

On verb second and the *så*-construction in two Mainland Scandinavian contact situations¹

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Abstract

Data from areas of long term language contact situations between a non-V2 language and a V2 language in Northern Norway reveal unstable use of V2. Furthermore, in a substantial portion of the data there is a notable presence of the particle *så*. These facts are discussed in light of data on the *så*-construction in Standard Norwegian and Finland Swedish, and the particle *ni* in Finnish. We suggest that some aspects of *så* in the data may be explained as one trait of L1 transfer, where the acquirer recruits existing L2 elements and assigns to them new tasks in the grammar. The data reveal interesting variation patterns, which may be taken to support the “Underspecified CP” hypothesis put forth in recent language acquisition research.

1. Norwegian, Sami and Kven languages in Northern Norway

There are numerous studies on the acquisition of the obligatory verb second (V2) rule in second languages (L2). Several of them show that acquiring the V2 rule is a persistent problem when the first language (L1) is a non-V2-language (cf. Brautaset 1996, Håkansson 2001, Saarik 2006, and many others).² The role of the V2 rule in contact situations, however, is less studied. Northern Norway is an interesting area in this respect because of the long-term contact between a V2 language and a non-V2 language.

Norwegian, Swedish and Danish are verb second languages; in these languages, declarative main clauses obligatorily take the finite verb as their second constituent. The default word order is SVO; when a phrase is topicalized, however, the word order is XVSO. This is illustrated in (1) in Norwegian *bokmål*³ (subject and verb in boldface, sentence edge indicated).

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² The picture is different if the L1 is also a V2-language; in that case, it seems that the acquisition of the target V2 rule is easier (cf. Bohnacker 2006 and Bohnacker and Rosèn 2007 on German L2 by Swedes; Saarik 2006 on Norwegian L2 by Estonians).

³ Norway has two written standard languages: *Bokmål* (‘Booklanguage’) and *Nynorsk* (‘Newnorwegian’). *Nynorsk* is based on the dialects of Western Norway. *Bokmål* has descended from Danish and has a great deal in common with the dialects of the eastern

- (1) a. **Jeg reiser** til Oslo når skolen er slutt.
I travel to Oslo when school.def. is over
 ‘I travel to Oslo when school is over.’
- b. [Når skolen er slutt] **reiser jeg** til Oslo.
When school.def. is over, travel I to Oslo
 ‘When school is over, I travel to Oslo.’
- c. *[Når skolen er slutt] **jeg reiser** til Oslo.
When school.def. is over, I travel to Oslo
 ‘When school is over, I travel to Oslo.’

In Northern Norway, people with Sami and Kven as their first languages acquire Norwegian as their second or third language (cf. Bull 1995, Junntila 1988, Hoel [1984], Sollid 2005).⁴ Sami and Kven are Finno-Ugric, highly agglutinative languages with rich morphology. Like in Norwegian, the default word order in Sami and Kven is SVO. However, in certain discourse settings, the word order can be very free, cf. Manninen and Nelson (2003), Vilkuina (1989). Thus, unlike Norwegian, Sami and Kven are non-V2 languages. This becomes apparent when a phrase is topicalized, which results in XSVO word order. The relevant word order differences between Norwegian, Sami and Kven are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Word order in Norwegian, Sami and Kven

Norwegian	Sami	Kven
SVO	SVO	SVO
V2	- V2	- V2

Due to the official Norwegian assimilation policy, the long-term language contact situation in Northern Norway has resulted in language shifts throughout this area. Norwegian became the target language in the Sami and Kven communities. Adults acquired it to give their children better opportunities in Norwegian society. Children also learned Norwegian in

parts of Norway, in particular the Oslo region. To the extent that *Bokmål* has a spoken counterpart, this counterpart is found in the Oslo region. When we refer to Standard Norwegian in this paper, we refer to *Bokmål* and its spoken counterpart.

⁴ The Samis are indigenous peoples in Northern Calotte, and Northern Sami is spoken in the northern parts of Norway. The Kvens are a national minority who came from northern parts of Finland and Sweden and settled in Northern Norway. The Kven language used to be a Finnish dialect, cf. a note on Kven versus Finnish below. The earliest written testimony of the Kven people is from 800 AD, but the main settlement took place during the 18th and 19th century.

public schools from Norwegian teachers and Norwegian books. During the period of “Norwegianisation,” roughly from 1890 to 1960, language shifts ensued, and Northern Norway is today generally monolingual Norwegian. In the core areas, however, the population is still bilingual, speaking Sami or Kven in addition to Norwegian. Interestingly, the Norwegian varieties (ethnolects) in these areas still show important traces of the L2 acquisition of Norwegian, cf. Sollid (2005, to appear). We believe that similar effects can be attested in contemporary dialects of other areas of long-term contact between Mainland Scandinavian and Finno-Ugric languages. This hypothesis is at the heart of this study.

In Section 2, we present data on V3 and the *så*-construction from Sappen in Nordreisa and examine the *så*-construction in Standard Norwegian. In Section 3, we present data on the *så*-construction from Finland Swedish dialects in Ostrobothnia in Finland. We also discuss the particle *ni* in Finnish. In Section 4, we compare data from Sappen and Ostrobothnia. In Section 5, we explore two theories that might explain the observed grammatical features of the *så*-construction in Sappen—the transfer hypothesis and the underspecified CP hypothesis.

