(*som)du prata med på telefonen i sted?
 who SOM you talked with on phone.DEF earlier
 Who were you talking to on the phone earlier?

Although *som*-insertion can be seen as an instantiation of non-V2 in subject questions in NOR-2 and NOR-3, there are certain important differences between *som*-insertion and simply no V-to-C movement. First of all, *som*-insertion appears to be obligatory and V-to-C movement not possible in subject *wh*-questions in the dialects. According to Åfarli (1986a) this is quite clear for NOR-3, and it seems to be the case for NOR-2 also. Second, as shown in example (10), there does not seem to be any restriction on the length of the *wh*-constituent in subject questions with *som*-insertion in NOR-2. The latter fact is supported by the study in Fiva (1996), which shows that complex subject *wh*-constituents were judged considerably better than complex non-subject *wh*-questions in V3 sentences. Presumably the two facts tie in with each other – if *som*-insertion is obligatory, there should not be any length restriction on the *wh*-constituent, since that would mean that formation of subject *wh*-questions with complex *wh*-constituents would simply be impossible.

Given what we have said earlier, it is tempting to say that *som* can fill Int°. That would account for why there is no length restriction on the *wh*-subject in NOR-2, and the parameter setting for this dialect could be maintained. But that begs the questions why *som*-insertion applies in NOR-3 too, where we have argued that there is no requirement for a filled Int°. And we could also ask why *som*-insertion never applies in NOR-1. A third question is why *som* must be inserted in NOR-2 also when the *wh*-subject is non-projecting and thus should be able to check the [X_{EPP}] feature in Int°, as discussed in Section 4. Moreover, claiming that *som* is inserted in Int° does not shed any light on why *som*-insertion is unequivocally tied to cases with *wh*-subjects only. We must therefore seek some other understanding of *som*-insertion.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the same subject/oblique asymmetry is found in clefts and embedded *wh*-questions in Standard Norwegian (NOR-1), as seen in (48) and (49).¹³ Not only do we not find

V2 in such cases, but insertion of the complementizer *som* is required when the *wh*-phrase is the subject of the clause and impossible otherwise. For the sake of completeness, the examples in (50) and (51) illustrate that this property is shared by all of the dialects.

- (48) a. Det er Jon *(som) kommer der. NOR-1
it is Jon SOM comes there
 It is Jon who comes there.
- b. Det var Jon *(som) jeg traff i går.
it was Jon SOM I met yesterday
 It was Jon I met yesterday.
- c. Det må ha vært Jon *(som) du snakket med.
it must have been Jon SOM you talked with
 It must have been Jon you were talking to.
- (49) a. Jeg lurer på hvem *(som) kommer der. NOR-1
I wonder at who SOM comes there
 I wonder who is coming there.
- b. Jeg lurer på hvem *(som) du traff i går.
I wonder at who SOM you met yesterday
 I wonder who you met yesterday.
- c. Jeg lurer på hvem *(som) du snakket med.
I wonder at who SOM you talked with
 I wonder who you were talking to.
- (50) a. Æ lure på kem *(som) kommer der. NOR-2
I wonder at who SOM comes there
- b. Æ lure på kem *(som) du traff i går.
I wonder at who SOM you met yesterday
- c. Æ lure på kem *(som) du snakka med.
I wonder at who SOM you talked with
- (51) a. E lure på kâin *(sâ) kjæm der. NOR-3
I wonder at who SOM comes there
- b. E lure på kâin *(sâ) du treft i går.
I wonder at who SOM you met yesterday
- c. E lure på kâin *(sâ) du snakka me.
I wonder at who SOM you talked with

Given the above examples, it seems reasonable that an account of *som*-insertion in embedded clauses should carry over to the dialectal

som-insertion in main clauses. The crucial point in our account will be that *som*, in both environments, is inserted as a licenser of AgrS°. The account rests on the following two assumptions:

- (52) (i) Wh-subjects are extracted directly from Spec-TP.
- (ii) AgrS° must be licensed either by merger of an overt constituent within AgrSP ('identification') or agreement with a Case marked constituent.

(52ii) partially anticipates the discussion of English in Section 8. Let us first discuss the account with the structure of embedded *wh*-questions in mind, i.e., minimally assuming the sequence [Wh° [Fin° [AgrS° [T° In non-*wh* embedded clauses AgrS° can be licensed by the subject moving into its specifier, but since a *wh*-subject according to (52i) passes over this position, this licensing mechanism is not available. This first assumption actually ties in with the observation that subjects in Spec-TP are informationally new, as *wh*-subjects must arguably be categorized as conveying new information.¹⁴

On the basis of the second assumption we argue that *som* is inserted in the AgrSP domain in Norwegian embedded *wh*-questions as a means of licensing AgrS°. It may however not be immediately clear why *som*-insertion should follow from (52ii). A crucial premise in this respect is that we consider *som* a 'functional element' in the sense of Vangsnes (1999, 2001), i.e., on a par with expletives and articles.¹⁵ Unlike 'substantive elements', functional elements are accessible throughout the derivation and need not be a part of the initial numeration. Therefore, a derivation with *som*-insertion must always be evaluated alongside one without, and if the one with *som*-insertion is more economical, merger of *som* must take place.

