

Object shift in the Scandinavian languages : syntax, information structure, and intonation

Hosono, M.

Citation

Hosono, M. (2013, June 19). *Object shift in the Scandinavian languages : syntax, information structure, and intonation. LOT dissertation series.* LOT, Utrecht. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/20984

Version: Corrected Publisher's Version

License: License agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the

Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden

Downloaded from: https://hdl.handle.net/1887/20984

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/20984 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Hosono, Mayumi

Title: Object shift in the Scandinavian languages: syntax, information structure, and

intonation

Issue Date: 2013-06-19

OBJECT SHIFT IN THE SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES:

SYNTAX, INFORMATION STRUCTURE, AND INTONATION

Published by LOT Trans 10 3512 JK Utrecht The Netherlands

phone: +31 30 253 6006

e-mail: lot@uu.nl http://www.lotschool.nl

Cover illustration: Odin and Sága drinking wine at the end of the day. Illustration by Danish painter Lorenz Frølich (1820-1908) first published in Karl Gjellerup (1895). *Den ældre Eddas Gudesange*, p. 65.

ISBN: 978-94-6093-114-7

NUR 616

Copyright © 2013: Mayumi Hosono. All rights reserved.

OBJECT SHIFT IN THE SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES:

SYNTAX, INFORMATION STRUCTURE, AND INTONATION

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden, op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker, volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties te verdedigen op woensdag 19 juni 2013 klokke 16.15 uur

door

MAYUMI HOSONO

geboren te Tokyo, Japan in 1975

Promotiecommissie

Promotores: Prof. dr. Vincent J. van Heuven

Prof. dr. Anders Holmberg (Newcastle University)

Prof. dr. Johan E.C.V. Rooryck

Overige leden: Prof. dr. Roberta d'Alessandro

Prof. dr. Jörg Peters (Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg)

Contents

Acknowledgments			
1. Introduction	1		
2. Background	7		
2.1. Scandinavian Object Shift and related issues	7		
2.2. Syntax and semantics of Scandinavian Object Shift	18		
2.3. Purely syntactic accounts of Scandinavian Object Shift	26		
2.4. Purely phonological accounts of Scandinavian Object Shift	33		
2.5. Overall summary and introduction to the experimental approach	37		
3. Intonational Properties of Scandinavian Object Shift	41		
3.1. Experiment	41		
3.1.1. Introduction	41		
3.1.2. Downstep	45		
3.2. Mainland Scandinavian	47		
3.2.1. The Swedish intonational system	47		
3.2.1.1. Object Shift in Swedish two-peaked varieties			
(East and West)	48		
3.2.1.2. Object Shift in Swedish one-peaked varieties			
(South, North and Finland Swedish)	61		
3.2.1.3. Absence of Object Shift			
(Dalecarlian and Övdalian)	71		
3.2.1.4. Summary	84		
3.2.2. The Norwegian intonational system	85		
3.2.2.1. Object Shift in Norwegian low-tone dialects (East)	86		
3.2.2.2. Object Shift in Norwegian high-tone dialects (West)	94		
3.2.2.3. Summary	101		
3.2.3. The Danish intonational system	102		
3.2.3.1. Object Shift in Danish stød dialects (East)	103		
3.2.3.2. Object Shift in Danish non-stød dialects (South)	109		
3.2.3.3. Summary	115		
3.2.4. Summary of Mainland Scandinavian Object Shift	116		
3.3. Insular Scandinavian	117		
3.3.1. Icelandic	117		
3.3.1.1. The Icelandic intonational system	117		
3.3.1.2. Icelandic Object Shift	119		
3.3.1.3. Summary	125		
3.3.2. Faroese	125		

vi MAYUMI HOSONO: OBJECT SHIFT IN THE SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES

3.3.2.1. The Faroese intonational system 3.3.2.2. Faroese Object Shift					
3.3.2.3. Summary	132				
3.3.3. Summary of Insular Scandinavian Object Shift					
3.4. Overall summary					
4. Statistical Data	135				
5. Theoretical Account5.1. A new hypothesis and generalization on Scandinavian Object Shift5.2. Interaction between syntax, information structure and intonation5.3. In which grammatical component does Object Shift occur?	147 147 158 167				
6. Conclusion	173				
References	177				
Summary	187				
Samenvatting	191				
Appendix I: Test Sentence Materials	195				
Appendix II: Native Judgment Data	201				
Appendix III: Downstep Data	203				
Curriculum vitae	209				

Acknowledgments

This work is dedicated to the memory of two linguists, Gösta Bruce and Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson. The first time when I visited Lund University, Gösta showed much interest in this work. He took a lot of time to discuss collected data with me. This work was given shape thanks to his support for me during my stay there. Gunnar Hrafn participated in recordings and also checked my Icelandic. He gave me the most helpful advice on the test sentences, which significantly improved the entire experiment. Without their help and support, this dissertation would not have existed.

