Looking for parametric correlations within Faroese

Höskuldur Thráinsson
University of Iceland

Abstract:

This paper first reviews some parameters that have been suggested to account for variation within Scandinavian, focussing for concreteness on the parameters proposed by Holmberg and Platzack (1995) and Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998). As this review shows, Faroese is not as well behaved as the parametric approach to Scandinavian syntax would lead us to expect. In addition, the variation found within Faroese syntax is often gradient and not as categorical as the conventional parametric approach to variation would predict. Yet it can be shown that some of the correlations predicted by Holmberg and Platzack's (1995) Agr Parameter and Bobaljik and Thráinsson's (1998) Split IP Parameter are found in Faroese syntax and they are turn out to be statistically significant. In the final section it is argued that to account for facts of this sort we need to revise our ideas about parametric variation, language acquisition and the nature of internalized grammars — and that this will be necessary regardless of what we think of the particular formulation of parameters assumed by Holmberg and Platzack on the one hand and Bobaljik and Thráinsson on the other.

1. Parametric variation in Scandinavian syntax[1]

1.1. The agreement parameter and the case parameter

In their comparative work on Scandinavian around 1990, which culminated in their influential book *On the Role of Inflection in Scandinavian Syntax* (1995), Holmberg and Platzack (henceforth H&P or P&H, depending on the order of authors in the relevant publications) divide the Scandinavian languages into two main groups, i.e. Insular Scandinavian (ISc) and Mainland Scandinavian (MSc), a classification that they attribute to Haugen (1976:23, cf. H&P 1995:5). They propose two main parameters which are meant to account for these differences, namely the **agreement parameter** and the **m-case parameter** (or morphological case parameter). As the names of these paramenters suggest, H&P relate these parametric differences to morphology and to featural content of functional categories, as was popular at the time. More specifically, the morphological correlations of these parameters can be described (rather informally) as follows (see e.g. H&P 1995:223ff.):

---

[1] Thanks are due to my Faroese friends, informants, assistants and colleagues, too numerous to mention here, and to one of the editors (Svenonius) for helpful comments.

(1)   a.   ISc has a positive and MSc a negative value for the agreement parameter (henceforth **AgrPar** for short). This means that ISc has a (strong) Agr-feature (or Agr-head) in I whereas this Agr is absent in MSc. This difference is overtly manifested by a rich verbal morphology in ISc, especially agreement morphology, whereas such morphology is absent in MSc.

        b.   ISc has a positive and MSc a negative value for the m-case parameter (henceforth **mCasPar** for short). This is reflected in a rich case morphology in ISc but a weak or virtually absent case morphology in MSc (except for irregular case inflection of pronouns and vestiges of dative in some dialects, mainly Norwegian).

The MSc languages are Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, and as the name suggests, ISc was originally meant to include both of the "insular" Scandinavian languages, namely Icelandic and Faroese (as well as Old Scandinavian or Old Norse, see e.g. P&H 1989, H&P 1990, H&P 1995:5). H&P (1995:12) admit, however, that Faroese does not seem to fit the picture as nicely as one might have liked and this was originally described in some detail by Barnes (1992). This can be seen by listing the main differences that the AgrPar and the mCasPar are meant to account for according to H&P (1995:10–12 — in some of their earlier work, notably H&P 1990, they list more differences than those included here) and adding the evaluation provided in Barnes' comparative overview of Faroese syntax on the one hand (the column headed by FarBar for "Faroese according to Barnes") and later by Thráinsson et al. in their Faroese grammar (2004, the column headed by FarFORG for "Faroese according to *Faroese – An Overview and Reference Grammar*). Here a "+" indicates that the languages in question supposedly have the relevant construction (or variant), a "–" that they do not and "+/–" that this is not so clear, typically because of reported variation within the language(s) in question. An empty slot indicates that the relevant construction is not discussed in the source cited. Selected illustrative examples from Faroese will be provided in section 1.4 below (see also the pages in Thráinsson et al. 2004 referred to in the FarFORG column):

(2)   Contrasts supposed to follow from different settings of the AgrPar:

	MSc	ISc	FarBar	FarFORG
a. Vfin-Adv order in embedded clauses	–	+	+/–	+/– (243)
b. Long distance reflexives	–	+		+ (331)
c. Null expletives in tensed clauses	–	+	+	+ (286)
d. Non-nominative subjects	–	+	+	+ (253)
e. Stylistic Fronting	–	+	+	+ (298)
f. Higher subject position in expletive constr.	–	+		+ (285)
g. (Heavy) subject postposing past an object	–	+	–	– (241)

(3)   Contrasts supposed to follow from different settings of the mCasPar:

		MSc	ISc	FarBar	FarFORG	
a.	Shift of non-pronominal objects	–	+	–	–	(245)
b.	PP complements for IO of 'give'-verbs	+	–		+/–	(264)
c.	Productive benefactives	+	–		+	(264)

As a comparison of (2) and (3) shows, Faroese seems to be a more typical ISc language with respect to the AgrPar than the mCasPar. The mCasPar thus looks rather suspicious from a Faroese point of view. Hence H&P were forced to come up with a special solution for Faroese to try to save the mCasPar, as described in the next section.

1.2. An (unsuccessful) attempt to save the mCasPar

Given the assumed relationship between the settings of the parameters suggested by H&P and overt morphology, it is actually quite unexpected that the mCasPar should fare worse in Faroese than the AgrPar since agreement morphology in Faroese is clearly much more reduced than case morphology (see e.g. the relevant paradigms in FORG). Despite this, H&P (1995:173) try to account for this unexpected behavior of Faroese with respect to the mCasPar by suggesting that Faroese has "a "weaker" type of m-case" than, say, Icelandic. They present two sets of facts that they consider independent evidence for this claim. The first set has to do with non-preservation of lexical case under passivization in examples like the following:

(4)   a.   Teir hjálptu **honum/*hann**.
               *they helped him(D/*A)*

        b.   **Hann** bleiv hjálptur./***Honum** bleiv hjálpt.
               he(N) was   helped   him(D) was helped