On this account we hold that in cases where the subject does not move to or via Spec-AgrSP, i.e., as in the case of subject *wh*-questions, insertion of *som* is a more economical way of licensing AgrS° than for example raising the verb. It will lead us too far to thoroughly discuss why *som*-insertion is the most economical solution, but in the vein of Vangsnes (1999, 2001) we hold that *som*, compared to the finite verb, carries the most relevant features and least irrelevant features (in fact, none) for licensing AgrS°.

However, this suggestion immediately begs the question why *som* cannot be inserted in cases with an oblique *wh*-constituent, allowing the (non-*wh*) subject to stay in Spec-TP. We argue the reason to be that *som*, unlike 'true' expletives, is an anaphor which must be bound by an

antecedent. Since *som* is inserted in a subject position, we expect it to be bound by the subject only, and the binding relation can only be obtained in cases where the subject moves to a higher c-commanding position. In effect we therefore get *som*-insertion only when there is a *wh*-subject since such a subject, by hypothesis (i.e., (52i)), skips Spec-AgrSP on its way to the left periphery. The non-*wh* subject will license AgrS° in cases with an oblique *wh*-constituent. In other words, we can give the partial structures for (49a) and (49b), as in (53a) and (53b), respectively.

- (53) a. ... [WhP hvem_j ... [AgrSP som [TP t_j kommer_i [VP t_j t_i der
 b. ... [WhP hvem_j ... [AgrSP du_k [TP t_k traff_i [VP t_k t_i t_j i går

At this point we can compare Norwegian with English. In the latter language there is no comparable insertion of any 'extra' element in cases with an embedded *wh*-subject, cf. *I wonder who actually came*. For English we will argue that AgrS° is licensed through head/head agreement with the finite verb in T°. A well-known difference between English and Norwegian (and Mainland Scandinavian in general) is that there is some agreement on English finite verbs. Moreover some finite verbs, notably auxiliaries, occupy AgrS° (i.e., at least an I-head higher than T°). We therefore hold that English finite verbs are categorized as agreeing constituents and thus by hypothesis are marked for subjective Case, whereas the same does not hold for Norwegian (nor for Mainland Scandinavian more generally).

A question that arises is how Fin° is licensed in these cases, i.e., in English as well as Norwegian. For English, given what we have said earlier about this language, the natural assumption would be to say that the *wh*-subject moves via Spec-FinP to Spec-WhP. For Norwegian we may choose the same analysis, or we may say that *som* raises from AgrSP to FinP, whereas the *wh*-subject is extracted directly to Spec-WhP. *Som* arguably carries subjective Case since it is a subject-related expletive, and it should therefore be able to license Fin°. Nothing hinges on our choice in this respect, but since *som* will be closer to FinP than the *wh*-subject in Spec-TP, we choose the latter option. This means that we give the structure in (54) for the embedded *wh*-question in (49a).

- (54) ... [WhP hvem_j [FinP som_k [AgrSP t_k [TP t_j kommer_i [VP t_j t_i der]]]]]

So far we have not revealed our position as to whether *som* is inserted in Spec-AgrSP or in AgrS°. Turning now to Norwegian main *wh*-questions, we will argue that the status of *som* differs across the dialects in this

respect. More specifically we will argue that *som* is a head in NOR-2 and NOR-3 but a phrasal category in NOR-1. This enables us to account for how the requirement on Int° is met in NOR-2 *wh*-questions with a *wh*-subject, while there is no restriction on the complexity of the *wh*-subject. Since *som* is a head in NOR-2, it can undergo head movement (from $\text{AgrS}^\circ/\text{Fin}^\circ$) to Int° . In fact, we argue that *som* moves only in cases with a complex *wh*-subject. When the *wh*-subject is simple, *som* does not move as the requirement that Int° be checked by a X° feature will be taken care of by the *wh*-constituent.

In NOR-1 a similar strategy for meeting the $[\text{Int}^\circ_{\text{EPP}}]$ feature cannot be employed. Given that *som* is merged as a specifier, it cannot move to Spec-IntP , which should host the *wh*-constituent. For this reason we cannot have *som*-insertion in NOR-1 main clause *wh*-questions. Instead verb movement must take place. At the same time verb movement to Int° via AgrS° will obviate the need for *som*-insertion as a means of licensing AgrS° . Put differently, *som* could be inserted in Spec-AgrSP as a means of licensing AgrS° , but verb movement to Int° would have to take place anyway in order to meet the requirement of the $[\text{Int}^\circ_{\text{EPP}}]$ feature. Admittedly, a premise for our account is that the clausal structure is fully built before merger and movement of lexical elements take place.

