# 114   Object Shift in Scandinavian

## Sten Vikner
*Aarhus University, Denmark*

**Abstract:**

As set out in section 1, this chapter takes 'object shift' to only refer to the kind of object shift typically found in the Scandinavian languages (following the original use of the term in Holmberg 1986:165), to the exclusion of e.g. scrambling as found in Afrikaans, Dutch, Frisian, German, and Yiddish.

Section 2 reviews a number of properties and restrictions that apply to object shift but not to scrambling: E.g. that the verb has to leave the VP, section 2.1.1; that prepositions, particles, and indirect objects block object shift, section 2.1.2; that object shift does not license parasitic gaps, section 2.2; and that only DPs (or almost only DPs) undergo object shift, section 2.3. Finally, the potential landing sites were discussed in section 2.4.

The difference between Icelandic object shift, which applies to all DPs, and object shift in the other Scandinavian languages, which only applies to pronouns, is discussed in section 3.4.

The bulk of the chapter discusses the various suggestions as to key factors in the analysis of object shift and the restrictions which it underlies: Case in section 3, equidistance in section 4, focus/interpretation in section 5, and prosody in section 6.

**Key words:**

# 1. Introduction

The definition of 'object shift' to be used in this chapter[1] is a narrow one, covering only the kind of object shift typically found in the Scandinavian languages, following the original use of the term in Holmberg (1986:165). Sometimes object shift has been taken to include also at least some instances of scrambling as found in the Continental West Germanic languages (Afrikaans, Dutch, Frisian, German, and Yiddish); see among others Vanden Wijngaerd (1989), Bobaljik (1995:85), Aboh (2005), Woolford (2007). For a thorough discussion of scrambling, please refer to the chapter on *Mittelfeld Phenomena: Scrambling in Germanic*.

   Scrambling (as in the German examples (1)b,c) and object shift (as in Icelandic (2)b,c and Danish (3)c) have in common that both move a DP leftward, from a position inside VP to a position outside VP but inside the same clause:

(1)   Scrambling (German)

    a.   Peter $hat_v$                ohne    Zweifel   nie         [$_{VP}$ **Bücher** gelesen ] $t_v$.
          *Peter has*                *without doubt*    *never*         *books*    *read*

    b.   Peter $las_v$   **die Bücher$_i$** ohne    Zweifel nie        [$_{VP}$ $t_i$       $t_v$        ].
          *Peter read*    *the books*    *without doubt*    *never*

    c.   Peter $las_v$   **sie$_i$**         ohne    Zweifel nie        [$_{VP}$ $t_i$       $t_v$        ].
          *Peter read*    *them*       *without doubt*    *never*


(2)   Object shift (Icelandic)

    a.   Peter $hefur_v$            eflaust         aldrei $t_v$ [$_{VP}$ lesið    **bækur** ].
          *Peter has*               *doubtlessly*      *never*        *read*      *books*

    b.   Pétur $las_v$   **bækurnar$_i$** eflaust         aldrei     [$_{VP}$ $t_v$       $t_i$        ].
          *Peter read*    *books-the*    *doubtlessly*     *never*

    c.   Pétur $las_v$   **þær$_i$**         eflaust         aldrei     [$_{VP}$ $t_v$       $t_i$        ].
          *Peter read*    *them*       *doubtlessly*     *never*


(3)   Object shift (Danish)

    a.   Peter $har_v$             uden     tvivl     aldrig $t_v$ [$_{VP}$ læst    **bøger** ].
          *Peter has*             *without doubt*    *never*        *read*     *books*

    b. * Peter $læste_v$ **bøgerne$_i$** uden     tvivl     aldrig    [$_{VP}$ $t_v$       $t_i$        ].
          *Peter read*    *books-the*    *without doubt*    *never*

    c.   Peter $læste_v$ **dem$_i$**       uden     tvivl     aldrig    [$_{VP}$ $t_v$       $t_i$        ].
          *Peter read*    *them*       *without doubt*    *never*


All the above examples are verb second (V2), i.e., the finite verb has been moved from the position marked $t_v$ to its present position as the second constituent of the main clause. In addition, in all examples the base position of the object is inside the VP, i.e., to the right of the adverbials *no doubt* and *never*, cf. (1)a, (2)a and (3)a. When scrambling, (1)b,c, or object shift, (2)b,c, (3)c, takes place, the object moves to a position to the left of these adverbials. From these examples, which focus on the similarities between object shift and scrambling, it might appear that there are no differences. This is not so; there are many

---

differences between the two types of movement, as object shift is much more restricted than scrambling. Only object shift requires verb movement, and only object shift is restricted to DPs (though see also (84)b and (86)b below).

Section 2 will review a number of properties and restrictions that apply to object shift but not to scrambling: E.g. that the verb has to leave the VP, section 2.1.1, that prepositions, particles, and indirect objects block object shift, section 2.1.2, that object shift does not license parasitic gaps, section 2.2, that only DPs (or almost only DPs) undergo object shift, section 2.3, and finally the potential landing sites will be discussed in section 2.4.

