Word Order in Övdalian : A Study in Variation and Change.

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Piotr Garbacz

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Isų-jär buotję will ig dedikir að ollum övkallum
This book is dedicated to the people of Älvdalen

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Acknowledgements

Writing this dissertation has taken a long time, longer than I would have imagined. At last, I seem to have reached the end. This is largely thanks to the many people that have supported me through out this process, and whose support I deeply appreciate.

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Lund and Oslo, spring 2010

Piotr Garbacz

1 Introduction

Övdalian is a Scandinavian variety that differs considerably both from neighbouring dialects as well as from its closest standard relatives, Swedish, Norwegian and Danish.[1] Nevertheless, Övdalian is still rather understudied and relatively unknown to the international linguistic community. One of the main aims of this dissertation therefore is to present Övdalian to a broader linguistic public outside Sweden and the Scandinavian countries, while at the same time discussing a number of interesting syntactic phenomena present in this variety.

Modern linguistic research on Övdalian began at the end of the 19th century with the works of Adolf Noreen, a professor of Scandinavian languages at Uppsala University in Sweden. Noreen was able to arouse his students' interest in Övdalian and one of his students, Lars Levander, published his doctoral dissertation in 1909 on the morphology and syntax of Övdalian. His book has become the most substantial work on the variety together with his overview of the Dalecarlian dialects published in two volumes in 1925 and 1928.[2] Levander's dissertation has since been the foremost source of information on the variety during the last century and many linguists have made use of the primary data presented there when doing their own research on Övdalian.

Diachronic change in Övdalian syntax since the time of Levander was examined in Rosenkvist (1994) at Lund University, who published his undergraduate thesis on certain topics in Övdalian syntax, making use of data that he had collected himself. His thesis showed that there had been substantial change in the syntax of Övdalian since Levander's study and it initiated new research on Övdalian syntax. The present dissertation is an outcome of this recent interest in variation and change in the syntax of Övdalian.

Övdalian is a seriously threatened variety today. An investigation by the association for the preservation of Övdalian, *Ulum Dalska*, (Larsson et al. 2008) performed in 2007 concluded that there were only 45 speakers of Övdalian younger than 15 years at that time. The entire population of Övdalian speakers is estimated to be around 2400 people, 1700 of whom live in Älvdalen and

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[1] In this dissertation, I will use the label *Övdalian* when referring to the variety that is known as *älvdalska* in Swedish (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of this matter).
[2] Levander (1909b), (1925), (1928).

the remainder elsewhere. Several measures have been taken to preserve and revitalize Övdalian and the future will show whether such efforts have made any difference. From this point of view, it can be maintained that there is not a great deal of time to conduct research on Övdalian, as it can become extinct before the end of this century.[3] This threat is serious, since all Övdalian speakers are (at least) bilingual and Swedish is their second, or sometimes, especially in the case of younger generations, their first language. The vast majority of speakers live in Sweden and both use and are exposed to Swedish in their every-day life.

1.1 Aims of the present dissertation

The aim of this dissertation is two-fold: First, I present new data illustrating the syntax of Övdalian as spoken today by the generation of speakers born between 1920's and 1940's; second, I discuss in particular two syntactic phenomena in Övdalian, V^0-to-I^0 movement and Stylistic Fronting, in comparison with data from other Scandinavian languages and in the light of current syntactic theory.

In syntactic research on the Scandinavian languages in the last two decades, data taken from Levander (1909b) have been discussed in comparative contexts (Vikner 1995a,b; Holmberg & Platzack 1995, Dahl & Koptjevjskaja-Tamm 2006 and others). These data are however not always representative of the current state of Övdalian, as the variety has changed substantially since the time of Levander's study. A need to obtain a new empirical basis for Övdalian has sometimes been expressed (for example, Thráinsson 2007: 58) and one goal of this dissertation is to shed new light on Övdalian as it is spoken today. The data are not only presented in the dissertation itself, but more is available in form of raw data in the appendix.

The syntax of Övdalian is obviously of theoretical interest as the variety is a syntactically quite unexplored variety of Scandinavian and also exhibits syntactic properties distinct from the other Scandinavian varieties. By examining the Övdalian data presented here within the framework of current syntactic theory, I aim to contribute to the discussion of so-called morphology-driven syntax in the Scandinavian languages. The notion of morphology's impact and role in Scandinavian syntax has its origin in a number of influential works such as Platzack (1987b), Falk (1993), Holmberg & Platzack (1995),

[3] On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that Levander himself predicted in 1909 that Övdalian would not exist in a couple of decades. This prophecy has however not come true.

Vikner (1995a), and Rohrbacher (1999). This dissertation is intended as a contribution to this discussion. Also, the discussion as to what factors trigger syntactic change is a part of this dissertation and I maintain that the processes of syntactic change are complex and probably triggered by a number of factors.

Finally, my goal is that this book can be a starting point for deeper research on both Övdalian and the neighbouring dialects of Ovansiljan in Northern Dalecarlia, since the varieties spoken in the north-western part of the Swedish province of Dalecarlia are rather unexplored, at least from a syntactic perspective. At the same time, it is possible that they may display a number of unusual (for Scandinavian) syntactic properties, as does Övdalian, that are both interesting and important for syntactic research in general.

1.2 The linguistic data

The empirical base of the present dissertation is a collection of elicited grammaticality judgements on a number of Övdalian sentence types gathered from twelve native speakers of north-western Övdalian who were born between 1927 and 1941. The elicitation method was chosen in order to collect new data as there are no larger Övdalian text corpora currently available. Further, this collection method was used because of the need for negative evidence: this dissertation is centrally concerned with syntactic constructions such as V^0-to-I^0 movement and Stylistic Fronting that are relatively infrequent in both spoken and written sources and are thus best investigated by means of grammaticality judgements.

Although the data are obtained from a small number of speakers, I would argue that they can be considered to reflect the language that is used by the older generation in Älvdalen. A closer description of the material, the method, and information about the consultants is contained in Chapter 3.

1.3 The theoretical framework of this dissertation

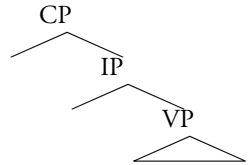
This dissertation takes a generative approach to the syntactic phenomena examined here and the approach is comparative in nature. The new data on Traditional Övdalian are analysed within a general Principals and Parameters approach. I especially focus on the idea that a parameter may trigger a number of syntactic constructions, as laid out in Holmberg & Platzack (1995).

Generative grammar has its origins in the works of Noam Chomsky, starting with Chomsky (1957). The generative approach to the study of human language has grown substantially in the last few decades and the theory has

developed into an approach to syntax today, known as the Minimalist Program (see, among many others, Chomsky (1995), Platzack (1998, forthcoming). It is not my goal here to contribute to the development of the generative theory; rather I have used this theoretical framework as a practical tool making it possible for me to describe and analyze the Övdalian data in a coherent way, including a comparison with data from other stages of Övdalian and from other (mainly Scandinavian) varieties. Below, I briefly describe the theoretical assumptions that are relevant for the discussion in this dissertation.

Phrases are built around functional or lexical heads. To simplify, we can assume that a clause consists of three functional categories: the verb phrase, VP (where the verb and its arguments are base-generated), the inflection phrase, IP (where the grammatical relations are encoded) and the upper part of the clause, the CP (which has the function of anchoring the sentence in context). The C-domain mediates information between the sentence and its discourse, linguistic and non-linguistic. At this level, the information given in the sentence is put in relation to the speaker's view, and the speaker's here and now. This is illustrated in (1).

(1) The basic structure of the clause:



In some studies, CP, IP and VP are argued to consist of several functional categories, as in work by Pollock (1989), Rizzi (1997), Cinque (1999), Ramchand (2008) and others. This is discussed further in Chapter 5.

The notion of *syntactic movement* is important for this dissertation given that the central syntactic phenomena that are discussed are the result of movement. Such movement can be understood as a mechanism that displaces syntactic elements from one position to another. The moved element is copied into a new position, at the same time as the original copy of it is deleted in the phonological component. Movement is always assumed to have a trigger: for example, it has been a common assumption that movement of the finite verb to I^0 is triggered by the presence of rich verbal agreement as discussed in Kratzer (1984), Roberts (1985), and Kosmeijer (1986).

Generative research on Germanic languages has focused on the development of word order both synchronically and diachronically, as well as the pos-

sible motivation for different word order patterns (for example, Holmberg & Platzack (1995), Vikner (1995a), Rohrbacher (1999)). In the approach of Falk (1993), Holmberg & Platzack (1995) and Rohrbacher (1999), verbal morphology is claimed to have a direct impact on embedded word order. When verbal agreement is present in both person and number, or, to use Rohrbacher's notion, when verbal agreement is *rich*, that is, when 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), the finite verb moves to the middle field (I^0) and therefore will appear to the left of the negation and other sentential adverbials that are assumed to be adjoined to VP as shown in (2).[4] Agreement and verb movement to I^0 are discussed broadly in Chapter 6.

(2) …*æn* min guþ *brytar* ***eigh*** *niþar* *þin* *guþ*. (OLD SWEDISH)
IF MY GOD BREAKETH NOT DOWN YOUR GOD
'…if my God does not destroy your god.'
(from Falk 1993: 165)

This process is commonly termed V^0-to-I^0-movement.

Holmberg & Platzack (1995) argue also that rich subject-verb agreement also triggers the possibility for some clausal elements that may move together with the finite verb in cases when the subject of the sentence is omitted, giving rise to the word order in which a constituent (a participle, an adverbial etc.) appears between the complementizer and the finite verb, cf. (3).

(3) …*suenen* *som* ***hanom*** *bar* *bupskapit* (OLD SWEDISH)
BOY.DEF THAT HIM.DAT CARRIED MESSAGE.DEF
'… the boy that has brought him the message.'
(from Falk 1993: 165)

This latter process is known as Stylistic Fronting discussed first by Maling (1980). In the present dissertation, I focus on these two phenomena and their relation to verbal agreement in Övdalian and beyond.

While examining a syntactically underinvestigated language variety, Traditional Övdalian in this study, I especially investigate the link between morphology and syntax and a major goal is to determine whether the structure of Övdalian can shed new light on this proposed link.

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[4] Bobaljik (2002: 134) gives the following definition of rich agreement: "Verbal inflection is RICH iff finite verbs may bear multiple distinct inflectional morphemes."

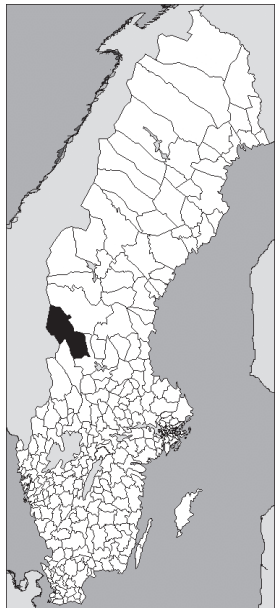
1.4 The structure of the dissertation

In Chapter 2, I give a basic introduction to Övdalian and its structure focusing on the phonology and morphology. I discuss previous works on Övdalian up to now and briefly discuss the history of Övdalian, its status and whether it should be considered a separate language or a Swedish dialect. Chapter 3 contains a description of the process of data collection and the validity and the reliability of the elicitation of grammaticality judgements is discussed there. In chapter 4, an overview of the syntactic properties of Övdalian is given and these properties are divided into four classes with respect to their correspondence with the other Scandinavian languages. The syntactic data are analysed in Chapter 5, and a proposal for Övdalian clause structure is presented there. Chapter 6 is devoted to the presence of V^0-to-I^0 movement in Övdalian and the causes of its ongoing loss as discussed in Rosenkvist (1994), Garbacz (2006) and Angantýsson (2008). The syntactic phenomenon of Stylistic Fronting, that appears to have disappeared from Övdalian during the 20th century (Rosenkvist 1994) is discussed in Chapter 7 and a proposal as to why the construction has been lost in Övdalian is given. Finally, Chapter 8 presents the conclusions to this dissertation.

2 Övdalian

Övdalian is a Scandinavian variety spoken in the parish of Älvdalen in the province of Dalecarlia in western Sweden, see Map 2.1. The map shows the whole municipality of Älvdalen, whereas Övdalian is only spoken in the south-eastern part of it (see Map 2.2 and Map 2.3).

Map 2.1: The municipality of Älvdalen in Sweden



In his seminal work on the variety, Levander (1909b: 5) enumerates the following twenty-one villages where Övdalian was spoken at the time: Åsen (1), Brunnsberg (2), Karlsarvet (3), Loka (4), Månsta (5), Klitten (6), Liden (7), Kittan (8), Holen (9), Näset (10), Rot (11), Östmyckeläng / Kyrkbyn (12), Kåtilla (13), Mjågen (14), Västmyckeläng (15), Väsa (16), Gåsvarv (17), Dysberg (18), Evertsberg (19), Blyberg (20), Garberg (21).[5] To the best of my knowledge, these are also the villages where we find speakers of Övdalian today. Övdalian is also spoken in the so-called Finnmarken (22) in the north-western part of the parish (see Map 2.2), albeit with a character slightly different from the Övdalian spoken in the old parish of Älvdalen. According to Noreen (1881: 7), Övdalian was moreover spoken in the parish of Våmhus (23) and in the village of Bonäs (24), both located southeast of the Älvdalen community border (see Map 2.2).

[5] The number after the village name refers to the number on Map 2.3

Map 2.2: The province of Dalarna and the territory where Övdalian is spoken[6]

Övdalian is nowadays spoken in the villages concentrated around the village of Älvdalen (Övd. Tjyörtjbynn), see Map 2.3 on page 25, as well as in Finnmarken area (22).

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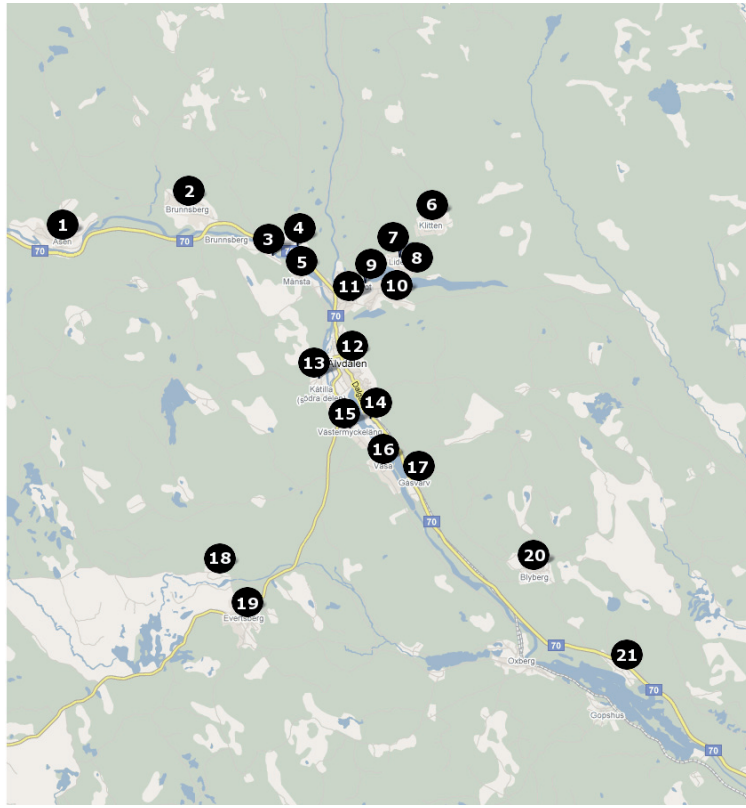
[6] http://www.kart-bosse.se/idrefjall/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=824&Itemid=2

Map 2.3: Villages in which Övdalian is spoken[7]



The numbers on Map 2.3 refer to the villages in which Övdalian is spoken (cf. page 23 above).

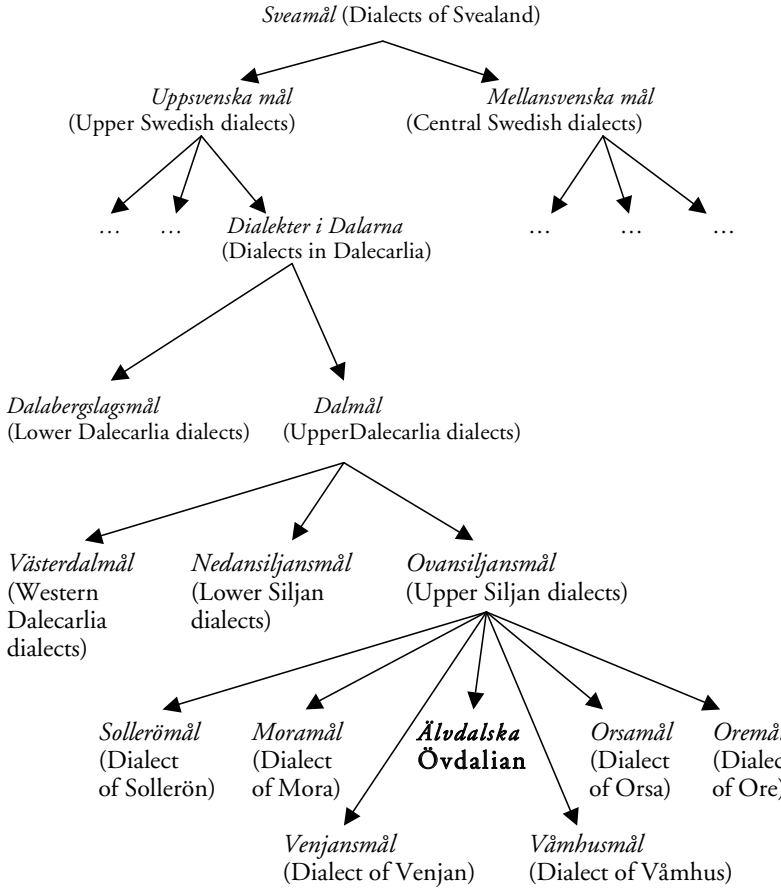
[7] http://maps.google.com/

The standard Swedish term for the variety described here is *älvdalska* or *älvdalsmål* (*övdalską* or *övkallmåleð* in Övdalian) and this term has two English counterparts.[8] The first one is *Elfdalian*, used for example by Sapir (2005a,b) and occurring quite frequently on the Internet, whereas the second term is *Övdalian* (sometimes also spelled as *Oevdalian*). In this dissertation, I use the term *Övdalian* for two reasons: Firstly, this term is derived from the endonyme *övdalską*, not from the exonyme *älvdalska* (as the term *Elfdalian* is). Secondly, it does not have any associations to the world created by J.R.R. Tolkien as is apparently the case with the term *Elfdalian*. The term *Övdalian* has moreover been used in the linguistic literature much more frequently than its counterpart, *Elfdalian*, and can therefore be seen as a more or less established term in linguistics.

Övdalian has been spoken continuously in Älvdalen since at least the 17th century, given the fact that the first longer Övdalian text was written 1622 (Prytz 1622). The text has its roots in the Dalecarlian dialects (cf. section 2.1 below on the history of Övdalian). Traditionally, Övdalian has been seen as a Swedish dialect, one of the large group of the *Sveamål*-dialects. The division of *Sveamål*-dialects is shown in Figure 2.1 (after Levander 1925: 19–37).

[8] Another domestic term for Övdalian is *dalska*. However, the term covers not only Övdalian but also the other varieties spoken in upper Dalecarlia. Övdalian has also a verb *dalska* meaning 'to speak Övdalian' in opposition to the verb *swenska* 'to speak Swedish.'

Figure 2.1: The traditional division of Sveamål-dialects



The dialects spoken in Dalecarlia are known for their special status among the Swedish dialects in general. Wessén (1935: 30) states that both western and upper Dalecarlia dialects hold a unique position among the whole group of

Sveamål-dialects.[9] This is so because Övdalian is mutually incomprehensible to its closest standard relatives, Swedish, Norwegian and Danish. Also, speakers of some other dialects of Dalecarlia have serious difficulties when they try to communicate with speakers of Övdalian using their local dialects. This situation is due to the fact that there are differences between Övdalian and both 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. However, Övdalian is closer to Swedish than spoken English is (ibid.). Speakers of Övdalian are usually bilingual in both Övdalian and Standard Swedish. As late as the second half of the 19th century though, one could still encounter people living in Älvdalen, mostly older women, who could understand Swedish only with some difficulty, and who could hardly produce a single sentence in any language other than Övdalian (Levander 1925: 29).

The number of people speaking Övdalian today was recently calculated in a study done in 2007 and presented in Larsson et al. (2008). According to this count, there are 2400 people speaking Övdalian of whom 1700 live in Älvdalen and the remaining 700 reside outside Älvdalen (both in Sweden and abroad). The investigation has shown that the villages of Åsen, Kyrkbyn, Östäng, Klitten, Brunnsberg and Evertsberg have the highest number of Övdalian speakers among the villages in Älvdalen.[10] On the other hand, the largest percentage of Övdalian speakers is found in Brunnsberg (63%) followed by Dysberg (61%), Åsen (58%), Klitten (57%), Blyberg (55%), Karlsarvet (52%) and Gåsvarv (51%) (Larsson et al. 2008). Furthermore, Larsson et al. (2008) state that in the age group of people younger than 15 years there are only 45 Övdalian-speaking individuals. Comparing their results with an estimate from 1991, Larsson et al. (2008) observe a decrease of around 600 speakers.

One goal of the present chapter is to give some background information about Övdalian. First, the history of the variety is presented in section 2.1. In section 2.2, the development of Övdalian in the 19th and the 20th century is outlined briefly. I also present an attempt to divide Övdalian into three periods on the basis of the social and cultural development of the Övdalian community presented in Helgander (1996). An overview of the grammatical structure of Övdalian is given in section 2.3: phonetics, phonology, morphology,

[9] This is a common view among Swedish dialectologists (Hallberg 2005: 1697).
[10] Kyrkbyn: 186, Åsen 182, Östäng 147, Evertsberg 146, Brunnsberg 145 and Klitten 105.

syntax and lexicon. Section 2.4, contains a discussion of the situation of Övdalian today, and summarizes attempts to preserve it and standardize it as well as the question whether Övdalian should be regarded as a Swedish dialect or as a separate language. Finally, in section 2.5 a short Övdalian bibliography is presented.

It is important to mention that all the Övdalian examples given in this book, with the exception of the examples taken from Larsson (1985), are written according to the orthography of *Råðdjärum* (The Övdalian Language Council). Sapir (2005b: 6) discussed the creation of the orthographical norm. As the orthography is a compromise between different variants of Övdalian spoken in different villages, it does not always render the variant spoken in every village.[11]

2.1 The history of Övdalian

It is traditionally assumed (Wessén 1992: 31 ff.) that the more or less uniform Proto-Nordic language (spoken in Scandinavia between ca. 200 A.D and ca. 800 A.D.) differentiated into two dialect groups during the 8th and the 9th century A.D.: the eastern and the western branch of Scandinavian. One of the East Scandinavian dialect groups split from the other dialects in the Middle Ages and became the Dalecarlian dialect group, probably not earlier than in the 9th century (Levander 1925: 39).

The territory where the characteristics of Dalecarlian dialects were present in the Middle Ages was probably bigger than it is today (Levander 1925: 5–9). The territory of the Dalecarlia dialects diminished later, mostly because of the mining industry in Kopparberg (the district of Bergslagen). This industry was a reason for a substantial migration to Dalecarlia from other parts of Sweden as well as from abroad. In this way, the immigrants influenced the domestic culture and language and perhaps caused its marginalization. The dialects of Bergslagen, that Levander assumes to have been influenced early by German for example, spread to the province of Dalecarlia, whereby the genuine Dalecarlian dialects became limited to the north-western parts of the province (Levander 1925: 7 ff.). This development can however mostly be observed only indirectly. We do not have a single medieval text in Övdalian. The oldest known text from Älvdalen is a runic inscription found on a wooden bowl dat-

[11] In cases when the paradigms for the local variant of Traditional Övdalian are given (e.g. Table 2.7b), some minor changes are made to the standard orthography in order to render the local pronunciation in a more adequate way (e.g. by using the form *onum* instead of *ånum*).

ing from 1596 (Björklund 1974). As Björklund (1974: 44) points out, the inscription is written in Older Modern Swedish, but with two Övdalian forms. Another well-known early runic inscription, dated to the beginning of the 17th century, is the so-called *Härjedalsstolen* (cf. Gustavson & 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 given in Prytz (1622). According to Noreen (1883: 74), the passage provides an adequate picture of the 17th century spoken Övdalian. From the same century, we have but a few more texts in Övdalian, all rather short (Björklund 1956: 30-49). Worth mentioning is the Övdalian sample given in Eenbergh (1693) that consists of a translation of the Christmas gospel. Other brief texts in Övdalian date from the 18th century, among them a dialogue and a short language sample printed in Näsman (1733), and a text given in Arborelius (1813), the previous one reprinted in Lundell (1936: 117–118). Finally, there are a number of glossaries of Övdalian from the time between the end of the 17th century and 1768 (Björklund 1956: 45–49).

The collection of Övdalian text samples from the 20th century is much larger. Most of the texts are stored in the library of The Department of Dialectology in Uppsala, which is part of The Institute of Language and Folklore (Swe. *Institutet för språk och folkminnen*). According to Anna Westerberg (p.c.), the Institute possesses 194 recordings from Älvdalen. 14 of them are folk music recordings, two are discarded and one is not dated. Out of the remaining 177, two recordings are made before the year 1935, 49 date from the years 1935 – 1950, whilst the majority, 126, are made after the year 1951. Out of all these recordings only four are transcribed. The majority of these recordings are monologues or conversations performed by native speakers. Many other recordings are also stored in Rots Skans in Älvdalen, an assembly hall for the *Elfdalens Hembygdsförening* (Älvdalen home district association), located in central Älvdalen. To the best of my knowledge, most of these recordings are neither registered nor transcribed.[12]

Given the background sketched above, our knowledge of the development of Övdalian (and consequently of Övdalian syntax) before the 20th century is quite limited. Björklund (1956: 55–148) has outlined a few tendencies in the development of the variety between the beginning of the 17th century and the end of the 19th century. Regarding syntax, he mentions the loss of the conjunction *dätt* (but) (in the 18th century) and the loss of the complementizer

[12] Some of them may have been published in *Skansvakten* by Evert Åhs, an example being a transcription of a record of Anders Tiger from the village of Liden telling a story about bread baking published in *Skansvakten* 53 in the year 1968. A digitalization of the recordings was started in 2010 (Lars Steensland p.c.).

ädh (that) (in the 17th century). In Prytz (1622), one can find one instance of an oblique subject, *megh ticker* (me thinks) not found in younger texts.

Another interesting historical question that has been addressed by Levander (1925: 44–45) is the question as to whether the Dalecarlia dialects (including Övdalian) belong to the eastern or to the western Scandinavian branch. Based on a list of typical East and West Scandinavian features found in the Dalecarlian dialects, Levander (ibid.) draws the conclusion that these are an East Scandinavian variety. For a proposal that Övdalian represents a transitional stage between the East and the West Scandinavian branch, see Nyström (2007).

2.2 Övdalian in the 19th and the 20th century

Since the end of the 19th century Övdalian has gone through a turbulent development with the effect that the seemingly stable Classical Övdalian (as described by Levander in 1909b) has become a highly differentiated and, to some extent, dissolved variety.[13] This change has been studied by Helgander (1996), who shows that during the time when Sweden developed from a rural to an industrial and post-industrial society (that is, since the middle of the 19th century), the variety of Älvdalen has changed significantly. According to Helgander, the trigger for the change in the language was changes of social networks in Älvdalen, from stable (as they were in the old, rural society) to less stable (as they are currently). He distinguishes three stages in the development of Övdalian society during the relevant period of time (Helgander 1996: 28 ff.). These are described below and constitute the basis for my own linguistic periodization of Övdalian.

2.2.1 Sociocultural background

The three stages distinguished by Helgander (1996) are: (1) the old rural society (until the latter part of the 19th century, Swe. *det gamla bondesamhället*), (2) the period of transition (between the latter part of the 19th century until around 1950, Swe. *brytningsperioden*) and (3) the revolution (since 1950, Swe. *revolutionen*).

In the first period of the old rural society, stability prevailed and a strong local social network was present. It can be traced by looking at marriage pat-

[13] However, the geographical variation was already present in Classical Övdalian, cf. Levander (1909b: 4–6), Levander (1909a).

terns towards the end of the 19th century, as such patterns reflect the structure of the society. It is apparent that there was a high percentage of marriage contracts within the local community, indicating that the social network was highly concentrated in the local area. Analysing the marriage patterns in the congregation of Älvdalen in year 1870, Helgander shows that all the marriages in this congregation were contracted within the parish, and most often within the same village (Helgander 1996: 37). The social network in Älvdalen was consequently tight and multiplex, a fact that contributed a great deal to the preservation of the language. This does not mean that mobility was low in Älvdalen – on the contrary: it was common to 'emigrate' temporarily from Älvdalen for financial reasons. Helgander (1996: 43–49) points out, following Levander (1909a, 1925, 1944, 1950), that this mobility was not a factor that contributed to any language change during this first period. The Övdalian identity was strong at this time and there was no need for Övdalians to identify themselves with Swedes or integrate with Swedish society in general (Helgander 1996: 45). The fact that Övdalian has been seen – in Älvdalen – as a separate language must also have played an important role. Another factor that contributed to the unity of Övdalian was the fact that the big villages there were divided by the partition reforms later than in the rest of Sweden.[14] The villages were stable communities with strong connections between the individuals, connections which apparently remained strong despite the high degree of mobility (Helgander 1996: 38).[15]

In the second period, the period of transition, people from outside of Älvdalen started to settle in the region of Dalecarlia as a consequence of expanding forestry. This social change can also be seen in the pattern of marriages, which now were more often contracted with strangers. The network within the community thereby became less tight and consequently a need for bilingualism arose (Helgander 1996: 50–56). Most of the immigrants came from Värmland, a Swedish province situated southwest of Dalecarlia. The Övdalian locals started to accommodate linguistically, speaking Swedish when they interacted with people who did not speak the local variety. Helgander also suggests that a need for identification with Swedish society had grown among Övdalians at this time (1996: 56–57). Not surprisingly, there is evidence that the local varieties were affected by Swedish, mostly in the vocabulary but also in other linguistic domains (Helgander 1996: 59). In fact, Levander (1909a) mentions families where Övdalian-speaking parents spoke Swedish with their

[14] That is, during the period 1870-1887 (Steensland 2006a: 69).
[15] This was however not the case in every part of Dalecarlia. See e.g. Helgander's (1996: 45–48) description of the situation in the parish of Venjan, where the inhabitants adapted linguistically to the language varieties spoken in Western Dalecarlia already during the 19th century.

children in order to "give them better chances in life". It is apparent that an identity change had arisen in those families and that identification with the local society was no longer the only one. The variation in the linguistic system of Övdalian during the transition period was hence caused by the already mentioned mobility within Dalecarlia and by the fact that people emigrating to Älvdalen did not learn the local variety.

The third period is exemplified by extensive changes in the social and linguistic pattern of Älvdalen. As Sweden became a modern, highly developed country after World War II, the situation changed also in Northern Dalecarlia. The old provision structure was practically eradicated in the 1960's, a fact that forced many Övdalians to find work outside Älvdalen (Helgander 1996: 91). Due to increased mobility, immigrants from other parts of Sweden came to the region, at the same time as many Övdalians that had left Älvdalen returned, often together with their non-Övdalian family members. As a result, the old social network became more or less dissolved and the individuals started to search for an identity other than the local one. This (partial) change of identity was consequently manifested in a great language shift between the younger and the older generation and it threatened the local varieties (including Övdalian) seriously (Helgander 1996: 111–112).

Below, I propose a periodization of Övdalian, which is in line with the social and cultural changes described by Helgander (1996).

2.2.2 Classical, Traditional and Modern Övdalian

In his article on the uniformity of a dialect, Levander (1909a: 42) states that the Övdalian that was spoken in the village of Åsen in the beginning of the 20th century was a rather stable variety with regard to phonology, morphology and syntax. The vocabulary, however, showed some signs of instability, according to him. Nevertheless, Levander (1909a: 50) gives examples of morphological changes taking place in the language spoken by the youngest generation. One of these changes is the change of the oblique singular form of long syllable weak feminine nouns (e.g. *kulla* 'girl') from *kullå* to *kulla*, the latter form being the same as the nominative form.[16] Another change affects short syllable weak feminine nouns (e.g. *flugå* 'fly'), in which the originally oblique form *flugu* became used as the nominative form instead of the older form *flugå* (Levander 1909a: 51). A few more cases are mentioned in Levander

[16] The development of the inflection of long syllable weak feminine nouns in the singular in the village of Loka is the subject of an unpublished paper by Åkerberg (1957). He shows how the declension of this class of feminine nouns has simplified in Övdalian in three generations.

(1909a: 51–51). Thus, Övdalian as described by Levander (1909b) is still stable at this point, although minor variation is present. This period is referred to as Classical Övdalian in a handbook by Nyström & Sapir (2005a: 2) (Swe. *klassisk älvdalska*):

> "The Classical Övdalian that is rendered and described here is a variant of Övdalian that has kept the phonetic, phonological, grammatical and syntactic structure from the older period and that was dominant among Övdalian-speakers during the first part of the 20th century, and that is still familiar to the old people in Älvdalen" [my translation, P.G.].[17]

There is an interesting formulation in the characterization given above: Nyström & Sapir write that Classical Övdalian is "familiar" to the older people, thus not necessarily spoken by them. As we proceed, I will show that Classical Övdalian, as described in the above mentioned works, differs in certain respects from the Övdalian spoken by the oldest generation today. The latter I will henceforth refer to as Traditional Övdalian, the variety of Övdalian acquired by speakers born during the second stage in Helgander's periodization. I assume that the speakers of Classical Övdalian were born not later than in the beginning of the 20th century. This is supported by the fact that all consultants of Levander representing the rather stable language were born in the first and second half of the 19th century.

As mentioned, after the stable period of Classical Övdalian a period of change came, which is referred to as "the period of transition" (Helgander 1996). I assume, along with Helgander, that speakers representing this period are born in the first decades of the 20th century. As Helgander (1996: 90) shows, a number of changes began to take place during this period, arguably as a result of bilingualism. These changes appear more significant as they affected morphology to a larger extent than before. Åkerberg (1957) examined the inflection of long syllable weak feminine nouns (e.g. *kulla*, cf. above) of four Övdalian-speakers representing three generations of Övdalians. Whereas the oldest of Åkerberg's consultants, Lars Cristoffer Beronius born 1867 has five different forms *kulla* (INDEF.NOM.SG), *kullu* (INDEF.OBL.SG), *kulla* (DEF.NOM.SG), *kullun* (DEF.DAT.SG), *kullu* (DEF.ACC.SG); the two consultants, Knut Beronius and Otto Andersson, both born 1898, have replaced the form *kullu* (INDEF.OBL.SG) with *kulla* (INDEF.NOM.SG) and sometimes even

[17] "Den klassiska älvdalskan, som återges och beskrivs här, är en älvdalska som från äldre tid har bevarat strukturen inom fonetik, fonologi, grammatik och syntax och som var dominerande bland älvdalsktalarna under den första delen av 1900-talet, och som alltjämt är bekant för äldre i Älvdalen" (Nyström & Sapir 2005a: 2).

the form *kullų* (DEF.ACC.SG) with the form *kullą* (DEF.NOM.SG). The youngest generation, represented by Lars Albin Beronius born 1934, has only two forms: the indefinite *kulla* and the definite *kullą*. Thus, at least in the nominal system, we see traces of a substantial change when the language of the generation born around the year 1900 is compared to the language of the generation born in the 1930's, i.e. during Helgander's period of transition (Helgander 1996). I will assume that this period of transition begins around the 1920's and that it ends after the World War II and as mentioned above I will refer to the variety acquired by generations born during this period as *Traditional Övdalian*.

The last period distinguished by Helgander (1996) is the period he calls "the revolution". Speakers representing this period are born around 1950 and later. Their language is characterized by extensive changes in Övdalian. Unfortunately, not much is published about this modern stage of Övdalian, but see the forthcoming volume on Övdalian syntax (Bentzen & Rosenkvist in preparation), and especially an overview article on Övdalian by Garbacz & Johannessen (submitted) as well as the handout by Angantýsson (2008) and the Övdalian Speech Corpus newly compiled at the Text Laboratory, University of Oslo.[18]

Having analysed the language of three consultants born 1914, 1937 and 1984, Helgander (2005: 6 ff.), who is mostly concerned with morphophonology, states that there is a clear border between the youngest consultant and the two older, although differences can also be found between the latter. The youngest generation's language contains the following features: replacement of the past plural forms *finggum* 'got.1.PL' and *djinggum* 'went.1.PL' with *fikkum* and *djikkum* respectively, forms that have been used for many years beside the forms *finggum* and *djinggum*, but that have become the only one among the youngest speakers (Helgander 2005: 24). Other features that one can find in the youngest variety of Övdalian are, for example, loss of the dental fricative /ð/ and replacement of the Övdalian bilabial /w/ with the labiodental /v/ (Helgander 2005: 10 ff.). I tentatively assume that the onset of Helgander's revolution period also corresponds to the onset of the linguistic period. I will refer to the variant acquired by speakers born around from 1950 and onwards as to *Modern Övdalian*.

In summary, I have distinguished three periods in the history of Övdalian from the 19th century until today. I refer to the varieties acquired during the respective stages as: (1) *Classical Övdalian* (spoken by the generations born before ca. 1920), (2) *Traditional Övdalian* (spoken by the generation born

[18] URL: http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/scandiasyn/

between ca. 1920 and the end of the 1940's) and (3) *Modern Övdalian* (spoken by the generations born ca. 1950 and later).

2.3 The structure of Övdalian

In this section, I will present an overview of Classical and Traditional Övdalian. It should be kept in mind that there is more variation in Traditional Övdalian when compared with Classical Övdalian. Although the present dissertation is mostly concerned with verbal morphology (and its impact on syntax), this section will also present data from other aspects of the language.

2.3.1 Övdalian vocabulary

Most words in the core vocabulary of Övdalian are of Nordic origin and we find related counterparts for the majority in the other varieties of Mainland Scandinavian. Although, the connection may be difficult to see at first glance, due to the fact that the phonological system of Övdalian has developed differently when compared to the other Mainland Scandinavian varieties (Steensland 2003–2008). Just like Mainland Scandinavian, Övdalian has a great number of borrowings from German, French, Latin and Greek. The principles of word formation seem to be similar to those in Swedish, although in Swedish incorporation of adjectives into nouns is used only in special semantic contexts (e.g. $_{\text{Övd.}}$ *sturuksn* = $_{\text{Swe.}}$ *den stora tjuren* 'the big bull' ≠ $_{\text{Swe.}}$ *stortjuren*).[19] More on Övdalian vocabulary can be found in Steensland (2003–2008), in Dahl (2005) and in Sapir (2005a: 31–32) (cf. also section 2.1 above).

2.3.2 Övdalian phonology

In contrast to Modern Swedish, Övdalian has preserved three syllable lengths in stressed syllables, namely (1) syllables that in their core have the structure V(C), i.e. short syllables, examples include *tågå* 'take' or *eri* 'hare', (2) syllables that in their core have the structure V:(C) or VC:, i.e. long syllables, for example, *båt* 'boat', and *itta* 'find', as well as syllables that in their core have the structure V:C:, that is, overlong syllables, for example *ro'tt* 'red.NEUTR'. The closest standard relative of Övdalian, Swedish, used to display three syllable lengths of stressed syllables in the Old Swedish period, but nowadays it only allows for long syllables. More on syllable length in Övdalian can be found in

[19] In this respect Övdalian is similar to many Northern Swedish dialects.

Levander (1925: 60–85), Steensland (2000a), Bye (2005), Kristoffersen (2005), Riad (2005) and in Sapir (2005a).

In Övdalian, as is the case in Swedish and Norwegian, word accent can be acute (accent I) or grave (accent II), but accent II can also be realized as level stress in short syllable words, as is also the case in some Norwegian dialects.[20] Primary stress is often on the first syllable of a word, whereas the second component of a compound gets secondary stress. Compounds in Övdalian often have, unlike standard central Swedish, acute accent (accent I). Övdalian displays (as Old Swedish did) vowel balance; that is, the length of root syllable modifies the quality of the ending vowel. Also vowel harmony (that typically occurs regressively) is present in the variety, e.g. Övd. *lägär* 'make/repair.SG' in which the end vowel [æ] has changed the root vowel [a] being the underlying vowel of the infinitive *lågå* into [æ]; see Steensland (2000a), Bye (2005) and Riad (2005). Another prominent feature of Övdalian is apocope that normally affects morph-final and word-final vowels under certain circumstances. See Levander (1920), Steensland (2000a: 365), Åkerberg (2004: 8–11), Sapir (2005a: 17–18) and Nyström & Sapir (2005b).

In my presentation of the sound system of Övdalian below, I have chosen to start from the orthographic level indicated with < > in the tables. By doing so I do not wish to take a stand in issues related to the phonetic analysis of Övdalian. Here, I follow the survey of the Övdalian consonant and vowel system given in Steensland (2000a: 362–365). My presentation adheres to the variant of Traditional Övdalian spoken in the village of Brunnsberg.

[20] More discussion on level stress in Övdalian is to be found in Steensland (2000a) and Kristoffersen (2005).

Table 2.1: Övdalian consonants

	STOP		FRICATIVE		AFFRICATE		NASAL		LATERAL		TRILL	SEMI-VOWEL
VOICENESS	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
BILABIAL	<b> [b]	<p> [p^{h}]					<m> [m]					<w> [w]
LABIO-DENTAL			<v> [v]	<f> [f]								
DENTAL	<d> [d]	<t> [t^{h}]	<ð> [ð]	<s> [s]			<n> [n]		<l> [l]	<sl> [l̪]		
ALVEOLAR											<r> [r]	
ALVEO-PALATAL					<dj> [dʒ']	<tj> [tç]						
PALATAL					<j> [j]				<l> [l̠]			<i> [ĭ]
VELAR	<g> [g]	<k> [k^{h}]	<g> [ɣ]				<ng> [ŋ]					
LARYNGAL				<h> [h][21]								

The fricative /ð/ and the coronal trill /r/ are regularly omitted in word-final position before a consonant in the following word (Steensland 2000a: 363) as well as in word-medial positions in compounds (Sapir 2005b). Also the fricative /ɣ/ (phonologically /g/) is omitted in *ig* 'I', *mig* 'me', *dig* 'thee', *sig* (object form of the reflexive pronoun for 3rd person singular), *nog* 'some.PL' *og* 'and' and in adjective endings *-ig* and *-ug* according to the same rules as for /ð/ and /r/ (Steensland 2000a: 363).

