Motivations for Scandinavian Negative Indefinite Shift

Mykel Loren Brinkerhoff

1   Introduction

Negative Shifting (NegShift) is a process in the Scandinavian languages where a negative indefinite expression (NI) obligatorily shifts to a position outside of the VP. The Danish examples in (1) show that the NI pronoun *ingenting* 'nothing' and the complex DP *ingen bøger* 'no books' both shift across the verb into a position that is between the adverbials and the verb in the case of *ingenting* and between the auxiliary and the verb in the case of *ingen bøger*.

(1) NegShift of pronouns and complex DPs

    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.'

NegShift bears some resemblance to the greater studied Scandinavian Object Shift (OS), which causes a weak pronoun to shift to a position outside of the VP when the verb has raised for V2 (Holmberg 1986, 1999).

(2) Jag kyssade$_v$ henne$_o$ inte [$_{VP}$ t_v t_o]   Sw
    I   kiss.PST her   NEG
    'I didn't kiss her.'

Interestingly, several authors have claimed that Scandinavian OS is driven and determined by prosodic factors (see Erteschik-Shir 2005, Erteschik-Shir & Josefsson 2017, Erteschik-Shir, Josefsson & Köhnlein 2020, Brinkerhoff & Tengesdal 2021 for some recent accounts). However, there are others that claim that OS is best accounted for as syntactic movement to satisfy PF, information structure, or some other syntactic requirement (Holmberg 1999, Thráinsson 2001, Bentzen, Anderssen & Waldmann 2013, among many others).

However, it is clear that not all instances of NegShift directly correlate to the accounts of OS. One of the chief reasons for this difference is due to the wider range of material that is allowed to undergo NegShift, which includes both pronouns and full DPs, whereas only prosodically weak object pronouns are allowed to undergo OS. Further discussion about the similarities and differences between OS and NegShift is found in Section 2. However, even though there are differences the one thing that could unite them is there shared movement of pronouns. There

have been several claims that NegShift has a preference for shifting "lighter" NIs over "heavier" ones (Christensen 2005, Penka 2011). This has the effect that speakers prefer shifting pronouns and small DPs over more complex DPs, see Section 5 for a more detailed discussion.

In addition to presenting facts about NegShift, I propose that its solution lies in Zeijlstra's (2011) account of the compositional nature of NIs with the addition of specific prosodic restrictions that exist for the *Mittelfeld*.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 explains the basic patterns of both OS and NegShift. Section 3 makes a detailed comparison between OS and NegShift in three different criteria: (i) Holmberg's Generalization, (ii) landing sites, and (iii) how OS and NegShift interact. These criteria demonstrate that OS and NegShift are not identical. Section 4 demonstrates how Zeijlstra's (2011) account holds for NegShift with the addition of the Light Mittelfeld Condition, discussed in Section 5, which stipulates that only objects of a certain prosodic size are allowed to occupy the *Mittelfeld*. Additional evidence for the Light Mittelfeld Condition is found in the size of material that is allowed to undergo particle shift in the different Scandinavian languages. Section 6 concludes this paper.

2   Distributional properties of NegShift versus OS

As mentioned above there are certain patterns that NegShift and OS share and differ in. Both OS and NegShift involve the movement of elements from their base position to a position that is to the left of the VP, as seen by the movement across negation/adverbials in the case of OS, (3a), and across the verb in the case of NegShift, (3b).

(3)   Distributional similarities between OS and NegShift in Swedish.

    a. Jag kyssade$_v$ henne$_o$ inte [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_o$]
       I   kiss.PST her   NEG
       'I didn't kiss her.'

    b. Jag har   ingen$_o$ [$_{VP}$ kyssat   t$_o$]
       I   have no-one   kiss.PST.PTCP
       'I haven't kissed anyone.'

Additionally, they are similar in that they both operate on pronouns, weak object pronouns for OS and NI pronouns for NegShift.

However, in terms of the differences between OS and NegShift, two main differences exist. First; NegShift applies to full negative DPs such as *inga böcker* 'no books' in addition to pronouns. Second; NegShift *is not* subject to Holmberg's Generalization but is instead subject to an "Anti-Holmberg Effect" where it can shift across phonological material, whereas OS is subject to Holmberg's Generalization.

Holmberg's Generalization states that "[OS] cannot apply across a phonologically visible category asymmetrically c-commanding the object position except adjuncts" (Holmberg 1999: p. 15). This means that OS can only occur if there is no phonological material, except adjuncts, between its base position and the position to which it shifts. In contrast to OS, NegShift only applies if the verb has not moved out of the VP or if there is nothing between the raised verb and the base position of the NI (Fox & Pesetsky 2005, Engels 2012).

(4) a. Verb in-situ NegShift

Ég hef *engan* [$_{VP}$ **séð** t$_o$].   Ic
I   have nobody   seen

'I haven't seen anybody.'

b. String vacuous NegShift

Jag **sa** *ingenting* [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_o$].   Sw
I   said   nothing

'I said nothing'

Evidence collected and reported in Engels (2011, 2012) shows that NegShift is in fact more complicated and subject to greater variability than was previously thought. Engels found that NegShift was permissible from a greater number of contexts and was more likely to occur depending on the variety and register that was being used, which is summarized in Table 1 taken from Engels (2012). In Table 1, ✓ indicates that NegShift occurs, * indicates that NegShift cannot occur, ? means that there was idiosyncratic variation between speakers.

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)

NegShift 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	✓	*	*	✓	*	*	*	*	*

Of crucial interest to our discussion are the rows showing the behavior of NegShift with respect to crossing a verb and crossing an indirect object. The reason these rows are of interest lies in how NegShift behaves to these syntactic objects when compared with OS. This comparison is carried out in the following section.

