Agreement inflection and word order in Viskadalian Swedish

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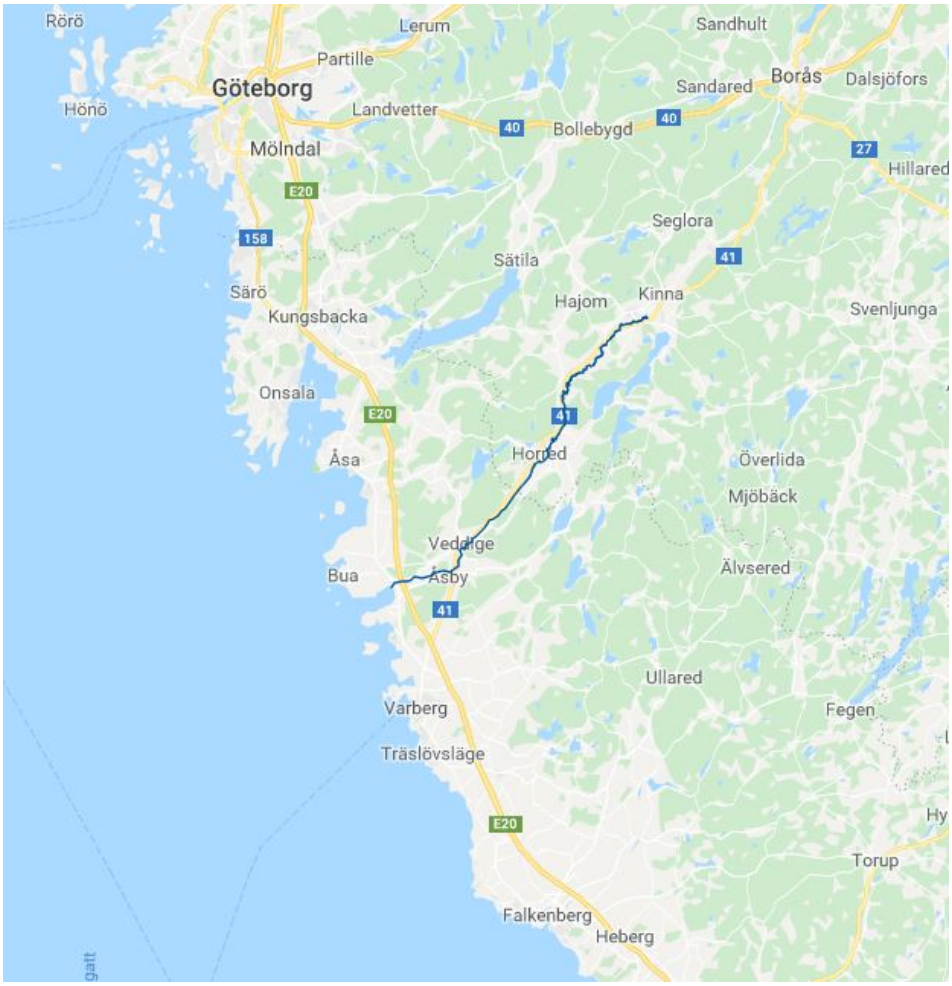
Abstract: In this article, I investigate the varying morphosyntax of 20th century Viskadalian Swedish. Viskadalian verbs are inflected for both person and number. The Rich Agreement Hypothesis (RAH) posits an interdependence between such rich agreement and movement of the finite verb from V to I. Still, only in the central parts of the Viskadalian dialect area (CV) is V-to-I an option; in the south (SV), V must remain in situ (in VP). This lack of V-to-I in SV certainly appears to falsify the RAH. I argue, however, that it follows from SV and CV agreement being categorically different. Although both are semantically rich, only CV agreement is morphologically distinct, crucially triggering V-to-I. By contrast, in SV, agreement is embedded under tense.

Keywords: Viskadalian Swedish, The Rich Agreement Hypothesis, morphosyntactic change, morphosyntactic variation, V-to-I movement, inflectional categories, The Person-Number Universal, morphological reanalysis, syntactic grammaticalisation.

1. Introduction

In this paper, I address the morphosyntax of the Swedish dialect of Viskadalen (lit. ‘the valley of the river Viskan’). This dialect, which I call Viskadalian (following Petzell 2017), was once spoken all around the lower reaches of the river Viskan and down south to the parishes surrounding the town of Varberg; see map 1 (where this part of the river is blue). Today, it is only in the south, more specifically in the fishing village of Träslövsläge, that the traditional dialect is largely intact.



Map 1. The river Viskan (lower reaches)

Unlike present-day standard Swedish, but like Old Swedish, Viskadalian exhibits verbal inflection for both person and number. For instance, the weak verb 'read' has four forms in the present tense: *läser* (SG), *läsom* (1PL), *läsen* (2PL), *läsa* (3PL), strikingly reminiscent of the corresponding Old Swedish forms *läsir*, *läsum*, *läsin*, *läsa*. Present-day standard Swedish has but one form across the board: *läser*. Now, the so-called Rich Agreement Hypothesis (RAH) predicts that richly inflected verbs move to the I-domain. This means that they should precede sentence adverbials in subordinate clauses. On the other hand, uninflected verbs are predicted to remain in situ (in VP), thereby instead following sentence adverbials. Both present-day standard Swedish (PDS) and Old Swedish (OS) behave as expected, given the RAH: they display the order adverbial-finite verb (*af*) and finite verb-adverbial (*fa*) respectively, as shown in (1a–b).

(1) a. *huset* *där* *vi* ***gärna*** ***ville*** ***af*** (PDS)
house.DEF where we gladly want.PST
bo
live.INF
'the house where we would gladly live'

b. *ther* *the* ***mågho*** ***äy*** *aff* ***fa*** (OS)
where they may.3PL not off
gånga
go.INF
'from where they must not deviate'(K-styr:3)

By contrast, present-day Viskadalian appears to falsify the RAH: all speakers accept the *af* order, whereas *fa* order is judged completely ungrammatical; see (2).[1]

(2) *De e* *båga* *som* *vi* ***inte*** ***af/*fa***
it be.PRS.SG/3PL book.DEF that we not
håmm/ ****håmm*** ***inte*** *lässt* *för*.
have.PRS.1PL have.PRS.1PL not read.PTCP before
'it is the book that we have not read before'

Going back some generations, however, *fa* order was indeed a common subordinate clause word order in the more central parts of Viskadalen, closer to the river and further from the coast; see (3a). Still, *af* order was the dominant type (cf. (3b)).

(3) a. *mänsker* *som* ***vella*** ***gärna*** *pruta* ***fa***
people.PL that want.PRS.3PL gladly bargain.INF
'people that would like to bargain' (Horr)[2]

b. *de* *da* ***inte*** ***kunna*** *använna* ***af***
that they not can.PRS.3PL use.INF
'what they cannot use'(Värö2)

We know that historically, the *af* order of today (cf. (1a)) is a novation that started spreading over the Scandinavian mainland in the late Middle ages and onwards. By the end of the 17th century, *af* had become the dominant order in written Danish (Sundquist 2003) and Swedish (Falk 1993, Håkansson 2011); also Norwegian seems to follow this pattern (Christoffersen

[1] I have one main informant from Träslövsläge (a man, born in 1955), whom I have consulted on several occasions between 2016 and 2017. In order to verify his own grammaticality judgements, he checked many examples (including the two word orders in (2)) with other good dialect speakers (in his view).

[2] The label within parentheses that accompanies dialect examples is an abbreviation of the name of the parish (or in some cases the hundred) where the example was collected. A full description of all sources is given in the appendix.

1997, Vittersø 2004).[3] Clearly, the *af* order has now spread to present-day southern Viskadalian, completely marginalising the original *fa* variant (cf. (2)). But very recently, the *fa* order of old was still in use in central Viskadalian (cf. (3a)), representing a lingering remnant of a slowly dying medieval practise.

In order to better understand this puzzling variation between *fa* and *af* in Viskadalen, I have conducted a detailed scrutiny of verbal agreement in the different Viskadalian varieties. There are three important differences between the central and the southern variety, henceforth labelled CV and SV respectively. Two of them concern the expression of second person: the 2SG morpheme *-(s)t* still exists as an affix in CV but has evolved into a pronoun in SV; 2PL always ends in *-n* in SV but in CV, the *n* is often missing. Third, the past tense stem of the highly frequent verbs *få*, 'get', and *gå*, 'go', is the same in the entire paradigm in the south (*fick-*, *gick-*), but varies with number in the central variety (SG: *fick-*, *gick-*; PL: *fing-*, *ging-*).

I will argue that this morphological variation in Viskadalian can be neatly accounted for and linked to the word order difference, once we adopt a more fine-grained definition of agreement richness than hitherto proposed in the literature. My idea is that we need to keep semantic richness and morphological distinctiveness separate. Although central and southern Viskadalian verbs express more or less the same semantic distinctions, it is only in the central variety that agreement is morphologically distinct; in the south, agreement instead appears to have been reanalysed as part of tense. In syntax, this makes all the difference, if one assumes (with Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998) that distinctiveness is a necessary condition for syntactically active agreement, triggering movement of finite verbs into the I-domain. The analysis also predicts the southern development of *(s)t* from affix to pronoun, as well as the loss of number-based stem alternation.

Moreover, it leaves the ground open for parallel grammars in CV, resulting in *af*/*fa* variation (cf. (3)). Although agreement is always morphologically distinct in CV, it is not necessarily semantically rich. With both an *n*-less 2PL and a more sporadic use of *-s(t)*-inflection, agreement ceases to be syntactically relevant (excluding V-to-I).

The paper is organized as follows. Sections 2 and 3 constitute the empirical bulk of the paper: in 2, I present my investigation of *fa*/*af* in Viskadalian; in 3, I describe the variation in its verbal morphology, briefly glancing also at the poorer agreement found in other varieties in the region. Sections 4–5 are more theoretical: in 4, I discuss the RAH in general and the notion of richness

[3] The diachronic development of Early modern Norwegian is harder to follow than the corresponding development of Swedish/Danish. Due to Danish rule and linguistic domination, texts in Norwegian occur only sporadically up until the 19th century (see Indrebø 2001:177–192).

in particular; then, in 5, I address the interface between morphology and syntax, more specifically the syntactic role of tense and agreement inflection. The paper ends with some concluding remarks and remaining questions in section 6.

