

Clause-final negative particles in varieties of Swedish

Distribution, grammatical properties, and possible etymologies

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While the Swedish negator *inte* may be doubled in a final clause-external position, in both standard Swedish and dialects, many dialects also allow a final, clause-internal particle (*e*, *i* or *ai*) in negated clauses. FNPs occur in a coherent area around the Baltic Sea, and in contrast with doubling negation, they are possible both after both *inte* and *aldrig* 'never'. FNPs are also used in questions and exclamations, contexts that disallow doubling negation. These particles may have developed from the former Swedish negator *ej* or from the common *inte*. An argument for the former alternative is that other dialectal phenomena that spread from central Sweden during the late Middle Ages have approximately the same geographic distribution. In the final section of the paper, some typological consequences and implications are discussed. Furthermore, it is argued that syntactic studies of non-standard varieties may reveal new insights of typological relevance.

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1. Introduction

The syntax of negation is a specific linguistic research field which attracts the attention of both typologists, semanticists and syntacticians (see Horn 1989, Haegeman 1995, Dryer 2009, Dahl 2010, and many others). Few other linguistic items have such a salient meaning, are so frequent, and display such a rich variation (both inter- and intralinguistic) as the negation. Negation in the Nordic languages has been explored in e.g. the dissertation by Jespersen (1917), a work mainly about negation in English, and by Østbø Munch (2013), the first dissertation about the syntax of negation in any Nordic language. Some other recent

studies of Swedish negation are Bockgård (2012), Lindström (2005, 2009, 2014), Brandtler & Håkansson (2014), and Rosenkvist (2015, 2018). However, the Nordic languages have had little impact on the international study of negation – in the book *The history of negation in the languages of Europe and the Mediterranean* (Willis et al. 2013), negation in e.g. Mordvin is discussed, but no data from any Nordic language is included. Accordingly, Dahl’s (2010: 34) statement that “[t]here is a wealth of potential topics for research papers or even doctoral theses relating to the typology of negation” seems to be particularly relevant for Swedish and the other Nordic languages.

In the research project *The Syntax of Negation in Swedish* (2016–2019), the intention was to study both synchronic and diachronic aspects of negation in Swedish, including the dialects. The topic of the present article is such a dialectal feature, namely clause-final doubling negative particles (FNPs). FNPs occur in a number of varieties of Swedish but not in standard Swedish. This topic has previously been explored in two BA theses (Munther 2007, Skirgård 2010) and in a relatively brief conference paper (Rosenkvist 2018), all in Swedish.

In the following Section (2), I present some data about negation in standard Swedish, as a general (typological) background. In this section I also present how the FNPs differ from standard Swedish negation, presenting their defining characteristics, before I discuss a number of examples from different areas in Section 3. In the following Section (4), the topic is the grammatical properties of the FNPs, while a discussion about possible etymologies can be found in Section 5. In Section 6, some typological observations, and implications, are discussed. The paper is concluded in Section 7.

2. Negation in Swedish and FNPs – a background

A prominent feature of Swedish is that it is a V2-language, like all other Germanic languages except for English. Thus main clauses have only one slot available in front of the finite verb, and that position is often (but far from always) occupied by the subject. The unmarked basic word order is thus SVO. Furthermore, in standard Swedish negation is in general expressed by the negating adverbial *inte*, situated between the finite verb and the object – resulting in the word order SVNegO (1).¹

1. Teleman et al. (1999, 4: 167ff) provide a comprehensive overview of the possible positions of negators in standard Swedish main and embedded clauses, as well as in other constituents.

- (1) *Lena gillar inte fisk.*
 Lena likes not fish
 ‘Lena does not like fish.’

In a typological overview of negative expressions in the world’s languages, Dryer (2009) does not mention Swedish, but he points out that Danish represents a typologically rather uncommon type of language, being both VO and VNeg. This pattern is of course prevalent in all of the Nordic languages, including Swedish.

The negator *inte* may also appear in clause-initial position, in front of the finite verb (2).

- (2) *Inte gillar Lena fisk.*
 not likes Lena fish
 ‘Lena does not like fish’

In standard Swedish, clause-initial negation is a pragmatically marked option, signalling that the speaker opposes against a previous utterance, or that the clause is emphatically negated (Teleman et al. 1999, 4: 175f). In some northern and eastern Swedish varieties, however, a clause-initial negation seems to be more frequent and less marked (see Lindström 2014). A negator, a negated noun phrase, or a negative pronoun in initial or medial position may furthermore be doubled by a negator in a clause-external, final position (3a)–(d).

- (3) a. *Lena gillar inte fisk, inte.*
 Lena likes not fish not
 ‘Lena does not like fish.’
 b. *Inte gillar Lena fisk, inte.*
 not likes Lena fish not
 ‘Lena does not like fish.’
 c. *Lena äter inget kött, inte.*
 Lena eats no meat not
 ‘Lena does not eat meat.’
 d. *Lena åt ingenting idag, inte.*
 Lena ate nothing today not
 ‘Lena didn’t eat anything today.’

