

8 Norwegian

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8.1 Introduction

Norwegian is the only modern Germanic language of which two officially recognized literary varieties exist. These are *Bokmål* ('book language'; BM) and *Nynorsk* ('New Norwegian'; NN). The reasons for the existence of the two varieties are to be found in the political and cultural history of the country. In 1380 Norway entered a political union with Denmark which was to last until 1814, when the country became affiliated with Sweden through a union with the Swedish king as head of state. This union was dissolved in 1905.

In 1814 the Norwegian linguistic situation was a kind of functional diglossia. As early as the sixteenth century, the traditional Norwegian literary language was supplanted by written Danish. However, the development of the spoken language followed its own course, yielding a large variety of different dialects. There even existed a Norwegian pronunciation of written Danish which is estimated to have been used by approximately 1 per cent of the population. This situation was not altogether as unnatural as it might seem at first glance. Both Norwegian and Danish had undergone a highly similar morphosyntactic restructuring since the classical Old Norse (ON) and Old Danish period. The syntactic patterning of the two languages was to a large extent the same, and so were even the main inflectional categories. The differences between the two languages mainly concerned the phonological system and the morphological (allomorphic) manifestation of inflectional categories, i.e. areas where many languages tolerate considerable discrepancies between their written and spoken forms.

The political and cultural renaissance after 1814 engendered a wish for a more genuinely Norwegian standard language. An evolutionary approach was advocated by Knud Knudsen (1812–95) who sought to transform the Danish standard by integrating into it specifically Norwegian elements from the colloquial speech of the educated classes in urban areas. On the other hand, the linguistic revolutionary Ivar Aasen (1813–96) created an altogether new variety of written Norwegian based on those – predominantly western – dialects that were most similar to Old Norse. This was simply called 'Norwegian', or '*landsmål*' 'the language of the countryside/realm'. Ivar

Aasen's new brand of Norwegian found favour with nationalist intellectuals and politicians. In 1885 Parliament agreed on an address to the government that New Norwegian and Dano-Norwegian should be considered languages of equal standing for official and educational purposes. This became the basis of all future language policy and language planning in Norway.

At that time, the usual designation for traditional Dano-Norwegian was *det almindelige Bogsprog* 'the common literary language'. Later the term *riksmål* 'the language of the realm' came into use. The present official terms *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk* were adopted in 1929. *Riksmål* (RM) is now being used in a restricted fashion with reference to a more conservative, traditional form of what was originally Dano-Norwegian.

Norwegian linguistic development in the twentieth century is above all characterized by several spelling reforms, the two overall objectives and main results of which have been a reduction of the specifically Danish traits of *Bokmål/Riksmål* orthography and morphology, and a levelling of differences between *Bokmål* and New Norwegian. The two reforms of 1907 and 1917 together replaced a large number of specifically Danish word forms with more orthophonic Norwegian ones and also introduced a number of properly Norwegian inflectional endings. As regards New Norwegian, a certain amount of morphological simplification was carried through and provision was made for a greater influx of widespread (South-)East Norwegian ((S)EN) word forms.

In 1938, this general line of development was carried still further to a point where quite a number of people felt the cultural identity of the two standard languages to be threatened. The 1938 reform brought with it a classification of all word forms of both official varieties in five classes which is still in use in officially authorized dictionaries and language manuals: (a) obligatory in all written language; (b) obligatory in text books for use in schools, but not in other forms of written language; (c) equivalent (and optional) alternatives in all written language, including school books (indicated by a slash between the alternatives); (d) subsidiary forms allowed in most written language including pupils' exercises, but not in school books (indicated by square brackets); (e) not allowed in any form of official written language, including pupils' school exercises.

This classificatory system implies that the concept of 'standard language' is, in the case of Norwegian, a rather tenuous one.

In 1938 a great number of words and word forms that were alien to traditional usage, but which were widely used in spoken Norwegian, were included in the (a) and (b) parts of the vocabulary, whereas certain traditional forms with a high frequency of occurrence in literary language were allocated to the (e) category. After the war, the prospect of a *sammorsk* 'Common Norwegian' as an eventual merger of *Bokmål* and New Norwegian emerged as a political issue. This caused the debate to harden during the fifties and early sixties, but the decision to establish a *Norsk språkråd* ('Norwegian

Language Council') in 1966 with its concomitant recommendation of a less rigorous enforcement of radical measures has brought about a fair degree of 'language peace' within the linguistic community. The last reform so far was carried through in 1981 and concerned *Bokmål* only. It brought about the reintroduction of a great number of commonly used Dano-Norwegian forms, i.e. their transfer from the (e) to the (d) or (c) categories in the above taxonomy.

At present, 83 per cent of the population receive their primary education in *Bokmål* and 17 per cent in New Norwegian. At higher educational levels, in the armed forces, and in publishing, the New Norwegian percentage is greatly reduced. The strongholds of New Norwegian are certain rural districts in the interior of southern Norway and above all in the less centralized coastal districts in west Norway.

All Norwegian dialects are mutually intelligible. For *Bokmål/Riksmål* a Southeast Norwegian pronunciation based mainly on the spoken language of the capital Oslo and the surrounding area is the most prestigious standard, but there also exist regional standards (e.g. in Bergen and Trondheim). For New Norwegian, no such standard pronunciation exists. New Norwegian is in general spoken with whatever dialectal pronunciation a person happens to have acquired.

8.2 Phonology

Segmental Phonology

The phonemic inventories of Norwegian dialects are highly diverse. The following exposition is based on the Southeast Norwegian system which is the predominant standard pronunciation of *Bokmål* and which is also by and large acceptable in eastern varieties of New Norwegian.

Vowels

The subsystem of monophthongs is set out in Table 8.1. All the vowels in Table 8.1 may be either short or long. With one debatable exception (short [e, æ]), they contrast phonemically. [æ] is usual before [r], where it may be considered an allophone of /e/. Minimal pairs are rare, but cf. *hesje* [heʃe] 'dry hay on a rack' vs *herse* [hæʃe] 'pester', and English loanwords like *bag* /bæg/. Unstressed central [ə] is naturally considered an allophone of /e/.

In addition, Norwegian also possesses the diphthongs /ei, øy, oi, ai, aʊ/. /ai/ and /oi/ occur mainly in loan words. Phonetically, /au/ is [æʊ] or [œʊ]. Diphthongs are in general subject to the same morpheme-structure rules as long vowels (but short diphthongs occur in many dialects).

Table 8.1 Norwegian vowel phonemes

| | <i>Fronted</i> | | <i>Back</i> | |
|-------|----------------|---------|-------------|---------|
| | Non-rounded | Rounded | Non-rounded | Rounded |
| Close | i | y | ɯ | u |
| Mid | e | ø | | o |
| Open | æ | | a | |

Consonants

The Southeast Norwegian system of consonantal phonemes is given in Table 8.2. Except after /s/, the unvoiced plosives are aspirated. (Dialectal) Southeast Norwegian /t/ either corresponds to etymological /t/, as in *sol* 'sun' /su:t/ vs standard /su:l/, or to standard /t/ from the Old Norse cluster /rð/, as in *gård* 'farm' as SEN /go:t/ vs standard /go:r/. Still, many words retain spoken /rd/, e.g. *herde* 'harden'. To Southeast Norwegian /t, ɲ, ʂ/ correspond the graphematic renderings <rt, rn, rs> and the corresponding phoneme sequences in non-Eastern dialects. The Southeast Norwegian retroflex sounds occur in lexical stems, cf. *hjort* /ju:t/ 'deer', *barn* /ba:ɲ/ 'child', but they also arise from productive morphophonemic processes, cf. the infinitive *høre* /hø:re/ 'hear' vs the preterite *hørte* /hø:(:)tɛ/ 'heard' and *gård* /go:r/ or /go:t/ 'farm' vs *gården* /go:ren/ or /go:ɲ/ 'the farm'. Another source of /t, ɲ/ are sequences with /r/ corresponding to /lt, ln/, cf. *gul*, m. sg., *gult*, n. sg. 'yellow', *gulne* 'turn yellow' as /gʊ:l/, /gʊ:lt/, /gʊ:lne/ or /gʊ:t/, /gʊ:t/, /gʊ:ɲɛ/, respectively. Similarly, /d/ occurs in lexemes like *ferdig* /fæ:di/ 'ready' or as the result of an optional sandhi attraction in word sequences, cf. *gjør det!* 'do it!' as /jø:r de/ or /jød:ɛ/. On account of these dialectal correspondences and morphophonemic rules, the phonemic status of the retroflex sounds as monophonematic units or as surface manifestations of biphonematic sequences is a moot question. Current analyses tend to favour the monophonematic interpretation or a combined solution.

Table 8.2 Norwegian consonant phonemes

| | Plosive | | Fricative | | Lateral approximant | Trill | Flap | Nasal |
|-----------|----------|--------|-----------|--------|---------------------|-------|------|-------|
| | Unvoiced | Voiced | Unvoiced | Voiced | | | | |
| Labial | p | b | f | v | | | | m |
| Alveolar | t | d | s | | l | r | | n |
| Retroflex | t | d | ʂ | | ɭ | | ɽ | ɳ |
| Dorsal | k | g | ç | j | | | | ŋ |
| Glottal | | | h | | | | | |

Only syllables with main or secondary stress show phonetic length. Post-vocalic consonants are short after long vowels and diphthongs, and long after short vowels, thus yielding the two canonic and complementary phonetic syllable types V:C and VC:, cf. *tak* [ta:k] 'roof, ceiling' vs *takk* [tak:] 'thanks'. Length is in general only considered phonemic with vowels. Consonant clusters appear to be equivalent to long consonants with respect to syllable formation, thus rendering the assumption of VC:C sequences as a special case systematically superfluous. On the other hand, certain inflectional endings are appended to stem syllables of the form V:C, yielding V:CC, cf. the infinitive *mase* /ma:se/ 'be very persistent' and the corresponding participle *mast* /ma:st/ and *fint* /fi:nt/, n. sg. of *fin* /fi:n/ 'fine'.

Syllable Structure and Morphophonemic Rules

The overwhelming majority of monosyllabic lexical stems belong to one of the following syllable structures: (1) V i 'in'; (2) CV *ta* 'take'; (3) VC *av* 'of'; (4) CCV *fri* 'free'; (5) VCC *øks* 'axe'; (6) CCCV *skru* 'screw'; (7) VCCC *angst* 'fear'; (8) CVC *til* 'to'; (9) CCVC *bråk* 'noise'; (10) CCCVC *skrik* 'scream'; (11) CVCC *heks* 'witch'; (12) CVCCC *vekst* 'growth'; (13) CCVCC *slekt* 'family'; (14) CCCVCC *skrift* 'writing'; (15) CCVCCC *blomst* 'flower'; (16) CCCVCCC *sprelsk* 'boisterous'.

With the exception of /h/, which only occurs word-initially, all consonants are possible as the single consonantal element in initial and final position in lexical stems. The quantity of a syllable-final single consonant stands in inverse relation to the quantity of the preceding vowel. In stem-final position, /v/ almost always occurs after long vowels where it is short. The phonotactic rules allow for the (a) stem-initial and (b) stem-final consonantal clusters indicated by italics in Table 8.3. Some further cases of stem-final clusters are formed by adding an inflectional *t*-suffix or a derivational *sk*-suffix to lexical stems with a final cluster, cf. *kvalmt* from *kvalm* 'nauseated', *skarpt* from *skarp* 'sharp', *habsburgsk* from *Habsburg*. Clusters consisting of or containing *rn*, *rs*, *rt* in western dialects correspond to retroflex sounds or clusters with retroflex sounds in Southeast Norwegian. Secondary clusters with syllabic /l, r, n/ arise through the optional deletion of /e/ [ə] in unstressed syllables, yielding, e.g. *handel* [handl] 'commerce', *våpen* [vo:pɒ] 'arms', *maten* [ma:tɒ] 'the food', and even *mannen* [mann] 'the man'.

The Relation of the Phonemic System to Orthography

The graphematic rendering of most vowels appears fairly unproblematic from a European point of view, cf. /i(:)/ as <i> (*finn* 'find!', *fin* 'fine'), /e(:)/ as <e> (*venn* 'friend', *ven* 'nice'), /a(:)/ as <a> (*tall* 'number', *tal* 'speak!'), /ø(:)/ as <ø> (*føll* 'foal', *føl* 'feel!'), and /y(:)/ as <y> (*tynn* 'thin', *tyn* 'torment!'). /æ(:)/ is regularly written <æ>, but appears as <e> in front of /r/ and in a few other cases, cf. *hær* 'army' and *her* 'here', both /hæ:r/. With the other vowel

Table 8.3 Norwegian consonantal clusters

(a) Stem-initial consonantal clusters

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>språk</i> | | <i>splid</i> | | <i>spjåk</i> | | | |
| <i>strøm</i> | | | | <i>stjerne</i> | | | |
| <i>skrue</i> | | <i>sklie</i> | | | | <i>skvett</i> | |
| <i>pris</i> | <i>bris</i> | <i>plog</i> | <i>blind</i> | <i>pjatt</i> | <i>Bjørn</i> | <i>tvang</i> | <i>dvask</i> |
| <i>tru</i> | <i>driv</i> | | | <i>tjene</i> | <i>djerv</i> | <i>kvinne</i> | <i>(Gvarv)</i> |
| <i>krig</i> | <i>gris</i> | <i>klang</i> | <i>glans</i> | | | | |
| <i>frisk</i> | <i>vri</i> | <i>flink</i> | | <i>fjern</i> | | <i>svak</i> | |
| <i>spak</i> | <i>slank</i> | | | <i>sjø</i> | | | |
| <i>stil</i> | | | | | | | |
| <i>skall</i> | | | | <i>mjølk</i> | | | |
| | | | | <i>(Njål)</i> | <i>(Rjukan)</i> | | |
| | | <i>kna</i> | <i>gni</i> | | | | |
| | | <i>fnugg</i> | | | | | |
| | | <i>snu</i> | | | | | |
| | | <i>små</i> | | | | | |

(b) Stem-final consonantal clusters

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|-------------|
| <i>Iøpsk</i> | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>hatsk</i> | | | | <i>hugst</i> | <i>mulkt</i> | | | | | |
| <i>uhumsk</i> | <i>vekst</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>svensk</i> | <i>blomst</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>trolsk</i> | <i>kunst</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>morsk</i> | <i>helst</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| | <i>verst</i> | | | <i>verft</i> | | | | <i>korps</i> | | |
| | <i>angst</i> [ŋst] | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>vers</i> | <i>vert</i> | <i>verd</i> | <i>verk</i> | <i>arg</i> | <i>verp</i> | <i>smurf</i> | <i>arv</i> | <i>arm</i> | <i>ørn</i> | <i>surl</i> |
| <i>hals</i> | <i>velt</i> | | <i>kalk</i> | <i>elg</i> | <i>valp</i> | <i>alf</i> | <i>kalv</i> | <i>halm</i> | <i>(Køln)</i> | |
| <i>hems</i> | <i>tomt</i> | <i>sømd</i> | | | <i>kamp</i> | | | | <i>hamn</i> | |
| <i>hans</i> | <i>vant</i> | | <i>hank</i> [ŋk] | | | | | | | |
| <i>finans</i> [ŋs] | <i>lengt</i> [ŋt] | | | | | | | | | |
| | <i>hest</i> | | <i>fisk</i> | | <i>visp</i> | | | | | |
| <i>tufs</i> | <i>tuft</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| | | <i>hevd</i> | | | | | | | <i>hevn</i> | <i>avl</i> |
| <i>øks</i> | <i>økt</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| | | <i>bygd</i> | | | | | | | <i>rogn</i> [ŋn] | |
| <i>veps</i> | | | | | | | | <i>vavn</i> | | |

Note: Italicized letters indicate consonantal clusters. Phonetic transcriptions are given in a few cases where the phonetic nature of the cluster is not clearly indicated in the orthography. Proper nouns showing clusters not found elsewhere in the vocabulary are given in parentheses.

phonemes certain discrepancies resulting from the North Scandinavian vowel shift of the late Middle Ages should be noted. /o:/ is most often written <å>, cf. *bål* 'bonfire', *få* 'few', and, correspondingly, /o/ as <å>, cf. *åtte* 'eight' and, with shortened /o:/, *tålmodig* 'patient' (cf. *tåle* 'endure'). However, <o> is also used for /o:/ in certain words in front of <g>, <v>, cf. *doven* 'lazy', *svoger* 'brother-in-law', and New Norwegian participles like *brote* 'broken', *krope* 'crept'. <o> is also used for /o/, cf. *topp* 'top', *holde* 'hold', *toll* 'customs'. /u:/ is rendered as <o>, cf. *skog* 'forest', *stor* 'great', and /u/ as <o>, cf. *ost* 'cheese', or <u> as in *lukke* 'close', *tung* 'heavy'. /ʉ(:)/ is uniformly written <u>, cf. *full* 'full', *ful* 'cunning'.

Vowel length is indicated in a way which mirrors the quantity relationship between vowels and consonants within stressed syllables. Long vowels are followed by a single consonant grapheme, and short vowels by a geminated consonant or a cluster. Consonants in clusters are only written as geminates in a restricted number of lexemes for the purpose of distinguishing vowel length within the syllable, cf. *visst* 'known' vs *vist* 'shown', *fullt* 'fully' vs *fult* 'cunningly'.