2. Subordinate clause word order in Viskadalian

In this section, I investigate the distribution of *fa* and *af* word order in Viskadalian subordinate clauses. The section starts with some preliminaries (in 2.1) followed by some notational and methodological points (in 2.2–2.3), before I present the actual results in 2.4. The findings are summarized and related to the word order in present day Träslövsläge in 2.5.

2.1. Viskadalen – area and dialect

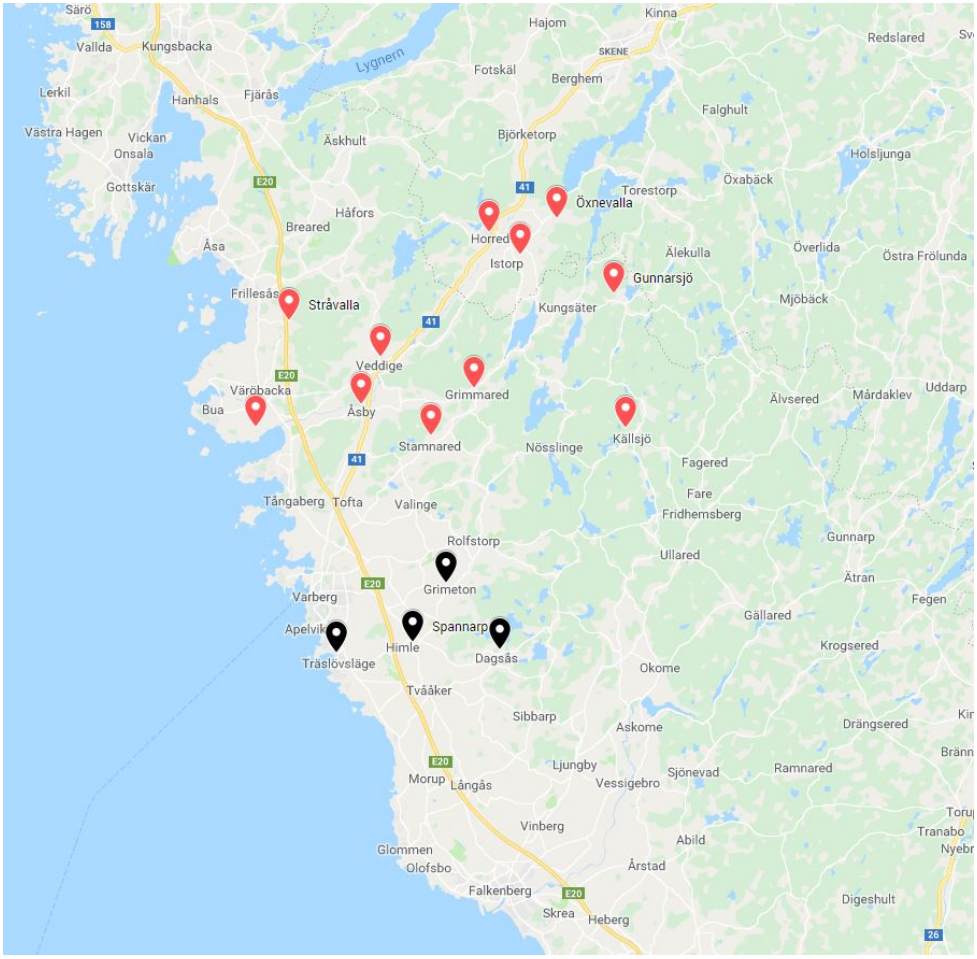
For my investigation of subordinate clause word order in Viskadalian, I have compiled a corpus of audio recordings from the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. The recordings were made by regional dialect archives in Lund and Uppsala. Today, they are part of the collections of the Institute for Language and Folklore. To be included in the sample, the informants on tape are required to inflect their finite verbs for both person and number consistently throughout the session. I have come across 19 such informants, and this verbal usage is the primary linguistic ground for identifying Viskadalen as a dialect area in its own right. In no other variety on the Scandinavian mainland (except in north-western Dalecarlian; see Levander 1928, Garbacz 2010 and section 6 below) do we find archaic morphology of this sort.

Viskadalen stretches over two provinces (Sw. *landskap*), namely Halland and Westrogothia (Sw. *Västergötland*), which is probably why there are surprisingly few attempts to address the variety within traditional dialectology; here, the dialect of each province has instead typically been the main objective. Still, from the historical evidence, it is quite clear that Viskadalen has formed an economic unit at least since the Middle ages, constituting the hinterland of the town of Varberg: this is where Viskadalian peasants have always traded their agricultural produce (Grill 1954:679; see also Linge 1969:75–76).

Moving on now to the division of Viskadalian into two sub-varieties, one central and one southern. In (4) below, I have specified the names of the parishes within each variety, as well as the number of informants and total length of the recordings. On map 2, I have marked the location of all parishes. As is evident, the two parts of the corpus are neither equally large nor distributed over an equal amount of places (or informants). The reason for this is trivial: there

are simply no more relevant recordings from the area to include. Nevertheless, the two parts are sufficiently similar for my present purposes, that is to investigate the use of *af* and *fa* word order.

(4) a. Central Viskadalian – little over 11 hours of recorded speech, 12 informants from 11 parishes (Värö, Stråvalla, Veddige, Ås, Stamnared, Grimmered, Istorp, Öxnevalla, Gunnarsjö, Källsjö, Horred).
b. Southern Viskadalian – almost 10 hours of recorded speech, 7 informants from 4 parishes (Träslöv, Grimeton, Dagsås, Spannarp).



Map 2. Parishes in central (red) and southern (black) Viskadalen

There are both syntactic and morphological motifs for the division of Viskadalian into a central and a southern variety. In 2.4, we direct our attention towards the syntactic differences; the morphological differences are the topic of section 3.

2.2. The basic structure of af and fa order

Since the late 1980s, the standard analysis of the difference between *af* and *fa* in Scandinavian subordinate clauses is that *fa* reflects movement of the finite verb (*f*) out of VP to a position to the left of sentence adverbials (*a*), whereas *af* indicates the absence of such movement. What specific position the verb ends up in need not concern us yet; for now, I will simply refer to it as I, indicating that it is somewhere in the I-domain, at least higher in the syntactic tree than sentence adverbials, which are assumed to reside directly to the left of VP.[4] The difference between *af* and *fa* is shown in (5a–b).

(5) a. $[_{IP}\ \boldsymbol{f}_v\ [_{AdvP}\ \boldsymbol{a}\ [_{VP}\ t_v]]]$ V-to-I (***fa*** order)
b. $[_{AdvP}\ \boldsymbol{a}\ [_{VP}\ \boldsymbol{f}]]$ V in situ (***af*** order)

As is well known, all Scandinavian languages are V2 languages. This means that the finite verbs always moves to C in main clauses, where it is preceded only by whatever phrase ends up in spec-CP. If the subject is clause initial, we get *fa* order, as I show with the standard Swedish example in (6a). When something else is topicalized, the subject instead remains in the I-domain, thus intervening between *f* and *a* (see (6b)).

(6) a. $[_{CP}$ *Han* ***ville***$_v$ $[_{IP}$ ***gärna*** t_v *äta* *den*]] V-to-C (***fa***)
he want.PST gladly eat.INF it
'he would gladly eat it'
b. $[_{CP}$ *Den* ***ville***$_v$ $[_{IP}$ *han* ***gärna*** t_v *äta*]] V-to-C (*xfs**a***)
it want.PST he gladly eat.INF
'he would gladly eat it'

Normally, V-to-C-movement does not occur in subordinate clauses, where C instead hosts a complementizer; see (7a) below. Since V-to-I is not an option, *fa* order is out, as can be seen in (7b).

(7) a. *Den mat* $[_{CP}$ *som* $[_{IP}$ *han* ***gärna*** $[_{VP}$ ***ville*** V in situ (***af***)
the food that he gladly want.PST
äta]]] *fick* *vi* *kasta*.
eat.INF get.PST we throw.INF
'The food that he would gladly eat, we had to throw away'

[4] Similarily, I take "V in situ" to mean that V is somewhere in the V-domain.

b. *Den mat [$_{CP}$ som [$_{IP}$ han **ville**$_v$ **gärna** *Den mat* [$_{CP}$ *som* [$_{IP}$ *han* ***ville***$_v$ ***gärna*** *t*$_v$ *äta*]]] *fick vi kasta*. *V-to-I (***fa***)
the food that he want.PST gladly
[$_{VP}$ t$_v$ äta]]] fick vi kasta.
eat.INF get.PST we throw.INF

However, in certain contexts, an entire CP may be embedded under the complementizer *att*, 'that'.[5] Consequently, both word orders occurring in main clause CPs (i.e. *fa* in (6a) and *xfsa* in (6b)) sometimes occur in embedded contexts; see (8a–d). As in main clauses, the high position of the finite verb is a result of V-to-C movement.

(8) a. *Då sa hon* [$_{CP}$ *att* [$_{CP}$ *han* emb. V-to-C (***fa***)
then say.PST she that he
ville$_v$ [$_{IP}$ ***gärna*** t$_v$ *äta den*.]]]
want.PST gladly eat.INF it
'Then she said that he would gladly eat it.'

b. *De meddelade* [$_{CP}$ *att* [$_{CP}$*den* emb. V-to-C (***xfsa***)
they report.PST that it
ville$_v$ [$_{IP}$ *han* ***gärna*** t$_v$ *äta*.]]]
want.PST he gladly eat.INF
'The reported that he would gladly eat it.'

c. *Poängen är* [$_{CP}$ *att* [$_{CP}$ *han* emb. V-to-C (***fa***)
point.DEF is that he
ska$_v$ [$_{IP}$ ***alltså*** t$_v$ *ha den*.]]]
shall thus have.INF it
'The point is that he is supposed to have it, you know.'

d. *Vi drog slutsatsen* [$_{CP}$ *att* [$_{CP}$*den* emb. V-to-C (***xfsa***)
we draw.PST conclusion.DEF that it
fick$_v$ [$_{IP}$ *vi* ***nog*** t$_v$ *ta hand om sedan*.]]]
get.PST we probably take.INF hand about later
'We came to the conclusion that we would probably have to deal with that later.'