2. Data from Sappen in Nordreisa

Sappen in Nordreisa in the county of Troms (Northern Norway) is traditionally a Kven community. The local Norwegian variety has V2 word order even though there are many violations of this rule that results in V3 or even V4 (the verb is the third or fourth constituent). The V3 utterances in (2) are produced by elderly bilinguals in Sappen.

- (2) a. ..og [~~vi~~] stoppa der og kokte kaffe og [da **vi va** usikker om vi skulle stikke opp ette elva eller om vi skulle til fjells].
*...and [~~we~~] stopped there and cooked coffee and then **we were** unsure whether we should go up after river.def or if we should to mountain.gen.*
 ‘And we stopped for a coffee break, and at this point we were not sure whether to walk by the river or to the mountains.’
- b. [Når vi kom da hjem hit ner] **man va** så trøtt mange daga at man ville ikke våkne.
*When we came then home here down **one was** so tired many days that one would not wake up*
 ‘When we arrived at home, we were often so tired that we didn’t want to wake up.’

The informant producing these two sentences grew up as bilingual, speaking both Kven and Norwegian. In general, people in Sappen learned

Kven at home and Norwegian at school. However, this informant belongs to the last generation who grew up as proper bilinguals. Even if the language shift is currently almost complete, V3 still occurs in the speech of younger monolingual Norwegian speakers, as in (3):

- (3) a. [han va en sånn der tøff type] å så **han hakka** på de fleste.
*he was a like there tough guy and **then he** picked on the most.*
 ‘He was a tough guy, and he also picked on most pupils.’
- b. [da vi vaks opp] **det føltes** jo trykt.
*when we grew up **it felt** jo safe.*
 ‘When we grew up, it felt safe.’

Non-V2 clauses in the speech of younger people in Sappen can be explained as fossilization from one generation to the next; with time, however, this structure is levelled out.⁵ This levelling process is documented in Sollid (2005) through significant differences between four different age groups. On the basis of authentic examples, a grammaticality judgement test was conducted: informants of different ages judged 20 sentences with V3 or V4 (cf. Sollid 2005, Chapter 5). The results are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: V3/V4 according to age groups

	Right		Doubtful		Not right		Total
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	
Age group 1 (17-32) (n=12)	33	13.7 %	56	23.3 %	151	62.9 %	240
Age group 2 (35-45) (n=10)	36	18 %	31	15.5 %	133	66.5 %	200
Age group 3 (50-62) (n=8)	54	33.7 %	26	16.2 %	80	50 %	160
Age group 4 (78-81) (n=3)	47	78.3 %	1	1.6 %	12	20 %	60
Total	170	25.7 %	114	17.2 %	386	58.4 %	660

According to these figures, the members of age group 4 (the oldest bilingual informants) are clearly more willing to accept V3/V4 sentences. The difference between the age groups is significant at the .001 level (degree of freedom = 6, $\chi^2 = 120.926$). Thus, the difference is not

⁵ In SLA research, fossilization indicates that the individual learner’s interlanguage maintains L1 influences despite continued exposure to the target language, cf. Han (2003) for further discussions.

random: the informants' age, or rather their linguistic biography, influences their judgments.

2.1. *The så-data from Sappen and our first hypothesis*

Revisiting the non-V2 data on the Norwegian ethnolect of Sappen presented in Sollid (2005), we notice a striking phenomenon: in several of the non-V2 sentences, there is an extensive use of the particle *så*, as in (4). We obtained a total of 91 clauses containing the relevant *så*-construction from two interviews: one with an elderly man speaking both Kven and Norwegian and the other with a monolingual man, approximately 60 years of age. Relevant data from other elderly bilingual informants from Sappen are also included.

- (4) a. [å ett år her da] **så e kjente** mei slitn.
and one year here then så I felt REFL tired
 'And there was one year, (when) I felt tired.'
- b. [Når vi kom dit] **så vi fikk** alt som vi ville ha.
when we arrived there så we got all that we wanted-to have
 'When we arrived there, we got everything we wanted.'
- c. [å når mandagen kom da] **så det gikk** jo langt utpå dagen før vi hadde pakka opp...
and when Monday came then så it went far onto day.def before we had packed up...
 'And when Monday came, much of the morning had gone before we were unpacked.'

Apart from our own data, collected for the investigation reported in Sollid (2005), data on *så*+non-V2 are also available in works on the grammar of areas with a similar sociolinguistic history in the county of Troms. Junttila (1988) has examples of non-V2 in Skibotn, also a traditionally Kven community. The word order XP+*så*+subject+verb, as in (5a), is also attested in her work. Even in traditionally Sami areas, we find examples of V2 violations with *så* (cf. example (5b) from Hoel ([1984]) reporting on studies of the Norwegian variety of Spansdalen).

- (5) a. [siden e no har vært syk] **så den finske e** blidd vanskelig for meg
since I have been ill så the Finnish.def. has become difficult for me
 'Since I have been ill, Finnish has become difficult for me.'

- b. [viss en famelie kom med veska og unga] **så det va** lætt å sei det e taterfølge.
If a family came with purses and kids så it was easy to say it is gipsies.
 ‘If a family came with purses and kids, it was easy to say that they are gipsies.’

These examples show that this use of *så* is not restricted to one variety of Norwegian in a single community (i.e. Sappen); it is also found in other communities with Norwegian-Kven contact and in communities of language contact between Sami and Norwegian.

Our first tentative hypothesis when considering these data was that these informants might have reanalysed the particle *så* as an appropriate element to fill the Standard Norwegian (StN) V2 requirement of main clauses. Instead of moving the verb to V2 position (“internal merge”), a designated element, the particle *så*, is recruited to fill the V2 position (“external merge”). This would be a simple and elegant explanation for the facts in (4) and (5); cf. also Østbø (2006) for a compatible analysis of this construction in StN. Although this explanation is defensible, matters are more complicated; hence, other factors and possible explanations should be considered, as we will show in what follows.