The rendering of the consonantal phonemes /p, t, k, b, d, g, f, v, s, h/ by means of corresponding graphemes poses no special problems. /m/ follows the usual rules with the exception that it is never geminated finally, cf. *dom* – *dommen* '(the) verdict'. [l:] and [n:] are variously written <ll>, <nn> or <ld>, <nd> according to etymological origin, cf. *kall* 'vocation' vs *kald* 'cold' and *henne* 'her' vs *hende* 'happen'. Similarly, /r/ is occasionally rendered as <rd> for etymological reasons as in *gjorde* 'did', *hard* 'hard'. In *Bokmål*, initial /v/ is written etymologically as <hv> in interrogative words: *hva* 'what', *hvem* 'who', *hvorfor* 'why' and in a few other cases: *hval* 'whale', *hvit* 'white'. Somewhat more complicated is the – largely etymological – orthographic rendering of the three remaining continuants /ʃ, ç, j/. /ʃ/ is written <sj> in words with Proto-Nordic 'breaking' and more recent loanwords: *sjø* 'sea', *bagasje* 'luggage'; or <sk> in front of <i, y, ei, øy>: *ski* 'ski', *sky* 'cloud', *skei* 'spoon', *skøyte* 'skate'; or <sk> in front of other vowels: *skje* 'spoon', *skjære* 'cut', *skjule* 'hide'. /ç/ is <k> in front of <i, y, ei, øy>: *kinn* 'cheek', *kyss* 'kiss', *keiser* 'emperor', NN *køyra* 'drive'; <kj> in front of other vowels: *kjele* 'kettle', *kjære* 'dear'; and <tj> in a few other cases: *tjern* 'small lake', *tjære* 'tar'. /j/ is <j>: *jeg* 'I', *jakt* 'hunting'; or <g> in front of <i, y, ei, øy>: *gild* 'dashing', *gyllen* 'golden', *geit* 'goat', NN *gøyma* 'hide'; or <hj> or <gj> in front of other vowels: *hjerne* 'brain' vs *gjerne* 'gladly', *hjelp* 'help', *gjøre* 'do'.

Orthographical differences between *Bokmål* and New Norwegian do exist, but in general they reflect differences of pronunciation rather than different spelling conventions. One instance of a purely orthographic difference is that between *Bokmål* <å> and New Norwegian <o> for /o:/, cf. BM *åpen* and NN *open* 'open', BM *skåret* and NN *skore* 'cut'. Here, New Norwegian <o> reflects Old Norse spelling.

Prosodic Phenomena

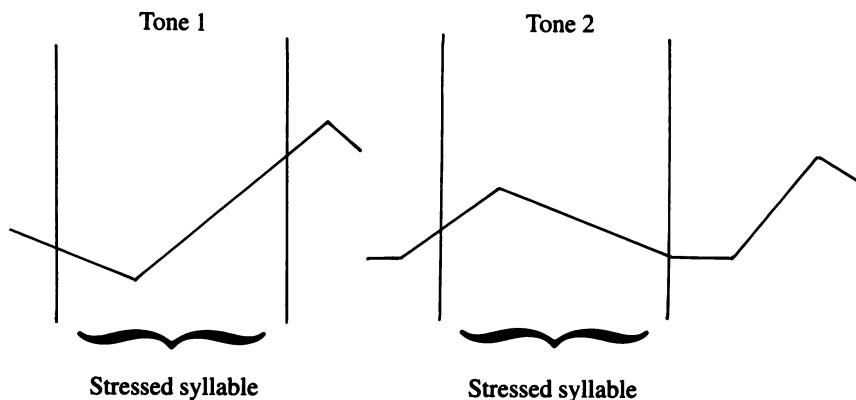
In the greater part of the vocabulary, which is of Common Germanic origin, main stress is assigned to the first syllable of the word. Composite words, like *'samfunns,liv* 'social life', *'om,vende* 'convert (verb)', *'hår,fin* 'very subtle', have rather strong secondary stress under which the syllabic quantity distinction between V:C and VC: is preserved, cf. *vintap* [vi:n,ta:p] 'loss of wine' vs *vintapp* [vi:n,tap:] 'wine plug'. The stress falls on the second syllable in many common loanwords with the originally (Low) German prefixes *be-*, *er-*, *for-*, e.g. *be'tale* 'pay', *erk'lære* 'declare', *fork'lare* 'explain', and their derived nominals, cf. *be'taling*, *erk'læring*, *fork'laring*. In imitation of German, some adjectives also carry stress on the second syllable, cf. *rett'ferdig* 'righteous', *u'mulig* 'impossible'. Penultimate stress is found in more recent non-German loans with certain nominal suffixes, cf. *refe'ranse*, *materi'ale*, *sosial'isme*, *me'tode*, *tra'gedie*, *pro'fessor*, and in the numerous verbs ending in *-ere*, cf. *repa'rere* 'repair'. More recent French loanwords retain their original stress on the last syllable, cf. *poli'tikk*, *nasjo'nal*, *universi'tet*, *insti'tutt*, *sta'sjon*. Associated derivations often exhibit a stress shift, either backwards: *tra'gedie* vs *'tragisk*, *poli'tikk* vs *po'litisk*; or to the following syllable in the case of the plural of nouns with the *-or-* suffix: *pro'fessor* vs *profes'sorer*. The general rule seems to be that stress is assigned to the rightmost syllable of the canonical form V:C or VC: (excluding derivational affixes). Southeast Norwegian dialects strongly tend to generalize the indigenous Germanic pattern with main stress on the first syllable of all words, but this is not accepted as standard pronunciation.

Norwegian exhibits a tonal opposition which manifests itself in connection with main stress in bi- and polysyllabic words and word forms. Thus the word form written *tanken* when pronounced with tone 1 means 'the tank', but with tone 2 it means 'the thought'. Phonetically, the opposition is in Southeast Norwegian one between steadily rising tone (pitch) and delayed rise of tone. In the speech of the Oslo area it manifests itself in the two different tonal contours diagrammatically depicted in Figure 8.1.

Monosyllables are neutral with regard to the tonal opposition. But as Southeast Norwegian stress is associated with low tone, tone 1 may be interpreted as the polysyllabic continuation of the basic monosyllabic stress-pitch correlation. Tone 2 is naturally considered the marked member of the opposition as it is phonetically more complex and also subject to lexical restrictions, being largely excluded from words of German and Romance origin. In the linguistic literature the tonal opposition is indicated by a variety of notations that reflect the markedness relationship or the phonetic difference, cf. for 'the tank' and 'the thought', respectively: ¹*tanken* vs ²*tanken*; *'tanken* vs *'tanken* or *˘tanken*; *'tanken* vs *'tanken* or *'tan,ken*; *tan'ken* vs *tan'ken* or *tanke'n*.

The basic distributional rule is commonly stated in etymological terms: modern words and word forms which in (possibly early) Old Norse were

Figure 8.1 Tonal contours in Southeast Norwegian



monosyllabic, or syntactic phrases without internal word coherence, have tone 1, and words that derive from Old Norse bi- and polysyllables have tone 2. It follows that polysyllables with tone 1 are either later borrowings, cf. e.g. *handel*, *kloster*, *orden*, or are secondarily developed by vowel epenthesis, such as the present-tense form of (originally) strong verbs: ON *bítr* > BM *bíter*; the plural of root nouns: ON *geitr* > *geiter*; and certain lexical stems: ON *akr* > *aker*, BM *åker* 'field'.

Synchronically, the tonal opposition is functionally connected with grammatical and derivational morphemes, which may for this reason be classified as either tone-inducing or tonally transparent. For instance, the verb suffix *-ere* and stressed verbal prefixes like *ut-*, *gjen-*, *på-*, *til-* induce tone 1: BM *utgjøre* 'consist in, of', *gjenta* 'repeat', *påkalle* 'invoke', *tilkjenne* 'grant'. Tone 2 is induced by final *-e* in most of its inflectional or stem-forming uses (but not as a definiteness suffix in the neuter singular, written *-et*). The same goes for the common derivational suffixes *-inne* (*ven* *ninne* 'female friend'), *-lig* (*farlig* 'dangerous'), *-dom* (*rikdom* 'wealth'). The definiteness suffix in the singular is tonally transparent: *gutt* – *gutten* '(the) boy', *herre* – *herren* '(the) gentleman', *elv* – *élva* '(the) river', *jente* – *jenta* '(the) girl', *hus* – *huset* '(the) house', as is the derivational suffix BM *-het*: (*frihet* 'freedom'). In inflectional paradigms tone is associated with word forms rather than with lexemes as such, due to the tone-inducing character of certain suffixes, cf. for example, *sitte* – *sitter* – *sittet* 'sit (etc.)'. Tonal pairs are invariably connected with a difference in lexical or stem formation or in grammatical morpheme, cf. (*tank* –) *tanken* vs (*tanke* –) *tanken*, (*bonde* –) *bønder* 'peasants' vs (*bønne* –) *bønner* 'beans', (*rev* –) *reven* 'the fox' vs (*rive* 'tear' –) *reven* 'torn'. It is estimated that several hundred or as many as two thousand word pairs are phonologically distinct only through the tonal

opposition. This is mainly due to the functional diversity of the ending *-er* in *Bokmål*, which occurs as a plural suffix, as the finite verb ending in the present tense of most verbs, as a derivational suffix of agent nouns, and as the unstressed final syllable of many non-decomposable lexical stems. Mainly because New Norwegian strong verbs normally have no present-tense ending *-er*, and the usual agent noun formation in New Norwegian has the suffix *-ar*, which is also a common plural ending, the number of tonal opposition pairs is less in New Norwegian than in *Bokmål*.

In Southeast Norwegian the use of tone 2 is extended to syntactic phrases. Outside of the East Norwegian area, verb particles of adverbial or prepositional origin carry monosyllabic stress, but in East Norwegian they form one stress and tone group together with the immediately preceding verb form, cf. non-EN, *'han ˈtenkte 'ut en 'plan* vs EN *'han ˈtenkte-ut en 'plan* 'he devised a plan', non-EN *'været slo 'om* vs EN *'været ˈslo-om* 'the weather changed'. The last example shows that even monosyllabic verb forms partake of this phenomenon. True prepositions are not accessible to the stress and tone shift in question. Thus there is a clear difference between e.g. EN *'ta på ˈnoe* 'touch something' and EN *ˈta-på ˈnoe* 'put on something'.

Specific intonation patterns are identifiable on the sentence level. In contrast to most other European languages, Southeast Norwegian declarative sentences expressing statements end on a rising melody, and in these cases the last stressed syllable is likely to receive the strongest stress. Interrogative sentences are amenable to basically the same characterization, with the difference that the rise in pitch in the last stressed syllable is stronger than in declaratives. When, however, the sentence initial constituent is focused or given emphatic stress, sentence-final stress is largely suspended and the sentence ends on a falling melody, cf. for example, *i dag kommer hun* 'today she'll be here' and *når kommer hun?* 'when will she be here?' as opposed to *hun kommer i dag* 'she comes today' and *hvem kommer i dag?* 'who comes today?', respectively.

8.3 Morphology

The Nominal Group

Nouns

The inflectional categories of Norwegian nouns are gender, definiteness and number (but not case; see below on the genitive), which are given cumulative expression in portmanteau suffixes. Word-internal inflectional marking (umlaut, vowel gradation) is only of marginal importance in Modern Norwegian.

Both *Bokmål* and New Norwegian have masculine, feminine and neuter gender, but the feminine is not of equal standing in the two varieties. It is

Table 8.4 Types of plural formation in Norwegian

| New Norwegian | | Bokmål | |
|----------------------------|---|------------------|--|
| Masculine | | Masculine | |
| 1 -ar/-ane | (gut-) gutar/-ane '(the) boys' | 1 -er/-ene | (gutt-) gutter/-ene |
| 2 -er | (søknad-) søknader/-ene '(the) applications' | 2 -er*/-ene* | (fot-) føtter/-ene '(foot-) (the) feet' |
| 3 -er/ene [-ar/-ane] | (bekk-) bekker/-ene [bekkar/-ane] '(the) brooks' | 3 -e/-ne | (lærer-) lærere/-ne '(the) teachers' |
| 4 -ar*/-ane* | (far-) fedrar/-ane '(the) fathers' | 4 -e*/-ene* | (far-) fedre/-ene |
| 5 -er*/-ene* | (fot-) føter/-ene | 5 -r/-rne* | (sko-) skor/-rne '(the) shoes' |
| 6 -r/-rne | (sko-) skor/-rne | 6 -r*/-rne* | (tå-) tær/-rne '(the) toes' |
| 7 -ø*/-ne* | (bror-) brørr/-ne '(the) brothers' | | |
| Feminine | | Feminine | |
| 1 -er/-ene | (bygd-) bygder/-ene '(the) rural communities' | 1 -(e)r/(e)ne | (bygd-) bygder/-ene (vise-) viser/-ene |
| 2 -r [-or]/-ne [-one] | (vise-) viser [visene] [visor/visone] '(the) songs' | 2 -er*/-ene* | (hånd-) hender '(the) hands' |
| 3 -er*/-ene* | (hand-) hender/-ene | 3 -e*/-ene* | (datter-) døtre/-ene '(the) daughters' |
| 4 -ar [-er]/-ane [-ene] | (elv-) elvar/-ane [elver/-ene] '(the) rivers' | 4 -r*/-rne* | (ku-) kyr/-rne '(the) cows' |
| 5 -ar/-ane | (kjerring-) kjerringar/-ane '(the) wives/hags' | | |
| 6 -r*/-rne* | (ku-) kyr/-rne | | |
| Neuter | | Neuter | |
| 1 -ø/-a [-i] | (hus-) hus/-a[-i] '(the) houses' | 1 -ø/-ene, -a | (hus-) husene/-a |
| 2 -ø*/-a [-i]* | (barn-) born/-a [-i] '(the) children' | 2 -er/-ene | (skrift-) skrifter/-ene '(the) publications' |
| 3 -o/-o | (auga-) augo/augo '(the) eyes' | 3 -e/-ene, -a | (under-) undre/-ene, -a '(the) wonders' |
| | | | (øye-) øyne/-ene '(the) eyes' |
| | | 4 -r*/-rne* | (tre-) trær/-rne* '(the) trees' |

Note: Indefinite plural forms and corresponding forms with the definiteness suffix are separated by a virgule. Umlaut is indicated by an asterisk *. The singular forms from which the plural forms are derived are given in parentheses.

firmly rooted in New Norwegian due to its general presence in the dialects. Dano-Norwegian, on the other hand, had no feminine gender, but a common gender resulting from the merger of the old masculine and feminine. Feminine gender was reintroduced into *Bokmål* through the language reforms of this century. With many words the feminine is the more colloquial, and the common gender the more literary option (*ei bok* – *boka* vs *en bok* – *boken* ‘(a/the) book’). There is thus in *Bokmål* a certain competition between the more indigenous three-gender system and the traditional Dano-Norwegian two-gender system. The latter is more strongly favoured in the unofficial *Riksmål* variety.

Whereas definiteness is marked by a suffixal morpheme, indefiniteness in the singular is either marked by the prenominal indefinite article (BM *en gutt*, NN *ein gut* ‘a boy’) or, in certain cases, left morphologically unmarked (*det var god vin* ‘that’s a good wine’). In the plural, indefiniteness is part of a morphological opposition between a definite and an indefinite form of the plural morpheme (which in certain cases may be zero).

The main inflectional differences between New Norwegian and *Bokmål* clearly pertain to plural morphology. Masculine and feminine nouns are subject to somewhat more allomorphic variation in New Norwegian than in *Bokmål*, whereas the reverse is true with regard to the neuter. *Bokmål* plural formation is restricted to suffixes with an *-e-*. New Norwegian has both *-er* and *-ar*, but *-er* predominates with feminine and *-ar* with masculine nouns. On the whole, *Bokmål* shows more levelling of gender distinctions than does New Norwegian even in the domain of plural morphology.

The main declensional classes are given in Table 8.4. In the singular the definiteness morpheme is *-en* in the masculine (including *Bokmål* common gender), *-a* in the feminine, and *-et* in the neuter in both *Bokmål* and New Norwegian. In addition, New Norwegian has *-i* as a subsidiary option with feminine consonantal stems (*jorda* [*jordi*] ‘the earth’).

The only remnant of morphological case inflection is the suffixal *-s*-genitive whose main function is to mark a subordinate nominal constituent in complex noun phrases, cf. NN *den gamle mannens bil* ‘the old man’s car’. It is also used elliptically with noun-phrase functions, as in BM *den andre bilen var den gamle mannens* ‘the other car was the old man’s’. The *-s*-morpheme is not subject to declensional variation, and its status as a case suffix is dubious for the further reason that it may be adjoined to the last constituent of a complex noun phrase regardless of syntactic rank: BM *tusener av drepte menneskers blod* ‘the blood of thousands of killed people’, BM *ungene i gatas eget hus* ‘the children in the street’s own house’.

