Additive negation

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1. Introduction

An additive negation (1) is typically used when two or more negative propositions are compared with each other, and it often occurs in clause-initial position. It is one of three functions of clause-initial negation that Lindström (2009:168) identifies. The other two are responsive (2) and interrogative negation (3).

(1) **Inte** ska du stå här och skala potatis!   (Swedish)

   not   shall   you   stand   here   and   peel   potatoes

   'You shouldn't be here peeling potatoes!' (Brandtler & Håkansson 2012: 77)

(2) **Inte** har du sett Hedlund   (Swedish)

   not   have   you   seen   Hedlund

   'You haven't seen Hedlund by any chance?' (Brandtler & Håkansson 2012: 77)

(3) Han har inga pengar, och **inte** har han nån näver heller. (Swedish)

   he   has   no   money   and   not   has   he   any   birch-bark   either

   'He hasn't got any money, nor has he any birch-bark.' (Brandtler & Håkansson 2012: 77)

Additive negation is, according to Lindström (2009:168), more stylistically neutral than the other two, and it is common in both Swedish and Norwegian, but not in Danish (Lindström 2009:165f, quoting Hulthén 1947 and Christensen 2005).

   Clause-initial additive negation is according to Teleman et al. (1999:4:175 ff) stressed (unlike e.g. the clause-initial responsive negation). The propositions that are compared can be either explicit, as illustrated in (4), or implicit, as shown in (5).

(4) **Inte** har hon tvättat och **inte** har jag städat.   (Swedish)

   not   has   she   washed   and   not   has   I   cleaned

   'She hasn't washed, and I haven't cleaned' (Teleman et al. 1999:4:175)

(5)   Och   **inte**   har   jag   hunnit   handla   heller.   (Swedish)

     and   not   have   I   reached   shopped   either

     'And I haven't had time to go shopping either' (Teleman et al. 1999:175)

2. Results

2.1 Nordic Syntax Database (NSD)

Additive negation has been tested in two sentences in the NSD, for both Swedish and Norwegian. In the first of the sentences, the negation is placed clause-initially in both conjuncts (6); in the second the negation is clause initial only in the second conjunct (7).

(6)   a.   **Inte**   har   han   tvättat   och   **inte**   har   han   varit   i   affären.   (#822)

         (Swedish)

       not   has   he   Washed   and   not   has   he   been   in   store.DEF

    b.   **Ikke**   har   han   vaska   og   **ikke**   har   han   vært   i   butikken.   (#822)

         (Norwegian)

       not   has   he   Washed   and   not   has   he   been   in   store.DEF

       'He hasn't washed, nor has he been to the store.'

(7)   a.   Han   har   **inte**   tvättat   och   **inte**   har   han   varit   i   affären.   (#823)

         (Swedish)

       he   has   not   Washed   and   not   has   he   been   in   store.DEF

    b.   Han   har   **ikke**   vaska   og   **ikke**   har   han   vært   i   butikken.   (#823)

         (Norwegian)

       he   has   not   Washed   and   not   has   he   been   in   store.DEF

       'He hasn't washed, nor has he been to the store.'

The sentences in (6) are accepted across Norway and Sweden, with the only exception of one location in the eastern Norwegian county of Hedmark (Rena), where (6) is rejected. In addition, (6) is judged as questionable in a small number of locations on the Norwegian west coast (Karmøy, Bergen, and Volda) as well as in two location in Middle Norway (Kvam, Selbu) and one location in the Northern Swedish province of Helsingsland (Delsbo). This is shown in Map 1.

Map 1: Additive negation placed clause-initially in both conjuncts.

(#822: Ikke har han vaska og ikke har han vært i butikken. 'He hasn't washed, nor has he been to the store.')

(White = high score, grey = medium score, black = low score).

The test sentence (7) is also generally accepted in both Sweden in Norway, and only rejected in a few places: in the provinces of Vestfold (Larvik), Vest-Agder (Vennesla), Telemark (Hjartdal), Rogaland (Hjelmeland), Sogn og Fjordane (Stryn) and Hedmark (Alvdal). I addition, (7) is judged as questionable in some locations, mostly in Southwestern Norway and in Northeastern Norway, but also in some Swedish locations. This is shown on Map 2.

Map 2: Additive negation placed clause-initially in the second conjunct (#823: Han har ikke vaska, og ikke har han vært i butikken. 'He hasn't washed, nor has he been to the store.')
(White = high score, grey = medium score, black = low score).

The results from the NSD show clearly that the additive negation is a widely accepted phenomenon in most of Swedish and Norwegian dialects, being rejected only in a couple of places.

2.2 Nordic Dialect Corpus (NDC)

In the NDC, the both types of the additive negation, cf. (6) and (7), are attested both in Sweden and Norway. In Norway, we found it in a number of locations distributed from the south to the north, in the provinces of Hordaland (Eidfjord), Oppland (Vågå), Møre og Romsdal (Aure), Nordland (Sømna and Andøya), and Troms (Lyngen). In Sweden, the additive negation is found only in the Northern Swedish province of Ångermanland (Anundsjö). This is shown in Map 3 below, and some relevant examples are given in (8)-(10).

