



Strangely enough: The rise of a sentence-adverbial construction

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Previous research has found that Norwegian has one productive sentence-adverbial construction, viz. expressions such as *underlig nok* ‘strangely enough’. Their constituents are an adjective in the positive indefinite singular neuter and the word *nok*, originally ‘enough, sufficient(ly)’. Research on Swedish indicates that such sentence adverbials started to appear in the late 18th century, and possible origins have been suggested. This article presents a study of 18th and 19th century texts with the aim of determining the origins of this construction. The evidence best supports a language-internal development from predicate complements of a preceding or matrix clause.

1 Introduction¹

How do sentence adverbials arise? Ramat and Ricca’s (1998) primarily synchronic typological survey of sentence adverbs in European languages appears to indicate mostly clause-internal origins such as manner adverbials. But it also provides examples where sentence adverbs stem from constituents of a different (preceding or matrix) clause from where they end up, for example predicate complements.

Ramat and Ricca’s survey also shows that dedicated (morphological) constructions for sentence adverbials are uncommon. Norwegian, however, does have a productive sentence-adverbial construction of the form adjective + *nok*. The adjective is in the positive indefinite singular neuter. Examples are given in (1)–(3):

1. I wish to thank Eva Skafte Jensen for help finding literature and the reviewers for valuable suggestions.

- (1) Det har **sikkert nok** ikke vært kong Magnus Lagabøters mening å «bøte» noe på den eldgamle sedvanerett (1947, O. H. Andersen, *Seterbruk og seterbusetning i gammel tid*)
 ‘**Certainly**, it will not have been King Magnus the Law-Mender’s intention to “mend” old customary law.’
- (2) **Merkverdig nok** er det den ingenlunde arktiske art *abboren* som er ført lengst *vest* over de oplandske fjellvidder. (1929, A. M. Hansen, *Bre og biota*)
 ‘**Remarkably enough**, it is the in no way arctic species of *perch* that has been carried the farthest *west* on the mountain plains of Oppland.’
- (3) Etter at Urtsjenko **tåpelig nok** kom tilbake, men før han døde, bidrog han med verdifull informasjon (1992, F. Forsyth, *Dobbeltspill*)
 ‘After Urchenko **foolishly enough** returned, but before he died, he contributed valuable information.’

This construction is used also in Danish and Swedish. Swedish has *nog* rather than *nok*, and I write NOK to cover both variants.² Similar constructions are also found in other Germanic languages (see Section 5.1). Historically, NOK is a quantifier meaning ‘enough, sufficient(ly)’.

These constructions belong to several categories of sentence adverbials of types often called disjuncts in the research literature (see Section 2.2), and I will refer to them as [A NOK] disjuncts. They are distinguished from superficially similar [A NOK] expressions used in more central adjectival functions, viz. as prenominal modifiers, predicate complements, and manner adverbials (see Section 2.4). These latter will be referred to as adjectival [A NOK].

Faarlund, Lie, and Vannebo (1997) and Telemann, Hellberg, and Andersson (1999) refer to [A NOK] disjuncts as adjective phrases, which would indicate that they see disjunct and adjectival [A NOK] as the same construction in terms of internal syntax. On the other hand, Kinn (2023 b) argues that [A NOK] disjuncts are (sentence) adverb phrases headed by NOK. Hansen and Heltoft (2011) regard [A NOK] disjuncts as compound

2. In the oldest stages of Landsmål, the predecessor of Norwegian Nynorsk, the form was also *nog*. In Norwegian, three expressions are written as one or two words: *visstnok/visst nok* ‘apparently’, *riktignok/riktig nok* ‘admittedly’, and *rettnok/rett nok* ‘admittedly’. In Danish, *vistnok* and *riktignok* are written as one word, all others as two. In Swedish, all such expressions are written as two words.

sentence adverbs, and Heggelund (1981) and Malmgren (2002, 2014, 2020) see them as derived sentence adverbs. Different though these analyses are, they all imply that there is a formal difference between [A NOK] disjuncts and adjectival [A NOK].

Malmgren (2020) has found that [A NOK] disjuncts appeared in Swedish in the late 18th century and became common during the 19th century. When [A NOK] disjuncts started to develop in the 18th century, their origin must have been in adjectival [A NOK]. Malmgren's studies do not uncover how this development took place, but he does suggest some possibilities: It could be due to influence from English, or the disjuncts could have developed language-internally either from manner adverbials (in the same clause) or from predicate complements (in the preceding or matrix clause).

In the present contribution, I chart the development of [A NOK] disjuncts in the Danish/Dano-Norwegian predecessors of modern Norwegian Bokmål (see Section 2.1) in order to try to decide between Malmgren's alternatives. Section 2 provides an empirical and theoretical background for the study. In Section 3, I explain how data has been collected, and Section 4 presents empirical findings. Section 5 contains analyses of the developments. Section 6 concludes the article.

2 Empirical and theoretical background

In Section 2.1, I discuss the source situation of the 18th and 19th centuries, with Danish as the written language of Norway. Section 2.2 distinguishes three meaning categories of [A NOK] disjuncts. The constituent order properties of sentence adverbials in Norwegian are delineated in Section 2.3. In Section 2.4, I discuss morphological issues and contrast [A NOK] disjuncts with adjectival [A NOK]. Section 2.5 presents existing analyses of the internal grammatical structure of [A NOK] disjuncts. Section 2.6 sketches proposed origins of [A NOK] disjuncts. Section 2.7 deals with central notions pertaining to language change.

2.1 *The source situation: Danish vs. Norwegian*

For some centuries before 1814 and the dissolution of the Danish-Norwegian monarchy, Danish was the common written language of Norway and Denmark. Both constituent countries had broad spectra of spoken dialects. Danish remained the written language of Norway (often called

Dano-Norwegian) until its replacement partly by Landsmål (built on Norwegian dialects and later called Nynorsk) and partly by Riksmål (departing from Danish and later called Bokmål), see Hoel (2018) and Rambø (2018). The development from written Danish to Bokmål took place gradually, its modest beginnings in the 19th century followed by slightly greater changes during the 20th century. Although present-day written Danish and Bokmål are clearly different, there is an unbroken line of development from 18th and 19th century written Danish to modern Bokmål – the primary written language of the great majority of Norwegians. Thus, I regard these stages of written Danish as predecessors of Bokmål and modern Norwegian in general.

The source texts, accessed through the National Library of Norway (see Section 3), are from the 18th and 19th century and thus written in Danish or Dano-Norwegian. Some of the books were published in Denmark and written or translated by Danes. Thus, my materials document the usage of a written language that is the predecessor of two modern standards, both Danish and Norwegian Bokmål.

2.2 Disjunct meaning categories

Sentence adverbials fall into a number of different categories; see Ramat and Ricca (1998) for a good overview of categories and terminology. Norwegian [A NOK] disjuncts belong to at least three of these categories, which I refer to as content-, event-, and participant-oriented disjuncts. See Kinn (2023 a) for details.

Content-oriented disjuncts evaluate the truth of the proposition expressed by a clause. Thus, *rett nok* in (4) indicates that the proposition is true. This expression and some other content-oriented ones are concessive.

- (4) **Rett nok** ville det sikkert være riktigere å si at evangeliet står på demokratiets grunn (1950, G. Gjessing, *Krigen og kulturene*)
 ‘Admittedly, it would probably be more correct to say that the gospel rests on the base of democracy.’

Event-oriented disjuncts presuppose the truth of the proposition and evaluate the whole of the described situation. Thus, in (5) the situation of envy is a given, and *paradoksalt nok* characterizes it as a paradox.

- (5) **Paradoksalt nok** misunner enslige mennesker dem som er gift (1938, O. Knopf, *Kunsten å være kvinne*)
 ‘**Paradoxically enough**, unmarried people envy those who are married.’

