North Germanic Negation

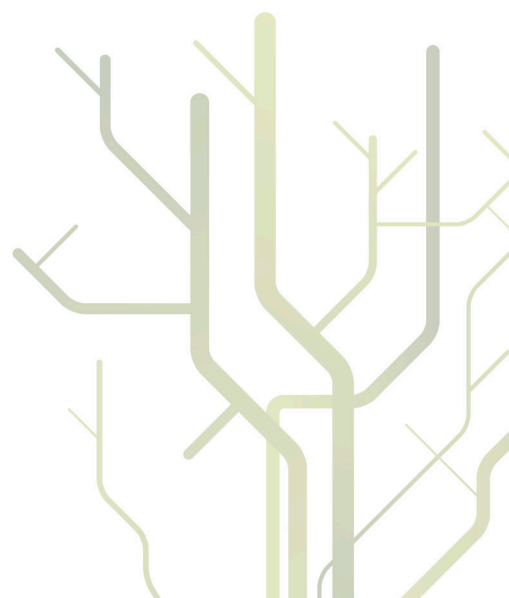**A Microcomparative Perspective**

Christine B. Østbø Munch

A dissertation for the degree of
Philosophiae Doctor

May 2013

North Germanic Negation

A Microcomparative Perspective

Christine B. Østbø Munch

A thesis submitted for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor

University of Tromsø

Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education

Department Of Language and Linguistics

May 2013

Acknowledgements

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1 Introduction

The topic of this dissertation is the distribution of negation in North Germanic.

The purpose of the dissertation is twofold. My first aim is to explore and give an overview of the variation of the distribution of negation in a few selected North Germanic varieties, and by so doing also investigating the distributive differences between negation on the one hand and sentential adverbs on the other. Such investigations, which are founded on acceptability judgements from informants and data from spontaneous speech corpora, constitute the empirical basis of the dissertation.

The second aim is to account for the observed variations within the theoretical framework of Chomskyan Generative Grammar. The present study is thus both dialectological and syntactic, although the dialectological perspective is the most prominent.

This chapter is organised as follows: An overview of the linguistic topics in the dissertation and the North Germanic varieties involved is given in section 1.1, before we in section 1.2 turn to Generative Grammar, the object of study, and how variation is dealt with in this framework. Section 1.3 concerns the theoretical issues of the thesis, and in section 1.4 notes on the expression of negation across North Germanic and the diachrony of these expressions are given. Research questions and hypotheses are formulated in section 1.5, and an outline of the dissertation is given in section 1.6.

1.1 Background

The empirical basis may be divided into two domains – a linguistic one and a geographical/dialectological one. In this section I will first present the linguistic structures I study (section 1.1.1), and thereafter I give an overview of the geographical and dialectological issues in the thesis in section 1.1.2.

1.1.1 The domain of investigation

The types of structures I examine are illustrated in (1) below. In main declarative clauses, I consider the relative order of negation and pronouns (1a), clause-initial negation (1b) and clause-final negation (1c). The two latter issues are discussed in connection with Negative Doubling/Concord (1d). I also examine the distribution of negation in imperative clauses (1e) and in finite embedded clauses (1f). The different structures will be described in more detail in subsections 1.1.1.1-1.1.1.6.

(1) a. **The relative order of negation and pronouns**

I går   sendte **ikke** Mari brevet/ I går   sendte *hun* *det* **ikke** (No.)
Yesterday sent   not   Mary letter.DEF/yesterday sent   she   it   not
'Yesterday Mary/she didn't send the letter/it'

b. **Clause initial negation**

| **Inte** | har | jag | en | penna | (Sw.) |

not   have   I   a   pen

'I don't have a pen'

c. **Clause final negation**

| Jag | har | inte | en penna | **inte** | (Sw.) |

I   have   not   a   pen   not

'I don't have a pen'

d. **Negative Concord**

| ellest | ir | **it** | fel | **intnoð** | spesiellt | (Övdalian) |

else   is   not   mod.prt   nothing   special

'Else, there is nothing special'

e. **Negative imperatives**

| **Ikke** | gå! | (No.) |

not   go!

'Don't go!'

f. **Finite embedded clauses**

| Jeg | angret | på | at | (**ikke**) | jeg | (**ikke**) | gikk | (***ikke**) | ut | i dag | (No.) |

I   regretted   on   that   (not)   I   (not)   went   (not)   out   today

'I regretted that I didn't go out today'

The issues exemplified in (1) constitute a large empirical domain, which illuminates the distribution of negation in North Germanic from different perspectives. That makes it possible to detect any correlations and co-variations with regard to the distribution of negation across the different structures in (1), which again may contribute to a deeper understanding of North Germanic negation.

My attention is on the data and on the different patterns that emerge, and the different structures are investigated carefully enough. It is, however, important to note that none of the structures are fully examined as if the thesis was devoted to only one of them.

1.1.1.1   *The relative order of negation and pronouns in root clauses*

As shown for Norwegian in (1a) above, the relative order of negation and inverted non-pronominal arguments (henceforth, I refer to non-pronominal arguments as DP arguments, as opposed to pronominal ones) differs from the relative order of negation and pronominal arguments. Negation must precede a DP object, and may also precede a DP subject, whereas pronominal arguments usually precede negation. The North Germanic dialects show variation with regard to the relative order of negation and subjects, negation and pronominal objects, and adverbs and pronominal objects. A part of this variation is related to the negative marker itself. These issues are examined in chapter 3 and chapter 5.

1.1.1.2 *Clause-initial negation*

Clause-initial negation as illustrated in (1b) above, is frequent in Swedish. In this position the negative marker maintains its sentential scope, but the initial position also forces additional pragmatic readings. This and clause-final negation and Negative Concord will to some extent be treated in connection with each other in chapter 6.

1.1.1.3 *Clause-final negation*

Clause-final negation, as illustrated in (1c) above, is also frequent in Swedish. The clause-final negation lacks independent negative force, and it requires the presence of a negative element with sentential scope. This results in two negative elements in the clause, and as such it looks like an instance of Negative Concord.

1.1.1.4 *Negative Concord*

Negative Concord (henceforth NC), as shown in (1d) above, is considered a rare phenomenon in North Germanic according to the NC literature. Compared to clause-final negation where the negative element by hypothesis is situated in the right periphery, the two negative elements in a Negative Concord structure are both located within the clause proper. In chapter 6 I give a survey of the dialectological literature on NC, in which I show that some kind of NC is found in several traditional Danish varieties, Swedish varieties, Finland-Swedish varieties, and contact varieties in Northern Norwegian.

1.1.1.5 *Negative imperatives*

In (1e) above, a Norwegian negative imperative is given. The Norwegian negative imperative differs from the general North Germanic negative imperative in being neg-initial, whereas the common North Germanic negative imperative is formed by placing the imperative verb in initial position. The Norwegian type is in one perspective special, because according to the literature such a formative may be linked to the presence of negative heads, which is not the standard analysis of Norwegian negation.

In a broader, diachronic perspective, the neg-initial imperative seems to become more common during the same period as clause-initial negation (cf. section 1.1.1.2) seems to become less common in Norwegian. Based on these observations, I analyse the structures jointly.

I also investigate the special Trøndelag negative imperative, which is formed by a neg-initial infinitive clause with an overt infinitival marker, and provide an analysis of it.

1.1.1.6 *Negation in finite embedded clauses*

In example (1f) above the regular positions for negation in (finite) embedded clauses are shown. I investigate the relative order of subject and negation in embedded clauses with the prototypical word order in the Oslo dialect (chapter 4) and in seven Norwegian and Swedish varieties (chapter 5). In this matter, the Norwegian varieties behave more or less the same, having the negative marker after the subject, while in the Swedish varieties the negative marker may equally well precede a pronominal subject.

I also discuss verb movement across negation in the Setesdal dialect and compare it with the corresponding movement in Övdalian. I suggest that the finite verb is 'attracted' to the negative

marker in these cases. By this analysis one can also explain why there is no verb movement across adverbs in general in these varieties.

1.1.2 **Scandinavian geography and dialects**

Scandinavia is the northernmost part of Europe, and includes the countries of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands. In this region we traditionally find both Germanic and Finno-Ugric[1] languages. Varieties of North Germanic are spoken in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and a geographically delimited area of Finland. This area is shown in Map 1 on the following page. When necessary I will divide North Germanic into *Mainland North Germanic* and *Insular North Germanic*. The reason why I do not use the traditional terminology *Mainland* and *Insular Scandinavian*, is because of the language diversity found in Scandinavia as described above. The term North Germanic unambiguously signals which language group to be discussed. In tables and elsewhere where space is limited, I will, however, occasionally use the well known abbreviation *MSc.* for Mainland North Germanic. As for the terms *dialect* and *variety*, I will use both indiscriminately for the traditional term *dialect*. The intended meaning will also be comprehensible from the context.

The Mainland North Germanic dialects constitute a dialect continuum (cf. Mæhlum et al. 2003: 18).[2] These varieties and the Insular North Germanic varieties spoken in Iceland and the Faroe Islands are not (immediately) mutually comprehensible. However, a wider perspective on the dialect continuum will also include Icelandic and Faroese.

The dialectal diversity varies from country to country, and the importance of a standard language also varies from country to country. Dialect levelling is however present in Danish (e.g. Hagedorn and Jørgensen 2007) and Norwegian (Mæhlum et al. 2003), and probably also in Swedish. A short, general introduction to all the North Germanic languages is given in e.g. Braunmüller (1998) (in Norwegian).

The dialects under investigation are shown in Map 2 below. The Norwegian dialects are the ones of *Oslo*, *Setesdal*, *Bergen*, *Stryn*, *Trøndelag* and *Senja*, in addition to the Swedish varieties *Övdalian*[3] (Sweden) and *Northern Ostrobothnian* (Finland). The dissertation is in other words written with a focus on Norwegian.

---

[1] The Finno-Ugric languages spoken in Scandinavia are different Saami languages spoken in parts of Norway, Sweden and Finland. Finnish is spoken in Finland and in Northern parts of Norway and Sweden, and the Norwegian variety is often referred to as Kven.

[2] It is an open question whether Övdalian falls within this continuum.

[3] Linguistically speaking, Övdalian may be considered an independent language; consider for instance the discussion on this in Garbacz (2010: 28, 50). In order to remain neutral with respect to this matter, I will mostly label it a *variety* and hence avoid the politicially loaded terms *dialect* and *language*.

Map 1: The area of North Germanic
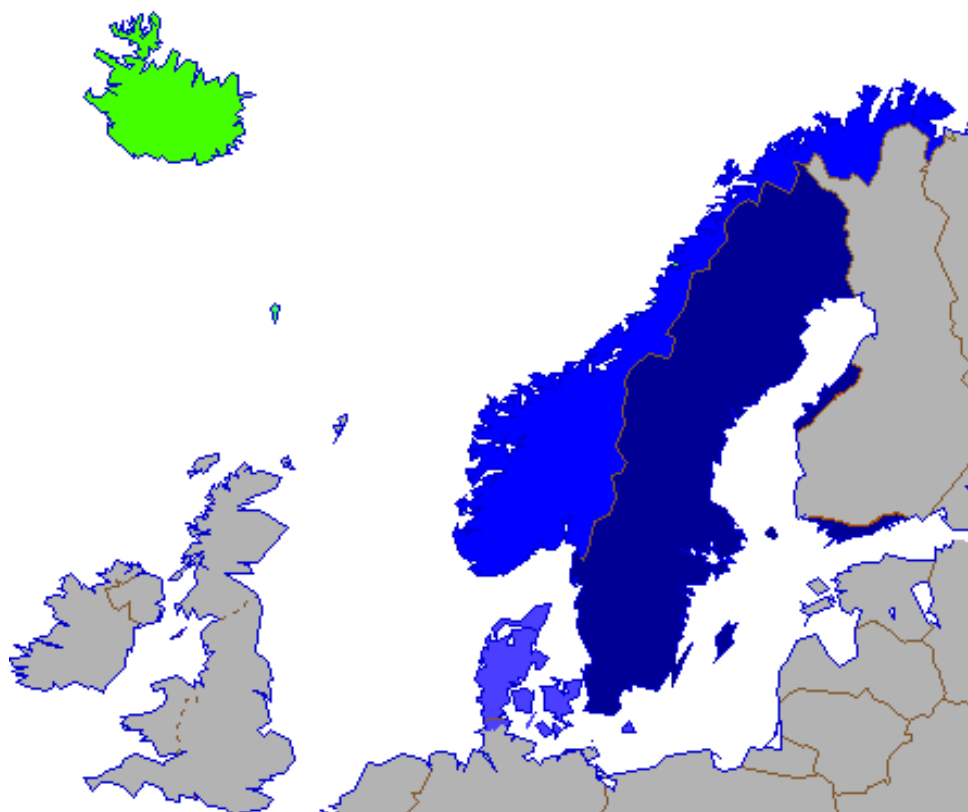
Green: Insular North Germanic
Blue: Mainland North Germanic (dark blue: Swedish; light blue: Norwegian; violet: Danish)

The selection of varieties is partly pragmatically motivated. Thanks to the *Nordic Centre of Excellence in Microcomparative Syntax* (NORMS), I have been given the opportunity to participate in several dialectological fieldwork trips, and I have included the varieties from the NORMS fieldworks I have participated in (*Northern Ostrobothnia* in Finland, *Senja* in Norway, *Älvdalen* in Sweden and *Fosen* in Norway). My focus on Norway has furthermore directed me to the varieties of (North-) Western Norway and the one of Setesdal, which show some interesting distributional properties regarding the negative markers. The Oslo dialect is chosen first and foremost because of the large speech corpus *Norsk talespråkskorpus – Oslodelen* (henceforth NoTa (Tekstlaboratoriet, ILN, University of Oslo)). Because of its size, it may serve as a baseline and reference point for the investigation of the other varieties.

It would be preferable to include in-depth studies of, for instance, other Swedish varieties and some of the Danish varieties, but for practical reasons, this has not been done. They are, however, included and to some degree discussed in general overviews of the various structures.

The object of study in the dissertation is elaborated on in section 1.2.2.

Map 2: The different varieties to be studied

1.2 Generative Grammar and dialect syntax

1.2.1 Generative Grammar

The object of study in Generative Grammar is language, understood as a mental entity, an I-language (Chomsky 1986). The "'I' underscores the fact that the conception is internalist, individual, and intensional" (Chomsky 2006: 175). The I-language is a (part of) the steady state of the language faculty, and from the initial state, it is acquired through appropriate stimuli. Universal Grammar (UG) is the theory of this initial state, and different grammars describe different I-languages (Chomsky 1986: 25). Within Generative Grammar, the ultimate goal is to uncover the principles and parameters of UG, and the theories of the particular I-languages (Chomsky 2006: Preface to the third edition).

The externalised E-language is a product of I-language, "an epiphenomenon at best" (Chomsky 1986: 25) and as such not of particular interest to the generative linguist. E-language covers issues such as the expression of I-language, its communicative aspects, and collective usage of language (Chomsky 1986).

The terms I- and E-language are similar to the terms *competence* and *performance.* Chomsky (1965: 4) defines competence as "the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language", and performance as "the actual use of language in concrete situations". I-language is thus included in the

linguistic competence, but the linguistic competence also includes other knowledge necessary for understanding language.

A mental grammar of a language can be modelled as in (2) (Radford 2004: 9).

(2)
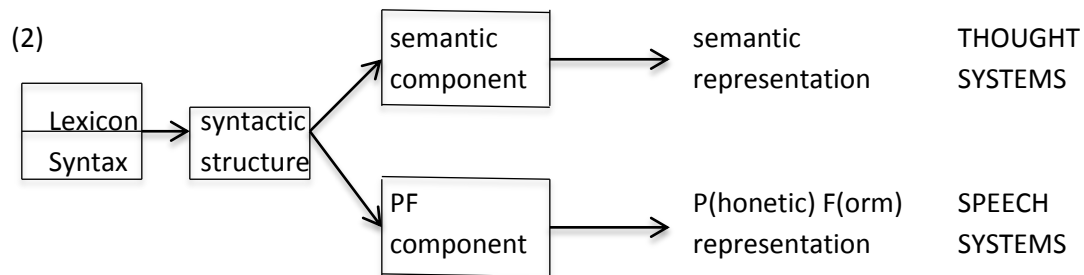
Lexical items are merged by syntactic operations in the Syntax, which yields syntactic structure as the output. This structure is sent off to a semantic component (Logical Form) and a PF component. The semantic component translates the syntactic structure to a semantic representation that is interpretable to the general thought system. In the PF component, the syntactic structure is translated to a PF representation that tells the speech systems how the syntactic structure is pronounced.

Since there is no direct access to the mental grammars, one has to study I-language indirectly by the different expressions of it, such as acquisition, speech, linguistic judgements, written sources and so on. This is discussed in chapter 2.

1.2.2   I-language, E-language and dialect grammars

There are two objects of study in this thesis. The first is I-language, as just stated. The other one is what I will call a *dialect grammar*, which seems to be reminiscent of Chomsky's (1986: 21) "technical concept of E-language" or the concept *langue* (Saussure 1993: 7a). A dialect grammar is an abstraction of the body of speech within a speech community, and it is as such a social product at group level, as opposed to I-language, which is individual. The dialect grammar is in a way prescriptive, and it constitutes the linguistic conventions of the speech community.

I believe a concept of dialect grammar easily enables typological studies of dialects, in which one can pay attention to e.g. frequencies at the group level, generalise across individuals, and draw isoglosses. For instance, one might say that the dialect grammars of person A and B differ because a structure α is low-frequent in A and high-frequent in B. On the individual level, however, the structure α must exist in the I-languages associated with both A and B.

Operating with the notion of dialect grammars makes it more clear that the inhabitants of the different countries are subject to different bodies of stimuli to be taken into consideration. During acquisition and life one is exposed to stimuli from different levels of *langue* or dialect grammars that are likely to invoke I-language. Although the dialects of Norway and Sweden belong to the same dialect continuum, dialects on each side of the border will dissimilate as time goes by (Mæhlum et al. 2003: 19).

A similar approach to the object of study within linguistics and traditional dialectology seems to be common. Generative linguists write about Norwegian, Swedish and Danish; regional varieties; or particular dialects, and consult more than one informant when collecting linguistic judgements. The collected data are thereafter analysed, as if the data can reveal the grammar of one (or several) I-

language(s). Within traditional dialectology there are also examples of studies that build on only one informant, such as the description of the syntax in the Tromsø dialect (Iversen 1918: preface).

The notion dialect grammar will be particularly important in the discussion in chapters 3-5, which are quite data oriented. The notion is less important in chapters 6-7, which contain less data and are more dominated by structural analyses. All analyses should be conceived as models of what an I-language could look like.

Doing linguistics in a dialectal perspective may be characterised as doing a *microcomparative* study, as opposed to a *macrocomparative* study that compares different languages. Within the generative tradition, dialectal variation may be captured under the label of *microparameters* (cf. Kayne 2000), while variation between different languages (families) may be explained by *macroparameters* (cf. Baker 1996). Variation and (micro)parameters is the topic of the next section.

1.2.3 **Parameters**

One essential question regarding linguistic variation is why there is variation. The answer within Generative Grammar lies in the notion of *parameters*, i.e. a variable within Universal Grammar that, put simply, either gets the value + or −. Variation in the parameter settings is assumed to explain the observed variation between languages. The notion of parameters has survived the transition from the P&P-approach (Chomsky 1981) to the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), although with a somewhat different content, as we will see below.

In the 1980s a considerable amount of research was carried out on parameters, and the hope was that one specific value of a parameter would account for a cluster of (syntactic) properties. One of the first parameters that was proposed and considered successful was the *pro-drop* parameter (Rizzi 1982). A parameter directly relevant for the North Germanic languages is the proposed Agr-parameter (Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Holmberg 2010), which separates Icelandic from Mainland North Germanic and accounts for the observed differences between the two languages. Icelandic is assumed to have a positive value of the Agr-parameter, thus showing a number of characteristics[4] that lack in Mainland North Germanic, which has the Agr-parameter set to negative.

The Agr-parameter also accounts for the diachrony of Mainland North Germanic: The old Mainland North Germanic varieties have the Agr-parameter set to '+', but somehow the setting of the parameter changes, causing a loss of the properties mentioned above. Thus, a change in the parameter settings may explain language change. There might be various reasons for such a resetting, some of which will be mentioned below. Language change is not a prominent topic in this dissertation, but it is mentioned when necessary.

In the past 15-20 years, there has been an increased interest in dialect syntax within the Generative camp, drawing attention to microparameters. Dialects have been characterised as a linguistic laboratory where many variables are held invariant, and where single variables may be identified (Kayne 2000). Åfarli (1998), who discusses microparameters in Norwegian, hopes that differences between dialects can be ascribed to only a few microparameters. He notes, however, that only single variation between the Norwegian dialects has been described so far. This single

---

[4] According to Svenonius (2007: 2) these characteristics are *Rich verbal agreement, V-to-I movement, long distance reflexives, null expletives, non-nominative subjects* and *Stylistic Fronting*.

variation (for instance allowing V3 or not in *wh*-questions, e.g Lie 1992, Westergaard and Vangsnes 2005) is in Svenonius (2007) accounted for in terms of microparameters. Following Svenonius (2007), one microparameter accounts for the behaviour of one variable. Hence, the idea that the setting of one single parameter generates a cluster of properties is rejected or put aside in recent accounts (see e.g. Baker 1996: 7 for a critical view on this notion of a parameter and Holmberg 2010 on the revisited Agr-parameter).

Parametric variation is within Minimalism (Chomsky 1995 and subsequent works) commonly assumed to be found in the lexicon (Borer 1984) (functional categories in particular) and at the interfaces. According to the views of Chomsky and Borer, grammar itself is invariable. I adopt this view on variation. One important consequence of this stand is that I assume one common syntactic structure for all the North Germanic varieties I consider.

The next section concerns the basic theoretical assumptions with respect to negation and clausal structure. In 1.3.1 we consider the status of NegP, and in section 1.3.2 negative heads are discussed. The clausal structure I assume is given in 1.3.3, and a note on the scope of negation follows in section 1.3.4.

1.3   Theoretical desiderata

1.3.1   Negative markers occur in NegP

I assume, following e.g. Lindstad (2007: 15, 102), that a negative clause universally contains a NegP that contributes to the negative semantics. There is, however, no consensus in the literature on this matter. For instance, Pollock (1989) who proposes that the IP is split into the projections TP, AgrP and NegP (the Split-Infl hypothesis), does not commit himself to the idea that NegP is universal, and Zeijlstra (2004: 244) explicitly argues against the universality of NegP.

In the Scandinavian generative tradition, negation is often treated on a par with sentential adverbs regarding distribution and analysis, and thus analysed as an adjunct (e.g. Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Eide 2002; Åfarli et al. 2003). In many respects this may be an adequate analysis of North Germanic negation, but as I show in this dissertation, there is variation between the distribution of the negative marker and sentential adverbs in many North Germanic varieties. This variation is one further argument for assuming a NegP in the structure of North Germanic. Following among others Johannessen (1998, 2003), Lindstad (1999, 2007), Jensen (2001), Christensen (2003, 2005) and Garbacz (2010) I thus assume a NegP.

As for the locus of NegP, I assume one fixed position for it in the North Germanic syntactic structure. Cross-linguistically the position of NegP varies as to whether it dominates or is dominated by TP (e.g. Ouhalla 1990; Zeijlstra 2004; Lindstad 2007).[5,6] Some linguists also allow intra-language variation of the position. Consider the following schematic structure from Lindstad (2007):

---

[5] According to Ramchand (2004), the positions have slightly different semantics, in that the former binds a tense variable while the latter binds an event variable.

[6] Boeckx (2008: 143ff) points out that the position of NegP may vary, but he takes a different perspective than the one mentioned in the text. He assumes that the NegP system (and the AgrP systems) appears outside the 'clausal skeleton' in what he calls parallel dimensions. "All of these dimensions ultimately collapse onto a single 'line' when syntax gets mapped onto the interfaces, but at that point, we expect variation, since the

(3)   CP
           /\
          (Neg1P)
          /\
         TP
         /\
        (Neg2P)
        /\
       vP
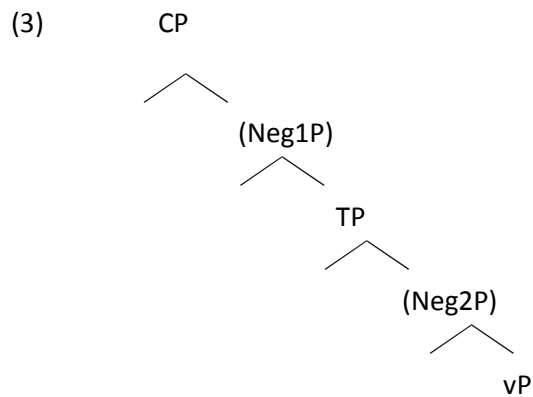
Only one of the NegPs in (3) is present in a negative clause (cf. Ouhalla's 1990 NEG parameter), but according to Lindstad, which one to be present may vary from structure to structure within one variety. For instance, in his discussion on the Norwegian negative marker *ikke*, he suggests that it may occur in the specifier of both Neg1 and Neg2, as well as in the head of Neg1 (Lindstad 2007: 120), which accounts for the observed variation of the placement of negation in his approach.

Several NegPs are also proposed in dialect syntactic studies of negation (e.g. Zanuttini 1997 on Italian dialects; Weiß 2002 on Bavarian; Garbacz 2010 on Övdalian). In Zanuttini (1997) and Weiß (2002) the distinct NegPs are related to various negative markers and/or different interpretations. The relation between distinct NegPs and separate negative markers is also investigated in various works of Poletto (2007, 2010) and Garzonio and Poletto (2009). Poletto and Garzonio relate the distribution of negation to its etymology, meaning that a negative marker of one particular origin differs in distribution from another negative marker with another etymology.

I could also have assumed several NegPs in the structure in order to account for the observed variation between the North Germanic varieties. When I choose not to, the main reason is that I want to keep the possible variables for variation to a minimum. One can also say that I as such stick to the NEG-parameter (Ouhalla 1990) and assume that there is only one setting for this parameter across North Germanic.

Another factor that may account for the distribution of the negator is its status as either a head or a specifier (e.g. Pollock 1989; Haegeman 1995; Zanuttini 1997; Zeilstra 2004; Christensen 2005; Garbacz 2010). Since Pollock (1989) it has been commonly assumed that a negative head blocks verb movement, which in short results in negative heads preceding the finite verb, whereas negative specifiers follow the finite verb in contexts involving verb movement (i.e. root contexts in North Germanic). See however Lindstad (2007: 199) for an alternative view on this blocking. The status of negation is the topic of the next subsection.

To summarise, I will pursue the possibility that there is only one position for NegP hosting sentential negation in the clausal structure in North Germanic. In other words, I assume that the

---

different dimensions can be integrated into one another at different juncture points" (Boeckx 2008: 145). In other words, e.g. the relative order of NegP and AgrP is subject to (cross-linguistic) variation.

NEG parameter (Ouhalla 1990) has the same value across North Germanic. The reason for choosing one rigid position for NegP is first and foremost methodological. The perspective in this dissertation is microcomparative, and thus it is reasonable to keep the variables at a minimum in order to detect and reveal the locus or loci for variation across North Germanic.

1.3.2 The clausal structure and the locus of NegP

I assume the basic clausal structure given in (4). NegP is located between the subject positions AgrSP and TP. This field may also contain sentential adverbs like *heldigvis* ('fortunately'). It is not important for the purpose of the dissertation whether adverbs are analysed as adjuncts (cf. e.g. Ernst 2002) or as specifiers of specific functional categories (cf. Cinque 1999). I will not go into a detailed study of positions, categorial status, or different types of adverbs. When necessary, I assume the decomposition of the CP domain into ForceP > TopP > FocP > FinP (Rizzi 1997), and potential other CP projections, as well. Whereas TopP and FocP are optional positions for topicalised and focalised constituents, ForceP is related to the illocutionary force of the clause, and FinP to finiteness. Spec,FinP is recognised as the canonical subject position in (certain) varieties of North Germanic (cf. Holmberg and Platzack 2005; Christensen 2005).

(4) CP
        AgrSP
            ← (high) sentential adverbs, e.g. *heldigvis* ('fortunately')
   (subject) NegP
       ikke   TP
          (subject) vP
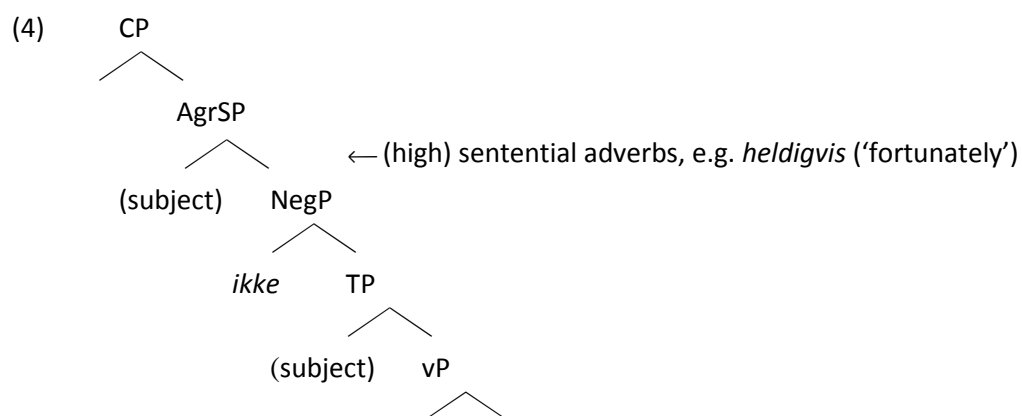
In (4) the subject is merged within vP, and raises to at least Spec,TP (depending on language). NegP is merged on top of TP, which means that the relative order of negation and the subject hinges on which projection the subject targets. A structure like the one in (4) is relatively standard in analyses of North Germanic (cf. Åfarli et al. 2003).

The structure in (4) suffices in many cases for my purposes, which is to account for, and model the observed word order variation. It should be noted that there is little attention to semantic issues in the thesis. When needed I will use a more elaborate structure than the one in (4), and be more specific about the technicalities. For an introduction to the Minimalist version of Generative Linguistics I refer to Radford (2004).

1.3.3 Negative heads and negative clitics (from a Norwegian perspective)

The Norwegian negative marker *ikke* has been analysed as a head by some scholars (e.g. Johannessen 1998; Lindstad 2007; van Gelderen 2008). Judging from the literature it seems in some respects difficult to determine whether or not *ikke* and the other negative markers in North Germanic are heads or XPs. Their status depends not least on which criteria are used. Several of the

short negative markers in Mainland North Germanic are attached to the finite verb and may in that respect be characterised as clitics. Such attachment may be analysed in several ways, as for instance Hellan's (1996) absorption analysis, in which the negative marker is an unstressed head that is 'sucked' up by the finite verb.

I will follow the line of reasoning in Hellan (1996) and also e.g. van Gelderen (2008), in which negative heads are related to phonetic weakness.

In Norwegian, the negative marker is the only one among the (multisyllabic) adverbs that can cliticise (when categorising negation with adverbs) (cf. Christensen 1986: 30).[7,8]

Based on Zwicky and Pullum's (1983) distinction between simple and special clitics, I will in this dissertation and in particular in chapter 3-5, operate with the (descriptive) terms *PF-clitics* (≈simple clitics) – *phonetic cliticisation* and *syntactic clitics* (≈special clitics) – *syntactic cliticisation*. I will use these terms to distinguish between negative markers that occasionally cliticise and those that regularly cliticise to some host. These terms will be made clearer below.

Simple clitics "[...] are optional variants of full forms [...], and occur in the same positions in sentences as the corresponding full forms" (Zwicky and Pullum 1983: 503). There are no distributional differences between the full form and the clitic, and a simple clitic can furthermore attach to a wide range of lexical items and to clitic groups (Zwicky and Pullum 1983: 503f). All other clitics are special and they may for instance appear in extraordinary positions (Zwicky and Pullum 1983: 510). One set of criteria for such special positions is given in (8) to the end of this subsection.

I assume that a syntactic clitic is a (syntactic) head that incorporates with other categories such as the finite verb via head movement. This operation regularly results in a special position for the clitic. Consider the structure in (5) which illustrates this.

---

[7] The exception is modal particles like e.g. *jo, nå, da, vel*.

[8] This fact is one further argument in favour of singling out negation from the category of adverbs and analyse it as generated in a separate NegP (irrespective of adverbs being analysed as adjuncts or specifiers, although if adverbs are analysed as specifiers a NegP would nonetheless be assumed).

(5) **Syntactic clitic:**

Syntax:

```
          CP
         /  \
       XP    C'
            /  \
      Vfin+Neg  AgrSP        →    PF: XP – Vfin – neg – subj
                /  \
          subject   NegP
                   /  \
                 Neg'
                /  \
          V̶fin̶+̶N̶e̶g̶   TP
                    /\
                   /  \
                  V̶fin̶
```
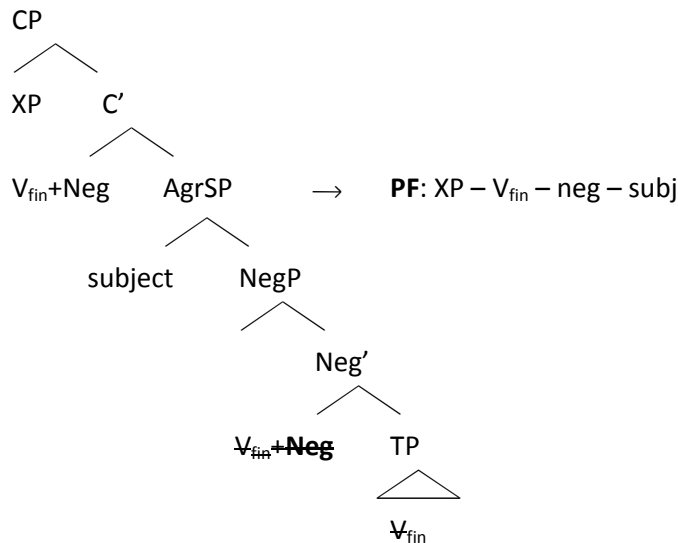
I assume a traditional account of head movement in my models. There has been much discussion on head movement in Minimalism (cf. Roberts 2011 for an overview of the debate). One problem with head movement is that it violates the so-called Extension Condition (Chomsky 1995), which states that syntactic operations apply to the root of the tree.[9] Since head movement targets a head position, it does not extend the tree. Alternatives to head movement have been proposed in the literature, one being Remnant Movement (for instance Müller 2002, 2004; Nilsen 2003; Bentzen 2005). I have, however, no intention of developing appropriate theories to account for head movement; my main concern is to give a transparent explanation for the empirical observations, and in my opinion the traditional account suffices for these purposes. I will assume the analysis of head movement in Platzack (2010) as the theoretical foundation for my stand.[10] See chapter 5 for details.

I propose that a PF-clitic is, syntactically speaking, an XP that phonetically may undergo metathesis with an adjacent element at the PF level. This means that the XP only irregularly appears in a special position. The process can for instance be regulated by phonetic criteria, and is illustrated in (6) on the next page. Thus, I assume two levels where the negative marker may be perceived as a clitic, namely within syntax or at PF. In the syntax, a negative marker may be a head or a phrase. If the negative marker is a head, it follows the finite verb to C; if it is an XP, it remains in situ.

I will also operate with the term *PF-variant*, which fully equals Zwicky and Pullum's term simple clitic – i.e. there is nothing special with such an item.

---

[9] The Extension Condition: A syntactic derivation can only be continued by applying operations to the root projection of the tree (Agder 2003: 95).

[10] According to Platzack (2010) the verb establishes agree-relations with relevant heads in the structure in the core syntax. Which head that finally spells out the verb, is determined at PF. In principle all heads may spell out the verb, but in practice the highest head spells it out in main clauses and the lowest head in embedded clauses in Mainland North Germanic.

(6) **PF-clitic**

Syntax:

```
              CP
            /    \
          XP      C'
                /    \
             V_fin    AgrSP          →      PF: XP − V_fin − subj − neg
                     /    \
                subject    NegP                      ↓
                          /    \
                        Neg     Neg'         PF: XP − V_fin − neg − subj
                               /    \
                            V̶_f̶i̶n̶    TP
                                    /\
                                   /__\
```
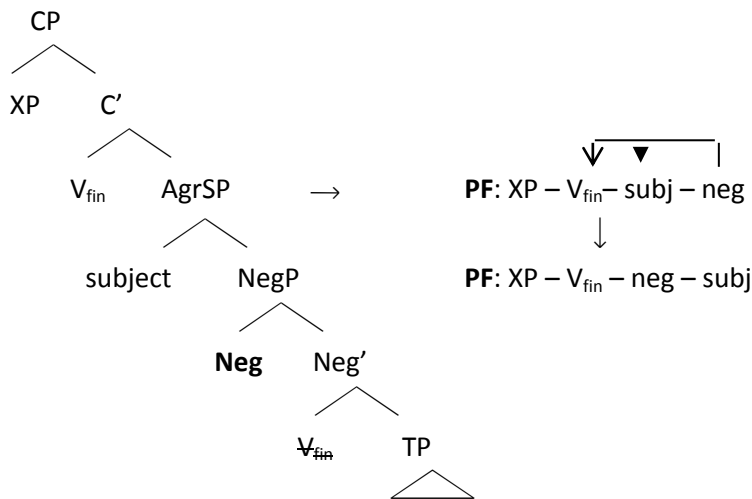
The negative marker occurs below the subject, but in the PF component the subject and negation switch positions. The assumption that cliticisation may be dependent on phonology and thus considered a PF-operation, is supported by data from Pettersen (1973), Endresen (1988) and Lindstad (1999), who show that the placement of the negative markers in the Bergen, Trøndelag and Oslo dialects respectively, is partly determined by phonological constraints. For instance in the Oslo dialect, the short form *ke* of *ikke* can only cliticise to monosyllabic verb forms (examples from Lindstad 1999: 54, but consider also Johannessen 1998):

(7)   a.   tar   **ikke** ->   *takke*
            takes not
            'doesn't take'
       b.   overtar   **ikke** ->   ??*overtakke*
            overtakes   not
            'doesn't take over'

Instead of this PF-clitic analysis, an alternative would be to assume that the status of *ikke* varies between being a head and an XP according to its position, as described above (cf. Lindstad 2007 on Norwegian *ikke*; Barbiers 2002 on negation in Dutch varieties). Such a solution would keep linearization within the domain of syntax, which is welcome when doing syntax.

The differences between the two possibilities are not large from an eclectic point of view. I choose the PF-analysis over variation in status for two important reasons. First, it allows the status of the negative element to remain constant, which makes its behaviour more predictable compared to a variable status. Second, the phonological restrictions on cliticisation of the negative marker to e.g. the finite verb in some varieties make it reasonable to assume that this process happens at PF.

Syntactic negative clitics adhere to the criteria for clitichood given in Kayne (1975), whereas PF-clitics do not. The criteria given below were proposed for identifying Romance pronominal clitics,

but most of them are also applicable to (syntactic) negative clitics in North Germanic (the list is taken from Riemsdijk 1999: 2ff):

(8) **Criteria for clitichood**
  (i)   **Special positions**: Clitics appear in a position where the corresponding full phrase does not occur.
  (ii)   **Obligatoriness**: The special position is obligatory, as opposed to e.g. the behaviour of certain quantifiers.
  (iii)   **Adjacency to V**: The clitic must be adjacent to the verb, which constitutes its "host".
  (iv)   **Obligatory presence of the verb**
  (v)   **No modification**: Clitics can never be modified
  (vi)   **No stress**: Clitics cannot be stressed
  (vii)   **No conjunction**: Clitics cannot be conjoined
  (viii)   **Fixed and special order**: Clitics occur in a fixed order, and very often this order deviates from the order that the corresponding full phrases would occur in.

The criteria in (vii, viii) are not relevant for our purposes: As for (vii), negation (as well as adverbs) rarely conjoins with other elements, and I therefore disregard this point. As for the fixed and special order of clitics mentioned in (viii), this criterion requires several clitics to co-occur.

1.3.4   Scope of negation

According to Miestamo (2005: 3f) the scope of sentential negation may loosely be characterised as the whole sentence, as opposed to constituent negation, which only has a subpart of the sentence in its scope. In the former case negation has wide scope, and in the latter it has narrow scope (cf. Brandtler 2006: 183). Syntactically, it is common to determine scope on the basis of c-command, such that what falls within the scope of negation has been c-commanded[11] by negation "at some stage of derivation" (Radford 2004: 167).

    The nature of negation and its scope has been debated in millennia (for an overview see Horn 2001; Brandtler 2006). I will here give a few simplistic remarks on the scope of negation from the view of the present work.

    Negation interacts with other scope bearing elements such as quantifiers. In Norwegian the scope relation may be read off by linear precedence, and this often gives the most salient interpretation:

(9)   a.   Dermed spiser ikke noen maten sin   (most salient interpretation:¬>∃)
           thereby eats not anybody food.DEF POSSESSIVE
           'Thereby, none eats their food'

---

[11] C-command: "A node A c-commands another node B iff the lowest branching node which properly dominates A also properly dominates B" (Trask 1993: 39).

b. Dermed spiser noen   ikke   maten   sin   (most salient interpretation: ∃>¬)
   thereby eats   anybody not   food.DEF POSSESSIVE
   'Thereby somebody doesn't eat their food'

Following Brandtler (2006) in his understanding of quantifiers as denoting complete sets Q={a,..,n}, the interpretation of (9a) can be paraphrased as none of the members of Q ate, and negation outscopes the existential quantifier ∃ denoted by *noen* ('somebody'). In (9b) on the other hand, only a proper subset of the Q is not eating their food, which also leaves a proper subset eating the food. Hence, the existential quantifier scopes over negation, and we have the scope relation ∃>¬. In both (9a) and (9b) the scope relations correspond with the relative order of the elements.

The word order *ikke > noen* can however also have inverse scope reading. This is in my opinion the most salient one in (10b). In (10a), where the context is left out, the most salient interpretation is ¬>∃:

(10) a. Han   var   **ikke** helt   fornøyd med **noen**   i   den   nærmeste   familie[12]
          he   was   not   completely happy   with someone in the   closest   family
          'He wasn't very happy with anyone/someone in his closest family'   (No.)
      b. - Det kunne ikke nytte å prate om det, sier Steinar Jacobsen (57), som ble kjent med Sven
          O. Høiby gjennom idretten på 1960-tallet. - Men han sa likevel en ting til meg: Han var **ikke**
          helt fornøyd med **noen** i den nærmeste familie, men nevnte ikke noe navn. *Det kan jo være
          flere*, sier Jacobsen til Dagbladet.no.
          'There was no use talking about it, says Steinar Jacobsen (57), who knew Sven O. Høiby
          through the sports in the sixties. But he told me one thing: He was not completely happy
          with someone in the nearest family, but he didn't mention any names. It could be a
          number of people, says Jacobsen to Dagbladet.no.'

If we disregard the context, negation most saliently outscopes the quantifier in (10a), which means that he dislikes everybody in his family. When the whole context is taken into consideration, the interpretation is disambiguated, and the inverse scope falls out as the most natural one. Syntactically, it is uncontroversial to assume that negation c-commands and dominates the quantifier in this example, but one can assume that the quantifier raises across negation at LF, and thus assume covert movement of it. Then the scope relation ∃>¬ is read off at LF.

The word order can, as we have seen, matter for the interpretation of sentences containing two scope-bearing elements. The word order is insignificant for the basic meaning of a sentence when it comes to the relative order of negation and definite descriptions in subject and object position. Alternative word orders can however imply pragmatic differences, but this has no effect on the basic semantics of the sentence. Consider the following pairs of examples:

---

[12] www.kjendis.no/2007/03/21/495727.html

(11) a. Dermed har   Jon   ikke   tullet   (Norwegian)
          thereby has   John   not   messed
      b. Dermed har   ikke   Jon   tullet
          thereby has   not   John   messed
          'Thereby, John didn't mess'

(12) a. Jon   så   den   ikke   (Norwegian)
          John   saw   it   not
          'John didn't see it'
      b. Jon   har   ikke   sett   den
          John   has   not   seen   it
          'John hasn't seen it'

The interpretation of (11a,b) is more or less equal under the reading of *ikke* as sentential negation, both meaning that John did not mess. In (11b) the subject may however be contrastively focalised, meaning that it was not *John,* but some other person who was messing. In (12a,b) both examples assert that John did not see it, but they differ in tense.

Tightly connected to negation and scope is Negative Polarity Items (henceforth NPI). An NPI is licensed under negation (and some NPIs also in questions and conditionals), and in negative contexts it must have been in the scope of negation at some stage of the derivation (Radford 2004: 167). Typical NPIs are adverbs, like the Norwegian *heller* ('either') and *overhodet* ('at all'), but they can also belong to other categories. On the other hand, some elements can only appear in positive contexts, such as the positive counterpart *også* ('too') of *heller* ('either', 'nor'). The adverb *heller* seems to be a strong NPI and can only occur in the scope of negation, whereas *overhodet* also can occur in questions.

(13) a. Jon   har   heller (*ikke)   sett   den   (Norwegian)
          John   has   either not   seen   it
          'John has also not seen it'
      b. Jon   har   overhodet (*ikke)   sett   den
          John   has   over.head.DEF not   seen   it
          'John hasn't seen it at all'
      c. Har   Jon   overhodet   sett   den?
          has   John   over.head.DEF seen   it
          'Has John seen it, at all?'
      d. *Har   Jon   heller   sett   den?
          has   John   either   seen   it

(13a,b) show that the items *heller* and *overhodet* cannot occur in a declarative clause unless negation is present. In (13c) we see that the item *overhodet* can occur in a question, whereas (13d) demonstrates that the item *heller* cannot.

The scope of negation has a minor significance in this dissertation, since the distribution of negation is only to a small degree considered in connection with other scope bearing elements such as quantifiers, adverbs or modal verbs.

1.4 Negation in North Germanic

1.4.1 The negative markers across North Germanic

Kiparsky and Condoravdi (2006) distinguish between what they call plain and emphasised negation.[13] In many of the North Germanic varieties plain and emphasised negation are only distinguished by prosodic accentuation, but in many varieties the prosodically weaker negation has a phonetically shortened sister. In some varieties the emphatic and plain negations are expressed by two different lexical items.

I will first and foremost consider the plain sentential negation, including shortened variants, in this dissertation. When I later in the dissertation write 'negation', I mean the plain negation unless otherwise stated.

There are basically three main types of negative markers in North Germanic, which I will label IKKE, INTE and EI based on their etymology. Different versions of IKKE and INTE are productively used, while EI first and foremost appears in idiomatic expressions. Versions of IKKE are mainly used in 'Western' North Germanic, and versions of INTE may be considered belonging to 'Eastern' North Germanic. The following table indicates the geographical distribution of the different types of negative markers. The language specific markers are given in the parenthesis:

Table 1: Negative markers in North Germanic.

IKKE	INTE
Norwegian (*ikke, ikkje*)	Swedish (*inte, int*)
Faroese (*ikki*)	Finland-Swedish (*int, it*)
Icelandic (*ekki*)	Traditional Danish dialects (*inte, itte*)
Danish (*ikke*[14])	Traditional Norw. dialects in central and eastern parts (*itj, int(e), ente, ette*)
(Swedish (*icke*))	

Additionally, some traditional Danish dialects have the negative marker type ENNE,[15] and older varieties of many Norwegian dialects have the marker *inkje*, which may be considered a separate type. The diachrony of the markers is considered in the next subsection.

---

[13] Holmberg (2003) operates with an *Adv-neg* generated above vP in addition to the plain sentential negation. These two negative markers may occur simultaneously (cf. Horn 2001). I recognised the following utterance from Mari Maurstad on Norwegian television NRK, January 23, 2011:

(i) så   jeg kan   jo   ikke   ikke   smake på maten
   then I   can   mod.prt   not   not   taste on food.DEF
   'Then, I cannot not taste the food'

This issue (in Norwegian) is thoroughly discussed and analysed in Eide (2002) and Lindstad (2007).

[14] This marker is pronounced */eg(e)/* in Danish.

The negative markers in the dialects considered in this dissertation are listed in Table 2. The full negative markers may receive stress and as such function as the emphasised negation, while the short ones cannot.

Table 2: The negative markers in the selected Mainland North Germanic dialects

Dialect of	Full negative markers	short negative markers
Oslo	*ikke*	*ke*
Setesdal	*inkje*	*kje*
Bergen	*ikkje*	*kje*
Stryn/Nordfjord	*ikkje*	*kje*
Trøndelag	*itj, ikke*	*(i)tj*
Senja	*ikkje*	*kje*
Älvdalen	*int(e), (itjä)*	*it*
Northern Ostrobothnian[16]	*i(n)t*	*it*

Most of the varieties have only one type of negative markers, e.g. the IKKE-type in the dialects of Oslo, Bergen, Senja, and Stryn/Nordfjord. The Trøndelag dialects exhibit negative markers of two types, the traditional *itj* (< *int*, Dalen et al. 2008) and the marker *ikke*, which is relatively new in this area (Endresen 1988; Dalen et al. 2008). The same holds for Övdalian, which traditionally has two types of markers, *int* (observe the similarity with the Trøndelag dialects) and *itjä* (of the IKKE type, cf. Garbacz 2009: 118). The latter marker is however no longer very productive. The other dialects basically have only one type of negative marker.[17]

1.4.2 Historical background and Jespersen's Cycle

Historically, the IKKE-type stems from the Old North Germanic marker *ekki* according to the Norwegian, Swedish and Danish dictionaries *Norsk Ordbok* 2014 (NO2014); *Svenska Akademiens ordbok* (SAOB), and *Ordbog over the Danske Sprog* (ODS). The form *ekki* was originally the neuter form of *enginn* ('nobody'), and it comes from **eit-gi* (lit. 'one$_N$-gi', where *gi* is a negative suffix). This negative marker replaced the negative adverb *eigi* (lit. 'always-gi' Heggstad et al. 1993: 86), which is the ancestor of the negative marker EI (via *eigh/egi, egh* in Middle Norwegian/Old Swedish and Old Danish, respectively).

The type INTE is younger than IKKE, and according to SAOB, this form stems from a younger Old Swedish neuter form of *ingen* ('nobody'), namely *ingte, inte* or *intit*.

---

[15] According to Christensen (1936) the Danish marker *enne* originates from a negative QP *ænigh(æ)*, meaning *nobody* according to the dictionary of the dialects of Jutland (Feilberg 1886-1914), which he compares with the QP *manigh(æ)* ('many').

[16] According to Huldén (1995) it varies from dialect to dialect in Ostrobothnia whether *int* or *it* is used as plain negation.

[17] In the traditional dialect of Bornholm (Teinnæs 1929) three sentential negative markers are used productively: *ei, ijkje* and *inte*. *Ei* is heavily emphatic, whereas the other two are used as the plain negative marker.

The Norwegian form *inkje* is, like the other productive negative markers, originally a negative indefinite neuter form. Its form suggests that it is created in analogy with the feminine and masculine forms *inga* and *ingen*. The fact that it may function as a negative indefinite in some Norwegian dialects (e.g. the Setesdal dialect) and in the written standard *Nynorsk*, in addition to containing the prefix *in-*, which originally marked masculine/feminine, supports an hypothesis claiming that it is a a relatively 'recent' innovation. We can be hypothesise that it originated in a period when the prefix *in-* had lost its gender specifications and had become a purely negative indefinite prefix (as with the type INTE, which however has retained the neuter *t*). This process can be referred to as *grammaticalisation*, viz. "the creation of new grammatical morphemes" (Roberts 2007: 142).[18]

The rise and fall of negative markers is often cyclic, and after Jespersen's (1917) descriptions, the cyclic change of negation is labelled *Jespersen's Cycle* (henceforth JC). In short, a new negative marker often starts out as a (non-negative) strengthener of the original, neutral negator, but eventually the enforcer is grammaticalised into a new, neutral negator, and the original negative marker disappears. Such a change is nicely illustrated with the following paradigmatic change in the negative system in French (Roberts 2007: 142f):

(14) **Stage I: pre-verbal negator *ne*:**

je ne   dis   (Old French)

I   neg say

Stage II: reinforcement of *ne* by the (post-verbal) minimiser *pas*:

je ne   dis   pas   (Standard French)

I   not   say   not

Stage III: The post-verbal minimiser is the only negator *pas*:

je dis   pas   (Colloquial French)

I   say   not

Observe that in stage II in (14), two negative markers co-occur. This often happens in JC when the old negative marker is reinforced by the new (negative) element.

Syntactically, JC has been illustrated as in (15) (van Gelderen 2008: 198):

(15) NegP

       Neg'

       Neg   VP

               Indef/Neg

---
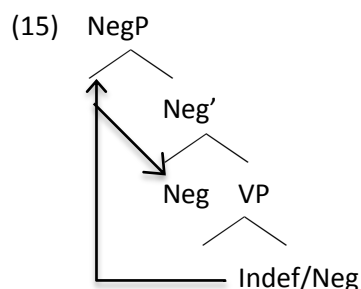
[18] Syntactically, grammaticalisation involves reanalysis, and in Roberts' (2007: 142) view, associated parameter change.

A new exponent of negation can start out as an indefinite element, which is reanalysed as a pure negative element occurring in Spec,NegP, and which eventually is reanalysed as a head (before it disappears). According to some linguists, the stage with NC appears when the negative marker is a head (Zeijlstra 2004 and subsequent works; van Gelderen 2008).

In the diachrony of North Germanic a cycle that involves stage II in (14) has not appeared since the (Old Norse) negative marker *–at* disappeared from the linguistic scene,. After the entrance of the negative adverb *eigi* in ON the new negative markers have just replaced the old negative marker, and there has been no cyclic change and no recognised stage of NC. This observation agrees with the analysis of *eigi* and later negative markers as XPs (Lindstad 2007; Faarlund 2004).

Having presented the background for my study, I will now move on to research questions and hypotheses in section 1.5.

1.5   **Research questions and theoretical hypotheses**

From an empirical point of view, the main research question of the thesis is given in (16a). A mere by-product of the study is the research question in (16b):

(16)   a. Is there any co-variation in the distribution of negation across the structures under investigation?
       b. Does the distribution of negation and adverbs diverge?

From a theoretical point of view, the main research question of the thesis is given in (17):

(17)   How can any observed variation in the distribution of negation across North Germanic varieties be accounted for?

(18)   a. *Null hypothesis:* There is an overarching North Germanic Neg-parameter, of which the settings to either '+' or '−' can account for any observed variation.
       b. *Alternative hypothesis:* The observed variation in the distribution of negation across North Germanic varieties can be accounted for by the following variables:
          (i) Cross-linguistic differences in the different structures obscure the features of negation
          (ii) When structural differences are eliminated, the status of negation can account for (some of) the remaining variation
          (iii) Sociological factors, in particular the national speech society, play a role

The null hypothesis, given in (18a), proposes that the variation across North Germanic may be attributed to one parameter only, in line with the traditional view of a parameter. This hypothesis implies some kind of co-variation of the distribution of negation across the structures, which in turn can be attributed to one specific parameter setting. An alternative hypothesis, given in (18b), is that several factors determine the distribution of negation. Only one of these factors, (18bii), concerns negation, as opposed to (18a), in which negation itself is responsible for any variation. In effect, (18bii) is a variant of the null hypothesis in (18a), and to the extent that the (internal) syntax of negation can be affected by a parameter, the formulation in (18bii) is a specification of (18a) – a microparameter. The research questions will be addressed in the conclusion of this thesis.

1.6   Outline of the dissertation

The dissertation is organised as follows: The methodology of the thesis is presented and discussed in chapter 2. The topic of chapter 3 is the relative position of negation with respect to subjects and pronominal objects. The chapter includes a corpus study of the Oslo dialect, and a general survey on these issues in North Germanic. Chapter 4 contains the same elements as chapter 3, but its topic is the distribution of negation in (finite) embedded clauses. Chapter 5 investigates the distribution of negation in main and embedded clauses in the Norwegian dialects of Bergen, Stryn, Trøndelag and Senja; the Swedish variety Övdalian; and the Finland-Swedish varieties in Northern Ostrobothnia. The chapter also provides a study of verb movement across negation in embedded clauses. In chapter 6 I turn my attention to different instances of double negation in North Germanic, more specifically Negative Concord and clause-initial and clause-final negation. The last perspective on negation comes in chapter 7, which concerns negative imperatives and in particular the neg-initial negative imperatives in Norwegian. The (main) threads are collected in chapter 8, and in chapter 9 in a structural analysis of North Germanic negation. The chapter also summarises the empirical findings of the thesis. Chapter 10 summarises and concludes the thesis.

2 Methodology

The first part of this chapter concerns some general methodological issues in Generative Grammar, before I in the second part turn to the *whats* and *hows* of the specific resources and tools I have made use of in the present work.

2.1 General remarks

As stated in the previous chapter, the object of study in Generative Grammar is mental grammars, and in order to study such a hidden reality one needs to study its expressions. Because of this, the methodology of Generative Grammar can be accused of being circular (cf. Dyvik 1980). I think a better description is upward spiralling: In order to model a hidden reality (I-language), it is necessary to go back and forth between empirical data and the model in order to steadily adjust the model to existing and new data (cf. Åfarli 2000 on hypothetic modelling).

This section starts with a discussion of the concepts of grammaticality and acceptability, before I turn to some notes on linguistic judgements and corpus data. For an extensive discussion of methodological issues within theoretical linguistics, I refer to Schütze (1996).

2.1.1 Grammaticality and acceptability

I assume the dichotomy grammaticality – acceptability. Grammaticality concerns I-language, and indicates whether something is or is not in accordance with a particular (hypothesised) I-language. Acceptability concerns E-language and hence also the concept of dialect grammar with which I will operate.

The dichotomy is necessary, because the terms concern two different entities. If a string is grammatical, it is in accordance with a (hypothesised) I-language. An acceptable string, on the other hand, need not be in accordance with a (hypothesised) I-language for various reasons (cf. 1a), and vice versa, an unacceptable string can be in accordance with an I-language (cf. 1b).

(1)   a. I går   Lisa   gikk   til skolen   (No.)
               yesterday   Lisa   walked   to school.DEF
               'Yesterday Lisa walked to school'

         b. Derfor   skal   heldigvis sannsynligvis   tydeligviskanskje allerede Jon   gå til skolen
               thereforeshall   luckilyprobably evidently maybe already John walk to school.DEF'
               'Therefore, John will luckily probably evidently maybe already walk to school'   (No.)

The sentence in (1a) is ungrammatical in Norwegian, based on the hypothesis that the I-languages of Norwegians contain something that demands the finite verb to appear in second position in declarative clauses. (1b), on the other hand, is grammatical, based on the hypothesis that Norwegian I-languages share the feature of enabling iterative instances of adverbs. Still, (1a) may be considered acceptable in the sense that it is parsable and makes sense, whereas (1b) may be considered as unacceptable, for instance because such an accumulation of adverbs seems unnatural and (potentially) makes the sentence less comprehensible.

One may of course object that the distinction between grammaticality and acceptability is meaningless, on the grounds that the underlying systems that linguists detect, which strictly

speaking are underlying E-language systems (hence dialect grammars) are often taken to represent I-language structures. In these cases the contrast between grammaticality/I-language and acceptability/E-language is diluted (cf. Cornips and Poletto 2005: 941 who cite Milroy 2001 and Muysken 2000). I try to avoid such dilution by operating with the E-language notion of dialect grammars.

In stereotypical portrayals of so-called armchair linguists, introspection and the collection of linguistic intuitions have been the preferred method, whereas for instance sociolinguists on the other hand collect and examine corpora. Cornips and Corrigan (2005) argue in favour of combining the two methods, and Fillmore (1992: 35) concludes "that the two kinds of linguists need each other".

These two methods – linguistic intuitions and the use of speech corpora – are the ones that supply the majority of the data on which this thesis draws. In the following I will describe and discuss advantages and disadvantages, as well as some general issues related to the use of these methods.

2.1.2 Linguistic judgements

It is often argued that linguistic intuitions give direct access to I-language, but as Bard et al. (1996: 33) point out, intuitions are "a particular kind of linguistic behavior", i.e. a part of performance (cf. Schütze 1996; Cornips and Poletto 2005: 942; Henry 2005: 1616). They have as such no special ontological status compared to for instance corpus data, but Cornips and Poletto (2005: 941) note that they "may provide insight into a speaker's competence far more readily than spontaneous speech data do".

The output of linguistic judgements is degrees of acceptability.

Judgements can vary between informants speaking the same dialect, thus constituting inter-individual acceptability variation. The question is whether this variation reflects real variation in the I-languages. If we take seriously the statement in Cornips and Poletto (2005: 940) that I-languages minimally vary from each other, the null hypothesis must be that differences in acceptability reflect I-language variation. I still think that one needs to be careful in how judgement data are used.

Other advantages of judgements over corpus data are as follows (Cornips and Poletto 2005: 941f): They can provide both positive and negative evidence, and one can get data about structures that are rare in spoken language. One can also easily elicit specific variables in relation to other variables. Disadvantages exist as well, and they may vary from elicitation task to elicitation task. I will address some specific potential problems and disadvantages related to the data sources used in the present work in section 2.2.2.5 below.

As for the act of judgement, some sort of scale is needed. Usually, a four- or five-way scale is used. Sorace and Keller (2005) argue in favour of *magnitude estimation*, which, they claim, is better suited to measuring differences in acceptability between sentences. In this method the informant defines his own scale, and the scales are thereafter coordinated by specific algorithms. Irrespective of whether the scale is rigid or self-defined, such fine-grained scales give rise to degraded data.

In the linguistic literature, it varies whether degraded data are taken to support a hypothesis (and thus interpreted as acceptable/grammatical), or taken as evidence against a particular hypothesis (and thus interpreted as unacceptable/ungrammatical). Whether a sentence is judged as acceptable or not hinges on pragmatics and/or linguistic issues. Judgements that are degraded because of pragmatics or because of other non-linguistic reasons, may of course correctly be interpreted as

acceptable. If, however, a sentence receives a degraded score based on linguistic grounds, a theory of degraded judgement is necessary in order to treat such judgements properly. One example of such a theory is the one of Sorace and Keller (2005), who propose that degraded judgement results from violation of so-called soft constraints situated at the interfaces, or in other words, interface rules.

Still, the most important issue concerning linguistic judgement is to detect the overall tendencies in the material, which I aim at doing. If this is done successfully, fine-graded scales are most likely unnecessary. As reported by Thráinsson (2007b), a three-way scale (*yes – perhaps – no*) gave the same result as obtained with a five-way scale. He also reports that using a five-way scale does not add reliable interesting findings.

The following is an example showing that fine-grained scales are not necessarily good. During a fieldwork one of my informants consistently gave the score '1' (lowest score on a scale from 1 to 5) to the sentences she would not say (like the one in (2a) below), while one of the other informants gave the score '3' to the same sentences, although she would not have used them either, based on the reasoning that the sentences were possible to utter. If I had just asked the informants what they would say in their own dialect, both would perhaps simply have answered 'yes' to (2b) and 'no' to the first (2a).

(2) a. I går   las   itj   n   boka   (No.)

     yesterday   read   not   he.CL book.DEF

     b. I går   las   n   itj   boka   (No.)

     yesterday   read   he.CL not   book.DEF

     'Yesterday, he didn't read the book'

It is favourable if judgement data are corroborated by production data (cf. Henry 2005). Such production data are collected in corpora.

2.1.3 Corpora

A corpus is a collection of a finite number of uttered words and associated sounds, and it consists of complete sentences and fragmentary expressions, as well as slips of the tongue and other speech errors of different origin. Because the human language capacity is able to generate an infinite number of different utterances, it is logically impossible for a finite corpus to contain every possible linguistic structure. As a consequence, infrequent structures are not always found in corpora. However, the bigger a corpus is, the more structures it contains.

Corpora only provide positive evidence, from which it follows that the lack of a particular structure does not tell us whether this structure exists in the language of the corpus or not. Such a lack can, however, be "instructive" (Henry 2005: 1615).

Corpora also have other assets. Fillmore (1992: 34) mentions that they reveal facts about language that he "couldn't imagine finding out about in any other way". Furthermore, Henry (2005: 1616) emphasises that a corpus can confirm linguistic intuitions. She also notes that only corpora can give information about frequency, which is the most important contribution of the corpora used in the present work.

Henry (2005: 1615) also notes that frequency may not be helpful when choosing a structural analysis, but frequency may give us hints about language acquisition and historical change. It may also in some cases constitute dialect isoglosses (cf. Barbiers 2005).

In sum, both linguistic intuitions and corpora are useful tools, and in this work I make extensive use of both in the present work and especially in chapters 3-5.

2.2   Tools and resources

In chapters 3-5, which concern the relative order of negation and pronouns in main and embedded clauses, the data material is massive, and the data constitute a substantial part of the chapters. One of the goals in these chapters is to establish what patterns (at the group level) exist in the different dialects when the available data are taken into consideration. For the sake of convenience I will refer to these patterns as dialect grammars (cf. chapter 1). In order to evaluate the dialect grammars as reliable as possible, both linguistic judgement data and corpora are employed.

In chapters 6 and 7 the sources of data are relatively few, and the pure structural issues are more prominent. Except for the data excerpted from the dialectological literature, the data in these chapters are judgement data and, to some degree, also data from the Internet.

2.2.1   Selection of dialects

The selection of dialects discussed in this dissertation was described in the previous chapter. As previously stated, the selection is motivated by linguistic interest, data availability, and pragmatic considerations. In Table 3 the selected dialects are listed, along with the sources of the data for each dialect.

Table 3: The studied dialects and sources of data

Dialect	Data source
Northern Ostrobothnian (Fi.)	Informants (NORMS), NSD, literature
Övdalian (Sw.)	Informants (NORMS), NSD, NDC, literature, own informants
The Senja dialect (No.)	Informants (NORMS), NSD, NDC
The Trøndelag dialects (No.)	Informants (NORMS), NDC, NSD, literature, own informants
The Nordfjord dialect (No.)	Own informants, NSD, NDC, literature
The Bergen dialect (No.)	Own informants, NSD, NDC, Talesøk, literature
The Setesdal dialect (No.)	Own informants, literature, NSD, NDC
The Oslo dialect (No.)	NoTa-corpus

The data sources vary from dialect to dialect, but for most of them both judgement and production data are available. Production data is missing for Northern Ostrobothnian, whereas judgement data

is missing for the Oslo dialect. Most critical for the purpose of establishing dialect grammars is the lack of production data, since they corroborate judgement data. I can therefore not be conclusive on the dialect grammar for Northern Ostrobothnian.

The lack of judgement data from the Oslo dialect does not affect the possibility of establishing a grammar for this dialect, although judgements would be valuable in order to get insights to the speakers' own intuitions when discussing structural analyses. This may sound as if I regard judgement data as direct expressions of the mental grammar, but that is not my intention, see section 2.1.2. As we will see below, the corpus containing the Oslo dialect is large, as opposed to the available corpora containing the other dialects, and it contains many instances of the investigated word orders.

The overarching project umbrella to one of the main corpora I have used, is presented and discussed in the next subsection.

2.2.2   **ScanDiaSyn – Scandinavian Dialect Syntax**

ScanDiaSyn is an umbrella for several projects aimed at systematically investigating dialectal syntactic variation across the North Germanic dialect continuum (Vangsnes 2007). The projects have involved national dialect syntax projects as well as infrastructure projects for making the results available. Spontaneous speech has been collected from the locations indicated in Map 3 on the next page, and in addition judgement data has been collected from partly the same locations. The speech recordings are available through an online, tagged corpus (*Nordic Dialect Corpus*), and the judgement data are collected in an online database (*Nordic Syntax Database*). The NSD-database is described below in section 2.2.4, and the NDC-corpus is described section 2.2.5.

The methodology for the collection of data has varied a bit from country to country, and this will be clarified in the following subsections on the national parts. The judgement data are based on a list of approximately 1400 potentially relevant test sentences that were worked out in linguistically organised thematic groups. The national questionnaires form subsets of this large ScanDiaSyn list, and the specific choices are based on the researchers' individual linguistic interests, and "on what is considered relevant in each dialect" (Lindstad et al 2009: 283). The judgement scale used is invariant across the countries, and goes from 1 (bad) to 5 (good).

In the following I will give an overview of the Norwegian, Swedish and Danish parts of ScanDiaSyn. Iceland and the Faroe Islands also participated in the project, but since I have not made use of the data collected from these parts of Scandinavia to any significant degree, I do not include them in the following survey.

Map 3 The ScanDiaSyn locations across Scandianavia that are represented in the corpus[19]
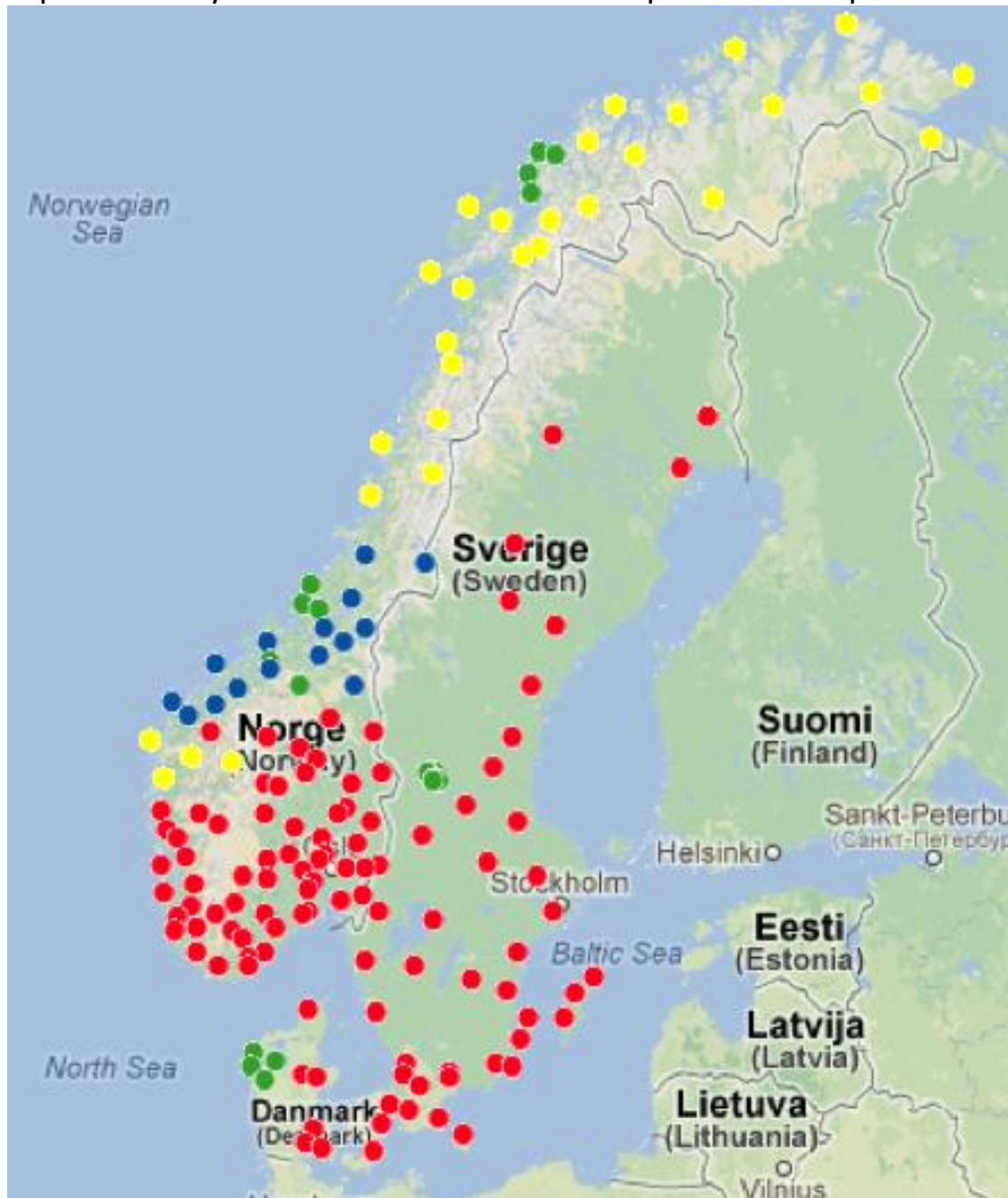
Red marks: Measure points visited by **NorDiaSyn** (The Text Laboratory, UiO, Southern Norway), **DanDiaSyn** (Denmark), and **SweDia 2000** (Sweden).
Blue marks: Measure points visited by NorDiaSyn (NTNU)
Yellow marks: Measure points visited by NorDiaSyn (UiT)
Green marks: Recorded during a NORMS dialect workshop

---

[19] http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/scandiasyn/kart.html

2.2.2.1 **The Norwegian part**

The general guideline for the Norwegian part was to find four informants on each location that met the following requirements (Vangsnes 2007: 59):

- A male speaker between 15 and 30 years (identified as location_01um)
- A female speaker between 15 and 30 years (identified as location_02uk)
- A male speaker older than 50 years (identified as location_03gm)
- A female speaker older than 50 years (identified as location_04gk)

Ideally, the informants are born and raised at the location, and they should furthermore not have lived outside the location for more than seven years in total.

The informants were recorded in an interview and a conversation. The interviews lasted for approximately ten to fifteen minutes, during which the fieldworker tried to get the informant to talk as much as possible. The conversations lasted for half an hour or more, and took place between two informants, and in most cases the old ones talked to each other and the young ones to each other. In order to get the atmosphere as easy and comfortable as possible, the fieldworker left the room, and sweets, fruit and drinks were served to the informants. The informants were instructed not to talk about sensitive topics such as politics, and they were provided with a list of suggested topics of conversation in case needed.

Acceptability judgements have been collected from the same informants. The NorDiaSyn questionnaire contains 140 test sentence chosen from the common pool of around 1400 sentences mentioned above (Lindstad et al. 2009: 283). The test sentences have in most cases been pre-recorded by someone who speaks the local dialect so as to avoid phonetic deviation being a disturbing factor (cf. Cornips and Poletto 2005: 946). These recordings were played one by one to the informants.

2.2.2.2 **The Danish part**

In the Danish part of the project (DanDiaSyn) informants from 11 locations participated. This number is much smaller than the corresponding numbers in the Norwegian and Swedish parts. The reason behind this choice is that the dialect levelling in Denmark is so advanced that it would not necessarily be fruitful to include more locations (Hagedorn and Jørgensen 2009).

The requirements for the Danish informants differ a bit from the Norwegian ones: There should be at least five informants from each location; all should be more than 60 years old; they should have at most seven years of education (i.e. only primary school); and they should have lived in the place most of their lives (Hagedorn and Jørgensen 2009: 169). These requirements are similar to the ones in the SAND dialect project in Belgium and the Netherlands (Cornips and Poletto 2005: 946).

In the Danish data collection the emphasis was on the questionnaire, but the informants were also interviewed for approximately fifteen minutes each (Hagedorn and Jørgensen 2009: 169).

The DanDiaSyn questionnaire (chosen from the ScanDiaSyn pool of test sentences) reflects the research interests of the Danish linguists (Hagedorn and Jørgensen 2009: 170). As for structures proposed by the other research groups, some of them were believed to be non-existing in Danish dialects and thus excluded, whereas the other proposed structures were discussed (Hagedorn and Jørgensen 2009: 170). It is not made clear in Hagedorn and Jørgensen (2009) which ones were

included/excluded, but in any event, the overlap with the selected structures in Norway/Sweden is modest.

2.2.2.3 *The Swedish part*

Unlike the Norwegian and Danish parts, only very few recordings of speech were made in the Swedish part (http://websim.arkivert.uit.no/scandiasyn/lund/2). One reason for this is the project SweDia2000. In SweDia2000, 97 locations in Sweden and 10 locations in Finland were visited, and at each location twelve informants were consulted – three old men, three old women, three young men and three young women. The Swedish part of ScanDiaSyn provided however resources to transcribe some of the SweDia2000 recordings. In total recordings from 39 locations exist in the corpus (Johannessen et al. 2012: 3387). The ones that have been transcribed, are shown in Map 3 above, and between two and four informants are included from each place.

2.2.2.4 *Methodological advantages of the ScanDiaSyn data collection*

The judgement database NSD and the NDC-corpus made under the ScanDiaSyn umbrella are valuable tools for research on North Germanic syntax (Johannessen et al. 2012). Descriptions of these tools are provided in sections 2.2.4 and 2.2.5, respectively. One particular advantage of the work is the size of the corpus and the number of locations visited across Scandinavia. It is first and foremost a quantitative collection of data, and the corpus and the database must be judged on that basis.

In the methods used to collet data in the ScanDiaSyn project, there are several possible sources of errors and problems that may have affected the outcome. Depending on purpose the sources of errors may be useful to be aware of. Some of these sources will be discussed in subsection 2.2.2.5.

2.2.2.5 *Methodological problems with the ScanDiaSyn data collection*

I will address the potential problems listed below. The list is partly based on my own experience and knowledge of the project, and it reflects my familiarity with the Norwegian part of the project.

Some of the issues to be discussed are relevant just for the specific ScanDiaSyn methodology, whereas other issues are more general in nature.

- Shared leadership of the project and number of people involved
- Presentation of the test sentences
- Recruitment of informants
- Good and bad informants (including accommodation)
- Informants' use of the judgement scale

2.2.2.5.1 Shared leadership and number of people involved

Many people have been involved in the different levels of the ScanDiaSyn project. The national projects have been controlled from each country, and many people have participated in the practical work.

The fact that the national projects have had different leadership has the advantage that the projects have been anchored to the groups of researchers and their interests. A drawback of this is, however, that the pan-Scandinavian perspective may be lost, and the non-uniformity of the content in the NDC-corpus and the NSD-database across the languages illustrates this.

Methodological details concerning for instance the recording of the questionnaires (mostly relevant for the Norwegian part), and the practical work of the collecting data, may also have been affected. One example is the case of the pre-recorded test sentences, which is addressed in the next subsection.

As for the data collecting and in particular the elicitation task, the fieldworker plays an important part in giving instructions, clarifying, and helping the informant such that the sentences are judged according to their intended meaning. These tasks may have been carried out differently by the different fieldworkers involved.

2.2.2.5.2   Presentation of the test sentences

The questionnaire was presented orally, and the reasoning behind this choice was among other things that the informants should hear the test sentences in their own dialect, making it easier to give judgements. In order to do this, the questionnaire was pre-recorded by a speaker of the local dialect. Although the intentions are good, there are however a few potential problems with this practical method. One concerns the dialect of the reader, and another how supposedly unacceptable sentences are pronounced. Both these potential problems directly concern my work. Consider the following three sentences from the questionnaire.

(3)   a. Derfor   leste ikke   han   a.   (Norwegian)
           therefore read   not   he   her
         b. Derfor   leste han   ikke   a.
           therefore read   he   not   her
         c. Derfor   leste han   a ikke.
           therefore read   he   her not
           'Therefore, he didn't read it'

In this triplet the placement of unstressed pronouns with respect to negation is tested, and it is very important that the pronouns are unstressed. In at least one particular case, the questionnaire, and hence also the sentences in (3) was recorded in another dialect of the same region. The sentences were read with a different form of the pronoun, and with the negative marker *ikkje* instead of the negative marker *itj* in the target dialect. Clearly, this was not ideal.

As for the latter issue, the reader must pronounce unacceptable sentences in a way that they sound natural. I have heard one recording of (3b) above that did not sound natural and having pause before the final pronoun. When played to the informants, it must have been difficult to judge the sentence in accordance with its intention, unless the fieldworker could clarify for them what the intention was.

2.2.2.5.3   Recruitment of informants

On each location the informants were recruited by a local person, whose task was to engage informants meeting the specific requirements of age, gender, background and so forth. The recruitment was in most cases successful in the sense that the informants met the requirements given in section 2.2.2.1 above (Øystein Vangsnes, p.c.).

There are, unfortunately, a few exceptions to this, such as the old informants from one of the places in Northern Norway, whose dialect background diverges from the condition specified above:

The female informant had lived outside the village for twenty years, and both informants had higher education.

Another example is the old informants from a small town in Northern Norway. Whereas the male informant came from the town centre, the female informant had grown up outside the town centre. She had a few archaic dialect characteristics such as 'cloven infinitive' (*kløyvd infinitiv*) (Faarlund et al 1997: 475f) and the negative marker *ikkje.* These features may (but need not) be attributed to her less urban origin.

A way of avoiding such problems has been to recruit informants from one specific village in the municipality rather than recruiting informants from anywhere in the municipality. An example of this is the data from the municipality of Kåfjord in Northern Norway, where the informants come from the village Manndalen.

2.2.2.5.4   Representativeness

As mentioned above, the overall goal of the ScanDiaSyn project was to systematically investigate syntactic dialect variation across Scandinavia. This was done using a limited set of informants from each location, and at each location there should be at least one old informant who had no higher education had lived at the location more or less his/her entire life (Vangsnes 2007: 59). This was intended to ensure documentation of the traditional dialect.

Recall that the Danish part of the project employed only old informants, and in a corresponding dialect project, the SAND project in the Netherlands and Belgium, at least two old informants were recruited in each location (Barbiers and Bennis 2007: 62). The emphasis on traditional varieties may reveal hitherto unknown structures that can contribute to the overall understanding of language within the Generative framework.

The use of a limited set of informants is furthermore not exclusive to ScanDiaSyn, and it also has historic traditions in Norwegian dialectology, such as in the study of the syntax of the Tromsø dialect in Iversen (1918), in which the author uses his own intuitions about the dialect (Iversen 1918: preface).

2.2.2.5.5   Good and bad informants

The topic of the current and the next section is issues concerning the use of informants in general.

Participating in language data collection requires some qualities of the informants. For recording sessions the informants should be talkative and not accommodate to the conversational partner.

If the informants from a location differ considerably in talkativeness, the data from the location are not balanced. This may subsequently give a wrong impression of dialect features. In one of the places in Northern Norway, the young man, who had more traditional features than the young female informant, was not very talkative in neither the conversation nor in the interview. In the NDC-corpus for this age group in this particular location, the frequencies of the particular traditional features are low compared to the modern ones.

As for accommodation,[20] there are examples in the NDC-corpus in which for instance one of the informants accommodates to the other one, and where one informant accommodates to a more

---

[20] The status of dialects may vary across the Scandinavian languages, and the relevance of accommodation may also vary accordingly. As for Norway and Norwegian, the common understanding is that dialects have a

traditional variety. An illustration of the first case is from the town in Northern Norway mentioned above, where the old female informant has more traditional dialect features than the old male informant with whom she is talking. This results in the old man using the negative marker *ikkje* in the conversation, whereas he uses the negative marker *ikke* in the interview. This could also be recognised as accommodation to the fieldworker, but the fieldworker speaks a distant dialect that also has the marker *ikkje*. The young informants use the marker *ikke*, and it is likely that the old man do so too (cf. Jahr and Skare 1996: 56 who note that the marker *ikke* is common in Northern Norwegian cities). In another rural place in Northern Norway, the old male informant corrects himself after uttering the noun *sjøen* ('the sea') and gives the traditional form *sjyn* ('the sea'). Such accommodation at the lexical level affects the frequencies, but in these cases it has (most likely) no effect on the syntax.

An informant who is well suited for speech recordings is, however, not necessarily suited for judgement tasks. For judgement tasks Cornips and Poletto (2005: 946) list that good informants should be able to concentrate on the grammatical issues of the test sentences, and that the informants should be able to focus on their own, local dialect, and not infer from more standardised or more archaic varieties.

The sentences in the questionnaire vary in difficulty, and the sentences in (3) above belong to the difficult ones. The intended meanings of the three sentences are identical, as indicated by the translation. In order for this to be possible, the pronouns (and the negative marker) must be unstressed, which is indicated by the Eastern Norwegian clitic pronoun *a* ('her'). In the dialects that have such distinct clitic pronouns, the prosody should in principle be easy to monitor (but see section 2.2.2.5.2 above). If there are no clitic pronouns, the order *(finite verb,* henceforth 'v_{fin}' >) *neg(ation) > pron(oun)* in (3a,b) can easily be interpreted as the pronoun being in focus, and then the sentences are judged on wrong grounds. It should however be noted that the most appropriate pronouns for each dialect are used, so that the pronoun *a* is only used in dialects that has this particular pronoun.

2.2.2.5.6 Informants' use of the judgement scale

The informants potentially use the judgement scale differently, as illustrated in section 2.1.2. Sorace and Keller (2005: 1499) note that "acceptability judgments are subject to a considerable number of biases", and as discussed above a fixed scale is probably not the best method. When there is a higher number informants, however, the variation will to some extent be adjusted. This also means that the tendencies in a material, realised as for instance average scores, are more important than the exact scores of each informant.

There are also examples in the data collection of informants rejecting structures that they produce themselves, a problem which is related to the issue of good contra bad informants in the preceding subsection. I experienced this myself during my own participation in the data collection.

---

high status, which can lead one into thinking accommodation is not a problem in Norway. However, there are many examples of regional dialect levelling (Mæhlum et al. 2003), which imply that accommodation is common – at least among young speakers. For Norwegian, it is often claimed that accommodation goes towards a regional standard rather than towards standard Norwegian in the sense of the South-Eastern 'standard' dialect around Oslo.

In this particular case the other fieldworker made the informant aware of this inconsistency, and the informant then gave a 'correct' judgement. This case shows again the importance of trained fieldworkers. It may however be discussed whether such corrections are only for the better. Obviously, the fieldworker does not correct the informant whenever errors are made, and one can claim that the overall data do not come out as strictly comparable. On the other hand, the rate of errors is reduced, and when the data from this particular location are considered in isolation, one can say that the quality of the data is improved.

2.2.2.6 *Discussion and conclusion*

The goal of the ScanDiaSyn project has been to investigate the syntactic variation in Scandinavian dialects in a systematic and co-ordinated manner. As far as I can see, ScanDiaSyn highly contributes to this goal by making speech by different genders and to some degree, age groups from all over Scandinavia accessible for researchers and others who might be interested.

One can argue that the quantitative perspective in ScanDiaSyn to some degree has come at the expense of methodological quality as described above, and that the data are less comparable than wanted.

To take the latter first: We saw above that the number and age of informants from each location varies between the countries, which has consequences for comparisons between the languages. This can partly be overcome by selecting only the old age group when searching in the corpus or the database.

In addition, the amount of data in the corpus and the number of tested sentences in the NSD-database differ between Norwegian/Swedish on the one hand and Danish on the other (see the sections below). This is perhaps the biggest challenge for potential comparisons across the languages, which in some cases, and in this thesis in particular, has the consequence that Danish only to a small degree is included in the surveys.

With regard to the methodological quality, the ultimate question is whether the language of the informants is representative for the particular dialects/speech communities. This cannot, however, be treated in isolation, but must be related to the purpose of the investigation. As Vangsnes (2007: 59) mentions, the representativeness of the informants will not completely satisfy sociolinguistic requirements, but he notes that sociolinguistic pilot studies should be possible to accomplish. The data nevertheless give an impression of a particular dialect. For in-depth studies of one particular dialect, one should in any case include more data. This is also what I do in the dialect case studies in chapter 5.

Based on my impression and evaluation of the data, I do not consider potential accommodation to be problematic for this work, although it can be for other types of studies depending on their purpose. It would be problematic for me if for instance a change in the expression of negation affected its distribution, but I have not observed any such cases. One can however not dismiss the fact that many people have several registers, such as the old male informant described above. From a dialectological perspective the register with the negative marker *ikkje* is more traditional than the one with the marker *ikke*, but which register the informant identifies with, we do not know. As such, one cannot dismiss any of the varieties.

The judgement data stored in the NSD-database is perhaps the project outcome that one should treat with the most care. It is a good tool for giving indications of isoglosses, but I think the result

should be compared and corroborated with other resources, such as for instance the NDC-corpus or own investigations.

To conclude, the collected material under the ScanDiaSyn umbrella gives a good picture of the dialectal variation in North Germanic.

2.2.3 NORMS dialect workshops

2.2.3.1 *Description*
NORMS (Nordic Centre of Excellence in Microcomparative Syntax) organised several dialect workshops in various places in Scandinavia. According to the centre's web pages (http://norms.uit.no/index.php?page=dialect), nine such workshops have been conducted: Northern Ostbothnia (Finland), Northern Norway/Senja, Älvdalen (Sweden), Western Jutland (Denmark), Faroe Islands, Inner Scandinavia (Norway and Sweden), Trøndelag/Fosen (Norway), Bornholm (Denmark) and Western Norway/Sogn. At these workshops, researchers visited several locations within a geographically delimited area. At each location a number of informants from different age groups were gathered and at the disposal of the researchers. I participated in the NORMS dialect workshops given in Table 4 below.

2.2.3.2 *Description of my own methodology*
My goal in the different dialect workshops was to collect information about specific linguistic structures. I interrogated the informants about these structures in order to get a picture of the overall dialect grammar, as well as access to the individual judgements and comments on the structures. My goal was not to collect data for statistically valid statements, but I have made use of basic statistics in order to more easily detect the dialect grammars. The investigations have thus primarily had a qualitative character, not a quantitative one.

Table 4: NORMS dialect workshops in the thesis

Geographical area	Number of locations	Number of consulted informants	Time
Northern Ostrobothnia (Fi.)	5	12	Spring term 2006
Senja (No.)	5	27	Autumn term 2006
Älvdalen (Sw.)	7	15	Spring term 2007
Fosen (No.)	3	16	Autumn term 2009

It should be noted that I conducted the investigations myself, except for the dialect workshop at Senja, where I collaborated with Arne Martinus Lindstad from the University of Oslo. The collaboration concerned, however, mostly structures not presented in this work.

The number of available informants on each location varied, and as a consequence the numbers of consulted informants also vary from place to place. The age of the informants varied from around 16 to 80-90, but the majority of the informants were more than 50 years old. The quality of the informants was mostly good (cf. the discussion in section 2.2.2.5.5). At some fieldworks there was, however, a larger diversity among the informants in this respect than at other fieldworks.

Before each dialect workshop I created a tentative questionnaire in Excel. The questionnaires for each fieldwork are therefore not identical. The main reason for this is that the PhD-project has developed over time, and the dialect workshops have been spread across this period. Another reason is that my conception of a good test sentence has changed during this period. The data are still fairly comparable, as I have tested several of the same structures at each place, although the expressions of the structures have differed.

The test sentences were construed as idiomatic as possible, and at each dialect workshop local people were able to help me get the words as correct as possible with respect to lexical choice and phonetics.

The questionnaire was presented orally in order to control stress patterns. I also performed interviews with all the informants I consulted, asking the informants whether they could say the test sentence or whether the test sentence was natural to use in the dialect. I had no pre-defined scale, but in practice a three-way scale occurred, since the informants either accepted or rejected the sentences, or gave a degraded judgement. In the Fosen dialect workshop I changed the method a bit, and asked the informants to judge the sentences on a scale from 1 (bad) to 4 (good). Looking back on this, the change appears ill-judged and unnecessary. Whether it is problematic, is a different question. See the discussion related to this issue in section 2.1.2 above.

Not all of my test sentences have been judged by all the informants. Sometimes I added new test sentences after having started the fieldwork. Some structures were also represented with different sentences, and in some cases I excluded some of the sentences after a while. In other cases I just tested a few sentences on a few informants in order to get an indication of the patterns. If the informant became tired or had difficulties in understanding the task, I would stop before we reached the end, or just test some selected sentences. In this work I have, however, only referred to sentences that the majority of the informants have given their intuitions about, and it is also made clear in the text when this type of data is used.

In the questionnaire, the sentences were ordered in sets with a minimal difference between them, such as in (3) above. From one perspective such grouping is unfortunate, since it creates a pattern of sentences that the informant may recognise. Such grouping may, however, contribute to meta-linguistic reflections in the informant, and it enables an articulation of the acceptability of the sentences in relation to each other, which is also highly useful information. When two or more sentences were judged equally, I regularly asked for the relative acceptability so that one sentence (in each set) could be singled out as the best one.

When needed, the informants were shown the written questionnaire. To most of the informants I tried to create appropriate contexts for the test sentences, in order to make it easier for the informants to judge them. They responded in different ways, some gave only short answers such as 'yes' or 'no', whereas others gave more elaborate answers and could indicate how a sentence could be better, or how they interpreted the sentence. Many of the informants also repeated the test sentence aloud to themselves. Listening to this was in itself very interesting at times since the informants almost never were able to reproduce the correct word order for all the test sentences. I therefore made notes of such information. The oral questioning of the informants enabled follow-up questions if the informant did not understand or know what to say.

In the first fieldworks I noted the results on a paper and subsequently typed it in Excel, but in later fieldworks they were typed directly in Excel, in addition to comments from the informants that were added by the comment function in Excel. I have used the various features of Excel in order to do basic statistical calculations on the answers. I have not excluded any informants, and any calculation is made for the particular test sentence.

In the text, the average judgement scores of the sentences are either given, or converted to the acceptability markers asterisks '*' and question marks '?'/'??' by the following rules:

Table 5: Rules for converting the scores

Three-way scale		Four-way scale	
*	1.0-1.5	*	1.0-1.5
??	1.6-2.0	??	1.6-2.5
?	2.1-2.5	?	2.6-3.5
No mark=ok	2.6-3	No mark=ok	3.6-4.0

In the left columns with the three-way scale (all fieldworks except the one in Fosen), we see that the ranges of the different acceptability marks are almost equal (approximately 0.5). In the four-way scale group (Fosen), the ranges of the degraded question marks are 0.9, whereas the extremities '*' and 'ok' are more restricted. Note, however, that for the extremities the ranges are identical to the corresponding ones of the three-way scale.

2.2.3.3 *Potential problems and discussion*

The selection of informants has varied from place to place. This is not ideal when doing quantitative studies and comparisons of material, but it should not matter too much for qualitative studies as long as the number of informants from each location is relatively large.

Ideally, the fieldworker has the same dialect as the informants, as mentioned above. My dialect is not identical to any of the dialects given in Table 4, but it is relatively close to the Fosen dialect. This is of course not ideal, but my impression has been that it has not been very problematic. When visiting the Swedish and Finnish locations, it might have been an advantage that I did not speak standard Eastern Norwegian.

I have tried to utter the test sentences as idiomatically as possible, which has, at least for the Norwegian places, been relatively unproblematic, since I am fairly familiar with these varieties. It has been more problematic during the fieldworks in Älvdalen and in Finland, but not as bad as I had feared, since these dialects were relatively easy to understand. The informants were also helpful, and together we solved difficulties. I can, however, not dismiss the possibility that some of them accommodated to a standard when talking to me or judging the sentences.

In the text the average score rather than the median is given. I have done so because the average pays attention to all values irrespective of extremeness, while the median is less– if at all – affected by extreme values. It might be a good thing that the extremes are not taken into consideration, for instance if nine informants have given the score 4, while only one has given the score 1. The median and the average will in this case be 4 and 3.7, respectively, hence the median is opaque with respect to variation, while the average is transparent, although it does not show the distribution of the scores. I think it is valuable to establish whether there was any disagreement in the scores, and

unless there was an informant who was clearly bad (cf. section 2.2.2.5.5), my opinion is that a diverging score cannot a priori be excluded.

A portion of the sentences I tested is reminiscent of the sentences in (3) above, and thus a bit difficult to judge. The results from the judgements of these sentences must therefore be treated carefully, and I think that it might be most fruitful to consider the overall tendencies among the informants for these sentences because of the potential difficulties.

2.2.4   Nordic Syntax Database

2.2.4.1   *Description*
The judgements from the various national ScanDiaSyn projects described above are pooled together in the Nordic Syntax Database (henceforth the NSD-database) (Lindstad et al. 2009). Recall that the test sentences for each national questionnaire were chosen from the ScanDiaSyn list of 1400 potentially relevant sentences, which has resulted in more or less comparable data across the Scandinavian languages. For instance, data from Sweden and Norway largely overlap, whereas there is less overlap with the data from Denmark. There are also some differences in the number of sentences for each country. Whereas the NSD contains judgements of 140 Norwegian sentences, it contains 240 sentences in Danish (Lindstad et al. 2009).

The informants have judged the sentences on a scale from 1 (bad) to 5 (good). The data are stored together with syntactic categorisation and information about the informants (Johannessen and Vangsnes 2011).

The NSD interface facilitates a range of search options, such as searching for syntactic category or for test sentence, and more than one sentence/syntactic feature can be chosen at the same time. The searches can also be restricted by meta-data such as locations and age (Lindstad et al. 2009; Johannessen and Vangsnes 2011).

The search returns the result from each individual informant, and the test sentence, location, informant and the given score are listed. Furthermore, low scores are shown in red and high scores are shown in green, making the scores easier to perceive (Johannessen and Vangsnes 2011).

The results can also be shown in a map, in which case the average scores are converted to a three-point scale by the following rules (Johannessen and Vangsnes 2011: 69):

Table 6: Rules for converting the ScanDiaSyn judgement scale into the 'Map scale'

ScanDiaSyn average scores	Map scores
1-2	low score
3	medium score
4-5	high score

In the map, markers with distinct colours show the judgements, which might be one reason for the convertion. Some of the distinctions in the judgements are lost in the convertion, but most likely this does not affect the overall picture of how acceptable a given sentence is.

The judgements of more than one sentence can also be shown in the same map, and then one can choose whether one for instance wants all the high scores or all the low scores to be shown.

In my thesis, maps from the NSD-database are used to indicate potential isoglosses for North Germanic. Because the national questionnaires are not identical, data from some of the languages lack in each map. Examples from the questionnaire/the NSD-database are marked throughout the thesis.

2.2.4.2 *Potential problems and discussion*

Some of the results from the NSD-database, especially the ones concerning the relative order of negation and pronouns (cf. the sentences in (3) above), are associated with some methodological problems, which are discussed above in section 2.2.2.5.

In my searches I have included all locations, including the ones where I know there have been some problematic issues (see section 2.2.2.5 above). The reason for this choice, is that we do not know how the fieldworker has engaged him-/herself in these issues. It might be that the fieldworker has sorted things out so that the informants have judged the sentences according to the intended meaning. Furthermore, I have not checked the recordings for every location, so we do not know how widespread such problems might be. Another precaution one needs to make, is that there might be unknown sources of errors in each location. Because of this, it is in my opinion better to include all the answers. They must however be treated with the utmost care, which I usually have solved by also consulting the corpus data.

Variation in the judgements of particular sentences is easily shown in a map. When interpreting the result, one also needs to use one's qualified opinion. If, for instance, informants from most of the locations except a few scattered all over the country, accept a given structure, one should, I think, not pay too much attention to the deviant locations. If, however, the locations with deviant scores belong to the same area as the other ones, it might show a (real) isogloss.

2.2.5 **Nordic Dialect Corpus**

The Nordic Dialect Corpus (Johannessen et al. 2009; Johannessen et al. 2012) (henceforth the NDC-corpus) is a multimedia corpus of spontaneous speech, which contains data from Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, Icelandic and Faroese. Some of the data come from the ScanDiaSyn work, whereas other data, such as most of the material from Sweden, were recorded earlier. The number of words, informants and locations for each language are given in Table 7 (Johannessen et al. 2012: 3387).

Table 7: The content of the NDC-corpus

Country	Number of words	Number of informants	Number of locations
Norway	2 186 318	564	163
Denmark	211 266	81	15
Sweden	307 861	126	39
Iceland	23 626	10	2
Faroe Islands	62 411	20	5
Total	2 791 482	801	223

The data are not completely uniform (Johannessen et al. 2012). Disregarding the fact that not all of the recordings and transcriptions were made especially for this corpus, not all locations are represented by both young and old informants or by both audio and video files. Furthermore, it

varies whether the recordings are old (approximately 50 years old) or new, or both (Johannessen et al. 2012: 3387). Worth noting however, is that for each dialect both genders are represented.

The speech recordings have been transcribed in the official orthography of the specific national language, and it has been tagged with part of speech and selected morpho-syntactic features by The Norwegian speech tagger (Johannessen et al. 2009). This tagger has an accuracy of 96.9% (Johannessen et al. 2009: 75).

The Norwegian recordings from ScanDiaSyn and a few Swedish dialects as well are phonetically transcribed as close to the pronunciation of the informants as possible by the use of regular Latin script (including Scandinavian characters) (Johannessen et al. 2007). These phonetic transcriptions are subsequently translated to standard orthography in the target language by a semi-automatic dialect transliterator specifically developed for the project (Johannessen et al. 2009: 75).

The search interface (*Glossa*) allows for several search options, which are described in Johannessen et al. (2012). I will highlight the following possibilities and features, which I have made use of in my work with this thesis:

- Searching for words or grammatical features
- Searching for more than one word/grammatical feature with the possibility to specify the numbers of intervening words
- Searching for phonetic transcriptions
- Specifying subcorpus (the different countries, the different counties, the different municipalities, the different informant)
- The direct link between each result string and the corresponding audio/video
- The possibilities for augmenting the audio/video file so that more context is displayed
- Downloading the search result (to a local computer)

The description of my searches are given in 2.2.7 below. Important to note, is the fact that the speech of the interviewer is also transcribed and searchable, and the whole interview is stored together. This means that when one searches for a particular location or a larger region, the speech of the interviewer is also contained in the result, having the consequence that the total instances of a specific search might be larger than if one only had searched for specific informants.

The development of the NDC-corpus has been an ongoing project during my work on the dissertation. The number of locations in the NDC-corpus has been growing steadily (cf. the numbers in Johannessen et al. 2009 compared with the numbers in Johannessen et al. 2012). More options have also been included in the search interface, such as the possibility of showing the result in a map.

The Glossa-interface is also used in the NoTa-corpus, and I discuss potential problems with this interface in section 2.2.6. As for potential problems related to the content of the NDC-corpus, I refer to the overall discussion of the data collection in section 2.2.2.5 above. Some issues, however, apply to both the NDC-corpus and the NoTa-corpus, and will be addressed below.

2.2.6 The NoTa-corpus

The corpus *Norsk talespråkskorpus – Oslodelen* (henceforth the NoTa-corpus) is an online multimedia corpus consisting of 900 000 words, and it contains audio, video and transcriptions of interviews (ten minutes duration) and conversations (thirty minutes duration) from 166 informants

from the Oslo area (Johannessen et al. 2007). According to the project's websites[21] the work on the corpus started in 2005, and was finished in the first half of 2006.

The corpus is transcribed in standard Norwegian Bokmål orthography, but certain lexical elements that only exist in spoken language, are also included. This concerns for instance the clitic pronouns *n* ('he'/'him') and *a* ('she'/'her') (Johannessen et al. 2007: 31). It does not include the short form *ke* of the negative marker *ikke*. The transcriptions are furthermore done word by word. Johannessen et al. (2007: 32) note that although the transcriptions have been proof-read, they "still find mis-annotations".

The corpus is tagged for features like part of speech by a TreeTagger, and these features are searchable via the Glossa-interface. See the description in the preceding section for other facilities provided by this interface.

In the next section I describe how I have used the above-mentioned corpora, and in section 2.2.8 I discuss and address potential problems related to the corpora and my own methodology.

2.2.7 Description of my methodology when using the NDC- and the NoTa-corpora

I describe the NDC- and the NoTa-corpus together, because they make use of the same search interface, and because I have usually done the same type of searches in both. There is, however, one significant difference: In the NDC-corpus I have searched in (small) subcorpus, which have returned relatively small outputs (at most a few hundreds). The equivalent searches in the NoTa-corpus have on the other hand returned up to 3000 hits. The searches in these corpora have mostly been carried out in connection with the work in chapters 3-5 on the relative order of negation and subject/object in main and embedded clauses.

My selection of dialects from the NDC-corpus has partly been restricted by which dialects have been present in the corpus at any given time.

