

Negative V3-declaratives in Finland Swedish*

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This article is concerned with negative V3-declaratives in the Swedish dialects of Finland. We argue that this peculiar word order is a consequence of syntactic reanalysis: the negative marker has changed from syntactic phrase to syntactic head. Though the negative marker in the standard varieties of Swedish has all the characteristics of a syntactic phrase, the data strongly support a head analysis of the negative marker in some of the Finland Swedish dialects: negation is phonetically reduced, may cliticize to the finite verb, and can combine with other negative elements to yield negative concord. The proposed development of the negative element is in line with the general direction of Jespersen's (1917) cycle, as proposed also by van Gelderen (2008). Furthermore, our data reveal that negative V3-declaratives are less syntactically restricted and have a wider geographical distribution than has hitherto been assumed in the literature.

1 Introduction

One of the most salient typological features of the Scandinavian languages is the V2 constraint: in a declarative main clause only one constituent may precede the finite verb. With the rare exception of a handful of discourse markers, any constituent may be syntactically promoted to first position, including negative adverbs such as *inte* 'not', as shown in (1c). Whenever a non-subject precedes the finite verb, the subject occupies the subject position in TP, as shown in (1b,c).

- (1) a. Sven **har** inte köpt den boken på nätet.
 Sven has NEG bought that book on web.DEF
 'Sven hasn't bought that book online.'
- b. Den boken **har** Sven inte köpt på nätet.
 that book has Sven NEG bought on web.DEF
 'That book, Sven didn't buy online.'

- c. Inte **har** Sven köpt den boken på nätet.
 NEG has Sven bought that book on web.DEF
 ‘Sven hasn’t bought that book online.’

In light of the fact that V2 is such a strong syntactic constraint, it is rather intriguing that negative declaratives may display V3 word order in some varieties of the Scandinavian languages. For example, negative V3-declaratives have been attested in the island dialect of Bornholm. The construction is possible whenever the finite verb carries stress (Pedersen 2014).¹ Compare the examples from Bornholm in (2) with the standard Swedish examples in (3).

- (2) a. de **ikke** 'kan gå sådan en tur. (Bornholm)
 they NEG can go such a trip
 ‘they cannot go on a such a walk.’

- b. han **ikke** 'sanser heller (Bornholm)
 he NEG calms either.
 ‘he doesn’t calm down either.’
 (Pedersen 2014: 245)

- (3) a. * De **inte** kan gå en sån tur.
 they NEG can go a such trip

- b. * Han **inte** lugnar sig heller.
 he NEG calms REFL either.

Negative V3-declaratives have also been attested in the Swedish dialects of Ostrobothnia, Finland (Huldén 1996), although the phenomenon is claimed to be restricted to a very small geographic area, namely the region of Lappfjärd in South Ostrobothnia.

- (4) ja **it** a hört hede naa (Lappfjärd)
 I NEG have heard that anything
 ‘I haven’t heard that at all.’
 (Huldén 1996: 179)

In this article, we show that negative V3-declaratives have a wider geographical distribution than has hitherto been assumed, and are at least attested in the entire South Ostrobothnia.

Negative V3-declaratives are difficult to reconcile with the standard syntactic analysis of Swedish declarative clauses. We propose that the V3 word

order is made possible by the syntactic status of the negative marker. More specifically, we argue that negation (in the dialects that allow V3-declaratives) has been reanalyzed from a syntactic phrase to a syntactic head, thus following the general direction of syntactic change (see, e.g., van Gelderen 2008) as well as Jespersen's (1917) cycle. Our claim, tentatively proposed already in Brandtler & Håkansson (2014), is substantiated by the observations that negation in these dialects is phonetically reduced and can cliticize to the finite verb.

In previous accounts of negative V3-declaratives it has been proposed that the word order is due to syntactic ellipsis (Huldén 1996) or hiatus (Huldén 1996, Ivars 2012). We show that neither account can satisfactorily explain the empirical data, and that a strict syntactic analysis as presented in this paper provides a more consistent and viable account of the phenomenon.

The paper is organized as follows. In the next section, we present negative V3-declaratives in more detail by introducing partly new data, and review previous attempts at accounting for the phenomenon. In section 3, we give a brief overview of the syntactic status of negation in standard and regional Swedish, which leads us back to a discussion on negative V3-declaratives in section 4. We argue that a syntactic account that builds on reanalysis is both empirically and theoretically more adequate than previous phonetic analyses.

