Subject Doubling in Oevdalian

Henrik Rosenkvist

Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University

Abstract. This paper contains a presentation and an analysis of Oevdalian subject doubling, a construction which seems to correspond closely to Dutch topic doubling. After having presented the data sources and introduced Oevdalian, I turn to the syntactic restrictions of the construction and demonstrate that these match the restrictions for Dutch topic doubling. Also subject doubling in other languages is introduced and discussed, and some syntactic analyses of so called clitic doubling are accounted for, with a focus on the big DP-approach. It is argued that Oevdalian subject doubling is quite another type of syntactic phenomen than clitic doubling, and, in the final section of the paper, the hypothesis that the construction is a realisation of Φ-agreement is launched.

1. Introduction

In Levander's brief survey of Oevdalian syntax (Levander 1909:91ff), he mentions that reduplication of personal pronouns in Oevdalian at the time of writing was "very common" (1909:109; my translation), and that there was no correspondent construction in standard Swedish. Below, two of his Oevdalian samples are reproduced:[1]

1. a.   Ą̊ wet sakt ą̊ eð.[2]   (double subject pronouns)
         she knows sakta *she it*
         'she probably knows it'

    b.   **Ig** ar **ig** sakt **ig** mįer i grytų̈n.   (triple subject pronouns)
         I have I sakta *I more in pot–the*
         'I have more in the pot'

The construction can also be found in other sources such as transcribed dialect recordings (2) and Oevdalian texts (3):

2.   Og **an** sagd nų̈fel **an** at ą̊ lärd sakt ą̊ finnas. (dialect transcription
     and he said nåfel *he that she may* sakta *she exist*   ULMA 22377, 1935)
     'and he said that it [a book] may exist'

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[1] The Oevdalian sentential adverbials *sakta, fel* and *kanenda* will not be glossed, since each of them is highly polysemous. Steensland (2006:88) suggests that *sakta* corresponds to the following Swedish adverbials: *nog, minsann, faktiskt, förvisso, visst* and *allt*.

[2] Nasalization of vowels is phonematic in Oevdalian; e.g, the nasal *ą̊* ('she') forms a minimal pair with *å* ('river').

3. **Eð** lär fel **eð** bli noð wäs'n. (Larsson 1986:6)
   it may it fel *become some noise*
   'It will probably result in some noise'

In recent times, subject doubling in e.g. Swedish has been discussed by Engdahl (2003), in Finnish by Holmberg & Nikanne (2006) and in Dutch dialects by van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2002a, b, 2006), but since Levander (1909), no further attention has been paid to the Oevdalian multiple subjects (although it is mentioned in passing in Rosenkvist 1994).

In the present paper, I present and discuss subject doubling in current Oevdalian (triple subjects do not seem to be in use anymore). In the following sections, the data sources and the elicitation techniques that have been utilized are presented (section 2), and Oevdalian is briefly introduced (section 3). Thereupon, the syntactic distribution as well as the semantic/pragmatic properties of Oevdalian double subjects are presented (in sections 4 and 5, respectively). In section 6, some previous approaches to subject doubling are discussed, with a focus on subject and topic doubling in Dutch dialects (van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2006). A syntactic analysis of Oevdalian subject doubling is suggested in section 7.

2. Data sources and elicitation

In the search for multiple subjects, I initially turned to extant Oevdalian texts and transcribed recordings. However, subject doubling appears to be a quite rare syntactic construction, and hence only a handful examples may be found even in Larsson (1986), the longest Oevdalian text ever written by a native speaker; it comprises of about 100 pages. The texts and transcriptions thus proved to be an insufficient source of data, and therefore it was necessary to investigate Oevdalian subject doubling in field studies. A questionnaire was accordingly prepared, as well as some direct questions. As noted by Cornips & Poletto (2005:941):

> Direct questions about the (un)grammaticality of syntactic features may provide insight into a speaker's competence far more readily than spontaneous speech data do. In addition, by eliciting acceptability judgements we can examine reactions to sentence types that might occur only very rarely in spontaneous speech or recorded corpora. Further, we are able to elicit syntactic variables that do not always show up in interaction with other relevant syntactic variables in spontaneous speech, but that are predicted by theory to do so.

The main field work was carried out during a workshop in Älvdalen 2007, backed by NORMS. 52 informants answered the questionnaire concerning subject doubling, under my supervision, and since then two small separate groups of speakers have regularly given responses in further small scale

questionnaire studies, interviews and spontaneous speech, and by answering direct questions regarding possible syntactic structures.

In the case of Oevdalian, an important factor to consider when elicitating written data is the ongoing standardization of writing. Until 2005, when the Oevdalian language council (*Råðdjärum*) issued ortographic rules (which are applied in the present paper), there was no common standard for written Oevdalian, and hence there was considerable individual variation, depending on geographic as well as sociolinguistic factors – it is well known that there is some regular phonetic variation between the villages (Levander 1909:5, Björklund 1958:60f), a variation that is appreciated and sometimes consciously exaggerated by the speakers, and there is also variation in literacy related to age and education. Younger and more educated Oevdalians are in general better equipped to deal with ortographic innovations. The consequences for questionnaire studies are obvious; in a community of speakers which is unaccustomed to a written standard language, any task that involves written language will to a great extent be a matter of performance. Hence, several informants in the questionnaire study became occupied not as much with grammaticality judgements, but with spelling, even if I had taken precautions in advance by giving specific instructions that word order was the essential object of study. Accordingly, the follow up-studies with direct interviews etc. have been absolutely vital.

Apart from the caveats pertaining to the questionnarie study that was mentioned above, some informants have given incoherent and contradictory judgements – in some cases due to concentration difficulties, in others perhaps due to a desire to please by accepting all test sentences, even those which were completely ungrammatical. On the other hand, a few informants had a negative strategy, marking virtually every sentence as ungrammatical, although some sentences were perfectly grammmatical.[3] For these reasons, I have excluded the most extreme informants from the data presentation in this paper; the three most positive as well as the three most negative informants have been left out. Hence, when the results from the questionnaire study is discussed below, only the remaining 46 informants' replies are taken into account. These informants are born between 1918 and 1981 (but only 7 after 1950).

The main questionnaire study was conducted in the end of May 2007, during the NORMS workshop in Älvdalen.[4] Considering limitations in time as well as in the informants' expected concentration span, each informant was asked to provide acceptability judgements on merely 60 sentences, assigning grades from 1 to 5. Grade 1 corresponded to "not at all in agreement with common language use – you never say so", while the grade 5 corresponded to "completely in

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[3] These and similar problems concerning grammaticality judgements etc. are discussed in depth by Schütze (1996).
[4] The NORMS website is: http://norms.uit.no/

agreement with common language use – this is what you normally say".[5] Before reading the sentences, all informants were told that word order was central and that although the differences in pronounciation were known, they were not made ortographically explicit in the questionnaire. Furthermore, when more than one informant simultaneously worked with the questionnaire, the informants were instructed not to confer with each other. Throughout the task, the informants were supervised and notes concerning apparent difficulties were made – hence, all of the informants belonging to the group of six that have been excluded due to inconsistency (see above) were already at the workshop classified as potentially untrustworthy.

