

Object Shift and Scrambling

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Sandbjerg, June 14-17, 2006

In the formal part of our research project on object positions, we have been spending a lot of the time in the first year on collecting data, and these data often turned out to be different from what the literature would have led us to expect. What follows is hopefully not just a long list of different data, but rather a number of new and old sets of data which will be able to shed light on what determines the positions of objects. In our project description (www.hum.au.dk/engelsk/engsv/objectpositions/proj-en.htm), we set out some of the potentially crucial factors, such as morphological and abstract case, the mapping between syntax and information structure, and the question of to which extent language particular properties can be derived from more general (potentially universal) properties.

In the context here, this last question turns into a question of to which extent the differences between the two movements discussed (object shift, OS, in the Scandinavian languages and scrambling, SCR, in the continental West Germanic languages) can be derived from independent differences between the two types of languages.

In what follows, we will give an overview over these two clause-internal object movements (OS and SCR) covering the following:

- Although both place an object to the left of a sentential adverbial, OS and SCR are normally treated as two different phenomena since they do not take place under exactly the same circumstances.
- We want to investigate their properties and show that they are quite similar in what moves and which position movement can target, provided one considers the entire range of OS and SCR languages.
- The main difference between OS and SCR is that the former presupposes movement of the main verb whereas the latter does not. This property might be related to the contrast in basic verb placement, VO in Scandinavian vs. OV in the continental West Germanic languages.
- Moreover, some specific characteristics of OS and SCR will be discussed, including the contrast between OS of arguments and OS of adverbials as well as differences in the information-structural contexts that facilitate OS and SCR. In part II, we will then focus on a particular set of data, V°-vs. VP-topicalisation, as first discussed by Holmberg (1997, 1999).

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PART I

Introduction to Object Shift and Scrambling

1 Object positions

1.1 Object positions in Danish and Icelandic (Object Shift)

The position of the object in Danish and Icelandic depends on the position of the main verb.

Embedded clauses with a non-finite main verb: The object follows its verb which again follows *aldrig* 'never'.

- (1) Da a. Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter aldrig havde læst bogen.
 I asked why Peter never had read *book-the*
 b. *Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter bogen aldrig havde læst ____.
- (2) Da a. Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter aldrig havde læst den.
 I asked why Peter never had read *it*
 b. *Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter den aldrig havde læst ____.

Main clauses with a non-finite main verb: The object follows its verb which follows *aldrig* 'never'.

(Notice that the difference in verb positions between the embedded clauses in (1) and (2) and the main clauses in (3) and (4) concerns the finite auxiliary *havde* 'had' and not the non-finite main verb *læst* 'read'.)

- (3) Da a. Hvorfor havde Peter aldrig læst bogen?
 why had Peter never read *book-the*
 b. *Hvorfor havde Peter bogen aldrig læst ____?
- (4) Da a. Hvorfor havde Peter aldrig læst den?
 why had Peter never read *it*
 b. *Hvorfor havde Peter den aldrig læst ____?

Embedded clauses with a finite main verb: The object follows its verb which follows *aldrig* 'never'.

- (5) Da a. Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter aldrig læste bogen.
 I asked why Peter never read book-the
 b. *Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter bogen aldrig læste ____.

 (6) Da a. Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter aldrig læste den.
 I asked why Peter never read it
 b. *Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter den aldrig læste ____.

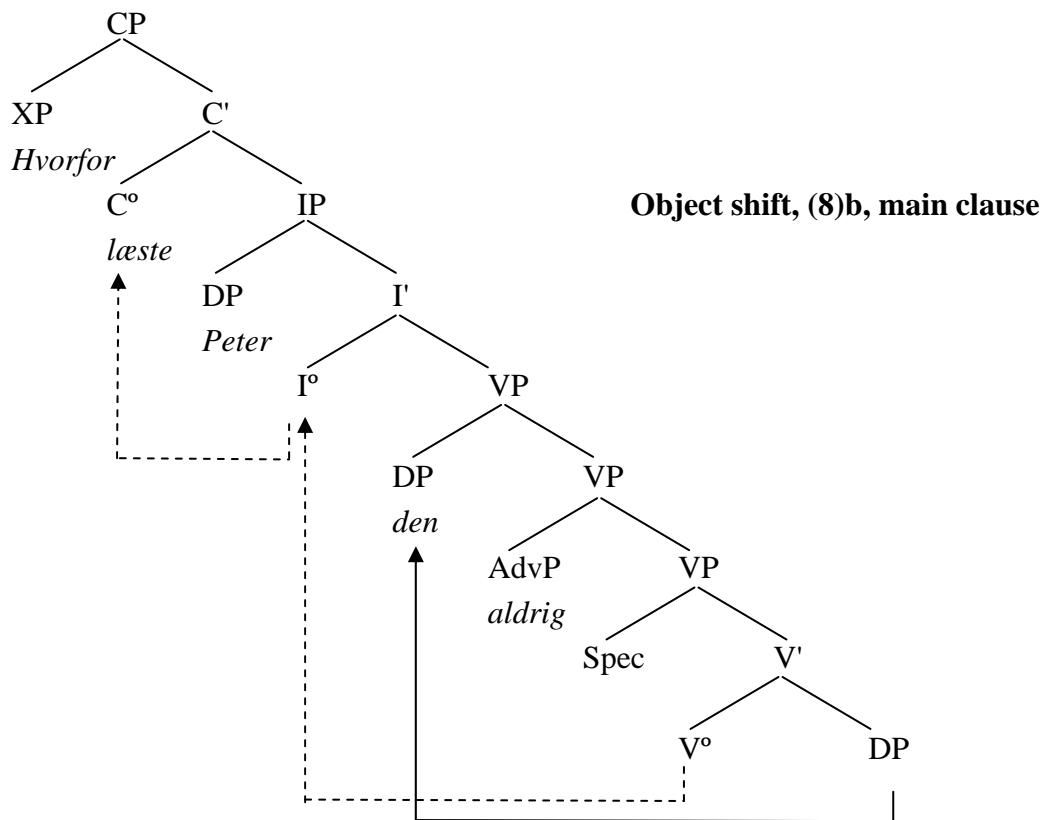
Main clauses with a finite main verb:

- a. The verb moves to the second position of the clause. (One of the few ways in which a form of a main verb like *læse* 'read' can precede a sentential adverbial like *aldrig* 'never' is when it is the finite verb in a main clause.)
- b. If the object is **non-pronominal**, it simply stays behind, (7)a.
 If the object is **pronominal**, it moves to a position just left of the adverbial *aldrig* 'never', (8)b.
 This movement is commonly referred to as **object shift (OS)**.

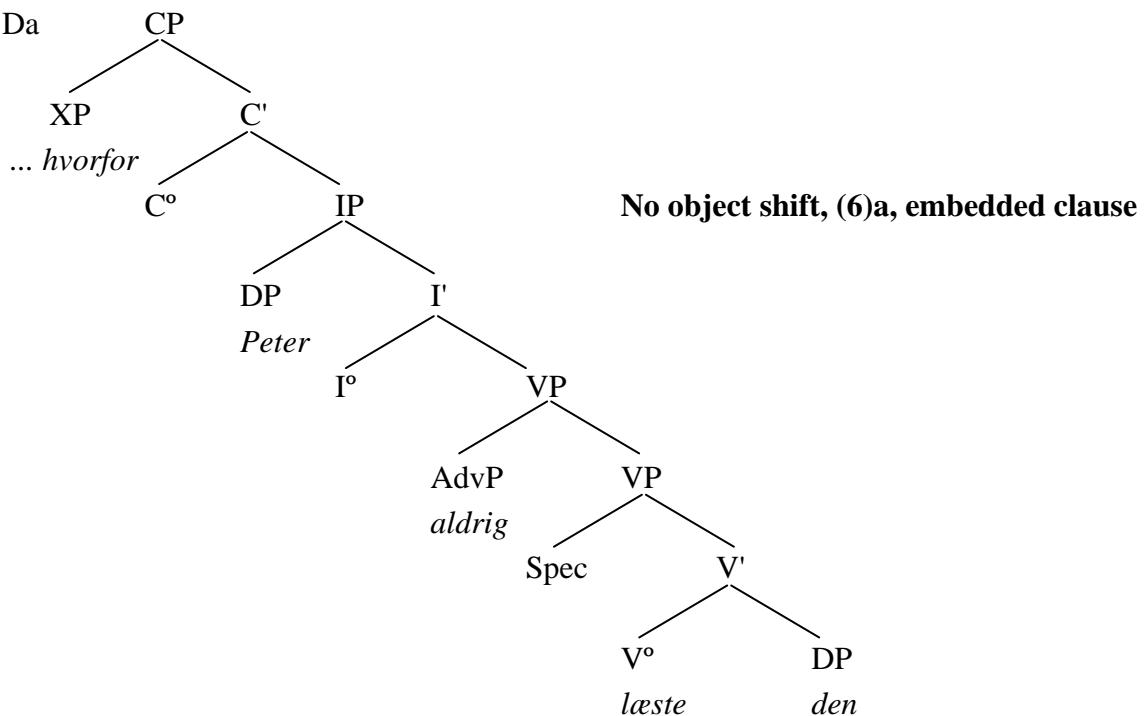
- (7) Da a. Hvorfor læste Peter aldrig ____ bogen?
 why read Peter never book-the
 b. *Hvorfor læste Peter bogen aldrig ____ ____?

 (8) Da a. *Hvorfor læste Peter aldrig ____ den?
 why read Peter never it
 b. Hvorfor læste Peter den aldrig ____ ____?

(9) Da



(10) Da



The observation that the object only moves if the main verb has moved forms the basis of what is called Holmberg's generalisation (Holmberg 1986:165), see also (33) below.

Icelandic differs from Danish in that finite verb movement also takes place in embedded clauses (see (15) and (16) below) and a full DP object may optionally move in front of a sentential adverbial in object shift contexts.

Embedded clauses with a non-finite main verb: The object follows the verb which follows *aldrei* 'never'.

- (11) Ic a. Ég spurði af hverju Pétur hefði aldrei lesið bessa bók?
 I asked why Pétur had never read this book
 b. *Ég spurði af hverju Pétur hefði bessa bók aldrei lesið _____?

(12) Ic a. Ég spurði af hverju Pétur hefði aldrei lesið hana?
 I asked why Pétur had never read it
 b. *Ég spurði af hverju Pétur hefði hana aldrei lesið ____?

Main clauses with a non-finite main verb: The object follows the verb which follows *aldrei* 'never'.

- (13) Ic a. Af hverju hafði Pétur aldrei lesið bessa bók?
why *had* *Pétur* *never* *read* *this book*
 b. *Af hverju hafði Pétur bessa bók aldrei lesið _____?
(Vikner 2005: 395)

(14) Ic a. Af hverju hafði Pétur aldrei lesið hana?
why *had* *Pétur* *never* *read* *it*
 b. *Af hverju hafði Pétur hana aldrei lesið ____?
(Vikner 2005: 395)

Embedded clauses with a finite main verb: The non-pronominal object may precede the verb which precedes *aldrei* 'never', (15), the pronominal object must do so, (16).

- (15) Ic a. Ég spurði af hverju Pétur læsi aldrei _____ bessa bók.
I asked why Pétur read never _____ this book
 b. Ég spurði af hverju Pétur læsi bessa bók aldrei _____.

