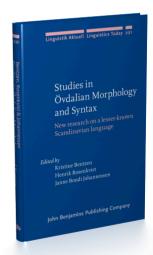# Övdalian from 1909 to 2009

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Övdalian from 1909 to 2009

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

1. Introduction[1]

In this paper, we describe Övdalian morphology and syntax from two perspectives. First, we present Classical and Traditional Övdalian[2] as they have been presented by Levander (1909) and Garbacz (2010), amongst others. That will serve both as an introduction to Övdalian and as a necessary background for the next part of the paper. Next, we present the first corpus study ever of a number of phenomena in Övdalian. The Övdalian Speech Corpus, containing conversations between contemporary speakers, is a helpful tool to get a comprehensive view of

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

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

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

1.1   Methodology

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

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

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

1.2 Outline of the paper

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

2. The structure of Övdalian

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

2.1 Övdalian morphology in a comparative Scandinavian perspective

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

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

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

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

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

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

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE
NOMINATIVE	*kall*	*kalln*	*kaller*	*kaller/kallär*
GENITIVE	–	*kallemes*	–	*kallumes*
DATIVE	*kall*	*kallem*	*kallum*	*kallum*
ACCUSATIVE	*kall*	*kalln*	*kaller*	*kaller*

Table 2. **Traditional Övdalian:** Inflection of personal pronouns.

	SINGULAR					PLURAL		
	1st	2nd	3rd			1st	2nd	3rd
	MASC. FEM. NEUT.	MASC. FEM. NEUT.	MASC.	FEM.	NEUT.	MASC. FEM. NEUT.	MASC. FEM. NEUT.	MASC. FEM. NEUT.
NOMINATIVE	*ig*	*du*	*an*	*ą̊*	*eð*	*wįð*	*ið*	*dier*
GENITIVE	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
DATIVE	*mig*	*dig*	*ånum /åm*	*enner /en*	*dyö*	*uoss*	*ið*	*diem*
ACCUSATIVE	*mig*	*dig*	*an*	*åna*	*eð*	*uoss*	*ið*	*diem*

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

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

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

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

	PRESENT		PAST	
PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	*spilär*	*spilum*	*spiläð*	*spiläðum*
2nd	*spilär*	*spilið*	*spiläð*	*spiläðið*
3rd	*spilär*	*spilå*	*spiläð*	*spiläð*

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

PERSON	PRESENT		PAST	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	*far*	*farum*	*fuor*	*fuorum*
2nd	*far*	*farið*	*fuor*	*fuorið*
3rd	*far*	*fårå*	*fuor*	*fuoru*

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

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

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

2.2   Övdalian syntax in a comparative Scandinavian perspective

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) a. *Eð ir biln   so   an <u>will</u>   **it**   åvå.*
       it is car.DEF that he wants.to not have
       'It is the car that he doesn't want to have.'

    b. *Eð ir biln   so   an **int** <u>will</u>   åvå.*
       it is car.DEF that he not wants.to have
       'It is the car that he doesn't want to have.'

(2) *Ég spurði hvort Jón <u>hefði</u> **ekki** séð   myndina.*
    I   asked if   Jon had   not   seen movie.DEF
    'I asked if Jón had not seen the movie.'   (Angantýsson 2011: 62)

(3) *Jag frågade om Jon **inte** <u>hade</u> sett filmen.*
    I   asked   if Jon not   had   seen movie.DEF
    'I asked if Jon had not seen the movie.'   (Angantýsson 2011: 62)

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

(4) *Ittað-jär wattneð   ir it   **drikkend.***
    it-there water.DEF is not drinking
    'This water was not drinkable.'