3   Comparison of NegShift and OS

We can compare certain patterns that NegShift has against patterns that OS has. In so doing we can determine whether they are governed by the same or different factors. If OS and NegShift are derived by the same trigger then we expect them to behave the similarly to one another. If they are not similar than this suggests that they are not derived by the same trigger.

There are three different metrics that we can use to determine the governing factors. These factors will examine: (i) how obedient to Holmberg's Generalization are NegShift and OS; (2) Where the loci of movement are; and (iii) how NegShift and OS interact with one another.

I show that these two phenomenon are in fact different with NegShift being governed and derived by syntactic factors and not prosodic as described for OS in Erteschik-Shir (2005), Erteschik-Shir & Josefsson (2017), Erteschik-Shir, Josefsson & Köhnlein (2020), and Brinkerhoff & Tengesdal (2021).

3.1   Homlberg's Generalization

The most defining characteristic for OS is its adherence to Holmberg's Generalization, which is defined formally in 5.

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

This generalization captures the fact that OS is only possible if the verb has evacuated the VP and there is no phonologically visible category present, except adverbials.

(6)   Examples of OS

   a. Peter så$_v$ **ham$_o$** ikke [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **t$_o$**]   (Across negation)
      Peter see.PST him   not
      'Peter didn't see him.'

   b. Peter så$_v$ **ham$_o$** ofte [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **t$_o$**]   (Across adverbials)
      Peter see.PST him   often
      'Peter often saw him.'

If, however, there is anything in the VP then OS is blocked and the object pronoun must remain in situ. Note that there is some variability when it comes to how OS interacts with verbal particles, which remain low. Verbal particles will be discussed in more detail in Section 5.2.

(7)   Blocking OS

a. Blocking by verb

Peter har ikke [$_{VP}$ sått ham].
Peter has not   seen him
'Peter didn't see him'

b. Blocking by object

Peter lånte$_v$ ikke [$_{VP}$ **Tore$_{io}$** t$_v$ **dem$_o$**]
Peter lend.PAST not   Tore   them
'Peter didn't lend them to Thor.'

As mentioned at the end of Section 2, NegShift seems to be the polar opposite of OS and generally requires the verb to have remained in situ, which is evidenced by the overwhelming acceptability of the NegShift when the verb remains in situ.

(8)   Examples of NegShfit with the verb in situ.

a. Ég hef *engan$_o$* [$_{VP}$ **séð** t$_o$.]   Ic
   I   have nobody   seen
   'I haven't seen anybody.'

b. Í dag hevur Petur *einki$_o$*   [$_{VP}$ **sagt** t$_o$].   Fa
   today has   Peter nothing   said
   'Peter hasn't said anything today.'

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

NegShift is also insensitive to any phonologically visible category, which results in NegShift occurring regardless of the amount of phonological material present in the VP. We see this with NegShift being acceptable when it crosses an indirect object.

(9)   NegShift across indirect objects.

a. Jón hefur *ekkert*   [$_{VP}$ **sagt Sveini** t$_o$].   Ic
   Jón has   nothing   said Sveinn
   'John hasn't told Sveinn anything'

b. Í dag hevur Petur *einki*   [$_{VP}$ **givið Mariu** t$_o$].   Fa
   today has   Peter nothing   given Mary
   'Today, Peter hasn't given Mary anything.'

c. Jeg har *ingen bøger* [$_{VP}$ **lånt børnene**   t$_o$].   WJ/Scan1
   I   have no   books   lent children-the
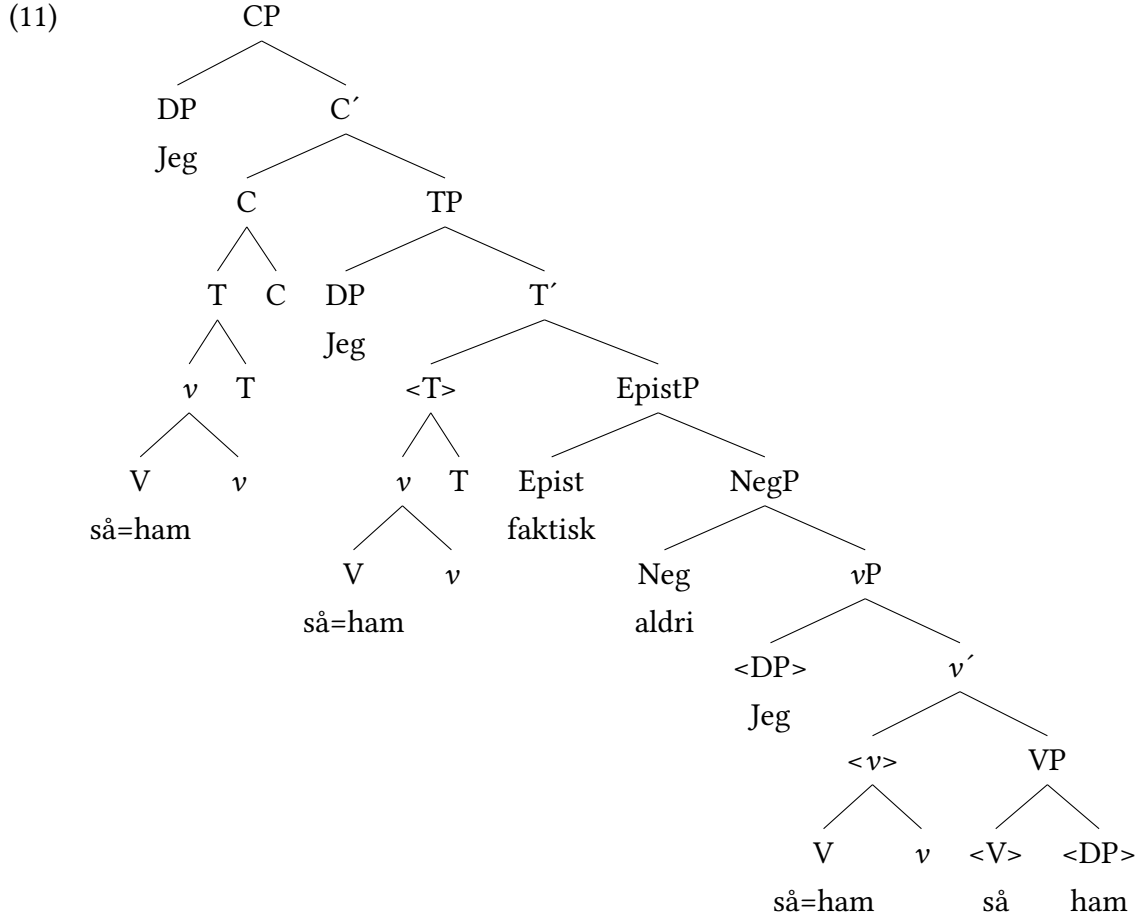   'I haven't lent the children any books.'