Firstly, it is obvious that *så* is not obligatory for these informants when V2 is violated, as can be observed in (2). In fact, non-V2 is by far more frequent without the presence of *så*. Secondly, the use of *så* is not limited to clauses with the order XP+*så*+subject+verb. In fact, the order XP+*så*+verb+subject is significantly more frequent. This latter construction is also quite frequent in the target language, StN; in the next subsection, we list some core properties of this construction in StN.

2.2 The *så*-construction in Standard Norwegian

Så has various meanings and functions in Norwegian and Swedish. Østbø (2006) surveys the relevant facts (cf. also Ekerot 1988, Faarlund et al. 1997, and Ottjesjö and Lindström 2006). *Så* is used as a conjunction, a complementizer, an adverbial, and in many dialects also serves as a relative complementizer (corresponding to *som* in StN). In addition, there is the use of *så* referred to as the *så*-construction, giving rise to exceptional V3 even in StN main clauses. This is the subject of Østbø’s study. The *så*-construction is associated with declarative force (as interrogatives are impossible with this use of *så*, cf. (6a)), and it follows fronted constituents with specific properties. Most relevant to us is the fact that the element preceding *så* is a non-obligatory constituent of the main clause. That is, the

fronted element is always an adverbial, never an argument of the clause; cf. (6b) versus (6c); data from Faarlund et al. (1997: 817-8).

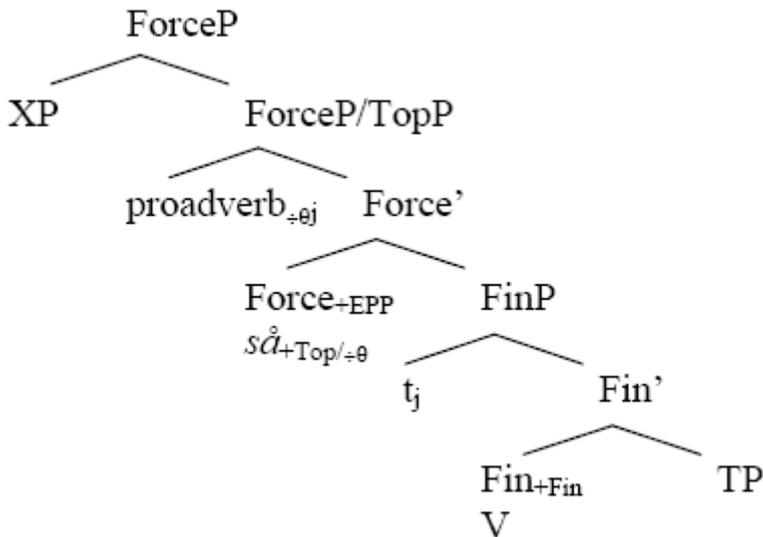
- (6) a. For det tredje, *så* er kontakten sett i (* as interrogative)
for the third så is contact.the put in
 ‘Thirdly, the plug is connected.’
- b. *Denne boka *så* har eg lesi
this book så have I read
 ‘This book, I have read’
- c. I London *så* budde vi på hotell
in London så lived we on hotel
 ‘In London, we stayed at a hotel’

Some authors suggest that this construction can be analysed on a par with Left Dislocation (LD) or extraposition.⁶ However, Østbø (pace Grohmann 2003) shows that there are differences between LD and the *så*-construction. For instance, LD may employ an anaphor (e.g. *da*) instead of *så*, as in (7a), or crucially, even in addition to *så*. In the latter case, the relative order of the anaphor and *så* is fixed and cannot be reversed, cf. (7b) versus (7c) (examples from Østbø 2006).

- (7) a. [I *forgår*]_i, *så*/*da*_i fikk Per en bot
in day.before.yesterday så/then got Per a ticket
 ‘The day before yesterday, Per got a ticket’
- b. [I *forgår*]_i, *da*_i *så* fikk Per en megabot
in day.before.yesterday then så got Per a mega.penalty
 ‘The day before yesterday, Per got a ticket’
- c. *[I *forgår*]_i, *så* *da*_i fikk Per en megabot
in day.before.yesterday så then got Per a mega.penalty
 ‘The day before yesterday, Per got a ticket’

Østbø (2006) argues that in the *så*-construction the fronted XP is internal to the main clause (in SpecForceP). In LD, the initial XP (e.g. *I forgårs* in (7b)) is adjoined on top of the main clause CP (specifically, to ForceP).

⁶ E.g. Bohnacker (2005, 2006a, 2006b) and Holmberg (1986). Bohnacker (2006b: 452) further describes the *så*-construction and other exceptions to V2 as “pockets of grammatical V3 in Swedish that may induce the learners [of German] to produce certain V3 constructions in German due to L1 transfer.”

Figure 1: Left dislocation with *så*, from Østbø (2006).


To sum up, the StN *så*-construction gives rise to exceptional V3 word order, relates to declarative force, and requires the fronted XP to be an adverbial.

2.3. The Sappen data revisited

As mentioned earlier, there are many examples in the Sappen data where the *så*-construction is used in a target-like manner, employing the word order XP+*så*+verb+subject. In fact, this construction is significantly more frequent in our material than the word order XP+*så*+subject+verb, as shown in Tables 3 and 4 (75 versus 16 tokens; recall that our total number of excerpted sentences is 91).

