

Studies in Övdalian Morphology and Syntax

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Studies in Övdalian Morphology and Syntax. New research on a lesser-known Scandinavian language

Edited by Kristine Bentzen, Henrik Rosenkvist and Janne Bondi Johannessen

Studies in Övdalian Morphology and Syntax

New research on a lesser-known
Scandinavian language

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Introduction

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Johannessen

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University of Gothenburg/University of Oslo

1. This book – background

Övdalian is a Scandinavian language that has numerous interesting syntactic and morphosyntactic features, some of them unique for a Germanic language. Even so, relatively few studies exist on this variety, and even fewer that focus on syntax and morphosyntax, which is why we have chosen to assemble this volume.

In spite of the Junggrammarians' great interest for dialects, dialect syntax was virtually ignored during 19th century research on Scandinavian dialects. Furthermore, syntax has not been in focus for dialectologists since, and hence dialect syntax has been a neglected research field. For instance, in a relatively recent book about Scandinavian dialectology (Akselberg et al. 2003), there is only one article (out of 32) about syntax; the gist of that article is furthermore that there is an urgent need for more dialectal syntactic studies (Eklund 2003). However, the development of syntactic theories during the last decades has provided suitable tools for micro-comparative syntactic studies, and all over Europe dialect syntax has become a hot topic. The northern Italian dialects have, for example, been investigated in the ASIS-project, and the Dutch dialects in the SAND-project. Since 2005, research groups from all of the Scandinavian countries have been working together in the network Scandinavian Dialect Syntax (ScanDiaSyn) and the Nordic Centre of Excellence in Microcomparative Syntax (NORMS) in order to investigate the syntactic features of the Scandinavian dialects and vernaculars, to create an online database, and to encourage further research in this field.¹ Several workshops for dialect data collection have been organized across the Nordic countries, including a couple of field trips to Älvdalen.

In 2009 ScanDiaSyn's Grand Meeting was held in Älvdalen. Some of the papers from that meeting have resulted in this volume, which we hope will lead to an

1. URL: <<http://uit.no/scandiasyn/scandiasyn/>>

increased awareness of the unique properties of Övdalian amongst linguists in Scandinavia and internationally.

This introductory chapter is structured as follows. Section 2 gives an overview of the linguistic and geographical setting of Övdalian, starting with a short description of the Scandinavian language family, followed by the position of Övdalian within this family, and a list of the most important previous studies focussing on morphosyntax and syntax. This section also describes the status of the language today, and finally provides some information about what empirical material can be found on the language. Section 3 discusses the name of the language, a topic that is crucial, since several names have been used in recent discussions of the language in an international context. Section 4 provides a short description of each of the papers in this volume, and our acknowledgements are stated in Section 5.

2. The linguistic and geographical setting of Övdalian

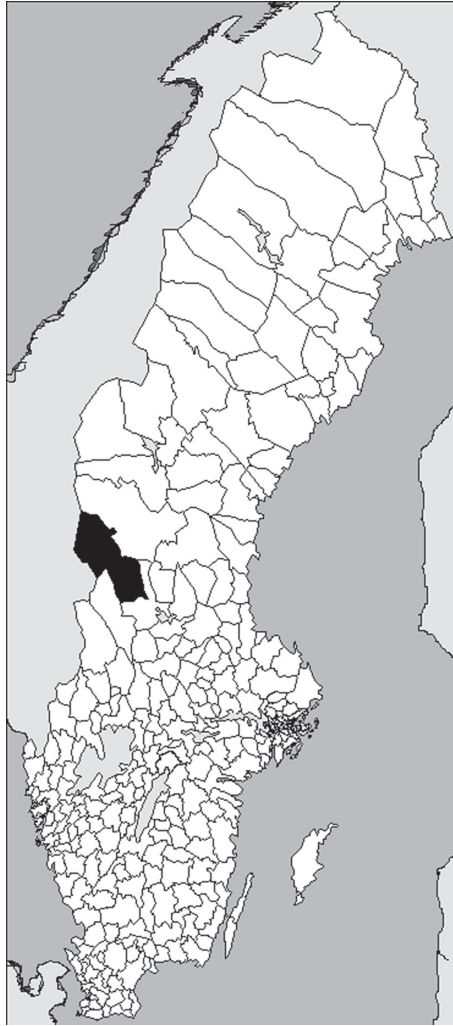
2.1 The Scandinavian languages

The Scandinavian, or Nordic or North Germanic, languages branched off from Old Germanic in the early Middle Ages. The standard Scandinavian languages are Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish. Traditionally (see Wessén 1992), the languages are divided into the Western Scandinavian languages (Faroese, Icelandic, and Norwegian) and the Eastern Scandinavian languages (Danish and Swedish), a division based on phonological and morphological differences that emerged during the Viking Age (800 – 1100). Övdalian is an Eastern Scandinavian variety. Scandinavia has not been exposed to substantial migration; the languages and dialects have developed relatively undisturbed. The Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish language varieties form a linguistic continuum, from northern Norway to southern Denmark, and from western Norway to eastern Finland.

2.2 Övdalian²

At least since the Middle Ages, Övdalian has been spoken in the parish of Älvdalen in the province of Dalecarlia in western Sweden, see Map 1. The map shows the whole municipality of Älvdalen, but Övdalian is only spoken in the southeastern part.

2. We are grateful to Piotr Garbacz, who let us use parts of his dissertation (Garbacz 2010) for this section.



Map 1. The municipality of Älvdalen, in western Sweden. (<http://commons.wikimedia.org>)

2.2.1 *The language and the most important previous studies*

Övdalian has its roots in the Dalecarlian dialects and has traditionally been seen as a Swedish dialect (Garbacz 2010: 27), but it is mutually incomprehensible among its closest standard relatives: Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish. There are differences between Övdalian, Mainland Scandinavian, and the other Dalecarlian dialects on every linguistic level: phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary. Having applied the Swadesh test to Övdalian, Swedish, and Icelandic, Dahl (2005: 10) claims that Övdalian is approximately as distant from spoken

standard Swedish as Swedish is from spoken Icelandic. It is therefore debatable whether it should be regarded as a dialect of Swedish or a separate language. Steensland (1986, 1990), Berglund (2001), Koch (2006), Melerska (2006), Dahl (2008), Rosenkvist (2010), and Garbacz (2010) all argue that Övdalian must be regarded as a separate language. Övdalian does not, however, at present have the status as a minority language in Sweden.

Övdalian is an understudied Scandinavian language, but some works can be mentioned. Modern research on this language begins with the works of Adolf Noreen, especially Noreen (1883). The seminal work on Övdalian is Lars Levander's doctoral thesis (Levander 1909), but also Levander (1925) and (1928) constitute important contributions. Some recent general surveys on Övdalian are Steensland (2000a), Dahl (2005, 2010), and Sapir (2005a,b). Björklund (1956) is a published doctoral dissertation on the development of Övdalian (mostly dealing with phonology and morphology). There are also more specialized studies, of which the most important ones on morphology and syntax are: Levander (1909), Åkerberg (1957), Nyström (1982, 2000), Rosenkvist (1994, 2006, 2007, 2010, 2011), Platzack (1996), Wiklund (2002), Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2006), Garbacz (2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2010), Ringmar (2005), Tungseth (2007), and Åkerberg (2012).

2.2.2 *The status of the language today*

Today, the number of people speaking Övdalian has been calculated to be 2400 (Larsson et al. 2008). The Modern Övdalian language spoken today displays more variation between generations and between individuals within the same generation than Övdalian did at the beginning of the 20th century. Sapir (2005a: 3), describing the present-day situation of Övdalian, talks about the “dissolution of Elfdalian”.³

In the past few years, serious attempts have been made to standardize Övdalian. In 1984 an association for the preservation of Övdalian was established under the name *Ulum Dalska* ‘shall.1.PL.IND./IMP speak-Övdalian.INF’ (i.e. ‘We shall speak Övdalian/Let us speak Övdalian’). Its activities include the organization of conferences, the publication of books and a bi-annual newspaper in Övdalian. The standardization of Övdalian has also resulted in the first Övdalian–Swedish/Swedish–Övdalian dictionaries, from the first edition in 1986 (Steensland 1986b) to the most recent and extensive one (Steensland 2010), containing about 16 000 words. In 2004, the Övdalian language council, *Rådödjärum*, was established, and in 2005, it proposed a new orthography for Övdalian. Language courses in Övdalian have also been organized, both for speakers of Övdalian and for ‘foreigners’.

3. Sapir's term for Övdalian is *Elfdalian*.

The recent extensive grammar of Övdalian (Åkerberg 2012) provides a detailed description of the lexical categories and inflectional patterns of Övdalian as it was spoken some decades ago, including numerous examples.

2.2.3 *Övdalian texts and recordings*

The oldest known text from Älvdalen is a runic inscription found on a wooden bowl dating from 1596 (Björklund 1974). The inscription is written in Older Modern Swedish, but with two Övdalian forms (Björklund 1974: 44). Another well-known early runic inscription, from the beginning of the 17th century, is the so-called *Härjedalsstolen* (cf. Gustavson and Hallonqvist 1985 for an overview of runic inscriptions in Dalecarlia). The oldest known text of any length written in Övdalian dates from the beginning of the 17th century and is an 870 word passage in a historical drama (Prytz 1622), in which Övdalian is used to render the conversation between farmers in Upper Dalarna and the future Swedish king Gustav Vasa. According to Noreen (1883: 74), the passage provides an adequate picture of the 17th century spoken Övdalian. There are also recordings of Övdalian from the 20th century in the archives of the Swedish Institute for Language and Folklore, and in the assembly hall for the *Elfdalens Hembygdsförening* (Älvdalen home district association). During a dialect workshop in 2008, many recordings were made that are now available at the Text Laboratory, University of Oslo (see Garbacz and Johannessen, this volume).

3. Naming the language

In Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2006) the language is called *Elfdalian* (cf. also the name of the conference series “Conference on Elfdalian”). This is the term that at present seems to be most common both in the linguistic literature and in popular English accounts of Övdalian. However, we have chosen to use Övdalian, in line with the researchers within the ScanDiaSyn project. There are two reasons for this choice (cf. the discussion in Rosenkvist 2010).

First, we find that the English term *Elfdalian* is inappropriate, since it evokes undesired connotations to fantasy literature, and especially to the Elvish language of the elves in the fictional world created by J.R.R. Tolkien. On the web, statements such as “Elfdalian sounds like something out of *Lord of the Rings*” (*The virtual linguist* 2008) are not uncommon, and native speakers of English have confirmed to us that this is a vivid and salient aspect of the name *Elfdalian*. For any language, a name that raises unwanted associations is undesirable, and considering that the speakers of Övdalian are struggling to get their language recognized as a minority language, we find *Elfdalian* to be particularly unfortunate.

The name *Elfdalian* is furthermore calqued on the Swedish name of the language (*älvdalska*), *älv* meaning 'river', *dal* 'valley' and *-ska*, a common suffix in language names. *Elfdalian* is hence an exonym, and as such misleading; *älv/elf* is not related to *elves*. The speakers of Övdalian use *Övkallmål*, *Övdalsk* or *Dalska*, and there is no reason not to create the English name from this starting point. Indeed, since the survival of Övdalian is threatened by the influence from Swedish, an endonym such as Övdalian is really preferable also from a sociolinguistic perspective.

4. The contents of this volume

Below we present briefly each of the papers in this book. Some of them focus on the development of Övdalian and its present linguistic status, while others have studied particular phenomena of Övdalian and put them in a context of recent hypotheses on grammar, such as the relationship between some types of word-order and morphology, and the characteristics of the *wh*-word *ukin*. Yet other papers present features of Övdalian that are either rare in a North Germanic context and/or worthy of further studies, such as double subjects and vocative case.

Piotr Garbacz and **Janne Bondi Johannessen** present the general morphology and syntax of Övdalian, focussing on two categories of grammatical features: those that Övdalian surprisingly shares with Insular Scandinavian, but not with the other Mainland Scandinavian languages, and those that constitute Övdalian innovations. In their study they compare Classical and Traditional Övdalian with Modern Övdalian, utilizing a newly developed corpus of Övdalian speech, now part of Nordic Dialect Corpus (Johannessen et al. 2009), which contains dialogues in Övdalian recorded in 2008. They find that many of the morphological and syntactic features of older Övdalian have been lost, although the verbal inflectional system seems quite robust. However, they find that the syntactic innovations in Övdalian are still alive. These include referential null subjects, subject doubling, negative concord, and lack of object shift.

Ásgrímur Angantýsson reports on an investigation concerning word order in embedded clauses in current Övdalian, relating to the ongoing discussion about embedded V2-word order (including embedded topicalization) in Scandinavian. Considering that finite verbs in Övdalian are inflected for person in the plural (with three distinct forms), the Rich Agreement Hypothesis (RAH) predicts that V-to-I movement should be obligatory, and that stylistic fronting and transitive expletives should be possible, *inter alia*. However, none of these predictions are fulfilled. Angantýsson concludes that there is no correlation between inflectional patterns and the investigated syntactic constructions in Övdalian.

Piotr Garbacz investigates the status of V-to-I verb movement in Övdalian non-V2 contexts. He shows that although this verb movement was obligatory in Classical Övdalian, it has since become optional, and even dispreferred in Traditional Övdalian. Interestingly, however, the inflectional morphology of verbs has not changed, and is still rich in Traditional Övdalian. This therefore poses a challenge to the traditional correlation between verbal morphology and V-to-I movement. According to Garbacz, the change in V-to-I movement is the result of a syntactic reanalysis of the nature of verb movement due to a high placement of negation in embedded clauses.

Henrik Rosenkvist studies Övdalian subject doubling, and discusses the syntactic and semantic properties in detail, comparing the construction with Swedish subject doubling and subject doubling in Dutch dialects. In comparison with Swedish, more types of subjects (including expletive subjects) can be doubled in the Övdalian construction, and it also seems to have another pragmatic function. Concluding that Övdalian subject doubling is a construction that expresses polarity focus (and finding parallels in several unrelated languages), he argues that the doubling element is the syntactic realization of a head of a polarity phrase.

Øystein Vangsnes investigates the syntax of the Övdalian *wh*-word *ukin* in correlation with its (North) Germanic (and especially Swedish) cognates and functional correspondents. Vangsnes argues that *ukin* has a much wider range of uses compared to its cognates and has as many as seven different *wh*-related functions. Within a nanosyntactic framework, it is shown that for a polyfunctional *wh*-word like *ukin*, there is syncretism within the system (not homonymy), and isomorphy only holds across adjacent functions.

Lars Steensland argues that Övdalian, surprisingly, has vocative case. Although the traditional four-case system is not as strong as it used to be, there is a set of vocative forms that are still commonly used today. The system is not the one inherited from Proto-Indo-European, but must be a later innovation. However, there are interesting similarities between Övdalian and other languages, suggesting universal tendencies for the vocative category.

Peter Svenonius has investigated the case system of Traditional Övdalian. This system has some similarities with dative-preserving dialects in Norway, in which nouns display a system in which there is a distinction between direct (nominative and accusative) case and dative case, while pronouns have a distinction between nominative on the one hand and oblique on the other. Svenonius also studies the fact that the Övdalian plural nouns do not distinguish between indefinite and definite forms. On this basis he suggests that Traditional Övdalian nouns can only have one suffix, because they compete for one and the same position.

5. Acknowledgements

Most of the papers in this book would not have come into existence had the authors not had the opportunity to get first-hand knowledge of the language from the hospitable and generous people of Älvdalen. All authors participated in the workshop and the grand tour of Älvdalen organised by NORMS in 2007. This included the villages of Blyberg, Brunnsberg, Evertsberg, Klitten, Loka, Västäng, and Åsen, and even the school in Älvdalen (Kyrkbyn). In each village, local organisers had arranged for the locals to come to the village hall to be recorded and to answer questions by the more than twenty Scandinavian linguists who had come to learn about their language. They even offered an almost infinite amount of tasty, home-baked cakes and local produce to the visiting language researchers. Lars Steensland deserves special mention for his role at that tour. His knowledge of both Övdalian and the people of Älvdalen was indispensable, and his role as an interviewer secured linguistically high quality recordings. Finally, we want to thank the organisation *Ulum Dalska* (literally ‘We speak Övdalian’) and their late chairman Gösta Larsson for their central role in the organisation of the workshop and tour.

No scientific volume can do without good reviewers, and the present one is no exception. All the papers have been read by the editors, but importantly, also by the following linguists, whose critical and constructive comments have improved the papers considerably: Jonathan Bobaljik, Carlos de Cuba, Lars-Olof Delsing, Kristin Melum Eide, Piotr Garbacz, Thorbjörg Hróarsdóttir, Marit Julien, Marjo van Koppen, Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson, Lars Steensland, and Tor Áfarli. We are very grateful to all of them.

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Övdalian from 1909 to 2009

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We present a number of morphological and syntactic properties that Övdalian is reported to have according to the literature. They are classified into four categories, of which we study in particular those two that make Övdalian stand out amongst the Scandinavian languages: the category of those features that Övdalian shares with the Insular Scandinavian languages, and the category of Övdalian innovations. We compare these with what we find in the Övdalian Speech Corpus, which contains searchable recordings from the 21st century. Interestingly, we find that the verbal morphology is robust, whereas case morphology is losing ground. Syntactic innovations like referential null subjects, negative concord, subject doubling, and lack of object shift are still present in the language.

1. Introduction¹

In this paper, we describe Övdalian morphology and syntax from two perspectives. First, we present Classical and Traditional Övdalian² as they have been presented by Levander (1909) and Garbacz (2010), amongst others. That will serve both as an introduction to Övdalian and as a necessary background for the next part of the paper. Next, we present the first corpus study ever of a number of phenomena in Övdalian. The Övdalian Speech Corpus, containing conversations between contemporary speakers, is a helpful tool to get a comprehensive view of

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2. Following Garbacz (2010: 33–36), we distinguish three stages in Övdalian: (1) Classical Övdalian (spoken by the generations born before 1920), (2) Traditional Övdalian (spoken by the generation born between 1920 and the end of the 1940's) and (3) Modern Övdalian (spoken by the generations born in 1950 and later). The latter is instrumentally defined as that variety spoken by the speakers in the Övdalian Speech Corpus (see Section 1.1). The majority of these are born after 1950. These stages are set up given the changes in Övdalian in the 19th and the 20th century.

Modern Övdalian. We investigate many of the topics that have been discussed for Övdalian syntax and morphology over the years, and compare the corpus data with the picture of Övdalian syntax mediated by other sources. It should be kept in mind that previous literature builds on other types of sources, mostly observation and elicitation of grammaticality judgements.

This paper presents two main findings. One is that some of the inherited morphological and syntactic features of Traditional Övdalian, for example the case system and V-to-I movement, have changed. The second finding is more striking: The characteristic Övdalian innovations all seem to be intact. Thus we find referential null subjects, subject doubling, negative concord, and lack of object shift.

1.1 Methodology

Many syntax studies, independently of language, are based on information given to the researcher by native speakers, in the form of formal tasks, for example grammaticality judgements of sentences presented in a questionnaire. Sometimes researchers also report informally on utterances they have overheard. Unfortunately, both these methods come with problems (see especially Schütze 1996). Formal tasks demand a very high linguistic awareness of the informants, and the informal reporting method demands an astute ability of observation by the researcher, with the unfortunate side effect that the observation can never be verified. In the present paper, we therefore employ the Övdalian Speech Corpus, not only in order to get spontaneous data on Övdalian, but also to compare these with the elicited data that have dominated syntax research on Övdalian in recent years.

The Övdalian Speech Corpus is the Övdalian part of the Nordic Dialect Corpus (Johannessen et al. 2009), which has been developed at the Text Laboratory, University of Oslo, in close collaboration with the University of Lund.³ The corpus consists of the speech of 17 people (eight men and nine women) from the villages of Blyberg, Brunnsberg, Evertsberg, Klitten, Västäng, and Åsen, as well as the

3. The corpus is based on recordings done by Janne Bondi Johannessen, Signe Laake, Åshild Søfteland, and Karine Stjernholm (Text Laboratory, University of Oslo) in Älvdalen during a NORMS dialect workshop in 2007. Lars Steensland (a near-native speaker of Övdalian) was indispensable as a recording assistant. The recordings have been transcribed by Piotr Garbacz (then Lund University) with assistance from Gunnar Beronius (an Övdalian native-speaker) and Lars Steensland (then Lund University). The Swedish transcription was created using a semi-automatic dialect transliterator developed at the Text Laboratory. The corpus has been grammatically tagged using a tagger adapted from a standard Swedish tagger developed by Sofie Johansson Kokkinakis (Kokkinakis 2003). The work was financed by Nordic Centre of Excellence in Microcomparative Syntax (NORMS), NordForsk and the University of Oslo, the Swedish Research Council and the Norwegian Research Council.

school in Älvdalen (Kyrkbyn), and it contains a total of 14,292 words. Four informants are teenagers; the others are over 30 years of age. Interviews with and conversations between these Övdalian informants have been audio and video recorded and transcribed using two different scripts: the Övdalian orthography and standard Swedish orthography. The result is a web-searchable corpus where researchers can write a given search string (word(s) or suffix(es)) in either standard Swedish orthography or in Övdalian orthography, and the results are given as concordance lines that are linked directly to audio and video.

1.2 Outline of the paper

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 gives an overview of Classical and Traditional Övdalian morphology and syntax. This section also offers a comparison between Övdalian and the other Scandinavian languages. We will see that Övdalian is closer to Mainland Scandinavian with respect to some features, while for others it is closer to Insular Scandinavian. There are also some features that are Övdalian innovations (for example null subjects, double subjects, negative concord, lack of object shift, etc.). Section 3 investigates the morphology and syntax as seen in the Övdalian Speech Corpus and compares the findings with the picture of Övdalian syntax given in the linguistic literature. Section 4 sums up the findings.

2. The structure of Övdalian

In this section, we will present an overview of central aspects of Classical and Traditional Övdalian morphology and syntax. The focus is on the areas that have been central to research on Övdalian. This will constitute the starting point for the investigation of Modern Övdalian in Section 3. We will see that there is more variation in Traditional Övdalian than in Classical Övdalian (Garbacz 2010: 36).

2.1 Övdalian morphology in a comparative Scandinavian perspective

We mainly focus our presentation of Övdalian morphology on the variant called Traditional Övdalian, and discuss Classical Övdalian morphology only to contrast it with that of Traditional Övdalian in cases where it has changed considerably.

Övdalian morphology displays a number of features that are absent in the standard Mainland Scandinavian languages. In particular, it is more complex. There is no category in the Övdalian morphological system that has not also been present in Swedish at some point. Starting with nominal morphology, case inflection on nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and especially on numerals (one to four) is

heavily reduced in Swedish compared to Classical Övdalian. Classical Övdalian had a full case system with nominative, genitive, dative, accusative and even vocative case (the latter for proper names and kinship terms only, see Levander 1909: 24, 36, as well as Steensland, this volume, and Svenonius, this volume). In Traditional Övdalian, on the other hand, the old accusative forms have been conflated with the old nominative forms (in such a way that either the original accusative or the original nominative form is used for both cases), and dative inflection of nouns in the indefinite form is rare (cf. Garbacz 2010: 39). However, nouns and adjectives are still inflected for number, nouns have three genders (masculine, feminine and neuter) and may exhibit different forms according to definiteness, and adjectives and adverbs exhibit comparative morphology. Examples of nominal inflection are presented in Table 1 below (from Garbacz 2010: 40) and the variant is that of the village of Brunnsberg. Traditional Övdalian forms that are different from those of Classical Övdalian are given in shaded cells. For an overview of Övdalian morphology, see Levander (1909, 1925), Åkerberg (2000, 2012), Nyström & Sapir (2005b), and Garbacz (2010: 39–47).

As can be seen from the table, there is no separate accusative noun inflection in Traditional Övdalian. The accusative is only found in a small number of expressions, as are dative forms of indefinite singular nouns. The old difference between the definite and indefinite forms of masculine and feminine plural nouns (e.g. *kaller* ‘men’ – *kallär* ‘the men’, *buðer* ‘huts’ – *buðär* ‘the huts’) still exists for some speakers of Traditional Övdalian in some villages (e.g. in Brunnsberg). Otherwise, these forms have merged into one form (normally the old indefinite form, e.g. *kaller* ‘(the) men’, *buðer* ‘(the) huts’), see also Svenonius (this volume).

One exception to this is the declension of personal pronouns shown in Table 2 below. No difference is observed here between Classical and Traditional Övdalian. However, as will be shown in Section 3.1.3, the most recent findings indicate that in Modern Övdalian the system is on its way to neutralize the morphological opposition between the dative and the accusative forms of 3rd person singular pronouns.

Table 1. Traditional Övdalian: Inflection of the strong masculine noun *kall* ‘man’.

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE
NOMINATIVE	<i>kall</i>	<i>kalln</i>	<i>kaller</i>	<i>kaller/kallär</i>
GENITIVE	–	<i>kallemes</i>	–	<i>kallumes</i>
DATIVE	<i>kall</i>	<i>kallēm</i>	<i>kallum</i>	<i>kallum</i>
ACCUSATIVE	<i>kall</i>	<i>kalln</i>	<i>kaller</i>	<i>kaller</i>

Table 2. Traditional Övdalian: Inflection of personal pronouns.

	SINGULAR					PLURAL		
	1st	2nd	3rd			1st	2nd	3rd
	MASC.	MASC.	MASC.	FEM.	NEUT.	MASC.	MASC.	MASC.
	FEM.	FEM.				FEM.	FEM.	FEM.
	NEUT.	NEUT.				NEUT.	NEUT.	NEUT.
NOMINATIVE	<i>ig</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ǻ</i>	<i>eð</i>	<i>wjð</i>	<i>ið</i>	<i>dier</i>
GENITIVE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DATIVE	<i>mig</i>	<i>dig</i>	<i>ånum</i> <i>/åm</i>	<i>enner</i> <i>/en</i>	<i>dyö</i>	<i>uoss</i>	<i>ið</i>	<i>diem</i>
ACCUSATIVE	<i>mig</i>	<i>dig</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>åna</i>	<i>eð</i>	<i>uoss</i>	<i>ið</i>	<i>diem</i>

In contrast to Modern Swedish, both Classical and Traditional Övdalian display verbal agreement in person and number. Simple morphological subjunctive is only preserved with two verbs, *åvå* ‘have’ and *wårå* ‘be’, which are also inflected for number and person, e.g. *edde* ‘have.SUBJ.SG.PAST’ and *wäre* ‘be.SUBJ.SG.PAST’ (Levander 1909: 88). The verbs *spilå* ‘play’ and *fårå* ‘go’ have three imperative forms in Classical Övdalian: (1) *spilå!* ‘play.2.SG.IMP’, *fåri!* ‘go.2.SG.IMP’, (2) *spilum!* ‘play.1.PL.IMP’, *farum* ‘go.1.PL.IMP’, and (3) *spilið* ‘play.2.PL.IMP’, *farið* ‘go.2.PL.IMP’ (Åkerberg 2004: 134). Imperatives in Traditional Övdalian are constructed in the same way as in Classical Övdalian, although the imperative forms that end in *-i* are declining (Lars Steensland p.c.).

The verbal inflection in Classical and Traditional Övdalian is reminiscent of the Old Swedish paradigm, see Tables 3 and 4, displaying the weak and strong paradigms, respectively (from Garbacz 2010: 46).

There are however some important differences. First, Old Swedish lacked apocope and as a result always displayed a difference between the singular and the 3rd person plural. Secondly, the Old Swedish suffix of 2nd person plural was *-in*, whereas in

Table 3. Traditional Övdalian: The indicative inflectional forms of the weak verb *spilå* ‘play’.

PERSON	PRESENT		PAST	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	<i>spilår</i>	<i>spilum</i>	<i>spilåð</i>	<i>spilåðum</i>
2nd	<i>spilår</i>	<i>spilið</i>	<i>spilåð</i>	<i>spilåðið</i>
3rd	<i>spilår</i>	<i>spilå</i>	<i>spilåð</i>	<i>spilåð</i>

Table 4. Traditional Övdalian: The indicative inflectional forms of the strong verb *fårå* 'go'.

PERSON	PRESENT		PAST	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	<i>far</i>	<i>farum</i>	<i>fuor</i>	<i>fuorum</i>
2nd	<i>far</i>	<i>farið</i>	<i>fuor</i>	<i>fuorið</i>
3rd	<i>far</i>	<i>fårå</i>	<i>fuor</i>	<i>fuoru</i>

Övdalian this suffix is *-ir/-ið* (dependent on the local variety, cf. Levander 1909: 86). Björklund (1956: 98–107) has shown that the suffix *-ir/-ið* etymologically is a reanalysed pronoun, whereas the older Övdalian suffix, *-in* was lost in the 17th century. The reanalysis of a personal pronoun into an inflectional suffix is claimed to make 2nd person plural null subjects possible in Övdalian (Rosenkvist 2008: 18, 2010: 253–254).

There is syncretism between all persons in the singular both for weak and strong verbs and in both present and past tense in Traditional (as well as in Classical) Övdalian. In the past tense of weak verbs, the singular form is furthermore identical to 3rd person plural, e.g. *spiläð* 'played.SG/3.PL'. This syncretism is also present in the present tense of some irregular verbs, e.g. the defective auxiliaries *iess* 'be likely to, be said to', *luss* 'seem', *syökse* 'seem', and *lär* 'be likely to'. In the past tense of strong verbs, however, the 3rd person plural suffix is apocopated within a phrase and it is then orthographically identical to the singular form, e.g. *fuoru* > *fuor*. The forms differ prosodically, however, as the singular form has accent 1 and the plural form accent 2.

We refer the reader to Levander (1909) and Levander (1928: 109 ff.), as well as Steensland (2000: 367–372), Åkerberg (2012), Sapir (2005: 25–29), Nyström & Sapir (2005b), Garbacz (2010), and Svenonius (this volume) for detailed descriptions of Övdalian morphology.

2.2 Övdalian syntax in a comparative Scandinavian perspective

Traditional Övdalian syntax is in many respects similar to Modern Swedish syntax, but Övdalian also displays some properties that are not found in Swedish. While some of these are present in Modern Icelandic, others are unique to Övdalian, and are thus Övdalian innovations.

There is a major linguistic division, based on syntactic and morphological characteristics, between the North Germanic languages. Holmberg & Platzack (1995: 8) puts it this way:

“[F]rom a syntactic point of view, the Scandinavian languages can be divided in two main groups: the Mainland Scandinavian (MSc.), consisting of modern Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish, and Insular Scandinavian (ISc.), consisting of modern Icelandic and modern Faroese, as well as of all old Scandinavian languages (roughly the medieval variants) and at least one dialect on the Scandinavian mainland, namely the Swedish dialect spoken in Älvdalen in Dalecarlia in central Sweden” (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 8).⁴

Syntactic properties of Traditional Övdalian can consequently be divided into four groups, according to how they pattern with syntactic properties attested in the other Scandinavian languages: (1) properties shared by all the North Germanic languages, (2) properties in common with the Mainland Scandinavian languages, (3) properties in common with the Insular Scandinavian languages, and (4) specific properties of Traditional Övdalian. The first group includes features such as verb second, verb-object word order, and predicative adjective agreement (lost in Traditional Övdalian). The second group of properties contains those that Övdalian shares with the other Mainland Scandinavian languages, but not with the Insular Scandinavian ones, for example obligatory subjects with weather verbs (although null subjects are possible in certain contexts), dative alternation, the indirect object-direct object word order, and the requirement of a complementizer in embedded questions. It furthermore includes properties that Övdalian, like the other Mainland Scandinavian languages, lacks, such as oblique case subjects, Stylistic Fronting, transitive expletives, null generic subjects, verb movement in infinitivals, long distance reflexives, and object shift of full DPs.

We shall look closer at the third and fourth groups, which contain features that are less expected. Unless otherwise specified, the Övdalian data in this section are gathered from Övdalian informants, see Garbacz (2010: 65–88).

2.2.1 *Properties of Traditional Övdalian in common with Insular Scandinavian*

In some aspects, Traditional Övdalian word order is more similar to the word order found in Icelandic and other Insular Scandinavian languages than to that of Mainland Scandinavian. This is quite surprising, given the geographical distance between them, and the fact that Älvdalen is not adjacent to Iceland and the Faroe Islands, even when the ocean is disregarded. We present two constructions absent in Mainland Scandinavian that Insular Scandinavian and Övdalian share, and then two that they both lack.

4. As Holmberg & Platzack (1995: 8) point out, including Faroese in Insular Scandinavian “is not uncontroversial”. In many respects, Faroese behaves syntactically as a Mainland Scandinavian variety. Therefore, they propose that Faroese should constitute a third group of Scandinavian languages (1995: 12). As will be shown in the following, it is not uncontroversial to include Traditional and, especially, Modern Övdalian in Insular Scandinavian either.

First, Övdalian has embedded V-to-I movement (Vfin-Adv word order in embedded non-V2 clauses), i.e., the finite verb may precede sentential adverbials in embedded clauses under a non-bridge verb, just like in Icelandic and the medieval Scandinavian languages (cf. Vikner 1995 and many others).⁵ This is exemplified in the Övdalian (1a), which has the same subordinate word order as the Icelandic (2). But the modern Scandinavian word order is also possible, cf. Övdalian (2a), which compares with the Swedish (3).

- (1) a. *Eð ir biln so an will it ávå.*
 it is car.DEF that he wants.to not have
 ‘It is the car that he doesn’t want to have.’
- b. *Eð ir biln so an int will ávå.*
 it is car.DEF that he not wants.to have
 ‘It is the car that he doesn’t want to have.’
- (2) *Ég spurði hvort Jón hefði ekki séð myndina.*
 I asked if Jon had not seen movie.DEF
 ‘I asked if Jón had not seen the movie.’ (Angantýsson 2011: 62)
- (3) *Jag frågade om Jon inte hade sett filmen.*
 I asked if Jon not had seen movie.DEF
 ‘I asked if Jon had not seen the movie.’ (Angantýsson 2011: 62)

Second, Övdalian has the Present Participle Construction. This is attested both in Övdalian and in Insular Scandinavian, see Garbacz (2010: 77) for Övdalian, Sigurðsson (1989: 340 ff.) for Icelandic, and Thráinsson et al. (2004: 317) for Faroese. In the Mainland Scandinavian languages, this phenomenon is found in Norwegian (Faarlund et al. 1997: 119), but is absent in standard Swedish and Danish. Övdalian, Icelandic and Norwegian are illustrated in (4)–(6), while (7) illustrates that Swedish does not have a present participle.

- (4) *Ittað-jär wattneð ir it drikkend.*
 it-there water.DEF is not drinking
 ‘This water was not drinkable.’
- (5) *Það er ekki hlæjandi að þessu.*
 this is not laughing at this.DAT
 ‘One should not laugh at this.’ (Sigurðsson 1989: 341)

5. Icelandic relative clauses form a case in point; although the SUBJ-Vfin-ADV order is obligatory in most cases in Icelandic embedded clauses, some clauses allow the SUBJ-ADV-Vfin order, see Angantýsson (2011) and Wiklund et al. (2007). For Faroese, many recent studies have shown that the finite verb tends to precede only some time adverbials, but not negation (Bentzen et al. 2009; Heycock et al. 2010), although in older Faroese the verb could precede the negation in all embedded clauses (Thráinsson et al. 2004: 297).

- (6) *Han var truandes til litt av kvart.*
 he was believing to little of each
 ‘He was thought to be able to do anything.’ (Faarlund et al. 1997: 119)
- (7) **Ej är det skrattande åt detta.*
 not is this laughing at this
 ‘One cannot laugh at this.’ (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 101)

Third, Övdalian shares with Insular Scandinavian the fact that they do not accept VP fronting.

This is illustrated in (8) for Övdalian and in (9) for Icelandic, which contrast with Swedish, (10).

- (8) a. **Skuotið an-dar brindan ar an fel it.*
 shot him-there elk.DEF has he surely not
 Intended meaning: ‘He hasn’t of course shot this elk.’
- b. *An ar fel it skuotið an-dar brindan.*
 he has surely not shot him-there elk.DEF
 ‘He hasn’t of course shot this elk.’
- (9) **Vann gerði eg.*
 won did I
 ‘Win I did’ (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 223)
- (10) *Vann gjorde jag.*
 won did I
 ‘Win I did.’ (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 223)

Fourth, both Övdalian and Insular Scandinavian have in common that they lack pseudopassives, i.e. a construction where the complement of a preposition is promoted to subject position. This is shown in (11) for Övdalian and in (12) for Icelandic, while (13)–(14) show that pseudopassives are fine in the Mainland Scandinavian languages Swedish and Norwegian.

- (11) a. **Gunnar wart stjemmað min.*
 Gunnar became made.fun with
 Intended meaning: ‘People made fun of Gunnar.’
- b. *Fuotjeð stjemmað min Gunnar.*
 people.DEF made.fun with Gunnar
 ‘People made fun of Gunnar.’
- (12) a. **Ólafur var alltaf talaður vel um.*
 Olaf.NOM was always spoken well of

b. **Ólaf* var alltaf talaður vel um.

Olaf.ACC was always spoken well of

(Holmberg & Platzack 1991:§ 5)

(13) *Babyn* har inte blivit bytt blöjor på.

baby.DEF has not become changed nappies on

‘Nobody has changed nappies on the baby.’

(Holmberg & Platzack 1991:§ 5)

(14) *De* må bli passet bedre på.

they must become looked better on

‘They must be looked better after.’

(Dyvik 1991: 118)

2.2.2 Syntactic innovations in Traditional Övdalian

Traditional Övdalian displays some syntactic properties not found in any of the standard Scandinavian languages. Some of them, such as referential null subjects, subject doubling and negative concord are also rare among the other standard Germanic languages, and only attested in a smaller number of non-standard varieties. These properties are most probably Övdalian innovations. We start by presenting three syntactic constructions that are not found in the other North Germanic languages, and then present two that are partly missing from Övdalian.

First, Traditional Övdalian allows for referential null subjects in 1st and 2nd person plural as shown in (15), whereas neither Insular nor Mainland Scandinavian do.⁶

(15) a. *An sâg it mes (wið) kamum in.*

he saw not while (we) came.1PL in

‘He did not see when we/(WE) came in.’

b. *Wiso kåytið (ið)?*

why run.2PL you.PL

‘Why are you/(YOU) running?’

Second, Traditional Övdalian has multiple subjects. Although double subjects are also attested in Swedish, their function and interpretation are different from that of Traditional Övdalian double subjects, see Engdahl (2003), and the other Scandinavian languages do not have multiple subjects. The phenomenon normally involves double subjects, but data presented in Levander (1909: 109) suggest that

6. The occurrence of Övdalian referential null subjects is discussed extensively in Rosenkvist (2008, 2010) and we refer the reader to these works for a more thorough treatment of the subject. A small percentage of referential null subjects is also found in Old Swedish (Håkansson 2008) and in the other Old Scandinavian languages, but these are of a different type compared to the Övdalian ones (Rosenkvist 2009).

even triple subjects were possible in Classical Övdalian. The first subject is always in clause-initial position while the doubled subject appears in the canonical subject position and is preceded by an adverbial expressing the speaker's attitude (see Rosenkvist 2007, and also Rosenkvist's paper in this volume). This phenomenon is illustrated in the Övdalian examples in (16).

- (16) a. *Du ir sakt du uvendes duktin dalska.*
 you are certainly you very good speak.Övdalian.INF
 'You are certainly very good at speaking Övdalian.'
- b. *Du ir sakt uvendes duktin dalska.*
 you are certainly very good speak.Övdalian.INF
 'You are certainly very good at speaking Övdalian.'

Third, Traditional Övdalian optionally exhibits so-called *negative concord*, and this phenomenon occurs when the sentential negation *inte* 'not' is accompanied by a negative quantifier like *indjin/inggan* 'nobody' in some syntactic environments, see (17).

- (17) a. *Ig ar it si'tt inggan.*
 I have not seen nobody
 'I haven't seen anybody.'
- b. *Igår belld (it) inggan kumā ađ Mųora.*
 yesterday could not nobody come to Mora
 'Yesterday, nobody could get to Mora.'

In contrast, two negative elements in a single clause normally result in an affirmative reading in the vast majority of Scandinavian varieties. The exceptions are few: Kven-Norwegian (Sollid 2005), certain Danish dialects (Jespersen 1917: 72 ff.), and some dialects of Fenno-Swedish (Wide & Lyngfelt 2009).

Fourth, Traditional Övdalian does not have pronominal object shift, i.e., the possibility of an unstressed pronoun to move past an adverb, as shown in (18). It must keep its unstressed pronominal objects *in situ*. This is different from most Scandinavian varieties and unlike all standard Scandinavian languages. Only Fenno-Swedish and the Danish spoken on the islands of Lolland and Falster (Christensen 2005: 153) share this property.⁷ We consider the lack of object shift to be an Övdalian innovation since Old Norse had object shift according to Nygaard (1905: 351), who claims that whenever the object or the beneficiary is a pronoun, the adverb follows these constituents.

7. The examples illustrating the lack of object shift in Traditional Övdalian contain both forms of negation attested in Övdalian, *int(e)* and *it*. See Garbacz (2010: 96 ff.) for a short overview and the extensive work on Scandinavian Object Shift (including Övdalian) by Hosono (2013).

- (18) a. *An såg int mig.*
 he saw not me
 ‘He didn’t see me.’
- b. *An såg it mig.*
 he saw not me
 ‘He didn’t see me.’
- c. *??An såg mig inte.*⁸
 he saw not me
 Intended meaning: ‘He didn’t see me’
- d. **An såg mig it.*
 he saw not me
 Intended meaning: ‘He didn’t see me’

Fifth, Traditional Övdalian masculine and feminine nouns lack separate inflectional morphemes that would distinguish plural indefinite from the plural definite. It thus contrasts with other Scandinavian languages, which do display such marking. Övdalian masculine and feminine nouns have only one plural suffix, see (19a,b), while neuter nouns still have a definiteness contrast in the plural, see (19c).⁹

- (19) a. *kall* *kalln* *kaller* *kaller*
 man.INDEF man.DEF men.INDEF men.DEF
- b. *bru* *brunę* *bruer* *bruer*
 bridge.INDEF bridge.DEF bridges.INDEF bridges.DEF
- c. *buord* *buordeð* *buord* *buordeę*
 table.INDEF table.DEF tables.INDEF tables.DEF

2.2.3 A note on noun phrase structure in Traditional Övdalian

In this section, we present a number of basic characteristics of the noun phrase in Traditional Övdalian.

Definiteness is expressed by a suffix on the head noun in Traditional Övdalian just like in the other Scandinavian languages, (20).

8. The sentence in (18c) is only accepted as grammatical by one of twelve informants, whereas the remaining eleven mark it at best as questionable (Garbacz 2010: 200).

9. However, Classical Övdalian, as spoken in the villages of Åsen, Brunnsberg, Loka, Karlsarvet, and Västmyckeläng, displayed a difference between the indefinite and definite forms in the plural of masculine and feminine nouns: *kaller* ‘men.INDEF’ and *kallär* ‘men.DEF’. This difference is normally not present in the Traditional Övdalian investigated here, with the exception of some older speakers. On the other hand, neuter nouns have always had different forms for indefinite plural and definite plural: *daitje* ‘ditches.INDEF’ and *daitę* ‘ditches.DEF’, the suffix being historically a plural suffix. For the complete paradigm of Classical Övdalian, see Levander (1909: 11–44).

- (20) *ferd-ę*
journey-SG.DEF

Unlike the other Scandinavian languages, however, there is no definiteness distinction on masculine and feminine nouns in the plural (cf. Section 2.2.2). Indefiniteness in the singular, illustrated in (21), is normally expressed in Övdalian in the same ways as the other Mainland Scandinavian languages, by a free prenominal indefinite article in the singular, with no equivalent in the plural.

- (21) *je buok* Ø *byöker*
a book books.PL

Traditional Övdalian expresses possession in three ways: (a) the possessor is placed before the head noun, (22a); (b) the possessor is expressed by means of a prepositional phrase with the preposition *ađ*, (22b); and (c) the possessor is placed after the head noun, (22c). Counterparts of the construction shown in (22a) are found in the other Scandinavian languages and (22b) is one of the standard ways of expressing possession in Norwegian, whereas counterparts of (22c) are only found in some dialects.

- (22) a. *Lasses buord*
Lasse's table
'Lasse's table'
- b. *b uordeđ ađ Lasse*
table.DEF to Lasse
'Lasse's table'
- c. *b uordeđ Lasse*
table.DEF Lasse
'Lasse's table'

Possessive pronouns may precede or follow the head noun in Traditional Övdalian. Typically, the pronoun follows the noun as shown in (23a), but it can precede it when stressed, as illustrated in (23b). The same pattern is found in Norwegian (Faarlund et al. 1997: 263 ff.) and in Icelandic (Sigurðsson 2006: 14 ff.), whereas standard Swedish normally only allows for pre-nominal possession.

- (23) a. *b uotje mqi*
book.DEF my
'my book'
- b. *MAI buok*
my book
'my book'

Attributive adjectives precede the noun in Övdalian, as in (24a), just as they do in Insular and Mainland Scandinavian. In definite noun phrases, Övdalian normally incorporates adjectives into nouns, like some Scandinavian dialects do.¹⁰ This is shown in (24b).

- (24) a. *i en koldan witter*
 a cold winter
 'a cold winter'
- b. *a n-dar koldwittern*
 he-there cold-winter.DEF
 'the cold winter'

Övdalian often uses the definite form in contexts where there is no definiteness marking in standard Swedish (Delsing 2003: 15). As shown in (25) however, the definite article is not obligatory in such cases. This phenomenon is known from a number of North-Scandinavian dialects (Delsing 2003: 15 ff.), but is not attested in the standard varieties of Insular and Mainland Scandinavian.

- (25) a. *Eð ir grannweðreð i dag.*
 it is nice-weather.DEF today
 'It is nice weather today.'
- b. *Eð ir grannweðer i dag.*
 it is nice-weather today
 'It is nice weather today.'

2.3 Syntactic change in Övdalian

Our overview has shown that Traditional Övdalian, and to a lesser extent Classical Övdalian, share a number of syntactic properties with Mainland Scandinavian, but also that in some cases Traditional Övdalian patterns with Insular Scandinavian. Finally, some syntactic properties of Traditional Övdalian are not found in any other Scandinavian language. In Table 5 below, we summarize the syntactic properties discussed in this section. Notice that we have added a separate column for Classical Övdalian. This way we can illustrate what we know about Övdalian from Levander (1909). Unfortunately, for some properties, we do not have certain knowledge about their status in Classical Övdalian.

10. Incorporation of adjectives into nouns is common in some northern Swedish dialects (Sandström & Holmberg 2003). Sometimes it can also appear in Standard Swedish, for example, *blåljus* 'flashing lights' and *stortorget* 'main square'. It is also possible in the Norwegian dialects of Trøndelag (Vangsnes 1999).

Table 5. Properties of Traditional Övdalian and the Scandinavian languages.

THE PHENOMENON	TRADITIONAL ÖVDALIAN	CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN	INSULAR SCAND.	MAINLAND SCANDINAVIAN
1. RICH CASE MORPHOLOGY	-	+	+	-
2. RICH SUBJECT-VERB AGREEMENT	+	+	+	-
3. VERB-SECOND (V2)	+	+	+	+
4. OBLIGATORY VO WORD ORDER	+	-	+	+
5. PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVE AGREEMENT IN NUMBER	+	+	+	+
6. OBLIGATORY NON-REFEREN- TIAL SUBJECTS	+	?	-	+
7. DATIVE ALTERNATION	+	?	-	+
8. POSSIBILITY OF WORD ORDER DO- IO	-	?	+	-
9. OBLIQUE SUBJECTS	-	?	+	-
10. STYLISTIC FRONTING	-	+	+	-
11. TRANSITIVE EXPLETIVES	-	+	+	-
12. REQUIREMENT OF COMPLE- MENTIZER IN EMBEDDED SUBJECT QUESTIONS	+	?	-	+
13. NULL GENERIC SUBJECTS	-	?	+	-
14. VERB MOVEMENT IN INFINITIVALS	-	?	+	-
15. LONG DISTANCE REFLEXIVES	-	?	+	-
16. OBJECT SHIFT OF DPs	-	?	+	-
17. V-TO-I MOVEMENT	+	+	+	-
18. VP-FRONTING	-	?	-	+
19. PSEUDOPASSIVES	-	?	-	+
20. THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE CONSTRUCTION	+	?	+	-
21. REFERENTIAL NULL SUBJECTS	+	+	-	-
22. OBJECT SHIFT OF PRONOUNS	-	-	+	+
23. NOUN INFLECTIONS FOR NUMBER AND DEFINITENESS	-	+	+	+
24. SUBJECT DOUBLING	+	+	-	- ¹¹
25. NEGATIVE CONCORD	+	+	-	-

11. Subject doubling is attested in Swedish (Engdahl 2003), but it is not of the Övdalian type (cf. Rosenkvist 2007 and this volume).

The table shows that syntactic developments (loss of OV word order, loss of Stylistic Fronting and loss of Transitive Expletives) have in some ways caused Övdalian to become more like Swedish. In others, subject-verb agreement and the Övdalian innovations (referential null subjects, subject doubling, negative concord, lack of object shift) have kept Övdalian very different from Swedish.

3. Morphology and syntax of Övdalian anno 2009

One of the main aims of this paper is to show to what extent Övdalian as seen in the Övdalian Speech Corpus has the grammatical characteristics presented in Section 2. This is what we will do in this section.

When looking for morphological data in the Övdalian Speech Corpus, we have focused on those features that will be relatively easy to find using simple string-based search criteria, since the corpus was not yet fully grammatically tagged at the time this paper was written.

3.1 Morphology

In the Mainland Scandinavian languages, both noun and verb inflection have been heavily reduced since the Middle Ages. Many morphological changes occurred in Övdalian during the 20th century (Helgander 2005: 20 ff; Garbacz 2010: 39 ff.). In this section, we present our main findings in the Övdalian morphology and compare the morphological system of Övdalian as found in the corpus to the one found in Traditional Övdalian and Classical Övdalian.

3.1.1 *Verb agreement morphology*

Övdalian traditionally has both person and number agreement on the verb (cf. Section 2.3 above). The 1st person plural verb suffix *-um* is the same in both the present and the past, and both weak and strong inflection. The same suffix is found in Icelandic and in the medieval varieties of Scandinavian, whereas neither Modern Faroese nor the modern Mainland Scandinavian languages have such a verbal suffix.¹² By searching the corpus, we aim to corroborate that the suffix in question is present in today's Övdalian, as claimed by Steensland (2000), Åkerberg (2000, 2004, 2012), Nyström & Sapir (2005a,b), Garbacz (2010: 46) and many others.

12. Faroese spoken on Norðoyar (Kalsoy, Kunoy, Borðoy, Viðoy, Svínay and Fugloy) is reported to have the 1.PL suffix *-um* in the middle of the 19th century (Thráinsson et al. 2004: 426 and references therein).

Table 6. Some of the 379 occurrences of 1 pl. *-um* verbs in the corpus.

ÖVDALIAN VERB	SWEDISH TRANSLATION	ENGLISH TRANSLATION	NO OF OCCURRENCES	TENSE
<i>addum</i>	hade	had	60	PAST
<i>warum</i>	var	were	39	PAST
<i>ulldum</i>	skulle	should	17	PAST
<i>läktum</i>	lekte	played	15	PAST
<i>kamum</i>	kom	came	4	PAST
<i>djinggum</i>	gick	went	3	PAST
<i>dalskeðum</i>	pratade.älvdalska	spoke.Övdalian	4	PAST
<i>djifteðum</i>	gifte	married	1	PAST
<i>tyttjum</i>	tycker	think	1	PRESENT
<i>kuogum</i>	tittar	look	1	PRESENT

Searching the corpus, we find 379 occurrences of the 1st person plural verb suffix *-um*. Some verbs are given in Table 6 above.

We illustrate this with an example from an older female informant, see (26).¹³

- (26) *Ja, då fīnggum wīð swenska.*
 yes then had.to.1PL we speak.Swedish
 ‘Yes, the we had to speak Swedish.’ (M, Blyberg, 65)

We do not find any instances where the verbal suffix *-um* is combined with a subject other than 1st person plural, nor any examples of a 1st person plural subject combined with other verbal suffixes than *-um*, a fact that clearly shows that this is indeed subject verb agreement.

The suffix *-ið* expresses 2nd person plural in Övdalian, according to the standard descriptions of the language. In the corpus, we only find five occurrences of this suffix. Out of these five occurrences, two have an overt subject *ið* (which is homophonous with the suffix, whose form is actually borrowed from this pronoun, cf. Björklund 1956: 98–107), see (27).

- (27) *Wen avið ið för bil då?*
 what have.2.PL you.PL for car then
 ‘What car do you have then?’ (M, Skolan, 14)

13. Every example from the corpus refers to its informant by three pieces of information: 1) gender: F(female)/M(male), 2) place, and 3) age (in years).

As was the case with the suffix *-um*, we do not find any instances of the suffix *-ið* combined with a subject different from a 2nd person plural subject, or a 2nd person plural subject combined with a verbal suffix different than *-ið*.

In order to investigate whether the suffixes *-um* and *-ið* can be attested with other subjects than 1st and 2nd person respectively, we have chosen the past tense weak verbs (ending on *-eð*) and conducted a search. This resulted in 60 hits. The contexts for the verbs ending in *-eð* show that their subjects are always singular or 3rd person plural, as expected, and never a 1st or 2nd person plural subject. Some examples of the verbs are shown below.

Below, we give examples of the past verbs ending in *-eð* with a 3rd person singular subject, see (28), and the 3rd person plural subject, see (29).

(28) *Og lejoneð wråleð dan autför.*
and lion.SG.DEF roared.3SG/DEF there outside
'And the lion roared outside.' (F, Klitten, 47)

(29) *Oller språkeð ju övdalska.*
everybody.PL spoke.3SG/DEF of.course Övdalian
'Obviously, everybody spoke Övdalian.' (M, Vasa, 59)

It seems fair to conclude that the verb morphology of Övdalian distinguishes person and number. Our conclusion is different from that of Angantýsson (2011: 93), who claims that the verbal paradigm among some younger Övdalians is collapsing. Having investigated the corpus, we do not find data that support this. On the contrary, the corpus data seem to indicate that verbal morphology in Övdalian is robust. A similar conclusion is drawn by Helgander (2005: 20 ff.).