2 Negative V3-declaratives

In this section, we scrutinize two previous phonetic analyses of negative V3-declaratives in the Finland Swedish dialects, one building on hiatus and the other on ellipsis. We also address the issue of whether the construction has arisen as a consequence of language contact with Finnish. Based partly on new data, we argue that neither phonetic nor sociolinguistic analyses can account for the phenomenon of negative V3-declaratives.

2.1 *V3 as a result of hiatus*

In the literature on negative V3-declaratives in Finland Swedish dialects, it is emphasized that the construction is only attested in the perfect tense with first person singular subjects. This idiosyncrasy certainly suggests that the phenomenon is phonetic rather than syntactic in nature; consider the examples from the region of Lappfjärd below.

- (5) a. Ja **it** a huöt na (Lappfjärd)
 I NEG have heard anything
 'I haven't heard anything'

- b. Så ja **it** a sit on na:
So I NEG have seen her anything
'I haven't seen her at all'
- c. Ja **it** a vuri åp na ma:ngg marknar i
I NEG have been up any many markets NEG
'I haven't visited many markets.'
(Ivars 2012: 256)

Based on examples such as those in (5), Huldén (1996) argues that negative V3-declaratives may simply be a case of phonetic assimilation. The auxiliary verb *ha* 'have' – realized in these dialects as [a] – has become phonetically indistinct next to the first person subject *jag* [ja:] due to hiatus. An argument in favor of this analysis is the fact that the sequence [ja a it] 'I have not' often assimilates to [ja: it]. The 'second' occurrence of *a* (to the right of negation) may, according to Huldén (1996), be an instance of phonetic doubling, as the first occurrence of *a* has become indistinct. Also Ivars (2012) embraces this phonetic account of negative V3-declaratives.

In order to check the validity of the hiatus analysis, we carried out a corpus survey in TALKO, a speech corpus of spoken Swedish in Finland.² Though there are relatively few occurrences of negative V3-declaratives, we nevertheless found (6a) below, where the subject is not the first person singular *jag*, but the full DP *läraren* 'the teacher'. Going through the original sources for the lexical entry *erinra* 'remind' in *Ordbok över Finlands svenska folkmål* (2000), we found (6b), where the subject is the third person singular *han* 'he'.

- (6) a. lä:rarn **int** bråmsa dåm dialektren int (Borgå)
teacher.DEF NEG curb they dialects NEG
'The teacher didn't curb these dialects.'
- b. o an **int** a ie:rindra ti ta mie: e yvibindarräip. (Närpes)
and he NEG has remembered to take with a hawser
'and he hasn't remembered to bring a hawser'
(Ahlbäck 2000: 588)

Admittedly, it is possible that (6a) is not an authentic V3 declarative, as *dåm* may be analyzed as the subject, and *lä:rarn* a hanging topic. Example (6b) cannot be explained away, however.

Ivars (2012) admits that the prevalent occurrence of first person subjects in negative V3-declaratives may be a coincidence. We do not think it a mere coincidence, but a reflection of the fact that first person singular pronouns are sig-

nificantly more common in spoken language than third person pronouns: Allwood (1999) lists *jag* 'I' as the second most common word in spoken Swedish, whereas *han* 'he' and *hon* 'she' are found at positions 34 and 83, respectively. The fact that *jag* is found more often than any other subject in negative V3-declaratives should not be surprising in light of this frequency relation.

The examples in (7) below make us further doubt the assimilation analysis. As is evident from these examples, the finite verb is not a phonetically reduced *ha* ([a]). Thus, these constructions cannot be explained by hiatus.³

- (7) a. **Ja *int* kan vara arg.** (Malax)
 I NEG can be angry
 'I can't be angry.'
 (E. Herrgård, *Trolljus*, Helsingfors 1991)
- b. **ja *int* vet.** (Houtskär, Västra Åboland)
 I NEG know
 'I don't know.'

Based on the empirical observations in this section, we conclude that the phenomenon of negative V3-declaratives cannot be reduced to phonetic assimilation due to hiatus.

2.2 V3 as a case of ellipsis

Perhaps not entirely convinced by the assimilation analysis himself, Huldén (1996) puts forward an alternative analysis, namely that negative V3-declaratives may be elliptic subordinate clauses. According to this analysis, the adverbial subordinator *då* is left phonetically unexpressed, and the resulting apparent word order is V3. The assumed syntactic structure for Swedish subordinate clauses is given in (8b).