(5) *Það er ekki **hlæjandi** að þessu.*
    this is not laughing   at this.DAT
    'One should not laugh at this.'   (Sigurðsson 1989: 341)

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

(6) *Han var* **truandes** *til litt   av kvart.*
    he   was believing to little of each
    'He was thought to be able to do anything.'   (Faarlund et al. 1997: 119)

(7) **Ej   är det   **skrattande** åt detta.*
    not is this laughing   at this
    'One cannot laugh at this.'   (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 101)

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

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

(8) a. **Skuotið **an-dar**   **brindan** <u>ar</u>   an fel   it.*
       shot   him-there elk.DEF   has he surely not
       Intended meaning: 'He hasn't of course shot this elk.'

    b. *An <u>ar</u> fel   it   **skuotið an-dar**   **brindan.***
       he has surely not shot   him-there elk.DEF
       'He hasn't of course shot this elk.'

(9) **Vann gerði eg.*
    won did   I
    'Win I did'   (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 223)

(10) *Vann gjorde jag.*
    won did   I
    'Win I did.'   (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 223)

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

(11) a. **Gunnar wart   stjemtað **min.***
       Gunnar became made.fun with
       Intended meaning: 'People made fun of Gunnar.'

    b. *Fuotjeð   stjemteð   min Gunnar.*
       people.DEF made.fun with Gunnar
       'People made fun of Gunnar.'

(12) a. **Ólafur   var alltaf talaður vel **um.***
       Olaf.NOM was always spoken well of

    b. *__Ólaf__   _var alltaf talaður vel_ __um.__
        Olaf.ACC was always spoken well of

<div align="right">(Holmberg & Platzack 1991:§ 5)</div>

(13) __Babyn__ _har inte blivit   bytt   blöjor_ __på.__
      baby.DEF has not become changed nappies on
      'Nobody has changed nappies on the baby.'

<div align="right">(Holmberg & Platzack 1991:§ 5)</div>

(14) __De må bli__   _passet bedre_ __på.__
      they must become looked better on
      'They must be looked better after.'   (Dyvik 1991: 118)

2.2.2 _Syntactic innovations in Traditional Övdalian_

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

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

(15) a. _An såg it   mes   (wįð) kamum   in._
         he saw not while (we) came.1PL in
         'He did not see when we/(WE) came in.'

      b. _Wiso kåytið   (ið)?_
         why   run.2PL you.PL
         'Why are you/(YOU) running?'

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

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

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

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

  b. ***Du** ir sakt uvendes duktin dalska.*
you are certainly very   good speak.Övdalian.INF
'You are certainly very good at speaking Övdalian.'

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

(17) a. *Ig ar **it** si'tt **inggan.***
I have not seen nobody
'I haven't seen anybody.'

  b. *I går belld **(it) inggan** kumå að Mųora.*
yesterday could not nobody come to Mora
'Yesterday, nobody could get to Mora.'

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

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

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

(18) a. *An såg int **mig**.*
    he saw not me
    'He didn't see me.'

   b. *An såg it   **mig**.*
    he saw not me
    'He didn't see me.'

   c. ??*An såg **mig** inte.*[8]
    he saw not me
    Intended meaning: 'He didn't see me'

   d. **An såg **mig** it.*
    he saw not me
    Intended meaning: 'He didn't see me'

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

(19) a. *kall*   *kall**n***   *kall**er***   *kall**er***
    man.INDEF man.DEF men.INDEF men.DEF

   b. *bru*   *brun**ę***   *bru**er***   *bru**er***
    bridge.INDEF bridge.DEF bridges.INDEF bridges.DEF

   c. *buord*   *buord**eð*** *buord*   *buord**ę***
    table.INDEF table.DEF tables.INDEF tables.DEF

2.2.3 *A note on noun phrase structure in Traditional Övdalian*
In this section, we present a number of basic characteristics of the noun phrase in Traditional Övdalian.

