

Magnus Hagerup Hundseth

A comparative Exploration of Negative Concord in Dialects of English and Scandinavian

Investigating the Susceptibility of Language
Varieties to the Development of Negative
Concord

Masteroppgave i Lektorprogram English

Veileder: Andrew Weir

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Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet
Det humanistiske fakultet
Institutt for språk og litteratur



Kunnskap for en bedre verden

Abstract

This thesis takes a closer look at how *negative concord*, the linguistic phenomenon where multiple negative elements semantically negate a sentence only *once*, can be viewed from a comparative perspective between non-standard English and Scandinavian varieties. A historical overview between Old Norse and Old English is also included, where we can see the influence a language can have on another language. Similarly, an exploration of non-standard Scandinavian varieties that, despite finding themselves in a hub of non-NC varieties, still manage to innovate and maintain the linguistic phenomenon. The focal point of the thesis is to undergo a closer examination of why some languages remain susceptible to negative concord while others do not. With this in mind, a selection of contributing factors, more specifically language contact and lexical parameter resetting, produce an overarching conspiracy to why languages are susceptible to NC.

Sammendrag

Denne tesen tar et nærmere blikk inn i hvordan *negativt samsvar*, fenomenet hvor flere negative elementer semantisk negerer en setning bare én gang, kan bli sett fra et komparativt perspektiv mellom ikke-standard engelske og skandinaviske varianter. Et historisk perspektiv mellom gammel-norrønt og gammel-engelsk er også inkludert, hvor vi kan se hvordan kontakt mellom språk kan påvirke hverandre. I likhet med dette vil det også være en utforskning av ikke-standard skandinavisk-språklige varianter som, til tross for at de befinner seg omringet av varianter som ikke innehar negativt samsvar, fortsatt innehar og vedlikeholder det språklige fenomenet. Hovedaspektet til tesen utfolder seg i et nærmere innblikk i hvordan noen språklige varianter forblir mottakelig til negativt samsvar, hvorav andre varianter ikke er i tilsvarende grad mottakelig. I tråd av dette, vil tesen presentere en seleksjon av påvirkende faktorer, mer spesifikt hvordan språklig kontakt og leksikalsk parameter resetting produserer en overordnet konspirasjon til språk og deres mottakelighet for negativt samsvar.

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List of Abbreviations

NC: Negative Concord

NCI: Negative Concord Item

NPI: Negative Polarity Item

AAVE: African American Vernacular English

EAAE: Early African American English

1 Introduction

Negative concord (NC), sometimes referred to as double negation or multiple negation, is a widespread linguistic phenomenon that can be found in various languages around the world. Adger & Smith (2020, p. 1) explain it accordingly:

Negative concord is the expression of sentential negation involving both a negative clitic like *n't*, and a negative quantifier (phrase), like *nothing*, *no-one*, or *no good*. (Adger & Smith, 2001, p. 1)

Notwithstanding having two or more negated elements¹, a sentence containing negative concord maintains the interpretation of only being negated *once* (Giannakidou, 2000, p. 458). An example of NC from Italian and the corresponding Standard English translation can be found in (1) below:

- (1) Gianni **non** ha visto **niente**.² [Italian]
John **didn't** see *anything* (Tovena 1996 in Giannakidou, 2000, p. 458).

The Italian sentence in (1) appears to contain more than one negative element (*non* and *niente*), but it still does not change the fact that such sentences are still only interpreted as being negated only once. This phenomenon makes up what can be understood as a “linguistic puzzle”, as one cannot simply understand how *negative concord*, as we can keep adding negated elements without altering the interpretation of the sentence, still negates only once.

Standard English, amongst other varieties (Norwegian, Swedish, Dutch, etc.), however, may also contain two negative elements in a given sentence, but a fundamental difference is

¹ Negative elements and Negative Polarity Items (NPI) will be explained later in the thesis.

² Throughout this thesis all negative elements in examples will be marked in **bold**. Negative Polarity Items will, where applicable, be marked with *italics*.

that the negative elements cancel each other out and subsequently produces an affirmative reading. This can be further highlighted in (2) for Norwegian and (3) Standard English:

- (2) **Ingen** gjorde **ingenting** [Norwegian]
Nobody did **nothing**
= Everybody did something
- (3) **Nobody** saw **nothing** [Standard English]
= Everyone saw something

In non-standard English varieties, negative concord can be perceived for some as ill-formed and is on various occasions stigmatized as a result. In languages such as Italian and Spanish, NC comprises fundamental aspects of the syntax, and thus not using it would be ungrammatical.

Many non-standard varieties of English do in fact exhibit NC; for example, Scottish dialects in particular, and perhaps north-eastern Scottish dialects specifically, contain negative clitics such as *-nae* and *-na* that attach to auxiliary verbs, in conjunction with a negative quantifier in the verb phrase, to form NC. An example of NC in Aberdonian Scots can be seen in (4) below:

- (4) I was**na** doing **nothing** [Aberdonian Scots]
(Smith, Adger, Aitken, Heycock, Jamieson, & Thoms, 2019).

Here too, we can see an instance of NC play out by that the suffix **-na** attaches at the end of the verb *be* and negative quantifier **nothing** and subsequently combines within the same sentence and accommodates for a NC reading. The sentence maintains its reading of (Standard English) “I was doing nothing”, despite these additional negated elements. In African American Vernacular English (AAVE), NC is actively found as a part of the speech (cf. Howe in Iyeiri, 2005) and gives us examples such as (5) below (Jay Z, Allure, 0:39 in Howe, 2005, p. 189):

- (5) I ain't **never** scared, I'm everywhere, you ain't **never** there [AAVE]

In Scandinavian languages and varieties, however, NC is rarely attested, even though historical accounts of Old Norse showcase the phenomenon (cf. Eythórsson, 2002; Faarlund, 2004), however, to a smaller degree. Old English, on the other hand, contained a great deal of NC, but gradually declined over the centuries. In terms of Old Norse, it is interesting that the ancestor of modern Scandinavian languages was capable of innovating NC, but in modern times a mere few varieties seem to apply it. A similar comparison, as we shall see later in this thesis, can also be drawn to Old English and Standard English today. A further deep dive into the history of negative concord in these languages will be given in chapter (3), to further examine the structural basis for why some language varieties seem to be “vulnerable” to NC.

The focal point of this thesis, revolves around properties of language that accommodates for negative concord to thrive. The research question, then, is; **what are the contributing factors that make some language varieties susceptible to *negative concord*?** One of these factors are speculated by that negative markers, in the process of grammaticalization and ‘lexical resetting’, cause negative elements to become phonetically reduced and thus more likely to become paired with other negative constituents. With this in mind, we shall look more closely at the contracted negator *n’t* and various Scandinavian negative elements (most notably the Sappen dialect’s *æ’kke* ‘not’). The second causal factor is speculated to be contact between language varieties, where we draw a historical comparison between Old Norse and Old English to display how contact may influence language development. Similarly, in terms of language contact, we shall see that substantial contact between language varieties may accommodate for either an increase or decrease of linguistic features. I argue that these causal factors combined produce a conspiracy to why some languages are susceptible to NC.

In order to answer this question, I have tailored the structure of this thesis to provide the reader with an enhanced understanding of negation and the phenomenon of negative concord. In chapter 2, a theoretical background will provide the reader with how negation unfolds both within the system of negative concord, but also in other similar systems of negation that hopefully contributes to a better understanding of the phenomenon overall. Chapter 3 provides a general overview of NC in a select few language varieties (more specifically AAVE, Scots and non-standard Scandinavian). Chapter 4 accounts for the historical development of NC in Old Norse and Old English as influenced by the former. In the same chapter the cyclic behaviour of negative elements (i.e., Jespersen’s Cycle³) will be explained and related to NC.

³ Jespersen’s Negation Cycle will be thoroughly defined later in the thesis.

Penultimately, languages and their susceptibility to NC will be broadly explained in chapter 5, where various aspects of importance will be addressed. Finally, in chapter 6, a summary and conclusion will be found, where the contributing factors are linked to the susceptibility of NC in language varieties.

2 Theoretical Background

This section will provide the reader with important aspects of negation, which includes defining various terms and phenomena. We shall, firstly, in chapter 2.1 attempt to define how we understand ‘negative elements’. In chapter 2.3 there will be a section that describe similar phenomena to NC. And lastly, chapters 2.2 and 2.4-2.5 will explain the difference between a non-NC and NC language, as well as strict compared to non-strict NC languages.

2.1 Defining Negative Elements

It is important to denote what n-words inherently mean in terms of negative concord. But what are these negative words? Are we able to define them? Giannakidou (2000, p. 459) argues that:

Because of the fairly heterogenous nature of n-words, it is impossible to provide a definition of them less general than saying n-words occur in NC structures and can be associated with negative meaning. The proper semantic characterization of n-words is an essential ingredient of any analysis of NC. (Giannakidou, 2002, p. 459)

To make use of this very general definition, we need a diagnostic for ‘negative meaning’. Klima (1964, in Pullum, 2012) suggested several diagnostics which were designed to help us determine qualities of negation within a sentence in English. A selection of these include:

- (i) **Negative clauses take positive confirmation tags.**

For example: ‘You **never** struck the dog, did you?’

Compared with: ‘You struck the dog, **didn’t** you?’

- (ii) **Negative clauses take *neither* continuations rather than *so* continuations.**

For example: Person A: ‘I **never** did that’ → Person B: ‘**Neither**, did I’

Compared with: Person A: ‘I did that yesterday’ → Person B: ‘So did I’

(iii) **Negative clauses take *not even* continuations** (Pullum, 2012).

For example: I've *never* done that before, *not even* once.

Compared with: I've done that before, *not even* once*

By using these diagnostics, we are capable of determining whether or not we are dealing with a negative word. From example (iii) above, we can see how *not even* produces an ill-formed construction, and we can therefore assume that the sentence does not contain any negative elements. In addition, there can be subtle differences that separate negative clauses from affirmative ones; for example, the sentence *We are in no way troubled* is negative, but the sentence *We are in no end of trouble* is not (Pullum, 2012).

2.2 Non-Negative Concord Languages

It could be deemed valuable for the reader to be reminded of how a non-negative concord language usually unfolds in terms of negation. In general, when we talk of non-NC languages, a selection of examples can be found in (6a-c) below:

(6) (a) [Standard English]

I haven't done *anything*

(b) [Standard Swedish]

Jäg gillar **inte** *någon* av filmerna
I like **not** *any* of the movies

'I don't like *any* of the movies'

(c) [Dutch]

Ik vind hier *niets* leuk
I find here **nothing** nice

'I don't like *anything* here'

A recurring pattern in the examples above is that they all contain a single negative element, where most of them are coupled with a negative polarity item (NPI). NPIs exist in almost every language (Giannakidou, 2010, p. 1661), and can be explained by words that are often found in negative contexts, such as *anything, anywhere, any, ever*, amongst others.⁴ NPIs can, however, also appear in non-negative contexts, such as in (7) (Nishiguchi, 2003, p. 204):

(7) Every student who had *ever* read *anything* about phrenology attended the lecture.

A full account of NPI licensing, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis. For a non-NC language, the usual way to express negation can be seen in examples (6a-c), with a single negatively laden word that can be coupled with NPIs. This is different from a NC language, where more than one negative element can be found in a single sentence, such as in examples (1-4) mentioned in the introduction.

2.3 Similar Phenomena to NC

In the following sections, we shall take a closer look at phenomena that relate to negative concord. This will hopefully make it clearer for the reader the fundamental difference between NC and other similar phenomena.

