

Object positions - comparative linguistics in a cross-theoretical perspective

Introduction to the formal subproject

Eva Engels & Sten Vikner, Dept. of English / SLK, University of Aarhus

1 Object positions

- 1.1 Object positions in Danish (Object Shift)
- 1.2 Object positions in German (Scrambling)
- 1.3 Summary

2 What is moved? Restrictions on the moved constituent

- 2.1 Phrasal status of the moved constituent
- 2.2 Prosody and Focus
- 2.3 Adverbials

3 When does the movement take place? Restrictions on the syntactic environment

4 Where does the movement go? Restrictions on the target position

- 4.1 Order of arguments
- 4.2 Placement relative to adverbs

5 Conclusion

1 Object positions

This introduction to the formal part of our research project on object positions will mainly deal with the data, but we still hope to show how these data will be able to shed light on what determines the positions of objects. In our project description (<http://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 to which extent language particular properties can be derived from more general (potentially universal) properties. For the purposes of this presentation, this last question turns into a question of to which extent the differences between the two movements discussed (object shift in Scandinavian and scrambling in continental West Germanic) can be derived from independent differences between the two types of languages.

1.1 Object positions in Danish (Object Shift)

Embedded clauses with a non-finite main verb: The object follows the verb which follows *aldrig*.

- (1) Da a. Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter aldrig havde læst bogen.
I asked why Peter never had read the.book
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 the verb which follows *aldrig*.

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

Embedded clauses with a finite main verb: The object follows the verb which follows *aldrig*.

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

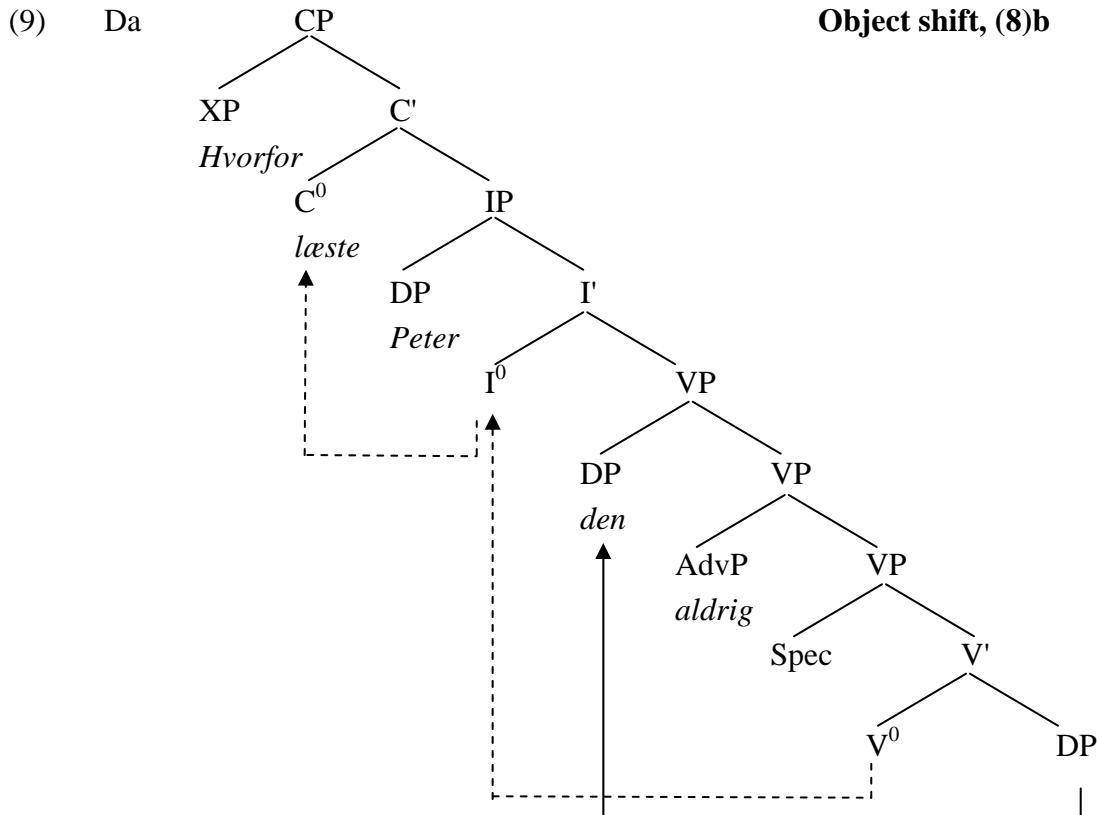
Main clauses with a finite main verb:

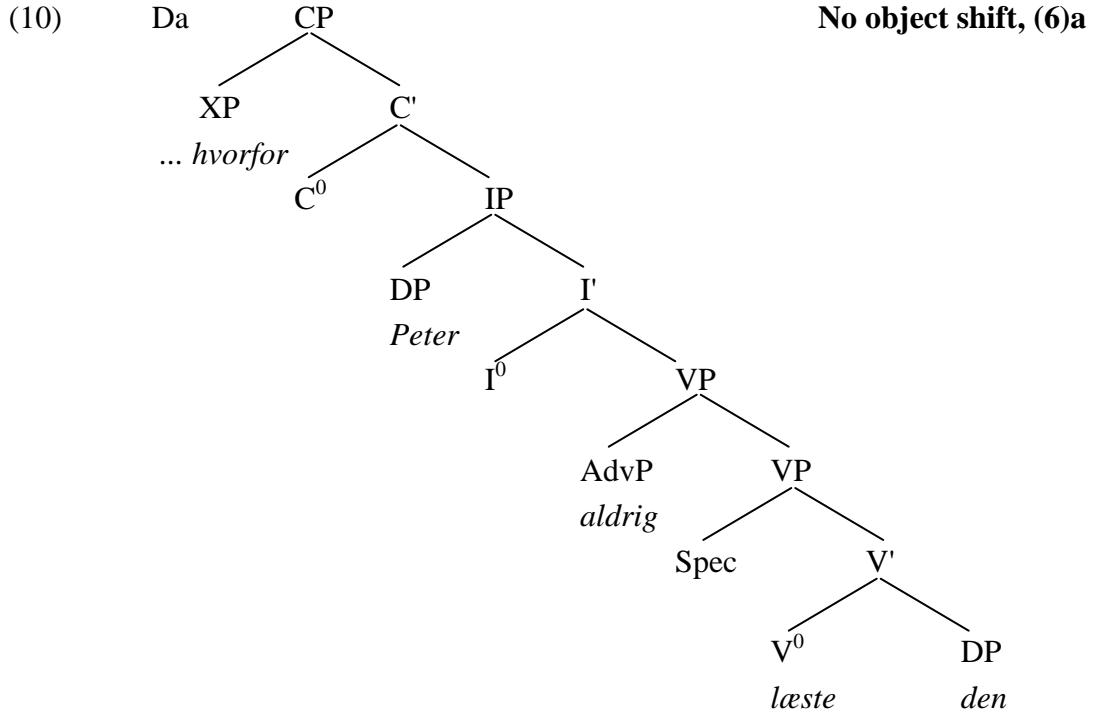
- The verb moves to the second position of the clause. (Only when it is the finite verb in a main clause may a form of *læse* precede *aldrig*.)
- If the object is **non-pronominal**, it simply stays behind, (7)a.
If the object is **pronominal**, it moves to a position just left of the adverbial *aldrig*, (8)b.

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

The observation that the object only moves if the verb has moved is called Holmberg's generalization (Holmberg 1986:165).





1.2 Object positions in German (Scrambling)

Main clauses with a non-finite main verb: A non-pronominal object may precede or follow the adverbial *nie*, a pronominal object must precede the adverbial *nie*.

- (11) Ge a. Warum hat Peter nie das Buch gelesen?
why has Peter never the book read
 b. Warum hat Peter das Buch nie _____ gelesen?

- (12) Ge a. *Warum hat Peter nie es gelesen?
why has Peter never it read
 b. Warum hat Peter es nie _____ gelesen?

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

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

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

The same pattern is found in embedded clauses.

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)
German	stays	DP	✓	✓	(11)
		pronoun	*	✓	(12)
	moves	DP	✓	✓	(13)
		pronoun	*	✓	(14)

Although both these movements take an object and place it 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: The object movement found in Danish and also in the other Scandinavian languages is called **object shift** (OS), whereas the object movement found in German and also in the other continental West Germanic languages is called **scrambling** (SCR). We now want to examine how many properties these two movements have in common.

One Germanic language was left out 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.

- (15) 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*).

- (16) En a. Peter never read the book.
 b. *Peter read never _____ the book.

