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Verb movement and negation in Övdalian¹

Abstract

This article deals with verb movement and negation in Övdalian, an independent East Scandinavian language known in Swedish linguistics as *älvdalska* or *älvdalsmål*. I show that V°-to-I° movement doesn't seem to be obligatory in (at least some varieties of) Övdalian despite the rich verb morphology, which is contrary to the prediction of the Rich Agreement Hypothesis. I also try to present the base structure of the Övdalian clause, arguing that there are two NegP positions in it, a high one and a low one, as well as an initial and a final negation position, and that the form of the negation depends on its placement in the clause. Probably because of the high NegP the effects of possible verb movement cannot be traced in control infinitivals. In addition to the position of the negation, I discuss the presence of negative concord in Övdalian, and the possible rules for it. Finally, a short comparison of Övdalian with the other Scandinavian languages is made.

1. Introduction

The main aim of this paper is to present data on some syntactical phenomena in Övdalian, namely verb movement and the placement of negation, as well as to discuss these phenomena in a broader syntactical context. In particular I investigate the position of the negation in non-V2 embedded clauses in relation to the finite verb. I also shortly discuss the structure of control infinitivals and the presence of and rules for negative concord.

* Thanks to Johan Brandtler, Gunnar Nyström, Christer Platzack, Henrik Rosenkvist, and Mai Tungseth for valuable comments on a previous version of this paper. Needless to say, they are not responsible for the way I have used their suggestion.

¹ I use the term Övdalian in line with Rosenkvist (2006); the other English term used is *Elfdalian* (Sapir 2005).

1.1. The status of Övdalian

Övdalian (swe. *älvdalska*, *älvdalsmål*; övd. *övdalsk*) is an independent East-Scandinavian language² spoken by approximate 3000 people in more than twenty villages in the Älvdalen parish in North Dalecarlia. It has been spoken continuously since it separated from the other dialects in North Dalecarlia (Ovansiljan) not later than in the 16th century.³ Övdalian displays both East and West Scandinavian characteristics, but is regarded as an East Scandinavian language, since it exhibits some typical East Scandinavian features.

No all-embracing standardization of Övdalian has taken place, but a first attempt has been made during the last years: *Rådjärum* (Language Council) was established in 2004 and has suggested a new Övdalian orthography⁴, which has been accepted by *Ulm Dalska* (The Association for the Preservation of Övdalian). There is a great amount of variation in spoken Övdalian, both between generations and individuals, and the language spoken by the younger generation is getting closer and closer to standard Swedish (Helgander 2004).

My description of Övdalian is partially based on the data in Levander's thesis on the language (Levander 1909) and partially on data collected from two native speaker of Övdalian, Bo Westling (younger speaker) and Gerda Werf (older speaker). I have also used data provided by Gunnar Nyström and Anna-Lena Wiklund.⁵

It should be kept in mind that there has been a lot of variation and change in Övdalian since the time of Levander's investigations. The examples in (1) illustrate one of the changes that have taken place in the last hundred years: coordinations with *og* could be used as conditional in older Övdalian (1a), which is not possible today – instead, the subjunction *um* is used in order to express conditional meaning (1b).

² Traditionally, Övdalian used to be seen as a Swedish dialect, one of the Dalecarlia-dialects (Dalmålen), which belong to Svea-dialects (Svemålen). Recently, Övdalian is often considered by linguists to be an independent language, due to the fact that the distance between Övdalian and Swedish is greater than between Insular Scandinavian and Mainland Scandinavian (Dahl 2005, Sapir 2005:9).

³ A short survey about the history of Övdalian can be found in Sapir (2005); the survey is to the best of my knowledge the only existing description of Övdalian in English.

⁴ All the Övdalian examples in this paper are written in the new orthography.

⁵ I am very indebted for help with the data to the persons mentioned above, especially to Bo Westling.

There is also a lot of variation between speakers of the same generation – in (2a) the speaker uses the Swedish-influenced forms as *de* and *sum* instead of the Övdalian equivalents *eð* and *so*, which are used in (2b):

(1a) *Spyr Urdkwinfuotjeð **og truor du int mig*** (Levander 1909:121)

ASK URD-WOMEN AND BELIEVE YOU NOT ME

Ask the women from Urd if you don't believe me

(1b) *Spyr Andes **um int du truor mig*** (Westling p.c.)

