On *wh*-determination across Scandinavian dialects

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1. Introduction

(1) What car did you buy? (Q for kind or token)
A: *A station wagon* (KIND)
B: *The station wagon* (TOKEN)

(2) Which car did you buy? (Q for token)
A: *#A station wagon*
B: *The station wagon*

(3) What kind of car did you buy? (Q for kind)
A: *A station wagon*
B: *#The station wagon*

Possibly too simple:

(4) Web example I, discussion forum:
Q: Which car is the best out there? [I] mean name/brand?
A: *[L]exus for luxury, comfort, reliability, nice appearance.*
B: *[T]he new 2007 civic. nice and affordable for anyone.*

(5) Web example II:
Few people know in advance which car is best for them and with so many models available, making a choice can be an intimidating prospect.

Solution in the present context: brands = names = definite descriptions ≈ tokens

(6) A convenient idealization: *what* = ± KIND_q
which = –KIND_q
what kind of = +KIND_q

2. "Manner *how*" as determiner

Across Norwegian dialects it is very common to use as a *wh*-determiner the element that corresponds to the English manner adverb *how*. In most cases this element will be distinct from the English degree adverb *how*. In some varieties the element in question is ±KIND querying, in others it is only +KIND querying.

(7) a. Korsn bil kjøpte du? *Tromsø Norwegian*
how car bought you
'What kind of car did you buy?'
'Which car did you buy?' or:
b. Korsn føles de?
how feels it
'How does it feel?'
c. Kor gammel e du?
where old are you
'How old are you?'

(8) a. Åssen bil kjøpte'ru? *colloquial Eastern Norwegian I*
how car bought'ya
'What kind of car did you buy?'
'#Which car did you buy?'
b. Åssen føles de?
how feels it
'How does it feel?'
c. Å gammal ær'u'a?
WH old is'ya'then
'How old are you then?'

(9) a. Hvordan bil kjøpte du? *colloquial Eastern Norwegian II*
how car bought'ya
'What kind of car did you buy?'
'#Which car did you buy?'
b. Hvordan føles det?
how feels it
'How does it feel?'
c. Hvor gammel er du?
where old are you
'How old are you?'

The determiner use of "manner *how*" is not sanctioned in either of the standard written varieties: instead we find determiners which more closely resembles the situation in other Germanic varieties (*hvilken* 'which'*, hva/kva slags* 'what kind's'*, kva for ein* 'what for a').

(10) a. Hvilken bil kjøpte du? *Bokmål Norwegian*
which car bought you
'Which car did you buy?'
b. Hva slags/*hvordan bil kjøpte du?
what kind-of/how car bought you
'What kind of car did you buy?'
c. Hvordan føles det?
how feels it
'How does it feel?'
d. Hvor gammel er du?
where old are you
'How old are you?'

(11) a. Kva for ein bil kjøpte du? *Nynorsk Norwegian*
what for a car bought you
'Which car did you buy?'
b. Kva slags/*korleis bil kjøpte du?
what kind-of/how car bought you
'What kind of car did you buy?'
c. Korleis føles det?
how feels it
'How does it feel?'
d. Kor gammal er du?
where old are you
'How old are you?'

Unlike English manner *how* the Norwegian corresponding forms appear to have a complex internal structure, and notice that degree *how* appears to make up part of that structure in all varieties. Degree *how* is moreover normally identical to *where* in the varieties (hence the gloss).

(12) a. Å bor'u hen 'a? *colloquial Eastern Norwegian I*
WH live'you LOC then
'Where do you live then?'

b. Hvor bor du hen? *Bokmål/Eastern Norwegian II*
where live you LOC
'Where do you live?'

c. Kor du bor hen? *Tromsø*
where you live LOC
'Where do you live?'

d. Kor bur du? *Nynorsk*
where live you
'Where do you live?'

In some varieties the relevant bit of structure appears to be smaller than *where* proper. This holds for coll. Eastern Norwegian I and for the Leikanger variety of western Norwegian.

