QP Advising

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1   Negative indefinite shifting

(1)   Negative Shifting (NegShift) is a process in the Scandinavian languages where a negative indefinite (NI) obligatorily shifts to a position outside of the VP.

    a. Manden havde måske   *ingenting* [$_{VP}$ sagt t$_o$].
        man-the had   probably nothing   said
        'The man hadn't said anything.'

    b. Jeg har   *ingen bøger* [$_{VP}$ lånt børnene   t$_o$.]
        I   have no   books   lent children-the
        'I haven't lent the children any books.'

(2)   This process occurs to all NIs and is permissible from a large number of different contexts, depending on the variety and register, see Table 1.

Table 1: Distribution of NegShift across Scandinavian languages. WJ = West Jutlandic, Ic = Icelandic, Fa = Faroese, DaL = Danish Linguists, SwL = Swedish Linguists, Scan1 = literary/formal Mainland Scandinavian, Scan2 = colloquial Mainland Scandinavian and Norwegian

NegS across		WJ1	WJ2	Ic	Fa	DaL1	DaL2	SwL	Scan1	Scan2
String-vacuous		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Verb		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*
IO	verb in situ	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*
	verb moved	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Preposition	verb in situ	✓	✓	✓	✓	?	?	*	*	*
	verb moved	✓	✓	?	*	*	*	*	*	*
Infinitive	verb in situ	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	?	*	*
	verb moved	✓	*	*	✓	*	*	*	*	*

(3) However, not all NegShift is treated equal. Christensen (2005: 65f), speaking on Danish, claims that the "weight" of the NI plays a factor in whether or not NegShift occurs.

    a. Jeg har *intet*$_o$ hørt t$_o$.
       I   have nothing heard

       'I havn't heard anything.'

    b. Jeg har [*intet nyt*]$_o$ hørt t$_o$.
       I   have nothing new   heard

       'I haven't heard anything new'

    c. *Jeg har [*intet nyt i sagen*]$_o$ hørt t$_o$.
       I   have nothing new in case-DET heard

       'I haven't heard anything new about the case.'

    d. *Jeg har [*intet nyt i sagen om de stjålne malerier*]$_o$ hørt t$_o$.
       I   have nothing new in case-DET about the stolen paintings heard

       'I haven't heard anything new in the case about the stolen paintings.'

(4) In those instances where the NI is too large one potential repair is to strand the PP while moving just the pronoun or using the negative particle *ikke* and a NPI.

    a. Jeg har *intet*$_i$ hørt t$_i$ [$_{PP}$ i sagen om de stjålne malerier].

    b. Jeg har ikke hørt [*noget* i sagen om de stjålne malerier].

(5) This same behavior has also been remarked upon by Penka (2011) for Swedish.

    a. Men mänskligheten har *ingenting*$_o$ lärt sig t$_o$.
       but mankind-the   have nothing   taught themselves

       'But mankind haven't taught themselves anything.'

    b. ? Vi hade *inga grottor*$_o$ undersökt t$_o$.
         we have no   caves   explored

       'We haven't explored any caves.'

(6) My QP explores whether or not there is indeed this preference for NegShift of pronouns by conducting a study on the Swedish Culturomics Gigaword Corpus (Eide, Tahmasebi &

Borin 2016) and how this phenomenon might relate to prosodic analyses of pronominal obejct shift.

(7) One of the issues for this analysis is that one of the NI pronouns (*ingen/inget/inga*) is identical to the NI determiner (*ingen/inget/inga*).

2   Scandinavian pronouns

(8) There two different approaches that we can take when accounting for the syntactic structure of the negative indefinite pronouns in Swedish. The two positions are: (a) the pronoun is the head of a DP on its own; or (b) the pronoun resides in D and takes a null NP complete.[1]

  a. DP with no complement
        DP
      pronoun

  b. DP with null NP complement
        DP
       / \
      D   NP
   pronoun ∅
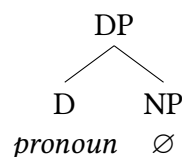
(9) The reason this question is interesting is the presence of two homophonous NIs.
  a. the first is the negative indefinite determiner which always appears with a nominal pivot. This is equivalent to our NI determiner *no*.
      i. Jag bakade honom [DP *inget* kaka].
          I   baked him   no   cake
          'I didn't bake him any cake.'
      ii. Hon såg *inga* barn.
          she saw no   children
          'She didn't see any children.'
  b. The second is the negative indefinite pronoun which does not take a nominal pivot and stands independent or with an adjunct, similar to English's *no-one* or *none*.
      i. Jag bakade honom *inget.*
          I   baked him   none
          'I didn't bake him anything.'
      ii. Jag har   *ingen* lånt barnen.
          I   have none   lent children-the
          'I haven't lent the children anything.'