Table 2.2: Övdalian vowels

	FRONT		CENTRAL/BACK	
Monoftongs	**UNROUNDED**	**ROUNDED**	**UNROUNDED**	**ROUNDED**
HIGH	<i> [ɪ]	<y> [ʏ]		<u> [ʉ]
CLOSE-MID	<e> [ɛ]			<o> [ɵ]
OPEN-MID	<ä> [æ]	<ö> [œ]		<å> [ɔ]
LOW			<a> [ɑ]	
Diphthongs				
HIGH	<ie> [ɪ̆ɛ]	<yö> [ʏœ̆]		<uo> [ʉ̆ʊ̆]
MID				<åy> [ɔɪ̆]
LOW			<ai> [ɑɪ̆] <au> [ɑʉ̆]	
Triphthongs				
HIGH				<iuo> [ɪ̆ʉ̆ʊ̆]

[21] The glottal fricative /h/ is attested only in a few Swedish borrowings, out of which the interjection *häj!* (hi!) is most known.

All the Övdalian monophthongs can be short or long. This is also true for the three diphthongs, represented orthographically as <ie>, <yö> and <uo>. All monophthongs, except the two rendered as <ö> and <y>, and all diphthongs with the exception of <au> and <åy> can further be phonologically nasalized. In case of nasalization, sounds represented by <e> and <ä> always coincide, as do sounds represented by <o> and <å>. There is also one Övdalian triphthong <iuo>, which can be phonologically nasal, e.g. *triųo* 'three.ACC.MASC'. Nasalization is a phonological feature that is very rare in other Scandinavian varieties. In Övdalian, this is a result of Proto-Nordic assimilations as well as assimilations that occurred during the Middle Ages and later. For more on the phonology of Övdalian, see Steensland (2000a: 362–367) and Sapir (2005a: 14–24) and references therein.

2.3.3 Övdalian morphology

Both Classical and Traditional Övdalian morphology display a number of features absent in the standard Mainland Scandinavian languages. In particular, it is more complex. Understood as a system, the morphology of Övdalian is close to that of Swedish. There is no category in the Övdalian morphological system that has not also been present in Swedish at some point. Starting with nominal morphology, in **Classical Övdalian,** nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals (one to four) as well as some proper names are inflected for case (nominative, genitive[22], dative and accusative[23]) and number (singular and plural). Nouns can have three different genders (masculine, feminine and neuter), whereas adjectives, some pronouns and some numerals can be inflected for these three genders. Nouns and adjectives also have definite and indefinite forms, and adverbs and adjectives exhibit comparative morphology.

In **Traditional Övdalian** nominal morphology, here represented by the variant spoken in the village of Brunnsberg, case inflection of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and especially of numerals (one to four) is reduced. Generally, the old accusative forms are normally mixed up with the old nominative forms (in such a way that either the originally accusative or the originally nominative form is used for both cases), and dative inflection of nouns in indefinite form is rare. However, nouns and adjectives are still inflected for number (singular and plural), nouns have three genders (masculine, feminine and neuter) and may exhibit different forms according to definiteness, and adjectives and adverbs exhibit comparative morphology. In the tables below, Traditional Övda-

[22] Adjectives are not inflected for genitive case.
[23] Some proper names and kinship terms can also be inflected for vocative (Levander 1909b: 24, 36).

lian forms that are different from the Classical Övdalian ones have been shaded.

Table 2.3a. Classcial Övdalian: Inflection of the strong masculine noun *kall* 'man'[24]

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE
NOMINATIVE	*kall*	*kall**n***	*kall**er***	*kall**är**[25]*/kall**er***
GENITIVE	*kall**es***	*kall**emes***	-	*kall**umes***
DATIVE	*kall**e***	*kall**em***	*kall**um***	*kall**um***
ACCUSATIVE	*kall*	*kall**n***	*kall**a***	*kall**ą***

Table 2.3b. Traditional Övdalian: Inflection of the strong masculine noun *kall* (man)[26]

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE
NOMINATIVE	*kall*	*kall**n***	*kall**er***	*kall**er**[27]*
GENITIVE	-	*kall**emes***	-	*kall**umes***
DATIVE	*kall*	*kall**em***	*kall**um***	*kall**um***
ACCUSATIVE	*kall*	*kall**n***	*kall**er**[28]*	*kall**er**[29]*

Table 2.4a. Classcial Övdalian: Inflection of the strong feminine noun *buð* 'shed'[30]

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE
NOMINATIVE	*buð*	*buð**ę***	*buð**er***	*buð**är**[31]*/ *buð**er***
GENITIVE	–	–	–	–
DATIVE	*buð*	*buð**n(e)***	*buð**um***	*buð**um***
ACCUSATIVE	*buð*	*buð**ę***	*buð**er***	*buð**är**[32]*/ *buð**er***

[24] After Levander (1909b: 11).
[25] The form *kallär* 'men.DEF' was only used in the villages of Åsen, Brunnsberg, Loka, Karlsarvet, Västmyckeläng and Väsa (Levander 1909b: 11).
[26] After Lars Steensland (p.c.); the variant given in the table is used in the village of Brunnsberg.
[27] Older people living in the villages of Brunnsberg and Åsen may still have the difference between the indefinite plural ending *–er* and the definite plural ending *–är* (Lars Steensland p.c.)
[28] The old indefinite accusative form of some nouns ending on *–a* is restricted to some frozen expressions, as e.g. *flier gongga* 'many times', Lars Steensland (p.c.).
[29] The old definite accusative form of some nouns ending on *–ą* is restricted to some frozen expressions as e.g. *um ostą* 'in the autumns', Lars Steensland (p.c.).
[30] After Levander (1909b: 25).
[31] The form *buðär* was used only in the villages of Åsen, Brunnsberg, Loka, Karlsarvet, Västmyckeläng and Väsa (Levander 1909b: 25).
[32] The form *buðär* was used only in the villages of Åsen, Brunnsberg, Loka, Karlsarvet, Västmyckeläng and Väsa (Levander 1909b: 25).

Table 2.4b. Traditional Övdalian: Inflection of the strong feminine noun *buð* 'shed'[33]

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE
NOMINATIVE	*buð*	*buðę*	*buðer*	*buðer*[34]
GENITIVE	–	–	–	–
DATIVE	*buð*	*buðn*	*buðum*	*buðum*
ACCUSATIVE	*buð*	*buðę*	*buðer*	*buðer*

Table 2.5a. Classical Övdalian: Inflection of the strong neuter noun *buord* 'table'[35]

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE
NOMINATIVE	*buord*	*buordeð*	*buord*	*buordę*
GENITIVE	–	–	–	–
DATIVE	*buorde*	*buordę*	*buordum*	*buordum*
ACCUSATIVE	*buord*	*buordeð*	*buord*	*buordę*

Table 2.5b. Traditional Övdalian: Inflection of the strong neuter noun *buord* 'table'[36]

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE
NOMINATIVE	*buord*	*buordeð*	*buord*	*buordę*
GENITIVE	–	–	–	–
DATIVE	*buord*	*buordę*	*buordum*	*buordum*
ACCUSATIVE	*buord*	*buordeð*	*buord*	*buordę*

As can be seen from the tables, inflection in accusative is lost in Traditional Övdalian, being only found in a small number of expressions, as is the case of dative forms of indefinite nouns. The difference between the definite and the indefinite forms of masculine and feminine nouns in plural (e.g. *kaller* – *kallär* 'men') still exists for some speakers of Traditional Övdalian in some villages (e.g. in Brunnsberg), whereas otherwise these forms have merged into one form (normally the old indefinite one, e.g. *kaller* 'men').[37] However, the difference between the definite and the indefinite forms of masculine and feminine nouns in plural was already lost in some variants of Classical Övdalian, cf. above. Generally, the syncretism between these forms is greater in Traditional Övdalian than in Classical Övdalian and this tendency is observable in all paradigms (Svenonius in preparation).

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[33] After Lars Steensland (p.c.); the variant given in the table is used in the village of Brunnsberg.
[34] Older people living in the villages of Brunnsberg and Åsen may still have the difference between the indefinite plural ending *–er* and the definite plural ending *–är* (Lars Steensland p.c.)
[35] After Levander (1909:18).
[36] After Lars Steensland (p.c.); the variant given in the table is used in the village of Brunnsberg.
[37] Cf. also Svenonius (in preparation).

The tendency to syncretize forms is present in Traditional Övdalian also in the inflection of other parts of speech presented in the tables below.

Table 2.6a. Classical Övdalian: Indefinite inflection of the adjective *stur* 'big'[38]

	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTRAL	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
NOMINATIVE	*stur*	*stur*	*sturt*	*sturer*	*sturer*	*sturų*
GENITIVE	–	–	–	–	–	–
DATIVE	*sturum*	*stur*	*sturå*[39] /*sturu*[40] /*stura*[41]	*sturum*	*sturum*	*sturum*
ACCUSATIVE	*sturan*	*stura*	*sturt*	*stura*	*sturer*	*sturų*

Table 2.6b. Traditional Övdalian: Indefinite inflection of the adjective *stur* 'big'[42]

	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTRAL	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
NOMINATIVE	*stur*	*stur*	*sturt*	*sturer*	*sturer*	*sturer*
GENITIVE	–	–	–	–	–	–
DATIVE[43]	*stur*	*stur*	*sturt*	*sturer* /*sturum*	*sturer* /*sturum*	*sturer* /*sturum*
ACCUSATIVE	*stur*	*stur*	*sturt*	*sturer*	*sturer*	*sturer*

The indefinite inflection of adjectives in Traditional Övdalian has changed substantially – the case endings have been lost and only gender and number are expressed by means of different morphological forms. As will be shown below, inflection of personal pronouns has for the most part not changed from Classical to Traditional Övdalian.

[38] After Levander (1909b: 45). The paradigm is given for what Levander labels as "självständig ställning" (ibid.) which can be translated as "not followed by a noun."
[39] In the village of Åsen (Levander 1909b: 45).
[40] In all the other eastern villages (Levander 1909b: 45).
[41] In all the western villages (Levander 1909b: 45).
[42] After Lars Steensland (p.c.); the variant given in the table is used in the village of Brunnsberg. The paradigm is given for what Levander labels as "självständig ställning" (ibid.) which can be translated as " not followed by a noun."
[43] The form *sturum* 'big.DAT.PL'in all genders plural is still used by some older speakers.

Table 2.7a. Classical Övdalian: Inflection of personal pronouns[44]

NUMBER	SINGULAR					PLURAL		
PERSON	1ST	2ND	3RD			1ST	2ND	3RD
GENDER & CASE	MASC. FEM. NEUT.	MASC. FEM. NEUT.	MASC.	FEM.	NEUT.	MASC. FEM. NEUT.	MASC. FEM. NEUT.	MASC. FEM. NEUT.
NOMINATIVE	*ig*	*du*	*an*	*å*	*eð*	*wịr/wịð*[45]	*ịr/ið*[46]	*dier*[47]
GENITIVE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DATIVE	*mig*	*dig*	*ånum/åm*	*enner/en*	*dyö*	*uoss*	*ịr/ið*[48]	*diem/dyöm*
ACCUSATIVE	*mig*	*dig*	*an*	*åna*	*eð*	*uoss*	*ịr/ið*[49]	*diem/dyöm*

Table 2.7b. Traditional Övdalian: Inflection of personal pronouns[50]

NUMBER	SINGULAR					PLURAL		
PERSON	1ST	2ND	3RD			1ST	2ND	3RD
GENDER & CASE	MASC. FEM. NEUT.	MASC. FEM. NEUT.	MASC.	FEM.	NEUT.	MASC. FEM. NEUT.	MASC. FEM. NEUT.	MASC. FEM. NEUT.
NOMINATIVE	*ig*	*du*	*an*	*ǫ*	*eð*	*wịð*	*ið*	*dier*
GENITIVE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DATIVE	*mig*	*dig*	*onum /om*	*enner /en*	*dyö*	*uoss*	*ið*	*diem*
ACCUSATIVE	*mig*	*dig*	*an*	*ona*	*eð*	*uoss*	*ið*	*diem*

There is no difference in the declension of personal pronouns between Classical and Traditional Övdalian; however, the newest findings indicate that in Modern Övdalian the system is on its way to losing the accusative forms *an* 'he.ACC' (masculine) and *åna/ona* 'she.ACC' (feminine) as well as the neuter dative form *dyö* 'it.DAT' and replace these with *ånum/onum* and *åm/om* 'he.DAT', *enner/en* 'she.DAT' and *eð* 'it.NOM/ACC' respectively (Garbacz & Johannessen, submitted). This is the same tendency, reducing the case system to a two-case system that Svenonius (in preparation) notices in the inflection of Övdalian nouns.

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[44] After Levander (1909b: 62–63).

[45] The form *wịr* 'we' was used in the villages of Åsen and Evertsberg, whereas the form *wịð* 'we' was used in all other villages (Levander 1909b: 63).

[46] According to Levander, the form *ịr* 'you.PL' was used in the villages of Åsen and Evertsberg, whereas the form *ið* 'you.PL'was used in all other villages (Levander 1909b: 63).

[47] In the villages of Väsa and Evertsberg *diem* 'them'.

[48] According to Levander, the form *ịr* 'you.PL' was used in the villages of Åsen and Evertsberg, whereas the form *ið* 'you.PL' was used in all other villages (Levander 1909b: 63).

[49] According to Levander, the form *ịr* 'you.PL' was used in the villages of Åsen and Evertsberg, whereas the form *ið* 'you.PL' was used in all other villages (Levander 1909b: 63).

[50] After Lars Steensland (p.c.); the variant given in the table is used in the village of Brunnsberg.

Table 2.8a. Classical Övdalian: Inflection of the possessive pronoun *menn* 'mine'[51]

	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER	MASCU-LINE	FEMININE	NEUTER
NOMINATIVE	*menn*	*mąi*	*mett*	*main(er)*	*main(er)*	*mainų*
GENITIVE	–	–	–	–	–	–
DATIVE	*mainum*	*menner (main)*	*mainå*[52]/ *mainu*/ *maina*[53] *(main)*	*mainum*	*mainum*	*mainum*
ACCUSATIVE	*menn*	*maina (main)*	*mett*	*main(a)*	*main(er)*	*mainų*

As shown in the brackets in Table 2.8a, already in Classical Övdalian some endings can be apocopated (e.g. *mainer* > *main* 'mine.PL') when placed before the noun, a fact that can be seen as a simplification of the paradigm; this simplification is even greater in Traditional Övdalian, cf. Table 2.8b.[54]

Table 2.8b. Traditional Övdalian: Inflection of the possessive pronoun *menn* 'mine'[55]

	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER	MASCULINE	FEMININE	NEUTER[56]
NOMINATIVE	*menn*	*mąi*	*mett*	*main*/ *mainer*	*main*/ *mainer*	*mainų* / *mainer*
GENITIVE	–	–	–	–	–	–
DATIVE	*menn*/ *mainum*	*mąi*/ *menner*	*mett*/ *mainu*	*main*/ *mainum*	*main*/ *mainum*	*main*/ *mainum*
ACCUSATIVE	*menn*	*mąi*	*mett*	*main*/ *mainer*	*main*/ *mainer*	*mainų* / *mainer*

In contrast to Modern Swedish, both Classical and Traditional Övdalian display verbal agreement in both person and number. Starting with Classical Övdalian, verbs are inflected for number (singular and plural) and all persons

[51] After Levander (1909b: 64).
[52] In the village of Åsen (Levander 1909b: 64).
[53] In all the western villages (Levander 1909b: 64).
[54] The dative inflection forms are particularly interesting. When the possessive pronoun precedes the indefinite singular noun in a dative context, it tends to have the same form as in nominative and accusative, since the noun is then normally not inflected for dative. On the other hand, when the possessive pronoun follows the definite singular noun in a dative context, both the pronoun and the noun tend to be inflected for dative. In plural, the form *main* is used when preceding the indefinite noun, whereas the form *mainum* is used when following the definite noun. In indefinite noun phrases the dative forms are normally not used.
[55] After Lars Steensland (p.c.); the variant given in the table is used in the village of Brunnsberg.
[56] The form *mainų* 'mine.NEUTR.PL' is used attributively, whereas the form *mainer* 'mine.PL' is used predicatively.

in the plural, see tables 2.9 and 2.10. The tense system consists of present, preterite, present perfect, pluperfect, and future tense. Present perfect, pluperfect and future are all expressed by means of auxiliaries. Verbs are also inflected for two moods (indicative and imperative) and three voices (active, passive and reflexive). Simple morphological subjunctive is only preserved with two verbs, *åvå* 'have' and *vårå* 'be', which are also inflected for number and person, e.g. *edde* 'have.SUBJ.SG.PRET' and *wäre* 'be.SUBJ.SG.PRET' (Levander 1909b: 88).

Table 2.9. Classical Övdalian: The indicative inflection forms of the weak verb *spilå* 'play'[57]

TYPE OF CONJUGATION	PRESENT		PRETERITE	
PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	*spil**är***	*spil**um***	*spil**ð***	*spil**ðum***
2nd	*spil**är***	*spil**ið**/spil**ir***[58]	*spil**ð***	*spil**ðið**/spil**ðir***[59]
3rd	*spil**är***	*spil**å***	*spil**ð***	*spil**ð***

Table 2.10. Classical Övdalian: The indicative inflection forms of the strong verb *fårå* 'go'[60]

TYPE OF CONJUGATION	PRESENT		PRETERITE	
PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	*f**ar***	*f**arum***	*f**uor***	*f**uorum***
2nd	*f**ar***	*f**arið**/f**arir***[61]	*f**uor***	*f**uorið***
3rd	*f**ar***	*f**årå***	*f**uor***	*f**uoru**/f**uorå***[62]*/f**uora***[63]*/f**uorå***[64]

The verbs *spilå* 'play' and *fårå* 'go' have three imperative forms in Classical Övdalian: (1) *spil**ä!*** 'play.2.SG.IMP', *far**i!*** 'go.2.SG.IMP'; (2) *spil**um!*** 'play.1.PL.IMP', *far**um*** 'go.1.PL.IMP' and (3) *spil**ið*** 'play.2.PL.IMP', *far**ið*** 'go.2.PL.IMP' (Åkerberg 2004: 134). Passive voice and reflexive voice are seldom expressed morphologically and mostly occur with infinitivals in a few

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[57] After Nyström & Sapir (2005a: 17, 24) and Åkerberg (2004: 119 ff.).
[58] The form *spil**ir*** 'play.2.PL' was present in the villages of Åsen and Evertsberg (Levander 1909b: 86).
[59] The form *spil**ðir*** 'played.2.PL' was present in the villages of Åsen and Evertsberg (Levander 1909b: 86).
[60] After Nyström & Sapir (2005a: 17, 24) and Åkerberg (2004: 119 ff.).
[61] The form *far**ir*** 'go.2.PL' was present in the villages of Åsen and Evertsberg (Levander 1909b: 86).
[62] In the village of Åsen (Levander 1909b: 87).
[63] In all the western villages (Levander 1909b: 87).
[64] In the villages of Gåsvarv, Blyberg and Garberg (Levander 1909b: 87).

restricted expressions formed by the addition of an –s, e.g. *truska* 'thresh.ACT'> *truskas* 'thresh.PASS' (Levander 1909b: 112–113).

As can be verified from tables 2.11 and 2.12, there has been no change in the verbal morphology between Classical Övdalian and Traditional Övdalian. The traditional variant represented in the tables is spoken in the village of Brunnsberg, but this system also holds for the other Traditional Övdalian varieties that I have investigated in this dissertation.

Table 2.11. Traditional Övdalian: The indicative inflection forms of the weak verb *spilå* 'play'[65]

TYPE OF CONJUGATION	PRESENT		PRETERITE	
PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	*spil**är***	*spil**um***	*spil**ädh***	*spil**ädhum***
2nd	*spil**är***	*spil**idh***	*spil**ädh***	*spil**ädhidh***
3rd	*spil**är***	*spil**å***	*spil**ädh***	*spil**ädh***

Table 2.12. Traditional Övdalian: The indicative inflection forms of the strong verb *fårå* 'go'[66]

TYPE OF CONJUGATION	PRESENT		PRETERITE	
PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	*f**a**r*	*f**a**rum*	*f**uo**r*	*f**uo**rum*
2nd	*f**a**r*	*f**a**ridh*	*f**uo**r*	*f**uo**ridh*
3rd	*f**a**r*	*f**å**rå*	*f**uo**r*	*f**uo**ru*

Imperatives in Traditional Övdalian are constructed in the same way as in Classical Övdalian, although the imperative forms that end with *–i* are declining (Lars Steensland p.c.). Passive voice is expressed morphologically by the addition of an *–s* and there is nothing known about passive occurring more often in Traditional Övdalian than in Classical Övdalian. Reflexive voice is expressed by means of the addition of the reflexive pronoun to the verb.

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 (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. *spil**ädh*** 'played.SG/3.PL'. This syncretism is also present in the present tense of some irregular verbs, e.g. the

[65] After Lars Steensland (p.c.); the variant given in the table is used in the village of Brunnsberg.
[66] After Lars Steensland (p.c.); the variant given in the table is used in the village of Brunnsberg.

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 form ending is apocopated within a phrase and it is then orthographically identical to the singular form, e.g. *fuoru* > *fuor*. The forms differ however prosodically, as the singular form has acute accent (accent I) and the plural form keeps grave accent (accent II).

Verbal inflection in Classical and in Traditional Övdalian is reminiscent of the Old Swedish paradigm. There are however some important differences. Firstly, Old Swedish lacked apocope and as a result displayed an orthographic difference between the singular and the 3rd person plural. Secondly, the Old Swedish ending of 2nd person plural is *–in*, whereas in Övdalian this ending is *–ir*/*–ið* (dependently on local variety, cf. Levander 1909b: 86). Björklund (1956: 98–107) has shown that the ending *–ir*/*–ið* etymologically is a reanalysed pronoun (see, for example, Fuß 2005 on verbal endings as reanalyzed pronouns), whereas the older Övdalian ending, *–in* was lost in the 17th century. The reanalysis of a personal pronoun into an inflectional ending has been claimed to be the cause of the possibility of 2nd person plural null subjects in Övdalian (Rosenkvist 2008: 17).

I refer the reader to Levander (1909b) and Levander (1928: 109 ff.), as well as Steensland (2000a: 367–372), Åkerberg (2004), Sapir (2005a: 25–29), Nyström & Sapir (2005b) and Svenonius (in preparation) for detailed descriptions of Övdalian morphology.

2.3.4 Övdalian syntax

Övdalian, being a Northern Germanic variety, shares the majority of syntactic features with its Germanic and Scandinavian relatives, although it differs in some respects. The syntactic properties of Övdalian are discussed in chapter 4.

2.4 Övdalian today

The Övdalian spoken today is highly variable; the old geographical variation is substantial and there is a higher degree of variation between generations (and between individuals within generations) when compared with the situation at the start of the 20th century. The development of the Dalecarlia dialects (including Övdalian) has been the subject of studies done by Helgander (1990, 1994, 1996, 2004, 2005).[67] Sapir (2005a: 3), describing the present-day situa-

[67] Cf. section 2.2 above.

tion of Övdalian, talks about the "dissolution of Elfdalian."[68] He states the following:

> "The percentage of Elfdalians who speak Elfdalian diminishes the further down in age one goes. Their Elfdalian is likewise less fluent, more mixed up with Swedish, and the grammar and pronunciation is more simplified or influenced by Swedish" (ibid.).

It is clear that the language has become more heterogeneous, although the Övdalian spoken by the youngest generation shows tendencies to be more uniform, being subject to the same simplifications and the same influence from standard Swedish (Lars Steensland p.c.). On the other hand, there is a strong movement to revive and revitalize Övdalian. Thus, a clear polarization can be observed here. On the one hand, Övdalian is becoming more like standard Swedish and on the other hand, efforts are being made to revitalize it. The revitalization is often heavily prescriptive and there are a smaller number of Övdalians who try to learn the standardized Övdalian (which is based on the Classical Övdalian).

The norm based on Classical Övdalian has its source in the dissertation of Lars Levander (1909b), in which he describes Övdalian morphology and, to a smaller extent, syntax. Levander collected material for his dissertation during a four year long stay in Älvdalen in the beginning of the 20th century (between 1904 and 1908). The book is up to now the largest study of Övdalian and, consequently, of Övdalian syntax, even though it is mostly concerned with morphology. It is an attempt to give a solid survey of the inflectional system of Övdalian and of some other phenomena, mostly those that Levander considers different from standard Swedish. Although only less than four pages of the book are explicitly devoted to word order, it is also possible to retrieve information on the word order of Classical Övdalian in the other parts of the book by studying the examples provided. This information is invaluable for a modern reader who is interested in obtaining syntactic information on Classical Övdalian syntax. On the other hand, while working with Levander (1909b), one should remember that the language described is a language that was spoken by people born before the year 1900, and that Levander's data do not reflect the language spoken today, not even by the oldest Övdalians. Another important fact to keep in mind is that the Classical Övdalian described by Levander is for the most part the variant that was spoken in the village of Åsen. The few pages in the book where the word order of Övdalian is presented are solely based on the variety of Åsen. The reason for choosing the

[68] Sapir's term for Övdalian is *Elfdalian*. Cf. the discussion on the terms *Övdalian* vs. *Elfdalian* above.

variety of Åsen as the basis for the description of Övdalian was the fact that it was assumed to be "in almost every respect most typically developed and best preserved" [my translation, P.G.] (Levander 1909b: 4).[69] Levander's dissertation has been the foremost source of knowledge of Övdalian up to now, as no thorough studies on Övdalian morphology and syntax have been made since the year 1909. The Övdalian grammars and textbooks that were written in the beginning of the 21st century (i.e. Åkerberg 2000, Åkerberg 2004 and Nyström & Sapir 2005a,b) are heavily based on Levander and thus are more prescriptive than descriptive. The Övdalian spoken today (by the older as well as by the younger generation) is therefore not reflected in those handbooks.

In the last few years, serious attempts have been made to standardize Övdalian. In 1984 an association for 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*). *Ulum Dalska* has been "a catalyst in the reawakening process" of Övdalian (Sapir 2005b: 13) and its activities have included the organization of two conferences (in cooperation with other institutions) on Övdalian (one in 2004 and one in 2008), the publication of books in Övdalian, the publication of a newspaper *Dalskum* 'speak-Övdalian. 1.PL.IND./IMP' (i.e. *we speak Övdalian/let us speak Övdalian*) etc. Standardization of Övdalian has also involved the writing of the first Övdalian–Swedish/Swedish–Övdalian dictionary (Steensland 1986b), which twenty years later appeared in a revised version (Steensland 2006b).[70] In addition, a part of the New Testament, namely the Gospel of John (Övd. *Juannes-waundsjiļą*) has been translated into Övdalian (Steensland 1989). Both the dictionary (Steensland 1986b) as well as the translation of the Gospel of John (Steensland 1989) can be seen as attempts to standardize the orthography and also to create a norm for Övdalian. In August 2004, the Övdalian language council – *Råddjärum,* was established and today (2009) it consists of five members, of whom four are linguists (no native speakers) and one is a teacher (a native speaker of Övdalian). In 2005, *Råddjärum* proposed a new orthography for Övdalian, which has been preliminarily accepted by *Ulum Dalska*. Language courses in Övdalian have also been organized, both for speakers of Övdalian and for 'foreigners'. The course materials (Åkerberg 2000, Åkerberg 2004, Nyström & Sapir 2005a,b) are heavily based on the dissertation of Levander (1909b). As a consequence, the Övdalian taught both in Åkerberg's courses as well as in the courses lead by Nyström and Sapir has been Classical

[69] "Av de älvdalska bymålen har målet i byn Åsen, såsom varande det nästan i alla avseenden mäst typiskt utbildade och bäst bevarade, underkastats den grundligaste behandlingen." (Levander 1909b: 4).

[70] A more extensive Swedish–Övdalian and Övdalian–Swedish dictionary, containing about 17 000 words is being prepared (Steensland, in preparation).

Övdalian. This Classical Övdalian norm is also the norm used in several translations. The norm is mostly concerned with morphology, phonetics and orthography with little attention paid to syntax.

An apparent problem concerning standardization is the geographical and the chronological variation. As mentioned above, Övdalian differs between villages and between generations and the standard form is expected to take this variation into account, a task that is difficult to achieve. The new orthography has sometimes been criticized by Övdalians for its complexity and for the fact that it does not take into account geographical variation. In 2009, steps were taken by *Ulum Dalska* towards a revision of the orthographic norm.

A subject that has engaged many Övdalians and even a number of linguists is the question of whether Övdalian should be considered a dialect of Swedish or rather a separate language. Officially, Övdalian has the status of a dialect and not a minority language in Sweden, although many linguists have argued that the variety is a separate language. The question of whether Övdalian is a language or a dialect has been discussed, mostly in Steensland (1986a), (1990), Berglund (2001), Koch (2006) and Melerska (2006).[71] These authors give several arguments in favour of classifying Övdalian as a language and not a dialect. The only criterion normally used to classify a variety as a language that is not met by Övdalian is the fact that Övdalian has no official functions; all other criteria seem to be met. According to Steensland (1986a), the fact that the people of Älvdalen do not claim to have different ethnicity to the Swedish people makes it more difficult for them to convince the Swedish municipalities that Övdalian should be recognized as a minority language in Sweden. In this dissertation, I term Övdalian a language, following both the above-mentioned authors and the people of Älvdalen. However, for the purposes of this dissertation, it is secondary whether Övdalian is politically classified as a language or as a dialect. From a linguistic point of view, it is clearly a language, understood as a linguistic system. Below, I give an overview of the most important previous works on Övdalian syntax.

2.5 A bibliography of works on Övdalian

A more detailed bibliography of Övdalian can be found in Garbacz & Johannessen (submitted). For the purposes of this dissertation, works concerning morphology and syntax are most relevant. The standard works on Övdalian morphology are Levander (1909b) and Levander (1928). As mentioned above, Levander (1909b) includes information on Övdalian syntax as well, though in

[71] And, to smaller extent, even in Dahl (2005) and in Rosenkvist (2008).

the form of language examples not used to illustrate syntactic phenomena. Modern studies of Övdalian syntax begin with Rosenkvist (1994), where the author discusses recent syntactic developments in Övdalian, focusing on V^0-to-I^0-movement, Stylistic Fronting and null subjects, and Platzack (1996) investigating the correlation between null subjects and V^0-to-I^0-movement.[72] Wiklund (2002) is a short squib on the correlation between verb movement and rich morphology in Övdalian. Interaction between negation and V^0-to-I^0-movement is the subject of Garbacz (2006). Rosenkvist (2006, 2008) discusses the status of Övdalian null subjects and their emergence. Multiple subjects in Övdalian are treated in Rosenkvist (2007). Garbacz (2008a) is a short paper on the factors underlying seemingly optional V^0-to-I^0-movement in Övdalian, whereas Garbacz (2008b) briefly discusses the negation system in Övdalian from a syntactic perspective. Currently, a book with a preliminary title "Studies in Övdalian syntax", containing a collection of articles dealing with Övdalian syntax is in preparation (Bentzen & Rosenkvist, in preparation). The relevant works on Övdalian morphology and syntax are to be found in Table 2.13a and Table 2.13b below.

Table 2.13a: Works on Övdalian morphology and syntax

TYPE OF WORK	REFERENCE	LANGUAGE	CONTENT	COMMENTS
Works on Övdalian morphology	*Levander (1909b)*	*Swedish*	*An overview work on Övdalian morphology and syntax*	
	Levander (1928)	*Swedish*	*An overview work on morphology of Dalecarlian dialects*	
	Åkerberg (1957)	*Swedish*	*Development of nominal inflection of feminine nouns*	Unpublished.
	Nyström (1982)	*Swedish*	*On inflection of masculine nouns ending on /l/*	
	Nyström (2000)	*Swedish*	*On the recent findings in Övdalian morphology*	
	Ringmar (2005)	*Swedish*	*A comparison of the morphology of Classical Övdalian with the one of Icelandic and Faroese*	

[72] This correlation was first proposed for Övdalian by Rosenkvist (1994).

Table 2.13b: Works on Övdalian morphology and syntax

Type of work	*Reference*	*Language*	*Content*	*Comments*
Works on Övdalian syntax	*Levander (1909b)*	*Swedish*	*An overview work on Övdalian morphology and syntax*	
	Rosenkvist (1994)	*Swedish*	*On the recent syntactic development of Övdalian*	
	Platzack (1996)	*Swedish*	*On the correlation between null subjects and V^0-to-I^0 movement in Övdalian*	
	Wiklund (2002)	*English*	*On the correlation between verbal agreement and V^0-to-I^0 movement in Övdalian*	
	Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2006)	*English*	*On dative in Scandinavian varieties*	
	Garbacz (2006)	*English*	*On the negation system and V^0-to-I^0 movement in Övdalian*	
	Rosenkvist (2006)	*English*	*On null subjects in Övdalian*	
	Rosenkvist (2007)	*English*	*On multiple subjects in Övdalian*	
	Tungseth (2007)	*English*	*On beneficiary event participants in Scandinavian*	
	Garbacz (2008a)	*Swedish*	*On factors determining V^0-to-I^0 movement in Övdalian*	
	Garbacz (2008b)	*English*	*On the negation system in Övdalian*	
	Rosenkvist (2008)	*English*	*On multiple subjects in Övdalian*	
	Bentzen & Rosenkvist (in preparation)	*English*	*A volume on Övdalian syntax*	To appear in 2010.

2.6 Summary

In this chapter I have presented a general description of Övdalian. Övdalian is spoken in western Sweden and the number of speakers is lower than 2 500. Övdalian, as a variety separate from other varieties in the region, can be traced back at least to the beginning of the 17th century. Given the sociocultural background of Älvdalen presented in Helgander (1996), I have distinguished three periods of Övdalian, beginning from the 19th century: *Classical Övdalian* (spoken by the generations born before ca. 1920); *Traditional Övdalian* (spoken by the generations born between ca. 1920 and the end of the 1940's) and *Modern Övdalian* (spoken by the generations born after ca. 1950). Further, I have briefly presented the structure of Övdalian, describing its phonology, morphology and syntax in general terms. The current status of Övdalian and its ongoing standardization as well as the question as to whether it is a dialect or a language have also been touched upon. Finally, the morphological and syntactic studies of Övdalian that have been published up to now are briefly presented.

3 Data collection

3.1 Introduction

Data for this dissertation have been collected from twelve native-speakers of Övdalian. The consultants come from four villages in the north-western part of the parish of Älvdalen: Åsen, Brunnsberg, Loka and Klitten. These four villages constitute a more or less homogenous dialect area, at least in respect to morphology and syntax (Lars Steensland p.c.). Övdalian is rather differentiated when the whole territory where it is spoken is considered (cf. Chapter 2) and in order to limit the amount of language variation in my data, I have concentrated my research on the four villages just mentioned. It is my impression that the differences between the variant of Övdalian spoken in these four villages and between the variants spoken in the other parts of Älvdalen are not substantial, see Garbacz & Johannessen (submitted). The data have been collected by means of elicitation of grammaticality judgements. The main reason for my choice of method is that there is only one small corpus of Övdalian (Garbacz & Johannessen submitted) as well as the importance of negative evidence. The consultants have been chosen with respect to their age as the aim of this dissertation is to investigate the oldest variant of Övdalian spoken today, namely Traditional Övdalian, and the interviews were carried out by the author at the consultants' home. These have been followed up by questionnaires that were sent to the consultants by mail and returned to the author when completed. In what follows, I discuss in detail the number, age and origin of the consultants as well as the method of investigation used in this dissertation and a consideration of its reliability.

3.2 The consultants

The number of consultants who participated in the present study was twelve. The oldest consultant was born in 1927 and the youngest were born in 1941. There were seven men and five women in the group. During the study, one of the male consultants passed away and he was then replaced by another male consultant from the same village. One of the data sets is therefore obtained

from two consultants. This is also indicated in the data tables in the appendix. Basic information about the consultants is summarized in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1: The consultants

NUMBER	PLACE OF ORIGIN	YEAR OF BIRTH	SEX
1	Brunnsberg	1927	female
2	Loka	1930	female
3	Åsen	1932	female
4	Brunnsberg	1934	female
5a[73]	Brunnsberg	1934	male
5b	Brunnsberg	1933	male
6	Klitten	1935	male
7	Åsen	1937	male
8	Loka	1939	male
9	Klitten	1939	male
10	Klitten	1940	female
11	Klitten	1941	male
12	Åsen	1941	male

The number of my consultants is small and thus does not meet the demands that are sometimes placed on such a study. Schütze (1996: 187) argues for instance that the number of consultants in such a study must be sufficient "in order for the assumptions of the required statistical tests to be met and to avoid distorting the results with atypical speakers". Nevertheless, I argue that my results are valid for Övdalian despite the small number of consultants. Firstly, the character of the study is qualitative rather than quantitative and on many points the consultants were unanimous in their judgements of the Övdalian sentences presented to them (cf. the appendix). Secondly, these twelve speakers constitute a relatively high percent of the Övdalian population of the relevant age group and geographical origin: the number of Övdalian-speaking persons in Älvdalen is estimated to be 1700 (Larsson et al. 2008). Of these, there are around 350 speakers of Övdalian in the villages of Åsen, Brunnsberg, Loka and Klitten. If we assumed that all of these 350 speakers are born before 1941, the twelve consultants would constitute 3,4% of the population in question. We know that the percentage of people older than 65 years living in Älvdalen is 24%.[74] Therefore, we may assume that the same percentage is to be found among the Övdalian-speaking population. The segment of the Övdalian-speaking population that I sought to investigate in this disserta-

[73] The consultant 5a, who passed away during the process of data collection, was replaced by the consultant 5b.
[74] http://www.alvdalen.se/Kommunfakta/Kommunfakta/

tion should not exceed approximately 85 people (24% out of 350). By having consulted 12 people, I have thus covered almost 15% of the whole group. I believe thus that my results would not change significantly if I had consulted all Övdalian speakers born between 1927 and 1941 from the villages of Åsen, Brunnsberg, Loka and Klitten. I am however conscious of the fact that some atypical responses from the consultants may influence the result when a small group of speakers is investigated and I have taken this fact into consideration in the present dissertation.

The consultants I chose were born between 1927 and 1941 since I intended to investigate speakers of Traditional Övdalian, the oldest spoken variant of Övdalian today (cf. Chapter 2 on the definition of Traditional Övdalian).[75] The selected speakers were also tested to make sure they were reliable speakers by the author.

The consultants consulted for the present study originate from four villages in the north-western part of Älvdalen (from the north to the south): Åsen, Brunnsberg, Loka and Klitten.[76] The reason for limiting my investigation to these four villages is that they form a relatively homogeneous area in linguistic terms. In general, language differences between these villages are minor, although the village of Åsen has a few phonological and morphological peculiarities. The Åsen variety was also the most investigated in Levander (1909b). Including Åsen in the investigation make my results directly comparable to those of Levander. The villages are shown on Map 3.1.

[75] Yet there is no value intended by choosing the older speakers of Övdalians as the object of my investigation, inasmuch as I do not consider any stadium of Övdalian better or more interesting than the other. It has sometimes been the case in linguistics that the older variants of a language were ascribed more value than the younger (Rischel 2002: 134 and references therein).

[76] In Övdalian, this area is referred to as the north-eastern (sic!) part of the region, as these villages are located on the eastern side of the Österdalälven river.

Map 3.1: The location of the villages of *Åsen*, *Brunnsberg*, *Loka*, *Klitten* and *Kyrkbyn* ($_{\text{Swe.}}$ *Älvdalen*)[77]

In summary, the consultants consulted for the present study were twelve speakers of Traditional Övdalian, who originate from the nort-western part of Älvdalen. The investigation has been conducted under conditions ensuring that the consultants were able to provide reliable information on the topics in question. Most of the consultants had not been subject to any linguistic training.[78]

3.3 The method of data collection

Data for this dissertation have been collected by means of elicitation of grammaticality judgements. The consultants were asked whether they would consider the Övdalian sentences presented to them as grammatical or not.

With respect to such data collection, Schütze (1996: 3) contends that grammaticality judgements are not sufficient as the only method of obtaining

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[77] http://maps.google.com/

[78] Four of the consultants have taken courses in Övdalian out of interest in their own language. I see no reason to exclude these consultants. According to Bjerre et al. (2008: 160) for example, there is no need to disqualify people with linguistic training (or even linguists) as consultants: "(…) we see no reason whatsoever to disqualify oneself as an informant (among others), nor do we see any reason for linguists to confine themselves to working only on languages that they are not native speakers of" (ibid.).

data.[79] Nevertheless, he also mentions four "key reasons" for using this method: (1) the possibility of examining sentences that occur very rarely in corpora or in speech, (2) the possibility of obtaining negative information; this is, information on which patterns are not grammatical in a particular language, (3) the possibility of distinguishing between, for example, unfinished utterances and finished utterances (such a possibility is much more restricted in a corpus), (4) the possibility of minimizing the extent to which "communicative and representational functions of language skill obscuring our insight into its mental nature" (Schütze 1996: 2). For the present study, the most important reasons for choosing the elicitation method are (1) and (2) above. A revealing example is the low frequency of embedded clauses of the type that excludes V2 and that in addition contains a sentential adverbial or negation. Searching for a combination of a certain complementizer, a certain adverb, a certain verb and, say, a DP-subject yields very few tokens even in a very big corpus. The string: relative complementizer – DP-subject – the adverb *ofte* ('often') and any finite verb gives only five hits in the *bokmål* part of The Oslo Corpus of Tagged Norwegian Texts which contains about 18.5 million words.[80] On the other hand, we know that the string is grammatical for native speakers of Norwegian. This shows clearly that even examining a very large text is not necessarily enough when studying syntactic phenomena. There are no comparable large scale corpus resources for Övdalian (Garbacz & Johannessen, submitted). Moreover, the possibility of obtaining negative evidence is important: for a linguist interested in the internal grammars of speakers, it is crucial to be able to distinguish between a construction that is not attested because it is rare, hard to process, or pragmatically restricted, for example, and one that is not attested because it is ungrammatical.

In order to successfully elicit data, a number of precautions have to be taken according to Schütze (1996: 187). First of all, he argues that the number of subjects in a linguistic study must be sufficient, both for statistical reasons and for reasons of avoiding distortion of the results with atypical speakers. I have addressed this question in section 3.2.1. Then, possible dialectal variation and factors such as gender, age, education, etc. need to be controlled for. This issue has been discussed in section 3.2.2. The subjects that are consulted during the elicitation session must be able to judge reliably. Another "basic pre-

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[79] One important argument against relying on grammaticality judgements is that it may lead to a situation in which a linguist is constructing "grammars of linguistic intuitions or judgements, which need not be identical with grammars of the competence underlying production or comprehension" (Schütze 1996: 4 and references therein). For discussion and arguments in favour of elicitation of grammaticality judgements, see Bjerre et al. (2008).