(13) a. Kelaisen bil kjøpte'ru? *Leikanger Norwegian*
how car bought'ya
'Which car did you buy?' or:
'What kind of car did you buy?'

b. Kelaisen følest da?
how feels it
'How does it feel?'

c. Ke gammadl e'ru'rá?
WH old are'ya'then
'How old are you (then)?'

d. Kest bur du henne?
where live you LOC
'Where do you live?'

Two other varieties indicate that degree *how* is a part of manner *how* without there necessarily being an exact identity between the former and *where*: a (innovative?) variety of Rogaland Norwegian (spoken in and around the city of Stavanger; southwestern Norway) and Swedish.

(14) a. Koss bil lige du? *Rogaland X Norwegian*
how car like you
'What kind of car do you like?'

b. Koss føles de?
how feels it
'How does it feel?'

c. Koss gammale e du?
how old are you
'How old are you?'

d. Kor bor du?
where live you
'Where do you live?'

(15) Web example (Rogaland X):
[Eg] lurte bare på koss du visste koss mange
I wondered only on how you knew how many
som hadde besøkt bloggen din, eg?!
SOM had visited blog-DEF your I
'I just wondered how you knew how many had visited your blog.'

The Swedish determiner *hur(u)dan*, which can only query for KIND, is not identical to manner *how*. On the other hand, manner *how* and degree *how* is identical in form and

this element is part of the determiner. Notice at the same time that the remaining part of the determiner, *-dan*, is identical in form with the last part of manner *how* in Bokmål and Eastern Norwegian. This element is argued by etymologists to stem from the past participle of Low German *doen* 'to do'.

(16) a. Hurdan bil köpte du? *Swedish*
how+X car bought you
'What kind of car did you buy?'
b. Hur/*hurdan känns det?
how/how+X feels it
'How does it feel?'
c. Hur gammal är du?
how old are you
'How old are you?'
d. Var bor du?
where live you
'Where do you live?'

In Icelandic manner *how* can be used to query for KIND without degree how being a completely integrated part of manner *how*. Notice however that also in this Scandinavian variety does manner *how* appear to have a complex internal structure.

(17) a. Hvernig bíl keyptir þú? *Icelandic*
how car bought you
'What kind of car did you buy?'
b. Hvernig hefur þú það?
how have you it
'How do you feel?'
c. Hversu gamall ert þú?
how old are you
'How old are you?'
d. Hvað ert þú gamall?
what are you old
'How old are you?'
e. Hvar byrð þú?
where live you
'Where do you live?'

	manner 'how'	KIND Q	TOKEN Q	degree 'how'	'where'	'what'
Tromsø	**kor**-sn	+	+	**kor**	**kor**	ka
East Nor. I	**å**-ssen	+	–	**å**	**å**...	**å**...
East Nor. II	**hvor**-dan	+	–	**hvor**	**hvor**	hva
Leikanger	**ke**-lais(-en)	+	+	**ke**	**ke**-st	**ke**
Bokmål	**hvor**-dan	–	–	**hvor**	**hvor**	hva
Nynorsk	**kor**-leis	–	–	**kor**	**kor**/kvar	kva
Rogaland X	**koss**(-en)	+	?	**koss**	kor	ka
Swedish	**hur**	**hur**-dan	***hur**-dan	**hur**	var	vad
Icelandic	hvern-ig	+	–	hversu/hvað[1]	hvar	hvað

Table 1: The form of some *wh*-elements across some Scandinavian varieties

[1] There are two ways of forming degree questions in Icelandic (see Svenonius and Kennedy 2006): either by piedpiping of *hversu X* (cf. 17c) or by fronted *hvað* 'what' plus *X* in situ (cf. 17d). The former strategy belongs to the written/formal register whereas the latter is the unmarked strategy and the one found in current colloquial Icelandic. (Splitting *hversu X* is not possible and neither is pied-piping of *hvað X*.)

3. The internal structure of manner *how*

Across Norwegian dialects manner *how* takes on a variety of shapes. The list in (18) is not exhaustive. (The italicized versions are sanctioned by the written standards; 'BM' = Bokmål, 'NN' = Nynorsk.)

