HENRIK ROSENKVIST

Negative concord in four varieties of Swedish

1 Introduction

In standard Swedish, it is possible to use two negative expressions in the same clause (cf. SAG 4:5ff). The clause is then, as a rule, interpreted as non-negated – the negative expressions cancel each other (as in 1).

(1) Vi såg inte ingenting.
we saw not nothing
'We didn't see nothing' (≈ 'We saw something')

In many other languages (cf. Giannakidou 2006, Haspelmath 2013), as for instance several varieties of English (cf. Anderwald 2005, Trudgill 2009), the constellation in (1) results in a negated clause.

(2) We didn't see nothing. (≠ 'We saw something')

Unlike the case in Swedish, where two negated constituents seem to express two separate negations that counteract each other, the negation *not* and the negative indefinite *nothing* in (2) together express one semantic

I thank Johan Brandtler, Elisabeth Engdahl, Marit Julien, and two anonymous reviewers for providing valuable and constructive comments on earlier versions of this paper. Errors and inconsequences can however only be blamed on myself. I also thank *Svenska Odlingens Vänner* and all Estonian Swedish informants for their aid.

Rosenkvist, H., docent in Scandinavian languages, University of Gothenburg. "Negative concord in four varieties of Swedish". *ANF* 130 (2015), pp. 139–165.

Abstract: Negative concord (NC) does not occur in any of the Scandinavian standard languages. In this paper, NC in four varieties of Swedish is presented and discussed. The varieties are: Övdalian, Nylandic, southern Ostrobothnian and Estonian Swedish. While the common analysis of NC is that the negation is a syntactic head (Neg) that does not interact with other negated constituents in the clause, the Estonian Swedish verb *mike* ('may-not') does not trigger NC, although the negation is cliticized. This is possibly problematic for the head analysis. NC in the four varieties may historically either be archaisms, innovations or a result of language contact with Fenno-Ugric languages. It appears that the latter alternative is most probable.

Keywords: negative concord, negation, Estonian Swedish, syntax.

negation, and the clause is understood as negated. This phenomenon is known as negative concord (NC):

> Negative concord, sometimes also called double negation or multiple negation, involves instances where two or more negative morphemes co-occur and effect an overall negative reading in a clause, without logically cancelling each other out. (Anderwald 2005:113)

> Roughly, we talk about negative concord in situations where negation is interpreted just once although it seems to be expressed more than once in the clause. (Giannakidou 2006:328f).

NC cannot be attested in neither Swedish, nor in any other standard Scandinavian language: "NC is not a part of the grammar of the North Germanic standard languages" (Østbø 2013:217), and NC has not attracted much attention in Scandinavian linguistics (but see Garbacz 2010:122ff, and Østbø 2013:213ff). There is for instance no section on negation in Bandle et al. (2002, 2005), two comprehensive volumes about the Nordic languages, comprising 230 chapters. It has even been claimed that NC is absent from all varieties of the Scandinavian languages: "There is no *cumulative* or multiple negation, either in standard speech or in the dialects […]" (Haugen 1986:157), and that a typological universal prohibits Germanic languages from having NC (Bernini & Ramat 1996:187). However, NC do occur in some varieties of Swedish that deviate substantially from standard Swedish: Övdalian (Levander 1909:111, Garbacz 2010:85ff, Åkerberg 2012:327), Nylandic (Lundström 1939:151ff), southern Ostrobothnian (Ivars 2010:248ff) and Estonian Swedish. In this paper, I provide examples from these four varieties and discuss the syntactic analysis as well as the historical linguistic status of NC: is the presence of NC in these varieties an archaism, an innovation (or several independent innovations), or a result of language contact?

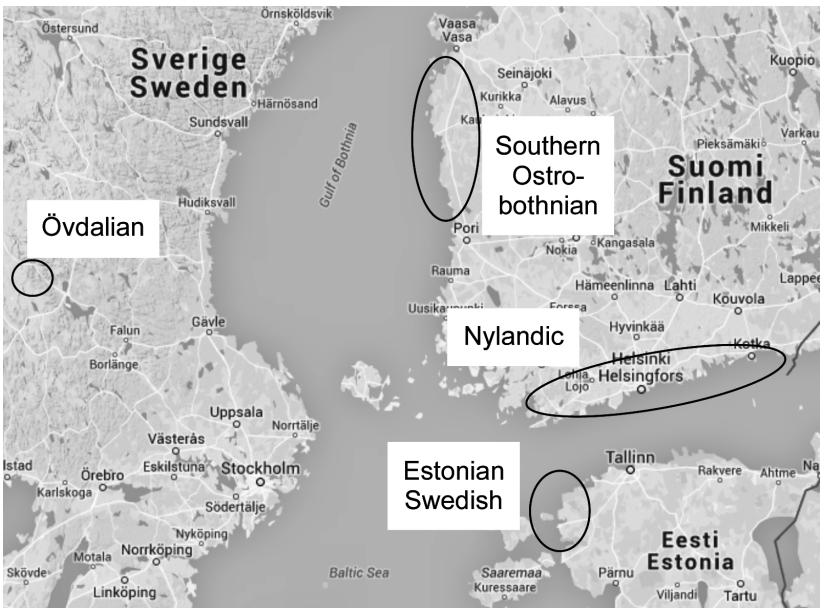
In the following section (2), short introductions to Övdalian, Nylandic, southern Ostrobothnian, and Estonian Swedish are provided. Then examples of NC are presented in section 3, while the topic of section 4 is the typological and syntactic properties of NC (here the Estonian Swedish verb *mike* 'may-not' is discussed too). Section 5 concerns the possible diachronic status of NC, and section 6 concludes the paper.

It should be pointed out that the aim of this paper is to present an introductory, broad view of NC in Swedish; comprehensive data are not available at present, and neither are deeper analyses possible at the current stage of investigation.

2 Övdalian, Nylandic, southern Ostrobothnian and Estonian Swedish – brief introductions

While Övdalian is a western variety of Swedish,[1] Nylandic, southern Ostrobothnian, and Estonian Swedish together constitute a group of eastern Swedish varieties. Traditionally, all of these language varieties are classified as dialects of Swedish, although a pure linguistic definition could possibly lead to a re-categorization, considering that they are all quite different from standard Swedish, in all linguistic aspects.

Övdalian is spoken in the province of Dalecarlia in western Sweden, in and around the village of Älvdalen (see map 1). There are about 2500 speakers of Övdalian at present (cf. Johannessen & Garbacz 2015). It belongs to the Upper Siljan-dialects, which for long have been known for their linguistic peculiarities: "The archaic and diversified dialects of Dalarna hold an exceptional position" (Hallberg 2005:1697). Among these varieties, Övdalian has preserved a number of features that have been lost elsewhere (cf. Garbacz 2011).



Map 1. The approximate location of Övdalian, Nylandic, southern Ostrobothnian and Estonian Swedish.

[1] In a geographic sense. Ringmar (2005) discusses Övdalian in the light of traditional divisions in eastern/western and northern/southern Scandinavian linguistic features.

Nylandic and southern Ostrobothian are spoken in Finland. In 2013, there were about 130 000 speakers of Swedish in Nyland, and about 90 000 in Ostrobothnia (Statistikcentralen 2014), but is is unclear how many of these speakers that command the traditional regional dialect – the Finnish supraregional variety of Swedish, serving as a standard Swedish in Finland, is successively gaining ground.