There is also a difference between Icelandic object shift and object shift as found in the other Scandinavian languages, namely, the difference between (2)b and (3)b. In Icelandic both full DPs and pronouns may undergo object shift, whereas only pronouns may do so in the other Scandinavian languages. This will be discussed further in section 3.4.

The rest of the chapter will then discuss what has been suggested as key factors in the analysis of the movement and the restrictions it underlies: Case in section 3, equidistance in section 4, focus in section 5, and prosody in section 6.


# 2. Differences between object shift and scrambling

## 2.1  When does object shift apply?

### 2.1.1  Verb movement required (Holmberg's generalisation)

Object shift is blocked if the main verb which selects the object does not move out of its base position in V°. Because the Scandinavian languages (like all other Germanic languages except English) are V2, one context in which the main verb moves out of V° is a main clause where the main verb is also the finite verb; see (4) and (5).

(4)   Icelandic: full DPs
    a.   Af hverju las$_v$  Pétur                        aldrei [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **þessa      bók** ] ?
         *Why         read  Peter                         never       this      book*
    b.   Af hverju las$_v$  Pétur **þessa     bók$_i$** aldrei [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$            ] ?
         *Why         read  Peter this      book never*

(5)   Icelandic: pronouns
    a. * Af hverju las$_v$  Pétur                        aldrei [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **hana**          ] ?
         *Why         read  Peter                         never       it*
    b.   Af hverju las$_v$  Pétur **hana$_i$**           aldrei [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$            ] ?
         *Why         read  Peter it                      never*

(6)   Danish: full DPs (impossible)
    a.   Hvorfor   læste$_v$ Peter                       aldrig [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **den her  bog** ] ?
         *Why        read   Peter                         never       this      book*
    b. * Hvorfor   læste$_v$ Peter **den her  bog$_i$** aldrig [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$            ] ?
         *Why        read   Peter this      book never*

(7)   Danish: pronouns
    a. * Hvorfor   læste$_v$ Peter                       aldrig [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **den**          ] ?
         *Why        read   Peter                         never       it*
    b.   Hvorfor   læste$_v$ Peter **den$_i$**           aldrig [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$            ] ?
         *Why        read   Peter it                      never*

This observation, that the object may move only if verb movement has taken place, goes back to Hansen (1977:60) and Holmberg (1986:165), and it has been known as Holmberg's generalisation at least since Collins and Thráinsson (1993:135). Furthermore, (5)a and (7)a illustrate the obligatory nature of pronominal object shift (see also sections 3.4 and 5.1): If a(n unstressed) pronoun can undergo object shift, it must. This is definitely true for Icelandic and Danish, but as shown by e.g. Josefsson (2003:200-202), object shift of pronouns in Swedish is optional[2] rather than obligatory[3]:

---

[2] The question of whether the two options (object shift and no object shift) are completely equally acceptable is far from settled. Andréasson (2010) points out a weak correlation between whether a pronominal object shifts or not and whether this pronominal object has a nominal antecedent or a propositional antecedent (see also Ørsnes 2013 concerning Danish):

(i) Swedish

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Agnes | sa | **någonting på tyska**. | Förstod | du **det$_i$** inte t$_i$ | ? |
| | *Agnes* | *said* | *something in German.* | *Understood you it* | *not* | *?* |
| b. | **Agnes köpte boken.** | | | Förstod | du inte **det** | ? |
| | *Agnes bought book-the.* | | | *Understood you* | *not it* | *?* |

((i)b is from Andréasson 2010: 30, (9))

What is important is that unstressed pronouns with a nominal antecedent as well as ones with a propositional antecedent may occur in shifted and non-shifted position in Swedish (see Andréasson 2008, 2013). In contrast, Anderssen, Bentzen & Rodina (2011) claim that only weak pronouns that refer to an individuated referent can undergo OS in Norwegian; see the contrast between (ii) and (iii):

(ii) Norwegian

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A: | Spiste | dere | fisken | idag? | |
| | *Ate* | *you* | *fish-the today* | | |
| B: * | Nej, | jeg | fant | ikke **den**. | |
| | *No* | *I* | *found* | *not it* | |
| B': | Nej, | jeg | fant | **den$_i$** ikke t$_i$. | |

(from Anderssen, Bentzen & Rodina 2011:42, (7))

(ii) Norwegian

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A: | Hvad | med | fisk | til | middag? |
| | *What* | *about* | *fish* | *for* | *dinner* |
| B: | Nej, | Per | spiser | ikke | **det**. |
| | *No* | *Per* | *eats* | *not* | *it* |
| B': # | Nej, | Per | spiser **det$_i$** ikke | | t$_i$. |

(from Anderssen, Bentzen & Rodina 2012:42, (8))

[3] The south-eastern dialects of Danish reported in Pedersen (1993) seem to be like Swedish in that pronominal object shift is far from obligatory:

(i) South-eastern Danish: pronouns

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | | Du | når | såmænd nok | **det**. |
| | | *You will-make indeed* | | *likely it* | |
| b. | Nej, | jeg | tror | ikke | **det**. |
| | *No* | *I* | *think* | *not* | *it* |

(from Pedersen 1993: 205, (i)a is from Ærø, (i)b from Langeland)

where standard Danish would have obligatory object shift:

(ii) Danish: pronouns

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | | Du | når | **det$_i$** såmænd nok | t$_i$. |
| | | *You will-make it indeed* | | *likely* | |
| b. | Nej, | jeg | tror | **det$_i$** | ikke t$_i$. |
| | *No* | *I* | *think* | *it* | *not* |

(8)  Swedish: pronouns

    a.  Varför läste$_v$ Peter      aldrig [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **den** ] ?
        *Why   read Peter      never        it*

    b.  Varför läste$_v$ Peter **den$_i$** aldrig [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$    ] ?
        *Why   read Peter it   never*

In those main clauses where the finite verb is an auxiliary verb, the main verb, *read*, occurs in a non-finite form and does not leave the VP. Consequently object shift may not take place:

(9)  Icelandic

    a.  Af hverju hefur$_v$ Pétur          aldrei t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ **lesið þessa bók** ] ?
        *Why    has Peter         never   read this  book*

    b. * Af hverju hefur$_v$ Pétur **þessa bók$_i$** aldrei t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ **lesið** t$_i$     ] ?
        *Why     has Peter this   book never     read*

(10) Icelandic

    a.  Af hverju hefur$_v$ Pétur          aldrei t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ **lesið hana**   ] ?
        *Why     has Peter        never    read it*

    b. * Af hverju hefur$_v$ Pétur **hana$_i$**    aldrei t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ **lesið** t$_i$     ] ?
        *Why     has Peter it      never   read*

(11) Danish

    a.  Hvorfor har$_v$ Peter          aldrig t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ **læst den her bog** ] ?
        *Why   has Peter        never    read this    book*

    b. * Hvorfor har$_v$ Peter **den her bog$_i$** aldrig t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ **læst** t$_i$     ] ?
        *Why   has Peter this     book never    read*

(12) Danish

    a.  Hvorfor har$_v$ Peter          aldrig t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ **læst den**     ] ?
        *Why   has Peter        never    read it*

---

It should also be mentioned that at least two Scandinavian languages and dialects clearly seem to disallow pronominal object shift, viz. Finland Swedish and Älvdalsmålet:

(iii) Finland Swedish: pronouns

    a.  Ja, ser du, jag vet      inte **det** själv.
        *Yes see you I   know     not it   self*

    b. * Ja, ser du, jag vet    **det$_i$** inte t$_i$   själv.

                                                                  (from Bergroth 1917: 172)

(iv) Älvdalsmålet: pronouns

    a.  An såg      it **mig**.
        *He saw     not me*

    b. * An såg **mig$_i$** it  t$_i$.

                                                          (from Garbacz 2010: 79, (29)b,d)

For a corpus-based investigation of the object shift variation in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, see Bentzen, Anderssen & Waldmann (2013). For more detailed data as to all the various Scandinavian languages and dialects, see the *Nordic Syntax Database* and the *Nordic Dialect Corpus*, as summarised and discussed in Bentzen (2014).

b. * Hvorfor har$_v$ Peter **den$_i$**     aldrig t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ **læst** t$_i$     ] ?
   *Why     has Peter it     never     read*

In most embedded clauses, the Scandinavian languages differ (i.e. in the majority of embedded clauses which do not display V2, cf. the chapter on *Embedded Root Phenomena*). In Icelandic, the finite verb moves to I°, whereas in the other languages, it seems to stay in V°; see e.g. Holmberg and Platzack (1995:76–77); Vikner (1995:139, 1997b); Rohrbacher (1999:56-80). Consequently, object shift is found in embedded clauses only in Icelandic (and only if the main verb moves out of VP, i.e., only if the main verb is finite), (13)b and (14)b, and not at all in the other Scandinavian languages (16)b:[4]

(13) Icelandic

   a.   Ég spurði af hverju Pétur læsi$_v$     aldrei [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **þessa bók** ].
       *I   asked why     Peter read     never     this   book*

   b.   Ég spurði af hverju Pétur læsi$_v$ **þessa bók$_i$** aldrei [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$     ].
       *I   asked why     Peter read this   book never*

(14) Icelandic

   a. * Ég spurði af hverju Pétur læsi$_v$     aldrei [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **hana**     ].
       *I   asked why     Peter read     never     it*

   b.   Ég spurði af hverju Pétur læsi$_v$ **hana$_i$**     aldrei [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$     ].
       *I   asked why     Peter read it     never*

(15) Danish

   a.   Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter     aldrig [$_{VP}$ **læste den her bog** ].
       *I   asked   why     Peter     never     read this   book*

   b. * Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter **den her bog$_i$** aldrig [$_{VP}$ **læste** t$_i$     ].
       *I   asked   why     Peter this   book never     read*