(18) {koss, kass, korsn, kossen, *åssen* (BM), hossen, høssen, kessn, kelais, kåles, kelaisen, *korleis* (NN), kelessen, korleisen, *hvorledes* (archaic BM), *hvordan* (BM), kordan, …}

From a morphological point of view the varieties seem to fall into three groups:

(19) a. *ÅSSEN* ⇒ *å-s-en* WH-*s*(-*en*)
b. *KORLEIS* ⇒ *kor-lei-s* WH-WAY-*s*(-*en*)
c. *HVORDAN* ⇒ *hvor-dan* WH-*dan*

The KORLEIS type has an incorporated directional noun *lei* 'direction, way' followed by the formative *-s*, presumably a linker (a "genitive morpheme"). Notice that the *-s* in some cases can be followed by *-(e)n* such as in the Leikanger dialect. This element does not agree in gender and number when manner *how* is used as a determiner.

(20) a.	ain/kelaisen	bíl	(m.)		*Leikanger*
	a / *how*	*car*			
b.	ai/kelaisen	ferja	(f.)		
	a / *how*	*ferry*			
c.	ait/kelaisen	hus	(n.)		
	a / *how*	*house*			
d.	(noki)/kelaisen	bíla	(pl.)		
	some / how	cars			

The ÅSSEN type can be taken to be a subtype of the KORLEIS type, i.e. with the same internal composition except that there is no incorporated directional noun. Just like the *-en* morpheme appears in some varieties of the KORLEIS type it appears to be absent in some varieties of the ÅSSEN type, for instance Rogaland X. The *-(e)n* morpheme in the ÅSSEN type does not show any agreement either when used as a determiner, a fact supporting viewing it as a subtype of the KORLEIS type.

(21) a.	en/åssen	bil	(m.)		*coll. Eastern Norwegian I*
	a / *how*	*car*			
b.	æi/åssen	ferje	(f.)		
	a /*how*	*ferry*			
c.	et/åssen	hus	(n.)		
	a /*how*	*house*			
d.	(noen)/åssen	biler	(pl.)		
	some / how	cars			

The HVORDAN type is different from the other two types and appears to consist of a *wh*-part plus the borrowed past participle *-dan* 'done' (from Low German). When used as a determiner no agreement appears. Furthermore, no *-s* formative or *-en* morpheme appears in any dialect (as far as I know), and neither does an incorporated directional noun.

(22) a.	en/hvordan	bil	(m.)		*coll. Eastern Norwegian II*
	a / *how*	*car*			
b.	æi/hvordan	ferje	(f.)		
	a /*how*	*ferry*			
c.	et/hvordan	hus	(n.)		
	a /*how*	*house*			
d.	(noen)/hvordan	biler	(pl.)		
	some / how	cars			

Two templates for manner *how* in Norwegian dialects:

(23) a. WH + (-WAY)-*s*(-*n*) (KORLEIS, ÅSSEN)
b. WH + DONE (HVORDAN)

Do (-WAY)-*s*(-*n*) and DONE straddle the same stretch of functional structure? Both sequences appear in other adverbs/determiners.

(24) a. 'how': {korleis, hvorledes} ∨ {hvordan}
b. 'such, this way': {såleis, således} ∨ {sådan}
c. 'other(wise)': {annleis, annerledes}
d. 'somehow': {eikorleis}
e. 'many ways': {mangeleis, mangeledes}

Icelandic manner *how* also involve an incorporated directional noun: the etymology of *hvernig* is *hvern veg* 'what way' (acc., sg., masculine).

(25) Non-normalized Old Norse example from *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga*:
... oc se huernveg lios guðs miskun*n*ar er ollum er boðet oc buit.
and see what-way light God's mercy REL all-DAT.PL is invited and ready
'...and look how the light of God's mercy is there for everyone.'

When used as a determiner there is again no agreement with the noun.

(26) a. þennan/hvernig bíl (m., acc., sg.) *Icelandic*
this / how car
b. þessa/hvernig ferju (f., acc., sg.)
this / how ferry
c. þetta/hvernig hús (n., acc., sg.)
this / how house
d. þessa/hvernig bíla (m., acc., pl.)
this / how cars

(27) a. 'how': hvernig
b. 'such, this way': þannig
c. 'also': einnig

The presence of a directional noun in manner *how* (and other manner adverbs) makes sense:

(28) In what way are you going to fix your car? *English*

4. TOKEN querying determiners

In some eastern Norwegian varieties queries for TOKEN can be formed by the use of 'who' as determiner.