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

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

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

(20) *ferd-ę*
      journey-SG.DEF

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

(21) *įe buok* ∅ *byöker*
      a book   books.PL

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

(22) a. ***Lasses* *buord***
          Lasse's table
          'Lasse's table'

      b. *b uordeð* ***að* *Lasse***
          table.DEF to Lasse
          'Lasse's table'

      c. *b uordeð* ***Lasse***
          table.DEF Lasse
          'Lasse's table'

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

(23) a. *b uotję*   ***mąi***
          book.DEF my
          'my book'

      b. ***MĄI* *buok***
          my   book
          'my book'

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

(24) a. *i en **koldan** witter*
          a   cold   winter
          'a cold winter'

      b. *a n-dar **kold**wittern*
          he-there cold-winter.DEF
          'the cold winter'

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

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

      b. *Eð ir grannweðer i dag.*
          it is nice-weather today
          'It is nice weather today.'

2.3   Syntactic change in Övdalian

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

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

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

	The phenomenon	Traditional Övdalian	Classical Övdalian	Insular Scand.	Mainland Scandinavian
1.	Rich case morphology	–	+	+	–
2.	Rich subject-verb agreement	+	+	+	–
3.	Verb-second (V2)	+	+	+	+
4.	Obligatory VO word order	+	–	+	+
5.	Predicative adjective agreement in number	+	+	+	+
6.	Obligatory non-referential subjects	+	?	–	+
7.	Dative alternation	+	?	–	+
8.	Possibility of word order DO–IO	–	?	+	–
9.	Oblique Subjects	–	?	+	–
10.	Stylistic Fronting	–	+	+	–
11.	Transitive Expletives	–	+	+	–
12.	Requirement of complementizer in embedded subject questions	+	?	–	+
13.	Null generic subjects	–	?	+	–
14.	Verb movement in infinitivals	–	?	+	–
15.	Long Distance Reflexives	–	?	+	–
16.	Object Shift of DPs	_	?	+	_
17.	V-to-I movement	+	+	+	–
18.	VP-fronting	–	?	–	+
19.	Pseudopassives	–	?	–	+
20.	The Present Participle Construction	+	?	+	–
21.	Referential null subjects	+	+	–	–
22.	Object Shift of pronouns	–	–	+	+
23.	Noun inflections for number and definiteness	–	+	+	+
24.	Subject doubling	+	+	–	_[11]
25.	Negative concord	+	+	–	–

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

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

3.   Morphology and syntax of Övdalian anno 2009

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

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

3.1   Morphology

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(26) *Ja, då̂   finggum   wį̂ð swenska.*
     yes then   had.to.1PL we   speak.Swedish
     'Yes, the we had to speak Swedish.'   (M, Blyberg, 65)

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

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

(27) *Wen avįð   ið   för bil då̂?*
     what have.2.PL you.PL for car then
     'What car do you have then?'   (M, Skolan, 14)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.2 *Case morphology on nouns*

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

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

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

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

Övdalian noun	Swedish translation	English translation	No of occurrences	number, definiteness
Åsum	Åsen	(place name)	4	PL DEF
kraftwerkum	kraftverken	power.stations	1	PL DEF
buðum	fäbodarna	huts	2	PL DEF
gardum	gårdarna	farms	1	PL DEF
fuotum	benen	legs	1	PL DEF
krytyrem	boskapen	cattle	1	PL? DEF
bettjem	bäcken	stream	1	SG DEF
wittrem	vintern	winter	1	SG DEF
fabritjem	fabriken	factory	1	SG DEF
Klittem	Klitten	(place name)	1	SG DEF
werkstaðim	verkstaden	workshop	1	SG DEF
Övdalim	Älvdalen	(place name)	3	SG DEF
skaulam	skolan	school	3	SG DEF
folkskaulam	folkskolan	elementary.school	1	SG DEF
småskaulam	småskolan	junior.level.school	1	SG DEF
millumskaulam	mellanskolan	intermediate.level.school	1	SG DEF
byrånendam	början	beginning	1	SG DEF
Åsbymm	Åsens.by	(place name)	3	SG DEF
bymm	byn	village	4	SG DEF