- (8) a. [då] jag ***inte*** har hört det
 as I NEG have heard that
 '...as I haven't heard that.'
- b. [_{Spec,CP} [_{C⁰} då] [_{Spec,TP} jag [_{NegP} *inte* [_{VP} jag har hört det]]]]

Since the finite verb remains *in situ* (the complementizer blocking movement to [_{C⁰]), clause adverbials linearly precede the finite verb in Swedish subordinate clauses. If the negative V3-declaratives in (5) and (8a) above are, in fact,}

elliptic subordinate clauses, the word order subject > adverbial > finite verb would be the expected one, in accordance with (8b).

Elliptic omissions of adverbial subordinators are attested in the Scandinavian languages, and Pedersen (2000) shows that adverbial subordinators can be omitted in Danish dialects:

- (9) a. Der var jeg ikke så forfærdelig gammel han døde. (Danish; Sealand)
 EXPL was I NEG so very old he died.
 ‘I was not very old when he died’
- b. og jeg kan huske jeg var meget stolt jeg fortalte lærerinden
 and I can remember I was very proud I told teacher.DEF
 ‘and I can remember that I was very proud when I told the teacher ...’
 (Pedersen 2000: 227)

If the ellipsis analysis is correct, we would expect negative V3 structures to have a syntactic distribution similar to that of “true” embedded clauses, or at least to be limited to certain contexts that trigger ellipsis.⁴ However, there is nothing in the (limited) data available that supports any of these predictions. Furthermore, the kind of structural ellipsis that Huldén assumes seems to be rare or nonexistent in Ostrobothnia, at least according to Ann-Marie Ivars (p.c.). Hence, negative V3-declaratives cannot without further stipulation be analyzed as subordinate clauses.

2.3 V3 as a consequence of language contact

Let us finally address the possibility that the V3 structures in the Swedish dialects of Ostrobothnia in Finland have arisen as a consequence of language contact with Finnish. One might argue that the construction we are concerned with here is Finnish rather than Swedish. As illustrated in (10), negation in Standard Finnish is expressed by a negative auxiliary verb, typically occurring in between the subject and the main (non-finite) verb. Finnish examples from Miestamo (2011):

- (10) a. mut mää e-n tiär (Finnish)
 but 1.SG.NOM NEG-1SG know.CNG
 ‘but I don’t know’
- b. te e-ttä oom myönnyk-kääs (Finnish)
 2.PL.NOM NEG-2PL be.CNG sell.PST.PTCP.SG-NPI
 ‘You haven’t sold it after all.’
 (Miestamo 2011: 92)

If negative V3-declaratives were not geographically restricted to the dialects of South Ostrobothnia, the deviant word order might have been possible to explain as a result of language contact with Finnish. But since negative V3-declaratives are primarily attested in the dialects of South Ostrobothnia, this explanation seems rather implausible: these dialects display the *least* influence from Finnish among the Finland Swedish dialects (see Wiik 2002: 23–34 for an extensive discussion). We would thus not expect fundamental word order variations to be a consequence of Finnish influence.

2.4 Intermediate conclusion

In this section, we have argued that the phonetic analyses of negative V3-declaratives put forward by Huldén (1996) and Ivars (2012) are untenable, both theoretically and empirically. We have also argued that the construction is unlikely to be due to influence from Finnish. In section 4 below, we propose a strict syntactic analysis, arguing that the occurrence of negative V3-declaratives is an immediate consequence of the syntactic status of the negative marker in these Finland Swedish dialects. More specifically, we argue that the negative marker has been reanalyzed as a syntactic head, i.e. X^0 .

3 Negation in Swedish

In this section, we address the syntactic status of negation in different varieties of Swedish. This presentation is, to a large extent, built on Zeijlstra (2004) and Brandtler & Håkansson (2014), and the reader is referred to those works for more in-depth discussions.

3.1 Negation in standard Swedish

The negative marker *inte* ‘not’ in the standardized varieties of Modern Swedish is commonly analyzed as a syntactic phrase (see e.g. Platzack 1998 and Zeijlstra 2004). There are a number of arguments supporting this analysis:

- Negation does not block verb movement from V to $[C^0]$.
According to the *Head movement constraint* (Travis 1984), a head element cannot move across an intervening head. Thus, if negation is an X^0 , the finite verb should not be able to move to $[C^0]$. This blocking effect is found in, e.g., the Italian dialect of Paduan (Zeijlstra 2004: 154), but not in Swedish.