In the main questionnaire study, a number of syntactic variables possibly of importance for subject doubling were tested. They were:

- different adverbials (negation, *kanstji* ('maybe'), *sakta*, *fel*, *säkeligen* ('surely')
- type of pronoun (1st, 2nd, 3rd)
- type of clause (main/subordinated)
- position of leftmost subject pronoun (+/- clause initial)
- number of pronouns (1, 2, 3)
- type of speech act (declarative/interrogative)
- tense (past, present, future)

In addition, the informants were asked about the meaning of subject doubling, with syntactically minimal sentence pairs as point of reference:

4.   a.   **Eð** far sakt raingen nų.
           it begins sakta *to–rain now*
           'it begins to rain now'

     b.   **Eð** far sakt **eð** raingen nų.

It quickly became evident that especially the latter task was apprehended as quite difficult, and also in this case the follow up-studies have been essential. The semantic and pragmatic effects of subject doubling are presented and discussed in section 5.

3. Oevdalian – a very brief introduction

Oevdalian[6] is spoken in the north western part of Dalecarlia, Sweden, by 3000-4000 speakers (Sapir 2005). Oevdalian and Swedish are mutuallly

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[5] I have translated the Swedish generic *man* as *you* here.
[6] Other ortographic alternatives are *Elfdalian* and *Övdalian*; the term Oevdalian is used here for two reasons. First, it is derived from the native term *Övdalsk*, and not from the Swedish

incomprehensible, and according to Dahl (2005), Oevdalian is typologically closer to Icelandic and Faroese than to Swedish. The linguistic peculiarity of the Upper Siljan region, including Älvdalen, was noted by Swedish linguists already in the 17th century, and the first academic dissertation concerning the language varieties of Dalecarlia was written in 1733 (Näsman 1733). Still, this area is remarkably different, compared with surrounding dialects: "The archaic and diversified dialects of Dalarna hold an exceptional position" (Hallberg 2005:1697).

To mention but a few Oevdalian morphosyntactic features which separate Oevdalian and Swedish, Oevdalian has a three way gender system and a complex case system (Ringmar 2005), null referential subjects (Rosenkvist 2006), negative concord and verb raising (Garbacz 2006), but it seems to lack e.g. object shift and (possibly) preposition stranding; further syntactic exploration of Oevdalian is currently underway within the ScanDiaSyn project.[7]

During the 20th century, several radical social changes have affected the sociolinguistic situation in Älvdalen, none of which have strengthened the position of Oevdalian (Björklund 1958, Helgander 1996, 2005). Hence, there is at present a notable variation between generations, older speakers having been forced to learn Swedish at the start of school – now most older speakers avoid it when they can – while younger speakers increasingly use Swedish in all contexts.

At present, the organisation for preservation of Oevdalian (*Ulum Dalska* 'we shall speak Oevdalian'/'let us speak Oevdalian') is striving for minority language status, and to this end they have encouraged the production of a grammmar (Åkerberg 2004) as well as of an Oevdalian-Swedish lexicon (Steensland 2006), and they support courses in what is known as "classic" Oevdalian (i.e, the Oevdalian described by Levander 1909). Also the new ortography is a result of this endeavour.

4. The syntactic distribution of Oevdalian double subjects

4.1. Current usage of Oevdalian double and triple subjects

Given the examples of double and triple subjects provided by Levander (1909:109), the first task was to decide whether multiple subjects were still in use in Oevdalian. Since Levander's samples all contained either *fel* or *sakta* (which is pronounced and written *sakt* in non-final position due to apocope), the basic test sentences followed this pattern. It soon became apparent that subject doubling was accepted by a great majority of the informants, whereas triple subjects in general were rejected.

Älvdalska, and, second, it seems to function well in English (*Elfdalian* apparently has a ring of fantasy literature).

[7] The URL is: http://uit.no/scandiasyn/3517/

5. a. **Du** ir sakt **du** uvendes duktin dalska.
        you are sakta *you very good speak–Oevdalian*
        'you are very good at speaking Oevdalian'

    b. **An** ir sakt **an** unggrun nu̱.
        he is sakta *he hungry now*
        'he is hungry now'

    c. *** Du** ir **du** sakt **du** uvendes duktin dalska.

    d. ***Ig** ar **ig** sakt **ig** mɨer i grytu̱n, um wilið åvå mɨer jätå.
        I have I sakta *I more in pot-the if want-to2PL have more food*
        'I have more in the pot if you would like to have more food'

The follow-up studies have confirmed this pattern – both informant groups consider subject doubling of the type in (5 a. and b.) perfectly grammatical, whereas triple subjects are ungrammatical.

   The double subjects in e.g. (5 a.) are neither weak, nor strong (stressed). Both subject markers are pronounced just as regular subjects, and they are thus not phonetically marked in any way.

   Unlike pronoun doubling in e.g. Finnish (Holmberg & Nikanne 2006), the initial subject element need not be a personal pronoun in Oevdalian. The initial subject may be an expletive subject pronoun (6 a.), a proper name (6 b.), a definite or indefinite noun phrase (6 c, d.) or even a null referential subject (6 e, f.); (6 f.) is a particularly clear case of doubling of a null subject pronoun, since 1PL null subjects are only allowed in clause initial position (Rosenkvist 2006).

6. a. **Eð** far sakt **eð** raingen nu̱.
        it begins sakta *it to–rain now*
        'it begins to rain now'

    b. **Bo** ir sakt **an** unggrun nu̱.
        Bo is sakta *he hungry now*
        'Bo is hungry now'

    c. **Dier so åvå klaið å̱ iel da'n** irå sakt **dier** liuotunggruger nu.
        they who have–3PL toiled PL whole day they are–3PL sakta *they very–hungry now*
        'those who have toiled all day are very hungry now'

    d. **Ien röv** ir sakt **an** illrokk.
        a fox is sakta *he cunning*
        'a fox is cunning'

e.   Irið sakt **ið** unggruger, dar int avið faið inggan frukuost.[8]
     are–2PL sakta *you hungry, since not have–2PL gotten no breakfast'*
     'you are hungry, since you didn't get any breakfast'

f.   Fậm sakt **wịð** luv jätå nụ, fer winnum it baið etter onum.
     get–1PL sakta *we eat now because manage–1PL not wait after him*
     'we must eat now, because we don't have time to wait for him'

All DP-subjects actually appear to be grammatical in clause initial position in Oevdalian subject doubling constructions, and the similarities with Dutch topic doubling (van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2006:293ff; see section 6.2) are compelling. Furthermore, preliminary results indicate that also *that*-clauses are possible as first subject markers, but not infinitival clauses:

7.   a.   **At an wil kumå** ir sakt **eð** ruolit**.**
          that he wants–to come ir sakta *it nice*
          'that he wants to come is nice'

     b.   *__Tä åk bil'n__ ir fel **eð** ruolit.
          to drive car–the is sakta *it nice*
          'to drive a car is nice'

These results are however preliminary, as was stated above, and thus the possible contrast between (7 a.) and (7 b.) will not be further discussed in the present paper.