A number of productive suffixal derivations exist for the formation of nouns from other word classes. The suffix *-ing* (feminine, in *Bokmål* also common gender) is used freely to derive from verbs nouns denoting processes, e.g. *blomstring* ‘flowering’, *venting* ‘waiting’, *matlaging* ‘cooking’. Only *Bokmål* also has *-ning*, as in (*ned*)*rivning* ‘demolition’. Infinitival

constructions are a productive means for the nominal expression of action or event rather than processual meaning, either on their own or as a complement to the neuter pronoun *det* as head of a complex noun phrase: BM (*det*) *å leve i en storby er ikke lett* 'living in a large city is not easy'. Typically *Bokmål* are verbal nouns with the suffix *-else*, e.g. *stadfestelse* 'confirmation' which is avoided in New Norwegian on account of alleged Low German origin. Abstract nouns with the suffix *-nad* are typical of New Norwegian, e.g. *freistnad* 'attempt', but some of them are common in *Bokmål* also, e.g. *søknad* 'application'. The common suffix for agent nouns, including terms for the performer of an occupation and for various nationalities, is BM *-er*, NN *-ar*: *arbeider*, *arbeidar* 'worker', *tysker*, *tyskar* 'German'. The corresponding female terms in *-ske* (*arbeiderske* 'female worker') and *-inne* (*skuespillerinne* 'actress') are not used in New Norwegian, and they are also not productive in *Bokmål*.

The suffix *-het* is freely used in *Bokmål* for deriving nouns from adjectives, as in *snillhet* 'kindness'. Due to its Middle Low German origin, it is officially shunned in New Norwegian. Instead New Norwegian employs a variety of suffixes: *-leik* (BM *nærhet* vs NN *nærleik* 'vicinity'), *-dom* (BM *frihet* vs NN *fridom* 'freedom'), *-skap* (BM *likhet* vs NN *likskap* 'similarity') and certain other formations (BM *ensomhet* vs NN *einsemd* 'loneliness', BM *arbeidsløshet* vs NN *arbeidsløyse* 'unemployment').

Pronouns

The personal pronouns are the only nominal category of Modern Norwegian to exhibit a morphological case distinction between a subject ('nominative') and a non-subject ('accusative' or 'oblique') form, but this distinction is not made consistently in all persons in the singular and the plural. The non-subject form does service as a direct as well as an indirect object. In *Bokmål* it is also used as a predicative: BM *det er ham* 'it is him'. The corresponding possessives constitute a 'split' system, in which certain personal pronouns have associated with them inflected adjectival possessive pronouns, whereas others form a regular or irregular uninflected (*-s-*) genitive.

Table 8.5 shows that the personal pronouns are subdivided into the following declension classes: (1) subject and oblique form in combination with inflected possessives (1 sg., 2 sg., 1 pl.); (2) subject and oblique form in combination with the genitive (2 pl. in NN, 3 pl. in BM, and BM 3 sg. m., f. as the favoured alternative, but optionally in NN 3 sg. m.); (3) no distinction between subject and oblique form, in combination with the genitive (2 pl. in BM, 3 pl. in NN, optionally NN, BM 3 sg. m. and NN f., and in the subsidiary option BM 3 sg. f. *ho - hennes*), BM 3 sg. common gender and n.; (4) no distinction between subject and oblique form, and no genitive (NN 3 sg. common gender).

The formation of the genitive is to a certain extent irregular in both New Norwegian and *Bokmål*, but more so in New Norwegian. The reflexive

Table 8.5 Personal, reflexive, and possessive pronouns in Norwegian

| | Subject form | Oblique form | Inflected adjectival possessive (m. sg., f. sg., n. sg., com. sg., pl.) | s-genitive |
|------------------|--|-------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| Singular | | | | |
| 1 | NN eg BM jeg | NN meg /me:ɡ/ BM meg /mei/ | NN, BM min, mi, mitt, mine | — |
| 2 | NN, BM du | NN deg /de:ɡ/ BM deg /dei/ | NN, BM din, di, ditt, dine | — |
| 3 m. | NN, BM han | NN han/honom BM ham/han | — | NN, BM hans |
| f. | NN ho BM hun [ho] | NN ho/henne BM henne [ho] | — | NN hennar [hennes] BM hennes |
| com. | NN, BM den | NN, BM den | — | NN— BM dens |
| n. | NN, BM det /de(:)/ | NN, BM det /de(:)/ | — | NN dess (rare) BM dets |
| Plural | | | | |
| 1 | NN vi/me, BM vi | NN, BM oss | NN, BM vår, vårt, våre | — |
| 2 | NN de /de:/ BM dere | NN dykk BM dere | — | NN dykkar BM deres |
| 3 | NN dei BM de /di:/ BM de /di:/ BM dem | NN dei BM dem | — | NN deira [deires] BM deres |
| Reflexive | | | | |
| 3 sg./pl. | — | NN seg /se:ɡ/ BM seg /sei/ | NN, BM sin, si, sitt, sine | — |

pronoun in the third-person singular and plural lacks a subject form but apart from this inflects according to declension class 1 above (*seg* as BM [sei], NN [se:ɡ] – *sin* m., *si* f., *sitt* n., *sine* pl.).

As a means of formal address *Bokmål* uses the third-person plural forms: *De – Dem – Deres*, which are restricted to addressing one person only; and New Norwegian the second-person plural: *De – Dykk – Dykkar*. The formal/non-formal opposition is thus in fact neutralized in the plural. On the whole, non-formal singular *du* is, however, the predominant unmarked form used in most social circumstances.

Enclitization of subject or object pronouns is widespread in colloquial speech, e.g. SEN *nå er 'n borte* 'now he's gone', *har 'u sett 'n?* 'have you seen

him?' But Southeast Norwegian *'a* (from ON accusative *hana*) for both *hun* and *henne* is the only clitic form which is not readily explainable as a case of phonetic stem reduction, e.g. *nå er 'a her* 'she is here now', *har 'u sett 'a?* 'have you seen her?'. Enclitization of pronouns is as a rule not reflected in the written language.

As a pronoun with non-specific personal reference *Bokmål* has *man* and *en* (the former with subject function only), New Norwegian has *ein*, but even the third-person plural *dei* and the noun *folk* 'people' are used in a similar fashion.

The interrogative pronouns show a basic distinction between human (animate) BM *hvem*, NN *kven* and non-human (inanimate) BM *hva*, NN *kva*. *Bokmål* also has a literary genitive form *hvis* and an interrogative adjective *hvilken*, both of which are lacking New Norwegian counterparts. For the latter, New Norwegian uses *kva for (ein)*, which corresponds to *Bokmål hva for (en)* as the somewhat more colloquial option.

Norwegian has no inflecting relative pronoun, but only the invariant relative particle *som*. In *Bokmål hva* is used in restrictive relative clauses as an alternative to *det (som)*, e.g. *det (som)/hva han tidligere hadde sagt, kunne ikke være sant* 'what he had said earlier could not be true'. In non-restrictive relative clauses *hva* and the still more literary neuter form *hvilket* of the interrogative adjective refer to propositional content as alternatives to *noe (som)*, NN *noko (som)*: *han måtte gi opp, hva/hvilket/noe (som) alle hadde forutsett* 'he had to give in, as everyone had foreseen'.

Among the so-called 'indefinite' pronouns we find a number of quantifying words which share the property that they occur both as main phrases and as attributive modifiers (determiners) of nouns. They differ as to the extent to which they partake of the gender and number distinctions of the strong declension of adjectives (see below). See Table 8.6 for details.

Adjectives

Adjectives have two inflectional paradigms that are differentiated by the number and phonological shape of the endings involved:

A The strong declension, comprising four declensional subclasses according to the number of morphological oppositions:

- 1 Four endings (as the possible maximum): NN [BM] *eigen* m., *eiga* f., *eige* n., *eigne* pl.; NN *open* m., *open [opi]* f., *opelopi [opi]* n., *opne* pl.;
- 2 Three endings: BM/NN *stor* m./f., *stort* n., *store* pl., BM *åpen* m./f., *åpent* n., *åpne* pl.;
- 3 Two endings: BM/NN *viktig* m./f./n., *viktige* pl.;
- 4 Some adjectives and adjectival forms, most of them ending in a vowel, do not inflect. Among these we find all present participles (BM *lysende*, NN *lysande* 'shining'), the weak past participles ending in *-a* (*kasta*

Table 8.6 Indefinite pronouns and quantifiers in Norwegian

| | | Singular | | | Plural |
|--|-------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 Singular – plural opposition; gender distinctions in the singular | | | | | |
| 'Some, any' | NN | nokon [noen] (m.) | noka [noen] (f.) | noko [noe] (n.) | nokre 'some', nokon 'any' [noen] |
| | BM | noen (com.) | | noe (n.) | noen 'some, any' |
| 'None, nothing' | NN | ingen (m.) | inga [ingi] (f.) | inkje (n.) | ingen |
| | BM | ingen (com.) | inga (f.) | intet, ingenting (n.) | ingen |
| 'All' | NN/BM | all (com.) | | alt (n.) | alle |
| 2 Only singular, with gender distinction | | | | | |
| 'Some(one)' | NN | einkvan (m.) | eikor (f.) | eitkvart (n.) | — |
| | NN | ein eller annan (m.) | ei eller anna (f.) | eit(t) eller anna (n.) | — |
| | BM | en eller annen (com.) | ei eller anna (f.) | et eller annet (n.) | — |
| 3 Only singular; gender distinction common–neuter | | | | | |
| 'Each, every' | NN | kvar (com.) | | kvart (n.) | — |
| | BM | hver (com.) | | hvert (n.) | — |
| 'Anyone' | BM | enhver (com.) | | ethvert (n.) | — |
| 4 Singular–plural opposition; one singular (neuter) form with mass-noun meaning | | | | | |
| 'Much – many' | NN | — | — | mykje (n.) | mange |
| | BM | — | — | mye (n.) | mange |
| 'Little – few' | NN/BM | — | — | lite (n.) | få |
| 'Some' | NN/BM | — | — | somt (n.) | somme |
| 5 Only plural | | | | | |
| 'Both' | NN | — | — | — | båc/begge |
| | BM | — | — | — | begge |

'thrown'), adjectives with a final *-e*, *-a*, *-u*, *-o* (*moderne*, *bra* 'good', *slu* 'cunning', *BM tro* 'faithful') and final *-s* (*nymotens* 'modish', *avsidet* 'remote').

Of these, type 1 is by far the least, and type 2 the most common one. With minor lexical exceptions, *Bokmål* has generalized *-t* in the neuter singular where New Norwegian has stem-class alternation between *-t* and *-el-i*.

The strong declension is used in those syntactic environments where agreement in gender and number is required, i.e.: (a) prenominal when no determiner is present (*BM gammelt brød* 'old bread', *NN dyre bilar* 'expensive cars'); (b) prenominal after the indefinite article and the homophonous numeral 'one' (*NN eit/eitt stort hus* 'a large house'); (c) even as a postnominal appositional attribute (*BM/NN dette gamle huset, stort og dyrt* 'this old house, large and expensive'); (d) in predicative position (*det huset er dyrt* 'that house is expensive', *NN disse husa er dyre* 'these houses are expensive'), including the use as a so-called free predicative without a copula verb (*NN dei kom rike og mektige attende frå Amerika* 'they returned from America rich and powerful'). Complement clauses and infinitives are generally treated as being of neuter gender, hence also when they function as subjects with which the neuter form of the adjective agrees: *BM å være hjemmelat vi endelig er hjemme, er godt* 'to be home/that we are finally at home is good'. The neuter form is even found with non-neuter subjects when a propositional reading is inferrable: *erter er godt* '(eating) peas is/are good'.

B The weak declension has a generalized *-e*-ending in all genders and both numbers in *Bokmål* as well as in New Norwegian. Invariant adjectives (type 4 above) retain their strong form. This declension is found after determiners, such as the preposed definite article and all possessives including the *-s*-genitives: *det store huset* 'the large house', *hans/mitt/foreldrenes store hus* 'his/my/the parents' large house', and in vocatives: *kjære mor!* 'dear mother', *gode Gud!* 'good God!'

Comparative and superlative forms are formed with the suffixes *BM -er-*, *NN -ar-* and *BM -est-*, *NN -ast-*, respectively, e.g. *BM vakrere – vakrest(e)*, *NN vakrare – vakrast(e)*. A few suppletive formations have an *-r-* and *-st-* suffix: *god* – *BM bedre*, *NN betre – best*. There also exist analytic formations with *BM mer*, *NN meir* in the comparative and *mest* in the superlative. These are obligatory with participial forms *BM mer/mest levende* 'more/most alive' and in a few other cases (*NN meir/mest framand* 'more/most foreign'), but more often it is optional (*BM lykkeligere/mer lykkelig* 'happier'). Suffixal comparatives and superlatives have a defective paradigm, being restricted to the weak declension. In addition, the superlative does not inflect when used predicatively: *BM/NN bilen/huset/bøkene var billigst* 'the car/house/books was/were cheapest'.

A few fairly productive derivational suffixes exist, such as *-sk*, *-isk* (*spøtsk*

'scornful', *samisk* 'Lappish') and a number of suffixes that have different phonological shape in *Bokmål* and New Norwegian; cf. BM *-lig*, NN *-leg* (*folkelig*, *folkeleg* 'popular'), BM *-som*, NN *-sam* (*morsom*, *morosam* 'funny'), BM *-løs*, NN *laus* (*arbeidsløs*, *arbeidslaus* 'unemployed'), BM *-et(e)*, NN *-utl-ete* (*krokete*, *krokut* 'bent'). Certain *Bokmål* suffixes are avoided in New Norwegian due to their foreign, (Low) German origin, such as *-aktig* (*narraktig* 'conceited'), *-messig* (*bymessig* 'citylike') and *-bar* (BM *kostbar*, NN *kostesam* 'costly'). When BM *-bar*-adjectives derived from verbs have passive meaning, New Norwegian instead uses the present participle: BM *kniven var ikke brukbar*, NN *kniven var ikkje brukande* 'the knife could not be used'.

Determiners

The various morphemes and lexemes traditionally designated as 'articles' and 'determiners' are clearly related from a functional point of view. Still, they constitute no unitary morphosyntactic class. The so-called 'definite article' is a bound inflectional morpheme where definiteness is always expressed together with a value on the number and gender parameters: *gutten* 'the boy', *jenta* 'the girl', *barnet* 'the child', *jentene* 'the girls'. The 'indefinite article' is, on the other hand, a prenominal adjectival modifier which is lexematically restricted to singular expressions: BM *en gutt* 'a boy', *ei jente* 'a girl', NN *eit barn* 'a child', *jenter* 'girls'. To the bound definiteness morpheme there corresponds a preposed definiteness determiner when a prenominal adjective is also present: *den store mannen* 'the big man', *den store jenta* 'the big girl', *det store huset* 'the big house', BM *de store jentene* 'the big girls'. When stressed, *den*, *det*, *deldei* retain their original deictic meaning and may then enter into an opposition with the proximal *denne* m.f. sg., *dette* n. sg., BM *disse*, NN *desse* pl. 'this', as expressing a relatively distal meaning 'that'. The old distal demonstrative *hin* m.f., NN *hi* f., *hitt* n., *hine* pl. is virtually extinct in *Bokmål* but still used to a certain extent in New Norwegian.

The quantifiers set out in Table 8.6 also have prenominal determiner function. They all inflect according to the strong declension of adjectives. The identifying determiner BM *selv/sjølv*, NN *sjølv* belongs, however, to the weak declension when prenominal (BM *selve faren* 'the father himself'). Post-nominally, it is not inflected in *Bokmål* (*barnet selv* 'the child itself', *foreldrene selv* 'the parents themselves'), whereas in New Norwegian it is optionally inflected in accordance with the weak adjective declension (*foreldra sjølv(e)*). BM *samme*, NN *same* 'same' inflects like a weak adjective and is only used prenominally. In *Bokmål* it most often occurs in connection with the prenominal article (*den samme mannen* 'the same man'), which is expendable in New Norwegian (*same mannen*). BM/NN *slik*, BM *sånn*, NN *såvoren*, NN *dilik* 'such' inflect like regular adjectives.

The Verbal Group

Morphosyntactic Categories and Conjugation Types

The finite verb forms show a morphological opposition between present and preterite (simple past), cf. *lever – levde* 'live(s) – lived', BM *går – gikk*, NN *gjeng, går – gikk* 'go(es) – went'. Norwegian present- and past-tense forms are not morphematically marked for person, number, mood or aspect. An optative ending *-e* is vestigially present in a small number of more or less phraseological locutions like *leve Kongen!*, *Kongen leve!*. In *Bokmål*, this form is always homophonous with the infinitive. In New Norwegian it is in principle morphologically independent of the infinitive, being restricted to the *-e*-ending, whereas New Norwegian infinitives end in *-e* or *-a*.

As a special kind of finite verb form one may also consider the imperative. In *Bokmål* it is in general formed by omitting any infinitive ending: *arbeid flittig!* 'work diligently!' The usual New Norwegian imperative is formed in the same way and is in like manner neutral with regard to the singular-plural opposition. In addition, New Norwegian weak verbs of the *kaste/kasta* class (see below) allow for an imperative homophonous with the infinitive (*kaste! / kasta!* 'throw!'). A special New Norwegian plural imperative obligatorily ending in *-e* is also in principle available (*køyre!* 'drive!').