- Negation may topicalize to [Spec,CP].
In Swedish, the negative adverb *inte* may move to [Spec,CP], a position that can only be the landing site of an XP; see (1c) above.
- Negation cannot cliticize to another clausal element.
The rather strict syntactic distribution of negation in Swedish indicates that negation cannot cliticize to other clausal elements.

Brandtler & Håkansson (2014) argue that the syntactic status of negation has changed from a syntactic head in Old Swedish to a syntactic phrase in Modern Swedish. The predominant negative marker in Old Swedish, *eigh* ‘not’, displays a number of properties suggestive of a syntactic head. Already Söderwall (1884–1918: 218) noted that *eigh* in its reduced forms *eg/ey* could cliticize to the finite verb: *vildeg* ‘did not want’, *tordey* ‘would not’, *hadey* ‘had not’ etc. Another argument in favor of a head analysis is the occurrence of V3 structures in Old Swedish; cf. the examples in (11) below, repeated from Brandtler & Håkansson (2014: 108).

- (11) a. *hwat ey giordhe iak thin wilia fiurtan aar* (Old Sw.)
 why NEG did I your will fourteen years
 ‘Why didn’t I do your will in fourteen years?’
- b. *huat ey gräth thu saarluka* (Old Sw.)
 why NEG cried you bitterly
 ‘Why didn’t you cry bitterly?’
 (Söderwall 1884–1918: 218)

As Brandtler & Håkansson (2014) also admit, these structures allow at least two different syntactic analyses, as shown below.

- (12) a. [Spec,CP *huat+ey* [C⁰ *giordhe* ...
 b. [Spec,CP *huat* [C⁰ *ey+giordhe* ...

Brandtler & Håkansson (2014) argue at length that the correct analysis is (12b), i.e. that *eigh* may cliticize to the finite verb and co-occur in [C⁰] as a particle without violating the V2 restriction.

By the end of the Old Swedish period (early 16th century), *eigh* was gradually replaced by *icke* (< *äkke*) and later by *inte* (< *änkte*) as the standard negative marker in Swedish; see SAOB (1898: E346). In contrast to *eigh*, both *icke* and *inte* are unambiguously syntactic phrases, and neither of them seems to have any characteristic of a syntactic head: they cannot cliticize to the verb, and cannot co-occur with the finite verb in [C⁰].

3.2 Negation in Swedish dialects

Brandtler & Håkansson (2014) tentatively propose that the standard negative marker *inte* in Modern Swedish has been reanalyzed from a syntactic phrase to a syntactic head in some Swedish dialects in Northern Sweden and Finland.

The first indication of negation as a head comes from the phonetic realization of the negative marker. In Finland Swedish and the Norrland dialects, Standard Swedish *inte* is reduced by apocope to [int], sometimes with different vocalism, such as [ont], or with assimilation [it] (Ågren & Dahlstedt 1980: 254; Ahlbäck 2000: 149ff). Some examples are given in (13) and (14).

- (13) Int eta ko'en just föнна (Norrland)
 NEG eat cow.DEF only wilted.grass
 'The cow doesn't eat wilted grass only.'
 (Ågren & Dahlstedt 1980: 67)
- (14) It vil man sī sig i spiegeln, it. (Finland Swedish)
 NEG want one see REFL in mirror.DEF NEG
 'You don't want to look at yourself in the mirror.'
 (Lundström 1939: 152)

In addition, reduced forms such as *-nt* can occur enclitically in both Finland Swedish and some Norrland dialects (Ahlbäck 2000: 150; Bergman 1952: 159). As shown by Bergman, *-nt* can attach to adverbs (15a), as well as to verbs (15b,c).

- (15) a. Då'nt ja vet.
 because.NEG I know
 'Because I don't know.'
- b. Ska'nt e vara?
 should.NEG it be
 'Should it not be?'
- c. Kan't u komma?
 can.NEG you come
 'So you can't come?'

According to Zeijlstra (2004: 165), "all languages with a negative marker X^0 are N[egative]C[oncord] languages." Several Swedish dialects in northern Sweden and Finland display negative concord. Although the exact correlation is not yet known, there seems to be a substantial overlap between dialects that use a

reduced form of *inte* (i.e. *int* and *it*) and dialects that allow negative concord; see also Rosenkvist (2014).⁵ Consider the Finland Swedish examples in (16) from Brandtler & Håkansson (2014: 124), showing that *int* can co-occur with other negative expressions to express one semantic negation.