- (8) a. [da dem sku liksom begynne å drive der] så **va det** di som hadde hest, som måtte være med å kjøre tømmer av skogen
when they should like begin to work there so was it they who had horse who had-to be with to drive timber out of forest.def.
 ‘When they were going to start to work there, it was those with horses who had to drive the timber out of the forest.’
- b. [og vi blei enig om at mandagen] så **skal vi** starte over, skal vi starte te fjells
and we agreed on that Monday.def so shall we start over, shall we start to the mountains
 ‘And Monday we agreed that we are going to the mountains.’
- c. [egentlig] så **hadde dem** vakthold for det...
really so had they guarding because...
 ‘In fact, they had guards (there) because...’

Tables 3 and 4 also show that, just like in the StN construction, the fronted XP is adverbial (even the NPs); it is usually an adverbial clause, regardless of the relative ordering of subject+verb.

Table 3: XP+så+verb+subject

	N of tokens
CP+så+verb+subject	39
PP+så+verb+subject	16
NP+så+verb+subject	3
AdvP+så+verb+subject	17
Total	75

Table 4: XP+så+subject+verb

	N of tokens
CP+så+subject+verb	11
AdvP/PP/NP+så+subject+verb	5
Total	16

The functions of the particle *så* in StN provide clues for the acquirer that *så* sometimes does fill the second position of main and subordinate clauses in StN. However, there is no evidence of intended differences in the semantics or discourse of *så* in the Sappen *så*-constructions depending on the word order XP+så+subject+verb and XP+så+verb+subject. The difference seems to be related to the fact that the former word order allows for the subject to intervene between *så* and the finite verb, which is ungrammatical in the StN construction. Moreover, regardless of the subject-verb order, the fronted element preceding the *så* particle is an adverbial, and canonically, an adverbial clause.

However, we want to investigate whether *så* and the V2 rule are related in other data sets. To broaden our investigation, in Section 3 we include *så* data from another language encounter.

3. Data from Ostrobothnia

As mentioned earlier, contact situations involving Mainland Scandinavian V2 languages and non-V2 Finnish (and other Finno-Ugric languages) are not confined to Northern Norway; the Finland Swedish dialects of Ostrobothnia have existed and still exist in close contact with Finnish.⁷ The

⁷ However, the sociolinguistic history of Ostrobothnia is different. Finland Swedish has a history as a high status language and has had a solid juridical protection since 1919 as an official language alongside Finnish. Mattfolk et al. (2004) note that Finnish authorities do not permit one to register as a bilingual speaker of Swedish and Finnish.

languages in contact are similar, and data from Ostrobothnia are thus highly relevant to our investigation.

Så appears in many constructions in Finland Swedish, in particular in spoken contexts, and seem to be used in a similar fashion as in Sappen. In (9a), *så* appears after an adverbial subordinate clause. Note that the main clause has the word order XP+*så*+subject+verb. What distinguishes these Finland Swedish data from the StN *så*-construction and the Sappen data discussed earlier is that *så* in Finland Swedish regularly follows a fronted argument element of the clause, typically [NP+relative clause] complexes, as in (9b) and (9c), where the [NP+relative clause] complex is the subject of the main clause.⁸ The sentences in (9) are from Harling-Kranck (1998).

- (9) a. [Å tå vi koå:m i lann tå(g)] **så vi tykkt** ju e va veldit raolit ti kåm i lann på fasta lannet.
and when we came ashore then så we thought ptl it was very nice to get ashore on solid ground.def.
 ‘And then we came ashore, we thought it was very nice to get on solid ground.’
- b. [Å kly:varin såom vi hissa opp] **så linda** ront fuö:sta:je.
And sail.def that we raised up så twined [itself] around front.mast.def.
 ‘The sail that we raised twined itself around the front mast.’
- c. [Töm såm jig föst vintrin å töm som jig annan vintrin], **så sko** les fy prästin.
those who went first winter.def and those who went second winter.def så had-to read for priest.def.
 ‘Those who attended (school) the first winter and those who attended it the second winter had to attend the vicar’s classes.’

Another difference between the StN *så*-construction and the Finland Swedish one is illustrated in Ivars (1993). Following Ekerot’s (1988) analysis, Ivars categorizes Ostrobothnian *så*-clauses based on whether *så* is “inside” or “outside” the clause that follows; her examples are given here as (10a) and (10b) with our translation. In (10a), the nominal phrase preceding *så* is not repeated in the main clause, while in (10b) it is. According to Ivars (1993), clauses like the ones in (10) are representative of the use of the nominal *så*-construction.

However, people who register as Swedish speakers in reality also speak Finnish. Today, only 18% of the population in Finland claims to have little or no knowledge of Finnish.

⁸ But note examples like *Maria så förstår inte*, lit. *Maria så understands not* ‘Maria does not understand’ from Holmberg (1986), Østbø (2006).

- (10) a. Jag sa nog i fjol att vi köpte ett hus men då, [**Mervi som bor i Skata också**] **så sade, rättade** mig alltid och sade ”fyra”.
*I said ptl last year that we bought a house but then, **Mervi who lives in Skata too så said, corrected** me always and said “four”.*
 ‘I said last year that we bought a house, but then Mervi, who lives in Skata too, said, always corrected me and said “four”.’
- b. ... det var [en gammal K. vars fru sen länge var på De gamlas hem, den här Ida K.,] **så han, var** så trevlig...
... it was an old K. whose wife since long was on the old.gen home, this here Ida K., så he was so nice.
 ‘...there was an old K. whose wife was at the old people’s home since long ago, this Ida K., he was so nice.’