We see that NegShift does not obey Holmberg's Generalization, whereas OS does. In fact, NegShift's generalization seems to be the exact opposite of the Holmberg's Generalization. This behavior that NegShift exhibits in requiring verbs to remain in situ and being able to cross phonologically visible material has lead some authors to call this the *Anti-Holmberg Effect* (Fox & Pesetsky 2005, Engels 2012).

3.2 Landing sites

We further observe a difference between OS and NegShift as it relates to where the moved elements land. In terms of OS, it is always located to a position higher than all of the adverbials.

(10) Jeg lånte *ham*$_{IO}$ faktisk$_{Adv}$ aldri$_{Adv}$ [$_{VP}$ t$_{IO}$ bøgerne].
     I   lent him   actually never   books-the
     'I actually never lent him the books'

This movement always results in the verb and weak pronoun being adjacent, after linearization. This behavior lead Erteschik-Shir (2005) to claim that the phonologically weak pronouns incorporate into the verb prior to the verb movement to C, indicated by the dashed line in (11). This incorporation causes the weak object pronoun to appear in position higher than the adverbials, which reside in a hierarchy of functional heads between TP and *v*P (Cinque 1999).

(11)

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                                    CP
                        ┌───────────┴───────────┐
                       DP                        C´
                       Jeg            ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                                      C                     TP
                               ┌──────┴──────┐      ┌───────┴───────┐
                               T      C      DP            T´
                            ┌──┴──┐          Jeg    ┌───────┴───────┐
                            v     T              <T>              EpistP
                         ┌──┴──┐             ┌────┴────┐    ┌───────┴───────┐
                         V     v             v    T   Epist              NegP
                      så=ham             ┌───┴───┐    faktisk    ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                                         V       v             Neg                  vP
                                      så=ham                   aldri       ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                                                                         <DP>                 v´
                                                                         Jeg          ┌────────┴────────┐
                                                                                    <v>               VP
                                                                                ┌────┴────┐      ┌─────┴─────┐
                                                                                V         v    <V>         <DP>
                                                                             så=ham            så          ham
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More recent accounts (e.g., Erteschik-Shir, Josefsson & Köhnlein 2020, Brinkerhoff & Tengesdal 2021) assume that OS is entirely conditioned on phonological phrasing. Brinkerhoff & Tengesdal (2021) argue that OS is the result of pressures from Match-style prosodic constraint that prevent the pronoun from forming a phonological phrase with the adverb. This results in the pronoun leaving the adverb's phonological phrase and forming a phonological phrase with the subject and moved verb where it is then allowed to incorporate because of its status as a prosodically weak element.

(12)   Prosodic structure according to Brinkerhoff & Tengesdal (2021).
        ((jeg$_{\text{CL}}$=så$_\omega$=ham$_{\text{CL}}$)$_\phi$ (faktisk$_\omega$ aldri$_\omega$)$_\phi$)$_\iota$

However, this is not the position that is observed for negation and NegShift in these languages. Nilsen (1997) shows that negation resides in a position between 'high' adverbials (e.g., *faktisk* 'actually') and 'low' adverbials, such as *lenger* 'any longer' and *alltid* 'always'. In the following examples from Nilsen (1997) We see in (13) that negation has to be above certain 'low' adverbials.

(13)   Examples of the Neg above 'low' adverbials.

    a. Jon aksepterer *ikke* lenger$_{\text{ADV}}$ alltid$_{\text{ADV}}$ vår invitasjon.
       Jon accepts   NEG any.longer always   our invitation
       'Jon no longer always accepts our invitation'

    b. * Jon aksepterer *ikke*$_{\text{NEG}}$ alltid$_{\text{ADV}}$ lenger$_{\text{ADV}}$ vår invitasjon.

    c. * Jon aksepterer alltid$_{\text{ADV}}$ *ikke*$_{\text{NEG}}$ lenger$_{\text{ADV}}$ vår invitasjon.

In 14, we see that negation needs to be in a position lower than 'high' adverbials.

(14)   Examples of Neg below 'high' adverbials

    a. Per kommer ærlig talt heldigvis   *ikke* tilbake.
       Per comes   frankly   fortunately NEG back.
       'Frankly, Per is fortunately not comming back.'

    b. * Per kommer heldigvis *ikke* ærlig talt tilbake.

    c. * Per kommer heldigvis ærlig talt *ikke* tilbake.

    d. * Per kommer ærlig talt *ikke* heldigvis tilbake.

Finally, we see that negation needs to reside between the 'high' and 'low' adverbials.

(15)   Example of Neg between 'high' and 'low' adverbials
    Per går   klokelig vanligvis ikke lenger   hjem før   klokka 8.
    Per goes wisely   usually   not any.longer home before 8 o'clock

Based on these observations, Nilsen (1997) convincingly shows how negation interacts with other adverbs in Norwegian. He also shows how this is in line with the Cinquean hierarchy of adverbs (Cinque 1999), suggesting that this position is identical with NegP.