Embedded V-to-C is possible when the content of the embedded clause can be interpreted as asserted by the speaker (Andersson 1975: 21). Either, this means the actual speaker as in (8c–d), where it is the person uttering the sentences who asserts the content of the embedded clause, or there is an implicit speaker as in (8a–b), where the third person subject of the matrix verb (*hon*, 'she', in (8a) and *de*, 'they' in (8b), respectively) is reported as having asserted the content of the embedded clause. Julien (2015:164–167) notes that it is not always possible to determine whether the embedded assertion is direct or indirect. However, the crucial point remains the same: speaker assertion (of some sort) appears to be a prerequisite for embedded V-to-C.

[5] Unlike English *that*, Swedish *att* never introduces relative clauses. Here, the complementizer is instead *som* (as in (7)).

Typically, embedded assertions are the complement of some sort of *verbum dicendi* (cf. 'say' and 'report' in (8a–b)) or of a semantically equivalent predicate (as 'the point is' in (8c) and 'we came to the conclusion' in (8d)). As argued by Julien (2009), the latter type may come in a variety of guises. Minimally, the matrix predicate consists of a single word, for instance the predicative adjective in an elliptic copular construction (see (9a) below), the additive adverbial *plus* ((9b)) or even an isolated conjunction, such as the adversative *men* in (9c) (see Lyngfelt 2003 for more examples).

(9) a. *(Det är) klart* [$_{CP}$ *att* [$_{CP}$ *då* ***blir***$_{v}$ emb. V-to-C (*xfs**a***)
it be.PRS clear that then become.PRS
[$_{IP}$ *man* ***ju*** t$_{v}$ *ledsen*.
one MOD.PART sad.
'Of course, then you become sad.'

b. *Valparna är för små* emb. V-to-C (***fa***)
puppy.PL.DEF be.PRS too small
för transport. *Plus* [$_{CP}$ *att* [$_{CP}$ *de*
for transport. plus that they
är$_{v}$ [$_{IP}$ ***knappast*** t$_{v}$ *rumsrena än*.]]]
be.PRS hardly housebroken yet
'The puppies are too small to be transported.
Also, they are hardly housebroken yet.'

c. *Jag har köpt ett halsband* emb. V-to-C (***fa***)
I have.PRS buy.PTCP a neckless
till Kalle. *Men* [$_{CP}$ *att* [$_{CP}$*jag* ***vet***$_{v}$ [$_{IP}$ ***inte*** t$_{v}$
to K but that I know.PRS not
om han gillar det.
whether he like.PRS it
'I have bought Kalle a neckless. However, I do not know if he will like it.

Furthermore, embedded assertions can also occur in *att*-clauses expressing causal, consecutive or causative meaning (Julien 2015:166–167). This is shown in the examples in (10).[6]

[6] Teleman et al. (1999/4:467) claim that concessive clauses introduced by *fast(än) att* belong to this group as well. However, according to my native intuitions, *fast att* can only introduce a clause displaying main clause word order when it has adversative meaning. Consequently, to me, the second sentence in (i) is parallel to the second sentence in (9c). Conversely, in (ii), the *af* order forces a concessive meaning, which is infelicitous in this context (hence the #), since it implies that my lack of knowledge of his preferences is expected to have an impact on his inclination towards pursuing higher education.

(i) Han pluggar på universitetet. Fast att
he study.PRS on university.DEF although that
jag ***vet*** ***inte*** om han gillar det.
I know.PRS not whether he like.PRS it
'He studies at university. However, I do not know if he likes it.'

(ii) #Han pluggar på universitet, fast att jag ***inte vet*** om han gillar det.

(10) a. *Anna gick hem* emb. V-to-C (***xfsa***)
A. went home
[$_{CP}$ *därför att* [$_{CP}$ *så* ***ville***$_{v}$ [$_{IP}$ *hon*
because that so want.PST she
inte t_{v} *bli behandlad*.]]]
not become.INF treat.PTCP
'Anna went home, because she did not want to be treated like that.'

b. *Hon blev så arg* [$_{CP}$ *att* [$_{CP}$*hon* emb. V-to-C (***fa***)
she become.PST so angry that she
skällde$_{v}$ [$_{IP}$ ***helt enkelt*** t_{v} *ut honom*.]]]
scold.PST whole simple out him
'She was so angry that she simply scolded him.'

c. *Det innebar till slut* emb. V-to-C (***fa***)
it mean.PST to end
[$_{CP}$ *att* [$_{CP}$ *jag* ***blev***$_{v}$ [$_{IP}$ ***faktiskt*** t_{v}
that I become.PST actually
instängd.]]]
trap.PTCP
'In the end, I was actually trapped.'

In sum, subordinate clauses with *fa* order are possible in standard Swedish, but only as instances of embedded V-to-C (cf. (8a, c), (9b–c), (10b–c)). This is possible in *att*-clauses, where the content can be interpreted as asserted by the speaker (actual or implicit). In other subordinate clauses, the complementizer does not take a CP complement. Consequently, *fa* order is ungrammatical, since the syntactic operation creating *fa* below C^{o}, namely V-to-I movement, is not available (cf. (7b)).

2.3 The word order categories af and fa

Before proceeding to the distribution of *af* and *fa* in the corpus, a brief methodological point is in order. I have only counted an example as a case of *af* if there is an explicit subject preceding this string (i.e. *saf*). Without a subject, it is difficult to exclude that the *a* of the *af* string is, in fact, in the higher *a*-position that we have in examples like (11) below. Here, *a* precedes the subject (*s*), which means that *a* can tell us nothing of the position of the finite verb.

(11) *naur* ***inte*** ***vi*** *fiskam* ***as***
when not we fish.PST.1PL
'when we were not fishing' (Träsl2)

As for the *fa* category, the presence or absence of a subject is irrelevant. However, what follows the *fa* string can be of relevance; see (12), where *a* is followed by a non-finite verb.

(12) *om ja* ***hade*** ***bare*** *hört* ***fa***
if I have.PST.SG/3PL only hear.PTCP
'if only I had been a hearing person' (Grimm)

If the non-finite verb marks the left edge of the VP, *a* must be to the left of VP and the finite verb, in turn, must have moved out of VP. As will be evident shorty, however, this diagnostic is valid in Viskadalian only for sentence adverbials.

2.4. Results

Let us now consider the use of *af* and *fa* in the corpus. In table 1a below, I give the numbers for SV in the first row and the numbers for CV in the second row. Although the total number of relevant examples is much greater in CV, the overall tendency is quite clear: *af* order occurs in both varieties; *fa*, on the other hand is common in CV, but strikingly marginal in SV.

	af	af-%	fa	fa-%	Tot
SV	16	80%	4	20%	20
CV	42	55%	34	45%	76

Table 1a. *Af* and *fa* order in Viskadalian subordinate clauses

The difference regarding *fa* between the varieties becomes even clearer when we consider the nature of the *fa* cases in some detail; see Table 1b below. Here, I have divided all *fa*-examples into three groups. The first group contains *fa* examples that would be acceptable in standard Swedish as cases of embedded V-to-C (cf. (8–10) above; hence the label *fa*-OK). These are introduced by *att*, 'that', and they can all be interpreted as asserted by the speaker (actual or implicit). All but one of the *fa*-OK examples are embedded under a *verbum dicendi* or a similar matrix; see (13a–b) below; cf. the examples in (8) above. The remaining one is the casual example given in (13c); cf. (10a).

(13) a. *ja glömde å tala ôm att garnet* ***fa***-OK
I forget.PST to speak.INF of that yarn.DEF
skulle ju *spelltas*
shall.PST.SG/3PL MOD.PART coil.INF.PASS
'I forgot to tell you that the yarn should
of course be coiled' (Värö3)

b. *de kôm skrivelse ifrå kunglia majestät* ***fa***-OK
it come.PST.SG decree from royal majesty
att da ***få*** ***aldri*** *ta=t*
that they must.PRS.3PL never take.INF=it
'there came a royal decree stating that
they must never take it' (Öxn2)

c. *för de att da* ***kunne*** ***ente*** ***fa***-OK
for that that they can.PST.SG/3PL not
manövrera
navigate.INF
'because they could not navigate' (Träsl2)

	fa-OK	*fa1	*fa2
SV	2	0	2
CV	17	13	4

Table 1b. Type of fa-order

The two other *fa* groups, on the other hand, both contain examples that would be ungrammatical in standard Swedish (hence the *; the numbers following it will be explained shortly).These include restrictive relative clauses (see (14a) below) and various adverbial clauses (e.g. temporal as in (14b) and conditional as in (14c)).

(14) a. *da som* ***vöre*** ***då*** *lite* ****fa***2
they that be.PST.3PL then slightly
försiktiare
cautious.COMP
'those who were then a bit more cautious' (Vedd)

b. då svina ***kômme*** ***väl*** ****fa***1
when pig.PL.DEF come.PST.3PL MOD.PART
bôrt
away
'once the pigs got away' (Värö3)

c. *om ja* ***finge*** ***bara*** *kômma dit* ****fa***1
if I get.PST.SBJV.SG/3PL only come.INF there
'if only I would get to come there' (Ist)

Three of the *fa examples are introduced by *att*; see (15) below. However, they cannot be interpreted as CPs conveying an embedded assertion: in (15a), the *att*-clause is the complement

of a non-assertive matrix verb (‘not remember’), and in (15b) the semantics of the clause (expressing a purpose) is incompatible with assertion. Finally, in (15c), the *att*-clause is certainly the complement of the verb ‘say’, just as many of the *fa*-OK examples. Still, the *fa* order in (15c) hardly reflects V-to-C movement. The reason for that is that the object of the verb *gör*, ‘do.PRS.SG’, (i.e. *de*, ‘that’) has been extracted from the embedded clause and topicalized in the matrix clause. At least since Holmberg (1986), we know that this sort of extraction is incompatible with embedded V-to-C, as shown in (16a) below; cf. the *af* order in (16b) where extraction works fine. In effect, the *fa* order in (15c) cannot be the result of V-to-C.