ASK ANDES IF NOT YOU BELIEVE ME

Ask Andes if you don't believe me

(2a) ***De** war ine gung tri snowboardåkare **sum** jette Roffe, Blom og Ronny*

IT WAS ONE TIME THREE SNOWBOARDERS THAT WERE-CALLED R., B. AND R.⁶

Once upon a time there were three snowboarders called R., B. and R.

(2b) ***Eð** war en gang ien kulla **so** iette Sofia⁷*

IT WAS ONE TIME A GIRL THAT WAS-CALLED SOFIA

Once upon a time there was a girl called Sofia

The theoretical frame of this paper is generative grammar, especially the work that has been done on the role of agreement in Scandinavian syntax, starting with Platzack & Homberg (1989) and Holmberg & Platzack (1995).

1.2. *The structure of the paper*

The paper is organized as follows: In section 2 I investigate the possibility of having verb movement, given the rich verbal inflection in Övdalian. In section 3, I make some observations on negative concord. Finally, in section 4, I compare the structure of Övdalian with the structure of the other Scandinavian languages concerning verb movement and the placement of negation. Section 5 gives a short summary.

⁶ Jonas Martinsson, born 1994; example taken from a newspaper published by *Ulm Dalska*, November 2005, pp. 14.

⁷ Josefine Svensson, born 1992, example taken from a newspaper published by *Ulm Dalska*, November 2005, pp. 15.

2. The position of the finite verb and negation

One of the main differences between Övdalian and the other Mainland Scandinavian languages/dialects is its rich morphology: Övdalian has retained four distinct morphological cases (at least to some extent) and verb agreement in person and number.⁸ The verb inflection pattern is as follows:

	Present		Preterite	
	weak	strong	weak	strong
	<i>spilå</i> (play)	<i>fårå</i> (go)	<i>spilå</i> (play)	<i>fårå</i> (go)
1. sg.	<i>spilär</i>	<i>far</i>	<i>spiläð</i>	<i>fuor</i>
2. sg.	<i>spilär</i>	<i>far</i>	<i>spiläð</i>	<i>fuor</i>
3. sg.	<i>spilär</i>	<i>far</i>	<i>spiläð</i>	<i>fuor</i>
1. pl.	<i>spilum</i>	<i>farum</i>	<i>spiläðum</i>	<i>fuorum</i>
2. pl.	<i>spilið</i>	<i>farið</i>	<i>spiläðið</i>	<i>fuorið</i>
3. pl.	<i>spilå</i>	<i>fårå</i>	<i>spiläð</i>	<i>fuoru</i>

A language with verb agreement in person and number can be expected to exhibit V°-to-I° movement, according to the The Rich Agreement Hypothesis (RAH), which predicts that rich verbal inflection⁹ triggers overt verb movement to I°.¹⁰ RAH was formulated by Bobaljik (2003:131-132) in a strong (3) and a weak version (4):

(3) ‘RICH’ AGREEMENT IS THE CAUSE OF (OVERT) VERB MOVEMENT TO INFL.

(4) IF A LANGUAGE HAS RICH INFLECTION THEN IT HAS VERB MOVEMENT TO INFL.

⁸ However, in the category of mood only indicative and imperative are represented - the morphological conjunctive is lost except of two forms: *edde* (have.SING.CONJ.) and *wäre* (be.SING.CONJ.), Levander (1909:88).

⁹ ”Rich” is defined by Rohrbacher in following way: “(...) [R]egular subject-verb agreement minimally distinctively marks the referential agreement features such that in at least one number of one tense, the person features [1st] and [2nd] are distinctively marked.” (Rohrbacher 1999:138).

¹⁰ The idea of morphological triggers for verb movement has been present in linguistics at least since Kosmeijer (1986) and Platzack (1988).

2.1. Embedded verb movement

Since Övdalian has verb agreement in person and number we expect it to exhibit V°-to-I° movement, in line with the RAH. In other words, we expect Övdalian embedded clauses to have the following pattern:

(5) COMPLEMENTIZER SUBJECT FV NEG/SENTENTIAL ADVERB (...)