Estonian Swedish was traditionally spoken in the archipelago off the western coast of Estonia, and in some locations on the Estonian mainland. The speakers considered themselves to be ethnic Swedes. Due to the geographical prerequisites and other factors, several distinct dialects were developed; Lagman (1979:13) recognizes four dialect areas: Ormsö/Nuckö/Dagö, Rågö/Vippal/Korkis, Nargö and Runö.

During the second world war, a great majority of the Estonian Swedish population fled or was evacuated to Sweden. Aman (1961:253) asserts that 7 920 Estonian Swedes arrived in Sweden during the period 1940–1949, leaving behind about 1 000, of which some were recruited by the Soviet army and some were deported to Siberia and/or executed. In 1961, there were 1 281 Estonian Swedes in Estonia, according to Aman (1961:260). However, the Estonian Swedish language was not accepted by the new political authorities, and the remaining Estonian Swedes soon shifted to Estonian and/or Russian, being gradually assimilated with the surrounding population. While the Estonian Swedes in Sweden have upheld their cultural affinity, Estonian Swedish has not been transferred to the new generations. Estonian Swedish is thus a moribund language variety, currently being spoken on special occasions by no more than a few dozen elderly Estonian Swedes in Sweden.

The four language varieties all seem to have branched off from Swedish during the Middle Ages; deciding the "age" of these varieties is of course an issue with sociopolitical repercussions, and the linguistic data at hand (place names, dialect features etc.) do not provide any clear pictures, and neither do historical records, nor archeological data.

Melerska (2011:16; cf. also Dahl 2005) assumes that Övdalian (and other Upper Siljan-varieties) dates back to the 13th century, while Kroonen (2011) argues that certain sound changes indicate that Övdalian must have followed a trajectory of its own since the early Old Norse-period (around the 8th or 9th centuries). As for Finland Swedish, a common assumption is that Swedish was brought to Finland by a migration of Swedes from central Sweden, beginning in the 12th century (Institutet för de inhemska språken 2014). Likewise, Swedish colonists seem to have arrived to the coast of Estonia around the 13th century, but, as noted by

Markus (2004:89): "Since the source material is scanty and makes no direct mention of Swedish colonisation in either Finland or Estonia, any conclusions must be drawn indirectly". Based on her own archeological excavations in Enby (a hamlet on the Nuckö peninsula), Markus (2004:195) concludes, however, that is is plausible that this area was inhabited by ethnic Swedes already in the 10th century.

Both in Finland and Estonia, the Swedes kept communicating with coastal farmers and tradesmen in and around the Baltic Sea after the initial settlements, resulting in several waves of linguistic input into Eastern Swedish as well as successive migrations within this area. The island of Nargö, north of Tallin, was for instance re-settled by Swedish-speaking migrants from Nyland during the 18th century (Lagman 1979:13); the original Estonian Swedish settlement perished due to warfare, plagues and crop failures.

3 Negative concord in the four varieties

In this section, I present Övdalian, Nylandic, southern Ostrobothnian, and Estonian Swedish examples on negative concord. The sources are traditional and modern grammatical descriptions, as well as corpus material from the Nordic Dialect Corpus (NorDiaCorp 2014) and the corpus of Swedish spoken in Finland (Talko 2014). As for Estonian Swedish, a small questionnaire study has also been utilized.

It is important to point out, at this stage, that the basic structure of Swedish allows for doubling of several types of clausal constituents, including the sentential negation, in a final annex in the left periphery (cf. SAG 4:24, 451f). Constituents in the final annex are not assumed to belong to the clause proper, and are often separated from the inner clause by a short pause – in writing represented by a comma. SAG (4:451) underlines that "The annex repeats the negation, and the clause has accordingly the same negative meaning also without the annex" [my translation]. In (3), a standard Swedish example from SAG (4:439) is provided.

(3) Johan är **inte** så rolig, **inte**.
Johan is not so funny not
'Johan isn't very funny.'

Also *ingen* ('no one') and *ingenting* ('nothing'), allow for an extra negation in the final annex (as in 4a,b), but not *aldrig* ('never').

(4) a. Det kom **ingen** ambulans, **inte**.
it came no ambulance not
'There came no ambulance.'

b. Frimärken är **ingenting** för henne, **inte**.
stamps are nothing for her not
'Stamps aren't anything för her.'

c. *Vi såg **aldrig** Eiffeltornet, **inte**.
we saw never Eiffel-tower-the not
'We never saw the Eiffel Tower.'

Considering that the final annex does not form a part of the inner clause, structures such as (3) are not to be seen as instances of NC. Also in Övdalian, Nylandic, southern Ostrobothnian, and Estonian Swedish, negations may be doubled in a clause-final annex, but, in contrast with standard Swedish, in these varieties it is also grammatically possible to express more than one negative constituent in the inner clause, i.e. NC, as shown by the brief review below.

3.1 NC in Övdalian

In his Övdalian grammar, Åkerberg underlines that two or more negated expressions may occur together in one clause, and that they "strengthen each other, so that the meaning becomes perfectly clear" (Åkerberg 2012:327; [my translation]). The examples in (5–7) show NC in Övdalian – the negated expressions are in bold.

(5) a. Ig ar **it** si'tt **inggan**. (Garbacz 2010:86)
I have not seen no one
'I have not seen anyone.'

b. Tjyöpum **int ingger** so kringgt. (Levander 1909:111)
buy.1pl not no one so often
'We don't buy any very often.'

c. Ed ir dǫ wel **it** ad **ingg**, ed-dar. (Åkerberg 2012:327)
it is then well not for nothing that
'That is completely useless.'

Garbacz (2010:86–89) argues that the negation (*int/it*) must precede the other negated constituent in Övdalian (see 6a), and that NC is non-obligatory. It is furthermore possible to omit the negation, even when the subject is a negated indefinite pronoun (as in 6b).

(6) a. ***Intnoð** ar ig **it** ietið. (Garbacz 2010:87)
nothing have I not eaten
'I haven't eaten anything.'

b. Igår belld (**it**) **inggan** kumå að Mụora. (Garbacz 2010:87)
yesterday could not no one come to Mora
'Yesterday, no one could travel to Mora.'

In the corpus with transcriptions and recordings of Scandinavian dialects (NorDiaCorp 2014), there are a few examples of NC in Övdalian (7). These examples all follow the pattern that is displayed in (6): the negation precedes the other negated part of the clause.[2]

(7) a. Finggum **int intnoð** wattn og avlopp i stugụ.
got.1pl not nothing water and drain in house-the
'We didn't get any water and drain in the house.'

b. Ig ar **it aldri** aft so uont.
I have not never had so pain
'I've never had such pain before.'

c. Ellest ir **it** fel **intnoð** spesiellt.
otherwise is not surely nothing special
'Otherwise, it is nothing in particular.'

One of the examples (7c) is uttered by a relatively young informant (born in 1978), an indication that also younger Övdalians actually use NC.

Considering that NC is not obligatory, and that the negation must precede other negated constituents, one must conclude that Övdalian is a non-strict NC-language (cf. Giannakidou 2006:35ff), following the same principles when it comes to NC as for instance Italian. As will be clear from the presentations below, the same pattern is found also in the other three varieties.

3.2 NC in Nylandic

Negations in Nylandic have been discussed by Lundström (1939:154f), who points out that "Relatively often Nylandic is not satisfied just with one negation, but uses the negative words *inga*, *it*, *int* [variants of the negation] as a reinforcement of other negating determiners […]" [my translation]. The examples in (8) are quoted from Lundström (1939: 154f).