(30)   a.   *Jär   og   i   buðum.*
            here and in huts.PL.DEF.DAT
            'Here and in the huts.'   (M, Brunnsberg, 67)

       b.   *Ja,   eð war i   skaulam   jär   i   Åsbymm.*
            yes it was in school.SG.DEF.DAT here in Åsen-village.SG.DEF.DAT
            'Yes, it was in the school, here in the village of Åsen.'   (F, Åsen, 68)

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

(31)   *So an ar   ferið **ringgum** kraftwerk**um** og.*
       so he has gone around   power.plants.PL.DEF.DAT too
       'So he has also visited power stations.'   (M, Västäng, 54)

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

(32)   a.   *Eð war ruoli oltiett i   skaulam.*
            it   was fun   always in school.SG.DEF.DAT
            'It was always fun to be at school.'   (F, Åsen, 68)

       b.   *Ig ar   lärt   mig   mitjið i   skaulan.*
            I have learnt myself much in school.SG.ACC.DEF
            'I have learnt a lot at school.'   (F, Åsen, 68)

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

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE	INDEFINITE	DEFINITE
NOMINATIVE	no suffix (*kripp*)	-n/-an (*skauln*/*skaulan*)	-er (*skauler*)	-er (*tjyner*)
GENITIVE	not attested	-es (*faðeres*)	not attested	-eres (*Å̇seres*)
DATIVE	no suffix (*blybjärskall*)	-n/-am/-an (*skauln*/ *skaulam*/ *skaulan*)	-er/-um (*raster*/ *kraftwerkum*)	-er/-um (*Å̇ser*/*Å̇sum*)
ACCUSATIVE	no suffix (*bil*)	-n/-an (*skaulan*/ *skauln*)	-er (*kwelder*)	-er (*Å̇ser*)

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

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

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

NUMBER	SINGULAR					PLURAL		
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* (623)	*du* (64)	*an* (114)	*ą̊* (44)	*eð* (641)	*wįð* (154)	*ið* (2)	*dier* (110) /*diem* (23)
GENITIVE	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
DATIVE	*mig* (35)	*dig* (9)	*an* (3) / *onum* (1)	*enner* (3)/ *en* (1)	*eð* (15) /*dyö* (2)	*uoss* (24)	not attested	*diem* (34) /*dier*[14] (3)
ACCUSATIVE			*an* (4)/ *honum* (1)	*åna* (1)/ *ą̊* (1) /*enner* (1)	*eð* (69)			

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

(33) a. *Dar ulld   ig fårå min **an***
          there should I   go   with he.NOM/ACC
          'I was to go there with him'   (M, Blyberg, 65)

      b. *Ja, ettersos ig jobber min **eð** …*
          yes since   I work   with it.NOM/ACC
          'Yes, since I work with it…'   (F, Evertsberg, 59)

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

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

(34) a. *Eð war fel   mienindję   at   ig ulld   åvå **enner** mjäst åv …*
         it   was then meaning.DEF that I   should have her.DAT most of
         'I was supposed to have her most of…'   (M, Blyberg, 58)

     b. *…men ą̊   fygd   ig mes   ig war fem og   sjäks år.*
         but   she.NOM followed I   when I   was five and six   years
         '… but I followed her when I was five and six years old.'
                                                        (M, Brunnsberg, 67)

     c. *...so dier stjianktum **ån**   istelle   að byum.*
         so   they gave   her.ACC instead to villages.PL.DEF.DAT
         'So they gave it to the villages instead.'   (M, Blyberg, 65)

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

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

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

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

3.1.4 *Summing up*
The results of our investigation of the Övdalian morphology are summarized in Table 11.