[80] URL: http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/norsk/bokmaal/english.html.

caution" that Schütze (1996: 183 ff) proposes concerns the preparation and presentation of the material: for example, the order of the sentences presented, an equal number of sentences that are expected to be judged as grammatical and as ungrammatical, semantic well-formedness of the sentences, the choice of common words, presenting a context in which the examples will appear, avoidance of sentences that are difficult to process, and using closely matched sentences in cases where very small differences between sentences are to be examined (as is the case in this study). In my preparation, I have tried to follow Schütze's (1996) guidelines as much as possible. However, practical and logistic considerations dictated some departure from these guidelines at some points: in particular, some sentences were presented with only a limited context, and the order of presentation of the sentences was not randomized between consultants.

For the investigation, questionnaires were prepared with the help of other Övdalian speakers and linguists working on Övdalian, above all Lars Steensland, to make sure that the sentences were idiomatic. The sentences were presented to the consultants one at a time in written form. Typically, the consultants were asked to first read the sentence aloud and then judge it, but in some cases the author himself read the sentence in Övdalian and then obtained a judgement from the consultant. The consultants were further asked to judge the sentences according to a five-graded scale (from 1 to 5), where 1 corresponds to the judgement: 'the sentence does not reflect the prevailing language in use (one would never say this)', whereas 5 corresponds to the judgement: 'the sentence reflects completely the prevailing language in use (one would normally say this)'. In the following, I consider sentences of which the score is 4 or higher as grammatical, sentences with a score lower than 4 but higher than 3, as questionable, and sentences that have obtained a score that is lower than 3 are counted as ungrammatical. While judging the examples, the consultants were also encouraged to think aloud. Before going through the sentences, the consultants were told how the interview was going to proceed and what they were expected to do (the instruction were given in the majority of cases in line with Schütze 1996: 186–194). The language of discussion was in the majority of instances Swedish or Övdalian. I have avoided letting a consultant judge too many sentences at a time. This is especially highlighted by Schütze (1996: 193) and by Carden (1976: 8), who both point out that asking for too many judgements at a time may influence the results.[81] This is because the subject may become bored and/or fatigued and no longer be able to pay attention to the differences between the sentences. I have also tried to be atten-

[81] Especially when the judgements test similar constructions.

tive to any signs of consultants not paying attention, or being bored, etc. The interviews normally took place at the consultants' home and all the judgements were verified later by means of mail exchange. The obtained judgements were filed in digital form, together with all the sentences used. This constitutes the database for the present dissertation. The database is given in the appendix.

Formal linguistics, of which generative grammar is a part, often uses elicited or even constructed examples when gathering linguistic data from a language, whereas many functional linguistic approaches do not (Bjerre et al. 2008: 158). This elicitation method has often been criticized by the functionalists (cf. ibid. for references). Bjerre et al. (2008) argue that the functionalists' criticism of the elicitation of grammaticality judgement can successfully be argued against. Firstly, they point out that one source of our language knowledge should not be concerned as more reliable than another; for example, observed data vs. elicited data. Secondly, they maintain that the obtained data must always be checked with speakers of the language, even when they are constructed sentences (cf. the discussion in Bjerre et al. 2008: 158–160). According to Bjerre et al., the elicitation of grammaticality judgements is a reliable method that gives trustworthy data on the examined language.

Elicitation-based studies can thus be seen as reliable. The main reason to conduct such a study in the present dissertation was the lack of Övdalian corpora as well as the need of obtaining negative evidence. A number of precautions have been taken in order to reduce any potential bias that may appear during the process of data collection.

3.4 Analysis and interpretation of the results

The grammaticality judgements obtained from the consultants are given in tables in the appendix and it is indicated in which table of the appendix the relevant example can be found. All judgements of each example are converted into medians and means, and standard deviation is calculated. The median values are the point of departure for classifying an example as grammatical, ungrammatical, or questionable. As the median value indicates where most of the scores in the distribution tend to be located (Heiman 2006:67), I have chosen to depart from the median values in my investigation, rather than form the mean values. The median values of the sentences were interpreted in the same way as the single judgements, i.e. 4 or more = grammatical, more than 3 but less than 4 = questionable and less than 3 = ungrammatical (cf. also section 3.3 above).

As can be verified from the appendix, the consultants have been unanimous in their judgements in some cases (for example, rejecting examples containing

Stylistic Fronting or lack of V2 in main clauses), whereas they have given much more individual judgements in other cases (for example, judgements of clauses with various negative elements). The standard deviation has therefore been used in order to show whether, for example, a median grammaticality value of 3 for an example is a result of all consultants judging it as questionable, or whether this value is a result of some consultants accepting it as grammatical and some other rejecting it. In the relevant cases, the discussion on what the median value is a result of is to be found in footnotes.

The fact that all the judgements that constitute the empirical base of this dissertation are presented in the appendix makes it possible for the reader to verify the grammaticality judgements given by every consultant in every single case as well as to use the raw data to draw own conclusions on the grammaticality of the Övdalian constructions discussed in this dissertation.

3.5 Summary

In this chapter I have presented the methodological principles of data collection for the present study. The data have been gathered by elicitation of grammaticality judgements. The main reasons for choosing this method are the lack of any larger Övdalian speech corpus as well as the need for obtaining negative evidence. In all, twelve consultants from four north-western Övdalian villages were consulted. The language of the consultants was representative of Traditional Övdalian. The data were elicited from the consultants in the form of personal interviews and mail exchange, whereby measures were taken in order to reduce any possible bias in the data. I have also argued that the elicitation of grammaticality judgements is a reliable method of collecting linguistic data and I have briefly discussed the way in which the results were interpreted.

4 Word order in Traditional Övdalian

4.1 Introduction

Övdalian, being a Northern Germanic variety, shares the majority of its syntactic features with its Germanic and Scandinavian relatives. In this chapter, I present the central syntactic properties of Traditional Övdalian and compare them with the properties of the other Scandinavian languages. As my investigation shows, Traditional Övdalian syntax is in many respects similar to Modern Swedish syntax, but Övdalian also displays some properties that are not found in Swedish. Some of these are present in Modern Icelandic, others are alien to all the Scandinavian languages including the non-standard varieties.

On the basis of a number of syntactic and morphologic characteristics, clustering in different ways, Holmberg & Platzack (1995: 8) divide the Scandinavian languages into Mainland Scandinavian and Insular Scandinavian.

> "[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." [82]

The division of Scandinavian languages presented by Holmberg & Platzack (1995) is based on a parametric approach to syntax, as developed in the principles and parameters theory (Chomsky 1981). This approach presupposes that the innate grammar (Universal Grammar, UG) contains principles that

[82] As Holmberg and 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 be constituting a third group of Scandinavian languages (1995: 12). As will be shown in the following, it is neither uncontroversial to include Övdalian in the Insular Scandinavian; the fact that Holmberg and Platzack chose to do so most probably depends on the fragmentary set of data that they had at their disposal.

determine the frames of language. Some of these principles are parametric, that is they can have more than one value. The differences between languages are seen as an effect of different values of such parameters. The position of the direct object before or after the non-finite verb resulting in an OV or VO pattern in a certain language is argued to be a parameter. It has also been assumed that every parameter must be related to a morphological factor (Borer 1984, Chomsky 1981). Following this assumption, Holmberg & Platzack (1995: 223) maintain that the syntactic differences between Mainland and Insular Scandinavian can be related to two morphological parameters: subject-verb agreement and morphological case. Icelandic, representing the Insular Scandinavian branch, displays both morphological case and subject-verb agreement. According to Holmberg & Platzack (1995), the following properties of Insular Scandinavian can be accounted for in terms of subject-verb agreement and morphological case: (1) embedded V^0-to-I^0 movement, (2) oblique subjects, (3) Stylistic Fronting, (4) null expletives, (5) transitive expletives, (6) heavy subject postponing, (7) indirect subject questions without a resumptive element, (8) null generic subject pronoun, (9) no VP-fronting, (10) no pseudopassives, (11) full DP Object Shift, (12) possibility of placing the direct object in front of the indirect object, (13) no free benefactives and (14) no dative alternation. The properties (1)-(9) are attributed to subject verb agreement, whereas the properties (10)-(14) are attributed to the presence of morphological case. In a language such as Swedish, representing the Mainland Scandinavian branch, these properties are absent, arguably an effect of the fact that Swedish neither possesses subject-verb agreement nor morphological case (Holmberg & Platzack 1995).

As will be shown in this chapter, Traditional Övdalian might be a problem for the parametric approach as presented in Holmberg & Platzack (1995), since it seems to exhibit a mixture of both Mainland Scandinavian and Insular Scandinavian syntactic properties, at the same time as it possesses (at least a residue of) morphological case and robust subject-verb agreement. In this respect, Traditional Övdalian is like Faroese, which also has properties not predicted by the parametric approach of Holmberg and Platzack.

In order to determine the position of Traditional Övdalian on the scale Insular Scandinavian – Mainland Scandinavian, I have examined whether Traditional Övdalian exhibits the syntactic properties that are predicted to be present by Holmberg & Platzack (1995), given that Traditional Övdalian has both subject-verb agreement and morphological case. In addition, I present other syntactic constructions that are not claimed to depend on the morphological parameter, but that are interesting from the comparative point of view: subject doubling, negative concord etc. Finally, I have given an overview of the development of Övdalian during the last century. In the presentation below, my discussion is restricted to the standard varieties of the Scandinavian languages, largely disregarding the dialectal variation present in

guages, largely disregarding the dialectal variation present in these. Moreover, *Övdalian* refers to Traditional Övdalian when nothing else is stated.

Word order properties of Traditional Övdalian can be divided into four groups, accordingly to how they pattern with word order properties found attested in the other Scandinavian languages: (1) properties in common with all Scandinavian languages, (2) properties in common with Mainland Scandinavian languages, (3) properties in common with Insular Scandinavian languages and (4) specific properties of Traditional Övdalian. The structure of the chapter follows the above mentioned division with addition of a section where I describe nominal phrase properties and a note of negative concord. The chapter ends with an outline of the syntactic development of Övdalian.

4.2 Properties of Traditional Övdalian in common with all Scandinavian languages

As stated above, Övdalian shares a number of syntactic properties with its Scandinavian relatives. Below, only the most important of these are mentioned: verb second (V2), verb-object word order (VO), possessive reflexive in 3rd person, and predicative adjective agreement.

4.2.1 Verb second

As in every other Scandinavian language, only one syntactic constituent may precede the finite verb in the main clause in Övdalian, hence Övdalian is a V2-language, cf. (1). In this respect Övdalian behaves as every other Scandinavian language.

(1) a) ***Ig*** *will* *it* *tjyöp* *an-dar* *biln* *nu.* A.1 (ÖVDALIAN)
I WANT-TO NOT BUY.INF HIM-THERE CAR.DEF NOW
'I don't want to buy this car now.'

b) ***An-dar*** ***biln*** *will* *ig* *it* *tjyöp* *nu.* A.1
HIM-THERE CAR.DEF WANT-TO I NOT BUY.INF NOW
'This car, I don't want to buy now.'

c) ***Nu*** *will* *ig* *it* *tjyöp* *an-dar* *biln.* A.1
NOW WANT-TO I NOT BUY.INF HIM-THERE CAR.DEF
'Now, I don't want to buy this car.'

d) **Ig* ***it*** *will* *tjyöp* *an-dar* *biln* *nu.* A.1
I NOT WANT-TO BUY.INF HIM-THERE CAR.DEF NOW

e) *__An-dar__ __biln__ __ig__ __will__ *it* *tjyöp* *nų.* A.1
HIM-THERE CAR.DEF I WANT-TO NOT BUY.INF NOW

f) *__Nų__ __ig__ __will__ *it* *tjyöp* *an-dar* *biln.* A.1
NOW I WANT-TO NOT BUY.INF HIM-THERE CAR.DEF

In the modern Germanic languages, V2 is only non-attested as a general property in English.

4.2.2 Verb-Object word order

In Traditional Övdalian, as in the other Scandinavian languages, non-negative objects are placed after the non-finite verb and in front of adverbials of time, location, manner, and other content adverbials. Consequently, the basic word order of the verb phrase is verb-object (VO).

(2) a) *Ig al ev etter* __biln__ *iem i morgų.* A.2 (ÖVDALIAN)
I WILL HEAVE AFTER CAR.DEF HOME TOMORROW
'I will leave the car at home tomorrow.'

b) **Ig al* __biln__ *ev etter iem i morgų.* A.2
I WILL CAR.DEF HEAVE AFTER HOME TOMORROW

c) **Ig al ev etter iem i morgų* __biln__. A.2
I WILL HEAVE AFTER HOME TOMORROW CAR.DEF

The VO pattern is an innovation in the Scandinavian languages, as their medieval ancestors exhibited both VO and OV pattern (Delsing 1999, Hróarsdóttir 2000, and others). For Classical Övdalian, Levander (1909b: 122) gives examples in which pronominal objects precede the infinite verb, see (3):

(3) *Add dier int* __ånum__ *stjuo´ssað, eld?* (CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN)
HAD THEY NOT HIM GIVEN-A-LIFT OR
'Had they not given him a lift?'

This may suggest that remnants of an earlier OV-pattern were still present in Classical Övdalian at the beginning of the 20th century.

4.2.3 Possessive reflexives

Similarly to the other Scandinavian languages, Övdalian displays a possessive reflexive in 3rd person singular and plural, which in 3rd person singular masculine is Övd. *senn* (Swe. *sin*, Ice. *sinn*) and in 3rd person plural masculine Övd. *sainer* (Swe. *sina*, Ice. *sínir*).

4.2.4 Predicative adjective agreement

Predicative adjective agreement is present in Övdalian and in all the Scandinavian languages, see (4)-(6). Some Swedish dialects have, however, lost predicative adjective agreement. Predicative adjective agreement in gender and in plural was present in Classical Övdalian (Levander 1909: 45 ff.), but has disappeared in Traditional Övdalian.

(4) a) ***Nyų*** *aus* *irå* ***sturer***. A.3 (ÖVDALIAN)
NEW.PL HOUSES ARE BIG.PL
'New houses are big.'

b) ****Nyų*** *aus* *irå* ***stur***. A3
NEW.PL HOUSES ARE BIG.SG

(5) a) ***Nya*** *hus* *är* ***stora***. (SWEDISH)
NEW.PL HOUSES ARE BIG.PL
'New houses are big.'

b) ****Nya*** *hus* *är* ***stor***.
NEW.PL HOUSES ARE BIG.SG

(6) a) ***Nýir*** *bílar* *eru* ***stórir***. (ICELANDIC)
NEW.PL.MASC CARS ARE BIG.PL.MASC
'New cars are big.'

b) ****Nýir*** *bílar* *eru* ***stór***.
NEW.PL.MASC CARS ARE BIG.SG.MASC
Intended: 'New cars are big.'

As shown above, Traditional Övdalian shares some core properties with the other Scandinavian languages, both Mainland and Insular Scandinavian. The properties listed in this section thus do not divide the Scandinavian languages into subgroups.

4.3 Properties of Traditional Övdalian in common with Mainland Scandinavian

Many of the properties that according to Holmberg & Platzack (1995) are due to the lack of rich agreement or morphological case are attested in Traditional Övdalian, despite the fact that Övdalian has preserved rich agreement and morphological case. Some of these properties are discussed in this section.

4.3.1 Weather-subjects and expletive subjects

The so-called weather-subjects (as *it* in 'it rains' or in 'it has snowed') cannot be omitted in Övdalian, in contrast with Insular Scandinavian, but in line with Mainland Scandinavian, see (7).

(7) a) *I nåt ar *(eð) snieð mitjið.* A.4 (ÖVDALIAN)
IN NIGHT HAS IT SNOWED MUCH
'It has snowed much in the night.'

b) *Nų far *(eð) raingen.* A.4
NOW GOES IT RAIN
'It starts raining now.'

Some examples attested in an Övdalian recording from 1976 indicate that non-referential subjects could be omitted in coordination in older stages of Övdalian, see (8).

(8) *Og war såmårn, an war daraute.* (CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN)
AND WAS SUMMER.DEF HE WAS OUTSIDE
'And it was summer, so he was ouside.'

Omission of expletive subjects appears to be at best only marginally possible in Övdalian as shown in (9).

(9) a) *I grasį kann ?(eð) wårå uormer.* A.4 (ÖVDALIAN)
IN GRASS.DEF CAN IT BE SNAKES
'There can be snakes in the grass.'

b) *I Lund ir ?(eð) mikkel studenter.* A.4
IN LUND IS IT MANY STUDENTS
'There live many students in Lund.'

Such omission is required in Icelandic and Faroese as shown in (10), and it is also possible in Swedish in clauses introduced by a place adverbial (Falk 1993: 270; Teleman et al. 1999:IV: 44) as shown in the examples in (11).[83]

(10) a) *Í grasinu geta (*__það__) verið slöngur.* (ICELANDIC)
IN GRASS.DEF CAN IT BEEN SNAKES
'There can be snakes in the grass.'

b) *Í Lundi eru (*__það__) margir stúdentar.*
IN LUND ARE IT MANY STUDENTS
'There live many students in Lund.'

(11) a) *I gräset kan (__det__) vara ormar.* (SWEDISH)
IN GRASS.DEF CAN IT BE SNAKES
'There can be snakes in the grass.'

b) *I Lund finns (__det__) många studenter.*
IN LUND IS IT MANY STUDENTS
'There live many students in Lund.'

In this respect, Övdalian patterns with Mainland Scandinavian rather than with Insular Scandinavian.

4.3.2 Dative alternation

Dative alternation, where an indirect object is replaced with a prepositional phrase, is found both in Övdalian and Swedish. In Icelandic, dative alternation is, according to Thráinsson (2007: 174), "pretty much restricted to N[ominative]D[ative]A[ccusative] verbs that express actual movement of the direct object". In Övdalian, dative alternation seems to be more restricted when compared with Swedish. Note also that some of my consultants reject (12b).[84]

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[83] A non-referential subject can also be omitted when some other adverbials, e.g. *så* (so, in this way), are inserted in clause-initial position (Teleman et al. ibid.).
[84] The sentence in (12b) is marked as ungrammatical by three of my consultants, whereas it is grammatical for six of them. The remaining three subjects mark it as questionable.

(12) a) *Kullą mąi gav mig **å-dar** **buotję**.* A.5 (ÖVDALIAN)
GIRL.DEF MINE GAVE ME SHE-THERE BOOK

b) *Kullą mąi gav **å-dar** **buotję** að mig.* A.5
GIRL.DEF MINE GAVE SHE-THERE BOOK TO ME
'My daughter gave me that book.'

4.3.3 Oblique subjects

Oblique subject that diplay a case other than nominative are not attested in Traditional Övdalian even though case distinctions are still found in the language; this is shown in (13). In this way, Traditional Övdalian patterns with Swedish, see (14), but differs from Icelandic, see (14) and Faroese.

(13) a) **I går drömd **mig** ien underlin dröm.* A.6 (ÖVDALIAN)
YESTERDAY DREAMED ME A STRANGE DREAM

b) *I går drömd **ig** ien underlin dröm.* A.6
YESTERDAY DREAMED I A STRANGE DREAM
'I dreamed a strange dream yesterday.'

(14) a) **Igår drömde **mig** en underlig dröm.* (SWEDISH)
YESTERDAY DREAMED ME A STRANGE DREAM

b) *Igår drömde **jag** en underlig dröm.*
YESTERDAY DREAMED I A STRANGE DREAM
'I dreamed a strange dream yesterday.'

(15) a) *Í gær dreymdi **mig** undarlegan draum.* (ICELANDIC)
YESTERDAY DREAMED ME STRANGE DREAM

b) **Í gær dreymdi **ég** undarlegan draum.*
YESTERDAY DREAMED I STRANGE DREAM
'I dreamed a strange dream yesterday.'

4.3.4 Stylistic Fronting

Stylistic Fronting refers to a construction where a constituent other than the subject is placed between the subordinating complementizer and the finite verb in subjectless clauses. This possibility is known from Old Swedish and Modern Icelandic (cf. Thráinsson 2007: 352 ff. and references therein), but is absent in Traditional Övdalian, cf. (16). Stylistic Fronting is also absent in Swedish and the other Mainland Scandinavian languages.

(16) a) **Såg du å-dar kelindje so* ***aut*** *fuor?* D.1.2 (ÖVDALIAN)
SAW YOU SHE-THERE WOMAN THAT OUT WENT

b) *Såg du å-dar kelindje so fuor* ***aut?*** D.1.2
SAW YOU SHE-THERE WOMAN THAT WENT OUT
'Did you see the women that went out?'

4.3.5 Transitive expletives

Transitive expletive constructions where an initial expletive element co-occurs with an overt subject and a transitive verb, are possible in Modern Icelandic (cf. Thráinsson 2007: 47 ff. and references therein), but are absent in both Övdalian and Swedish.

(17) a) *****Eð*** *ar* ***ien*** ***övkall*** *tjyöpt stugu.* A.7 (ÖVDALIAN)
IT HAS AN ÖVDALIAN BOUGHT HOUSE.DEF

b) ***Ien*** ***övkall*** *ar tjyöpt stugu.* A.7
AN ÖVDALIAN HAS BOUGHT HOUSE.DEF
'An Övdalian has bought the house.'

4.3.6 Indirect subject questions without a resumptive element

Övdalian requires the presence of a complementizer after the *wh*-word in an embedded subject question as shown in (18). The same requirement is found in Mainland Scandinavian, whereas no resumptive element is present in Insular Scandinavian.

(18) a) **Å spuord etter* ***wen*** *låg i dragtjistun.* A.8 (ÖVDALIAN)
SHE ASKED AFTER WHAT LAID IN DRAWER.DEF

b) *Å spuord etter* ***wen so*** *låg i dragtjistun.* A.8
SHE ASKED AFTER WHAT THAT LAID IN DRAWER.DEF
'She asked what was lying in the drawer.'

4.3.7 Null generic subjects

Traditional Övdalian does not allow null generic subject pronouns as given in (19). In this respect, Traditional Övdalian behaves as Mainland Scandinavian and contrary to Modern Icelandic (Sigurðsson 1989: 161 ff.):

(19) a) **Järfårittrötja.* A.9 (ÖVDALIAN)
HERE MAY NOT SMOKE

b) *Järfårantittrötja.* A.9
HERE MAY ONE NOT SMOKE
'It is not allowed to smoke here.'

4.3.8 Word order between the direct and the indirect object

The possibility of inverting the order between the direct (DO) and the indirect object (IO) is known from both Old Icelandic, and, with some verbs, in Modern Icelandic, (Collins & Thráinsson 1996; Thráinsson 2007: 131 ff.). This inversion construction is absent in both Mainland Scandinavian and in Övdalian as illustrated in (20).[85]

(20) a) **Ig gav **dukkur** kullum.* A.10 (ÖVDALIAN)
I GAVE DOLLS GIRLS.DAT

b) *Ig gav kullum **dukkur**.* A.10
I GAVE GIRLS.DAT DOLLS
'I gave (the) dolls to the girls'

4.3.9 Verb movement in infinitivals

In infinitival clauses (control infinitivals), in Övdalian, the verb follows sentential adverbials including negation (Garbacz 2006: 180), which indicates lack of verb movement. This is shown in (21). The Övdalian pattern is the opposite to the pattern found in Icelandic where the finite verb precedes sentential adverbials (Thráinsson 2007: 421).

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[85] Occasionally, Swedish verbs such as *tillskriva* 'ascribe' allow the direct object to precede the indirect object, as pointed out to me by Christer Platzack (p.c.).

(21) a) *An luveð aut tä kum(å) **aldri** att.* A.11 (ÖVDALIAN)
HE PROMISED OUT TO COME NEVER BACK

b) *An luveð aut tä **aldri** kum(å) att.* A.11
HE PROMISED OUT TO NEVER COME BACK
'He promised never to come.'

c) *An fuorkeð mig tä **int** djärå eð-dar.*
HE ENCOURAGED ME TO NOT DO IT-THERE
(from Garbacz 2006: 180)

d) **An fuorkeð mig tä djärå **it** eð-dar.*
HE ENCOURAGED ME TO DO NOT IT-THERE
'He encouraged me not to do this.'
(from Garbacz 2006: 180)

4.3.10 Long Distance Reflexives

Long Distance Reflexives are a well-known phenomenon in Icelandic (Thráinsson 2007: 465 ff. and references therein). Such reflexives are ungrammatical in Övdalian as shown in the examples in (22).

(22) a) ***Olga**$_i$ ar sagt (at) Andes elsker **sig**$_i$* A.12 (ÖVDALIAN)
OLGA HAS SAID THAT ANDERS LOVES SELF

b) ***Olga**$_i$ ar sagt at Andes elsker **ån(a)**$_i$* A.12
OLGA HAS SAID THAT ANDERS LOVES HER
'Olga has said that Anders loves her.'

4.3.11 Object Shift of DPs

As in the other Mainland Scandinavian languages, Traditional Övdalian does not allow object shift with full DP-objects, that is the DP-object cannot precede the negation in a main clause, see (23). Among the modern Insular Scandinavian languages, only Icelandic displays Object Shift of full DP-objects.[86]

(23) a) **Ig tjyöpt **buotję** inte.* A.17 (ÖVDALIAN)
I BOUGHT BOOK.DEF NOT

[86] The examples illustrating the lack of Object Shift in Traditional Övdalian contain both forms of negation: *int(e)* and *it*. These variant forms of negation will be discussed in Chapter 5.

b) *Ig tjyöpt **buotję** it. A.17
I BOUGHT BOOK.DEF NOT

c) Ig tjyöpt int **buotję**. A.17
I BOUGHT NOT BOOK.DEF

d) Ig tjyöpt it **buotję**. A.17
I BOUGHT NOT BOOK.DEF
'I didn't buy the book'

4.3.12 Summary

In this section I have illustrated a number of cases where the word order of Traditional Övdalian patterns with the word order of the Mainland Scandinavian languages in opposition to what we should expect from Holmberg & Platzack (1995) when taking into consideration that Traditional Övdalian exhibits subject-verb agreement and (to some extend) morphological case. Thus, the theory of Holmberg & Platzack (1995) is not corroborated by Traditional Övdalian. A summary of the constructions investigated is presented in Table 4.1 below.[87]

[87] Another property that Övdalian shares with Mainland Scandinavian is the lack of full-DP object shift. This is discussed in the next section in connection with Object Shift.

Table 4.1: Properties of Traditional Övdalian in common with Mainland Scandinavian

THE PHENOMENON	TRADITIONAL ÖVDALIAN	MAINLAND SCANDINAVIAN	INSULAR SCANDINAVIAN
1) NON-REFERENTIAL SUBJECTS	+	+	–
2) DATIVE ALTERNATION	+	+	–
3) OBLIQUE SUBJECTS	–	–	+
4) STYLISTIC FRONTING	–	–	+
5) TRANSITIVE EXPLETIVES	–	–	+
6) COMPLEMENTIZER IN INDIRECT SUBJECT QUESTION	+	+	–
7) NULL GENERIC SUBJECT PRONOUN	–	–	+
8) THE POSSIBILITY OF PLACING DIRECT OBJECT BEFORE INDIRECT OBJECT	–	–	+
9) VERB MOVEMENT IN INFINITIVALS	–	–	+
10) LONG DISTANCE REFLEXIVES	–	–	+
11) OBJECT SHIFT OF DPS	–	–	+

In the next section, I present properties that Övdalian shares with Insular Scandinavian (represented here by Icelandic), but not with Mainland Scandinavian. Contrary to what we found in the previous section, these facts are predicted by the hypothesis of Holmberg & Platzack (1995).

4.4 Properties of Traditional Övdalian in common with Insular Scandinavian

In some aspects, Traditional Övdalian word order is similar to the word order found in Icelandic and other Insular Scandinavian languages. As in the previous section, I focus here on the syntactic properties proposed by Holmberg and Platzack (1995) to be dependent on the presence of rich morphology.

4.4.1 Embedded V^0-to-I^0 movement

In Övdalian, the finite verb may precede sentential adverbials in embedded clauses under a non-bridge verb, as is the case in Icelandic and the medieval Scandinavian languages (Vikner 1995 and many others).[88] This property is further discussed in Chapter 6. Examples of relative clause word order are given in (24).

(24) a) *Ð̈ ir biln so an will **it** åvå.* C.2.1 (ÖVDALIAN)
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT HE WANTS-TO NOT HAVE

b) *Ð̈ ir biln so an **int** will åvå.*[89] C.2.1
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT HE NOT WANTS-TO HAVE
'It is the car that he doesn't want to have.'

4.4.2 VP-fronting

Övdalian does not allow VP-fronting as shown in (25), which is similar to Icelandic. In Swedish, on the other hand, VP-fronting is generally accepted.

(25) a) **Skuotið an-dar brindan ar an fel it.*A.13 (ÖVDALIAN)
SHOT HIM-THERE ELK.DEF HAS HE PROBABLY NOT

b) *An ar fel it **skuotið an-dar brindan**.* A.13
HE HAS PROBABLY NOT SHOT HIM-THERE ELK.DEF
'He hasn't of course shot this elk'.

4.4.3 Pseudopassives

Pseudopassives where the subject is promoted from a position as the complement of a preposition (Eng. *He was laughed at.*) are not possible in Övdalian, as shown in (26), nor in Icelandic. However, they are attested in (varieties of) Swedish.

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[88] 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 (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. to appear), although in older Faroese the verb could precede the negation in all embedded clauses (Thráinsson et al. 2004: 297).
[89] The sentential negation in Traditional Övdalian spoken in the north-western part of Älvdalen has two forms: *it* or as *int(e)*, these will be discussed in section 4.7 and Chapter 5.

(26) a) **Gunnar* ***wart*** ***stjemtað min***. A.14 (ÖVDALIAN)
GUNNAR BECAME MADE-FUN WITH

b) ***Fuotjeð*** ***stjemteð*** ***min*** *Gunnar*. A.14
PEOPLE.DEF MADE-FUN WITH GUNNAR
'People made fun of Gunnar.'

4.4.4. The Present Participle Construction

The use of the Present Participle Construction is attested both in Övdalian and in Insular Scandinavian, see 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. An Övdalian example is given in (27).[90]

(27) *Ittað-jär wattneð ir it* ***drikkend***. A.15 (ÖVDALIAN)
IT-THERE WATER.DEF IS NOT DRINKING
'This water was not drinkable.'

4.4.5 Summary

Traditional Övdalian only shares a small number of word order patterns with Insular Scandinavian. It addition, it retains case morphology and subject-verb agreement and it also allows embedded V^0-to-I^0 movement and the use of present participle that corresponds to transitive verbs but disallows both VP-fronting and pseudopassives. A summary is given in Table 4.2 below.

[90] The sentence in (26) is, however, rejected by four of my consultants and judged as questionable by one. This might suggest that the pattern represented by the sentence in (26) is ungrammatical for some speakers of Traditional Övdalian.

Table 4.2: Properties common with Insular Scandinavian

THE PHENOMENON	TRADITIONAL ÖVDALIAN	MAINLAND SCANDINIVIAN	INSULAR SCANDINAVIAN
1) VERB MOVEMENT IN EMBEDDED CLAUSES	+	–	+
2) VP-FRONTING	–	+	–
3) PSEUDOPASSIVES	–	+	–
4) USE OF THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE CORRESPONING TO TRANSITIVE VERBS	+	–/+	+
5) CASE MORPHOLOGY	+	–	+
6) RICH SUBJECT-VERB AGREEMENT	+	–	+

4.5 Specific syntactic properties of 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, being only attested in a smaller number of non-standard varieties.

4.5.1 Referential null subjects

Traditional Övdalian allows for referential null subjects in 1st and 2nd person plural as shown in (28), whereas neither Insular nor Mainland Scandinavian do.[91]

(28) a) *Wiso kåytið?* A.16 (ÖVDALIAN)
WHY RUN.2.PL
'Why are you running?'

[91] The occurrence of Övdalian referential null subjects is discussed extensively in Rosenkvist (2008) and I refer the reader to this work for an overview. A small percentage of referential null subjects is also found in Old Swedish (Håkansson 2008) and in the other Old Scandinavian languages (Rosenkvist 2009).

b) *Wiso kåytið* ***ið?*** A.16
WHY RUN.2.PL YOU.2.PL
'Why are YOU running?'

4.5.2 Object Shift of pronominal objects

As one of the very few Scandinavian varieties and as no other standard Scandinavian language does, Traditional Övdalian disallows object shift of pronominal objects as shown in (29).[92] This is a property that Övdalian shares with Fenno-Swedish and the variant of Danish spoken on the islands Lolland and Falster (Christensen 2005: 153).[93]

(29) a) *An såg int* ***mig.*** A.18 (ÖVDALIAN)
HE SAW NOT ME

b) *An såg it* ***mig.*** A.18
HE SAW NOT ME

c) ?*An såg* ***mig*** *inte.* A.18
HE SAW NOT ME

d) **An såg* ***mig*** *it.* A.18
HE SAW NOT ME
'He didn't see me'

4.5.3 Inflectional morphemes on the noun for number and definiteness

Traditional Övdalian lacks separate inflectional morphemes on the noun for both number and definiteness in plural forms, whereas other Scandinavian languages display such distinctive marking. Whereas the plural definite forms of masculine and feminine nouns have a separate plural ending followed by the definiteness ending, (30b,c), Övdalian has, in these instances, only the plural ending that has merged with the older definiteness ending as shown in (30a). Neuter nouns normally lack the plural ending in Scandinavian, while the singular and plural form of them are morphologically identical.[94]

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[92] The example in (29c) is judged as grammatical by one of the consultants and as questionable by five of them. Five consultants reject it, whereas one consultant does not rate it at all.
[93] The examples illustrating the lack of Object Shift in Traditional Övdalian contain both forms of negation *int(e)* and *it*. These variant forms of negation will be discussed in Chapter 5.
[94] 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 mascu-

(30) a) *kall* – *kall**n*** – *kall**er*** – *kall**er*** (ÖVDALIAN)
MAN – MAN.DEF – MEN – MEN.DEF

bru – *brun**ę*** – *bru**er*** – *bru**er***
BRIDGE – BRIDGE.DEF – BRIDGES – BRIDGES.DEF

buord – *buord**eð*** – *buord* – *buord**ę***
TABLE – TABLE.DEF – TABLES – TABLES.DEF

b) *karl* – *karl**inn*** – *karl**ar*** – *karl**ar-nir*** (ICELANDIC)
MAN – MAN.DEF – MEN – MEN.DEF

brú – *brú**in*** – *brý**r*** – *brý**r-nar***
BRIDGE – BRIDGE.DEF – BRIDGES – BRIDGES.DEF

borð – *borð**ið*** – *borð* – *borð**in***
TABLE – TABLE.DEF – TABLES – TABLES.DEF

c) *karl* – *karl**en*** – *karl**ar*** – *karl**ar-na*** (SWEDISH)
MAN – MAN.DEF – MEN – MEN.DEF

bro – *bro**n*** – *bro**ar*** – *bro**ar-na***
BRIDGE – BRIDGE.DEF – BRIDGES – BRIDGES.DEF

bord – *bord**et*** – *bord* – *bord**en***
TABLE – TABLE.DEF – TABLES – TABLES.DEF

4.5.4 Subject doubling

Traditional Övdalian is the only Scandinavian language that exhibits multiple subjects (normally double).[95] The first subject is always in clause-initial position and the doubled subject appears in the canonical subject position and is preceded by an adverbial expressing the speaker's attitude (Rosenkvist 2007). This phenomenon is illustrated in the Övdalian examples in (31).

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line and feminine nouns: *kall**er*** 'men.INDEF' and *kall**är*** '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: *daitj**e*** 'ditches.INDEF' and *daitj**ę*** 'ditches.DEF', the ending being historically a plural ending. For the complete paradigm of Classical Övdalian, see Levander (1909b: 11–44).

[95] Data presented in Levander (1909b: 109) suggest that even triple subjects were possible in Classical Övdalian.

(31) a) ***Du*** *ir* *sakt* ***du*** *uvendes* *duktin* *dalska.* A.19 (ÖVD.)
YOU ARE CERTAINLY YOU VERY GOOD SPEAK-ÖVDALIAN
'You are certainly very good at speaking Övdalian.'

b) ***Du*** *ir* *sakt* *uvendes* *duktin* *dalska*. A.19
YOU ARE CERTAINLY VERY GOOD SPEAK-ÖVDALIAN
'You are certainly very good at speaking Övdalian.'

4.5.5 Negative concord

Övdalian also exhibits so-called *negative concord* (NC), a fact that is discussed in section 4.7. The phenomenon of negative concord is not attested in any of the Scandinavian standard languages.

4.5.6 Summary

There are a small nuber of properties in Övdalian that are not found in any other Scandinavian standard language. Diachronically, all of them appear to be Övdalian innovations. These word order features are summarized in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3: Properties specific to Traditional Övdalian

THE PHENOMENON	TRADITIONAL ÖVDALIAN	MAINLAND SCANDINAVIAN	INSULAR SCANDINAVIAN
1) REFERENTIAL NULL SUBJECTS	+	–	–
2) OBJECT SHIFT OF PRONOMINAL OBJECTS	–	–	+
3) SEPARATE INFLECTION FOR NUMBER AND DEFINITENESS IN PLURAL OF NOUNS	–	+	+
4) DOUBLE SUBJECTS	+	–	–
5) NEGATIVE CONCORD	+	–	–

4.6 A note on nominal phrase structure in Traditional Övdalian

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

4.6.1 Expressions of definiteness

Definiteness is expressed by a suffix on the head noun in Traditional Övdalian as in the other Scandinavian languages as shown in the example in (32).

(32) *ferd-**ę*** (ÖVDALIAN)
JOURNEY.DEF

Indefiniteness is normally expressed in Övdalian by a free prenominal indefinite article in the singular, whereas in the plural, there is no indefinite article. This contrast is shown in (33).[96] The same pattern is found in all the other Scandinavian languages except Icelandic, which lacks indefinite articles both in the singular and plural.

(33) a) ***ję*** *buok* – *Ø byöker* (ÖVDALIAN)
A BOOK – BOOKS

b) *Ø bók* – *Ø bækur* (ICELANDIC)
BOOK – BOOKS

c) ***en*** *bok* – *Ø böcker* (SWEDISH)
A BOOK – BOOK

4.6.2 Expressions of possession

Traditional Övdalian expresses possession in three ways: (a) the possessor is placed before the head noun, (34a); (b) the possessor is expressed by means of a preposition phrase with the preposition *að*, (34b); and (c) the possessor is placed after the head noun, (34c). Counterparts of the construction shown in

[96] In Övdalian, the indefinite pronoun *noger* 'some' may sometimes function as indefinite article: *Ig al mål **nog** dörer* (lit. I shall paint a door), Lars Steensland (p.c.).

(34a) are found in the other Scandinavian languages, whereas counterparts of (34b,c) are only found in some of them.[97]

(34) a) ***Lassees*** *buord* (ÖVDALIAN)
LASSE'S TABLE

b) *buordeð* ***að Lasse***
TABLE.DEF TO LASSE

c) *buordeð* ***Lasse***
TABLE.DEF LASSE

Possessive pronouns may precede or follow the head noun in Traditional Övdalian. Typically, the pronoun follows the noun as shown in (35a), but can precede it when stressed as illustrated in the example given in (35b). The same pattern is found in Icelandic (Sigurðsson 2006: 214 ff.), whereas standard Swedish only allows for a possessor that precedes the noun.[98]

(35) a) *buotję* ***mąi*** (ÖVDALIAN)
BOOK.DEF MINE

b) ***MĄI*** *buok*
MINE BOOK

4.6.3 Position of attributive adjectives

Attributive adjectives precede the noun in Övdalian, as in (36), just as they do in Insular and Mainland Scandinavian. In definite nominal phrases, Övdalian normally incorporates adjectives into nouns, contrary to all the other Scandinavian languages. This is shown in (37) and (38).[99]

(36) a) *Ien* ***koldan*** *witter*. A.21 (ÖVDALIAN)
A COLD WINTER
'A cold winter.'

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[97] The structural counterpart of (78b) is ungrammatical in Icelandic.
[98] With exception of the poetic style or some frozen expressions as e.g. Swe. *far min* 'father mine', Swe. *mor min* 'mother mine'.
[99] However, incorporation of adjectives into nouns is common in some northern Swedish dialects (Sandström & Holmberg 2003), as well as in some frozen expressions as in, for example, *blåljus* 'flashing lights' and *stortorget* 'main square'.

b) *An-dar* ***kold****wittern*. A.21
HE-THERE COLD-WINTER.DEF
'The cold winter.'

(37) a) ***Kaldur*** *vetur*. (ICELANDIC)
COLD WINTER
'A cold winter.'

b) **Sá* ***kald****vetur*.[100]
THIS.MASC COLD-WINTER
Intended: 'The cold winter.'

c) ***Kaldi*** *veturinn*.
COLD.DEF WINTER.DEF
'The cold winter.'

(38) a) *En* ***kall*** *vinter*. (SWEDISH)
A COLD WINTER
'A cold winter.'

b) **Den här* ***kall****vintern*.
THIS HERE COLD-WINTER.DEF
Intended: 'The cold winter.'

c) *Den här* ***kalla*** *vintern*.
THIS HERE COLD WINTER.DEF
'The cold winter.'

4.6.4 Extended use of the definite form

Övdalian often uses the definite form in order to mark partitivity and also in contexts in which standard Swedish has no article (Delsing 2003: 15). As shown in (39), the use of the definite article in such cases is not obligatory. This phenomenon is known from a number of north Scandinavian non-standard varieties (Delsing 2003: 15 ff.), but it is not attested in the standard varieties of Insular and Mainland Scandinavian.

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[100] A compound *kuldavetur* 'cold-winter' is however possible in Icelandic (Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson p.c.).

(39) a) *Eð ir grannweðreð i dag.* A.23 (ÖVDALIAN)
IT IS NICE.WEATHER.DEF TODAY
'It is nice weather today.'

b) *Eð ir grannweðer i dag.* A.23
IT IS NICE.WEATHER TODAY
'It is nice weather today.'

4.7 A note on negative concord

Levander (1909b: 111) notes the existence of so-called *double negation* in Classical Övdalian. This phenomenon occurs when the sentential negation, *inte* 'not' is accompanied by a quantifier introducing negation in particular syntactic configurations, a negative word (as *indjin* 'nobody'). His examples are presented below, see (40).

(40) a) *Dier djärå* ***inggum inggan skåðå.***
THEY MAKE NOBODY NO HARM
'They don't harm anybody.'

b) ***Itjä*** *ir då* ***int*** *ig jälåk å* ***inggan.***
NOT AM THEN NOT I ANGRY ON NOBODY
'I'm not angry with anybody.'

c) Og ***int*** *ig såg* ***inggan kall*** *eld* ***werrå.***
AND NOT I SAW NO MAN EITHER NOWHERE
'Neither I have seen any man anywhere.'

d) *An wet* ***int*** *war* ***indjin påik*** *ir.*
HE KNOWS NOT WHERE NO BOY IS
'He doesn't know where a boy is.'

e) *Tjyöpum* ***int ingger*** *so kringgt.*
BUY.1.PL NOT NO SO OFTEN
'We don't buy any [of them] so often.'

f) *Eð dug då* ***int waundjindier åv diem*** *bjärå mig.*
IT CAN THEN NOT NONE OF THEM CARRY ME
'Nobody of them can carry me.'