Doubling of the type in (3) is not common in the written language, but occurs in colloquial spoken Swedish (cf. van der Auwera 2009: 49, Østbø Munch & Garbacz 2014). In general, none of the negative expressions are stressed, and there is a notable pause (indicated by commas in Examples (3a)–(d)) separating the clause proper from the final doubling negation. Teleman et al. (1999, 4: 182) point out that the construction is typically used when the speaker wishes to underline that he/she considers the content of the utterance to be self-evident – it cannot be

called into question. Not all negated expressions may be combined with a final doubling negation in standard Swedish, however; the adverbial *aldrig* ‘never’ cannot be doubled with *inte* (4).

- (4) **Lena äter aldrig fisk, inte.*
 Lena eats never fish not
 ‘Lena never eats fish.’

The pragmatic function may furthermore explain why negators cannot be doubled in non-asserted contexts, such as questions (5) and exclamatives (6), since it does not make any sense to mark a question or an exclamation as self-evident.

- (5) **Äter Lena inte fisk, inte?*
 eats Lena not fish not
 ‘Does not Lena eat fish?’
- (6) **Ät inte fisk, inte!*
 eat not fish not
 ‘Do not eat fish!’

Doubling negation of the type illustrated in (3) is used all over Sweden.

There is however also another type of negative doubling in parts of the country, as in (7).

- (7) *du har inte gjort det riktigt e*
 you have not done it properly FNP
 ‘You haven’t done it properly.’ (Munther 2007, appendix 1: 3)²

In (7), the negation is doubled by a clause-final, unstressed *e* [ɛ]. This element has a divergent form and is thus not a mere duplication of the standard negator *inte*. While a doubling negation in standard Swedish is often preceded by a short pause and appears to be situated in a clause-external position (Jespersen 1917: 72, Teleman et al. 1999, 4: 182), the doubling *e* belongs to the inner clause. In dialect recordings, there is in general no notable pause separating *e* from the clause proper, even if a comma may precede *e* in texts written in different dialects (see examples below). The clause-final particle may also be realized as [i] and [ai] in the Swedish dialectal area, being written as <i> and <ai>, respectively. The clause-final negative particles (FNPs) that are discussed in the remainder of this work accordingly display the following properties:

2. See Section 3 for a description of the empirical sources for the present study. Negators and clause-final negative particles (FNPs) are in bold face in all following examples. Furthermore, I will not provide morphological glossing, since morphology is irrelevant for the present study.

- they are monosyllabic, non-inflectable words that are pronounced as a short vowel ([i], [ɛ]) or as a diphthong ([ai])
- they are unstressed
- they are clause-final
- they are not separated from the clause by any prosodic break or pause
- they only occur, optionally, in negated clauses.

The grammatical properties of the FNPs are discussed further in Section 5, but first the utilized data sources, and the geographical distribution and variation in form of the FNPs are presented (in the following sections).³

3. Distribution and variation in form

In this section, I present the data sources for the present study, and provide examples from those provinces (Swedish *landskap*) in Sweden and Finland where FNPs are (or have been) attested. The geographical distribution is discussed in some detail, and Swedish place names are not translated. For an overview of the distribution, see Map 1 in Section 3.4.

3.1 Data sources

In traditional studies of Swedish dialectology, FNPs are mentioned by e.g. Tiselius (1902:10; Roslagen, western Uppland), Gustavson (1977:36; Gotland), and Källskog et al. (1993:97; Uppland). The two Gotlandic lexicons (Danell et al. 1918–1945, Gustavson 1972–1975), both provide examples of FNPs at the entry for *ej*, the Gotlandic standard negator. The national dialect archive in Uppsala furthermore has samples from Gotland, Uppland, Medelpad, Hälsingland and Ångermanland (Skirgård 2010:12, Annika Karlholm, p.c.).

In the corpora that are the results of contemporary dialectal studies, such as NorDiaCorp and Talko, FNPs can be found too. It is however possible that some FNPs in the Swedish part of NorDiaCorp may have been transcribed erroneously, since FNPs are a quite unknown part of the grammar of Swedish dialects.⁴ An utterance such as *Me it va de nån inne däri* ‘but there wasn’t anyone in there’

3. The pragmatic function of FNPs will not be discussed in the present paper. However, in e.g. Hälsingland they are quite frequent, occurring in about 60% of all negated clauses (Munther 2007, Skirgård 2010), which clearly indicates that in that region they have a different function than standard Swedish double negators.

4. More information about relevant research projects, acronyms, and web resources are provided in the list of references.

(recording of a younger man, Fjällsjö, Ångermanland) could possibly also be transcribed as *Me it va de nån inne där e*, with an FNP. The transcriptions of the Fenno-Swedish recordings in Talko are probably more trustworthy in this respect, since it was known by the researchers and transcribers that FNPs did occur in some of the Fenno-Swedish dialects when the transcriptions were initiated.

FNPs were furthermore a part of the questionnaire studies that now form the content of the Nordic Syntax Database. This method, questioning informants about their language, always implies a risk for receiving questionable data, since language users sometimes misperceive their own language use. For instance, during fieldwork on Gräsö (Uppland) in 2011, an older informant adamantly denied using FNPs, although she just had spontaneously produced the utterance *Färjan har inte kommit än e* ‘The ferry has not t arrived yet’, with a very obvious FNP (see Rosenkvist 2012: 115ff).