(29) a. Hvem bil kjøpte'ru? *colloquial Eastern Norwegian I*
who car bought'ya
'Which car did you buy?'
'#What kind of car did you buy?'
b. Hvem lånte 'ru penga a 'a?
who lent 'ya money-DEF of then
'Who did you borrow the money from (then)?'

(30) Web statement (http://www.diskusjon.no/lofiversion/index.php/t582812.html):
"Folk som sier hvem bil eller hvem i stedet for hvilket mishandler det norske språk[.] Må alle "hvem-ere" brenne i helvette [sic]!"
'People who say who car or who instead of which are abusing the Norwegian language. May all "who'ers" burn in hell!'

Colloquial Eastern Norwegian II will resort to the standard Bokmål *hvilken* 'which' for TOKEN queries. Swedish also has *vilken* 'which'. The connection between 'which' and 'who' works in the other direction too: in many eastern Norwegian and Swedish dialects forms like *åkken*, *håkken*, *hukkan* etc. are used both for 'who' and 'which', and these forms are presumably cognate with *(h)vilken* 'which' of the standard varieties.

(31) a. Åkken har sagt de? *Northeastern Norwegian*
who has said that
'Who has said that?'
b. Åkken politiker ær kjent for dialekta si?
who politician is known for dialect his
'Which politician is known for his dialect?'

The Nynorsk Norwegian strategy of using a *what for a* determiner to yield TOKEN queries appears to be available for many dialects too. At the face of it this determiner appears to be parallel with the Dutch *wat voor (een)* and German *was für ein* determiners. Notice however that there is visible agreement with the noun in the Norwegian/Scandinavian counterpart.

(32) a. kva for ein bil (m.) *Nynorsk Norwegian*
what for a car
b. kva for ei ferje (f.)
what for a ferry
c. kva for eit hus (n.)
what for a house
d. kva for (nokre) bilar (pl.)
what for some cars

Danish has the TOKEN querying determiner *hvilken* which is somewhat alien to colloquial registers (Sten Vikner, p.c.). In colloquial Danish *hvad for en* 'what for a' may seem to be compatible with queries for both KIND and TOKEN. Consider the following web examples.

(33) a. Hvad for en by i Japan kommer du fra? *Danish*
what for a city in Japan come you from
'Which city in Japan do you come from?'
b. Tænk på hvad for en by man kunne skabe.
think on what for a city one could create
'Consider what kind of a city one could create.'

In Icelandic the TOKEN querying determiner is the non-inflecting element *hvaða*, which arguably consists of *hvað-* 'what' (neuter sg., nom/acc) and the formative *-a*.

(34) a. Hvaða bát keyptir þú? *Icelandic*
what-A boat bought you
'Which boat did you buy?'
b. Hvaða báta keyptir þú?
what-A boats bought you
'Which boats did you buy?'
c. Í hvaða báti komst þú?
in what-A boat came you
'In which boat did you come?'

The Mainland Scandinavian determiner *(h)vilken* 'which' can only query for TOKEN like its English counterpart. The determiner is argued to stem from Old Norse *hvílíkr* (cf. most dictionaries such as e.g. *Bokmålsordboka*). The internal structure of *hvílíkr* is in turn the neuter dative singular of 'what' (*hví*) plus the incorporated adjective *líkr* '(a)like'. However, *hvílíkr* is only compatible with queries for KIND.

(35) Non-normalized Old Norse example from *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga*:
... at ec skyllda syna ollum mo*n*num hue lik ast er mer leikr a þer ...
that I should show all men how like love REL me plays for you
'... that I should show all men what (kind of) love I nurture for you...'

Old Norse *hvílíkr* was also compatible with exclamation, and this use is the only one found in present day Icelandic (*hvílíkur*).

(36) Web example:
Hvílík vonbrigði sem úrslitin í gærkvöldi voru[!] *Icelandic*
which disappointment SOM results-DEF in yester-night were
'What a disappointment the results yesterday evening were!'