2.3.1 Double Negation

There are various representations of negation in sentences, and this thesis will primarily focus on the aspects of negative concord. It will still, as we shall see, be necessary to provide the reader with other similar phenomena in order to enhance the notion and understanding of NC. In essence, negative concord readings differ from double negation readings, and languages can vary in whether they produce either of the two possibilities (Mora & Culbertson, 2021, p. 1401).

⁴ In terms of NPIs, Standard English, for example, generally alternate between an n-word without sentential negation, such as in '*I saw no-one*' and '*I didn't see anyone*'. NPIs *must* be used instead of *some-* words (*something, someone*, etc.) to express the n-word meaning. NPIs may also appear in e.g., questions.

For illustrative purposes, a double negation language, such as Dutch, gives us sentences like (8-10):

(8) Jan rent **niet** [Dutch]

Jan run NEG

‘Jan doesn’t run’

(9) **Niemand** rent [Dutch]

N-body run

‘**Nobody** runs’

(10) **Niemand** rent **niet**. [Dutch]

N-body run NEG

‘**Nobody** doesn’t run’ → ‘Everybody runs’

(Mora & Culbertson, 2021, p. 1402)

The negative markers *niet* in (8) and *niemand* in (9) are singlehandedly capable of expressing sentential negation on their own (Mora & Culbertson, 2021, p. 1401-1402), but if you combine them, as in (10), it leads the sentence to have a double negation interpretation and therefore provides an affirmative reading. Similar phenomena can be seen in Norwegian below (11):

(11) **Ingen** gjorde **ingenting** [Norwegian]

Nobody did **nothing** → ‘Everybody did something’

We can see here that the Norwegian sentence includes two negative elements (*ingen, ingenting*), and it consequently produces an affirmative interpretation, more specifically that *everybody did something*. Scandinavian languages, moreover, seem to lack the phenomenon of NC explained

in earlier sections, where multiple negations result in a single negated interpretation. Again, we might ask the question; What are the contributing factors that leads to this susceptibility? Similar double negation interpretations can be found in Standard Swedish, where it is possible to find two negative expressions in a single clause; “The clause is then, as a rule, interpreted as non-negated – the negative expressions cancel each other [...]” (Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 139), as can be seen in (12) below:

- (12) Vi såg **inte** **ingenting** [Standard Swedish]
We saw **not** **nothing**.
‘We didn’t see **nothing**’ → ‘We saw something’

A construction such as in (12) above, is from personal experience an invalid utterance in the Norwegian dialects that I have myself encountered both in writing and speech. There may be, however, dialects in Norway that produce such combinations, but this remains unknown.

Contrarily, NC will accommodate for multiple negative markers and still produce a negative reading, and this constitutes the fundamental difference between them. Consider example (13) in Serbian below:

- (13) **Niko** **ne** trči [Serbian]
N-body **NEG** run
‘**Nobody** run’
(Mora & Culbertson, 2021, p. 1402).

In (13) we can see that, despite containing the negative particle *ne* and negative existential *niko*, it still does not produce a double negation reading. On the other hand, it displays the properties of a negative concord language (2021, p. 1402), where multiple negative elements produce and maintain a single negative interpretation. In this particular case, Serbian

finds itself amongst one of the strict negative concord languages⁵ (Giannakidou, 1998, 2006, as cited in Mora & Culbertson, 2021, p. 1402-1403) mentioned in the introduction, as a negative marker such as *niko* cannot occur without negative markers (2021, p. 1402-1403).

The variation addressed above between NC and double negation languages is dictated by an influential hypothesis (Zeijlstra, 2004; Jespersen 1917, in Mora & Culbertson, 2021, p. 1) that is partly determined by the negative marker’s phonological and syntactic nature (2021, p. 1). One branch of this hypothesis is that all languages that contain *affixal negation* must be negative concord languages (Zeijlstra, 2008 in Mora & Culbertson, 2021, p. 1401). Affixal negation can be described as “negation carried out by or with the help of an affix” (Joshi, 2012, p. 51), and more specifically “[...] those markers that participate in the verbal inflectional morphology” (Zeijlstra, 2008, p. 5). One example (14) of this can be seen in Turkish, where sentential negation is expressed through the negative morpheme *me* “[...] located between the verbal stem and the temporal and personal inflection” (Zeijlstra, 2008, p. 5):

- (14) John elmalari sermedi
 John apples like.NEG.PAST.3SG
 ‘John doesn’t like apples’

2.3.2 Negative Polarity

Another similar phenomenon closely related to NC is that of *negative polarity*. Haegeman & Zanuttini (1996, as cited in de Swart, 2010, p. 19) provide the following example (15) from Italian:

- (15) Non ho visto nessuno [Italian]
 SN has seen nobody
 ‘I haven’t seen anybody’
 $\neg\exists x$ See (I, x)

⁵ The definition of a strict and non-strict NC language will be accounted for in chapter 2.5.1 and 2.5.2, respectively.

De Swart points out that it would be tempting to analyse *nessuno* in (15) as a negative polarity item similar to English *anybody* (2010, p. 19-20). This is not, however, always the case. Haegeman & Zanuttini (1996 in de Swart) point out that *nessuno* can comprise the sole expressor of negation in a sentence, as in (16a), but further leads to example (16b) being ungrammatical due to *anybody* lacking a licenser (2010, p. 20):

- (16) (a) **Nessuno** ha telefonato [Italian]
 ‘**Nobody** has called’
 $\neg\exists x \text{ Call } (x)$
- (b) **Anybody* has called. [English]
 **Anybody* has not called
Nobody has called

The difference between (15) and (16a) “[...] indicates that *nessuno* seems to mean ‘*anybody*’ in some contexts, and ‘**nobody**’ in others” (de Swart, 2010, p. 20). Moreover, in sentences which combine two negative indefinites, the first one evidently behaves like ‘**nobody**’, and the second like ‘*anyone*’ (2010, p. 20). This may appear rather unrelated to the phenomenon of NC at first glance, but a highly influential proposal was made by Ladusaw (1992, as cited in de Swart, 2010) who proposed treating n-words as self-licensing negative polarity items (p. 37). This is interesting because, in the absence of a trigger, “[...] n-words such as *nessuno* and *niente* license themselves, but regular NPIs such as *anybody* do not” (de Swart, 2010, p. 37). This proposal forwarded by Ladusaw (1992) has been impactful, and further highlights negative concord as “an agreement phenomenon”, where, even though “[...] negation is expressed in different places in the syntax, it is interpreted only once” (de Swart, 2010, p. 37).

Another point worth mentioning is that of *litotes*, which are rhetorical tools where two negatives make a positive or put differently; A way to apply multiple negative elements to enhance the correspondingly affirmative meaning of a given sentence. An example of this can be found in (17) below:

(17) Colyn does **not** believe that Phil does **not** play chess (de Swart, 2010, p. 2).

As we can see from example (17), it might become somewhat clear for the reader that *Colin believes Phil plays chess*.

2.4 Negative Concord Languages

Contrary to non-NC languages, NC languages differ in the interpretation of negation. Put simply, NC languages can be explained by that a sentence may include more than one negative element, and each of these negative elements result in a single negative force. Penka and Zeijlstra (2010) points out two dominant approaches that explain the phenomenon of NC; one of these concerns negative absorption; more specifically, that there is a “semantic absorption mechanism” that gives us only one semantic negation in a sentence with multiple negative elements (p. 780). The second approach maintains an inherently opposite view, where n-words are treated as semantically non-negative (Penka & Zeijlstra, 2010, p. 780), and this in turn, gives rise to NC. Further research on the matter is needed before one can provide a more accurate answer to which approach appears more appropriate. Some examples of NC are repeated and can be illustrated in the following examples (18) and (19):

(18) She didn't say **nothing** [Non-standard English]

= She didn't say *anything*

(19) Hulle het **nooit** gesing **nie** [Afrikaans]

They have **n-ever** sung **not**

= They have **never** sung (Giannakidou, 2000, p. 460).

As we can see from examples (18) and (19), there are two negative elements within the same clause, but while it contains multiple negative elements, it does not produce an affirmative sentence that is perhaps usually associated with mathematical logic (two negatives equals a positive). Similarly, these n-words (for instance *nothing* in (18)) corresponds to *negative polarity items* in non-NC languages, such as *anything*. The semantic interpretation of (18), despite containing multiple negative elements, is still negative. NC can also be seen in the Afrikaans example (19) above, that further highlights how two negative elements may be used to express a single negation interpretation.

2.5 Different Systems of Negative Concord

Negative concord involves various shapes and forms that are both appropriate and necessary to discuss in order to create an overview for the reader.

2.5.1 Strict NC Languages

Firstly, Penka & Zeijlstra (2010) explain that some languages are *strict NC languages*, such as the Czech language, where “[...] a negative marker obligatory accompanies all negative indefinites [...] regardless of their number or position” (p. 779). One example of this can be seen in (20):

(20)	Milan <i>*(ne-)</i> vidi	nikoho	[Czech]
	Milan NEG- saw	n-body	
	Milan doesn't see <i>anybody</i>		(2010, p. 779).

From example (20), we see that the n-word must be accompanied by a negative marker, regardless of where in the sentence the n-word is syntactically placed (Giannakiodu, 2017, p. 9).

2.5.2 Non-strict NC Languages

Like strict NC languages, non-strict NC languages may deal with multiple negative elements in a single sentence, too. The crucial difference, however, which the term perhaps insinuates, is that in non-strict NC languages, a negative marker does not have to follow a negative indefinite in an obligatory sense. A non-strict NC language unfolds by that NC can only be attained when you have a negative element in the postverbal position, and at the same time have a preverbal negative element such as an n-word or negative marker (2010, p. 779). Italian, amongst other languages, find themselves in this non-strict NC category, and example (21) below in Italian illustrates this more precisely:

- (21) **Non** ha telefonato **nessuno** [Italian]
NEG has called NEG.body
= **Nobody** called (Giannakidou & Zeijlstra, 2017, p. 9).

The main point for non-strict NC languages is whether an n-word in subject position is fundamentally sufficient to provide negative force to the entire sentence without sentential negation (A. Weir, personal communication, May 2). In essence, an n-word may appear without a negative marker in a preverbal position or when combined with another preverbal n-word (Giannakidou, 2017, p. 9).

3 NC in AAVE, Scots, and Non-Standard Scandinavian Varieties

In the following section, an overview of a select varieties of NC languages will be given. More specifically, chapter 3.1-3.3 will take a closer look at AAVE, Scots and non-standard Scandinavian varieties. This will provide the reader with insight into some none-standard varieties that contain NC.

3.1 African American Vernacular English

One historically prominent language variety that contains NC is African American Vernacular English (hereafter AAVE). Having descended from the speech of US slaves, this variety of speech is interesting due to how it diverges from Standard American varieties, as well as other nonstandard and regional varieties (Mufwene, Rickford, Bailey & Baugh, 1998; Green, 2002 in Howe, 2005, p. 174-175). It should be mentioned that “[e]xtremely high rates of negative concord [...]” can also be found in Earlier African American English (Howe, 2005, p. 189), but for the sake of clarity and scope we shall focus primarily on AAVE.

3.1.1 Some Features from Negative Concord in AAVE

Negative concord is arguably one of the linguistic features that is most notably linked to AAVE. The same example of NC used in the introduction can be seen in (22):

(22) I ain’t never scared, I’m everywhere, you ain’t never there.

In essence, AAVE contains two varieties of NC: (1) concerning indefinites and (2) verbs (Howe, 2005, p. 188), which we shall address more closely in the following sections.

