

Motivations for Scandinavian Negative Indefinite Shift

Mykel Loren Brinkerhoff

BIG QUESTIONS:

- What are the triggers for movement?
- In what ways can prosody interact with syntactic movement?
- Does prosody play a role in Negative Indefinite Shifting in Scandinavian languages?

ANSWERS:

- NegShift occurs as a result of feature valuation.
- Prosody controls and moderates the heaviness of moved copies.

1 Introduction

- (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).
- (3) This process bears some resemblance to Scandinavian Object Shift (OS), which is where a weak object pronoun shifts to a position outside of the verb phrase (Holmberg 1986, 1999).
 - a. Jag kyssade_v henne_o inte [_{VP} t_v t_o] Sw
 I kiss.PST her NEG
 ‘I didn’t kiss her.’
- (4) There has been some evidence that OS is prosodically driven (Erteschik-Shir 2005, Erteschik-Shir & Josefsson 2017, Erteschik-Shir, Josefsson & Köhnlein 2020, Brinkerhoff & Tengesdal 2021).

- (5) Despite similarities between NegShift and OS, NegShift doesn't directly correlate to the accounts of OS.
- A wider range of material is allowed with NegShift, which includes both pronouns and full DPs, whereas only prosodically weak pronouns are allowed with OS.
- (6) 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.
- Jeg har [*intet nyt*]_o hørt t_o.
I have nothing new heard
'I haven't heard anything new.'
 - *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.'

2 Distributional properties of NegShift versus OS

- (7) OS and NegShift appear on the surface to be similar to one another.
- (8) Both OS and NegShift operate on pronouns and moving them to a position outside of the VP.
- Jag kyssade_v henne_o inte [_{VP} t_v t_o]
I kiss.PST her NEG
'I didn't kiss her.'
 - Jag har ingen_o [_{VP} kyssat t_o]
I have no-one kiss.PST.PTCP
'I haven't kissed anyone.'
- (9) Unlike OS, NegShift also operates on full negative DPs.
- Jens har *ingen hunder* [_{VP} **sluppet** t_o ud]. Da
Jens have no hounds let out
'Jens haven't let out any dogs.'
 - 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.'
- (10) Additional evidence from Engels (2012) shows that NegShift is allowed out of a wider range of contexts than OS, which are summarized in Table 1.
- We see a strong preference for NegShifting across the verb and phonological material as crucially seen in the bolded and colored rows.

Table 1: Distribution of NegShift across different 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	✓	*	*	✓	*	*	*	*	*

3 Comparison of NegShift and OS

- (11) By comparing NegShift's patterns against OS's patterns, we can determine whether they are governed by the same or different factors.
- (12) There are three different metrics that we can use to determine the governing factors:
 - a. Obedience to Holmberg's Generalization.
 - b. Where the loci of movement are.
 - c. How NegShift and OS interact with one another.
- (13) If OS and NegShift are derived by the same trigger then we expect them to behave the same in each of the three metrics.
- (14) I show that this is not the case and claim that NegShift and OS are governed by different movement triggers.

3.1 Holmberg's Generalization

- (15) OS only occurs if the verb has moved to V2 and must obey Holmberg's Generalization.
 - a. Holmberg's Generalization:
Object Shift cannot apply across a phonologically visible category asymmetrically c-commanding the object position except adjuncts (Holmberg 1999: p. 15)
- (16) 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.’
- (17) NegShift does not obey Holmberg’s Generalization. In fact the verb has to remain in situ for it to occur.
- (18) Examples of NegShift 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 hefur 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’
- (19) Additionally, it occurs across any phonological material in the VP.
- a. Jón hefur ekkert [_{VP} sagt Sveini t_o]. Ic
 Jón has nothing said Sveinn
 ‘John hasn’t told Sveinn anything’
- b. Í dag hefur 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.’
- (20) This behavior is called the *Anti-Holmberg Effect* (Fox & Pesetsky 2005, Engels 2012)

CLAIM: NegShift does not obey Holmberg’s Generalization.