My data (Westling p.c.) show that Övdalian in fact exhibits V°-to-I° movement across negation in embedded clauses (6), but that the movement is not obligatory (7). V°-to-I° movement across other sentential adverbials, like *oltiett* (always), *föstå'ss* (of course), *older* (never) and *sakta* (probably, certainly) seems to be impossible in the younger generation, as the sentences in show (8) (Westling p.c.), but is possible in the older generation, cf. examples in (9) (Werf p.c.)¹¹:

(6) *Dier werd fel lie'ssner um Alfrið **kumb** it (noð).*

THEY BECOME part. SAD.PL IF A. COMES NOT (NPI = NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEM)

They will be sad if Alfrið won't come.

(7) *Dier werd fel lie'ssner um Alfrið int **kumb**.*

THEY BECOME part. SAD.PL IF A. NOT COMES

They will be sad if Alfrið won't come.

(8a) *Bruorn wart jëlåk ettersos Ierk oltiett **byövd**/***byövd** oltiett *lån**

BROTHER.THE BECAME ANGRY BECAUSE I. ALWAYS NEEDED BORROW

Brother got angry because Ierk always needed to borrow

peningg min wennum sainum.

MONEY WITH FRIENDS.DAT REFL.DAT

money from his friends

(8b) *Karin djikk kringgt å nykafi ettersos å¹² föstå'ss **råkeð**/***råkeð** föstå'ss*

K. WENT OFTEN TO NEW-CAFÉ BECAUSE SHE OF COURSE MET

K. went often to the new café because she of course met

wenner sainer dar.

FRIENDS REFL. THERE

her friends there.

¹¹ It cannot be excluded that this situation can to some extent be result of Westling deliberate attempt to speak an older variant of Övdalian, a fact that he mentioned to me.

¹² According to the new Övdalian orthography the third person feminine pronoun should be written with a nasal mark. Because of technical reason I don't mark nasality here.

(8c) *Warum tungner tjöþ wineð ettersos Anna older **drock**/* **drock** older*

WERE.1.PL FORCED BUY WINE.THE BECAUSE A. NEVER DRANK

We had to buy wine, because Anna never drank beer.

öleð.

BEER.THE

(9a) *Pappa war faingen ettersos paitjin **twü'dd** oltiett biln os.*

FATHER WAS HAPPY BECAUSE SON.THE WASHED ALWAYS CAR HIS.

Father was happy because his son washed always his car.

(9b) *Karin djikk kringgt á nykafi ettersos á¹³ **willd** föstá'ss*

K. WENT OFTEN TO NEW-CAFÉ BECAUSE SHE WANTED-TO OF COURSE

Karin went often to the new café because she of course wanted to
råk kamrater sainer dar.

MEET FRIENDS REFL. THERE.

meet her friends there.

(9c) *Ittað-jär ir ien buok so ig **ar** sakt lesið.*

THIS IS A BOOK WHICH I HAVE PROBABLY READ.

This is a book, which I have probably read.

Verb movement in the younger generation is also optional in clauses with sentential negation where the adverb *kanstji* 'perhaps' occupies the position of the finite verb (C°), see the example in (10a) with the finite verb in situ and the example in (10b) with V°-to-I° movement:

(10a) *Kanstji du int **will** jätå eð? (Westling p.c.)*

PERHAPS YOU NOT WANT-TO EAT IT

Maybe you don't want to eat it?

(10b) *Kanstji du **will** it jätå eð? (Westling p.c.)*

PERHAPS YOU WANT-TO NOT EAT IT

Maybe you don't want to eat it?

¹³ According to the new Övdalian orthography the third person feminine pronoun should be written with a nasal mark. Because of technical reason I don't mark nasality here.

