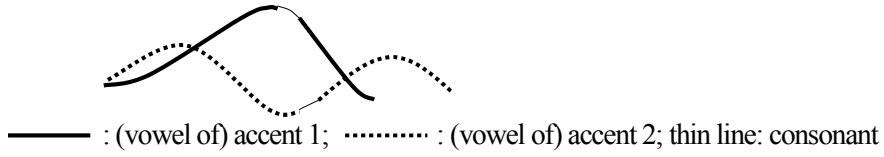


The Reason Why Object Shift does not Exist in Övdalian

I show that the absence of *Object Shift* OS (the terminology here refers to weak pronoun shift only) in Övdalian (the Älvdalens dialect of Swedish) is accounted for in terms of the intonational properties peculiar to this Scandinavian variety. In most of the Scandinavian languages a weak, unstressed object pronoun moves across a sentential adverb like the negation. OS can occur only when main verb movement takes place: (Swe.) *jag såg den inte* (I saw it not ‘I didn’t see it’) VS *jag har inte sett den* (I have not seen it ‘I haven’t seen it’; cf. **jag har den inte sett*) (*Holmberg’s Generalization*, Holmberg 1986). Only in Övdalian, however, does OS never occur even when verb movement takes place: (Övd.) *an såg it mig* (he saw not me ‘he didn’t see me’; cf. **an såg mig inte*) (Hellan and Platzack 1999, Garbacz 2009).

According to Kristoffersen (2008), Övdalian maintains the difference in word tone in the same way as most of the Swedish dialects. Övdalian accent 1 words have a stressed syllable that consists of L(ow) and the following H(igh). For sentence-final monosyllabic words the H peak occurs in the center of a stressed syllable, which is followed by a final L. For sentence-final disyllabic words the H peak occurs in the final part of the stressed syllable, which is followed by L on the next, final syllable. For sentence-final tri- and multi-syllabic words the H peak occurs early in the second syllable, with L coming on the final syllable. Thus, when a disyllabic accent 1 word *skenet* [stʃi:neð] ‘the shine’ comes to sentence-final position, the H peak occurs in the final part of the stressed syllable *sken-*, which is followed by L on the next syllable *-et*. The Övdalian accent 2 is classified into the so-called ‘double-peaked’ dialect represented by Stockholm Swedish, but has a complex melodic tone. The pitch contour of sentence-final disyllabic accent 2 words is like L-H-L-H(-L), in which each syllable is associated with H. Thus, when a disyllabic accent 2 word *skina* [skainc] ‘to shine’ comes to sentence-final position, both the first stressed syllable *skin-* and the following syllable *-a* consist of a rise, a H peak, and a fall. The pitch contours of disyllabic accent 1 and accent 2 words are illustrated below.

(1) Pitch contours of Övdalian disyllabic accent 1 (*skenet* ‘the shine’) and accent 2 (*skina* ‘to shine’) words:



(From Kristoffersen 2008:137, Fig.19)

I carried out an experiment to observe the intonational properties of the Övdalian non-OS constructions. On the basis of the literature on information structure (Lambrecht 1994), appropriate contexts were built with a question and the answer, the latter of which corresponds to each relevant construction: e.g. polarity-focus: *tjyöpt du buotje?* (bought you the-book ‘did you buy the book?’) – *näj, ig tjyöpt it en* (no I bought not it ‘no, I didn’t buy it’). Data were collected from three informants (two female and one male) by using PRAAT.

