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 någon 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)

   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)

   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)

   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)

   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). In 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)
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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Nordic Dialect Corpus: http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/scandiasyn/index.html

Nordic Syntax Database: http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/scandiasyn/index.html