The search strings and number of returned instances are given in the relevant places throughout the thesis. I will here only give a few general notes on the search methodology and the subsequent treatment of the results: When I have searched in the NoTa-corpus, and when I have searched in several of the dialect subcorpora in the NDC-corpus at the same time, I have searched for the two orders of the negative marker *ikke* and the word class *pronoun*. When I have searched in single dialects in the NDC-corpus, I have usually only searched for the negative marker *ikke*. I have also performed some additional searches of other types, and these too, are specified in the text when they appear.

The results have been downloaded to Excel and subsequently tagged. I describe the tagging below. In Excel, the result utterance is spread across three columns: The leftmost column for the left context of the search string and the rightmost column for the right context, whereas the search string itself, for instance "*ikke-pronoun*" appears in the mid column. This has made it possible to use the many features of Excel in order to pick out the elements I am interested in. I have in particular employed the filter function, and formulas that return a specified number of characters of a given cell. For instance, the filter function can filter out all hits except the ones containing a specified pronoun.

---

[21] http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/oslo/

The Excel features have been a valuable tool in the processing of the NoTa-data, since my searches in this corpus have often returned a vast number of hits. I made for instance extensive use of them in searches in the downloaded results for occurrences of the order *compl > DP subj > adv* in the NoTa-corpus, and vice versa in embedded clauses (cf. chapter 4). In order to find specific subordinators in the case of *compl > DP subj > adv* in the NoTa-corpus, I singled out a specified number (for example five) of the final characters of the left context (i.e. the left column). These characters then appear in a new column, to which I thereafter could apply the filter function in order to sort out potential complementisers. I also used this method in order to find instances of adjacent pronouns and negation in an Excel-sheet with the result for a search on *ikke* in the Danish part of the NDC-corpus.

Most of the Norwegian data from the NDC-corpus have been downloaded in its phonetic form, and in some cases also in its orthographic form.

The downloaded results include both potentially relevant and irrelevant instances. In the quantitative analyses I have included incomplete, but interpretable sentences, such as the following one in (4a) and instances in which the subject most likely is focalised, as in (4b):

(4) a. jeg lurer   på snakket i- snakket ikke vi ...   (NoTa)(Oslo, No.)
        I   wonder on talked   i- talked   not   we
        'I wonder, didn't we talk…'
     b. Og   det   det   skjønner   ikke   jeg heller   (NDC)(Hammerfest, No.)
        and   that   that   understand not   I   either
        'and also I do not understand that'

In (4a) the utterance is not completed and ends after the subject *vi* ('we'), and in (4b) the NPI *heller* ('either') underscores that neither the speaker understands 'that'. Such sentences as the one in (4b) are included because it may be difficult to determine the meaning of *heller* in some of the instances (whether it functions as a focus or additive adverb). I have therefore not marked the presence of this adverb in the results from the NoTa-corpus (in chapter 3 and 4), but in chapter 5 I have indicated when such sentences as in (4b) are included in the results.

For potentially ambiguous instances I have categorised them to the best of my judgement.

I have tagged the relevant results for different features such as clause type (including the specific complementiser in embedded clauses), the function of the pronoun, and the specific pronouns in those cases when I have only searched for negation. The results were sorted in separate columns so that the filter feature could also apply to these taggings.

For some of the results, and in particular some of the results of the searches where negation precedes pronominal objects, I have also consulted the recordings in order to determine stress. When listening to the recordings I have included more context than what the result gives, in order to make an opinion about the most salient word order and interpretation, in addition to trying to sort out the stress on the pronoun. The stress has not been measured, and in the cases where I have put up frequencies according to stress, the categorisation of the stress patterns rely solely on my own impressions. In some of the cases the pronoun is clearly either stressed or unstressed, but in some of the cases the stress is unclear. These unclear instances have been categorised as stressed, partly

based on my impression of them as having stress, but also in order to ensure that the category 'unstressed' only consists of unstressed pronouns. Compared with the alternative, I think this choice makes the figures more reliable, since the lowest limit is given. The alternative way, which would be to include the unclear instances into the group of unstressed pronouns, would have yielded the uppermost limit. With this method, one could never know how many clear instances of unstressed pronouns the group contained.

In the qualitative studies of the results, such as the one in the preceding paragraph, incomplete sentences are not included. As a consequence, the figures in such parts may be lower than in the corresponding quantitative ones.

One particular challenge when dealing with the relative order of negation and pronominal objects in root clauses where these elements are adjacent, is the case of the neuter pronoun *det* ('it'). As object-taking verbs I have included all verbs except the copula *være/vere* ('be'), see an example with this verb below. The reason for this is the standard analysis of complements to the copula as predicative, and as Mikkelsen (2011) shows for Danish, predicatives rarely shift across adverbs.[22] It should also be noted that pronouns in predicative position are rarely unstressed.

(5) næi d e itt de   (NDC)(Skaugdalen, No.)
     no it is not it
     'No, it isn't that'

In (5) the verb is the present tense of *be*, and negation precedes the element in predicative position. This, and corresponding examples with the verb *be*, are hence not included in the group of relevant hits in the discussion on this pronoun in chapter 3.

Based on a discussion in chapter 3, the pronoun *det* ('it') in object position (in structures where the lexical verb has moved to the second position) is excluded in the surveys of the relative order of negation and pronouns (inverted pronominal subjects and pronominal objects) in chapter 5. This exclusion has the consequence that most of the pronouns in these surveys occur in subject position, and in some cases none of the pronouns occur in object position.

2.2.8 Potential problems and discussion of the NDC- and the NoTa-corpora

Potential sources of errors in the search interfaces that may affect the output of the NDC- and the NoTa-corpora are the transcriptions, the tagging, and, for the NDC-corpus, also the translation from the phonetic to the orthographic transcription. Such potential errors are not especially prominent when doing syntactic studies. They will be detected when the results are read through, and they can be eliminated by consulting the recordings or the phonetic transcriptions in the NDC-corpus. It can, however, be useful to be aware of such errors for prospective reduplicative searches, since the output of a search will change if an error is corrected.

---

[22] A pronoun in predicative position can, at least to me, shift if the verb is contrastively stressed, as in the following example, but I have not observed any such examples in the corpora:

(i) Jeg kunne ha vært streng, men jeg ER det ikke.
     I could have been strict, but I am it not
     'I could have been strict, but I'm not'

There are also some potential problematic aspects of my methodology that concern comparison of the result of different search strings, the exclusion of the pronominal object *det* ('it') when it appears adjacent to negation in chapter 5, and categorisation of ambiguous structures.

The result of searches in the NDC-corpus for the negative marker is not strictly speaking comparable to the result of searches for strings containing another element in addition to the negative marker. When singling out instances of the orders *neg > pron* and vice versa in a search for the item *ikke* only, one can, in addition to instances where negation and pronoun are adjacent, get occurrences where negation and pronoun are separated by adverbs or annotated non-speech events such as laughter or hesitations. Instances that contain annotated non-speech are included in the results. This may affect the frequencies, but I do not consider it likely that it affects the overall picture of the dialect grammar.

The exclusion of the pronoun *det* ('it') when appearing in object position in chapter 5, might be considered problematic, but as we will see in chapter 3, previous research reveals that this pronoun can have a special distribution compared to the other (personal) pronouns. In my opinion, it would have been more problematic if all instances of object *det* were included, since this would give an entirely wrong picture of the relative order of negation and unstressed pronominal objects with non-propositional reference in the dialects. In chapter 3 I examine object *det* ('it') in the NoTa-corpus, and I show there that out of the instances with object *det* ('it'), 85% follow negation, and in at least 90% of these instances, the finite verb must or can take propositional complements. I believe that this result justifies the exclusion of object *det* ('it'). Furthermore, for the NDC-corpus results, I have read through all the downloaded examples, and very few *det* ('it') are on the left side of negation.

In the results there are several instances of ambiguous sentences and other things that make a particular sentence hard to categorise. Some of these ambiguities arise because the apparent pronoun can also be analysed as a determinative, and in other cases either the subject or the object is lacking. A few such, excluded examples from the NoTa-corpus are shown in (6).

(6) a. å fy faen så den rotta altså jeg glemmer ikke **den** rotta var dritsvær
       oh fie devil so that rat.DEF so I forget not it rat.DEF was shit.big
       'Oh damn it, that rat, I don't forget that rat was big'   (Oslo, No.)
     b. så vi merket ikke **de** ts- jeg merket ikke det   (Oslo, No.)
       so we noticed not the ts- I noticed not it
       'So, we didn't notice the…, I didn't notice it'
     c. for de er jevngamle er ikke **det** da ?   (Oslo, No.)
       for they are even.aged are not it then
       'They are the same age, aren't they?'
     d. sånn akkurat var ikke **det** som var har du ikke hørt det ? (Oslo, No.)
       such exact was not it that was have you not heard it
       'Exactly, wasn't it…, haven't you heard?'

The items in boldface in (6a,b) may be interpreted as both a pronoun and a determiner. In (6a) *den* ('it'/'that') is followed by the noun *rotta* ('the rat'), and in (6b) *de* ('they'/'the') is followed by the

start of a new word, which is disrupted. After listening to these examples I have concluded that they are most likely determiners, and I have therefore not included them in the survey. This conclusion is my qualified opinion, which may of course be judged wrong by others.

The ones in (6c,d) are also excluded. In (6c) negation appears before the pronoun *det*, which in this case is most likely the predicative, and the presumed subject *de* ('they') is lacking. Also in (6d) there is only the one pronoun *det* ('it'), which in this example functions as a determiner. The subject, which most likely also should be *det* ('it'), is lacking.

In a couple of cases, such as the following one, the example is categorised as both *pron > neg* and *neg > pron*.

(7) og   det overrasket meg   fordi   det   lille   jeg har   lest   om   den utstillingen
    *and   it   surprised   me   because the   little   I   have   read   about that exhibition.*DEF
    så #   frister   n **meg** ikke   **meg**   (Oslo, No.)
    so   tempts   it me   not   me
    'And it surprised me, because I didn't get tempted from the little I have read about the exhibition'

In this example the pronominal object *meg* ('me') appears on both sides of negation. Interestingly, the stress of the items follows the default value for each position. The pre-negative *meg* is unstressed, and the post-negative *meg* is stressed. The intonation is also of such a character that both incidents of *meg* ('me') should be analysed as belonging to the clause proper.

Other instances too, have allowed for several analyses, but the numbers are not that high that they are likely to have influenced the overall picture of the dialects.

Finally, I will give a note on the replicability of the searches, and illustrate this with a case from the NoTa-corpus. Most of the searches in this corpus were done in the years 2006-2007, and changes in the corpus may have occurred since, hence exact replications of the initial searches will not be possible. In my files I have two examples of the string *<husker+ikke+han>* ('remember+not+he/him') from the NoTa corpus. These examples could no longer be found in the NoTa-corpus in December 2012 (when searching for the three words or only "*ikke+han*"). To me it is not understandable why these results are not replicable. This has also made me unable to double check the audio files of all the instances of the order *ikke > obj*$_{pron}$ treated in chapter 3.

To conclude, the results from these corpora should be reliable.

2.2.9   Talesøk (UiB)

The corpus *Talesøk* (lit. 'speech search') (previously *Norsk talemålskorpus* 'Norwegian speech corpus') is hosted on a University of Bergen website. The project started in 1999 and has, according to the website, not been financed beyond 2002. It contains transcriptions and recordings that are collected by separate research projects. The data come from nine areas in Southern Norway, including Bergen and Voss, which are the subcorpora I intended to make use of, but in one way or the other, also material from Tromøya has been included in my results. The informants are identified by a text code, and this code gives information about gender, year of birth, and dialect. The speech is transcribed in either Bokmål or Nynorsk orthography, and there are no phonetic-like transcriptions as in the NDC-corpus. According to the website, there is direct access to the audio-

files. The recordings of the Bergen informants were made in 1979, and the ones from Voss in 1988, and are as such historic documentations of the dialects in question. In the web pages there is little supplementary statistical information about the corpus.

The data are treated in Excel, and the same methods and methodological considerations described and discussed in the previous sections about the NDC- and NoTa-corpora apply to this corpus as well.

2.2.10 Informants recruited on my own

I recruited my own informants from the following places/regions: Setesdal, Nordfjord, Bergen, Älvdalen, Trøndelag in general and Frosta.

For the Setesdal dialect I was initially provided help by a local person who had written a master's degree on this dialect. This person carried out a little survey for me among ten local informants. In the prolongation of this survey, I consulted one male informant, with whom I communicated through e-mails. The elicited data from this person is used only in a section on theoretical issues in chapter 5.

For the Nordfjord/Stryn dialect, I consulted two female informants, one old and one relatively young. I had a telephone interview with the old informant in addition to a written questionnaire. I communicated with the other informant by e-mail, and she also filled out a written questionnaire. The judgements given by these informants are corroborated by NDC-corpus data, and that indicates that the informants are representative of this dialect.

For judgements from speakers of the Bergen dialect, I consulted three friends who steadily judged sentences when I asked them to do so. The sentences presented in chapter 5 are judged by all three informants.

Some of the work with Övdalian (chapter 5) demanded more data than I had collected during the NORMS dialect workshop. I got valuable help from Piotr Garbacz who helped me with getting in touch with some of the informants he had used in his study of Övdalian. I then consulted new informants twice by e-mail/mail for judgements of a couple of sentences. At first five informants were consulted, and later one informant judged the specific sentence in question.

At Frosta, pupils in the last grade at secondary school filled out a written questionnaire handed out by the teacher. This resulted in 43 answers. An instruction was attached to each questionnaire, and a short context was provided for each set of sentences. The informants were asked to judge the sentences on a scale from 1-4. The judgements were in general more degraded than expected, and based on a few comments from some of the informants, one potential reason for the degraded judgements of the sentence in (8a) was 'wrong' forms of verbs and pronouns (8a), whereas for the one in (8b), the reason for the degraded judgements must be ascribed to extra-linguistic factors:

(8) a. Hu   lest   itj   n
        she   read   not   it
        'She didn't read it'

     b. Æ såg   itj   dåkk
        I   saw   not   you.PL
        'I didn't see you'

In Traditional Frosta dialect the past tense of *lese* ('read') is *las*, and the pronoun, which in this case should refer to the antecedent *boka*-DEF.SG.F ('the book'), is the feminine clitic *a*, and not the non-human commune clitic *n*. My reasoning behind choosing the forms in (8a), was the conception that the new (and levelled) forms in (8a) are more wide-spread among the youngsters in Frosta than the traditional forms. Ideally, I would have checked this in advance, but I imagine that the result would have shown that both the traditional and the new ones were used. No matter which form is used, it may be that the scores had turned out as degraded. For the sentence in (8b) there was no complaint about the forms, still it received an identical average score as (8a). Another reason for the scores might be that the pupils were a bit too young to completely understand the tasks.

As for judgements in general to sentences in the Trøndelag dialect, I have consulted family and friends belonging to the inner Trøndelag dialect area (the region Innherred). This only concerns the negative imperatives discussed in chapter 7, where it was necessary to get negative data and intuitions about the placement of 'invisible' constituents. In these cases I have made use of degraded data in order to hypothetise about the position of these constituents in the structure.

The number of informants and the background of the informants whom I have consulted on my own, vary from place to place. Although this method is not ideal, it has been useful in order to collect good, and in most cases, reliable data. The most unreliable data probably come from the one informant from Setesdal, but I think the survey among the ten other informants shows that this informant's judgements are representative.

2.2.11 **Literature**

In this work I have also drawn on grammars of the different North Germanic standard (written) languages and dialectological literature. It varies how much syntax is mentioned in the Scandinavian dialectological literature, and it varies which type of structures are mentioned. Notably, when the author has commented on syntax (in otherwise largely non-syntactic work), it has commonly been on structures that deviate from the written language. One example of this is the relative order of negation and unstressed pronouns in both main and embedded clauses. When this word order deviates from the standard word order *pron > neg*, it seems like this is often noted by the authors. Likewise, non-deviant structures are rarely commented. Hence, if a work has notes on syntactic issues, the lack of comments on a particular structure can be interpreted as the structure being identical to the one in the standard language.

With regard to the transcriptions of examples from the literature, I have transcribed them as similar as possible to the original transcriptions by using Latin script.

As for the reliability of excerpted examples from the dialectological literature, my basic assumption is that it is good. I take the dialectological literature as historical documentation of the dialects. The literature are useful as background information for present-day dialects, and is necessary in order to reveal potential changes in a particular dialect.

2.2.12 **Web searches**

The Internet search engine Google is a valuable and fantastic tool in order to furnish evidence of a given word order, and this is basically how I have used it in the thesis – as an additional tool in order to provide authentic examples of particular word orders. In chapter 7 on negative imperatives I have also partly used Internet examples in the argumentation.

The Internet contains sentences from different sources ranging from formal documents to written 'speech' in chats. It can be described as a dynamic corpus that is in constant flow and rapidly changing. One must, however, use it with some critical sense regarding its content and reliability. One should also be aware of the practical consequences of its dynamicity, as well as the statistics provided by Google. I discuss these issues below.

The data consist of both orthographically grammatical and ungrammatical sentences, and acceptable and unacceptable sentences. It may sometimes be a bit difficult to determine whether an unacceptable/ungrammatical sentence is 'real' or whether it is just a spelling error. One can however use frequencies as an indicator. If an ungrammatical structure occurs with some frequency, it is more likely that at least some speakers find it (more or less) acceptable. One illustration of this is a few searches I did for the string "*ingen – ikke*" ('nobody' – 'not') and the opposite order in connection with the work in chapter 6. At least in the North Germanic official languages, a Negative Indefinite and the negative marker cannot co-occur in the same sentence. The first search returned some relevant hits, which can be interpreted as the structure not being completely unacceptable for some speakers of North Germanic. This interpretation is strengthened by the result of the search for the opposite word order, which did not return any relevant hits.

The result from a Google search must also be evaluated at least with respect to source and potential errors that may have occurred by editing. For instance, searching for dialect structures may be risky, since one cannot be sure of the writer being a dialect speaker, or anything about the dialectal background. Sometimes, the author of an Internet text turns out to be 'too reliable', namely a linguist. To take one example: When searching for specific sequences of adverbs (cf. the Cinquean 1999 hierarchy and example (1b) above), the results have, in some cases, all been examples from linguistic papers.

The dynamicity of the Internet makes it impossible to replicate search results, and if one also applies statistics to the result, it is especially important to notice the time of the searches. As for the statistics provided by Google, they must be critically evaluated in each case. When doing a search on Google, one gets the approximate number of hits, which, however, does not necessarily correlate with the actual number of hits. A search for the word *ikke* ('not') in December, 2012, returns according to Google 360 million hits. Surprisingly, when clicking through the result pages, only 791 instances appear. One reason for the large number given by Google, may be that Google saves many duplicates of each website, such that the real number is lower. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that there are only 791 instances of this word on the Internet. How this is calculated, is to me mysterious.

To conclude, Google-searches are a welcome, additional tool that can corroborate other results or provide genuine examples of specific and even rare structures. It shares many of the common advantages and disadvantages of corpora mentioned in section 2.1.3 above. One should be extremely careful if one uses Google as the only data source, because one cannot rely on the author or on his/her language being genuine. Its advantage is the size, and the fact that even rare structures occur.

2.3 Interpretation of the results

As mentioned in section 2.1 the outcome of a corpus study is frequencies, and the outcome of elicitation tasks is degrees of acceptability.

It is first and foremost in the study of the relative order of negation and unstressed pronouns in the dialects (chapter 5) that both corpora and intuitions are utilised. In chapter 5 the corpus data corroborate the judgements in order to establish a 'dialect grammar' – a hypothesised collective 'norm' of the speech society (cf. chapter 1). If the judgements and the corpus frequencies correspond, the dialect grammar is easy to detect. If the judgements and the corpus frequencies do not correspond, the task becomes more difficult. In such cases, several factors like the reliability of the judgements (see section 2.2.2.5) and the number of occurrences in the corpus must be taken into consideration, and the overall impression of the data will pay an important role. This assessment will by its nature be subjective, but I aim at being as unbiased as possible.

In chapters 3-5 the relative order of negation and pronoun is investigated. When I consider the output frequencies of the string "*ikke-pronoun*" of a corpus search, the result does not tell everything about the order *neg > unstressed pron*. A pronoun is either stressed or unstressed, and in a subset of the hits from a search for "*ikke-pronoun*" the pronoun will be stressed. Hence, the number of unstressed pronouns in this position should be lower. Unless one consults the recordings, one can, however, not know how much the frequencies can be reduced. In chapter 3 I consult the recordings in order to determine the frequency of the word order $v_{fin} > neg > unstressed pronominal object$ in the Oslo dialect, and I estimate a frequency of 8%. This is a reduction of 14 percentage points compared to the original number of 22%, which equals a reduction of 64%. The question is whether this degree of reduction can be transferred to, for instance, the result for pronominal subjects. In order to give an answer to this, the result for the corresponding searches for subjects should be evaluated. I nevertheless believe that one can reduce the numbers with 50% without risking that this is too much.

The relative position of pronouns that are usually unstressed supports this assumption. Pronominal subjects that are usually unstressed include the general pronouns *en* and *man* ('one'), and the clitic pronouns *a* ('she') and *n* ('he'). In the NoTa survey, only one of 112 instances of these pronouns followed negation. I therefore think it is safe to take the position of such pronouns as instructive. One other such pronoun, in addition to the ones mentioned above, is the reflexive *seg*.

In chapters 6 and 7 on issues related to negative doubling and negative imperatives, corpus data are very sparse, so the discussion of the structures must rely on other sources, such as judgement data, the (dialectological) literature, and examples from the web. As a consequence, the focus is on the structures.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter I have presented some methodological issues within Generative Grammar in general, the tools and resources that I have benefitted from, and the methodology that has been employed when applying these tools and resources.

In order to set up the dialect grammars of the structures I study in chapters 3-5, and to get the necessary structures and the data as reliable as possible, both linguistic intuitions and corpora are utilised. None of these gives direct access to our linguistic competence, but each of them has its advantages and disadvantages, and as such they complete each other.

3 The distribution of negation in main clauses

3.1 Introduction

The particular part of the clause to be studied in this chapter is the part between the finite verb and predicate adverbials. This area more or less equals the IP-domain in generative terminology, and in a clause with a non-topicalised subject, the relative order of the arguments of the verb and potential adverbs/negation may vary. Standardly, negation and adverbs can either precede or follow a non-pronominal subject in Norwegian and Swedish, but they have to precede a non-pronominal object. Unstressed pronouns precede negation and adverbs in the standard varieties. These patterns are exemplified in (1) for Norwegian:

(1) a. Derfor   så   (**ikke**) *Ola*   (**ikke**) *bilen*   (***ikke**)   (No.)
         therefore   *saw*   *(not)*   *Ola*   *(not)*   *car.DEF*   *(not)*

     b. Derfor   så   (***ikke**) *han*   (**ikke**) *bilen*   (***ikke**)   (No.)
         therefore   *saw*   *(not)*   *he*   *(not)*   *car.DEF*   *(not)*

     c. Derfor   så   (**ikke**) Ola   (***ikke**) den   (**ikke**)   (No.)
         therefore   *saw*   *(not)* Ola   *(not)*   *it*   *(not)*

     d. Derfor   så   (***ikke**) *han* (***ikke**) *den*   (**ikke**)   (No.)
         therefore   *saw*   *(not)*   *he*   *(not)*   *it*   *(not)*
         'Therefore, Ola/he didn't see the car/it'

The example in (1a) illustrates the fact that negation may appear on either side of a DP subject, but must precede a DP object. If the subject is an unstressed pronoun as in (1b), negation follows it. Similarly, if the object is an unstressed pronoun, negation follows this as well (1c,d). In (1c), the subject is a DP, and negation may precede the subject. In that case, negation does not follow an object pronoun. On the other hand, when the subject too, is an unstressed pronoun, negation follows both pronouns, as in (1d).

Subject Shift (henceforth SS) denotes the process where an inverted pronominal subject shifts across negation/adverbs (when a full DP subject would follow negation/adverbs), as in (1b), whereas *Object Shift* (henceforth OS) (Holmberg 1986) denotes the same process for pronominal objects, as in (1c) (see (9) below for the restrictions on OS). I will use the term *Pronoun Shift* as a collective term when both processes apply.

This distribution of negation in spoken varieties of Mainland North Germanic will be investigated in this chapter and in chapter 4. In this chapter I establish the relative order of negation and pronouns in the Oslo dialect based on the data from the NoTa-corpus.

Sentential adverbs may have the same distribution as negation has in the examples in (1). The difference between negation and adverbs is to some degree investigated in the Oslo dialect.

Also other consitutents show a variable word order with respect to each other, such as the relative order of adverbs/negation:

(2) a. Ola så (***ikke**) *heldigvis* (**ikke**) bilen   (No.)
        Ola saw (not) fortunately (not) car.DEF
        'Fortunately Ola did not see the car'
     b. Ola så (**ikke**) *ofte* (**ikke**) bilen   (No.)
        Ola saw (not) often (not) car.DEF
        'Ola often didn't see the car'/'Ola did often not see the car'

In (2a) negation may only follow the sentential adverb *heldigvis* ('fortunately'), whereas (2b) shows that negation may either precede or follow the adverb *ofte* ('often'). As stated in chapter 1, I will not consider the relative distribution of negation with respect to adverbs. For an overview of this topic for Mainland North Germanic, I refer to Heggelund (1981), Nilsen (1997), Østbø (2003), Beijer (2004), Nimb (2004), Bentzen (2007) and Andreásson (2007).

The chapter is organised as follows: In the next section, I give some background on the the relative order of negation and arguments in main clauses: Some notes on the historical background (3.2.1), the theoretical background (3.2.2 and 3.2.3), and the pragmatics of the different word orders (3.2.4). In section 3.3 the relative order of negation and subjects/objects in the Oslo dialect is examined and analysed, by an investigation of the NoTa-corpus. Finally, in section 3.4, I give a survey of the patterns in North Germanic varieties. This survey draws on traditional dialectological work as well as contemporary syntactic dialect collections as the NSD-database (Lindstad et al. 2009) and the NDC-corpus (Johannessen et al. 2009).

3.2 Background

3.2.1 Historical overview

Judging from some of the literature on the field, the distribution of negation in the middle field seems to equal the distribution of adverbs in older varieties of North Germanic (e.g. Christoffersen 2004 on Old Norse (ON); Heltoft 2005 on Old Danish; Faarlund 2004 on ON; Haugan 2000 on ON; Sundquist 2002 on Middle Norwegian (MNo); Mørck 2004 on MNo). The position of negation (and presumably also adverbs) in the middle field may co-vary with the position of subjects, objects and adverbs, as illustrated in examples (3) and (4) below. In (3), the relative order of subjects and negation/adverbs is shown (examples from Faarlund 2004: 238f):

(3) a. er hon **eigi** vakið   (ON)
        is she not woken.up
        'She is not woken up'
     b. þat vitu **ok** allir menn   (ON)
        it.ACC know also all men.NOM
        'Everybody knows it, too'

In (3a) a pronominal subject precedes the negative marker *eigi*, while in (3b), the adverb *ok* ('too') precedes the quantifier phrase (QP) *allir men* ('all men'), which functions as subject. These examples are not so interesting since the positions for these specific subjects are prototypical: The subject in (3a) is some sort of topic and hence has a high position (cf. Haugan 2000: 205 on topicality as a likely

factor for subject positions in ON). Haugan (2000: 183f) notes that indefinite subjects, as in (3b), may stay in situ (within the VP in his analysis) or even move rightwards. This word order is not expected for definite subjects, and neither did I find any example of a definite subject following negation/adverb in the literature I consulted.

The situation concerning the relative order of negation and objects in ON is in some sense more complex. Irrespective of a VO/OV structure, the base generated position for an object is to the right of negation, but at the surface certain objects may precede negation. Some examples of the relative order of negation and objects are given in (4) (the examples are taken from Haugan 2000: 238, 248, respectively).

(4)   a. Og   vil   eg gefa þér   sverðið því   að   eg þarf *það*   **nú**   **ekki** (ON)
            and *will* *I* *give* *you* *sword.*DEF *that* *that* *I* *need* *that.*OBJ *now* *not*
            'And I will give you the sword because I will not need it (now)'

b. Atli   spurði   hví   hann skyldi   eigi   **alla**   drepa   (ON)
           Atli   *asked*   *why*   *he*   *should*   *not*   *all*   *kill*
           'Atli asked why he should not kill all'

In (4a), the object pronoun *það* ('that') precedes the adverb sequence *nú ekki* ('now not'). The sentence in (4b) illustrates that negation may precede an object in a (surface) OV structure. The word order in (4a) is a result of OS.

According to Endre Mørck (p.c.) and Sundquist (2002), OS is not obligatory in MNo. Sundquist (2002: 333) explicitly states that OS is optional in MNo, but this varies according to pronoun type. The reflexive pronouns shift in all cases, whereas pronominal and demonstrative pronouns vary in the degree of shifts. In total for the years 1275-1525 the frequencies for OS and non-OS is 58,5% (55 occurrences) and 41,5% (39 occurrences), respectively. But these numbers also include indefinite pronouns that do not shift in modern Norwegian either, and demonstrative pronouns that are more reluctant to shift. As for the group of personal pronouns, the OS frequency is 77,1% (27 instances).

Sundquist comments that the non-OS instances may be caused by the pronouns/demonstratives being stressed, or because optionality reflects dialectal variation. He has, however, not considered the possibility observed by Andréasson (2007) (cf. Anderssen and Bentzen 2012) that the pronoun/demonstrative *det* ('it'/'that') in modern Swedish (and Norwegian) resists OS if it has a proposition-like antecedent. This seems to be a plausible explanation for the example he provides of an unshifted demonstrative pronoun, since *thet* in the example in (5) clearly refers to a vP because of the appearance of the pro-verb *gør* ('do') (occurring in the imperative form). Consider the Middle Norwegian example in (5) (taken from Sundquist 2002: 331):

(5)   hustru   Jorun sagde.   ney Guttormer min. gør   **ikke** *thet*. iak kan   tha   ekke
          wife   *Jorun said*   *no* *Gottormer my,* *do*   *not*   *that, I can*   *then*   *not*
          byggia   nørdra.   (MNo)
          build   *northwards*
          'His wife, Jorun, said, "No, Guttormer! Don't do that. Then I won't be able to build northwards."'

In (5), the negative marker *ikke* precedes the pronoun *thet* ('that') in the imperative clause. To the degree a verb-initial negative imperative is acceptable in Norwegian, this particular word order is acceptable.

To summarise, the following word orders for arguments and negation are documented in ON/MNo:

(6) a. V_{fin} > subject$_{DEF}$ > **negation**   (cf. example 3a)
   b. V_{fin} > **negation** > subject$_{INDEF}$ (cf. example 3b)
   c. V_{fin} > object$_{pron}$ > **negation**   (cf. example 4a)
   d. V_{fin} > **negation** > object   (cf. example 4b, 5)
   e. (V_{fin} > object > subject > **negation**)[23]

The arguments are distributed relatively free with respect to negation. According to Heltoft (2005) the consitutents in Old Danish/Scandinavian are ordered by the principle of iconicity, so that background information precedes negation, and new or focalised information follows it.

All the word orders in (6) are acceptable in at least some varieties of present-day North Germanic. For instance the patterns in (6a,b) still hold for Icelandic (Thráinsson 2007a: 53), but as we will see throughout this chapter and chapter 5, there has been some changes in some of the varieties.

In the next two subsections I briefly consider the relative order of negation/adverbs and subjects/objects from a theoretical point of view.

3.2.2 **The relative order of negation and subjects**

Empirically, subjects in Norwegian and Swedish may precede or follow negation/adverbs, as shown in (1). This has since Holmberg (1993) often been accounted for by assuming two subject positions in the structure for North Germanic (cf. Holmberg and Platzack 2005):

(7)   [$_{CP}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ *subject1* [$_{TP}$ *adverbs* [$_{TP}$ *subject2* [$_{AgrOP}$ [$_{VP}$]]]]]] (Holmberg 1993: 34)

As we can infer from the data in the preceding section, the highest subject position must have been the common one for definite subjects in Old North Germanic.

According to Holmberg (1993), all weak pronominal subjects must move to AgrSP in order to check their φ-features (person and number features) (cf. also Lindstad 2007). Other subjects may optionally target this high subject position, or an even higher subject position, which in Holmberg

---

[23] This is an example of so-called Long Object Shift (Josefsson 1992), which is characterised by the object crossing over a subject (Mørck 2004: 438).

(i) jattadæ   [*thessare giof*]$_{OBJ}$ [**Alfuer Biornson**]$_{SUBJ}$ bade   med   ja   oc   handerbande
    promised this gift   Alf Bjørnson   both   with   'yes' and   handshake

and Platzack (2005: 432) is labelled FinP. Thus, also DP subjects may appear in the uppermost subject position and precede negation.

In Holmberg's (1993) account negation is adjoined to TP as other adverbs, but he notes that negation may exceptionally adjoin to the head of CP in Swedish, causing the word order $v_{fin} > neg > weak\ subj_{pron}$. As we will see throughout this chapter, as well as in chapter 5, this word order is possible in many Norwegian and traditional Danish dialects too.

Assuming (at least) two subject positions, insular North Germanic patterns with standard Danish in having basically all subjects surfacing in highest subject position (Holmberg and Platzack 2005), while (standard) Norwegian and (standard) Swedish allow both subject positions to be filled (i.e. exhibiting so-called floating subjects).

3.2.3 The relative order of negation and objects

As we saw above, negation precedes DP objects, but follows pronominal objects in the Mainland North Germanic standard languages. The latter word order $v_{fin} > neg > DP\ obj$, is straightforwardly accounted for in terms of base positions, since negation is merged further up in the structure compared to the object that is merged within the VP.

The order $v_{fin} > obj_{pron} > neg$ is consequently exceptional compared to the (assumed) base generated orders. This contrasts with the case for subjects above. If we reuse Holmberg's structure in (7), we get the following scenario for the distribution of objects:

(8)   [$_{CP}$ *topic* V [$_{AgrSP}$ [$_{TP}$ [$_{AgrOP}$ ***obj$_{pron}$*** [$_{VP}$ *adverbs* [$_{VP}$ *DP obj*]]]]]]

The only evidence for the shifted position for pronominal objects comes from the position of pronominal objects. Accordingly, it is not surprising that OS is acquired later than SS (Bentzen et al. 2009). OS is restricted by *Holmberg's Generalisation*:

(9)   *Holmberg's Generalisation*: Object Shift cannot apply across a phonologically visible category asymmetrically c-commanding the object position except adjuncts (Holmberg 1999: 15).

The statement in (9) means, for instance, that OS does not occur when the tense is periphrastic, but only in the present or past tense. Furthermore, OS can not apply across other overtly expressed elements such as subjects.

OS does not necessarily relate to negation, since a pronominal object may shift across all kinds of adverbs in addition to negation. However, negation may resist OS to a much larger degree than adverbs, which implies that negation differs from adverbs, as already mentioned.

In particular Mainland North Germanic OS has been extensively studied in the generative literature (e.g. Faarlund 1977; Holmberg 1986, 1999; Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Josefsson 1992, 1994, 1999, 2001, 2003; Chomsky 1999; Nilsen 2003; Fox and Pesetsky 2005; Erteshik-Shir 2005; Hellan 1996; Hellan and Platzack 1999; Diesing 1996; Andréasson 2007, 2009, Anderssen and Bentzen 2012). Still, it is not yet fully understood (theoretically), and there is no consensus as to how it should be analysed. I will sketch some of the disagreement and proposals below.

First of all, there is disagreement as to whether OS is a part of the core syntax, or whether it lies outside it. In particular Josefsson (1992, 1999, 2003) argues that OS is a part of syntax, while for

example Holmberg (1999) and Chomsky (1999) claim that OS lies outside syntax. Holmberg assumes that it is a part of a Stylistic Grammar at the PF interface, and that it is driven by an inherent [-foc] feature on the weak pronouns. Also Josefsson (2003) assumes that OS is controlled by information structural (IS) principles, but instead of postulating a Stylistic Grammar, she assumes that OS targets a Top(ic)P in the IP-domain (cf. Scrambling analyses, e.g. Grewendorf 2005; Anderssen and Bentzen 2012). Another position that is frequently assumed to host shifted objects, is AgrOP.

Second, as for the analyses that treat OS as a part of syntax, the most common proposal is that the object raises alone to some designated position above negation and adverbs (e.g. Josefsson 1992, 1999, 2003; Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Fox and Pesetsky 2005). Another option that is occasionally proposed, is that the object moves together with the verb within a larger phrase, e.g. vP (see e.g. Nilsen 2003). This constituent will then target a specifier in the CP-domain (cf. remnant movement analyses of verb movement, e.g. Nilsen 2003; Müller 2002, 2004; Bentzen 2007).

A third issue concerns the pure technicalities behind OS, which may be difficult to solve. I will, however, not go into such details here.

My focus on OS is the empirical observations and how to adequately account for the observations within the generative framework. I will basically assume a designated positon for shifted objects, which suffices for my purposes.

Before I turn to the Oslo dialect, I will review some of the findings in the Swedish middle field as described by Andréasson (2007), who studies middle field word order variations in written Swedish.

3.2.4 The pragmatics of the relative orders in the middle field

In her study of written Swedish, Andréasson (2007: 201) finds the following four patterns for the relative order of subject and adverbs:[24]

(10)   a. Subject$_{GROUND}$ > Adverbial$_{RHEME}$

       b. Subject$_{GROUND}$ > Adverbial

       c. Adverbial > Subject$_{RHEME}$

       d. Adverbial$_{RHEME}$ > Subject$_{RHEME}$

If the subject represent Ground, which is reminiscent of a topic, it precedes the adverbial (10a,b); if it is rhematic (cf. 'Rheme'), i.e. new information, or something being in focus, it follows the adverbial (10c), cf. the word order patterns in ON. If both the subject and the adverbial have the same status, the adverbial usually precedes the subject (10d).

Approximately one fourth of the sentences in her material do not follow these patterns, but Andréasson notices that this may be the result of other principles 'overriding' the information dynamic pattern just mentioned. Interestingly, in all of the provided examples that illustrate the non-expected word order (*adv > subj*), the adverbial is the negator *inte*. Andréasson does not

---

[24] Definitions of *Rheme* and *Ground* (Andrèasson 2007: 95):

Rheme: The information in a sentence that the writer/speaker wants to increase the readers´/listeners knowledge with.

Ground: Constituents included in a sentence in order to connect the rheme to something the speaker supposes is under discussion.

comment on this fact, but one may however speculate that this word order is related to the negative marker.

One of the explicit results of Andréasson's study is that the order $v_{fin} > subj > adv$ is by far the most frequent order in main declarative clauses (81,2% vs. 16,2% for the order $v_{fin} > adv > subj$) (Andréasson 2007: 134). A pronominal subject precedes the adverbial in 98% of the occurrences, and the opposite word order is present in 2% of the material (nine occurrences). Three of these nine occurrences are very interesting (see below). In the remaining six occurrences, the pronominal subject is rhematic.

The three sentences in which the subject is not focalised, the subject refers to a fronted conditional (Andréasson 2007: 173). Consider the following example:

(11)   [Vil   kommunen   rationalisera hanteringen   av mat   och   matvaror]ᵢ   så er
       will   municipality.DEF   rationalise   treatment.DEF   of food   and   food.goods   so is
       väl   **det**ᵢ   bra.   (Sw.)
       mod.prt. that   good
       'If the municipality will rationalise the treatment of food and groceries, then that's fine'

According to Andréasson, the opposite word order is the better one when the conditional is not fronted.

(12)   Då   er (?*väl*)   **det**   (*väl*)   bra   [om   kommunen   vill   rationalisera
       then   is (mod.prt)it   (mod.prt)good   if   municipality.DEF   will   rationalise
       hanteringen av mat   och   matvaror]ᵢ   (Sw.)
       treatment.DEF   of food   and   food.goods
       'Then it´s fine, if the municipality will rationalise the treatment of food and groceries'

The antecedent of the pronoun *det* matters whether this pronoun shifts or not (cf. the discussion on MNo in section 3.2.1). If the pronoun refers to a CP as in (12), it is likely not to shift (Andréasson 2007). Anderssen and Bentzen (2012) analyse *det* with a propositional reference as being an *aboutness topic,* as opposed to pronouns without a propositional reference, which they analyse as being *familiar topics*.

DP subjects are checked for whether definiteness plays a role – and it does. There is a clear tendency that definite subjects precede adverbials, as in ON, while indefinite subjects follow adverbials, although only in 60% of the occurrences. In approximately 40% of the instances definite DP subjects follow adverbials, and indefinite DP subjects precede adverbials.

This result is in accordance with the information structural patterns in (11) above. Definite subjects are usually grounds (or topics), while indefinite subjects are often rhematic (or focalised).

To summarise, Andréasson's study demonstrates that the relative order of subjects and adverbials may by and large be predicted by the information structural status of the implicated elements. Furthermore, Andréasson shows that all weak subject pronouns with a DP antecendent precede adverbials. One should bear this in mind when looking at the patterns in the Oslo dialect.

Pronominal objects vary in distribution according to their antecedents, as is the case for pronominal subjects. Pronouns that precede the adverbial are, according to Andréasson (2007:

174ff), often a part of the rhematic part of the clause, but crucially, pronouns that follow the adverbial are focalised. This holds for pronouns with an individual antecedent. Pronouns with a propositional antecedent (e.g. CP/VP), may follow the adverbial without being focalised, as in (13a) (Andréasson 2007: 175), but they may also precede the adverbial (13b):

(13) a. Att   bara sitta ett tag, / hon kan   *inte* **det,** / går   förbi.   (Sw.)
          to   *just* *sit*   *a while* *she* *can*   *not*   *that* *goes* *past*
          'To just rest a while/she can't that/walks past'
      b. ***A***: Det vet   du   ju   hur det är på akuten. Det   står   ju
             that *know* *you* *mod.prt*   *how* *it*   *is on acute.DEF* *it*   *stands*   *mod.prt*
             om   det i   tidningarna varenda dag.   (Sw.)
             about *it*   *in* *papers.DEF* *every*   *day*
             'You know how it is on the emergency. It's written about it every day in the
             newspapers'
         B: Jag   fatter   **det**   *inte.*   (Sw.)
             I   *understand*   *it*   *not*
             'I don't understand it'

Common for the examples with the word order *det_{PROPOSITIONAL} > adverbial* is that the verb is focalised and contrasted against another verb. In (13b) the verb *fatte* ('understand') is contrasted with the verb *vet* ('know'), while in (13a) the verb *kan* ('can') is not at all focalised or contrasted.

Regarding the distribution of adverbials with respect to its 'semantics', Andréasson (2007: 33) observes that both her SADVL (sentence adverbials) and SMOD can precede DP subjects, but only SADVL can precede pronominal subjects (presumably only when they are rhematic).[25] VPMOD cannot precede subjects at all. Thus, according to the corpora-results in Andréasson's work, we have the hierarchical order of adverbs in (14). (14) also indicates which types of adverbs that may precede the different types of subjects:

(14)   Subject_{unstressed pron} > SADVL > *Subject*_{pron}> SMOD > *Subject*_{DP} > VPMOD

Andréasson accounts for these distributional differences by analysing SADVL as information dynamic operators (on a par with negation as an operator).[26] She criticises analyses that say that the *position* after a sentence adverbial is marked for focus, because not all subjects appearing after adverbials are focalised. Instead she assumes that SADVL are placed before their focus domain (Andréasson 2007: 201).

---

[25] Based on two tests, Andréasson (2007: 33) divides adverbials into three groups: *Sentence adverbials* (SADVL), sentence modifiers (SMOD), and verb phrase modifiers (VPMOD). SADVLs are 'true' sentence adverbials and can only appear in the middle field, while both SMOD and VPMOD may also appear in the final field ('*sluttfeltet*').

[26] Modal SADVL are operators for possibility and necessity; conjunctional SADVL are operators for conjunction, disjunction and implication; and focalising SADVL are operators for difference, identity and inclusion.

Related to the topics in Andréasson (2007) is the possibility of negation and adverbs being a demarcation for a specific/non-specific interpretation of indefinite DPs (see, e.g., Nilsen 1997; Bentzen 2007),[27] cf. the discussion on the scope of negation in chapter 1. Indefinite DPs are commonly interpreted as specific when preceding negation/adverbs, but as non-specific when following negation/adverbs. This is shown in (15):

(15) a. Jeg   ser[*en   kollega*]   **ofte** (one specific colleague)   (No.)
            I   see a   colleague   often
            'I often see a colleague'
       b. Jeg   ser   **ofte**   [*en   kollega*] (one non-specific colleague)   (No.)
            I   see   often   a   colleague
            'I often see a colleague'

In (15a) the object *en kollega* ('a colleague') precedes the adverb *ofte* ('often'), and the most salient interpretation of the QP object is that it refers to one specific colleague, whereas in (15b) the most salient interpretation is that the object refers to a non-specific person. The same variation holds when the QP function as the subject, although quantified subjects are not very common, at least not in speech.

To summarise, if an argument has the properties of being definite, topic and specific, the argument seems to be favoured in a position preceding adverbials. Unstressed pronouns show all these properties, hence it is expected that they precede such items when possible.

There are few studies of the relative order of negation and pronominal arguments in the middle field in Norwegian. The next section provides a study of the Oslo dialect through the corpus *Norsk talespråkskorpus – Oslodelen* (the NoTa-corpus), which is described in chapter 2.

3.3 The relative order of negation and arguments in the Oslo dialect

3.3.1 Introduction

The investigations to follow in subsections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3 show that the Oslo dialect grammar exhibit Pronoun Shift, i.e. both SS and OS. Full DP subjects follow negation, which justifies the term SS. The results are discussed and analysed in section 3.3.4.

We know that the only pronouns able to shift in North Germanic (not including Icelandic), are weak and unstressed. Why they shift, however, and what syntactic motivation lies behind their behaviour, are questions many have tried to answer before, as we saw in subsections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3, and I will not discuss this matter any further here.

As discussed in chapter 2, a corpus study has some disadvantages. An obvious one in this particular case, would be the low-frequent rates of specific word orders such as the ones of pronominal objects and negation. However, given the requirement of "10-20 instances" formulated by Labov (1966) (quoted from Cornips and Corrigan 2005: 100), the number of instances of the

---

[27] This is related to Milsark's (1977) division of DPs into strong and weak.

relative orders of negation and both pronominal subjects and objects found in the NoTa-corpus meet this requirement.

3.3.2 **The relative order of negation and subjects**

While sentential negation and adverbs always precede a DP object in North Germanic, the position of subjects with respect to negation and adverbs varies, as we have seen above. Given Holmberg's (1993) scheme shown in (7) above, a DP subject can both precede and follow negation/adverbs depending on whether it occupies AgrSP/FinP or TP. In this section I will give quantitative analyses of the relative order of negation and full DP and pronominal subjects found in the NoTa-corpus.

3.3.2.1 *Quantitative analysis - full DP subjects*

The results from this section indicate that the unmarked word order of negation and full DP subjects in the Oslo dialect is $v_{fin} > neg > subj$.

In order to find instances of the order $v_{fin} > neg > DP\ subj$ in the NoTa-corpus, I searched for the string "*ikke-noun*" (888 occurrences); strings with the indefinite articles *et* (n.)*, en* (m.) *and ei* (f.), i.e. "*ikke-et*" (23 occurrences), "*ikke-en*" (83 occurrences), and *"ikke-ei"* (0 occurrences); and the string "*ikke-pronoun*" (3180 occurrences). In order to find instances of the order $v_{fin} > DP\ subj > neg$, I searched for the string "*noun-ikke*", which returned 537 hits. In these searches, I found in total 38 instances of adjacent negation and non-clausal subjects.[28] Although 38 is a relatively low number, it suffices according to Labov's (1966) requirements referred to above. The order $v_{fin} > neg > DP\ subj$ dominates with 36 occurrences, whereas the opposite order occurs only twice. These two examples are discussed in section 3.3.2.3 below. The frequency of each order is summarised in table 8.

Table 8: The frequencies of the relative orders of negation and DP subjects in main clauses

v_{fin} > negation > subject$_{DP}$	v_{fin} > subject$_{DP}$ > negation
36 (94.7%)	2 (5.3%)

The subjects are of various types, including typical topics such as proper names and definite DPs, and there are several examples in which the subject has been explicitly mentioned in the previous context, or where it is implied in the context.

As for the expression of negation in these examples, it is unstressed in every occasion except one, where it is stressed.

There are only few examples with adverbs. Still, there are more instances of a subject preceding an adverb than of a subject preceding negation. I found three different adverbs adjacent to a DP subject, namely two instances of *kanskje* ('maybe'), three instances of *aldri* ('never') and eight instances of *alltid* ('always'), which gives a total of 13 instances. Of these, the subject precedes the

---

[28] The search "*ikke-noun*" returned 31 relevant hits; the search "*ikke-pronoun*" returned five relevant hits and three hits that might count as relevant, but were not included; the search "*noun-ikke"* returned two relevant hits.

adverb in four instances (i.e. 30%): There is one example where the subject precedes the negative adverbs *aldri* ('never'), and three examples where the subject precedes the adverb *alltid* ('always').[29]

3.3.2.2 *Quantitative analysis - pronominal subjects*

In all the North Germanic varieties, pronominal subjects are assumed to occupy a high subject position, i.e. AgrSP, such that they always precede negation and adverbs, as described above in section 3.2.2 (cf. Hellan and Platzack 1999: 126). This generalisation holds for the Oslo dialect, as we will see in the next paragraphs.

There is a high number of pronominal subjects in the NoTa corpus, and I will only consider their relative position to negation on the assumption that if they precede negation, they also precede adverbs.

Out of 3002 hits from the search "pronoun – *ikke*", I found 1913 instances of a pronominal subject appearing before negation. Likewise, out of 3180 hits for the search "*ikke* – pronoun", I found 406 instances of negation preceding a pronominal subject. This gives a total of 2319 pronominal subjects adjacent to negation in root contexts. The frequencies for each pronoun are listed in table 9. (The abreviation 'CL' is short for 'clitic'.)

Table 9: The relative order of pronominal subjects and negation in main clauses

Pronoun	v_{fin} > neg > subj$_{pron}$	v_{fin} > subj$_{pron}$ > neg	sum
a ('she.CL')	0	11 (100%)	11 (100%)
man ('one')	0	45 (100%)	45 (100%)
n ('he.CL')	1 (2.1%)	46 (97.9%)	47 (100%)
dem ('them')	3 (11.5%)	23 (88.5%)	26 (100%)
det ('it$_N$')	69 (12.3%)	492 (87.7%)	561 (100%)
dere ('you$_{PL}$')	3 (17.3%)	23 (82.7%)	26 (100%)
de ('they')	13 (17.3%)	62 (82.7%)	75 (100%)
vi ('we')	30 (17.4%)	142 (82.6%)	172 (100%)
du ('you$_{SG}$')	78 (19.5%)	322 (80.5%)	400 (100%)
jeg ('I')	182 (21%)	685 (79%)	867 (100%)
den ('it$_{F,M}$')	3 (25%)	8 (75%)	11 (100%)
hun ('she')	9 (29%)	22 (71%)	31 (100%)
han ('he')	15 (31.9%)	32 (68.1%)	47 (100%)
Total	406 (17.5%)	1913 (82.5%)	2319 (100%)

---

[29] One may object that the adverbs *aldri* ('never') and *alltid* ('always') are low in the Cinquean (1999) hierarchy, and therefore may easier follow a subject than a higher adverb. However, there were no examples in which any of the following adverbs was adjacent to a full DP subject: *heldigvis* ('luckily'), *sannsynligvis* ('probably'), *antageligvis* ('probably'), *dessverre* ('unfortunately'). There were two examples where the adverb *kanskje* ('maybe') preceded a subject, of which one was an indefinite DP.

The frequencies give rise to four groups of pronouns: Those pronouns that have shifted in every instance, those that have shifted in around 90% of the instances, those that have shifted in around 80% of the instances, and those that have shifted in around 70% of the instances.

In the first group, where SS always applies, we have the clitic pronouns *a* ('she'), *n* ('he') and generic pronoun *man* ('one'). These pronouns can be characterised as unstressed: The clitics *a* and *n* are naturally always unstressed, and so is usually the pronoun *man* ('one') too (cf. Hellan and Platzack 1999: 126 on the position of subject clitics).

In the second group, in which the pronoun has shifted in approximately 90% of the instances, we find the plural pronouns *dem* ('them'), *dere* ('you') and *vi* ('we'), in addition to the expletive and third singular neuter *det* ('it').

The third group contains the singular pronouns *du* ('you') and *jeg* ('I') and the third plural *de* ('they'). The rate of shift in this group is around 80%, which equals the total average frequency for all pronouns.

In the last group, the one with the lowest SS frequency, we have the third singular pronouns *han* ('he') and *hun* ('she') – the non-clitic forms corresponding to *n* and *a*, respectively. In between these two last groups we find the third singular pronoun *den* ('it').

3.3.2.3 *Discussion and analysis of the relative order of negation and subject*
In section 3.3.2.1 we saw that negation precedes a full DP subject in 94.7% of the instances. The two examples in which negation followed the subject are given in (16).

(16) a. ellers så fikk småskolen   **ikke** lov   vet   du   (Oslo, No.)
           else   so got elementary.school.DEF   not   permission know you
           'Or else, the elementary school wasn't allowed to, you know'
      b. ellers var   jo   bilen   **ikke** noe   gærent   med   (Oslo, No.)
           else   was   mod.prt. car.DEF   not   anything wrong   with
           'Otherwise, there wasn't anything wrong with the car'

In (16a) the subject *småskolen* is definite, and so is the subject *bilen* in (16b). Recall from section 3.2.4 that definite subjects and subjects that are topics commonly precede adverbials in written Swedish (for Danish, see Pedersen 1993: 216). Thus, the word order $v_{fin} > DP\ subj > neg$ seems to be appropriate from an information structural perspective. However, when listening to the audio files, they do not sound particularly natural. There is an intonation break between the DP subject and negation in both examples, and it sounds as if the informants do not immediately know how to complete their utterances after having uttered the subject. Furthermore, it does not sound as if including negation was a part of the speaker's "original plan".

On the other hand, among the occurrences of the word order $v_{fin} > neg > DP\ subj$, there are many examples of the subject being definite and/or a discourse topic. Nevertheless, the subject still follow negation. Thus, it seems like information structural (IS) principles do not affect the relative order of negation and DP subjects to any notable degree in the Oslo dialect, as it does for (some varieties of) Swedish, cf. section 3.2.4.

As for the relative order of adverbs and DP subjects, there are examples of fluent speech where the subject precedes adverbs like *aldri* ('never') and *alltid* ('always'). This observation suggests that

the distribution of negation and adverbs differ in this matter, and it seems reasonable to assume that IS principles are involved when it comes to the relative order of adverbs and DP subjects.

Pronominal subjects regularly appear in the complementary position in front of negation, and it is safe to say that there is SS in the Oslo dialect grammar. As we saw above, the average frequency of SS is 82S.5%, and the frequencies vary across the pronouns. Above I divided the pronouns into four groups. In the groups with the lowest frequencies of SS we find the pronouns *I* and *you*, which denote the speaker and the addressee in a conversation. The other pronouns are the third persons *de* ('they'), *han* ('he'), *hun* ('she') and *den* ('it'), which denote people and things that are spoken about.

If we take a closer look at the sentence types in which these pronouns are involved, it appears that in the occurrences of the word order $v_{fin} > neg > subj_{pron}$, questions are the dominating sentence type. As for the second singular pronoun *du* ('you'), which has a fairly low rate of SS, 70.5% (55 occurrences) of the occurrences $v_{fin} > neg > du$ are questions (*y/n*-questions, *wh*-questions and questions on the form of a declarative), see (17), whereas 57.1% of the occurrences of $v_{fin} > du > neg$ are questions. The total frequency of questions with *du* ('you') is 59.8%. If we consider only the questions with *du*, 23% of them have the order $v_{fin} > neg > du$. This is considerably higher than the $v_{fin} > neg > du$ rate in non-questions, which is 14.3%. If we take a look at questions with the pronoun *han* ('he'), it turns out that 42.1% of the questions lack SS (8 out of 19 questions in total). This suggests that if only non-questions were included in section 3.3.2.2 above, the rate of SS would be higher than 82.5%.

(17) a. kan**ke**   DU   sende   meg   vannet   (Oslo, No.)
         can.not you   send   me   water.DEF
         'Won't you send me the water'

      b. kan**ke**   du   TA   med den   i morgen   så får   jeg   sett   på n   (Oslo, No.)
         can.not you   take with it   tomorrow   so get   I   looked at it
         'Will you bring it tomorrow, so I can have a look at it'

In these y/n-questions the nuclear stress of the sentences is marked by capital letters. Both these examples are so-called positively biased questions (cf. Büring and Gunlogsson 2000; Ladd 1981), which means that they presuppose the answer to be positive. In such cases the negative marker must be unstressed, as we see it is in (17a,b), and it is in some respects expletive in these contexts (cf. Abels 2005).

There are a few pronouns that have shifted in every occasion, and we saw above that these pronouns are usually unstressed. Paired with the general word order tendency that pronouns precede negation shown above, I consider this result to be instructive, and assume that SS is obligatory in the Oslo dialect grammar.

Based on the pattern in the dialect grammar, which shows no floating subjects with respect to negation, I suggest that the distribution of subjects in an I-language associated with the Oslo dialect can be analysed as follows (cf. section 3.2.2):

(18)   [$_{CP}$ V$_{fin}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ subj$_{pron}$ [$_{NegP}$ **ikke** [$_{TP}$ subj$_{DP}$]]]]

Unstressed ('weak') pronominal subjects target AgrSP, whereas stressed ('strong') pronouns and full DP subjects remain in Spec,TP. Some of the technical details of this analysis will be elaborated on in connection with the analysis of embedded clauses in the Oslo dialect in section 4.6.6 in the next chapter. The schematic analysis in (18) suffices for the purposes of this chapter, which is to model the observed word orders.

When only an adverb is present, without any accompanying negation, the relative order of a strong subject and the adverb is freer. If one assumes that adverbs have fixed positions in the structure (cf. Cinque 1999) and are situated between AgrSP and TP, the strong subject must target a position higher than TP. If we want to maintain that Spec,TP is the only position for strong subjects for a speaker of the Oslo dialect, the strong subject cannot target AgrSP (or FinP). On the assumption that the relative order of strong subjects and adverbs is at least partially determined by IS principles, so that subjects that are topics precede adverbs (cf. Andréasson 2007), one can hypothesise that the subject targets the designated topic position TopP in the CP-domain, as shown in (19).

(19) $[_{ForceP}$ V$_{fin}$ $[_{TopP}$ subj$_{DP}$ V̶$_{f̶i̶n̶}$ $[_{FinP}$ s̶u̶b̶j̶$_{D̶P̶}$ V̶$_{f̶i̶n̶}$ $[_{AgrSP}$ s̶u̶b̶j̶$_{D̶P̶}$ V̶$_{f̶i̶n̶}$ $[_{AdvP}$ **Adv** $[_{TP}$ s̶u̶b̶j̶$_{D̶P̶}$ V̶$_{f̶i̶n̶}$]]]]]

Whether or not one assumes that the strong subject moves to Spec,TopP, or that strong subjects can target a higher subject position (FinP/AgrSP) when negation is not present, the question remains why the subject does not move across negation. I suggest an explanation to this in section 3.3.4 below. Another option could be that adverbs are adjuncts, and that their adjunction sites are determined by IS principles. In such a scenario strong subjects can stay in Spec,TP, and adverbs are adjoined to either TP or a lower projection.

The analysis in (18) also raises more fundamental questions regarding dialect syntax within the realms of I- and E-language. It seems safe to conclude, as I have done, that negation precedes full DP subjects in the Oslo dialect grammar. The question is, however, whether this rule is only a part of the dialect grammar and hence E-language, or whether this rule is also founded within I-languages of the speakers. If it is only a part of the dialect grammar (i.e. a kind of sociological norm), the order *v_fin > DP subj > neg* is not ungrammatical – only more or less unacceptable, and one may expect this order to occur from time to time. If, on the other hand, it is a pure result of I-language, the order *v_fin > DP subj > neg* is ungrammatical, and one would not really expect it to occur, except as slips of the tongue or from other production errors. In order to evaluate the acceptable orders of negation and DP subjects in the Oslo dialect properly, one should also include linguistic intuitions.

3.3.3   The order of negation and pronominal objects

OS in Swedish has been studied in great detail and is extensively discussed in the literature, as shown in section 3.2.3, and it is reported to be optional in Swedish (e.g. Hellan and Platzack 1999). In Andréasson's (2007) corpus study of written Swedish, however, there are very few pronominal objects adjacent to adverbs, but it seems that the (personal) pronouns shift regularly when they are not focalised, except from the general pronoun *det*, which, as we have seen, may behave differently from other pronouns. I reach the same conclusions for the Oslo dialect. The results from the corpus study are given in subsection 3.3.3.1, which is followed by discussion and analysis in subsection 3.3.3.2.

3.3.3.1 *Quantitative analysis*

The occurrences of OS and non-OS of personal pronouns (except third singular neuter *det* ('it')), the reflexive, and the reciprocal pronoun in the NoTa-corpus are shown in the following table. The pronoun *det* ('it') is discussed separately below.

Table 10: The relative order of negation and pronominal objects in the NoTa-corpus (except the pronoun *det*)

Pronouns	object > ikke	ikke > object	Sum
a ('her')	0	0	0
ham ('him')	0	0	0
dere ('you' pl.)	0	0	0
seg (refl.)	20 (100%)	0	20 (100%)
n ('him')	11 (100%)	0	11 (100%)
oss ('us')	8 (88.9%)	1 (11.1%)	9 (100%)
meg ('me')	37 (84.1%)	7 (15.9%)	44 (100%)
dem ('them')	12 (80%)	3 (20%)	15 (100%)
deg ('you' sg.)	12 (70.9%)	5 (29.4%)	17 (100%)
den ('it')	13 (65%)	7 (35%)	20 (100%)
de ('they')	2 (50%)	2 (50%)	4 (100%)
hverandre (rec.)	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2 (100%)
henne ('her')	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	5 (100%)
han ('him')	4 (40%)	6 (60%)	10 (100%)
hun ('she')	0	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
Sum	**122 (77.2%)**	**36 (22.8%)**	**158 (100%)**

Out of 3002 hits from the search "pronoun – *ikke*" in the NoTa-corpus, I found 122 instances in which a pronominal object of the type described above appeared before negation. Likewise, out of 3180 hits from the search "*ikke* – pronoun", I found 36 instances in which negation preceded a pronominal object. This gives a rate of 23.1% for non-OS in the NoTa-corpus, whereas the rate for OS is 77.2%.

Observe that there are two pronouns that have shifted in every instance, namely the reflexive *seg* and the colloquial third singular clitic masculine pronoun *n*. These pronouns are either always unstressed (*n*) or usually unstressed (the reflexive). The pronoun *oss* ('us') also has a relatively high rate of OS (88.9%), and so has the pronoun *meg* ('me') with 84.1% and the pronoun *dem* ('them') with 80%. Regarding the third singular pronouns *han* ('him') and *henne* ('her') – the corresponding non-clitic forms of *n* and *a* – the pronoun has not shifted in the majority of the occurrences.

As for the examples with non-OS, I have listened to most of them as described in chapter 2. My impression is that the number of instances where OS would be natural, is less than ten. In the majority of the examples, there is some stress on the pronoun. Since the stress has not been measured, I will not give any exact numbers of the quantities of stressed and unstressed pronouns in the non-shifted position. Although this examination of the non-shifted pronouns is impressionistic, it indicates that the rate of OS among unstressed pronouns is significantly higher

than 77.2%. If we assume that there are only ten instances of the order $v_{fin} > neg > unstressed\ obj_{pron}$, the rate of OS would increase to 92%.

Turning to the occurrences of the pronoun *det* ('it'), the rate of OS and non-OS is inverted compared with the other pronouns. Whereas there are 73 instances of OS with *det* ('it'), there are 427 instances of non-OS, which give rates of 14.6% and 85.4%, respectively. Recall from section 3.2.4 that this is not unexpected, since previous studies referred to in this section show that pronominal object *det* ('it') is less likely to shift than other pronouns when the reference of *det* ('it') is an event or a proposition. When one considers the finite verbs involved in the cases of unshifted *det* ('it') in the NoTa-corpus, the majority of these takes propositions or events as complements, which in these particular instances are expressed by *det* ('it'). Consider table 11, which shows the types of verbs involved.

Table 11: Verbs involved with no OS of the pronoun *det* ('it')

Verbs	$v_{fin} > ikke > object$ '*det*'	$v_{fin} > object$ '*det*' $> ikke$
linking verbs (*bli, hete, synes*)	26 (6.1%)	0
auxiliaries (*kunne, måtte, ville, skulle, ha*[30])	114 (26.7%)	1 (1.4%)
lexical and light-verb *få*	9 (2.1%)	14 (19.2%)
lexical and proverb *gjøre*	120 (28.1%)	6 (8.2%)
lexical *tro*	59 (13.8%)	0
lexical *skjønne*	6 (1.4%)	11 (15.1%)
lexical *vite*	18 (4.2%)	0
lexical *gidde, trenge, like, orke, håpe, huske*	39 (9.1%)	9 (12.3%)
Sum	391 of 427 (91.6% of 100%)	41 of 73 (56.2% of 100%)

In the left column the different types of verbs are listed. In the mid column, the number of instances of the word order $v_{fin} > ikke > det$ is given for each verb (group), including the rate of the total number of occurrences of this word order. The figures in the right column show the number of instances of the word order $v_{fin} > det > ikke$, and the rate of the total number of instances of this word order. As the final row shows, not all verbs are included. I have only included verbs with a frequency of five or higher in the $v_{fin} > ikke > object$ '*det*' group.

Observe that the linking verbs (called 'uselvstendige' verbs in Norwegian) are not involved with OS. This is natural, since these verbs are commonly recognised as taking a predicative rather than objects. A study of Danish by Mikkelsen (2011) confirms that pronouns in predicative position commonly does not shift.

Observe also that there is a vast number of auxiliary verbs involved in the instances of non-OS. In these instances the lexical verb is lacking, and the pronoun must refer to the event denoted by the lexical verb. This is also the case for the verb *gjøre* ('do') when it functions as a pro-verb.

---

[30] I have not distinguished between auxiliary *ha* and lexical *ha*.

The verbs *tro* ('think'), *skjønne* ('understand') and *vite* ('know') are also associated with high frequencies of non-OS. These verbs commonly take propositions as complements, and in these particular instances the pronoun *det* ('it') most likely refers to such propositions.

The six verbs listed in row nine in Table 11, have five or more instance of non-OS. These verbs also take propositional complements. The same characteristics hold for most of the remaining 19 verbs as well, but none of these occurred more than four times, and have therefore not been included in the table.

To summarise, the investigation of OS across negation in the NoTa-corpus shows that when the pronoun *det* ('it') is excluded, the frequency of OS is 77.2% and 22.8% for non-OS. The instances of non-OS involve, however, in most cases a stressed pronoun, so that the rate of OS should be significantly higher. As for the pronoun *det* ('it'), it remains unshifted in 85.4% of the instances. Furthermore, in at least 91.6% of the unshifted instances, the only verbs in the clause are verbs that must or can take eventive/propositional complements.

3.3.3.2 *Discussion and analysis*

Recall that only unstressed (or weak) pronominal objects can shift, and in my opinion the rates of shifts for the clitic pronoun *n* ('he'/'him') and the reflexive *seg* are instructive: There are no instances of any of these pronouns, which are usually unstressed, in the position before negation. This observation strongly indicates that OS of unstressed pronominal objects is so to speak obligatory in the Oslo dialect. Further support for this conclusion comes from the impressionistic survey of the non-OS instances referred to above, which, perhaps not very surprisingly, reveals that in the majority of the instances where negation precedes the pronoun, the pronoun has some stress.

If we consider phonological length, two of the items that have not shifted in every instance are the disyllabic personal pronoun *henne* ('her') and the trisyllabic reciprocal *hverandre*. Judging by their length, they can be argued to be less unstressed than the monosyllabic items. Due to their length, it may be easier to assign some stress to them. The instances where both these items have shifted across negation, indicate, however, that they may also count as 'weak' (the common description for pronouns that undergo OS). Another relevant issue in order to explain their deviant word order is that both the pronoun *henne* ('her') and the negative marker *ikke* ('not') are disyllabic. Being equal, one may argue in light of the weight principle that it does not make any difference what order they appear in. Consider the following example:

(20)   Jeg   likte   **ikke**   *henne*   (Oslo, No.)
        I   *liked*   *not*   *her*
       'I didn't like her'

In this utterance the nuclear stress of the sentence is on the verb, and my impression is that both negation and the object are equally unstressed. The opposite order of the two elements in this sentence would be equally natural. Hence, there might be several factors involved when the position of multisyllabic pronouns is determined. I will elaborate on the particular example in (20) in section 3.3.4 below.

OS is normally analysed as displacement of the pronoun to a position above negation (and above adverbs). As stated above, I label this position AgrOP.

(21)   [$_{CP}$ V [$_{AgrSP}$ [$_{AgrOP}$ *obj$_{pron}$* [$_{NegP}$ **ikke** [$_{TP}$ [$_{vP}$ ~~*obj$_{pron}$*~~]]]]]]

As illustrated in (21), pronominal objects are merged within the vP. I assume that strong objects (non-pronominal and stressed pronominal objects) remain in this domain, whereas unstressed (weak) pronouns target AgrOP when the conditions in Holmberg's Generalisation given in (9) are met. This means that when a pronominal subject occupies AgrSP, OS is allowed. On the other hand, if a full DP subject occupies TP, the pronominal object cannot shift across this phonologically visible element, and hence the negative marker precedes both arguments:

(22)   [$_{CP}$ V [$_{AgrSP}$ [$_{NegP}$ **ikke** [$_{TP}$ DP subject [$_{vP}$ *obj$_{pron}$*]]]]]

The following example from the NoTa-corpus may be taken as evidence for postulating a designated position for unstressed pronominal objects, as in the structure in (21):

(23)   det   lille   jeg har   lest   om   den   utstillingen   så frister n   *meg*   **ikke**   *meg*
       the   little   I   have   read   about that   exhibition.DEF so tempts it.clitic   me   not   me
       '[Based on] the little I have read about that exhibition, it doesn't tempt me.   (Oslo, No.)

In (23) there are two pronominal objects *meg* ('me'), of which the first one is clearly unstressed and precedes negation, whereas the second one is highly stressed and follows negation. This example may be analysed as both copies of the object pronoun being pronounced.

As for instances where an object pronoun remains within the vP, such as (20) above and the one in (24a) below, it may be difficult to determine whether the observed stress is intended by the speaker, or whether OS somehow failed and the stress occurs as a result of the object remaining structurally low.

(24)   a. Jeg   så   **ikke**   *deg*   så mye   (NoTa) (Oslo, No.)
          I   saw   not   you   so much
       b. Jeg   så   *deg*   **ikke**   så mye
          I   saw   you   not   so much
       'I didn't see you very much'

In (24) the most prominent stress is assigned to the verb. The object pronoun *deg* ('you') might also have some stress, but this is hard to determine. In this particular case, where the informants seem to talk about a gathering taking place 'up there', OS, as in the construed example in (24b), would have been felicitous. With the word order in the NoTa-example (24a) a contrastive reading of the object is salient – the speaker observed many others but not the addressee – along with the pure assertion of not seeing the other one very much. In (24b), where the object has shifted, there is only the assertion of not seeing. Thus, this lower object position provides a range of variation with respect to interpretation that is unavailable in the higher position, (cf. the analysis of pronouns in Cardinaletti and Starke 1999).

As for the instances with OS of the pronoun *det* ('it'), we saw above that it usually does not happen in the context of linking verbs or auxilaries/modals. There is only one example of OS in which a verb categorised as an auxiliary in the NoTa-corpus, namely the verb *ha* ('have') participates. In this example, given in (25), the verb *ha* most likely is the lexical verb, and if so, OS is natural.

(25) Unnskyld   har   du   *det*   **ikke**?   (Oslo, No.)
      excuse.me have   you   it   not
      'Excuse me, don't you have it?'/'Excuse me, haven't you got it?'

Although the pronoun *det* ('it') rarely shifts when it has a non-individual antecendent in the Oslo dialect, it is certainly able to, as the numbers in the table show. An example of this is (26), where *det* ('it') clearly has an eventive or propositional content:

(26) holdt på å bøste dem og   sånn da   men han   læreren   skjønte   *det*   **ikke**
      kept   on to mess them and such then but he   teacher.DEF   understood it   not
                                                                                              (Oslo.No.)
      'We were messing around with them and such, but the teacher didn't understand it'

In this example there are two conjuncts. In the first conjunct the speaker tells about messing around, and in the second conjunct it is referred that the teacher did not understand it, where the most salient interpretation of 'it' is that it refers to the event in the first conjunct.

Finally, compare OS in present-day Norwegian (represented by the Oslo dialect) with OS in MNo. Recall from section 3.2.1 that Sundquist (2002) found that personal pronouns in object position shift across negation in 77% of the instances in MNo. This number is identical to the one for the Oslo dialect if both unstressed and stressed pronominal objects are included, which is 77.2%. The figures are not completely comparable, since the pronoun *det* is not included in this survey, whereas it is in Sundquist's (2002) study. If it had been included, the number for the Oslo dialect would have been much lower than 77%, and in fact 30%. Hence, it seems reasonable to assume that the frequency of OS was higher in MNo than it is in contemporary Oslo dialect. This indicates that OS has become less strict over the past centuries.

3.3.4   **Overall discussion of the status of *ikke* in the Oslo dialect**

Regarding the status of the negator *ikke*, I assume that it occupies Spec,NegP in the Oslo dialect. I do not assume that *ikke* ('not') is a head, since it does not meet Zwicky and Pullum's (1983) criterion stating that special clitics have a special position. Such a special position could, for instance, have been to the left of unstressed pronouns.

I do, however, assume that *ikke* can be a so-called PF-clitic (cf. chapter 1), in the sense that it may re-order with respect to other elements at the level of PF. I also think that such PF-cliticisation may be the historic origin for the present-day rigid order $v_{fin} > neg > DP\ subj$ in the Oslo dialect.

If we consider written Norwegian as it was a hundred years ago, DP subjects preceded negation (at least prescriptively) (cf. Falk and Torp 1900; Heggstad 1931: 198 on Nynorsk). Negation can, however, also precede DP subjects; and, for instance, the examples in Western (1921: 212) demonstrate that negation may occur on either side of a DP subject, as illustrated in (27). Although

the Oslo dialect did not equal written Norwegian a hundred years ago, it is, based on the diachronic remarks in section 3.2.1, safe to conclude that the word order with floating subjects with respect to negation once held for a former variety of the Oslo dialect.

(27)　[$_{CP}$ V$_{fin}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ subject$_{DP}$ [$_{NegP}$ *ikke* [$_{TP}$ subject$_{DP}$…]]]]

In the structure in (27), the DP subject targets either TP or AgrSP (/FinP). The variable subject position may be attributed to IS-principles. In addition to the hypothesised variable subject positions (AgrSP or TP) in the former Oslo variety, one can assume that the negative marker occasionally also has cliticised to the verb at PF:

(28)　[$_{CP}$ V$_{fin}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ subject$_{DP}$ [$_{NegP}$ *ikke* [$_{TP}$ ~~subject$_{DP}$~~…]]]]
　　　PF ↑_____↵

In (28) negation occupies NegP, but if we assume that it occasionally re-orders with respect to the DP subject in AgrSP at PF, the worder order *v$_{fin}$ > neg > DP subj* is spelled out irrespective of syntactic structure in these cases. The phonological motivation behind such a re-ordering could for instance be the weight principle. Such PF-cliticisation would also provide additional evidence for the particular word order *v$_{fin}$ > neg > DP subj*. At some point when the PF-cliticisation has reached a specific level of frequency, we can imagine that the PF order is reanalysed, so that the negative marker stays in NegP, and the DP subject in Spec,TP. We then get the present-day structure proposed in (18) above.

We can assume that the predominant order *v$_{fin}$ > unstressed subj$_{pron}$ > neg* prevented negation from being reanalysed and grammaticalised as a head. On the assumption that negation would precede unstressed pronouns if it were a head, the evidence against head status of negation is, as we have seen, overwhelming in the Oslo dialect (but consider a few possible counter-examples in chapter 5).

Such PF-cliticisation can also explain the deviant order *v$_{fin}$ > neg > unstressed obj$_{pron}$*.[31] This word order is far from regular, and is illustrated in (20) above. This may be analysed as in (29a), in which no OS has taken place. I will, however, suggest that the analysis in (29b) is more correct.

(29)　a. [$_{CP}$ Jeg likte [$_{AgrSP}$ [$_{NegP}$ **ikke** [$_{TP}$ [$_{vP}$ *henne*]]]]]
　　　　　I　liked　　　not　　　her
　　　b. [$_{CP}$ Jeg likte[$_{AgrSP}$ [$_{AgrOP}$ *henne* [$_{NegP}$ **ikke** [$_{TP}$ [$_{vP}$ ~~*henne*~~]]]]]]
　　　　　PF　　　↑_____↵

In (29b) the object pronoun has shifted across negation to AgrOP, but at PF this order is altered such that *ikke* ('not') is spelled out before *henne* ('her'). The assumption that negation may cliticise to the

---

finite verb at PF is supported by the fact mentioned in chapter 1 that *ikke* ('not') can only cliticise to a subset of verbs in the Oslo dialect/Eastern Norwegian, and that these verbs need to fulfill certain phonological conditions (Lindstad 1999):

(30)   a. så-**kke**
           saw-neg.CL
       b. **overså-**kke**
           overlook-neg.CL

The examples in (30) show that the short form *kke* may attach to a monosyllabic form like *så* ('saw'), but it cannot attach to a trisyllabic form *overså* (which is a compound). If *ikke* were a syntactic head, (30b) should be grammatical.

As for the pronominal object *det* ('it') with a non-individual antecedent, a similar analysis like the one in (29a), where the pronominal object remains inside vP, seems to be appropriate. In these cases the pronoun has some stress. In addition, the pronoun can be preceded by adverbs as well as negation, as the following example from the NoTa-corpus shows:

(31)   Jeg   trur   **kanskje**   *det*   (Oslo, No.)
       I   *think* *perhaps*   *it*
       'I believe so, I think'

In this example the adverb *kanskje* ('perhaps') precedes the object pronoun *det* ('it'). Given that adverbs cannot cliticise, the word order $v_{fin} > adv > obj_{pron}$ can only occur if the object remains in situ.

This section has shown that the negative marker *ikke* precedes DP subjects, but follows unstressed pronominal subjects and objects. The relative order of negation and subjects seems not to be determined by IS principles. The relative order of adverbs and subjects, however, seems to be more influenced by such principles. I thus conclude that SS and OS are obligatory in the Oslo dialect grammar. The survey also reveals that the negative marker is best analysed as an XP.

I end this chapter by giving a survey of the distribution of negation with respect to pronouns (which in practice mean pronominal subjects) across North Germanic. The system in the Oslo dialect dominates, but also other systems are encountered.

3.4   The distribution of negation with respect to subjects across North Germanic varieties

3.4.1   Introduction
The data in this section are excerpted from the literature, and particularly from the dialectological literature. Most of this literature is relatively old, and the data from these works represent the traditional dialects of North Germanic. The present-day varieties are represented by the data from the NSD-database, which contains relevant data from Norway, Sweden and Finland. The data from the traditional dialects are unevenly spread across the Mainland Scandinavian area, due to the sparse number of studies on dialect syntax. In addition to the works that explicitly comment on syntactic issues, I have excerpted examples from dialectological works that concern other linguistic

fields such as phonology and morphology. This exceprtion has resulted in a relatively large amount of data from Norway, and less from the other countries.

The section is organised as follows. In 3.4.2 I consider Norwegian dialects. First, I give a survey of the traditional pattern, and then the patterns found in the modern varieties are shown. In 3.4.3, Swedish varieties are discussed. Here too, I consider the traditional dialects first and then the modern dialects. Danish dialects, two in particular, are considered in 3.4.4, and I give an overview of the patterns in Faroese and Icelandic in 3.4.6. I compare and discuss the results in section 3.4.7.

3.4.2 **Norwegian**

3.4.2.1 *The traditional dialects*

The available data for traditional Norwegian dialects show that the dialects either exhibit Pronoun Shift, or do not have Pronoun Shift across negation. Some of the studies, however, contain descriptions of both word orders.

As Venås (1971) notes, Pronoun Shift is a part of the systems in the dialects of Southern Norway, except for the dialects in an area of the north-western parts of Southern Norway and in southern parts of Trøndelag (Central Norway). Venås does not have much information about dialects in Northern Norwegian.

A few examples of Pronoun Shift, in particular SS, for some Northern Norwegian and South-Eastern dialects are given in (32) (examples (32a,d,e) are taken from Jahr and Skare 1996: 66, 38, 44; examples (32b,c) are taken from Iversen 1918: 82f.; examples (32f,g,h) are taken from Beito 1973: 11, 16):

(32) a. Ser *dåkker* **ikke** att æ blingke   (Vadsø, No.)[32]
    see *you* *not* *that* *I wink*
    'Cann't you see that I am winking'

  b. Kjæm **ikkje** *doktern*?   (Tromsø, No.)
    comes not *doctor.*DEF
    'Isn't the doctor coming?'

  c. Kjæm *han* **ikkje**?   (Tromsø, No.)
    comes he *not*
    'Is he not coming?'

---

[32] The dialects of, for example, Finnmark county have been poorly studied. The following quotation from Larsen (1948 [1897]: 46f) illustrates this explicitely: "[…] stiftet har tre dialektgrupper, Helgelands, Salten og Lofoten og Tromsø amts (bortseet fra Bardo og Målselven), sammen med hvilken også det norske talesprog i Finnmarken må regnes, hvilket dog på grund af indflytning og omflytning ikke har udviklet sådanne særegenheder, at denne dialect har nogen synderlig betydning." ('The county has three dialect groups, the one of Helgeland, the one of Salten, and the one of Lofoten and Tromsø (except Bardu and Målselv), with which also the Norwegian spoken language of Finnmark should be grouped, which, because of immigration and migration, has not developed such characteristics, so that this dialect does not have any particular interest.' (My translation.)

    d. Men vesst *e* **ikj** hu's my'kj feil. (Sørfold, No.)
       but if I not remember much wrong
       'But if I don't remember wrongly'

    e. Mæn hanjn såg *ho* **ikkje** før hanjn va mett på Äsjtfjorn. (Alstahaug, No.)
       but he saw her not until he was mid on Äsjt.fiord.DEF
       'But he didn't see her until he was in the middle of the fiord.'

    f. Tre sjier, de tåtte – **(et)te** *jænta* var no å kjinne. (Eidsberg, No.)
       three spoons that thought not girl.DEF was something to churn
       'Three spoons, the girl didn't think that was much to churn.'

    g. Dær fekk *døm* **ette** mjølka kuene, fer da bynte levene (Follo, No.)
       there got they not milked cows.DEF because then started noise.DEF
       'They didn't get to milk the cows there, because then the noise started.'

    h. Prest å kjørke, de ville-*n* **ette** veta no tå i alminlihet
       priest and church that would-he not know something of in general
       'Priest and church, that wouldn't he have something to do with in general.' (Follo, No.)

(32a) is a y/n-question and the subject precedes negation in this example from the Vadsø dialect. (32b,c) show SS in y/n-questions in the Tromsø dialect. In (32b) negation precedes a DP subject, whereas negation follows a pronominal one in (32c). Examples of SS across negation in the Northern Norwegian dialects of Sørfold and Alstahaug are given in (32d,e). (32f) examplifies the word order $v_{fin} > neg > DP subj$ in a dialect from South-Eastern Norway, and (32g,h) show that pronominal subjects precede negation in another dialect from South-Eastern Norway.

    Examples without Pronoun Shift across negation are given in (33). Especially the dialects of North-Western Norway (in Southern Norway) (Heggstad 1920; Venås 1971; Fitje 1995) have been known for a long time (at least since Ivar Aasen) to not have Pronoun Shift across negation. Other dialects that are also known to exhibit this word order are the (traditional) dialect of Oppdal in Trøndelag (Haugen 1982) and the traditional Bergen dialect (Larsen and Stoltz 1912) (example (33a) is taken from Haugen 1982: 155; example (33b) is taken from Hårstad 2004: 35; example (33c) is taken from Larsen & Stoltz 1912: 148; examples (33d,e) are taken from Heggstad 1920: 93):

(33) a. Da ha **itj** *e* sakt ta dær (Oppdal, No.)
       that have not I said that there
       'I haven't said that'

    b. Æ såg **itj** *ho* (Oppdal, No.)
       I saw not her
       'I didn't see her'

    c. ska'**kje** *vi* skrive mer (Bergen, No.)
       shall.not we write more
       'Are we not going to write any more?'

    d. De ha **kje** *eg* haurt før (Nordfjord, No.)
       that have not I heard before
       'I haven't heard that before'

    e. Vi brydde   **ikkje** *oss*   om   ditta   (Nordfjord, No.)
       we *cared*   *not*   REFL   *about this*
       'We didn't care about this'

The examples (33a,b) are taken from the Oppdal dialect. (33a) shows that there is no SS, and (33b) shows no OS. Observe also that the negative marker in this dialect has the form *itj*. The Bergen dialect is exemplified in (33c), and in this y/n-question the negative marker precedes the pronominal subject. (33d,e) are taken from the dialects of Nordfjord. In (33d) negation precedes a pronominal subject, and in (33e) negation precedes a pronominal object.[33] Observe that in the examples from the Nordfjord dialects, both the full form *ikkje* and the short form *kje* precede the pronoun. The Nordfjord and the Bergen dialects are studied in more detail in chapter 5. According to Venås (1971), only negation, not adverbs, may precede pronouns in these dialects. This issue too, is touched upon in chapter 5.

    The traditional dialect of Stavanger apparently exhibits both patterns. Consider the following examples from the Stavanger dialect (examples from Svendsen 1931: 136, 133, 134, respectively):

(34)   a. Darrfårr kan   *eg* **ikkje**   kåmma   (Stavanger, No.)
         therefore can   *I*   *not*   *come*
         'Therefore, I cannot come'
      b. Han   har   våre   svere te drikka,   elles   hadde **kje**   *eg* fått   an   (Stavanger, No.)
         he   *has*   *been*   *big*   *to drink*   *else*   *had*   *not*   *I*   *got*   *him*
         'He has been drinking a lot, otherwise I wouldn't have got him'
      c. Eg   kjende   **kje**   *han*, han   **kje**   *meg*   (Stavanger, No.)
         I   *knew*   *not*   *him*   *he*   *not*   *me*
         'I didn't know him, he didn't know me'

In (34a) the pronoun precedes the full form negative marker *ikkje*, but in (34b,c) the subject and object pronouns, respectively, follow the short form *kje*. In these examples the forms *ikkje* and *kje* have complementary distribution, so that there is Pronoun Shift across *ikkje*, but not across *kje*.

    Map 4 summarises the observations from the dialectological literature on Norwegian. Only places with concrete information about the relative order of negation and pronominal arguments are indicated. The isogloss in North-Western Norway is drawn based on the information in Venås (1971), and the traditional dialects in this area has no Pronoun Shift across negation. Places that are not indicated, exhibit by hypothesis the unmarked word order v_{fin} > *pron* > *neg*.

    In the next section we turn to the present-day dialects and the judgement data on Pronoun Shift from the NSD-database.

---

[33] These facts concerning this dialect area were already noted by Ivar Aasen (2000 [1850]).

Map 4: The relative order of *neg* and pronouns in traditional Norwegian dialects
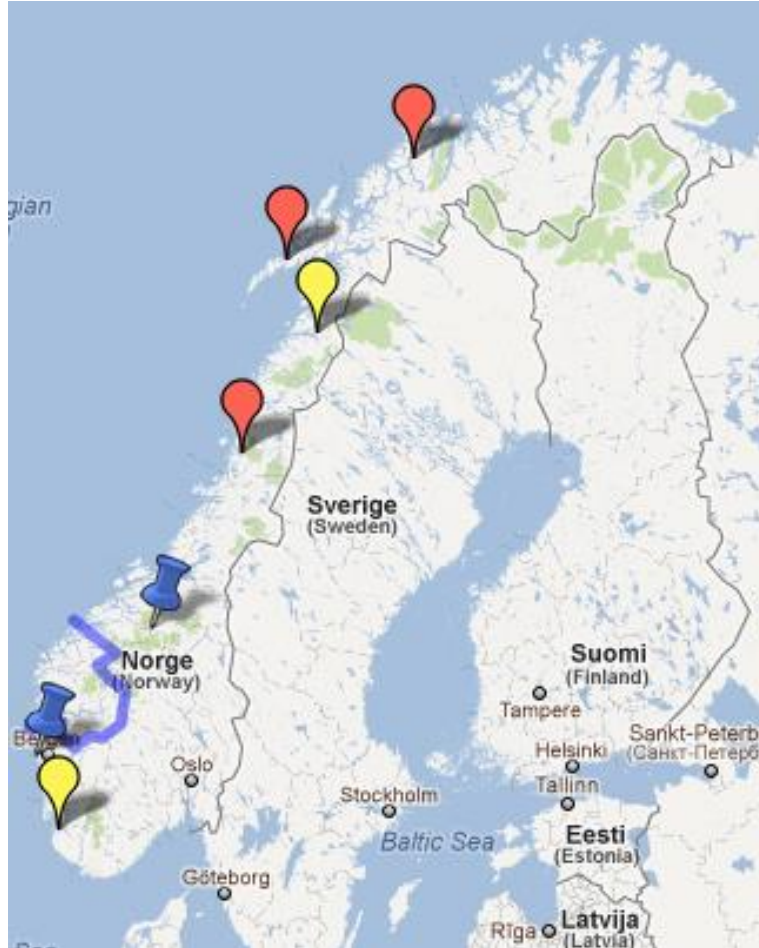
circular marker, red/dark: the word order v_{fin} > pron > neg is common

circular marker, yellow/light: the word order v_{fin} > neg > pron may appear

blue marker + inside the border: the word order v_{fin} > neg > pron is common (cf. Venås 1971)

3.4.2.2 *The modern dialects*

The following sentences with ±*Pronoun Shift* across negation are stored in the NSD-database and were tested in the NorDiaSyn project. The sentences all have a pronominal cluster with the subject and the object, but vary with respect to the position of the negative marker.

(35) a. Derfor   leste **ikke** han a.   (No.)
          therefore read   not   he   her

        b. Derfor   leste han   **ikke** a.   (No.)
          therefore read   he   not   her

        c. Derfor   leste han   a   **ikke**.   (No.)
          therefore read   he   her   not
          'Therefore, he didn't read it'

The results are shown in the maps 5-7, respectively. Recall the discussion in chapter 2 on these particular sentences, which concluded that these results must be handled with care.

Map 5: The results for (35a) *Derfor leste ikke han a* **(NSD)**

White marker: high score (4-5); grey marker: medium score (3); black marker: low score (1-2)

This sentence (35a) was taken into the NorDiaSyn questionnaire after the collection had started, and therefore there are no results from the locations that were visited early in the collection period. As a consequence, there are few results from the region Sogn and Fjordane, in which, according to the literature, the dialects have the word order $v_{fin} > neg > subj_{pron}$ in main clauses with inverted subjects. Observe that this word order is accepted in some places in Trøndelag and Finnmark. In the Stavanger dialect, this clause is accepted by one of the older informants, but both the young informants reject it, (cf. example (34) above).[34]

Maps 6 and 7 below show that structures in which the subject precedes negation, are more readily accepted.

---

[34]The scores from Stavanger may indicate that no Pronoun Shift existed in old Stavanger varieties, but not in young ones (or, perhaps, that Svendsen 1931 was wrong in his description).

Map 6: The results for (35b) *Derfor leste han ikke a* **(NSD)**

White marker: high score (4-5); grey marker: medium score (3); black marker: low score (1-2)

Map 6 shows that the word order $v_{fin} > neg > obj_{pron}$ is more or less accepted from Trøndelag and northwards, but also in many places in Southern parts of Norway, including a part of the North-Western Norwegian area, which is known to have the order $v_{fin} > neg > pron$ (cf. Map 4).

Black markers, which mark unacceptability, are accumulated in three distinct places, in South-Eastern Norway, South-Western Norway and in northern parts of North-Western Norway (cf. Map 4). One possible explanation for (a part of) the low scores in these areas, may be that some of the varieties spoken in these regions have distinct clitic pronouns, which by hypothesis makes it easier to judge the sentences as containing unstressed pronouns: At least some of the South-Eastern Norwegian dialects have such pronouns, as indicated in (35), and so has the Stavanger, too. Northern Norwegian dialects, on the other hand, lack such pronominal forms.

When we compare Map 4 and 6, we see that dialects that allow the word order $v_{fin} > neg > subj$, also allow $v_{fin} > neg > obj$. Furthermore, the results show that non-OS is judged more acceptable

than non-SS. This is interesting from a theoretical point of view, and it can be interpreted in support of a designated pronominal subject position that is more accessible than the special pronominal object position.

Finally, Map 7 shows the judgements for the sentence with Pronoun Shift.

Map 7: The results for *Derfor leste han a ikke* (NSD)
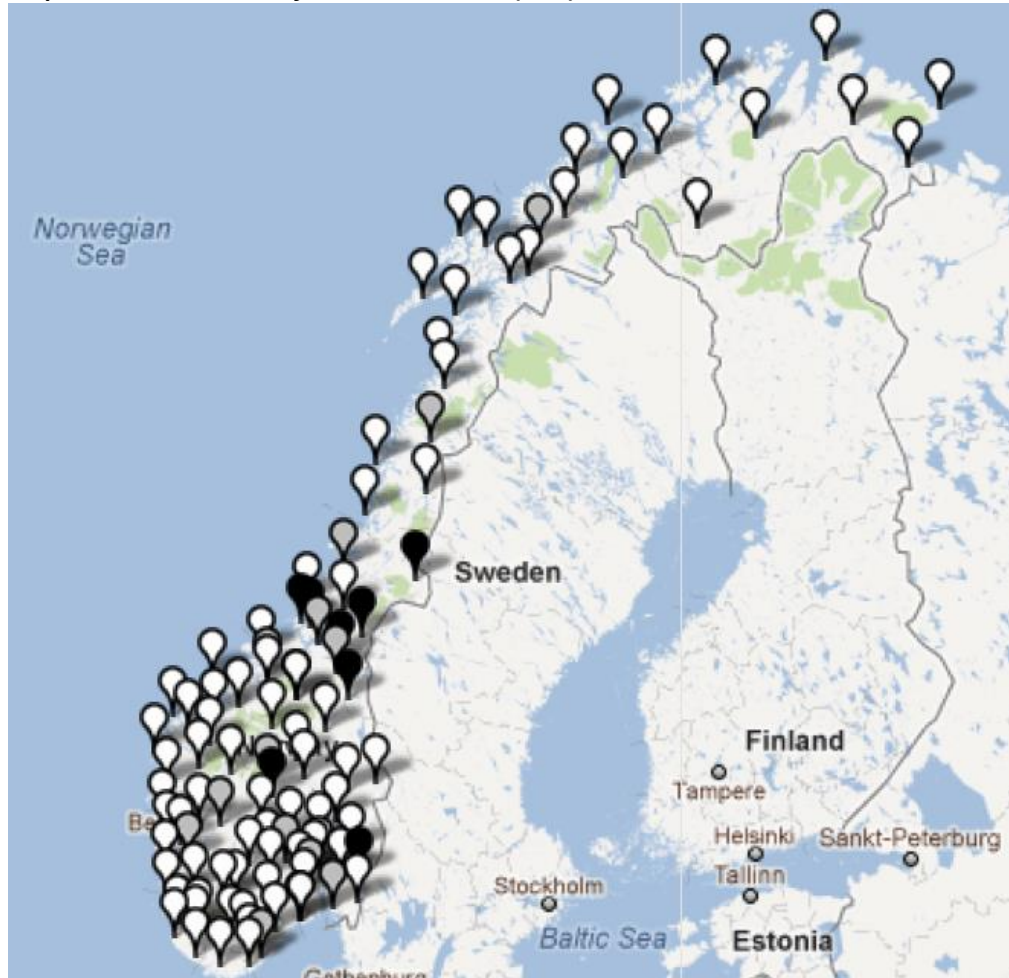
White marker: high score (4-5); grey marker: medium score (3); black marker: low score (1-2)

The word order in (35a) is accepted in more or less all dialects, except for a few in Trøndelag. Interestingly, it is accepted also in the region Sogn, in which, according to the literature, speakers prefer the order $v_{fin} > neg > pron$.

Thus, according to the results from the NSD-database, the order $v_{fin} > neg > pron$ and in particular the order $v_{fin} > neg > obj_{pron}$ is more widespread than suggested in the literature.

The results given in Maps 5-7 are not immediately corroborated by production data provided by the NDC-corpus (Johannessen et al. 2009). In chapter 5 the dialects of Senja, Trøndelag, Bergen and Stryn are studied in detail, and this investigation shows that OS is 'obligatory' in the dialect grammar of Senja, contrary to the result shown in Map 5. It also shows that the dialect of Bergen allows negation to precede a subject, contrary to what is shown in Map 4. Finally, the investigation

undertaken in chapter 5 also shows that the Trøndelag dialects allow Pronoun Shift, contrary to the results shown in Map 6.

With regard to Southern Norwegian, the Stavanger dialect and the Finnmark dialect, results from searches in the NDC-corpus are shown in Table 12. The search strings are indicated in the table. When both the negative marker *ikke* and *pronoun* are mentioned, this is, due to lack of space, meant to indicate that I have searched for the strings "*ikke – pronoun*" and "*pronoun – ikke*". The total number of instances for the searches are also included. In the columns for the orders with objects, the number before the '/' indicates the total number of instances with objects, whereas the number behind the '/' indicates the number of occurrences of the pronoun *det* ('it') (cf. the discussion in section 3.3.3). The frequencies for the relative order of subject and negation are also given in percentages.

Table 12: Occurrences of ±*Pronoun Shift* in V1 and V2 clauses in Norwegian dialects (NDC)

Dialect area[35]	Subj$_{pron}$> Neg	Obj$_{pron}$> Neg	Refl> Neg	Neg> Subj$_{pron}$	Neg> Obj$_{pron}$	Neg> Refl	search for	total no. of instances
South.No.[36]	209 (84.6%)	11/9	4	38 (15.3%)	44/41	0	ʄikke, pron ʄ	1000
Stavanger	29 (78.4%)	1/1	0	8 (21.6%)	2/2	0	*ikke*	172
Finnmark	252 (72.8%)	13/5	12	96 (27.7%)	20/18[37]	0	ʄikke,[38] pron ʄ	731

The occurrences with pronominal objects (except for *det* 'it') are relatively few, but observe that the reflexive, which is almost always unstressed, appears in front of negation (cf. the discussion in chapter 2). Furthermore, all the three dialect groups show SS, but the frequencies vary. For the dialects of Southern Norway, it seems safe to conclude that Pronoun Shift is a part of the dialect grammars.

In the Finnmark dialects, the frequency for the order $v_{fin} > neg > subj_{pron}$ is almost doubled with respect to the average frequency for Southern Norwegian: The figures indicate that this word order is more common in (some of) the Finnmark dialects than in Southern Norwegian dialects, and this is also my impression after listening to all the recordings from Northern Norway.[39] The difference

---

[35] Finnmark: Hammerfest, Lakselv, Tana, Vardø, Kautokeino, Kirkenes, Kjøllefjord

[36] Flå (70 instances), Alvdal (98 instances), Kristiansand (124 instances), Landvik (200 instances), Lyngdal (134 instances), Nissedal (159 instances), Tinn (98 instances), Vang (117 instances).

[37] One of these instances is the reciprocal *hverandre* ('each other').

[38] In the search for *"ikke – pron"* a third field was unawares included, so that this search in reality included only instances of this string where the pronoun was followed by an item of any kind.

[39] In connection with work on the project *http://nordnorsk.uit.no*

between (some of) the Finnmark dialects and dialects in Troms and Nordland with respect to the frequency of the order v_{fin} > *neg* > *unstressed pron* is striking.

Data from Stavanger is included based on the statements in Svendsen (1931). The figures show that an inverted pronominal subject is more likely to appear after negation in the Stavanger dialect than in other dialects in Southern Norway, but the number of occurrences are too low for me to be conclusive in this matter.

To summarise, according to Map 4 the word order order v_{fin} > *neg* > $subj_{pron}$ is more acceptable in the Finnmark and the Trøndelag dialects than in dialects in Southern Norway – this is corroborated by production data, although the opposite word order is far more frequent in the Finnmark dialect. Map 5 shows that having no OS is accepted in more or less all dialects from Sogn and Dovre and northwards. Except for the dialects of Sogn and Trøndelag, this non-OS word order is not corroborated by production data. Note, however, that the figures for pronominal objects are small compared to the ones for pronominal subjects, but the position of the reflexive gives strong indications for the preferred position for unstressed pronominal objects.

3.4.3 On some Swedish dialects

3.4.3.1 *Traditional Swedish varieties*

As for the traditional Swedish varieties, I have only been able to collect information about the Northern Swedish dialect(s) of Norrland county, and Övdalian (the dialect of Älvdalen in central parts of Sweden (Dalarna county)).

According to the survey in Endresen (1988), Northern Swedish patterns on a par with the Trøndelag dialects. Thus, having no Pronoun Shift is possible in certain contexts. This is exemplified in (36), which show that SS across negation is optional and depends on the phonological contexts (example (36a,c) from Bucht 1962: 66; example (36b) from Dahlstedt and Ågren 1954: 279):

(36) a. ska-**nt**-*u*   jöra   de?   (Härnösand, Sw.)
          shall-not-you.   *do*   *it*
          'Won't you do it?'
      b. Ha-**nt**   *du*   hôrt   tal?   (Norrland, Sw.)
          have-not you   *heard spoken*
          'Haven't you heard it?'
      c. förbanningen   kom'*en*   **int**   och   fråga, hvad jag hete, nu   (Härnösand, Sw.)
          damn   *came.he* *not*   *and*   *asked what I   call   now*
          'Damn it, didn't he come and asked what my name was!'

In (36a,b) the utterances are y/n-questions, which also may have a preference for no SS (cf. section 3.3.2.3). Observe that the negative marker is cliticised to the verb in these cases. In the declarative/exclamative (36c), there is SS of the reduced masculine form across the full form negative marker *int*. The reason for this may be that *int* does not cliticise to verbs having a final consonant as in *kom* ('come') (Bucht 1962), hence, cliticisation seems to be restricted by phonology.

The traditional spoken variety in Älvdalen, Classical Övdalian, is a variety that explicitly does not have OS (e.g. Levander 1909: 121). Levander does not mention the relative position of negation and

pronominal subjects in declarative clauses, which, I think, indicates that the variety follows the standard pattern in that respect (the examples (37a,b) are taken from Levander 1909: 124, 123, respectively).

(37) a. An sóg **int** *mig*   (Classical Övdalian, Sw.)
          he saw not me
          'He didn't see me'
      b. ig   wet **so fel**   *eð*   so   (Classical Övdalian, Sw.)
          I   know so mod.prt. that   so
          'I know that, you know'

Levander (and also Garbacz 2009) provides mostly examples involving the negative marker, cf. (37a). However, in (37b) the adverbial *so fel* ('so mod.prt.') precedes the object pronoun *det* ('it'). This variety will be examined more closely in chapter 5.

   Also Finland-Swedish dialects seem to have a preference for the order v_{fin} > $subj_{pron}$ > neg. I have not found any examples of adjacent adverbs and objects in the literature on these dialects, so I do not have any information on this issue.