- (16) a. *int kan här ingen mala i natt*
 NEG can here nobody grind in night
 ‘Nobody can grind here tonight.’
- b. *Ja ä int rädd för ingen.*
 I am NEG afraid for no.one
 ‘I’m not afraid of anybody.’
- c. *Han fikk int ända inga straff.*
 he got NEG still no punishment
 ‘Still, he didn’t get any punishment.’
- d. *Du va it aldri he i?*
 you was NEG never it NEG
 ‘You were never like that?’

While Zeijlstra (2004) claims that every language with an X^0 negative marker also displays negative concord, this correlation is uni-directional. Head status of negation is *not* a requirement for negative concord, and a subset of languages with an XP negative marker also display negative concord, such as West Flemish (Zeijlstra 2004: 165). Hence, the presence of negative concord in the Swedish dialects of Northern Sweden and Finland may provide an argument for the head status of negation, but it is not a decisive one. In the next section, we argue that the existence of negative V3-declaratives strongly favors analyzing negation as a syntactic head.

4 V3 as a consequence of syntactic reanalysis

As mentioned above, Brandtler & Håkansson (2014) argued for the head status of negation in some Swedish dialects of Northern Swedish and Finland, based on the observations that the negative marker is phonetically reduced and may cliticize to both verbs and adverbs. It should be pointed out, however, that the empirical facts reported in Brandtler & Håkansson (2014) can be accounted for even without assuming a head analysis of the negative marker. It is difficult to entirely rule out the possibility that negative cliticization is a purely phonetic

phenomenon. This is especially so, since negation in standard Swedish shows a similar tendency to reduce in unstressed syllables and, at least phonetically, form part of the preceding clausal element: *ska inte* ‘should not’ = [skantə], *kan inte* ‘cannot’ = [kantə], *nu inte* ‘now not’ = [nu ntə] etc.

As shown in section 2 above, however, negative V3-declaratives cannot be dismissed as phonetic coincidences. In fact, the negative V3-declaratives that have been attested in the Swedish dialects of Ostrobothnia in Finland follow directly from the syntactic analysis that Brandtler & Håkansson (2014) propose. That is, only if the negative marker is a head would we expect negation to be able to move from [Neg⁰] to [C⁰]; cf. the behavior of Old Swedish *eigh* in (11) above.

We consequently propose that negation in the Swedish dialects of Finland that allow negative V3-declaratives has been reanalyzed as a head. The direction of this reanalysis is in full accordance with the general (assumed) direction of syntactic change. As argued by van Gelderen (2008: 198) – following Jespersen (1917) – negative elements change in a cyclical fashion.

Studying language diversity and change, one can see that the element in the head position [...] typically disappears, mostly via an affix stage [...]. The negative in the specifier position is then reanalyzed as a head which in its turn disappears. Before that happens, a fully lexical element gets utilized to express negation. Jespersen’s Cycle can thus be accounted for by means of a reanalysis of the specifier as head, the subsequent renewal of the specifier position, and the disappearance of the head.

Van Gelderen’s reasoning applied to Swedish dialects may be roughly as follows: (i) Old Swedish lost the head negation *eigh*, which was replaced by a phrasal negative element *inte* (as charted by Brandtler & Håkansson 2014). (ii) As the negative element successively underwent phonetic weakening, it could phonetically cliticize to other clausal elements. (iii) In dialects where phonetic weakening has become especially widespread, phonetic cliticization has led to syntactic reanalysis (from phrase to head), such that negation can syntactically cliticize to other head elements. (iv) The weakened negative element is reinforced by another negative element, tentatively attested by the existence of negative concord in these dialects. Note, however, that step (iv) cannot be fully corroborated due to lack of empirical knowledge of the distribution of negative concord in Swedish dialects. The syntactic reanalysis is illustrated in Figure 1.

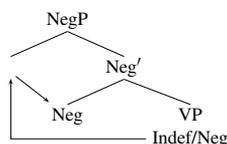


Figure 1: The negative cycle (van Gelderen 2008: 198).

We argue that a head analysis of negation is theoretically consistent, in the sense that it captures a number of related phenomena: reduced negative forms, cliticization to verbs and adverbs, the existence of negative V3-declaratives, and tentatively also the occurrence of negative concord. Our analysis is also better equipped to account for the existing empirical data than previous (phonetic) claims put forward in the literature.