(Vikner 2005: 396)

- (16) Ic a. *Ég spurði af hverju Pétur læsi aldrei _____ hana.
I asked why Pétur read never _____ it
 b. Ég spurði af hverju Pétur læsi hana aldrei _____.

(Vikner 2005: 396)

Main clauses with a finite main verb: The non-pronominal object may precede the verb which precedes *aldrei* 'never', (17), the pronominal object must do so, (18).

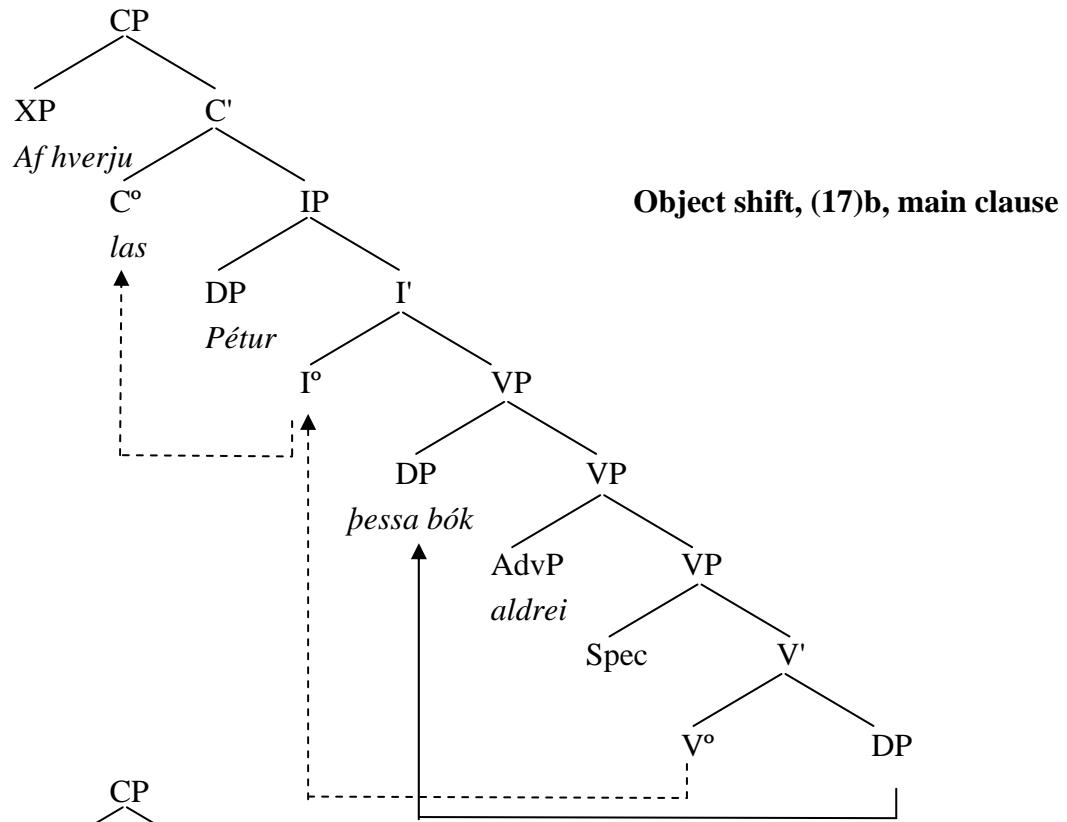
- (17) Ic a. Af hverju las Pétur aldrei _____ bessa bók?
why read Pétur never _____ this book
 b. Af hverju las Pétur bessa bók aldrei _____?

(Vikner 2005: 394)

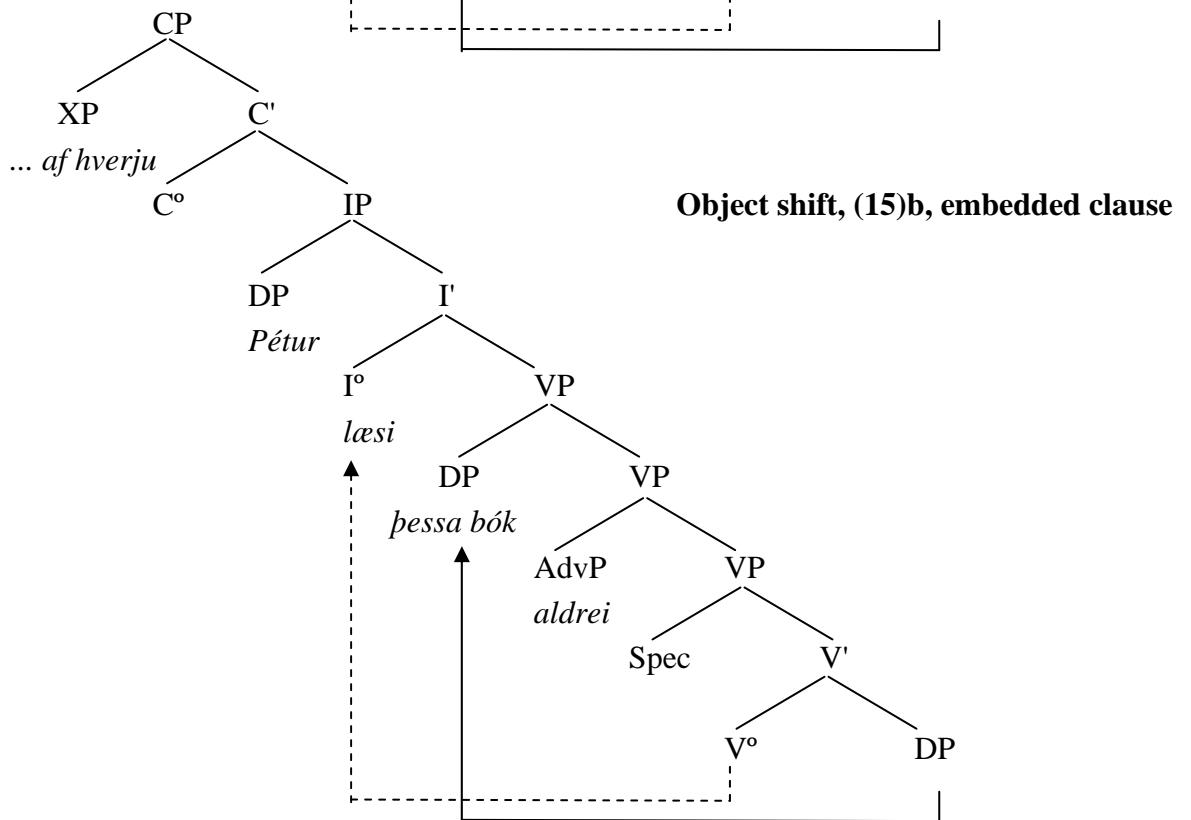
- (18) Ic a. *Af hverju las Pétur aldrei _____ hana?
why read Pétur never _____ it
 b. Af hverju las Pétur hana aldrei _____?

(Vikner 2005: 394)

(19) Ic

**Object shift, (17)b, main clause**

(20) Ic

**Object shift, (15)b, embedded clause**

1.2 Object positions in German (Scrambling)

Object positions in German do not depend on the position of the main verb; in other words, object movement does not depend on Holmberg's generalisation.

Main clauses with a non-finite main verb: A non-pronominal object may either precede or follow the adverbial *nie* 'never', whereas a pronominal object must precede the adverbial *nie*. We take the verb-adjacent position of the object to be its base position, see for instance (21)a; i.e. there is object movement in e.g. (21)b. This movement is commonly referred to as **scrambling (SCR)**.

- (21) Ge a. Ich frage mich warum Peter nie das Buch liest.
 I ask myself why Peter never the book reads
 b. Ich frage mich warum Peter das Buch nie _____ liest.

 (22) Ge a. *Ich frage mich warum Peter nie es liest.
 I ask myself why Peter never it reads
 b. Ich frage mich warum Peter es nie _____ liest.

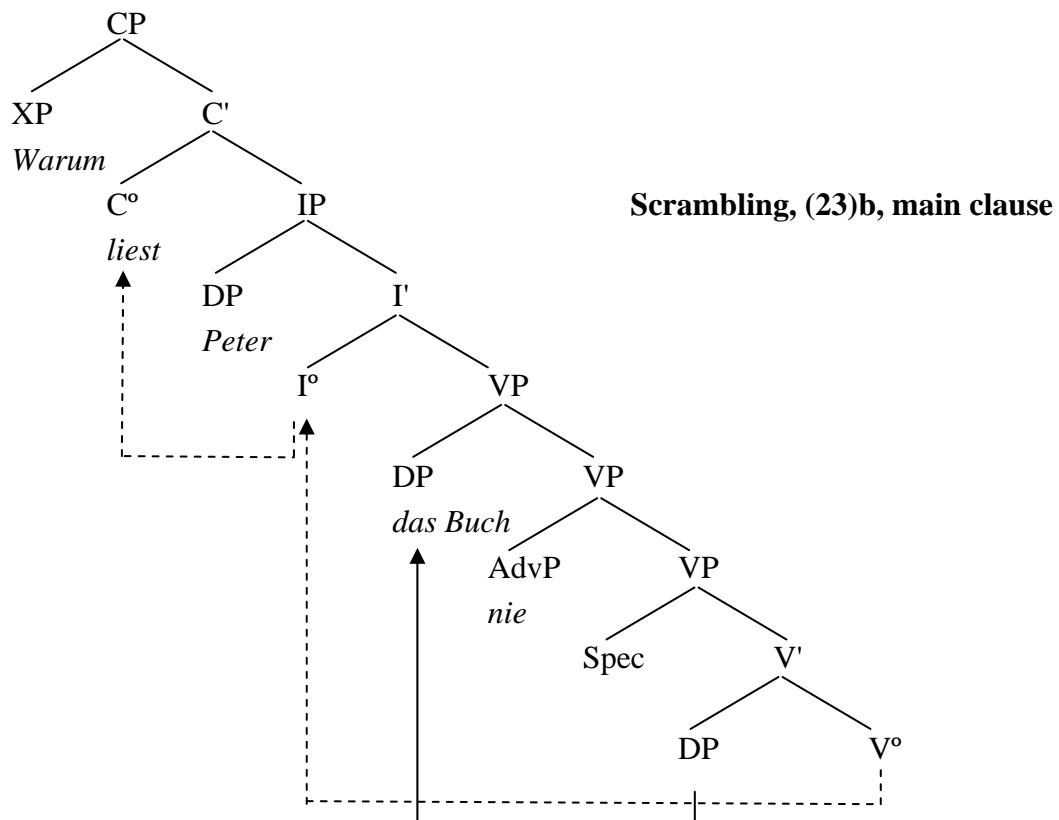
Main clauses with a finite main verb: Same as above.

- (23) Ge a. Warum liest Peter nie das Buch ____?
 why reads Peter never the book ____?
 b. Warum liest Peter das Buch nie _____ ____?