Two negative elements in a single clause normally result in an affirmative reading in the vast majority of Scandinavian varieties.[101] The exceptions are few: in Kven-Norwegian (Sollid 2005), certain Danish dialects (Jespersen 1917: 72 ff.), and in some dialects of Fenno-Swedish (Wide & Lyngfelt 2009) two or more negative elements yield a single negation reading. This is also the case in Classical Övdalian, see (40) above, and in Traditional Övdalian (41).

(41) *Ig ar* ***it*** *si'tt* ***inggan***. A.21
I SEE NOT SEEN NOBODY
'I haven't seen anybody.'

As first pointed out by Baker (1970), the situation in which two (or more) negative elements yield one semantic negation is to be classified as *negative concord* (NC). NC languages differ further with respect to whether a negative word must be accompanied by a single negative marker or not. Languages in which a single negative marker is always required with a negative word are labelled *strict NC-languages*, whereas languages in which the negative words are allowed to occur by themselves but cannot be accompanied by a single negative marker when the negative word is in a preverbal position are known as *non-strict NC-languages* (Giannakidou 1997; Zeijlstra 2004: 64 ff.). An example of a strict NC-language is Polish, in which the negative word must be accompanied by a negative marker, independently of whether the negative word is initial or not (42). An example of a non-strict NC-language is Italian, in which the negative word may be followed by a negative marker, unless in initial position (43).

(42) a) *Wczoraj* ***niczego*** *(*nie) jadłem.* (POLISH)
YESTERDAY NOTHING NOT ATE.3.SG.MASC
'Yesterday, I didn't eat anything.'

b) ***Niczego*** *wczoraj (*nie) jadłem.*
NOTHING YESTERDAY NOT ATE.3.SG.MASC
'I didn't eat anything yesterday.'

[101] Zeijlstra (2004: 39) defines *negative markers* as elements that yield (sentential) negation; *negative quantifiers* as "quantifiers that always introduce a negation and that bind a variable within the domain of negation" and *negative words* (*N-words*) as "quantifiers that introduce negation in particular syntactic configurations." All these elements, i.e. *negative markers*, *negative quantifiers* and *negative words* are subsets of the set labelled as *negative elements*.

(43) a) ***Non*** *ho* *visto* ***nessuno***. (ITALIAN)
NOT HAVE.1.SG SEEN NOBODY
'I haven't seen aybody'

b) ***Nessuno*** ****(non)*** *parla* *italiano* *qui.*
NOBODY NOT SPEAKS ITALIAN HERE
'Nobody speaks Italian here.'

In Övdalian, negative words may, but do not have to, be followed by the negative marker, (44).

(44) *I går* *belld* ***(it)*** ***inggan*** *kumå að Mụora.* A.21
YESTERDAY COULD NOT NOBODY COME TO MORA
'Yesterday, nobody could get to Mora.'

When a negative word is in preverbal position, the use of the negative marker seems to be ungrammatical or, at best questionable according to my consultants as shown in the sentence pairs in (45) and (46).

(45) a) ****Intnoð*** *ar* *ig* ***it*** *ietið.* A.22
NOTHING HAVE I NOT EATEN

b) ****Intnoð*** *ar* ***it*** *ig* *ietið.* A.22
NOTHING HAVE NOT I EATEN

c) ***Intnoð*** *ar* *ig* *ietið.* A.22
NOTHING HAVE I EATEN
'I haven't eaten anything.'

(46) a) ****Aldri*** *kumb* *an* ***it*** *et* *messer.* A.22
NEVER COMES HE NOT TO MASS

b) ****Aldri*** *kumb* ***it*** *an* *et* *messer.* A.22
NEVER COMES NOT HE TO MASS

c) ***Aldri*** *kumb* *an* *et* *messer.* A.22
NEVER COMES HE TO MASS
'Never comes he to the mass.'

Övdalian can therefore be classified as a non-strict NC language.

Summarizing, NC in Övdalian occurs when a negative word or a negative quantifier is accompanied by the negative marker as shown in (47a), but it can

more marginally also occur when a negative word is accompanied by another negative word (47b).[102]

(47) a) *Ig ar* ***it*** *si'tt* ***inggan***. A.22
I HAVE NOT SEEN NOBODY
'I haven't seen anybody.'

b) *?An får* ***aldri*** ***inggy*** *jåp.* A.22
HE GETS NEVER NO HELP
'He never gets any help.'

However, NC in Övdalian cannot consist of two negative markers. Such a sentence gets at best an affirmative reading, but is normally judged as just ungrammatical a shown in (48).

(48) **Jär ligg oll rekkningger so* ***int*** *ig ar* ***it*** *bitalt.* A.22
HERE LIES ALL INVOICES THAT NOT I HAVE NOT PAYED
Intended: 'Here are all the invoices that I have not payed.'

Negative concord seems to be an Övdalian innovation, not a heritage from Old Dalecarlian or Old East Scandinavian.[103] In the oldest Övdalian text, the comedy written by Prytz (1622), no contexts with multiple negation are attested, although the text is probably too short (or not reliable enough) to determine whether the phenomenon was present in Övdalian at this time. The only case in which NC could be present (but is not) is illustrated in (49).

(49) *Du ihr* ***ey*** ***nogår*** *rumbonde.*
YOU ARE NOT ANY RUMBOLAND-FARMER
'You are not a farmer from Rumboland.'
(from Noreen 1883: 26)

Another early Övdalian text, given in Näsman (1733), does not exhibit any NC either. The text is, however, very short and it only displays one context in which NC would have been possible. On the other hand, NC was present in Övdalian at the beginning of the 20th century (Levander 1909b: 111). It is thus difficult to draw any reliable conclusions from the very limited Övdalian

[102] The sentence in (96b) is judged as grammatical by five consultants, whereas two consider it questionable and the remaining five as ungrammatical.
[103] Remnants of what seems to be negative concord are attested in archaic Old Norse (Lundin-Åkesson 2005, Eythórsson 2002), therefore we may assume that NC was most probably present in older stages of the Scandinavian languages, in Proto-Nordic for example.

material from the time before the end of the 19th century that we have to our disposal; the question as to how and when NC emerged in Övdalian must so far remain unanswered.

Another interesting question is why multiple negation is present in Övdalian, while it is absent in the majority of Scandinavian varieties with the exceptions mentioned above. Weiß (1999) in a study of NC in Bavarian poses a similar question: why does Bavarian exhibit NC while Standard German does not? He proposes that the lack of NC in Standard German is most probably due to the standardisation processes that saw negative concord as a violation of logic in the language (Weiß 1999: 838–841). The same speculative explanation could possibly apply to the Scandinavian non-NC languages; the Scandinavian standard languages might have been on their way to develop NC and the construction might have been rejected by prescriptivists (at it seems to heve been the case in the history of German, Weiß 2002: 135), whereas in Övdalian that has not been standardized, NC is present. Partial support for this line of argument is, as noted above, the fact that NC is found in some Danish and Fenno-Swedish varieties (see also above).

Övdalian exhibits negative concord, given the fact that two or more negative elements yield a single negative reading in the language. Negative concord was already attested in Classical Övdalian (Levander 1909b: 111) and it is still attested in Traditional Övdalian, as the data collected from my consultants show. Övdalian negative concord is non-strict and non obligatory and can most probably be considered an Övdalian innovation.

4.8 Syntactic change in Övdalian

My investigation so far has shown that Traditional Övdalian, and to a lesser extent Classical Övdalian, share a number of syntactic properties with modern Swedish, but also that in some cases Traditional (and Classical) Övdalian pattern with Insular Scandinavian. Finally, some syntactic properties of Traditional (and Classical) Övdalian are not found in the other Scandinavian languages.

Holmberg & Platzack (1995) have proposed that a number of word order properties are expected to be attested in a language that, as Traditional Övdalian, has both rich subject-verb agreement and morphological case. Out of the fourteen properties they mention, the following nine are attributed to subject-verb agreement: (1) embedded V^0-to-I^0 movement, (2) oblique subjects, (3) Stylistic Fronting, (4) null expletives, (5) transitive expletives, (6) heavy subject postponing, (7) indirect subject questions without a resumptive element, (8) null generic subject pronoun, (9) no VP-fronting, while the other five are attributed to the presence of morphological case: (1) no pseudopassives, (2) full DP Object Shift, (3) possibility of placing the direct object in front of the

DP Object Shift, (3) possibility of placing the direct object in front of the indirect object, (4) no free benefactives and (5) no dative alternation. Only in five instances does Traditional Övdalian behave as predicted by Holmberg & Platzack (1995): three of these cases are believed to be an effect of subject-verb agreement, (1) embedded V^0-to-I^0 movement, (2) heavy subject postponing (that seems to be at least marginally possible in Övdalian) and (3) no VP-fronting; and the remaining two are believed to be triggered by the presence of morphological case: (1) the lack of pseudopassives and (2) the lack of free benefactives. This is shown in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4a: Properties of Traditional and Classical Övdalian (part1)

The phenomenon	Traditional Övdalian	Classical Övdalian	Insular Scand.	Mainland Scandinavian
1) verb-second (V2)	+	+	+	+
2) Obligatory VO word order	+	–	+	+
3) possessive reflexives	+	+	+	+
4) predicative adjective agreement in number	+	+	+	+
5) predicative adjective agreement in gender in plural	–	+	+	–
6) Obligatory non-referential subjects	+	–	–	+
7) dative alternation	+	?	–	+
8) oblique subjects	–	?	+	–
9) Stylistic Fronting	–	+	+	–
10) Transitive expletives	–	+	+	–
11) complementizer in indirect subject question	+	?	–	+
12) null generic subject pronoun	–	?	+	–
13) the possibility of placing DO before IO	–	?	+	–
14) verb movement in infinitivals	–	?	+	–
15) long distance reflexives	–	?	+	–
16) V^0-to-I^0 movement	+	+	+	–
17) VP-fronting	–	?	–	+
18) pseudopassives	–	?	–	+
19) the present participle construction	+	?	+	–

Table 4.4b: Properties of Traditional and Classical Övdalian (part 2)

The phenomenon	Traditional Övdalian	Classical Övdalian	Insular Scand.	Mainland Scandinavian
20) referential null subjects	+	+	–	–
21) Object Shift	–	–	+	+
22) separate inflection for both number and definiteness	–	+	+	+
22) double subjects	+	+	–	–
23) negative concord	+	+	–	–
24) Rich case morphology	+	–	+	–
25) Rich subject-verb agreement	+	+	+	–

The data from Classical Övdalian that we have at our disposal today come almost solely from Levander (1909b). As already pointed out in Chapter 2, there has been substantial change in Övdalian from the Classical period to the Traditional period. This change is also observable in the syntax, as we can see from Table 4.4.

A number of the syntactic characteristics of Classical Övdalian are also attested in Traditional Övdalian. On the other hand, many of the syntactic constructions inherited from an older stage of the language have become less frequent or even lost since the Classical period.

The general tendency observed in the syntactic development of Övdalian during the last hundred years seems to be fairly clear and many syntactic constructions inherited from the medieval ancestors of Övdalian either are in the process of change or they have disappeared from the language as attested in the judgements of Traditional Övdalian speakers. In many cases, these changes correspond to the changes from Old Swedish to Modern Swedish that Holmberg & Platzack (1995) use as support for their theory predicting that subject-verb agreement and morphological case have particular syntactic effects. It should be noticed, though, that neither subject-verb agreement nor morphological case are lost in Traditional Övdalian.[104] It has previously been observed that Övdalian is becoming more like Swedish (Sapir 2005a: 3) and this tendency is also visible in the syntactic differences between Classical and Traditional Övdalian. On the other hand, many of the Övdalian syntactic innovations have not changed, or at least not considerably, from Classical Övdalian

[104] The relevant endings are pronounced, thus these cannot be considered a written language phenomenon.

to Traditional Övdalian. It is a fact worth noting that the Övdalian innovations in syntax, such as negative concord and double subjects, seem to be more resistant to change than the inherited patterns.

The data from Traditional Övdalian challenge the proposal of Holmberg and Platzack (1995) as only a small number of the constructions predicted to be attested in the language, given its morphological properties, are actually found. Therefore, we can ask why the parametric correlations proposed for the Scandinavian languages by Holmberg & Platzack (1995) are not found in Traditional Övdalian. In the following chapters, I take a closer look at two of the word order patterns that have been argued to be triggered by rich subject-verb agreement, V^0-to-I^0 movement and Stylistic Fronting. Both of them were attested in Classical Övdalian, but only one of them, V^0-to-I^0 movement, is retained in Traditional Övdalian.

5 Övdalian clause structure

In this chapter, I present an analysis of the structure of the Traditional Övdalian clause based on my conclusions in the previous chapter together with additional evidence that I present as we proceed. I begin the discussion by proposing a structure for the Övdalian verb phrase (VP), the middle field (TP), and the left periphery (CP). The present chapter constitutes the theoretical base for the syntactic analyses presented in the following chapters.

5.1 The Verb Phrase (VP)

As stated in Chapter 4, Traditional Övdalian exhibits VO-word order; both the finite and non-finite verb precede the object, which in its turn is followed by content adverbials as shown in example (1).

(1) a) *Ig al ev etter* ***biln*** *iem i morgu*. A.2
I WILL HEAVE AFTER CAR.DEF HOME TOMORROW
'I will leave the car at home tomorrow'

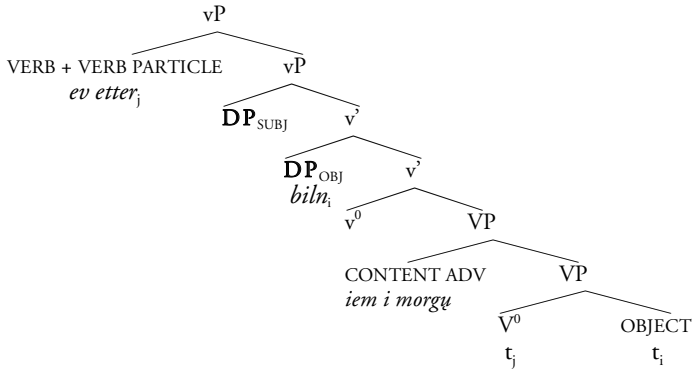
b) **Ig al* ***biln*** *ev etter iem i morgu*. A.2
I WILL CAR.DEF HEAVE EFTER HOME TOMORROW

c) **Ig al ev etter iem i morgu* ***biln***. A.2
I WILL HEAVE EFTER HOME TOMORROW CAR.DEF

Holmberg & Platzack (2005: 426) argue for the Scandinavian languages that both the non-finite verb and the object raise to higher positions given the fact that they both precede content adverbials in the surface structure. The object is attracted to the lower Spec,vP (which is lower than the external argument) and the verb moves to a head outside of the vP. This is sometimes referred to as 'short raising of V' (Josefsson & Platzack 1998). Given that Övdalian does not differ in these respects from the other Scandinavian languages, I make the same assumption for Övdalian. Finite and non-finite verbs move to a position

outside of the vP (through the v^0), from which finite verbs move further up in the clause (V2 and V^0-to-I^0). The object moves to the lower Spec,vP. Övdalian is like Swedish in that verb particles always precede the object.[105] Since the particle also precedes content adverbials, Holmberg & Platzack (2005: 428) assume that the verb particle cliticizes to the verb and moves with the verb to a position outside of the vP, giving the surface order *verb – verb particle – object*.[106] The same analysis can be applied to Övdalian as shown in the example given in (2).

(2) *The structure of the Övdalian verb phrase*



The object position in the lower Spec,vP may be occupied by negative quantified objects in Övdalian, see (3a). In most cases, this is possible only if there is a negation phrase above vP; the absence of a negation results in ungrammaticality, see (3b).

(3) a) *Ig ar* ***it*** *si'tt* ***inggan***. A.21
I HAVE NOT SEEN NOBODY
'I haven't seen anybody'

b) **Ig ar si'tt* ***inggan***. A.21
I HAVE SEEN NOBODY
Intended: 'I haven't seen anybody'

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[105] The only exception is the reflexive object *sig* 'self' that can both be preceded or followed by the verb particle.
[106] The subject is subsequently raised to the middle field, see below.

If not preceded by negation, the negative object may in some cases move to the negation position (LowNegP, see section 5.2.1) preceding the position of non-finite verbs, cf. (4).[107]

(4) *?I dag ar ig* ***intnoð*** *ietið.* A.21
TODAY HAVE I NOTHING EATEN
'Today, I haven't eaten anything.'

Speakers of Traditional Övdalian seem to prefer the order in which adverbials such as *kringgt* 'often' and *milumað* 'sometimes' are located in the vP. This order is always judged as perfectly grammatical as shown in (5), whereas the order in which the adverbials are in an adverbial position above vP (LowAdvP, see section 5.2.1) is less preferred or even ungrammatical, as in (6).[108]

(5) a) *Ð ir biln so* Andes *will åk* ***milumað.*** C.2.3
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT ANDERS WANTS-TO DRIVE SOMETIMES
'This is the car that Anders wants to drive sometimes.'

b) *Ð ir biln so* Mats *will åk* ***kringgt.*** C.2.3
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT MATS WANTS-TO DRIVE OFTEN
'This is the car that Mats wants to drive often.'

(6) a) *?Ð ir biln so* Mats ***kringgt*** *will åka.* C.2.2
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT MATS OFTEN WANTS-TO DRIVE
'This is the car that Mats wants to drive often.'

b) **Ð ir biln so* Andes ***milumað*** *will åka.* C.2.3
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT ANDERS SOMETIMES WANTS-TO DRIVE
'This is the car that Anders wants to drive sometimes.'

There are two arguments for assuming that the adverbials *kringgt* 'often' and *milumað* 'sometimes' normally occupy an adverbial position inside the vP. First, clauses such as (6a) and (6b) are normally rejected by native speakers; second, Övdalian exhibits V^0-to-I^0 movement, but this movement is never observed across *kringgt* 'often' and *milumað* 'sometimes', see (7).

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[107] The sentence in (4) is judged as ungrammatical by five of the consulted speakers, whereas four accept it as grammatical and two as questionable. One consultant has not judged the sentence at all.
[108] The sentence in (6a) gets the median value of 2, but other sentences with the same structure in which the subject is pronominal are occasionally accepted. The sentence in (6b) is judged as questionable and the median value of all judgements is 3,5, see appendix for the complete set of data.

(7) a) *Ð ir biln so Andes will **milumað** åka. C.2.3
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT ANDERS WANTS-TO SOMETIMES DRIVE
'This is the car that Anders wants to drive sometimes.'

b) *Ð ir biln so Mats will **kringgt** åka. C.2.2
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT MATS WANTS-TO OFTEN DRIVE
'This is the car that Mats wants to drive often.'

Adverbial positions will be investigated further in the following sections.

5.2 The Middle Field (TP)

As discussed by Holmberg & Platzack (2005: 429), the middle field is built around the Tense Phrase (TP), termed previously Inflection Phrase (IP). It is assumed to contain positions that are related to mood, tense, and aspect (Holmberg & Platzack 2005: 429). Below, I propose a structure for the Övdalian middle field, utilizing the data collected from my consultants. For now, I assume a relatively simple structure without excluding the option that the structure of the middle field is more elaborated than proposed here, as, for instance, proposed in Cinque (1999).

In my analysis of the Övdalian clause structure, I do not assume Cinque's hierarchy of functional heads for adverb placement (Cinque 1999). Because the adverbs that I have investigated can – to varying degrees – either precede or follow the subject in Spec,TP in Övdalian, I assume a HighAdvP and a LowAdvP position. Although more research is necessary in order to determine interpretive differences and limits to this variability, I tentatively assume that semantic interpretation determines adverb placement and also restrictions on adverb placement as argued in Ernst (1984) and Svenonius (2001). I also propose a fixed position for the subject in clauses where the subject is not the first constituent in a V2-clause, namely Spec,TP. Awaiting possible evidence for lower subject positions in Traditional Övdalian, this is the only subject position that I assume here apart from the position that the subject occupies in a V2 clause: Spec,CP.

5.2.1 Low negation and low adverbial position

The standard analysis of the negation position in the Scandinavian languages is that the negation projection is located immediately above vP, but below the sentential adverbial position (Platzack 1998: 164). In this way, the negation position constitutes the border between vP and TP. This analysis is supported by the fact that the negation is preceded by sentential adverbials but followed

by the finite verb (in case the verb is not raised to T or C). This analysis can also successfully be applied to Övdalian. Support for assuming a LowNegP is the fact that both the negation as shown in (8), and sometimes also negative quantified objects, as in (9), may precede the verb when it remains below I^0, but follows the subject in Spec,TP.[109]

(8) *Ed ir bar i iss-järˈ buðn so* Marit ***int*** *andler jätå.* C.2.3
IT IS ONLY IN THIS-HERE SHOP.DEF THAT MARIT NOT BUYS FOOD
'It is the only shop, in which Marit does not buy food.'

(9) *Ed ir tuokut at Andes* ***ingg peninger*** *al få.* A.22
IT IS PITY THAT ANDERS NO MONEY SHALL GET
'It's a pity that Anders will not get any money.'

Above the LowNegP, I assume a position for adverbials as *aldril older* 'never', cf. (10). I will refer to this position as LowAdvP.

(10) *Ed ir iend buotje so ig* ***aldri*** *ar lesið.* B.1.2
IT IS ONLY BOOK.DEF THAT I NEVER HAVE READ
'It is the only book that I haven't read.'

LowAdvP does not normally seem to host adverbials as *kringgt* 'often' and *milumað* 'sometimes'. In the few case where these adverbials may precede the finite verb in embedded clauses, as in example (11), I assume this structure to be a syntactic borrowing from Swedish, see also my discussion of this subject in Chapter 6.[110]

(11) a) *Ed ir biln so an* ***milumað*** *will åka.* B.2.3
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT HE SOMETIMES WANTS-TO DRIVE
'This is the car that he wants to drive sometimes.'

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[109] The sentential negation in Traditional Övdalian spoken in the north-western part of Älvdalen has two forms: *it* or *inte*. The base form is *inte* and, due to apocope in Övdalian, it is pronounced and written as *int,* unless in a final position or in front of an intonation break. Henceforth, I refer to the form as *inte*, and not as *int*, regardless of whether it exhibits apocope in the following example or not. The form *it* normally appears after the finite verb and it can never be stressed, whereas the form *inte* may appear both pre- and postverbally, depending on whether it is stressed or not. In some villages, in the village of Åsen for example, *inte* can be used both pre- and postverbally, independently of stress.

[110] The sentence in (11a) is rejected by three consultants and judged as questionable by two. The sentence in (11b) is judged as questionable by three consultants.

b) *Eð ir i Tjyörtjbymm so ig **kringgt** tjyöper Mųortinindję.* B.3.4
IT IS IN TJYÖRTJBYNN THAT I OFTEN BUY MORA TIDNING
'I often buy Mora Tidning [i.e. a local newspaper] in Kyrkbyn [the central village of Älvdalen].'

In Övdalian, sentential adverbials precede negation in example (12), whereas the reverse order is ungrammatical as shown in (13).

(12) a) *An kumb **naug** **inte**.* A.28
HE COMES PROBABLY NOT
'He will probably not come.'

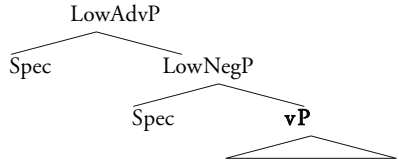
b) *An kumb **truoligen** **inte**.* A.28
HE COMES PROBABLY NOT
'He will presumably not come.'

(13) a) **An kumb **it** **naug**.* A.28
HE COMES NOT PROBABLY
'He will probably not come.'

b) **An kumb **it** **truoligen**.* A.28
HE COMES NOT PRESUMABLY
'He will presumably not come.'

The position of sentential adverbials and negation in the lower part of the I-domain is shown in the structure in (14) below.

(14) *The position of negation and sentential adverbials in Övdalian*



5.2.2 Verb movement to T^0 (V^0-to-I^0 movement)

The finite verb may precede both negation and sentential adverbials in Traditional Övdalian embedded clauses as shown in (15) and (16). Therefore, I assume that it normally moves to T^0.

(15) a) … *iett land i Europa so* ig *ar* ***it*** *werið i.* B.1.2
… A COUNTRY IN EUROPE THAT I HAVE NOT BEEN IN
'… a country in Europe that I haven't been to.'

b) … *iett land i Europa so* kullą mąi *ar* ***it*** *werið i.* B.1.1
… A COUNTRY IN EUROPE THAT DAUGHTER MINE HAS NOT BEEN IN
'… a country in Europe that my daughter hasn't been to.'

c) *Eð ir biln so* an *will* ***it*** *åvå.* B.2.1
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT HE WANTS-TO NOT HAVE
'It is the car that he wants to have.'

d) *Eð ir biln so* Mats *will* ***it*** *åvå.* C.1.2
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT MATS WANTS-TO NOT HAVE
'It is the car that he / Mats wants to have.'

(16) a) *Eð ir iend buotję so* ig *ar* ***aldri*** *lesið.* B.1.3
IT IS ONLY BOOK.DEF THAT I HAVE NEVER READ
'It is the only book that I have never read.'

b) *Eð ir biln so dier wil* ***sakt*** *åvå.* B.2.2
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT THEY WANT-TO ACTUALLY HAVE
'It is the car that they actually want to have.'

c) ?*Eð ir noð so Marit ar* ***sakt*** *gart.*[111] C.1.2
IT IS SOMETHING THAT MARIT HAS ACTUALLY DONE
'It is something that Marit has actually done.'

As shown in the examples in (15) and (16), the acceptance of V^0-to-I^0 movement may vary, depending on the adverb that the finite verb moves across. The details of embedded verb movement in Övdalian are discussed in Chapter 6.

[111] The sentence in (16c) is judged as ungrammatical by three consultants, four regard it as grammatical, and the remaining five mark it as questionable.

5.2.3 High negation and adverbial positions above TP

In Övdalian, negation may also precede the subject, as in (17). This possibility seems to be independent of whether the subject is a pronominal subject or a DP, and the negation is not interpreted with narrow scope with respect to the subject.[112] However, the pre-subject placement of negation seems to be less acceptable when negation precedes a pronominal subject in a main clause, see (17c).[113]

(17) a) *An-dar* *biln* *will* ***it*** Mats *tjyöpa.* A.24
HIM-THERE CAR.DEF WANTS-TO NOT MATS BUY

b) *An-dar* *biln* *will* ***int*** Mats *tjyöpa.* A.25
HIM-THERE CAR.DEF WANTS-TO NOT MATS BUY
'This car, Mats doesn't want to buy.'

c) ?*I går* *belld* ***it*** an *kumå.* A.29
YESTERDAY COULD NOT HE COME
'Yesterday, he couldn't come.'

d)… *iett land* *i Europa so* ***int*** kullą mąi *ar werið i.* C.1.1
… A COUNTRY IN EUROPE THAT NOT DAUGHTER MINE HAS BEEN IN
'… a country in Europe that my daughter hasn't been to.'

e)… *iett land* *i Europa so* ***int*** ig *ar* *werið i.* B.1.1
… A COUNTRY IN EUROPE THAT NOT I HAVE BEEN IN
'… a country in Europe that I haven't been to.'

In line with what was stated above, I assume here that the canonical subject position in Övdalian is Spec,TP, in line with other Mainland Scandinavian languages (see Platzack 1998: 92 ff.; Håkansson 2008: 149 ff., among others). When negation precedes the subject in the surface structure, it is arguably located to the left of the subject in Övdalian also in the underlying structure. The word order in (17a,c,d) is also found in Classical Övdalian as discussed in Levander (1909b: 111;124).

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[112] A corresponding, pre-subject negation position is also assumed for Swedish (Teleman et al. 1999:IV: 19) and in Norwegian (Faarlund et al. 1997: 880). However, Teleman et al. (1999:IV) state that a subject following a negation (or other sentential adverbials) in an embedded clause cannot be stressed (ibid.). This requirement of unstressed subject does not apply to Övdalian.

[113] The median of the judgements of (16b) is 3,5 and the sentence is accepted by six consultants, whereas four reject it and two regard is as questionable.

Not only may negation precede the subject in embedded clauses but this word order is (at least to some extent) possible also with other sentential adverbials such as *aldri* 'never' as shown in (18), and in some cases *sakta* 'actually', as in (19).[114]

(18) a) *Eð ir iend buotje so* ***aldri*** ig *ar lesið.* B.1.2
IT IS ONLY BOOK.DEF THAT NEVER I HAVE READ
'It is the only book that I haven't read.'

b) *Eð ir iend buotje so* ***aldri*** Gun *ar lesið.* C.1.2
IT IS ONLY BOOK.DEF THAT NEVER GUN HAVE READ
'It is the only book that Gun hasn't read.'

c) *Eð ir bar i Övdalim so* ***aldri*** an *jager brinder.* B.3.2
IT IS ONLY IN ÄLVDALEN THAT NEVER HE HUNTS ELKS
'It is the only in Älvdalen where he doesn't hunt elks.'

d) *Eð ir bar i Övdalim so* ***aldri*** Andes *jager brinder.* C.3.2
IT IS ONLY IN ÄLVDALEN THAT NEVER ANDERS HUNTS ELKS
'It is the only in Älvdalen where Anders doesn't hunt elks.'

(19) a) ?*Eð ir noð so* ***sakt*** dier *åvå gart.* B.1.2
IT IS SOMETHING THAT ACTUALLY THEY HAVE DONE
'This is something that they have actually done.'

b) *Eð ir noð so* ***sakt*** Marit *ar gart.* C.1.1
IT IS SOMETHING THAT ACTUALLY MARIT HAS DONE
'This is something that Marit has actually done.'

c) ?*Eð ir biln so* ***sakt*** dier *wil åvå.* B.2.1
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT ACTUALLY THEY WANT-TO HAVE
'It is the car that they actually want to have.'

---

[114] The sentence in (17a) is judged as ungrammatical by two consultants (when with the subject *ig*) and by three consultants (when with the subject *Gun*). The sentence in (17b) is rejected by two consultants (with a pronominal subject) and by three consultants (with a DP-subject). The sentence in (18a) is marked as ungrammatical by five consultants, five judge it as perfectly fine, and the remaining two as questionable. The sentence in (18b) is accepted by seven consultants, whereas five reject it. The sentence in (18c) is accepted by four subjects, rejected by five, and judged as questionable by three. Finally, the sentence in (18d) is judged as fine by five consultants, rejected by four, and marked as questionable by the remaining three. See the appendix for the complete set of data.

d) ?*Eð ir biln so* ***sakt*** påytjin menn *<u>will</u> åvå.* C.2.1
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT ACTUALLY BOY.DEF MINE WANTS-TO HAVE
'It is the car that my son actually wants to have.'

When both negation and the adverbial precede a subject located in Spec,TP, then the adverbial precedes the negation as shown in the example in (20).

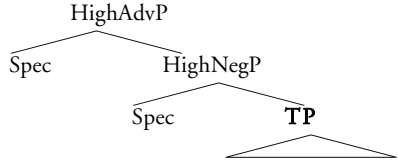
(20) *Nu <u>edd</u>* ***naug*** ***int*** Andes *ulað sai noð mįer.* A.24
NOW HAD PROBABLY NOT ANDERS SHOULD.PTC SAY ANYTING MORE
'Now Anders shouldn't probably say anything more'

The high negation position in Övdalian allows us to account for the phenomenon of so-called *floating subjects* where a non-initial subject follows negation and/or a sentential adverbial in a main clause, a possibility in all Mainland Scandinavian languages with the exception of Danish (Christensen 2005: 172 ff.). For Övdalian, I argue that this word order emerges due to the presence of a high negation position, whereby the subject stays in Spec,TP. Having assumed this high negation position, I do not need to assume that the word order *negation – subject* is an effect of a lower subject placement. When the subject is situated between two sentential adverbials, then I assume that the adverbial to the right of it is located in the LowNegP, as in (21).

(21) *Nu edd* ***naug*** *<u>Andes</u>* ***int*** *ulað sai noð mįer.* A.24
NOW HAD PROBABLY ANDES NOT SHOULD.PTC SAY ANY MORE
'Now Anders shouldn't probably say anything more'

In summary, I argue that there is a high negation position in Övdalian, termed HighNegP, located above TP. HighNegP is dominated by a high adverbial phrase, HighAdvP. This is illustrated in (22).

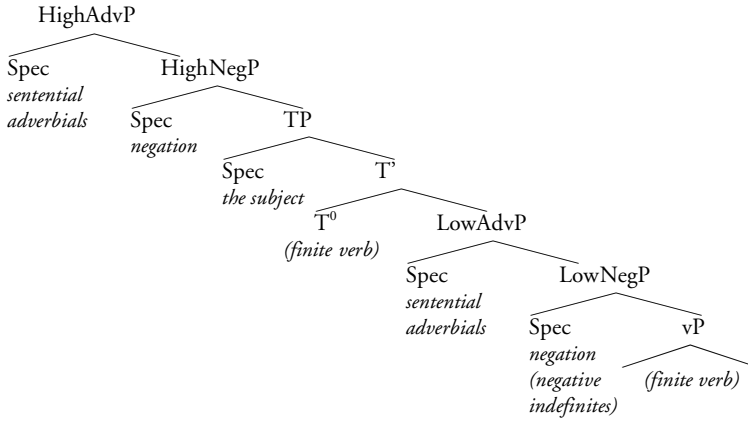
(22) *The position of negation and sentential adverbials in Övdalian*



5.2.4 The Övdalian middle field

Given the facts presented above, I assume the following structure for the Övdalian middle field.

(23) *The Övdalian middle field*



HighAdvP hosts adverbials that precede both negation and the subject. The pre-subject negation position is HighNegP. Spec,TP is the canonical subject position, but as will be shown in section 5.3, doubled subjects may also appear there. The finite verb may, but does not have to, move to T^0. LowAdvP hosts sentential adverbials that follow the subject but precede negation. The sentential adverbials located in LowAdvP may also follow the finite verb in cases when the verb has moved to T^0. Finally, LowNegP hosts post-subject negation and also negative indefinite objects in cases they are not accompanied by the sentential negation.

5.2.5 A note on negation

As mentioned in section 5.2.1 above, Övdalian sentential negation has two different forms: *inte* and *it*. There seems to be a tendency in the distribution of the forms, but in the light of the facts I have observed, I do not consider it motivated to claim that the position of the negation determines its form. The tendency appears to be that the form *it* is used immediately after the finite verb, (24a,b), whereas the form *inte* is used in other cases, (24c,d). However,

when negation precedes a constituent giving it local scope, the form of negation may be *inte*; this is also the case where it immediately follows the finite verb. The question of the two different forms of negation is addressed further in Chapter 6, section 6.3.

(24) a) *An-dar biln will* ***it*** Mats *tjyöpa.* A.24
HE-THERE CAR.DEF WANTS-TO NOT MATS BUY

b) **An-dar biln will* Mats ***it*** *tjyöpa.* A.24
HE-THERE CAR.DEF WANTS-TO MATS NOT BUY

c) *An-dar biln will* ***int*** Mats *tjyöpa.* A.25
HE-THERE CAR.DEF WANTS-TO NOT MATS BUY

d) ?*An-dar biln will* Mats ***int*** *tjyöpa.*[115] A.25
HE-THERE CAR.DEF WANTS-TO MATS NOT BUY
'This car, Mats does not want to buy.'

Another set of examples illustrating the above mentioned tendency in the distribution of the two negation forms is presented in (25) and (26).[116]

(25) a) *Eð ir bar i iss-järˈ buðn so* ***int*** *å andler jätå.* B.3.1
IT IS ONLY IN THIS-HERE SHOP.DEF THAT NOT SHE BUYS FOOD

b) *Eð ir bar i iss-järˈ buðn so å* ***int*** *andler jätå.* B.3.1
IT IS ONLY IN THIS-HERE SHOP.DEF THAT SHE NOT BUYS FOOD

c) **Eð ir bar i iss-järˈ buðn so å andler* ***int*** *jätå.* B.3.1
IT IS ONLY IN THIS-HERE SHOP.DEF THAT SHE BUYS NOT FOOD

(26) a) **Eð ir bar i iss-järˈ buðn so* ***it*** *å andler jätå.* B.3.1
IT IS ONLY IN THIS-HERE SHOP.DEF THAT NOT SHE BUYS FOOD

b) **Eð ir bar i iss-järˈ buðn so å* ***it*** *andler jätå.* B.3.2
IT IS ONLY IN THIS-HERE SHOP.DEF THAT SHE NOT BUYS FOOD

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[115] The sentence in (24d) is judged as grammatical by six consultants, whereas five do not accept it and one marks it as questionable.
[116] The picture is even more complicated when the whole territory where Övdalian is spoken is considered: the form of negation seems to vary substantially in the villages (Steensland 2006b: 50).

c) *Eð ir bar i iss-järr buðn so å andler **it** jätå.* B.3.2
IT IS ONLY IN THIS-HERE SHOP.DEF THAT SHE BUYS NOT FOOD
'It is the only shop, in which she doesn't buy food.'

Given the data presented in (24)-(26), I argue that the different forms of negation in Övdalian are secondary to the position of the negation and that they are dependent on emphasis. Therefore, I maintain that both the form *inte* and *it* can occur in both HighNegP and LowNegP.

5.3 The Left Periphery

The left periphery is the part of the clause where the relations anchoring the sentence in context are expressed. In the Scandinavian languages, the tensed verb moves to the left periphery in main clauses because of the V2-property of these languages. I base my description of the Övdalian left periphery on the standard description of the Scandinavian left periphery as given in Platzack (1998: 89 ff.). This description presupposes that the C-domain contains only one phrase, the CP, but I do not exclude that there may be reasons for assuming a more fine-grinded structure of the Övdalian CP.

5.3.1 The V2 property of Övdalian

As discussed in Chapter 4, Övdalian is a V2 language and thus the finite verb in the main clause can be preceded by only one syntactic constituent as shown in (27).

(27) a) ***Ig*** *will it tjyöp an-dar biln nų.* A.1
I WANT-TO NOT BUY.INF HE-THERE CAR.DEF NOW
'I don't want to buy this car now.'

b) ***An-dar biln*** *will ig it tjyöp nų.* A.1
HE-THERE CAR.DEF WANT-TO I NOT BUY.INF NOW
'This car, I don't want to buy now.'

c) ***Nų*** *will ig it tjyöp an-dar biln.* A.1
NOW WANT-TO I NOT BUY.INF HE-THERE CAR.DEF
'Now, I don't want to buy this car.'

d) ****Ig it*** *will tjyöp an-dar biln nų.* A.1
I NOT WANT-TO BUY.INF HE-THERE CAR.DEF NOW

e) *__An-dar biln__ __ig__ __will__ __it__ __tjyöp__ __nų.__ A.1
HE-THERE CAR.DEF I WANT-TO NOT BUY.INF NOW

f) *__Nų__ __ig__ __will__ __it__ __tjyöp__ __an-dar__ __biln.__ A.1
NOW I WANT-TO NOT BUY.INF HE-THERE CAR.DEF

V2 is standardly described as an effect of verb movement to C^0 where the verb is preceded by a single phrasal constituent in Spec,CP (Platzack 1998: 96). As in Swedish, the Övdalian Spec,CP may be empty in (at least) yes/no-questions and imperatives, see (28).[117]

(28) a) __Ar__ du __tjyöpt__ __å-dar__ __nykuokbuotję?__ B.1.2
HAVE YOU BOUGHT SHE-THERE NEW-COOKERY-BOOK.DEF
'Have you bought this new cookery book?'

b) __Ev__ __nið__ __wiðn__ __i__ __wiðålåðų!__
PUT DOWN WOOD.DEF IN WOOD-BOX.DEF
'Put the wood in the wood box!.'
(from Steensland 2006b: 35)

5.3.2 Subject doubling

Traditional Övdalian exhibits subject doubling (see Rosenkvist 2007 for an extensive analysis of subject doubling in Övdalian). The subject can be doubled only if it is in clause initial position, presumably in Spec,CP as discussed in Rosenkvist (2007). An example of subject doubling is given in (29).

(29) a) __An__ __ir__ __sakt__ __an__ __unggrun__ __nų.__
HE IS ACTUALLY HE HUNGRY NOW

a) *__Nų__ __ir__ __an__ __sakt__ __an__ __unggrun.__
NOW IS HE ACTUALLY HE HUNGRY
'He is actually hungry now.'
(from Rosenkvist 2007: 84)

Following Rosenkvist (2007), I assume that the first subject is in Spec,CP, whereas I argue that the doubled subject is located in Spec,TP, which, as stated above, I take to be the canonical subject position.[118]

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[117] I here follow Platzack (1998: 102) in the assumption that the finite verb moves to C^0 in imperatives in Mainland Scandinavian.

[118] Rosenkvist (2007) assumes the doubled subject stays in ΣP located between CP and TP.

5.3.3 Referential null subjects

Övdalian exhibits referential null subjects as previously mentioned in Chapter 4. The subject of a 1st person plural verb may be null in clause-initial position, namely Spec,CP, as null subjects are only possible in main clauses. Null subjects in Spec,TP are possible only in embedded contexts. These facts are illustrated in (30); (30a,b) illustrate null subjects in main clauses and (30c) gives an embedded context with a null subject.

(30) a) ***Dalskum*** *i Övdalim.*
SPEAK-ÖVDALIAN.1.PL IN ÄLVDALEN
'We speak Övdalian in Älvdalen.'
(from Rosenkvist 2006: 147)

b) **Nu* ***irum*** *iema.*
NOW ARE.1.PL AT-HOME
'Now we are at home.'
(from Rosenkvist 2006: 149)

b) … *um* ***irum*** *iema.*
IF ARE.1.PL AT-HOME
'… if we are at home.'
(from Rosenkvist 2006: 149)

Second person plural subjects may be null when they occur in both clause-initial position in main clauses (Spec,CP), and in the canonical position (Spec,TP) in both main and embedded clauses. Examples (31a,b) show a referential null subject of 2nd person plural in a main clause with and without a preverbal element respectively. Example (31c) shows a referential null subject in an embedded clause. For a closer description of referential null subjects in Övdalian, I refer the reader to Rosenkvist (2006, 2008).

