Not on the Edge
The Syntax and Pragmatics of
Clause-Initial Negation in Swedish[*]

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Abstract

The possibility of topicalizing sentential negation is severely restricted in the Germanic V2-languages. In this paper, we show that negative preposing was more frequent and less restricted in earlier stages of Swedish: approx. 8% of all occurrences of negation are clause initial in Old Swedish, compared to less than 0.5% in present day Swedish. We propose that this change in frequency can be traced to the syntactic status of the negative element. More specifically, we argue that Old Swedish *eigh* 'not' may function as a syntactic head and cliticize to the finite verb in [C°]. This possibility is not open to the XP *inte* 'not' in Modern Swedish. In Modern Swedish, we argue that the restrictions on negative preposing instead are related to more general pragmatic restrictions on the information expressed in [Spec,CP]: according to our hypothesis, negative preposing is licensed by contrast.

Keywords: Old Swedish; Modern Swedish; Topicalization; Negation; Diachronic change; Spec,CP; Germanic languages

1   Introduction

This article is concerned with the syntactic and pragmatic restrictions on negative preposing in Swedish, i.e., the possibility of topicalizing sentential

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negation. In Modern Swedish, the negative adverb *inte* 'not' may be promoted from its base position in NegP to [Spec,CP], as illustrated in (1b) below.

(1) a. Sven har **inte** köpt den boken på nätet.
Sven has not bought that book on web.DEF

'Sven hasn't bought that book online.'

b. **Inte** har Sven köpt den boken på nätet.
not has Sven bought that book on web.DEF

c. [Spec,CP Inte [C° har] [Spec,TP Sven [NegP ~~inte~~ [VP har Sven köpt …]]]]

The Germanic V2-languages display a variation with regard to negative preposing. In Danish, single *ikke* cannot occur clause initially (see Christensen 2003), whereas in Icelandic *ekki* can "easily be preposed" (Thráinsson 2007: 38). In German, Dutch, Norwegian and Modern Swedish, single *nicht, niet, ikke* and *inte*, respectively, are only possible in certain very specific contexts (see Jäger 2008 and Ulvestad 1975 for German, Zeijlstra 2013 for Dutch and Faarlund et al. 1997: 814 for Norwegian).[1]

Despite the syntactic possibility of negative preposing, the construction is nevertheless infrequent in present day Swedish. According to a corpus study by Westman (1974), clause-initial negation accounts for less than 0.5% of the total occurrences of negation, irrespective of genre. Insofar as frequency is related to pragmatic markedness, clause-initial negation is thus one of the more marked constructions in present day Swedish. As we show in this paper, clause-initial negation was decidedly more common in earlier stages of

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[1]Note that negative expressions are not excluded *per se* from clause-initial position in the Germanic languages: negative indefinites (i.e., the equivalents of *nothing, no-one*) readily occur clause initially, as well as negative adverbials relating to time (i.e., the equivalents of *never, seldom, rarely* etc.); see (i). Also, the standard negative marker may occur clause initially when functioning as a constituent negation, as in (ii) below:

(i) *Aldrig* har jag längtat så efter en TV-film.
never have I longed so after a TV-movie

'Never have I longed so much for a TV-movie.'

(ii) *Inte* Sven, utan Maria åkte till Paris igår.
not Sven but Mary went to Paris yesterday

'It wasn't Sven but Mary who left for Paris yesterday.'

Swedish, reaching a high of approximately 8% of the total occurrences of negation during the Old Swedish period (c. 1225–1526).

These figures suggest that negative preposing was less restricted in Old Swedish than in Modern Swedish. We argue below that the difference in frequency can be traced back to the syntactic status of the negative element. In Modern Swedish, we assume in accordance with a number of authors (see, e.g., Platzack 1998; Zeijlstra 2004) that negation is a maximal projection; in Old Swedish, we propose that negation is instead a syntactic phrase head. Thus, we argue that negation has undergone a change from Head to Spec in the history of Swedish. The direction of this development seems to be the opposite of van Gelderen's (2008) *Negative Cycle*, according to which negatives develop from maximal projections to heads. However, we argue that the change in syntactic status is not due to a syntactic reanalysis (from Head to Spec), but instead stems from a lexical change of the negative marker: from the syntactic head *eigh* in Old Swedish to the maximal projection *icke* (< *äkke*) and *inte* (< *änkte*) in (Early) Modern Swedish. We further propose that the negative marker in some dialects of present day Swedish (realized as *int*) has been reanalyzed as a syntactic head, thus following the direction of van Gelderen's negative cycle.

According to our analysis, there are no syntactic restrictions on negative preposing in standard Modern Swedish: a maximal projection, the negative adverb *inte* may undergo topicalization from its base position in NegP to [Spec,CP]. The relative infrequency of negative preposing in Modern Swedish is instead attributed to pragmatic factors, more specifically c-linking (see Molnár 2003, 2006 and Molnár and Winkler 2009). Negation may only undergo topicalization provided it functions as a cohesive device, either by creating contrast or continuity. The situation in Old Swedish is the exact opposite. Naturally, the head status of negation syntactically prohibits it from moving to [Spec,CP]. Instead, negation cliticizes to the finite verb. As [C°] is not associated with any pragmatic properties, there are, however, no information structural restrictions on negative preposing in Old Swedish. This, in turn, accounts for the relatively high frequency of clause-initial negation in Old Swedish compared to the situation in Modern Swedish.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 constitutes the empirical backbone of the present study. Focusing on Old Swedish, we present the results from a quantitative diachronic study of clause-initial negation in Swedish, covering the development from approx. 1225–1900. Section 3 presents and substantiates our main claim, i.e., that negation was a head in

Old Swedish and is a syntactic phrase in present day Swedish. Our theoretical account of negative preposing in Modern Swedish is presented in Section 4, followed by an extension of the analysis to dialects of Swedish in Section 5. The last section summarizes the claims and theoretical implications of the present proposal.

2 The Development of Negative Preposing

The phenomenon of negative preposing has only been discussed peripherally in most diachronic studies on Swedish (see, e.g., Jörgensen 1987 and Saari 1987), and there exists no previous study on the relative (in)frequency of clause-initial negation in the earliest stages of Swedish. In order to fill this gap, Section 2.1 presents the results from a frequency study of clause-initial negation in Old Swedish (c. 1225–1526). The Early Modern Swedish period (c. 1500–1700) has been surveyed by Lehti-Eklund (1984), and the Late Modern period by Lindström (2007); the results from these studies are presented in Section 2.2.

In combination, these empirical studies confirm that negative preposing has become gradually more rare in Swedish. They also point to an important frequency shift in the use of negative adverbs, from the predominant *eigh* in Old Swedish to *icke* (< *äkke*) and *inte* (< *änkte*) in Modern Swedish. The implications of this parallel development are postponed to Section 3.4.

2.1 Old Swedish (c. 1225–1526)

It has been repeatedly observed that Old Swedish displays the possibility of negative preposing. However, Lindström (2007: 150) considers clause-initial negation in Old Swedish to be a genre characteristic of legal texts, and as such not representative of the language at large.

In order to establish the actual occurrence and frequency of clause-initial negation in Old Swedish, we excerpted a total of 1,826 occurrences of negative adverbs in a representative sample of 13 texts from this period. A detailed overview of each individual text can be found in the Appendix. The texts have all been used in previous studies of Old Swedish syntax (primarily by Platzack 1980 and Delsing 1999), and have been selected so as to give a representative picture of the language structure of Old Swedish. As is common in research on Old Swedish syntax (cf. Hirvonen 1987, Delsing 1999), the Old Swedish period has been divided into three sub-periods: Early Old Swedish

Table 1: Clause-initial negation in Old Swedish: hits/period.

| | Negative adverbs | | |
| | Total | Clause-initial | |
Period	N	N	PCT
Early Old Swedish (c. 1225–1375)	665	55	8%
Late Old Swedish I (c. 1375–1450)	730	55	8%
Late Old Swedish II (c. 1450–1526)	431	37	9%
Total	**1,826**	**147**	**8%**

$\chi^2 = 0.47$; df = 2; $p = 0.79$

(c. 1225–1375); Late Old Swedish I (c. 1375–1450); Late Old Swedish II
(c. 1450–1526). Five texts were selected from Early Old Swedish, and four
texts from each of the remaining two periods.

Table 1 presents the total number of negative adverbs found for each
period, as well as the relative frequency of clause-initial negation. As seen
from this table, clause-initial negation accounts for approx. 8% of the total
occurrences of sentential negation. This percentage is relatively stable across
the three periods, so there is little to suggest a diachronic development of
negative preposing during the Old Swedish period. Furthermore, one text
in our corpora represents the archaic and formalized language typical of legal
texts from this period, namely *Äldre Västgötalagen* (ÄVgL). The relative fre-
quency of clause-initial negation in ÄVgL is 9%, compared to a mean of 9%
for the other secular texts in our corpora, and a mean of 7% for the religious
texts.[2] Thus, our study does not substantiate Lindström's (2007) suspicion
that clause-initial negation is genre based in Old Swedish.

Of the negative adverbs found, *eigh* (with various spellings) is by far the
most frequent, accounting for 80% of the total hits. Among the other ad-
verbs found, variations of *äkke* account for 13%, variations of *änkte* for 7%
and variations of *ängaledis* for 2 total hits. These figures carry over to the
individual texts: *eigh* is the predominant negative marker in all texts apart
from *Didriksagan* (DI).[3]

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[2] The genre classification is based on proposals by Klockars (1967) and Ståhle (1967).