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

2 What is moved? Restrictions on the moved constituent

2.1 Phrasal status of the moved constituent

As shown in section 1.1, a(n unstressed) pronominal object must move in Danish if the main verb has moved, cf. (8). By contrast, OS is optional in Swedish, (18), as well as in the south-eastern dialects of Danish, (19), and ungrammatical in Finland Swedish, (20).

- (18) Sw a. Jag såg inte den.
 I saw not it
 b. Jag såg den inte _____. (Erteschik-Shir 2001: 54)
- (19) SD a. Du når såmænd 'nok det. (from Ærø, Pedersen 1993: 205)
 you will.make indeed likely it
 b. Nej, jeg tror 'ikke det. (from Langeland, Pedersen 1993: 205)
 no I think not it
- (20) 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. (Bergrøth 1917: 172)

In Icelandic, pronominal objects have to shift, and full DPs might optionally be placed in front of a sentential adverbial.

- (21) Ic a. *Pétur las aldrei bær.
 Pétur read never them
 b. Pétur las bær aldrei ____.
- (22) 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)

As shown in section 1.2, the same pattern holds in German: Full DPs may precede or follow a sentential adverbial whereas pronouns have to precede it.

2.2 Prosody and Focus

Not all pronouns may undergo OS: Focused ones have to stay in situ; they must follow a medial adverb. However, a focused DP may shift in Icelandic.

- (23) Da a. Hvorfor læste Peter aldrig DEN?
why *read* *Peter* *never* *it*
 b. *Hvorfor læste Peter DEN aldrig ____? (Vikner 2005: 417)
- (24) Ic a. Af hverju las Pétur aldrei HANA?
why *read* *Peter* *never* *it*
 b. ?*Af hverju las Pétur HANA aldrei ____? (Hrafnbjargarson, p.c.)
- (25) Ic a. Pétur las aldrei PESSA BÓK.
Pétur *read* *never* *this book*
 b. Pétur las PESSA BÓK aldrei _____. (Hrafnbjargarson, p.c.)

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

- (26) Ge a. Gestern traf Peter nicht IHN (sondern SIE).
yesterday *met* *Peter* *not* *HIM* *but* *HER*
 b. ?Gestern traf Peter IHN nicht ____ (sondern SIE).
- (27) Ge a. Gestern traf Peter nicht PAUL.
yesterday *met* *Peter* *not* *PAUL*
 b. ?Gestern traf Peter PAUL nicht ____.
- (28) 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)
- (29) 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)

2.3 Adverbials

Not only arguments but also pronominal adverbials may undergo OS:

- (30) Da a. ??Bor Peter ikke længere der?
lives Peter not longer there
 b. Bor Peter der ikke længere ____? (Vikner 2005: 422)
- (31) Da a. *Petersov alligevel ikke der.
Peter slept after.all not there
 b. Petersov der alligevel ikke _____. (Haider, Olsen, & Vikner 1995: 20)
- (32) 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:

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

In the SCR languages, by contrast, movement of a PP is possible:

- (34) 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.
- (35) 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.
- (36) 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.

3 When does the movement take place? Restrictions on the syntactic environment

Pronominal OS as well as OS of a full DP in Icelandic is only acceptable if the main verb has left its base position. As mentioned in section 1.1 above, this is called Holmberg's generalization.

- (37) Da a. Hvorfor læste Peter den aldrig ____?
why *read* *Peter* *it* *never*
 b. *Hvorfor har Peter den aldrig læst ____?
why *has* *Peter* *it* *never read* (Vikner 2005: 394-395)

- (38) Ic a. Af hverju las Pétur bessa bók aldrei ____?
why *read* *Pétur* *this book* *never*
 b. *Af hverju hefur Pétur bessa bók aldrei lesið ____?
why *has* *Pétur* *this book* *never read* (Vikner 2005: 394-395)

However, note that OS does not require movement of the main verb to V2 position: It is also possible if the non-finite main verb is fronted.