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

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

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

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

3.2   Syntax

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

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

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

> (36) *Wįð addum įe ny   stugu so   <u>war</u> **byggd** fyrtiåtta.*
>   we   had.1.PL a new house that was built   fortyeight
>   'We had a new house that was built 1948'   (F, Evertsberg, 59)

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

3.2.2 *Movement (V$_{fin}$-Adv word order in embedded non-V2 clauses).*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.3   *Referential null subjects*

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

(38)   *Ja, **addum** ien kuokspis.*
       yes had.1PL a   stove
       'Yes, we had a stove.'   (F, Åsen, 73)

(39)   *Eð war ju   so ien dag mes **warum** aute.*
       it was certainly so one day while were.1.L outside
       'It certainly happened one day when we were outside.'   (F, Klitten, 47)

(40)   *Sę **fikkum** wįð ien lärer   frå Göteborg.*
       then got.1PL we a   teacher from Gothenburg
       'Then we got a teacher from Gothenburg.'   (M, Brunnsberg, 67)

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

(41) *Ja,* **wįð warum** *ju   fem kripper.*
      yes we   were.1PL thus five children
      'Yes, we were five children.'   (F, Evertsberg, 59)

(42) *Ja,* **warum** *sjäks dą̊   min fuoreldrer.*
      yes were.1PL six   then with parents
      'Yes, we were six together with my parents.'   (M, Blyberg, 65)

3.2.4 *Multiple subjects*

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

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

3.2.5 *Negative concord and the form of negation*

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

(44) *Ja, sę   amm   wįð* **int ingger** *krytyr nų   itj.*
      yes then have.1PL we not no   cattle now not
      'Yes, we do not have any cattle now.'   (M, Västäng, 57)

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

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

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

3.2.6 *Lack of object shift*

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

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

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

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

3.3.1 *Special use of morphological definiteness*

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

(47) *Men að krytyrem byövd dier ju   åvå wattneð.*
      but   for animals   needed they of.course have water.DEF
      'But of course they needed to have water for the herd.'   (F, Åsen, 68)

(48) *Eð wart   smyöreð   åv mjotję.*
      it became butter.DEF of milk.DEF
      'Milk turned into butter.'   (F, Västäng, 75)

3.3.2 *Three-gender system*

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

(49) *So addum   wįð **folkskauln** jän, fast **an** wart   rivin   sę.*
      so had.1.PL we school.DEF here but he became torn.down later
      'Then we had the elementary school here, but it was torn down since.'

                                                     (M, Blyberg, 65)

3.3.3 *Incorporation of adjectives in nouns*

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

(50) *… kuogeðum wįð ą̊ **gamtkuorteð**   og …*
      looked.1.PL we on old-picture.DEF and
      'We were looking at the old picture and …'   (F, Åsen, 68)

(51) *… ienåv dier sienester so   fikk go i   an-dar **gambelskaulan***
      one of they latest   that got go in he-there old-school.DEF
      '… one of the last [pupils] that got to go to the old school.' (M, Blyberg, 65)

3.3.4 *Demonstrative form*

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

(52) *Sę   warum   wįð daitað **an-dar** skauln…*
      then were.1.PL we there.to he-there school.DEF
      'Then, we went there to the school…'   (F, Klitten, 47)

3.3.5   *Position of possessors*

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

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

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

3.4   Summing up the syntax

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

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

Table 12. Main syntactic findings.

Syntactic property	Found in the corpus	Found in Traditional Övdalian	Found in Classical Övdalian	Found in Insular Scandinavian	Found in Mainland Scandinavian
Stylistic Fronting	–	–	+	+	–
V-to-I movement	–	+	+	+	–[16]
Null referential subjects	+	+	+	–	–
Multiple subjects	+	+	+	–	–
Negative concord	+	+	+	–	–
Object Shift	–	–	–	+	+
Special use of morphological definiteness	+	+	+	–	–[17]
Three-gender system	+	+	+	+	±[18]
Incorporation of adjectives in nouns	+	+	+	–	–[19]
Demonstratives constructed on personal pronouns	+	+	+	–	–
Possessors after the head noun	+	+	+	+	±[20]

4. Conclusions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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