3.1.1.1 Indefinites and NC in AAVE

Firstly, singular indefinite count nouns are generally believed to be exempt from the structure of NC. “With singular countable nouns the form *a* is used [...]”, i.e., the indefinite article does not occur with NC (Cheshire, 1982, p. 65-66 in Howe, 2005, p. 190). Similarly, “[...] the underlying form of *no* is NEG + any, not NEG + *a*, which is realized as *not a*: ‘I’m not a baby’”

(Howe, 2005, p. 190). However, this claim can to a certain degree be refuted by the following examples from AAVE, in which the negative quantifier *no* would correspond to Standard English *a* and not *any* as seen in (23a-b):

(23) (a) [AAVE]

My momma didn't raise **no** fool

(2Pac, Changes, 3:40, in Howe, 2005, p. 190).

(b) [AAVE]

I ain't going out like **no** sucka man!

(Fatlip, It's Jiggaboo Time, 1:11 in Howe, 2005, p. 190).

Moreover, NC in AAVE is not clause-bound (Howe, 2005, p. 191). “[N]egation spreads regularly to indefinites in a separate non-finite clause, whether gerundive [... or] infinitival”, such as in (24) and (25) below:

(24) We ain't **never** had **no** trouble about **none** of us pullin' out **no** knife

(Detroit, 583:21; Wolfram, 1969, p. 153 in Howe, 2005, p. 191).

(25) She shouldn't be wastin' the next 25 years of her life takin' care o' **no** old man

(“The Fighting Temptations”, Paramount, 2003 in Howe, 2005, p. 191).

Similarly, we can also see that NC applies frequently to indefinites in “[...] separate finite clauses in so-called negative transportation constructions, that is, when the matrix clause has a neg-raising predicate (think, believe, etc.)” (Howe, 2005, p. 192). Neg-raising is a phenomenon within negation where a negator of certain kinds of attitude verbs, such as *think*, does not appear to semantically negate the verb it is in construction with, but rather an embedded clause, such as with *think* in (26). *Think*, moreover, is negated by the contracted negator *n't*, but does not necessarily negate the remaining part of the sentence as it falls outside the scope of negation (Howe, 2005, p. 192). Examples (26) and (27) in AAVE illustrate this. A Standard English

example (28) has been included to provide the reader with a more obvious display of neg-raising, as (26) and (27) can be rendered ambiguous.

(26) I don't think that's **nobody's** mission, to change hip-hop or change rap, 'cause there ain't **nothing** wrong with it [AAVE]
(P. Diddy, MTV interview, 2004 in Howe, 2005, p. 192).

(27) When you didn't think **nobody** knew, you see girls are talkin' [AAVE]
(TLC, Girl Talk in Howe, 2005, p. 192).

(28) I believe he didn't do it [Standard English]

Lastly, we have structural similarity between AAVE and Standard English, where preverbal negation can be omitted, if and only if, "[...] the verb phrase contains a negative word, such that negative concord is obviated" (Howe, 2005, p. 193). Similar omission is addressed by Penka and Zeijlstra (2010), where for languages like Bavarian and West Flemish, NC "[...] is allowed to occur, but it is not obligatory" (p. 779). An example from AAVE can be found in (29):

(29) Y'all talkin' loud plus y'all sayin' **nuthin'**
(Madlib, Real Eyes, 1:43 in Howe, 2005, p. 193).

3.1.1.2 Verbs and NC in AAVE

Having addressed negative concord to indefinites, it would be appropriate to take a closer look at how negative concord applies to verbs in AAVE. More specifically, as Labov (1972, p. 806 in Howe, 2005, p. 194) points out: "NEGCONCORD is never obligatory to the pre-verbal position." More specifically, this is the most notable "[...] locus of inflection in negative

sentences, where auxiliaries, *do*-support and modals appear (Howe, 2005, p. 194). This can moreover be tied back to whether a language contains strict or non-strict properties of NC. An example of such a construction can be found in (30):

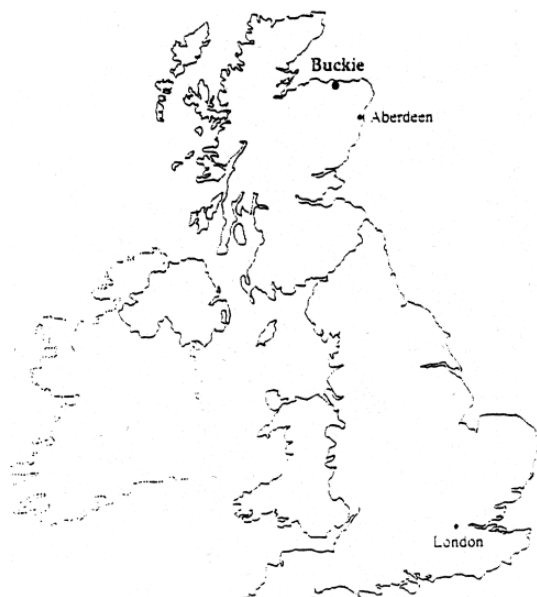
(30) **Nobody** can't step on her foot.

(Detroit 444:4, Wolfram, 1969, p. 154 in Howe, 2005, p. 195).

Similar to AAVE, negative concord in relation to verbs in Earlier African American English (EAAE) were irregular (Howe, 2005, p. 195). In other words, this means that NC in EAAE and AAVE is more frequently associated with indefinites than that of verbs (2005, p. 94). Howe (2005) argues that NC to verbs were most likely “[...] inherited from nonstandard colonial European American English” (p. 195). Lastly, it should be mentioned that many of the examples included from AAVE mostly comes from the musical rap-genre, and arguably provides “[...] unparalleled access to African American English in its most vernacular form” (Howe, 2005, p. 199). The following section will take a closer look at NC in a non-standard Scots variety.

3.2 Scots

Like Aberdonian Scots mentioned introductorily, there are also other varieties in Scotland that contain negative concord. Buckie, “[...] a relic dialect from the northeast of Scotland [...]” (Smith, 2001, p. 109) is one of these variants, and moreover holds a high rate of NC (2001, p. 109). On addressing the Buckie-variant, Jennifer Smith comments on the north-eastern variant due to its historical, social, and linguistic ties (2001, p. 110), in particular that “[...] Buckie is one of those relic areas that in historical linguistics is widely accepted as preserving features typical of earlier stages in the history of language” (2001, p. 110). This alone, can provide us with valuable information from earlier stages of language in the region, and might, in other words, function as a time-capsule for us to witness. The Buckie-variant is



(Illustration taken from Smith, 2001, p. 113) Map showing the location of Buckie.

also very different from Standard English (Smith, 2001, p. 110), and will subsequently comprise a good source of comparison towards other varieties containing NC. Negative concord in Buckie can be witnessed in examples (31) and (32) below:

- (31) She didna tak nae money fae us [Buckie, Scots]
She didn't take no money from us
≈ 'She didn't take *any* money from us' (178.23:r in Smith, 2001, p. 110).

- (32) They've nae got nae choice [Buckie, Scots]
They've not got no choice
≈ They've **not** got *any* choice (134.18:c in Smith, 2001, p. 110).

However, the usage of negative concord in Buckie can be seen to fluctuate, in other words, speakers of this variant can be seen to mix using negative concord, as in (33) (Smith, 2001, p. 114) below, and not applying it at all as in (34):

- (33) I na ken nane of that, nor I na ken nane of that.
I not know none of those nor I not know none of them.
≈ I don't know know *any* of those [people], **nor** do I know *any* of them.
(1520.9:a in Smith, 2001, p. 114)

Despite the fluctuation, in Smith (2001)'s study, speakers of the Buckie-variant apply negative concord in upwards of 69%, compared to NPI (*anything, anywhere, etc.*) constructions (Smith, 2001, p. 115). According to Smith (2001), the usage of linguistic features such as negative concord is also prone to various factors of influence, such as age, network affiliation, group membership, and influence from the "linguistic marketplace" (p. 119). By 'linguistic marketplace', Smith is referring to the interaction between languages in the global arena. For

Smith (2001), these “[...] different pressures [that] are exerted on groups of individuals or on individuals themselves is clearly seen from the widely diverging frequencies of use within the different age groups in the Buckie community” (p. 119). Specifically, we see that middle-aged female speakers of this variety experience a significant drop in usage, and is further linked to stigmatization, and can be seen in the following example where a 55-year-old female corrects her own speech in (34):

- (34) I did **-na** take **nae-** *any* notice (Smith, 2001, p. 119).
I did **not** take **not-** *any* notice
'I didn't take *any* notice'

In the following section, we shall take a closer look at NC in non-standard Scandinavian varieties.

3.3 Negative Concord in Scandinavian Languages

Evidently, NC does not manifest in Swedish nor any other standard Scandinavian language (Munch, 2013, p. 217, as cited in Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 140). This can be further reiterated by claims surrounding how “[...] there is no cumulative or multiple negation, either in standard speech [Standard Swedish] or in the dialects” (Haugen, 1986, p. 157, as cited in Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 140), and that there are typological universals that prohibit some Germanic languages from having acquired NC (Bernini & Ramat, 1996, p. 187, as cited in Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 140). However, Rosenkvist (2015) claims that there is evidence of NC in varieties of Swedish that differ substantially from the standard variant (p. 140), namely the variant of (1) Övdalian (Levander, 1909, p. 111, Garbacz, 2010, p. 85, Åkerberg, 2012, p. 327), (2) Nylandic (Lundström, 1939, p. 151), (3) Southern Ostrobothnian (Ivars, 2010, p. 248), and (4) Estonian Swedish (Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 140). It should be mentioned that although these are varieties of Swedish, both Nylandic and Ostrobothnian are varieties that are spoken primarily in Finland (Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 142).

3.3.1 Negative Concord in Four Varieties of Swedish

In his article about NC in varieties of Swedish, Rosenkvist (2015) points out that “[...] the basic structure of Swedish allows for doubling of several types of clausal constituents, including sentential negation, in a final annex in the left periphery (cf. SAG, 4:24, p. 451f in Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 143). Constituents that find themselves in the final annex is, according to Rosenkvist (2015, p. 143), “[...] not assumed to belong to the clause proper, and are often separated from the inner clause by a short pause [...]”, which is oftentimes represented by a comma in writing. An example of this can be seen in (35):

(35) Johan är **inte** så rolig, **inte**
 Johan is **not** as funny **not**
 = Johan isn't very funny (Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 143).

Such a construction is not considered an instance of NC; the final *inte* is not a part of the inner clause. Similarly, (35) above does not contain any n-words that are important for maintaining NC. The varieties of Swedish that we are taking a closer look at does also allow for these types of constructions, but more importantly, they also allow NC within the inner clause (Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 143-144), which is a key element to their inclusion to this thesis.

3.3.1.1 NC in Övdalian

For this variety, Åkerberg (2012, p. 327 in Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 144) points out that two or more negative elements may appear simultaneously in one clause, and that this is a matter of “[... strengthening] each other, so that the meaning becomes perfectly clear.” Examples (36) and (37) illustrate this:

(36) Ig ar it si'tt **inggan** [Övdalian]

I have **not** seen **no** one.

≈ I have **not** seen *anyone*.

(Garbacz, 2010, p. 86 in Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 144)

(37) Tjyöpum **int ingger** so kringgt [Övdalian]

Buy.1pl **not no** one so often.

≈ We **don't** buy *any* very often

(Levander, 1909, p. 111 in Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 144)

In modern day Övdalian, there is roughly 2500 speakers of the variant (Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 141), and does also comprise a variety which has “[...] preserved a number of features that have been lost elsewhere [in Sweden] (cf. Garbacz, 2011 in Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 141).

3.3.1.2 NC in Nylandic

Lundström (1939, p. 154f in Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 145) points out that “[...] often Nylandic is not satisfied just with one negation, but uses the negative words *inga*, *it*, *int* [variants of the negation] as a reinforcement of other negating determiners [...]” See examples (38) and (39) below:

(38) Dom a **it alder** vari i stonn ti dra iett.