(10) Evidence for one structure over the other comes from whether or not modification of the pronoun is allowed.
  a. Modification is taken to be additional material that changes what the set of things the NI refers too.

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[1]This second option could also assume that the pronoun originated in NP and moved to D prior to spell-out of the DP phase.

b. This is predominately done with PPs, relative clauses, or infinitival clauses (when the NI is an object of an existential clause).

(11) Because of this difference in behavior between determiners and nouns, we can gather evidence that would suggest one of the two syntactic structures is the more likely one for the Swedish negative indefinite pronouns if modification of these pronouns is present.

(12) Data will be drawn from across all of the Scandinavian languages because of the close similarity between the mainland Scandinavian languages syntactically.

(13) We observe in Danish that their negative indefinite pronouns are able to be modified with PPs and CPs as shown in Allan, Holmes & Lundskær-Nielsen (1995: 218ff).

   a. PPs

      i. Det er *intet*   [PP i   vej-an   ].
         It   is nothing   in way-DET

         'There is nothing wrong'

      ii. Jeg kender *ingen* [PP her i   byen].
          I   know   no-one   here in town

          'I know no one in this town.'

   b. CPs

      i. Der   er *ingen*, [CP der   har set   ham].
         there is no-one,   who has seen him

         'Nobody has seen him'

      ii. Der   er *intet*   [CP at   være bange for].
          There is nothing   to be   afraid of

          'There is nothing to be afraid of'

(14) This same behavior is also observed in Swedish (Holmes & Hinchliffe 2013: 197ff).

   a. PPs

      i. Han äger *inget*   [PP av värde].
         He owns nothing   of value

         'He owns nothing of value.'

   b. CPs

      i. Jag såg *ingen*   [CP jag kände igen].
         I   saw no-one   I   recognize

         'I saw no one that I recognize.'

      ii. Jag har   *ingenting* [CP att säga].
          I   have nothing   to say

          'I have nothing to say.'

(15) Example (14a-i) shows the use of *inget* instead of *ingenting* which according to Holmes & Hinchliffe (2013) are in free variation.

(16) Based on this data, we see adjunct extraposition, which is assumed to be the result of the adjunction site of these PPs and CPs being within NP.

a. This is a working hypothesis and I am currently looking for further independent evidence that this is is the correct analysis for pronominals in Swedish.

(17) Another reason that we can assume that (8b), repeated below with a adjunct, is the correct structure, is that if we assume that (8a) is the structure for pronouns then we are left wondering how exactly these pronominal modifiers attach to our structure.

a.

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          DP
         /  \
        D    NP
     pronoun  / \
           NP    XP
           ∅   adjunct
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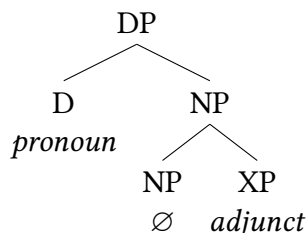
3   Broekhuis 2020

(18) Broekhuis 2020 explores the possibility that object shift and object scrambling are the same phenomenon and concludes that this is in fact the case.

(19) However, Broekhuis: 417f does point out that weak pronominal object shift behaves differently than full DP objects in what loci there are allowed to inhabit. In the case of weak pronominals they are required to appear outside of the *v*P if there is no intervening phonological material (i.e., Holmberg's Generalization Holmberg 1986, 1999).

(20) Broekhuis does have some interesting discussion about the interaction of NegShift and pronominal OS.

(21) Citing examples from Christensen (2005: 163ff), Broekhuis shows this pair of examples:

a. Jeg har   <ingen bøger> lånt hende <*ingen bøger>.
   I   have no   books   lent her

   'I haven't lent her any books

b. Jeg lånte *henda* fraktisch *ingen bøger.*
   I   lent her   actually   no   books

   'I didn't actually lend her any books.'

(22) In (21a), we see that when we have a negative object that it shifts to a position higher than the *v*P if it were to remain in-situ as it would be ungrammatical and would require the use of *ikke* 'not' and the NPI *nogen.*

a. Jeg har   *ikke* lånt hende *nogen* bøger.
   I   have not lent her   any   books.