According to Levander (1909:123) verb movement across the negation was obligatory in Övdalian in the beginning of the 20th century, but my data show that it can be optional today, at least for some (younger) speakers. Verb movement across a high adverb seems to be impossible in the younger generation, see (8). This is contrary to the data from some North Norwegian varieties (Bentzen 2003, 2005), where the finite verb can move across high adverbs, but never across the negation. I don't consider my data to be sufficient enough to answer the question why some (younger) speakers can move finite verbs across negation but not across the other sentential adverbs. Verb movement across negation seems however to be obligatory in Övdalian embedded questions (11a,b), also among the speakers of the young generation, as the clauses without verb movement are ungrammatical (12a,b), (Westling p.c.):

(11a) (*Ig will witå*) *wiso Ierk/an kumb* it *noð*.

(I WANT-TO KNOW) WHY IERK/HE COMES NOT NPI

I want to know why Ierk/he doesn't come.

(11b) (*Ig will witå*) *wiso Ierk/an add* it *kumið noð*.

(I WANT-TO KNOW) WHY IERK/HE HAD NOT COME NPI

I want to know why Ierk/he had not come.

(12a) *(*Ig will witå*) *wiso Ierk/an* it *kumb noð*.

(I WANT-TO KNOW) WHY IERK/HE NOT COMES NPI

I want to know why Ierk doesn't come/had not come.

(12b) *(*Ig will witå*) *wiso Ierk/an* it *add kumið noð*.

(I WANT-TO KNOW) WHY IERK/HE NOT HAD COME NPI

I want to know why Ierk/he had not come.

In Icelandic, another Scandinavian language that exhibits rich verbal morphology, V^o-to-I^o movement is found also in non-finite contexts (e.g. in control infinitive),¹⁴ see (13a,b):

(13a) *María lofaði að lesa ekki* /**ekki lesa bókina*.

MARÍA PROMISED TO READ NOT/NOT READ BOOK.THE.'

María promised not to read the book.'

¹⁴ Vangnes (2002) discusses the question how the richness of agreement could possibly trigger V^o-to-I^o in infinitive clauses.

(13b) *María lofaði að hún **skyldi** ekki/*ekki **skyldi** lesa bókina.*

MARÍA PROMISED THAT SHE SHOULD NOT/NOT SHOULD READ BOOK.THE.
María promised that she won't read the book.'

At this point, Övdalian differs from Icelandic: V°-to-I° is not attested in control infinitive in Övdalian. No visible effects of verb movement can be traced here, and as far I can judge there is no difference between generations¹⁵, as in (14):

(14a) *An fuorkeð mig tä int **djärå** eð-dar.* (Westling p.c.)

HE ENCOURAGED ME TO NOT DO THIS
He encouraged me not to do this.

(14b) **An fuorkeð mig tä **djärå** it eð-dar.* (Westling p.c.)

HE ENCOURAGED ME TO DO NOT THIS
He encouraged me not to do this.

2.2. High NegP in Övdalian

Further investigation shows that in Övdalian a negation can occur in the pre-subject position, as e.g. in Swedish and Norwegian, which can easily be observed in both main clauses, as in (15a) and subordinate clauses as in (15b) (Westling p.c.):

(15a) *Föðyö **belld** it Alfrið kumå.*

THEREFORE COULD NOT ALFRIÐ COME
Therefore, Alfrið couldn't come.

(15b) *(Andes spuord mig) wiso int Äva **beller** kumå older.*

(ANDES ASKED ME) WHY NOT ÄVA CAN COME NEVER
Andes asked me why Äva can never come.

I assume therefore that there is a high NegP in Övdalian, to which negative elements can move. As far I can see, the examples in (15) do not illustrate constituent negation, as they seem to pass the tests for propositional negation (Frawley 1992:392-393). Another fact that supports my assumption of a high NegP is the existence of different phonetic representations of the negation

¹⁵ It should be kept in mind that my data are limited.

(*int* or *it*), depending on the position.¹⁶ This difference, however, can to my knowledge only be observed in embedded clauses, not in main clauses. The form *int* is preferred when the negation precedes the subject (16a) or the finite verb (16b). Vice versa, the form *it* is preferred when the finite verb precedes the negation¹⁷ (17):

(16a) *Dier werd fel lie'ssner um int/*it Alfrið kumb.*
 THEY BECOME part. SAD.PL IF NOT ALFRID COMES
 They will be sad if Alfrið won't come.