    Svenonius (2002) shows that is same positional restrictions for where the negative particle is located also exist for NegShifted objects. In (16), we see that when a NI object, in this instance the negative PP *på intet tidspunkt* 'at no point in time', is shifted it must occur higher than 'low' adverbs into NegP.

(16)   a. Fænsene har   *på intet tidspunkt tidlig* slått   av TV'en.
       the.fans have on no   time   early turned off the.TV
       'The fans have at no time turned the TV off early'

    b. * Fænsene har   *tidlig på intet tidspunkt* slått   av TV'en.
        the.fans have early on no   time   turned off the.TV

The evidence that NegShift occupies NegP comes from the fact that these shifted elements establish sentential negation. Svenonius (2002) shows that if the NI remains in situ then it only was narrow scope and does not establish sentential negation. We see this in the following sentences where the NI is only establishing the negation of the NP and not the negation of the whole sentence. We observe this with using the 'neither' tag in (17a)

(17) a. * De har gitt Norge ingen poeng, og det har heller ikke irene.
they have given Norway no points and that have either not Irish-the

(intended: 'They have given Norway no points, and neither have the Irish)

b. De har gitt Norge ingen poeng, og det har også esterne.
they have given Norway no points, and that have also Estonians-the

'They have given Norway no points, and so have the Estonians'

We have seen that the final positions that NegShift and OS occupy are located in different positions. When OS occurs it is always to a position higher than all adverbials (Holmberg 1986, 19 When NegShift occurs it is to a position that is between 'high' and 'low' adverbs, exactly in the position that is predicted for negation in Cinque's hierarchy of adverbs (Nilsen 1997, Svenonius 2002).

If NegShift and OS were governed by the same principles than it would stand to reason that they would both be moving to identical positions. We fail to observe NegShift and OS moving to identical locations. Instead what we observe is OS moving to a position higher than the adverbials and NegShift moving to a position that lies between the 'high' and 'low' adverbials, exactly to the position that negation takes, i.e. NegP. This difference between locations shows that OS and NegShift are not the same because the different positions that the moved elements take.

3.3 NegShift and OS interactions

This observation that OS is higher than the adverbials and NegShift is to NegP in the middle of the adverbs predicts that when we have both OS and NegShift than we should always have NegShift lower than OS. In fact this is exactly what we see.

Table 2: 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')

Christensen (2005) reports on this behavior between NegShift and sentential objects and summarizes his findings in Table 2. In this table No⁺/Sw⁺ represent some varieties of Norwegian and

Swedish in contrast to more standard Norwegian (No) and Swedish (Sw), FS represent the Swedish variety which is spoken by Swedes in Finland.

The sections on this table that are most interesting are those involving what Christensen calls Negative Quantifier Phrases (equivalent to NIs). However, this does conflate NI determiners and NI pronouns into a single category. 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, (18a), otherwise only the NegQP shifts, (18b).

(18)   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'

If, however, the IO is a NegQP and the DO is a pronoun then the pronoun is blocked from shifting, producing a freezing effect on OS.

(19)   Freezing effects on OS

       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)*

This is actually a very important point for the question of the prosodic nature of the shifting. If we assume that t   are moving to a position outside of the VP or are some sort of adjunct to VP then we would assume that OS should be allowed according to Holmberg's Generalization.[1] However, this is not the case if we follow the logic from Holmberg's Generalization. Holmberg's Generalization 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. Following Chomsky (1993, 1995) notion of the copy theory of movement than there is something in the same phrase which prevents it from shifting to a position

An additional case involving OS and NegShift is when both the indirect and direct objects are allowed to shift. Broekhuis (2020: 417f) observes 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). Broekhuis observes that when

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[1]See Thráinsson (2010) for discussion and debate about where negation is located in Scandinavian languages.

OS and NegShift are both allowed to occur they are subject to certain ordering restrictions. Citing examples from Christensen (2005: 163ff), Broekhuis shows the following pair of examples:

(20)   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.'

In (20a), 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 negative polarity item *nogen* 'any'.

(21)   Jeg har   *ikke* lånt hende *nogen* bøger.
       I   have not lent her   any   books.
       'I haven't lent her any books.'

However, when the main verb has risen to C as in (20b) 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. ditionally, this results in OS > NegShift which Broekhuis reports to be a universal. 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 two different movement operations' targets are.

3.4   Interim Summary

We have seen that each of the different criteria that I laid out at the start of this section clearly show that the behavior of NegShift and OS are not the same in spite of superficial similarities in behavior. The question now arises as to how exactly does NegShift get derived if not by the same mechanisms as OS. Starting in Section 4, I will lay out how exactly NegShift is derived. I show that Zeijlstra's (2011) account provides the clearest and simplest explanation of how NegShift is derived. I also show that Zeijlstra's (2011) account needs to be modified to take into account certain weight restrictions that NegShift exhibits.

4   Deriving NegShift

Iatridou & Sichel (2011) show that in NIs exhibit split-scope, which is evident when modals and other auxiliaries are present and the negation scopes higher than the modal/auxiliary's scope

where the indefinite resides. We can see this in the following example from Iatridou & Sichel (2011).