[3] In Didriksagan, *äkke* accounts for no less than 86% of the total number of sentential negation.
It is also the adverb found most frequently in preverbal position: of a total of 16 hits of clause-
initial negation in DI, *äkke* accounts for 14. As the use of negation in DI clearly diverges from the
other texts from this period, we will disregard it in the remainder of this paper. Thus, DI has been

Table 2: Clause-initial negation in Old Swedish: hits/negative element.

	Total	Clause initial	
Adverb	N	N	PCT
eigh	1,453	128	9%
äkke	77	1	1%
änkte	100	3	3%
ängaledhis	2	0	–
Total	**1,632**	**132**	**8%**

χ^2 = 9.26; df = 2; *p* = 0.01
(*Ängaledhis* omitted)

Focusing on preverbal negation, we find that *eigh* is the one most likely to occur in a clause-initial position; see Table 2.

Intriguingly, the figures in Table 2 imply that the choice of negative adverb affects the possibility of promoting negation to clause-initial position. Of a total of 132 occurrences of clause-initial negation, *eigh* accounts for 128. This observation suggests, in turn, that the restrictions on negative preposing in Old Swedish are related to the interplay between syntax and the lexicon.

2.2 Early and Late Modern Swedish (1526–1900)

During the Early Modern Swedish period (1526–1732), the relative frequency of clause-initial negation declined. We base this claim on Lehti-Eklund (1984). In a corpus study of Early Modern Swedish texts from different genres written during 1520–1550, 1620–1650 and 1730–1750, Lehti-Eklund found 18 occurrences of clause-initial negation. To make her findings comparable to our previous results, we supplemented her study by searching for (spelling variations of) the negative adverbs *ej*, *icke* and *inte* in her material.[4] We found a total of 411 occurrences of negative adverbs, meaning that the 18 occurrences of clause-initial negation found by Lehti-Eklund accounts for 4%. Provided that these texts are representative for the

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omitted from Table 2 below, meaning that the total number of hits has been reduced from 1,826 to 1,632.

[4]This search was carried out in the corpus *Äldre nysvensk syntax* (Helsinki University; Professor Mirja Saari). The corpus consists of 50,000 words. We would like to thank Jan Lindström for helping us access the material.

language at large, negative preposing thus became more restricted during the Early Modern Swedish period.

As noted by both Teleman et al. (1999: 4, 175ff) and Lindström (2007: 148), negative preposing in present day Swedish is stylistically associated with informal speech and dialogical contexts.[5] As this may have been the case in earlier stages of Modern Swedish, it is possible that the earliest available texts do not correctly mirror the actual frequency of clause-initial negation during the Modern Swedish period. In an attempt to circumvent this problem, Lindström (2007) surveys the distribution of clause-initial negation in drama dialogues written between 1725–2000. We limit our study to the period 1725–1900.

In total, Lindström excerpted 95 occurrences of clause-initial negation during the time periods 1725–1750, 1775–1800 and 1825–1900. To enable comparison of his findings with our previous results, we supplemented his study by searching for (spelling variations of) the adverbs *ej*, *icke* and *inte* in the same material.[6]

As illustrated in Table 3, clause-initial negation is already rare at the onset of the Late Modern Swedish period (c. 1725): less than 2% of the total number of single negative elements occur clause initially. Given that the corresponding figure is 8% during the Late Old Swedish period (see Table 1 above), and 4% during the Early Modern Swedish period, this finding confirms a gradual and steady decline in negative preposing from the onset of the Early Modern Swedish period.

Table 3 indicates that the frequency of clause-initial negation increases slightly from 1825 and onwards, but is far from reaching the mean of 8% of the Old Swedish period. Lindström (2007: 151) notes that the period between 1875–1950 displays the highest relative frequency of clause-initial negation in his study (not reflected in Table 3). After 1975, however, he finds very few instances of clause-initial negation; this finding concurs with Westman (1974), as previously mentioned.

Lindström's proposed explanation of these figures is not conclusive. He vaguely suggests (2007: 151–52) that the low frequency of clause-initial negation in his earliest texts could be attributed to foreign literary influence (such as imitations and translations); as a consequence, the dialogues do not

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[5] Note that these claims are not substantiated by Westman's (1974) corpus study, as the relative infrequency of clause-initial negation is stable across every genre included in her survey.

[6] This search was carried out in the corpus *Svensk dramadialog under tre sekler*, Uppsala University; we thank Professor Mats Thelander for making it available to us.

Table 3: Clause-initial negation in Late Modern Swedish drama dialogue. (Number of clause-initial negation from Lindström 2007: 150ff)

| | Negative adverbs | | |
| | Total | Clause initial | |
Period	N	N	PCT
1725–1750	1,156	14	1.2%
1775–1800	736	7	1.0%
1825–1850	961	17	1.8%
1875–1900	3,469	57	1.6%
Total	**6,322**	**95**	**1.5%**

accurately reflect the actual speech pattern of the time. As Swedish literature evolved during the 19th century, the authors' literary and linguistic awareness resulted in more authentic dialogues. While these claims—at least from a literary point of view—are compatible with the general development of written Swedish during the 19th century, they certainly do not explain the drop in negative preposing between 1526 and 1725.

Importantly, Lindström (2007: 150, fn.) finds only one example of negative preposing involving *ej* in the earlier texts, i.e., the cognate of Old Swedish *eigh*. All other instances of negative preposing involve *inte* or *icke*, i.e., the cognates of *änkte* and *äkki*, respectively. Recall from Table 2 above that *eigh* was by far the most frequent negative element in clause-initial position in Old Swedish.

Combining the results from each study presented above, we observe two important changes: i) the overall frequency of clause-initial negation has declined from 8% in the Late Old Swedish period (cf. Table 2) to 1.5% in Late Modern Swedish (cf. Table 3) and to 0.5% in present day Swedish (Westman 1974); ii) the negative adverb in clause-initial position has shifted, from *eigh* during the Old Swedish period to *icke* and later *inte* during the Modern Swedish period. The second observation is especially intriguing, as Table 2 above suggested that the choice of adverb was already connected to the possibility of negative preposing during the Old Swedish period. We return to this issue in Section 3 below.
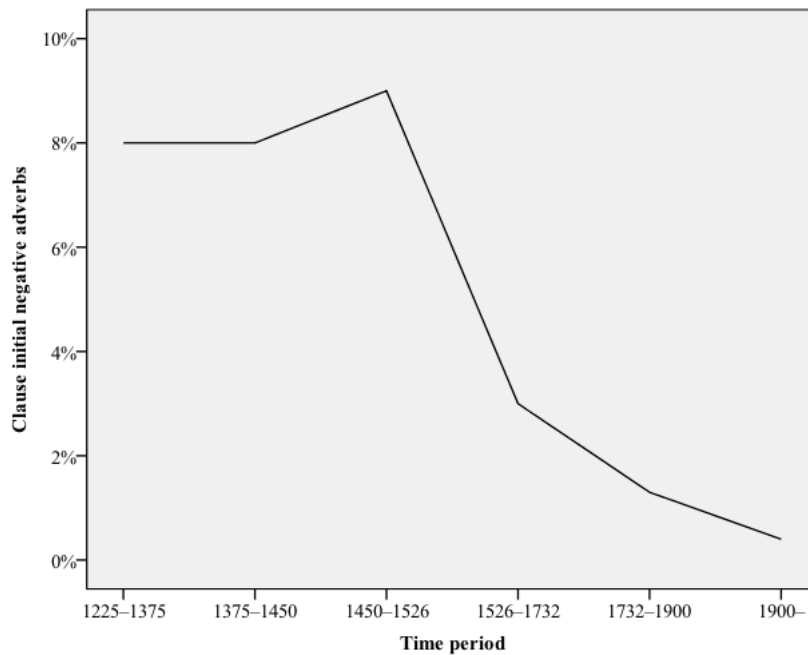
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Figure 1: Percentage of clause-initial negation.

2.3 Summary

In this mainly empirical section, we have presented a diachronic development of negative preposing in Swedish. From the results of our quantitative study of Old Swedish we conclude that clause-initial negation was decidedly more common in the earlier stages of Swedish than it is today, accounting for approx. 8% of all occurrences of negation during the Old Swedish period, compared to less than 0.5% in present day Swedish. The relative frequency of clause-initial negation drastically declines during the 17th century, and continues to do so gradually. This development is illustrated graphically in Figure 1.

3 The Syntactic Status of Negation

In itself, the observation that the syntactic distribution and the lexical realization of negation in Swedish has changed over time is by no means exceptional. This in particular as negatives are known cross-linguistically to undergo cyclical change: as one negative element gradually weakens, it is strengthened by another element which eventually replaces the first negative

element entirely. This tendency is traditionally labeled Jespersen's Cycle, following Jespersen's (1917) famous observation that negative elements systematically arise from 'small substantives', indefinites and adverbs as a way of strengthening a phonetically weakened negative element.[7]

The problematic issue in relation to Swedish, however, is rather that the change of negative marker parallels a dramatic decrease of clause-initial negation. Unless this correlation is a mere coincidence, it suggests that the restrictions on negative preposing in Modern Swedish must be related to the syntactic status of the negative element.