The proposed etymology of *(h)vilken* is problematic also from a morphological point of view: (i) whereas *hvílíkr* inflects like a strong adjective, *(h)vilken* inflects (almost) like a past participle and/or (almost) like the indefinite article, (ii) vowel deletion and/or metathesis must have occurred in the part that corresponds to the incorporated adjective (*-lík-* ⇒ *-lk-*).

	'which'	past participle	indefinite article
Swedish	*vilk-en* *vilk-et* *vilk-a*	*skjut-en* *skjut-et* *skjut-na*	*en* *ett* *(ena)*
Danish/Norwegian	*hvilk-en* *hvilk-et* *hvilk-e*	n/a	*en* *et* –

Table 2: Inflection of *which*, (strong) past participles, and indefinite article in Mainland Scandinavian

Is Dutch/Low German *welk* plus indefinite article a better candidate for the origin of Mainland Scandinavian *(h)vilken*?

5. KIND querying determiners

In Nynorsk Norwegian bare 'what' has a general ±KIND capacity on a par with English *what*, and several Norwegian dialects seem to share this capacity.

(37) a. Kva land kan nordmenn reise visumfritt til? *Nynorsk*
what country can Norwegians travel visa-free to
'What countries may Norwegian travel to without a visa?'
b. Kva samfunn vil vi ha?
what society will we have
'What kind of society do we want?'

Alongside this and the use of manner *how* as KIND querying determiner it seems that most dialects of Scandinavian can resort to a strategy whereby a determiner with an overt 'kind' noun is used. This noun is followed by the *-s* formative in Mainland Scandinavian and the preposition *for*/*för* may optionally intervene between the invariant 'what' and the kind noun. In Icelandic the kind noun carries genitive case and the preceding *wh*-element carries neuter, singular, genitive morphology. No preposition may intervene between the *wh*-element and the kind noun in Icelandic.

(38) a. hva (for) slags bil *Bokmål Norwegian*
what for kind-s car
b. kva (for) slags bil *Nynorsk Norwegian*
what for kind-s car
c. vad (för) slags bil *Swedish*
what for kind-s car
d. vad (för) sorts bil *Swedish*
what for sort-s car
e. hvad (for) slags bil *Danish*
what for kind-s car
f. hverskonar bíll *Icelandic*
what.GEN-sort.GEN car
g. hverskyns bíll *Icelandic*
what.GEN-gender.GEN car
h. hverslags bíll *Icelandic*
what.GEN-kind.GEN car

With respect to the presence/absence of *for/för* there are statistical differences between the Mainland Scandinavian standard varieties: absence of *for* is preferred in Norwegian whereas the distribution is more even in Danish and Swedish .

	Search strings	+'for' : –'for' (ratio)
Bokmål (site:no)	*"hva (for) slags"*	1:5,1
Nynorsk (site:no)	*"kva (for) slags"*	1:11,7
Danish (site:dk)	*"hvad (for) slags"*	1:2,8
Swedish (site:se)	*"vad (för) slags"*	1,5:1

Table 3: Ratios of ±'for' in KIND querying determiners in Mainland Scandinavian (Google Search)

The kind noun *slags* in the KIND querying determiner can be reinforced by another kind noun such as *typ(e)* 'type', but apparently (almost) only in Norwegian and only if 'for' is absent.

	Search strings	+'for' : –'for' (tokens)
Bokmål (site:no)	*"hva (for) slags type"*	2:621
Nynorsk (site:no)	*"kva (for) slags type"*	1:128
Danish (site:dk)	*"hvad (for) slags type"*	0:2
Swedish (site:se)	*"vad (för) slags typ"*	1:12

Table 4: Tokens of ±'for' in KIND querying determiners reinforced by 'type' (Google Search)

If 'for' blocks reinforcement and the absence of this reinforcement Danish and Swedish can be seen in relation to the higher ratios for 'for' in these two varieties.