Another important source is Ruth Olsson’s Övdalian children’s book *Mumunes Masse* (‘Grandma’s cat’) from 1987, which has been translated into about 40 Swedish dialects. All of the translations, which consist of both texts and recordings, have been collected in a corpus, the Cat Corpus, with 47 pdf files, and sound files of the first part of the text. In Forsa and Järvsö, for example, the book is called *Mommas Fräsen* (see Example (7) above).⁵ The different versions of *Mumunes Masse* have in many cases been translated by dialect speakers or committees of dialect speakers with a high linguistic awareness, inducing the problem that salient and acknowledged features of the respective dialects may have been exaggerated, and examples from this corpus should accordingly be handled with some care, and preferably be checked against other data sources.

Finally, I have had the opportunity to work with listeners of the Swedish national radio program *Språket* ‘the language’. As a participating expert, I simply asked the listeners in March 2016 whether they had heard anything similar to FNPs, after providing a couple of examples. About 60 responses from a great number of locations were received, consisting of examples as well as of considerations concerning form, meaning, and usage.

To sum up, the present work is based on a number of different types of sources, which provide a relatively clear view of the properties of FNPs in current varieties of Swedish, and an approximation of their distribution (see Map 1 in Section 3.4). To map the distribution of FNPs in finer detail, i.e. at the level of specific parishes, would require comprehensive field work in Sweden as well as in Finland.

5. The corpus has been created by Östen Dahl, who has also kindly granted me access to it.

3.2 Formal variation and its distribution in Sweden

As was stated in the introduction, there are two BA theses on FNPs – Munther (2007) and Skirgård (2010). Both investigate and discuss FNPs in Hälsingland, an area which seems to form a kind of epicentre for FNPs in Sweden. In Hudiksvall, the main regional city, FNPs are well established in the local dialect, and even occur in texts written by early grade pupils.⁶ In the Cat Corpus, FNPs are most frequent in the Forsa- and Järvsö-versions, two of the texts from Hälsingland (Examples (8), (9)). FNPs are spelled as <e>, reflecting the local pronunciation [ɛ]. However, in the third text from Hälsingland (Färila), there are no FNPs, but rather a final *häll*, a dialectal version of the Swedish *heller* ‘either’ (Example (10)). In this usage, *häll/heller* has a pragmatic function similar to the English tag *you know* (as in *You shouldn’t feed the birds, you know*).

- (8) *Fuglar ska man fell int mata e.*
birds shall you surely not feed FNP
‘Surely, one should not feed the birds.’ (Mommas Fräsen: 7; Forsa)
- (9) *Fôggla ska man fell int mata, e.*
birds shall you surely not feed FNP
‘Surely, one should not feed the birds.’ (Mommas Fräsen: 7; Järvsö)
- (10) *Fôggglâ skâ mânn fäll int matâ, häll!*
birds shall you surely not feed either
‘Surely, one should not feed the birds.’ (Mommases Fresn: 7; Färila)

The question that was issued in the radio program resulted in a great number of examples from the entire province of Hälsingland – radio listeners from Hudiksvall, Söderhamn, Bollnäs, Järvsö, Ljusdal, Ytterhogdal, Stocka and Trönö recognized the clause-final *e* and provided examples from their own language use.

No examples from Medelpad, the province just north of Hälsingland, were received, however, nor were there any FNPs in NorDiaCorp (but in the dialect archive in Uppsala, a handful of examples from Medelpad can be found).

On the other hand, in both Gästrikland and Ångermanland (south and north of Hälsingland, respectively), FNPs occur, in the same phonetic shape as in Hälsingland (i.e., [ɛ]). Clear examples from Hamrånge (Gästrikland), Fjällsjö and Sollefteå (Ångermanland) were provided by the radio listeners, and in the Cat Corpus there are also FNPs in the Jonsele-version (Ångermanland; see Examples (11), (12)), an indication that the Ångermanland River may constitute an approximate northern border of the FNP distribution.

6. Håkan Franck, p.c.

- (11) *“Int si jäg na e.” sa Momma.*
 not see I her FNP said Momma
 ‘I can’t see her, said Momma.’ (Mommas (gamm) katta: 15; Jonsele)
- (12) *han had no int klara ä dänne e.*
 he had probably not made of it FNP
 ‘He had probably not made it.’ (Mommas (gamm) katta: 22; Jonsele)

As for the westward spread, FNPs seem to be used in the eastern parts of Härjedalen (in the shape of *e*) – a few examples from Sveg were provided by the radio listeners. The only text from Härjedalen in the Cat Corpus (*Kahtta hinnji Mor*) is from the western part of the province, however, and in that text there are no FNPs.

In the very beginning of the 20th century, Tiselius (1902) noticed the presence of FNPs in dialects more to the south. In his study of the Fasterna dialect in Roslagen (western Uppland), he underlines that “Among those things that first catch the attention of a stranger in the Fasterna dialect is the pleonastic negation *e*, that occurs very often at the end of negated sentences [...]” (Tiselius 1902: 147).⁷ In a more recent study of the same area, the same phenomenon is observed by Källskog et al. (1993: 97): “In some parts of Uppland, mainly in Roslagen, an unstressed negating particle *e* occurs at the end of negated clauses [...]”⁸ During field work 2011 on Gräsö, an island in Roslagen, it was confirmed that FNPs are still used, and that two forms occur: *e* and *i*. Some radio listeners also provided examples from this area – the southernmost was from Norrtälje. Accordingly, it seems that Uppland, or to be more precise Roslagen, is the southern limit for FNPs on the Swedish mainland.