(15) a. *de* *hugar* *ja* *inte* *att* *vi* **fa*1
that remember.PRS.SG I not that we
ådem ***särskilt*** *gröd*
eat.PST.1PL especially porridge
‘I cannot remember that there was a
particular tradition for us to have porridge’ (Strå)

b. *för* *att* *de* ***skulle*** ***säkert*** *vara* **fa*1
for that it shall.PST.SG/3PL surely be.INF
värme *nock*
heat enough
’in order for it to be sufficiently hot for sure’ (Strå)

c. *de*$_i$ *sa* *ja* *att* *ja* ***gör*** **fa*1
that say.PST.SG I that I do.PRS.SG
inte t_i
not
’I said that I will not do that’ (Ist)

(16) a. **Den*$_i$ *trodde* *jag* *att* *du* emb. V-to-C (***fa***)
that think.PST I that you
hade ***faktiskt*** *sett* t_i
have.PST actually seen

b. *Den*$_i$ *trodde* *jag* *att* *du* V in situ (***af***)
that think.PST I that you
faktiskt ***hade*** *sett* t_i
actually have.PST seen
’I thought that you had actually seen it’

Moving on now to the difference between **fa*1 and **fa*2, which regards the nature of *a*. In the former group, the *a* is a sentence adverbial (including negation); see (17a–b) below (as well as (14b–c) and (15) above). By contrast, the **fa*2-adverbials are all temporal, as in (17c–d) (see also (14a)).

(17) a *den förlusta vi **skullem*** **fa*1
the loss.DEF we shall.PST.1PL
***eventuellt** lia*
possibly suffer.INF
'the loss we would possibly suffer' (Ås)

b. *de va en gang som ja* **fa*1
it be.PST.SG a time that I
***åkte inte** te gästis*
travel.PST.SG/3PL not to inn
it was a time that I did not go to the inn' (Ist)

c. *om de **va** **nu** laom tört* **fa*2
if it be.PRS.SG now just dry
'if it was dry enough now' (Spann)

d. *när da **hade** **då** slått=et* **fa*2
when they have.PST.SG/3PL then beat.PTCP=it
'when they had then beaten it (i.e. the hay)' (Vedd)

Temporal adverbials may certainly occur in the same position as sentence adverbials, directly to the left of VP, as can be seen in the *af* example in (18a) below. However, in Viskadalian, temporal adverbials could also reside in a medial VP-position, after the finite verb but before complements of the verb. We see this in (18b). Here, the finite verb is clearly in situ, since it is preceded by the sentence adverbial *liaväl*. The PP *om viskepelser* is an adverbial argument occupying a complement position somewhere below V°. Consequently, the intervening *nu* must be somewhere in VP.

(18) a. *när da **då** **komme** ain bit* ***af***
when they then come.PST.3PL a piece
'when they then made some progress' (Värö3)

b. *eftersom vi **liaväl** **pratam** **nu*** ***afa***
since we anyway talk.PST.1PL now
om viskepelser
about superstition.PL
'since we were just talking about superstitions anyway' (Träsl3)

Given that temporal adverbials can appear within VP (as in (18b)), we cannot exclude that the *a* has precisely that position in *fa* examples like (14a) and (17c–d). In that case, the reason that these examples are bad in standard Swedish is that standard Swedish is not as liberal when it comes to VP-medial placement of temporal adverbials as Viskadalian is.[7] For the**fa*1-type, on the other hand, such an explanation is not available, since sentence adverbials never appear as

[7] Similarily, Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2014) analyse *fa* order in e.g. northern Norwegian as a case of V in situ with an exceptionally low adverbial; as in Viskadalian, not all adverbials can be this low.

the second adverbial in *afa* strings like (18b).[8] Consequently, the only reasonable way to explain the 13 instances of **fa*1-order in CV is to conclude that V-to-I was indeed possible in this variety.

As pointed out, *fa*-OK, could be the result of V-to-C movement. However, on such an account, it is hard to understand why *fa*-OK is so much more common in CV than it is in SV. If we instead assume that it is the possibility to apply V-to-I in CV that is responsible for the frequent use of *fa*-OK, the difference between the varieties follows straightforwardly. Cf. Falk (1993) and Sundquist (2003) for a similar approach to *fa*-OK in historical Swedish and Danish.

Still, it is evident that V-to-I is not mandatory in CV. *Af* order does not only occur in CV, it in fact outnumbers the *fa* variant. The simplest (and most probable) analysis of *af* is that V is in situ, as in (5b) above. How to account for this variation in CV is the topic of section 5.3 below.

2.5. Summary

As shown in the introduction (cf. example (2)), present day speakers of SV (in Träslövsläge) find *fa* order derived by V-to-I highly ungrammatical. Now, adding the results from the investigation of 20th century Viskadalian (south and central), the judgement of the modern speakers is hardly surprising: there was no V-to-I in SV a couple of generations back either. In the recordings from CV, on the other hand, V-to-I and V in situ occurred side by side.

3. Verbal morphology in Viskadalian and beyond

The main aim of this section is to describe the various forms of (indicative) finite verbs in traditional Viskadalian; this description is in 3.1. In 3.2, I broaden the perspective, addressing the less differentiated inflectional systems in the neighbouring dialects. 3.3 is a summary.

[8] One reviewer suggests that the lack of examples where the lower *a* is a sentence adverbial might be that the sentence adverbial needs to take scope over the higher *a*. If this were the case, we would expect the restriction to be at work also when both adverbials precede the finite verb, which they do in standard Swedish. However, both orders are possible in the standard equivalent to (18b); see (i–ii). In fact, the one where the sentence adverbial (*ändå*) does not take scope over the temporal (*nu*) adverbial feels more natural than the alternative order (as indicated by the single question mark in (ii)). This strongly suggests that the lack of post-finite sentence adverbials in clauses with *afa* word order has a syntactic rather than a semantic reason.

(i) *eftersom vi **nu** **ändå** pratade om vidskepelser*
since we now anyway talk.PST about superstition.PL

(ii) *?eftersom vi **ändå** **nu** pratade om vidskepelser*
'since we were just talking about superstitions anyway'

3.1. Agreement inflection in traditional Viskadalian

My primary source for the Viskadalian inflectional paradigm are the same audio recordings as I use in the word order investigation (see 2.1. above). In addition, I have consulted a number of descriptions of the dialect of specific parts of Viskadalen. These include (in chronological order): Möller (1858), Belfrage (1871), Andersson (1922), Kalén (1923), Lindberg (1927) and Landtmanson (1950).

To exemplify the full array of varying forms, I use both disyllabic and monosyllabic verbs, both strong verbs and weak verbs, and, finally, both verbs in the present tense and verbs in the past tense. I give all the present tense forms in table 2a and all the past tense forms in table 2b. The hyphen (-) marks the boundary between stem and ending.

	'read'		'begin'		'get'		'have'	
	CV	SV	CV	SV	CV	SV	CV	SV
1sg	läs-er	läs-er	börja-r	börja-r	få-r	få-r	ha-r	ha-r
2sg	läs-er	läs-er	börja-r	börja-r	få-r	få-r	ha-r/st	ha-r
3sg	läs-er	läs-er	börja-r	börja-r	få-r	få-r	ha-r	ha-r
1pl	läs-om	läs-om	börj-om	börj-om	få-m	få-m	ha-m	ha-m
2pl	läs-e(n)	läs-en	börj-e(n)	börj-en	få-(n)	få-n	ha-(n)	ha-n
3pl	läs-a	läs-a	börj-a	börj-a	Få	få	ha	ha

Table 2a. Viskadalian present tense inflection

	'read'		'begin'		'få'		'have'	
	CV	SV	CV	SV	CV	SV	CV	SV
1sg	läs-te	läs-te	börja	börja	fick	fick	ha-de	ha-de
2sg	läs-te(st)	läs-te	börja-(st)	börja	fick-(st)	fick	ha-de(st)	ha-de
3sg	läs-te	läs-te	börja	börja	fick	fick	ha-de	ha-de
1pl	läs-tem	läs-tem	börja-m	börja-m	fing-em	fick-em	ha-dem	ha-dem
2pl	läs-te(n)	läs-ten	börja-(n)	börja-n	fing-e(n)	fick-en	ha-de(n)	ha-den
3pl	läs-te	läs-te	börja	börja	fing-e	fick-e	ha-de	ha-de

Table 2b. Viskadalian past tense inflection

Let us first address some general issues, starting with the vowel in endings expressing 1PL: the system given in the tables, where there is an *e* in the past tense and an *o* in the present tense, is the most common in actual speech. There is some variation: *o* turns up on occasion in the past

tense as well all over Viskadalen, and the pronunciation of *o* is often more *u*-like in the Westrogothian part of CV. What does not exist, however, is the use of *e* in 1PL endings in the present tense (**läsem*).[9] Another general point regards weak verbs of the *börja*-type. Originally, there was a dental affix there as well (*börja-**de**-m*), but this is, as can be seen, all gone. There is a lingering effect of it, though: the ending vowel of the past tense stem is more robust than the ending vowel of the present tense stem. Although superficially identical (*börja*), the *a*-vowel is intact across the paradigm in the past tense, but deleted in the present tense when the agreement affix starts with a vowel.

Now, there are some important morphological differences between CV and SV. First, the two varieties differ with respect to the expression of second person, both in the plural and the singular. In CV, we still find the old *-(s)t*-ending for 2SG.[10] This ending never co-occurs with the *-r*-ending, which means that it is more common in the past than in the present tense. As we can see in table 1a, most verbs have the *-r*-ending across the singular, 'have' being the only exception; with this verb, there is variation between *-r* and *–st* in 2SG. This sort of variation is quite uncommon, and there are only a few similar verbs (e.g. *si**st***, 'see.PRS.2SG', which varies with *si**r***, 'see.PRS.SG', and *ä**st***, 'be.PRS.2SG', which varies with *ä**r***, 'be.PRS.SG').

Nevertheless, *-(s)t* is by no means banned from the present tense, it is only incompatible with *-r*, which, in turn, is restricted to the present tense. There are so called preterite-present verbs that never have the *-r*-ending; consequently, *-(s)t* works fine: *kan**t***, 'can.PRS.2SG', *ska**t***, 'shall.PRS.2SG', *vai**st***, 'know.PRS.2SG' Furthermore, this affix is more versatile in CV than it ever was in Old Swedish, most notably since it occurs in the past tense of weak verbs (cf. *läste**st***, *hade**st*** in the table).

Both the *-(s)t*-ending and the *n*-ending for 2PL are somewhat unstable in CV. They are attested all over the area, but they may be inconsistently represented even within the system of a single informant; this motivates the parentheses surrounding them in the table. By contrast, in SV, the *n*-ending is robust, whereas the *-(s)t*-ending is completely absent.