In the following section we discuss the diachronic development of negation in Swedish in an attempt to establish the syntactic status of the negative element at each stage. In 3.2 we subsequently argue that Old Swedish *eigh* is best analyzed as a syntactic head. The head status of *eigh* enabled it to cliticize to the finite verb in clause-initial position, and this, in turn, accounts for the relative frequency of negative preposing in Old Swedish.

3.1   The development of Swedish negation

As the Germanic languages have developed, negation has undergone a general change from preverbal particle to post-verbal adverb. In Early Germanic, negation was expressed by the negative element *ne/ni* which immediately preceded the finite verb. This element is, *inter alia*, attested in the oldest preserved North Germanic documents and inscriptions. Consider the examples in (2) below, taken from Neckel and Kuhn (1983) (as are all subsequent examples from Old Icelandic):

(2)   a.   ef þú segia *né* náir   (Old Icelandic)
             if you say   NEG may
             'if you cannot tell'
             (Hávamál 121)

       b.   Út þú *né* komir   (Old Icelandic)
             out you NEG come.SUBJ
             'may you not come out'
             (Vafðrúðnismál 7)

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[7] Similar developments have been suggested by, for example, Givón (1978: 89): "negative markers […] most often arise, diachronically, from erstwhile negative main verbs, commonly 'refuse', 'deny', 'reject', 'avoid', 'fail', or 'lack'". Croft (1991) discusses another related cyclical development, namely how negative and existential verbs are merged together and used as negatives.

In Gothic and the Old West Germanic languages, preverbal *ne/ni* often occurred clause initially, as illustrated in (3). In Old North Germanic, *ne/ni* is also attested in clause-initial position: example (4) originates from the Eggja runic inscription, dating back to the 7th century.

(3)   a.   *ni*   mag bagms þiuþeigs akrana ubila gataujan   (Gothic)
         NEG can tree   good   fruit   evil   make
         'A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit.'
         (Matt. 7:18; from Neckel 1913: 3)

      b.   *ne*   sende se deofol ða fyr of   heofemum   (Old English)
         NEG sent   the devil   the fire from heaven
         'The devil did not send fire from heaven.'
         (Kemenade 1997: 148)

(4)   *ni*   s solu   sot uk *ni*   sakse   stain skorin (Old N.)
         NEG is sun.DAT hit and NEG knife.DAT stone cut
         'It is not hit by the sun and a stone is not cut with a knife.'
         (Eythórsson 2002: 196)

There are relatively few examples of *ne/ni* in the Old Norse poetic texts, however, and none of *ne/ni* in clause-initial position.[8] This indicates that during the Old Norse Period *ne/ni* was already becoming unproductive, being limited to certain syntactic or metrical contexts. Eythórsson (2002) argues that *ne* was an archaism even in the earliest Old Norse texts.

When *ne/ni* does occur in Old Norse, it sometimes co-occurs with the verbal suffix *-a* (< **aiwa-* 'never') or *-a*(*t*) (< **aiwa-wehti-* 'ever anything'), as shown in (5) below, taken from Eythórsson (2002: 194).

(5)   ef Gunnarr *né*   kømr-*að*   (Old Norse)
         if Gunnar   NEG comes-NEG
         'if Gunnar does not come'
         (Atlaqviða 11)

It lies near at hand to regard the emergence of *-a(t)* as a means of strengthening a phonologically weakened *ne/ni*; this is also the analysis adopted by van Gelderen (2008). As *ne/ni* became less productive in Old Norse, bare suffixal *-a(t)* became productive on its own, as evidenced in early Old Norse

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[8] We assume that the Old Norse period begins around the 9th century.

poetry.[9] Prototypically, *-a(t)* attached to the finite verb in clause-initial position (6a), but apparently also attached to the finite verb in clause internal position (6b).

(6) a. mun-*að* hann falla, þótt hann í fólc komi (Old Icel.)
          can-NEG he   fall   though he   in people come
          'He cannot fall though he may come to the battle.'
          (Hávamál 158)

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[9]In early Old Norse prose texts, on the other hand, the use of bare suffixal *-a(t)* was more restricted. It does occur in early documents, however, such as *Grágás* (13th century); see, e.g., Kusmenko (2002: 103) and Eythórsson (2002: 196).

    b.   heima scal-*at*   hvíld nema   (Old Icelandic)
        home should-NEG rest   take
        '[One] should not rest at home.'
        (Alvíssmál 1)

It seems as though *-a(t)* is a characteristic of Old West Nordic. As discussed by Eythórsson (2002: 196; 217), *-a(t)* is primarily attested in early Old Icelandic poetic manuscripts; it is very rare in manuscripts from Norway, and there are only a few occurrences of *a(t)* in the runic inscriptions (Eythórsson 2002: 195). There is no conclusive evidence in Old East Nordic of *-a(t)* as a negative suffix.[10] It is certainly possible that *-a(t)* was a productive negative suffix in Old East Nordic as well, but then it must have been replaced by *eigh* earlier than it was replaced by *eigi* in Old West Nordic. The medieval Old Swedish and Old Danish manuscripts contain no occurrences of *-a(t)* as a negative suffix (Kusmenko 2002: 103).

Since the suffixal *-a(t)* in Old Norse required the presence of a finite verb, negation in non-finite contexts was expressed by negative adverbs like *eigi* (formed by the adverb *ey* 'always' and the negative enclitic particle *-gi*). But as illustrated in (7) from Eythórsson (2002: 195), *eigi* could to some extent also be used with finite verbs:

(7)   Hon ein   því veldr, er   ec *eigi* mác buðlungs   moꜹnom bana
        she alone it   causes that I   NEG may prince.GEN men   kill
        'She was alone the cause that I could not the prince's men slay.'
                                 (Helgaqviða Hjoꜹvarðzsonar 26)

Van Gelderen (2008) takes the emergence of *eigi* as another instance of negative strengthening: as the suffixal *-a(t)* weakens, new strengthening comes in the form of negative indefinites. One potential problem for this view, however, is the lack of empirical support: van Gelderen did not find any occurrences of *eigi* with other negative markers, at least not in the Poetic Edda. Nevertheless, by the 14th century, *-a(t)* has been replaced by *eigi/eigh* as the negative marker in all the Scandinavian languages.

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[10]The suffixal *-a(t)* is found on the rune stone inscription at Karlevi on Öland, an island in the Baltic Sea. The inscription dates back to the 10th century, but there is disagreement as to whether it is representative of "genuine" Old East Nordic; see Söderberg and Braate (1900–1906: 30 ff.) for a discussion. Other negative suffixes have also been suggested in the interpretations of some Old East Nordic runic texts, but they have not been generally accepted (Braate and Bugge 1887–1891: 177; 216 ff; Nordén 1943: 150).

3.2 The Negative Cycle

According to Zeijlstra (2004), negative adverbials are syntactic phrases (XPs), whereas non-adverbial negative markers—i.e., negative particles (independent words), negative affixes and clitic-like elements—are syntactic phrase heads. The diachronic development of negation outlined in the previous section may therefore lead to the assumption that in the Scandinavian languages the negative element has undergone a structural change from syntactic head to syntactic phrase.

The direction of this development can be related to van Gelderen's (2008: 198) Negative Cycle, according to which negative elements universally become reanalyzed from phrase heads to phrases to phrase heads in a cyclical fashion:

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

Applied to the diachronic changes of negation in the Scandinavian languages, the Negative Cycle predicts the following: as the phrasal head *ne/ni* gradually weakens, it is strengthened by a new head (the affixal *a(t)*), which in a subsequent, intermediate stage is reanalyzed as an independent negative marker. Simultaneously, a new element emerges as a way to express negation; in case of Swedish the adverb *eigh*.

It should be pointed out that van Gelderen (2008) does relate the Negative Cycle to the Scandinavian languages, but focuses on Norwegian rather than Swedish. She goes on to argue that the emerging new element, in Norwegian *eigi > ikke*, is a syntactic phrase head. Although this analysis of Norwegian *ikke* is not unanimously embraced, we will not challenge it here. However, there is little to support the idea that Modern Swedish *inte* is a syntactic phrase head; see, e.g., Platzack (1998: 163) and Zeijlstra (2004) for elaborate discussions. What remains to be established is the syntactic status of *eigh*.

Importantly, *eigh* and *icke* are etymologically unrelated, *icke* (and the later *inte*) being the neuter form of the negative pronoun *ängin*. Below we argue

that Old Swedish *eigh* is also syntactically distinct from Modern Swedish *inte*: while the latter is unequivocally a syntactic phrase, the former can be base generated either as a syntactic phrase or as a syntactic head.[11]

Our proposal is based on the observation that Old Swedish *eigh* retains properties reminiscent of non-adverbial negative markers (cf. Eythórsson 2002: 195). In the following subsections, we discuss two such properties: the possibility to cliticize to the finite verb, and the possibility to combine with the finite verb as a particle in both main and subordinate clauses.

3.3 Old Swedish *eigh*

Although *eigi/eigh* was originally used in non-finite contexts, we saw from example (7) above that it also occurred with finite verbs. As for Swedish, Söderwall (1884–1918: 218) already noted that *eigh* in its reduced forms (i.e., *eg/ey*) could attach enclitically to the finite verb: *vildeg* 'did not want', *tordey* 'would not', *hadey* 'had not', *aktadey* 'revered not'. This observation strongly suggests that *eigh* may have the status of syntactic head.