[2] No examples of the type in (6a) have been found in neither of the other electronic resources (NorDiaCorp and Talko).

(8) a. Dom a **it alder** vari i stonn ti dra iett.
they have not never been in mode to pull even
'They have never been able to agree.'

b. Ja ä **int** rädd för **ingan**.
I am not afraid of noone
'I'm not afraid of anyone.'

c. Han fick **int** ändo **inga straff**.
he got not still no punishment
'He still wasn't punished.'

Also in Talko (2014), a corpus with spoken Finland-Swedish, examples of NC from Nyland can be found. The NC-construction that is most frequent is *inte aldrig* ('not never'), which yields 37 hits in the data from Nyland (as in 9a), while *inte ingen* ('not noone') and *inte inget* ('not nothing') receive no more than three and null hits, respectively. The three examples with *inte ingen* furthermore occur in incomplete, fragmentary utterances like (9b), where the syntactic analysis is unclear. It is probable that these examples should not be seen as felicitous parts of speech, but as restarts and similar production errors.

(9) a. Men **int** ha ja **aldri** tjent nå:n från Kullå. (Borgå)
but not have I never known anyone from Kullå
'But I have never known anyone from Kullå.'

b. Ju **int** hä: fanns ju **ingen**…
well not here was well no one
'Well, not here was well no one.' [?]

Accordingly, the corpus data from Nyland, comprising data from 58 informants, indicate that NC only is used in the phrase *inte aldrig* ('not never') in current Nylandic. It is plausible that Nylandic has been affected by the supra-regional variety of Finland Swedish since Lundström (1939) made her investigations in the 1930s.

3.3 NC in southern Ostrobothnian

The syntax of southern Ostrobothian has been studied by Ivars (2010). Discussing the negation, she mentions that "*Aldrig* ['never] is used in Lf [Lappfjärd] and Ks [Kristinestad] also in combination with pleonastic *inte* ['not']" (Ivars 2010:250) [my translation]. Both of these small municipalities are located south of Närpes. In her examples – of which two

are shown in (10) – also a clause-final negative particle *i* occurs. This particle is also found in some parts of Sweden: Gotland, Roslagen and Hälsingland (cf. Rosenkvist 2012:114–117).

(10) a. Du va **it aldri** he **i**?
you were not never it not
'You weren't ever that?'

b. **It** ha dåm ju **aldri** ut tåmde förr **i**.
not had they well never out those before not
'They never had those out before.'

In Talko (2014), there is just one unambiguous example of NH from Ostrobothnia (presented in 11). It is uttered by a male speaker from Kvevlax (north-east of Vasa, in central Ostrobothnia) who was born in 1977.[3]

(11) **Int** a man ju såm **aldri** havi såm na kåntakt me teij **int.**[4]
not have you well like never had like any contact with them not
'You never have had like any contact with them.'

The example in (11) may indicate that NH is in use also in other parts of Ostrobothnia, but the scarcity of the material does not allow for any conclusions.

3.4 NC in Estonian Swedish

In traditional grammatical descriptions of Estonian Swedish, syntax have played an insignificant role. A telling example is Tiberg (1962). Under the headline *Some observations outside phonetics* [my translation] he states that "The syntax offers many surprises [my translation]" (Tiberg 1962:100) and then immediately proceeds to Estonian Swedish word formation. Nevertheless, NH is one of the syntactic features that characterise Estonian Swedish. In a recent grammatical description of the Nuckö dialect, Brunberg (2015:22) notes that NC may be used "as a reinforcement", providing the example *Ja so änt ingat bån tär* ('I didn't see any child there'). NC seems to be relatively infrequent in Estonian Swedish, however – there are approximately one example per

[3] In Talko (2014), recordings and transcriptions of 55 informants from Ostrobothnia are available, but only 9 out of these 55 informants come from southern Ostrobothnia, and there are no data from Kristinestad. Four of these nine transcriptions are furthermore quite short, comprising less than 1 200 words each.

[4] The clause-final negation *int* is here situated in the final annex.

2 000 words in Lagman (1990), a collection of Estonian Swedish texts from all dialect areas.[5]

In (12), some examples of NC in Estonian Swedish are presented. These are all taken from Lagman (1990); the source of each of the examples is provided.

(12) a. **Änt** kund han tåva **inga oxar** [...] (Nuckö)
not could he take no oxen
'He [the wolf] could not take any oxen.'

b. E Kälet [...] fickst **änt** ferekoma **inga larm**. (Ormsö)
in Kärrslätt was-allowed not occur no noise
'In Kärrslätt, no noise was allowed.'

c. Nö fick **itt inga** menski ga häim **itt**. (Rågö) [6]
now was-allowed no person go home not
'No person was allowed to go home now.'

d. **Äte** hav vi **engan kro** pa Run, å **äte** hav vi **engt kino**. (Runö)
not had we no pub on Runö and not had we no cinema
'We had no pub on Runö, and we had no cinema.'

The examples in (12) show that NC can be attested in all dialects of Estonian Swedish,[7] but they also demonstrate the marked variation in the realisation of the negation (cf. Rosenkvist in print). The form of the negation divides the four Estonian Swedish dialects in one northern and one southern group (as shown in 13).

(13) Negation in Estonian Swedish – dialectal variation

northern group	Nargö:	*inga*, *int*, *itt*
	Rågö/Vippal/Korkis:	*itt*
southern group	Ormsö/Nuckö:	*änt*
	Runö:	*äte*, *ät*

The form *inga*, which is particular for Nargö, may be explained by influence from Nylandic – as was stated above, Nargö was repopulated by

[5] The texts have an unclear status. Most of them were first written in Estonian Swedish, according to varying individual orthographic principles, by a speaker of Estonian Swedish, and then translated into standard Swedish by the editor Edvin Lagman. The two versions are presented side-by-side in the book. Some of the texts are poetic, others are more mundane, commenting on aspects of every-day chores. The texts have also been read aloud and recorded, in most cases by the respective authors.

[6] The clause-final negation *itt* is here situated in the final annex.

[7] There are however no examples of NC from Nargö in Lagman (1990), but this is probably due to the fact that the texts from Nargö are quite short and that they all are written by one and the same author.

Table 1. Responses on NC from 11 Estonian Swedish informants.

test sentence	informant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Pa Run hav vi engt kino. [no NC]												
on Runö have we no cinema		5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	3	5
'On Runö we have no cinema.'												
Pa Run hav vi äte engt kino. [NC]												
on Runö have we not no cinema		5	4	5	5	4	1	1	1	5	3	1
'On Runö we have no cinema.'												

settlers from Nyland in the middle of the 18th century. Lundström (1939:151) states that the form of the negation in Nylandic was *inga*, *int* and *it*, which corresponds well with Nargö Swedish. Also the form *itt*, attested on Rågö, might have been influenced by Nylandic, while *änt* and *äte/ät* seem to be archaisms (but see the discussion below); in Old Swedish, forms such as *änkte* were relatively frequent (Brandtler & Håkansson 2014).

At present, there are no electronic corpora of Estonian Swedish, and hence it is not possible to search for NC in the speech of the remaining Estonian Swedes. However, during field work in Stockholm in January 2015, 11 Estonian Swedish informants were asked to provide grammaticality judgements (in a supervised written elicitation task) on a set of Estonian Swedish test sentences with and without NC. A five grade scale was used: the score 5 represented the value "in full agreement with ordinary language use – this is what you normally say" while 1 corresponded to "in no agreement with ordinary language use – you never say so". Considering that none of the informants use Estonian Swedish in their everyday life, we primed the informants by showing an old video clip where three Estonian Swedes were discussing in fluent Estonian Swedish, hoping to stimulate a possibly dormant syntactic intuition.[8] A pair of test sentences and the results are illustrated in Table 1 (the score 3 is marked by light grey, and 1–2 with darker grey).