On account of the relative paucity of Norwegian finite verb morphology the finite verb forms have a number of functions in addition to that of indicating present or past time reference. The present is often used to denote future time, and the preterite may express hypothetical or counterfactual meaning: BM *jeg gjorde det nok hvis jeg var deg* 'I'd probably do it if I were you'; or even a kind of emotionally tinged present; *det var bra at du kom!* 'it's good that you've come!' The verb morphology also provides no formal means to distinguish auctorial and reported speech acts. In indirect speech, the principle of *consecutio temporum* is applied: BM *Per sa: 'Jeg gjør det'* → *Per sa at han gjorde det* 'Per said, "I do it."' → 'Per said that he did it'.

The infinite verb forms comprise the infinitive(s) and the so-called past and present participles.

There are two kinds of infinitive formations: (a) a small class of suffixless verb stem infinitives like *gå* 'go', *tru* 'believe'; and (b) infinitives with a suffixal morpheme, which is in *Bokmål* *-e*. In New Norwegian it is optionally *-e* (*vere* 'be', *kaste* 'throw') or *-a* (*vera*, *kasta*). Besides, both New Norwegian and *Bokmål* allow for a so-called 'split' infinitive formation where *-e* and *-a* are distributed in accordance with Old Norse stem length (*vera*, *kaste*). Due to differences of syntactic distribution infinitives occur either with or without a preposed particle *å* (henceforth: *å*- vs *Ø*-infinitive). This particle is ambiguous between a verbal prefix and a subjunctive element. Very often it precedes the verb form directly: BM *han hadde klart ikke å gjøre noen feil* 'he had managed not to make any mistakes', but a restricted set of adverbial elements, in particular the sentence negation BM *ikke*, NN *ikkje*,

may intervene: NN *han hadde klara å ikkje gjera nokon feilar*. In coordinate structures, the second instance of *å* is often left out: BM *han lærte å lese og skrive* 'he learnt to read and write'.

The present participle is in all cases formed by adding BM *-ende*, NN *-ande* to the verb stem (BM *lysende*, NN *lysande* 'shining'). The formation of the past participle depends on the declension class of the verb. There is a general difference between *Bokmål* and New Norwegian to the effect that in New Norwegian many participles are in certain constructions inflected according to the agreement rules and declensional class system of adjectives, whereas all *Bokmål* verb constructions have an invariant supine form (see below). *Bokmål* participial forms showing adjectival agreement are only possible with a restricted number of verbs and are then mainly used in attributive position: BM *de nylig ankomme gjestene* 'the guests who had recently arrived', *Ibsens samlede verker* 'the collected works of Ibsen'.

With regard to strong verbs, the *Bokmål* inflectional paradigms are characterized by more analogical levelling and a certain influx of Danish forms as compared with the somewhat greater transparency of the Old Norse declensional system in New Norwegian. See Table 8.7. The greater regularity of the *Bokmål* paradigms derive from the following facts. First, the present tense ending *-(e)r* has been generalized in *Bokmål*, cf. BM *skytter* 'shoots', *finner* 'finds' vs NN *skyt*, *finn*. (The subsidiary NN *-er-* forms are seldom used.) Second, New Norwegian still has some cases with vowel alternation in the present tense (NN *søv* 'sleeps', *held* 'holds' vs BM *sover*, *holder*). Third, New Norwegian has in many cases inflecting participles as against invariant *Bokmål* supine forms. In the latter connection it should be noted that the neuter form of the New Norwegian past participle has lost its final *-t* which is retained in the corresponding *Bokmål* supine, and that *Bokmål* supine forms like *sovet* 'slept', *sunget* 'sung', coincide with respect to the *-et*-ending with the supine of the most productive class of weak verbs in traditional *Bokmål* (e.g. *kastet* 'thrown'). Moreover, forms like *tatt* 'taken', *sett*, NN *sedd* 'seen' are examples of participle formations originating with weak verbs (see below). This tendency is far stronger in *Bokmål* than in New Norwegian, as is indicated by the numerous *Bokmål* supine forms like *bitt* 'bitten', *brutt* 'broken', *grått* 'cried' vs NN *bite/bit*, *brote/brot*, *gråte/gråte*. On the whole, more originally strong verbs have become weak in *Bokmål* than in New Norwegian, cf. the New Norwegian preterites *drap* 'killed', *las* 'read', *bles* 'blew', *togg* 'chewed' vs BM *drepte*, *leste*, *blåste*, *tygde* (RM even *tygget*), (but BM *hjalp* 'helped', *traff* 'met' vs NN *hjelp*, *treffe*). However, a supine system is now, as a subsidiary option, accepted even in New Norwegian due to its widespread use in the dialects: NN *brev er skrivne* [*skrive*] 'the letters have been written'.

The weak verbs inflect in accordance with the following main declension classes:

Table 8.7 Classes of strong verbs in Norwegian

| | <i>Infinitive</i> | <i>Present</i> | <i>Preterite</i> | <i>Participle/Supine</i> | | | |
|---|---|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|------------|-----------------------------|---------|
| | | | | pp. com. sg. | pp. f. sg. | pp. n. sg./sup. | pp. pl. |
| 1 | NN bita/e 'bite' BB bite | bit[er] biter | beit bet/beit | biten | [biti] | bite/bit bitt | bitne |
| | NN driva/e 'drive' BM drive | driv[er] driver | dreiv drev/dreiv | driven | [drivi] | drive/drivi drevet | drivne |
| 2 | NN bryta/e 'break' BM bryte | bryt[er] bryter | braut brøt/braut | broten | [broti] | brote/broti brutt | brotn |
| | NN fyka/e 'blow' BM fyke | fyk[er] fyker | fauk føk/fauk | foken | [foki] | foke/foki føket | fokne |
| 3 | NN drikka/e 'drink' BM drikke | drikk[er] drikker | drakk drakk | drukken | [drukki] | drukke/drukki drukket | drukne |
| | NN syngja/e, synga/e 'sing' BM syngje | syng[er] synger | song sang | sungen | [sungi] | sunge/sungi sunget | sungne |
| 4 | NN bera/e 'carry' BM bære | ber[er] bærer | bar bar | boren | [bori] | bore/bori båret | borne |
| 5 | NN beda/be 'ask' BM be/bede 'pray' | bed[er]/ber ber | bad bad [ba] | beden | [bedi] | bede/bedi/bedt/bedd bedt | bedne |
| | NN liggja/e, ligga/e 'lie' BM ligge | ligg ligger | låg lå | | | lege/legi ligget | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|--------|---------|---------------------------|-------|
| | NN sjå 'see' BM se | ser ser | såg så | sedd | | sett sett | sedde |
| 6 | NN taka/e, ta 'take' BM ta | tek [tar, teker] tar | tok tok | teken | [teki] | teke/teki [tatt] tatt | tekne |
| 7 | NN gråta/e 'weep' BM gråte | græt gråter | gret gråt | | | gråte/gråti grått | |
| | NN sova/e 'sleep' BM sove | søv[er] sover | sov sov | | | sove/sovi sovet | |
| | NN hogga/e 'art' BM hogge, hugge | høgg[er] hogger, hugger | hogg hogg | hoggen | [hoggi] | hogge/hoggi hogd, hugd | hogne |

1 NN infinitive ending *-ja/-je*, no present tense suffix, *-de* as past tense suffix vs BM absence of *-j*-stem formation, suffix *-er* in the present tense, *-te* as past tense suffix, with or without vowel alternation, e.g.: NN *telja* (inf.) 'count' – *tel* (pres.) – *talde* [*talte*] (past) – *tald* [*talt*] (pp. sg. m./f.), *talt* (pp. sg. n. and sup.) – *talde* (pp. pl.) vs BM *telle* (inf.) – *teller* (pres.) – *talte/telte* (past) – *talt/telt* (sup.), NN *selja* (inf.) 'sell' – *sel* (pres.) – *selde* [*selte*] (past) – *seld* [*selt*] (pp. sg. m. f.), *selt* (pp. sg. n.) – *selde* (pp. pl.) vs BM *selge* (inf.) – *selger* (pres.) – *solgte* (past) – *solgt* (sup.).

2 Consonantal stems with past tense ending *-de* or *-te* according to morphophonemic or lexical rules: NN *byggja* [*bygga*] (inf.) 'build' – *byggjer* [*bygger*] (pres.) – *bygde* (pret.) – *bygd* (pp. sg. m./f.), *bygt/bygd* (pp. sg. n. and sup.) [*bygd*] (sup.), *bygde* (pp. pl.) vs BM *bygge* (inf.) – *bygger* (pres.) – *bygde* (pret.) – *bygd* (sup.), NN *dømma* [*døma*] (inf.) 'judge' – *dømmer* [*dømer*] (pres.) – *dømde* [*dømte*] (pret.) – *dømd* [*dømt*] (pp. sg. m./f.), *dømt* (pp. sg. n. and sup.) [*dømd/dømt*] (sup.), *dømde* (pp. pl.), NN *senda* (inf.) 'send' – *sender* (pres.) – *sende* [*sendte*] (pret.) – *send* (pp. sg. m./f.), *sendt* (pp. n. and sup.), [*send/sendt*] (sup.), *sende* (pp. pl.) vs BM *sende* (inf.) – *sender* (pres.) – *sendte* (pret.) – *sendt* (supine), NN *lysa* (inf.) 'shine' – *lyser* (pres.) – *lyste* (pret.) – *lyst* (pp. sg. and sup.), *lyste* (pp. pl.) vs BM *lyse* (inf.) – *lyser* (pres.) – *lyste* (pret.) – *lyst* (sup.).

3 Vowel stems with past tense ending *-dde*: NN *nå* (inf.) 'reach' – *når* (pres.) – *nådde* (pret.) – *nådd* (pp. sg. m./f.), *nått/nådd* (pp. sg. n. and sup.), *nådde* (pp. pl.) vs BM *nå* (inf.) – *når* (pres.) – *nådde* (pret.) – *nådd* (sup.).

4 Past tense and participle (supine) ending NN *-a*, BM *-et/-a*: NN *kasta* (inf.) 'throw' – *kastar* (pres.) – *kasta* (pret.) – *kasta* (pp. and sup.) vs BM *kaste* (inf.) – *kaster* (pres.) – *kastet/kasta* (pret.) – *kastet/kasta* (sup.).

Again, New Norwegian has more morphological variation than NN. For instance, in the present tense of weak verbs New Norwegian has the endings *-ø* in Class I, *-er* in Class II, *-r* in Class III, and *-ar* in Class IV, whereas *Bokmål* with a couple of insignificant exceptions (*spør* 'asks', *gjør* 'does') has generalized *-er/-r*. As with strong verbs, the use of invariant supine forms is now accepted in New Norwegian.

Lexical equivalents in New Norwegian and *Bokmål* do not always belong to the same declensional class. *Bokmål* (and even more so *Riksmål*) tends to have as members of the most productive Class IV certain verbs which in New Norwegian belong to Class II, e.g. *festalfeste* 'fasten'. As a rule, new verbs inflect according to Class IV, the only exception to this being verbs with the affix *-erel-era* (*galvanisere*) which belong to Class II. Class IV is the only class where New Norwegian has neither a dental ending nor morphological variation with regard to number or gender agreement in the participle.

A few verbs constitute exceptions to the inflectional patterns described so far. To these 'irregular' verbs belong the four main modals *kunne* 'can'; *måtte* 'must'; *skulle* 'shall'; BM *ville*, NN *vilja* 'will'. These have a θ -ending in the present (*kan, må, skal, vil*) and a past tense without a dental suffix, but with an *-e*-ending, and they are thus homophonous with the corresponding *Bokmål* infinitives. The past participle in *Bokmål* is formed with the *-et*-ending of weak verbs of Class IV (*kunnet* etc.), whereas New Norwegian has *-a* (*kunna* etc.).

Morphologically reflexive verbs constitute an inflectional class of their own. The reflexive suffix in New Norwegian is *-st* [*-s*], which entails the *-a*-ending of the infinitive, and in *Bokmål* *-s*. The *-r* of the present-tense ending is deleted, thus yielding the following regular patterns: BM *møtes* – *møtes* – *møttes* – *møttes* 'meet' vs NN *møtast* – *møtest* – *møttest* – *møtst*. Special morphophonemic rules give rise to *Bokmål* forms like *undres* (inf., pres., pp.) 'wonder' and *undredes* (past). Reflexive verbs with the *-s(t)*-suffix are in general lexicalized, the productive reflexive formation being the construction with a reflexive pronoun: NN *eg vaskar meg, du vaskar deg, han/ho vaskar seg* 'I/you/he/she wash(es)'. The *-s(t)*-verbs form no unitary semantic class, some being reciprocal, like NN *møtast*/BM *møtes*, others rather 'medial', cf. BM *undres* 'wonder', and still others have a lexicalized passive meaning, like BM *kalles* 'be called'.

Apart from its occurrence in lexicalized reflexive verbs, the *s(t)*-suffix also functions as a verbal passive morpheme. It is then inflectionally defective in the modern language. In New Norwegian it is generally only used with infinitives in construction with modals: NN *borna må hentast før klokka tre* 'the children will have to be picked up before three o'clock'. *Bokmål* also has present-tense forms which most often express frequentative aspectual meaning: BM *hver dag hentes barna klokken tre* 'every day the children are picked up at three o'clock'.

In the domain of verb derivation both prefixal and post-verbal particle formations are to a certain extent productive. *Bokmål* and New Norwegian have prefixal verbs with indigenous prefixes, cf. *mislike* 'dislike', *samarbeide* 'cooperate', NN *vanvørda* 'dishonour'. More specifically in *Bokmål* there are a large number of verbs with originally German prefixes, like *forstå* 'understand', *betale* 'pay', *forekomme* 'occur', *bifalle* 'applaud', *anmelde* 'report', *unnskylde* 'excuse', *anerkjenne* 'recognize'. Traditionally, such verbs have for puristic reasons been disallowed in New Norwegian, but a fair number of them, especially verbs with *for-* and *be-*, are now fully integrated elements of New Norwegian vocabulary. Likewise, most composite verbs with a prefixed Norwegian preposition or adverb are translation loans of German verbs with a prefix, e.g. *overleve* 'survive', *etterforske* 'investigate', *inneholde* 'contain'. Traditional New Norwegian reluctance towards such formations seems to be on the wane. More typically and indigenously Norwegian are composite verbs with a prefixed noun or adjective, e.g.

saumfare 'scrutinize', *lovfeste* 'establish by law', *saksøke* 'sue'. The most productive verbal lexeme formation pattern is presumably the combination of a verb and a post-verbal adverbial or prepositional particle, e.g. *gi bort* 'give away', *holde ut* 'endure', *legge sammen* 'add', *ta til* 'begin', *bære over (med)* 'be patient (with)', *gå med (på)* 'consent (to)'. Occasionally, a prefixal and a post-verbal particle formation with the same lexical element coexist. Often there is then hardly any semantic difference between the two formations, cf. *inndele* : *dele inn* 'classify', *utgi* : *gi ut* 'issue', *uttenke* : *tenke ut* 'devise'. The particle formation is preferred in New Norwegian cf.: BM *de fremsatte/satte fram et forslag* vs NN *dei sette fram eit forslag* 'they made a proposal'. In some verb couplets of this kind the prefixal and the post-verbal particle formation differ semantically, the latter having a more basic and the former a more abstract or metaphorical meaning, e.g. *kalle fram* 'summon' – *framkalle* 'produce', *bryte av* 'break off' – *avbryte* 'interrupt'. New Norwegian has fewer such couplets than *Bokmål/Riksmål*, but compare, for example, BM/NN *vende (seg) om* 'turn around' – *omvende* 'convert', *føre ut* 'lead outside' – *utføre* 'export/carry through'.

Auxiliaries and Periphrastic Constructions

The non-finite verb forms partake of a variety of verbal constructions consisting of a governing finite (or non-finite) verb and a governed non-finite verb form. The present participle occurs only in a small number of rather special cases, and the *å*-infinitive is in general part of a complementation system with governing verbs not having the specialized semantic and grammatical functions of traditional auxiliaries. The past participle and the \emptyset -infinitive are, on the other hand, predominantly found in auxiliary constructions.

Temporal Auxiliaries

The perfect and pluperfect are formed with the present and past, respectively, of *ha* 'have' or BM *være*, NN *vera* 'be'. *Ha* is universally possible, whereas *være*, *vera* is used optionally with verbs indicating change of state or location: BM *han har kjøpt boken* 'he has bought the book', *de hadde danset lenge* 'they had been dancing for a long time', NN *dei var nett komne/hadde nett kome til staden* 'they had only recently arrived in town'. *Bokmål* has the uninflected supine in all perfect constructions. In New Norwegian the perfect with *vera* is formed with inflecting participles agreeing in gender or number with the subject of the sentence (but the supine is a subsidiary option even here). Just like its counterpart in English, the Norwegian perfect cannot be used for narration and is thus in clear opposition to the past tense. Hence it is in general not combined with adverbials denoting past-tense reference: BM **jeg har gjort det for to uker siden* (lit.) **'I've done it two weeks ago'*. It is also the natural expression for combined past- and present-tense reference: NN *eg har butt her sidan i fjor* 'I've been living here since last year'.

