

**The Germanic languages and the SOV/SVO difference**

**VII. Object Shift and Scrambling – An Introduction**

**Sten Vikner**, Department of English, Institute of Language, Literature & Culture,  
University of Aarhus, DK-8000 Århus C, Denmark

[sten.vikner@hum.au.dk](mailto:sten.vikner@hum.au.dk) - [www.hum.au.dk/engelsk/engsv](http://www.hum.au.dk/engelsk/engsv)

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(joint work with Eva Engels, University of Aarhus, Denmark, [eva.engels@hum.au.dk](mailto:eva.engels@hum.au.dk))

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**Abstract**

Although they both place an object to the left of a sentential adverbial, Scandinavian Object Shift (OS) and continental West Germanic Scrambling (SCR) are normally treated as two different phenomena since they do not take place under exactly the same circumstances. In this introductory hand-out, I merely want to illustrate their properties and thus 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.

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## 1 Movement and Holmberg's Generalisation

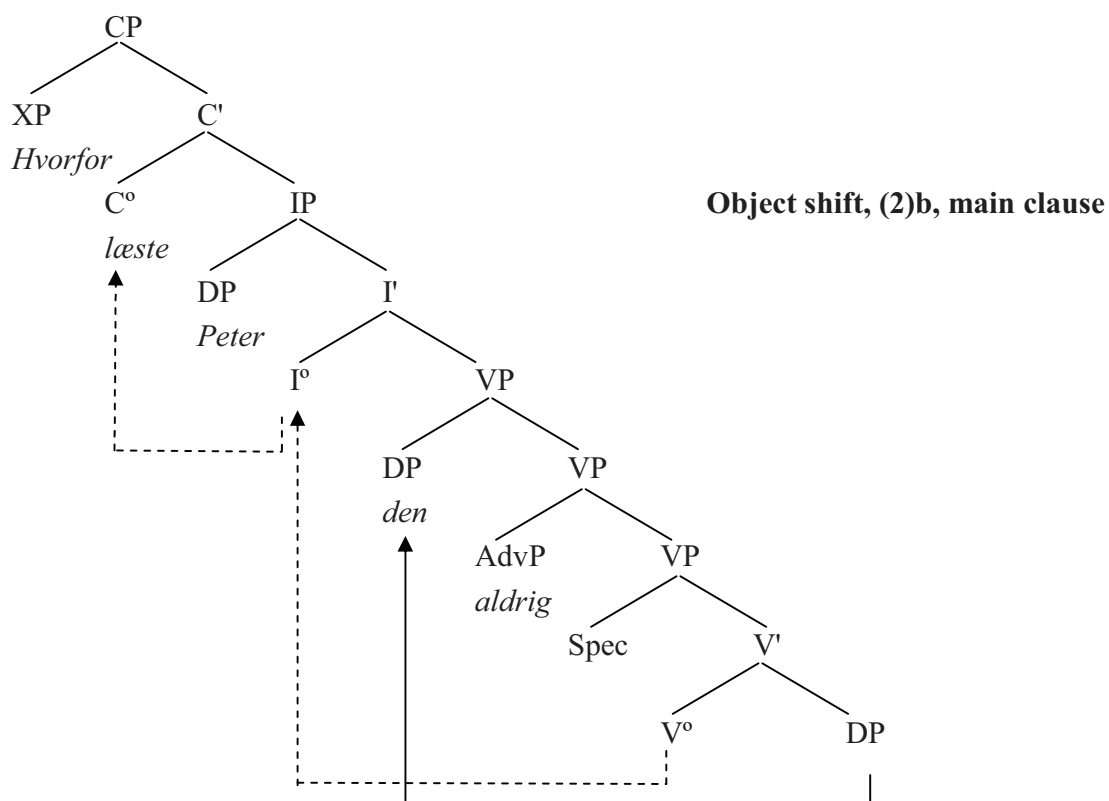
### 1.1 Object Shift

#### 1.1.1 Verb Movement

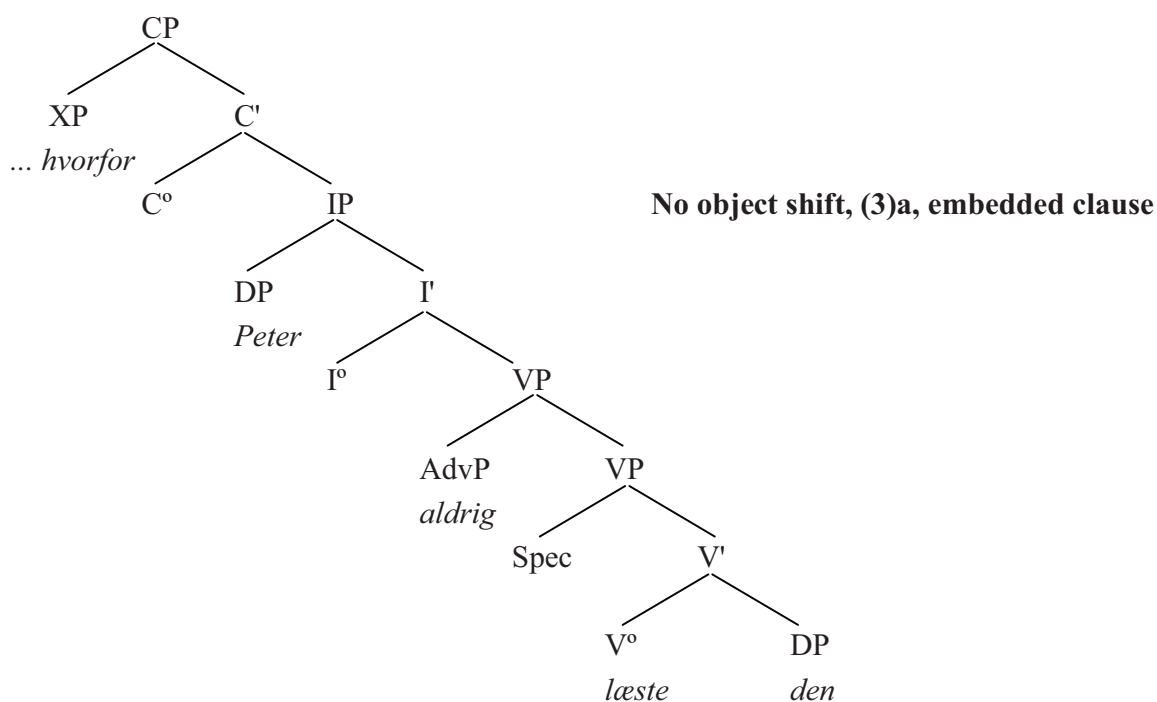
OS is dependent on movement of the main verb: OS may only take place if the main verb does not occupy its base position. In MSc, a finite verb moves to the V2 position in main clauses (C°) whereas it stays *in situ* in embedded clauses; consequently, OS is only possible in main clauses but not in embedded clauses. Moreover, note that in MSc, OS may apply to pronouns but not to full DPs, compare (1) vs. (2); see also section 2.1.1 below.

- (1) Da a. Hvorfor læste Peter aldrig \_\_\_\_ bogen?  
          *why read Peter never book-the*  
      b. \*Hvorfor læste Peter bogen aldrig \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_?
- (2) Da a. \*Hvorfor læste Peter aldrig \_\_\_\_ den?  
          *why read Peter never it*  
      b. Hvorfor læste Peter den aldrig \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_?
- (3) Da a. Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter aldrig læste den.  
          *I asked why Peter never read it*  
      b. \*Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter den aldrig læste \_\_\_\_.