   Consider the following examples from the Närpes (example from Ivars 1988: 156, 169) and Nyland dialects (Lundström 1939: 153):

(38) a. Bru:ka *ni*   **itt**   springg åm   voå:ran   åp i:sfla:tjen   å   tå   i:sin
          use   you   not   run   in   spring.DEF   up ice.floe.DEF and   when ice.DEF
          rie:kt?   (Närpes, Fi.)
          breaks
          'Did you not use to run in the spring on the ice floe and when the ice breaks?'
      b. Tå   vi vekst opp   va   **itt**   *vi* na   ythu boå;n   sjäralls   itt. (Närpes, Fi.)
          when we grew up   were not   we any   out.in boat.DEF absolutely not
          'When we grew up, we didn't go out in boat, not at all.'
      c. När   an int   for   foder, so   for   *an* **int**   spillning   (Nyland, Fi.)
          when he not   gets food then gets he not   stool
          'when he doesn't get food, then he doesn't get stool'

The examples in (38a,b) are taken from the Närpes dialect, and in (38a) the subject precedes negation, and in (38b) negation precedes the subject. The subject in (38b), however, may be analysed as being focalised, in which case the given word order is expected. In (38c) the subject precedes negation. Also the dialect of Northern Ostrobothnia will be considered in greater detail in chapter 5.

3.4.3.2 *Modern Swedish dialects*

The NSD-database (Lindstad et al. 2009) gives an indication of the patterns in the modern Swedish varieties. The tested sentences used in Swedien are the same as the test sentences used in Norway, see (35), and are repeated here for convenience:

(39) a. Därför leste **inte** han den   (Sw.)
          therefore *read* *not* *he* *it*

      b. Därför leste han **inte** den.   (Sw.)
          therefore *read* *he* *not* *it*

      c. Därför leste han den **inte**.   (Sw.)
          therefore *read* *he* *it* *not*
          'Therefore, he didn't read it'

The results are given in Maps 8-10 below. The scores for the sentence in (39a) are so to speak evenly portioned between high, medium and low scores (cf. Map 8), whereas the sentences in (39b,c) are both accepted in almost all of the Swedish dialects (cf. Map 9 and Map 10). In the Finland-Swedish area, (39a,b), but not (39c), are accepted by the speakers of Ostrobothnia. In the two southern locations in Finland, (39b) is accepted, whereas (39a,c) get medium or low scores. Thus, the sentences (39a,b) receive higher scores in Swedish than in Norwegian, which will be discussed below.

Map 8: The results for (39a) *Derfor leste inte han den* **(NSD)**

White marker: high score (4-5); grey marker: medium score (3); black marker: low score (1-2)

In Sweden the sentence (39a) with the word order v_{fin} > *neg* > *subj*, is judged better in Northern parts than in Southern parts of the country, although there are no clear isoglosses. In Finland,

however, the Ostrobothnian dialects allow this word order, whereas the Nyland dialect in the south does not.

Map 9: The results for (39b) *Därför läste han inte den* **(NSD)**

Map 10: The results for (39c) *Därfor läste han den inte* **(NSD)**

White marker: high score (4-5); grey marker: medium score (3); black marker: low score (1-2)

Map 9 and 10 show the results for the relative order of negation and pronominal objects, and we see that in Sweden, both word orders are accepted. This is in accordance with Teleman et al. (1999) and Hellan and Platzack (1999), who claim that OS in Swedish is optional with negation and adverbs. Looking at Finland, we observe that OS (across negation) is rejected.

The judgements from Sweden are however not corroborated by production data. The Swedish data from the NDC-corpus are shown in Table 13 below. For a description of the table, see the description for Table 12 above.

Table 13: Occurrences of Pronoun Shift across negation in V1 and V2 clauses in Swedish dialects (NDC)

Dialect area	Subj$_{pron}$> Neg	Obj$_{pron}$> Neg	Refl> Neg	Neg> Subj$_{pron}$	Neg> Obj$_{pron}$	Neg> Refl	search for	total instances
Norrland[40]	60(83.3%)	1	1	12(16.7%)	8/7	0	*inte*	446
Central Sweden[41]	157 (94%)	5/2	1	10 (6%)	4/4	0	*inte*	872

---

[40] The search was made for Norrland county (Ånundsjö, Arjeplog, Indal, Årsunda).

The results show that SS applies more often in central parts of Sweden than in Norrland. The rate of SS in Norrland equals the rate of SS in Southern Norwegian, whereas the rate of SS in Southern Swedish exceeds 90%.

If we compare the results given in Table 13 with the ones given in Map 7 above, the white markers in Southern Sweden seem less reliable.

The three locations in the region Norrland that are included in both the NDC-corpus and the NSD-database are Anundsjö, Arjeplog and Indal. The informants from Anundsjö and Arjeplog accepted all the three test sentences in (39) above, whereas the Indal informants gave the highest possible score to the order v_{fin} > neg > obj, gave a medium score to the word order v_{fin} > obj > neg, and rejected the order neg > subj.

Looking at the NDC-corpus, the results show that the order v_{fin} > subj > neg is the most frequent one irrespective of location. A few examples are provided in (40) below (the examples are checked for stress on the pronoun).

As for OS, it is so infrequent in the NDC-data that it is hard to draw any conclusions, but the results indicate that OS is common. Hence, the judgement results shown in Map 8 are not necessarily reflected in production.

(40) a. Har **int** *jag* sagt åt dig du ska hålla käften? (Anundsjö, Sw.)
          have not I told to you you should hold mouth.DEF
          'Haven't I told you to keep your mouth shut?'
      b. Jaha då har *ni* **inte** sett det fin ändå (Årsunda, Sw.)
          yes, then have you.PL not seen it nice yet
          'Yes, then you haven't seen it properly yet'
      c. Nej då har **inte** *ni* sett det [42] (Årsunda, Sw.)
          no then have not you.PL seen it
          'No, then you haven't seen it'
      d. Nej jag såg **inte** *er* och (Indal, Sw.)
          no I saw not you.PL and
          'No, I didn't see you, and'
      e. Men är den borttagen för jag såg *den* **inte** (Indal, Sw.)
          but is it away.taken because I saw it not
          'but is it removed, because I didn't see it'

3.4.4 On Danish dialects

Pedersen (1993) provides a survey of Object Shift in traditional Danish dialects, and states that negation may either precede or follow an object, but must follow a subject in many traditional

---

[41] The search for Central Swedish dialects was done with a specification for the following locations: Södermanland, Västmanland, Västergötland, Östergötland

[42] (40b,c) are different responses to the same utterance. The old man from Årsunda has a higher frequency of the word order *vf > neg > subj* than the other informants from this place.

Eastern Danish dialects. The traditional dialects include the one of Lolland, Falster, Møn and the small islands in the bay surrounded by Lolland, Falster, Southern Zeeland and Southern Western-Zeeland, the islands to the south of Fyn, and the dialects of Als and the South-Eastern parts of South Jutland. In modern Standard Danish, both objects and pro-adverbs shift across negation/adverbs in main clauses (in contexts where the main verb is finite), but in the traditional dialects, the shift is optional. Pedersen (1993: 204) assumes that the optionality involves free variation of the variants (±OS), and that there is full optionality in all relevant structures and in all the given dialects. She does not discuss whether the optionality is equally distributed among the pronouns, or whether there are certain pronouns that more frequently do not shift than others. As observed in the Oslo dialect (cf. also Sundquist 2002 on MNo), the reflexive pronoun *seg* shifts in all cases, while other personal pronouns may and may not shift. Many of the examples she gives, involve the pronoun *det*, which, as I have already shown, behaves differently from other pronouns, depending on its antecedent (cf. sections 3.2.4 and 3.3.3).

As for negation and adverb types, there are several examples of non-OS across adverbs, but in a majority of the examples the sole negative marker appears. Furthermore, in then of the eleven examples (from different areas) Pedersen (1993: 208) gives to illustrate optional OS of reflexives involve the bare negative marker. In the next subsections I will consider two traditional dialects in some detail.

3.4.4.1 *The traditional Lolland dialect*

Christensen (1936) has a detailed paper on the syntax of negation in one of the island dialects. In the dialect of *Lolland* the negative marker in the traditional dialect is *enne*.[43] The short form of this marker is usually the form *(æ)n*, in which the final vowel has been elided. This marker may be stressed, and it is commonly used in stressed contexts. The short form with the final vowel present *n(e)* follows pronouns, the short temporal adverbs *da* ('then') and *nu* ('now'), and the locative adverbs *her* and *der* ('here'/'there') (i.e. pro-adverb shift). In all other cases the form *(æ)n* is used (Christensen 1936).

In main clauses the unmarked position for negation seems to be the position after the full subject (41a,b). However, when there is a yes/no-question with emphasis (i.e. a sort of exclamative), negation precedes the subject (41c,d) (examples from Christensen 1936: 160):

(41) a. Karlen   dager *manden* **æn**   paa   (Lolland, Dk.)
         boy.DEF trusts man.DEF not   on
         'The man doesn't trust the boy'
      b. Dager   *manden* **æn**   på karlen?   (Lolland, Dk.)
         trusts   man.DEF not   on boy.DEF?
         'Doesn't the man trust the boy?'

---

[43] According to Christensen (1936) this form has a different etymology than the other negative markers in North Germanic. He suggests that the origin may be *ænigh(æ)* (cf. *manigh(æ)* ('many')).

  c. Kommer **æn** *mor*   snart!   (Lolland, Dk.)
    comes *not* *mother* *soon*
    'Isn't mother coming soon'

  d. Gaar **æn** *den slubbert* og æder vore æbler?   (Lolland, Dk.)
    goes *not* *that* *fool*   *and* *eats* *our* *apples*
    'Isn't that fool eating our apples?'

The examples in (41c,d) seem to be positively biased questions (mentioned in section 3.3.2.3 above), which do not contain stressed negation. Given this, we can speculate that the position after the DP-subject requires some stress, which would not be compatible with a positively biased question.

  Examples (41a,b) above, in which a full DP subject precedes negation, show that the term Subject Shift is not appropriate in this dialect (as in Danish in general), and in example (42b) below we see that the pronoun *jeg* ('I') precedes negation.

(42) a. Enke   er **hun** **ne** endnu   (Lolland, Dk.)
    widow *is* *she* *not* *yet*
    'She isn't a widow yet'

  b. Sagde jeg **(ne)** ***det*** **(ne)** nok!   (Lolland, Dk.)
    said *I*   *(not)* *it*   *(not)* *enough*
    'I told you so!'

  c. Hun gav **(ne)** *ham* **(ne)** *dem* **(ne)**   (Lolland, Dk.)
    she *gave* *(not)* *him* *(not)* *them* *(not)*
    'She didn't give them to him'

The examples in (42a,b), together with the examples (41a,b) above, show that all subjects precede negation in ordinary declaratives, and hence there is no use in talking about SS.

  As for OS, this seems to be an optional process (at least across negation). In (42b) the object is propositional *det*, which, as we have already seen, does not necessarily undergo OS. In (42c) there are two objects, and negation can either precede or follow both, or intervene between them. Still, the preferred pattern seems to be OS, because Christensen emphasises several times in other parts of the paper that negation has a designated position in main clauses, which he illustrates with OS.

3.4.4.2 *The traditional Bornholm dialect*

In the dialect of Bornholm there are three negative markers, which according to Teinnæs (1929) differ in their usage. The negative marker *ei* (pronounced *i*) is only possible in main clauses. It has strong emphasis and appears sentence-finally. The markers *ijkje*[44] (/ɪcʃə/) and *inte* (/entə/) can both be used as sentence negation, but it seems like *ijkje* is a "stronger" negation than *inte*. Only *ijkje* may be used as a constituent negation. From what I can see of Teinnæs' paper, the markers also seem to have some different syntactic properties.

---

[44] Teinnæs' ortography.

The dialect has Pronoun Shift, as illustrated below (examples from Teinnæs 1929: 48f). In (43a) we see that the subject precedes the negative marker *i*, and in (43c) the subject precedes the markers *inte* and *ijkje*. In (43b) the object *maj* has shifted over negation:

(43) a. Gu, gånn gjårr *jâ* **i**   (Bornholm, Dk.)
         God, EMP. *do* I *not*
         'God, I don't do such things'

      b. Hajnj gâ *maj* **ijkje** så majed som ejnj go dâ   (Bornholm, Dk.)
         he *gave me not so much as a good day*
         'He didn't give as much as a good day'

      c. Vil *du* **inte/ijkje** komma ijnjanfor   (Bornholm, Dk.)
         will you not   *come*   *inside*
         'Won't you come inside?'

The traditional dialect of Bornholm thus seems to follow the standard North Germanic pattern in main clauses with respect to relative order of pronouns and negation.

3.4.4.3 *Modern Danish*

The sentences in (35) and (39) above were not tested in Denmark. A search for the negative marker in the Danish part of the NDC-corpus returned 688 occurrences (of which 344 were duplicates). Of the 344 unique instances, there were 40 instances of Pronoun Shift (35 instances of the word order $v_{fin} > subj > neg$ and 5 instances of the word order $v_{fin} > obj/refl > neg$). There were no instances of the order $v_{fin} > neg > pron.$ As expected, based on Pedersen (1993: 216), this result is conclusive when it comes to the relative order of negation and pronominal subjects, but there are too few instances of pronominal objects in order to conclude on this issue.

3.4.5 **Faroese**

In Faroese, as it is presented in Thráinsson (2004), negation follows pronominal subjects and objects. Negation cannot follow DP objects, as it can in Icelandic (Thráinsson 2004: 245). Consider the examples in (44), which are taken from Thráinsson (2004: 245, 289).

(44) a. *Eg las **ikki** *hana*   (Faroese)
          I *read not* *her*

      b. Eg las *hana* **ikki**   (Faroese)
         I read her not
         'I didn't read it'

      c. Tann gamla bilin vil *eg* **ikki** hava   (Faroese)
         the old   car.DEF want I not have
         'I don't want the old car'

      d. Bøkurnar vil *eg* **ikki** geva honum   (Faroese)
         books.DEF.A want I not give him.D
         'I don't want to give him the books'

(44a,b) show that the negative marker *ikki* cannot precede *hana* ('her'), only follow it, and (44c,d) show that the subject pronoun *eg* ('I') precedes negation. Thus, (Standard) Faroese follows the standard pattern in North Germanic.

3.4.6 **Icelandic**

In Icelandic the relative order of adverbs and DP subjects seems to be determined by IS principles. According to Thráinsson (2007a: 52ff), definite DP subjects precede adverbs, whereas indefinite subjects are most acceptable in the position following adverbs.

When it comes to OS, Icelandic differs to a great degree from Mainland North Germanic and Faroese (for a thorough discussion of OS in Icelandic, I refer to Jónsson 1996). As mentioned in the introduction, OS in Mainland North Germanic and Faroese only concerns (weak) pronouns, but in Icelandic even full DPs can shift (also obeying Holmberg's Generalisation). Full DP OS is not obligatory, but pronominal OS is, as we see in the following examples (taken from Thráinsson 2007a: 66, 64, respectively):

(45) a. *Nemandinn   las   **ekki** *hana*   (Icelandic)
          *student.*DEF *read* *not*   *her*
      b. Nemandinn las   *hana* **ekki**   (Icelandic)
          *student.*DEF *read* *her* *not*
          'The student didn't read it'
      c. Jón   ávarpaði **ekki** *Mariú*   (Icelandic)
          John *addressed* *not*   *Mary*
      d. Jón   ávarpaði *Mariú* **ekki**   (Icelandic)
          John *addressed* *Mary* *not*
          'John didn't address Mary'

There are, however, some restrictions on the possibility of full DP OS. Only DPs that are interpreted as definite and specific may shift. According to Thráinsson (2007a: 76) DPs that convey new information "cannot readily undergo OS", which, for example, means that indefinite DPs rarely shift since they often represent new information. But also definite DPs can introduce new referents, in which case they are not accepted in the shifted position. "So there is not a one-to-one relationship between formal definiteness/indefiniteness and 'shiftability' of objects" in Icelandic (Thráinsson 2007a: 76).

Quantified DPs may shift, and if shifted, the quantified DP can only be interpreted as specific (Thráinsson 2007a: 76). In base position the object may have both readings:

(46) a. Ég las   **aldrei** *þrjár bækur*   (Icelandic)
          I   read never   three books
          'I never read three books.'
      b. Ég las   *þrjár bækur* **aldrei**   (Icelandic)
          I   read three books   never
          'There are three books that I never read'

Thus, in Icelandic OS applies to both pronouns and full DPs, on the condition that they (somehow) are topics or interpreted as specific.

3.4.7 **Discussion**

In section 3.4 I have given an overview of the distribution of negation with respect to pronouns in traditional Norwegian dialects, and in some traditional Swedish and Danish dialects. These have been compared with the modern dialects with the help of the NSD-database and NDC-corpus. I have also discussed some of the discrepancy found between the judgement data and the production data.

Thanks to the NSD-database there is extensive information on how informants have judged sentences with different orders of negation and pronouns in Norway, Sweden and Finland. As I discussed in chapter 2, and which is also shown in this section, these data cannot uncritically be taken to reflect actual language use in the dialects. Still, the data give some indications on how things are.

The data from the NSD-database also raise several questions, of which the most important here is why there is so much variation across the dialects. As for the realibility of the data, I refer to the discussion in chapter 2.

First of all, it is important to stress that the data only concern the relative order of negation and pronouns, and not adverbs. However, we can deduce that if a dialect prefers Pronoun Shift across negation, it also has Pronoun Shift across adverbs. The dialects spoken in Southern Norway except for a few places in Western Norway seem to be of this type. Elsewhere in Norway, Sweden and Finland several structures are accepted.

Northern Norwegian and Swedish pattern together to some degree in rejecting the word order $neg > subj_{pron}$ and accepting the word orders $obj_{pron} > neg$ and $neg > obj_{pron}$. The Trøndelag dialects and Ostrobothnian also pattern together in accepting the structures $neg > subj_{pron}$ and $neg > obj_{pron}$ and rejecting the structure $obj_{pron} > neg$.[45]

Recall from chapter 1 that it is claimed that the etymology of the negative marker may affect its distribution. The type of the negative marker in the Trøndelag and Ostrobothnian dialects is INTE. However, the form *i(n)t* is also common in many Swedish varieties that do not accept the order *neg > subj*. On the other hand, the negative marker in the Sogn and Voss dialects, which according to the literature prefer this word order, is of the IKKE-type, namely *(i)kkje*. But this marker is also common in many Norwegian varieties that do not display the order $v_{fin} > neg > pron$. Why some dialects, and not others with similar negative markers, develop different word orders, thus seems to be random.

The other realisation of IKKE is *ikke*, which is used in many dialects in Eastern Norway and in the northernmost parts of Norway (in addition to Danish), seems to be more resistant to a regular cliticising to the verb across pronominal arguments. One speculative explanation may be that the type *ikke* contains a plosive that cannot be syllabic, whereas the markers *ikkje* and *inte* contain consonants that may be syllabic (the palatals /ç/ and /n/, which make it easier to attach to, for instance, the finite verb).

---

[45] During the fieldwork trip to Northern Ostrobothnia, I heard one of the folkloristic views on the origin of the North Germanic settlement in Finland, namely that they came from Trøndelag.

Last, but not least, the national borders seem to play a role, in the sense that the old dialect continuum is destroyed by the national dialects growing closer to each other (cf. Mæhlum et al. 2003). For instance, according to information in Bucht (1962) and the result from the NSD-database, negation can precede pronouns in central parts of Sweden. One might think that Central Swedish patterns with the Trøndelag dialect regarding Pronoun Shift, since the negative markers are similar, and both areas are located in Central Scandinavia. But as we saw in 3.4.3.2, production data show that non-SS in Central Sweden is as common as in Southern Norwegian.

The survey shows that the dialects differ as to whether a DP subject precedes or follows negation, and Danish, exemplified with the traditional Lolland dialect, seems to have preference for the word order (v_{fin} >) *DP subject > negation*, whereas, for instance, in Norwegian dialects like the Oslo dialect, shows the opposite order. This can be accounted for if Spec,FinP is the canonical subject position in Danish, and Spec,TP in Norwegian. On the common assumption that EPP-features[46] are responsible for the subject placement in the structure (e.g. Radford 2004), Danish has a (strong) EPP-feature on the head of FinP (cf. e.g. Platzack and Rosengren 1998; Christensen 2005; Holmberg and Platzack 2005), whereas Norwegian has a (strong) EPP-feature in TP. These features force the subject in Danish to move at least as high as FinP, whereas the subject in Norwegian must move at least as high as TP. This is illustrated in the following structures:

---

[46] EPP is short for The Extended Projection Principle, which states that "[a] finite tense constituent T must be extended into a TP projection containing a subject" (Radford 2004: 73). This principle is often taken to be requirement on heads to have a specifer in general: "More generally, an [EPP]-feature of a head H requires H to have a specifier which matches one or more of the features carried by H" (Radford 2004: 198).

(47)
```
          ForceP
         /      \
      V_fin     FinP
               /    \
Danish➔Subject      Fin'
                   /     \
                 Fin°    NegP
                 [EPP]  /    \
                  neg.marker  TP
                             △
```

(48)
```
          ForceP
         /      \
      V_fin     FinP
               /    \
             Fin°    NegP
                    /    \
              neg.marker  TP
                         /    \
       Norwegian ➔Subject     T'
                             /   \
                            T°
                           [EPP]
```
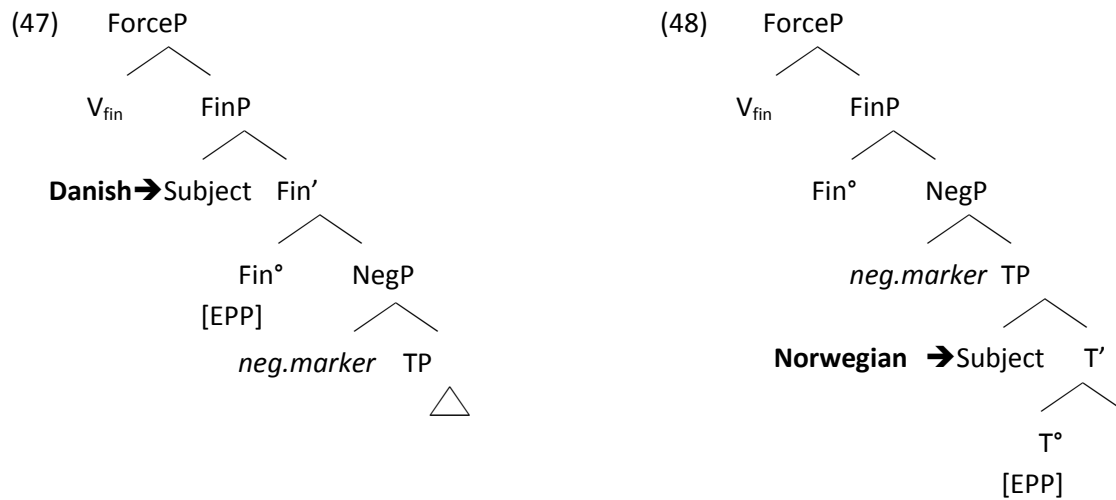
From the analysis in (47) it falls out that Danish DP subjects precede negation, whereas it falls out from (48) that Norwegian DP subjects follow negation. The structure in (47) does, however, still not explain why negation cannot PF-cliticise to the finite verb in Danish main clauses, but we must only state that it cannot. On this assumption, the seemingly optional OS found in Danish dialects, must be attributed to the position of the pronominal object: The pronominal object either shifts across negation/adverbs (to Spec,AgrOP), or it remains within the vP (see chapter 5). One alternative analysis would be to ascribe the optionality to a variable position of negation (due to PF-cliticisation to the finite verb), but this possibility is weakened, since negation cannot PF-cliticise to the finite verb across the subject.

3.5   Summary

The main concern of this chapter has been the relative order of negation and pronominal arguments. The chapter has provided a detailed examination of the relative order of negation and arguments in the Oslo dialect by means of the NoTa-corpus, which showed that the order v_{fin} > *pron* > *neg* in the middle field is as obligatory as it can be (without being a 100% obligatory).

I have also investigated varieties across Mainland and Insular Scandinavia. The relative order of negation and pronouns vary to a large extent, and several word orders are accepted in many of the dialects.

In the next chapter I will investigate whether the observed word orders in main clauses correlate with the observed order in embedded clauses.

4 The distribution of negation in embedded clauses

4.1 Introduction

In introductory books to generative grammar on Scandinavian languages, such as Åfarli et al. (2003), the difference between main (root) clauses and embedded clauses is ascribed to the element occupyping the head of CP (cf. den Besten 1983). This is illustrated in (1). If the finite verb sits in C, we get a root clause, which was the topic of the preceding chapter. If C is filled by a complementiser, we get an embedded clause, which is the topic of the present chapter.

(1)   a. [_{CP} Derfor   leste [_{AgrSP} jeg [_{NegP} **ikke** [_{vP} ~~leste~~ boka]]]]
           therefore   read   I   not   book.DEF
           'Therefore I didn't read the book'

    b. … [_{CP} at   [_{AgrSP} jeg [_{NegP} **ikke** [_{vP} leste boka]]]]
          that   I   not   read book.DEF
         '… that I didn't read the book'

In (1a) there is obligatory V-to-C movement, contrary to (1b), in which there is no verb movement and C is filled by the complementiser *at* ('that'). Descriptively speaking, (1a) is an example of so-called verb second (V2). There is no V2 in (1b), in which the verb remains within the vP, following any constituent merged above vP. I will henceforth refer to embedded structures at the one in (1b) as *embedded V3*.

Given such an analysis of the difference between main and embedded clauses, we would expect the word order between the other constituents to be identical in both main and embedded clauses, such as the relative order of negation and the subject (cf. den Besten 1983). One of the aims of this and the next chapter is to see whether this prediction holds for the North Germanic varieties under discussion.

In particular I will examine embedded word order in the Oslo dialect as I did for main clauses in the previous chapter. I will also review the dialectological literature. One reason for doing this is that I wish to bring some of the hidden treasures of dialectal data to light for a broader audience.

Before we turn to the investigation of the Oslo dialect, I provide a rather extensive (theoretical) background on the issue: There are several types of embedded clauses, which may convey different word orders. Which factors that contribute to this variation, are the subject of this first part of the chapter.

The chapter is organised as follows: In section 4.3 I consider the prototypical embedded V3 word order from different perspectives, and in section 4.4 different instances of V2 in embedded clauses are discussed. An intermediate summary is given in 4.5. The Oslo dialect is investigated through the NoTa-corpus and analysed in section 4.6. Section 4.7 gives an overview of the (traditional) varieties in Mainland North Germanic, and the whole chapter is summarised in 4.8.

4.2 Issues of variation

Embedded word orders may vary in the following ways:

(2)   a. The relative position of adverbs/negation and the subject
        b. Possibility of V2
        c. Topicalisation and V2

These points of variation are illustrated in (3) in Norwegian, but are grammatical in other varieties of North Germanic as well:

(3) a. Per så   at   **ikke** Ola leste boka   (No.)
          Per saw that not   Ola   read book.DEF
          'Per saw that Ola didn't read the book'
      b. Per sa   at   Ola   leste **ikke** boka   (No.)
          Per said that Ola   read   not   book.DEF
          'Per said that Ola didn't read the book'
      c. Per sa   at   boka   leste **ikke** Ola   (No.)
          Per said that book.DEF read not   Ola
          'Per said that Ola didn't read the book'

(3a) shows that negation can precede the subject. This word order is not possible in neither Danish[47] nor Icelandic. In Danish, the subject must precede adverbs, and in Icelandic the finite verb is usually in second position, irrespective of embedded clause type (standardly analysed as V-to-I movement, cf. e.g. Vikner 1995). In (3b), the verb precedes negation, and in (3c) the object *boka* is even topicalised. These word orders are possible in a restricted set of embedded clauses, notably in the complement position of so-called 'bridge'-verbs (Vikner 1995: 70). In this position, the embedded clauses may exhibit root phenomena, and one might say these verbs induce a so-called V2 context. V2 contexts will be elaborated on in section 4.4.2, and the working definition of it will be that a V2 context is induced by a matrix assertive predicate.

    The possibility of these word orders varies according to the following factors:

---

[47] Diderichsen (1962: 189) notes that an adverb occasionally may precede a (non-weak) subject, and that it then often forms a closer unit with the subordinator:

(i) Hvis **ikke** du   kommer   (Dk.)
    if   not   you   come
    'If you don't come'
(ii) Jeg sad og   skrev, da **pludselig** en   af mine Venner   traadte ind   i   Stuen (Dk.)
    I sat and   wrote, when suddenly one   of my   friends entered into in living.room.DEF
    'I sat writing, when suddenly one of my friends entered the living room'

(4)   a. Type of embedded clause and embedded context
        b. Subject type
        c. Type of adverb/negation

As for (4a), this is already illustrated in (3a) and (3b). The matrix verb *så* ('saw') in (3a) is not a bridge-verb and the verb most felicitously does not move, whereas the matrix verb *sa* ('said') in (3b) is a bridge-verb that induce a V2 context, and hence embedded V2 is grammatical.

As for (4b) subject type, unstressed pronouns are commonly assumed to precede negation/adverbs (Faarlund et al. 1997: 891), while DPs can occur on either sides (but this is very restricted in, e.g., Danish).

Sentential adverbs/negation (4c) may precede subjects, while vP-modifying adverbs in general may not (Faarlund et al. 1997: 891).

The embedded V3 order *subj > neg/adv > v$_{fin}$* is the default word order in almost every type of embedded clause in Mainland North Germanic. This means that in for instance Norwegian there is an asymmetry between the preferred relative order of subjects and negation in main clauses (*v$_{fin}$ > neg > subj*) and in embedded V3 clauses (*subj > neg > v$_{fin}$*), contrary to the prediction made in the beginning of this chapter. In Danish there is no such asymmetry, since the subject precedes negation in both main and embedded clauses. Swedish presumably patterns more or less with Norwegian. When there is embedded V2 as in (3b,c) and topicalisation is possible as in (3c), I will reserve the term embedded V2 to such instances, which occur V2 contexts. Such contexts are, as already stated, most typically in the complement position of bridge verbs, which loosely may be characterised as assertion verbs. There is however not an established definition of the term, but a description of how I will use the term is given in section 4.4. Generalised V2 in embedded clauses (that results from V-to-I movement), in which topicalisation is not possible, I will refer to as embedded verb movement.

4.3 **Embedded V3**

4.3.1 **Background**

Recall the discussion on the AGR-parameter in chapter 1, and that this parameter could account for the observed differences between Mainland North Germanic and Icelandic, e.g. as generalised verb movement in embedded clauses. According to Faarlund (2004: 250) Old Norse had subject-initial embedded V2 of the kind still seen in contemporary Icelandic, as illustrated in (5a). The verb movement displayed in (5a) targets a position within the IP-domain in the standard analysis, and is therefore referred to as V-to-I-movement. In the change from old to modern varieties of Mainland North Germanic, this property disappeared (by some scholars linked to the loss of verbal morphology, see e.g. Falk 1993), for instance by a resetting of the AGR-parameter. Schematically, from having (5a), we got (5b), in which the subject precedes negation and adverbs (V-to-I movement is analysed as V-to-AGR movement in Åfarli et al. 2003: 151, and I follow their analysis):

(5)   a. [$_{CP}$ [$_{AgrP}$ *subject* V$_{fin}$ [*neg* [TP V̶$_{fin}$ [$_{VP}$ V̶$_{fin}$]]]]]   Embedded verb movement
        b. [$_{CP}$ [$_{AgrP}$ *subject* [*neg* [TP V$_{fin}$ [$_{VP}$ V̶$_{fin}$]]]]]   Embedded V3

In (5a) the finite verb moves to the AgrP projection and hence precedes potential adverbs and negation. In (5b) the finite verb stops in the head of TP (Åfarli et al. 2003), and potential adverbs and negation will then precede the finite verb. The word order in (5b) is the unmarked one in embedded clauses in the Mainland North Germanic standard languages (Faarlund et al. 1997: 891; Diderichsen 1962: 189; Teleman et al. 1999: 462), and the the structure in (5b) accounts for the default embedded V3 word order in Mainland North Germanic.

In the following, I will focus on the marked order *neg/adv > subj > v*$_{fin}$ (cf. Haeberli 1999 on this order from a Germanic comparative perspective), and describe it in terms of the linguistic conditions put forward in (4): sentence type, subject type and type of adverbs.

4.3.2 Neg/adv > subject > v$_{fin}$: sentence type restrictions

According to Faarlund et al. (1997: 891), negation/adverbs may precede the subject in the "most important" embedded clause types in Norwegian. Three of these types are given in (6) (examples from Faarlund et al. 1997: 891):

(6) a. At **ikkje** *Trude* vil   meir, er heilt   sikkert   (No.)
        that   not   Trude wants   more, is completely   sure
        'The fact that Trude doesn't want to any more, is for sure'
     b. Selv om   **nok**   *rødvinen*   etter hvert løsnet   på stemningen   (No.)
        *even though   mod.prt. red.wine.*DEF*after while loosened on mood.*DEF
        'even though the red wine probably loosened the mood after a while'
     c. … Som **jo**   **dessverre**   *en håndfull ukyndige*   *folkevalgte*   fikk   (No.)
        … which mod.prt. unfortunately   a handful incompetent   people.elected got
        trumfet   igjennom
        trumphed   through
        '… Which a handful of incompetent elected representatives managed to force through'

In (6a), negation precedes a DP subject in a subject *that*-clause. (6b) exemplifies an admissive *selv om*-clause ('even though') where the modal adverb *nok* ('probably') precedes a DP subject, and (6c) is in turn a relative clause where the DP subject is preceded by a modal particle and the adverb *dessverre* ('unfortunately').

A few clause-type conditions on the possibility of the order *neg > subj > v*$_{fin}$ such as assertion and non-veridicality are however encountered across the North Germanic varieties.

In clauses embedded under strongly assertive predicates (see Table 15 below) such as the verb *say*, Brandtler (2008) and Jensen (1995) find that the order *neg > subj > v*$_{fin}$ is disallowed in Swedish and Danish, respectively. This is illustrated in (7) for Danish (Jensen 1995: 88):

(7)   *Hun siger at   **ikke** *jeg*   skal   drille   (Dk.)
       she says that   not   I   shall fool
       'She says that I mustn't fool around'

In Brandtler's (2008: 24) study only 6% of the subjects in clauses embedded under strongly assertive verbs (like e.g. *say*) with the word order *neg > subj > v*$_{fin}$ are pronominal or DPs, whereas the subject

in the word order *neg > subj > v_{fin}* is a DP or pronominal in 64% of the instances when the clauses are embedded under non-assertive predicates. As will be evident in section 4.4 below, a strongly assertive verb allows its embedded complement to have V2, and Brandtler (2008) relates the possibility of having V2 with the unacceptability of the order *neg > subj > v_{fin}*. He explains this correlation by analysing the subject in both main and embedded V2 clauses as occupying the same position, i.e. Spec,CP (and that both show V-to-C movement) (Brandtler 2008: 26f). Hence, only subjects that can be topicalised to Spec,CP together with the negative marker or an NPI, may follow negation (in V2 contexts).

When the matrix clause that allows V2 in the complement, is negated, embedded V2 is no longer possible (Faarlund et al. 1997: 983[48]), leaving the order *neg > subj > v_{fin}* possible (Brandtler 2008).

Whereas embedded clauses with possibility of V2 seem to prohibit the order *neg > subj > v_{fin}*, non-veridical embedded clauses introduced by *om* ('whether') or *hvis* ('if'), on the other hand, seem to make this word order possible in Danish (Jensen 2001: 130):

(8) Hun spurgte, om (**ikke**) John (**ikke**) var hjemme   (Dk.)
     she asked   if   not   John   not   was   home
     'She asked whether John was at home'

In the embedded question in (8), negation may appear on either side of the subject *John*. Jensen (2001: 130f) assumes that the two word orders are associated with different presuppositions (positive or negative answer), but she is reluctant to state which word order correlates to which presupposition. She furthermore assumes that the semantic properties of the complementiser somehow attracts negation to the pre-subject position.

Lindström (2005) suggests something similar for the order *compl > neg > subj* in *om-* ('whether') and *att*-clauses ('that') in Finland-Swedish. Studying speech and text corpora of Finland-Swedish and Swedish, he finds that the word order *compl > neg > subj* is more frequent in Finland-Swedish than in Swedish, and that this word order is especially frequent in *om-* and *att*-clauses in Finland-Swedish (Lindström 2005: 140). He suggests several analyses: The complementiser and the negation may have lexicalised into a phrase when the negative marker immediately follows the complementiser, on a par with Finnish.[49] Alternatively, the initial negation either signals that the truth value of the clause is topicalised, or that the subject is focalised.

4.3.3 Neg/adv > subject > v_{fin}: subject type restrictions

As mentioned by e.g. Faarlund et al. (1997) DP subjects and pronominal subjects differ with respect to whether they precede or follow adverbs/negation in the same way as in main clauses: Unstressed pronominal subjects must precede adverbs and negation (cf. Hellan and Platzack 1999: 126), while non-weak pronominal and DP subjects may follow adverbs and negation. In this section I will also mention three other subject-related factors that may affect the word order.

---

[48] This observation has been known for at least a century, and it is also noted by Falk and Torp (1900: 292).

[49] Note however that in Finnish the negative marker is an inflected auxiliary, such that the contraction of *että ei* (that not.3SG), *ettei*, realises the complementiser, the finite verb and the negative marker at once.

First, specificity matters for the word order, as I showed for the word order in main clauses in chapter 3. According to e.g. Nilsen (1997), Hallman (2004), Bentzen (2009) and Wiklund et al. (2007), specific (QP) subjects precede adverbs/negation while non-specific (QP) subjects follow adverbs/negation. Bentzen demonstrates this with QPs, which basically must precede adverbs in order to receive a specific interpretation, and which basically receive a non-specific interpretation if they follow adverbs. Bentzen's point may be illustrated for main clauses in the following (the example is taken from Bentzen 2009, her example (1)).

(9)   a. Røykeforbudet   brøt   **en student** vanligvis uansett.   (No.)
          smoking.ban.DEF   broke a   student   usually   anyway
          '**A (specific) student** usually violated the smoking ban anyway.'
      b. Røykeforbudet   brøt vanligvis **en student** uansett.   (No.)
          smoking.ban.DEF   broke usually   a   student   anyway
          '**One student or another** usually violated the smoking ban anyway.'

Hallman (2004), Bentzen (2009) and Wiklund et al. (2007) attribute these interpretations to designated positions in the structure. For instance, for embedded clauses Wiklund et al. (2007) propose that specific subjects must move to TopP, while non-specific subjects remain in TP:

(10)   ForceP > TopP (specific Subj) > FinP > NegP > AdvP (high) > TP (non-spec. Subj) > AdvP (low) >
       vP (Subj) > VP   (Wiklund et al. 2007: 205f)

Although the subjects under discussion are quantifiers, also definite DP subjects with a special reference should in principle adhere to this analysis and appear high in the clause. This prediction is not borne out for the Oslo dialect, as we will see below in section 4.6.

Whether or not the different interpretations come from designated positions, or whether they are merely a consequence of, for example, scopal properties of the adverbs (e.g. Diesing 1996), are of minor importance in this context. What is important is the word orders.

Another potentially relevant factor is definiteness. Recall Andréasson's (2007) study of Swedish text corpora (see chapter 3). She finds that practically all definite subjects in embedded clauses precede adverbs/negation (Andréasson 2007: 137).[50] However, most embedded subjects (namely 95%, Andréasson 2007: 134) precede adverb/negation irrespective of their definiteness. I assume that these numbers include non-definite subjects, and that they too precede negation and adverbs in embedded clauses.

Returning to the distinction between DP and (unstressed) pronominal subjects, the requirement that pronominal subjects must precede adverbs/negation can be derived from the fact that both specific and definite subjects tend to precede adverbs/negation, since pronouns can be considered both specific and definite from a semantic point of view.

---

[50] Recall from chapter 3, that these numbers deviate somewhat from the corresponding numbers for main clauses (60% - 40%).

Finally, the last issue to consider is focus on the subject. Recall from the preceding section that Lindström (2005) suggests that the order *neg > subj > v_fin* may function as a strategy for focalising the subject in (Finland-)Swedish. Western (1921: 230) suggests something similar in his discussion of Norwegian. Specifically, Western writes that negative adverbs usually precede stressed subjects, and that focalised subjects are often stressed. Conversely, we can infer from Western that non-focalised (i.e. "topical") subjects precede negation and adverbs.

To sum up: The feature *focus* stands out as a relevant feature in order to trigger the word order *neg > subj > v_fin* in embedded V3 clauses. The other features mentioned here – specificity and definiteness (in which unstressed pronouns are included) – do not induce the order *neg/adv > subj > v_fin*.

4.3.4   Neg/adv > subject > v_fin: adverb type restrictions

At least in modern Norwegian, there are, according to Faarlund et al. (1997: 891) restrictions on which adverbs that can precede a subject in an embedded clause. According to Faarlund et al., only (true) sentence adverbials may occur in front of subjects in embedded clauses. So called free adverbials/adjuncts[51] such as place, time and manner adverbials, cannot appear in this position. Free adverbials usually do not precede subjects in main clauses either (Faarlund et al. 1997: 889), although Andréasson (2007: 138) shows that her adverb category SMOD (cf. section 3.2.4 in the preceding chapter), can appear before full DP subjects (but not pronominal ones) in main clauses in Swedish.

Jensen (1995) conducts a corpus study and a questionnaire study, in which she examines which adverbs that may precede the subject in embedded clauses in Danish (which usually is not recognised as allowing this word order). She concludes that if an adverb is focused, it can precede the subject (even a pronominal one) in most embedded clause types except comparative clauses and *that*-clauses as discussed in section 4.3.2 above. Furthermore, Jensen (1995: 88) points out that the adverb in question should be able to receive stress.

Jensen also concludes that only not factive[52] adverbs (i.e. non-factive or a-factive) can occur in the pre-subject position (Jensen 1995: 86f). Examples (11a,b) are taken from Jensen (1995: 80f), and examples (11d,e,f) from Jensen (1995: 87).

(11) a. Ja,   det   er også en skam   at   **ikke** man   har   gemt   sådan nogen   (Dk.)
      yes,   it   is also a shame   that   not   one   has   hidden   such something
      'yes, it is also a shame that one hasn't saved things like that'

---

[51] A syntactic diagnostic for separating free adverbials from sentence adverbials is clefting (Faarlund et al. 1997: 776). Free adverbials can be focalised in a cleft construction, but sentence adverbials cannot:

(i) Det   var   **i går**   at   hun   reiste   til byen   (No.)
    it   was   yesterday that   she   travelled   to town.DEF
(ii) *Det   var   **heldigvis/ikke**   at   hun   reiste   til byen   (No.)
    it   was   fortunately/not   that   she   travelled   to town.DEF

[52] Factive adverbs are according to Jensen (1995: 86) adverbs that confirm the factivity of a factive proposition. Such adverbs can only appear in already factive embedded clauses.

b. og   så   kunne det   jo   ske   at   **ikke** de   groede alle   sammen
   and   then   could it   mod.prt happen   that not   they   grew   all   together
   'and then it could also happen that not all of them would grew'   (Dk.)

c. *… Fordi   **åbenbart**   hun   elsker ham   (Dk.)
   … because obviously   she   loves him
   '… Because she obviously loves him'

d. *… At **beklageligvis**   vi   kommer for   sent   (Dk.)
   …that unfortunately   we   come   too   late
   '…that we unfortunately are coming too late'

e. *… Hva **jo**   vi   alle   ved   (Dk.)
   … what mod.prt. we   all   know
   '…which we all do know'

The examples (11a,b) are acceptable because the negation is non-factive, and consequently able to appear in both a factive/presupposed clause (11a) and in a non-presupposed clause (11b). According to Jensen, the adverbs in (11c,d), *åbenbart* ('obviously') and *beklageligvis* ('unfortunately'), are factive, and hence cannot appear in the pre-subject position. In (11e), the unstressed and factive modal particle *jo* cannot precede the pronominal subject.

Thus, according to Jensen's study of (written) Danish, adverbs appearing in front of subjects are stressed. This generalisation does not necessarily hold for the other North Germanic languages, as we will see in the study of the Oslo dialect in section 4.6.

Jensen does not explain why factive adverbs cannot precede the subject (in Danish). As for Norwegian, adverbs like the modal particle *jo* and *dessverre* ('unfortunately') may precede an embedded subject, as example (6c) above shows. Observe, however, that Jensen's examples involve pronominal subjects, while (6c) has a DP subject. As we will see later in this chapter and in the next one, adverbs are not very common or acceptable in front of a pronominal subject in Norwegian either.

None of the works presented in this subsection mention any potential difference between negation and adverbs. As we will see in this chapter and in chapter 5, there is a difference between the acceptability of the orders *neg > subj > v$_{fin}$* and *adv > subj > v$_{fin}$*, in particular concerning pronominal subjects in the Oslo dialect.

To summarise, the literature reviewed in this section indicates that the word order *neg/adv > subj > v$_{fin}$* is possible in non-V2 contexts, i.e. in embedded clauses that cannot have V2. Furthermore, the embedded subjects should be indefinite or focalised. Last, but not least, in Danish the adverbs in this position must be able to receive stress and cannot be factive.

4.4   **Embedded V2**[53]

4.4.1   **Background**

As mentioned above, there are two types of embedded word orders, in which the finite verb precedes negation/adverbs. They differ in the landing site of the finite verb: In old varieties of North Germanic and in Icelandic there is V-to-I movement in embedded clauses (with some optional exceptions, see e.g. Angantýsson 2007, 2008a), whereas in present-day Mainland North Germanic the verb can raise to the head of CP in so-called embedded V2 contexts. In these contexts, which will be elaborated on in section 4.4.2, other root phenomena are possible (e.g. topicalisation). As stated above, I will refer to the former type as V-to-I movement, whereas I will refer to the latter type as embedded V2. This distinction is important to bear in mind, and is summarised in Table 14.

Table 14: North Germanic word order in embedded clauses

Variety	**Embedded V2 context**	**Embedded non-V2 context**
MSc.	V2 (and topicalisation) are possible	Embedded word order
Icelandic	Topicalisation is possible	Subject-initial V2

The overview in Table 14 first and foremost anticipates a discussion in chapter 5 on verb movement across negation, but it is also relevant when we turn to the analyses of embedded clauses in the Oslo dialect.

The standard analysis of embedded V2 in Mainland North Germanic is in terms of CP-recursion, i.e. that the structure involves embedding of a main clause (see e.g. Platzack 1986; Holmberg 1986; Vikner 1995):

(12)   a.   [$_{VP}$ sa [$_{CP}$ at[$_{CP}$ Per så [$_{NegP}$ ikke [$_{TP}$ ~~Per så~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~Per så~~ katten]]]]]]

    said that Per saw not   cat.DEF

   '…said that Per didn't see the cat'

  b.   [$_{VP}$ sa [$_{CP}$ at[$_{CP}$ katten så [$_{NegP}$ ikke [$_{TP}$ Per ~~så~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~Per så katten~~]]]]]]

    said that cat.DEF saw not Per

   '… said that the cat Per didn't see'

In (12) the finite complementiser *at* ('that') sits in the head of CP, which selects another CP. In (12a) the embedded V2 clause is subject initial and the subject occupies Spec,CP, whereas the finite verb occupies the head. In (12b) the object is topicalised.

This CP-recursion analysis has been refined over the last years in light of the split-CP analysis proposed in Rizzi (1997). Embedded V2 (and other root phenomena in embedded clauses) in Germanic languages has been the subject of a great deal of research the last decade (e.g. Biberauer 2002; de Han 2001; Heycock et al. 2010; Julien 2006, 2007, 2009; Wiklund et al. 2007, 2009; Bentzen 2005, 2007; Wiklund 2009b). The analyses in a few of these works will be discussed briefly below.

---

[53] This heading intends to be a collective term for embedded V2 caused by both V-to-C movement and V-to-I movement.

The standard analysis of embedded V2 is challenged by the remnant movement analysis (e.g. Wiklund et al. 2007, 2009; Bentzen 2005, 2007; Wiklund 2009ab). In remnant movement accounts there is no head movement. Rather the verb moves within a larger constituent, which may also contain the subject or a topicalised element (cf. above) (consider e.g. Thráinsson 2010 for a critical view on remnant movement analyses). However, as discussed in chapter 1, I will in this dissertation follow the standard analysis and I thus assume that the verb moves by head movement.

Furthermore, a third kind of embedded verb movement is identified in the literature (Bentzen 2005), namely so-called *short* verb movement found in e.g. Regional Northern Norwegian, Northern Ostrobothnian (Bentzen 2007, to appear) and Faroese (e.g. Heycock et al. 2010). This movement can be understood as a subgroup of the Icelandic type, since it appears in non-V2 contexts. However, contrary to Icelandic it is not obligatory, and the verb does not move as high, i.e. it cannot cross all types of adverbs in a Cinque (1999) hierarchy.

Short verb movement has caused some trouble for the hypothesised equivalence between (rich enough) verbal morphology and V-to-I movement (e.g. Falk 1993; Holmberg and Platzack 1995; Vikner 1995; Rohrbacher 1999). In particular, Regional Northern Norwegian and Northern Ostrobothnian have, like the Mainland North Germanic standard languages, poor inflectional morphology (but unlike Icelandic). From this it follows that verb movement cannot depend on (rich) verbal morphology.

The following survey is based on Norwegian, and in the next sections we will consider clause type restrictions, subject type restrictions, and adverb types restrictions on embedded V2.

4.4.2   Sentence types restrictions

4.4.2.1   *Introduction*

The observation that "main clause word order", i.e. embedded V2 (and topicalisation), is possible in Norwegian in certain contexts is by no means new, cf. Falk and Torp (1900); Western (1921). These grammarians made some interesting observations. Falk and Torp (1900) observed for instance that inversion was much more frequent a couple of hundred years before their time, and that inversion in general is not allowed when a (assertive) matrix clause is negated (Falk and Torp 1900: 292).[54] Western (1921) notes among others that embedded V2 is particularly frequent in the spoken language when *at* ('that') is elided. This is the opposite of the statement made by Faarlund et al.

---

[54] Falk and Torp (1900) give the following sentence pair, which I mention in order to demonstrate their ability to catch empirical peculiarities, although there are no broad generalisations or formal analyses:

(i) Jeg   tror   ikke,   at   **under saadanne omstændigheder**   et rige   kan   bestaa
    I   think not   that   under such   circumstances   an empire   can   last
    'I don't think that an empire can last under such circumstances'

(ii) jeg tror,   at   **under saadanne omstændigheder**   kan   et rige   bestaa
    I   think, that   under such   circumstances   can   an empire   last
    'I think that an empire can last under such circumstances'

There is no subject-verb inversion under a negated matrix as in (i), but there is inversion when the matrix is not negated, as in (ii).

(1997: 984) and Wechsler (1991: 178), who note that embedded V2 in Mainland North Germanic frequently co-occurs with an overt complementiser.

Faarlund et al. (1997: 982ff) also provide lists of clauses where V2 is possible and where it is prohibited. They state that embedded V2 is illicit when the embedded clause is presupposed. Conversely, embedded V2 is possible in a subgroup of the non-presupposed clauses. Consider (13) and (14) below, which summarises the restrictions on clause types made in Faarlund et al. (1997: 862ff, 983f):

(13) **V2 contexts (Faarlund et al 1997):**
   a. non-presupposed *at*-clauses ('that'-), typically embedded under an assertion verb (e.g. *si* 'say')
   b. *at*-clauses embedded under a negated negative verb (e.g. *tvile* 'doubt')
   c. non-presupposed *fordi*-clauses ('because-') in final position (cf. Wechsler 1991 and references cited therein)
   d. consequence clauses embedded by *så* ('so')
   e. *skjønt*-clauses ('although-')

(14) **Non-V2 contexts (Faarlund et al 1997):**
   a. Presupposed clauses
   b. Subject clauses
   c. Clauses embedded under a negated matrix
   d. Clauses with elided complementiser *at* ('that')
   e. Embedded questions
   f. Infinitive clauses
   g Presupposed adverbial clauses (introduced by e.g. *fordi* ('because'), *siden* ('since')*, ettersom* ('as')*, når* ('when'))
   h. Clauses introduced by the complementisers *da* ('then'), *slik at* ('such that'), *for at* ('so that'), *enda* ('even'), *selv/fordi/jamvel om* ('even if'), *hvis/dersom* ('if')
   i. Implicative clauses

Judging from the three Norwegiain (descriptive) grammars (Faarlund et al. 1997; Western 1921; Falk and Torp 1900), main clause word order is more restricted today than a hundred years ago, at least in written Norwegian.

4.4.2.2 *Hooper and Thompson (1973)*
A substantial portion of the research on embedded V2 and other root phenomena are based on the categorisation of matrix predicate types found in Hooper and Thompson (1973). They divide predicates into five types, of which three are non-factive and two are factive. See Table 15 below, where their (matrix) predicate examples are included (Hooper and Thompson 1973: 473). According to Hooper and Thompson (1973) embedded clauses that display the same semantics/pragmatics as main clauses, i.e. those being assertions, also display the same word order possibilities as main clauses. This holds for the classes A, B and E, which are the ones that are associated with root phenomena, and hence embedded V2 (and topicalisation) in North Germanic.

Table 15: Hooper and Thompson's (1973) categorisation of the matrix predicates of embedded clauses

Non-factive			Factive	
A: strongly assertive pred.	*B: weakly assertive pred.*	*C: non-assertive predicate*	*D: factive predicate*	*E: semi-factive predicate*
say	suppose	be (un)likely	resent	realise
report	believe	be (im)possible	regret	learn
exclaim	think	be (im)probable	be sorry	find out
assert	expect	doubt	be surprised	discover
claim	guess	deny	bother	know
vow	imagine		be odd	see
be true	it seems		be strange	recognise
be certain	it happens		be interesting	
be sure	it appears			
be obvious				

The classification in Table 15 often serves as a reference point when classifying predicates in Mainland North Germanic also (e.g. Wiklund et al. 2007; Julien 2007; Brandtler 2008), and it has been shown that the assertive predicates (both weakly and strongly) and the semi-factive predicates are root contexts in Mainland North Germanic that allow V2, i.e. they are V2 contexts (Wiklund et al. 2007; Julien 2007).

There is some disagreement on which property or feature that causes embedded V2 in Mainland North Germanic, but it is standardly taken to be the illocutionary force of *assertion* (see e.g. Hooper and Thompson 1973; Julien 2007). For an alternative view, I refer to Wiklund et al. (2009). Consider also the discussion between Julien (2009) and Wiklund (2009) on this matter.

4.4.2.3 *Julien (2006, 2007)*

Julien (2007) discusses embedded V2 in different kinds of *at*-clauses ('that') based on a corpus study. Her investigation supports the categorisation of Hooper and Thompson (1973): The classes A, B and E easily take embedded V2-clauses (cf. Table 15). Furthermore, she finds no example of V2 under a non-assertive predicate, i.e. class C verbs. She does, however, find a few examples of embedded V2 under factive predicates (class D), which thus are presupposed and hence not a V2 context (cf. Table 15 and example (14) above). Some of the examples are shown in (15) (Julien 2006: 3):

(15) a. jeg   tenkte   på at   jeg greide   **ikke** jobben   slik   jeg skulle   (No.)
      I   *thought on that*   *I*   *managed not*   *job.DEF*   *such*   *I*   *should*
      'I was thinking that I didn't manage the job as I should'

     b. Alltid   glemte   de   at   den   gutten   var   **ikke** som   andre   (No.)
      always   *forgot*   *they*   *that*   *that boy.DEF was*   *not*   *as*   *others*
      'They were always forgetting that that boy wasn't like other people'

     c. Det   er elementært at   ansvar   kan   **ikke** delegeres   (No.)
      it   *is elementary that*   *responsibility*   *can*   *not*   *delegate.PASS*
      'It's elementary that responsibility cannot be delegated'

She explains the possibility of embedded V2 by assuming that such presupposed clauses are also asserted at the same time.

Julien furthermore finds embedded V2 in the contexts given in the list in (16) – contexts that do not fit into Hooper and Thompson's (1973) categorisation. A few examples from the NoTa-corpus illustrating the list are shown in (17) (taken from Julien 2006: 6-7).

(16)   a.   In the complement of DPs (cf. 17a)
       b.   In the complement of the determiner *det*/the expletive subject *det*
       c.   In a subject predicative (cf. 17b)
       d.   After the complex subordinators *slik at* ('such that')/*sånn at* ('such that')/*så at* ('such that')/*for det at* ('because that')/*fordi at* ('because that'), (cf. Faarlund et al. 1997 above)/*for at* ('because that')/*därfor att* ('because that')/*men at* ('but that')/*pluss at* ('plus that') (cf. 17c)
       e.   After PPs

(17)   a.   Så fikk   vi jo   beskjed   at   man kunne **ikke** gå   på parkett   med   sånne
            so got   we mod.prt. message that   one   could not   walk on parquet with   such
            stiletthæler   (No.)
            stiletto.heels
            'Then we received the message that we weren't allowed to walk on parquet with those stiletto heels'
       b.   Men   det   som   er er at   han   kan **ikke** lage   sanger   (No.)
            but   it   that is   is that   he   can not   make songs
            'But the fact is that he doesn't know how to make songs'
       c.   Vi bodde   i   annen   etasje i   en villa   da   sånn at   vi hadde   jo   **ikke**
            we lived   in second floor in a house then   so   that we had   mod.prt. not
            hele   huset   (No.)
            whole house.DEF
            'We lived on the first floor of a house so we didn't have the whole house'

Observe that all the examples of V2 given above are subject initial. This fact also holds for most of the examples Julien gives to illustrate embedded V2 under assertive predicates, but a few of these are non-subject initial V2 (with topicalised adverbials and objects). That the examples in (17) above really do exhibit embedded V2 with the possibility of topicalisation (or rather focalisation) and not any sort of V-to-I movement, is shown in (18). In these examples one constituent is fronted in each clause:

(18)   a.   Så fikk   vi jo   beskjed   at   *å gå   på parkett   med   sånne   stiletthæler*
            so got   we mod.prt. message that   to walk   on parquet with   such   stiletto.heels
            kunne   man ikke gjøre   (No.)
            could   one not   do
            'Then we got the message that walking on parquet with stiletto heels like that was something we weren't allowed to'

| | b. | Men | det | som | er | er | at | *å* | *lage* | *sanger* | kan | han | ikke | | (No.) |
| | | *but* | *it* | *which* | *is* | *is* | *that* | *to* | *make* | *songs* | *can* | *he* | *not* | | |

'But the fact is that making songs is something he doesn't know how o do'

| | c. | Vi | bodde | i | annen | etasje | i | en | villa | da | sånn | at | *hele* | *huset* | hadde |
| | | *we* | *lived* | | *in* | *second* | *floor* | *in* | *a* | *house* | *then* | *so* | *that* | *whole* | *house.DEF* | *had* |

| | | vi | jo | ikke | | (No.) |
| | | *we* | *mod.prt.* | *not* | | |

'We lived on the first floor of a house so we didn't have the whole house'

4.4.2.4 *V2 contexts*

As partly stated in the introduction to the chapter, I will use the term V2 context such that it covers clauses embedded under assertion and semi-factive verbs (the classes A, B, and E in Hooper and Thompson 1973). For the other types of clauses mentioned in (13) such as non-presupposed *fordi*-clauses in final position (which perhaps should be categorised as a V2 context), clauses introduced by the subordinator *slik/sånn at* ('such that') and *at*-clauses ('that') in general, I will take to be "potential" V2 contexts. Whereas the core V2 context clause types disallow the word order *neg > subj > v_fin* (cf. section 4.3.2 above), the latter ones do by hypothesis not necessarily delimit the potential word orders.

The possibility for showing embedded V2 is restricted by clause type, but the following subsection shows that embedded V2 can be restricted by subject type as well.

4.4.3 **Subject type restrictions**

Pronominal subjects have been shown to co-occur with V3 (i.e. no verb movement across adverbs/negation) in languages that have V-to-I in other cases, for instance for Old North Germanic varities (e.g. Falk 1993) and Icelandic (Angantýsson 2007, 2008a; Thráinsson 2007a). At least for the North Germanic varities, this co-occurrence is often explained by assuming an extra high surface position for the subject, and subsequently an extra high position for the adverb (Thráinsson 2007a: 62). The verb movement analysis can thus still be maintained; it is only string vacuous in these cases. In Icelandic, embedded V3, illustrated in (19), is only possible in certain embedded clauses, e.g. relative clauses, interrogative clauses and temporal clauses, and the pre-verbal adverb "commonly requires an extra stress […]" (Angantýsson 2007: 237) (the examples in (19) are taken from Thráinsson 2007a: 63).

| (19) | a. | Það | var | Hrafnkelssaga | sem [| hann | **ekki** | hafði | lesið] | (Ice.) |
| | | *it* | *was* | *Hrafnkel's saga* | *that* | *he* | *not* | *had* | *read* | |

| | b. | ?*Það | var | Hrafnkelssaga | sem [| einhver | **ekki** | hafði | lesið] | (Ice.) |
| | | *it* | *was* | *Hrafnkel's saga* | *that* | *somebody* | *not* | *had* | *read* | |

'It was the Saga of Hrafnkell that he had not read'

As for Mainland North Germanic embedded V2 (V-to-C), the opposite seems to be the rule (at least in some varieties). It is easier to have V2 if the subject is a pronoun than if it is a DP: Falk and Torp (1900: 292) claim that fronting an adverbial (to a pre-subject position) no longer induces inversion (as it according to them frequently did in the 17-18th century), unless the subject is a pronoun (and

the clause type allows V2). Consider the example in (20a) with a DP-subject that is taken from the text in Falk and Torp (1900: 307), and the corresponding sentence with a pronoun in (20b), which according to their claims, should be placed after the finite verb:

(20) a. i   sin   almindelighed kan   man dog   sige, at   **i dansk-norsk**
          in POSS. generality   can   one however say,   that in Danish-Norwegian
          objektet   skal staa efter verbet[…]   (Dano-Norwegian)
          object.DEF shall stand after verb.DEF
          'In general you can say that in Danish-Norwegian the object is placed after the verb'
      b. … Sige   at   **i dansk-norsk**   (*det) skal (*det*) staa efter verbet (Dano-Norw.)
          say that in Danish-Norwegian (it)   shall (it)   stand after verb.DEF
          '… Say that in Danish-Norwegian it must be placed after the verb'

As for short verb movement in Northern Norwegian (Bentzen 2005; 2007), i.e. in non-V2 contexts, Bentzen (2007) has shown that such movement forces a specific interpretation on a QP subject. She assumes a high landing site for the moved constituent (in the specific-subject projection), see (21).

(21)   [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ ettersom [$_{\text{TopP}}$ nån studenta$_{\text{subj}}$ (spec)[$_{\text{FinP}}$ [$_{\text{AgrP}}$ [$_{\text{vP}}$ t$_{\text{subj}}$ levere t$_{\text{obj}}$]$_i$ [$_{\text{AdvP}}$ **sannsynligvis** [$_{\text{TP}}$ t$_i$
        since   some (specific) students   hand.in   probably
        [$_{\text{XP}}$ t$_{\text{subj}}$ [$_{\text{YP}}$ oppgaven$_{\text{obj}}$ t$_i$]]]]]]]]   (Bentzen 2007: 223)
                assignment.DEF

Whether the analysis in (21) is relevant for other non-QP subjects, is a different question. In general, one should assume that other specific constituents (for instance pronouns) also target a similar position.

4.4.4 **Adverb type restrictions**

Lastly in my review of embedded V2 restrictions, I will now consider the impact of adverb types and negation. In this section I mainly discuss Mainland North Germanic V2 and short verb movement as listed in (22):

(22) a. *Embedded V2*:
        i. Initial adverbs that "induce" V2 (related to neg/adv-initial embedded clauses)
        ii. Certain adverbs are easier to cross than others
      b. *Short verb movement*:
        i. (Adverb) edges of verb movement

As Falk and Torp (1900: 292) mention (cf. section 4.4.3), an initial adverbial induces V2 if the subject is a pronoun and the context is a V2 context (and the adverbial can be topicalised). It is my

impression of contemporary Norwegian, too, that an initial adverbial induces V2 in possible V2 contexts.[55]

Western (1921: 229f) mentions that negation "frequently" appears after the verb in certain subordinate clauses (V2 contexts). This can perhaps be explained by negation often being unstressed and hence attaching to the finite verb, unless it is a consequence of the relative high frequency of negation compared to sentential adverbs. The idea that a weak negation is easier to cross is supported by Heggstad's (1931: 203) grammar on the Norwegian written language Nynorsk, in which he notes that negation has less stress when it follows the verb than when it precedes the verb (I will elaborate on this in chapter 5) (cf. also the comment above on embedded V3 in Icelandic):

(23) a. han sa   at   han hadde **ikkje** lika seg   (No.)
        he   said that he   had   not   liked REFL.

     b. han sa   at   han **ikkje** hadde lika seg   (No.)
        he   said that he   not   had   liked REFL.
        'He said that he had not enjoyed himself'

It is difficult to determine whether the stress on the negative marker is the cause or the result of the word order in (23b). It can probably be both (cf. e.g. Heggstad 1920 on the Gudbrandsdal dialect). As we will see later in this and the next chapter, the form of the negative marker is crucial when it comes to word order in certain varieties.

As for short verb movement, Bentzen (2005, 2007) shows that the verb cannot precede negation, but may only precede other adverbs, and most felicitously, the low adverbs in the Cinquean (1999) hierarchy, as illustrated in (24a). She accounts for the lack of movement across negation by assuming an extraordinary high position for NegP, above all other adverbs (on the left edge of the IP-domain). This enables the verb to cross adverbs, but still, it cannot move as high as negation.

(24) a. … Koffer ho   Hedda   kjøpe **ofte** sko   (Northern No.)
        … why   she   Hedda   buys often shoe

     b. ... hvorfor Hedda ofte   kjøper (***ofte**) sko   (Standard No.)
        … why   Hedda (often) buys   (often)   shoes
        '… Why Hedda is often buying shoes'

To summarise, embedded V2 may be "triggered" by fronting of an adverbial (in V2 contexts). Furthermore, verb movement across a negative marker seems to be easier than movement across other adverbs in some varieties, while the negative marker can crucially not be crossed in other varieties. Next, we consider two generative analyses of North Germanic embedded V2.

---

[55] In a web search (June 16th 2010) for the string *"at i norsk"* ('that in Norwegian') there was not a single instance of non-inversion among the first 100 hits – all hits had the structure *at>PP>verb/så_comp* (cf. Østbø 2006 on the topic-particle *så*). This is also the result for so-called high adverbs like *heldigvis* ('luckily') and *sannsynligvis* ('probably').

4.4.5   Theoretical accounts of embedded V2 and V3 clauses

4.4.5.1   *Wiklund et al. (2007)*

Wiklund et al. (2007) analyse embedded V2 in Mainland North Germanic, Icelandic and Regional Northern Norwegian. They propose the structure in (25) for subordinate clauses and assume that there is an EPP-feature on T that is either checked by the subject or the verb. They also assume remnant verb movement.

(25)   ForceP > TopP (specific Subj) > FinP > NegP > AgrP > AdvP (high) > TP (non-spec. Subj) > AdvP (low) > vP (Subj) > VP   (Wiklund et al. 2007: 205f)

For non-subject initial V2, they assume that the arguments have evacuated the vP, and a larger constituent labelled ΣP (generated above° vP) containing the topicalised element and the vP is fronted to a high CP-projection called OuterTopP, located above TopP. The subject checks the EPP feature on T. A relevant example is (26) taken from Icelandic (Wiklund et al. 2007).

(26)   [$_{Force P}$ (að) [$_{OuterTopP}$ *[$_{ΣP}$ [svona skó]$_{obj}$ [$_{vP}$ t$_{subj}$ kaupir t$_{obj}$]$_j$*[[$_{TopP}$ Heiða$_{subj.spec}$ [$_{FinP}$ t$_{subj}$ [$_{AgrP}$ t$_{subj}$ [$_{AdvP}$
         that   such shoe   buy   Hedda
         sennilega [$_{TP}$ t$_{subj}$ **t$_j$**]]]]]]]]]
         often
         'That Hedda often buys shoes like that'

When there is no verb movement, the verb remains within the vP, and the subject moves at least to TP in order to check the EPP-feature.

   When there is short verb movement the constituent containing only the verb targets AgrP (Bentzen 2007). Observe in (25) that NegP is projected on top of AgrP, and that AgrP in turn is projected on top of AdvP, hence, the verb may precede adverbs, but not negation (as in Regional Northern Norwegian exemplified in (21) above).

4.4.5.2   *Julien (2006)*

Julien (2006: 34) assumes the common split of the CP domain in (27) in her analysis. TopP/FocP is only present if the initial constituent is focalised or topicalised. If the initial constituent is a non-focalised subject, TopP and FocP are absent:

(27)   ForceP > (TopP) > (FocP) > FinP

This structure is also assumed in embedded V2 clauses in V2 contexts (Julien 2006: 37). The complementiser sits in a projection above Force:

(28)   a.   [$_{SubP}$ *at* [$_{ForceP}$ XP V$_{fin}$ [$_{TopP}$ ~~XP~~ [$_{FinP}$ (subj) …
         b.   [$_{SubP}$ *at* [$_{ForceP}$ Subj V$_{fin}$ [$_{FinP}$ ~~Subj~~ Fin° …

In non-V2 contexts the Force head is lacking, and the complementiser is merged directly above Fin° (Julien 2006: 37f) (cf. the analysis in Haegeman 2003).

(29)   [$_{SubP}$ at [$_{FinP}$ subj [... V$_{fin}$

The analyses of Wiklund et al. and Julien are quite dissimilar, but both contain much structure in the CP-domain of embedded V2 clauses. In my analyses of embedded clauses in the Oslo dialect in sections 4.6.4 and 4.6.5 below, I will first and foremost draw on the Julien' analyses.

4.5   Embedded word order patterns in North Germanic

In the sections 4.3 and 4.4 we have considered and reviewed descriptions and analyses of the embedded V3 word order *neg/adv > subj > v$_{fin}$* and of different kinds of verb movement across adverbs and negation.

The order *neg/adv > subj > v$_{fin}$* is only possible in non-V2 contexts. Furthermore, the subjects must meet certain requirements, and so must adverbs, at least in some varieties.

According to the descriptions and accounts discussed in these sections, there is no difference between the distribution of negation and adverb with respect to subjects. This will be investigated for the Oslo dialect in the section 4.6.

As for embedded verb movement, it is important to distinguish between so-called V2 and non-V2 contexts. Verb movement may also be divided into two main categories. Icelandic has more or less obligatory V-to-I movement across neg/adverbs in all embedded clause types, while Mainland North Germanic has optional V2 (and topicalisation) only in V2 contexts. In these V2 contexts Icelandic may also have topicalisation. The third type of verb movement discussed here, short verb movement, resembles Icelandic in targeting a lower (IP-internal) position than embedded V2 (V-to-C), but it resembles embedded V2 (V-to-C) in being optional.

Considering embedded verb movement in Mainland North Germanic varieties, the position of negation is interesting. In some varieties negation, but not adverbs, blocks verb movement, while in others V2 is reported to appear frequently with negation. This issue will be fully discussed in chapter 5.

Important to note is also the finding in Julien (2007), that V2 is produced in non-V2 contexts (presupposed clauses) in spontaneous speech, contrary to theoretical predictions.

Table 16 below summarises the claims on word order reviewed in the previous sections.

Table 16: Word order possibilities in embedded clauses (as a product of the matrix verb)

status ⁄ word order	+asserted matrix	−asserted matrix	presupposed embedded clause
V2/root phenom.	−	−	− (?)
neg > subj > v$_{fin}$	−	+	+
subj > adv > v$_{fin}$	+	+	+
(adv$_{-fact}$ > subj> v$_{fin}$)	−	+	+
(adv$_{fact}$ > subj> v$_{fin}$)	?	?	−

4.6   Embedded V3 in the Oslo dialect

we now turn to the Oslo dialect. Based on the preceding survey, we expect the dialect grammar to show the following properties for embedded V3:

(30)   a.   Unstressed pronominal subjects > negation/adverb > finite verb
     b.   Full DP subjects > negation/adverb > finite verb
     c.   Negation/adverb > focalised subjects > finite verb

Another prediction is that negation cannot precede subjects in V2 contexts. The survey of the NoTa-corpus shows that the unmarked embedded V3 order is *subj > neg > v_{fin}*, and the predictions in (30a,b) are as such borne out.

4.6.1   Quantitative analysis

The overall result of searches for the relative order of subjects and negation is shown in Table 17. Before we turn to the content of the table, I will give a note on the methodology for the following searches in the NoTa-corpus.

For the results with pronominal subjects, I searched for the strings "*subordinator – pronoun – ikke*" (which returned 539 occurrences[56]) and "*subordinator – ikke – pronoun*" (which returned 76 occurrences[57]). For the results with the full DP subjects, I searched for the strings "*subordinator – ikke*" (which returned 333 instances[58]) and "*noun – ikke*" (which returned 537 instances[59]).

The last two searches are not fully comparable since the result of the search "*subordinator – ikke*" contains every subject following negation irrespective of form, for instance adjectives functioning as subjects. All the subjects I encountered are however noun phrases, of which one had a possessive in final position – this example is excluded in the table.

The search for "*noun – ikke*" is more restricted, since the full DP subjects in this result always have a noun as their final item, and not for instance a possessive. On the other hand, the type of subordinator is not restricted by the tagging in the corpus and several elements may appear between the subordinator and the subject. I have however excluded subordinators that are not tagged as subordinators in the NoTa-corpus, as well as occurrences in which other elements intervene between the subordinator and the subject.[60]

There were in total three quantified subjects in the material, all of which appeared after negation. These are excluded, since this number is too low in order to say anything substantial about the distribution of quantified subjects in embedded clauses.

---

[56] This search returned one irrelevant hit, in which negation is a part of the question tag *ikke sant* ('not true').

[57] This search returned three irrelevant hits, of which two contained a quantifier and one a determinative.

[58] This search returned in total twelve potentially relevant hits, but one was excluded on the grounds mentioned in the text.

[59] In this search there were in total thirty potentially relevant hits, of which five were excluded on the grounds mentioned in the text.

[60] The subordinators that I have excluded are adverbs, adjective phrases and *wh*-words like *bare* ('just')*, derfor* ('therefore')*, så lenge* ('as long as') and *hvorfor* ('why').

After the exclusions, the different search results appear as comparable: The types of subordinators are identical, all subjects are noun phrases and have the noun as its final element, and no other lexical element intervenes between them.

Table 17: The total frequencies of the relative order of subjects and negation in embedded V3 clauses (NoTa)

	Subject > neg > v_{fin}	Neg > subject > v_{fin}	Total
Pronoun	538 (88%)	73 (12%)	611 (100%)
DP	25 (69.4%)	11 (30.6%)	36 (100%)
Total	563 (87%)	84 (13%)	647 (100%)

A pronominal subject occurs before negation in nearly 90% of the instances with pronominal subjects, whereas a full DP subject precedes negation in 70% of the instances (with pronominal subjects). Thus, pronominal subjects precede negation in the Oslo dialect grammar. With respect to DP subjects, it seems reasonable to state that the default position also for DP subjects is before negation. This picture will however be somewhat refined throughout this section.

The distribution of pronominal subjects across sentence type (or, rather, the subordinator) is shown in Table 18, and the distribution of DP subjects across sentence type is shown in Table 19.

Table 18: The relative order of negation and pronominal subjects in embedded clause types (NoTa)

Subordinator	$subj_{pron}$ > neg > v_{fin}	neg > $subj_{pron}$ > v_{fin}	Sum
om ('if'/'whether')	12 (61%)	7 (39%)	19 (100%)
selv om[61] ('even though')	30 (100%)	0	30 (100%)
hvis ('if')	130 (80%)	33 (20%)	163 (100%)
som (relative compl.)	57 (85%)	10 (15%)	67 (100%)
at ('that')	222 (92%)	18 (8%)	240 (100%)
fordi ('because')	22 (100%)	0	22 (100%)
når ('when')	55 (92%)	5 (8%)	60 (100%)
siden ('since')	5 (100%)	0	5 (100%)
til ('until')	4 (100%)	0	4 (100%)
mens ('while')	1 (100%)	0	1 (100%)
Sum	538 (88%)	73 (12%)	611 (100%)

The frequencies of the word orders differ between the subordinators. The order *neg > subj_{pron} > v_{fin}* is most frequent in embedded *om*-clauses. Nearly 40% of all *om*-clauses are *neg > subj_{pron} > v_{fin}*. Also conditionals (*hvis*) and relative clauses (*som*) have relatively high frequencies of this order with 20% and 15%, respectively. This word order is absent in embedded clauses under *selv om* ('even though') and *fordi* ('because'), and it is also fairly low in *that*-clauses (8%). The numbers in Table 18 gives the

---

[61] This complex subordinator is not tagged as a subordinator in the NoTa-corpus, only the element *om* ('whether') is tagged as a subordinator.

hierarchy in (31), in which the frequency of the order *neg > subj$_{pron}$ > v$_{fin}$* decreases the farther to the left a subordinator appears.

(31)   *om > hvis > som > at/når > selv om/fordi/siden/til/mens*

Table 19 shows the corresponding frequencies for full DP subjects.

Table 19: The relative order of negation and full DP subjects in embedded clause types with V3 (NoTa)

Subordinator	DP subj > neg > v$_{fin}$	Neg > DP subj > v$_{fin}$	sum
om ('if')	0	0	0
selv om ('even though')	0	0	0
hvis ('if')	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	5 (100%)
som (relative compl.)	3 (60%)	2 (40%)	5 (100%)
at ('that')	15 (71.4%)	6 (28.6%)	21 (100%)
fordi ('because')	0	0	0
når ('when')	5 (83.3%)	1 (16.7%)	6 (100%)
siden ('since')	0	0	0
til ('untill')	0	0	0
mens ('while')	0	0	0
Sum	25 (69.4%)	11 (30.6%)	36 (100%)

The relative frequencies of the word orders *DP subj > neg > v$_{fin}$* and *neg > DP subj > v$_{fin}$* follow the same rank of subordinators as for pronouns (given in 33 above): Conditional and relative clauses have high frequencies of the order *neg > DP subj > v$_{fin}$*. In clauses introduced by the subordinators *at* ('that') and *når* ('when'), the order *neg > DP subj > v$_{fin}$* is less frequent. The frequency of the order *neg > DP subj > v$_{fin}$* in embedded *at*-clauses equals the total average for this word order (app. 30%), but observe also that the total number of *at*-clauses meets Labov's (1966) requirement on 10-20 instances (quoted from Cornips and Corrigan 2005: 100 and referred to in the previous chapter). The other clause types have less than ten instances each.

As for the eleven DP subjects following negation, I have examined these further with respect to definiteness, specificity, IS-status and stress. The examination shows that all of these subjects are definite, but three of them can be interpreted as generic. All of them can furthermore be analysed as topics in the sense that they are implicitly given in the discourse or explicitly mentioned. By implicitly given subjects I mean that they belong to the topic of the conversation, but have not been explicitly mentioned. Some of these may also, but need not, be analysed as new elements in the discourse. Regarding stress, my impression is that nine of eleven are more or less unstressed.

I have also checked the amount of stress on the eighteen pronominal subjects that follow negation in *that*-clauses, and my impression is that only two or three of them are not unstressed.

The negative marker is unstressed in all of the above-mentioned cases except in one relative clause with a DP subject, in which it is pronounced slowly and with a short pause before the speaker utters the subject.

The DP subjects that precede negation are of all types – both definite and indefinite, stressed or unstressed, and implicitly or explicitly mentioned in the context. A few of the DP subjects may, but need not, be interpreted as introducing something new in the discourse.

As for the subordinators *at* ('that') and *fordi* ('because'), one must bear in mind that these are potential V2 contexts. Julien (2006) finds 271 occurrences embedded V2 in *that*-clauses (searching for "*at – [max 4 words] – V_{fin} – ikke*"). In a search I did in the NoTa-corpus for the string "*fordi – [2-6 items] – ikke*", 74 instances were returned. When these (non-comparable) results are compared with the results in Table 18 above, it turns out that clauses with embedded V2 constitute a large portion of the total amount of the *at-* and *fordi*-clauses.

Table 20: The amount of embedded V3 and embedded V2 in *at*- and *fordi*-clauses (NoTa)

	Embedded V3	Embedded V2	Total
at	261 (49%)	271[62] (51%)	532 (100%)
fordi	22 (34.4%)	42 (65.6%)	64 (100%)

Approximately 50% of the *at*-clauses ('that'-) have embedded V2, compared to 65% of the *fordi*-clauses ('because'-). None of the *fordi*-clauses are topcialised. It might however be that the portion of embedded V2 in *that*-clauses would turn out as higher with different search specifications. One should also note that none of the clauses embedded under the matrix predicate *si* ('say') have the order *neg > subj > v_{fin}*.

To summarise, an embedded subject precedes negation in a majority of the instances in the NoTa-corpus. When negation precedes a subject, the negative marker is unstressed. A full DP subject in the position following negation seems to have at least some stress. A pronominal subject in the position after negation in *at*-clauses ('that'-) however, is unstressed in most cases. The order *neg > subj > v_{fin}* is furthermore more common in *om, hvis* and *som*-clauses than in clauses introduced by other subordinators. This is more or less in accordance with the literature reviewed above.

4.6.2 **Discussion**

Given the description of possible word orders in embedded clauses in various North Germanic varieties presented earlier in the chapter, it is not surprising that the NoTa-survey reveals that pronominal subjects precede negation more often than do full DP subjects in embedded clauses. However, the NoTa-material provides examples of unstressed pronominal subjects following negation, as the one in (32).

(32) jeg   tenkte   på i   yrkesfaglig # at   ikke   det   er så mye teori der   (Oslo, No)
      I   thought on in vocational   # that not   it   is so much theory there
      'I was thinking that in vocational school, that there isn't that much theory there'

In (32) negation precedes the unstressed expletive in the *at*-clause ('that'-). The clause is embedded under the matrix verb *tenke* ('think', 'believe'), which is a weakly assertive predicate in the terms of

---

[62] This number is taken from Julien (2006).

Hooper and Thompson (1973), and hence a V2 context (cf. section 4.4.2.2). Recall that the order *neg > subj > v_fin* in V2 contexts seems to be prohibited in some North Germanic varieties. The fact that it is present in the NoTa-corpus, although not in the context of the assertion predicate *si* ('say'), may indicate that the Oslo dialect differs from the other examined varieties in this respect, for instance, that the prohibition of the order *neg > subj > v_fin* only holds for the complement of strongly assertive verbs.

This brings us back to the discussion on clause type and/or the subordinator. The highest frequency of *neg > subj > v_fin* is found in embedded *om*-clauses ('if'), followed by *hvis-* ('if') and relative *som*-clauses (cf. the hierarchy in 31 above). The complementisers *om, hvis* and *som* have in common that they are not V2 contexts, and *om* and *hvis* have in common that they are non-veridical. Furthermore, all the complementisers that embed clauses with the order *neg > subj > v_fin* have furthermore in common that they are monosyllabic. There are no examples of this order embedded under disyllabic complementisers.

The subordinator *om* may introduce embedded questions, conditionals and nominal clauses. A close examination of the seven *om*-clauses that have the order *neg > subj_pron > v_fin* reveals that six of them are embedded questions (cf. Jensen 2001). The last one is embedded under the matrix verb *se* ('see') and has a hypothetical content. Recall from the discussion on the relative order of negation and pronouns in main clauses in the previous chapter that it seems like negation precedes pronominal subjects to a larger extent in positively biased y/n-questions than in negatively biased ones. All the embedded questions of the form *neg > subj > v_fin* are positively biased. Two of them are given below.

(33)   a.   Moskva-Marit spurte   om   **ikke** *hun*   kunne   smøre   inn   ryggen hennes
             Moscow-Marit *asked*   *if*   *not*   *she*   *could*   *rub*   *in*   *back.DEF* *her*
             med   solkrem   (NoTa, Oslo, No.)
             with *sunscreen*
             'Moskow-Marit asked if she could rub her back with sunscreen'

        b.   og   da   kom det   en kar   bort til a   og   lurte   på om   **ikke**
             and *then* *came* *it*   *a man* *away to her*   *and*   *wondered* *on if*   *not*
             a   hadde   noe   papir   (NoTa, Oslo, No.)
             she *had*   *any*   *paper*
             'And then a man came over to her and wondered whether she had any paper'

In (33a) the speaker refers to a story told by a third-person, who had been asked by *Moskva-Marit* ('Moscow-Marit', a former Norwegian television correspondent) to help her, and in (33b) a man has asked someone about something. Both expect or hope the answer to be positive.

There is also an embedded question with the word order *subj > neg > v_fin* among the *om*-clauses. This one is shown in (34). Observe that the bias in (34) is.

(34) han   lurte   på om   *jeg*   **ikke** ville   ha   kake   (Oslo, No.)
      he   *wondered* *on if*   *I*   *not*   *wanted* *have* *cake*
      'He wondered whether I didn't want any cake'/ 'He wondered whether I wanted any cake'

In (34) the word order does not give any help in clarifying the bias. The one who is asking, may equally wonder whether the speaker wants any cake, but he may equally wonder whether the opposite is true. If the negative marker is stressed, the bias is, however, unequivocally negative.

In negatively biased (embedded) questions the negative force is questioned.This is not so in positively biased questions, in which the negative marker is unstressed and merely expletive, which seems to be an independent factor for a leftward positioning of negation.

Furthermore, the unstressed feature of the negative marker is common to the cases when it precedes DP subjects, and when it precedes pronominal subjects in *that*-clauses. This unstressed feature thus seems to be an independent factor that increases the probability of having the order *neg > subj > v_fin* in the Oslo dialect.

Embedded questions and conditionals are both non-veridical, cf. the discussion in section 4.3.2. This may also be the explanation for the relatively high frequency of the order *neg > subj > v_fin* in these cases, on the assumption that the presuppositions are somehow encoded in the CP-domain.

Another explanation for the order *neg > subj > v_fin* may be related to the complementiser itself, and in particular, its form. All the complementisers *om* ('whether')*, hvis* ('if') and the relative complementiser *som* are short, and ending in a consonant. Thus, rhythmically it fits well that they are followed by the disyllabic negative marker. This latter explanation is furthermore supported by the observation that none of the disyllabic complementisers *selv om* ('even though'), *fordi* ('because') and *siden* ('since') introduce sentences with the order *neg > subj > v_fin*.

As for the subordinator *fordi*, there might be additional explanations. One may be that it ends in the vowel *i*, resulting in haplology between this word and the negative marker *ikke*. One way to avoid haplology is to insert an intervening element, as in the following example from the NoTa-corpus:

(35) så   daska   mormoren   min   meg over hånda   da   fordi   at   **ikke** *jeg*
      then   slapped grandmother.DEF my   me   over hand.DEF then   because that not   I
      lot   den   klokka   stå   (Oslo, No.)
      let   that   clock.DEF stand
      'Then my grandmother slapped my hand because I didn't leave the clock alone'

In (35) the complementiser *at* ('that') intervenes between *fordi* ('because') and the negative marker. The complementiser *at* can also double other complementisers like *hvis* ('if') resulting in *hvis at* ('it that'). Another explanation is that *fordi*-clauses ('because'-) in many cases are ("true") V2 contexts, and not only "potential" V2 contexts (cf. 4.4.2.4). This hypothesis is supported by the result in Table 20 above, which shows that a large proportion of *fordi*-clauses ('because'-) exhibits embedded V2.

4.6.3   **Adverbs**

In order to get an impression of how subjects are distributed in embedded clauses with respect to adverbs in the NoTa-corpus, I have performed the following searches. For the order *compl > DP subj > adv* I searched for the strings "*subordinator – [2-6 elements] – adverb*" (1182 instances/11 relevant instances) and "*noun – adverb*" (2000 shown results/five relevant occurrences, of which two were identical with the former search), which gave fourteen instances in total. For the order *compl > adv*

> subj I searched for the string *"subordinator – adverb"* (671 instances/16 relevant instances). See chapter 2 for more on these particular searches.

In the fourteen occurrences of the word order *DP subj > adv > v_{fin}*, the adverbs are of the types sentential adverbs, verb modifying adverbs and focus adverbs (five occurrences). The focus adverb is *bare* ('just'), which in each case focalises the predicate and not the subject. The subjects are definite, but one is indefinite and another one is quantified. The indefinite and quantified subjects occur before a temporal and a focus adverb, respectively.

For the 16 instances of the word order *adv > DP subj > v_{fin}*, the adverbs are sentential (including a modal particle) or focus adverbs, but there are also two verb modifying adverbs. Such adverbs are not expected to precede subjects, and I will among other things discuss these in the following subsection. The focus adverbs are of various sorts, such as *bare* ('just'), *selv* (the reflexive emphasiser) and *derimot* ('on the other hand'). The subjects are mostly definite, but there are two quantified subjects, and three indefinite subjects. They are furthermore both specific and non-specific.

4.6.3.1 *Discussion*

The brief survey of adverbs and subjects in 4.6.3 reveals a pattern that was close to what was expected. I still want to discuss two issues: The examples with a verb modifying adverb and the examples with the discourse marker *liksom* ('like') (cf. Hasund 2006).

I stated above that free adverbials/verb modifying adverbs cannot precede subjects. There are, however, two examples of this in the NoTa-corpus, of which one is given in (36a).

(36) a. så   flyttet   vi   fordi   at   **først** *barna*   flyttet   ut   av huset   og
          then moved   we   because that   first   children.DEF moved out   of house.DEF and
          kona   og   jeg ble   alene   (NoTa, Oslo, No.)
          wife.DEF and   I   became alone
          'Then we moved because first the children moved out of the house and my wife and I were left alone'

      b. … fordi   at   først flyttet barna   ut   av huset   og   kona   og
          because that   first   moved children.DEF out   of house.DEF and   wife.DEF and
          jeg   ble   alene
          I   became alone

The example in (36a) sounds very unnatural to me, but when listening to the example, it is pronounced naturally and smoothly. The interpretation of the adverb is quite literal, meaning *first*. The proposition it modifies happened first, and then the clause initial proposition occurred. In fact, this clause is of the type discussed in Falk and Torp (1900) (see section 4.3.3 above), where a constituent is topicalised without inversion between the subject and the verb (which would be the most acceptable structure today). The *fordi*-clause in this example is a clear V2 context (cf. (13) above), and V2 would be appropriate, as shown in (36b). The reason for the lack of V2 may be ascribed to extra-linguistic factors.

As for the discourse marker *liksom* ('like'), this adverb precedes DP subjects, but also pronominal ones. Its distribution is different from that of "ordinary" sentential adverbs (cf. Hasund 2006: 96ff on

this adverb and a comparison with the English adverb 'like'), and in the pre-subject position it has lost its original meaning. Consider the following example:

(37) etter at **liksom** *teppet* var gått ned så kom jo alle ut
after that like curtain.DEF was gone down then came mod.prt. everybody out
og takket og bukket og nikket og neide (NoTa, Oslo, No.)
and thanked and bowed and nodded and curtsied
'After the curtain came down everybody came out and thanked and bowed and nodded and curtsied'

(37) means that the curtain was lowered. If one interprets the adverb literally with its original semantic content, the curtain was not lowered, it only seemed like it was. The high/leftmost position of *liksom* ('like') in (37) prevents this interpretation. Such heightening seems to be typical for items with bleached semantic (and prosodic) content/features (cf. Halmøy 2010: 142 on the lack of stress as implicating bleaching of semantic meaning).

In my material, most of the adverbs that precede a subject are either non-factive or focus adverbs (cf. Jensen 1995 on Danish above). There is, however, one example that further indicates the differences between the syntax of Norwegian and Danish in this respect. Consider the following sentence:

(38) det er ikke tvil om at Solør som **jo** *N1* er en del av
it is not doubt about that Solør which mod.prt N1 is a part of
'There's no doubt that Solør, which N1 is a part of, …' (NoTa) (Oslo, No.)

In (38) the (factive) modal particle *jo* precedes a proper name in a presupposed relative clause. Recall that Jensen (1995) explicitly mentions that in Danish *jo* cannot precede a subject, since it is unstressed and factive.

To summarise, it seems as if only sentential adverbs (including focus adverbs) can precede subjects in embedded clauses in the Oslo dialect grammar. This holds irrespective of factivity. This finding supports the claim in Faarlund et al. (1997) and the findings in Andréasson (2007), namely that free adverbials/VP modifiers cannot precede subjects.

In the next section I suggest some analyses of both the regular and "irregular" word orders that appear in the NoTa-corpus.

4.6.4 **Analysis**

In accordance with the structures proposed in Julien (2007), and Wiklund et al. (2007), I assume the following structures for embedded V2 contexts and embedded non-V2 contexts:[63]

---

[63] Heycock et al. (2010: 90ff) suggest that ForceP and TopP are fused in Mainland North Germanic, but not in Icelandic and Faroese, so that TopP can occur independently of ForceP. This is suggested on the basis of embedded V2 being allowed in more contexts (i.e. also in typical non-V2 contexts) in Icelandic and Faroese than in Mainland North Germanic.

(39)   a. **Embedded non-V2 contexts:**
             SubP > (TopP) > (FocP) > FinP > AgrSP > NegP > TP
        b. **Embedded V2 contexts:**
             SubP > ForceP > (TopP) > (FocP) > FinP > AgrSP > NegP > TP

The difference between embedded clauses in a V2 context and embedded clauses in a non-V2 context is the amount of structure in the CP-domain and in particular the presence or absence of ForceP.

As for the technical details, I adopt Westergaard and Vangsnes' (2005) analysis of the licensing of Fin°. Westergaard and Vangsnes (2005: 140), inspired by Pesetsky and Torrego (2001), assume that Fin° is licensed either by verb movement to this head, or by subject movement to Spec,FinP: In main clauses when the verb raises to a head above Fin°, Fin° is licensed by verb movement through this head. In embedded clauses where there is no verb movement to a higher head, Fin° is licensed by the subject in Spec,FinP. The theory of 'licensing' is based on the *Identification theory* in Vangsnes (1999), in which the intuitive idea is that "something must 'show that they are there'" (Vangsnes 1999: 4). A functional category can be identified or licensed by a constituent occupying either its head or its specifier.[64]

In addition to the verb and the subject, I assume that also the finite complementiser *at* ('that') may license Fin°, resulting in complex complementisers such as *hvis at* ('it that').

For the licensing of Force° in embedded V2 contexts, I assume a similar mechanism: It is either licensed by the verb or by the subject. In addition, I assume that there is a (strong) EPP feature on Force°, which ensures that its specifier is filled.

The word order patterns observed, follow from these analyses. In embedded non-V2 contexts the subject must license Fin° by movement to Spec,FinP, since the verb remains low, and the subject precedes negation and adverbs, as it usually does in the NoTa-corpus. A tree structure and explanation are given in (43) below, but it can schematically be illustrated as follows (AgrSP omitted):

(40)   [$_{SubP}$ *compl* [$_{FinP}$ *subject* [$_{NegP}$ *neg* [$_{TP}$ ~~subject~~ V_{fin} [$_{vP}$ ~~subject V_{fin}~~]]]]]

In embedded V2 contexts, illustrated in (41) and (42), either the verb licenses Fin° on its way to Force°, or, in case the verb stays low, the subject licenses both Fin° and Force°. If the verb moves into the CP-domain, the clause resembles a regular main declarative clause, and the EPP-feature in the head of ForceP triggers movement of an appropriate constituent to Spec,ForceP. Inverted subjects then remain inside the IP domain, cf. the analysis of main clauses in chapter 3.

(41)   [SubP *at* [$_{ForceP}$ XP [Force°$_{[EPP]}$ V_{fin}] [$_{FinP}$ [Fin° ~~V_{fin}~~] [$_{AgrSP}$ (*subject$_{pron}$*) ~~V_{fin}~~ [$_{NegP}$ *ikke* [$_{TP}$ (*subject$_{DP}$*) ~~V_{fin}~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~subject V_{fin}~~]]]]]]]

---

[64] Identification: "A functional category must be identified by having a constituent containing one or more relevant morphological features either in its specifier or head position. The constituent mut be merged within the extended projection of which the functional category is a part" (Vangsnes 1999: 4).

In (41) an analysis of an embedded V2 clause with topicalisation is shown. The finite verb licenses the heads of FinP and ForceP, and the subject remains within the IP domain.

Recall from section 4.3.2 that negation cannot precede subjects when the verb remains low in the complement of assertive verbs like *say* in Danish and Swedish, which also seems to hold for the Oslo dialect (cf. the discussion in section 4.6.2). This observation may be analysed as the subject must target Spec,ForceP when there is no verb movement, due to the EPP feature in the head of ForceP. In such cases, there is no room for other constituents to the left of the subject.

(42) $[_{SubP}$ *at* $[_{ForceP}$ *subject* Force°$_{[EPP]}$ $[_{FinP}$ ~~subj~~ Fin° $[_{AgrSP}$ ~~subj~~ $[_{NegP}$ *ikke* $[_{TP}$ ~~subj~~ V_{fin} $[_{vP}$ ~~subj~~ ~~V_{fin}~~$]]]]]]]$

The structure in (42) examplifies an analysis of a embedded V3 clause in an embedded V2 context (for instance in the complement of a verb like *say*). Because it occurs in an embedded V2 context, I assume that ForceP is projected, which, due to the requirements mentioned above, must have a constituent in its specifier. In the case of (42) it is the subject, and since it occurs in the highest projection, there is no room for adverbs to precede it. Consider also the tree structure in (46) below.

In the preceding examination of embedded clauses in the NoTa-corpus, the most frequent word order in embedded V3 clauses is *subj > neg*, which is analysed in (40) above. The less frequent embedded V3 word order *neg/adv > subj* is discussed in 4.6.5. This section on exceptions also includes a short discussion on the structural differences between embedded clauses in "real" V2 contexts and "potential" V2 contexts (cf. subsection 4.4.2.4).

4.6.5   **Exceptions**

Recall from table Table 17 that negation precedes DP subjects in 30% of the instances, and 12% of the instances with pronominal subjects. As for the word order *neg > DP subj > v_{fin}* one can imagine that the negative marker in these cases occupies FocP. However, I find the motivation behind the presence of FocP to be poor: Neither the negative marker nor the subject seem to be interpreted as focalised, and in addition the negative marker is not stressed. Rather, I think that understanding negation as a PF-clitic when it precedes DP subjects, is a better analysis. This analysis would capture the observation that negation in these instances is interpreted as unstressed, and one can also say that it captures the fact that this word order is less frequent than the opposite one. One can furthermore assume that this process, to some degree, is regulated by the weight principle, as suggested in the preceding chapter.

The same analysis can be applied to instances where negation precedes (unstressed) pronominal subjects: The unstressed negative marker re-orders with respect to the subject at PF, as schematically illustrated in (43).

(43)   non-V2 clauses

```
                    SubP
                   /    \
                  at     FinP
                        /    \
PF:            subj_pron      NegP
                             /    \
                         ikke      TP
                                  /\
                                 /__\
```
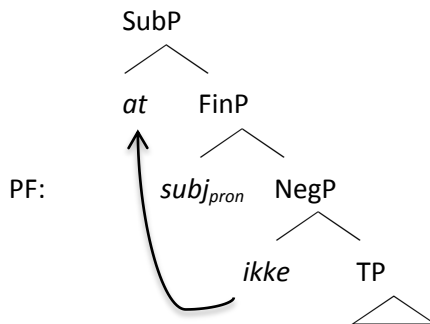
In the structure in (43) the pronominal subject has raised to FinP in order to license this projection. At the time of spell-out it will precede negation, unless the negative marker *ikke* ('not') (optionally) cliticises to the complementiser at PF. The latter option is indicated by the arrow.

The frequencies co-vary, however, with the complementiser (and thus clause type), so that embedded questions subordinated by *om* ('whether') have the order *neg > subj_pron > v_fin* in six out of seven instances, whereas concessive clauses introduced by *selv om* ('even though') have the order *subj_pron > neg > v_fin* in every instance. I do not assume that the frequencies reflect structural differences between the embedded clause types, although that might be a possibility. It seems likely that there are certain phonological restrictions on the complementisers that must be met in order for PF-cliticisation to happen. I refer to chapter 3, in which we saw that verbs should have a particular phonological shape for the negative marker to cliticise to it. Regarding complementisers, monosyllabic complementisers appear more frequently with the order *neg > subj > v_fin* than do disyllabic complementisers. However, the most important prerequisite is still that the negative marker itself is unstressed.

In the cases of dependent y/n-clauses (introduced by *om* ('whether')) and in conditional *hvis*-clauses ('if'-) (i.e. in non-veridical clauses), I will however not exclude the possibility that the complementiser and negative marker have formed a lexical complex constituting a negative complementiser (cf. Jensen 2001; Lindström 2005).[65] In *hvis*-clauses ('if'-) the negative marker may be emphasised even if it precedes a pronominal subject: *Hvis IKKE du gjør det* ('if you don't do it'). Such sentences, I suggest, are bi-clausal (cf. the observation that *hvis ikke* ('if not') may serve as a conditional on its own). I will return to analyses of the embedded V3 word order *neg > subj > v_fin* in chapters 5 and 9.

Another case is when adverbs precede full DP subjects. If we follow the proposed analysis for main clauses in chapter 3, this word order can easily be explained as the DP subject occupying TP and the adverb sitting in a designated AdvP above TP. Although simple, this analysis is not adjusted to the given analysis of Fin° presented in this chapter, in which in embedded V3 clauses must be licensed by subject movement to Spec,FinP. Thus, the DP subject must in embedded V3 clauses

---

[65] My now 4-year old son regularly merges the subordinator *så* ('so') and the negative marker *ikke* yielding *sikke* ('such that not').

move to FinP, in order to license it. If the subject sits in FinP, one possibility is that the adverb raises to FocP, so that the word order *adv > DP subject* falls out.

(44)   SubP
         /   \
       at   FocP
       that   /   \
        kanskje FinP
        perhaps   /   \
     denne karen din AdvP
       your chap   /   \
                  ~~*kanskje*~~   TP
                             /‾‾\
                        ~~*denne karen din*~~ …
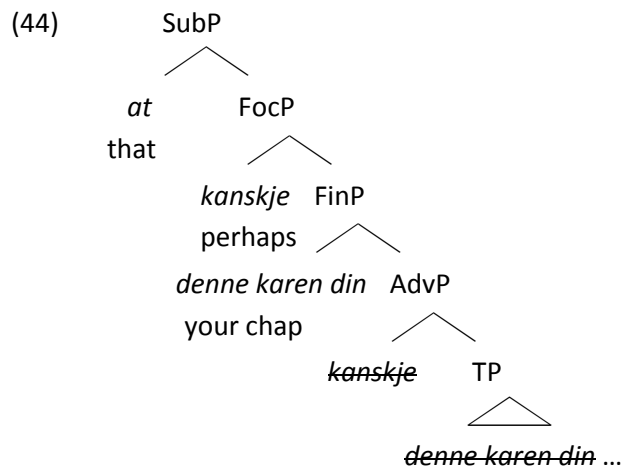
In (44) the adverb *kanskje* ('perhaps') has raised to FocP. The subject *denne karen din* ('this chap of yours') must target FinP in order to license Fin°. Another option could be that the adverb did not raise to FocP during the derivation, but re-ordered with respect to the subject at PF. This is not an impossible analysis, but I stick to (44) on the basis of the word order *adv > subj > v_fin*, which may serve to focalise the subject. The word order *neg > subj > v_fin* may of course also have this effect, and in those cases the negative marker may have moved to FocP.