3.2 Landing site

- (21) OS is always moves to a position adjacent to the verb.
- a. 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’
- (22) This is not the same position that negation and NegShifted elements occupy.

- (23) NegShift occurs in a position that is between ‘high’ adverbials (e.g., *faktisk* ‘actually’) and ‘low’ adverbials like *lenger* ‘any longer’ and *alltid* ‘always’ (Nilsen 1997, Svenonius 2002).
- (24) Examples of the Neg above ‘low’ adverbials.
- Jon aksepterer *ikke* _{ADV} *lenger* _{ADV} *alltid* _{ADV} vår invitasjon.
Jon accepts NEG any.longer always our invitation
‘Jon no longer always accepts our invitation’
 - * Jon aksepterer *ikke* _{NEG} *alltid* _{ADV} *lenger* _{ADV} vår invitasjon.
 - * Jon aksepterer *alltid* _{ADV} *ikke* _{NEG} *lenger* _{ADV} vår invitasjon.
- (25) Examples of Neg below ‘high’ adverbials
- Per kommer ærlig talt heldigvis *ikke* tilbake.
Per comes frankly fortunately NEG back.
‘Frankly, Per is fortunately not coming back.’
 - * Per kommer heldigvis *ikke* ærlig talt tilbake.
 - * Per kommer heldigvis ærlig talt *ikke* tilbake.
 - * Per kommer ærlig talt *ikke* heldigvis tilbake.
- (26) Example of Neg between ‘high’ and ‘low’ adverbials
- Per går klokkelig _{ADV} vanligvis _{ADV} *ikke* _{NEG} *lenger* _{ADV} hjem før klokka 8.
Per goes wisely usually NEG any.longer home before 8 o’clock
- (27) Svenonius (2002) shows this same positional restrictions for where the negative particle is located also exist for NegShifted objects.
- 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’
 - * Fænsene har *tidlig på intet tidspunkt* slått av TV’en.
the.fans have early on no time turned off the.TV
- (28) Evidence that NegShift targets NegP comes from a combination of these positional facts and the fact that these shifted elements establish sentential negation.
- * 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’)
 - De har gitt Norge ingen poeng, og det har også irlene.
they have given Norway no points, and that have also Irish-the
‘They have given Norway no points, and so have the Irish’

CLAIM: OS and NegShift move to different locations.

3.3 Interaction of NegShift and OS

(29) When there are both weak object pronouns and NIs in the sentence they both shift to their respective landing sites.

- 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* faktisk *ingen* bøger.
 I lent her actually no books
 'I didn't actually lend her any books.'

CLAIM: OS and NegShift are not the same.

