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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>

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Author: Hosono, Mayumi

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Issue Date: 2013-06-19

Appendix I: Test Sentences

Swedish:

- A. Målade du väggen? – Nej, jag målade den inte.
painted you the-wall no I painted it not
'Did you paint the wall? – No, I didn't paint it.'
- A'. Målade du väggen? – Nej, jag målade inte den.
- B. Målade du Jan? – Nej, jag målade honom inte.
portrayed you Jan no I portrayed him not
'Did you portray Jan? – No, I didn't portray him.'
- B'. Målade du Jan? – Nej, jag målade inte honom.
- C. Har du målat Jan?
have you portrayed Jan
– Målat har jag honom inte. Men jag har tagit foto av honom.
portrayed have I him not but I have taken photos of him
'Have you portrayed Jan? – I haven't PORTRAYED him. But I have taken photos of him.'
- D. Har du målat väggen? – Nej, jag har inte målat den.
have you painted the-wall no I have not painted it
'Have you painted the wall? – No, I haven't painted it.'
- E. Har du målat Jan? – Nej, jag har inte målat honom.
have you portrayed Jan no I have not portrayed him
'Have you portrayed Jan? – No, I haven't portrayed him.'
- F. Vad sa du? – Jag sa att jag inte målade honom.
what said you I said that I not portrayed him
'What did you say? – I said that I didn't portray him.'
- G. Målade du Jan?
portrayed you Jan
– Nej, jag målade inte HONOM. Men jag målade Mats.
no I portrayed not him but I portrayed Mats
'Did you portray Jan? – No, I didn't portray HIM. But I portrayed Mats.'

Övdalian:

- A. Måleð du weddje? – Näj, ig måleð åna it.
 A'. Måleð du weddje? – Näj, ig måleð it åna.
 painted you the-wall no I painted not it
 'Did you paint the wall? – No, I didn't paint it.'
- B. Måleð du Jan? – Näj, ig måleð an it.
 B'. Måleð du Jan? – Näj, ig måleð it an.
 portrayed you Jan no I portrayed not him
 'Did you portray Jan? – No, I didn't portray him.'
- C. Ar du målað Anna?
 have you portrayed Anna
 – Målað ar ig it åna. Men ig ar fotografirað åna.
 portrayed have I not her but I have taken photos her
 'Have you portrayed Anna?' – I haven't PORTRAYED her. But I have taken
 photos of her.'
- D. Ar du målað weddje? – Näj, ig ar it målað åna.
 have you painted the-wall no I have not painted it
 'Have you painted the wall? – No, I haven't painted it.'
- E. Ar du målað Jan? – Näj, ig ar it målað an.
 have you portrayed Jan no I have not portrayed him
 'Have you portrayed Jan? – No, I haven't portrayed him.'
- F'. Wen saggd du? – Ig saggd at ig måleð it åna.
 what said you I said that I portrayed not her
 'What did you say? – I said that I didn't portray her.'
- G. Måleð du Anna?
 portrayed you Anna
 – Näj, ig måleð it ÅNA. Men ig måleð Lena.
 no I portrayed not her but I portrayed Lena
 'Did you portray Anna? – No, I didn't portray HER. But I portrayed Lena.'
- G'. Måleð du Anna?
 – Näj, ig måleð ÅNA it. Men ig måleð Lena.

Norwegian:

- A. Malte du veggen? – Nei, jeg malte den ikke.
 painted you the-wall no I painted it not
 ‘Did you paint the wall? – No, I didn’t paint it.’
- A’. Malte du veggen? – Nei, jeg malte ikke den.
- B. Malte du Anne? – Nei, jeg malte henne ikke.
 portrayed you Anne no I portrayed her not
 ‘Did you portray Anne? – No, I didn’t portray her.’
- B’. Malte du Anne? – Nei, jeg malte ikke henne.
- C. Har du malt Anne?
 have you portrayed Anne
 – Malt har jeg henne ikke. Men jeg har tatt bilde av henne.
 portrayed have I her not but I have taken photos of her
 ‘Have you portrayed Anne? – I haven’t PORTRAYED her. But I have taken photos of her.’
- D. Har du malt veggen? – Nei, jeg har ikke malt den.
 Have you painted the-wall no I have not painted it
 ‘Have you painted the wall? – No, I haven’t painted it.’
- E. Har du malt Anne? – Nei, jeg har ikke malt henne.
 have you portrayed Anne no I have not portrayed her
 ‘Have you portrayed Anne? – No, I haven’t portrayed her.’
- F. Hva sa du? – Jeg sa at jeg ikke malte henne.
 What said you I said that I not portrayed her
 ‘What did you say? – I said that I didn’t portray her.’
- G. Malte du Anne?
 portrayed you Anne
 – Nei, jeg malte ikke HENNE. Men jeg malte Sonja.
 no I portrayed not her but I portrayed Sonja
 ‘Did you portray Anne? – No, I didn’t portray HER. But I portrayed Sonja.’

Danish:

- A. Malede du væggen? – Nej, jeg malede den ikke.
 painted you the-wall no I painted it not
 ‘Did you paint the wall? – No, I didn’t paint it.’
- A’. Malede du væggen? – Nej, jeg malede ikke den.
- B. Malede du Anne? – Nej, jeg malede hende ikke.
 portrayed you Anne no I portrayed her not
 ‘Did you portray Anne? – No, I didn’t portray her.’
- B’. Malede du Anne? – Nej, jeg malede ikke hende.
- C. Har du malet Anne?
 have you portrayed Anne
 – Malet har jeg hende ikke. Men jeg har taget fotos af hende.
 portrayed have I her not but I have taken photos of her
 ‘Have you portrayed Anne?’ ‘– I haven’t PORTRAYED her. But I have taken photos of her.’
- D. Har du malet væggen? – Nej, jeg har ikke malet den.
 have you painted the-wall no I have not painted it
 ‘Have you painted the wall? – No, I haven’t painted it.’
- E. Har du malet Anne? – Nej, jeg har ikke malet hende.
 have you portrayed Anne no I have not portrayed her
 ‘Have you portrayed Anne? – No, I haven’t portrayed her.’
- F. Hvad sagde du? – Jeg sagde at jeg ikke malede hende.
 what said you I said that I not portrayed her
 ‘What did you say? – I said that I didn’t portray her.’
- G. Malede du Anne?
 portrayed you Anne
 – Nej, jeg malede ikke HENDE. Men jeg malede Helena.
 no I portrayed not her but I portrayed Helena
 ‘Did you portray Anne? – No, I didn’t portray HER. But I portrayed Helena.’

Icelandic:

- A. Máláðir þú vegginn? – Nei, ég málaði hann ekki.
 painted you the-wall no I painted it not
 ‘Did you paint the wall? – No, I didn’t paint it.’
- A’. Máláðir þú vegginn? – Nei, ég málaði ekki hann.
- B. Máláðir þú Önnu? – Nei, ég málaði hana ekki.
 portrayed you Anna no I portrayed her not
 ‘Did you portray Anna? – No, I didn’t portray her.’
- B’. Máláðir þú Önnu? – Nei, ég málaði ekki hana.
- C. Hefur þú málað Önnu?
 have you portrayed Anna
 – Málað hef ég hana ekki. En ég hef tekið myndir af henni.
 portrayed have I her not but I have taken photos of her
 ‘Have you portrayed Anna? – I haven’t PORTRAYED her. But I have taken photos of her.’
- D. Hefur þú málað vegginn? – Nei, ég hef ekki málað hann.
 have you painted the-wall no I have not painted it
 ‘Have you painted the wall? – No, I haven’t painted it.’
- E. Hefur þú málað Önnu? – Nei, ég hef ekki málað hana.
 have you portrayed Anna no I have not portrayed her
 ‘Have you portrayed Anna? – No, I haven’t portrayed her.’
- F”. Hvað sagðir þú? – Ég sagði að ég málaði hana ekki.
 what said you I said that I portrayed her not
 ‘What did you say? – I said that I didn’t portray her.’
- G. Máláðir þú Önnu?
 portrayed you Anna
 – Nei, ég málaði ekki HANA. En ég málaði Hönnu.
 no I portrayed not her but I portrayed Hanna
 ‘Did you portray Anna? – No, I didn’t portray HER. But I portrayed Hanna.’
- G’. Máláðir þú Önnu?
 – Nei, ég málaði HANA ekki. En ég málaði Hönnu.