Regarding embedded clauses with possibilities for V2 I gave one example in (36a) above with the word order *adv > subj > v_fin*. This sentence, repeated here as (45), sounds ill-formed to me, and it 'feels like' verb movement across the subject is lacking.

(45)   … Fordi   at   først   barna   flyttet   ut
       …because   that   first   children.DEF moved   out
       '… Because first the children moved out'

This sentence can be analysed as shown in (46) (AgrSP omitted). Since V2 would be natural in this sentence, I assume that it contains a ForceP, as discussed above.

(46)   SubP
         /   \
     fordi at ForceP
             /   \
         først   FinP
                 /   \
             barna   TP
                     /   \
                 ~~barna~~   AdvP
                            /‾‾\
                       ~~*først*~~ flyttet ut
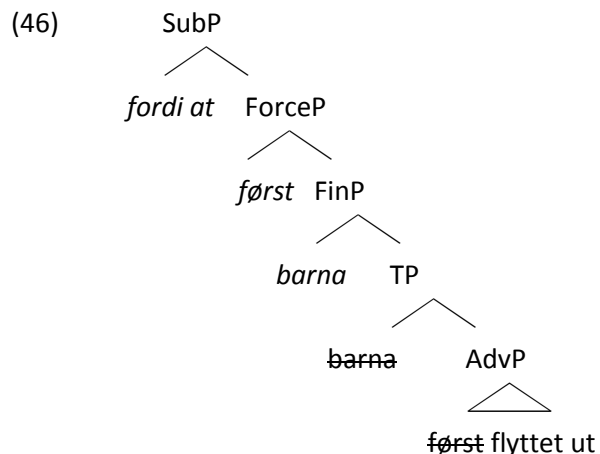
The subject licenses the head of FinP, and the EPP feature in ForceP triggers movement of the adverb *først* ('first') to Spec,ForceP. However, on the assumption that the head of ForceP must be licensed in the same way as Fin°, either by verb or subject movement, Force° is not licensed, and the derivation has thus not met the requirements and crashed. The derivation would have yielded a well-formed outcome if the verb had moved to Force°, or, alternatively, if the adverb had remained low, and the EPP feature on Force° had triggered movement of the subject to Spec,ForceP instead.

The results for searches on the order *neg > subj > v*$_{fin}$ in embedded V2 contexts in the NoTa-corpus, show that is word order is found in clauses introduced by the subordinators *så X at* ('so X that') and *slik/sånn at* ('so that'). Recall from (14h) above that Faarlund et al. (1997) claim that embedded V2 is not possible in *slik at*-clauses ('so that'-). I therefore assume that these clauses allow both of the structures in (39) above, which explains the various word order possibilities (contrary to 'real' V2 contexts, which I assume always trigger a full-fledged CP-structure, as in (39b), in their clausal complements). When such "potential" embedded V2 clauses (like *slik at*-clauses) convey embedded V3 they can be analysed as having the structure in (39a), and when they convey embedded V2 they are analysed as having the structure in (39b).

4.6.6   Comparison of main and embedded word order

The results from the investigations of main and embedded clauses in the Oslo dialect (via the NoTa-corpus), show that there is an asymmetry between the relative order of negation and DP subjects in the structures. This difference is not expected on the traditional assumption that main and embedded clauses are derived from what fills the head of CP, namely a finite verb or a complementiser (cf. section 4.1).

I follow Westergaard and Vangsnes (2005) and assume that this asymmetry is a product of the licensing of Fin°. In main V2 clauses Fin° will always be licensed by the finite verb, which leaves a copy in this position on its way to a higher CP head. As a consequence, the DP subject (may) remain low in non-subject initial main clauses. In embedded clauses without V2 on the other hand, the subject must license Fin°, in which case it precedes negation and adverbs. (This movement is thus not caused by an EPP-feature.) Consider the illustrations in (47) (AgrSP omitted).

(47)   Main clauses: [ForceP XP V$_{fin}$ [FinP V̶$_{fin}$ [NegP *ikke* V̶$_{fin}$ [TP *DP subjects* V̶$_{fin}$]]]]

   EV3 clauses: [SubP *compl* [FinP *DP subject* [[NegP *ikke* [TP ~~DP subjects~~ V$_{fin}$]]]]]

From this perspective, the presence and absence of verb movement to the CP-domain in main and embedded clauses, respectively, causes the asymmetry in the Oslo dialect.

To summarise, in this section we have considered the placement of negation and adverbs with respect to subjects in embedded clauses in the Oslo dialect using the NoTa-corpus. In short, the frequency of the order *neg > subj > v*$_{fin}$ varies according to clause type, and only negation may appear in front of a pronominal subject. This was analysed as a result of PF-cliticisation.

4.7   The distribution of negation in embedded clauses across North Germanic varieties

The main goal of this section is to give a broad overview of the variation found in the traditional dialects, as presented in earlier dialectological work. I also wish to make these data more available,

as some of the examples are highly interesting. The dialects are selected on the simple criterion that relevant examples can be found, either as a part of a dialect description, or as part of a larger text sample of the given dialect.

If we take the Oslo dialect as the baseline, we expect most subjects to precede negation, but with different frequencies according to clause type. Embedded V2 is expected to be found in a wide range of *that*-clauses, as described in section 4.4.2.3 (cf. Julien 2006, 2007).

4.7.1   **Norwegian**

4.7.1.1   *The common patterns*

An examination of the Norwegian dialectological literature does not reveal any great diversity across the dialects regarding the word order in embedded clauses. The small variation that does exist follows the points of variation described earlier in this chapter. Basically, the examination shows that across the (traditional) Norwegian dialects investigated in this section,

- pronominal subjects usually precede negation
- negation may precede DP subjects
- certain types of subordinate clauses like *om-* and *hvis*-clauses ('whether'/'if'-clauses) allow negation to precede pronominal subjects
- *that*-clauses in general allow (subject) initial V2 (across negation)

The three first bullet points are in accordance with the result from the Oslo dialect investigation.

The points are illustrated in (48) with the following examples from a few selected dialects. (Examples (48a,b) are taken from Iversen 1918: 83; (48c) is taken from Brekke et al. 2000: 154; (48d) is taken from Haugen 1982: 155; and (48e) is taken from Johnsen 1962: 52):

(48)   **The relative position of negation and subjects**

a. at **ikkje** *ongen* slog sæ førdærva   (Tromsø, No.)
    that not child.DEF hurt REFL. to.death
    'That the child didn't kill himself'

b. at *han* **ikkje** slog sæ førdærva   (Tromsø, No.)
    that he not hurt REFL. to.death
    'That he didn't hurt himself to death'

c. e lu'ra me på' omm **ittj** *da* e' sånn?   (Salten, No.)
    I wonder me on if not it is such
    'I believe that's the way it is?'

d. Dærsom *åss* **ittj** ha haft slike   (Oppdal, No.)
    if we not have had such
    'If we hadn't had had such …'

e. om æ **ikke** tar feil, viss(t) (atte) der ikke stødår noe te
    if I not take wrong if that there not happens any to
    'If I'm not wrong, if something doesn't happen'   (Kr.sand, No.)

In (48a) a DP subject is preceded by negation, while in (48b) a pronominal subject precedes negation. According to the syntactic dialectological monographs, this pattern is the prevailing one in the dialects. This claim thus contrasts with the observation that DP subjects commonly precede negation in embedded clauses in the Oslo dialect. (48c) shows that in certain contexts like embedded questions, negation may precede a pronoun (cf. the discussion in section 4.3.2).

There are widespread examples in the literature of embedded V2. Some of these are shown in (49). (Example (49a) is taken from Brekke et al. 2000: 161; examples (49b,c) are taken from Haugen 1982: 156, 149; (49d) is taken from Rypdal 1929: 50; and (49e) is taken from Iversen 1918: 83.)

(49) **Embedded V2 in V2 and non-V2 contexts**
a. Mænn glunnjtjnj sa att 'o sku **ittje** je se omm de dær
but boy.DEF said that she should not give REFL. about that there
'But the boy said that she shouldn't bother' (Salten, No.)

b. Dæ va så gale att dæ va **itj** annoL rå (Oppdal, No.)
it was so wrong that it was not other possibility
'it was so awful that there was no other possibility'

c. Dæ fæltt n annj greddj **itj** (Oppdal, No.)
that felt he he managed not
'He felt that he couldn't manage it'

d. men kvinnfolka var so redd futn at dei våga **kje** te sei
but womenfolk.DEF were so scared bailiff.DEF that they dared not to say
nå de (Tresfjord, No.)
something it
'But the women were so afraid of the bailiff that they didn't dare to say anything'

e. æ e rædd før at han leve **ikkje** længe, stakar (Tromsø, No.)
I am afraid for that he lives not long poor
'I'm afraid he won't live long, the poor thing'

A comment frequently made in the literature is something like "embedded clauses often have main clause word order" without further specification of the contexts or what kind of main clause word order it is (such comments are also found in Swedish dialectological literature, for instance in Dahlstedt and Ågren 1954: 279). The examples generally contain either a matrix verb like *say* in (49a), which thus induces a V2 context, or the embedded clauses contain (overt or covert) the complementiser *at* ('that') as in (49b-d). Although *at*-clauses in general are not recognised as V2 contexts in the literature, such clauses seem to allow some kind of V2 more freely than other embedded clauses, as shown in Julien (2006, 2007) on embedded V2 in the Oslo dialect. For instance, the *så* X *at*-clause ('so X that'-) exemplified in (49b) is shown to be a V2 context by Julien (2007).

Based on the examples given in, for instance, Haugen (1982), it looks as if the order $v_{fin} > neg$ is only possible in a subset of the embedded clauses. In the *hvis*-clause ('if'-) in (48d) above, negation precedes the finite verb, whereas all the examples Haugen provides of V2 are different kinds of *that*-clauses with or without an overt complementiser.

Having considered the common word orders across traditional Norwegian dialects, the next section shows the less common structures.

4.7.1.2 *Special patterns*

4.7.1.2.1   The relative order of negation and subject

In some dialects the patterns deviate from the general pattern. The reasons for this are in some cases true variation, but in other cases the explanation may also be that the authors differ in how they have described the patterns in the given dialects.

As for the relative order of negation and subjects in embedded clauses, Larsen and Stoltz (1912) report that negation precedes a pronominal subject in the Bergen city dialect. But they also note that negation may follow the subject. Consider the following examples taken from Larsen and Stoltz (1912: 148):

(50) a. han   sporte   om **ikje** *du*   kunne få   låne   hæstn   (Bergen, No.)
          *he   asked   if not you   could get   borrow   horse.*DEF
          'He asked if you could borrow the horse'

      b. han ba   at   **ikj**   *eg* sku   sæiæ de   (Bergen, No.)
          he requested that not   I   should   say   it
          'He asked me not to say it'

      c. han   sporte   om   *eg* **ikkje** kunne   jælp' an   (Bergen, No.)
          he   asked   if   I   not   could   help   him
          'He asked me if maybe I could help him'

The examples in (50a,c) involve a dependent y/n-question, which, as we saw above, had a high rate of the word order *neg > subj > v$_{fin}$* in the Oslo dialect. In (50b) the matrix verb is *be* ('beg'), which seems to be neither assertive nor factive, and thus should allow this word order.

Another factor regarding the relative order of adverbs and subject in general, may be stress on the adverb (cf. Jensen 1995 on Danish). I only have information about stressed negation in the Oppdal and Stavanger dialects. As for the Oppdal dialect, Haugen (1982: 149) states that stressed negation precedes the subject, as exemplified in (51). As for the Stavanger dialect, Svendsen (1931) states that stressed negation follows the subject.

(51)   Minnj annj kannj no   se mangt såmm **itj** *annj* a   vija   sakt   au   da.
        but   one   can   mod.prt. say much   that not one   had   wanted said   too   then
        'But one may say things that one doesn't want to say too'   (Oppdal, No.)

4.7.1.2.2   Examples of V2 in embedded clauses

As for V2 in embedded clauses, it is worth mentioning three Norwegian dialects, namely those of Setesdal, Stavanger, and Gudbrandsdal.

Heggstad (1916) discusses the Setesdal dialect, and gives the following example of an embedded clause showing verb movement across negation:

(52) Her   va   ein mann som fann   **kji**   hesten   atte   (Setesdal, No.)
here   was   a   man who found   not   horse.DEF again
'Here was a man who couldn't find his horse'

The embedded clause is a relative clause, which clearly is not a V2 context in Mainland North Germanic; nonetheless, the finite verb *fann* ('found') precedes the negative marker *kji*, and there seems to be a kind of V-to-I movement (cf. section 4.4 above). This is the only dialect in which I have found examples of verb movement in a clear non-V2 context in the literature on Norwegian dialects, and this dialect will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

The word order possibilities in embedded clauses in the Stavanger dialect are studied in great detail by Svendsen (1931). In non-V2 contexts, the negative marker apparently precedes non-pronominal subjects:

(53) a. Eg fårrstår   kje   at   **ikkje** *båddnå*   lere   (Stavanger, No.)
I   understand not   that   not   children.DEF learn
'I can't understand that the children don't learn anything'
  b. Spør åm   **kje**   *Anna* vil   kåmma   (Stavanger, No.)
ask   if   not   Anne wants come
'Ask if Anne wants to come'

In (53a) the matrix verb, which normally induces a V2-context (cf. section 4.4.2), is negated. Consequently the embedded clause does not occur in a V2 context. In (53b) the embedded clause is a dependent y/n-question.

According to Svendsen (1931: 139), the finite verb can precede adverbs in the sentences listed below in the Stavanger dialect (he does not mention topicalisation), of which some are described as V2 contexts in other works (see section 4.4.2).

- declarative clauses embedded under a non-negative matrix (*at*-clauses ('that'))
- consecutive/result clauses of the type *så…at* ('so…that')
- admittative clauses (*endå*-clauses ('even if'))
- causative clauses (*fordi/siden*-clauses ('because'))

According to Faarlund et al. (1997) *endå*-clauses ('even if') are not V2 contexts, but *skjønt*-clauses ('although') are. Semantically, these clauses are quite similar, since also *skjønt*-clauses are admittative, and in the examples from the Stavanger dialect, *endå* is interchangeable with *skjønt*. It thus seems that there are no clear controversial V2 contexts in the Stavanger dialect.

In addition to the contexts listed above, there is one further variable involved with embedded V2, namely the subject. As described in section 4.4.3, the word order may vary depending on whether the subject is a pronoun or a DP. In the Stavanger dialect, V2 is possible in the above-mentioned contexts when the subject is a pronoun (cf. Falk and Torp 1900). (Recall that in Icelandic, V3 is possible with pronominal subjects.) If the subject is a DP, there is no V2 and the subject precedes the negative marker, contrary to (53) above (cf. the restriction on *adv>subject* in asserted clauses

discussed by Jensen 1995 and Brandtler 2008 in section 4.3.2). Consider the following examples (I include all Svendsen's examples in order to illustrate the points properly). The first set contains embedded V2 with a pronominal subject:

(54) a. Han trur at   hu   veid   de **ikkje**   (Stavanger, No.)
             he thinks   that she   knows   it not
             'He thinks that she doesn't know it'

      b. De va   så stykt at   du   trur   de **aldrig**   (Stavanger, No.)
             it was so ugly that you   believe it never
             'It was so ugly that you'll never believe it'

      c. Endå   di   likte de **ikkje**   (Stavanger, No.)
             even though they liked it not
             'Even though they didn't like it'

      d. Hu   va   så sure   fårr de   han kåm **ikkje**   (Stavanger, No.)
             she   was so grumpy for   that he   came not
             'She was so grumpy because he didn't come'

      e. Hu   vill' ikkje sei   de,siden hu   visste de **ikkje** sikkert   (Stavanger, No.)
             she   would not say   it since she   knew it not   sure
             'She didn't want to say, because she didn't know for sure'

As for the DP subject issue, Svendsen gives the following quadruplet:

(55) a. Eg fårrstår   at   *båddnå*   **ikkje** lere   någe   (Stavanger, No.)
             *I understand that children.*DEF *not   learn anything*
             'I understand that the children don't learn anything'

      b. Eg fårrstår   at   *di*   lere **ikkje** någe   (Stavanger, No.)
             I understand that they learn not   anything
             'I understand that they don't learn anything'

      c. Eg fårrstår   ikkje at   **ikkje** *båddnå*   lere   någe   (Stavanger, No.)
             *I understand not that not   children.*DEF *learn anything*
             'I can't understand that the children don't learn anything'

      d. Eg fårrstår   ikkje at   *di*   **ikkje** lere   någe   (Stavanger, No.)
             I understand not that they not   learn anything
             'I can't understand that they don't learn anything'

The matrix verb *fårrstå* ('understand') is one that can take a V2 complement, and in (55a,b) V2 is possible. In (55a) the subject is a DP, and there is no V2, but the subject precedes negation (cf. above). In (55b), there is V2 because of the pronominal subject. In (55c,d) the matrix is negated, and

hence they are not V2 contexts. Thus, the negative marker precedes the DP subject, and follows the pronominal subject.[66]

Finally, Heggstad (1920) makes a brief note on the word order pattern in the Gudbrandsdal dialects, illustrated with the examples in (56). He shows that the verb precedes negation when negation is unstressed (although the context is a clear V2 context), but if negation is stressed, negation precedes the verb (cf. V3 in Icelandic, in which some stress on negation/adverbs is needed in order to make the structure acceptable):

(56) a. Han sa   han   ha   **itte** vóre der   (Gudbrandsdalen, No.)
        he   said he   has   not   been there
        'He said he hasn't been there'

     b. han sa   han   **ITTE** ha   vóre der   (Gudbrandsdalen, No.)
        he   said he   not   has been there
        'He said he has not been there'

Heggstad (1931) also comments on this in his grammar on the written language Nynorsk (cf. section 4.4.4) and in his notes about the Setesdal dialect (1916). I will discuss this issue further in chapter 5.

4.7.2 Swedish

Recall from the introduction that Standard Swedish patterns more or less with Norwegian. For Northern Swedish, it is noted that negation may precede the subject in certain phonological contexts where the initial /i/ in the negative marker may be elided (57a), and that the verb may precede negation (57b). The following examples are taken from Bucht (1962: 66) and Dahlstedt and Ågren (1954: 279), respectively:

(57) a. då   -**nt** *ja* vet   (Härnösand, Sw.)
        then not   I   know
        'Since I don't know'

     b. Så fådräs   e jo   ått *ve* skull   **ätt** båra så   se'ra
        so requires it mod.prt that we should not   just sow seed.DEF
        'It's required that we don't just sow seeds'   (Övre Norrland, Sw.)

Of the Swedish varieties, I only have concrete information about embedded clauses in Övdalian. In a North Germanic perspective the pattern in embedded clauses in Classical Övdalian is special: The finite verb either precedes negation, or negation precedes the subject. Levander (1909) explicitly

---

[66] It is uncertain how correct this typology is for more recent Stavanger varities. Helge Omdal (p.c.) commented that the examples seem strange to him and to what he felt was the Stavanger dialect. The NorDiaSyn data (the questionnaire and the corpus) do not clarify whether this holds in the present-day Stavanger dialect, either. Rather, these new data suggest that the Stavanger dialect behaves more or less on a par with the standard Norwegian pattern in terms of frequency.

states that negation cannot follow the subject. Consider the following examples from Classical Övdalian (Levander 1909: 124).

(58) a. Ig ir   redd, an kumb   **inte**   (Classical Övdalian, Sw.)
          I   am   afraid he comes   not
          'I'm afraid he's not coming'
      b. um   **int**   *du*   kumb   (Classical Övdalian, Sw.)
          if   not   you   come
          'If you're not coming'

(58a) is a *at*-clause ('that'-) where the complementiser is elided. Recall from (49c) above that a similar example in the traditional Oppdal dialect also has V2. As for the negative marker *int* in the conditional in (58b), Levander does not mention whether it is unstressed (as in 57a above) or stressed (as in the Oppdal dialect), or simply unmarked. We will examine Övdalian in detail in chapter 5.

As for Swedish dialects in Finland, I have excerpted information from dialect descriptions of the dialects of Närpes (Ivars 1988) and Nyland (Lundström 1939). In addition, Huldén (1995) provides examples from the Ostrobothnian dialect area. Unfortunately, none of the authors explicitly discusses the position of negation in embedded clauses. In the examples from the Närpes dialect the order $subj_{pron} > neg > v_{fin}$ dominates, which indicate that this is the predominant pattern in at least this dialect. Thus, the examples do not reveal any extraordinary pattern compared to the Norwegian dialects: Negation can both precede and follow a weak pronominal subject, and V2 is possible in V2-contexts. Consider the following examples from Huldén (1995: 178, 179, 182) in (59a-d) and Ivars (1988: 180) in (59e):

(59) a. Tär   **int**   *snöön*   var   (Esse, NÖb, Fi.)
          there not   snow.DEF was
          'Where there wasn't any snow'
      b. Så *di*   **intt**   behööva rist   opp   na   elld   (Esse, NÖb, Fi.)
          so they   not   need   slit   open anything or
          'So they don't need to slit anything open'
      c. Men   tå   **itt**   *ja*   e   rekktit   seekär   (Närpes, SÖb, Fi.)
          but   since   not   I   am   quite   sure
          'But since I'm not quite sure'
      d. Säj ott dem att   ja   kåmmbär **it**   naa   no   po läng   (Munnsala, NÖb, Fi.)
          tell to them that   I   come   not anything   now   on long
          'Tell them that I won't be coming for a long time'
      e. He   va   noo   na   veldigt fiint, som *an*   **int**   glyöömar   na
          here was   mod.prt something   very   nice,   that one   not   forgets   any
          foort   (Närpes, SÖb, Fi.)
          quickly
          'It was very nice here, you won't forget anytime soon'

In (59a), negation precedes a DP subject. In (59b,c) both clauses are subordinated by the complementiser *tå* which are both initial, but the clauses differ in their relative order of the pronominal subject and the negative marker. Observe however that the negative marker in (59b) is *intt*, whereas the one in (59c) it is *itt*. The form *itt* is weaker than *intt* in the dialects that have this opposition. Whether the examples in (59b,c) come from the same informant, I do not know. In (59d), the embedded clause is V2, and the matrix is an imperative clause containing the matrix verb *say*, which is a V2 context. The order $subj_{pron} > neg > v_{fin}$ is exemplified in (59e).

Also in the Nyland dialect, as described by Lundström (1939), negation seems to occur on both sides of the pronominal subject, and topicalisation is possible in V2 contexts, as shown in (60c) (example (60a) is taken from Lundström (1939: 153); example (60b) is taken from Lundström (1939: 181) and example (60c) is taken from Lundström (1939: 185):

(60) a. So   froga ja, om *an* **int** sku   kom hi   o   mola min te   tär   kofforten   o
         *then asked I   if he not should come here and paint my the there suitcase.*DEF *and*
         'Then I asked if he would come here and paint my suitcase too'   (Nyland, Fi.)

      b. Go inn   o   byt   byksor,   at   **it** *do*   häver snö i   dom   (Nyland, Fi.)
         go in   and change trousers that not you   have snow in them
         'Go inside and change your trousers so you won't have snow in them'

      c. Dom   sa,   att   **it** är e nogon   skjillnan   (Nyland, Fi.)
         they said   that not is it any   difference
         'They said that there's no difference'

In (60a) the subject precedes the negative marker *int,* and in (60b) the subject follows the negative marker, which has the form *it* in this sentence. The topicalised negative marker in (60c) is also realised as *it.* Based on this selection of examples, it seems like negation has some stress when it follows the subject as in (60a), whereas it has less stress when it introduces the embedded clause, irrespective of the clause's structure (V3 in (60b) and V2 in (60c)).

4.7.3 **Danish**

Embedded clause word order in traditional Danish dialects is studied in Pedersen (1996). According to the survey in Pedersen (1996) embedded verb movement (across neg/adv) is widespread, even in non-V2 contexts, and the word order $neg > subj > v_{fin}$ is frequently used in some of the dialects. Especially the dialects of Jutland and Funen are quite liberal when it comes to embedded verb movement, whereas this is more restricted in the dialects of Zealand and Bornholm. On the other hand, the order $neg > subj > v_{fin}$ is common in the Zealand dialect.

In the Jutland dialect, there may be V2 in all kinds of embedded clauses (except that there is no example of this for conditionals), and also the Funen dialect shows V2 in nearly all types of embedded clauses, except final/consecutive and interrogative clauses. Consider the following examples taken from Pedersen (1996: 245f):

(61) a. Og   så   sagde han til det   her   piger om de   kunne **itte** følge   med ham hjem
         and then said   he to it   here   girls if   they could not follow   with him home
         'And then he asked those girls if they would come home with him'   (Western Jutland, Dk.)

    b. Markerne de   blev opdyrket   så der   kunne   **inte** fås   lyng (No.Jutland, Dk.)
        fields.DEF they were cultivated   so there could   not   get.PASS heather
        'The fields were cultivated so you could not get heather'

    c. Der   kan være nogen   der   kan **itte** tåle   det   (No.Jutland, Dk.)
        there can be   someone there can not   tolerate it
        'There might be someone who doesn't tolerate it'

In (61a) there is an embedded interrogative clause, in (61b) there is a consecutive embedded clause, which occasionally may take V2, and in (61c) there is an embedded relative clause. (61a,c) are clearly non-V2 contexts. In addition, all clauses contain the modal auxiliary *kunne* ('could'). Observe that all the examples contain the negative marker. According to Pedersen (1996: 243), referring to a study of older texts, there is no difference in the distribution of negation and other sentential adverbials.

    As for the relative order of negation and subject (probably mostly pronominal ones), *neg > subj > v_{fin}* seems to be the unmarked word order in the Zealand dialect. The dialects of Jutland, Funen and Bornholm seem to follow the standard pattern with the subject preceding negation. Below, the order *neg > subj > v_{fin}* is illustrated with a few examples taken from Pedersen (1996: 248f):

(62) a. vi skal   passe   på **itte** *der* bliver   hul   i   skindet   (Zeeland, Dk.)
        we shall look.after   on not   there becomes hole in leather.DEF
        'We will make sure there won't be a hole in the leather'

    b. hvis **itte** *du*   flytter dem så kommer kontrollen   (Drejø, Dk.)
        if   not you   move them so come   control.DEF
        'If you don't move them, a control will come'

According to Pedersen (1996: 243), also other adverbs may appear in the pre-subject position (cf. above), which is exemplified for the Lolland dialect below.

    This claim, namely that adverbs may have the same distribution as negation in the Danish dialects, does not hold for the traditional dialect of Lolland. As will be made evident in the following subsection, there is a difference between the distribution of negation and the distribution of other adverbs in this dialect.

4.7.3.1 *The distribution of negation in the Lolland dialect*

Christensen (1936) has a detailed paper on the syntax of negation in the Lolland dialect. In this dialect the traditional negative marker is *enne*.[67] Recall from chapter 3 that the form *(æ)n* is the plain one, whereas the form *n(e)* is the short one. The examples in (63) are given in an orthography as close as possible to the original. The acceptability markings are based on the statements in Christensen's text.

    I have included many interesting examples from the Lolland dialect in this section, which I have done in order to make them accessible to a broader audience.

---

[67] According to Christensen (1936) this form has a different etymology than the other negative markers in North Germanic. He suggests that the origin may be *ænigh(æ)* (cf. *manigh(æ)* ('many')).

In embedded clauses negation has three possible positions, as long as the complementiser is spelled out and no constituent has stress. This is shown in (63) below. According to Christensen, there is no difference in meaning between the three positions. The same holds for main clauses introduced by the adverbs *maaske, kanske* ('perhaps'), *bare* ('just') and *Gid* (modal particle).[68] Of the contexts in (63), only the context in (63d) is a regular V2 context (the examples are taken from Christensen 1936: 160ff):

(63) a. han kunde se, a (**n**) hæsdi (**æn**) ku (**n**) tøge   (Lolland, Dk.)
     he could see that (not) horse.DEF (not) could (not) chew
     'He could see that the horse couldn't chew'

    b. Vi lukker døren i, så (**n**) grisi (**n**) kå (**n**) kom öw.   (Lolland, Dk.)
     we close door.DEF in, so (not) pig.DEF (not) can (not) come out
     'We close the door so the pig can't get out'

    c. Det er en kalv, som (**n**) di (**n**) kå (**n**) fo sold   (Lolland, Dk.)
     this is a calf that (not) they (not) can (not) get sold
     'This is a calf that they can't get sold'

    d. Sig mig et sted, vo (**n**) ha (**n**) nå (**n**) vårn   (Lolland, Dk.)
     tell me a place where (not) he (not) now (not) been
     'Tell me a place where he hasn't been'

    e. a (**n**) de (**n**) go (**n**) galt, er ubegribeligt   (Lolland, Dk.)
     that (not) it (not) goes (not) wrong, is non.understandable
     That it doesn't go wrong is unbelievable'

    f. Maaske (**enne**) det (**enne**) er (**enne**) færdigt   (Lolland, Dk.)
     maybe (not) it (not) is (not) finished
     'Maybe it's not finished'

    g. Gid det (**enne**) var (**enne**) sent   (Lolland, Dk.)
     if.only it (not) was (not) late
     'If only it wasn't late'

Recall from chapter 3 that the word order *neg > subj$_{pron}$* is not possible in main clauses in this dialect, but as (63) shows, it is possible in embedded clauses. The negative marker is short in these cases, and as (64) and (65) below show only unstressed negation may precede the subject.

When negation or another constituent is stressed, it is less acceptable the position in after the finite verb (Christensen 1936: 165f) (cf. example (56) from Gudbrandsdalen):

---

[68] The adverbs *maaske* and *kanske* (both 'perhaps') are originally the verb sequences *maa ske* ('must happen') and *kan ske* ('may happen') with a *that*-clause as an extraposed subject. Also for the adverbs *bare* ('just') and *gid* ('if only') Christensen (1936: 160) assumes that they take a *that*-clause as a complement.

(64) a. Det var fordi (*ÆN) ha ÆN ku   (??ÆN) fo sold si   hæsd. (Lolland, Dk.)
        it   was because (not) he (not) could (not)   get sold POSSESIVE horse
        'It was because he couldn't sell his horse'

   b. Hvis (**æn**) han (**æn**) DRIKKER (??**æn**) sig   ihjel,   saa   æder han   sig ihel.
        if   (not) he (not) drinks   (not)   REFL. to.death, so   eats he   REFL.to.death
        'If he doesn't drink himself to death, he will eat himself to death'   (Lolland, Dk.)

   c. Hvis (??**æn**) HA   **æn** DRIKKER (??**æn**) sig   ihjel.   (Lolland, Dk.)
        if   (not)   he   (not) drinks   (not)   REFL. to.death
        'If he doesn't drink himself to death'

If the negative marker is modified or a part of an adverb sequence, it must also precede the verb. If the negation is modified or preceded by a short (and unstressed) adverb, the phrase/sequence can precede the subject.

(65) a. Hvis (***nån***)   han (***nån***)   kommer, …   (Lolland, Dk.)
        if   (now.not)   he   (now.not)   comes
        'If he doesn't come'

   b. Naar **æs'n**   han   fejler   noget, …   (Lolland, Dk.)
        when else.not he   is.wrong.with   something
        'When nothing else is wrong with him'

   c. …, skønt   ***slæd'n***   det   var   hans   mening   (Lolland, Dk.)
        …, although at.all.not it   was   his   intention
        'Although it wasn't his intention at all'

   d. Jeg har   paa   fornemmelsen, (at) (***egentlig æn**) han   (**egentlig æn**)   fejler
        I   have on   feeling.DEF   (that) (really not)   he   (really not)   is.wrong.with
        (?**egentlig æn**) noget   (Lolland, Dk.)
        (really not)   something
        'I have a feeling that there's really nothing wrong with him'

   e. …, saa (***undertiden æn**) han   (**undertiden æn**) kunde (??**undertiden æn**)   røre sig
        …, so (sometimes not)   he   (sometimes not) could (sometimes not)   move REFL.
        'So sometimes he couldn't move'   (Lolland, Dk.)

   f. …, naar   (***en enkelt gang æn**) han (**en enkelt gang æn**) var   (??**en enkelt gang æn**) fuld
        … when (a single time not)   he (a single time not)   was (a single time not)   drunk
        'When he for once wasn't drunk'   (Lolland, Dk.)

   g. … fordi   (***formodentlig æn**) han (**formodentlig æn**)   kunde   (??**formodentlig æn**)
        … because (presumably not)   he (presumably not)   could   (presumably not)
        'Presumably because he couldn't'   (Lolland, Dk.)

   h. …fordi   (***ærlig talt æn**)   han (**ærlig talt æn**)   havde
        …because (honestly speaking not) he   (honestly speaking not) had
        (??**ærlig talt æn**)   fortjent det   (Lolland, Dk.)
        (honestly speaking not)   deserved it
        'Because he honestly didn't deserve it'

i. …, at   (***til tider æn**)   de   (**til tider æn**) havde   (??**til tider æn**) det   tørre brød
    …, that (to times not)   they (to times not) had   (to times not)   the   dry   bread
    'That they sometimes didn't have the dry bread'   (Lolland, Dk.)

j. …, saa (***for fanden æn**) han   (**for fanden æn**)   kan   (??**for fanden æn**) rejse sig
    …, so   (for devil.DEF not) he   (for devil.DEF not) can   (for devil.DEF not) rise   REFL.
    'So he can't get the hell up'   (Lolland, Dk.)

k. …, naar   (***om natten æn**) han (**om natten æn**) havde   (??**om natten æn**) lukket et
    …, when (in night.DEF not) he   (in night.DEF not) had (in night.DEF not)   closed an
    øje   (Lolland, Dk.)
    eye
    'When he during the night hadn't slept a wink'

Observe that in the examples (65a-c) the adverbs *nu* ('now'), *ellers* ('else') and *slæd* ('at all') are contracted with negation yielding *nån* ('now not'), *æs'n* ('else not') and *slæd'n* ('not at all'), and that they precede the pronominal subjects. On the other hand, if negation is preceded by a longer adverb, as in (65d-k), the sequence must follow the subject (Christensen 1936: 166).

The other adverbs are all disyllabic or more, and are of different types. The adverbs *undertiden* ('sometimes'), *en enkelt gang* ('one single time'), *til tider* ('sometimes') and *om natten* ('in the night') are temporal adjuncts, whereas the adverbs *formodentlig* ('presumably') and *ærlig talt* ('honestly speaking') are speaker-oriented sentential adverbs that signal the speaker's attitude towards the content.

In (65d) the adverb sequence follows the embedded verb more easily than in the other examples. Observe that the matrix verb in this sentence is *fornemmelsen*, which is related to the verb *føle* ('sense'), and which may be classified as a weakly assertive predicate (cf. section 4.4.2.2). (65d) is as such a V2 context, as opposed to the other embedded clauses.

Thus, the examples in (63) and (65) show that negation may be distributed freely in embedded clauses in the Lolland dialect, whereas adverb sequences headed by longer adverbs only have one designated position, namely between the subject and the finite verb in a non-V2 context. Moreover, example (64a) suggests that a stressed negation patterns with adverbs in having one designated position. Hence, the traditional Lolland dialect displays verb movement across negation, which is analysed in chapter 5.

4.7.4   A note on Faroese

According to Heycock et al. (2010: 89), Faroese allows embedded V2 (and topicalisation) to a greater extent than Mainland North Germanic as it allows V2 also in the complements of the predicates *doubt, deny* and *be proud*.

As for so-called V-to-I movement that gives the word order v_{fin} > *neg/adv*, Heycock et al. (2010: 93) report that this option (almost) no longer exists. Instead, the unmarked position for the adverb is to the left of the verb (and to the right of the subject), as illustrated in example (66) (taken from Thráinsson 2004: 244):

(66) a. Har   vóru nógv fólk,   sum *eg* **ikki** kendi   (Far.)
         there were many people   that I   not   knew

      b. ??Har   vóru nógv fólk,   sum eg kendi **ikki**   (Far.)
         there were many people   that I   knew not
         'There were many people there that I didn't know'

However, as in Northern Norwegian (cf. section 4.4.4 above), there is, according to Heycock et al. a difference between negation and adverbs. The embedded finite verb may precede adverbs like *kanska* ('perhaps') and *ofta* ('often'), but not negation, as shown in (66b). I elaborate on verb movement across negation in the next chapter.

4.7.5   A note on Icelandic

Icelandic differs from the other North Germanic varieties in having so-called V-to-I movement in embedded clauses, as discussed in the introduction to this chapter. This is illustrated in (67a). In some exceptional cases, however, (if the subject is unstressed and the sentence type is a relative, interrogative or temporal clause) embedded V3 occurs. The subject then precedes the adverb/negation, as we see in (67b) (the examples are provided by Thráinsson 2007a: 62f):

(67) a. Það   var   Hrafnkelssaga sem   hann ekki hafði lesið   (Ice.)
         it   was   Hrafnkel's saga that   he   not   had   read
         'It was the Saga of Hrafnkell that he had not read'

      b. Það   var   Hrafnkelssaga sem   einhver   hafði ekki lesið   (Ice.)
         it   was   Hrafnkel's saga that   somebody   had   not   read
         'It was the Saga of Hrafnkell that he had not read'

4.7.6   Isoglosses in the literature

Maps 11 and 12 summarise this section and the dialectological information given in the chapter.

   The maps show that the order *subj > neg > v$_{fin}$* (indicated by markers with a dot) is widespread in Western Scandinavia, whereas the order *neg > subj > v$_{fin}$* seems to be mainly an East North Germanic phenomenon, although the data from Swedish are poor. The latter word order also seems to be optional rather than obligatory.

   As for different types of the V2 word order, a frequent comment in the literature is that it is possible in the dialects, although there are few examples of verb movement in 'true' non-V2 contexts. The dark markers in Northern Norway and Northern Ostrobothnia in the maps below are based on the work by Bentzen (2005, to appear).

Map 11: The distribution of negation in embedded clauses
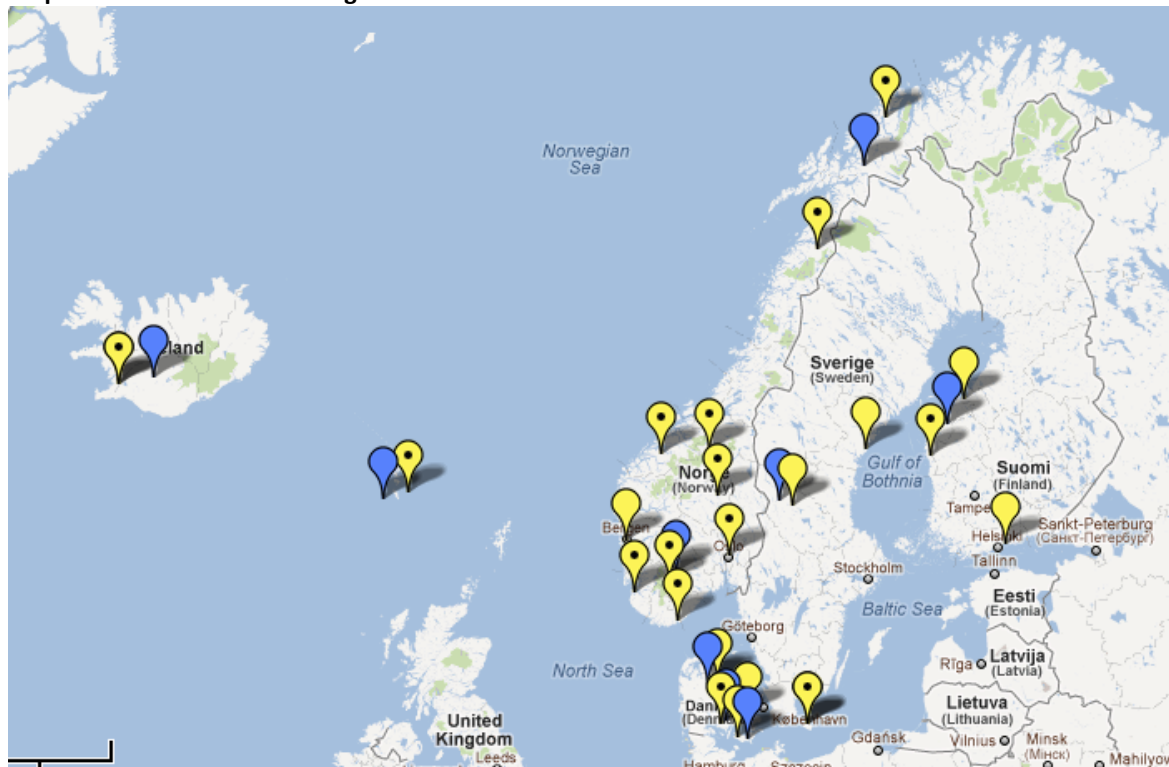
Yellow marker with dot: the preferred word order is compl.> subj > neg.

Marker without dot: The word order compl. > neg > subj is possible, and might also preferred.

Dark/blue Marker: Some kind of verb movement across neg/adverbs is possible.

Map 12: The distribution of negation in traditional Danish dialects

Marker with dot: the preferred word order is compl.> subject > neg.

Marker without dot: The word order compl. > neg > subject is possible, and might also preferred.

Dark/blue marker: Some kind of verb movement across neg/adverbs is possible

4.7.7 **On the modern varieties**

In the modern dialects found in the NSD-database, more or less the same system as in the traditional dialects emerges. Consider Map 13, where the judgements of the NSD-sentence (68) are given.

(68) det   var   dengang da   **ikke**   vi hadde   fjernsyn   (No.)
      it   was   that.time then   not   we had   television
      'it was in those days when we didn't have television'

Map 13: the order compl. > neg > *subj~pron~* in embedded clauses (NSD)
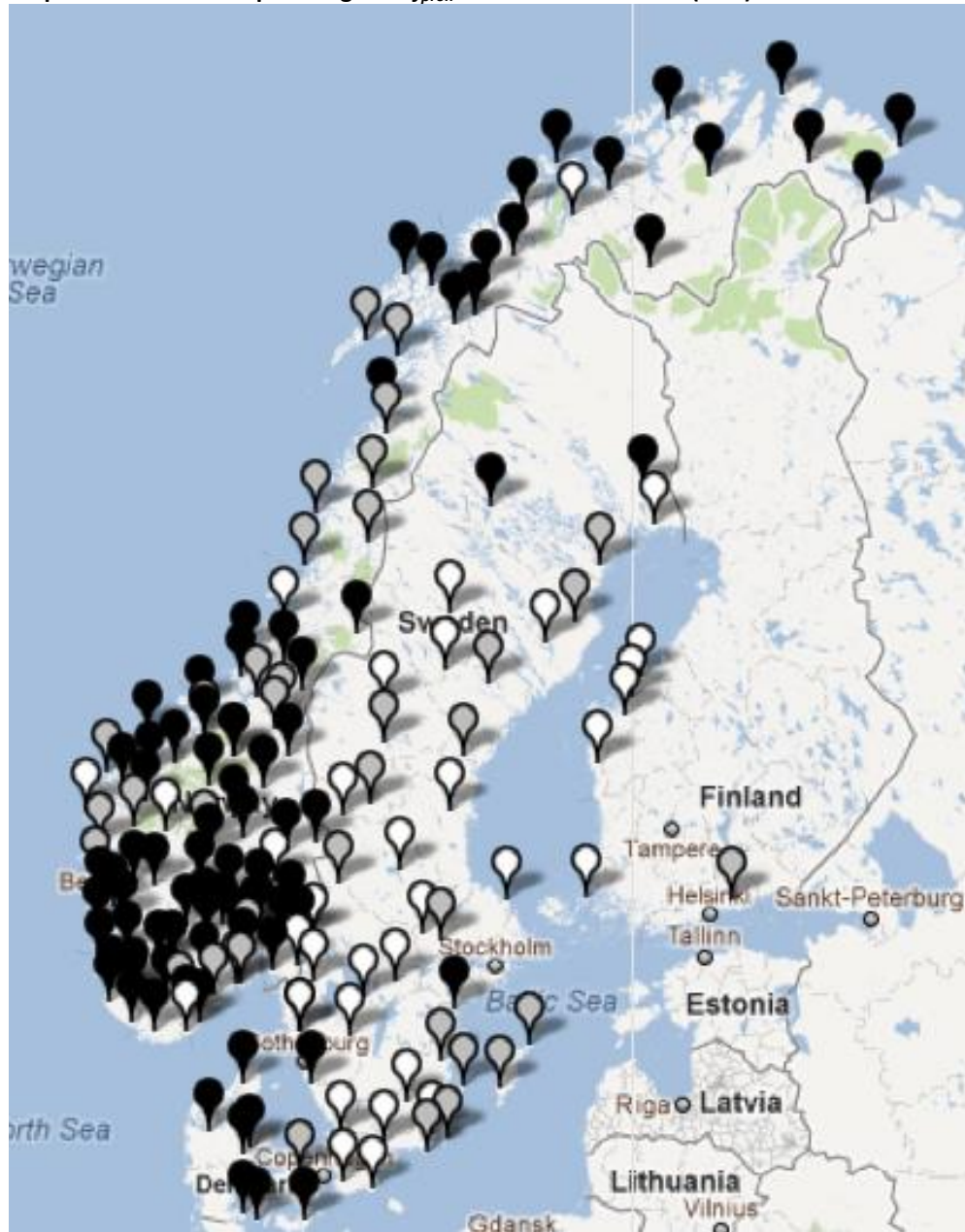
White marker: score 4-5; grey marker: score 3; black marker: score 1-2.

The word order in (68) is judged unacceptable or degraded in most of the Norwegian and Danish dialects, except for the dialects north of Bergen (No.) and in Trøndelag and southern parts of Northern Norway. It is more or less acceptable in Swedish, and it is acceptable in all dialects in Ostrobothnia.

When we compare this result with the frequencies in the NDC-corpus (of which some are given in chapter 5), we will, in the chapter 5, see that most Norwegian dialects pattern with the Oslo dialect, and as such corroborate the judgements. Of the ones I consider, the dialects of Bergen and Trøndelag are exceptional in the sense that the frequencies of the embedded V3 word orders $neg > subj > v_{fin}$ and $subj > neg > v_{fin}$ are more even than in the other varieties. The frequencies for Danish and some Swedish dialects (in the areas Norrland, Södermanland, Vestmanland, Vestergötland, Östergötland) are shown in Table 21, which also includes a column for clauses with some kind of verb second. The results come from the searches for the negative markers (*ikke* for Danish and *inte* for Swedish), which were described and referred to in chapter 3. The total numbers of occurrences are indicated in the table.

Table 21: The relative order of a pronominal subject and negation in embedded V3 clauses (and the number of embedded V2 clauses) in Danish and Swedish[69] (the NDC-corpus)

Language/variety	$subj_{pron} > neg > v_{fin}$	$neg > subj_{pron} > v_{fin}$	(V2)	sum	total results of the search
Danish	6	3	0	9	688 (344 unique instances)
Central Swedish	38	5	0	43	872
Northern Swedish	16	1	8	25	447

The prevailing pattern in all three areas is $subj_{pron} > neg > v_{fin}$. The total number of occurrences is low in Danish, but in three embedded clauses negation precedes the subject. Two of these clauses are *hvis*-clauses ('if'), and the last one is embedded under the item *mon* ('I wonder if'). Recall from section 4.3.2 that Jensen (2001) shows that *hvis*-clauses are more likely to have the $neg > subj > v_{fin}$ order than other clause types. The NDC-results for Swedish are almost opposite of the judgement results. In the Swedish dialects (Central and Northern Swedish) the pronominal subject precedes negation in around 90% of the instances of embedded V3, which is similar to the frequency of this word order in the NoTa-corpus for the Oslo dialect. Thus, the judgement results for Swedish shown in Map 13 above must be treated carefully. Although both word orders get a medium or a high score, it is only the word order $subj_{pron} > neg > v_{fin}$ that is produced.

Observe also that occurrences of verb movement in embedded clauses were found only in the Northern Swedish dialects.

In chapter 5 we consider the word orders in both main and embedded clauses for some of these dialects in more detail, and specific analyses will be proposed.

---

[69] The search for 'Northern Swedish' was made for Norrland county (Ånundsjö, Arjeplog, Indal, Årsunda). The search for Central Swedish dialects was done with a specification for the following locations: Södermanland, Västmanland, Västergötland, Östergötland

4.8 **Summary**

This chapter has focused on the distribution of negation in embedded clauses, and the main focus has been on the relative order of negation and subject. I have examined the Oslo dialect, and revealed that the relative order of negation and (non-pronominal) DP subjects in embedded clauses differs from the one in main (root) clauses. Whereas it is nearly obligatory to have negation before a DP subject in main clauses, most DP subjects precede negation in embedded clauses. However, the investigation also showed that there were significant differences in word order among the various types of embedded clauses.

Furthermore, a survey of the dialectological literature showed that the word order $subj_{pron} > neg > v_{fin}$ is predominant in Western Scandinavian varieties, whereas the opposite order is more used in Eastern Scandinavian varieties. In the next chapter detailed studies of the word orders in main and embedded clauses are provided for a selection of Norwegian and Swedish dialects.

5 Case-Studies: The distribution of negation in main and embedded clauses

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the word orders in main and embedded V3 clauses in the Norwegian varieties of Trøndelag, North-Western Norway, Bergen, Setesdal and Senja, the Swedish variety Övdalian and the Finland-Swedish dialects of Northern Ostrobothnia, in order to shed some light on the negative markers in the respective dialects. As we proceed, it will become evident that there are microvariations between the dialects, and some of these observed variations may be explained by assuming that the negative markers vary with respect to syntactic status. The dialects under investigation is shown in Map 2, chapter 1, repeated here as Map 14.

Map 14: The dialects under investigation

The empirical and theoretical baseline of the chapter is the quantitative and theoretical analyses of the main and embedded word order in the Oslo dialect (NoTa-corpus), analysed in chapter 3 and 4, respectively. I repeat the quantitative results here for convenience (the pronoun *det* 'it' is omitted in the object position, cf. chapter 3.

Table 22: Frequencies of the relative order of negation, pronouns and DP subjects in the NoTa-corpus

Clause type	subj$_{pron}$ > neg	neg > subj$_{pron}$	obj$_{pron}$ > neg	neg > obj$_{pron}$
V1 and V2 clauses	1915 (82.5%)	406 (17.5%)	122 (77.2%)	36 (22.8%)
Embedded V3 clauses	538 (88%)	73 (12%)		

In the Oslo dialect grammar the pronominal subject precedes negation in both main and embedded V3 clauses, and so do unstressed pronominal objects.

Recall from the preceding chapter that neg-initial embedded v3 clauses co-vary with clause typing, and the Oslo dialect survey revealed that negation precedes subjects more often in embedded y/n-questions, conditionals and relative *som*-clauses.

This chapter is divided in two parts. The first part provides the promised dialect survey. This survey shows that with regard to the distribution of negation and inverted pronominal subjects and objects in main clauses, several factors may play an important role:

(1)   a. The phonological shape of the negative marker
       b. Verbal semantics (± lexical)
       c. The phonological shape of the pronouns (cf. Endresen 1988)

The importance of the variables differs across the dialects, and they will be considered when relevant.

The second part of this chapter is devoted to a case-study of verb movement in embedded clauses in non-V2 contexts in Övdalian and the Setesdal dialect. Although verb movement in non-V2 context not necessarily is a part of the dialect grammar of these dialects, individual speakers of these dialects clearly allow it. The concern of this part is potential models of these I-languages, and the perspective is as such theoretical.

The chapter is organised as follows. In the next five sections I will describe the placement of negation in main and embedded clauses in the Norwegian dialects of Trøndelag (5.2), Senja and Northern Norway (5.3), North-Western Norway and Bergen (5.4), and the Swedish dialects Övdalian (5.5) and Northern Ostrobothnian (5.6). Section 5.7 summarises the preceding sections, and structural analyses are proposed. In section 5.8 I discuss and analyse verb movement across negation in embedded clauses in two North Germanic varieties (Övdalian and the dialect of Setesdal), which differs from regular V-to-I movement and the so-called short verb movement found in e.g. Northern Norwegian (Bentzen 2005). Finally, the chapter is summarised in section 5.9.

5.2 The dialects of Trøndelag

5.2.1 Introduction

The Trøndelag dialect area is geographically quite large and covers a range of different subdialects. As we will see, three dialect grammars emerge as to whether the dialect grammars in main clauses have or have not pronoun shift across negation and an intermediate system with optionality.

This section on the Trøndelag dialects is more extensive than the rest. The dialects in the region show considerable variation with respect to the distribution of negation, and from a dialectological perspective it is interesting to get a clearer picture of the position of negation with respect to subjects and objects (Hårstad 2009). The region is also interesting because the traditional negative marker *itj* is threatened by the standard marker *ikke*. Such a change in the plain negative marker may also be accompanied by syntactic changes (Dalen et al. 2008: 407f). The observed variation among the dialects, and the corresponding amount of data also contribute to this voluminous section, compared with the sections on more homogeneous dialect areas.

The data in this section come from several sources: dialectological literature, the NSD-database (Lindstad et al. 2009), NORMS fieldwork in Fosen, a questionnaire investigation at Frosta and production data from the NDC-corpus (Johannessen et al. 2009).

The dialects investigated in this section are the ones given below in Map 15.

Map 15: Locations in Trøndelag
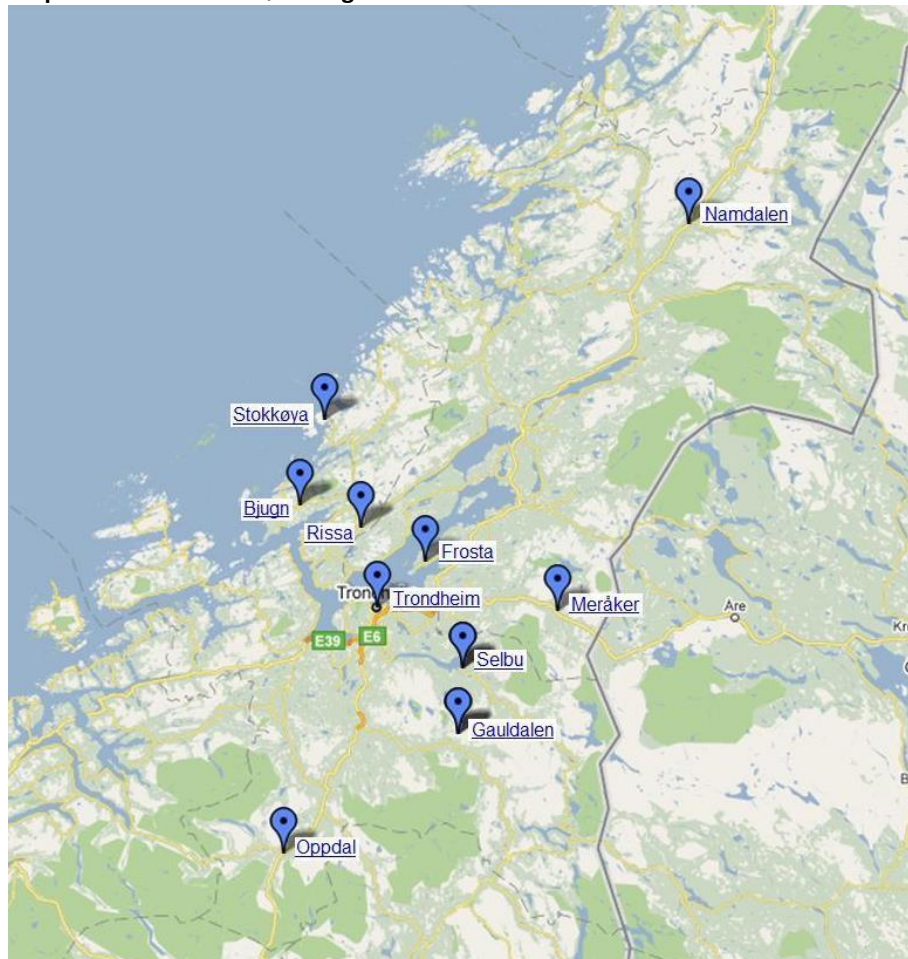
The pronominal systems in these dialects exhibit a phonological distinction between strong and weak pronouns, as shown in Table 23.

Table 23: The pronominal system in the inner Trøndelag dialects

| | nominative | |
	strong	weak
1.sg	æ	æ etc.
2. sg.	du	(d)u
3.sg.masc.	haɲ	(e)n
3.sg.fem.	hu	a
3.sg.neutr.	de	e
(3.sg.masc./fem. [–human])	deɲ	(e)n

In particular the weak forms of 3.sg.masc/fem, *(e)n* and *a* differ from the corresponding strong forms (these pronouns also exist in the Oslo dialect), and these forms are unambiguously unstressed, as opposed to the 1. and 2. person pronouns.

Whether or not the negator *itj* precedes or follows pronouns is partly related to the the pronoun itself (Endresen 1988). Endresen (1988: 49) derives the following three generalisations regarding the phonological shape of the pronoun and its relative position to the negation *itj.* These are illustrated in the subsequent paragraphs.

Generalisation 1: If the pronoun is phonetically realised as C(onsonant) + V(owel) or C+V+C, then the pronoun shifts, resulting in the word order *pron > neg*

Generalisation 2: If the pronoun is phonetically realised as V+C, it varies whether it shifts or not, resulting in both the word orders *pron > neg* and *neg > pron*.

Generalisation 3: If the pronoun is phonetically realised as V, the pronoun does not shift and the word order is *neg > pron*

Generalisation 1 states that pronouns like *vi* ('we')*, me* ('we')*, mi* ('we')*, di* ('you.pl')*, dæm* ('they')*, døm* ('they'), *du* ('you') and *(han)/en* ('he') most likely come before negation as in (2a), while (2b) is not as common:

(2) a. de veit-vi-**itj**   (Trøndelag, No.)
        that know-we-not
    b. %de veit-**itj**-vi   (Trøndelag, No.)
        that know-not-we
        'We don't know that'

Generalisation 2 states that a pronoun like *oss* ('us') varies between the orders in (3a) and (3b).

(3) a. Han   såg-oss-**itj**   (Trøndelag, No.)

         he   saw-us-not

      b. Han   såg-**itj**-oss   (Trøndelag, No.)

         he   saw-not-us

         'He didn't see us'

Generalisation 3 concerns pronouns like *æ, i* ('I'), *a* ('she/her'), and in some areas *e* ('it') in which the initial consonant easily can be dropped in given contexts:

(4) a. De   veit-**itj**-a   (Trøndelag, No.)

         that   knows-not-she

      b. %De   veit-a-**itj**   (Trøndelag, No.)

          that knows-she-not

          'She doesn't know that'

Endresen's generalisations imply that a leading phonological principle in these dialects is to *avoid hiatus*, inducing the following word orders:

(5) a. Verb > Pron (CVC) > neg (VC)

      b. Verb > Pron (CV)   > neg (VC)

      c. Verb > Pron (VC)   > neg (VC)

      d. Verb > neg (VC)   > pron (V)

      e. Verb > neg (VC)   > pron (VC)

As for geographical variation, Endresen states that the order *v_{fin} > neg > pron* is more common in southern parts of Trøndelag than in the northern ones, and he also notes that the order *v_{fin} > neg > pron* is advancing.

In the following we will consider the three Fosen dialects in detail, including, for the sake of comparison, a few other Trøndelag dialects, too,.

5.2.2 **Main clauses**

5.2.1 *The Fosen dialects – judgement data*
Recall from chapter 3 that according to the result in the NSD-database the relative order of negation and pronouns is more or less free in the various Trøndelag varieties. This picture becomes more refined when other data from the dialects are examined, although the data show some degree of optionality.

The judgement data from the Fosen dialect workshop (NORMS 2009) indicate that the dialect grammars of the Stokkøya, Bjugn and Skaugdalen dialects differ from each other in the following way: In the Stokkøya and Bjugn dialects there is a preference for Pronoun Shift across negation; whereas the Skaugdalen dialect has a preference for no Pronoun Shift across negation.

The Stokkøya data is given in (6). Observe that the order *(v_{fin} >) pron > neg* is the preferred one in every sentence.

(6) a. I går   las   (??**itj**)   *n* (**itj**) boka   (Stokkøya, No.)
        yesterday *read* *not*   *he* *not* *book.DEF*
        'He didn't read the book yesterday'

    b. Det   såg   (?**itj**) *æ* (**itj**)   (Stokkøya, No.)
        that *saw* *not* *I* *not*
        'I didn't see that'

    c. Per   las   (?**itj**) *a*   (ᵗ**itj**)[70]   (Stokkøya, No.)
        Per *read* *not* *her*   *not*
        'Per didn't read it'

    d. Han såg   (?**itj**) *oss* (ᵗ**itj**)   (Stokkøya, No.)
        he   *saw* *not* *us*   *not*
        'He didn't see us'

    e. Derfor såg   (??**itj**) *n* (?**itj**) *dæm* (**itj**)   (Stokkøya, No.)
        therefore saw *not* *he* *not*   *them* *not*
        'Therefore he didn't see them'

    f. Derfor såg   (??**itj**) *æ* (?**itj**) *det*   (ᵗ**itj**)   (Stokkøya, No.)
        therefore saw *not* *I* *not* *it*   *not*
        'Therefore I didn't see it'

In (6a) the pronoun consists of one consonant, and so do the first pronoun in (6e). In (6b,c) the pronoun consists of one vowel, and so do the first pronoun in (6f). In (6d) the pronoun has the form VC. According to the generalisations in Endresen (1988) given in (5) above, the pronouns in (6b,c,d,f) of the form V or VC favour the order *neg > pron.* This is not the case for the present data set. Endresen (1988: 51) notes however that the pronouns *a* ('she'/'her') and *æ* ('I') may or may not shift across negation in this area of Fosen, and the present data can be interpreted in this way.

    As for the southern parts of Fosen, Endresen (1988) explicitly writes about the Bjugn and Skaugdalen dialects that the pronouns *a* ('she'/'her') and *æ* ('I') do not shift across negation, while the pronoun *det* does. In (7), the judgements from Bjugn of the same sentences as in (6) are given. Observe that the judgements do not confine to Endresen's observation.

(7) a. I går   las   (?**itj**)   *n* (**itj**) boka   (Bjugn, No.)
        yesterday *read* *not*   *he* *not* *book.DEF*
        'He didn't read the book yesterday'

    b. Det   såg   (?**itj**) *æ* (**itj**)   (Bjugn, No.)
        that *saw* *not* *I* *not*
        'I didn't see that'

    c. Per   las   (**itj**) *a*   (**itj**)   (Bjugn, No.)
        Per *read* *not* *her*   *not*
        'Per didn't read it'

---

[70] The sentence *Per las a itj* received a score 0.5 higher than the sentence *Per las itj a*.

   d. Han   såg   (??**itj**) *oss*   (**itj**)   (Bjugn, No.)
      he   *saw* *not* *us*   *not*
      'He didn't see us'

   e. Derfor   såg   (??**itj**) *n* (**itj**)   *dæm* (?**itj**)   (Bjugn, No.)
      therefore saw *not*   *he not*   *them not*
      'Therefore he didn't see them'

   f. Derfor   såg   (??**itj**) *æ* (?**itj**)   *det*   (**itj**)   (Bjugn, No.)
      therefore saw *not* *I* *not* *it*   *not*
      'Therefore I didn't see it'

In (7b,c,d) the pronouns *æ* ('I') and *a* ('she'/'her') occur. According to the judgements negation can appear on both sides of the pronoun *a*, but it is preferred to appear on the right side of the pronoun *æ*. These judgements are thus not in line with the observations in Endresen (1988).

On the other hand, the data from Skaugdalen is more or less in accordance with Endresen's observations.

(8)   a. I går   las   (??**itj**)   *n* (**itj**)   boka   (Skaugdalen, No.)
      yesterday   *read* *not*   *he not* *book.*DEF
      'He didn't read the book yesterday'

   b. Det   såg   (**itj**)   *æ* (**itj**)   (Skaugdalen, No.)
      that *saw* *not* *I* *not*
      'I didn't see that'

   c. Per   las   (?**itj**)   *a*   (??**itj**)   (Skaugdalen, No.)
      Per *read* *not* *her*   *not*
      'Per didn't read it'

   d. Han   såg   (?**itj**)   *oss*   (**itj**)   (Skaugdalen, No.)
      he   *saw* *not* *us*   *not*
      'He didn't see us'

   e. Derfor   såg   (??**itj**) *n* (**itj**)   *dæm* (?**itj**)   (Skaugdalen, No.)
      therefore saw *not*   *he not*   *them not*
      'Therefore he didn't see them'

   f. Derfor   såg   (?**itj**)   *æ* (??**itj**) *det*   (?**itj**)   (Skaugdalen, No.)
      therefore saw *not* *I* *not* *it*   *not*
      'Therefore I didn't see it'

With regard to the pronoun *æ* ('I') in (8b,f), the judgements show optionality or a preference for the order $v_{fin} > neg > æ$, and (8c) shows that there is a preference for the order $v_{fin} > neg > a$ ('she'/'her') among the informants.

Based on the judgements from Fosen, the following hierarchy of the degree of Pronoun Shift in the dialect grammars arises. The dialect to the left has more Pronoun Shift than the one to the right:

(9)   Stokkøya > Bjugn > Skaugdalen

5.2.2.2   *The Fosen dialects: Production data (the NDC-corpus)*

Production data from the NDC-corpus confirm to some degree the hierarchy in (9) above, although they do not corroborate the judgement data. For all the dialects, the order *v_{fin} > neg > pron* dominates, but the informants from Stokkøya have more instances of Pronoun Shift than the ones from Bjugn, who again have more instances of Pronoun Shift than the ones from Skaugdalen. The result is given in Table 24 below.

A note on the procedure: I searched for *ikke* in the NDC-corpus for the specified places, and the results were shown in phonetic transcription. The total instances for each place are given in the rightmost column in the table. The table contains the relevant results of the orders *(v_{fin} >) pron > itj* and *(v_{fin} >) itj > pron* in V1 and V2 clauses. The instances with the pronoun *det* ('it') in object position are singled out in separate columns, and are hence not included in the columns with 'obj'. Instances where negation *itj* is followed or preceded by an adverb are omitted. Table 24 does not contain the result with the negative marker *ikke* (i.e. only the traditional marker *itj*).

Table 24: The relative order of negation and pronouns in main clauses in the Fosen dialects (NDC)

Place	subj >itj	itj > subj	obj > itj	itj > obj	det_{obj} > itj	itj > det_{obj}	*Sum*	*Total no. of instances (searches for ikke)*
Stokkøya	24	48	3	0	1	9	85	326
Bjugn	12	46	1	2		9	70	270
Skaugdalen	3	36	0	0	0	32	71	290
Sum	39	130	4	2	1	50	225	

In almost every instance with the object *det* ('it'), *det* ('it') refers to events/propositions, including the one instance where this pronoun precedes negation. See chapter 3 for an elaborate discussion on this pronoun in object position.

Irrespective of this pronoun, however, the order *(v_{fin} >) itj > pron* dominates in each dialect. The frequency of the order *v_{fin} > subj_{pron} > itj* varies. Approximately a third of the subjects precede negation in the Stokkøya dialect, whereas approximately a fifth of the subjects precede negation in the Bjugn dialect. In the Skaugdalen dialect almost every subject follows negation.

The picture changes somewhat when the figures are decomposed according to pronoun. This results are given in Table 25. It shows that the majority of the pronouns that follows *itj* in the instances from Stokkøya is *æ* ('I'), which is, as just mentioned, of a form that is likely to follow negation.

Table 25: The relative order of negation and pronouns in main clauses in Stokkøya and Namdalen dialects (NDC).

Place	w.o.	æ *'I'*	vi *'we'*	det *'it'*	(e)n/han *he.CL/he*	sæ *REFL*	dem *'them'*	du *you.SG*	di *'they'*	mæ *'me'*	oss *'us'*	Sum
Stokk-øya	p>itj	3	5	6	4	0	2	4	1	1	1	27
	itj>p	37	0	6	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	48
Bjugn	p>itj	0	1	7	1 (han)	1	0	3	1			14
	itj>p	26	1	13	1	0	4	2	0			47
Skaugdalen	p>itj	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3
	itj>p	16	2	10	2	0	3	3	0	0	0	36
Sum		82	10	42	9	1	9	18	2	1	1	175

If we disregard the pronoun *æ* ('I'), which has a form that favour the order $v_{fin} > neg > æ$, the majority of the pronouns in Stokkøya follows negation. In the Bjugn dialect the order $v_{fin} > neg > pron$ still dominates, and the dominance of this order is even greater in the Skaugdalen dialect.

The hierarchy in (9) seems to hold, although the data from each dialect show some degree of optionality. It would be tempting to conclude that the dialect grammar of Stokkøya has Pronoun Shift, whereas the system of the Skaugdalen dialect lacks it. The data do however not support such a conclusion, a certain degree of optionality must be a part of the dialect grammars.

The relative order of the negative marker *itj* and (unstressed) pronouns is an interesting issue in the entire dialect region of Trøndelag. Recall that Endresen (1988) observes that there is more Pronoun Shift in the Northern parts than in the Southern parts. These tendencies are reflected in the data presented next, but the data also seem to suggest that Pronoun Shift is becoming less preferred.

5.2.2.3 *Main clause word order in other Trøndelag varieties*

A questionnaire study of the young Frosta dialect shows a preference for the word order $v_{fin} > neg > pron$. Consider the following examples:[71]

(10) a. Hu   gjord (?**itj**) *dæm* (??**itj**) i går   (Frosta, No.)
         she   did   not   them   not   yesterday
         'She didn't meet them yesterday'
    b. Æ såg   (?**itj**) *dåkk* (??**itj**)   i går   (Frosta, No.)
         I   saw   not   you.PL.   not   yesterday
         'I didn't see you yesterday'
    c. Hu   lest   (?**itj**) *n* (??**itj**)   (Frosta, No.)
         she   read   not   it   not
         'She didn't read it'

---

[71] This investigation was done by a questionnaire that was handed out to all the pupils in the 10th grade. There was no one that orally presented/introduced the questionnaire; all they had was a written introduction, which may be the reason for the overall low scores.

In these three sentences the best position for negation is in front of the pronominal object. According to Venås (1971: 164) the dialect of Frosta exhibits Pronoun Shift. These data thus indicate that there has been a change in this matter.

Table 26 below shows the results for searches of the negative marker (*ikke*) for the Trøndelag dialects of Namdal, Inderøy, Meråker, Selbu, Trondheim, Gauldal and Oppdal in the NDC-corpus. The total instances of the search for each dialect are given in the table. The dialects are ordered from North to South. Recall that Endresen (1988) observes that the order *(v$_{fin}$ >) pron > neg* is more common in Northern Trøndelag dialects (i.e. the ones of Namdal, Inderøy and Meråker), whereas the order *(v$_{fin}$ >) neg > pron* is more common in Southern Trøndelag dialects (i.e. the ones of Selbu, Trondheim, Gauldal, Oppdal). This pattern can be identified in the table. In the result, instances with the pronoun *det* ('it') in object position are excluded (cf. the discussion on OS of that pronoun in chapter 2 and 3). I have searched for the negative marker, and the number of total occurrences in each search is indicated in the table.

Table 26: The relative order of the marker *itj* and pronouns in V1 and V2 clauses in Trøndelag dialects (pronoun *det* ('it') in object position is excluded) (NDC).

Dialect	v$_{fin}$ > pron > itj	v$_{fin}$ > *itj* > pron	sum	Total no. of instances of searches for 'ikke'
Namdal	21 (70%)	9 (30%)	30 (100%)	182
Inderøy Y.	3 (23.1%)	10 (76.9%)	13 (100%)	181
Inderøy O.	12 (100%)	0	12 (100%)	90
Meråker Y.	2 (28.6%)	5 (71.4%)	7 (100%)	88
Meråker O.	8 (66.7%)	4 (33.3%)	12 (100%)	122
Selbu	7 (28%)	18[72] (72%)	25 (100%)	182
Trondheim	0	6 (100%)	6 (100%)	60
Gauldal	5 (27.8%)	13 (72.2%)	18 (100%)	227
Oppdal	4 (7.8%)	47 (92.2%)	51 (100%)	520
Sum	62	112	174	

The table shows that the informants from Namdalen and the old informants from Inderøy and Meråker have more instances of Pronoun Shift than of the opposite word order. The informants from the dialects in the Southern part of Trøndelag have a preference for not having Pronoun Shift. In the Oppdal dialect nearly all relevant instances have the order *v$_{fin}$ > neg > pron*, which is in line with previous observations on this dialect (Venås 1971; Haugen 1982; Endresen 1988; Hårstad 2004).

To summarise, the data are more or less in accordance with the observations in Endresen (1988).

---

[72] In this number one instance with the focus NPI *heller* ('either') is included.

5.2.2.4 *Discussion of the word order in main clauses*

Endresen (1988) suggests that the order v_{fin} > *itj* > *pron* is advancing, and the results from the NDC-corpus support this. Interesting in this connection is the data from Inderøy and Meråker, which show a clear difference between the old informants, where there is only Pronoun Shift, and the young informants, where no Pronoun Shift dominates.

The advance of the word order v_{fin} > *itj* > *pron* may result in a dialect grammar as in the Oppdal dialect, where *itj* precedes pronouns. This survey reveals a couple of candidates for such a change, namely the Skaugdalen and the Trondheim dialects. The judgement data from Skaugdalen is however not as clear as the result from the NDC-corpus, so ideally this result should be corroborated by more investigations. For the Trondheim dialect there is only data from the NDC-corpus, but the figures are too low to be conclusive. They indicate however that the negative markers *itj* and *ikke* occur in complementary distribution, so that *itj* precedes pronouns, whereas *ikke* follows them.

For the other investigated varieties, the corpus result shows some optionality, which at least can be explained by phonological shape of the pronoun in the way described by Endresen (1988). The word order v_{fin} > *itj* > *pron* is however natural when the pronoun is stressed, as the opposite word order v_{fin} > *pron* > *itj* is when the negative marker is stressed.

5.2.3 **Embedded V3 clauses**

5.2.3.1 *The Fosen dialects: Judgement data*

Consider the following data set from the questionnaire study at the NORMS fieldwork in Fosen. The judgements show a preference for the order *subj* > *neg* > v_{fin} irrespective of dialect and irrespective of form of the subject.

										Bjugn	**Rissa**	**Sto.**
(11)	a.	Kolles	ha	det	sæ	at	**itj**	*ongan*	va	på	3.33	3.25	3
		how	*had*	*it*	*REFL*	*that*	*not*	*kids.DEF*	*were*	*on*			
		skolen	i dag										
		school.DEF	*today*										
	b.	Kolles	ha	det	sæ	at	*ongan*	**itj**	va	på	4	3.75	3.33
		how	*had*	*it*	*refl*	*that*	*kids.DEF*	*not*	*were*	*on*			
		skolen	i dag										
		school.DEF	*today*										
	c.	Kolles	ha	det	sæ	at	**itj**	*dæm*	va	på	2.33	2.75	2.33
		how	*had*	*it*	*refl*	*that*	*not*	*they*	*were*	*on*			
		skolen	i dag										
		school.DEF	*today*										
	d.	Kolles	ha	det	sæ	at	*dæm*	**itj**	va	på	4	4	4
		how	*had*	*it*	*refl*	*that*	*they*	*not*	*were*	*on*			
		skolen	i dag										
		school.DEF	*today*										
	e.	Naboen	sa	at	**itj**	*ongan*	va	på			3.33	3	1.33
		neighbour	*said*	*that*	*not*	*kids.DEF*	*were*	*on*					
		skolen	i dag											
		school.DEF	*today*											
	f.	Naboen	sa	at	*ongan*	**itj**	va	på			4	3.75	4
		neighbour	*said*	*that*	*kids.DEF*	*not*	*were*	*on*					
		skolen	i dag											
		school.DEF	*today*											

The embedded clauses in (11a-d) is presupposed and not a V2 context (cf. section 4.4.2 in chapter 3), and hence we expect DP subjects to be able to appear on either side of negation, cf. the literature reviewed in chapter 3. This is also the case in the Trøndelag varieties, as shown in (11a,b). As for pronominal subjects, we expect the order *subject_{pron} > neg > v_{fin}* to be the unmarked one, which it is, as shown in (11c,d). In (11e,f) the embedded clause is a V2 context (because of the matrix verb *sa* ('say')), and recall that in such clauses negation is not very accepted in the initial position in the standard languages (cf. chapter 3). This is also the result for the Stokkøya dialect, but not for the other ones. Compare the judgements of (11e) with the ones in (11b)

5.2.3.2 *Production data from the Fosen and other Trøndelag dialects*

The production data from the NDC-corpus are given in Table 27 below for the Fosen dialects and the other Trøndelag dialects discussed above. The figures of the relative order of negation and pronominal subjects in embedded clauses are low compared to the ones in main clauses, and any generalisation can therefore only be tentative. One exception is the Oppdal data, where there are nearly twenty instances. In most of the other dialect data sets, including the Fosen data, the numbers are below ten (cf. Labov's (1966) requirement of more than ten instances of a variable,

referred to in chapter 3). Recall also from chapter 4 that the word order *neg > subj > v_{fin}* in general can occur when the subject is focalised or stressed, which also may be a factor. The results in this table come from the same searches referred to above (cf. Table 26). For each location the search string is *ikke*.

Table 27: The relative order of pronominal subjects and negation in embedded V3 clauses with overt complementisers in the dialects of Trøndelag (NDC)

Dialect	pron > itj > v_{fin}	itj > pron > v_{fin}	sum	s-ikke	ikke-s	Total instances of the search
Stokkøya	6	3	9	0	0	326
Bjugn	3	3	6	2	0	270
Skaugdalen	1	6	7	1	1	290
Namdal	3	4	7	2	1	182
Inderøy Y.	1	3	4	4	0	181
Inderøy O.	0	0	0	0	0	90
Meråker Y.	0	1	1	2	0	88
Meråker O.	0	3	3	0	0	122
Selbu	1	5	6	2	0	182
Trondheim	1	1	2	0	0	60
Gauldal	6	8	13	4	0	227
Oppdal	14	5	19	14	1	520
Total	37	40	77	31	3	

Table 27 shows that in the Fosen dialects, the pronominal subject precedes negation in 2/3 of the instances in the data from Stokkøya; in the Bjugn data the portion is even between the two word orders; whereas in the Skaugdalen data the order *neg > subj > v_{fin}* dominates.

In the data from the other Trøndelag dialects, there are more instances of the order *itj > subj > v_{fin}* than *subj > itj > v_{fin}* in the data from Namdalen, the young informants from Inderøy, Meråker, Selbu and Gauldal. In the data from Trondheim there is one instance of each word order. In the data from Oppdal the word order *subj > neg > v_{fin}* occurs in ¾ of the instances.

5.2.3.3   *Discussion of embedded V3 clauses*

The NDC-corpus data from Fosen are not completely in line with the judgement data. For the Stokkøya dialect, one can say that the corpus result corroborates the result from the questionnaire, since the order *neg > subj > v_{fin}* gets a degraded score in the judgements, and since the opposite word order dominates in the corpus (disregarding the low occurrences). As for the Bjugn dialect, one can say that the corpus data show that the word order *neg > subj > v_{fin}* is more acceptable than the judgements indicate, but one must take into consideration that the total instances of this variable are low. The data from Skaugdalen do not correlate with the judgements. One reason may of course be individual variation, since it is not the same informants that have given the judgements and that appear in the NDC-corpus. This precaution holds however for the other Fosen dialects as well. Other potential reasons may be the phonological shape of the pronominal subject (cf. 15 above) or embedded clause type. The subjects are of the form C, CV and CVC, which according to (15) above

would favour the order *subj > itj*, at least in main clauses, and the clause types are spread across six different ones. Note again that the figure for Skaugdalen is, as for the other dialects, relatively low, so any generalisation will only be tentative.

As for the data from the other Trøndelag varieties, we observe that whereas the Namdalen informants produce more of the word order *pron > itj* than the opposite one in main clauses, this relation is turned upside down in the data for embedded V3 clauses. The same can be stated for the Oppdal informants – in main clauses the word order *itj > pron* dominates, whereas in embedded V3 clauses the word order *pron > itj* dominates.

5.2.4 The distribution of the negative marker *ikke* and adverbs

The negative marker *itj* has certain features that the negative marker *ikke* and the shortened form *ke* do not have. The marker *itj* can be both stressed and unstressed, and it is monosyllabic irrespective of stress. The marker *ikke* on the other hand is long irrespective of stress, whereas the short form *ke* cannot be stressed.

For the Trøndelag speakers that have the negative marker *ikke*, it distributes more or less as adverbs and follows for instance pronouns (cf. Dalen et al. 2008: 403f). This impression is also confirmed by the Trøndelag data from the NDC-corpus. There are SS and OS across the negative marker *ikke*, and pronominal subjects precede *ikke* in embedded clauses in the dialect grammars of the examined Trøndelag dialects.[73]

As already stated, *ikke* behaves more or less as an adverb. In the Fosen dialects judgement data show that there is obligatory OS across adverbs in the dialect grammars, as exemplified in (12a). The two question marks indicate the informants' average judgements. In embedded clauses, the default position of adverbs is to the right of the subject, see (12b) in which the average judgements are indicated by the question marks.

(12) a. Æ såg   (a)   faktisk   (??a) i går   (Fosen, No.)
          I   saw   (her) actually (her) yesterday
          'I did actually see her yesterday'
      b. Æ fortælt   nåkka   som (??**alljer**) *ongan*   (**alljer**) hadd hørt   før,   og
          I   told   something that   never   children.DEF never   had   heard before   and
          da   vart dæm   stillj   (Fosen, No.)
          then became they silent
          'I told the children something that they never had heard before, and then they were silent'

In (12a) the clitic pronoun *a* must precede the adverb *faktisk* ('actually'), and in (12b) the same adverb is preferred in the position after a DP subject in a relative clause. These examples are instructive: The pronoun in (12a) is always unstressed, and in (12b) both the clause type and the subject type should promote the order *adv > subj > v$_{fin}$* (cf. chapter 4). It is therefore reasonable to

---

[73] I intended to test the distribution of *ikke* in the Fosen dialects, but the informants told me that they would not use this marker in the sentences I tested.

conclude that the dialect grammars of the Fosen dialects exhibit OS across adverbs in main clauses, and the order *subj > adv > v_{fin}* in embedded clauses.

5.2.5 **The dialect grammars of the Fosen dialects**

There are (at least) three prototypical types of dialect grammars, given in Table 28, and exemplified with the three Fosen dialects. Although I have postulated three dialect grammars, it is important to note that it is quite a lot of variation in the speech.

With respect to the relative distribution of the negative marker *itj* and unstressed pronouns in main clauses in the Trøndelag varieties examined in this section, we have seen that they show Pronoun Shift, optionality and no Pronoun Shift. In embedded clauses the figures are in general to low to draw any conclusions, but they show an optionality between the order *itj > subj_{pron} > v_{fin}* and *subj_{pron} > itj > v_{fin}* in most of the dialect data.

Table 28: The dialect grammars of the Fosen dialects

Dialect	Main Clauses			Embedded V3 clauses		
	$\pm v_{fin}$ >subj_{DP}>*itj*	$\pm v_{fin}$>*pron*>*itj*	$\pm v_{fin}$>*pron*> adverbs/i*kke*	$\pm$ subj_{DP} > *itj*	$\pm subj_{pron}$>*itj*	$\pm subj_{pron}$> adverbs/*ikke*
Tr.lag1 *Stokkøya*	–	+/(±)	+	±	+(?)	+
Tr.lag2 *Bjugn*	–	±	+	±	±(?)	+
Tr.lag3 *Skaugdalen*	–	–	+	±	–(?)	+

The '+' and '–' indicates the predominant pattern in the dialects as discussed above, (?) indicates uncertainty with respect to the pattern.

5.3 **The dialect of Senja (and Northern Norwegian)**

This section concerns the dialect of the island *Senja* in the county Troms in Northern Norway, but I will also refer to other Northern Norwegian dialects. As we will see, the dialects pattern more or less like the Oslo dialect.

The data in this section are mainly taken from the NORMS fieldwork in Senja (2006), where I partially collaborated with Arne Martinus Lindstad from the University of Oslo in collecting different data on negation and related topics. The production data come from the NDC-corpus. The locations in Senja is shown in the map below.

The negative marker in the Senja dialect is *ikkje*, which may be shortened to *kje*.[74] The dialect does not have distinct pronominal clitics, in line with Northern Norwegian in general.

---

[74] According to one of my informants at the NORMS-fieldwork in Senja Autumn 2006, such a reduction is not common in the Senja dialect.

Map 16: The locations in Senja
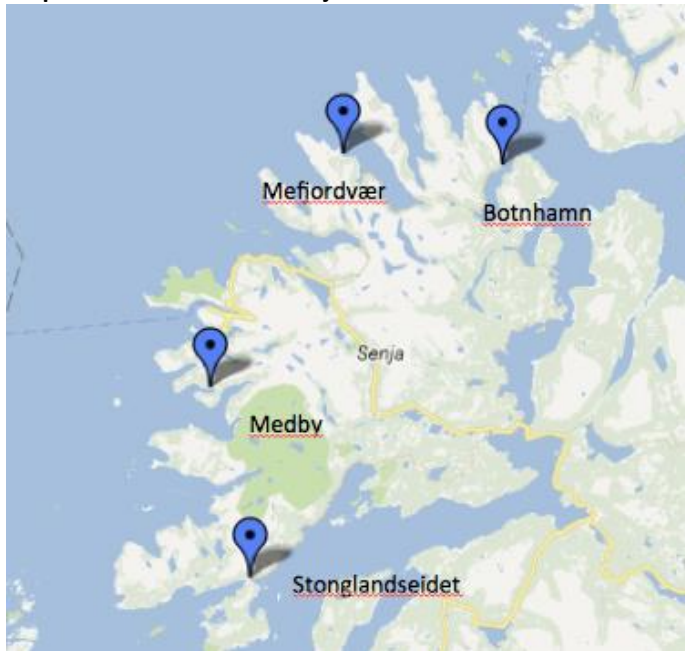
5.3.1 Main clauses

As already mentioned, the dialect patterns with the Oslo dialect (cf. chapter 3). In main clauses negation precedes a DP subject, while it follows pronouns. This is illustrated in (13).

(13) a. I går   læste (**ikkje)** han Per   (***ikkje**) boka   (Senja, No.)
          yesterday read (not)   he   Per   (not)   book.DEF
          'Yesterday, Per didn't read the book'

  b. I går   læste (??**ikkje**) han (**ikkje**)   boka.   (Senja, No.)
          yesterday read (not)   he   (not)   book.DEF
          'Yesterday, he didn't read the book'

  c. Han Per   læste (?**ikkje**) ho   (**ikkje**)   (Senja, No.)
          he   Per   read (not)   her   (not)
          'He didn't read it'

The example in (13a) shows that *ikkje* must precede the DP subject *han Per* ('he Per'), while a subject pronoun like *han* ('he') (13b) and an object pronoun like *ho* ('her') (13c) most preferably precede *ikkje*.

As in the Oslo dialect, adverbs may appear on either side of a DP subject, as opposed to the negative marker. Compare (13a) with the following example with the adverb *faktisk* ('actually'):

(14) I går   læste (**faktisk**) han Per (**faktisk**) ei heil bok[75]   (Senja, No.)
     yesterday   read (actually)he   Per   (actually)a   whole book
     'Per did actually read a whole book yesterday'

The questionnaire study however reveals one particularly interesting thing, namely that OS seems more optional than SS (cf. the NSD-results shown in Map 6 in chapter 3). This also holds for adverbs. This is furthermore supported by the observation that none of the informants was able to reproduce a test sentence with the order v_{fin} > *neg/adv* > $subj_{pron}$, whereas some could reproduce the sentences without OS. Consider the following examples, in which the adverb *faktisk* ('actually') appears:

(15) a. Han Per   læste (?**faktisk**)   ho/den (**faktisk**) i går   (Senja, No.)
         he   Per   read (actually)   her/it   (actually)yesterday
         'Per did actually read it yesterday'
      b. I går   læste (??**faktisk**) han (?**faktisk**) ho/den   (**faktisk**)   (Senja, No.)
         yesterday   read (actually)   he   (actually)   her/it   (actually)
         'He did actually read it yesterday'

The sentence in (15a) shows that the object pronoun is preferred in the position preceding the adverb. In (15b) an example with a pronominal cluster is shown. Compare the examples in this set with the examples (13b,c) above. Observe that the judgements for the distribution of negation and the adverb *faktisk* with respect to pronouns are identical.

A subgroup of the informants accepts (and is able to reproduce) both the negative marker and the adverb to precede unstressed pronominal objects. This fact is quite remarkable in a Norwegian perspective, as the other dialects that allow an adverb-like element to precede a pronominal object (for instance the Trøndelag dialect, see section 5.2), allow only negation and not other adverbs in this position.

Among the Senja informants, we can identify two different groups according to whether OS is judged as more or less obligatory or optional:

(16) Senja-1: 'Obligatory' OS   (2/3 of the informants)
      Senja-2[76]: Not obligatory OS   (1/3 of the informants)

The Senja-1 dialect patterns with e.g. the Oslo dialect.

The Senja-2 dialect is more interesting from a dialectological perspective, since OS seems to be only optional. Based on the literature review in chapter 3, this is an unexpected pattern. This result

---

[75] This sentence was not a part of the questionnaire, but I discussed it with one of my informants, who could not have the negative marker in the position after the subject.

[76] This division does not consider the age of the informants. However, discriminating by age, group 1 corresponds to the 'older' informants (i.e. born before 1970) and group 2 corresponds to the young informants (i.e. born after 1980). Among the youngsters, one informant is born in 1981 and five are born in the period 1990-1992.

is however not corroborated by production data from the NDC-corpus shown in Table 29 and Table 30 below.

A search for *ikke* in the NDC-corpus for the four locations in Senja[77] (Botnhamn, Medby, Mefjordvær and Stonglandseidet) returned 164 instances. The results of the relevant occurrences are shown in the following table.

Table 29: Pronoun Shift in V1 and V2 clauses in the Senja dialects (except object pronoun *det* 'it') (NDC)

function	pronoun>neg	neg>pronoun	Sum
subject	48 (67.6%)	23 (32.4%)	71
object[78]	3 (100%)	0	3
Total	51 (68.9%)	23 (31.1%)	74

Approximately 2/3 of the pronominal subjects precede negation, and so do all the included pronominal objects. The frequency for the order $v_{fin} > subj > neg$ is lower than the corresponding frequency in the Oslo dialect. There is no example where a pronominal object (with a non-propositional reference) follows negation, as the result from the questionnaire study indicates. However, the sample is rather small.

This result is nevertheless in accordance with the results from corresponding searches in other Northern Norwegian locations (which according to the judgements of OS in the Nordic Syntax Database NSD, cf. chapter 3, also have optional OS). The results of searches for *ikke* in four other Northern Norwegian locations in the NDC-corpus is shown in Table 30.

Table 30: Pronoun Shift in V1 and V2 clauses in Northern Norwegian dialects (except object pronoun *det* 'it') (NDC)

Dialect	subj$_{pron}$ > neg	neg > subj$_{pron}$	obj$_{pron}$ > neg	neg > obj$_{pron}$	tot.instances of the search
Hammerfest	27	8[79]	1	1[80]	250
Stamsund	9	7	0	0	152
Myre	16	1	1	0	118
Karlsøy	15	4	4	0	193
Total	67 (77%)	20 (23%)	6	1	713

In the table, the pronominal subject precedes negation in 77% of the instances, which is a higher degree of SS than in the Senja dialect. With respect to objects, there are six instances of OS, and in addition four instances of OS where the pronoun *det* are excluded. There is only one example where

---

[77] Unfortunately, I do not have judgement data from any of the informants in the corpus. Thus, the judgement data and the corpus data are in that respect not directly comparable.

[78] There are four relevant instances with the object pronoun *det* ('it'): There is one instance with OS, and three without OS. In all the instances the pronoun refers to a proposition/event.

[79] One instance with the focus NPI *heller* ('rather') is included in this number.

[80] This object is the reciprocal *hverandre*, which does not undergo OS in all Norwegian dialects.

the object follows negation, but this object is the reciprocal *hverandre* ('each other'), which does not seem to shift to the same degree as pronouns in Norwegian.[81] Thus, as for OS the production data from Senja are in line with the pattern from other Northern Norwegian locations, and they do not support the judgements from Senja (and the NSD judgements) that suggest that OS is optional.

The data basis is larger for the relative order of negation and pronominal subjects. A closer examination (which includes listening to the audio files) of this word order in the Senja dialect reveals that several of these can be eliminated from the survey. Out of the 23 occurrences with the word order $v_{fin} > neg > subj_{pron}$, there are only 5 instances in which the subject clearly is unstressed and clearly is not focalised. In the remaining 18 instances the subjects have various degrees of stress or can be interpreted as focalised in other ways (for instance with the NPI *heller* ('either'), cf. chapter 2).

Table 31: ±focalised subjects in the Senja corpus

word order	+focalised subject$_{pron}$	÷focalised subject$_{pron}$
$v_{fin}>subj_{pron}>neg$	0	48 (90.6%)
$v_{fin}>neg> subj_{pron}$	18	5 (9.4%)
Total	18	53 (100%)

The table shows that most of the pronominal subjects that occur after negation can be interpreted as focalised in one way or an other. It furthermore shows that 90% of the unstressed pronominal subjects precede negation. Of the 5 occurrences with the order $v_{fin} > neg > unstressed\ subj_{pron}$ three of the utterances come from one and the same informant from Medby.

To summarise, this study confirms that there is SS in the dialect grammar of the Senja dialect. It is harder to conclude on OS. The judgement data discovered a split between the informants, but such a division was not corroborated by production. The spontaneous speech data are unfortunately sparse, but until further data are available, OS seems to be a part of the dialect grammar.

Embedded word orders are considered next.

5.3.2 Embedded V3 clauses

As for DP subjects, there is a preference for negation to follow these in the judgement data, and the same holds for pronominal subjects as well. This is illustrated in (17) below. Thus, according to the elicitated data, the default position of the subject is to the left of negation, as in the Oslo dialect (cf. chapter 4).

---

[81] There are many examples on the web in which the reciprocal precedes negation.

(17) a. Korsen hadde det seg at (?**ikkje**) *foreldran dine* (**ikkje**) kom på
    how had it REFL. *that not parents.*DEF *yours not came on*
    festen?[82]   (Senja, No.)
    *party.*DEF

    b. Korsen hadde det seg at (?**ikkje**) *dæm* (**ikkje**) kom på festen?
    how had it REFL. *that not they not came on party.*DEF
    'How come your parents/they didn't come to the party?'   (Senja, No.)

All of the 21 informants accept the clauses in (17a,b) with negation following the subjects. But only slightly more than half of them accept (17a) where the negative marker precedes the DP subject *foreldran dine* (in a context where the order *neg > subj > v_{fin}* should be fine, cf. chapter 4). On the other hand, 2/3 of the informants accept the clause with negation preceding the pronominal subject *dæm*. These judgements are more or less replicated for a corresponding relative clause, but the portion that accepts the order *neg > subj*_{pron} *> v_{fin}* is 50% in that case.

The frequencies in the corpus (NDC) of the relative order of negation and pronominal subjects correlate with the degraded score of the order *neg > subj*_{pron} *> v_{fin}*. Consider Table 32 that shows the results from the same searches for the negative marker *ikke* referred to above.

Table 32: The frequencies of the word orders *subj*_{pron}*>neg/neg>subj*_{pron} in embedded V3 clauses with overt complementisers in some locations in Northern Norway.

Dialect	subj_{pron} > neg > v_{fin}	neg > subj_{pron} > v_{fin}	sum	tot.inst.
Senja	21	4	25	164
Stamsund	8	2	10	152
Myre	6	0	6	118
Karlsøy	14	0	14	193
Hammerfest	8	2	10	250
Total	57 (87.7%)	8 (12.3%)	65	877

The table shows that the order *subj > neg > v_{fin}* in total has a frequency of 88%, which in fact equals the corresponding result for embedded V3 in the Oslo dialect (cf. chapter 3). If we only look at the result from Senja, the pronominal subject precedes negation in 84% of the instances.

When we consider the production data from Senja in a bit more detail, the full form negative marker *ikkje* appears in all the instances of the word order *neg > subj > v_{fin}*. This is also the case for the opposite word order *subj > neg > v_{fin}* except for one instance, which has the short form *kje*. If we correlate word order with the type of complementisers, the order *subj > neg > v_{fin}* has the highest frequency irrespective of the form of the complementiser. The order *neg > subj > v_{fin}* appears with the complementisers *hvis* ('if') and *om* ('if'/'whether'), which is expected, given the results from the NoTa-corpus referred to in chapter 4.

[82] In embedded clauses that are complements to an assertive matrix verb, the acceptance for neg-initial embedded clauses is lower than for this example (cf. Jensen 1995; Brandtler 2008 and chapter 4). This was also the case for the corresponding data from Fosen.

Recall from the dialect survey in chapter 4, that in the Tromsø dialect as described by Iversen (1918) the negative marker precedes a DP subject, but follows a pronominal subject. Assuming that Iversen's (1918) descriptions (which follows the general Norwegian pattern when looking at dialect monographs, cf. chapter 3) hold for other Northern Norwegian dialects too, we expect the Senja dialect to more or less pattern with the Tromsø dialect.

Compared to adverbs like *aldri* ('never') and *sannsynligvis* ('probably'), negation more easily appears in the position to the left of the subject than these adverbs. In (18) examples with the adverb *aldri* ('never') is shown.

(18) a. Korsen hadde det seg at (***aldri**) *foreldrene dine* (?**aldri**) gjekk på
       how *had* *it* REFL. *that never* *parents.DEF yours never* *went on*
       festar før i tida? (Senja, No.)
       parties before in time
       'How come your parents never went to parties before?'

    b. Guten vart sint for det at (??**aldri**) *dæm* (**aldri**) kom på
       boy.DEF became angry for it *that never* *they* *never* *came on*
       foreldremøte (Senja, No.)
       parents.meeting
       'The boy became angry because they never came to parents' meetings'

A bit surprising is the observation that the adverb is judged as better in front of a pronominal subject (18b) than a DP subject (18a) (cf. the patterns in the Oslo dialect shown in chapter 4). I will comment on this in the discussion below.

The patterns regarding DP subjects and adverb are hard to corroborate with production data as these word orders are very rare in spoken records. However, I noted whether or not the informant was able to reproduce the test sentence. Only two informants were able to reproduce one example each of the structure *neg/adv > subj$_{DP}$ > v$_{fin}$*, which I take as an indication that the word order is marked or not natural. Compared with the reproduction of examples without OS as mentioned above, this number is low. Recall that five informants reproduced examples with no OS.

As for the order *neg/adv > subj$_{pron}$ > v$_{fin}$*, none of the informants was able to reproduce this structure. In some respects, this is a bit puzzling, since many of the informants actually accepted the order *neg > subj$_{pron}$ > v$_{fin}$*. But again there may be pragmatic factors that need to be taken into consideration.

It seems reasonable to conclude that negation follows unstressed pronominal subjects in embedded clauses in the Senja dialect grammar. The same word order seems also to be the preferred one regarding full DP subjects.

5.3.3 Discussion

For main clauses the judgement data suggest that there is a variety of the Senja dialect that has optional OS. This is however not confirmed by the production data, which have only one example of a non-shifted pronominal object. A problem with small-scale corpus investigations of OS, is the fact that adjacency of negation/adverbs and pronominal objects is very rare in spontaneous speech. In this case there are only 11 instances of relevant examples for the locations of Senja, Hammerfest,

Stamsund, Myre and Karlsøy in total, which indicate that OS of unstressed pronouns is obligatory in a Northern Norwegian dialect grammar.

One reason for the discrepancy between the judgements and production data may be related to the pronominal system. Recall that in the Trøndelag dialects, there are distinct weak pronouns in 3.sg. (cf. Table 23). In the Senja (and other Northern Norwegian) dialects, the weak and strong forms are identical (except for prosodic differences). This is in particular a 'problem' if the pronoun *den* is used to refer to non-human feminine nouns such as *boka* ('the book'). A couple of the informants used the pronoun *den*, which unproblematically can receive (focal) stress (unlike *ho* in the same position, which will be interpreted as human if it receives stress, cf. Cardinaletti and Starke 1999).

(19) %Han Per læste **ikkje/faktisk** *ho/den*   (Senja, No.)
        he Per read not/actually she/it
      'Per didn't read it yesterday'/'Per did actually read it yesterday'

Thus, the judgements of the the examples with the pronominal object in situ, may, at least in some cases, have been judgements of sentences which are interpreted as having the object in focus.

More research, preferably including other elicitations methods, is necessary in order to establish the 'truth' about OS in this dialect area.

As for embedded clauses there are no surprises, and the Senja dialect behaves on a par with several other Northern Norwegian dialects and with the Oslo dialect in showing a preference for the order *compl > subj > negation*. However, the judgements for the order *compl > neg/adv > subj_{pron}* were surprisingly high, and these judgements were not reflected in production. One reason for the judgements may be that it is hard not to interpret the pronominal subject in the structure *compl > neg/adv > subj_{pron}* as focalised, which would make the string acceptable. Although this was not the intended interpretation, the informants may unconsciously have judged them on that basis.

The discrepancy between the judgements and the production data is perhaps the most interesting issue concerning the Senja dialect. For an elaborate discussion on these issues, consider the methodological discussion in chapter 2.

With regard to the negative marker, we have seen that it is very adverb-like when it comes to the distribution relative to pronouns.

5.4   **The dialects of Nordfjord and Bergen**

The dialects of Nordfjord (in the north in Map 17) and the dialect of Bergen (in the south in Map 17) are in general assumed to behave on a par with respect to Pronoun Shift (cf. e.g. Venås 1971). But as will become clear below, they are more distinct than Venås reports.

The data in this section are mostly drawn from the corpora NDC and *Talesøk* (University of Bergen). With regard to the judgement data I have consulted three informants from Bergen and two informants from the Nordfjord region (Stryn and Hornindal). This issue is discussed in some depth in chapter 2. In this section I vary between using the names Nordfjord and Stryn. I will assume that they exhibit the same dialect grammar. The reason for the variation is that my informants come from Nordfjord, whereas the NDC-corpus contains data from Stryn.

Map 17: Bergen and the locations of Nordfjord
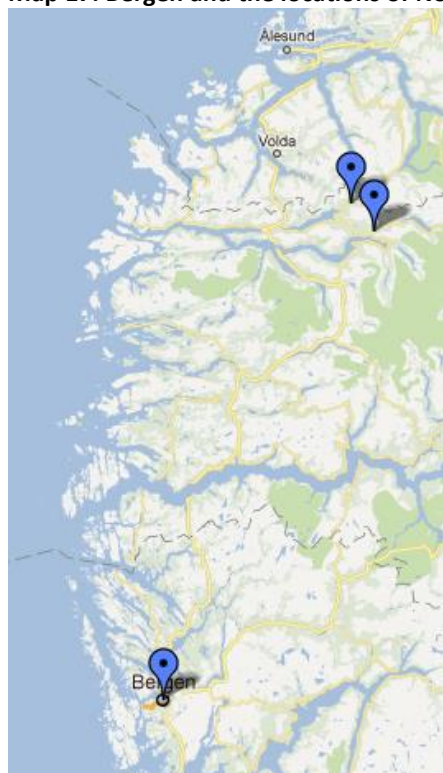
The (traditional) negative marker in Western Norwegian dialects is *ikkje*, which in distinct areas is pronounced with an affricate instead of a palatal (*itkje*). The short forms are *kje/tkje*.