(16) Danish

   a.   Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter     aldrig [$_{VP}$ **læste den**     ].
       *I   asked   why     Peter     never     read it*

   b. * Jeg spurgte hvorfor Peter **den$_i$**     aldrig [$_{VP}$ **læste** t$_i$     ].
       *I   asked   why     Peter it     never     read*

Scrambling, on the other hand, does not require the verb to be moved as it may take place regardless of whether the main verb has left its VP (17)a or not (17)b:

---

[4]   In Icelandic control infinitives (see Thráinsson 1986:247; Holmberg 1986:155-158; Sigurðsson 1989:49-56; Johnson and Vikner 1994; Jónsson 1996:159-166), the infinitival verb embedded under the control verb must leave VP as it must precede negation, (i)a,b. Given that the verb must leave its VP, it is not surprising that object shift is possible, (i)c:

(i) Icelandic

   a. * María lofaði$_v$   [$_{IP}$ að     ekki **lesa bókina** ].
       *María promised   to     not   read book-the*

   b.   María lofaði$_v$   [$_{IP}$ að **lesa$_v$**   ekki t$_v$ **bókina** ].
       *María promised   to read     not     book-the*

   c.   María lofaði$_v$   [$_{IP}$ að **lesa$_v$ bókina$_i$** ekki t$_v$   t$_i$     ].
       *María promised   to read book-the not*
       'María promised not to read the book'

                                                                (from Jónsson 1996:164, (149))

(17) German

    a.   Warum liest$_v$ Peter **dieses Buch$_i$** oft   [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ t$_v$   ]  ?

        *Why*    *reads Peter this*   *book often*

    b.   Warum hat$_v$ Peter **dieses Buch$_i$** oft   [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ gelesen ] t$_v$ ?

        *Why*    *has Peter this*   *book often*    *read*

The fact that (17)b is grammatical thus shows that scrambling does not fall under Holmberg's generalisation, at least not as formulated here ('the object may only move if verb movement has taken place'), assuming that neither German nor e.g. Dutch have finite-verb movement in embedded clauses (see the chapter on *Mittelfeld Phenomena: Scrambling in Germanic* and also e.g. Vikner 2005). If the generalisation is formulated as in Déprez (1994:111), 'Object movement never crosses a thematic verb', scrambling does not go against the generalisation, since the object does not scramble across the verb as the object is base-generated in a position left of the verb (assuming that the base order of German is SOV). There are still many types of object movement that do not fall under the generalisation, however e.g. object cliticisation in Romance (see section 3.4 and the chapters on *Clitic Climbing*, *Clitic Clusters*, and *Clitic Doubling*), or another case of Germanic object movement, namely, scrambling in Yiddish. Yiddish is normally taken to be an SVO language, which means that when scrambling takes place in a sentence where the main verb is not finite, the object moves across the main verb:[5]

(18) Yiddish

    a.   Far vos hot$_v$ Moyshe         nit t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ **geleyent dos dozike bukh** ] ?

        *Why*   *has Moses*         *not*    *read*    *this*     *book*

    b.   Far vos hot$_v$ Moyshe **dos dozike bukh$_i$** nit t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ **geleyent** t$_i$       ] ?

        *Why*   *has Moses this*    *book not*    *read*

In section 3 and the following sections below, various suggestions as to why object shift (but not scrambling) requires the verb to have left its VP will be discussed.


## 2.1.2   Prepositions, particles, and indirect objects block object shift

Object shift is blocked if it has to cross a c-commanding preposition:

(19) Icelandic

    a.   Af hverju las$_v$ Pétur         aldrei t$_v$ [$_{PP}$ **í þessari bók** ] ?

        *Why*    *read Peter*       *never*   *in this*   *book*

    b. * Af hverju las$_v$ Pétur **þessari bók$_i$** aldrei t$_v$ [$_{PP}$ **í** t$_i$      ] ?

        *Why*    *read Peter this*   *book never*    *in*


(20) Icelandic

    a.   Af hverju las$_v$ Pétur         aldrei t$_v$ [$_{PP}$ **í henni**    ] ?

        *Why*    *read Peter*       *never*   *in it*

    b. * Af hverju las$_v$ Pétur **henni$_i$**    aldrei t$_v$ [$_{PP}$ **í** t$_i$      ] ?

        *Why*    *read Peter it*    *never*    *in*

---

[5]   Den Besten and Moed-van Walraven (1986:113), Diesing (1997:388), and Sadock (1998) take Yiddish to be a VO language with remnants of OV, whereas Santorini (1993) classifies it as mixed OV/VO and Hall (1979), Geilfuss (1991), Haider and Rosengren (1998:78-81), and Vikner (2001b, 2003) assume the basic order in modern Yiddish to be OV.

(21) Danish

    a.  Hvorfor læste$_v$ Peter                aldrig t$_v$ [$_{PP}$ **i den her bog** ] ?