(4) Da



(5) Da

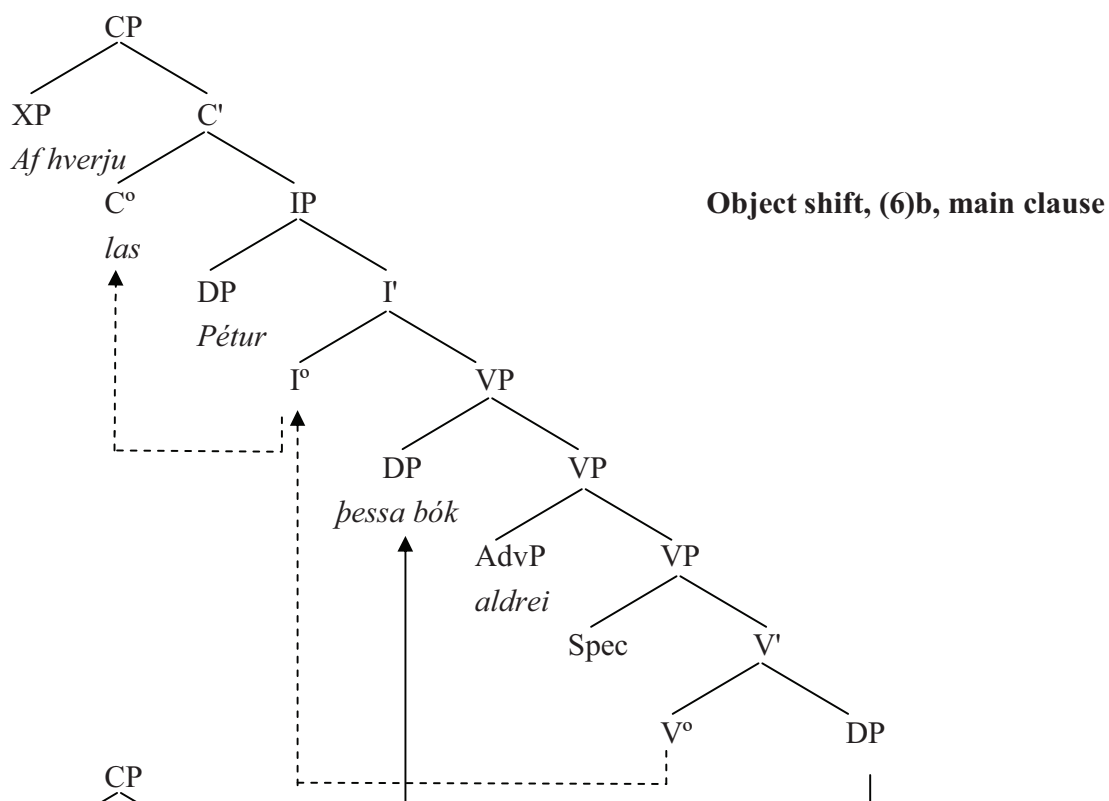


(Potential *wh*-movement of *hvorfor* 'why' and subject movement from Spec,VP to Spec,IP is left out.)

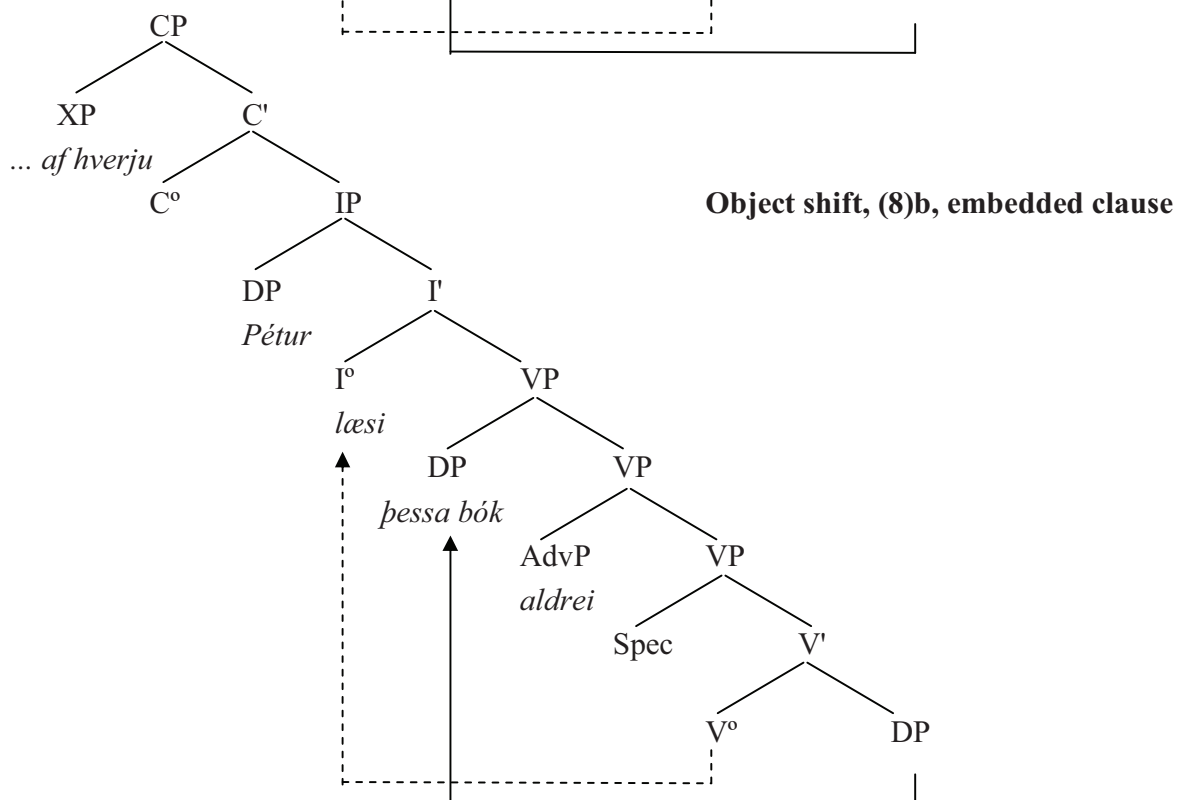
contrast to MSc, finite verb movement in Icelandic takes place in both main clauses and embedded clauses. Furthermore, OS does not only apply to pronouns, (7) and (9), but may also optionally affect full nouns in Icelandic, see (6) and (8).

- |     |    |    |                                            |                                 |                       |                              |                                       |                                       |
|-----|----|----|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (6) | Ic | a. | Af hverju<br><i>why</i>                    | <u>las</u><br><i>read</i>       | Pétur<br><i>Pétur</i> |                              | aldrei _____<br><i>never</i>          | <u>þessa bók?</u><br><i>this book</i> |
|     |    | b. | Af hverju                                  | <u>las</u>                      | Pétur                 | <u>þessa bók</u>             | aldrei _____                          | _____?<br>(Vikner 2005: 394)          |
| (7) | Ic | a. | *Af hverju<br><i>why</i>                   | <u>las</u><br><i>read</i>       | Pétur<br><i>Pétur</i> |                              | aldrei _____<br><i>never it</i>       | <u>hana?</u>                          |
|     |    | b. | Af hverju                                  | <u>las</u>                      | Pétur                 | <u>hana</u>                  | aldrei _____                          | _____?<br>(Vikner 2005: 394)          |
| (8) | Ic | a. | Ég spurði af hverju<br><i>I asked why</i>  | Pétur læsi<br><i>Pétur read</i> |                       | aldrei _____<br><i>never</i> | <u>þessa bók.</u><br><i>this book</i> |                                       |
|     |    | b. | Ég spurði af hverju                        | Pétur læsi                      | <u>þessa bók</u>      | aldrei _____                 | _____.<br>(Vikner 2005: 396)          |                                       |
| (9) | Ic | a. | *Ég spurði af hverju<br><i>I asked why</i> | Pétur læsi<br><i>Pétur read</i> |                       | aldrei _____<br><i>never</i> | <u>hana.</u><br><i>it</i>             |                                       |
|     |    | b. | Ég spurði af hverju                        | Pétur læsi                      | <u>hana</u>           | aldrei _____                 | _____.<br>(Vikner 2005: 396)          |                                       |

(10) Ic



(11) Ic



- ) Da a. Hvorfor havde Peter aldrig læst den?

There are cases, however, where a non-finite verb moves.