Table 7. Examples of the verbal suffix *-eð* in the corpus.

ÖVDALIAN VERB	SWEDISH TRANSLATION	ENGLISH TRANSLATION	NO OF OCCURRENCES	PERSON, NUMBER, TENSE (OF AT LEAST ONE OCCURRENCE)
<i>flytteð</i>	flyttade	moved	8	1 SG PRET
<i>dalskeð</i>	pratade.älvdalska	spoke.Övdalian	4	3 PL PRET
<i>prateð</i>	pratade	talked	4	1 SG PRET
<i>jobbeð</i>	jobbade	worked	3	3 PL PRET
<i>elskeð</i>	älskade	loved	1	1 SG PRET
<i>djifteð</i>	gifte	married	2	3 PL PRET
<i>brukeð</i>	brukade	used	2	3 SG PRET
<i>skrieveð</i>	skrev	wrote	1	1 SG PRET
<i>servireð</i>	serverade	served	1	1 SG PRET

3.1.2 Case morphology on nouns

While Classical Övdalian had four cases (nominative, genitive, dative and accusative) and, in some instances vocative (Levander 1909: 24,36; Steensland, this volume), Traditional Övdalian is considered to have basically three cases on nouns (nominative, genitive and dative), cf. Section 2.1 above, and Svenonius (this volume). Thus, there has been a decline in the case system. Having investigated the language of three Övdalian consultants born 1914, 1937 and 1984, Helgander (2005: 20 ff.) shows that not only accusative forms, but also dative forms of nouns are absent in Övdalian spoken by the consultants born in 1937 and 1984.

Given Helgander's (2005) results, we have chosen to investigate the dative plural suffix *-um* (found on all nouns) and all suffixes of the definite dative masculine singular: *-em*, *-im*, *-am*, *-åm* and *-mm* (Nyström & Sapir 2005b: 2–6). Altogether, we have found 19 different nouns inflected for dative. The suffix *-åm* was not attested at all. These hits are presented in Table 8 below.

The two examples in (30) below illustrate the use of dative plural and dative singular, respectively.

Table 8. The 19 different words with dative case suffixes found in the corpus.

ÖVDALIAN NOUN	SWEDISH TRANSLATION	ENGLISH TRANSLATION	NO OF OCCURRENCES	NUMBER, DEFINITENESS
<i>Åsum</i>	Åsen	(place name)	4	PL DEF
<i>kraftwerkum</i>	kraftverken	power.stations	1	PL DEF
<i>buðum</i>	fåbodarna	huts	2	PL DEF
<i>gardum</i>	gårdarna	farms	1	PL DEF
<i>fuotum</i>	benen	legs	1	PL DEF
<i>krytyrem</i>	boskapen	cattle	1	PL? DEF
<i>bettjem</i>	bäcken	stream	1	SG DEF
<i>wittrem</i>	vintern	winter	1	SG DEF
<i>fabritjem</i>	fabriken	factory	1	SG DEF
<i>Klittem</i>	Klitten	(place name)	1	SG DEF
<i>verkstaðim</i>	verkstaden	workshop	1	SG DEF
<i>Övdalim</i>	Ålvdalen	(place name)	3	SG DEF
<i>skaulam</i>	skolan	school	3	SG DEF
<i>folkskaulam</i>	folkskolan	elementary.school	1	SG DEF
<i>småskaulam</i>	småskolan	junior.level.school	1	SG DEF
<i>millumskaulam</i>	mellanskolan	intermediate.level.school	1	SG DEF
<i>byrånenadam</i>	början	beginning	1	SG DEF
<i>Åsbyimm</i>	Åsens.by	(place name)	3	SG DEF
<i>byimm</i>	byn	village	4	SG DEF

- (30) a. *Jär og i buðum.*
 here and in huts.PL.DEF.DAT
 ‘Here and in the huts.’ (M, Brunnsberg, 67)
- b. *Ja, eð var i skaulam jär i Åsbymm.*
 yes it was in school.SG.DEF.DAT here in Åsen-village.SG.DEF.DAT
 ‘Yes, it was in the school, here in the village of Åsen.’ (F, Åsen, 68)

The low number of dative occurrences in the corpus is striking and the majority of these seem to be examples of fossilized forms. This is probably the case of the noun *buðer* ‘huts’ inflected here as *buðum* ‘huts.DAT’ and of the noun *byrånend* ‘beginning’, as these nouns most often appear in phrases like *i buðum* ‘in (the) huts.DAT’ and *i byrånendam* ‘in the beginning.DAT’. Out of the dative occurrences that do not seem to be fossilized forms, we would like to highlight two: *krytyrem* ‘cattle.DAT’, which is inflected with a suffix that is normally unattested in dative plural (the expected form here would be *krytyrum* ‘cattle.PL.DAT’) and *kraftwerkum* ‘power-stations.DAT’, which is not expected to occur in dative form, as it is governed by the preposition, *ringgum* ‘around’, which normally assigns accusative case, see (31).

- (31) *So an ar ferid ringgum kraftwerkum og.*
 so he has gone around power.plants.PL.DEF.DAT too
 ‘So he has also visited power stations.’ (M, Västäng, 54)

The results indicate that the use of dative case is declining in Övdalian. The conclusion is corroborated by a look at contexts in which dative should be found, but in which it is absent. We made a search for the prepositions *i* ‘in’, *frå* ‘from’, and *að* ‘to’ followed by a noun, and found a number of contexts where, contrary to expectation, the dative case is not found, irrespective of the age of the consultants. We provide some examples: *i skaulan* in addition to *i skaulam* ‘in the school’ (only the latter expected), *i bynn* in addition to *i bymm* ‘in the village’ (only the latter expected), *i lärebustað’n* ‘in the teacher’s residence’ (expected *i lärebustaðim*), *frå bystugu* ‘from the village house’ (expected *frå bystugun*), *að iss-jär kripper* ‘to these children’, *að dier-dar kripper* ‘to these children’ (expected *að is(um)-jär krippum* respectively *að diem-dar krippum*), *að gardar* ‘to the farms’ (expected *að gardum*) etc. Interestingly, the same consultant may use both forms, a fact that indicates individual variation, see (32).

- (32) a. *Eð var ruoli oltiett i skaulam.*
 it was fun always in school.SG.DEF.DAT
 ‘It was always fun to be at school.’ (F, Åsen, 68)
- b. *Ig ar lärt mig mitjið i skaulan.*
 I have learnt myself much in school.SG.ACC.DEF
 ‘I have learnt a lot at school.’ (F, Åsen, 68)

Table 9. Inflection on masculine nouns in the Övdalian Speech Corpus.

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE
NOMINATIVE	no suffix (<i>kripp</i>)	-n/-an (<i>skauln/skaulan</i>)	-er (<i>skauler</i>)	-er (<i>tjyner</i>)
GENITIVE	not attested	-es (<i>faðeres</i>)	not attested	-eres (<i>Åseres</i>)
DATIVE	no suffix (<i>blybjärskall</i>)	-n/-am/-an (<i>skauln/ skaulam/ skaulan</i>)	-er/-um (<i>raster/ kraftwerkum</i>)	-er/-um (<i>Åser/Åsum</i>)
ACCUSATIVE	no suffix (<i>bil</i>)	-n/-an (<i>skaulan/ skauln</i>)	-er (<i>kwelder</i>)	-er (<i>Åser</i>)

None of the young informants show any use of dative. Given that there are also a fair amount of words not inflected with dative among older informants, it is probably right to conclude that dative inflection (and, consequently, case inflection in general, as accusative and nominative have already merged in late Classical Övdalian, see Steensland 2000: 368, Garbacz 2010: 39 ff., and Svenonius, this volume) is declining in Övdalian nouns, a conclusion similar to the picture presented in Helgander (2005: 20 ff.). On the basis of our search in the corpus, the noun inflection can be presented as in Table 9 above. Forms that are different from the Traditional Övdalian, as presented in Section 2.1 above, are given in shaded cells.

3.1.3 Case morphology in pronouns

Pronouns are also reported to lose case distinctions in Övdalian. For example, Helgander (2005: 23) reports that the pronoun *dier* ‘they’ is sometimes replaced by the form *diem* ‘them’. The contemporary Övdalian grammars based on Levander (1909), such as Åkerberg (2000, 2004, 2012) and Nyström & Sapir (2005a,b), present a situation in which there are still three cases in pronominal inflection: nominative, dative and accusative. According to these authors, there is a dative-accusative distinction in the pronominal paradigm in the 3rd person singular pronouns. So, for the 3rd person feminine singular pronoun, *å*, the dative form is reported to be *enner/en*, while the accusative form is *ån(a)* (also spelled *on(a)* in Åkerberg 2012: 217). For the 3rd person masculine singular *an*, the accusative form is *an*, the dative form is *ånun/åm* (also spelled *onun/om* in Åkerberg 2012: 217), and for the neuter pronoun of the same person and number, *eð*, the forms are *dyö* (dative) and *eð* (accusative). We have conducted a corpus search in order to find out whether the distinctions are retained in the variants of Övdalian represented in the corpus. The results are shown in Table 10. Forms being different from the Traditional Övdalian forms (as presented in Section 2.1 above) are given in shaded cells.

Table 10. Inflection of personal pronouns as found in the corpus. The number of occurrences is given in the brackets.

NUMBER	SINGULAR					PLURAL		
	1st	2nd	3rd			1st	2nd	3rd
PERSON GENDER & CASE	MASC.	MASC.	MASC.	FEM.	NEUT.	MASC.	MASC.	MASC.
	FEM.	FEM.				FEM.	FEM.	FEM.
	NEUT.	NEUT.				NEUT.	NEUT.	NEUT.
NOMINATIVE	<i>ig</i> (623)	<i>du</i> (64)	<i>an</i> (114)	<i>å</i> (44)	<i>eð</i> (641)	<i>wið</i> (154)	<i>ið</i> (2)	<i>dier</i> (110) <i>/diem</i> (23)
GENITIVE	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
DATIVE	<i>mig</i> (35)	<i>dig</i> (9)	<i>an</i> (3) / <i>onum</i> (1)	<i>enner</i> (3) / <i>en</i> (1)	<i>eð</i> (15) <i>/dyö</i> (2)	<i>uoss</i> (24)	not attested	<i>diem</i> (34) <i>/dier</i> ¹⁴ (3)
ACCUSATIVE			<i>an</i> (4) / <i>honum</i> (1)	<i>åna</i> (1) / <i>å</i> (1)	<i>eð</i> (69) <i>/enner</i> (1)			

We see from the table that there is a distinction between nominative and oblique pronouns in first and second person. For example, there are 623 occurrences of *ig* versus 35 occurrences of *mig*. The 35 occurrences of *mig* ('me') are found in contexts where we historically would expect dative and accusative. For this pronoun it is fair to conclude that there is only one form apart from the nominative: the oblique form. Third person masculine and neuter singular pronouns seem to move into a system in which only one form is used. In 3rd person masculine, the form *an* 'he' is found more often in dative contexts than the original dative forms *onum/ånum*, see (33a). In 3rd person neuter, the opposition between nominative/accusative *eð* and dative *dyö* seems to be on its way out: Out of 17 dative contexts, 15 have the nominative/accusative form *eð* instead of the expected dative *dyö*, see (33b).

- (33) a. *Dar ulld ig fårå min an*
 there should I go with he.NOM/ACC
 'I was to go there with him' (M, Blyberg, 65)
- b. *Ja, ettersos ig jobber min eð...*
 yes since I work with it.NOM/ACC
 'Yes, since I work with it...' (F, Evertsberg, 59)

14. The form *dier* in dative and accusative contexts is only found when followed by a relative clause, for example "...*min dier so saggd an ar dæeð*" (lit. 'with they that said he has died') or when topicalized: "*dier war eð faktiskt synd um*" (lit. 'they was it actually pity about').

In 3rd person feminine, the old accusative form *åna* is only found once. In accusative contexts, we have found three different case forms: *å* (originally nominative), *enner* (originally dative) and *åna* (originally accusative), as shown in (34).¹⁵

- (34) a. *Eð war fel mienindje at ig ulld åvå enner mjäst åv ...*
 it was then meaning.DEF that I should have her.DAT most of
 ‘I was supposed to have her most of...’ (M, Blyberg, 58)
- b. *...men å fygð ig mes ig war fem og sjäks år.*
 but she.NOM followed I when I was five and six years
 ‘... but I followed her when I was five and six years old.’
 (M, Brunnsberg, 67)
- c. *...so dier stjianktum ån istelle að byum.*
 so they gave her.ACC instead to villages.PL.DEF.DAT
 ‘So they gave it to the villages instead.’ (M, Blyberg, 65)

Also the development of the Övdalian forms in 3rd person plural are similar to the development observed in Swedish (and Mainland Scandinavian), as the originally oblique form *diem* ‘them’ nowadays is used in nominative contexts, see (35).

- (35) *Ig wisst it at diem fikk so liteð informasjuon.*
 I knew not that they got so little information
 ‘I didn’t know that they got so little information’ (F, Väsa, 75)

This transition from three distinct case forms for 3rd person pronouns used in three different types of syntactic context into a mixed system with less clear patterns where forms seemingly can be used interchangeably is reminiscent of the development observed in many variants of Scandinavian. For example, Johannessen (2008: 176–180) reports that Norwegian and Swedish third person singular pronouns in colloquial language often have the same form in expected nominative and accusative contexts.

The general impression one gets from the corpus data is that while there is a contrast between nominative, accusative and dative pronouns, there is little support for claiming that there is a clear distinction between them. A system with three, two or even one form(s) for nominative, dative and accusative seems to be emerging.

3.1.4 *Summing up*

The results of our investigation of the Övdalian morphology are summarized in Table 11.

15. Interestingly, the nominative form is only found when the constituent is topicalised.

Table 11. Main morphological findings in the corpus compared to Traditional Övdalian, Classical Övdalian and Standard Swedish.

	IN THE ÖVDALIAN CORPUS	IN TRADITIONAL ÖVDALIAN	IN CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN	IN STANDARD SWEDISH
VERB AGREEMENT	in person and number	in person and number	in person and number	absent
CASE DISTINCTIONS ON NOUNS	only remnants	partially present	present	absent
CASE DISTINCTIONS ON PRONOUNS	the opposition NOM – DAT – ACC in the process of disbandment; the opposition NOM – OBL found in 1st and 2nd sg and pl	the opposition NOM – DAT – ACC present in 3rd person sg; the opposition NOM – OBL found in 1st and 2nd sg and pl	the opposition NOM – DAT – ACC present in 3rd person sg; the opposition NOM – OBL found in 1st and 2nd sg and pl	the opposition NOM – OBL found in 1st and 2nd sg and pl, as well as in 3rd sg masc and fem

The results can be summarized as follows: Whereas verb agreement has been retained, case morphology on both nouns and pronouns has been losing ground since the period of Classical Övdalian. In this respect, Övdalian has become more like standard Swedish and the other standard Mainland Scandinavian languages.

3.2 Syntax

As already mentioned, the syntax of Övdalian differs in many respects not only from the syntax of its closest relative, Swedish, but also from that of the other Scandinavian languages. Here we will investigate some syntactic properties of Övdalian using the Övdalian corpus. We examine the possibility of having Stylistic Fronting, V-to-I movement, referential null subjects, subject doubling, negative concord, and lack of Object Shift in the variants of Övdalian represented in the corpus. Finally, we also investigate the structure of the noun phrase, especially the extended use of the definite form, the three-gender system, incorporation of adjectives into nouns, the form of demonstratives and the position of the possessors. As always when using a corpus, one should be aware that whenever a particular construction is not found in the corpus it does not necessarily mean that it is not present in the language.

3.2.1 Stylistic Fronting

Stylistic Fronting (SF) is found in Classical Övdalian (Levander 1909: 122), but is no longer present in Traditional Övdalian independently of the age of the speakers

(Rosenkvist 1994, Garbacz 2010: 143–164, Agnatýsson 2011: 174–183). We have looked for short relative clauses (*so*-clauses) with the verb *wârå* ('be') and a predicative. In such contexts, SF was found in Classical Övdalian. Among the eight clauses that could have displayed SF in the corpus, none does. One such possible SF context is given below in (36).

- (36) *Wjð addum je ny stugu so war byggd fyrtiåtta.*
 we had.1.PL a new house that was built fortyeight
 'We had a new house that was built 1948' (F, Evertsberg, 59)

We do not find any evidence that SF is possible and our results thus support the conclusions presented in Rosenkvist (1994), Garbacz (2010), and Angantýsson (2011).

3.2.2 Movement (V_{fin} -Adv word order in embedded non-V2 clauses).

V-to-I movement in Traditional Övdalian subordinate clauses is optional, in other words, such clauses are grammatical both with verb movement and with the verb *in situ*, as mentioned in Section 2.2.1 above and shown in Rosenkvist (1994), Garbacz (2006), Garbacz (2010: 111–142), and Angantýsson (2011: 174–177). In the corpus, however, there is no instance of any visible verb movement to I. We have examined some possible contexts for verb movement to I, namely embedded non-V2 clauses.

Out of the five relative *so*-clauses that could have displayed V-to-I (the total number of *so*-clauses in the corpus is 94), two have a high, pre-subject negation (consequently giving no clue as to whether the verb has moved or not), one has the verb *in situ* and in the remaining two, the sentential adverb *bara* 'only' precedes the finite verb, whereby the subject is relativized. Since Övdalian allows adverbs in a pre-subject position (Garbacz 2010: 100–103), it is impossible to know whether verb movement has taken place or not when the subject is relativized (independently of whether the verb has moved to I or stayed *in situ*, it follows the adverb).

Further, out of the total number of 32 conditional clauses with the complementizer *um*, two are a possible context for V-to-I. In one of them the negation precedes the subject (no possibility of tracing verb movement), whereas in the other the verb stays *in situ*.

In the third group of embedded clauses containing four instances of the adverbial *ettersos*-clauses, we find only one that could have been a possible context for V-to-I, but the verb stays *in situ* here, being preceded by the adverb *ny'tt* 'recently'.

Finally, among the non-relative *that*-clauses introduced by the complementizer *at* (108 instances in total), we find seven displaying evident embedded V2 (with a fronted adverb or object). We have found nine embedded clauses that display the order subject – finite verb – adverbial. However, as these clauses are subordinated to matrix predicates allowing for embedded V2, it cannot be determined whether

this word order is an effect of embedded V2 or an effect of the general embedded V-to-I movement that we have been looking for here. We have also found one clause that displays the finite verb *in situ* (after a matrix predicate that does not allow for embedded V2), namely *eð ir synd at...* ‘it is a pity that...’, cf. (37):

- (37) *Eð ir synd at main kripper int får upplivå eð-dar å*
 it is pity that my children not get experience it-there to
wårå i buðer.
 be in mountain.pasture.houses
 ‘It is a pity that my children will not experience how it is to be in the
 mountain pasture houses.’ (F, Väsa, 59)

The picture that we get after having searched for the structure of embedded clauses is that the following two embedded word orders with respect to the position of the finite verb and sentential adverbials are preferred in today’s Övdalian: Negation (and/or sentential adverbials) either precedes the subject and the finite verb or it follows the subject, but precedes the finite verb. Our findings are in line with the findings presented in Garbacz (2010: 124–128) concerning Traditional Övdalian, with the exception that no instances of visible V-to-I have been found.

3.2.3 Referential null subjects

As stated in Section 2.2 above, Traditional Övdalian allows for referential null subjects in 1st and 2nd person plural (Rosenkvist 2008, 2010; Garbacz 2010: 78 ff.). This was also the case in Classical Övdalian (Levander 1909: 109). The generalisation is that the 1st person plural pronoun, *wjð* ‘we’, may be omitted from the initial position in a main clause and from the initial position in a subordinate clause, but not if the subject follows the finite verb in a main clause (Rosenkvist 2008, 2010). The corpus confirms these generalisations; see (38) for an example of referential subject omission from the initial position in a main clause, (39) for omission from the initial position in a subordinate clause and (40) for no omission in case of subject inversion.

- (38) *Ja, addum ien kuokspis.*
 yes had.1PL a stove
 ‘Yes, we had a stove.’ (F, Åsen, 73)
- (39) *Eð war ju so ien dag mes warum aute.*
 it was certainly so one day while were.1.L outside
 ‘It certainly happened one day when we were outside.’ (F, Klitten, 47)
- (40) *Sę fikkum wjð ien lærer frå Göteborg.*
 then got.1PL we a teacher from Gothenburg
 ‘Then we got a teacher from Gothenburg.’ (M, Brunnsberg, 67)

We conducted our search mainly on the 1st person plural, as the 2nd person plural occurs only five times in the whole corpus. Overt *wið* ‘we’ in preverbal position, i.e. in the position from which it may be omitted, is missing in 211 out of a total of 250 possible contexts (i.e., pro-drop occurs in 84% of the possible cases). In (41) and (42) we show examples of both overt and covert *wið* ‘we’ in preverbal position.

- (41) *Ja, wið warum ju fem kripper.*
 yes we were.1PL thus five children
 ‘Yes, we were five children.’ (F, Evertsberg, 59)
- (42) *Ja, warum sjäks dâ min fuoreldrer.*
 yes were.1PL six then with parents
 ‘Yes, we were six together with my parents.’ (M, Blyberg, 65)

3.2.4 Multiple subjects

Doubling of subjects (but no longer tripling, in contrast to Classical Övdalian, see Levander 1909: 109) is a property of Övdalian that is rare in the other Scandinavian languages (see Section 2.2.2 above, Rosenkvist 2007; Garbacz 2010: 80 ff. and Rosenkvist’s paper in this volume). A subject can be doubled under certain conditions, one of which is that the subject that is doubled must be clause-initial, and the other that a sentential adverb expressing speaker’s attitude (for example *sakta* ‘actually’, *fel* ‘certainly/probably’ or *kanenda* ‘really’) must be present (Rosenkvist 2007). In the corpus, only one example of a doubled subject is found, in an embedded V2 clause, (43):

- (43) *Ienda ir at ig ar fel ig byggt i raise.*
 the.only is that I have then I lived in forest.SG.DEF.DAT
 ‘The only thing is that I have lived in the forest.’ (M, Brunnsberg, 67)

3.2.5 Negative concord and the form of negation

As stated in Section 2.2.2 above, Övdalian exhibits optional negative concord (Garbacz 2006, 2008, 2010: 85–89). In the corpus, we have searched for three negative indefinites (*indjin/inggan* ‘nobody’, *int-noð* ‘nothing’, and *ingger* ‘no.MASC/FEM.PL’) accompanied by the negative marker (*int* or *it*). Out of the 15 negative indefinites we found, three are accompanied by the negative marker, thus yielding negative concord, see (44):

- (44) *Ja, së amm wið int ingger krytyr nu itj.*
 yes then have.1PL we not no cattle now not
 ‘Yes, we do not have any cattle now.’ (M, Västäng, 57)

Moreover, we searched for the adverb *aldri* ‘never’ and found that the adverb is accompanied by the negative marker *it* once (out of fourteen times):

- (45) *Ig ar it aldri aft so uont.*
 I have not never had such pain
 ‘I have never ever had such a pain.’ (F, Åsen, 73)

The examples could indicate that double negation may have a strengthening function being sometimes an instance of emphatic negation, not just pure negative concord. This is not surprising; in any language, if a phenomenon is structurally optional, the variation is usually accompanied by some semantic or pragmatic effect.

3.2.6 *Lack of object shift*

Neither Classical nor Traditional Övdalian allows object shift, independently of whether the object is a DP object or a pronominal object (see Section 2.2.2. above, Levander 1909: 124 and Garbacz 2010: 73 ff., 79). The corpus data indicate that this picture is correct. We searched the corpus for two kinds of strings, first, one in which negation precedes a pronoun and second, one in which negation follows a pronoun: 1) negation – *eð* ‘it’/*mig* ‘me’/*sig* ‘refl.’ and 2) *eð* ‘it’/*mig* ‘me’/*sig* ‘refl.’ – negation. Presence of the second type of strings would indicate that object shift can be found in the corpus. However, this type is not attested, as all the 17 objects found in clauses with negation are unshifted, also when the pronoun is unstressed, see (46).

- (46) *Ig wet it eð.*
 I know not it
 ‘I don’t know it.’ (F, Skolan, 15)

3.3 The structure of the noun phrase in the Övdalian Speech Corpus

The structure of the Övdalian noun phrase is briefly discussed in Section 2.2.3 above and in Garbacz (2010: 82–85). Below, we focus on some aspects of it, namely the special use of definite forms, the three-gender system, incorporation of adjectives into nouns, the form of demonstratives, and the position of possessors.

3.3.1 *Special use of morphological definiteness*

Like some Scandinavian dialects, Övdalian often uses a morphologically definite form of a noun in contexts where the noun is semantically indefinite (Delsing 2003: 15). This phenomenon seems to be alive in Övdalian today. In the corpus, we find at least 27 cases of morphological definiteness in the absence of semantic definiteness. Two of the clearest examples are (47) and (48).

- (47) *Men ađ krytyrem byövd dier ju åvå wattneđ.*
 but for animals needed they of.course have water.DEF
 ‘But of course they needed to have water for the herd.’ (F, Åsen, 68)
- (48) *Eđ wart smyöređ åv mjtję.*
 it became butter.DEF of milk.DEF
 ‘Milk turned into butter.’ (F, Västäng, 75)

3.3.2 Three-gender system

Övdalian has a three-gender system (like the one found in older Swedish, Modern Icelandic, and many dialects of Norwegian), that is, a system in which all nouns display grammatical gender and are referred to by means of personal pronouns. Thus, there are no additional pronouns for inanimate objects. This is illustrated in (49).

- (49) *So addum wiđ folkskauln jän, fast an wart rivin sę.*
 so had.1.PL we school.DEF here but he became torn.down later
 ‘Then we had the elementary school here, but it was torn down since.’
 (M, Blyberg, 65)

3.3.3 Incorporation of adjectives in nouns

As previously stated in Section 2.2.3 above, the attributive adjective is normally incorporated in the noun in Övdalian. This is also found in the corpus side by side with instances of adjectives not incorporated. In the corpus, the incorporation is mostly found with the adjectives *gåmål* ‘old’ (*gamt-*), *litn* ‘little’ (*lisl-/liss-*), and *swensk* ‘Swedish’. Two examples from the corpus are given in (50) and (51).

- (50) ... *kuogeđum wiđ å gamtkuorteđ og ...*
 looked.1.PL we on old-picture.DEF and
 ‘We were looking at the old picture and ...’ (F, Åsen, 68)
- (51) ... *ienåv dier sienester so fikk go i an-dar gambelskaulan*
 one of they latest that got go in he-there old-school.DEF
 ‘... one of the last [pupils] that got to go to the old school.’ (M, Blyberg, 65)

3.3.4 Demonstrative form

The Övdalian demonstrative determiners are constructed from the personal pronouns expanded with the word *dar* ‘there’: *an-dar*, *å-dar*, *eđ-dar* (lit. ‘he-there’, ‘she-there’, ‘it-there’). The usage of those demonstratives is independent of the animacy of the noun, i.e. inanimate nouns could also be expanded with the determiner in question. This is exemplified in the corpus as shown in (52).

- (52) *Sę warum wiđ daitađ an-dar skauln...*
 then were.1.PL we there.to he-there school.DEF
 ‘Then, we went there to the school...’ (F, Klitten, 47)

3.3.5 *Position of possessors*

Possessors can be placed both after the noun and before the noun in Classical and Traditional Övdalian, whereby the former placement is the neutral and the latter one indicates stress on the possessor. We find that there are 34 instances of a noun with a possessor in the corpus. In six cases (18%), the possessor is found following the noun and in the rest of cases (28, i.e. 82%) it precedes the noun, as shown in the examples (53) and (54) below. This indicates that the possessor typically precedes the noun in today's Övdalian, unlike Classical and Traditional Övdalian, but similar to standard Swedish.

(53) *Men mumun mqi saggd åv för mig at ...*
 but grandmother mine said of for me that
 'But my grandmother told me that...'
 (F, Västäng, 49)

(54) *Og mqi mamma war ju frå Elsinggland.*
 and my mother was then from Hälsingland
 'And my mother was from Hälsingland'
 (F, Klitten, 47)

3.4 Summing up the syntax

The main syntactic findings of the corpus are presented in Table 12. These are compared to the older variants of Övdalian, and to Insular Scandinavian and Mainland Scandinavian.

The corpus investigation has shown that many of the syntactic characteristics of Traditional and also of Classical Övdalian are in fact attested in the corpus. Among them, we find the Övdalian innovations, such as referential null subjects, lack of object shift, subject doubling, negative concord and morphological definiteness in semantically indefinite contexts. We also find phenomena that are most probably inherited from the Dalecarlian variant of Old Scandinavian, such as the three-gender system and the possessor following the noun in a noun phrase. However, two syntactic properties of Classical Övdalian, i.e. verb movement to I (also found in Traditional Övdalian) and Stylistic Fronting (not found in Traditional Övdalian) are not found in the corpus. We should also mention that we looked in vain for long distance reflexives, adjectival usage of the present participle, V2 exclamatives and the Övdalian causative – all mentioned by Levander (1909). The reason these properties are missing in the corpus could be because of the limited size of the corpus and/or the fact that the material contains few kinds of speech situations. Since these features are attested in Traditional Övdalian (cf. Section 3.4 above), it is possible that they still exist.

Table 12. Main syntactic findings.

Syntactic property	Found in the corpus	Found in Traditional Övdalian	Found in Classical Övdalian	Found in Insular Scandinavian	Found in Mainland Scandinavian
STYLISTIC FRONTING	-	-	+	+	-
V-TO-I MOVEMENT	-	+	+	+	- ¹⁶
NULL REFERENTIAL SUBJECTS	+	+	+	-	-
MULTIPLE SUBJECTS	+	+	+	-	-
NEGATIVE CONCORD	+	+	+	-	-
OBJECT SHIFT	-	-	-	+	+
SPECIAL USE OF MORPHOLOGICAL DEFINITENESS	+	+	+	-	- ¹⁷
THREE-GENDER SYSTEM	+	+	+	+	± ¹⁸
INCORPORATION OF ADJECTIVES IN NOUNS	+	+	+	-	- ¹⁹
DEMONSTRATIVES CONSTRUCTED ON PERSONAL PRONOUNS	+	+	+	-	-
POSSESSORS AFTER THE HEAD NOUN	+	+	+	+	± ²⁰

4. Conclusions

In this paper we have given a presentation of the linguistic core properties of Classical and Traditional Övdalian, as well as Modern Övdalian. Much of the previous

16. V-to-I movement past certain adverbs (excluding negation) is attested in some northern Norwegian dialects and in the Swedish dialect of Österbotten in Finland (see Bentzen 2007 for both). V-to-I movement past negation is marginally found in Norwegian, Swedish and Danish dialects (Garbacz 2013).

17. Attested in a number of Mainland Scandinavian non-standard varieties, see Delsing (2003 and references therein).

18. Attested in Norwegian and in some Swedish and Danish non-standard varieties.

19. Attested in some Mainland Scandinavian non-standard varieties, see Delsing (2003 and references therein).

20. Attested in Norwegian and in a number of Mainland Scandinavian non-standard varieties, see Delsing (2003) and references therein.

literature has been based on Levander (1909), which, given its time of publication, cannot be an authoritative source on today's Övdalian. We have partly based our paper on the data presented in Garbacz (2010) and partly used the Övdalian Speech Corpus. These two sources have allowed us to check to what extent the picture of Övdalian morphology and syntax, as it is presented in some recent work, e.g. in Nyström & Sapir (2005a,b) or Åkerberg (2004, 2012), corresponds to the Övdalian spoken in Älvdalen at the beginning of the 21st century. We have also compared our findings to other recent literature, some of which have a diachronic focus, e.g. Helgander (1996, 2000), Steensland (2000), and a number of papers by Rosenkvist and Garbacz.

Our findings show that Övdalian at the beginning the 21st century is different from the Övdalian as described one hundred years ago by Levander, but that many of the properties are also present in the modern language. We see for example that the verbal morphology is robust, whereas case morphology is losing ground, especially amongst younger Övdalians. The syntactic innovations referential null subjects, negative concord, subject doubling, and lack of object shift are still present in the language. Other syntactic features, such as stylistic fronting or V-to-I movement, are virtually absent. Our findings show that the morphological and syntactic features that Övdalian shares with the older stages of Scandinavian languages are by now mostly lost. On the other hand, the phenomena that are considered to be innovations in Övdalian are mostly preserved. It has previously been observed that Övdalian is becoming more like Swedish (e.g. Sapir 2005: 3), and this tendency is also visible in our findings. Nevertheless, it is an interesting fact that the Övdalian innovations in syntax seem to be more resistant to this development.

Övdalian differs on many points from the other Scandinavian languages. At the same time, the research on Övdalian can shed new light on our knowledge of Scandinavian and Germanic languages. With this paper we hope to have pointed out some of the areas that can be of interest for future research.

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The Övdalian Speech Corpus

URL: Part of the Nordic Dialect Corpus: <<http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/scandiasyn/>>

Read about it: Johannessen, Janne Bondi, Priestley, Joel, Hagen, Kristin, Áfarli, Tor Anders & Øystein Alexander Vangsnes. 2009. The Nordic Dialect Corpus. An advanced research tool. In *Proceedings of the 17th Nordic Conference of Computational Linguistics NODALIDA 2009* [NEALT Proceedings Series 4], Krisstiina Jokinen & Eckhard Bick (eds). Tartu: Tartu University.

On the morpho-syntax of verb/adverb placement and fronting in embedded clauses in Modern Övdalian

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The constructions under investigation in this chapter include verb second (V2) and topicalization in various types of embedded clauses, stylistic fronting (SF) and transitive expletive constructions (TECs). It turns out that the older speakers of Övdalian allow V2 more freely than the younger speakers and the results from a verbal paradigm fill-in task reveal substantial variation in the use of verbal affixes and, interestingly, a tendency, especially by the younger speakers, to simplify the verbal morphology. Both SF and TECs receive very low acceptance scores. The data does not provide support for the ‘strong version’ of the Rich Agreement Hypothesis (RAH) but it is argued that the facts regarding verb/adverb placement can be accounted for under a ‘weak’ RAH analysis.

1. Introduction¹

The purposes of this chapter are twofold. First, it aims at placing Övdalian among the Scandinavian languages with regard to verbal morphology, embedded

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V2, stylistic fronting (SF) and transitive expletive constructions (TECs). Secondly, it attempts to formalize and test hypotheses predicting that languages/dialects that have the relevant morphological differences also show certain syntactic differences. Thus, my intention is both to add to the description of Övdalian/Scandinavian verbal inflection and syntax and to evaluate theories on morpho-syntax.

Examples (1–4) present some pairs/triplets of word order variation in embedded clauses in Övdalian, where both/all variants presumably are accepted by the same speaker (*intra-speaker variation*) to varying degrees, depending on the speaker (*inter-speaker variation*):

- (1) a. *Du wet at pãitjin twädd oltiett biln*
 you know that boy-the washed always car-the
 ‘You know that the son always washed the car’
- b. *Du wet at pãitjin oltiett twädd biln*
 you know that boy-the always washed car-the
 ‘You know that the son always washed the car’
- (2) a. *An wart iwari at an add it lesið q-dar buotje*
 he became aware that he had not read she-there book-the
 ‘He discovered that he had not read that book’
- b. *An wart iwari at q-dar buotje add an it lesið*
 he became aware that she-there book-the had he not read
 ‘He discovered that he had not read that book’
- (3) a. *Ig truor at ar uorteð akudirað um satje ø stemmun*
 I think that has been discussed about matter-the on meeting-the
 ‘I think that the matter was discussed at the meeting’
- b. *Ig truor at akudirað ar uorteð um satje ø stemmun*
 I think that discussed has been about matter-the on meeting-the
 ‘I think that the matter was discussed at the meeting’
- c. *Ig truor at eð ar uorteð akudirað um satje ø*
 I think that EXPL has been discussed about matter-the on
stemmun
 meeting-the
 ‘I think that the matter was discussed at the meeting’
- (4) a. *Nog autleningger tjoöpt gamtstugu*
 some foreigners bought old-house-the
 ‘Some foreigners bought the old house’

- b. *Eð tyyöpt nog autleningger gamtstugu*
 EXPL bought some foreigners old-house-the
 ‘Some foreigners bought the old house’

Finite verb – adverb order (*Vfin-Adv*) as in (1a) is always the unmarked word order in all types of embedded clauses in Icelandic but it is restricted to certain types of embedded clauses in the Mainland Scandinavian languages (Wiklund et al. 2009). Adverb- finite verb (*Adv-Vfin*) as in (1b) is the default word order in embedded clauses in the Mainland Scandinavian languages but it is heavily restricted in Icelandic (Angantýsson 2007). It has been observed that Övdalian has considerable variation in this respect (see Garbacz 2010 and references there, and Rosenkvist 2011). In this study, I shall explore to what extent the acceptability of subject-initial V2/V3 depends on the clause type.

Topicalization, (2b), is commonly referred to as a root phenomenon in the literature because its use is mostly restricted to main clauses or “main-clause-like” embedded clauses in languages like English. It has been claimed that Icelandic allows embedded topicalization (*ET*) more freely than the Mainland Scandinavian languages (see discussions in Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990; Iatridou & Kroch 1992; Vikner 1995). This claim is actually disputable, as I will discuss, but the main task will be to clarify the status of Övdalian in this respect.

Stylistic fronting (*SF*) of the type shown in (3b) is found in Icelandic and Faroese, most typically in embedded clauses in formal registers but also in main clauses, in which case it has an even more archaic or stylistic flavor (Jónsson 1991; Holmberg 2006). Examples of *SF* are also known in Övdalian (Levander 1909: 122; Garbacz 2010) but its acceptability in the modern language has not been compared directly to *SF* in the Insular Scandinavian languages. Expletive insertion, (3c), is a very clear “left edge” phenomenon, restricted to clause-initial positions, and closely related to *SF*, which is why I include it here.

Transitive expletive constructions (*TECs*), as in (4), have commonly been assumed to be a characteristic of languages with “extra” subject positions, most famously Icelandic (see the discussion of Multiple Subject Constructions (*MSCs*) in Chomsky (1995: 341–394) and much later work). A part of my agenda was to find out to what extent Övdalian allows *TECs*.

There are several theoretical reasons for linking the constructions in (1–4) together in a syntactic study. The first is that it is usually assumed that *SF*, topicalization and expletive insertion all target a similar or even the same position to the left of the finite verb, and the *Adv-Vfin* order in languages like Övdalian raises questions about the nature of V-to-I movement. Another reason for investigating these constructions with respect to one another is to see if there are any indications for structural or parametric interrelations as sometimes

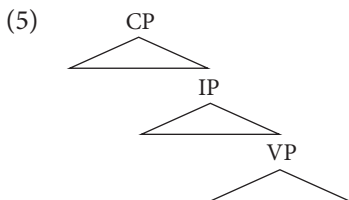
suggested in the literature (e.g. Holmberg & Platzack 1995). The third reason is that it is important to explore the interaction between SF and expletive insertion, i.e. the similarities and differences between the distribution of these phenomena in different types of embedded clauses without a pre-verbal subject, and to find out to what extent it is possible to leave the subject position empty. Furthermore, my discussion is aimed at drawing attention to the fact that the acceptability of all these word order phenomena depends to some extent on the type of embedded clause.

In Section 2, I sketch the theoretical background and spell out the predictions about the constructions in question. Section 3 reports on the results from my data collection in Älvdalen in 2007 and 2008. It turns out that the older speakers of Övdalian allow V2 more freely than the younger speakers, and the conditions for V2 depend to a certain extent on the type of embedded clause as well as the type of finite verb and adverb. The results from a verbal paradigm fill-in task reveal substantial variation in the use of verbal affixes and, interestingly, a tendency, especially by the younger speakers, to simplify the verbal morphology. Both SF and TECs receive very low acceptance scores. My data does not provide any support for the ‘strong version’ of the Rich Agreement Hypothesis (RAH) (Holmberg & Platzack 1995; Vikner 1995, 1997; Rohrbacher 1999) but it is argued that the facts regarding verb/adverb placement can be accounted for under a ‘weak’ RAH analysis (Bobaljik 1995; Jonas 1996b; Thráinsson 1996; Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998; Bobaljik 2002; Thráinsson 2010; Heycock et al. 2010; Heycock et al. 2012, Koenenman & Zeijlstra 2012). Section 4 concludes the paper.

2. Theoretical background

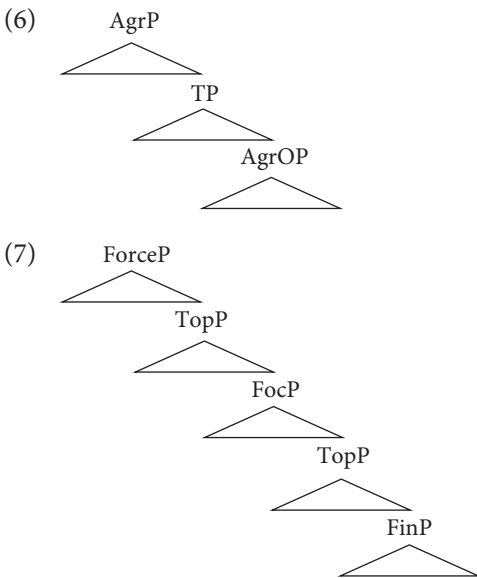
2.1 Clause structure and different types of complement clauses

I assume that a simple clause consists of three structural layers, identified with the labels in (5) in the general case:



The VP (Verb Phrase) is the lexical layer, headed by the verb and the residence of theta assignment.² The IP (Inflectional Phrase) is headed by functional heads related to verbal inflection and argumental features such as case and agreement. The CP (Complementizer Phrase) is usually headed by a free functional morpheme, hosting topics and various operator-like elements such as interrogative and relative pronouns (cf. Rizzi 1997: 281).

In the course of the argumentation I will make use of the following extensions of IP and CP, respectively:



The idea of a split IP is originally from (Pollock 1989). As shown in (6), there is a particular functional projection associated with agreement between the finite verb and the subject (AgrSP), another projection related to tense inflection (TP) and a third one relating to agreement between the finite verb and the object (AgrOP) (Bobaljik & Jonas 1996; Collins & Thráinsson 1996; Jonas 1996a, 1996b; Jónsson 1996; Thráinsson 1996; Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998).

2. The details of the internal structure of the VP, i.e. projections such as ν P/PrP and TrP/VoiceP (see discussions in Bowers 2001; 2010) or 'VP-shell' structures (cf. Larson 1988 and much later work; for an overview and references see Emonds & Whitney 2006), are not crucial for my purposes here but I assume for concreteness that (i) unaccusatives assign a theta-role to Spec-VP, (ii) unergatives assign a theta-role to the external position (Spec- ν P or its equivalent), and (iii) regular transitive predicates assign a 'subjective' theta-role to Spec- ν P (or its equivalent) and an 'objective' theta-role to Spec-VP (cf. Vangsnes 2002: 56).

The structure in (7) was originally proposed by (Rizzi 1997). The core properties of each projection can be described as follows:

- (8) ForceP: Specification of Force – expresses the clausal type
- FiniteP: Concerns C-I dependencies and the content of the embedded IP
- TopicP: A projection of a fronted topic (old information – the comment introduces new information)
- FocusP: A projection of a fronted focused element (new information – the open sentence expresses contextually given information)

I take the functional projections in (6–8) to be possible extensions of IP and CP but not necessarily given or universal, and I will not make reference to any such additional structure unless there is syntactic evidence for it.

I assume that the subject occupies an IP-internal specifier position in embedded clauses and non-subject initial V2 clauses while it moves to Spec-CP in subject-initial main clauses (for discussions on different subject positions and V-to-I vs. V-to-C movement see Ottósson 1989; Jónsson 1996: 21–25, 28; Zwart 1997; van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman 2007). Furthermore, I assume that the expletive is base-generated in Spec-AgrSP in languages like Icelandic. Examples (9–12) show the distribution of arguments in various constructions according to this assumption (modeled after Jónsson 1996: 2, 4, 76, 204–207):

Spec CP

- (9) a. *Jón/hann* hefur lesið bókina
John/he has read book-the
'John/he has read the book'
- b. *Nemendurnir* hafa lesið bókina
students-the have read book-the
'The students have read the book'
- c. *Jóni/Honum* voru gefnir þessir sokkar
John-DAT/he-DAT were given-PL these socks
'John/he was given these socks'
- d. *Maríu* líkuðu þessir fundir
Mary-DAT liked-PL these meetings
'Mary liked these meetings'

Spec AgrSP

- (10) a. ...að *Jón/hann* hefur lesið bókina
that John/he has read book-the
'...that John/he has read the book'

- b. ...að *nemendurnir* hafa lesið bókina
that students-the have read book-the
'that the students have read the book'
- c. ...að *Jóni/honum* voru gefnir þessir sokkar
that John-DAT/he-DAT were given-PL these socks
'...that John/he was given these socks'
- d. ...að *Maríu* líkuðu þessir fundir
that Mary-DAT liked-PL these meetings
'that Mary liked these meetings'

Spec TP

- (11) a. ...að það hefur *einhver* stolið hjólinu
that EXPL has someone stolen bike-the
'...that someone has stolen the bike'
- b. ...að það búa *einhyrningar* í þessum skógi (existential)
that EXPL live unicorns in this forest
'...that (some) unicorns live in this forest'
- c. ...að það fóru *margir málfræðingar* í
that EXPL went many linguists on
þessa ferð (cardinal/presuppositional)
this trip
'...that many linguists went to this trip'
- d. ...*að það hefur *Jón/hann* lesið bókina
that EXPL has John/he read book-the
'that John/he has read the book'
- e. ...*að það hafa *nemendurnir* lesið bókina
that EXPL have students-the read book-the
'...that the students have read the book'

Spec AgrOP

- (12) a. *María* hittir *Pétur* aldrei
Mary meets Peter never
'Mary never meets Peter'
- b. *Hann* átti aldrei hesta
He owned never horses
'He never owned horses'
- c. **Hann* átti *hesta* aldrei
He owned horses never
'He never owned horses'

- d. *María kaupir aldrei tvö dagblöð* (cardinal)
 Mary buys never two newspapers
 ‘Mary never buys two newspapers’
- e. **María kaupir tvö dagblöð* aldrei (cardinal)
 Mary buys two newspapers never
 ‘Mary never buys two newspapers’

Following Jónsson (1996: 214–15), I assume that all subjects move to Spec-TP to check nominative case (covertly in the case of inherently case-marked subjects), and that objects move to Spec-AgrOP to have accusative case checked (covertly in the case of inherently case-marked objects) if accusative case is not available within VP. Based on sentences like (10–11) it can be argued that NPs move to different positions depending on their definiteness: First, they always move to SpecTP in order to check case features but only the definite NPs move above SpecTP to SpecAgrSP in order to check an EPP-feature on AgrS. The expletive checks the EPP-feature when the subject is indefinite as in (11a–c) but this is impossible when the subject is definite as in (11d–f). This is parallel to the case of object shift where the higher object position is associated with something ‘presupposition-like’ (cf. Diesing 1992, 36–39 and 107–109, for German; see also Chomsky 2001).³

Let us finally consider different types of predicates taking CPs as their complements. In an influential paper, Hooper & Thompson (1973) investigated the distribution of root phenomena in embedded clauses in a systematic way, and attempted to account for it in terms of the semantic notion of ASSERTION. The assertion of a sentence is “its core meaning or main proposition” and it “may be identified as that part which can be negated or questioned by the usual application of these processes of negation and interrogation” (1973: 473). In Table 1 we see Hooper & Thompson’s classification of predicates that take clauses as their complements (1973, 473).

Table 1. Different types of matrix predicates.

Class	Predicates
A.	<i>say, report, exclaim, assert, claim, vow, be true, be certain, be sure, be obvious</i>
B.	<i>suppose, believe, think, expect, guess, imagine, it seems, it happens, it appears</i>
C.	<i>be (un)likely, be (im)possible, be (im)probable, doubt, deny</i>
D.	<i>resent, regret, be sorry, be surprised, bother, be odd, be strange, be interesting</i>
E.	<i>realize, learn, find out, discover, know, see, recognize</i>

3. For an overview of object shift and related issues, see Thráinsson (2001) and Vikner (2006) and references there.

Classes A, B and C represent non-factive predicates/complements and classes D and E represent factive predicates/complements. In classes D and E the content of the complement clause is presupposed. Let us look at some actual sentences to illustrate this:

- (13) a. John says that Mary has not read the book (class A)
 b. John thinks that Mary has not read the book (class B)
 c. John doubts that Mary has not read the book (class C)
 d. John regrets that Mary has not read the book (class D)
 e. John realizes that Mary has not read the book (class E)

In a sentence like (13a), i.e. with a predicate like ‘say’ and a sentential complement, the proposition of either the main sentence or of the complement clause alone represents the main assertion. In the latter case, the main clause predicate has a “parenthetical” reading. If the predicate in the main clause is a verb like ‘believe’, as we have in (13b), the complement proposition represents the main assertion in the normal case (1973: 477–478). This means that complements of predicates A and B can be assertive. Complements of predicates like ‘doubt’ (13c) are non-assertive. Factive predicates like ‘regret’ (13d) “express some emotion or subjective attitude about a presupposed complement” (1973: 479) and also assert the proposition of the complement. Finally, (semi-)factive predicates like ‘discover’ (13e) “assert the manner in which the subject came to know that the complement proposition is true” and Hooper & Thompson claim that complements of this type can be asserted (1973: 480).⁴ This classification plays a role in the discussion of embedded V2 in Sections 3.3 and 3.4.

Attempts have been made to relate the restrictions on root phenomena in embedded clauses to various “sizes” or different feature contents of “Rizzian-style” CPs (Haegeman 2003, 2006a; de Cuba 2007; Haegeman 2010a,b; Wiklund et al. 2009). According to this view, restrictions on root phenomena such as topicalization can either be explained in terms of truncation (smaller CPs do not offer the necessary positions)⁵ or in terms of intervention effects (movement blocked because of elements such as relative operators and *wh*-features). The truncation approach can be viewed as a development of the CP-recursion idea (Iatridou & Kroch 1992) in the sense that it assumes that some embedded clauses have more structure than others. The intervention approach assumes that all embedded clauses are

4. For a different view on this, see Wiklund et al. (2009) and references there.

5. Note that the CP-recursion analysis and the truncation analysis both imply that the embedded clauses that are the most “main-clause like” with respect to root phenomena have more extensive “embedded structure” (more complementizer positions), which is a bit controversial (Höskuldur Thráinsson, p.c.).

the same in terms of size, and that the differences should be explained in terms of syntactic/semantic features. I will briefly come back to this in Section 3.4 where I discuss the results for embedded topicalization.

2.2 Inflection and verb movement

In the literature on Scandinavian syntax, various differences between the languages and aspects of their historical changes (word order, subject-verb agreement, case marking etc.) have frequently been associated with the properties of IP (Thráinsson 1986; Platzack 1987; Sigurðsson 1989; Rögvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990; Holmberg & Platzack 1995 and much later work). Vikner (1995: 160–163), who otherwise analyzes generalized V2 in embedded clauses in languages like Modern Icelandic as V-to-C movement, also assumes that the change from subject-initial V2 to V3 in embedded clauses in the Mainland Scandinavian languages is related to verbal morphology. However, various diachronic and synchronic studies have shown that the connection between (verbal) morphology and syntactic rules cannot be direct (Sundquist 2002; Thráinsson 2003; Bentzen et al. 2007; Garbacz, Håkansson, & Rosenkvist 2007; Wiklund et al. 2009).⁶

According to the ‘strong’ version of RAH, a language will have V-to-I movement if and only if it has ‘rich verbal morphology’ (see discussions on ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ RAH in Thráinsson 2010). Vikner (1997: 103–104) claims, for instance, that V-to-I is only found in languages where person inflection can occur in the same verbal form as temporal inflection. The problem with this approach is that some Scandinavian dialects, in particular the Tromsø-dialect in Norway (Bentzen 2007; Wiklund et al. 2007) and the (Swedish) Kronoby-dialect in Finland (Bentzen forthcoming), allow subject-initial V2 in various types of embedded clauses despite ‘poor’ verbal morphology (see discussions in Bobaljik 2002; Thráinsson 2003; Thráinsson 2007: 60). Evidence from Old Swedish and Old Danish also shows that the relevant inflectional distinctions merged long before the change from V2 to V3 in subject-initial embedded clauses took place (Falk 1993). The ‘weak’ version of RAH (RAHw) entails that if a language has rich verbal morphology it will have V-to-I movement (Holmberg & Platzack 1995; Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998; Bobaljik 2002; Thráinsson 2003). This approach leaves open the possibility that languages/dialects with ‘poor’ verbal morphology can have V-to-I movement.

6. Some scholars have even implied that there is no connection at all between verbal morphology and verb movement. Wiklund et al. (2007), for instance, assume that Northern Norwegian has V-to-I movement in certain cases where Icelandic does not, despite the fact that Icelandic has agreement morphology but (Northern) Norwegian does not. If this last approach were taken further, the whole story about IP and its feature properties would have to be revised. As far as I know, nobody is claiming that, though.

Icelandic has all the morphological and syntactic properties that Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998) (B&T) mention as potential evidence for a split IP, i.e. tense/agreement distinction in the past tense of weak verbs, V_{fin}-Adv order in subject-initial embedded clauses and the possibility of TECs. In the Mainland Scandinavian standard languages we have the reverse situation: No separated tense and agreement markers, Adv-V_{fin} order is the default word order in subject-initial embedded clauses and TECs are not possible. In Övdalian, the verbal inflection is richer than in the Mainland Scandinavian languages but not as rich as in Icelandic, and V_{fin}-Adv order in subject-initial embedded clauses is not as common or general as in Icelandic. This situation makes Övdalian very interesting as a testing ground for B&T's theory.