Interestingly, 4 informants (from Ormsö, Nargö and Runö) rejected NC-sentences completely. However, it was fairly obvious that these informants were influenced by prescriptive grammatical considerations, a couple of them stating explicitly that two negations do not make any sense and suggesting that one of the negations be removed. Informant 10 applied a very cautious strategy throughout, giving the score 3 in a ma-

[8] The applied method has been developed during projects such as ScanDiaSyn and NorDiaCorp – cf. Johannessen et al. (2010) and Rosenkvist (2012).

Table 2. Responses on NC-word order from 6 Estonian Swedish informants.

test sentence	informant	1	2	3	4	5	9
Pa Run hav vi äte engt kino. [neg > n-word] *on Runö have we no cinema* 'On Runö we have no cinema.'		5	4	5	5	4	5
Engt kino hav vi äte pa Run. [n-word > neg] *no cinema have we not on Runö* 'On Runö we have no cinema.'		4	4	2	2	2	1

jority of the relevant test sentences. 6 of the informants accepted NC. Some of them made statements such as "Yes, we said so", clearly recognising a pattern of speech from their youth.

Also the order between the two negated constituents was tested. As was shown above, only the order negation > n-word (e.g., *not nothing*) can be attested in Estonian Swedish texts, as well as in the other three language varieties.[9] In table 2, these test results are presented; only those six informants that accepted NC as such are included in table 2.

While all of the six informants found the order neg > n-word to be possible, two of the informants (1 and 2) also accepted the order n-word > neg, in contrast with our expectations, while the remaining four rejected such sentences.

Given that NC can be attested in Estonian Swedish texts from all dialect areas, and that no examples of the order n-word > neg can be attested in these texts, the results of our study may seem to be somewhat surprising. However, one must consider that all informants are elderly, and that Estonian Swedish has not been spoken in a natural habitat, so to say, since the 1940s. After the arrival to Sweden, the Estonian Swedes soon adopted standard Swedish, although Estonian Swedish was used in the home by some families. Out of concern for their children, many parents chose not to speak Estonian Swedish with them. The test situation was furthermore also novel for our informants, and some of them had obvious difficulties coping with it.

3.5 Summary

While standard Swedish does not allow NC, this syntactic feature can be found in several varieties of Swedish that differ substantially from standard Swedish. It is found in Övdalian, a western variety of Swedish, and in

[9] The notion of n-word is discussed in section 4.

three eastern varieties: Nylandic, southern Ostrobothnian and Estonian Swedish.[10] The syntactic structure seems to be identical in all of the four vernaculars – the negation precedes an n-word, i.e., a negated indefinite pronoun (corresponding to *not no one*, *not nothing*, etc.), or the negated adverb *aldrig* ('never'). The reverse order (*no one not* and *never not*) is unattested in texts and corpora (but two Estonian Swedish informants accepted it in a questionnaire study). Further studies are of course required in order to achieve a more comprehensive and detailed image of the status of NC in the four vernaculars.

In the following section, I discuss the typological status of NC in these language varieties, following the categorisations suggested by Giannakidou (2006) and subsequent works (mainly van Gelderen 2008, Breitbarth 2013, Østbø 2013, and Brandtler & Håkansson 2014), and considering the properties of the Estonian Swedish modal verb *mike* ('may-not').

4 NC – typological and syntactic features

In section 2, it was demonstrated that negative expressions corresponding to *no one*, *nothing*, and *never* could cooccur with the sentential negation in four varieties of Swedish, without causing a double-negation reading. Such inherently negative indefinite nominal and adverbial expressions are known as n-words (cf. Giannakidou 2006:328, Breitbarth 2013:174). The inherent streak of negativity becomes clear when n-words are used as fragment answers, as discussed by Giannakidou (2006:328ff). An Övdalian example is provided in (14).

(14) A: Ukin kam? 'Who came?'
B: Indjin. 'Noone.'

However, when defining n-words, Giannakidou (2006:328) includes the condition that a word is only an n-word if it may appear in NC-structures, which the Germanic languages "do not exemplify" (2006:328). Accordingly, standard Swedish *ingen* ('no one') and *aldrig* ('never') are not n-words, while corresponding nominals and adverbs in Övdalian etc. are.

According to Giannakidou (2006:352ff), there are two basic types of NC: strict and non-strict NC. In a strict NC-language, such as for in-

[10] The list is possibly not exhaustive. NC may occur also in the eastern parts of Åland (Eva Sundberg, p.c.).

stance the Slavic languages, n-words cannot appear without the sentential negation, even if there are several n-words in the clause. Another characteristic feature of strict NC-languages is that the relative order between the negation and n-words do not matter; in these languages, both of the orders n-word > neg and neg > n-word are possible, and there are no crucial semantic or pragmatic differences between these word orders. In a non-strict NC-language, on the other hand, n-words are fully grammatical without any accompanying negation, and the word order n-word > neg is disallowed (unless a double-negation reading is intended). As shown by Garbacz (2010:86–89), Övdalian is a non-strict NC-language (see the examples in 6), and the data from Nylandic, southern Ostrobothnian, and Estonian Swedish suggest that also these vernaculars are non-strict NC-languages. No authentic examples of n-words preceding the negation have been attested (and isolated n-words without negations are common). A preliminary conclusion is accordingly that all of the four vernaculars are non-strict NC-languages.

Interestingly, NC in English dialects follow the same pattern, according to Anderwald (2005:120ff), while some American English vernaculars allow n-words to precede the negation (Labov 1972, Mufvene et al. 1998), as in *Nobody don't like a boss hardly* (Labov 1972:786).

Zeijlstra (2004) argues that negative constituents may either be syntactic heads (Neg) or syntactic phrases (NegP). A common syntactic analysis of NC (cf. also van Gelderen 2008, Brandtler & Håkansson 2014) is that the sentential negation in a NC-language is a syntactic head (Neg), not a phrase (NegP). Being a head, it may co-occur with other negators in the same clause without triggering double reading-effects. Zeiljstra (2004:165) states clearly that "All languages with a negative marker X° [Neg] are NC languages", and van Gelderen assumes that in a diachronic perspective, a change NegP > Neg is the underlying cause for NC: "once the negation is in the head position, it is weakened to the point where it no longer 'interferes' with a second or third negative" (van Gelderen 2008:208). The relation between head status of the negation and NC may thus be seen as biconditional: all NC-languages have Neg, and Neg is a prerequisite for NC to appear, according to van Gelderen (2008).

Two telltale signs that reveal that a negation is a syntactic head are that it is phonetically reduced, and that it may cliticize to other constituents in the clause. Brandtler & Håkansson (2014) note that in some northern and eastern varieties of Swedish, the standard Swedish negation *inte* has been reduced (due to apocope and/or assimilation, cf. for instance Wessén 1958:11ff) and appears as *int*, *it* or similar variants, and this circumstance

leads them to conclude that "the very same dialects that showcase the reduced form *int* also allow negative concord" (2014:27). While this is incorrect – NC is unattested in northern Swedish – it is nevertheless interesting that the four vernaculars that are discussed in the present work all have reduced sentential negations. Övdalian, southern Ostrobothnian, and Nylandic have the forms *int* and *it(t)*, while Estonian Swedish also has the forms *änt* and *äte* (cf. 13).