Map 3: Additive negation in first or in second conjunct as attested in the NDC.
(White = places of attestation).

(8) **inte** skulle man Sätt värde på vad hon gjorde, (Swedish)

not should one Put worth on what she did

inte skulle man Sätta värde på det någonting inte

not should one Put worth on it anything not

'One was not supposed to appreciate what she did, nor was one suppose to appreciate it at all.'
(anundsjo_ow3)

(9) **ikkje** va da fjærnsyn Å **ikkje** va de data (Norwegian)

not was it TV and not were it computers

å **ikkje** va de mobiltelefon å **ikkje** va da radio før

and not was it mobile.phone and not was it radio formerly

'There was no TV, no computers, no mobile phones, no radio in the past.' (eidfjord_03gm)

(10) å   vi   vesst **ikke** ka   vi   sku   jør å   **ikke** fækk vi   nå   fåkLaringa   (Norwegian)

    and we   knew not   what we should do and not   got   we any explanation

    'So we didn't know what we were supposed to do, nor did we get any explanation.' *(soemna_02uk)*

The spontaneous hits in the corpus confirm the results obtained in the NSD: additive negation is a productive phenomenon in the Swedish and Norwegian dialects. The low number of examples from spontaneous speech is probably an effect of the discourse type used in the conversations that form the corpus.

3. Discussion

3.1. The contrast between bare and complex additive negation

Ekerot (1988:28) states that clause-initial negation cannot be followed by the particle *så*, whereas the complex phrase *inte heller* ('not either') in clause-initial position can be followed by *så* (Ekerot 1988:191).

(11) a.   *__Inte__   så   kommer   han.   (Swedish)

      not   SÅ   comes   he

      Intended: 'He won't come' *(Ekerot 1988:21)*

   b.   **Inte   heller**   så   Har   jag   påstått   at   din   son   smygröker.   (Swedish)

      not   either   SÅ   Have   I   claimed   that   your   son   secret.smokes

      'I have not claimed that your son smokes in secret, either' *(Ekerot 1988:191)*

In (11a) the clause-initial negation does not have an additive function, and the particle *så* cannot intervene between the fronted negation and the finite verb. The presence of the adverb *heller* 'either' in (11b) favors an interpretation of the sentence as a part in an additive sequence, where the first conjunct is implicitly, and not explicitly expressed. It seems therefore that the particle *så* can appear with additive negation. This hypothesis can however be falsified. First, compare the additive sequences in (12):

(12) a. **Inte** har   jag tvättat   Och **inte** har   jag städat.   (Swedish)

     not   have I   washed and not have I   cleaned

     'I haven't washed and I haven't cleaned'

   b. **Inte** har   jag   tvättat   och **inte heller** har   jag   städat.   (Swedish)

     not   have I   washed and not either have I   cleaned

     'I haven't washed and I haven't cleaned, either'

In (12a) the additive negations appear alone in clause-initial position, whereas in the second conjunct in (12b), the negation is fronted together with the adverb *heller* 'either'. The meaning of the two clauses is almost identical, although the fact of not having cleaned is emphasized in (12b). This quite small syntactic difference has interesting syntactic implications.

Some speakers of Swedish and Norwegian can modify (12b), by inserting the particle *så* between *heller* 'either' and the finite verb *har* 'have' in the second conjunct, the string being grammatical, cf. (13a). The same modification of (12a), i.e. insertion of the particle *så* in the second conjunct is however impossible, cf. (13b).

(13) a. **Inte**   har   jag   tvättat   och   **inte heller**   så   har   jag   städat.   (Swedish)

not   have   I   washed   and   not   either   have   I   cleaned

'I haven't washed and I haven't cleaned, either'

b. ***Inte**   har   jag   tvättat   och   **inte**   så   har   jag   städat.   (Swedish)

not   have   I   washed   and   not   SÅ   have   I   cleaned

Intended: 'I haven't washed and I haven't cleaned, either'

Moreover, even for those speakers that do not accept the structure shown in (11b) above, the contrast between (11b) and (13a) is apparent. Structurally speaking, the contrast between (11b) and (13a) implies that the displacement of the complex phrase *inte heller* ('not either') is of another type than the displacement of the bare additive negation. The bare additive clause-initial negation thus patterns with the non-additive clause-initial negation in this respect. In a cartographic approach, the phrase *inte heller* ('not either') targets a higher position in the tree structure than the bare additive negation (cf. Østbø to appear; Eide 2011; Østbø 2006), such that *inte heller* can be located higher in the tree than the position for *så*, and *inte* is located in a position below *så*. The displacement of the constituent *inte heller* thus patterns with displacement of other adverbial constituents that can be followed by *så* as exemplified in (14).

(14) **Heldigvis**   så   kommer   sola   snart   tilbake   (Norwegian)

fortunately   SÅ   comes   sun.DEF   soon   back

'Fortunately, the sun is coming back soon.' *(Østbø 2006:3)*

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