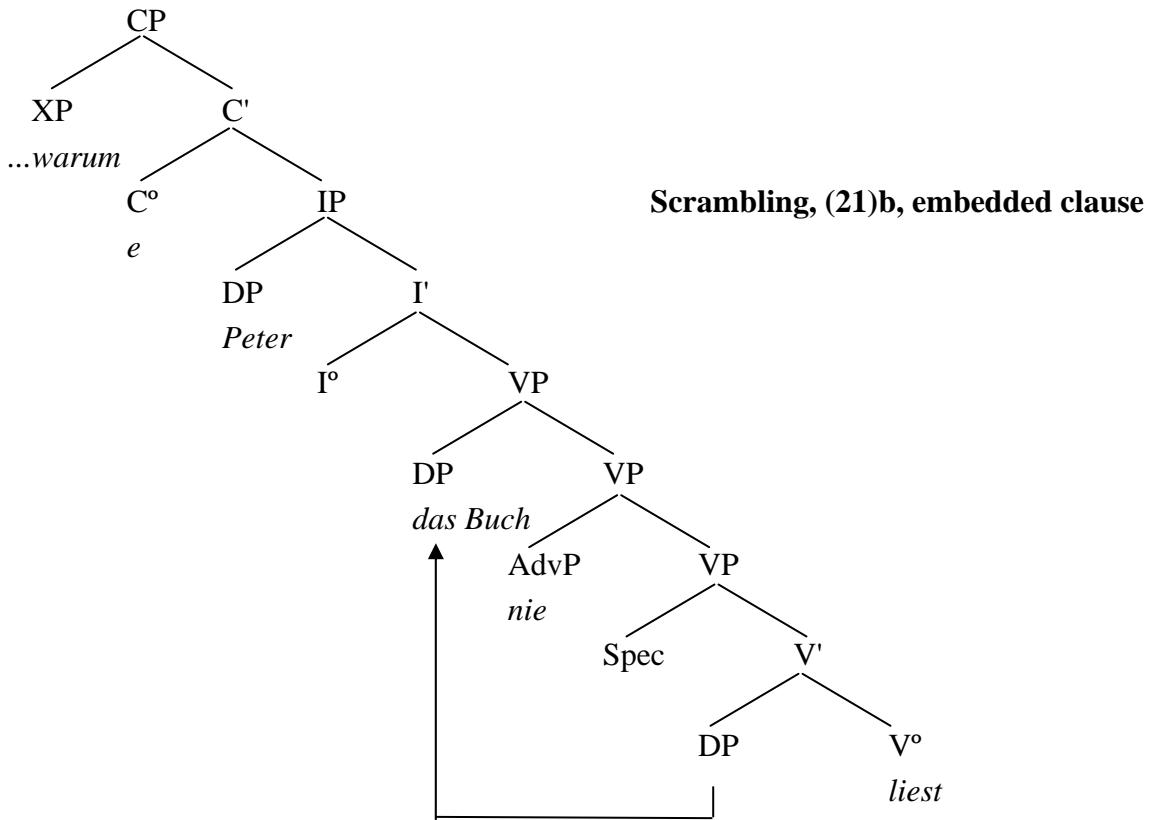
 (24) Ge a. *Warum liest Peter nie es ____?
 why reads Peter never it ____?
 b. Warum liest Peter es nie _____ ____?

The same pattern is found in clauses with a non-finite main verb.

(25) Ge



(26) Ge



1.3 Summary

	main verb	object type	object		examples
			a. stays	b. moves	
Danish	stays	DP	✓	*	(1), (3), (5)
		pronoun	✓	*	(2), (4), (6)
	moves	DP	✓	*	(7)
		pronoun	*	✓	(8)
Icelandic	stays	DP	✓	*	(11), (13)
		pronoun	✓	*	(12), (14)
	moves	DP	✓	✓	(15), (17)
		pronoun	*	✓	(16), (18)
German	stays	DP	✓	✓	(21)
		pronoun	*	✓	(22)
	moves	DP	✓	✓	(23)
		pronoun	*	✓	(24)

As was said above, the object movement found in Danish, Icelandic, and the other Scandinavian languages is called object shift (OS), whereas the object movement found in German and the other continental West Germanic languages is called scrambling (SCR). Although both these movements may move an object into a position to the left of a sentential adverbial, they do not take place under exactly the same circumstances, and they are therefore normally treated as two different phenomena. In the following, we want to examine how many properties these two movements have in common.

1.4 Other Germanic languages

1.4.1 English

One Germanic language was not covered by the formulation above, namely English, which is neither Scandinavian nor continental West Germanic. It is clear that English does not have SCR, as the object may not freely be moved to the left of the sentential adverbial.

- (27) En a. Why has Peter never read the book?
 b. *Why has Peter the book never read _____?

Whether or not English has OS is impossible to say, as one would have to see whether a (pronominal) object could move when the finite main verb moves. The problem is that a main verb never moves in modern English (a main verb may never precede e.g. *never*).

- (28) En a. Peter never read the book.
 b. *Peter read never ____ the book.

- (29) En a. Why did Peter never read the book?
 b. *Why read Peter never ____ the book?

1.4.2 Yiddish

Like the other continental West Germanic languages, Yiddish has SCR: a full DP can be moved to a position before the adverbial *nekhtn* 'yesterday', independently of whether or not the main verb moves:

- (30) Yi a. Maks hot *dos bukh* nekhtn geleyent.
 Max has *the book* *yesterday* *read*
 b. Maks hot nekhtn *dos bukh* geleyent.
 c. Maks hot nekhtn geleyent *dos bukh*.

(based on Diesing 1997: 390-391)

The most prevalent view of Yiddish (e.g. den Besten & Moed-van Walraven 1986: 113, Diesing 1997: 388, Sadock 1998) is that it is SVO, i.e. that the underlying order is the one in (30)c. This is undoubtedly also the most frequent word order: In the first 411 sentences with mono-transitive verbs in the anecdote collection *Royte pomerantsen* (by Immanuel Olsvanger, published in 1947 by Schocken, New York), Santorini (1993: 238) found VO order in 94% of the cases and OV order only in 6% of them.

However, if Yiddish would be SVO just like Scandinavian, it would then be an open question why it would have SCR rather than OS. We shall therefore follow Hall (1979), Geilfuß (1991), Haider & Rosengren (1998: 78-81) and Vikner (2001, 2003) in assuming the basic order in modern Yiddish to be SOV. This would then mean that only (30)a would be a case of SCR. (30)b on the other hand would illustrate the underlying word order, and (30)c would be a case of extraposition.

That Yiddish allows extraposition much more freely than all other Germanic languages (SOV or SVO) is independently supported by the examples in (31):

- (31) Yi a. Geveyntlekh hot ongehoybn esn *der balebos*.
 normally has begun eat *the host*
 'Normally, the host would be the one who took the first bite'

- b. Hot men derlangt oyfn tish *fish*.
 has one served on-the table fish
 'Fish was put on the table.'

(Santorini 1993: 231)

2 Restrictions on the syntactic environment of movement: Holmberg's Generalisation

As shown above, OS presupposes movement of the main verb. However, note that OS does not require the main verb to move to V2 position: OS is also possible if the non-finite main verb is topicalised. (This construction and some of its properties will be discussed in much more detail in PART II later on.)

- (32) Sw a. Kysst har jag henne inte ____ (bara hållit henne i handen).
kissed have I her not *only held her by hand-the*
(Holmberg 1997: 205)

Da b. Kysset har jeg hende ikke ____ (bare holdt hende i hånden).
kissed have I her not *only held her in hand.the*
(Vikner 2005: 407)

Ic c. Kysst hef ég hana ekki ____ (bara haldið í höndina á henni).
kissed have I her not *only held in hand.the on her*
(Vikner 2005: 431)

More generally, OS is possible as long as it does not have to cross any non-adverbial material, as expressed by Holmberg's generalisation:

- (33) **Holmberg's Generalisation** (Holmberg 1997: 208)
Object Shift is blocked by any phonologically visible category preceding/c-commanding the object position within VP.
[Here "within VP" has to mean that only elements "properly inside" VP (i.e. not elements adjoined to VP, e.g. adverbials) may block object shift.

The following sections will discuss whether the actual differences across the Germanic languages are as striking as we should expect on the assumption that HG is a constraint on OS but not on SCR.

2.1 Prepositional Phrases

2.1.1 OS languages

OS cannot move an object across a preposition, i.e. an object cannot be extracted out of a PP by OS, (34) and (36). By contrast, preposition stranding is obligatory in Danish *wh*-movement, (35), and also possible, though not obligatory in Swedish where *wh*-movement may pied-pipe a preposition, (37).

- (34) Da a. Hvorfor læste Peter aldrig i den?
 why read Peter never in it
 b. *Hvorfor læste Peter den aldrig i ____?
 c. *Hvorfor læste Peter i den aldrig ____? (Vikner 2005: 397)
- (35) Da a. Hvorfor læste Peter aldrig i hvad?
 why read Peter never in what
 b. Hvad læste Peter aldrig i ____?
 what read Peter never in
 c. *I hvad læste Peter aldrig ____?
- (36) Sw a. Varför läste Peter aldrig i den?
 why read Peter never in it
 b. *Varför läste Peter den aldrig i ____?
 c. *Varför läste Peter i den aldrig ____? (Gunlög Josefsson, p.c.)
- (37) Sw a. Varför läste Peter aldrig i vad?
 why read Peter never in what
 b. Vad läste Peter aldrig i ____?
 what read Peter never in
 c. I vad läste Peter aldrig ____? (Gunlög Josefsson, p.c.)

2.1.2 SCR languages

Similar to OS, SCR of full DPs cannot move an argument across a preposition (or rather: out of a PP). This may not be so surprising given that preposition stranding is impossible in German, (39).

- (38) Ge a. ... weil er wahrscheinlich mit seiner Entlassung rechnet.
 because he probably on a discharge counts
 b. *... weil er seiner Entlassung wahrscheinlich mit _____ rechnet.
- (39) Ge a. Mit wessen Entlassung hätte er nie gerechnet?
 on whose discharge had he never counted
 b. *Wessen Entlassung hätte er nie mit gerechnet?

By contrast, pronominal adverbials may be split by SCR and by *wh*-movement.

- (40) Ge a. ... weil er wahrscheinlich damit rechnet.
 because he probably on that counts
 b. ... weil er da wahrscheinlich mit rechnet.

- (41) Ge a. Womit hätte er nie gerechnet?
on what *had* *he* *never* *counted*
 b. Wo hätte er nie mit gerechnet?

2.2 Particle Verbs

2.2.1 OS languages

In languages in which the object precedes a verb particle, OS is possible in particle verb constructions, compare (44) and (47). In Danish, the object always precedes the verb particle, (see (42) and (43)), and in Norwegian, Icelandic, and Faroese, the object has to precede the particle if it is a pronoun and it may do so if it is a lexical DP, (45) and (46).

- (42) Da a. *Jeg har ikke skrevet op nummeret.
I have *not written* *up number-the*
 b. Jeg har ikke skrevet nummeret op.
- (43) Da a. *Jeg har ikke skrevet op det.
I have *not written* *up it*
 b. Jeg har ikke skrevet det op.
- (44) Da a. *Jeg skrev ikke det op.
I wrote *not it up*
 b. Jeg skrev det ikke — op.
- (45) No a. Jeg har ikke skrevet opp nummeret.
I have *not written* *up number-the*
 b. Jeg har ikke skrevet nummeret opp.
- (46) No a. *Jeg har ikke skrevet opp det.
I have *not written* *up it*
 b. Jeg har ikke skrevet det opp.
- (47) No a. *Jeg skrev ikke det opp.
I wrote *not it up*
 b. Jeg skrev det ikke — opp.

By contrast, in languages in which the object follows the particle as in Swedish, (48), (49), OS is banned in case the particle occurs in VP, (50), but not if the particle is fronted, (51).¹

- (48) Sw a. Jag har inte skrivit upp numret.
 I have not written up *number-the*
 b. *Jag har inte skrivit numret upp.