        *Why    read  Peter                never      in this     book*

    b. * Hvorfor læste$_v$ Peter **den her bog$_i$** aldrig t$_v$ [$_{PP}$ **i** t$_i$          ] ?

        *Why    read  Peter this     book never        in*

(22) Danish

    a.  Hvorfor læste$_v$ Peter                aldrig t$_v$ [$_{PP}$ **i  den**         ] ?

        *Why    read  Peter                never      in it*

    b. * Hvorfor læste$_v$ Peter **den$_i$**        aldrig t$_v$ [$_{PP}$ **i** t$_i$        ] ?

        *Why    read  Peter it           never      in*

Object shift is also blocked if it has to cross a c-commanding verb particle, like *out* in *Peter threw out the old carpet*. For independent reasons (see e.g. Taraldsen 1984; Åfarli 1985; Vikner 1987:266; Johnson 1991; Collins and Thráinsson 1993:163), the particle always c-commands its complement in Swedish, (23), whereas this never happens in Danish, (25). In Icelandic, (28), and also in Norwegian, the situation is parallel to the one in English in that the particle may either precede (and c-command) a full DP complement or follow it, but a pronominal complement must precede the particle. It is therefore only in Swedish that we can observe how a particle blocks object shift, (24)c:

(23) Swedish

    a.  Peter har$_v$ inte t$_v$ kastat         **bort mattan**.

        *Peter has not    thrown        away carpet-the*

    b. * Peter har$_v$ inte t$_v$ kastat **mattan$_i$**   **bort** t$_i$.

        *Peter has not    thrown carpet-the away*

(24) Swedish

    a.  Peter kastade$_v$      inte t$_v$     **bort den**.

        *Peter threw         not        away it*

    b. * Peter kastade$_v$      inte t$_v$ **den$_i$** **bort** t$_i$.

        *Peter threw          not   it    away*

    c. * Peter kastade$_v$ **den$_i$** inte t$_v$     **bort** t$_i$.

        *Peter threw    it    not       away*

In Danish, the particle has to follow its complement whether or not object shift has taken place, (25), and presumably therefore the particle does not have any blocking effect (26)c. In fact, the pronoun may not follow the particle, (26)a, and has to undergo object shift, (26)b,c. If the complement of the particle is a full DP, it still precedes the particle, (27)a, b, but it cannot undergo object shift, (27)c:

(25) Danish

    a. * Peter har$_v$ ikke t$_v$ smidt           **ud    tæppet**.

        *Peter has not     thrown        away carpet-the*

    b.  Peter har$_v$ ikke t$_v$ smidt **tæppet$_i$** **ud**   t$_i$.

        *Peter has not     thrown carpet-the away*

(26) Danish

    a. * Peter smed$_v$    ikke t$_v$    **ud   det**.
       *Peter threw*    *not*    *away it*

    b. * Peter smed$_v$    ikke t$_v$ **det$_i$ ud**   t$_i$.
       *Peter threw*    *not   it   away*

    c.   Peter smed$_v$ **det$_i$** ikke t$_v$    **ud**   t$_i$.
       *Peter threw it   not    away*

(27) Danish

    a. * Peter smed$_v$       ikke t$_v$       **ud   tæppet**.
       *Peter threw*       *not*       *away carpet-the*

    b.   Peter smed$_v$      ikke t$_v$ **tæppet$_i$   ud**   t$_i$.
       *Peter threw*      *not   carpet-the away*

    c. * Peter smed$_v$ **tæppet$_i$**   ikke t$_v$      **ud**   t$_i$.
       *Peter threw  carpet-the not*      *away*

In Icelandic, the particle may or may not precede its complement whether or not object shift has taken place, (28), and therefore the particle does not have any blocking effect, (29)c and (30)c. Though a full DP may occur in any of the three positions, (29), a pronoun may not follow the particle, nor may it fail to undergo object shift (30)a,b:

(28) Icelandic

    a.   Pétur hefur$_v$ ekki t$_v$ hent       **út   mottunni**.
       *Peter has    not   thrown*       *away carpet-the*

    b.   Pétur hefur$_v$ ekki t$_v$ hent  **mottunni$_i$ út**   t$_i$.
       *Peter has    not    thrown carpet-the away*

(29) Icelandic

    a.   Pétur henti$_v$      ekki t$_v$      **út   mottunni**.
       *Peter threw*      *not*      *away carpet-the*

    b.   Pétur henti$_v$      ekki t$_v$ **mottunni$_i$ út**   t$_i$.
       *Peter threw*      *not   carpet-the away*

    c.   Pétur henti$_v$ **mottunni$_i$** ekki t$_v$      **út**   t$_i$.
       *Peter threw carpet-the not*      *away*

(30) Icelandic

    a. * Pétur henti$_v$      ekki t$_v$    **út   henni**.
       *Peter threw*      *not*    *away it*

    b. * Pétur henti$_v$      ekki t$_v$ **henni$_i$ út**   t$_i$.
       *Peter threw*      *not   it   away*

    c.   Pétur henti$_v$ **henni$_i$** ekki t$_v$      **út**   t$_i$.
       *Peter threw it   not*      *away*

In Norwegian, the situation is the same as in Icelandic as far as the particle is concerned (the particle may or may not precede its complement independently of whether object shift has taken place), but the object-shift situation is not the same in the two languages as only pronouns undergo object shift in Norwegian. Norwegian versions of the Icelandic (28), (29), and (30) would therefore basically have the same judgments as in Icelandic, with at least one major exception, namely, that (29)c would be ungrammatical in Norwegian because full DPs cannot undergo object shift (though see Nilsen 1997).