In (10b), the sentence-internal pronoun *han* is an anaphor, referring to ‘old K’ in the preceding relative complex. Recall that according to Østbø (2006), the proper *så*-construction does not contain an anaphor unless the anaphor is the fronted XP of the *så*-construction and the *så*-construction is embedded in a LD structure (cf. Figure 1). Moreover, in such cases (e.g. (7b)), the relative order of *så* and the anaphor is always anaphor+*så*. We repeat the data in (7b) and (7c) for convenience.

- (7) b. [I forgårs]_i, da_i **så** fikk Per en megabot
in day.before.yesterday then så got Per a ticket
 ‘The day before yesterday, Per got a ticket’
- c. *[I forgårs]_i, **så** da_i fikk Per en megabot
in day.before.yesterday så then got Per a mega.penalty
 ‘The day before yesterday, Per got a ticket’

There is seemingly no such restriction in the Ostrobothnian data, as illustrated by a wide variety of examples; cf. (10b) and (11). The sentences in (11) are from Harling-Krank (1998).

- (11) a. [Å valt e slu:t tsjöte] **så** tå **to an** en svin.
and was it out meat.the så then took he a pig.
 ‘And when the meat was out, he took a pig.’
- b. [Å tå di to: döm åpp u:r gry:ta] **så** tå **let di** döm i langpannona.
and when they took them up from pot.def. så then put they them in longpan.def.
 ‘And when they took them out of the pot, they put them in the pan.’

- c. [Tå vi a slakta å di a viri i saltla:ken först] **så** tå **le:t vi e å** røyka e i bastå e.
when we had slaughtered and they had been in salt.water first
*så then **put we it and smoke it in the sauna it.***
 ‘When we had slaughtered (them) and they had been in salt water first, then we put it in the sauna to smoke it.’

To maximize the similarities between the StN and the Ostrobothnian *så*-construction, we might want to argue that the latter corresponds to a StN LD-construction. This line of thought cannot be upheld easily since data like (10b) and (11) seem to show that the particle *så* in Ostrobothnian may be outside the clause altogether. In fact, data such as (12) unambiguously show that *så* may be outside at least a subordinate clause since *åm* ‘whether’ is a complementizer.

- (12) [Å on va jo bårt i fleire daga så vi måtta jo bö: la: in anåns i ti:ninjin å], så åm no **nain sko** a sjitt til on.
*and she (the cow) was away for many days so we had-to begin put in advertisement in paper.def ptl så whether ptl **anyone may have seen (anything) of her***
 ‘And she was gone for several days, so we had to advertise in the paper, (to find out) whether anyone had seen her.’

To sum up, the properties of the Ostrobothnian *så*-construction are different from those of the StN one and the corresponding construction found in the Norwegian variety of Sappen. In StN and the Sappen dialect, *så* prototypically follows a subordinated adverbial clause, but will accept any fronted phrase as long as it is an adverbial. In the Ostrobothnian data, *så* is also found to follow non-adverbial NPs, typically [NP+relative clause] complexes. Thus, the Ostrobothnian *så*-construction will typically accept any kind of initial XP, as long as the XP is a clause. Moreover, as argued by Østbø (2006), both the *så*-construction and the LD-construction in StN may be analysed as monoclausal. Specifically, the fronted XP is in [Spec, ForceP] in the *så*-construction, whereas the initial XP is adjoined on top of ForceP in the LD-construction (Figure 1). In contrast, in the Ostrobothnian *så*-construction, there is evidence that both the fronted XP and the particle *så* are outside the clause that follows. Thus, it seems that the particle *så* in Ostrobothnian has the function of tying clauses together, rather than being a designated head of an ordinary main clause structure. In fact, it seems that the Ostrobothnian *så* has more in common with the Finnish particle *ni* than the StN and Swedish particle *så*. In the next section, we are going to take a closer look at the particle *ni* in Finnish.

3.1. The particle *ni* in Finnish

One use of *ni* in Finnish is to combine sentences, as in (13a) and (13b) (claim and examples from Vilkuna 1997: 51f; italics, bold and translation as in the original).

- (13) a. ja mun äitini sano sitt et nytt ei täst tuum mitään että, *kun nää kurssit mennee näim pikään **niin***, te saatte nyl lopettaa
 ‘and my mother said then that this won’t do anymore *because these classes take so long **ni***, you’ll have to stop going now’
- b. *ja sit ku tulee rauha **niin*** kyl te sitt opitte tanssimaa [nauraen] ilman kursejaki
 ‘and when peace comes **ni** sure you will then learn to dance [laughs] even without classes.’

What is also interesting and relevant to our investigation is that *ni* can be seen in relation to disambiguation of clause-boundaries.

In an SVO language with flexible word order, such as Finnish, marking the transition between Clause 1 [i.e. the subordinated clause] and Clause 2 is obviously important from the point of view of processing, as there may be a number of consecutive nominal phrases that must each be attached to its appropriate verb. In principle, either *ni* or initial placement of the finite verb could be made obligatory to achieve this goal. Spoken Finnish uses *ni*; the recommended moderate use of V2 described in the modern prescriptive treatments is clearly a written language phenomenon. (Vilkuna 1997: 58)

Ni can also be analyzed as a continuation marker, “typically utilized to mark smooth progress in contexts of complexity or ‘syntactic weight’,” (op.cit. 59); it enters into relations with complex NPs (e.g. NP+relative clause), textual satellites (digressions from main storyline), and clause combining in online speech. In conclusion, Vilkuina (1997: 65) says:

The extensive use of the construction in spontaneous speech reveals its character as a spoken language phenomenon *par excellence*. *Ni* is used in contexts where it is important to signal that the turn is being continued, either following heavy phrases or when an earlier line of discourse is resumed after a side sequence.