 (49) Sw a. Jag har inte skrivit upp det.
 I have not written up *it*
 b. *Jag har inte skrivit det upp.

 (50) Sw a. Jag skrev inte upp det.
 I wrote not up *it*
 b. *Jag skrev det inte upp _____.

 (51) Sw a. UT kastade dom mej inte ____ (bara ned för trappan).
 out threw they me not (only down the stairs)
 b. (Ja, ja, jag ska mata din katt, men) IN släpper jag den inte ____.
 (All right, I will feed your cat but) in let I it not

2.2.2 SCR languages

In contrast to OS, SCR is not blocked by particles. Particles occupy a verb-adjacent position in German; consequently, they do not intervene between a scrambled argument and its trace (at least not linearly, but they might do so structurally).

- (52) Ge a. Er schmeißt nie seinen Müll weg.
he throws *never his garbage* *away*

b. Er schmeißt seinen Müll nie _____ weg.

(53) Ge a. ... weil er nie seinen Müll wegschmeißt.
because he never his garbage away-throws

b. ... weil er seinen Müll nie _____ wegschmeißt.

2.3 Double Object Constructions

2.3.1 OS languages

A direct object (DO) pronoun cannot shift across an *in situ* indirect object (IO), (54); yet, the DO may undergo OS if the IO is moved out of the way – by *wh*-movement, (55)a, topicalisation, (55)b, or OS, (55)c:

- (54) Sw a. Jag *gav* inte Elsa den. (Sells 2001: 48)
 I *gave* *not* *Elsa* *it*
 b. *Jag *gav* den inte Elsa _____. (Holmberg 1997: 203)

(55) Sw a. Vem *gav* *du* den inte ____ ____? (Holmberg 1997: 208)
 who *gave* *you* *it* *not*
 b. Henne *visar* *jag* den helst inte ____ ____.
 her *show* *I* *it* *rather not*
 c. Jag *visar* henne den inte ____ _____. (Holmberg 1997: 209)
 I *show* *her* *it* *not*

Likewise, multiple OS cannot change the order of objects in Danish and Icelandic:

In Norwegian, in contrast, multiple OS may reverse the order of objects, (58)d, although a DO pronoun cannot be moved across an *in situ* IO, (58)e:

- (58) No a. Eg ga ikkje ho den.
 I gave not her it
 b. Eg ga ho ikkje — den.
 c. Eg ga ho den ikkje — —.
 d. Eg ga den ho ikkje — —.
 e. *Eg ga den ikkje ho —. (Christensen 2005: 160)

In Swedish, it seems to be a question of dialectal variation whether or not the order of pronominal objects may be reversed by OS. According to Hellan & Platzack (1999), a DO pronoun may move across an *in situ* IO pronoun (but not across a full DP IO, compare (54) above), and Holmberg (1986) gives an example in which multiple OS changes the order of objects. According to Josefsson (2003: 205), however, the basic order IO < DO cannot be changed by OS: (59)b and (60)b were judged unacceptable in her tests.

2.3.2 SCR languages

SCR may reverse the order of arguments in German: A DO can be moved across an IO, irrespective of whether the IO occurs *in situ*, (61)d, or in a scrambled position itself, (61)e. However, the pronouns in (62) have to occur in a particular order, namely DO<IO, i.e. the reverse of the basic order.

- (61) Ge a. ... weil er nie dem Mann das Buch gegeben hat.
because he never the man the book given has

b. ... weil er dem Mann nie _____ das Buch gegeben hat.

c. ... weil er dem Mann das Buch nie _____ gegeben hat.

d. ... weil er das Buch nie dem Mann _____ gegeben hat.

e. ... weil er das Buch dem Mann nie _____ gegeben hat.

(62) Ge a. ... dass Fritz es ihm wahrscheinlich ____ gegeben hat.
that Fritz it him probably given has

b. *... dass Fritz ihm es wahrscheinlich ____ gegeben hat.

In Dutch, in contrast, the order of (non-focused) full DP objects cannot be reversed.²

- | | | | | | | |
|------------|--|----------|------------------|-----------------|---------|------|
| (63) Du a. | ... dat ik
<i>that I</i> | gisteren | <u>de jongen</u> | <u>het boek</u> | gegeven | heb. |
| b. | ... dat ik <u>de jongen</u> | gisteren | | <u>het boek</u> | gegeven | heb. |
| c. | ... dat ik <u>de jongen</u> <u>het boek</u> | gisteren | | | gegeven | heb. |
| d. | *... dat ik <u>het boek</u> | gisteren | <u>de jongen</u> | | gegeven | heb. |
| e. | *... dat ik <u>het boek</u> <u>de jongen</u> | gisteren | | | gegeven | heb. |

(De Hoop & Kosmeijer 1995:150)

A clitic DO pronoun, however, is able to move across a full DP IO in Dutch, and the order of two object pronouns is variable:

2.4 Summary

Given the contrast between OS and SCR (i.e. that OS is subject to Holmberg's generalisation whereas SCR is not), we would expect the two movements to differ in a number of respects. That this only holds to a certain extent, was shown in the above chapter:

- a. OS cannot extract an element out of a PP; and SCR cannot extract a DP out of a PP either, with pronominal *da* 'there' constituting an exception (section 2.1).
 - b. OS cannot move an object across a particle; if the object originates from a position to the left of the particle, OS is possible. In the SCR languages, a particle occupies a verb-adjacent position so that SCR never has to cross it (linearly, but maybe structrually).
 - c. There seems to be cross-linguistic variation in whether or not object movement may reverse the order of arguments: The order of objects may be changed by OS in certain dialects of Swedish and by multiple OS in Norwegian; similarly, SCR in German may reverse the order of arguments (indeed, SCR has to do so for pronominal arguments). By contrast, OS has to maintain the relative order of objects in Danish and Icelandic. Likewise, SCR of DPs cannot change the order of arguments in Dutch while a pronominal object may be moved across another argument.

3 Restrictions on the moved constituent

3.1 Phrasal status of the moved constituent

3.1.1 SCR languages

As shown in examples (23) and (24), repeated here as (66) and (67), full DPs may precede or follow a sentential adverbial in German whereas pronouns have to precede it.

- (66) Ge a. Warum liest Peter nie das Buch ____?
 why reads Peter never the book
 b. Warum liest Peter das Buch nie _____ ____?

- (67) Ge a. *Warum liest Peter nie es ____?
 why reads Peter never it ____?
 b. Warum liest Peter es nie — ____?

However, as noted by Haider & Rosengren (1998: 97), pronoun movement is not obligatory: a pronoun may stay within VP as long as it is not located directly to the right of an adverbial / modal particle as in (68) and (69).³

- (68) Ge a. Heute hat ja PETER es ihm gezeigt.
 today has PRT Peter it him shown
 b. Heute hat ja Peter ihm das Buch geZEIGT.
 c. ?Heute hat ja das Buch ihm PETER gezeigt.
 d. *Heute hat ja es ihm PETER — — gezeigt.
 today has PRT it him Peter shown
- (Haider & Rosengren 1998: 97/98)

- (69) Ge a. *Heute hat doch er Maria es gegeben.
 today has PRT he Maria it given
 b. Heute hat er doch __ Maria es gegeben.
 c. *Heute hat er Maria doch __ __ es gegeben.
 d. *Heute hat er Maria es doch __ __ __ gegeben.

Thus, SCR of a pronoun in German seems to be obligatory only in those contexts in which pronominal OS would take place, i.e. if the pronoun would otherwise occur to the immediate right of an adverbial. However, in those cases in which OS could not have taken place (i.e. if there is a non-adverbial element intervening between the base position and the target position of object movement), pronominal SCR is optional.

In contrast to German, Dutch non-clitic pronouns may stay to the immediate right of an adverb, (70), whereas clitic pronouns cannot, (71).

- (70) Du a. Jan heeft gisteren haar gekust.
 Jan has yesterday her kissed
 b. Jan heeft haar gisteren __ gekust. (Haegeman 1991: 32)

- (71) Du a. *Jan heeft gisteren 'r gekust.
 Jan has yesterday her kissed
 b. Jan heeft 'r gisteren __ gekust. (Haegeman 1991: 32)

3.1.2 OS languages

As mentioned in section 1.1, movement of a full DP in front of a sentential adverbial is possible in Icelandic, but not in the MSc languages, compare (7) vs. (17), repeated as (72) and (73).

- (72) Ic a. Af hverju las Pétur aldrei bessa bók?
why *read* *Pétur* *never* *this book*
 b. Af hverju las Pétur bessa bók aldrei _____?
- (73) Da a. Hvorfor læste Peter aldrig bogen?
why *read* *Peter* *never* *book-the*
 b. *Hvorfor læste Peter bogen aldrig _____?

Likewise, syntactically complex pronouns, i.e. modified and conjoined ones, cannot undergo OS in the MSc languages.

- (74) Da a. Hvorfor læste Peter aldrig den her?
why *read* *Peter* *never* *this here*
 b. *Hvorfor læste Peter den her aldrig _____? (Vikner 2005: 417)
- (75) Da a. Han så ikke dig og hende sammen.
he *saw* *not* *you and her* *together*
 b. *Han så dig og hende ikke _____ sammen. (Diesing & Jelinek 1993: 27)

Whether or not movement of a "weak", syntactically simple pronoun (i.e. non-modified, non-conjoined pronoun) may take place is subject to cross-linguistic variation. While in Danish and Icelandic, pronominal OS has to take place if possible, (76), OS is optional in Swedish, (77), as well as in the south-eastern dialects of Danish, (78), and ungrammatical in Finland Swedish, (79), and in the Swedish dialect Älvdalsmålet, (80) (Levander 1909, see also Hellan & Platzack 1999).

- (76) Da a. *Peter læste aldrig den.
Peter read *never* *it*
 b. Peter læste den aldrig ____.
- (77) Sw a. Jag såg inte den.
I saw *not* *it*
 b. Jag såg den inte _____. (Erteschik-Shir 2001: 54)
- (78) SD a. Du når såmænd 'nok o-det.
you *will.make* *indeed* *likely* *it* (from Ærø, Pedersen 1993: 205)

- b. Nej, jeg tror ikke odet.
no I think not it (from Langeland, Pedersen 1993: 205)

- (79) FS a. Ja, ser du, jag vet inte det själv.
 yes see you I know not it self
 b. *Ja, ser du, jag vet det inte __ själv. (Bergroth 1917: 172)

Furthermore, in dialects that are able to use subject pronoun forms even as objects in certain contexts (e.g. Skellefteå in Sweden or Malax in Finland), such "nominative" object pronouns may not undergo OS, whereas OS is possible with pronouns that have the standard object pronoun form (accusative).

- (81) Sw a. Maria ville kyssa jag / du / han / vi.
 Maria wanted-to kiss I/ you/ he/ we

b. Maria kysste inte jag.
 Maria kissed not I

c. *Maria kysste jag inte ____.

d. Maria kysste mej inte ____.

According to Jørgensen (2000), in the Swedish dialect from Umeå as well as in the Finland Swedish dialect from Västra Nyland, subject forms in object positions are only acceptable if they are contrastively stressed. The fact that these forms cannot undergo OS could then have to do with their prosodic properties (see the following section).