(31) a) ***Dalskið*** *i Övdalim.*
SPEAK-ÖVDALIAN.2.PL IN ÄLVDALEN
'You speak Övdalian in Älvdalen.'
(from Rosenkvist 2006: 148)

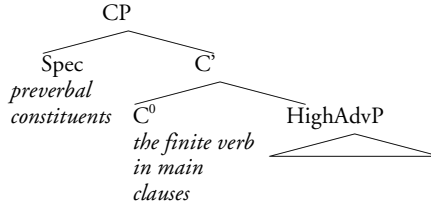
b) *Nų* ***irið*** *iema.*
NOW ARE.2.PL AT-HOME
'Now you are at home.'
(from Rosenkvist 2006: 149)

c) … *um* ***irið*** *iema.*
IF ARE.2.PL AT-HOME
'… if you are at home.'
(from Rosenkvist 2006: 149)

5.3.4 The Övdalian left periphery

The structure of the left periphery in Övdalian is shown in (32) below.

(32) *The Övdalian left periphery*

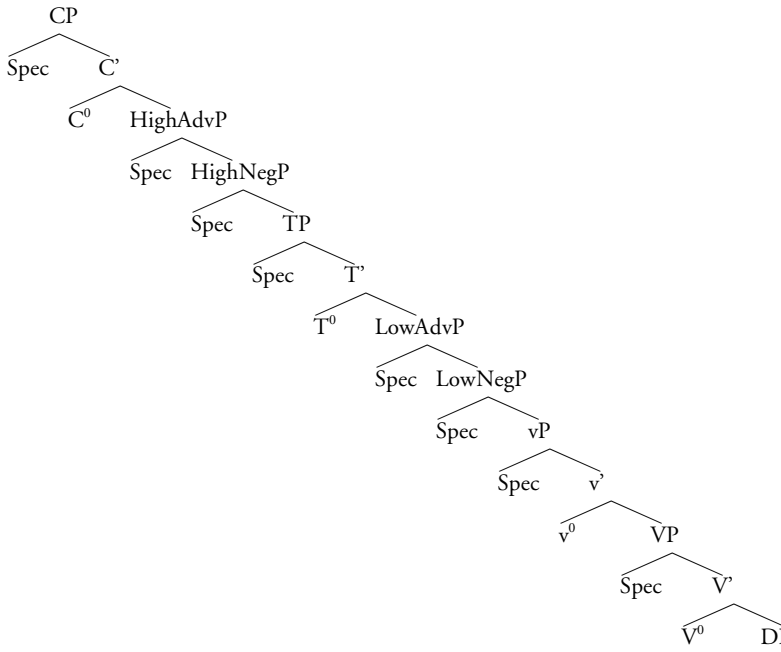


Spec,CP is the landing site of preverbal elements in a main clause, but it can also remain empty in yes/no-questions and in imperatives. In the case of double subjects, I claim that the first subject is located in Spec,CP (in line with Rosenkvist 2007), whereas the doubled subject stays in Spec,TP. Referential subjects are omitted from Spec,CP, in cases where they are in clause-initial position and from Spec,TP when the omission is from the canonical subject position (Rosenkvist 2006).

5.4 Övdalian clause structure summarized

Above, I have presented a proposal for the structure of the Övdalian clause. Generally, it resembles of the structure of Mainland Scandinavian clause as argued for by (Platzack 1998). As stated before, it is important to note the presence of the HighAdvP and the HighNegP located above TP, thus preceding the canonical subject position in Spec,TP. The structure is summarized in (33).

(33) *Övdalian clause structure*



I have argued here that the structure presented in (32) is necessary to account for the word order phenomena found in Övdalian and presented in this dissertation. However, although it may be necessary to modify this structure based on future research, my goal here has been to capture the syntactic properties of Övdalian in a structure that assumes as few functional projections as possible. In the discussion that follows, I take this structure as the point of departure for my analysis of certain aspects of Övdalian syntax.

6 Verb movement in Övdalian

6.1 Introduction

Levander (1909b: 124) observes that Classical Övdalian deviates from standard Swedish with respect to the position of negation in embedded clauses. He notes the following:

> "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 (…)" (Levander 1909b: 124)
> *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.].

Levander (1909b: 124) gives illustrative examples as here in (1).

(1) a) *Ig ir redd an kumb* ***inte***.
I AM AFRAID HE COMES NOT
'I'm afraid that he will not come.'

b) *An far slais 'n wiss* ***int*** *eð*.
HE GOES AF-IF HE KNEW NOT IT
'He acts as he did not know this.'

c) … *bar föðyö at ig willd* ***int*** *fy åm*.
ONLY BECAUSE THAT I WANTED-TO NOT FOLLOW HIM
'… only because I did not want to follow him.'

d) … *um du får* ***int*** *gart ittað-jär firi braddå*.
IF YOU GET NOT DONE THIS-HERE BEFORE EARLY-BREAKFAST
'… if you will not have it done before the early breakfast.'

e) … *fast dier war* ***int*** *ieme*.
ALTHOUGH THEY WERE NOT AT-HOME
'… although they were not at home.'

This observation can be interpreted as a strong indication that Övdalian had obligatory V^0-to-I^0 movement at the time of Levander's study.[119] This picture has partially changed during the 20th century. When Rosenkvist (1994) investigated V^0-to-I^0 in Övdalian in his BA-dissertation, based on interviews with nine consultants born between 1919 and 1978 and mostly from the village of Åsen (the same village in which Levander carried out his investigations), he found that V^0-to-I^0 is obligatory in clauses with a null subject (2), but optional in clauses with an overt subject (3), see Rosenkvist (1994: 22–25).[120]

(2) a) … *at* *baiðum* ***older*** *min* *matn.*
THAT WAIT.1.PL NEVER WITH FOOD.DEF

b) * … *at* ***older*** *baiðum* *min* *matn.*
THAT NEVER WAIT.1.PL WITH FOOD.DEF
'… that we never wait with the food.'

(3) a) … *at* wįð ***older*** *baiðum* *min* *jätå.*
THAT WE NEVER WAIT.1.PL WITH FOOD
'… that we never wait with the food.'

b) … *at* wįð *brukum* ***int*** *baið* *min* *jätå.*
THAT WE USE.1.PL NOT WAIT WITH FOOD
'… that we usually never wait with the food.'

According to Rosenkvist (1994: 23), the obligatory verb movement to I^0 arises due to the fact that the finite verb must move up to I^0 in order to licence a null subject, whereas it may remain in situ when no such licensing is necessary as when the subject is overt. On the other hand, it has been shown in Garbacz (2007) that sentences such as (2b) with a null subject and the finite verb following a sentential adverbial are accepted by some speakers of Traditional Övdalian as shown in (4).

[119] Levander's examples include contexts that infrequently allow topicalization including factive complement clauses and *if*-clauses. I take this to exclude an analysis of the relevant verb movement in terms of V-to-C. See appendices A.26 and A.27 for examples showing that Traditional Övdalian disallows topicalization in so-called non-V2 contexts.
[120] The examples in (2) and (3) are taken from Rosenkvist (1994: 23).

(4) *Ir eð-dar estn so **aldri** wilið raið dar (…)?*
IS THIS-THERE HORSE.DEF THAT NEVER WANT-TO.1.PL RIDE WHEN (…)
'Is this the horse that you never want to ride upon [during wintern]?'
(from Garbacz 2007)

A possible interpretation of the conflicting data given in Rosenkvist (1994) and Garbacz (2007) concerning V^0-to-I^0 in contexts with a null subject may be the following: since we know that adverbials as *aldri*/*older* may be placed both in HighAdvP (see section 5.2.3 above) and in LowNegP, we may assume that *older* is placed in LowAdvP in (2b), but in HighNegP in (4).[121] Given my assumption that the subject cannot be lower than Spec-TP in Övdalian and my assumption that adverbs/negation can be either in HighAdvP/HighNegP or in LowAdvP/LowNegP, sentences such as (5), which lack adverbials below the subject, are therefore ambiguous. Thus there are two possible analyses of (5): either the sentence can be analyzed as a case of negation in HighNegP while the finite verb has moved to I^0, see (6), or it can be analysed as a case of verb-in-situ and negation in a low position, as in (7).[122]

(5) a) *… *at* **older** baiðum min matn.
THAT NEVER WAIT.1.PL WITH FOOD.DEF
'… that we never wait with the food.'

b) … *so* **aldri** wilið raið …
THAT NEVER WANT-TO.1.PL RIDE
' (…) that you never want to ride (…)'

(6) [$_{Comp}$ at/so [$_{HighNegP}$ older/aldri [$_{IP}$ ∅ [$_{Infl}$ baiðum/wilið]]]]
(7) [$_{Comp}$ at/so [$_{IP}$ ∅ [$_{LowNegP}$ older/aldri [$_{Infl}$ ∅ … [$_{vP}$ baiðum/wilið]]]]

It may be the case that Rosenkvist's generalization is valid, but one would need to find an adverbial that cannot appear in front of the subject in order to corroborate it.[123]

The study of Rosenkvist (1994) and other recent studies (for example, Garbacz 2006) agree on the fact that the finite verb does not have to precede sen-

[121] I disregard here the possibility that the structure in (4) could have emerged as a result of Stylistic Fronting. As will be shown in Chapter 7, Stylistic Fronting is not a productive pattern in Övdalian today and it was already limited in the beginning of the 20th century (Levander 1909b: 122).
[122] The third logical possibility is an analysis as verb-in-situ and the negation in a high (pre-subject) position.
[123] I have not yet found an adverbial of this kind. As shown in section 6.3.2, the adverbial *aldri* 'never' and the adverbial *sakta* 'actually' can appear before the subject.

tential adverbials (or negation) in Traditional and Modern Övdalian in cases when there is an overt subject. This is contrary to what Levander (1909b) found to be true of Classical Övdalian one hundred years ago. Embedded clauses of the Mainland Scandinavian type are nowadays both accepted and produced by the speakers of Övdalian, cf. (8).

(8) a) *Eð ir biln so* an ***int*** *will åvå.* B.2.1
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT HE NOT WANTS-TO HAVE
'This is the car that he does not want to have.'

b) *Eð ir biln so* Mats ***int*** *will åvå.* C.2.1
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT MATS NOT WANTS-TO HAVE
'This is the car that Mats does not want to have.'

This leads to the conclusion that obligatory V^0-to-I^0 movement in Classical Övdalian has become optional during the 20th century.

6.2 Verb movement and its triggers

It is well known that the order of the finite verb and sentential adverbials in medieval Scandinavian is the same in main and embedded clauses; the finite verb normally precedes sentential adverbials as shown in the examples in (9) and (10) from Old Norse and Old Swedish respectively.

(9) a) Hann *vildi* ***ekki*** *vaka eptir henni.* (OLD NORSE)
HE WANTED-TO NOT BE-AWAKE AFTER HER
'He did not want to lie awake for her.'
(from Faarlund 2004: 226)

b) … *ef* konungr *bannaði* ***eigi***. (OLD NORSE)
IF KING FORBADE NOT
'…if the king did not forbid it.'
(from Faarlund 2004: 251)

(10) a) Han *wilde* ***ey*** *vppinbara them* … (OLD SWEDISH)
HE WANTED-TO NOT APPEAR THEM …
'He did not want to show them …'
(from *Järteckensboken*[124])

[124] An Old Swedish text from ca. 1385, see http://www.nordlund.lu.se/Fornsvenska/Fsv%20Folder/.

b) …*æn* min guþ *brytar* ***eigh*** *niþar þin guþ*. (OLD SWEDISH)
IF MY GOD BREAKETH NOT DOWN YOUR GOD
'…if my God does not destroy your god.'
(from Falk 1993: 165)

In the modern Scandinavian languages, with the exception of Icelandic, the finite verb precedes sentential adverbials in main clauses and follows them in embedded clauses as shown in the Swedish examples in (11).[125]

(11) a) Han *ville* ***inte*** *visa dem* …
HE WANTED-TO NOT SHOW DEM
'He did not want to show them …'

b) … *om min gud* ***inte*** *bryter ner din gud*.
IF MY GOD NOT BREAKS DOWN YOUR GOD
'…if my God does not destroy your god.'

The difference between the two orders is as follows: (1) *finite verb – sentential adverb / negation* and (2) *sentential adverb / negation – finite verb* in embedded clauses in the Scandinavian languages has been attributed to leftward movement of the verb out of the VP, targeting T^0 (or I^0 in the earliest analyses of this), thus preceding sentential adverbials in the surface structure. Otherwise, the finite verb remains in VP and consequently follows the adverbs on the surface. It has been claimed that languages such as Icelandic and the medieval Scandinavian languages have obligatory verb movement to T^0, whereas the verb stays in situ in embedded clauses in modern Mainland Scandinavian standard languages. The phenomenon of moving the finite verb to T^0 termed previously V^0-to-I^0 movement. In his book on the emergence of order in syntax, Fortuny (2008: 119–134) asks "why and where V moves" and lists four (partial) answers to that question that have been presented in the literature (Fortuny 2008: 119):

(i) Verb movement does not take place at narrow syntax but at PF (Phonetic Form)
(ii) Infl-morphology on V is uninterpretable
(iii) Verb moves from the vP iff it bears rich Infl-morphology

[125] However, in Icelandic one can also find embedded clauses where the finite verb follows a sentential adverb (Angantýsson 2007).

(iv) The Null-Subject parameter derives from V-to-T movement, and hence from the existence of a rich Infl-morphological paradigm in a particular language

Below, I focus on point (iii) above, as it maintains that richness of the verbal inflectional paradigm is crucial for verb movement to a certain position. In short, the proposal is that the richly inflected verb leaves vP and moves leftwards to T^0, whereas the poorly inflected verb stays in situ, that is, in vP. This causes a surface difference, such that the verb appears to the left of sentential adverbs/negation in the case of movement, or that it appears to the right of sentential adverbs/negation (in the case of no movement).

The correlation between verb movement and rich Infl-morphology was first proposed by Kratzer (1984), Roberts (1985), and Kosmeijer (1986). Kosmeijer discusses the difference in embedded word order between Icelandic and Swedish and claims that it is a consequence of the differences in inflection pattern in both languages.[126] This proposal was further developed by Pollock (1989), who splits the IP into AgrP and TP. Later, two slightly different approaches were presented that both link the presence of verb movement to properties having to do with verbal inflection: one that linked verb movement with the richness of agreement (Vikner 1995a and Rohrbacher 1999) and another one that connected verb movement with independent marking of agreement and tense (Thráinsson 1996, Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998, Thráinsson 2003, and Thráinsson in press). I briefly present both approaches below.

6.2.1 Rich agreement as a condition for verb movement to I^0

Vikner (1995a,b) and Rohrbacher (1999) both argue that there is a correlation between the richness of inflectional morphology and verb movement to T^0. Vikner (1995a: 134 ff.) proposes that there is a direct link between the number of inflectional endings and verb movement, but he does not state how many different inflectional endings a language must have in order to exhibit V^0-to-I^0 movement. Rohrbacher (1999), sharing the basic idea with Vikner, claims that rich agreement causes verb movement to I^0, and formulates a hypothesis that is commonly known as The Rich Agreement Hypothesis (RAH). Rohrbacher also defines the notion of *rich agreement* claiming that agreement is *rich* "(…) 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 distinc-

[126] I do not discuss the fact that Mainland Scandinavian languages exhibit V^0-to-C^0 movement in the absence of rich verbal morphology, see the discussion on this in Vikner (1995a: 51 ff.).

tively marked" (Rohrbacher 1999: 138). This hypothesis was first proposed in a strong version (i):

(i) *'RICH' AGREEMENT IS THE CAUSE OF (OVERT) VERB MOVEMENT TO INFL.*

The formulation in (i) implies a bi-conditional link between rich agreement and verb movement to I^0. Or, to put it differently, languages that have separate endings for 1st and 2nd person (in any tense and in any number) also display verb movement to I^0.

The proposal of Rohrbacher has been very influential, but also heavily criticized. The bi-conditional link between verb movement and rich agreement that Rohrbacher proposes implies that verb movement should not be possible without a certain verb inflection pattern containing at least three different forms. As pointed out by many (for example, see Thráinsson (in press) for an overview), this bi-directional link cannot be established, as there are many diachronic and synchronic counter-examples to it, showing that verb movement occurs in the absence of overt verbal morphology. Given the evidence showing that verb movement may occur in the absence of rich verbal agreement, Bobaljik (2002) reformulates the RAH and proposes a weak, one-directional version of it (Bobaljik 2002: 132):

(ii) *IF A LANGUAGE HAS RICH INFLECTION THEN IT HAS VERB MOVEMENT TO INFL.*

The formulation in (ii) does not assume any bi-conditional link between V^0-to-I^0 movement and rich agreement, allowing a language to exhibit V^0-to-I^0 movement without rich inflection, including the verb movement attested in Regional Northern Norwegian, see Bentzen (2007), in Faroese, see Jonas (1995), Petersen (2000), and Bentzen et al. (2009), in Scots and Shetland Dialect (Jonas 2002), and in the Kronoby dialect of Swedish (Alexiadou and Fanselow 2002). The formulation excludes the possibility of a language displaying rich verbal inflection without obligatory V^0-to-I^0 movement.

6.2.2 Split-IP as a condition for verb movement to I^0

Under the approach of Thráinsson (1996), Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998), Thráinsson (2003) and Thráinsson (in press), it is argued that a split IP is a condition for verb movement to occur.[127] Hence, verb movement is claimed

[127] The precursors of the proposal are found in Bobaljik (1995) and also Johnson (1990).

not to occur in the case of an unsplit IP.[128] Thráinsson states that "languages that have a positive value for the S[plit] IP have AgrSP and TP as separate projections", whereas languages with a negative value of the split IP have an unsplit IP (Thráinsson 1996: 262). The trigger of the positive value for the split IP parameter is independent tense and agreement morphology (Thráinsson 1996: 269). This can be illustrated by comparing the Mainland Scandinavian languages (that only have one ending for the present tense and one for the past tense, but no separable agreement endings) with Icelandic (in which the marker for past tense is clearly separable from agreement markers), see also Thráinsson (in press). In other words, Icelandic, which has independent tense and agreement morphology, also displays a split IP and verb movement to I^0 (T^0), giving a surface structure as illustrated in (9b) above. On the other hand, the Mainland Scandinavian languages that do not have independent tense and agreement morphology, neither possess a split IP nor verb movement and the surface structure of an embedded clause is as the one given in (11b) above.

6.2.3 The triggers of verb movement - summary

To summarize, the proposals of Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998), Vikner (1995a), and Rohrbacher (1999) link the possibility of having verb movement with the presence of a certain richness of inflectional endings. Whereas Vikner (1995a) and Rohrbacher (1999) argue that the richness of the verb's inflection pattern is essential, Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998) maintain that the distinction between separate marking of tense and agreement is crucial. In the following, I will present data from Övdalian that contradict both approaches.

[128] Interestingly, Belfast English seems to be a counterargument to this correlation. The variety exhibits transitive expletives, this fact suggesting that its IP is split, while it does not display verb raising of lexical verbs to T^0 (Henry & Cottell 2007: 281 ff.). I thank Dianne Jonas for pointing this out to me.

6.3 Verbal inflection and verb movement in Traditional Övdalian

6.3.1 Verbal inflection

As discussed in chapters 2 and 4 of this dissertation, Traditional Övdalian differs morphologically and syntactically in many ways from the other Scandinavian languages. One of the differences concerns verbal inflection, which resembles the Icelandic and Old Swedish pattern more than that of Mainland Scandinavian. As was shown in Chapter 2, Traditional Övdalian displays verbal agreement in both person and number, as the verbs are inflected for number (singular and plural) and all persons in the plural. This is shown in Table 6.1 and Table 6.2 below.

Table 6.1. The indicative inflection forms of the weak verb *spilå* (play)[129]

TYPE OF CONJUGATION	PRESENT		PRETERITE	
PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	*spilär*	*spilum*	*spiläð*	*spiläðum*
2nd	*spilär*	*spilið*	*spiläð*	*spiläðið*
3rd	*spilär*	*spilå*	*spiläð*	*spiläð*

Table 6.2. The indicative inflection forms of the strong verb *fårå* (go)[130]

TYPE OF CONJUGATION	PRESENT		PRETERITE	
PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	*far*	*farum*	*fuor*	*fuorum*
2nd	*far*	*farið*	*fuor*	*fuorið*
3rd	*far*	*fårå*	*fuor*	*fuoru*

A detailed description of Övdalian verbal morphology is to be found in section 2.3.3. Given the inflectional pattern, Övdalian is expected to exhibit verb

[129] After Lars Steensland (p.c.); the variant given in the table is used in the village of Brunnsberg and Åsen.
[130] After Lars Steensland (p.c.); the variant given in the table is spoken in the village of Brunnsberg.

movement both according to the proposal of Vikner (1995a) and Rohrbacher (1999), as it has different endings for 1st and 2nd person in at least one tense and number, but also according to the proposal_of Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998), as it has separate agreement and tense marking. Interestingly, Thráinsson (2007: 59) shows that Övdalian has separate morphemes for tense and agreement. He compares six Scandinavian varieties with respect to the separability of tense and agreement markers: Danish, Icelandic, Old Swedish, Middle Swedish, Övdalian, and the Hallingdalen dialect of Norwegian. He concludes that these morphemes are separable in Icelandic, Old Swedish and in Övdalian, whereas they are not in Danish, Middle Swedish, and in the Hallingdalen dialect. The table given in Thráinsson (2007: 59) is shown below as Table 6.3. Since Thráinsson gives the incorrect Övdalian verbal forms, I give the correct forms in brackets and the incorrect forms are marked with an asterisk.[131] The erroneous Övdalian forms do not, however, influence the line of argument.

Table 6.3: Separability of agreement and tense markers in Danish, Icelandic and Övdalian

Infl.	Danish		Icelandic		Övdalian	
	present	*past*	*present*	*past*	*present*	*past*
1st sg.	hør-**er**	hør-**te**	heyr-**i**	heyr-**ð-i**	*hör-**er** (är-**er**)	*hör-**d-e** (är-**d-e**)
2nd sg.	hør-**er**	hør-**te**	heyr-**ir**	heyr-**ð-ir**	*hör-**er** (är-**er**)	*hör-**d-e** (är-**d-e**)
3rd sg.	hør-**er**	hør-**te**	heyr-**ir**	heyr-**ð-i**	*hör-**er** (är-**er**)	*hör-**d-e** (är-**d-e**)
1st pl.	hør-**er**	hør-**te**	heyr-**um**	heyr-**ð-um**	*hör-**um** (är-**um**)	*hör-**d-um** (är-**d-um**)
2nd pl.	hør-**er**	hør-**te**	heyr-**ið**	heyr-**ð-uð**	*hör-**ir** (är-**ið/** är-**ir**)	*hör-**d-ir** (är-**d-ið/** är-**d-ir**)
3rd pl.	hør-**er**	hør-**te**	heyr-**a**	heyr-**ð-u**	*hör-**a** (är-**a**)	*hör-**d-e** (är-**d-e**)

As we see, Icelandic, Middle Swedish and Övdalian, all have independent tense and agreement morphology according to Thráinsson (2007: 59), and also have a split IP under the account of Thráinsson and, as expected, display verb movement to I^0 (T^0). On the other hand, the standard Mainland Scandi-

[131] Thráinsson (2007: 59) has taken the Övdalian forms from Vikner (1995b) who writes that the Övdalian paradigms are "based on Levander (1909b: 62–63, 80, 84–88)" (Vikner 1995b: 7). Having consulted the relevant pages in Levander (1909b), one discovers that the Övdalian verb *ära* ('to hear') is not mentioned there.

navian languages and Old Swedish, which do not have independent tense and agreement morphology, have neither a split IP nor verb movement.

There is no known weakening of the inflectional paradigm of the verb in Övdalian (such a possibility is suggested in Angantýsson 2008; I return to it in section 6.5) and the orthography as a rule reflects the actual differences between the person and number endings. The verbal inflection in Övdalian can be therefore classified as robust.

6.3.2 Verb movement

As we have seen in the previous section (6.3.1), the facts of Traditional Övdalian verb inflection predict the presence of obligatory verb movement according to the theories presented in section 6.2. However, as mentioned above, V^0-to-I^0 movement has become optional in Övdalian (Rosenkvist 1994, Garbacz 2006). One of the aims of my investigation of Traditional Övdalian has been to present a complete picture of the verb movement possibilities in Övdalian in order to be able to evaluate the correctness of the proposed link between verbal inflection and verb movement. In order to answer this question, a number of language internal factors have been taken into consideration. To begin with, I have tested the word order possibilities of different types of finite verbs with different sentential adverbials and different types of subject. The orders are given in (12) below.

(12) a) ADV – SUBJ – V_{fin} – V_{inf}/OBJ
b) SUBJ – ADV – V_{fin} – V_{inf}/OBJ
c) SUBJ – V_{fin} – ADV – V_{inf}/OBJ
d) SUBJ – V_{fin} – V_{inf}/OBJ – ADV

These orders were tested with five adverbials: (1) *inte*/*it* 'not', (2) *sakta* 'actually', (3) *aldri* 'never', (4) *kringgt* 'often' and (5) *milumað* 'sometimes'; with three different types of verbs: (1) a perfective auxiliary, (2) a modal auxiliary and (3) a main verb and with two types of subjects: (1) pronominal subjects and (2) DP-subjects. The four above-mentioned orders were tested in relative clauses, as relative clauses do not allow embedded topicalization in Övdalian, compare (13a) with (13b).

(13) a) **Að ir fel Maj so* ***å-dar buotję*** *ar lesið*.A.26
IT IS PROBABLY MAJ THAT SHE-THERE BOOK.DEF HAS READ

b) *Eð ir fel Maj so ar lesið ą-dar buotję*. A.26
IT IS PROBABLY MAJ THAT HAS READ SHE-THERE BOOK.DEF
'It is probably Maj that has read this book.'

There are good reasons for testing the word orders using the variables mentioned above. Firstly, different adverbial types have sometimes been claimed to occupy different positions in the structure (see, for example, Cinque 1999). Irrespective of whether this view is correct or not, it has been shown for some languages that the embedded word order *finite verb – sentential adverbial* is more acceptable with certain adverbials and less acceptable with others.[132] Secondly, the embedded word order *finite verb – sentential adverbial* with modal auxiliaries has been argued to occur earlier in the speech of young children acquiring Swedish than the same word order with other types of verb (Håkansson & Collberg 1994). It could thus be the case that modal auxiliaries or auxiliaries in general behave differently form main verbs with respect to their ability to occur in different positions in a clause. Finally, it has been shown that 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). Also, Angantýsson (2007) reports that there are examples that show lack of verb movement linked to subject type in Icelandic, in so far that one finds the embedded word order *sentential adverbial – finite verb* more frequently in clauses with a pronominal subject. It has also been reported that the embedded word order *finite verb – sentential adverbial* may depend on the type of the embedded clause (Vikner 1995: 65 ff.). As mentioned above, I have chosen to test the word orders in (12) in relative clauses. These do not allow embedded V2 in Övdalian as shown in (13a). Any occurrence of the word order *finite verb - sentential adverb* in clauses where the subject precedes the adverbial(s) is thus interpreted as presence of V^0-to-I^0 movement in the present dissertation. Given my assumptions about adverb placement, clauses where sentential adverbials precede the subject in Spec,TP are ambiguous between V^0-to-I^0 and V-in-situ structures. The results of the investigation are summarized in Table 6.4 and Table 6.5.

[132] This appears to the case in Faroese. The embedded word order *finite verb – sentential adverbial* is accepted with the adverbial *longu* 'already' and *ofta* 'often', but rejected with the negation *ikki* 'not' and adverbials as *ongantíð* 'never' and *aldrin* 'never' (Bentzen et al. 2009). A similar tendency is also reported from some varieties of North Norwegian (Bentzen 2007).

Table 6.4: Embedded word orders with a pronominal subject in Övdalian

VERB TYPE	ADVERBIAL	POSITION OF THE ADVERBIAL			
		BEFORE THE SUBJECT	BETWEEN THE SUBJECT AND THE FINITE VERB (NO VERB MOVEMENT)	BETWEEN THE FINITE VERB AND THE NON-FINITE VERB/VERBAL COMPLEMENTS (VERB MOVEMENT)	FINALLY
PERFECTIVE AUXILIARY	*inte / it*	ok	ok	ok	*
	sakta	?	?	?	*
	aldri	ok	ok	ok	*
	kringgt	*	*	*	ok
	milumað	*	*	*	ok
MODAL AUXILIARY	*inte / it*	ok	ok	ok	*
	sakta	?	ok	ok	*
	aldri	ok	ok	?	*
	kringgt	*	ok	*	ok
	milumað	*	ok	*	ok
MAIN VERB	*inte / it*	ok	ok	ok	*
	sakta	*	ok	?	*
	aldri	ok	ok	?	*
	kringgt	*	ok	*	ok
	milumað	*	ok	*	ok

Table 6.5: Embedded word orders with a DP-subject in Övdalian

VERB TYPE	ADVERBIAL	POSITION OF THE ADVERBIAL			
		BEFORE THE SUBJECT	BETWEEN THE SUBJECT AND THE FINITE VERB (NO VERB MOVEMENT)	BETWEEN THE FINITE VERB AND THE NON-FINITE VERB/VERBAL COMPLEMENTS (VERB MOVEMENT)	FINALLY
PERFECTIVE AUXILIARY	*inte / it*	ok	ok	ok	*
	sakta	ok	ok	?	*
	aldri	ok	ok	not tested	*
	kringgt	*	?	*	ok
	milumað	*	?	*	ok
MODAL AUXILIARY	*inte / it*	ok	ok	ok	*
	sakta	?	ok	?	*
	aldri	ok	ok	?	*
	kringgt	*	?	*	ok
	milumað	*	*	*	ok
MAIN VERB	*inte / it*	ok	ok	ok	*
	sakta	*	?	?	*
	aldri	ok	ok	*	*
	kringgt	?	?	*	ok
	milumað	?	?	*	ok

The picture that emerges from the two tables presented above can be basically described as follows: Two out of the five adverbials tested alternate between appearing in a pre-subject and a post-subject position (here HighNeg/ HighAdvP and LowNeg/LowAdvP, respectively). These are the sentential negation *inte*/*it* and the adverb *aldri* 'never':[133]

[133] In the presence of auxiliaries, the adverb *sakta* 'actually' may also marginally appear before the subject, whereas *kringgt* 'often' and *milumað* 'sometimes' appear to be marginally possible before the subject in the absence of auxiliaries when the subject is not pronominal. For want of more data, I will disregard these apparent tendencies here.

(14) a) *Eð ir iend buotje so* ***aldri*** ig *ar lesið.* B.1.2
IT IS ONLY BOOK.DEF THAT NEVER I HAVE READ

b) *Eð ir iend buotje so* ig ***aldri*** *ar lesið.* B.1.2
IT IS ONLY BOOK.DEF THAT I NEVER HAVE READ
'This is the only book that I have never read.'

c) *Eð ir biln so* ***int*** Mats *will åvå.* C.2.1
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT NOT MATS WANTS-TO HAVE

d) *Eð ir biln so* Mats ***int*** *will åvå.* C.2.1
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT MATS NOT WANTS-TO HAVE
'This is the car that Mats doesn't want to have.'

In the lower Neg-position, there is a tendency for negation to appear as *it* in the presence of verb movement and as *int* in the absence of verb movement as shown in (15a-c).[134]

(15) a) *Eð ir biln so* an ***int*** *will åvå.* B.2.1
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT HE NOT WANTS-TO HAVE

b) *Eð ir biln so* an *will* ***int*** *åvå.* B.2.1
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT HE WANTS-TO NOT HAVE

c) **Eð ir biln so* an ***it*** *will åvå.* B.2.1
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT HE NOT WANTS-TO HAVE

d) **Eð ir biln so* an *will* ***it*** *åvå.* B.2.1
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT HE WANTS-TO NOT HAVE
'This is the car that he doesn't want to have.'

However, neither of the two adverbials *inte* 'not' and *aldri* 'never' can appear in sentence final position as shown in the example in (16).[135]

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[134] The negation form *it* is generally not possible in pre-subject position as stated in Chapter 5: **Belgien ir iett land i Europa so* ***it*** ig *ar verið i.* B.1.1

[135] The adverbials *inte* 'not' *sakta* 'actually' and *aldri* 'never' can sometimes appear in sentence final position; this placement seems to be an effect of extraposing, for example in the utterance *Itjä då* ***inte***! (lit. NOT THEN NOT! that is, 'Not at all!'), *Eð djikk strai'tt* ***sakta***! (lit. IT WENT QUICKLY ACTUALLY! 'It actually went very quickly.'), and *Ig ar it si'tt an* ***aldri***. (lit. I HAVE NOT SEEN HIM NEVER. 'I have never seen him.'). I thank Lars Steensland for pointing this out to me.

(16) a) *Eð ir biln so ig will tjyöpa **aldri**. B.2.2
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT HE WANTS-TO BUY NEVER
Intended: 'This is the car that I never want to buy.'

b) Eð ir biln so an will åvå **inte/it**. B.2.1
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT HE WANTS-TO HAVE NOT
'This is the car that he does not want to have.'

Verb movement across sentential negation seems to be optional in Traditional Övdalian regardless of the type of verb that moves (main verb/auxiliary) and regardless of the type of subject (pronominal/DP) as shown in the examples in (17).

(17) a) Eð ir bar i iss-järˈ buðn so Marit **int** andler jätå. C.3.1
IT IS ONLY IN THIS-HERE SHOP.DEF THAT MARIT NOT BUYS FOOD

b) Eð ir bar i iss-järˈ buðn so Marit andler **it** jätå. C.3.1
IT IS ONLY IN THIS-HERE SHOP.DEF THAT MARIT BUYS NOT FOOD
'Only in this shop, Marit does not buy food.'

Verb movement to the left of *aldri* 'never' on the other hand appears more restricted and subject to more variation. Movement of a main verb across *aldri* in clauses with a DP-subject is not accepted by speakers, while the same movement is subject to variation in clauses with a pronominal subject. It appears to be more acceptable with a perfective auxiliary in clauses with a pronominal subject.

(18) a) *Eð ir bar i Övdalim so Andes jager **aldri** brinder. C.3.3
IT IS ONLY IN ÄLVDALEN THAT ANDES HUNTS NEVER ELKS
'Only in Älvdalen Anders does not hunt elks.'

b) ?Eð ir bar i Övdalim so an jager **aldri** brinder. B.3.3
IT IS ONLY IN ÄLVDALEN THAT HE HUNTS NEVER ELKS
'Only in Älvdalen he does not hunt elks.'

c) Eð ir iend buotję so ig ar **aldri** lesið. B.1.3
IT IS ONLY BOOK.DEF THAT I HAVE NEVER READ
'This is the only book that I have never read.'

Verb movement across *sakta* is also restricted; marginal in all of the test sentences except with modal auxiliaries in clauses with a pronominal subject as shown in the examples in (19).

(19) a) ?*An byddjer i ¸ie stugu so* an *flytteð* ***sakt*** *¸uot iessn.* B.3.4
HE LIVES IN A HOUSE THAT HE MOVED ACTUALLY HERE ONCE
'He lives in a house that he actually moved here once.'

b) *Eð ir biln so* dier *wil* ***sakt*** *åvå.* B.2.2
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT HE WANT-TO ACTUALLY HAVE
'This is the car that they actually want to have.'

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the speakers I have consulted prefer the adverbials *kringgt* 'often' and *milumað* 'sometimes' in sentence final position as shown in example (20) below. For this reason, I disregard these adverbials in my discussion of V^0-to-I^0 movement. In some contexts, they may appear in what appears to be the LowAdv position for some speakers as shown in (21). I assume this word order to be influenced by Swedish. Verb movement is not possible across *kringgt* 'often' and *milumað* 'sometimes' as shown in (22).

(20) *Eð ir noð so* Ierik *ar gart* ***kringgt.*** C.1.3
IT IS SOMETHING THAT ERIK HAS DONE OFTEN
'This is something that Erik has often done.'

(21) *Eð ir biln so* å ***kringgt*** *will åka.* B.2.3
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT SHE OFTEN WANTS-TO DRIVE
'This is something that Erik has often done.'

(22) **Eð ir i Tjyörtjbymm so* ig *tjyöper* ***kringgt*** *Mµortinindje.* B.3.4
IT IS IN KYRBYN THAT I BUY OFTEN MORA TIDNING
'In Kyrkbyn [the central village of Älvdalen], I often buy Mora Tidning [i.e. the local newspaper].

To summarize, Traditional Övdalian exhibits optional verb movement across sentential negation. Verb movement across other adverbials appears more restricted and seems to depend on the subject and the type of verb involved.[136] In Regional Northern Norwegian, verb movement is possible across all adverbs except sentential negation in so-called non-V2 clauses (Bentzen 2007), see (23) and (24) below.

[136] See Bentzen (2007), Hróarsdottir et al (2007), and Wiklund (2007) for indications that verb movement across negation is different from verb movement across other adverbials.

(23) a) *Dem som går* ***regelmessig*** *på kino treng ikke TV.*
THOSE THAT GO REGULARLY ON CINEMA NEED NOT TV

b) *Dem som* ***regelmessig*** *går på kino treng ikke TV.*
THOSE THAT REGULARLY GO ON CINEMA NEED NOT TV
'Those who regularly go to the cinema, don't need a TV.'
(from Bentzen 2007: 124)

(24) a) **… ettersom nån studenta leverte* ***ikke*** *oppgaven.*
AS SOME STUDENTS HANDED-IN NOT ASSIGMENT.DEF

b) *… ettersom nån studenta ikke leverte oppgaven.*
AS SOME STUDENTS NOT HANDED-IN ASSIGMENT.DEF
'... as some students didn't hand in the assignment.'
(from Bentzen 2007: 124)

My impression from the situation reflected in tables 6.4 and 6.5 is that Traditional Övdalian exhibits a close to opposite pattern to Regional Northern Norwegian. If we disregard variation, as reflected by the median value of 3, verb movement across negation is fully optional in Traditional Övdalian, while verb movement across other adverbs appears marginal or at least more restricted.[137] For the purpose of this dissertation, I assume that the pattern *subject – finite verb – sentential adverbial* in a non-V2 environment is an instance also V^0-to-I^0 movement. Returning to the Rich Agreement Hypothesis (Bobaljik 2002:148), we seem to have encountered an impossible language (to use the words of Wiklund 2002): a language with rich inflection that nevertheless does not display obligatory verb movement to the inflectional domain. In fact, verb movement across adverbials other than negation is restricted for many speakers of Traditional Övdalian. Together with the data presented by Angantýsson (2007) showing that verb movement is optional in certain contexts in Icelandic, my data from Övdalian pose a challenge to the RAH. In the next section, I suggest some facts that may have an impact on verb raising to I in Övdalian.

[137] Hróarsdottir et al. (2007) assume that all verb movement across negation targets the C-domain of the clause and is V2 verb movement. If they are correct, Övdalian exhibits optional embedded V2 and also marginally V^0-to-I^0 movement (movement across other adverbials). More research is needed to determine whether the latter movement is similar to that found in Northern Norwegian as described in Bentzen (2007).

6.4 Factors relevant for V^0-to-I^0 in Övdalian

The picture that has emerged in the previous sections of this chapter is that V^0-to-I^0 movement in Traditional Övdalian is optional, at least across the negation, whereas it appears more restricted across adverbials other than negation. More generally, optional movement should not be attested at all under the assumptions of the Minimalist Program (Thráinsson 2003: 164) and optional V^0-to-I^0 movement in particular is predicted to be impossible by the RAH, as mentioned above. Before I discuss the RAH further, I will take a closer look at the factors that appear to influence the possibility of V^0-to-I^0 movement in Övdalian.

Övdalian is a language that is spoken in Sweden and all speakers are bilingual. However, the majority of older speakers who were born before the World War II did not speak Swedish at all before attending school.[138] This applies also to my consultants whose mother tongue is Övdalian and not 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 as I discussed in Chapter 4. A 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 outside the scope of the present dissertation. Below, I briefly discuss four factors that appear to be related to the possibility of V^0-to-I^0 movement.

6.4.1 Subject type and V^0-to-I^0

As was shown in tables 6.4 and 6.5 above, V^0-to-I^0 movement across adverbs other than negation appears less acceptable in clauses with DP-subjects. On the other hand, Rosenkvist (1994) claims that verb movement in Övdalian is obligatory with null subjects. The relation between the type of subject and V^0-to-I^0 however, seems to be more complex than Rosenkvist proposed as it has not been convincingly shown that the finite verb must raise to I^0 when the subject is null (cf. section 6.1 above). Nor is verb movement impossible with pronominal and DP-subjects, just dispreferred, at by the speakers consulted in this dissertation and at least in the tested contexts. These findings are interest-

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

ing in the light of the loss of V^0-to-I^0 movement in Old Swedish as V^0-to-I^0 is 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 disfavour V^0-to-I^0, at least in the Scandinavian languages.

6.4.2 The type of adverbial and V^0-to-I^0

In Traditional Övdalian, embedded verb movement is always possible across negation, whereas it is less accepted across the adverbials *aldri* 'never' and *sakta* 'actually'. Övdalian does not pattern with the variety of Northern Norwegian described in Bentzen (2007) as mentioned above, nor with Faroese (Bentzen et al. 2009). Both Regional North Norwegian and Faroese accept the embedded word order S-V_{fin}-Advl with adverbials as $_{Nor.}$*ofte* /$_{Far.}$*ofta* 'often' but not with the negation or the adverbial $_{Nor.}$*aldri* /$_{Far.}$*ongantíð* /$_{Far.}$*aldrin* 'never', see (23) and (24), repeated here as (25) and (26), for Regional North Norwegian and (27) and (28) for Faroese.

(25) a) *Dem som går* ***regelmessig*** *på kino treng ikke TV.*
THOSE THAT GO REGULARLY ON CINEMA NEED NOT TV

b) *Dem som* ***regelmessig*** *går på kino treng ikke TV.*
THOSE THAT REGULARLY GO ON CINEMA NEED NOT TV
'Those who regularly go to the cinema, don't need a TV.'
(from Bentzen 2007: 124)

(26) a) *… *ettersom* nån studenta *leverte* ***ikke*** *oppgaven.*
AS SOME STUDENTS HANDED-IN NOT ASSIGMENT.DEF

b) … *ettersom* nån studenta ***ikke*** *leverte oppgaven.*
AS SOME STUDENTS NOT HANDED-IN ASSIGMENT.DEF
'... as some students didn't hand in the assignment.'
(from Bentzen 2007: 124)

(27) a) *Tað er tann einasta bókin sum* eg *havi* ***ofta*** *lisið.*
THIS IS THE ONLY BOOK.DEF THAT I HAVE OFTEN READ

b) *Tað er tann einasta bókin sum* eg ***ofta*** *havi lisið.*
THIS IS THE ONLY BOOK.DEF THAT I OFTEN HAVE READ
'This is the only book that i have read often.'
(from Bentzen et al. 2009: 88)

(28) a) *Hon fortaldi mær hví* Ása ***ikki*** *etur blóðpylsu.*
SHE TOLD ME WHY ÁSA NOT EATS BLOOD-SAUSAGE

b) **Hon fortaldi mær hví* Ása *etur* ***ikki*** *blóðpylsu.*
SHE TOLD ME WHY ÁSA EATS NOT BLOOD-SAUSAGE
'... as some students didn't hand in the assignment.'
(from Bentzen et al. 2009: 87)

This matter is also discussed in sections 5.1 and 6.3.2.