    Interestingly, no age differences can be ascertained when it concerns the syntax of subject doubling, an indication that older and younger speakers have similar syntactic intituions in this case.

    In the remainder of this section, I will present the restrictions that determine the syntactic distribution of Oevdalian double subject pronouns. Not all of the investigated variables were found to be of importance, and thus only the relevant factors are introduced and discussed.

4.2. First subject in clause initial position

The first restriction concerns the position of the first subject; it appears that the first subject marker must be clause initial, situated in SpecCP. In the main questionnaire study, a great majority of the informants considered non-initial subjects ungrammatical in the subject doubling construction, whereas a few

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[8] Narrative inversion is not grammatical in Oevdalian, which implies that this sentence contains a null referential subject in SpecCP (cf. Rosenkvist 2006). Since this sentence furthermore involves negative concord, informants who reject negative concord (cf. Garbacz 2006) will consider it to be ungrammatical, although accepting subject doubling.

accepted them; clauses such as (8 b. and c.) have however unanimously been discarded as ungrammatical in the follow-up studies. Neither does subject doubling appear in polar questions (8 d.):

8. a.   **An** ir sakt **an** unggrun nų.
         he is sakta *he hungry now*
         'he is hungry now'

    b.   *Nų ir **an** sakt **an** unggrun.

    c.   *Wiso ir **an** sakt **an** unggrun nų?
         why is he sakta *he hungry now?*
         'why is he hungry now?'

    d.   *Ir **an** sakt **an** unggrun nų?
         is he sakta *he hungry now?*
         'is he hungry now?'

Yet another indication that the first subject in Oevdalian subject doubling requires a clause initial position is that the construction only appears to be allowed in subordinate clauses which are known contexts for embedded V2 in the Scandinavian languages (cf. Julien 2007), i.e. asserted clauses, often embedded under a bridge verb (9 a.). Subject doubling does not appear in embedded clauses that disallow embedded V2, such as the restrictive relative clause in (9 b.), the *that*-clause which functions as the associate of the expletive subject in (9 c.) or the conditional clause in (9 d.):

9. a.   Ig wet **an** ir sakt **an** duktin dalska.
         I know he is he sakta *good speak–Oevdalian*
         'I know that he is good at speaking Oevdalian'

    b.   *Ir du wið kallem frå Stokkkol **so** ar sakt **an** tjyöpt faðeres gard?
         are you with–PL man–DAT from Stockholm who has sakta *he bought father–GEN farm*
         'are you angry with the man from Stockholm who has bought father's farm?'

    c.   *Eð ir ruolit **du** ir sakt **du** so duktin dalska.
         it is nice you are sakta *you so good speak–Oevdalian*
         'it is nice that you are you so good at speaking Oevdalian'

    d.   *Um **du** ir sakt **du** uvendes duktin dalska, so...
         if you are sakta *you very good speak–Oevdalian then...*
         'if you are very good at speaking Oevdalian, then...

The grammaticality of (9 a.) can thus be assumed to be due to the possibility to topicalize the first subject pronoun in the *that*-clause (cf. Vikner 1995:chapter 4, Julien 2007). Similar possibilities for topicalization are not available in the embedded clauses in (9 b-d.).

To conclude, it is apparent that a necessary condition for Oevdalian subject doubling is that the first subject marker is posited in clause initial position, i.e. SpecCP.

4.3. Presence of *sakta*, *fel* or *kanenda*

Another requirement is that Oevdalian subject doubling is not allowed without either *sakta*, *fel* or *kanenda*, three polysemous sentential adverbials which express speaker attitude.[9,10] Although they are quite hard to translate, as mentioned above, all of them approximately correspond to *actually*, *indeed* and/or *probably*.

In Levander's (1909:109) examples, some sentences contain the verb *lär* ('is said to') and no sentential adverbial, but subject doubling in such contexts (10 b.) is no longer grammatical. Neither are modal verbs such as *syöks*, *iess* or *luss*, all meaning 'seem to' (with differences in shades of meaning), possible in the subject doubling construction without either *sakta* or *fel* (10 c.).

10. a.   **An** lär sakt/fel/kanend **an** wårå uvendes duktin dalska.
          he is-said-to sakta/fel/kanenda *he be very good speak-Oevdalian*
          'he is said to be very good at speaking Oevdalian'

     b.   ***An** lär **an** wårå uvendes duktin dalska.

     c.   ***An** iess/syöks/luss **an** wårå uvendes duktin dalska.
          he appears-to he be very good speak-Oevdalian
          'he seems to be very good at speaking Oevdalian'

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[9] *Kanenda* is probably derived from two verbs (*kan* 'may' and *hända* 'happen'), a fact that may explain why *kanenda* appears in atypical syntactic positions (*kanstji* 'maybe' behaves likewise, cf Rosenkvist 2006:154ff):

> **An-dar kanend** ir duktin spilå. (Steensland 2006:54)
> *he-there* kanenda *is good to-play*
> 'that guy is indeed good at playing'

[10] A few speakers also accept subject doubling with the negation, and such sentences can be found in older transcriptions:

> **Eð** wa'nt **eð** små og dålin fisk [...]   (dialect transcription,
> *it was-notCL small and bad fish*   ULMA 10149, 1937)
> 'it wasn't small and bad fish'

Needless to say, the task of establishing the syntactic as well as the semantic properties of Oevdalian subject doubling is complicated by the necessity to include an adverbial expressing speaker attitude in all sample sentences – the pragmatic context of the test sentences must be apt, given the respective adverbials, otherwise the speakers will reject the tested sentences due to semantic/pragmatic inconsistencies. In the following section, the meaning of Oevdalian subject doubling is discussed.

5. The meaning of Oevdalian subject doubling

In the main questionnaire study, the informants were asked to describe the difference between simple clauses with and without subject doubling. Two pairs of sentences were used as a starting point for the discussion (11 a. and b. are repeated from 4.):

11. a. **Eð** far sakt raingen nų.
         it begins sakta *to-rain now*
         'it begins to rain now'

     b. **Eð** far sakt **eð** raingen nų.

12. a. **Du** ir sakt uvendes duktin dalska.
         you are sakta *you very good speak-Oevdalian*
         'you are very good at speaking Oevdalian'

     b. **Du** ir sakt **du** uvendes duktin dalska.

Although several informants were hard pressed to find any difference, some informants spontaneously asserted that the b-alternatives (with subject doubling) strenghtened or underlined what was said in the a-alternatives. Some typical comments are that the b-alternatives are "more decided", "more exact", "stronger" or "stressed". An older informant claimed that (12 b.) means "you <u>are</u> very good", actually underlining the finite verb, and one of the younger and more eloquent informants (born 1972) states, concerning the difference between (12 a. and b.), that: "When someone doubts their ability to speak Oevdalian you say B to them. But when you merely state that someone is good you say A" (my translations). The informants' responses actually suggested that the pragmatic function of subject doubling in Oevdalian is quite close to polarity focus (or verum focus – cf. Höhle 1988, Creswell 2000).