Given the hypothesis that head status and NC are interrelated, the Estonian Swedish modal auxiliary verb *mike* ('may-not') is of particular interest. An example from Ormsö is provided in (15).[11]

(15) Ia **mike änt** hoa hed hus du kan läsa.
I may-not not have heard how you can read
'I have heard that you can read.'

In (15), *mike* cooccurs with the sentential negation *änt*, but nevertheless no NC-reading emerges – the negations in *mike* and *änt* appear to cancel each other, just as in the Swedish example in (1). According to Danell (1951:280), *mike* is derived from *må* ('may') plus a negation.[12] However, the Estonian Swedish negation is in general *int*, *it*, *änt* or *äte* (see 13 above), corresponding to standard Swedish *inte*. This suggests that another, older negation is involved in the formation of *mike*, since neither *int*, *it*, *änt* nor *äte* can contribute a *k* to the modal *må*. It is plausible that the negation in *mike* was *inkte* or *ikke*, forms that were common in Old Swedish and that eventually developed into *inte* (as discussed by Brandtler & Håkansson 2014; cf. also SAOB *icke*). The development may thus have been: *må ikke* > *må'ikke* > *mike*. An intermediate stage, where the negation has cliticized to the host *må*, is of course required in the process of change.[13]

If phonetic reduction and cliticization is an indicator of head status, as argued by van Gelderen (2008) as well as Brandtler & Håkansson (2014), it is clear that the negation that was incorporated with *må* must have been a syntactic head. Still, *mike* does not trigger NC, while the regular Estonian Swedish negation does.[14] This is an indication that head status

[11] The example is taken from the dialect archive in Uppsala (ISOF 1126:1, 1925).

[12] The similarity with the Afrikaans negative imperative marker *moenie*, composed of the verb *moe* 'may' and *nie* 'not', is striking (cf. Biberauer 2015).

[13] As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, the vocalism in *mike* is unexpected. In Norwegian dialects, cliticization of *ikke* on *må* results in *må'kke* rather than **m'ikke*. It is possible that Estonian *mitte* may have influenced the form of *mike* (see below).

[14] If *mike* is seen as an n-word, it does not follow the restriction that the order n-word > neg is disallowed in Estonian Swedish.

and NC are not mutually dependent on each other, but rather two independent phenomena. Breitbarth (2013:190) claims that also Old Low German had Neg, but not NC, and a similar asymmetry may be found in Old Spanish (Poole 2009). Interestingly, Brandtler & Håkansson (2014) claim that the Old Swedish negation *eigh* had head-like properties:

> In this paper, we have shown that the decline in clause-initial negation in the history of Swedish parallels a lexical shift in the use of negative adverbs: from *eigh* during the Old Swedish period to *icke* and subsequently *inte* during more recent times. We have argued that Old Swedish *eigh* maintained a number of syntactic properties suggestive of a syntactic phrase head: it could cliticize to the finite verb and co-occur as a particle with the finite verb in [C] without violating the V2-restriction. (Brandtler & Håkansson 2014:125)

However, even if *eigh* could appear as a syntactic head in Old Swedish, it did not evoke NC – as stated above, there are no clear instances of NC in Old Swedish. Data from Old Low German (Breitbarth 2013), Old Spanish (Poole 2009), Old Swedish (Brandtler & Håkansson 2014), and Estonian Swedish (the modal verb *mike*) accordingly indicate that the correlation between a negation with head features and NC is not as robust and direct as suggested in Zeijlstra (2004) and subsequent works, an assumption that is often repeated. Rather, is seems that a weak head-like negation may linger in non-NC-languages for substantial periods of time, such a typological state not necessarily leading to the development of NC. This observation is of relevance for the understanding of Jespersen's Cycle (cf. the discussion in Breitbarth 2013) and for the typological categorization proposed by Biberauer & Zeijlstra (2012), who suggest that Swedish is a language of the negation-doubling type: both n-words and the negation are semantically negative in Swedish. While this is true for Standard Swedish, it is argued in this paper that there are also varieties of Swedish that resemble Germanic NC-varieties such as Afrikaans etc.

5 Possible diachronic explanations for the occurence of NC in the four varieties of Swedish

The geographical distribution of the four varieties of Swedish that are the topic of this paper is discontinous (see map 1 above). NC is attested in the west of Sweden (Övdalian) as well as in three eastern varieties, two of

them spoken in Finland and one in Estonia. There are three possible diachronic explanations for this distribution which are discussed in this section. NC in the respective language varieties must either be seen as archaisms, innovations, or as results of language contact.

5.1 The archaism-hypothesis

The four Swedish NC-varieties are spoken in the periphery of the Swedish language area, and this may indicate that NC is an archaic feature, having been ousted from the central area (Stockholm with surroundings) by later innovations. Another argument for the archaism-hypothesis is that the NC-varieties are archaic (in comparison with modern Swedish) also in other aspects. They have kept three genders, the verbs are still inflected for person and/or number and so forth – indications that Övdalian and the three eastern varieties branched off from Swedish during the Middle Ages (cf. the discussion in section 2 above).

A serious problem for this hypothesis is of course the lack of NC in Old Swedish. Neither does NC occur frequently in earlier stages of Nordic (cf. Eythorssón 2002, van Gelderen 2008, Anderwald 2005:131ff, Kusmenko 2011:66ff, Brandtler & Håkansson 2014). The few Old Norse examples that remind of NC (all to be found in poetry) furthermore seem to be qualitatively different. The double negations in clauses such as (16), with *né* and a negative particle or affix *-að* or *-at*, are quite dissimilar from the linguistic realization of NC in for example Övdalian.

(16) ef Gunnar **né** komr**að**. (Atlaqviða 11)
if Gunnar not comes-not
'if Gunnar does not come.'

According to Haugen (1986:158), the negator *né* "had probably disappeared in speech before 700", and the negating *at*/*að*-suffix is only found in a singular runic inscription in Sweden – on the Karlevi stone on Öland (from about 1 000 AD), in a skaldic verse (Haugen 1986:161; cf. also Kusmenko 2002:103, Eythórsson 2002:195). So, even if there are a few instances of NC in Old Norse, it seems that the negation *eigi* replaced the older negating affixes and particles well before Övdalian and the eastern varieties branched off from Swedish.

Another fact that strenghtens the view that NC was uncommon in Old Norse is that NC is more frequent in the dialects of southern England than in the North (Anderwald 2005:127, 130–134). In the North of England, 13,7 % of negated clauses also display NC, but in the Southeast

the percentage is 46,7 %. According to Anderwald (2005), the reason for this difference is language contact:

> In a language contact situation where in Old English as well as in Middle English the traditional negator *ne* was already unstable, it is therefore not surprising that intensive language contact in the North of England with an NI or V-NI language [a language without NC] like Old Norse should have promoted the demise of preverbal *ne*, and supported the use of the new negator *not* with an *any*-form instead. (Anderwald 2005:133)

A third, a final, reason for assuming that NC was not a productive part of Old Norse grammar, is an interesting section of Víga-Glum's saga. This saga was written in the first half of the 13th century, but the events take place about 200 years earlier; the main character, Víga-Glum, passes as an old man in AD 1 003 (Ohlmarks 1964:11). In the saga (chapter 25), Víga-Glum is suspected for having slayed an enemy, and he is required to testify that he is innocent. He complies by uttering an oath, the core of which is quoted in (17).