2.3 Predictions of RAH: The research questions

The standard paradigm of weak verbs like *spilá* 'play' in Övdalian is shown in Table 2 (Åkerberg 2012), with a comparison to Icelandic and Danish (see also Garbacz 2010, 45 and references there).

Icelandic shows person distinction in both tenses and numbers. Övdalian makes no person distinction in the singular but it does in the plural. Danish has no person distinction at all. In Icelandic, tense and agreement suffixes can be separated very clearly in both numbers. In Övdalian, the same holds true for the plural.

According to the RAHw, separate tense and agreement suffixes is an unambiguous clue for the Split-IP parameter. This makes the following prediction:

- (14) V-to-I movement should be obligatory in Övdalian.

Since we already know that Adv-V_{fin} is also an option in embedded clauses in Övdalian, there are only two possible ways to go in terms of RAHw: Either the verbal inflection is not as robust in Modern Övdalian as the paradigm in Table 1 indicates or the exceptions from V_{fin}-Adv represent an *apparent* lack of V-to-I movement. These possibilities will be discussed in Sections 3.2, 3.3 and 3.6.

Table 2. Verbal inflection in Icelandic, Övdalian and Danish.

	Icelandic		Övdalian		Danish	
	Present	Past	Present	Past	Present	Past
1sg.	<i>spil-a</i>	<i>spil-að-i</i>	<i>spil-är</i>	<i>spil-äð</i>	<i>spill-er</i>	<i>spill-ede</i>
2sg.	<i>spila-ar</i>	<i>spil-að-ir</i>	<i>spil-är</i>	<i>spil-äð</i>	<i>spill-er</i>	<i>spill-ede</i>
3sg.	<i>spila-ar</i>	<i>spil-að-ir</i>	<i>spil-är</i>	<i>spil-äð</i>	<i>spill-er</i>	<i>spill-ede</i>
1pl.	<i>spil-um</i>	<i>spil-uð-um</i>	<i>spil-um</i>	<i>spil-äð-um</i>	<i>spill-er</i>	<i>spill-ede</i>
2pl.	<i>spil-ið</i>	<i>spil-uð-uð</i>	<i>spil-ið</i>	<i>spil-äð-ið</i>	<i>spill-er</i>	<i>spill-ede</i>
3pl.	<i>spil-a</i>	<i>spil-uð-u</i>	<i>spil-ä</i>	<i>spil-äð</i>	<i>spill-er</i>	<i>spill-ede</i>

If there is some inter-speaker variation in Övdalian, both with respect to verbal inflection and verb placement in subject-initial embedded clauses, one would expect the following correlations:

- (15) Speakers of Övdalian who have independent tense and agreement morphology are more likely than others to allow verb movement in non-V2 contexts.
- (16) Speakers who have independent tense and agreement morphology should allow TECs.

The idea in (15–16) is that some speakers might have a split IP grammar while others have a simple IP grammar. On the assumption that V-to-I movement is forced in a complex IP structure one would expect the split IP group to prefer the V_{fin}-Adv over the Adv-V_{fin} order. This will be discussed in Section 3.6. Another property of a split IP structure as opposed to a simple IP structure is that it has the extra subject positions required for TECs. Therefore one would expect that the group who has more structure is more likely to accept TECs. I will come back to this matter in Section 3.5.

Another related idea, also of a morpho-syntactic nature, is that the possibility of SF depends on V-to-I movement (Jónsson 1991). In that case the following prediction should hold true for Övdalian:

- (17) The speakers who are most willing to accept V_{fin}-Adv order in non-V2 contexts are also most willing to allow SF.

In Section 3.4, we will see whether or not this prediction is borne out.

Finally, there is the idea that Spec-IP is a possible “landing site” for topicalized constituents in languages like Icelandic (Rögvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990). This analysis seems to be partly based on the assumption that Icelandic allows embedded topicalization (ET) more freely than the Mainland Scandinavian languages. If this is correct one expects the following situation in Övdalian:

- (18) The speakers who are most willing to accept verb movement in non-V2 contexts are also most willing to allow ET.

I will discuss this prediction in Section 3.5.

What all these morpho-syntactic ideas have in common is that they predict that languages/dialects that have the relevant morphological differences (no verb agreement vs. separated tense and agreement suffixes, for instance) also show certain syntactic differences (lack of verb movement vs. overt V-to-I movement, for instance) and if they do not, an explanation is called for. Because of the small number of informants, my data does not provide any statistically significant results regarding the interrelations mentioned in (14–18), but it does give certain

indications about the connection between the phenomena under investigation and the status of Övdalian among the Scandinavian languages in this respect.

3. Results from fieldwork in Älvdalen

3.1 About the data collection

The results presented here are from two written questionnaires administered to 52 speakers of Övdalian (12 adolescents and 33 adults) during fieldwork in Älvdalen, from May 29 to June 1, 2007, and the weekend of June 14–15, 2008. The first questionnaire (45 participants) included 16 minimal pairs contrasting Vfin/Adv order (V2) and Adv/Vfin order (V3) in various types of subject-initial embedded clauses with sentence adverbs like *int/it* ‘not’, *older/aldri* ‘never’ and *oltiätt* ‘always’. The second questionnaire (7 participants, born 1998, 1994, 1963, 1948, 1938, 1938, 1930) consisted of 35 minimal pairs/triplets of (i) embedded topicalization, (ii) Stylistic fronting, (iii) transitive expletive constructions (TECs), as well as some additional examples of V2/V3 in subject-initial embedded clauses. A subset of the speakers (34 in total) also performed verbal paradigm fill-in tasks. The number of informants tested simultaneously ranged from one to four. The method can be described as ‘supervised questionnaire completion’ (see discussions on the written questionnaire method and ‘oral elicitation’ in Cornips & Poletto 2005).

In the first questionnaire, 27 speakers out of 45 solved the verbal paradigm fill-in task illustrated in (19). The expected forms according to Åkerberg (2012) are given in brackets.

- (19) *baita* ‘bite’
- | | | | | |
|---------|-----------------------|--------------|-------|-------------------|
| ig bait | ‘I bite’ | wjð ‘we’ | _____ | (<i>baitum</i>) |
| du bait | ‘you bite’ | ið ‘you pl.’ | _____ | (<i>baitið</i>) |
| an ‘he’ | _____ (<i>bait</i>) | dier ‘they’ | _____ | (<i>baita</i>) |

It turned out that this verb is not the most felicitous one to use in a fill-in task of this kind, since it also has a reciprocal form *baitas* ‘bite each other, fight’, which probably makes the task more complicated and makes the results more difficult to interpret. The second questionnaire was administered to seven informants, born 1998, 1994, 1963, 1948, 1938, 1938, 1930. All of them also solved a verbal-paradigm fill-in task comparable to the one in (19), but this time including the verbs *dröma* ‘dream’ and *spilå* ‘play’ instead of *baita* ‘bite’.

As for the test sentences, there were three possible responses in both questionnaires (cf. 20).

- (20) Yes = A natural sentence that I could easily say
 ? = An odd sentence that I could hardly ever say
 No = An unacceptable sentence that I could not say

The instructions were given in standard Swedish. The test sentences in the first questionnaire were modeled after the examples in Garbacz (2006). In the second questionnaire, my choice of sentences was aimed at obtaining systematically comparable material to Icelandic and Faroese. When designing the questionnaires I obtained translations from experts on Övdalian who consulted with native speakers about the examples.

3.2 Verbal inflection

The results from the first fill-in task revealed substantial variation in the use of verbal affixes in both age groups, and a tendency by the younger speakers to simplify the verbal morphology (the standard endings/forms are boldfaced, cf. Åkerberg 2012). Table 3 presents the results for 3sg. and 1pl.

The forms of 3sg. and 1pl. are for the most part in accordance with Åkerberg's (2012) handbook of Övdalian grammar. The main exceptions are (i) the lack of an ending in 1pl. (among the adolescents) and (ii) an additional *s*-sound in both categories (among the adults). In 3pl., an *-a* plus an extra *s*-sound is the most common form, followed by the expected *a*-ending. Interestingly, this category has no ending for most adolescents. Table 4 shows the results for 2pl. and 3pl.

In 2pl. there are various forms. For most adolescents this category has no ending. Among the adults, *-ið* and *-ir* are equally common.⁷ Two speakers use *-is* but

Table 3. Variation in the use of verbal affixes (the present tense of *baita* 'bite', 3sg. and 1pl.).

		Adolescents (10)	Adults (17)	Total (27)
3sg.	<i>bait-Ø</i>	10	14	24
	<i>bait-s</i>	0	3	3
	Null affix	100%	82%	89%
	Non-null affix	0	8%	11%
1pl.	<i>bait-Ø</i>	3	0	3
	<i>bait-um</i>	6	15	21
	<i>bait-ums</i>	0	2	2
	<i>bait-a</i>	1	0	1
	Null affix	30%	0	11%
	Non-null affix	70%	100%	89%

7. The variation between *-ð* and *-r* is dialectal (Henrik Rosenkvist, p.c.).

Table 4. Variation in the use of verbal affixes (the present tense of *baita* ‘bite’, 2pl. and 3pl.).

		Adolescents (10)	Adults (17)	Total (27)
2pl.	<i>bait-Ø</i>	7	2	9
	<i>bait-ið</i>	1	5	6
	<i>bait-ir</i>	1	5	6
	<i>bait-is</i>	0	2	2
	<i>bait-ier</i>	0	1	1
	<i>bait-as</i>	0	1	1
	<i>bait-um</i>	0	1	1
	<i>bait-t</i>	1	0	1
	Null affix	70%	14%	33%
	Non-null affix	30%	86%	77%
3pl.	<i>bait-Ø</i>	7	1	8
	<i>bait-as</i>	1	9	10
	<i>bait-a</i>	1	6	7
	<i>bait-n</i>	1	1	2
	Null affix	70%	7%	30%
	Non-null Affix	30%	93%	70%

the other variants are only isolated examples. If all endings of the type *-i* plus a (dental/alveolar) consonant are added together there are 15 speakers (13 adults) who use this type of ending.

Among the adolescents the verbal paradigm completely collapses in three cases of nine – no inflectional suffix being the most common choice in 2pl. and 3pl. Among the adults the *-um* suffix is used consistently and productively⁸ and so is the *-a(s)* ending in 3pl. On the other hand, the ending for 2pl. seems to be rather unstable (although this can be affected by the choice of verb, or even orthography). Only five informants solved the paradigm fill-in task in full accordance with the handbook. In order to see if there is a direct correlation between having the “correct” verbal morphology and allowing subject-initial V2 in non-V2 contexts I compared the syntactic results from the individuals who show the full paradigm and the individuals who show no person distinction. It turned out that the acceptance rate of sentences of this type was very low in both groups (close to the average).

Tables 5–6 present the results for the present tense of two other verbs (from the second questionnaire).

In Table 5 we see that unlike the results for *baita* ‘bite’, there is no tendency to use null affixes in the plural. The forms of 3sg., 1pl. and 3pl. are in accordance with

8. Note that the subject is usually omitted in 1pl. so this particular form has a special syntactic status.

Table 5. Variation in the use of verbal affixes (the present tense of *dröma* ‘dream’ and *spilá* ‘play’).

		Children (2)	Grown-ups (5)	Total (7)
3sg.	<i>dröm-er</i>	2	4	6
	<i>dröm-ð</i>	0	1	1
1pl.	<i>dröm-um</i>	2	5	7
2pl.	<i>dröm-ir</i>	1	2	3
	<i>dröm-id</i>	1	1	2
	<i>dröm-er, dröm-de</i>	0	2	2
3pl.	<i>dröm-a</i>	1	4	5
	<i>dröm-er, dröm-d</i>	1	1	2
1pl.	<i>spil-um</i>	2	5	7
2pl.	<i>spil-ir</i>	2	5	7
3pl.	<i>spil-á</i>	2	4	6
	<i>spil-o</i>	0	1	1

handbooks of Övdalian grammar (cf. Åkerberg 2012), with one exception in 3sg. and two exceptions in 3pl. As before (cf. Table 4), most speakers either choose *-ir* or *-id* in 2pl. but there also the variants *-er* and *-de* (the last one presumably mistaken as past tense). The data does not indicate any important difference between the younger speakers and the older ones.

Table 6 shows the results for the past tense which was not tested in the first questionnaire.

Table 6. Variation in the use of verbal affixes (the past tense of *dröma* ‘dream’ and *spilá* ‘play’).

		Children (2)	Grown-ups (5)	Total (7)
3sg.	<i>dröm-de</i>	2	4	6
	<i>dröm-d</i>	0	1	1
1pl.	<i>dröm-dum</i>	1	5	6
	<i>dröm-de</i>	1	0	1
2pl.	<i>dröm-dir</i>	2	2	4
	<i>dröm-did, dröm-der</i>	0	3	3
3pl.	<i>dröm-de, dröm-d(e)</i>	2	3	5
	<i>dröm-dä, dröm-dir</i>	0	2	2
1pl.	<i>spil-edum, spil-eðum, spil-äðum</i>	2	3	5
	<i>spil-äð, spil-um</i>	0	2	2
2pl.	<i>spil-äðir, spil-eðir, spil-edir</i>	0	3	3
	<i>spil-äð, spil-ed, spil-et, spil-id</i>	2	2	5
3pl.	<i>spil-äð, spil-äd, spil-eð, spil-ed, spil-et</i>	2	5	7

Here we see more variation than in the present tense. The 3sg. forms of both verbs and the 1pl. form(s) for *dröma* ‘dream’ are in accordance with Åkerberg’s (2012) handbook with one exception in each category (the exceptions are not from the same speaker though). Abstracting away from the spelling, all speakers use the same form in 3pl. of *spilå* ‘play’, i.e. *-äð* (*-äða* would be the expected form in environments where there is no deletion of final vowels), and 5 out of 7 speakers use (some form of) the expected *-äðum* ending in 1pl. of this same verb. 2pl. of *spilå* ‘play’ has seven different forms if spelling differences are taken into account but abstracting away from orthography presumably leaves only two different pronunciations, i.e. *-äðir* and *-äð*. Again, there is no tendency to use zero-endings and there is no important difference between the younger speakers and the older ones.

The crucial data with respect to the RAHW are the past tense forms of weak verbs like *dröma* ‘dream’ and *spilå* ‘play’ (Table 6), since only there can one expect the tense marker to be clearly separable from the agreement marker. Although most speakers make this distinction in most cases (cf. the plural endings in Table 6), there is considerable variation, with only 3 out of 7 speakers showing no sign of a merger between different forms in the past tense. Actually, one of the older informants told me after she had taken the test that the verbal paradigm fill-in task was the most difficult part and that she would need help with things of this sort in her formal writing. A situation like this is unexpected in a stable system of verbal inflection. These results regarding verbal inflection suggest that morphological evidence for a positive setting for a split IP is not unambiguous in Övdalian anymore.

The expectation that speakers that consistently inflect verbs according to the traditional pattern, as presented by Åkerberg (2012), would score differently with respect to the syntactic variables that were investigated, was not fulfilled. The three consistent speakers did not form a uniform group when grading the example sentences.

3.3 Verb/adverb placement in subject-initial embedded clauses

In the previous literature on verb movement in the Scandinavian languages it has often been pointed out that the conditions for V_{fin}-Adv order (V2) and Adv-V_{fin} order (V3) in subject-initial clauses depend to some extent on the type of embedded clause. In the Mainland Scandinavian languages, where Adv-V_{fin} is the default word order, embedded V2 is mostly restricted to complements of so-called bridge-verbs, i.e. predicates like *say*, *think*, and *believe* (Vikner 1995; Julien 2007)⁹. In Icelandic, where V_{fin}-Adv is always the unmarked word order, subject-initial V3 is for the most part restricted to relative clauses, some types of adverbial

9. I refer to ‘bridge-verbs’ in Vikner’s (1995) terms for descriptive ease, see critical discussion in de Haan (2001).

clauses (including conditional clauses) and indirect questions introduced by a *wh*-pronoun (Angantýsson 2007). In this section I shall present the total results by different types of embedded clauses and consider the results on an individual basis, in light of the results from the verbal paradigm fill-in task.

Tables 7–8 show the results for *that*-clauses, i.e. complements of bridge verbs (21–26) versus non-bridge verbs (27–28).¹⁰

Table 7. V2/V3 in subject-initial *that*-clauses (complements of bridge-verbs).

	OK	?	*	Both OK	Neither OK
(21) <i>Du wet att pátjin twádd oltiett biln</i> (V2) you know that son-the washed always car-the 'You know that the son always washed the car'	33%	37%	30%	14%	2%
(22) <i>Du wet att pátjin oltiett twádd biln</i> (V3) you know that son-the always washed car-the 'You know that the son always washed the car'	80%	10%	10%		
(23) <i>Du wet att Anna wild int kriuop ijuop</i> you know that Anna wanted not nestle up <i>sos iet fuoster</i> (V2) like a fetus 'You know that Anna did not want to nestle up like a fetus'	67%	18%	13%	47%	11%
(24) <i>Du wet att Anna int wild kriuop ijuop</i> you know that Anna not wanted nestle up <i>sos iet fuoster</i> (V3) like a fetus 'You know that Anna did not want to nestle up like a fetus'	69%	13%	18%		
(25) <i>Du wet att Anna wild it kriuop ijuop</i> you know that Anna wanted not nestle up <i>sos iet fuoster</i> (V2) like a fetus 'You know that Anna did not want to nestle up like a fetus'	60%	24%	16%	27%	14%
(26) <i>Du wet att Anna it wild kriuop ijuop</i> you know that Anna not wanted nestle up <i>sos iet fuoster</i> (V3) like a fetus 'You know that Anna did not want to nestle up like a fetus'	56%	23%	21%		

10. Examples (21–22) were used in both questionnaires (52 speakers) whereas examples (23–28) were only used in the first questionnaire (45 informants).

Table 8. V2/V3 in subject-initial *that*-clauses (complements of non-bridge verbs).

	OK	?	*	Both OK	Neither OK	
(27) <i>Ed war undelit att Anna wild oltiätt</i> it was strange that Anna wanted always <i>kriuop ijuop sos iet fuoster</i> nestle up like a fetus 'It was strange that Anna always wanted to nestle up like a fetus'	(V2)	30%	23%	46%	16%	7%
(28) <i>Ed war undelit att Anna oltiätt wild</i> it was strange that Anna always wanted <i>kriuop ijuop sos iet fuoster</i> nestle up like a fetus 'It was strange that Anna always wanted to nestle up like a fetus'	(V3)	82%	11%	7%		

The Adv-Vfin order was widely accepted, although the acceptance rate never surpasses 82%, while the Vfin-Adv order is much more restricted. There is a slight difference between the acceptability of V2 in complements of bridge verbs on the one hand (21) and non-bridge verbs on the other hand (27), in such a way that more speakers fully reject it in the latter type of clauses. The main contrast, however, is between Vfin-Adv as in (21) and (27) and Vfin-Neg as in (23) and (25). In other words, the finite verb can more easily precede the negation than a sentence adverb like *oltiätt* 'always' (cf. also Garbacz 2006 and 2010). This is exactly the opposite of the situation in Northern Norwegian (Bentzen 2007).¹¹ In addition to the information in Tables 7–8, it should be mentioned that no speaker who accepted or rejected both orders did do so consistently. We do not know if there was a preferred order for those who accepted both orders since the informants were not asked to rank two acceptable choices.

According to Garbacz (2006: 179), verb movement "seems to be obligatory" in indirect questions introduced by *wiso* 'why'. Table 9 presents my overall results for this type of embedded clauses.

11. The default position of the negation seems to be between the complementizer and the subject in embedded clauses in Övdalian (see Rosenkvist 1994, 2011 and Garbacz 2010 and references there). Actually, the sentence adverb *older/aldri* 'never' also occurs in that position (see also Garbacz 2010). As examples (24) and (26) show, the strong form of the negation (*int*) is preferred over the weak form (*it*) in pre-verbal position. This is expected under Garbacz's analysis of negation in Övdalian (Garbacz 2010).

Table 9. V2/V3 in indirect questions.

	OK	?	*	Both OK	Neither OK
(29) <i>Ig will witá wiso Anna kumb it</i> (V2) I want know why Anna comes not <i>noð</i> NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEM (NPI) 'I want to know why Anna does not come'	80%	13%	7%	63%	4%
(30) <i>Ig will witá wiso Anna it kumb noð</i> (V3) I want know why Anna not comes NPI 'I want to know why Anna does not come'	75%	20%	5%		
(31) <i>Ig will witá wiso Anna add it kumið noð</i> (V2) I want know why Anna had not come NPI 'I want to know why Anna had not come'	57%	25%	18%	34%	32%
(32) <i>Ig will witá wiso Anna it add kumið noð</i> (V3) I want know why Anna not had come NPI 'I want to know why Anna had not come NPI'	48%	32%	20%		

Both orders receive similar scores and for many speakers V2/V3 is optional. This is totally different both from Icelandic, where the V3 order is difficult to use in indirect questions of this type, and from Danish where the V2 order is very hard to get. In (30) and (32), the negation preceding the finite verb has a weak form, which probably results in more negative judgments because the negation usually only appears in the weak form when following the finite verb (Garbacz 2006). The Vfin-Neg order is easier if the finite verb is a main verb than an auxiliary ((29) versus (31)). Interestingly, relative clauses behave differently in this respect, as we will see.

The results for adverbial clauses are shown in Tables 10–12. Let us first look at causal clauses introduced by *ettorsos* 'because' (Table 10).¹²

As before the V3 order is clearly the unmarked choice. The V2 order gets similar judgments as in complement clauses with a non-negation adverb (there were no examples of Neg-Vfin or Vfin-Neg order in my questionnaires). This is similar to the situation in the Mainland Scandinavian languages (Julien 2007) but different from Icelandic which has V2 as the default word order in causal clauses (Angantýsson 2007).

12. Examples (33–36) were used in both questionnaires (52 speakers) whereas examples (37–38) were only used in the first questionnaire (45 informants).

Table 10. V2/V3 in causal clauses.

	OK	?	*	Both OK	Neither OK
(33) <i>Pappa war faingen ettersos pätjin twädd</i> father-the was glad because boy-the washed <i>oltiett biln</i> (V2) always car-the 'The father was glad because the son always washed the car'	34%	16%	50%	24%	5%
(34) <i>Pappa war faingen ettersos pätjin oltiett</i> father-the was glad because boy-the always <i>twädd biln</i> (V3) washed car-the 'The father was glad because the son always washed the car'	88%	8%	4%		
(35) <i>Warum tungner tjööp wineð ettersos Anna</i> (we) were forced buy wine-the because Anna <i>drock older öleð</i> (V2) drank never beer-the 'We were forced to buy the wine because Anna never drank the beer'	29%	25%	46%	27%	0
(36) <i>Warum tungner tjööp wineð ettersos Anna</i> (we) were forced buy wine-the because Anna <i>older drock öleð</i> (V3) never drank beer-the 'We were forced to buy the wine because Anna never drank the beer'	98%	0%	2%		
(37) <i>Bruorn wart jälåk ettersos Ierk byövd</i> brother-the was angry because Ierk needed <i>oltiett lân peningg min kamratum</i> always borrow money from friends <i>sainum</i> (V2) his-REFL 'The brother was angry because Ierk always needed to borrow money from his friends'	40%	28%	33%	22%	7%
(38) <i>Bruorn wart jälåk ettersos Ierk oltiett</i> brother-the was angry because Ierk always <i>byövd lân peningg min kamratum</i> needed borrow money from friends <i>sainum</i> (V3) his-REFL 'The brother was angry because Ierk always needed to borrow money from his friends'	78%	11%	11%		

Tables 11–12 present the results for verb/adverb placement in conditional clauses introduced by *um* ‘if’.¹³

Table 11. V2/V3 in conditional clauses (with the adverb *older* ‘never’).

	OK	?	*	Both OK	Neither OK
(39) <i>Dier werd fel lieðssner um Alfrið kumb</i> they become disappointed if Alfrið comes <i>older</i> ¹⁴ never (V2) ‘They become disappointed if Alfrið never comes’	18%	20%	62%	16%	0
(40) <i>Dier werd fel lieðssner um Alfrið older kumb</i> they become disappointed if Alfrið never comes (V3) ‘They become disappointed if Alfrið never comes’	98%	2%	0%		

V3 is strongly preferred over V2. The number of speakers who accept V2 in conditional clauses ranges from 18% to 45%. Again, the Vfin-Neg order scores much higher than other Vfin-Adv orders (*older* ‘never’), i.e. in case the negation has the weak form. According to Garbacz (2006, 5) the negative polarity item *noð* is optional in sentences like (41).

Finally, Table 13 shows the results for relative clauses.¹⁵

Again, V3 is highly preferred over V2, which is very much the same situation as in the Mainland Scandinavian languages. The judgments of (51–52) indicate that V2 is more acceptable if the finite verb is an auxiliary, which is consistent with Garbacz’s (2006) findings, but contrary to what we just saw for indirect questions. Abstracting away from (51), around one third of the speakers accepted V2 in relative clauses, which is similar to the acceptance rate in adverbial clauses and complement clauses. Notice that examples (49) and (50) contain the adverb *sakta* ‘probably’ whose distribution might be different from the distribution of central sentence adverbs like ‘never’ and ‘always’. I did not have examples with negation in

13. Examples (39–40) were used in both questionnaires (52 speakers) whereas examples (41–46) were only used in the first questionnaire (45 informants).

14. Some speakers said that they would use the (Swedish) lexical item *aldri* ‘never’ rather than *older* ‘never’. When this came up I asked them to judge the sentence as if it had the former.

15. The results in (47–50) are from 45 informants (both questionnaires) whereas the results for (51–52) are from 7 informants (only the second questionnaire). In the latter case I use actual numbers instead of percentages.

Table 12. V2/V3 in conditional clauses (with negation).

	OK	?	*	Both OK	Neither OK
(41) <i>Dier werd fel lie'ssner <u>um</u> Alfrið kumb it</i> they become disappointed if Alfrið comes not <i>noð</i> (V2) NPI 'They will be disappointed if Alfrið doesn't come'	45%	16%	39%	13%	12%
(42) <i>Dier werd fel lie'ssner <u>um</u> Alfrið it</i> they become disappointed if Alfrið not <i>kumb noð</i> (V3) comes NPI 'They will be disappointed if Alfrið doesn't come'	58%	20%	22%		
(43) <i>Dier werd fel lie'ssner <u>um</u> Alfrið kumb</i> they become disappointed if Alfrið comes <i>int</i> (V2) not 'They will be disappointed if Alfrið doesn't come'	21%	17%	62%	11%	9%
(44) <i>Dier werd fel lie'ssner <u>um</u> Alfrið int</i> they become disappointed if Alfrið not <i>kumb</i> (V3) comes 'They will be disappointed if Alfrið doesn't come'	80%	4%	16%		
(45) <i>Dier werd fel lie'ssner <u>um</u> Alfrið kumb</i> they become disappointed if Alfrið comes <i>it</i> (V2) not 'They will be disappointed if Alfrið doesn't come'	44%	16%	40%	14%	21%
(46) <i>Dier werd fel lie'ssner <u>um</u> Alfrið it</i> they become disappointed if Alfrið not <i>kumb</i> (V3) comes 'They will be disappointed if Alfrið doesn't come'	49%	17%	34%		

my questionnaires but Garbacz's (2010) data show that Neg-Vfin order is preferred over Vfin-Neg in relative clauses.

Table 14 shows a comparison of the different sentence types tested (regardless of the type of adverb and whether or not there was an auxiliary).

Table 13. V2/V3 in relative clauses.

	OK	?	*	Both OK	Neither OK
(47) <i>Ittað-jär ir ien buok so Alfrið ar older</i> this is a book that Alfrið has never <i>lesið</i> (V2) cread 'This is a book that Alfrið has never read'	33%	17%	50%	21%	2%
(48) <i>Ittað-jär ir ien buok so Alfrið older ar</i> this is a book that Alfrið never has <i>lesið</i> (V3) read 'This is a book that Alfrið has never read'	91%	7%	2%		
(49) <i>Ittað-jär ir ien buok so Alfrið ar sakt</i> this is a book that Alfrið has probably <i>lesið</i> (V2) read 'This is a book that Alfrið has probably read'	36%	23%	41%	20%	7%
(50) <i>Ittað-jär ir ien buok so Alfrið sakt ar</i> this is a book that Alfrið probably has <i>lesið</i> (V3) read 'This is a book that Alfrið has probably read'	78%	20%	2%		
(51) <i>Ittað-jär ir buotjē so Alfrið las older</i> (V2) this is a book that Alfrið read never 'This is the book that Alfrið never read'	0	0	7	0	0
(52) <i>Ittað-jär ir buotjē so Alfrið older las</i> (V3) this is a book that Alfrið never read 'This is the book that Alfrið never read'	7	0	0		

These data show very clearly that the Vfin-Adv order is always more marked than the Adv-Vfin order. The overall picture is very similar to the situation in the Mainland Scandinavian languages, with the exception of indirect questions.

Another interesting finding is that the older speakers allow V2 more freely than the younger speakers (Table 15).

The V3 order scores similarly in both age groups, while the V2 order is always scored higher by the older speakers. Of course, these results are not statistically reliable since the number of informants is too low, but they suggest that there is age-related variation with respect to verb placement in embedded clauses in Övdalian. The overall results for verb/adverb placement are consistent with recent syntactic

Table 14. V2/V3 in different sentence types.

			OK	?	*
Complements of bridge verbs	(Table 7)	V2	52%	26%	22%
		V3	69%	17%	14%
Complements of non-bridge verbs	(Table 8)	V2	30%	23%	47%
		V3	82%	11%	7%
Causal clauses	(Table 10)	V2	53%	20%	27%
		V3	89%	6%	5%
Conditional clauses	(Table 11–12)	V2	35%	22%	43%
		V3	72%	13%	15%
Indirect questions	(Table 9)	V2	69%	19%	12%
		V3	61%	26%	13%
Relative clauses	(Table 13)	V2	32%	18%	50%
		V3	85%	13%	2%

Table 15. V2/V3 in different age-groups.

		The youngest informants (14–16 years old, 14 people)			The oldest informants (74–89 years old, 14 people)		
		OK	?	*	OK	?	*
<i>that</i> -clauses after a bridge-verb	V2	39%	34%	26%	59%	32%	8%
	V3	74%	16%	10%	70%	27%	3%
<i>that</i> -clauses after a non-bridge-verb	V2	25%	25%	50%	42%	33%	25%
	V3	75%	17%	8%	83%	17%	0%
Causal clauses	V2	28%	30%	42%	47%	24%	21%
	V3	90%	8%	2%	98%	2%	0
Conditional clauses	V2	18%	22%	60%	52%	21%	27%
	V3	80%	10%	10%	74%	8%	18%
Indirect questions	V2	54%	25%	21%	84%	16%	0
	V3	58%	25%	17%	67%	29%	4%
Relative clauses	V2	34%	12%	54%	48%	17%	35%
	V3	81%	19%	0	80%	16%	4%

studies (Rosenkvist 1994; Garbacz 2006) which indicate that V2 is not obligatory in embedded clauses in Övdalian, as has been traditionally assumed (on the basis of Levander 1909). Moreover, my data show very clearly that V2 is always marked as opposed to the V3 order, with the exception of indirect questions with

a negation, and, most interestingly, that there is a correlation between declension of V2 and simpler morphology (the younger speakers).

3.4 Embedded topicalization

There have been conflicting claims in the literature as to the extent to which ET is applicable in complement clauses in the Scandinavian languages. Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson (1990), Vikner (1995: 72) and Holmberg & Platzack (1995: 78–79) all assume that Icelandic allows it more freely than the Mainland Scandinavian languages, whereas Ottósson (1989), Jónsson (1996: 36–37), and Wiklund et al. (2009) claim that ET obeys similar restrictions in Icelandic to those in the Mainland Scandinavian languages (see also discussions and an analysis in de Cuba 2007). Angantýsson (2011) provides quantitative support for the latter claim and the data in Tables 16–17 suggest that Övdalian does not show any significant peculiarities in this respect.

The acceptability of topicalization in *that*-clauses varies with respect to the type of predicate in the matrix clause. Five speakers out of seven accept ET in a clause that is a complement of the non-factive and assertive predicate *miena* ‘claim’ (class A) and four out of seven fully accept it in a complement of the semi-factive *wārā iwari* ‘discover’ (predicate of class E). This is to be expected under Hooper & Thompson’s (1973) theory. Nobody fully accepts ET in a complement of the non-assertive predicate *twivel* ‘doubt’ (class C) which is also predicted by Hooper & Thompson. ET in a complement of the factive, non-assertive predicate *aungger* ‘regret’ (class D) gets rather positive judgments. This is a bit surprising, both in the light of Hooper & Thompson’s (1973) and with regard to my data for Icelandic and Faroese (Angantýsson 2011).

Table 16. Embedded topicalization in *that*-clauses (matrix predicates of classes A and E).

	OK	?	*
(53) <i>Gunnar miener at Ilma ar stuolið iss-jär peningger</i> Gunnar claims that Ilma has stolen this-there money ‘Gunnar claims that Ilma has stolen this money’	7	0	0
(54) <i>Gunnar miener at iss-jär peningger ar Ilma stuolið</i> Gunnar claims that this-there money has Ilma stolen ‘Gunnar claims that Ilma has stolen this money’	5	2	0
(55) <i>An wart iwari at an add it lesið q-dar buotjē</i> he became aware that he had not read she-there book-the ‘He discovered he had not read that book’	7	0	0
(56) <i>An wart iwari at q-dar buotjē add an it lesið</i> he became aware that she-there book-the had he not read ‘He discovered he had not read that that book’	4	2	1

Table 17. Embedded topicalization in *that*-clauses (matrix predicates of classes C and D).

	OK	?	*
(57) <i>Ig twivler ρ at ρ ar rakað an-dar kall'n</i> I doubt on that she has met he-there man-the 'I doubt that she has met that man'	7	0	0
(58) <i>Ig twivler ρ at an-dar kall'n ar ρ rakað</i> I doubt on that he-there man-the has she met 'I doubt that she has met that man'	0	4	3
(59) <i>Ministern aungrer at dier ávâ it diskutirað</i> Minister-the regrets that they have not discussed <i>ρ-dar satjê</i> she-there matter 'The minister regrets that they have not discussed this matter'	6	1	0
(60) <i>Ministern aungrer at ρ-dar satjê ávâ dier it</i> Minister-the regrets that she-there matter have they not <i>diskutirað</i> discussed 'The minister regrets that they have not discussed this matter'	4	3	0

Not surprisingly, the acceptability rate of ET in other types of embedded clauses is very low (Tables 18–19).

Most speakers judge all the ET-examples as fully ungrammatical. Similar trends hold true for my data from Icelandic, Faroese and Danish (Angantýsson 2011).

My data do not support hypothesis (17), repeated here as (69) for convenience:

- (69) The speakers who are most willing to accept Vfin-Adv order in non-V2 contexts are also most willing to allow SF.

As mentioned in Section 2, this hypothesis assumes that languages like Icelandic allow ET more freely than the Mainland Scandinavian languages. According to my data (Angantýsson 2011), embedded topicalization obeys similar restrictions in all the Scandinavian languages, including Icelandic with its rich verbal morphology. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the possibilities of ET depend on semantic/syntactic properties of CPs rather than IPs: If it were related to morphology one would expect variation. For theoretical approaches to ET and root phenomena in general, see Hooper & Thompson (1973), Rizzi (1997), Emonds (2004), Haegeman (2006b), Bentzen (2007), de Cuba (2007), Julien (2007), Haegeman 2010a, b and Wiklund et al. (2009).

In Section 2.1 I mentioned two approaches to the structure of CPs, a 'truncation analysis' and an 'intervention analysis'. At first sight, either approach seems equally

Table 18. Embedded topicalization in indirect questions and adverbial clauses.

	OK	?	*
(61) <i>Ig spuord wiso Pietter ar it lesið q-dar buotjē</i> I asked why Peter has not read she-there book-the 'I asked why Peter had not read that book'	7	0	0
(62) <i>Ig spuord wiso q-dar buotjē ar Pietter int lesið</i> I asked why she-there book-the has Peter not read 'I asked why Peter had not read that book'	0	2	5
(63) <i>Um an ar aldri si'tt filmin ur beller an dō ávâ nogu</i> if he has never seen movie-the how can he then have some <i>mieningg um an?</i> opinion about he 'If he has never seen the movie how can he have any opinion of it?'	7	0	0
(64) <i>Um filmin ar an aldri si'tt ur beller an dō ávâ nogu</i> if movie-the has he never seen how can he then have some <i>mieningg um an?</i> opinion about he 'If he has never seen the movie how can he have any opinion of it?'	0	1	6
(65) <i>Äva ly'dd q raðio mes q kuokeð suppq</i> Äva listened to radio while she cooked food-the 'Äva listened to the radio while she cooked the food'	7	0	0
(66) <i>Äva ly'dd/ärd q raðio mes suppq kuokeð q</i> Äva listened to radio while food-the cooked she 'Äva listened to the radio while she cooked the food'	0	1	6

Table 19. Embedded topicalization in relative clauses.

	OK	?	*
(67) <i>Ittað-jär ir päitjin so ig rãkeð i Stokkol sienest gaundjin</i> this-here is boy-the that I met in Stockholm last time 'This is the boy that I met in Stockholm last time'	7	0	0
(68) <i>Ittað-jär ir päitjin so i Stokkol rãkeð ig sienest gaundjin</i> this-here is boy-the that in Stockholm met I last time 'This is the boy that I met in Stockholm last time'	0	0	7

appealing with respect to the sharp difference in topicalization possibilities between complements of predicates like 'say' and 'think' (embedded topicalization relatively easy; large CP or no blocking elements) on the one hand and relative clauses on the other hand (embedded topicalization blocked; less structure, operators). When it comes to less striking contrasts, such as the difference between various *that*-complements, the truncation analysis seems less attractive.

My cross-Scandinavian data point towards an intervention analysis along the lines of Haegeman (2006a) but I will not go into the details of that discussion here (see Angantýsson 2011).

3.5 Stylistic fronting and transitive expletive constructions

In Icelandic, SF has been analyzed as (i) movement to an empty subject position (Maling 1980; Platzack 1987; Ottósson 1989; Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990; Holmberg 2000), (ii) IP-adjunction (Jónsson 1991; Poole 1992; Thráinsson 1993; Poole 1996), (iii) PF-merger above IP (Bošković 2001), (iv) Focus movement (Hrafnbjargarson 2004) and (v) one way of satisfying the “Fill the left edge requirement” (Sigurðsson 2010). The adjunction analysis presupposes V-to-I movement. That is one of the reasons why it is interesting to know to what extent SF is allowed in Övdalian.

Levander (1909: 122) shows various examples of stylistic fronting in Övdalian, the equivalents of which would all be grammatical in Modern Icelandic. Garbacz (2010: 158–159) claims that this construction is not productive in the language any longer. Actually, the equivalents of all of his test sentences would also be ungrammatical in Icelandic (Angantýsson 2011). In the following tables, the Övdalian examples are modeled on SF sentences in Icelandic and Faroese (for discussion of SF see Maling 1980; Jónsson 1991; Holmberg 2000; Hrafnbjargarson 2004; Holmberg 2006; Thráinsson 2007: 352–356, 368–393; Sigurðsson 2010).

Since SF is frequent in relative clauses in Icelandic, and Faroese as well, I used this clause type to compare examples of fronting involving various types of elements. First, in Table 20, we see examples of fronting of past participles in relative clauses.

Most speakers fully reject the SF sentences. Example (75) is the closest to receiving a ‘positive’ score although nobody fully accepts it. All of these examples would be fine in Icelandic and about 70% of my Faroese informants accepted examples of this type (Angantýsson 2011).

Fronting of other elements in relative clauses gets even worse judgments (Tables 21–22).

In only two cases is the SF order judged questionable; otherwise it is considered ungrammatical. Three out of the six instances where SF is not fully rejected come from the same speaker. In Icelandic, examples like (77) are easy to get but the other SF-examples would be marginal, especially the last one. In Faroese, equivalents of all of the examples in Table 16 receive very low acceptance scores (Angantýsson 2011).

Tables 23–24 present the results for SF with a comparison to two alternatives, i.e. expletive insertion (84, 86, 88, 90, 95) and no fronting/insertion (Ø) (92).

Table 20. Fronting of past participles in relative clauses.

	OK	?	*
(79) <i>Ittað-jär ir best buotjē so ar uorteð skrievað</i> this-there is best book-the that has been written 'This is the best book that has been written'	7	0	0
(71) <i>Ittað-jär ir best buotjē <u>so</u> skrievað ar uorteð</i> SF this-there is best book-the that written has been 'This is the best book that has been written'	0	1	6
(72) <i>Eð-dar ir iett áv diem-dar prubliemum so ávå kumið upp</i> it-there is one of them-there problems that have come up 'That is one of the problems that have arisen'	7	0	0
(73) <i>Eð-dar ir iett áv diem-dar prubliemum <u>so</u> kumið ávå</i> it-there is one of them-there problems that come have <i>upp</i> SF up 'That is one of the problems that have arisen'	0	0	6
(74) <i>Tið'n/Tiðē so ar ferið kumb it att</i> time-the that has passed comes not back 'The past does not come back'	7	0	0
(75) <i>Tið'n/Tiðē <u>so</u> ferið ar kumb it att</i> SF time-the that passed has comes not back 'The past does not come back'	0	3	4

Table 21. Fronting of adjectives and prepositional phrases in relative clauses.

	OK	?	*
(76) <i>An so ir fuost tä djärå mql fqr iett sästjilt pris</i> he that is first to score goal gets a special reward 'The first one to score gets a special reward'	7	0	0
(77) <i>An <u>so</u> fuost ir tä djärå mql fqr iett sästjilt pris</i> SF he that first is to score goal gets a special reward 'The first one to score gets a special reward'	0	1	6
(78) <i>Dier so ávå verið i Oslo saj at eð ir ien finan</i> those that have been in Oslo say that it is a beautiful <i>stað</i> city 'Those who have been in Oslo say that it is a beautiful city'	7	0	0
(79) <i>Dier <u>so</u> i Oslo ávå verið saj at eð ir ien finan</i> those that in Oslo have been say that it is a beautiful <i>stað</i> SF city 'Those who have been in Oslo say that it is a beautiful city'	0	0	7

Table 22. Fronting of adverbs in relative clauses.

		OK	?	*
(80)	<i>Kelindjē so fuor iem war syster oss</i> woman-the that went home was sister his 'The woman who went home was his sister'	7	0	0
(81)	<i>Kelindjē <u>so</u> iem fuor war syster oss</i> woman-the that home went was sister his 'The woman who went home was his sister'	SF	0	6
(82)	<i>An sâg ukin kam in</i> he saw who came in 'He saw who came in'	7	0	0
(83)	<i>An sâg <u>ukin in</u> kam</i> he saw who in came 'He saw who came in'	SF	0	6

Table 23. Stylistic fronting and expletive insertion in various types of embedded clauses.

		OK	?	*
(84)	<i>Ig truor at eð ar uorteð akudirað um satjē ρ</i> I think that EXPL has been discussed about matter-the at <i>stemmun</i> Ex meeting-the 'I think that the matter has been discussed at the meeting'	7	0	0
(85)	<i>Ig truor at akudirað ar uorteð um satjē ρ</i> I think that discussed has been about matter-the at <i>stemmun</i> SF meeting-the 'I think that the matter has been discussed at the meeting'	0	0	7
(86)	<i>Spiennum it boll dar eð raingner mitjið</i> Ex play-1PL not football when EXPL rains much 'We don't play football when it's raining heavily'	7	0	0
(87)	<i>Spiennum it boll dar mitjið raingner</i> SF play-1PL not football when much rains 'We don't play football when it's raining heavily'	0	1	6
(88)	<i>Farum aut um eð klârner upp</i> Ex Go-1PL out if EXPL dries up 'We go out if it dries up'	7	0	0
(89)	<i>Farum aut um upp klârner</i> SF Go-1PL out if up dries 'We go out if it dries up'	0	0	7

Table 24. Stylistic fronting and expletive insertion in various types of embedded clauses (continued).

	OK	?	*	
(90) <i>Ig gor it i baðkareð um eð ar verið máiser</i> I go not in bathtub-the if EXPL have been mice <i>dar</i> there 'I'm not getting in the bathtub if there have been mice there'	Ex	7	0	0
(91) <i>Ig gor it i baðkareð um dar ar verið máiser</i> I go not in bathtub-the if there have been mice 'I'm not getting in the bathtub if there have been mice there'	SF	1	1	5
(92) <i>Eð-dar ir satje so ar uorteð akudirað um</i> that-there is matter-the that has been discussed about 'That is the matter that has been discussed'	Ø	5	2	0
(93) <i>Eð-dar ir satje so eð ar uorteð akudirað</i> that-there is matter-the that EXPL has been discussed <i>um</i> about 'That is the matter that has been discussed'	Ex	6	1	0
(94) <i>Eð-dar ir satje so akudirað ar uorteð um</i> that-there is matter-the that discussed has been about 'That is the matter that has been discussed'	SF	0	0	7

As before, the acceptance rate is very low for the SF examples. In the *that*-clause (84), the temporal clause (86) and the conditional clauses (88, 90), expletive insertion is fully accepted. Expletive insertion is always an alternative in clauses of this type in Icelandic as well. Six out of seven speakers accept expletive insertion in a relative clause (93) which is also possible in Faroese (as an alternative to SF) but ungrammatical in Icelandic (Angantýsson 2011).

All the examples of SF received very low overall scores. Thus, my results are consistent with Garbacz's (2010) claim that SF is not productive in Övdalian any longer, although I am looking at completely different data. In Section 2.3 the following prediction was introduced:

- (95) The speakers who are most willing to accept V_{fin}-Adv order in non-V2 contexts are also most willing to allow SF.

This prediction does not gain any support. A possible explanation for this lack of correlation is that V-to-I movement is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for SF.

Table 25. Transitive expletive construction.

	OK	?	*
(96) <i>Nog autleningger tyyöpt gamtstugu</i> some foreigners bought old-house-the 'Some foreigners bought the old house'	7	0	0
(97) <i>Eð tyyöpt nog autleningger gamtstugu</i> EXPL bought some foreigners old-house-the 'Some foreigners bought the old house'	0	0	7

Finally, let us look at the transitive expletive construction. This phenomenon has been assumed to be a characteristic of languages with “extra” subject positions and the RAHw predicts that it should exist in languages with separate tense and agreement markers. Table 25 shows the results for the test sentence.

As we can see, the TEC-example gets no “votes” (for a detailed discussion on expletive constructions in Icelandic and related languages, see Thráinsson 2007, 309–340).

In Section 2, I proposed the following hypothesis:

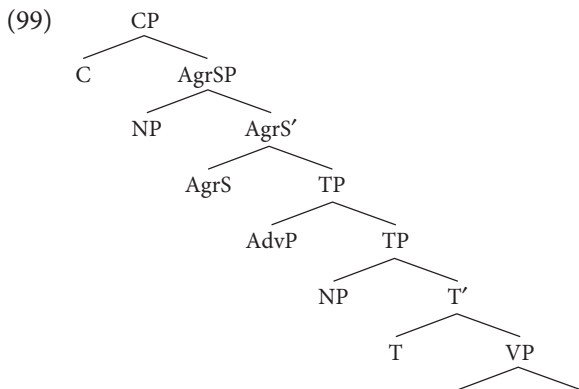
- (98) The speakers who are most willing to accept verb movement in non-V2 contexts are also most willing to allow TECs.

This hypothesis is not supported by my data, so again we have a “disassociation” of V-to-I movement and a phenomenon commonly associated with V-to-I movement, as was the case for SF.

3.6 Discussion

None of the working hypotheses introduced in Section 2.3 are supported by the Övdalian data. For instance, there is no connection between accepting V_{fin}-Adv order in non-V2 contexts and allowing SF or ET and there is no direct connection between showing the full inflectional paradigm for verbs and allowing TECs or V_{fin}-Adv order in non-V2 contexts. However, the general picture is that the younger speakers are most likely to simplify the verbal morphology and least likely to accept the V_{fin}-Adv order. In that sense there is a correlation between the two linguistic variables.

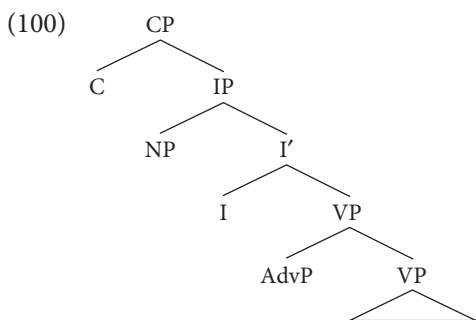
On the assumption that those speakers of Övdalian who clearly separate tense and agreement suffixes must have a split IP, one can say that the unmarked Adv-V_{fin} order in subject-initial embedded clauses only represents an *apparent* lack of V-to-I movement. The tree structure in (99) illustrates the suggested analysis (see Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998; Angantýsson 2007 for a comparable analysis of Adv-V_{fin} order in embedded clauses in Icelandic).



um Alfrið_i **older** *t_i* **kumb** *t_i* *v*
 'if Alfrið never came'

Here, the adverb adjoins to the TP and the verb moves out of the VP in order to check its agreement features.¹⁶ A crucial assumption here is that the verb in T is already within the checking domain of AgrSP since all local relations to a head are (potential) checking relations with that head, namely head-specifier, head-complement and head-head (adjoined heads) (Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998). In cases where the finite verb precedes the adverb one can assume that the adverb is adjoined to the VP and the verb moves (at least) to T.

Those speakers of Övdalian who do not have separate tense and agreement suffixes and are least willing to accept the Vfin-Adv order in non-V2 contexts can be assumed to have a simple IP. Under such circumstances the verb does not leave the VP:



um Alfrið_i **older** **kumb** *t_i* *v*
 if Alfrið never came'

16. In cases where the sentence adverb precedes the subject one would have to assume that the subject only moves to SpecTP. That is actually problematic under the analysis of subject positions presented in Section 2.1 where definite subjects need to move all the way up to SpecAgrSP in order to check an EPP-feature on AgrS.

Here, the verb *in situ* is already within the checking domain of the IP and never moves. This would be the same situation as in the Mainland Scandinavian languages.

A potential problem for this analysis is that TECs seem to be impossible in Övdalian, also for those speakers who have separated tense and agreement morphology. Another unsolved problem is the syntactic status of negation and the conditions of the relative order of sentence adverbs and auxiliaries versus non-auxiliaries. Those are certainly interesting topics but I leave them for future research (see discussions on the last two issues in Garbacz 2010, 2011 and in Rosenkvist 2011).

4. Conclusions

In Modern Övdalian, morphological evidence for a split IP is not unambiguous and verb movement in embedded clauses appears to be on its way out. This is similar to the situation in Faroese, but unlike in Faroese (and Icelandic), SF and TECs are heavily degraded in Övdalian. ET seems to obey restrictions that are similar to those of the other Scandinavian languages.

In terms of the RMHw, it is to be expected under such circumstances that verb movement in embedded clauses is on its way out. At any rate, one needs to account for the fact that Icelandic is different from all the other Scandinavian languages in having V2 as the default word order in all types of subject-initial embedded clauses.¹⁷ Regarding subject-initial and topic-initial V2 in complement clauses in Övdalian, it seems that the acceptability of these word order phenomena depend, at least partially, on the semantic/pragmatic properties of the matrix predicate and the embedded CP. Embedded topicalization obeys restrictions in Övdalian that are similar to those in the other Scandinavian languages, which is consistent with this assumption. It is not obvious, however, why Övdalian differs from Danish in allowing V2 much more freely in subject-initial indirect questions.

From a historical point of view it is tempting to say that, in its “initial” stage, Övdalian had unambiguous morphological and syntactic evidence for a split IP, resulting in “generalized V-to-I movement” (the same situation as in Modern Icelandic). Currently, the language is losing the relevant inflectional distinctions (independent tense and agreement morphology) and the remaining syntactic evidence for a split IP is becoming ambiguous, for instance verb placement in

17. However, the RMHw does not explain why exceptional V2/V3 depends on the sentence type. Such differences must be due to different structures or “featural content” above the IP, i.e. at the CP-level.

subject-initial embedded clauses without sentence adverbs (see discussions in Vikner 1995, 160–163). Under these circumstances, the subject-initial V2 order results in certain semantic or pragmatic interpretations/effects, i.e. to express that the proposition of the embedded clause is the main assertion (cf. the situation in the Mainland Scandinavian languages).

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Optional V-to-I movement in Övdalian*

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The paper examines causes of the ongoing loss of V-to-I movement in Övdalian, in the light of the parametric correlation between rich verbal agreement and verb movement to I (since Kosmeijer 1986). I show that the once obligatory V-to-I movement in Classical Övdalian has not only become optional, but also dispreferred in Traditional Övdalian, while at the same time the verbal inflection has been kept intact. Therefore, I conclude that there is no visible correlation between rich verbal agreement and V-to-I movement in Övdalian. Instead, I argue that the loss of V-to-I movement was caused by a high placement of negation that blurred evidence for verb movement.

1. Introduction

One of the many interesting issues in Övdalian syntax is the order between the finite verb and sentential adverbs in embedded non-V2 clauses. As originally noted by Levander (1909: 124), this aspect of embedded word order differs between Övdalian and standard Swedish.

“Ordet ‘inte’ kan aldrig såsom i rikspråket stå emellan subjektet ock predikatet i bisatser; om ordet ej sättes i satsens början, måste det därför stå efter värbet (...)”¹ (Levander 1909: 124)

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1. “The word ‘not’ can never appear between the subject and the predicate as it does in the standard language; if the word is not placed at the beginning of the clause, then it must stand after the [finite] verb” [my translation, P.G.]. By placing negation at the beginning of the clause, Levander means a pre-subject placement of negation that will be discussed in Section 3 and Section 4.