   'I haven't lent her any books.'

(23) However, when the main verb has raised to C⁰ as in (21b) then the weak pronominal moves to a position higher than the adverb *fraktisch* 'actually'. The negative object is not able to move to the similar position that is higher than the adverb. Additionally, this results in OS > NegShift and according to Broekhuis this is a universal fact.

(24) This does help us see that that even though these two phenomena appear to be similar they are in fact slightly different, due to the differences in the where the different movement operations' target is.

4 Valentine Bordal 2017

(25) Valentine Bordal (2017) is a corpus study of *Språkbanken*[2] looking at how existential predicates are negated in Swedish.

(26) According to Valentine Bordal declarative sentences are negated using the negative particle *inte* only.

   a. Anna är *inte* doktor.
      Anna is not doctor
      'Anna is not a doctor.'

(27) If the verbal predicate has a non-lexical verb (i.e., modals and auxiliaries) then the sentence is negated with either the negative particle *inte* or with a negative indefinite.[3]

   a. Jag har *inte* några barn.
      I   have not any   children
      'I don't have any children'

   b. Jag har *inga* barn.
      I   have no   children
      'I don't have children.'

(28) According to her results, NIs were the most frequent method for negating existential predicates.

Table 2: Frequency of negation strategy

Negated existential	Raw count	Proportion
Existential predicates negated with an indefinite pronoun	212 918	89%
Existential predicates negated with inte	27 437	11%
Total	240 355	100%

(29) Under her analysis of NIs, they are all treated as a pronomial which can or cannot appear with a nominal pivot.

   a. This means that her "modifier" is best treated as a NI determiner which appears with a nominal pivot and her "head" is best treated as a pronoun which doesn't appear with a nominal pivot.

(30) She also claims that out of all the negative indefinites, *inga* only appears as a modifier, *ingen* and *inget* both appear equally as modifiers and pronominal heads, and *ingenting* only ever appear as a head.

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[2]<https://spraakbanken.gu.se/en>

[3]I disagree with her claim that NIs are only used with non-lexical verbs, because there are plenty of examples in the literature that show NIs negating sentences that contain lexical verbs (see Engels 2012 and Christensen 2005 for examples).

Table 3: Frequency of NI property

Syntactic property of the NI	Frequency	Proportion
Modifier	687	78%
Head	198	22%
Total	885	100%

5 Zeijlstra 2011

(31) Zeijlstra 2011 is interested in showing providing an analysis of the split-scope interpretation that exists for negative indefinites in Germanic languages.

(32) Split-scope is evident when modals and other auxiliaries are present and the negation scopes higher than the modal/auxiliary's scope where the indefinite resides.

(33) Zeijlstra assumes that this behavior is the result of the compositional status of negative indefinites similar to the claims made by Iatridou & Sichel (2011). Unlike Iatridou & Sichel, who simply claim that negation takes scope higher than the modal's scope and the indefinite scopes low, he claims that NIs are composed of a negative operator and an indefinite component.

(34) He further claims that the split-scope interpretation is the result of a copy-theory of movement where the indefinite interpretation is interpreted in the lower copy while the negative operator is interpreted in the higher copy after quantifier rising.

6 Interaction of NegShift and OS

(35) Christensen (2005) provides a clear and detailed summary of the interactions of OS and NegShift. His summary is detailed below in Table 4.

(36) In this table No⁺/Sw⁺ represent some varieties of Norwegian and Swedish respectively in contrast to more standard Norwegian (No) and Swedish (Sw), FS represent the Swedish variety which is spoken by Swedes in Finland.

Table 4: Summary of OS and NegShift accoriding to Christensen (2005).

IO-DO	Ic	Da/Fa	No/Sw	No⁺/Sw⁺	FS
Pron-Pron	+ +	+ +	% %	§ §	- -
Pron-NegQP	+ +	+ +	+ +	+ +	- -
NegQP-Pron	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ -	- -
Pron-DP	+ %	+ -	% -	% -	- -
DP-Pron	% -	- -	- -	- -	- -
DP-DP	% %	- -	- -	- -	- -
DP-NegQP	% %	- -	- -	- -	- -
NegQP-DP	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ -	- -

(KEY: + = obligatory, - = blocked, % = optional, § = optional and 'non-parallel')

(37) The sections on this table that are most interesting are those involving what Christensen calls Negative Quantifier Phrases, which is equivalent to NIs. However, this does conflate NI determiners and NI pronouns into a single category.