    The fact that prepositions and (Swedish) particles block object shift might be related to the blocking of object shift by verbs inside VP. The generalisation (first formulated in Holmberg 1986:176, 199) could be

that object shift is impossible if the object is governed (or assigned case) by an overt governor (or case-assigner) as opposed to object shift of objects which are governed (or assigned case) by the trace of a governor/case-assigner. The crucial difference would thus be the following: When object shift is blocked by a non-finite verb, a finite main verb in embedded clauses (except in Icelandic), a preposition, or a particle (only in Swedish), the governor/case-assigner is not a trace. When object shift is not blocked, the governor/case-assigner is a trace (e.g., when the main verb has undergone V2 in main clauses, or in Icelandic when the main verb has moved to I° in embedded clauses). For further discussion of this, see sections 3.1 and 5.2.

   The next set of data to be considered is not covered by this generalisation. Object shift of a direct object is blocked by an indirect object, (31)b and (32)b, even though object shift of both objects, (31)c and (32)c, or object shift of the indirect object alone, (31)d and (32)d, are not blocked:[6]

(31) Icelandic

   a. Ég lána$_v$                     ekki t$_v$ **Maríu**    **bækurnar**.
      *I   lend*                        *not*      *Maria.DAT books-the.ACC*

   b. * Ég lána$_v$    **bækurnar$_i$**  ekki t$_v$ **Maríu**   t$_i$.
      *I   lend*        *books-the.ACC not*          *Maria.DAT*

   c. Ég lána$_v$ **Maríu$_j$**  **bækurnar$_i$**  ekki t$_v$ t$_j$      t$_i$.
      *I   lend  Maria.DAT books-the.ACC not*

   d. Ég lána$_v$ **Maríu$_j$**               ekki t$_v$ t$_j$    **bækurnar**.
      *I   lend  Maria.DAT*                  *not*              *books-the.ACC*

                  (from Collins & Thráinsson 1993:149 (33a), 154 (46a), 143 (20), 154 (46b))

(32) Danish

   a. Jeg låner$_v$              ikke t$_v$ **Maria bøgerne**.
      *I   lend*                 *not*      *Maria books-the*

   b. * Jeg låner$_v$  **dem$_i$** ikke t$_v$ **Maria** t$_i$.
      *I   lend*        *them not*      *Maria*

   c. Jeg låner$_v$ **hende$_j$ dem$_i$** ikke t$_v$ t$_j$      t$_i$.
      *I   lend  her     them not*

   d. Jeg låner$_v$ **hende$_j$**       ikke t$_v$ t$_j$    **bøgerne**.
      *I   lend  her*                  *not*              *books-the*

   The generalisation is formulated in terms of the direct object being unable to undergo object shift across the indirect object, rather than the accusative object being unable to undergo object shift across the dative object. The reason is that, as shown e.g. by Thráinsson (2001:153), the generalisation also holds for examples where both the direct and the indirect object are dative (for more Icelandic data with unexpected morphological cases, see (63), (64), and (65) below):[7]

---

[6]  The form of the objects in the Danish examples varies depending on whether or not the object in question has undergone object shift, given that only pronouns can undergo object shift and that they have to undergo it.

[7]  An example with the same word order as (33)b is acceptable, but with the opposite interpretation, namely, that the kidnapper never returned the parents to the children. In other words, it would have the structure of (33)d and (31)d.

(33) Icelandic

    Mannræninginn     skilaði$_v$ ...

    *Kidnapper-the.NOM returned*

a.   ...                                  aldrei t$_v$ **foreldrunum**   **börnunum**.

                                        *never*   *parents-the.DAT children-the.DAT*

b. * ...         **börnunum**$_i$   aldrei t$_v$ **foreldrunum**   t$_i$.

               *children-the.DAT never*   *parents-the.DAT*

c.   ... **foreldrunum**$_j$  **börnunum**$_i$   aldrei t$_v$ t$_j$         t$_i$.

       *parents-the.DAT children-the.DAT never*

d.   ... **foreldrunum**$_j$            aldrei t$_v$ t$_j$        **börnunum**.