6.4.3 The type of embedded clause and V^0-to-I^0

Angantýsson (2008) has found that the acceptance of the word order *finite verb – sentential adverbs / negation* among Traditional Övdalian consultants (aged 74 to 89) is highest in indirect questions (85%), lower in clauses that are complements of bridge verbs (58%) as well as in adverbial and relative clauses (50%) and lowest in clauses that are complements of non-bridge verbs (42%).[139] This is similar to the findings of Jonas (1995: 126), Petersen (2000) and Thráinsson (2003: 168–178), who have shown that in Faroese, there is variation in the acceptance of the structure *finite verb – sentential adverbs / negation* contra the structure *sentential adverbs / negation – finite verb* depending on the clause type and also to the findings of Wiklund et al. (2009) and Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009) who show that even Icelandic displays restrictions in this respect. That-clauses being complements of bridge verbs are most likely to display the word order *finite verb – sentential adverbs / negation*, whereas adverbial clauses, indirect questions and relative clauses (in this order) are less likely to and mostly do not (see Vikner 1995 and many others). In this dissertation, I have however not examined the acceptance of the pattern S-V_{fin}-Advl in different types of embedded clauses.

6.4.4 The age of the consultants and V^0-to-I^0

Not surprisingly, there is strong evidence that verb movement is more disfavoured by younger consultants (Garbacz 2007 and Angantýsson 2008). However, the correlation is not simply that the Mainland Scandinavian type word

[139] The high percentage of the word order *finite verb – sentential adverbial* in indirect question may seem suprising. It cannot however be excluded that this is a kind of V2-phenomenon. In Swedish for instance, indirect question may exhibit such word order as some examples from the Internet show: *nu vill man bara veta när kommer del 2* 'now want-to one only know when comes part 2' (to be found at http://www.myspace.com/ljudetfranljusdal).

'order increases in the speech of the younger generation. There are two tendencies: (1) negation is placed before the subject, making V^0-to-I^0 invisible (a pattern that was already common in the beginning of the 20th century, see Levander 1909b: 124) as shown in (29), and (2) sentential adverbs appear between the subject and the finite verb, indicating that the verb has stayed in situ, which is the Mainland Scandinavian pattern as is shown in (30).[140]

(29) *Ð ir biln so* ***int*** *an will åvå.* B.2.1
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT NOT HE WANTS-TO HAVE

(30) *Ð ir biln so an* ***int*** *will åvå.* B.2.1
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT NOT HE WANTS-TO HAVE
'This is the car that he doesn't want to have.'

The present results thus show that verb movement across adverbials as *sakta* 'actually' and *aldri* 'never' has become a marked possibility in Traditional Övdalian. A good example of this is found in texts written in Traditional Övdalian by one of my consultants who generally accepts verb movement in an elicitation situation. When examining her text production, it is apparent that she uses virtually no structures where verb movement is visible, choosing instead the word order with negation / sentential adverbs preceding the subject (giving no clue as to whether verb movement occurs or not).[141] The structure with negation / sentential adverb in a pre-subject position therefore seems to be unmarked contrary to Classical Övdalian, when it most probably was the marked one. The tendency is clear: the speakers chose the word order that does not indicate whether the finite verb has moved to I^0 or not (see also Rosenkvist 1994: 21 for similar conclusions).

To summarize this section so far, it can be stated that both the type of the subject as well as the adverbial type are two important factors determining the possibility of V^0-to-I^0 movement in Övdalian. Verb movement seems to be almost obligatory with null subjects and it is less preferred with DP-subjects than with pronominal subjects. Moreover, it seems much more accepted by the older generation of speakers than by the younger generation, although the evidence form the younger generations is so far rather limited. Nevertheless, when the speakers of Traditional Övdalian are considered, verb movement to I^0 can be said to be a possibility.

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[140] It is important to bear in mind that the pre-subject placement of negation in Traditional Övdalian does not imply that negation has local scope.
[141] In her spoken language, the picture may of course be different and should be investigated.

6.5 The richness of verbal agreement in Övdalian

Verbal agreement in Traditional Övdalian can be considered to be rich, given its four different verb forms as discussed in section 6.3 above and it is reminiscent of the Old Swedish paradigm. Apparently, verbal inflection of Traditional Övdalian has somehow changed compared to the other Scandinavian languages with rich verbal agreement, as Traditional Övdalian is the only Scandinavian partial null subject language (Rosenkvist 2006, 2008).[142] The ending of 1st person plural is the same as its Old Swedish counterpart, whereas the ending of 2nd person plural is a secondary ending. Null subjects are allowed only in 1st and 2nd person plural and the rules for omission are different for 1st and 2nd person. The 1st person subject pronoun, *ų̇ið*, may only be omitted from clause-initial position in a main or in a subordinated clause, whereas the 2nd person pronoun, *ið*, may always be omitted, independently of the position it occupies as was discussed in section 5.3.3. The endings of 1st and 2nd person plural are also involved in determining the richness of agreement in the sense of Rohrbacher (1999) and the separability of morphemes for agreement and tense (cf. Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998).[143] Given that 1st and 2nd plural allow null subjects, we may expect that the endings have in some way been reanalysed and become clitic-like. Björklund (1956: 98–107) has convincingly shown that the ending of 2nd pl. is a reanalysed pronoun, whereas the Old Dalecarlian/Old Övdalian ending, *–in* (which is also the standard ending in Old Swedish) has been lost. Therefore, the status of *–ið* is apparently different from the other plural endings. As for the ending for 1st pl., *–um*, it is more difficult to assume that it has been reanalysed as a free morpheme; it happens to be written separately by some native-speakers of Övdalian, but only the reciprocal *-s* ending can occur between the verbal stem and the *–um* ending, for example *råkte-s-um* 'we met each other'. A reanalysis as a free morpheme may be the case for *-um* in the future, but as of now, there are not many arguments in favour of such an analysis. The status of *–ið* is on the other hand definitely ambiguous; it can be analysed as a subject clitic or as a verbal ending.

Given the rapid changes in Övdalian during the last century, we might suspect that verbal agreement in Traditional Övdalian has been weakened. This is the claim of Angantýsson, who writes: "Among the adolescents, the verbal paradigm completely collapses in three cases of nine and no ending is [a]

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[142] Given, as it is generally assumed within the field since at least Rizzi (1986), that null subjects presuppose agreement.

[143] The morphemes for tense and agreement are also clearly separable in certain classes of verbs in which the form of the 3rd person sg. is not the same as the form of the 3rd person pl. (cf. section 2.3.2 above).

common choice in 2pl. and 3pl. Among the adults the *–um* ending has a robust status and so does the *–a(s)* ending in 3pl., but the ending for 2pl. seems to be rather unstable (although this can be affected by the choice of verb or even orthography)" (2008: 9). The verb that Angantýsson (2008) used in order to check the verbal paradigm was the verb *baita* 'bite' that also has a reciprocal form *baitas* 'bite', 'bite each other', a fact that is noted by him (2008: 8).[144] The task of the consultants was to fill in the verbal paradigm in 3rd person singular and all persons plural, whereas the forms for 1st and 2nd singular were given. Indeed, the results presented by Angantýsson show that the ending of 2nd plural is unstable among adolescents, as seven out of ten choose no ending in the fill-in task instead of the expected *–ið*. This could be an effect of the fact that the ending is homophonous with the pronoun for 2nd person plural, *ið*, and that the ending can be sometimes omitted (Levander 1928: 164, cf. also discussion in Rosenkvist 2006: 17).[145] The situation among adults is different and only two out of 17 have no ending in 2nd plural. The verbal paradigm is thus robust among the older group of consultants for written forms. When examining the corpus of Övdalian spoken language, there are no signs of weakening in the verbal paradigm observed (Johannessen & Garbacz, submitted). In other words, verbal inflection in Traditional Övdalian seems to be robust indicating that an impoverished verbal paradigm cannot be the explanation for variable V^0-to-I^0 movement.

6.6 Optional V^0-to-I^0 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), Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998) and Rohrbacher (1999). Nevertheless, Övdalian V^0-to-I^0 movement seems optional. Also, a more elaborated proposal presented in Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002) concerning the link between the verbal morphology, V^0-to-I^0 movement, pro-drop and Stylistic Fronting is, as will be shown below, contradicted by Övdalian data. One could of course assume influence from Swedish on Övdalian, but as pointed out above, there are many other syntactic phenomena present in Övdalian and absent in Swedish that appear robust (cf.

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[144] Angantýsson admits that the choice of the verb is "not the most felicitous one" (ibid.).
[145] And also because of the fact that the forms were investigated by means of a fill-in task, which may have influenced the results.

Chapter 4). So the impact of Swedish cannot be the answer, or at least not the entire answer. Below, I present the approach of Rohrbacher (1999), Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998), and that of Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002) and show that they are all challenged empirically by Övdalian. Thereafter, I lay out my own proposal of how the optionality of V^0-to-I^0 movement in Övdalian can be explained.

6.6.1 Rohrbacher (1999)

The Rich Agreement Hypothesis presented by Rohrbacher (1999) states that in a language with rich agreement, that is, "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" (1999: 138)", verb movement is must occur. The RAH has been reformulated in Bobaljik (2002: 132), who proposes a weak, one-directional version of it: "If a language has rich inflection then it has verb movement to Infl." The weak formulation still presupposes that a language with rich verbal inflection is expected to display obligatory verb movement to I^0. This is contradicted by the Övdalian data as I have argued here.

As stated in section 6.5 above, the verbal endings of 1st and 2nd person plural may have become reanalyzed in some way. Independently of whether this is the case or not, such reanalysis should not influence the ability of the verbal endings to trigger verb movement. Verbal endings are most probably also reanalysed in Yiddish; nevertheless the language exhibits V^0-to-I^0-movement triggered by rich agreement (Rohrbacher 1999: 120).[146] So the double status of the ending *–ið* (and possibly even of the ending *–um*) should not affect the Rich Agreement Hypothesis.

6.6.2 Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998)

According to Thráinsson (1996, 2003, in press) and Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998) verb movement to I^0 is a consequence of a language having a split IP: languages with unsplit IP are prevented from having V^0-to-I^0-movement, whereas in languages with a split IP the finite verb must raise to I^0. The setting of the split IP-parameter can be triggered by clearly separable morphemes for tense and agreement (which then count as morphological evidence for separate tense and agreement projections), but when the verbal morphology is not suf-

[146] At least according to some descriptions, cf. the discussion in Rosenkvist (2009: 168 ff.).

ficient to trigger a positive setting of the split IP-parameter, as for example in Faroese, the syntactic evidence of clauses which can only be analysed as clauses with a moved verb is crucial for setting a positive value to the split-IP parameter (Thráinsson 2003: 166-180). In Övdalian, morphemes for tense and agreement are clearly separable in the case of 1st and 2nd person plural and sometimes also in the 3rd person plural (cf. section 3.1 above), which should be a sufficient condition for having a split IP (Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998: 60). In this way, the lack of obligatory verb movement is difficult to account for within the scope of Bobaljik's and Thráinsson's theory. If the IP is unsplit, we should not observe any verb movement to I^0 in Övdalian, but if the IP is split, this verb movement should be obligatory.[147] It therefore seems that the split-IP parameter is not able to account for the Övdalian data, as both V^0-to-I^0 movement and its absence are attested in Övdalian.

6.6.3 Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002)

Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002) criticize the assumption that overt verb movement should be triggered by rich verbal morphology. They discuss the theory of Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998) and show that the one-way implications it presupposes cannot be proved for other languages that have separable morphemes for agreement and tense as, for example, French, Italian and Catalan, since these languages certainly display verb movement, but not other properties allocated to rich verbal morphology, such as transitive expletives and object shift of DPs (Alexiadou & Fanselow 2002: 229). The correlation between verbal agreement and split-IP is thus difficult to maintain. On the other hand, Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002: 230 ff.) state that Faroese is a language that clearly has separable morphemes for tense and agreement but no verb movement.[148] However, separable morphemes for tense and agreement are present in Faroese only in the so-called "distinguishing dialects" (Jonas 1995: 129; Thráinsson et al. 2004: 27); to the best of my knowledge it has not been investigated yet if these dialects also display verb movement in a higher grade than the "*i*-dialects" and "*u*-dialects" (that is, the so-called "non distinguishing dialects"). Nevertheless, Alexiadou & Fanselow do not disconnect verbal agreement and verb movement entirely. Firstly, they come to the generalization that "suffixal rich inflection implies V-to-I movement" (2002: 233) and then they state that verb movement cannot be lost as long as rich inflection exists (2002:

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[147] Scots is a language without split-IP that exhibits V^0-to-I^0 movement (Jonas 2002).
[148] Similar findings about the acceptability of verb movement to I^0 in Faroese are presented in Heycock et al. (to appear) as well as in Bentzen et al. (2009).

241). Their logical point of departure is that suffixal agreement morphology cannot arise without verb movement. The next step, they argue, is a change from a V2-grammar to an SVO-grammar through a grammar that requires V^0-to-I^0. In other words, the structure in (31) becomes the structure in (32), Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002: 237 ff.).

(31) [$_{CP}$ subject [$_{Comp}$ verb] … {adverbial, negation} …]]
(32) [$_{IP}$ subject [$_{Infl}$ verb] … {adverbial, negation} …]]

The loss of V^0-to-I^0 is caused by "an additional movement process that changes the order of the two elements frequently enough, so that the evidence for V-to-I becomes less and less transparent" (Alexiadou & Fanselow 2002: 238–239). The authors postulate that such an operation in the Scandinavian languages is Stylistic Fronting, causing movement of adverbials to the left of the verb (Alexiadou & Fanselow 2002: 239), see the example in (33).[149]

(33) *Það fór að rigna þegar* ***farið*** *var af stað.*
IT BEGAN TO RAIN WHEN GONE WAS FROM PLACE
'This is the car that he doesn't want to have.'
(from Maling 1980)

The question that Alexiadou & Fanselow pose is why the loss of verb movement to I^0 only affects languages without a rich inflectional system. Their answer is that Stylistic Fronting becomes reanalysed as evidence of no V^0-to-I^0 movement when the inflection weakens and the pro-drop property, of which Stylistic Fronting is an effect, gets lost (2002: 240). In that way the link between verbal morphology and V^0-to-I^0 movement has become indirect, according to Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002). Still, Övdalian poses a problem for this explanation; it is a referential pro-drop language (Rosenkvist 2006, 2008) with rich verbal agreement and virtually without Stylistic Fronting, see Chapter 7.

It is obvious also that the approach of Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002) meets difficulties when confronted with Övdalian. In the next section, an alternative approach to the optionality of V^0-to-I^0 movement in Övdalian will be presented.

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[149] In the accessibility hierarchy of Stylistic Fronting, that is, in the hierarchy of which element is most likely to undergo Stylistic Fronting, negation and sentence adverbial turn out to be the most preferred (Maling 1980, Pettersson 1988, Hrafnbjargarson 2004, Falk 2007). The proposal that the loss of verb movement is caused by Stylistic Fronting, or at least facilitated by it, was presented independently of Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002) by Pettersson (1988) and by Sundquist (2002).

6.7 Causes of the loss of verb movement in Övdalian

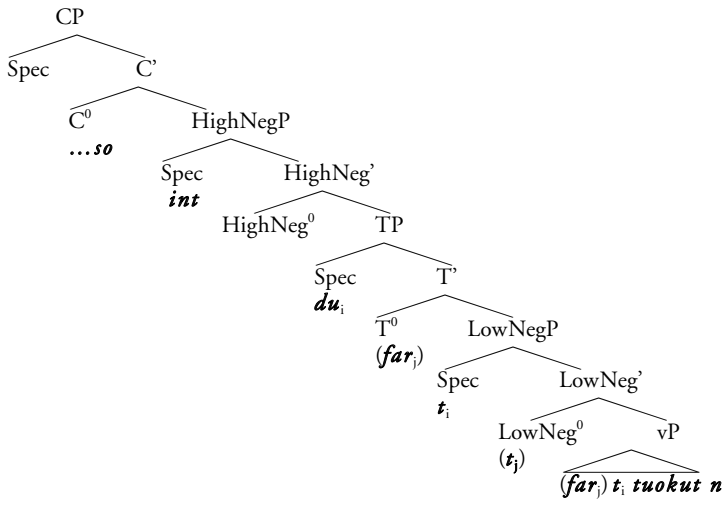
It has been shown in a number of works that V^0-to-I^0 movement does not have to be an effect of rich verbal agreement (Jonas 2002, Bobaljik 2002, Alexiadou & Fanselow 2002, Holmberg to appear). Given this, I will argue (in line with Pettersson 1988, Sundquist 2002 and Alexiadou & Fanselow 2002), that the ongoing loss of V^0-to-I^0 movement in Övdalian is an effect of a reanalysis of particular word order patterns.

Recall that both in Classical Övdalian and in Traditional Övdalian negation and other sentential adverbials occur to the left of the subject (cf. section 6.1 above). Rosenkvist (1994: 21) states that the possibility of negation occurring in the pre-subject position in Övdalian has the effect that one does not need to take a stand whether the finite verb is in T or in V. I will here develop Rosenkvist's proposal in order to show how verb movement in Övdalian may be lost independently of the loss of rich verbal morphology.

It has been argued that the presence of Stylistic Fronting (SF) blurred evidence for verb movement in Scandinavian languages, leading to the loss of V^0-to-I^0 movement, as the most frequent element moved by SF to a position in front of the finite verb is negation (Pettersson 1988, Alexiadou & Fanselow 2002, and Sundquist 2002). In Övdalian, the possibility of Stylistic Fronting cannot be held responsible for the loss of verb movement to I^0, simply because SF is already limited in Classical Övdalian and virtually absent in Traditional Övdalian, as in Faroese before V^0-to-I^0 became less robust, see Chapter 7. Instead, one may assume that the placement of negation and sentence adverbials in front of the subject in HighNegP (cf. section 5.2.3), in both Classical and Traditional Övdalian may have played a role in the process of weakening of V^0-to-I^0 movement in the language. This placement is already attested in Classical Övdalian (Levander 1909b: 124) and it is very probable that it has given rise to a pattern that blurs the evidence for verb movement to I^0. A sentence such as the one in (34) may be analysed in two ways, see (35).

(34) *Du al sjå so* ***int*** du *far tuokut nų*
YOU SHALL SEE SO NOT YOU GO WRONGLY NOW
'You have to see to it that you don't behave wrongly now'
(from Levander 1909b: 124)

(35) *Negation in the HighNegP, optional verb movement to I⁰*



It is clear that the common placement of negation or a sentential adverb in HighAdvP obscures any evidence as to whether the finite verb has moved to T^0 or not. I will argue that the wide-spread use of the HighNegP is the first step of loosing evidence for V^0-to-I^0.[150] However, if only HighNegP were the position occupied by negation, we would not expect Övdalian embedded clauses to exhibit the Mainland Scandinavian pattern namely clauses in which negation or a sentential adverb appears between the subject and the finite verb. As has been shown above (cf. the examples in (8) repeated here as (36)), such a possibility does exist.

(36) a) *Ed ir biln so* an ***int*** *will åvå.* B.2.1
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT HE NOT WANTS-TO HAVE
'This is the car that he does not want to have.'

b) *Ed ir biln so* Mats ***int*** *will åvå.* C.2.1
IT IS CAR.DEF THAT MATS NOT WANTS-TO HAVE
'This is the car that Mats does not want to have.'

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[150] Already Levander (1909b: 124) mentions that there is a strong tendency for the negation to appear initially in a clause. This tendency seems to have become even stronger today.

Moreover, this Mainland Scandinavian embedded word order seems to be the most preferred word order in Övdalian with adverbs such as *sakta* 'actually' and *aldri* 'never', cf. Table 6.4 and 6.5. Therefore, the question must be asked as to how this order has emerged in Övdalian. One answer to this question might be to assume the influence of Swedish, but even if such an influence cannot be disregarded, it is, in my opinion, not sufficient to explain why Traditional Övdalian has the word order SUBJ-Advl-V_{fin} in embedded clauses as I now explain.

Recall a number of facts that I have discussed here: in Classical Övdalian, V^0-to-I^0 movement appears obligatory and there was a high position (HighNegP, cf. Chapter 5) that could host negation and possibly other adverbials at the same time that Classical Övdalian exhibited referential pro-drop (Levander 1909b: 109). These properties generate a surface structure as given in (37).

(37) a) … *so* ***int*** *ulldum* *kum å noð aindje.*
SO NOT SHOULD.1.PL COME ON ANY HAYFIELD
'… so that we didn't come on a hayfield.'
(from *Dalskum*, number 35/2009, page 13)

b) … *um* ***int*** *windir* *brott* *ån.*
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^0-to-I^0 movement. We may thus assume that the emergence of sentences such as those in (37) reduces the percentage of primary linguistic data (PLD) that are diagnostic of verb movement to I^0. Here, the influence of 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. The Swedish input does not give any evidence for V^0-to-I^0 movement. Therefore, when the clues for verb movement are heavily limited, we may expect that not only clauses such as (38) are produced, but also those that exhibit the Mainland Scandinavian embedded word order as shown below in the example in (39).

(38) *Eð* *ir* *iend* *buotje* *so* ***aldri*** Gun *ar* *lesið.* C.1.2
IT IS ONLY BOOK.DEF THAT NEVER GUN HAS READ

(39) *Eð* *ir* *iend* *buotję* *so* Gun ***aldri*** *ar* *lesið.* C.1.2
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 signals in the PLD that the position of subject has changed. In this way, an Övdalian speaker may chose between having the sentential adverbial precede the subject or occur between the subject and the verb. In this way, V^0-to-I^0 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^0-to-I^0 movement is difficult to maintain in any form, not only in its strong, two-way version, but also as a weak, one-way version.[151] Support for disconnecting (rich) verbal morphology and V^0-to-I^0 movement was also presented on the basis of synchronic and diachronic data from other Scandinavian languages (Sundquist 2002, Angantýsson 2007 and Bentzen 2007).

6.8 Summary

In this chapter, 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^0 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: 59). Nevertheless, V^0-to-I^0 movement is optional in Traditional Övdalian and the structures that either give no clue to whether it has occurred or structures that indicate that it is absent is the preferred strategy in the language. In my proposal, I build on the proposal of Rosenkvist (1994), who argues that the pre-subject placement of negation blurs the evidence for verb movement to I^0. Therefore, there is no need to assume any connection between the ongoing loss of V^0-to-I^0 movement and the robust verbal agreement in Övdalian in such way that verbal agreement triggers this verb movement. Also, the loss of V^0-to-I^0 movement in the other Scandinavian Languages can be explained without assuming that this movement is caused by changes in rich verbal agreement as discussed in Pettersson (1988), Sundquist (2002) and Alexiadou

[151] Similar conclusions are drawn by Wiklund et al (2007) and Holmberg (to appear).

& Fanselow (2002). In Old Swedish, Stylistic Fronting can be taken to create ambiguous syntactic patterns leading to the loss of V^0-to-I^0 movement.

7 Stylistic fronting

As with V^0-to-I^0 movement, the phenomenon of Stylistic Fronting (SF) in Scandinavian has been claimed to be an effect of rich agreement (Holmberg & Platzack 1995). In the present chapter, I discuss the loss of Stylistic Fronting in Övdalian in the absence of any changes in verbal inflection. I also argue that the link between Stylistic Fronting and V^0-to-I^0 movement that predicts that V^0-to-I^0 is lost before SF is lost cannot be established for Övdalian.

In the syntactic section of his book, Levander (1909b: 122), discussing word order in Classical Övdalian, states the following: "[p]redikatet står mycket ofta sist i korta relativsatser" (the predicate is very often placed at the end of short relative clauses, [my translation, P.G.]). He gives a number of examples of this syntactic phenomenon and I present all of them here in (1).

(1) a) *An fikk fel Swen råða, so* ***gambler*** *war.*
HE GOT PROBABLY SWEN RULE THAT OLDER WAS
'Swen, who was older, was probably to decide.'

b) *Dier djär so, dier so* ***gamblest*** *irå.*
THEY DO SO THEY THAT OLDEST ARE
'They, who are oldest, do like that.'

c) *Ig gor dait* ***nemmest*** *ir.*
I GO THERE CLOSEST IS
'I go to the place that is closest.'

d) *Oller so* ***dait*** *kumå, so sai dier …*
ALL THAT THERE COME, SO SAY THEY
'Everybody coming there say …'

e) *Oller irå dier lieðer wið an so* ***sienest*** *kam.*
ALL ARE THEY MEAN WITH HIM THAT LATEST CAME
'They are all mean to the person that came as the last one.'

f) *An saggd sos* ***sant*** *war.*
HE SAID LIKE TRUE WAS
'He said as was the truth.'

g) *Itjä ulum wįr ender dyö so* ***gart*** *ir.*
NOT SHALL WE CHANGE THAT THAT DONE IS
'We shan't change that what is done.'

h) *Oller so* ***ogų*** ***og*** ***nevеð*** *åvå.*
ALL THAT EYES.DEF AND NOSE.DEF HAVE
'Everybody that has eyes and nose.' [i.e. every human]

The construction exemplified in (1) reminds one, at least partially, of a syntactic construction labelled Stylistic Fronting (henceforth SF), known from the medieval Scandinavian languages (such as Old Swedish, Old Danish and Old Norse) as well as from Modern Icelandic and (at least to a small extent) from Faroese (Thráinsson et al. 2004). Stylistic Fronting has also been attested in non-Germanic languages such as Old French (Mathieu 2006), Old Catalan (Fisher 2004), and Italian (Cardinaletti 2003).[152]

SF is typically fronting of light syntactic elements, generally syntactic heads, to the position between the complementizer and the finite verb in embedded clauses in the absence of an overt subject.[153] Examples of SF from Old Swedish (2a) and Old Norse (2b) are given below. .

(2) a) *Tha som* ***lypt*** *war i messonne.* (OLD SWEDISH)
THEN THAT LIFTED WAS IN MASS.DEF
'Then, when it was lifted in the mass.' [i.e. during the elevation]
(from Falk 1993: 178)

b) *…eina dottur er* ***Droplaug*** *hét.* (OLD NORSE)
ONE.ACC DAUGHTER.ACC THAT DROPLAUG WAS-CALLED
'… one daughter that was called Droplaug.'
(from Faarlund 2004: 237)

The Classical Övdalian constructions in (1) are similar to SF in so far as the embedded clause lacks an overt subject and a single and mostly a light syntactic element occurs between the complementizer and the finite verb. The main difference between the Old Scandinavian SF and SF in Classical Övdalian is that the latter was most probably restricted to short, verb-final relative clauses (Levander 1909b: 122). Yet it seems that the Övdalian construction in (1) should be classified as a case of SF. It cannot be excluded that at least some of

[152] According to Franco (2009), Stylistic Fronting is no longer productive in Modern Italian.
[153] It seems, however, that not only light, but also heavier elements can sometimes be stylistically fronted (Thráinsson 2007: 378).

the examples in (1) may be a result of the OV-pattern that was present in Övdalian at the time of Levander (1909b). Nevertheless, I have decided to count all the cases in (1) as instances of Stylistic Fronting. The main argument for assuming this is the fact that the fronted element is most often not an object, but another syntactic head-like constituent, as is usually the case in Stylistic Fronting.

In the present chapter, I show why the restricted type of Classical Övdalian SF was lost during the 20th century. Taking a closer look at SF in general, I will first present theories that have linked SF with verbal agreement and verb movement in such way that these factors enable SF. I will also discuss why SF is absent in Traditional Övdalian despite the fact that the other syntactic phenomena that are claimed to make SF possible namely rich subject-verb agreement and V^0-to-I^0 movement are present in the language. Finally, I discuss alternative explanations for both the existence and loss of SF that could apply to the history of the Scandinavian languages.

7.1 What is Stylistic Fronting?

As stated above, SF is a type of fronting of syntactic elements to a position between the complementizer and the finite verb in absence of an overt subject. It reminds to some extend of another leftward fronting of syntactic elements, namely of Topicalization. Topicalization and SF are however claimed to be different in nature and the distinctions between these two frontings have been a widely discussed matter since Maling (1980). Below, I give a very basic overview of the differences between SF and Topicalization (based on Thráinsson 2007: 356, 368 ff.):

(a) SF applies to heads; for instance, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, non-finite verbs, negative elements and verb particles, whereas Topicalization applies to phrases[154]
(b) The fronted constituent is commonly emphasised or focused in the case of Topicalization, but it is not necessarily emphasised/focused when stylistically fronted

[154] It seems that SF can also applies to phrases, or maximal projections, at least some of them, for example to full DP's and to PP's (Thráinsson 2007: 378 ff.) as well as to combinations of a DP and an adverb, an adverb and a participle and an adjective and a negation (Hrafnbjargarson 2004: 200). Although Topicalization normally applies to phrases, cases of Topicalization of heads are also found (cf. below).

(c) Topicalization occurs mostly in main clauses, whereas SF is normally present only in embedded clauses with a subject gap. Nevertheless, there are examples of SF in main clauses in Icelandic (Thráinsson 2007: 372) and also examples of Topicalization in embedded clauses in Old Swedish (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 86)
(d) Topicalization is unbounded whereas SF is clause bounded
(e) SF requires a subject gap, Topicalization does not[155]

In short, the differences between SF and Topicalization concern the type of the element fronted, the type of clause in which the fronting normally occurs, the presence or absence of an overt subject, emphasis on the fronted element, and whether the fronted constituent is clause bounded or not. In the following discussion, I focus on some of these differences.

7.1.1 SF as head movement or maximal projection movement

Since the elements affected by SF are normally heads, and not maximal projections, a number of scholars (for example, Jónsson 1991, Poole 1992, 1996, Thráinsson 1993, and Holmberg & Platzack 1995) have argued that SF is head movement as noted in Thráinsson (2007: 368). Others (for example Ottósson 1989, Platzack 1987a, Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990 and Holmberg 2000) have proposed that SF is movement to a specifier position and that it therefore should be able to involve maximal projections (Thráinsson 2007: 368). Hrafnbjargarson (2004) has presented the idea that SF is a movement of either maximal projections or heads. Recently, Ott (2009) has proposed an analysis of Stylistic Fronting in terms of remnant movement.

Stylistic Fronting of maximal projections is found both in Icelandic and in Faroese as shown in the examples in (3) and (4) respectively. This is also found in Classical Övdalian as shown in the example in (5).

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[155] Embedded clauses with a low overt subject in the vP (cf. below) and a topicalized element are classified as instances of SF by Faarlund (2004: 238). Moreover, in Old Swedish one find examples of SF with pronominal subjects, where both the subject and the stylistically fronted element stay in the position between the complementizer and the finite verb. The latter phenomenon is sometimes referred to as pronominal SF (Swe. *pronominell kil*) (Platzack 1988). The idea of pronominal SF has however been found non-convincing by Falk (1993: 191) and Hrafnbjargarson (2004: 210 ff.).

(3) *Þeir sem* ***í Danmörku*** *hafa verið …* (ICELANDIC)
THOSE THAT IN DENMARK HAVE BEEN
'Those who have been in Denmark …'
(from Thráinsson 2007: 381)

(4) *Hjá teimum, sum* ***hárið*** *høvdu klipt …* (FAROESE)
ON THOSE THAT HAIR.DEF HAD CUT
'On those who had cut their hair short …'
(from Thráinsson 2007: 381)

(5) *Oller so* ***ogu og neveð*** *åvå.* (CLASSICAL ÖVDALIAN)
ALL THAT EYES.DEF AND NOSE.DEF HAVE
'Everybody that has eyes and nose.' [i.e. every human]
(from Levander 1909b: 122)

On the other hand, one finds instances of Topicalization of heads in Icelandic and in Faroese as shown in (6) and (7) respectively.

(6) ***Komið*** *höfðu* margir stúdentar *á bókasafnið og…* (ICELANDIC)
COME HAVE MANY STUDENTS TO LIBRARY.DEF AND
'Many students have come to the library and …'
(from Thráinsson 2007: 372)

(7) ***Dansað*** *varð alla náttina.* (FAROESE)
DANCED BECAME ALL NIGHT.DEF
'People dansed all night.'
(from Thráinsson et al. 2004: 274)

Given the fact that the distinction between SF and Topicalization sometimes somewhat is unclear, Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson (1990) suggest that SF and Topicalization are two sides of the same phenomenon, labelled Stylistic Fronting in the presence of a subject gap in Spec,TP, and Topicalization in the absence of such a gap. A similar proposal is made by Hrafnbjargarson & Wiklund (2009).

7.1.2 The landing site of SF

The surface position in which stylistically fronted elements appear is the position between the complementizer and the finite verb in embedded clauses. What this position corresponds to in the underlying structure has been subject to different proposals and these can be grouped into five categories: (a) the landing site is Spec,IP, the actual subject position (see for example, Maling

1980, Ottósson 1989, Platzack 1987b, Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990, Holmberg 2000 and Alexiadou & Fanselow 2002); (b) SF is an adjunction of the fronted element to I^0 (since SF is assumed to be head movement) (for example Jónsson 1991, Poole 1992, 1996, Falk 1993, Thráinsson 1993, and Holmberg & Platzack 1995); (c) SF is movement of a constituent to a functional projection right above the IP (Bošković 2001), (d) SF is movement of a constituent to FocusP in a split C-domain; it either moves a maximal projection to Spec,FocusP or a head into $Focus^0$ (Hrafnbjargarson 2004), and finally, (e) SF in Icelandic is to be analysed as "phrasal A-movement to Spec-T, with the fronted phrase often being a remnant" (Ott 2009: 173).

7.1.3 On the requirement of a subject gap in SF

It has been observed that SF appears to require a subject gap in Spec,TP (Maling 1980), whereas the presence of a subject in Spec,TP appears to be compatible only with Topicalization. This can be illustrated by two very similar clauses, an Old Swedish one given by Holmberg & Platzack (1995: 86), and an Old Norse (ON) one given by Faarlund (2004: 238), which get different analyses. Holmberg & Platzack classify the Old Swedish clause as an instance of Topicalization, assuming *iak* to be in Spec,TP, whereas Faarlund classifies the corresponding Old Norse example as an instance of Stylistic Fronting with *ek* in Spec,vP as shown in (8) and (9) below.

(8) … *sum* ***nu*** *<u>føræ</u>* iak *pær* *fram.* (OLD SWEDISH)
THAT NOW BRING I YOU.DAT FORTH
'…that I put forth for you.'
(from Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 86)

(9) … *sem* ***nú*** *<u>hefi</u>* ek *í* *framsǫgu* *sakar* *minar.* (ON)
THAT NOW HAVE I IN PRESENTATION.DAT CASE.GEN MINE.GEN
'…that I now have in the presentation of my case.'
(from Faarlund 2004: 238)

Since Holmberg & Platzack (1995) assume that the subject of (8), *iak*, is located in Spec,TP, the example cannot be analysed as an instance of Stylistic Fronting (as there is no subject gap in Spec,TP). Faarlund (2004), on the other hand, assumes that the subject of (9), *ek*, is located in the vP and hence that there is a subject gap in Spec,TP. The fact that Faarlund (2004) analyses (9) as SF could be an argument in favour of concerning Spec,TP an A'-

position in Old Norse (and consequently in all the Old Scandinavian languages). That Spec,TP was an A'-position in Old Swedish has been argued for by Håkansson (2008: 163 ff.).[156] He shows that elements that can appear in Spec,TP are not only subjects but also adverbials, objects etc. If one assumes with Håkansson (2008) that Spec,TP is an A'-position in Old Scandinavian, it follows that any movement to Spec,TP is functionally, not syntactically motivated. Or, that it is "conditioned by discourse functional or possibly coding properties (such as the lack of weight or complexity)" as Faarlund (2003: 132) puts it.[157] Therefore, it is apparent that the same structure can be analysed both as SF but also as embedded topicalization.

7.1.4 The accessibility hierarchy

As originally pointed out by Maling (1980), in the situation where there is more than one element that can possibly be fronted by SF, some of them are more likely to be fronted than others namely the highest, left-most, element in the structure is the most probable candidate. This is often referred to as the *accessibility hierarchy* (Maling 1980). Maling (1980: 185) has established an accessibility hierarchy for Icelandic as given in (10):

(10) *The accessibility hierarchy for Icelandic based on Maling (1980):*
a) negation or/and sentence adverb
b) past participle or/and verb particle
c) predicative adjective

The accessibility hierarchy for Old Swedish has been set up by Pettersson (1988: 169) and it is similar to that proposed for Icelandic as given in (11):[158]

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[156] Given the data from other Old Scandinavian languages, this assumption may be even broadened to include all Old Scandinavian varieties.
[157] Instead of Spec,TP, Faarlund (2003) speaks about Spec,AgrP. However, Spec,TP and Spec,AgrP can be assumed to be different names for the same position, namely the canonical position for subjects (cf. also Håkansson 2008: 148, footnote 80).
[158] Based on three law texts written between 1280 and 1440 (Pettersson 1988: 167).

(11) *The accessibility hierarchy for Old Swedish (Pettersson 1988):*

a) negation
b) indirect object
c) object
d) adverb (containing one word)
e) predicative adjective
f) adverb (containing more than one word)
g) infinitival verb

As we see, there is no conflict between the accessibility hierarchies for Old Swedish and Modern Icelandic. In both languages, the element that is most often fronted is the negative element whereas predicative adjectives are found to be fronted less frequently.

Falk (2007) has also proposed an accessibility hierarchy for Old Swedish. Having examined SF in Old Swedish, she concludes that the accessibility hierarchy for SF is the following one:

(12) *The accessibility hierarchy for Old Swedish (Falk 2007: 91):*

a) subject
b) negation
c) indirect object
d) direct object
e) infinitival verb

Falk (2007) analyses her results in the following way: the underlying structure of the Old Swedish clause resulted in the same word order in both main and embedded clauses. The structure was the following: *subject – negation - indirect object - direct object - infinitival verb*; that is, it corresponded directly to the accessibility hierarchy of SF given in (12). The position of adverbials was not fixed in a particular part of the structure. The finite verb was placed in front of the subject in the main clause and could then be preceded by an optional element, the so-called *fundament*, giving rise to V2 word order. The choice of *fundament* was contextually fixed. In embedded clauses, Falk (2007: 96) maintains that the finite verb occurred in second position between the subject and negation. In cases where the subject was omitted or relativized, an optional element could precede the finite verb according to the accessibility hierarchy thus enabling Stylistic Fronting.

7.2 Stylistic Fronting and V^0-to-I^0-movement

Some approaches to Stylistic Fronting have connected it to V^0-to-I^0 movement. This is the approach presented by Falk (1993), Holmberg & Platzack (1995), and Hrafnbjargarson (2004). An outline of their approaches to SF is presented below, together with that of Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002) that indirectly links the loss of SF to the loss of rich verbal inflection. I start with the approaches of Falk (1993) and Holmberg & Platzack (1995), who assume SF to be an adjunction to I^0 and move then to the approach of Hrafnbjargarson (2004), who claims SF to be a movement to FocP. Finally, I present the approach of Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002) who claim that SF is a movement to Spec,TP. In connection to this, I briefly mention the new approach to SF presented by Ott (2009).

7.2.1 SF as adjunction to I^0

The idea that SF is an adjunction to I^0 has been proposed by both Falk (1993) and Holmberg and Platzack (1995). According to Falk (1993), a necessary condition for SF to occur is verb movement to I^0, as the stylistically fronted element moves to I^0 together with the finite verb. Verb movement to I^0 depends in turn on verbal agreement. When verbal agreement is found both in person and in number, verb movement to I^0 is always present; when verbal agreement is found only in number, V^0-to-I^0 is optional and when there is no verbal agreement, there is no V^0-to-I^0 movement (Falk 1993: 184 ff.). In this way, Falk (1993) links SF directly to V^0-to-I^0 movement and indirectly to verbal agreement. Verb movement to I^0 is thus a necessary condition for the presence of SF. Falk's investigation shows that SF is "very common" in Old Swedish at the same time as verbal agreement is found in both number and person (1993: 182). These diachronic facts lead Falk to the conclusion that "(…) the developments are connected. This connection is support for analyses that take agreement as a prerequisite for Stylistic Fronting (…)" (1993: 183). The analysis presented by Falk presupposes also that SF will be impossible when verbal agreement is no longer found in (at least) person. She does not state, however, that SF must be present when agreement is found in both person and number.

Holmberg & Platzack (1995: 117) present an account of SF similar to the one presented by Falk (1993). They refine the analysis that links SF to V^0-to-I^0 movement by arguing that verb movement to I^0 is not a sufficient condition for SF to appear, but that also presence of Agr in I^0 is required (ibid.). Icelandic data offer support for the assumption by clearly showing that SF is banned in PRO-infinitivals even though verb movement is obligatory in these

(Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 117 ff.).[159] Their proposal is that "stylistically fronted elements adjoin to I^0 with Agr" (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 121). SF should thus become impossible when there is no verb movement to I^0 and no Agr in I^0. Therefore, SF is expected to be absent in the Mainland Scandinavian languages, which lack these two properties. Holmberg & Platzack (1995: 117) state thus that the necessary conditions for SF are both V^0-to-I^0 and the presence of Agr in I^0.

7.2.2 SF is a movement to FocusP

A partly different analysis of SF is given by Hrafnbjargarson (2004), who assumes that SF is movement of maximal projections or heads to the FocP in a split C-domain and is licensed by V^0-to-I^0-movement (Hrafnbjargarson 2004: 229). In the case where the elements are maximal projections they move to Spec,FocP, whereas movement of heads occurs to $Focus^0$. Hrafnbjargarson also argues that all Icelandic embedded clauses should be analysed as having a C-domain (and thus Topicalization should always be possible in them).[160] He claims then that V^0-to-I^0 movement may license CP-recursion of an articulated C-domain making SF possible: "If there is no V^0-to-I^0-movement, the articulated CP-domain is not licensed and stylistic fronting cannot take place" (ibid.).[161] When verb movement is lost, SF will consequently disappear (Hrafnbjargarson 2004: 227–229). In other words, the presence of V^0-to-I^0 movement makes SF possible.[162]

7.2.3 SF is movement to Spec,TP

Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002: 240) maintain that the cause of the loss of SF is change in the verb inflection pattern. They argue that the landing site of SF is Spec,TP and that a subject gap in Spec,TP is typically possible in a language of the pro-drop type. The consequence of this assumption is that SF will be lost when the pro-drop property is lost. The pro-drop property, in its turn, is seen

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[159] Holmberg & Platzack (1995) assume that the order verb-sentential adverbial in Icelandic infinitival clauses is an effect of V^0-to-I^0 movement; other approaches claim however that this word order is an effect of verb movement to C^0 (for example, Johnson & Vikner 1998).

[160] This analysis is further developed in Hróarsdóttir et al. (2006), Wiklund et al. (2007), and in Hrafnbjargarson & Wiklund (2009).