- (82) U a. Har dom också frågat DU – dom har frågat mej?
have they also asked you they have asked me
 b. *Har dom också fragat du? (Jørgensen 2000: 206)

- (83) U a. Elsa tycker om DU – int' om jag.
Elsa cares for you – not for me
 b. *Elsa tycker om du. (Jørgensen 2000: 206)

3.2 Prosody and Focus

3.2.1 OS languages

Not all pronouns may undergo OS: Focused ones have to stay *in situ*; they must follow a medial adverb.

OS of a focused full DP is, however, more or less acceptable in Icelandic.

- (86) Ic a. Pétur las aldrei PESSA BÓK.
 Pétur *read* *never this book*
 b. Pétur las PESSA BÓK aldrei. (Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, p.c.)

(87) Ic a. Sennilega las Pétur ekki PESSA BÓK HÉRNA,
 probably *read* *Pétur* *not this book here*
 b. ?Sennilega las Pétur PESSA BÓK HÉRNA ekki _____,
 ... heldur PESSA ÞARNA.
 but *this there* (Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, p.c.)

(88) Ic a. Sennilega las Pétur ekki BÆKURNAR,
 probably *read* *Pétur* *not books-the*
 b. ??Sennilega las Pétur BÆKURNAR ekki _____,
 ... heldur DAGBLAÐIÐ.
 but *newspaper-the* (Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, p.c.)

3.2.2 SCR languages

In the SCR languages, movement of a focused item is possible, irrespective of its phrasal status, pronoun vs. full DP.

- (89) Ge a. Gestern traf Peter nicht IHN (sondern SIE).
yesterday met Peter not HIM but HER
 b. ?Gestern traf Peter IHN nicht ___, (sondern SIE).

- (90) Ge a. Gestern traf Peter nicht PAUL (aber HANS)
yesterday met Peter not PAUL but HANS
 b. ?Gestern traf Peter PAUL nicht ____ (aber HANS).

- (91) Du A: Heeft Jan nog nooit zijn moeder gebeld?
has Jan yet never his mother called
 B: Nee, zijn moeder heeft HEM nog nooit ____ gebeld.
no his mother has him yet never called

(Delfitto & Corver 1998: 321)

- (92) Du a. ... dat ik gisteren de jongen HET BOEK gegeven heb.
that I yesterday the boys the book given have
 b. ... dat ik HET BOEK gisteren de jongen _____ gegeven heb.

(De Hoop & Kosmeijer 1995: 150)

Note that in contrast to "neutral" SCR, movement of a focused object may reverse the order of arguments, compare (63) above.

3.3 Adverbials

3.3.1 OS languages

Not only arguments but also pronominal adverbials may undergo OS:

- (93) Da a. ??Bor Peter ikke længere der?
lives Peter not longer there
 b. Bor Peter der ikke længere ____? (Vikner 2005: 422)

- (94) Da a. *Petersov alligevel ikke der.
Peter slept after.all not there
 b. Petersov der alligevel ikke _____. (Haider, Olsen, & Vikner 1995: 20)

- (95) Ic a. Býr Pétur ekki lengur þar?
lives Peter not longer there
 b. Býr Pétur þar ekki lengur ____? (Vikner 2005: 422)

However, a PP cannot shift, not even in Icelandic:

Likewise, a modified pronominal adverbial cannot be shifted in Icelandic.

Furthermore, although a full DP argument may undergo OS in Icelandic, a DP adverbial cannot be shifted in Icelandic either - independent of whether it is free (98) or selected for (99).

- (98) Ic a. Pétur las hana örugglega allan daginn.
Pétur *read* *it* *certainly every day*
 b. *Pétur las hana allan daginn örugglega _____.
 (Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, p.c.)

(99) Ic a. Ökuferðin tók örugglega tvær stundir.
drive-the *took* *certainly two hours*
 b. *Ökuferðin tók tvær stundir örugglega _____.
 (Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, p.c.)

In other words, Icelandic adverbials are apparently subject to the same restrictions as arguments in the MSc languages: only light pronouns may shift.

3.3.2 SCR languages

In German, by contrast, movement of (certain) adverbials and PPs is possible:

- (100) Ge a. ... weil Hans wahrscheinlich nicht dafür bezahlen will.
because Hans probably not for.that pay wants.to

b. ... weil Hans dafür wahrscheinlich nicht _____ bezahlen will.

(101) Ge a. ... weil Hans wahrscheinlich nicht für das Buch bezahlt.
because Hans probably not for the book pays

b. ... weil Hans für das Buch wahrscheinlich nicht _____ bezahlt.

- (102) Ge a. ... weil wahrscheinlich an Weihnachten Hans hier
 because probably at Christmas Hans here
 eine Rede hält.
 a talk gives
b. ... weil hier an Weihnachten wahrscheinlich _____ Hans ____
 eine Rede hält.

However, leftward movement of a PP in Dutch is subject to certain restrictions.

SCR of a PP is only possible with a restricted set of adverbial phrases: the PP *op mijn opmerking* 'on my remarks' may scramble across an adverbial like *nauwelijks* 'hardly', (103), but not across an adverbial like *gisteren* 'yesterday', (104); in contrast, SCR of a DP across *gisteren* is possible, (105).

- (103) Du a. Jan heeft nauwelijks op mijn opmerking gereageerd.
Jan has hardly on my remarks reacted
 b. Jan heeft op mijn opmerking nauwelijks gereageerd.
 (Broekhuis 2006: 22)

- (104) Du a. Jan heeft gisteren op mijn opmerking gereageerd.
Jan has yesterday on my remarks reacted
 b. *Jan heeft op mijn opmerking gisteren gereageerd.
 (Broekhuis 2006: 22)

Furthermore, SCR of a PP complement across an adverbial PP is always blocked, (106), SCR of a DP across such an adverbial PP, (107), - as well as across an adverbial DP, (108) - is always possible.

- (106) Du a. ... dat Jan na de vergadering op Marie wachtte.
 that *Jan* *after the meeting for Marie* *waited*
 b. *... dat Jan op Marie na de vergadering _____ wachtte.

- (107) Du a. ... dat Jan na de vergadering het boek wegbracht.
 that *Jan* *after the meeting* *the book* *brought-away*
 b. ... dat Jan het boek na de vergadering _____ wegbracht.

Moreover, PPs that contain a definite pronoun may scramble when the pronoun has its non-reduced form, (109), whereas usage of a weak pronoun is impossible in scrambled position, (110). In other words, the scrambled PP must be assigned stress, whereas object shift normally has the effect of destressing the moved element, leading Broekhuis (2006) to suggest that PP-movement does not involve SCR but rather focus movement. Like movement of focused DPs (compare (92) above), PP-movement may reverse the order of arguments, (111).

- (109) Du a. ... dat Jan nauwelijks naar hem luisterde.
 that *Jan* *hardly* *to him* *listened*
 b. ... dat Jan naar hem nauwelijks _____ luisterde. (Broekhuis 2006: 21)

(110) Du a. ... dat Jan nauwelijks naar 'm luisterde.
 that *Jan* *hardly* *to him* *listened*
 b. *... dat Jan naar 'm nauwelijks _____ luisterde. (Broekhuis 2006: 21)

(111) Du a. ... dat ik gisteren het boek aan de jongen gegeven heb.
 that I *yesterday* *the book* *to the boys* *given* *have*
 b. ... dat ik aan de jongen gisteren het boek _____ gegeven heb.
 c. ... dat ik aan de jongen het boek gisteren _____ _____ gegeven heb.
 d. ... dat aan de jongen ik het boek gisteren _____ _____ gegeven heb.

4 Restrictions on the target position of movement

4.1 Intermediate positions

4.1.1 OS languages

Pronominal OS targets the position to the left of all medial adverbs (see (112) and (113)), except for Swedish where pronouns may intervene between several adverbs, (115). Likewise, Icelandic DPs may occur in intermediate positions, (114).

- (112) Da a. I går læste Peter den uden tvivl ikke ____.
yesterday read Peter it without doubt not
 b. *I går læste Peter uden tvivl den ikke ____.

(Vikner 2005: 409)

- (113) Ic a. Jón las það líklega aldrei ____.
 Jón *read* *it* *probably* *never*
 b. *Jón las líklega það aldrei ____.

(Jónsson 1996: 66)

(114) Ic a. Jón las bókina líklega aldrei ____.
 Jón *read* *book-the* *probably* *never*
 b. Jón las líklega bókina aldrei ____.

(Jónsson 1996: 66)

(115) Sw a. Han läste ju alltså troligen inte dem.
 he *read* *as-you-know* *thus* *probably* *not* *them*
 b. Han läste ju alltså troligen dem inte ____.
 c. Han läste ju alltså dem troligen inte ____.
 d. Han läste ju dem alltså troligen inte ____.
 e. Han läste dem ju alltså troligen inte ____.

(adapted from Erteschik-Shir 2005: 72)

4.1.2 SCR languages

A scrambled DP may appear between several adverbs and - according to some speakers - this placement is also marginally acceptable for weak pronouns in German.

- (116) Ge a. Peter hat ohne Zweifel nicht das Buch gelesen.
Peter has *without doubt* *not* *the book* *read*
 b. Peter hat ohne Zweifel das Buch nicht _____ gelesen.
 c. Peter hat das Buch ohne Zweifel nicht _____ gelesen.

(117) Ge a. *Peter hat wahrscheinlich nicht sie getroffen.
Peter has *probably* *not* *them* *met*
 b. ?Peter hat wahrscheinlich sie nicht _____ getroffen.
 c. Peter hat sie wahrscheinlich nicht _____ getroffen.

Hence, SCR is similar to Icelandic OS of a full DPs and pronominal OS in Swedish in that it may target an intermediary position. Note, however, that a pronoun has to scramble across one adverb at least, (117)a, whereas OS is optional in Swedish, compare (77)a and (115)a.

5 Conclusion

The clause-internal leftward object movements in the Scandinavian languages and the continental West Germanic languages are similar in that

- a. weak pronominal objects are placed to the left of a sentential adverbial by SCR and OS, except for Swedish and the south-eastern dialects of Danish where OS is optional and for Finland Swedish and Älvdalsmålet where OS is ungrammatical; section 3.1.2. Similarly, SCR of Dutch non-clitic pronouns is optional and German pronouns only have to scramble if they would otherwise show up to the immediate right of the (lowest) adverb (compare sections 3.1.1 and 4.1.2),
- b. the SCR languages and Icelandic may optionally move full DPs (section 3.1),
- c. neither OS nor SCR can extract an element out of a PP (except for German *da* and Dutch *daar* 'there', 2.1),
- d. both OS and SCR are possible in particle verb constructions if the object originates in a position to the left of the particle (which is the case in all SCR languages but only in some of the OS languages, see section 2.2),
- e. it varies from language to language whether or not OS and SCR may reverse the order of arguments (this is possible in Norwegian and some varieties of Swedish as well as in German, but not in Danish, Icelandic, and not in Dutch, either, as far as full DPs are concerned; see section 2.3),
- f. focused objects may stay *in situ* (and must do so in the OS languages if pronominal, section 3.2),
- g. both OS and SCR may apply to both arguments and adverbials (though OS cannot apply to complex adverbial phrases whereas it is subject to cross-linguistic variation whether SCR does; see section 3.3),
- h. object movement may target an intermediary position in the SCR languages as well as in Swedish and Icelandic (full DPs only; section 4.1).