First, infinitival verbs in Icelandic control structures undergo V<sup>0</sup>-to-I<sup>0</sup> movement (or maybe V<sup>0</sup>-to-

- ) Ic a. \*María lofaði að ekki lesa bókina.

Second, OS may take place in clauses with a non-finite main verb if the verb occurs in clause-initial position.

- (19) Sw a. Kysst har jag henne inte \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ (bara hållit henne i handen).  
*kissd 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).  
*kissd 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).  
*kissd have I her not only held in hand.the on her*  
(Vikner 2005: 431)

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, 1997: 208).

- (20) **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 adverbials or other elements adjoined to VP) may block object shift.  
E.E. & S.V.]

HG does not only refer to main verbs but to any intervening non-adverbial element. The following sections show how HG affects object positions in particle verb constructions and double object constructions.



### 1.1.2 Particle Verbs

In languages in which the object precedes a verb particle, OS is possible in particle verb constructions, compare (23) and (26). In Danish, the object always precedes the verb particle, (21) and (22), 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 full DP, (24) and (25).

- |      |       |          |              |            |                |                 |                   |
|------|-------|----------|--------------|------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| (21) | Da a. | *Jeg     | har          | ikke       | skrevet        | op              | <u>nummeret</u> . |
|      |       | <i>I</i> | <i>have</i>  | <i>not</i> | <i>written</i> | <i>up</i>       | <i>number-the</i> |
|      | b.    | Jeg      | har          | ikke       | skrevet        | <u>nummeret</u> | op.               |
|      |       |          |              |            |                |                 |                   |
| (22) | Da a. | *Jeg     | har          | ikke       | skrevet        | op              | <u>det</u> .      |
|      |       | <i>I</i> | <i>have</i>  | <i>not</i> | <i>written</i> | <i>up</i>       | <i>it</i>         |
|      | b.    | Jeg      | har          | ikke       | skrevet        | <u>det</u>      | op.               |
|      |       |          |              |            |                |                 |                   |
| (23) | Da a. | *Jeg     | skrev        | ikke       |                | <u>det</u>      | op.               |
|      |       | <i>I</i> | <i>wrote</i> | <i>not</i> |                | <i>it</i>       | <i>up</i>         |
|      | b.    | Jeg      | skrev        | <u>det</u> | ikke           | —               | op.               |
|      |       |          |              |            |                |                 |                   |
| (24) | No a. | Jeg      | har          | ikkje      | skrevet        | opp             | <u>nummeret</u> . |
|      |       | <i>I</i> | <i>have</i>  | <i>not</i> | <i>written</i> | <i>up</i>       | <i>number-the</i> |
|      | b.    | Jeg      | har          | ikkje      | skrevet        | <u>nummeret</u> | opp.              |
|      |       |          |              |            |                |                 |                   |
| (25) | No a. | *Jeg     | har          | ikkje      | skrevet        | opp             | <u>det</u> .      |
|      |       | <i>I</i> | <i>have</i>  | <i>not</i> | <i>written</i> | <i>up</i>       | <i>it</i>         |
|      | b.    | Jeg      | har          | ikkje      | skrevet        | <u>det</u>      | opp.              |
|      |       |          |              |            |                |                 |                   |
| (26) | No a. | *Jeg     | skrev        | ikkje      |                | <u>det</u>      | opp.              |
|      |       | <i>I</i> | <i>wrote</i> | <i>not</i> |                | <i>it</i>       | <i>up</i>         |
|      | b.    | Jeg      | skrev        | <u>det</u> | ikkje          | —               | opp.              |

By contrast, in languages in which the object follows the particle as in Swedish, see (27) and (28), OS may not take place across a particle, (29).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

- (27) Sw a. Jag har inte skrivit upp numret.  
*I have not written up number-the*  
b. \*Jag har inte skrivit numret upp.
- (28) Sw a. Jag har inte skrivit upp det.  
*I have not written up it*  
b. \*Jag har inte skrivit det upp.
- (29) Sw a. Jag skrev inte upp det.  
*I wrote not up it*  
b. \*Jag skrev det inte upp \_\_\_\_.

However, as with participles in (19) above, also particles in Swedish (and other languages) may move to Spec,CP in which case OS may take place after all.

- 
- (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* (Vinka 1998: 271, cited in Bobaljik 2002: 239)  
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* (Vinka 1998: 272, cited in Bobaljik 2002: 239)

Particle shift in this dialect feeds OS. OS is impossible across non-transparent particles (compare (29)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 it may not follow the entire particle phrase. OS is possible in this case, (v).

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

(30) 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*

(Holmberg 1997: 209)

### 1.1.3 Double Objects

In double object constructions, an indirect object pronoun (IO) may undergo OS independent of the direct object (DO).

(31) Da a. \*Jeg gav ikke hende bogen.  
*I gave not her book-the*  
 b. Jeg gav hende ikke \_\_\_\_ bogen.

By contrast, whether or not a DO pronoun may undergo OS depends on the position of the IO. A DO pronoun cannot shift across an *in situ* IO, (32); yet, the DO may undergo OS if the IO is moved out of the way – by *wh*-movement, (33)a, topicalisation, (33)b, or OS, (33)c:

(32) Sw a. Jag gav inte Elsa den. (Sells 2001: 48)  
*I gave not Elsa it*

b. \*Jag gav den inte Elsa \_\_\_\_ (Holmberg 1997: 203)

(33) Sw a. Vem gav du den inte \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_?  
*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: 209/209)  
*I show her it not*

Just as a DO cannot shift across an *in situ* IO, multiple OS cannot change the order of objects in Danish and Icelandic:<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> 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 (32) 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: (i)b and (ii)b were judged unacceptable in her tests.

- (34) Da a. Jeg gav hende den ikke \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_.  
*I gave her it not*  
 b. \*Jeg gav den hende ikke \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_.
- (35) Ic a. P gaf örugglega konunginum ambáttina.  
*P gave certainly king-the slave-the*  
 (= '... the slave to the king')  
 b. P gaf konunginum ambáttina örugglega \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_.  
 c. \*P gaf ambáttina konunginum örugglega \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_.

## 1.2 Scrambling

### 1.2.1 Verb Movement

Object positions in the SCR languages do not depend on the position of the main verb: SCR is possible in both main clauses with a finite main verb where the verb moves to V2 position, (36) and (37), and in embedded clauses or clauses with a non-finite main verb where no movement of the main verb takes place, (38)- (43). Similar to Icelandic, a non-pronominal object may optionally undergo SCR, cf. that it may either precede or follow the adverbial *nie* 'never', e.g. (36), whereas a pronominal object must precede the adverbial *nie* 'never', e.g. (37).