(16b) *Dier werd fel lie'ssner um Alfrið int/?it kumb.*
 THEY BECOME part. SAD.PL IF ALFRID NOT COMES
 They will be sad if Alfrið won't come.

(17) *Dier werd fel lie'ssner um Alfrið kumb it (noð)/*int.*
 THEY BECOME part. SAD.PL IF ALFRID COMES NOT (NPI)/NOT
 They will be sad if Alfrið won't come.

As late as at the time of Levander, a strong argument could be found in favour of the existence of the high negation position: at that time, movement of negative quantified objects to the position preceding the subject position was possible, see (18a,b); examples after Levander (1909:122).¹⁸ However, this phenomenon probably does no longer exist in Övdalian (Nyström p.c.).

(18a) ...*fast* inggan kall *ǎ*¹⁹ *ar.*
 ALTHOUGH NO HUSBAND.ACC SHE HAS
 ...although she hasn't got any husband.

(18b) ...*dar* ingg peningg *ig ar.*
 BECAUSE NO MONEY.ACC I HAVE
 ...because I haven't got any money.

¹⁶ According to Nyström (p.c.) the different forms of the negation are related to stress: *int* is the stressed form, whereas *it* is the unstressed form.

¹⁷ This observation has also been made by Wiklund (p.c.).

¹⁸ Those examples are the only one reported by Levander; according to Nyström (p.c.) similar examples can be found in old dialect recordings from Älvdalen preserved at SOFI (Institute for Dialectology, Onomastics and Folklore Research) in Uppsala, Sweden.

¹⁹ According to the new Övdalian orthography the third person feminine pronoun should be written with a nasal mark. Because of technical reason I don't mark nasality here.

In addition to the two negation forms *int/it*, there is also a third form of negation in Övdalian, *itje/itjä*²⁰, which is only used initially and finally, i.e. in Spec,CP (19) or in extraposition, as in (20). This form never seems to be used within the sentence, as the examples in (21) show, (Westling p.c.):

(19) *Itje beller ig stand jär.*

NOT CAN I STAND HERE.

I can't stand here.

(20) *I går add it Ierk ingg peningga, itje.*

YESTERDAY HAD NOT IERK NO MONEY, NOT

Yesterday Ierk didn't have any money.

(21a) **Ig uppes itje Ierk ir jälåk å mig.*

I HOPE NOT IERK IS ANGRY ON ME

I hope that Ierk isn't angry with me.

(21b) **Ig uppes Ierk itje ir jälåk å mig.*

I HOPE IERK NOT IS ANGRY ON ME

I hope that Ierk isn't angry with me.

(21c) **Ig uppes Ierk ir itje jälåk å mig.*

I HOPE IERK IS NOT ANGRY ON ME

I hope that Ierk isn't angry with me.

The negation *itje* can be used independently of the other negative elements in the clause, either as a negation in the high NegP or as a negative quantified object, (22a,b):

(22a) *Itjä ar då int ig inggu kullu.* (Pamp 1978:114)

NOT HAVE THEN NOT I NO GIRL.ACC

I really don't have any daughter.

(22b) *I går add it Ierk ingg peningga, itje.* (Westling p.c.)

YESTERDAY HAD NO IERK NO MONEY.ACC NOT

Yesterday Ierk didn't have any money.