In the Gotlandic dictionaries (Danell et al. 1918–1945, Gustavson 1972–1975), FNPs are to be found under the entries for *ej* ‘not’, in the shape of the diphthong *ai*. Gustavson (1977: 36) notes, however, that there seems to be some variation in Gotlandic (see (13)).

- (13) *Dei gar int dei ai/i.*
 it goes not it FNP
 ‘That is not possible.’ (Gustavson 1977: 36)

As is illustrated by (13), FNPs may (or could – see below) occur as either *ai* or *i* in Gotlandic.

There are two Gotlandic texts in the Cat Corpus (*Mårmårs Bånsn* in Gotlandic, and *Mormors Bånsen* in the Fårö dialect), but in neither can any FNPs be

7. Translated from Swedish by HR.

8. Translated from Swedish by HR.

found. Likewise, there are no FNPs in the Gotlandic transcriptions in NorDia-Corp, although there are 44 instances of clause-final negation (all in the standard form *inte*). A radio listener from Gotland also firmly denied that FNPs are present in contemporary spoken Gotlandic (but as was noted above, dialect speakers may use FNPs but not being aware that they do). It is to be assumed, accordingly, that the Gotlandic FNPs have not survived the dialect levelling that Swedish dialects have been exposed to during the last century.

3.3 Formal variation and its distribution in Finland

That there is a clause-final doubling negator *e* or *i* in the Fenno-Swedish dialects, has been noted by Ivars (2010: 269f) in her study of southern Ostrobothnian, and by Leinonen (2015: 122f) in a similar study of the dialect in Åboland (see (14), (15)). The Fenno-Swedish dialectal lexicon *Ordbok över Finlands svenska folkmål* (under the entry *inte* 'not') points out that “unstressed and in clause-final position” the negation may occur as *e* on Brändö, Iniö, Houtskär, and Korpo (i.e., in the north-eastern parts of Åland and in western Åboland), while *i* is used in Lappfjärd and Sideby (southern Ostrobothnia). I analyse these doubling negators as FNPs, since they appear to have identical phonetic and morphosyntactic properties as the Swedish FNPs.

- (14) *Ja hede veit it ja i.*
 yes that know not I FNP
 ‘Well, I do not know that.’ (Ivars 2010: 269)

- (15) *då ja va ba:rn så fans hä:r no ingga riktit nå sje:l hellär e*
 when I was child then was here probably not really any seal either FNP
 ‘When I was a child, there were probably not any seals here.’
 (Leinonen 2015: 123)

The negator *ingga*, as in (15), is common in Åboland and on Åland, but it alternates with *ijnt* and *int*. Leinonen (2015: 206) underlines that “Whether there are any syntactic or semantic difference in the usage of the two forms has not been investigated”. Further examples from Brändö are provided by Sundberg (1993: 189ff), who has transcribed local recordings from 1934 and 1989 (see Example (16)).

- (16) *Nä:ij, ingga sãm ja: kãmbär ihã:g e.⁹*
 no not that I remember PART FNP
 ‘No, I can’t remember that’ (Sundberg 1993: 189)

9. In (16), *ihåg* is glossed as a verb particle.

In Talko, a contemporary corpus of spoken Fenno-Swedish, there are 30 instances of FNPs in the shape of *i*, and 12 in the shape of *e*.¹⁰ All *e*-forms are from Kumlinge and Brändö, as expected, but the corpus searches also gave evidence that FNPs in the shape of *i* are in use not only in southern Ostrobothnia, Åboland and Åland, but also in western Nyland (examples from Bromarv, Hangö, Sjundeå, Tenala, Ingå, and Karis were attested). FNPs are however not mentioned in Lundström (1939: 151ff), a study of Nylandic syntax with a relatively detailed presentation of the syntax of the negation, which indicates that the western Nylandic FNPs may have spread from adjacent regions relatively recently.

3.4 Overview of the distribution and form of FNPs

The detailed presentation above may have obscured the fact that FNPs occur (or have occurred) in regions and provinces that form a coherent, circum-Baltic area, as illustrated in Map 1.¹¹

In Sweden, the most common form is *e*, but in Roslagen and on Gotland there is variation between *e/i* and *ai/i*, respectively. The form *i* is on the other hand prevalent in Finland, with variation *e/i* only in the central areas Åland and Åboland. To sum up, the variation in form does not provide clear evidence for any hypothesis concerning the possible origin of FNPs, assuming that they are a linguistic innovation. Such a hypothesis must furthermore relate to a credible etymology, of course – these issues are discussed in more detail in Section 5.