They have **not never** been in mode to pull even.

≈ They have **never** been able to agree.

(39) Ja ä **int** rädd för **ingan.**

I am **not** afraid of **no** one.

= I'm **not** afraid of *anyone*.

(Lundström, 1939, p. 154f in Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 146).

Nylandic maintains a greater number of speakers compared to Övdalian, with roughly 130 000 speakers spread across the Nyland-area in Sweden (cf. Johannessen & Garbacz, 2015 in Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 142).

3.3.1.3 NC in Southern Ostrobothnian

In this variety of Swedish, Southern Ostrobothnian, we see that *aldrig* ‘never’ is used in conjunction with pleonastic *inte* ‘not’ (Ivars, 2010, p. 250 in Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 146). There are also instances of where “[...] a clause-final negative particle *i* occurs (Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 147). Example (40) shows how this can be illustrated:

- (40) Da va **it aldri** he i?
You were **not never** it **not**.
≈ You weren’t ever that?

Similar to Nylandic, Southern Ostrobothnian does also have a greater number of speakers, totalling in upwards of 90 000 speakers in Ostrobothnia (Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 142). These numbers, however, are rough estimates, as one is not entirely certain how many of these speakers master the traditional speech of their respective variety (2015, p. 142).

3.3.1.4 NC in Estonian Swedish

Finally, there will be given examples of how NC unfolds in an Estonian variety of Swedish. This variety displays NC rather infrequently compared to the other inclusions in this thesis, but does produce it, nonetheless (Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 147-148). It should be noted that there are several dialects of Estonian Swedish, and for the purpose of clarity and scope, only a selection of these dialects that display NC are included. The application of negation divides the four Estonian Swedish dialects in one Northern and one southern group, which is witnessed in (41) below:

- (41) Negation in Estonian Swedish – dialectal variation (Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 149)

Northern group:	Nargö:	<i>inga, int, itt</i>
	Rågö/Vippal/Korkis	<i>itt</i>
Southern group:	Ormsö/Nuckö	<i>ünt</i>
	Runö	<i>üte, üt</i>

Additional examples (42) and (43) that display NC in use can be found below:

(42) [Nuckö, Estonian Swedish]

Änt kund han tåva **inga** oxar

Not could he take **no** oxen.

≈ He [the wolf] could **not** take any oxen.

(43) [Rågo, Estonian Swedish]

Nö fick **itt** **inga** menski ga häim **itt**

Now was-allowed **not** **no** person go home **not**.

≈ **No** person was allowed to go home now.

(Lagman, 1990, in Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 148)

Due to the history of Estonian Swedes during the Second World War, where speakers of the variety were generally neglected and were forcibly assimilated by other nations, the Estonian Swedish variety finds itself in a moribund state (Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 142). With this in mind, Estonian Swedes would, during the latter half of the 20th century, not transfer their dialect to new generations, and further makes it a difficult task to account for the number of people that speak the variety today (Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 142). Aman (1961, p. 253 in Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 142), however, estimated that it was around 7 920 Estonian Swedes that arrived in Sweden during the Second World War.

In the following chapter, we shall be taking a closer look at the historical development of NC from the perspective of Old Norse and Old and Middle English.

4 Historical Development of NC

This chapter will account for the historical development of NC seen from the perspective of Old Norse and Old English. Firstly, however, chapter 4.1 provides an account of Jespersen's Negation Cycle, which constitutes an important aspect in the understanding of how negative elements experience cyclic behaviour. Subsequently, chapter 4.2 accounts for Old Norse and how multiple negative markers within it ultimately declined throughout the centuries. After addressing how these negative elements developed, it shall further lead us to account for how Old Norse evidently influenced Old and Middle English in chapter 4.3.

4.1 Jespersen's Negation Cycle

Before addressing the historical development of NC, it would be appropriate to provide the reader with an impactful hypothesis about negation development, more specifically 'Jespersen's Negation Cycle', coined after the Danish linguist, Otto Jespersen, who found evidence for how negative expressions in various languages throughout history would experience a fluctuation, more specifically that:

The original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word. (Jespersen, 1917, p. 4)

Jespersen's Cycle, moreover, presents "[...] a classic case of grammaticalization, which is motivated by the tension between the semantic importance of negation and the phonological weakness of its morphosyntactic expression" (Horn & Kato, 2000 in Eythórsson, 2002, p. 218). Intuitively, such a fluctuation may provide the reader a valid reason to why negated elements are "continuously" added in NC languages. However, stating that all NC languages around the globe can be explained by this cycle is both simplistic and optimistic at best, which consequently explains the reasoning behind it being examined more thoroughly in this thesis.

As a reiteration, the ambition for this thesis is to undergo a closer examination of NC and how it compares between non-standard English and Scandinavian varieties, and moreover provide a searchlight unto what contributing factors relate to negative interpretations and

consequently account for language varieties' susceptibility to the phenomenon. In section 4.2 below, negative elements in Old Norse will be accounted for.

4.2 Old Norse

As mentioned previously, negative concord was present, but not extensively found in Old Norse. According to Jespersen (1917, p. 8 in Ingham, 2008, p. 124-125), earlier stages of Scandinavian displayed a development of negation that can be seen (44a-c) below:

(44) (a) [Old Norse]

Ne veit Haraldr

NEG knows Harold

= Harald doesn't know.

(b) [Old Norse]

Ne veitat Haraldr

NEG knows-NEG Harold

= Harold doesn't know.

(c) [Old Norse]

Veitat Haraldr

Knows-NEG Harold

= Harold doesn't know (Jespersen, 1917, p. 8 in Ingham, 2008, p. 124-125)

In relation to Jespersen's Negation Cycle, we can see in the examples above (44a-c) that "[...] the suffix *-at* comes to replace the prefixed negative element *ne* [...]" (Ingham, 2008, p. 125). These changes would evidently relate to similar developments in languages such as English and

French (2008, p. 125). The negative element *ne* can also be found in Old English, which shall examine more closely in chapter 4.3. Ingham (2008) points out that in recent research, however, Scandinavian evidently went through “[...] the process before other attested medieval European languages” (p. 125). The prefixed element *ne* was already declining in the older Scandinavian texts that we have available, more specifically from the mythological *Edda* that stem from around the times of Viking invasions (Ingham, 2008, p. 125). In these texts, moreover, the most common sentential negation would be the negating suffix *-at* as in (45) below:

- (45) Munat hann falla [Old Icelandic]
 Must-NEG he fail
 ≈ He must **not** fail.
 (Havamal, 157 in Ingham, 2008, p. 125)

Ingham (2008) further points to a discussion by Eythórsson (2002 in Ingham, 2008, p. 125), where “[...] a fourth stage in the negation cycle already appears in some cases in the *Poetic Edda*, and later became the norm in Old Icelandic.” In this fourth stage, the negative suffix *-at* loses its position and is furthermore replaced by an independent sentential negator such as *eigi* or *ekki*, meaning *not*. *Ekki*, which was originally the neuter form of *enginn* ‘nobody’, is more specifically an Old North Germanic marker (2013, p. 19), and this negative marker would subsequently replace the negative adverb *eigi* in later years (Munch, 2013, p. 19). An instance of *eigi* can be witnessed in example (46) below:

- (46) Enn Atli qvadhz **eigi** vilia
 But Atli said-REFL **NEG** want
 ≈ But Atli said he did **not** want [it].
 (Odin, 22 in Ingham, 2008, p. 125).

As one can see, the negative element of *eigi* in (46) is syntactically independent of the verb (Ingham, 2008, p. 125), and further manifests the negation cycle in process by how the presence and force of negative elements evidently changes over time.

On addressing modern Scandinavian languages, Ingham (2008, p. 126) points out that these languages “[...] vary in their array of indefinites.” References are made towards the existence of the negative elements *engi-* and *ingen-*, which are inherently negated elements found in modern Icelandic and Swedish, respectively (2008, p. 126). Similar to German *kein* ‘no’, these negative elements do not occur with a sentential negator (2008, p. 126). Instead, “[...] a sentential negator may be used together with an indefinite lacking an inherently negative meaning, namely Icelandic *neinn/neitt* (anybody, anything) [and] Swedish *någon*” (Ingham, 2008, p. 126). Generally, for Old Icelandic in the 13th century, modern non-negative *ne-*indefinite items can be found as represented in (47):

- (47) [...] Þó at hann kveykðe **eige** upp hog sinn með **ne** einom dictom
 ... even if he did irritate **not** his mind with *any* poetry
 ... even if he didn’t irritate his mind with *any* poetry.

(Ioans Saga in Ingham, 2008, p. 126).

From the negated clause in example (47), the *ne*-series (e.g., *ne/neitt/nein*) forms are always accompanied by the sentential negator *ekki*, or by an inherently negative indefinite such as *engi*” (Ingham, 2008, p. 127), example (47), however, displays a slightly different form in *eige*. *Neitt* was also able to remain outside negated clauses in Old Icelandic, similar to English *any*-quantifiers (2008, p. 127), and can be seen in (48):

- (48) [...] heldr an þat, at ek hafa *neitt* loget i fra-saogn [Old Icelandic]
 ... rather than that, that I have *anything* lied in (Ingham, 2008, p. 127)
 ≈ ... rather, I have **not** lied about *anything* in my story’

(Pols Saga in Ingham, 2008, p. 127).

This evidently shows how the *ne-* forms in Old Icelandic, “[...] despite their apparent negative formal shape, constituted a non-assertive indefinite series syntactically distinct from the

inherently negative *engi*, *aldrig* forms inherited from Old Norse” (Ingham, 2008, p. 127). Ultimately, this would confirm that the co-occurrence of these two forms would produce a double negation reading such as in (49):

(49) En þo hefer mer þeta **eige** fyre **oenga** saok at boresc.
 But yet have me this **not** for **nothing** done

‘As of yet I have **not** done it for **nothing**’

(Iaons Saga in Ingham, 2008, p. 127).

Considering example (49) above, Ingham (2008) points out that “[...] it appears, then, that by the early 13th century at the latest the loss of NC had been consolidated in insular Scandinavian” (p. 127). Seeing as these negative changes would evidently affect most Scandinavian languages, “[...] it seems likely that the introduction of a special set of negative clause context polarity items antedated the creation of Icelandic as such, in other words, that mainland Scandinavian speakers already had these NPI indefinites at the time of the settlement of Iceland” (Ingham, 2008, p. 127). In the older verse *Edda*, the oldest surviving Scandinavian literature, neither *neitt* nor *nein* are found, and this most likely reflects an earlier period before the *ne*-series were introduced (2008, p. 127). Occasionally, however, a negative particle such as *ne* or *-at*, could be found co-occurring with negated indefinites, such as in (50) and (51) below:

(50) **Né** that máttu maerir tivar ok ginnregin of geta **hvergi**

Not that vessel find famous & holy gods **nowhere**

≈ The famous holy gods could **not** find such a vessel [as this] *anywhere*.

(Hymiskviða, 4 in Ingham, 2008, p. 127)

(51) Svát-**at** ár Hymir **etki** maéli.

So-**not** for a while Hymir **nothing** said

≈ For a while Hymir said **nothing**.

(Hymiskviða, 26 in Ingham, 2008, p. 127).

It would seem, however, that most negated indefinites would lack sentential negators, such as in (52) below:

(52) Epli ellifu ek þigg **aldrigi**.
Apples eleven I take **never**
≈ I **never** took eleven apples.

(Skirnismál, 20 in Ingham, 2008, p. 128).