I owe this thesis to many people. First and foremost, the entire work could only be organized the way it is now thanks to Johan Rooryck and Vincent van Heuven. Johan acted as my main supervisor. In our discussions, he considered my arguments quite objectively, from any possible angle. He always explained his ideas to me patiently, so that I can understand well. It was a rewarding experience to work with Vincent, my second supervisor. He showed me how to analyze large quantities of acoustic and perceptual data. The collaboration with him was always fun. Johan and Vincent both taught me how to work in a professional way.

My deepest gratitude goes to Anders Holmberg. It is more than ten years ago that I first met him. I was his PhD student in Durham University, UK, but unable to complete my PhD there because of my financial difficulties. Even after I lost my affiliation, however, he continued to advise and encourage me. He never ignored my messages even once, and invariably replied to me. Anders has always taken what I say very seriously, thought about my problem together, and given me the best advice and solution. He is the only mentor in my life. I can now complete this thesis thanks to the advice and help that he has given me as one of the promoters. I do not know how I can express my thanks to him.

I also would like to thank Roberta d'Alessandro, Johanneke Caspers, Jenny Doetjes, Gjert Kristofferson, Anikó Lipták, Marc van Oostendorp, and Jörg Peters for their willingness to act as members of the defense committee for my thesis...

Many thanks go to Christer Platzack and Elisabet Engdahl. Reading my very short proposal, Christer accepted me as a guest researcher in Lund University and offered me an excellent research environment for three months, which enabled me to collect data, write papers and present the results of my research. Elisabet was the first who appreciated this work as significant. At that time, I was not sure if this work went in the right direction to shed light on this

long-standing controversial issue in generative syntax. I was very much encouraged by her words. I really appreciate their kindness and support for me since then.

Many people who are associated with Lund University have given me a lot of help since my first visit there. Halldór Sigurðsson took time to discuss many issues with me. I gained much from our discussions. He always welcomes me with a great smile whenever I visit Lund! Merle Horne gave me many important comments. They were all helpful and enabled me to improve this work. I owe it to Piotr Garbacz and Henrik Rosenkvist that I could collect data from Övdalian speakers. Before I went to Älvdalen, they gave me a lot of information on that area. I am also indebted to Valéria Molnár, Gilbert Ambrazaitis, Gunlög Josefsson, Marit Julien, David Petersson, Mikael Roll, and Anna-Lena Wiklund for their comments on this work and their participation in recordings.

I made several trips to the Scandinavian countries to collect data. In Stockholm, Tomas Riad took time, almost all day, to discuss my thesis. He gave me a lot of helpful advice. In Umeå, Eva Strangert taught me the crucial point on the Swedish intonational system that I could not understand well at that time. She is my teacher of Swedish phonetics! They both also helped me collect data from Scandinavian native speakers.

I owe the successful data collection from various Scandinavian varieties to many people. For Norwegian, Wim van Dommelen carried out recordings in Trondheim. Nanna Hilton found native speakers for me. Helge Lødrup participated in recordings and also gave me very important comments. I definitely owe the data collection from Danish to Nicolai Pharao, who carried out recordings in Copenhagen. He also gave me much useful advice on the experiment in general. Tomas Madsen also conducted recordings in Odense. I am grateful to three people for the successful data collection from Faroese. Jógvan í Lon Jacobsen checked my Faroese version of the test sentences. Zakaris Hansen gave a very important comment on verb movement in embedded clauses, which significantly contributed to improving the test material. Tóta Árnadóttir carried out recordings and also gave crucial comments on Faroese embedded clauses. For Dalecarlian, Herbert Johnsson and Jonathan White gave me help when I visited Dalarna. For Övdalian, I warmly thank Karin Trapp, Gerda Werf, Anders Hård and Tore Löfgren for their participation in the recordings. I will never forget Gerda's warmest hospitality when I visited Älvdalen!

During my stay as a visiting PhD student in Potsdam University, 2011-2012, I gained much insight from the people there. Gisbert Fanselow took a lot of time

to discuss many issues with me. The discussions with him significantly improved my thinking. Radek Simik and I exchanged many opinions, which developed my thoughts far better than so far. Frank Kügler and Stella Gryllia gave me help and useful comments on my work. I thank SFB 632 'Information Structure: the linguistic means for structuring utterances, sentences and texts' for making a PhD stipend available to cover my stay in Potsdam.

I am grateful to Line Mikkelsen for her long-term interest in my work, both in the past and in the present. She gave me many useful and helpful comments on the draft of this thesis, which enabled me to make the thesis far better than the previous version. I also would like to thank Irene Franco for her kindness since when I came to Leiden. She helped me find native speakers of some Scandinavian varieties.

Lastly, I would like to thank people to whom I owe my life today. When I was an undergraduate student of education, Ken-ichi Kojima recommended me to go on to the linguistics postgraduate program, which paved the way to my life as a linguist. My dearest mother, Yurie, continued to encourage me, saying 'Never give up!' Thanks to her financial support, I can now complete my PhD in Leiden. And finally, many thanks to all the staff in 'La PLACE', Leiden Centraal Station. I was encouraged by their kindness and smiles every day. I was able to keep my health thanks to their excellent Paninis!

Leiden, June 2013