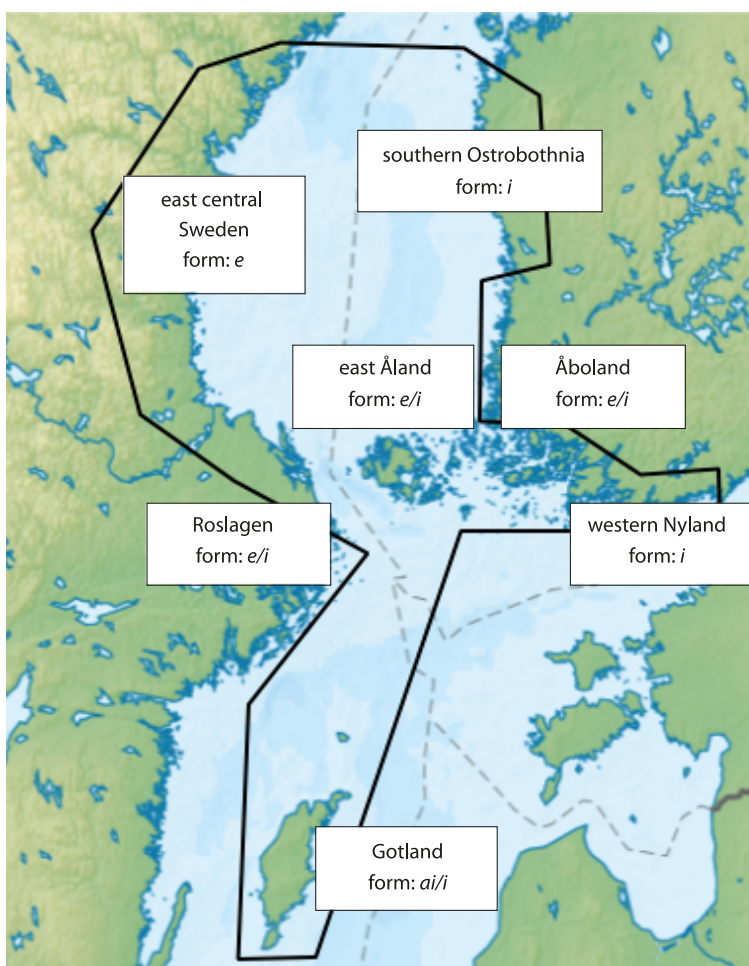
4. The grammatical properties of FNPs

In this section, I address which clause types and which preceding negating expressions allow FNPs, and whether the FNPs are restricted to main clauses.

In (1) and (2), it is shown that a clause-final, doubling negation (*inte*) may occur in standard Swedish declaratives, but not in interrogative or exclamative clauses. It could be expected that FNPs adhere to the same pattern, but this is not the case. FNPs are e.g. fully possible in questions (17)–(20), as previously noted by Munther (2007: 17) and Skirgård (2010: 34).

10. The search algorithm for FNPs in the form *i* was: (((phon="i" & (word="inte" %c) & (start="stop")))).

11. Map 1 is to be seen as a first, rough approximation of the distribution of FNPs. The main point is to illustrate that they seem to occur around the Baltic Sea. Furthermore, I have included all of Åland, although FNPs have not been attested in the western parts – I assume that this is due to the fact that the dialects of those parts have not been investigated in detail yet.



Map 1. Distribution (approximate) and form of FNPs

- (17) *Ska=n't dä bli nå bätter nån gång, e?*
 shall=not it become any better any time FNP
 'Isn't it going to improve anytime?' (Mommas Fräsen: 8; Järvsö)
- (18) *Ska dô=nt kam hit e, sô ja får klå dä?*
 Shall you=not come here FNP so I may pet you
 'Can't you come here, so that I can pet you?' (Mommas Fräsen: 8; Forsa)
- (19) *Johanna är inte hon hemma hon e?*
 Johanna is not she home she FNP
 'Is not Johanna at home?' (Munther 2007: 17)

- (20) *Inggalund i tenn ti:d meir i?*
 not.at.all in your time more FNP
 ‘Not at all in your time anymore?’ (Ivars 2010: 249)

It is to be noted that all examples of FNPs in interrogative sentences occur in polar questions, while they seem to be absent from negated *wh*-questions.¹²

- Yet another clause type that allows for FNPs in the dialects is exclamatives (21).

- (21) *Att han inte skäms e!*
 that he not is.ashamed FNP
 ‘I can’t believe that he is not ashamed!’ (Håkan Franck, p.c.)

Accordingly, FNPs occur in some clause types that disallow doubling negation in standard Swedish.

The FNPs are also more permissive when it comes to the preceding negating element; according to Teleman et al. (1999, 4: 451), only distinctly negative constituents such as *inte* ‘not’, *ingen* ‘no one’, and *ingenting* ‘nothing’ can be followed by a doubling negator in standard Swedish, but FNPs are possible also with other types of constituents, such as *aldrig* ‘never’ (Examples (22)–(24)).

- (22) *[...] buskar tar de ju aldrig bort e*
 bushes take they well never away FNP
 ‘They never remove any bushes.’ (Munther 2007: 15)

- (23) *Ja hadde allere kunna vara uta endär fräsen e.*
 I had never could be without that cat FNP
 ‘I could never be without that cat.’ (Mommas Fräsen: 29; Forsa)

- (24) *Ja har allere vare dit, jag e.*
 I have never been there I FNP
 ‘I have never been there.’ (Franck 1989: 19)

In southern Ostrobothnia, also *knappt* ‘scarcely’ and *knappast* ‘hardly’ are used as negating expressions, and FNPs are possible after clauses with these words too (Example (25)) (Ivars 2010: 250).

- (25) *Ja knappast ja tro:r i mitt ba:ndomsheim dåm hava ju:sen i.*
 yes hardly I think in my childhood.home they had lights FNP
 ‘I do not think they had electric lights in my childhood home.’ (Ivars 2010: 250)

12. According to an informant from Hälsingland, a clause such as *Varför har farfar aldrig rökat e?* ‘Why has grandfather never smoked?’ is not as “natural” as *Har farfar aldrig rökat e?* ‘Has grandfather never smoked?’.

