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# Pronominal Case Re-Opened

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Henrik Jørgensen  
University of Aarhus

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# Aim of the paper

- To discuss the relation of the pronominal inflection in Mainland Scandinavian languages to the so-called 'object shift'.
- The point of departure is the situation in Modern spoken Danish where certain syntactic uses co-occur with lacking inflection. The question I want to raise is if this is just coincidence, or whether the inflection has any functional relation to the position of the pronoun.

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# Aim of the paper

- My thesis is that there is no direct functional relation. Absence of inflection is governed by certain phenomena, and object shift by others. But this is not completely obvious at first glance.

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# Aim of the paper

## **Predecessors:**

- Jørgensen 1991, making the claim of correlation on the basis of a purely internal Modern Danish data
- Holmberg 1986a, comparing several Mainland and Insular Scandinavian languages, maintains that the overt case marking is necessary for an NP to undergo 'object shift', an analysis later revised.

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## Aim of the paper

- Why discuss the problem after Holmberg's analysis?
- The analysis does not settle the matter fully, since there is an interesting difference in perspective between representing an actant in a text as a pronoun and representing it as a noun: Togeby 2003.

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## Aim of the paper

- Togeby states that purely anaphoric pronouns represent a low level of informativity (1-2), whereas simple definite nouns represent a different somewhat higher level (3-4)
- This difference in informativity could influence the use of case forms, cp. the situation in split-case languages, where purely anaphoric forms distinguish 'Nom. | Acc.' and informative forms distinguish 'Erg | Abs.'.

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# Aim of the paper

- Thus the neutralisation of case inflection in Modern Danish stressed non-anaphoric pronouns may have to do with some kind of semantically-pragmatically oriented case neutralisation to do, rather than with a simple formal relation between inflection and position.

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# Aim of the paper

- In order to show this I will investigate some Mainland Scandinavian dialects: Øvre Årdal (N), Malax (F), Als (DK) and Lolland (DK).
- These dialects differ from one another by either having no object shift or having extremely sparse pronominal inflection of the unstressed forms. The interesting issue is whether these phenomena go hand in hand, or whether they split.



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# Pronominal inflection in Standard Danish

- It is well-known that Danish like the other Mainland Scandinavian languages distinguishes two case forms in the personal pronouns:
- *Jeg – mig; du – dig; han – ham; hun – hende; vi – os; I – jer; de – dem*

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# Pronominal inflection in Standard Danish

- However, in colloquial Danish, when pronouns are found in positions also occupied by heavier NPs, they keep the oblique form, even when they have subject functions.

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# Pronominal inflection in Standard Danish

- This is true in topicalisations out of a dependent clause:
- (1) Ham tror jeg ikke kommer  
'Him believe I not comes'  
I do not think he comes
- (Note that such sentences are ungrammatical in Swedish, cp. Holmberg 1986a p. 210.)

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# Pronominal inflection in Standard Danish

- Coordinated pronouns also have the oblique form in subject function:
- (2) Ham og mig væltede klaveret  
'Him and me turned-over piano-the'  
He and I turned over the piano

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# Pronominal inflection in Standard Danish

- If a pronoun is stressed, it will not undergo 'object shift':
- (3) Jeg kender <sub>0</sub>ham ikke  
'I know him not'
- (4) Jeg kender ikke 'ham  
'I know not him'  
I do not know him

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# Pronominal inflection in Standard Danish

- In the last case there is no impact in inflection since both constructions demand the oblique form. Otherwise all three construction (and a number of others along with them) are considered to be cases where the pronoun is found in a position also open to full NPs. Common to them is the use of the oblique form and the full stress.

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# Pronominal inflection in Standard Danish

- At first glance, it seems obvious to interpret this as a case where pronouns in conventional nominal positions are uninflected and pronouns in specific pronominal positions are inflected.
- It is interesting that the conventional object case is the apparently unmarked side of the opposition, being able to spread into subject positions.