Participant-oriented disjuncts also presuppose the truth of the proposition, but they evaluate a participant of the described situation (normally the subject referent), based on that participant’s behaviour. In (6), the hiding of petrol and oil is treated as a fact, and the commander is characterized as clever with *smart nok*. As (7) illustrates, however, expressions that typically function as participant-oriented disjuncts may sometimes be event-oriented.

- (6) et depot med flere hundre gallons høyeksplosiv bensin og olje, som japsekommendanten **smart nok** hadde holdt vekk fra Betio (1954, L. Uris, *Fordi vi skal leve*)
 ‘a depot of several hundred gallons of highly explosive petrol and oil, which, **cleverly enough**, the Jap commander had kept away from Betio’
- (7) **Smart nok** er derfor hvileperiodene innarbeidet i selve hjerterytmen. (2010, K. Køltzow and L. Hopen, *Hjertebank og hjerteklapp*)
 ‘**Cleverly enough**, the periods of rest are therefore integrated into the heart rhythm itself.’

Importantly, all these disjuncts are speaker comments that express the speaker’s attitude or belief. They are not parts of the propositions. Thus, in (6), the assertion is that the commander had kept the petrol and oil away from Betio, while the characterization of him as clever is a subjective comment that is not asserted.

Clauses with content- and event-oriented disjuncts can be reformulated into clauses of the type “It is A that ...”, and participant-oriented disjuncts can be reformulated into the type “It is A of [subject referent] that ...”. But in such alternative formulations, the adjectival characterization becomes part of the proposition and is asserted, as in (8);

- (8) Det var **smart** av deg å knytte genseren på denne måten (1994, C. Lintz, *Ild i gamle glør*)
 ‘It was **clever** of you to tie the jumper in this way.’

In (8), the predicate ‘clever’ is asserted by the speaker as a fact, while in (6) and (7), it is not, but is overtly subjective. Diachronic developments from the former to the latter are examples of subjectification, to which I return in Section 2.7.

Both Heggelund (1981: 81, 153) and Teleman, Hellberg, and Anderson (1999, vol. 4: 87) characterize [A NOK] disjuncts as a productive kind of sentence adverbials. It is in fact the only productive sentence-adverbial construction in Mainland Scandinavian. In a corpus of contemporary Bokmål, Kinn (2023 a) finds 183 [A NOK] disjunct types, i.e. with different adjectives. As a class, content-oriented disjuncts are token frequent but hardly productive, event-oriented disjuncts are also fairly frequent and clearly productive, while participant-oriented disjuncts are infrequent but productive. The last two categories have risen in type and token frequency during the 20th century.

2.3 Sentence adverbials and constituent order

Sentence adverbials can be distinguished from manner adverbials on the basis of precedence relations. While manner adverbials are typically placed in the postfield (after a nonfinite verb, if there is one), sentence adverbials are found in the midfield (before a nonfinite verb). This is illustrated for main and subordinate clauses in Figures 1 and 2. Like manner adverbials, disjuncts can also be placed in the prefield of main clauses, as illustrated in Figure 3.

Main clause		
Prefield	Midfield	Postfield
<i>Han</i>	<i>har merkelig nok</i>	<i>solgt huset.</i>
he	has strange enough	sold the.house

‘He has, **strangely enough**, sold the house.’

Figure 1. An [A NOK] disjunct in the midfield of a main clause

Subordinate clause		
Connective field	Midfield	Postfield
<i>at</i>	<i>han merkelig nok har</i>	<i>solgt huset</i>
that	he strange enough has	sold the.house

‘that he, **strangely enough**, has sold the house’

Figure 2. An [A NOK] disjunct in the midfield of a subordinate clause

Main clause		
Prefield	Midfield	Postfield
<i>Merkelig nok</i>	<i>har han</i>	<i>solgt huset.</i>
strange enough	has he	sold the.house

‘Strangely enough, he has sold the house.’

Figure 3. An [A NOK] disjunct in the prefield

Some sentence adverbials, including [A NOK] disjuncts, can be left- or right-extraposed (normally set off by commas or sometimes full stops in writing, and prosodically when spoken). Figures 4 and 5 illustrate this.

Main clause			
Extrapolation	Prefield	Midfield	Postfield
<i>Merkelig nok,</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>har</i>	<i>solgt huset.</i>
strange enough	he	has	sold the.house

‘Strangely enough, he has sold the house.’

Figure 4. A left-extraposed [A NOK] disjunct

Main clause			
Prefield	Midfield	Postfield	Extrapolation
<i>Han</i>	<i>har</i>	<i>solgt huset,</i>	<i>merkelig nok.</i>
he	has	sold the.house	strange enough

‘He has sold the house, strangely enough.’

Figure 5. A right-extraposed [A NOK] disjunct

2.4 Morphology and disjunct vs. adjectival [A NOK]

The word NOK is originally a quantifier with the meaning ‘enough, sufficient(ly)’ and has cognates in other Germanic languages (see Section 5.1). It is used in several constructions, notably as a modifier of adjectives,³ and expressions of the form [A NOK] can have various functions. In

3. The quantifier is also used (a) as a modifier of gradable quantifiers and adverbs (*mange nok* ‘many enough’, *ofte nok* ‘often enough’), (b) as a modifier of nouns (*nok gass*, *gass nok*, both ‘enough gas’), and (c) as an adverbial (*arbeide nok* ‘(to) work enough’). Another variant of *nok* with the same historical origin is the discourse particle *nok* (*Slik er det nok* ‘That’s how it is, I suppose’). (The *nok* found in phrases such as *nok en gang* ‘yet another time’ has a separate etymology.)

(9)–(10), [A NOK] is a prenominal modifier, in (11) it is a predicate complement, in (12), a manner adverbial, and in (13), a sentence adverbial (where NOK is not a quantifier, however, see Section 2.5).

- (9) Dette kan være en **god nok** løsning rent praktisk sett (1974, P. Gretland, *Camping på hjul*)
 ‘This may be a **good enough** solution in purely practical terms.’
- (10) Jeg har **store nok** problemer å tumle med som det allerede er. (1963, M. Grover, *Bill og Ben i kamp med smuglere*)
 ‘I have **big enough** problems to grapple with as it is already.’
- (11) Når hvert bånd er **langt nok** og presset, syes de sammen (1933, A. Bull, *Alette Bulls strikkebok*)
 ‘When each ribbon is **long enough** and has been smoothed, they are sewn together.’
- (12) Kanskje de ikke ser meg hvis jeg løper **raskt nok**. (1964, R. Gaulden, *Ta kampen opp*)
 ‘Maybe they won’t see me if I run **quickly enough**.’
- (13) Samtidig beholder han **paradoksalt nok** sin visshet om bildets tredimensjonale preg (1987, B. Edwards, *Bruk kunstneren i deg*)
 ‘At the same time, he **paradoxically enough** keeps his certainty of the three-dimensional character of the picture.’

When [A NOK] is used as a modifier or predicate complement, the adjective exhibits agreement inflection. This is illustrated with the zero inflection for the indefinite singular masculine in *god* in (9), the plural suffix *-e* in *stor-e* in (10), and the indefinite singular neuter suffix *-t* in *lang-t* in (11).

The presence of the suffix *-t* is dependent on the inflectional class of the adjective. It is absent in several inflectional classes of adjectives, including those ending in unstressed *-e* (e.g. *ekte* ‘genuine’) and certain derivational suffixes such as *-lig* and *-ig* (in modern written Norwegian, but some dialects do use the *-t* after these suffixes).