Another argument in favor of a head analysis is that *eigh* seemingly violates the V2 word order (already established at the onset of the Old Swedish period). As no more than one element may precede the finite verb, we would not expect *eigh* to occur in between an obligatory initial element and the finite verb. But with *wh*-words, this is just what we find, as illustrated in (8).

(8) a. hwat ey giordhe iak thin wilia fiurtan aar   (Old Swedish)
         why NEG did   I   your will fourteen years
         'Why didn't I do your will in fourteen years?'

     b. huat ey gräth thu saarlika   (Old Swedish)
         why NEG cried you bitterly
         'Why didn't you cry bitterly?' (Söderwall 1884–1918:218)

There are two possible ways to account for this word order and still maintain the V2-restriction. Either *eigh* has cliticized to the *wh*-word in [Spec,CP], or it occupies [C°] as a negative particle together with the finite verb. Both possibilities are illustrated in (9).

(9) a. [$_{Spec,CP}$ huat+ey [$_{C°}$ giordhe …

     b. [$_{Spec,CP}$ huat [$_{C°}$ ey+giordhe …

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[11] In Modern Swedish, *eigh* (spelled *ej*) has a marginal status and is syntactically equivalent to *icke* and *inte*.

Irrespective of which analysis one prefers, the word order shows that *eigh* can occupy a syntactic head position.

A third argument can be obtained from the distribution of *eigh* in subordinate clauses. Modern Swedish makes a structural distinction between main and subordinate clauses which is reflected in the relative ordering of the finite verb and clause adverbials: in main clauses, clause adverbials are preceded by the finite verb; in subordinate clauses, clause adverbials precede the finite verb instead. Old Swedish, in comparison, allows the same relative order (finite verb > clause adverbials) in both main and subordinate clauses. Compare the Modern and Old Swedish examples in (10).

(10)   a.   . . . æn min guþ **brytar** *eigh* niþar þin guþ   (Old Swedish)
                 if   my god breaks not down your god
             '…if my god does not break down your god'
             (LEG: 189)

       b.   . . . om min gud *inte* **bryter** ner   din gud (Modern Swedish)
                 if   my god not breaks down your god
             '…if my god does not break down your god'

Platzack (1988) attributes the linear difference between Modern and Old Swedish subordinate clauses to verb movement. In Modern Swedish subordinate clauses, the finite verb remains *in situ* as in (11), in Old Swedish it moves to [T°], as illustrated in (12).

(11)   Modern Swedish subordinate clause structure:

       [$_{CP}$ [$_{C°}$ COMP [$_{TP}$ subject [$_{T°}$ $\varnothing$ [$_{NegP}$ NEG [$_{vP}$ finite verb]]]]]]

(12)   Old Swedish subordinate clause structure:

       [$_{CP}$ [$_{C°}$ COMP [$_{TP}$ subject [$_{T°}$ finite verb [$_{NegP}$ NEG [$_{vP}$ …]]]]]]

Given that the negative adverbial in Old Swedish has head status, however, one would still expect it to be able to combine with the finite verb, irrespective of its position (T° or C°). This possibility would, in turn, enable the same linear word order as in Modern Swedish subordinate clauses, i.e., with the adverbial preceding the finite verb (for quite different structural reasons). But according to Platzack (1988), the Modern Swedish word order is not attested in Old Swedish subordinate clauses.[12]

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[12] In fact, the Modern Swedish word order is possible already in Old Swedish but restricted to subordinate clauses with pronominal subjects (Håkansson, 2013b).

Eythórsson (1995, 2002) makes an observation on Old Icelandic that potentially has bearing for Old Swedish as well: negated verbs systematically occur to the left of the subject, whereas non-negated verbs instead occur to the right of the subject. Assuming that the structural position of the subject is constant (i.e., [Spec,TP]), Eythórsson (1995, 2002) subsequently proposes that the C-domain in Old Icelandic is endowed with a [+NEG]-feature, forcing negated verbs to move to C. His proposal is independently motivated by the presence of overt and covert negative complementizers in several languages (such as Irish, Welsh and Basque).

If Eythórsson's proposal is applied to Old Swedish, the observed word order differences between main and subordinate clauses can be accounted for. The negative particle *eigh* may only precede the finite verb in C, as a means of checking the [+NEG]-feature. This ultimately means that the word order [*eigh* + finite verb] is possible in main clauses, but ruled out in prototypical subordinate clauses—at least under the standard assumption that C in subordinate clauses hosts the complementizer, which effectively blocks verb movement to C. The assumed structures for Old Swedish main and subordinate clauses are illustrated in (13a) and (13b), respectively.

(13) a. $[_{CP}$ XP $[_{C°}$ NEG+finite verb $[_{TP}$ Subject $[_{NegP}$ ~~NEG~~ $[_{vP}$ ...]]]]]

  b. $[_{CP}$ $[_{C°}$ COMP $[_{TP}$ subject $[_{IP}$ finite verb $[_{NegP}$ NEG $[_{vP}$ ...]]]]]]

Note that this proposal gives rise to another rather intricate prediction: *eigh* should in principle be able to precede the finite verb in subordinate clauses as well, provided the finite verb has moved to C. One way to check the validity of this prediction is to study the distribution of *eigh* in non-subject initial subordinate clauses in Old Swedish. Let us explicate this line of reasoning.

Under the standard assumption that C hosts the complementizer, subordinate
clauses in both Old and Modern Swedish are subject initial by default, the position of the subject being [Spec,TP]; see (13b) above. However, whenever the clausal element following the complementizer is *not* the subject, one is virtually forced to assume verb movement to C, as [Spec,CP] is the only position in the Swedish clause that is not restricted to a clausal element of a specific type (i.e., subject, object, adverbial). A number of proposals have been put forward to account for such 'embedded' V2-structures in Swedish. Perhaps the simplest approach is to assume C-recursion, i.e., assuming a CP

as complement to a complementizer generated in an iterated C (Holmberg and Platzack 1995: 80). Compare the structures of the Modern Swedish embedded V2-clause in (14) with the Old Swedish non-subject initial subordinate clause in (15).

(14) a. Asta sa   att **nuförtiden** tränar hon mycket.
Asta said that nowadays   trains she much
'Asta said that she works out a lot nowadays.'

b. [$_{C°}$ att [$_{Spec,CP}$ nuförtiden [$_{C°}$ tränar] [$_{Spec,TP}$ hon [$_{VP}$ mycket]]]]

(15) a. þa   skal   skirkutæ firi grannum at   **nu** ær
then should announce for villagers   that now is
ranzsak   svnd.
house.search denied
'That [he] should notify the villagers that house search was now prohibited.'

b. [$_{C°}$ at [$_{Spec,CP}$ nu [$_{C°}$ ær] [$_{Spec,TP}$ ranzsak [$_{VP}$ synd]]]]

The C-recursion analysis together with Eythórsson's proposed [+NEG]-feature in C predict that non-subject initial subordinate clauses in Old Swedish should allow *eigh* in front of the finite verb. This is also what we find, as illustrated in (16).

(16) a. . . . at   ai   ma prostr loysa
that NEG may priests solve
'. . . that the priests could not absolve [the sin]'
(GS: 68)

b. . . . at   eigh drap mit fæ.   þit fæ.
that NEG killed my animal your animal
'. . . that my animal did not kill your animal'
(ÄVgL: RB, 9)

c. . . . æn ei   æru witni   til
if   NEG are witnesses present
'. . . if no witnesses are present'
(SdmL: KB, 9)

d. . . . æn ey   haffde syndin warit.
if NEG had   sin.DEF been
'. . . if the sin had not been'
(MB: 87)

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Admittedly, the examples in (16) are structurally ambiguous in the sense that *eigh* can be analyzed either as a negative adverbial in [Spec,CP], see (17), or as a negative particle adjoined to the finite verb in C, see (18).

(17)   [$_{C^o}$ at [$_{Spec,CP}$ ey [$_{C^o}$ ma] [$_{Spec,TP}$ prostr]]…]

(18)   [$_{C^o}$ at [$_{Spec,CP}$ Ø [$_{C^o}$ ey+ma] [$_{Spec,TP}$ prostr]]…]

However, the occurrence of non-subject initial subordinate clauses with filled [Spec,CP] unambiguously supports the structural analysis in (18); consider the examples in (19)–(21).

(19) a.   … at   ther ey   falna ros   ælla liliu.
             that there NEG fade roses or   lilies
       '…that roses or lilies do not fade there'
       (LEG: 227)

      b.   [$_{C^o}$ at [$_{Spec,CP}$ ther [$_{C^o}$ ey+falna] [$_{Spec,TP}$ ros ælla liliu]]]

(20) a.   … Thy at   swasom ey   kunno onda yrte   oc   godh sädh
             for   that like   NEG could evil   herbs and good seed
       saman   thrifuas.
       together flourish
       'just like evil herbs and good seed could not flourish together.'
       (HML: 236)

      b.   [$_{C^o}$ thy at [$_{Spec,CP}$ swasam [$_{C^o}$ ey+kunno] [$_{Spec,TP}$ onda yrte …]]]

(21) a.   … Thy at   mädhan   ey   skullo flere   ängla skapas.
             for   that meanwhile NEG would several angels be.created
       'because several angels would not be created meanwhile.'
       (BU: 250)

      b.   [$_{C^o}$ thy at [$_{Spec,CP}$ mädhan [$_{C^o}$ ey+skullo] [$_{Spec,TP}$ flere ängla]]…]

Importantly, we do not claim that Old Swedish *eigh* was uniformly a syntactic head; rather, the syntactic behavior of *eigh* discussed above indicates that it has maintained certain head properties from earlier stages in Scandinavian.