Futurity is often expressed by the present tense: NN *han kjem nok i morgon* 'he'll probably come tomorrow', BM *den boken kjøper vi senere* 'we'll buy that book later'. Auxiliary constructions with the largely desemantized modals *skulle* 'shall' and *ville* 'will' are equally common: *du vil like denne boka* 'you'll like this book', NN *eg skal gjera det seinare* 'I'll do it later'. In addition, the deictic verb *komme* 'come' with the directional prepositional particle *til* and the *å*-infinitive is an unequivocal, non-modal expression of futurity: NN *heile familien kjem til å emigrera til Amerika* 'the whole family is going to emigrate to America'. The notion of completion in the future may be expressed by the perfect: NN *han har nok skrive brevet før du kjem* 'he'll have written the letter before you arrive'; or by means of *få* 'get' with the past participle: BM *han får gjort det til i morgen* 'he'll have it done by tomorrow'; or by the preterite of desemantized *skulle/ville* with the infinitive perfect: BM *jeg skal/han vil ha ordnet alt før neste uke* 'I/he'll have it all arranged before next week'; or by corresponding constructions with the present of *komme* 'come': NN *han kjem til å halfå gjort arbeidet ferdig før neste uke* 'he'll have the work completed before next week'. Past future is expressed by the preterite of *skulle/ville* with the infinitive: BM *han sa at han skulle/ville tenke på det* 'he said he'd think about it'. In non-embedded sentences only *skulle* is used with a prospective sense: *det skulle gå mange år før han kom* 'many years were to pass before he came'. In *oratio tecta*, *få* is used: NN *han fekk gjera det seinare* 'he'd have to do it later'.

Modality

The traditional modals govern the \emptyset -infinitive. Constructions with the infinitive perfect are semantically diverse. With the present tense of the modal, they carry an epistemic (or in the case of *skulle*, reportive) meaning: *han må/skal ha gjort det* 'he must/is assumed to have done it'; but when the modal is in the preterite, the meaning switches to deontic counterfactuality: *han skulle ha gjort det* 'he ought to have done it'. Whereas *skulle* in counterfactual expressions still retains its basic meaning of obligation, *ville* is a modally desemantized marker of counterfactuality: BM *det ville ha vært fint* 'that would have been fine'. Contrary to what is the case in constructions with the present tense of modals and the perfect infinitive, deletion of the auxiliary *ha* is not only possible, but even highly usual in counterfactual constructions: *han skulle (ha) reist dit* 'he should have gone there'.

The counterfactual use of the simple preterite with the infinitive present, e.g. BM *hadde jeg vinger, skulle jeg fly* 'if I had wings, I'd fly', is restricted to present or rather non-past time reference. To express past counterfactuality, the pluperfect or the preterite of a modal in combination with the infinitive perfect or the past participle is used: BM *hvis jeg hadde hatt vinger, skulle jeg (ha) fløyet*. It is worth noting that the latter are also freely used with non-past (present or future) time reference.

Modal *få* 'get' with the \emptyset -infinitive vacillates between permissive and

obligative deontic meaning: BM *han får slippe den prøven* 'he'll have to be exempted from that test', *han får gjøre brevet ferdig* 'he shall have to finish the letter'. BM *behøve, trenge*, NN *trenge, turva* with the \emptyset - or \ddot{a} - infinitive function as the negative counterpart of *måtte* 'must': BM *du behøver ikke (å) gjøre det*, NN *du tarv ikkje gjera det* 'you needn't do it'.

Passive Auxiliaries

The usual actional passive auxiliary is *bli* and in New Norwegian also *verta*: *bilen blir vaska* 'the car is being washed', NN *huset vart/blei selt* 'the house was sold'. The statal passive with BM *være*, NN *vera* denotes (the result of) a completed action: NN *huset er selt* 'the house is sold'. The present-tense statal passive is often understood to be temporally equivalent to the perfect active. The distinction between the statal passive and the perfect/pluperfect of the actional passive is also in many cases less than clear-cut: BM *han er (blitt) valgt til stortingsmann* 'he has been elected a member of parliament'. The *Bokmål* passive is formed with the invariant supine form: *de ble kjørt hjem*, but New Norwegian has a participle agreeing in gender or number with the subject: *dei vart køyrde heim* 'they were driven home' (with the supine construction as a subsidiary option).

Another kind of passive construction is formed with *få* 'get' and the supine or past participle: BM *han fikk tilsendt bøkene* 'the books were sent to him', or, with another word order which betrays the syntactic origin of the non-finite verb form as a predicative to the object: *han fikk bøkene tilsendt*. New Norwegian in addition makes a distinction between the supine: *han fekk tilsendt bøkene*, and the participle: *han fekk bøkene tilsende*, in accordance with the distributional variation.

New Norwegian also has a passive use of the present participle which is not paralleled in *Bokmål*, and for which a variety of *Bokmål* counterparts have to be used: compare for example, NN *han er ventande heim* 'he is expected home' vs BM *han er ventet hjem*; NN *vegen er ikkje gåande* 'the road is not fit for walking' vs BM *veien er ikke til å gå på*; NN *vatnet er drikkande* 'the water is fit for consumption' vs BM *vannet er drikkelig*.

Aspectuality

Aspectuality is only of marginal importance in the grammar. However, note should be taken of a common aspectual periphrasis where *drive* 'drift around' or one of the basic dimensionality verbs *gå* 'go', *stå* 'stand', *ligge* 'lie' is coordinated with another, preferably imperfective verb: NN *han dreiv og las* 'he was reading', BM *hun stod og tenkte* 'she stood there thinking'. When coordinate structures of this kind are combined with ingressive *bli*, NN *verta*, only the first verb appears as a present participle and the second verb is shifted into the infinitive, whereas *og* 'and' is retained: BM *han ble gående og tenke* 'he kept walking around thinking'.

Pro-verb

The pro-verb BM *gjøre*, NN *gjera* 'do' is used when a lexical verb is topicalized. A finite lexical verb is then either turned into an infinitive: BM *synge gjør han alltid*; or simply retained in finite form: *synger gjør han alltid* 'he is always singing'. Correspondingly, even infinitives may optionally change into past participles in accordance with the participle of the pro-verb in the perfect tense: BM *synge/sunget har han alltid gjort*.

8.4 Syntax

The Nominal Group

The Structure of Noun Phrases

The contrast between the lexematic indefinite article and the affixal definite article (definiteness suffix) correlates with certain specific traits of the composition of noun phrases. The indefinite article is strictly pre-nominal and precedes all attributive adjectives: BM *en hyggelig gammel mann* 'a nice old man', NN *eit vent andlet* 'a nice face'. It is itself only preceded by a small number of indeclinable quantifying elements: BM *mang(en) en ung forfatter* 'many a young author', *nok en dårlig ny bok* 'another bad new book', and the inflecting identifying determiners *slik, sånn*: BM *sånt et rot* 'such a mess'. Apart from this, the indefinite article forms part of a larger paradigmatic class of quantifying determiners (see Table 8.6 for details).

Nouns with the definiteness suffix may be followed by an inflecting possessive pronoun or a syntagmatically and paradigmatically equivalent pronominal genitive: *boka mi* 'my book', *boka hennes* 'her book'. Non-pronominal genitives are, on the other hand, restricted to pronominal determiner position: BM *mannens bok* 'the man's book' vs **boken/boka mannens*. Inflecting and genitive pronominal possessives are also used pronominally, in which case the definiteness suffix is no longer possible: *min/mi/hennes bok* (**a/*en*) 'my/her book'.

When a pronominal adjective is also present in a definite noun phrase, a further unstressed lexematic pre-adjectival determiner is added, which for this reason is often called 'the adjective article': *den gamle mannen* 'the old man', *den gode boka* 'the good book', *det vesle barnet* 'the small child', *de store husa* 'the large houses'. Definite and indefinite noun phrases containing pronominal adjectives differ with respect to head-noun pronominalization. Indefinite noun phrases like *ei gammel kjerring* 'an old hag' allow for the pronominalized version *ei gammel ei* 'an old one'. In the plural, BM *noen gamle biler* 'some old cars' is even colloquially rendered as *noen gamle noen* 'some old ones'. In definite noun phrases, on the other hand, the head noun is simply omitted, whereby, for example, *den gamle bilen* 'the old car' is reduced to *den gamle*.

The 'definiteness doubling' in *den gamle bilen* etc., is applied more consistently in New Norwegian than in *Bokmål* and, in particular, *Riksmål*, where, in accordance with Danish usage, the definiteness suffix is often omitted. In *Bokmål* the suffixal article is often dispensed with before various kinds of post-nominal modifiers, such as complement clauses: BM *det tvilsomme syn at alt er tillatt* 'the dubious point of view that everything is permitted', and restrictive relative clauses: *de vanskeligheter som nå var overvunnet* 'the difficulties that were now surmounted'. In most other circumstances, current *Bokmål* noun phrases with pre-nominal modifiers, but lacking the definiteness suffix, are most often set phrases: *det norske folk* 'the Norwegian people', *den hellige skrift* 'the Holy Writ', or they are felt to be more or less bookish (reflecting Danish influence).

Expressions of Possession and Other Modifiers

The inflecting possessive pronouns and the pronominal genitive possessives are the only determiners to occur post-nominally after the definiteness suffix. All possessive pronouns and genitives may function syntactically as elliptical noun phrases: BM *min/hans/den andre guttens var bedre* 'mine/his/the other boy's was better'.

Prenominal genitives are fairly usual in *Bokmål*, but in New Norwegian they are more often than not avoided. This leaves the question of fully acceptable equivalents of BM *mannens bil* 'the man's car', as, according to a general rule, non-pronominal genitives only occur pre-nominally. Here, post-nominal prepositional phrases with possessive meaning are used instead. The most usual prepositions are BM/NN *til* 'to' and NN *åt* 'to', which are also the prepositions found in benefactive prepositioned phrases alternating with indirect objects: compare for example, NN *han gav kona si ei ny bok* 'he gave his wife a new book' – *han gav ei ny bok til/åt kona si* – *den nye boka til/åt kona hans* 'his wife's new book'.

Norwegian dialects possess two common periphrastic possessive constructions that are to a certain extent also used in standardized New Norwegian. The first comprises the inflecting reflexive possessive pronoun and obeys the general rule requiring prenominal position of non-pronominal genitives: *engelskmannen sin båt* 'the Englishman's boat'; cf. *engelskmannens båt, båten til engelskmannen*. Being originally a loan from Low German, this construction has traditionally been typical of West and North Norwegian usage, but it is at present gaining ground and is making its way into spoken East Norwegian, including that of the Oslo area. The other composite possessive construction comprises a pronominal genitive in the usual post-nominal position and an uninflected proper name or a noun with similar meaning: *huset hans Ola/far* 'Ola's/father's house'.

The Old Germanic possessive dative is in Modern Norwegian only vestigially present in a few set phrases: BM *det ligger ham i blodet* 'it's in his blood'. Elsewhere it has been replaced by prepositional phrases in

particular with the preposition *på* 'on, at': BM *ordet glapp ut av munnen på ham* 'the word just escaped him', or by regular attributive possessive expressions: NN *han kyste handa hennar* 'he kissed her hand'.

With the exception of the usual kind of adjectival phrases consisting of an adverbial modifier and a modified adjectival head (BM *meget uvitende*, NN *mykje fåkunnig* 'very ignorant'), pronominal modifiers on the whole tend not to be syntagmatically complex. Adjectives can be modified by complements or adverbial adjuncts as constituents of a complex adjectival phrase: BM *dette i mange henseender særdeles pålitelige dokument* 'this in many respects extraordinarily reliable document'; but such constructions have a distinct stylistic flavour as being literary, or even artificial-sounding officialese. The same goes for present participles used as a pronominal attribute: BM *en leende pike* 'a laughing girl', where the further addition of dependent elements often results in stilted 'Danish'- or 'German'-sounding expressions: BM *en høyt leende pike* 'a loudly laughing girl'. The present participle is typically used with a quasi-adjectival, characterizing meaning.

In accordance with Old Germanic participle formation and semantic interpretation rules, past participles of perfective intransitive verbs denoting change of state or location are used attributively with active meaning: BM *de nylig ankomne flyktningene* 'the recently arrived refugees'. The past participle of transitive verbs has passive meaning in this position: BM *de etterlyste rømlingene* 'the wanted runaways'. As in the case of present participles, syntagmatic expandability is heavily constrained. When complements are added in accordance with the valency requirements of the verbs in question, the result is stylistically marked or even deviant: BM *de av politiet etterlyste rømlingene* 'the refugees wanted by the police'. Both in New Norwegian and in *Bokmål*, postnominal relative clauses are normally used instead: *ei jente som ler/lo høgt*, NN *rømlingane som var etterlyste av politiet* 'the runaways who were wanted by the police'.

The syntactic constitution of Norwegian noun phrases thus displays both operator–operand and operand–operator order. Outside the domain of quantifiers, including the indefinite article, and of adjectival modification there is a noticeable overall tendency towards operand–operator order. This tendency manifests itself with the suffixal definite article, in pronominal possessive constructions, in the position of relative clauses, and even in the noticeably restricted expandability of pronominal modifiers, and it is even more pronounced in New Norwegian than in *Bokmål* or *Riksmål*.

Pronominalization and Quantifiers

Anaphora and Quantifiers

Gender distinctions are absent in the personal pronoun in the plural, cf.: *guttene* m. 'the boys'/*jentene* f. 'the girls'/*borda* n. 'the tables' → *de*. In the singular, the personal pronouns obey different agreement rules in New

Norwegian and *Bokmål*. The New Norwegian agreement system is, in principle, based on grammatical gender, whereby *han* m., *ho* f., *det* n. refer to full noun phrases in the masculine, feminine or neuter, respectively, irrespective of natural gender (sex): NN *guten* 'the boy', *stolen* 'the chair' → *han*; *jenta* 'the girl', *grana* 'the spruce' → *ho*; *barnet* 'the child', *bordet* 'the table' → *det*. As most nouns denoting males and females belong to the masculine and feminine gender, respectively, this system displays a partial fit between grammatical and natural gender.

In *Bokmål* the pronominalization rules are sensitive to animacy, with natural gender as a further specifying feature within the class of animate nouns (noun phrases): compare *gutten* 'the boy' m. and animate → *han* vs *stolen* 'the chair' m. and inanimate → *den*; *jenta* 'the girl' f. and animate, *piken* 'the girl' com. and animate → *hun* vs *feiringa* 'the celebration' f. and inanimate, *feiringen* com. and inanimate → *den*; but both *barnet* 'the child' n. and animate, and *bordet* 'the table' n. and inanimate → *det*.

Both in New Norwegian and *Bokmål* natural gender and notional plurality tend to override grammatical gender and number requirements when there is a conflict as in, for example, *kvinnfolket* n. sg. 'the woman' → *hun/ho* f. sg.; *politiet* n. sg. 'the police' → *de* pl.

In addition to its co-referential uses the neuter singular form *det* is also found as a merely formal subject in so-called 'impersonal' constructions: *det snødde i går* 'yesterday it was snowing', BM *nå kommer det an på deg* 'now it's up to you'; in the impersonal passive: NN *det vart kjempa til siste stund* 'there was fighting going on until the last moment'; and in existential sentences: BM *med ett kom det til syne en person foran døren* 'suddenly a person appeared in front of the door'. *Det* is also used as an 'anticipatory' element in sentences with a postposed subject or, far less often, object clause: NN *det er ille at dei vil gje opp sjølvråderetten* 'it is terrible that they are willing to relinquish their autonomy', BM *hun finner det inspirerende å arbeide om natten* 'she finds it inspiring to work at night'. A co-referential *det* may be stressed and also allows for 'right copying': BM *han betraktet den gamle villaen. Det var et fint hus, det* 'he was looking at the old mansion. It was really a beautiful house'; NN *faren var nett komen heim. Det var morosamt for borna, det* 'the father had just come home. It was very pleasant for the children'. On the other hand, the non-co-referential *det*, including the anticipatory *det*, does not allow for right copying: **det snør, det*; NN **det vart kjempa til siste stund, det*; NN **det er ille at dei vil gje opp sjølvråderetten, det*.

Reflexives and Reciprocals

Non-reflexive personal pronouns, on one hand, and reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, on the other hand, are in principle in complementary distribution with regard to the extra- and intra-sentential position of the antecedent. Non-reflexive personal pronouns refer to an antecedent not located in the same

clause: BM *Mannen_i snakket med naboen_j. Han_{ij} sa til ham_{ij} at han_{ij} måtte klippe plenen* 'the man talked with his neighbour. He told him that he ought to mow the lawn'. Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns refer to an antecedent located in the same clause which is also normally the subject of that clause. With a number of verbs the reflexive pronoun is a non-substitutable lexically required element: BM *han skammet seg_i/*sin bror* 'he was ashamed', whereas in other cases there is paradigmatic opposition to other non-reflexive elements: NN *ho vaska seg/barnet lenge* 'she kept washing herself/the child for a long time'.