As (4a) shows, the verb *hjálpa* 'help' in Faroese takes a dative object in the active. When the verb is passivized, on the other hand, the passive subject shows up in the nominative and a dative subject is ungrammatical. While this is an unexpected and intriguing fact, it is not the case (no pun intended) that this holds for all verbs that take dative objects, as Barnes (1992:28–29) points out, and it "seems to be a feature of the individual verb rather than the type of speaker" according to him. As shown in some detail by Thráinsson et al. (2004:266ff.), a number of verbs behave like *hjálpa* 'help' in this respect (including *bjarga* 'save', *bjóða* 'invite', *heilsa* 'greet', *hindra* 'hinder', *mjólka* 'milk', *rósa* 'praise', *steðga* 'stop') whereas lexical object case is preserved in the passivization of others (including *bíða* 'wait', *dugna* 'help', *takka* 'thank', *trúa* 'believe'. Some examples are given in (5)–(6) (see also Thráinsson 1999:426):

(5)   a. Teir takkaðu honum/*hann.
        *they thanked him(D/*A)*

    b. **Honum** bleiv takkað.
       him(D) was   thanked
    'He was thanked.'

    c. *Hann bleiv takkaður.
        he   was   thanked

(6)   a. Tey trúðu   henni/*hana kanska ongantíð.
        *they believed her(D/*A)   perhaps never*

    b. **Henni/***Hon bleiv kanska ongantíð trúð.
       *her(D/*N)   was perhaps never   believed*
    'She was perhaps never believed.'

This shows that the case (non-)preservation facts in the passive are not as simple as H&P make them out to be, but they are intriguing nevertheless (see also Smith 1992, Henriksen 2000:69, 74).

    The second set of examples that H&P (1995:173) present in support of their claim that morphological case in Faroese is in some sense "weaker" than its Icelandic counterpart is the following:

(7)   a. **Mær**   dámar mjólkina.
        me(D) likes   milk.the(A)

    b. Hann heldur **meg** dáma mjólkina.
       he   believes me(A) like   milk.the(A)

H&P take this to show that the lexical dative case of the subject of *dáma* 'like' shown in (7a) is not preserved in the ECM-construction (or "Accusative-with-Infinitive") in (7b). As pointed out by Thráinsson (1999:426), the problem with this example is the fact that many (even most) speakers either can use or prefer to use a nominative subject with *dáma* (see also Barnes 1992:28, Thráinsson et al. 2004:257 and Jónsson and Eythórsson 2005). Hence (7b) will be natural for many speakers of Faroese, not because they do not preserve a lexical (dative) case of the subject of *dáma* 'like' in the ECM construction but because they accept or even prefer a nominative subject with that verb, as illustrated in (8):

(8)   **Eg**   dámi mjókina.
     I(N) like   milk.the(A)

If this is true, then speakers who accept — or prefer — a dative subject with *dáma* 'like' should also accept the variant in (9) and there is evidence that they do, although H&P (1995:173) mark this variant as ungrammatical:

(9)   Hann heldur **mær**   dáma mjólkina.
        he   believes me(D) like   milk.the(A)

This means, then, that if we could find a verb which can only take a dative subject in Faroese (and not alternatively a nominative subject), then H&P would predict that it should be possible to embed such a verb under an ECM verb and get it with an accusative subject, just as *dáma* in their example in (7b), whereas my prediction is that such a verb would only show up with a dative subject under an ECM verb. Unfortunately it is not entirely simple to find such a verb, since many of the dative subject verbs listed by Thráinsson et al. (2004:255–256) are rather uncommon in the modern language. One such verb, however, is *hóva* 'like', where the following judgments hold (unanimously for the 6 speakers of Faroese asked):

(10)   a. *Eg   hóvi hetta best.
            I(N) like   this   best

       b. Mær   hóvar hetta best.
          me(D) like   this   best
       'I like this best.'

Here speakers of Faroese also agree that when embedded under an ECM verb the dative case of the subject of this verb has to be preserved:[2]

(11)   Hon helt   mær/*meg hóva   hetta best.
       *she believed me(D/*A) like(inf.) this   best*
       'She believed me to like this best.'

   Because of the problems just pointed out, it appears that the independent arguments H&P present for the claim that Faroese m-case is weak are rather weak themselves. Thus it seems that their mCasPar looks less promising then their AgrPar. Hence the mCasPar will be left out of the discussion for the most part for the rest of the paper.

1.3. The Split-IP parameter

A parameter somewhat related to the H&P's AgrPar was proposed by Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998, henceforth B&T). They base their proposal

---

[2] Again, this claim is based on the judgments of the six speakers asked and they agreed unanimously on the acceptability of dative vs. accusative, except that one of them did not like the ECM construction at all.

partially on some earlier work by Thráinsson (1996), Jonas (1996a,b) and Bobaljik and Jonas (1996) and their parameter can be described informally as follows (see also Bobaljik 2002, Thráinsson 2003:163 and Thráinsson 2007:61):

(12) a. Some languages have separate functional projections for tense and agreement. These languages have a positive value for the Split-IP Parameter (SIP). They include languages that have a clearly separable tense and agreement morphology.

   b. If a language has a positive value for the SIP, then it will obligatorily have V-to-I movement and it will also have an "extra" subject position available (and possibly also an extra object position).

B&T then claim that (standard) MSc languages have a negative setting for the SIP whereas ISc (or at least Icelandic and Old Norse/Old Scandinavian) have a positive one. Based on this, they make the predictions about MSc and ISc listed in (13) (claims about the situation in Faroese by Barnes 1992 (FarBar) and in FORG by Thráinsson et al. 2004 (FarFORG) included in the table as before):

(13)

	MSc	ISc	FarBar	FarFORG
a. Vf-Adv order in embedded clauses	–	+	+/–	+/– (243)
b. Higher subject position in expletive constr.	–	+		+ (285)
c. The transitive expletive construction	–	+		+/– (282)
d. Shift of non-pronominal objects	–	+	–	– (245)

With respect to Faroese, the impossibility of shifting non-pronominal objects again sticks out like a sore thumb. B&T base their prediction about object shift on the assumptions that full NP object shift (NPOS) is movement to the specifier position of an object agreement phrase (AgrOP) and that the existence of such a phrase is dependent on the existence of a subject agreement phrase (AgrSP) distinct from a tense projection (TP) and thus related to the SIP. Since these are rather controversial assumptions that have not figured extensively in recent literature (similar assumptions had been made by Bobaljik and Jonas 1996, Thráinsson 1996, Jonas 1996a,b) and the difference between NPOS and pronominal object shift remains somewhat of a mystery, I will simply leave NPOS out of the discussion for the rest of this paper. The other constructions will be exemplified below in the next section.