(22)   There has to be no doctor present for the nurses to administer the medicine.
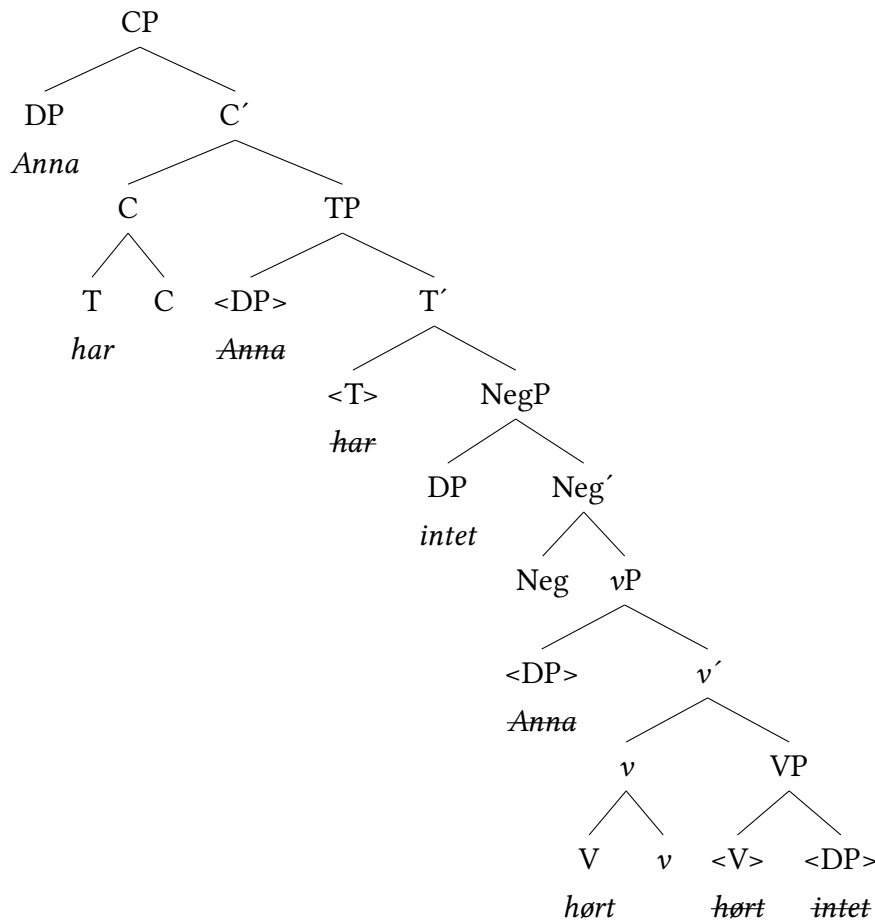   Neg-split: It isn't required that a doctor be present

In this example the negation is allowed to scope higher than the auxiliary *has to* while doctor resides within the scope of this auxiliary. This is what allows for the reading that it isn't necessary for a doctor to be present for nurses to administer medicine.

Zeijlstra (2011) takes these observations in English as well as this same behavior in Dutch and German provides an analysis of the split-scope interpretation that exists for negative indefinites in these languages. Zeijlstra assumes that this behavior is the result of the compositional status of negative indefinites. He claims that NIs are composed of a negative operator and an indefinite component and that the split-scope interpretation is the result of a copy-theory of movement (Chomsky 1993).

Following Chomsky movement is not a unique operation that literally moves one element to a position higher in the syntax. Instead, movement is the product of copying a constituent and then remerging it into the syntactic structure. This then results in two or more instances of the constituent, as seen in the syntactic structure for (23).

We see as we proceed along the derivation that the verb is first copied and then merged with v leaving behind a complete copy of itself in its base-generated position. This operation of copying and then remerging is then continued until we arrive at spell-out. According to Chomsky (1993), only the highest copy will be pronounced at PF, this is represented by the lower copies having a strike through them.

(23) Derivation of *Anna har intet hørt.*

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                        CP
                   ┌────┴────┐
                  DP         C´
                 Anna    ┌───┴────┐
                         C        TP
                      ┌──┴──┐  ┌──┴──┐
                      T    C  <DP>   T´
                     har     Anna ┌──┴────┐
                                 <T>    NegP
                                 har  ┌──┴───┐
                                     DP     Neg´
                                    intet ┌──┴──┐
                                         Neg   vP
                                           ┌────┴────┐
                                         <DP>       v´
                                         Anna   ┌────┴────┐
                                                v         VP
                                             ┌──┴──┐   ┌──┴──┐
                                             V    v  <V>  <DP>
                                            hørt     hørt  intet
```

If we assume that Zeijlstra (2011) is correct in that negative indefinites exist in their base-generated position and in this higher copy because of feature-checking and for interpretation at LF then we expect that the higher copy is the only one that is ever pronounced.

4.1 Alternative Account

An alternative to the theory presented above comes from Cyclic Linearization, which is a theory that was developed by Fox & Pesetsky (2005) as a way to account for OS and Holmberg's Generalization. This theory works by stipulating that spell-out of the morphosyntax is cyclic and order preserving, which means that as you spell-out each successive spell-out domain you need to ensure that whatever linearization existed when that domain was spelled-out persist at the next spell-out domain's ordering restrictions. This theory also had the benefit of accounting for when OS was allowed or not allowed to occur.

This proposal was extended by Fox & Pesetsky (2005) and Engels (2011, 2012) to account for quantifier movement (QM), of which NegShift is claimed to be a subset under their analyses. QM is subject to an "Anti-Holmberg Effect" or an "Inverse Holmberg Effect". As previously discussed

above Holmberg's Generalization stipulates that OS can only apply if the verb has undergone movement from V-to-T-to-C. The Anti-Holmberg Effect explains that only when the verb remains in situ can we have QM, which is the result of the ordering operations between the different phases being in agreement.

In order to account for OS, Fox & Pesetsky propose that the during the spell-out of the VP domain the V is the leftmost element in its domain[2] and at which point the ordering restrictions are in place which state that the V must precede the O. At this point the V moves to T and then to C which results in the object being free to move to its higher position because the order that existed at the VP domain continues to hold at the CP spell-out domain.

(24)   OS and string-vacuous Neg-Shift

    a. $[_{CP}$ S V ... $[_{NegP}$ O adv $[_{VP}$ t_v t_o $]]]$

    b.   VP Ordering: **V>O**
       CP Ordering: S>V, **V>O**, O>adv, adv>VP

In the case of NegShift, where it is able to shift across various phonological material, it is proposed that the NI first moves to the left edge of the VP before spell-out of that domain. Once that domain is spelled-out the NI is free to shift to its position outside of the VP, in the case of (26) this is to NegP.

(25)   NegShift when V is in-situ.

    a. $[_{CP}$ S aux ... $[_{NegP}$ O $[_{VP}$ t_o V t_o $]]]$

    b.   VP Ordering: **O>V**
       CP Ordering: S>V, aux>O, O>adv, adv>VP $\rightarrow$ **O>V**

This account does seem to account for the basic pattern of shifting. However, this account is ultimately unable to account for the split scope that exists. Under this account there is no copies that move but instead the whole item moves leaving only a trace. This trace does not bear any features or content. This theory predicts that we should only have interpretation in the higher position.

Another issue that arises is if we assume that we have copies instead of traces, in order to satisfy the split-scope behavior in NIs. This would then result in several incorrect ordering restrictions at each spell-out domain.

(26)   NegShift when V is in-situ.

    a. $[_{CP}$ S aux ... $[_{NegP}$ O $[_{VP}$ O_o V O_o $]]]$

---

[2]The position of the V at the left-edge of the phase could be due to the movement of V to *v* in which case it is actually the *v*P that acts as the spell-out domain not the VP.

b. VP Ordering: **O>V**, **V>O**

CP Ordering: S>V, aux>O, O>adv, adv>VP $\rightarrow$ **O>V**

We see that assuming we have copies produces multiple ordering restrictions for the V and NI object and the grammar is unable to determine which order is correct. ▢

4.2 Confound ▢

Danish allows for a pattern where only a negative indefinite of a certain size is allowed to shift.

(27) 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.'

These examples will be discussed further in Section 5. It is enough that they present a challenge for the analysis presented above. ▢

If we had, for example, the sentence *Anna har intet hørt i sagen om de stjålne malerier* 'Anna hasn't hear anything in the case about the stolen painting' and tried to derive this tree we would have no way to explain this behavior. Following Zeijlstra (2011) theory, we would assume that the DP containing the NI and its complement would be fully copied from its base-position and merged into NegP as in the tree in (28). This would result in two copies.

(28)