The reflexive lexeme BM *selv, sjøl*, NN *sjølv* (with the optional plural *sjølve*) is only possible with not inherently reflexive verbs: BM **han skammet seg selv*. In other cases it may be added for contrast: NN *dei vaska seg sjølve* 'they washed themselves'. The reflexive lexeme is also regularly used in connection with actions which are not in the normal course of events directed towards oneself: BM *hun elsker seg selv* 'she loves herself', NN *presidenten gav seg sjølv ei utmerking* 'the president awarded himself a distinction'.

Reflexive pronouns are not only found as sentence elements, but also in attributive prepositional phrases. Here the antecedent may be the subject of the sentence: BM *Han_i viste sin_i kone_j et gammelt bilde av seg selv_i* 'he showed his wife an old picture of himself' (but: ... *av henne selv_j/hennes_{jk}*), or even a prenominal genitive with an appropriate semantic role function: NN *Petter_i si_i skryting av seg sjølv_i vart etter kvart noko keisam* 'Peter's bragging about himself eventually became somewhat boring'.

Infinitival complements to verbs are not ordinarily topologically independent clause constructions and hence do not constitute independent binding domains for pronouns. Thus, a reflexive pronoun may refer to the subject argument of a higher predicate in the complex sentence structure: BM *hun_i lovet sin_i mor_j å vaske seg_i ordentlig* 'she promised her mother to wash properly' (but: ... *å hjelpe henne/seg selv_i* '... to help her/herself'). Even higher-clause objects act as the antecedent of lower-clause reflexives, in which case the reflexive lexeme *selv, sjøl, sjølv* may narrow down the range of possible interpretations: NN *Jon_i freista å få henne_j til å tala vent om seg_{ij}/seg sjølv_j* 'John tried to make her say something nice about herself/himself', BM *han_i ba dem_j vise ham_{ijk} et bedre bilde av seg_{ijf}/seg selv_j/ham selv_{ijk}* 'he asked them to show him a better picture of himself/themselves'. The last example shows that the interplay between personal and reflexive pronouns engenders binding problems of its own.

The reciprocal pronoun is BM *hverandre*, NN *einannan, kvarandre*. The traditional number and gender inflection of NN *kvarannan m./f., kvartanna n., kvarandre* pl. now appears to be obsolete. Like personal pronouns, the reciprocal pronoun is sensitive to notional plurality: NN *tynna fell frå kvarandre* 'the barrel fell apart'. Like reflexives, the reciprocal pronouns are bound by an antecedent in the same tensed clause, which may, however, be the subject or object argument of a higher predicate: BM *de_i lovet sin_i mor_j*

å respektere hverandre, 'they promised their mother to respect each other', NN *mora*, *bad dei*, å respektera kvarandre, 'their mother asked them to respect each other'.

Quantifiers

The main quantifiers are listed in Table 8.6. They are all used as prenominal – and preadjectival – determiners in noun phrases, e.g.: BM *ingen avgjørelse*, NN *inga [ingi] avgjerd* 'no decision'. *Begge*, NN *både* usually occurs with a definite noun: BM *begge problemene*. *All(e)*, NN *einkvan* 'some(one)' and NN *kvar* 'each, every' allow for nouns with or without the definiteness suffix: BM *all mat* 'all food' (non-specific), *all maten* 'all the food' (specific), NN *einkvan gut(en)* 'some boy or other', NN *kvar skilling(en)* 'every penny'. The rest are combined with indefinite nouns only: BM *hver måned* 'every month', NN *nokre gamle menneske* 'some old people'.

With the exception of *hver*, *kvar* and the singular form *all*, the quantifiers are also employed as noun phrases in argument position: BM *alle hadde sagt sitt* 'everyone had had his say', NN *ingen hadde sett noko* 'nobody had seen anything'. For *hver*, *kvar* the lexically reinforced forms BM *hver og en*, NN *kvar og ein* are used: NN *kvar og ein hadde høyrte noko* 'everyone had heard something'.

Only the quantifiers *alle*, *alt*, *begge*, *både* and *hver*, *kvar* are 'floated' and are then bound by the syntactic subject. The quantifiers so used tend to be lexically reinforced as BM *alle sammen*, NN *alt saman*, BM/NN *begge to*, NN *både to* and BM *hver og en*, NN *kvar og en*. Such reinforcement is not necessary when the floated quantifiers *alle*, *alt* and *begge*, *både* are sentence-initial or placed in the central (nexus) field: BM *alle (sammen) hadde de kjørt av veien* 'they had all of them driven off the road'. But it is at least highly usual when the quantifier is floated to clause-final adverbial position: NN *dei hadde kjørt av vegen begge to*. Similar rules pertain to BM *hver (og en)*, NN *kvar (og ein)*: BM *de hadde tatt sin del hver og en* 'each had taken his share'. Non-reinforced BM *hver*, NN *kvar* has distributive meaning: BM *de tok en hver* 'they took one each'.

Basic Sentence Structures and their Syntagmatic Variations

The Basic Topological Patterning of Sentences

Due to the paucity of morphological marking of noun phrases basic syntactic relations are encoded topologically by means of restrictions on linear order. Therefore an overview of Norwegian sentence topology appears to be both a practical and a theoretical prerequisite for a discussion of the syntax of the language.

The serialization patterns of Norwegian are amenable to a description in terms of a sequence of 'topological fields', consisting of categorically defined 'positions', which may comprise one or more elements of the same

morphosyntactic category, see Table 8.8. For example:

Main clause (example in BM)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|----------|----------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|------------|
| IE | v | n | a₁ | a₂ | V₁ | V₂ | N₁ | N₂ | A |
| Denne | hadde | han | dess- verre | ikke | villet | sende | de andre utvalgsmemlemene | sakspapi- rene | før møtet. |

Subordinate clause (example in NN)

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|----------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------|----------------------|----------------------|----------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| IE/ Comp | n | a₁ | a₂ | a₃ | v | V₁ | V₂ | N | A₁ | A₂ | |
| (...) | av di | han | denne gongen | diverre | ikkje | hadde | villa | senda | saks- papira | til dei andre utvalsmedle- mene | før møtet. |

‘(because) this time he had unfortunately not wanted to send the documents to the other committee members before the meeting’

Key: **IE** = initial element; **Comp** = complementizer; **v** = finite verb; **V** = non-finite verb; **n**, **N** = nominal element; **a**, **A** = adverbial element.

Table 8.8 Field and position analysis of Norwegian clause and sentence structure

| Sentence/Clause | Initial Field | Nexus Field | Content Field |
|-----------------|--|--|--|
| Fields | Initial Field | Nexus Field | Content Field |
| Positions | MC: Initial Element | v n₁-n_n a₁-a_n | |
| | SC: Initial Element/ Complementizer | n₁-n_n a₁-a_n v | V₁-V_n N₁-N_n A₁-A_n |

Key: **MC** = main clause; **SC** = subordinate clause; **v** = finite verb; **V** = non-finite verb; **n**, **N** = nominal element, **a**, **A** = adverbial element.

Encoding of Grammatical Relations

When syntactic subjects are conceived of as a class of elements with which specific syntactic rule properties are associated (infinitive and imperative formation, passive and certain agreement rules, etc.), the defining encoding position of nominal subjects is **n₁**, since it is the elements occurring here that display the syntactic properties in question: BM *etterpå hadde han gitt sin kone blomster* ‘afterwards he had given his wife flowers’, NN *etter krangelen hadde dei freista å vera hyggelege mot kvarandre* ‘after the quarrel they had tried to be nice to each other’. Sentence-initial position cannot be regarded as the subject-encoding position in Norwegian on account of its availability to all kinds of syntactic categories.

When not topicalized, non-pronominal direct and indirect objects are placed in the content field after the sentence negation BM *ikke*, NN *ikkje* and any non-finite verb forms. The position in the nexus field in front of the sentence negation is available to pronominal objects on the condition that the lexical verb is finite: BM *han ga henne den ikke* 'he didn't give it to her' vs *han hadde ikke gitt henne den*.

The indirect and the direct object are not linearly interchangeable: BM **da ga han den henne ikke*; NN **etterpå hadde han gjeve blomar kona si*. Instead a benefactive element eligible for indirect-object function (and position) may appear in a prepositional phrase in the adverbial position of the content field for purposes of rhematization and focusing: BM *etterpå hadde han gitt blomster til sin kone*.

The nominal position in the content field is also the locus of various 'small clause' constructions which involve a direct object in construction with some predicative or quasi-predicative element: BM *hun kalte sine fiender løgnere* 'she called her enemies liars', NN *maten gjorde han sjuk* 'the food made him sick', NN *dei fann ho heime* 'they found her at home', BM *de fant ham sovende* 'they found him asleep'. In connection with the passive construction with *få* 'get' and the past participle, mention has been made of a certain vacillation between a 'small clause' construction: BM *han fikk pengene tilsendr*; and the auxiliary construction: BM *han fikk tilsendt pengene*. A similar alternation is also found in certain cases with the present participle: BM *hun hadde flere hester stående på stallen/stående flere hester på stallen* 'she had several horses standing in the stables'.

It is a moot question whether the term 'indirect object' should be restricted to the first of two nominal objects. Occasionally it is also extended to objects governed by predicative adjectives or noun phrases: BM *hun var ham kjær* 'she was dear to him', BM *det er meg en glede å ønske Dem velkommen* 'it is a pleasure for me to wish you welcome'; and to noun phrases in construction with a particle or an adverbial element in set phrases: BM *det kommer ikke deg ved* 'it's no concern of yours', BM *det gjør meg vondt* 'it hurts me'.

The Distribution of Adverbials and Negation Markers

The various kinds of adverbial elements differ with regard to linear distribution in the sense of field availability, the nexus field and the content field being the two subclassifying fields.

Sentence modifiers, including in particular modal particles and the sentence negation BM *ikke*, NN *ikkje*, are restricted to the adverbial position in the nexus field: NN *ho hadde jo kan hende ikkje kjøpt boka ennå* 'she had after all perhaps not as yet bought the book'. The order of such elements reflects semantic scope. Modal particles (like *jo* 'after all') come first, and the sentence negation stands last in the sequence with grading adverbials of various semantic designations in between.

The sentence negation is normally preceded by the pronominal subject: BM *da lo han ikke lenger* 'then he didn't laugh any longer'; and pronominal objects when there is no non-finite verb present: NN *nå såg han henne ikkje* 'now he didn't see her' vs NN *nå hadde han ikkje sett henne* 'now he hadn't seen her'. The order negation element-pronominal subject is also found on occasion: BM *hvis ikke det er sant ...* 'if it isn't true ...'. This latter position of the negation element directly after the finite verb in main clauses and after the complementizer in subordinate clauses is normal with non-pronominal subjects, cf.: CM *den dagen var ikke fru Hansen hjemme* 'on that day, Mrs Hansen was not at home', NN ... *tilhøve som ikkje domstolane kunne vurdere* '... circumstances that the courts of law were in no position to assess'. The 'negation hopping' to the position in front of a subject cannot take place when more adverbials are present in the nexus field: BM *den dagen var fru Hansen jo likevel ikke hjemme* 'on that day Mrs Hansen was after all not at home' – **den dagen var ikke fru Hansen jo likevel hjemme*. It thus rather appears that it is the first of a series, or even the whole series, of adverbial elements that may be so moved: BM *den dagen var jo fru Hansen likevel ikke hjemme – den dagen var jo likevel ikke fru Hansen hjemme*. In the spoken language the sentence negation is, partly on the basis of the movement rule in question, often cliticized to the finite verb: NN *har'kje nokon gjort noko?* 'hasn't anybody done anything?', SEN *jeg ha'kke gjort det* 'I haven't done it'.

The sentence negation is either used as an independent word form in combination with the indefinite pronoun (quantifier) BM/NN *noen, noe*, NN *nokon, noko*, or the semantic components of negativity and indefiniteness are incorporated into one single word form as *ingen* 'no one, nobody', *ingenting* 'nothing'. Although BM *ikke noe(n)*, NN *ikkje noko(n)* are certainly possible, *ingen* and *ingenting* are commonly used as a syntactic subject regardless of the composition of the verbal predicate: *det hadde ingen visst* 'no one had known that', *ingenting var bra nok* 'nothing was good enough'. With objects, however, the choice between incorporated and unincorporated negation depends on the composition of the verbal predicate. On account of the general constraint against content-field position of the sentence negation, forms with incorporated negation cannot occur in object position after a non-finite verb form: NN *dei hadde ikkje sett nokon* 'they had not seen anyone' – **dei hadde sett ingen*. Object forms with incorporated negation are acceptable in the nexus field, where the positional constraint in question is not violated: BM *de hadde ingenting sett* 'they had seen nothing'; but this usage feels awkward (and archaic) on account of a conflict with the usual distribution rules requiring non-pronominal objects to be content-field elements. In the absence of a non-finite verb, forms with or without negation incorporation are equally possible: BM *de så ikke noen/ingen* 'they saw no one'.

Ikke/ikkje also functions as focusing negation in contrastive contexts: BM *han elsket ikke datteren, men hennes vakre mor* 'he did not love the daughter, but her beautiful mother'. Here the same adversative conjunction *men* 'but'

is used as in the case of non-negated contrastivity: BM *de var fattige, men lykkelige* 'they were poor, but happy'. *Ikke/ikkje* is also, when heavily stressed, available to a limited extent for use as constituent negation: BM *ikke vi ønsker dette* 'we are not the ones to wish for this'. This usage is, however, more often than not avoided. Instead, negated cleft constructions are commonly used: BM *det er ikke vi som ønsker dette*.

Adverbials and prepositional complements that subcategorize the main lexical verb occupy the adverbial position in the content field and are excluded from the nexus field: BM *han hadde tenkt på henne hele tiden* 'he had been thinking of her all the time' – **han hadde på henne tenkt hele tiden*, NN *den vesle jenta hadde sunge særs vent* 'the small girl had sung beautifully' – **den vesle jenta hadde særs vente sunge*. Local or temporal adverbial adjuncts occur both in the content field and the nexus field: BM *han hadde arbeidet med den nye boken under et opphold i utlandet* 'he had been working on the new book during a stay abroad' – *han hadde under et opphold i utlandet arbeidet med den nye boken*. In clause-final adverbial position prepositional complements regularly precede the adverbial adjuncts due to their closer semantic affinity with the governing lexical verb. In the case of adverbial adjuncts, the adverbial position in the nexus field is often used for the purpose of thematization, compare: NN *ho hadde kjøpt ein ny kjole i Paris* 'she had bought a new dress in Paris' – *ho hadde i Paris kjøpt ein ny kjole* 'in Paris she had bought a new dress'.

The extent to which the adverbial subclasses partake of the categorially open sentence-initial position varies greatly. Adverbial adjuncts are often naturally placed sentence-initially as mediators of text or discourse coherence: BM *i forrige uke hadde hun likevel kjøpt enda en ny kjole* 'last week she had, however, bought still another new dress'. Adverbial complements in this position have some sort of specific communicative motivation and therefore regularly receive emphatic stress: NN *vent sang ho ikkje* 'she did not sing well at all', BM *i Paris hadde hun bodd lenge* 'as for Paris, she had been living there for a long time'. The sentence negation marker only appears sentence-initially in a special contrastive environment: BM *ikke var han fornøyd med de andre bøkene heller* 'he was not satisfied with the other books either'. Modal particles are in general exempt from this position: NN *han hadde jo lese boka* 'he had after all read the book' – **jo hadde han lese boka*.

Modal particles and certain sentence-modifying adverbials are in the spoken language often placed at the rightmost end of the sentence: BM *nå må dere gå, da!* 'now you'll have to go, then!', BM *det var hyggelig, vel!* 'that was nice, wasn't it?', NN *det går betre neste gong, kan hende* 'perhaps it will turn out better next time', including the reply particles *ja* 'yes', *jo* '(in answer to negative questions) yes', *nei* 'no': *den boka var god, ja* 'that book was really good'. As there is a clear intonational break between the particle and the preceding sentence structure in most cases, the position in question cannot be conflated with the regular sentence-final adverbial position. Still, the

overall semantico-pragmatic effect is that the adverbial elements with the lowest degree of semantic predicate affinity are here also treated linearly as the most predicate-remote argument.

The negation marker BM *ikke*, NN *ikkje* cannot be used sentence-finally in this way. Instead the negative reply word *nei* appears: BM *det var ikke bra*, *nei* 'that was not good, I dare say'.

'Ergative' Features and Passive Constructions

There is a certain semantic parallelism between the subjects of intransitive verbs and the (direct) objects of transitive verbs to the effect that in both cases the interpretation varies with the type of argument they select: compare *han går til byen* 'he walks to town' – *klokka går godt* 'the watch functions well' – *det går bra* 'things are fine'; and BM *han tok et eple fra treet* 'he picked an apple from the tree' – NN *han tok ein lur* 'he had a nap'; and also: BM *menneskene/*mannen myldret fram* 'the people were/*the man was swarming forth' – NN *ho talde sølvskeiene sine/*sølvskeia si* 'she counted her silver spoons/*her silver spoon'. In Norwegian, both subjects of intransitive verbs and various kinds of objects partake of relation-changing rules which are, in the two cases, significantly different.