The difference between NOR-1 and NOR-2/NOR-3 main clause subject *wh*-questions can now be rendered as in (55) for the questions corresponding to English *Who comes there?*

- (55) a. $[\text{IntP } \text{Hvem}_j \text{ kommer}_i [\text{WhP } t_j t_i [\text{FinP } t_i$
 $[\text{AgrSP } t_i [\text{TP } t_j t_i [\text{VP } t_j t_i \text{ der}]]]]]]]$ NOR-1
- b. $[\text{IntP } \text{Kem}_j \text{ som}_i [\text{WhP } t_j t_i [\text{FinP } t_i$
 $[\text{AgrSP } t_i [\text{TP } t_j \text{ kommer}_k [\text{VP } t_j t_k \text{ der}]]]]]]]$ NOR-2/3

Notice that our account explains why V2 is not an alternative in cases with *wh*-subjects in NOR-2 and NOR-3. Since *som* is merged in AgrS° for independent reasons (it is the most appropriate licensor of AgrS°), it will always block verb movement to the Left Periphery, or, alternatively, movement of *som* to C heads will take place instead since *som* is closer than the finite verb. In other words, the presence of for instance a Focus head will not trigger raising of the verb since *som* can raise instead and identify Foc° . In cases with oblique *wh*-constituents, on the other hand, *som* cannot be merged (again for independent reasons), and verb movement can therefore apply.

Notice moreover that our approach predicts the possible existence of a fourth dialect type, which is like NOR-3 in that there is no $[X^{\circ}_{EPP}]$ in Int° , but which differs from NOR-3 in that *som* is an XP as in NOR-1. In such a dialect type, call it NOR-4, we would expect *som*-insertion in subject *wh*-questions to alternate with verb movement (i.e., V2), just as we see in the non-subject *wh*-questions in NOR-2 and NOR-3, say triggered by the presence of a Focus head. In fact, reports in the literature, notably Nordgård (1985), suggest that both central Norwegian dialects (the area around the city Trondheim) and southwestern Norwegian dialects (the area around and between the cities Stavanger and Bergen) appear to show alternation between *som*-insertion and V2 in subject *wh*-questions.

In closing off this section, we would like to point out the intriguing fact that we find *som*-insertion in Norwegian dialects in exactly the same environments where there is no auxiliary support in English. Conversely, in the contexts where *som* cannot be inserted in the Norwegian dialects, there must be an auxiliary in second position in English.

- (56) a. Kem *(som) kom? NOR-2
 who SOM came
 Who came?
- b. Kem *(som) så dæ?
 who SOM saw you
 Who saw you?
- c. Kem (*som) du like så godt?
 who SOM you like so well
 Who do you like so much?
- d. Kem (*som) du har en avtale med?
 who SOM you have an appointment with
 Who do you have an appointment with?
- (57) a. Who came/*Who did come?
 b. Who saw you/*Who did see you?
 c. Who do you like so much/*Who you like so much?
 d. Who do you have an appointment with/*Who
 you have an appointment with?

This leads us naturally over to a discussion of English *wh*-questions.

8. The C-property of English *wh*-elements and the subject/oblique asymmetry

In this section we would like to focus on the well-known subject/oblique asymmetry in English *wh*-questions mentioned above and illustrated in (57). Subject/auxiliary inversion or *do*-support is required in English main clause *wh*-questions but not if the *wh*-constituent is the subject.¹⁶ Importantly, the finite main verbs in (58a) and (58b) appear in a position to the right of sentence adverbs, clearly suggesting that they are not moved. Notice furthermore that the complexity of the *wh*-subject is irrelevant for the lack of V2 word order in this case.

- (58) a. Which man (actually) came (*actually) to the party?
 b. Which man (actually) saw (*actually) you?

As mentioned above, Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) gives an interesting and straightforward account of this asymmetry by suggesting that the *wh*-subject, by virtue of carrying nominative Case, can check an uninterpretable tense feature in C° . Given an unsplit-CP approach, this checking must be achieved by some other means in cases where a non-nominative constituent is moved to Spec-CP since the subject cannot also move to this position. Auxiliary movement/*do*-support represents the alternative checking mechanism resorted to. In other words, the finite auxiliary fills C° and checks the uninterpretable tense feature by virtue of carrying overt tense marking.

As should be clear, this line of reasoning does not carry over to the present approach, where the equivalent to tense checking is licensing of finiteness in Fin° (as discussed in Section 6). Since *wh*-constituents are moved to positions distinct from Spec-FinP (Spec-WhP and Spec-IntP), the subject would be ‘free’ to move to Spec-FinP in cases with an oblique *wh*-constituent, and auxiliary movement should not take place. We argued in Section 4 that English in fact does have an $[\text{Int}^\circ_{\text{EPP}}]$ feature and that auxiliary inversion/*do*-support takes place in order to meet this requirement. That then means that there is something special about English *wh*-subjects since the requirement apparently is obviated.

