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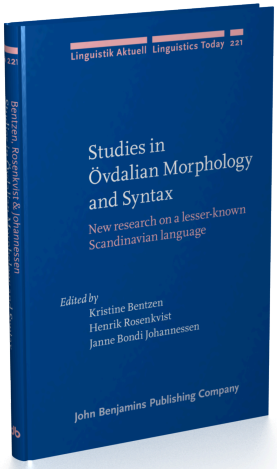

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The constructions under investigation in this chapter include verb second (V2) and topicalization in various types of embedded clauses, stylistic fronting (SF) and transitive expletive constructions (TECs). It turns out that the older speakers of Övdalian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

1. Introduction[1]

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

1. For extensive and constructive comments on a previous version of this chapter I am indebted to Kristine Bentzen and two anonymous reviewers. I also wish to express my gratitude to the organizers of the NORMS fieldwork in Älvdalen in May and June 2007, especially Øystein Vangsnes and Peter Svenonius, as well as to the organizers of The Second Conference on Övdalian in Älvdalen in June 2008, in particular Yair Sapir. Special thanks go to Piotr Garbacz and Lars Steensland for translations and assistance with the data and to Piotr for contacting the informants and scheduling my meetings with them on my second visit to Älvdalen. For helpful comments and discussions I want to thank Höskuldur Þráinsson, Sten Vikner, Theresa Biberauer, Henrik Rosenkvist, Masayuki Gibson and Tania Strahan. The main results of the chapter were presented in the Linguistics Dicussion Group at the University of Iceland, November 26, 2007, at The Second Conference on Övdalian in Älvdalen, June 12–14 2008, and in the SyntaxLab at the University of Cambridge, November 26, 2008. I want to thank the audiences for useful questions and discussions. Finally, heartful thanks to my Övdalian informants.

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

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

(1) a. *Du wet at påitjin* ***twä'dd oltiett*** *biln*
you know that boy-the washed always car-the
'You know that the son always washed the car'

b. *Du wet at påitjin* ***oltiett twä'dd*** *biln*
you know that boy-the always washed car-the
'You know that the son always washed the car'

(2) a. *An wart iwari at an add it lesið* ***ǫ-dar buotję***
he became aware that he had not read she-there book-the
'He discovered that he had not read that book'

b. *An wart iwari at* ***ǫ-dar buotję*** *add an it lesið*
he became aware that she-there book-the had he not read
'He discovered that he had not read that book'

(3) a. *Ig truor at ar uorteð* ***akudirað*** *um satję ǫ stemmun*
I think that has been discussed about matter-the on meeting-the
'I think that the matter was discussed at the meeting'

b. *Ig truor at* ***akudirað*** *ar uorteð um satję ǫ stemmun*
I think that discussed has been about matter-the on meeting-the
'I think that the matter was discussed at the meeting'

c. *Ig truor at* ***eð*** *ar uorteð* ***akudirað*** *um satję ǫ stemmun*
I think that EXPL has been discussed about matter-the on meeting-the
'I think that the matter was discussed at the meeting'

(4) a. *Nog autleningger tjyöpt gamtstugų*
some foreigners bought old-house-the
'Some foreigners bought the old house'

b. ***Eð*** *tjyöpt nog autleningger gamtstugų*
EXPL bought some foreigners old-house-the
'Some foreigners bought the old house'

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

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

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

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

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

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

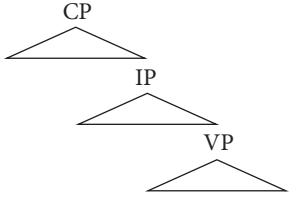
In Section 2, I sketch the theoretical background and spell out the predictions about the constructions in question. Section 3 reports on the results from my data collection in Älvdalen in 2007 and 2008. It turns out that the older speakers of Övdalian allow V2 more freely than the younger speakers,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

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Clause structure and different types of complement clauses

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

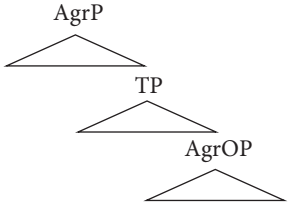
(5)