2. Is there parametric variation within Faroese?

2.1. Parametric variation between languages and within languages

As described in the preceding sections, the parameters suggested by H&P and B&T, for instance, were supposed to account for large scale differences between groups of languages, in particular ISc and MSc. As the +/– marks in the Faroese columns in tables (2), (3) and (13) indicate, however, it is not always entirely clear what the situation is in Faroese with respect to the constructions that are said to distinguish MSc from ISc. Informally, one could of course say that Faroese is a "mixed" language or has an "in-between" status between Icelandic and MSc, but from a parametric point of view, this is a very unsatisfactory description. It could in principle mean one of the following (or possible combinations of these alternatives):

(14) a. Some speakers of Faroese have a positive setting for the relevant parameter(s) while others have a negative one.

b. The value of the relevant parameter(s) has not been set for (at least some) speakers of Faroese, presumably because of ambiguous or conflicting input data (PLD).

c. Speakers of Faroese (or at least some of them) have two grammars, i.e. an ISc grammar and an MSc grammar. In that sense they are bidialectal.

d. The acquisition of parametric settings is not simply binary (+/–, yes/no) but probabilistic in the sense that the more PLD compatible with a particular setting of a given parameter that the speaker is exposed to, the more highly rated that setting of the parameter becomes (cf. Yang 2009 and references cited there). This means that conflicting evidence of the PLD may lead to the existence of two (or more) "grammars" for each speaker and their "rating" will typically vary from speaker to speaker depending on the PLD that they have been exposed to.

The alternative outlined in (14a) is obviously straightforward: There are simply two dialects of Faroese, call them Faroese A and B, and one of them is an ISc dialect and the other is an MSc dialect. This was in fact suggested by Jonas (1996a, b) and H&P appear to be of a similar opinion, although they assume that the variants are basically due to generational differences (1995:12):

(15) ... we have got the impression that there are two varieties of Faroese, a modern variety which syntactically belongs to the MSc camp, and an old-fashioned variety which belongs in the ISc camp, at least with regard to the properties which we claim crucially involve Agr.

Similar views have been expressed by Vikner (1995:151 passim) and Rohrbacher (1999:141ff.), for instance, in their discussion of (residual) V-to-I movement in Faroese and some evidence for such a generational difference in V-to-I movement has been presented by Thráinsson (2001, 2003 — compare also Petersen 2000). Under this alternative, there is no "mixing" or ambiguity in the individual I-languages (the internal languages of the speakers in the sense of Chomsky 1986 and later work) although Faroese as an E-language is a mixed bag. Under the other three alternatives, on the other hand, we should not only find inter-speaker variation (i.e. variation between speakers), as predicted by (14a), but also intra-speaker variation (variation within the language of individual speakers) since a given speaker may be "following" different grammars or parameter settings from time to time. While (14b) would seem to predict that this intra-speaker variation should basically be random, alternative (14c) permits a differentiation between the grammars (e.g. with the ISc grammar as being the more conservative or less colloquial variant, cf. (15)) and hence allows for a pattern in the intra-speaker variation (different grammars in different situations). Finally, alternative (14d) can be seen as a more detailed and principled formulation of the same basic idea as (14c).

If there are in fact two dialects of Faroese in the sense of (14a), then that would be the ideal situation for the conventional (i.e. basically binary) parametric approach to language variation. But if this is the right account of variation within Faroese syntax, one would obviously like to understand why speakers of Faroese A and B (or whatever we decide to call the variants) set their parameters differently. Since H&P relate their parameters to overt morphological differences, as mentioned above, one might want to look for morphological explanations and this has in fact been done, although most of the attempts have been rather controversial, as is well known (for a recent dicussion and an overview of some of the relevant literature see Thráinsson, in press). But before we try to explain the proposed differences in parameter settings, it would be nice to know whether there is in fact any clear evidence for their existence. If there is, then the next step would be to determine what kind of model of parametric variation could account for the observed differences (cf. the alternatives listed in (14)). One investigation that tried to determine this is a pilot study reported on the the next section.

## 2.2. Some evidence from the Icelandic pilot study in the Faroes

The pilot study was conducted in the spring of 2006 as a part of the Icelandic project **Variation in Syntax**, which is one of the ScanDiaSyn projects (cf. *http://uit.no/scandiasyn/icediasyn/* and *http://malvis.hi.is/tilbrigdi/*). The

study involved six different places and some on the average some 40 speakers in each, divided into four age groups, as shown in *Table 1*.

		Table 1: **Icelandic Pilot Study in the Faroes 2006**						
		Places and number of subjects						
		Miðvágur Vágar	Tvøroyri Suðuroy	Tórshavn Streymoy	Klaksvík Borðoy	Fuglafjørður Eysturoy	Sandur Sandoy	Total
	16 ára	15	11	17	9	12	17	81
	20-25	10	10	9	10	8	9	56
Age groups	40-45	11	8	9	8	8	9	53
	65-70	9	8	8	9	10	8	52
Total		45	37	43	36	38	43	242

Table 1: The number of subjects tested in each place visited in the pilot study

As shown on *Picture 1*, the places visited have a reasonable geographical spread and included all the largest islands:
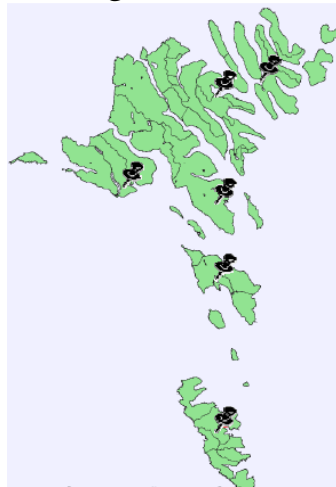
Picture 1: Places visited in the Icelandic pilot study in the Faroes 2006

The study was conducted by two Faroese research assistants, Victoria Absalonsen and Helena á Løgmansbø. They visited all the different places and administered the test, which involved a written questionnaire. The subjects were told that the investigators were only interested in what the subjects felt they themselves could say, not what they might have learned in school that one should say or might be considered good style or anything like that. They were then asked to judge the sentences according to the three point scale shown below and they would then check off the relevant box in the questionnaire and optionally add comments as indicated (i.e. *viðmerkingar*, see also Thráinsson et al. 2007 for a description):

(16) Ja   = Vanligur/møguligur setningur. Soleiðis hevði eg væl kunnað sagt.
      'Yes'   'Common/possible sentence. I could easily have said this.'
      ?   = Ivasamur setningur. Soleiðis hevði eg neyvan sagt.
                 'Doubtful sentence. I would hardly say this.'
      Nei   = Ómøguligur setningur. Soleiðis hevði eg ikki sagt.
      'No'   'Impossible sentence. I would not have said this.'