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# Pronominal inflection in Standard Danish

- However, it is important to take the other factors in these constructions into account:
  - Anaphoric vs deictic meaning  
(only pronouns with anaphoric meanings inflect)
  - Stressed vs. unstressed position  
(only pronouns in unstressed positions inflect)



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# Dialect syntax as a key to the problem

- A strong clue that position only is not the key to the solution is given by the microsyntactic variation throughout Mainland Scandinavia. If position were the clue, we should expect that lack of 'object shift' would go hand in hand with lack of inflection or rather very sparse inflection and vice versa.
- However this seems not to be the case, as we shall see. The following figures may illustrate my point:

## If Object Shift and sparse inflection went hand in hand

	<i>Rich pronominal inflection</i>	<i>Sparse pronominal inflection</i>
+ ' <i>Object shift</i> '	Standard forms, many dialects	
- ' <i>Object shift</i> '		Certain dialects

## And how things really are:

	<i>Rich pronominal inflection</i>	<i>Sparse pronominal inflection</i>
+ ' <i>Object shift</i> '	Standard forms, many dialects	Certain dialects (no clear specimen found)
- ' <i>Object shift</i> '	Certain dialects, e.g. Als and Lolland (DK)	Certain dialects, e.g. Øvre Årdal (N)

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# Dialect syntax as a key to the problem

## **Sparse and rich inflection**

- Certain pronominal paradigms have many inflected forms, others have very few.
- All dialects have uninflected forms, and only one extreme case tends to drop inflection altogether.
- There is an impressive variation throughout Mainland Scandinavia in this respect.

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# Dialect syntax as a key to the problem

- As we shall see, Standard Danish represents the stage with most different forms, and certain Norwegian dialects represent the lowest possible level, where the inflection is almost gone.

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# Dialect syntax as a key to the problem

## Object shift

- The term 'object shift' is not the optimal term, since the procedure pertains to several types of phrases in the sentence (cp. also Holnberg 1986a p. 165).
- Fundamentally it deals with a complement of the verb moving from a conventional position at the end of the sentence to a medial position.

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# Dialect syntax as a key to the problem

- This movement is only observable if the complement in question crosses a medial adverb of some sort:
- (5) Jeg kender ikke Erik Hansen  
'I know not Erik Hansen'  
*I do not know EH*
- (6) Jeg kender ham ikke  
'I know him not'  
*I do not know him*

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# Dialect syntax as a key to the problem

- Unstressed local adverbs undergo the same kind of movement:
- (7) Jeg kommer ikke på kroen  
'I come not at inn-the'  
*I do not go to the inn*
- (8) Jeg kommer der ikke  
'I come there not'  
*I do not go there*



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# Dialect syntax as a key to the problem

- In Icelandic full NPs and extended pronouns may also undergo OS (examples from Holmberg 1986a):
- (9) Hvers vegna lasu stúdentarnir ekki allir greinina?  
'Why read students-the not all the article?'  
*Why didn't all the students read the article?*
- (9') Hvers vegna lasu stúdentarnir greinina ekki allir?

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# Dialect syntax as a key to the problem

- (10) Guðrún þekkir ekki ykkur tvo.  
‘G. knows not you two’  
*G. doesn't know you two*
- (10') Guðrún þekkir ykkur tvo ekki.
- The OS in Icelandic is almost obligatory with unstressed pronouns and optional with full NPs.

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# Dialect syntax as a key to the problem

- The obvious solution to these two would be that case marking makes movement possible. Yet the analysis is obscured, as Holmberg later saw, by the fact that NPs may have case inflection, like in Faroese, and yet not have OS. As we shall see, the Mainland Scandinavian dialects display similar features.

# Pronominal morphology - Danish

<i>Singular</i>	1st pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers. masc.	3rd pers. fem.	3rd pers. utrum	3rd pers. neutrum
Nom.	jeg	du	han	hun	den	det
Obl.	mig	dig	ham	hende	"	"
<i>Plural</i>						
Nom.	vi	I	de(De)			
Obl	os	jer	dem (Dem)			

# Pronominal morphology – Swedish (Formal norm)

<i>Singular</i>	1st pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers. masc.	3rd pers. fem.	3rd pers. utrum	3rd pers. neutrum
Nom.	jag	du	han	hon	den	det
Obl.	mig	dig	honom	henne	"	"
<i>Plural</i>						
Nom.	vi	ni (Ni)	de			
Obl	oss	er (Er)	dem			