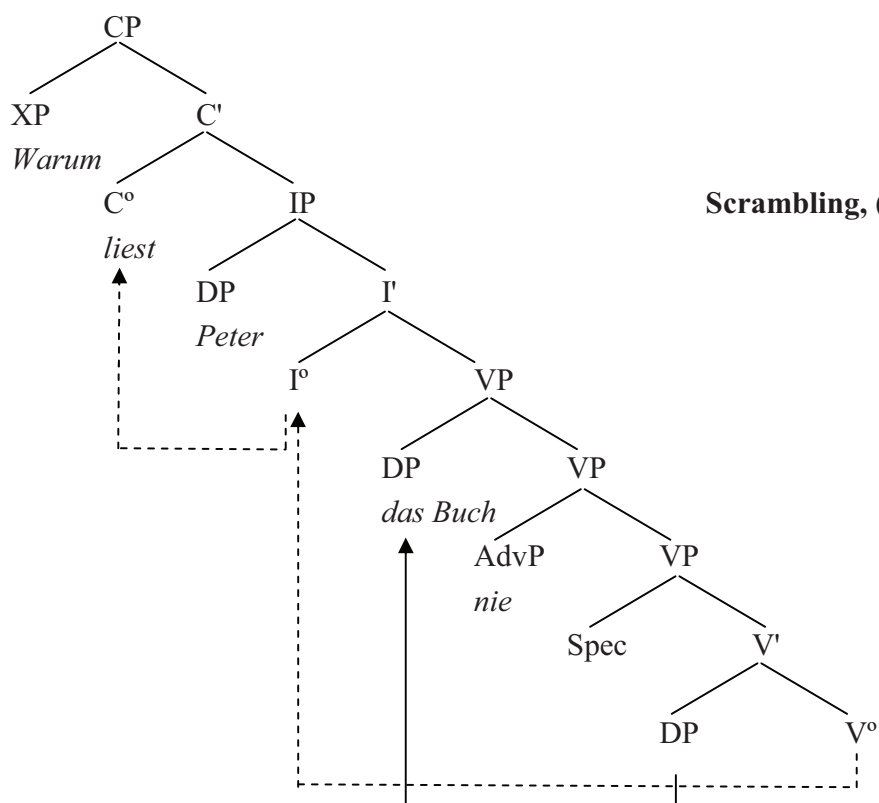
- (i) Sw a. Han visade henne inte \_\_\_\_ den.  
*he showed her not it*  
 b. Han gav den inte henne \_\_\_\_.  
*he gave it not her* (Hellan & Platzack 1999: 131/132)
- (ii) Sw a. Jag gav henne den inte \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_.  
*I gave her it not*  
 b. Jag gav den henne inte \_\_\_\_.  
*I gave her it* (Holmberg 1986: 207)

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

- |          |    |          |             |            |            |            |             |
|----------|----|----------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| (iii) No | a. | Eg       | ga          |            | ikkje      | <u>ho</u>  | <u>den.</u> |
|          |    | <i>I</i> | <i>gave</i> |            | <i>not</i> | <i>her</i> | <i>it</i>   |
|          | b. | Eg       | ga          | <u>ho</u>  | ikkje      |            | <u>den.</u> |
|          | c. | Eg       | ga          | <u>ho</u>  | <u>den</u> | ikkje      | —           |
|          | d. | Eg       | ga          | <u>den</u> | <u>ho</u>  | ikkje      | —           |
|          | e. | *Eg      | ga          |            | <u>den</u> | ikkje      | <u>ho</u>   |
- (Christensen 2005: 160)

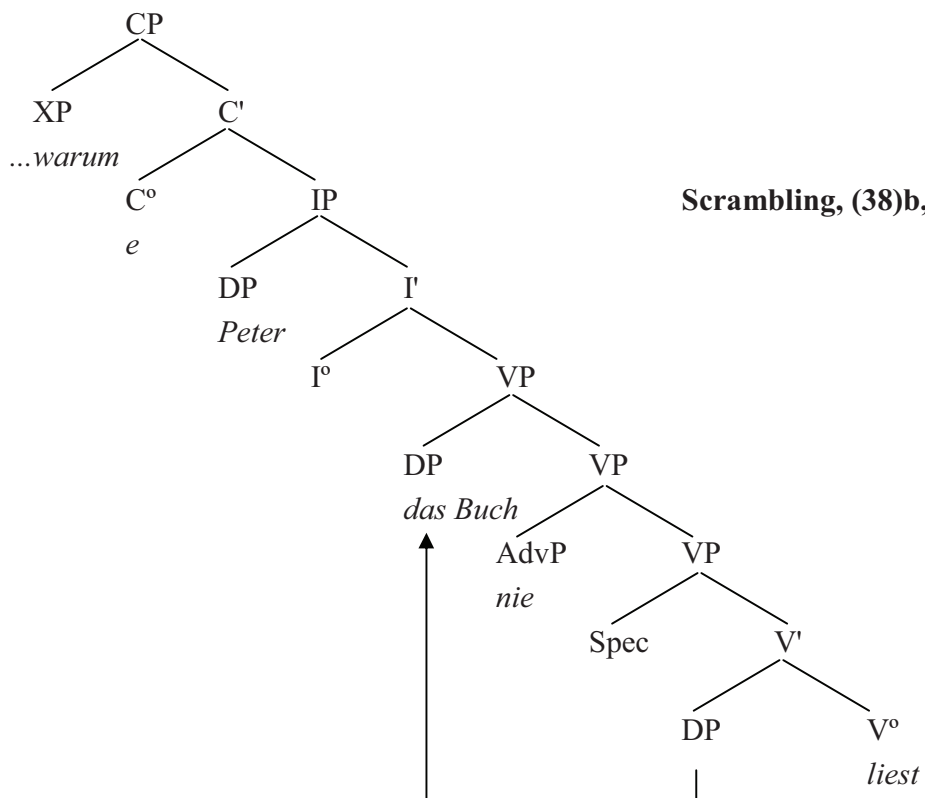
- (36) Ge a. Warum liest Peter nie das Buch \_\_\_\_?  
*why reads Peter never the book*  
b. Warum liest Peter das Buch nie \_\_\_\_?
- (37) Ge a. \*Warum liest Peter nie es \_\_\_\_?  
*why reads Peter never it*  
b. Warum liest Peter es nie \_\_\_\_?
- (38) Ge a. Ich frage mich warum Peter nie das Buch liest.  
*I ask myself why Peter never the book reads*  
b. Ich frage mich warum Peter das Buch nie \_\_\_\_ liest.
- (39) 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.
- (40) Ge a. Warum hat Peter nie das Buch gelesen?  
*why has Peter never the book read*  
b. Warum hat Peter das Buch nie \_\_\_\_ gelesen?
- (41) Ge a. \*Warum hat Peter nie es gelesen?  
*why has Peter never it read*  
b. Warum hat Peter es nie \_\_\_\_ gelesen?
- (42) Ge a. Ich frage mich warum Peter nie das Buch gelesen hat.  
*I ask myself why Peter never the book read has*  
b. Ich frage mich warum Peter das Buch nie \_\_\_\_ gelesen hat.
- (43) Ge a. \*Ich frage mich warum Peter nie es gelesen hat.  
*I ask myself why Peter never it read has*  
b. Ich frage mich warum Peter es nie \_\_\_\_ gelesen hat.

(44) Ge



Scrambling, (36)b, main clause

(45) Ge



Scrambling, (38)b, embedded clause

The dependence of OS on verb movement was captured by HG in section 1.1.1 above. Consequently, at first glance, the fact that SCR does not depend on verb movement suggests that SCR is not subject to HG. However, whether or not SCR may be affected by HG relies on the exact definition of HG. The definition in (20) above, repeated in (46), is vague with respect to whether precedence or c-command of a phonologically visible category blocks movement.

(46) **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 adverbials or other elements adjoined to VP) may block object shift.

E.E. & S.V.]

In case c-command is the decisive factor, SCR cannot be subject to HG: The main verb in final position c-commands its object which may move nevertheless. However, if precedence is the decisive factor, the question of whether or not SCR is subject to HG cannot be determined by its independence of verb movement: SCR languages are OV; i.e. the verb never intervenes linearly between the base position of an object and its scrambled position and, consequently, could never have a blocking effect on SCR (see also a similar suggestion in Déprez 1994:111).

The next sections focus on the question of whether or not a linear version of HG also affects SCR. For that, we will look at constructions in which an effect of HG was found in the OS languages, particle verbs and double object constructions.

### 1.2.2 Particle verbs

In contrast to OS, SCR is never 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). Hence, it cannot be determined whether or not SCR is subject to a linear HG on the basis of particle verbs.

- |      |       |     |                  |                    |                    |                    |                    |
|------|-------|-----|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| (47) | Ge a. | Er  | wirft            |                    | nie                | <u>seinen Müll</u> | weg.               |
|      |       |     | <i>he throws</i> |                    | <i>never</i>       | <i>his garbage</i> | <i>away</i>        |
|      | b.    | Er  | wirft            | <u>seinen Müll</u> | nie                | _____              | weg.               |
|      |       |     |                  |                    |                    |                    |                    |
| (48) | Ge a. | ... | weil             | er                 | nie                | <u>seinen Müll</u> | wegwirft.          |
|      |       |     | <i>because</i>   | <i>he</i>          | <i>never</i>       | <i>his garbage</i> | <i>away-throws</i> |
|      | b.    | ... | weil             | er                 | <u>seinen Müll</u> | nie                | _____ wegwirft.    |

### 1.2.3 Double Objects

There is cross-linguistic variation within the SCR languages as to whether or not SCR may change the order of arguments.