Faroese:

- A. Máláði tú veggín? – Nei, eg máláði hann ikki.
 painted you the-wall no I painted it not
 ‘Did you paint the wall? – No, I didn’t paint it.’
- A’. Máláði tú veggín? – Nei, eg máláði ikki hann.
- B. Máláði tú Anne? – Nei, eg máláði hana ikki.
 portrayed you Anne no I portrayed her not
 ‘Did you portray Anne? – No, I didn’t portray her.’
- B’. Máláði tú Anne? – Nei, eg máláði ikki hana.
- C. Hevur tú máláð Anne?
 have you portrayed Anne
 – Máláð havi eg hana ikki. Men eg havi tikin myndir av henni.
 portrayed have I her not but I have taken photos of her
 ‘Have you portrayed Anne? – I haven’t PORTRAYED her. But I have taken photos of her.’
- D. Hevur tú máláð veggín? – Nei, eg havi ikki máláð hann.
 have you painted the-wall no I have not painted it
 ‘Have you painted the wall? – No, I haven’t painted it.’
- E. Hevur tú máláð Anne? – Nei, eg havi ikki máláð hana.
 have you portrayed Anne no I have not portrayed her
 ‘Have you portrayed Anne? – No, I haven’t portrayed her.’
- F. Hvat segði tú? – Eg segði ið eg ikki máláði hana.
 what said you I said that I not portrayed her
 ‘What did you say? – I said that I didn’t portray her.’
- F’. Hvat segði tú? – Eg segði at eg máláði ikki hana.
- F’’. Hvat segði tú? – Eg segði at eg máláði hana ikki.
- G. Máláði tú Anne?
 portrayed you Anne
 – Nei, eg máláði ikki HANA. Men eg máláði Lena.
 no I portrayed not her but I portrayed Lena
 ‘Did you portray Anne? – No, I didn’t portray HER. But I portrayed Lena.’

Appendix II: Native Judgment Data

Language variety, speaker (age, place) ¹⁵⁰	A	A'	B	B'	C	D	E	F	F'	F''	G	G'
East Swe. F1 (31, Gnesta)	4	2	4	2	2	4	3	4			3	
*East Swe. F2 (63, Uppsala)	4	3	4	4	2	4	4	4			4	
*East Swe. F3 (23, Stockholm)	4	3	4	3	2	4	4	4			4	
East Swe. M1 (34, Linköping)	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4			4	
*East Swe. M2 (26, Jönköping)	4	3	4	2	2	4	4	4			4	
*East Swe. M3 (27, Linköping)	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4			4	
East Swe. M4 (48, Linköping)	4	3	4	3	3	4	4	4			4	
East Swe. M5 (48, Örebro)	3	2	4	3	3	4	4	3			4	
*West Swe. F1 (50, Borås)	4	3	4	4	2	4	4	4			4	
*West Swe. F2 (48, Göteborg)	2	2	3	3	2	4	4	4			4	
*West Swe. M1 (53, Göteborg)	4	3	1	4	2	4	4	4			4	
West Swe. M2 (65, Västervik)	4	2	4	3	4	4	4	4			4	
*West Swe. M3 (47, Orust)	4	3	3	3	1	4	4	4			4	
West Swe. M4 (62, Göteborg)	4	1/2	3	2	3	4	4	4			4	
*South Swe. F1 (54, Malmö)	3	4	3	4	1	4	4	4			4	
*South Swe. F2 (27, Halmstad)	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	4			4	
South Swe. F3 (24, Hässleholm)	4	3	3	4	2	4	4	4			4	
South Swe. M1 (30, Lund)	4	3	4	4	2	4	4	4			4	
*South Swe. M2 (22, Vellinge)	4	3	3	4	2	4	4	4			4	
*South Swe. M3 (21, Ängelholm)	4	4	3	3	1	4	3	2			3	
*North Swe. F1 (61, Robertsfors)	4	2	1	4	1	4	4	4			4	
*North Swe. F2 (39, Umeå)	4	4	2	2	3	4	2	2			2	
*North Swe. M1 (35, Umeå)	4	2	4	4	1	4	4	4			4	
*North Swe. M2 (34, Piteå)	4	4	3	3	4	4	4	4			4	
*Finland Swe. F1 (61, Helsinki)	4	4	4	4	2	4	4	4			4	
Finland Swe. F2 (27, Jakobstad)	4	3	1	1	1	4	1	1			1	
Finland Swe. F3 (52, Helsinki)	2	4	4	4	1	4	4	4			4	
*Finland Swe. F4 (52, Helsinki)	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4			4	
*Finland Swe. M1 (55, Helsinki)	4	4	4	4	3	4	4	4			4	
*Finland Swe. M2 (20, Vassa)	2	4	2	4	1	2	2	1			3	
Dalecarlian F1 (28, Storaskedvi)	4	3	2	4	1	4	4	4			4	
*Dalecarlian F2 (54, Nås)	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	1			1	
*Dalecarlian F3 (39, Hosjö)	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4			4	
*Dalecarlian M1 (53, Leksand)	4	3	4	3	2	4	4	4			4	
Dalecarlian M2 (47, Falun)	4	3	1	3	1	3	4	4			4	
*Dalecarlian M3 (28, Borlänge)	3/4	3/4	3/4	3/4	1	3/4	3/4	2			2	
*Övdalian F1 (82, Loka)	1	4	1	4	1	4	4		4		4	1
*Övdalian F2 (64, Åsen)	1	4	1	4	2	4	4		3		4	1