# Pronominal morphology – Colloquial Swedish

<i>Singular</i>	1st pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers. masc.	3rd pers. fem.	3rd pers. utrum	3rd pers. neutrum
Nom.	jag	du	han	hon	den	det
Obl.	mig	dig	” / honom	henne	”	”
<i>Plural</i>						
Nom.	vi	ni (Ni)	dom			
Obl	oss	er (Er)	”			

# Pronominal morphology – Nynorsk (New Norwegian)

Sing.	1st per	2nd per	3rd per masc	3rd per fem	3rd per neutr
NOM	eg	du	han	ho	det
OBL	meg	deg	han / honom	ho / henne	”
Plur					
NOM	me, vi	de	dei		
OBL	os	dykk	dei		

# Pronominal morphology – Bokmål (Dano-Norwegian)

<i>Singular</i>	1st pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers. masc.	3rd pers. fem.	3rd pers. utrum	3rd pers. neutrum
Nom.	jeg	du	han	hun /ho	den	det
Obl.	mig	deg	” / ham	henne / ho	”	”
<i>Plural</i>						
Nom.	vi	dere	de (De)			
Obl	oss	”	dem (Dem)			



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## Pronominal morphology – Mainland Scandinavian dialects

- Danish dialects have few deviations from the formal apparatus of the standard language, even though the actual phonetic shape may vary considerably (Jutlandish *æ* or *a* ~ standard *jeg*).
- In Swedish and Norwegian the forms of the paradigms may vary considerably, and especially the most remote dialects may have very deviating paradigms.

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## Pronominal morphology – Mainland Scandinavian dialects

- Some of the North Scandinavian dialects have a DAT form. I shall demonstrate a few, but otherwise I do not intend to discuss Dative in the dialects.
- The dialects in general tend to have fewer forms than the standard languages. Especially the Norwegian dialects demonstrate cases where Dative dialects have astonishing few forms.

# Colloquial North Swedish (Eklund 1982, Holmberg 1986b)

<i>Singular</i>	1st pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers. masc.	3rd pers. fem.	3rd pers. utrum	3rd pers. neutrum
Nom.	jag	du	han	hon	den	det
Obl.	mej	dej	”	”	”	”
<i>Plural</i>						
Nom.	vi	ni (Ni)	dom			
Obl	oss	er (Er)	”			

# Swedish dialect of Västra Nyland (Lundström 1939)

<i>Singular</i>	1st pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers. msc.	3rd pers. fem.	3rd pers. neutrum
Nom.	ja, jag	du, tu, et, 't	an	un, hu	he, e, det
Obl.	me, mej	dej	an, han, honor, 'n	un, henna, na	he, e
<i>Plural</i>					
Nom.	vi	ni	dom		
Obl.	oss	er	”		

# Swedish dialect of Nederkalix & Töre – unstressed forms (Rutberg 1924-31)

<i>Sing.</i>	1st pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers. masc	3rd pers. fem	3rd pers. neutr
NOM	je	du	on, en	hö, a, u	he
ACC	me	de	”	a, na	”
DAT	”	”	enu	”	”
<i>Plur.</i>					
NOM	ve	I	di		
ACC	oss	”	du		
DAT	”	”	”		

# Swedish dialect of Nederkalix & Töre – stressed forms (Rutberg 1924-31)

Sing.	1st pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers masc	3rd pers. fem	3rd pers neutr.
NOM	je	dæu	hon	höu	he
ACC	me	di:	”	höu	”
DAT	”	”	” /henu	henar	”
Plur.					
NOM	ve	I	dom		
ACC	oss	”	”		
DAT	”	”	”/domu		

# Norwegian dialect of Valle in Setesdal (Ross, Hannaas, Storm, ca. 1880-1920)

Sing.	1st p.	2nd. p	3rd p. masc	3rd p. fem.	3rd p. neutr
NOM	eg	du:	han	hu	de
ACC	meg	deg	”	hæ	dei
DAT	me, mi	de, di	ho	henni	di
Plur.					
NOM	me, mi	de, di	dei		
ACC	okko	dikko	”		
DAT	”	”	”		