Despite some exceptions, negative indefinites would stand alone in negated clauses, void of any clausal negative element, further reiterating Eythórsson (2002 in Ingham, 2008)'s point that the *-at* sentential negator would be “[...] virtually restricted to clauses not containing indefinites” (Ingham, 2008, p. 128). This would then indicate how rarely negative concord was attested (2008, p. 128). From the heroic *Edda* and Mythological *Edda*, sometimes referred to as the Poetic *Edda* and the Prose *Edda*, respectively, two negative indefinites can at various occasions be found to appear at the same time, although without a negative particle (Ingham, 2008, p. 128), as in (53):

(53) ... er **vaetr engi** vildi þiggia.
...which **noone not** might-wish take
≈ ...which **noone** would wish to take.

(Sigrdrifomál 5 in Ingham, 2008, p. 128).

If we compare how conservative literary texts are compared to spoken language, Ingham (2008) points out that we can to various degrees make assumptions about the grammar of negation in spoken varieties utilized by Scandinavian settlers (p. 129). Moreover, if literary texts were to reject “[...] the negative particle in particular with negated indefinites, it seems very likely that spoken varieties did so at least to the same extent” (2008, p. 129). In a similar vein, Ingham

reiterates how it would be unproductive to assume that they were “[...] less advanced on the negation cycle than was verse literature” (2008, p. 129).

4.2.1 Summary of Old Norse

Throughout this section on Old Norse, we have seen how Jespersen’s Cycle can be represented by the development of negation in the syntax of Old Norse. More specifically the fact that the prefixed negative element *ne* would be gradually replaced by the suffix *-at*. In turn, however, the negative suffix *-at* got replaced by independent sentential negators such as *ekki* and *eigi*. In a similar vein, we have seen that during the settlement of Iceland, Scandinavians evidently already possessed NPI indefinites by the 13th century, which would correspondingly reaffirm that NC was in decline in Scandinavian varieties in contemporary times. As a result, this would, moreover, provide evidence for why NC is not extensively present in Scandinavian today.

In the following section, we shall see how the decline of NC in Old Norse affected the development of negation in Old and Middle English.

4.3 Old and Middle English – as Affected by Norse

Prior to discussing Norse influence in Old English, it is appropriate to repeat a how NC is represented in Old English. Recall that NC in Old English was regularly found (cf. Haerberli & Haegeman, 1995). An instance of this can be seen in (54):

(54) Ne mæg nan mon soðre secgan [Old English]

Not can no man more truly speak

= Nobody can speak more truly (Haerberli, 1991, p. 58 in Haerberli & Haegeman, 1995, p. 90)

From example (54) above, we get to see that in Old English, “[...] sentential negation is generally expressed by *ne* preceding the verb [...]” (Haerberli & Haegeman, 1995, p. 89). Similarly, the sentential negator *ne* would oftentimes be accompanied by other negative constituents (e.g., *nan* ‘no’ in (54)), and thus produce a NC reading. In Old English, however,

as it progressed towards Middle English, NC would gradually decline. In the following sections, we shall explore how NC declined, and what the presumable cause was.

On discussing Old English, Ingham (2008) points out that Scandinavian influence “[...] has been proposed as a driving factor in a number of processes of grammar change in Northern Middle English” (2008, p. 133). Historically, there has been a gap between northern and Southern varieties spoken in England, and that according to Ingham (2008), an early appearance of NPIs was found in Northern verse texts, compared to a total void of them in Southern sources dating from the 14th century (p. 131). On comparing data from Southern and Northern varieties, Ingham (2008) points out that the numbers are “modest” in that they do not produce an overly convincing result (p. 130). This is mostly due to the fact that indefinites in negative clauses were generally not common in running text (p. 130). Similarly, “[...]ases of an indefinite within the scope of the negative co-ordinator *ne* were also excluded [...]”, primarily on the basis that these contexts did not utilize NPIs until significantly later (Ingham, 2008, p. 130). The resulting data, however, display a clear indication of dialectal difference, mostly by how NPIs in the North during the 15th century were taking hold and becoming an “[...] an established opinion, though not yet a majority tendency” (2008, p. 131). In a similar vein, the Northern and Southern dialects of Middle English possessed internal great differences when it came to phonology, morphology, and lexicon (Kroch, Taylor & Ringe, 1999, p. 354). A number of these differences have been pinpointed towards the linguistic influence that occurred in the North during the eighth and ninth centuries following Vikings who would plunder, conquer, and settle in the region (Kroch et al, 1999, p. 354).

If we were to compare the development in Old Norse to earlier stages of Old English, we see some interesting similarities. Referring back to the negative element *eigi* from Old Norse, it was argued that it was syntactically independent of the verb. Firstly, in Old English, the sentence negator *ne*, “[...] a particle associated with the finite verb, became eroded and replaced by spelling forms of *not*, a form [also] syntactically independent of the verb” (Ingham, 2008, p. 126). It is according to Ingham (2008), however, important to note the “[...] asynchrony between English and Scandinavian” (p. 126), more specifically how English in the 13th century would rarely use the negative element “[...] *ne* with the secondary negator *not*, or with a negated indefinite” (Ingham, 2003 in Ingham, 2008, p. 126). Within a similar vein, the aspect of regional differences remains an important one, as most of the texts analysed were from the South-East and Mid-lands regions of England, whereas having textual evidence from

more Northern areas would perhaps indicate an earlier loss of the negator *ne* (Ingham, 2008, p. 126).

During the 14th century verse begins to include NPIs in negated clauses in Northern varieties, whilst on the other hand, NC seem to survive without threat in verse written in Southern varieties (Ingham, 2008, p. 132). According to Ingham (2006 in Ingham, 2008), we can more confidently claim that “[...] both late 14th century Northern prose and verse written earlier in the century testify to a dialect difference from corresponding material written in the Midlands and South” (p. 132). NC, then, was beginning to lose its hold, especially considering that the negative head *ne* had an earlier decline in the North compared to the South of England. Whether or not the decline of NC in the North can be pinpointed towards Scandinavian influence is a difficult matter, but this will be explored further below.

In a similar vein, what we know is that the any-series indefinites (i.e., NPIs *anything*, *anymore*, *any*, etc.) appeared in Northern texts prior to appearing in Southern texts. Following the loss of the negative head *ne* in the North, an earlier diminishment of NC can be found, as is also predicted by Jespersen’s Negation Cycle (Ingham, 2008, p. 132), by that “[...] rise and decline of negative markers is often cyclic [...]” (Munch, 2013, p. 20). The primary discovery, however, is that in the analysis of the 14th century texts, Ingham (2008) found a small but noticeable “[...] frequency of any-series items instead of NC, while none of the Southern texts did” (p. 132). A full extent of the analysis would exceed the scope of this thesis, but the conclusion, according to Ingham (2008) is that the loss of NC in written English commenced in the North (p. 132).

A possible answer to this is how the Scandinavian language used by the newcomers in the late Old English period contained fragments of NC, and was not solely NPI language (Ingham, 2008, p. 133). If the language spoken by the newcomers were to possess “[...] contradictory purposes, it would have weakened the NC constraint on the appearance of indefinites in Middle English” (2008, p. 133). In a study on contemporary NC variety in Belfast English by Wilson and Henry (1998, in Ingham, 2008, p. 133) found that children who are exposed to conflicting examples of NC and NPIs tend to default to a non-NC grammar variety. In other words, this would insinuate how Belfast English remains variably, rather than consistently a NC language (2008, p. 133). This view can arguably be applied to the context of newcomers in England, too, where one might hypothesise that younger children would reject

NC grammar, and rather use NPIs, but as they grow older, they choose to acquire a NC structure from older generations.

Considering the language variety used by Scandinavian speakers when talking to English speakers, “[...Scandinavian speakers’] syntax of English negative clauses is likely to have been calqued on that of Scandinavian and featured a postverbal negator equivalent to ME *not* calqued on that of Scandinavian *eigi* (Ingham, 2008, p. 133). With this in mind, *ne* would have been omitted, and this moreover paved the way for learners to reject NC grammar entirely (2008, p. 133). Notwithstanding, a single negator in negative clauses would, like Wilson and Henry’s study above, display how children would initially refute NC grammar at an early stage of language learning, but would perhaps partake in it at a later stage, tailored according to the NC usage in their given community (Ingham, 2008, p. 133). For adults, however, “[...] the outcome would have been a language variety in which NPIs could never be expunged from negated clauses, because that pattern had been set down in primary acquisition” (2008, p. 133). In this sense, most negation that involved indefinites would have been expressed with a single inherently negative indefinite, such as with Old Norse *eigi*, however, contexts where more than one negative indefinite would be present would also be grammatical (2008, p. 133-134).

On the topic of Scandinavian influence, when speaking English as a second language, speakers would have “[...] imposed a grammar where negation was expressed by an adverbial particle rather than a head, and where negated quantifiers were unsupported by another negator” (Ingham, 2008, p. 134). If such a language type, with this “imposed grammar” in mind, would be available to language learners, this variety could now become a native-speaker variety (Kroch et al, 1995 in Ingham, 2008, p. 134). In other words, there would have been a language shift for the relevant geographical regions (2008, p. 134). Ingham (2008, p. 134) reiterates Scandinavian influence was an important factor in the loss of NC in Old and Middle English. Scandinavian settlers brought along a language that “[...] was at least on its way to losing NC, or may have already done so, at a time when Old English showed no sign at all of losing the negative head *ne* or NC” (Ingham, 2008, p. 134). It should be noted, however, that even though Scandinavian influence may appear as a correlating factor to linguistic change, “[...] does not necessarily mean it created a total innovation [...]” (Ingham, 2008, p. 133), however, it can seemingly have accelerated a development that was already afoot (2008, p. 133)

In order to shed more light upon multiple negation in older varieties of English, we have the following examples from Old English (55) and Middle English (56) that display NC:

(55) [Old English]

Ic wyrce þa tacnu þe **næfre nan** man **ne** geseah ær on

I do the miracles that **never no** man **not** saw before in

nanum lande

no land

‘I will do miracles that **no** man has **never** seen before in *any* land’

(Haerberli, 1991, p. 58; Exod, 34.10 in Haerberli & Haegeman, 1995, p. 90)

(56) [Middle English]

He **nevere** yet **no** vileynye **ne** sayde

He **never** yet **no** rude **not** said

‘He **never** said *anything* rude’

(Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, p. 70-71 in Anderwald, 2005, p. 113).

For the Old English example (55), we see that various negative elements included (i.e., *næfre*, *nan*, *ne*, and *nanum*) does not cancel each other out, instead it produces a single negative interpretation (Haerberli & Haegeman, 1995), which reaffirms the operation of NC. The same also applies the Middle English example in (56). For these Old and Middle English varieties, new evidence suggest that the decline of NC could have occurred substantially earlier than previously shown in this thesis. More specifically, Iyeiri (2005 in Anderwald, 2005, p. 114) points out that “[...] after the peak [in the late thirteenth/early fourteenth centuries] multiple negation undergoes a significant recession, and suddenly single negation starts to predominate both in prose and verse where [...] multiple negation occurs in a fairly restricted manner already in later [Modern English]” (Anderwald, 2005, p. 114). Anderwald (2005) further points out that

by the end of the seventeenth century, “[...] the emerging standard English did not permit negative concord any longer, but largely followed the system that is still in place today, namely that only *any*-quantifiers [NPIs] can occur inside the scope of the negator for an unmarked negative reading” (p. 114). More specifically, after the loss of the primary negator *ne* in Old English and parts of the Middle English period, the common way to express negation was “[...] through the use of the secondary negator *not* together with another negative element, hence the name NC which accordingly excludes concord cases where “any” items are used together with another negative element” (Kallel, 2007, p. 28). However, by the Late Middle and Early Modern English periods, which dates from around year 1450 to 1600, speakers had the option of utilizing NPIs in certain contexts. This would ultimately create competition between the *n*-words and *any*-series (Kallel, 2007, p. 28), and subsequently maintain the trajectory of NC’s decline.