Recall from the dialect survey in chapter 3 that the area is known to have an exceptional distribution of negation. This has been known for a long time, and at least since Ivar Aasen (2000)[1850] (cf. also e.g. Heggstad 1920; Venås 1971; Fitje 1995).

Pettersen (1973) shows that the Bergen dialect has more optionality with respect to the relative order of negation and pronouns than the dialects further north (contra the statements in Larsen and Stoltz 1912 and Venås 1971). This observation is supported by the present study.

The pronominal inventories for the dialects are shown in Table 33.

Table 33: Parts of the pronominal system in the dialects of Bergen and Nordfjord

	Bergen		**Nordfjord**	
	Nom.	Oblique	Nom.	Oblique
3.sg.f.	Hon	Hon	Ho/honn[83]	Hinje/ne
3.sg.m.	Han	Han	Han	Hånå/nå; Håna/na[84]

---

[83] The young man and woman use the form *honn* ('she'), as does the old man. The old woman, however, uses the form ho, but there are only two occurrences in her production data.

[84] In the NDC-corpus from Stryn, both the forms na and nå are used by the old man and the old woman, respectively. One informant from Hornindal, a neighbouring municipality of Stryn, reports that they use *håna/na* ('him'), and one informant from Stryn reports that they use *hånå/nå* ('him').

In at least old varieties of the Stryn/Nordfjord dialect there are distinct weak forms of the masculine and feminine in the oblique case (but these short forms seem to diminish from the dialect, based on the lack of these pronouns with the two young informants in the NDC-corpus). The pronominal system in the Bergen dialect resembles the system in the Senja dialect, as there are no clear shape distinctions between strong and weak forms in the Bergen dialect. Thus, in old varieties of the Nordfjord dialect it is easier to distinguish between weak and strong forms of certain pronouns than in the other varieties.

The dialects are considered in turn below, starting with the Nordfjord dialect. With regard to this dialect I will for convenience refer to the old and the young variety/dialect, which reflect the age difference between my informants. The observed variation between them need of course not be caused by the age difference.

5.4.1 The Nordfjord dialect

5.4.1.1 *Main clauses*

In this dialect, the negative marker commonly precedes pronouns, which is shown in the following examples. In (20) the relative order of negation and pronominal object is investigated, and in (21) the relative order of negation and an inverted subject is investigated.

(20) a. Eg sier (**tkje**) *nå* (*?**tkje**) no   (old informant, Nordfjord, No.)
          I   see   not   him   not   now
      b. Eg sier (***itkje***) *nå*   (**itjke**)no   (old informant, Nordfjord, No.)
          I   see not   him   not   now
          'I don't see him now'

(21) a. Koffor   kom (**itkje**)*du* (??**itjkje**)?   (old informant, Nordfjord, No.)
          why   came not   you   not
      b. *Koffor   kom-**tkje** *du*?
           why   came-not you
          'Why didn't you come?'

      c. Koffor   venta-**tkje** *du*?   (old informant, Nordfjord, No.)
          why   waited-not you
          'Why didn't you wait?'

In (20), the short 3.sg.m form *nå* is used in the object position. Observe that only the short form of negation *tkje* may precede it (20a), and not the full form *itkje*, as in (20b). In this example, negation is emphasised, and the example does not illustrate the position of the plain negation. In (21a,b) on the other hand, only the full form *itkje* may precede the 2.sg. pronoun *du* and not the short form *tkje*. This mystery is explained in (21c), which shows that the presence of the forms *tkje* and *itkje* depends on the phonological context. The form *tkje* is thus a variant of *itkje*.

In the young variety of the Nordfjord dialect, the forms *kje* and *ikkje* have a complementary distribution. For this informant there are no phonological restrictions on whether *kje* may be used or not – *kje* may follow any verb and is indeed the preferred negative marker in this position.

(22) a. Sidan eg er sjuk i dag, fer (**kje**) *eg* (***kje**) på jobb (young informant, Nordfjord, No.)
        since I am sick today go not I not on work
      b. Sidan eg er sjuk i dag, fer (?**ikkje**) *eg* (??**ikkje**) på jobb (young inf., Nordfjord, No.)
        since I am sick today go not I not on work
        'Since I'm ill today, I'm not going to work'

In (22a) the form *kje* is accepted in the pre-subject position, and (22b) shows that it is less acceptable to have *ikkje* in this position. Judgement data from this informant shows that the marker *kje* can only follow the finite verb and not for instance *wh*-words, prepositions, adverbs, complementisers or adjectives. In these contexts the marker *ikkje* is used instead.

The present study shows that there is no Pronoun Shift across adverbs in these varieties, as reported in in Venås (1971). Consider the following judgement examples from Nordfjord:

(23) a. Knut har   ikkje lest   ei bok   det   siste   året,   men i går   leste
        Knut has   not   read a book the   last   year.DEF, but yesterday   read
        (***faktisk**)   *(h)an* (**faktisk**) ei heil   bok   i   løpet av nokre timar!   (Nordfjord, No.)
        actually   he   actually   a whole book in withinof some hours
        'Knut hasn't read any books the last year, but yesterday he actually read a whole book within a few hours'
      b. Eg såg   (***faktisk**)*(h)an* (**faktisk**) her   om   dagen   (Nordfjord, No.)
        I saw   actually   him   actually   here   about day.DEF
        'I actually saw him the other day'

Production data from the Stryn dialect (the NDC-corpus) confirms that not having Pronoun Shift across negation is the preferred pattern. The results of a search for *ikke* in the Stryn dialect in the NDC-corpus are given in the following table. The search returned 181 instances.

Table 34: Pronoun Shift across negation in V1 and V2 main clauses in the Stryn dialect (NDC)

	v_{fin}>subj$_{pron}$>neg	v_{fin}>neg> subj$_{pron}$	v_{fin}>obj$_{pron}$>neg	v_{fin}>neg> obj$_{pron}$
Young informants	5	6	1	2 (+2 with *det* 'it')
Old informants	0	14	0	0 (1 with *det* 'it')
Total	5 (20%)	20 (80%)	1	2

In total there are 28 clauses with adjacent pronouns and negations, and out of these there are six instances of Pronoun Shift, which are shown in (24) (two occurrences in (24d):

(24) a. eg hadde   klabba   opp   te fæmm   tjillometær å   så ætte fæmm   tjillometer
        I had   clogged up   to five   kilometres and so after five   kilometres
        så hadd ***e* ittje** fæsste å   e hadde   ittje gli   eg ha   inngentinng
        so had I   not grip   and I had   not   glide I had   nothing
        'I had been clogging for up to five kilometres and so after five kilometres I had no grip and I
        had no glide, I had nothing'   (Stryn, No.)

     b. slættne hadd ***e* ittje** gli   åff   de va   så travælt   (Stryn, No.)
        worse   had I   not   glide ugh   it was   so busy
        'I didn't have glide, ugh, it was so busy'

     c. fårunndra ***meg* ittje**   (Stryn, No.)
        surprise   me   not
        'It doesn't surprise me'

     d. de   væit ***eg* ittje** næi e ***de* tje** sånn frivill   da?   (Stryn, No.)
        that knows I   not   no   is that not   such optional then
        'I don't know. Isn't that voluntary?'

     e. flytta   eg te Bolivia å   då   blæi ***de* ittje** nåke   håppingg dæi to
        moved I   to Bolivia and then became it not   anything jumping   they two
        åra   iallfall   (Stryn, No.)
        years anyhow
        'I moved to Bolivia, and then I didn't do any jumping those two years'

After listening to the sentences in (24), it is clear that the second instance in (24d) is an error: The negative marker *tje* precedes the subject *de* ('it'), which leaves only five examples with Pronoun Shift. The audio files give me the impression that negation might be stressed in at least three of the remaining examples. If so, this observation explains the distribution of negation. In (24a,b) the informant makes a list of what she did not have, and negation is stressed. We also see that the negation is the full form marker, which seems appropiate in a list of negative expressions.[85] The negative marker is also stressed in (24b), which is clearly evident when listening to the example. In (24c) we have an instance of Object Shift of the pronoun *meg* ('me'), and again the negative marker is pronounced with some stress. Hence, these examples do not necessarily contain the plain negation.

The only examples that constitute true counterexamples, are (24d,e). When listening to the recording, it sounds like the case with *eg > ittje* is accompanied with a little bit of stress on the negation (*ittje*), but it is hard to determine this without measuring it properly. The example (24e) is also ambiguous and can be analysed as either stressed or unstressed.

To conclude, out of the five cases of the word order $v_{fin} > pron > neg$, there are only two examples where the negative marker is not emphasised and not predicted to follow the pronouns, i.e. (24d) and (24e).

---

[85] In negative lists there is a possibility of fronting the negative marker, indicating again that the negation is somehow emphasised (cf. chapter 6).

To summarise, the judgement data and production data show that no Pronoun Shift across negation is the rule in the dialect grammar. This examination also shows that there have not been any major changes in this matter in the dialect since Venås (1971) and earlier observations (e.g. Heggstad 1920 and Aasen 2003 [1850], 2000 [1873]).

5.4.1.2 *Embedded V3 clauses*

In embedded clauses, the relative order of negation and subjects is different, and negation follows pronominal subjects. As for the Nordfjord dialect, I do not have much data, except information that shows that the short form *kje* cannot follow complementisers in the young variety. My old informant only accepted the negative marker in the position after the pronoun:

(25) Eg angra på at   (***itkje**) *eg* (**itkje**) gjorde nåke   (old informant, Nordfjord, No.)
      I   regret on that not   I   not   did   anything
      'I regret that I didn't do anything'

In the NDC-corpus from Stryn there are 8 instances of adjacent negation and pronominal subjects in embedded V3 clauses with overt complementisers. Of these there is one instance with the order order *neg > subj_{pron} > v_{fin}* and 7 instances with the order *subj_{pron} > neg > v_{fin}*. There is also one instance with a full DP subject, which precedes negation.

If we look at other varieties from this region, which according to the literature also have no Pronoun Shift across negation in main clauses, we find the same distribution as in the data from Stryn (the Stryn data are also included in the table): The pronominal subject commonly precedes negation in embedded V3 clauses. Consider the results in Table 35, which are obtained by searches for the orders "*pronoun – ikke*" and "*ikke – pronoun*". The number of instances of each search is given in the rightmost column. The number before '/' gives the total results for the search "*ikke – pronoun*", and the number after '/' gives the results for the search "*pronoun – ikke*".

Table 35 The relative order of negation and subject in embedded V3 clauses with overt complementisers in Sogn dialects (the NDC-corpus)

Dialects/place	neg > subj_{pron} > v_{fin}	subj_{pron} > neg > v_{fin}	Total instances of the search *ikke-pron/pron-ikke*
Jølster	2	10	42/17
Hyllestad	1	1	30/8
Kalvåg	2	5	43/15
Luster	1	14	60/23
Stryn	1	7	181 (search for *ikke*)
Total	7 (16%)	37 (84%)	

5.4.1.3 *The distribution of the negative marker*

As for the negative markers, the spontaneous speech from the NDC-corpus shows the same distribution as reported above: The marker *kje* is mostly used when it is adjacent to the finite verb, while the marker *ikkje* may occur both in the context of a finite verb and elsewhere:

Table 36: Form of the negative marker according to context in the Stryn dialect (NDC)

form of the negative marker	v_{fin} > neg	pron > neg	Elsewhere
kj(e)	70	1	11
ikkj(e)	46	13	40

There are twelve instances where the short form occurs in other contexts than the one of a finite verb, and in eight of these, it follows a modal particle, like *n(å)*, and in one instance it follows a pronoun. The full form *ikkje* follows a pronoun in thirteen instances, of which most are in embedded V3 clauses. The table shows that versions of the short negative marker (that lacks the initial vowel) occur in a subset of the contexts where the full negative marker (with the initial vowel) may occur, and as such they show not complementary distribution. However, the one occurrence of the word order *pron > neg* with the short form, might indicate that *kj(e)* has a very limited distribution.

There were no obvious difference between the age groups in this respect.

5.4.1.4 *Discussion of the Nordfjord dialect*

The data for main clauses are in accordance with Venås (1971), and it shows that the negation precedes inverted subjects and unstressed pronominal objects. On the assumption that this word order is caused by the negative marker being a kind of clitic, or in other words 'weak', it is, given the Jespersen's Cycle (JC, discussed in chapter 1), not surprising that this particular word order is maintained. Recall that JC describes a process where a negative marker is being weakened over time until it disappears. This is what seems to have happened with *ikkje > kje*, which also have led to an associated change in position. The same analysis may be appropriate for the negative marker *itj* in some Trøndelag dialects. A reversion of this process is not expected by JC.

We also saw that the distribution of *kje* and *ikkje* in the language of the young Nordfjord informant differed from the observed patterns from the old Nordfjord informant and the NDC-data. For the data from the latter sources, the form *kje* must be interpreted as a variant of *ikkje* (and not as an independent lexical item). The judgements of the young Nordfjord informant, which show that *kje* and *ikkje* occur in complementary positions (*kje* in the immediate context of a finite verb and *ikkje* elsewhere), suggest that the form *kje* has been reanalysed as an independent lexical item. This can be interpreted as the form *kje* has squeezed the marker *ikkje* from the post-verbal position, and it may be interpreted as the process has moved one further step for this informant and the variety she represents.

The data for embedded clauses support the hypothesis that the negative marker is a kind of a verbal clitic. We saw above that negation usually follows the subject in embedded clauses, which is as expected under the hypothesis that negation only attaches to the finite verb.

5.4.2 **The Bergen dialect**

5.4.2.1 *Main clauses*

Pettersen (1973) states that the negative marker *kje* can only follow the finite verb, while the marker *ikkje* may both precede and follow pronouns in main clauses.

This is more or less what my Bergen informants report too:

(26) a. Det   tror   (?**ikkje**)   *vi* (**ikkje**)   (Bergen, No.)
          that   thinks not   we not
          'We don't think so'

      b. Det   tror   (?**kje**) *vi* (**kje**)   (Bergen, No.)
          that   thinks not   we not
          'We don't think that'

      c. Det   tror   (?**ikkje**)   *eg* (**ikkje**)   (Bergen, No.)
          that   thinks not   I   not
          'I don't think that'

      d. Det   tror   (**kje**) *eg* (*/?**kje**)   (Bergen, No.)
          that   thinks not   we not
          'I don't think that'

      e. Derfor   leste (**ikkje**)   *eg* (**ikkje**)   *den*   (**ikkje**)   (Bergen, No.)
          therefore read   not   I   not   it   not
          'Therefore, I didn't read it'

(26) shows that Pronoun Shift is to some degree determined by phonology. In (26a,b) negation, either realised as *ikkje* or *kje*, is preferred in the position to the right of the pronoun *vi* ('we'). In (26c), however, *ikkje* may occur on either side of the pronoun *eg* ('I'), but *kje* can only precede *eg* (26d). (26e) shows the distribution of negation when there is a pronoun cluster, and then *ikkje* may occur in every possible slot.

Data from spontaneous speech confirm that there is more optionality with respect to Pronoun Shift across negation in the Bergen dialect than in the Nordfjord dialects, as we saw in chapter 3.

In the table below, the results for Pronoun Shift in searches for the negative marker in the corpora NDC and Talesøk are shown. In the Talesøk-corpus I searched for both *ikke* and *ikkje* in a corpus of speech from Bergen, Tromøya and Voss, and the total instances of these searches are given in the table. The data from Bergen are sorted out by the informant codes and consist of less instances.

Table 37: The relative order of negation and pronouns in declaratives in the Bergen dialect (NDC and Talesøk) (except object pronoun *det* 'it')

corpus	v_{fin} > pron > neg	v_{fin} > neg > pron	Total	Total no. of instances of the search
Talesøk (app. 1980)	90[86] (50.8%)	87[87] (49.2%)	177	1105 *ikke*/1197 *ikkje*
NDC (app. 2010)	17 (39.5%)	26 (60.5%)	43	275
Total	107 (48.6%)	113 (51.4%)	220	

The table shows that in the NDC-corpus the frequencies for Pronoun Shift and not Pronoun Shift are 40%-60%, respectively, while in the Talesøk-corpus the portion is almost even.

---

[86]76 pronominal subjects and 14 pronominal objects.

[87] None pronominal objects.

However, the observed optionality between the word orders may be governed. A careful investigation shows that not having Pronoun Shift across negation appears more often in the context of a non-lexical verb than in the context of a lexical verb.[88] The frequencies are shown in Table 38 below, and it is illustrated in the following examples (which are taken from the NDC-corpus):

(27) a. de   *e*   **kje**   eg sikker   på   (Bergen, No.)
         that   am   not   I   sure   on
         'I'm not sure of that'
      b. nå   *snakke*   vi   **ikkje**   så mykje omm historie   (Bergen, No.)
         now   talk   we not   so   much about history
         'We don't talk so much about history'

In (27a) the short negative marker *kje* is cliticised to the copula *e* ('is'). In (27b) the main verb is *snakke* ('talk'), and there is shift of *vi* ('we') across the full form *ikkje*. The pronouns do not, however, have the same form (cf. Endresen 1988), which also may play a role, although I did not see any correlations in the NDC-corpus.

Table 38: The portion of functional and lexical verbs in the configurations v_{fin}>pron>neg and v_{fin}>neg>pron (included object pronoun *det*)

corpus	v-type	v_{fin} > subj > neg	v_{fin} > neg > subj	v_{fin} > obj > neg	v_{fin} > neg > obj
NDC	lex	6	2	4	4
(app. 2010)	func	6	20	0	5
Talesøk	lex	30	13	11	6
(app. 1980)	func	26	48	5	1

The table shows that functional verbs co-occur with the order *neg > subj_{pron}* to a bigger degree in the NDC-corpus than in the Talesøk-corpus: In the NDC-corpus, the 20 instances of this order with the functional verb constitute 91% of all instances with the order *neg > subj_{pron}*, whereas the 48 instances in the Talesøk-corpus constitute 79% of all instances with the order *neg > subj_{pron}* in this corpus. If we only consider the functional verbs, 77% of the functional verbs co-occur with the order *neg > subj_{pron}* in the NDC-corpus, whereas the corresponding number for the Talesøk-corpus is 65%. When we look at the relative order of objects and negation, the type of verb does not seem to matter. Note that the pronoun *det* ('it') in object position is included in Table 38, and that might be the reason for the discrepancy between the frequencies involved with subjects and objects. Recall that the pronoun *det* rarely shifts when it refers to a propositional antecedent, and that this

---

[88] The same facts (i.e. optionality and co-variation with the semantics of the verb) are also found in the nearby dialect of Lindås (NDC). In other Hordaland dialects like Voss and Kvinnherad, the production patterns differ. Voss patterns with Stryn in having a clear preference for no Pronoun Shift across negation, whereas Pronoun Shift is clearly preferred in Kvinnherad. In none of these dialects can the patterns be related to verbal semantics.

resistance does not seem to be related to the type of the verb, which means that the condition on antecedent overrides any word order "preference" of the verb.

The figures that involve subject can be interpreted as there has been a change in the Bergen dialect, so that negation is more likely to follow a functional verb today than 30 years ago. If so, the result could be taken as support for treating the distribution of negation within syntax and not as determined by phonological factors.

Next, we turn to embedded clauses. Recall from the preceding chapter that Larsen and Stoltz (1912) report that the negation precedes pronominal subjects in embedded clauses.

5.4.2.2 *Embedded clauses*
Consider the following elicitated data from the Bergen dialect:

(28) a. Eg sa/   tror/ veit at (**ikkje**) *eg* (**ikkje**) vil   gjøre det   (Bergen, No.)
       I said/ think/ know that not   I   not   will do   it
       'I said/think/know that I won't do it'

    b. Eg angre   at   (**ikkje**) *eg* (**ikkje**) tok   oppvasken   (Bergen, No.)
       *I regret   that not   I   not   took up.wash.*DEF
       'I regret that I didn't do the dishes'

According to my informants, the negative marker may appear on both sides of the subject *eg* ('I') irrespective of the context being V2 or non-V2. However, if the negator is stressed, only the position following the subject is possible.

This pattern is corroborated by production data. Consider the data in Table 39, which comes from the same searches referred to above.

Table 39: Total frequencies for the relative order of a pronominal subject and negation in embedded V3 clauses in the Bergen dialect (NDC and *Talesøk*)

Dialects	neg>subj$_{pron}$>v$_{fin}$	subj$_{pron}$>neg>v$_{fin}$	total
Bergen Talesøk (app. 1980)	11	22	33
Bergen NDC (app. 2010)	6	3	9

In the Talesøk-corpus 2/3 of the subjects precede negation in embedded V3 clauses, whereas 1/3 of the subjects follow it. In the material from Bergen in the NDC-corpus, I only found 9 instances in total, which is a bit low too generalise from. These numbers show, however, the opposite pattern than in the Talesøk-corpus: 2/3 of the subjects follow negation, whereas 1/3 of the subjects precede negation. These figures suggest that there has been a change in the Bergen dialect in this respect, but the figures are too small to conclude on the matter.

5.4.2.3 *The distribution of the negative marker*
Turning to the negative markers *kje* and *ikkje* again, the data from the search for *ikke* in the Bergen subcorpus of the NDC-corpus referred to above, show the following for their distribution:

Table 40: Form of the negative marker according to context in the Bergen dialect (NDC)

form of the negative marker	v_{fin} > neg	pron > neg	elsewhere	total
kj(e)	115 (81.5%)	1 (0.7%)	25 (17.7%)	141
ikkj(e)	45 (33.6%)	24 (17.9%)	65 (48.5%)	134

The marker *kj(e)* occurs in the context of a finite verb in 81.5% of the instances, and there are 25 instances where *kj(e)* occurs in another context. However, in 21 out of these 25 instances the marker *kj(e)* follows the modal particle *jo*, which has many clitic-like properties. In all instances of the order v_{fin} > *pron* > *neg*, the negative marker is realised as *ikkje*. The marker *ikkje* occurs, however, in the context of a finite verb in one third of the total instances of *ikkje*. Thus, as for the Nordfjord dialect, the short and the full form of the negative marker do not have complementary distribution, but the results can be interpreted such that the short forms may only appear in restricted contexts, namely to the right of the finite verb (and potentially modal particles attached to the verb).

5.4.2.4 *Discussion of the Bergen dialect*

Unlike the Nordfjord dialect, there is optionality with respect to the relative order of negation and pronouns, and the optionality is furthermore present in both main and embedded clauses. The former observation is in accordance with the observations in Pettersen (1973).

Given the JC discussed above for the Nordfjord dialect, one could have expected the order v_{fin} > *neg* > *pron* in main clauses to be more frequent today than for 40 years ago. Pettersen does not refer to any frequencies, but the 30 years old data from the Talesøk-corpus, indicate that this word order is more frequent today.

In main clauses, the data also indicate that the choice of the word order v_{fin} > *neg* > *pron* or v_{fin} > *pron* > *neg* partly is determined by the context, such as whether the verb is lexical or not. If we look at the portion of the functional verbs in the two configurations, the figures from Talesøk and NDC show that a functional verb is more likely to be followed by negation today than 30 years ago. This can be taken as further evidence for an ongoing change with respect to the unmarked position for (plain) negation toward preceding pronouns.

The reason for the distinction between lexical and functional verbs needs however not be the category of the verb, but rather the phonological characteristics of the verbs in the two groups. Non-lexical verbs are often monosyllabic, which perhaps makes it easy to attach prosodically to them. They also frequently end in a vowel such as the forms *e* ('is'), *va* ('was'), *ha* ('has'), *ska* ('shall'), *må* ('must'), which also might play a role.

In embedded V3 clauses there is also variation, but not necessarily as much as in main clauses. The figures from the NDC-corpus are low, but the figures from the Talesøk-corpus support the observed variation in the NDC-corpus. These frequencies show that the order *neg* > $subj_{pron}$ > v_{fin} does not solely occur in the context of a verb, which might be interpreted as evidence against a hypothesis that verbs, or the class of verb, matter. But complementisers and non-lexical verbs share the feature of being functional, which might be the crucial factor that favours the word order *neg* > *pron* > v_{fin}. Another, more likely hypothesis is still the one that negation somehow cliticises to the element that occurs in front of a (inverted) pronominal subject.

With regard to the negative markers, I take the data to show that the form *kje* is a phonological variant of *ikkje* in the Bergen dialect, since the forms do not occur in complementary distribution. One could, however, argue in favour of an head status of the short form, as well, because of its very restricted distribution.

Above, we saw that the judgements on Pronoun Shift also varied to some degree according to the pronoun (cf. Endresen 1988 and section 5.2 on the Trøndelag dialects above). I was not able to see any correlations on this in the NDC-corpus.

5.4.3   The dialect grammars of Stryn/Nordfjord and Bergen

The dialect grammars for the Nordfjord (Stryn) and Bergen dialects are summarised in table 41.

Table 41: Summary the Bergen and Nordfjord dialects

	Main Clauses			Embedded Clauses
Dialect	±DP$_s$>neg	±pron>neg	±pron>adverbs	±subj$_{pron}$>neg
Nordfjord	−	−	+	+
Bergen	−	±	+	+(-)

5.5   Övdalian

5.5.1   Introduction

This North Germanic variety differs radically from other varieties in Mainland North Germanic, as discussed in e.g. Garbacz (2010), and it is well documented through the works by e.g. Levander (1909) and Garbacz (2010) and references there.

The data in this section come from the works mentioned above, my own investigations during the NORMS fieldwork in Övdalian May/June 2007 and the NDC-corpus. In the following the variety of Övdalian documented in Levander (1909) will be referred to as *Classical Övdalian*, and the variety investigated by Garbacz (2010) as *Traditional Övdalian*.

The dialects in Älvdalen have what Hallfrid Christensen called *free apocope*, where the apocope is determined by prosodic and phonological constraints and not by syntactic categories (as in e.g. Trøndelag). This means that the negative marker *inte* is realised as either /inte/ or /int/ depending on the sentential prosody. In addition, the marker *itjä* exists, but it is according to Garbacz no longer productively used. This marker will not be included in the further discussion.

Map 18: The villages of Älvdalen[89]

A part of the pronominal system of Övdalian is shown in Table 42. Observe that there is no phonological opposition between strong and weak pronominal forms in Övdalian. This survey is taken from Levander (1909), and there may have been changes in it. I have however not encountered any changes with respect to the strong and weak forms being differenciated, which is the main point here.

Table 42: Parts of the pronominal system i Övdalian (Levander 1909: 62f)

Person	Number	Case	Strong	weak
1.	Sg	Nom.	ig	(i)g
1.	sg	Oblique	mig	mig
1.	pl	Nom.	wįð	wįð
1.	pl	Oblique	uoss	uoss
2.	sg	Nom.	du	du
2.	sg	Oblique	dig	dig
3.	sg, m.	Nom., Acc.	an	an
3.	sg, f.	Nom.	å̊	å̊
3.	sg, f.	Acc.	ån, åna	ån, åna
3.	sg. n	Nom., Acc.	eð	eð

5.5.2 **Main clauses**

The negative marker must precede a DP subject, and it preferably follows a pronominal subject in main clauses. Consider the examples in (29) from Garbacz (2010) (a is taken from table A24, A25 p.

---

[89] The following locations were visited during the NORMS dialect workshop in Älvdalen 2007: *Väsa, Åsen, Brunnsberg, Loka, Rot, Näset* and *Klitten*.

204f; b is taken from table A29, p. 207). This result is corroborated by my own investigations during the NORMS fieldwork in Älvdalen.

(29) a. An-dar   biln   will   (**it/int**)   *Mats*   (***it/**??**int**)   tjyöpa.   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
        that-there   *car.DEF*   *wants* *not*   *Mats*   *not*   *buy*
        'That car, Mats doesn't want to buy.'
     b. I går   belld   (?**it**)   *an* (**it**)   kumå.   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
        yesterday   *could* *not*   *he* *not*   *come*
        'Yesterday, he couldn't come.'

In (29a), both the forms *it* and *int* may precede the subject *Mats*. *Int* may marginally follow the subject, but *it* cannot at all follow the subject. In (29b) the marker *it* is slightly degraded in front of the pronominal subject, but it is fully acceptable in the position to the right of *an* ('he').

The major difference from Norwegian dialects in main clauses becomes evident when we consider the relative order of negation and pronominal objects. Already Levander (1909: 124) stated that Övdalian did not have OS across negation, and this observation is corroborated by the work of Garbacz (2010) and my own investigations in the NORMS fieldwork. See the following examples (Garbacz 2010: 79).

(30) a. An såg   **int/it**   mig.   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
        he saw   *not*   *me*
     b. An såg   mig   (?**inte**)/(***it**)   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
        he saw   *me*   *not*
        'He didn't see me'

These examples show that there is a preference for no OS across the negative markers *int/it* (30), but OS is marginally accepted across the full form marker *inte* (30).

This pattern is also found in the NDC-corpus for a search on *inte* in the Älvdalen villages *Åsen, Blyberg, Brunnsberg, Evertsberg, Klitten, Väsa* and *Skolan*, which returned 156 instances. The data show a strong preference for SS across negation and no OS, as just discussed. In fact, there was only one example of the word order $v_{fin} > neg > subj_{pron}$, but this subject was (clearly) focalised. Hence, there are no occurrences of the negative marker preceding a unstressed pronominal subject. The frequencies are shown in the table below, and illustrated in (31) (taken from the NDC-corpus).

Table 43: The relative order of neg and pronominal arguments in Övdalian main clauses (NDC)

$v_{fin}>subj_{pron}>neg$	$v_{fin}>neg>subj_{pron}$	$v_{fin}>obj_{pron}>neg$	$v_{fin}>neg>obj_{pron}$
12	1	0	8 (6 *eð* ('it'))

The table shows that an unstressed pronominal subject precedes negation in all the instances I have found except in one, which might be interpreted as focalised given the context and the fact that it sounds as if the informant 'rests' on it, see (31b). Similarly, negation precedes a pronominal object

in all the eight instances. In six of these, the object is the pronoun *eð* ('it'), which in all cases seems to refer to propositions/events, cf. the discussion on *det* ('it') in chapter 3.

(31) a. ja eð war   werkligen   riktug bukkswenska   um   dier   førstuoð   eð wet   *ig* **it**
         yes it was   really   real book.swedish   if   they   understood   it know   I   not
         'Yes, it was really standard Swedish, but I don't know if they understood it'   (Åsen, Sw.)
     b. nu: wet   **int**   *ig*   (Klitten, Sw.)
         now   know   not   I
         'Now I don't know'

In (31a) one instance with SS is shown where the subject *ig* ('I') precedes the negative marker *it*. The utterance in (31b) is a continuation of a response to a suggestion that the speaker and the addressee should have a reunion with someone else. The speaker also drags the pronoun out while he seems to be thinking.

5.5.2.1   *The relative order of adverbs and pronominal objects*
When it comes to the relative order of unstressed pronominal objects and adverbs, the data is poor.[90] Levander (1909: 123f) does not mention that adverbs precede pronominal objects, as he does for negation, and there are few convincing examples of the order $v_{fin} > adv > obj_{pron}$ in his monograph.[91] Neither does Garbacz (2010) have examples of this, but he assumes that there is no OS across adverbs, either (Garbacz, p.c.).

However, in the NDC-corpus I found one example of the order *(v_{fin} >) adv > obj_{pron}*, namely (32):

(32)   og   ig brygd eld   **int**   *mig*   i   eð liksom   (Klitten, Sw.)
         and   I   cared also   not   me   in   it like
         'and I didn't care about it either'

In this example the NPI *eld* ('either') precedes negation, which in turn precedes the reflexive object *mig*. The preceding context[92] in the conversation suggests that OS would be most natural in an OS dialect. With respect to stress, it is my impression that the object sounds stressed.

One informant from Älvdalen furthermore judged the following sentence, in which the object pronoun was acceptable in every possible slot without causing any meaning differences.

(33)   Ig brygd (mig) **dyöswerr**   (mig) **int**   (mig) um   slaikt för   i   tiðn. (Öv., Sw.)
         I   cared REFL   unfortunately   REFL   not   REFL   about such   before   in   time
         'Unfortunately I didn't care about such things previously'

---

[90] This was tested during the Fieldwork in Älvdalen 2007 by another participant, whose results are not known.
[91] The one example I found with no OS across adverbs is the following one *ig wet so fel eð so* (I know so mod.prt. so) (Levander 1909: 123), which could have the same word order in Norwegian: *Jeg vet da vel det så*, since the pronoun det in this case has a propositional antecedent (cf. Andréasson 2007, Anderssen and Bentzen 2012).

The pronoun *mig* ('me') may precede the adverb and negation, it may intervene between them or it may follow them.

The form *inte* may occur in final position. Based on the judgements in Garbacz (2010), it seems to be more adverb-like, cf. example (30) above, when it is not apocoped.

5.5.3 Embedded V3 clauses

In embedded clauses, negation may either appear before or after the finite verb (Levander 1909; Garbacz 2010). In this section we consider the possible positions when negation precedes the finite verb. The $v_{fin} > neg$ order is examined in section 5.8.

Levander explicitly notes for Classical Övdalian that when negation precedes the finite verb, it can only precede the subject (Levander 1909: 124, note 1). Garbacz (2010: 97) shows, however, that in Traditional Övdalian, the negative marker may also follow a subject. This result is also supported by my own investigations (NORMS-fieldwork in Älvdalen May/June 2007) and by production data (NDC-corpus). Consider the following judgement data from the NORMS fieldwork:

(34) a. Dier   spuord   wiso (**int**) *an* (**int**) uok   timbreð   (Övdalian, Sw.)
          they   asked   why   not   he not   drove timber.DEF
          'They asked why he didn't drive the timber'
       b. Dier   spuord   wiso (**int**) *Pär*   (?**int**) uok   timbreð   (Övdalian, Sw.)
          they   asked   why   not   he   not   drove timber.DEF
          'They asked why Pär didn't drive the timber'

(34a) shows that the negative marker may appear on both sides of the subject pronoun *an* ('he'), but if the subject is a DP, the preferred position for negation is to the left of it, as we see in (34b).

The restrictions on the negative marker are also found in the NDC-corpus. In the same search referred to above, I found seven instances of negated embedded clauses with overt subjects and without verb movement. Of these, three instances had the word order *subj > int > v_{fin}* and four instances had the opposite order *neg > subj > v_{fin}*. In the following example set a selection of these sentences is shown:

(35) a. um *an*   **int**   add   nån   skaulgarð   (Övdalian, Sw.)
          if one   not   had   any   school.yard
          'If one didn't have a school yard'
       b. du   byöver   it   swårå   um   **int**   *du*   will   (Övdalian, Sw.)
          you   need   not   answer   if   not   you   want
          'You don't need to answer if you don't want to'
       c. so ig tyttjer at   eð ir synd   at   *main   kripper* **int**   får   upplivå
          so I   think that   it is pity   that   my   children not   get   experience
          eð-dar   (Övdalian, Sw.)
          that-there
          'So I think it's a pity that my children won't experience that'

In (35a) the pronouns *an* ('one') precede negation in an *if*-clause, and in (35b) negation precedes the pronoun *du* ('you'). In (35c) the negative marker follows a non-pronominal subject *main kripper* ('my children') in a *that*-clause that is a non-V2 context.

As for the distribution of adverbs, Garbacz (2010: 101) shows that the negative adverb *aldri* ('never') ("at least to some extent") can precede an embedded pronominal subject. During the fieldwork in Älvdalen, my informants judged the different positions as follows:

(36) a. Dier   spuord   wiso   (??**aldri**) *an* (**aldri**)uok   timbreð   (Övdalian, Sw.)
       they   *asked*   *why*   *never*   *he never drove timber.DEF*
       'They asked why he never drove the timber'
    b. Dier   spuord   wiso   (**aldri**)*Pär*   (**aldri**)uok   timbreð   (Övdalian, Sw.)
       they   *asked*   *why*   *never he*   *never drove timber.DEF*
       'They asked why Pär never drove the timber'

The example in (36a) shows that the adverb *aldri* must follow the pronominal subject, and (36b) shows that it may occur on both side of a DP subject. There is however a preference for the position after the subject among my informants.

5.5.4   **The distribution of the negative markers**

The three variants of the negative marker, *inte, int* and *it*, are present in the NDC-corpus for the Älvdalen villages.[93] In the search for the negative marker *inte* mentioned above (which returned 156 instances), the different forms of the negative markers occur in the various context with the frequencies shown in the table.

Table 44: Form of the negative marker according to context in Övdalian (NDC)

form of the negative marker	v_{fin} > neg	pron > neg	elsewhere	total
it	43 (62.3%)	9 (13%)	17 (24.6%)	69
int	25 (41%)	4 (6.6%)	32 (52.5%)	61
inte	5 (20%)	2 (8%)	18 (72%)	25

The table shows that a large proporition of the instances with the negative marker *it* occurs in the context of a finite verb, and that the proportion decreases the 'fuller' the negative marker is. The pattern is opposite in the category 'elsewhere'. It should be noted that most of the 'elsewhere'-context involved with the marker *it* is modal particles, which commonly are unstressed.

The results from the (NORMS dialect workshop) questionnaire furthermore show that the form of the negative marker also co-varies with the distribution (cf. Garbacz 2010). In embedded clauses, the marker *int* is preferred irrespective of whether the negator precedes or follows the subject. Compare the following example containing the marker *it* with (34a) above:

---

[93] Åsen, Blyberg, Brunnsberg, Evertsberg, Klitten, Skolan, Väsa.

(37) a. Dier   spuord   wiso (?**it**) *an* (?**it**)   uok   timbreð   (Övdalian, Sw.)

     they   asked   why   not   he not   drove timber.DEF

     'They asked why he didn't drive the timber'

Observe that only the negative marker *int* is used when negation is pre-verbal and floats around the subject. Out of ten embedded negative clauses without V2, there is only one example with the marker *it*.

5.5.5 **Discussion**

With respect to the relative order of negation and pronominal subjects in main clauses, the judgements and the production data are not in accordance with each order. The judgements show optional SS, whereas SS is produced in every instance in the NDC-corpus. These observations make it in my opinion reasonable to assume that the dialect grammar of Övdalian has $v_{fin} > subj > neg$.

With regard to OS the data indicate that there are no OS across neither negation nor adverbs in the Övdalian dialect grammar. The data basis is however too poor to draw any solid conclusions about the relative order of adverbs and objects, but it seems reasonable to assume that the object pronouns need not shift at all in Övdalian on the following grounds: (i) negation cannot precede pronominal subjects, which one would expect if the order $v_{fin} > neg > obj$ was a result of displacement of negation; and (ii) there are examples where adverbs precede objects in the NDC-corpus.

Recall that in the NDC-example without OS (32) above, it is my impression that the pronominal object is stressed. This may be a consequence of its position, and not the reason for it. It is an well-established fact that pronouns that undergo OS, must be unstressed. The reasons for a termination of OS in a variety, can probably vary, but when the object no longer shifts across adverbs, it is argueably likely that the object may, as a consequence of the new position, be stressed, because such a (low) position is associated with stress (and focus) (cf. Hosono 2010 who provides a phonological explanation for the lack of OS in Övdalian). The stress of the object needs therefore not be related to its IS status.

The markers *it* and *int* do not, according to the data in section 5.5.2, appear in complementary positions, since *it* can appear in a subset of the positions the marker *int* can appear in. Thus, *it* seems to be a variant of *int* (cf. Garbacz 2009: 118, fn. 116).

In embedded clauses, negation may appear on both sides of the subject in Traditional/contemporary Övdalian, whereas in Classical Övdalian negation can only precede the subject unless it followed the verb.

First, consider Classical Övdalian. According to Levander (1909: 123) the verb either precedes the negative marker (because of embedded verb movement), or the negative marker precedes the subject. He does not say anything about in which (pragmatic) contexts the different word orders apply, but based on similar alternations in other dialects (e.g. the ones of Setesdal, Gudbrandsdal, Lolland and Icelandic), it is reasonable to assume that they have some difference in interpretation. Heggstad (1916) discusses pre- and post-verbal negation in the Setesdal dialect, and he states that something, not specifying what, is emphasised when negation precedes the verb (cf. also Heggstad 1920; Christensen 1936; Angantýnasson 2008a). This might also have been the case for Classical Övdalian, so that negation was displaced in marked structures. Recall from the dialect survey in

chapter 4 that in the traditional Oppdal dialect, the focalised negation precedes the subject in embedded clause, which in that case would be another example of the same.

This analysis of the pre-subject negation as focalised, is supported by the fact that also negative indefinites may appear in this position in Classical Övdalian (example from Levander 1909: 123):

(38) fast   [**inggan** kall]$_t$ ǫ̊   ar *t*
      although no   *man she*   *has*
      'Although she has no man'

In example (38) the negative object *inggan kall* ('no man') occurs in front of the pronominal subject ǫ̊ ('she').

As discussed in Garbacz (2010) verb movement is not necessarily the unmarked pattern in embedded clauses in contemporary/Traditional Övdalian any longer, and unmarked negation may precede the finite verb and follow the subject. The order *neg > subj$_{pron}$ > v$_{fin}$* is furthermore not obligatory any longer, and it can be considered to be a residue of the displacement of (marked) negative elements.

Further support for analysing negation as focalised in these cases, is the fact that negative objects cannot precede the subject any longer, but must linearise after the subject, as (39) shows (examples from Garbacz 2009: Table B.18):

(39) a. Eð ir tuokut   at   Andes**ingg peningger** al   få   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
      it is foolish   that   Andes no   money   shall get
      'It is foolish that Andes won't get any money'
     b. *Eðir tuokut   at   **ingg peningger** Andes   al   få   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
      it is foolish   that   no   money   Andes   shall get

The unacceptability of fronting a negative object in Traditional Övdalian may also be caused by a word order preservation principle (Müller 2002; Williams 2003) which would ensure that the object follows the subject.

5.5.6   **The dialect grammar of Övdalian**

Table 45 shows the dialect grammars of Classical and Traditional Övdalian with regard to the relative order of negation and arguments.

**Table 45: The dialect grammars of Övdalian**

	Main Clauses			Embedded V3 clauses
Dialect	±DP$_s$>neg	±SS	±OS	±subj$_{pron}$>neg
Classical Övdalian		+	−	−
Traditional Övdalian	−	+	−	±

5.6 The dialect(s) of Northern Ostrobothnia

5.6.1 Introduction

In this section I consider the Finland-Swedish dialects of Northern Ostrobothnian. This area covers different subvarieties, but with respect to negation, the subvarieties appear to be quite similar.

Map 19: The locations in Northern Ostrobothnia
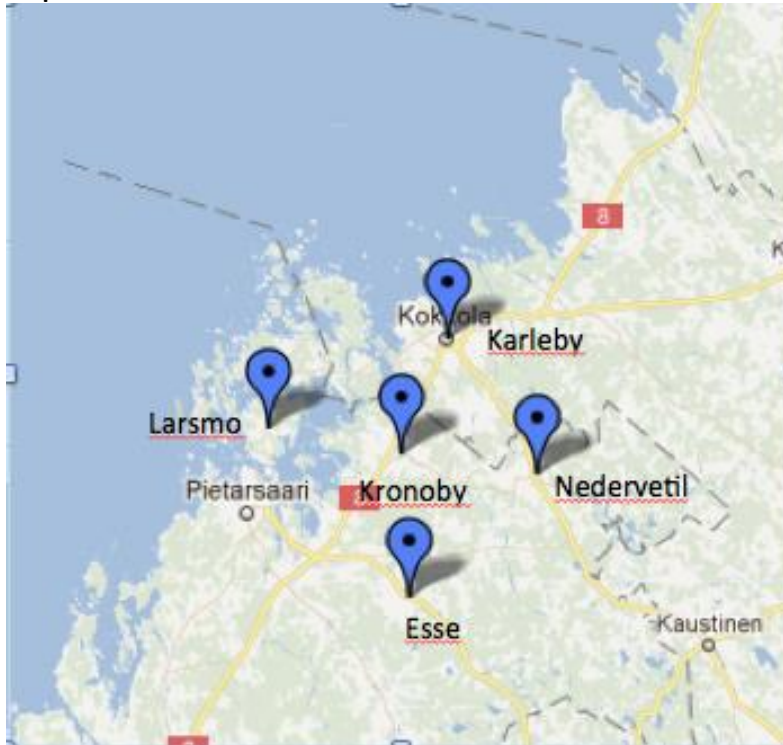
The data in this section mainly come from the NORMS fieldwork in Northern Ostrobothnia June 2006 (locations are shown in the map above). There is unfortunately no data from Finland in the NDC-corpus. Thus, the data is poor, and the section only indicates how the patterns may be in these dialects.

The negative markers in the Northern Ostrobothnian dialects are, as in Övdalian, *int* and *it* depending on the dialect (cf. Huldén 1995: 176 and see chapter 1). There are some dialects that only have the marker *it*, whereas others have both *int* and *it*.

In this section the negative marker *int* is written in the examples, but both markers were used by my informants. This might have invoked the result, but that was not my impression when doing the fieldwork. There were also no difference between the various Northern Ostrobothnian dialects.

5.6.2 Main clauses

Recall from chapter 3 that the result from the NSD-database shows that in a pronominal cluster, negation can both precede and follow the pronominal subject, but it is not accepted in the position after the pronominal object. This result is more or less corroborated by my investigation.

In main clauses the negative marker may appear on both side of a subject, as we see in (40) and (41) but the position to the immediate right of the verb is preferred. The small question-mark is meant to indicate that this is not the unmarked position:

(40)   Råka (**int**) *Lasse* ([?]**int**) Jan-Ola?   (Northern Östrobothnian, Fi.)
        met   not   Lasse not   Jan-Ola?
        'Didn't Lasse meet Jan-Ola?'

(41) a. Råka (**int**) *han* ([?]**int**) Jan-Ola nån gang?   (Northern Östrobothnian, Fi.)
        met   not   he   not   Jan-Ola any   time
        'Didn't he ever meet Jan-Ola?'

   b. He   kan (**int**) *ja* ([?]**int**) me   (Northern Östrobothnian, Fi.)
      this   can   not   I   not   with
      'I have no knowledge of this'

(40) shows that the marker *int* may follow and precede the non-pronominal subject *Lasse*, and (41a,b) show that negation may follow and precede weak pronominal subjects. In all the three sentences, the leftmost negative marker is the unmarked one.

   With respect to pronominal objects, negation may appear on either side of these as well. The position to the left of the object is however preferred, as with subjects.

(42)   Lasse råka (**int**) *oss* ([?]**int**)   (Northern Östrobothnian, Fi.)
       Lasse met   not   us   not
       'Lasse didn't meet us'

The negative adverb *aldär* ('never') can also appear on either side of a full DP subject, but only to the right of a pronominal subject. This is shown in the following examples:

(43) a. Råka ([?]**aldär**) *Lasse* (**aldär**)   Jan-Ola?   (Northern Östrobothnian, Fi.)
        met   never   Lasse never   Jan-Ola
        'Didn't Lasse ever meet Jan-Ola?'

   b. Råka (??/*****aldär**) *han* (**aldär**)   Jan-Ola?   (Northern Östrobothnian, Fi.)
      met   never   he   never   Jan-Ola
       'Did Lasse/he never meet Jan-Ola?'

In (43a) the negative adverb may occupy both positions around the subject, but according to the informants, the position after the subject *Lasse* is preferred. *Älder* ('aldri') may however not precede a weak pronominal subject, as shown in (43b).

   Thus, whereas negation tends to precede the subject, the negative adverb must follow a pronominal one.
As for pronominal objects, we have the following:

(44) a. Lasse råka ([?]**äldär**) *oss* (**äldär**)   (Northern Östrobothnian, Fi.)
        Lasse met   never   us   never
        'Lasse did never meet us'

b. Lasse råka   (?**nog**)   *ånåm* (**nog**)   (Northern Östrobothnian, Fi.)
   Lasse met   mod.prt. he   mod.prt.
   'Lasse probably met him'

In (44a) the negative adverb may both precede and follow the object *oss* ('us'), and in (44b) the modal *nog* may appear on either side of the object *ånåm*. There is however a preferrence for the position to the right of the object.

As already mentioned, there is no production data from Northern Ostrobothnia in the NDC-corpus, but there are quite a lot of examples in Huldén (1995) (from the whole of the Ostrobothnian area). Among these, there are in total 9 instances of adjacent pronominal subjects and negation in main clauses, of which 4 instances have the order *(v$_{fin}$ >) neg > subj$_{pron}$* and 5 the opposite order *(v$_{fin}$ >) subj$_{pron}$ > neg*. Thus, his examples support the assumption that there is optionality with respect to this. But there may be differences between the three dialect areas in Ostrobothnia.

To summarise, the questionnaire study show a preferrence for the orders *v$_{fin}$ > neg > pron*; *v$_{fin}$ > subj$_{pron}$ > adv*; *v$_{fin}$ > obj$_{pron}$ >adv*, but it also suggests that there is some optionality with respect to the position of negation and with respect to the relative order of adverbs and pronominal objects.

5.6.3   Embedded V3 clauses

As for the relative order of negation and embedded subjects, the dialects have a preference for the order *neg > subj > v$_{fin}$*, when we consider the result of the questionnaire. This is also the result in the NSD-database in chapter 4. Consider the following examples:

(45) a. Dette er en bok   som   (**int**) *barnen*   (?**int**) borda   lesa   (NÖb, Fi.)
         this   is a book that   not   children.DEF not   should   read
         'This is a book that the children shouldn't read'
      b. Dette er en bok   som   (**int**) *dom*   (?**int**) borda   lesa   (NÖb, Fi.)
         this   is a book that   not   they   not   should   read
         'This is a book that they shouldn't read'

In (45a) the negative marker may occur on either side of the subject *barnen* ('the children'), but it is preferred to the left of it. The same holds for (45b), where the subject is the 3.pl. pronoun *dom* ('they'). Observe however that the embedded clause is a relative *som*-clause, which also in Norwegian may have a relatively high frequency of the order *neg > subj > v$_{fin}$*. The same result was obtained for another embedded clause type as well, namely conditional *om*-clauses, but also this clause type has a relatively high frequency of this order (cf. Lindström 2005).

The distribution of negation in embedded clauses differs from the distribution of an adverb like *alder* ('never'). This adverb must follow any subject, as illustrated in the following examples:

(46) a. Dette er en bok   som   (?***älder**)   *barnen*   (**älder**)   borda   lesa   (NÖb, Fi.)
         this   is a book that   never   children.DEF never   should   read
         'This is a book that the children never should read'

b. Dette er en bok   som (***älder**) *dom* (**älder**) borda lesa   (NÖb, Fi.)
   this is a book that   never they never   should   read
   'This is a book that they never should read'

Huldén (1995) provides several examples of the word order in subordinate clauses, although he does not comment on the frequencies of the different possibilities. From his examples, which I take to represent the most 'natural' configurations, negation occurs before a full DP subject, but mostly after a pronominal one.

An attempt for a conclusion might be that the negative marker is preferred in a position preceding the subject in embedded clauses, and it differs from adverbs that are preferred in the position following the subject.

5.6.4 Discussion

According to the elicitated sentences, negation can be placed 'everywhere' in the main clause. It can both follow and precede both inverted pronominal subjects as well as pronominal objects, and it can appear on either side of a full DP subject. In particular this last result is exceptional in this connection, since the negative marker preferably precedes a DP subject in all the other varieties considered in this chapter. This fact may suggest that IS principles also participate in determining the relative order of arguments and negation/adverbs, and that such principles override the tendency for negation to cliticise to the verb. The judgement data are however not compared with production data, which would be preferable when drawing any conclusions about the underlying system.

As for the relative order of negation/adverbs and pronominal objects, the adverb data suggest that there is optional OS in the dialects, although OS seems to be preferred (cf. (44) above). The preference for the order $v_{fin} > neg > obj_{pron}$ may be accounted for by adding up the optional placement of negation with optional OS, which would yield extra evidence for the order $v_{fin} > neg > object_{pron}$.

In embedded V3 clauses the preferred position for negation seemed to be to the left of the subject, which makes it partially similar to Övdalian. As opposed to Övdalian, however, the order $neg > subj_{pron} > v_{fin}$ seems to be preferred in main clauses as well. Hence, there is symmetry between the clause types. Recall from chapter 3 Lindström's (2005) explanation that the word order $neg > subj > v_{fin}$ in Finland-Swedish embedded clauses may be transfer from Finnish. This might explain the preference for this word order.

In the next section the different dialect grammars are summarised and analyses are proposed for I-languages associated with these dialect grammars.

5.7 Structural analyses

So far we have considered the relative word order of negation, inverted subjects and (unstressed) pronominal objects in main clauses, and the relative order of negation and subjects in embedded (V3) clauses. The dialect grammars (recall that a dialect grammar is understood as the abstracted system at the group level, cf. chapter 1) are summarised in Table 46. Full DP subjects are not included here, because the corpus-data containing this element are very sparse. Neither have I have included the distribution of adverbs, which follow (pronominal) subjects in both main and embedded clauses.

Table 46: The North Germanic dialect grammars

Dialect	±SS	±OS across adv	compl > neg > subj$_{pron}$
Tr.lag1 (Stokkøya)	+		−(?)
Tr.lag2 (Bjugn)	±		±(?)
Tr.lag3 (Skaugdalen)	−		+(?)
Tr.lag4 (Oppdal)	−		−
Senja1	+		−
Senja2	+	±	−
Stryn	−		−
Bergen	±		±
Traditional Övdalian	+	−	±
Classical Övdalian			+
Northern Ostrobothnia	±	−/±	±

The '+'-es indicate that the given pattern is a part of the dialect grammar, whereas the '−'-es indicate that the given pattern is not a part of it. The '(?)'-es indicate uncertainty with respect to the pattern. The '±'-es reflect the fact that the data show a great deal of optionality. Whether or not optionality is a part of the dialect grammar, is open. But when the data do not show any clear tendencies in the one or the other direction, it is difficult to give clear statements about the dialect grammar, although one can have an impression of what the system must look like.

In Table 46 there are seven distinct pattern when we just consider the columns for 'SS' and 'compl > neg > subj$_{pron}$'. These are marked with light grey in the table. Of these, I regard the patterns exemplified by Tr.lag2, Tr.lag4, Senja1 and Älvdalen as the basic ones.[94] Except for Tr.lag2 the systems contain no optionality, whereas in Tr.lag2 the system shows optionality for both variables. The system in Senja1 is identical to the one of the Oslo dialect (see chapter 3 and 4), and I-languages associated with this pattern can presumably be analysed in the same way.

---

[94] One of the instances is categorised as both *subj > neg* and *neg > subj*, since the subject occurs in both positions.

(i) så va æ jo på nå annlegg eller no sånnt no itj sannt å [$_{EC}$ nå
so was I mod on any project or something such something nottrue and when
de itj de varrt nå mer arrbei da] så tokk du båt ijenn
EXPL. notEXPL. become any more work then so took you boat again
'I was on a project, you know, and when it wasn't any more work, you started with boat again'

The embedded wh-clause has two spell-outs of the expletive subject det around the negation, and it is pronounced smooth and naturally. It in fact resembles the phenomenon of multiple subjects in Övdalian (cf. Rosenkvist 2007, 2010; Garbacz 2010). By hypothesis the subjects surface in two subject positions floating around NegP (cf. Holmberg and Platzack 2005 on Floating Subjects). Which copy to be spelled out, determines the word order. This example may be a production error, but it might also be a reflex of a possible (cf. Övdalian), but not socially accepted structure of the informant's I-language.

With regard to I-languages associated with the pattern exemplified by Tr.lag2, I will analyse these as if the negative marker at PF optionally changes position depending on the phonological context, which make the term PF-clitic suitable for the negative markers in these varieties (cf. chapter 1). This means that the negative markers are XPs and behave as XPs within the core syntax, but I assume that they can change position at PF. Such analyses are exemplified for the Oslo-dialect in chapter 3 and 4, and I refer to the pages 69ff and 118ff where such analyses are illustrated. The analyses presented below, follow the same reasoning and technicalities as the ones in chapter 3 and 4.

We are then left with the dialect grammars of Tr.lag4 and Övdalian. I start with the pattern in Tr.lag4 (which covers for instance the dialects of Oppdal and Nordfjord), which can be straightforwardly accounted for if we assume that the negative marker is a head (in associated I-languages). As stated in chapter 1, I assume Platzack's (2010) account of head movement. In short, he proposes that the verb establishes Agree-relations with the relevant heads in the structure in the syntax, but that it is determined at PF which head to be spelled out – in main clauses this will usually be in the highest head. I furthermore assume that the verb is spelled out together with the features of the heads it has created Agree-relations with, so that when the negative marker is an expression of the head of NegP, it is spelled out together with the finite verb in the head of CP. Consider the tree structures in (47) and (48) (non-relevant projections are omitted):
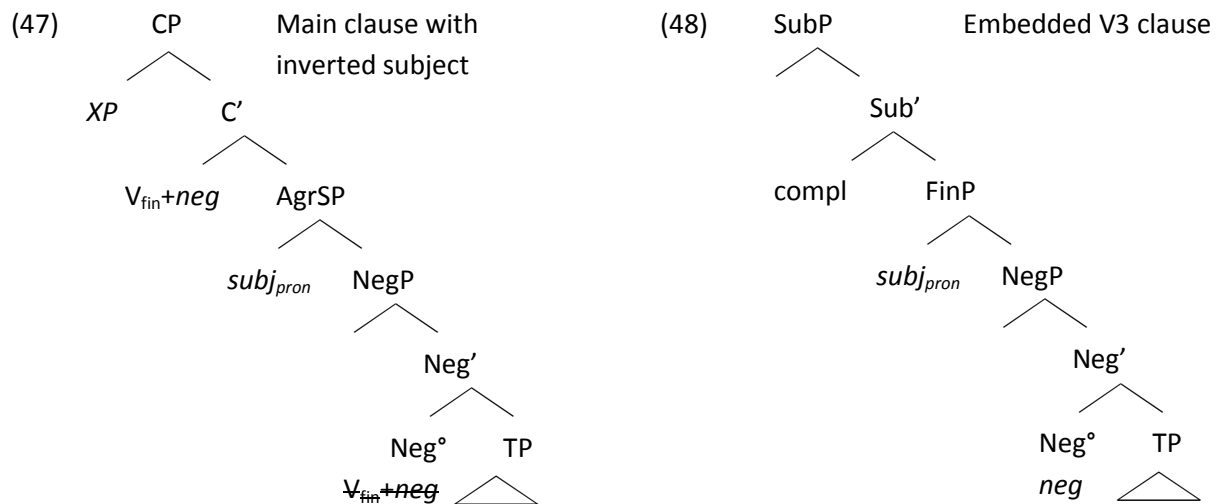
I suggest, as we see in (47), that the negative marker incorporates to the verb in the head of NegP and comes along with the finite verb to the head of CP. This analysis accounts for the characteristics of the negative marker as a verbal clitic, and for the observation that it is not sensitive to the phonological form of the verb in order to precede a pronoun. If the emphasised negation occurs, I assume that it is analysed as a regular XP and hence it will follow pronouns. In embedded clauses illustrated in (48), there is no verb movement. The negative marker then remains in situ below the subject and is spelled out after the subject.

The head movement account given in (47) is in some respect very similar to the PF-clitic analysis I have proposed, since both apply at PF. I suggest however that this analysis predicts that this word order regularly applies. As previously stated (cf. chapter 1), I assume that PF-cliticisation applies

irregularly, and as such it is (syntactically) unpredictable. Alternatively, one can view this proposal as a technical elaboration of the PF-clitic analysis.

The Tr.lag3 dialect can be analysed in a similar way. This will account for the word order v_{fin} > *neg* > *pron* in main clauses. In embedded clauses the observed optionality can be explained if one assumes that the negative head can undergo PF-cliticisation. This raises however the question whether it is reasonable to analyse the negative marker as a head in the first place, and whether it is likely that a head can change position at PF (i.e. be a PF-clitic). On the assumption that head movement is a part of the Syntax proper (which is a debated issue within Generative Grammar since Chomsky 1995), and given that affix-orderings are rigid, I think it is less likely that a head shift at PF than an XP. Thus it might be that a better analysis of this variety would be to assume that the negative marker is a PF-clitic, in which there is a very high frequency of PF-cliticisation in main clauses. Support for this analysis is the elicitated main clause data from Skaugdalen, which open up for the negative marker being something else than a head.

In Övdalian, the pattern in main clauses indicates that the negative marker is an XP. In embedded clauses in Classical Övdalian, the negative marker precedes the subject when it does not follow the verb. In Traditional Övdalian, there is optionality in this matter, which may indicate that there is an ongoing change, as discussed above. I also hypothesised above that the embedded V3 order in Classical Övdalian is a marked order, and I suggest that it is derived by movement of the negative marker to a marked position, for instance FocP:

(49)   [SubP *compl* [FocP *int* [FinP *subject*pron ...Vfin... [NegP ~~*int*~~ [TP ...~~Vfin~~...]]]]]   (Classical Övdalian)

Such an analysis of the word order *compl* > *int* > *subj* is superior to for instance a clitic-analysis. On this analysis one can maintain the analysis of verb movement in embedded clauses in Classical Övdalian also in these cases (see the next section, which is devoted this issue for Övdalian). If the negative marker raises high, verb movement is not visible, as indicated in (49). Although the finite verb has raised to a position above the base-position for negation, this will not show when the negative marker *int* is raised to FocP. Such an analysis is furthermore supported by the form of the negative marker, which preferably in these cases have the form *int*, and not the short form *it*, which one perhaps would expect if cliticisation were involved.

As we saw above, not only the negative marker but also negative indefinites (NIs) could precede subjects in Classical Övdalian, and this is accounted for if we assume that they raise to Spec,FocP. On the assumption that negation in Classical Övdalian is phonologically reduced when it follows the finite verb, we can furthermore hypothesise that all strong expression of negation (*int* and NIs) must be displaced to Spec,FocP.[95]

The presence of such a position in North Germanic embedded clauses is for instance supported by the works of Jensen (1995), who shows that focalised adverbs in Danish may be fronted in embedded clauses (cf. chapter 4). Recall also that emphasised negation precedes the subject in the Oppdal dialect (cf. example (51) in chapter 4), and this can also be analysed as movement of negation to Spec,FocP. This analysis predicts that also other elements should be able to appear in

---

[95] At some earlier stage of Övdalian it is likely that the finite verb could precede such forms as well.

the pre-subject position, but this is hard to corroborate because of the lack of data in Levander (1909).

Garbacz (2010) takes the patterns in embedded clauses in Övdalian as expressions of two distinct NegPs in the clausal spine, where the uppermost NegP is located above the subject position. When negation precedes the subject in embedded clauses, Garbacz (2010: 102) suggests that negation sits in the highest NegP, illustrated in (50), where irrelevant projections are omitted (cf. also Weiß 2002 on Bavarian; and Barbiers 2002 on Dutch, who also propose several NegPs).

(50) ....[$_{HighNegP}$ (**int**) [$_{TP}$ *subject* [$_{LowNegP}$ (**it**)...]]] (Övdalian)

In my opinion, one problem with this analysis in (50), is that it appears as a mystery why negation cannot precede unstressed pronouns in main clauses. Another potential problem is how to determine in a principled manner which NegP to be used. The analysis in (49) above predicts however that the order *neg > subj > v$_{fin}$* is a marked structure, and furthermore, it is possible to maintain the assumption of one, fixed position of NegP in the clausal structure.

Traditional Övdalian exhibits variation in embedded clauses, and we also saw above that negative indefinites no longer can precede an embedded subject, but must follow the subject (and precede the finite verb). The loss of verb movement in embedded clauses (cf. Garbacz 2010), can explain the optionality of the orders *neg > subj > v$_{fin}$* and *subj > neg > v$_{fin}$* and the loss of fronted NIs. If the verb does not move across negation, the negative marker will follow the subject by remaining in the base position. The strong forms can remain inside NegP, when the verb does not move. As a consequence, the strong forms do not need to be displaced, and the evidence for the (former) displacement disappears.

The occurrences of the order *neg > subj$_{pron}$ > v$_{fin}$* in embedded V3 clauses, can be treated as remnants of Classical Övdalian, and can for instance be analysed as PF-cliticisation to the complementiser, as illustrated in (51). This analysis would not predict any regularity for the order *neg > subj > v$_{fin}$* in embedded V3 clauses, and the embedded structure of modern Övdalian can be analysed on a par with the other varieties of North Germanic.

(51) [$_{SubP}$ *compl* [$_{FinP}$ *subject$_{pron}$* ... [$_{NegP}$ *int* [$_{TP}$ ... V$_{fin}$
PF:

A similar analysis can account for the embedded V3 orders in Northern Ostrobothnian. Kaiser (2006) analyses the same word order in Finnish by assuming movement of the Finnish negative marker to a Polarity projection PolP. If we assume that there is a PolP within the CP-domain, this would predict that negation regularly precedes the embedded subject, as the judgement data indicates.

As for the dialects that exhibit no OS (across negation and adverbs), I assume that the pronominal object remains structurally low, and as such this structure is not related to negation.

The hypothesised status of negative markers in the dialects are summarised in Table 47. These dialect grammars are also shown in the maps on the following pages.

Table 47: The status of the negative marker in the dialects

Dialect	negative marker	status
Tr.lag1	itj	XP/PF-clitic
Tr.lag2	itj	PF-clitic
Tr.lag3	itj	X° orPF-clitic
Tr.lag4	itj	X°
Senja1	ikkje	XP
Senja2	ikkje	XP
Nordfjord	ikkje/kje	X°
Bergen	ikkje/kje	PF-clitic
Classical Övdalian	int	XP(?)
Övdalian	int	XP/(PF-clitic)
Northern Ostrobothnia	int	XP/PF-clitic

Map 20: The relative order of negation and inverted pronominal subject (in main clause)
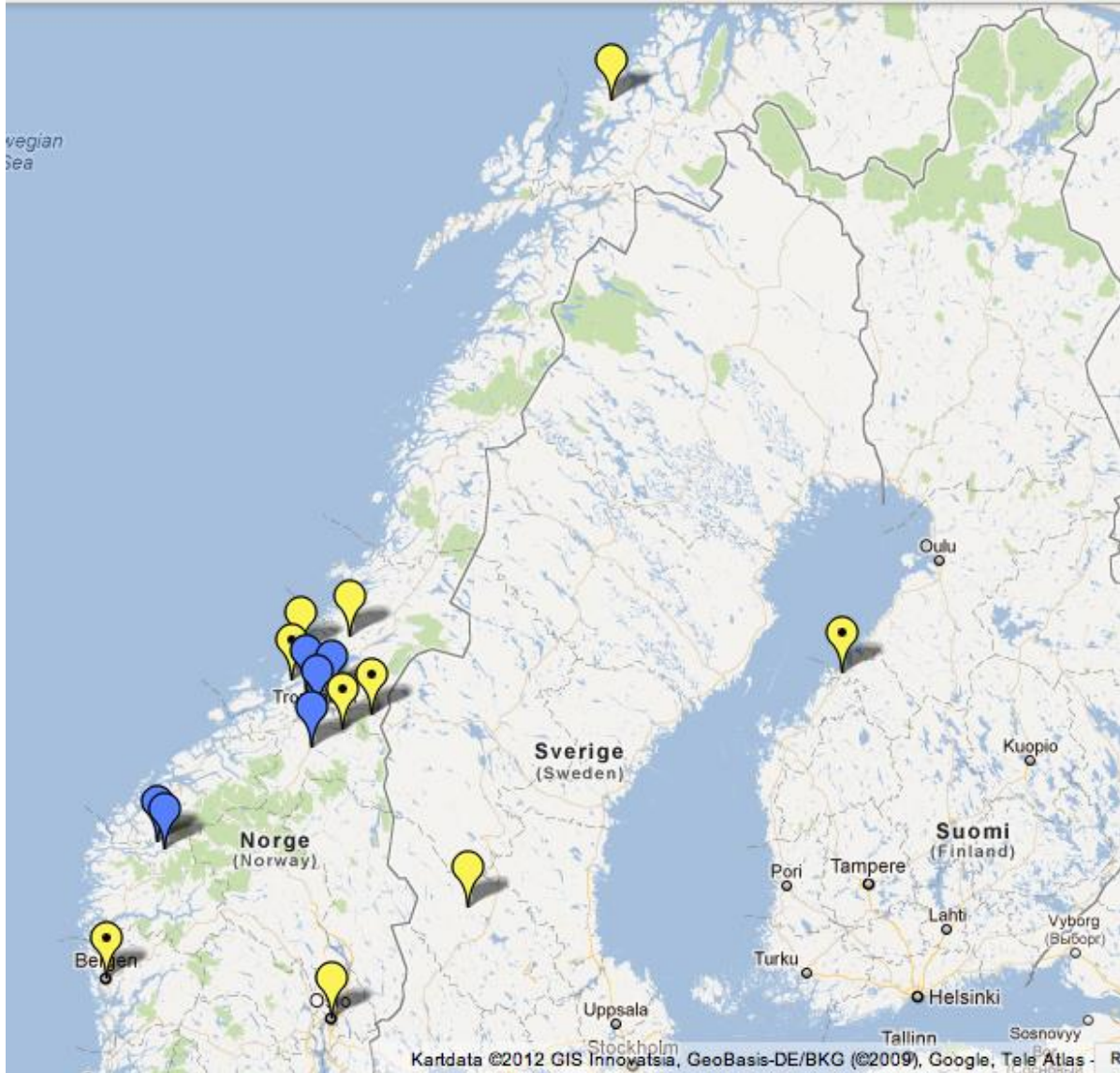
Light/yellow marker: v_{fin} > subj> neg;
dark/blue marker: v_{fin} > neg > subj;
Light/yellow marker with dot: optionality

Map 21: The relative order of negation and pronominal object (in main clause)
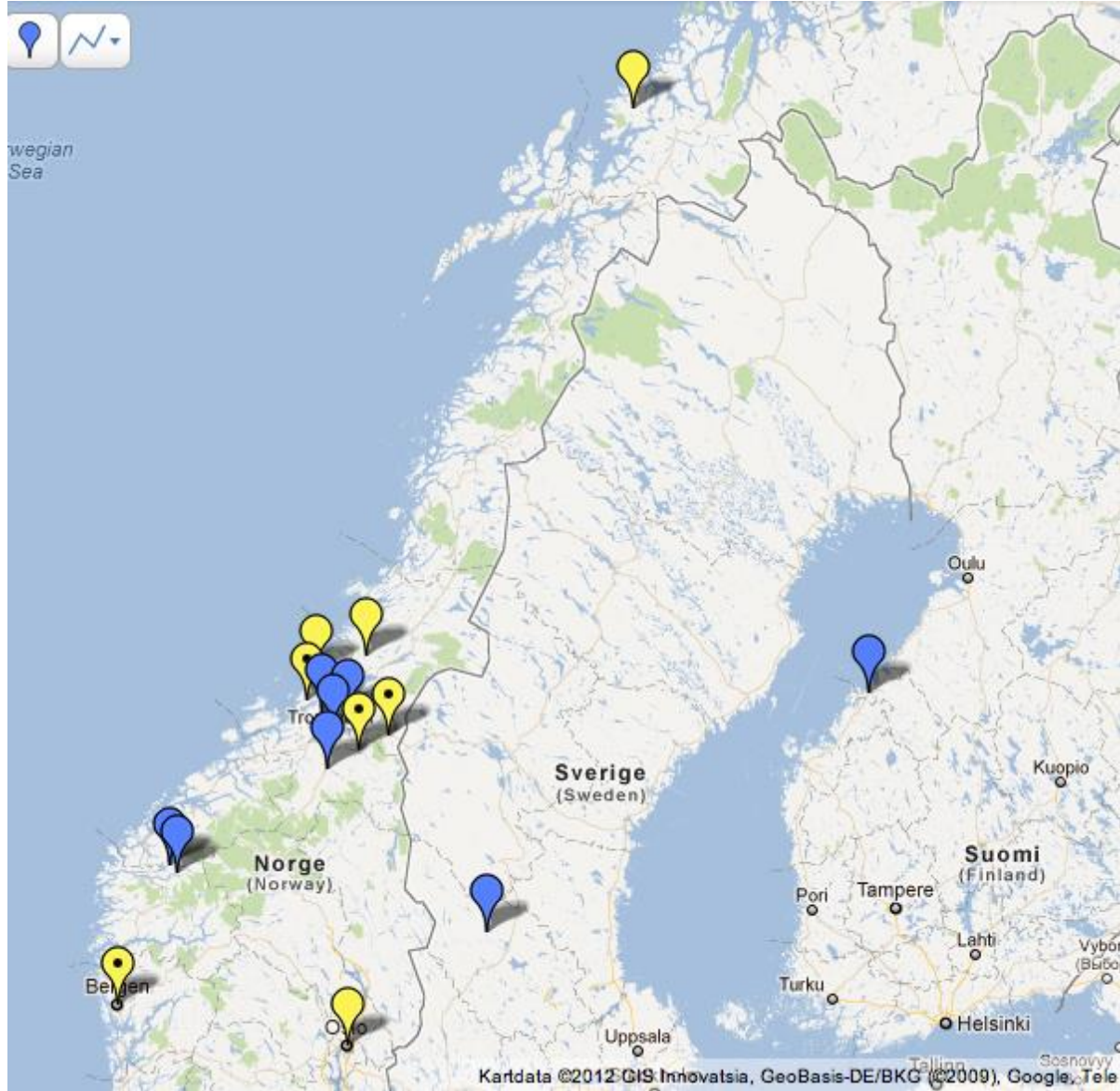
Light/yellow marker: v_{fin} > obj> neg;
dark/blue marker: v_{fin} > neg > obj;
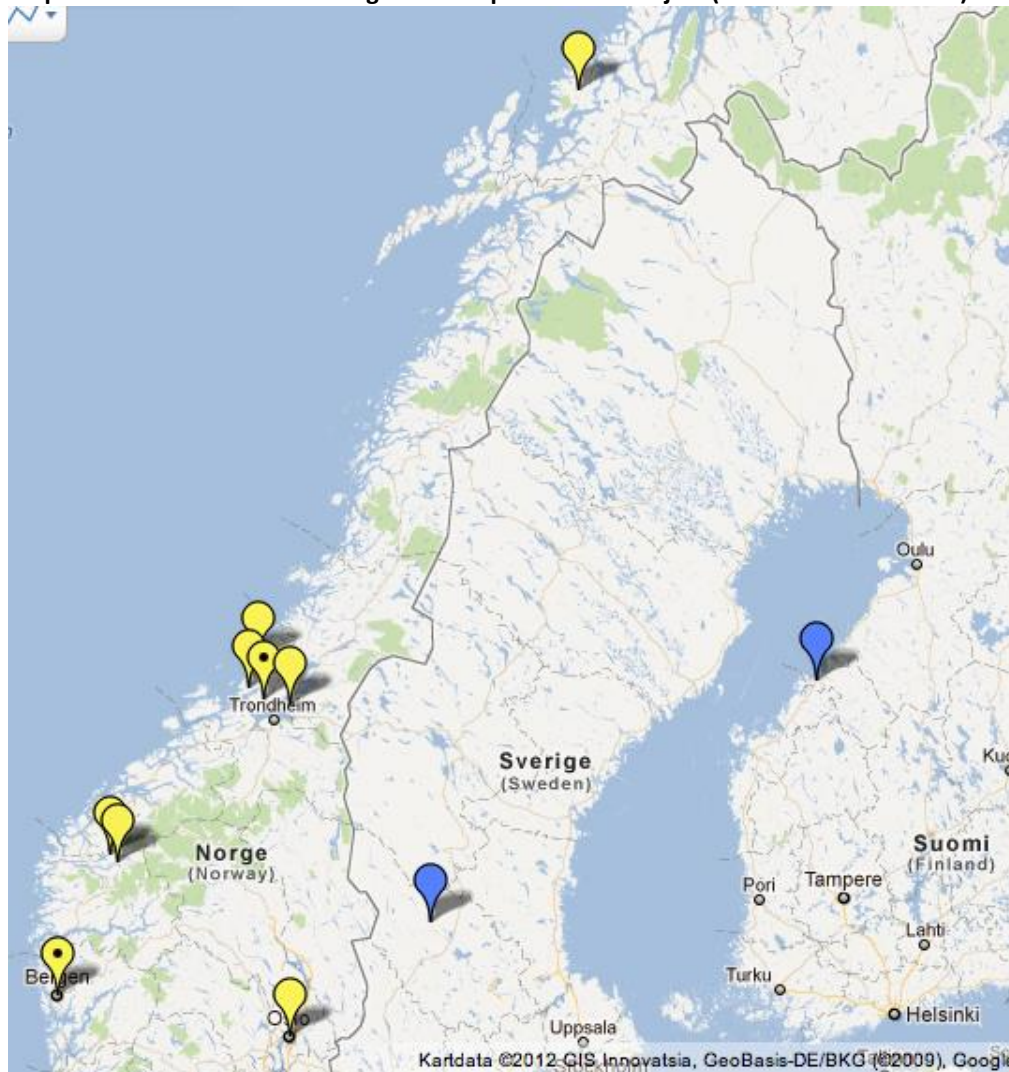*Light/yellow marker with dot: optionality*

Map 22: The relative order of adverbs and pronominal objects (in main clause)

Light/yellow marker: v_{fin} > object$_{pron}$>adverb;

dark/blue marker: (possible) v_{fin} > adverb > object$_{pron}$

Map 23: The relative order of negation and pronominal subject (embedded V3 clauses)

Light/yellow marker: subj> neg;
dark/blue marker: neg >subj;
Light marker with dot: optionality

5.8 Verb movement across negation in two Mainland North Germanic varieties

In the rest of this chapter we take a closer look at a specific type of verb movement in embedded clauses. Recall from the chapter 4 that embedded V2 is possible in certain contexts in all the North Germanic varieties, namely in the so-called V2 contexts. As briefly discussed in that chapter, there are also other types of embedded verb movement, which are listed below. The column to the right lists where they are found:

Table 48: Types of embedded verb movement in North Germanic

Embedded V2 in V2 contexts (with topicalisation) (V-to-C)	*'All' North Germanic varieties*
Generalised embedded V-to-I movement	*Icelandic*
'Short' (subject-initial) verb movement across adverbs but not negation	*Northern Norwegian (Bentzen 2005, 2007)* *Northern Ostrobothnian (Bentzen 2007)* *Faroese[96] (e.g. Heycock et al. 2010)*
'Short' (subject-initial) verb movement across negation but not sentential adverbs	*Övdalian (Garbacz 2010)*

Following the traditional head analyses of embedded verb movement (as opposed to the remnant analysis as presented in e.g. Bentzen 2007), the first type in Table 70 displays V-to-C movement (which indicates that something that equals a main clause is embedded), while the three next types may be characterised as instances of V-to-I movement, where the height of the landing site of the verb varies.

In this section we examine short verb movement across negation in Övdalian and the Setesdal dialect, and propose an analysis of it. This type of movement is optional, but we focus on the instances when the verb moves.

We consider embedded verb movement in Övdalian in the next section before we turn to the Setesdal dialect in the subsequent section. Finally, an analysis is proposed in section 5.8.5.

5.8.1 **Övdalian**

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the verb may optionally cross negation in embedded clauses in Övdalian (Levander 1909; Garbacz 2010). This is illustrated with the following examples from Levander (1909: 124):

(52) a. ig ir   redd, an kumb   **inte**   (Cl. Övdalian, Sw.)
          I   am   afraid he comes   not
          'I'm afraid that he won't come'

      b. um   du   får   **int**   gart ita   ia   firi   brado   (Cl. Övdalian, Sw.)
          if   you   get   not   done this here before breakfast
          'If you don't get this done before breakfast'

Garbacz (2010) investigates embedded verb movement in Övdalian in detail, and he finds that it exhibits the following properties (Garbacz 2010: 125f):

---

[96] Jonas (1996) suggests that there are two varieties of Faroese, one that allows the Icelandic type of embedded verb movement (across negation), and one that resembles MSc. Heycock et al. (2010: 84f) however, cannot find that such a division is justified.

(53)   There is:
   a. Optional verb movement across sentential negation, which tends to appear as *it*
      This movement is not sensitive to subject or clause types
   b. Optional verb movement across the negative adverb *aldri*, which is restricted as follows:
      i.   The subject must be pronominal[97]
      ii.   The verb must be an auxiliary

In (53) verb movement across negation is exemplified, and in (54) verb movement across the negative adverb *aldri* ('never') is exemplified. The examples are from Garbacz (2010: 125f).

(54) a. Eð ir biln   so   an will **int /it**[98] åvå   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
         it is car.DEF   that he wants not   have
         'This is the car that he doesn't want to have'
      b. Eð ir bar i iss-jär   buðn   so   Marit andler **it**   jätå   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
         it   is only in this-here shop.DEF that Marit buys   not   food
         'Only in this shop, Marit does not buy food.'

(55) a. *Eð ir bar i Övdalim so   Andesjager **aldri** brinder   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
          it   is only in Älvdalen that Andes hunts never elks
          'Only in Älvdalen Andes does not hunt elks'
      b. ? Eð ir bar i Övdalim so   an jager **aldri** brinder   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
          it   is only in Älvdalen that he hunts never elks
          'Only in Älvdalen he does not hunt elks'
      c. Eð ir iend butję   so   ig ar **aldri** lesið   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
         it is only book.DEF that I have never read
         'This is the only book that I have never read'

In (55a) verb movement of the lexical verb *jage* ('hunt') is not accepted when the subject is the DP *Andes*. The acceptability changes when the subject is a pronoun (55b) so that it becomes more acceptable (as seems to be a tendency in Mainland North Germanic, cf. the dialect overview in chapter 4). Movement of a verb across *aldri* ('never') is more acceptable if the finite verb is a perfect auxiliary, as shown in (55c). Garbacz does not give any structural analyses of these observations.

    As for clause-type restrictions Angantýsson (2008b: 8) finds that the overall acceptance for verb movement across the adverbs *always* and *never* and negation varies according to clause types. Based on his results, the hierarchy below holds (for his informants). The clause types to the left have a higher rate of acceptance for verb movement across negation/adverbs than the ones to the right:

---

[97] Recall from the dialect overview in chapter 4 that in the Stavanger dialect embedded V2 is possible when the subject is pronominal, but not else. Recall that such a restriction is also mentioned in Falk and Torp (1900).
[98] Typo in Garbacz (2010: 125) where the example with verb movement across 'it' is marked as unacceptable (the typo is confirmed by Piotr Garbacz).

(56)   indirect *wh*-question > complements of bridge verbs > adverbial/relative clauses > (presupposed) complements of non-bridge verbs

The combined findings of Garbacz (2010) and Angantýsson (2008b) are also supported by my own investigations of embedded clause word order in Övdalian (NORMS-fieldwork in Älvdalen May/June 2007). Verb movement across the negative marker *int* was judged less acceptable than across *it*, but also clause type matters, and one may argue that subject type matters too. Consider the following examples:

(57) a. Eð war   dumt at   du   kam ?**it**/*****int**   (Övdalian, Sw.)
          it was   pity that you   came not
          'It was a pity that you didn't come'
      b. Dier spuord   wiso an uok   **it**/?**int**   timbreð   (Övdalian, Sw.)
          they asked   why   he drove not   timber.DEF
          'They asked why he didn't drive the timber'
      c. Jär   war   ienkall   so   fann **it**/??**int** att   estn   (Övdalian, Sw.)
          here   was   a man   who found not   again horse.DEF
          'Here was a man who didn't find his horse again'
      d. Um   du   will   **it**/?**int**   åvå   gouðað, so får   du   tågå dåligað (Övdalian, Sw.)
          if   you   will   not   have good.DEF so get   you   take bad.DEF
          'If you won't have the good, you'll have the bad'

Observe that the verb may easily cross the negative marker *it* in (57b,c,d), but not as easily in (57a). The latter sentence was disliked by half of the informants. Observe also that the marker *int* is marginally acceptable in (57b,c,d), but not accepted at all in (57a). The reason for this may be related to clause type. In (57a) the *at*-clause ('that') is presupposed, which according to (56) above is the less likely sentence type to have verb movement.

As for the example in (57b), verb movement across *int* was judged considerably worse if the subject was a DP as in the following variant of this example:

(58) Dier spuord   wiso Pär   uok   ??**int**/**it**   timbreð
      they asked   why   Pär   drove not   timber.DEF
      'They asked why he didn't drive the timber'

70% of the informants disliked (58), compared to only 40% who disliked (57b). In fact, verb movement across *int* in this context (58) is judged equally bad as movement across the adverb *aldri* in the exact same context:

(59) a. ??Dier   spuord   wiso Pär   uok **aldri** timbreð   (Övdalian, Sw.)
          they   asked   why   Pär   drove never timber.DEF
          'They asked why Pär never drove the timber'

    b. ??Dier   spuord   wiso an uok **aldri** timbreð   (Övdalian, Sw.)
       they   asked   why he drove never timber.DEF
       'They asked why he never drove the timber'

This squares with the analyses of the negative markers proposed above in section 5.7, where the negative marker *int* is analysed as an XP and *it* as a variant of *int*.

    To summarise, Övdalian shows optional verb movement across the short negative marker *it*. It marginally allows verb movement across the marker *int* and the negative adverb *aldri*, which depends on clause and subject type.

    Next, we consider the Setesdal dialect in Norway, starting with a short overview of the basic word order facts.

5.8.2 **The Setesdal dialect**

The negative markers are *inkji* and *kji*. According to the webpage www.vallemal.no,[99] the short form *kji* is perceived as the unmarked negation, but this depends on the context. According to the result of a search for the negative marker in the NDC-corpus, the form *kji* follows finite verbs and unstressed elements like modal particles and pronouns, whereas the marker *inkji* may occur in all contexts.[100] Thus, the marker *kji* seems to be a PF-variant of the full form *inkji*.

    In main clauses, the relative order of negation and pronouns/subjects is similar to the one in for instance the Oslo dialect, as shown in (60). Negation precedes a DP subject, but follows weak pronominal subjects and objects.

(60)   a. I går   køyrde (**kje**) *Ola* (***inkje**) stokkan   (Setesdal, No.)
       yesterday drove   not   Ola not   logs.DEF
       'Yesterday, Ola didn't drive the timber'
     b. I går   køyrde (***kje**) *han* (**inkje**) stokkan   (Setesdal, No.)
       yesterday drove   not he   not   logs.DEF
       'Yesterday, he didn't drive the logs'

We now turn to embedded clauses. Recall from chapter 4 that Heggstad (1916) reports on verb movement across negation in non-V2 contexts. He provides the following examples:

---

[99] This webpage is made by a local group of people, and the information at the page may therefore be interpreted as informant judgements and comments.

[100] This is the result of an investigation of the production data (in the NDC-corpus) in the village Valle in Setesdal. A search for *ikke* returned 267 instances, and how the three forms of the negative marker distribute in different contexts, is given in the table.

Negative marker	vf > neg	pron > neg	modal prt > neg	elsewhere	Sum
inkje	16	17	2	37	72
ikkje	19	4	1	6	30
kje	106	30	18	4	158

(61) a. Koss va det laga at du kom **kji**   (Trad. Setesdal, No.)
          how was it made that you came not
          'Why didn't you come?'

     b. Dei spure kvi han køyre **kji** stokkan   (Trad. Setesdal, No.)
          they asked why he drives not logs.DEF
          'They asked why he doesn't drive the logs'

     c. Her va ein mann som fann **kji** hesten atte   (Trad. Setesdal, No.)
          here was a man who found not horse.DEF again
          'Here is a man who didn't find his horse'

     d. Itt du vi **kji** me de goe, lyt du me de vonde (Trad. Setesdal, No.)
          if you will not with the good, must you with the bad
          'If you won't go with the good, then you have to go with the bad'

The short form *kji* is used in all the examples. If the full form *inkji* is to be used, it must precede the finite verb (Heggstad 1916), and if so, this structure marked some kind of emphasis (Heggstad is not specific about what kind of emphasis). Observe that these sentences are identical to the ones I tested for Övdalian above.

In contemporary Setesdal dialect, verb movement across negation is more restricted. In a survey of 10 informants (aged 17-79), the following result obtained:[101]

(62) a. ?/*Koss va det laga at du kom **kji**   (Setesdal, No.)
           how was it made that you came not
           'Why didn't you come?'

     b. %Dei spure kvi han køyre **kji** stokkan   (Setesdal, No.)
           they asked why he drives not logs.DEF
           'They asked why he doesn't drive the logs'

     c. Her va ein mann som fann **kji** hesten atte   (Setesdal, No.)
          here was a man who found not horse.DEF again
          'Here is a man who didn't find his horse'

     d. Itt du vi **kji** me de goe, lyt du me de vonde   (Setesdal, No.)
          if you will not with the good, must you with the bad
          'If you won't go with the good, then you have to go with the bad'

As for (62a), this was accepted by only one informant, and according to the informants this structure was common among elderly people 30-35 years ago. Today, the negative marker must precede the verb *kom* ('came'), and then it has the form *inkji*. Recall that this sentence received a low average score in Älvdalen too. The sentence in (62b) was accepted by three informants, and the unmarked position for negation is before the verb *køyre* ('drive'), and then the form *inkji* appears. The other two sentences were accepted by all the informants.

---

[101] I am greatly indebted to Birgit Attestog who carried out this survey for me.

The verb cannot cross the negative marker *inkji*, and the marker *kji* cannot precede the finite verb. Thus, *inkji* and *kji* have complementary distribution in embedded clauses:

(63) a. Itt du   (*__kji__) vi   __kji__   me   de   goe, lyt   du   me   de   vonde (Sd., No.)
       if you   *not*   *will*   *not*   *with*   *the*   *good, must you*   *with*   *the*   *bad*
       'If you won't go with the good, then you have to go with the bad'
    b. Itt du   (__inkji__) vi (*__inkji__)   me   de   goe, lyt   du   me   de   vonde (Sd., No.)
       if you   *not*   *will*   *not*   *with*   *the*   *good, must you*   *with*   *the*   *bad*
       'If you won't go with the good, then you have to go with the bad'

Turning the result of the survey into a clause type hierarchy, we get the the following ranking of possible $v_{fin} > neg$ contexts in the Setesdal dialect:

(64)   conditional/relative clause > embedded *wh*-question > *that*-clause in non-V2 contexts

Given the above-mentioned survey (cf. (62)) that shows that the negative markers *kji* and *inkji* differ in distribution in embedded clauses, it seems reasonable to assume that the distribution of adverbs in embedded clauses patterns with the distribution of *inkji* (cf. the distribution of full negative markers in other dialects). This prediction is tested on one speaker of the Setesdal dialect (see chapter 2 for a discussion of the methodology). The results, shown in (65), indicates that the prediction is borne out: Verb movement across other sentential adverbs or sequences of negation and adverbs seems not to be possible. The judgements in (65) cannot uncritically be generalised to hold for other speakers, but given the judgements in (62), it is likely that other informants share the intuitions in (65).

(65) a. Itt du   (__vanlegvis__) vi (*__vanlegvis__)   med det goe…   (Setesdal, No.)
      if you   *usually*   *will usually*   *with* *the* *good*
    b. Itt du   (__allstøtt__) vi (*__allstøtt__) med det goe…   (Setesdal, No.)
      if you   *always* *will always*   *with* *the* *good*
    c. Itt du   (__egentleg__) vi (*__egentleg__) med det   goe…   (Setesdal, No.)
      if you   *really*   *will really*   *with* *the* *good*
    d. Itt du   (__inkje allstøtt__) vi (*__kje allstøtt__) med det   goe…   (Setesdal, No.)
      if you   *not always* *will not always*   *with* *the*   *good*
    e. Itt du   (__egentleg   inkje__) vi (*__egentleg__ ??__kje/inkji__) med det   goe… (Setesdal, No.)
      if you   *really*   *not* *will really*   *not*   *with* *the* *good*
    f. Itt du   (__alli__) vi   (__alli__) med det goe …   (Setesdal, No.)
      if you   *never will*   *never with* *the* *good*
      'If you ___ will with the good…'

(65a-c) shows that the auxiliary cannot cross the adverbs *vanligvis* ('usually'), *allstøtt* ('always') and *egentlig* ('really'). It makes no difference if the negative marker is present (65d,e). In (65d) the negative marker may be realised as *kji* if the verb crosses the sequence, but still the verb cannot cross the adverb *allstøtt.* In (65e) the negative marker must be realised as *inkji* since it follows the

adverb. Here we may have expected that the verb could intervene between the adverb and negation and furthermore that negation could have been realised as *kji*. However, this is impossible. The word order in (65f) is a bit surprising as my informant reports that the verb actually can cross the adverb *alli* ('never') in this case (cf. verb movement across the negative adverb in Övdalian).

To summarise, the Setesdal dialect exhibits verb movement across the short negative marker *kji* and at least for some speakers, also across the negative adverb *alli*. The availability for verb movement is however restricted by clause type. In the next sections I will mainly discuss the word order difference between the short and full forms of the negative markers in Övdalian and the Setesdal dialect.

5.8.3 Comparison: Övdalian and the Setesdal varieties
The similarities and differences between these varieties are summarised in Table 46 below:

Table 49: Comparison of embedded verb movement in Övdalian and the Setesdal dialect

Similarities	Differences
i. Verb movement across negation	iv. The clause type hierarchy
ii. A distributional difference of short and full negation	v. The negative expressions
(iii. No verb movement across sentential adverbs except the negative adverb *aldri/alli*)	vi. The richness of (verbal) morphology
	vii. Restrictiveness

As noted in the introduction to this section, the embedded verb movement in these varieties is distinct from the Icelandic type of (generalised) V-to-I movement and Northern Norwegian type of verb movement that only can cross adverbs. This is a third type of embedded verb movement that only can cross negation. It resembles the Northern Norwegian movement type in being non-obligatory and selective with respect to which elements it crosses.

Furthermore, both varieties have a full and short form negative marker which are (almost) in complementary distribution in embedded clauses (ii): The verb may only cross the short one, while the full form is the only one that can precede the finite verb. For Övdalian however, this is only a tendency, cf. the examples above and Garbacz (2010: 125). Still, there may be a straightforward explanation for this where dialectal variation in Älvdalen and the phonetic realisation of the negative markers need to be taken into consideration. There are a few dialects that only have the marker *int*, and consequently in these dialects we cannot tell whether the form *int* is a short negation, both short and full, or just the full negation. I will for the moment assume that it can have both 'short' and 'full' properties. As for the Övdalian varieties that have the distinction between *int* and *it*, the phonetic opposition between them is not as distinct as in the Setesdal dialect, since both *int* and *it* are monosyllabic. The opposition between *inkji* and *kji* is arguably clearer (cf. v).

The final point under similarities (iii) is the observation in Övdalian and the hypothesis for the Setesdal dialect that only negation may be crossed by the verb (in addition to the negative adverb *aldri/alli*, but this is not equally accepted). I will return to this issue in the analysis in section 5.8.5.

If we look at the differences, the clausal hierarchies (of the clause types discussed here) in the contemporary varieties differ from each other (iv) (omitting the V2-contexts):

(66) a. **Övdalian**:

Embedded *wh*-question > relative/adverbial clause > (presupposed) *that*-clauses in non-V2 contexts

b. **The Setesdal dialect**:

Conditional clause > Relative clause > embedded *wh*-question > (presupposed) *that*-clause in non-V2 contexts

With regard to presupposition, the hierarchy of the Setesdal dialect shows an increased level presupposition as we go down the hierarchy.[102] In Övdalian, the hierarchy does not correlate with an increase or decrease in presupposition. This may be explained by the fact that embedded questions in spoken Swedish may have a kind of V2 (Garbacz 2010: 131, fn. 139; Teleman et al. 1999: 468, note 3), so (at least) the position of wh-questions in the hierarchy (56) seems to be special to Swedish.

Points (v, vi) concern morphology. We have already seen that the form of the negative markers (v) may have influence on the acceptance of the structures.

In section 4.4.1 in chapter 4 it was mentioned that the richness of verbal morphology has been argued to be related to verb movement in embedded clauses, which concerns the point in (vi). We also saw that there is no (universal) correlation between richness of verbal morphology and verb movement (cf. e.g. Bentzen 2005, 2007; Wiklund et al. 2007). Moreover, Garbacz (2010) shows that Övdalian has rich verbal inflection. It is richer than the verbal morphology in the Setesdal dialect, which only has retained inflection for number in the contemporary dialect. Vikner (1995: 134) compares the presence of verb movement in Övdalian with the lack of verb movement in the Norwegian dialect of Hallingdal. In the Hallingdal dialect the verb is, as the Setesdal dialect, also inflected for number but not for person, and Vikner reports that there is no verb movement in this dialect, which he relates to the lack of person features.

As the Setesdal data show, there is no need for rich agreement in order to cross negation. One may speculate that some inflection is necessary (in particular number), but that seems unlikely given the research referred to above.

The final point (vii) concerns the observation that verb movement is more restricted in the Setesdal dialect than in Övdalian (cf. the hierarchy). This result suggests that the Setesdal dialect has started to lose the verb movement option relative to the hierarchy given, and is turning into having obligatory V3 in most non-V2 contexts. This seems also to be the case in Övdalian, but judging from the data presented here the change has yet not come as far as in the Setesdal dialect.

Summing up, the similiarities between the Setesdal and Övdalian verb movement across negation are overwhelming, and most of the differences can be explained by other factors or dismissed. The major difference between them is that verb movement is more restricted in the Setesdal dialect than in Övdalian.

---

[102] However, these hierarchies only include a subgroup all of embedded clauses, which in total examplifies a much wider range of semantics than the ones listed here. I do not know how the other clause types not mentioned here would behave.

5.8.4 Premises of an analysis and a discussion of the account in Garbacz (2010)

From the three preceding subsections we have the following observations given in (67), which an analysis should account for. As in the dissertation as a whole, the attention is on negation and how the observed word orders can be modelled in a structural account.

(67)   a. Verb movement is only visible in negative contexts
       b. The verb may only cross the short forms of negation
       c. (The verb may cross the negative adverb)

The intuitive idea is that the verb only raises (high) if it is "attracted" by negation, in particular the short version of the negative marker. I will propose that the verb never crosses NegP, at least in the modern varieties.

Before we turn to the analysis, I will give some prerequisites and discuss some issues that are not already mentioned in the literature review in the preceding chapter: (i) The analysis of verb movement across negation in Garbacz (2010); and (ii) evidence that the verb does not cross NegP. These issues are discussed in turn below.

Garbacz (2010) analyses the embedded clause word order facts in Övdalian (either that negation precedes the subject or that it follows the verb) by assuming that there are two distinct NegPs in Övdalian: One above the subject position and one very low in the IP-domain, as mentioned above. Thus, when the verb precedes negation, the negative marker appears in the low NegP with the verb moving across it; and when negation precedes the verb, negation occupies the high NegP (Garbacz 2010: 109).

(68)   [$_{CP}$ [$_{HighNegP}$ *int* [$_{TP}$ *subject V$_{fin}$* [$_{LowNegP}$ *it* [$_{vP}$ ~~subject~~ ~~V$_{fin}$~~]]]]]

In this simplified structure the finite verb has moved to the head of TP. If the negative marker *it* surfaces in LowNegP, the finite verb is spelled out before the negative marker. If the negative marker surfaces in the HighNegP-projection, the finite verb is spelled out after the negative marker. As stated in chapter 1 and mentioned several times, I assume that there is only one position for NegP in the clausal structure, and by that it falls out that I cannot adopt the proposed analysis in Garbacz (2010).

There is also little evidence that the verb actually crosses the NegP when it precedes the negative marker in Övdalian, which also makes it reasonable to dismiss the analysis in (68). Consider the case of movement of negative objects. In Övdalian negative indefinites may move out of the vP, as we see in (69a,b) from Garbacz 2009: table B19 p. 249, table B18.3 p. 247). The traces are indicated in the examples:

(69)   a. Mats ar   **intnoð$_t$** [$_{vP}$ sagt *t* að Gunnar]   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
           Mats has   nothing   said   to Gunnar
           'Mats hasn't said anything to Gunnar'
       b. Eð ir tuokut   at   Andes[**ingg peningger**]$_t$ al   [$_{vP}$ fǻ *t*]   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
           it is foolish that   Andes no   money   shall   get
           'It is foolish that Andes won't get any money'

In (69a,b) the negative indefinites by hypothesis occupy Spec,NegP (in order to take sentential scope) (cf. e.g. Haegeman 1995; Lindstad 2007). If the verb moves across NegP, we would expect that the finite verb *al* ('shall') can precede the negative indefinite. This is not possible, as the following example shows. This sentence is judged by five informants, of which only one readily accepts it. Three of the informants rejected it, and one gave a degraded score:[103]

(70) a. *Eð ir tuokut at Andes al **ingg** **peningger** få   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
  it is foolish that Andes shall no money get
  'It is foolish that Andes won't get any money'

  b. Eð ir tuokut [~SubP~at [~AgrP~ Andes al [~NegP~ingg peningger [~TP~ ~Andes~ ~al~[~vP~ ~Andes~ få ~ingg~ ~peninnger~]]]]]

In this sentence, which I analyse on a par with V-to-AGR movement in Icelandic (cf. chapter 4) the negative indefinite has moved out of the vP and presumably to Spec,NegP in order to take sentential scope. The finite verb has moved to a position above NegP, AgrP in the analysis in (70b) (cf. Åfarli et al. 2003). I also assume that the subject surfaces in Spec,AgrP. But such a structure where the finite verb crosses a negative object that by hypothesis sits in Spec,NegP is not accepted in contemporary Övdalian.

It is worth noting that to the best of my knowledge Levander does not have any examples of verb movement across a negative indefinite in embedded clause, only examples where the negative indefinite precedes the finite verb. This does of course not mean that the structure did not exist at that time, and interestingly, one of the informants reports that the word order in (70) is very old.

To conclude, the finite verb can only cross the short negative marker *it* in Övdalian embedded clauses, but it cannot cross other elements that by hypothesis sits in Spec,NegP.
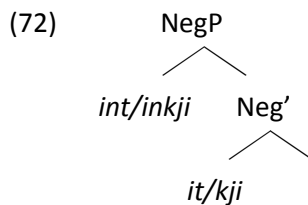
5.8.5 Analysis

I will advocate the idea that the short negative markers *it/kji* are heads that incorporate into the verb (i.e. syntactic cliticisation). I furthermore assume that the finite verb stops in the head of NegP. This assumption is supported by the observation from my Setesdal informant that the verb only crosses the negative marker when they are linearly adjacent, see (71a,b), but even then the movement is restricted, as shown in (92c). This last observation may however be related to adverb-clustering tendencies in the varieties.

(71) a. Itt du vi **kji** me de goe, lyt du me de vonde (Setesdal, No.)
  if you will not with the good must you with the bad
  'If you won't go with the good, then you have to go with the bad'

---

[103] I am grateful to Piotr Garbacz for helping me with obtaining the judgements for (70). Of altogether five informants, four prefer another word order (with neg + QP). None of the informants gives the sentence in (6990) above as an alternative (where the negative indefinite precedes the V). This might suggest that neg-movement of a negative indefinite in these contexts is not longer very productive.

b. *Itt du   vi   **kji allstøtt**   me   de   goe…   (Setesdal, No.)
   if you   will   not always   with   the   good
   'If you won't always go with the good'

c. *Itt du   (vi)   **egentleg** (vi)   (in)**kje**   me   de   goe…   (Setesdal, No.)
   if you   will   really   will   not   with   the   good
   'If you won't always go with the good'

Hence, (in embedded clauses) I assume that the short negative markers realise the head of NegP in Övdalian and the Setesdal dialect. The full forms *int/inkji* (and negative indefinites in Övdalian) occupy Spec,NegP.