(17) eg var**k at** þar og vá**k at** þar og rauð**k at** þar odd og egg
I was-not not there and killed-not not there and stained-not not there point and edge
'I wasn't not there, and killedn't not there, and stainedn't not there point and edge.'

The three instances of *-k* in (17) is a cliticized version of the Old Norse negation *ekki*, while the three *at* correspond to the Old Norse negative *-að* or *-at* (see above). Glum accordingly uses three double negations in his oath. Interestingly, the wording of the oath is discussed in the saga, and when it is relayed to Thorvard, a wise man, he concludes that Glum has been wily, and proclaims that there is only one way to interpret the oath:

> I have known men who have declared themselves to have slain others, but I have never known a case of a man swearing explicitly that he was guilty, as Glum did. How could he say more than he did when he declared that he was there at the doing of the deed, that he took part in the death, and that he reddened point and edge […] (Icelandic Saga Database)

Alving (1945:151), Ohlmarks (1964:223) and Jóhannesson et al. (2014:394) provide Swedish translations of the oath. While Ohlmarks paraphrases the section, Alving and Jóhannesson et al. both use double negations, albeit in separate clauses – corresponding to *It was not the case that I did not…* As for the present discussion, it seems clear that Víga-Glum could probably not have utilized this kind of linguistic trickery if NC had been

a productive part of grammar at this time. In that case, his oath would have been ambiguous, but Thorvard's interpretation of it is unquestionable, as is evident by the following events in the saga; Glum is once again called to court, where he finally confesses.

North Germanic seems to differ from West Germanic when it concerns NC. Hoeksema (1997) discusses the loss of NC in Old Dutch, Langer (2001) describes the loss of NC in High German, Ingham (2006) and Trudgill (2009) accounts for the same phenomenon in Old English, and, as was mentioned above, Breitbarth (2013) accounts for the development and eventual loss of NC in Low German. Interestingly, the loss of NC in all of these varieties seems to be caused by standardization initiated by prescriptive grammarians.

> The disappearance of optional clitic negation appears to be part of the process of standardization which leads to modern standard Dutch. Flanders, which at that point is politically detached from the northern Netherlands, is not subject to the standardization process. Many archaic features of Dutch, such as verb projection raising and clitic negation remain present in Flemish dialects and are only now being pushed out of the system by the pressure of standardization. (Hoeksema 1997:141)

> [...] despite a decrease in the use of polynegation as a marker for emphatic negation in general writing (cf. Pensel 1976), the grammarians did discuss the construction and, in all cases until the eighteenth century, polynegation was a legitimate, sometimes even positive (*zierlich*, Girbert 1653) rule of German which stood in contrast to Latin in that two negative words did not cancel each other out. This view had changed, however, by the mid-eighteenth century, when polynegation was negatively stigmatized as a redundant construction, violating the general rationalist view that language should be as precise as possible, and avoid all that is not strictly necessary (cf. Blackall 1966). (Langer 2001:167)

> However, as a broad generalisation it seems reasonable to believe that the loss of the *ne* sentential negator may indeed have had repercussions on the expression of negation in English, in terms of favouring NPIs rather than NC, at least in the educated register of English transmitted to us by the textual record. (Ingham 2006:94)

> This [NC] is certainly only vernacular, but it is difficult to argue for it as a vernacular universal when in fact it is confined to the vernaculars simply because it has been lost in Standard English – because of a linguistic change that took place in (pre-)Standard English. (Trudgill 2009:307)

NC is still in use in several West Germanic vernaculars and dialects, such as Bavarian (Weiß 2002) and numerous English dialects (Anderwald

2005), but not in any of the West Germanic traditional standard languages. NC in non-standardized West Germanic must hence be considered archaisms – in the West Germanic area, NC survived in those varieties that were not affected by linguistic purification processes instigated by normative grammarians and scribes in the service of a growing central bureaucracy.

However, the presence of NC in Estonian Swedish etc. cannot be explained as archaisms, considering the facts that have been discussed in this section.

5.2 The innovation-hypothesis

A second possibility is that NC in the four language varieties should be seen as innovations. Given the geographic distribution, the innovation hypothesis would demand at least two separate acts of innovation, since it is quite improbable that an innovation in Estonian Swedish or in any of the Fenno-Swedish varieties would spread to Övdalian, or vice versa, whereas a spread within the Eastern Swedish linguistic area is far from unlikely. Accordingly, it is necessary to postulate one innovation in the east (in either southern Ostrobothnian, Nylandic or Estonian Swedish) and one in the west (in Övdalian). The necessity to assume two parallel, and probably more or less simultaneous, innovations weakens the innovation hypothesis, since it is far from obvious that similar linguistic prerequisites can be attested in Övdalian and in the eastern varieties.

A methodological problem is of course that no historical texts are available. As for Övdalian, the earliest text is from 1622 (Prytz 1622), and there are also a few occasional studies such as Näsman (1733), but these works are short and do not yield any clues regarding NC. From the latter half of the 19th century, there are more comprehensive studies of Övdalian, but at that time NC is already an integrated part of Övdalian grammar. The situation is similar concerning the eastern language varieties: when they are documented, NC is present, and no emerging stages can be attested.

Accordingly, it is not really possible to investigate the innovation hypothesis properly. Due to the lack of diachronic data, we are not able to neither reject nor confirm the assumption that NC developed spontaneously in the four language varieties, or even to claim that such a development is probable, or improbable. Abstaining from further speculation, I therefore turn to the third alternative – that NC arose as a result of language contact.

5.3 The contact-hypothesis

Sollid (2006) discusses the Sappen-dialect in northern Norway, and suggests that there are some linguistic features in this variety of Norwegian that has been developed through language contact with the Kven language (Kven is a minority language in Norway since 2005). One of the features is NC; one of Sollid's examples is provided in (18).

(18) Eg hadde **ikke aldri** hørt om det. (Sappen-Norwegian)
I had not never heard about it
'I had never heard about it.'

As for NC in Övdalian and the Eastern varieties, it is worth noting that they have for long been spoken in areas adjacent to Fenno-Ugric languages: Finnish in Finland, Estonian in Estonia, and – possibly – Saami in Dalecarlia. There were reindeer-herding Saami in the Dalecarlian forests until the beginning of the 19th century (Svanberg 1981, Skielta 2012), and it is therefore quite plausible that speakers of Övdalian were in contact with speakers of (some variety of) Saami for centuries.

Finnish, Saami and Estonian express standard negation through a negating verb, as many Uralic languages do (cf. Miestamo 2011, Miestamo et al forthcoming). Interestingly, there are linguistic structures in both Saami (19) and Estonian (20) that may have caused Övdalian and Estonian Swedish to develop NC (cf. van Gelderen 2008:212ff for a syntactic analysis of negations in Saami and Finnish).[15]

(19) In leat goassige duođas jurddaš-an dan. (northern Saami)[16]
NEG.1SG be ever really think-PTC it.ACC
'I have never really thought about it.'

In (19), *goassige* may be seen as an negative polarity item, and an untrained speaker may interpret it as meaning 'never'. In that case, *goassige* acts an extra negation (in addition to the negating verb *in*), and from such an analysis it would follow that Saami is an NC-language. However, *goassige* also occur in regular declarative clauses and does not require a negative context. The relevant point is that clauses such as the one in (19) may have given Övdalians that did not have a good command of Saami an illusion that Saami has NC, and inspired them to introduce NC in Övdalian.[17]

[15] I thank Marit Julien (p.c.) for northern Saami examples, glossings and translations, and Eva-Liina Asu-Garcia (p.c.) for Estonian examples and translations.