Norwegian uses the suffix *-t* also in adverbials, as evidenced by *rask-t* in (12) and *paradoksalt-t* in (13). Importantly, the phonological and morphological criteria for its use are the same as for agreement *-t*, which makes it natural to regard agreement *-t* and adverbial *-t* as the same inflectional suffix. The indefinite singular neuter form (with or without the *-t*) may be regarded as a default inflection, used in the absence of any

trigger of definite, plural, or non-neuter agreement. Subjects in the form of clauses or infinitival constructions, for instance, are used with predicate complements in *-t*, as are the subjects of so-called pancake constructions; see for instance Haugen and Enger (2019).

The description just given of the use of *-t* in adverbial contexts in modern Norwegian does not extend to modern Danish and the Danish and Dano-Norwegian predecessors of modern Bokmål. The following description of the Danish varieties is based on Skautrup (1944: 291; 1947: 91–92, 239–240, 383–384; 1953: 373–374), Ruus (2019: 88–89), Jacobsen (2019: 107, 109–110), and Jensen & Schack (2023). The neuter/adverbial suffix *-t* is old and has been used with most monomorphemic adjective bases. But it was less regularly used in adverbial function in Danish until the 19th century, and absence of the suffix in typically adjectival functions was not uncommon, especially in a number of polymorphemic base types.

Adverbial forms based on adjectives in *-lig* used to end in *-lige*. Because of tendencies towards apocope in Danish, this could be reduced to *-lig*, but an adverbial ending *-ligen* was borrowed from Low German (from the late 14th century). Adjectives in *-ig* started also to form adverbials in *-ige*, which could be apocopated back to *-ig*, and this was partly replaced by *-igen* (16th century). Forms in *-(l)igen* may have been used primarily in writing, with *-(l)ig* dominating in spoken language. Gradually, forms in *-t* started (no later than the 17th century) to replace suffixless adverbial forms as well as the *-e* and *-en* of *-(l)ige* and *-(l)igen*. The latter forms mostly became archaic in the 19th century. Modern Danish, differently from modern Norwegian, still has variation between forms in *-t* and suffixless form depending on what type of adverbial function they are used in.

The literature that I have found does not mention modern Danish [A NOK] disjuncts specifically. Some exploratory searches in the KorpusDK (ordnet.dk/korpusdk) indicate, however, that forms with *-t* are much more frequent for bases in *-(l)ig* than are suffixless forms (e.g. *naturalig(t) nok* ‘naturally (enough)’, *mærkelig(t) nok* ‘strangely (enough)’, *pudsigt(t) nok* ‘strangely (enough)’, *utrolig(t) nok* ‘incredibly (enough)’, *fornuftig(t) nok* ‘wisely (enough)’).

The expressions that I study (see Section 3) reflect the diachronic variation. For instance, where modern Bokmål has only *fornuftig nok*, other possible historical variants are *fornuftige nok*, *fornuftigen nok*, and *fornuftigt nok*.

2.5 Structural analyses

Four different structural analyses of Scandinavian [A NOK] disjuncts can be found in the literature. Faarlund, Lie, and Vannebo (1997: 811) and Teleman, Hellberg, and Andersson (1999, vol. 3: 206) treat [A NOK] disjuncts as adjective phrases,⁴ without further discussion. On such an analysis, there is no difference in category or internal structure from adjectival [A NOK]. Hansen and Heltoft (2011: 1095–1097) refer to [A NOK] disjuncts as compound adverbs, also without further discussion. Heggelund (1981: 81) and Malmgren (2002, 2014, 2020) regard [A NOK] disjuncts as derived adverbs. Heggelund motivates this with functional similarities with adverbializing morphology with *-vis*, such as *naturligvis* ‘naturally’ and *heldigvis* ‘luckily’ (Tiisala 1990; Kinn 2005), while Malmgren mentions the impossibility of inserting anything between the adjective and NOK.

Kinn (2023 b) argues that [A NOK] disjuncts are adverb phrases. The NOK of disjuncts is an adverbializing head taking adjectival complements, differently from the NOK ‘enough, sufficiently’ of adjectival [A NOK], which is a quantifier that modifies the adjective. It is shown that [A NOK] disjuncts have a number of properties that distinguish them from adjectival [A NOK]. First, NOK is obligatory in disjuncts, while the *nok* of adjectival [A NOK] can be left out. Second, while NOK has a clear meaning of ‘enough, sufficiently’ in adjectival expressions, it is strongly desemantized in disjuncts. Third, adjectival [A NOK] allows several kinds of modification of the adjective or NOK that are not found in disjuncts (domain, consecutive and degree modification). Fourth, adjective coordination is very limited in disjuncts, but not in adjectival [A NOK]. And fifth, while only the adjective typically carries primary stress and is associated with a toneme in adjectival [A NOK], both the adjective and NOK typically do in disjuncts. This fifth property is also evidence that [A NOK] disjuncts consist of two words rather than one, i.e. are phrases rather than words, since in Norwegian, only one syllable per word can normally be associated with primary stress and a toneme.

2.6 Proposed origins of [A NOK] disjuncts

Malmgren (2002) characterizes the emergence of NOK as a sentence-adverbializer as one of the most important changes in the Swedish system

4. Or, in the case of Teleman, Hellberg, and Andersson (1999), alternatively as participle phrases, since participles are treated as a separate word class, e.g. *skrämmande nog* ‘frighteningly (enough)’.

of grammatical words in the 19th and 20th centuries. Malmgren (2020) finds a few examples of [A NOK] disjuncts from the 18th century, and he locates the break-through of the construction in Swedish in the first third of the 19th century. Further, he notes that content- and event-oriented disjuncts seem to be older than participant-oriented disjuncts.

While [A NOK] disjuncts are grammatically distinct from adjectival [A NOK], the former have undoubtedly developed from the latter, apparently since the 18th century. Hence, their origin needs to be sought in a function of adjectival [A NOK] (see Section 2.4). The prenominal attribute is an unlikely candidate. We are then left with two main alternative origins: predicate complements and manner adverbials.

Malmgren's (2002, 2014, 2020) main hypothesis seems to be that Scandinavian [A NOK] disjuncts may have developed under English influence. But he also suggests (Malmgren 2014, 2020) two possible language-internal origins, which he does not pursue further. One is clause-internal, viz. as manner adverbials. In some clauses, [A NOK] is open to interpretation as either manner or sentence adverbial. For instance, Norwegian *Han svarte fornuftig nok* can be interpreted as 'He answered wisely enough (in a wise enough manner)' or as 'Wisely (enough), he answered'. The other possible origin of [A NOK] disjuncts is clause-external, as predicate complements in a preceding (or matrix) clause. Norwegian examples would be *Det er sant nok: Han kunne tale* 'It is true enough: He could speak' and *Det er sant nok at han kunne tale* 'It is true enough that he could speak'. Such structures would then have developed into clauses such as *Sant nok kunne han tale* 'True (enough), he could speak'. Structures of such an origin are known e.g. from Latvian and Russian (Ricca and Ramat 1998: 212–213).

2.7 Grammaticalization and subjectification

As we will see, the historical development leading to [A NOK] disjuncts involves grammaticalization and subjectification. Grammaticalization is "the process whereby lexical items or phrases come through frequent use in certain highly constrained local contexts to be reanalysed as having syntactic and morphological functions, and, once grammaticalised, continue to develop new grammatical functions" (Traugott 1995: 32). When a lexical form is grammaticalized, the original form may remain as a separate lexical element – the principle of divergence. Divergence "results in pairs or multiples of forms having a common etymology, but diverging

functionally” (Hopper 1991: 24). When, in the resulting synchronic state, the variant members of these pairs or multiples belong to different morphosyntactic categories, they are said to be related by heterosemy. This is different from polysemy, where the variants are of the same category (Persson 1988; Lichtenberk 1991).