(72)   NegP
           ╱   ╲
     int/inkji   Neg'
                  ╱   ╲
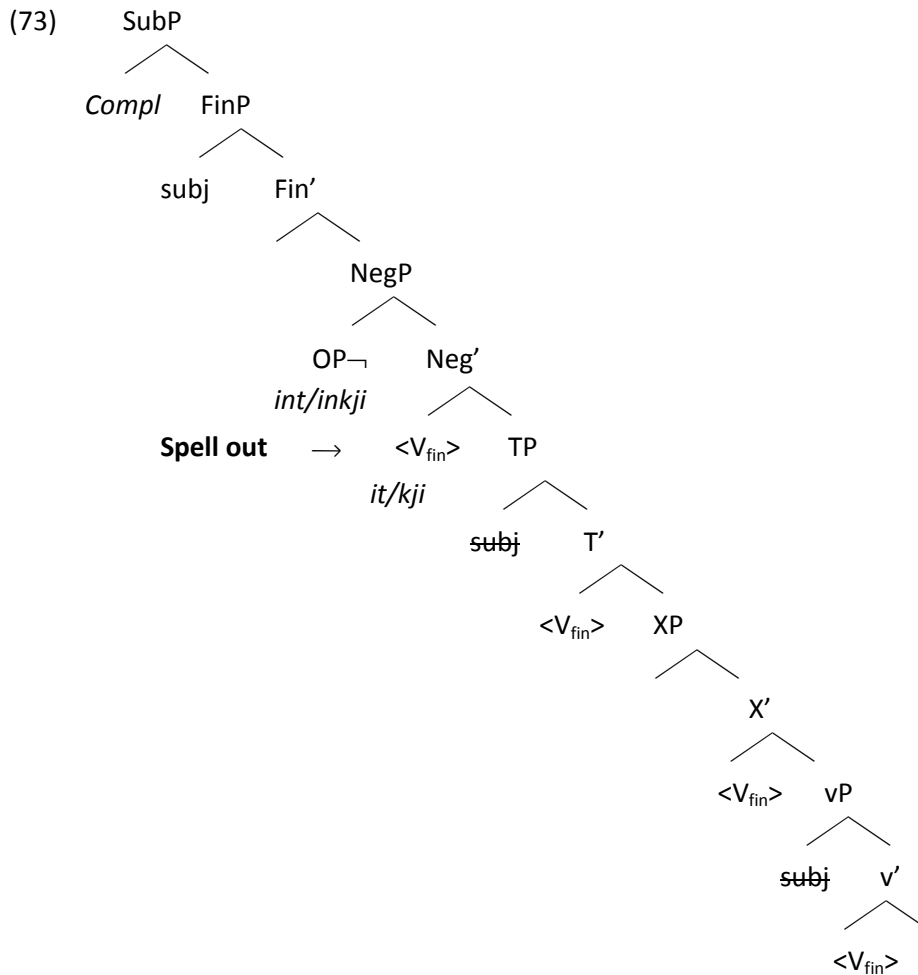   *it/kji*

An alternative analysis could also assume that verb movement across (clitic) negation is a pure product of PF, i.e. as a result of metathesis of the negative marker and the finite verb. This would be in accordance with the proposed statuses of *kji* and *it* as variants of the full forms in section 5.7 above. I return to this proposal in the next section.

In the meantime, there is one argument in favour of treating this within syntax, namely that it seems to depend on clause types: While metathesis in general is a pure phonetic operation, the metathesis in this case must be determined by grammar and more specifically by clause type features. This is possible on the assumption that some grammatical/syntactic information is available for the PF component (Pullum and Zwicky 1988). But in that case, the operation as a whole may equally well be ascribed to syntax.

The proposed analysis is partly inspired by the idea in Holmberg (2003) that PolP attracts the finite verb. I still assume an account of head movement in the lines of Platzack (2010), see section 5.7 above.
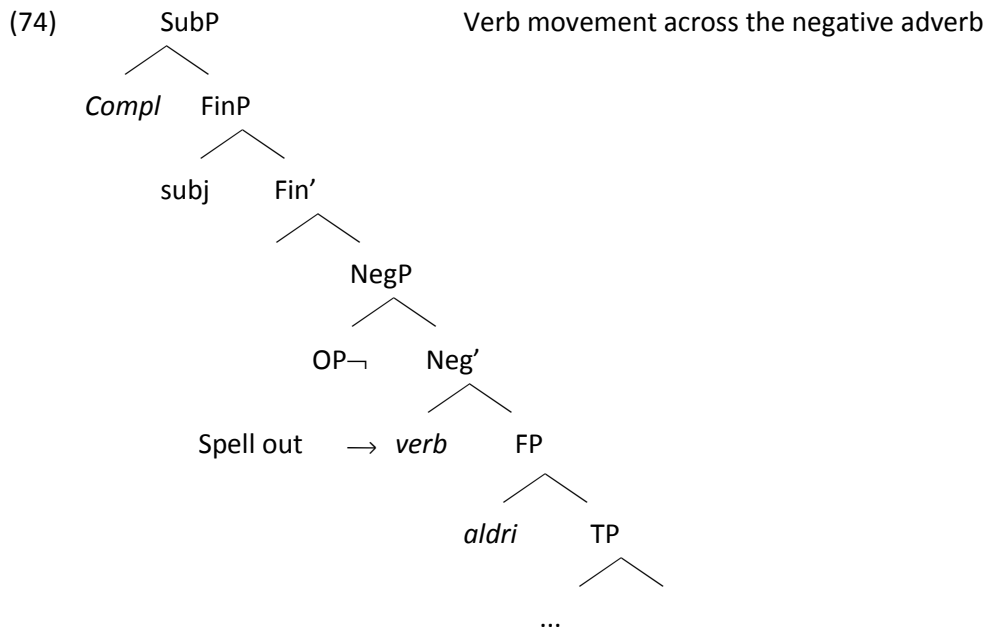
In the varieties of Älvdalen and Setesdal I propose that the verb is spelled out in the head of NegP in negative embedded clauses. This is schematised in the following structure (cf. the analysis of embedded V3 clauses proposed in chapter 4):

(73)

```
        SubP
        /  \
   Compl    FinP
            /  \
        subj    Fin'
                /  \
             NegP
             /  \
         OP¬      Neg'
       int/inkji   /  \
Spell out  →   <V_fin>    TP
               it/kji      /  \
                        s̶u̶b̶j̶    T'
                            /  \
                       <V_fin>    XP
                                 /  \
                                X'
                               /  \
                          <V_fin>    vP
                                    /  \
                                s̶u̶b̶j̶    v'
                                        /  \
                                   <V_fin>
```

The structure is the same as proposed for embedded clauses in non-V2 contexts in chapter 4. The subject first moves to Spec,TP triggered by an EPP-feature on that head, and moves further to Spec,FinP in order to license Fin° (cf. chapter 4). If the negative marker sits in the head of NegP, the verb is spelled out in in NegP (at PF). If the negative marker sits in the specifier of NegP, the negative marker is spelled out before the finite verb irrespective of the finite verb is spelled out in the head of NegP or in a lower head. Of reasons to become clear in the next subsection, I assume that the negative operator occupies Spec,NegP (e.g. Haegeman 1995; Zeijlstra 2004).

As for the clause-type dependencies, we saw in the preceding section that verb movement across negation is very restricted in for instance presupposed *that*-clauses embedded under non-bridge verbs. Such clauses can be labelled factive, and I suggests that a Factive Operator, located in a head of the CP-domain, for instance Spec,FinP or Spec,FocP, can be perceived as focalising the negativity of the clause. As a practical consequence the negative marker cannot be a clitic and hence the full form of negation which sits in Spec,NegP is utilised.

Recall that the verb marginally can precede the negative adverbs in addition to negation in Övdalian and in the Setesdal dialect. In order for the adverb *alli/aldri* to be interpreted as having negative sentential scope, the NegP must be projected. If we analyse the negative adverb as an NPI, we can hypothesise that it is merged in a projection below NegP. If so, the verb will precede it when it is spelled out in the head of NegP, as illustrated in (74).

(74)   SubP   Verb movement across the negative adverb

The tree diagram shows:
- SubP branches into *Compl* and FinP
- FinP branches into subj and Fin'
- Fin' branches into NegP
- NegP branches into OP¬ and Neg'
- Neg' branches into *verb* (with "Spell out →") and FP
- FP branches into *aldri* and TP
- TP branches into ...

The negative adverb occupies a position below NegP, and is within the scope of the negative operator in Spec,NegP, which contributes with the negative semantics to the sentence.

The negative adverb is still preferred in a position before the finite verb. Semantically, it is a spell out of the structure ∀>neg, in which negation is within the scope of the all quantifier. If the all quantifier projects on top of NegP (as in Lindstad 2007), the negative adverb can also be considered to express these two projections. Given the assumption that the finite verb moves at most to the head of NegP, the negative adverb will then linearise to the left of the verb.

The provided analysis for the verb movement across negation hinges on the negative marker being a head. This is not immediately compatible with what I previously stated about their status, namely that the short forms are variants of the full forms, which are XPs. This paradox in status may be solved. Impressionistically, the neg-feature in a feature-set [V, Neg] spells out as *kji*, whereas in other structures it spells out as *inkji*. This can be understood in the light of the Head Preference Principle (van Gelderen 2004: 18) which states *Be a head, rather than a phrase*.

Another possibility is to dispense the v_{fin} > *neg* order in embedded clauses entirely to PF, saying that the elements in the string *neg* − v_{fin} undergo metathesis when possible, so that the negative marker can cliticise to the finite verb. I will however return to this issue in chapter 9 on the syntax of negation.

5.8.6   Comparison with other North Germanic varieties and a note on the diachrony

In most Mainland North Germanic varieties and in non-negative sentences in the Setesdal dialect and Övdalian the verb is spelled out below adverbs, for instance in the head of TP (cf. Åfarli et al. 2003) as illustrated in chapter 4 for the Oslo dialect.
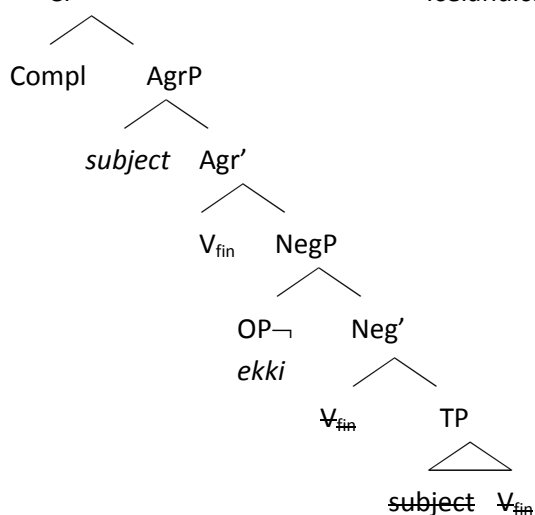
In dialects where the verb may move past adverbs but not negation (e.g. in Faroese, Northern Norwegian and Northern Ostrobothnian), the verb may be spelled out anywhere in non-negative sentences. But crucially, in negative sentences the verb cannot be spelled out above NegP (for

instance when negation is present alone or in a sequence). The idea that NegP blocks movement, is taken from Lindstad (2007: 199ff) who notes that negation frequently blocks verb movement (in e.g. English). He proposes that one (semantic) reason for this NegP restriction may be that the verb must keep the event variable, bound by NegP, within its scope: "that the verb terminates its extended word in the head of Neg1 unequivocally keeps the event variable under the scope of the verb" (Lindstad 2007: 202). If the negative operator sits in Spec,NegP, as indicated in (73) and (74) above, the requirements in the quotation is met, in the sense that the verb does not leave the scopal domain of the negative operator when it targets the head of NegP.

The difference between dialects that have verb movement in positive contexts, and the Älvdalen/Setesdal varieties, may be explained by the assumption that negation occurs in Neg° in the Setesdal dialect and Övdalian whereas in for instance Northern Norwegian negation appears in the specifier and is thus linearised to the left of the verb, even if the verb is spelled out as high as in the head of NegP. Another possibility is that the verb just remains low in negative embedded clauses in these varieties.

If this analysis is on the right track, 'all' Mainland North Germanic varieties pattern on a par in not allowing verb movement across NegP in embedded clauses.[104] On the contrary, Icelandic differs from Mainland North Germanic in having verb movement across negation to a high position also in negative embedded clauses (in the head of AgrP, if we follows the analysis of Åfarli et al. 2003). This is illustrated in (75).:

(75)   CP   Icelandic: V-to-I movement in embedded clauses.

```
(75)        CP                              Icelandic: V-to-I movement in embedded clauses.
           /  \
       Compl   AgrP
             /    \
        subject   Agr'
                 /    \
              V_fin    NegP
                      /    \
                   OP¬      Neg'
                   ekki    /    \
                        V̶_̶f̶i̶n̶    TP
                               /△\
                          s̶u̶b̶j̶e̶c̶t̶   V̶_̶f̶i̶n̶
```

In (75) the finite verb targets the head of AgrP, whereas the subject occupies the specifier position. Recall the proposed analyses of embedded clauses in chapter 4 where the subject or the verb licenses the head of FinP. If this also holds for Icelandic, the subject must move further up in the structure in order to license Fin°.

---

[104] I thus assume that this also holds for the Danish dialects considered in the preceding chapter (Pedersen 1996). See the discussion there on those examples.

Whatever the explanation may be, it seems to be a fact that only Icelandic allows verb movement across the negative operator in Spec,NegP (in negative clauses). In affirmative embedded clauses, Northern Norwegian (Bentzen 2005), Northern Ostrobothnian (Bentzen to appear) and Faroese (cf Heycock 2010) may also have the finite verb surfacing in a high position above adverbs, but it may crucially not precede an overt negator.

In a diachronic perspective, it may be that the loss of V-to-I started out as a reduction of V-to-I to V-to-Neg in negative contexts. This suggestion is supported by the change in Faroese from having V-to-I movement to a system reminiscent of Mainland North Germanic, where Heycock et al. (2010) shows that Faroese speakers marginally allow V-to-Neg in addition to the Mainland North Germanic embedded word order. It is also supported by the observation in Nyström (1985: 192) who writes that the Mainland North Germanic embedded word order (without verb movement) in Swedish first appeared with negation. In positive contexts the verb could still surface high, but much of the evidence of verb movement may have disappeared if the negative marker occupied Spec,NegP and thus preceded the verb. This may eventually have the verb led to remain low in all contexts.

In the Setesdal dialect and in Övdalian the word order $v_{fin} > kji$ may in some sense have been lexicalised so that this word order has been maintained. As for the division of negation into *inkje* and the weak form *kje*, that is documented for the dialects of Gudbrandsdalen and Western Telemark from around 1800 (according to the entry *ikkje* in the dictionary Norsk Ordbok 2014). It is not unreasonable to assume that this division in the Setesdal dialect is equally old. The weak form *kje* was at least used when it followed the verb (perhaps also pronouns). In accordance with van Gelderen's (2004: 18) *Head Preference Principle*: "Be a head, rather than a phrase", the form *kje* may have been reanalysed quite fast from being a variant of the negative marker to becoming the overt realisation of the negative head on the assumption that *kje* only occurred in the context of a finite verb.

In Övdalian, the distinction between *int* and *it* is presumably a quite recent innovation (cf. the lack of the form *it* in Levander 1909 on the Åsen-variety of Övdalian contra one of my Åsen informants who claimed that (s)he only uses the form *it*).

We have so far mostly considered elicited data and theoretical considerations regarding verb movement across negation embedded non-V2 contexts, which is possible in a few North Germanic varieties. The analysis predicts that the short negative forms only occur in the context of a finite verb in embedded clauses in these dialects. We furthermore expect there to be a higher rate of verb movement in embedded clauses in these varieties than in other ones which do not exhibit embedded verb movement across negation.

5.8.7 Verb movement across negation and production

The judgement data on verb movement in non-V2 contexts in Övdalian and the Setesdal dialect make one expecting instances of verb movement in non-V2 contexts to occur in production as well. This is tested below for these dialects and a couple of other ones as well for the sake of comparison.

Production data from the NDC-corpus support the prediction that the short forms *kji/it* and the full forms *inkji/int(e)* are in complementary distribution (in embedded clauses).

A search for the negative marker *ikke* in the Setesdal dialect (the NDC-corpus) returned 267 instances. 11 out of 21 subordinate clauses in the Setesdal dialect are subject initial embedded V2,

which mostly contains the marker *kji*, as we see in Table 50. One of the instances with the marker *inkji* is a clear V2 context with the matrix predicate *say*. All the sentences are subject initial.

Of the 10 subordinate clauses with non-V2 word order (*subj > neg > v_{fin} / neg > subj > v_{fin}*), only one contains the short negation *kji* (which follows an expletive in the concrete example). The table summarises these facts:

Table 50: Distribution of the markers *kje, ikkje* and *inkje* in (finite) embedded clauses with overt complementisers in the Setesdal dialect (the village Valle, NDC)

	#kje	#ikkje	#inkje
subject initial embedded V2	8	2	1
embedded V3	1	1	8

The same distribution between the full and short forms is also found in production data from Övdalian. The search in the NDC-corpus referred to in section 5.5, shows that in subject-initial embedded clauses with verb movement the negative marker is mostly the short form *it*, while in V3 clauses the negative marker is mostly *int*. Consider the following table:

Table 51: Distribution of the marker *it*, *int* in (finite) embedded clauses with overt complementisers in Övdalian (the villages Åsen, Blyberg, Brunnsberg, Evertsberg, Klitten, Väsa and Skolan in the NDC-corpus)

	#it	#int
subject initial embedded V2	4	1
embedded V3	1	6

When we compare the frequencies of embedded clauses with verb movement in the Setesdal/Älvdalen varieties with a few Norwegian dialects, the frequencies for this order are significantly higher in the former dialects than in the latter. This is shown in the following table, which shows the result of searches for the negative marker of various locations in the NDC-corpus. Except for the dialects of Senja and Norrland, the negative marker in the other dialects may be analysed as relatively headlike (in main clauses).

Table 52: Frequencies of (finite) embedded V3 and the order v_{fin} >neg with overt complementisers in some MSc. dialects (NDC)

Dialect	embedded V3	v_{fin} > neg	Total no. of instances of the search
Senja, No.	25 (75.8%)	8 (24.2%)	164
Bergen, No.	10 (100%)	0	275
Stryn	9 (81.8%)	2 (18.2%)	181
Luster&Jølster, No.	41 (78.8%)	11 (21.2%)	518
Oppdal, No.	35 (77.8%)	10 (22.2%)	520
Evje, No.	13 (80%)	3 (20%)	267
Norrland, Sw.	18 (70%)	8 (30%)	447
Valle (Setesdal)	10 (47.6%)	11 (52.4%)	267
Älvdalen	7 (53.8%)	6 (46.2%)	156

Table 52 shows that proportion of clauses with the order $v_{fin} > neg$ is higher in the data from Valle (Setesdal) and Älvdalen than in the other dialects. In Övdalian and the Setesdal dialect there is verb movement in half of the embedded clauses, whereas it varies between 0 and 30% in the other ones. This result is expected on the assumption that verb movement is possible in more embedded clause types in Övdalian and the Setesdal dialect than in the others. It is, however, not particularly illuminating unless the figures are correlated for clause type. Recall that verb movement is possible in so-called embedded V2 context in all North Germanic, so that if the informants from one location produce many V2 contexts, the proportion of verb movement might inevitably be high. The degree of embedded V2 contexts in the results shown in Table 52 above, are given in the following table. As embedded V2 context various types of *at*-clauses ('that'-) and *fordi*-clauses ('because'-) are included (cf. section 4.4 in chapter 4).

Table 53: The degree of V2 contexts in embedded clauses in the ones given in Table 52

Dialect	embedded V3 rate of *at*-cl.	$v_{fin} > neg$ no. of V2 context	rate of non-V2 context
Senja, No.	36% (9 of 25)	8 (of 8)	0
Bergen, No.	30% (3 of 10)	0 (of 0)	0
Stryn	0	2 (of 2)	0
Luster&Jølster, No.	29% (12 of 41)	11 (of 11)	0
Oppdal, No.	34% (12 of 35)	8 (of 10)	2
Evje, No.	23% (3 of 13)	2 (of 3)	1
Norrland, Sw.	37% (7 of 18)	8 (of 8)	0
Valle (Setesdal)	30% (3 of 10)	11 (of 11)	0
Älvdalen	0 (of 7)	2 (of 6)	4

The results in this table change the picture. It is only Övdalian (and the Bergen dialect) that differ from the other ones. In the Övdalian data none of the clauses with embedded V3 is *att*-clauses (i.e. a potential V2 context), and in five of the seven instances of verb movement the clauses are not a potential V2 context (there are three relative *so*-clauses, one *se:*-clause ('since'-) and one *fast*-clause ('although')). A few of these are shown below. It should also be noted that there are instances of verb movement in embedded clauses where the complementiser is elided. These are not included in the table.

(76) a. se: ig ar   **it** nog   minne   og   efter- ettersos ig swenskeð
       since I have not any memories   and since since   I talked_Swedish
       iel   tiðe: (Blyberg, Sw.)
       whole time.DEF
       'Since I don't have any memories and since I talked Swedish all the time'
   b. ig kanstji war lite   biswärlin   fast   ig wet int   eð   (Blyberg, Sw.)
       I   maybe   was little troublesome though I   know not   it
       'I might have been a little troublesome, though I don't know'

c. wen ir eð so   ir **it**   so bra jær då:?   (Åsen, Sw.)
    what is it that is not so good here then
    'What isn't good here?'

In (76a) there is an embedded clause introduced by the complementiser *se:* ('since'), in (76b) the complementiser is *fast* ('though'), and in (76c) there is a relative clause. None of these clause types are recognised as embedded V2 contexts (cf. chapter 4).

The data from Setesdal (Valle) do not differ from the other ones – neither in the degree of *at*-clauses ('that'-) with embedded V3, nor that the eleven instances with verb movement occurs in *at*-clauses, which are potential V2 contexts.

There are single instances of verb movement in non-V2 contexts in the dialects of Evje and Oppdal, which are given in (77). These instances might be accidental (and a result of production errors), or they might be "true" realisations of I-languages. It should be noted that Evje is a neighbour village of Valle, and is located in the beginning of the Setesdal valley. Recall also that the negative marker in the Oppdal dialect is analysed as a head earlier in this chapter, and the head status might be relevant in this connection.

(77) a. vænninna hass M13 såmm   komm   **itj**   (Oppdal, No.)
          girlfriend his M13 who   came   not
          'The girlfriend of M13, who didn't come'
      b. såmm   åss   tenngt **itj** nå   åver   (Oppdal, No.)
          which   we   thought not anything over
          'which we didn't think about'
      c. de ser ut   såmm att du   fær   **kje** mæir ell   du   klare   (Evje, No.)
          it looks out   as   that you   get   not   more than you   manage
          'It looks as if you don't get more than you manage'

All these sentences are uttered by the old informants, and they are pronounced coherently and naturally. In (77a,b) there are two relative clauses headed by the complementiser *som*. The subject is a DP in (77a) and pronominal in (77b). As for the example in (77c), we observe that the relative complementiser *som* is followed by the complementiser *at* ('that'), which regularly induce V2 contexts. However, in most Norwegian varieties, the clause would have had V3.

Given that the structures in (77) reflect I-language, these occurrences of verb movement across negation in relative clauses, are interesting in a diachronic perspective and in comparison with Icelandic. Nyström (1985: 197) shows that embedded V3 occurs more frequently in negated relative clauses than in other embedded clause types in early modern Swedish. This observation patterns with the observation in Icelandic that relative clauses are the ones that most readily allow V3 word order (Angantýsson 2007, 2008a). The examples in (77) thus show the opposite pattern of Icelandic, since the subject is pronominal in two of the examples. Recall also from chapter 4 that it is claimed that embedded V2 is easier with a pronominal subject than a full DP subject in Norwegian.

Pronominal subjects are usually analysed as appearing high in the structure, which may be the link between Norwegian (and potentially Mainland North Germanic) and Icelandic in this respect: Thráinsson (2007a) explains V3 in Icelandic by an exceptional high placement of adverbs above the

moved finite verb, which is enabled by the high position of the subject. Likewise, we can hypothesise that the high placement of pronominal subjects enables a high placement of the finite verb in Norwegian. Some kind of verb movement must in any case be assumed.

To summarise, production data from the NDC-corpus reveals that verb movement across negation in non-V2 contexts occurs more frequently in Övdalian than in other North Germanic varieties, but it should be noted that the figures are quite small. It does not occur as frequent as one perhaps should expect in the Setesdal dialect, which patterns with other Norwegian dialects.

5.9 Summary

In this chapter we have investigated the relative order of subjects and negation and the relative order of verb and negation in main and embedded clauses in some Mainland North Germanic dialects. We have seen that the distribution of negation in the different dialects may be linked to the status of the negative markers as either XP, an XP that may undergo PF-cliticisation or a head in the Norwegian dialects. In the Swedish varieties it was suggested that negation is fronted to a position within the CP-domain in embedded clauses. Thus, most of the variation found across the dialects may be located in the lexicon, and an identical structure can be maintained for all dialects.

Regarding verb movement across negation, this is only possible in a couple of varieties. I analyse it as V-to-Neg movement, where the negative marker occupies the head of NegP and incorporates to the verb. I furthermore propose that embedded verb movement in non-V2 contexts in Mainland North Germanic (and Faroese) never cross NegP when it is present. This can explain why for instance Northern Norwegian does not show verb movement across negation, but only adverbs, on the assumption that the negative marker in such varieties is located in Spec,NegP.

6   On Double Negation

6.1   Introduction

Double negation is recognised as one of the steps in the Jespersen's Cycle, where the (weak) negation is reinforced by another element. This was briefly discussed in chapter 1. Multiple negative expressions in a clause fall into different types. The most common type is perhaps Negative Concord (NC), where two or more negative elements co-occur (inside the clause proper). Another type is characterised by doubling of sentential negation in clause-final position (called *resumptive negation* in Jespersen 1917: 64ff; and *right peripheral doubling of negation* in Vangsnes 2008: 427). Both these types will be discussed in the current chapter. Clause-final doubling of negation is associated with clause-initial negation, which a part of the chapter is devoted to.

The possibilities for NC are in some accounts related to weak negation and the presence of an overtly realised negative head. One of the aims of including a discussion of NC is to examine whether NC may illuminate the status of the negative markers in the varieties. Another motivation is to investigate if NC correlates with some of the other structures discussed in the dissertation. Throughout the first part of this chapter we will see that NC seems to be independent of the other issues in the thesis. NC has been thoroughly studied by many scholars (e.g. Zeijlstra 2004; Haegeman 1995; Zanuttini 1997; Lindstad 2007), and I will not attempt to provide a new analysis of this phenomenon.

Clause-final negation has been less studied. As already stated it seems to correlate with clause-initial negation, which on the other hand might be related to the distribution of negation in embedded clauses (chapter 4 and 5) and negative imperatives (chapter 6).

The character of the current chapter is different from the previous ones, as there is no exhaustive investigations of the phenomena in any of the varieties. As such, theoretical aspects are more prominent in this chapter than in the preceding ones.

This chapter is organised as follows: The three main topics constitute the three main sections of the chapter. The first issue to be discussed is Negative Concord in section 6.2. I will briefly describe different forms of NC and discuss different accounts of NC and theoretical implications, before I describe different forms of NC in the Mainland North Germanic dialects. The next issue, clause-initial negation, is discussed in section 6.1, where I touch upon geographical variation and the pragmatics tied to this particular distribution of negation, before proposing an analysis towards the end of the section. The last issue to be considered is clause-final negation, in section 6.4. In this section I also provide a small survey of the distribution of clause-final negation across the Mainland North Germanic languages, before I propose an analysis. A comparison and discussion of clause-initial and clause-final negation follows in section 6.5, before the whole chapter is summarised in section 6.6.

6.2   Negative Concord

6.2.1   Introduction

Negative Concord may be divided into three different phenomena (Zeijlstra 2004: 61, following van der Wouden and Zwartz 1993. The examples are taken from Zeijlstra 2004: 62):

(1)   **Types of Negative Concord**

   (i)   **Negative Spread**: The negative feature is "spread" or distributed over any number of indefinite expressions within its scope

      Ex: **Nessuno** ha   telefonto   a **nessuno**   (Italian)
             N-body has   telephoned to n-body
             'Nobody called anybody'

   (ii)   **Negative Doubling**: A distinguished negative element shows up in sentences that contain a negative expression

      Ex: Jean **ne**   dit   **rien**   (French)
             John neg   says n-thing
             'John doesn't say anything'

   (iii)   **Negative Spread and Doubling**: A distinguished negative element shows up in sentences that contain more than one negative expression

      Ex: **Personne**   **ne**   mange   **rien**   (French)
             N-body   neg   eats   n-thing
             'Nobody eats anything'

In (1i) we have a negative subject and a negative object in the complement position to a preposition. In (1ii,iii) the negative marker *ne* co-occurs with the negative arguments.

As we will see in section 6.2.3, Negative Doubling (ii) is a possible "performance error" in the Mainland North Germanic languages.

NC languages can also be divided into *strict* and *non-strict* NC (Zeijlstra 2004 quoting Giannakidou 1997, 2000). In a strict NC language a negative indefinite has "to be accompanied by a single negative marker" (Zeijlstra 2004: 64), while in a non-strict NC language a negative indefinite in pre-verbal (subject) position "may not co-occur with a negative marker" (Zeijlstra 2004: 64). An example of a non-strict NC language is, according to Garbacz (2010), Övdalian, which we will discuss below in section 6.2.3.2.

NC is not a part of the North Germanic standard languages, but doubling of a negative subject by the negative marker is a relatively frequent "performance error". Such a structure, i.e. *negative subject > negative marker*, is, according to Zeijlstra (2004) only possible in strict NC-languages. The displayed instances of NC in North Germanic is naturally non-obligatory, which then in a way undermines the whole description of strict and non-strict NC languages.

Zeijlstra (2004: 67ff) also discusses what he calls *Emphatic Negation (EN)*. EN is an instance of NC, but contrary to "regular" NC, EN reinforces the negative interpretation, and is not obligatory.

Based on data from Dutch, Zeijlstra states, that "EN differs from NC in four ways" (Zeijlstra 2004: 67ff):

(2)   **Emphatic Negation** (in Dutch)

   (i)   **The negative reading is strengthened**

   Ex: Hij gaat **nooit**   **niet**   naar school   (Dutch)
          He goes n-ever   neg   to   school
          'He never ever goes to school'

   (ii)   **It is subject to strict locality conditions** (the following clause has a logical double negation reading and cannot be interpreted as an instance of EN)

   Ex: **Nooit**   gaat hij **niet**   naar school   (Dutch)
          N-ever   goes he neg   to   school
          'He always goes to school'/*'He never ever goes to school'

   (iii)   **It is forbidden when the negative marker precedes a negative indefinite or when the negative marker gets additional stress** (the following clauses have a logical double negation reading)

   Ex: (a)   Hij gaat **niet** **nooit**   naar school   (Dutch)
                 He goes neg   n-ever   to   school
                 'He sometimes (=not never) goes to school'

          (b)   Hij gaat **nooit**   **NIET** naar school   (Dutch)
                 He does n-ever   neg   to   school
                 'He doesn't ever NOT go to school'

   (iv)   **It only occurs in non-NC languages**

In Dutch, the negative elements must be adjacent. The negative marker must precede the other element, and it cannot be stressed. These criteria need not be immediately transferable to North Germanic. Based on the examples given in section 6.2.3 below, it is doubtful whether all the criteria in (2) above fit with North Germanic, in particular the one in (ii). As for (iii), a more thorough investigation is needed in order to conclude on this. Regarding (iv), most of the North Germanic varieties are non-NC, but there are examples of what looks like EN in Övdalian also, which may be classified as an NC language as noticed above. Thus, the only criterion which may be considered robust for North Germanic, is (i), which states that EN involves strengthening of negation.

From a prescriptive point of view, all kinds of NC are prohibited in the North Germanic (standard) languages. Still, people make "performance errors", and informants do not always reject NC examples. In order to describe this, I will operate with the terms ("regular") NC/Negative Doubling and EN. I will term an instance of NC Emphatic Negation when the negative reading is reinforced, and I will do so irrespective of the dialect in question being a "true" NC language or not.

Conversely, I will label all instances of NC that are not EN as NC, as well as examples when I do not know whether the intention is emphatic or not for NC.

6.2.2   Analyses of NC, the status of Negative Indefinites, and predicting NC

There is no consensus on the analysis of NC in the literature. Lindstad (2007: 211ff) analyses NC as first and foremost a property of negative indefinites and how they are computed, and not as, for

example, a consequence of the negative system, e.g. the presence or absence of NegP, as done by Zeijlstra (2004) in particular.

There is also disagreement with respect to the semantics of negative indefinites. According to Lindstad (2007), both Zeijlstra (2004) and Haegeman (1995) treat negative indefinites as inherently negative.

Haegeman (1995) assumes that all negative elements have to move to e.g. Spec,NegP due to the Neg-Criterion (Haegeman 1995: 106f), where the negative elements become neg-operators by appearing in a spec-head configuration with an X^0 [neg]. In the case of NC, several negative elements appear in this configuration, but they are "absorbed" into one element (Haegeman 1995: 78) so that only one neg-feature is interpreted in the semantic component.

Zeijlstra (2004) has a similar idea, but formulated in terms of interpretable and uninterpretable features. Given that negative indefinites usually are equipped with a uninterpretable *u*Neg-feature, which must be deleted before LF, this feature has to agree with an interpretable *i*Neg-feature (located in NegP in his system), which again would delete the *u*Neg-feature. NC is accounted for by assuming multiple agreement between one *i*Neg-feature, i.e. NegP and several elements containing *u*Neg-features. As a consequence, only languages that have NegP, can have NC, and from this it follows that languages that lack NegP do not exhibit NC. Zeijlstra's account looks like a Minimalist reformulation of Haegeman's (1995) Neg-criterion and absorption, except that Haegeman (1995) does not link the presence of NegP and NC.

Lindstad (2007) assumes that negative indefinites are not inherently negative and that the negative properties are computed in syntax. This is done by assuming a decomposition of negative indefinites into negation and weak determiners (Lindstad 2007: 248), and the negativity of negative indefinites is tied to "the way they are licensed, structurally and pragmatically" (Lindstad 2007: 255). He furthermore relates NC to the presence of a high NegP, cf. the discussion in chapter 1 (cf. Ouhalla's NEG parameter).

Common to all three authors is the not surprising fact that a negative indefinite has to be associated with Spec,NegP, and, in non-NC languages, they also have to occur in this position during the course of the derivation in order to gain sentential scope (i.e. neg-movement).

As for the predictability of NC, it seems like this is nearly impossible. Haegeman's (1995) account does not make any predictions, which perhaps is the best strategy, since NC in many cases is difficult to predict (for instance in the case of Övdalian). Lindstad (2007: 295ff) does not really make an attempt to predict either, except to note that NC languages have a high NegP (i.e. the NegP above TP in his system, of two different NegPs in the (universal) structure). Since I follow the assumption that there is only one NegP in the structure of North Germanic, Lindstad's prediction as such is not applicable in this dissertation.

Zeijlstra (2004), on the other hand, goes almost too far when it comes to predictions. According to him, all languages that have a NegP also display NC (however, not all languages have a NegP in his system, for instance none of the Mainland North Germanic languages, and it is not possible to predict which languages that have NegP either). Thus, Zeijlstra's prediction is not applicable either. He also states that there is a one-way implication *overt marking of Neg^0 $\Rightarrow$ NC*, which is rejected by Lindstad (2007). Lindstad argues against this hypothesis, and claims that also Finnish and Eveneki should display NC if the implication was universal, since these languages have an overt marking of

the negative head, but that in fact they do not (see Lindstad 2007: 239ff for a thorough discussion of Zeijlstra's account).

As for my own treatment of NC, I will restrict myself to only superficially model it in the clausal structure in order to account for the observed word orders. We will see that it makes sense to treat negative indefinites in Övdalian as potential NPIs, whereas they in general in North Germanic intuitively are inherently negative.

6.2.3 NC in Mainland North Germanic varieties

The aim of this section is first and foremost empirical, but it is accompanied by theoretical considerations. I will give an overview of NC phenomena in Mainland North Germanic varieties as described in the existing dialectological literature. I have not conducted any broad investigations on the issue myself, and since the relevant data material in the literature is scarce, the comments made here may be considered only scratches on the surface. There is one exception to this, and that is Övdalian. Combined, the works of Levander (1909) and Garbacz (2009, 2010) provide illuminating information of NC in this North Germanic variety.

6.2.3.1 *The standard languages*

NC is not a part of the grammar of the North Germanic standard languages. Referring back to chapter 1, there are no clear signs of the contemporary standard languages entering a step of Jespersen's Cycle in the common understanding that the negative marker is weakened and a renewer is gaining (independent) negative force. However, examples of NC, and in particular Negative Doubling (cf. 1ii above) can be found in different sources.

As for the typical JC step just mentioned, van Gelderen (2008) suggests that Norwegian *ikke* may be analysed as a head, and that the negative adverb *aldri* is a renewer. Such examples are in fact found in the NoTa-corpus, and the three examples I detected are given in (3), below. The examples in (3a,b) are uttered by two young non-ethnic Norwegian males. As for instance Opsahl (2009) shows, the language in multi-ethnic communities may have a different grammatical structure than ethnic-Norwegian communities. The example in (3c) is however uttered by a middle-class ethnic-Norwegian woman:

(3)   a. Men   jeg   tru-**kke**   F1 **aldri** blir   forsker   (Oslo, No.)
          but   I   think-neg   F1 never becomes researcher
          'But I really don't think F1 is ever going to be a researcher'

      b. Har   du-**ikke ALDRI**   hørt det?   (Oslo, No.)
          have you-not never   heard it
          'Haven't you ever heard it?'

      c. ...ellers   så ha-**kke**   jeg   **aldri** reflektert   så mye over det   (Oslo, No.)
          …else   so have-not I   never reflected   so much over it
          '…else, I haven't ever thought much about it'

In all these examples the negative marker is unstressed, and it is accompanied by the negative adverb. The utterances in (3a,c) are instances of Negative Doubling, whereas the one in (3b) may be characterised as EN, since the negative adverb is heavily stressed. Observe also that the negative

elements in this example are adjacent, cf. criterion (2ii) above. Interestingly, the negative marker in these examples is phonetically weak, which supports the suggested analysis by van Gelderen that the negative marker is a head and that the *aldri* ('never') appears in Spec,NegP or in a lower position, illustrated in (4a) below for (3c). It is however also compatible with an analysis where *aldri* ('never') appears below NegP as an NPI, and the negative marker as an XP in Spec,NegP, which is cliticised to the finite verb at PF, see (4b).

(4) a. [$_{CP}$ *så ha-kke* [$_{AgrSP}$ *jeg* [$_{NegP}$ *aldri* ~~ha-kke~~ [$_{TP}$ ~~ha~~ [$_{vP}$ *reflektert…*]]]]]

   b. [$_{CP}$ *så ha* [$_{AgrSP}$ *jeg* [$_{NegP}$ -*kke* ~~ha~~ [$_{FP}$ *aldri* [$_{TP}$ ~~ha~~ [$_{vP}$ *reflektert…*]]]]]

In (4a) the negative marker occupies the head of NegP, and cliticises to the finite verb during the derivation. The negative adverb occupies Spec,NegP. In (4b) the negative marker occupies Spec,NegP (and cliticises to the finite verb at PF), and the negative adverb occurs in a projection below NegP.

There are also many examples of NC on the web, e.g. the ones I found by googling the strings "*ingen – ikke*" and "*ingen – inte*".

(5) a. Da *ingen* **ikke** kan gætte på et tal over 100, kan gennemsnittet
        when nobody not can guess on a number over 100, can average.DEF
        ikke blive over 100.[105]   (Dk.)
        not become over 100
        'Since no-one can guess on a number above 100, the average cannot get over 100'

     b. Hun følte sig imidlertid langtfra sikker på, at det var så vel og
        she felt REFL. however far.from sure on that it was so good and
        forlangte, at kommunen rottesikrede køkkenet. Men da *ingen* **ikke**
        demanded that municipality.DEF rat.secured kitchen.DEF but when nobody not
        rigtigt troede os, er det min fornemmelse, at det blev gjort lidt
        really believed us is it my feeling that it was done a.bit
        halvhjertet siger hun.[106]   (Dk.)
        half.hearted says she
        'She was however not sure of it was so good, so she demanded that the muncipality secured the kitchen for rats. But she says that since no one really believed us it is her feeling that the job was done a bit half hearted'

---

[105] http://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/G%C3%A6t_2/3_af_gennemsnittet

[106] http://www.kost.dk/kokkenliv/artikler/2000/5/15020000502

c. London har   långa avstånd mellan sina sevärdheter och   även om   du   gillar
London   has   long distance between its   sight   and   even if   you   like
att promenera, vill   nog   *ingen*   **inte** att   kvällens   dyra
to walk,   will   mod.prt. nobody   not   that   evening.DEF's   expensive
musikalföreställning ska   sluta.[107]   (Sw.)
musical.performance shall end
'There are long distances between the sights in London, and even if you like to walk,
probably no one would like the expensive musical to end'

In all of these examples, the negative indefinite subject occurs to the left of the negative marker and thus in a structurally higher position. With reference to section 6.2.1 above, such a structure should only be possible in strict NC languages. In (5a,b) the subject appears in the 'canonical' subject position in embedded clauses, and in (5c) the indefinite subject also surfaces in the canonical subject position in main clauses, following the modal particle *nog*. The clauses are interpreted as having one logical negation – hence these examples are clear instances of NC. They could, however, be instances of EN, but I do not see that a reinforced reading of negation is necessary, and it is not natural in the examples either.

Similar sentences with NC were tested for Norwegian during the NORMS fieldwork in Senja 2006 (with Arne Martinus Lindstad). In the following sentences the negative indefinite precedes the negative marker, and it appears either in a clause-initial position or in the subject position.[108]

(6) a. *Ingen*   fortjener **ikkje** å høre at   man er tjukk.   (Senja, No.)
     nobody deserves not   to hear that one   is fat
     'Nobody deserves to hear that one is fat'
   b. ?Poenget er vel   at   *ingen*   utenom Senja **ikkje** veit   at   det   er storm.
     point.DEFis mod.prt. that   nobody   outside Senja not   knows   that it   is storm
      'The point must be that nobody outside Senja knows that there is a storm'   (Senja, No.)
   c. ??Det var   synd   at   *ingen*   **ikkje** kom på festen.   (Senja, No.)
       it   was   pity   that   nobody   not   came on party.DEF
      'It was a pity that nobody came to the party'

(6a) is a declarative main clause with simple tense, where the negative indefinite subject is fronted. In (6b) and (6c) the NC occurs in embedded clauses. In (6b) the negative indefinite subject is a complex phrase, which linearly causes non-adjacency between the negative indefinite and the negative marker. Observe that this is the most accepted sentence of the three. The negative indefinite and the negative marker are adjacent in (6c), which is probably why the majority of the informants rejected it. We did not ask whether there were any interpretative differences with one

---

[107] http://www.rucksack.se/resmal/london/
[108] (6a) was accepted by two informants and rejected by six. (6b) was accepted by six informants and rejected by five. (6c) was accepted by four informants and rejected by eight. See chapter 2 for an elaborate description of the methodology.

or two negations, such that this kind of NC could be labeled emphatic negation. To me, however, these sentences are not more emphasised than the corresponding "correct" sentences with only one negation, to the extent that they can be perceived as acceptable.

The examples in (5) and (6) above have an "unnecessary" negative marker in the canonical neg-position. In the corresponding non-controversial sentences this negative marker would have been absent, and the following structure would be an appropriate analysis of it:

(7)   [...[~FP~ ingen [... [~NegP~ ~ingen~ [...]]]]]

In (7), the negative indefinite *ingen* ('nobody') appears in a relevant projection above NegP (labelled FP), and a copy of it appears in Spec,NegP (i.e. neg-movement in order to appear in a scope-position). In the NC examples just considered, the negative marker, which I previously have analysed as an XP, seems to occur in the position where the copy is:

(8) [...[~FP~ ingen [... [~NegP~ ~ingen~ ikke [...]]]]]

The structure (8) may also be analysed as *ikke* appearing in Neg°, as it is in (4a) above. Then, it is syntactically perfectly licit. I will nevertheless account for it as *ikke* being an XP, since in the data in chapters 3 and 4 support such an analysis. Irrespective of analysis, these examples show that it is not necessarily easy to categorise the negative marker in North Germanic.

If we look at the structure in (8) again, we see that NegP by hypothesis is filled by two elements (the copy and the negative marker). This should yield a derivational crash, and this is what happens in most cases too, since such structures in general are recognised as unacceptable. Nonetheless, it is marginally possible at least for some speakers, since these structures have been produced.

In the following I will propose a simplified model of how the NC structure in (8) can be accounted for without assuming that the negative marker occupies the head of NegP. The proposed model captures the basic observations regarding the potential word orders of the negative marker and a negative indefinite like *ingen* ('nobody'). I suggest that the word order *ingen > ikke* can be interpreted as *ikke* being a partial spell-out of the copy of *ingen* in Spec,NegP. On the common assumption that syntax operates on features rather than lexical elements, I assume with Lindstad (2007) that the relevant features are [D] (Determiner) and the negative feature [neg], *ingen,* is the spell-out of the merger of these elements.

(9)   **syntax**:   [...[~FinP~ [neg], [D] [... [~NegP~ ~[neg], [D]~ [...]]]]]
                    ↓   ↓   ↓
      spell out: *ingen*   *ikke*

The structure in (9) illustrates that *ingen* (or more specifically, the features) has moved to a subject position, for instance Spec,FinP, from Spec,NegP. The occurrence of *ikke* can be considered as a partial spell-out of the copy of the [neg]-feature in NegP, as a sort of "place-holder".

The opposite order "*ikke/inte (*) ingen*" ('not' − 'nobody') did not return any relevant hits at all from the web. In this string, *ingen* is within the (surface) scope of negation − a common NC word

order. The lack of any NC examples with this order can be interpreted as *ingen* and other negative indefinites must move at least to NegP. A negative indefinite like *ingen* cannot spell out a bare [D]-feature in Mainland North Germanic and as such be regarded as potential NPIs, but it must contain a *neg*-feature, as illustrated in (10).

(10) **syntax**: $[…[_{NegP} <[neg]> [… [_{vP} <[D]> […]]]]]$
                         ↓   ↓
    spell out: *ikke*   **ingen*

This observation (modelled in (10)) supports the standard analysis of negative indefinites in North Germanic as being derived by 'neg-movement' or alternatively linearly adjacency of negation and a QP (cf. Christensen 1986) as shown in (11). Such neg-movement as we see in (11a) is not very common in current Norwegian, but it still illustrates the point:

(11) a. Jeg   har   **ingen**   [$_{vP}$ sett *ingen*]   (Trad. Norwegian)
        I   have   nobody   seen
        'I haven't seen anyone'
    b. Jeg   har   **ikke**   [$_{vP}$ sett   *noen*]   (Norwegian)
        I   have   not   seen anyone
        'I haven't seen anyone'
    c. Jeg   så   **ingen**   [$_{vP}$ *ingen*]   (Norwegian)
        I   saw   nobody
        'I didn't see anyone'
    d. Jeg   så   **ikke**   [$_{vP}$ *noen*]   (Norwegian)
        I   saw   not   anyone
        'I didn't see anyone'
    e. *Jeg   har   ikke   [$_{vP}$ sett   ingen]   (Norwegian)
        I   have   not   seen nobody
    f. *Jeg   har   [$_{vP}$ sett   **ingen**][109]   (Norwegian)
        I   have   seen nobody

Simply said, (11a,c) may be interpreted as the 'D-feature' has raised to NegP in order for *ingen* ('nobody') to be pronounced. A negative indefinite is not licensed in its base position (11d) in

---

[109]Such a construction is however possible in the Finland-Swedish described by Bergroth (1917: 173). Consider the following sentences, which may be interpreted as having a silent operator in NegP:
(i) Jag har   haft   **ingenting** att skaffa med   den   saken   (trad. Finland-Swedish)
    I   have had   nothing   to do   with   that   case.*DEF*
    'I haven't had anything to do with that case'
(ii) Han   hade haft   **ingen aning** om   hela   saken   (trad. Finland-Swedish)
    he   had   had   no   idea   about whole case.*DEF*
    'He hadn't had any idea about the whole case'

Norwegian. These examples show that negative indefinites in Norwegian (and the other (standard) Mainland North Germanic languages) express sentential negation by being re-merged in Spec,NegP, where it lexicalises both [neg]- and [D]-features. In the configuration *"ikke/inte ingen"* (lit: 'not nobody'), there is obviously no room for *ingen* in NegP, since the negative feature in this position is spelled out by the negative marker.[110]

    In the next section I will provide examples from the literature of different Mainland North Germanic varieties that have double negation. Of these only Övdalian is thoroughly studied from an NC perspective.

6.2.3.2 *Övdalian*

According to Garbacz (2009: 122), Övdalian "can be considered an NC language". It exhibits both negative doubling (12a) (as opposed to MSc, as we just saw) and negative spread (12b), but not the combination of these two (12c) (examples from Garbacz 2009: 122/Garbacz 2010: 203, table A22).

(12) a. Ig sir   **it**   *inggan*   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
            I   *see*   *not*   *nobody*
            'I do not see anybody'

       b. ?An får **aldri** *inggu̯* jåp   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
           he *gets* *never* *no*   *help*
           'He never gets any help'

       c. *An får **it**   **aldri** *inggu̯* jåp   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
           he *gets* *not* *never* *no*   *help*

Garbacz further concludes that Övdalian is a non-strict NC language (cf. section 6.2.1), since a negative indefinite cannot precede negation (as we saw examples of above in Mainland North Germanic). In the words of the preceding section, it seems impossible with a partial spell-out of the [Neg]-feature, as illustrated below. In (13a), the negative indefinite is fronted to spec,CP; and in (13b) it appears in the subject position. In both examples NegP has been an intermediate landing site for the negative indefinite, and NegP is thus occupied by a copy of the negative indefinite. The examples are taken from Garbacz (2010: 87, 125), respectively:

(13) a. ***Intnoð*** ar   **(it)** ig **(it)**   ietið   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
           nothing *have* *(not)* *I* *(not)* *eaten*
           'I haven't eaten anything'

       b. *I går   belld **inggan** **it** kumå   að Mu̯ra   (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
          yesterday *could* *nobody* *not* *come*   *to Mora*
           'Yesterday, nobody could come to Mora'

---

[110] Recall that head-status of the negative marker is a general tendency of NC languages, so this could be a potential solution. A problem with this analysis, however, is the fact that NC only is marginally possible in a very specific context in the MSc standard languages, which in fact is not a necessary NC context in NC languages (cf. section 6.2.2 and Zeijlstra 2004). If the negative marker was generated in the head of NegP, we would also assume that it could induce NC in other contexts, which it does not.

Thus, the Övdalian pattern differs diametrically from the Mainland North Germanic pattern, and a negative indefinite is licensed even if it has not reached a scope position (in the standard languages a QP has to be used instead, cf. above). In other words, negative indefinites can spell out a [D]-feature in Övdalian and as such be interpreted as NPIs.

In the NDC-corpus from Övdalian there are also some examples of NC between the negative marker and the negative adverb, as in the Oslo dialect in (3) above:

(14) kann du föstå ig ar **it** **aldri** aft so uont (Åsen, Sw.)
      can   you understand I have not   never had   so pain
      'Can you understand, I have never had such a pain'

In (14), the negative marker co-occurs with, and is adjacent to, the negative adverb *aldri*. Based on the context where the informant tells a story about how much pain she had, this instance of NC seems to be a clear example of EN (emphatic negation). If so, this is a potential counter-example to Zeijlstra's claim that EN only appears in non-NC languages.

The NC observations in Övdalian outlined by Garbacz (2009) may be captured structurally in the above-mentioned models (cf. (9) and (10) above) as follows: In a negative sentence a NegP has to be projected, and the [neg]-feature must be lexicalised by either the negative marker or by a negative indefinite. In the cases with NC, [neg] is spelled out by the negative marker, whereas the negative indefinite spells out the [D]-feature in a low position, being interpreted as an NPI. However, the negative indefinites may also raise to NegP and spell out both features [neg] and [D], and then the negative marker cannot occur. This is schematised in the following structures:

(15)   *NC with the negative marker and*   (16)   *non-NC*
 a negative indefinite in base position   ...
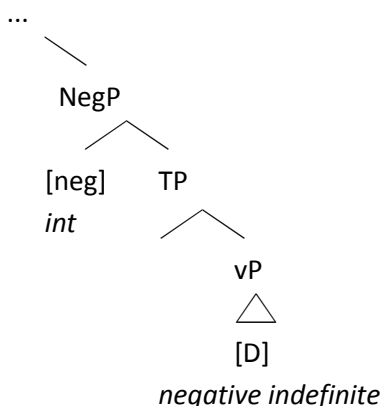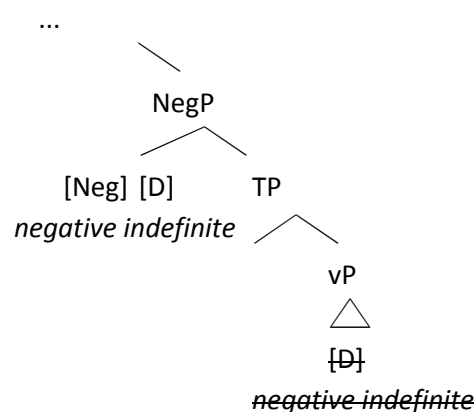
It thus seems as if negative indefinites in Övdalian are underspecified with respect to the Neg-feature.

The fact that NC is not obligatory (ref. that Garbacz classifies it as a non-strict NC language) is illustrated by the following spontaneous speech data taken from the NDC-corpus (this is also confirmed by judgement data in Garbacz 2010: Table A20 p. 201, Table A21 p. 202).

(17) a. ja, ellest ir **it** fel **intnoð** spesiellt (Skolan, Sw.)
 yes else is not mod.prt nothing special
 'Yes, else it is nothing special, is it?'

b. ja sę amm wįð **int** **ingger** **krytyr** nų itjä (Väsa, Sw.)
 yes, later have we not no cows now not
 'Yes, later, we didn't have any cows'

c. ig kunnd ju **int** **non** **swenska** mes ig kam uppi skauln (Brunnsberg, Sw.)
 I could mod.prt not any Swedish when I came up.in school.DEF
 'I couldn't any Swedish when I started at school'

d. og dą ulld ig fel fą spilå fuost fuotbollsmatchn fer Övdaln i
 and then should I mod.part get play first footballmatch.DEF for Älvdalen in
 ien påiklag so ig willd **it** fy ą **non** **bigravningg** (Blyberg, Sw.)
 a boy.team so I would not follow on any funeral
 'And then I was having the opportunity to play the first football match for Älvdalen for a
 boys' team, so I couldn't go to any funeral'

In all the examples above the quantified object may be interpreted as remaining in situ with the negative marker appearing in NegP. It varies however whether the [Q]-feature is lexicalised by a negative indefinite or a QP (and one might say that they compete in spelling out Q). In (17a), the object is realised as a negative indefinite and follows the modal particle *fel*, which clearly shows that the negative object remains low.[111] Consequently, the structure shows NC. Also (17b) shows NC, and in this example the negative marker is adjacent to the negative indefinite in object position. In this example there is no overt evidence that the object has moved from its base position, but on the assumption that the negative marker sits in NegP, the negative indefinite is below NegP in the clausal structure.

A corresponding example to (17b) is (17c). Here the object is not negative, but an ordinary quantified object. The same is shown in (17d), in which a quantified object remains in its base position in the complement of the preposition *ą* ('on'). Compare this example with the Classical Övdalian sentences in (18d) and (21b) below, which show NC with an object of a P(reposition) and neg-movement across P, respectively. Thus, NC seems less common in present-day Övdalian than in Classical Övdalian.

The schematised analysis of NC above may also be applied on NC in Classical Övdalian. Consider the examples from Levander (1909: 111, 120) below. In these examples, NegP may be assumed to be overtly filled either by the negative marker, by a negative indefinite that has undergone neg-movement, or by a copy of the marker:

---

[111] According to Piotr Garbacz (p.c.), who quotes Lars Steensland, the negative marker and the neuter indefinite cannot be adjacent: **int intnoð* ('not nothing'). One possible explanation could be that in such a surface structure one of the *int*'s would be deleted because of haplology (cf. Biberauer 2008).

(18) a. dier   djärå **inggum** [**inggan** skåðå]   (Cl. Övdalian, Sw.)
        they do   no.one   no   harm
        'they don't harm anyone'
     b. an wet   **int**   war [**indjin**   påik] ir   (Cl. Övdalian, Sw.)
        he knows   not   whereno   boy   is
        'he doesn't know where any boy is'
     c. **itjä**   byddjer   an **inggumstas**   (Cl. Övdalian, Sw.)
        not   lives   he no.where
        'he doesn't live any place'
     d. **itjä**   ir   då   **int**   ig jälåk å **inggan**   (Cl. Övdalian, Sw.)
        not   am   then   not   I angry on no.one
        'I'm not angry at anyone'

In (18a) two negative indefinites co-occur (i.e. an instance of negative spread). In (18b), the negative marker co-occurs with a negative indefinite in subject position in an embedded *wh*-clause. Also in (18c) there is NC between a negative marker and a (clause-internal) negative indefinite object. Interestingly, in (18d) two negative markers and a negative indefinite that occurs in the complement of the preposition *å* ('on') constitute NC. In this connection, it is worth noting that at least in Classical Övdalian, multiple occurrences of the subject pronoun were "*ytterst vanlig*" ('very common') (Levander 1909: 109). Rosenkvist (1994: 10f, 2007) analyses this as the subjects are resumed in the positions they have moved through: in other words, we may interpret them as spell-outs of the copies.[112] (The structure in (19) is based on the structure in Rosenkvist 1994: 10f.)

(19)   [$_{CP}$ ig$_i$ ar   [$_{IP}$ ig$_i$ [I' sakt [~~ar~~]]   [$_{VP}$ ig$_i$ ~~ar~~ [$_{NP}$ mier i grytun]]]]
           I   have I   I   more in kettle.DEF

Accordingly, since spell-out of the copies of pronominal subjects frequently occurred in this variety, we may assume that such copy spell-out was equally possible for other categories, like negation.

(20)   [*itjä*$_i$ V [… [NegP *int*$_i$ […]]]

During the NORMS fieldwork in Älvdalen 2007 I tested a couple of structures such as in (20) on four informants. Two of these accepted them, whereas two of them rejected this type of structure. So it may seem like (20) is not presently as acceptable.

NC is not obligatory in Classical Övdalian either, since the variety exhibits neg-movement (cf. a discussion on neg-movement in Lindstad 2007: 249ff). This is exemplified in (21), in which the negative indefinites are best analysed as appearing in Spec,NegP (examples from Levander 1909: 123):

---

[112] In Rosenkvist (2007) the resumptive pronoun is analysed as spell-out of the φ-features (weak pronouns are analysed as φPs and strong pronouns as DPs) of the verb in the head of the polarity projection ΣP (generated between CP and AdvP). In the spec of ΣP, adverbs are moved from their base position.

(21) a. ig ir **inggan** redd ~~inggan~~ ig   (Cl. Övdalian, Sw.)
      I am no.one afraid I
      'I'm not afraid of anyone'

   b. an djär [**inggum** kuortum] min [~~inggum   kuortum~~]   (Cl. Övdalian, Sw.)
      he need no   card   of
      'He doesn't need any cards'

   c. ig ar **intnoð** ärt ~~intnoð~~   (Cl. Övdalian, Sw.)
      I have nothing heard
      'I haven't heard anything'

   d. dar [**ingg** pennigg] ig ar   [~~ingg   pennigg~~]   (Cl. Övdalian, Sw.)
      since no   money I have
      'Since I have no money'

   e. fast [**inggan** kall] å ar [~~inggan   kall~~]   (Cl. Övdalian, Sw.)
      although no   man she has
      'Although she has no man'

The clauses in (21a-c) are subject-initial main clauses where the negative indefinite has remerged in Spec,NegP from the complement of an adjective (21a), from the complement of a preposition (21b) and across a lexical verb (21c). In (21d,e) the examples show neg-movement in embedded clauses, where the negative indefinite surfaces in front of the subject (cf. chapter 5).

I have not provided any in-depth analysis of the technicalities behind NC in Övdalian in this section, to be compared to the analyses in Zeijlstra (2004) and Lindstad (2007). My main concern has been the purely structural relations, and to show how the syntactic puzzle can be solved in structural terms.

To summarise, negative indefinites are licensed in their base positions in Övdalian if another negative element marks sentential negation (i.e. an overt negative operator) (cf. footnote 109 on Finland-Swedish as described by Bergroth 1917). Unlike Standard Swedish, an Övdalian negative indefinite may lexicalise a bare [D] within the scope of negation, and is as such an NPI. NC is not obligatory, since negative indefinites may undergo neg-movement, and quantified objects may also co-occur with negation instead of negative indefinites (i.e. lexicalise [D]).

As for negation in Övdalian, this survey of NC in the variety does not illuminate the syntax of Övdalian negation. However, it shows that at least in Classical Övdalian, it seems like the copy of negation can be spelled out in Spec,NegP.

The next sections show non-exhaustive examples of NC in other Mainland North Germanic dialects. These sections are purely descriptive, and serve to widen the empirical basis of NC in Mainland North Germanic.

6.2.3.3   *Northern Norwegian: The Sappen dialect*

Sollid (2005) shows that in the Sappen dialect of Northern Norwegian there are some sort of NC in the varieties spoken by old people. The Sappen dialect is spoken in a community which was primarily Qven/Finnish a couple of generations ago. Among the old informants, the negative marker *ikke* and the negative adverb *aldri* can co-occur clause-internally (the example is taken from Sollid 2005: 240).

(22) Det   var   **ikke   aldri**   stopp   (Sappen, No.)
     it   was   not   never stop
     'It was never stop'

It does, however, seem to be a few restrictions. The preferred order is *ikke > aldri*, although the opposite word order is not judged unacceptable by all informants (Sollid 2005: 240). Worth noting is the fact that all Sollid's spontaneous examples with NC have the order *ikke > aldri* (Sollid 2005: 166, 241) (the example is taken from Sollid 2005: 241), which can be analysed as if the negative adverb must be within the scope of negation.

(23) Eg har   **ikke**   heller **aldri**   hørt   om   det   (Sappen, No.)
     I   have   not   either never heard about that
     'I haven't heard about that either'

Sollid (2005: 241) also mentions that the two negative elements should be (more or less) adjacent, cf. the criterion (2ii) above on Emphatic Negation.

    Sollid herself does not discuss the interpretation of these occurrences of negative doubling, but in a footnote she briefly discusses whether these examples can be labelled NC or not, and she concludes that they can. According to Sollid (p.c.), the co-occurrence of *ikke* and *aldri* is not obligatory, not even for the older (bilingual) informants that accept them,[113] and may be instances of EN.

6.2.3.4   *The Nyland dialect and other Finland-Swedish varieties*
The syntax of the Nyland dialect is described in Lundström (1939). She provides a couple of examples that show that NC is possible in this dialect, see (24a,b), but as in Övdalian it is not obligatory. This is shown in (24c,d) (the examples (24a-c) are taken from Lundström 139:154; (24d) is taken from Lundström 1939:181).

(24)   a. När   ja   va   i   baston   i gor,   so va   där   **int   ingan**   utom   ja
       when I   was   in   sauna.DEF   yesterday,   so was   there   not   nobody   without   I
       'When I was in the sauna yesterday, there was nobody except me'
     b. Ja,   **int**   is   ja   nu   **alder**   far ogruta,   ja   ha   nu   allti   bruka grut
       yes,   not   manage I   now   never go uneaten, I   have   now   allways   used   food
       me,   förän   ja   ha   fari   ti   arbäits   (Nyland, Fi.)
       with   before   I   have   gone   to work
       'I don't want to go without food, I always bring something to eat, before I go to work'

---

[113] Sollid assumes that this feature is a transfer from Kven and Saami, and such constructions are also known from other contact areas.

   c. **It** duge   on   ti *nogonting*, koen,   om   it   on   jer   aderton, tjugo
      not is.good she   to   anything,   cow.DEF, if   not   she   gives eighteen,twenty
      liter   (Nyland, Fi.)
      litres
      'She's good for nothing, the cow, if she doesn't give eighteen, twenty litres'
   d. Men som   di **int**   va   *nogin*   o   so   ett   dom, so iddeist   dom
      but   as   it   not   was   someone and   looked   after them, so managed   they
      inga   göra, bara som   dom lo op lädubakkan o   sola   se (Nyland, Fi.)
      nothing do   just   as   they lay up lädu.hill.DEF and   sunned   REFL.
      'But since nobody was looking after them, they didn't do anything except sunbathe on the
      Lädu hill'

In (24a) the negative marker immediately precedes the external argument, the negative indefinite *ingan* ('nobody), and in (24b), the negative marker sits in initial position (which is not uncommon in Swedish, cf. section 6.1), and the negative adverb *alder* appears within the IP-domain. This example resembles the examples of NC in Övdalian, except that negation does not appear in a clause-internal position in (24b).[114] (24d,c) show that NC is not obligatory, and the negative markers co-occur with an regular QP.

The sentences in (24a,b) may be instances of EN, but this cannot be anything than speculations, since the examples are given without context.

During the NORMS fieldwork in Northern Ostrobothnia in June 2006, the sentence in (25a) was spontaneously produced by one of my informants (Karleby), and the ones in (25b) and (25c) were judged marginally acceptable with an emphatic reading by two younger female informants from Esse.

(25)   a. Ja råka **int**   ånå   **alder**   (Karleby, Fi.)
       I   met   not   him   never
       'I did not meet him'
   b. ?/??Ja   har   **int**   **alder** rökt   (Esse, Fi.)
        I   have   not   never smoked
        'I have never smoked a cigarette'
   c. ?/??Ja   har   **int**   **alder** drukke   kaffe   (Esse, Fi.)
        I   have   not   never drunk   coffee
        'I have never been drinking coffee'

It should be noted that these examples are similar to the examples from Sappen (Sollid 2005), and it is tempting to interpret the spontaneous example in (24a) as an instance of EN.

---

[114] One other resemblance between e.g. the Sappen dialect and Swedish dialects in Finland is the contact with Finnish. But there are also clear differences in this contact.

Some kind of negative doubling is thus found in Finland-Swedish, but it is difficult to determine whether it displays NC, NC and EN or only EN . It may look like only EN, but as already stated, these are speculations only.

6.2.3.5   *A brief comment on some traditional Danish dialects*

In a paper from (1933), Niels Haislund discusses negation in the Danish Standard language as well as in the dialects from a variety of perspectives, including double negation. He brings forth some interesting observations: First of all he claims that NC (his *cumulative negation*), in the way Zeijlstra understands it, does not exist in modern Danish.[115] All instances of doubling of negation enforce the negative reading (Haislund 1933: 131), and they thus display EN. The co-occurrences of negative elements that he mentions are *aldrig ikke,*[116] and *aldrig ingen*, see (26b). (26a) shows a peculiar connection of the (apocoped) dialectal negative marker and the negative marker *ikke*. The examples are taken from Haislund (1933: 132).

(26) a. men danse det gjorde jeg **it-ikke**   (Zeeland, Dk.)
         but   dance it   did   I   not-not
         'But I didn't dance'
      b. de hær   æ **olljer ik**   forsøkt   (Fjolde, Dk)
         it here is never not   tried
         'I have never tried this'

In (26a) the dialect negative marker *it* is followed by the negative marker *ikke*. This sentence may also be analysed as *ikke* appearing in the right periphery, i.e. that it is an instance of clause-final negation which will be discussed in section 6.4 below. According to Haislund (1933: 133), the negative adverb in (26b) has lost its negative interpretation in the given dialect and functions like an NPI that reinforces negation, e.g. *slættes*.

6.2.4   **Discussion of NC in Mainland North Germanic**

This section has considered NC in a broad Mainland North Germanic perspective. We have seen that NC may occur in several varieties, although it may be "slips of the tongue" on some occasions. The data has in my opinion revealed that NC in Mainland North Germanic is not as restricted as some scholars, in particular Zeijlstra, seems to believe.

---

[115] "Vi skal her kun Ganske kort beskæftige os med een af de to typer af "negativ" dobbelt nægtelse Jespersen opstiller, nemlig den *resumptive* (genoptagende). Den *cumulative* (ophobende) type, som er almindelig i flere ældre sprog, og hvor der ved en mere eller mindre skønsom anbringelse af et negativt ord hist og her ligesom lægges et lag av negation over hele udsagnet, findes praktisk talt ikke i moderne dansk." (Haislund 1933: 131) We will here relatively briefly consider one of the two types of double negation Jespersen mentions, namely the resumptive one. The cumulative type, which is common in several older languages, and where by a more or less judicious placement of a negative word here and there a layer of negation is laid across the whole utterance, does, practically speaking, not exist in modern Danish (my translation).

[116] Observe that this is the opposite order of *never* and *not* of the one found in e.g. Sappen and Northern Ostrobothnian.

In none of the discussed varieties, however, has NC been completely obligatory the way it seems to be in continental European languages, as NC is described and analysed in Zeijlstra (2004). In Övdalian the negative indefinites can be treated as NPIs in NC structures, whereas negative indefinites in North Germanic usually can be interpreted as inherently negative. None of the examples reveal much of the status of negation in Övdalian, but the NC data considered for the standard languages can support an analysis of the negative markers as heads in these varieties, although this is not my preferred analysis.

As for EN, there seems to be some locality condition in Mainland North Germanic as in Dutch (cf. 2ii) above, but the negative elements, which in almost all cases have been the negative marker (e.g. *ikke*) and the negative adverb (e.g. *aldri*), need not be adjacent.

The remaining parts of this chapter concern another type of NC, namely clause-final negation. This phenomenon is however sometimes related to clause-initial negation (cf. Teleman et al. 1999; Vangsnes 2008), and the motivation for the following section on clause-initial negation is to discuss it to the extent that it illuminates clause-final negation. I will therefore not consider every aspect of it in detail.

6.3   Clause-initial negation

6.3.1   Introduction

Clause-initial negation is found in different types of structures, as exemplified in (27) (example (27c) is taken from Levander 1909: 111 and (27d) is taken from Teleman et al. 1999: 175).

(27)   **Neg-initial imperatives**

    a. **Ikke**   gå!   (Norwegian)

       not   *go*

       'Don't go!'

    Fronted negated quantifiers

    b. **Ikke**   alle   kan   dra   (Norwegian)

       not   *all*   *can*   *leave*

       'Not everyone can leave'

    Fronted negated DPs

    c. og   **int**   ig   såg   inggan   kall   eld   werrå   (Classical Övdalian)

       and   *not*   *I*   *saw*   *no*   *man*   *either* *anywhere*

       'and I didn't see any man anywhere either'

    Fronted negative markers in declaratives

    d. **Inte**   har Lindgren   skrivit   det   där!   (Swedish)

       not   *has Lindgren*   *written*   *that*   *there*

       'Lindgren didn't write that!'

In (27a) negation appears in initial position in a negative imperative (which is the topic of chapter 7). A QP is fronted together with negation in (27b), and in (27c) the negative marker is fronted together

with a pronoun. The bare negation is fronted in (27d), and this type will be in focus in the following. This sentence has a V2 structure where the sentential negation is followed by the finite. All these examples may also be taken as manifestations of the functionalist "neg-first" principle, in which negation appears as early as possible in order "to facilitate communication" (Lindstad 2007: 40f).

Clause-initial negation is a rare construction in European languages: According to Lindström (2007: 34) it only exists in North Germanic and Finnish languages. Furthermore it is not recognised in any of the literature written outside Scandinavia. For instance, Zeijlstra (2007) predicts that clause-initial negation cannot exist. He bases this conclusion on the assumption that a clause-initial negation will outscope the illocutionary force of the clause (because of the order Neg>Sentence). This apparent problem is mentioned in Jensen (2003: 141, fn. 21) as well, who, on the contrary, notes that a structurally high negation does not negate the illocutionary force of the sentence (cf. chapter 7). One way out of this problem is to assume that the clause-initial negation restructures and is interpreted in its base position (cf. Sportiche 2006). Hence, this problem is eliminated.

The availability of this type of negative fronting seems to co-vary with the availability of clause-final negation, as shown in (28).

(28) **Int** har jag drukkit kaffe **int**   (Fi.Sw.)
      not *have* *I* *drunk* *coffee* *not*
      'I haven't drunk coffee'

Negation may be fronted together with other adverbs, which is illustrated for Swedish in (29a) (example from Teleman et al. 1999: 173), and for Norwegian in (29b). This is a separate phenomenon from clause-initial negation, since the negative marker functions as a constituent negation in these examples, as in (27b,c) above:

(29) a. **Inte ofta** får man så goda köttbullar utanför Skåne   (Sw.)
          not often get you.gen so good meatballs outside Skåne
          'It´s not very often you get such delicious meatballs outside of Skåne'

      b. **Ikke sjelden** hender det at vi forsover oss   (No.)
          not seldom happens it that we oversleep REFL.
          'It is not uncommon that we oversleep'

In the next section, I investigate the geographical distribution of clause-initial negation in North Germanic varieties more carefully. The pragmatics of clause-initial negation is the topic of section 6.3.3, before an analysis is proposed in section 6.3.4. This study of clause-initial negation is closed by a note on the differences between the North Germanic languages.

6.3.2   The distribution of clause-initial negation in North Germanic varieties

Clause-initial negation of the type in (27d) and (28) is, according to Hulthén (1947: 143), a Swedish phenomenon, and is not possible in Danish (e.g. Christensen 2005). It is possible in Faroese and Icelandic (Christensen 2005: 172ff; Lindström 2009), as illustrated in (30). The examples in (30) are

taken from Christensen (2005: 173), who cites Lockwood (2002: 155) and Svavarsdóttir and Jónsdóttir (1988: 89).

(30)   a. **Ikki** ljóðar tað væl   (Faroese)
          not   sounds that well
          'That doesn't sound well'

        b. **Ekki** leika stelpurnar sér   að   dúkkum   (Icelandic)
          not   play girls.DEF   REFL.DAT with dolls.DAT
          'The girls don't play with dolls'

Teleman et al. (1999: 176, note 1) state that fronting of the negative marker is most common in Finland-Swedish and Northern Swedish varieties (cf. Dahlstedt and Ågren 1954). For Finland-Swedish it is estimated that 20% of all sentential negation are expressed by clause-initial negation (Lindström (2006: 130f). In (31) some Swedish examples from Finland and Sweden are shown. (Example (31a) is taken from Lundström 1939: 144; example (31b) is taken from Ivars 1988: 189; example (31c) is taken from Huldén 1995: 181; example (31d) is taken from Levander 1909: 111.)

(31)   a. **It**   va   e bara dom där tvo andelsmändren där,   **it**   (Nylund, Fi.)
          not   was it just they there two co-operation.men there,   not
          'It wasn't just the two men there'

        b. **Int** vorrt   vi na   sembär vi   heldär   **int**   (Närpes, Fi.)
          not   became   we any worse we   too   not
          'We didn't get worse'

        c. **itt** såå di   nu   uut såm di   jeer nu   **itt**   (NÖb, Fi.)
          not saw they now out as   they do   now not
          'They did not look like they do now'

In Norwegian and Danish, clause-initial negation was possible in traditional varieties, as exemplified in (32). An example of the Oppdal dialect (Haugen 1982: 155) is given in (32a), and in (32b) an example of the written language Nynorsk (Heggstad 1931: 202). The sentences in (32c,d) come from the traditional East Danish Bornholm dialect (Teinnæs 1929: 49):

(32)   a. **Itj**   kjenje   annj o   (Trad. Oppdal, No.)
          not   knows   he   her
          'He doesn't know her'

        b. **ikkje** er den mannen so fatig som han er fillut til!   (Trad. written No.)
          not   is that man.DEF so poor as he is raggy to
          'That man isn't as poor as he is dressed up to be'

        b. **ijkje** vidd jâ å a   jâ har jort nâd   galed   (Trad. Bornholm, Dk.)
          not   know I of that I have done something   wrong
          'I do not know, that I have done something wrong'

    c. **inte** ska hajnj få nâd å vidda ude maj
       not shall he get something to know out me
       'He won't get anything out of me'

In (32a), the negative marker *itj* in the Oppdal dialect appears clause-initially, and in (32c,d) the negative markers *ijkje* and *inte* in the traditional Bornholm dialect appear in clause-initial position. It should however be noted that the traditional Bornholm dialect shares some dialect features with Swedish. Otherwise, it does not seem like clause-initial negation was common in other traditional Danish dialects, if we follow Haislund's (1933) paper on negation in Danish dialects. In contemporary Danish, clause-initial negation is still impossible (Christensen 2005; Jensen 2001).

    In old varieties of Norwegian and Danish, clause-initial negation was possible. Christensen (2005: 190) notes that it was possible in Old and Middle Danish. For ON, Falk and Torp (1900: 285) observe that fronting of an (emphasised) negation was *very frequent* ('meget almindelig') in ON (cf. also Faarlund 2004), see (33), but they also provide examples of clause-initial negation in Norwegian of their own time.

(33) **ekki** var hann stór hvítr maðr   (ON)
     not was he big white man
     'He wasn't a big white man'

In the mid 19th century, however, Aasen (1864: 298) mentions that such fronting is rare in his time, although it is possible. Approximately ¾ of a century later, Heggstad (1931: 202) notes in his grammar on *Nynorsk* that negation can be topicalised. Unfortunately, he does not elaborate on it.

    In contemporary Norwegian, clause-initial negation is acceptable with what seems to be a restricted set of verbs, such as *vite* ('know') exemplified in (34). [117] The example in (34) is taken from the newspaper *Adresseavisen* (May 31st 2011), and it struck me as odd when I read it:[118]

(34) Berit Nordstrand og familien har kjøpt økomat i flere år. **Ikke**
     Berit Nordstrand and family.DEF have bought organic.food in several years. Not
     visste hun at agurken hadde vært innom flere land før den
     knew she that cucumber.DEF had been inside several countries before it
     havnet på matbordet i Trondheim   (Norwegian)
     ended.up on food.table.DEF in Trondheim
     'Berit Nordstrand and her family have bought organic food for several years. She didn't know that the cucumber had been through several countries before it ended up on the table in Trondheim'

---

[117] A frequent Norwegian example of a responsive negation is the phrase *Ikke vet jeg* (literally 'Not know I'), which also signals some distance to the previous context, cf. the point of *dissociating* (see Lindström 2006 on a short discussion of the corresponding phrase in Finland-Swedish).

[118] There is one common exception in Norwegian, namely the sentence *ikke vet jeg* ('I don't know'), which may be considered an idiomatic expression. This can be labelled as a dissociated use, cf. section 6.3.3 below.

The observation that present-day Norwegian only marginally accepts clause-initial negators, seems to have emerged the last century or so, and as such, it resembles Danish. As will become evident throughout this and the next chapter in particular, this similarity between Norwegian and Danish is only apparent, and not real.

Clause-initial negation is thus possible to some degree in all the North Germanic languages except for Danish.

An indication of the geographical distribution of clause-initial negation in modern Swedish and Norwegian varieties, can be found by using the NSD-database, in which judgements of the sentences in (35) are stored:[119]

(35) **Ikke** har jeg smakt på maten **ikke**
      not   have I   tasted   on food.DEF not
      'I haven't tasted the food'

The result for (35) is shown in Map 24.

---

[119] A Google search for the string "og ikke har" ('and not has') in Danish does not yield a single additive example among the first 100 hits.

Map 24: Clause- initial and clause-final negation (35) *Ikke har jeg smakt på maten ikke* **(NSD)**

White marker: high score (4-5); grey marker: medium score (3); black marker: low score (1-2)

Clause-initial negation is accepted in some of the Swedish dialects. Somewhat surprisingly, perhaps, is the fact that more Swedish dialects reject the clause-initial negation than accept it. Observe also that the sentence is accepted in the Swedish varieties in Finland. As expected, the sentence is not accepted in any Norwegian dialects.

In reality, the sentence tests two different phenomena: clause-initial and clause-final negation. Since at least clause-final negation is very rare in Norwegian dialects (cf. section 6.4), it is not surprising that it is rejected. Perhaps the result would have been different for both Swedish and Norwegian if only clause-initial negation was tested.

Testing of only clause-initial negation has in fact been done for the Northern Norwegian dialect of Senja. During the NORMS-fieldwork in Senja in autumn 2006, Arne Martinus Lindstad and I tested the following sentence on 12 informants:

(36) **#Ikkje** har æ vore der (Senja, No.)
 not have I been there
 'I haven't been there'

Eight of the informants accepted (36) when an appropriate context was given, whereas four informants rejected it. This may be interpreted as neg-initial declaratives (in Norwegian varieties) being more acceptable than first expected. The judgements do, however not tell us whether such structures are actually produced. Judging from the NDC-data I have been looking at, (responsive) clause-initial negation is not frequent in Norwegian at all, and I have in fact not noticed any such structures (except for additive negation).

Table 54 summarises this section, and shows the languages that employ clause-initial negation today.

Table 54: Clause-initial negation in North Germanic (dialect grammars)

Language	Clause-initial negation
Swedish	+
Icelandic	+
Faroese	+
Norwegian	?
Danish	−

The '+' indicates that the pattern is accepted in the dialect/language, the '−' indicates that the pattern is not accepted in the dialect/language, the '?' indicate that the pattern has a position in between '+' and '−'.

6.3.3 **The pragmatic features of clause-initial negation**

Lindström (2006, 2007) identifies three main functions of clause-initial negation:

- Responsive negation
    - Objection
    - Confirmation
    - Appeal
    - Wonder
    - Dissociating
- Interrogative negation
- Additive negation

The clause-initial negations I consider, and have considered so far, are of the responsive type. I will concentrate on this type in the following. The other two types are the interrogative negation and the additive negation. The interrogative negation is also restricted to Swedish, and is most likely formally

identical to the responsive type. Like the responsive clause-initial negation, the interrogative negation expresses negative force, which is evident from the negative presuppositions of these clauses (Teleman et al: 1999: 758; Lindström 2007: 45). An illustration of this is (37), which has the form of a declarative, but is pragmatically interpreted as a question. (37) presupposes the answer to be "no".

(37) Men **inte** har   du   glömt   mig för den   skull? (Teleman et al. 1999: 175)   (Sw.)
      but   not   have you forgotten   me   for that sake
      'But you haven't forgot me for that sake?'

Additive negation is possible in Norwegian too, which is also confirmed by judgements in the NSD-database. It is most likely acceptable in Faroese and Icelandic too, since these languages allow clause-initial negation, see (34) above.

(38) **Ikke** ser   du   på sport, **ikke** har   du   greie på sport og   **ikke** driver du
      not   look you   on sport, not   have you   order on sport and   not   do   you
      med sport[120]   (Norwegian)
      with sport
      'You don't watch sport, you don't know anything about sports and you don't do any sports'

In this example three negated propositions are added, and negation appears clause-initially in all of the clauses. When I henceforth refer to clause-initial negation, I do not include additive negation, I only mean the responsive (and the interrogative) type.

The label *responsive* indicates that utterances with this type of negation cannot initiate a dialogue. Teleman et al. (1999) labels this function *Objection*. As for this usage in Swedish, they list a few characteristics of the negative marker and the proposition. First of all, the basic proposition of the clause has to be prominent in either the situational or the linguistic context. Second, the negative marker is unstressed, as illustrated in (39) (Teleman et al. 1999: 175), as opposed to the additive clause-initial negation. There is, however, a difference between Finland-Swedish and Swedish in this respect. According to Lindström (2007: 39), clause-initial negation in Finland-Swedish does not need to be accompanied by focal stress on any constituent, which, following Lindström, is usually the case in Sweden-Swedish:

(39) **Inte$_0$** har Lindgren skrivit   det   där!   (Swedish)
      not   has Lindgren written that there
      'Lindgren has certainly not written that'

In (39) the speaker objects to someone else's assertion that the author Astrid Lindgren has written something specific. One may say that the most important constituent in the given sentence, *inte*, has been fronted, and that it negates the proposition in the clause from a position that (linearly)

---

[120] http://www.abcnyheter.no/sport/100222/northug-hadde-ikke-hatt-en-sjanse

dominates the entire clause, cf. the functionalist neg-first principle. To me as a Norwegian, the information structure of the clause seems natural, and one question is whether such structures really are ungrammatical in Norwegian I-languages, or only unacceptable, but grammatically possible.

A phenomenon that may be related to clause-initial negation, is the ability of negation to occur in elliptic responses in some varieties in order to either (i) indignantly reject an assertion; or (ii) express surprise about the assertion (Teleman et al. 1999: 185, 972). The two different interpretations are associated with difference in prosody. Consider the following example (taken from Teleman et al. 1999: 185), which is impossible in Norwegian (in Norwegian the negative interjection *nei* ('no') or the negative adverb *aldri* ('never') must be used instead):[121]

(40) A: Anders har tagit examen!   (Swedish)
          'Anders has passed the exam!'
      B: **Inte**!
          not
          Interpretation a): He hasn't done that at all!
          Interpretation b): What? Has he?

A few examples of such elliptic negation in spoken Swedish are found in the NDC-corpus:[122]

(41) a. A: xx hittade   de   aldrig igen xx sen ?   (Indal, Sw.)
              xx found   they   never again xx since?
              'Didn't they find xx?'
          B: nej   nej   **inte**, de   for   och   spåra   men   **inte** fann   de   björn nej.
              no   no   not,   they went   and   tracked, but   not   found   they   bear, no
              'No, they didn't. They tried to track it, but they didn't find a bear'
      b. näj   **itjä**, pappa og   mamma add   ju   byggt i lag   min   mumun og
          no   not   dad   and   mum   had   mod.prt. built together with grandma and
          mu:ofar mes   dier   fingg diem tri   fuost kripper   (Evertsberg, Sw.)
          gradpa   when   they   got   the   three first children
          'No. Dad and mum had built together with my grandma and granddad while they got their three first children.'

In (41aB), the initial negative answer can be interpreted as an ellipsis of the last co-ordinated structure.

In my opinion, it makes sense to link this ability of having elliptic *inte* to the fact that it can be fronted. If the negative marker can be fronted, subsequent eliding of the rest of the clause is possible.

---

[121] Not all Swedish people accept this structure (Björn Lundquist p.c.).

[122] There are also two occurrences of such a negative answer in the speech of the old informants from Tana, who have been raised in a multilingual community.

6.3.4 **Analysis**

I assume that (responsive) clause-initial negation is base generated in NegP and subsequently topicalised to a position within the CP-domain as illustrated in (42).

(42) [$_{CP}$ inte V$_{fin}$ [$_{AgrSP}$ (Subject) ~~V$_{fin}$~~ [$_{NegP}$ ~~inte~~ [$_{TP}$ ~~V$_{fin}$~~]]]]

Such a fronting analysis straightforwardly accounts for the negative force of the negative marker. As shown above, Zeijlstra (2006, 2007) argues that clause-initial negation outscopes the illocutionary force of the clause, and therefore such structures are illicit. On the assumption that negation is directly merged in the uppermost position, one could imagine that there would be conflicting scope between negation and a clause type operator. If, on the other hand, negation is fronted, no such conflict would arise. According to Sportiche (2006), scope can restructure, which in this case would mean that negation takes scope from its base position in NegP. However, I argue that clause-final negation, analysed in section 6.4.4 below, is directly merged in a high position and as such should interfere with the illocutionary force of the sentence. The reason why it does not interfere, may simply be that it cannot, because it is not in a position where it can take the sentence in its scope.

Furthermore, in the analysis in (42), the negative marker acts on a par with other negative elements like negative indefinites: They are all merged or remerged in the same position in order to become negative, and the negative marker is not special compared to other negative elements.

In addition, in the fronting analysis, clause-initial negation is a result of the general language specific possibility of fronting different categories.

As for the status of the negative marker when it occurs clause-initially, I assume that it is an XP. Fronting of a head is generally not allowed (but see Holmberg 1999 on fronting of V), unless it is tackled as an instance of a remnant movement. Another piece of evidence of the fronted *inte* in Swedish being an XP is, as just mentioned, the *inte*-ellipsis shown above, where *inte* is fronted and the rest of the clause elided (cf. Teleman et al. 1999: 972 on unstressed *nog* (modal particle), and that it cannot appear in ellipsis).

One could also argue that clause-initial negation is a head: It is prosodically weak and must be bare. The latter may be a consequence of specifications on the target head in the CP-domain. The former is not really an argument in favour of a head status, since XPs may be unstressed as well (e.g. weak pronouns).

Not all the data fit within this discussion. Recall the traditional Oppdal dialect referred to above, which exhibits clause-initial negation (cf. example (32a)), and in which the negative marker was analysed as a head in chapter 5. According to Haugen (1982: 155), negation is focalised when it is fronted, although it is not completely clear if it is also stressed. It might thus be another type of the clause-initial position than the Swedish one.

On the assumption that initial negation is a result of fronting, the next question is to which position.

One possibility when examining the exact position of the fronted negative marker, is to use the CP-particle *så* as a diagnostic. The particle *så* occurs in root-contexts, and when present, it overrides the V2-rule, causing V3-structures. The functions of *så* (in Swedish) are examined in detail in Ekerot (1988), and a generative analysis of *så* (in Norwegian) is given in Østbø (2006) (see also Eide 2011).

(43) a. Nede i kjelleren så gikk   jeg   (Norwegian)
          down in cellar.DEF så walked   I
          'Down in the cellar, I walked'
      b. Ned i kjelleren (*så) gikk   jeg
          down in cellar.DEF   så walked   I
          'I walked down in the cellar'

In most Swedish and Norwegian varieties, only non-arguments can precede *så*, as the locative expression *nede i kjelleren* ('down in the cellar') in (43a). Furthermore, the initial constituent must be some kind of a topic or scene-setting element, i.e. it must appear quite high in the CP-domain (cf. Rizzi 1997), and particularly Spec,TopP. The element *så* is then analysed as an exponent of the head of TopP (Østbø 2006). Elements that are more tightly connected to the proposition, like for instance the directional element in (43b), cannot co-occur with *så*. In Østbø (2006), these elements target Spec,FocP, which is below TopP.

The examples in (44) taken from (Ekerot 1988: 28f, 191) show how Swedish negation behaves with respect to *så*.

(44) a. ***Inte** så   kommer han   (Swedish)
          not   so   comes   he
          'He don't come'
      b. **Inte** heller så har   jag   påstått att din son smygröker   (Swedish)
          not   either so have   I   claimed that your son illicit.smokes
          'I have not claimed that your son smokes in secret either'

Negative elements cannot be followed by *så* as exemplified in (44a) (Ekerot 1988: 28f). An exception is the phrase *inte heller* in (44b) (Ekerot 1988: 191). Ekerot explains the acceptability of (44b) by suggesting that *inte heller* may lie outside the predication of the verb *påstå*. (44b) is a variant of additive negation, as it adds the expressed proposition to another, implicit one. The example suggests that there is a structural difference between clause-initial and additive negation: Clause-initial negation cannot be followed by *så*, whereas additive negation can. However, this hypothesis is falsified by (45).

(45) a. **Ikke** har jeg   vaska,   og **heller ikke** så har jeg   rydda   (Norwegian)
          not   have I   washed and either not   so have I   tidied
      b. **Ikke** har jeg   vaska,   og   **ikke** (*så*) har jeg   rydda   (Norwegian)
          not   have I   cleaned and   not   so have I   tidied
          'I haven't cleaned, and neither have I tidied the room'

The sentences in (45) (and the equivalent Swedish ones) were tested on a random selection of speakers of Norwegian and Swedish. Although not all speakers accepted (45a), almost everyone rejected (43b) and found it less acceptable than (43a).

The difference in grammaticality between (45a) and (45b) is striking, and in this sense additive clause-initial negation resembles clause-initial negation. The complex phrase *heller ikke* ('either not')

seems, on the other hand, to behave more on a par with adverbials, and can be analysed as occupying Spec,TopP.

The clause-initial negation does not target TopP, [123] and I propose that it targets a designated position, for instance a polarity projection, PolP, as illustrated in (46), in which the negative semantics of the clause is enforced as prominent (although the negative marker remains unstressed).

(46)   [$_{PolP}$ Inte har [$_{FinP}$ Lindgren ~~har~~ [$_{NegP}$ ~~inte~~ [$_{TP}$ ~~Lindgren har~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~Lindgren har~~ skrivit det där]]]]]!

In (46), I assume that the heads of ForceP and PolP are fused, so that the finite verb targets the fused head Pol°, and the negative marker is fronted to the specifier position. The subject occurs in a subject position, for instance Spec,FinP (cf. Holmberg and Platzack 2005).

One argument in favour of a designated position for clause-initial negation, is that the absence of PolP does not interfere with the general possibility of topicalisation. In the cases where clause-initial negation is ungrammatical (does not exist in the I-language), this might be explained by PolP not being identified or licensed (cf. Vangsnes 1999 and the discussion in chapter 4). Danish seems to be an obvious candidate where PolP is not identified, although topicalisation in general is possible.

Additive clause-initial negation may be hypothesised to target the same position, or another low position as for instance FocP. Teleman et al. (1999) observe that additive negation is stressed, and this supports the latter analysis. If one wants to analyse additive negation on a par with clause-initial negation, the prosodic and interpretational differences between them can be taken to arise through pragmatic inference.

On the analysis in (42), clause-initial negation and 'clause-initial' negation in embedded clauses in Övdalian and Northern Ostrobothnian may be related to each other, since negation is hypothesised to target PolP in both cases. I return to this issue in chapter 9.

6.3.5   Parameter differences in the North Germanic languages

So far, I have shown the following differences between the dialect grammars of the North Germanic languages:

---

[123] The incompatibility between clause-initial negation and *så* may also be explained in a non-structural way, for instance by some semantic/pragmatic explanations.

Table 55: Types of clause-initial negation in North Germanic (dialect grammars)

	Responsive	Additive
Swedish	+	+
Faroese	+	
Icelandic	+	
Norwegian	−	+
Danish	−	−

The '+' indicates that the pattern is accepted in the dialect/language, the '−' indicates that the pattern is not accepted in the dialect/language. No mark indicates that I do not have any information about the pattern for that particular dialect.

Apart from Faroese and Icelandic,[124] Danish differs from Norwegian and Swedish, in not allowing any type of clause-initial negation. The reasons for this are likely fundamental in nature, and can be understood in terms of parameter differences (in the respective I-languages). Christensen (2005) explains the lack of negative fronting in Danish by giving the CP-domains different properties in the different languages. On the assumption that the negative marker has the feature [–lex], Christensen assumes that fronting of [–lex] categories are allowed in Swedish and Norwegian, but not in Danish. Jensen (2001) has a similar proposal, and suggests that the discourse function in the CP-domain that is associated with topicalisation of negation, is lacking in Danish.

As for the lack of responsive clause-initial negation in Norwegian, this does not necessarily need to be attributed to different I-languages for Norwegian and Swedish speakers. One can of course say that there is an I-language difference where PolP is identified by negation in Swedish, but not in Norwegian. Alternatively, PolP can be indentified in both languages, but the difference between them is related to frequency (cf. Barbiers 2005 on frequency as a distinguisher between Dutch dialects).

One can also imagine other explanations for this, for instance a functionalist one. Here, Norwegian clause-initial negation has changed function from occurring in declaratives, to occurring in imperatives. This functionalist view is supported by the observation that there is no principled prohibition against clause-initial negation in Norwegian. I will elaborate further on this in chapter 7. I now turn to clause-final negation.

6.4 Clause-final negation

6.4.1 Introduction

Clause-final negation is, unlike clause-initial negation, dependent on the presence of a negative element in the clause. Clause-final negation is illustrated in (47), which also shows that it can occur in different clause types (example (47a) is taken from Ivars 1988: 189, and (47b) from Teleman et al. 1999: 451f).

---

[124] I have no information about additive negation for Faroese and Icelandic.

(47) a. **Int** vorrt   vi na   sembär vi heldär **int**   (Närpes, Fi.)
          not   became we anything worse   we too   not
          'We didn't get worse'

      b. Var **inte** det   riktigt, **inte**?   (Swedish)
          was   not   that correct,   not
          'Wasn't that correct, or what?'

In (47a) the clause-initial negation co-occurs with clause-final negation, and in (47b), the negative marker of a y/n-question co-occurs with clause-final negation. This makes the question rhetorical, since the final negation signals that the speaker believes in what (s)he says. Clause-final negation may be interpreted intuitively as resumption of the negative marker and occurring outside the clause proper. Teleman et al. (1999: 182, 451f) mention that clause-final negation occurs more frequently with a clause-initial negation (of the Objection/Responsive type, see above) than when negation occupies the canonical position. According to Teleman et al. (1999) and Munther (2007), the clause-final negation has a pragmatic function, and when it is used, the speaker presupposes the truth of the proposition. As with clause-initial negation, the proposition has to be prominent in the discourse. Huldén (1995: 181) explains clause-final negation in Northern Ostrobothnian as a compensating strategy. If the negation in clause-initial position is not able to receive enough stress, the presence of clause-final negation can compensate for this. As such, clause-final negation may be considered to be an expression of Emphatic Negation (discussed in connection with NC), and they have the non-obligatoriness in common.

Clause-final negation has to be prosodically weak, as clause-initial negation is (Teleman et al. 1999: 182). The example in (48) also shows that it can be a clitic-like element:

(48) **it**   sku   di   ju   a   ruumast annås **i**   (NÖb, Fi.)
      not   should   they mod.prt. have fitted.PASS else   not
      'Otherwise they wouldn't have had enough space'

The clause-final negation thus share some features with the clause-initial negation:
(49) a.   Propositional prominence in the discourse (*p* is previously mentioned)
      b.   The negative marker is unstressed
      c.   The negative semantics is emphasised.

These similarities are important to bear in mind when we turn to the structural analysis in section 6.4.4 below, because they make it reasonable to treat the two kinds of negation in more or less the same way.

One can speculate whether such an optional element eventually will become obligatory. In this respect, the case of Afrikaans is interesting. A similar kind of non-obligatory clause-final negative marker is also attested in early Afrikaans – an example from 1832 is shown in (50) below (Roberge 2000: 148). This element has become obligatory in modern Afrikaans (see also e.g. Biberauer 2008), so that it is an NC language today. This is another road to NC status than what is commonly assumed for the European NC languages (in which NC is considered a step in the Jespersen's Cycle, cf. e.g. Zeijlstra 2004; van Gelderen 2008).

(50) O ik is   nie   bang woor zoo   een   kat   nie   sieur   (Cape Dutch, South-Africa)
Oh I am   not   afraid for   so   a   cat   not   sir
'Oh, I am not afraid of such a cat, no sir!'

In the next section, I explore the distribution of negation and negative elements in clause-final position in earlier and contemporary varieties of North Germanic.

6.4.2   The distribution of clause-final negation in North Germanic varieties

In present-day varieties of North Germanic, clause-final negation seems to be less common than the clause-initial one: It is prohibited in Norwegian, and I am not aware of its existence in Faroese or in Icelandic. In Mainland Scandinavia, it is a Swedish phenomenon, just as clause-initial negation. However, extending the understanding of 'negation' to also include other negative elements, resumption of negation is, as I will show, more widespread (cf. Munther 2007).

6.4.2.1   *Swedish varieties*

Clause-final negation is particularly frequent in Finland-Swedish, and according to Magnus Brenner (p.c.), it is more frequent in northern dialects (Ostrobothnian) than in southern dialects. The examples in (51) (Huldén 1995: 181) from Ostrobothnian, show that clause-final negation can appear with the negative marker in the canonical position (51a) and with clause-initial negation.

(51) a. men ha var   jo   **intt** na   mytji skada ha **intt**   (Ostrobothnian, Fi.)
but   he was mod.prt not   any   much hurt he not
'But he didn't get very hurt'
    b. **itt** såå   di   nu   uut såm di   jeer nu   **itt** (Ostrobothnian, Fi.)
not   looked   they mod.prt out   as   they do   now not
'They didn't look like they do now, they didn't'

Huldén comments that clause-final resumption of negation seems to be common. As for geographic distribution, he notes that it appears across the whole of Ostrobothnia.

Clause-final negation is also attested in the Nyland dialect, in the southern parts of Finland. The example I detected in Lundström (1939: 144), was example (31) above, in which the sentential negation occurs clause-initially (cf. Brenner's claim above that it is not as common in the south).

Map 24 shows that all the Swedish speaking informants in Finland accepted the sentence (35), which has both a clause-initial and clause-final negation, as shown in (51) above.

In a questionnaire study I conducted during the NORMS fieldtrip to Northern Ostrobothnia, only half of the informants accepted the sentence in (52a), where clause-final negation co-occurs with a clause-initial negation. Only one third of the informants accepted (52b), in which clause-final negation co-occurs with negation in the canonical position. This contrasts with (52c,d), where the negative polarity item *na* in clause-final position was accepted by almost all the informants.

(52) a. Int   har   jag drukkit   kaffe   **int**[125]   (Northern Ostbothnian, Fi.)
          not   have   I   drunk   coffee   not

      b. Jag   har   int   drukkit   kaffe **int**   (Northern Ostbothnian, Fi.)
          I   have   not   drunk   coffee not

      c. Int   har   jag   drukkit   kaffe **na**   (Northern Ostbothnian, Fi.)
          not   have   I   drunk   coffee NPI

      d. Jag   har   int   drukkit   kaffe **na**   (Northern Ostrobothnian, Fi.)
          I   have   not   drunk   coffee NPI
          'I haven't drunk any coffee'

There are no data of Finland-Swedish in the NDC-corpus yet, so it is not possible at the present time to investigate clause-final negation in production, and corroborate the questionnaire-results. Compared to Finland-Swedish, clause-final negation seems less common in varieties in Sweden. The result from the NSD-database given in Map 24 above, shows that clause-initial and clause-final negation is accepted in approximately half of the locations in Sweden, and it seems that it is most accepted in the Southern and the Northern parts. There seems to be some variation with respect to the overt realisation of negative resumption as well, which can be lexicalised as the negative marker *inte*, a distinct particle *e*, and the negative interjection *nej*. In the standard language, the resumptive element is *inte*, and it is plausible that this has influenced the dialects, too. In the Delsbo dialect, the negative element *e* is commonly used in clause-final position (Munther 2007). Consider the following example, taken from Munther (2007: 15):

(53)   men   jag vet   ingenting   **e**   (Delsbo, Sw.)
        but   I   know nothing   neg.prt
        'But I don't know anything'

In this example, the negative indefinite *ingenting* ('nothing') is resumed in clause-final position by the negative element *e*.

---

[125] The sentence in (52a) was accepted by five informants and rejected by six; the one in (52b) was accepted by three informants and rejected by seven; (52c) was accepted by ten and rejected by one informant; and (52d) was accepted by eight informants and rejected by three.

In Övdalian, there might have been a change with respect to clause-final negation. Levander (1909) does not mention clause-final negation, and he does not provide any examples of it. This may indicate that clause-final negation was not common in his time, or that clause-final negation was so wide-spread across Swedish varieties that he did not find it necessary to mention it. Clause-final *inte*/*itjä* is in any case acceptable in contemporary Övdalian, judging from a questionnaire-study (NORMS fieldwork in Älvdalen 2007), see (54a), and data in the NDC-corpus, although I could not find many instances of it. However, one genuine example of clause-final negation from the Övdalian village Väsa is given in (54b) (this example is taken from the NDC-corpus and was shown above as (17b)):

(54) a. **Itjä**   ar   ig werið dar   **inte**[126]   (Övdalian, Sw.)
      not   *have* *I* *been* *there* *not*
      'I have never been there'
   b. ja   sę   amm wįð int   ingger krytyr   nų   **itjä**   (Väsa, Sw.)
      yes, *later* *have* *we* *not* *no*   *cows*   *now* *not*
      'Yes, later, we didn't have any cows'

A search in the NDC-corpus corroborates the finding that there is variation among the dialects. In total, I found 52 instances of clause-final *inte* ('not') that appeared as the final element in a given result string (in total there were 3992 instances of a search for *inte* in the Swedish subcorpus of NDC). Thus, the actual number is higher, since instances of clause-final negation that occur inside a larger string are not included. This result gives the rate of clause-final negation of 1/77 words. This does not sound like much, but, compared to for instance Norwegian, it is, as shown below. Two of these are given in (55). The places where clause-final negation was attested, and its frequencies, are indicated in Map 25 on the following page.