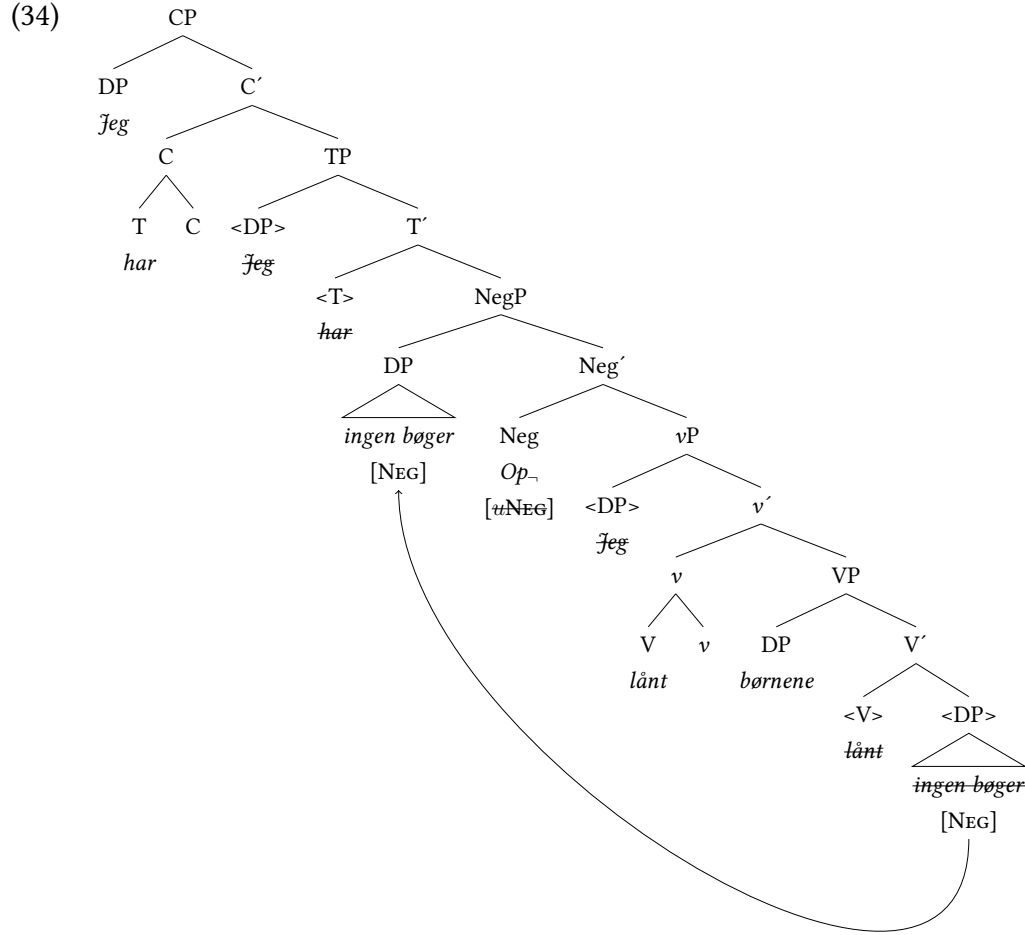
BIG CLAIM: OS and NegShift have different triggers for movement.

4 Deriving of NegShift

- (30) Following Zeijlstra 2011, I assume the NI moves to Spec,NegP following the copy theory of movement (Chomsky 1993) to value a [*u*NEG] feature.
- a. Copy theory of movement required for NIs having split-scope (Iatridou & Sichel 2011, Zeijlstra 2011).
 - b. Split-scope is evident when modals and other auxiliaries are present and the indefinite interpretation is in the lower copy while the negative operator is interpreted in the higher copy.
- (31) Split-scope is the result of the compositional nature of NIs.
- (32) NI composition according to Zeijlstra (2011).

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ Op_{\neg} \quad \exists \end{array} \right] \Leftrightarrow /ingen/$$

- (33) The Op_{\neg} needs to reside in NegP in order for sentential negation to occur.



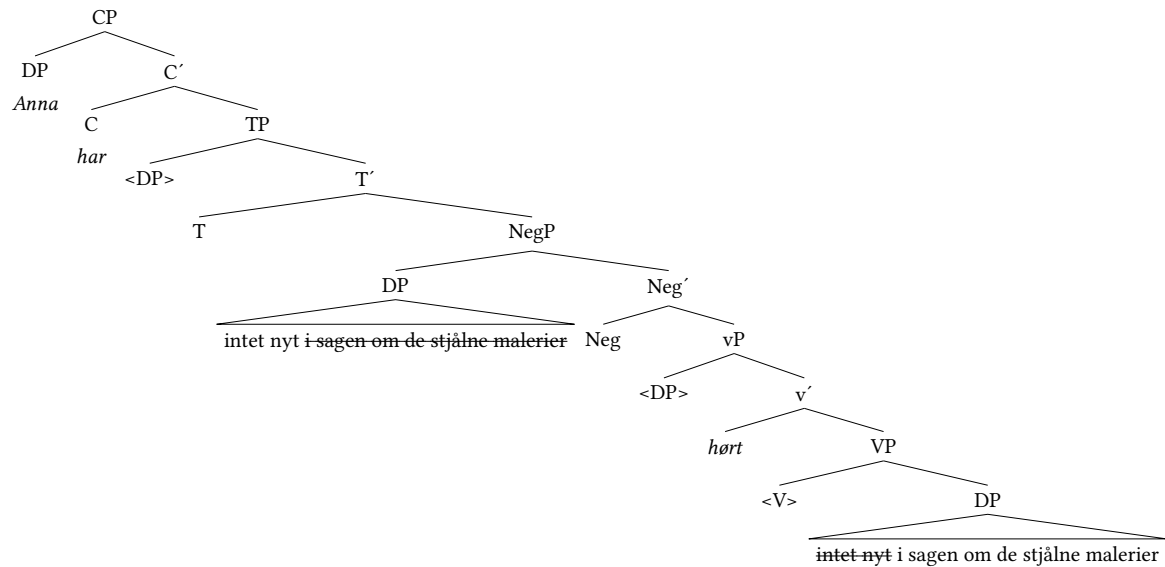
- (35) The derivation is then sent to PF where the higher copy is pronounced and the lower copy is deleted.
- (36) We see that following simple syntactic operations we derive the behavior of NegShifting.
- Simple feature valuing allows for the *Anti-Holmberg Effect*.
 - Also explains the difference in landing sites between NegShift and OS.
 - If OS is entirely prosodic in nature than this explains why it moves to different locations and interacts with NegShift in the way that it does.¹