Our tentative account is the following: English *wh*-elements differ from Norwegian *wh*-elements in that a large number of them can function as relativizers. Very few Norwegian *wh*-elements have this capacity, and although there is some variation across the Scandinavian varieties in this

respect, there is a significant proportional difference between Scandinavian and English. We will illustrate the difference between Norwegian and English below. The relativizing capacity of English *wh*-elements allows us to postulate that they are equipped with a C feature. This feature, by hypothesis an X^0 feature, may percolate to $X^{\max}$ of the *wh*-constituent. When the *wh*-constituent is also marked for nominative Case, i.e., when we see a combination of the C feature and nominative Case, we hypothesize that it is capable of checking the $[Int^0_{EPP}]$ feature. In other words, the C feature of the *wh*-element, when appropriately marked, meets the requirement that Int^0 be checked by a head feature. The relevance of nominative Case is of course that it establishes a relation between the C feature and the clausal chain of heads.

Let us then consider the distributional difference between English and Norwegian *wh*-elements which underlies our account. Consider first the examples in (48), which show that *who*, *which*, *where*, and *whose* all may introduce relatives.

- (59) a. the man **who** called me
 b. the chair **which** broke
 c. the place **where** it happens
 d. the man **whose** car I crashed

The relativizing property arguably also holds for *why* and *when* in cases like the ones in (60), although it is not equally straightforward to reconstruct their non-relative matches. *What* does not introduce ordinary relatives, but it does introduce free relatives, as shown in (61).

- (60) a. the reason **why** I love you
 b. the moment **when** I return

- (61) **What** I know is this.

The corresponding examples in (62) show that the situation in Norwegian is quite different. The *wh*-elements corresponding to *who* and *which* cannot introduce relatives — in the cases at hand the complementizer *som* must be used. As the example in (62c) shows, the *wh*-word *hvor* ‘where’ may introduce a relative, but it is equally felicitous to use the locative adverb *der* ‘there’ in such cases, which is impossible in English, as shown in (63). Moreover, *hvis* ‘whose’ in (62d) clearly belongs to a high style register and is certainly not a part of colloquial Norwegian. As a consequence, colloquial Norwegian in fact does not have any way of construing a syntactic equivalent of (62d).

- (62) a. *mannen **hvem** ringte meg NOR-1
man.DEF who called me
 b. *stolen **hvilken** knakk
chair.DEF which broke
 c. stedet **hvor** det skjer
place.DEF where it happens
 d. mannen **hvis** bil jeg kolliderte med
man.DEF whose car I collided with
- (63) a. stedet **der** det skjer NOR-1
place.DEF there it happens
 the place where it happens
 b. *the place *there* it happens English

With respect to the *wh*-element *hvorfor* ‘why’, this cannot be used as in the English example in (64a). Instead, a combination of the preposition *til* ‘to’ and the finite complementizer *at* ‘that’ is used. The Standard Norwegian temporal *wh*-element *når* ‘when’, on the other hand, can be used like its English equivalent introducing a relative, as shown in (65a), while the corresponding NOR-2 element *katti*, literally ‘what time’, cannot.¹⁷

- (64) a. *grunnen **hvorfor** jeg elsker deg NOR-1
reason.DEF why I love you
 b. grunnen **til at** jeg elsker deg
reason.DEF to that I love you
 The reason why I love you.
- (65) a. den dagen **når** jeg kommer tilbake NOR-1
that day.DEF when I come back
 ‘the day when I return’
 b. *den dagen **katti** æ kommer tilbake NOR-2
that day.DEF what-time I come back

Finally, as illustrated in (66), Norwegian free relatives are not introduced by *hva* ‘what’ but rather by the determiner *det* ‘that’.

- (66) a. Det jeg vet, er følgende. NOR-1 NOR-1
that I know is following
 What I know is the following.
 b. *Hva jeg vet, er følgende.
what I know is following

All in all, we see a clear contrast between English and Norwegian when it comes to the ability of *wh*-elements to introduce relative clauses, i.e., non-interrogative clauses, and we believe that this is significant for understanding the difference between the two languages with respect to a V2 requirement in subject *wh*-questions. Since Norwegian *wh*-elements do not carry the C feature, Norwegian *wh*-subjects cannot as such check the requirement imposed by $[\text{Int}^\circ_{\text{EPP}}]$, and the subject/oblique asymmetry we find in NOR-2 and NOR-3 has a different source (as described in Section 7) than the asymmetry in English.

9. Conclusion

Summing up, we can now represent the parametric differences between the Norwegian dialects and English pertaining to the Left Periphery as in Table 4.¹⁸

The approach to the Left Periphery that we have developed in this paper arguably gives a rich typology of possible left peripheral grammars, and a challenge for further research is, needless to say, to document other grammar types predicted by the typology. The typology is fairly rich, and there does indeed seem to exist a great variety of different left peripheral grammars. For future research it would for instance be interesting to confront the present model with the many V2 effects documented for various varieties of Romance (see, e.g., Poletto 2000 and references cited there).¹⁹ The approach also requires further

Table 4. Parameterized requirements on C° heads in three Norwegian dialects and English

	Int	Top	Foc	Wh	Fin
NOR-1	$[\text{Int}^\circ_{\text{EPP}}]$	$[\text{Top}^\circ_{\text{EPP}}]$			
NOR-2	$[\text{Int}^\circ_{\text{EPP}}]$	$[\text{Top}^\circ_{\text{EPP}}]$			
NOR-3		$[\text{Top}^\circ_{\text{EPP}}]$			
English	$[\text{Int}^\circ_{\text{EPP}}]$				

investigations of other left peripheral issues in Norwegian such as *that*-trace effects, etc.