(55) a. gå inte in och   köp någonting och drick någonting här **inte** (Årsunda, Sw.)
      go not *in and* *buy* *something* *and* *drink something* *here* *not*
      'Don't go inside to buy or drink anything here'
   b. vi har liksom aldrig det ordet   någonting **inte**   (Ånundsjö, Sw.)
      we have *like*   *never that* *word.DEF something* *not*
      'We don't have that word'

---

[126] Of six informants, four accepted this sentence, whereas two rejeceted it.

Map 25: Occurrences of clause-final negation in Swedish varieties (NDC)
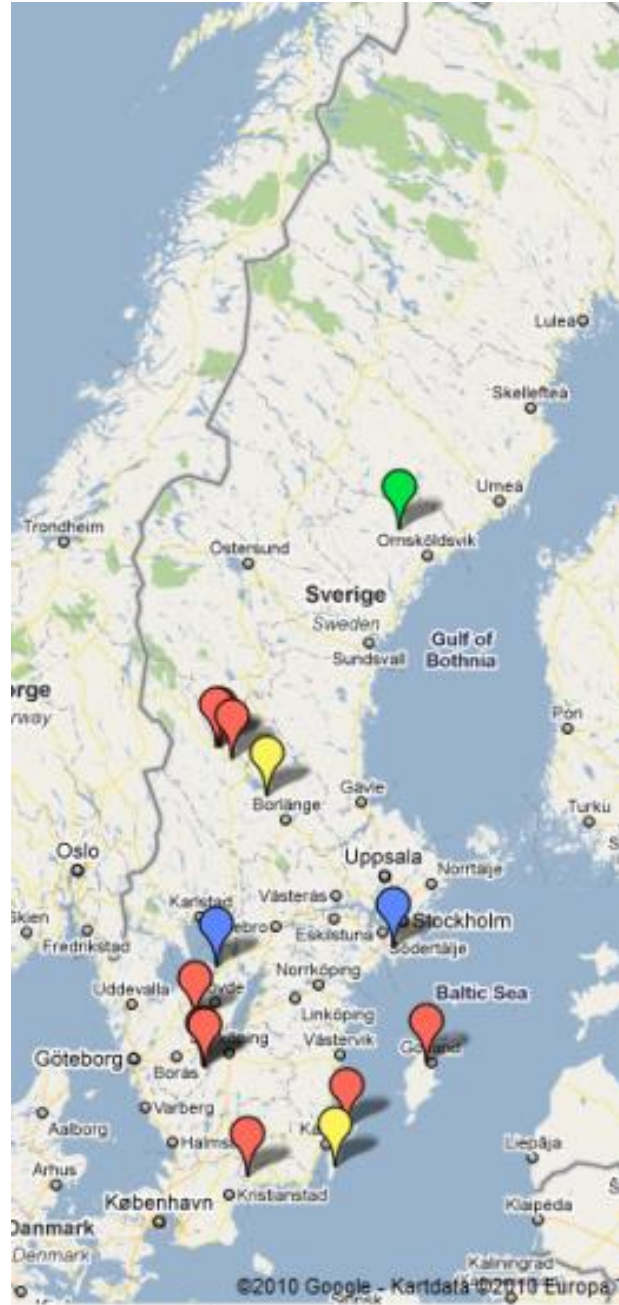
Red: 1-2 occurrences; Blue: 3-5 occurrences; Yellow: 6-8 occurrences; Green: 9-13 occurrence

The map shows that there are a few occurrences in the Southern parts of Swedish, but there are some dialects that have higher frequencies spread among the others. The dialect with the highest frequency is the Anundsjö dialect. There are not many Swedish locations that co-occur in both the NSD-database and the NDC-corpus, but for two of the places that had a low score in the NSD-database, Ånundsjö and Segerstad, I found examples of clause-final negation *inte*. (This underscores again the importance of a variety of linguistic sources in order to get reliable data.)

However, none of the maps in this section give an accurate picture of the distribution or the frequencies of clause-final negation in Sweden or the other countries.

6.4.2.2 *Danish dialects*

Clause-final negation was possible in traditional Danish dialects like those of Zeeland, Bornholm and Middle Schleswig (Haislund 1933: 131ff). In (56), two of Haislund's (1933: 132) examples from Zeeland are given (with normalised orthography).

(56) a. Gu   var   jeg   **itte**   fuld   **ikke**   (Zeeland, Dk.)
       god   was   I   not   drunk not
       'God, I was drunk!'

     b. Jeg   tejde   **ette**   ved   nove   **ikke**   (Zeeland, Dk.)
       I   thought not   by   anything not
       'I didn't think at all'

Observe that the two negative markers differ from each other – the traditional negative marker *itte*, in example (56b) phonetically transcribed as a clitic on the subject /dᵊ/, and the standard Danish negation *ikke* /ɛgᵊ/ in final position. This contrasts with the pattern in Northern Ostrobothnian and Delsbo, where the clause-final negation seems to be weaker than the sentential negator. The example in (26a) above may also be characterised as having a clause-final negation.

The traditional East Danish dialect of Bornholm, which may have clause-initial negation, may also have clause-final negation, as shown in Teinnæs' (1929: 48, 50) examples:

(57) a. Vil   du   **inte** snakka te maj, då   vil   jâ **inte** snakka te daj   **i**
       will   you   not   talk   to me   then will I   not   talk   to you   not
       hæjljer   (Bornholm, Dk.)
       either
       'If you don't want to talk with me, I won't talk to you either'

     b. **ijkje** majljem di   yngre   **ijkje**   (Bornholm, Dk.)
       not   between the   younger not
       'Not between the younger ones'

Strictly speaking, none of these examples displays clause-final negation as I have discussed it so far. In (57a), the clause-final negation is the phrase *i hæjljer* ('not either'), in which the negation is emphasised by the NPI *hæjljer*. In the phrase in (57b), where the clause-initial negation functions as a constituent negation, the negative marker is replicated in clause-final position.

I do not know how acceptable clause-final negation is in modern Zeelandic, the Bornholm dialect or in other modern Danish varieties, but it is most likely less frequent than in the past, if it occurs at all. Searches for *ikke* and *inte* in the NDC-corpus for the Zeeland and the Bornholm dialect, did not return any relevant hits as I could detect. So, I conclude that if clause-final negation is a possibility, it is rarely produced among the informants of DanDiaSyn.

I also tried to find out whether clause-final negation is manifested as the interjection *nej* ('no') instead, but I only detected six instances in a search for the negative marker in Danish (of 688 instances in total, of which 344 unique).

The only way it can appear in clause-final position, is as a question tag used in a positive context (The (online) Dictionary of Danish).

(58) Det   er meget   skægt,   jegmøder   dem den   dag   i   dag, ikke? (Dk.)
      it   is very   funny   I meet   them the   day   in day   not
      'It's very funny that I still meet them today, right?'

In (58) the negative tag appears in the right pheriphery of a positive clause, and it is thus not of the sort we discuss in this chapter.

Thus, I conclude that the doubling of negative elements do not frequently occur in clause-final position.

6.4.2.3 *Norwegian dialects*

I am not aware of any present-day Norwegian dialect that has clause-final negation, but clause-final negation was possible in traditional varieties modern Norwegian. To my knowledge, it has not been documented to exist in ON, but clause-final negation is arguably a spoken phenomenon, which is not necessarily manifested in writing.

Clause-final negation is also mentioned in the grammar on *Nynorsk* by Heggstad (1931: 195), who comments that "[o]gso elles vert ei nekting ofte uppatt-teki" ('*a negation is also in other cases often repeated*'). One of his example is the one in (59a). Clause-final negation is also attested in traditional Trøndelag and East-Norwegian dialects,[127] see (59b-d) for examples from the Trøndelag region. The examples in (59b,c) are taken from the online meta-dictionary for the Norwegian dictionary *Norsk Ordbok*, and (59d) is taken from Haugen (1982: 153).

(59) Du   kom ikkje, du   **ikkje**   (Trad. written Norw. *Nynorsk*)
      you   came not   you   not
      'You didn't come!'

    b. Han   var   så gud   ingen tosk, **ikkje**!   (Trad. Sunndal, No.)
      he   was   so god   no   fool   not
      'He was certainly not a fool!'

    c. De va'   itj stor   stasen   å sjå   på,**itj'**,   **nei**!   (Trad. Trøndelag, No.)
      it   was   not   bigfun.DEF   to watchon not   no
      'It wasn't very fun to watch'

---

[127] According to the online meta-dictonaries of *Norsk ordbok* ('Norwegian Dictionary') and Trønderordboka ('The Trøndelag dialect dictionary') clause-initial negation is attested in the traditional dialects of Sunndal, Telemark and Trøndelag. It is also attested in the traditional dialect of Gudbrandsdalen (Leiv Inge Aa, p.c.).

    d. D æ ittj så væ'st dæ **ittj**   (Trad. Oppdal, No.)
      it is not so bad it not
      'That's not so bad'

In (59a), both the subject and the negative marker are doubled in the right periphery, and the doubled negation follows the doubled subject. In (59b), sentential negation is expressed by the negative indefinite *ingen*. The example in (59c) is interesting, because it combines the negative elements *itj* ('not') and *nei* ('no').

To my knowledge, there is no example of co-occurrence of clause-initial and clause-final negation in any traditional Norwegian varieties (and not in any of the modern ones either, judging from the result from the NSD-database presented in Map 24). On the assumption that clause-initial and clause-final negation reinforce each other, one may speculate whether this lack of co-occurrence has contributed to the loss of a clause-final negative marker.[128]

To have the interjection *nei* ('no') in clause-final position, seems to be the only possible way to double negation in present-day Norwegian. In the NDC-corpus, clause-final *nei* ('no') is attested in 72 locations in Norway. I searched for the string "ikke 0-2 nei" in the Norwegian subcorpus (August 2010), which returned 424 instances, of which 246 were relevant. For the Oslo dialect, anecdotal information from a search I did in the NoTa-corpus indicates that clause-final *nei* ('no') had a frequency of 0.5%.[129] These are shown in Map 26 below. One example of clause-final *nei* ('no') is given in (60).

(60) næi e kann tåLå dativ e ha itj aktivt dativbruk e hell **næi** (Oppdal, No.)
     no I can speak dative I have not active dative.use I too no
     'No, I can use the dative, but I don't have active dative usage, either'

In the NSD-data, the old male informant from Oppdal gives the sentence (35), with clause-initial and clause-final negation, the score '3', which we may interpret as a marginal acceptance of final *itj* (and initial *itj*). However, in the Oppdal part of the NDC-corpus, there is no example of final *itj*, only final *nei*, also from the same old man as shown in (60). Thus, there seems to have been a change in the Oppdal dialect, going from clause-final doubling of the negative marker as in Swedish, to a doubling by the negative interjection *nei* ('no').

---

[128] In modern varieties of Norwegian, the negative marker can only be replicated in clause-final position when it is modified, as in *nesten ikke* ('almost not').

(i) Jeg har ikke gjort det, **nesten ikke**   (Norwegian)
   I have not done it almost not
   'I haven't done it, I think'

The pattern for negation in clause-final position in (i) reflects the one in clause-initial position, where also negation can be fronted as a part of a larger phrase.

[129] Due to a memory stick crash at the end of my PhD position, I am not able to give the search string for this particular search, which in total returned 2972 occurrences, of which 15 occurrences involved clause-final *nei* ('no').

Map 26: Occurrences of clause-final *nei* ('no') in Norwegian (NDC)

Red: 1-2 occurrences; Blue: 3-5 occurrences; Yellow: 6-8 occurrences; Green: 9-13 occurrences

The map shows that there is a lot of red in the Northern and Southern parts. In Southern Norwegian, there are quite a few occurrences of blue and yellow as well. For instance, it seems to be frequent in the Rogaland county. Clause-final *nei* is widespread in the Trøndelag area as well, which confirms the impression I have of the relative frequency of clause-final *nei* in the Trøndelag dialects compared to e.g. South-Eastern dialects. The relative high frequency in the Eastern parts of this dialect area may be an "inheritance" from a potential frequent clause-final negation in earlier varieties. Recall from above that there are many references to clause-final negation in traditional Trøndelag varieties.[130] Furthermore, the Trøndelag area border Sweden, and in earlier times there were

---

[130] An alternative explanation can be that there is much doubling in the Trøndelag dialects in general.

frequent contact across the border. The negative marker *itj* in the Trøndelag dialects is also of the ɪɴᴛᴇ-type, and a hundred years ago the marker *int* was still used across the area. One might speculate that the traditional Trøndelag varieties, being a part of a Central Scandinavian dialect area (Sandøy 1996), shared the features of clause-initial and -final negation with the Swedish varieties of Central Scandinavian.

In modern varieties of Mainland North Germanic, it is only in Swedish varieties where the negative marker can occur in clause-final position.

6.4.3 **Previous accounts of clause-final elements**

Resumptive negation is only one of several categories that can be replicated in clause-final position. Vangsnes (2008) investigates what he calls *Right Peripheral Doubling* (RPD) and *Right Dislocation* (RD) in Norwegian (see also Faarlund et al. 1997: 908ff for a descriptive survey of clause-final elements). RPD concerns different categories like pronouns and adverbs, while RD concerns XPs (mostly DPs). Clause-final negation may be treated as an instance of RPD. Vangsnes assumes that both RPDs and RDs occur outside the clause proper, and are base-generated in specifier positions in the CP domain above the core clause. On the other hand, clausal particles that do not replicate anything in the clause proper, are suggested to be heads. The clause-final effect is obtained by scrambling the core clause around the RPDs and RDs (cf. Munaro and Poletto 2004). This is illustrated in (61).

(61)
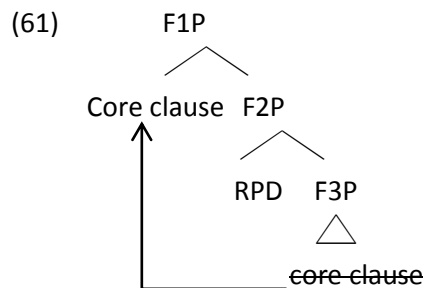
Biberauer (2008) applies a similar idea in her analysis of NC in Afrikaans. As mentioned above, NC in Afrikaans is reminiscent of Mainland North Germanic clause-final negation as it involves a clause-final negation, see (62) (Biberauer 2008: 236).[131]

(62) Ek keen **nie**   daardie man **nie**   (Afrikaans)
       I know not   that   man   not
       'I don't know that man'

In this example, a negative marker in the IP-domain co-occurs with a clause-final negation. Biberauer assumes that the final *nie* is base-generated in the CP-layer, and more specifically in the head of PolP. According to her, this projection heads Afrikaans negated clauses and specifies them as

---

[131] The clause-final negation can be elided in certain predictable contexts (Biberauer 2008: 108), e.g. in the case of haplology.

negative (Biberauer 2008: 113). The rest of the clause subsequently scrambles to Spec,PolP.[132] This is schematised as follows:

(63) a. $[_{PolP}$ [nie$_2$] $[_{CP}$ …nie$_1$…]]
      b. $[_{PolP}[_{CP}$ …nie$_1$…]$_t$ [nie$_2$] $[_{CP}$ …nie$_1$…]]

6.4.4 Analysis

I will follow Biberauer (2008), Vangsnes (2008) and Munaro and Poletto (2004) in assuming clause-final elements to be base-generated high in the CP-domain, and with subsequent scrambling of the core clause around it.

More specifically, I propose that North Germanic clause-final negation is directly merged in a polarity projection PolP (cf. Biberauer 2008). I will call it Pol2P in order to distinguish it from the hypothesised PolP associated with clause-initial negation. An illustration is given in (64).

(64)
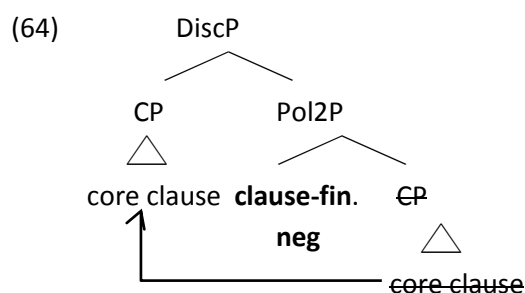
In (64) the clause-final negation is merged on top of CP (that in each case contains the relevant CP projections of that structure). The CP subsequently scrambles across Pol2P to an appropriate landing site above the clause-final negation. I follow Vangsnes (2008) in that it targets a separate projection above the clause-final element. It could also be as Biberauer (2008) proposes, that clause-final negation heads Pol2P and the CP targets the specifier position (cf. Munaro and Poletto 2004). This latter option will perhaps make the technical details easier. Recall that the propostion is prominent in the discourse when there is clause-final negation, which makes it reminiscent of being some kind of topic. I thus assume that it targets a position related to such features, which I label DiscP (Discourse), as seen in (64).

I have shown that other negative elements can occur clause-finally as well, such as the particle *e* in the Delsbo dialect and interjection *nei/nej* ('no') in Norwegian, Swedish and Danish. These elements might occupy the same Pol2P, which is at least likely in the varieties that only allow one clause-final negative element. However, recall from example (59c) above that *nei* could co-occur with the negative marker in the right periphery, and at least in this case the two elements cannot be hypothesised to occupy the same position, and the interjection *nei* ('no') must appear in an even higher (polarity) projection.

---

[132] The head has an unvalued Pol-feature and a strong EPP-feature, requiring the category with the valued [pol]-feature to move to its specifier, i.e. negation. Negation moves, however, together with the rest of the clause (the clause 'pied-pipes' negation), and hence the entire clause scrambles across the final *nie*.

It may also be that the clause-final negative elements have a different status. For instance, the negative particle *e* in the Delsbo dialect is a clear candidate for a head status since it does not appear elsewhere and has many characteristics of a clitic (cf. van Gelderen's 2004 Head Preference Principle referred to in chapter 5). The elements *inte* and *nei* on the other hand, frequently appear in contexts that support an XP analysis of these elements.

The clause-final negation is in some respect reminiscent of expletive negation, in the sense that it does not contribute with negative semantics. The reason for this may be its high, base-generated position. If we follow the reasoning in Zeijlstra (2007), it cannot take wide scope when occurring in a domain of the CP that is above the clause proper, for instance, above ForceP, which may be taken as the uppermost edge of the clause. If negation takes wide scope from this position, and if a clause-type operator is located in ForceP, then clause-final negation would outscope the clause-type operator, which according to Zeijlstra (2007) is illegible. Another perspective that is suitable to mention here, is the stand in Urigarieka (2007: 107f) that peripheral constructions, as the clause-final element is, are not part of the I-language. On these assumptions, the semantics of the clause-final elements cannot interfer with the constituents of the clause proper, and the clause-final elements are interpreted as lacking 'independent', sentential semantics.

In between CP and Pol2P other doubled arguments and adverbs may occur, as I have shown above (cf. Faarlund et al. 1997, Teleman et al. 1999, Vangsnes 2008 and examples in Munther 2007: 15; Heggstad 1931: 195). The example in (65a) is taken from Teleman et al. (1999: 458):

(65) a. Han   har   det   inte   så lätt,   *Gunnar* **inte**   (Swedish)
         he   has   it   not   so easy   Gunnar   not
         'He's not having a easy time'
      b. Da   orker   jeg ikke   å   dra   *da*   **nei**   (Norwegian)
         then am.capable.of I   not   to go   then no
         'Then I'm not capable of going'

In (65a) an RD precedes negation, and in (65b) a pro-adverb precedes the negative element *nei*. Structurally, this may be implemented as a roll-up of the structure around each clause-final element to a position to the left of it, which I label L(anding)P:

(66)   [$_{L1P}$ [$_{Pol2P}$ *inte* [$_{L2P}$ [$_{F1P}$ *pro-adv* [$_{L3P}$ [$_{F2P}$ *pronoun/DP* [$_{CP}$...]]]]]]]

                                                                step 1

                                              step 2

                      step 3
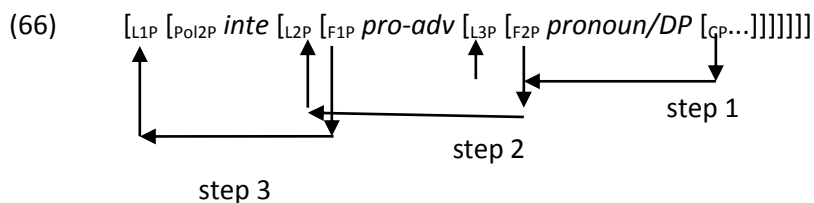
The landing site may either be the specifier of the projection hosting the right peripheral element in its head, or a separate projection if the right peripheral element occupies the specifier. The subsequent roll-up around each element ensures that the (natural) scope relations between the involved constituents are maintained and identical to the relations within the core clause. This gives the same effect as if, for instance, these elements were analysed as instances of right adjunction (cf. Åfarli 1995), or assuming head final structures in the uppermost CP-layer.

Consider a variant of the sentence in (65b) above:

(67) [Da   orker   jeg ikke å   dra] *jeg da   **nei**   (Norwegian)
     then am.capable.of I   not   to go   I   then no
     'Then I'm not capable of going'

Within the clause proper (marked with bracketing), the base-generated order also marks scope:

(68) [ikke [da   [jeg   orker   å   dra]]]
     not   then I   am.capable.of   to go

The same scopal relations in (67), i.e. *ikke > da > jeg*, are thus maintained if the structure scrambles around to the right of each element, as illustrated in (69), and the order is mirrored in the right periphery:

(69)   [L1P [EmpP *nei* [L2P [F1P *da* [L3P [F2P *jeg* [CP *da orker jeg ikke å dra*]]]]]]]]

step 1

step 2

step 3

In (69), *jeg* ('I') is merged on top of the highest head within the clause proper, and the CP moves around it. On top of this landing position, labelled L(anding)P, *da* ('then') is merged. The F2P with the element *jeg* ('I') in clause-final position scrambles around *da* ('then') and targets a new LP, and *da* is now in clause-final position. This process is repeated once more, so that the element *nei* ('no') located in what I have called EmpP (for Emphatic), appears clause-finally.

Elements that outscope the element in Pol2P are, for instance, the speaker-oriented adverbial *uppriktigt sagt* ('to be honest') in Swedish and the particle *sjø* (short for *skjønner du* ('you see')) in the Trøndelag dialect. This is illustrated below in a Swedish example by Teleman et al. (1999: 458) in (70a) and for Trøndelag in (70b)

(70) a. Han   har   det   inte   så lätt,   **inte, *uppriktigt   sagt***   (Swedish)
        he   has   it   not   so easy   not   honestly   speaking
        'To be honest, he's not having an easy time'
     b. Æ   veit   itj   æ   **nei   *sjø***!   (Trøndelag, No.)
        I   know   not   I   no   prt
        'I don't know, you see'

In the Cinquean hierarchy (Cinque 1999), the adverbial *to be honest* is the highest one, and thereby it outscopes negation. In (70b), which I have clear intuitions about, the clause-final element *nei* ('no') underscores the negative statement. The particle *sjø*, which is also speaker-oriented, emphasises and sort of explains the proposition.

Thus, in these examples the linear order of the peripheral elements mirrors the scopal order. This fact is pointed out by e.g. Heggelund (1981: 91, and references there; and Vangsnes 2008: 13; for an alternative view, see Nilsen 1997).

6.5 Discussion of clause-initial and clause-final negation

The geographical distribution of clause-initial and clause-final negation across North Germanic dialect grammars is shown in Table 56.

Table 56: Clause-initial and clause-final negation across North Germanic dialect grammars

dialect	(responsive) clause-initial neg	clause-final neg	co-appearance
Swedish	+	+	+
Finl.-Swedish	+	+	+
Icelandic, Faroese	+	−	
Norwegian	?	−	
Danish	−	−	
Övdalian *itjä*	+	+	+
Övdalian *int(e)*	+	+	
Trad. Oppdal *itj*	+	+	
Trad. Bornholm *ijkje*		+	
Trad. Bornholm *inte*	+	+	
Trad. Danish dialects		+	
Trad. Eastern No.		+	
Trad. Nynorsk	+	+	
ON	+		
Old/Middle Danish	+		

The '+' indicates that the pattern is accepted in the dialect/language, the '−' indicates that the pattern is not accepted in the dialect/language, the '?' indicate that the pattern has a position in between '+' and '−'. No mark indicates that I do not have any information about the pattern for that particular dialect.

Table 56 shows that a variety can display either clause-initial or clause-final negation, or both. In some of the varieties, in particular the Swedish ones, both types can co-occur simultaneously in a declarative clause, which is indicated in the table in the column 'co-appearance'. The test sentence in the NSD-database given in (35) above, indicates that these two phenomena can be interpreted as related. In fact, one speaker of the Swedish variety in Helsinki (Finland) reports that clause-final negation only occurs if the negative marker is in clause-initial position. Although they can co-occur, there need not be any causal relation between them in the I-language. It may be accidental, but it is imaginable that the co-occurrence has been favoured in E-language, such that they are perceived as causally related.

If one wants to hypothesise a structural relation between them, one can assume that if Pol1P is projected/overtly filled, the polarity feature of this projection percolates upwards in the structure and copies itself in an even higher projection.[133]

One impression from the small studies of clause-initial and clause-final negation presented in the preceding sections, is that these structures seem to be especially prevalent in (traditional) varieties that have a negative marker of the INTE-type. This holds for instance for the Swedish varieties, the traditional Bornholm dialect and the traditional Trøndelag dialects. I do not know if clause-initial and clause-final negation were possible in traditional Eastern Norwegian dialects that have negative markers of this type. The pairing of INTE and clause-initial and clause-final structures may be relevant, but this is in any case not a two-way implication. For instance, in Classical Övdalian the marker *itjä* of the IKKE-type appears in these positions.

6.6 Summary

In this chapter I have considered two doubling issues: Negative Concord and clause-final negation, including a detour to clause-initial negation. NC and clause-final negation are related in the sense that both show instances of two simultaneous expressions of negation in clauses, which, semantically speaking, have just one negation. Furthermore, clause-final negation is related to clause-initial negation by co-appearance, when considering modern varieties. The survey showed, however, that the two positions need not be filled at the same time, and a variety can display only one of the types.

As for NC, this chapter has provided examples that show that Negative Doubling is produced in writings and in speech in contemporary non-NC Mainland North Germanic. The search results from the web do not show any differences between Danish, Swedish and Norwegian in this respect, which may indicate that such instances of NC are not related to other properties associated with the negative markers. Regular NC is, however, limited to Övdalian and perhaps also the traditional Finland-Swedish dialect Nyland. Furthermore, NC does not seem to be connected to the other aspects of the distribution of negation considered in the other chapters.

A subtype of NC is Emphatic Negation (EN). EN is attested in North Germanic varieties in contact areas with Finnish/Qven and/or Saami and also in traditional Danish dialects. Moreover, clause-final negation can be treated as a special type of EN.

In the next chapter I investigate yet another type of clause-initial negation, namely neg-initial imperatives. Whereas clause-initial negation is mainly Swedish phenomenon today, neg-initial imperative is a Norwegian one.

---

[133] Assuming a head final PolP, in which the clause-final negation appears in the head, would give the following "simple" structure: [PolP *inte* [Pol' Core clause] Pol^0 *inte*], which would really model "embracing" negation.

7 Negative imperatives

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to shed more light on North Germanic negation from yet another point of view, namely negative imperatives. This chapter is also a continuation of the investigation of clause-initial negation. Across the world's languages, negative imperatives often deviate from the corresponding affirmative imperatives and negative declaratives in certain respects: Either the negative marker is a special "imperative" negation, or the verb does not have imperative morphology (e.g. Wurff 2007). Considering these criteria, there is nothing special about the negative imperatives found in the North Germanic standard languages, as they have a distinct imperative verbal form and the plain negative marker. Throughout this chapter I will use the term *imperative verb* to denote a verb that carry (distinct) imperative morphology.

In (1) we see the common North Germanic negative imperative in which the imperative verb precedes negation. I will refer to this structure as the *V-initial* negative imperative.

(1) Kast   **ikke** ballen!   (Da., Sw., Ice., Far., No.)
     throw.IMP not ball.DEF
     'Don't throw the ball!'

The perhaps most common negative imperative in Norwegian, however, has the word order in (2), in which the negative marker occurs in the initial position. I will call this the *neg-initial* imperative:

(2) **Ikke** kast   ballen!   (No.)
     not throw.IMP ball.DEF
     'Don't throw the ball!'

Observe that in both examples the negative marker is the regular one, and that the verb has (distinct) imperative morphology.

In modern Mainland North Germanic the imperative form equals the stem of the verb.[134] An illustration is given for Norwegian in Table 57.[135]

---

[134] In the written Norwegian written standard *Nynorsk*, members of the weak 1st declension class (the *kaste-*class, cf. Table 57) may have either the stem or the infinitive as the imperative form (Faarlund et al. 1997: 477). In Swedish (Teleman et al. 1999: 706f), the final vowel is retained in one of the weak declension classes (the *kasta-*class, cf. Table 57).

[135] In Faroese (Thráinsson 2004: 67) the imperative is also inflected for number, and in older varieties of the MSc. languages the imperative in addition inflected for person, see the next subsection. Icelandic patterns with the MSc. languages (Thráinsson 2007a: 9).

Table 57: Imperative morphology in Mainland North Germanic, exemplified with Norwegian

INF	IMP
Kaste ('*throw*')	Kast
Slå ('*hit*')	Slå
Sykle ('*cycle*')	Sykl(e)

Although the neg-initial imperative conveys the plain negation and an imperative verb, the word order poses some problems for standard analyses of negative imperatives.

According to several scholars (e.g. Zanuttini 1997; Platzack and Rosengren 1998; Jensen 2003; Zeijlstra 2006, 2007), the regular negative marker may only appear with a regular imperative verb if the verb precedes negation as in (1). It is also claimed that negation may only precede the verb if the verb is not in the imperative form. From this perspective the Trøndelag negative imperative illustrated in (3) fits well into the general picture.

(3) **Itj** å fårrå nålles![136] (Trøndelag, No.)
     not *inf.marker* *go.INF* *somehow*
     'Take it easy!'

In (3) the negative marker is followed by an infinitive clause containing the infinitival marker and the infinitival verb.

Both the negative imperatives in (2) and (3) are special, although in different ways. From a European perspective, the one in (2) is rare only because of its word order, as it does not involve any special elements. The one in (3) is special in the sense that it is an imperative that does not contain an imperative verb.

In this chapter my attention is on these two imperative structures. My main concern is the empirical data and to account for the neg-initial pattern. I will argue that the neg-initial imperatives in (2) and (3) are derived by fronting of negation.

The chapter is organised as follows: In 7.2, I give an overview of the Norwegian neg-initial imperative, I thereafter review a few accounts of imperatives in section 6.3. As we will see, none of the general analyses of imperatives can account for the Norwegian neg-initial pattern. I propose an analysis of it in section 6.4. We take a closer look at imperatives in the dialects in 6.5, and in section 6.6 negative imperatives in the Trøndelag dialects are discussed and analysed. Section 6.7 summarises the chapter.

7.2   The Norwegian neg-initial imperative

7.2.1   From verb-initial negative imperatives to neg-initial imperatives

The neg-initial imperative seems to be a (rather new) innovation in Norwegian. As far as I am aware, it is not described prior to Larsen and Stoltz' (1912) grammar of the Bergen dialect.

---

[136] Faarlund et al. (1997: 953) note that in some dialects the negation can be followed by the infinitive (without the infinitival marker).

In ON, the negative imperative was verb-initial according to example (4) from Faarlund (2004: 228):

(4)   dvel   þú   **eigi**   at snúask   til dróttins þin   (ON)
        delay.IMP.2SG you   not   to turn.REFL to lord.GEN your
        'Do not hesitate to turn to your lord'

Faarlund (2004: 228f) also briefly discusses a topic position in imperatives, which may occasionally be filled by an adverb, and he illustrates this with two examples with the adverb *þá* ('then'). I interpret this to mean that neg-initial imperatives were not common in ON.

Also in Middle Norwegian (MNo) the verb-initial negative imperative seems to be predominant, as well as in the (traditional) dialects described by Ivar Aasen around 1850 (1965 [1864]: 213f; 1996 [1848]: 151). The following examples are taken from Mørck (2004: 444) and (Aasen 1965 [1864]: 298), respectively.

(5)   a. Hog   **ikke**   mannen   (MNo)
            stab.IMP not   man.DEF
            'Don't stab the man'
        b. Kom   **ikkje** her   og   ljug   fyre   meg   (Landsmål, No.)
            come.IMP not   here   and   lie   for   me
            'Don't come here and lie to me'

The earliest report of the neg-initial imperative I have found, is in Larsen and Stoltz' (1912) grammar of the Bergen dialect. They comment on negative imperatives in this dialect in a broader and comparative perspective. According to them the "natural" negative imperative is the neg-initial one in every variation of Norwegian. Also Heggstad (1931: 201) notes that the neg-initial structure is a more domestic one, than the verb initial structure.

In the Bergen dialect the word order in the negative imperative varies according to what seems to be certain prosodic constraints. If the imperative verb is followed by a locative adverb like *der*, the negative marker is regularly placed after the imperative verb, as in(6a,b).

Western (1921: 230) mentions neg-initial imperatives, and he notes that it is particularly frequent in spoken language when a prohibition is repeated, as in (6c). The example in (6d) illustrates that the prohibition itself can be emphasised by placing the negative marker in initial position.

(6)   a. **Ikkje** sitt   å   klø   deg   (Traditional Bergen, No.)
            not   sit.IMP   and   scratch   you
            'Don't scratch yourself'
        b. Sitt   ikkje   der   å   le   (Traditional Bergen, No.)
            sit.IMP   not   there and   laugh
            'Don't sit and laugh'
        c. Snakk   **ikke** så høit... **ikke** snakk   så høit, sier jeg   (Trad. Standard No.)
            speak.IMP not   so loudly not   speak.IMP   so loudly says I
            'Don't speak so loudly, I say'

d. **Ikke** gjør det (Trad. Standard No.)
   not do.IMP it
   'Don't do it'

I suggest that the change in the grammar of imperatives in Norwegian, from having the common verb-initial pattern with the imperative verb in the initial position to having a neg-initial negative imperative, is a reflex of two factors, namely (i) the grammatical option of fronting of negation, combined with (ii) the loss of clause-initial negation.

Recall from chapter 6 that clause-initial negation in declaratives was possible in ON and later Norwegian varieties as described by grammarians in the beginning of the 1900s. The loss of clause-initial negation seems to coincide with the rise of the neg-initial imperative. Impressionistically, one can imagine that the loss of clause-initial negation in declaratives released a structure that could be reused differently, in this case as negative imperatives.

In this view of the neg-initial imperative, the clause-initial negation has different functions in the Mainland North Germanic languages as noted in chapter 5. In Danish, clause-initial negation is not possible at all. In Swedish, clause-initial negation is quite common in declaratives, but not in imperatives. In Norwegian, clause-initial negation is rare in declaratives, but common in imperatives.

From a functionalist perspective, or rather concidering economical processing, one may say that the order *neg > verb* in Norwegian unambiguously signals that the sentence is a negative imperative. In Swedish the same word order signals that it is a declarative. Given that neg-initial imperatives were possible in Swedish, a clause-initial negation would be ambiguous: It could be a negative declarative, negative y/n-question (with the form of a declarative) or a negative imperative. Hence, it would be less economical from a processing perspective.

In addition, Norwegian prosody may have played a role, for instance because it is easier to have emphatic stress (on the negative marker *ikke*) on the first syllable in the imperative (in a neg-initial imperative) than on the second syllable (in a verb-initial imperative) (cf. Western 1921 above).

A radically alternative view is that there are internal grammatical reasons for this change, e.g. grammaticalisation of the negative marker (into a head). In this process the negative marker is sometimes referred to in the literature as being "weakened" (e.g. van Gelderen 2008). This view also seems to imply that the amount of stress assigned to the weakened item, is reduced. If so, the fact that initial negation in imperatives may very well be stressed (cf. the discussion above), is an argument against the hypothesis that the negative marker occurs in the clause-initial position because it is a head.

7.2.2 Neg-initial and verb-initial negative imperatives and pragmatics

A good description of the meaning of an imperative is offered in the following quotation from Wurff (2007: 31): It is "an attempt [...] to bring about a state of affairs in which the proposition expressed by the imperative is true". This description covers all the illocutionary forces associated with imperatives, like directives, requests, wishes, recommendations, healing formulas and hocus-pocus formulations (Wurff 2007: 31).

The two types of imperative structures in Norwegian correlate to some degree to different illocutionary forces in spoken language, but there is no one-to-one relationship between structure and interpretation. For speakers that have intuitions about both types, the neg-initial imperative is

associated with the directive speech-act, and the verb-initial is more non-directive, signalling perhaps a wish or a request (depending on context). Consider the following example from Senja (elicited data from the NORMS fieldwork trip to Senja in 2006):

(7) a. **Ikkje** far   på havet! (directive)   (Senja, No.)
        not   go.IMP   on sea
     b. Far   **ikkje** på havet! (wish)   (Senja, No.)
        go.IMP   not   on sea
        'Don't go to sea!'

According to several of my informants the neg-initial imperative in (7a) was more likely to be interpreted as directive, whereas if one uttered the one in (7b), the speaker begs that the addressee should not go out on the sea. (But both structures could be used for both speech acts.)

The verb-initial negative imperative is also used rhetorically with the verb *say* in appropriate contexts. This is not a special property of negation, because the corresponding non-negative imperative can also be interpreted rhetorically (*ja, si det...* 'yes, who knows'). Consider the examples in (8).

(8) Child: I'll never get a car trailer!
     a. Mother: Si   **ikke** det!   (No.)
        say.IMP   not   that
        'Don't be so sure about that!'
     b. Mother: **Ikke** si   det!   (No.)
        not   say.IMP   that
        'Don't say that!'

The child in (8a) complains that he will never get the toy car he is dreaming about, but the mother knows better, and has actually bought the right car and is just waiting for the right time to give it to him. So she utters the imperative with a smile, signalling that his dreams will come true. One may thus say that (8a) is an idiom. If the negation-initial imperative is used, as in (8b), the imperative would receive an regular directive interpretation, literally meaning that the child should not utter such things.

This short discussion on imperatives and pragmatics shows that the neg-initial imperative may be interpreted as more directive than the verb-initial one. The verb-initial one may be used rhetorically and may in some cases be characterised as an idiom.[137]

7.3 Previous accounts of negative imperatives

In this section I will review four previous analyses of imperatives within Generative Grammar. They are discussed from a structural point of view, in order to see whether they can account for the word

---

[137] The verb-initial negative imperative is more common in text (Faarlund et al. 1997: 953)

order in the neg-initial imperative. I will not pay any attention to the semantic aspects of the analyses.

7.3.1 Introduction

Imperatives have been investigated thoroughly within Generative linguistics. Yet there is a lack of agreement on several issues (Wurff 2007). For instance, it is debated whether imperative is a mood (as opposed to indicative) or a clause type (as opposed to declarative) (Wurff 2007). Furthermore, it is often proposed that imperatives have a truncated structure (Wurff 2007: 20f). Since imperatives in general do not express tense, it has been suggested by e.g. Platzack and Rosengren (1998) that imperatives lack TP and associated projections, while e.g. Jensen (2003), on the other hand, argues that imperatives have a TP, but no CP.[138] Wurff also reports that some scholars argue in favour of a full-fledged CP-TP structure.

As already mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, languages often apply one or both of the alternative strategies given in (9) when forming a negative imperative (Wurff 2007: 51ff), instead of simply merging the negative marker and the imperative verb:

(9) a. a "special" negative marker
     b. a "special" verb-form (often labelled suppletive, as opposed to the imperative form)

Considering (9) the neg-initial and the V-initial negative imperatives in North Germanic are not special, because the negative marker is the regular one, and the verb has imperative morphology. The Norwegian imperatives *ikke spring* or *spring ikke* ('don't run') both consist of the regular negative marker and the imperative form of the verb *springe* ('run'). The Trøndelag negative imperative (cf. (3) above) adheres to the strategy in (9b) by applying the infinitive form of the verb instead of the imperative form.

In the next sections, I will, from a purely syntactic point of view, review the following four accounts of negative imperatives that either empirically or theoretically pertain to North Germanic imperatives: (i) Zanuttini (1997) considers micro-variation in Italian dialects, and observes that neg-initial imperatives are not formed by verbs with imperative morphology (cf. 9b) in these varieties. (ii) Platzack and Rosengren (1998) mainly discuss Swedish and German. They propose that imperatives lack TP and associated projections, but they cannot account for the neg-initial imperative. (iii) Jensen (2003) compares imperatives in the Mainland North Germanic languages and English. She concludes that Norwegian patterns with English in having a special negator (cf. (9a) above), which can precede the verb, forming neg-initial imperatives. Furthermore, her analysis diverges from the other analyses in dismissing a CP-analysis, and instead assuming a TP-analysis. (iv) Zeijlstra (2006) discusses imperatives from a cross-linguistic perspective, his main concern being theoretical issues. According to his analyses the Norwegian neg-initial imperative cannot exist, unless one hypothesises that the negative marker is special.

---

[138] Some languages also express tense on the imperative (Wurff 2007: 21).

7.3.2 **Zanuttini (1997)**

Zanuttini (1997) assumes a truncated CP structure in her analysis of imperatives. The head of CP bears an imperative feature that must be checked by an appropriate element. This can in most cases be done by a verb with a "true" imperative form (i.e. imperative morphology), but also other categories like negation might do this. This is illustrated in (10).

(10) [CP [C$_{IMP}$ *verb$_{IMP}$*]…[MoodP [(*negative marker*) [VP ~~*verb$_{IMP}$*~~]]]]

In negative imperatives, an imperative verb can only co-occur with a low, phrasal negative marker, as shown in (10), where the negative marker is merged in a position between MoodP and VP.

Neg-initial imperatives exist in Italian dialects, but as we see in (11) below, the verb does not have imperative morphology in these cases (Zanuttini 1997: 146).

(11)   Non   parlare!   (Italian)
       neg   to-talk
       'Don't talk!' (2nd sg)

In (11) the negative marker *non* precedes the infinitive *parlare*. In neg-initial structures, the negative marker occurs in a high NegP position above MoodP, cf. (12) below, and not in the low one in (10). This NegP requires the features of its complement, MoodP, to be checked. The imperative verb cannot do this, because its inflectional morphology is too poor. Instead another verbal form has to check MoodP. The negative head, being the closest head to C°, is then attracted to C° and checks the imperative feature. The sentence in (11) can thus be analysed as follows:

(12) [CP [C$_{IMP}$ *non*]…[NegP [Neg ~~non~~] [MoodP *parlare* [VP ~~*parlare*~~]]]]]

The verb checks the features of MoodP, and the negative head *non* checks the imperative features of CP.

7.3.3 **Platzack and Rosengren (1998)**

Platzack and Rosengren (1998) argue that imperative clauses have the structure in (13), and hence lack finiteness-related projections like FinP and TP:

(13)   ForceP > AgrSP > XP > VP   (Platzack and Rosengren 1998: 193)

The XP in the structure denotes, according to Platzack and Rosengren (1998), irrelevant projections present in this field of the structure. In the head of ForceP in North Germanic, there is a strong imperative (clause type) feature that attracts the imperative verb, and the imperative turns out as verb-initial.

This also happens in negative imperatives. Platzack and Rosengren (1998: 211ff) assume the following structure for negative imperatives, where negation is adjoined to VP:

(14)   [ForceP [AgrSP [XP [VP *neg* [VP…]]]]]

This structure automatically generates the V-initial imperatives: The verb is attracted to the head of Force, and it thus precedes the negative marker, which is adjoined to VP. This is illustrated in (15) for the imperative *spring inte* ('don't run'), where the imperative verb *spring* ('run') moves to the head of ForceP, and the negative marker is adjoined to the VP.

(15)   [ForceP$_{\text{IMP}}$ *spring*$_{\text{IMP}}$ [AgrSP ~~spring$_{\text{IMP}}$~~ [XP ~~spring$_{\text{IMP}}$~~ [VP *inte* [VP ~~spring$_{\text{IMP}}$~~]]]]]

The structure in (14) and exemplified in (15) readily accounts for V-initial negative imperatives, but it cannot account for the neg-initial imperative. This structure is neither discussed nor analysed, but simply mentioned in a footnote (Platzack and Rosengren 1998: 128, fn. 45,).

According to Platzack and Rosengren (1998: 213), a neg-initial imperative can only be derived from non-imperative verb forms. Following Zanuttini, they assume a high, tense-dependent negation that participates in these structures. Being tense-dependent, this projection is absent in the imperative structure in (14) above, but it can occur with a non-imperative verb. Consider the relevant parts of their proposed full-fledged structure given in (16).

(16)   [ForceP [FinP [AgrSP [NegP [TP [XP [VP *neg* [VP…]]]]]]]]

In (16), the presence of the finiteness-related projections FinP, NegP and TP, forces a verb with finiteness features to occur in the structure.

The position of the imperative subject (ImpNP) is vacant in their analysis. In the finite structure in (16), FinP has a (strong) EPP-feature that triggers the subject to move to this position. In the imperative structure in (14) above where there is no FinP, there is accordingly no EPP-feature that forces the subject to occur in one fixed position. Hence, the subject may appear "anywhere" in this structure. Consider the following Swedish example illustrating this (Platzack and Rosengren 1998: 207):

(17)   Spring   (*du*)   bara   (?*du*) hem   (*du*)   med   det   samma   (*du*)!   (Sw.)
       run.IMP   (you)   just   (you) home (you)   with   the   same   (you)
       'Just you run home at once!'

The different positions of the subject *du* ('you') in (14) are accounted for if one assumes that it either occurs in AgrSP, VP, or alternatively AspP (Platzack and Rosengren 1998: 202).

7.3.4   **Jensen (2003)**

Britta Jensen proposes a TP-analysis of imperatives. She assumes the following imperative structure (Jensen 2003: 201), which is a bit simplified here for the ease of comprehension:

(18)   [T$_{\text{IMP}}$P [FP [vP [VP]]]]

Jensen assumes that there is an EPP-feature on T$_{\text{IMP}}$P in MSc, which forces the verb to move. In her analysis, adverbs and negation are adjoined to vP, and it thus follows straightforwardly that the

imperative verb precedes negation and adverbs. This is illustrated in (19) with the imperatives *spring ikke/aldri* ('Don't run'/'Never run').

(19)   [T$_{IMP}$P *spring$_{IMP}$* [FP [vP *ikke/aldri* [vP ~~spring$_{IMP}$~~ [VP ~~spring$_{IMP}$~~]]]]]

There are Norwegian varieties that allow imperatives in which the imperative verb follows an adverb like *aldri* ('never'). In accordance with analyses of main clause V3 order, as in *wh*-questions, which is analysed as optional verb movement (e.g. Westergaard and Vangsnes 2005), Jensen (2003: 105) assumes optional verb movement across adverbs in imperatives in Norwegian:

(20)   [T$_{IMP}$P [FP [vP *aldri* [vP spring$_{IMP}$ [VP ~~spring$_{IMP}$~~]]]]]

In (20) the verb does not move and remains within the vP, and the structure is spelled out with the negative adverb *aldri* ('never') before the imperative verb.

For the Norwegian neg-initial imperative, Jensen applies a different analysis. She assumes two homophonous, lexical entries of the negative marker *ikke*, of which one is marked as special (Jensen 2003: 256). This special negative marker is directly merged in the head of a polarity projection PolP, which selects T$_{IMP}$P:

(21)   [PolP [Pol° *ikke*] [T$_{IMP}$P *spring$_{IMP}$* [FP [vP ~~spring$_{IMP}$~~ [VP ~~spring$_{IMP}$~~]]]]]

This structure immediately gives the word order *neg > V$_{IMP}$*: The verb moves to T, and the negative marker is merged on top of TP.

As for the imperative subject, Jensen (2003: 201ff) has a detailed analysis of it, which in particular pays attention to its semantics. For my purposes it suffices to say that the overt imperative subject appears in the projection Spec,FP, between T$_{IMP}$P and vP. Depending on whether or not the imperative verb moves to T$_{IMP}$P, the subject is either pronounced before or after the imperative verb.

7.3.5   **Zeijlstra (2006)**

Zeijlstra (2006) discusses negative imperatives from a cross-linguistic perspective. Like Zanuttini (1997) and Platzack and Rosengren (1998), he assumes that imperatives are headed by C° and that the imperative verb must take a sentence within its scope from this position. A crucial point in his analysis is that the imperative operator cannot be outscoped by other scope-bearing elements.

In a language like Dutch, where the negative marker is analysed as adjoined to VP, the V-initial negative marker comes out easily, as (22) shows (Zeijlstra 2006: 14):

(22)   [CP *slap*$_{[Imp]i}$ [VP *niet* t$_i$]]   (Dutch)
          sleep   not
          'Don't sleep'

In (22) the negative marker *niet* is adjoined to VP, and hence does not block verb movement (cf. Pollock 1989). The imperative verb, which in his account also carries the imperative operator, must

move to the head of C in order for the imperative operator to scope over the entire sentence. This analysis also accounts for the V-initial negative imperative in North Germanic. The Norwegian neg-initial imperative is not a possible structure according to his analyses, because the negation, carrying the negative operator, in such a structure would take scope over the imperative operator, which according to Zeijlstra is an illicit configuration (cf. the discussion on this in the preceding chapter).

Neg-initial imperatives do however exist, but according to Zeijlstra (2006) they only occur if the negative marker is a head. If so, the verb can either have imperative or non-imperative morphology (Zeijlstra 2006: 10). This is illustrated in (23) (examples from Zeijlstra 2006: 11f).

(23) a. nie   pracuj   (Polish)
          neg   work~imperative~
          'Don't work'
      b. no   leas   (Spanish)
          neg   read~subjunctive~
          'Don't read'

In (23a) the verb has an imperative form, but not in (23b). Following Zeijlstra (2006) the contrast between (23a,b) arises as a consequence of the feature make-up of the negative heads.

If the head carries an uninterpretable negative feature [*u*neg], the negative marker can precede the imperative verb as in (23a) because the negative operator occupies Spec,NegP, and is thus outscoped by the imperative operator in the head of CP. A simplified analysis of this is shown in (24).

(24) [CP [C° [*nie*~[uneg]~+*pracuj*~[IMP]~]ᵢ] [NegP [Neg° Op¬ tᵢ] [VP t]]]

If, on the other hand, the negative head carries an interpretable negative feature [*i*neg], the negative operator sits on the negative marker. When the verb adjoins to the negative marker, the negative operator outscopes the verb and whatever features it carries:

(25) *[CP [C° [*no*~[ineg]~+*lee*~[IMP]~]ᵢ] [NegP tᵢ [VP t]]]

If the verb carries the imperative operator, the derivation crashes because the negative operator cannot take scope over the imperative operator (Zeijlstra 2006: 11). In order to avoid this, the verb cannot carry the imperative operator, and thus cannot have imperative morphology. In the case of Spanish (cf. (23b) above), the subjunctive is used instead:

(26) [CP [C° [*no*~[ineg]~+*leas*~[subj]~]ᵢ] [NegP tᵢ [VP t]]]

The imperative reading of (26) comes through pragmatic inference.

7.3.6 Discussion

The analyses reviewed above are similar in some respects. With regard to the V-initial negative imperative, the imperative verb must target the highest head in all of the approaches, and the negative marker is an XP. This unerringly yields the North Germanic V-initial negative imperative.

The neg-initial imperative with an imperative verb *neg – V$_{IMP}$*, can only be accounted for by Zeijlstra (2006) and Jensen (2003). Their analyses differ considerably, but both analyse the negative marker as a head in these cases.

The analyses of Zanuttini (1997) and Platzack and Rosengren (1998) predict that the structure *neg – V$_{IMP}$* cannot exist. In their accounts, negation can only precede the verb if the verb does not have the imperative form, i.e. the structure *neg – V$_{non-IMP}$* is predicted, as found in the Trøndelag negative *å*-imperative (cf. (3) above).

The disadvantage of Zanuttini's (1997) and Platzack and Rosengren's (1998) analyses is obviously that they cannot account for the *neg – V$_{IMP}$* order. Zeijlstra's (2006) analysis is, in my opinion, not particularly good either: His categorisation of negative heads as carrying either an interpretable or an uninterpretable negative feature appears as theory-internal and circular. Jensen's (2003) stipulation of two homophonous negative markers in the Norwegian lexicon is, in my opinion, not particularly convincing either, although her structural account of the neg-initial imperative is tenable. Thus, none of the reviewed approaches straightforwardly accounts for the Norwegian neg-initial imperative.

In the next section I will propose an analysis that goes with the view on North Germanic negation taken in this thesis.

7.4 Analysis

I assume a CP-analysis of imperatives that resembles the structure in Platzack and Rosengren (1998):

(27) [CP [AgrSP [NegP … [vP]]]]

Observe that this structure from a solely structural point of view is identical to the one proposed in Jensen (2003), with a relabelling of TP to CP and FP to AgrSP. I do not at all consider semantic issues regarding the imperative, which I think Jensen treats excellently.

The choice of the CP-analysis is partly pragmatically motivated, as the structure in (27) comes close to the clausal structure I have used in the preceding chapters, and thus makes it easier to compare this issue with the other topics of the thesis. In particular, the position for NegP, makes (27) comparable to the analyses in the preceding chapters.

I will not try to argue in favour or against CP and/or TP-analyses, which is done by Platzack and Rosengren (1998) and Jensen (2003), respectively.

One empirical argument in favour of a CP-analysis of imperatives is, however, right-peripheral elements, which can occur in imperatives (the examples are taken from Teleman et al. 1999: 451, 447, respectively):

(28) a. Försök inte med mig *inte*! (Sw.)
     try   not   with me   not
     'Don't try with me!'
   b. Ta   gärna med honom på festen, *den där killen du pratade om* (Sw.)
     take mod. with him   on party.DEF that there boy.DEF you talked about
     'Feel free to bring the boy you talked about to the party'

In (28a) there is a clause-final negation (cf. chapter 6) in the imperative, and in (28b) a DP that contains a clausal complement occurs in the right periphery. Recall from chapter 6 that there is some consensus in treating right peripheral elements as occurring in the CP-domain (see e.g. Vangsnes 2008; Munaro and Poletto 2004). It is thus reasonable that the imperative clause itself is a CP.

7.4.1 The position of subjects, adverbs and verbs in the neg-initial imperative

In order to propose an analysis, we need to determine the position of subjects, verbs and adverbs. As for the position of the subject, I will show that there is more variation than has previously been assumed. In this connection I make use of a few examples that the reader might find unnatural or ill-formed. Some of the examples in this section come from the Internet, and some of the examples are constructed by the author and judged by a few Norwegian speakers.

Most imperatives lack an overt subject, and Jensen (2003: 156) reports that many Norwegian speakers disprefer imperatives with overt subject. This is also my impression of Norwegian. If the subject is present, Platzack and Rosengren (1998) show that the positions of the subject vary considerably (cf. example (17) above), compared to e.g. declaratives (cf.Wurff 2007).

Crucially, the subject cannot precede the negative marker, and not occur in clause-initial position (if it does, we get the vocative), as illustrated in (29).[139]

(29) a. *_Du_ **ikke** vær   så negativ   (No.)
          you   not   be.IMP   so negative
          'Don't you be so negative'
      b. *_Du_ vær   så negativ   (No.)
          you   be.IMP   so negative
          'Be you so negative!'

As for neg-initial imperatives, Platzack and Rosengren (1998) note that this structure is not compatible with an overt subject (cf. Eide 2002), as we see in (30) (example from Jensen 2003: 155).

(30) ***Ikke** send   _du_   brevet   i dag.   (No.)
       not send.IMP you   letter.DEF today
       'Don't you send the letter today'

According to Jensen (2003: 155f) this restriction is not limited to neg-initial imperatives, but it also holds for adverb-initial imperatives, like the following ones (Jensen 2003: 156):

---

[139] An initial subject was possible in older varieties of North Germanic (Falk and Torp 1900; Platzack 2007). Platzack attributes this to the semi-OV word order in these old varieties.

(31) a. ?**Vennligst**   spill   *du*   annenstemmen.[140]   (No.)
         Please   *play* *you* *second.voice.*DEF
         'You please play the second voice'
      b. ??**Helst**   send *du*   brevet   i dag.   (No.)
          Preferably   *send* *you* *letter.*DEF *today*
          'You preferably send the letter today'

Jensen (2003: 155f) writes that "such examples are improved when stress is added to the subject", and she therefore suggests that a prosodic constraint prevents an overt subject in these cases. If the subject is stressed, the acceptability is improved:

(32) **Vennligst**   spill   *DU*   annenstemmen.   (No.)
      Please   *play* *you* *second.voice.*DEF
       'You please play the second voice'

This post-verbal position also seems to be marginally available for subjects in neg-initial imperatives, and one can, for instance, find examples of it on the Internet. Consider the following web example:

(33) **ikke** vær   *du*   redd for dette[141]   (No.)
      not   *be.*IMP   *you*   *afraid for this*
      'Don't you be afraid of this'

In (33) a neg-initial imperative has an overt subject in the position after the verb, and it is as such a counter-example to the claims made in Platzack and Rosengren (1998) and Eide (2002). Whether or not the subject needs stress in this position, does not stop it from being a counter-example.

   Contrary to the claims put forth above (Jensen 2003), a subject may also precede the verb in a neg-initial imperative, as illustrated in (34). This is to my knowledge a new observation. Several speakers I have consulted, preferred the position (in 34) to the one in (33), if a subject must be present. Consider the example (34) taken from the Internet:

---

[140] Also in Swedish, phrases with the same meaning as *vennligst* can precede the imperative verb:
(i) Var snäll (och)   räck   mig   glasögonen! (Teleman et al. 1999: 707)
     *be kind   and   reach me   glasses.*DEF
     'Could you please hand me my glasses?'
[141] http://8978.vgb.no/2010/06/02/hvordan-stoppe-terror-staten-israels-forbrytelser/

(34) Samma som pappa har, veldi god å kjør tross alt.. hehe.. **Ikke** *du* vær
      same as dad has very good to drive after all.. hehe.. not you be.IMP
      så negativ når det gjelder Saab da, er gode biler[142] (No.)
      so negative when it concerns Saab then is good cars
      'Same as dad has, very good to drive after all. Don't you be so negative when it comes to
      Saab, they are good cars'

In the neg-initial imperative in (34), the subject *du* ('you') follows the negative marker, but precedes
the imperative verb *vær* ('be'). It may be that the subject needs stress in this position too. This is at
least necessary for me in order for (34) to be acceptable.

    This subject position is also available for imperatives introduced by for example *vennligst*
('please'). (35) is also found on the Internet:

(35) Ønsker du support på Targa produkter kjøpt etter 1. januar 2005 **vennligst**
      wish you support on Targa products bought after 1. January 2005 please
      du benytt denne linken: www.service.targa.co.uk.[143] (No.)
      you use this link.DEF
      'Should you wish support on Targa products bough after January 1st 2005, please use this
      link'

It thus seems like overt subjects are possible, although perhaps marginal, in neg-initial imperatives,
and it seems like they can occur on either side of the verb. This is in accordance with the observation
in Platzack and Rosengren (1998) that the position of the imperative subject is "free".

    Oher adverbs than *vennligst* ('please') may also precede the imperative verb in Norwegian (cf.
(30a) below), although these are not as acceptable as the neg-initial imperative in all varieties.
Consider the following imperatives from the Senja dialect:

(36) a. **Aldri** *far* på havet! (Senja, No.)
          never go.IMP to sea.DEF
      b. *Far* **aldri** på havet! (Senja, No.)
          go.IMP never to sea.DEF
          'Don't go to sea'

In (36a) the negative adverb *aldri* precedes the imperative verb *far* ('go'). As we will see in section
7.5.4 below, seven out of twenty-six informants from Senja accepted this sentence, whereas
eighteen informants rejected it. All informants accepted the structure in (36b). A similar result was
obtained in a survey in Trøndelag, as we will see in section 7.6.2. The structure in (36b) was judged
to be better than the one in (36a).

---

[142] http://www.home2.monet.no/~gatebil/

[143] www.targa.no

Recall that Jensen (2003) proposes that adv-initial imperatives are a result of no verb movement, as in (31), in which the imperative verb follows the position of the subject.

(37)   [$_{TIMPP}$ [$_{advP}$ **aldri** [$_{FP}$ (*subject*) [$_{vP}$ V$_{IMP}$]]]]

The structure in (37) gives the word order *adv > (subject) > V*$_{IMP}$. According to a few native speakers of Norwegian that I have consulted for judgements on the relative order of the constituents in an imperative with an overt subject, the word order in (37) is preferred. Consider the example in (38a) showing this. In (38b,c) two web examples of imperatives introduced by the negative adverb and with overt subjects are shown:

(38)   a.   **Aldri** (*du*) gå (?/??*du*) dit!
             never you go.IMP you there
             'Don't you ever go there!'
       b.   **Aldri** *du*   leggje   andre   til last   det   som   mang ein   mann   hender
                                                                                          (Håvamål)[144]

             never   you   put.INF   others   to burden   that   rel.   many a   man   happens
             'Don't you throw the burden (of what happens to many a man) onto someone else'
       c.   **Aldri** *du*   gløyme   det   store   Hât   (Svarte-Katekisma, Arne Garborg)[145]
             never   you   forget.INF   the   big   hatred
             'Don't you ever forget the big hatred'

In (38a) the subject may (marginally) precede the verb *gå* ('walk'), but it cannot follow it. In (38b,c) *aldri* ('never') precedes the subjects in imperatives with the verb in the infinitive (the imperative and the infinitival form of the verb *gå* ('walk') in (38a) are identical). When the verb has the infinitival form, negation may precede it in all the North Germanic languages (Jensen 2003: 162), but it is first and foremost used as a part of motherese.[146] The example in (38a) supports Jensen's (2003) analysis of adv-initial imperatives in (36). If the verb had moved, we would expect there to be a subject position to the right of the verb, which there is not in this particular example.

---

[144] www.heimskringla.no/wiki/Håvamål

[145] http://dikt.org/svarte-Katekisma

[146] "Such commands are typically used for giving commands to those socially lower than one self, as in motherese – language used with children" (Jensen 2003: 162). They are found in all the MSc languages (her examples):

(i)   a.   Inte   skrynkla   ihop   den   så!   (Sw.)
           not   wrinkle   together   it   so
      b.   Ikke   lege   med   maden   (Dk.)
           not   play   with   food.DEF

To summarise, we have seen that an imperative subject may (marginally) occur on either side of the verb in a neg-initial imperative, whereas it seems like the subject can only occur to the left of the verb in an adverb-initial imperative, in which the imperative verb by hypothesis remains in situ.

7.4.2 Further restrictions on neg-initial imperatives

The negative marker can only introduce an imperative as long as its position does not conflict with other scope-bearing adverbs. If another adverb appears in the negative imperative, this adverb has to be within the scope of negation in order for the negative marker to appear initially:

(39) a. (?)**Ikke** spring   bestandig   så fort!   (No.)
         not   run.IMP   always   so fast
         'Don't you always run so fast!'
    b. *****Ikke** spring   **nå**   så fort!
       not run.IMP   mod.prt. so fast

In (39a), the adverb *bestandig* ('always') is within the scopal domain of negation. On the other hand, in (39b) the negator is within the scope of the modal particle *nå*, and negation cannot move out of *nå*'s scopal domain. (39b) is, however, acceptable with *nå* interpreted as a temporal adverb. Hence, the observation that the sequence *nå > ikke* has to be maintained throughout the derivation lends further support to the assumption that negation moves to the initial position.

When negation is within the scope of *helst* ('rather') or *vennligst* ('please'), we have the following word order possibilities (*ikke* ('not') can still not escape the scopal domain of the higher adverb):

(40) a. (gå) **helst** (??gå)   **ikke** (gå)   så fort.   (No.)
        walk rather walk   not   walk so fast
        'Please, don't walk so fast!'
    b. (gå) **vennligst** (gå) **ikke** (gå) over veien   før   bussen har   kjørt.   (No.)
        walk please   walk not   walk over road.DEF before bus.DEF has   driven
        'Please don't cross the road until the bus has passed'

In (40a), the verb either moves or remains in situ. The verb can marginally precede *ikke* if *ikke* has stress, which may indicate that *ikke* ('not') is merely a constituent negation. (40b) shows again that the verb can follow the adverb *vennligst* and at the same time precede another adverb/negation. These examples also lend support to an analysis of *vennligst* ('please') as appearing extraordinarily high or moving to the initial position (compared to *helst* ('rather')), since the verb can split *vennligst* and *ikke*, but not *helst* and *ikke*.

The discussion in this and the preceding section has shown that an analysis of the neg-initial imperative should account for various subject positions and scope orderings between adverbs, in addition to the initial position of negation.

7.4.3 Structural analysis

I propose that the analyses in (41) and (42) hold for V-initial negative imperatives and neg-initial imperatives, respectively:

(41) CP   V-initial imperative   (42) PolP   Neg-initial imperative

```
(41)   CP          V-initial imperative
            C'
      V_IMP    AgrSP
           (subject) AgrS'
                <V_IMP>   NegP
                      ikke    vP
                        (subject) VP
                              <V_IMP>
```

```
(42)   PolP         Neg-initial imperative
     ikke     Pol'
          V_IMP    AgrSP
               (subject) AgrS'
                    V_IMP    NegP
                          i̶k̶k̶e̶   vP
                            (subject) VP
                                  V_IMP
```
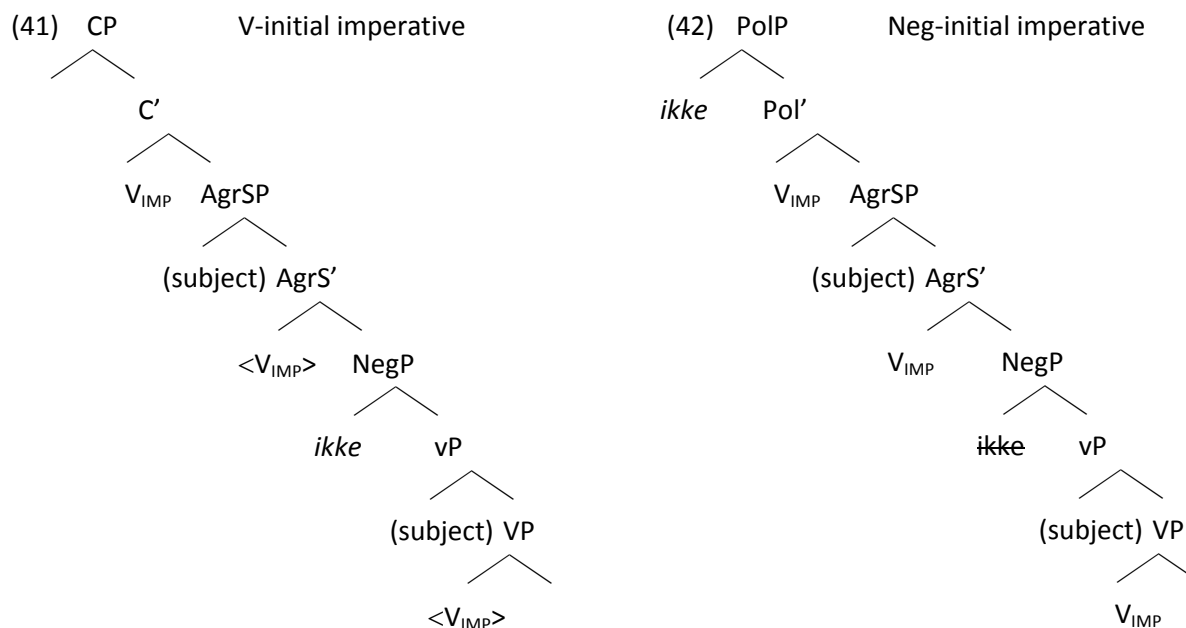
The analysis of V-initial negative imperatives in (41) is on a par with standard analyses of imperatives: The verb raises to the highest head (in order to valuate or license the imperative feature, cf. the elaboration on licensing and identification in chapter 4, taken from the works of Westergaard and Vangsnes 2005 and Vangsnes 1999).

As for the neg-initial imperative in (42), I assume that the negative marker is fronted to a PolP within the CP-domain (cf. Jensen 2003), and that the verb moves to the highest head. The PolP in (42) should be understood as a truncated structure: I have indicated that the verb targets the head of PolP. It is perhaps more likely that the negative marker and the imperative verb occur in different CP-related projections (cf. the analysis in Jensen 2003), so that the verb is attracted to for instance the head of ForceP that carries an [IMP]-feature, and PolP being projected above ForceP.

As for the valuation (a standard term for "checking" in Generative Linguistics, cf. Radford 2004) or licensing, of [IMP], I suggest that this might also be done by negation. Support for this assumption is the observation that neg-initial imperatives are perceived as more directive than V-initial ones. If the negative marker licenses [IMP], the verb would not need to raise high and thus it would occur below the subject position in AgrSP. This would in turn account for the preference for the word order *neg > subj > verb*$_{IMP}$ over *neg > verb*$_{IMP}$ *> subj*. According to (42) the verb would in such a case either occupy the head of AgrSP or remain inside vP. If negation is merged in the head of NegP, the most preferable analysis would be that the verb remains inside vP, because verb movement to the head of AgrSP would infer with the negative head (on the assumption that the verb moves through the head of NegP on its way upward in the structure). This would not be a problem if negation is merged in Spec,NegP.

Instead of an analysis like the one in (42), one alternative could be the optional verb movement account in Jensen (2003): In this analysis, negation would stay in NegP, and the verb would remain inside vP and thus be spelled out after negation. This would yield a unified account of neg-initial

imperatives and adverb-initial imperatives. One potential argument against treating adverbs and negation alike, is the observation made in Jensen (2003: 97): Not all Norwegian speakers accept adverb-initial imperatives, although they accept neg-initial ones. It should also be emphasised that Jensen rejects this analysis of neg-initial imperatives.

I therefore follow the common analysis of negative imperatives as being "special", and on basis of the following arguments, I stick to the proposed structure in (42), which is inspired by the analysis of neg-initial imperatives in Jensen (2003). The label PolP is justified on the following grounds: First, there are historical indications that the neg-initial imperative arose as a way of expressing emphasis on the negation (cf. section 7.2.1), and it is still possible to have heavy emphasis on the negator in this position. Related to this is the fact that only the full form of negation can appear in the initial position in Norwegian dialects, as for instance in the Setesdal dialect (cf. section 7.5.5).

Second, the neg-initial imperative is for several speakers more "directive" than the verb-initial negative imperative (cf. section 7.2.2), which may be analysed as a pragmatic consequence of the position of the negation, given that the most important item appears first, or that the negation licenses the imperative clause type feature in these cases.

Whereas Jensen (2003) assumes that negation is merged directly in (the head of) PolP, I propose that it is displaced there. In my opinion there are at least two arguments in favour of this analysis.

The first argument concerns scope. Recall that Zeijlstra (2006) worries that a clause-initial negation in imperatives would outscope the imperative operator. This does not happen with the neg-initial imperative: It is still an imperative (cf. Jensen 2003: 141f, fn. 21). This fact can be taken as evidence for displacement of the negative marker. The scope relations support an analysis where the scopal domain of negation is restructured to negation's first merge position (i.e. NegP) (cf. Sportiche (2006), who takes restructuring of scope as evidence for displacement).

The second argument concerns idioms. Recall from section 7.2.2 above that only the verb-initial imperatives and not the neg-initial ones may be idioms. According to Svenonius (2005) idioms are restricted by relative height in the clausal structure, and they are furthermore stored in the lexicon. The fact that a verb-initial imperative like (8a) above (*si ikke det*) may be an idiom, indicates that the structure realised by (8a) is a lower part of the clausal structure than what a neg-initial imperative realises, and that such a structure like the verb-initial negative imperative in (8a) does not contain (too many) copies. The observation that a neg-initial imperative to my knowledge cannot be an idiom, and hence is not stored in the lexicon, supports the assumption that negation is displaced.

One third argument for the analysis in (42) is that neg-initial imperatives are analysed on a par with neg-initial declaratives (cf. chapter 6). This is a welcome result from a microcomparative perspective: The neg-fronting operations are identical across the Norwegian and Swedish varieties, but they appear in complementary clause types and thus have different functions.

In the structure (42) it is not specified whether it is a negative phrase or a negative head that targets PolP. There are good arguments in favour of both options, and it might be that both options should be available. One argument in favour of analysing negation as a head in the neg-initial imperative, is the fact that this seems to be the standard analysis for neg-initial imperatives (cf. the review of previous research in section 7.3 above). One argument in favour of an XP analysis of negation, is that fronting usually applies to XPs. Data from the Norwegian dialects, e.g. the Setesdal dialect (section 7.5.5), showing that full form negation, but not the short one, may occur initially, support an XP analysis of negation, as well. This issue will be further discussed in chapter 9.

Regarding imperatives involving adverbs, I follow Jensen's (2003) analysis of adv-initial imperatives (cf. (36)-(38) above), in which the verb remains low (and below the position of the adverb) in such cases. If the verb remains low, the only position for the subject is above the verb (cf. the structure in (37) above). As for the adverb *vennligst* ('please'), I assume, contrary to the analysis of other types of adverbs, that this adverb is optionally fronted to the CP-domain, which induces the word order *vennligst > V*$_{IMP}$.

When the imperative subject precedes the verb in a neg-initial imperative, as in (28) above, I assume that the verb targets a position below the subject position in Spec,AgrSP, in accordance with Jensen's (2003) analysis of adverb-initial imperatives.

7.4.4   'Elliptic' imperatives

Further support for the fronting analysis of the negative marker and the adverb *vennligst* ('please'), instead of the optional verb movement analysis (cf. the analysis of a pre-verbal *aldri* 'never' in (37) above), comes from the following observations. The negative marker *ikke* and marginally also *vennligst* ('please') can function as imperatives in isolation (i.e. as elliptic structures) (cf. (43a,b) below), but this is impossible for adverbs like *aldri* ('never')*, helst* ('rather')*, bestandig* ('always') and *bare* ('just'). I ascribe this difference to the fronting possibilities of *ikke* and *vennligst*, and to the lack of fronting of the other adverbs (cf. the optional verb movement analysis of adv-initial imperatives). This is illustrated below.

(43) a. **Ikke**! (e.g. *Ikke ta!* 'Don't grab!')   (No.)

    b. **Vennligst**! (e.g. *Vennligst slutt!* 'Please stop!')   (No.)

    c. *****Aldri**! (e.g. *Aldri slå!* 'Never hit!')   (No.)

    d. *****Helst**! (e.g. *Helst slutt!* 'Please stop!')   (No.)

    e. *****Bestandig**! (e.g. *Bestandig vær snill!* 'Always be nice')   (No.)

    f. *****Bare**! (e.g. *Bare ta!* 'Just take!')   (No.)

On the other hand, the adverbs *aldri* ('never')*, bestandig* ('always') and *helst* ('rather') can function as answers/responses, whereas *ikke* ('not') and *vennligst* ('please') cannot. This may be related to fronting facts in declaratives. In Norwegian, *ikke* and *vennligst* may not, as already mentioned, be fronted in declaratives, while *aldri, bestandig* and *helst* may. Consider the examples in (44) below. On the assumption that fronted constituents may form ellipses, we expect that Swedish *inte* ('not') may be an adequate answer in (C) below, since *inte* may be fronted in declaratives in Swedish varieties (cf. chapter 6).[147]

(44) a. A: Har du noen gang røyka en sigarett?

            'Have you ever smoked a cigarette?'

        B: Nei, **aldri** ~~har jeg røyka noen gang~~   (No.)

            no   never

---

[147] Example (38E) may be illustrated for Swedish with the following example from Teleman et al. (1999: 812):
A: *Blir hon färdig till jul?* B: *Inte*. (Will she finish before Christmas? Not)

b. A: Røyker du?

     'Do you smoke?'

    B: Ja, bestandig ~~så røyker jeg~~   (No.)

      yes always

    C: *Nei, **ikke**

      no   not

c. A: Vil du heller gå på kino?

     'Would you rather go to the cinema?'

    D: Ja, **helst** ~~vil jeg det~~   (No.)

      yes preferably

    E: ?/* Ja, **vennligst**

       yes please

7.5   Imperatives in some North Germanic varieties

7.5.1   Results from the Nordic Syntax Database

In the Nordic Syntax Database (NSD) a neg-initial and a V-initial negative imperative are tested in Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Faroe Islands:

(45) a. **Ikke** gå   så fort   (No.)

        not   *walk so fast*

     b. Gå   **ikke** så fort   (No.)

        walk not   so fast

        'Don't walk so fast!'

The results are given in Maps 27-28. In Map 27 the distribution of the neg-initial imperative is shown, and in Map 28 the distribution of verb-initial imperatives is given.

Map 27: Neg-initial imperative (45a) *Ikke gå så fort* **(NSD)**
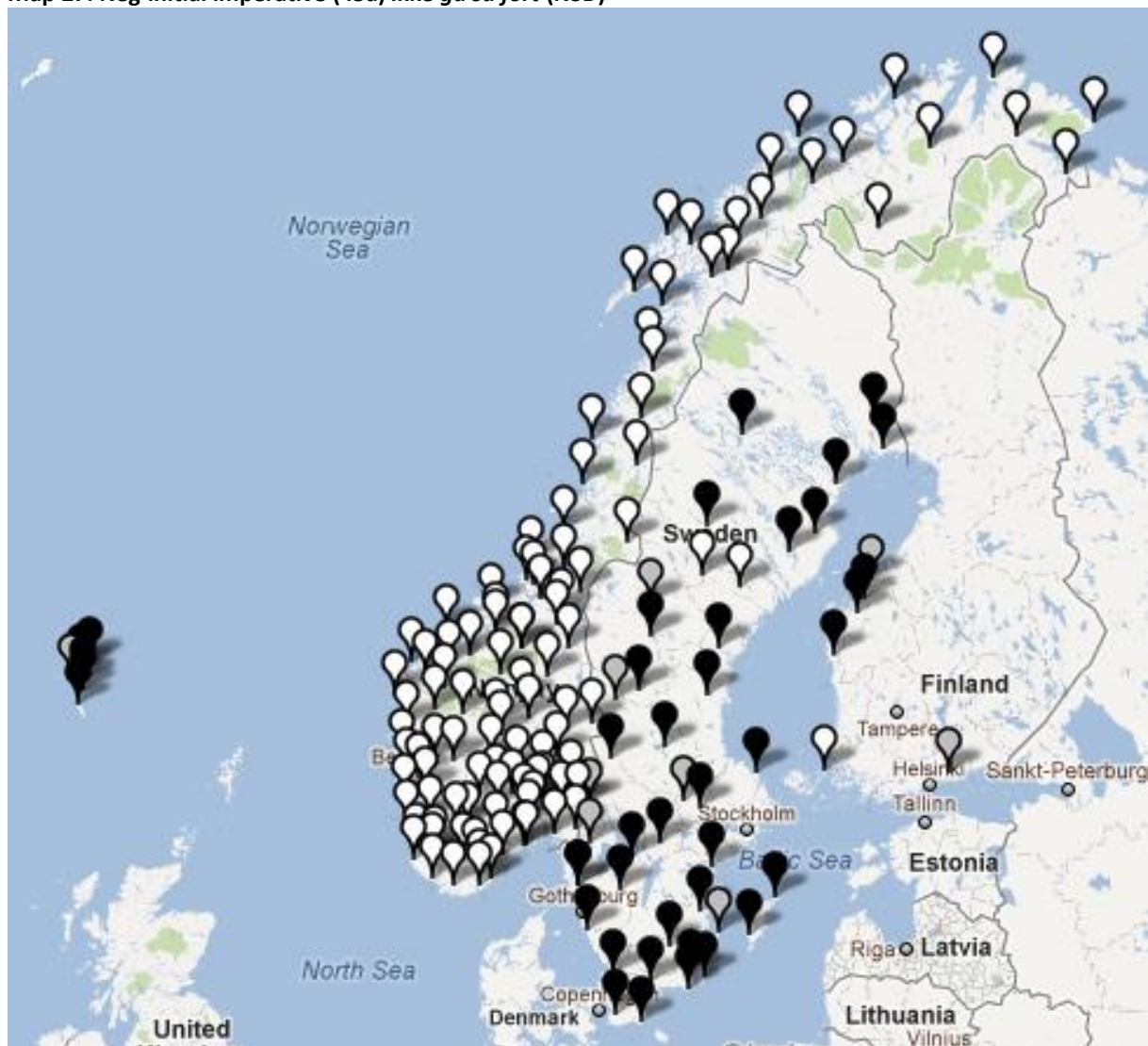
White: high score (4-5); grey: medium score (3); black: low score (1-2)

Map 27 shows that the neg-initial imperative is accepted in all parts of Norway, and in three places in Sweden. It receives a medium score in one location in the Faroe Island (Miðvágur) and a few places in Sweden and Finland. The map clearly shows that the neg-initial imperative is restricted to Norwegian.

Map 28: V-initial negative imperative (45b) *Gå ikke så fort* **(NSD)**
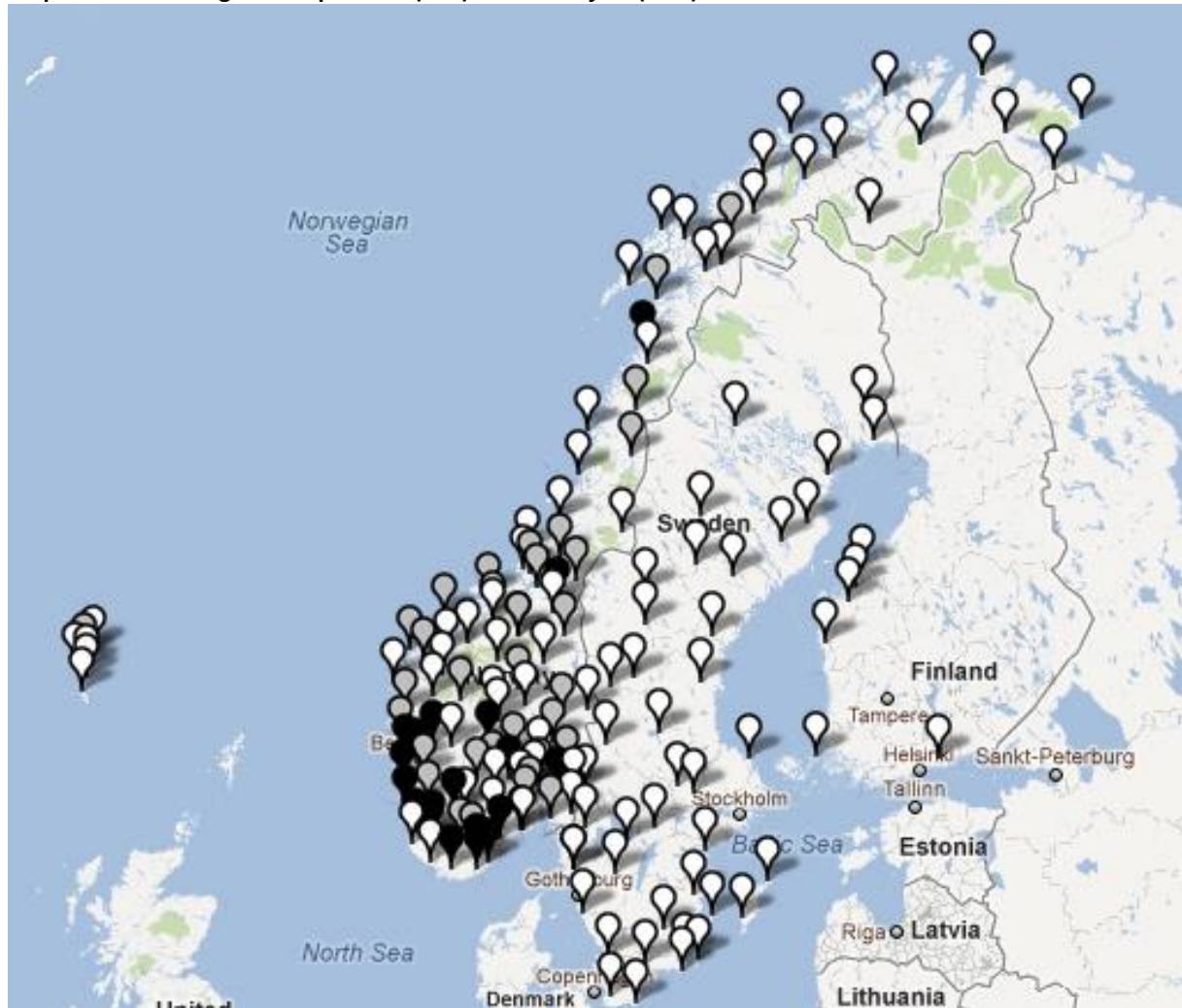
White: high score (4-5); grey: medium score (3); black: low score (1-2)

The V-initial negative imperative is accepted in all locations outside Norway (except one location in the Faroe Island (Fuglafjørður)). In Norway, this structure is accepted by most informants in Northern Norway (except in Bodø). In the Trøndelag area there is considerable variation. Along the coast from Bergen to the Kristiansand area the V-initial negative imperative is rejected, except for the places Time and Sokndal.

Recall from section 7.2.1 that Larsen and Stoltz (1912) report that the neg-initial imperative is common in the Bergen dialect in Western Norway. Looking at Map 28, this area might be considered a core area for the neg-initial imperative, since the V-initial imperative is given a lower score in this area than in other parts of Norway.

The survey of a few selected dialects presented in the next subsections confirms the results from the NSD-database.

7.5.2 Övdalian

Recall from chapter 5 that the negative marker(s) in Övdalian are the XP *int(e)* and the short form *it*, which is either a phonetic clitic (i.e. XP) or a syntactic one (i.e. X°). In chapter 6 we saw that Garbacz (2010: 85ff) argues that Övdalian is a non-strict NC language.

Given the analyses of NC and negative imperatives in Zeijlstra (2004, 2006), Övdalian should display a non-standard negative imperative (i.e. and "ban True Negative Imperatives", in Zeijlstra's 2006 words). As Garbacz (2009) and my own investigations on negative imperatives during the NORMS fieldwork in Älvdalen in 2007 show, Övdalian has the V-initial negative imperative. Consider the examples from Garbacz (2009: 240, table B12):

(46) a. Gokk/Kåit **it**! (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
       go.*IMP*/run.*IMP* *not*

      b. ??/*Int/*Itjä gokk/kåit (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
         not go.*IMP*/run.*IMP*

      c. ?**Int** go/kåita! (Trad. Övdalian, Sw.)
         not go.*INF*/run.*INF*
         'Don't go/run!'

In (46a) the imperative verb precedes the negative marker *it*.[148,149] A neg-initial imperative is not accepted, as we see in (46b), unless the verb has the infintive form, cf. (46c).

These patterns are straightforwardly accounted for by the structure in (41). In (46c), we may assume that the verb remains low, since it lacks imperative morphology.

The V-initial word order is also found in (Northern) Ostrobothnian in Finland, which has some properties reminiscent of the Trøndelag dialect.

7.5.3 (Northern) Ostrobothnian

Also data from literature on Ostrobothnian confirms the results from the NSD-database, namely that these dialects have the V-initial negative imperative. However, in these dialects, the form of the verb may deviate from the standard imperative form.

Ostrobothnian covers a range of dialects with three recognised subgroups: Southern, Middle and Northern Ostrobothnian. As shown in (47) below, the final vowel *–a* has been lost in the infinitival form of verbs that historically had long or short syllables in Southern and Middle Ostrobothnian (as in the Nordland dialect in Norway), while in Northern Ostrobothnian *–a* is only lost in verbs that historically had long syllables, but it is maintained in verbs with historically short syllables (Ivars 1988: 119).[150]

---

[148] Imperatives in modern Övdalian are only inflected for number, according to one of my informants. In Classical Övdalian the system resembles the one for ON. The plural-endings are the same as in ON, i.e. –um in 1.pl and –ir/ð in 2.pl. In sg. there are distinct imperative forms according to the verb-classes (Levander 1909).

[149] Garbacz only uses the short form *it* in the relevant structure, but according to my own investigations (carried out during the NORMS-fieldwork in Älvdalen) also the form *int* is possible in this position.

[150] The infinitival system in NÖb is thus reminiscent of the one we find in the Trøndelag dialects.

(47) **Southern, Middle Northern   Old form**
      kast_INF   kast_INF   kasta_INF ('throw')
      far_INF   fara_INF   fara_INF ('go')

In the Närpes dialect (Southern Ostrobothnian) described by Ivars (1988), the imperative equals the stem (Ivars 1988: 123), but as we see from (47), it then conflates with the infinitive. She also mentions a plural imperative endinging –*en,* which is productive in Middle and Northern Ostrobothnian.

   According to the examples in Huldén (1995: 182), negative imperatives in Northern Ostrobothnian can apparently be of the form *V_INF > neg*, where the verb has infinitival morphology, which is quite surprising (cf. Övdalian above). Recall from section 7.4.1 that Jensen (2003) notes that when the imperative has the verb in the infinitive, the negative marker precedes it. The word order *V_INF > neg* is illustrated below:

(48) a. Koma   **it**   hiid!   (Munsala, Fi.)
         come.INF   not   here!
         'Don't come here!'
      b. Eta   **it**   te   dee!   (Munsala, Fi.)
         eat.INF   not   that   there!
         'Don't eat that!'

In (48a,b) the word order tells us that the verb has moved. The verbs precede the negative marker, although the form of the verbs evidently equals the infinitive, ending in the vowel –*a* (stemming from the historically short syllables verbs *koma* (´come´) and *eta* ('eat'), cf. (47) above). Whether or not the infinitive is commonly used as imperative, I do not know. As mentioned introductorily in this chapter, the imperative is formed from the verbal stem. In these cases the stems are *kom* and *et*. In the following example the verb has distinct imperative morphology.

(49) Köör*in* **it** na   gälit!   (Munsala, Fi.)
      drive.PL   not   NPI   wrong
      'Don't drive badly!'

In (49) the verb *köör_INF* ('drive') corresponds to the long verb root in ON *keyra* ('drive'). The ending –*in* is probably the plural imperative suffix –*en* mentioned by Ivars. Given that the imperative is inflected for number, we can assume that the verb raises to C° also in these dialects, and that the imperative singular form is identical to the infinitival form.

   There are however some, at least idiomatic, neg-initial imperatives in (Northern) Ostrobothnian (Huldén 1995: 182). These structures might be taken to be stored in the lexicon:[151]

---

[151] Also the dictionary *Ordbok over Finlandssvenska folkmål* ('Dictionary of Finland-Swedish dialects') mentions a neg-initial structure under the entry *inte*, and gives the following examples for the directive *låt bli!* ('Don't!'), in which the negative marker *int* occurs clause-initially:

(50) a. **it**   ti grååt!   (Munnsala, Fi.)
         not   to cry.INF
         'Don't cry!'
      b. **Int** ti håks!   (Karleby, Fi.)
         'Don't try!'

Huldén notes that the negative imperative in (50a) is felicitous when talking to children. In these imperatives the negative marker is pre-verbal, and the infinitival marker *ti*[152] (cf. Ivars 1988: 119 on the infinitival marker *ti* in the Närpes dialect) intervenes between the negative marker and what we may analyse as the infinitive in this context, although the forms equal the imperative singular (both verbs stemming from historically long syllable verbs and thus having the final vowel elided).

These examples equal a productive imperative construction in the Trøndelag dialects of Norwegian, which we will consider in detail in section 7.6.

Summing up, negative imperatives in Northern Ostrobothnian follow the North Germanic pattern in being verb-initial. The imperative verb differs from many other North Germanic varieties in having identical forms as the infinitive in the singular. Furthermore, the dialects marginally allow neg-initial imperatives if the infinitival marker is present.

7.5.4   **The dialect of Senja**
In the Senja dialect, the negative marker may appear on either side of the imperative verb (NORMS fieldwork in Senja Autumn 2006), which thus corroborates the findings in the NSD-database. The fieldwork, however, revealed that the neg-initial imperative is the preferred one:

(51) a. **Ikkje** *far*   på havet!   (Senja, No.)
         not   go.IMP *to sea*.DEF
      b. *Far*   **ikkje** på havet!   (Senja, No.)
         go.IMP *not   to sea*.DEF
         'Don't go to sea'

All of the twenty-six informants accepted (51a), while five of the informants rejected (51b). These judgements correlate well with the relative acceptance the informants gave of clause-initial negation shown in chapter 6. The acceptance of clause-initial negation and the acceptance of verb-initial negative imperatives (cf. (51b)) indicate that the hypothesised transition of clause-initial negation

---

(i)   intt tiga: ti   (NÖb)
(ii)   int ti jökäḷ na: nu! (Närpes)

[152] The fact that the preposition *til* can have an extended distribution and be used as the infinitival marker, is also known from Norwegian dialects, for instance in western dialects (NO2014, 'til'), and from Swedish (SAOB, 'till') in for instance Classical Övdalian (Levander 1909). ODS does not mention any infinitival marker use of *til* in Danish or Danish dialects. Cf. also the infinitival markers in English and German, *to* and *zu* respectively (cf. Faarlund 2003). See e.g. Faarlund (2003: 73ff) for a thorough discussion and the history of *til* as an infinitival marker in Norwegian.

from being "reserved" declaratives to appearing solely in negative imperatives is not fulfilled in the Senja dialect.

The structures in (51) were the only possible ones. Different combinations of *ikkje* ('not') and infinitives/infinitive clauses were all rejected by the informants, as indicated by the '*'s in (52):

(52) a. ***Ikkje**   *fare*   på havet!
                not   *go.INF to sea.DEF*

      b. ***Ikkje**   å *fare*   på havet!
                not   *to go.INF to sea.DEF*

      c. *Fare   **ikkje**   på havet!
            go.INF   *not*   *to sea.DEF*
            'Don't go to sea'

As for adverbs, they mainly pattern as expected: They are preferred in post-verbal position, cf. (53b), but for some speakers they may occur pre-verbally, as indicated in (53a) (cf. Jensen 2003).

(53) a. **%Aldri**   *far*   på havet!   (Senja, No.)
               never   *go.IMP*   *on sea.DEF*

      b. *Far*   **aldri**   på havet!   (Senja, No.)
             go.IMP   *never on sea.DEF*

      c. *(**Aldri**)   (å) *fare*   (**aldri**) på havet!
             never   *to go.INF never on sea.DEF*
             'Don't ever go to sea'

The pre-verbal *aldri* in (53a) is accepted by one third of the informants, but rejected by two thirds. The most natural position of the negative adverb *aldri* is to the right of the verb, as in (53b). As already shown, the verb must be inflected for imperative, and hence all variants of (53c) are rejected.

The pattern is a bit different with the focus adverb *berre* ('only'), which may equally well precede and follow the verb. This is also how focus adverbs in Swedish behave (Teleman et al. 1999). Note that this adverb may also induce V3 orders in an ordinary declarative, such as *æ berre for på havet* ('I just went to sea') (cf. e.g. Falk and Torp 1900: 297f; Nilsen 2003). Thus, adverbs like *berre* can in general have an irregular distribution, compared to other adverbs.

(54) (**Berre**)   far   (**berre**)   på havet!   (Senja, No.)
            just   go.IMPjust   on sea.DEF
            'Just go to sea'

The patterns for negation and *aldri* ('never') can be analysed as suggested in section 7.3. When negation precedes the verb, the verb occupies a position in the CP-domain, and when *aldri* precedes the verb, the verb remains low.

When pre-verbal *berre* ('just') focuses on the verb, we may analyse it as appearing in FocP dominating the verb directly. Alternatively, we may say that *berre* and the imperative move as one

constituent to Spec,CP (i.e. remnant movement). It is not reasonable to assume that the verb remains low when it is preceded by *berre*, since a subject cannot precede the verb at the same time as there is a (strong) focus on the verb (which then receives stress) in Norwegian:

(55) ?/***Berre** du   far   på havet
      just   you   go.IMP   on sea.DEF

Next, we briefly consider the Setesdal dialect.

7.5.5 The dialect of Setesdal

In the NSD-database the informants from Valle in Setesdal accepted both the V-initial and the neg-initial imperative. Such structures are illustrated in (56), and the examples are taken from the web-page *www.vallemal.no*.

(56) a. **Inkji** statt   der!   (Setesdal, No.)
         not   stand.IMP.SG there
      b. Statt   **kji**   der!   (Setesdal, No.)
         stand.IMP.SG not   there
         'Don't stand there!'

Observe that the form of the negative marker varies according to position. In the neg-initial imperative the full form *inkji* is used, whereas the short form *kji* is used in the V-initial negative imperative.

These facts support the analysis of neg-initial imperatives proposed in section 7.3, in which the negative marker is fronted, perhaps because of emphasis, and it furthermore suggests that the negative marker in the neg-initial imperative is an XP and not a head. Recall from chapter 5 that the negative marker *inkji* in the dialect of Setesdal is analysed as an XP, and that the marker *kji* is analysed as a PF-variant in some cases, and as a head in other contexts.

In the verb-initial negative imperative the reduced form may be analysed as a PF-variant of the marker *inkji* or as a head that incorporates with the verb.

7.5.6 Discussion

This short dialect survey corroborates the findings from the NSD-database. It shows that the Norwegian dialects considered here have a neg-initial and a V-initial negative imperative, whereas the Swedish dialects have only the V-initial one as a productive negative imperative.

Except for the national borders there is no obvious reason as to why the Swedish varieties should not have neg-initial imperatives. There are no indications that, for example, the negative markers in Norwegian dialects are more head-like than the marker(s) in Övdalian, as the analyses reviewed above requires. If we compare Övdalian and the Senja dialect, the negative markers behave similarly in many respects, as shown in chapter 5. In both dialects a non-pronominal subject must follow the negative marker in main clauses with inversion, whereas a pronominal subject must precede it. If the negative marker in the Senja dialect was more headlike than then one(s) in Övdalian, we would expect that negation could precede weak pronominal subjects to a greater extent in the Senja

dialect than in Övdalian, but this is not the case. The dialects differ, however, in their acceptance of clause-initial negation in declarative clauses and NC, as discussed in chapter 6. Consider also section 7.2.1 in this chapter.

The survey supports the analysis proposed in section 7.4 in the sense that only the full form negative marker may precede an imperative verb in Norwegian, and that it basically is only the negative marker that is accepted in the neg-initial imperative (the negative adverb *aldri* ('never') is considerably less accepted in the clause-initial position of imperatives).

We now turn to the last part of this chapter, in which I examine negative imperatives, in particular the negative *å*-imperative, in the Trøndelag dialects.

7.6   The negative *å*-imperative in the Trøndelag dialects

7.6.1   Introduction

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the negative *å*-imperative in (51a) below is exceptional in a North Germanic perspective, since the verb does not have imperative morphology. This structure is, however, a common pattern in a cross-linguistic perspective. Recall from section 7.3 that Zeijlstra (2006) and Zannuttini (1998) presuppose a non-imperative morphology on the verb for a pre-verbal negative marker to occur.

In this section I examine the negative *å*-imperative in some detail, and consider both diachronic and synchronic issues. An analysis is proposed towards the end of the section.

In the Trøndelag dialect area the verb in an imperative is either V_{IMP} or V_{INF}. Recall that the traditional negative marker in the Trøndelag area is *itj*, in addition to the newer emphasiser *ikke*. As we saw in chapter 5, the form *itj* has certain properties that enable it to be analysed as both a head and an XP depending on the dialect, while the form *ikke* is always an XP.

Consider the following possible negative imperatives in the Trøndelag dialects:

(57)   a.   **Itj**   å   lesa   Donald   no!   (Trøndelag, No.)
           not   to read.IMP Donald   now
       b.   **Itj**   lesa   Donald   no!   (Trøndelag, No.)
           not   read.INF Donald   now
           'Don't read Donald Duck now!'

In (57a) the imperative has the form of an infinitive clause, and the traditional negative marker *itj* precedes the infinitival marker. We have already seen a similar example from Ostrobothnian (cf. (50) above). In (57b) the imperative consists of the bare infinitive with a pre-verbal negation, which was marginally possible in Övdalian.

It is worth noting that the structure of the negative imperatives in (57) is distinct from the structure of a negative infinitive clause appearing in subject or object position. In these positions it is my impression that the infinitival marker must precede negation *å itj lesa, er dumt* ('not to read, is stupid').[153]

---

[153] In some cases the infinitival marker may also be doubled, as the following example from Internet shows:
(i)   gått   **å   itj   å**   gå   på   denn   skolen   mer

The *å*-imperative is restricted to negative contexts. The infinitive verb may however be used in affirmative imperatives too (cf. Haugen 1982: 99):

(58) a. *Å lesa   Donald   no!
          to read.INF Donald   now
      b. Lesa   Donald   no!   (Trøndelag, No.)
          read.INF Donald   now
          'Read Donald Duck now!'

The example in (58a) shows that the infinitival marker cannot be present in affirmative imperatives, but affirmative imperatives are acceptable without the infinitival marker, cf. (58b).

In the next two sections, I first consider the diachrony of the negative *å*-imperative, and thereafter present a synchronic dialect study.

7.6.2   Imperatives in the Trøndelag dialects: The last century

The negative *å*-imperative exemplified above is arguably a quite recent innovation.

Haugen (1982: 149) shows that the negative imperative in the dialect of Oppdal (as in all dialects of Norwegian) has changed from a verb-initial negative imperative to a neg-initial imperative. Note, however, that the new neg-initial imperative in this area differs from the "common" Norwegian neg-initial imperative with respect to the form of the verb. In the common neg-initial imperative the verb has imperative morphology, while it has infinitival morphology in the Trøndelag dialects. Consider (59).

(59) a. Jær   **itj**   ta   (Trad. Oppdal, No.)
          do.IMP   not   that
      b. **Itj**   jårrå ta   (Oppdal, No.)
          not   do.INF that
          'Don't do that!'

In (59a) the old pattern with the verb in initial position is shown, but this has changed to a neg-initial imperative in the Oppdal dialect that Haugen studies, as illustrated in (59b).

Haugen (1982) does not mention any imperative structure with *å* at all, which suggests that this structure has developed later than the imperative in (59b) in the Trøndelag area.

It is not easy to find the origin of the negative *å*-imperative. Searching the dictionary *Trønderordboka* for the infinitival marker *å* and the negative marker *ikkje* gave only one occurrence of the negative *å*-imperative, which was from an edition of the newspaper *Adressa* from 1978. This example, given in (60a), is quite recent. Examples of negative imperatives are not very frequent in

---

good   to not to go on that   school.DEF more
'It is lovely not to attend that school anymore'

the dictionary, but I found another one from Inderøy from the period around 1900 (from a written source), which is shown in (60b).[154]

(60) a. Hysj, hysj! – **Itj**   å   sei   nåkka!   (Trøndelag, No.)
      hush   hush   not   to   say   anything
      'Hush, hush, don't say anything!'
   b. Staa **int**   der   naa   mer   nu   og   hæft bort   kontoristan min!
      *stand not   there any   more now   and   waste away   secretary.*PL *mine*
      'Don't stand there no more waisting my secretaries' time!'   (Trad.Trønd., No.)