3.4   Summarizing discussion

We have seen in this section that negation in the Scandinavian languages has developed from a preverbal negative particle to a postverbal adverb. This

development also involves a change in the syntactic status of the negative element: from a syntactic head to a syntactic phrase. However, we have argued that Old Swedish *eigh* represents a stage of transition. Functioning as an adverbial, *eigh* has properties suggestive of a syntactic phrase; functioning as a particle/clitic rather than an adverb, however, it has properties suggestive of a syntactic head: *eigh* may cliticize to the finite verb and co-occur as a particle with the finite verb in [C°], without violating the V2-restriction. Therefore, we assume that *eigh* could be base generated either as a syntactic head or as a syntactic phrase.

By the end of the Old Swedish period (early 16th century), *eigh* was gradually replaced by *icke* (< *äkke*) and later by *inte* (< *änkte*) as the standard negative marker in Swedish; see SAOB (1898–: E346). In contrast to *eigh*, both *icke* and *inte* are unambiguously syntactic phrases, and neither of them seems to have any characteristic of a syntactic head.

The lexical shift from *eigh* to *icke* (< *äkke*) parallels the decline in frequency of clause-initial negation, which also occurred at the onset of the Early Modern Swedish Period (see Section 2 above). This parallel development is illustrated in Figure 2.

As shown in Figure 2, the decline in clause-initial negation begins rather abruptly around the early 16th century, at which time the negative adverb *icke* (< *äkke*) rapidly becomes more frequent. This correlation strongly suggests that negative preposing in the older stages of Swedish was connected to the syntactic status of the negative adverb. Recall also from Table 2 above that *eigh* was the most frequently occurring negative adverb in clause-initial position during the Old Swedish period.

Our claim that Old Swedish *eigh* could be generated as a syntactic head straightforwardly accounts for the development illustrated in Figure 2. As a syntactic head, *eigh* could either cliticize to the finite verb or co-occur in [C°] as a particle. With the emergence of the phrasal *icke* these possibilities were gradually lost; as an immediate consequence, negative preposing became less frequent.

According to our analysis, negative preposing in Old Swedish was syntactically governed. As [C°] is not associated with the same pragmatic or information structural functions as [Spec,CP], we need not assume any syntax-external restriction on negative preposing in Old Swedish. The decrease in clause-initial negation during the Early Modern Swedish period simply reflects the syntactic fact that the new negative XP-elements *icke* and *inte* were unable to combine with the finite verb in [C°]. Note, however, that our
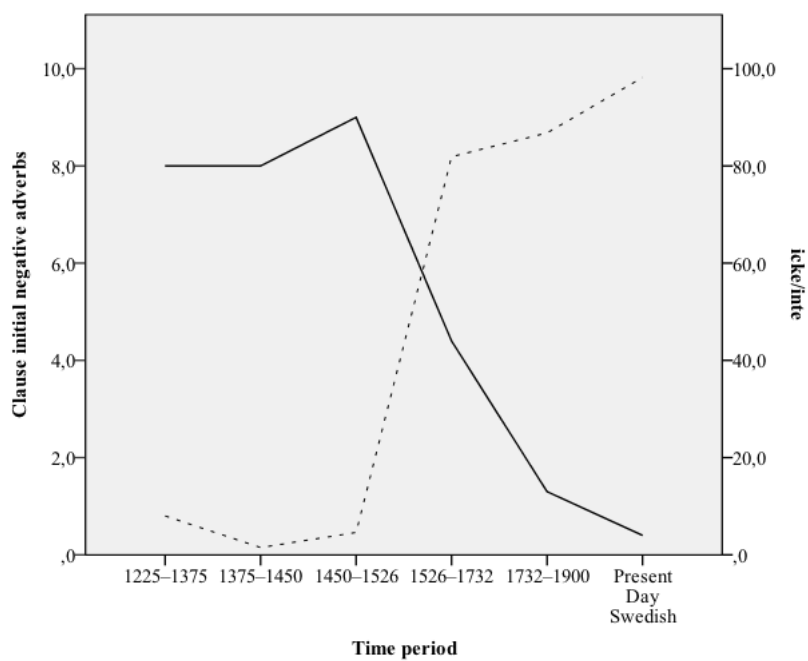
Figure 2: Percentage of clause-initial negation (continuous line) and percentage of *icke/inte* (dotted line). *Didriksagan* is not included in the calculation of *icke/inte* (see footnote 3 on page 5).

analysis presupposes that clauses introduced by negation in Old Swedish are structurally V1: as negation combines with the finite verb in [C°], [Spec,CP] remains empty. This should not by any means be taken as exceptional, however. As pointed out by Platzack (1987: 12), V1-declaratives are found in all medieval Scandinavian languages, and are relatively frequent in Old Swedish (5–9%); see Platzack (1980: 29) for more detailed statistical data.

At this point, one may certainly wonder why the XP-status of *icke* and *inte* should affect the relative frequency of clause-initial negation. As shown in Figure 2, less than 0.5% of present day Swedish main clauses are introduced by negation, irrespective of genre (Westman 1974). This is actually quite unexpected from a syntactic perspective, as one would rather expect the XP-status of negation to *facilitate* movement to the left edge. Below, we address this issue and argue that the restrictions on negative preposing in present day Swedish arise from more general pragmatic restrictions on the information expressed in [Spec,CP].

4   Modern Swedish: Pragmatic Restrictions

First of all, it should be noted that clause-initial negation in the standard variety of Modern Swedish is highly infelicitous unless the right contextual criteria are met. This fact, in turn, suggests that the relevant restrictions on negative preposing lie outside the syntactic domain. As an illustration, consider the exchange in (22) below.

(22)   A: Vill du ha   en cigarett?
            want you have a   cigarette
            'Would you like a cigarette?'

       B: Nej, jag röker *inte.*
            no   I   smoke not
            'No, I don't smoke.'

       B': # Nej, *inte* röker   jag.
             no   not smoke I

In an unbiased context like (22), negative preposing is clearly dispreferred, as illustrated by the awkwardness of B's second reply above.[13]

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[13] It should be noted that the expression *Inte vet jag* 'I don't know' (literally 'Not know I') is commonly used to convey lack of knowledge on part of the speaker. The construction may occur in any situational context without any apparent trigger, but is limited to the verb *veta* 'know' with

Teleman et al. (1999: 4, 175ff)—the main reference work on Swedish grammar—note that negation may topicalize in sentences functioning as objections or in enumerations. In a contrastive study of negative preposing in Swedish and Finland-Swedish, Lindström (2009) makes a similar distinction, separating between *responsive* and *additive* negation, which roughly correspond to the categories objection and enumeration, respectively.[14] Consider the examples below:

(23)   *Responsive negation*:

    a.   Inte har Lindgren skrivit   det där!
           NEG has Lindgren written that there

           'Lindgren can't have written THAT!'

    b.   Inte ska du stå   här och skala potatis!
           NEG shall you stand here and peel potatoes

           'You shouldn't be here peeling potatoes!'

(24)   *Additive negation*:

    a.   Inte har hon tvättat och inte har jag städat.
           NEG has she washed and not have I   cleaned

           'She hasn't done the laundry, nor have I been cleaning.'

    b.   Han har inga pengar, och inte har han nån näver   heller.
           he   has no   money and NEG has he   any birch-bark either

           'He hasn't got any money, nor has he any birch-bark.'

---

the subject in the first person singular. Thus, we regard this instance of negative preposing as lexicalized and will not discuss it further in this paper.

[14] The main etymological dictionary of Swedish, *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok* (SAOB), distinguishes yet another use of negative preposing, namely for making modest or humble requests as in (ia). The negation in such sentences may be paraphrased by *månne* 'wonder', as in (ib); see Teleman et al. (1999: 4, 742ff) for discussion.

(i)   a.   Inte har du sett Hedlund?
          NEG have you seen Hedlund

        'You haven't seen Hedlund by any chance?'

    b.   Månne har du sett Hedlund?
          wonder have you seen Hedlund?

        'You haven't seen Hedlund by any chance?'

Since the negative particle does *not* technically speaking function as negation in (i), we will mainly focus on the uses distinguished by Teleman et al. (1999) in the remainder of this paper.

According to Lindström, additive negation is stylistically neutral, and furthermore less associated with a particular genre or geographical region than responsive negation, which is primarily used in dialogical contexts.