[16] van Gelderen (2008:212) glosses *goassige* as 'never', but according to Marit Julien (p.c.), *goassige* is not interpreted as negative when it occurs in non-negative contexts.

[17] In Dalecarlia, southern Saami was used. Due to the paucity of speakers and the scarcity of data, it has not been possible to utilize southern Saami examples, however.

In Estonian, there are also conspicuous structures that may give rise to NC in contact languages (20).

(20) a. Ta **ei** taha midagi. (Estonian)
s/he not want something
'S/he does not want something.'

b. Ta **ei** taha **mitte** midagi. (Estonian)
s/he not want not something
'S/he does not want something.'

In Estonian, the negating verb *ei* "has lost all inflectional marking" (Miestamo 2011:90), and *mitte* is a negative adverb that optionally reinforces the negation (Eva-Liina Asu-Garcia, p.c.). The non-inflecting verb *ei* is almost identical with the Swedish negating adverb *ej*, and may have been interpreted as a negative adverb by the speakers of Estonian Swedish. Unlike the Saami *goassige*, *mitte* requires a negative context – the example in (20b) hence is an instance of NC.

The resemblance between Estonian Swedish *mike* (see the discussion in section 4) and Estonian *mitte* is furthermore intriguing, and it cannot be ruled out that there is a direct relation between these two negative elements, considering that there is no element like *mike* in any other variety of Scandinavian. The gradual development of *mike* must have been facilitated by the existence of a phonetically and semantically similar element in the geographically closest linguistic neighbor to Estonian Swedish, i.e. Estonian.

When discussing the contact-hypothesis, it is important to point out that the linguistic setting in northern Norway differs from Älvdalen, Österbotten, Nyland and western Estonia – in northern Norway, there has been a language shift from Kven to Norwegian, and NC may hence be seen as a transfer from Kven. In the other areas, no similar shifts have occurred.[18]

6 Summary and conclusions

The syntax of negation has been a relatively popular research topic for linguists ever since Jespersen (1917), but the Scandinavian languages have not been as thoroughly explored as German, English and other West-Germanic languages. One of the features relating to Swedish negation

[18] I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for making this circumstance clear to me.

that has been relatively unknown is negative concord (NC). In this paper I have provided a description of NC in four varieties of Swedish. It has been demonstrated that NC can be attested in Övdalian, Nylandic, southern Ostrobothnian and Estonian Swedish, and that there are interesting syntactic similarities: negations must precede n-words, and NC is optional. Following Giannakidou (2006), all of the discussed varieties of Swedish are to be seen as non-strict NC-languages.

Considering that NC has been assumed to be absent from all Scandinavian languages and dialects (Haugen 1986:157), research inspired by the new data may improve our understanding of the historical development of NC, and lead to a better insight into the syntactic prerequisites for NC and a clearer view of the syntax of NC in general. For example, the presence of NC in both western and eastern varieties of Swedish raises questions about the necessary conditions for NC to appear, in particular since NC is not attested in Old Swedish. Furthermore, the syntactic and semantic features of the Estonian Swedish modal verb *mike* do not seem to correlate with the assumption that head status of the negation coincides with NC, as proposed by Zeiljstra (2004) and subsequent analyses of NC (van Gelderen 2008, Brandtler & Håkansson 2014 etc.). These are just some of the issues that require further investigation.

References

Ahlin, Rebecka. 2014. Negationsharmoni i estlandssvenskan. Inst. för svenska språket, Göteborgs universitet. Unpubl. paper.

Aman, Viktor. 1961. Estlandssvenskarna under andra världskriget. *En bok om Estlands svenskar*, 181–264. Ed. by Edvin Lagman. Stockholm: Svenska odlingens vänner.

Anderwald, Lieselotte. 2005. Negative concord in British English dialects. *Aspects of English negation*, 113–137. Ed. by Y. Iyeri. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bandle, Oscar, Kurt Braunmüller, Ernst Hakon Jahr, Allan Karker, Hans-Peter Naumann, Ulf Teleman, Lennart Elmevik & Gun Widmark (eds.). 2002. *The Nordic Languages I. An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Bandle, Oscar, Kurt Braunmüller, Ernst Hakon Jahr, Allan Karker, Hans-Peter Naumann, Ulf Teleman, Lennart Elmevik & Gun Widmark (eds.). 2005. *The Nordic Languages II. An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton*.

Bergman, Gösta. 1952. Nordliga provinsialismer i det svenska talspråket. *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 66, 131–215.

Bernini, Giuliano and Ramat, Paolo. 1996. *Negative Sentences in the Languages of Europe: A Typological Approach.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Biberauer, Theresa & Hedde Zeijlstra. 2012. Negative Concord in Afrikaans: filling the typological gap. *Journal of Semantics* 29 (3), 345-371.

Biberauer, Theresa. 2015. Preserving Germanic syntax via exotic means: V2 in modern Afrikaans. Talk at ICHL 22, Naples.

Brandtler, Johan & Håkansson, David. 2014. Not on the edge. The syntax and pragmatics of clause-initial negation in Swedish. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 17:2, 97–128.

Breitbarth, Anne. 2013. The development of negation in Low German and Dutch. *The development of negation in the languages of Europe*, Vol. I: Case studies, 190–238. Ed. by D. Willis, C. Lucas and A. Breitbarth. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brunberg, Göte. Nuckösvenskan, formlära. Göte Brunberg, Ingeborg Gineman, Inga Ekman, Ingegerd Lindström & Hjalmar Stenberg, *Ordbok för Rickulmålet*, 9–28. Rickul/Nuckö Hembygsförening.

Dahl, Östen. 2005. Att sätta älvdalskan på kartan. *Rapport från Fuost konferensn um övdalsky.* Utg. av Gunnar Nyström. http://www.nordiska.uu.se/arkiv/konferenser/.

Danell, Gideon. 1951. *Ordbok över Nuckömålet*. Uppsala: Lundequistska bokhandeln.

Danell, Gideon., A. Schagerström & Herbert Gustavson (red.). 1918–1945. *Gotländsk ordbok*. Skrifter utg. genom Landsmålsarkivet i Uppsala A:2.1–2. Uppsala.

Eythórsson, Thórhallur. 2002. Negation in C: The syntax of negated verbs in Old Norse. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 25, 190–224.

Garbacz, Piotr. 2010. *Word Order in Övdalian*. Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University.

Garbacz, Piotr. 2011. Sambandet mellan morfologi och syntax i de nordiska dialekterna. *Studier i dialektologi och sociolingvistik*, 113–122. Utg av Lars-Erik Edlund, Lennart Elmevik and Maj Reinhammar. Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur.

van Gelderen, Elly. 2008. Negative cycles. *Linguistic Typology* 12, 195–243.

Giannakidou, Anastasia, 2006. N-words and negative concord. *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax* III, 327–391. Ed. by Martin Everaert & Henk van Riemsdijk. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Gustavson, Herbert. 1972–1985. *Ordbok över laumålet på Gotland*. Skrifter utg. genom Landsmåls- och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala D:2. Uppsala.

Hallberg, Göran. 2005. Dialects and regional linguistic varieties in the 20th century. Bandle et al. 2005, 1691–1706.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2013. Negative Indefinite Pronouns and Predicate Negation. *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Ed. by Matthew S. Dryer & Martin Haspelmath. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. http://wals.info/chapter/115.