In the follow-up studies, it has furthermore been confirmed that although Oevdalian finite verbs may be stressed in order to produce polarity focus, this is not possible in a subject doubling environment. In (13.), capitals signal stress:

13. a. **An** IR sakt uvendes duktin dalska.
   he IS sakta *very good speak–Oevdalian*
   he IS very good at speaking Oevdalian'

   b. *__An__ IR sakt **an** uvendes duktin dalska.

Subject doubling and polarity focus thus appear in complementary distribution in Oevdalian; this fact as well as the informants' comments on the meaning differences between sentences with and without subject doubling point at the conclusion that the Oevdalian subject doubling-construction is a syntactic device for expressing polarity focus (or a pragmatic meaning which strongly reminds about polarity focus).

However, a few younger informants seem to interpret subject doubling as a way of focussing the subject – possibly, this may be a case of inference from the Swedish doubling construction that is discussed below (in section 6.1). These informants find doubling of expletive subjects to be possible but meaningless, unlike the majority of the informants.

A relation between subject doubling and the speaker's assessment of how the uttered sentence relates to the discourse context has been observed in a number of languages. E.g, Cornilescu (2000:98) points out that the subject doubling clitic in Romanian "marks certain illocutionary attitudes of the speaker". Furthermore, in their study of the subject doubling *tet* in West Flemish (the Lapscheure dialect), Haegeman & van de Velde (2006) report that "in some of its uses, *tet* seems to be used as a polarity reinforcer" (2006:13). Similarly, Vinet (2002) notes that the subject doubling clitic *-tu* in Quebec French also is related to polarity focus, and Holmberg & Nikanne (2006:1; cf. section 7.2) point out that Finnish constructions with *se/ne*, which both may appear as double subjects are "typically used to express an all-new sentence about a familiar subject, often with a subtle 'believe it or not' effect." As for European Portuguese, Carrilho (2005:245) claims that *ele*, which may double the subject, in a low structural position "appears exclusively related to sentences involving a certain evaluative/expressive value."

To conclude, for a significant number of subject doubling-constructions in different languages it seems to be the case that the subject doubling construction is used to express the speaker's view on how the utterance is related to the discourse context – in some cases, it underlines the contrast between the proposition of the sentence and the expected state of affairs. Oevdalian is thus yet another language in which subject doubling is a construction involving the subject as well as the speaker's understanding of the discourse context. This fact should, I think, be reflected in the syntactic analysis.

6. Previous approaches to subject doubling in Germanic languages

Subject doubling phenomena can be found in a number of languages, such as e.g. Romanian (Cornilescu 2000), Greek (Papangeli 2000), Swedish (Engdahl 2003), Dutch dialects (van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2002a,b, 2006) and Finnish (Holmberg & Nikanne 2006). In this section, I principally introduce and discuss subject doubling in languages that are related to Oevdalian – i.e, Swedish and Dutch dialects – including the syntactic analysis of Finnish subject doubling (Holmberg & Nikanne 2006) only marginally.

6.1. Subject doubling in Swedish

Engdahl (2003) discusses subject doubling in Swedish, which requires the presence of a clause initial subject and a doubling pronoun, modified by a focussing adverbial (*också* 'too', *bara* 'only', *även* 'too'):[11]

14. a.   **Jari** har också **han** slutat röka.
         Jari has also he quit smoking
         'Jari, too, has quit smoking'

    b.   *__Jari__ har **han** slutat röka.

Having investigated the meaning of the construction, Engdahl reaches the conclusion that this type of Swedish subject doubling is related to focus; the doubling pronoun must be stressed, and the focussing adverbial highlights the comparison with a previously introduced set:

> If a comparing unit is actualized in the context and [...] the subject in some way is parallel with the comparing unit then this parallelism can be further underlined by the adverbial. (Engdahl 2003:98, my translation)

For this reason, doubling is not possible in e.g. interrogative clauses, Engdahl argues (but see below). She furthermore suggests that the position of the doubling pronoun (*han* 'he' in 14 a.) is SpecIP (2003:104). However, as shown by Holmberg & Nikanne (2006), the first subject item need not be clause initial, and doubling is actually also allowed in questions:

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[11] The Swedish construction has a direct cognate in Romanian (Cornilescu 2000:102):

   Tata vine si **el** maine.
   father comes too he tomorrow
   'father too will come tomorrow'

15. Varför kunde **pojkarna** inte heller **dom** öppna dörren?
    why could boys–the not either they open door–the
    ''why couldn't the boys open the door, either?'

As for the position of the regular subject *pojkarna* in (15.), a common analysis (cf. Platzack 1998:127) is that it is placed in SpecAgrsP. This leaves no room for the doubling subject in the corresponding position SpecIP, which makes it difficult to maintain Engdahl's (2003) analysis – in (15.) the doubling pronoun *dom* must be situated lower in the syntactic structure, possibly below NegP.

In addition, this type of Swedish doubling can also be applied for objects, it seems, in an appropriate context (Engdahl 2003:100):

16. Torget fungerar som mötesplats och **parken** använder man också **den**
    som ett ställe att träffas på.
    square–the functions as meeting–place and park–the use you also it
    as a place to meet on
    'The square functions as a place of meeting and the park is also used as
    a place to come together'

Objects cannot be doubled in the Oevdalian doubling construction that is on the agenda here. Furthermore, expletive subjects are directly ungrammatical in Swedish subject doubling (compare 11 above):

17. ***Det** börjar också **det** att regna.
    it begins also it to rain
    'it also begins to rain'

Yet another difference between Oevdalian subject doubling and subject doubling of the type described by Engdahl (2003) is that the Swedish adverbial (*också* etc) modifies the subject constituent, whereas it is clear that this is not the case in Oevdalian:

18. a. Också han kan tala svenska
        also he can speak Swedish
        'he too can speak Swedish'

    b. *Sakt an dalsker.
        sakta *he speaks–Oevdalian*

In (18 a.), *också han* precedes the finite verb, indicating that these two words act as one syntactic constituent. It is not possible to construct a corresponding sentence with any of the adverbials that appear in Oevdalian subject doubling.

Accordingly, a number of features indicate that Swedish subject doubling is not the same type of syntactic phenomenon as Oevdalian subject doubling, although it is noteworthy that both constructions seem to be related to focus.