Subjects of intransitive verbs undergo a demotion rule which places them in what is topologically the direct-object position of the content field in so-called 'existential-presentative' constructions, for example: NN *ein katt hadde seti på taket heile dagen* 'a cat had been sitting on the roof all day long' – *det hadde seti ein katt på taket heile dagen* 'there had been sitting a cat on the roof all day long'; NN *mange innvandrara var komne til den vesle fjellbygda* 'many immigrants had arrived in the small mountain community' – *det hadde kome mange innvandrara til den vesle fjellbygda*; BM *en stor arv ventet ham* 'a large inheritance was waiting for him' – *det ventet ham en stor arv*. In these constructions, a formal subject *det* is in general obligatory, and definite, or rather specific, NPs are as a rule excluded: **det hadde seti katten på taket...* Hence these constructions are naturally considered grammaticalized means of rhematization.

The constructions in question are called 'ergative' in current linguistic parlance. As the logical subject of intransitive verbs is here encoded topologically in the same manner as the direct object of transitive verbs, they are more properly termed 'absolute'. It has been suggested that the absolute construction in question should be considered the primary lexical option with intransitive verbs not occurring in the passive. In that case, a distinction would have to be made between 'primary absolutes', as with *komme* 'come': NN **det vart kome heim*; and, on the other hand, 'derived absolutes' as, for example, *hoppe* 'jump': BM *noen hoppet av toget i full fart* (active) 'someone jumped off the train at full speed' – *det hoppet noen av toget i full fart* (existential-presentative) – *det ble hoppet av toget i full fart* (impersonal passive), where both the existential-presentative and the

impersonal passive constructions are indeed possible.

Absolutive and passive constructions, to which we now turn, have in common that the subject for which the verb is, or may be, subcategorized does not appear in surface subject position ('subject demotion').

Strongly similar to the absolutive constructions are the impersonal passive constructions with a retained indefinite direct object: BM *elevene spiste epler hele tiden* 'the students were eating apples all the time' (active) – *det ble (av elevene) spist epler!/*eplene hele tiden* (impersonal passive of transitive verb with direct object).

A further structural variety is the objectless impersonal passive: NN *dei åt til seint på kveld* (active) 'they were eating until late in the evening' – *det vart ete til seint på kveld*.

In the so-called 'personal passive', subject demotion is compensated for by the promotion of some other syntactic element to surface subject function. Norwegian allows for a morphosyntactically wide range of candidates for surface subjecthood, including, of course, direct objects: BM *presidenten overrakte ham ordenen* 'the president presented him with the decoration' – *ordenen ble overrakt ham (av presidenten)*; indirect objects: BM *han ble overrakt ordenen (av presidenten)*; the noun-phrase constituent of a prepositional object: NN *foreldra passa på borna* 'the parents were looking after the children' – *borna vart passa på (av foreldra)*; and even the noun-phrase constituent of certain purely adverbial prepositional phrases: *noen hadde skåret kjøtt med kniven* 'someone had been cutting meat with the knife' – *kniven var blitt skåret kjøtt med*. The general requirement seems to be valency dependence or at least close semantic affiliation with the verb. However, not all adverbial elements so describable are eligible as subjects in the passive: BM *mange reiste til Tromsø på den tiden* 'lots of people travelled to Tromsø at that time' – **på den tiden ble det reist til Tromsø (av mange)*. Whereas impersonal passives with a retained direct object obey the (in)definiteness constraint, their counterparts with a prepositional complement are exempt from it: NN *det vart passa godt på borna* 'the children were well cared for'.

A number of composite passive constructions show in principle the same demotion and promotion processes as the *bli*- and *s*- passives considered so far, but they comprise two lexical verbs, the first and superordinate of which is characterized by an extension of the basic selectional requirements, for example: BM *han antas å komme i morgen* 'he is supposed to arrive tomorrow', where the passive form of *anta* 'suppose' has an animate subject, although the direct object in the active is an expression for propositional content. Even more intriguing are the so-called 'double passives' where the first, governing lexical verb is in the *-s*- or *bli*-passive, and the second main lexical verb occurs in the form of the passive participle also found in *bli*-passive constructions: BM *sykkel ønskes kjøpt* 'a bicycle is wanted for purchase', *postkontoret ble vedtatt nedlagt* 'it was decided that the post office should be closed down', *mannen var begjært fengslet* 'a request had been

made for the man's imprisonment'; and impersonal: BM *det ble vedtatt nedlagt flere gamle postkontorer* 'it was decided that more old post offices be closed down'.

The passive construction with *få* 'get' and the past participle mentioned earlier applies to the indirect not the direct object of corresponding active constructions: BM *man overrakte ham ordenen* 'they gave him a decoration' – *han fikk overrakt ordenen*. In addition, in certain cases, the subject of this construction corresponds to a prepositional phrase in the active: BM *banken finansierte prosjektet for ham* 'the bank financed the project for him' – *han fikk prosjektet finansiert/finansiert prosjektet av banken*. Occasionally, a reflexive pronoun that is co-referential with the subject of *få* is added: BM *han fikk seg forelagt planen/planen forelagt seg* 'he was presented with the plan'. The *få*-periphrases in question tend to be used with verbs where the usual kind of *bli*-/s-passive is either outright ungrammatical or would feel awkward.

Relationally Neutral Topological Variation Patterns (Movement Rules)

The discussion in the preceding sections has shown that certain cases of topological variability do affect syntactic relations, whereas others do not. Apart from the particular rules pertaining to pronominal objects, change of position from the nexus field to the content field or vice versa is of relational relevance in the case of subjects and objects (noun phrases), but not in the case of adverbials (which are mostly adverbs or prepositional phrases). In addition, in a topological system where serialization serves as a means for encoding syntactic relations and semantic dependence, it is only to be expected that clause- and field-internal linear variability is restricted. However, objects and adverbials in the content field occasionally change places for reasons of stylistic focusing or simply morphophonemic weight: BM *han hadde invitert til sin fødselsdag alle de gamle vennene sine* 'he had invited to his birthday all his old friends'. Most of the remaining relationally neutral, topological variation patterns (movement rules) pertain to the initial field and to the extrapositional field(s) that does (do) not form part of the basic field schema in Table 8.8, i.e. to the 'outer' regions of the clause or sentence structure.

The forefield serves the twofold purpose of (primary) discourse connecting and (secondary) focusing. In the former case, syntactic subjects, being 'grammaticalized topics', are the statistically dominant, unmarked option, but other sentence elements are equally possible. Even the noun phrase constituent of prepositional phrases is so topicalized (the marking ____ indicates the position within the prepositional phrase from which a noun phrase has been extracted): BM *den fyren kan vi ikke stole på ____* 'that fellow we cannot trust'; including cases where the prepositional phrase from which the noun phrase is extracted is, relationally, an attributive modifier of a noun: BM *disse problemene hadde de ikke sett halvparten av ____ ennå* 'they had not seen half of these problems yet'. As a rule, the constituent occupying the forefield is in such cases definite and receives no special stress. In the case of

focusing, the preposed constituent receives emphatic stress and is often an indefinite noun phrase: NN *lærer ville han ikke bli* 'he did not at all want to become a teacher', or some other kind of constituent like, for example, a complex verb phrase: BM *reise til Tromsø nå vil jeg ikke* 'I will not go to Tromsø now' (vs **reise vil jeg ikke til Tromsø nå*). The movement rule in question has equally general application in all main and subordinate clause types whose forefield consists of a categorial variable, such as interrogative clauses: BM *hvem så du på gaten?* 'whom did you see on the street?'; NN *ho spurde kven han hadde gjeve den pakken til _____* 'she asked whom he had given that package to'; and relative clauses: BM *den personen som hun hadde sett på gaten* 'the person whom she had seen on the street'. In the other kinds of subordinate clause, the initial position (the forefield) is occupied by an invariant complementizer which precludes the application of variable topicalization, for example: BM *til fødselsdagen hadde hun fått en kunstbok* 'for her birthday she had received a book on art' vs **hun fortalte at til fødselsdagen hun hadde fått en kunstbok* (lit.) 'she told that for her birthday she had got a book on art'. However, topicalization is possible in *at*-clauses with main clause word order, in which case a secondary forefield is introduced adjacent to the complementizer *at*: BM *hun fortalte at til fødselsdagen hadde hun fått en kunstbok*.

It is often assumed that sentence-final position of infinitival and tensed clauses is due to a syntactic rule or pattern of extraposition; compare the following alleged subject clauses: BM *det var morsomt å gå på auksjon* 'it was fun going to auction sales', NN *det er godt at du er komen heim att* 'it is good that you have come home again'; and the object clauses in: BM *han hadde foreslått for henne at de skulle gå på kino* 'he had suggested to her that they go to the movies', NN *han fann det vanskeleg å tru henne* 'he found it difficult to believe her'. Here the allegedly 'anticipatory' *det* behaves more like formal subjects and objects in so far as it is not normally stressed and cannot, for example, be subjected to right copying (see above). Even the distributional evidence is not unequivocal, as subject infinitives may be followed by adverbials that have in their scope the content of the matrix clause: BM *det var mer morsomt å gå på auksjon i gamle dager* 'in the old days, it was more fun going to auction sales'.

As shown earlier, sentence adverbs and modal particles are in the spoken language often placed clause-finally in intonationally delimited extraposition. The frequency of this position is in actual usage further enhanced by the rule of right copying which applies to modal particles: BM *du er vel ikke sint, vel?* 'you aren't angry, are you?', certain adverbs: *nå må vi raske på, nå* 'now we'll have to hurry up', and, in particular, personal pronouns: BM *jeg går hjem nå, jeg* 'as for me, I'm going home now', NN *det var guten sin, det!* 'atta boy!'

Verb Order and Verb Constructions

Verb Order and Clause Types

Three clause types are distinguishable according to the position of the finite verb. Subordinate clauses have the finite verb in third position (after the complementizer): BM (*han sa*) *at hun ikke var kommet hjem ennå* 'he said that she had not come home yet'. Omission of the complementizer effects no change of this pattern: BM (*han sa*) *hun ikke var kommet hjem ennå*. Declarative word order with the finite verb in second position is occasionally used as well, particularly in reported speech: BM (*han sa*) (*at*) *hun var ikke kommet hjem ennå*.

Main clauses have the finite verb in second or first position. In declaratives and in constituent questions, the finite verb comes second: NN *ho er ikkje heime* 'she is not at home', NN *kva tid kjem ho heim?* 'when will she be home?' Even sentence questions may be verb-second when appropriately stressed: BM *hun er ikke kommet hjem ennå?* 'she has not come home yet?'; but in this case the finite verb normally comes first, i.e. there is no forefield: NN *er ho ikkje komi heim ennå?* 'has she still not come home?' In addition, conditional clauses lacking a complementizer are also verb-first: BM *kommer hun ikke hjem snart, (så) får hun heller ingen aftensmat* 'if she does not come home soon, she will not get any supper'.

Imperatives are analyzable as clause constructions lacking a forefield and an overt subject in the nexus field. The sentence negation is either preposed as in subordinate clauses: BM *ikke forsøk å vri dere unna nå!* 'don't try to get away with it!'; or it is placed after the finite verb, as in main clauses: BM *forsøk ikke å vri dere unna nå!* A periphrastic construction with the imperative of the causative verb *la*, NN *lata* 'let' is also used: BM *la meg/him/oss/dem gjøre det!* 'let me/him/us/them do it!', which may be considered the pragmatic equivalent of imperatives for the first- and third-person singular and plural.

In the morphologically and pragmatically highly restricted optative mood both verb-second and verb-first constructions occur: BM *Gud velsigne deg!* 'God bless you!', *leve Kongen!* 'may the King live!'

Norwegian verb chains consisting of a maximally governing finite or non-finite verb and one or more governed non-finite verb forms are unidirectionally right-branching and may attain considerable length: BM *han burde¹ha²kunnet³forsøke⁴å lære⁵å utføre⁶arbeidet noe raskere* 'he ought to have been able to try to learn to do the work more quickly'. Within the topological field framework all non-finite auxiliaries and the first lexical verb can be assumed to belong in the verb (V) position of the content field. However, in the traditional *accusativus cum infinitivo* construction, and with other three-place predicates governing an infinitive as a direct object, the infinitive is regularly preceded by a nominal object in the content field, and may therefore be assumed to occupy a nominal (N) position: BM *de hadde latt ham gå uten flere spørsmål* 'they had let him go without further

questioning', NN *dei hadde tilbode han å køyra han heim* (lit.) 'they had offered him to drive him home'; or even an adverbial (A) position in the content field: BM *hun overtalte vennene til å bli over helgen* 'she persuaded her friends to stay over the weekend'. Seen from this perspective, the nominal and adverbial positions of the content field, being the locus of non-finite V-embedding, *ipso facto* function as the point of departure for right-expanding content-field recursion in accordance with valency and further collocation properties of the main lexical verb. Hence constructions like the following may be derived: BM *hun hadde* [_V *overtalt ham* [_{A,NV} *til å anbefale sine venner* [_{NV} *å tilby kollegene* [_{NV} *å kjøpe billig reinsdyrkjøtt av hennes onkel til jul*]]]] 'she had persuaded him to recommend his friends to offer their colleagues to buy cheap reindeer-meat from her uncle for Christmas'. Infinitival constructions introduced by V-recursion do not present barriers to permutation of constituents into higher clauses: BM *billig reinsdyrkjøtt hadde hun overtalt ham til å anbefale sine venner å tilby kollegene å kjøpe _____ av hennes onkel til jul*.

Phrasal Verbs

A number of composite verbal expressions exist whose constituent parts form tone groups in Southeast Norwegian. Some of these, like *komme ut* 'appear', *ta til* 'begin', are one-place predicates. Occasionally, a prefixal formation is also possible: BM *boken utkommer i neste uke*, NN *boka kjem ut i neste veke* 'the book is going to appear next week' – NN *boka er nett utkomen* 'the book has appeared quite recently'. The corresponding two-place constructions with true particles are topologically distinct from verbs with prepositional complements. Particles precede non-pronominal object noun phrases, but are themselves preceded by pronominal objects: BM *han gav bort boken* – *han gav den bort/*bort den* 'he gave away the book/it away' vs *han ventet på sin kone/på henne/*henne på* 'he was waiting for his wife/her'. Sequences of the sentence negation and a true particle behave in the same fashion with regard to objects as do particles alone: NN *han gav ikkje bort boka* – *han gav ho ikkje bort* 'he didn't give the book/it away'. In other respects the two-place phrasal-verb constructions are syntactically diverse. The main cases are: (1) The particle is an adverb, e.g. *kreve inn* 'collect', *stille ut* 'exhibit', *legge fram* 'present'. In certain cases a semantically equivalent prefixal formation is also found: BM *innkreve*, *framlegge*, or, as in New Norwegian, it is required in the participle (supine) and in deverbal nouns: BM *lære opp* 'train' – *lært opp/opplært* – *opplæring*; NN *dei la ned fabrikk* 'they closed down the factory' – *fabrikken vart nedlagd* – *den nedlagde fabrikk*. (2) The particle is homonymous with a preposition, but has the distributional properties of a true post-verbal particle: NN *leggja ved ein sjekk* – *leggja han ved* 'enclose a cheque/it'. (3) In Southeast Norwegian, with a fairly large number of verbs, the preposition has the same intonational characteristics, but not the same distributional properties as in the preceding cases: BM *legge på prisen/på*

*den/*den på* 'raise the price/it', NN *taka etter far sin/etter han/*han etter* 'become similar to one's father/him'. To this group belong the cases where a prepositional complement is dependent on a phrasal-verb group containing a true adverbial particle (which may also be homonymous with a preposition): NN *gå med på eit krav/på det/*det på* 'comply with a demand/it'. In this context, mention should also be made of the numerous constructions where a verb and a non-referential noun together form a complex semantic unit with a dependent prepositional complement: *ha råd til* 'be able to afford', BM *ha mulighet for* 'be in a position to', NN *taka omsyn til* 'take into consideration', where the same distributional restrictions obtain: NN *ho hadde ikkje råd til den største bilen/han* 'she could not afford the largest car/it'.

Subordination

Relative Clauses

Norwegian does not have relative pronouns proper showing gender or number agreement with their antecedents. Instead the invariant particle *som* acts as a complementizer in initial position in the relative clause. Both subjects and all kinds of objects are relativized, as is also the noun phrase constituent of prepositional phrases for which verbs, adjectives, or even nouns are subcategorized: BM *saken (som) de hadde kjempet for ____ så lenge* 'the cause for which they had been fighting so long', NN *noko (som) vi ikkje har høve til ____ nett nå* 'something which we have no opportunity to do right now'. The relative particle *som* is generally deletable in restrictive relative clauses when it is not a subject, and when the antecedent and the relative clause form one continuous noun phrase. On the other hand, *som* cannot be deleted when the relative clause is extraposed: NN *eg såg den jenta i går *(som) du har tala så vent om* 'I saw the girl yesterday whom you have praised so highly'; or in non-restrictive relative clauses: *bankdirektøren, som de alle hadde kjent i årevis, var likevel ikke til å stole på* 'the bank manager, whom they had all known for years, was after all not trustworthy'.