5 Prosodic restrictions on NegShift

- (37) However, syntax does not appear to be the only factor determining NegShift.

¹See Brinkerhoff In preparation for a more detailed discussion on this.

- (38) Christensen (2005: 65f) claims that the “weight” of the NI plays a crucial factor in whether or not NegShift occurs.
- a. Jeg har *intet*_o hørt *t*_o.
I have nothing heard
‘I haven’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.’
- (39) 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].
- (40) 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.’
- (41) This suggests that during the derivation part of the higher copy is deleted leaving only the NI. In the lower copy the NI is deleted.



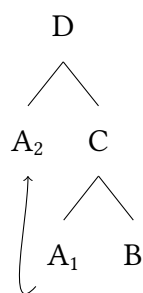
QUESTION: What decides which material is deleted?

5.1 Bleaman 2021

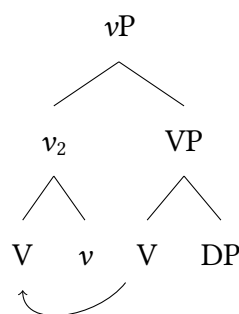
- (42) Bleaman (2021) is concerned with explaining predicate fronting with doubling (predicate cleft) in Yiddish.
- a. Predicate clefts are where a verb phrase is fronted and the verb is pronounced in two locations. The fronted position and C.
 - i. The higher copy always appears with non-finite morphology
 - ii. The lower copy appears with finite morphology
- (43) Verbs can be topicalized with their complements and when that happens the complement is only pronounced once.
- (44) The goal of this paper is to arrive at what the explicit conditions that need to exist in Spell-Out which account for these seemingly contradictory facts.
- a. Bleaman does this by showing that the facts fall out from Collins & Stabler (2016) spell-out formalizations with the addition of head movement
 - b. Adopting this view serves two purposes:
 - i. It shows why predicate clefts are problematic
 - ii. The adoption of this also shows how the predicates are altered
 - c. An update to the framework in Collins & Stabler (2016) is needed to prevent multiple copies of heads being spelled-out.