      *parents-the.DAT*        *never*            *children-the DAT*

    'The kidnapper never returned the children to the parents'

<div align="right">(from Thráinsson 2001:153 (14))</div>

As mentioned earlier, and as discussed in section 3.1, Holmberg (1986:176) suggests that object shift is possible only if the object is governed (or assigned case) by a trace of a governor/case-assigner. The reason is taken to be that traces (of case-assigners) do not necessarily (but only optionally) assign case. As for the double-object data in (31)–(32), Holmberg (1986:206) proposes an account for them in terms of case visibility of an empty preposition which assigns case to the indirect object: If the empty preposition assigns case to the indirect object, it does so only because it is embedded under the verb, and then the verb trace must assign case to the direct object, and none of the objects may undergo object shift; see (31)a,b, (32)a,b, and (33)a,b. If the empty preposition does not assign case to the indirect object, then the verb trace does not have to assign case to the direct object. This allows two situations, either one in which the verb trace does not assign case either, and then both objects undergo object shift; see (31)c, (32)c, and (33)c, or one in which the verb trace does assign case, and then the indirect object undergoes object shift on its own, which is shown in (31)d, (32)d, and (33)d. One problem here is that this empty preposition is taken to move along with the indirect object under object shift, something which overt prepositions never do, see section 2.3 below.

In Vikner (1989:142), the blocking effect of an indirect object in situ, (31)b, (32)b, and (33)b, is taken to be a relativised minimality effect, assuming that the indirect object is an A-position and object shift is A-movement. Collins and Thráinsson (1993:158) suggest an explanation within the Minimalist framework. The features of the head (AgrIO°) attracting the indirect object must be at least as strong as the features attracting the direct object (AgrO°), which means that if AgrO° has strong features (as is necessary to make the direct object move), AgrIO° must have strong features too, which will force the indirect object to move as well. Finally, Müller (2001:288-294) suggests an account for this effect (which he refers to as an order preservation effect, cf. 'shape preservation' in Williams 2003:15-23 or 'shape conservation' in Koeneman 2006) by means of an optimality-theory constraint called PARALLEL MOVEMENT, which is violated every time a c-command relationship between any two arguments is not the same at all levels (i.e., before and after the various movements). See also section 5.5 below.

## 2.2  Parasitic gaps

A number of differences between object shift and scrambling have often been taken to illustrate that object shift is A-movement and scrambling is A-bar-movement, e.g., in Holmberg (1986:175) and Vikner (1989:142, 1994b:490). Later, the assumption that object shift is A-movement was questioned by e.g. Holmberg and Platzack (1995:147) and Holmberg (1999).

Following the analysis of Chomsky (1982:40) and (1986a:56), a parasitic gap may occur only in a construction where A-bar-movement has taken place. Consider the following *wh*-movement constructions in German and Danish, where parasitic gaps are possible ('t' is the trace, 'e' is the parasitic gap):

(34) German

    **Welches Buch**$_i$ haben alle [ ohne    e$_i$ zu lesen ] t$_i$ ins    Regal    gestellt ?

    *Which    book have   all    without   to read    into-the bookcase put*

    'Which book did everyone put on the shelf without reading first?'

<div align="right">(from Müller 1995:172, (173a))</div>

(35) Danish

    **Hvad for en bog$_i$** stillede alle t$_i$ hen på reolen      [ uden    at læse e$_i$ først ] ?

    *Which      book put    all    onto    bookcase-the    without to read    first*

    'Which book did everyone put on the shelf without reading first?'

    Parasitic gaps may occur in scrambling constructions like (36), but not if scrambling does not take place as in (37). This fact is often considered an indication that scrambling is an instantiation of A-bar-movement (cf., among others, Bennis and Hoekstra 1984:65; Müller 1995:172; and the chapter on *Mittelfeld Phenomena: Scrambling in Germanic*):

(36) German

    **... ,** dass alle **dieses Buch$_i$** [ ohne    e$_i$ zu lesen ] t$_i$

    *that all this      book      without    to read*

                     ins      Regal      gestellt haben.

                       *into-the bookcase put      have*

(37) German

    * **... ,** dass alle                [ ohne    e$_i$ zu lesen ] **dieses Buch$_i$**

    *that all                   without    to read    this      book*

                       ins      Regal      gestellt haben.

                       *into-the bookcase put      have*

    '... that everyone put this book on the shelf without reading (it) first'

                                        ((36) and (37) are from Müller 1995:173, (74a) & (86))

    Object shift, on the other hand, does not trigger parasitic gaps, indicating that it is not an A-bar-movement (as first noted by Holmberg 1986:225):

 (38) Danish

    * Alle stillede$_v$ **den$_i$** straks    t$_v$ t$_i$ hen på reolen      [ uden     at læse e$_i$ først ].

    *All      put      it    at once      onto    bookcase-the    without to read    first*

The absence of object shift does not improve (38), see (39), whereas both (38) and (39) are well-formed without the bracketed clause introduced by *without*:

 (39) Danish

    * ... at    alle straks    stillede **den** hen på reolen      [ uden    at læse e$_i$ først ].