Subjectification is the process whereby “[m]eanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker’s subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition” (Traugott 1989: 35). Subjectivity here refers to properties of constructions that can be seen as “devices whereby the speaker, in making an utterance, simultaneously comments upon that utterance and expresses his attitude to what he is saying” (Lyons 1977: 739).

Grammaticalization and subjectification are observable as differences between an earlier and a later language stage. The fact that a change has taken place does not in itself tell us how it has come about. Grammaticalization and subjectification, and other changes, are the result of more fundamental mechanisms: reanalysis, analogy (analogy-based extension), and borrowing (cf. Harris and Campbell 1995).

In grammar, reanalysis involves reinterpretation of the formal or semantic structure of a construction. Reanalyses may create new constructions, but are by definition not observable. Their results may become observable when they are followed by actualization, the use of new expressions compatible with the new but not the old structure. In analogy, on the other hand, a constructional slot comes to be filled by a wider range of expressions than before. Analogical changes are by definition observable, but do not introduce new constructions.

3 Data collection

Assuming that [A NOK] disjuncts have developed from adjectival [A NOK], how has the change taken place? We have seen that Malmgren (2002, 2014, 2020) entertains hypotheses both of language-external influence, viz. from English, and of two alternative language-internal origins, viz. in manner adverbials of the same clause or in predicate complements from the preceding or matrix clause. My aim is to shed new light on this matter by providing a stronger empirical basis in historical data.

The data collection was made from the digitized texts of the National Library of Norway (www.nb.no). The procedure was highly time-con-

suming, and it was necessary to focus on a limited set of expressions. I chose seven [A NOK] disjuncts for closer study; the adjectives involved are listed in Table 1. I included adjective/adverb forms in *-e*, *-en*, *-t* and no suffix (see Section 2.4). (No relevant examples with *-e* were found, however.) I did not search for other spellings of the adjective stems than those shown in the table, which may have caused me to miss relevant examples, especially in the older stages.

The selection of adjectives was made on the basis of the frequency of modern expressions as found in Kinn (2023 a), assuming that disjuncts that are common now developed early. No participant-oriented disjuncts are frequent, so I had to choose expressions expected to be rather infrequent also at earlier language stages. Both of the participant-oriented disjuncts studied here may alternatively be event-oriented (see Section 2.2), but the actual examples that I found were not.

Table 1. List of adjectives in search expressions

Spelling		Meaning	Orientation
19 th century			
Danish	Modern Bokmål		
<i>rigtig</i>	<i>riktig</i>	‘correct’	content
<i>sand</i>	<i>sann</i>	‘true’	content
<i>naturlig</i>	<i>naturlig</i>	‘natural’	event
<i>mærkelig</i>	<i>merkelig</i>	‘remarkable, strange’	event
<i>underlig</i>	<i>underlig</i>	‘curious, strange’	event
<i>fornuftig</i>	<i>fornuftig</i>	‘wise, sensible’	participant
<i>taabelig</i>	<i>tåpelig</i>	‘foolish’	participant

The library texts have been digitized using optical character recognition (OCR). The accuracy of the OCR is highly variable, however, which means that not all relevant examples will have been found.

I accessed only hits in books, which may have caused informative examples in other text types to be missed.⁵ Books were chosen because I assumed they would offer more varied text types than newspapers. An

5. The library-wide search for *rigtigt nok*, for instance, yielded hits in 2,134 publications: 902 books, 969 newspapers, and 263 journals.

unplanned but welcome result was the inclusion of theatre plays, with dialogic, oral-like examples.

I started with the oldest hits and worked my way up through more recent texts. I inspected each hit individually, by opening a text shown in the search result and accessing the hit locations in the form of scanned images. Transcripts were made of the hits and enough of their contexts to enable me to analyse their syntactic structures and meanings. Many hits were very similar, and there were many duplicates. I therefore concentrated on recording uses that were not represented among the older examples, i.e. “new”. I stopped when I had found a fair number of examples of the modern types.

4 Findings

I organize the presentation of findings in three Sections corresponding to stages in a development from predicate complements – the origin that seems most likely (see Section 5) of the ones under discussion (see Section 2.6). The stages involve biclausal structures with predicate complements in a copular clause (Section 4.1), fragmentation of the copular clause (Section 4.2), and intraclausal disjuncts in (Section 4.3). The relation to manner adverbials is discussed in Section 4.4.

4.1 *Biclausal structures with predicate complements*

Many old hits are of the type ‘It is A enough that [clause]’. There is a main clause with the (formal?) subject *det* ‘it’, a form of the copula *være* ‘be’, and a finalized subject clause with the subordinator *at* ‘that’.⁶ These complements correspond mostly to content-oriented disjuncts, but some

6. It is common in contemporary grammars (e.g. Faarlund, Lie, and Vannebo 1997: 1014–1020) to analyse *det* ‘it’ as a purely formal (expletive) subject in cases where there is a finalized subject clause (i.e. one that is placed sentence-finally rather than in the typical subject positions in the midfield and prefield). A formal subject has no referent. But in similar cases where *det* refers cataphorically to a following main clause (see (16) and Section 5.2), such an analysis is not available. In the development of [A NOK] disjuncts, cataphoric *det* seems not to distinguish between following subordinate and main clauses, and this indicates that the pronoun is referential (hence not formal) in structures with finalization.

are event-oriented.⁷ NOK does not have a very clear meaning of ‘enough, sufficient’, but the expressions tend to be concessive. Examples are given in (14)–(15). Figure 6 illustrates the topology of such structures.

- (14) Det er **sandt nok**, at hun inclinerer noget til Suspicion (1733, L. Holberg, *Dannemarks Riges Historie*)
 ‘It is **true (enough)** that she is somewhat inclined to suspicion.’
- (15) Han havde endnu sine Lemmer og Sandser i Behold, og det var **underlig nok**, at han havde beholdt det, da de havde syndet imod GUd. (1767, H. Mossin (ed.), *Samling af nyttige og læreriige Historier og Samtaler*)
 ‘He still had his limbs and senses intact, and it was **strange (enough)** that he had kept them, for they had sinned against God.’

Main clause					
Prefield	Midfield	Postfield			
<i>Det</i>	<i>er</i>	<i>sandt nok,</i>	Subordinate clause		
			Conn.field	Midfield	Postfield
			<i>at</i>	<i>hun inclinerer</i>	<i>noget til Suspicion</i>

Figure 6. An [A NOK] predicate complement preceding a ‘that’-clause, cf. Example (14)

Less commonly, what follows [A NOK] is a main clause, as in the diary entry in (16). The structure is here ‘It is A enough: [Main clause]’, and the subject *det* of the first clause refers cataphorically to the content of the second clause. Figure 7 illustrates the topology of such structures.

- (16) Den 24. En god Skindsuppe og intet Andet den Dag. Det er **sandt nok**; det var ogsaa nok, thi der gaaer kun en eneste saadan Suppe paa et Menneskes Liv. (1746, L. Holberg, *Mester Gert Westphaler*)

7. As can be expected, there are no examples of complements corresponding to participant-oriented disjuncts, since the participant is referred to only in the second clause, not in the copular clause.

‘The 24th. A good “skin soup” and nothing else that day. It is **true (enough)**; that was also enough, for only one such soup is sufficient for a man’s life.’⁸

Main clause			Main clause		
Prefield	Midfield	Postfield	Prefield	Midfield	Postfield
<i>Det</i>	<i>er</i>	<i>sandt nok;</i>	<i>det</i>	<i>var</i>	<i>ogsaa nok</i>

Figure 7. An [A NOK] predicate complement preceding a main clause, cf. Example (16)

4.2 Fragmented copular clauses

Structures that can be interpreted as involving copular clauses with omission of the subject *det* and the copula have been found from the middle of the 18th century. In such examples, only [A NOK] is left as a fragment of the former (first) main clause. Here, too, content-oriented expressions dominate, but event-oriented ones are also found (somewhat later). Many examples have the subordinator *at* ‘that’, as in (17)–(18). Figure 8 illustrates such an expression, whose structure is a reduced version of that in Figure 6.