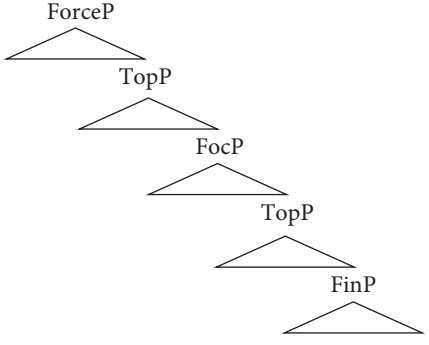
The VP (Verb Phrase) is the lexical layer, headed by the verb and the residence of theta assignment.[2] The IP (Inflectional Phrase) is headed by functional heads related to verbal inflection and argumental features such as case and agreement. The CP (Complementizer Phrase) is usually headed by a free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

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

(6)



(7)



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

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

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

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

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

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

Spec CP

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

b. *Nemendurnir* hafa lesið bókina
students-the have read book-the
'The students have read the book'

c. *Jóni/Honum* voru gefnir þessir sokkar
John-DAT/he-DAT were given-PL these socks
'John/he was given these socks'

d. *Maríu* líkuðu þessir fundir
Mary-DAT liked-PL these meetings
'Mary liked these meetings'

Spec AgrSP

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

b. …að *nemendurnir* hafa lesið bókina
that students-the have read book-the
'that the students have read the book'

c. …að *Jóni/honum* voru gefnir þessir sokkar
that John-DAT/he-DAT were given-PL these socks
'….that John/he was given these socks'

d. …að *Maríu* líkuðu þessir fundir
that Mary-DAT liked-PL these meetings
'that Mary liked these meetings'

Spec TP

(11) a. …að það hefur *einhver* stolið hjólinu
that EXPL has someone stolen bike-the
'…that someone has stolen the bike'

b. …að það búa *einhyrningar* í þessum skógi (existential)
that EXPL live unicorns in this forest
'…that (some) unicorns live in this forest'

c. …að það fóru *margir málfræðingar* í
that EXPL went many linguists on
þessa ferð (cardinal/presuppositional)
this trip
'…that many linguists went to this trip'

d. …*að það hefur *Jón/hann* lesið bókina
that EXPL has John/he read book-the
'that John/he has read the book

e. …*að það hafa *nemendurnir* lesið bókina
that EXPL have students-the read book-the
'…that the students have read the book'

Spec AgrOP

(12) a. María hittir *Pétur* aldrei
Mary meets Peter never
'Mary never meets Peter'

b. Hann átti aldrei hesta
He owned never horses
'He never owned horses'

c. *Hann átti *hesta* aldrei
He owned horses never
'He never owned horses'

d. María kaupir aldrei tvö dagblöð (cardinal)
Mary buys never two newspapers
'Mary never buys two newspapers'

e. *María kaupir *tvö dagblöð* aldrei (cardinal)
Mary buys two newspapers never
'Mary never buys two newspapers'

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

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

Table 1. Different types of matrix predicates.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2 Inflection and verb movement

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

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

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

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

2.3 Predictions of RAH: The research questions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I will discuss this prediction in Section 3.5.

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

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

3. Results from fieldwork in Älvdalen

3.1 About the data collection

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

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

(19) *baita* 'bite'

ig bait	'I bite'		wi̧ð 'we'	_____	(*bait**um***)
du bait	'you bite'		ið 'you pl.'	_____	(*bait**ið***)
an 'he'	_____	(*bait*)	dier 'they'	_____	(*bait**a***)

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

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

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

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

3.2 Verbal inflection

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Among the adolescents the verbal paradigm completely collapses in three cases of nine – no inflectional suffix being the most common choice in 2pl. and 3pl. Among the adults the *-um* suffix is used consistently and productively[8] and so is the *-a(s)* ending in 3pl. On the other hand, the ending for 2pl. seems to be rather unstable (although this can be affected by the choice of verb, or even orthography). Only five informants solved the paradigm fill-in task in full accordance with the handbook. In order to see if there is a direct correlation between having the "correct" verbal morphology and allowing subject-initial V2 in non-V2 contexts I compared the syntactic results from the individuals who show the full paradigm and the individuals who show no person distinction. It turned out that the acceptance rate of sentences of this type was very low in both groups (close to the average).

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

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

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

Table 5. Variation in the use of verbal affixes (the present tense of *dröma* 'dream' and *spilå* 'play').

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

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

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

Table 6. Variation in the use of verbal affixes (the past tense of *dröma* 'dream' and *spilå* 'play').

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

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

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

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

3.3 Verb/adverb placement in subject-initial embedded clauses

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 9. V2/V3 in indirect questions.