If our analysis is correct, we would expect to find negative V3 structures in other Swedish dialects. Brandtler & Håkansson (2014) argue that negation has undergone syntactic reanalysis (from spec to head) also in some dialects of Northern Sweden. The analysis proposed here thus predicts negative V3-declaratives in these dialects as well. It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss negative V3-declaratives in Northern Swedish, but we will point out that the construction is attested at least in Överkalix, Norrbotten, even though the word order is different from the negative V3-declaratives in South Ostrobothnian:

- (17) a. **æint** he fans (Överkalix)
 NEG it exists
 ‘It wasn’t found’
- b. **æint** døm kon, o **æint** døm vili djera
 NEG they could and NEG they would do
 ‘They couldn’t do [it] and they wouldn’t do [it]’
 (Pihl 1959)

As these examples indicate, the syntactic behavior and regional variation of negation in Swedish dialects is more complex than is commonly assumed. The main problem – both for the analysis presented herein and for future research – is the rare and scattered occurrences of deviant negative constructions in existing dialect corpora. Still largely unexplored, the syntax of negation in Swedish is an area that would certainly benefit from more empirical fieldwork.

5 V3-declaratives: geographical restrictions

Before concluding this paper, we want to briefly address the geographical restrictions of negative V3-declaratives in Finland Swedish. Irrespective of the linguistic motivation for this construction (phonetic or syntactic), it seems rather peculiar that the phenomenon should be restricted to such a small geographic area as the Lappfjärd region, as claimed by Huldén (1996). (In figure 2 below, Lappfjärd (*Lf*) is found just south of Kristinestad.)

Closer scrutiny shows that this restriction does not hold. In the article about *inte* ‘not’ in *Ordbok över Finlands svenska folkmål* (2000) we found an example of a negative V3 structure from Petalax (*Pl* in figure 2); see (18) below. The construction is attested also in the Närpes region (*Nä*) of South Ostrobothnia; see (6b) above. Example (19) was found in the original sources for the article about *inte* in *Ordbok över Finlands svenska folkmål* (2000) and comes from Korsnäs (*Kn*). We have also found one example in the literary language of Elin Herrgård, born in Malax (*Ma*); see (7) above.

- (18) ja **it** a hört he ja helder (Petalax)
 I NEG have heard it I either
 ‘I haven’t heard it either.’
 (Ahlbäck 2000: 150)
- (19) men ja **int** a vå:ga sakt na åt on (Korsnäs)
 but I NEG have dared said anything to her
 ‘I haven’t dared to say anything to her.’
 (FMK III: 107)

Thus, it seems safe to conclude that negative V3-declaratives occur in all South Ostrobothnia – and not only in the region of Lappfjärd, as has been previously assumed.

In fact, our survey shows that negative V3-declaratives may occur also outside the region of South Ostrobothnia. The examples from TALKO, presented in (6a) and (7b) above, are from Borgå, Eastern Nyland and Houtskär (*Ho*), Western Åboland, respectively. Though these findings certainly indicate that negative V3-declaratives have a more widespread geographical distribution than previously assumed, the existing data are too scarce to allow more detailed dialect charts.

As mentioned previously, the syntax of negation in Swedish dialects is a relatively unexplored field of study, and the existing data is scarce and scattered. A more thorough understanding of the linguistic restrictions and geographical distribution of negative V3-declaratives would require extensive field work and data elicitation, and it is our hope that this can be carried out in the not so distant future.

Notes

- * We would like to thank Ann-Marie Ivars and Caroline Sandström for helping us access the Finland Swedish data. David Håkansson is Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities Research Fellow.
1. The language of Bornholm is often classified as a mixture of southern Swedish and Danish; cf. Pedersen (2014: 233f)
 2. <http://www.sls.fi/sv/talko>
 3. Example (7a) is from the literary language of Elin Herrgård (born 1907 in Malax); example (7b) from TALKO.
 4. Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out to us.
 5. As mentioned by an anonymous reviewer, the connection between phonetic reduction and negative concord is supported by Central Norwegian, where negative concord is possible with the reduced negation *itj* ‘not’.

(i) Æ ha **itj** løst, tru'tj æ (Central Norwegian)
 I have not lust, think'tnot I
 ‘I don't think I want to’

However, the reduced form *kje* (from *ikkje* ‘not’) in West Norwegian does not coincide with negative concord.

(ii) * Eg ha'kje lyst, tru'kje eg. (West Norwegian)
 I have'not lust, thinknot I
 ‘I don't think I want to.’

As these data show, the distribution of negative concord in the Scandinavian languages is complex and still, unfortunately, little understood.

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