Levander (1909: 124) illustrates his claim with several examples, rendered in (1)–(5).²

- (1) *Ig ir redd an kumb inte.*
I am afraid he comes not
'I'm afraid that he won't come.'
- (2) *An far slais 'n wiss int eð.*
he goes as-if he knew not it
'He pretends as if he didn't know this.'
- (3) *...bar föðyö at ig willd int fy åm.*
only because that I wanted-to not follow him
'... only because I didn't want to follow him.'
- (4) *...um du får int gart ittað-jär firi braddå.*
if you get not done this-here before early-breakfast
'... if you won't have it done before the early breakfast.'
- (5) *...fast dier war int ieme.*
although they were not at-home
'... although they weren't at home.'

The observation of Levander (1909: 124) can be interpreted as a strong indication that Övdalian had obligatory V-to-I movement in the beginning of the 20th century, as the subordinate clauses given in (1)–(5) cannot be regarded as instances of embedded V2. In today's Övdalian, verb movement to I is however no longer obligatory (Garbacz 2010: 123 ff.; Angantýsson 2011: 85 ff.), see an illustrative example in (6).³

- (6) *Eð ir biln som Mats int will åvå.*
it is car that Mats not wants-to have
'This is the car that Mats doesn't want to have.'

The present paper addresses the question why the obligatory V-to-I movement has become non-obligatory, and even dispreferred in Övdalian during the last hundred years. The variant of Övdalian spoken at the time of Levander is referred here to as Classical Övdalian, whereas Traditional Övdalian refers to Övdalian spoken today by speakers born between the 1920s and World War II (cf. Garbacz 2010: 33 ff. for the periodization of Övdalian).

The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, the correlation between verbal agreement and embedded word order is presented, both in the form of the Rich

2. All the Övdalian examples are written in the new orthography proposed by *Råddjörum* (The Övdalian Language Council) in 2005 and accepted by *Ulum Dalska* (The Association for Preservation of Övdalian) the same year.

3. Rosenkvist (2011: 14) shows evidence indicating that V-to-I movement in Övdalian is optional in clauses with an overt subject, but obligatory in clauses with a null subject.

Agreement Hypothesis and in the form of the Split-IP parameter. Challenges to this correlation are also discussed. Section 3 is devoted to V-to-I movement in Övdalian, and I present the inflectional pattern for Övdalian verbs and the acceptability of clauses with V-to-I movement among Övdalian consultants. Factors that may influence this type of verb movement are also discussed in this section. A mechanism of the loss of obligatory V-to-I movement in Övdalian is proposed in Section 4, whereas Section 5 summarizes the paper.

2. The proposed correlation between V-to-I movement and rich verbal agreement

The difference between the order V_{fin} -Adv/Neg and the order Adv/Neg- V_{fin} in embedded clauses in Scandinavian languages has been attributed to a leftward movement of the verb, as it is generally assumed that the placement of negation in an embedded clause is fixed. In the parametric approach to syntax (beginning with Chomsky 1981), one underlying parameter has often been assumed to trigger a set of language properties, a phenomenon known as parametric clustering. In this way, verb movement to I has – together with a number of other syntactic phenomena – been attributed to the richness of verbal inflection in the Scandinavian languages, cf. – among many others – Kosmeijer (1986), Falk (1993), Holmberg & Platzack (1995), Vikner (1995a), and Rohrbacher (1999).⁴ In short, the proposal is that the verb leaves the vP and moves leftward to T (i.e. to the I-domain) in a language that displays ‘rich agreement’, whereas it stays *in situ*, i.e. in the vP, in a language that displays ‘poor agreement’. This causes a surface difference, such that the verb appears to the left of sentential adverbials/negation in the case of movement, and to the right of such elements in the case of no movement.

I will focus below on two approaches: one that links verb movement with the richness of agreement (represented by – among others – Vikner 1995a,b and Rohrbacher 1999) and another one that connects verb movement to independent marking of agreement and tense (represented here by Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998).⁵

4. Other phenomena that are to correlate with rich verbal inflection are among others Stylistic Fronting, the presence of oblique subjects, null expletives, transitive expletives, and heavy subject postponing, see Holmberg & Platzack (1995: 223) for the complete list and Holmberg (2010) for a new, reduced list.

5. More recently, it has been proposed that embedded V_{fin} -Adv/Neg-order in all types of embedded clauses in Icelandic is a special case of V-to-C, targeting the lowest projection in the CP domain (e.g. Hróarsdóttir et al. 2006, Wiklund et al. 2007, and Hrafnbjargarson & Wiklund 2010). Hrafnbjargarson & Wiklund (2010) argue for the link between embedded V_{fin} -Adv/Neg-order and ‘rich’ verb morphology.

2.1 Rich agreement as a trigger for verb movement

Vikner (1995a,b) and Rohrbacher (1999) both argue for a close correlation between the richness of inflectional morphology and verb movement to I. Vikner (1995b: 15) states that “[a]n SVO-language has V-to-I movement if and only if person morphology is found in all tenses,” whereas Rohrbacher (1999) claims that rich agreement correlates with verb movement to I, “(...) in exactly those languages where regular subject-verb agreement minimally distinctively marks the referential agreement features such that in at least one number of one tense, the person features [1st] and [2nd] are distinctively marked” (Rohrbacher 1999: 138).

In support for his claims, Vikner (1995b) shows that languages such as e.g. Icelandic and Övdalian display both rich verbal agreement and obligatory V-to-I movement, whereas languages such as e.g. Danish display none of the two phenomena. The verbal inflection of Icelandic, Övdalian, and Danish (taken from Vikner 1995b: 5,7,11), is shown in Table 1,⁶ whereas the structure of embedded non-V2 clauses in these languages are exemplified in (7), (8), and (9), all from Vikner (1995b: 2,7).⁷ Vikner’s Övdalian verb forms are incorrect, but this does not impact his hypothesis.⁸ I provide the correct forms in brackets.

Table 1. Verbal inflection of Icelandic, Danish, and Övdalian.

Infl.	Icelandic		Danish		Övdalian	
	present tense	present tense	past tense	past tense	present tense	past tense
1 sg.	heyri	heyrdi	hører	hørte	*hörer (ärer)	*hörde (ärde)
2 sg.	heyrir	heyrdir	hører	hørte	*hörer (ärer)	*hörde (ärde)
3 sg.	heyrið	heyrdi	hører	hørte	*hörer (ärer)	*hörde (ärde)
1 pl.	heyrum	heyrdum	hører	hørte	*hörung (örung)	*hördum (ärdum)
2 pl.	heyrið	heyrdud	hører	hørte	*hörir (ärir/ärið)	*hördir (ärdir/ärðið)
3 pl.	heyra	heyrdu	hører	hørte	*höra (ära)	*hörde (ärde)

6. A similar table is also found in Thráinsson (2007: 59).

7. The Övdalian example in (9) taken from Vikner (1995b: 7) is incorrectly interpreted there from its transcription in the Swedish Dialect Alphabet (_{Swe.} *landsmålsalfabetet*) used by Levander (1909). Below, I show the spelling of Vikner, whereas the correct spelling (and glossing) of the same example can be seen in (3) above.

8. Vikner (1995b: 7) writes that the Övdalian paradigms are “based on Levander (1909: 62–63, 80, 84–88)”. Having consulted the relevant pages in Levander (1909), one discovers that the inflection pattern of the Övdalian verb *ära* (‘to hear’) is not mentioned there.

- (7) *Að Jón borðar oft / *oft borðar tómata ...* (Icelandic)
 that Jón eats often / often eats tomatoes
 ‘That Jón often eats tomatoes...’
- (8) *At Johan *spiser ofte / ofte spiser tomaten...* (Danish)
 that Johan eats often / often eats tomatoes
 ‘That Jón often eats tomatoes...’
- (9) *Ba fo dye at ig uild int fy om.* (Övdalian)
 only because that I wanted-to not follow him
 ‘... only because I did not want to follow him.’

The claim above about the connection between the richness of verbal inflection and verb movement to I, implying a bi-conditional link between these two, especially in the version of Rohrbacher (1999), is known as the Rich Agreement Hypothesis. Its prediction is that verb movement should not be possible without a sufficiently rich verb inflection pattern containing at least three different inflectional forms.

However, there are challenges to this approach. As first pointed out by Bobaljik (2002: 132), the bi-directional link in The Rich Agreement Hypothesis cannot be maintained, as there are both diachronic and synchronic counter-examples to it, showing that verb movement may occur in the absence of overt verbal morphology. The evidence came from Norwegian dialects spoken in Tromsø and reported in Iversen (1918) and from Swedish dialect spoken in Western Finland (Kronoby), mentioned in Platzack & Holmberg (1989: 74). These dialects were shown to permit the V_{fin} -Adv embedded word order in absence of rich agreement.⁹ Faroese is yet another counter-example: it has poor agreement, Bobaljik (2002) argues, but – according to some descriptions – may have embedded word order of the Icelandic type.¹⁰ Bobaljik (2002: 132) thus reformulates The Rich Agreement Hypothesis proposing a weak, uni-directional version of it. In his version, that does not assume any bi-conditional link between V-to-I movement and rich agreement, a language may exhibit V-to-I movement without rich inflection: “If a language has rich inflection then it has verb movement to Infl.” The formulation excludes though the possibility of a language displaying rich verbal inflection without obligatory V-to-I movement.

More evidence against the strong correlation is provided in – among others – Bentzen (2007, cf. also references therein), who shows that the embedded V_{fin} -Adv

9. In contexts that do not allow embedded V2.

10. According to the definition of rich agreement in Rohrbacher (1999: 138), Faroese exhibits rich agreement.

word order in embedded non-V2 clauses is possible with certain adverbials (e.g. *often* and *already*), but crucially not across negation, in what she calls Regional North Norwegian (ReNN), i.e. in Northern Norwegian dialects spoken outside the city of Tromsø. Bentzen et al. (2009) as well as Heycock et al. (2010) show that the same is the case of Faroese: the embedded V_{fin} -Adv word order with adverbials as e.g. *kanska* ‘maybe’, *ofta* ‘often’, and *longu* ‘already’ tends to be more acceptable than the same word order with the negation *ikki* ‘not’ and the adverbs *aldrin/ongantið* ‘never’ and *ivaleyst* ‘undoubtedly’. The strong two-way correlation between rich agreement and V^0 -to- I^0 movement thus faces certain challenges, at least if one assumes with Bobaljik (2002) that Faroese displays poor agreement.¹¹

2.2 Split-IP as a trigger for verb movement

Another approach relating verbal morphology and certain syntactic phenomena was proposed in the late 1990’s by Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998).¹² In their proposal, obligatory verb movement to I and other constructions (the higher subject position in expletive constructions, Transitive Expletive Constructions, and Object Shift of full DP-objects), are a consequence of a language having a Split-IP, that is, separate tense and agreement projections.¹³ The setting of the split IP-parameter is observable by clearly separable morphemes for tense and agreement, i.e. “the possibility of multiple inflectional morphemes on the verb stem, specifically the co-occurrence of discrete tense and agreement morphemes” (Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998: 61) (as in the case of Icelandic) or, when the morphological evidence is not sufficient, by “other evidence such as verb raising or transitive expletive constructions” (Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998: 67).¹⁴ Clearly separable tense

11. Recently, it has been shown that instances of embedded V_{fin} -Adv word order are found in relative clauses in Danish (Jensen 2011) and in relative and embedded conditional clauses in Norwegian, Swedish and Danish dialects (Garbacz 2013), a fact that challenges even the weak, one-way correlation between rich agreement and V-to-I movement.

12. The precursors of the proposal are found in Bobaljik (1995), Thráinsson (1996), and also Johnson (1990).

13. Interestingly, there seem to be a couple of counterarguments to this correlation. Belfast English exhibits transitive expletives, this fact suggesting that its IP is split, while it does not display verb raising of lexical verbs to T, see Henry & Cottell (2007: 281 ff.). ReNN displays V-to-I movement past certain adverbs, but not transitive expletive constructions (Kristine Bentzen p.c.). Moreover, Scots is claimed to be a language without split-IP that exhibits V-to-I movement (Jonas 2002).

14. Since the prediction is at the same time that Split-IP triggers V-to-I movement, this reasoning is a serious problem for the hypothesis, as it predicts that a construction can be both the trigger of the SIP and an effect of it.

and agreement morphology is found both in Icelandic, Old Swedish and Övdalian, but not in e.g. the standard Mainland Scandinavian languages (Thráinsson 2007: 59). The differences between the Danish, the Icelandic and the Övdalian paradigms were shown in Table 1. The prediction is borne out for Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998: 47–48), as they show that Swedish, which has the same verb inflection pattern as Danish, does not allow V-to-I movement, whereas Icelandic clearly has morphological evidence for Split-IP and allows such movement. Their examples are given in (10) and (11).

- (10) *Jag tvivlar på att han *läste verkligen / verkligen läste boken.* (Swedish)
 I doubt on that he *read really / really read book.DEF
 ‘I doubt that he really read the book.’
- (11) *Ég spurði af hverju Helgi hefði oft / *oft hefði lesið þessa bók.* (Icelandic)
 I asked of_what Helgi had often / *often had read
 this book
 ‘I asked why Helgi had often read this book.’

However, Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998: 46) admit that “certain nuances arise when one considers certain regional dialects (...)”. Data from these dialects would later present a serious challenge to the correlation between inflectional morphology and V-to-I movement.

Data on embedded word order in Övdalian, discussed in detail in Garbacz (2010) (see also Angantýsson 2011) are certainly worth bringing into this discussion: In today’s Övdalian V-to-I movement is no longer obligatory, moreover – it is dispreferred. This change has taken place in the absence of any changes in the verbal inflection pattern. Verbal agreement and verb movement in Övdalian will be discussed in the following section.

3. V-to-I movement in Övdalian

3.1 Verbal inflection in Traditional Övdalian

Both Classical and Traditional Övdalian display rich verbal agreement, as verbs are inflected for both number (singular and plural) and all persons in the plural (Garbacz 2010: 119–121). The Traditional Övdalian verbal inflection paradigm is shown in Table 2, based on Garbacz (2010: 119), and is the same as the Classical Övdalian paradigm (see Garbacz 2010: 45).

Table 2. Traditional Övdalian: The indicative inflection forms of the weak verb *spilå* ‘play’ and the strong verb *fårå* ‘go’.

PERSON & NUMBER	PRESENT		PAST	
1st sg.	<i>spilår</i>	<i>far</i>	<i>spiläð</i>	<i>fuor</i>
2nd sg.	<i>spilår</i>	<i>far</i>	<i>spiläð</i>	<i>fuor</i>
3rd sg.	<i>spilår</i>	<i>far</i>	<i>spiläð</i>	<i>fuor</i>
1st pl.	<i>spilum</i>	<i>farum</i>	<i>spiläðum</i>	<i>fuorum</i>
2nd pl.	<i>spilið</i>	<i>farið</i>	<i>spiläðið</i>	<i>fuorið</i>
3rd pl.	<i>spilå</i>	<i>fårå</i>	<i>spiläð</i>	<i>fuoru</i>

There is syncretism between all persons in the singular form both for weak and strong verbs and in both present and past tense in Traditional Övdalian. In the past tense of weak verbs, the singular form is furthermore identical to 3rd person plural, e.g. *spiläð* ‘played.SG/3.PL’ and this syncretism is also found in the present tense of some irregular verbs, (see Garbacz 2010: 46–47). In the past tense of strong verbs, however, the 3rd person plural form ending is apocopated within a phrase and it is then orthographically identical to the singular form, e.g. *fuoru* > *fuor*. However, the forms differ prosodically, as the singular form has an acute accent (accent I) and the plural form keeps a grave accent (accent II).

The facts of Traditional Övdalian verb inflection predict the presence of obligatory verb movement under the approach of Vikner (1995a) and Rohrbacher (1999), as it has different endings for 1st and 2nd person in at least one tense and number. Obligatory verb movement in Övdalian is also predicted according to the approach of Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998), as the language has separate agreement and tense marking.¹⁵ There is no known weakening of the inflectional paradigm of the verb in Övdalian and the orthography as a rule reflects the actual differences between the person and number endings. The verbal inflection in Övdalian can therefore be classified as robust, and as unchanged during the last century too (see also arguments in favour of these claims in Garbacz 2010: 121, 133–134).

3.2 V-to-I movement in Traditional Övdalian

Data on embedded V_{fin} -Adv word order in Classical Övdalian are limited to the few examples provided by Levander (1909: 124).¹⁶ As Classical Övdalian is not

15. This separability is less clear in the 1st class weak verbs, such as *spilå* ‘play’. However, it is very clear in the case of the 2nd class weak verbs (as *åra* ‘hear’ or *tjyöpa* ‘buy’, see Table 1 above), as well as in the paradigm of the ablaut verbs and irregular verbs.

16. There are a number of non-investigated recordings of Classical Övdalian too (Garbacz 2010: 30), which may shed some light on embedded word order in the language at that stage.

spoken anymore, this paper focuses instead on Traditional Övdalian. The empirical bases for it are grammaticality judgements collected from 10 native-speakers of Traditional Övdalian, born between 1930 and 1941 and living in the Övdalian villages of Åsen, Brunnsberg, Loka and Klitten. See Table 3 for a summary of the consultants' information.

The data was elicited from the consultants by means of grammaticality judgements of a number of sentences presented to the speakers. Four embedded word orders were tested:

- a. ADV – SUBJ – V_{fin} – $V_{\text{inf}}/\text{OBJ}$
 b. SUBJ – ADV – V_{fin} – $V_{\text{inf}}/\text{OBJ}$
 c. SUBJ – V_{fin} – ADV – $V_{\text{inf}}/\text{OBJ}$
 d. SUBJ – V_{fin} – $V_{\text{inf}}/\text{OBJ}$ – ADV

These orders were tested with three adverbials: *intelit* 'not', *sakta* 'actually' and *aldri/older* 'never'; three different types of finite verbs: a perfective auxiliary, a modal auxiliary and a main verb, and two types of subjects: pronominal subjects and DP-subjects. The four above-mentioned orders were tested in relative clauses, since such contexts do not allow embedded topicalization in Övdalian, thus embedded V2 can be excluded as an option here cf. (12).

- (12) a. **Eð ir fel Maj so å-dar buotje ar lesið.*
 it is probably Maj that she-there book.DEF has read
 b. ^{ok}*Eð ir fel Maj so ar lesið å-dar buotje.*
 it is probably Maj that has read she-there book.DEF
 'Maj has probably read this book.'

Table 3. Age, year of birth and place of origin of the consultants.

THE CONSULTANT'S NUMBER	THE CONSULTANT'S PLACE OF ORIGIN	THE CONSULTANT'S YEAR OF BIRTH	THE CONSULTANT'S SEX
1.	Brunnsberg	1930	female
2.	Loka	1930	female
3.	Åsen	1932	female
4.	Brunnsberg	1933	male
5.	Klitten	1935	male
6.	Åsen	1937	male
7.	Loka	1939	male
8.	Klitten	1939	male
9.	Klitten	1940	female
10.	Klitten	1941	male

There are good reasons for testing the word orders using the variables mentioned above. Firstly, different adverbial types are often assumed to occupy different positions in the structure (see especially Cinque 1999). Secondly, the embedded word order V_{fin} -Adv with modal auxiliaries, but not with other types of verbs, has been argued to occur in the speech of young children acquiring Swedish (Håkansson & Dooley-Collberg 1994). It could thus be the case that modal auxiliaries or auxiliaries in general behave differently from main verbs with respect to their ability to occur in different positions in a clause. Thirdly, it has been shown that the earliest examples of a finite verb to the right of sentential adverbs in Old Swedish, the V-in-situ word order, are attested in subordinate clauses with a pronominal subject (Sundquist 2002: 250). Further, Angantýsson (2011) reports that the embedded word order Adv- V_{fin} in Icelandic is more frequent in clauses with a pronominal subject. Finally, it has been reported that the embedded word order V_{fin} -Adv may depend on the type of the embedded clause (Vikner 1995a: 65 ff.).

As mentioned above, I have chosen to test the word orders in relative clauses. Any occurrence of the word order V_{fin} -Adv in clauses where the subject precedes the adverbial(s) is thus interpreted as presence of V-to-I movement in the present study. Clauses where sentential adverbials precede the subject located in Spec,TP are ambiguous between V-to-I and V-in-situ structures.¹⁷ Both the clause-final placement of the adverbial and the pre-subject placement of these elements have been tested: none of the adverbials are accepted clause-finally. At the same time, both the negation and the adverbial *aldri/older* ‘never’ may precede the subject, but the adverbial *sakta* ‘actually’ is judged as questionable in this position and as ungrammatical when the finite verb is a main verb.¹⁸ The results of the investigation are summarized in Table 4 on next page. The columns showing acceptance of verb movement have been shaded.

As is apparent given the data presented above, both V-in-situ and V-to-I movement in Övdalian are generally accepted.

It has been suggested that the emergence of embedded Adv- V_{fin} order in Övdalian has occurred due to Swedish influence (Thráinsson 2010: 1084). Övdalian is certainly a language spoken in Sweden and all speakers are bilingual, but the majority of older speakers who were born before World War II did not speak Swedish at all before attending school.¹⁹ This also applies to my consultants,

17. It is important to keep in mind that the pre-subject placement of negation in Traditional Övdalian does not imply that negation has local scope.

18. Rosenkvist (2011: 12–13) argues that there is an individual hierarchy of acceptance of adverbials in the pre-subject positions and that some of the consultants do not accept any adverbial in this position.

19. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were still a few monolingual speakers of Övdalian who basically did not speak Swedish at all (Levander 1925: 29).

Table 4. Acceptance of S-Adv-V_{fin} and S-V_{fin}-Adv embedded word order.

VERB TYPE	ADVERBIAL	WORD ORDER			
		PRONOMINAL SUBJECT		DP-SUBJECT	
		S-Adv-V	S-V-Adv	S-Adv-V	S-V-Adv
Perfective auxiliary	<i>inte/it</i> 'not'	ok	ok	ok	ok
	<i>sakta</i> 'actually'	?	?	ok	?
	<i>aldri/older</i> 'never'	ok	ok	ok	ok
Modal auxiliary	<i>inte/it</i> 'not'	ok	ok	ok	?
	<i>sakta</i> 'actually'	ok	ok	ok	?
	<i>aldri/older</i> 'never'	ok	?	ok	?
Main verb	<i>inte/it</i> 'not'	ok	ok	ok	ok
	<i>sakta</i> 'actually'	ok	ok	?	ok
	<i>aldri/older</i> 'never'	ok	?	ok	*

whose mother tongue is Övdalian rather than Swedish. However, it is uncontroversial to say that Swedish influences every single speaker of Övdalian today. On the other hand, the influence of Swedish should not be overestimated; there are many syntactic structures in Övdalian (referential null subjects, multiple subjects, negative concord for example) that are robust in the language although they are absent in Swedish (see Garbacz 2010: 78–89 and Garbacz & Johannessen, this volume for an overview). Any claim that Övdalian is currently developing “into” Swedish would hence be a simplification. An investigation of the degree to which standard Swedish can be said to influence Övdalian lies however outside the scope of the present paper.

One factor that was taken into consideration in the investigation turned out not to be relevant, namely the type of finite verb. This factor will therefore not be touched upon in the following. Below, I briefly discuss three other factors that appear to influence the possibility of V-to-I movement in Övdalian.

3.2.1 Subject type

V-to-I movement is more acceptable with pronominal subjects than with DP-subjects, cf. (13).

- (13) a. ^{ok}*Eð ir biln so dier wil sakt åvå.*
it is car.DEF that they want-to actually have
‘This is the car that they actually want to have.’
- b. [?]*Eð ir biln so pýtjin menn will sakt åvå.*
it is car.DEF that boy.DEF mine wants-to actually have
‘This is the car that my son actually wants to have.’

- c. [?]*Eð ir bar i Övdalim so an jager aldri brinder (...).*
 it is only in Älvdalen that he hunts never elks
 ‘Only in Älvdalen does he never hunt elks.’
- d. **Eð ir bar i Övdalim so Andes jager aldri brinder (...).*
 it is only in Älvdalen that Anders hunts never elks
 ‘Only in Älvdalen does Anders never hunt elks.’

Among the consultants, V-to-I movement across adverbs other than negation is dispreferred in clauses with DP-subjects. These findings are interesting in the light of the loss of V-to-I movement in Old Swedish as it was first lost in clauses with pronominal subjects and later in clauses with DP-subjects (Sundquist 2002: 247–253). This seems to suggest that the presence of an overt subject may disavour V-to-I, at least in the Scandinavian languages.²⁰

3.2.2 Adverbial type

V-to-I movement across negation is never rejected, cf. (14), whereas it is judged as more marginal across the adverbials *sakta* ‘actually’ and *aldri* ‘never’, cf. (15).

- (14) a. ^{ok}*Belgien ir iett land i Europa so ig ar it werið i.*
 Belgium is a/one country in Europe that I have not been in
 ‘Belgium is a/one country in Europe that I haven’t visited.’
- b. ^{ok}*Eð ir biln so an will it ávå.*
 it is car.DEF that he wants-to not have
 ‘This is the car that he doesn’t want to have.’
- c. ^{ok}*Eð ir bar i iss-jär buðn so Marit andler it jätä.*
 it is only in this-here shop.DEF that Marit buys not food
 ‘It is only in this shop that Marit doesn’t buy food.’
- (15) a. [?]*Eð ir noð so dier ávå sakt gart.*
 it is something that they have actually done
 ‘This is something that they actually have done.’
- b. [?]*Eð ir biln so ig will aldri tjyöpa.*
 it is car.DEF that he wants-to never buy
 ‘This is the car that he never wants to buy.’
- c. [?]*Eð ir noð so Marit ar sakt gart.*
 it is something that Marit have actually done
 ‘This is something that Marit actually has done.’

20. This is consistent with the claim presented by Rosenkvist (2011: 15) that V-to-I in Övdalian is obligatory with a null subject.

Consequently, Övdalian does not pattern with ReNN (as described in Bentzen 2007), nor with Faroese (as discussed in Bentzen et al. 2009). Both ReNN and Faroese accept the embedded word order S-V_{fin}-Advl with adverbials such as _{ReNN}. *ofte*/_{Far.} *ofta* ‘often’ but neither with the negation (_{ReNN}. *ikke*, _{Far.} *ikki*) nor with the adverbial _{ReNN}. *aldri*/_{Far.} *ongantíð/aldrin* ‘never’.

3.2.3 *The age of the consultants*

There is strong evidence that verb movement to I is disfavoured by younger consultants (Garbacz 2007 and Angantýsson 2011: 91). However, the correlation is not simply that the Mainland Scandinavian type of word order increases in the speech of the younger generation. There are two tendencies: (i) negation is placed before the subject, making any possible instances of V-to-I invisible (16), and (ii) sentential adverbs appear between the subject and the finite verb, indicating that the verb has stayed in situ, which is the Mainland Scandinavian pattern, (17).

- (16) *Eð ir biln so int an will ávå.*
 it is car.DEF that not he wants-to have
- (17) *Eð ir biln so an int will ávå.*
 it is car.DEF that he not wants-to have
 ‘This is the car that he doesn’t want to have.’

The present results thus show that visible verb movement to I has become a marked possibility in Traditional Övdalian, contrary to Classical Övdalian, when it most probably was the unmarked order (cf. Levander 1909: 124).

3.3 Summary

Övdalian exhibits three embedded word order patterns as far as the order between the subject, the finite verb and sentential adverbials/the negation is concerned. The negation/sentential adverbial can appear before the subject, consequently masking whether or not verb movement has occurred, cf. (18a); it can precede the verb, suggesting that the verb has stayed *in situ*, cf. (18b); or, finally, it can follow the verb, which leads us to the conclusion that the verb has moved across it, cf. (18c).

- (18) a. *Eð ir iend buotję so aldri ig ar lesið.*
 it is only book.DEF that never I have read
- b. *Eð ir iend buotję so ig aldri ar lesið.*
 it is only book.DEF that I never have read

- c. *Eð ir iend buotjē so ig ar aldri lesið.*
 it is only book.DEF that I have never read
 ‘This is the only book that I have never read.’

The picture that emerges is that V-to-I movement in Traditional Övdalian is an optional feature, although some factors may influence it positively (null subjects) or negatively (DP-subjects).

4. Optional V-to-I movement despite rich morphology

Given the fact that the verb agreement in Övdalian is both robust and rich (in the sense of Rohrbacher 1999) and the fact that morphemes for tense and agreement are separable, verb movement should be obligatory in the language according to the arguments presented by Vikner (1995a), Rohrbacher (1999), and Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998). Nevertheless, Övdalian V-to-I movement is certainly optional. Therefore, the Övdalian data cannot be captured by the RAH.²¹ The Split-IP hypothesis of Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998) is also not able to account for Övdalian data: although Övdalian clearly has separable morphemes for tense and agreement (Thráinsson 2007: 59), which should indicate Split-IP, and hence obligatory V-to-I movement, such movement is optional. Moreover, Övdalian apparently lacks a high, post-subject negation/adverb position, of the type that has been claimed to occur in Icelandic yielding the V3 embedded word order (see the latest version of this account in Angantýsson 2011).

It has been shown in a number of works that V-to-I movement and rich verbal agreement do not need to co-occur (e.g. Jonas 2002; Bobaljik 2002; Alexiadou & Fanselow 2002; Bentzen 2003, 2007; Sundquist 2002, 2003; and Wiklund et al. 2007 among others). Given this, I will argue (in line with Pettersson 1988; Sundquist 2002; and Alexiadou & Fanselow 2002), that the ongoing loss of V-to-I movement in Övdalian is an effect of a reanalysis of particular word order patterns. Recall these facts: both in Classical Övdalian and in Traditional Övdalian the negation and other sentential adverbials occur to the left of the subject. Rosenkvist (1994: 21) states that the possibility of negation occurring in the pre-subject position in Övdalian has the effect that the speaker does not need to take a stand on whether the finite verb is in T or in V. Here I will develop Rosenkvist's proposal in order to show how verb movement in Övdalian may be lost independently of the loss of rich verbal morphology. For Mainland Scandinavian, it has

21. Even more interestingly, the neighbouring vernacular of Vämhus, which has rich agreement in the sense of Vikner (1995a,b) and Rohrbacher (1999), seems to lack V-to-I movement completely, at least as far as preliminary data are considered.

been argued that the presence of Stylistic Fronting (SF) blurred evidence for V-to-I movement, leading to the loss of this movement (Pettersson 1988; Alexiadou & Fanselow 2002; and Sundquist 2002). This was due to the fact that the negation was most frequently moved by SF to a position in front of the finite verb. In Övdalian, the possibility of SF cannot be held responsible for the loss of verb movement to I, simply because SF is already limited to short relative clauses in Classical Övdalian and virtually absent in Traditional Övdalian (Garbacz 2010: 143–164). Instead, one may assume that the placement of negation and sentence adverbials in front of the subject (in a projection that we may label HighNegP), in both Classical and Traditional Övdalian may have played a role in the process of weakening of V-to-I movement in the language. Such placement is already frequent in Classical Övdalian (Levander 1909: 124), and since it has been retained in Traditional Övdalian, it is very likely that this has given rise to a pattern that blurs the evidence for verb movement to I. A sentence such as the one in (19) may be analysed in two ways, see (20).

- (19) *Du al sjå so int du far tuokut nu.*
 you shall see so not you go wrongly now
 ‘You have to see to it that you don’t behave wrongly now.’
 (from Levander 1909: 124)

- (20) a. [_C⁰ so [_{HighNegP} int [_{IP} du [_I⁰ far ...]]]] (VERB MOVEMENT)
 b. [_C⁰ so [_{HighNegP} int [_{IP} du [_I⁰ ∅ [_{VP} far...]]]]] (NO VERB MOVEMENT)

I thus claim that the widespread use of the HighNegP is the first step of waning evidence for V-to-I. However, if only HighNegP was the position occupied by negation, we would not expect Övdalian embedded clauses to exhibit the Mainland Scandinavian embedded word order. At the same time, the Mainland Scandinavian embedded word order seems to be the most preferred embedded word order in Övdalian generally, cf. Section 3 above. Therefore, an important question is how this order has emerged in Övdalian. Recall a number of facts that I have discussed here: in Classical Övdalian, V-to-I movement appears obligatory and there was a high position (HighNegP) that could host negation and possibly other adverbials at the same time that Classical Övdalian exhibited referential pro-drop (Levander 1909: 109). These properties generate the surface structure in (21).

- (21) a. ... *so int ulldum kum å noð aindje.*
 so not should.1.PL come on any hayfield
 ‘... so that we didn’t come upon a hayfield.’
 (from *Dalskum*, number 35/2009, page 13)

- b. ... *um int windir brott án.*
 if not throw.2PL away her
 ‘... if you don’t throw it away.’ (from Rosenkvist 1994: 20)

The possibility of placement of negation/sentential adverbial in the HighNegP in clauses where the subject is null, or where it is relativized, is another factor blurring the evidence for V-to-I movement. We may thus assume that the emergence of sentences such as those in (21) reduces the percentage of primary linguistic data (PLD) that are diagnostic of verb movement to I. Here, the influence from Swedish may be one catalyst of this process, as we know that the speakers of Övdalian have been bilingual at least for the last hundred years. Therefore, when the clues for verb movement are severely limited, we may expect that not only clauses such as (22) are produced, but also those that exhibit the Mainland Scandinavian embedded word order as shown below in the example in (23).

- (22) *Eð ir iend buotję so aldri Gun ar lesið.*
 it is only book.DEF that never Gun has read
 ‘This is the only book that Gun hasn’t read.’
- (23) *Eð ir iend buotję so Gun aldri ar lesið.*
 it is only book.DEF that Gun never has read
 ‘This is the only book that Gun hasn’t read.’

This situation is expected, since there are no cues in the PLD that the position of subject has changed. In this way, an Övdalian speaker may choose between having the sentential adverbial preceding the subject or occurring between the subject and the verb. Thus, V-to-I movement is lost without being triggered by any change in verbal morphology. Övdalian data show thus that the correlation between rich verbal morphology and V-to-I movement is difficult to maintain in any form, not only in its strong, two-way version, but also as a weak, one-way version.²² Support for disconnecting (rich) verbal morphology and V-to-I movement was also presented on the basis of diachronic data from other Scandinavian languages (Sundquist 2002).

Here, we touch upon the explanatory force of the parametric approach to syntax, an approach that has been criticized in recent years, among other things for its inability to give valid predictions, even within the very closely related branch of Scandinavian languages; see especially Newmeyer (2004), (2006) and Boeckx

22. In the last version of his parametric approach to Scandinavian syntax, Holmberg (2010) has removed V-to-I movement from the list of syntactic phenomena that correlate with ‘rich’ verbal agreement.

(2012), (in press).²³ The evidence for Övdalian presented above is yet another example showing that parts of this approach make false predictions.

5. Summary

In this paper, I have presented data from Traditional Övdalian that strongly argue against the proposal of linking the richness of verb agreement and verb movement to I as formulated in Rohrbacher (1999) and Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998), for instance. Traditional Övdalian displays rich agreement in the sense of Rohrbacher (1999), inflecting the finite verb in person and number as it has one form for singular and three forms for plural, and its morphemes for tense and agreement are clearly separable according to Thráinsson (2007: 5–9). Nevertheless, V-to-I movement is optional in Traditional Övdalian and the structures that either give no clue as to whether it has occurred, or structures that indicate that it is absent, are the preferred strategy in the language. In the present paper, I build on the proposal by Rosenkvist (1994), who argues that the pre-subject placement of negation blurs the evidence for verb movement to I. Therefore, there is no need to assume any connection between the ongoing loss of V-to-I movement and the robust verbal agreement in Övdalian in such a way that verbal agreement correlates with this verb movement.

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The syntax and meaning of subject doubling in Övdalian

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This chapter contains a presentation and an analysis of Övdalian subject doubling. After discussing elicitation techniques and methods, I present the actual data. Next, I turn to the syntactic restrictions of the construction, demonstrating that a V2-context (i.e., a root context), an initial subject and a certain type of adverbial expressing speaker attitude are obligatory for this construction. Also subject doubling in other languages is introduced and discussed, with a focus on doubling in Dutch dialects. It is argued that the meaning of the Övdalian subject doubling construction is to express polarity focus. In the final section of the paper, the hypothesis that the subject doubler is not a pronoun, but rather a realisation of ϕ -agreement in a functional polarity head (Σ), is launched.

1. Introduction¹

In Levander's brief survey of Övdalian syntax (Levander 1909: 91ff), he mentions that reduplication of personal pronouns in Övdalian at the time of writing was "very common" (1909: 109; my translation), and that there was no corresponding construction in standard Swedish. Below, two of his Övdalian samples are reproduced (the subject and the doubler are put in bold in the present paper):²

1. Two anonymous reviewers and my co-editors have suggested several improvements of this chapter, for which I thank them. Lars Steensland has supported me in my studies on Övdalian, and I am very grateful for that. Remaining errors and inadequacies are of course my own.

2. The Övdalian sentential adverbials *sakta*, *fel* and *kanenda* will not be glossed, since each of them is highly polysemous. Steensland (2010: 411) suggests that *sakta* corresponds to the following Swedish adverbials: *nog* ('probably'), *minsann* ('actually'), *faktiskt* ('actually'), *förvisso* ('surely', 'certainly'), *visst* ('actually') and *allt* ('actually', 'certainly').

- (1) a. *q wet sakt q eð*.³ (double subject pronouns)
 she knows SAKTA she it
 'She probably knows it.'
- b. *Ig ar ig sakt ig mjer i grytun*. (triple subject pronouns)
 I have I SAKTA I more in pot-the
 'I have more in the pot.'

The construction can also be found in other sources such as transcribed dialect recordings (2) and Övdalian texts (3):

- (2) *Og an sagd nufel an at q lärd sakt q finnas*. (dialect transcription
 and he said NUFEL he that she may SAKTA she exist ULMA 22377, 1935)
 'And he said that it [a book] may exist.'
- (3) *Eð lär fel eð bli noð wäs'n*. (Larsson 1986: 6)
 it may FEL it become some noise
 'It will probably result in some noise.'

In recent times, subject doubling in e.g. Swedish has been discussed by Engdahl (2003), in Finnish by Holmberg and Nikanne (2006) and in Dutch dialects by e.g. van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002a, b, 2006), Haegeman and van de Velde (2006) and Haegeman (2008). Since Levander (1909), Övdalian double subjects have been mentioned by Rosenkvist (1994) and Garbacz (2010), but the first preliminary analysis was presented in Rosenkvist (2007). This chapter is a thoroughly revised and updated version of Rosenkvist (2007).

In the present work, I present and discuss subject doubling in contemporary Övdalian (triple subjects do not seem to be in use anymore). In the following section, the data sources and the elicitation techniques that have been utilised are presented. Thereupon, the syntactic distribution as well as the semantic/pragmatic properties of Övdalian double subjects are presented (in Sections 3 and 4, respectively). In Section 5, some previous approaches to subject doubling are discussed, with a focus on similar types of subject doubling in Dutch dialects. A syntactic analysis of Övdalian subject doubling is suggested in Section 6. Section 7 concludes the paper.

2. Data sources and elicitation

In the search for double subjects, I initially turned to extant Övdalian texts and transcribed recordings. However, subject doubling appears to be a quite rare

3. Nasalisation of vowels is phonemic in Övdalian; e.g., the nasal *wið* ('we') forms a minimal pair with *wið* ('firewood').

syntactic construction, and hence only a handful of examples may be found even in Larsson (1986), the longest Övdalian text ever written by a native speaker; it comprises about 100 pages. The texts and transcriptions thus proved to be an insufficient source of data, and therefore it was necessary to investigate Övdalian subject doubling in field studies. A questionnaire was accordingly prepared, as well as some direct questions. As noted by Cornips and Poletto (2005: 941):

Direct questions about the (un)grammaticality of syntactic features may provide insight into a speaker's competence far more readily than spontaneous speech data do. In addition, by eliciting acceptability judgements we can examine reactions to sentence types that might occur only very rarely in spontaneous speech or recorded corpora. Further, we are able to elicit syntactic variables that do not always show up in interaction with other relevant syntactic variables in spontaneous speech, but that are predicted by theory to do so. (Cornips and Poletto 2005: 941)

The main fieldwork was carried out during a workshop in Älvdalen in 2007.⁴ 52 informants answered a questionnaire concerning subject doubling, under my supervision, and since then two small separate groups of speakers have regularly given responses in further small scale questionnaire studies, interviews and spontaneous speech, and by answering direct questions regarding possible syntactic structures. The continuous contacts with my informants have successively led to the emergence of an elicitation methodology along the lines of Henry (2005); when the researcher has been doing fieldwork in the same area and with the same informants for some time, the necessity of well-prepared questionnaires declines, because the researcher and the informants together establish effective procedures for obtaining data.

In the main questionnaire study, a number of syntactic variables possibly of importance for subject doubling were tested. They were:

- different adverbials (negation, *kanstji* ('maybe'), *sakta, fel, säkerligen* ('surely'))
- type of pronoun (1st, 2nd, 3rd)
- type of clause (main/subordinated)
- position of leftmost subject pronoun (\pm clause-initial)
- number of pronouns (1, 2, 3)
- type of speech act (declarative/interrogative)
- tense (past, present, future)

In addition, the informants were asked about the meaning of subject doubling, with syntactically minimal sentence pairs as point of reference:

4. This fieldwork was organised by the Nordic Centre of Excellence in Microcomparative Syntax (NORMS), funded by the Nordic research funding body NOS-HS.

- (4) a. *Eð far sakt raingen nų.*
 it begins SAKTA rain.INF now
 'It begins to rain now.'
- b. *Eð far sakt eð raingen nų.*
 it begins SAKTA it rain.INF now
 'It begins to rain now.'

It quickly became evident that especially the latter task was apprehended as quite difficult, and in this case the follow-up studies have been absolutely essential. The semantic and pragmatic effects of subject doubling are presented and discussed in Section 5.

3. The syntactic distribution of Övdalian double subjects

3.1 Current usage of Övdalian double and triple subjects

Levander (1909: 109) provides both doubling and tripling sentences with either *fel* or *sakta* (which is pronounced and written *sakt* in non-final position due to apocope). The majority of the informants in this study accept doubling in the same contexts, but in contrast to Levander (1909), they do not accept tripling.

- (5) a. *Du ir sakt du uvendes duktin dalska.*
 you are SAKTA you very good speak-Övdalian
 'You are very good at speaking Övdalian.'
- b. *An ir sakt an unggrun nų.*
 he is SAKTA he hungry now
 'He is hungry now.'
- c. **Du ir du sakt du uvendes duktin dalska.*
 you are you SAKTA you very good speak-Övdalian
 'You are very good at speaking Övdalian.'
- d. **Ig ar ig sakt ig mjer i grytųn, um wilið åvå mjer
 I have I SAKTA I more in pot-the if want.2PL have more
 jätå.
 food
 'I have more in the pot if you would like to have more food.'*

The follow-up studies have confirmed this pattern – both informant groups consider subject doubling of the type in (5a–b) perfectly grammatical, whereas triple subjects are ungrammatical.

The double subjects in e.g. (5a) are neither weak, nor strong (stressed). Both subject markers are pronounced just as regular subjects, and they are thus not phonetically marked in any way.⁵

Unlike pronoun doubling in e.g. Finnish (Holmberg & Nikanne 2008), the initial subject element need not be a personal pronoun in Övdalian. The initial subject may be an expletive subject pronoun (6a–c), a proper name (6d), a definite or indefinite noun phrase (6e–g) or even a null referential subject (6h–i); (6i) is a particularly clear case of doubling of a null subject pronoun, since 1pl null subjects are only allowed in initial position (Rosenkvist 2006, 2010). In (6j–k), it is shown that also clausal subjects can be doubled.

- (6) a. *Eð far sakt eð raingen nų.*
 it begins SAKTA it to-rain now
 ‘It begins to rain now.’
- b. *Eð såt sakt eð ien rakk ɔ gardem mes ig kam iem.*
 it sat SAKTA it a dog at farm-the when I came home
 ‘There sat a dog at the farm when I came home.’
- c. *Eð war sakt eð armlit an int belld kumå.*
 it was SAKTA it unfortunate he not could come
 ‘It was unfortunate that he wasn’t able to come.’
- d. *Bo ir sakt an unggrun nų.*
 Bo is SAKTA he hungry now
 ‘Bo is hungry now.’
- e. *Dier so åvå klaið ɔ iel da’n irå sakt dier
 liuotunggruger nų.*
 they who have.3PL toiled on whole day-the are.3PL SAKTA they
 very-hungry now
 ‘Those who have toiled all day are very hungry now.’
- f. *Nogrår åvå sakt dier si’tt trulle i Övdalim.*
 someones have.3PL SAKTA they seen trolls-the in Älvdalen
 ‘Some people have seen trolls in Älvdalen.’
- g. *Ien röv ir sakt an illrokk.*
 a fox is SAKTA he cunning
 ‘A fox is cunning.’

5. Gunnar Nyström (p.c.) claims that the doubling pronouns are stressed. However, my empirical studies show very clearly that only a handful of (younger) informants seem to be able to stress the doubling pronoun, and that an absolute majority of the informants do not stress the doubling pronoun in regular speech. See further below (Section 4).

- h. *Irið sakt ið ungruger, dar int avið faið jätä.*
 are.2PL SAKTA you hungry, since not have.2PL gotten food
 ‘You are hungry, since you didn’t get any food.’
- i. *Fòm sakt wið luv jätä nu, fer winnum int*
 get.1PL SAKTA we allowed eat now because manage.1PL not
baið etter onum.
 wait after him
 ‘We must eat now, because we don’t have time to wait for him.’
- j. *At an wil kumå ir sakt eð ruolit.*
 that he wants come is SAKTA it nice
 ‘That he wants to come is nice.’
- k. *Åk bil’n ir fel eð ruolit.*
 drive car-the is FEL it fun
 ‘Driving a car is fun.’

The sentences above clearly indicate that it is the initial subject that is the actual thematic subject, and the lower subject pronoun must hence be another type of constituent. The relative order of these two elements is fixed – nothing but pronouns may occur in the lower position (compare (6d) above):

- (7) **An ir sakt Bo ungrun nu.*
 he is SAKTA Bo hungry now
 ‘Bo is hungry now.’

As for the thematic subject, all types of subjects actually appear to be grammatical in clause-initial position in Övdalian subject doubling constructions.

Interestingly, no age differences can be ascertained regarding the syntax of subject doubling, an indication that older and younger speakers have similar internalised grammars in this case.

In the remainder of this section, I present the restrictions that determine the syntactic distribution of Övdalian double subject pronouns.

3.2. Subject in clause-initial position and V2

The first restriction concerns the position of the subject; it appears that the subject must be clause-initial, situated in SpecCP. In the main questionnaire study, a great majority of the informants considered non-initial subjects ungrammatical in the subject doubling construction, whereas a few accepted them; clauses such as (8b–c) have however unanimously been discarded as ungrammatical in the follow-up studies. Subject doubling is furthermore illicit in polar questions, as in (8d):

- (8) a. *An ir sakt an unggrun nu.*
 he is SAKTA he hungry now
 'He is hungry now.'
- b. **Nu ir an sakt an unggrun.*
 now is he SAKTA he hungry
 'He is hungry now.'
- c. **Wiso ir an sakt an unggrun nu?*
 why is he SAKTA he hungry now?
 'Why is he hungry now?'
- d. **Ir an sakt an unggrun nu?*
 is he SAKTA he hungry now?
 'Is he hungry now?'

Yet another indication that the first subject in Övdalian subject doubling requires a position in SpecCP is that the construction is only allowed in subordinate clauses which are known contexts for embedded V2 (and hence also embedded topicalisation) in the Scandinavian languages (cf. Julien 2007; Wiklund et al. 2009; Bentzen 2009), i.e. asserted clauses, often embedded under a bridge verb, as in (9a).⁶ Subject doubling does not appear in embedded clauses that disallow embedded V2, such as the restrictive relative clause in (9b), the *that*-clause which functions as the associate of the expletive subject in (9c) or the conditional clause in (9d):

- (9) a. *Ig wet an ir sakt an duktin dalska.*
 I know he is SAKTA he good speak-Övdalian
 'I know that he is good at speaking Övdalian.'
- b. **Ir du wið kallem frq Stokkkol so ar sakt an*
 are you with man from Stockholm who has SAKTA he
tjyöpt faðeres gard?
 bought father's farm
 'Are you angry at the man from Stockholm who has bought father's farm?'
- c. **Eð ir ruolit du ir sakt du so duktin dalska.*
 it is nice you are SAKTA you so good speak-Övdalian
 'It is nice that you are you so good at speaking Övdalian.'
- d. **Um du ir sakt du uvendes duktin dalska, so...*
 if you are SAKTA you very good speak-Övdalian then...
 'If you are very good at speaking Övdalian, then...'

6. Wiklund et al. (2009) discuss assertiveness and factivity in relation to embedded V2 in Scandinavian in detail, showing, inter alia, that the Norwegian verb *vite* ('to know', cf. 9a) does not always behave as a regular factive verb.

The grammaticality of (9a) can thus be assumed to be due to the possibility of topicalising the subject in the *that*-clause (cf. Vikner 1995: Chapter 4; Julien 2007). Similar possibilities for topicalisation are not available in the embedded clauses in (9b–d).

To conclude, it is apparent that a necessary condition for Övdalian subject doubling is that the subject is placed in clause-initial position in a V2-clause, i.e. in SpecCP. In other words, a main clause (root) context is a prerequisite for Övdalian subject doubling.

3.3 Presence of *sakta*, *fel* or *kanenda*

Another requirement is that Övdalian subject doubling is not allowed without either *sakta*, *fel* (with the variants *nufel* and *dåfel*) or *kanenda*, three polysemous sentential adverbials which express speaker's attitude.^{7,8} Although they are quite hard to translate, as mentioned above, all of them approximately correspond to *actually*, *indeed* and/or *probably*. *Sakta* etc. are hence speaker-oriented adverbs, and since such adverbs in general are restricted to main clause contexts (or root contexts), the fact that these adverbs are obligatory also indicates that Övdalian subject doubling is a main clause phenomenon.

In Levander's (1909: 109) examples, some sentences contain the verb *lär* ('is said to') and no sentential adverbial, but subject doubling in such contexts, (10b), is no longer possible. Neither are other modal verbs such as *syöks*, *iess* or *luss*, all meaning 'seem to' (with differences in shades of meaning), possible in the subject doubling construction without either *sakta* or *fel* (10c).

- (10) a. *An lär sakt/fel/kanend an vårå duktin dalska.*
 he is-said-to SAKTA/FEL/KANENDA he be good speak-Övdalian
 'He is said to be good at speaking Övdalian.'
- b. **An lär an vårå duktin dalska.*
 he is-said-to he be good speak-Övdalian
 'He is said to be good at speaking Övdalian.'

7. *Kanenda* is probably derived from two verbs (*kan* 'may' and *enda* 'happen'), a fact that may explain why *kanenda* appears in atypical syntactic positions (*kanstji* 'maybe' behaves likewise, cf. Rosenkvist 2010).

8. A few speakers accept subject doubling with the negation, and such sentences can also be found in older transcriptions:

Eð wa'nt eð små og dålin fisk [...] (dialect transcription,
 it was-not.CL it small and bad fish ULMA 10149, 1937)
 'It wasn't small and bad fish'

- c. **An iess/syöks/luss an wårå duktin dalska.*
 he appears-to he be good speak-Övdalian
 ‘He seems to be good at speaking Övdalian.’

Needless to say, the task of establishing the syntactic as well as the semantic properties of Övdalian subject doubling is complicated by the necessity of including an adverbial expressing speaker’s attitude in all sample sentences – the pragmatic context of the test sentences must be appropriate, given the respective adverbials, otherwise the speakers will reject the tested sentences due to semantic/pragmatic inconsistencies. In the following section, the meaning of Övdalian subject doubling is discussed.

4. The meaning of Övdalian subject doubling

In the main questionnaire study, the informants were asked to describe the difference between simple clauses with and without subject doubling. Two pairs of sentences were used as a starting point for the discussion (11a–b are repeated from 4):

- (11) a. *Eð far sakt raingen nu.*
 it begins SAKTA rain.INF now
 ‘It begins to rain now.’
 b. *Eð far sakt eð raingen nu.*
 it begins SAKTA it rain.INF now
 ‘It begins to rain now.’
- (12) a. *Du ir sakt duktin dalska.*
 you are SAKTA good speak-Övdalian
 ‘You are good at speaking Övdalian.’
 b. *Du ir sakt du duktin dalska.*
 you are SAKTA you good speak-Övdalian
 ‘You are good at speaking Övdalian.’

Although several informants had difficulties expressing the difference in words, some informants spontaneously asserted that the b-alternatives (with subject doubling) strengthened or emphasised what was said in the a-alternatives. Some typical comments are that the b-alternatives are “more decided”, “more exact”, “stronger” or “stressed”. An older informant claimed that (12b) means “you ARE very good”, actually underlining the finite verb, and one of the younger and more eloquent informants stated, concerning the difference between (12a) and (12b), that: “When someone doubts their ability to speak Övdalian you say B to them.

But when you merely state that someone is good you say A” [my translation]. The informants’ responses actually suggested that the pragmatic function of subject doubling in Övdalian is quite close to polarity focus (or verum focus – cf. Höhle 1988; Creswell 2000; Wilder 2011).

In the follow-up studies, it has furthermore been confirmed that although Övdalian finite verbs may be stressed in order to produce polarity focus, this is not possible in a subject doubling environment. In (13), capitals signal stress:

- (13) a. *An IR sakt uvendes duktin dalska.*
 he IS SAKTA very good speak-Övdalian
 ‘He IS very good at speaking Övdalian.’
- b. **An IR sakt an uvendes duktin dalska.*
 he IS SAKTA he very good speak-Övdalian
 ‘He IS very good at speaking Övdalian.’

Subject doubling and polarity focus (expressed as stress on the finite verb) thus appear to be complementary in Övdalian; this fact as well as the informants’ comments on the meaning differences between sentences with and without subject doubling point towards the conclusion that the Övdalian subject doubling-construction is a syntactic device for expressing polarity focus (or a pragmatic meaning which strongly resembles polarity focus).