The number of questions, exclamatives, and (atypical) negating expressions is however quite low in NorDiaCorp and Talko, and consequently it is difficult to make any specific assertions about the exact grammatical properties of FNPs in these aspects – a necessary prerequisite would be extensive, detailed and careful studies with dialect speakers.

FNPs appear to be restricted to main clauses; in Talko as well as in Ivars (2010) all examples follow main clauses. On the other hand, both Munther (2007) and Skirgård (2010) discuss Examples (26)–(27) that appear to be possible to analyse as embedded clauses followed by an FNP.

- (26) *för dom kan inte mjölka dom för hand e (.) som vi gjorde e*
 because they can not milk them by hand FNP as we did FNP
 ‘Because they cannot milk them by hand, as we did.’ (Munther 2007: 18)
- (27) *Men si ätte sô dô inte stupe på Fräsen e, saa Alfred.*
 but look after so you not fall on Fräsen FNP said Alfred
 ‘But look out so that you do not fall over Fräsen, said Alfred.’ (Skirgård 2010: 31)

In (26), a transcription from recordings made by Munther (2007), the second FNP appears after a relative clause (*som vi gjorde e*), and in (27) the FNP follows an adverbial clause (*sô dô inte stupe på Fräsen e*). In both cases, these FNPs occur in the final position of the respective matrix clauses, however, and it is plausible that these examples are to be analysed as in (26′) and (27′), respectively.

(26′) [_{MATRIX CLAUSE} **inte** FNP [_{RELATIVE CLAUSE}] FNP]

(27′) [_{MATRIX CLAUSE} [_{ADVERBIAL CLAUSE} **inte**] FNP]

In (26′), the matrix clause contains two FNPs. It is possible that this is because the speaker intended the utterance to end after the first FNP – the annotation of (26) shows that there is a significant pause separating the relative clause from the first part of the utterance – and that he/she then added an FNP also in the actual final position of the entire clause. A similar late addition may have occurred in (18) above, without a second FNP.

The analysis in (27′) suggests that the negation in the embedded clause enables an FNP in the matrix clause, the negative feature provided by *inte* (‘not’) percolating upwards in the syntactic structure. Since there are no clear instances of an FNP in an embedded clause in any of the investigated material, a matrix clauses analysis is to be preferred.¹³

13. An unequivocal example of an FNP in an embedded clause could, for instance, be of the type *Att Stenmark inte vann e överraskade oss* (‘That Stenmark didn’t win surprised us’), i.e., a topicalized *that*-clause with an FNP, preceding the finite verb of the matrix clause.

Summing up this section, one may conclude that the grammatical properties of the FNPs indicate that they are not merely a dialectal variant of the standard Swedish clause-final doubling *inte*, but rather a separate grammatical phenomenon that has no direct counterpart in standard Swedish, or, as it seems, in any other Germanic standard language. Given that they have originated from a negator – possible etymologies are discussed in the following section – they have thus developed into a separate grammatical category.

5. Two possible etymologies

In both Swedish and Fenno-Swedish dialect archives and lexica, FNPs are assumed to have developed from a negative element, as has been mentioned above. But whereas Gustavson (1977: 36) *inter alia* suggests that Swedish and Gotlandic FNPs have their origin in the Old Swedish negator *ej*, the Fenno-Swedish lexicon (*Ordbok över Finlands svenska folkmål*) assumes that FNPs merely are unstressed and reduced forms of the current standard negator *inte*. In this section, I evaluate and discuss these two possible etymologies.

Ej (or *ey*) was the standard negator in Old Swedish. From the beginning of the 16th century, it was gradually replaced by *inte* and *icke* (see Brandtler & Håkansson 2014), and in contemporary Swedish *ej* is only found in certain written contexts (such as archaic literary texts, plates and signs etc.). Assuming that *ej* could be doubled in the same manner as modern Swedish *inte* (see Section 2), it is possible that the substitution of *ej* with *inte/icke* mainly affected the usage of *ej* as a proper clause-internal negation, and that *ej* survived as a doubling element in non-standard Swedish, albeit in a weakened phonetic form. An outline of the proposed process of change, with constructed example sentences, is given in Figure 1.

The crucial stage in this development is the replacement of *ej* during the 16th century. I suggest that when *ej* was released from its function as a standard negator, the speakers may have reanalysed the remaining instances of *ej* that had other syntactic functions; linguistic items that have lost their original meaning and/or function may be attributed new tasks in a process of exaptation (see Lass 1990, Norde & Van de Velde 2016). In this way, a clause-final doubling *ej* may have been analysed not as a doubling negator, but as a precursor to FNPs.