Lindström further shows that the distinction between responsive and additive negation not only concerns contextual felicitousness, but has syntactic effects as well. Additive negation is often preceded by a conjunction, and negation may co-occur with the adverb *heller* 'either' in the prefield. These properties are not compatible with responsive negation, as illustrated below:

(25) a. Det är väl ingen överdrift att äta för 200 kronor, *och inte*
that is PRT no excess to eat for 200 kronor and not
heller är det konstigt om ett gäng dricker lite vin till
either is it strange if a party drinks little wine to
maten.
food
'It's not excessive to eat for SEK 200, neither is it strange if a party wants some wine to go with the food.'

b. * *Inte heller* ska du stå här och skala potatis.
NEG either shall you stand here and peel potatoes

c. * *Inte heller* har Lindgren skrivit det där.
NEG either has Lindgren written that there

As noted by Petersson (2008: 114), responsive negation—but not additive negation—can be paraphrased by a negated declarative modified by the modal (or speech act) particles *ju* and *väl*. Consider (26) and (27) below:

(26) Lindgren har *väl* inte skrivit det där! ≈ (23a)
Lindgren has PRT not written that there

(27) Hon har *väl* inte tvättat, och jag har *väl* inte diskat. ≠ (24a)
she has PRT not washed and I have PRT not washed.up

The obvious problem with these characterizations is that they are descriptive rather than explanatory. In the next section, we argue that negative preposing in Modern Swedish is licensed by contrast. Applying the theory of *C-constraint* to the Swedish clause structure (as proposed by Molnár 2003, 2006), we subsequently relate the two different types of clause-initial negation to the contrast hierarchy. By doing this, we get a principled account of when and why negative preposing is pragmatically felicitous in Swedish.

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4.1 The C-constraint

The position preceding the finite verb in V2-languages is not dedicated to a certain syntactic category; rather, the choice of constituent is dependent on information structural considerations. According to Molnár (2003: 235ff), the left periphery of sentences is characterized by a C-constraint, the primary function of which is to create cohesion. Thus, the C-constraint pragmatically regulates the content in [Spec,CP]. Building on a close connection between syntax and pragmatics, Molnár further proposes that the C-constraint is syntactically realized by a *C-feature*, which may be set positively or negatively. Whenever the feature is set positively, it is specified either by C-continuity or by C-contrast: "While 'C-continuity' refers to identity or similarity of entities […], 'C-contrast' means non-identity of entities […], but relatedness to an identical set or scale."

Taking a typological perspective, Molnár argues that the C-constraint may be somewhat differently realized cross-linguistically, even when the C-feature is set positively. The Swedish left periphery is primarily used for C-continuity, while the Russian and Finnish left periphery is primarily used for C-contrast. Molnár further concludes that English, German and Hungarian have a negatively set C-feature. The 'C-hierarchy' is illustrated in (28), but see Molnár (2003) for elaborate discussions.

(28)   [+C] "C-continuity" < [+C] "C-contrast" <
        French < Swedish   Finnish < Russian
        [–C]
        English < German < Hungarian

The continuity restriction of the Swedish left periphery makes [Spec,CP] a prime host for subject topics and framing adverbials. Statistically, these constituents are *de facto* the most frequent in the Swedish prefield: between 60–80% of all Swedish main clauses (depending on genre) are introduced by the subject; see, e.g., Westman (1974) and Jörgensen (1976) for more detailed quantitative data.

The continuity restriction furthermore accounts for the infelicitousness of clause-initial topical objects (T) in all-focus sentences (F), as illustrated in (29).[15]

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[15] Pronominal objects topicalize more easily in Swedish than full DP objects; the VP-anaphor *det* 'it' may even topicalize in all-focus clauses, as illustrated below.

(i) Vad hände   här igår?   — [[Det]$_T$ vet   jag inte]$_F$
     what happened here yesterday   that   know I   not

(29) a. Varför skriker du så? — #[[Kniven]$_T$ tappade jag]$_F$
          why   scream you so   knife.DEF   dropped I
          'Why are you screaming? — I dropped the knife.'

      b. Vad hände   igår?   — #[[Sofia]$_T$ träffade jag]$_F$
          what happened yesterday   Sofia   met   I
          'What happened yesterday? — I met Sofia.'

Importantly, objects are not excluded *per se* from the first position in Swedish, although they often require a contrastive interpretation (cf. Frey 2006).

(30) Nu har de   tre–fyra   traktorer. [Lastmaskiner]$_{T=F}$ har de
      now have they three–four tractors   wheel-loaders   have they
      dessutom.
      also
      'Nowadays they have three or four tractors. And they also have
      WHEEL LOADERS.'

The difference between (29) and (30) is related to the information structural function of the object. In (29), the topicalized object is the informational focus of the utterance; in (30), it is the contrastive topic of the utterance. Crucially, Molnár (2006) argues that contrast is in essence a cohesive device that may be connected to topic and focus constituents alike. Thus, contrast does not equal focus—contrary to what is often assumed in the literature. In [+C]-languages, then, contrast may "license" topicalization to [Spec,CP], while (information) focus may not.

Molnár (2006) further argues that contrast should be regarded as a gradual, rather than an absolute, notion. The least restricted kind of contrast, i.e., the most general pragmatic and prosodic property of focus and contrast, is *highlighting*; the most restricted kind of contrast, i.e., the most specific one, is *explicit mentioning (or exclusion) of alternatives*. Molnár illustrates the contrast hierarchy thus:

(31) THE CONTRAST HIERARCHY (Molnár 2006: 211)
          highlighting
              dominant contrast
                  membership in a set
                      limited set of candidates

'What happened here yesterday? — I don't know.'

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FOCUS ─[─────[₁─────[₂─────[─────────────────────→ CONTRAST
'information   *identificational*   **'contrastive**
  focus'   *focus*   **focus'**

While the hierarchy above may give the impression that contrast is not a uniform phenomenon, Molnár (2006: 212–13) argues that all different kinds of contrast minimally share at least one common denominator, as contrast "always operates on alternatives independently of the character of the set (open vs. closed) and the presence of alternatives in the linguistic context and in the situation." Another common denominator, according to Molnár (2006: 213), is that "contrast is always connected to highlighting independently of the accent type and the special extension of the pitch range".

In the next section, we relate the notion of C-constraint and the contrast hierarchy to negative preposing in Swedish, arguing that both responsive and additive negation are licensed by different kinds of contrast.

4.2   Clause-initial negation and contrast

Let us begin by discussing responsive negation. Utterances containing responsive negation function as immediate objections to some salient proposition or contextual state of affairs. This 'immediacy-aspect' sets responsive negation apart from standard negation, which only requires that the denied affirmative proposition is already "in the common ground or discourse model, however it got there–from the beliefs or claims of the speaker, the hearer, some third party, or some more nebulous source like the collective mind of the speech community" (Horn 1989 [2001]: 181).

As the entire proposition embedded under responsive negation is already salient in the discourse universe, it cannot contain *informational* focus. That is, an utterance involving responsive negation is informative only as a reaction to (and rejection of) a contextually shared proposition or state of affairs. Thus, any focused element within the scope of responsive negation must be interpreted as contrastive rather than informative. We should not be surprised, then, to find that focus-stressed verbal complements may topicalize to [Spec,CP] in constructions allowing responsive negation. Consider (32) and (33) below.

(32)   *Responsive negation:*

    a.   Victor! Förlåt mig! Inte menade jag SÅ.
        Victor excuse me not meant I   so

'Victor, I'm so sorry! I didn't mean it like that!'

b.   Förlåt mig! SÅ menade jag inte.
excuse me so meant I not

(33) a.   Inte har Lindgren skrivit DEN boken.
not has Lindgren written that book.DEF

Surely Lindgren hasn't written THAT book.'

b.   DEN boken har Lindgren inte skrivit.
that book.DEF has Lindgren not written

The pattern illustrated in (32) and (33) follows straightforwardly from Molnár's C-constraint. As the (focus-stressed) verbal complements are contrastive, they carry a [+C]-feature, which in turn enables movement to [Spec,CP]. We assume that responsive negation also carries a [+C]-feature, which enables it to associate with any other element carrying the same feature *and* enables it to move to [Spec,CP].

By the same reasoning, we may account for the scope difference between 'standard' negation and responsive negation in a formalized way. Responsive negation has narrow scope, as it associates to the focus-stressed constituent only and leaves the remaining part of the proposition unaffected. Syntactically, this observation can be understood as a matching of C-features: the [+C]-marked negative adverb associates with another clausal element carrying the same feature. Semantically, the narrow scope of responsive negation gives rise to a presupposition to the effect that the (open) proposition outside the scope of negation is true. Hence, utterances involving responsive negation are interpretatively similar to negated clefts.[16] Consider the clefted paraphrases in (34)–(36) below.

(34) *Responsive negation:*

a.   Victor! Förlåt mig! Inte menade jag SÅ.   ≈
Victor excuse me not meant I so

b.   Det var inte SÅ jag menade.
it was not so I meant

'I didn't mean it like that.'

(35) a.   Inte har LINDGREN skrivit den boken.   ≈
not has Lindgren written that book.DEF

---

[16]It is generally accepted that clefts are presuppositional (see, e.g., Prince 1978) in the sense that the embedded proposition is conversationally treated as true. The fact that the truth of the embedded proposition is constant under matrix negation semantically justifies this analysis.

b. Det är inte LINDGREN som har skrivit   den boken.
   it   is not Lindgren   that has written that book.DEF
   'It's not LINDGREN who's the author of that book.'

(36) a. Inte har Lindgren skrivit   DEN boken.   ≈
        not has Lindgren written that   book.DEF

     b. Det är inte DEN boken   som Lindgren har skrivit.
        it   is not that   book.DEF that Lindgren has written
        'It's not THAT book that Lindgren is the author of.'

We see that the a-examples above have the same presuppositions as the clefted b-examples. That is, both sentences in (34) presuppose that the speaker meant something else, the sentences in (35) that a certain book was written by somebody other than Lindgren, and the sentences in (36) that Lindgren wrote some other book. This interpretative similarity, we argue, is due to the narrow focus of negation in both clefts and utterances involving responsive negation.