As for Table 4 we would like to bring attention to how minimally different the Norwegian dialects are. In terms of parameter setting there is only one difference, namely that NOR-3 lacks the feature $[X^{\circ}_{EPP}]$ on Int° . The further difference between NOR-1 and NOR-2 follows from a lexical difference on a subset of the *wh*-elements: the simple *wh*-elements in NOR-2 are non-projecting and can therefore meet the requirement imposed by the $[Int^{\circ}_{EPP}]$ feature, obviating V-to-Int movement. Furthermore, we remember from the discussion in Section 7 that the conditions for *som*-insertion are essentially the same in all three dialects, but that it does not apply in NOR-1 main clauses due to a minimal lexical difference (the X°/XP status of *som*).

Thus, according to the account presented in this paper, the grammars of three dialects are indeed minimally different.

Notes

1. Not all northern dialects are of the first type: Nilsen (1996) has described the dialect of Nordreisa and found evidence that in this dialect, V3 word order is also allowed after complex *wh*-phrases. She has however documented a generation difference in that V3 with complex *wh*-constituents is predominantly found among older speakers, whereas the younger speakers to a greater extent conform to the general northerly pattern. Nilsen attributes this generation difference to the language shift from Finnish to Norwegian that took place in the first half of the 20th century, Finnish being a non-V2 language. This conclusion is corroborated by findings in a recent study of hers (Sollid 2003), where she documents lack of V2 also in declarative clauses in the speech of the older generation.
2. The corpus has mainly been collected by research fellow Merete Anderssen.
3. In general, V2 is preferred when the *wh*-phrase is 'heavy' and when it is moved from an adjunct position.
4. An anonymous reviewer points out that the following sentences both seem to be grammatical:

- (i) Ka en pingvin e for nåkka? / Ka e en pingvin for nåkka?
what a penguin is for something / what is a penguin for something
 What is a penguin?

We believe that the difference between the two is that the V3 version would be preferred when there has been some mention of a penguin in previous discourse, while the V2 structure would be chosen when the question is asked "out of the blue".

5. Benincà and Poletto reach their conclusion mainly on the basis of Italian, a language which exhibits a variety of syntactic phenomena pertaining to the left periphery (left dislocation, hanging topics, etc.) that (apparently) are not found in Scandinavian. For the purpose of comparison with Rizzi's (1997) original sequence of functional C-heads, it should be noted that we accept Poletto and Benincà's view that the iterating Topic head below Focus in Rizzi (1997) belongs to the Focus field and thus that all true topics precede focalized constituents (in hierarchical terms).

6. With regard to embedded clauses we argue that they do not contain a default topic the way subject-initial main clause declaratives do. In embedded clauses there is no general V2 requirement in Scandinavian, but in the restricted cases that allow topicalization (notably CPs under bridge verbs, cf. Vikner 1995) the finite verb must immediately follow the topicalized constituent and precede both the subject and sentence adverbials. The examples in (i) illustrate this.

- (i) Meteorologen sa NOR-1
meteorologist.DEF said
 a. ... at det sannsynligvis blir snøvær i morgen.
that it probably will-be snow-weather tomorrow
 b. ... at i morgen blir det sannsynligvis snøvær.
that tomorrow will-be it probably snow-weather
 c. ... *at i morgen det blir sannsynligvis snøvær.
that tomorrow it will-be probably snow-weather

NOR-2 and NOR-3 are no different from NOR-1 in this respect. Our account of embedded V2 in Scandinavian is simply that Top° is present in the cases with (non-default) topicalization, thus triggering movement of the finite verb to Top° since this head is endowed with the feature [X°_{EPP}].

7. Some dialects still retain, or have recreated, the original distinction as does the written standard Nynorsk (*kvar* 'where' vs. *kor* A/ADV 'how A/ADV').
 8. The suggestion that *-sen* corresponds to *sånn* 'such' is corroborated by the fact that in other varieties, for example NOR-1, the corresponding *wh*-adverb consists of *kor-lhvor-* and *-dan*, *-dan* being traceable to the high register (and Danish) form of *sånn*, namely *sådan*.
 9. An interesting case, pointed out to us by Merete Anderssen (p.c.), which clearly suggests that it is morphosyntactic and not phonological complexity that matters, concerns the *wh*-determiner *kas*, a contracted form of *ka slags* 'what kind-of'. Both *kas* and *ka slags* can appear with a null noun, and both of them require V2. Consider the examples in (i) and (ii).