		Ja	?	Nei	Viðmerkingar
F4	Tað hevur eitt par dansað í garðinum.				

The subjects would typically go through the whole list in one session with one coffee break roughly in the middle. The questionnaire contained some 140 randomized sentences illustrating a large number of different constructions and also including some filler sentences. Because such a large number of constructions was being tested, there were sometimes only one or two examples of a given type. In the present overview I will limit myself to the constructions listed in (17)–(20) where the actual example sentences from the study are shown. As the reader will note, these are all constructions that are relevant for H&P's AgrPar and/or B&T's SIP:

(17) V-fin-Adv order in embedded clauses other than bridge verb complements (V-to-I):
      a. Hann er keddur av,   at   Jógvan **hevur ongantíð** lisið bókina.
         he   is sad   about that Jogvan has   never   read book.the

      'He is sad that Jogvan has never read the book.'

      b. Har   vóru nógv bløð, sum eg **las ikki**.
         there(adv.) were many papers that I   read not

      'Many papers were there that I did not read.'

(18) High position of the associate of the expletive (HiPos):
      a. **Tað**   hevur **eitt par** dansað í garðinum.
         there has   a   pair danced in garden.the
      'A couple has danced in the garden.'

      b. **Tað**   eru **nakrir gestir** komnir úr   Íslandi.
         there are some   guests arrived from Iceland
      'Some guests have arrived from Iceland.'

      c. **Tað**   blivu **nógvir pengar** stolnir.
         there were many   money stolen

      'A lot of money was stolen.'

(19) A transitive expletive construction (TEC):

      Tað hevur onkur   **etið** súreplið.
      there has   someone eaten apple.the

      'Someone has eaten the apple.'

(20) Stylistic Fronting (SF):

    a. Eftir tí, sum   **fram** er komið, tori eg ikki at døma hana.
      after that which forth is come dare I not to judge her
    'I don't want to judge her based on what has come forth.'

    b. Hann helt talu   fyri teimum, sum **liðug**   vóru við skúlan.
      he   held speech for those   that finished were with school.the
    'He gave a speech in honor of those who had finished school.'

As the reader will recall, two of these constructions are predicted by H&P's AgrPar and by B&T's SIP parameter to be characteristic of ISc. One is the Vf-Adv order (or V-to-I construction) in (17), the other is the possibility of having the logical subject (or the associate of the expletive) in a higher position (HiPos), i.e. right after the auxiliary and thus before the main verb in expletive constructions like (18). As pointed out by H&P, this position is not in general available for the associate of the expletive in MSc but it is quite natural in Icelandic, for instance, as most extensively discussed by Vangsnes (see e.g. Vangsnes 2002 and references cited there). The Stylistic Fronting (SF) construction illustrated in (20) is associated with a positive setting of the AgrPar by H&P but not discussed by B&T. Conversely, the transitive expletive construction (TEC) examplified in (19) is said by B&T to follow from a positive setting of the SIP but not discussed explicitly by H&P.[3]

Since some evidence has been presented in the literature for the claim that younger speakers of Faroese are moving away from a typical ISc language, it makes sense to see what the pilot study indicates about this with respect to the constructions under discussion. This is shown in *Table 2*. The columns show the percentages of speakers of each age group who accepted sentences of each construction type. As already explained, the subjects were asked to judge the sentences according to a three point scale and the percentages reflect the number of speakers who found the sentences acceptable (checked off for 'yes' on the three point scale). As there was typically more than one example sentence of each type, the percentages are averages for the actual test sentences of each type (cf. (15)–(18)):

---

[3] The transitive expletive construction (or TEC) figures prominently, on the other hand, in Jonas' work on Scandinavian (1996a,b) and in Bobaljik and Jonas (1996).
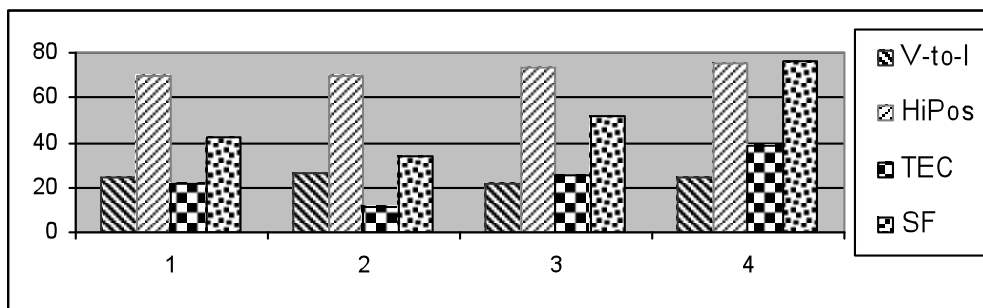
Table 2: Percentage of speakers within each age group (the youngest age group on the left) who accepted examples of the relevant type.

In Table 2 the columns in 1 represent judgments by the youngest speakers (16 year olds), 2 is the next group (20–25), 3 the third (40–45) and 4 the oldest one (65–70). Now if Faroese is in a general process of changing from an ISc type to an MSc type language, then one might have expected there to be a clear difference between the four age groups with all the ISc-constructions under discussion being accepted more readily by the older generations. Although this is true for the Transitive Expletives (TEC) and Stylistic Fronting (SF) (the two rightmost columns), this is not so clear in the case of V-to-I (only accepted by a little over 20% of the speakers of each group) nor for the high position of subjects in expletive constructions (HiPos — quite well received by all age groups, although a bit more so by the two oldest ones). It should be kept in mind, however, that in this pilot study we looked at many more constructions than the four under discussion here. As a result, there were only one to three examples of sentences representing each construction, as shown in (15)–(18), and hence various unwanted effects might play a role here.

Keeping these limitations in mind, we can try to determine what the (preliminary) results in *Table 2* could tell us about possible parametric variation **within** Faroese. Taking the two expletive constructions first, we see that the TEC is in general accepted by a much lower percentage of the subjects than the HiPOs construction involving intransitive predicates. Now if the availability of a higher subject position of the kind exemplified by the HiPos sentences is a prerequisite for having a TEC construction, as argued by B&T, then this difference in acceptability between the two types of constructions could mean that the TEC example (there was only one in the questionnaire) is found to be less than optimal for some other reasons. But if B&T are right in maintaining that one could not have a TEC unless having the HiPos, then we would not expect to find any speakers who accepted the TEC sentence but rejected the HiPos sentences. That would then mean that

we might find a statistical correlation between the acceptance of the two sentence types, but since one of them is more readily accepted than the other, this correlation should be rather weak. It could, however, be statistically significant given the relatively large number of speakers tested.