6.2. Subject doubling in Dutch dialects

Subject doubling in Dutch dialects have recently been presented, discussed and analysed in a series of papers by van Craenenbrocek & van Koppen (2002a, b, 2006).[12] Interestingly, they propose that there are two superficially similar but derivationally different subject doubling constructions in these dialects: clitic doubling (19 a.) and topic doubling (19 b.):

19. a.   Ik paus da **se zaailn** kommen.   (clitic doubling)
           I think that theyCL they come
           'I think that they are coming'

     b.   **Dei vrou** gui **zij** nuir ojsh.   (topic doubling)
           that woman goes she to home
           'That woman is going home'

In the Wambeek dialect (spoken in Brabant, Belgium), both types of subject doubling are grammatical – the samples in (19) are both from Wambeek (van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2002a,b, 2006). Clitic doubling involves a clitic subject pronoun and a strong subject pronoun, and the former must precede the latter. Clitic doubling is furthermore disallowed in subject-initial main clauses, but perfectly grammatical in embedded clauses and inverted main clauses. Hence, a number of robust syntactic properties indicate that Dutch clitic doubling does not correspond to Oevdalian subject doubling.

On the other hand, Dutch topic doubling strongly reminds of Oevdalian subject doubling; it is only found in subject-initial main clauses (topicalization is not possible in Dutch embedded clauses; cf. section 4.2 above), and there are few restrictions on the first subject marker: "The first subject element in this dialect [Wambeek] can be a weak pronoun, a strong pronoun, a proper name or a definite DP" (van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2002a:55).[13] The second subject must be a strong pronoun, though.

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[12] Heageman & van de Velde (2006) investigates the subject doubler *tet* in West Flemish and present a number of possible analyses. They suggest that the structural position of *tet* is"the subject-related area of the clause" (2006:19), i.e, somewhere between the CP- and IP-layers, but must conclude that none of the discussed analyses are viable: "At this point we are not able to decide which of these accounts is preferable" (2006:22).

[13] Other Dutch dialects are not as permissive – e.g, the Lapscheure dialect only allows weak subject pronouns in clause initial position (van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2002b:300). In this respect, Oevdalian seems to be the most liberal language variety, accepting not merely the same subject types as the Wambeek dialect, but also expletives as well as null subjects (and

20. **Ze**/**zij**/**dei vrou**/**Marie** gui **zij**.
    she-WEAK/she/that woman/Mary goes she
    'she/that woman/Mary is going'

The analysis suggested by van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2002b:294ff) is that the first subject marker is a topic, situated in SpecCP, while the second occupies SpecAgrsP (their analysis is discussed further in section 7). One of their supporting arguments is that in an interrogative main clause, it is possible to double the interrogative pronoun, but only if the clause is interpreted as a rhetorical question:

21. **Wie** eid-**ij** da geduin?
    who has-he that done
    *'who has done that?'
    'it is obvious that he/no-one has done that'

van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2002b:295) argue that topicalization and wh-movement in questions are incompatible, and since the first subject marker must be a topic in the topic doubling construction, (21) may only receive a non-interrogative interpretation. As for Oevdalian subject doubling, there is no possibility to interpret questions of this type as rhetorical questions, which possibly explains the contrast between (21) and the corresponding Oevdalian example below:

22. *****Ukker** åvå fel **dier** tjyöpt faðeres gard?
    who-PL have-3PL fel they bought father-GEN farm
    'who have bought father's farm'

Note that the initial element *ukker* is less specific than the doubling pronoun *dier* – both are marked for number (plural), but only the latter displays a person feature (3rd). This fact may actually allow for another possible explanation of the ungrammaticality of (22), and of the interpretation of (21). This explanation is however dependent on the analysis of Oevdalian subject doubling, and thus it will be further discussed in section 7.3, where the analysis is presented.

7. A preliminary syntactic analysis of Oevdalian subject doubling

As was shown in the previous section, Dutch topic doubling seems to bear a close syntactic resemblance to Oevdalian subject doubling, and hence the analysis presented by van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2002b) will be utilized as a starting point for the present discussion. Their analysis of topic doubling is

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possibly *that*-clauses). However, van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2002a,b, 2006) do not comment upon the meaning of topic doubling.

discussed in section 7.1, while current research on clitic doubling is introduced in 7.2. In 7.3, an analysis of subject doubling in Oevdalian is proposed.

7.1. Views on topic doubling

Having ascertained that the first subject marker must be clause initial in the topic doubling constructions found in Dutch dialects, van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2002b:294ff) suggest that this subject marker is base-generated in SpecCP, while the second subject marker has moved from SpecVP to SpecAgrSP. Had the second subject marker been locally A-bound by the first, they argue, a Condition B-violation had followed. The first subject marker thus merges directly in SpecCP, and forms a chain with the lower subject marker, in SpecAgrSP, in order to receive a value for case and a theta-role. The derivation of the sentence in (23) is illustrated in figure 1.[14]

23. **Marie** komt **zaai.**
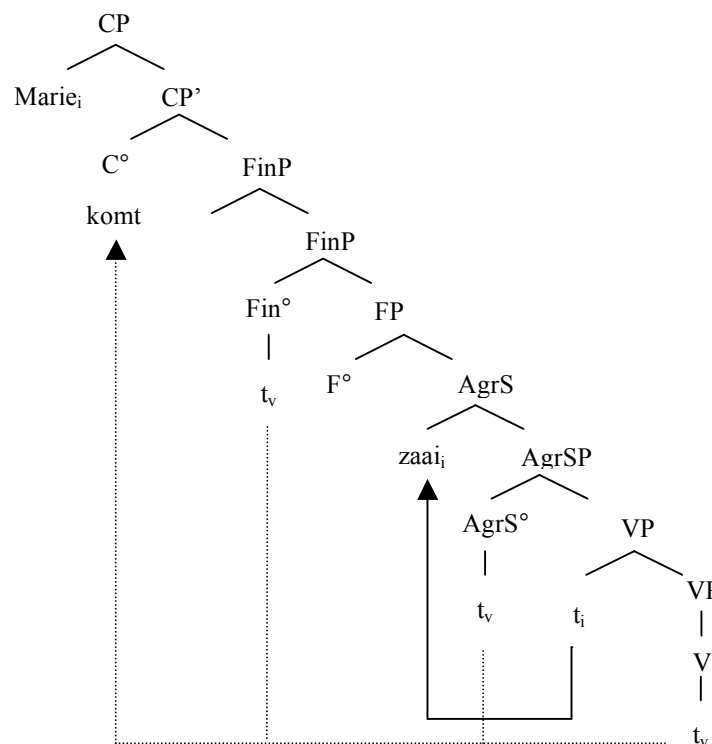   *Mary comes she*
     'Mary is coming'

Figure 1. The derivation of topic doubling (van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2002b:297)

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[14] The non-syntactic motivation for topic doubling is unclear: "The motivation for this Spell Out is semantic in nature. Due to restrictions of space, however, we cannot go into this aspect of pronominal doubling here" (van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2002a:63).

In van Craenenbroeck & van Koppens' analysis, it is not clear how exactly *Marie* and *zaai* are co-indexed – and how *Marie* recieves a theta-role.[15] In their analysis, it would also in principle be possible, I think, for the pronoun *zaai* to refer to a clause-external referent, but that interpretation is obviously ruled out by the nominative case marking on *zaai* and by the intransitive verb in this particular case.