A prerequisite for the proposed change is that *ej/ey* occurred as a clause-final double negator in Swedish, especially during the 15th and 16th centuries. However, double negation does not seem to be frequent in this period in the written

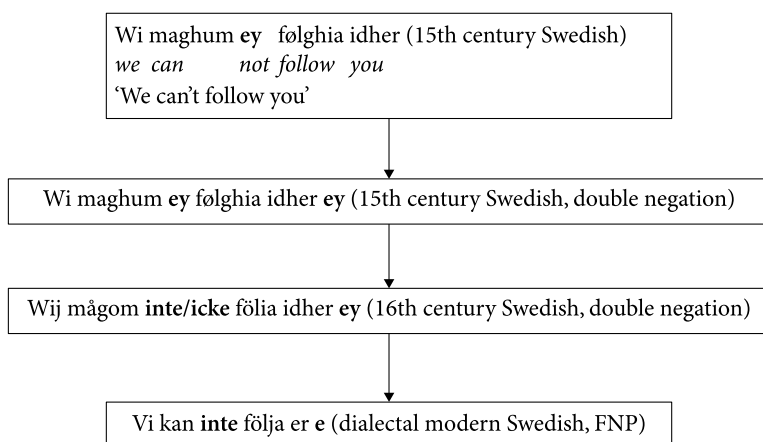


Figure 1. Possible development of FNP

texts – no examples could be found in four texts from the relevant period.¹⁴ This lack of double negation is possibly due to the fact that texts of this age do not represent the spoken vernacular, but rather a formal and often quite conservative style of writing.

An argument in favour of the assumption that *ej* is the origin of the FNPs is that the geographical distribution coincides, more or less, with the spread of some other linguistic novelties that appear in the same period. Ivars (2015: 54ff) notes that Fenno-Swedish dialects in southern Ostrobothnia, Åboland, and Åland have several features in common with dialects in northern Sweden and in the area surrounding Stockholm – two examples are accentuation and the retroflex [ɾ]. Ivars (2015: 74) argues that this is caused by trading patterns in the Baltic Sea up until the 16th century. During this period, Stockholm was an important commercial port, and the Baltic Sea was relatively peaceful.

As we have seen above, the distribution of linguistic innovations displays a remarkable correspondence with the coastal farmers' maritime trade with Stockholm during the late Middle Ages and the 16th century. (Ivars 2015: 74)¹⁵

The linguistic innovations that Ivars (2015) discuss correspond in time with the change from *ej* into *inte/icke*, and likewise does the current spread of these linguistic novelties correspond with the distribution of FNPs. In my view, it is there-

14. The investigated texts are *Själens Tröst* (early 16th century), the chronicles of Olaus Petri (16th century), the chronicles of Peder Swart (16th century), and Horn (circa 1650). The texts were taken from the web based corpus *Fornsvenska Textbanken*.

15. Translated from Swedish by HR.

fore quite probable that FNPs emerged in or around Stockholm in the beginning of the 16th century or earlier, as part of a cluster of linguistic innovations, although there seems to be no evidence of this change in historical texts from the relevant period. The fact that FNPs are not found in standard Swedish, a variety that is based on the dialects in and around Stockholm, may be explained by later standardisation and linguistic purism (see Brandner 2012).

Another option is to relate the FNPs to the standard negator *inte*, which is the etymology suggested by the web based Fenno-Swedish lexicon (*Ordbok över Finlands svenska folkmål*). Since FNPs are considered to be weakened instances of *inte*, in an unstressed clause-final position, the process of change would consist of a series of phonetic reductions, as in (28).

(28) *inte* → *int* → *it* → *e/i*

In Swedish and Fenno-Swedish dialects, all of the intermediate forms are still in use, a fact which strengthens the hypothesis that *inte* is the origin of FNPs. However, *e/i* only occur as FNPs, not as a regular negator in the middle field of the clause, which would be expected if the process of change only involved sound change – since the weakened form *it* occurs as a regular negator (cf. Example (14) above), it is hard to see why further phonetic weakening leading to *e/i* as a standard negator has not taken place.

Another relevant circumstance is the fact that FNPs are possible in contexts that disallow *inte*, as was discussed in Section 4. Even if FNPs have developed from *inte*, this implies that they must accordingly have acquired new grammatical properties with time.

A chronological argument against the *inte* etymology is that the spread of FNPs is reminiscent of the spread of other dialectal features that happened before *ej* was replaced by *inte* (Brandtler & Håkansson 2014, Ivars 2015). If *inte* is the root of FNPs, the circum-Baltic distribution will require an explanation that is not based on Ivar's (2015) reflections on late medieval maritime trade with Stockholm.

Finally, one may note that some dialects with FNPs traditionally have had other standard negators than *inte*, such as Gotlandic and the Åland dialect, where *ai* (a cognate of *ej*) and *ingga* were used, respectively. The standard Swedish *inte* seems to have been introduced in these varieties relatively late, perhaps in the 19th century. Hence, it seems reasonable to assume that the FNPs in these dialects are unrelated to *inte*.

6. Some typological observations

As has been shown above, speakers of different varieties of Swedish around the Baltic Sea regularly put a short, unstressed *e*, *i* or *ai* in the final position of negated clauses. As discussed by Biberauer (2015), doubling of negation in clause-final position is also known from Afrikaans, but in Afrikaans the doubling is non-optional (29). An optional doubling negation is, on the other hand, possible in spoken Brazilian Portuguese (Biberauer 2015: 149; see (30)).