- (i) a. Kas kjøpte han?
what-kind-of bought he
 Which kind did he buy?
 b. Kaslags kjøpte han?
what-kind-of bought he
 (ii) a. *Kas han kjøpte?
what-kind-of he bought
 b. *Ka slags han kjøpte?
whatkind-of bought he

Another and more well-known fact which points in the same direction concerns emphatic *wh*-expressions like *ka faen* and *kem faen*, literally 'what devil' and 'who devil', respectively. As shown in (iii) these expressions can occur with V3 in NOR-2.

- (iii) a. Ka faen du sa? NOR-2
what devil.DEF you said
 What the hell did you say?
 b. Kem faen du trur du e?
who devil.DEF you think you are
 Who the hell do you think you are?

This is straightforwardly accounted for on the analysis that the swear word part is merely emphatic and does not involve any morphosyntactic structure. In any case it strongly suggests that it is not the number of syllables and thus phonological structure that governs the possibility for lack of V2.

10. Our view here is in line with the claims in Nilsen (1997, 2003) that subjects to the right of (certain) sentence adverbs are focalized.
11. An anonymous reviewer points out an interesting asymmetry between main and embedded clauses in Norwegian (and Scandinavian in general) with respect to the relative ordering of subjects and sentence adverbs. It is quite clear that whereas main clause subjects may either precede or follow (most) sentence adverbs, embedded subjects must precede (most) sentence adverbs. Compare the examples in (i) and (ii).

- (i) Slike bøker har (mange studenter) sannsynligvis (mange studenter) aldri lest.
such books have many students probably many students never read
 Such books many students have probably never read.
- (ii) a. ... siden mange studenter sannsynligvis aldri har lest slike bøker.
since many students probably never have read such books
 b. *... siden sannsynligvis mange studenter aldri har lest slike bøker
since probably many students never have read such books

Our account of this pertains to the licensing of Fin° . As we discuss in Section 6, we argue that in embedded clauses where there is no independent movement of the finite verb to a C head (above Fin°) the subject will have to move to Spec-FinP in order to license this head.

12. On the straightforward assumption that Fin° is present in all finite clauses, both main and embedded ones, we can safely conclude that Fin° itself does not attract the verb in Norwegian since there is (in general) no V2 in embedded clauses.
13. The element *som* is generally thought of as a relativizer since it introduces relative clauses, but the subject/oblique asymmetry is only partially found in relative clauses: *som* is obligatory in restrictive subject relatives but optional in restrictive non-subject relatives. In non-restrictive relatives *som* is obligatorily present. These facts are illustrated in (i)–(iv).

- (i) lingvisten *(som) skrev denne boka
linguist.DEF SOM wrote this book-DEF
 the linguist who wrote this book
- (ii) boka (som) denne lingvisten skrev
book.DEF SOM this linguist-DEF wrote
 the book that this linguist wrote
- (iii) byen (som) vi bor i
city.DEF SOM we live in
 the city which we live in
- (iv) boka, *(som) professoren for øvrig skrev på to måneder, ...
book.DEF SOM professoren.DEF by-the way wrote on two months
 the book which the professor by the way wrote in two months

14. Holmberg (2000) and Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir (forthcoming) argue on the basis of Icelandic that *wh*-subjects move directly from vP past TP to CP. However, they assume a non-split C-T-v(-V) structure where T and C carry many of the properties we associate with AgrS and Fin, respectively. We therefore believe that their account of “direct” *wh*-movement can be accommodated so as to support our assumption about *wh*-subjects moving directly from Spec-TP to Spec-WhP, skipping Spec-AgrSP.

15. Treating *som* on a par with expletives is similar to how Taraldsen (1986b, pp.151ff) treats this element. As Taraldsen points out, an argument for treating *som* as an expletive comes from Danish, where in fact the expletive *der* 'there' can replace *som* in embedded *wh*-questions with a *wh*-subject. In either case *der* or *som* cannot be left out.

- (i) a. Vi ved hvem *(der) taler med Margrethe. Danish
 we know who there talks with Margrethe
 b. Vi ved hvem *(som) taler med Margrethe.
 we know who SOM talks with Margrethe

16. The strings *Who did come* and *Who did see you* are possible if there is focal stress on the dummy auxiliary, in which cases there is contrastive focus on the main verb.

- (i) a. Who DID come?
 b. Who DID see you?

17. NOR-2 and many other Norwegian dialects make a clear distinction in this respect between a temporal *wh*-adverb (*katti*) and a temporal complementizer (*når*).

- (i) Katti kommer du? NOR-2
 when come you
 'When do you come?'
 (ii) Når æ kommer, må du være klar.
 when I come must you be ready
 'When I come you should be ready.'

18. There is one syntactic environment in which all Norwegian dialects share with English the lack of V2 effects. As discussed by Pesetsky and Torrego (2001), English exclamatives introduced by a *wh*-phrase are incompatible with V2 (i.e., auxiliary inversion/*do*-support).