- (17) Med hvad grund kan da det ord *kleinmodighed* forkastes som et tydsk ord? **sandt nok**, at begge de sammensættende ord bruges og i tydsken (1748, P. C. Stenerson, *Critiske betænkninger over Mag. Friderich Christian Eilschows prøve paa en dansk kunstordbog*)
 ‘On what basis, then, can the word *kleinmodighed* be discarded as German? **True (enough)** that both of its compounded words are used also in German ...’
- (18) de fleste Franske, som under denne General holdt Hamborg besat, vare fra Normandiet. **Mærkeligt nok**, at Normannerne paa denne Vis atter skulde nærme sig deres Stammelands Grændser! (1820, R. Nyerup (ed.), *Magazin for Reiseiagttagelser*)

8. The word *Skindsuppe*, literally ‘skin soup’, refers to a broth based on various connective tissue.

‘most French, who besieged Hamburg under this general, came from Normandy. **Strange (enough)** that the Normans in this way again were to approach the borders of their tribal lands!’

Main clause fragment		
Postfield		
<i>sandt nok,</i>	Subordinate clause	
Conn.field	Midfield	Postfield
<i>at</i>	<i>begge de sammensettende ord bruges</i>	<i>og i tysken</i>

Figure 8. A fragment [A NOK] preceding a ‘that’-clause, cf. Example (17)

In other cases, what follows an [A NOK] fragment is a main clause, as in (19)–(20).

- (19) **Sandt nok**: os fattes endnu en Tiid af halvandet hundrede Aar omtrent (1769, G. Schøning, *Afhandling om de Norskes og endeel andre nordiske Folkes Oprindelse*)
 ‘**True (enough)**: A period of about a century and a half is still missing.’
- (20) **Underligt nok**, denne Cousine har min Moder aldrig omtalt (1836, J. S. Wang, *Taterqvinden*)
 ‘**Strange(ly) (enough)**, this (female) cousin, my mother has never mentioned.’

Figure 9 shows the structure of such an expression, which is a reduced version of that in Figure 7. Superficially, however, the structure in Figure

Main clause fragment	Main clause		
Postfield	Prefield	Midfield	Postfield
<i>Underligt nok:</i>	<i>denne Cousine</i>	<i>har min Moder aldrig</i>	<i>omtalt</i>

Figure 9. A fragment [A NOK] preceding a main clause, cf. Example (20)

9 is indistinguishable from monoclausal structures with an extracausal disjunct in front of the prefield. This alternative analysis is shown in Figure 10.

Main clause			
Extrapolation	Prefield	Midfield	Postfield
<i>Underligt nok:</i>	<i>denne Cousine</i>	<i>har min Moder aldrig</i>	<i>omtalt</i>

Figure 10. An [A NOK] disjunct in extrapolation, cf. Example (20)

The structure in Figure 10 has only one clause, but the disjunct is not fully integrated into the clausal topology. This is demonstrated by the additional constituent (the object *denne Cousine*) in front of the finite verb, and V2 syntax only allows one prefield constituent.

4.3 Intraclausal disjuncts

Fully integrated disjuncts are found from the second half of the 18th century. Content-oriented disjuncts are often concessive, but the meaning ‘enough, sufficiently’ is scarcely discernible. Event-oriented disjuncts, on the other hand, have no concessive meaning either; NOK is a mere marker of sentence adverbial function. Examples with [A NOK] in the prefield of main clauses are given in (21)–(22). The structure of such an expression is shown in Figure 11. Note that, differently from Figure 10, the disjunct is here integrated into the clausal topology, filling the prefield in front of the finite verb. Main clauses with [A NOK] in the midfield are illustrated in (23)–(24) and Figure 12.

- (21) **Rigtigt nok** maa man lede her og der, men treffer det dog vel til sidst. (1795, J. G. Meissner, *Bidrag til Menneskekundskab*)
‘Admittedly, one has to search here and there, but one finds it in the end.’
- (22) **Underlig nok** blev han dog ikke fri, men kom paa “Boden” for grovt Tyeri. (1795, H. Albrechtson, *Albrechtsons Visesamling*)
‘Strangely enough, he was not set free but ended in prison for aggravated theft.’

Main clause		
Prefield	Midfield	Postfield
<i>Rigtigt nok</i>	<i>maa man</i>	<i>lede her og der</i>

Figure 11. An [A NOK] disjunct in the prefield, cf. Example (21)

- (23) Sagen bliver ogsaa, **sandt nok**, den samme, enten man siger, Hadad, eller Reson, blev af HERRen mod Slutningen af Salomons Regiering opvagt mod ham (1760, B. Møllmann, *Almindelig historie*)
 ‘The matter is, **admittedly**, the same whether one says that Hadad or Rezon was awakened by the Lord against Solomon towards the end of his rule.’
- (24) efter hans Død blev ham (**underlig nok**) formeret Proses (1786, H. Ussing, *Kirkeforfatningen i de kongelige danske Stater*)
 ‘After his death, **strangely (enough)**, a case was brought against him.’

Main clause		
Prefield	Midfield	Postfield
<i>Efter hans Død</i>	<i>blev ham (underlig nok)</i>	<i>formeret Proses</i>

Figure 12. An [A NOK] disjunct in the midfield of a main clause, cf. Example (24)

Examples with [A NOK] in the midfield of subordinate clauses are given in (25)–(26). The topological structure of such a subordinate clause is shown in Figure 13.

- (25) den ... gaaer fra den saakaldte Hals indtil Basis, hvor den **mærkeligt nok** sidder fast paa og articulerer med en overmaade liden paa Igelkjærets Skal fremragende Knop (1835, M. Sars, *Beskrivelser og Iagttagelser over nogle mærkelige eller nye i Havet ved den bergenske Kyst levende Dyr*)

‘It runs from the so-called neck to the base, where it, **strangely enough**, is attached to and articulates with a very small outgrowth on the sea urchin’s shell.’

- (26) ... var Gienstande, der daglig faldt ham i Øinene, og **naturligt nok** meer og meer bestyrkede hans Fordom og hans Misfornøielse med Verden (1853, J. Ewald, *Johannes Ewalds samtlige Skrifter, vol. 6*)
 ‘... were things that daily caught his eyes and, **naturally enough**, more and more strengthened his prejudice and his discontent with the world.’

Subordinate clause		
Conn.field	Midfield	Postfield
<i>hvor</i>	<i>den mærkeligt nok sidder</i>	<i>fast paa en overmaade liden Knop</i>

Figure 13. An [A NOK] disjunct in the midfield of a subordinate clause, cf. Example (25)

It may be noted from the examples that disjuncts in the midfield are sometimes set off from the context with commas (or parentheses), like insertions, and my impression is that this is more common in the historical data than in the modern language. This may reflect that the disjuncts were still felt as insertions rather than fully integrated in conventional syntax.

As we have seen, [A NOK] with a clear status as an integrated disjunct can be found in the second half of the 18th century. But they seem to have become common only in the 19th century, and structures with [A NOK] in extraposition remained common for a long time (and still exist).

In my materials, the adverbial suffix *-en* occurs only three times in disjuncts (more often in other adverbials). The oldest and youngest attested disjuncts are given in (27)–(28).

- (27) Landet blev **rigtigen nok** indtaget: Men da man vilde deele det, gjorde Ferdinand saa længe Disputer med Ludvig om Deelingen ... (1774, A. Schytte, *Staternes udvortes Regiering*)

‘The country was, **admittedly**, occupied. But when one wanted to divide it, Ferdinand quarreled so long with Louis about the division ...’