In German, SCR may reverse the order of arguments: A DO can move across an IO, irrespective of whether the IO occurs *in situ*, (49)d, or in a scrambled position itself, (49)e. The pronouns in (50) preferably occur in the order DO<IO, i.e. the reverse of the basic order.

- (49) Ge a. ... weil er nie der Frau den Roman gegeben hat.  
*because he never the woman the novel given has*  
 b. ... weil er der Frau nie \_\_\_\_\_ den Roman gegeben hat.  
 c. ... weil er der Frau den Roman nie \_\_\_\_\_ gegeben hat.  
 d. ... weil er den Roman nie der Frau \_\_\_\_\_ gegeben hat.  
 e. ... weil er den Roman der Frau nie \_\_\_\_\_ gegeben hat.
- (50) Ge a. ?... dass Fritz ihr ihn wahrscheinlich \_\_\_\_\_ gegeben hat.  
*that Fritz her him probably given has*  
 b. ... dass Fritz ihn ihr wahrscheinlich \_\_\_\_\_ gegeben hat.

Similarly, movement of a pronoun does not have to maintain the base order of arguments in Dutch: A clitic DO pronoun is able to move across a full DP IO, and the order of two object pronouns is variable.

- (51) Du a. ??...dat Jan Marie 't gegeven heeft.  
*that Jan Mary it given has*  
 b. ... dat Jan 't Marie \_\_\_\_\_ gegeven heeft. (Zwart 1993: 129)
- (52) Du a. ?... dat Jan 'r 't gegeven heeft.  
*that Jan her it given has*  
 b. ... dat Jan 't 'r \_\_\_\_\_ gegeven heeft. (Zwart 1993: 129)

However, by contrast, the order of (non-focused) full DP objects cannot be reversed in Dutch: A full DP DO cannot move across an IO, irrespective of whether the IO occurs *in situ* or in scrambled position itself.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Reversal of the basic order of (non-focused) DP arguments is only possible if it results in the order *nominative* < *non-nominative*:



- (53) Du a. ... dat ik gisteren de jongen het boek gegeven heb.  
*that I yesterday the boys the book given have*  
b. ... dat ik de jongen gisteren \_\_\_\_\_ het boek gegeven heb.  
c. ... dat ik de jongen het boek gisteren \_\_\_\_\_ gegeven heb.  
d. \*... dat ik het boek gisteren de jongen \_\_\_\_\_ gegeven heb.  
e. \*... dat ik het boek de jongen gisteren \_\_\_\_\_ gegeven heb.
- (De Hoop & Kosmeijer 1995:150)

The prohibition against reversal of the order of arguments in the OS languages was traced back to HG: Object movement cannot cross an intervening non-adverbial element, compare section 1.1.3 above. The same restriction on full DP SCR in Dutch could be accounted for by a linear conception of HG: While a verb *in situ*, a particle as well as an IO all c-command a DO, only the latter also precedes the DO and would thus intervene between the scrambled position of the DO and its trace; verb and particle do not intervene and are thus expected not to block SCR.

However, under the assumption that this restriction on SCR of full DPs in Dutch is in fact an effect of HG, i.e. that HG affects SCR in Dutch, HG must be violable or subject to parametric variation: While OS is subject to HG irrespective of the complexity of the shifted constituent, SCR of pronominal and non-pronominal phrases in German as well as SCR of pronouns in Dutch differ from Dutch full DP SCR in that they may move an object across a higher argument. Moreover, the contrast between full DPs and pronouns in Dutch as to the ability to scramble across a higher argument points to the conclusion that pronoun SCR and full DP SCR have to be differentiated, i.e. they are two different movement devices. (Note that in addition to this, Dutch also allows a full DP to move across a higher argument if it is focused, indicating that there is a further movement device for focused phrases which is not subject to HG and which has to be distinguished from SCR of defocused constituents; see (91) below.)

- 
- (i) Du a. ... dat het meisje de ergste rampen<sub>NOM</sub> overkwamen.  
*that the girl the most-terrible disasters happened.PL*  
b. ... dat de ergste rampen<sub>NOM</sub> het meisje overkwamen.  
c. ... dat (er) een meisje erge rampen<sub>NOM</sub> overkwamen.  
*that (there) a girl terrible disasters happened.PL*  
d. ... dat (er) erge rampen<sub>NOM</sub> een meisje overkwamen.
- (Haider & Rosengren 2003: 248)

Moreover, a PP-complement may be moved in front of a DP one, see (104).

### 1.3 Summary

The previous sections have argued that OS and SCR differ from each other only to a certain extent. Although there is variation between OS and SCR as to which elements move and when they move, this variation is actually expected under a linear conception of HG:

- a. OS requires movement of the main verb, whereas SCR does not. However, the base position of the verb linearly intervenes between a moved object and its trace in the Scandinavian languages, whereas it does not in the continental West Germanic languages. Hence, under a linear conception of HG, this contrast would be expected even if both OS and SCR were subject to HG.
- b. There is variation within the OS languages as to whether OS can move an object in a particle verb construction. However, also this variation follows from independent differences: The object of a particle verb cannot move across the particle. All cases where the object of a particle verb does move turn out to be cases where OS or SCR begins in a position to the left of the particle, and therefore does not have to cross a particle linearly. This is so in some OS languages and in all the SCR languages, cf. that as we saw in hand-out II, all particles in the SCR languages are to the right of the object.
- c. Only in double object constructions are the conditions for the application of HG the same for all the Germanic languages under consideration, because the IO precedes the DO in the base order in all the languages, and, consequently, movement of the DO would have to cross a linearly intervening element if the IO stays in situ. Nevertheless, we also find cross-linguistic variation as to whether or not object movement is possible in this case: While OS across the IO in Danish and Icelandic is ruled out, the availability of SCR across the IO depends on the complexity of the moved element in Dutch (pronouns vs. complex phrases); and finally in German, both SCR of pronouns and SCR of complex phrases across the IO is possible. These last facts would seem to point to the conclusion that HG is subject to parametric variation, applying to Scandinavian OS and Dutch SCR of complex phrases, but not to SCR in German nor to pronominal SCR in Dutch.

## 2 Restrictions on the syntactic category of the moved constituent

### 2.1 Object Shift

#### 2.1.1 Complexity

As mentioned in section 1.1.1, movement of a full DP in front of a sentential adverbial may optionally take place in Icelandic, whereas it is unacceptable in MSc, compare (1) vs. (6), repeated as (54) and (55).

- (54) Ic a. Af hverju las Pétur aldrei þessa bók?  
*why read Pétur never this book*  
b. Af hverju las Pétur þessa bók aldrei \_\_\_\_\_?

- (55) 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, may undergo OS in Icelandic, see (56) and (57), while they cannot do so in MSc, see (58) and (59).

- (56) Ic a. Af hverju las Pétur aldrei þessa hérna?  
*why read Pétur never this here*  
b. Af hverju las Pétur þessa hérna aldrei \_\_\_\_\_? (Vikner 2005: 417)

- (57) Ic a. Ég þekki ekki hann og hana.  
*I know not him and her*  
b. Ég þekki hann og hana ekki \_\_\_\_\_. (Diesing & Jelinek 1993: 27)

- (58) Da a. Hvorfor læste Peter aldrig den her?  
*why read Peter never this here*  
b. \*Hvorfor læste Peter den her aldrig \_\_\_\_\_? (Vikner 2005: 417)

- (59) 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)

Moreover, focused pronouns cannot undergo OS: Focused pronouns have to stay *in situ*; they must follow a medial adverb.<sup>4</sup>

- [illegible]

<sup>4</sup> OS of a focused full DP is, however, more or less acceptable in Icelandic.