Wilder (2011) distinguishes between verum focus (VF) and contrastive topic (CT), which both require a stressed *do* in English. While VF is used to “emphasise the truth of an affirmative proposition”, CT “may lack an explicit antecedent proposition” and triggers “special implicatures”. A salient difference is the distribution; VF occurs in all finite clauses while CT only is possible in main clauses and some types of *that*-clauses. Subject doubling in Övdalian is, I argue, a device for expressing VF, but the distribution is nevertheless reminiscent of Wilder’s description of CT in English.

A relation between subject doubling and the speaker’s assessment of how the uttered sentence relates to the discourse context has been observed in a number of languages. For instance, Cornilescu (2000: 98) points out that the subject doubling clitic in Romanian “marks certain illocutionary attitudes of the speaker”. Furthermore, in their study of the subject doubling *tet* in West Flemish (the Lapscheure dialect), Haegeman and van de Velde (2006) report that “in some of its uses, *tet* seems to be used as a polarity reinforcer” (2006: 13), and van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman (2007) states about the same *tet*:

When present, it adds an extra meaning layer to the sentence; the speaker underscores the polarity of the clause and expresses either irritation or surprise, as if he or she had expected the opposite state of affairs. (van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman 2007: 175)

Furthermore, the translation of one of the examples in Haegeman (2008) quite clearly suggests that *tet* is related to polarity focus, and also D’Alessandro et al. (2010) translate Dutch topic doubling into a sentence with contrastive or polarity focus; (14a) is from Haegeman (2008: 295) and (14b) is from D’Alessandro et al. (2010).

- (14) a. *Valère weet tet da.*
 Valère knows TET that
 ‘Valère does know that.’
- b. *Ze komd zaai oek mergen.*
 she comes she also tomorrow
 ‘In spite of what you might think, she’s also coming tomorrow.’

Do-insertion (as in the translation in 14a) is, of course, one of the possible ways of expressing polarity focus in English (cf. Creswell 2000; Wilder 2011).

Similarly, Vinet (2004) notes that the subject doubling clitic *-tu* in Quebec French also is related to polarity focus, and Holmberg and Nikanne (2008: 326) point out that Finnish constructions with *se/ne*, which both may appear as double subjects, are “typically used to express an all-new sentence about a familiar subject, often with a subtle ‘believe it or not’ effect.” As for European Portuguese, Carrilho (2005: 245) claims that *ele*, which may double the subject, in a low structural position “appears exclusively related to sentences involving a certain evaluative/expressive value.”

To conclude, for a significant number of subject doubling constructions in different languages it seems to be the case that the subject doubling construction is used to express the speaker’s view on how the utterance is related to the discourse context – in some cases, it underlines the contrast between the proposition of the sentence and the expected state of affairs. Övdalian is, I suggest, yet another language in which subject doubling is a construction coding syntactically the speaker’s assessment of how the proposition relates to the discourse context.

Haegeman (2008) explicitly points out that in West Flemish, there are two types of subject doubling. Doubling with a strong pronoun yields an emphatic effect similar to that of overt subjects in languages that regularly omit subjects, such as e.g. Spanish and Italian. But doubling with *tet* rather expresses some type of sentential contrast (cf. the quote from van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman 2007 above), and, unlike doubling pronouns, *tet* may double expletive subjects. (15) is quoted from Haegeman (2008: 4).

- (15) *T’is (tet) nu an’t regenen!*
 it-is (TET) now on-the rain
 ‘It is raining now!’

Since expletive subjects cannot be emphasised (“*tet* cannot be associated with a contrastive/emphatic reading [when doubling a non-referential pronoun]: the very nature of non/pseudo-argumental subjects excludes contrast/emphasis” Haegeman 2008: 5), the occurrence of *tet* in sentences such as (15) disproves the hypothesis that insertion of *tet* is a strategy for focussing the subject. As we have seen above, doubling of non-argumental subjects with *eð* is fully grammatical in Övdalian, too, and hence one can exclude the possibility that doubling in Övdalian is only a way of emphasising the subject, on the same grounds that Haegeman excludes emphatic readings of West Flemish *tet*.

Another piece of evidence that argues against a subject focus-analysis of Övdalian subject doubling is that double subjects occur in contexts where such a reading is impossible. In (16), which is taken from Andersson (2008), there is no set of possible subject antecedents that would make it meaningful for the speaker to single out one of them by focussing the subject pronoun. The example is presented in context.

- (16) *Ien dag rådeð ig Irene Westerling. Ig wet q ir uvljuot duktin rit*
 one day met I Irene Westerling I know she is very good draw
og mql so ig spuord enner um q edd tykkt um djära bilder
 and paint so I asked her if she had liked PCL do pictures
attrað noð ig add skriefi. Q war sakt q wilað djära eð.
 with something I had written she was SAKTA she willing do that
 ‘One day I met IW. I know that she is very good at drawing and painting,
 so I asked her if she would like to make illustrations for something that I
 had written. She WAS willing to do that.’

In (16), it just makes no sense to interpret the doubling of *q* as anything other than polarity focus – the speaker assumes (implicitly) that the would-be illustrator will decline the offer, and uses the doubling construction to express her surprise when she actually accepts. Wilder (2011) claims that *verum focus* is “used to emphasise the truth of an affirmative proposition, in contrast with an explicit (often negated or modalised) antecedent proposition which is salient in the context”, and the usage of Övdalian subject doubling in (16) fits very well with this definition.

To conclude, there are a number of arguments that show that Övdalian subject doubling is a means for expressing polarity focus: the informants’ responses, the incompatibility with stressed finite verbs expressing polarity focus, the possibility to double expletive subjects and the actual usage of the construction. One may also add that there are quite a few other languages in which subject doubling appears to have a similar pragmatic function.

However, a few younger informants (and some non-native speakers) seem to interpret subject doubling in Övdalian as a way of focussing the subject. Such subject doubling is present in Swedish (Engdahl 2003, 2008; see below), and it is plausible that the responses of these speakers are cases of inference from the Swedish doubling

construction. Interestingly, the few Övdalian informants that seem to stress the doubling pronoun find doubling of expletive subjects to be grammatically possible, but completely meaningless (unlike the majority of the informants), thereby possibly expressing an intuition that may be regarded as an Övdalian/Swedish hybrid.

5. Some previous approaches to subject doubling

Subject doubling phenomena can be found in a number of languages, such as e.g. Romanian (Cornilescu 2000), Greek (Papangeli 2000), Dutch dialects (van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2002a,b, 2006; Haegeman & van de Velde 2006; van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman 2007; Haegeman 2008), Swedish (Engdahl 2003, 2008), and Finnish (Holmberg & Nikanne 2006, 2008). The volume *Syntax and Semantics* 36 (Barbiers et al. 2008) is titled *Microvariation in Syntactic Doubling*, and part II is entirely dedicated to subject doubling.⁹

In principle, there are two types of subject doubling; the doubler may precede or follow the subject.¹⁰ In some Dutch dialects, both variants may appear, and van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002a; see also Barbiers 2008) introduce the terms *clitic doubling* and *topic doubling* in order to separate the two. In clitic doubling, a pronoun (which typically is weak, i.e. unstressed) precedes the subject (which may appear as a weak or a strong pronoun, or as a regular DP-subject), while the relative order of these elements is reversed in topic doubling.

- (17) a. [doubler ... subject] clitic doubling (CD)
 b. [subject... doubler] topic doubling (TD)

Övdalian subject doubling would hence constitute a case of topic doubling.

In the remainder of this section, I principally introduce and discuss some previous approaches to subject doubling in other languages; I will focus on languages that are related to Övdalian – i.e., Swedish and Dutch dialects.

Since Swedish is progressively making an impact on Övdalian, and since there is a subject doubling construction in Swedish, I find it important first to demonstrate that these two constructions are radically different from each other (Section 5.1.), excluding the possibility that Övdalian subject doubling has been influenced by the Swedish construction.

9. In the introduction to that volume, Barbiers (2008: 11) presents one Övdalian example (rendered as 1b in this paper) from Levander (1909), which is also quoted by Rosenkvist (1994, 2007). However, he presents it as grammatical (which it is not in contemporary Övdalian) in a variety that he calls “West Swedish”.

10. In many cases, it is of course far from obvious whether the first or the second item is the “real” thematic subject of the clause (cf. van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2006: 1ff).

5.1 Subject doubling in Swedish

Engdahl (2003, 2008) discusses subject doubling in Swedish, which requires the presence of a clause-initial subject and a doubling pronoun, modified by a focussing adverbial (*också* ‘too’, *bara* ‘only’, *även* ‘too’):¹¹

- (18) a. *Jari har också han slutat röka.*
 Jari has also he quit smoking
 ‘Jari, too, has quit smoking.’
- b. **Jari har han slutat röka.*
 Jari has he quit smoking
 ‘Jari has quit smoking.’

Having investigated the meaning of the construction, Engdahl reaches the conclusion that this type of Swedish subject doubling is related to focus; the doubling pronoun must be stressed, and the focussing adverbial highlights the comparison with a previously introduced set:

If a comparing unit is actualized in the context and [...] the subject in some way is parallel with the comparing unit then this parallelism can be further underlined by the adverbial. (Engdahl 2003: 98; my translation)

For this reason, doubling is not possible in e.g. interrogative clauses, Engdahl argues (but see below). She furthermore suggests that the position of the doubling pronoun (*han* ‘he’ in (18a)) is SpecIP (2003: 104). However, as shown by Holmberg and Nikanne (2008: 346), the first subject item need not be clause-initial, and doubling is actually also allowed in questions:

- (19) *Varför kunde pojkarne inte heller dom öppna dörren?*
 why could boys-the not either they open door-the
 ‘Why couldn’t the boys open the door, either?’

As for the position of the regular subject *pojkarne* in (19), a common analysis (cf. Platzack 2010: 134ff) is that it is placed in SpecTP (or a corresponding Spec-position in the middle field). This would leave no room for the doubling subject in SpecIP, which makes it difficult to maintain Engdahl’s (2003) analysis – in (19) the doubling pronoun *dom* must be situated lower in the syntactic structure, probably below NegP.

11. The Swedish construction has a direct cognate in Romanian (Cornilescu 2000: 102):

Tata vine si el maine.
 father comes too he tomorrow
 ‘Father too will come tomorrow.’

In addition, this type of Swedish doubling can also be applied to objects, it seems, in appropriate contexts (Engdahl 2003: 100):

- (20) *Torget fungerar som mötesplats och parken använder*
 square-the functions as meeting-place and park-the use
man också den som ett ställe att träffas på.
 you also it as a place to meet on
 ‘The square functions as a meeting place and the park is also used as a place to come together.’

Objects cannot be doubled in the Övdalian doubling construction. Furthermore, expletive subjects are distinctly ungrammatical in Swedish subject doubling (compare (11) above):

- (21) **Det börjar också det att regna.*
 it begins also it to rain
 ‘It also begins to rain.’

Yet another difference between Övdalian subject doubling and subject doubling of the type described by Engdahl (2003) is that the Swedish adverbial (*också* ‘also’, etc.) modifies the subject constituent, whereas it is clear that this is not the case in Övdalian:

- (22) a. *Också han kan tala svenska*
 also he can speak Swedish
 ‘He too can speak Swedish’
 b. **Sakt an dalsker.*
 SAKTA he speaks-Övdalian
 ‘He speaks Övdalian.’

In (22a), *också han* ‘he too’ precedes the finite verb, indicating that these two words act as one syntactic constituent. It is not possible to construct a corresponding sentence with any of the adverbials that appear in Övdalian subject doubling.

Accordingly, a number of linguistic features, semantic as well as syntactic, indicate that Swedish subject doubling is not the same type of syntactic phenomenon as Övdalian subject doubling.

5.2 Topic doubling in Dutch dialects

Subject doubling in Dutch dialects has recently been presented, discussed and analysed in a series of papers by van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002a, 2002b, 2008), Haegeman and van de Velde (2006), van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman (2007) and Haegeman (2008). Interestingly, in these dialects both clitic doubling and topic doubling appear, two superficially similar but derivationally

different subject doubling constructions. Clitic doubling involves a weak subject pronoun and a strong subject pronoun, and the former must precede the latter. Clitic doubling is furthermore disallowed in subject-initial main clauses, but perfectly grammatical in embedded clauses and inverted main clauses. Hence, a number of robust syntactic properties indicate that Dutch clitic doubling does not correspond to Övdalian subject doubling.¹²

On the other hand, Dutch topic doubling strongly resembles Övdalian subject doubling; it is only found in subject-initial main clauses, and there are few restrictions on the subject: “The first subject element in this dialect [Wambeek] can be a weak pronoun, a strong pronoun, a proper name or a definite DP” (van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002a: 55).¹³ The second subject must be a full (i.e., not phonetically reduced) pronoun, however.

- (23) *Ze/zij/dei* *vrou/Marie* *gui* *zij*.
 She.WEAK/she/that woman/Mary goes she
 ‘She/that woman/Mary is going.’

The analysis suggested by van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002b: 294ff) is that the first subject marker is a topic, situated in SpecCP, while the second occupies SpecAgrSP. One of their supporting arguments is that in an interrogative main clause, it is possible to double the interrogative pronoun, but only if the clause is interpreted as a rhetorical question:

- (24) *Wie eid-ij da geduin?*
 who has-he that done
 *‘who has done that?’
 ‘It is obvious that he/no-one has done that’

Van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002b: 295) argue that topicalisation and *wh*-movement in questions are incompatible, and since the subject must be a topic in the topic doubling construction, (24) may only receive a non-interrogative interpretation.

12. A common analysis of clitic doubling is that the doubler starts out as a determiner in a complex DP (cf. van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2002a,b, 2008; Holmberg & Nikanne 2008; Barbiers et al. 2007; cf. also Grohmann 2000 and Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002). However, such analyses presuppose that there is no lexical material in the complex DP – were it so, extraction of the clitic doubler would have been impossible. “It is clear that such a constituent cannot be spelled out as a clitic – one could even wonder if it can be spelled out at all” (van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2006: 19). Subject doubling constructions in which full DP-subjects precede pronominal doublers must hence be analysed differently.

13. Other Dutch dialects are not as permissive – e.g. the Lapscheure dialect only allows weak subject pronouns in clause-initial position (van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002b: 300). In this respect, Övdalian seems to be the most liberal language variety, accepting not merely the same subject types as the Wambeek dialect, but also expletives, null subjects and clausal subjects.

Having ascertained that the subject must be clause-initial in the topic doubling constructions found in Dutch dialects, van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002b: 294ff) suggest that it is merged externally in SpecCP, while the doubling item, a pronoun, has moved from SpecVP to SpecAgrSP. Had the subject doubler been locally A-bound by the subject, they argue, a Condition B-violation would have followed. The subject thus merges directly in SpecCP, and forms a chain with the lower subject doubler, in SpecAgrSP, in order to receive a value for case and a theta-role. The derivation of the sentence in (25) is illustrated in Figure 1.¹⁴

- (25) *Marie komt zaai.*
 Mary comes she
 ‘Mary is coming’

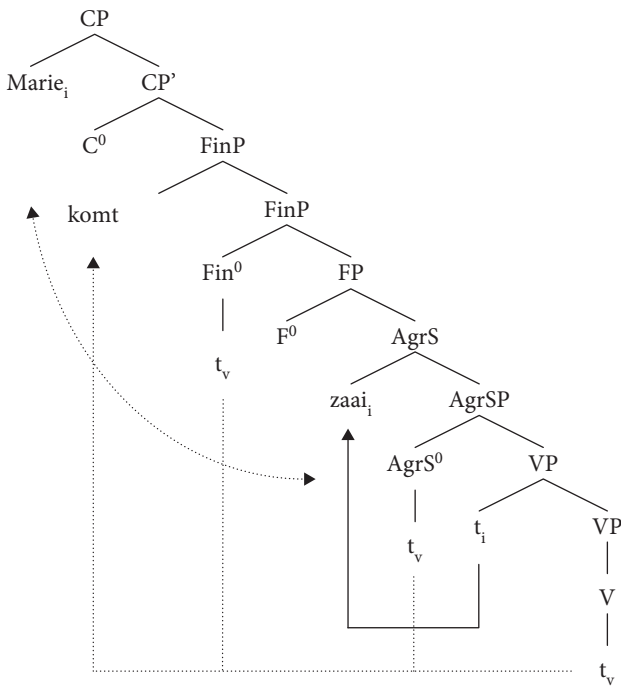


Figure 1. The derivation of topic doubling (van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002b: 297).

14. The non-syntactic motivation for topic doubling in Dutch is unclear: “The motivation for this Spell Out is semantic in nature. Due to restrictions of space, however, we cannot go into this aspect of pronominal doubling here” (van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002a: 63), and “The presence of the additional pronoun adds a pragmatic or discourse-functional meaning to the clause” (D’Alessandro et al 2010). See (14b), however.

In van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen's analysis, it is not clear exactly how *Marie* and *zaai* are co-indexed, nor why it is possible to merge a constituent externally in SpecCP in this construction; in general, arguments in SpecCP are merged internally from lower positions.¹⁵ Haegeman and van de Velde (2006: 26) instead suggest that the subject is merged in SpecFinP and then topicalised, ending up in SpecForceP, while the doubling *zaai* is situated in the canonical subject position, i.e. SpecTP. Again, the same problem arises: the layer of functional phrases in the middle field is in general not available for external merging of arguments. However, the basic assumption that the doubler is a pronoun forces both van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2002b) and Haegeman and van de Velde (2006) to merge the subject in a higher position than the doubler, since the subject cannot cross a co-indexed pronoun on its way to SpecCP – such a move would yield a crossover effect, due to Relativised Minimality.

Furthermore, none of these accounts can really explain the semantic/pragmatic effect of topic doubling.

As for Övdalian subject doubling, it is not possible to interpret questions of the type in (24) as rhetorical questions, which possibly explains the contrast between (24) and the corresponding Övdalian example below:

- (26) **Ukker åvå fel dier tjyöpt faðeres gard?*
 who.PL have.3PL FEL they bought father's farm
 'Who have bought father's farm?'

Note that the initial element *ukker* is less specific than the doubling pronoun *dier* – both are marked for number (plural), but only the latter displays a person feature (3rd). This fact may actually allow for another possible explanation of the ungrammaticality of (26), and of the interpretation of (24). This explanation is however dependent on the analysis of Övdalian subject doubling, which will be further discussed in Section 6.

5.3 Doubling *tet* in West Flemish

In West Flemish, subjects may optionally be doubled with *tet* (Haegeman & van de Velde 2006; van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman 2007; Haegeman 2008; the West Flemish examples below are from van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman 2007: 174f):

15. Note that in a subject-initial clause without any doubling pronoun, the subject is generally assumed to originate in SpecVP – hence van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen's analysis implies that there is a radical syntactic difference between these two types of clauses (cf. Haegeman and van de Velde 2006: 24).

- (27) a. *Valére goa tet da morgen nie willen doen.*
 Valére goes TET that tomorrow not want do
 ‘Valére won’t want to do that tomorrow.’
- b. *Morgen goa tet Valére da niet willen.*
 tomorrow go TET Valére that not want
 ‘Tomorrow will Valére not want to do that.’
- c. *Kpeinzen dat tet Valére da nie goa willen doen.*
 I-think that TET Valére that not go want do
 ‘I think that Valére won’t want to do that.’

Thus, *tet* may appear in main clauses as well as subordinated clauses, and it seems to occupy a fixed position, below the finite verb or the subordinator in C but above the subject (when the subject is not topicalised). It may also appear in infinitival clauses, but only when a nominative subject is present:

- (28) *me tet Valére da nie te seggen.*
 with TET Valére that not to say
 ‘Valére not having said that.’

Invariably, *tet* must be situated in front of the subject (unless the subject has been topicalised). Thus, *tet* seems to be positioned in a functional head F below the CP-layer, van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman (2007) propose, but above the TP-layer. The authors then utilise this syntactic feature in a contribution to the discussion of whether the syntax of subject-initial V2-clauses differs from non-subject initial V2-clauses, pointing out that the distribution of *tet* indicates that the finite verb indeed leaves the TP-domain also in subject initial V2-clauses.

A more detailed account of the syntax of *tet* is provided by Haegeman (2008). In line with van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman (2007), Haegeman (2008) suggests that *tet* is a lexicalisation of a functional phrase (FP) between CP and TP, but, unlike the former analysis, *tet* is considered to be an XP situated in a Spec-position:

Let us assume that FP is SubjP. In the unmarked case, the subject DP moves to its specifier. Inserting *tet* in the highest subject position, SpecSubjP, blocks this position for a DP subject and keeps the DP subject lower. The ‘novelty effect’ created by the use of *tet* is inferred from the fact that SubjP is not lexicalised by the subject DP itself. (Haegeman 2008: 290)¹⁶

16. Haegeman and van de Velde (2006) also place *tet* in the specifier position of a functional phrase, suggesting that this FP is analogous to ΣP , a functional phrase encoding the polarity of a clause (see further below).

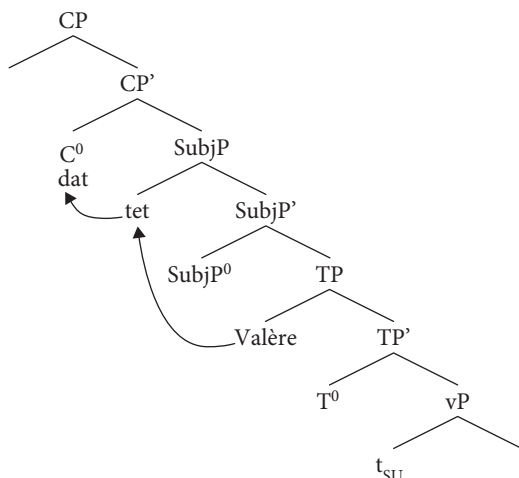


Figure 2. Derivation of subordinated clause with *tet* (Haegeman 2008).

Having ascertained that *tet*, unlike all other items but object clitics, does not block agreement between a complementizer in C and the subject in SpecTP (which has moved there in order to satisfy EPP-features), Haegeman proposes that *tet* is underspecified for φ -features (person, number and gender). This property makes it possible for *tet* to act as a relay station for φ -features. The φ -features of *tet* are specified via Agreement with the subject DP, and eventually C receives a value for its φ -features from *tet*. The upper layer of derivation may be illustrated as in Figure 2 (the arrows indicate the transfer of φ -features).

Crucially, Haegeman (2008: 294) assumes that the φ -features of *tet* remain available for agreement until the next phase, in line with Carstens (2003: 399) – otherwise, there would be no way for the φ -features of C to receive a value.

However, Haegeman also notes that some problems remain unsolved. For example, when the subject is topicalised, it must cross *tet*. The question, then, is why the probe in CP does not target *tet*, considering that *tet* and the subject share features. This is the same problem that was discussed above – if the subject skips over a co-indexed *tet* on its way to SpecCP, a crossover effect should result. Another question is why *tet* cannot act as an expletive pronoun, appearing in SpecTP, but without exception is constrained to SpecSubjP? Both of these problems relate to the assumption that *tet* is an XP-element, and hence it might be worthwhile to consider the possibility that doubling elements are heads rather than phrases (in line with van Craenenbroeck and Haegeman 2007: 175). In the following section, I suggest this is the case at least when it concerns Övdalian subject doubling.

6. A syntactic analysis of Övdalian subject doubling

Övdalian subject doubling, as well as Dutch topic doubling, might at first glance appear to display the following schematic structure:

- (29) [_{SpecCP} **subject**_i C FV advl [_{SpecTP} **doubler**_i T t_v [_{SpecVP} t_i V t_v]]]

A subject in SpecCP seems to be doubled by a matching subject doubler, in the guise of a pronoun, in a subject position in the middle field, here labelled SpecTP. The DP-subject may be a pro-DP, in the terminology of Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002), or a clause, while the lower subject marker cannot be a full DP with lexical content.

Considering the recent developments within the Minimalist Program (following Chomsky 2001), it seems plausible to assume that Övdalian subject doubling is an instance of copy spell out (as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer – see below). The doubling pronoun would then be a spelled out copy of the subject in SpecTP. However, there are several arguments against such an analysis. First, a copy of the subject must presumably display the same essential morphosyntactic features as the subject does. As shown above, there is, however, no direct match between the subject and the doubler in this respect; in (6f–g), for instance, the subject is indefinite while the doubler is a personal pronoun and thus by definition definite. A second argument against the copy hypothesis is that the pragmatic effect of Övdalian subject doubling (polarity focus) strongly suggests that the construction is associated with some functional projection in the CP-layer of the clause. Furthermore, there is an empirical argument for the assumption that the doubling element is not a copy in SpecTP. When a clausal subject is topicalised, an expletive subject *eð* cannot appear in SpecTP, as shown by the contrasts in (30a–c); as for Swedish, cf. SAG (4: 55f.). A doubling *eð* is however perfectly possible (30d). This indicates that *eð* in clauses such as (30d) is not situated in SpecTP, and, consequently, that Övdalian doublers in general are not situated in SpecTP.

- (30) a. *Kweðå ir ruolit.*
sing.INF is fun
'It is fun to sing.'
- b. *Eð ir ruolit kweðå.*
it is fun sing.INF
'It is fun to sing.'
- c. **Kweðå ir eð ruolit.*
sing.INF is it fun
'It is fun to sing.'
- d. *Kweðå ir sakt eð ruolit.*
sing.INF is SAKTA it fun
'It is fun to sing.'

Considering these arguments, as well as the fact that three of the doubling constructions that have been discussed above (Övdalian subject doubling, Dutch topic doubling and West Flemish doubling with *tet*) all allow subjects to precede what appear to be co-indexed pronouns without giving rise to crossover effects, it seems reasonable to assume that the doubler is a head, and not an XP.¹⁷ This is the proposal that is developed in this section.

If the subject doubler is analysed as an X-element, some of the problems that Haegeman (2008) leaves unsolved can be dealt with. First, a head analysis makes it possible for a probe in CP to target the subject in SpecTP and, second, we do not expect heads to act as expletive pronouns.

Recall, at this stage, the essential properties of Övdalian subject doubling:

- the subject must be clause-initial (in SpecCP).
- Övdalian subject doubling is only allowed in V2-contexts.
- the doubler matches the ϕ -features of the subject.
- the subject doubling construction has a discourse related function.
- the subject doubling construction appears in complementary distribution with polarity focus (realised as distinct stress on the finite verb).
- the subject doubling construction requires the presence of an adverbial expressing speaker's attitude.

Laka (1990) suggested that there is a functional projection, Σ P, between CP and IP (i.e., TP), which encodes the polarity of a sentence, and Fischer (2000) proposed that Σ P hosts sentence operators that may affirm the proposition of the sentence. In Old Catalan, the verb and a clitic are moved there, she claims (cf. also Fischer & Alexiadou 2001: 122ff). Also Raposo and Uriagereka (2005) assume that there is a functional phrase lower than CP but higher than TP, in the head of which some West Iberian clitics are placed. Such clitics “typically involve a value judgement by a speaker or a perspective-bearing subject” (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 642). As for West Flemish *tet*, Haegeman and van de Velde (2006: 14) point out that Fischer's “description of the effect of the verb-clitic sentences corresponds rather neatly to the expressive effect achieved by the insertion of *tet*. We might therefore propose that whereas in Old Catalan Σ P is lexicalised by V movement to Σ , in WF *tet* lexicalises Σ P”.

Considering the pragmatic function of Övdalian subject doubling as well as its syntactic features, I will assume that a Σ P is involved in this construction as

17. An anonymous reviewer points out that there are other possible explanations for the missing crossover effect, such as copy spell out or external merge in an A'-position (cf. van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen 2002a,b). Some of the problems with such analyses have been discussed above; that discussion is far from exhaustive, however, and it is certainly worthwhile to proceed with XP-based analyses of doubling; here, I have chosen to explore further the X-track.

well, located between CP and TP, and that the head of Σ P carries a polarity feature (a Σ -feature) and acts as a Probe. A matching feature can be found in the obligatory sentential adverbial, the Goal, merged in a lower AdvP. The polarity feature in Σ probes downward and attracts the adverbial to Spec Σ P where an Agree-relation is established. Σ -Agree can be lexicalised either as the doubling element in Σ , or it might appear as a phonetic marker (stress) for polarity focus, in which case Σ -Agree cliticises to the finite verb and follows it to C (if there is no doubling element, this is obligatory). The reason why the doubler in Σ appears in the guise of a pronoun is, I suggest, that it is a reflex of the φ -features that descend from T, which hence are used to visualise the polarity feature (the doubler can hence be seen as a partial copy of the finite verb). These features no longer have any syntactic values of their own, having been valued by agreement with the subject in SpecTP, and the lexical realisation of φ -features is naturally a pronoun – pronouns and agreement affixes are the only lexical elements in Övdalian which simultaneously express all φ -features (number, person, gender; cf. Grohmann 2000: 8; Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002: 410), but affixes need a host and hence cannot be merged in isolation in Σ . Like Haegeman (2008), I follow Carstens (2003; cf. Chomsky 2001) and assume that the φ -features in T are available until the CP-phase is completed. The proposed derivation of (31) is illustrated in Figure 3.

- (31) *Puostkall'n ir sakt an duktin dalska.*
 mailman-the is SAKTA he good speak-Övdalian
 'The mailman is good at speaking Övdalian.'

In a subject doubling construction, Σ attracts the sentential adverb in SpecAdvP in order to establish an agreement relation that values the Σ -feature. Since the finite verb must bring the φ -features to Σ for the doubling element to be realised, clauses without verb movement to C will not license subject doubling – and as has been shown, only main clauses and embedded clauses which allow V2 are proper contexts for Övdalian subject doubling.¹⁸ The hypothesis that verb movement is a prerequisite for topic doubling is also strengthened by the observation that Dutch topic doubling is not possible in embedded clauses (D'Alessandro et al. 2010) – which is expected, given that Dutch is an OV-language.

18. This restriction does not apply to West Flemish *tet*-doubling; however, in West Flemish complementizers agree with the subject (cf. e.g. Haegeman 2008: 12), an indication that φ -features may be present in C in all clauses in West Flemish, irrespective of the verb's structural position.

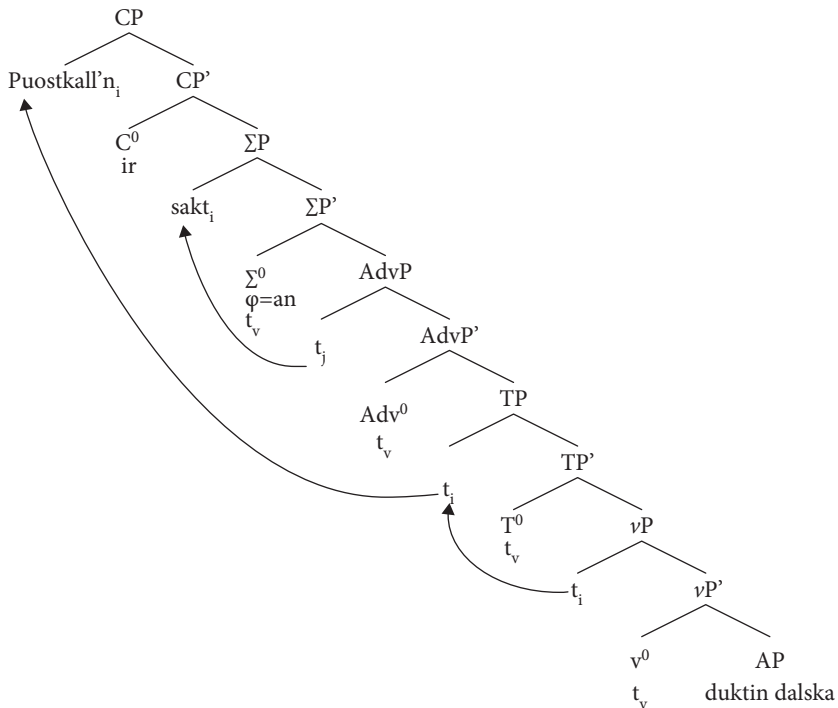


Figure 3. The derivation of Övdalian subject doubling.

Furthermore, if the Σ -feature is realised in Σ by the doubling element, then it follows that it cannot surface also in C, and hence subject doubling in clauses where polarity focus appears as stress on the finite verb are ruled out. Finally, to derive V2, an element must be merged in SpecCP, and it has been demonstrated above that only the subject may merge in SpecCP in this construction. Why must this element be the subject, then? Richards (1998) shows that in a structure such as the one in Figure 3, the Principle of Minimal Compliance (PMC) in combination with Shortest Move will control which elements it is possible to merge in SpecCP – in the structure in Figure 3, Shortest Move (Richards 1998: 614ff) determines that the element closest to SpecCP will be merged there, and that element is the subject in SpecTP. Merging any other phrase will violate PMC: “On the assumption that Shortest Move is sensitive both to landing sites and to movable elements, the paths will have to be nested, as shown, for the PMC to save the structure” (Richards 1998: 620). When the subject is clausal, the subject occupies Spec ν P and will thus still be the closest candidate for topicalisation.

It may appear mysterious why the ϕ -features show up in the shape of a pronoun in the head of Σ P. A syntax-internal functional explanation is that if Σ is not

filled, it will not be visible in Spell Out (unless it follows the verb to C). Furthermore, agreement between φ -features relating to the subject is overtly expressed in some languages. Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002: 432ff) investigate so-called same subject markers, i.e., elements whose function it is to explicitly determine the reference of a pronoun. In Mojave, spoken by about 300 speakers in the Southwest of the USA, dedicated elements express that subjects are co-referential or that subjects are not co-referential (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002: 435):

- (32) a. *Nya- isvar-k iima-k.*
 when sing._{SS} dance.TNS (SS = same subject)
 ‘when he_i sang, he_i danced.’
- b. *Nya- isvar-m iima-k.*
 when sing._{DS} dance.TNS (DS = different subject)
 ‘when he_i sang, he_j danced.’

In (32a) the agreement morpheme *k* signals that the two subjects are co-referential, while *m* in (32b) clearly shows that they are not. Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002: 435) state that “The essence of our proposal is that different-subject-agreement is D-agreement, while same-subject-agreement is φ -agreement.” (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002: 435). They also argue that φ -agreement must be co-referential with an argument, and that this argument must be the subject (2002: 436ff). As for Övdalian subject doubling, the doubling element does not determine the referentiality of a subject in an embedded clause (as in Mojave), but appears in the main clause with an unambiguous subject. However, the syntactic apparatus, i.e., overt realisation of φ -features (possibly a partial copy of the finite verb), may be the same, although the application of the syntactic device differs.

Finally, consider again that interrogative pronouns such as *ukker* (‘who-PL’, cf. (26) above) are disallowed as clause-initial subject markers in Övdalian subject doubling. *Ukker* has a value for number (plural), but – arguably – no values for person or gender. There is no Övdalian lexical element that matches the φ -features of *ukker*. The closest alternative is 3rd person – *dier* (‘they’). Hence, doubling of *ukker* with *dier* would lead to a mismatch between the features of the DP-subject *ukker* and the doubling element. Furthermore, since *ukker* also carries a *wh*-feature, it cannot function as a doubling element itself, but must *wh*-move to SpecCP. In Wambeek Dutch topic doubling, however, *wh*-elements are accepted as initial subject markers – below, example (24) is repeated:

- (33) *Wie eid-ij da geduin?*
 who has-he that done
 *‘who has done that?’
 ‘it is obvious that he/no-one has done that’

In (33), *wie* has no *wh*-interpretation and “refers to an entity which is already known or understood by the hearer (either a specific person or no-one at all)” (van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2002a: 65) – i.e., *wie* functions as a (generic) personal pronoun in this particular case, and it may hence be assumed that there actually is a match in φ -features between *wie* and *ij*. *Wie* and *ij* are either both referring to a specific person (3rd person, masculine, singular), or to no person in particular. Questions with initial *wh*-elements may however not be interpreted as rhetorical questions in Övdalian, as mentioned above, and thus Övdalian constructions of the type in (33) are not possible.¹⁹

7. Some final remarks

Subject doubling constructions can be found in a relatively large number of languages, and it appears in two syntactic shapes: topic doubling and clitic doubling. Subject doubling may also have two different types of meanings (at least). The construction can be used as a device for focussing the subject (as in Swedish; cf Engdahl 2003, 2008) or for expressing a certain type of pragmatic meaning (as in for instance Övdalian, West Flemish, Finnish, Romanian, etc.)

In this paper, I have introduced and analyzed Övdalian subject doubling, and I argue that this construction is a case of topic doubling expressing a meaning that lies very close to polarity focus. Övdalian subject doubling is similar to topic doubling and doubling of *tet* in Dutch dialects, as described by van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2002a, b, 2006), Haegeman & van de Velde (2006), van Craenenbroeck & Haegeman (2007) and Haegeman (2008). By analysing the subject doubler as an instance of overt φ -agreement, placed in the head of a functional phrase ΣP located between CP and TP, the problem with the lack of crossover effects when the thematic subject is topicalised is solved.

In recent versions of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2001, 2004, 2008), head movement is considered to be a PF-phenomenon, since head movement does not appear to cause any LF-effects. This view has however been challenged by Lechner (2007) and Roberts (2010), among others, who point out that, for instance, certain interpretations of modal auxiliaries as well as NPI-licensing in English suggest that head movement may occur in narrow syntax. Roberts (2010) furthermore claims that a popular alternative analysis, remnant VP-movement, fails to explain

19. An anonymous reviewer notes that clauses may be doubled in Övdalian (as has been illustrated above), although they lack φ -features. Likewise, non-referential subjects can also be doubled. In both of these cases, it seems plausible that the doubler appears as *eð* because 3rd person singular is the default verb agreement affix as well as the default subject pronoun in Övdalian.

certain instances of c-command (Roberts 2010: 17ff). Crucially for this paper, Roberts also discusses verb and auxiliary movement to T and C (2010: 158–183), and he concludes that these types of movement are “narrow-syntactic operations” (2010: 183). The analysis that has been presented here can thus be seen as a piece of supporting evidence: As we have seen, verb movement to C is an essential prerequisite for the Övdalian doubling construction, and since this construction expresses a type of meaning (polarity focus) which plausibly is an LF-feature, it can be concluded that the finite verb must have moved to C in narrow syntax.

Although there are similarities between subject doubling in Övdalian and in other languages, Övdalian subject doubling also displays some characteristic features; i.e., an adverbial expressing speaker’s attitude must be present, and the construction is only possible in V2-contexts. Further studies may contribute to a better understanding of these differences.

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The polyfunctionality of *which* in Övdalian*

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The Övdalian *wh*-word *ukin* has a variety of syntactic uses, spanning from the canonical use as personal pronoun ('who') to predicative property querying item ('what ... like') and polarity item introducing both main and embedded clauses. In this paper the various uses will be described and discussed, and it will be argued that the polyfunctionality of *ukin* can be well understood on the background of *wh*-syncretisms in other North Germanic varieties which all point in the direction of principled grammaticalization patterns in this domain. The pattern found will be accounted for by a nanosyntactic approach to lexicalization ranges.

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the syntax of the Övdalian *wh*-word *ukin*. *Ukin* is cognate with English *which* and Swedish *vilken*, and furthermore with Swedish and Norwegian dialectal forms like *hukken*, *høkken*, *åkken* and similar forms. Övdalian *ukin* however exhibits a much wider range of uses than its cognates in other Germanic varieties: it can be used for English *who*, determiner *which* and *what kind of*, the predicative expression *what...like*, complementizer *if/whether*, and also as an introducer of matrix yes/no-questions. These various uses are exemplified in (1).

* This paper is based on investigations carried out during the NORMS fieldwork in Älvdalen between 29 May and 1 June 2007. I am grateful to the 15 informants from different villages in Älvdalen whom I got the chance to speak with. I am furthermore very much indebted to Lars Steensland for guiding my investigations in unpredicted but highly interesting directions during the fieldwork, and I have also benefitted greatly from his comments on an earlier version of this manuscript. The paper has been presented at the NORMS Workshop on Determination in Tromsø in March 2009 and at the 5th Grand Meeting for Scandinavian Dialect Syntax in Älvdalen in August 2009, and I thank the audiences on these occasions for their valuable feedback. Furthermore, I am grateful to two anonymous reviewers for very fruitful comments on an earlier draft, and to the editors for their input and recommendations.

- (1) a. *Ukin al du råk i Stokkol?* PERSON
WHICH shall you meet in Stockholm
'Who will you meet in Stockholm?'
- b. *Ukin bil ir denn?* TOKEN
WHICH car is yours
'Which car is yours?'
- c. *Ukan bil ar du?* KIND
WHICH car have you
'What car do you have?'
- d. *Ukin sir an aut?* PROPERTY
WHICH looks he out
'What does he look like?'
- e. *An spuord mig ukað ig war trät?* POLAR_{EMB}
he asked me WHICH I was tired
'He asked if I was tired.'
- f. *Ukað ir du trät (eld)?* POLAR_{MAIN}
WHICH are you tired or
'Are you tired?'

Throughout the paper *ukin* will be glossed as 'WHICH' to reflect its cognacy.

The variant forms *ukan* (1c) and *ukað* (1e and 1f) are exponents of *ukin* in masculine accusative singular and neuter nominative/accusative singular, respectively. The classical inflectional paradigm for *ukin* as provided by Levander (1909: 67) is as follows (orthography standardized).¹

Table 1. The inflection of Övdalian *ukin* 'which'.

		MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
SG	NOM	<i>ukin</i>	<i>ukı</i>	<i>ukað</i>
	ACC	<i>ukan</i>	<i>uka</i>	<i>ukað</i>
	DAT	<i>ukum</i>	<i>uker</i>	<i>uko</i>
	GEN	<i>ukumes</i>	<i>ukeres</i>	–
PL	NOM	<i>uker</i>	<i>uker</i>	<i>ukı</i>
	ACC	<i>uka</i>	<i>uker</i>	<i>ukı</i>
	DAT	<i>ukum</i>	<i>ukum</i>	<i>ukum</i>
	GEN	<i>ukumes</i>	<i>ukumes</i>	–

1. The neuter singular form *ukað* will in some sub-varieties of Övdalian be pronounced /ʰkar/ as final and postvocalic ð in general has been rhotacized in these varieties.

According to Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2006) the genitive marker in classical Övdalian is formally speaking not a case affix but rather a possessive clitic attaching to the dative form, and in any event this genitive marking has since Levander's time gone out of use in Övdalian (see Svenonius, this volume, for further discussion). Moreover, as we will see below, the widespread conflation of nominative and accusative forms (cf. Svenonius, this volume) can nowadays also be observed with *ukin*.

Alongside *ukin* there is the item *ukindier* 'which of the two', which corresponds to Swedish *vilkendera*, and where the *-dier* part is invariant whereas the *ukin-* part is inflected as in Table 1 above (see Levander 1909: 68). In this paper the focus will be on *ukin*, but some comparative notes on *ukindier* will be made, in particular in Section 2.5.²

For five of the six uses of *ukin* in (1) there exist alternative *wh*-expressions in contemporary Övdalian: the only use which is unique to *ukin* is PERSON, and in fact for this function *ukin* has fully replaced an older item *wer* which was the item used about a century ago (see below).

These facts suggest that the morphosyntactic status of *ukin* to some extent is in a state of flux and that this part of the Övdalian grammar is undergoing considerable change. The present study may shed some light on the direction of these changes, and the Övdalian data are furthermore highly interesting when compared to the lexicalization ranges of different *wh*-items across other varieties of Germanic.

In the following I will go through the six different uses of *ukin* and compare *ukin* to alternative *wh*-expressions in Övdalian. This will be the main topic of Section 2. In Section 3 I will compare the Övdalian *wh*-expressions to other North Germanic varieties function by function, and I will show that there seem to be systematic patterns as to how a single *wh*-item may cover different query functions. This will lead up to an analytic discussion in Section 4 where I will propose a so-called 'nanosyntactic' account of the polyfunctional syntax of *ukin*. The gist of the proposal is that an item can spell out the whole or a consecutive subpart of a given syntactic structure and that grammaticalization proceeds through successive expansion (or reduction) of the range of spell-out that the item has.

2. One very clear morphosyntactic difference between *ukin* and *ukindier* is that whereas the former will be followed by an indefinite noun, the latter must be followed by a noun which carries the definite suffix. This difference is also reflected by Swedish *vilken* vs. *vilkendera*. Thus we have the following contrasts.

- | | | | | | |
|--------|--------------|------------------------------|----|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| (i) a. | <i>uky</i> | <i>buok</i> /* <i>buotjē</i> | b. | <i>ukydier</i> | <i>buotjē</i> /* <i>buok</i> |
| | which | book/book-DEF | | which.of.two | book-DEF/book |
| | 'which book' | | | 'which of the two books' | |

Furthermore, as the examples in (1) suggest, the range of an item may expand from one category type to another, for instance from the nominal to the clausal domain, and I will argue that also this follows principled patterns: the main idea will be that there are “contact points” across category types in the sense that there are distinct syntactic uses of functional items that correspond to each other semantically or pragmatically. Section 5 concludes the paper.

The data in this study are drawn from various sources. In addition to information retrievable from existing literature, in particular Levander (1909) and Steensland (2006), the investigation is based on my own data collection during the NORMS fieldwork in Älvdalen in May/June 2006, where I conducted qualitative interviews with altogether 15 informants from various villages in Älvdalen.

During my own interviews I presented the informants with examples rendered orally in Övdalian and I took notes as to whether they found the examples acceptable or not. I did not use a fixed questionnaire, but rather augmented and developed it from session to session as my own understanding of the matters grew. I did not use a numeric scale either, and furthermore I read out the examples myself as well as I could. As a result of this there is some variation with respect to exactly what issues and examples were discussed with each informant. Circumstantial factors may of course have influenced their judgments, but I nevertheless think the notes from the sessions give valid and useful pointers regarding the phenomena investigated.³

During the NORMS fieldwork other researchers made recordings of spoken Övdalian, which since have been transcribed and made available through the Nordic Dialect Corpus (Johannessen et al. 2009, see also Johannessen and Garbacz, this volume). There are a handful of examples of *ukin* in the corpus, and these examples will be mentioned where appropriate.

Unless specified otherwise, all examples in the following will be Övdalian.

2. The many functions of Övdalian *ukin*

2.1 The pronominal use (‘who’)

Steensland (2006: 115) mentions the PERSON querying capacity as one of the uses of *ukin* in contemporary Övdalian, and in this respect Övdalian is part of a large continuum of Norwegian and Swedish dialects that use the cognate of *which* as the correlate of English *who* (see Norsk Ordbok 2005: 540ff; Rietz 1962: 260). Several

3. My fieldnotes have, along with fieldnotes from many of the other participants at the NORMS Älvdalen fieldwork, been uploaded to the ScanDiaSyn *Document Chest*, a repository available for researchers involved in the research collaboration on Scandinavian dialect syntax.

variants are found, for instance *hokken*, *åkken*, *høkken*, *hukkin*, *hukkjin* and so forth, and the continuum stretches from Telemark county in the west through parts of Buskerud, Oppland, Hedmark, Akershus and Østfold counties in Norway into the adjacent Swedish speaking areas, including Dalecarlia.⁴

The following example, which is sampled from the internet, illustrates the PERSON querying capacity of *ukin*.

- (2) *Ukin ar rennt å skaidum jär?*
 WHICH has run on ski.PL.DAT here
 ‘Who has skied here?’

If the targeted referent is a set with two or more members, the plural form *uker* will be used in (2), triggering 3rd person plural agreement on the verb.

- (3) *Uker ava rennt å skaidum jär?*
 WHICH.PL have run on ski.PL.DAT here
 ‘Who have skied here?’

There are no examples of *ukin* used to query for PERSON in the Nordic Dialect Corpus. What is particularly surprising about this is that there seems to be no examples of PERSON queries whatsoever in the corpus. However, during the NORMS fieldwork, I presented the following example to most of my informants, who confirmed its acceptability.⁵

- (4) *Ukin al du råk i Stokkol?*
 WHICH shall you meet in Stockholm
 ‘Who will you meet in Stockholm?’

4. Rietz (1962: 260), which was originally printed in 1862–1867, documents *hókken* and similar forms from a large part of the Swedish dialect area, ranging from Skåne, Blekinge, and Småland in the south to Jämtland and Västerbotten in the north and from various districts in Central Sweden. He also attests such forms from both Österbotten and Nyland in Swedish-speaking Finland. This suggests that such forms of the *wh*-word for PERSON may have constituted a large contiguous area in the Swedish speaking part of Scandinavia. Whether this is the case also in contemporary Swedish dialects is less clear, but for the Norwegian area a variety of forms cognate with *ukin* – and meaning ‘who’ – can be found in recent 21st century recordings in the Nordic Dialect Corpus (Johannessen et al. 2009).

5. 11 of the 15 informants judged this example or a corresponding example with a slightly different predicate. One of these 11 informants wanted a different wording with the split expression *wen ... fyö fuok* ‘what for people’ instead of *ukin*. Interestingly, only one informant reacted slightly to the choice of the nominative form *ukin* rather than accusative *ukan*: in fact, whereas most of the informants accepted both *ukin* and *ukan* on this object DP, three informants explicitly rejected the accusative form *ukan*. This attests to the general loss of accusative case in Övdalian (see Svenonius, this volume).

Standard Swedish uses the item *vem* to query for singular PERSON, but as pointed out to me by Björn Lundquist (p.c.), if the query targets a plural referent, *vem* is inappropriate – instead the plural form of the *wh*-determiner *vilken* must be used. This can be illustrated by the examples in (5) (see also Teleman et al. 1999: 355, §109d).

- (5) a. *Vem har ställt sina bilar framför vårt hus?*
 who has put 3POSS.REFL-PL cars in-front-of our house
 Swedish
 ‘Who has put his/her/*their cars in front of our house?’
- b. *Vilka har ställt sina bilar framför vårt hus?*
 which.PL has put 3POSS.REFL-PL cars in-front-of our house
 ‘Who have put their/*his/*her cars in front of our house?’

In (5a) the targeted referent for *vem* can only be a singleton set – the speaker expects there to be a single owner of the cars parked in front of the house in question. Conversely, in (5b) there must be two or more owners of the cars. This then shows that also Standard Swedish has a PERSON (pronoun) use of the *wh*-item that is cognate with *which*.

Danish *hvem* and Norwegian *hvem/kven* work differently in this respect, allowing both singular and plural referents. The same holds for English *who*. Furthermore, using *hvilke* ‘which.PL’ in examples like (5) would be illicit in Danish and Norwegian.

The PERSON use of *ukin* in Övdalian appears to be a relatively new innovation. Levander (1909: 67) lists the item *wer* as the Övdalian interrogative PERSON pronoun, while at the same time noting that *ukin* can be used both “independently and unified”,⁶ i.e. both pronominally and adnominally. The item *wer*, which is cognate with Old Norse *hverr* and Old Swedish *hva(r)*, has since lost its capacity to be an interrogative word, and in contemporary Övdalian it now only exists as a distributive quantifier, i.e. corresponding to English *each* (cf. Swedish *varje*, Danish *hver*).

2.2 The adnominal use (‘which’ and ‘what kind of’)

Both Levander (1909: 67) and Steensland (2006: 115) mention the determiner use of *ukin*, both of them indirectly by giving *vilken* ‘which’ as the Swedish translation and Steensland directly by providing the following example (given under the item *twika*, op.cit 113).

6. “Både självständigt ock förenat brukas däremot [*ukin*] ‘vilken, vem, hurudan?’” (Levander 1909: 67).

- (6) [A]n stuoð dar og twikeð ukan weg an ulld tågã.
 he stood there and doubted WHICH.ACC.M.SG way he should take
 ‘He stood there in doubt of which way he should take.’

As discussed in Vangsnes (2008c) English *which* and its standard Mainland Scandinavian cognates (*(h)vilken*) are first and foremost used to query for TOKEN and not for KIND. Accordingly, these items are not felicitous in noun phrases that typically target a KIND referent. The contrast can be brought about by the following examples.

- (7) a. Which/*what kind of car is yours? English
 b. What kind of/#which car do you have?

In Vangsnes (2008c) I propose to use this sentence pair as a test to establish whether *wh*-items can be used adnominally to query for TOKEN and/or KIND.

During the NORMS Älvdalen fieldwork in 2006 this test was applied in a somewhat unorganized way: 12 of the informants were presented with sentences of the type ‘Wh DP is yours?’ (e.g. (8a)), but unfortunately only five of these were also asked about sentences of the type ‘Wh DP do you have?’ (e.g. (8b)).

- (8) a. *Ukin bil ir denn?*
 WHICH car is yours
 ‘Which car is yours?’
 b. *Ukan bil ar Bengt?*
 WHICH car has Bengt
 ‘What car does Bengt have?’

All 12 informants in question accepted the TOKEN querying use of *ukin*, and of the subgroup of five only one responded negatively to a KIND use of *ukin*. The negative response was brought about by controlling for possible answers to (8): the informant in question was the only one who would not accept answering with an indefinite DP.⁷

More careful studies of the adnominal use of *ukin* should preferably be carried out, but the general impression is that both a TOKEN and a KIND interpretation are allowed. Partial support for this comes from the fact that both Levander (1909) and Steensland (2006) provide *hur(u)dan* alongside *vilken* as a possible Swedish gloss

7. The informants were asked which one of the following three answers (or similar) would be appropriate answers to the sentences.

- (i) An ar ien Volvo.
 ‘He has a Volvo’
 (ii) An ar ien skåpbil.
 ‘He has a van’
 (iii) An dar rodan.
 ‘The red one.’

for *ukin*. The *wh*-word *hurdan/hurudan* can be used adnominally in Swedish, but only with a KIND reading. Hence, whereas (9a) is ungrammatical in Swedish, (9b) is licit, carrying the presupposition that a particular type of car is queried for.⁸

- (9) a. **Hurdan bil är din?* Swedish
 HOW-DONE car is yours
 ‘What car is yours?’
- b. *Hurdan bil har du?*
 HOW-DONE car have you
 ‘What car do you have?’

In the next subsection we will discuss another use that *ukin* shares with Swedish *hur(u)dan*, namely the predicative one which yields PROPERTY queries.

In the Nordic Dialect Corpus I have found the following three examples of adnominal *ukin*.