Second, the stem in the past tense of the highly frequent verbs *få*, 'get', and *gå*, 'go' varies with number in CV, but not in SV. This can be seen with the verb *få* in table 2b, where SV has

[9] In present-day Träslövsläge, the vowel in 1PL is always *o*; this is a recent development that I will not address here.

[10] In Old Swedish, the *s* occurred only when the verb stem ended in *t*/*d* (*bad-st*, 'pray.PST.SG-2SG'), but during the early modern era, most notably in the Bible from 1541, the *s* was used more generally, that is also with other stem endings (*gaf-st*, *tok-st*, 'give.PST.SG-2SG, take.PST-2SG'). With stems ending in *l* or *n*, the *s* is never part of the affix, neither in historical texts nor in Viskadalian. In the latter case, the stem-final consonant is sometimes suppressed in these contexts, for instance *skal-t* → *ska-t*, 'shall.PRS.SG-2SG'.

the stem *fick*- across the board but CV *fick*- only with singular subjects and *fing*- with plural subjects.

There are some additional differences between CV and SV regarding pronouns, most of which are simply irrelevant for the issues at hand.[11] One pronominal difference is, however, crucial for our understanding of the agreement system in general. It concerns the expression of second person singular and is clearly related to the difference regarding second person inflection described above. In CV, the 2SG clitic is always *ä*; see (19). By contrast, in SV the 2SG clitic is either *tä* or *stä*, as shown in (20).

(19) a. *töcker=ä* (Fag)
think.PRS.SG=ä
b. *skat=ä* (G-sjö)
shall.PRS.2SG=ä
c. *vaist=ä* (Värö1)
know.PRS.2SG=ä'

(20) a. *töcker=tä* (Himl)
think.PRS.SG=tä
b. *kan=tä* (Träsl1)
kan.PRS.SG=you.SG.CL
c. *hade=stä* (Dags)
have.PST.SG/3PL=you.SG.CL

Consider, first, the a-examples where the verb forms are identical (*töcker*), straightforwardly distinguishing CV clitic *ä* from SV clitic *tä*. However, from the forms in the b- and c-examples alone we cannot determine where the verb ends and the clitic starts. To be able to conlude that the SV clitic is indeed *(s)tä*, we need to rely on the inflection paradigm. Seeing that there is never any inflection for 2SG with subject-verb word order in SV (**du kant*, **du hadest*), the *(s)t*-sequences in (20b–c) can hardly be affixes; consequently, they have to belong to the enclitic pronoun. As for CV, on the other hand, *(s)t* does function as an affix (e.g. *du skat, du vaist*); thus, we have strong reason to assume that the clitic is *ä*, not only in (19a), but also in (19b–c).

Now, disregarding second person singular, the enclitic *ä* is by no means restricted to CV. In SV, it occurs both in 1PL and 2PL as can be seen in (21a–b). In CV, the usage of *ä* is less consistent in the plural: in 2PL, it only occurs together with the *n*-ending; without it, the inverted subject is the free pronoun; see (22a-a′). However, in 1PL, the *ä* is as robust as in SV (see (22b)).

[11] These include, for instance, the form of the free 3PL pronoun, which is *dai* in SV and *da* in CV, and the form of the 1SG clitic, which is *ik* in CV but *ja* in SV (in the latter case coinciding with the free pronoun). For a thorough description and discussion of the Viskadalian pronominal system, see Petzell (2017).

(21) a. *ficken=ä* (Träsl2)
get.PST.2PL=ä
b. *vävom=ä* (Träsl2)
weave.PRS.1PL=ä

(22) a. *fengen=ä* (Värö1)
get.PST.2PL=ä
a′. *skräppe i* (Öxn1)
boast.PRS.2PL you.PL
b. *gjordem=ä* (Strå)
do.PST.1PL=ä

It may seem tempting to analyse the *ä* as some sort of dummy pronoun, licensed by semantically rich agreement: it does occur when the reference of the subject is explicitly expressed in the ending as in (19b–c), (21) and (22a, b), but it does not occur in 2PL when there is no *n* (as in 22a′). The absence of *ä* in (22a′) could possibly be linked to the fact that the remaining ending *-e* does not unambiguously point to a 2PL referent (as further explicated in 4.2 below). Such an analysis does not hold, however, when we include examples like (19a) where *ä* follows the *–r*-ending, which only marks singular. Furthermore, the *ä* is not compatible with *-a*, although this ending is unique for 3PL.

3.2. Less richly inflected verbs further to the southeast

In other places to the south, and southeast of Viskadalen, the traditional dialects inflect their finite verbs to a varying extent (see Horn 2015, 2017 for details). There are no varieties where there is a distinction between all three persons (as in Viskadalian). But south of Falkenberg (see map 1), we find varieties which make a distinction between 1/2PL on the one hand (expressed with the original *n*-ending for 2PL) and 3PL, as shown in (23) with the verb *få*, 'get', in the past tense. Note that the number-based stem alternation found in central (but not southern) Viskadalian is productive here as well.

(23)

SG	*fick*
1/2PL	*fing-en*
3PL	*fing-e*

Further to the southeast, there is only inflection for number; see (24a) below, where the ending for 3PL is generalised to all plural persons. We find this system in the traditional dialects of a

vast area, including southern Halland, as well as parts of the provinces of Skåne, Blekinge and Småland. In a small area in the southeast of Småland (in the parish of Södra Sandsjö, which is outside both map 1 and 2), there appear to have existed varieties where the original 2PL ending had developed into a general plural; see (24b).[12]

(24) a. SG: *fick*; PL: *fing-e*
b. SG: *fick*; PL: *fing-en*

As can be seen, the stem alternation is intact also in the dialects with inflection only for number.

3.3. Summary

This section contains a detailed description of verbal agreement in Viskadalian, with specific focus on the differences between the central (CV) and the southern (SV) varieties. In CV, we find both the *-(s)t*-affix for 2SG and *-en* for 2PL but neither of them is used consistently. In SV, by contrast, the *-en* is robust and the *-(s)t* non-existent. There is, however, a remnant of the *-(s)t*-affix in the 2SG clitic, which is *(s)tä* in SV, not *ä* as in CV. Furthermore, the past tense stem form of *få*/*gå* varies with number in CV, but not in SV. Such stem variation is found also in neighbouring dialects where verbs are less richly inflected than in Viskadalen.

4. The Rich Agreement Hypothesis

This section starts with an overview of the RAH in 4.1, from its birth in the 1980s to its present day status. Then, in 4.2, I present my two-dimensional definition of rich agreement. In 4.3, I address the difference between CV and SV, and propose a way to derive it diachronically. 4.4 is a summary.

4.1. The history of the Rich Agreement Hypothesis – birth, life, death and resurrection

At least since the mid 1980s, the empirical correlation between agreement and the position of finite verbs in the Scandinavian languages has fascinated researchers. Kosmeijer (1986) set the ball in motion by drawing attention to the word order difference in subordinate clauses between

[12] I have not come across the system in (24b) in any audio recording nor is it mentioned by Horn (2015, 2017); the only source of it is Granström (1915).

Icelandic (*fa* order) and Mainland Scandinavian (*af* order), proposing that this difference was grammatically linked to the presence (Icelandic) and absence (Mainland Scandinavian) of verbal agreement. Although this presumed link, later labelled The Rich Agreement Hypothesis (RAH), was explored early on also in the history of Swedish by Platzack (1988), the early to mid 1990s were the prime era for the RAH. It inspired many of the (now classic) monographs on Germanic morphosyntax that were published during this period (e.g. Falk 1993, Rohrbacher 1994, Vikner 1995, Holmberg & Platzack 1995).

However, by the turn of the new millennium, the RAH appears to have lost its appeal: more and more exceptions turned up, forcing the formulation of a weaker (and less interesting) hypothesis (see Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998 and Sundquist 2003 for discussion). Some even suggested that the RAH be abandoned alltogether (Bentzen et al. 2007). Still, the RAH did not die. A few years ago, it was defended by Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2014), who argue that it should be rehabilitated in its strongest form (having rejected all known counter-evidence). And even more recently, in 2017, Tvica entered the scene with his dissertation.

Unlike previous studies of rich agreement and word order, Tvica (2017) tests the RAH on a typologically balanced sample. Hitherto, the empirical scope has been limited to Germanic, with few exceptions, and to Indo-European with no exceptions (to my knowledge). In contrast, Tvica's sample consists of 24 languages that are neither related to each other nor belong to the Indo-European family. Given that the RAH has never been tested this thoroughly before, the outcome of Tvica's study will, no doubt, be a natural starting point for all future testing of the hypothesis.

Among Tvica's 24 languages, there are 17 that corroborate the RAH. These either have richly inflected verbs that move out of VP (leading to obligatory *fa* order as in Finnish in (25a) below from Tvica 2017:189–190) or lack both agreement and verb movement (leading to mandatory *af* order as in Haitian, shown in (25b) from ibid.: 120–121).

(25) a. *Minä* ***luin*** ***usein***/* ***usein*** ***luin*** ***fa***/****af***
I read.PST.1SG often/ often read.PST.1SG
kirjan
book.ACC
'I often read the book'

b. *Boukinét* ***preéske*** ***kite***/****kite*** ***preéske*** *Bouki* ***af***/****fa***
B. almost leave/leave almost B.
'Boukinét almost left Bouki.'

The remaining 7 languages can neither corroborate nor falsify the RAH. The reasons for this vary. In some languages, there is no way to tell where the left edge of VP is, since adverbs are clause final (e.g. Lango, ibid.:240–241, and Hmong Njua, ibid.:162–163). Other languages always move the verb out of VP for independent reasons, which makes it impossible to determine whether there is agreement triggered V-to-I going on or not (e.g. Quicgolani Zapotec, ibid.:168–171, and Moro, ibid.:242–244).

In sum, none of the 24 languages in Tvica's (2017) typological test of the RAH can falsify the hypothesis. In other words, the RAH is not only rehabilitated (to use the words of Koememan & Zeijlstra 2014), it is, in fact stronger than ever. Nevertheless, one solid counter-example would of course be enough to kill the hypothesis – such is the constant nature of the testing of hypotheses. Still, we cannot get around the fact that a game changer such as Tvica's study will have effects on how we assess the solidity of proposed counter-examples. After all, in a world without Tvica (2017), one would certainly be more prone to regard the subordinate clause word order in present-day southern Viskadalian as a piece of quite strong evidence against the RAH (cf. example (2) in the introduction). On the other hand, when we now know that the RAH is strikingly robust in a broad typological perspective, we are, naturally, more inclined to place the data from Träslövsläge in a bigger context before jumping to conclusions. In that way, the present study of Viskadalian variation can be seen as a consequence of the strengthening of the RAH through Tvica (2017).