(39) A cycle hypothesis:
(i) The fact that reinforcement by *type* is more frequent in Norwegian, may indicate that the KIND property of *hva/kva slags* is bleeched and that for many speakers the original determiner can query for both KIND and TOKEN.
(ii) The bleeching of *hva/kva slags* parallels a bleeching of manner *how* when used as a determiner: manner *how* has entered the D system as KIND querying (cf. Eastern Norwegian, Swedish, Icelandic) and has extended its capacity to also cover queries for TOKEN (cf. Tromsø, Leikanger Rogaland X).

Such a cycle would cast new light on the semantic shift from Old Norse *hvílíkr* to contemporary Mainland Scandinavian *(h)vilken*: maybe the origin is Old Norse and Low German combined?

6. Tentative analysis

We have observed that the *wh*-part of manner *how* is identical to degree *how* in Mainland Scandianvian which in turn is sometimes identical to *where* and in other cases to *what*. Distinct forms of degree *how* do not occur in the *what kind of* determiner.

(40)	a.	*hvor	slags	bil	*Bokmål*
		how	*kind-s*	*car*	
	b.	*kor	slags	bil	*Nynorsk*
		how	*kind-s*	*car*	
	c.	*hur	slags	bil	*Swedish*
		how	*kind-s*	*car*	

Does the property of incorporated elements differ with respect to degree modification?

(41)	a.	that kind	v	what kind
	b.	so like	v	how like
	c.	so done	v	how done
	d.	so way	v	how way

Wh-determiners have recently been argued to involve abstract incorporated nouns (Leu 2005, van Riemsdijk 2005). That incorporated nouns and other elements can be involved in *wh*-determiners should appear uncontroversial.

Another recent take on *wh*-determiners is to analyze them as predicates that invert (Bennis et al. 1998).

A speculative alternative: *wh*-determiners are complements that roll up. Consider the following paraphrases:

(42)	a.	hva slags bil (Bokmål)	⇒	*car of what kind*
	b.	hvilken bil (Bokmål)	⇒	*car like how*
	c.	hvordan bil (coll. Eastern Norw.)	⇒	*car done how*
	d.	kelaisen bil (Leikanger)	⇒	*car a way of how*

(43) <u>hva slags bil:</u>
- a. [car [of [what kind ...
- c. [car [what kind of] [t ...
- d. [what kind of car [t [t ...

(44) <u>kelaisen bil</u>
- a. [car [a [way [of [how …
- b. [car [a [how way] [of [t …
- c. [car [how way of a] [t [t …
- d. [how way of a car [t [t [t …

In KIND queries the head noun is preceded by an abstract KIND head in D°. Absence of the KIND adjective, and presence of an article in D°, will yield TOKEN queries. "Bleeching" of the actual incorporated morpheme allows for an "extended" use of the *wh*-complement whereby it moves into D° to license TOKEN queries. Conversely, the indefinite article can be extended to license also the KIND adjective.

(45)	a.	$[_{DP}$ KIND	$[_{NP}$	$[_{PP}$ WH-DETERMINER
	b.	$[_{DP}$ "a"	$[_{NP}$	$[_{PP}$ WH-DETERMINER

Notice the complementarity of the indefinite article and an overt kind noun.

(46) a. hva for (*en) slags bil
what for a kind-s car
b. hva (*en) slags bil
what a kind-s car

The element "for" does not occur in manner *how*.

(47) a. *ke-fø-laisen *Leikanger*
how-for-way-s-n
b. *hvor-for-dan *Bokmål*
how-for-done

Suggestion: The "for" element heads the left periphery of the noun phrase and is [–DEG]: therefore it can only be preceded by bare "what". The "for" element heads the left periphery (KP).

(48) $[_{KP}$ [*what*] *for* $[_{DP}$ *a* $[_{NP}$ *car* $[_{WhP}$ t

7. Conclusions

(49) (i) The *wh*-related part of the noun noun phrase is very flexible with respect to how it is spelled out, and
(ii) Although it can be quite minimal in terms of overt realization, it seems clear that there has to be quite an elaborate underlying structure for *wh*-determiners
(iii) There seems to be a lexical basis for *wh*-determination: the capacity of one *wh*-determiner can depend on the presence or absence of other "specialized" determiners.

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