Old English and Middle English, as we have seen, were prone to NC and are suggested to have allowed negative elements within the scope of the sentence negator, and not only was it believed to have been possible, but also obligatory (Anderwald, 2002, p. 102). This was also the case for all West-Germanic languages (Anderwald, 2005, p. 113). Seright (1966) reiterates these points well by that before the 18th century “[...] two negatives frequently occurred together to emphasize the negative aspect of one’s meaning” (p. 123). What, then, prompted such change within these languages? We have seen how language contact between different varieties may have accommodated for linguistic change. Other theories that centre around going from a NC to a non-NC variety, is believed by some linguists to be due to the “[...] rise and influence of prescriptive grammars based on classical Latin, where negative concord was generally disqualified as ‘illogical’” (Anderwald, 2002, p. 102). In another vein, the perspective of illogicalness tied to NC arguably represents some individuals in modern times who believe that multiple negative elements in essence, are ill-formed and stigmatized as a result of ‘improper speech’ (cf. Ajisoko, Firdausya, Natalina & Darwis, 2020).

On the other hand, there exist other hypotheses that present a different view concerning the decline of NC, one of which, according to Kallel (2007), “[...] followed a natural path and that is triggered by theory-internal motivations” (p. 47). Kallel (2007) points out that “the disambiguation of negative contexts [...]” where negation could unfold in either single or double negatives took place when *n*-items were reanalysed as negative quantifiers and is better understood as a result of lexical parameter resetting (2007, p. 47). Put in other words, the system of which the *n*-items and negative quantifiers found themselves within, was affected by that

these words were now being lexicalised. This new parameter setting would make *n*-items, firstly, be reanalysed “[...] from a status whereby they used to behave as negative polarity items and thus rely on other negative elements to license them, to a status where they behave as negative quantifiers [and more specifically, as] purely negative syntactic elements” (Kallel, 2007, p. 47-48). A deeper exploration of this hypothesis will be given in chapter 5.

4.3.1 Jespersen’s Cycle in Old English

Jespersen’s Cycle, which again is the rise and decline of negative markers in a cyclic nature, can be witnessed in Old English, and if we follow the six stages of negation that Jespersen provides, we are able to follow the development of negation systematically. In stage (1), a single negative marker (usually *ne*) occurred pre-verbally and would thus instantiate sentential negation (Muntaña, 2008, p. 103). This can be further witnessed in (57) below:

- (57) þæt þa Deniscan him **ne** mehton þæs ripes forwiernan
That the Danes them **not** from the reaping could keep back
≈ The Danes could **not** keep back from the reaping.

(Example from Mazzon, 1999, p. 21 in Muntaña, 2008, p. 103)

Subsequently, towards the end of OE and early ME periods, the negative marker *ne* would be accompanied by an optional negative adverb *na* and would further manifest stage (2) of Jespersen’s Cycle (Muntaña, 2008, p. 103). In other words, the primary negative marker seen in stage (1) is weakened, and then reinforced by the additional negative element *na*. In stage (3), this optional element becomes cemented, and consequently obligatory (Muntaña, 2008, p. 104). Moreover, “[...] the process of phonological weakening of *ne*, which had started in Stage (2), continues through Stage (4), where *ne* is no longer obligatory but optional” (2008, p. 104). In stage (5), we get to see how the weakening of pre-verbal *ne* concludes in its disappearance by the Early Modern English era (2008, p. 104). This is exemplified in (58) below:

(58) But I thought **not** ye had marked it so plaine.

≈ But I did **not** think you had marked it so plainly.

(Mazzon, 1999, p. 66 in Muntaña, 2008, p. 104).

Finally, in stage (6), “[...] the reinforcing negative adverb becomes available as a negative marker which attaches to the finite verb” (Muntaña, 2008, p. 104). Muntaña (2008) points out that stage (6) is “incomplete” in Standard English by how a pre-verbal negative marker is dependent upon an “[...] an auxiliary (i.e., an auxiliary verb such as *have*, *be*, or a modal or the dummy-*do*, which was introduced in the 15th century” (p. 104). In the 15th century, negative concord is phasing out, and at the dusk of Modern English, and the beginning of the Early Modern English period, we see that the preverbal *ne* is optional “[...] and negative constituents seem to be able to negate the clause themselves” (Muntaña, 2008, p. 105). In Old English verse, on the other hand, negative concord is a rather uncommon sight (Terasawa, 2005, p. 15). The adverb *ne* is at most times used alone in negative sentences, however in *Beowulf*⁶ more than one negated element in a sentence can be spotted (2005, p. 15). This would further emphasise a difference between verse and prose, and how negative concord unfolded within them.

⁶ Heroic poem stemming from Old English era ca. year 750.

5 Languages and Their Susceptibility to NC

In this chapter we shall explore several important aspects tied to NC. An exploration of various linguistic features, such as negative markers and their syntactic category, grammatical analysis, and how negative markers can be viewed in a select few varieties, will be accounted for in the following sections. This is to provide the reader with several aspects of negation that is deemed valuable to the research question, more specifically **the contributing factors that make some language varieties susceptible to *negative concord***.

5.1 Examining Linguistic Change

As we have seen throughout this thesis so far, some languages contain negative concord, others do not. What type of grammatical structures or systems, then, make some languages susceptible to negative concord? When speaking of NC in languages, there are, as we have seen, various ways for them to develop and unfold their NC structures, and that this may change over time. One instance of this relates to contact between languages and how this comprises an important factor in the transferral of linguistic features (e.g., between Old Norse and Old English; cf. Ingham, 2008). It is important to mention, however, that when addressing linguistic change, it is difficult to pinpoint with accuracy what is the causal factor for this change specifically. Similarly, when examining older languages, Faarlund (2004, p. 1) points out that:

Describing the syntax of a dead language is rife with theoretical problems and methodological stumbling blocks [...] In the absence of live speakers and their intuitions, and in the absence of contemporary syntactic descriptions, our sources of knowledge of the internalized grammar of the speakers are limited to extant texts, besides grammatical theory. (Faarlund, 2004, p. 1)

With that said, we are by using various grammatical analyses, corpora, and other tools at our disposal, capable of finding results that may end up as new findings and patterns that we can use to describe languages.

5.2 Morphological Negation and NC

An important factor in determining a negative concord language, according to Giannakidou (2002, p. 3), is that “[...] when a language actually employs a negative quantifier, NC is systematically excluded, as in languages which do not employ NC as a rule, e.g., German, Dutch, and English (West Germanic), and Scandinavian languages.” Giannakidou (2002) further points out how n-words do not necessarily have to be morphologically negative to initiate negation. This can be explained by how employing affixes corresponding to negation (e.g., *niente* and *nessuno* in Italian) would indicate negative morphology (p. 4). Catalan, however, contains words such as *ningú* ‘n-person’ which has negative morphology, and at the same time words such as *res* ‘n-thing’ which do not display a negated morpheme at all (Giannakidou, 2002, p. 4). Similarly, French and Greek n-words evidently do not possess negative morphology at all (2002, p. 4). Consequently, negative morphology does not stand as a prerequisite for n-word status (p.4), and thus adds to the variety of how NC may unfold.

5.3 Phrase or Head

In a similar vein, the question on whether negative markers are phrasal (XP) or not (X°) has been a topic of extensive study in the last two decades (Zeijlstra, 2008, p. 6). This is important because depending on their syntactic category, negative markers can further affect how a sentence may be interpreted. The consensus that has risen further states that negative particles and affixal negative markers are syntactic heads, whereas adverbial negative markers have phrase (XP) status (2008, p. 6). Following Jespersen (1917), with certain nuances provided by Zeijlstra (2008, p. 14), it is stated that “[...] languages that exhibit a negative marker X° exhibit NC whereas languages with a negative XP exhibit [double negation languages].” This generalization seems to be either too strong, or slightly inaccurate, according to Déprez (1997, in Zeijlstra, 2008, p. 14) due to how some languages, such as Quebecois, which only has adverbial negative markers, still contains NC. According to Zeijlstra (2008, p. 14), however, “[...] it turns out that Jespersen’s generalization is unidirectional: every language with a negative marker X° exhibits NC, but not vice versa⁷.” In other words, there is an underlying disagreement among linguists on how negation should be treated. Despite this disagreement on

⁷ Lindstad (2007, p. 211 in Munch, 2013, p. 215) argues, however, that NC is primarily a result of negative indefinites and their properties and how these are computed, and not concerned too much with the systems of which they belong (i.e., the presence or absence of NegP).

how to treat negation, we can nonetheless take a closer look at negative markers in their corresponding environments.

5.4 Grammatical Analysis of Negative Markers

Above we discussed that adverbial negative markers (with a few exceptions) are in general less susceptible to give rise to NC, whereas affixal negative markers and negative particles are prone to take the syntactic head position, which can further lay the foundation for NC to emerge. This would further represent how languages, in general, may differ in the way they express sentential negation. According to Zeijlstra (2004, p. 265):

[...] sentential negation is either realized as through *syntactic negation*, in which negation is expressed by means of agreement between a (c)overt negative operator and a number of morpho-syntactically negative elements that are marked for negation by [uNEG] feature, or it is expressed by means of *semantic negation*, in which every negative element is semantically negative and corresponds to a negative operator. (Zeijlstra, 2004, p. 265)

Considering the remarks of Zeijlstra (2004) above, this difference gives significant consequences for the clausal structure of negative expressions with languages that have NC compared to languages that have double negation. This means that in NC languages, negative expressions in each context must have their “[...] [uNEG] feature checked against an element carrying [iNEG]” (Zeijlstra, 2004, p. 265). uNEG and iNEG are, moreover, defined as the uninterpretable and interpretable negative features, respectively. In other words, languages that use multiple negative elements to express a single negation must have each negative element checked against negative heads in the sentence to interpret their negative meaning. Similarly, Zeijlstra (2004, p. 152) points out how preverbal negative markers (i.e., negative particles and negative affixes) are crucial in the occurrence of NC, and that these negative markers pass several diagnostics, for instance Zanuttini (2001 in Zeijlstra, 2004)’s blocking of head movement (e.g., blocking of clitic climbing), signifies “[...] crucial diagnostics for head status” (p. 152-153). It is subsequently pointed out that since these negative markers are negative heads, they are moreover “[...] associated with a head position in the syntactic clause: either they are

base-generated in a head position, where the verb might pick them up in order to become part of its inflectional morphology, or these negative markers are base-generated on the (finite) verb that stands in Agree (or chain) relation with some of its syntactic requirements” (Zeijlstra, 2004, p. 152). The latter means, in simpler terms, that a negative marker may be generated in relation with a finite verb that interacts with other constituents (e.g., n-word constituents, object, etc.) in the sentence.

Similarly, languages differ in how negative words “interact” with one another, depending on the context and system of which they derive (Mora & Culbertson, 2021, p. 1401), and moreover gives us a variety of different environments for negation to unfold (cf. Zeijlstra, 2008). Some of these have been explored in earlier chapters, such as *double negation*, and *negative concord*, where the latter is specifically examined in this thesis. In a similar vein it should be stated that despite how NC is represented, it is by no means a homogenous phenomenon across languages (Mora & Culbertson, 2021, p. 1402). This means, despite its inherent meaning, that NC can unfold in array of different ways, for instance how languages may differ “[...] on whether the negative marker [...] is mandatory [and] on whether negative concord items [...]” must be accompanied by negative markers (2021, p. 1402). This again proves how versatile the process of multiple negation can be. Having explained how negative markers unfold in different scenarios, we can take a closer look at how this can be applied to languages that contain NC and languages that do not and compare the nature of their grammatical structures.