The negative imperative in (60b) is verb-initial, and the verb *staa* (in which the form conflates both the imperative and the infinitive) precedes the negative marker *int* (cf. 59a). More than one hundred years later, only one of the NorDiaSyn informants from Inderøy accepts this word order in imperatives (cf. section 7.5).

   Haugen himself speculates that infinitive imperatives may have developed from an underlying modal construction, that is more polite than imperatives. The imperative is supposedly interpreted as directive and rude, and because of this, he writes, the imperative is rarely used. Haugen's analysis of the change (illustrated in (61)) in the imperative form is not unlikely, and it offers an explanation as to why the verbal form has changed. The analysis also does not hinge on a missing link. Most importantly, it captures the fact that the imperative has changed in both the negative and the affirmative, and not only in the negative (cf.Wurff 2007: 52, who implies that there may be a covert auxiliary involved in all infinitive imperatives).[155]

(61) a. [$_{CP}$ ~~Du~~ ~~må~~ [$_{vP}$ vårrå her]] (du)
         you   must   be   here (you)
   b. [$_{CP}$ ~~Du~~ ~~må~~ [$_{NegP}$ itj [$_{vP}$ vårrå her]]]
         you   must   not   be   here

Irrespective of the explanation for the infinitival form, from the bare vP and NegP structures there is a short way to a structure in which the initial constituents are reanalysed as appearing in the CP-domain:

(62) a. [$_{CP}$ vårrå   [$_{vP}$ ~~vårrå~~ her]]
   b. [$_{CP}$ <itj> [$_{NegP}$ <itj> [vP vårrå her]]]

---

[154] Note that the negation in example (58b) is followed by the locative adverb *der*, which according to Larsen and Stoltz (1912), induces a verb-initial negative imperative in the Bergen dialect.

[155] Neg-initial imperatives with the verb in the infinitive across the North Germanic languages can be treated as elliptic constructions. Still, the question why the infinitive verb is only licit in negative imperatives in most varieties remains.

The initial verb (*vårrå* ('be') in vP) in the ellipsis in (61a) is easily reanalysed as appearing within the CP-layer (56a), and then the infinitival form may also be identified as the imperative form. The neg-initial imperative in (61b) is also easily reanalysed with negation residing in the CP-domain and the verb remaining low (62b), or optionally in a higher position.

The development of the negative *å*-imperative is quite easy to explain given that the new imperative with negation preceding the infinitive (without the infinitival marker) already existed. The mere presence of an infinitival verb (with no designated "mission") could trigger an insertion of the infinitival marker.[156]

7.6.3 A survey of the imperative construction in Fosen

This section shows that in the Fosen dialects, the negative *å*-imperative is judged acceptable and is one of the preferred negative imperative structures. The investigation shows that there are some geographical differences that correlate with the distribution of negation in main clauses, but I think this result needs to be corroborated by more research before one can draw any conclusions. Finally, it also shows that there is a distributional difference between negation and adverbs in imperatives, as in Norwegian in general.

At the NORMS fieldwork in Fosen September 2009, I tested different imperative constructions:

- V_{IMP} > neg/adv
- neg/adv > V_{INF}
- neg/adv > *å* > V_{INF}
- V_{INF} > neg/adv

The overall result of my survey shows that the following orders are the preferred ones, but other structures are also possible (consider (63) below):

- neg > (*å*) > V_{INF}
- $V_{INF/IMP}$ > adv

Observe that only negation may take the *å*-imperative, and that adverbs are preferred in post-verbal position. This is exemplified in the following examples in (63):[157]

---

[156] Perhaps relevant in this discussion is also the appearance of the infinitival marker in structures with the ability modal auxiliary *kan* ('can'): *Æ kan å gå* (lit: 'I can walk'). This sentence has only an ability reading, and not a deontic reading.

[157] I chose the verbs *fara* ('go') and *komma* ('come'). The verb *fara* worked well, and there was a clear distinction between the infinitival form *færra/fårrå* and the stem *fær*: The stem form was non-existent as an imperative form. The verb *komma* did not work out that well. The majority of my informants preferred the stem-form *kom*, even in the *å*-imperative, which indicates that the stem is also used as the infinitive, cf. (53b). The infinitival form *kom* is documented in several Trøndelag dialects (from searches in the Trøndelag dictionary *Trønderordboka* for the entry 'komma'), for instance in the outer Trøndelag dialects of Hemne, Orkdal and Helgådal (the Fosen dialects belong to this group), and in the nearby inner Trøndelag dialects

(63) a. **Itj** (å) færra   (Fosen, No.)
          not (to) go.INF
          'Don't go!'

      b. **Itj** å kom inn hit   (Fosen, No.)
          not to come.INF in here
          'Don't enter!'

      c. Kom **alljer** inn uten å bank på først   (Fosen, No.)
          come.IMP/INF never inside without to knock on first
          'Never enter without knocking first!'

The example in (63a) shows that with the distinct infinitival form *færra* ('go'), *itj* precedes it, and *å* is optionally present. With the verb *kom* ('come'), which conflates the imperative and the infinitival form, the negative *å*-imperative is preferred. While (63a,b) show that negation precedes the verb, an adverb like *aldri* ('never') is preferred in the position after the verb, cf. (63c). Unfortunately, I did not test the negative adverb *aldri* with the verb *færra* ('go'), which has a distinct imperative and infinitival morphology.

Other word order possibilities for the Fosen informants, with various degrees of acceptability, are shown in the set in (64).

(64) a. ??Færra **itj**!   (Fosen, No.)
          go.INF not

      b. ?Kom(ma) **itj** inn hit!   (Fosen, No.)
          come not in here

      c. ?**Itj** kom(ma) inn hit!   (Fosen, No.)
          not come in here

      d. *Alljer å kom(ma) inn uten å bank på først! (Fosen, No.)
          never to come in without to knock on first

      e. ? **Alljer** kom(ma) inn uten å bank på først! (Fosen, No.)
          never come in without to knock on first

      f. ?Komma **alljer** inn uten å bank på først! (Fosen, No.)
          come.INF never in without to knock on first

      g. *(**itj**) fær (**itj**)   (Fosen, No.)
          not go.DEF not

In (64a) the verb *færra* with infinitival morphology is not very well accepted in clause-initial position with negation. Also in (64b) there is a clause-initial verb, *kom(ma)*. The form *komma* is distinctively infinitival, like *færra*, but still it receives a higher score than (64a). This indicates that in negative imperatives with a distinct infinitival form, negation must precede it. However, the difference

Inderøy, Leksvik and Skogn. This apocoped form *kom* is probably also more widespread now than what the files in the dictionary *Trønderordboka* indicate as the collection of them started almost a hundred years ago.

between *komma* and *færra* is probably best accounted for by taking pragmatics into consideration, The judgement of (64c) is rather surprising compared to (63a). Just like (63a), (64c) is a neg-initial imperative, and it should therefore be acceptable. But here too pragmatic factors may play a role. The negative *å*-imperative is incompatible with the negative adverb *aldri*, shown in (64d). This adverb is not entirely acceptable in initial position (64e) either, nor to the right of *komma* ('come'), cf. (64f). (64g) shows that the imperative form *fær* of *fara* is not accepted, at least not as a negative imperative. As mentioned above, this verb should also have been tested with the negative imperative.

The survey also revealed some geographical differences. The negative *å*-imperative was accepted by all informants in Skaugdalen in the southern parts of Fosen, and both (63a,b) with the infinitival marker received an average score of 4 (on a scale 1-4). In Stokkøya in the north of Fosen the negative *å*-imperative received a lower average score than in the other places, but the Stokkøya-scores varied a bit, depending on the verbs used. For (63a) (with the infinitival marker) the average score was 2.86, whereas (63b) received an average score of 3.5 among the Stokkøya informants.

Conversely, Stokkøya and Botngård were the places where verb-initial imperatives were given the highest average scores: (64a) received the average scores 2.4 and 2.3, respectively, and (64b) having the imperative form *kom* ('come$_{IMP}$') 3.6 and 3.3, respectively, while this word order clearly received the lowest scores in Skaugdalen ((64a) received the average score 1).

Interestingly, the acceptability of the negative *å*-imperative co-varies with the assumed status of the negative marker *itj*. Recall from chapter 5 that I analysed *itj* in the Stokkøya dialect to be less head-like than in the dialects in Bjugn and especially, Skaugdalen. The co-variation may, however, be accidental, or there may be other reasons for it.

As for adverbs, the informants in Stokkøya were the ones who dispreferred the order *adv > V* the most, while there were only slight differences between the scores in Bjugn and Skaugdalen.

To sum up, the following negative imperative structures are acceptable in Fosen ($V_{IMP/INF}$ referring to forms that might be interpreted as infintival; V_{INF} referring to the distinct infinitival form *færra*; V_{IMP} referring to the form *kom*):

(65)　a.　Neg > $V_{IMP/INF}$

　　　b.　Neg > å > $V_{IMP/INF}$

　　　c.　?V_{IMP} > Neg

The negative marker may precede an (imperative/infinitive) verb, but it is not equally accepted in the position following the verb – but this might also depend on the verb. The structure in (65c) was not accepted with the verb *fær* ('go').

As for adverbs, the following imperative structures with adverbs are acceptable in Fosen:

(66)　a.　$V_{IMP/INF}$ > Adv　　(preferred)

　　　b.　Adv > $V_{IMP/INF}$

These word orders contrast with the orders involving negation above, in that the preferred position for the adverb is after the verb. Again, these facts indicate that the negative marker (and the NegP) is special compared to adverbs, as we saw in section 7.3 for Norwegian in general.

I take these orders to be representative of the Trøndelag varieties. As for the special negative *å*-imperative in (65b) it is clear that some Trøndelag varieties allow it. I am not sure that it is restricted by geography, i.e. that it constitutes clear isoglosses. It may be restricted to younger generations or to individuals across the dialects. It may also be related to headlike properties of the negative marker, as we saw above. Further support for the hypothesis that the negative marker is a head in these cases, is the 35 year old example above of the negative *å*-imperative from the Trondheim newspaper Adressa. As we saw in chapter 5, there are some indications of the negative marker *itj* having turned into a negative head in some varieties of Trøndelag.

7.6.4 Towards an analysis of the negative *å*-imperative

In this subsection I will propose an analysis of the *å*-imperative. I start out with a comparison of the negative markers *itj* and *ikke* in 7.6.4.1; then I again examine the behaviour of adverbs once more in 7.6.4.2 before I take a closer look at the position of verbs in 7.6.4.3 and subjects in section 7.6.4.4. Thereafter the analysis is presented in 7.6.4.5.

7.6.4.1 *Difference between the marker itj and the marker ikke*

Let us consider the marker *ikke* in different combinations with the imperative (in the varieties where this marker is used):

(67) a. ***ikke* å lesa Donald no! (Trøndelag, No.)
      not to read.INF Donald now

    b. #(?)**Ikke** lesa Donald no! (Trøndelag, No.)
      not read.INF Donald now

It is impossible for the marker *ikke* to appear in the negative *å*-imperative, as illustrated in (67). Furthermore, for some speakers (myself included), the marker *ikke* fares better with the regular imperative (i.e. an apocoped verb or the stem) than with the infinitival form, while the form *itj* fares better with the infinitival form. This is illustrated in the following set in (68).

(68) a. **Ikke** les Donald no! (Trøndelag, No.)
      not read.INF Donald now

    b. ?**Itj** les Donald no! (Trøndelag, No.)
      not read.INF Donald now

    c. Lesa ??**itj**/***ikke** Donald no!
      read.INF not Donald now

    d. Les ??**itj**/***ikke** Donald no!
      read.IMP not Donald now
    'Don't read Donald Duck now!'

The regular imperative is most felicitous with the marker *ikke*, as seen in (68a), and (68b) illustrates the fact that a pre-verbal *itj* (more or less) requires an infinitive. In (68c) and (68d) the negative markers appear in post-verbal position. Observe that the negative marker *ikke* is generally not accepted in this position irrespective of the form of the verb. The marker *itj*, however, may

marginally appear in post-verbal position, but then the imperative form of the verb (cf. (68d)) is preferred over the infinitival form, cf. (68c). Thus, the marker *ikke* may only precede the verb, while the marker *itj* may also marginally follow the verb. As we will see in the next section, this differs from the distribution of adverbs. I will speculate a little on possible reasons for the difference between *ikke* and *itj* below.

The difference may result from the two strategies for forming negative imperatives being a part of different (mental) grammars (cf. e.g. Roeper 1999): the one with *itj* belonging to the traditional dialect grammar, and the one with *ikke* being a loan from standard Norwegian.

There may also be a prosodic/phonological explanation for the difference. The infinitival marker *å* may have appeared in order to adjust the structure $itj > V_{INF}$ to a more trochaic pattern of stressed-unstressed syllables, whereas such an adjustment is not necessary for the marker *ikke*, which is a trochee (cf. Christensen 1996 [1950]: 95).

7.6.4.2 *A note on the distribution of other adverbs*

Recall from section 7.4 that adverbs may (more or less) appear on either side of the imperative verb in Norwegian, which Jensen (2003) analyses as optional verb movement across the adverb. This is also the case for imperatives in the Trøndelag dialects, although the preferred position for adverbs seems to be to the right of the verb (see also the examples in section 7.6.2 on the Fosen dialects). Consider the following examples.[158]

(69) a. (??**Bestandig**) eta (?**bestandig**)opp maten (**bestandig**)! (Trøndelag, No.)
        always   *eat.INF always*   *up*   *food.DEF always*
        'Always finish your meal!'

    b. (**Vennligst**) eta (??**vennligst**) opp maten! (Trøndelag, No.)
      please eat.INF   please   up   food.DEF
      'Please finish your meal!'

    c. (**Gjern**) eta (?**gjern**)! (Trøndelag, No.)
      please   eat.INF please
      'Please do eat!'

    d. (?**Gjern**) spis (**gjern**)! (Trøndelag, No.)
      please eat.INF/IMP please
      'Please do eat!'

(69a) shows that the adverb *bestandig* ('always') is more or less acceptable in pre-verbal position, but the post-verbal position is the preferred one (ignoring the final position). In (69b) the adverb *vennligst* is preferred in the pre-verbal position, as in Norwegian in general. (69c,d) are interesting in the sense that the same structure with the same semantics is used, but the lexical verb differs. In (69c) the verb *eta* ('eat') has a distinct infinitival form, and here the adverb *gjern(e)* ('please') is preferred in initial position. In (69d) the verbal form *spis* ('eat') conflates the forms of the infinitival

---

[158] I have consulted a few native Trøndelag dialect speakers for judgements on the sentences in this section.

and the imperative, and the adverb *gjern(e)* ('please') is preferred in post-verbal position.[159] These two latter examples suggest that it is easier for the verb with distinct infinitival morphology *eta* to remain in situ than it is for the non-distinct form *spis*, in terms of Jensen's (2003) optional movement analysis (cf. section 7.3.4).

As shown in the previous section, only the negative marker *itj* and not *ikke* can take the *å*-imperative. We have already seen in section 7.6.3 that the adverb *aldri* cannot take an *å*-infinitive, and we expect other adverbs to behave similarly. This prediction holds for an adverb like *vennligst*, but the focus marker *berre* may apparently take the *å*-imperative. Consider the examples in (70):

(70) a. *__**Vennligst**__   å måkka   oppkjørsla   (Trøndelag, No.)
          please   *to shovel.INF   driveway.DEF*
          'Please clear the driveway!'

      b. **Berre** å   måkka!   (Trøndelag, No.)
          just   to shovel.INF
          'Just shovel the driveway!'

      c. **Berre** å   fårrå!   (Trøndelag, No.)
          just   to go.INF
          'Just go!'

Observe that the focus adverb *berre* may readily appear in the structure in (70b,c). This adverb has a very wide distribution, and as such it is not entirely surprising that it may appear in the position as otherwise occupied by negation. However, rather than analysing (70b,c) as imperatives, I think it is more fruitful to consider them to be elliptic expletive constructions. Unlike other adverbs, *berre* can take an infinitival complement in impersonal constructions:

(71) a. Det   er **bare** å måke/fare!   (Trøndelag, No.)
          it   is just   to shovel.INF /go.INF
          'You can just shovel/go!'   (Trøndelag, No.)

      b. Det   er * (*__**alltid**__/*__**vennligst**__/*__**aldri**__/*__**helst**__) å   måke/fare.
          it   is   always/please/never/rather   to shovel.INF /go.INF

Thus, (70b,c) above can be analysed as elliptic constructions, as illustrated in (72):

(72) [$_{CP}$ ~~Det er~~ [$_{FP}$ bare å måke/fare!]]

This analysis resembles the one proposed above for the origin of the neg-initial imperative with infinitival morphology.

Thus, according to the judgements I have gathered, the infinitival verb in the Trøndelag imperatives behaves more or less as the imperative verb in Standard Eastern Norwegian with

---

[159] For some speakers of Eastern Norwegian, the pre-verbal position for *gjerne* is almost unacceptable: ??*gjerne spis! / Spis gjerne!*

respect to the position of adverbs. For these imperatives, I assume the analysis proposed in section 7.4.3. The verb (in these cases marked with infinitival morphology) commonly targets a position in the CP-domain, yielding the order *V > adv*. The verb may optionally remain low resulting in the order *adv > V.*

In the next subsection I examine the positon of the infinitival marker and the verb.

7.6.4.3 *The position of the verb and the infinitival marker in the* å-*imperative*

Consider the examples in (73), which are more acceptable when the adverb precedes the verb than when the adverb follows the verb (but none of the following examples are particularly well-formed, since the adverb *bestandig* ('always') is preferred in the position after *sånn* ('such').

(73) a. ??**Itj** gjørra **bestandig** sånn   (Trøndelag, No.)
       not do.INF always   such

    b. ?**Itj**   **bestandig**   gjørra   sånn   (Trøndelag, No.)
        not   always   do.INF   such

    c. ?**itj**   å **bestandig**   gjørra sånn   (Trøndelag, No.)
        not   to always   do.INF such

    d. ??**itj**   å gjørra **bestandig**   sånn   (Trøndelag, No.)
         not to do.INF always   such
         'Don't always do like that'

(73a,b) show that the adverb *bestandig* can both precede and follow the verb in a negative imperative lacking the marker *å*, but the position following the verb is considerably worse in a negative *å*-imperative, cf. (73d), compared to the position preceding the verb, cf. (73c). This suggests that the verb remains in situ in this structure. Given that there are two possible positions for the verb with respect to the adverbs, before or after, it seems that the marker *å* and a verb appearing before the adverb occupy the same position.

Furthermore, *itj* and *å* normally appear adjacent to each other. An adverb cannot easily intervene between the two elements:

(74) a. ?? **Itj** **bestandig**   å gjørra   sånn   (Trøndelag, No.)
         not always   to do.INF   such
         'Don't always do such things'

    b. * **Itj**   **oft**   å gjørra   sånn
         not often to do.INF   such
         'Don't often do such things'

These observations suggest the rudimentary structure given in (75) for the *å*-imperative:

(75)   [*itj* [*å* [(*adv*) (??*å*) [vP V]]]]

The infinitival marker seems marginally to surface in different positions, cf. example (74a) above.

Next, I consider the position of subjects in the negative *å*-imperative.

7.6.4.4 *Subjects*

As (76a) below shows, an overt imperative subject is (at least marginally) possible with a verb inflected for imperative in Norwegian. However, it is almost impossible in the Trøndelag dialects when the verb has (distinct) infinitival morphology (76b):

(76)   a. ?Gjør   **du**   bare   det   (No.)
            do.IMP   *you*   *just*   *it*
            'You just do it'
     b. ??/* Gjørra   **du**   bare   det   (Trøndelag, No.)
             do.INF   *you*   *just*   *it*

An overt subject is not allowed in an infinitival marker structure, either. As just mentioned, this is not very surprising, since overt subjects never occur in infinitive clauses in Norwegian. Consider, however, the following interesting example:

(77)   Itj (??**du**)   å   (*****du**) gjørra (*****du**) derre   (Trøndelag, No.)
        not   *you*   *to*   *you*   *do.INF*   *you*   *that*
        'Don't you do that!'

Although none of the positions for the subject in (77) are accepted, there is a striking difference in the degree of acceptability between the pre-marker subject and the post-marker subjects. As indicated in (77), the pre-infinitival marker subject is the least 'ill-formed'. I take this as an indication of this position being the (covert) subject position in these structures. The position suggested for the subject (cf. (77)) is furthermore supported by the distribution of the floating emphatic reflexive *sjøl*, given in (78)*,* which is distributed more or less as adverbs, and which must be within the scopal domain of the imperative subject.[160]

(78)   (*****sjøl**)itj (?**sjøl**)   å   (?**sjøl**)   gjørra (*****sjøl**)   derre (**sjøl**)
         REFL not REFL   *to*   *REFL*   *do.INF REFL*   *that*   *REFL*
         'Don't do that by yourself'

In order for the floating emphatic reflexive *sjøl* to occur, it must be C-commanded by the subject, which means that *sjøl* cannot appear in a position higher than the subject. By hypothesis, the subject must occupy a position to the left of the acceptable position for the floating reflexive in (78). I am now ready to analyse the construction.

7.6.5 **Analysis**

On the preceding pages I have shown that (i) the negative marker *itj* and the infinitival marker must be adjacent and cannot be separated by an adverb. (ii) An adverb may, however, marginally

---

[160] The subject and the floating emphatic reflexive can also build one constituent, e.g. *du selv må gjøre dette* ('you yourself must do this').

intervene between the infinitival marker and the verb, as in a regular infinitival structure. When it comes to subjects, these are not accepted in this negative imperative structure. However, (iii) the least-worst position is the one between the negative marker and the infinitival marker.

Since the negative *å*-imperative has the characteristics of an infinitival clause, I think this is a good starting point for an analysis of of the *å*-imperative. Such an analysis, which deviates structurally from an analysis of an regular imperative, is also in line with standard analyses of imperatives with non-imperative verb forms.

I adopt Christensen's (2005) analysis of infinitival clauses, shown in (79) below. This structure is similar to the non-imperative structure in Platzack and Rosengren (1998) (see section 7.3.3 above):

(79)   FinP > NegP > TP > v_{INF}P

Following Christensen, the subject obligatorily raises to FinP, and the infinitival marker originates within the vP-domain. The order *neg > infinitival marker* is obtained by the infinitival marker targeting a position below NegP, e.g. the head of TP.

(80)   [$_{FinP}$ *PRO* [$_{NegP}$ *itj* [$_{TP}$ *å* [$_{vP}$ ~~*å*~~ V_{INF}]]]]

The structure in (80) cannot, however, account for the points (ii) and (iii) referred to above. Another potential objection to it concerns clause-typing. It might be that (80), which is an infinitival clause, is interpreted as an imperative through pragmatic inference. In most Norwegian dialects, including the ones in Trøndelag, a negative infinitival clauses has the form *å > neg > V_{INF}* (Johannessen and Vangsnes 2011: 71), and my impression is that this word order is the only possible one when the infinitival clause stands alone or is fronted. From this it follows that an unembedded structure *neg > å > V_{INF}* can be typed as imperative, which is what I propose. I suggest that this is done in another CP-projection above Fin, and that the negative marker raises to this position, see (81). :

(81)   [$_{CP}$ *itj* [$_{FinP}$ subject *å* [$_{NegP}$ ~~*itj*~~ [$_{TP}$ ~~*å*~~ [$_{vP}$ ~~*å*~~ V_{INF}]]]]]

The structure in (76) accounts for the observations (i)-(iii) above (on the assumption that sentential adverbs are generated in the field between TP and FinP in (82)). The C-head that *itj* targets, may be ForceP, but I label it Pol(arity)P in (82) since it is reserved for negation. Support for this labelling is, except that it is reserved for negation, that the negative *å*-imperative is associated with emphasis and with being directive. I assume that PolP carries a clause-type imperative feature that trigger the displacement of negation.

(82) PolP

```
          PolP
         /    \
     [IMP]    FinP
      itj     /   \
        subject   Fin'
                 /    \
                å     NegP
                     /    \
                   i̶t̶j̶     TP
                         /    \
                   s̶u̶b̶j̶e̶c̶t̶   T'
                             /   \
                            å̶     vP
                                 /  \
                                å̶   V_IMP
```
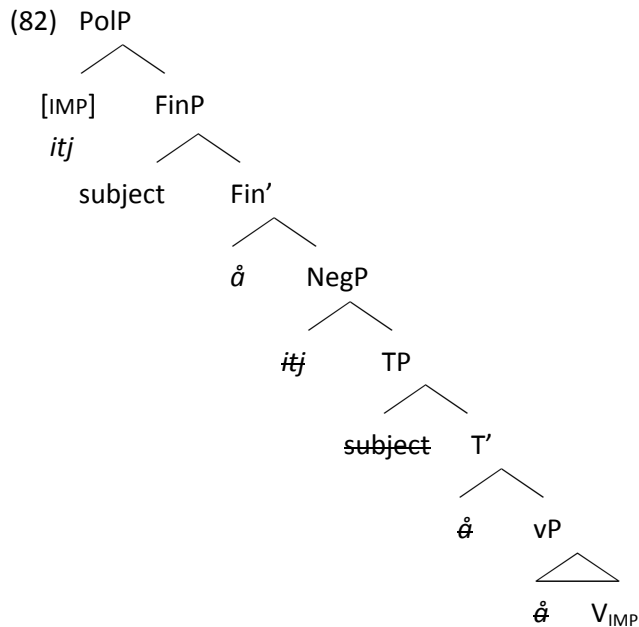
In (82) the overt/covert subject must target Spec,FinP, in order to C-command the floating emphatic reflexive, cf. (78) above. I assume that the infinitival marker raises to the head of FinP, which accounts for the relative order of å and adverbs shown in (73) and (74), although (78) indicates that it may remain in a lower head. So far, the structure is identical to the infinitival structure proposed in Christensen (2005). The difference between them, I will argue, is PolP, which types the structure as imperative and triggers raising of negation in order to be licensed, or identified (cf. Vangsnes 1999).

I do not assume that negation is directly merged in PolP, as for instance Jensen (2003) does. Both Zanuttini (1997) and Zeijlstra (2006) assume that imperatives with a pre-verbal negation are derived by movement, so a raising analysis of negation is in line with other proposals. This assumption is furthermore in accordance with one of the agendas of this work, namely to see how far I can get by stipulating one, fixed position for (plain) sentential negation in North Germanic.

When it comes to the status of the negative marker *itj* as either a head or a phrase, it is difficult to find convincing arguments for the one or the other. One argument in favour of head status, is the analysis of pre-verbal negation in other European languages as heads (Zanuttini 1997; Zeijlstra 2006). Another one is the judgement data from Fosen (see section 7.6.2 above), which show that the degree of acceptability in the three locations, co-varies with the degree of the head-like properties that was discussed in chapter 5: In the Skaugdalen dialect, where negation can be analysed as a head, the å-imperative is accepted by every consulted informant. Conversely, in the Stokkøya dialect where negation is distributed less like a head, the å-imperative is not readily accepted. There need, however, not be a causal relation between these observations. Recall that in the Oppdal dialect as described in Haugen (1982), there is no mention of such an å-imperative, although the negative marker can be analysed as a head. This shows that a negative head does, logically speaking, not imply the å-imperative. Neither does it tell us whether the å-imperative depends on a negative head or not.

There are, however, a few arguments that favour an XP analysis of negation. In some of the linguistic literature on negation, head status of negation is associated with prosodic weakness (such

as the negative marker *ne* in French and the negative clitic *n't* in English). If we follow this view, the negative marker *itj* cannot be a head, since it can be accompanied by (heavy) stress. Furthermore, if the *å*-imperative is derived from the negative imperative type *neg > V$_{INF}$* as a kind of reanalysis (cf. also section 7.6.2), One would not expect the negative marker to change status from XP to X° simultaneously.

One specific argument against a head status concerns movement of the infinitival marker. If the negative marker is a head, it will block head movement of the infinitival marker (cf. Pollock 1989) on the assumption that the infinitival marker is merged within the vP. This can be avoided if the infinitival marker is analysed as an exponent of Fin° and directly merged in this position. If this is the case, such an analysis would also account for the relatively rigid order of the infinitival marker and adverbs (cf. examples (73) and (74)).

Which analysis one should choose depends on theoretical assumptions and taste. In addition, more data should be collected in order to corroborate a potential correlation between a head status of the negative marker and the negative *å*-imperative. If one, however, takes the available data from the Fosen dialects seriously, the tentative hypothesis should be that negation is analysed as a head.

7.7 Summary

In this chapter I have considered negative imperatives and in particular the neg-initial imperative in Norwegian and the *å*-imperative in the Trøndelag dialects. Both of these negative imperatives are innovations, and I suggested that the emergence of the neg-initial imperative arose as a new function of the clause-initial negation.

I examined a few Mainland North Germanic dialects, and I showed that in essence, the dialects pattern with their respective languages. There were, in particular, two clear exceptions to this: the dialects of Northern Ostrobothnian and the ones of Trøndelag, of which the latter employ a special negative *å*-imperative form selected by the traditional negative marker *itj*.

8 The empirical findings of the thesis

Up to this point we have discussed the distribution of negation in various structures one by one. It is now time to systematise the findings, which I will do in this and the following chapter.The different dialect grammars summarised in Table 58 summarises what I consider to be the main overall empirical results from the previous chapters. Recall from chapter 1 that by a dialect grammar I understand something similar to *langue* (Saussure 1993) or what Chomsky (1986: 21) refers to as a "technical concept of E-language". Hence, the dialect grammars given in the tables aim to summarise the prevailing structural patterns at group level for the various dialects. Table 58 also contains the national languages of Sweden (Teleman et al. 1999; the NDC-corpus), Denmark (e.g. Christensen 2005; the NDC-corpus), Iceland (Thráinsson 2007a) and the Faroe Islands (Thráinsson 2004).

Table 58 The distribution of negation in North Germanic dialect grammars

Dialect	neg. marker	declarative neg>subj$_{DP}$	SS acr neg	OS acr neg	embedded neg> subj$_{pron}$	restr. clause initial neg	clause final neg	neg-init imp
Oslo	(ik)ke	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
Setesdal	inkji	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
Bergen	ikkje	+	±	±?	−	−	−	+
Stryn/Nordfjord	ikkje	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Tr.lag	ikke	+	+	+	−	−	−	+
Tr.lag1 (Skaugdalen)	itj	+	−	−	+?	−	−	+
Tr.lag2 (Bjugn)	itj	+	±	±	±?	−	−	+
Tr.lag3 (Stokkøya)	itj	+	+	+	−?	−	−	+
Senja	ikkje	+	+	+(−?)	−	−	−	+
Övdalian	int	+	+	−	±	+	+	−
N.Ostrob.	i(n)t	±	±	−?	+	+	+	−
Swedish	inte	±	+	+(−?)	−	+	+	−
Danish	ikke	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
Icelandic	ekki	±	+	+	V2	+?	−	−
Faroese	ikki	−?	+	+	−	+?	−	−

The marker '+' indicates that the pattern is part of the dialect grammar, the marker '−' indicates that the pattern is not part of the dialect grammar, and the marker '±' indicates that both word orders seems to be part of the dialect grammar. The marker '?' indicates uncertainty as to whether the indicated pattern is correct or not for that dialect, and the marker inside the parenthesis indicates that the pattern might represent a potential subdialect grammar.

The investigations in chapters 3 and 5 of the relative order of (plain) negation and (unstressed) pronominal arguments in the middle field of main clauses (inverted subjects, and pronominal objects in structures with a finite main verb) show three main patterns

across North Germanic: 1. Both pronominal arguments precede negation (the common pattern); 2. both pronominal arguments follow negation (a subset of the Norwegian dialects); 3. the pronominal object follows negation, whereas negation might precede pronominal subjects (Övdalian, Northern Ostrobothnian, as well as some traditional Danish dialects, cf. chapter 3). The dialects that show pattern 2, follow pattern 1 when emphatic negation or adverbs are involved instead of plain negation. In Övdalian and Northern Ostrobothnian, which follow the pattern 3, there seems to be at most a small difference between negation and adverbs when it comes to OS, so that there may be no OS across adverbs as well.

The relative order of negation and subjects in embedded V3 clauses (without verb movement) investigated in chapter 4 and 5, varies somewhat according to clause type (judging from the study on the Oslo dialect in chapter 4), but the prevailing pattern in North Germanic is the order *subj > neg (> v_{fin})*. Övdalian and Northern Ostrobothnian seem, however, to (partly) diverge from this pattern by displaying the order *neg > subj_{pron} (> v_{fin})* instead. A few Norwegian dialects allow both word orders (as well as some traditional Danish dialects). With regard to the relative order of subjects and adverbs in embedded V3 clauses, all dialect grammars show the order *subj > adv (>v_{fin})*. Icelandic has verb movement across negation/adverbs in all types of embedded clauses.

Some kind of clause-initial negation (responsive and/or additive negation) investigated in chapter 6 is possible in most of North Germanic, except for Danish. Unrestricted use of clause-initial negation seems, however, only to be a part of Swedish and Finland-Swedish dialects grammars. Icelandic and Faroese are reported to exhibit clause-initial negation, but I have not investigated its frequency nor what kind of clause-initial negation we find in these languages. In Swedish and Finland-Swedish doubling of the negative marker in the right periphery, i.e. clause-final negation, is possible too, but to the best of my knowledge it is not in any of the other modern varieties of North Germanic.

The topic of chapter 7 is negative imperatives, which are verb-initial in most North Germanic varieties. Norwegian differs from the other languages in having a neg-initial imperative as the common negative imperative. Chapter 7 also discusses the existence of a special neg-initial imperative, with the form of an infinitival clause, in the Trøndelag dialects.

Table 58 shows that there is little structural (bidirectional) co-variation across North Germanic – it almost seems as if everything goes with everything.

Perhaps the most apparent co-variation is that (Norwegian) dialects displaying neg-initial imperatives, do not have (responsive) clause-initial negation. Danish, which does not allow any type of clause-initial negation at all does not have neg-initial imperatives.

There is unidirectional co-variation between (responsive) clause-initial negation and clause-final negation as well, and there also seems to be co-variation between having no Pronoun Shift across negation and neg-initial imperatives. This picture is, however, a bit disrupted by Northern Ostrobothnian, in which negation may precede pronominal arguments, but in which there is no neg-initial imperatives.

The lack of co-variation between the relative order of negation and inverted (unstressed pronominal) subjects in main and embedded clauses is striking. The prevailing pattern is *subj_{pron} > neg* in both clause types, but in addition other combinations exist too. The only combination that is not well documented is having the order *neg > subj_{pron}* in both clause types. On the contrary, the table indicates that there might be co-variation between the

order *neg > subj (>v_fin)* in embedded V3 clauses and clause-initial negation (cf. Northern Ostrobothnian), but this remains to be investigated further, since I have not been able to consult production data of Northern Ostrobothnian.

The last issue of co-variation is the observation that the negative marker *ikke* in Norwegian and Danish (although realised differently in the languages), does not precede unstressed pronominal subjects.

To summarise, disregarding unidirectional co-variation, there are no clear structural patterns of co-variation across the North Germanic dialect area, with respect to the distribution of negation. The system determining the position of negation seems to be very flexible, and no clusters of co-variation can be identified. As such, the null hypothesis presented in (18a) in chapter 1, stating that there is one overarching neg-parameter in North Germanic, is falsified.

One of the most important factors determining the geographical scope of different structures structures seems to be the national borders, which is not very surprising from a sociolinguistic point of view. Neg-initial imperatives are restricted to Norwegian, and also clause-initial and -final negation are geographically restricted to the scope of a specific MSc standard language – Swedish, which spreads across Sweden and parts of Finland.

Furthermore, most of the cases of co-variation identified, are also internal in the national languages. This observation indicates that sociological factors play an important role in determining which structures occur in the different dialect grammars (cf. Barbiers 2005). Determining the basis for this, is a task for sociolinguistics. However, there must exist certain options in the mental grammars making the observed structural variation possible. This leads to two radically opposite hypotheses – the (I-) languages are basically different, or they are basically similar. If the languages are truly different, there must be many factors (many small microparameters) associated with all the structures that we are not aware of, which in turn affect the distributional pattern of negation across North Germanic. This is both plausible and possible – after all, our understanding of the human brain is still quite limited.

The other possibility, that the I-languages across North Germanic are more alike than the dialect grammars show, implies that the differences between the dialect grammars are caused by sociolinguistic factors. If so, a number of less acceptable (and infrequent) structures in a dialect is possible in the individual mental grammars of the dialect speakers, and may somehow have become "inactive". This also implies that the structures may be activated again, which would really yield a flexible grammar. "Activation" of an "inactive" structure is perhaps what happens in the cases when, for instance, a degraded structure in a particular language becomes more acceptable the more one hears or utters it. One illustration of this could be the clause-initial negation discussed in chapter 6. I started out rejecting clause-initial negation completely, but as time went by, I have become used to it, and I have ended up being less categorical in my judgement. However, the pragmatics associated with each structure, will obviously vary from language to language. In a language that employs a particular structure, for instance clause-initial negation in Swedish, the pragmatics associated with that structure will clearly be more elaborate in Swedish, than in a language in which it is infrequent.

The latter option, namely that the underlying mental grammars (I-languages) are more alike than at first sight, is explored in the next chapter. Based on the work by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), I suggest that when sociolinguistic factors and issues related to the

specific structures are ripped off, a division of negation into strong and deficient turns out to be fruitful, and can account for the basic dissimilarities. If this holds, it would support the alternative hypothesis formulated in (18b) in chapter 1, which states that the syntax of negation is one of several factors that can account for the observed variation across North Germanic.

9   The syntax of North Germanic negation

The issues summarised and discussed in the previous chapter will now be brought together in a more principled theory of the syntax of North Germanic negation. The proposal will be an attempt to explain the observed variation regarding the distribution of negation in the structures and clause types investigated.

9.1   A tripartition of categories

Following Cardinaletti and Starke's (1999) division of pronouns into strong and deficient, I suggest that also negation can be divided in a similar way. Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) propose a tripartition of pronouns into clitic, weak, and strong, which each one is associated with different amounts of structure. They are cumulatively related, so that the structures of the smaller ones are proper subsets of the larger ones: The structure of a clitic is contained in the structure of a weak pronoun, which in turn is contained in the structure of a strong pronoun, see the illustration in (1).

(1)   strong pronouns: $[C_LP \ [\Sigma_LP \ [I_LP \ [LP]]]$
       weak pronouns: $[\Sigma_LP \ [I_LP \ [LP]]]$
       clitic pronouns: $[I_LP \ [LP]]]$

A strong pronoun consist of three layers. In addition to the basic one, which it shares with the clitics, it has a prosodic (ΣP) and a referential (CP) layer. The weak and clitic pronouns lack one or both of these layers, and are as such *deficient*: A weak pronoun lacks the referential layer (CP), and a clitic lacks in addition the prosodic layer (ΣP).

The different size of structure has among other things syntactic consequences. One effect is that deficient pronouns must displace. According to Cardinaletti and Starke, weak pronouns must displace in order to recover missing Case-features, and clitics must displace in order to recover missing prosodic features. This is not necessary for strong pronouns, which have a referential layer that makes them able to occur in isolation. Cardinaletti and Starke suggest that also other categories exhibit a similar division, and I will pursue the idea that the structure of negative markers can be understood by the same tripartition that they propose for pronouns.

9.2   A tripartition of negation

Let us assume that North Germanic negation consists of three layers, which I will label Neg°, NegP and ΣP, as illustrated in (2) below. The labelling of clitic negation as X° is chosen mainly because the opposition between negative heads and negative XPs is well established in the syntactic literature on negation (cf. e.g. Pollock 1989; Haegeman 1995; Zeijlstra 2004; Lindstad 2007), and for the sake of exposure I call them Neg. The ΣP adds the extra layer on top of NegP. The labelling could have been different, and it may very well be that the layers are more elaborate than what I assume, clitic negation in particular, cf. (1). I still think that the tree in (2) below suffices to model North Germanic negation within my approach.

(2) ΣP   strong negation
     |
     NegP   weak negation
     |
     Neg°   clitic negation

The label Σ can in this connection allude to *strong, stress* and *semantic*. ΣP thus equals strong negation, whereas NegP and Neg° are deficient negations. I will use these terms (strong, deficient, weak and clitic) to refer to syntactic categories. For grammatical functions of negation, I will use the terms plain and emphatic negation (cf. Kiparsky and Condoravdi's 2006 distinction between plain and emphatic negation). Note again that by the term *negation* I refer to plain negation, whereas I will explicitly refer to emphatic negation if necessary.

   The point of variation is how much of the tree structure in (2) constitutes plain negation. One language may use the whole tree, i.e. ΣP, as plain negation, whereas in another language a subtree might express plain negation, see the illustrations in (3), (4) and (5). Emphatic negation, which is both accentuated and expresses semantic negation, is presumably expressed by the entire structure in (1), i.e. by strong negation, in each language.
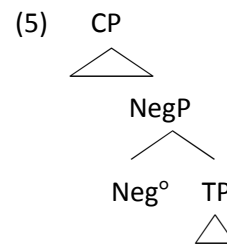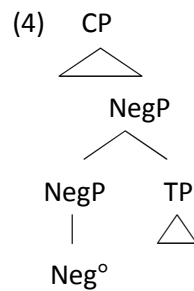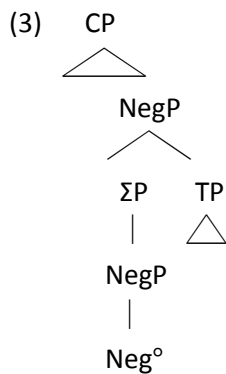
As we will see in the next section, such a tripartition of negation can to a bigger degree account for the observed variation across North Germanic varieties, than the standard analysis of negation as either XP or X° does. The analysis might be considered a formalisation of the partly descriptive division of negation into syntactic clitic, PF-clitic and XP, given in chapter 1, and applied in chapters 3-5. Given the characteristics of a (negative) PF-clitic in chapter 1, it must be a deficient element, whereas an XP might be deficient or strong depending on language.

9.3   Consequences: Displacement of deficient negation

The analysis of negation into strong and deficient implies that only deficient negation (i.e. NegP or Neg°) may displace (cf. Cardinaletti and Starke 1999). I assume that this may happen either by incorporation into another constituent such as the finite verb, or by displacement to a designated position.

Recall that Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) motivate the displacement of pronouns by assuming that they must recover missing features. As Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) do for clitic pronouns, I suggest that clitic negation needs to 'recover' missing prosodic features. Weak pronouns must recover missing case features (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999), and I suggest that weak negation needs to 'recover' some kind of emphatic features by displacement to a designated position. The polarity projection PolP may here be a good candidate for such a position.

I will in the following illustrate displacement of deficient negation. The structures in (3)-(5) above can be taken to model I-languages associated with Danish, and the dialects of Oslo and Stryn, respectively. In the Stryn dialect plain negation is Neg° which may cliticise to the finite verb and hence precede unstressed pronouns. Neg-initial imperatives are possible in the dialects of both Stryn and Oslo, which can be accounted for by the deficient character of the negative markers (Neg° and NegP, respectively). None of this is possible in Danish, and that follows from analysing plain negation in Danish as strong: ΣP cannot, by hypothesis, displace. These analyses will now be repeated in (6)-(9).

In chapter 5 the word order $v_{fin} > neg > subj_{pron}$ is analysed as incorporation of the negative head to the finite verb and subsequent movement of this complex head to C°. In (6) clitic negation incorporates to the finite verb (in order to recover prosodic features). This is not possible or necessary for weak negation, on the assumption that it has some prosodic features.

(6)   CP   Main clause with inverted subject

     XP   C′

   V_{fin}+Neg°   AgrSP

            subj_{pron}   NegP

                   ~~V_{fin}+Neg°~~   TP
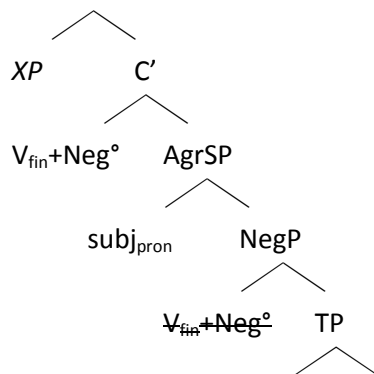
Clause-initial negation of the responsive type investigated in chapter 6, and neg-initial imperatives investigated in chapter 7, are analysed as displacement of the negative marker to a designated position, PolP. Clause-initial negation is analysed as XP-fronting of negation, see (8). Neg-initial imperatives may be analysed similiarly, or it can be analysed as displacement of the negative head to $Pol_{IMP}P$, as illustrated in the following structure. See chapter (7) for comments on the analysis.

(7) $Pol_{IMP}P$ Neg-initial imperative

Neg°   AgrSP

(subject) NegP

Neg°   vP

(subject) V_{IMP}
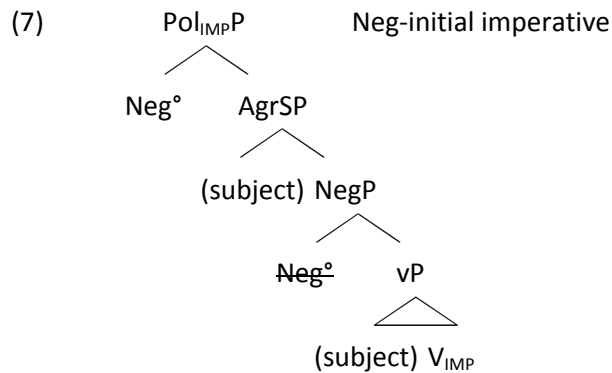
On the assumption that neg-initial imperatives can be derived by either fronting of the negative head or fronting of NegP, the analysis captures the fact that neg-initial imperatives are possible in all Norwegian, but it requires negation to be deficient in Norwegian.

Clause-initial negation can also be analysed as displacement of deficient negation to a designated clause-initial position, $Pol_{fin}P$, as illustrated in (8).

(8) $Pol_{fin}P$ (responsive) clause-initial negation

NegP   Pol'

V_{fin} FinP/AgrSP

(subject) Fin'/AgrS'

V_{fin} NegP

NegP   TP
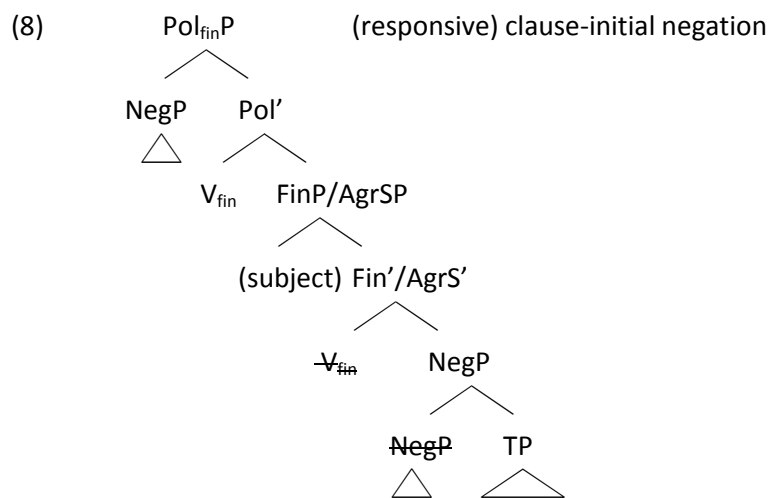
In this structure (8), the weak negation is fronted to the designated position, $Pol_{fin}P$, and the verb occurs in the head of this projection. Whereas it seems reasonable to assume that the operation in (8) can only be applied by weak negation, due to the V2 requirement, both weak and clitic negation can be displaced in the case of neg-initial position (either to the specifier or the head), since there is

no V2 requirement on imperatives. On the assumption that only NegPs may target Pol$_{fin}$P (in order to, for instance, recover some emphatic features), strong negation cannot displace to this position.

This does not, however, completely rule out the possibility of topicalisation of strong negation in line with other (presumably strong) syntactic constituents such as negative indefinites and adverbs. This might be the proper treatment of additive negation, as well. The reason why Danish strong negation cannot topicalise, might, as noted in chapter 6, be related to topicalisation as such, and not to the negative marker in particular.

Clause-initial negation in embedded V3 clauses in, for instance Northern Ostrobothnian, can also be analysed as displacement to a PolP, as proposed in chapter 5.

(9)   ForceP   clause-initial negation in embedded V3
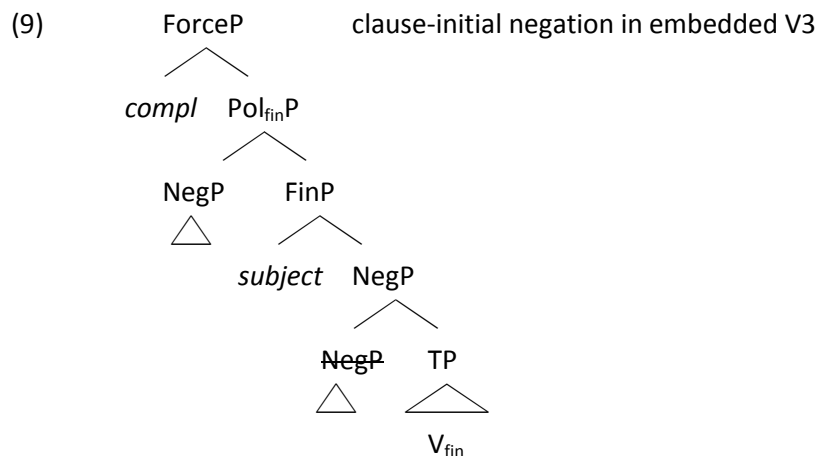
For the Norwegian dialects optionally showing the order *neg > subj > v$_{fin}$* in embedded V3 clauses, I suggested in chapter 4 and 5 that this order resulted from cliticisation of negation to the complementiser at PF. The analysis in (9) would be an alternative one for these cases.

Neg-initial imperatives and clause-initial negation are restricted to Norwegian and Swedish (including Finland-Swedish), which is accounted for on the analysis that negation in these languages is deficient. Furthermore, the difference between clause-initial and neg-initial imperatives can be interpreted as negation in Norwegian dialects being more deficient than negation in Swedish varieties.

The structures (7)-(9) are not acceptable in Danish, and this follows from the assumption that (plain) negation in Danish is strong, i.e. has the structure ΣP, and hence cannot displace. This would account for the seemingly semented position of negation in Danish: It cannot precede (pronominal) subjects, and it cannot displace to clause-initial position.

Recall, however, from chapter 4 that Jensen (1995) reports that focalised negation in Danish may precede an embedded subject under certain conditions. This can be analysed as movement to for instance FocP, on a par with analyses of focalisation of other constituents. The question that still remains to be answered, is why no such movement is possible in Danish main clauses. One speculative suggestion is that it is a potential grammatical option, but that it is so infrequent (and unused) that it is perceived as unacceptable.

9.4 The syntax of negation across North Germanic

The suggested status of negation in each of the investigated North Germanic varieties together with Danish, Icelandic (Thráinsson 2007a) and Faroese (Thráinsson 2004) is given in Table 59 as well as the observed patterns in the dialect grammars.

Table 59 The syntax of negation across North Germanic

Dialect	neg. marker	syntax of plain neg	decl neg>subj$_{DP}$	SS acr neg	OS acr neg	embedded neg>subj$_{pron}$	restr. clause-initial neg	neg-init imp
Oslo	(ik)ke	NegP	+	+	+	−	−	+
Setesdal	inkji	NegP	+	+	+	−	−	+
Setesdal	kji	Neg°?						
Bergen	ikkje	NegP	+	±	±?	−	−	+
Stryn	ikkje	Neg°	+	−	−	−	−	+
Tr.lag	ikke	NegP/ ΣP	+	+	+	−	−	+
Tr.lag 1 (Skaugdal)	itj	Neg°	+	−	−	+?	−	+
Tr.lag2 (Bjugn)	itj	NegP	+	±	±	±?	−	+
Tr.lag3 (Stokkøya)	itj	NegP	+	+	+	−?	−	+
Senja	ikkje	NegP	+	+	+(−?)	−	−	+
Övdalian	int	NegP	+	+	−	±	+	−
Övdalian	it	Neg°?						
N.Ostrob.	i(n)t	NegP	±	±	−?	+	+	−
Danish	ikke	ΣP	−	+	+	−	−	−
Icelandic	ekki	ΣP?	±	+	+		+?	−
Faroese	ikki	ΣP?	−?	+	+	−	+?	−

The marker '+' indicates that the pattern is part of the dialect grammar, the marker '−' indicates that the pattern is not part of the dialect grammar, and the marker '±' indicates that both word orders seems to be part of the dialect grammar. The marker '?' indicates uncertainty as to whether the indicated pattern is correct or not for that dialect, and the marker inside the parenthesis '(+?)' indicates that the pattern might represent a potential subdialect grammar.

This table is similar to Table 58, given in chapter 8. For most of the varieties, and especially the ones in Norway and Sweden, I will assume that plain negation is deficient. This entails that negation can occur in different positions, as explained in the preceding section. (The observant reader will notice that clause-final negation is excluded in Table 59, but given the analysis in chapter 6, in which I proposed that it is merged in (yet another) PolP outside the clause proper, it is reasonable to assume that also clause-final negation must be deficient.)

I also suggest that Insular North Germanic patterns with Danish, discussed above, in having strong negation, i.e. ΣP as plain negation. Icelandic and Faroese are, as opposed to Danish, reported to have clause-initial negation, but I do not know what kind of clause-initial negation they have. On the assumption that these language employ strong negation, clause-initial negation as fronting of negation to Pol$_{fin}$P is, based on the analyses in the previous subsection, not grammatical. Instead it can, as suggested above, considered to be a result of regular topicalisation of ΣP to Spec,CP, in line with topicalisation of other clausal constituents.

In the previous section I tacitly assume that in languages that have NegP as plain negation, NegP is merged in the clausal structure. One could also imagine other ways to implement the idea of deficient negation in a model of the clausal structure, for instance that ΣP is always merged, but depending on the language, a substructure of ΣP might displace, as illustrated in (10).

(10) and (11) syntactic tree diagrams

(10)
```
        PolP
        /\
          FinP
          /\
           NegP
           /\
          ΣP   TP
          |    /\
         NegP
          |
         Neg°
```

(11)
```
          PolP
          /\
      NegP   FinP
       |     /\
      Neg    NegP
             /\
            ΣP   TP
            |    /\
          ~~NegP~~
            |
          ~~Neg°~~
```
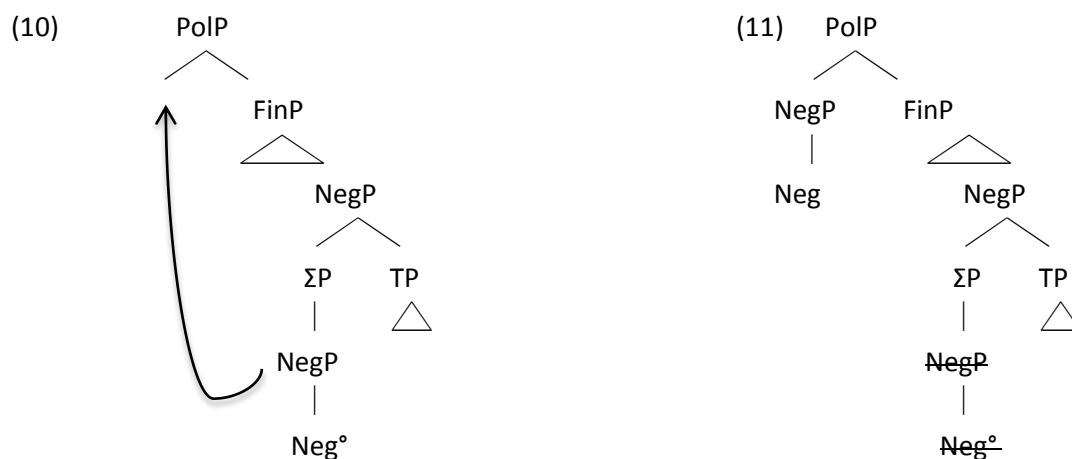
In the structure in (10), ΣP is merged, but NegP can be displaced to, for instance, PolP. The structure in (10) could serve as an illustration of clause-initial negation in Swedish. Such displacement is not possible in Danish, and the question is why not, if ΣP is merged in those languages as well. One answer could be that ΣP is opaque in Danish but not in Swedish. Alternatively, it may be related to the lexical items and their associated structures. In the following I will take a different look at the lexicon than the standard view I have followed in the other chapters, and in chapter 5 in particular. This is based on one of the assumptions in Nanosyntax (e.g. Starke 2009), namely that lexical entries are stored with syntactic structure. For instance, if the negative marker *inte* in Swedish is stored with the substructure NegP, and the negative marker *ikke* in Danish is stored as ΣP, Danish *ikke* can in the first place not lexicalise the displaced structure (11). Another solution might be that only the part of the structure that is contained in the lexical entry, can displace. In a dialect like the one of Stryn, the negative marker is by hypothesis stored as Neg°, which also may displace. If the idea presented in this paragraph were to be implemented in a traditional approach to the lexicon, one could imagine that ΣP, NegP and Neg° were different features, and that the negative markers were associated with one or more of these features.

From the preceding paragraph it follows that the Subset Principle, which simply put states that a lexical item can only spell out a structure A iff all the features/projections of the lexical item are contained in A (reformulated from Pantcheva 2011: 119), must hold for lexical insertion. From this

principle it follows that <*ikkje,* [Neg°]> in the Stryn dialect may lexicalise ΣP in (10), whereas Danish <*ikke,* [ΣP[NegP[Neg°]]]> cannot lexicalise the structure NegP in (11), only ΣP.

The content of Table 59 raises among other the question how to choose which negative marker to use. This is a pertinent question for a linguistic variety like for example the Setesdal dialect, in which the short negative marker *kji* clearly is phonologically related to the full form *inkji*, and for the Trøndelag dialects, in which there are two distinct negative markers *ikke* and *itj*.

In a case like the Setesdal dialect, the question hinges on whether the short form is stored as an independent lexical item or not, and on the syntax itself. Several proposed principles indicate that syntax chooses the smallest structure possible (e.g. Cardinaletti and Starke's 1999 Minimise α; van Gelderen's 2004 Head Preference Principle). If the negative markers *inkji* and *kji* are two independent items, and associated with different amount of structure, the smallest one, i.e. *kji* as a Neg° wins in appropriate contexts. If *kji* is considered a variant of *inkji*, the question is dismissed to the phonological component, in which the most appropriate phonological form is chosen.

The Trøndelag case is slightly different. The lexical specifications for the negative markers *itj* and *ikke* seem to vary according to variety (cf. chapter 5), as in (12).

(12)   a. Traditional varieties: <*itj,* [NegP]>, <*ikke,* [ΣP]>
       b. Trøndelag1 varieties: <*itj,* [Neg°]>, <*ikke,* [NegP]>
       c. Trøndelag3 varieties: <*itj,* [NegP]>, <*ikke,* [NegP]>

In (12) three possible combinations of the different status of the two negative markers are shown. The choice between the negative markers are relatively easy in varieties in which they are associated with different structures, as in the traditional one as in (12a), in which the marker *ikke* is only used as emphatic negation. The competition between the negative markers is by hypothesis biggest in the cases where their associated structures are close to each other. The negative marker *ikke* is frequent in at least some Trøndelag varieties, and in these cases it is reasonable to assume that it has become an exponent of deficient negation (since plain negation in general seems to be deficient in Norwegian), and hence a competitor to the negative marker *itj* to lexicalise a deficient structure (cf. 12c). One outcome of such a competition, might eventually be that the marker *itj* is reduced to a clitic, Neg° (cf. 12b).

For all the North Germanic varieties, I assume that emphatic negation is represented by ΣP, and that the negative marker that has the structurally best match with ΣP, lexicalises it. In other words, the biggest wins this competition, for instance the marker *ikke* in (12b), which has a bigger structure than *itj* in (12b).

One advantage of the analysis of North Germanic negation presented in this chapter, is that it better accounts for the cross-linguistic variation with regard to the distribution of negation than the traditional division of negative markers as either XP or X°. Furthermore, it makes the postulation of homophonous negative markers in the lexicon superfluous, since one lexical item can spell out several structures by the Subset Principle.

9.5   **Summary**

In this chapter I have proposed a tripartition of North Germanic negation in the spirit of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999). From the division of negation into strong and deficient, it follows that only deficient negation may displace (to designated positions) in the clausal structure, as in for instance Norwegian, whereas strong negation cannot, as in for instance Danish.

10 Conclusion

There has been an increased interest in dialect syntax over the last fifteen years or so in Europe, with large projects in for instance Italia (Beninca and Poletto 2007) and the Netherlands (Barbiers and Bennis 2007). In Scandinavia, the ScanDiaSyn network (Vangsnes 2007) and NORMS have fostered research on North Germanic dialects, and the present thesis is a direct outcome of this initiative.

The topic of the dissertation is North Germanic negation and its distribution across different structures. In chapter 3 I investigate Pronoun Shift across negation in main clauses in a corpus of spoken Oslo dialect, and in chapter 4 I investigate the relative order of subject and negation in embedded V3 clauses in the same corpus. The results confirm the general impression that there is Pronoun Shift across negation in the Oslo dialect, and that also embedded V3 clauses in this dialect exhibit the word order *subj > neg > v_{fin}*.

In chapter 5 I study the distribution of negation across a few selected North Germanic varieties in main and embedded V3 clauses, and the results show that the dialect grammars minimally differ from each other. In trying to account for the variation by models of mental grammars, some of the reasons for the variation is attributed to the form of the negative markers, whereas some of the variation seems to rely on which projections are 'active' or present in a given structure. The chapter also contains a passage on verb movement across negation in non-V2 contexts in the dialects of Älvdalen and Setesdal. I assume that the negative marker is the negative head in these cases, and that the verb moves to this head. Thus, the verb only apparently moves across NegP. As a consequence, all North Germanic Mainland varieties can be treated alike in not having verb movement across NegP in non-V2 contexts.

Chapter 6 concerns different structures with double negation: Negative Concord (NC) and clause-initial and clause-final negation. From an empirical perspective on North Germanic, the sections on clause-initial and clause-final negation are most important, since these issues are more relevant to North Germanic varieties than is NC. I treat neg-initial imperatives in chapter 7 on a par with clause-initial negation, insofar that both structures are analysed as fronting of the negative marker to a designated Polarity projection – PolP.

The empirical findings were summarised in chapter 8, and an attempt to treat them in more theoretical terms was presented in chapter 9, where I propose a tripartition of negation in the spirit of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999). By distinguishing three morphosyntactic forms of negation, the empirical observations given in chapter 8 are better accounted for than within the traditional division of negation into either an XP or a head.

At this point, I am now ready to answer the following research questions and hypotheses formulated in chapter 1, repeated here in (1):

(1)   a. *Is there any co-variation in the distribution of negation across the structures under investigation?*

No. It is difficult to detect any overall pattern in the distribution of negation across the North Germanic dialect continuum. There are certain patterns in the distribution of negation that

might be considered related, but the relations are only unidirectional and not bidirectional. See chapter 8.

b. *Does the distribution of negation and adverbs diverge?*

Yes, but this is not equally prominent in all varieties. Theoretically, the difference can be captured by assuming that adverbs are always strong, whereas negation may sometimes be deficient, see chapter 8.

(2) *How can any observed variation in the distribution of negation across North Germanic varieties be accounted for?*

When structural differences and sociolinguistic factors are eliminated, the amount of structure that constitutes (plain) negation – the morphosyntactic tripartition of negation in particular – accounts for the observed variation, cf. the alternative hypothesis (18b) in chapter 1.

The wide empirical basis and the number of discussed structures in this thesis necessarily leave much for future research.

From the empirical perspective, detailed investigations of negation in additional North Germanic varieties would be valuable for at least two reasons: It might shed further light on the distribution of negation and the characteristics of North Germanic negation. It would also be of obvious dialectological interest.

Among the theoretical issues addressed in the thesis, I will first and foremost highlight the following ones as interesting candidates for further investigation: Clause-initial and clause-final negation and the (potential) link between them, and the neg-initial imperatives studied in chapter 7. Furthermore, the morphosyntactic tripartition of negation can obviously be explored further.

Regardless of the loose ends in this thesis, I believe that the broad perspective I have had on the syntax of negation has been an advantage. It has provided a comparative overview of negation in North Germanic: I have considered a number issues connected to negation, and the thesis contains detailed studies of eight North Germanic varieties. On this basis it may hopefully serve as a useful reference on the syntax of North Germanic negation and as a basis for future research on this and related topics.

List of Maps

List of Tables

References

Electronic resources and dictionaries

Map 1: http://no.wikipedia.org.

Maps: http://maps.google.no.

Northern Norwegian dialects, http://nordnorsk.uit.no.

Talemålet i Valle og Hylestad, Valle mållag, http://www.vallemal.no.

The dictionary of Danish, *Ordbog over det Danske Sprog*, http://ordnet.dk/ods/.

The dictionary of Norwegian, *Norsk ordbok 2014*,
http://no2014.uio.no/perl/ordbok/no2014_resultatliste.cgi.

The dictionary of Swedish, *Svenska akademiens ordbok* (SAOB), http://g3.spraakdata.gu.se/saob/.

The dictionary of Trøndelag, http://www.edd.uio.no/perl/search/search.cgi?appid=49&tabid=879.

The Document chest, http://www.tekstlab.uio.no:8080/scandiasyn.

The NDC-corpus, *Nordic Dialect Corpus*, http://tekstlab.uio.no/glossa/html/?corpus=scandiasyn.

The NoTa-corpus, *Norsk talespråkskorpus* - Oslodelen, Tekstlaboratoriet, ILN, Universitetet i Oslo,
http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/oslo/index.html.

The NSD-database, *Nordic Syntax Database*, http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/scandiasyn/base.

The *ScanDiaSyn* web pages, http://websim.arkivert.uit.no/scandiasyn/.

The *Talesøk-corpus* (University of Bergen), http://helmer.aksis.uib.no/talekorpus/Hovedside.htm.

Dictionaries

Aasen, I., Bondevik, J., Nes, O., & Aarset, T. (2000). Dansk-norsk Ordbog (Vol. 10). Bergen: Norsk
bokreidingslag.

Aasen, I., Kruken, K., & Aarset, T. (2003). Norsk Ordbog: med dansk Forklaring. Oslo: Samlaget.

Feilberg, H. F. (1886-1914). *Bidrag til en ordbog over jyske almuesmål*. København: Samfundet.

Heggstad, L., Hødnebø, F., & Simensen, E. (Eds.). (1993). Norrøn ordbok. Det Norske samlaget.

Norsk ordbok: ordbok over the norske folkemålet og det nynorske skriftmålet, vol. 5. (2005). Oslo:
Samlaget.

Ordbok över Finlands svenska folkmål, Hy-Kyss. (Vol. 3), (2000). Helsingfors: Forskningscentralen för
de inhemska språken.

References

Aasen, I. (1864). *Norsk Grammatik*. Kristiania: Malling.

Aasen, I. (1965). *Norsk Grammatik*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Abels, K. (2005). Expletive Negation in Russian: A Conspiracy Theory. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics,
13*(1), 5-74.

Agder, D. (2003): *Core Syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Anderssen, M., & Bentzen, K. (2012). Norwegian Object Shift as IP-internal topicalization. *Nordlyd
(Tromsø University Working Papers on Language and Linguistics), 39*(1), 1-23,
http://www.ub.uit.no/baser/nordlyd/.

Andréasson, M. (2007). *Sentence Adverbials, Constituent Order and Information Dynamics in Swedish.* (PhD), University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg.

Andréasson, M. (2009). Pronominal object shift - not just a matter of shifting or not. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax, 84*(December), 1-20.

Angantýsson, Á. (2007). Verb-third in embedded clauses in Icelandic. *Studia Linguistica, 61*(3), 237-260.

Angantýsson, Á. (2008a). Fronting and exceptional verb placement in embedded clauses in Icelandic - with a comparison to Danish and Elfdalian. Paper presented at the *NORMS Workshop on Root Phenomena and Left Periphery*, University of Tromsø, May 19.-20., 2008.

Angantýsson, Á. (2008b). Verb placement in embedded clauses in Elfdalian. Paper presented at *the Second Conference on Elfdalian*, Älvdalen June 12-14, 2008.

Baker, M. C. (1996). *The polysynthesis parameter*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Barbiers, S. (2002). Microvariation in Negation in Varieties of Dutch. In S. Barbiers, L. Cornips & S. van der Kleij (Eds.), *Syntactic Microvariation*, Meertens Institute Electronic Publications in Linguistics, 13-40.

Barbiers, S. (2005). Word order variation in three-verb clusters and the division of labour between generative linguistics and sociolinguistics. In K. Corrigan & L. Cornips (Eds.), *Syntax and Variation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 233-264.

Barbiers, S., & Bennis, H. (2007). The Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects. *Nordlyd (Tromsø University Working Papers on Language and Linguistics), 34*(1), 53-72.

Bard, E. G., Robertson, D., & Sorace, A. (1996). Magnitude Estimation of Linguistic Acceptability. *Language, 72*(1), 32-68.

Beijer, F. (2004). *On the relative order of adverbs in the I-domain. A study of English and Swedish.* (PhD), Lund University, Lund.

Beito, O. T. (1973). *Norske målføretekster* (3. ed.). Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Beninca, P., & Poletto, C. (2007). The ASIS enterprise: a view on the construction of a syntactic atlas for the Northern Italian dialects. *Nordlyd (Tromsø University Working Papers on Language and Linguistics), 34*(1), 35-52.

Bentzen, K. (2005). What's the better move? On verb placement in Standard and Northern Norwegian. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics, 28*(2), 153-188.

Bentzen, K. (2007). *Order and Structure in Embedded Clauses in Northern-Norwegian.* (PhD), University of Tromsø, Tromsø.

Bentzen, K. (2009). Subject Positions and their Interaction with Verb Movement. *Studia Linguistica, 63*(3), 1-31.

Bentzen, K. (to appear). Kronoby revisited: Verb movement in embedded non-V2 contexts in Northern Ostrobothnian. *Nordlyd (Tromsø University Working Papers on Language and Linguistics), 35: Solf Proceedings*.

Bentzen, K., Anderssen, M., & Rodina, Y. (2009). *The development of syntax in micro-Scandinavians: Object Shift in Norwegian child language*. Paper presented at the ScanDiaSyn Grand Meeting 2009 in Älvdalen, Älvdalen.

Bergroth, H. (1917, 1928). *Finlandssvenska: handledning till undvikande av provinsialismer i tal och skrift*. Helsingfors: Holger Schildt.

den Besten, H. (1983). On the Interaction of Root Transformations and Lexical Deletive Rules. In W.

Abraham (Ed.), *On the Formal Syntax of the Westgermania*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Biberauer, T. (2002). Reconsidering embedded verb second: How 'real' is the phenomenon? *Working Papers in English and Applied Linguistics (published by the research Centre for English and Applied Linguistics, University of Cambridge) 8*, 25- 60.

Biberauer, T. (2008). Doubling vs. Omission: Insights from Afrikaans Negation. In S. Barbiers, O. Koeneman, M. Lekakou & M. van der Ham (Eds.), *Microvariation in Syntactic Doubling*. Bingley: Emerald, 103-140.

Boeckx, C. (2008). *Bare syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Borer, H. (1984). *Parametric syntax: case studies in Semitic and Romance languages*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Brandtler, J. (2006). On Aristotle and Baldness: Topic, Reference, Presupposition of Existence, and Negation. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax, 77*, 177-204.

Brandtler, J. (2008). Om den relative ledföljden mellan subjekt och negation i svenska bisatser. Ms. Lund: University of Lund.

Braunmüller, K. (1998). *De nordiske språk*. Oslo: Novus.

Brekke, O., Sandøy, H., & Rundhovde, G. (2000). *Saltendialekten: en grammatikk*. Fauske: Skjerstad og Fauske bygdeboknemd.

Bucht, T. (1962). *Språket i Härnösand*. Stockholm: Norstedts.

Büring, D., & Gunlogson, C. (2000). *Aren't Postive and Negative Polar Questions the Same?* Ms. University of California, Los Angeles and University of California, Santa Cruz.

Cardinaletti, A., & Starke, M. (1999). The typology of structural deficiency: A case study of the three classes of pronouns. In H. v. Riemsdijk (Ed.), *Clitics in the Languages of Europe*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 145-234.

Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Chomsky, N. (1981). *Lectures on government and binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Chomsky, N. (1986). *Knowledge of language: its nature, origin, and use*. New York: Praeger.

Chomsky, N. (1995). *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Chomsky, N. (1999). *Derivation by Phase* (Vol. 18). Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Chomsky, N. (2006). *Language and mind* (3rd edition). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Christensen, B. (1936). Nægtelsen i lollandsk. *Danske studier*, 155-168.

Christensen, H. (1996 [1950]). Geografisk oversyn over den nordnorske apokope. In E. H. Jahr & O. Skare (Eds.), *Nordnorske dialektar*, 93-99.

Christensen, K. K. (1986). Norwegian *ingen*: a case of post-syntactic lexicalization. In Ö. Dahl & A. Holmberg (Eds.), *Workshop at the Ninth Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics, Stockholm, Januari 1986. Scandinavian Syntax*. Stockholm: Institute of Linguistics, University of Stockholm, 21-35.

Christensen, K. R. (2003). On the Synchronic and Diachronic Status of the Negative Adverbial *ikke/not*. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax, 72*, 1-53.

Christensen, K. R. (2005). *Interfaces. Negation - Syntax - Brain.* (PhD), University of Aarhus, Aarhus.

Christoffersen, M. (2004). Syntaktisk utvikling. In O. E. Haugen (Ed.), *Handbok i norrøn filologi*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 303-336.

Cinque, G. (1999). *Adverbs and functional heads: a cross-linguistic perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cornips, L., & Corrigan, K. (2005). Convergence and Divergence in Grammar. In P. Auer, F. Hinskens & P. Kerswill (Eds.), *Dialect Change: The Convergence and Divergence in European Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 96-134.

Cornips, L., & Poletto, C. (2005). On Standardising Syntactic Elicitation Techniques, Part I. *Lingua: International Review of General Linguistics, 115*(7), 939-957.

Dahlstedt, K.-H., & Ågren, P.-U. (1954). *Øvre Norrlands bygdemål: berättelser på bygdemål med förklaringar och en dialektöversikt*. Umeå: Vetenskapliga Biblioteket.

Dalen, A., Hagland, J. R., Hårstad, S., Rydving, H., & Stemshaug, O. (2008). *Trøndersk språkhistorie. Språkforhold i ein region*. Trondheim: Tapir akademisk forlag.

Diderichsen, P. (1962). *Elementær dansk grammatik* (3. ed.). København: Gyldendal.

Diesing, M. (1996). Semantic variables and object shift. In H. Thráinsson & S. D. Epstein (Eds.), *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax* (Vol. 2). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publisher, 66-84.

Dyvik, H. (1980). Grammatikk og empiri: en syntaktisk modell og dens forutsetninger. Bergen, Universitetet i Bergen.

Eide, K. M. (2002). Adjuntion Sites for Negation in Norwegian: Modals and Negation. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics, 25*, 225-252.

Eide, K. M. (2011). Norwegian (non-V2) declaratives, resumptive elements, and the Wackernagel position. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics, 34*(2), 179-213.

Ekerot, L.-J. (1988). *Så-konstruktionen i svenskan: konstruktionstypen "Om vädret tillåter, så genomföres övningen" i funktionellt grammatiskt perspektiv*. Lund: Lund University Press.

Endresen, Ø. (1988). Innbyrdes posisjon mellom trykklett pronomen og setningsadverbialet *ikkje* i trøndske og nordsvenske dialekter. In A. Bjørkum & A. Borg (Eds.), *Nordiske studiar*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 47-70.

Ernst, T. B. (2002). *The syntax of adjuncts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Erteschik-Shir, N. (2005). Object Shift and linearization at the PF interface. *Theoretical Linguistics, 31*(1/2), 199-213.

Faarlund, J. T. (1977). Transformational syntax in dialectology: Scandinavian word order varieties. In T. Fretheim & L. Hellan (Eds.), *Papers from the Trondheim syntax symposium 1977*. Trondheim: Lingvistisk institutt, 65-83.

Faarlund, J. T. (2003). Språk i endring: indre norsk språkhistorie. In J. T. Faarlund (Ed.), *Språk i endring: indre norsk språkhistorie*. Oslo: Novus, 57-79.

Faarlund, J. T. (2004). *The Syntax of Old Norse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Faarlund, J. T., Lie, S., & Vannebo, K. I. (1997). *Norsk referansegrammatikk*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Falk, C. (1993). *Non-referential subjects in the history of Swedish.* (PhD), Department of Scandinavian Languages, University of Lund, Lund.

Falk, H., & Torp, A. (1900). *Dansk-norskens syntax i historisk fremstilling*. Kristiania: Aschehoug.

Fillmore, C. (1992). 'Corpus-linguistics' vs. 'computer-aided armchair linguistics'. Directions in Corpus Linguistics. J. Svartvik. Berlin, de Gruyter: 35-60.

Fitje, A. (1995). *Målføret i Gloppen*. Sandane: A. Fitje.

Fox, D., & Pesetsky, D. (2005). Cyclic linearization of syntactic structure. *Theoretical Linguistics, 31*, 1-45.

Garbacz, P. (2009). *Issues in Övdalian Syntax. Structural Properties and the Role of Inflection in a*

Scandinavian Vernacular. Lund: Lund University.

Garbacz, P. (2010). *Word order in Övdalian: a study in variation and change.* (PhD), Universty of Lund, Lund.

Garzonio, J. & Poletto, C. (2009). Quantifiers as negative markers in Italian dialects. *Working Papers in Linguistics, 19*, 81-109.

van Gelderen, E. (2004). *Grammaticalization as economy*. Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Pub.

van Gelderen, E. (2008). Negative cycles. *Linguistic Typology, 12*, 195-243.

Giannakidou, A. (1997). *The landscape of Polarity Items.* (PhD), Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Groningen.

Giannakidou, A. (2000). Negative … Concord? *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory, 18*, 457-523.

Grewendorf, G. (2005). The discourse configurationality of scrambling. In J. Sabe & M. Saito (Eds.), *The free word order phenomenon: its syntactic sources and diversity*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 75-135.

Haeberli, E. (1999). On the word order 'XP-subject' in the Germanic languages. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics, 3*, 1-36.

Haegeman, L. (1995). *The Syntax of Negation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haegeman, L. (2003). Conditional clauses: External and internal syntax. *Mind and Language, 18*(4), 317-339.

Hagedorn, K. T. & H. Jørgensen. (2009). Rapport om DanDiaSyn-projektet. In I. S. Hansen & P. Widell (Eds.), *12. Møde om udforskningen af dansk sprog, Århus 2008*. Århus: The University of Aarhus.

Haislund, N. (1933). Nogle bemærkninger om negation i rigsmaal og folkemaal. *Danske Folkemaal, 7*, 105-138.

Hallman, P. (2004). NP-Interpretation and the structure of predicates. *Language, 80*(4), 707-747.

Halmøy, M. (2010). *The Norwegian nominal system: a neo-saussurean perspective.* (PhD), University of Tromsø, Tromsø.

de Han, G. J. (2001). More is going on upstairs than downstairs: Embedded root phenomena in West Frisian. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics, 4*, 3-38.

Hasund, K. (2006). *Ungdomsspråk*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Haugan, J. (2000). *Old Norse word order and information structure.* (PhD), Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.

Haugen, E. (1982). *Oppdalsmålet: innføring i et sørtrøndsk fjellbygdmål*. Oslo: Tanum-Norli.

Heggelund, K. T. (1981). *Setningsadverbial i norsk: ein syntaktisk og semantisk-pragmatisk studie med ein omtale av adverbialframstillinga i norsk grammatisk tradisjon*. Oslo: Novus.

Heggstad, L. (1916). Ymist or syntaksen i Sæbyggjemaalet. *Maal og minne*, 159-166.

Heggstad, L. (1920). Um ordleiding og setningsbygning i norske maalføre. *Maal og minne*(1 & 2), 81-93.

Heggstad, L. (1931). *Norsk grammatikk: større utgåve*. Oslo: Norlis forlag.

Hellan, L. (1996). En analyse av klitika i trøndersk, og noen konsekvenser for analysen av norsk setningsstruktur. *Nordica Bergensia* (9), 103-112.

Hellan, L., & Platzack, C. (1999). Pronouns in Scandinavian languages: An overview. In H. van Riemsdijk (Ed.), *Clitics in the Languages of Europe*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 123-142.

Heltoft, L. (2005). Ledsætning og letled i dansk: OV-rækkefølgens rester. In S. Heltoft, L., & Nørgård-Sørensen, J. (Ed.), *Grammatikalisering og Struktur*. København: Museum Tusculanums Forlag,

145-166.

Henry, A. (2005). Non-standard dialects and linguistic data. *Lingua* 115(11): 1599-1617.

Heycock, C., Sorace, A., & Hansen, Z. S. (2010). V-to-I and V2 in subordinate clauses: an investigation of Faroese in relation to Icelandic and Danish. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics, 13*, 61-97.

Holmberg, A. (1986). *Word order and syntactic features in the Scandinavian languages and English.* (PhD), University of Stockholm, Stockholm.

Holmberg, A. (1993). Two subject positions in IP in Mainland Scandinavian. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax, 52*, 29-41.

Holmberg, A. (1999). Remarks on Holmberg's Generalization. *Studia Linguistica, 53*(1), 1-39.

Holmberg, A. (2003). Questions, answers, polarity and head movement in Germanic and Finnish. In A. Dahl, K. Bentzen & P. Svenonius (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 9th Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics,* Vol. 31.1, 88-115.

Holmberg, A. (2010). Parameters in minimalist theory: The case of Scandinavian. *Theoretical Linguistics, 36*(1), 1-48.

Holmberg, A., & Platzack, C. (1995). *The role of inflection in Scandinavian syntax*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Holmberg, A., & Platzack, C. (2005). The Scandinavian Languages. In G. Cinque & R. Kayne (Eds.), *The Comparative Syntax Handbook* (420-458). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hooper, J., & Thompson, S. (1973). On the applicabilitty of root transformations. *Linguistic Inquiry, 4*, 465-497.

Horn, L. R. (2001). *A natural history of negation*. Stanford, Calif., CSLI Publications.

Hosono, M. (2010). Why Object Shift does not exist in Övdalian. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax, 86*(December), 57-80.

Huldén, L. (1995). Österbottnisk negationslära. *Swedish Dialects and Folk Traditions, 118*, 175-187.

Hulthén, L. (1947). *Studier i jämförande nunordisk syntax II*. Göteborg: Wettergren & Kebers förlag.

Hårstad, S. (2004). *Ikke så typisk trøndersk: en sosiolingvistisk studie av ungdoms talemål i Oppdal*. (cand.philol), Trondheim: University of Trondheim.

Hårstad, S. (2009). *Introduction to the Fosen dialect*. Paper presented at the 7th NORMS Dialect Workshop Fosen, Norway. Fosen.

Ivars, A.-M. (1988). *Närpesdialekten på 1980-talet*. Helsingfors.

Iversen, R. (1918). *Syntaksen i Tromsø bymaal: en kort oversigt*. Kristiania: Bymaals-laget.

Jahr, E. H., & Skare, O. (1996). *Nordnorske dialektar*. Oslo: Novus.

Jensen, B. (2001). On sentential negation in the Mainland Scandinavian languages. *Oxford University Working Papers, in Linguistics, Philology & Phonetics, 6*, 115-135.

Jensen, B. (2003). *Imperatives in English and Scandinavian.* (PhD), University of Oxford, Oxford.

Jensen, E. S. (1995). Neksusadverbialets placering i ledsætninger. *NyS, 20*, 77-90.

Jespersen, O. (1917). *Negation in English and other languages*. København: Høst.

Johannessen, J. B. (1998). Negasjonen *ikke*: kategori og syntaktisk posisjon. In J. T. Faarlund, B. Mæhlum & T. Nordgård (Eds.), *Mons 7. Utvalde artiklar frå det 7. Møtet Om Norsk Språk i Trondheim 1997*. Oslo: Novus, 80-94.

Johannessen, J. B. (2003). Negative Polarity Verbs in Norwegian. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax, 71*, 33-74.

Johannessen, J. B., & Vangsnes, Ø. A. (2011). Nye nordiske isoglossar. Dialektforsking ved bruk av Nordisk Syntaktisk Database (NSD). *Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv*, 69-78.

Johannessen, J. B., Priestley, J., Hagen, K., Nøklestad, A. & Lynum, A. (2012). The Nordic Dialect Corpus. In N. Calzolari, K. Choukri, T. Declerck, M. U. Dogan, B. Maegaard, J. Mariani & J. Odijk (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation*. European Language Resources Association, 3387-3391.

Johannessen, J. B., Hagen, K., Priestley, J. & Nygaard, L. (2007). An advanced speech corpus for Norwegian. In J. Nivre, H.-J. Kaalep, K. Muischnek & M. Koit (Eds.), *NODALIDA 2007 Conference Proceedings*, 29-36.

Johannessen, J. B., Priestley, J., Hagen, K., Åfarli, T. A., & Vangsnes, Ø. A. (2009). The Nordic Dialect Corpus - an Advanced Research Tool. In K. Jokinen & E. Bick (Eds.), *17th Nordic Conference of Computational Linguistics NODALIDA 2009*: NEAL Proceedings Series Volume 4.

Johnsen, A. (1962). *Syntaksen i Kristiansands bymål*. Oslo: Aschehoug.

Jonas, D. (1996). *Clause structure and verb syntax in Scandinavian and English.* (Ph.D.), Harvard University, Boston.

Jónsson, J. G. (1996). *Clausal Architecture and Case in Icelandic.* (PhD), University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Josefsson, G. (1992). Object shift and weak pronominals in Swedish. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax, 49*, 59-94.

Josefsson, G. (1994). Scandinavian Pronouns And Object Shift. In H. van Riemsdijk & L. Hellan (Eds.), *Clitics: Their Origin, Status, and Position*: Eurotyp Working Papers, 81-122.

Josefsson, G. (1999). Scandinavian pronouns and Object Shift. In H. van Riemsdijk (Ed.), *Clitics in the Languages of Europe* (Language Typology, Vol. III), Berlin: Nouton de Grutyer, 731-757.

Josefsson, G. (2001). The True Nature of Holmberg's Generalization Revisited - Once Again. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax, 67*, 85-102.

Josefsson, G. (2003). Four myths about Object Shift in Swedish - and the Truth.... In L.-O. Delsing (Ed.), *Grammatik i fokus: festskrift till Christer Platzack den 18 november 2003 = Grammar i focus: festchrift for Christer Platzack 18 November 2003* (Vol. 2). Lund: Institutionen för nordiska språk, 199-206.

Julien, M. (2006). *Så vanleg at det ikkje kan avfeiast - om V2 in innføydde setningar*. Ms. University of Lund.

Julien, M. (2007). Embedded V2 in Norwegian and Swedish. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax, 80*, 103-161.

Julien, M. (2009). The force of the argument. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax, 84*, 225-232.

Kaiser, E. (2006). Negation and the left periphery in Finnish. *Lingua, 116*, 314-350.

Kayne, R. S. (1975). *French syntax: the transformational cycle*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Kayne, R. S. (2000). *Parameters and universals*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Kiparsky, P., & Condoravdi, C. (2006). Tracking Jespersen's Cycle. In M. Janse, B. D. Joseph & A. Ralli (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference of Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory*. Mytilene: Doukas, 173-197.

Labov, W. (1966). *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington D.C.: Center for Applied LInguistics.

Ladd, R. D. (1981). A first look at the semantics and pragmatics of negative questions and tag

questions *Papers from the Seventeenth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society, 164-171.

Larsen, A. B. (1948 [1897]). *Oversigt over de norske bygdemål: med et kart* (2. ed.). Oslo: Aschehoug.

Larsen, A. B., & Stoltz, G. (1912). *Bergens bymål*. Kristiania: i kommisjon hos Aschehoug.

Levander, L. (1909). *Ælvdalsmålet i Dalarna: ordbøjning och syntax*. Stockholm: Norstedt.

Lie, S. (1992). Ka du sei? *Maal og minne*, 62-77.

Lindstad, A. M. (1999). *Issues in the syntax of negation and polarity in Norwegian: a minimalist analysis.* (cand.philol), University of Oslo, Oslo.

Lindstad, A. M. (2007). *Analyses of negation. Structure and interpretation.* (PhD), University of Oslo, Oslo.

Lindstad, A. M., Nøklestad, A., Johannessen, J. B., & Vangsnes, Ø. A. (2009). The Nordic Dialect Database: Mapping Microsyntactic Variation in the Scandinavian Languages. In K. Jokinen & E. Bick (Eds.), *17th Nordic Conference of Computational Linguistics NODALIDA 2009*: NEAL Proceedings Series Volume 4.

Lindström, J. (2005). Mittfältsinitialt *inte* i bisats. Ordföljdsvaration i finlandssvenska och sverigesvenska. In K. Nikula & e. al. (Eds.), *Svenskan i Finland 8. (Nordistica Tamperensia A5)* (138-156). Tammerfors: Tammerfors universitet.

Lindström, J. (2006). Initial satsnegation. En responsiv konstruktion i finlandssvenska. In V. Muittari & M. Rahkonen (Eds.), *Svenskan i Finland 9. (Meddelanden från Institutionen för språk vid Jyväskylä universitet 1.)*. Jyväskylä, 124-135.

Lindström, J. (2007). Initial clausal negation – a Nordic areal feature? In A. Amman (Ed.), *Linguistics Festival. (Diversitas Linguarum Vol. 14.)*. Bochum: Brockmeyer, 31-58.

Lindström, J. (2009). Negationen *inte* i satsens spets - *Int e du ju rimlit*. In C. Wide & B. Lyngfeldt (Eds.), *Konstruktioner i finlandssvensk syntax. Skriftspråk, samtal och dialekter*. Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 163-189.

Lockwood, W. B. (2002). *An Introduction to Modern Faroese* (4. ed.). Tórshavn: Føroya Skúlabókagrunnur.

Lundström, G. (1939). *Studier i nyländsk syntax*. Stockhom: Norstedt.

Miestamo, M. (2005). *Standard negation. The negation of declarative verbal main clauses in a typological perspective*. Berlin: Mouton den Gruyter.

Mikkelsen, L. (2011). On Prosody and Focus in Object Shift. *Syntax* 14(3): 230–264.

Milroy, J. (2001). Language ideologies and the consequences of standarization. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5(4): 530-555.

Milsark, G. L. (1977). Towards and explanation of certain peculiarities of the existential constructions in English. *Linguistic Analysis, 3*(1), 1-29.

Mørck, E. (2004). Mellomnorsk språk. In E. Haugen (Ed.), *Handbok i norrøn filologi*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget/LNU, 407-450.

Müller, G. (2002). Two Types of Remnant Movement. In A. Alexiadou, E. Anagnostopoulou, S. Barbiers & H.-M. Gärtner (Eds.), *Dimensions of Movement*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 209-241.

Müller, G. (2004). Verb-Second as vP-First. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics, 7*, 179-234.

Munaro, N., & Poletto, C. (2004). Sentential particles and clausal typing in the Veneto dialects. *http://www.unive.it/media/allegato/download/Lingue/Materiale_didattico_Poletto/pubblicazioni/SPforDEWvolume.pdf*.

Munther, M. (2007). *"Inte vet jag vad jag håller på med e" En beskrivning av partikel-e i dellboskan i två delar. Distribution och function.* (Bachelor), Mittuniversitetet, Sundsvall.

Muysken, P. (2000). Radical modularity and the possibility of sociolinguistics. Paper presented at the Sociolinguistics Symposium 2000, 27.-29. April. University of the West of England, Bristol.

Mæhlum, B., Røyneland, U., Akselberg, G., & Sandøy, H. (2003). *Språkmøte: innføring i sosiolingvistikk*. Oslo: Cappelen akademiske forlag.

Nilsen, Ø. (1997). Adverbs and A-shift. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax, 59*, 1-31.

Nilsen, Ø. (2003). *Eliminating positions: Syntax and semantics of sentence modification.* (PhD), Universiteit Utrecht, Utrecht.

Nimb, S. (2004). *Danske adverbier mellem leksikon og syntaks.* (PhD), Københavns Universtitet, København.

Nyström, I. (1985). *Studier i äldre nysvensk syntax, 2, Ledstruktur och ledföljd i bisatser*. Helsingfors.

Opsahl, T. (2009). *"Egentlig alle kan bidra!": en samling sosiolingvistiske studier av strukturelle trekk ved norsk i multietniske ungdomsmiljøer i Oslo.* (PhD), Oslo: Universitetet i Oslo.

Ouhalla, J. (1990). Sentential Negation, Relativized Minimality and the Aspectual Status of Auxiliaries. *The Linguistic Review, 7*, 183-231.

Pedersen, I. L. (1996). 'Der kan jo være nogen der kan itte tåle det' Om hovedsætningsordstilling i bisætninger i danske dialekter. In B. Nielsen & I. L. Pedersen (Eds.), *Studier i Talesprogsvariation og Sprogkontakt. Til Inger Eskjær på halvfjerdsårsdagen den 20 maj 1996*. København: C. A. Reitzels Forlag, 242-251.

Pedersen, K. M. (1993). Letledsregelen og lighedsregelen. Novation, ekspansion og resistens. *Jyske studier tilegnede Magda Nyberg og Bent Jul Nielsen*. København: C. A. Reitzels Forlag, 199-218.

Pesetsky, D. and E. Torrego (2001). T-to-C Movement: Causes and Consequences. Ken Hale: A Life in Language. M. Kenstowicz. Cambridge, MIT Press: 355-426.

Pettersen, E. (1973). Neksusadverbialet *ikke* i Bergens bymål. *Maal og minne* (1-2), 44-52.

Platzack, C. (1986). Comp, Infl and Germanic Word Order. In L. Hellan & K. K. Christensen (Eds.), *Topics in Scandinavian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris, 185-234.

Platzack, C. (2007). Embedded imperatives. In W. v. d. Wurff (Ed.), *Imperative Clauses in Generative Grammar: Studies in Honour of Frits Beukema*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 181-203.

Platzack, C. (2010). *Head Movement as a Phonological Operation*. http://www.fosssil.in/platzack_10_Head-Movement.pdf.

Platzack, C., & Rosengren, I. (1998). On the subject of imperatives: a minimalist account of the imperative clause. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics, 1*, 177-224.

Poletto, C. (2007). On negation splitting and doubling. Paper presented at the *ScanDiaSyn Grand Meeting*, Lake Mývatn, Iceland.

Poletto, C. (2010). Contrastive linguistics and microvariation. Paper presented at the *The Accquisition of Linguistic Variation*, CASTL - Center for Advanced Study in Theoretical Linguistics, University of Tromsø.

Pollock, J.-Y. (1989). Verb Movement, Universal Grammar, and the Structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry, 20*, 365-424.

Pullum, G. K., & Zwicky, A. M. (1988). The syntax-phonology interface. In F. J. Newmeyer (Ed.), *Linguistics: The Cambridge Survey; Volume I, Linguistic Theory: Foundations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 255-280.

Radford, A. (2004). *Minimalist Syntax.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ramchand, G. (2004). Two types of negation in Bengali. In V. Dayal & A. Mahajan (Eds.), *Clause structure in South Asian languages*. Boston: Kluwer, 39-66.

Rimsdijk, H. C. v. (1999). Clitics: A state-of-the-art report. In H. v. Rimsdijk (Ed.), *Clitics in the Languages of Europe*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1-30.

Rizzi, L. (1982). *Issues in Italian syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Rizzi, L. (1997). The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery. In L. Haegeman (Ed.), *Elements of Grammar*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 281-337.

Roberge, P. T. (2000). Etymological opacity, hybridization, and the Afrikaans brace negation. *American Journal of Germanic Linguistics and Literatures 12*, 101-176.

Roberts, I. G. (2007). *Diachronic syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Roberts, I. G. (2011). Head Movement and the Minimalist Program. In C Boeckx (Ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Minimalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 195-219.

Roeper, T. (1999). Universal Bilingualism. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 2*, 169-186.

Rohrbacher, B. (1999). *Morphology-driven syntax: A theory of V to I raising and pro-drop*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Rosenkvist, H. (1994). *Tecken på syntaktisk utveckling i Älvdalsmålet under senare tid.* (Bachelor), Lund University, Lund.

Rosenkvist, H. (2007). Subject doubling on Övdalian. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax, 80*, 77-102.

Rosenkvist, H. (2010). Null Referential Subjects in Övdalian. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics, 33*, 231-267.

Rypdal, H. (1929). *Romsdalsmål (Tresfjorden): formlæra*. Oslo: I kommisjon hjå Olaf Norli.

Sandøy, H. (1996). *Talemål* (2. ed.). Oslo: Novus.

de Saussure, F., & Komatsu, Eisuke (1993) *Troisieme cours de linguistique general (1910-1911)*, Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Schütze, C. T. (1996). *The empirical base of linguistics: grammaticality judgments and linguistic methodology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sollid, H. (2005). *Språkdannelse og -stabilisering i møtet mellom kvensk og norsk*. Oslo: Novus.

Sorace, A., & Keller, F. (2005). Gradience in linguistic data. *Lingua, 115*(11), 1497-1524.

Sportiche, D. (2006). *NP Movement: How to Merge and Move in Tough-Constructions*. Ms., UCLA.

Starke, M. (2009). Nanosyntax. A short primer to a new approach to language. In P. Svenonius, G. Ramchand, M. Starke & K. T. Taraldsen (Eds.), *Nordlyd* 36.1, special issue on Nanosyntax. CASTL, Tromsø: http://www.ub.uit.no/baser/nordlyd/, 1-6.

Sundquist, J. D. (2002). Object Shift and Holmberg's Generalization in the History of Norwegian. In D. W. Lightfoot (Ed.), *Syntactic Effect of Morphological Change*, 326-349.

Svavarsdóttir, Á. & Jónsdóttir, M. (1988). *Íslenska fyrir Útlendinga. Kennslubók í Málfræði*. Reykjavík: Málsvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands.

Svendsen, M. (1931). *Syntaksen i Stavanger bymål*. Oslo: Aschehoug.

Svenonius, P. (2005). Extending the extension condition to discontinuous idioms. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook, 5*, 227-263.

Svenonius, P. (2007). Parameters, Microparameters, and Things that go Bump in the Night. Paper presented at the *NORMS/ScanDiaSyn Grand Meeting at Mývatn*, Mývatn, Iceland.

Teinnæs, T. (1929). Et par bemærkninger om nægtelsesordene i bornholmsk. *Danske Folkemaal, 3*, 48-52.

Teleman, U., Christensen, L., Hellberg, S., & Andersson, E. (1999). *Svenska akademiens grammatik 4*. Stockholm: Svenska akademien.

Thráinsson, H. (2004). *Faroese: an overview and reference grammar*. Tórshavn: Føroya Fródskaparfelag.

Thráinsson, H. (2007a). *The syntax of Icelandic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thráinsson, H. (2007b). *Some things we have learned from the IceDiaSyn project*. Ms. University of Iceland.

Thráinsson, H. (2010). Predictable and unpredictable sources of variable verb and adverb placement in Scandinavian. *Lingua, 120*, 1062-1088.

Trask, R. L. (1993). *A dictionary of grammatical terms in linguistics*. London: Routledge.

Uriagereka, J. (2007). Clarifying the Notion "Parameter". *Biolinguistics, 1*, 99-113.

van der Wouden, T., & Zwarts, F. (1993). A Semantic Analysis of Negative Concord. In U. Lahiri & A. Wyner (Eds.), *SALT III: Proceedings of the third conference on semantics and linguistic theory*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics, 202-219.

van der Wurff, W. (2007). Imperative clauses in generative grammar: An introduction. In W. v. d. Wurff & F. Beukema (Eds.). *Imperative clauses in generative grammar: studies in honour of Frits Beukema*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1-95.

Vangsnes, Ø. A. (1999). *The identification of functional architecture.* (Dr.Art.) University of Bergen, Bergen.

Vangsnes, Ø. A. (2007). Scandinavian Dialect Syntax (before and after) 2005. *Nordlyd (Tromsø University Working Papers on Language and Linguistics), 34*(1), 7-24.

Vangsnes, Ø. A. (2008). On Peripheral Doubling in Scandinavian. In S. Barbiers, O. Koeneman, M. Lekakou & M. van der Ham (Eds.), *Microvariation in Syntactic Doubling*. Bingley: Emerald, 419-441.

Venås, K. (1971). Om posisjonen til neksusadverbialet *ikkje*. *Maal og minne* (3-4), 124-173.

Vikner, S. (1995). *Verb movement and expletive subjects in the Germanic languages*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wechsler, S. (1991). Verb Second and Illocutionary Force. In K. Leffel & D. Bouchard (Eds.), *Views on Phrase Structure*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 177-191.

Weiß, H. (2002). Three Types of Negation: A Case Study in Bavarian. In S. Barbiers, L. Cornips & S. van der Kleij (Eds.), *Syntactic Microvariation* (Vol. II). Meertens Institute Electronic Publications in Linguistics, 305-332.

Westergaard, M. R., & Vangsnes, Ø. A. (2005). Wh-Questions, V2, and the Left Periphery of Three Norwegian Dialect Types. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics, 8*, 117-158.

Western, A. (1921). *Norsk riksmåls-grammatikk: for studerende og lærere*. Kristiania: Aschehoug.

Wiklund, A.-L. (2009a). In search of the force of dependent V2: A note on Swedish. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax, 83*, 27-36.

Wiklund, A.-L. (2009b). May the force be with you: A reply from the 5th floor. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax, 84*, 233-236.

Wiklund, A.-L., Bentzen, K., Hrafnbjargarson, G. H., & Hrórarsdóttir, T. (2009). On the distribution and illocution of V2 in Scandinavian *that*-clauses. *Lingua, 119*, 1914-1938.

Wiklund, A.-L., Hrafnbjargarson, G. H., Bentzen, K., & Hrórarsdóttir, T. (2007). Rethinking Scandinavian verb movement. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics, 10*(3), 203-233.

Williams, E. (2003). *Representation theory*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Zanuttini, R. (1997). *Negation and clausal structure: a comparative study of Romance languages*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Zeijlstra, H. (2004). *Sentential Negation and Negative Concord.* (PhD), LOT, Utrecht.

Zeijlstra, H. (2006). The Ban on True Negative Imperatives. In O. Bonami & P. C. Hofherr (Eds.), *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics 5. Special volume.* 405-424.

Zeijlstra, H. (2007). *Not in the first place*. lingBuzz/000523.

Zwicky, A. M., & Pullum, G. K. (1983). Cliticization vs Inflection; English n't. *Language, 59*(3), 502-513.

Østbø, C. B. (2003). *Generativ analyse av norske setningsadverbialer: et kritisk blikk.* (cand.philol), Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet, Trondheim.

Østbø, C. B. (2006). The Norwegian function word så and Norwegian CP-syntax. Paper presented at the *NORMS Workshop on Inversion and verb movement*, University of Tromsø, January 30.-31. 2006.

Åfarli, T. A. (1995). A Note on the Syntax of Adverbial Phrases. *Norsk Lingvistisk Tidsskrift, 13*(1), 23-40.

Åfarli, T. A. (1998). Dialektsyntaks. In J. T. Faarlund, B. Mæhlum & T. Nordgård (Eds.), *Utvalde artiklar frå det 7. Møtet Om Norsk Språk i Trondheim 1997*. Oslo: Novus, 270-293.

Åfarli, T. A. (2000). *Grammatikk – kultur eller natur?* Oslo: Samlaget.

Åfarli, T. A., Johnsen, L. G., Nordgård, T., Eide, K. M., & Nilsen, R. A. (2003). *Norsk generativ syntaks*. Oslo: Novus.