To a limited extent *som* also combines with adverbial antecedent head expressions: NN *der (som) du står nå* (BM: *der (hvor) du står nå*) 'where you now stand'; and: BM *samme dagen (som) dette hendte* (lit.) 'the same day (that) this happened'; but more often complementizers of the kind introducing regular adverbial clauses are used: NN *alle dei åra (då) eg var utanlands* 'all those years when I was abroad'. Deletion of the relative complementizer then occurs as in relative clauses with *som*, whereas the complementizers in question are non-deletable in adverbial clauses: NN *eg lengdest til Noreg *(då) eg var utanlands* 'I was yearning for Norway when I was abroad'.

A special kind of relative clause formation is the cleft sentence construction, where some sentence element is made the predicative of a higher matrix clause with an unstressed formal subject *det* for its subject. Again, the formation rules have wide categorial application: BM *Per hadde gitt henne*

en bok for en uke siden 'Per had given her a book a week ago' – *det var henne (som) Per hadde gitt en bok for en uke siden* (clefting of indirect object) – *det var for en uke siden (at) Per hadde gitt henne en bok* (clefting of time adverbial). The morphological form of the clefted constituent in the matrix clause corresponds to its syntactic function in the relative clause. The rules for the deletion or non-deletion of *som* are in principle as in other relative clauses, but a non-subject *som* is more frequently omitted in practice. When the clefted element is not a referring nominal expression, but some kind of adverbial element, the complementizer *at* is used instead of *som*.

Cleft constructions are of considerable functional importance and hence of frequent occurrence. Due to relationally conditioned constraints on topological variation and to the unmarked exploitation of the forefield for discourse-connecting purposes, the cleft construction is the main grammatical strategy for the focusing of constituents. In addition constituent questions are often rendered as cleft constructions: BM *hvem kommer?* 'who is coming', but also frequently: BM *hvem er det som kommer?*; and BM *når kommer hun?* 'when will she come?' – *når er det hun kommer?* Here a non-subject *som* (or *at*) is regularly omitted.

Bokmål also employs interrogative pronouns in indefinite (non-specific) relative clauses: BM *hva du ikke vet, har du ikke vondt av* 'what you don't know causes you no harm'; in concessive clauses derivable therefrom: *hva han enn gjorde, så var ingen fornøyd* 'whatever he did, nobody was satisfied'; and in relative clauses with a sentential antecedent: *det var en ulykke, hva/hvilket vi alle vet* 'it was an accident, as we all know'. *Bokmål hva* is used as an alternative to *som* after the quantifier *alt*: BM *han solgte alt (som/hva) han eide* 'he sold everything (that) he owned'.

Complement Clauses

Embedded declaratives are introduced by the complementizer *at* which is often deleted both in subject and object clauses: BM *det er bra (at) dere kommer nå* 'it's fine that you arrive now'; NN *ho sa (at) ho hadde gløymt boka heime* 'she said that she had forgotten the book at home'. *At*-deletion is not possible when the *at*-clause occupies the forefield: NN *at ho hadde gløymt boka heime, sa ho med ein gong*; or is governed by a preposition: BM *han klaget over at ingenting var blitt gjort* 'he complained that nothing had been done'; or when the *at*-clause has main-clause word order (see above).

Embedded sentence interrogatives are introduced by *om* which is under no circumstances deletable: NN *ho spurde om han ville vera med* 'she asked if he would come along'. Embedded constituent questions are introduced by the interrogative pronouns and adverbs also used in main clauses: BM *han spurte hvem hun var/når hun kom* 'he asked who she was/when she would be coming'. When the question-word corresponds to the subject of the interrogative clause, the particle *som* is added: NN *dei visste ikkje kven som kom* 'they did not know who came'. Like the corresponding main-clause interrogatives,

even embedded constituent questions frequently appear as cleft constructions: BM *han spurte hva det var hun hadde sett* 'he asked what she had seen'.

Adverbial Clauses

The majority of temporal complementizers are homonymous with corresponding prepositions: *til* 'until', *før* 'before', BM *fra*, NN *frå* 'since', BM *siden*, NN *sidan* 'since'; or adverbs: *da*, *når* 'when'. There is also a number of sequential, analytic formations such as temporal *etter at* 'after', causal NN *av di*, *med di* (cf. also BM/NN *fordi*) 'because', conditional (including counterfactual) *i fall* 'in case', NN *så framt* (but *dersom*, BM *hvis*, BM *bare*, NN *berre*) 'if', final *for at*, *slik at* 'in order that', concessive *trass i at*, BM *til tross for at*, NN *jamvel om*, BM *selv om* (but also *enda*) 'although, even though'. The comparative complementizers are *som* 'as' and *enn* 'than'.

Adverbial clauses are most often sentence-final, but when stating a precondition of the main clause or expressing presupposed information they are placed in the forefield or in the adverbial position of the nexus field: BM *han måtte reise hjem da han ikke hadde mer penger igjen* 'he had to return home when/because he had no money left' – *da han ikke hadde mer penger igjen, måtte han reise hjem* – *han måtte, da han ikke hadde mer penger igjen, reise hjem*.

Just as participial constructions only very infrequently substitute for relative clauses in stylistically neutral *Bokmål* and New Norwegian, participial clauses also very infrequently occur as the equivalent of adverbial clauses. Rather marginally, present participles without further complements or adjuncts are used as 'free predicatives' referring to and characterizing the subject: BM *hun forlot værelset smilende* 'she left the room smiling'.

Extractability of Sentence Elements from Embedded Clauses

Infinitival constructions do not in general provide barriers against the permutation (extraction) of constituents into a higher clause. To a considerable extent, Norwegian also allows for the extraction of constituents from tensed clauses with a finite verb.

Extraction from a subordinate clause dependent on some head constituent is by and large prohibited. Compare (the extraction site is marked by _____ in the Norwegian sentences and by parentheses in their English renderings) BM *det innrømte Ola at han hadde sagt _____* (lit.) 'that Ola admitted that he had said (that)' vs **det innrømte Ola den kjensgjerning at han hadde sagt* (lit.) 'that Ola admitted the fact that he had said (that)'. However, when the verb and a noun together form a semantico-syntactic unit, this constraint may be invalidated: BM *den stillingen regnet mange med muligheten av at han ville søke _____* (lit.) 'that position many people reckoned with the possibility that he would apply for (that position)'. Extraction from relative clauses is uncommon, but not generally prohibited: NN *det embetet kjenner*

eg mange som har søkt ____ (lit.) 'that office I know many people who have applied for (that office)'.

Extraction is felt to be most natural in the case of embedded complement clauses without an overt complementizer (*at*): BM *i morgen håper jeg alt skal være i orden* ____ (lit.) 'tomorrow I hope everything will be all right (tomorrow)', NN *han tror eg nok eg kjenner* ____ (lit.) 'him I believe I know (him)'; but it is not generally prevented in the presence of a complementizer, including *at*: BM *henne vet jeg at du kan stole på* ____ (lit.) 'her I know you can trust (her)', NN *venene mine tåler eg ikkje at du plagar* ____ (lit.) 'my friends I do not tolerate that you pester (my friends)'; interrogative pronouns: BM *det vet vi alle hvem som har gjort* ____ (lit.) 'that we all know who has done (that)'; and complementizers introducing conditional clauses: NN *den jenta vert eg sjalu dersom du kysser* ____ (lit.) 'that girl I shall be jealous if you kiss (that girl)', BM *her ville jeg bli skrullete hvis jeg skulle bo* ____ (lit.) 'here I would turn crazy if I were to live (here)'. However, sentences like the last two examples have a colloquial flavour and are not likely to occur in the written language.

The extracted element is most often a non-subject, but subjects are by no means excluded: BM *han tror jeg nok (at) ____ kan klare det* (lit.) 'he I am certain that (he) can make it', NN *det der venta me alle på at ____ skulle henda* (lit.) 'that we all expected that (that) would happen'.

The examples adduced so far illustrate extraction as topicalization into the forefield of the superordinate declarative main clause. But main- and subordinate-clause interrogative formation is also usual: BM *hvem mente hun (at) hun hadde sett ____ på gaten?* 'whom did she think that she had seen on the street?', NN *dei spurde henne kven ho trudde at ho hadde sett ____ på gata* 'they asked her whom she thought that she had seen on the street'; as is of course also relativization: BM *den kvinnen som du vet at han elsker ____ så høyt* 'that woman whom, as you know, he loves so dearly', NN *denne staden som han alltid hadde ynskt at han kunne reisa til ____* 'this place to which he had always wanted to travel'.

Extraction most often operates on the lower-most clause in the sentence structure. There is, in principle, no limit to 'structural depth', nor is there a quantitative restriction to the extraction of one clause element only: BM *disse bøkene_i er det ikke mange kolleger_j (som_j) Tarald kan snakke med _____j om _____i* (lit.) 'these books there are not many colleagues with whom Tarald can talk about (these books)'.

In all the cases of extraction in question, Norwegian generally does without resumptive pronouns. As far as the governing verbs are concerned, the above examples are typical in that the verbal predicate has evidential or speech-act referring meaning, i.e. propositional scope.

8.5 Lexis

Extent of Borrowing and Foreign Influence on the Lexicon

The greater part of present-day Norwegian vocabulary can be traced back to Old Norse origins, and from there to Common Germanic lexical sources. Still, the cultural contacts with western Europe since the Iron Age have left their indelible imprint on the modern language. With respect to the acceptance and assimilation of linguistic borrowings of a grammatical or lexical nature, the standardized versions of *Bokmål* (and *Riksmål*), on one hand, and New Norwegian, on the other, exhibit obvious differences. In keeping with its supranational origin as Dano-Norwegian, the vocabulary of modern *Bokmål/Riksmål* bears abundant testimony to the manifold cultural and linguistic influences to which Norway and the Norwegian language have been exposed in the course of the long political union with Denmark.

In spite of the various spelling reforms of this century, traditional *Bokmål/Riksmål* still has a large number of word forms whose graphematic and phonological shape betray their Danish origin, for example, *lav* (NN *låg*) 'low', *lov* (also NN) 'law', and, in particular, words with monophthongs where most Norwegian dialects have diphthongs such as *løv* (NN/BM *lauv*) 'leaves', *ren* (also *rein*) 'clean', *høre* (NN *høyra*) 'hear', and words with Danish voiced vs Norwegian unvoiced consonants like *begredelig* 'mournful' (cf. *gråte* 'weep'), *skudd* (NN *skot*) 'shot'. A number of words have a Danish stem vowel, cf. *hull* (NN/BM *hol*) 'hole', RM *hugge* (BM/NN *hogge*) 'cut, carve'.

Part of the *Bokmål* inflectional endings also reflect Danish influence. Although East and South Norwegian have also undergone a process of vowel weakening in unstressed syllables, the predominance of the unstressed vowel -e(-) in modern *Bokmål* inflectional morphology clearly has to be seen in the context of Danish influence.

A conspicuous trait of traditional New Norwegian is the wholesale rejection of entire classes of *Bokmål* words which by virtue of specific affixes can be traced back to Danish or German origins. New Norwegian was created in the culturally highly formative and self-conscious period of Norwegian national romanticism which developed in the aftermath of the political restoration of 1814. The general New Norwegian attitude became one of selective purism. According to this view, New Norwegian should incorporate such lexical items as bear witness to cultural developments of a truly international nature, above all loanwords of Greek and Roman, but to a certain extent even French, English or Dutch origin. On the other hand, words and word forms which reflected dependence on former political and economical masters were felt to be nationally disgraceful and hence to be shunned. (By contrast, proponents of Dano-Norwegian and later on *Riksmål* have emphasized the value of a shared cultural heritage.) In addition, there was a declared intention to restore to literary usage old Norwegian words and word forms

which had survived in the dialects. In practice this amounted to the programmatic exclusion from New Norwegian of a large number of lexical elements that were recognizably Danish or German. These derive from three main historical sources:

- 1 During the late Middle Ages, the activities of the Hanseatic League had a tremendous impact on Norwegian trade and economy, and the linguistic influence of Middle Low German on the Norwegian vocabulary was to acquire equal proportions;
- 2 After the protestant reformation of 1536, High German became, through Danish, an important source of lexical innovation;
- 3 As early as about 1500, Norwegian was virtually extinct as a written language. For all administrative and literary purposes it had been replaced by Danish.

The selective purism resulting from a desire to combat the consequences of this rather massive lexical influence has, in practice, had more a structural than a strictly etymological bent. Loanwords which conform to indigenous Norwegian phonotactic and derivational patterns which are naturally heir to Old Norse formations are accepted quite easily. To these belong such common words as BM/NN *rykte* 'rumour, reputation', BM *middel*, NN *medel* 'means', BM/NN *ære* 'honour', BM/NN *alvor* 'earnest', BM *fremmed*, NN *framand* 'foreign', BM/NN *krig* 'war', BM/NN *bruke* 'use', BM/NN *reise* 'travel', BM/NN *selskap* 'party, company', etc. On the other hand, New Norwegian has to some extent pursued the policy of creating translation loans to replace *Riksmål/Bokmål* formations of actual or alleged foreign provenance: compare NN *sjølvstende* (BM *selvstendighet*) 'independence', NN *takksemd* (BM *takknemlighet*) 'gratitude', NN/BM *tiltak* 'initiative', NN/BM *ordskifte* 'discussion', NN/BM *samrå seg med* 'confer, discuss with'. However, present-day New Norwegian usage seems to indicate a certain weakening of former puristic positions. In particular, a large number of common *Bokmål* words with the originally German prefixes *be-* and *for-* are now being admitted into New Norwegian.

Aspects of Lexicalization

The specific lexicalization patterns of a language are, at least from a heuristic point of view, presumably best established by comparison with other languages. From this perspective, it seems reasonable to assume that Norwegian does not possess the wealth of, in particular, abstract words found in English. Hence, certain semantic distinctions are less prone to be lexicalized in Norwegian than in English: BM *mulighet* vs English *possibility*, *opportunity*, *option*. Norwegian is also able to dispense with certain 'logical' distinctions which are lexicalized in, for example, English. Thus, the *some-any* distinction is only vestigially present in NN *nokre* vs *nokon*, and with

regard to the *each–every* distinction, Norwegian conflates ‘each’ and ‘every’ as BM *hver*, NN *kvar*. On the other hand, Norwegian has definitely more modal particles than English, but less than German and Russian. For example, the highly frequent sentence-final particle BM *da*, NN *då* does service as the equivalent of the three clause-internal German particles *schon*, *denn*, *mal* in the following different sentence types: German *nun seid ihr schon verlobt* – BM *nå er dere forlovet, da* ‘now you are engaged, then’ vs German *wie sah denn der Wagen aus?* – NN *korleis såg bilen ut, då?* ‘what did the car look like?’ vs German *laß mal hören!* – BM *få høre, da!* ‘let’s hear then!’

When comparing Norwegian and German, it is evident that the latter language has a far richer system than Norwegian in the domain of prefixal formations. In particular, Norwegian counterparts to the important subsystem of verbs with a deictic prefix consisting of *hin-*, *her-* and a preposition are lacking entirely. Furthermore, Norwegian often has one lexical verb where German has two or more syntactically and semantically distinct verbs with different prefixes, cf. BM *true*, NN *truga* ‘threaten’ vs German *drohen*, *bedrohen*, *androhen*; BM *høre*, NN *høyra* ‘hear, listen’ vs German *hören*, (*sich*) *anhören*, *zuhören*; BM *spørre*, NN *spørja* ‘ask’ vs German *fragen*, *befragen*, *erfragen*, *anfragen*.

By contrast, phrasal-verb constructions constitute a productive lexical pattern in Modern Norwegian. They appear to be syntactically characteristic in two important respects. First, they display the kind of operand–operator ((S)VO) serialization which is typical of other constituent domains also, above all the (v-)V–N–A(–Sentence–final Particle) patterns of the verbal part (VP) of sentences and clauses, the post-adjectival part of noun phrases, and the positioning of prepositions and complementizers before the remainder of the prepositional phrases and clauses they introduce. Second, phrasal verbs appear to be another instance of a pervasive tendency to give separate lexical expression to semantic units and relations, so that semantic complexity of content is iconically reflected as syntagmatic complexity of expression. The following verbatim quote from a radio interview with an important Norwegian government official would seem to be a rather extreme, but not altogether untypical example of a more general semantic strategy of this kind: BM *vi får nok se til å legge litt mer jobb i å få orden på dette*. The following is a literal translation into English (with some grammatical comments added): ‘we get (aux. with modal obligational meaning) enough (modal particle roughly corresponding to English *then*) look to (phrasal verb with particle of prepositional origin) to (inf. particle) lay a little (quantifier) more (comparative quantifier) job (i.e. ‘work, effort’) in (prep. dependent on the preceding phrasal-verb expression) to (inf. particle) get order on (prep. dependent on phrasal-verb expression) this here (deictic adverb specifying the preceding demonstrative)’. A more appropriate English translation in official style would rather seem to be something like: ‘we must increase our efforts to rectify this’. It appears to be a not too controversial suggestion that this

analytic tendency constitutes a semantic analogue to the morphosyntactic analyticity which manifests itself in the categorial paucity and the comparatively regular affixal character of the Norwegian, in particular *Bokmål*, inflectional-marking system.

Further Reading

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