- (39) Sw a. Kysst har jag henne inte ____ (bara hållit henne i handen).
kissed *have* *I* *her* *not* *only held her by the hand*
 (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 non-adverbial material. For example, a direct object (DO) pronoun cannot shift across an *in situ* indirect object (IO) object; yet, the DO may undergo OS if the IO is moved out of the way:

- (40) Sw a. Jag gave inte Elsa den. (Sells 2001: 48)
- I *gave* *not* *Elsa it*
- b. *Jag gave den inte Elsa _____. (Holmberg 1997: 203)
- c. Vem gav du den inte ____? (Holmberg 1997: 208)
- who *gave you it not*
- d. Henne visar jag den helst inte _____. (Holmberg 1997: 209)
- her *show I it rather not*
- e. Jag visar henne den inte _____.
I *show her it not*

Hence, OS may apparently not change the order between an object and a verb nor among several arguments. However, note that OS of a DO is marginally possible across an *in situ* IO pronoun in Swedish. (The equivalents of (41) are ungrammatical in the other Scandinavian languages where pronominal OS is obligatory.)

- (41) Sw a. Han visade henne inte ____ den.
- he *showed her not it*
- b. ??Han visade den inte henne _____. (Hellan & Platzack 1999: 131)

By contrast, SCR does not depend on movement of the main verb, cf. section 1.2 above. Furthermore, SCR may cross intervening arguments in German but not in Dutch: The order of arguments may not be reversed in Dutch (unless the fronted item is focused, cf. (29) above).

- (42) Ge a. ... weil ich nie dem Jungen das Buch gegeben hätte.
- because I never *the boy the book given had*
- b. ... weil ich dem Jungen nie das Buch gegeben hätte.
- c. ... weil ich das Buch nie dem Jungen gegeben hätte.
- (43) 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 het boek gisteren de jongen gegeven heb.
- (De Hoop & Kosmeijer 1995: 150)

Thus, Dutch SCR is similar to Scandinavian OS in so far as it does not change the order of the arguments. However, Dutch SCR does not presuppose movement of the main verb, which might have to do with the fact that due to Dutch being OV, the object does not (linearly) cross a verb position when it moves to the left. The difference between German and Dutch, that German is more flexible, is sometimes attributed to German having more morphological case than Dutch.

Yiddish also has SCR, cf. that a full DP can be moved to a position before the adverbial *nekhtn* ('yesterday'):

- (44) 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 (44)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, it would then be an open question why Yiddish, if it was so much like Scandinavian, had SCR rather than just OS. We shall follow Hall (1979), Geilfuß (1991), Haider & Rosengren (1998:78-81) and Vikner (2001, 2003) in assuming the basic order in modern Yiddish to be OV. This would then mean that only (44)a would be a case of SCR. (44)b on the other hand would illustrate the underlying word order, and (44)c would be a case of extraposition.

That Yiddish allows extraposition much more freely than all other Germanic languages (SOV or SVO) is supported by the examples in (45):

- (45) 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)

4 Where does the movement go? Restrictions on the target position

4.1 Order of arguments

Multiple OS may give rise to the order DO<IO in Swedish and Norwegian while it cannot do so in Danish and Icelandic, indicating that word order freedom is not directly related to morphological case marking.

- (46) Sw a. Jag gave henne den inte _____.
 I gave her it not
 b. ?Jag gave den henne inte _____. (Christensen 2005: 160)
- (47) Da a. Jeg gave hende den ikke _____.
 I gave her it not
 b. *Jeg gave den hende ikke _____.
 (48) Ic a. P gaf örugglega konunginum ambáttina.
 P gave certainly the.king the.slave
 (= '... the slave to the king')
 b. P gaf konunginum ambáttina örugglega _____.
 c. *P gaf ambáttina konunginum örugglega _____.
 (Hrafnbjargarson, p.c.)

Similar to (42) and (43), multiple SCR may reverse the order of arguments in German but not in Dutch. However, pronouns have to occur in a strict order, DO<IO, even in German.

- (49) Ge a. ... weil ich dem Jungen das Buch nie _____ gegeben hätte.
 because I the boy the book never given had
 b. ... weil ich das Buch dem Jungen nie _____ gegeben hätte.
- (50) Du a. ... dat ik de jongen het boek gisteren _____ gegeven heb.
 that I the boys the book yesterday given have
 b. *... dat ik het boek de jongen gisteren _____ gegeven heb.
 (De Hoop & Kosmeijer 1995:150)
- (51) Ge a. ... dass der Fritz es ihm _____ gegeben hat.
 that the Fritz it him given has
 b. *... dass der Fritz ihm es _____ gegeben hat.