In Rosenkvist (1994:13), it is suggested that in Oevdalian subject doubling, traces (or copies) of the subject may be spelled-out.[16] Hence, in the Oevdalian described by Levander (1909), triple subject constructions (see 1 b. above) can be analyzed as a subject in SpecCP with two additional spelled-out copies of the subject in SpecIP and SpecVP, respectively. This derivation is illustrated in figure 2:
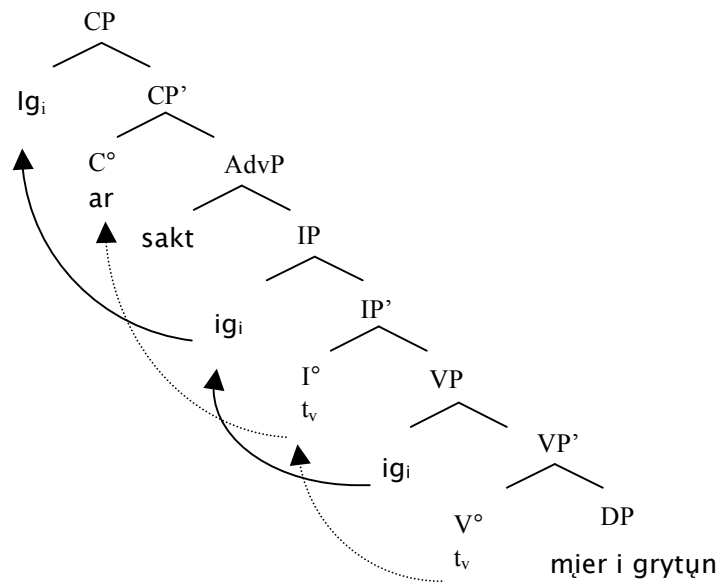

Figure 2. Triple subjects in Oevdalian (Rosenkvist 1994)

In this derivation, the verb moves through the head I° to reach C°, while the subject starts out in SpecVP, moves to SpecIP and finally ends up in SpecCP.[17] This simple analysis fails to explain why subject doubling has a discourse related function, and why an adverbial is obligatory.

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[15] Note that in a subject-initial clause without any doubling pronoun, the subject is generally assumed to originate in SpecVP – hence van Craenenbroeck & van Koppens' analysis implies that there is a radical syntactic difference between these two types of clauses.

[16] Interestingly, this is virtually the same analysis as is presented in van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2002a); hence, these authors have issued two contradicting analyses of the same phenomenon in the same year.

[17] In later versions of the Minimalist Program (cf. Chomsky 2001), movement is understood as copying and deletion, and copying is in turn caused by a need to delete uninterpretable features.

7.2. Views on clitic doubling

The recent research on different types of subject doubling constructions has centered on clitic doubling, i.e. constructions in which the subject pronoun is preceded by a deficit doubling pronoun (cf. Kayne 2002, Holmberg & Nikanne 2006, van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2006, Barbiers et al 2007). In Finnish, e.g, the pronoun *se* may double a proper name (Holmberg & Nikanne 2006:1):

24. **Se** on **Jari** lopettanut tupekoinnin.
    he has Jari quit smoking
    'Jari has quit smoking'

Se is used for doubling of singular subjects, while *ne* is used for doubling of plural subjects, and Holmberg & Nikanne (2006:3) point out that neither of these pronouns are marked for person – each one may double 1st and 2nd person as well as 3rd. The Finnish data leads Holmberg & Nikanne to the following generalisation.

- A category a doubles a DP b iff they share a theta-role.
- Doubling is possible iff
    - a and b are copies (the case of A and A'-movement)
    - a is deficient.
- Deficient pronouns include
    - pronominal clitics
    - personless pronouns.

Table 1. Doubling of arguments according to Holmberg & Nikanne (2006:12)

Although Holmberg & Nikanne (2006) do not present any final analysis of Finnish subject doubling, they suggest that the doubling pronoun may originate in a complex DP, as a determiner (cf. Grohmann 2000 for an analysis of Romance object clitics along the same lines).

Dutch clitic doubling has recently been analysed in detail by van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2006). As has been shown above, Dutch clitic doubling involves a clitic subject, which according to Holmberg & Nikanne (2006:12) is a deficient pronoun. In the example below (from the Wambeek dialect), the strong subject pronoun *zaailn* ('they') is doubled by the clitic *ze*.

25. Ik paus da **se zaailn** kommen.
    I think that theyCL they come
    'I think that they are coming'

In Wambeek (and other Dutch dialects), pronouns may be strong, weak or appear as clitics. Applying the classification of pronouns suggested by Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002), van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen claim that whereas

Wambeek strong subject pronouns are full DPs, weak subject pronouns and subject clitics are merely pro-ΦPs, i.e. pronouns which lack the upmost DP-layer. The structure of these respective categories is illustrated below:

pro-DP: strong subject pronouns
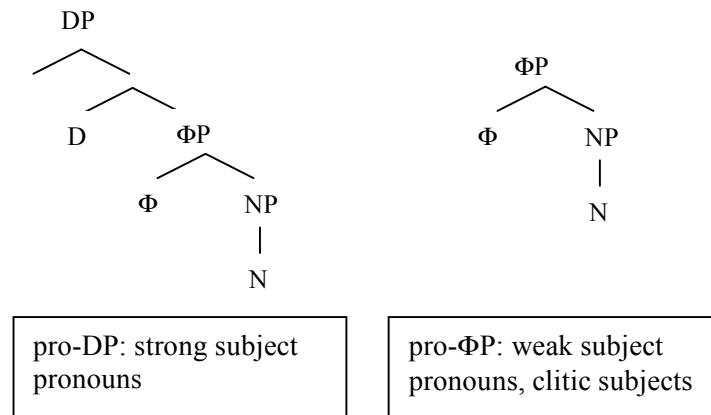
pro-ΦP: weak subject pronouns, clitic subjects

Figure 3. Pronominal categories in Dutch (van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2006:15)

In clitic doubling, the initial structure is a pro-DP, i.e, a strong subject pronoun. Then, the pro-ΦP in this pro-DP merges internally to SpecDP, and this copy of the pro-ΦP is thereupon merged yet again, in a phrase-external position available only for clitics (SpecAgrCliticP).