- (i) a. *What a silly book did Mary buy!
 b. What a silly book Mary bought!

This also holds for Norwegian: there is no subject/verb inversion in exclamatives. Moreover, there is an interesting difference between NOR-1 (Standard Norwegian) and NOR-2. Whereas the latter dialect introduces exclamatives by the *wh*-element *kor* 'how/where', the former dialect type uses, not a *wh*-element, but rather the particle *så* 'so'.

- (ii) a. Så/*hvor kjedelig forelesning han holdt! NOR-1
 so/how boring lecture he held
 What a boring lecture he gave!
 b. Så/*hvor stor du har blitt!
 so/how big you have become
 How big you've become!
 (iii) a. Kor kjedelig forelesning han no holdt! NOR-2
 how/where boring lecture he now held
 What a boring lecture he gave!
 b. Kor stor du no e blitt!
 how/where big you now are become
 How big you've become!

On a general note, we will argue that exclamatives differ from *wh*-questions in that they are introduced by the functional head *Wh*^o and that there is no *Int*^o head present at all. For this

reason there will be no attraction of the finite verb (or T in the sense of Pesetsky and Torrego) to the left periphery in the Norwegian dialects and English, and the lack of V2 is thus accounted for. As an illustration, (iii**b**) will be analyzed as in (iva), whereas the corresponding *wh*-question (with obligatory V2) has the structure in (ivb).

- (iv) a. $[_{WhP}[Kor\ stor]_j[_{FinP}du_i[_{AgrSP}t_i[_{TP}no\ t_i\ e[_{VP}t_i\ blitt\ t_j]$
 How big you've become!
 b. $[_{IntP}[Kor\ stor]_j[_{FinP}du_i\ t_k[_{AgrSP}t_i\ t_k[_{TP}no\ t_i\ t_k[_{VP}t_i\ blitt\ t_j]$
 How big have you become?

We have no immediate explanation for why NOR-1 (in effect Eastern Norwegian) does not allow *wh*-elements to introduce exclamatives, but we presume it pertains to lexical properties of the element *så* that makes it more suitable than *wh*-elements as a marker of exclamatives.

On the other hand it is interesting to notice that in both NOR-1 and NOR-2 *som*-insertion is obligatory in subject exclamatives to the extent that extraction from subject position is natural at all, cf. (iva) and (va). It is arguably more felicitous to construe subject exclamatives as expletive constructions, i.e., with the subject extracted from a VP-internal position and with an expletive filling the IP-subject position, as in (ivb) and (vb).

- (iv) a. ?Så mange båter *(som) er på fjorden! NOR-1
 so many boats SOM are on fjord.DEF
 b. Så mange båter *(det) er på fjorden!
 so many boats there are on fjord.DEF
 Both: How many boats there are on the fjord!
- (v) a. ?Så mange ryper *(som) ble skutt! NOR-1
 so many grouse SOM became shot
 b. Så mange ryper *(det) ble skutt!
 so many grouse it became shot
 (No corresponding (impersonal) passive possible in English.)
- (vi) a. ?Kor mange båta *(som) e på fjorn! NOR-2
 so many boats SOM are on fjord.DEF
 b. Kor mange båta *(det) e på fjorn!
 so many boats there are on fjord.DEF
 Both: How many boats there are on the fjord!
- (vii) a. ?Kor mange rype *(som) ble skutt! NOR-2
 so many grouse SOM became shot
 b. Kor mange rype *(det) ble skutt!
 so many grouse it became shot
 (No corresponding (impersonal) passive possible in English.)

In order to account for this syntactic parallelism between NOR-1 and NOR-2, we will argue that there is no requirement that exclamative Wh° be filled in either of the dialects, i.e., that Wh° is not endowed with an $[X^\circ_{EPP}]$ feature and that the same holds for English.

Moreover, the reason why *som*-insertion is necessary is the same as in the other cases discussed in Section 7. Since there is a clear definiteness effect on the fronted phrase in an exclamative, as illustrated by (iix), we can straightforwardly defend the view that a fronted subject moves directly from Spec-TP to Spec-WhP, passing over Spec-AgrSP, just as in the case of *wh*-questions. In other words, *som* is inserted in order to license $AgrS^\circ$ since the

subject has not moved through Spec-AgrSP and since licensing through agreement with the finite verb does not help in Norwegian.

- (iix) a. *Så de mange båtene som er på fjorden! NOR-2
 so the many boats.DEF SOM are on fjord-DEF
 b. *Så de mange rypene som ble skutt!
 so the many grouse.DEF SOM were shot

19. As a final speculation we would like to suggest that the grammar of Belfast English, which exhibits auxiliary inversion/*do*-support also in embedded questions, possibly differs from Standard English in that it has a requirement for a filled Wh°. Consider the following examples from Henry (1995), cited by Pesetsky and Torrego (2001).

- (i) a. She asked who had I seen. Belfast English
 b. They wondered what had John done.
 c. They couldn't understand how had she had time to get her hair done.
 d. I wondered where were they going.