Thus, *ni* is used after heavy phrases, including NP+relative clause complexes, to combine clauses, and to disambiguate clause boundaries.⁹

⁹ There are more similarities between the particle *ni* and the particle *så* of the *så*-construction. The *så*-construction is more prevalent in spoken than written contexts (Faarlund et al. 1997: 817, Ottosjö and Lindström 2005: 41). In written contexts, the clause-combining and clause border disambiguating functions of *så* are more predominant, as this construction occurs mainly with fronted heavy adverbial clauses. *Så*-constructions with simplex fronted XPs are very rare in writing (Faarlund et al. 1997: 817).

3.2. The Ostrobothnian *så*-construction revisited

Revisiting the *så*-construction in Ostrobothnia, it seems a reasonable claim that Finland Swedish *så* has much in common with the Finnish particle *ni*. In fact, we find it tempting to characterize the emergence of this use of *så* in what is basically a Swedish dialect as *borrowing*. This notion is defined in Haugen (1950):

If [the speaker] reproduces the new linguistic pattern, not in the context of the language in which he learned them, but in the context of another, he may be said to have ‘borrowed’ them from one language to another. The heart of our definition of borrowing is then the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another. (212)

Studying the patterns involving *så* in Ostrobothnian, we find that many of the functions of *ni* in Finnish are paralleled by the Ostrobothnian use of *så*. Like *ni*, Ostrobothnian *så* is used after heavy phrases, including NP+relative clause complexes, to combine clauses, and to disambiguate clause boundaries. Unlike *så* in StN, the Ostrobothnian *så* unambiguously occurs outside the clause that follows, as in (12).

This paves the way for a relexification-based account of the use of *så* in Ostrobothnia (cf. Lefebvre 1998). Speakers of Finnish acquiring Swedish as adults would have used *ni* in their Finnish speech. When they started to learn Swedish, they might have interpreted *så* as a ‘close enough’ Swedish counterpart of the useful little word *ni*. Thus, *så* is used where they would use *ni* in Finnish. As a result, *ni* is copied into their L2; the particle acquires Swedish phonology and is pronounced *så*, but still carries traits from Finnish grammar. Today, it is an inherent part of the grammar of this Finland Swedish dialect.

Our data do not reveal whether there is complete overlap between the use of Ostrobothnian *så* and Finnish *ni*. In fact, the lack of complete overlap is to be expected; it is an aspect of interlingual identifications, where the learner subjectively analyzes something to be ‘the same’ even though it is not so from an objective linguistic point of view; cf. Ringbom (1987). The product of this process is labelled transfer,¹⁰ and one might claim that grammatical features are transferred from Finnish into the Swedish L2 on

¹⁰ There are different theories of transfer in the initial state in L2 acquisition, cf. White (2003) for an overview. Our Kven-Norwegian contact data do not allow us to fully utilize the different theories as we have no data from the initial state of L2 acquisition. However, a theory of transfer needs to at least account for transfer of functional features. The “Full Transfer Full Access Hypothesis” (Schwartz and Sprouse 1994) proposes that the L2 is a copy or clone of the L1, and that restructuring of the L2 will occur if the L1-based analysis fails. The idea of L2 as a copy is also present in Lefebvre’s (1998) relexification theory, cf. also Sollid (2003).

the basis of the speakers' interlingual identifications, cf. Selinker (1992), Weinreich (1953).

4. Comparing the Ostrobothnian and the Sappen *så*-construction

We argue that the Ostrobothnian *så*-construction can be described as borrowing, relexification, or L1 transfer of the grammar of the Finnish particle *ni* into the L2 Swedish. In present-day Ostrobothnian, this use of *så* is an inherent part of the grammar of this Finland Swedish dialect. On the other hand, the majority of the data from Sappen presented in Section 2 (75 out of 91 tokens) seem to indicate that the *så*-construction in Sappen has the properties of its StN counterpart. As the reader will recall, the StN *så*-construction has the particle *så* clause-internally (cf. e.g. Faarlund et al. 1997, Østbø 2006), it accepts any fronted XP as long as it is an adverbial (of the non-obligatory kind), and it does not allow for an anaphor to follow the particle *så* when embedded in a LD-structure. In fact, the word order *så*>*da* is always ungrammatical in the StN *så*-construction (Østbø 2006). The construction is related to declarative force and topichood, as the fronted XP is always the topic of the clause (cf. Viberg 2001). Hence, *så* could easily be construed as a topic marker.

It follows that there is significant overlap between Ostrobothnian *så* and StN *så*. When the XP preceding *så* is an adverbial clause, there is no telling whether the source of the grammar is the StN construction or the Finnish *ni*. Intriguingly, this structure is by far the most dominant in the Sappen data, appearing in 50 out of 91 tokens (cf. Tables 3 and 4).

If all instances of the *så*-construction in our Sappen data involved simply a fronted adverbial clause, it would be difficult to argue for one or the other source of this construction (Kven or StN) since this is where StN *så* and Finnish *ni* overlap. However, 41 out of 91 tokens involve a fronted adverbial XP that is not a clause. Thus, it might seem tempting to claim that the Sappen *så*-construction is simply an instance of an eventually target-like use of the *så*-construction in a language contact situation.