# Pronominal Morphology – Norwegian dialect of Lom i Oppland (Sandøy 1987)

Sing.	1st p.	2nd. p	3rd p. masc	3rd p. fem.	3rd p. neutr
NOM	e:	du:	hain / øn	hu: / u	dæ: /dø:
ACC	me:	de:	”	”	”
DAT	”	”	honom / om	hena /øn	di:
Plur.					
NOM	oss	døkk	døm		
ACC	”	”	”		
DAT	”	”	”		



# Norwegian dialect of Møre and Romsdal (Sandøy 1987)

Sing.	1st per	2nd per	3rd per masc	3rd per fem	3rd per neutr
NOM	æi / i	du	(h)an	hou / hu	dæ
OBL	mæi / mi	dei / di	hono / no	hine / ne	”
Plur.					
NOM	vi, mi	de	dei		
OBL	oss	doke	”		

# Dialect of Ost-Oslo (Sandøy 1987)

<i>Sing.</i>	1st pers.	2nd pers.	3rd pers. masc	3rd pers. fem.	3rd pers. neutr.
NOM	jæi: / jæ	du: / ru	han / en	hu, hener, hun / a	de: / re
OBL	mæi: / mæ	dæi: / dæ, ræ	”	”	”
<i>Plur.</i>					
NOM	vi:	de:re	dem, døm, dom / rem, røm, rom		
OBL	vosj	”	”		

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## Norwegian dialects – further neutralisations

- 1st pers. plur is often neutralised as *oss*, but also occasionally *vi* (Sandøy 1987 p. 284)
- 2nd pers. sing. is neutralised as *du* in different parts of the country (Jahr (ed.) 1990 p. 37, 41, 151; Bjørkum 1968 p. 118, 207 and 1974 p. 299).
- 1st pers. sing. as a neutralised form is reported as a marginal case in Bjørkum 1968 p. 207.

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# Pronominal morphology

## Some important tendencies I:

- 3rd person may often lack inflectional form in the NOM | OBL-dialects
- If some 3rd person forms are inherently [-human], they hardly ever have inflectional forms, cp. *Dan den* and *det*.
- Stressed and unstressed forms may have varying distribution of case differences, cp. Nederkalix & Töre (3rd fem and 3rd plur either N | AD or NA | D).

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# Pronominal morphology

## Some important tendencies II:

- 1st and 2nd person forms tend to distinguish Nom and Acc/Dat; 3rd person forms tend to distinguish Nom/Acc and Dat.
- This is also seen in the etymology of the modern forms.
- If Substantives have case marking in Msc dialects, they most often distinguish a DAT form from a common NOM/ACC form.

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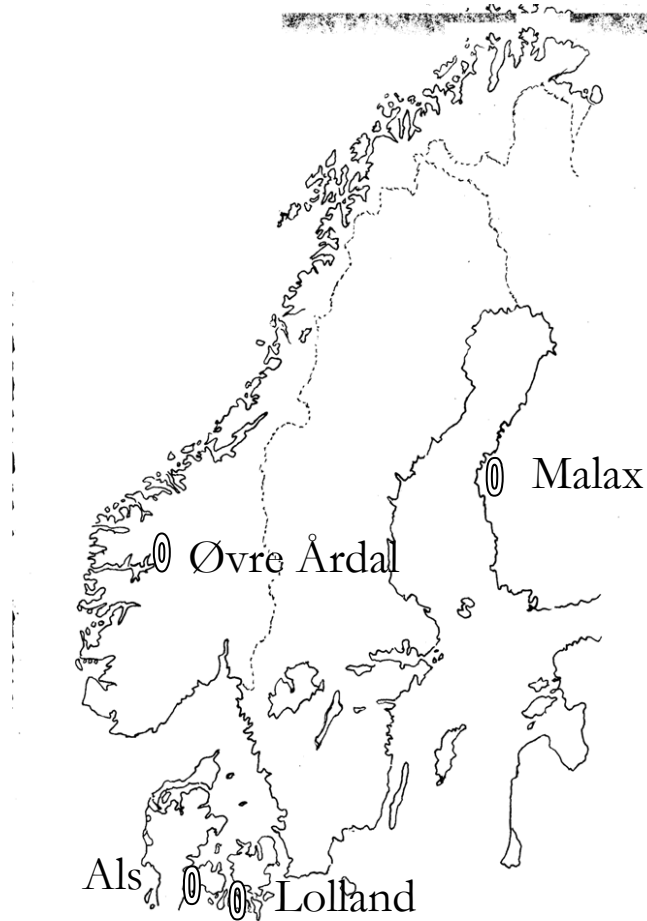
# Pronominal morphology