- (28) Selv Erasmus ... yttre sig i sit Skrift: den evangeliske Prædikant – **mærkeligen nok** saalunde: ... (1840, B. S. Steger, *De protestantiske Missioner og deres velsignede Virksomhed*)
 ‘Even Erasmus, **strangely enough**, expresses himself thus in his writing *The evangelical preacher*: ...’

Participant-oriented disjuncts are attested in my materials only from the 1840s and onwards, illustrated in (29)–(31).

- (29) Fra denne Synodes Dom appellerede Priscillian **taabeligt nok** til Maximus (1842, H. E. F. Guerike, *Haandbog i Kirkehistorien*)
 ‘From the verdict of this synod, Priscillian **foolishly enough** appealed to Maximus.’
- (30) **Fornuftigt nok** frygtede han for at lade den nærmeste mandlige Arving til sin Throne ægte Datteren af en Undersaat, der havde givet ham Kronen (1843, E. B. Lytton, *Den sidste Lehnsberre*)
 ‘**Wisely enough**, he shrank from letting the closest male heir to his throne marry the daughter of a subject who had given him the crown.’
- (31) utilbørlig Iver for det, som han **taabeligt nok** har innbildt sig at være i Deres Majestæts Interesse (1844, NN, *Morianen, eller det Holsten-Gottorpiske hus i Sverrig, vol. 11*)
 ‘inappropriate zeal for that which he has **foolishly enough** imagined to be in the interest of Your Majesty’

4.4 *The relation to manner adverbials*

I have found some examples where interpretations of [A NOK] as either disjunct or manner (but not both simultaneously) seem possible, as in (32):

- (32) Deres Maade paa Guld-Custen at holde sig lystige paa, haver oft-bemælte Dapper **rigtig nok** beskrevet, saa vel som og deres Instrumenter (1754, J. Rask, *En kort og sandferdig Rejsebeskrivelse til og fra Guinea*)

‘The manner in which they amuse themselves on the Gold Coast, the frequently mentioned Dapper has described **correctly enough** (has **admittedly** described), as well as their instruments.’

The only examples that I read as possibly vague between disjunct and manner interpretation are the ones given in (33)–(34), both with *underlig nok* ‘strangely’ and the verb for ‘call, name’: ‘named in a strange way’ (manner adverbial) or ‘it is strange that it is named ...’ (event-oriented disjunct). It should be noted that they are almost a century younger than the oldest event-oriented disjuncts.

- (33) Vestfos-Elven, som den **underlig nok** kaldes, forbinder begge. (1837, M. Hansen, *Samlede Noveller*)
 ‘Vestfoss River, as it, **strangely enough**, is called, connects the two (landscapes).’
- (34) Nâgapâmbou (Nâgaslangen), som Tamulerne, **underlig nok**, ogsaa kalde Nattapâmbou (den gode Slange), er den skrækkelige Cobra di capello. (1844, M. E. Jacquet (ed.), *Appendix til 3 ½ Aar til Orlogs*)
 ‘Nâgapâmbou (the Nâga snake), which the Tamils, **strangely enough**, also call Nattapâmbou (the good snake), is the terrifying cobra di capello.’

5 Discussion and analyses

Section 5.1 discusses possible influence from West Germanic on Scandinavian languages. In Section 5.2, I analyse content- and event-oriented disjuncts as developed from predicate complements, while Section 5.3 discusses the origin of participant-oriented disjuncts. Finally, Section 5.4 analyses the development from adjectival [A NOK] to [A NOK] disjuncts in terms of subjectification and grammaticalization.

5.1 Influence from other Germanic languages?

As mentioned, [A NOK] disjuncts are common to Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish. Corresponding constructions are also found in Faroese and Icelandic and in the West Germanic languages Dutch, English, and – to

a very limited extent (see below) – German.⁹ Examples are given in (35)–(41). In the Faroese and Icelandic constructions, it is clear that *nokk* has been borrowed from Danish *nok*.¹⁰ I will briefly discuss the possibility of influence from West Germanic languages on Scandinavian.

- (35) **Ulykkeligt nok** undergraver pressen sin egen rolle som den fjerde statsmagt med den prioritering. (Danish; www.etik.dk)
 ‘**Sadly enough**, the press is undermining its own role as the fourth branch of government with that prioritization.’
- (36) **Tråkigt nog** sticker verkligheten snabbt upp sitt fula tryne. (Swedish; timbro.se)
 ‘**Sadly enough**, reality quickly rears its ugly head.’
- (37) **Tíðin gongur løgið nokk** ótrúliga skjótt. (Faroese; hvat.fo)
 ‘Time, **strangely enough**, passes incredibly quickly.’
- (38) **Undarlegt nokk** finnst ekki stafur um fyrirbærið hérlandis. (Icelandic; fararheill.is)
 ‘**Strangely enough**, there is no record of the phenomenon in this country.’
- (39) **Interessant genoeg** hebben niet alleen mensen hier last van (Dutch; www.schamper.ugent.be)
 ‘**Interestingly enough**, not only humans suffer because of this.’
- (40) **Strangely enough**, no one has ever done this (en-forum.guildwars2.com)
- (41) **Merkwürdig genug** habe ich sogar in der Angabe über den Anfang des peloponnesischen Krieges eine gefälschte Zahl entdeckt (German; books.google.no: 1867, K. W. Krüger, *Kritische Analecten*)
 ‘**Strangely enough**, I have found a falsified number even in the information about the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.’

The status of NOK is more conventionalized in Scandinavian than in West Germanic. For instance, the use of *enough* is not obligatory in English disjuncts and is sometimes disfavoured or ungrammatical. Ramat and Ricca (1998: 210) write: “In Danish, the modifier construction with *nok*

9. Also in Afrikaans, which cannot have had any influence on Scandinavian.

10. Non-borrowed words are *nóg* (Faroese) and *nógu* (Icelandic), which are used in expressions corresponding to Mainland Scandinavian adjectival [A NOK].

is possibly on the way to grammaticalization [...], its exact Dutch counterpart *genoeg* much less so and still less so English *enough* [...].”

Some influence from Dutch on Scandinavian cannot be ruled out, since there was extensive contact especially through trade in the period from about 1550 to about 1750 (Løyland 2012). But the development of Scandinavian [A NOK] disjuncts appears to have taken place mostly after that period, which indicates that Dutch has probably not been central.

I have not found any mention of German disjuncts with *genug* in the linguistic literature. The normal construction used especially as event- and participant-oriented disjuncts is adverbs of the form [A-*erweise*] (see Paraschkewoff 1976), as in (42).¹¹

- (42) **Merkwürdigerweise** habe ich von der Serie noch nie etwas gelesen bzw. gehört ... (www.krimi-couch.de)
 ‘**Strangely**, I’ve never read or heard anything about the series ...’

Internet searches for [A *genug*] yield very modest numbers of disjunct hits. They tend to be old, as in (41), and translations from English and Scandinavian languages seem to account for a notable share. More common in modern German, however, is the construction with a clause fragment in the form of a predicate complement, corresponding to the historical Scandinavian stage documented in Section 4.2. This is illustrated in (43).

- (43) **Seltsam genug**, dass diese Idylle touristisch bis heute fast unentdeckt geblieben ist. (programm.ard.de)
 ‘**Strange (enough)**, that this idyll has remained almost undiscovered as a tourist goal until today.’

The relation between [A *genug*] and [A-*erweise*] cannot be pursued any further here. But given that [A *genug*] disjuncts are so uncommon, it seems doubtful that German has contributed much to the development of Scandinavian [A NOK] disjuncts.