AFRIKAANS

- (29) *Hulle het nooit='n kar gehad nie.*
 they have never=a car had NIE
 'They never had a car.' (Biberauer 2015: 133)

BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

- (30) *Ele não comprou a casa (não).*
 he not bought the house NÃO
 'He did not buy the house.' (Biberauer 2015: 149)

Doubling of the negator as in (30) entails that the speaker emphasizes that the clause indeed is negated.¹⁶

The data from Afrikaans and Brazilian Portuguese leads Biberauer (2015) to a discussion about Jespersen's Cycle, the well-known observation made by Otto Jespersen (1917) that negation tends to be weakened and renewed in a cyclic fashion:

The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word.

(Jespersen 1917: 4)

Biberauer (2015: 154) concludes that as for Afrikaans and Brazilian Portuguese, it is not clear that the doubling negation is primarily to be seen as reinforcement of a weakened standard negation, but that non-cyclical lexical substitution is equally probable.

[...] it is clear that great caution is required in describing negation-related diachronic processes, with lexical substitution options existing alongside JC-style

16. This is a simplification – doubling of negation in Brazilian Portuguese may express various pragmatic meanings (Schwenter 2005).

doubling reinforcement strategies and the distinction between the two not necessarily being very clear [...] (Biberauer 2015: 154)

Biberauer's (2015) argumentation is relevant for the emergence of FNPs. I have argued that a condition for the rise of FNPs was that the Old Swedish negation *ej* was replaced (and not reinforced) by *inte/icke* – clearly a non-cyclical lexical shift according to Brandtler & Håkansson (2014). As a consequence of this change, remaining instances of clause-final *ej* could have been transformed into a piece of linguistic “junk” (Lass 1990), and eventually be reanalysed in a process of exaptation. The optional FNPs are accordingly remnants, or relics, and not negation-reinforcing elements that are emerging due to the weakening of the extant standard negation *inte*. In other words, although Swedish FNP varieties appear to be at stage II in Jespersen's Cycle at a glance, this is probably not the case. The fact that the FNPs are more phonetically reduced than the standard negator further underlines this point.

The basic word order of the Swedish FNP varieties is SVNegO(Neg). In a typological perspective this word order seems to be quite unusual. In Dryer (2013a), only one language seems to have similar word order, and that is Lewo, an Austronesian language spoken in Vanuatu. However, since the main part of the data in Dryer (2013a) is gathered from descriptive works (reference grammars, etc.), vernacular varieties of languages with a long history of standardisation (typically European languages such as German and Swedish) have not had any impact on the data samples – reference grammars of German do not include data from Bavarian or Swabian. This fact becomes especially clear in the discussion of Standard Average European (SAE; cf. Haspelmath 2001). For instance, Haspelmath (2001: 150of) assumes that the property of having obligatorily overt subject pronouns may be a feature of SAE, and Dryer (2013b) suggests that it is not possible to omit subject pronouns in German, Dutch, Frisian or Swedish. However, in several Germanic vernaculars this is actually the default option (see Rosenkvist 2009 and references therein).

During the last decades, the field of micro-comparative syntax has emerged as a fruitful and productive research approach, for both empirical and theoretical reasons (see Cornips & Poletto 2005, Barbiers et al. 2008, Axel & Weiß 2010, Brandner 2012, Rosenkvist 2012). Spoken, non-standardised, regional varieties can, for instance, be assumed to reflect the properties of the innate language capacity in a more adequate way than written standard languages.

[...] standardized languages are more susceptible to levelling out fine grained differences and thus the question may arise whether they are truly ‘natural languages.’ Furthermore, dialects – or to be more general, regional variants of spoken

language – are those instances of language children are first confronted with during language acquisition; they build the primary linguistic input.

(Brandner 2012: 120)

As has been shown in this paper, the syntax of negation constitutes a field of research that may benefit from the study of non-standardised language varieties, considering that such varieties often differ from the standard languages in important and interesting manners – van der Auwera (2011) makes the same point. The Swedish FNP varieties have been shown to be typologically similar to Afrikaans and Lewo, for instance, and it is probable that further systematic studies of European dialects would reveal interesting typological discoveries.

7. Conclusions

In this paper, the topic is final negative particles in non-standard varieties of Swedish that do not appear in the standard language. These particles are clause-internal, they appear in declarative, interrogative and exclamative main clauses, but not in embedded clauses, and they occur (or occurred) in varieties that form a coherent area around the Baltic Sea. Concerning their origin, I have suggested that they emanated from the Old Swedish negator *ej*, and that they were reshaped in a process of exaptation at the same time that *ej* was replaced by new negators (*inte* and *icke*) in, or before, the 16th century.

Although these particles are quite conspicuous, they have not been the object of comprehensive linguistic studies, and much work remains in order to establish detailed geographical boundaries, exact syntactic properties, more nuanced pragmatic descriptions, and so forth.

Swedish is a well-studied Germanic language with a long, written record, but like the other Germanic languages, the non-standard varieties of Swedish are relatively unexplored from a syntactic perspective and thus offer interesting research opportunities concerning negation as well as – plausibly – other features. In varieties of English, Swedish and German, it has been demonstrated that typologically relevant constructions, such as referential null subjects (Rosenkvist 2009), negative concord (Bayer 1990, Anderwald 2005, Rosenkvist 2015, Tubau 2016), complementizer agreement (Weiß 2005) and *tun*-insertion (Langer 2001) are prevalent, although these features are absent from standard Germanic. Further micro-comparative studies will likely reveal even more interesting features of the Germanic languages that cannot be attested in the standard, written languages.

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