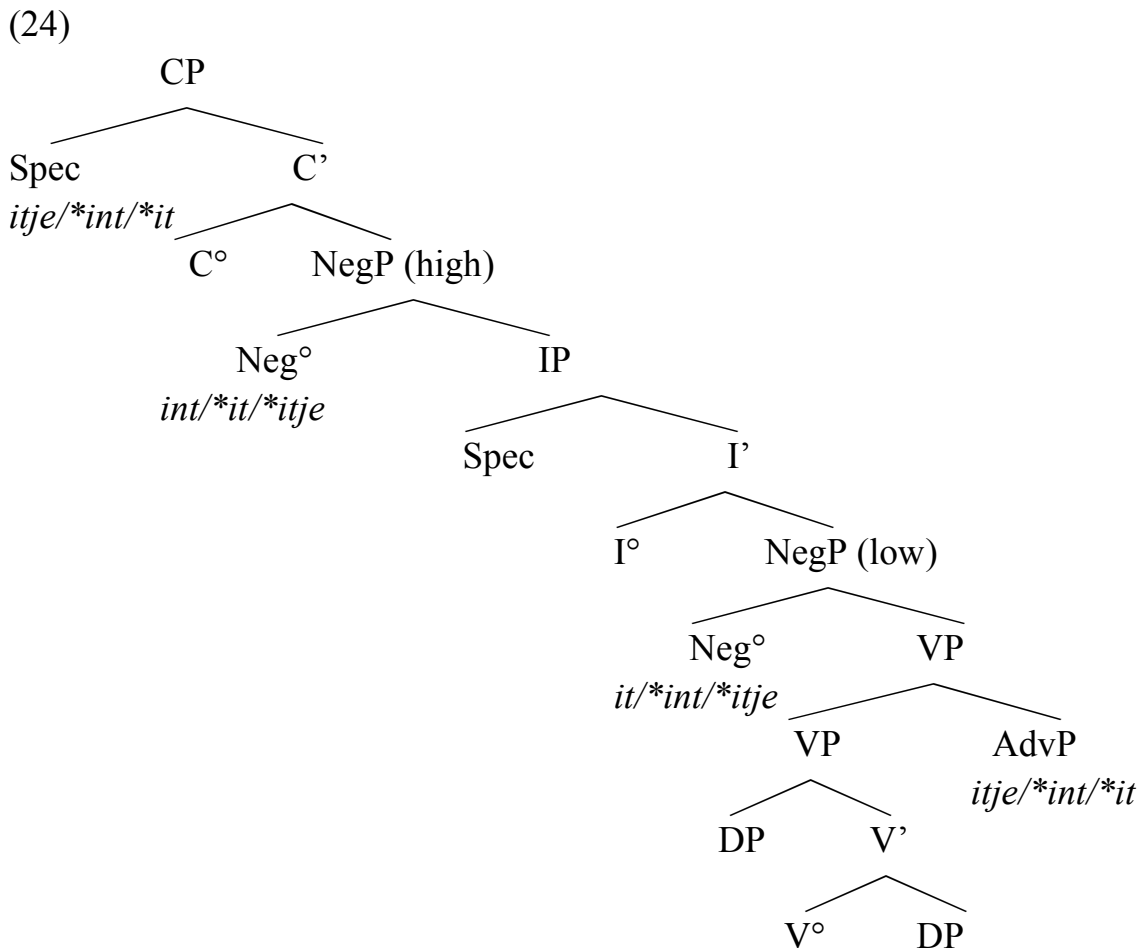
²⁰ According to Nyström (p.c.) the form *itje* is the newer one, whereas *itjä* is the older one.

Itje can also, like *inte/icke* in Swedish, occupy Spec,CP and then be repeated in the extraposition (23):

- (23) **Itjä** *ir eđ* inggu swårugiet *täm diemdar*, **itjä**.²¹
 NOT IS IT NO DIFFICULTY DOMESTICATE THOSE-THERE.DAT NOT
 It's not difficult to domesticate them.

2.3. The structure of the Övdalian clause

Given the data presented above, I assume the following basic structure for Övdalian (24):



As it is shown in (24), both the high NegP and the low NegP are used in the Övdalian clause; my data are insufficient to explain what determines which

²¹ Unpublished transcription of a record (*Dialekter i Dalarna*. [Cd.] 2004. Uppsala), kindly provided to me by Gunnar Nyström.

position is used (it is not impossible, that the rules are similar to those in Swedish or Norwegian). In control infinitivals probably only the high NegP is used, but further research needs to be done to confirm this view, as well as explain why (and if) the low NegP cannot be used there.