(38) According to Christensen, when the IO is a pronoun and the DO is a NegQP both obligatorily shift when the verb has been able to swift to C, (a), otherwise only the NegQP shifts, (b).

    a. Jeg lånte *hende(IO)* faktisk   *ingen bøger(DO)*
        I   lent   her   actually no   books

        'I actually didn't lend her any books'

    b. Jeg har   *ingen bøger(DO)* lånt   *hende(IO)*
        I   have no   books   lend her

        'I didn't lend her any books'

(39) If, however, the IO is a NegQP and the DO is a pronoun then the pronoun is blocked from shifting. **This produces a freezing effect on OS (Christensen 2005: p. 164)**.

    a. Jeg lånte faktisk   *ingen(IO) den(DO)*
        I   lent   actually no-one   it

        'I actually lent it to no-one.'

    b. * Jeg lånte *den(DO)* faktisk *ingen(IO)*

(40) This is actually a very important point for the question of the prosodic nature of the shifting. If we assume that these are moving to a position outside of the VP or are some sort of adjunct to VP[4] then we would assume that OS should be allowed according to Holmberg's Generalization, (a).

    a. Object Shift cannot apply across a phonologically visible category asymmetrically c-commanding the object position except adjuncts (Holmberg 1999: p. 15).

(41) However, this might not actually be the case if we follow the logic from Holmberg's Generalization. HG requires that OS occur if there is not a phonologically visible category that asymmetrically c-commands the object's base position. Because OS is blocked, then Neg is a phonologically visible category that asymmetrically c-commands the object and is not an adjunct. This then suggests that it is a head of a phrase, where the head asymmetrically c-commands the object. This leaves us with two possibilities: either, (i) the NI does not move in these contexts; or (ii) the NI does move but to the head of some phrase that is in the domain of HG.

(42) <mark>Additionally, when the IO is a full DP and the DO is a NegQP the full DP IO induces a freezing effect on overt NegShift, which results in NegShift occurring covertly. This is also true when the IO is left in-situ, (b).</mark>

    a. Ég gaf   *manninum(IO)* víst *enga gjöf(DO)*
        I   gave man-the.DAT   PRT no   present

        'But i di give the man the present'

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[4]This is actually well argued by Thráinsson (2010) because if it was the head of a NegP that resided above the VP then we would assume that Neg, including NIs, should block head movement from occurring. Because we do not observe this and instead we see Neg and its reflexes acting more along the lines of actual adverbs. However, I am not entirely convinced as will be seen in (41)

b. Ég gaf víst *manninum(IO) enga gjöf(DO)*

7 Adverbial orders

(43) There was some discussion about *faktisch* 'actually' being the wrong type of adverb to show movement of NIs and object pronouns.

(44) However looking into the ordering of adverbs this actually seems to be the best type of adverb. This is because there is a strict ordering of adverbs in the middle field.

(45) Holmes & Wilson (2017) stats that there are four distinct levels that these adverbs are allowed to appear in.

a. The first level contains short modal adverbs
   då 'then'

b. The second level contains short pronominal adverbs or conjunctional adverbs
   därför 'therefore'

c. The third level contains longer modal adverbs
   faktiskt 'actually'

d. The fourth and last level are adverbs of negation
   aldrig 'never', *inte* 'not'

(46) Examples of multiple adverbs

a. De har ju_1 $därför_2$ $faktiskt_3$ $aldrig_4$ rest   utomlands.
   they have certainly therefore actually   never   traveled abroad

   'They have therefore actually never traveled abroad'

b. Vi får $väl_1$ $ändå_2$ trots $allt_3$ $inte_4$ ge   upp.
   we must nevertheless despite everything not   give up

   'We must nevertheless despite everything not give up'

8 Next steps

- Looking into the interaction of object shift and NegShift with a comparison of the size of shifted elements.

  – Additionally, looking into Christensen (2005), Vikner (2017, 2001), and Thráinsson (2010) for further descriptions of NegShift.

  – Thráinsson also describes the fact that *all* quantifiers undergo a similar process to NIs. This behavior has led him to claim that NegShift is just **Quantifier Scrambling**.

- Looking into the Anti-Holmberg effect (Fox & Pesetsky 2005, Engels 2012).

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