- (45) PF repairs need to be defined in such a way that they modify or override the predictions of default spell-out conditions as discussed in Chomsky (1995).
- (46) When topicalization the verb, the initial infinitive must immediately proceed the finite copy.
- a. red-n, red ikh mame-loshn
 speak.INF speak.1.PRES I mama-language
- (47) The alternative is to front the entire VP. In those case the verbal complement appears between the infinitive and the finite verb.
- a. red-n mame-loshn, red ikh
 speak.INF mama-language speak.1.PRES I
- (48) These facts show that the infinitival constituent is preverbal with respect to V2 and proves that movement is occurring.
- a. Island effects further support that movement has occurred.
- i. According to Davis & Prince (1986), the first copy can cross finite clause boundaries but not RCs and *wh*-islands
- ii. Further extraction from adjunct islands is unacceptable.
- iii. Also co-ordinate structures are unacceptable.
- (49) Complements, when fronted, never double.
- (50) According to Bleaman the notion of finality and non-finality are important for determining what ultimately gets spell-out.
- a. This comes from Collins & Stabler (2016) where it is only items that are considered final in the syntax are able to be pronounced.
- b. Finality and PF spell-out are defined as:
- i. $X \in X,Y$ is final in a syntactic object SO iff there is no Z contained in (or equal to) SO such that Z immediately contains X, and Z contains the set X,Y. Otherwise, X is nonfinal in SO.
- ii. If $SO = X,Y$ and X in SO is final in Phase but Y is not, $\text{TransferPF}(\text{Phase}, SO) = \text{TransferPF}(\text{Phase}, X)$.
- (51) Finality is determined based on structural positions and notions of containment
- a. Immediately containment is set membership where the syntactic object is a daughter of some node.
- b. Containment means that it is a daughter, granddaughter, etc. to some node.
- (52) An object is final iff it is not a daughter and granddaughter at the same time.
- (53) Using the following trees we can see concrete examples of finality

a. Tree 1



b. Tree 2



- (54) A_1 is an element of the set $\{A, B\} = C$ and raises to become a sister to C in (53a). A_1 is nonfinal within D because D immediately contains A and the set $\{A, B\}$.
- (55) A_2 is final because it is in the set $\{A, C\}$ and there is no object that contains both A_2 and the set $\{A, C\}$.
- (56) Head movement (53b) causes each successive head to become final because there is no object that immediately contains an occurrence of the moved V and also contains the set $\{V, DP\}$.
- (57) This requires Bleaman to redefine immediate containment to also include pair-merge. This results in the highest complex head becoming final and all others to become non-final.
- (58) Assumptions about how spell-out occurs need to be explicitly clear in any description of spell-out phenomenon.

5.2 PF deletion

- (59) Following the copy theory of movement Chomsky (1993), multiple copies of the NI will be present at PF spell-out.
- (60) A question arises as to whether or not phases have any bearing on the facts presented above.
- (61) There are two potential answers
 - a. Phases do not play a role in determining phonological/prosodic behavior.
 - b. Phases do play a role in determining phonological/prosodic behavior.
- (62) Recent evidence from Weber (2020) suggests that phases do in fact play a role in determining phonological behavior.
- (63) 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.

- a. This requires that NegP and the rest of the Cinquean hierarchy of adverbials (Cinque 1999) belong to the same phase as vP.
- (64) Kandybowicz (2008) makes the observation that multiple copies that are generated by the narrow syntax can be *phonologically* realized when there is a identifiable PF well-formedness condition is avoided.
 - a. Similarly, I argue that PF can also dictate the amount of material that is deleted in those copies.
 - b. PF being able to delete is not new and was argued for by Ott & Struckmeier (2016) to account for German clausal ellipsis.
- (65) In the case of NegShift, there are restrictions on *Mittelfeld* well-formedness, which I will call the LIGHT MITTELFELD CONDITION (LMC).
 - a. It has been observed that only a limited amount of structure is allowed and a wide degree of variation is permitted in the *Mittelfeld* (see Haider 2017).
 - b. I argue that the largest unit that is allowed to remain in the *Mittelfeld* in Scandinavian is a maximal prosodic word (ω_{\max}).
- (66) Evidence for this comes from the size of the material that is allowed to “shift” in these languages.
- (67) As observed for Danish only a pronoun or DP, consisting of just a D and NP, is allowed to occupy the *Mittelfeld* when NegShift occurs.
 - a. Jeg har *intet*_o hørt *t*_o.
I have nothing heard
'I haven'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.'
- (68) This difference between Danish, which allows full DPs, and Swedish which tolerates full DPs, but prefers pronouns, suggests the *Mittelfeld* in Swedish will delete copies until they are just the NI pronoun.
 - a. This potential comes down to Swedish being a tonal language and Danish not being a tonal language.
- (69) The LMC deleting different amounts of material in Danish and Swedish can also explain Norwegian's lack of NegShift.