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

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

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

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

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

Table 10. V2/V3 in causal clauses.

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

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

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

			OK	?	*	Both OK	Neither OK
(39)	*Dier werd fel lie'ssner um Alfrið* ***kumb older***[14] they become disappointed if Alfrið comes never	**(V2)**					
	'They become disappointed if Alfrið never comes'		18%	20%	62%	16%	0
(40)	*Dier werd fel lie'ssner um Alfrið* ***older kumb*** they become disappointed if Alfrið never comes	**(V3)**					
	'They become disappointed if Alfrið never comes'		98%	2%	0%		

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 13. V2/V3 in relative clauses.

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

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

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

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

Table 14. V2/V3 in different sentence types.

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

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

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

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

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

3.4 Embedded topicalization

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

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

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

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

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

		OK	?	*
(57)	*Ig twivler ǫ at ǫ ar råkað an-dar kall'n* I doubt on that she has met he-there man-the 'I doubt that she has met that man'	7	0	0
(58)	*Ig twivler ǫ at* ***an-dar kall'n*** *ar ǫ råkað* I doubt on that he-there man-the has she met 'I doubt that she has met that man'	0	4	3
(59)	*Ministern aunggrer at dier åvå it diskutirað ǫ-dar satję* Minister-the regrets that they have not discussed she-there matter 'The minister regrets that they have not discussed this matter'	6	1	0
(60)	*Ministern aunggrer at* ***ǫ-dar satję*** *åvå dier it diskutirað* Minister-the regrets that she-there matter have they not discussed 'The minister regrets that they have not discussed this matter'	4	3	0

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 19. Embedded topicalization in relative clauses.

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

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

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

3.5 Stylistic fronting and transitive expletive constructions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 20. Fronting of past participles in relative clauses.

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

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

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

Table 22. Fronting of adverbs in relative clauses.

		OK	?	*
(80)	*Kelindję so fuor iem war syster oss* woman-the that went home was sister his 'The woman who went home was his sister'	7	0	0
(81)	*Kelindję so* ***iem*** *fuor war syster oss* **SF** woman-the that home went was sister his 'The woman who went home was his sister'	0	0	6
(82)	*An såg ukin kam in* he saw who came in 'He saw who came in'	7	0	0
(83)	*An såg ukin* ***in*** *kam* **SF** he saw who in came 'He saw who came in'	0	1	6

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 25. Transitive expletive construction.

		OK	?	*
(96)	*Nog autleningger tjyöpt gamtstugų* some foreigners bought old-house-the 'Some foreigners bought the old house'	7	0	0
(97)	***Að** tjyöpt nog autleningger gamtstugų* EXPL bought some foreigners old-house-the 'Some foreigners bought the old house'	0	0	7

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

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

In Section 2, I proposed the following hypothesis:

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

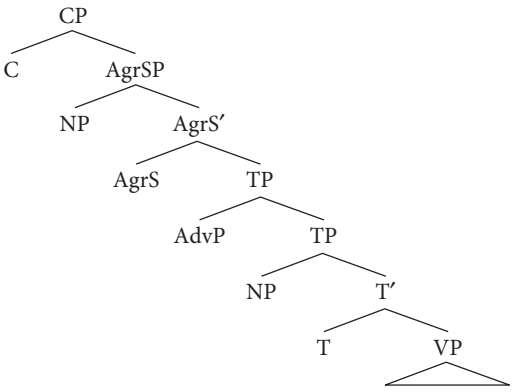
This hypothesis is not supported by my data, so again we have a "disassociation" of V-to-I movement and a phenomenon commonly associated with V-to-I movement, as was the case for SF.

3.6 Discussion

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

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

(99)

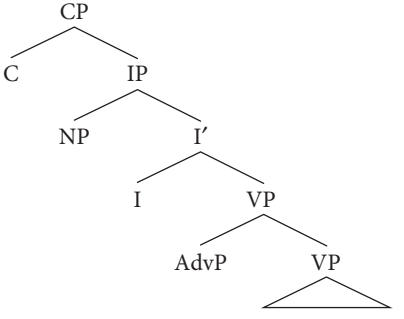


um Alfrið$_i$ **older** t_i **kumb** t_i *v*
'if Alfrið never came'

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

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

(100)



um Alfrið$_i$ **older** **kumb** t_i *v*
if Alfrið never came'

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

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

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

4. Conclusions

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

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

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

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

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

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