3. Negative concord

As the only one of the Scandinavian languages and one of the few Germanic languages/dialects Övdalian exhibits negative concord in the sense that two or more negative elements together may yield just one semantic negation.²² Negative concord in Övdalian is articulated by one (or more) negated adverb and by a negative quantifier. Negative concord is possible with a negative quantifier (see (25a,b)), but according to Nyström (p.c.) this is not obligatory. Negative concord seems to be impossible without a negative quantifier, but on the other hand intransitive verbs require a negative polarity item, *nođ*, at least if the low NegP is used and if verb movement is present, compare (26a,b) with (26c):²³

(25a) *Ig ar it tjöpt ingg byöker.*
 I HAVE NOT BOUGHT NO BOOKS
 I haven't bought any books.

(25b) *Ig ar ingg byöker tjöpt.*
 I HAVE NO BOOKS BOUGHT
 I haven't bought any books.

(26a) *An kam it nođ.*
 HE CAME NOT NPI
 He didn't come.

(26b) *(Ig will witå) wiso Ierk kumb it nođ.*
 (I WANT-TO KNOW) WHY IERK COMES NOT NPI.
 I want to know why Ierk doesn't come.

²² Other Germanic negative concord languages are Afrikaans and Yiddish and non-standard varieties of German, f.ex. Bavarian, (Weiß 1999), English and Dutch (Raidt 1991:222). Even Norwegian-Kven contact dialects exhibit negative concord (Sollid 2005).

²³ Westling (p.c.)

- (26c) (*Ig will witå*) *wiso* int *Ierk kumb*.
 (I WANT-TO KNOW) WHY NOT IERK COMES
 I want to know why Ierk doesn't come.

Negative quantified objects are assumed always to move to the low NegP in Swedish (Platzack 1998:164), but to my knowledge there is no empirical support for claiming that the same holds also for Övdalian. On the contrary, in embedded clauses where the low NegP is occupied, the negative quantified object remains in the VP, as in (27a). The negative quantified object doesn't have to move out of the VP even when the low NegP is unoccupied (27b). But it may move out to the low NegP, as in (25b) above, repeated in (27c). Thus, movement of a negative quantified object seems to be possible but not necessary in Övdalian.

- (27a) ...*dar amm* it *apt* inggan *bårå um sumbrå*. (Westling p.c.)
 BECAUSE HAVE.1.PL NOT HAD NO 'BARI'.ACC ON SUMMERS.THE.ACC
 ...because we haven't had any 'bari'²⁴ during the summers.

- (27b) ... *dar* int *amm apt* inggan *bårå um sumbrå*. (Westling p.c.)
 BECAUSE NOT HAVE.1.PL HAD NO 'BARI'.ACC ON SUMMERS.THE.ACC
 ...because we haven't had any 'bari'²⁵ during the summers.

- (27c) *Ig ar* ingg byöker *tjyöpt*.
 I HAVE NO BOOKS BOUGHT
 I haven't bought any books.

The Övdalian negative concord seems thus to be possible only with a negative quantifier. To the best of my knowledge there is no negative concord in Övdalian consisting of two sentential negations placed both in the high NegP and in the low NegP without the presence of a negative quantifier.

²⁴ Övd. 'bari', Swe. 'bjära' is a creature in Swedish folk beliefs.

²⁵ Övd. 'bari', Swe. 'bjära' is a creature in Swedish folk beliefs.

4. Verb movement and negation in other Scandinavian Languages

4.1. Mainland Scandinavian.

The standard Mainland Scandinavian languages, Danish, Swedish and Norwegian, have no V^o-to-I^o movement,²⁶ and they all possess the low NegP position, whereas at least Swedish and Norwegian also exhibit the high NegP (Platzack 1998:164; Faarlund et al. 1997:862-864). The structure of the clause is shown in (28a,b) for Norwegian and in (29a,b) for Swedish:

(28a) *I dag **har** (ikke) katten (ikke) fått noe mat*²⁷
 TODAY HAS (NOT) CAT.THE (NOT) GOT ANY FOOD
 The cat hasn't got any food today.

(28b) ...*kvifor (ikkje) eg (ikkje) ville (*ikkje) sjå fjernsyn med dei*²⁸
 WHY (NOT) I (NOT) WANTED-TO (NOT) WATCH TV WITH THEM
 ...why I didn't wanted to watch TV with them.

(29a) *Nu ville (inte) Eva (inte) vara med längre*²⁹
 NOW WANTED-TO (NOT) EVA (NOT) TAKE PART LONGER
 Eva didn't want to participate any longer now.