- (10) a. *og sjå ur dier add dar og jämfyöra ukin lyx wið*
 and see how they had there and compare WHICH.M.SG luxury we
amme
 had
 ‘... and see how they were conditioned and compare with what luxury
 we have’ (klitten_141)
- b. *eð war helt otroligt alltså ukað pe... par...*
 it was whole incredible really WHICH.N.SG cou- couple
lærerpar
 teacher.couple
 ‘It was just incredible what a teacher couple!’ (aasen_48)
- c. *og ig wet ig tykkt eð war so underlit uker...*
 and I know I thought it was so strange WHICH.PL
dier add ju slaik fin kläder og slaikt å sig
 they had PRT such nice clothes and such on REFL
 ‘... and I know I thought it was so strange what ... after all, they were
 wearing such nice clothes.’ (klitten_144)

None of these examples involve direct questions. (10a) may be categorized as an indirect question whereas I would categorize (10b) as an (embedded) exclamative. (10c) is an incomplete noun phrase – the speaker makes a pause and continues with a new sentence, or perhaps an embedded exclamative, and judging from the continuation one might suspect that this example also involves an (non-completed) exclamative, or perhaps an embedded exclamative.

8. *Hurdan* is here glossed as HOW-DONE to reflect its etymology. For more information about the internal structure and external distribution of Swedish *hur(u)dan*, see Vangsnes (2008a, 2008b).

The use of *ukin* in exclamative DPs parallels the exclamative usage of *vilken* in Swedish more generally (see Delsing 2010 for discussion). Steensland (2006: 108) provides the following example (under the item *tiokk*):

- (11) *Drait, ukin gröt! Eð war tiokker eð so war attrað!*
 Shit, WHICH porridge. It was thicker it SOM was along
 ‘Shit, what a porridge! It was thicker, what we got along with it!’

Although languages may use distinct items to form exclamative DPs, it seems that we can regard the exclamative use of *ukin* as a special instance of the KIND referring use seen in interrogatives. We will briefly return to the exclamative use in Section 2.6.

Whereas *ukin* seems to be the only available expression for PERSON queries in contemporary Övdalian, for both KIND and TOKEN queries there exist alternatives, notably a *what for* construction. Levander (1909: 67f) mentions the expression *wenförien* as the correlate to Swedish *vad för en*, but he does not discuss how it is used. Most of my informants were asked about this way of forming *wh*-nominals, and all of them approved of it. The informants furthermore accepted the expression both to be split and unsplit as exemplified in (12), but the impression was nevertheless that most informants preferred the split versions.

- (12) a. *Wen för bil ar Bengt?*
 what for car has Bengt
 ‘What car does Bengt have?’
 b. *Wen ar Bengt för bil?*
 what has Bengt for car
 ‘What car does Bengt have?’

In the recordings in the Nordic Dialect Corpus there are altogether nine examples of *wen för (ien)* nominals, and all of them are split. Three examples are given here.

- (13) a. *wen war eð för ien månad? juni?* (aasen35)
 what was it for a month June
 ‘Which month was it? June?’
 b. *ig wet it wen diem åvå för språk*
 I know not what them have for language
men diem läk då (evertsberg188)
 but they play then
 ‘I don’t know what language they have, but they play all the same’
 c. *wen avið ið för bil då?* (skolan79)
 what have you.PL for car then
 ‘What car do you have then?’

As is evident from these examples the *wen för ien* expression is compatible with both TOKEN and KIND interpretations, and that is also the impression I have from the informant interviews.

2.3 The predicative use ('what like')

By a PROPERTY query I understand the counterpart of an English question with the expression *what ... like*. Most Germanic varieties will use the same *wh*-item as in MANNER queries for such cases. However, in English the question *What does he look like?* carries a different presupposition than *How does he look?* in that the former asks for a description whereas the latter asks for an evaluation. German *Wie sieht er aus?* on the other hand is ambiguous between the two. The description query is a PROPERTY query whereas the evaluation query is, in my opinion, a MANNER query. (See Vangsnes 2013 for further discussion.)

There is one single example in the Nordic Dialect Corpus of *ukin* used to query for PROPERTY, namely the one in (14).

- (14) *og bar eð wart liuost og dier add si'tt ukų ig såg aut*
 and only it became light and they had seen WHICH.F.SG I saw out
so fuor diem
 so went they
 '... and when it got light and they had seen what I looked like, then they left ...'

Notice that the form of *ukin* in this example is the feminine singular, *ukų*. The speaker who utters the sentence is a woman, and *ukin* does in fact show agreement with the subject of the clause in the predicative use.⁹ Thus, we get the following contrasts.

- (15) a. *Ukin sir an aut?*
 WHICH-M.SG.NOM looks he out
 'What does he look like?'
 b. *Ukų sir ą aut?*
 WHICH.F.SG.NOM looks she out
 'What does she look like?'
 c. *Ukað sir eð aut?*
 WHICH-N.SG.NOM looks it out
 'What does it look like?'
 d. *Uker sjå dier aut?*
 WHICH-PL.NOM look they out
 'What do they look like?'

9. I am grateful to Lars Steensland for pointing this out to me during the NORMS fieldwork.

The Swedish *wh*-item *hurdan* (cf. Section 2.2) can also be used in this kind of construction, and it will also agree with the subject of the clause in number and gender (see Teleman et al. 1999: 358, §112). The following examples are sampled from the internet.

- (16) a. *Hurdan ser karaktärens närmaste familj ut?* Swedish
 HOW-DONE.C.SG looks character-DEF's closest family out
 'What does the character's closest family look like?'
 b. *Hurdant ser ditt liv ut i övrigt?*
 HOW-DONE.N.SG looks your life out in-other
 'What does your life look like otherwise?'
 c. *Hurdana ser argumenten ut FÖR ett avgiftssystem?*
 HOW-DONE.PL look arguments.DEF out for a fee-system
 'What do the arguments *in favor* of a system of fees look like?'

The majority of the 11 Övdalian informants who were asked about the agreement pattern in (15), confirmed it, but on this point there was in fact some interesting variation across the speakers. One of the eleven did not accept the predicative use of *ukin* and required the item *ur* 'how' instead. Of the remaining ten informants, three – all from the northern/upper part of Älvdalen (Åsen and Finnmarken) – would use either an uninflected form of *ukin*, i.e. *uk*, or the neuter form *ukað* in this construction. No other northern/upper informant provides information to the contrary. A fourth informant from Brunnsberg (also north, but closer to the main village) reported to accept both an inflected form or just the bare uninflected form. The sample of informants is of course very small, but the upper/lower geographic divide stands out in this case and seems worth investigating further.

2.4 A note on PROPERTY vs. MANNER and DEGREE

Just like Swedish and most other Germanic varieties, Övdalian allows the use of the MANNER *wh*-expression *ur* 'how' with a predicate that facilitates a description which is ambiguous between a PROPERTY and a MANNER reading. The use of *ur* instead of *ukin* in PROPERTY queries was in fact accepted by all informants asked.

- (17) *Ur sir an aut?*
 HOW looks he out
 'What does he look like?/How does he look?'

On a comparative note, those speakers of Standard Swedish that I have consulted seem to prefer *hur* over *hurdan* in such questions and tend to regard *hurdan* as an item belonging to a more formal and/or literary register.

Conversely, none of my Övdalian informants accepted any use of *ukin* in MANNER queries proper: only *ur* was accepted, in for example (18).

- (18) *Ur/*ukað/*ukin* *al du tågå dig niði* *Stokkol?*
 how/WHICH.N/WHICH.M shall you take you down.in Stockholm
 ‘How are you going to get yourself to Stockholm?’

Just like Swedish *hur*, English *how*, and German *wie*, Övdalian *ur* is used in both MANNER and DEGREE questions. Thus, alongside (18) we have (19).

- (19) *Ur/*ukað/*ukin* *gåmålr ir du?*
 how/ WHICH.N/WHICH.M old are you
 ‘How old are you?’

It is worthwhile mentioning this fact since other varieties of North Germanic have distinct items for MANNER and DEGREE, and in such cases it will always be the MANNER item which is used in PROPERTY queries, and which in some varieties also may span some of the nominal functions discussed above for *ukin* (see Vangsnes 2008a, 2008c, 2013 for further details). We will return to this below.

Let us now finally consider the use of *ukin* as a question particle, either introducing a matrix or an embedded question.

2.5 *Ukin* as a polarity particle

The question particle use of *ukin* is always instantiated by the neuter singular form *ukað*, and this use of *ukin* will henceforth be referred to as *ukað_C*. My data from the NORMS fieldwork are far from exhaustive when it comes to *ukað_C*. In particular I did not establish whether the clause-initial use of *ukað* represents the default way of forming yes/no-questions, be it main or embedded.

However, out of the nine informants who were asked about the phenomenon, only one rejected the complementizer use (*ukað_C*). Of the remaining eight, seven informants allow *ukað_C* both with embedded and main yes/no-questions – the eighth informant was not asked about the main clause use.¹⁰

All of the *ukað_C* informants also accept the use of *um* to introduce embedded yes/no-questions. This item corresponds to *om* ‘if’, which is the most widely used yes/no-complementizer in Swedish/Norwegian/Danish (originally a preposition roughly meaning ‘about’).

10. A subset of the *ukað_C* informants also accepted the use of *ukaðier* ‘which of the two’ as a complementizer whereas others did not, but on this issue the fieldnotes – and my own memory – are too rudimentary for anything concise to be formulated.

I did not exhaustively check whether the informants also could form matrix yes/no-questions by inversion, but I am quite convinced that this is a widespread way of forming polar questions in Övdalian, and I did note this as an option for a couple of the informants. Other issues such as preference or not for tags like *eld* ‘or’ with *ukað*-questions should be looked into in future investigations of this topic.

Övdalian polarity questions can thus take on at least the following forms.

- (20) a. *Ukað ir du trät (eld)?*
 WHICH are you tired or
 ‘Are you tired?’
- b. *Ir du trät (eld)?*
 are you tired or
 ‘Are you tired?’
- c. *An spuord mig um/ukað ig war trät?*
 he asked me if/WHICH I was tired
 ‘He asked if I was tired.’

The isomorphy represented by Övdalian *ukað* introducing both main and embedded yes/no-questions is by no means unique across languages, in fact, not even across varieties of North Germanic. Such isomorphy is well-known from the Rogaland dialects of Norwegian for the item *om* (see Enger 1995; Vangsnes 1996; Rognes 2011: 121ff), and it is also found in Finland-Swedish dialects (Östman 1986).¹¹ In these dialects we thus find both (21a) and (21b).

- (21) a. *Om du har vore i Stavanger?* Rogaland Norwegian
 if you have been in Stavanger
 ‘Have you never been to Stavanger?’
- b. *Eg lure på om du har vore i Stavanger.*
 I wonder on if you have been in Stavanger
 ‘I wonder if you have been to Stavanger.’

Such isomorphy is furthermore known from Old Norse for the item *hvárt* (which corresponds to contemporary Icelandic *hvort* ‘if, whether’) (see Faarlund 2004: 226f; Vangsnes 1996), a reflex of which may be found in Västerbotten dialects of Swedish where we encounter the form *hort* (Delsing p.c.; see also the item *hódt* in Rietz 1962: 260).

English *whether* is cognate with Old Norse *hvárt*: apparently their common etymology is an expression consisting of ‘who’ and ‘other’ (see e.g. the *Concise Oxford*

11. Notice, as is evident from a comparison of (20a) and (21a), that Övdalian exhibits Verb Second word order whereas the Rogaland dialect does not in these cases.

Dictionary of English Etymology), and as shown and discussed by Van Gelderen (2009), throughout the history of English *whether* has developed from a pronoun to a matrix polar question particle to an embedded polar complementizer.

Whether the same developmental track holds for Övdalian *ukin* is an open question: the data currently available do not suffice to decide on the issue. One might also wonder whether the polar question particle necessarily must have developed from a PERSON function: intuitively, one may argue that it could equally well have arisen from the adnominal TOKEN function, say, if one reasons that a yes/no-question queries for the validity of a proposition, hence for either of the “tokens” ‘yes’ or ‘no’.

Furthermore, it might be the case that the complementizer/question particle use of *ukin* has come about through influence from the item *ukindier* (Swedish *vilkendera*) which literally means ‘which of the two’ and which thus quite directly matches the etymological origin of English *whether* and Old Norse *hvárt*. That would square particularly well with the idea that a yes/no-question queries for the choice of two possible answers, ‘yes’ or ‘no’.

And *ukindier* does have an adnominal TOKEN use. Steensland (2006: 115) only lists the neuter form *ukaðier* for which he notes a pronoun and a complementizer use; but during the NORMS fieldwork, all informants who were asked about it, allowed *ukindier* to be used adnominally. No informant accepted the item to query for KIND, however, and the obligatoriness of TOKEN readings for *ukindier* seems straightforward given its inherent partitivity (‘which of two’) and also given that it requires the presence of the definite article on the noun (see note 2).

2.6 Other contexts for *ukin*

In Section 2.2 we saw that *ukin* may be used to form exclamative noun phrases comparable to English exclamative DPs of the form *what a N*. Although, as argued above, one may consider this a special use of the one in KIND questions, it is worth pointing out that languages often do make a formal distinction between KIND querying DPs and exclamative DPs. In English for instance the indefinite article is obligatory in a singular exclamative DP whereas it cannot appear in an interrogative KIND DP, cf. the contrast in (22).

- (22) a. What *(a) car you have! English
 b. What (*a) car do you have?

Another example concerns the Icelandic cognate of *ukin*, *hvílikur*, which can only be used in exclamatives and not in interrogatives (cf. Vangsnes 2008c: 234, Jónsson 2010). Consider the following example from Jónsson (2010: 38).

- (23) *Hvílíka skyssu hef ég gert!* Icelandic
 WHICH.F.SG.ACC mistake.ACC have I made
 ‘What a mistake I have made!’

On the basis of such comparative evidence, we may argue that the adnominal use of *ukin* in exclamative DPs may equally well be regarded as a separate function along with the ones discussed above. Still, the relation to KIND querying expression seems significant, and a specific proposal exploiting this will be given in Section 4.4.

Steensland (2006: 115) mentions an independent use (i.e. not adnominal) of the neuter form *ukað* that we may also categorize as exclamative. Consider his example, given here in (24).

- (24) *Ukað eð ir dar witeð föttäs!*
 WHICH it is there sanity-DEF lacks
 ‘How terrible it is when there are no brains!’

English seems to lack a direct counterpart to such exclamatives, and other varieties of North Germanic may use different items than Övdalian, in some cases other *wh*-items and in other cases D-elements (see Abels and Vangsnæs 2010: 3ff for discussion).

Steensland (op. cit.) furthermore notes a free choice use of the neuter form *ukað* as in the following example.

- (25) *[I]g dug it old mig waknan ukað so ir.*
 I manage not keep me awake WHICH SOM is
 ‘I don’t manage to stay awake anyhow.’

Again, it is quite common across languages to observe *wh*-items either used as, or involved in, free choice expressions (cf. English *anyhow*, *whatever*, Swedish *hur som helst*, *vilken som helst*). The free choice use may also be listed as a separate function of *ukin* in Övdalian insofar that it does not follow automatically that it should have this capacity.

The use of *ukin* in exclamatives and free choice contexts does not involve interrogative force, and for the remainder of this paper we will focus on the cases where *ukin* is involved in questions.

2.7 Homonymy or syncretism?

Summarizing, we have now seen that Övdalian *ukin* is used in a variety of ways to form questions. It can be used: (i) in PERSON queries, (ii) in TOKEN queries, (iii) in KIND queries, (iv) in PROPERTY queries, (v) in embedded POLAR questions, and (vi) in matrix POLAR questions. In addition, there are the non-interrogative uses just discussed above. Only the PERSON function appears to be particular to *ukin*: for all the other interrogative functions there exist alternative *wh*-expressions.

Further research is needed to clarify what the relative status of *ukin* and the alternative *wh*-expressions is in terms of frequency, register, style and so forth, but it is still quite evident that the lexicalization range of *ukin* as described here is quite impressive: to the best of my knowledge no other variety of Germanic possesses a *wh*-item with such a varied range of uses. However, we do find several cases across Germanic where a single *wh*-item spans parts of this range and sometimes partly other query functions, and in the following section we will consider some of these in comparison with Övdalian.

A question of a general nature that arises is whether one should regard the different uses as instances of homonymy or as (morphosyntactic) syncretism. That is: Does the lexicon contain distinct lexical items for each of the different uses or are we really talking about a single lexical entry that is used in different morpho-syntactic contexts?

Steensland (2006) for instance distinguishes the nominal/adjectival uses from the polar question particle/complementizer uses: the former are given under the entry *ukin* whereas the latter are given under the entry *ukað*. This may make sense from the practical, applied point of view of writing a dictionary, but it may not reflect the mental reality of the minds of Övdalian speakers. We know that *ukað* is the form that *ukin* will take in neuter singular contexts, and under a syncretism approach one may hold that this is, by default, the form we see in polar questions since there is no nominal for the question particle/complementizer to agree with.

In the remainder of this paper the syncretism approach will be entertained: in cases where we find the same exponent across different functions, distinguished on comparative and/or semantic grounds, the assumption will be that we see instantiations of the same lexical entry. Since we are dealing with function words rather than morphological paradigms here, this use of the term ‘syncretism’ will differ somewhat from how it is normally employed in the morphological literature (see e.g. Baerman et al. 2005).

Let us then consider cases of syncretism in *wh*-expressions in other varieties of Germanic.

3. Comparisons across Germanic *wh*-inventories

3.1 PERSON VERSUS TOKEN

Syncretism between PERSON and TOKEN was found in Old Norse. The item *hverr* (the cognate of older Övdalian *wer*, cf. Section 2.1.) was both an interrogative pronoun (‘who, what’) and a token querying determiner (‘which’). The following two examples are taken from Heggstad et al. (1975: 212).

- (26) a. *Hverr á hestinn?* Old Norse
 WHO-M.SG.NOM OWNS horse.ACC-DEF.M.ACC
 ‘Who owns the horse?’
- b. *Konungr spyr hverr utlendr hann var.*
 king.NOM asks WHO-M.SG.NOM nationality.SG.NOM he was
 ‘The king asks (of) which nationality he is.’

To the best of my knowledge, Faroese is the only contemporary variety of North Germanic which still uses a cognate of Old Norse *hverr* both pronominally and adnominally in questions, and as discussed in Vangsnæs (2009) the item in question, *hvør*, can be used adnominally to query for both TOKEN and KIND.¹² Faroese has furthermore also acquired an adnominal *what for* construction which can be used both in TOKEN and KIND queries (see below in Section 3.2).

The Övdalian/Old Norse system of identity across ‘who’ and ‘which’ is also found in southeastern dialects of Norwegian with the item (*h*)*vem*, which historically speaking is derived from a masculine dative form of Old Norse *hverr*, i.e. *hveim*, and which is the form used for ‘who’ in standard varieties of Danish, Swedish, and (Bokmål) Norwegian (cf. above).¹³

12. In Icelandic, which on most accounts is the most archaic of the contemporary North Germanic varieties, the interrogative determiner use of *hver* has been lost and replaced by the non-agreeing item *hvaða* (see Vangsnæs 2008c: 238 for discussion).

- (i) a. *Hver á hestinn?* Icelandic
 who.M.SG.NOM OWNS horse.ACC-DEF.M.ACC
- b. *Hvaða/hver maður á hestinn?*
 which/who. M.SG.NOM man.SG.NOM OWNS horse.ACC-DEF.M.ACC
 ‘In which country is this man the king?’
- c. *Hverskonar maður á hestinn?*
 [what-kind]-GEN man.SG.NOM OWNS horse.ACC-DEF.M.ACC
 ‘What kind of man owns the horse?’

Cognates of *hverr* are otherwise used as a distributive quantifier (‘each’) across all contemporary varieties of North Germanic, a use which was found also in Old Scandinavian.

13. All of the examples in (27) are taken from the internet, and the one in the b.-example specifically from <<http://www.bilforumet.no/annet-bilrelatert/155521-bil-syntes-v-rdens-peneste-5.html>>. Such examples involving adnominal *hvem* are abundant on the web. The phenomenon is not new, however. Older sources for several Eastern Norwegian dialects mention this, e.g. Larsen (1907: 116) for the Oslo dialect, Skulerud (1926) for the Norderhov dialect. Furthermore, during the data collection for the Scandinavian Dialect Syntax project adnominal (*h*)*vem* has been documented on the measure points Darbu and Jevnaker which both lie some 60–70 km to the southwest and northwest of Oslo, respectively. As noted in Vangsnæs (2008b: 53), the web is full of statements virtually condemning this use of *hvem*, suggesting that it is a highly stigmatizing dialect feature in Central East Norway.

- (27) a. *Hvem hadde penest sølvkjole?* East Norw.
 who had nicest silver.dress
 ‘Who had the nicest silverdress?’
- b. *Hvem bil syntes du er verdens peneste?*
 who car thought you is world-DEF-s nicest
 ‘Which car did you think is the nicest in the world?’
- c. *Hva slags kjoler er penest?*
 what kind-s dresses is nicest
 ‘What kind of dresses are the nicest?’

Furthermore, in a cross linguistic perspective it is worth noting that identity across ‘who’ and ‘which’ is found in several other languages. Consider the following examples from Greek (Marika Lekakou, p.c.) and Serbian (Monika Bader, p.c.).

- (28) a. *Pjos su to ipe afto?* Greek
 who you.GEN it said this
 ‘Who told you this?’
- b. *Pjo aftokinito ine (to) diko su?*
 which car is the yours
 ‘Which car is yours?’
- c. *Ti (idus) aftokinito exis?*
 what (kind.GEN) car have.2SG
 ‘What (kind of) car do you have?’
- (29) a. *Ko ti je ovo rekao?* Serbian
 who you-2SG AUX.3SG this said
 ‘Who told you this?’
- b. *Ko-ji auto je tvoj?*
 which-M car is-3SG yours
 ‘Which car is yours?’
- c. *Kakav auto imaš?*
 what.kind car have-2SG
 ‘What kind of car do you have?’

A fuller display of different *wh*-words in these languages could be in order, but a crucial point here is to notice that ‘which’ patterns with ‘who’ rather than with the KIND-querying expressions (‘what kind’).¹⁴

14. Serbian *kakav* actually has a closer affinity to ‘how’ than to ‘what’: manner ‘how’ is *kako* whereas bare ‘what’ is *šta*.

3.2 TOKEN VERSUS KIND

Above it was concluded that adnominal *ukin* is compatible with both TOKEN and KIND readings. This kind of syncretism is fairly common across Germanic for other adnominal *wh*-items. English adnominal *what* is a case in question, and the German *was für* and the Dutch *wat voor* construction is generally considered to be compatible with both KIND and TOKEN readings, see Bennis et al. (1998), van Riemsdijk (2005), Leu (2008a, 2008b) and references cited there. The same holds for the Faroese *hvát fyri* construction (Vangsnæs 2009), and as we saw above, it also holds for the Övdalian *wen för (ien)* construction.

An important comparative note in this respect is that the cognate of *ukin* in Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish, *(h)vilken*, is quite clearly associated with TOKEN interpretations only. The Swedish example in (30) for instance is only well-formed to the extent that the question targets a pre-defined set of houses or a contextually given list of house types. The same should be brought out by the English translation.

- (30) #*Vilket hus har du?* Swedish
 which house have you
 ‘Which house do you have?’

Interestingly, as discussed in Vangsnæs (2008c: 234f), the cognate of *which* in the Old Germanic languages was strongly associated with KIND interpretations only, and the TOKEN use thus represents a later development.

Furthermore, judging from the morphosyntactic behavior of other adnominal *wh*-expression across North Germanic dialects (see Vangsnæs, op. cit., for details), it seems likely that the extension from KIND to TOKEN has passed through a stage where *which* and some of its cognates were compatible with both a KIND and a TOKEN reading, i.e. similar to what can be observed for *what for* nominals in several contemporary Germanic varieties. In that respect, when we only consider the adnominal uses, Övdalian *ukin* can be argued to be on this intermediate stage, allowing both KIND and TOKEN interpretations.

3.3 KIND VERSUS PROPERTY and MANNER

As mentioned in Section 2.4, most Germanic varieties will use the same *wh*-item in PROPERTY and MANNER queries. Thus, where English makes a distinction between *how* and *what ... like* German will use *wie* in both contexts, Dutch will use *hoe*, Faroese will use *hvussu*, Danish will use *hvordan* and so forth.

Above we saw that Övdalian can use both *ur* and *ukin* in a PROPERTY question: both (31a) and (31b) are accepted.

- (31) a. *Ur sir an aut?*
 how looks he out
 ‘What does he look like?/How does he look?’
- b. *Ukin sir an aut?*
 WHICH looks he out
 ‘What does he look like?’

We recall that the difference between the two items is that *ur* can also be used in a MANNER question whereas *ukin* cannot. Along with that we can notice that the choice of *ukin* in (31) yields the PROPERTY reading only, i.e. with a query for a description and not an evaluation. *Ur* on the other hand is compatible with both readings.

However, *ur* cannot be used in any of the other contexts described for *ukin* above: it cannot be used adnominally, it cannot be used as a pronoun to query for PERSON, and it cannot be used to introduce yes/no-questions. In other words, the functional overlap between *ukin* and *ur* is precisely in PROPERTY queries. The same holds for Swedish *hurdan* versus *hur*.

In a comparative perspective it is worth pointing out that in other varieties of North Germanic we find MANNER *wh*-items that have a greater overlap with *ukin* in terms of lexicalization range. As discussed in Vangsnes (2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2013) in Norwegian dialects and colloquial Icelandic the item used in MANNER and PROPERTY questions can also be used adnominally. Furthermore, in some dialects the adnominal use is compatible with just KIND interpretations (e.g. East Norwegian) whereas in other dialects it is compatible with both KIND and TOKEN interpretations (e.g. North Norwegian) (see Vangsnes & Johannessen 2011: 141ff). As illustrated in (32) the Tromsø dialect is an example of a variety allowing both KIND and TOKEN interpretations for the item in question.

- (32) a. *Korsn vil du løse probleme?* MANNER Tromsø
 WH will you solve problem-DEF
 ‘How will you solve the problem?’
- b. *Korsn ser han ut?* PROPERTY
 WH looks he out
 ‘What does he look like?’
- c. *Korsn bil har du?* KIND
 WH car have you
 ‘What kind of car do you have?’
- d. *Korsn bil e din?* TOKEN
 WH car is yours
 ‘Which car is yours?’

It seems that in all cases where a MANNER *wh*-expression spans into the adnominal domain in Germanic dialects, the expression in question is distinct from the *wh*-item used in DEGREE questions. At the same time the MANNER items appear to be augmentations on the DEGREE items: the DEGREE item in the Tromsø dialect, for instance, is *kor*, hence a subpart of *korsn* (see Vangsnæs 2008a for further discussion).

At the other end of the lexicalization range, there are, as far as I know, no cases in Germanic of a *wh*-item that spans both the MANNER and the PERSON function: the Tromsø dialect for instance uses *kem* in PERSON queries and *korsn* is completely impossible there.

Although there is a considerable overlap between Övdalian *ukin* and for instance Tromsø *korsn*, the two are different in both ends of the lexicalization range: *ukin* cannot be used in MANNER queries, and *korsn* cannot be used in PERSON queries. The overlap of this particular pair is PROPERTY, KIND and TOKEN.

3.4 Summary

Table 2 gives an overview of several different *wh*-items in different varieties of Germanic, which illustrate patterns of syncretism. The Övdalian items are rendered in boldface.

The way this table has been set up, syncretism only obtains between adjacent functions. Any other ordering of the functions would disrupt this pattern. That may of course be a coincidence, but it may also reflect something of significance.

Table 2. Lexicalization ranges for a selection of *wh*-items across Germanic.

	'degree how' DEGREE	'manner how' MANNER	'what ... like' PROPERTY	'what kind of' KIND	'which' TOKEN	'who' PERSON
English	<i>how</i>	<i>how</i>				
Övdalian	<i>ur</i>	<i>ur</i>	<i>ur</i>			
Swedish	<i>hur</i>	<i>hur</i>	<i>hur</i>			
Swedish			<i>hurdan</i>	<i>hurdan</i>		
Övdalian			<i>ukin</i>	<i>ukin</i>	<i>ukin</i>	<i>ukin</i>
Faroese				<i>hvør</i>	<i>hvør</i>	<i>hvør</i>
East Norw.					<i>vem</i>	<i>vem</i>
Dan./Swe./ Norw.					(h)vilken	
Övdalian				<i>wen (...)</i>	<i>för wen (...)</i>	<i>för</i>
Tromsø Norw.		<i>korsn</i>	<i>korsn</i>	<i>korsn</i>	<i>korsn</i>	
East Norw.		<i>åssen</i>	<i>åssen</i>	<i>åssen</i>		
Danish		<i>hvordan</i>	<i>hvordan</i>			

What if the particular ordering of syntactic functions in Table 2 were to reflect for instance an underlying conceptual pattern along which function words may grammaticalize, i.e. expand and (subsequently) change their lexicalization range?

This idea is entertained in Vangsnes (2013) where a grammaticalization framework is developed based on what we may call ‘nanosyntactic’ principles (see Ramchand 2008; Caha 2009; Lundquist 2009; and Starke 2009, 2011). In the next section I will analyze the syntactic behavior of *ukin* along the lines of that approach.

4. A nanosyntactic account of the syntax of *ukin*

4.1 Functional sequences and the Superset Principle

First of all, the proposal put forth in Vangsnes (2013) is that the functions in Table 2 are organized along two independent functional sequences (henceforth ‘fseqs’), namely the following. The function PLACE has not been discussed above, but its relevance will become clear in the discussion below.

- (33) a. P/A queries: [PLACE [DEGREE [MANNER [PROPERTY
 b. D/A queries: [PERSON [TOKEN [KIND

The label *P/A queries* alludes to ‘predicative/adverbial’ and *D/A queries* to ‘determiner/adjectival’: alternatively we could refer to the two sequences as non-nominal and nominal, respectively.

Furthermore, KIND and PROPERTY can be regarded as two sides of the same coin, being different only as to whether they are adnominal (KIND) or not (PROPERTY). Under such a view, the distinction is parallel to that between attributive and predicative adjectives, and PROPERTY vs. KIND thus represents a link between the two functional sequences. The idea is then that functional expansion may proceed across the two fseqs only through the PROPERTY~KIND connection: we do not expect expansion directly from for instance TOKEN to PROPERTY or from KIND to MANNER.

A central claim of nanosyntax is the assumption of a *post-syntactic lexicon*: syntactic structures are built and matched against lexical items rather than built from lexical units as such. In turn this opens up for allowing one word form to match more than just one node (i.e. non-terminal Spell-Out). The so-called *Superset Principle* (Caha 2009: 55) regulates what count as viable matches between syntactic structure and lexical items:

- (34) **The Superset Principle** (Caha 2009: 55):
A phonological exponent is inserted into a node if its lexical entry has a (sub-) constituent that is identical to the node (ignoring traces).

According to this principle a given lexical item can spell out different parts of a syntactic structure as long as it is specified to be bigger or equal to those parts. Relating this to the fseqs in (33) it means that an item which can spell out PLACE, can also spell out DEGREE, MANNER, and PROPERTY, and an item which can spell out PERSON can also spell out TOKEN and KIND.

As we have seen in the previous sections, Övdalian *ukin* can lexicalize PERSON, TOKEN and KIND, and thus it behaves well with respect to the Superset Principle: all of the structures are properly contained in the constituency associated with *ukin*. We can summarize this as follows.

- (35) a. [PERSON [TOKEN [KIND → *ukin*
 b. [TOKEN [KIND → *ukin*
 c. [KIND → *ukin*

Also the capacity of *ukin* to lexicalize PROPERTY squares with the Superset Principle as this function is the most embedded one in the P/A fseq: the fact that *ukin* cannot lexicalize any of the “higher” functions raises no problem as it simply means that the higher parts of the fseq are not part of the constituency of *ukin*.

- (36) a. [PLACE [DEGREE [MANNER [PROPERTY → **ukin*
 b. [DEGREE [MANNER [PROPERTY → **ukin*
 c. [MANNER [PROPERTY → **ukin*
 d. [PROPERTY → *ukin*

At this point it should be obvious that the Superset Principle needs to be constrained: not for the sake of *ukin*, but in order to deal with items that lexicalize the higher parts of the fseqs but not the lower ones. We will approach this issue by first comparing the items that lexicalize PLACE and DEGREE in Övdalian and Norwegian.

4.2 Competition, preference and optionality

In Övdalian, like in Swedish, we find two different items for these functions, *war* (PLACE) and *ur* (DEGREE), whereas Norwegian (and Danish) uses the same item for both functions (*kor/hvor*). Compare the Övdalian examples in (37) with the Nynorsk Norwegian ones in (38): the item *kor* is glossed as ‘WH’ to emphasize its general status (as both a PLACE and DEGREE item).

- (37) a. *War/*ur byddjer du?*
 where/how live you
 ‘Where do you live?’
 b. *Ur/*war gambel ir du?*
 how/where old are you
 ‘How old are you?’

- c. *Ur/*war al du tågå dig niði Stokkol?*
 how/where shall you take you down-to Stockholm
 ‘How will you get yourself to Stockholm?’
- d. *Ur/*war sir an aut?*
 how/where looks he out
 ‘What does he look like?’
- (38) a. *Kor bur du?* (Nynorsk) Norwegian
 WH live you
 ‘Where do you live?’
- b. *Kor gammal er du?*
 WH old are you
 ‘How old are you?’
- c. *Korleis/*kor skal du ta deg til Stockholm?*
 how/WH shall you take you to Stockholm
 ‘How will you get yourself to Stockholm?’
- d. *Korleis/*kor ser han ut?*
 how/WH looks he out
 ‘What does he look like?’

The Superset Principle predicts that Övdalian *war* should be able to lexicalize DEGREE as well as MANNER and PROPERTY since these are subparts of the constituency of PLACE. But the empirical facts tell us otherwise. Likewise, Norwegian *kor* should be able to lexicalize MANNER and PROPERTY in addition to PLACE and DEGREE, but it does not.

In order to account for such situations, competition among candidate lexicalizers is invoked. In recent papers this has been referred to as ‘minimize junk’ or ‘best fit’ (see Starke 2009), and the general idea is similar to the earlier notion *Preferred Identifier* advocated in Vangsnes (1999, 2001).

- (39) **Preferred identifier** (adapted version; see Vangsnes 1999: 48, 64; 2001: 268f):
Use the item (exponent) with the most relevant and otherwise least irrelevant features for identification of functional structure.

‘Features’ here translate to ‘(sub)constituents’ in nanosyntactic terms, and the common core idea is that relevance rates over irrelevance. In Övdalian *ur* will thus outwin *war* for the functions DEGREE and MANNER, whereas in Nynorsk Norwegian *kor* will be the best suited item for PLACE and DEGREE but not for MANNER and PROPERTY, for which *korleis* will be superior.

Thus, the actual lexicalizers for the P/A fseq in Övdalian come out as follows:

- (40) a. [PLACE [DEGREE [MANNER [PROPERTY → *war*
 b. [DEGREE [MANNER [PROPERTY → *ur*
 c. [MANNER [PROPERTY → *ur*
 d. [PROPERTY → *ur/ukin*

In turn we are now faced with yet a theoretical issue to be solved. For the PROPERTY function there is a real choice between *ur* and *ukin* (cf. above in Sections 2.3 and 2.4) as several speakers allow both items in this context.

A common way to deal with this kind of optionality is to relate the choice of item to different styles or registers. Such a solution does not seem far-fetched in the case of *ukin* vs. *ur* for PROPERTY in Övdalian: *ur* is quite clearly very similar to Standard Swedish *hur*, whereas the use of *ukin* in this syntactic context is a stronger marker of Övdalian speech.

Also the fact that *ukin* competes with alternative expressions in the D/A fseq, i.e. with *wen (...)* *för* for KIND and TOKEN, suggests that the use of *ukin* belongs to a more traditional register of Övdalian: *wen för* represents a direct equivalent of the Swedish expression *vad för*. The lexicalization pattern for the Övdalian D/A fseq can therefore be rendered as in (41).

- (41) a. [PERSON [TOKEN [KIND → *ukin*
 b. [TOKEN [KIND → *ukin/wen för*
 c. [KIND → *ukin/wen för*

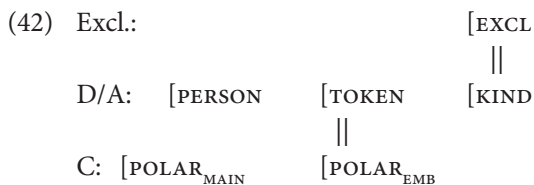
As stated already in the introduction, PERSON is in fact the only function in contemporary Övdalian where *ukin* is the unique candidate, and as noted above in Section 2.1, this use is relatively new and a result of functional expansion: *ukin* has replaced the older *wer* as the equivalent of English ‘who’.

Given that the core function of contemporary *ukin* is the PERSON use, and given the view entertained here that functional expansion and erosion happen at the edge of an item’s lexicalization range, we may speculate that the weakest function of *ukin* today is the PROPERTY use: the prediction will be that this is the function least used and the one most likely to disappear first. In turn, the KIND use should be more prone to erosion from *ukin*’s lexicalization range than the TOKEN use, the latter being closest to the core PERSON use. A more nuanced view of this will be presented in the next section.

4.3 Other functional expansions of *ukin*

In Section 2.5 we discussed the use of *ukin* as a polarity particle/complementizer, and it was tentatively suggested that this use has evolved from the TOKEN use. Similarly, it was suggested that there is a significant relation between the exclamative use of *ukin* and the KIND querying use.

A way to capture these relations would be to capitalize on the way the P/A and D/A fseqs are proposed to be correlated through the PROPERTY~KIND connection. If the complementizer and exclamative uses represent distinct fseqs, we could argue that there exist similar links between them and the P/A and D/A sequences, notably that the complementizer sequence is connected with the D/A sequence through the TOKEN function and that the exclamative sequence is connected with it through the KIND function.



This may seem like an unconstrained move since one then could argue for connections in all kinds of directions, i.e. as soon as one finds formal identity between expressions used in distinct syntactic contexts. However, we can give at least two arguments for this approach.

The possibly weakest argument is that the clause typing is different in the various cases. Exclamative force is distinct from interrogative force,¹⁵ and although *wh*-clauses and yes/no-questions generally are categorized together as interrogatives, the fact that they entail different kinds of answers, might suggest that a distinction should be made between *wh* and polar force.

The second and more potent argument is that we know that expressions may develop in distinct ways in the different fseqs. The marking of English exclamative DPs is for instance distinct from the marking of a KIND querying DP with *what a N* rather than just *what N*. The same holds for Norwegian where the interrogative expression contains a *wh*-part that must be absent in the exclamative.

- | | | |
|---------|---|---------------------|
| (43) a. | What (*a) car do you have? | English |
| | b. What *(a) car you have! | |
| (44) a. | <i>Kva for (ein) bil har du?</i> | (Nynorsk) Norwegian |
| | what for a car have you | |
| | ‘What car do you have?’ | |
| | b. (* <i>Kva</i>) <i>For ein bil du har!</i> | |
| | what for a car you have | |
| | ‘What a car you have!’ | |

15. Zanuttini and Portner (2003) claim that *wh*-morphology is a necessary ingredient in exclamative clauses, but judging this from a Norwegian and North Germanic perspective, it seems questionable (see Abels and Vangsnes 2010 for discussion).

Similarly, although English *whether* is etymologically related to *which*, at some point in the history of English the two expressions parted, and they are currently clearly distinct both morphologically and syntactically.

Furthermore, if the adnominal exclamative use relates to the KIND querying use, we could argue that contiguity is broken in the case of Standard Swedish *vilken*: in questions, this item can only be used to query for TOKEN (see Vangsnes 2008c), but as discussed in Delsing (2010) it can also be used in exclamatives of the type in (43b) and (44b).

4.4 The lexical entry for *ukin*

The solution suggested just above needs to be explored further before drawing a firm conclusion. Adhering to it, we may sketch the lexical information for *ukin* as in (45) where the hash indicates marked uses.

- (45) *ukin*:
 [PERSON [#TOKEN [#KIND
 [#PROPERTY
 [EXCL
 [#POLAR_{MAIN} [#POLAR_{EMB}

What is intended by this set up is that *ukin* is associated with four distinct pieces of syntactic structure – four fseqs – and that it can be used as an exponent for these pieces of structure in a given utterance.

5. Conclusion

In this paper I have discussed the syntactic, and to some extent morphological, properties of the Övdalian *wh*-word *ukin*. I have shown that we can distinguish six different interrogative uses of *ukin* in the grammar of Övdalian: a predicative use (PROPERTY), a modificational adnominal use (KIND), a determiner use (TOKEN), a pronominal use (PERSON), a complementizer use (POLAR_{EMB}), and a question particle use (POLAR_{MAIN}). In addition there is an exclamative use.

Although *ukin* can be encountered in all of these syntactic contexts, the PERSON use stands out as the core function of *ukin* in contemporary Övdalian, and I have suggested that most of the other uses may be vestiges from older stages of the language, now competing with alternative expressions in everyday speech. Nevertheless, the documented manifold behavior of *ukin* suggests that we are dealing with a highly flexible function word, a “grammatical chameleon” of sorts.

In addition to investigating the status of *ukin* internal to Övdalian, I have discussed how *ukin* relates to both cognate words and to functionally overlapping *wh*-words in other varieties of North Germanic, showing that there are interesting patterns of syncretism. We observe that *wh*-items often serve as exponents of more than just one function, and although polyfunctional items from different varieties do not have identical distributions, when we align them along a fixed ordering of functions, we see that isomorphy only obtains across adjacent functions.

My interpretation of these observations is that functional expansion (and erosion) follows particular routes along a conceptual continuum. I have suggested a ‘nanosyntactic’ analysis of this whereby *wh*-items serve as exponents of particular stretches of functional syntactic structure and where the two algorithms *the Superset Principle* and *Preferred Identifier* ensure the right choice of lexicalizer/exponent for each query function in question.

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Is there a vocative case in the Övdalian language?

Some observations on forms of address in Övdalian*

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This paper argues that Övdalian has the vocative case. Although the system of the four standard cases is not as strong as it used to be, there is a set of vocative forms that are still commonly used today, although they are restricted to a few categories of words. The system is not the one inherited from Proto-Indo-European, but must be a later innovation. However, there are interesting similarities between Övdalian and other languages, suggesting universal tendencies for the vocative category.

1. Introduction

The standard work on Övdalian grammar, the dissertation of Lars Levander (Levander 1909), divides Övdalian nouns into a great number of declination classes and subtypes, but the paradigms contain only four cases: nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative. (See also Svenonius and Garbacz & Johannessen, this volume.) The old Indo-European vocative forms seem to have left no traces in the Scandinavian languages and we do not expect to find such forms in Övdalian. However, Levander does mention some vocative forms, for example the two masculine proper names, *Lasse* and *Nisse*, that have special vocative forms: *Lass!* and *Niss!*, respectively (Levander 1909: 24). There are also other forms of proper names and related categories in Modern Övdalian that are hard to categorize as anything other than vocative. The present paper therefore argues that vocative is a separate case in Övdalian, but the forms are not inherited from Proto-Indo-European (see Steensland 2014).

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Section 2 presents the vocatives of Övdalian, showing what forms they have and what nominal categories can be inflected in the vocative case. Section 3 establishes that vocatives have existed in Övdalian for several hundred years, while a comparison with other languages is done in Section 4. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Vocatives in Modern Övdalian

In this section I will show that there are vocative forms in some nominal categories. I will then try to determine what their forms are, and whether it is possible to postulate a vocative formation rule.

2.1 Nominal categories with vocative forms

Partly based on Levander (1909), and partly on my own observations, vocative forms seem to occur in a set of nominal categories, listed in (1)–(6). The most obvious general pattern is that words that are inflected in the vocative are shortened, losing a final vowel or a final syllable.

A. *Masculine proper names*

- (1) a. Lasse > *Lass!* (Levander 1909: 24)
 b. Nisse > *Niss!* (Levander 1909: 24)

B. *Feminine proper names*

- (2) a. Lina > *Lin!* (Levander 1909: 36)
 b. Friða -> *Frið!*
 c. Grita > *Grit!* (from Margareta, 'Margaret')
 d. Äva > *Äv!* (from Eva, 'Eve')
 e. Lisa > *Lis!* (from Elisabeth)

C. *Words for relatives*

- (3) a. muna 'mother' > *mun!* (Levander 1909: 31)
 b. tytta 'aunt' > *tytt!*
 c. mamma 'mummy' > *mamm!* (or *mam!*) (new loanword from Swedish)
 d. pappa 'daddy' > *papp!* (or *pap!*) (new loanword from Swedish)

D. *Words for pets*

- (4) Masse 'pussy-cat' > *Mass!* (cf. Swedish: misse)

E. *Members of the Christian pantheon*

- (5) a. Faðer 'father' > *Fað!* (Näsman 1733: 35)
 b. Satan alternatively sate 'bastard' > *sat!* (*Skansvakt* 2003: 25)

c. Djiesus 'Jesus' > *tjiess!* (Levander & Björklund 1961: 1033).

F. *Common nouns*

(6) *gosse* 'boy' > *goss!* (Borg 1768: 62)

2.2 One vocative formation rule or several rules?

2.2.1 *Word-final segments and change of pitch accent*

As seen in Section 2.1 there are several different forms of vocatives. It is also true that not all nouns have vocative forms. It should therefore not be taken for granted that the same rule governs all forms.

We will start the discussion with the two masculine proper name vocatives *Lass!* and *Niss!*, from *Lasse* and *Nisse* (Levander 1909: 24). Levander seems to imply that there are also other masculine proper names ending in *-e* that have this kind of vocative form, but he does not mention any. We should perhaps start by questioning whether *Lass!* and *Niss!* are true vocative forms.

It could be argued that the forms in (1) are instances of *apocope*. Övdalian does have a system of apocope: Virtually every word that ends in a non-nasal vowel drops this vowel within a sentence or phrase, as in (7) (In the first line the words are given in their lexical form, the second line represents spoken Övdalian):

- (7) *Lasse* *willde* *tjyöpa* *pärur* (lexical word forms)
Lass *willd* *tjyöp* *pärur* (spoken Övdalian)
 Lars wanted buy pears
 'Lars wanted to buy potatoes'

Notice that the word-final vowel is dropped in the subject noun, the auxiliary verb and the main verb. Bearing that in mind, one could argue that the vocative forms *Lass!* and *Niss!* are just the apocope variants of the subject forms.

This hypothesis does not hold. Övdalian has the traditional Scandinavian tone system with two different pitch accents: accent 1 is associated with words originally having one syllable, while accent 2 is used for other words (see for example Liberman 1982). In the nominative subject in (7), the short form still has accent 2, which is the accent normally associated with two-syllable words (or longer), while the vocative *Lass!* has accent 1, the typical one-syllable word accent. Thus, these forms are not homophonous.

It could also be argued that the phonological structure of the two masculine names triggers the specific vocative forms: Swedish has the same two names, and the normal, neutral form of the first one is *Lars*, while the nickname, or perhaps more correctly, the everyday variant, is *Lasse*. A possible hypothesis might be that the Övdalian vocative *Lass!* is just the old, neutral form *Lars* pronounced with *ss* instead of *rs*. (The development *rs* > *ss* is very common in Övdalian.) In that case, there would be two stylistic variants, one more formal than the other, but not two

different case forms. The form *Niss!* could be explained in a similar way, on the basis of an older neutral variant *Nils*, also as in Swedish.

This hypothesis is attractive because of its simplicity. Stylistic differences are also known for other Övdalian names. I have come across two forms of the Övdalian equivalents of the Swedish name Erik: When addressing a person with that name the form *Ierik* should be used, but when talking about him, the form *Ierk* is fine. The use of two stylistically different forms of a masculine proper name in different situations is thus not alien to the language. But, as will be shown, this explanation only accounts for the masculine names in (1).

In his grammar, Levander (1909: 36) says that feminine proper names, ending in *-na* after a vowel, lose the ending *-a* in the vocative case. Instead of the nominative *Lina* we get the vocative *Lin!* (see (2)). Levander gives only this single example, and it is not clear what other names he had in mind. However, he also gives the word for a relative, *muna*, which has the vocative form *mun!* (1909: 31), and accordingly also follows his rule.

The same prosodic change takes place here as in the masculine names, i. e., the pitch accent 2 of the nominative is changed into accent 1 in the vocative. But here the stylistic variation that was hypothesised for masculine names cannot be sustained. There are no neutral forms like *Lin* or something similar (not in Övdalian, nor in standard Swedish), parallel to the masculine forms *Lars* and *Nils*, from which *Lin!* could originate. Here we have to draw the conclusion that *Lin!* is a true vocative form. It would then also seem reasonable to assume that *Lass!* and *Niss!* should be analyzed as vocative forms within the nominal paradigm rather than as stylistic variants.

The limited number of vocatives given by Levander is puzzling. One must ask whether there really are so few forms. In present-day Övdalian I have come across more, listed together with *Lin!* in (2). Notice that they do not follow Levander's rule for feminine vocatives. The vocative *Frið!* comes from the name *Friða*, which does not end in *-na*. The other vocative forms of feminine names listed in (2) are also not associated with nominative forms ending in *-na*: *Grit!* from *Grita*, *Äv!* from *Äva*, and *Lis!* from *Lisa*. As well, the new loan word for 'mummy', *mamma*, does not end in *-na*. Further, the name *Anna*, which according to Levander's rule should not take the zero ending (because it does not contain a vowel before *-na*), has the vocative form *Ann!* for some of the speakers I have consulted. At least one masculine proper name ending in *-a* appears to follow this pattern too, namely *Jöst!* from *Jösta* (from Swedish *Gösta* 'Gustav'). The pet name *Masse* > *Mass!* does not end in either *-na* or *-a*, but parallels *Lass!* and *Niss!* with respect to the dropping of the final vowel *-e*. The example with *Sate* > *sat!* is very similar to the masculine proper names. This interjection is not very common and I spotted it originally in

writing. That explains why it has been difficult to verify its accent pattern. This is the example (a joke about a car that is unusually small):

- (8) *Sat fyr dörer åg ingumstas sitta!*
 bastard four doors and nowhere sit
 'I'll be damned, four doors, but nowhere to sit!' (Skansvakten 2003: 25)

However, a couple of informants have told me that it should have accent 1, in which case it fits perfectly with the masculine vocative forms. For the record, another written example has occurred in *Skansvakten* (1998: 40).

In many languages, words for relatives and pets follow the same pattern as that for names, see Johannessen & Garbacz (2012), on prepropriial articles, and Lødrup (2014), on the grammar of words for relatives, for some recent work on this topic.

Having investigated the hypotheses of stylistics (with one formal form originating in an older version of the name and one informal form) and that of deletion of *-a* in *-na* that follows a vowel, our examples (with the exception of those for father and Jesus) show that a simpler rule can account for all the examples: *Delete final vowel and change accent from 2 to 1*. Notice that the old word for 'father', *faðer* (exactly as in English), does not end in a vowel and therefore cannot, and does not, follow this rule (though there used to be a short vocative form of this word, too, (see section (3)).

We should possibly keep the group of words for members of the Christian pantheon separate. If it holds that these are old vocatives, they appear to be examples of deletion of the last syllable, despite the fact that the words do not end in a vowel. Furthermore, accepting *Fað!* as the old vocative of *Faðer*, and adding the exclamation *tjiess!* from *Djiesus*, we could explain the exclamation *sat!* in a simpler way than we did before. That would be the word *Satan*, again with the dropping of the last syllable, not ending in a vowel. In that case we would get a series of parallel formations: *Fað!* from *Faðer*, *tjiess!* from *Djiesus*, and *sat!* from *Satan*. In Russian there is an interesting parallel: only two old vocative forms are now regularly used in the language, and they are both exclamations: *Боже мой!* (*Bože moj!*) 'My God!' and *Господи!* (*Gospodi!*) 'Oh, Lord!'. The parallel is striking: in both languages vocative forms of some deities' names seem to have survived solely as exclamations.

2.2.2 *Shift of accent position*

In addition to the type of vocatives described above, there is another way of treating proper names when addressing people. This time, what we find is a change in prosody only, where the stress changes from one syllable to another. Consider the difference between (9a) and (9b).

- (9) a. *Ev j̥ʊt an-dar, Gunnár!*
 bring here him-there, Gunnar
 'Bring that one to me, Gunnar!'
- b. *Ev j̥ʊt an-dar Gúnnar!*
 bring here him-there Gunnar
 'Bring that [person called] Gunnar to me!'

In (9a), the original stress on the first syllable of *Gunnar* has moved to the second syllable, showing that Gunnar is not the object of the verb. In (9b), the original stress on the first syllable of *Gunnar* is kept, indicating that Gunnar is a normal constituent of the clause.

This difference in the pronunciation of proper names appears, as far as I know, only in cases of address, but originally it had nothing to do with the vocative case. It is rather a special kind of phrase prosody, which can be found in some other word categories too, typically *indeclinabilia*. However, with regard to proper names it *functions* very much like a vocative. Levander, when discussing the rules for forming vocatives of feminine proper names, mentions the example *Anná* (1909: 36), showing that this “prosodic vocative” was already in use a hundred years ago.

3. Early instances of vocative case

Since these vocatives are clearly not those inherited from Proto-Indo-European, it would be interesting to find out how old they are. There are a number of old texts in and about Övdalian from the end of the 17th century and onwards, but they give little or no information about the vocative. There are, however, two important exceptions.

Firstly, in a hand-written word list, compiled in the year 1768 by Christopher Borg, the author gives a few grammatical tables at the end, a few paradigms, the second of which shows the declination of the noun *gosse* (spelled *gässe*) ‘boy’. This word is still used today, both in Övdalian and Swedish. Here Borg, without any comment, provides the vocative form *goss* (spelled *gäss*) (Borg 1768: 62).