## Some important tendencies III:

- Only certain very old reports on Swedish dialects have found substantives with a NOM | OBL (ACC?) distinction (Schagerström 1882)
- Complete neutralisation of 1st and/or 2nd person is only known from Norwegian dialects, and from Northern Swedish dialects.

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# The four dialects in the investigation



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# The investigation

- My investigation, which is definitely not finished by now, had the form of a written survey sent to informants of the dialects, with whom I had some kind of personal contact. Such a written questionnaire has severe drawbacks, and as you will see, certain points in the investigation call for more detailed information. The questionnaire was constructed to check standard problems, but does not take specific features of the dialects into account.



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# Four dialects – Øvre Årdal

## Øvre Årdal

- Judgment of two speakers were obtained, one a trained philologist born in Øvre Årdal but living outside the township (I1), the other a municipal employee born, living and working there (I2). Their judgments differ considerably.

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## Four dialects – Øvre Årdal

- I1 gives certain responses that point to lack of OS:

- (11) E kjenne nåkk (h)an

'I know certainly him [=it]'

*I am sure I know it*

- (12) E saog ikkj 'an

'I saw not him [=it]'

*I did not see it*

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## Four dialects – Øvre Årdal

- (13) Me tok ikkj'an opp  
'We took not him [=it] up'  
*We did not take it up*
- Full NPs do not undergo OS:
- (14) E kjenne nåkk 'an Per  
'I know certainly DEF Per'  
*I do know Peter*

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## Four dialects – Øvre Årdal

- On the other hand certain cases point to OS:

- (15) Dei ga han nåkk te gjenta

'They gave it certainly to girl-the'

*The certainly gave it to the girl*

- (16) E be 'an nåkk kamma

'I ask him certainly come'

*I will certainly ask him to come*

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## Four dialects – Øvre Årdal

- And in some cases there is free variation, when both these are acceptable:
- (17) Dei ga 'na nåkk sykkedl  
'They gave her certainly bike-the'  
*They certainly gave her the bike*
- (17') Dei ga nåkk 'na sykkedl  
'They gave certainly her bike-the'  
*They certainly gave her the bike*

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## Four dialects – Øvre Årdal

- A most confusing case is the partial OS in these examples:
- (18) Dei ga 'na nåkk 'an  
      'They gave her certainly it'  
      *They certainly gave it to her*
- (19) Dei ga 'na nåkk 'an låll  
      'They gave her certainly it nevertheless'  
      *Nevertheless they certainly gave it to her*

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## Four dialects – Øvre Årdal

- Thus the judgments of I1 are best understood as a case of OS lacking in most cases. This fits not so badly with the extremely sparse inflection reported for this dialect.

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## Four dialects – Øvre Årdal

- I2 gives a very different picture. Here OS seems fully acceptable:

- (20) Eg kjenne 'an ikkje

'I know it not'

*I do not know it*

- (21) Eg saog 'an ikkje

'I saw it not'

*I did not see it*



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## Four dialects – Øvre Årdal

- In general I2 seems to give judgments that correspond to the standard language. I tend to believe the more controversial judgments by I1 more, although if I2 is trustworthy, it breaks another pane.

