Microvariation in Germanic

Christine Meklenborg Salvesen (University of Oslo)

All the Modern Germanic languages (with the noteworthy exception of English) permit some sort of second position resumption. This is the structure in (1), where the initial adverbial clause is followed by the resumptive element $s\mathring{a}$, which in turn precedes the finite verb.

 Går du ikke nå, så rekker du ikke bussen. go you NEG now SÅ reach you not bus.DEF If you do not leave now, you won't reach the bus. (Norwegian)

There is, however, a large degree of variation between the different languages with respect to the use of resumptive elements. In Norwegian and Swedish, the use of resumptive structures is pervasive in the language and may follow almost all kinds of initial adverbial elements, with the exception of those base generated in the vP domain. In the West-Germanic languages, the use of resumption is more limited, and the semantics of the initial element plays a major part in licencing second position resumption. There is a resumptive cline, which constitutes an implicational hierarchy (2), indicating what kind of initial elements the resumptive may follow.

2. CP > PP > ADV

This cline may be further subdivided showing how the semantics of the different types of constituent comes into play. With respect to adverbial constituents that are neither CPs or PPs, there is the following hierarchy based on its semantics (3).

3. ADV-temporal > ADV-general > ADV-proximal

By using new data gathered from online grammaticality judgement surveys, I will compare Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Icelandic, German, Dutch, and Afrikaans.