The relatively low acceptance of the Vfin-Adv examples (V-to-I examples) but high acceptance of the HiPos sentences would seem rather problematic for both H&P and B&T, on the other hand. Recall, for instance, that according to the parametric approach of B&T, V-to-I movement should be obligatory if the language in question has a split IP — and a split IP is a prerequisite for the HiPos construction. Since many fewer subjects accepted the Vfin-Adv examples than the HiPos examples, B&T would have to assume something like (21a) or (21b):

(21)　a.　　Most speakers of Faroese have a split IP structure in their grammar, as can be seen from the relatively common acceptance of HiPos examples. The common acceptance of Adv-Vfin orders in embedded clauses (and consequently rejection of the Vfin-Adv alternative) follows from the possibility of adjoining medial adverbs in an "exceptionally" high position, along the lines suggested in B&T, Angantýsson (2007) and Thráinsson (in press) for instances of Adv-Vfin orders in Icelandic.

　　　b.　　Most speakers of Faroese have two grammars, and ISc-type grammar and an MSc-type grammar. Hence they are likely to accept structures that are consistent with either.

Neither alternative would tell the whole story, however. The first one fails to account for the rather obvious fact confirmed by most studies that the MSc-type order Adv-Vfin is the default order in Faroese but it is exceptional in Icelandic (see Angantýsson 2007, Thráinsson, in press). The second alternative does no better job in explaining the fact (assuming that this result is a solid one that can be replicated) that the ISc-type constructions meet with varying degrees of enthusiasm among speakers of Faroese.

With this in mind, it would clearly be interesting to look more carefully at the statistics from the pilot study. The results from the questionnaire were entered into the SPSS program (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), which allows for various kinds of analyses of the data, including checking for correlations between judgments of different construction types. *Table 3* shows the correlations between judgments of the sentence types listed in above:[4]

---

[4] Here the value for *r* is the so-called (Pearson's) correlation coefficient and *p* is the measure of the significance of the correlation. A *p*-value of .05 means that there is only

Constructions	V-to-I		HiPos		TEC		SF	
V-to-I			r	.253	r	.105	r	.212
			p	**.000**	p	.117	**p**	**.001**
HiPos	r	.253			r	.233	r	.234
	p	**.000**			**p**	**.000**	**p**	**.000**
TEC	r	.105	r	.233			r	.118
	p	.117	**p**	**.000**			p	.075
SF	r	.212	r	.234	r	.118		
	p	**.001**	**p**	**.000**	p	.075		

Table 3: Correlations between acceptability judgments for four different constructions 2006. 242 subjects

As shown here, the correlations are rather weak, reaching only as high as 0.253. A perfect correlation could in our case mean, for instance, that every subject that judged the two V-to-I movement sentences as 'natural' would also judge the two SF sentences as natural and every subject that rejected both the V-to-I sentences would also reject the SF-example, etc. This is obviously not to be expected here for various reasons, the most important one being that various factors can influence the acceptability of a given example for a given subject. The influence of external factors of this kind is likely to be relatively large in the pilot study since there were so few examples of each construction under investigation here (one to three examples only, as shown in (17)–(20)). In addition, since the test sentences were presented out of context, it is likely that some subjects were better than others at imagining the proper context and this may have influenced the judgments.

Although the correlations are relatively weak, they are nevertheless statistically significant at the 0.01 level in most instances (meaning that there is only 1% chance or less that the correlation is an accident). The only correlations that were not found to be statistically significant are the following:

(22)   a. The correlation between V-to-I and TEC (p = .117)

b. The correlation between SF and TEC (p = .075)

5% likelyhood that the observed correlation can be attributed to chance. *p*-values at or below .05 are standardly considered statistically significant (such values are marked by **boldface** in *table 3*). The values for *r* can range from −1 to +1 (perfect negative or positive correlation). An *r*-value of .10 would be considered small (explaining only 1% of the variance), .30 would be considered medium (accounting for 9% of the variance) and .50 would be a large effect (accounting for 25% of the variance, cf. Field 2005:32). Note that a small correlation can be statistically significant.

Since the TEC figures in both instances, it is possible that this lack of significant correlation is due to a poor choice of a TEC example sentence or that it was judged less favorably than it deserved because of the lack of context.

The statistical significance of some of these correlations, as well as some shortcomings of the method (e.g. too few examples of each type, lack of context sentences) suggested that further testing of this method might be interesting. The next section reports on further experimentation along these lines.

2.3. Evidence from the NORMS interviews

During the NORMS dialect workshop in the Faroes in August 2008, Ásgrímur Angantýsson and I collaborated when interviewing the subjects. We had organized our questionnaires in such a way that we would each ask for judgments of constructions that we knew that the other one was also interested in, in addition to some questions of more individual interest. By trying to share as many subjects as possible (i.e. Ásgrímur would interview subjects that I had interviewed before and vice versa), we managed to get a total of 34 subjects that both of us interviewed. They were divided as follows between the six places visited (which were the same as those visited in the pilot study):

Miðvágur Vágar	Tvøroyri Suðuroy	Tórshavn Streymoy	Klaksvík Borðoy	Fuglafjørður Eysturoy	Sandur Sandoy	Total
8	6	3	6	5	6	34

Table 4: The number of subjects interviewed jointly in the Faroes in August 2008

This time the subjects were asked to judge the sentences in an oral interview. Ásgrímur and I used slightly different methods of questioning the subjects. I had them read each test sentence aloud before judging it by checking off in the appropriate boxes. In most cases I used a three point scale similar to the one described above and the definitions of the points were almost identical:

(23) Ja = Góður setningur. Soleiðis kundi eg væl sagt.
    'Yes'   'Good sentence. I could easily say this.'
    ? = Ivasamur setningur. Eg kundi neyvan sagt so.
        'Doubtful sentence. I could hardly say this.'
    Nei = Ómøguligur setningur. Soleiðis kundi eg ikki sagt.
    'No'   'Impossible sentence. I could not say this.'

Note that here there is no mention of *vanligur* 'common' in the definition of *ja*, since it was believed that this would involve a metalinguistic judgment of

what others might say, but the idea was to get as directly to the speakers' own intuitions as possible.