Haugen, Einar. 1986. Negative Reinforcement. Some thoughts on saying "no" in Scandinavian. *Arkiv för nordisk filologi* 101, 149–172.

Hoeksema, Jack. 1997. Negation and negative concord in middle Dutch. *Negation and polarity: syntax and semantics,* 139–158. Ed. by Danielle Forget, Paul Hirschbühler, France Martineau & Maria-Luisa Rivero. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

af Hällström-Reijonen, Charlotta. 2012. *Finlandismer och språkvård från 1800-talet till idag*. Helsingfors universitet, finska, finsk-ugriska och nordiska institutionen.

Ingham, Richard. 2006. Negative concord and the loss of the negative particle 'ne' in Late Middle English. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 42, 77–97.

Ivars, Ann-Marie. 2010. *Sydösterbottnisk syntax*. Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland.

Jespersen, Otto. 1917. *Negation in English and other languages*. Reprinted in Selected Writings of Otto Jespersen (1962), 3–151, George Allen and Unwin Ldt.

Johannessen, Janne Bondi, Øystein Alexander Vangsnes, Signe Laake, Arne Martinus Lindstad & Tor Anders Åfarli. 2010. The Nordic dialect corpus and database: methodological challenges in collecting data. *Proceedings of Methods XIII Papers from the Thirteenth International Conference on Methods in Dialectology 2008*. Peter Lang Publishing Group.

Johannessen, Janne Bondi & Piotr Garbacz. 2015. Övdalian from 1909 to 2009. *Studies in Övdalian Morphology and Syntax,* 11–46*.* Ed. by Kristine Bentzen, Henrik Rosenkvist & Janne Bondi Johannessen. Amsterdam etc.: John Benjamins.

Kroonen, Guus. 2011. The role of the Elfdalian nasal vowels and the reconstruction of Proto-Germanic. Unpubl. seminar notes, the Grammar Seminar 19/10 2011. Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University.

Kusmenko, Jurij. 2002. Utvecklingen av suffigerad negation i urnordiskan. *Strövtåg i nordisk språkvetenskap. Föredrag från det 6:e studentkollokviet i nordisk språkvetenskap*, 102–120. Ed. by Sven Lange. Berlin.

Kusmenko, Jurij. 2011. *Der samische Einfluss auf die skandinavischen Sprachen*. Berlin: Nordeuropa-Institut.

Labov, William. 1972. Negative Attraction and Negative Concord in English Grammar. *Language* 48, 773–818.

Lagman, Edvin. 1979. *En bok om Estlands svenskar 3A. Estlandssvenskarnas språkförhållanden*. Stockholm: Kulturföreningen Svenska Odlingens Vänner.

Lagman, Edvin. 1990. *En bok om Estlands svenskar 3B. Estlandssvenskar berättar*. Stockholm: Kulturföreningen Svenska Odlingens Vänner.

Lagman, Herbert. 1971. *Svensk-estnisk språkkontakt*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Langer, Nils. 2001. *Linguistic purism in action*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Levander, Lars. 1909. *Älvdalsmålet i Dalarna. Ordböjning ock syntax*. Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner.

Lundström, Gudrun. 1939. *Studier i nyländsk syntax*. Stockholm: Norstedt.
Markus, Felicia. 2004. *Living on another shore. Early Scandinavian settlement on the north-western Estonian coast*. Uppsala: Dept. of Archeology and Ancient History.
Melerska, Dorota. 2011. *Älvdalskan – mellan språkdöd och revitalisering*. PhD-diss., Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza, Poznań.
Miestamo, Matti. 2011. A typological perspective on negation in Finnish dialects. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 34, 83–10.
Miestamo, Matti, Anne Tamm & Beáta Wagner-Nagy (eds.). Forthcoming. *Negation in Uralic Languages*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Mufwene, Salikoko, John R. Rickford, Guy Bailey & John Baugh. 1998. *African American English*. London: Routledge.
Näsman, Reinhold. 1733. *Historiola lingvæ Dalekarlicæ*. Uppsala.
Østbø, Christine. 2013. *North Germanic Negation*. PhD thesis, University of Tromsø.
Poole, Geoffrey. 2009. The syntax-discourse interface and the development of N-words in Spanish. *Current Issues in Linguistic Interfaces*, 1408–1422. Ed. by Werner Besch, Anne Betten, Oskar Reichmann & Stefan Sonderegger. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
Prytz, Johannes. 1622. *En lustigh Comoedia Om then Stormechtige Sweriges, Göthes, Wendes Konung*… Upsala: Eskil Matzson.
Ringmar, Martin. 2005. Älvdalska – en önordisk språkö på fastlandet? *Proceedings from the 1st Conference on Övdalian*. http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A431173&dswid=-2120
Rosenkvist, Henrik. 2012. Forskning i svensk dialektsyntax – förutsättningar och frågeställningar. *Årsbok 2012. Vetenskapssocieteten i Lund*, 102–122.
Rosenkvist, Henrik. In print. Negationer i estlandssvenskan. To be published in the conference volume from Svenska Språkets Historia 13, Umeå.
SAG = Teleman, Ulf, Staffan Helberg & Erik Andersson. 1999. *Svenska Akademiens grammatik*. Stockholm: NorstedtsOrdbok.
SAOB = *Ordbok över svenska språket*, utg. av Svenska Akademien. Lund 1893–.
Skielta, Anna. 2012. Skogssamerna i de mellansvenska skogarna. www.samer.se/4049.
Sollid, Hilde. 2006. On negation in a Northern Norwegian dialect. *Finno-Ugric language contacts,* 127–139. Ed. by Greg Watson & Pekka Hirvonen. Frankfurt am Main etc.: Peter Lang Publishing Group.
Svanberg, Ingvar. 1981. *Sockenlappar. En etnologisk studie av bofasta samer och deras nomadiska förfäder i Mellansverige*. Uppsala universitet, etnologiska institutionen.
Tiberg, Nils. 1962. *Estlandssvenska språkdrag*. Estlandssvenskarnas folkliga kultur 6. Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 38. Uppsala & Köpenhamn.
Trudgill, Peter. 2009. Vernacular universals and the sociolinguistic typology of English dialects. *Vernacular universals and language contacts: evidence from varieties of English and* beyond, 302–320. Ed. by Markku Filppula, Juhani Klemola & Heli Paulasto. London: Routledge.

Weiß, Helmut. 2002. A quantifier approach to negation in natural languages, or why negative concord is necessary. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 25, 125–153.
Wessén, Elias. 1958. *Våra folkmål*. Femte upplagan. Malmö: Fritzes.
Zeijlstra, Hedde. 2004. *Sentential Negation and Negative Concord*. PhD thesis, University of Amsterdam.
Åkerberg, Bengt. 2012. *Älvdalsk grammatik*. Älvdalen: Ulum Dalska.

Electronic sources

Institutet för de inhemska språken. 2014. http://www.sprakinstitutet.fi/sv
ISOF. Institutet för språk och folkminnen. http://www.sprakochfolkminnen.se
http://www.kotus.fi/index.phtml?l=sv&s=161
Statistikcentralen, 2014. http://www.stat.fi/tup/tilastotietokannat/index_sv.html
Talko 2014. http://tekstlab.uio.no/glossa/html/?corpus=talko
NorDiaCorp, 2014. Nordic Dialect Corpus.
http://tekstlab.uio.no/glossa/html/?corpus=scandiasyn
The Icelandic Saga Database, 2014. http://sagadb.org/viga-glums_saga.en#21