Hence, the main difference between OS and SCR is merely that the former presupposes movement of the main verb whereas the latter does not (Holmberg's generalisation, section 1). This contrast might have to do with the difference in basic verb placement, VO in the OS languages vs. OV in the SCR languages.

The number of other properties which may be linked to or even made to follow from Holmberg's generalisation would seem to be much smaller than often assumed in the literature.

Notes

¹ According to Vinka (1998, 1999), there are two classes of verbal particles in some Swedish varieties, transparent and non-transparent ones. Non-transparent particles do not permit the order *object < particle* whereas transparent ones do. Note that this order is only possible with pronominal objects.

- (i) %Sw a. *Kalle smutsade den ner.
Kalle dirtied it down
 b. Kalle tog dem av.
Kalle took them off
 c. Kalle satte den på.
Kalle switched it on (Bobaljik 2002: 239 from Vinka 1998: 271)
 d. *Kalle satte TVn på.
Kalle switched TV on (Sells 2001: 69)

The possibility of particle shift order is independent of OS: it may occur in embedded clauses.

- (ii) %Sw Jag vet [att Kalle inte tog dem av].
I know that Kalle not took them off (Bobaljik 2002: 239 from Vinka 1998: 272)

Particle shift in this dialect feeds OS. OS is impossible across non-transparent particles (compare (50)b above), but acceptable in constructions with transparent particles.

- (iii) %Sw Kalle tog dem inte __ av.
Kalle took them not __ off (Bobaljik 2002: 239)

Furthermore, an object may be placed in front of a particle in Swedish if the particle is complex, and may not follow the entire particle phrase. OS is possible in this case.

- (iv) Sw a. Vi kastade den ut genom fönstret.
we threw it out through window-the
 b. Vi kastade ut den genom fönstret.
ut den genom fönstret (Holmberg 1986: 201)
 c. *Vi kastade ut genom fönstret den.
- (v) Sw Vi kastade den genast ut genom fönstret.
we threw it at-once out through window-the (Holmberg 1986: 201)

Moreover, note that adjectives that take an NP complement may precede or follow their complement in Swedish (vi).

- (vi) Sw a. Hundens var tillgiven sin husse.
dog-the was devoted its master
 b. Hundens var sin husse tillgiven. (Holmberg 1986: 168)

According to Holmberg (1986), the fact that the preposed NP and the adjective can be topicalized or left-dislocated together indicates that they form a constituent.

- (vii) Sw Sin husse tillgiven (det) var den verklig.
his master devoted it was it truly (Holmberg 1986: 168)

If the NP complement is a weakly stressed pronoun it may undergo OS, i.e. OS may extract a pronoun out of an AP. Hence, OS is obviously possible if the object does not have to cross overt material as in case of particle verb constructions.

- (viii) Sw a. Hundarna var alla honom tillgivna.
dogs-the were all him devoted
 b. Hundarna var honom alla tillgivna. (Holmberg 1986: 168)
- (ix) Sw a. Hundarna var alla Erik tillgivna.
dogs-the were all Erik devoted
 b. *Hundarna var Erik alla tillgivna. (Holmberg 1986: 169)

² Reversal of the basic order of (non-focused) DP arguments is only possible if it results in the order *nominative < non-nominative*:

(i)	Du	a.	... dat <i>that</i>	<u>het meisje</u>	<u>de ergste rampen</u> _{NOM}	overkwamen. <i>happened.PL</i>
		b.	... dat	<u>de ergste rampen</u> _{NOM}	<u>het meisje</u>	overkwamen.
		c.	... dat (er) <i>that (there)</i>	<u>een meisje</u>	<u>erge rampen</u> _{NOM}	overkwamen.
		d.	... dat (er)	<u>a girl</u>	<u>terrible disasters</u>	<i>happened</i>
				<u>een meisje</u>	_____	overkwamen.

(Haider & Rosengren 2003: 248)

Moreover, movement of a focused object may cross another argument, compare (92) below. Likewise, a PP-object may be moved in front of a DP one, see (111).

³ But compare also the examples in (117), section 4.1.2, which show that German pronouns may show up in between several adverbials, i.e. that they may occur to the immediate right of a sentential adverbial as long as it is not the lowest sentential adverbial in the clause.

PART II

Remnant VP-Topicalisation

1 Holmberg's Generalisation: V^o-topicalisation or remnant VP-topicalisation?

As we have shown in PART I, the main verb has to leave VP for OS to be possible. However, that does not mean that it has to undergo V^o-to-I^o (see (1)b vs. (2)b) or V^o-to-I^o-to-C^o movement (see (1)a/(2)a vs. (1)c/(2)c), in that the main verb may also occur in clause-initial position, (3).

(1)	Da	a.	Hvorfor	<u>læste</u>	Peter	<u>den</u>	aldrig	_____	_____?
			why	<i>read</i>	<i>Peter</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>never</i>		
	b.	*	Jeg	spurgte	hvorfor	Peter	<u>den</u>	aldrig	<u>læste</u> _____.
			<i>I</i>	<i>asked</i>	<i>why</i>	<i>Peter</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>never</i>	<i>read</i>
	c.	*	Hvorfor	har		Peter	<u>den</u>	aldrig	<u>læst</u> _____?
			why	<i>has</i>		<i>Peter</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>never</i>	<i>read</i>

(Vikner 2005: 394-396)

(2)	Ic	a.	Af hverju	<u>las</u>	Pétur	<u>bessa bók</u>	alrei	_____	_____?
			why	<i>read</i>	<i>Pétur</i>	<i>this book</i>	<i>never</i>		
	b.	Ég	spurði	af hverju	Pétur	<u>læsi</u>	<u>bessa bók</u>	alrei	_____.
		<i>I</i>	<i>asked</i>	<i>why</i>	<i>Pétur</i>	<i>read</i>	<i>this book</i>	<i>never</i>	
	c.	*	Af hverju	hefur		Pétur	<u>bessa bók</u>	alrei	<u>lesið</u> _____?
			why	<i>has</i>		<i>Pétur</i>	<i>this book</i>	<i>never</i>	<i>read</i>

(Vikner 2005: 394-396)

(3)	Sw	a.	<u>Kysst</u> har	jag	<u>henne</u>	inte	_____	(bara hållit henne i handen). only held her by hand-the (Holmberg 1997: 205)	
			kissed have	<i>I</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>not</i>			
	Da	b.	<u>Kysset</u> har	jeg	<u>hende</u>	ikke	_____	(bare holdt hende i hånden). only held her in hand.the (Vikner 2005: 407)	
			kissed have	<i>I</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>not</i>			
	Ic	c.	<u>Kysst</u> hef	ég	<u>hana</u>	ekki	_____	(bara haldið í höndina á henni). only held in hand.the on her (Vikner 2005: 431)	
			kissed have	<i>I</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>not</i>			

Not just pronominal objects may be left behind when the verb occurs in clause-initial position, but also (epithetic) DPs may be stranded.¹ A stranded DP has to appear after the sentential adverbial, (4).

Holmberg (1997, 1999) assumes that Holmberg's generalisation is due to the filter in (5) that permits pronominal objects in front of an adverbial only if no phonological material follows.

- (5) *Object Adverb X, unless X is phonologically empty. (Holmberg 1997: 206)

The fact that OS of an infinitival clause subject across a non-finite main verb as in (6)b cannot be rescued by subsequent VP-topicalisation (7)b indicates that the filter in (5) may not be violated at any point in the course of derivation.

- (7) Sw a. Sett henne arbeta har jag inte.
 seen her work have I not
 b. *Sett _____ arbeta har jag henne inte. (Holmberg 1997: 206)

Holmberg (1997, 1999) concludes that the sentences in (3) must be derived by V^o-topicalisation, with subsequent OS (compare (8) below) and cannot involve OS prior to (remnant) VP-topicalisation, see (9).²

- (8) V^o-topicalisation? Holmberg (1997, 1999): YES!

- Sw a. [CP har [IP jag [VP₁ inte [VP₂ kysst henne]]]]]
 b. [CP [v^o Kysst] har [IP jag [VP₁ inte [VP₂ henne]]]]]
 c. [CP [v^o Kysst] har [IP jag henne [VP₁ inte [VP₂]]]]]

(9) Remnant VP-topicalisation? Holmberg (1997, 1999): NO!

Sw a.	[CP har [IP jag [VP1 inte [VP2 <u>kysst</u> <u>henne</u>]]]]
b.	[CP har [IP jag <u>henne</u> [VP1 inte [VP2 <u>kysst</u> <u>_____</u>]]]]
c.	[CP [VP2 <u>Kysst</u> <u>_____</u>] har [IP jag <u>henne</u> [VP1 inte <u>_____</u>]]]

violation of Holmberg's Generalisation!!!

However, if V°-topicalisation would be possible, we would expect the sentences in (10)b-(13)b to be acceptable, contrary to fact.

- (10) Da a. Jeg har ikke smidt den ud.
 I have not *thrown* *it* *out*
 b. *Smidt har jeg den ikke _____ _____ ud.
- (11) Da a. Jeg har aldrig læst den højt.
 I have never *read* *it* *aloud*
 b. *Læst har jeg den aldrig _____ _____ højt.
- (12) Da a. Jeg har ikke stillet det på bordet.
 I have not *put* *it* *on table-the*
 b. *Stillet har jeg det ikke _____ _____ på bordet.
- (13) Da a. Jeg har ikke sendt dem hjem.
 I have not *sent* *them* *home*
 b. *Sendt har jeg dem ikke _____ _____ hjem.

Against Holmberg (1997, 1999), we would like to suggest that remnant VP-topicalisation is possible, though it is subject to certain restrictions:

- (14) a. The material in Spec,CP has to be a contiguous part of a (remnant) VP, see sections 2.1, will be revised in section 3.
- b. Just like Holmberg (1997, 1999), we consider OS (and "pseudo-OS", see below) to be subject to Holmberg's generalisation at every point of the derivation, see section 2.2. Therefore, an object may not be extracted out of VP by OS (or "pseudo-OS") prior to VP-topicalisation. Extraction of an underlying object out of VP may only take place by "legal" movement, such as e.g. subject movement to Spec,IP (= passivisation).
- c. Theta-requirements force the entire site of the VP in the clause itself to be completely empty. If only some parts of the VP have moved to Spec,CP, the remnant parts of the VP

will also have to be moved elsewhere, see section 2.3 for the effects of this and section 3 for the reasons and the details of the analysis.

- d. The remnant part(s) has to undergo either OS or "pseudo-OS". "Pseudo-OS" is similar to OS in that it targets a position in front of the base position of the finite verb and is subject to HG, i.e. it may only take place if the finite verb has left its base position. Yet, in contrast to OS, it applies to full DPs in the MSc languages and it targets a position to the **RIGHT** of a sentential adverbial, hence "pseudo-OS".

2 Asymmetries in Remnant VP-Topicalisation

2.1 Stranding of DO vs. Stranding of IO

As Fox & Pesetsky (2005) mentions, remnant VP-topicalisation is possible in Swedish under certain conditions: In double object constructions, topicalisation of a non-finite main verb may take along the IO, stranding the DO in shifted position, (15)a. By contrast, stranding of an IO pronoun alone is not possible, (15)b. Moreover, both objects may be taken along or left behind together, (16).

According to Fox & Pesetsky (2005), the relative order of elements at one Spell-out phase may not be changed on another Spell-out phase, predicting that if IO precedes DO at the VP-phase (i.e. inside VP), it must also do so at the CP-phase (i.e. inside CP).