Since we were only looking at relatively few types of constructions and were collaborating as described above, we were able to test more examples of each kind. For this reason many of the correlations turned out to be significant this time too, although we had only 34 subjects. Selected examples of the sentences evaluated are listed in (24)–(27) (since there was a rather large number of examples of certain types, some have been omitted here for reasons of space):

(24)   V-to-I in embedded clauses other than bridge verb complements (V-to-I):

a. Tað harmar meg, at tú **hevur ongantíð** verið og vitjað.
   it saddens me that you have never been and visited
   'It saddens me that you have never come for a visit.'

b. Tað er spell, at bókin **kemur ikki** út til jóla.
   it is pity that book.the comes not out by Xmas
   'It is a pity that the book won't come out by Christmas.'

c. Hans bað vinin koma við,
   Hans asked friend.the come with
   … so at hann **skuldi ikki** fara einsamallur heim.
   so that he should not go alone home
   'Hans asked his friend to come with him so he would not go home alone.'

d. Hans kom í brúdleypið, sjálvt um hann **var ikki** boðin/bjóðaður.
   Hans came to wedding.the even if he was not invited
   'Hans came to the wedding even though he had not been invited.'

e. Eg spurdi, hví Pætur **hevði ikki** lisið bókina.
   I asked why Peter had not read book.the

f. Hon spurdi, hvør **hevði ongantíð** lisið bókina.
   she asked who had never read book.the

g. Hetta er einasta ævintýrið, sum hann **hevur ikki** lisið.
   this is only adventure.the that he has not read
   'This is the only adventure that he has not read.'

h. Tað er hatta húsið, sum eg **vildi ikki** keypa.
   it is this house.the that I would not buy
   'This is the house that I didn't want to buy.'

(25) High position of the associate of the expletive (HiPos):
    a. **Tað** blivu **nógv hús** keypt í Fuglafirði í fjør.
       there were many houses bought in Fuglafjørdur last year
    'Many houses were bought in Fuglafjørdur last year.'

    b. Tað eru **nakrar lagkøkur** blivnar bakaðar til køkutombola.
       there are some cakes been baked to cake.bingo
    'Some cakes have been baked for a cake bingo.'

    c. Tað havdi **ein ketta** verið í køkinum.
       there had a cat been in kitchen.the
    'There had been a cat in the kitchen.'

    d. Tað hava **nakrar mýs** verið í baðikarinum.
       there have some mice been in bathtub.the
    'There have been some mice in the bathtub.'

(26)   Transitive expletives (TEC):
    a. **Tað** keypti onkur útlendingur húsini hjá Mariu.
       there bought some foreigner houses.the of Mary
    'Some foreigner bought Mary's house.'

    b. **Tað** hevur onkur tikið súkluna hjá mær.
       there has somebody taken cycle.the of me
    'Somebody has taken my bike.'

    c. **Tað** hevur onkur útlendingur keypt húsini hjá Pidda.
       there has some foreigner bought houses.the of Piddi
    'Some foreigner has bought Piddi's house.'

    d. **Tað** høvdu mýs etið allan ostin.
       there had mice eaten all cheese.the
    'Mice had eaten all the cheese.'

(27) Stylistic Fronting (SF):
    a. Tað var løgið, at **altíð** reyk við ánna.
       it was odd that always smoked by river.the
    'It was odd that there was always smoke by the river.'

    b. Hann sá, hvør **inn** kom.
       he saw who in came
    'He saw who came in.'

    c. Vit spæla ikki fótból, tá ið **illa** regnar.
       we play not football when that badly rains
    'We don't play football when it rains heavily.'

    d. Vit fara, um **í** slítur.
       we go   if in tears
   'We go if it dries up.'

As can be seen from these lists, even if several examples have been omitted, we tested a relatively large number of similar constructions. It is thus of considerable interest to compare the results of this study to those of the pilot study reported on in the preceding section. The main results are summarized in *Table 5*, which is directly comparable to *Table 3* above (again, statistically significant *p*-values in boldface as well as *r*-values indicating the strongest correlations):

Constructions	V-to-I		HiPos		TEC		SF	
V-to-I			r	.361	**r**	**.404**	r	.176
			p	**.036**	**p**	**.018**	p	.320
HiPos	r	.361			**r**	**.688**	r	−.034
	p	**.036**			**p**	**.000**	p	.849
TEC	**r**	**.404**	**r**	**.688**			r	−.021
	p	**.018**	**p**	**.000**			p	.906
SF	r	.176	r	−.034	r	−.021		
	p	.320	p	.849	p	.906		

Table 5: Correlations between acceptability judgments for four different constructions 2008. 34 subjects.

The general picture that emerges here is that the correlations are stronger but the significance level is lower. This is probably a natural consequence of the fact that now we have more examples of each construction but fewer subjects. The correlations are especially strong (.688) and highly significant (p = .000, which means that there is less than 0.1% chance that this is an accident) between judgments of the TEC and of expletive constructions with the associate in a high position. There is also a quite strong correlation (.404) between judgments for TEC and V-to-I in embedded clauses other than bridge verb complements and it is significant at the .05 level (p = .018). A significant correlation is also found between the evaluation of V-to-I examples of the kind under discussion and of expletive sentences with the associate in the high position (correlation .361, significant at the 0.05 level). All of these correlations are predicted by the Split-IP Parameter (SIP) of B&T and some of them are also predicted by H&Ps AgrPar, as described above (as already mentioned, they do not discuss the TEC).

    The most striking result here, however, is perhaps the total lack of correlation of judgments of Stylistic Fronting (SF) examples and anything else. According to H&P, SF should be related to the AgrPar and thus to V-to-T, for instance. As shown in *Table 3*, there was a weak but statistically significant correlation between judgments of the V-to-I examples and the SF

examples considered in the Icelandic pilot study and there was a bit stronger and even more significant correlation between the evaluation of the SF examples and the expletive examples with the associate in a high position. This picture is totally different in *Table 5* and this calls for an explanation. While I do not have a definite one at the moment, it should be pointed out that the SF examples in the pilot study both involved (the filling of) relative clause gaps whereas there were no such examples in the interviews but various other kinds of SF.[5] This suggests that SF-examples may not all be created equal. Further evidence for this comes from the fact that SF sometimes alternates with overt expletives but sometimes it does not (in relative clauses it typically does not in Icelandic — see e.g. the discussion in Thráinsson 2007:352ff. and references cited there).