It is hard to believe that Borg has merely invented this vocative form. Either the noun *gosse* did have this vocative form in Borg’s days, or he constructed it on the basis of other existing vocative forms, possibly proper names. Regardless of which, Övdalian must have had vocative forms with a zero ending in Borg’s time, i. e., in the middle of the 18th century. According to two of my informants the vocative *goss!* is still used or is at least possible even today. However, here more research has to be done.

Secondly, in 1733, Reinhold Näsman, in a small printed treatise on the history of the Övdalian language, renders the Lord's Prayer in Övdalian. The first two words of the Prayer are in Swedish *Fader Vår* 'Our Father'. In Näsman's text we read: *Fad uær* (Näsman 1733: 35). This is not a misprint, because in his variant of the same Prayer, translated into the dialect of the neighbouring parish Mora, we find the same zero ending. Thus, according to Näsman, in the first part of the 18th century the Övdalian word *fader* had a vocative form *fað!* In this case, too, it is unlikely that Näsman had invented the vocative form. There is no reason to mistrust him. Besides, this form was still observed by Levander in the Mora dialect in the 20th century (Levander & Björklund 1961: 431). In Övdalian it now seems to be extinct.¹ Despite the fact that the word *fader* does not end in a vowel, it formed the vocative in the same way as the other words, i. e., by dropping the last syllable.² This indicates that the system as such, i. e., forming vocative forms by dropping the last vowel or syllable goes back to at least the beginning of the 18th century. It seems fairly safe to propose an even older dating.

4. Similar systems: Russian, Greek and universal tendencies

We have seen that the Övdalian vocatives are different from the other forms both with respect to the word-final sound segments and the pitch accent. Surprisingly, while in Swedish, the word *fader* has the expected accent type, accent 2, in Övdalian this word normally has accent 1.³ It cannot be known what has happened in this case, but it leads to a much more general question: Has the accent changed in the vocatives because they have become one-syllable words? Or is it the other way around, that the vocatives have lost their end-vowels because they have received an accent normally associated with one-syllable words? In the second case it could be either a matter of analogy or a matter of phonetic reduction. In other words: What came first, the change of the accent or the dropping of the ending?

It may not be possible to answer the question, but there is an interesting parallel in another Indo-European language: Russian. In Old Russian Church Slavonic a noun could belong to one of three accent classes. The second class originally had the accent on the syllable immediately following the root, in most cases that meant

1. Today's form of addressing one's father, using this word, is *Faðér!* – as opposed to the normal nominative *Fáðer*, provided that it is placed at the end of the phrase (Levander 1925: 59). This is the type of "prosodic vocative" mentioned in Section 2.2.2.

2. I am aware of the fact that this is not the only way of explaining the form *Fað* from *Fader*.

3. According to Levander's dissertation, it has accent 2 (1909: 24), but that seems to be a mistake; cf. Levander & Björklund 1961: 431.

on the ending. For example, in the word *жена* ‘woman’, the accent fell in every case on the ending: *жен’а*, *жен’ы*, *жен’е*, *жен’у* etc., with one single exception: the vocative *ж’ено!* with the accent on the root, i. e., one step to the left.⁴ There are other examples in the history of the Indo-European languages that show a similar tendency to place the accent in vocative forms further to the left. One such example is Greek, where *γυνή* ‘woman’, has the forms *γυναικός*, *γυναικί*, *γυναικα*, etc., but the vocative *γύναι!* This very much resembles the Övdalian system, and could be a hint that there has been a prosodic change prior to the shortening of the forms.

One can ask how we should understand the striking parallelism between, on the one hand, the Övdalian system of forming vocatives with a prosody different from the other cases and, on the other, the tendency in some other Indo-European languages to form vocatives with a stress different from that of the other cases? Theoretically there could be two answers. Either we are dealing with an Indo-European tendency, inherited and kept for thousands of years in Övdalian, or we are dealing with a universal, psychologically motivated phenomenon that could appear in different languages at different times, lacking any direct connection. Here I want to mention one more striking parallel between Övdalian and Russian. In today’s Russian the old inherited vocative is, as already stated, no longer in use. However, there is another vocative, used first and foremost in spoken colloquial language and therefore usually not mentioned in the standard grammars. It concerns (1) proper names, (2) nouns denoting close relatives, and (3) pets. In the nominative case they all end in the vowel *-а*, and in the vocative, they drop the ending! See (10).

- (10) a. *Саша* (Saša) > *Сау!* (Saš!)
 b. *Мама* (Mama) > *Мам!* (Mam!)
 c. *Лайка* (Lajka) > *Лайк!* (Lajk!)

It is not known for certain how old the colloquial vocative in Russian is, but it seems reasonable to interpret it as a fairly late innovation.⁵ Therefore, despite the striking resemblance, there is possibly no historical connection between these forms in Russian and the corresponding forms in Övdalian.

On the other hand, the parallel could be more than a case of mere chance. In my interpretation, these forms in both languages follow an old, psychologically motivated pattern. A vocative is outside any syntactic construction. The form is typically just a means of addressing a person by their name, a way of getting the

4. For technical reasons the examples are given in modern Russian orthography, with the sign <'> marking the stress on the following vowel.

5. According to a prominent specialist in Russian historical grammar, such forms do not appear in written sources until the second half of the 19th c. (Prof. Vadim Kryš'ko, p.c.).

person's attention, nothing more. Already in the Proto-Indo-European language the vocative was in some word categories formed by the same technique, i. e., by using the bare stem of the word without any ending. That can still be seen in Latin, where, for example, the vocative of the word *servus* 'servant' is *serve*, the *-e* originally not being an ending, but the stem vowel.

An interesting parallel to the Indo-European vocative is the imperative. An imperative also lacks some syntactic properties that are normally found in a full sentence. In its simplest, and perhaps most original, form, the imperative just mentions the act to be fulfilled. It only serves to draw the attention of the addressee to the act. That seems to be the reason why in the Indo-European proto-language the imperative singular could be formed without an ending, displaying the bare verbal stem. Such forms can be found in several languages; cf. Latin imperative *voca* from *vocare*. My point is that both vocatives and imperatives, being used more or less outside the normal syntactic structure, do not need endings. This could be the reason why in both Övdalian and in Russian we are able to call for our mothers in the same way: *Mam(m)!* and *Мам!* (Mam!), respectively. This psychological and/or typological explanation is possibly not the only one. The prosody may also have played an important role, but that would be the topic of further investigation.

5. Concluding discussion

In this paper it is argued that Modern Övdalian has a vocative case system that is still used today. This is remarkable considering the fact that the old Övdalian four-case system is now more or less breaking down. The picture presented in Levander's (1909) dissertation is therefore somewhat misleading, at least when it comes to the Övdalian language of today. In reality the system of vocative forms in Övdalian is not that poor, and it also appears to be fairly strong.

It is further argued that there is a vocative formation rule that accounts for the present-day forms, and which is somewhat different from that proposed by Levander (1909), which only covered a few of the forms found.

Finally it has been shown that some formal characteristics of the Övdalian vocatives, both segmental and prosodic, are common to those of other languages, which may point in a universal direction.

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The morphological expression of case in Övdalian*

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The purpose of this paper is to document and describe the case system of the most conservative variety of Övdalian still spoken ('Traditional Övdalian,' TÖ). The system is compared with the four-case system of Old Swedish (OS) and the three-case system of Classical Övdalian (CÖ) described by Levander (1909). I argue that TÖ distinguishes three cases, but in full noun phrases, only manifests a two-case system, where Dative case is opposed to a Direct case comprising nominative and accusative functions. Pronouns generally show a different alignment, distinguishing nominative from objective cases. I focus on the nominal suffixes, which distinguish gender, number, definiteness, and case, as well as declension class. I argue that TÖ nouns have only one suffix, where OS had three, and CÖ was in transition between two suffixes and one. I examine the patterns of syncretism, and suggest that some can be explained in terms of markedness cooccurrence restrictions, but not others. I also briefly discuss adnominal modifiers (determiners and adjectives).

1. Introduction

Following the terminology adopted in Garbacz (2010) (which builds in turn on Helgander 1996 and other work), I will refer to the variety documented in detail by Levander (1909) as 'Classical' Övdalian. According to Levander (1925: 37–43), the most important distinguishing characteristics of Övdalian were present by the beginning of the 17th century, and possibly earlier. However, significant changes

* The endonym is (*öv*)*dalska*; *Elfdalian*, *Ovdalian*, and *Oevdalian* have been variously used in works published in English. Thanks to Lars Steensland, NORMS, and Gerda Werf and Ulum Dalska and the other people of Älvdalen for making the fieldwork possible and enjoyable. Thanks to Henrik Rosenkvist, Kristine Bentzen, and especially Piotr Garbacz for invaluable assistance during and after fieldwork. Lars Steensland, Piotr Garbacz, and an anonymous reviewer made many valuable suggestions and pointed out many errors in an earlier version, which I have endeavored to correct, but flaws no doubt remain, despite their efforts.

took place in the 20th century. Following Garbacz (2010: 34), a conservative variety of Övdalian spoken by a generation born after about 1920 but before 1950 can be called Traditional Övdalian. Most speakers today speak another variety, which is sometimes called ‘Younger’ Övdalian or ‘Modern’ Övdalian.¹

The Traditional Övdalian case system has not, to my knowledge, been systematically documented or described before. I describe it here and compare it to that of Classical Övdalian. I also locate both systems in the typological context of case systems cross-linguistically. Traditional Övdalian manifests a nominative-objective distinction in the pronominal system, but a direct-dative distinction on full nouns. Thus the language as a whole distinguishes three distinct syntactic case contexts, nominative, accusative, and dative, but the morphology of lexical noun phrases (including their determiners and modifiers) distinguishes at most two, direct versus dative.

The Traditional Övdalian system reported here has been established mainly on the basis of a series of interviews and data elicitation sessions with speakers born before 1950 conducted by myself and associates in the *NORMS* project in 2007.² Additional material was collected in follow-up expeditions by Piotr Garbacz and myself. In addition, the book *Kununds in kumb* written by Hjalmar Larsson, a native speaker (listed in references under Larsson 1985; henceforth *KK*) was used. When quoting material from *KK*, I preserve the original spelling. For other material I conform to the standardized orthography established in 2005, except where deviations are phonologically significant and where otherwise noted.³ The symbol ⟨ð⟩ represents a voiced interdental fricative /ð/ in Classical Övdalian, with somewhat variable realization in different dialects of Traditional Övdalian. Additional sources are cited where used.⁴

1. According to a survey conducted in 2008 by Gösta Larsson, Ulla Welin, and Bengt Welin of the *Ulm Dalska* organization, approximately 2,500 people speak one variety or another of the language.

2. See <http://norms.uit.no/> for information on the *NORMS* project.

3. For example, Levander marks nasality with a hook on all nasal vowels, even where it is predictable (before nasal stops), whereas the standardized orthography marks nasality only when a nasal vowel is not followed by *m* or *n*, and that is the practice here, except for material quoted from *KK*, where nasality appears to be marked inconsistently.

4. I have benefitted from valuable reference materials for Övdalian, including a dictionary by Lars Steensland (2006) and a grammar by Bengt Åkerberg (2012). The latter only came out after this paper was completed, but I was able to consult earlier versions such as Åkerberg (2000). As befits their function as reference works, these grammars are deliberately conservative, and I have not relied on them as evidence concerning how dative case is manifested in Traditional Övdalian.

I focus on full lexical nouns, discussing pronouns briefly in §2.2. The system of full lexical nouns shows two case forms in all three genders, in definite and plural forms, as well as some indefinite singular forms, see below. This is illustrated for the masculine noun *est* ‘horse’ in (1).

(1) Masculine *est* ‘horse’

	Singular		Plural
	Indefinite	Definite	
DIRECT	est	estn	ester
DATIVE	est	estem	estum

Descriptively, there are three significant differences between this system of noun inflection and the one described in Åkerberg (2000) and Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2006). One is the absence of distinctions between the nominative and accusative cases in lexical nouns (compare Classical Övdalian *ester* (Nom) vs. *esta* (Acc) ‘horses’ in the indefinite plural, and *estär* (Nom) vs. *estq* (Acc) in the definite plural, Levander 1909: 11–12). The standard term for a single case which is used for both subjects and objects is DIRECT CASE (Blake 2001, Haspelmath 2009), and I will use that term here.

The second difference is the loss of definiteness distinctions in most plurals (again, compare the Classical Övdalian forms mentioned above: *ester* (Indef) vs. *estär* (Def) in the nominative, and *esta* (Indef) vs. *estq* (Def) in the accusative). However, unlike the merger of the nominative and accusative, this is only true for some classes of noun. For example, a neuter noun like *tak* ‘roof’ shows a distinction between the definite and indefinite forms of the ‘direct case’ plural.

(2) Neuter *tak* ‘roof’

	Singular		Plural	
	Indefinite	Definite	Indefinite	Definite
DIRECT	tak	tatjeð	tak	tatje
DATIVE	tak	tatji	takum	takum

These two changes are likely to be related, since loss of distinct nominative and accusative forms eliminated part of the paradigm in which definite and indefinite forms were distinguished in the plural (the dative definite and indefinite plurals were already identical in Classical Övdalian).⁵

The third difference in this system is the loss of several distinctly dative suffixes in the indefinite singular, with the result that Direct and Dative cases are

5. Levander (1909: 13, n. 2) observes that older speakers occasionally have a distinct dative definite plural *-ume*, but this is sufficiently marginal that he does not include it in his paradigms.

often indistinct in the indefinite singular. This can be seen in the paradigms for *est* ‘horse’ and *tak* ‘roof’ in (1)–(2) above, as well as for the feminine noun *fika* ‘fig’ in (3) below.⁶

(3) Feminine *fika* ‘fig’

	Singular		Plural
	Indefinite	Definite	
DIRECT	<i>fika</i>	<i>fika</i>	<i>fikur</i>
DATIVE	<i>fika</i>	<i>fikun</i>	<i>fikum</i>

Compare Classical Övdalian indefinite singular dative forms *este* ‘horse’, *tatji* ‘roof’, and *fikå* ‘fig’ (Levander 1909: 11–12, 29–30, 40–41).

Another interesting property in the system is a mismatch between the case system for lexical nouns and the case system for pronouns. First and second person pronouns, as well as plural pronouns, also make a two-case distinction, but syncretize accusative with dative rather than with nominative. The mismatch can be illustrated in the following way.

(4)

	PRONOUN (1PL)	LEXICAL NOUN (STR. M PL)	
Nom	<i>wið</i>	<i>kaller</i>	NOM
ACC	<i>uoss</i>	<i>kaller</i>	ACC
DAT	<i>uoss</i> ‘we/us’	<i>kallum</i> ‘men’	DAT

A similar situation is observed in Norwegian dialects which preserve the dative. For example, Halså (Nordmøre) dialect as described by Åfarli and Fjøsne (2012) distinguishes nominative from accusative/dative in parts of the pronominal system, but dative from nominative/accusative in some third person pronouns and on definite-marked lexical nouns, as indicated in (5).

(5)

	PRONOUN (1PL)	LEXICAL NOUN (STR. F SG)	
Nom	<i>me</i>	<i>kattå</i>	Nom
ACC	<i>åss</i>	<i>kattå</i>	ACC
DAT	<i>åss</i> ‘we/us’	<i>kattåinn</i> ‘the cat’	DAT

6. 1 deliberately illustrate with a noun which is low in frequency in daily discourse. In elicitation sessions, I tested low as well as high frequency nouns to control for the possibility that case forms for certain high frequency nouns might be exceptional.

This kind of situation can be found in other case alignment systems. In ergative systems, the subject of an intransitive (S) shows the same case as the object of a transitive (O), distinct from the ergative case of the subject of a transitive verb (A), while in accusative systems S and A pattern together, distinct from O. Quite commonly, pronouns, and especially first and second person pronouns, show accusative alignment while full nouns show ergative alignment (Silverstein 1976, Dixon 1994). This is illustrated below with Dyirbal, an Australian language (Dixon 1972: 42, 50).

(6)	PRONOUN (1PL)	LEXICAL NOUN (CLASS I SG)	
	A (Nom) ɲanaɖi	yaɾa-ɲgu	A (Erg)
	S (Nom) ɲanaɖi	yaɾa	S (Abs)
	O (Acc) ɲanaɖi-na ‘we/us’	yaɾa ‘man’	O (Abs)

Another similar pattern is the one seen in Bonan (Mongolic; Baerman 2009: 226), where pronouns syncretize dative with accusative, while full nouns have a distinct dative, but have an accusative which is indistinct from the genitive.

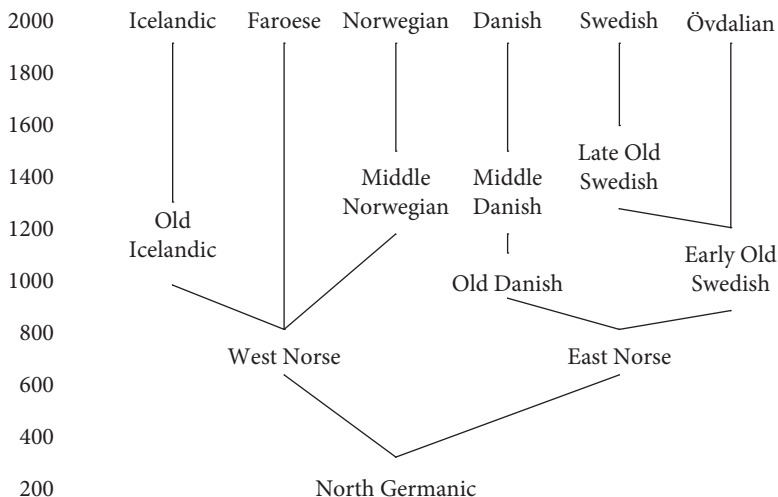
(7)	PRONOUN (he)	LEXICAL NOUN ‘foliage’	
	Nom ndžan	labčon	NOM
	Gen ndžan-ne	labčon-ne	GEN
	Acc ndžan-de	labčon-ne	ACC
	Dat ndžan-de	labčon-de	DAT

In both Dyirbal and Övdalian, there are a few points in the pronominal system where a three-way distinction can be seen. I discuss the facts for Övdalian in §2.2.

More generally, the outline of the article is as follows. I compare Classical Övdalian to Old Norse in §2, stepping through the status of each of the cases in Classical Övdalian. In §3, I discuss the system of Traditional Övdalian, including the two-case system in full noun phrases. Because the system has not been carefully documented before, I take some time to establish that the system is in fact attested. There is a brief conclusion in §5.

2. From Old Norse to Classical Övdalian

Family tree representations cannot easily depict the influence of languages on their neighbors, and cannot adequately reflect the complex status of Modern Norwegian, but to give a very rough idea of the place of Övdalian in the North Germanic language family, one might consider a representation such as the following.



Övdalian derives from Dalecarlian dialects which had already developed significantly distinctive properties from other Swedish varieties before the 1600's (Levander 1925: 37–43). The placement of Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish in the middle of the tree is meant to abstractly reflect the fact that those three languages have undergone a number of related developments which have not affected the graphically 'peripheral' languages (see e.g. Ringmar 2005 for a comparison of conservative traits of Icelandic, Faroese, and Övdalian).

In this section I place the Övdalian case system in its historical context, discussing the status of the genitive, the definite article, and some systematic syncretisms.

2.1 The four cases of Old Norse

Old Norse⁷ had a four-case system with Nominative, Accusative, Dative, and Genitive. In the paradigms below, this is illustrated with examples from Old Swedish, from Noreen (1904) and Delsing (2002).⁸ Levander (1909) presents Classical Övdalian variably with four-case paradigms or with three-case paradigms, with the genitive left out. The many genitive gaps in his paradigms suggest that the genitive was already on its way out in the Classical Övdalian system. Sample

7. Here using the term Old Norse loosely to refer to the various medieval North Germanic varieties, including East Norse and West Norse. Because Old Norse is sometimes used more narrowly to refer to West Norse, Bandle et al. (2002) introduces the term Old Nordic, but this term is not yet widely known.

8. The dual forms are not well attested in East Norse, but it is clear in West Norse that the dative and accusative are syncretized there (Noreen 1884, Iversen 1922).

paradigms are presented below as reported by Levander (but following the orthographic standard adopted in 2005 by the Ulum Dalska language council).

(8) Paradigms for ‘horse’

OLD SWEDISH				CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN			
M		indef	def	M		indef	def
SG	N	hestær	hestrinn	SG	N	est	estn
	A	hest	hestinn		A	est	estn
	D	hesti	hestinum		D	este	estem
	G	hests	hestsins				
-----				-----			
PL	N	hestar	hestanir	PL	N	ester	estår
	A	hesta	hestana		A	esta	estå
	D	hestum	hestumin		D	estum	estum(e)
	G	hesta	hestanna				

(9) Paradigms for first person pronouns

OLD SWEDISH				CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN			
		1	2			1	2
SG	N	iak	þū	SG	N	ig	du
	A	mik	þik		A	mig	dig
	D	mæ(r)	þæ(r)		D	mig	dig
	G	mīn	þīn				
-----				-----			
DU	N	vit	it				
	A	oker	iker				
	D	oker	iker				
	G	okar	ikar				
-----				-----			
PL	N	vī(r)	ī(r)	PL	N	wīð	ir
	A	os	īþer		A	uoss	īð
	D	os	īþer		D	uoss	īð
	G	vār	īþar				

Several considerations motivate treating the Övdalian genitive differently, as outlined in Section 2.3 (modern colloquial Faroese has also essentially lost genitive as a case, Thráinsson et al. 2004).

2.2 Pronouns

It can be seen from the pronominal forms in (9) that accusative is not distinct from dative in the dual and plural forms of the first person pronouns. The dative-accusative distinction is also lost for first and second person singular in the course of the Old Swedish period, with the historically accusative forms appearing in dative contexts (cf. Delsing 2002: 929). The case which combines accusative and dative functions is sometimes called ‘objective,’ and this will be done here.

Classical and Traditional Övdalian, like standard Swedish, exhibit a basic nominative-objective distinction through most of the first and second person. The distinction is illustrated for Swedish in (10a) and for Övdalian in (10b) (the example is elicited from a speaker of Traditional Övdalian, but can be used here in this discussion of characteristics of Classical Övdalian since the property in question is the same for both varieties).

- (10) a. Jag frågar dig, ser du mig?
I ask you.OBJ see you.NOM me
 ‘I ask you, do you see me?’
- b. Ig spyr dig, sir du mig?
I ask you.OBJ see you.NOM me
 ‘I ask you, do you see me?’

For such pronouns, dative is not distinguished from accusative, in Swedish (11a) nor in Övdalian (11b).

- (11) a. Jag går framför **dig**.
I go before you.OBJ
 ‘I’ll go ahead of you’
- b. Ig gor fromoni **dig**.
I go before you.OBJ
 ‘I’ll go ahead of you’

This is the pattern for first singular, second singular, first plural, and third plural, as illustrated in (12). As in English, the second plural makes no case distinctions for nominative, accusative, and dative.

(12)	SG		PL		
	1	2	1	2	3
NOM	ig	du	wið	ið	dier
OBJ	mig	dig	uoss	ið	diem

In the third plural, the old dative has taken over the role of the accusative, another trend which can be seen in Old Swedish (Delsing 2002: 931). This change obliterates the accusative-dative distinction, just like the spread of the first and second person singular accusative to dative contexts.

In Övdalian, one pronoun makes a three-way distinction, namely the feminine singular. The three forms are illustrated below with examples from *KK*, with two examples of the dative to show two alternate forms.

- (13) a. \varnothing add it ba riskirad påjkan, \varnothing add riskirad estn og
she had not only risked the.boy she had risked the.horse too
 ‘She had not only risked the boy, she had risked the horse as well’
- b. Se add an \varnothing n ta lesu etter uord fer uord
then had he her.ACC to read after word for word
 ‘Then he had her read after him, word by word’
- c. Fast ieder kelindse wa so gomol so e’ wart fel it
although one.of the.woman was so old so it was you.know not
just so mitsid gart fer enner.
just so much done for her.DAT
 ‘On the other hand, one of the women was so old that there really wasn’t all that much that could be done for her.’
- d. so an sagd ad ien i fläd sett, at dsjäwo enn ien
so he said to one in retinue his to give her.DAT a
caroliner.
Caroliner
 ‘so he said to one of the men in his retinue to give her a Caroliner (a coin).’

The masculine singular pronoun shows the same split between direct and dative case that is seen in the nominal paradigm, as illustrated below (two variants of the dative form are shown; the direct-case form *an* is variously glossed ‘he’ or ‘him’ here as elsewhere).

- (14) a. An war iend påjkan i ien sturan krippuop i Spajk-gardem.
he was only the.boy in a big child.bunch in The.Nail-Farm.DAT
 ‘He was the only boy in a big bunch of kids on the Spajk (‘Nail’) farm.’
- b. Dier add aft Luok-Marit ta åwå an i syn iel tidę
they had had Luok-Marit to have him in sight all the.time
 ‘They had had Luok-Marit keep him in sight at all times’
- c. Ed add itt gaj fę no’ liwstecken frę \varnothing m
it had not gone get any life.sign from him.DAT
 ‘It hadn’t been possible to get any sign of life out of him’

- d. Fer **qnum** add e' wiktugestad we' ta redd estn, e'
for him.DAT had it most.important been to save the.horse the
 dyrestad so fanns i iel gardem.
most.valuable as was.found in whole the.farm.DAT
 'For him, the most important thing had been to save the horse, the
 most valuable thing there was on the whole farm.'

Third person singular pronouns can be presented as in (15), arranging the genders in decreasing order of presumed markedness.

(15)	F	M	N	
	NOM	q	an	eð
	ACC	ona, on	an	eð
	DAT	enner	onum, om	dyö

Thus, although the pronominal system seen as a whole makes a three-way case distinction, it is only in the third person singular forms that anything like a specialized dative can be identified.

As mentioned in §1, it is not uncommon for languages to at least partly dissociate the case system expressed by pronouns from the case system expressed by full noun phrases. For instance, English has a two-case system for pronouns but no vestige whatsoever of that distinction in the case system. It seems that for Övdalian we can identify two competing case systems, as represented in (16) (cf. (4) in §1).

(16)	1, 2, AND PL PRONOUNS	3SG M/N PNS, LEXICAL NOUNS	
Nom	ig	dier	an kaller buordeð Drct
Obj	mig	diem	onum kallum buordeḡ Dat
	'I/me'	'they/them'	'he/him' 'men' 'the table'

Compare the corresponding elements in Early Old Swedish in (17).

(17)	N	iak	þēr	han	karlar	borðit
	A	mik	þā	han	karla	
	D	mār	þēm	honum	karlum	borðinu
		'I/me'	'they/them (M)'	'he/him'	'men'	'the table'

Because of the general tendency for a nominative-accusative distinction to be made, the failure of the third person singular masculine pronoun to do so might be an accidental syncretism, rather than anything systematic (compare Gothic third singular masculine nominative *is*, accusative *ina*, dative *imma*, genitive *is*, with an apparently accidental nominative-genitive syncretism). However, the

nominative-accusative syncretism in *borð* ‘table’ is systematic, for neuter, in all declension classes, both numbers, and so on.

As already noted, the pronominal system was already losing dative-accusative distinctions in Late Old Swedish, as indicated in (18), which might be seen as a transitional point between Early Old Swedish and the Classical Övdalian system.⁹

(18)	N	iak	þēr	han	karlar	 borðit
	A			han	karla	
	D	mik	þēm	honum	karlum	borðinu
		‘I/me’	‘they/them (M)’	‘he/him’	‘men’	‘the table’

The tendency here might be related to Differential object marking, or DOM. DOM systems often make nominative-accusative distinctions only at the high end of a kind of ‘individuation’ hierarchy, for example animates or definites may be overtly marked for accusative case, while inanimates or indefinites fail to show overt marking (Bossong 1991, Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011). First and second person are the most highly ‘individuated,’ being inherently animate and definite.

Silverstein (1976) posits an ‘animacy’ hierarchy of nominal types for case-marking cross-linguistically (drawing evidence from several Australian languages as well as Chinookan). A version of the hierarchy is presented in (19) (cf. Silverstein 1976: 121–122; Dixon 1994: 88–90 argues for 1st > 2nd, but for reasons stated below I put them into a single class).

(19) 1st, 2nd > 3rd pn > Proper N > human N > animate N > inanimate N

Silverstein’s observation is that if a language overtly marks accusative case on any class of noun phrases in this hierarchy, it will do so for those noun phrases which are higher than that class on the hierarchy. Thus, for example, Dyirbal only marks accusative case on first and second person pronouns, while another Australian language, Bandjalang, marks accusative on all pronouns, and another, Aranda, marks pronouns and animate nouns. If we equate neuter gender with inanimacy (at least abstractly, or historically), then we can say that Old Norse obeys this

9. I continue to indicate the nominative-accusative *han-han* syncretism as accidental. This is on the assumption (quite possibly wrong) that a systematic syncretism domain always respects the Silverstein hierarchy. The third person singular is separated from the more general domain of that syncretism in the neuter gender by the lexical masculine nouns. The difference with (16) is that if feminine singular pronouns and plural pronouns are treated as higher than masculine singular ones on the Silverstein hierarchy, then it is possible to posit a contiguous Direct-Dative syncretism domain including the masculine singular pronouns. Note that in modern standard Swedish, *honum* (now *honom*) has taken over accusative functions, thus patterning with the upper end of the Silverstein hierarchy.

hierarchy, since it marks accusative on all types down to and including animate N (i.e. masculine and feminine, but not neuter). I argue below that Traditional Övdalian has lost accusative marking on all common nouns, preserving it only on first and second person pronouns, and some third person pronouns (feminine and plural). This is again perfectly compatible with the Silverstein hierarchy.

Silverstein and Dixon also discuss cases where number matters, as in Övdalian, though they interpret the data differently. A general tendency that seems to hold for the cases here is that if a class in the hierarchy is split, then marked members of the class (e.g. plural, or feminine) tend to pattern toward the top of the scale while unmarked features tend to pattern toward the bottom (stated generally by Silverstein in terms of ‘positive’ values of features; Dixon instead suggests (p. 92) that number is not part of the hierarchy, and that plural forms will independently tend to make fewer distinctions than singular forms).

Silverstein and Dixon relate the animacy hierarchy to the likelihood of a class of noun phrase acting as an agent or patient; noun phrases higher on the hierarchy are more typical agents, those lower are more typical patients. They show that the same hierarchy governs the distribution of ergative case-marking: if a language marks ergative on a type of noun phrase, it will do so on noun phrases lower than it on the hierarchy (see also e.g. DeLancey 1981).

Here, we see that the same hierarchy appears to relate to dative. In Old Norse, the dative-accusative distinction is made consistently at the low end of the hierarchy, and fails to be made only at the very top, in part of the first and second person paradigm (namely the plurals; notice that this pattern fits the hierarchy as stated in (19), with 1st and 2nd combined into a single ‘participant’ category, but not Silverstein’s or Dixon’s versions). In Övdalian, the dative-accusative distinction is still made at the low end of the hierarchy, but the cut-off is lower than it was in Old Norse, somewhere in the third person pronominal system (again with plural above the cut, but here also the feminine singular).

Pronominal systems and determiner systems are often related, and in Classical Övdalian this relationship can clearly be seen. An interesting question which arises is whether the system of determiners in Traditional Övdalian follows the Nom-Obj alignment seen on the left in (16), or the Drct-Dat alignment seen on the right. In Section 3.6, I show that the determiner system, to the extent that it expresses case, follows the Drct-Dat alignment. This supports the suggestion that what has occurred is a systematic structural change in the case system, rather than simply the accumulation of phonological changes; if the loss of case distinctions were entirely due to phonological leveling, then there would be no reason for the adnominal modifiers to level to a pattern different from what is seen in the pronominal system.

2.3 Genitive

Most of the case forms are transparently related to their cousins in other Germanic languages, such as Icelandic, but the genitive is anomalous. Levander (1909) often gives only three cases in his nominal paradigms, or gives genitive forms only for definite-marked nouns. Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2006) argue that Classical Övdalian is really a three-case system, and I adopt their conclusion here. I summarize their argument in this subsection and add a few observations.

First, the existence of possessive forms of pronouns such as *my* in English is not sufficient evidence for a genitive case; such elements may be separated entirely from the case system. In Old Norse, a genitive form of the pronoun can be used possessively but also shows up in all other genitive contexts, for example as complement of the preposition *til* 'to', which idiosyncratically assigns genitive: *til mín*, 'to me.GEN'. Possessive pronouns like English *my* do not show this wider distribution, and nor do the Övdalian possessive pronouns, apparently.

Another reason to question the existence of genitive as a living case in Övdalian comes from the inflectional paradigms of nominal modifiers. In Old Norse, nominal modifiers normally agree in case with the noun phrase they modify, and accordingly display a full four-case paradigm; this holds of demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, adjectives, and so on. For Classical Övdalian, however, Levander usually gives three-case paradigms, only exceptionally noting a genitive form (e.g. *miklumes* 'many' on p. 54). In Traditional Övdalian, such exceptional genitive forms of nominal modifiers are if anything rarer and more restricted.

A third argument that there is no genitive case in Övdalian comes from the syntactic distribution of forms. In Old Norse, the genitive appears in a variety of contexts, including various adnominal uses as well as on complements of certain verbs and adjectives and prepositions. In Classical Övdalian, we can divide the potential genitive contexts into two, which turn out to behave differently: one is in the complement of certain prepositions, discussed in Section 2.3.1, and the other is an adnominal possessive, discussed in Section 2.3.2 below.

2.3.1 *Distribution of genitive DPs; Prepositions*

In Övdalian, there is a large number of expressions in which a genitive form of a noun is combined with *et* 'to' or *i* 'in', for example (Levander 1909: 96) *et bys* 'to town', *et endes* "to end" meaning 'in the end, finally', *i kwelds* "in evening" meaning 'yesterday evening', etc. The *-s* ending is historically the regular genitive marker for singular masculine and neuter nouns of the strong declension, but some examples show historically plural, feminine, or weak endings other than *-s*, e.g. *et juoler* 'for Christmas.'

Swedish, too, retains a number of such expressions, for example *till skogs/till havs/till fjälls*, ‘to the woods/to the sea/to the mountains’ including some which preserve old weak and feminine forms, e.g. *till handa* ‘at hand’, *till salu* ‘for sale’.¹⁰

In Övdalian as in Swedish, the collocations with prepositions do not allow free modification, determination, or quantification of the noun. English similarly has many collocations of P+N which do not allow modification; consider *at hand* ‘available’, *on time* ‘punctual’, *by boat* ‘using a boat as means of transport’, which do not allow modification or quantification (*They arrived by boat*, *They arrived by speedboat*, **They arrived by speedy boat*, **They arrived by two boats*). Unlike Swedish and Övdalian, English does not seem to have preserved any case endings in such collocations. Occasionally, such a construction allows some limited productivity, consider English *by car*, *by plane*, *by hydrofoil*. There must have been a productive stage for some part of this construction at some point in the history of Övdalian as well, since Old Norse *í* ‘in’ does not assign genitive.

At this point, however, the productivity of the -s ending in these collocations in Övdalian is presumably limited at best. Thus, these constructions, though interesting in their own right, do not provide evidence for a full-fledged genitive case in Classical Övdalian on a par with the dative.

2.3.2 *The possessive*

Genitive is a general adnominal case in Old Norse (e.g. *nafn Víga-Hrapps* ‘name Víga-Hrapp.GEN’, ‘the name Víga-Hrapp’; *eyrir brends silfrs* ‘ounce pure.GEN silver.GEN’, ‘an ounce of pure silver’; *vika sjóvar* ‘week sea.GEN’ ‘a sea-mile’; Nygaard 1966). The possessive use can be considered an example of this.

- (20) skáld Haralds hins hárfagra
skáld Harald.GEN the.GEN hair.fair.GEN
 ‘Harald the Fair-haired’s skald (bard, poet)’ (Old Norse)

As can be seen from the example, genitive case appears on the head of the possessor as well as the modifiers, in Old Norse.¹¹ In Övdalian, there is a possessive construction which is clearly related historically to the genitive, in employing a morpheme with an /s/ in it, but diverging significantly from the Old Norse construction.

10. Thanks to Lars-Olof Delsing for discussion, and for directing me to the informative entry for *till* in *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*.

11. Though the form *fagra* ‘fair’ is in the weak declension, because of the definite article, and therefore fails to distinguish genitive from dative and accusative.

- (21) Ittað-jär ir kullumes saing.
this-here is girl.DAT.PL.POSS bed
 ‘This is the girls’ bed.’ (Classical Övdalian, Levander 1909: 96)

There are several differences here. One is that the /s/ genitive is historically restricted to strong masculine and neuter nouns, and is not found with feminine nouns. Another is that the /um/ is identical with the dative, as if the possessive form were built on top of the dative (as suggested in the gloss). Another is the prenominal position of the possessor, which was not the unmarked order in Old Norse (cf. (20) and e.g. Nygaard 1966: 129, Faarlund 2004: 59).

If the *-es* is a possessor marker, rather than a case, then that would partly explain why Levander (1909) often only gave ‘genitive’ forms for definite-marked nouns: possessors are typically definite, and the possessor construction might even require definiteness.

An important difference comes through when postnominal modifiers are added: the possessive marking here does not show up on the head, but rather the periphery of the phrase (as with the English *s*-possessive), here set off with a hyphen.¹²

- (22) Ann upp i buðum-es etta
Ann up in summer.pastures.DAT.PL-POSS hood
 ‘Ann at the summer pastures’ ‘hood’ (Classical Övdalian, Levander 1909: 97)

Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2006), observing these and other examples, conclude that the /es/ is a possessive clitic attaching outside the dative, as suggested by the gloss. The relevant parts of the paradigm for masculine ‘horse’ and feminine ‘girl’ are given in (23) (again, using a hyphen to graphically distinguish the possessive marker, and now introducing boxes to mark systematic syncretisms).

		indef		def				indef		def	
	SG	D	este	estem	SG	D	kullu	kullun			
		G	est-es	estem-es		G	kull-es	kullun-es			
	PL	D	estum		PL	D	kullum				
		G	estum-es			G	kullum-es				

The clitic analysis explains several things: the morphological complexity (i.e. the fact that the dative morphology cooccurs with the genitive, unlike the situation in

12. *Buð* ‘summer pasture’ is in the dative plural here, dative because of the preposition; *Ann* shows no overt case ending and can be assumed to be nominative; a dative or accusative form would be *Anno*, cf. Levander (1909: 36).

Old Norse), the insensitivity of the *-es* form to gender and declension classes (again, unlike the Old Norse genitive), the paradigm gaps (the possessive construction which licenses the clitic may require a definite possessor), and more (see Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2006 for additional arguments).

2.4 Nominative-Accusative

The Old Norse paradigms showed some syncretisms for nominative and accusative case, as illustrated here with one example each of a strong declension masculine, strong declension feminine, and strong declension neuter noun (in Old Swedish). Again, the boxes indicate systematic syncretisms for adjacent case-cells.¹³

(24) The case/number paradigms for a strong masculine noun: ‘horse’ (M)

		indefinite	definite
SG	NOM	hestær	hestr-inn
	ACC	hest	hest-inn
	DAT	hesti	hesti-num
	GEN	hests	hests-ins

PL	NOM	hestar	hesta-nir
	ACC	hesta	hesta-na
	DAT	hestum	hestum-in
	GEN	hesta	hesta-nna

(25) The case/number paradigms for a strong feminine noun: ‘journey’ (F)

		indefinite	definite
SG	NOM	færþ	færþ-in
	ACC	færþ	færþ-ina
	DAT	færþ	færþ-inni
	GEN	færþar	færþ-innar

PL	NOM	færþir	færþi-nar
	ACC	færþum	færþum-in
	DAT	færþum	færþum-in
	GEN	færþa	færþ-inna

13. For the strong feminine declension, the nominative, accusative, and dative are usually the same, as here, but not always: e.g. *graf* ‘grave.NOM/ACC’, *gravu* ‘grave.DAT’; *kýr* ‘cow.NOM’ *kúl* ‘cow.ACC/DAT’. Similarly, the apparent accusative-genitive syncretism in the strong masculine plural paradigm is not systematic: e.g. *gesti* ‘guests.ACC’ vs. *gesta* ‘guests.GEN’. Thus the boxes in the examples only mark exceptionless syncretisms.

(26) The case/number paradigms for a strong neuter noun: 'ship' (N)

		indefinite	definite
SG	NOM	skip	skip-it
	ACC		
	DAT	skipi	skipi-nu
	GEN	skips	skips-ins

PL	NOM	skip	skip-in
	ACC		
	DAT	skipum	skipum-in
	GEN	skipa	skipa-nna

As indicated, nominative and accusative are fully syncretized for the neuter and the feminine plural, but not systematically for the masculine nor for the feminine singular.

For weak nouns, the same nominative-accusative syncretisms are observed for the neuter and the feminine plural, and in addition there are systematic syncretisms for the non-nominative cases (Acc, Dat, Gen) in the indefinite singular.

(27) The case/number paradigms for a weak masculine noun: 'bull' (M)

		indefinite	definite
SG	NOM	uxi	uxi-nn
	ACC	uxa	uxa-nn
	DAT		uxa-num
	GEN		uxa-ns

PL	NOM	uxar	uxa-nir
	ACC	uxa	uxa-na
	DAT	uxum	uxum-in
	GEN	uxa	uxa-nna

(28) The case/number paradigms for a weak feminine noun: 'fly' (F)

		indefinite	definite
SG	NOM	fluga	fluga-n
	ACC	flugu	flugu-na
	DAT		flugu-nni
	GEN		flugu-nnar

PL	NOM	flugur	flugur-nar
	ACC		
	DAT	flugum	flugum-in
	GEN	flugna	flugna-nna

(29) The case/number paradigms for a weak neuter noun: 'ear' (N)

		indefinite	definite
SG	NOM	øra	øra-t
	ACC		
	DAT		øra-nu
	GEN		øra-ns
PL	NOM	øron	øron-in
	ACC		
	DAT	ørom	ørom-in
	GEN	øra	øra-nna

There are further syncretisms which are more restricted in scope. For example Old Norse strong masculine nouns ending in liquids such as /l/ (such as *karl*, 'man') neutralized the nominative-accusative distinction in the singular.¹⁴ This is not boxed here as it does not affect the entire strong masculine declension, at least not in the early part of the Old Swedish period.

(30) Paradigm for 'man'

		OLD SWEDISH	
		indef	def
SG	N	karl	karlinn
	A	karl	karlinn
	D	karli	karlinum
	G	karls	karlsins
PL	N	karlar	karlarnir
	A	karla	karlana
	D	karlum	karlumin
	G	karla	karlanna

Another systematic syncretism which can be observed in the paradigms above is that the genitive plural *-a* and the dative plural *-um* do not distinguish gender. Genitive, Dative, and plural are all traditionally marked categories, and such syncretisms can be described in terms of Impoverishment (Bonet 1991, Noyer 1992, Halle 1997), a kind of redundancy rule which states the incompatibility of one marked feature with another. Such rules can be stated as cooccurrence restrictions

14. Through assimilation of /r/ followed by word-final degemination, Noreen (1904:182, 282).

on marked features (e.g. *[GENDER, PLURAL] if gender distinctions are absent in the plural), but are normally stated in Distributed Morphology in terms of the deletion of a marked feature.¹⁵ Neuter pronouns are arguably the least-marked; they are used as expletives, and to refer to clausal referents which have no gender (and in Old Norse, a coordination of a masculine and a feminine controls neuter plural agreement, cf. Faarlund 2004:95). If we assume that neuter is the absence of gender features, then an Impoverishment rule can delete masculine and feminine in the context of genitive plural or dative plural, as in (31), letting ANIM[ate] stand in as a generalization over masculine and feminine (see Müller 2005 for a more detailed account of Impoverishment rules in Icelandic nouns).

- (31) a. ANIM $\rightarrow \emptyset / __ \text{GEN, PL}$
 b. ANIM $\rightarrow \emptyset / __ \text{DAT, PL}$

Stump (2001:238), developing a suggestion by Hjelmlev (1935), proposes a *Feature Ranking Principle* which states that syncretisms are governed by language-specific feature hierarchies.

- (32) *Feature Ranking Principle:*

For any language ℓ , there is a ranking $>$ of morphosyntactic features in ℓ which satisfies the following condition: for every stipulated syncretism S in ℓ , if the dominant properties of S include a specification of the features F_d and the subordinate properties of S include a specification of the feature F_s , then $F_d > F_s$.

If case and number are ranked higher than gender in Old Swedish, then the *Feature Ranking Principle* would allow the syncretisms described by (31a) and (31b). The ranking of case and number above gender fits with their locus in an extended DP (Borer 2005, Svenonius 2008): case values are determined externally to the noun phrase, so it is reasonable that case is structurally higher than DP-internal features. Gender is lexically determined, so it is reasonable that it should be structurally lower than number. It is plausible that the structural hierarchy $K[\text{ase}] > \text{Number} > \text{Gender}$ might be reflected in the *Feature Ranking Principle*. Suppose that expressing features on an exponent is 'costly'; expressing two features is better than expressing three. Of the three features case, number, and gender, gender is lowest on the hierarchy and hence the most likely to be deleted as in (31a) and (31b).

15. As noted by Carstairs (1987), neutralizations are more common in portmanteaux morphemes than in fully agglutinative systems. Thus the cooccurrence restriction could be seen as a restriction on the specification of an exponent, though this is not how it is modeled in Distributed Morphology.

There is also a systematic syncretism of nominative and accusative in the feminine paradigms. If cases are organized in a markedness hierarchy, so that Nominative is the absence of Case, and Accusative is the presence of Case but the absence of any Oblique case (essentially as in Jakobson 1936; see Caha 2009 for a recent account), then the systematic syncretism of nominative and accusative in the feminine plural could be stated as follows (using Acc for the relevant case component).

(33) ACC \rightarrow \emptyset / ___ FEM, PL

If gender and number are ranked higher than case, then (33) would be compatible with the *Feature Ranking Principle*. But to allow it as well as (31a) and (31b), the ranking would have to place accusative over gender (at least feminine), and gender (including masculine and feminine) over the oblique cases. It is unclear whether such a hierarchy could be motivated in any independent way.

The systematic syncretism of nominative and accusative in the neuter cannot be stated in terms of deletion of unmarked features, if neuter is an unmarked category as just assumed.

An alternative is to link the expression of accusative to an abstract ANIM[ate] gender feature present only in noun phrases with masculine or feminine gender. I develop this line of thinking in §3 below.

Weak nouns syncretize all non-nominative cases in the singular only. The fact that the singular is the unmarked value of number means that this cannot be stated in terms of a markedness cooccurrence restriction either (furthermore, it is unclear whether weak nouns are marked compared to strong ones).

2.5 Incremental weakening of the nominative-accusative distinction

Classical Övdalian increases the number of systematic syncretisms slightly, compared to Old Swedish. The syncretism of nominative and accusative spreads through strong masculine and feminine singulars, and to the definite forms of the feminine.

(34) CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN

		'horse', strong m				'bridge', strong f f	
		indef	def			indef	def
M SG	N	est	estn	SG	N	bru	brunę
	A						
	D	este	estem			D	brun
PL	N	ester	estär	PL	N	bruer	bruär
	A	esta	estą				
	D	estum	estum(e)		D	bruum	

Thus, the only places in which the strong nominal paradigm distinguished nominative from accusative in Classical Övdalian were in the masculine plural (definite and indefinite). In the weak paradigm, illustrated below, nominative continued to be distinguished from accusative in the singular of the masculine and feminine.

(35) CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN

‘bull’ m, wk				‘fly’ f, wk			
		indef	def			indef	def
SG	N	ukse	uksn	SG	N	flugo	flugø
	A	uksa	uksan		A	flugu	flugų
	D	uksa	uksam		D	flugu	flugun

PL	N	ukser	uksär	PL	N	flugur	
	A	uksa	uksą		A	flugur	
	D	uksum			D	flugum	

At this point, the distinction rests entirely on a diverse set of phonological features in weak syllables, as summarized in the following table.

(36) CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN

		Nom	Acc
str/wk m PL INDEF		ester; ukser	esta; ukša
str/wk m PL DEF		estär; uksär	estą; uksą
wk m SG INDEF		ukse	uksa
wk m SG DEF		uksn	uksan
wk f SG INDEF		flugo, kulla	flugu, kullu
wk f SG DEF		flugø, kullą	flugų, kullų

Traditional Övdalian has completely neutralized nominative and accusative in the common noun paradigms. This has been concluded independently by, for example, Helgander (2005) and Garbacz and Johannessen (this volume). I provide additional evidence for this conclusion in Section 3.1.

Levander noted that the last vestige of the distinction between definite and indefinite in the dative plural, in the strong masculine paradigm as seen in (34), was already rare in his 1909 investigation. The systematic syncretism can again be described as an Impoverishment rule.

(37) DEF → ∅ / ___ DAT, PL

This is a typical Impoverishment rule, in eliminating a marked feature in the presence of some other marked features, but as with some of the other syncretisms discussed above, this statement of the facts runs afoul of my interpretation of the

Feature Ranking Principle in (32), since definiteness should be hierarchically higher than plurality, given that definite articles are systematically structurally higher than plural markers.

Since the definite plural suffix is usually *-um*, this generalization could equally easily be captured by positing an entry for *-um* which is underspecified for gender; no Impoverishment rule is needed.

In the next subsection, I discuss a structural change from Old Norse to Classical Övdalian in the nominal suffixes which I argue is connected to this development.

2.6 Definite suffix fusion

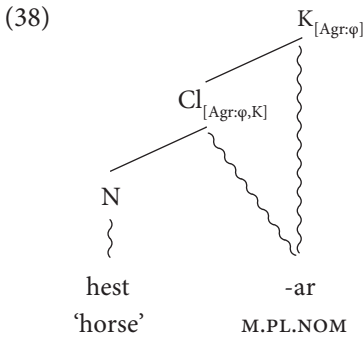
In Old Norse, the definite article was optionally encliticized to the noun, developing into a definite suffix in various daughter languages (e.g. Faarlund 2009). The definite marker can almost always still be neatly separated from the case-marked stem, as can be seen in the Old Swedish paradigms presented in the previous subsection. The only modification of the case-marked stem needed is generally describable in terms of deletion of final /r/, and occasionally of a final /a/, before the definite marker. I discuss an exception in n. 20 below.

The inflection on the definite suffix inflects according to the ‘strong’ adjectival paradigm, generally showing the forms seen in adjectives ending in /n/, with an exception in the dative plural (where *-inum* would be the expected form, but the definite suffix is the uninflected form *-in*).

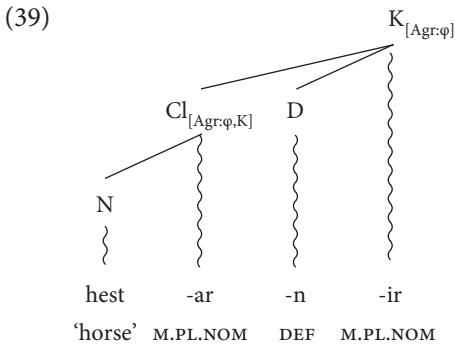
Thus, the Old Norse nominal paradigms can be parsed into four parts: [i] the noun root, which is inherently specified for declension class and gender, [ii] a suffix which varies with declension class, gender, number, and case, [iii] the base of the definite marker, *-n-* with phonologically conditioned allomorph *-in*, and [iv] the adjectival agreement ending, showing gender, number, and case but not declension class.

An indefinite noun only shows one suffix, but the one suffix carries information about case, number, and gender. This can be represented in a tree diagram as follows: N is dominated by a Cl[assifier] node, which carries information about whether the noun is singular or plural but also agrees in case (indicated by [Agr:K]) and in gender (indicated by [Agr: ϕ]); this node in turn is dominated by a case node K, which carries information about what case the noun phrase is but also agrees in number and gender (indicated by [Agr: ϕ]). When the two are adjacent, one suffix from the appropriate nominal declension series spells out both heads. Because the affix is adjacent to the noun root, it may be sensitive to declension class; thus thus a different stem such as *sip* ‘custom’ can take a different form of the masculine plural nominative suffix, *-ir*.¹⁶

16. In the trees, straight lines indicate syntactic dependencies, while squiggly lines indicate exponence, assuming late spell-out, as in Distributed Morphology, or more specifically the implementation in Bye and Svenonius (2012).



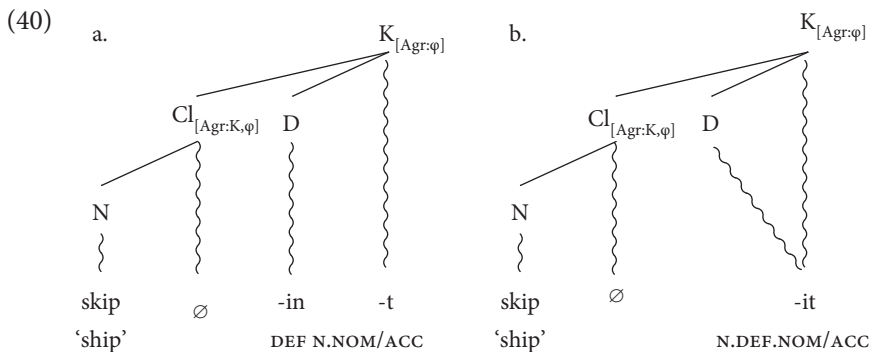
In definite noun phrases, K has another dependent, D, which spells out as *-n*; this separates Cl from K, with the result that K spells out as a separate morpheme, from the adjectival series. Syntactic heads are typically assumed to be able to support at least two dependents, a complement and a specifier; in these terms, D is the complement of K, and Cl is the specifier of K (Cl may have moved from the complement position of K, perhaps motivated by the agreement probes).



The agreement probes on Cl and K ensure that they spell out the same set of features, except that only the morpheme which is adjacent to N can show allomorphy for declension class or for phonological properties of the nominal root.

The alternation between /n/ and /in/ is determined by the phonology of the whole (/n/ if a vowel immediately precedes or follows), which can be assumed to reflect a late phonological rule.

The neuter singular agreement marker is *-t* in the nominative and accusative case, and so the definite suffix would decompositionally be *-in-t*, but surfaces as *-it* (*-ið* in some varieties of Old Norse). This can be effected by a phonological rule, but it is possible that this suffix may have been reanalyzed at some point as a portmanteau consisting of D plus K, as shown in (40b).