In German, there is also an asymmetry in stranding IO vs. DO by remnant VP-topicalisation. However, it goes in the opposite direction: Stranding of the IO is preferred over stranding of the DO (though the contrast is not as sharp as in Swedish / Danish, (17)c being marginal but not ungrammatical). In other words, changing the base order of the objects as in (17)b is preferable to keeping the base order as in (17)c under remnant VP-topicalisation in German.

- (17) Ge a. [VP Dem Mann das Buch gegeben] hat sie nicht.
 the man the book given has she not
 b. [VP _____ Das Buch gegeben] hat sie dem Mann nicht.
 c. ??[VP Dem Mann _____ gegeben] hat sie _____ das Buch nicht.
 d. [VP _____ _____ Gegeben] hat sie dem Mann das Buch nicht.

Although the asymmetries in remnant VP-topicalisation go in opposite directions in German and the Scandinavian languages (German permits IO stranding and disfavors DO stranding; Scandinavian permits DO stranding and prohibits IO stranding), they apparently have one property in common: Only the edge-most object may be left behind alone by remnant VP-topicalisation; in other words, only elements that form a contiguous string may be topicalised together. Since the Scandinavian languages and German display the same basic order of objects (IO precedes DO) but contrast in basic verb position (VO in the Scandinavian languages, OV in German), the languages differ in which one of the two objects may be stranded alone: the lower, rightmost DO in Scandinavian and the higher, leftmost IO in German, compare (15) vs. (17).

Note that the unacceptable sentence in (7)b, repeated here as (18)b, which led Holmberg (1997, 1999) to assume that remnant VP-topicalisation is not possible, violates this restriction that the phrases in Spec,CP have to be contiguous.

- (18) Sw a. Jag har inte sett henne arbeta.
 I have not seen her work
 b. *[VP Sett _____ arbeta] har jag henne inte. (Holmberg 1997: 206)

The assumption that remnant VP-topicalisation is restricted in this way (that they should have been contiguous before the movement to Spec,CP) is supported by the fact that stranding of the object is unacceptable in constructions with a particle verb, a verb with an additional PP-complement or with an adverbially modified VP, see (19)b-(22)b. In contrast, topicalisation of the full VP is possible.

- (19) Da a. [VP Smidt den ud] har jeg ikke.
 thrown it out have I not
 b. *[VP Smidt _____ ud] har jeg den ikke.

- (20) Da a. [VP Sendt dem hjem] har jeg ikke.
 sent them home have I not
 b. *[VP Sendt _____ hjem] har jeg dem ikke.

- (21) Da a. [VP Stillet det på bordet] har jeg ikke.
 put it on table-the have I not
 b. *[VP Stillet _____ på bordet] har jeg det ikke.

- (22) Da a. [VP Læst den højt] har jeg aldrig.
 read it aloud *have I* *never*
 b. *[VP Læst ___ højt] har jeg den aldrig.
 read it aloud *have I* *never*

2.2 Object vs. Subject

The restriction that remnant VP-topicalisation may only apply to a contiguous string would seem only to hold for objects. Traces of a subject (as in passives) are apparently not subject to this restriction, compare (23)a-(26)a vs. (23)b-(26)b.

- (23) Da a. *[VP Smidt ___ ud] har jeg den ikke.
 thrown out *have I it not*
 b. [VP Smidt ___ ud] blev den ikke.
 thrown out *was it not*
- (24) Da a. *[VP Sendt ___ hjem] har jeg dem ikke.
 sent home *have I them not*
 b. [VP Sendt ___ hjem] blev de ikke.
 sent home *were they not*
- (25) Da a. *[VP Stillet ___ på bordet] har jeg det ikke.
 put on table-the *have I it not*
 b. ?[VP Stillet ___ på bordet] blev det ikke.
 put on table-the *was it not*
- (26) Da a. *[VP Læst ___ højt] har jeg den aldrig.
 read aloud *have I it never*
 b. [VP Læst ___ højt] blev den aldrig.
 read aloud *was it never*

The contrasts in (23)-(26) suggest that Holmberg's generalisation holds at every level of the derivation: The underlying object cannot be moved out of VP by OS (prior to remnant VP-topicalisation) but may be moved to the subject position, Spec,IP, in passives. The a-examples in (23)-(26) are ill-formed, because e.g. [*smidt* ___ *ud*] in (23)a cannot be seen as a constituent: The trace/gap between *smidt* and *ud* could not have come about prior to the movement of the VP to Spec,CP. The b-examples in (23)-(26), on the other hand, are well-formed, because e.g. [*smidt* ___ *ud*] in (23)b is a legitimate constituent: The trace/gap between *smidt* and *ud* has come about through passivisation prior to the movement of the VP to Spec,CP.

2.3 Remnant VP-topicalisation out of a Main vs. an Embedded Clause

Moreover, there is an asymmetry between remnant VP-topicalisation out of a main clause and remnant VP-topicalisation out of an embedded clause.

Remember that there is a contrast between main and embedded clauses in finite verb movement in the MSc languages and Icelandic and therefore also in the availability of OS, compare PART I.

- (27) Da a. *Hvorfor e Peter aldrig læste den?
why *Peter* *never read it*
 b. Hvorfor læste Peter den aldrig ____ ____?
 (Vikner 2005: 394)

- (28) Da a. Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter e aldrig læste den.
I asked why Peter never read it
 b. *Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter læste den aldrig ____ ____?
 (Vikner 2005: 396)

- (29) Ic a. *Af hverju e Pétur aldrei las hana?
why Pétur never read it
 b. Af hverju las Pétur hana aldrei ____ ____?
 (Vikner 2005: 394)

- (30) Ic a. *Ég spurði af hverju Pétur e aldrei læsi hana.
I asked why Pétur never read it
 b. Ég spurði af hverju Pétur læsi hana aldrei ____ ____?
 (Vikner 2005: 396)

A full VP may be topicalised from both main clauses and embedded clauses.

- (31) Da a. [VP Set ham] har jeg ikke, ...
seen him have I not
 b. [VP Set det fjols] har jeg ikke, ...
seen that fool have I not
 c. [VP Set Peter] har jeg ikke, ...
seen Peter have I not
 ... hvis jeg skal være ærlig, men jeg har talt i telefon med ham.
if I should be totally honest but I have spoken in phone with him

Topicalisation of a remnant VP, by contrast, is only possible out of a main clause, (33), not out of an embedded clause in Danish: the stranded object may neither follow the finite auxiliary (in its base position), (34), nor may it precede it, (35).

- (35) Da a. *[VP Set ____] tror jeg ikke at du ham har , ...
 seen believe I not that you him have
 b. *[VP Set ____] tror jeg ikke at du det fjols har , ...
 seen believe I not that you that fool have
 c. *[VP Set ____] tror jeg ikke at du Peter har , ...
 seen believe I not that you Peter have
 ... men du kan måske nok have talt i telefon med ham.
 but you may perhaps well have spoken in phone with him
 ... du har garanteret kun set Johannes.
 you have guaranteed only seen Johannes

This asymmetry suggests that a stranded object has to occur in a position to the left of the base position of a finite verb, but can only do so if this verb has itself left its base position. Thereby, a pronominal object is placed to the left of a sentential adverbial, OS (33)a, whereas a full DP occurs to the right of a sentential adverbial, "pseudo-OS" (33)b,c. For reasons to be discussed below, this movement has to take place so that nothing is left in the base position of VP.

Note that remnant VP-topicalisation from embedded clauses is possible in passives, i.e. if the element left behind occurs in subject position:

- (36) Da a. [VP Set ____] blev han ikke, ...
 seen was he not
 b. [VP Set ____] blev det fjols ikke, ...
 seen was that fool not
 c. [VP Set ____] blev Peter ikke, ...
 seen was Peter not
 ... men der var nok mange der hørte ham.
 but there were probably many who heard him

- (37) Da a. [VP Set ____] tror jeg ikke at han blev, ...
 seen think I not that he was
 b. [VP Set ____] tror jeg ikke at det fjols blev, ...
 seen think I not that that fool was
 c. [VP Set ____] tror jeg ikke at Peter blev, ...
 seen think I not that Peter was
 ... men der var nok mange der hørte ham.
 but there were probably many who heard him

The hypothesis that (a) a stranded object has to undergo movement to some position to the left of the finite verb and (b) that this movement is only possible if the finite verb itself has left its base position (i.e. that OS or "pseudo-OS" has to take place) seems to be supported by the fact that Icelandic which has V°-to-I° movement in embedded clauses marginally permits a remnant object in VP-topicalisation out of an embedded clause.

- (38) Ic a. ??[_{VP} Kysst ____] hélt ég ekki að þú hefðir hana oft, ...
kissed *think* *I* *not* *that* *you* *have* *her* *often*
(Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson, p.c.)
- b. ??[_{VP} Kysst ____] hélt ég ekki að þú hefðir fíflíð, ...
kissed *think* *I* *not* *that* *you* *have* *fool-the*
- c. ??[_{VP} Kysst ____] hélt ég ekki að þú hefðir stelpuna, ...
kissed *think* *I* *not* *that* *you* *have* *girl-the*
(Theódóra Torfadóttir, Ásgrímur Angantýsson, p.c.)
... bara haldið í höndina á henni / því.
only held in hand.the on her / it

Since particles, PPs and (VP-internal) adverbials cannot undergo OS nor "pseudo-OS", they cannot be stranded by remnant VP-topicalisation, (irrespective of whether or not the object is taken along by VP-topicalisation or stranded as well).

- (39) Da a. *[_{VP} Smidt den ____] har jeg ikke ud.
thrown *it* *have* *not* *out*
b. *[_{VP} Smidt ____] har jeg den ikke ud.
- (40) Da a. *[_{VP} Læst den ____] har jeg ikke aldrig højt.
read *it* *have* *I* *never* *aloud*
b. *[_{VP} Læst ____] har jeg den aldrig højt.
- (41) Da a. *[_{VP} Stillet det ____] har jeg ikke på bordet.
put *it* *have* *I* *not* *on table-the*
b. *[_{VP} Stillet ____] har jeg det ikke på bordet.
- (42) Da a. *[_{VP} Sendt dem ____] har jeg ikke hjem.
sent *them* *have* *I* *not* *home*
b. *[_{VP} Sendt ____] har jeg dem ikke hjem.

We might however expect that VP-adjoined adverbials could be left behind (irrespective of whether an object is stranded or not): Given that the adverbial is external to the VP itself, nothing is pronounced at the base position of the core VP. As opposed to what was the case in (39)b-(42)b above, the adverbial in (43) should not need to undergo movement in order to guarantee that the phrase in Spec,CP can be analysed as a VP.

- (43) Da a. Han har nok [VP omhyggeligt [VP læst den]].
he has probably carefully read it
 b. ??[VP Læst den] har han ikke omhyggeligt, ...
read it has he not carefully
 c. ??[VP Læst ___] har han den ikke omhyggeligt, ...
... kun ret overfladisk.
only rather superficially

3 Is being contiguous enough?

From the discussion in the previous sections, we might expect that all that matters is that the remnant object is at the edge of the the VP right before this VP is topicalised. However, not all objects on the right edge may be left behind during VP-topicalisation: The object of an infinitival clause cannot be stranded by remnant topicalisation of the main clause VP although it is the rightmost element within that VP.