References

- Åfarli, Tor: 1986a, 'Some Syntactic Structures in a Dialect of Norwegian', *University of Trondheim Working Papers in Linguistics* 3, pp. 93–111.
 Åfarli, Tor: 1986b, 'Absence of V2 Effects in a Dialect of Norwegian', in Ö. Dahl and A. Holmberg (eds.), *Scandinavian Syntax: Workshop at the Ninth Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics*, Stockholms universitet, Institut för lingvistik, pp. 8–20.
 Benincà, Paola and Cecilia Poletto: in press, 'Topic, Focus and V2: Defining the CP Sublayers', in L. Rizzi (ed.), *The CP Layer*, Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York.
 Chomsky, Noam: 2000, 'Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework', in R. Martin, D. Michaels, and J. Uriagereka (eds.), *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, MIT Press, Cambridge, pp. 89–155.
 Fiva, Toril: 1996, 'Spørresetninger i Tromsø-dialekten' [Interrogative Clauses in the Tromsø Dialect], *Nordica Bergensia* 9, pp. 139–155.
 Henry, Alison: 1995, *Dialect Variation and Parameter Setting: A Study of Belfast-English and Standard English*, Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford.
 Holmberg, Anders: 1994, 'The Pros and Cons of Agreement in Scandinavian Impersonals', in G. Cinque, J. Koster, J.-Y. Pollock, L. Rizzi, and R. Zanuttini (eds.), *Paths Toward Universal Grammar: Studies in Honor of Richard S. Kayne*, Georgetown University Press, Washington, D.C., pp. 217–236.
 Holmberg, Anders: 2000, 'Scandinavian Stylistic Fronting: How Any Category Can Become an Expletive', *Linguistic Inquiry* 31(3), 445–483.
 Holmberg, Anders and Thorbjörg Hróarsdóttir: Forthcoming, 'Agreement and Movement in Icelandic Raising Constructions', *Lingua*.
 Lie, Svein: 1992, 'Ka du sei?' [What you say?], *Maal og Minne* 1992, pp. 62–77.
 Nilsen, Hilde: 1996, *Koffør dem sir det? Spørresetninger i nordreisadialekten* [Why They Say That? Interrogative Sentences in the Nordreisa Dialect], Candidata Philologiae Thesis, University of Tromsø.
 Nilsen, Øystein: 1997, 'Adverbs and A-shift', *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 59, pp. 1–31.
 Nilsen, Øystein: 2003, *Eliminating Positions: Syntax and Semantics of Sentential Modification*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utrecht, HIL dissertation 73.

- Nordgård, Torbjørn: 1985, *Word Order, Binding and the Empty Category Principle*, Candidatus Philologiae Thesis, University of Trondheim.
- Pesetsky, David and Esther Torrego: 2001, 'T-to-C Movement: Causes and Consequences', in M. Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, MIT Press, Cambridge, pp. 355–426.
- Poletto, Cecilia: 2000, *The Higher Functional Field: Evidence from Northern Italian Dialects*, Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford.
- Rice, Curt and Peter Svenonius: 1998, 'Prosodic V2 in Northern Norwegian', ms., University of Tromsø.
- Rizzi, Luigi: 1997, 'The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery', in L. Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of Grammar: Handbook of Generative Syntax*, Kluwer, Dordrecht, pp. 281–337.
- Rizzi, Luigi: 2001, 'On the Position "Int(errogative)" in the Left Periphery of the Clause', in G. Cinque and G. Salvi (eds.), *Current Studies in Italian Syntax*, Elsevier, Amsterdam, pp. 287–296.
- Sollid, Hilde: 2003, *Dialektsyntaks i Nordreisa: Språkdannelse og stabilisering i møtet mellom kvensk og norsk* [Dialect Syntax in Nordreisa: Language Creation and Stabilization in the Meeting between Kven-Finnish and Norwegian], Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tromsø.
- Taraldsen, Knut Tarald: 1986a, 'On Verb Second and the Functional Content of Syntactic Categories', in H. Haider and M. Prinzhorn (eds.), *Verb Second Phenomena in Germanic Languages*, Foris, Dordrecht, pp. 7–25.
- Taraldsen, Knut Tarald: 1986b, 'SOM and the Binding Theory', in L. Hellan and K. Koch Christensen (eds.), *Topics in Scandinavian Syntax*, Reidel, Dordrecht, pp. 149–184.
- Vangsnes, Øystein Alexander: 1999, *The Identification of Functional Architecture*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Bergen.
- Vangsnes, Øystein Alexander: 2001, 'On Noun Phrase Architecture, Referentiality, and Article Systems', *Studia Linguistica* **55**, pp. 249–299.
- Vikner, Sten: 1995, *Verb Movement and Expletive Subjects in the Germanic Languages*, Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford.
- Westergaard, Marit Richardsen: 2003, 'Word Order in *wh*-questions in a North Norwegian Dialect: Some Evidence from an Acquisition Study', *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* **261**, pp. 81–109.