[161] For the discussion on the connection between SF and V^0-to-I^0-movement see also Thráinsson (2007: 386).

[162] Alexiadou & Fischer (2001) point out that Romance languages have V^0-to-I^0 movement, but not SF. In this way, the claim of Hrafnbjargarson (2004) that V^0-to-I^0 movement licences an articulated C-domain, that in turn makes SF possible, can be questioned.

by them as a consequence of a rich inflectional system. Thus, pro-drop is expected to be lost when inflection is weakened and "SF is no longer a proper way of dealing with unfilled SpecTP positions in front of the verb" (ibid.). As do Falk (1993), Holmberg & Platzack (1995), and Hrafnbjargarson (2004), Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002) claim that a subject gap is a necessary condition for SF, but they do not claim that it is a sufficient condition.

According to Ott (2009), Stylistic Fronting is phrasal movement to Spec,TP, possible when the subject is not in this position. Furthermore, Ott claims that SF is EPP-driven, attracting the closest element in the structure.

7.3 Stylistic Fronting and V^0-to-I^0 in the history of Scandinavian languages

As stated above, both V^0-to-I^0 movement and rich verbal morphology have been argued to be prerequisites for SF (Falk 1993, Holmberg & Platzack 1995, and Hrafnbjargarson 2004). Further, it has been argued that the loss of SF in the Mainland Scandinavian languages is preceded by the loss of rich agreement (Falk 1993) and the loss of V^0-to-I^0 movement (Falk 1993, Holmberg & Platzack 1995, and Hrafnbjargarson 2004).[163] In Icelandic, SF is still possible, as are V^0-to-I^0 movement and rich verbal agreement. In Faroese, SF seems to be on the way to being lost, as is V^0-to-I^0 movement (see the data in Thráinsson et al. 2004: 297, and the discussion Bentzen et al. 2009), whereas rich verbal agreement in the sense of Rohrbacher disappeared in the 19th century (Thráinsson et al. 2004: 426).[164] Norwegian has lost SF, but the exact time of this loss is unknown.[165] V^0-to-I^0 movement was lost in Norwegian in the 18th century (Vikner 1995a: 161) and rich verbal agreement in the 16th century (Mørck (2005: 1143 ff.). SF in Danish became most probably non-productive at the beginning of the 16th century (Hrafnbjargarson 2004: 199) and is reported to be heavily limited in texts from the end of the 17th century (Sundquist 2002: 311). Rich verbal agreement disappeared from Danish in the 13th century Mørck (2005: 1143 ff.). In Swedish, SF was lost in the 17th century (Sundquist 2002: 247) and V^0-to-I^0 movement began to be non-

[163] It is less clear that the hypothesis gets support from Faroese, as Faroese no longer possesses rich agreement (at least not in the sense of Rohrbacher 1999), but still exhibits (at least traces of) both V^0-to-I^0 and SF.

[164] The claim that SF is declining in Faroese has its support in the results of my own investigation of that subject in connection with the 5th NORMS Dialect Workshop on Faroe Islands, August 2008 (URL: http://norms.uit.no/index.php?page=foroyar).

[165] To the best of my knowledge, there is no survey on the loss of SF in Norwegian.

obligatory already in the end of 13th century, whereafter it disappeared completely in the 17th century (Falk 1993: 182; Sundquist 2002: 257). Rich verbal agreement was lost by the end of the 15th century in Swedish (Falk 1993: 155). Finally, in Övdalian, SF was lost during the 20th century, whereby V^0-to-I^0 movement is still optionally present and verbal agreement is rich. This discussion is summarized in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Loss of rich verbal agreement and of V^0-to-I^0 movement in relation to the loss of Stylistic Fronting in the Scandinavian languages

Language	Time of the loss of rich agreement	Time of the loss of V^0-to-I^0	Time of the loss of SF
Icelandic	present	present	present
Faroese	19th century	ongoing	ongoing
Norwegian	16th century	18th century	lost in contemporary Norwegian
Danish	13th century	18th century	18th century
Swedish	15th century	17th century	17th century
Övdalian	present	optionally present	20th century

As shown in Table 7.1, SF is attested in previous stages of every Scandinavian language, including Övdalian (see Faarlund 2004 for Old Norse, Thráinsson et al. 2004 for Faroese, Sundquist 2002 for Danish, Pettersson 1988 for Swedish, and Levander 1909b for Övdalian). Today, it seems to be present only in Icelandic and possibly in Faroese (at least according to Thráinsson 2007: 381). Also the supposed prerequisites for SF namely rich verbal agreement and V^0-to-I^0 movement are found in the earlier stages of the Scandinavian languages. The case of Övdalian clearly shows that these prerequisites are either not sufficient to trigger SF in the language or that there is another factor involved in the non-availability of SF.

7.4 Stylistic Fronting in Traditional Övdalian

The data presented in Levander (1909b) indicate that both V^0-to-I^0 movement (1909b: 124) and SF (1909b: 122) were present in Classical Övdalian together with rich verb inflection. Classical Övdalian thus supports the hypothesis that there is a connection between V^0-to-I^0 and SF (and even verbal agreement) as discussed in section 7.2 above. However, newer data from Traditional and Modern Övdalian presented by Rosenkvist (1994) and also data provided in this chapter show that SF is no longer present in the language despite the fact that V^0-to-I^0 movement is possible and verbal agreement in person and num-

ber is intact. These data shed new light on the necessary conditions for SF corroborating the idea that V^0-to-I^0 movement and rich verbal agreement are not sufficient for the presence of SF. This is noted already by Rosenkvist (1994: 29), who claims that the finite verb has to raise to I^0 in 1st and 2nd person plural, the only cases when the small pro is licensed; in other persons and numbers, V^0-to-I^0 is optional. Such an analysis allows for the possibility that SF could be attested in Övdalian, but only in cases where the finite verb is inflected for 1st or 2nd person plural under the assumption of Holmberg & Platzack (1995: 117 ff.) that the stylistically fronted element is adjoined to the finite verb that moves to I^0 with Agr.[166] Hence we could expect to find SF at least in embedded clauses with referential null subjects in Traditional Övdalian.

In this study, I have collected data from Traditional Övdalian on SF in embedded clauses with a constituent placed between the complementizer and the finite verb; the embedded clauses did not have an overt subject. Two types of clauses were investigated: (1) relative clauses with a relativized subject and (2) embedded clauses with a referential null subject. In the first type of clause, SF is normally found in Icelandic and in the medieval Scandinavian languages. This is also the type of clause for which Levander (1909b: 122) reports his instances of SF. The second type of clause is expected to exhibit SF in Övdalian given the generalization of Rosenkvist (1994). Moreover, SF in clauses with a subject gap created by a generic or a referential null subject are also reported from Icelandic (Sigurðsson 2008), see (13), Old East Scandinavian (Håkansson 2008), see (14), and Italian (Cardinaletti 2003), see (15).

(13) *Þetta er vandamál sem* ***leysa*** *þyrfti strax.* (ICE.)
THIS IS PROBLEM THAT SOLVE WOULD-NEED.3.SG AT-ONCE
'This is a problem one would need to solve at once.'
(from Sigurðsson 2008: 20)

(14) *Mangir kunungar stridu agutland mipan* ***hapit*** *war.*(OES)
MANY KINGS FOUGHT AGAINST-GOTLAND WHILE PAGAN WAS
'Many kings fought against Gotland while it was pagan.'
(from Håkansson 2008: 14)

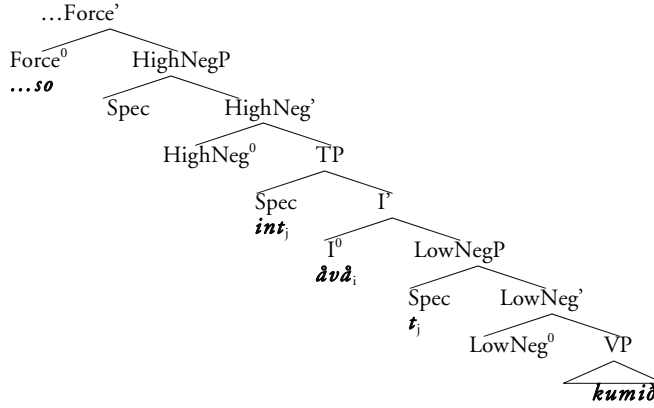
[166] Note that SF is only possible when there is no overt subject in Spec,IP (Maling 1980).

(15) … *il* *giorno in cui* ***via*** *andø* *senza …* (ITALIAN)
THE DAY IN WHICH AWAY WENT WITHOUT
'… the day when he went away without …'
(from Cardinaletti 2003: 50)

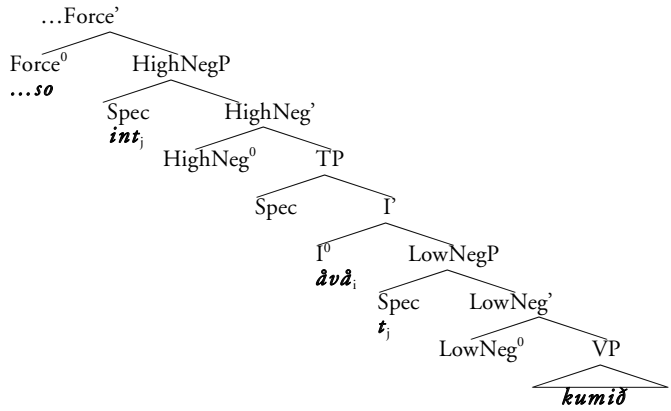
The two clause types with a number of stylistically fronted constituents were judged for grammaticality by my consultants. Fronting of negation was not tested due to the fact that negation in Traditional Övdalian can be placed to the left of the subject position, as shown in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, and thus the surface structure for a clause with high negation and that for a clause with stylistically fronted negation is the same in the absence of an overt subject. The structural ambiguity of the example in (16) is illustrated by three possible analyses in (17).

(16) … *so* ***int*** *åvå* *kumið* *i dag.*
THAT NOT HAVE COME TODAY
'…that haven't come today.'

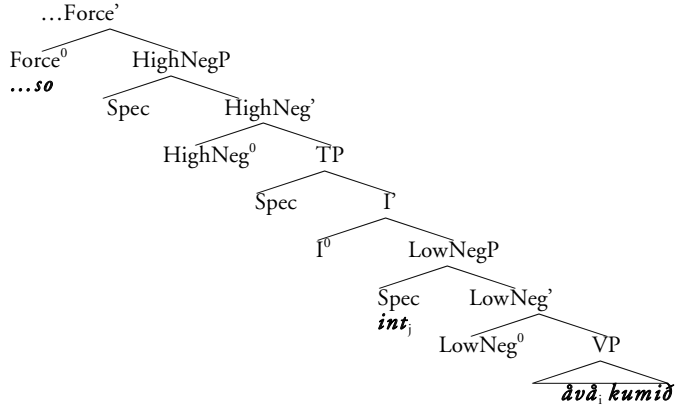
(17) a) SF-analysis (with V^0-to-I^0 movement)



b) HighNegP-analysis (with V^0-to-I^0 movement)



c) LowNegP-analysis (without V^0-to-I^0 movement)



To summarize, I have investigated SF in relative clauses with a relativized subject and in embedded clauses with a referential null subject. The results of my

investigation are shown in Table 7.2. The complete data set is to be found in the appendix.

Table 7.2: Stylistic Fronting in relative clauses with a subject gap in Traditional Övdalian

Stylistically fronted element	EMBEDDED RELATIVE CLAUSES WITH A SUBJECT GAP		Stylistically fronted element	EMBEDDED CLAUSES WITH A REFERENTIAL NULL SUBJECT GAP	
	SF	no SF		SF	no SF
CONTENT ADVERBIAL	*	ok	CONTENT ADVERBIAL	*	ok
PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVE	ok/*[167]	ok	PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVE	*	ok
VERB PARTICLE	*	ok	VERB PARTICLE	*	ok
PAST PARTICIPLE	*	ok	PAST PARTICIPLE	*	ok
PRONOMINAL DIRECT OBJECT	*	ok	PRONOMINAL DIRECT OBJECT	*	ok

My investigation has thus clearly shown that SF is virtually non-existent in Traditional Övdalian. Clauses with stylistically fronted elements are rejected by consultants, see (18), whereas their counterparts without SF are judged as perfectly grammatical, see (19).

(18) a) **Eð ir eð-dar brieved so **i går** kam.* D.1.1
IT IS IT-THERE LETTER.DEF THAT YESTERDAY CAME
'This is the letter that came yesterday?'

b) **Sir du it at **trä'tter** irum?* D.2.1
SEE YOU NOT THAT TIRED ARE.1.PL
'Don't you see that we're tired?'

[167] Depending on the adjective; the adjective *gamblest* 'oldest' is accepted in this position, whereas other adjectives are not.

c) *Såg du å-dar kelindje so **aut** fuor?* D.1.2
SAW YOU SHE-THERE WOMAN.DEF THAT OUT WENT
'Did you see the woman that went out?'

d) **Ig truor it at **skuotið** avið an-dar brindan.* D.2.2
I BELIEVE NOT THAT SHOT HAVE.2.PL HE-THERE ELK.DEF
'I don't believe that you have shot this elk'

e) **Ir eð Lass so **dig** ar daingt?* D.1.3
IS IT LASSE THAT YOU HAS BEATEN
'Was it Lasse who has beaten you?'

f) **Ig uppes at **faið** avið jätå.* D.2.2
I HOPE THAT GOT HAVE.2.PL FOOD
'I hope you have got food'

(19) a) *Eð ir eð-dar brieveð so kam **i går**.* D.1.1
IT IS IT-THERE LETTER.DEF THAT CAME YESTERDAY
'This is the letter that came yesterday.'

b) *Sir du it at irum **trä'tter**?* D.2.1
SEE YOU NOT THAT ARE.1.PL TIRED
'Don't you see we're tired?'

c) *Såg du å-dar kelindje so fuor **aut**?* D.1.2
SAW YOU SHE-THERE WOMAN.DEF THAT WENT OUT
'Did you see the woman that went out?'

d) *Ig truor it at avið **skuotið** an-dar brindan.* D.2.2
I BELIEVE NOT THAT HAVE.2.PL SHOT HIM-THERE ELK.DEF
'I don't believe that you have shot this elk.

e) *Ir eð Lass so ar daingt **dig**?* D.1.3
IS IT LASSE THAT HAS BEATEN YOU
'Is it Lasse who has beaten you?'

f) *Ig uppes at avið **faið** jätå.* D.2.2
I HOPE THAT HAVE.2.PL GOT FOOD
'I hope you have got food.'

In my investigation, I have mostly tested SF of heads, as head like elements are most often stylistically fronted in Old Scandinavian and Modern Icelandic. However, I also tested some cases with fronted DPs. The scores (see the ap-

pendix for details of this) show that SF is generally rejected independently of other factors. Interestingly, SF of the predicative adjective *gamblest* 'oldest' is accepted as stylistically fronted in a relative clause as shown in (20a), whereas fronting of other predicative adjectives is judged as ungrammatical, independently of whether the fronting occurs in a relative clause as shown in (20b), or in an embedded clause with a referential null subject (20c).

(20) a) *Ulum fel spyr an so* ***gamblest*** *ir.* D.1.1
SHALL.1.PL OF COURSE ASK HE THAT OLDEST IS
'We will of course ask the one who is oldest.'

b) **Ig will tjyöp ien bil so* ***billin*** *ir.* D.1.2
I WANT-TO BUY A CAR THAT CHEAP IS
'I want to buy a car that is cheap.'

c) **Såg an it at* ***kliener*** *warið?* D.2.1
SAW HE NOT THAT SICK.PL WERE.2.PL
'Didn't he see that you were sick?'

On the basis of the data presented here, we can conclude that SF is no longer a productive syntactic pattern in Övdalian.[168] Examples of what seems to be lexicalized SF can also be found in Swedish as shown in (21), and in Norwegian, as in (22).

(21) a) *… som* ***sagt*** *var.* (SWEDISH)
THAT SAID WAS
'what was said.'

[168] However, Lars Steensland (p.c.), has provided two spontaneous examples of Stylistic Fronting. The first one was produced in 2009 by a Övdalian native-speaker born in 1919 in Åsen: *An so* ***kringgest*** *ir får pris.* (lit. HE WHO QUICKEST IS GETS PRICE). The second example was recorded in the year 1984 from another native speaker born 1930 in Loka: … *ed so* ***i wäskun*** *war.* (lit. THAT WHAT IN BAG.DEF WAS). Interestingly, the same native speaker has been one of my consultants and she does not seem to accept SF nowadays. This can be an effect of a mismatch between which language the consultants report using and the language they actually speak (Thelander 1981: 17 ff.). Additionally, a male Övdalian consultant born in 1921 in Näset has judged the following three sentences as grammatical: (1) *An tuog bar ed so* ***i wäskun*** *war.* (lit. HE TOOK ONLY THAT WHAT IN BAG.DEF WAS); (2) *Fåm fel spyr an so* ***gamblest*** *ir* (lit. SHALL.1.PL PROBABLY ASK HIM THAT OLDEST IS) and (3) *Ulum uið it jåp diem so* ***fattiger*** *irå* (lit. SHALL.1.PL WE NOT HELP THEM WHO POOR ARE). The same consultant has however rejected the sentence *Ig will tjyöp ien bil so* ***billin*** *ir.* (lit. I WANT-TO BUY A CAR THAT CHEAP IS), Lars Steensland (p.c.).

b) … *om* ***så*** *sker*
IF SO HAPPENS
'… in case of this.'

c) … *om* ***så*** *önskas*
IF SO IS-WISHED
'… if one wishes so.'

(22) … *som* ***sant*** *var*. (NORWEGIAN)
THAT TRUE WAS
'that was true.'

The general absence of SF in Övdalian is also corroborated by a search of the Övdalian Speech Corpus where no instances of SF are found (Johannessen & Garbacz, submitted). As stated at the start of this chapter, SF seemed to be restricted already in Classical Övdalian as Levander only reports SF in short relative clauses (1909b: 122). It is worth noting that SF was still attested in relative clauses in Early Modern Swedish after it had disappeared from other types of clauses in (Falk 1993). This suggests that the SF-pattern was already restricted in Classical Övdalian and that it in some cases may have been confused with the OV-pattern that also was present at this time. Possible examples of such confusion are clauses as (1h), repeated here as (23).

(23) *Oller so* ***ogų*** ***og*** ***nevеð*** *åvå*.
ALL THAT EYES.DEF AND NOSE.DEF HAVE
'Everybody that has eyes and nose.' [i.e. every human]

It is possible that the loss of SF in Övdalian is due to the influence of Swedish in the current bilingual situation. However, I consider this explanation of the loss of SF to be too simplified, especially given the fact that many syntactic patterns that are productive in Övdalian do not have a counterpart in Swedish as discussed in Chapter 4. In what follows, I discuss some potential causes of the loss of SF in Övdalian.

7.5 Loss of SF in Övdalian

As mentioned above, I assume, in line with Maling (1980), Ottósson (1989), Platzack (1987b), Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson (1990), Holmberg (2000), Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002), and Ott (2009) that the landing site of stylistically fronted elements is Spec,TP (termed Spec,IP in earlier approaches), when there is a subject gap in this position. It follows then that SF cannot occur in

those languages where the subject must be in Spec,TP and that SF can only exist in languages in which Spec,TP is available for both the subject and other syntactic elements and is not restricted to subjects only. In Icelandic, Spec,TP is available not only for subjects, but also for other syntactic elements, as embedded topicalization seems to be generally possible (at least according to Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson 1990) and SF is also generally possible.[169] In modern Mainland Scandinavian, Spec,TP may only host subjects (see for example Platzack 1998 and Håkansson 2008 for Swedish) and hence SF is impossible. Håkansson (2008: 164 ff.) has claimed that the status of Spec,TP has changed diachronically and that movement of different elements (including the subject) to Spec,TP was possible in Old Swedish since Spec,TP at that time was an A'-position, whereas in Late Old Swedish (and now) only the subject may (and has to) move to Spec,TP, which is now an A-position.[170]

From the assumption that Spec,TP is a canonical subject position in Modern Swedish it follows that SF is no longer possible. Turning to the question of why Övdalian does not display SF, the same analysis as Håkansson (2008) has presented for Swedish can be adopted here. Since I have argued that SF is movement to Spec,TP, SF can occur only when Spec,TP is a possible landing site for any type of syntactic constituent. In Övdalian, Spec,TP seems to be a possible landing site only for subjects; neither non-referential null subjects nor embedded topicalization are possible in the language as shown in (24) and (25) respectively.

(24) a) *I graşi kann *(eð) wårå uormer.* A.4
IN GRASS.DEF CAN IT BE SNAKES
'There can be snakes in the grass.'

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[169] For a different analysis of the Icelandic data (as well as for further Icelandic data) see, for example, Hrafnbjargarson & Wiklund (2009). In Faroese, on the other hand, embedded topicalization does not seem generally possible (Thráinsson et al. 2004: 297 ff.) and also SF seems to be more is limited compared to Icelandic. A different view on Faroese is presented in Wiklund et al. (2009: 1922): "Our investigation reveals that Faroese and Icelandic (or at least varieties of these languages) are subject to restrictions on V2 word order of the kind seen in the other Scandinavian languages."

[170] According to Håkansson (2008: 206 ff.), the possibility of omitting referential (and non-referential) subjects from Spec,IP is triggered by the transition from OV to VO in Swedish. He argues that, given the subject-in-situ generalization (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2001), the subject does not have to move out from the VP when the language in question exhibits the base OV word order. In an OV language, the object normally leaves the VP, whereas the subject may remain in the VP. When the basic word order changes from OV to VO and the object does not need to move out of the VP, the subject must now move out from the VP giving thus rise to grammaticalization of a subject position above the VP, in the case of Swedish, to Spec,IP. In this way, the change from OV to VO triggers the rise of a subject position in Spec,IP and causes the change of Spec,IP from an A'-position to an A-position.

b) *Nų far *(eð) raingen.* A.4
NOW GOES IT RAIN
'It starts to rain now.'

(25) a) **Eð ir fel Maj so **å-dar** **buotję** ar lesið.* A.26
IT IS PROBABLY MAJ THAT SHE-THERE BOOK.DEF HAS READ

b) *Eð ir fel Maj so ar lesið **å-dar** **buotję**.* A.26
IT IS PROBABLY MAJ THAT HAS READ SHE-THERE BOOK.DEF
'I suppose, Maj has read this book.'

However, Övdalian exhibits referential null subjects in 1st and 2nd person plural, hence Spec,TP need not to be visible when the verb is inflected for 1st and 2nd person plural. This is shown in (26).

(26) a) *… dar wilum glåmå min wennanan.*
WHEN WANT-TO.1PL CHAT WITH EACHOTHER
'…when **we** want to chat with each other.'
(from Rosenkvist 2009: 169)

b) *Nų irið iema.*
NOW ARE-2PL. HOME
'Now you are home.'
(from Rosenkvist 2009: 169)

Rosenkvist (2009), having examined and compared referential null subjects in Old Germanic languages with those in modern Germanic varieties, comes to the following conclusion: referential null subjects in Old Germanic languages "seem to depend on lexically realized antecedents in the preceding discourse" but not on distinct verbal agreement; in modern Germanic dialects, referential null subjects are enabled by distinct verb agreement (Rosenkvist 2009: 160, 170, 173; see also Håkansson 2008 and Sigurðsson 1993). Övdalian patterns with the other Germanic varieties of today in that referential null subjects only occur in the presence of a distinctive verbal agreement in the language (Rosenkvist 2009: 171). Therefore, the presence of referential null subjects in Övdalian does not change the fact that Spec,TP is the canonical subject position and Spec,TP cannot host other elements than subjects. The presence of rich agreement and V^0-to-I^0 movement in Övdalian may theoretically enable SF, but since the assumed landing site of SF is argued to be Spec,TP and this is the subject position, then under this analysis, SF will not be possible.

In Övdalian, the subject must thus obligatorily move to Spec,TP irrespective of whether it is an overt or a covert subject. If so, we can assume for Övda-

lian that Agr does not have a syntactic value, whereby Agr in Icelandic and Old Swedish had a syntactic value.[171] One hypothesis, suggested by Holmberg & Platzack (1995) is that Agr itself functioned as an A-position, leaving Spec,TP free as an A'-position. Hence, in Traditional Övdalian, Spec,TP has become an A-position and therefore it may only host subjects. This is the reason why SF is no longer possible in Övdalian. There are reasons to argue that the A'/A-shift of Spec,TP already had taken place in Classical Övdalian, as indicated by the restricted use of SF.[172]

7.6 Summary

Stylistic Fronting was found in certain contexts in Classical Övdalian (Levander 1909b: 122). However, it is no longer a productive pattern in Traditional Övdalian. The apparent loss of SF given the continuing simultaneous presence of V^0-to-I^0-movement and rich verbal agreement suggests that these do not need to be absent in order for SF to be lost, as it has been argued for Mainland Scandinavian where the diachronic data give support for linking SF with both verb movement to I^0 and verbal agreement with SF. The Övdalian data indicate that there is another factor involved that disallows SF. I argue, following Håkansson (2008), that the reason for the absence of SF in Övdalian is the fact that Spec,TP (that had been the landing site of SF) is now restricted to subjects and not available for SF.

[171] According to Håkansson (2008: 206 ff.) the loss of null referential (and non-referential) subjects in Spec,TP is triggered by the transition from OV to VO in Swedish (see the discussion therein).
[172] Another possible argument could of course be the presence of any restrictions on embedded topicalization in Classical Övdalian; it is however unknown whether this was the case.

8 Summary and conclusions

The subject of this dissertation is a study of aspects of the syntax of Traditional Övdalian. Övdalian (Swe. älvdalska, Övd. *övdalską* or *övkallmåleð*) is a Scandinavian language that is currently spoken by around 2500 people, of whom approximately 1700 live in the parish of Älvdalen located in the province of Dalecarlia in Western Sweden (Larsson et al. 2008). Övdalian, as a separate variety, has been spoken in Älvdalen at least since the beginning of the 17th century and the first text of some length in Övdalian is a dialogue in a comedy written by Prytz (1622). One important aspect of the discussion presented here is that Övdalian displays both East and West Scandinavian features on different levels of its structure. It is characterized by being linguistically distant from both standard Swedish as well as from surrounding dialects even though it is rather closely related to them. The attention of linguists and the general public has been drawn to Övdalian for centuries and the results are a number of published works. However, the majority of these works are not concerned with the syntax of Övdalian and all of the works before 2005 are written in Swedish.

Since the end of the 19th century, Övdalian has gone through significant changes and these changes serve as a starting point for this study. Given these changes, three stages of Övdalian can be distinguished beginning with the 19th century: *Classical Övdalian* (spoken by the generations born before ca. 1920); *Traditional Övdalian*, spoken by the generation born between ca. 1920 and the end of the 1940's and *Modern Övdalian*, spoken by the generations born ca. 1950 and later.[173]

The question as to whether Övdalian is to be classified as a separate language has been extensively discussed. Following Steensland (1990), Melerska (2006), and Koch (2006), I have chosen to refer to Övdalian as a separate language rather than as a dialect. The main reason of doing so is the fact that Övdalian differs considerably from its closest standard and non-standard relatives on every linguistic level.

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[173] The periodization is based on the one presented in Helgander (1996).

Until now, the largest study of Övdalian has been Levander (1909b). That work has been used as the primary source of knowledge regarding the structure of Övdalian. However, it is based on the language as spoken by people born in the second half of the 19th century and even earlier. Therefore, the linguistic information contained in Levander's book cannot be regarded as up to date. One of the aims of the present dissertation is therefore a description of Traditional Övdalian based on data collected during work with native speakers of the language. Another goal of it has been to present current facts about the language as it is today for speakers born before the 1940's. Besides providing new data on Traditional Övdalian syntax in general, the main goal of this work has been to examine more deeply the presence of two syntactic phenomena in the language: embedded V^0-to-I^0 movement and Stylistic Fronting. The existence of these has been linked to the presence of rich verbal agreement and at the same time V^0-to-I^0 movement has been seen by some syntactitians (for example by Holmberg & Platzack 1995 and by Hrafnbjargarson 2004) as a pre-condition for Stylistic Fronting. Therefore, one important aspect of this work has been to examine these proposed connections in the light of new data from Övdalian.

Data for the present dissertation was collected by means of grammaticality judgements obtained from twelve native speakers of Övdalian born between the years 1927 and 1941. These speakers come from four villages located in the north-western part of the region of Älvdalen: Åsen, Brunnsberg, Loka and Klitten. The two main reasons for my work's reliance on the elicitation of grammaticality judgements are as follows: (1) this method allows the possibility of examining sentences that occur very rarely in corpora or in speech, and (2) it also allows the collection of information about which patterns are not grammatical in the Övdalian language. The elicitation of grammaticality judgements requires a number of precautions (Schütze 1996) and these have been implemented in the present investigation. The raw data, on which the syntactic part of this work is based, are to be found in the appendix.

Övdalian differs considerably from the standard Scandinavian languages as well as from the non-standard varieties in phonology, morphology, and syntax and I give an overview of this in section 2.3 of Chapter 2. The presentation of the structure of Övdalian given in Chapter 2 focuses on verbal morphology as its presence has been argued to license the two phenomena discussed in the latter part of this thesis: V^0-to-I^0 movement and Stylistic Fronting. It has been stated that the verbal morphology has not changed between Classical Övdalian and Traditional Övdalian; the verb is inflected both in person and number displaying usually four different forms with identical forms in the singular. Thus, Övdalian fulfils the conditions of rich verbal agreement as proposed by Rohrbacher (1999) that according to a number of approaches should trigger V^0-to-I^0 movement and Stylistic Fronting, although the latter not necessarily

directly. Morphological change is, on the other hand, apparent in the Övdalian case system. Whereas Classical Övdalian had four cases (including the secondary genitive), in Traditional Övdalian one does not usually now find the distinction between accusative and nominative and even dative is restricted in some contexts.

From the traditional point of view of Swedish dialectology, Övdalian represents a transition stage between the East Scandinavian language group and the West Scandinavian language group (Nyström 2007). This is also the case when the syntax of Traditional Övdalian is examined. The majority of the syntactic properties of Traditional Övdalian are also found in the standard Scandinavian languages, both the Mainland Scandinavian group and the Insular Scandinavian group. Strikingly however, Traditional Övdalian exhibits a number of syntactic features that are not attested in any of the standard Scandinavian languages. Among these are referential null subjects, the lack of Object Shift, the lack of separate inflectional morphemes on the noun for both number and definiteness, subject doubling, and negative concord.

When examining the diachronic development of Övdalian syntax during the 20th century, it is apparent that the majority of the syntactic constructions inherited from older stages of the language have disappeared or are currently being lost, whereas the existence of the syntactic innovations that have occurred in Övdalian do not seem to be affected to the same degree.

Data from Traditional Övdalian presented in Chapter 6 show that verb movement can be described as optional in the language despite the presence of rich verbal agreement. In this way, the data strongly argue against the proposal that the presence of rich verbal agreement triggers verb movement to I^0 as outlined in Rohrbacher (1999) and Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998). In order to explain the presence of optional V^0-to-I^0-movement in Traditional Övdalian, I follow the proposal of Rosenkvist (1994) and argue that the pre-subject placement of negation in Traditional Övdalian blurs the evidence for verb movement to I^0. Therefore, there is no need to assume any connection between the ongoing loss of V^0-to-I^0 movement and the continued presence of robust verbal agreement in Övdalian in such way that verbal agreement necessarily triggers verb movement. Further, the loss of V^0-to-I^0 movement in the other Scandinavian Languages can also be explained as occurring independently of the presence of rich verbal agreement as argued by Pettersson (1988), Sundquist (2002), and Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002). Accordingly, it is maintained here that Övdalian gives support to approaches that disconnect the richness of verbal agreement and V^0-to-I^0 movement in general.

Stylistic Fronting is found in certain contexts in Classical Övdalian (Levander 1909b: 122), but my data collected from speakers of Traditional Övdalian show that this is no longer a productive pattern in the language. It has previously been argued that Stylistic Fronting is enabled by V^0-to-I^0 movement

and/or rich verbal agreement (Falk 1993 and Holmberg & Platzack 1995 among others). The presence of rich verbal agreement and (optional) V^0-to-I^0 movement in Övdalian shows clearly that these two phenomena are not a sufficient condition for Stylistic Fronting and this is in line with what have been argued for other Scandinavian languages. I assume, following Maling (1980), Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson (1990), and Alexiadou & Fanselow (2002), that SF is movement to Spec,TP. A consequence of this assumption is that Spec,TP must be available to different syntactic elements as moved to this position by SF and not only to subjects. This is the case in Icelandic and in the medieval varieties of the Scandinavian languages, but not in the modern Mainland Scandinavian varieties. In Traditional Övdalian, Spec,TP appears to be available only for the subject, but not for other syntactic elements. Therefore, SF cannot take place in the language, as movement of syntactic constituents other than subjects to Spec,TP is prohibited in the language.

The data on Traditional Övdalian syntax, particularly on V^0-to-I^0-movement and Stylistic Fronting, clearly show that syntactic change in the language has occurred despite the ongoing presence of rich verbal morphology. The morphology-driven syntax approach has been criticized previously on the base of synchronic and diachronic data from the Scandinavian languages (see, especially, Sundquist 2002). The assumption that changes in verbal morphology have played a role in the syntactic development of Mainland Scandinavian languages is for instance rejected by Sundquist (2002: 344), who states the following:

> "In each chapter, I conducted a quantitative analysis of word-order variation and change and provided empirical evidence that deflection, or the loss of inflectional distinctions, is not a factor in syntactic change in the Mainland Scandinavian languages."

The investigation made in this dissertation does not necessarily show that the changes in the verbal morphology of a Scandinavian language cannot have an impact on the syntax; it rather shows that there are other factors at work that may play a role in syntactic change. Hence, the ongoing loss of V^0-to-I^0-movement in Övdalian is caused by the fact the pre-subject placement of sentential adverbials, particularly negation, blurs evidence for verb movement. Further, I have proposed here that the completed loss of Stylistic Fronting in Övdalian has been caused by the changed status of its landing site, Spec,TP, in that Spec,TP has changed from a A'-position to an A-position that in Traditional Övdalian may host subjects only and not fronted elements.

The question that emerges in the light of the Övdalian findings is whether syntactic changes are an effect of one parameter at work, or, whether there are several parameters that co-operate in syntactic change. The evidence presented

in this work seems to indicate that the latter scenario is the more probable case. The parametric approach has been questioned by Newmeyer (2008: 10), who, having confronted the assumed connection between verbal and case morphology and several syntactic constructions presented by Holmberg & Platzack (1995), has come to the conclusion that the parametric approach is of small relevance in a typological perspective.

> "I have not found any robust clustering outside of Germanic and languages in close contact with Germanic. It is logically possible that in most languages other factors conspire to mask the effect of the proposed parameter. But it seems fair to say that advocates of the parameter have their work cut off for them if they wish to maintain the claim that its effects extend beyond a small circle of the world's languages."

Newmeyer (2008) thus maintains, we need a refinement of our notion of parametric syntax. A similar conclusion may be drawn from the examination of ongoing changes in Övdalian syntax that are presented in this dissertation.

Sammanfattningg å övdalska

Isų-jär buotję ir ¸ie avandlingg i emnę nordiskų språk. Å andler mjäst um uordföljdę i övdalskun, men å ir og ¸ie buok dar ig ar buoðið til presentir övdalskų fer linggwistum so åvå it ärt so mitjið um eð-dar språtjeð so övkallär åvå i Övdalim. Föðyö ar ig skrievt buotję å ainggelska so oller dugå leså ån, og dier so bigrip it swenska eld noð eller språk frå Nordn. Ig uppes avandlindję beller wårå ¸ie jåp fer diem so wil witå mįer um övdalskų og strukturn ennes. Jär will ig tokk ollum övkallum og övkelingum so åvå jåpt mig skriev buotję. Tjär tokk för avið boð suoråð å frågum mainum um övdalskų og bidyömt mikkel mieningger so ig add stellt til og so mikkel gaungg war swårer. Autå ið edd ig it að dugåð skriev ittað-jär!

Buotję ar ått kapittel. Etter inlieðnindjin (kapittel 1), presentirer ig övdalskų (kapittel 2). Ig ser åv war an dalsker nogär, ur mikkler so dalsk, ur laindj dier åvå dalskað og ur språtjeð ar endrað sig ses byrånendan åv 1900-talį. Ig mienер at eð gor akudir um tri periuoðer i autwekklindjin: (1) *klassisk övdalsk* so war språtjeð fer diem so war fyö'dder millå slutę åv 1800- talį og ringgum 1920, (2) *tradisiuonell övdalsk* so ir språtjeð fer diem so iå fyö'dder millå 1920 og oðer wärdskrig og (3) *modärn övdalsk* so ir språtjeð fer diem so iå fyö'dder etter oðer wärdskrig. Ig ser åv og at eð kann stjil millå byum og millå djenerasiuonum. I summu kapittel waiser ig fer diem so int dalsk ur språtjeð ir uppbyggt, eð will saia ur an böjer uordę og ur an auttälär diem. Ig biretter og liteð um dalskunes istoria. Attrað dyö diskutirer ig ur eð ir stellt min dalskun i dag og ig mienер at övdalską ir it inggų swensk dialekt, åtå iett ieget språk. I kapittel 3 ser ig åv ur ig ar samblað material að iss-jär buotjin, ur mikkel övkaller so ig ar intervjuað, weðå dier kumå og ur gambler dier iå. I kapittel 4 djäv ig ¸ien yvirsikt yvyr iegenieter i övdalskunes uordföljd. Ig iemfyörer övdalskų min eller nordiskų språk og waiser ur å ar endras ses Levanderes tið. Kapittel 5 andler um ur an al biskriev övdalską min djenerativgrammatitjem. Boð jär og ar ig iemfyört ån min eller nordiskų språk. Kapittel 6 og kapittel 7 andel um bisatsuordföljdę, war werbeð al wårå i bisatsem, firi eld etter satsadwerbial og eller satsdieler. Ig mienер jär at djeneralisasiuoner so dier åvå gart tiðugera um eller nordiskų språk, funggir it fer övdalskun og ig spyr wiso eð ir upå eð wiseð og

ur an kann biskriev övdalskų. Kapittel 8 ir ¸ie sammanfattningg åv iel avandlindjin. Sę ar ig bifuogað iett appendiks og, dar oll mieningger so ig ar testað i Övdalim irå samblaðer og dar an beller sjå ur dier irå bidyömder åv wer og ien åv informantum mainum.

Sammanfattning på svenska

I denna avhandling står älvdalskans syntax i centrum. Älvdalska är en språklig varietet, talad i den norra delen av Dalarna. Varieteten är tidigast belagd i Prytz (1622), och den skiljer sig markant både från de nordiska standardspråken och från de andra dalmålen på alla språkliga nivåer. Detta har gjort att man ofta betraktar älvdalskan som ett separat språk.

Den hittills utförligaste beskrivningen av älvdalskan finns i Lars Levanders avhandling från 1909, där fokus ligger på morfologi och syntax. Det språk Levander studerar är den så kallade *klassiska älvdalskan* som den talades vid sekelskiftet 1900. I min avhandling ligger tonviken på syntaxen i dagens älvdalska, som på flera punkter avviker från den klassiska.

Trots Levanders arbete är den klassiska älvdalskans syntax endast fragmentariskt beskriven. Dagens älvdalska och särskilt dess syntax är till stor del obeskriven, med undantag för några artiklar från sekelskiftet 2000-talet. Min avhandling har som syfte att delvis fylla denna lucka genom att ge en kortfattad beskrivning av hur älvdalskan utvecklats syntaktiskt under 1900-talet, och mer i detalj studera ordföljden, särsklilt det finita verbets position i bisatsen och den så kallade kilkonstruktionen.

Materialet till min avhandling utgörs av grammatikalitetsbedömningar av älvdalska exempelmeningar samlade från tolv informanter med älvdalska som modersmål. Informanterna, födda mellan 1927 och 1941, kommer från fyra olika byar i den nordvästra delen av det gamla Älvdalen: Åsen, Brunnsberg, Loka och Klitten. Med stöd i Helgander (1996) delar jag in älvdalskan i tre perioder: (1) *klassisk älvdalska*, talad av personer födda mellan mitten av 1800-talet och ca. 1920-talet, (2) *traditionell älvdalska*, talad av dem som är födda mellan 1920-talet och andra världskriget och (3) *modern älvdalska*, talad av älvdalingar födda efter andra världskriget.

Den teoretiska ramen för min avhandling är den generativa grammatiken, den ledande syntaktiska skolan idag. I anslutning till min presentation av teorin ger jag en kort översikt över den forskning i de nordiska språkens syntax som har bedrivits inom ramen för den generativa grammatiken, med fokus på sambandet mellan verbmorfologi och syntax. Detta samband är centralt för ordföljdsfenomen som behandlas i min avhandling. Jag gör också en genomgång av syntaktiska karakteristika hos älvdalskan och visar att konstruktioner som älvdalska har gemensammt med de nordiska fornspråken och modern

isländska i stor utsträckning har försvunnit under 1900-talet eller håller på att försvinna. Däremot tyder mycket på att de konstruktioner som är en effekt av älvdalskans egen syntaktiska utveckling fortfarande står tämligen starka och därigenom bidrar till att skilja älvdalskan syntaktiskt från svenskan.

Det finita verbets position framför eventuella satsadverbial i bisatsen tas upp i kapitel 6. En sådan placering beror enligt den generativa analysen på den så kallade V^0-till-I^0-flyttningen, dvs. att det finita verbet flyttat från verbfrasen till satsens mittfält. Sådan flyttning fanns i äldre svenska, men är idag försvunnen. Min undersökning visar att V^0-till-I^0-flyttningen troligen var obligatorisk i klassisk älvdalska, men att den är optionell i den traditionella älvdalskan.

I kapitel 7 behandlar jag förlusten av möjligheten att placera vissa led mellan subjunktionen och det finita verbet i (främst) relativa bisatser, dvs. den så kallade kilkonstruktionen. Både V^0-till-I^0-flyttning och kilkonstruktion har i de generativa analyserna ofta kopplats till verbets böjning på så sätt att verbböjningen i person och numerus har setts som en förutsättning för förekomst av kil och V^0-till-I^0-flyttning. Data från älvdalskan, som idag saknar kilkonstruktionen och tenderar att förlora V^0-till-I^0-flyttning, samtidigt som den har numerus- och personböjning av det finita verbet, visar att troligen något annat än verbböjning har påverkat de ovannämnda konstruktionerna. Jag menar att den frekventa placeringen av negationen före subjektet i de älvdalska bisatserna har medfört att bisatsordföljden med negationen efter finitet har blivit ett markerat syntaktiskt mönster. Vad gäller den numera försvunna kilkonstruktionen, framhåller jag att denna inte kunde samexistera med subjektstvånget i älvdalska som troligen har uppkommit under de senaste seklen. Trots att älvdalska uppvisar nollsubjekt, verkar dessa i sin natur vara olika de forngermanska nollsubjekten som medförde att kilkonstruktionen kunde existera. Om skillnaden mellan de forngermanska och de nugermanska nollsubjekten se Rosenkvist (2009).

