

290 Entrance paper

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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 Scandinavian Object Shift (OS), which causes a weak pronoun to also 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 2019, Brinkerhoff & Tengedal 2020 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, Sichel & Toosarvandani 2020, and 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 §2. However, even though there are differences the one thing that could unite them is their 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 §4 for a more detailed discussion.

The problem that I am focusing on for my qualifying paper is whether or not there is a prosodic motivation for NegShift in the Scandinavian languages given this claim made by Christensen (2005) and Penka (2011).

The rest of this paper will discuss the properties of NegShift and OS and how I plan on solving the problem related to whether or not there is prosodic motivation for NegShift.

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, (2), and across the verb in the case of NegShift, (3b).

(3) Distributional similarities between OS and NegShift.

- 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. There is, however, a restriction on the size of the moved NI (Christensen 2005, Penka 2011). 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’

However, evidence collected and reported by Engels (2011, 2012) shows that this 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	✓	*	*	✓	*	*	*	*	*

3 Interaction of NegShift and OS

One of the most interesting aspects from Table 1 is the sharp contrast as to whether or not NegShift can happen with an indirect object. From the table we see that all varieties, except Scandinavian 2 which is equivalent to Norwegian and some colloquial varieties, allow shifting across an indirect object if the verb remains in situ. If the verb has moved for V2 then there are no varieties that allow shifting across the indirect object.

Christensen (2005) reports on this behavior between NegShift and indirect objects and summarizes his findings in Table 2. 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 2: Summary of OS and NegShift according 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’)

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 shift to C, (a), otherwise only the NegQP shifts, (b).

- (5) 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, produces a freezing effect on OS.

- (6) Jeg lånte faktisk *ingen*(IO) *den*(DO)
 I lent actually no-one it
 ‘I actually lent it to no-one.’
 (7) *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 these 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.

- (8) Broekhuis 2020 explores the possibility that object shift and object scrambling are the same phenomenon and concludes that this is in fact the case.
 (9) 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 vP if there is no intervening phonological material (i.e., Holmberg’s Generalization Holmberg 1986, 1999).
 (10) Broekhuis does have some interesting discussion about the interaction of NegShift and pronominal OS.
 (11) 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* faktisk *ingen bøger*.
 I lent her actually no books
 ‘I didn’t actually lend her any books.’

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

- (12) In (11a), we see that when we have a negative object that it shifts to a position higher than the νP 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.’
- (13) However, when the main verb has raised to C^0 as in (11b) 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.
- (14) 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 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 factor in whether or not NegShift occurs.

- (15) 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.’

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.

- (16) Jeg har *intet*_i hørt *t*_i [_{PP} i sagen om de stjålne malerier].
- (17) Jeg har ikke hørt [*noget* i sagen om de stjålne malerier].

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

- (18) Men mänskligheten har *ingenting*_o lärt sig *t*_o.
 but mankind-the have nothing taught themselves
 ‘But mankind haven’t taught themselves anything.’

- (19) ? Vi hade *inga grottor*_o undersökt t_o.
 we have no caves explored
 ‘We haven’t explored any caves.’

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 OS.

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*).

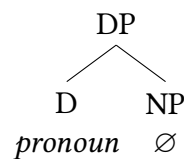
5 Scandinavian pronouns

- (20) 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.²

- a. DP with no complement

DP
pronoun

- b. DP with null NP complement



- (21) 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.’

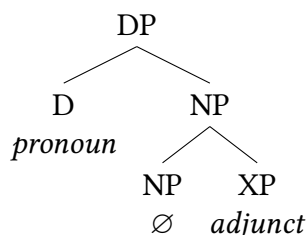
- b. The second is the negative indefinite pronoun which does not take a nominal pivot and stands independent or with an adjunct, similar to English’s *no-one* or *none*.

- 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.’

²This second option could also assume that the pronoun originated in NP and moved to D prior to spell-out of the DP phase.