- (44) Da a. [VP Set [IP ham [VP fotografere hende]]] har jeg ikke.
seen him photograph her have I not
 b. *[VP Set [IP ham [VP fotografere ___]]] har jeg hende ikke.

Thus, besides the linear restriction, there would seem to also be a structural restriction, ruling out the leaving behind of an object which is too deeply embedded.³

Consider now the following facts. Leaving behind a remnant object when a main verb and a VP-adjoined adverbial are topicalised together is not only ungrammatical when the adverbial is right-adjoined, (45)c, but unexpectedly also when the adverbial is left-adjoined, (46)c:

- (45) Da.a. Han har nok [VP læst den omhyggeligt]
he has probably read it carefully
 b. [VP Læst den omhyggeligt] har han nok, ...
 c. *[VP Læst ___ omhyggeligt] har han den nok, ...
... men har han forstået den?
but has he understood it?

- (46) Da.a. Han har nok [VP omhyggeligt læst den]
he has probably carefully read it
 b. ?[VP Omhyggeligt læst den] har han nok, ...
 c. *[VP Omhyggeligt læst ___] har han den nok, ...
... men har han forstået den?
but has he understood it?

Also with Swedish particle verbs where the particle must precede the object, and the trace of the object therefore would occur at the edge, the object cannot be left behind during (remnant) VP-topicalisation:

- (47) Sw a. [VP Kastat bort den] har jag inte.
thrown out it have I not
 b. *[VP Kastat bort ____] har jag den inte. (Gunlög Josefsson, p.c.)

Also here, one possibility is that the objects in question are too deeply embedded. However, in cases of OS in clauses without VP-topicalisation, this depth of embedding would not seem to be a problem:

- (48) Da a. *Han læste [VP nok [VP omhyggeligt [VP _____ den]]].
he read probably carefully it
 b. Han læste den [VP nok [VP omhyggeligt [VP _____ _____]]]

It could now be suggested that although depth of embedding might not seem to be a problem for object shift, it is a problem for remnant topicalisation, i.e. that it is impossible to remnant-topicalise the underlined elements:

- (49) Da a. [VP omhyggeligt [VP læst den]] = (46)b
carefully read it
 Sw b. [VP kastat [PrtP bort den]] = (47)b
thrown out it

The problem with this is just that the same would be predicted to be the case when the remnant VP-topicalisation concerns a ditransitive verb and its indirect object,

- (50) Da a. [VP gett [VP henne den]] = (15)a
given her it

and this is not completely impossible, cf. (15) and (16) above.

Here is another attempt to see what the difference is between the ill-formed (49)a,b and the more or less well-formed (50). It amounts to fleshing out the condition on contiguity in (14)a.

Assume that in order for only part of an XP to be topicalised (i.e. to move to Spec,CP), the part left behind has to be interpreted as adjoined to the topicalised XP.

Assume further that it is only possible for an element to be reanalysed as adjoined to the minimal XP whose X^o contains its selecting/theta-assigning head (i.e. an object can only be adjoined to an XP which has in its X^o the verb that selected the object).

- (51) a. [VP V^o YP ZP] may be reanalysed as
 b. [VP [VP V^o YP] ZP]

- (52) a. [UP U^o [VP V^o YP ZP]] may NOT be reanalysed as
 b. [UP [UP U^o [VP V^o YP]] ZP]

In (51), the string V^o-YP may be moved to Spec,CP leaving behind ZP, because it is possible to reanalyse V^o-YP in (51)a as a constituent that excludes ZP, (51)b. In other words, ZP can be seen as adjoined to the minimal XP that contains its selecting verb in its X^o. In (52), on the other hand, the string U^o-V^o-YP could not be moved to Spec,CP leaving behind ZP, because this would presuppose ZP was adjoined to UP, i.e. to an XP that does not contain ZP's selecting verb in its X^o. (Note that we are here only talking about whether or not ZP may be left behind. In those cases where ZP may be left behind, it would have to undergo either OS or pseudo-OS, cf. section 2.3 above and further below.)

This would still keep the generalisation that only XPs at the edge can be left behind, hence the ungrammaticality of leaving an indirect object behind, e.g. (15)b, simply because the order is changed:

- (53) Sw a. [VP gett henne den] may NOT be reanalysed as
given her it
 b. [VP [VP gett den] henne]

and the same goes for the ungrammaticality of leaving an object behind but taking a following right-adjoined adverbial along, as in (45)c (as well as for particle constructions with the object-particle order as in Danish, e.g. (19)b, and for verbs with a PP-complement, e.g. (21)b):

- (54) Sw a. [VP [VP læst den] omhyggeligt]] may NOT be reanalysed as
read it carefully
 b. [VP [VP [VP læst] omhyggeligt] den]

It would also predict the ungrammaticality of leaving behind an object which is inside an infinitival clause when the topicalised VP is the VP that contains the infinitival clause, as in (44)b, where the problem is not the order, but that the potential reanalysis would require that *hende* was adjoined to the higher VP, i.e. to a VP that does not contain *hende*'s selecting verb in its V^o:

- (55) Da a. [VP set [IP ham [VP fotografere hende]]] may NOT be reanalysed as
 seen him photograph her
 b. [VP [VP set [IP ham [VP fotografere]]] hende]

The same goes for the ungrammaticality of leaving behind an object inside a particle phrase which is itself inside the topicalised VP, e.g. (47)b, where the potential reanalysis would require that *den* was adjoined to the VP, even though the V^o of this VP does not contain *den*'s selecting head, the particle *bort*:

- (56) Sw a. [VP kastat [PrtP bort den]] may NOT be reanalysed as
 thrown out it
 b. [VP [VP kastat [PrtP bort]]] den

(This presupposes that the particle is not incorporated into the verb, contrary to suggestions in e.g. Haegeman & Guéron 1999: 258).

A slightly different case is the ungrammaticality of leaving behind an object inside a VP which is itself inside the topicalised VP, e.g. (46)b, which shows that the object may only be reanalysed as adjoined to the **minimal** VP (i.e. excluding any adjuncts to this VP) that contains its selecting verb in its V^o:

- (57) Da a. [VP omhyggeligt [VP læst den]] may NOT be reanalysed as
 carefully read it
 b. [VP [VP omhyggeligt [VP læst]]] den

Finally, consider the well-formed case: Given a Larson-style (1988) analysis of double objects, the above would correctly predict the grammaticality of topicalising a double object VP, leaving behind the direct object, as in (15)a/(50):

- (58) Sw a. [VP₁ gett [VP₂ henne V₂ den]] may be reanalysed as
 given her it
 b. [VP₁ [VP₁ gett [VP₂ henne V₂]]] den]

because the VP₁ that *den* 'it' is adjoined to does contain the verb selecting *den*, i.e. *gett* 'given' in its head position.

Summing up, we are changing condition (14)a from

"the material in Spec,CP has to be a contiguous part of a (remnant) VP"
into

"it must be possible to (re)analyse the material in Spec,CP as a constituent"

and then we are adding a condition on what is a possible reanalysis, namely that an element can only be reanalysed as adjoined to the minimal XP that contains its selecting verb (or particle) in its X° , maybe a condition that is a consequence of theta-role-assignment.

The intuition is something like the following: If you must have a VP that contains the verb but not all its arguments, the "missing" argument should at least be adjoined to this VP, (59)b. Subsequently, it is then possible to move the "inner" VP to Spec,CP, (59)c. As we have seen, at this point ZP has to undergo OS or pseudo-OS, (59)d, and we would like to suggest that this is because we have to arrive at the last stage, (59)e. The reason why we could not just stop at (59)c but had to go on to (59)e, is that in (59)c, ZP was no longer adjoined to the minimal XP that contains its selecting verb (or particle) in its X° , and therefore something must have gone wrong with the theta-requirements. Moving ZP (by means of OS or pseudo-OS) makes it possible to arrive at a structure that can be (re)analysed as having a trace of ZP inside Spec,CP, i.e. a structure without any problems with the theta-requirements.

- (59)
- a. [VP V^o YP ZP]
 - b. [VP [VP V^o YP] ZP]
 - c. [CP [VP V^o YP] ... [VP _____ ZP]]
 - d. [CP [VP V^o YP] ... ZP ... [VP _____ __]]
 - e. [CP [VP V^o YP __] ... ZP ... [VP _____]]

It is not quite obvious whether or not this analysis could be adapted to also account for the impossibility of leaving behind non-arguments, as in (39)-(42).

4 Conclusion

We have tried to argue for an alternative analysis of both Holmberg's (1997, 1999) V°-topicalisations and Fox & Pesetsky's (2005) remnant double object VP topicalisations by assuming the following:

- a. It must be possible to (re)analyse the material in Spec,CP as a constituent. In order for only part of an XP to be topicalised (i.e. to move to Spec,CP), the part left behind has to be interpreted as adjoined to the topicalised XP. Furthermore, it is only possible for an element to be reanalysed as adjoined to the minimal XP whose X° contains its selecting/theta-assigning head (i.e. an object can only be adjoined to an XP which has in its X° the verb that selected the object).
- b. Just like Holmberg (1997, 1999), we consider OS (and "pseudo-OS", see below) to be subject to Holmberg's generalisation at every point of the derivation, see section 2.2. Therefore, an object may not be extracted out of VP by OS (or "pseudo-OS") prior to VP-topicalisation. Extraction of an underlying object out of VP may only take place by "legal" movement, such as e.g. subject movement to Spec,IP (= passivisation).
- c. It must be possible to (re)analyse the material in Spec,CP as a constituent. This is fine if a VP is topicalised, but if a remnant VP is topicalised, it must have been reanalysed as a constituent, i.e. without the remnant object which is now seen as adjoined to the VP: An object can only be reanalysed as adjoined to the minimal XP that contains its selecting verb (or particle) in its X°, maybe a condition that is a consequence of theta-role-assignment.
- d. The remnant part(s) has to undergo either OS or "pseudo-OS", in order for the remnant VP in Spec,CP to be analysed as an entire VP. "Pseudo-OS" is similar to OS in that it targets a position in front of the base position of the finite verb and is subject to Holmberg's generalisation, i.e. it may only take place if the finite verb has left its base position. Yet, in contrast to OS, it applies to full DPs in the MSc languages and it targets a position to the **right** of a sentential adverbial, hence "pseudo-OS".

Notes

¹ Note that stranding of a full DP is not only possible for epithetic ones: non-epithetic DPs may be left behind if focused.

- (i) Da Kysset har jeg ikke MARIE, men SOPHIE.
kissed have I not Marie but Sophie

² Note that OS in the V⁰-topicalisation analysis is countercyclical: It targets a lower position than the previous movement of V⁰, violating Chomsky's (1993) Extension Principle (unless OS is adjunction and the Extension Condition is restricted to specifier positions / substitution).

³ The fact that stranding of the infinitival clause object is also (close to) unacceptable if the infinitival verb is topicalised alone, i.e. if the object trace would not be that deeply embedded, as in (i)d, may not be a problem, as the various topicalisations of the infinitival clause are all rather problematic:

- (i) Da a. ?? [IP Ham [VP fotografare hende]] så jeg ikke.
him photograph her saw I not
 b. * [IP Ham [VP fotografare ____]] så jeg hende ikke.
 c. ?? [VP fotografare hende] så jeg ham ikke.
 d. ??/* [VP fotografare ____] så jeg ham hende ikke.

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