4.2. What is richness?

The precise formulation of richness of agreement has been debated for as long as the hypothesis has been around (see Vikner 1997, Rohrbacher 1999 for overview and discussion). Here, I will adopt the semantics of Tvica's (2017) definition, but the morphological criterion for richness proposed by Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998). According to Tvica, all human languages have a system of nominal reference that makes use of at least the following distinctions: first, second, third person and number.[13] When this so-called Person-Number-Universal (PNU) is expressed as a verbal ending, we have a case of rich agreement (2017:32). However, why the semantic richness of the ending would trigger V-to-I is far from evident. I think that there has to be an additional dimension to syntactically active agreement: it needs to be morphologically distinct

[13] Koeneman & Zeijlstra 2014 describe this as "the most minimal pronominal system" (573–574), which is a bit unfortunate. Although many languages certainly express the PNU with pronouns, this strategy is not mandatory. As shown by Harbour (2016), languages can indeed have a pronominal system with less distinctions (e.g. Hocăk, described by Lipkind 1945, where there are only two personal pronouns, *nee* and *ee*, which distinguish 1/2 person from 3 person but nothing more).

in the sense of Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998). This means that agreement forms a grammatical category that is distinct from other such categories (as e.g. tense). My proposal is that in order to trigger V-to-I, agreement needs to be both semantically rich and morphologically distinct. I will return to the details of the syntactic analysis of V-to-I-movement in section 5.

If we thus measure agreement richness by both a semantic and a morphological scale, we expect there to exist a total of 4 grades of richness. Besides the doubly rich, as it were, which triggers V-to-I (and which I will call type 1), there is the semantically rich but morphologically indistinct (type 2), the semantically poor but morphologically distinct (type 3); finally there is type 4, which entails neither semantic richness nor morphological distinctiveness. Languages with no verbal agreement morphology at all (as e.g. standard Swedish) would count as type 4. In the following, I will argue that all the types 1–3 are or have been present in Viskadalen.

4.3 The rich, the poor and the in-between

In 4.3.1, I readdress the difference regarding inflectional endings between CV and SV described in 3.1 above in light of the four-graded definition of richness of agreement that I propose in 4.2. In 4.3.2–3, I derive the difference diachronically. In 4.3.3, I account for the distribution of number-based stem alternation in Viskadalian and beyond.

4.3.1. The critical difference between CV and SV

When we go about establishing the level of semantic richness in a paradigm of inflectional endings, it may seem like a trivial task. Given Tvica's (2017) PNU-based definition of richness, we should be able to just count semantic distinctions: thus, if a system contains distinctions between 1, 2 and 3 person, as well as a number distinction, it is a semantically rich system. However, such counting is, I believe, too blunt of an instrument. In fact, a semantic distinction may come about in different ways. Some finite endings are unique for a particular person and number (I will call this uniquely rich). Other endings may not be unique in that sense, although they are in contrast with all other forms within a particular paradigm.

Among the Viskadalian endings, there are four uniquely rich endings (or segments within endings): *-m* (for 1PL), *-n* (for 2PL), *-a* (for 3PL) and *-(s)t* (for 2SG). When the *n* is missing in 2PL, as it sometimes is in CV, it is only in the present tense of disyllabic verbs that the form for 2PL, which is then *stem*-e, differs from 1PL (*stem*-om) and 3PL (*stem*-a). However, although this *-e*-ending thus distinguishes second person from first and third in this particular context, it is not uniquely rich, since it also occurs with 3PL in the past tense of strong verbs (e.g. *da finge*,

'they got').[14] I propose that in order for inflection to count as semantically rich it needs to express the PNU on V with uniquely rich endings.

Let us now turn to the issue of morphological distinctiveness. Given that the Viskadalian agreement endings are always adjacent either to the stem or to the dental tense affix (*-te*/*-de*), acquirers of the language face at least two possible interpretations of the morphological status of agreement. It could be analysed as a distinct category added directly to the stem, or, on occasion, to a tense affix; see (26a) below. Alternatively, the entire ending could be interpreted as a tense affix containing additional (and secondary) information about person and number (cf. (26b)). I exemplify both possibilities in (27) with the 1PL form of 'read' in the present (*läsom*) and the past tense (*lästem*).

(26) a. stem-([tense])-[agr]
b. stem-[$\text{tense}_{\text{agr}}$]

(27) a. stem-([tense])-[agr] → *läs-om, läs-te-(e)m*
b. stem-[$\text{tense}_{\text{agr}}$] → *läs-om, läs-tem*

Given our formulation of the RAH in 4.2, organising agreement as in (26a) is – together with semantic richness – a prerequisitie for a syntax with V-to-I. As shown in section 2.4, V-to-I occurs in CV but never in SV. Based on this syntactic evidence, *läsom* and *lästem* in CV should have the structure in (27a) (type 1 richness) and the corresponding forms in SV instead the structure in (27b) (type 2 richness). However, for this to be more than just an ad hoc solution to salvage the RAH, we require independent evidence that the agreement systems indeed differ as the syntactic evidence leads us to believe.

4.3.2 From agreement to tense

Clearly, type 1 agreement is the original one, seeing that Old Swedish had V-to-I. At some point then, the output of (26a) must have been reanalysed as (26b). But how come the interpretation in (26b) was favoured in SV but not in CV? In order to reconstruct the split into southern and central Viskdalian we need to assume the presence of a common paradigm, pre-dating both SV and CV and containing all the endings occurring in tables 2a–b.

In the common Viskadalian paradigm, there is a strict correspondence between certain person endings and certain tenses: *-om* and *-a* occur only in the present tense, whereas *-em*, and

[14] Petzell (2017) suggests that the *e*-ending is a general plural marker, in which case the distinguising force of *-e* in parts of the present tense paradigm is a mere bi-effect of *-e* being unspecified for person (unlike *-om* and *-a*).

-e occur only in the past tense. Based on this distribution, acquirers of the variety can interpret them as tense affixes, containing additional information about person and number; see (28a–b) below. Given such an interpretation, we expect *-em* and *-e* to be associated with the dental past tense marker, together forming a group of past tense affixes where the *e* is constant, the dental and *m* vary depending on the type of verb (dental only with certain conjugations classes) and the type of subject (*m* with 1PL subjects) respectively. These extended past tense affixes are given in (28c), where the dental (which can in practise be either *d* or *t* depending on the stem ending) is represented by *t*.

(28) a. present tense only: *-om*, *-a* → PRS_{1PL}, PRS_{3PL}
b. past tense only: *-em*, *-e* → PST_{1PL}, PST_{3PL}
c. past tense affixes: *-(t)em*, *(t)e*

Both *-(s)t* and *-en* are different, however, occurring both in the present and the past tense: *du ä**st***, *va**st***, 'you.SG be.PRS.2SG, be.PST.2SG'; *i läs**en**, fing**en***, 'you.PL read.PRS.2PL, get.PST.2PL' The fact that these endings are not restricted to any particular tense provides evidence for new acquirers that agreement is indeed a category of its own. As a consequence, the correspondence between tense and the other endings (e.g. present tense *–om* vs. past tense *–em*) could be deemed coincidental and grammatically irrelevant. In that case, distinct agreement lives on.

However, there is an important difference between *-(s)t* and *-en*. The latter contains an *e*, which means that it could be associated with a varying dental in the past tense, just as *-em* and *-e* in (28c). Then, we still end up with two different 2PL morphemes in the two tenses: *-en* and *-(t)en*. Adding it all up, including also the singular endings *-er* and *-te*, we get four distinct pairs of present and past tense affixes, as shown in (29).

(29)

PRS	PST
-er	-te
-om	-(t)em
-en	-(t)en
-a	-(t)e

As for *-(s)t*, on the other hand, it does not fit into this binary system. First, the past tense marker would be *-(te)st* rather than *-(t)est*, since the *e* accompanies the dental (*läs**te**st*, read.PST.2SG) but is absent when the past tense stem ends in a consonant (cf. *feckst*, 'get.PST.2SG'). This would exclude it from the well-ordered group of past tense suffixes with a varying dental and a constant *e,* where all the other former person agreement endings have found their place (viz. -

(t)em, *-(t)en*, *-(t)e*). Second there would be no strict correspondence between one past tense form and one present tense form, since *-(te)st* would sometimes correspond to *-er* (e.g. *läs-**er***, 'read-PRS_{SG}' vs. *läs-**test***, 'read-PST_{2SG}) and sometimes to *-(s)t* (e.g. *vai-**st***, 'know-PRS_{2SG} vs. *vess-**test***. 'know-PST_{2SG}). In other words, in order to preserve the neat system in (29), the *-(s)t*-affix would have to be excluded. Still, just getting rid of an ending that is present in the input because it does not behave as expected is hardly feasible. On the contrary, children apparently strive at creating a mental grammar that generates the same strings as they hear around them.

To be able to stick to the system in (29) without having to give up the *(s)t*-sequence, a young generation of southern Viskadalians seems to have incorporated *(s)t* in another guise, as part of the pronominal system. Recall the ambiguous nature of strings such as *kantä* and *hadestä* discussed in 3.1 above. If *(s)t* is analysed as part of the enclitic *ä*, forming the new clitic *(s)tä*, there is just a minimum of mismatch between the parental output (generated by the system in (26a)) and the output of the child (generated by the system in (26b)). To be more precise, it is only with subject-verb order and 2SG reference, predominantly in the past tense, that the grammars in (26a) and (26b) would create different outputs: *du hadest* vs. *du hade*. However, in all contexts with verb-subject order, including direct questions and declaratives introduced by non-subjects, the transition from affix (*kant=ä*, *hadest=ä*) to pronoun (*kan=tä*, *hade=stä*) would be seamless.

