

Preposition stranding versus pied-piping: Negative Shift of prepositional complements in dialects of Faroese

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Sentential negation must be licensed outside VP in Scandinavian, necessitating leftward movement of negative phrases, Negative Shift (henceforth NegS). The data I collected during the NORMS dialect workshop in the Faroe Islands August 2008 display a peculiarity as regards NegS of a prepositional complement. NegS across the preposition was judged acceptable in the presence of a main verb *in situ*, (1). In contrast, if the main verb had undergone finite verb movement, NegS of the prepositional complement was subject to dialectal and inter-speaker variation as regards preposition stranding, (2)a, and pied-piping, (2)b. (Inter-speaker variation is represented by "%" below; M=Miðvágur, Tv=Tvøroyri, S=Sandur, K=Klaksvik, T=Tórshavn, F=Fuglafjørður.)

- (1) a. Í dag hefur Petur ongan **tosað við** _____. ✓M/✓Tv/✓S/✓K/✓T/✓F
 b. Í dag hefur Petur við ongan **tosað** _____. *M/*Tv/*S/*K/*T/*F
today has Peter with nobody spoken
- (2) a. Í gjár tosaði Petur ongan **við** _____. ✓M/*Tv/*S/*K/*T/*F
 b. Í gjár tosaði Petur við ongan _____. *M/*Tv/*S/*K/%T/%F
yesterday spoke Peter with nobody

The talk aims at accounting for the variation as to NegS of a prepositional complement in the presence/absence of a verb *in situ* within Fox & Pesetsky's (2003, 2005) cyclic linearization model. Under this approach, non-string-vacuous movement must proceed through intermediate positions at the left edges of Spell-out domains. As a consequence, the observed variation as to NegS stranding the preposition can be captured by differences in the availability of these left-edge positions. Pied-piping will be regarded as a last resort strategy, only accessible – if possible at all – in case the negative complement cannot license [+NEG] on its own due to the unavailability of the relevant left-edge position.

Fox, Danny & David Pesetsky (2003) *Cyclic Linearization and the Typology of Movement*.

Ms., MIT. (http://web.mit.edu/linguistics/people/faculty/fox/July_19_handout.pdf)

Fox, Danny & David Pesetsky (2005) "Cyclic Linearization of Syntactic Structure" in *Theoretical Linguistics* 31: 1-46.