However, some Sappen data reveal that this is not the case. Recall that the StN *så*-construction rejects non-adverbials as the XP preceding *så*. And yet, (14a) is an example of exactly this type of structure, with a non-adverbial XP – like in Ostrobothnian.

- (14) [dønne skogslønna som vi fikk, æller e fikk som va kjørar,] så **han Leif han hadde** omtrænt det samme, mæn litt, nåkka mindre ænn mei.
this forrest.salary.def that we got, or I got who was driver så he Leif he had almost the same, but little, a little less than me.
 ‘This salary that we got, or I got as the driver, Leif had almost the same or a little less than me.’

This example suggests a closer affinity with a pattern resembling the Ostrobothnian *så*-construction.¹¹ Moreover, (15) is an example of the *så>da* word order, which seems frequent in the Ostrobothnian dialects (cf. especially the data in (11)), but ungrammatical in the StN *så*-construction.

- (15) [men det fikk e jo beskjed i fra han Sotkajervi da vi hadde her oppe] så da **vi måtte** ikke gå utn jevær for viss han ligg på kadaver der borte så e han livsfarlig
but that got I ptl message in from he Sotkajervi then we had here up so then we must not go without gun for if he lies on carcass there over så is he life.dangerous
 ‘But I got word from Sotkajervi, who we had up here, that we could not walk around without a gun, because if he (the bear) was lying on a carcass up there, he would be dangerous.’

This means that the *så*-construction in Sappen, although it can be analysed on a par with its StN counterpart in most cases, reveals characteristics not belonging to the StN target language grammar. Instead, there is variation, characterised by an overwhelming affinity with the StN system, but with certain occurrences that, in our opinion, reveal an influence from Kven.

This line of thought is supported by the Ostrobothnian facts, which can be explained as transfer of Finnish L1 features into Swedish L2. The Sappen data in (14) and (15) seemingly have the same relevant traits. It seems very unlikely that this should be a mere coincidence.

4.1 A note on Kven versus Finnish

In the previous subsection, we used descriptions of Finnish to draw conclusions about Kven and Kven influence on Sappen grammar. Equating Kven with Finnish in this manner is potentially problematic because Kven was recognized as a separate language in April 2005; thus, Kven in Norway and

¹¹As pointed out by a reviewer, this might be an example of ‘restart’. We agree that this is a possible analysis for this specific example. This does not, however, undermine the fact that StN would be very unlikely to have *så* in a corresponding structure (i.e. after a NP topic and followed by a main clause structure).

Standard Finnish in Finland are different languages. We recognize that there have been different social and linguistic developments in Standard Finnish in Finland and Kven in Norway. The most important differences are described in Lane (2006b); however, she does not discuss *ni* in particular. In conclusion, Lane claims that “[e]ven though some categories disappear or get replaced by others, the rich morphological system and the syntactic system [of Finnish] remain [in Kven].” Even more directly relevant to our claims, Vilkuna (1997) points out that *ni* was frequent in Finnish during the 18th century; thus, *ni* is well documented in Finnish *before* the Kven left Finland for Northern Norway. Different uses of *ni* are also found in contemporary Kven, (cf. examples in Lane 2006a). For these reasons, we conclude that descriptions of Finnish *ni* are relevant for Kven.¹²

5. Transfer or instances of underspecified CP?

At this point, we may seem to have drifted away from the initial topic of our investigation—the lack of V2 in the Sappen dialect generally and the placement of the finite verb in *så*-construction clauses specifically. However, verb placement is still at the heart of our study.

If we are correct that the *så*-construction in Sappen shows evidence of transfer from Kven, it seems reasonable that other traits of Sappen grammar might result from transfer as well. The variable word order we find with older informants from Sappen is a case in point. Thus, since Finnish and Kven are non-V2 languages, we may want to argue that the non-V2 word order was transferred from Kven into the interlanguage of the Sappen adult acquirers of L2 Norwegian.

StN main clauses usually require the finite verb to be in second position (cf. construction 1 of Table 5). However, if Østbø’s (2006) analysis is on the right track, the *så*-construction gives rise to exceptional V3 even in StN (cf. 3 of Table 5). Characteristic of this construction in StN is the fact that the subject may not intervene between *så* and the finite verb (Østbø 2006). No such restriction exists in the corresponding Sappen construction (cf. Table 5). Moreover, in the Sappen grammar, V2 is not an obligatory requirement in ordinary main clauses either. Thus, the placement of the finite verb and the relative ordering of the finite verb and the subject are both variable in the Sappen data. Table 5 reveals that many positions for

¹² There is, however, one important difference between the uses of *ni* today and in the 18th century (cf. Vilkuna 1997). In the data from the first Finnish newspaper from 1775-1776, the writer uses *ni* with an inverted main clause [i.e. Clause 2 in Vilkuna’s terminology]. In present-day Finnish *ni* and inversion do not appear together, and *ni* and V2 are regarded as complementary strategies for marking clause boundaries.

the verb and the subject that give rise to ungrammatical outcomes in StN are available in the Sappen grammar.