```
                    CP
         ┌──────────┴──────────┐
        DP                    C´
       Anna         ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                    C                     TP
                   har         ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                             <DP>                    T´
                                        ┌────────────┴────────────┐
                                        T                        NegP
                                                     ┌────────────┴────────────┐
                                                    DP                         vP
                                           ────────────────────    ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                                           intet i sagen om de    <DP>                   v´
                                           stjålne malerier              ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
                                                                        hørt                           VP
                                                                                          ┌────────────┴────────────┐
                                                                                        <V>                        DP
                                                                                                         ──────────────────────
                                                                                                         intet i sagen om de stjålne malerier
```
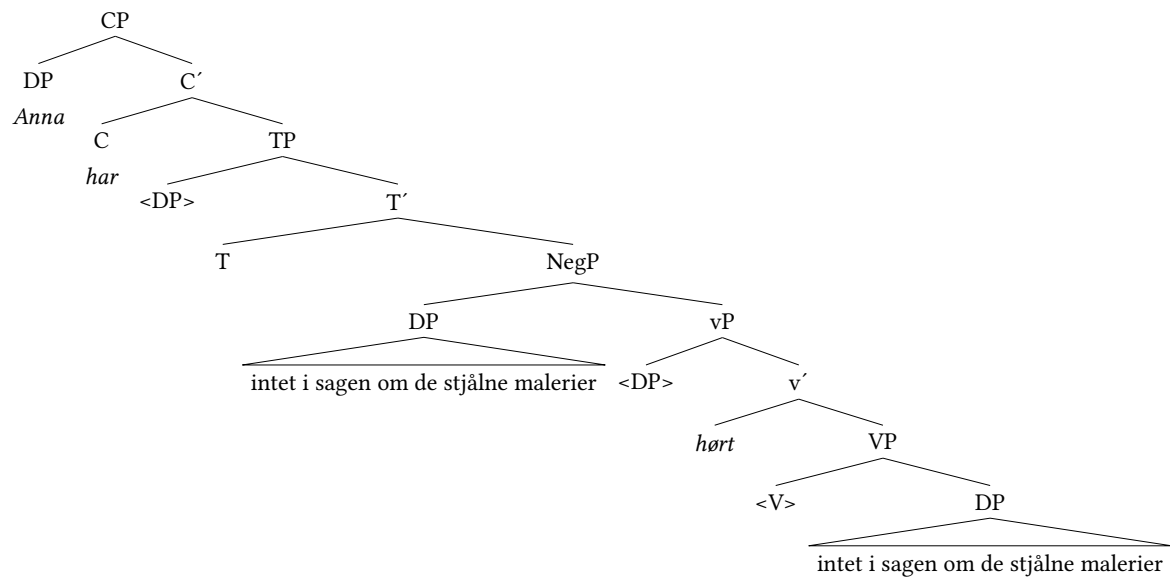
At this point during PF, part of the higher copy is deleted leaving only the NI pronoun. In the lower copy that same pronoun is deleted.

(29)