4.3.3. Promoting the reanalysis (or resisting it)

What, then, triggered the reanalysis of the inflectional paradigm in SV? And how could the old system survive in CV? Let us start with the first question. As noted in the introduction, the modern *af* order of subordinate clauses started spreading over the Scandinavian mainland during the 15th and 16th centuries. We can follow the spread in historical texts from both Sweden (see Falk 1993) and Denmark (see Sundquist 2003); both Copenhagen and Stockholm appear to have been main spreading centers. At some point, the *af* order must have reached Viskadalen, presumably as it gradually gained ground from the south along the Hallandian coast. As shown by Petzell (2018), the *af* order is fully established as the normal subordinate clause word order in a collection of folk tales that was written down in the traditional dialect of the parishes just south of the town of Falkenberg in 1871.[15]

[15] This collection, published by Bondeson in 1880, is unique. Certainly, there are dialectal fragments from the region in texts from the 18th and 19th centuries, but nothing nearly as long as Bondeson's tales (126 book pages); see Petzell (2018) for more details. It is worth noting that the agreement system of the tales is more or less identical with the system in SV. Apparently, the poorer system mentioned above (in 3.2), where the *n*-ending is used for

What happened, then, when children growing up with the Viskadalian morphology around them were exposed to the increasing usage of subordinate *af* order? Judging from previous studies of acquisition, they would have acquired the syntax before they acquired the full inflectional paradigm. Waldman (2014) shows that children acquiring standard Swedish start realising already by the age of 3 that finite verbs are in situ in subordinate clauses, correctly producing the target *af* order.[16] The acquisition of the inflection of finite verbs comes later, or even much later, depending on the morphological complexity of the verb forms. Thus, Ragnarsdóttir et al. (1999) report that Norwegian children (being exposed to finite verbs without agreement) produce adult like finite verbs from the age of four, whereas Icelandic children (being exposed to agreeing verbs) reach the equivalent adult like level around the age of six.

We now return to Viskadalian. Once *af* order became dominant enough, children would have already created a V in situ grammar by the time they started mastering the inflectional system. With a grammar in place where there is no movement of V to the I-domain, the children will not be expecting any distinct agreement in the paradigm they are acquiring. Consequently, the tense correspondence in the inflectional system is quite natural to interpret as primary and the phi-features merely as embedded under tense (or part of the enclitic pronoun as in the case of *(s)t*).

How did CV manage to resist going through the same development? First, there is the obvious issue of geography. Southern Viskadalen is simply more likely to be stricken by such linguistic novelties as the *af* order than the more remote parts of Viskadalen further to the north-west. Thus, speakers of SV are both closer to the main spreading center in the Scandinavian south-west (i.e. Copenhagen) and to the urban environment of Varberg, which would have served as a secondary center of spread in the area.

Second, there is a morphological difference between SV and CV that is predicted to make the tense interpretation of the inflectional endings less probable in CV than in SV. As noted in 3.1, the *n*-ending for 2PL is not as robust in CV as it is in SV. Given that the tense reanalysis (see (29)) is promoted by the fact that the endings are different in the present and past tense respectively, the lack of an *n* in 2PL removes some of the basis for reanalysis. Without the *n*,

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both 1PL and 2PL, had not yet been established as the general pattern in these parts of Halland when Bondeson collected his dialectal material.

[16] Before the age of three, however, they misinterpret subject-initial main clauses (cf. (6a) above) as IP-structures where the verb has moved out of VP. And they take this to indicate a general V-to-I rule, producing non target-like *fa* order in subordinate clauses (cf. (7b)). According to Waldmann, this over-usage of verb movement is due to the fact that children do not yet comprehend that the I-domain may be different in subordinate and main clauses (2014:62–65).

single *e* becomes a much more common ending: crucially, the *e* cannot be interpreted as a past tense affix, since it occurs both in the present (e.g. *läs-e*) and in the past tense (*fing-e*).

Nevertheless, the CV system is indeed vulnerable as well. Without the *n*, the crucial prerequisite for upholding a semantically rich agreement is that *(s)t* is preserved as an affix. As we know, however, the *-(s)t*-affix is quite unstable too. If both are absent, agreement is semantically too poor to be syntactically active, since there is no uniquely rich ending for second person (only for first and third). I will get back to the syntactic effects of the varying second person morphology in CV in 5.3 below.

4.3.4. Number-based stem alternation

If agreement is a distinct category in CV but embedded under tense in SV, the difference between the varieties regarding number-based stem alternation in the past tense of *få*/*gå* follows straightforwardly. To be more precise, the stem alternation is indicative of distinct (unembedded) agreement. Furthermore, it is clear that it is the distinctiveness that is important here. In the semantically much poorer varieties with agreement inflection to the southwest, the stem alternation is intact as we saw in 3.2 above. Our fine-grained analysis of richness enables us to predict precisely this sort of microvariation. Even if agreement is semantically poor, it can still be morphologically distinct (i.e. type 3); such a combination is expected to have morphological effects (the stem alternation), but we do not expect it to trigger V-to-I.[17] On the assumption that semantic richness is the only relevant factor, the observed variation in stem alternation would be incomprehensible.

4.4. Summary

In this section, I argue that richness of agreement has a semantic as well as a morphological dimension. When agreement is both semantically rich (in the sense of Tvica 2017) and morphologically distinct (in the sense of Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998), it triggers V-to-I. CV has preserved such doubly rich agreement morphology, but in SV, the distinctiveness has been lost; here, the agreement features are instead embedded in the category of tense. This change was brought about by an increasing frequency of *af* order in the input of children (indicating a syntax without V-to-I), and it was facilitated by the ambiguous nature of the inflectional paradigm. In CV, however, the paradigm offered less ambiguity, and geographically, the area

[17] Although I have not conducted any quantitative investigation of the subordinate clause word order in these dialects, my general impression is that *af* is the unmarked order. This makes them parallel to the traditional dialect of Hallingdalen in Norway, where there is number agreement and stem alternation but no V-to-I (Trosterud 1989).

was better protected from the *af* invasion coming from the south. The assumption that agreement was reanalysed as part of tense in SV felicitously predicts the development of the *-(s)t*-ending for 2SG into a pronoun; *-(s)t* is the only ending that is not distributed symmetrically across the tenses. Also, the loss of number-based stem alternation is expected. Nevertheless, the two-dimensional analysis of agreement leaves the ground open for stem alternation in the semantically less rich dialects to the southeast. Here, agreement is distinct (indicated by the stem alternation), but too poor (number only) to be syntactically active.

5. Morphology in syntax

In this section, I address the issue of verb raising to I. In 5.1, I argue that the precise target for verb movement is T^{o} and that this movement is motivated by the phonological dependence of the agreement affix, merged in Arg^{o}. In 5.2., I return to the proposed reanalysis of agreement as part of tense in SV, showing that this represents a well-known form of syntactic grammaticalisation. In 5.3, I address the *af/fa* variation in CV and argue that the two variants are generated by separate grammars.

5.1. What is V-to-I?

As we have seen, there is an empirical correspondence between distinct and semantically rich agreement and movement of V out of VP. How to understand this correlation in grammatical terms is the topic of this subsection. Here, I will adopt an analysis of V-to-I that builds on the analysis proposed by Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2014). Their idea is that when agreement is sufficiently rich, it counts as an argument of the verb; it therefore triggers the projection of an Argument Phrase,[18] where it is subsequently merged in its head. ArgP is in the I-domain above the position for sentence adverbials (AdvP); see (30).

(30) $[_{\text{ArgP}}\ agr\ [_{\text{AdvP}}\ [_{\text{VP}}\ ]]]$

The question, then, is how this leads to *fa* word order. In (30), *agr* precedes any sentence adverbial in AdvP, but how does the verb end up to the left of AdvP as well? Following

[18] Although superficially similar to an AgrP (as proposed by e.g. Chomsky 1995), ArgP is fundamentally different. According to Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2014:600), it is an argument feature (motivated by rich agreement) that is semantically relevant (thereby projecting a phrase) in the extended projection of V; the agreement features, on the other hand, are semantically relevant only in the extended projection of N.

Rohrbacher (1999) in spirit, Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2014:601) propose that since *agr* is an affix, it needs to attach to a verb, and for that to happen, the verb has to move out of VP to Arg^{o}. In effect, the finite verb form (*f*) precedes adverbials (*a*) in AdvP.

However, why the verb has to move to the head of ArgP to bind the affix is not entirely clear. As pointed out by Koeneman & Zeijlstra (2014), the lack of independence on the part of *agr* is a matter of phonology. Consequently, what is crucial is that *agr* ends up to the right of the verb stem in PF. In fact, the most straightforward way to accomplish that would be to move the verb to the closest head above ArgP. My suggestion is that this head is T^{o}. Note that there is nothing in T^{o} itself that attracts the tensed verb: in languages like standard Swedish where tense is clearly a distinct category (projecting a TP), the verb can remain in situ (in VP) in subordinate clauses.[19] Nevertheless, V-to-T may still occur in PF, if there is a phonologically dependent *agr* in ArgP that is in need of an adjacent verb to its left.

On the present account, the category of tense ([tense]) is the same in SV and CV: it combines with the verb stem, forming a tensed verb (*verb-tense*) which is merged in V^{o} where it remains throughout the syntactic derivation. In SV, *tense* may contain additional information about what sort of subject the verb agrees with (*tense$_{agr}$*). This sort of agreement is part of the category of [tense] and has no impact on the structure of the I-domain; see (31a) below. In CV, on the other hand, agreement is a distinct category ([agr]) merged as a single morpheme (*agr*) in Arg^{o} (see (31b)). Since *agr* is an affix, it requires phonological support; this requirement is met in PF by moving the verb to T^{o}; see (31b′).[20]

(31) a. [$_{TP}$ e [$_{AdvP}$ [$_{VP}$ *verb-tense$_{agr}$*]]]
b. [$_{TP}$ e [$_{ArgP}$ *agr* [$_{AdvP}$ [$_{VP}$ *verb-tense*]]]]
b′. in PF → [$_{TP}$ *verb-tense*$_{v}$ [$_{ArgP}$ *agr* [$_{AdvP}$ [$_{VP}$ t$_{v}$]]]]

In sum, my analysis of V-to-I is that it comprises a form of phonological rescue operation.

5.2. Aiming higher without climbing

Let us now return to the reanalysis of *tense-agr* as *tense$_{agr}$*, proposed in section 4.2 above. Adding the more fine-grained IP outlined in section 5.1, we can describe the reanalysis in syntactic terms as follows: the head of ArgP, *agr*, is associated with the head of TP, *verb-tense*,

[19] For a semantic explanation of the lack of V-to-T in languages like Swedish, see Zeijlstra (2012).