Standard negation lacks the C-feature needed for promotion to [Spec,CP]. If our analysis is on the right track, negative preposing in present day Swedish is dependent on contrast: unless the negative element can associate with an element marked [+C] it must remain in situ. In other words, negative preposing in present day Swedish should be ruled out in any non-contrastive context. This claim captures the awkwardness of clause-initial negation in responses to yes/no-questions, as illustrated in (22) above.

Let us next turn our attention to additive negation. Additive negation does not function as an immediate objection; instead it is used to explicitly contrast two alternatives in a contextually salient set. We assume here that properties within such a set are ordered relatively to each other on a scale. Consider the example in (37) below.

(37)   [The informant relates how she used to work in a different town.]

        Det var ju   till att HYRA sitt   rum. Inte hade man råd
        it   was PRT to INF rent   one's room not had   one afford
        med LÄGENHET.
        with apartment
        'We had no choice but to rent a room. We couldn't very well afford an apartment.'

The speaker of (37) invokes a dimension of housing alternatives that combine with each other on a contextually determined scale. For example, renting a

room is generally considered 'lower' on a scale of possible housing alternatives than buying an apartment, which in turn is 'lower' than buying a mansion.

Additive negation targets the *expectation* that a value different from the actual value should hold. That is, the function of additive negation is to cancel a higher or lower value on the scale *if that value is the expected one*. For example, the speaker of (37) assumes that buying an apartment is the 'default' action to take when moving to a new city, but could only afford to rent a room; additive negation is therefore used to explicitly deny this expectation. The contrast consists of the actual state of affairs (the lower value) being different from the expected state of affairs (the higher value).

Importantly, the hearer cannot determine the nature of the scale invoked by additive negation based on the form of the sentence alone; in this sense the scale we propose here is similar to the scales proposed by Fillmore et al. (1988) for English *let alone*-sentences. Depending on the context, one might equally well create a different scale of housing options, where renting a room is preferable to buying an apartment etc.

As with any scale, however, negation reverses the direction of the implication. Thus, if the higher value is negated, the expectation is that the lower value holds. Consider (38) again.

(38) a. Sven är inte SNYGG, och inte är han TREVLIG (heller).
          Sven is NEG handsome and NEG is he nice   either
          'Sven is not handsome, nor is he nice.'

      b. Han har inga PENGAR, och inte har han nån NÄVER
          he   has no   money   and NEG has he any birch-bark
          heller.
          either
          'He hasn't got any money, nor has he any birch-bark.'

One may assume that being nice is a more general (and thus more common) property than being handsome. Thus, 'nice' is lower on the scale of personal properties than 'handsome'. By negating the higher value ('handsome'), one may therefore assume that the lower value holds, i.e., that Sven is at least nice. In (38), additive negation targets this expectation and creates a contrast between the actual state of affairs (i.e., Sven is not nice) and the expected one (Sven is nice).[17] This characterization also explains why *heller* 'either' is

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[17] As the scales invoked by additive negation are contextually determined, there need not be any implicational relation between two points. Thus, we do not intend to suggest that all handsome people are also nice.

grammatical with additive negation, but not with responsive negation.

An argument in favor of the present analysis is that utterances expressing surprise easily combine with additive negation, as the following examples show:

(39) a. Inte kunde man tro   att jag av alla skulle bli utvald.
        NEG could one believe that I of all should be chosen
        'I never thought that I, of all people, should be chosen.'

     b. Inte hade vi en aning om   att det skulle bli så stort!!!
        NEG had we an idea   about that this should be so big
        'We never expected it to become this big!'

These utterances are used to explicitly express surprise that the current state of affairs is different from the expected state of affairs.

Similar to propositions involving responsive negation, the contrasted element may felicitously topicalize to [Spec,CP] if the negative element remains low.

(40) a. LÄGENHET hade vi inte råd   med.
        apartment   had we NEG afford with
        'No APARTMENT could we afford.'

     b. [Spec,CP LÄGENHET [C° hade [Spec,TP vi [NegP inte [VP ~~vi hade~~ råd med ~~lägenhet~~]]]]]

(41) a. Han var inte SNYGG, och TREVLIG var han inte heller.
        he   was NEG handsome and nice   was he NEG either
        'He wasn't handsome, nor was he nice.'

     b. [Spec,CP TREVLIG [C° var [Spec,TP han [NegP inte heller [VP ~~han var trevlig~~]]]]]

Again, this observation is expected given Molnár's C-constraint, as the contrastive elements have a [+C]-feature which motivates movement to [Spec,CP].

Although responsive and additive negation involve contrastive focus, they involve different *kinds* of contrast. As additive negation is used in constructions contrasting two explicit alternatives, it belongs to the strongest category on Molnár's contrast hierarchy (i.e., 'explicit mentioning of alternatives'). Responsive negation expresses a weaker form of contrast, as it rejects one alternative but only presupposes the existence of a set of alternatives. Thus, responsive negation signals 'membership in a set', a weaker kind of contrast on Molnár's contrast hierarchy.

4.3   Cross-linguistic variation

Before concluding this section, let us briefly address the phenomenon of negative preposing from a wider Germanic perspective. As a matter of fact, the Germanic V2-languages display a great degree of variation with regard to negative preposing. In German, Dutch and Norwegian, single *nicht*, *niet* and *ikke*, respectively, are possible in certain very specific contexts more or less in the same way as in present day Swedish (see Jäger 2008 and Ulvestad 1975 for German, Zeijlstra 2013 for Dutch and Faarlund et al. 1997: 814 for Norwegian). Danish and Icelandic stand out from the others, however. In Danish, single *ikke* cannot occur clause initially (Christensen 2003), whereas in Icelandic *ekki* can "easily be preposed" (Thráinsson 2007: 38).[18]

Compare the Danish example in (42) with the Icelandic example in (43):

(42)   * Ikke har   jeg set   nogen.   (Danish)
             not   have I   seen any

           'I haven't seen any.'

           Christensen (2003: 10)

(43)   Ekki hafa þeir lokið   verkinu í   dag   (Icelandic)
          not   have they finished work   in day

          'They have not finished the work today.'

          Thráinsson (2007: 82)

The difference between present day Swedish and Danish, on the one hand, and the difference between present day Swedish and Icelandic, on the other, emerges clearly in the open parallel corpus OPUS (Tiedemann (2009)). All instances of negative preposing in Swedish correspond to a different construction in Danish, whereas all instances of negative preposing in

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[18]An anonymous reviewer points out that in Icelandic "clause-initial negation is rather common, and it is not clear that the preposing is necessarily triggered by any contrast." However, Thráinsson (2007: 343) points out that in example (i) "fronting of the negation has more of a stylistic value, and a natural interpretation of the sentence could be something like 'It doesn't seem that Harold has lived in Akureyri' or possibly even 'I can't believe that Harold has lived in Akureyri', given the right intonation".

(i)   Ekki hefur Haraldur búið á   Akureyri.
         not   has   Harold   lived in Akureyri

         'Harold has not lived in Akureyri.'

Icelandic correspond to a different construction in Swedish.[19]

Even though we cannot discuss the situation in Danish and Icelandic in any detail here, two distinct syntactic properties are worth pointing out. In Danish, sentence adverbials are not as easily promoted to clause-initial position as in Swedish; it thus seems that the Danish [Spec,CP] is dedicated to subject topics to a greater degree than the Swedish [Spec,CP] (see further Håkansson 2013a). The Icelandic [Spec,CP], on the other hand, is dedicated to subject topics to a *lesser* degree than the Swedish [Spec,CP] (see Haskå 1976). Icelandic also allows certain frontings to [Spec, CP] which are prohibited in the Mainland Scandinavian languages (see further Thráinsson 2007: 347ff.). These differences in the left periphery may potentially be related to the C-constraint. It seems reasonable to assume that the continuity restriction is more prominent in Danish than in Swedish, and that the C-feature in Icelandic is set negatively. We will, however, leave this question open for future research. The important point is that the cross-linguistic differences between Swedish, Danish and Icelandic with regard to negative preposing do not necessarily constitute a problem for our current proposal.

4.4 Summary

The discussion in this section presents a formalized answer to the question of why clause-initial negation is rare in present day Swedish. According to our hypothesis, negative preposing in Modern Swedish is syntactically unrestricted, but governed by more general pragmatic restrictions on the left edge. Since Swedish is a [+Continuity]-language, [Spec,CP] is specified for C-linking, either by continuity or contrast. Negative preposing is thus only possible in clauses expressing contrast; either a contrast between the actual and expected state of affairs, or contrast between a rejected proposition and some other, non-specified, proposition. As the [+C]-marked negative adverb associates with another [+C]-marked constituent, it does not matter for the interpretation whether negation or the contrasted element occurs in [Spec,CP]; we have seen that environments allowing negative preposing are also environments allowing topicalization of verbal complements. Under this analysis, then, non-contrastive negation may never topicalize to [Spec,CP] in standard present day Swedish, as it lacks the relevant [+C]-feature motivating movement.

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[19] For Danish the Europarl corpus has been used, whereas for Icelandic searches were conducted in the OpenSubtitles corpus (Tiedemann 2009).

However, there are regional varieties of Swedish that seemingly allow for negative preposing without any pragmatic restrictions. This is the case in Finland Swedish as well as in some dialects spoken in Norrland in northern Sweden. Below, we argue that this less restricted use of negative preposing follows from the syntactic status of the negative marker: we propose that negation in these regional varieties is a syntactic phrase head, rather than a maximal projection.