Malmgren (2014) discusses the possibility that Swedish [A NOK] disjuncts may have been developed as a result of influence from English [A-

11. In *A-erweise*, *-er-* originates in the adjectival suffix for the strong feminine genitive, and *-weise* corresponds to Mainland Scandinavian *-vis* (see Kinn 2007), originating in *Weise* and *vis* ‘manner’.

ly enough]. Such an origin would, presumably, apply equally to Danish and Norwegian. I doubt, however, that English has played a significant role. First, as Malmgren admits, the influence of English on Scandinavian in the relevant period (the 18th to early 19th century) was fairly limited. Second, as noted by Ramat and Ricca (1998), Danish [A NOK] disjuncts are more strongly grammaticalized than English [A-*ly enough*]. Third, Swan (1988, 1991) argues that English [A-*ly enough*] disjuncts have developed from manner adverbials within the clause. If, as I argue in Sections 5.2–5.3, Scandinavian [A NOK] disjuncts have their origins in predicate complements of the preceding or matrix clause, this would indicate that Scandinavian has followed a different path from English. In sum, a primarily English origin for the Scandinavian disjuncts seems unlikely.

5.2 *The origin of content- and event-oriented disjuncts*

It seems to be clear from my materials (see Section 4) that predicate complements of a preceding or matrix clause are a major origin of [A NOK] content- and event-oriented disjuncts. In this Section, I analyse the processes that have been involved in this development. I discuss how the adjective had its argument changed from the subject of the first clause to the whole second clause, and how the “migration” of [A NOK] into the second clause is motivated.

In a development from predicate complement, the first observable change is the loss of the subject and finite verb of the copular clause, with [A NOK] the only remaining part. This is illustrated for structures with subordination in Figure 14, ‘(It is) True enough that ...’.

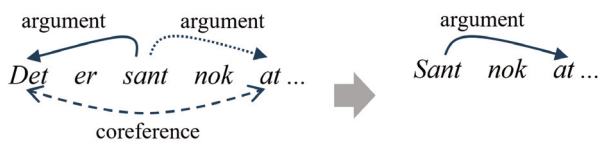


Figure 14. The changing connections of the adjective

In the original construction, the adjective takes the subject pronoun *det* (‘it’) as its argument. The pronoun refers cataphorically to the content of the second clause. Therefore, the adjective indirectly takes that clause as its argument via coreference. This is a semantically redundant struc-

ture, so when the subject pronoun and the copula are omitted, little meaning is lost.

This may be understood as a reanalysis. The secondary, indirect relation between adjective and second clause comes to be interpreted as primary. In the new structure, there is no copula opening a slot for a complement [A NOK], which has instead come to resemble an adverbial constituent. Initially, it must have been interpreted as a fragment, as illustrated in Figure 9 above. However, such expressions are formally indistinguishable from structures where a sentence adverbial is left-extraposited, as shown in Figure 10. Through another reanalysis, the expressions in question come to be interpreted as disjuncts.

The reanalysis is not in itself observable. But when [A NOK] is interpreted as an extraposed disjunct, analogical thinking may indicate that it should also be able to appear in clause-internal positions that are typical of such constituents. As seen in Section 2.2, these are the midfield of both main and subordinate clauses and the prefield of main clauses. The structures in Figures 11–13 illustrate such expressions.

5.3 *The origin of participant-oriented disjuncts*

As discussed in Section 5.2, there is evidence that content- and event-oriented disjuncts originate in predicate complements. However, my materials contain no such evidence for participant-oriented disjuncts. Differently from other disjuncts, participant-oriented disjuncts are typically connected to the actions of subject referents. In this, they resemble manner adverbials. Therefore, a possible origin in manner adverbials needs to be addressed.

The scarcity of examples of disjuncts that are clearly adverbially marked with *-en* (see Section 4.3) seems to indicate that such forms did not play a central role in the development of [A NOK] disjuncts. Further, as noted in Section 4.4, I have found very few examples where [A NOK] – with *-t* or no suffix – is vague between a disjunct and a manner reading.

If they are not placed in the prefield, disjuncts are typically found in the midfield, before nonfinite verbs and objects (see Section 2.3), while manner adverbials are usually found in the postfield after such constituents. However, in the absence of nonfinite verbs and objects, a structural ambiguity sometimes arises: The [A NOK] constituent may be interpreted as a manner adverbial or as a disjunct. This possibility is illustrated by (44):

- (44) “Aa nei, det er da ikke almindeligt, at vor Samvittighed beskylder os for grove Overtrædelser af Landets Love”, sagde Kees **fornuftigt nok**. (1890, M. Maartens, *Joost Avelingh’s Forbrydelse*)
 “‘Oh no, it is not common for our conscience to accuse us of gross violations of the nation’s laws”, said Kees **wisely (in a wise manner)**.’ or ‘... Kees, **wisely enough**, said.’

The structural ambiguity is illustrated in Figure 15. It cannot be excluded that such ambiguity may have paved the way for reanalysis, where a manner adverbial could alternatively be interpreted as a disjunct. But such ambiguity is very infrequent in my diachronic materials as well as the modern materials on which Kinn (2023 a) is based, and it seems unlikely that it has been central for the development of participant-oriented disjuncts.

Main clause		
Prefield	Midfield	Postfield
[Det]	sagde Kees	<i>fornuftigt nok.</i>
[Det]	sagde Kees <i>fornuftigt nok.</i>	

Figure 15. Ambiguity between an [A NOK] manner adverbial and a disjunct, cf. Example (44)

A different possibility is that participant-oriented disjuncts developed in analogy with pre-existing event-oriented disjuncts. Event-oriented disjuncts evaluate the described state of affairs, while participant-oriented disjuncts evaluate the subject referent based on the state of affairs, i.e. the subject referent’s actions. But expressions that are typically participant-oriented may also be event-oriented, as illustrated in (6)–(7) in Section 2.2.

Extension from event orientation to participant orientation can be regarded as metonymy-based: The characterization of events, notably actions, is transferred to agents – a metonymy from whole to part. While I have not found evidence of such vacillation in my diachronic materials, there are a number of examples in the modern materials on which Kinn (2023 a) is based. Thus, analogy-based extension from event-oriented disjuncts appears to be a likely origin of participant-oriented disjuncts.

5.4 *Subjectification and grammaticalization*

The original meaning ‘enough, sufficient(ly)’ (still found in the constructions shown in (9)–(12) above and those listed in Footnote 3) is frequently used in concessive contexts. Concessivity is evident in several of the early expressions seen in examples above, and content-oriented disjuncts such as *riktignok* ‘admittedly’ are still concessive. Concessives are commonly found in dialogue, when one speaker concedes, partly, to what another claims. Example (45) shows a case of discussion of a common belief, where the author admits that the belief is partly correct, but then goes on to tell why it is mostly incorrect.

- (45) Man feiler almindelig derudi, at man troer, at Bierne ... ved haard Frost lettelig skulde kunde fryse ihiel. Det er **rigtigt nok**, at en eeneste Bie eller faa Bier samlede taale kun megen liden Kulde ..., **men** derimod naar de ere samlede i deres Kube ..., holde de en temmelig sterk Kulde ud (1772, E. Fleischer, *Udførlig Afhandling om Bier*)
 ‘One is commonly mistaken in believing that bees can easily freeze to death in harsh cold. It is **true enough** that one single bee or a few bees together tolerate only very little cold, **but**, on the contrary, when they are gathered in their hive, they can tolerate fairly low temperatures.’

While *rigtigt nok* is a predicate complement in (45), it is a disjunct in (46). Here, the story-teller first admits that he sees reasons not to appreciate the hall, but then concludes that the overall impression is positive.