3. What does this tell us about the nature of (parametric) variation?

The findings of the two studies reported on here can be summarized as follows:

(28)   a.   There is considerable variation in Faroese syntax.
        b.   The variation is gradient rather than binary.
        c.   Despite the gradient nature of the variation, it is possible to find correlations between (the acceptance of) certain constructions and variants. These correlations are partially predicted by proposed parameters, such as H&P's AgrPar and B&T's SIP.

      The facts summarized in (28) can now be considered in the light of the different proposals about parametric variation outlined in (14) above, repeated here for convenience:

---

[5] Another possibility suggested by the reviewing editor is the following: In the interviews the subjects were typically asked to read the sentences aloud before judging them. If SF is more typical of written than spoken language, this difference in methodology might cause the SF examples to be less favorably judged in the interviews than when they are answering a written questionnaire. While this is conceivable, later investigations (other written questionnaires and more interviews) suggest that at least a part of the reason for the relatively low acceptance of the SF examples in the interviews reported on here is a poor choice of examples, as some of them at least are fixed expressions in the non-SF form (e.g. *um/tá slítur í* 'if/when (it) stops raining' as opposed to *um/tá í slítur,* which would be an SF-variant with a fronted particle).

(14) a.   Some speakers of Faroese have a positive setting for the relevant parameter(s) while others have a negative one.

b.   The value of the relevant parameter(s) has not been set for (at least some) speakers of Faroese, presumably because of ambiguous or conflicting input data (PLD).

c.   Speakers of Faroese (or at least some of them) have two grammars, i.e. an ISc grammar and an MSc grammar. In that sense they are bidialectal.

d.   The acquisition of parametric settings is not simply binary (+/–, yes/no) but probabilistic in the sense that the more PLD compatible with a particular setting of a given parameter the speaker is exposed to, the more highly rated that setting of the parameter becomes (cf. Yang 2009 and references cited there). This means that conflicting evidence of the PLD may lead to the existence of two (or more) "grammars" for each speaker and their "rating" will typically vary from speaker to speaker depending on the PLD that they have been exposed to.

As pointed out above, the formulation in (14a) basically predicts clear inter-speaker variation and no intra-speaker variation with respect to the relevant constructions or variants. Thus we should find an ISc-like dialect and an MSc-like dialect (or idiolects) in Faroese syntax. That is not what we find. The formulation in (14b), on the other hand, predicts random variation between (or equal/random acceptance of) ISc-type and MSc-type variants and we do not find that either. The observed variation is more compatible with the formulations in (14c) and especially (14d). To the extent that the parameters under discussion define ISc-type vs. MSc-type grammars, one can say that the ISc-like settings are more highly rated in the grammar of some speakers than others but the opposite settings are typically not ruled out. The reason for this lies in the ambiguous or conflicting PLD that speakers acquiring Faroese are exposed to.

This said, it should be noted that even if we find statistically significant correlations in studies of this kind between two construction types that a given parametric approach predicts should co-vary, we have obviously not proven that the parameter is correctly defined nor even that there is one. There could be other reasons. But the stronger the predicted correlations and the more significant the results, the better for the parameter.

If we, on the other hand, do not find any correlation at all between constructions that a given parameter predicts should go together, then there must be something wrong with it. The prerequisite for such a conclusion is solid methodology and avoidance of bad design of questionnaires that can contaminate the results. Potential problems of that kind include unusual or

stylistically inappropriate words (this can throw the subjects off), too many examples of the same kind presented successively (may lead to fatigue, boredom and satiation effects, which will be confounded if the examples are always presented in the same order), etc. (for some discussion of issues of this kind see Schütze 1996, Cornips and Poletto 2005).

It is clear, however, that it is not at all simple to conduct research of this sort. There will always be all sorts of noise in the data — e.g. bad or tired or bored informants, irrelevant properties of the examples chosen, etc. Note, for instance, that the naturalness of a given construction, e.g. a TEC or an SF, will depend on the context and even sometimes on style. These are among the reasons why there is some "safety in numbers". Large scale studies of the kind we have been conducting within the Icelandic and Faroese variation projects (IceDiaSyn and FarDiaSyn) in recent years have led to the discovery of various kinds of theoretically interesting facts that we could not have obtained by other methods. The data discussed in the present paper are examples of this. Hence we totally agree with the following statement by Smith (2005:109):

(29)   "... it is no longer intellectually defensible for even the most theoretically oriented linguist to dismiss statistical analysis the way I did. Moreover, the results of such analysis may have interesting implications for core notions of current theory."

As already mentioned, reasonably well-behaved inter-speaker variation is not a particular problem for the conventional (binary) parametric approach to variation, although it tends to show that the parameters are not as big or as general as we once liked to assume (for some discussion of variation of this kind see e.g. Henry 1995, 2005). To the extent that studies like the present one indicate that this variation is not as chaotic as it might seem at first and that it is possible to find statistically significant correlations along the lines predicted by certain parametric approaches, there is arguably some hope. Hence we need not to throw up our hands in despair and agree with the famous characterization that the American structuralist Martin Joos (1957) gave of the beliefs of his fellow structuralists during the period of 1925–1956 (see also Chomsky 2007:12):

(30) "... languages (can) differ without limit and in unpredictable ways" [and hence one must study each language] "without any preexisting scheme of what a language must be".

The intra-speaker variation that we have also found is more of a challenge to conventional parametric approaches. Theoretical syntacticians have only recently begun to try to make sense of intra-speaker variation in

parametric terms (for recent discussion and debate see Adger and Smith 2005, Adger 2006, 2007, Hudson 2007). At the present stage in our investigations, it seems that this kind of variation is more extensive in Faroese than in Icelandic syntax although it is found in both languages (see also Jónsson and Eythórsson 2005). This is to be expected under the concept of parameter setting outlined in (14d) above since speakers acquiring Faroese will arguably be exposed to ambiguous and even conflicting evidence when trying to fix the setting of the relevant parameters (see e.g. the discussion in Thráinsson, in press), making it hard for them to rule out one setting in favor of another although one may seem more plausible, as it were.

Finally, it is interesting in this connection to read what Sapir said about the problem of variation more than 80 years ago (1921:38). Although he is using a different terminology for the most part, the words "perfect engine of conceptual expression" sound like something Chomsky could have said recently:

(31) Were a language ever completely "grammatical," it would be a perfect engine of conceptual expression. Unfortunately, or luckily, no language is tyrannically consistent. All grammars leak.

The present paper suggests that this "leakage" is not random and we may find ways of accounting for it in a coherent fashion.