- a. Norwegian deletes everything as it prefers not to have any copies in the *Mittelfeld*
 - b. This deletion would then leave the valued [NEG] feature which gets pronounced as negation which then causes the lower copy to surface with a NPI.
 - c. This behavior of total deletion is also attested in Danish and Swedish where negation and a NPI is always a potential instead of NegShift.
- (70) This results in a three-way system in Scandinavian languages.
- a. Those that delete until a full DP is left.
 - b. Those that delete until a pronoun is left.
 - c. Those that undergo LF movement
 - d. There seems to be some differences in behavior between the tonal and atonal Scandinavian languages.
 - i. According to Thráinsson (2004, 2010) Faroese and Icelandic pattern the same as Danish in this regard.
 - ii. This further suggests that there is something unique about being a tonal language that limits the acceptability of NegShifting.
 - e. This is summarized in Table 2.
 - i. It will be noted that if you allow full NI DPs then you also allow pronouns and complete deletion, which results in a negation particle and an NPI.
 - ii. If you allow NI pronouns then you allow a negation particle and an NPI

Table 2: Scandinavian acceptance of NegShift or NPI

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

5.3 Particle Shifting in Scandinavian

- a. Independent evidence for shifting full DPs into the *Mittelfeld* is observed in particle shifting in Scandinavian languages.
- b. Following Holmberg (1999: p. 2) and Faarlund (2019) there is a difference in behavior between the different Scandinavian languages with what is allowed to shift across a verbal particle.

- i. Danish objects, regardless of size, always precedes the verb particle.
- ii. Norwegian, Icelandic, and Faroese are like English by shifting a pronoun across a particle and optionally for DPs.
- iii. Swedish does not allow anything to shift across the particles.
- c. Jeg skrev (nummeret/det) op (*nummeret/*det). Da
 Jeg skrev (nummeret/det) opp (nummeret/*det). No
 Jag skrev (*numret/*det) upp (numret/det). Sw
 I wrote (the-number/it) up (the-number/it)
 ‘I wrote the number/it down.’
- d. Additionally, Danish places restriction on the verbal complement if it is too “heavy” (Müller & Ørsnes In preparation: 44f).
 - i. If it is larger than a simple DP shifting is blocked.²
 - ii. [...] så må partiet melde [holdninger] [ud], [...]
 then must party.DEF make stances out
 ‘[...] then the party must make its stances clear, [...]’
 - iii. Den danske regering bør snart melde [ud], [at den støtter de
 the Danish government must soon make out that it supports the
 amerikanske planer]
 American plans
 ‘The Danish government must soon make clear that it supports the American plans.’
- e. This is further evidence that the LMC is an active constraint in these languages.
- f. One explanation for this behavior is the difference in tonal quality between Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish (Erteschik-Shir, Josefsson & Köhnlein 2020).

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

NegShift is derived by both syntactic and prosodic factors. It is syntactic in movement and prosody is responsible for restricting and regulating the amount of material that is allowed the surface in the higher copy.

²Examples are from *KorpusDK* as reported by Müller & Ørsnes (In preparation).