```
                    CP
         ┌──────────┴──────────┐
        DP                    C´
       Anna         ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                    C                     TP
                   har         ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                             <DP>                    T´
                                        ┌────────────┴────────────┐
                                        T                        NegP
                                                     ┌────────────┴────────────┐
                                                    DP                         vP
                                           ────────────────────    ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                                           intet ~~i sagen om de~~ <DP>                   v´
                                           ~~stjålne malerier~~           ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
                                                                         hørt                           VP
                                                                                          ┌────────────┴────────────┐
                                                                                        <V>                        DP
                                                                                                         ──────────────────────
                                                                                                         ~~intet~~ i sagen om de stjålne malerier
```
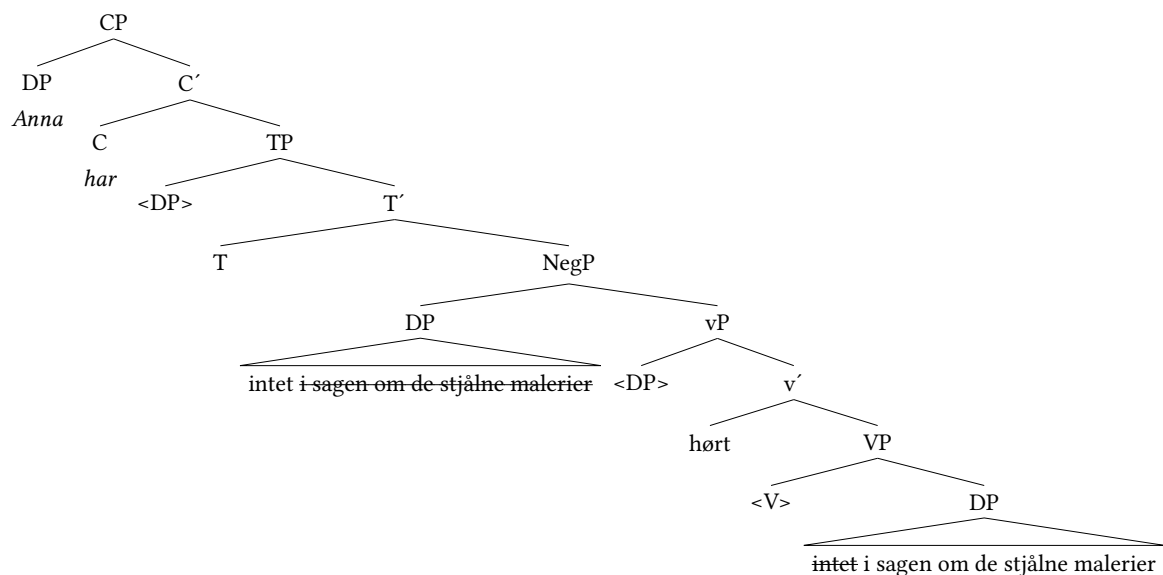
If Chomsky (1993) is correct and only the higher copy should be pronounced, then the question arises as to why only a part of the cop[ ]eleted. According to Fanselow & Ćavar (2001, 2002) the motivation for when partial deletion is possible has its motivations in PF o[ ] If this is prosodically motivated what drives this deletion?

5 Prosodic restrictions on NegShift

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

(30) 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.'

We observe in (30) that if the NI is either a pronoun (30a) or a simple DP (30b), consisting of just the NI determiner and noun, then Danish treats such constructions as grammatical. If, however, the NI is larger than a simple DP, as in (30c) and (30d), it suddenly becomes ungrammatical.

In those instances where the NI is too large there are two potential repair strategies. One option is to strand the PP which results in moving just the pronoun (31a) or using the negative particle *ikke* in NegP and an NPI in the lower position (31b).

(31) 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].

Restrictions on the weight of the NI has also been observed for Swedish (Penka 2011). In (32), which comes from Penka (2011), when a pronoun is moved it is fully grammatical. When we, however, move a simple DP it is still grammatical but is dispreferred or degraded, indicated by the question mark.

(32) 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.'

The question arises as to how exactly does the grammar account for these variations based on the NI's weight. The fact that the 'weight' of the NI somehow conditions the grammaticality of

the utterance suggests that prosody must be constraining the size of the moved material. I show, in the rest of this section, that this weight restriction is regulated by a constraint on the size of material that is allowed to occupy the *Mittelfeld* during PF.

5.1 PF deletion

Assuming that the copy theory of movement is correct then multiple copies of the NI will be present during PF spell-out (Chomsky 1993). Under the standard view of this theory only the highest copy is pronounced in its entirety and the lower copy is deleted. Kandybowicz (2008) makes the observation that multiple copies that are generated by the narrow syntax can be *phonologically* realized when pronouncing both copies results in avoiding an identifiable PF well-formedness condition. Similarly, I argue that PF can also dictate the amount of material that is deleted in those copies. PF being able to delete is not new and was argued for by Ott & Struckmeier (2016) to account for German clausal ellipsis.

If PF is responsible for deleting the material than the crucial question is how are the two copies coordinated. This is easily accounted for if we turn to phase boundaries. It is assumed under phase theory (Chomsky 2001, 2008) that material is spelled-out at certain stages of the derivation instead of waiting until the complete tree is ready to be spelled-out at PF. Additionally, it is assumed that once a phase is spelled-out that the material in those phases become unaccessible for further manipulation by the syntax in what is known as the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC).

Assuming that phases play a crucial role in accounting for the NegShift there are two potential answers that arise: (i) phases do not play a role in determining phonological/prosodic behavior during PF, or (ii) Phases do play a role in determining phonological/prosodic behavior during PF.

Recent evidence from Weber (2021) suggests that phases do in fact play a role in determining phonological behavior. Assuming Weber and the PIC are correct, then it bears to reason that in order for the phonology to interact with two copies at the same time, the base generated position and the landing site both must belong to the same phase. This requires that NegP and the rest of the Cinquean hierarchy of adverbials (Cinque 1999) belonging to the same phase as *v*P.

In the case of NegShift, there are restrictions on *Mittelfeld* well-formedness, which I will call the LIGHT MITTELFELD CONDITION (LMC). It was observed that only a limited amount of structure is allowed and a wide degree of variation is permitted in the *Mittelfeld* (see Haider 2017). I argue that the largest unit that is allowed to remain in the *Mittelfeld* in Scandinavian is a maximal prosodic word (ω_{max}).

Evidence for this comes from the size of the material that is allowed to "shift" in these languages. As observed for Danish only a pronoun or simple DP is allowed to occupy the *Mittelfeld*

when NegShift occurs.

(33)   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.'

This difference between Danish, which allows simple DPs, and Swedish which tolerates full DPs, but prefers pronouns, suggests the LMC in Swedish will delete copies until they are just the NI pronoun. This potentially comes down to Swedish being a tonal language and how tonal accents are assigned to maximal prosodic words (Myrberg & Riad 2013, 2015, Riad 2014) and Danish not being a tonal language.