- (22) Evidence for one structure over the other comes from whether or not modification of the pronoun is allowed.
- Modification is taken to be additional material that changes what the set of things the NI refers too.
 - This is predominately done with PPs, relative clauses, or infinitival clauses (when the NI is an object of an existential clause).
- (23) 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.
- (24) Data will be drawn from across all of the Scandinavian languages because of the close similarity between the mainland Scandinavian languages syntactically.
- (25) 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).
- PPs
 - Det er *intet* [PP i vej-an].
It is nothing in way-DET
'There is nothing wrong'
 - Jeg kender *ingen* [PP her i byen].
I know no-one here in town
'I know no one in this town.'
 - CPs
 - Der er *ingen*, [CP der har set ham].
there is no-one, who has seen him
'Nobody has seen him'
 - Der er *intet* [CP at være bange for].
There is nothing to be afraid of
'There is nothing to be afraid of'
- (26) This same behavior is also observed in Swedish (Holmes & Hinchliffe 2013: 197ff).
- PPs
 - Han äger *inget* [PP av värde].
He owns nothing of value
'He owns nothing of value.'
 - CPs
 - Jag såg *ingen* [CP jag kände igen].
I saw no-one I recognize
'I saw no one that I recognize.'
 - Jag har *ingenting* [CP att säga].
I have nothing to say
'I have nothing to say.'

- (27) Example (26a-i) shows the use of *inget* instead of *ingenting* which according to Holmes & Hinchliffe (2013) are in free variation.
- (28) 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 the correct analysis for pronominals in Swedish.
- (29) Another reason that we can assume that (20b), repeated below with a adjunct, is the correct structure, is that if we assume that (20a) is the structure for pronouns then we are left wondering how exactly these pronominal modifiers attach to our structure.
- a.



6 Valentine Bordal 2017

- (30) Valentine Bordal (2017) is a corpus study of *Språkbanken*³ looking at how existential predicates are negated in Swedish.
- (31) 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.'
- (32) 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.⁴
- 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.'
- (33) According to her results, NIs were the most frequent method for negating existential predicates.

³<https://spraakbanken.gu.se/en>

⁴I 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 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%

- (34) 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.

Table 4: Frequency of NI property

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

- (35) 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.

7 Zeijlstra 2011

- (36) Zeijlstra 2011 is interested in showing providing an analysis of the split-scope interpretation that exists for negative indefinites in Germanic languages.
- (37) 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.
- (38) 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.
- (39) 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.

8 Cyclic Linearization

- (40) Cyclic Linearization is a theory that was developed by Fox & Pesetsky 2005 as a way to account for OS and Holmberg's Generalization.

- (41) This theory works by stipulating that spell-out of the morpho-syntax is cyclic and order preserving, which means that as you spell-out each successive phase you need to ensure that whatever orders existed when that phase was spelled-out persist at the next phase's ordering restrictions. This theory also had the benefit of accounting for when OS was allowed or not allowed to occur.
- (42) This proposal was extended by Fox & Pesetsky (2005) and Engels (2011, 2012) to account for quantifier movement (QM), which NegShift is a subset of.
- (43) Under this proposal QM is subject to an "Anti-Holmberg Effect" or an "Inverse Holmberg Effect", which are identical in principle
- Under Holmberg's Generalization, 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.
- (44) In order to account for OS, Fox & Pesetsky propose that the during the spell-out of the VP phase the V is the leftmost element in its phase⁵ and at which point the ordering restrictions are in place which state that the V must precede the O.
- (45) At this point the V moves to T and then to C at this point the object is free to move to a position higher because the order that existed at the VP phase continues to hold.
- (46) OS and string-vacuous Neg-Shift
- $[_{CP} S V \dots [_{NegP} O \text{ adv } [_{VP} t_v t_o]]]$
 - VP Ordering: $V > O$
CP Ordering: $S > V, V > O, O > \text{adv}, \text{adv} > VP$
- (47) If the DO were to move instead of the IO this would now result in the DO being ordered before the IO at the spell-out at the CP phase. By moving the DO, we now introduce a mismatch between the ordering restrictions at the VP phase and the CP phase explaining why such utterances are ungrammatical.
- (48) 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 phase.
- $[_{CP} S \text{ aux } \dots [_{NegP} O \text{ } [_{VP} t_o V t_o]]]$
 - VP Ordering: $O > V$
CP Ordering: $S > V, \text{aux} > O, O > \text{adv}, \text{adv} > VP \rightarrow O > V$
- (49) The benefit of using Cyclic Linearization comes from being able to account for why certain orders are fixed throughout the entire derivation.

9 Next steps

- Write my entrance paper for 290.

⁵The 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 vP that acts as the phase not the VP.

- QP committee?
- 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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