- (46) Aulaen ... er **rigtigt nok** overlæsset med Stukatur ... og frembyder høist middelmådige brogede Freskoer og plastiskt fordreiede Gestalter, **men** man kan dog ikke nægte, at den i det Hele betragtet, gjør et høitideligt Indtryk. (1844, H. Steffens, *Hvad jeg oplevede*)
 ‘The hall, **admittedly**, is overloaded with stucco and offers quite mediocre multi-coloured frescos and plastically distorted figures, **but** one still cannot deny that it does, on the whole, make a solemn impression.’

We see, then, that concessivity is present in discussions with opponents (present, referred to, or imagined) and with oneself. The meaning

‘enough, sufficiently’ is evidently related to concessivity. When NOK modifies an adjective, what is said is that the degree of the adjectival property suffices for some purpose, but it is also implied that the degree could have been higher: ‘sufficiently A, but not maximally A’. When the adjective takes a clause as its argument (indirectly in the case of predicate complements), the speaker admits that there is a sufficient basis for characterizing the proposition of the clause in that way, while still implying that the characterization does not fit perfectly.

Using NOK in predicate complements, the speaker presents the sufficient degree as part of objective meaning. But it would seem that the complex evaluation that is implied by its use, in combination with its affinity for dialogic contexts, has made it a good candidate for expressing overtly subjective meaning: ‘yes, I concede that it is sufficiently A, but in my view ...’. That is, at any rate, the result of the developments documented in Section 4. This means that both NOK and the adjectives of [A NOK] disjuncts have been subjectified (see Section 2.7).

Used as a predicate complement, [A NOK] is an adjective phrase. Its head is the adjective, and the adjective is modified by the quantifier NOK. This structure, shown to the left in Figure 16, is also found in prenominal modifiers and manner adverbials. As noted in Section 2.5, Kinn (2023 b) argues that [A NOK] disjuncts are no longer adjective phrases, but (sentence) adverb phrases. The head is NOK, an adverb taking an adjectival complement. This is shown in Figure 16. Given these analyses of [A NOK] before and after the change, there has been a reanalysis of the formal structure of [A NOK] in disjuncts.

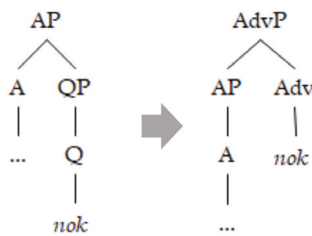


Figure 16. Reanalysis from adjective phrase to adverb phrase

One result of these developments is that NOK has been grammaticalized. NOK ‘enough, sufficient(ly)’ is a fairly lexical quantifier in phrases headed by a gradable word (adjective, quantifier, adverb). The NOK of disjuncts

is an adverbializing morpheme allowing a wide range of adjectives to function as sentence adverbials. Its meaning amounts to little more than this recategorizing and subjectifying function.

Contributions by Heggelund (1981) and Malmgren (2002, 2014, 2020) assume that NOK has (almost) become a derivational suffix and that [A NOK] is one word, i.e. has undergone univerbation. Kinn (2023 b) argues that NOK should still be regarded as a separate word. Univerbation would have been an additional formal indication of grammaticalization. But the meaning is the same irrespective of the status of NOK as a word or a suffix.

The development that I have sketched involves divergence: The adverbializer NOK has split off from the quantifier NOK, which has also given rise to the discourse particle NOK (see Footnote 3). The result is a heterosemous expression whose etymology is found in a quantifier, but with two variants belonging to other morphosyntactic categories.

A possible objection to the analysis illustrated in Figure 16 concerns specifically adverbially-marked disjuncts – of two kinds. The first kind is disjuncts with the adverbial suffix *-en*. These are very infrequent in my materials, however, and may be antedated by suffixless forms and forms with *-t*, i.e. not central in the development of disjuncts. The temporal relations need more research to be clarified.

The second kind is disjuncts without *-t* suffixed to the adjective. As described in Section 2.4, such forms were more common in adverbial uses than in neuter-agreeing contexts. Danish still has some remnants of *t*-less forms that are specifically adverbial, especially with stems with the derivational suffixes *-ig* and *-lig*.

Is the occurrence of disjuncts without the *-t* in Danish/Dano-Norwegian evidence that the head of the original structure in Figure 16 was an adverb rather than an adjective? This may be more a question of theoretical approach than of empirical evidence. In Norwegian, the presence or absence of *-t* depends on the inflectional class of the adjective and not on adverbial vs. neuter-agreeing use. When the neuter form is employed for adverbial functions, it can be regarded as a default form of the adjective used in the absence of a conflicting agreement trigger (see Section 2.4).

As noted in Section 2.4, forms in *-t* have gradually, but not fully, replaced suffixless forms on bases in *-lig* and *-ig* in adverbial functions in Danish, too. This should be seen in the light of the probably most central difference between inflection and derivation, viz. syntactic determina-

tion, cf. Stump (1998: 15): “A lexeme’s syntactic context may require that it be realized by a particular word in its paradigm, but never requires that the lexeme itself belong to a particular class of derivatives.” If the *t*-less forms in adverbial use are understood as deadjectival adverbs, they represent conversion (zero derivation). According to syntactic determination, the syntactic context would not be expected to require a derivational suffix. In other words, the motivation for extending *t*-suffixation to new groups of adverbs, ousting conversion, would not be strong, although such analogy cannot be ruled out.

If, on the other hand, language users understand adjectivally based adverbials to be inflectional forms of adjectives, syntactic determination comes into play. If *t*-forms in other adjective classes are understood as the same across adverbial and neuter-agreeing functions, one would expect there to be a stronger basis for analogical extension to new inflectional classes of adjectives. Thus, the spread of *t*-forms into adverbial functions is, in my view, an indication that the adjective-based forms in such functions should be regarded as inflectional forms of adjectives.

6 Conclusion

Norwegian and the other Mainland Scandinavian languages have, since the 18th century, developed a new and productive sentence-adverbial construction. These sentence adverbials are adverb phrases headed by *nok* (in Norwegian and Danish) or *nog* (in Swedish). The adverb takes as its complement an adjective in the positive indefinite singular neuter form. The adverbials belong to three semantic categories of disjuncts: content-oriented (e.g. *sant nok* ‘true (enough)’), event-oriented (e.g. *merkelig nok* ‘strangely (enough)’), and participant-oriented (e.g. *tåpelig nok* ‘foolishly (enough)’).

In the present study, empirical historical evidence has been adduced which suggests that content- and event-oriented disjuncts arose in the 18th century from predicate complements of a preceding (often matrix) clause. Participant-oriented disjuncts appear to have developed in analogy with event-oriented ones, beginning only in the 19th century. A proposed clause-internal origin in manner adverbials finds little support but cannot be fully ruled out. While similar disjuncts exist in West Germanic languages, the developments in the Scandinavian languages appear to have

been primarily language-internal. These diachronic changes have caused *nok/nog* to be grammaticalized from quantifier to adverbializer, and this adverb has been subjectified along with its adjectival complements.

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Samandrag

Tidlegare forskning har funne at norsk har éin produktiv konstruksjon som dannar setningsadverbial, nemleg uttrykk som *underlig nok*. Dei er oppbygde av eit adjektiv i positiv ubestemt eintal inkjekjønn og ordet *nok*. Forsking på svensk tyder på at slike setningsadverbial begynte å bli brukte seint på 1700-talet, og det har komme forslag om ulike slags historiske opphav. Denne artikkelen presenterer ei undersøking av danske og dansk-norske tekstar frå 1700- og 1800-talet. Målet er å avdekkje opphavet til konstruksjonen. Det blir presentert evidens for at uttrykka hovudsakleg er utvikla frå subjektspredikativ i ei føregåande setning. Dei historiske utviklingane inneber både grammatikalisering og subjektivering.

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