4.2 Placement relative to adverbs

Pronominal OS targets the position to the left of all medial adverbs, except for Swedish where pronouns may intervene between several adverbs. Likewise, Icelandic DPs may occur in intermediate positions.

- (52) 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)

- (53) Ic a. Jón las það líklega aldrei ____.
Jón read it probably never
 b. *Jón las líklega það aldrei. (Jónsson 1996: 66)

- (54) Ic a. Jón las bókina líklega aldrei ____.
Jón read the.book probably never
 b. Jón las líklega bókina aldrei _____. (Jónsson 1996: 66)

- (55) Sw a. Därfor såg jag förmodligen honom inte ____.
therefore saw I possibly him not

(Erteschik-Shir 2001: 54)

- b. Igår läste han (dem) ju (%dem) alltså (%dem)
yesterday read he them as.you.know them thus them
 troligen (dem) inte (dem).
probably them not them

(Erteschik-Shir 2005: 72)

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

- (56) 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.

- (57) 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, (57)a, whereas OS is optional in Swedish, compare (18)a.) Furthermore, object movement, SCR or OS, in German, Swedish, and Norwegian can change the order of arguments whereas it cannot do so in Dutch, Danish, and Icelandic.

5 Conclusion

The 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 Finland Swedish where OS is ungrammatical; section 2.1),
- b. the SCR languages and Icelandic may optionally move full DPs (section 2.1),
- c. focused objects may stay *in situ* (and must do so in the OS languages if pronominal, section 2.2),
- d. both OS and SCR may apply to pronominal adverbials (though SCR but not OS may also apply to PPs; section 2.3),
- e. it is language-specific whether or not OS and SCR may reverse the order of arguments (it can do so in Swedish, Norwegian, and German, but not in Danish, Icelandic, and Dutch; section 3 and 4.1), and
- f. object movement may target an intermediary position in the SCR languages as well as in Swedish and Icelandic (full DPs only; section 4.2)

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

References

- Bergroth, Hugo. 1917. *Finlandssvenska. Handledning till Undvikande av Provinzialismen i Tal och Skrift*, Helsinki: Holger Schildts Förlag.
- Christensen, Ken Ramshøj. 2005. *Interfaces: Negation – Syntax – Brain*. PhD dissertation, University of Aarhus, Denmark.
- De Hoop, Helen. & Kosmeijer, Wim. 1995. Case and Scrambling: D-structure versus S-structure. In *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax*, H. Haider, S. Olsen and S. Vikner (eds.), 139–158. Dordrecht/Boston/London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Delfitto, Denis & Corver, Norbert. 1998. Feature Primitives and the Syntax of Specificity. *Rivista di Linguistica*, 10, 281–334.
- den Besten, Hans & Moed-van Walraven, Corretje. 1986. The Syntax of Verbs in Yiddish. In *Verb Second Phenomena in Germanic Languages*, Hubert Haider & Martin Prinzhorn (eds.), 111–135. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Diesing, Molly. 1997. Yiddish VP Order and the Typology of Object Movement in Germanic. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 15, 369–427.
- Diesing, Molly & Jelinek, Eloise. 1993. The Syntax and Semantics of Object Shift. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 51, 1–54.
- Engdahl, Elisabeth. 1997. Object shift and information structure in Scandinavian. Handout from the 12th Comparative Germanic Syntax Workshop, Amsterdam. Gothenburg University.
- Erteschik-Shir, Nomi. 2001. P-syntactic motivation for movement: imperfect alignment in Object Shift. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 68, 49–73.
- Erteschik-Shir, Nomi. 2005a. Sound patterns of syntax: Object shift. *Theoretical Linguistics* 31, 47–93.
- Frey, Werner. 2000b. Über die syntaktische Position der Satztopiks im Deutschen. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 20: 137–172.
- Frey, Werner. 2004. A medial topic position for German. *Linguistische Berichte* 198: 153–190.
- Geilfuß, Jochen. 1991. Jiddisch als SOV-Sprache. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 9, 170–183.
- Haider, Hubert, Olsen, Susan & Vikner, Sten. 1995. Introduction. In *Studies on Comparative Germanic Syntax*, Haider, Hubert, Susan Olsen & Sten Vikner (eds.), 1–45. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Haider, Hubert & Rosengren, Inger. 1998. Scrambling. *Sprache und Pragmatik* 49, 1–104.
- Haider, Hubert & Rosengren, Inger. 2003. Scrambling – non-triggered chain formation in OV languages. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 15, 203–267.
- Hall, Beatrice. 1979. Accounting for Yiddish Word Order or What's a Nice NP Like You Doing in a Place Like This. In *Linear Order and Generative Theory*, Jürgen Meisel & Martin Pam (eds.), 253–287. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Holmberg, Anders. 1986. *Word Order and Syntactic Features in the Scandinavian Languages and English*. Ph.D., University of Stockholm.
- Holmberg, Anders. 1997. The true nature of Holmberg's generalization. *NELS* 27, 203–217.
- Holmberg, Anders. 1999. Remarks on Holmberg's Generalization. *Studia Linguistica* 53, 1–39.
- Holmberg, Anders & Platzack, Christer. 1995. *The Role of Inflection in Scandinavian Syntax*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jónsson, Jóhannes Gísli. 1996. *Clausal Architecture and Case in Icelandic*. Ph.D., University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Müller, Gereon. 1998. German word order and Optimality Theory. *Arbeitsbericht Nr. 126*. University of Stuttgart & University of Tübingen.