[20] In main clauses, where the finite verbs raises to C before spell-out, *agr* would be incorporated in V as V moves head by head up the tree (the standard analysis of syntactic head movement, at least since Chomsky 2001). In other words, when the verb thus leaves the VP for independent reasons, there is no naked affix in PF that requires verbal support.

which is higher in the tree. This tendency for elements to strive upwards, as it were, in the syntactic tree is well attested and has been analysed as a form of syntactic grammaticalisation (see Roberts & Roussou 1999, 2003). Although most examples of such "tree-climbing" involve elements in the nominal and verbal domains, it is clearly a more general phenomenon (for adjectival examples, see Oxford 2017 and Delsing's paper in this volume).

Still, "climbing" is a metaphor that can be a bit misleading, since the association with a higher head does not necessarily lead to a higher syntactic position. In the case at hand, what happens is that the complex string *verbtenseagr* is interpreted as having the structure *verb-tense*$_{agr}$, rather than *verb-tense-agr*. Indirectly, such a reanalysis may certainly have syntactic consequences, depending on how it affects the inventory of morphological categories and, in turn, the functional structure of the clause. But there is no guarantee that there will be any climbing. On the contrary, when the *verb-tense-agr* generated by the parental grammar is reanalysed by children as *verb-tense*$_{agr}$, this places the tensed verb in a lower position, since embedding *agr* in [tense] removes the very motif for V-to-T (namely to bind the distinct *agr* in Arg^{o}); see (32a–b).

(32) a. [$_{TP}$ *verb-tense*$_{v}$ [$_{ArgP}$ *agr* [$_{VP}$ t$_{v}$]]]
b. → [$_{TP}$ e [$_{VP}$ *verb-tense*$_{agr}$]]

Intriguingly, there is a connected development in SV that also involves the association of agreement with TP, namely the pronominalisation of the *-(s)t*-affix. First, recall the complex forms like *hadestä* ('had you') discussed in 3.1 and 4.3.2 above. In SV, such forms were interpreted as consisting of verb (*hade*) plus referring clitic (*stä*) rather than richly inflected verb (*hadest*) plus general clitic (*ä*). Syntactically, this reanalysis can be described as in (33) below; in (33a), *st* is an affix of the verb, in (33b), *st* is instead part of the post-verbal subject.

(33) a. [$_{CP}$ *ha-de-st* [$_{TP}$ *ä*]]
b. → [$_{CP}$ *ha-de* [$_{TP}$ *stä*]]

What is originally a part of C (in (33a)) becomes part of spec-TP (in (33b)). At first glance, this may seem like the opposite of tree climbing: TP is lower in the tree than CP. But this hierarchical order is irrelevant. After all, it is not C that is interpreted as T, but in fact the agreement affix *st*, which happens to be in C, that is interpreted as part of the subject (i.e. *ä*) in spec-TP. It is important that agreement is adjacent to TP, which it is in both (32) and (33), since adjacency, on either side of TP, is a prerequisite for reanalysis. What is theoretically interesting,

however, is that in both (32) and (33), a morpheme that is linked to ArgP in the parental grammar (*agr* in (32), *st* in (33)) is instead interpreted as being part of a morpheme that is linked to TP (*verb-tense* and *ä* respectively), that is a higher functional projection.

5.3. Two grammars at once in CV

If agreement is syntactically active but phonologically dependent in CV, this crucially explains all the V-to-I-derived *fa* orders that we find in the corpus (cf. table 1b above). However, we have yet to account for how such *fa* order can co-occur with *af* order (see table 1a). I can think of two possible explanations. There could be two grammars in use at the same time, one with V-to-I (generating *fa*) and one without V-to-I (generating *af*). Alternatively, there is only one grammar with V-to-I but with an additional and higher position for adverbs, which makes *af* order a possible outcome even when the verb has moved out of VP. The latter option has been invoked to account for *af* order in Icelandic. Here, *af* is highly marked (compared to *fa*) and restricted in a number of ways (see Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998, Thráinsson 2007, 2010). However, *af* in central Viskadalian is neither marked nor restricted. To treat it as an exceptional case (on a par with Icelandic *af*) is therefore hardly called for.

By contrast, to assume parallel grammars is morphologically motivated. Recall that both *-n* and *-(s)t* are only occasionally present in the area (and even in particular individuals). Now, disregarding both at the same time demotes the agreement system to type 3, since the only uniquely rich endings are 1PL *–om/-em* and 3PL *-a*; see the first column of table 3 below. Still, by upholding only one of them, the paradigm gains precisely what it needs to count as rich (i.e. type 1): a unique marker of second person, be it the singular *-(s)t* or the plural *-n*; see the last two columns of the table.

	Type 3	Type 1	
		poss. 1	poss. 2
1sg	-er	-er	-er
2sg	-er	-er/**(s)t**	-er
3sg	-er	-er	-er
1pl	**-om/-em**	**-om/-em**	**-om/-em**
2pl	-e	-e	**-en**
3pl	**-a**/-e	**-a**/-e	**-a**/-e

Table 3. Possible types of morphologically distinct agreement in CV (rich endings in bold)

In other words, the morphological variation that we can observe in CV balances on the border between categorically different systems: type 1 and type 3 agreement. The parallel usage of *fa* and *af* in CV is thus expected, seeing that type 1 agreement triggers V-to-I, and type 3 does not.

6. Concluding remarks and future tasks

The development of Viskadalian is certainly a linguistic history in its own right. However, it is also a piece in a larger puzzle, enrichening our knowledge of the history of Scandinavian in general. In this paper, I have studied the difference between central and southern Viskadalian. It seems likely that this dialect split began already in the early 1800s; at any rate, it is observable in recordings from the middle of the 20th century. From a macro perspective, we can consider the varying morphosyntax within Viskadalian as the last step in the diachronic transition of mainland Scandinavian from richly inflecting *fa* variety to poorly inflecting *af* variety that started many centuries ago.

Nevertheless, the puzzle is not complete. We have yet to address the fascinating continuum of traditional Dalecarlian varieties spoken north and north-west of the lake of Siljan. This is the only dialect area in Scandinavia besides Viskadalen where verbal inflection for both person and number has been preserved. Here too, there was a great deal of inflectional variation in the beginning of the 20th century, as shown by Levander (1928:163–165). Unfortunately, apart from the most archaic variety in Älvdalen, where V-to-I was obligatory in the early 1900s (Levander 1909:124) but is quite marginal today (Garbacz 2010:131–132), we know very little of Dalecarlian word order. In light of the recent revitalisation of the Rich Agreement Hypothesis, filling this empirical lapse stands out as a future task of utmost importance.

Written sources[21]

Himl [Dialect texts from the hundred of Himle.] In *Svenskt folkmål*, ed. by Waldemar Hallin, 72–75. Stockholm: Folket i Bilds Förlag.

[21] All entries containing an accession number are part of the collections of the Institute for Langugae and Folklore (ISOF). However, at the time of collection, different local dialect archives were responsible for different regions in Sweden. The different prefixes of the accession numbers reflect this original division. DAL stands for

K-styr	Moberg, Lennart (ed.). 1964. *En nyttigh bok om konnunga styrilse och höfdinga*. Facsimile of edition from 1634 by Johannes Bureus. Uppsala.
Möll	example from Möller's (1858) introduction.
Fag	[Dialect texts from Fagered.] ISOF accession number (anr): DAG269F:II. Manuscript from the 1890s.
Värö1	[Dialect texts from Värö.] Anr: DAL8362. Manuscript from the 1960s.
Öxn1	example from Lindberg (1927).
S. Sandsjö	example from Granström (1915).
Träsl1	example from Andersson (1922).

Audio recordings[22]

Dags	Dagsås, anr: DAL2911– 2917; recorded in 1962 [52 min.]. Male informant (MI) born in 1883. Grimeton, anr: DAL1931–1937; recorded in 1957 [48 min.]. Female informant (FI) born in 1867.
Grimm	Grimmared, anr: ULMA226B, 227; recorded in 1956 [43 min.]. MI born in 1869.
G-sjö	Gunnarsjö, anr: ULMA1036–1038; recorded in 1960 [64 min.] Brother and sister born in 1883 and 1871 resp.
Horr	Horred, anr: ULMA6211; recorded in 1948 [26 min.]. FI born in 1872.
Ist	Istorp, anr: ULMA6212–6214; recorded in 1948 [71 min.]. FI born in 1860. Källsjö, anr: DAL350B; time of recording unknown [33 min.]. MI born in 1890.
Spann	Spannarp, anr: DAL:2048–2054; recorded in 1958. [64 min.]. MI born in 1889.

'the **D**ialect **A**rchive in **L**und', ULMA for '**U**ppsala Dialect (Sw. ***L****ands****M****ål*) **A**rchive, and DAG for 'the **D**ialect **A**rchive in **G**othenburg'. Place names refer to the parish if nothing else is stated.

22 All recordings in the list are included in the investigation of word order (in section 2), but only those recordings that are quoted in the text are preceded by an abbreviation (namely the one used in the text in connection to the quote).

	Stamnared, anr: DAL2591–2592; 3439–3442; recorded in 1960 [28 min.]. MI born in 1894.
Strå	Stråvalla, anr: DAL224A–B; recorded in 1966 [125 min.]. MI born in 1902.
	Träslöv, anr: DAL392–398; recorded in 1948 [67 min.]. MI born in 1868.
	Träslöv, anr: DAL359A–B; recorded in 1957 [66 min.] MI born in 1900.
Träsl2	Träslöv, anr: DAL457A–B, 457A1, 401–402, 510A–B; recorded in 1966 [231 min.]. MI born in 1905.
Träsl3	Träslöv, anr: DAL458A2, 458B; recorded in 1966 [61 min.]. FI born in 1905.
	Veddige, anr: DAL2057–2066; recorded in 1958 [68 min.]. MI born in 1899.
Värö2	Värö, anr: DAL402–408; recorded in 1962 [60 min.]. MI born in 1884.
Värö3	Värö, anr: DAL245A–B; recorded in 1967 [64 min.]. FI born in 1895.
Ås	Ås, anr: DAL4227–4236; recorded in 1967 [67 min.]. MI, time of birth unknown.
Öxn2	Öxnevalla, anr: ULMA6804-6806 ; recorded in 1956 [36 min.]. FI born in 1870.

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