References

- Bleaman, Isaac L. 2021. Predicate fronting in Yiddish and conditions on multiple copy Spell-Out. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-021-09512-3>.
- Brinkerhoff, Mykel Loren. In preparation. Holmberg's Generalization at the syntax-prosody interface. Manuscript. University of California, Santa Cruz.
- Brinkerhoff, Mykel Loren & Eirik Tengesdal. 2021. MATCHING Phrases in Norwegian Object Shift. *Supplemental Proceedings of the 2020 Annual Meetings on Phonology* 9.
<https://doi.org/10.3765/amp.v9i0.4921>.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1993. A minimalist program for linguistic theory. In Kenneth Hale & Samuel Jay Keyser (eds.), *The view from Building 20: Essays in linguistics in honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, 1–52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The minimalist program*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Christensen, Ken Ramshøj. 2005. *Interfaces: Negation - Syntax - Brain*. Aarhus: University of Aarhus Ph.D. dissertation.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective* (Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax). New York: Oxford University Press. 275 pp.
- Collins, Chris & Edward Stabler. 2016. A Formalization of Minimalist Syntax. *Syntax* 19(1). 43–78. <https://doi.org/10.1111/synt.12117>.
- Engels, Eva. 2012. Scandinavian Negative Indefinites and Cyclic Linearization. *Syntax* 15(2). 109–141. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9612.2011.00161.x>.
- Erteschik-Shir, Nomi. 2005. Sound Patterns of Syntax: Object Shift. *Theoretical Linguistics* 31(1-2). 47–93. <https://doi.org/10.1515/thli.2005.31.1-2.47>.
- Erteschik-Shir, Nomi & Gunlög Josefsson. 2017. Scandinavian Object Shift Is Phonology. In Laura R. Bailey & Michelle Sheehan (eds.), *Order and structure in syntax I: Word order and syntactic structure* (Open Generative Syntax 1), 99–115. Berlin: Language Science Press. <https://doi.org/10.5281/ZENODO.1117700>.
- Erteschik-Shir, Nomi, Gunlög Josefsson & Björn Köhnlein. 2020. Variation in Mainland Scandinavian Object Shift: A Prosodic Analysis. *Linguistic Inquiry*. 1–36.
https://doi.org/10.1162/ling_a_00393.
- Faarlund, Jan Terje. 2019. *The syntax of mainland Scandinavian*. First edition (Oxford Linguistics). Oxford ; New York, NY: Oxford University Press. 330 pp.
- Fox, Danny & David Pesetsky. 2005. Cyclic Linearization of Syntactic Structure. *Theoretical Linguistics* 31(1-2). 1–45.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/thli.2005.31.1-2.1>.

- Haider, Hubert. 2017. *Mittelfeld* Phenomena: Scrambling in Germanic. In Martin Everaert & Henk C. van Riemsdijk (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax, Second Edition*, 1–73. Hoboken, NJ, USA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118358733.wbsyncom048>.
- Holmberg, Anders. 1986. *Word order and syntactic features in the Scandinavian languages and English*. Stockholm, Sweden: University of Stockholm Doctoral dissertation.
- Holmberg, Anders. 1999. Remarks on Holmberg’s Generalization. *Studia Linguistica* 53(1). 1–39. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9582.00038>.
- Iatridou, Sabine & Ivy Sichel. 2011. Negative DPs, A-Movement, and Scope Diminishment. *Linguistic Inquiry* 42(4). 595–629. https://doi.org/10.1162/LING_a_00062.
- Kandybowicz, Jason. 2008. *The Grammar of Repetition: Nupe grammar at the syntax–phonology interface*. Vol. 136 (Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/la.136>.
- Müller, Stefan & Bjarne Ørsnes. In preparation. *Danish in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Nilsen, Øystein. 1997. Adverbs and A-shift. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 59. 1–31.
- Ott, Dennis & Volker Struckmeier. 2016. Deletion in Clausal Ellipsis: Remnants in the Middle Field. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 22(1). 225–234.
- Penka, Doris. 2011. *Negative indefinites* (Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics no. 32). Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press. 264 pp.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199567263.001.0001>.
- Svenonius, Peter. 2002. Strains of negation in Norwegian. *Working papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 69. 121–146.
- Thráinsson, Höskuldur (ed.). 2004. *Faroese: an overview and reference grammar*. Tórshavn: Føroya fróðskaparfelag. 501 pp.
- Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 2010. *The syntax of Icelandic*. 1. paperback ed (Cambridge syntax guides). Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press. 563 pp.
- Weber, Natalie. 2020. Phase-based constraints within Match Theory.
- Zeijlstra, Hedde. 2011. On the syntactically complex status of negative indefinites. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 14(2). 111–138.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10828-011-9043-2>.