Avhandlingens resultat sammanfattas och diskuteras i kapitel 9.

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Appendix

This appendix includes the raw data that are the empirical base of this dissertation and it includes data that have not been utilized here. First, the data on general syntactic characteristics of Övdalian are given, then the data on the negation system in Övdalian followed by the data on V^0-to-I^0-movement, and finally the data on Stylistic Fronting.

For every consultant the following information is given: the consultant number (C=X), an abbreviation of the name of the place the consultant comes from (L): B = Brunnsberg, K = Klitten, L = Loka and Å = Åsen as well as the year of birth of the consultant and the sex (M = Male, F = Female).

The sentence judgemens of every consultant is given in the table and the median of all judgements of a sentence is also presented.

A. General syntactic characteristics

A.1 V2-property

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Ig *will it tjyöp an-dar biln nų.*	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	**5**	**0,62**	**4,75**
An-dar biln *will ig it tjyöp nų.*	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	**5**	**0,65**	**4,66**
Nų *will ig it tjyöp an-dar biln.*	5	5	5	4	3	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	**5**	**0,67**	**4,5**
Ig it *will tjyöp an-dar biln nų.*	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	**1**	**0,9**	**1,5**
An-dar biln ig *will it tjyöp nų.*	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	**1**	**1,16**	**1,5**
Nų ig *will it tjyöp an-dar biln.*	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**1**	**0,62**	**1,25**

A.2 Object-verb word order

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Ig will ev etter ***biln*** *iem i morgu.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0**	**5**
Ig will ***biln*** *ev etter iem i morgu.*	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	**1**	**0,67**	**1,42**
Ig will ev etter iem i morgu ***biln.***	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**1**	**0**	**1**

A.3 Predicative adjective agreeement

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Nyu aus irå ***sturer.***	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0**	**5**
Nyu aus irå ***stur.***	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**1**	**0**	**1**

A.4 Expletive null subjects

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
I grasi kann wårå uormer.	1	3	3	3	1	1	1	2	4	3	3	4	**3**	**1,16**	**2,42**
I grasi kann ***eð*** *wårå uormer.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0**	**5**
I Lund ir mikkel studenter.	1	3	5	4	1	1	2	2	4	3	3	3	**3**	**1,3**	**2,66**
I Lund ir ***eð*** *mikkel studenter.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0**	**5**
I nåt ar ***eð*** *snieð mitjið.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0**	**5**
I nåt ar snieð mitjið.	1	2	3	1	1	1	2	1	4	2	1	3	**1,5**	**1,03**	**1,83**
Nu far raingen.	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**1**	**0,28**	**1,08**
Nu far ***eð*** *raingen.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0**	**5**

A.5 Dative alternation

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
*Kulla mai gav **mig** å-dar buotje.*	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0,57	4,83
*Kulla mai gav å-dar buotje **að mig.***	3	3	5	4	5	5	2	5	1	3	1	4	3,5	1,5	3,41

A.6 Oblique subjects

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
*I går drömd **mig** ien underlin dröm.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0,28	1,08
*I går drömd **ig** ien underlin dröm.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5

A.7 Transitive expletives

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Ð *ar* ***ien övkall*** *tjyöpt stugu.*	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	0,45	1,25
Ien övkall *ar tjyöpt stugu.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5

A.8 Resumptive pronouns

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Å spuord etter ***wen*** *låg i dragtjistun.*	1	1	1	4	1	1	3	1	3	2	2	2	1,5	1,03	1,83
Å spuord etter ***wen so*** *låg i dragtjistun.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5

A.9 Null generic pronouns

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Jär får it rötja.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0,28	1,08
*Jär får **an** it rötja.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5

A.10 Direct vs. indirect object position

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
*Ig gav duk-kur **kullum.***	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0,28	1,08
*Ig gav **kullum** dukkur.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	0,28	4,91

A.11 Verb movement in infinitivals

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
An luveð aut tä ***kum(å)*** *aldri att.*	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	2	1	0,9	1,42
An luveð aut tä aldri ***kum(å)*** *att.*	5	4	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	0,62	4,75

A.12 Long distance reflexives

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1934 F	C=5 L:B 1934 M	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L:Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard devia-tion	Mean
Olga ar sagt Andes elsker åna.	3	4	1	1	1	1	5	5	2	4	4	2	2,5	1,6	2,75
Olga ar sagt at Andes elsker åna.	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	0,57	4,83
Olga$_i$ ar sagt at Andes elsker sig$_i$.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1,15	1,33
Olga$_i$ ar sagt Andes elsker sig$_i$.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	0,57	1,16

A.13 VP-topicalization

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Skuotið andar brindan *ar an fel it.*	2	1	1	1	1	3	2	4	3	2	2	2	**2**	**0,95**	**2**
An ar fel it ***skuotið andar brindan.***	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0**	**5**

A.14 Pseudopassives

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Gunnar ***wart stjemtað min.***	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**1**	**0,39**	**1,16**
Fuotjeð ***stjemteð min*** *Gunnar.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	**5**	**0,28**	**4,92**

A.15 The Present Participle Construction

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1934 F	C=5 L:B 1934 M	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L:Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Ittað-jär wattneð ***ir it drik-kend.***	5	5	1	5	4	2	1	5	3	4	4	2	**4**	**1,56**	**3,42**
Ittað-jär wattneð ***gor it drikka.***	5	5	5	1	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	**5**	**1,16**	**4,58**
An-dar kuorvin ***war it jätend.***	5	5	1	1	4	2	1	5	4	4	4	2	**4**	**1,64**	**3,16**
An-dar kuorvin ***djikk it jätå.***	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	**5**	**0,58**	**4,83**

A.16 Null subjects in 2nd pl

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Wiso kåytið?	5	5	3	3	5	5	2	5	5	5	5	2	**5**	**1,26**	**4,16**
Wiso kåytið ***ið?***	1	5	5	5	1	5	5	1	1	3	3	5	**4**	**1,87**	**3,33**

A.17 Object shift of DPs

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Ig tjyöpt buotje ***inte.***	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0,29	1,08
Ig tjyöpt buotje ***it.***	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0,29	1,08
Ig tjyöpt ***int*** *buotje.*	4	5	5	5	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	0,58	4,16
Ig tjyöpt ***it*** *buotje.*	5	4	5	4	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0,65	4,66

A.18 Object shift of pronominal subjects

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
An såg ***int*** *mig.*	5	5	5	4	3	4	4	4	3	5	5	4	4	0,75	4,25
An såg ***it*** *mig.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	0,28	4,92
An såg mig ***inte.***	3	2	1	1	3	1	-	5	1	3	3	3	3	1,28	2,36
An såg mig it.	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	2	1	2	2	2	1	0,5	1,36

A.19 Double subjects

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Du *ir sakt* ***du*** *uwendes duktin dalska.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	1	5	5	5	**5**	**1,16**	**4,6**
Du *ir sakt uwendes duktin dalska.*	5	5	5	4	5	4	5	5	1	5	5	4	**5**	**1,16**	**4,42**

A.20 Negative concord - 1

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Ig ar ***it*** *si'tt* ***inggan*** *röv jär* ***aldri.***	3	5	3	3	5	5	1	2	1	5	4	2	**3**	**1,54**	**3,25**
Ig ar ***aldri*** *si'tt nån röv jär.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0**	**5**

A.21 Negative concord - 2

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1934 F	C=5 L:B 1934 M	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L:Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Ig ar ***it*** *si'tt* ***inggan.***	5	5	5 (*int*)	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0**	**5**
Ig ar si'tt ***inggan.***	1	1	1	-	3	3	1	5	1	4	2	2	**2**	**1,4**	**2,18**
I dag ar ig ***intnoð*** *ietið.*	4	1	2	-	4	1	5	1	4	3	2	3	**3**	**1,42**	**2,72**
I går belld ***it inggan*** *kumå að Mụora.*	5	5	2	5	4	5	5	4	3	4	4	4	**4**	**0,93**	**4,16**
I går belld ***inggan*** *kumå að Mụora.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0**	**5**

A.22 Negative concord - 3

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1934 F	C=5 L:B 1934 M	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L:Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Intnoð *ar ig*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	2	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0,86**	**4,75**
Intnoð *ar* ***it*** *ig ietið.*	3	3	1	-	3	1	1	1	2	4	2	4	**2**	**1,19**	**2,27**
Intnoð *ar ig* ***it*** *ietið.*	1	1	1	-	2	1	1	1	1	3	1	3	**1**	**0,82**	**1,45**
Aldri *kumb an* ***it*** *et messer.*	1	3	1	3	3	1	1	2	4	4	4	5	**3**	**1,43**	**2,66**
Aldri *kumb an et messer.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	4	**5**	**0,62**	**4,75**
Aldri *kumb* ***it*** *an et messer.*	3	5	1	4	3	3	1	2	2	4	4	1	**3**	**1,35**	**2,75**
Ig sir ***it inggan.***	5	5	2	5	5	5	3	5	4	5	4	5	**5**	**0,99**	**4,42**
An får ***aldri inggų jåp****.*	1	3	5	1	1	1	5	1	3	5	5	4	**3**	**1,83**	**2,92**
Eð *ir tuokut at Andes* ***ingg peningger*** *al få.*	2	5	1	-	5	1	5	2	5	4	5	5	**5**	**1,75**	**3,64**
Jär ligg oll rekkningger so ***int*** *ig ar bitalt.*	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0,57**	**4,83**
Jär ligg oll rekk-ningger so ig ar ***it*** *bitalt.*	5	5	2	-	4	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	**5**	**0,93**	**4,54**
Jär ligg oll rekkningger so ***int*** *ig ar* ***it***	1	1	1	5	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	**1**	**1,23**	**1,66**

A.23 Incorporation of adjectives into nouns

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Eð war ***ien koldan*** *wit-*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5
An-dar ***kold-wittern*** *warum wịð it i Övdalim.*	2	5	5	-	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	5	0,92	4,36

A.24 Floating subjects - 1

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Nụ edd ***naug*** *Andes* ***int*** *ulað saj noð mịer.*	5	5	3	3	1	5	5	4	2	5	4	2	4	1,43	3,66
Nụ edd naug int ***Andes*** *ulað saj noð mịer.*	5	5	5	5	5	1	5	5	2	5	5	5	5	1,38	4,42
An-dar biln will ***Mats*** *it tjyöpa.*	2	1	1	2	1	1	3	1	1	3	3	2	1,5	0,86	1,75
An-dar biln will it ***Mats*** *tjyöpa.*	5	4	5	2	5	5	5	5	5	4	3	2	5	1,2	4,12

A.25 Floating subjects - 2

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
An-dar biln will int ***Mats*** *tjyöpa.*	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	4	3	5	5	5	5	0,65	4,66
An-dar biln will ***Mats*** *int tjyöpa.*	3	4	1	4	1	1	5	4	1	4	4	2	3,5	1,53	2,83

A.26 Embedded topicalization in non-V2 contexts - 1

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Eð ir fel Maj so ***ą-dar buotję*** *ar lesið.*	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	0,51	1,42
Eð ir fel Maj so ar lesið ***ą-dar buotję****.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	0,28	4,92
Ig aunggrer at ***Mats*** *wann ig* int *myöt mes ig war i Falu.*	1	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1,5

A.27 Embedded topicalization in non-V2 contexts - 2

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Ig aunggrer at ig wann int *myöt* ***Mats*** *mes ig war i Falu.*	4	5	4	3	5	4	5	4	4	5	5	4	4	0,65	4,33
Ig aunggrer at int *ig wann myöt* ***Mats*** *mes ig war i Falu.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	5	0,39	4,83
Ig aunggrer at ***Mats*** wann *ig* it *myöt mes ig war i Falu.*	1	4	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1,37	1,66
Ig aunggrer at ig wann it *myöt* ***Mats*** *mes ig war i Falu.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	2	5	0,86	4,75
Ig aunggrer at it *ig wann myöt* ***Mats*** *mes ig war i Falu.*	1	2	5	2	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	4	1,5	1,54	2,25
Ig twivler ǫ at kripper åvå gart ***leksur sainer****.*	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0,57	4,83
Ig twivler ǫ at ***leksur sainer*** *åvå kripper gart.*	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	3	2	2	1	0,79	1,58

A.28 Order between adverbials and negation

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1934 F	C=5 L:B 1934 M	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L:Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
An kumb naug ***it.***	1	2	5	-	3	1	5	1	3	5	5	5	**3**	**1,79**	**3,27**
An kumb naug ***inte.***	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	2	2	5	**5**	**1,16**	**4,42**
An kumb ***it*** *naug.*	1	1	1	-	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	**1**	**0,6**	**1,18**
An kumb truoligen ***inte.***	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	1	1	5	**5**	**1,54**	**4,25**
An kumb truoligen ***it.***	1	2	5	-	3	1	5	1	3	5	5	5	**3**	**1,79**	**3,27**
An kumb ***it*** *truoligen.*	1	1	1	-	2	5	5	5	1	2	2	1	**2**	**1,74**	**2,36**

A.29 Order between the subject and negation

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1934 F	C=5 L:B 1934 M	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L:Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
I går belld an ***it*** *kumå.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5
I går belld ***it*** *an kumå.*	5	3	2	5	4	1	1	5	3	4	3	1	3	1,56	3,08
I går belld Gunnar ***it***	1	1	1	4	4	1	1	4	2	3	2	1	1,5	1,31	2,08
I går belld ***it*** *Gunnar kumå.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	0,28	4,92

B. V^0-to-I^0-movement in clauses with pronominal subjects

B.1.1 Of perfective auxiliary across different adverbials in clauses with a pronominal subject: Part 1

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Belgien ir iett land i Europa so ***int*** ig *ar werið i.*	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	3	5	5	5	**5**	**0,65**	**4,66**
Belgien ir iett land i Europa so ig ***int*** *ar werið i.*	5	5	4	4	1	1	4	5	5	4	4	5	**4**	**1,44**	**3,92**
Belgien ir iett land i Europa so ig *ar* ***int*** *werið i.*	2	5	4	2	5	1	5	5	4	4	3	2	**4**	**1,44**	**3,5**
Belgien ir iett land i Europa so ig *ar werið i* ***inte.***	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**1**	**0,28**	**1,08**
Belgien ir iett land i Europa so ***it*** ig *ar werið i.*	2	1	4	2	1	1	1	5	1	4	3	2	**2**	**1,42**	**2,25**
Belgien ir iett land i Europa so ig ***it*** *ar werið i.*	3	1	4	4	1	1	5	5	3	3	1	2	**3**	**1,54**	**2,75**

B.1.2 Of perfective auxiliary across different adverbials in clauses with a pronominal subject: Part 2

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Belgien ir iett land i Europa so ig *ar* ***it*** *werið i.*	5	3	4	4	1	5	5	5	5	5	4	2	4,5	1,35	4
Belgien ir iett land i Europa so ig *ar werið i* ***it****.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0,28	1,08
Ar du tjyöpt ådar nykuokbuotje? Eð ir nod so ***sakt*** dier *åvå*	3	3	5	2	5	1	5	5	1	5	2	2	3	1,65	3,25
Ar du tjyöpt ådar nykuokbuotje? Eð ir nod so dier ***sakt*** *åvå*	2	3	4	2	3	2	4	5	3	5	4	4	3,5	1,08	3,42
Ar du tjyöpt ådar nykuokbuotje? Eð ir nod so dier *åvå* ***sakt***	2	2	2	4	4	5	1	5	1	4	5	2	3	1,56	3,08
Ar du tjyöpt ådar nykuokbuotje? Eð ir nod so dier *åvå gart*	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0,88	1,33
Eð ir iend buotje so ***aldri*** ig *ar lesið.*	5	4	5	1	4	1	5	5	3	5	5	4	4,5	1,50	3,91
Eð ir iend buotje so ig ***aldri*** *ar lesið.*	5	5	5	4	4	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	5	0,49	4,66

B.1.3 Of perfective auxiliary across different adverbials in clauses with a pronominal subject: Part 3

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Eð ir iend buotje so ig *ar* ***aldri*** *lesið.*	3	3	4	5	5	5	5	5	3	4	4	3	**4**	**0,9**	**4,08**
Eð ir iend buotje so ig *ar lesið* ***aldri****.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	**1**	**0,39**	**1,16**
Ar du skuotið ien brind nosn? Eð ir nað so ***kringgt*** ig *ar gart.*	2	3	4	1	2	1	2	5	4	1	1	2	**2**	**1,37**	**2,33**
Ar du skuotið ien brind nosn? Eð ir nað so ig ***kringgt*** *ar gart.*	2	5	5	1	3	1	2	5	1	4	2	2	**2**	**1,6**	**2,75**
Ar du skuotið ien brind nosn? Eð ir nað so ig *ar* ***kringgt*** *gart.*	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	5	1	3	4	2	**1,5**	**1,38**	**2,08**
Ar du skuotið ien brind nosn? Eð ir nað so ig *ar gart* ***kringgt****.*	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0,28**	**4,91**
Eð ir buotję so ***milumað*** an *ar lesið.*	1	1	4	1	1	1	2	4	1	1	1	2	**1**	**1,15**	**1,66**

B.1.4 Of perfective auxiliary across different adverbials in clauses with a pronominal subject: Part 4

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Eð ir buotję so an ***milumað*** *ar lesið.*	2	3	4	1	3	1	2	5	1	2	4	2	**2**	**1,31**	**2,5**
Eð ir buotję so an *ar* ***milu-mað*** *lesið.*	2	1	2	1	1	3	2	4	1	4	3	2	**2**	**1,11**	**2,16**
Eð ir buotję so an *ar lesið* ***milumað****.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0**	**5**

B.2.1 Of modal auxiliary across different adverbials in clauses with a pronominal subject: Part 1

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Ed ir biln so ***int*** *an will åvå.*	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	1	5	5	5	**5**	**1,24**	**4,5**
Ed ir biln so an ***int*** *will åvå.*	3	5	3	4	4	3	5	5	4	5	4	5	**4**	**0,83**	**4,16**
Ed ir biln so an will ***int*** *åvå.*	3	5	4	3	3	4	4	4	5	4	4	2	**4**	**0,86**	**3,75**
Ed ir biln so an will åvå ***inte****.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**1**	**0,28**	**1,0**
Ed ir biln so ***it*** *an will åvå.*	2	2	4	1	1	1	2	1	1	4	2	2	**2**	**1,08**	**1,92**
Ed ir biln so an ***it*** *will åvå.*	3	2	2	1	1	1	4	4	1	4	4	2	**2**	**1,31**	**2,42**
Ed ir biln so an will ***it*** *åvå.*	5	5	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	2	**5**	**0,9**	**4,58**
Ed ir biln so an will åvå ***it****.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**1**	**0,28**	**1,08**
Ed ir biln so ***sakt*** *dier wil åvå.*	3	2	5	4	2	3	3	5	1	5	2	2	**3**	**1,37**	**3,08**

B.2.2 Of modal auxiliary across different adverbials in clauses with a pronominal subject: Part 2

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
*Eð ir biln so dier **sakt** wil åvå.*	3	5	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	4	3	5	**5**	**0,79**	**4,42**
*Eð ir biln so dier wil **sakt** åvå.*	4	5	1	5	3	4	1	5	4	4	4	2	**4**	**1,44**	**3,5**
*Eð ir biln so dier wil åvå **sakta**.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	3	1	2	**1**	**1,24**	**1,58**
*Eð ir biln so **aldri** ig will tjyöpa.*	4	5	5	4	3	1	5	5	4	5	5	4	**4,5**	**1,19**	**4,16**
*Eð ir biln so ig **aldri** will tjyöpa.*	5	4	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	4	5	**5**	**0,45**	**4,75**
*Eð ir biln so ig will **aldri** tjyöpa.*	3	2	2	4	3	5	3	5	3	4	4	2	**3**	**1,07**	**3,33**
*Eð ir biln so ig will tjyöp **aldri**.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	**1**	**0,38**	**1,16**
*Eð ir biln so **kringgt** å will åka.*	3	4	5	1	1	1	2	5	1	3	3	2	**2,5**	**1,5**	**2,58**

B.2.3 Of modal auxiliary across different adverbials in clauses with a pronominal subject: Part 3

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
*Eð ir biln so å **kringgt** will åka.*	2	5	4	3	5	5	4	5	4	5	2	5	4,5	1,16	4,08
*Eð ir biln so å will **kringgt** åka.*	2	3	2	1	1	2	3	5	3	4	4	2	2,5	1,23	2,66
*Eð ir biln so å will åk **kringgt**.*	5	5	2	5	3	4	5	5	5	4	5	4	5	0,98	4,33
*Eð ir biln so **milumað** an will åka.*	2	3	4	1	1	1	2	5	1	3	2	2	2	1,28	2,25
*Eð ir biln so an **milumað** will åka.*	2	3	4	2	1	5	5	5	4	4	3	5	4	1,38	3,58
*Eð ir biln so an will **milumað** åka.*	2	1	2	2	1	2	4	5	3	4	4	2	2	1,30	2,66
*Eð ir biln so an will åk **milumað**.*	5	5	5	5	5	4	3	5	5	5	5	4	5	0,65	4,66

B.3.1 Of main verb across different adverbials in clauses with a pronominal subject: Part 1

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Eð ir bar i iss-jär buðn so ***int*** *å andler jätå. Å tyttjer eð ir uvdyrt jär.*	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0,57**	**4,83**
Eð ir bar i iss-jär buðn so o å ***int*** *andler jätå. Å tyttjer eð ir uvdyrt jär.*	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	5	3	4	3	5	**4**	**0,67**	**3,92**
Eð ir bar i iss-jär buðn so å andler ***int*** *jätå. Å tyttjer eð ir uvdyrt jär.*	1	3	2	3	3	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	**2,5**	**0,94**	**2,16**
Eð ir bar i iss-jär buðn so å andler jätå ***inte****. Å tyttjer eð ir uvdyrt jär.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**1**	**0,28**	**1,08**
Eð ir bar i iss-jär buðn so ***it*** *å andler jätå. Å tyttjer eð ir uvdyrt jär.*	1	3	4	2	1	1	4	2	1	5	1	2	**2**	**1,42**	**2,25**

B.3.2 Of main verb across different adverbials in clauses with a pronominal subject: Part 2

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
*Eð ir bar i iss-jär buðn so å **it** andler jätå. Å tyttjer eð ir uvdyrt jär.*	1	3	4	2	1	1	4	2	2	4	3	2	**2**	**1,16**	**2,42**
*Eð ir bar i iss-jär buðn so å andler **it** jätå. Å tyttjer eð ir uvdyrt jär.*	5	2	2	1	5	5	5	5	5	4	1	2	**4,5**	**1,73**	**3,5**
*Eð ir bar i iss-jär buðn so å andler jätå **it**. Å tyttjer eð ir uvdyrt jär.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**1**	**0,28**	**1,08**
*Eð ir bar i Övdalim so **aldri** an jager brinder, fast an jager diem i iel landę ellest.*	3	3	5	2	3	2	5	5	4	5	4	4	**4**	**1,14**	**3,75**

B.3.3 Of main verb across different adverbials in clauses with a pronominal subject: Part 3

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
*Eð ir bar i Övdalim so an **aldri** jager brinder, fast an jager diem i iel landę ellest.*	5	5	?	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	**5**	**0,3**	**4,9**
*Eð ir bar i Övdalim so an jager **aldri** brinder, fast an jager diem i iel landę ellest.*	5	3	2	4	1	3	5	2	3	4	3	2	**3**	**1,24**	**3,08**
*Eð ir bar i Övdalim so an jager brinder **aldri**, fast an jager diem i iel landę ellest.*	1	1	1	1	1	3	5	1	1	1	1	2	**1**	**1,24**	**1,58**
*An byddjer i ịe stugu so **sakt** an flytteð jụot iessn.*	2	1	4	1	1	1	1	5	-	1	4	2	**1**	**1,51**	**2,09**
*An byddjer i ịe stugu so an **sakt** flytteð jụot iessn.*	2	2	4	1	3	5	3	5	-	5	5	4	**4**	**1,44**	**3,54**

B.3.4 Of main verb across different adverbials in clauses with a pronominal subject: Part 4

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
An byddjer i¸je stugu so an flytteð ***sakt*** *jµot iessn.*	2	1	2	5	3	4	5	5	-	5	3	2	**3**	**1,5**	**3,36**
An byddjer i¸je stugu so an flytteð jµot ***sakt*** *iessn.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	5	-	1	1	2	**1**	**1,42**	**1,72**
Eð ir i Tjyörtjbymm so ***kringgt*** *ig tjyöper Mµortinindje.*	1	1	5	1	3	1	2	5	1	1	2	2	**1,5**	**1,5**	**2,08**
Eð ir i Tjyörtjbymm so ig ***kringgt*** *tjyöper Mµortinindje.*	4	3	4	4	3	5	5	5	5	4	3	5	**4**	**0,83**	**4,12**
Eð ir i Tjyörtjbymm so ig tjyöper ***kringgt*** *Mµortinindje.*	1	3	2	1	1	1	3	5	1	5	4	2	**2**	**1,56**	**2,42**
Eð ir i Tjyörtjbymm so ig tjyöper Mµortinindje	4	5	2	5	5	5	5	5	2	4	5	2	**5**	**1,31**	**4,08**
Eð ir i Tjyörtjbymm so ***milumað*** *ig tjyöper Mµortinindje.*	1	1	4	1	1	1	2	5	1	4	4	2	**1,5**	**1,54**	**2,25**

B.3.5 Of main verb across different adverbials in clauses with a pronominal subject: Part 5

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Eð ir i Tjyörtjbymm so ig ***milumað*** *tjyöper Mụortinindje.*	1	2	4	4	3	5	5	5	5	4	3	5	4	1,34	3,83
Eð ir i Tjyörtjbymm so ig tjyöper ***milumað*** *Mụortinindje.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	5	3	3	4	2	1,5	1,4	2,16
Eð ir i Tjyörtjbymm so ig tjyöper Mụortinindje ***milumað****.*	5	5	2	5	5	5	4	5	4	5	5	2	5	1,15	4,33

C. V^0-to-I^0-movement in clauses with DP-subjects

C.1.1 Of perfective auxiliary across different adverbials in clauses with a DP-subject: Part 1

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Belgien ir iett land i Europa so ***int*** *kullą mąi ar werið i.*	5	5	5	5	5	1	5	5	4	5	5	5	**5**	**1,16**	**4,58**
Belgien ir iett land i Europa so kullą mąi ***int*** *ar werið i.*	3	5	4	4	3	1	5	5	5	3	4	4	**4**	**1,19**	**3,83**
Belgien ir iett land i Europa so kullą mąi ar ***it*** *werið i.*	5	5	4	3	3	5	5	5	3	4	3	4	**4**	**0,9**	**4,08**
Belgien ir iett land i Europa so kullą mąi ar werið i ***inte****.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**1**	**0,28**	**1,08**
Ar du tjyöpt å-dar nykuokbuot-je? Eð ir noð so ***sakt*** *Marit ar gavt*	2	2	5	4	5	1	5	4	1	4	4	2	**4**	**1,54**	**3,25**

C.1.2 Of perfective auxiliary across different adverbials in clauses with a DP-subject: Part 2

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Ar du tjyöpt ådar nykuokbuotje? Eð ir nað so Marit ***sakt*** *ar gart.*	5	4	4	5	3	1	5	5	4	5	5	5	**5**	**1,21**	**4,25**
Ar du tjyöpt ådar nykuokbuotje? Eð ir nað so Marit ar ***sakt*** *gart.*	3	3	2	4	3	5	5	5	1	3	3	2	**3**	**1,28**	**3,25**
Ar du tjyöpt ådar nykuokbuotje? Eð ir nað so Marit ar gart ***sakta****.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**1**	**0,28**	**1,08**
Eð ir iend buotje so ***aldri*** *Gun ar lesið.*	5	5	5	4	5	1	5	5	1	4	4	2	**4,5**	**1,58**	**3,83**
Eð ir iend buotje so Gun ***aldri*** *ar lesið.*	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0,28**	**4,91**
Eð ir iend buotje so Gun ***aldri*** *lesið.*	2	2	3	2	3	1	5	4	1	3	4	2	**2,5**	**1,23**	**2,66**

C.1.3 Of perfective auxiliary across different adverbials in clauses with a DP-subject: Part 3

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Eð ir iend buotje so Gun lesið ***aldri****.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**1**	**0,28**	**1,08**
Ar du skuotið ien brind nossn? Eð ir nað so ***kringgt*** *Ierik ar gart.*	2	2	3	1	1	1	5	5	1	1	1	2	**1,5**	**1,5**	**2,08**
Ar du skuotið ien brind nossn? Eð ir nað so Ierik ***kringgt*** *ar gart.*	2	4	4	2	3	1	5	5	4	3	2	5	**3,5**	**1,37**	**3,33**
Ar du skuotið ien brind nossn? Eð ir nað so Ierik ar ***kringgt*** *gart.*	2	4	3	1	3	2	3	5	1	2	1	2	**2**	**1,24**	**2,42**
Ar du skuotið ien brind nossn? Eð ir nað so Ierik ar gart ***kringgt****.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0**	**5**

C.1.4 Of perfective auxiliary across different adverbials in clauses with a DP-subject: Part 4

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Eð ir buotje so ***milumað*** *Andes ar lesið.*	2	2	3	1	1	1	4	4	1	4	2	2	**2**	**1,21**	**2,25**
Eð ir buotje so Andes ***milu-mað*** *ar lesið.*	2	2	3	4	1	1	4	4	3	5	3	3	**3**	**1,24**	**2,92**
Eð ir buotje so Andes ar ***milumað*** *lesið.*	2	2	3	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	**1,5**	**0,66**	**1,58**
Eð ir buotje so Andes ar lesið ***milumað****.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	**5**	**0,57**	**4,83**

C.2.1 Of modal auxiliary across different adverbials in clauses with a DP-subject: Part 1

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
*Eð ir biln so **int** Mats will åvå.*	5	5	5	5	5	1	5	5	5	5	5	2	**5**	**1,38**	**4,42**
*Eð ir biln so Mats **int** will åvå.*	5	5	4	4	3	1	5	5	4	4	4	5	**4**	**1,16**	**4,08**
*Eð ir biln so Mats will **it** åvå.*	5	4	3	3	5	5	5	5	3	3	2	5	**4,5**	**1,12**	**4**
*Eð ir biln so Mats will åvå **inte**.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**1**	**0,28**	**1,08**
*Eð ir biln so **sakt** påytjin menn will åvå.*	1	3	4	3	3	1	5	4	1	4	4	2	**3**	**1,38**	**2,92**
*Eð ir biln so påytjin menn **sakt** will åvå.*	5	3	4	5	4	1	5	5	1	5	5	5	**5**	**1,53**	**4**
*Eð ir biln so påytjin menn will **sakt** åvå.*	3	2	2	4	5	5	5	5	1	3	3	2	**3**	**1,43**	**3,33**
*Eð ir biln so påytjin menn will åvå **sakta**.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**1**	**0,28**	**1,08**

C.2.2 Of modal auxiliary across different adverbials in clauses with a DP-subject: Part 2

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Eð ir biln so ***aldri*** *faðer menn will tjyöpa.*	3	4	4	4	3	1	5	5	4	4	3	2	4	1,16	3,5
Eð ir biln so faðer menn ***aldri*** *will tjyöpa.*	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	0,39	4,83
Eð ir biln so faðer menn will ***aldri*** *tjyöpa.*	5	3	3	3	3	4	3	3	1	3	3	2	3	0,95	3
Eð ir biln so faðer menn will tjyöp ***aldri****.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0,28	1,08
Eð ir biln so ***kringgt*** *Mats will åka.*	1	4	4	1	1	1	3	5	2	2	1	2	2	1,42	2,25
Eð ir biln so Mats ***kringgt*** *will åka.*	2	5	5	4	3	1	5	5	5	3	2	2	3,5	1,5	3,5
Eð ir biln so Mats will ***kringgt*** *åka.*	1	4	2	2	1	1	2	5	1	1	1	4	1,5	1,44	2,08

C.2.3 Of modal auxiliary across different adverbials in clauses with a DP-subject: Part 3

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Eð ir biln so Mats will åk ***kringgt****.*	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	1	5	5	5	**5**	**1,16**	**4,58**
Eð ir biln so ***milumað*** *Andes will åka.*	1	2	4	2	1	1	3	5	1	1	1	2	**1,5**	**1,35**	**2**
Eð ir biln so Andes ***milu-mað*** *will åka.*	1	3	4	2	3	1	5	5	1	1	2	2	**2**	**1,5**	**2,5**
Eð ir biln so Andes will ***milumað*** *åka.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	1	2	1	2	**1**	**0,99**	**1,58**
Eð ir biln so Andes will åk ***milumað****.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	2	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0,86**	**4,75**

C.3.1 Of main verb across different adverbials in clauses with a DP-subject: Part 1

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
*Eð ir bar i iss-jär buðn so **int** Marit andler jätå. Å tyttjer eð ir uvdyrt jär.*	5	5	5	5	5	1	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	1,15	4,66
*Eð ir bar i iss-jär buðn so Marit **int** andler jätå. Å tyttjer eð ir uvdyrt jär.*	3	4	4	4	3	1	5	5	3	4	5	5	4	1,19	3,83
*Eð ir bar i iss-jär buðn so Marit andler **int** jätå. Å tyttjer eð ir uvdyrt jär.*	3	4	2	1	3	3	5	1	2	3	1	2	2,5	1,24	2,5
*Eð ir bar i iss-jär buðn so Marit andler jätå **inte**. Å tyttjer eð ir uvdyrt jär.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0,28	1,08
*Eð ir bar i iss-jär buðn so **it** Marit andler jätå. Å tyttjer eð ir uvdyrt jär.*	1	3	5	2	1	1	5	1	1	-	4	2	2	1,62	2,36

C.3.2 Of main verb across different adverbials in clauses with a DP-subject: Part 2

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
*Eð ir bar i iss-jär buðn so Marit **it** andler jätå. Å tyttjer eð ir uvdyrt jär.*	1	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	-	5	2	**1**	**1,25**	**1,81**
*Eð ir bar i iss-jär buðn so Marit andler **it** jätå. Å tyttjer eð ir uvdyrt jär.*	5	4	2	1	5	5	4	5	4	3	2	4	**4**	**1,37**	**3,66**
*Eð ir bar i iss-jär buðn so Marit andler jätå **it**. Å tyttjer eð ir uvdyrt jär.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	**1**	**0,28**	**1,08**
*Eð ir bar i Övdalim so **aldri** Andes jager brinder, fast an jager diem i iel landę ellest.*	3	4	5	1	3	1	5	4	4	5	4	2	**4**	**1,44**	**3,42**

C.3.3 Of main verb across different adverbials in clauses with a DP-subject: Part 3

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
*Eð ir bar i Övdalim so Andes **aldri** jager brinder, fast an jager diem i iel landę ellest.*	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	0,38	4,83
*Eð ir bar i Övdalim so Andes jager **aldri** brinder, fast an jager diem i iel landę ellest.*	5	2	2	5	1	1	4	1	1	4	2	2	2	1,56	2,5
*Eð ir bar i Övdalim so Andes jager brinder **aldri**, fast an jager diem i iel landę ellest.*	1	1	1	1	1	5	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	1,16	1,58
*An byddjer i ¸ie stugu so **sakt** fafar flytteð ¸uot iessn.*	1	2	4	1	1	1	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	1,5	2,33

C.3.4 Of main verb across different adverbials in clauses with a DP-subject: Part 4

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
*An byddjer i je stugu so fafar **sakt** flytteð jųot iessn.*	2	2	4	2	5	4	3	5	1	4	4	2	**3,5**	**1,34**	**3,16**
*An byddjer i je stugu so fafar flytteð **sakt** jųot iessn.*	2	1	2	5	3	1	5	5	1	3	3	5	**3**	**1,65**	**3**
*An byddjer i je stugu so fafar flytteð jųot **sakt** iessn.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	5	1	1	1	2	**1**	**1,24**	**1,58**
*Eð ir i Tjyörtjbymm so **kringgt** gubbin menn tjyöper Mųortinindje.*	1	3	4	1	5	1	3	5	5	3	2	2	**3**	**1,56**	**2,92**
*Eð ir i Tjyörtjbymm so gubbin menn **kringgt** tjyöper Mųortinindje.*	1	4	5	4	3	3	5	5	3	3	3	2	**3**	**1,24**	**3,42**

C.3.5 Of main verb across different adverbials in clauses with a DP-subject: Part 5

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Eð ir i Tjyörtj-bymm so gubbin menn tjyöper ***kringgt*** *Mųortinindję.*	2	3	1	3	1	1	2	5	2	1	1	2	**2**	**1,2**	**2**
Eð ir i Tjyörtj-bymm so gubbin menn tjyöper Mųortinindję ***kringgt****.*	5	4	4	5	5	5	4	5	1	5	5	5	**5**	**1,16**	**4,42**
Eð ir i Tjyörtjbymm so ***milumað*** *kelindję mąi tjyöper Mųortinindję.*	2	1	4	2	3	1	3	5	5	3	3	2	**3**	**1,34**	**2,83**
Eð ir i Tjyörtj-bymm so kelindję mąi ***milumað*** *tjyöper Mųortinindję.*	1	2	4	3	1	4	5	5	5	4	2	3	**3,5**	**1,48**	**3,25**

C.3.6 Of main verb across different adverbials in clauses with a DP-subject: Part 6

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1933 M	C=5 L: B 1934 F	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L: Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard deviation	Mean
Eð ir i Tjyörtj-bymm so kelindję mąi tjyöper ***milumað*** *Mųortinindję.*	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	5	1	2	1	2	**1**	**1,16**	**1,58**
Eð ir i Tjyörtj-bymm so kelindję mąi tjyöper Mųortinindję ***milumað****.*	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	1	5	5	5	**5**	**1,16**	**4,58**

D STYLISTIC FRONTING

D.1.1 In relative clauses – part 1

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1934 F	C=5 L:B 1934 M	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L:Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard devia-tion	Mean
Sir du isn-jär erån so ***jär*** *sit?*	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	0,67	1,5
Sir du isn-jär erån so sit ***jär****?*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5
Eð ir eð-dar brieveð so ***i går*** *kam.*	1	1	1	2	3	1	3	1	1	3	2	2	1,5	0,86	1,75
Eð ir eð-dar brieveð so kam ***i går****.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5
An-dar rattjin so ***iem*** *addum ir brotte.*	1	1	1	2	3	1	3	1	1	2	1	1	1	0,79	1,5
An-dar rattjin so addum ***iem*** *ir brotte.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5
Ulum fel spyr an so ***gamblest*** *ir.*	3	5	1	4	4	3	5	5	3	4	4	3	4	1,15	3,66

D.1.2 In relative clauses – part 2

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1934 F	C=5 L:B 1934 M	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L:Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard devia-tion	Mean
Ulum fel spyr an so ir ***gamblest.***	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0**	**5**
Ig will tjyöp ien bil so ***billin*** *ir.*	1	2	1	2	4	1	3	1	1	4	4	3	**2**	**1,28**	**2,25**
Ig will tjyöp ien bil so ir ***billin.***	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0**	**5**
An kuogäð å diem so ***in*** *kamu.*	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	3	2	2	**1**	**0,88**	**1,66**
An kuogäð å diem so kam ***in.***	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0**	**5**
Såg du å-dar kelindję so ***aut*** *fuor?*	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	**1**	**0,79**	**1,5**
Såg du å-dar kelindję so fuor ***aut****?*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	**5**	**0**	**5**
Ir eð du so ***skuotið*** *ar an-dar brindan?*	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	**1**	**0,49**	**1,33**

D.1.3 In relative clauses – part 3

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1934 F	C=5 L:B 1934 M	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L:Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard devia-tion	Mean
*Ir eð du so ar **skuotið** andar brindan?*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5
*Ar du si'tt diem so **kumið** åvå að Övdalim i dag?*	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	0,45	1,25
*Ar du si'tt diem so åvå **kumið** að Övdalim i dag?*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5
*War eð du so **mig** willd myöta?*	1	1	1	3	3	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	0,9	1,58
*War eð du so willd myöt **mig**?*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	0,57	4,83
*Ir eð Lass so **dig** ar daingt?*	1	1	1	3	4	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	0,98	1,66
*Ir eð Lass so ar daingt **dig**?*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5

D.2.1 With a referential null subject gap – part 1

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1934 F	C=5 L:B 1934 M	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L:Å 1941 M	Mdn	Stan-dard devia-tion	Mean
Sienest råktesum war fel mes ***i Stokkol*** *wa-rum.*	1	1	1	2	3	1	3	1	1	3	3	1	1	0,96	1,75
Sienest råktesum war fel mes warum ***i Stokkol.***	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5
Sir du it at ***trä'tter*** *irum?*	1	1	1	1	3	1	4	1	3	2	2	2	1,5	1,02	1,83
Sir du it at irum ***trä'tter****?*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5
Såg an it at ***kliener*** *warið?*	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	3	2	2	2	1,5	0,86	1,75
Såg an it at warið ***kliener****?*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5
An såg it mes ***in*** *kamum.*	1	1	1	2	3	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	0,99	1,58
An såg it mes kamum ***in.***	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5
Amm intnoð jätå dar ***upp*** *avið ietið ollt brindtjyöt(eð).*	1	1	1	2	2	1	-	1	1	3	1	3	1	0,82	1,54

D.2.2 With a referential null subject gap – part 2

SENTENCE	C=1 L: B 1927 F	C=2 L: L 1930 F	C=3 L: Å 1932 F	C=4 L: B 1934 F	C=5 L:B 1934 M	C=6 L: K 1935 M	C=7 L: Å 1937 M	C=8 L: L 1939 M	C=9 L: K 1939 M	C=10 L: K 1940 F	C=11 L: K 1941 M	C=12 L:Å 1941 M	Mdn	Standard devia-tion	Mean
Amm intnoð jätå dar avið ietið ***upp*** *ollt brindtjyöt(eð).*	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	0,57	4,83
Ig truor it at ***skuotið*** *avið an-dar brin-dan.*	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0,39	1,16
Ig truor it at avið ***skuotið*** *an-dar brin-dan.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5
Ig truor it at ***werið*** *avið i Amierik.*	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0,28	1,08
Ig truor it at avið ***werið*** *i Amierik.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5
Ig uppes at ***faið*** *avið jätå.*	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0,62	1,25
Ig uppes at avið ***faið*** *jätå.*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0	5
Ir eð ið so ***mig*** *willdið myöta?*	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	0,67	1,42
Ir eð ið so willdið myöt ***mig****?*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	0,57	4,83

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