step 1: DP-internal merge of ΦP

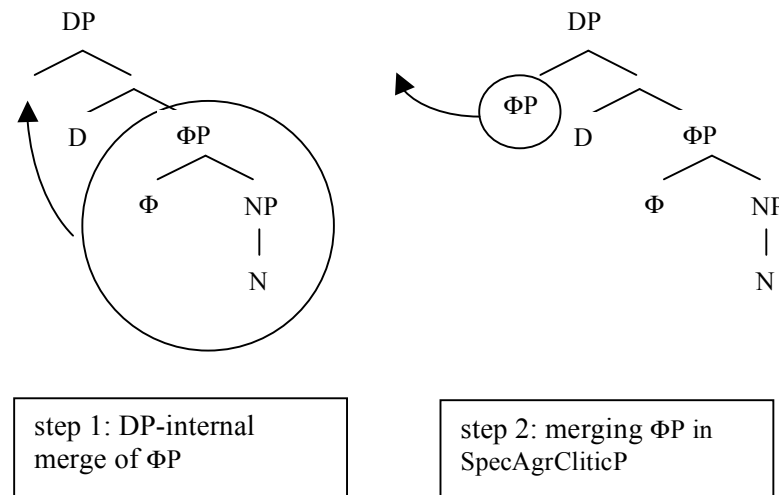step 2: merging ΦP in SpecAgrCliticP

Figure 4. Derivation of Dutch clitic doubling (van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2006:16ff)

In Spell-Out, the pro-DP will be phonetically realized as a strong pronoun in Spec*v*P, since there is no lexical material in N, whereas the pro-ΦP is pronounced as a doubling clitic pronoun in SpecAgrCliticP. If the NP had contained a lexeme, then doubling would be impossible, considering that the NP moves along with the ΦP within the DP, and that lexeme would accordingly appear twice in the structure. This is the reason why lexical DPs cannot be

doubled, van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2006:19) claim: "It is clear that such a constituent cannot be spelled out as a clitic – one could even wonder if it can be spelled out at all".

26.   *da-**se**-t **dei doktores** gezien eit.
           that-seCL-it that doctor-FEM seen has
           'that that female doctor has seen'

The detailed analysis presented by van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2006) seems to be quite felicitous – it makes a number of correct predictions and it appears to explain the basic syntactic features of Dutch clitic doubling. It is however not possible to use in order to explain Oevdalian subject doubling (see below).

7.3. Oevdalian subject doubling – a syntactic analysis

Oevdalian subject doubling, as well as Dutch topic doubling, typically appears to display the following schematic structure:

27.   [$_{SpecCP}$ **DP$_i$** C° FV [$_{SpecIP}$ **pronoun$_i$** I° t$_v$ [$_{SpecVP}$ t$_i$ V° t$_v$]]]

A DP-subject in SpecCP is doubled by a matching subject pronoun in a subject position in the middle field, here labelled SpecIP. The DP-subject is a pro-DP, in the terminology of Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002), while the lower subject marker must be a pronoun of another type – it cannot be a full DP with lexical content.

In Oevdalian subject doubling, lexically rich subjects may appear in SpecCP, unlike in the case of Dutch clitic doubling. Hence, the pro-DP that plausibly is the point of origin for the Oevdalian doubling derivation can contain a NP with lexical material. As pointed out by van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2006:19), the internal merge that is the first step in the derivation of Dutch clitic doubling (cf. figure 4) would be complicated by the lexical material in such a DP. In addition, such an operation would not yield any constituent which could be realized as a pronoun. For a sentence with a doubled DP-subject, such as *Puostkall'n ir sakt an duktin dalska* ('The mailman is good at speaking Oevdalian'), the result of internal merge within the pro-DP would be:
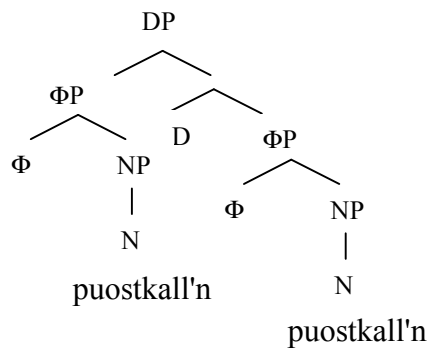
Figure 5. Internal merge within a pro-DP with lexical content

The structure in figure 5 cannot function as the initial structure for pronominal doubling, since there is no constituent that does not contain lexical material. It is furthermore obvious that the initial subject marker in Oevdalian subject doubling is a full DP, and hence the entire DP must have moved to SpecCP. There are thus a number of reasons why Oevdalian subject doubling probably is not derived by partial movement of a big DP (and hence probably not by movement at all).

Recall, at this stage, the essential properties of Oevdalian subject doubling:

- the initial subject marker must be clause initial (in SpecCP).
- the doubling pronoun matches the Φ-features of the subject.
- the subject doubling construction has a discourse related function.
- the subject doubling construction appears in complementary distribution with polarity focus (realized as distinct stress on the finite verb).
- the subject doubling construction requires the presence of an adverbial expressing speaker attitude.

Laka (1990) suggested that there is a functional projection, ΣP, between CP and IP, which encodes the polarity of a sentence, and Fischer (2000) has proposed that ΣP hosts sentence operators that may affirm the proposition of the sentence. In Old Catalan, the verb and a clitic are moved there, she claims. As for West Flemish *tet*, Haegeman & van de Velde (2006:14) point out that Fischer's "description of the effect ot the verb-clitic sentences corresponds rather neatly to the expressive effect achieved by the insertion of *tet*. We might therefore propose that whereas in Old Catalan ΣP is lexicalised by V movement to Σ, in WF *tet* lexicalizes ΣP".

Considering the function of Oevdalian subject doubling, I will assume that a ΣP is involved in this construction as well, located between CP and TP, and that the head of ΣP carries a polarity feature. The head of ΣP is lexically realized as the doubling element (which, then, is not a proper pronoun, which in turn excludes violations of the binding principles) and the obligatory sentential

adverbial is merged in a lower AdvP. The polarity feature in $\Sigma°$ can be lexicalised either as the doubling element, or it might follow the finite verb to C° where it appears as a phonetic marker (stress) for polarity focus (if there is no doubling element, this is obligatory). The reason why the doubling element in $\Sigma°$ appears in the guise of a pronoun is, I suggest, that the doubling element is a reflex of the Φ-features that descend from T°, which are used to visualize the polarity feature. These features have no longer any syntactic values of their own, having been valued by agreement with the subject in SpecTP, and the lexical realization of Φ-features is naturally a pronoun – pronouns are the only lexical elements in Oevdalian which simultanously express all Φ-features (number, person, gender; cf. Grohmann 2000:8, Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002:410). The proposed derivation of (28) is illustrated in figure 6.