¹⁵⁰ Informants marked with an asterisk were chosen for computation of the downstep size.

*Övdalian M1 (72, Klitten)	1	4	1	3	4	4	4		4		3	1
*Övdalian M2 (48, Brunnsberg)	1	4	2	4	1	4	4		4		4	1
*East Nor. F1 (53, Grue)	4	4	4	4	1	4	4	4			4	
*East Nor. F2 (49, Oslo)	4	2	4	1	1	4	4	4			4	
*East Nor. M1 (31, Hønefoss)	4	2	4	2	1	4	3	4			3	
*East Nor. M2 (60, Oslo)	4	4	4	4	1	4	4	4			4	
East Nor. M3 (27, Moss)	4	4	4	4	1	4	4	4			4	
*West Nor. F1 (53, Stavanger)	4	1	2	1	1	4	4	4			4	
*West Nor. F2 (27, Hålandsdalen)	4	3	4	3	2	4	4	4			4	
*West Nor. M1 (41, Fosnavåg)	4	4	4	4	2	4	4	4			4	
*West Nor. M2 (39, Stavanger)	4	2	4	4	1	4	4	4			4	
*East Dan. F1 (29, Nivå)	4	2	4	2	2	4	3	4			4	
*East Dan. F2 (25, Slangerup)	4	3	2	3	1	4	4	4			4	
*East Dan. M1 (39)	3	2	1	2	1	4	4	3			4	
*East Dan. M2 (36, G. Copenhagen) ¹⁵¹	4	2	4	3	1	4	4	4			4	
East Dan. M3 (39, G. Copenhagen)	4	4	4	2	1	4	4	4			4	
South Dan. F1 (29)	4	3	4	2	1	4	4	4			4	
*South Dan. F2 (24, Odense)	4	3	4	3	2	4	4	4			4	
*South Dan. F3 (39, Odense)	4	2	4	2	2	4	4	4			4	
*South Dan. M1 (36, Middelfart)	4	2	4	3	2	4	4	4			4	
*South Dan. M3 (44, Svendborg)	4	2	4	4	2	4	4	4			4	
*Icelandic F1 (24, Reykjavík)	4	1	4	1	1	3	4			4	4	3
*Icelandic F2 (46, Reykjavík)	4	1	4	1	2	4	4			4	4	2
*Icelandic M1 (39, Akureyri)	4	1	4	1	3	4	4			4	3	4
*Icelandic M2 (32, Reykjavík)	4	2	4	2	2	3	4			4	3	4
Icelandic M3 (61, Reykjavík)	4	1	4	1	2/1	4	4			4	2	4
*Faroese F1 (39, Tórshavn)	4	3	4	4	1	4	4	4	4	4	4	
*Faroese F2 (49, Suðuroy)	4	1	4	3	1	4	4	4	4	4	4	
*Faroese M1 (40, Eysturoy)	4	3	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	
*Faroese M2 (54, Eysturoy)	4	2	4	2	1	4	4	4	4	4	4	
Faroese M3 (29, Funningur)	4	2	4	2	4	4	4	4	2	4	4	