- |       |    |    |                 |             |                  |                           |                         |
|-------|----|----|-----------------|-------------|------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| (i)   | Ic | a. | Pétur           | las         |                  | aldrei                    | <u>ÞESSA BÓK.</u>       |
|       |    |    | <i>Pétur</i>    | <i>read</i> |                  | <i>never</i>              | <i>this book</i>        |
|       |    | b. | Pétur           | las         | <u>ÞESSA BÓK</u> | aldrei.                   |                         |
| (ii)  | Ic | a. | Sennilega       | las         | Pétur            | ekki                      | <u>ÞESSA BÓK HÉRNA,</u> |
|       |    |    | <i>probably</i> | <i>read</i> | <i>Pétur</i>     | <i>not this book here</i> |                         |
|       |    | b. | ?Sennilega      | las         | Pétur            | ekki                      | <u>ÞESSA BÓK HÉRNA</u>  |
|       |    |    |                 |             |                  | _____                     |                         |
|       |    |    |                 |             |                  | ... heldur                | ÞESSA ÞARNA.            |
|       |    |    |                 |             |                  | <i>but</i>                | <i>this there</i>       |
| (iii) | Ic | a. | Sennilega       | las         | Pétur            | ekki                      | <u>BÆKURNAR,</u>        |
|       |    |    | <i>probably</i> | <i>read</i> | <i>Pétur</i>     | <i>not books-the</i>      |                         |
|       |    | b. | ??Sennilega     | las         | Pétur            | ekki                      | <u>BÆKURNAR</u>         |
|       |    |    |                 |             |                  | _____                     |                         |
|       |    |    |                 |             |                  | ... heldur                | DAGBLAÐIÐ.              |
|       |    |    |                 |             |                  | <i>but</i>                | <i>newspaper-the</i>    |

Ic a. \*Af hverju las Pétur aldrei hana?  
*why read Pétur never it*  
 b. Af hverju las Pétur hana aldrei \_\_\_\_\_?  
 (Vikner 2005: 394)

- (64) Sw a. Jag såg inte den.  
           *I saw not it*  
       b. Jag såg den inte \_\_\_\_\_. (Erteschik-Shir 2001: 54)

- (65) SD a. Du når såmænd 'nok odet.  
           *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)

- (66) 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)

- (67) Äl a. An såg int mig.  
           *he saw not me*  
       b. \*An såg mig int . (Levander 1909:124)

Holmberg (1986) accounts for both this contrast in the applicability of OS to elements of different complexity and for HG in terms of case assignment (see also Vikner 1994 and Homberg & Platzack

1995). An object is obligatorily assigned case by  $V^\circ$  if  $V^\circ$  contains a verb, ruling out OS if the main verb stays *in situ*. However in case  $V^\circ$  contains a trace of a verb,  $V^\circ$  only assigns case optionally; in other words, if a verb has moved out of VP, it is possible for its object not to be assigned case by the verb trace, and therefore to move into a different position. According to Holmberg (1986: 208, 217), a shifted object is not assigned case at all: A shifted object has morphological case and, consequently, does not need to be assigned case syntactically. Permitting OS only for objects with morphological case, this hypothesis predicts the cross-linguistic contrast in its applicability to elements of different complexity: Icelandic differs from MSc in that morphological case is realised on all DPs in Icelandic whereas only pronouns are case-marked in MSc.

The necessity of morphological case for the availability of OS is apparently also supported by 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 in these dialects with pronouns that have the standard object pronoun form (accusative). In other words, a clearly case-marked form would seem to be a prerequisite for OS.<sup>5</sup>

- (68) 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<sub>SUB</sub> kysste jag<sub>OBJ</sub> inte \_\_\_\_.  
 d. Maria kysste mej inte \_\_\_\_.
- (Holmberg 1986: 212)

<sup>5</sup> Another potential problem for Holmberg's (1986) approach is that in Icelandic, the direct object does not always have accusative case, but may have one of the other three cases: The object is genitive in (i), it is dative in (ii), and it is even nominative in (iii) (where the subject is dative, see Sigurðsson 1989: 198-241 and Taraldsen 1995), while in (68)c nominative case prevented OS.

- (i) Ic a. Í gær leitaði Pétur sennilega ekki þessarar bókar.  
*yesterday looked-for Peter.NOM probably not this book.GEN*  
 b. Í gær leitaði Pétur þessarar bókar sennilega ekki \_\_\_\_.  
 c. Í gær leitaði Pétur þessarar bókar sennilega ekki \_\_\_\_.  
 (Vikner 1994: 512)
- (ii) Ic a. Í gær lýsti Pétur sennilega ekki þessari bók.  
*yesterday described Peter.NOM probably not this book.DAT*  
 b. Í gær lýsti Pétur sennilega þessari bók ekki \_\_\_\_.  
 c. Í gær lýsti Pétur þessari bók sennilega ekki \_\_\_\_.  
 (Vikner 1994: 512)
- (iii) Ic a. Í gær þótti þér sennilega ekki þessi bók skemmtileg.  
*yesterday thought.3.SG you.SG.DAT probably not this book.DAT amusing.NOM*  
 b. Í gær þótti þér sennilega þessi bók ekki \_\_\_\_ skemmtileg.  
 c. Í gær þótti þér þessi bók sennilega ekki \_\_\_\_ skemmtileg..  
 (Vikner 2005: 414)

However, 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 (60) above).

- (69) 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)

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

Moreover, not all elements that have morphological case may also undergo OS: Full DP objects have morphological case in Faroese, and yet they may not undergo OS.<sup>6</sup>

- (71) Fa a. Jógvan keypti ikki bókina.  
           *Jógvan bought not book-the.ACC*  
       b. \*Jógvan keypti bókina ikki \_\_\_\_\_. (Barnes 1992: 28)

- (72) Fa a. \*Jógvan keypti ikki hana.  
           *Jógvan bought not it.ACC*  
       b. Jógvan keypti hana ikki \_\_\_\_\_. (Vikner 1994: 502)

---

<sup>6</sup> According to Holmberg & Platzack (1995), morphological case in Faroese is of a weaker type such that DPs cannot OS: For example, a Faroese object does not retain oblique Case under passivization, in contrast to an Icelandic one.

- (i) Fa a. Teir hjálpti honum.  
           *they helped him.DAT*  
       b. \*Honum bleiv hjálpin \_\_\_\_\_.  
           *him.DAT was helped*  
       c. Hann bleiv hjálpin \_\_\_\_\_.  
           *he.NOM was helped* (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 173)

- (ii) Ic a. Þeir hjálpuðu honum.  
           *they helped him.DAT*  
       b. Honum var hjálpað \_\_\_\_\_.  
           *him.DAT was helped*  
       c. \*Hann var hjálpað \_\_\_\_\_.  
           *he.NOM was helped* (Holmberg & Platzack 1995: 173)

However, if m-case needs to be strong for OS, then pronouns should only shift in Icelandic.

Furthermore, "strong", i.e. focused, modified, or conjoined, pronouns have morphological case in MSc, but cannot undergo OS, compare examples (58)-(60).

As will be shown in the next section, even the generalisation that morphological case is a necessary (though obviously not sufficient) condition for OS does not hold: pronominal adverbials which do not bear case can shift as well.

