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).

(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
	NOM	*ukin*	*ukų*	*ukað*
SG	ACC	*ukan*	*uka*	*ukað*
	DAT	*ukum*	*uker*	*uko*
	GEN	*ukumes*	*ukeres*	–
	NOM	*uker*	*uker*	*ukų*
PL	ACC	*uka*	*uker*	*ukų*
	DAT	*ukum*	*ukum*	*ukum*
	GEN	*ukumes*	*ukumes*	–

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1.   The neuter singular form *ukað* will in some sub-varieties of Övdalian be pronounced /ˈʉkar/ 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 particluar 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.

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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. *ukų   buok/*buotję*   b. *ukųdier   buotję/*buok*
         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

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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?'

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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 ställd sina   bilar framför   vårat*
         who has put   3POSS.REFL-PL cars in-front-of our
         hus?   Swedish
         house
         'Who has put his/her/*their cars in front of our house?'

    b. *Vilka   har ställd sina   bilar framför   vårat 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).

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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   tågå.*
     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

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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   wįð*
          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.

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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 månað? 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   å̜   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*   *sjå̜ dier aut?*
WHICH-PL.NOM look they out
'What do they look like?'

The Swedish *wh*-item *hurdan* (cf. Section 2.2) can also be used in this kind of con-
struction, and it will also agree with the subject of the clause in number and gen-
der (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 geo-
graphic 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*   *gåmål 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 intro-
ducing 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 particu-
lar 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').

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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*

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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*, *hvílíkur*, 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   fättäs!*
      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 Vangsnes 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 morphosyntactic 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 spyrr 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 Vangsnes (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 Vangsnes 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 Vangsnes (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 værdens   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]

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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 *hvat fyri* construction (Vangsnes 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 Vangsnes (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 Vangsnes, 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 Vangsnes 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	*how*	*how*				
Övdalian	**ur**	**ur**	**ur**			
Swedish	*hur*	*hur*	*hur*			
Swedish			*hurdan*	*hurdan*		
Övdalian			**ukin**	**ukin**	**ukin**	**ukin**
Faroese				*hvør*	*hvør*	*hvør*
East Norw.					*vem*	*vem*
Dan./Swe./ Norw.					*(h)vilken*	
Övdalian				**wen (…) för**	**wen (…) för**	
Tromsø Norw.		*korsn*	*korsn*	*korsn*	*korsn*	
East Norw.		*åssen*	*åssen*	*åssen*		
Danish		*hvordan*	*hvordan*			

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 <u>otherwise</u> 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 PROP-
ERTY 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 stron-
ger 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*
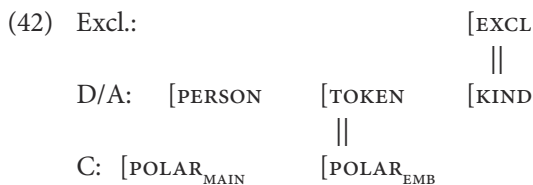   c.   [KIND   →   *ukin/wen för*

As stated already in the introduction, PERSON is in fact the only function in con-
temporary 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 func-
tion of *ukin* today is the PROPERTY use: the prediction will be that this is the func-
tion 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 exclama-
tive 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.

(42)   Excl.:   [EXCL
                                                                    ||
         D/A: [PERSON   [TOKEN   [KIND
                                          ||
         C: [POLAR$_{MAIN}$ [POLAR$_{EMB}$

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.   *Kva   for (ein) bil har   du?*   (Nynorsk) Norwegian
               what for a   car have you
               'What car do you have?'

         b.   *(*Kva) For ein bil du   har!*
                 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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