

### V3-triggering adverbs in Mainland Scandinavian

The Mainland Scandinavian languages (and to some extent also the Insular Scandinavian languages) systematically allow non-V2 word order when the verb is modified with a certain class, or certain classes of adverbs (so called preverbal adverbs), as exemplified below (from Korp, Bloggmix 2005, all examples given in Swedish throughout the abstract):

- (1) Jag **bokstavligen** sprang ut och jag **nästan** slängde mig runt hans hals  
I literally ran out and I almost almost threw myself around his neck.

These constructions differ from other V2-violations found in the Scandinavian languages, e.g. non-subject questions in Northern and Western Norwegian and sentences with the adverb *kanske* (maybe), in that the verb clearly has moved to something that looks like the usual “V2” position, as evident from subject-verb inversion (2) and placement of other sentence adverbs:

- (2) Förra gången **nästan** slängde jag mig om halsen.  
\*Förra gången jag **nästan** slängde mig om halsen.  
\*Förra gången **nästan** jag slängde mig om halsen.  
“Last time I almost threw myself around the neck.”

Although these constructions have been discussed in the Scandinavian syntactic literature (e.g. Egerland 1998, Engdahl 1998, Brandler & Håkansson 2017, Nilsen 2003, see Julien 2018 and Lundquist 2018 for overviews), it is surprising how small a role they have had in the theoretical discussions about V2 in the Scandinavian languages, and the difference between Scandinavian V2 and V2 in Germanic OV-languages (where these constructions are genuinely absent). In my talk, I will first give a brief description of the syntactic, semantic and prosodic properties of the V3-adverbs. I will focus on their possibly most surprising property, namely that the preverbal adverbial cannot alone occupy the first position/fundament of the sentence. Rather, a sentence with an initial preverbal adverbial is interpreted as a verb-initial sentences, i.e. as a *yes/no* questions (if it receives any interpretation at all):

- (3) Nästan grät han när han kom hem(?)  
Lit. “Almost cried he when he came home”  
(4) Mer än fördubblade de vinsten förra året(?)  
Lit. “More than doubled they the profit last year”

This fact alone makes any simple *templatic* account of Scandinavian V2 impossible (note here that other adverbs are unproblematic in first position, e.g. *Förmodligen grät han när han kom* – “He probably cried when he came home”).

In the second part I will present some result from a recent production study carried out in Tromsø and Copenhagen. In the study, we looked at whether speakers who produce V3 in questions (as is possible in the Tromsø dialect) are more likely to produce V3 with adverbs, and also whether these speakers in general were more liberal in placing other types of adverbs in a preverbal position. This is relevant for finding out whether structurally different non-V2 constructions work in tandem to erode the general V2 system. In the production task, participants were asked to read a cue sentence with an embedded clause (5-7), usually embedded under a verb of saying or a verb selecting an embedded question (e.g. “ask” or “wonder”). The participant were thereafter asked to transform the embedded clause to a main clause declarative (8-11) or a main clause question (testing V3 in questions). The critical cue sentences contained either a preverbal adverb (*helt enkelt* in 5) or a regular sentence adverb (*vanligtvis* in 5). In some case the same adverb was used, but with a different functions, compare the verb-modifying reading in (6) with the VP-modifying reading in (7) (examples given in Swedish).

- (5) Marit sa att hon helt enkelt/vanligtvis älskar choklad.

- “Marit said that she simply/usually loves chocolate.”  
 (6) *Kalle sa att han nästan grät när han kom hem.*  
 “Kalle said that he almost cried when he came home.”  
 (7) *Kalle sa att han nästan fick alla rätt på provet.*  
 “Kalle said that he almost got everything right on the test.”

In the embedded clauses, the adverb placement for regular and preverbal adverbs is identical, i.e., it is placed before the finite verb due to verb *in situ*. In the main clauses, the two types of adverbs have different distribution:

- (8) Jag (helt enkelt) älskar (helt enkelt) choklad.  
 “I simply love chocolate.”  
 (9) Jag (\*vanligtvis) älskar (vanligtvis) choklad.  
 “I usually love chocolate.”  
 (10) Jag (nästan) grät (nästan) när jag kom hem.  
 “I almost cried when I came home.”  
 (11) Jag (\*nästan) fick (nästan) alla rätt på provet.  
 “I almost got everything right on the test.”

The preliminary results indicate that (A) the Tromsø-group indeed produce more V3 with adverbs than the Copenhagen group, and even within the Tromsø group, the speakers who produce more V3 questions seem to produce more V3 with adverbs. However, (B) the Tromsø speakers never produced V3 with the regular adverbs (9 and 11). Further, (C) the Copenhagen speakers indicated that the V3 order with the preverbal adverbs indeed was acceptable, even though they rarely or never produce it. Taken together, these findings indicate that the V3 adverbs are a fairly isolated phenomenon, not having a general effect on the overall V2 system. Rather, V2 speakers seem to have little problem keeping several non-V2 constructions in their grammar without losing track of a V2 generalization. However, the frequency finding (A) still suggests that a less consistent activation of the V2 structure in one domain (e.g. questions) increases the likelihood of activating a non-V2 structure in another domain, but only if it is within the boundaries of the grammar. Still, there is a big step from the frequency effects to a radical change in the grammatical system.

## Referenser

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