¹⁵¹ 'G. Copenhagen' stands for 'Greater Copenhagen'.

Appendix III: Downstep data

A. Mean downstep size (in semitones) and mean percentage of downsteps larger than 2 semitones broken down by sentence type for each Scandinavian language variety investigated.

Language	Sentence	Downstep size (st)	Downsteps > 2 st (%)
East Swedish	A	5.2740	80.0000
	A'	4.5242	75.0000
	B	5.1770	80.0000
	B'	4.9171	80.0000
	C	3.7496	75.0000
	D	-1.2427	.0000
	E	-1.6604	.0000
	F	-4.1092	.0000
	G	2.4804	60.0000
	Total	2.1233	50.0000
West Swedish	A	1.5636	40.0000
	A'	1.8894	45.0000
	B	3.1630	55.0000
	B'	2.1881	50.0000
	C	2.3406	70.0000
	D	-2.4127	.0000
	E	-2.2983	.0000
	F	-6.0173	.0000
	G	.9384	40.0000
	Total	.1505	33.3333
South Swedish	A	1.3416	30.0000
	A'	1.0577	25.0000
	B	1.8461	30.0000
	B'	1.1043	20.0000
	C	.7159	40.0000
	D	-1.2732	.0000
	E	-1.0647	.0000
	F	-3.3027	.0000
	G	-1.4496	5.0000
	Total	-.1138	16.6667

Language	Sentence	Downstep size (st)	Downsteps > 2 st (%)
North Swedish	A	6.8139	80.0000
	A'	5.2210	85.0000
	B	5.9127	80.0000
	B'	4.8445	60.0000
	C	6.5231	65.0000
	D	1.1469	30.0000
	E	.5025	35.0000
	F	-4.9915	.0000
	G	.4089	30.0000
	Total	2.9313	51.6667
Finland Swedish	A	1.5088	45.0000
	A'	3.5926	55.0000
	B	3.5195	60.0000
	B'	2.6254	45.0000
	C	4.7037	65.0000
	D	-1.0654	15.0000
	E	-2.0193	.0000
	F	-4.4799	.0000
	G	-1.3000	10.0000
	Total	.7873	32.7778
Dalecarlian	A	4.5070	30.0000
	A'	.8675	35.0000
	B	5.7229	40.0000
	B'	.5724	35.0000
	C	1.9372	20.0000
	D	-3.6295	5.0000
	E	-2.5542	5.0000
	F	-4.4654	.0000
	G	1.5059	45.0000
	Total	.4960	23.8889
Övdalian	A	-.0973	.0000
	A'	.5762	10.0000
	B	.2944	.0000
	B'	.5528	10.0000
	C	2.5091	45.0000
	D	-3.7502	.0000
	E	-4.3284	.0000
	F'	-5.4636	.0000
	G	.6945	20.0000
	G'	-.3088	.0000
	Total	-.9321	8.5000