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# Four dialects - Malax

## Malax

- Malax is a clear-cut case of lacking OS. The pronouns are reported as being *in situ* in all clear-cut cases:
- (22) Jag såg inte den  
'I saw not it'  
*I did not see it*

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## Four dialects - Malax

- (23) Jag känner nog den  
'I know certainly it'  
*I certainly know it*
  
- (24) Jag ber nok han komma  
'I ask certainly him come'  
*I will certainly ask him to come*

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## Four dialects - Malax

- In the examples with interaction with central adverbs, OS nevertheless seems to be possible:

- (25) Dom ga henne nog den än

'They gave her certainly it nevertheless'

*Nevertheless they certainly gave it to her*

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## Four dialects - Malax

- Inflection in Malax is somewhere in between, as far as reports say,

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# Four dialects - Als

## Als

- This situation (as reported by a diglossic speaker of the dialect) is opaque.
- Inflection is like Standard Danish.
- Lack of OS is reported in Petersen 1993
- Lack of OS is found in certain test examples:

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## Four dialects - Als

- (26) Jeg så ikke den <-OS>

'I saw not it'

*I did not see it*

- - is preferred to (27), which is equivalent of Standard Danish (and also accepted by the speaker):

- (27) Jeg så den ikke <+OS>

'I saw it not'

*I did not see it*

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## Four dialects - Als

- OS does occur in some test examples:

- (28) Jeg kender den nok

'I know it certainly'

*I do know it*

- (29) Jeg kender nok den

'I know certainly it'

(same meaning)

- are both reported as acceptable by the speaker



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## Four dialects - Als

- When two pronouns interact with one adverb (*nok*), OS is also optional to the speaker. Both these are accepted:
- (30) De gav hende den nok  
      'They gave her it certainly'
- (31) De gav nok hende den  
      'They gave certainly her it'  
      *They certainly gave it to her*

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## Four dialects - Als

- In some cases the version without OS is reported to be incongruent with the dialect:

- (32) Jeg beder ham nok komme (+OS)

'I ask him probably come'

*I probably ask him to come*

- is preferred to:

- (33) Jeg beder nok ham komme (-OS)

(same meaning)

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## Four dialects - Als

- In general the negation *ikke* seems to allow both versions with OS and without OS.
- The central adverb *nok* on the other hand is found with regular nouns in front of it, probably indicating that it is not always central in this dialect:
- (34) De gav hende cyklen nok  
      'They gave her bike-the certainly'  
      *They certainly gave her the bike*

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## Four dialects - Als

- Occasionally the accepted test sentences include specimens with DO preceding IO, a phenomenon that is only acceptable with a handfull of peculiar verbs in Standard Danish:
- (35) De gav den hende nok  
      'They gave it her certainly' (DO before IO)  
      *They certainly gave it to her*

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## Four dialects - Als

- (36) De gav den hende nok alligevel  
    'They gave it her certainly nevertheless' (DO  
    before IO)  
    *Certainly they nevertheless gave it to her*
- This may be due to contact with German, where  
    this ordering is acceptable.

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# Four dialects - Lolland

## Lolland

- Lolland is included in the Southern Danish area without OS (Pedersen 1993)
- Inflection is like Standard Danish, i.e. rich.
- The picture here is relatively identical with Als, except that the judgment of the speakers (a university student from Århus, her father and the sister of the father) does not agree in all cases.

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## Four dialects - Lolland

- All three speakers accept some cases of OS with *nok*, but sometimes also with *ikke*. Only the younger generation accepts the non-standard version in this case:
- (37) Vi tog ikke den op  
'We took not it up'  
*We did not take it up*

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## Four dialects

- Interesting enough all three informants accept cases of DO before IO, like
- (38) De gav cyklen hende nok  
'They gave bike-the her certainly'  
*They certainly gave her the bike*



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# Conclusions

## Conclusions

- The survey indicates that at least one of the black panes is broken by some dialects:

# Conclusons

	<i>Rich pronominal inflection</i>	<i>Sparse pronominal inflection</i>
+ <i>'Object shift'</i>	Standard forms, many dialects	
- <i>'Object shift'</i>		Certain dialects

# Conclusions

	<i>Rich pronominal inflection</i>	<i>Sparse pronominal inflection</i>
+ ' <i>Object shift</i> '	Standard forms, many dialects	Certain dialects (Informant 2's Øvre Årdal, if ...)
- ' <i>Object shift</i> '	Certain dialects, e.g. Als and Lolland (DK), in some sense Malax (SF), Närpes (SF)	Certain dialects, e.g. Informant 1's Øvre Årdal (N)

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