5.5 Different Types of Negative Markers

We have three different kinds of negative markers; Following Zanuttini’s (2001) terminology, these comprise adverbial negative markers (e.g., *hardly*, *not*, *never*, etc), negative particles (e.g., *not*, *nothing* in English, or *no* as in ‘*no tengo hambre*’ in Spanish, meaning ‘I am *not* hungry’, etc.) and affixal negative markers (Zeijlstra, 2008, p. 4). The latter of these, according to Joshi (2012, p. 49-50), has been given lesser attention throughout the years. To repeat, affixal negation is how negation unfolds with the aid of an affix formed through derivation or inflection, and how it is an effective way of producing “[...] semantically negative notions” (Joshi, 2012, p. 51). This gives us the opportunity to write a sentence like “He is *unhappy*”, without the negative element *not*, such as in “He is *not* happy” (2012, p. 51), but also inflectional

affixes, which we saw from the Turkisk example in chapter (2.3.1 & 5.5) that is repeated in (59) below (Zeijlstra, 2008, p. 5):

- (59) John elmalari sermedi
John apples like.NEG.PAST.3SG
'John doesn't like apples'

When referring to affixal negation and NC, it is mostly, if not solely, through inflectional affixation (i.e., as in (59) above) that makes this achievable.

5.6 Negative Markers in Languages

In the following section, negative markers and how they operate in different varieties will be accounted for. An overview of negative markers in Scandinavian, where the non-standard Swedish Övdalian will be examined, and also the negative marker *n't* in Standard English. Similar developments of *n't* in the perspective of a Scandinavian negative marker will be provided towards the end of this chapter.

5.6.1 Negative Markers in Scandinavian

Firstly, what about negative markers in Scandinavian languages? These languages also contain negative markers, including negative particles, adverbial negative markers and affixal negative markers. Munch (2013, p. 214) points out that Zeijlstra (2008) "[...] goes almost too far when it comes to predictions [of NC]." Again, Zeijlstra (2008) argued that all languages that have negative heads, would also display NC, however, none of the Mainland North Germanic languages (i.e., Norwegian, Swedish and Danish) accounted for in his system have negative heads in their corresponding linguistic systems (Munch, 2013, p. 216). With this in mind, Munch (2013) claims that predicting which languages have syntactic negative heads and those that do not is a nearly impossible task (p. 216), and could moreover leave too much room for speculation. Similarly, other linguists (cf. Haegeman, 1995) do not make any predictions of NC as it can be a difficult phenomenon to categorise at times.

Munch (2013, p. 21; See also Lundin-Åkesson, 2005) further states that in the history of negation in terms of Jespersen’s Cycle, there have not been NC in Old Norse “[...] since the negative marker *-at* disappeared from the linguistic scene.” With the introduction of the negative adverb *eigi*, meaning ‘not’ in ON, new negative markers would simply replace the older ones, and thus move on in the negation cycle without multiple negative elements in a single sentence (2013, p. 21). Such a view would also be reiterated by how the negative adverb *eigi* and subsequent negative markers being analysed as XPs, rather than syntactic heads (Cf. Lindstad, 2007; Faarlund, 2004 in Munch, 2013, p. 21), which, if we consider Zeijlstra (cf. 2008)’s points made about the correlation between syntactic head negation and NC, would subsequently render NC in decline or even absent in later Old Norse. In the following sections, we shall move from addressing Standard Scandinavian varieties generally, to focusing on the non-standard Swedish variety of Övdalian.

5.6.1.1 Övdalian

In one of the Swedish non-standard varieties, Övdalian, the three negative markers *inte*, *int* and *it* are regularly found (Munch, 2013, p. 178). These negative markers are subsequently used in order to accommodate for NC. One instance of this, is more specifically when the negative marker *inte* ‘not’ co-occurs with “[...] quantifier introducing negation in particular syntactic configurations [such as the...] negative word (as *indjin* ‘nobody’)” (Garbacz, 2010, p. 85). This gives us a range of different examples from Övdalian that display NC, such as (60) below:

(60) An wet **int** war **indjin** påik ir [Övdalian]

He knows **not** where **no** boy is

≈ He doesn’t know where [a/the] boy is.

(Example from Garbacz, 2010, p. 85).

Generally, “[...] two negative elements in a single clause result in an affirmative reading in the vast majority of Scandinavian varieties” (Garbacz, 2010, p. 86). This is clearly not the case for some non-standard varieties of Scandinavian dialects (for instance Övdalian), as can be

witnessed in (60) above. For Övdalian, more than one negative element in a single clause is not obligatory, however, it may still occur. Another example of this is given in (61):

- (61) I går belld (**it**) **inggan** kumå ađ Mora [Övdalian]
Yesterday could **not nobody** come to Mora
≈ Yesterday, **nobody** could get to Mora.
(Garbacz, 2010, p. 87).

The parentheses in (61) signals that negative elements “[...] may, but do not have to, be followed by the negative marker” (Garbacz, 2010, p. 87). This further reiterates Övdalian as a non-strict NC language – which is also the preliminary conclusion for Southern Ostrobothnian, Nylandic and Estonian Swedish, too (Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 152). For the latter varieties, this includes that they also follow the same pattern of not having negative words obligatorily followed by a negative marker. Placing the negative word in a preverbal position, however, produces sentences that are generally not seen as valid constructions for speakers of Övdalian (Garbacz, 2010, p. 87), such as in (62):

- (62) ***Intnođ** ar ig **it** ietiđ [Övdalian]
***Nothing** have I **not** eaten

Garbacz (2010, p. 88-89) raises an interesting question that is befitting to this thesis overall: If Scandinavian in general do not produce NC, how come it is present in Övdalian and other non-standard varieties found in Scandinavia? Garbacz (2010, p. 88) argues that it seems to be an Övdalian innovation, rather than a sort of heritage from Old Dalecarlian⁸ or Old East Scandinavian. Similar questions have been raised by Weiß (1999, p. 838–841 in Garbacz, 2010, p. 89) concerning why Bavarian, a variety in the Southeastern part of Germany, exhibit NC while Standard German evidently does not allow it. A similar comparison can be drawn towards

⁸ A variety of Swedish that is spoken in Central Sweden.

the English contracted negator *n't* and the Sappen dialect's weakened negator *æ'kke*.⁹ More specifically, Weiß (1999, p. 820) points out that most contemporary linguists would either analyse the negative particle as the scope marker (cf. Kayne, 1984), or they would analyse it as a licenser of the negative quantifier (cf. Haegeman, 1995; Progovac, 1994), “[...] which is held to be the introducer of the negative feature and the element that takes (sentential) scope.” For Weiß (1999), contrarily, it is the negative particle that bears scope and that further assigns negative force to the sentence overall (p. 820). Consequently, we find ourselves amidst a conflicting matter amongst linguists, and further reiterates that more research is needed on the matter.

On addressing Romance and Slavic languages, Weiß (1999), interestingly points to that grammar-internal reasons were accountable for why “[...] the ban on double negation has failed to be successful” (p. 841). Moreover, in the case of double negation, it is further argued that “[...] since standard languages are extensions of underlying dialects [...], it would make more sense to investigate mainly dialects, because standard languages are sometimes “purified”” (1999, p. 841). It should be noted that we have strict-NC languages that have standardized variants (e.g., Greek and Spanish), but Weiß mainly adheres to standard languages that generally do not possess NC when using the term “purified”.

Below, you will find a section on negative markers in Standard English, more specifically the contracted negator *n't* and how it evidently accommodates for multiple negation.

5.6.2 Negative Markers in Standard English

In general, we see that languages around the world contain two types of bound morphemes that attaches to words: clitics and affixes, specifically inflectional affixes (Zwicky & Pullum, 1983, p. 502). In the English language, we have the auxiliary verbs *have*, *is*, *has* that may, in turn attach and combine with words preceding them as a clitic, such as for instance in (63):

(63) She's gone ≈ 'She is gone / She has gone.'

⁹ The Sappen dialect's contracted negator *æ'kke* will be explained in chapter 5.6.2.2.

The attachment of clitics to words is a highly governed syntactic process, i.e., strict rules have to be followed, and we see that clitics, generally, have a “[...] low degree of selection with respect to their hosts, while affixes exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stems” (Zwicky & Pullum, 1983, p. 503). But what about the English contracted negator *n’t*?

5.6.2.1 The English Contracted Negator “n’t”

Contrary to other languages, English *n’t* is “[...] extremely restricted in its distribution. It can only attach to a small number of inflected forms of verbs such as *to have*, *to be* and *to do*, and modals (Zwicky & Pullum, 1983, p. 503). In all other contexts where a negation is required (e.g., in NPs), a phrasal *not* is used (1983, p. 503). Moreover, the contracted form *n’t* has almost without exception, been viewed as a simple clitic that represents its full form *not* following the cliticization process (1983, p. 503). In a similar vein, the syntactic operation of Subject-Auxiliary Inversion (SAI) is closely related to the contraction process (1983, p. 503), more specifically how contracted forms aid in the grammaticality of a given sentence. Consider the following examples (64a-b) taken from Zwicky & Pullum (1983, p. 506):

- (64) (a) [Standard English]
You haven’t been there.
- (b)
Haven’t you been there?

In examples (64a-b) above, we see how SAI usually unfolds. Now compare examples (64a-b) with their corresponding uncontracted forms (65a-b):

- (65) (a) [Standard English]
You have **not** been there.
- (b) [Standard English]
*Have **not** you been there?

In example (65b) we get to see how SAI “[...] never predicts the two-word combination *have not* [...] So SAI is responsive to the effects of contraction” (Zwicky & Pullum, 1983, p. 506). As a result, the contracted form *n’t* evidently “[...] behaves like an inflectional affix rather than a simple clitic” (1983, p. 506). This can be further justified by various criteria laid forward by Zwicky and Pullum (1983, p. 505-506) such as “Syntactic rules can affect affixed words but cannot affect clitic group [...]and] Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot.” The latter of these criteria is compared in (66) and (67):

(66) *I’d’n’t be doing this unless I had to
‘I would **not** be doing this unless I had to’
(Zwicky & Pullum, 1983, p. 507).

(67) I’d’ve done it if you asked me
‘I would have done it if you asked me’
(Zwicky & Pullum, 1983, p. 506).

Above we can see how in (66) that the contracted negator *n’t* is not allowed to be attached to a word that already contains clitics, whereas the contracted form *ve* is perfectly capable of doing so, as seen in (67) (1983, p. 505-507). This moreover reiterates how the contracted negator *n’t* is more likely to be an inflectional affix compared to a clitic if we follow the diagnostics provided by Zwicky and Pullum (cf. 1983).

Similarly, Zwicky and Pullum (1983, p. 511) conclude that “[...] the feature of sentential negation is realized on the first auxiliary verb in an English sentence, as a part of the syntax proper, not as a post-syntactic cliticization.” With the assumption that negative markers are usually located at two different locations in verb phrases, we get to see that it consequently legitimizes double negation in Standard English (Zwicky & Pullum, 1983, p. 511), as in (68a-b):

(68) (a) [Standard English]

Well, I just would **not NOT** sunbathe on such a beautiful day

(b) [Standard English]

When he's nervous, he **can't not** smoke

From (68a-b), we can withdraw, firstly, how the English *n't* can be categorized. Secondly, we are able to provide evidence to how instances of multiple negative markers may arise in a single sentence. With this in mind, a speculation could be that seeing English *n't* as affixal in nature, could moreover explain the susceptibility of NC in non-standard varieties of English, and consequently produces similar speculations about non-standard Scandinavian varieties, which we shall examine closer in chapter (5.6.2.2) below. At the surface, this may appear to be irrelevant to the phenomenon of NC, but it provides fruitful information about negative markers and how they can be used in the operation of multiple negation. Having discussed the English negative marker *n't*, what then about the instances of negative concord and negative markers in Scandinavian varieties? This will be further explored in the next sub-chapter.