(29b) ...*om (inte) Kalle (inte) har (*inte) fått nog nu*³⁰
 IF (NOT) KALLE (NOT) HAS (NOT) HAD ENOUGH NOW
 ...if Kalle hasn't had enough of it by now.

No Mainland Scandinavian standard language exhibits negative concord.³¹

4.2. Insular Scandinavian

Both Icelandic and Faroese exhibit V^o-to-I^o movement. In Icelandic V^o-to-I^o movement is obligatory (but see Angantýsson 2001 and Hróarsdóttir, Hrafnbjargarson, Wiklund and Bentzen 2006). Faroese displays only optional

²⁶ This claim doesn't hold for regional varieties, see Hróarsdóttir, Hrafnbjargarson, Wiklund and Bentzen (2006) and Bobaljik (2003).

²⁷ Faarlund et al. (1997:863).

²⁸ Faarlund et al. (1997:864).

²⁹ Platzack (1998:164).

³⁰ Platzack (1998:164).

³¹ But at least some Norwegian-Kven contact dialects do (Sollid 2005).

movement, or possibly, no movement at all.³² Icelandic and Faroese don't seem to possess the high NegP, contrary to Övdalian, Swedish and Norwegian. Examples are given in (30a,b) for Icelandic and in (31a,b) for Faroese:

(30a) *Í gær gat (*ekki) Jón (ekki) séð myndina.*
 YESTERDAY GOT (NOT) JÓN (NOT) SEEN MOVIE.THE.ACC.
 Yesterday Jón couldn't see the movie.

(30b) *...hvort (*ekki) Jón (*ekki) hefur (ekki) séð myndina.*
 WHY (NOT) JÓN (NOT) HAS (NOT) SEEN MOVIE.THE.ACC.
 María asked why Jón hasn't seen the movie.

(31a) *Nær hefur (?ikki)³³ hetta (ikki) verið gjörligt?*
 WHEN HAS (NOT) THAT (NOT) BEEN POSSIBLE-TO-DO
 When hasn't it been possible to do this?

(31b) *...sum (ikki) hann (ikki) hevði (??ikki) loyvi at eta.³⁴*
 THAT (NOT) HE (NOT) HAD (NOT) PERMISSION TO EAT
 ...which he mustn't eat.

Neither Faroese nor Icelandic shows negative concord.

5. Summary

Övdalian exhibits optional V°-to-I° movement of finite verbs across negation. Some (younger) speakers lack verb movement across other sentential adverbs. In Övdalian spoken by the older generation, V°-to-I° seems to be robust, independently of the kind of sentential adverb. Unlike Icelandic, there are no visible effects of verb movement in Övdalian control infinitivals. The language has two NegPs, a high one situated below the CP, and a low one situated above the VP, as well as an initial and a final negation position. The form of the negation is different depending on its position. Negative concord is also present in the language, but only with transitive verbs with negative quantified objects, although it is, at least to my knowledge, not obligatory. Unlike Swedish, negative quantified objects in Övdalian don't have to move out of the VP, and

³² See the data in Petersen (2000), Þráinsson et al. (2004) and the discussion in Bobaljik (2003:138).

³³ According to Petersen (2006 p.c.) only possible when *ikki* is stressed (if at all).

³⁴ Petersen (2006 p.c.).

that fact seems to be independent of the presence of negative concord and independent of which of the two NegPs is used.

In comparison to the other Scandinavian languages, Övdalian is the only one which shows embedded verb movement together with two NegPs and negative concord. Those properties make Övdalian quite unique not only among the Scandinavian languages, but also among the Germanic languages. Another interesting property of Övdalian concerns the fact that verb movement doesn't seem to be obligatory, yet the language has a rich inflectional system. This poses a problem for the weak version of the RAH, which states that if a language has rich verbal agreement, then it also has V^o-to-I^o movement (an observation made by Wiklund (2002)). Why verb movement in Övdalian is optional remains to be examined, my data are insufficient to answer this question here. More research obviously has to be done in order to get the complete picture of Övdalian syntax.

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