Language	Sentence	Downstep size (st)	Downsteps > 2 st (%)
East Norwegian	A	3.6999	80.0000
	A'	5.2357	80.0000
	B	3.4295	50.0000
	B'	5.9224	75.0000
	C	-2.9397	15.0000
	D	-4.8559	5.0000
	E	-4.6825	5.0000
	F	-7.6927	.0000
	G	-4.3257	.0000
	Total	-.6899	34.4444
West Norwegian	A	.5913	20.0000
	A'	2.4313	45.0000
	B	-.0849	20.0000
	B'	1.8906	45.0000
	C	5.8830	70.0000
	D	-3.8865	10.0000
	E	-3.8889	15.0000
	F	-4.6166	.0000
	G	-2.7537	.0000
	Total	-.4927	25.0000
East Danish	A	-.2234	15.0000
	A'	-1.5935	.0000
	B	-.9622	15.0000
	B'	-1.6470	.0000
	C	1.6643	45.0000
	D	-2.5964	.0000
	E	-3.2961	.0000
	F	-1.9668	5.0000
	G	-3.2339	.0000
	Total	-1.5394	8.8889
South Danish	A	.5170	35.0000
	A'	-.4798	15.0000
	B	-.0965	15.0000
	B'	-.8117	15.0000
	C	.7859	30.0000
	D	-2.9715	.0000
	E	-3.9041	.0000
	F	-4.8313	.0000
	G	-5.1157	.0000
	Total	-1.8786	12.2222

Language	Sentence	Downstep size (st)	Downsteps > 2 st (%)
Icelandic	A	3.3566	60.0000
	A'	3.6599	75.0000
	B	5.1920	75.0000
	B'	4.6359	75.0000
	C	5.7852	80.0000
	D	-.2827	10.0000
	E	-.4591	10.0000
	F''	-4.8000	.0000
	G	-2.7168	20.0000
	G'	-5.2925	.0000
	Total	.9079	40.5000
	Faroese	A	6.0870
A'		4.0112	60.0000
B		4.2199	65.0000
B'		4.2964	75.0000
C		6.9036	95.0000
D		.1440	35.0000
E		.2888	30.0000
F		-6.3470	.0000
F'		-5.8541	.0000
F''		-6.2910	.0000
G		.7773	35.0000
Total		.7487	42.7273
Total		A	2.6877
	A'	2.3841	46.5385
	B	2.8718	45.0000
	B'	2.3916	45.0000
	C	3.1201	55.0000
	D	-2.0520	8.4615
	E	-2.2588	7.6923
	F	-4.8018	.4545
	F'	-5.6588	.0000
	F''	-6.2910	.0000
	F''	-4.8000	.0000
	G	-1.0838	20.3846
	G'	-2.8007	.0000
	Total	.1980	29.4215

B. As appendix IIIA but with sentence types {A, B, C} grouped against all others.

Language	Sentence type	Mean downstep (st)	Downsteps > 2 st (%)
East Swedish	A-B-C	4.7284	78.0000
	other	-1.1330	15.0000
	Total	2.1233	50.0000
West Swedish	A-B-C	2.2289	52.0000
	other	-2.4475	10.0000
	Total	.1505	33.3333
South Swedish	A-B-C	1.2131	29.0000
	other	-1.7726	1.2500
	Total	-.1138	16.6667
North Swedish	A-B-C	5.8630	74.0000
	other	-.7333	23.7500
	Total	2.9313	51.6667
Finland Swedish	A-B-C	3.1900	54.0000
	other	-2.2161	6.2500
	Total	.7873	32.7778
Dalecarlian	A-B-C	2.7214	32.0000
	other	-2.2858	13.7500
	Total	.4960	23.8889
Övdalian	A-B-C	.7671	13.0000
	other	-2.6313	4.0000
	Total	-.9321	8.5000
East Norwegian	A-B-C	3.0696	60.0000
	other	-5.3892	2.5000
	Total	-.6899	34.4444
West Norwegian	A-B-C	2.1423	40.0000
	other	-3.7864	6.2500
	Total	-.4927	25.0000
East Danish	A-B-C	-.5524	15.0000
	other	-2.7733	1.2500
	Total	-1.5394	8.8889
South Danish	A-B-C	-.0170	22.0000
	other	-4.2057	.0000
	Total	-1.8786	12.2222
Icelandic	A-B-C	4.5259	73.0000
	other	-2.7102	8.0000
	Total	.9079	40.5000
Faroese	A-B-C	5.1036	74.0000
	other	-2.8803	16.6667
	Total	.7487	42.7273
Total	A-B-C	2.6911	47.3846
	other	-2.6957	8.5714
	Total	.1980	29.4215