### 2.1.2 Adverbials

Not only arguments but also pronominal adverbials may undergo OS:<sup>7</sup>

- (73) Da a. ??Bor Peter ikke længere der?  
           *lives Peter not longer there*  
       b. Bor Peter der ikke længere \_\_\_\_? (Vikner 2005: 422)

- (74) Da a. \*Peter sov alligevel ikke der.  
           *Peter slept after.all not there*  
       b. Peter sov der alligevel ikke \_\_\_\_\_. (Haider, Olsen, & Vikner 1995: 20)

- (75) Ic a. Býr Pétur ekki lengur þar?  
           *lives Peter not longer there*  
       b. Býr Pétur þar ekki lengur \_\_\_\_? (Vikner 2005: 422)

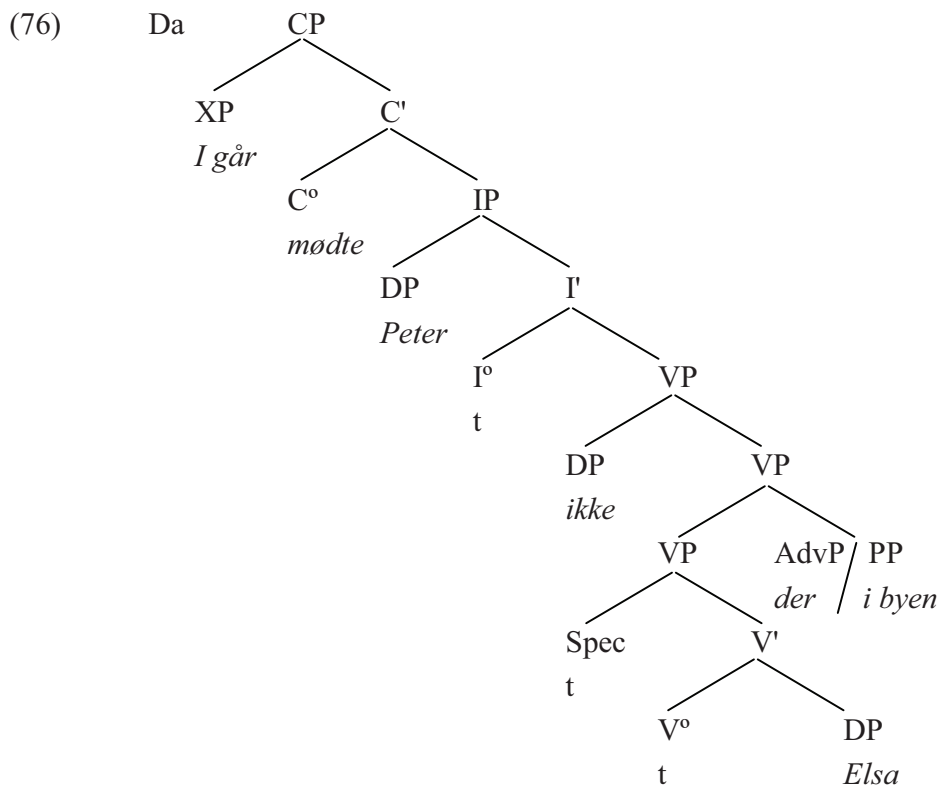
---

<sup>7</sup> However, note that not all pronominal adverbials may undergo OS, e.g. *nu* 'now' or *sådan* 'in this way, thus'. In German, by contrast, SCR of these adverbials is possible, see also section 2.2.2 below.

- (i) Da a. Jeg arbejder ikke nu.  
           *I work not now*  
       b. \*Jeg arbejder nu ikke \_\_\_\_.
- (ii) Da a. Jeg arbejder ikke sådan.  
           *I work not in-this-way*  
       b. \*Jeg arbejder sådan ikke \_\_\_\_.
- (iii) Ge a. ?Ich arbeite nicht jetzt.  
           *I work not now*  
       b. Ich arbeite jetzt nicht \_\_\_\_.
- (iv) Ge a. Ich kann nicht so arbeiten.  
           *I can not in-this-way work*  
       b. Ich kann so nicht \_\_\_\_ arbeiten



Under the assumption that a clause-final free adverbial is adjoined to the right of VP, as illustrated in (76), HG has to refer to the linear precedence rather than c-command: An object may undergo OS in the presence of a clause-final adverbial, see (77)b, while OS of an adverbial is only possible if there is no intervening object, (77)c. In (76), the object precedes the adverbial, but does not c-command it, while the adverbial c-commands the object but does not precede it.



- (77) Da a. I går mødte Peter ikke Elsa i byen.  
           yesterday met Peter not Elsa in town-the  
       b. I går mødte Peter hende ikke \_\_\_\_ i byen.  
           yesterday met Peter her not \_\_\_\_ in town-the  
       c. \*I går mødte Peter der ikke Elsa \_\_\_\_.  
           yesterday met Peter there not Elsa

Similarly, *der* 'there' in (78) may undergo OS in the presence of the c-commanding, but following adverbial *i går* 'yesterday', but not in the presence of the non-c-commanding, but preceding adverbial *godt* 'well'.

- (78) Da a. Jeg sov ikke godt der i går.  
           *I slept not well there yesterday*  
       b. Jeg sov der ikke \_\_\_\_ i går.  
       c. \*Jeg sov der ikke godt \_\_\_\_.

Like multiple OS of two pronominal arguments is possible and must maintain the order of arguments in Danish and Icelandic, OS of a pronominal adverbial may target a position to the left right of a shifted pronominal argument.

- (79) Da Peter havde troet at Sofie ville komme til receptionen, men  
       *Peter had believed that Sofie wanted come to reception-the but*  
       a. han så hende der nu ikke \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_.  
           *he saw her there just not*  
       b. \*han så der hende nu ikke \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_.

Likewise, the example in (80) with a shifted pronominal argument and a subcategorized adverbial is acceptable.

- (80) Da a. Peter stiller ikke bøgerne op på hylden.  
           *Peter puts not books-the up on shelf-the*  
       b. \*Peter stiller ikke dem op på hylden.  
       c. Peter stiller dem ikke \_\_\_\_ op på hylden.  
       d. Peter stiller ikke bøgerne der.  
       e. \*Peter stiller der ikke bøgerne \_\_\_\_.  
       f. Peter stiller dem der ikke \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_.

Note that in case a pronominal argument co-occurs with *der* 'there' in shifted position, as e.g. *hende der* 'her there' in (79), this sequence only allows for an interpretation as two constituents, argument + local adverbial [*hende*] [*der*], not as one constituent, i.e. not as adverbially modified pronoun [*hende der*]. This fact is not directly compatible with the assumption made by Vikner (1994), Christensen (2005) and many others that multiple OS is the result of movement of a more complex constituent: The complex constituent [*hende der*] comprising two pronominal elements cannot undergo OS, compare (58) above.

Though the pronominal adverbial *der* 'there' may undergo OS, a PP cannot shift, not even in Icelandic:

- (81) Ic a. Býr Pétur ekki lengur í Kaupmannahöfn?  
           *lives Petur not longer in Copenhagen*  
       b. \*Býr Pétur í Kaupmannahöfn ekki lengur \_\_\_\_? (Vikner 2005: 424)

Likewise, a modified pronominal adverbial cannot shift in Icelandic.

- (82) Ic a. Býr Pétur ekki lengur barna vinstra megin?  
           *lives Pétur not longer there left side*  
       b. \*Býr Pétur barna vinstra megin ekki lengur \_\_\_\_\_?

Furthermore, although a full DP argument may undergo OS in Icelandic, a DP adverbial cannot shift in Icelandic either - independent of whether it is free (83) or selected for (84).

- (83) Ic a. Pétur las hana örugglega allan daginn.  
           *Pétur read it certainly every day*  
       b. \*Pétur las hana allan daginn örugglega \_\_\_\_\_.
- (84) Ic a. Ökuferðin tók örugglega tvær stundir.  
           *drive-the took certainly two hours*  
       b. \*Ökuferðin tók tvær stundir örugglega \_\_\_\_\_.

Hence, there is a contrast between OS of weak pronominal elements and OS of more complex phrases in the applicability to elements with different grammatical functions: While pronominal OS may apply to any weak pronoun, irrespective of its grammatical function as argument or adverbial, OS of more complex phrases may only apply to arguments but not to adverbials in Icelandic and to none of them in MSc. In other words, Icelandic adverbials are apparently subject to the same restrictions as arguments in MSc: Only weak pronouns may shift.