Cl happens to be null in the neuter singular for this class of nouns, but some parts of the paradigm have case endings, even in the singular, which are exponents of Cl (the account remains essentially unchanged if Cl is replaced with two heads, Pl in plurals and Anim in masculine and feminine nouns; neither Pl nor Anim would be found in the neuter singular).

In Classical Övdalian, the morphological paradigms show a different structure. There is no invariant definite affix. Instead, the definite affix and the case-gender-number morphology are fused. As a result there are never three suffixes, as there are in Old Norse. In some cases, there seem to be two suffixes, an inner one corresponding to Cl and an outer one corresponding to the fused D-K, but in other cases it seems there is only a single suffix, since even the part which signals definiteness can be sensitive to the declension class of the noun.

First, consider the evidence that there are two suffixes. A neuter noun from one of the strong paradigms is given below with pitch accent marked on all disyllabic forms; an acute accent means ‘tone 1’, and a grave accent means ‘tone 2’. Tone 2 is the normal accent for disyllabic words, while tone 1 is like the accent on monosyllabic words.

(41)

		indef	def
SG	N	buord	búordeð
	A		
	D	bùorde	bùordeḡ
PL	N	buord	búordeḡ
	A		
	D	bùordum	

Some of the disyllabic words are tone 2, as expected: the dative ones. But the definite singular and plural nominative-accusative forms are disyllabic but tone 1. To

make sense of this pattern, consider first the nominative-accusative singular. The definite suffix is *-eð*, added to a monosyllabic stem. The definite suffix is not counted for the purposes of tone. This pattern holds in many Scandinavian languages and shows that the definite suffix is less integrated into the word than the plural suffix (see e.g. Lahiri et al. 2005).

The contrast can be seen in the examples in (42), from Nyström (1964).

- (42) a. dar an ir ini fjåseð dar wittern ir.
there he is in barn.DEF.DAT there winter.DEF is
 ‘when he is in the barn when it’s winter.’
- b. kumā dier ini fjåseð dar an ir dar, so werd dier
come they in barn.DEF.DRCT there he is there so become they
 it gambler itjä!
not old not
 ‘if they [rats] come into the barn when he [the cat] is there, they don’t grow old!’

Similarly, the definite plural nominative-accusative suffix *-e* is added to a monosyllabic stem, and is not counted for tone, so the form surfaces as tone 1.

In the dative forms, the singular has a dative suffix, which changes the syllable structure and hence the tone is 2. This suggests that the definite suffix in the dative singular is a nasal autosegment added to an already disyllabic base. If there were a single dative singular definite suffix *-e*, then it would give rise to tone 1, just like the definite plural nominative-accusative suffix.

The minimal pair *búorde*–*bùorde* is thus clearly understandable if Classical Övdalian involves two nominal suffixes. Now consider a masculine noun. Here the definite singular nominative-accusative marker is a syllabic /n/, and is outside the domain of tone assignment; all other forms are disyllabic in the indefinite, and all other forms are tone 2.

(43)

		‘farm’, strong m	
		indef	def
M SG	N	gard	gárdn̩
	A		
	D	gårde	gårdem

PL	N	gårder	gårdär
	A	gårdä	gårdä
	D	gårdum	gårdum

Again, the system is distinguishing plural suffixes, which consistently give tone 2, from definite suffixes, which do not. This is consistent with the plural suffix lexicalizing Cl, and the domain of tone being ClP; the definite suffix lexicalized the higher D-K projections, which are outside the domain for tone assignment. We can see from the indefinite singular dative form that case suffixes are also counted, suggesting that the dative suffix lexicalizes Cl, as in Old Norse.

Now, consider whether two suffixes can be parsed in the definite forms. Clearly, the dative singular definite suffix could be /m/. The accusative plural definite suffix could be a nasal autosegment, just as in the neuter dative singular. And the nominative plural definite suffix could be a [low] feature which docks onto the vowel, causing /e/ to change to /ä/. If this is right, then the definite suffix is always added to the indefinite form, but the collection of definite suffixes, sensitive to the case and number of their host and sometimes autosegmental, is quite complex (and not transparently related to the system of adjectival inflection, as it was in Old Norse; see §3.6 for adjectival paradigms).

Now consider a feminine noun from one of the strong declensions. Here, the definite nominative-accusative singular suffix /e/ and the definite dative suffix, a syllabic /n/, are outside the domain of tone assignment, resulting in tone 1, just as in the masculine paradigm, and the plural suffixes are inside that domain, and give rise to tone 2, again like in the masculine paradigm.

(44)

		‘shed’, strong f	
		indef	def
SG	N	buð	búðe
	A		bún
	D		
PL	N	bùðer	búðär
	A	bùðum	
	D		

If we can assume that a [low] autosegment can change the /e/ in the last syllable to /ä/, then this paradigm, too, could be analyzed in terms of concatenation of a Cl suffix and a definite suffix.

However, there are complications. In the weak paradigm of some feminine nouns, for example, additional allomorphs would have to be posited to get the definite forms. Consider the alternation between indefinite plural nominative-accusative *-er* and definite plural nominative-accusative *-ur*.

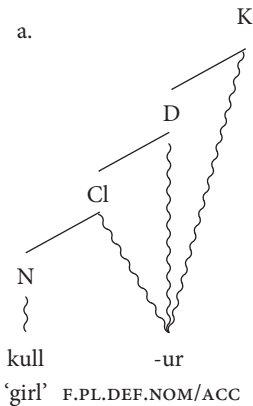
(45)

		‘girl’, weak f	
		indef	def
SG	N	kùlla	kùlla
	A	kùllu	kùllq
	D		kùllun
PL	N	kùller	kùllur
	A	kùllum	
	D		

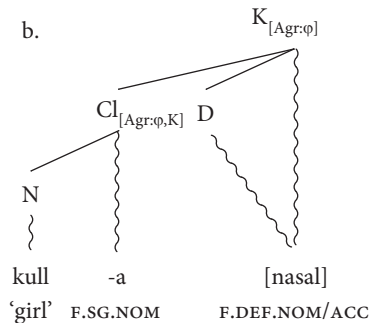
The [low] autosegment posited for the strong feminine paradigm won't work for the weak paradigm. If the affixes are sensitive to declension class, that suggests they are adjacent to the noun root, which would undermine the two-affix analysis just proposed.

This could mean that in Classical Övdalian, a single portmanteau morpheme can spell out all three heads, as illustrated in (46a), while other parts of the paradigm involve combinations of suffixes, as illustrated in (46b).

(46) a.



b.



The single suffix is sensitive to the declension class of N and must therefore be strictly adjacent to it.¹⁷

The Classical Övdalian suffixes are difficult to parse, which invites using this portmanteaux analysis for more of them. This suggests the spread of the

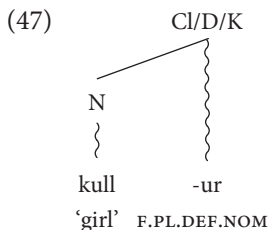
17. The same can be observed in at least some dialects of Norwegian; for example, there are speakers for whom *barna* is the definite form of neuter plural *barn* ‘child’, but *husene* is the definite form of neuter plural *hus* ‘house’; there is no phonological generalization describing the distribution, and thus both *-a* and *-ene* are neuter plural definite suffixes, distinguished only by declension class, and so must spell out a node which is adjacent to the root N. See Svenonius (to appear).

portmanteau pattern in (46a). Certain suffixes, like the definite singular masculine nominative-accusative /n/, could be lexically specified for tone.

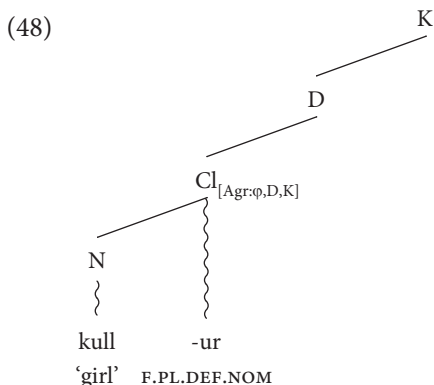
There are many languages in which roots seem to prefer to bear at most one inflectional suffix. For example, English verbs have at most one suffix, expressing tense (as in *walked*), agreement (as in *walks*), or aspect (as in *walking*).

If there is eventually one suffix throughout the Övdalian paradigm, a structure like the one in (46a) would be consistent with the facts, but would leave the restriction on one affix per stem an unexplained stipulation. In fact, since several of the suffixes are underspecified, it becomes difficult to prevent them from cooccurring. What is to prevent a definite suffix like masculine singular Direct case *-n* from lexicalizing D, appearing outside a plural suffix like *-er*, lexicalizing Cl: **kall-er-n*? Technically, such combinations can be prevented, but only by more fully specifying the lexical entries of the morphemes.

If we were to adopt a one-suffix analysis throughout the paradigm, this would be more consistent with the following structure:



Here, a single inflectional head bears gender, number, definiteness, and case features, and is spelled out by a single morpheme. Given that multiple heads are motivated in Old Norse, this proposal would require that head-bundling be parametrized (as argued in Bobaljik and Jonas 1996, Pylkkänen 2008). There is no evidence apart from the morphology that the Övdalian noun phrase contains less structure than the Old Swedish ones. An alternative analysis, which preserves parallelism in structure, would be the following:



The idea here is that K and D are systematically null in Övdalian, but the agreement probe on Cl copies D features as well as K and \varnothing . The fact that K and D are always null is a stipulation, but may be easier to justify formally than the situation with the first hypothesis, which required a large class of portmanteaux and some kind of conspiracy to prevent bimorphemic endings.

In any case, if there is a single suffix, then the loss of the definiteness distinction in the dative plural can now be described in terms of the tendency for morphemes to express fewer features; dative, plural, and definite are all marked features and so there is a pressure to express fewer of them. In Old Norse, only *-n* expresses definite, and it does not express any other features (eventually *-it* also expresses definiteness along with K).

This reanalysis is also supported by phonological facts. In Old Norse, the phonological boundary between the case and number-marked stem and the definite marker is phonologically relatively salient. The boundary is significant for phonological rules such as umlaut; a /y/ in a Cl-suffix induces umlaut in the stem, but a /y/ in a K suffix does not (though as we saw in Old Swedish, regressive deletion of /r/ and /a/ did occur across this boundary). Thus Cl is inside a cycle of morphophonology that excludes D. In Classical Övdalian, however, there are indications that the definite marker is a more phonologically integrated suffix, indications which point in exactly the opposite direction from the tonal evidence. Suffixes which begin with front vowels trigger palatalization of velar codas in the root, as seen in (49) (using the orthographic <dj> for /dʒ/ and <tj> for /tʃ/; I take the /e/ of the nominative definite singular and the nominative indefinite plural to be epenthetic here).

(49) Paradigms for Classical Övdalian ‘wolf’ and ‘grub, maggot’

M		indef	def	M		indef	def
SG	N	warg	wargen	SG	N	makk	makken
	A	wardjin	wardjem		A	mattje	mattjem
	D	wargum	wargär		D	makkär	makkär
PL	N	warga	wargä	PL	N	makkä	makkä
	A	wargum	wargä		A	makkä	makkä
	D	wargum	wargä		D	makkum	makkum

Notice in particular that there is no palatalization in the accusative indefinite singular, but there is in the accusative definite singular, the only featural difference being definiteness; so definiteness is phonologically integrated with the stem in a way that is characteristic of a suffix, not of a clitic. The accent, as indicated by Levander (1909), is nevertheless tone 1: *wárdjin* (compare dative singular definite *wárdjem* with tone 2, as expected). If the palatalization shows that *-in* is inside the

smallest phonological domain, despite its tone neutrality, then it must also be lexically specified with metrical structure to prevent the intonational pitch accent of the stem from including it.¹⁸

Additional evidence that the suffixal material in Classical Övdalian is more well-integrated than the definite parts of the suffixal complex in Old Norse is that there are irregular stems which are sensitive to the features in the suffix; for example *tjyr* 'cow' has a stem-final /r/ in the singular but not the plural forms: nominative/accusative plural *tjyner*, dative plural *tjym* (Levander 1909: 35) rather than **tjyrar* and **tjyrum*.¹⁹ In Old Norse, only the material up to Cl can be involved in irregularity, not the material beyond it. These considerations support the hypothesis in (48) over various alternatives.²⁰

The fusion of the suffixes is an important difference between the Old Norse nominal inflectional system and the Classical Övdalian one: the Old Norse noun has up to three suffixes, only one of which is strictly speaking part of the nominal paradigm. The second suffix out is the largely invariant *-(i)n*, with a phonologically motivated alternation but very little other allomorphy, and is linked to the paradigm for adjectives and participles, and the third part of the noun's morphology is identical to adjectival agreement. Thus, for example, a systematic syncretism in the weak paradigms of accusative, dative, and genitive singular need not have any effect on the definite suffix, which follows the adjectival paradigm. Furthermore, the definite forms are always distinct from the indefinite forms for the simple reason that the definite suffix is overt and is added to the indefinite form.

In contrast, the Classical Övdalian nominal suffixes, at least for parts of the paradigm, appear to be fully fused, with no morpheme boundary distinguishing the definite part from the inner part. This could be expected to accelerate feature neutralization, since it means that a single suffix is bearing more of a featural burden, and without reinforcement from other paradigms.

18. I am assuming an analysis of accent like the one proposed in Morén-Duolljá (2013). Thanks to Patrik Bye for discussion.

19. Steensland (2006: 109) notes an alternate dative plural form *tjynum*, which would be a regularization of the plural paradigm.

20. Delsing (2002) notes one place in Old Swedish which might suggest a similar development. In the dative and genitive singular of o-stem feminine nouns, the inner suffix is unexpectedly missing before the definite suffix. That is, one apparently finds *sol-inni* rather than the expected **sol-u-nni* (dative), and *söl-innar* rather than **söl-a(r)-(i)nnar* (genitive).

3. From Classical Övdalian to Traditional Övdalian

Traditional Övdalian has completely neutralized nominative and accusative in the common noun paradigm, as indicated in the table. I provide evidence for this in Section 3.1.

(50)	Classical Övdalian		Traditional Övdalian
	Nom	Acc	Nom/Acc = Drct
str/wk m pl indef	ester; ukser	esta; ukxa	ester; ukser
str/wk m pl def	estär; ukvär	estå; ukxå	ester; ukser
wk m sg indef	ukse	ukxa	ukxa
wk m sg def	uksn	uksan	uksn (or uksan)
wk f sg indef	flugo, kulla	flugu, kullu	flugo, kulla
wk f sg def	flugø, kullå	flugū, kullū	flugū, kullå

Since the language must have accusative case in order to license it on pronouns, and since the distribution of full noun phrases is the same as that of pronouns, it seems that accusative case exists in the language, it is simply not expressed on common nouns.

This can be described in terms of an Impoverishment rule, taking Cl to be the locus of gender and hence of the ANIM feature posited to be present on masculine and feminine nouns but not neuter ones. The rule only applies to lexical nouns (N), not to pronouns.

(51) $Acc \rightarrow \emptyset / __ Cl, N$

Note that this rule does not seem readily compliant with the *Feature Ranking Principle* in (32), as it would require N to be ranked higher than Accusative.

According to the analysis in (48), K in Classical Övdalian is never overt. What is overt is agreement in case, on the Cl head (and certain adnominal elements). Agreement probes do not always copy case features; that is why [Agr: K] and [Agr: φ] had to be distinguished. It seems plausible, then, that the loss of accusative on full nouns is not due to Impoverishment at all, but rather to a change in the nature of the agreement probe on Cl. Suppose that Cl in Traditional Övdalian probes for φ and for dative, but not for other cases. Then Cl will never pick up accusative features.

This resolves the tension with the *Feature Ranking Principle*, since there is no longer any syncretism to be described: Cl simply doesn't have accusative features. The systematic syncretism of nominative and accusative in the neuter in Old Norse, noted in §2.4, could be handled similarly, if neuter nouns lacked a probe which masculine and feminine nouns had. The same approach might also reconcile the underspecification of nonnominative case in weak singular noun paradigms also noted in §2.4.

Pronouns, arguably, have a different structure from common nouns; Cl is the locus of plurality in common nouns, but plural pronouns are different (first person plural is not a plurality of speakers, nor is second person plural necessarily a plurality of addressees). So pronouns can have their own [Agr: K], or even spell out K directly, without that affecting the common noun paradigm. The Silverstein hierarchy, which states that pronouns are more likely than common nouns to express accusative case, suggests that this is a common situation.

In the next section I present evidence for the neutralization.

3.1 Accusative

Levander (1928: 128) notes that the distinction between nominative and accusative in full nouns was wavering in the speech of informants living in the larger towns in Älvdalen already in the 1920's, and lost in neighboring districts.

He furthermore reports the absence of the distinction among the young even in the smaller northern village of Åsen, specifically in an informant born in 1909 and his peers – noting that the same youth's 10 elder siblings retain the distinction (*ibid.*, p. 316 n. 45). He gives the examples in (52), where (52b) reflects the loss of the accusative (*ibid.*, p. 128).²¹

- (52) a. Sir du ett̩?
 see you hat.DEF.ACC
 'Do you see the hat?'
 b. Sir du ett̩?
 see you hat.DEF
 'Do you see the hat?'

When the nominative and accusative collapse into a direct case form, the form which takes over is sometimes the historical nominative and sometimes the historical accusative, hence the observation of an historically accusative form is not evidence that a distinction is being made. Still, it is convenient to speak of the accusative as being what was lost in diachronic terms.²²

Helgander (1996) reviews evidence suggesting that the distinction was first lost in indefinite forms among speakers born at the end of the nineteenth century

21. Specifying only unambiguously expressed features in the gloss, in order to avoid implying more distinctions than are actively being made in the variety being described.

22. Steensland (2006: 12) observes that the historically accusative form of singulars often becomes the direct case form for masculine nouns in *-e* and a large class of feminine stems ending in vowels (a class with an open first syllable, hence not including *etta* 'hat' in (52), which goes the other way, generalizing the historical nominative).

and then in definite forms, with speakers born in the 1930's showing no nominative-accusative distinction on full nouns.

The loss of the distinction is illustrated below in a pair of examples from Nyström (1964: 15, 22f), an interview with a speaker from the northern village of Karlsarvet, born in 1891. The orthography has been standardized (with the assistance of Piotr Garbacz), except for the endings on the full nouns (a hesitation marker is marked with angle brackets).

- (53) a. ...ses eð wart graise jär, so add – dier add graistjitte
since it been pigs here so had they had pig.pens
 '... since there were pigs here, they had – they had pig pens'
- b. ...dier so åvå graiser, so åvå dier grais- <e> tjittär aute
they as have pigs so have they pig eh pens.DEF outside
 '... those who have pigs, they have [the] pig, eh, pens outside'

Grais 'pig' and *tjitte* 'pen' are masculine nouns belonging to different declensions. In Classical Övdalian, both would have had nominative plural *-er* in the indefinite, and *-är* in the definite, in Karlsarvet (Levander 1909: 11, n. b). Both would have had accusative plurals in *-a* in the indefinite and in *-q* in the definite. We expect nominative in the existential construction 'there were pigs,' and the loss of final /r/ in this phonological context is common, so the first form *graise[r]* in (53a) is as expected. However, we expect accusative after 'have,' so the form *graiser* in (53b) suggests a loss of the nominative-accusative distinction. Similarly, the appearance of historically nominative forms *graistjitte[r]* and *graistjittär* in accusative contexts in (53a–b) suggests the loss of the distinction.

Today the nominative-accusative distinction on full nouns can be considered archaic at best, even among the most conservative speakers. This is implicitly recognized in Steensland's (2006) dictionary, which provides dative forms but not distinct accusative forms. Knowledgeable elderly speakers know the accusative forms and sometimes regard them as correct in accusative contexts, and provide them in elicitation, but I have not been able to observe a nominative-accusative distinction being made in spontaneous speech.

More commonly, speakers neutralize the nominative and accusative, as in the (elicited) example below.

- (54) Sir du **ester mainer?**
see you horses my.PL
 'Do you see my horses?'

Here, the accusative form would have been *estq maina* in Classical Övdalian. Below is a minimal pair of elicited sentences showing the masculine noun *lapp* 'patch'

in both nominative and accusative contexts, again syncretized (the dative on *oll ermum* ‘all the sleeves’ in (55) correlates with the static description, while the corresponding accusative (i.e. ‘direct’ case) in (56) correlates with the dynamicity of patches moving onto sleeves).

(55) Eð ir **lapper** ɔ oll ermum.
it is patches on all the.sleeves.DAT
 ‘There are patches on all the sleeves.’

(56) Ig sit og sömer **lapper** ɔ ermer.
I sit and sew patches on sleeves
 ‘I am sitting down sewing patches on the sleeves.’

As this is a strong masculine noun, the accusative form would have been *lappa* (indefinite) or *lappa* (definite) in Classical Övdalian.

Some examples from interviews conducted in 2007 by Lars Steensland (personal communication) follow.

- (57) a. ...og best **larer**er amm wið aft
...and best teachers have we had
 ‘... and we have had the best teachers’
- b. ...og dar warum wið um **kwelder** og
and there were.1PL we about evenings also
 ‘... and we were there in the evenings too’

The same informant lacks dative in the following example where it would have been expected after this sense of the preposition *min* ‘with’ (though *min* has a variety of senses, and some of them regularly take the direct case, historically accusative). Coordination is a common context for the lack of expected dative, for some reason. In the example in (58), the feminine nouns *dukka* ‘doll’ and *tjyr* ‘cow’ are not expected to distinguish nominative from accusative, but the masculine noun *est* ‘horse’ is.

- (58) daruppi belld ig byddja ...og min **dukkur** og **träester** og
there.up could I live and with dolls and wood.horses and
gråtjyner og ollu eð-dar
spruce.cows and all that-there
 ‘I could live up there ...and with dolls and wooden horses and spruce-cone cows and all that’²³

23. According to Lars Steensland (personal communication), spruce cones are used to represent cows in children’s play, while pine cones represent sheep.

Finally, some examples from *KK*. First, there are examples in *KK* where the nominative-accusative distinction appears to be made. For example, the strong masculine noun *kripp* ‘child’ appears in the plural forms *kripper* and *krippa*, as seen below. I gloss this form with ‘ACC’ in parentheses since it is at issue whether this form is really consistently used in accusative contexts. (Note also that nasalization is only sporadically marked in *KK*, so the example in (60) might actually be *krippa*, i.e. the definite-marked accusative plural.)

- (59) **Kripper** add kurad ijuop sig sos smømåjser i ie trong, swart
children had huddled together self like small.mice in a tight black
 wrå i gamtstugun.
corner in the.old.house
 ‘The children had huddled together like little mice in a cramped dark corner of the old house.’
- (60) An add remt ad en, og spuort on ur kringt an add
he had bellowed to her.DAT and asked her.ACC how often he had
 lesid upp Salomos uordspråk fer en, fer at o uld lä’
read up Solomon’s words for her.DAT for that she should learn
 sig, ur o uld antir **krippa**.
self how she should manage children (ACC)
 ‘He had bellowed to her, and asked her how often he had read aloud Solomon’s words for her, so that she would learn how to govern the children.’

In the same text, *kripper* also appears in contexts which should be accusative.

- (61) Tve kellinger, og **nog kripper**, add Alwar nest sig, og oller fing
two women and some children had Alwar by self and all got
 minsann dsjä rett fe’ sig.
at.least do right for self
 ‘Two women, and some children, Alwar had with him, and everyone was to account for themselves.’
- (62) Nu ir fråga, um itt mickel auti diem da 200 man, so
now is the.question if not many out.of those there 200 man as
 uld fya, add keling og **kripper** iem, so add styerr
should follow had woman and children home who had greater
 anliening war aingsliger eld wen prestfrunę adde.
reason be anxious than what the.priest.wife had
 ‘Now the question is, whether many of those 200 men who were going to follow, didn’t have a wife and children at home, who had more cause to be anxious than the priest’s wife did.’

The examples above show coordination, which occasionally (though not always) interferes with dative case (in addition, the first involves displacement, which is noted by Sandøy (2000) to inhibit the assignment of dative in Norwegian dialects with dative case). However, the absence of a nominative-accusative distinction goes beyond such circumstances and is far more common in *KK*, even more common than strict observance. Two examples are given below.

- (63) So dier lat **kripper** fårå,
so they let children travel
 ‘So they let the children travel, ...’
- (64) Dar kasted \varnothing **dier dar sju dieler** attrywyr yegeraxeln
there threw she those there seven pieces back.over the.right.shoulder
 (wister um edd a’ we’ frågan um ie kulla).
left if it had been the.question of a girl
 There, she threw those seven pieces back over her right shoulder (left if it [the exorcism] had concerned a girl).’

The examples above have all involved the extension of an historically nominative case into accusative contexts, but the substitution of forms goes both ways. An example of an historically accusative form in a nominative context is seen below. The example contains both the historically nominative and the historically accusative form.

- (65) **Jälln** war uppsildrad min dsilderstickur, so da’ byenn
the.platform was up.trapped with trap.sticks so when the.bear
 kam a’ diem, so räsed **jällan** nid \varnothing an, og klemd
came to them so fell the.platform. (ACC) down on him and crushed
 ijel an.
to.death him
 ‘The platform was booby-trapped with spikes, so that when the bear came toward them, the platform fell down on him and crushed him to death.’

Similarly, in the example below, *maru* ‘(the) nightmare’ (a supernatural being) is the subject, and should be nominative (*mara*, a weak feminine noun, in older forms of the language); in the second example, the same noun is an object (or subject of an ECM construction), and should be accusative. Yet it is typical of *KK* that the forms are not distinct.²⁴

24. As noted by Lars Steensland (see n. 22 above), this extension of the accusative/dative is typical of short-stemmed weak feminine nouns, while long-stemmed weak feminine nouns such as *tjyörtja* ‘church’ tend to generalize the nominative.

- (66) E' wa so, at da **maru** uld rus frø gardem, dar
it was so that when nightmare should travel from the.farm.DAT there
 ø add bitid offred, so bruked ø tågo og raid ø ien est
she had bitten the.victim so used she take and ride on a horse
 'It was so, that when the nightmare was ready to leave the farm where she
 had bitten a victim, she would take a horse and ride it'
- (67) ø add la't **maru** få sos ø wild i gardem, og nu
she had let nightmare get as she wanted in the.farm.DAT and now
 såg ø ur ed add gjald.
saw she how it had gone
 'She had let the nightmare have her way on the farm and now she saw how
 it had gone.'

Thus, although accusative forms are sometimes found in accusative contexts in Traditional Övdalian, the system as a whole does not make this distinction, for full noun phrases.

On the other hand, the syntax makes a distinction among nominative and accusative case contexts, since first and second person and plural pronouns systematically continue to distinguish the finite subject position from other positions, with paradigms essentially like those described in Section 2.2. The three-way distinction for the feminine pronoun made in Classical Övdalian appears to be collapsing, however, see Garbacz and Johannessen (this volume), meaning that pronouns generally seem to make a two-case distinction, setting aside the possessive forms.

In the next section I document the persistence of the dative case in conservative varieties of Traditional Övdalian.

3.2 Dative

Dative case appears fairly consistently on the objects of certain prepositions. As is typical of Indo-European languages with case, there are prepositions which govern accusative, prepositions which govern dative, and prepositions which alternate, with static descriptions requiring dative and dynamic ones requiring accusative, in the manner familiar from languages like German. This system is largely preserved in Övdalian, illustrated here with some elicited examples.²⁵

25. Classical Övdalian distinguishes nominative *bottjin* 'the hill' from the accusative form *bokkan*, but since this distinction is not consistently made in the variety being described, I do not gloss *bokkan* here as accusative.

- (68) a. Brindn fuor upø **bokkan.**
the.moose went up.on the.hill
 ‘The moose went up the hill.’
- b. Brindn stand kwer upø **bokkam.**
the.moose stands still up.on the.hill.DAT
 ‘The moose is standing still up on the hill.’
- (69) a. Brindn kâit inunder **brunę.**
the.moose ran in.under the.bridge
 ‘The moose ran under the bridge.’
- b. Brindn stand under **bru’nn.**
the.moose ran in.under the.bridge.DAT
 ‘The moose is standing under the bridge.’
- (70) a. An tuog sig ini **baureð.**
he took self in the.storehouse
 ‘He made his way into the storehouse.’
- b. og sãmneð ini **baureę.**
and fell.asleep in the.storehouse.DAT
 ‘and fell asleep in the storehouse.’

Examples of this can be heard in spontaneous speech. Below is a pair of examples from Nyström (1964), of a particularly conservative variety,²⁶ showing the feminine noun *rotta* in two forms, nominative/accusative plural (*rottur*) and dative plural (*rottum*; broad transcription due to Piotr Garbacz).

- (71) An ir it ...sakt duktin jag og tågå måiser, an ar fel
he is not truly talented hunt and get mice he has you.know
 taið boð **is-jär sturrottur** og!
taken both these-here big.rats also
 ‘He isn’t . . . truly is good at hunting and catching mice, of course he has also caught these big rats!’
- (72) Sleppt aut **diem-dar rottum!**
released out those-there rats.DAT
 ‘[They] let those rats out!’

More examples are given below from *KK*, preserving the (non-standard) orthography employed by Hjalmar Larsson in that work, except to mark the unambiguously dative-marked noun in boldface. First, (73) illustrates a masculine definite

26. The speaker was born in 1891, well before the stipulated boundary between ‘Classical Övdalian’ and ‘Traditional Övdalian,’ but already showing at least partial loss of the nominative – accusative distinction, as discussed above.

singular (*gard* ‘yard, farm,’ compounded with *tsyerts(a)* ‘church’) and (74) shows two masculine plurals (*mun* ‘mouth’ and *est* ‘horse’).²⁷

- (73) Viktugestad war, um an add nõd frõ **tsyertsgardem**,
most.important was if he had something from the.churchyard.DAT
 non spajk frõ ie laiktsist, eld nõd bien og lited muld.
some nail from a coffin or some bone and a.little soil
 ‘The most important was if he had something from the churchyard, a nail
 from a coffin or some bone and a little soil’
- (74) E’ kam raidendes noget förriðderer, so ed froded yr
it came riding some advance.riders so it frothed out.of
munnum ad **estum**.
mouths.DAT to horses.DAT
 ‘Some scouts came riding so that their horses’ mouths were frothing.’

Example (75) is a feminine definite singular (*stugu* ‘building, house’), and (76) is a feminine plural (*påsker* ‘Easter’ is a plurale tantum).

- (75) Ad **stugun** ärd og iet wiselt fjõs og iet a’byggt stoll.
to the.house.DAT belonged also a shabby barn and a to.built stall
 ‘Along with the house was a dilapidated barn and an added-on stable’
- (76) men fö’ sakerits skull, so mõled an um ed ad **påskum**
but for security’s sake so painted he about it to Easter.PL.DAT
 wert år.
every year
 ‘but to be on the safe side he repainted it at Easter every year.’

Finally, an example of a definite singular neuter noun (*buord* ‘table’), and a plural neuter noun (*oga* ‘eye’).

- (77) Kunundsin tuog plass nest **buorde** min knektrullur.
the.king took place by the.table.DAT with soldier.lists
 ‘The king took a seat at the table with the list of soldiers.’
- (78) An wa låg õ mõled dar an språked, og an bögles aldri i
he was low on the.voice there he spoke and he stared never in
ogum õ diem an språked min.
eyes.DAT on them he spoke with
 ‘His voice was low when he spoke, and he never looked right in the eyes of
 the person he was speaking with.’

27. Another note on glossing conventions: As I detail below, this variety of Övdalian does not overtly mark definiteness distinctions in the plural; thus, following the conventions mentioned in n. 21, even plurals which are clearly understood as definite are not glossed as such.

The patterns above are robust in *KK*, though there is some degree of variation. Generally, plurals and definite singulars have unambiguous dative case marking when they immediately follow a dative-governing preposition.

Most failures of dative case marking involve some complication, for example in the coordinate structure in (79), only the first conjunct is dative-marked (the dative plural of *finkall* ‘nobleman’ would be *finkallum*).

- (79) E’ war iet buord autsett fe’ **kunundsem og finkaller.**
it was a table set.out for the.king.DAT and noblemen
 ‘There was a table set out for the king and the noblemen.’

A dative form appears on the possessor in possessor constructions, as shown in the following example.²⁸

- (80) Marit sett igøng, og sambled ijuop sju dieler frø
Marit sat in.walk and collected together seven parts from
Lihl-Spajtsem es krupp.
The.Little-Nail.DAT poss body
 ‘Marit got busy and gathered together seven parts from Lihl-Spajk’s body.’

In such constructions, dative case often fails to appear on the head noun, even in environments which otherwise robustly require dative. In the following example, the head noun *klauter* is unambiguously in the direct case (dative plural is *klautum*), despite heading the complement of *frø* ‘from,’ which systematically takes dative.

- (81) Rästn tuog Marit frø Lihl-Spajtsem es klauter
the.rest took Marit from The.Little-Nail.DAT POSS clothes
 ‘The rest, Marit took from Lihl-Spajk’s clothing’

In a few cases dative can be seen on direct objects of certain dative-governing verbs, such as *jåpa* ‘help.’

- (82) Ennes metuoder add itt jåpt **nogum** juottedags, og ka[m]
her methods had not helped anyone.DAT hither.days and came
 it ta dsjäro ed eld.
not to do it either
 ‘Her methods hadn’t helped anyone up to then, and weren’t going to do so, either.’²⁹

28. As elsewhere, I preserve the original orthography from *KK*; Lars Steensland points out that current practice would favor writing the *es* together with the name, reflecting the perception that they form a single word.

29. In the original text (*KK* p. 41), the word *kam* ‘came’ is spelled *kan*, which is a form of the modal ‘can,’ but doesn’t suggest a plausible parse; I assume following a suggestion of Lars Steensland that *kan* in the text is a typographical error for *kam*.

Some investigators, for example Garbacz and Johannessen (this volume), have observed the instability of the dative among contemporary speakers. The pattern described here should be considered a conservative variety of Traditional Övdalian.

3.3 Neutralization of definiteness distinctions in the plural

A striking development in Traditional Övdalian is the neutralization of definite distinctions in the plural. In Section 2.5, I pointed out the neutralization in Classical Övdalian of definiteness in the dative plural, describing this in terms of Impoverishment in (37). In Traditional Övdalian, this pattern of syncretism is more general, affecting the Direct case plurals of masculine and feminine nouns.

The following tables represent paradigms which I believe to be representative of six classes of nouns which had systematically different behavior in Classical Övdalian. There is one caveat: dative might be more frequently marked in the indefinite singular forms than I have been able to detect; see the discussion of apocope and of pitch accent possibly marking dative case in §2.6. Setting that possibility aside, there seems to be widespread neutralization of the dative-direct distinction in the indefinite singular, just as in the dative-preserving dialects of Norwegian studied by, e.g. Eythórsson et al. (2012).

In each pair, the noun on the left is from a strong declension class and the one on the right is weak; the examples in (83) are masculine, those in (84) are feminine, and those in (85) are neuter. Boxes indicate syncretisms, and Drct stands for ‘direct case’ the nominative-accusative. Spellings are adapted from *KK*.³⁰

(83)	<i>kall</i> ‘man’ (str. m.)			<i>jälle</i> ‘platform’ (wk. m.)				
	M	indef	def	M	indef	def		
	SG	Drct	kall	kalln	SG	Drct	jälle	jälln
		Dat		kallem		Dat		jällam
	PL	Drct	kaller		PL	Drct	jäller	
		Dat	kallum			Dat	jällum	

(84)	<i>asp</i> ‘asp’ (str. f.)			<i>tjyörtja</i> ‘church’ (wk. f.)				
	F	indef	def	F	indef	def		
	SG	Drct	asp	aspe	SG	Drct	tjyörtja	tjyörtja
		Dat		aspin		Dat		tsjörtjun
	PL	Drct	asper		PL	Drct	tjyörtjur	
		Dat	aspum			Dat	tjyörtjum	

30. As already noted, the direct definite singular *jälln* alternates with *jällan*, so the form could be represented as *jälln-jällan*.

(85) <i>tak</i> 'roof' (str. n.)				<i>ära</i> 'ear' (wk. n.)			
	N	indef	def		N	indef	def
SG	Drct	tak	tatjeð	SG	Drct	ära	ärað
	Dat		tatje	Dat	ära		
PL	Drct	tak	tatji	PL	Drct	ärur	
	Dat	takum		Dat	ärum		

There are more noun classes than are displayed here, but these are broadly representative (for more examples see §3.5). The paradigms displayed here are an idealization, and the actual data collected shows much variation. The total number of suffixes involved is not very great, so it is not clear how much would be gained by stipulating an Impoverishment rule; the suffixes *-er* and *-ur* and any others could simply be underspecified, as I suggested in §2.5 for dative plural *-um*.

The syncretism of the definite and indefinite plurals might somehow be a consequence of the fusion of the definite and plural suffixes. However, some other Mainland Scandinavian languages have also fused their plural and definite suffixes (Faarlund 2009), without the loss of definite distinctions in the plural (on the other hand, gender distinctions in the plural are often lost in those languages).

3.4 The indefinite singular dative

Classical Övdalian had a dative form *ienum* of the masculine indefinite article, but this seems to be largely absent from spontaneous speech in Traditional Övdalian, where the direct form *ien* is substituted.

Overt dative suffixes on indefinite singulars are frequently absent from *KK*, as in the following examples.

(86) so bruked \varnothing tâgo og raid \varnothing ien est, um e' wa non i nerietn.
so used she take and ride on a horse if it was any in the.nearby
 'she would take a horse and ride it, if there was one nearby.'

(87) att dier so tuog and um djäster, uld werd bifriader fr \varnothing
that they as took hand about guests should become absolved from
skatt.
tax

'that those who took care of guests would be relieved from tax.'

(88) \varnothing uld old aused, ausfuotsed, estn og krytyre
she should hold the.house the.house.people the.horse and the.creatures

riener fr̥o **ollt uotyɡ** so Satan lat usir auti diem.

clean from all vermin as Satan let ravage out.on them

‘She was supposed to keep the house, the people, the horse and the animals clean of all the vermin that Satan unleashed upon them.’

In older forms of the language, strong masculine and neuter nouns like *est*, *skatt*, and *uotyɡ* would have a vocalic suffix in the dative singular; in *KK* the preposition *fr̥o* always takes dative case when the complement is plural or definite. Yet in these indefinites no dative morpheme is seen.

Even the conservative text in Nyström (1964) contains an example which lacks the dative ending on an indefinite singular, e.g. the following example (*ibid.* pp. 37–38, transcribed in an adapted standard orthography from Nyström’s narrow phonetic transcription).

(89) Eð mått d̥a w̥ar nog so war nog flytend dier blätt
it must then been something as was something liquid they dissolved

noglund i **nog liuotkräld** åv noɡer
somehow in some nasty.vessel of something

‘It [the fly poison] must have been some sort of liquid that they dissolved somehow in some nasty container of some kind’

Here the dative singular of the strong neuter *kräld* ‘vessel’ would have been *krälde* in Classical Övdalian. A phonological process of apocope, common in the region, may be the culprit.

In many cases of apocope, the pitch accent distinctions on the affected word remain as if the deleted syllable were still present. As I showed above, dative singular indefinite case suffixes on strong noun stems add a second syllable and hence give rise to tone 2. This means that if the dative suffix is deleted by apocope, then in some cases it might be recoverable, in that the accent on the monosyllabic noun might be that of a tone 2 word, contrasting with the direct case tone 1.³¹ This possibility cannot be investigated in *KK*, because tone is not marked. I also found it difficult to investigate in field work, owing partly to the scarcity of relevant examples but also the difficulty, for one not adept in the language, of distinguishing tone 1 from tone 2 on monosyllabic words.

In the narrow phonetic transcriptions of Gunnar Nyström, however, it is clear that a tonal contrast is made on monosyllabic words, and the monosyllabic words with tone 2 would in most cases have had a syllabic suffix in earlier forms of the language. The compound noun *liuotkräld* ‘nasty vessel’ in (89) is too long to show the effect, and I have not found any other indefinite datives in Nyström (1964)

31. I am grateful to Lars Steensland for suggesting that I investigate this possibility. Thanks also to Patrik Bye for discussion.

missing their dative suffixes. But there are several words in that interview which preserve tone 2 despite missing expected vocalic suffixes, for example the verbs *mått[e]* ‘had to’ and *blått[a]* ‘dissolved’ in (89), here with the missing vowels supplied and the tone marking added.

The following transcriptions are regularized to the standard Övdalian orthography,³² except that the expected – but crucially missing – vocalic ending in each example is supplied in square brackets, and the tone from Nyström’s narrow transcription is added to the words in question.

- (90) a. so eð ar laið nogu slaik lÿöð[a] daitå fjaßguovę um
so it has lain some such lump there.on barn.floor..DEF.DAT on
me'nner milumað
mornings occasionally
 ‘so there has been a lump like that lying on the barn floor in the mornings, sometimes’
- b. Ja wið addum je föll[u] so tuogum boð sturrottur i og
yes we had.1PL a.F trap as took.1PL also big.rats in too
 ‘Yes, we had a trap that we also captured big rats in’

These are weak nouns; *lÿöða* would be a nominative form, and *föllu* would be accusative (or objective), so they do not prove that dative case can be distinguished from nondative by tone alone in the right context (namely, a strong noun which would have tone 1 in the nominative-accusative singular); but the general pattern of tone 2 preservation in what appear to be reduced forms suggests that it is definitely a possibility. In fact, a case marker which is realized on the surface only as a tone shift could easily be reanalyzed as an autosegment, for example a floating mora. It remains to be seen whether this is the best analysis for any actual Övdalian case alternations.

3.5 Comparative paradigms

To provide a sense of the general system, I present a representative assortment of nominal paradigms comparing the three-case Classical system to the newer two-case system. I present one each of masculine, feminine, neuter in each of the

32. In this case by Piotr Garbacz. E.g. the original narrow transcription *måne* ‘mornings,’ an irregular masculine noun, is standardized to *me'nner*. The fact that the vowel in the ending is [e], i.e. /e/, in an accusative context, is typical of the simplification of the direct plural endings in Traditional Övdalian: Levander (1909:16) notes the nominative definite plural form *mè:nnär*, and implies an accusative indefinite plural form *mè:nna*, definite plural *mè:nna*.

strong and weak declension classes. Again, it must be remarked that the indefinite dative singular may not be systematically absent from Traditional Övdalian, if it preserved in tone, which has not been adequately studied.

(91) 'man' m, str

CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN			TRADITIONAL ÖVDALIAN		
		indef	def		
SG	N	kall	kalln	Drct	kalln
	A				
	D	kalle	kallem		
PL	N	kaller	kallär	Drct	kaller
	A	kalla	kalla		Dat
	D	kallum			

(92) 'bull' m, wk

CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN			TRADITIONAL ÖVDALIAN		
		indef	def		
SG	N	ukse	uksn	Drct	uksn
	A	uksa	uksan		Dat
	D	uksa	uksam		
PL	N	ukser	uksär	Drct	ukser
	A	uksa	uksa		Dat
	D	uksum			

(93) 'bridge' f, str

CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN			TRADITIONAL ÖVDALIAN		
		indef	def		
SG	N	bru	brunę	Drct	brunę
	A		bru		brun
	D			brun	
PL	N	bruer	bruär	Drct	bruer
	A				bruum
	D	bruum			

(94) 'fly' f, wk

CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN			TRADITIONAL ÖVDALIAN				
		indef	def			indef	def
SG	N	flugo	flugø	SG	Drct	flugø	flugø
	A	flugø	flugø		Dat		
	D		flugun				
PL	N	flugur		PL	Drct	flugur	
	A	flugum			Dat	flugum	
	D	flugum					

(95) 'table' n, str

CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN			TRADITIONAL ÖVDALIAN				
		indef	def			indef	def
SG	N	buord	buordeð	SG	Drct	buord	buordeð
	A		buorde		Dat		buorde
	D	buorde	buorde				
PL	N	buord	buorde	PL	Drct	buord	buorde
	A		buordum		Dat	buordum	
	D	buordum					

(96) 'ear' n, wk

CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN			TRADITIONAL ÖVDALIAN				
		indef	def			indef	def
SG	N	ära	ärað	SG	Drct	ära	ärað
	A		ära		Dat		ära
	D	ära	ära				
PL	N	ära	ära	PL	Drct	ärur	
	A		ärur		Dat	ärur	
	D	ärur					

3.6 Adnominal modifiers

Besides lexical nouns and pronouns, case is often also seen on various adnominal elements such as determiners, quantifiers, numerals, and adjectives. In Classical Övdalian, such elements provided rich case information, as seen in the paradigms for the indefinite determiner *noger* ‘some, any’ here, illustrated with the nouns *kall* ‘man,’ *kulla* ‘girl,’ and *aus* ‘house.’³³

(97) CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN

		M	F	N
Sg	Nom	noger kall	nogų kulla	nođ aus
	Acc	non kall	nog kullu	nođ aus
	Dat	nogum kalle	nog kullu	nog ause
Pl	Nom	nog kaller	nog kullur	nogų aus
	Acc	nog kalla	nog kullur	nogų aus
	Dat	nogum kallum	nogum kullum	nogum ausum

These systems are considerably simplified in modern colloquial varieties, as seen in the following table.

(98) TRADITIONAL ÖVDALIAN

		M	F	N
Sg	Drct	non kall	nogų kulla	nođ aus
	Dat	non kall	nogų kulla	nođ aus
Pl	Drct	nog kaller	nog kullur	nog(r)ų aus
	Dat	nog(um) kallum	nog(um) kullum	nog(um) ausum

As can be seen in the table, gender is distinguished in this system, but no gender distinguishes case in the singular. More and different distinctions are seen in free-standing pronouns, but adnominal determiners generally seem to have lost the dative singular form, and for many speakers also the dative plural.

Levander (1909) gives case-inflected forms of adjectives for Classical Övdalian.

33. Additional inflected forms are used when not adnominal, i.e., when used as the only element in a noun phrase, for example feminine singular accusative *noger(a)*, dative *noger*; masculine plural nominative *nogrer*, accusative *noger(a)*.

(99) CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN

		M	F	N
Sg	Nom	stur	stur	sturt
	Acc	sturan	stur(a)	sturt
	Dat	sturum	stur	sturo
Pl	Nom	stur(er)	stur(er)	sturų
	Acc	stur(a)	stur(er)	sturų
	Dat	sturum	sturum	sturum

Though I have not boxed them, some of the systematic syncretisms seen in the noun paradigms are present here: the neuter nominative is always identical to the neuter accusative, in the singular and the plural; the feminine always collapses nominative and accusative in the plural; and the dative plurals are identical in all genders.

The long forms (with the material in parentheses) are generally only used in predicative contexts and where the noun is elliptical, for example as follows.

- (100) a. Gok-etter ien sturo.
go-after a big.N.SG.DAT
 'Go get a big one.'
- b. Ig ar tjopt diem garų.
I have bought them large.N.PL.ACC
 I bought them [clothes] large.'
- c. Bar ig edd dugåd fų an frekan.
only I had managed get him nice.M.SG.ACC
 'If only I could make him nice.'

When adjectives are used attributively with an overt noun, they are normally compounded (Delsing 2003), in which case endings consisting of nonnasal vowels with or without /r/ are absent, i.e. the shorter versions of the forms in (99) are used.

- (101) a. Amm sakt mikkel finkuller jär i bymm.
have.1PL truly many fine.girls here in town.DEF.DAT
 'We truly have many fine girls here in town.'
- b. Ev juųt ien kroppknaiv åđ mig.
take here a curved.knife to me
 'Bring me a curved knife.'
- c. Du ar so stuttan rukk.
you have so short.M.ACC.SG jacket
 'You have such a short jacket.'

Attributive adjectives can be seen in Traditional Övdalian examples already provided, for example *ien sturan krippuop* ‘a big.ACC child-bunch’ in (14a), or *styerr anlienig* ‘greater reason’ in (62), og *iet wiselt fjøs* ‘a shabby.N barn’ in (75). These show a neuter singular ending *-t* and occasionally other gender-number endings; they may also show a dative plural *-um* but other case endings are rare. The form *sturan* in (14a), from *KK*, is at least historically distinctively masculine singular accusative, but Levander (1909: 107) notes for Classical Övdalian that this form (in *-an*) was already then turning up in contexts where other forms could be expected.

In general, I have sifted through too few forms to be confident about the pattern in Traditional Övdalian. This is partly because it is so typical for attributive adjectives to be compounded with the noun they modify, without inflection, especially definite nouns. This can be seen in *is-jär sturrottur* ‘these big rats’ in (71), or in *nog liuotkräld* ‘some nasty vessel’ in (89). An example with two adjectives can be seen in (102), from Nyström (1964).

- (102) Og an-dar sturgråttjin Oskar biet ijel oller trjär!
and that-there big.grey.dog.DEF Oscar bit to.death all three
 ‘And that big grey dog of Oscar’s bit all three [rats] to death!’

In general, it seems that dative plural outlasts the other case distinctions in adnominal modifiers, unsurprisingly given the state of the nominative-accusative distinction generally in full noun phrases.

Dative case is still frequently (and regularly in *KK*) distinguished on demonstratives, as illustrated below. The example in (103) shows two examples in direct case, a freestanding demonstrative (*eð-dar* in standard orthography, neuter) and a pronominal demonstrative (*an-dar*, masculine). The first of these would historically have been in the dative (*dyö-dar*), due to the sense of *ywyr* ‘over’ used here; but recall from section §2.2 that case distinctions in the pronominal system are somewhat out of step with developments in the system of full nouns. (104) gives an example of the dative case (also masculine).

- (103) Men prester wäsnes uwljuot ywyr e’ dar og stuod i upø ollu
but priests wailed terribly over that there and stood in upon all
wis fe’ ta fesyets fō brott an dar uosidn.
ways for to try get away that there bad.habit.DEF
 ‘But the priests wailed terribly about that and made all kinds of efforts to eliminate that immoral behavior.’

- (104) E' wa' so, att kunundsinn add ie klucka (an kold on fe'
it was so that the.king had a clock (he called her.ACC for
 byxsäcksur, og wa ljuotouwanliger) i om da'
trouser.pocket.clock and was extremely.unusual) in that.DAT there
kuppam.
the.sack.DAT

'The fact was that the king had a clock (he called it his trouser-pocket clock, and it was extremely unusual) in that sack.'

Historically, the demonstratives are transparently based on the third person pronominal system, and show the same pattern of syncretism: accusative syncretizes with nominative in the singular, but with dative in the plural. The table in (105) shows the paradigm for Classical Övdalian distal demonstratives.

- (105) CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN

	M	F	N	Pl
Nom	an-dar	o-dar	eð-dar	dier-dar
Acc	an-dar	o-dar	eð-dar	diem-dar
Dat	om-dar	en-dar	dyö-dar	diem-dar

In the singular, there is no tension between the third person pronominal system and the nominal system, since both collapse the nominative and accusative into direct case (even for the feminine singular, in the demonstratives). But in the plural, there is a tension. As we have seen, plural pronouns in the variety described here make a nominative-objective distinction, while the system of case on full noun phrases makes a direct-dative distinction. The question is then, in the change to a two-case system, what happens to the plural demonstratives? Do they preserve the pronominal differentiation between nominative and objective, or do they realign to conform to the system of the lexical nouns? The answer is that demonstratives (and as far as I can tell, other nominal modifiers) adapt to the new direct-dative system for lexical nouns, with old nominative forms supplanting old objective forms in accusative contexts. Thus, for example, in *KK* we find examples like the following. The example in (106) is unambiguously nominative, the example in (107) is unambiguously dative on D (though not on N), and the accusative form in (108) (*min* in this context is expected to take accusative) shows the nominative-like form, not the dative-like form.

- (106) **Dier dar snapperer,** wa mjäst werr eld dansker, og ed
those there Danish.partisans were mostly worse than Danes and it
 jåpt it ur kunundsín fesyekt skrem diem.
helped not how the.king tried frighten them
 ‘Those Danish partisans were mostly worse than Danes, and it didn’t matter how the king tried to frighten them.’
- (107) E’ wa’ bo’ kripper auti **diem dar snapperer**
it was both children out.in those.DAT there Danish.partisans
 milmad og.
sometimes also
 ‘There were sometimes also children among those Danish partisans.’
- (108) Nu war ed it gral so ienkelt min **dier dar ritualer,** sos
now was it not completely so simple with those there rituals as
 ed låt.
it sounds
 ‘Now, those rituals weren’t quite as simple as they sound.’

The general changeover from a pronominal Nominative-Objective system to a Direct-Dative system in the demonstratives is evidence for the distinction between the two systems, the one operative for pronouns and the one operative for the system of DPs.

4. Conclusion

In this paper I have described a case system used by some speakers of Övdalian, which to my knowledge has not been documented before. The system distinguishes direct from dative case in full noun phrases, and additionally distinguishes nominative from objective cases in the pronominal system, so as a whole it is a three-case system.

There are two significant differences between this system and the one described in Åkerberg (2000) and Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2006). One is the fusion of the nominative and accusative cases, and the other is the fusion of the plural definite and indefinite forms. The latter suggests an analysis in which definite and plural affixes compete for a position.

In addition, the near absence of dative case endings when the noun is neither definite nor plural suggests that the contribution of suffixes in the singular has changed compared to earlier stages of the language.

There has been a recent resurgence of interest in Övdalian, and many members of the community have expressed an interest in learning the language, in some cases those whose grandparents or other relatives speak it but who for one reason or another have grown up with Swedish in the home. Fortunately, thanks to the efforts of *Ulum Dalska* and various enthusiasts, there are now readers, dictionaries, and grammars available for the language. It should be noted, however, that many of the materials available are based on Classical Övdalian, and do not very accurately reflect the modern speech community, not even the speech of its eldest members. Thus, there might be a place for Traditional Övdalian in the revitalization efforts that are underway, but before that place can be found, the language itself will have to be better understood. I hope that this paper can make some modest contribution to that end.

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