5.6.2.2 Norwegian Sappen dialect contracted negator '*æ'kke*'

In Old Norse, *eigi* means the same as *ikke* 'not' in Norwegian. As Old Norse progressed, the negative would be reanalysed from having a specifier position to that of a head (Van Gelderen, 2008, p. 207). This can be reiterated by that Johannessen (2000 in van Gelderen, 2008) argues that the negative marker *ikke* in Norwegian is a head (p. 207), based on that *ikke* can, on various grounds, morphologically attach to other constituents, for instance, *har ikke* 'does not' → *ha'kke* 'doesn't' (Johannessen, 2000, p. 198). Van Gelderen (2008) points out that if the analysis of *ikke* is correct, a prediction would unfold in that the negative marker would get phonetically weak at some point in the future (207-208), which perhaps is already evident if we look at the reduced forms of *ikke*; *æ'kke* 'is not' (also *ha'kke* / *make* 'not') in (69) as witnessed below:

(69) [Norwegian Sappen Dialect]

Men detta *æ'kke* et forslag som vi har interesse av

But this is **not** a proposal that we have interest in

(Solstad, 1977, p. 70 in Van Gelderen, 2008, p. 208)

If we compare this to the English contracted negator *n't*, we see some interesting similarities. Zwicky and Pullum (1983), as discussed, claimed that *n't* was a suffix, and similarly argues that prescriptive rules may be why the weak negative marker *n't* is not reinforced by another negative specifier (Van Gelderen, 2008, p. 208). This brings us back to how negative heads may be a vital contributor for the operation of NC to thrive. However, if we consider *ikke* as a head in a variety of Norwegian dialects, should we not expect NC to be more vividly applied? For some Norwegian dialects, the process of NC is arguably in the early stages of emergence. Sollid (2002 in Van Gelderen, 2008, p. 208) points to that the Northern Norwegian dialect of Sappen is displaying properties of an early NC language, such as in (70):

(70) Eg har **ikke aldri** smakt sånne brød [Sappen Dialect, Norwegian]

I have **not never** tasted such bread

= I haven't *ever* tasted that kind of bread.

(Sollid, 2002 in Van Gelderen, 2008, p. 209).

This linguistic property, Sollid (2002 in Van Gelderen, 2008) argues, can be seen in the Sappen dialect as a result from contact with Finnish (p. 209), but Van Gelderen (2008) points out that it would not have been possible for the Sappen dialect to include these properties into their own to begin with without being linguistically prone to them – i.e., if *ikke* was not a head already (p. 209). Drawing a comparison to the English contracted negator *n't*, there may in Norwegian, too, be prescriptive rules that do not allow phonetically weak negative markers to be used in Standard Norwegian. A speculation, then, would be that if Norwegian would gradually produce more phonetically weak negative elements (e.g., in contracted forms such as *æ'kke*), then NC

would gradually become more acceptable, and perhaps even more susceptible to the phenomenon.

As a reminder, Zeijlstra (cf. 2004) argue that the analytical definition of negative elements in a sentence are either to be syntactic heads or syntactic phrases. Within this train of thought, sentential negation in NC-languages further take on the role as syntactic heads, and not as syntactic phrases (Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 152). This is an important difference, mostly due to how syntactic heads can appear simultaneously with other negators in the same clause without interfering with other negative elements or causing “[...] double reading-effects” (2015, p. 152). In a similar vein, van Gelderen (2008, p. 208 in Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 152) argues how “[...] a change NegP > Neg is the underlying cause for NC: “once the negation is in the head position, it is weakened to the point where it no longer ‘interferes’ with a second or third negative.”” This relationship between syntactic heads as weakened, is an interesting remark, and perhaps introduces a reaffirmation of a pattern that NC languages utilizes, more specifically phonetically weak negative constituents (e.g., the English contracted negator *n’t*, Sappen’s negator *æ’kke*, Scots *na/nae*, amongst others). Van Gelderen (2008) follows the same argumentation of Zeijlstra (2008) and Rosenkvist (2015) above, in that all NC-languages have negative syntactic heads, and that negative syntactic heads are “[...] a prerequisite for NC to appear” (Van Gelderen, 2008 in Rosenkvist, 2015, p. 152).

Connecting these phonetically weakened negative elements to that of the negation cycle (i.e., Jespersen’s Cycle), we understand that the reanalysis of the specifier of NegP as a syntactic head is evidently accountable for one stage within this cycle (Van Gelderen, 2008, p. 196). A reiteration of this can be illuminated by the negation cycle itself, and that “[t]he original adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened” (cf. Jespersen, 1917). Similarly, another stage of the negation cycle can be witnessed in how a head may be analysed as a negative head (2008, p. 196). For Rosenkvist (2015), it appears that there are two signs that we can look after for deciding whether a negative element is a head or phrase; Firstly, they are phonetically weakened. Secondly, they may cliticise to other constituents of the sentence (p. 152). Bear in mind that based on how negation may be structurally positioned in a given language can affect how negation unfolds, but that is not to say that languages can differ in how negatives position themselves (2008, p. 2008), and this does not necessarily affect or correlate with how negation is represented cross-linguistically.

6 Summary and Conclusion

In and throughout this thesis, several aspects of negative concord have been examined and discussed. Firstly, several definitional sections were provided to give the reader appropriate insight into the field of negation to enhance the understanding of negative concord. Important similar phenomena like *double negation* and *negative polarity* were also accounted for, where we have seen that double negation readings differ from NC readings in the interpretation of semantical negative elements. *Negative polarity*, too, was explored and it was shown how NPIs can be contextually different from one context to another (e.g., the Negative Concord Item *Nessuno* in Italian can be equivalent to both the NPI *anything* and negative indefinite **nothing** in English). Subsequently, a look into the categorical differences between NC-languages and non-NC languages were given, as well as strict vs. non-strict NC languages.

A historical aspect was also provided in Old Norse and Old English as affected by the former. This was primarily included to display the influence a language can have upon another, where we witnessed how Old English was affected (at the beginning, mainly, if not solely, in Northern areas of England; cf. Ingham, 2008) by Old Norse during centuries of substantial contact. Moreover, Old English, which contained a high percentage of NC, experienced a significant decline in the negation phenomenon after years of contact with Scandinavian varieties that contained to a variable extent NPIs. If this decline was a direct result of the new settlers' presence and influence on linguistic properties remains to be a topic of divisive opinions, but a highly convincing speculation (cf. Emonds & Faarlund, 2014; Ingham, 2008), however, suggests that contact was at least a contributing factor for the decline.

Other contributing factors are presented by Kallel (cf. 2007) and Rosenkvist (cf. 2015), amongst others, where "lexical parameter resetting", i.e., the reinterpretation of negative elements as syntactic heads, would co-currently present a possibly crucial point to the decline and rise of NC in general. Similarly, we have also seen how the English contracted negator *n't* and the Sappen dialect's *æ'kke* have comparable qualities, firstly by how these contracted negators are argued to be affixal in nature (cf. Zwicky & Pullum, 1983; Johannessen, 2000). Recall, with this in mind, Zeijlstra (2008)'s influential hypothesis (although too strong or slightly inaccurate) concerning how all languages that contain affixal negation are NC languages. Secondly, these negative elements (i.e., *n't* and *æ'kke*) render as phonetically weak negative elements, which can be associated with Jespersen's Cycle by the cyclic nature of these negative elements, in that negative elements are both added, weakened, or removed as language continues its dynamic trajectory. In a similar vein, we have seen that Rosenkvist (cf. 2015, p.

152) pointed out two important signs in determining whether a negation is a syntactic head or phrase; firstly, that the negation is phonetically reduced, and secondly that they may cliticise to other constituents. Considering the contracted negators *n't* and *æ'kke*, both of these signs remain true. In this regard, we have seen that whether a constituent is a syntactic head or phrase is an important distinction due to the fact that syntactic heads may appear simultaneously with other negative elements without interfering with these other negative elements or causing double-reading effects.

Other important aspects that we have seen is that some non-standard Scandinavian varieties accommodate for NC to appear, despite North Germanic languages generally not showing NC. One of the leading theories for the decline of NC to begin with was the introduction of prescriptive rules based on Latin, mainly based on that Latin would reject multiple negative markers as 'illogical'. Such an approach, from a personal perspective, does not produce sufficient reasoning, most notably due to the fact that language varieties, despite finding themselves in a minority, have NC regardless of any 'superior' linguistic variant that may surround them.

This leads us to the research question of this thesis; **What are the contributing factors that make some language varieties susceptible to *negative concord*?** In terms of this, I believe there to be an overarching selection of contributing factors, which we have discussed above, that in sum produce a "conspiracy" to why a linguistic variety becomes susceptible to NC; more specifically how negative markers, through grammaticalization (i.e., lexical parameter resetting), become phonetically reduced, which in turn make them prone to be paired up with other negative constituents (e.g., *æ'kke* in the Norwegian Sappen dialect; *n't* in English varieties; *Nae/na* in Scots). As a consequence, negative elements are at various occasions subject for reanalysis, where a negative constituent can be reinterpreted from the specifier (Spec) position to that of a syntactic head. This paves the way for negative elements, as discussed (cf. Rosenkvist, 2015; Van Gelderen, 2008, amongst others), to interact with other negative constituents without interference or production of double-reading effects. The final causal factor is that of linguistic contact between varieties, where we have seen throughout this thesis that contact between varieties may increase or decrease the presence or absence of a linguistic feature (e.g., NC in Old Norse and Old English; The Sappen Dialect), depending upon if a language is moving away or towards the accommodation of NC. Each of these contributing factors, i.e., lexical reinterpretation (phonetically reduced negative elements), and language contact, are speculated to cause the rise or decline of NC. Considering a given language's

susceptibility to NC is, however, largely dependent on where a language is in terms of the negation cycle, and whether it is 'sufficiently accommodated' for NC to occur. A final illumination of the latter can be reiterated by that the Norwegian Sappen dialect has evidently begun its integration of multiple negative elements, that in turn manifests NC.

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Appendix

Why my chosen topic is relevant to the teaching profession

The topic I have chosen for my thesis, I believe, has provided me with indispensable knowledge of negation in not only the field of negative concord, but also in general. With this in mind, I think this gives me valuable knowledge about syntactic structure in language, and especially how a language may develop and influence each other languages. In a time where we can interact with people from all over the world, possessing such knowledge may give me tools for teaching language and history (most notably from a linguistic perspective) in an explorative and in-depth manner. Similarly, I think that various aspects that I have explored throughout my thesis can also be applied across other topics.

As for my profession, I believe that understanding how certain aspects of language function in a more detailed sense, gives rise to an influx of possibly new understandings of language and how we humans may both utilize and influence various aspects of it. For my future students, I believe I will be able to provide more insight into aspects of language, and further organize my lectures to be engaging and hopefully motivating.

Exploring negative concord has also provided me with new perspectives. It has given me insight into how languages may vary significantly in how they operate, but at the same time, also how they may maintain similarities in various regards. For the former, I believe it has given me a toolset for preventing stigmatization, as this can oftentimes be seen attached to aspects that appear different from what we are used to. More specifically, some allegedly perceive negative concord (i.e., the presence of multiple negative elements in one sentence) as unusual and therefore abnormal, which again may give rise to stigmatization. Understanding how it works, and that languages may vary significantly in how their language variety operate, I can additional perspectives to students' idea of a given topic and subsequently remove negative connotations.