		Ic	MSc
pronominal element	argument	√	√
	adverbial	√	√
complex phrase	argument	√	*
	adverbial	*	*

As argued in section 1.2.3, the difference in the ability to reverse the order of arguments in Dutch points to the conclusion that presumably two movement operations have to be distinguished according to syntactic complexity of the moved element, pronoun vs. complex phrase, due to the difference in their ability to reverse the order of arguments in Dutch. In Icelandic, these two movement operations obviously differ in their applicability to adverbials. Movement of complex adverbials may be ruled out in Icelandic by a corresponding prohibition against adverbial movement. As shown in the next section, complex adverbials, however, can undergo SCR in German, indicating that such a prohibition against adverbial movement must be violable: Adverbials may move in German irrespective of their syntactic complexity, whereas only pronominal adverbials can undergo OS.

### 2.2.1 Complexity

(85) Ge a. Warum liest Peter nie das Buch \_\_\_\_?  
           *why reads Peter never the book*  
       b. Warum liest Peter das Buch nie \_\_\_\_?

(86) Ge a. \*Warum liest Peter nie es \_\_\_\_?  
           *why reads Peter never it*  
       b. Warum liest Peter es nie \_\_\_\_?

(87) Du a. Jan heeft gisteren Marie gekust.  
*Jan has yesterday Marie kissed*  
 b. Jan heeft Marie gisteren \_\_\_\_\_ gekust.

(88) Du a. \*Jan heeft gisteren 'r gekust.  
*Jan has yesterday her kissed*  
 b. Jan heeft 'r gisteren — gekust. (Haegeman 1991: 32)

(89) Ge a. Gestern traf Peter nicht PAUL (aber HANS)  
           *yesterday met Peter not PAUL but HANS*  
       b. ?Gestern traf Peter PAUL nicht (aber HANS).

(90) Ge a. Gestern traf Peter nicht IHN (sondern SIE).  
           *yesterday met Peter not HIM but HER*  
       b. ?Gestern traf Peter IHN nicht \_\_\_\_, (sondern SIE).

(91) 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)

- (92) Du A: Heeft Jan<sub>SUB</sub> nog nooit zijn moeder<sub>OBJ</sub> gebeld?  
*has Jan yet never his mother called*  
 B: Nee, zijn moeder<sub>SUB</sub> heeft HEM<sub>OBJ</sub> nog nooit \_\_\_\_ gebeld.  
*no his mother has him yet never called*  
 (Delfitto & Corver 1998: 321)

Note that in contrast to "neutral" SCR, movement of a focused object may reverse the order of arguments in Dutch.<sup>8</sup>

### 2.2.2 *Adverbials*

Similar to OS, SCR is not restricted to arguments. However in contrast to OS, SCR of adverbials may not only apply to pronominals in German, but also to (certain) complex adverbials and PPs.

- (93) 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.

---

<sup>8</sup> Similarly, Italian focalization and clitic left dislocation differ in several respects: The former but not the latter gives rise to weak cross-over effects, (i), is restricted to place only one argument in clause-initial position, (ii), and is prohibited in infinitival and adjunct clauses, (iii) and (iv).

- (i) a. \*GIANNI *suai madre* ha sempre apprezzato (non Piero).  
*Gianni his mother has always appreciated not Piero*  
 b. Giannii, *suai madre* lui ha sempre apprezzato. (Rizzi 1997: 290)  
*Gianni his mother him has always appreciated*
- (ii) a. \*A GIANNI IL LIBRO *darò* (non a Piero, l'articolo).  
*to Gianni the book I.will.give (not to Piero the article)*  
 b. Il libro, a Gianni, domani, glielo *darò* senz'altro. (Rizzi 1997: 290)  
*the book to Gianni, tomorrow to.him.it I.will.give for.sure*
- (iii) a. \*Ho deciso, IL TUO LIBRO di rileggere (non il suo).  
*I.have decided the your book to reread (not the his)*  
 b. Ho deciso, il tuo libro, di rileggerlo. (Haegeman 2003)  
*I.have decided the your book to reread.it*
- (iv) a. \*Se IL MIO LIBRO riesci a leggere, supererai l'esame.  
*if the my book you.manage to read you.will.pass the exam*  
 b. Se il mio libro riesci a leggerlo, supererai l'esame. (Haegeman 2003)  
*if the my book you.manage to read.it you.will.pass the exam*

- (94) 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.
- (95) 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.

PP movement is only possible with a restricted set of adverbial phrases: The PP *op mijn opmerking* 'on my remarks' may move across an adverbial like *nauwelijks* 'hardly', (96), but not across an adverbial like *gisteren* 'yesterday', (97); in contrast, SCR of a DP across *gisteren* is possible, (98).

- (96) 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)
- (97) 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)
- (98) Du a. Ik heb gisteren dat boek gelezen.  
*I have yesterday that book read*  
b. Ik heb dat boek gisteren \_\_\_\_\_ gelezen.  
(Broekhuis 2006: 22)

- 2) Du a. ... dat Jan nauwelijks naar hem luisterde.

Under the assumption that PP movement in Dutch is an instance of focus movement, Dutch SCR is similar to Icelandic OS in that it cannot apply to complex adverbials.<sup>9</sup>

## 2.3 Summary

As shown in this chapter, there is cross-linguistic variation in which types of elements may undergo movement, weak pronouns vs. complex phrases, arguments vs. adverbials. All types of weak pronominal elements, i.e. arguments and adverbials, may undergo movement in all OS and SCR languages. Movement of complex phrases, by contrast, may only take place in certain languages: While it is prohibited in MSc, complex phrases may undergo movement in Icelandic and the SCR languages. However, while in German movement of a complex phrase is independent of its grammatical function, movement of complex phrases is restricted to DP arguments in Icelandic and Dutch.

Moreover, pronominal elements and complex phrases differ in the obligatoriness of movement. While movement of a weak pronoun is obligatory if possible (except for Swedish and some south-eastern dialects of Danish where pronoun movement is optional and the Swedish dialect Älvdalsmålet and Finland Swedish where pronoun movement is ungrammatical), movement of complex phrases seems to be optional in all languages that allow for this type of movement at all. Furthermore, it was shown in chapter 1 that pronominal elements and complex phrases in Dutch differ in their ability to move across an intervening argument.

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<sup>9</sup> The hypothesis that SCR of complex phrases is restricted to arguments in Dutch would seem to force us to assume that also movement of an adverbial like *gisteren* 'yesterday' to a position to the left of a sentential adverbial as in (i) represent instances of focus movement; but see also footnote **Fejl! Bogmærke er ikke defineret..**

- (i) Du a. Jan heeft waarschijnlijk gisteren Marie gekust.  
           *Jan has probably yesterday Marie kissed*  
       b. Jan heeft gisteren waarschijnlijk \_\_\_\_\_ Marie gekust.



			MSc	Ic	Du	Ge
availability of movement	pronominal element	argument	√	√	√	√
		adverbial	√	√	√	√
	complex phrase	argument	*	√	√	√
		adverbial	*	*	*	√
movement if verb is <i>in situ</i>	pronominal element	argument	*	*	√	√
		adverbial	*	*	√	√
	complex phrase	argument	-	*	√	√
		adverbial	-	-	-	√
movement across intervening element	pronominal element	argument	*	*	√	√
		adverbial	*	*	√	√
	complex phrase	argument	-	*	*	√
		adverbial	-	-	-	√

("-" indicates that movement would be ungrammatical anyway)

Under the assumption that the dependency of object movement on verb movement in the Scandinavian languages is due to a linear restriction, it may be treated on a par with the prohibition against movement across an intervening argument. In other words, there might be a more general prohibition against movement across a linearly intervening non-adverbial element. The fact that movement is independent of verb movement, but dependent on (the absence of) intervening arguments in Dutch (full DP SCR) while it is dependent on both in Icelandic and Danish would then just be a result of the contrast between VO and OV.

Hence, the data suggests that rather than differentiating movement devices according to language family (OS in the Scandinavian languages and SCR in the continental West Germanic languages), two movement devices should be distinguished according to the complexity of the moved element. The next chapter presents an OT approach to the cross-linguistic differences of these movement devices.

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