5   From Spec to Head in Swedish Dialects

In the previous two sections, we have shown that the maximal projection *icke* and later *inte* replaced the head/phrasal negative element *eigh* during the Early Modern Swedish period. In this section, we argue that the negative element *inte* has been reanalyzed from Spec to Head in the Swedish dialects of Finland and northern Sweden; this claim accounts for the relatively free distribution of clause-initial negation in these dialects.

The first indication of negation as a head comes from the phonological realization of the negative marker. In Finland-Swedish and the Norrland dialects, Standard Swedish *inte* is reduced by apocope to [ɪnt], sometimes with different vocalism, such as [ont], or with assimilation [ɪtt] (Ågren and Dahlstedt 1980: 254; Ahlbäck 2000: 149ff). Some examples are given in (44) and (45).

(44)   Int eta ko'en   just fönna   (Norrland)
       NEG eat cow.DEF only wilted.grass
       'The cow doesn't eat wilted grass only.'
       (Ågren and Dahlstedt 1980: 67)

(45)   a.   Int kan dom hā   henna undi armen.   (Finland Swedish)
            NEG can they have her   under arm.DEF
            'They can't hold her under their arms.'

       b.   It   vil   man sī sig i spiegeln, it.   (Finland Swedish)
            NEG want one   see REFL in mirror.DEF NEG
            'You don't want to look at yourself in the mirror.'
            (Lundström 1939: 152)

In addition, reduced forms such as *-nt* can occur enclitically in both Finland-Swedish and Norrland dialects (Ahlbäck 2000: 150; Bergman 1952: 159). As shown by Bergman, *-nt* can attach to adverbs (46a), as well as to verbs (46b-d).

34

(46) a. Då'nt   ja vet.
        because.NEG I know
        'Because I don't know.'

    b. Ska'nt   e vara?
        should.NEG it be
        'Should it not be?'

    c. Kan't   u   komma?
        can.NEG you come
        'So you can't come?'

The critical reader may argue that the 'enclitic' tendency illustrated in (46) is phonetic rather than structural. Negation in standard Swedish shows a similar tendency to reduce in unstressed syllables and, at least phonetically, form part of the preceding clausal element: *ska inte* 'should not' = [skantə], *kan inte* 'cannot' = [kantə], *nu inte* 'now not' = [nɨntə] etc.

However, the very same dialects that showcase the reduced form *int* also allow negative concord (Lundström 1939: 152ff and Ivars 2010: 250). A number of authors have proposed a connection between negative concord and the head status of the main negative element (see, e.g., Rowlett 1998; van Gelderen 2008), the basic motivation being that "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" (van Gelderen 2008: 208).[20] Consider the Finland-Swedish examples in (47), showing that *int* can co-occur with other negative expressions.

(47) a. int kan här ingin   mala i natt
        NEG can here nobody grind in night
        'Nobody can grind here tonight.'

    b. Ja ä   int rädd för ingan.
        I am NEG afraid for no.one
        'I'm not afraid of anybody.'

    c. Han fikk int ändo inga straff.
        he   got NEG still no   punishment
        'Still, he didn't get any punishment.'

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[20] As an anonymous reviewer has pointed out, negative concord is a complex phenomenon both syntactically (heads vs. non-heads) and semantically (semantically negative vs. semantically non-negative). We will, however, refrain from discussing these issues here, as it would take us too far astray.

d. Du va it   aldri he i?
    you was NEG never it NEG
    'You were never like that?'

It should be pointed out in relation to this that van Gelderen (2008: 209) explicitly claims that standard Modern Swedish displays negative concord.[21] However, constructions corresponding to (47) are unattested in Modern Standard Swedish, as shown in (48).

(48) a. * Inte kan här ingen   mala i natt.
          NEG can here nobody grind in night

      b. * Jag är inte rädd för ingen.
          I   am not afraid for no.one

      c. * Han fick inte ändå inget straff.
          he   got NEG still no   punishment

      d. * Du var inte aldrig det inte.
          you was NEG never it   NEG

To sum up this section, there are a number of arguments supporting a head analysis of negation in Finland-Swedish and northern Swedish dialects: it is phonologically reduced to *int*, it may cliticize to the finite verb, and it allows negative concord. Hence, we propose that negation has been reanalyzed as a syntactic head in these varieties of Modern Swedish, following the general direction of van Gelderen's (2008) Negative Cycle. Naturally, the head status of negation syntactically prohibits it from moving to [Spec,CP]. Instead, negation cliticizes to the finite verb. As [C°] is not associated with any pragmatic properties, there are, however, no information structural restrictions on negative preposing in Finland-Swedish or in the Norrland dialects—a situation similar to that of Old Swedish.

6   Conclusion

In this paper, we have shown that the decline in clause-initial negation in the history of Swedish parallels a lexical shift in the use of negative adverbs: from *eigh* during the Old Swedish period to *icke* and subsequently *inte* during more recent times. We have argued that Old Swedish *eigh* maintained a number of

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[21]Van Gelderen (2008: 209) puts forward three Modern Swedish sentences involving double negatives to support her claim, none of them having the intended interpretation of negative concord, according to our native intuition.

syntactic properties suggestive of a syntactic phrase head: it could cliticize to the finite verb and co-occur as a particle with the finite verb in [C°] without violating the V2-restriction.

According to our analysis, the head status of *eigh* made negative preposing syntactically and pragmatically unrestricted in Old Swedish. The decline in clause-initial negation during the Early Modern Swedish period reflects the syntactic fact that the emerging negative XP-elements *icke* and *inte* were unable to combine with the finite verb in [C°].

In Modern Swedish, there is no syntactic restriction on negative preposing, as the XP-status of *inte* makes topicalization to [Spec,CP] possible. But this movement is restricted by more general pragmatic principles governing the information expressed in [Spec,CP]. Following Molnár (2003, 2006), we assume that Swedish is a C-continuity language; in the unmarked case, [Spec,CP] hosts elements carrying a positively set C-feature (such as aboutness or framing topics). Any clausal element not marked [+C] is dispreferred in [Spec,CP], which consequently means that negation cannot occur clause initially unless it is marked for contrast.

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Appendix: Sources and cited texts

The following texts have been analysed:[22]

Early Old Swedish

GS = Guta saga. *Guta lag och Guta saga jämte ordbok*, ed. Hugo Pipping, 1905–1907. København: Møller. Pp. 62–69. **S**

LEG = *Ett fornsvenskt legendarium*, ed. G. Stephens, 1847. Stockholm. Pp. 3–16, 17–20, 21– 31, 49–52, 54–58, 61–65, 70–72, 99–103, 128–130, 133–146, 149–157, 165–178, 181–190 and 193–196 were analysed. **R**

MB = *Fem Moseböcker på fornsvenska enligt Cod. Holm. A 1*, ed. O. Thorell, 1959. Uppsala. Pp. 1–23 and 119–196 were analysed. **R**

VK = Västgötakrönikorna. Åtskilliga anteckningar af okänd författare. *Samling af Sweriges gamla lagar*, eds. Hans Samuel Collin och Carl Johan Schlyter, 1827. Stockholm: Z. Haeggström. Pp. 294–307 were analysed. **S**

ÄVgL= Äldre Västgötalagen. Samling af Sweriges gamla lagar, ed. Hans Samuel Collin och Carl Johan Schlyter, 1827. Stockholm: Z. Haeggström. **L**

Late Old Swedish I

BJ = Barlaam och Josaphat. *Prosadikter från Sveriges medeltid*, ed. G. E. Klemming, 1887–1889. Stockholm. Pp. 3–103 were analysed. **R**

JÄR= Järteckensbok. *Klosterläsning*, ed. G. E. Klemming, 1877–1878. Stockholm. Pp. 3–103 were analysed. **R**

KM = Karl Magnus. *Prosadikter från Sveriges medeltid*, ed. G. E. Klemming, 1887–1889. Stockholm. Pp. 250–288 were analysed. **S**

SVM = Sju vise mästare. *Prosadikter från Sveriges medeltid*, ed. G. E. Klemming, 1887– 1889. Stockholm. Pp. 113–172 were analysed. **S**

Late Old Swedish II

DI = *Sagan om Didrik af Bern*, ed. G. O. Hyltén-Cavallius, 1850–1854. Stockholm. Pp. 1–100 were analysed. **S**

HT = *Historia Trojana*, ed. R. Geete, 1892. Stockholm. Pp. 1–100 were analysed. **S**

MC = Chronicon de genere et nepotibus Sanctæ Birgittæ. *Scriptores rerum Svecicarum medii ævi 3:2*, ed. Claes Annerstedt, 1876. Uppsala. Pp. 207–216 were analysed. **R**

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[22]The following abbreviations are used for the genre classification: **S** = Secular prose; **R** = Religious prose; **L** = Legal text.

PK = Sveriges krönika (vanligen kallad den prosaiska). *Småstycken på fornsvenska*, ed. Gustav Edvard Klemming, 1868–1881. Stockholm: Norstedt. Pp. 217–240 were analysed.**S**

The following texts have been cited:

BU = *Heliga Birgittas uppenbarelser* I, ed. G. E. Klemming, 1857–58. Stockholm: Norstedt.

HML = Helga manna lefverne. *Klosterläsning*, ed. G. E. Klemming, 179–304. Stockholm: Norstedt.