28. **Puostkall'n** ir sakt **an** duktin dalska
   mailman–the is sakta *he good speak–Oevdalian*
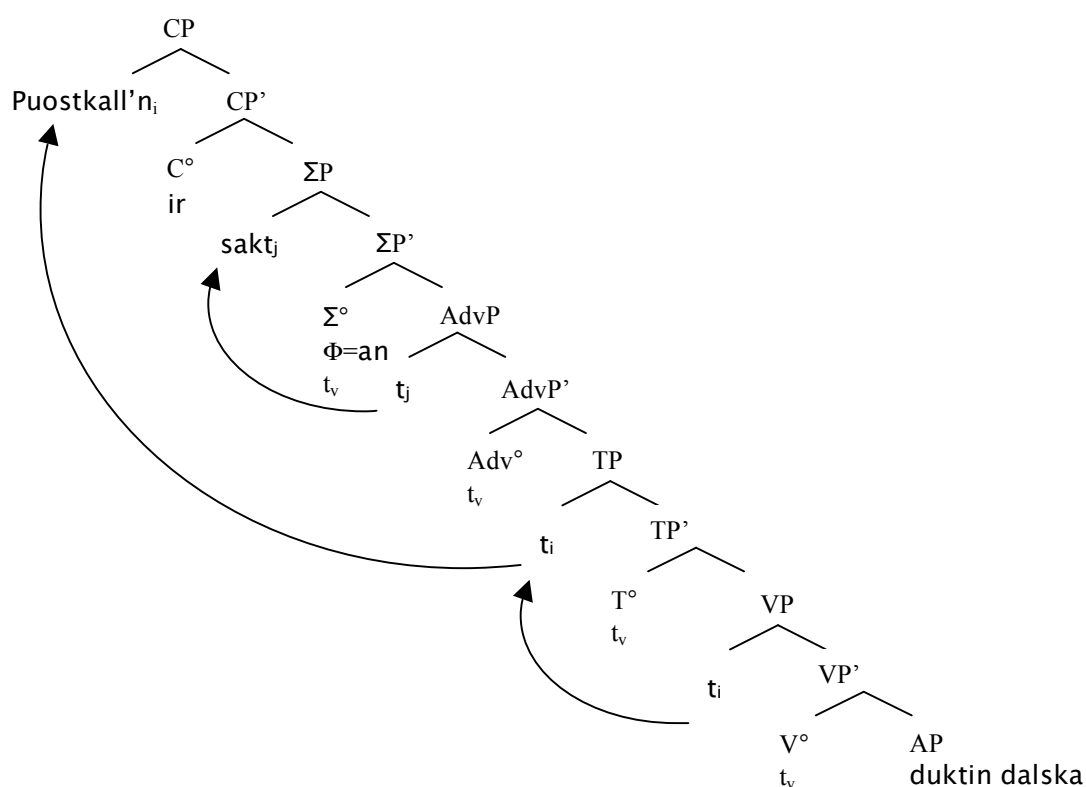   'the mailman is good at speaking Oevdalian'

Figure 6. The derivation of Oevdalian subject doubling

In a subject doubling construction, $\Sigma°$ attracts the sentential adverb in SpecAdvP in order to establish an agreement relation that values the Σ-feature. Since the finite verb must bring the Φ-features to $\Sigma°$ for the doubling element to be realised, clauses without verb movement to C° will not license subject doubling

– and as has been shown, only main clauses and embedded clauses which allow V2 are proper contexts for Oevdalian subject doubling. Furthermore, if the Σ-feature is realised in Σ° by the doubling element, then it follows that it cannot surface also in C°, and hence subject doubling in clauses where polarity focus appears as stress on the finite verb are ruled out. Finally, to derive V2, an element must be merged in SpecCP. Why must this element be the subject, then? Richards (1998) shows that in a structure such as the one in figure 6, the Principle of Minimal Compliance (PMC) in combination with Shortest Move will control which elements are possible to merge in SpecCP – in the structure in figure 6, Shortest Move (Richards 1998:614ff) determines that the element closest to SpecCP will be merged there, and that element is the subject in SpecTP. Merging any other phrase will violate PMC: "On the assumption that Shortest Move is sensitive both to landing sites and to movable elements, the paths will have to be nested, as shown, for the PMC to save the structure" (Richards 1998:620).

It may appear mysterious why the Φ-features show up in the shape of a pronoun in the head of ΣP. However, agreement between Φ-features relating to the subject is overtly expressed in some languages. Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002:432ff) also investigate so called same subject-markers, i.e, elements whose function it is to explicitly determine the reference of a pronoun. In Mojave, spoken in the south west of USA, there are elements that both express that subjects are co-referential and that subjects are not co-referential (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002:435):

29. a. Nya–isvar-**k** iima–k
         when sing–SS dance–TNS   (SS = same subject)
         'when he$_i$ sang, he$_i$ danced'

     b. Nya–isvar-**m** iima–k
         when sing–DS dance–TNS   (DS = different subject)
         'when he$_i$ sang, h$_j$ danced'

In (29 a.) the agreement morpheme *k* signals that the two subjects are co-referential, while *m* in (29 b.) clearly shows that they are not. Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002:435) state that "The essence of our proposal is that different-subject-agreement is D-agreement, while same-subject-agreement is Φ-agreement." (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002:435). They also argue that Φ-agreement must be co-referential with an argument, and that this argument must be the subject (2002:436ff).[18] As for Oevdalian subject doubling, the doubling element does not determine the referentiality of a subject in an embedded clause

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[18] Falk (1993:68ff) claims that Swedish *det* in *Det regnar* ('It rains') is quasi-argumental. Accordingly, also the Oevdalian subject *eð*, as in (11.), can be assumed to be quasi-argumental.

(as in Mojave), but appears in the main clause with an unambiguous subject. However, the syntactic apparatus, i.e, overt realisation of Φ-features, may be the same, although the application of the syntactic device differs.

Finally, consider again that interrogative pronouns such as *ukker* ('who-PL', cf. example 22 above) are disallowed as clause initial subject markers in Oevdalian subject doubling. *Ukker* has a value for number (plural), but no values for person or gender. There is no Oevdalian lexical element that matches the Φ-features of *ukker* – *dier* ('they'), the closest alternative, is 3rd person. Hence, doubling of *ukker* with *dier* would lead to a mismatch between the features of the DP-subject *ukker* and the doubling element. Furthermore, since *ukker* also carries a wh-feature, it cannot function as a doubling element itself, but must wh-move to SpecCP. In Wambeek Dutch topic doubling, however, wh-elements are accepted as initial subject markers – below, example (21) is repeated:

30. **Wie** eid–**ij** da geduin?
    who has–he that done
    *'who has done that?'
    'it is obvious that he/no–one has done that'

In (30), *wie* has no wh-interpretation and "refers to an entity which is already known or understood by the hearer (either a specific person or no one at all)" (van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2002a:65) – i.e, *wie* functions as a (generic) personal pronoun in this particular case, and it may hence be assumed that there actually is a match in Φ-features between *wie* and *ij*. *Wie* and *ij* are either both referring to a specific person (3rd person, masculine, singular), or to no person in particular. Questions with initial wh-elements may however not be interpreted as rhetorical questions in Oevdalian, as was mentioned above, and thus Oevdalian constructions of the type in (30) are not possible.

8. Some final remarks

The suggested analysis cannot explain Dutch topic doubling, since no sentential adverb is required in that construction. However, it is not clear whether Dutch topic doubling has the same pragmatic effect as Oevdalian subject doubling – future studies may tell if this is the case or not.

Furthermore, also doubled *that*-clauses would constitute a problem for the analysis, given that *that*-clauses in general do not appear in the canonical subject position, and hence would not be chosen by Shortest Move as the best SpecCP-candidate. Again, I must refer to coming studies; I hope to be able to illuminate this problem by further informant studies in Älvdalen in the near future.

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