References

Adger, David. 2006. Combinatorial variability. *Journal of Linguistics* 42:503–530.

Adger, David. 2007. Variability and modularity: A Response to Hudson. *Journal of Linguistics* 43:695–700.

Adger, David and Jennifer Smith. 2005. Variation and the Minimalist Programme. In Leonie Cornips and Karen P. Corrigan (eds.), *Syntax and Variation: Reconciling the Biological and the Social*, pp. 149–178. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Angantýsson, Ásgrímur, 2007. Verb-third in embedded clauses in Icelandic. *Studia Linguistica* 61:237–260.

Barnes, Michael P. 1992. Faroese syntax — Achievements, goals and problems. In Jonna Louis-Jensen and Jóhan Hendrik W. Poulsen (eds.), *The Nordic Languages and Modern Linguistics* 7, pp. 17–37. Føroya Fróðskaparfelag, Tórshavn. [Also in Barnes 2001.]

Barnes, Michael P. 2001. *Faroese Language Studies*. Studia Nordica 5. Novus, Oslo.

Bobaljik, Jonathan D. 2002. Realizing Germanic inflection: Why morphology does not drive syntax. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 6:129–167.

Bobaljik, Jonathan D. and Dianne Jonas. 1996. Subject positions and the roles of TP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27:195–236.

Bobaljik, Jonathan D. and Höskuldur Thráinsson. 1998. Two heads aren't always better than one. *Syntax* 1: 37–71.

Chomsky, Noam. 1986. *Knowledge of Language*. Praeger, New York.

Chomsky, Noam. 2007. Biolinguistic explorations: Design, development, evolution. *International Journal of Philosophical Studies* 15:1–21.

Cornips, Leonie and Cecilia Poletto. 2005. On standardizing syntactic elicitation techniques (part 1). *Lingua* 115:939-957.

Field, Andy. 2005. *Discovering Statistics Using SPSS*. SAGE Publications, London.

Haugen, Einar. 1976. *The Scandinavian Languages: An Introduction to their History*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Henriksen, Jeffrei. 2000. *Orðalagslæra*. Sprotin, Tórshavn.

Henry, Alison. 1995. *Belfast English and Standard English: Dialect Variation and Parameter Setting*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Henry, Alison. 2005. Idiolectal variation and syntactic theory. In Leonie Cornips and Karen P. Corrigan (eds.), *Syntax and Variation: Reconciling the Biological and the Social*, pp. 109–122. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Holmberg, Anders and Christer Platzack. 1990. On the role of inflection in Scandinavian syntax. In Werner Abraham, Wim Kosmeijer, and Eric Reuland (eds.), *Issues in Germanic Syntax*, pp. 93–118. Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 44. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin. [See also Platzack and Holmberg 1989.]

Hudson, Richard. 2007. Inherent variability and Minimalism: Comments on Adger's 'Combinatorial variability'. *Journal of Linguistics* 43:683–694.

Jonas, Dianne. 1996a. Clause structure, expletives, and verb movement. In Werner Abraham, Samuel D. Epstein, Höskuldur Thráinsson, and C. Jan-Wouter Zwart (eds.), *Minimal Ideas – Syntactic Studies in the Minimalist Framework*, pp. 167–188. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Jonas, Dianne. 1996b. *Clause Structure and Verb Syntax in Scandinavian and English*. Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge.

Jónsson, Jóhannes Gísli and Thórhallur Eythórsson. 2005. Variation in subject case marking in Insular Scandinavian. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 28:223–245.

Petersen, Hjalmar P. 2000. TP or IP in Modern Faroese. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 66:75–83.

Platzack, Christer and Anders Holmberg. 1989. The role of AGR and finiteness in Germanic VO languages. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 43:51–76.

Rohrbacher, Bernhard W. 1999. *Morphology Driven Syntax*. *A Theory of V to I Raising and Pro-Drop*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Sapir, Edward. 1921. *Language*. *An Introduction to the Study of Speech*. Harcourt, Brace, New York.

Schütze, Carson T. 1996. *The Empirical Base of Linguistics: Grammatical Judgments and Linguistic Methodology*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Smith, Henry. 1992. *Restrictiveness in Case Theory*. Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, Stanford. [Published 1996 by Cambridge University Press.]

Smith, Neil. 2005. *Language, Frogs and Savants*. Blackwell, Oxford.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 1996. On the non-universality of functional categories. In Werner Abraham, Samuel D. Epstein, Höskuldur Thráinsson and C. Jan-Wouter Zwart (eds.), *Minimal Ideas – Syntactic Studies in the Minimalist Framework*, pp. 253–281. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 1999. Review of *The Role of Inflection in Scandinavian Syntax* by Anders Holmberg and Christer Platzack. *Journal of Linguistics* 35:418–430.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 2001. Syntactic theory for Faroese and Faroese for syntactic theory. In Kurt Braunmüller and Jógvan í Lon Jacobsen (eds.), *Moderne lingvistiske teorier of færøsk*, pp. 89–124. Novus, Oslo.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 2003. Syntactic variation, historical development and Minimalism. In Randall Hendrick (ed.), *Minimalist Syntax*, pp. 152–191. Blackwell, Oxford.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 2007. *The Syntax of Icelandic*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur. In press. Predictable and unpredictable sources of variable verb and adverb placement in Scandinavian. *Lingua* (2009), doi:10.1016/j.lingua.2009.04.003.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur, Ásgrímur Angantýsson, Ásta Svavarsdóttir, Thórhallur Eythórsson, and Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson. 2007. The Icelandic (pilot) project in ScanDiaSyn. *Nordlyd* 34:87–124.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur, Hjalmar P. Petersen, Jógvan í Lon Jacobsen, and Zakaris Svabo Hansen. 2004. *Faroese. An Overview and Reference Grammar*. Føroya Fróðskaparfelag, Tórshavn.

Vangsnes, Øystein. 2002. Icelandic expletive constructions and the distribution of subject types. In Peter Svenonius (ed.), *Subjects, Expletives and the EPP*, pp. 43–70. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Vikner, Sten. 1995. *Verb Movement and Expletive Subjects in the Germanic Languages*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Yang, Charles. In press. Three factors in language variation. *Lingua* (2009), doi:10.1016/j.lingua.2008.09.015.

Höskuldur Thráinsson
Department of Icelandic and Comparative Cultural Studies
University of Iceland
IS-101 Reykjavík
ICELAND

hoski@hi.is