LMC allowing for the deletion of the offending material will allow for the correct size of the material to be pronounced in the *Mittelfeld*. Once the LMC has done its work the standard notion of PF spell-out will preserve the portion of the shifted NI that remains in the high copy while deleting that portion in the lower copy. This works if the LMC operates left-to-right after linearization has taken place but prior to full pronunciation.

The LMC deleting different amounts of material in Danish and Swedish can also explain Norwegian's general lack of NegShift. The LMC would cause Norwegian to delete everything as it prefers not to have any moved copies in the *Mittelfeld*. This deleteion would then leave the valued [NEG] feature which gets pronounced as negation which then causes the lower copy to surface with a NPI. This behavior of total deletion is also attested in Danish and Swedish where negation and a NPI is always a potential instead of NegShift.

This results in a three-way system in Scandinavian languages: (i) those that delete until a simple DP is left, (ii) those that delete until a pronoun is left, and (iii) those that delete everything and have negation and an   . There seems to be some differences in behavior between the tonal and atonal Scandinavian languages. According to Thráinsson (2004, 2010) Faroese and Icelandic pattern the same as Danish in this regard. This further suggests that there is something unique about being a tonal language that limits the acceptability of NegShifting.

These facts about NegShift are summarized in Table 3. It will be noted that if you allow full

NI DPs than you also allow pronouns and complete deletion, which results in a negation particle and an NPI. If you allow NI pronouns then you allow a negation particle and an NPI. This is suggestive of a conditional hierarchy.

Table 3: Scandinavian acceptance of NegShift or NPI

	Full DPs	Pronouns	NPI
Icelandic	✓	✓	✓
Faroese	✓	✓	✓
Danish	✓	✓	✓
Swedish	*	✓	✓
Norwegian	*	*	✓

Another possibility instead of the LMC controlling the size of material is that prosody is responsible for moving the NI to NegP. One such system comes from Zubizarreta (1998). In Zubizarreta (1998), she argues that certain word order restrictions that exist comes down to prosodic restrictions that directly manipulate the syntax. In her system there are prosodic features that the syntax will manipulate in order to insure that the the syntactic object obey certain prosodic factors. This view assumes that there is no distinct PF and LF branches and all that exists is the syntax. This means that any displacement can be caused by syntactic, semantic, or prosodic factors.

One of the chief issues with this system, besides abandoning the Y-model, has to do with the phonologically/prosodically derived movement. The Zubizarreta system makes the prediction that any sort of later phonological restriction will directly operate on the narrow syntax in order to satisfy those restrictions. This means that such syntactic movements and operations should produce interpretational effects. This is not what we observe. It was noted by (Holmberg 1999) that OS, which he attributes to the presence of a [+/-Focus] feature must move during PF because of a lack changes in anaphor binding that happen with the shifted pronouns. Similarly, if the Zubizarreta system was correct than any phonological/prosodic derived movement should have semantic consequences on interpretation. One of the clearest pieces of evidence that NegShift is syntactic in origin comes from the split-scope that NIs exhibit (Iatridou & Sichel 2011, Zeijlstra 2011) discussed above. This is something that the Zubizarreta system cannot account for.

5.2   Scandinavian particle shift

If all the evidence we had for the LMC comes from the weight restrictions found in NegShift then it would be easy to dismiss such possibilities. However, independent evidence for weight restrictions on shifting full DPs into the *Mittelfeld* is observed in particle shifting in Scandinavian languages. Following Holmberg (1999: p. 2) and Faarlund (2019) there is a difference in behav-

ior between the different Scandinavian languages with what is allowed to shift across a verbal particle. Danish objects always precedes the verb particle. Norweigan, Icelandic, and Faroese are like English by shifting a pronoun across a particle and optionally for DPs. Swedish does not allow anything to shift across the particles (see Erteschik-Shir, Josefsson & Köhnlein 2020 for a potential explanation for why).

(34) Jeg skrev (nummeret/det) op   (*nummeret/*det). (Danish)
      Jeg skrev (nummeret/det) opp (nummeret/*det).   (Norwegian)
      Jag skrev (*numret/*det) upp (numret/det).   (Swedish)
      I   wrote (number-the/it) up   (number-the/it)
      'I wrote the number/it down.'

Additionally, Danish places restriction on the verbal compliment if it is too "heavy" (Müller & Ørsnes In preparation: 44f). If it is larger than a simple DP shifting is blocked.[3]

(35) […] så   må   partiet   melde [holdninger] [ud], […]
          then must party.DEF make stances   out
      '[…] then the party must make its stances clear, […]'

(36) Den danske regering   bør snart melde [ud], [at den støtter   de amerikanske
      the Danish government must soon make out   that it supports the American
      planer]
      plans
      'The Danish government must soon make clear that it supports the American plans.'

This is further evidence that the LMC is an active constraint in these languages. Prosody, in the form of the LIGHT MITTELFELD CONDITION, plays an active role in regulating the size of the material in the *Mittelfeld*

6   Conclusion

I have shown that NegShift is easily derived by assuming Zeijlstra's (2011) compositional nature of NIs. This system was able to account for the basic pattern when we had an NI pronoun or DP and account for the semantic effects of split-scope. This system was better able to account for the patterns than other theories such as Cyclic Linearization.

This system needed to be refined in order to account for the the fact that there are restrictions on the "weight" of the shifted element. This was accounted for by stipulating the existence of the LMC, which prevents objects larger than a prosodic word from occupying the *Mittelfeld*. Additional evidence for the LMC was observed in the behavior of particle shifting.

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[3]Examples are from *KorpusDK* as reported by Müller & Ørsnes (In preparation).

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