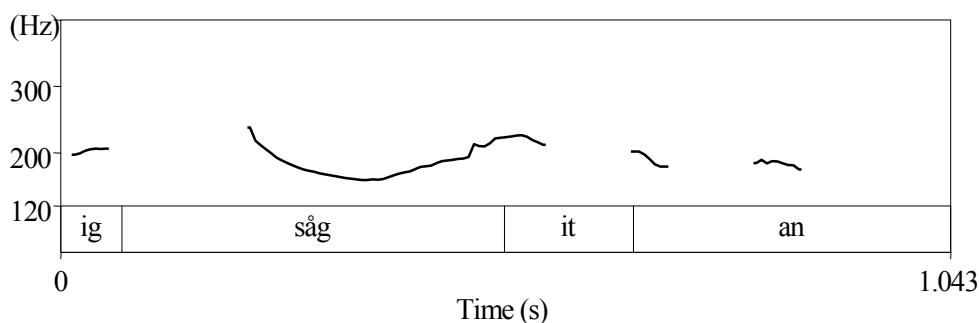
(2a) is the pitch picture of the simple tense forms with an accent 1 verb, (2b) that of simple tense forms with an accent 2 verb, and (2c) that of complex tense forms. In all the cases the main verb is focus-accented. What is noticed is that in the short domains that consist of a main verb and the following weak sentential element(s), the entire pitch contour is realized like that of a multi-syllabic verb. That is, in complex tense forms (2c) the entire pitch contour from the past participle to the object pronoun is like that of a disyllabic accent 1 verb (see (1)). In (2a) the entire pitch contour from the main verb, through the negation, to the object pronoun is like that of a trisyllabic accent 1 verb. In (2b) the entire pitch contour from the main verb, through the negation, to the object pronoun is like that of a trisyllabic accent 2 verb. In all these cases the final H peak occurs on the sentence-penultimate position, i.e. on the past participle (2c) and the negation (2a-b).

I argue that the reason why OS does not exist in Övdalian lies in the intonational properties peculiar to this Scandinavian variety that the final H peak occurs on the sentence-penultimate position in the short domains that consist of a main verb and the following weak element(s). It is predicted that in the presumed OS order such as **ig såg an it* (I saw him not), etc, in which an object pronoun would be in the sentence-penultimate position, the focal effect on the object pronoun should be produced. This is attested by Garbacz (2009:64,ft.48): some of the

Övdalian speakers accept the OS order, but they judge the shifted object pronoun as focused. The order of the negation and the following object pronoun is produced by movement of a main verb from the position between them to a higher position. I account for the fact that Övdalian is not subject to Holmberg's Generalization as follows: Movement of a focus-accented main verb provides the sentence-penultimate position on which the final H peak occurs for the element immediately to its left, e.g. the negation. This forces weak object pronouns not to move across that element so that they themselves might not occupy the sentence-penultimate position.

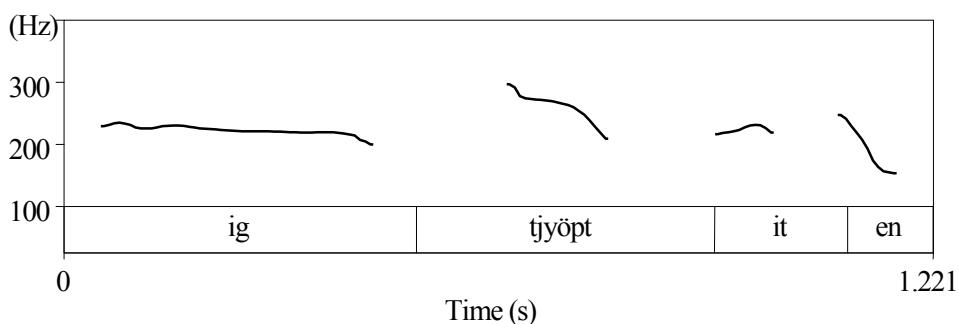
- (2) a. Ig såg it an. (I saw not him 'I didn't see him')

Övdalian (Female)



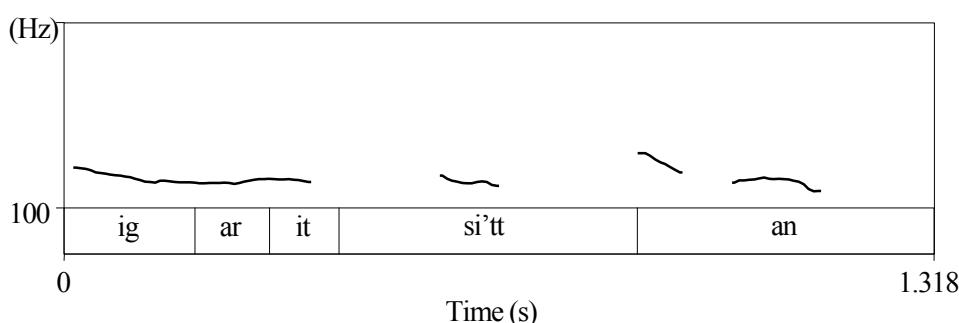
- b. Ig tÿöpt it en. (I bought not it 'I didn't buy it')

Övdalian (Female)



- c. Ig ar it si'tt an. (I have not seen it 'I haven't seen it')

Övdalian (Female)



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