- Pedersen, Karen Margrethe. 1993. Letledsreglen og lighedsregle. Novation, ekspansion og resistens. In *Jyske Studier tilegnede Magda Nyberg og Bent Jul Nielsen*, Inge Lise Pedersen & Karen Margrethe Pedersen (eds.), 199-218. Copenhagen: Reitzels Forlag.
- Pittner, Karin. 1999. *Adverbiale im Deutschen: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Stellung und Interpretation*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.
- Reinhardt, Tanya. 1995. *Interface strategies*. Technical Report OTS Working Papers, University of Utrecht.
- Ruys, E. G. 2000. Dutch Scrambling and the Strong-Weak Distinction. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 4, 39-67.
- Sadock, Jerrold. 1998. A Vestige of Verb Final Syntax in Yiddish. *Monatshefte für deutschsprachige Literatur und Kultur* 90, 220-226.
- Santorini, Beatrice. 1993. Jiddish als gemischte OV/VO-Sprache. In *Dialektsyntax*, Werner Abraham & Josef Bayer (eds.), 230-245. (Sonderheft 5, Linguistische Berichte). Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Selkirk, Elisabeth. 1996. The prosodic structure of function words. In *Signal to syntax: Bootstrapping from speech to grammar in early acquisition*, J. Morgan & K. Demuth (eds.), 187-213. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Sells, Peter. 2001. Structure, Alignment and Optimality in Swedish. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Vikner, Sten. 1994. Scandinavian Object Shift and West Germanic Scrambling. In *Studies on Scrambling*, Norbert Corver & Henk van Riemsdijk (eds.), 487-517. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Vikner, Sten. 2001. *Verb Movement Variation in Germanic and Optimality Theory*. Habil., University of Tübingen. (www.hum.au.dk/engelsk/engsv/papers/viknhabi.pdf).
- Vikner, Sten. 2003. Null Objects under Coordination in Yiddish and Scandinavian. In *Grammar in Focus: Festschrift for Christer Platzack*, vol. II, Lars-Olof Delsing, Cecilia Falk, Gunlöög Josefsson & Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson (eds.), 365-375. Dept. of Scandinavian Languages, University of Lund. (www.hum.au.dk/engelsk/engsv/papers/vikn03a.pdf)
- Vikner, Sten. 2005. Object Shift. In *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, Henk van Riemsdijk & Martin Everaert (eds.), 392-436. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Vogel, Ralf. 2004. Weak Function Word Shift. To appear in *Linguistics*. (<http://roa.rutgers.edu/paper#663>.)
- Zubizarreta, Maria-Luisa. 1994. *Prosody, Focus, and Word Order*. Ms., USC.
- Zwart, Jan-Wouter. 1995. Word Order, Intonation, and Noun Phrase Interpretation in Dutch. *Proceedings of the Western Conference of Linguistics* 7 (WECOL 1994): 279-289.

Eva Engels

eva.engels@hum.au.dk

Dept. of English

Institute of Language, Literature & Culture

University of Aarhus

DK-8000 Århus C

Denmark

Sten Vikner

sten.vikner@hum.au.dk

Dept. of English

Institute of Language, Literature & Culture

University of Aarhus

DK-8000 Århus C

Denmark

<http://www.hum.au.dk/engelsk/engsv/objectpositions>