Table 5: Canonical word orders in Standard Norwegian and Sappen

		ForceP	Force	FinP	Fin	TP	T
1	StN main clauses	XP	V	SU	*V	*SU	*V
2	Sappen main clauses	XP	V	SU	V	SU	?V ¹³
3	StN <i>så</i> -construction	XP	Så	*SU	V	SU	*V
4	Sappen <i>så</i> -construction	XP	Så	SU	V	SU	?V

There is nothing new in claiming that non-V2 word order may be transferred from an L1 into an L2, and according Sollid (2005) many features of the Sappen dialect are in fact the result of adult L2 acquisition of Norwegian by the Kven population. In the words of Håkansson (2001: 95),

[T]here seems to be a consensus that verb-second is a long-lasting problem for L2 learners. There is, however, no consensus on the explanation behind this fact. If the L2 learners have an L1 that is not verb-second, transfer from L1 is the explanation of the problem (e.g. Schwartz and Sprouse 1994; Vainikka and Yuong-Scholten 1994). If the learners' L1 is also a verb-second language, the problematic nature of the acquisitional task has been explained as the influence of another language, e.g. English (Naumann 1997), or as being due to typological markedness (Rahkonen 1993; Færch 1984). The results from the present study, that verb-second is acquired late not only in L2 learners but also in children with [specific language impairment] SLI, suggest that other explanations may be needed to account for the parallel development of these two groups.

Håkansson does not find the transfer hypothesis of V2 to be viable, given that SLI children display the same problems with V2 as adult L2 acquirers and even children acquiring L2. Instead, she adopts the “underspecified CP Hypothesis.” Hamann, Lindner and Penner (2001) propose that there is an underspecification of the CP-domain in the grammar of SLI children that makes V2, wh-questions, and subordination problematic. Thus, the C-domain realised in subordination, finiteness, and V2 constitutes a

¹³ If the relative ordering of the subject and the verb is subject>verb, there is often no clue as to whether both have moved to FinP or both remain in TP (vacuous movement). To distinguish one hypothesis from the other, we need auxiliary hypotheses about adverb placement and negation in order to see how the subject and verb are ordered with respect to these adverbs. We have so far excluded mid-field adverb data from this paper since they seem less essential for the phenomena we investigate here.

particularly problematic area for children with SLI and also for L2 acquirers (cf. also Platzack 2001).

Håkansson's study may thus cast some doubt on transfer-based explanations of V2. If we accept her proposal that the underspecified CP may be the main hindrance in the L2 acquisition of V2, this would explain the fact that the Sappen grammar allows not one, but many different positions in the C-domain for the verb and the subject, positions that are ungrammatical in the corresponding StN construction. This could be implemented by assuming that the L2 learner has acquired the relevant projections, but not the right parametric settings for the feature strength associated with the head and specifier positions of the projections in the C-domain. This relative free C-domain word order (with optionally strong features) would eventually become a characteristic of the local dialect since it would constitute a significant part of the primary linguistic data for new generations acquiring this dialect as their L1.

The underspecified CP hypothesis may also help explain why the *så*-construction in Sappen is different from the corresponding StN construction. *Så* appears in the C-domain and belongs to the cluster of constructions known to be problematic for L2 learners. The interpretational and syntactic restrictions on the placements of *så* in the C-domain may not have been acquired, leading an overgeneralization of the rules for this particle.¹⁴

Even if the free word order facts are removed from the equation, we find it intriguing that the properties of the *så*-construction illustrated in (14) and (15) show this striking resemblance with the Ostrobothnian construction, which we assume is influenced by Finnish. It seems unlikely that this is a coincidence, given the similar contact situations.

Luckily, there is a way to reconcile the two approaches. Hawkins (2001: 74) proposes a theory dubbed *Modulated structure building*, addressing L1 transfer as well as underspecified functional categories.

[L]earners start their L2 mental grammars with lexical projections and add functional categories on the basis of positive evidence from the L2 [...]. It is only once functional categories are established in the L2 grammar that the influence of L1 functional categories becomes evident, and even then only at the relevant points of development [...]. Structure building is influenced by properties of the L1 at the relevant point in the construction of grammar, and not before. [...] L1 transfer is relevant, but only once syntactic representations have been sufficiently elaborated to instantiate the property in question.

¹⁴ Hamann, Lindner and Penner (2001: 192) claim that “if the formal features of the CP are not fully instantiated [...] in the sense that the properties of this projection are not fully understood [...], then this general problem [...] will affect other features usually associated with the CP shell.”

Thus, it is possible to assume that the inventory of functional categories is the same in Sappen as in StN. However, if L2 learners are impeded by an underspecified C-domain, there is room for L1 transfer at relevant points in the development of the C-domain functional categories, including the ForceP hosting V2 and the head of the *så*-construction. Moreover, the individual elements filling these functional categories may not be fully specified with respect to all the properties of the corresponding element in the target language, StN. This makes them accessible to L1 influence from Kven, which may help explain certain properties of the Sappen *så*-construction (cf. data in (14) and (15)).

6. Final words

In this paper we focussed on a small set of data containing the *så*-construction. The similarities between the Sappen data and the Ostrobothnian data suggest the emergence of the same Finnish-like construction in two geographically dissociated Mainland Scandinavian dialects.

This paper barely scratches the surface of this phenomenon. Future research needs to examine more data: from Mainland Scandinavian contexts (i.e. monolingual control corpora) and from other Norwegian and Finland Swedish areas such as Bugøyenes and the area around Helsingfors, where we also find extensive bilingualism. Norwegian dialects spoken in traditionally Sami areas are also relevant.

Another issue not addressed here are the possible sources of the StN *så*-construction. One radical idea would be that the V3 *så*-construction in Standard Norwegian is the result of long-term contact situations where learners with non-V2 L1 languages acquire L2. A slightly less radical approach may look for the source of the *så*-construction in an extension of the use of the *så* of conditional clauses (cf. Eide and Sollid 2007).

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