        *that all   at once put      it    onto    bookcase-the    without to read    first*

## 2.3   Which elements may undergo object shift?

From the standard instantiations of A-movement (passive, raising) and A-bar-movement (*wh*-movement), we know that A-movement is movement into a case-marked position, and that A-bar-movement may be movement out of a case-marked position. This distinction forms the basis for some of the arguments in favour of object shift being A-movement and scrambling being A-bar-movement.

    It is possible to account for why PPs may undergo scrambling, (40)b, (41)b, but not object shift, (42)b, (43)b; (44)b, (45)b, if we assume that PPs may not receive case, cf. e.g., that they are at best marginal in the subject position of tensed sentences (for English, see e.g. Quirk et al. 1985:736 and Stowell 1981:268). Object shift is movement into a case-marked position, but scrambling is not:

(40) German

    a.  Ich habe               nicht **für das Buch** bezahlt.

         *I*    *have*             *not*   *for*  *the*  *book*  *paid*

    b.  Ich habe **für das Buch$_i$** nicht t$_i$         bezahlt.

         *I*    *have for the book*  *not*         *paid*

(41) German

    a.  Ich habe               nicht **dafür**        bezahlt.

         *I*    *have*             *not*   *there-for*     *paid*

    b.  Ich habe **dafür$_i$**      nicht t$_i$         bezahlt

         *I*    *have there-for*        *not*               *paid*

(42) Icelandic

    a.  Ég borgaði$_v$           ekki t$_v$ **fyrir bókina**.

         *I*   *paid*                 *not*   *for*   *book-the*

    b. * Ég borgaði$_v$ **fyrir bókina$_i$**  ekki t$_v$ t$_i$.

         *I*   *paid*    *for*   *book-the not*

(43) Icelandic

    a.  Ég borgaði$_v$           ekki t$_v$ **fyrir hana**.

         *I*   *paid*                 *not*   *for*    *it*

    b. * Ég borgaði$_v$ **fyrir hana$_i$**    ekki t$_v$ t$_i$.

         *I*   *paid*    *for*   *it*       *not*

(44) Danish

    a.  Jeg betalte$_v$           ikke t$_v$ **for bogen**.

         *I*   *paid*                 *not*   *for book-the*

    b. * Jeg betalte$_v$ **for bogen$_i$**   ikke t$_v$ t$_i$.

         *I*   *paid*    *for book-the not*

(45) Danish

    a.  Jeg betalte$_v$           ikke t$_v$ **for den**.

         *I*   *paid*                 *not*    *for*  *it*

    b. * Jeg betalte$_v$ **for den$_i$**     ikke t$_v$ t$_i$.

         *I*   *paid*    *for*   *it*      *not*

                       ((40)-(41) and (44)-(45) are from Vikner 1994b:492, (11)-(14))

There are many other types of constituent which fit into the same picture in so far as they are not normally taken to be assigned case and they may not undergo object shift. One such type of constituent is the predicative adjective phrase, as shown in (46)-47), others are e.g. VPs. However, unlike the situation with PPs, there is no difference between scrambling and object shift here, e.g. predicative adjective phrases undergo neither scrambling (46)b, nor object shift (47)b, (48)b:

(46) German

    a.  Peter ist         nie   **krank**.

        *Peter is*        *never ill*

    b. * Peter ist **krank$_i$** nie    t$_i$.

        *Peter is ill*     *never*

(47) Icelandic

    a.  Pétur er         aldrei **veikur**.

*Peter is           never ill*

b. * Pétur er **veikur**<sub>i</sub> aldrei t<sub>i</sub>.

*Peter is ill        never*


(48) Danish

    a.   Peter er      aldrig **syg**.

         *Peter is      never ill*

    b. * Peter er **syg**<sub>i</sub> aldrig t<sub>i</sub>.

         *Peter is ill   never*


## 2.4  What is the landing site of object shift?

### 2.4.1   Object shift is clausebound

At the outset, we said that object shift was a leftward movement of a DP from a position inside VP to a position outside the same clause. The following examples illustrate that, as opposed to scrambling in Russian, (49), e.g. object shift may not move a DP out of a clause, (50)a:[8]


(49) Russian

    Vy **posylku**<sub>i</sub> videli [ kak          zapakovali t<sub>i</sub> ].

    *You parcel   saw     how (they) wrapped*

    'You saw how they wrapped the parcel'

<div align="right">(from Müller 1995:128, (71b))</div>


(50) Icelandic

    a. * Ég veit **bókina**<sub>i</sub> [ af hverju þau seldu          ekki t<sub>i</sub>          ].

        *I   know book-the   why      they sold          not*

    b.   Ég veit          [ af hverju þau seldu **bókina**<sub>i</sub> ekki t<sub>i</sub>          ].

        *I   know          why      they sold   book-the not*

    c.   Ég veit          [ af hverju þau seldu          ekki **bókina** ].

        *I   know          why      they sold          not   book-the*

        'I know why they did not sell the book'


As was illustrated in section 2.1.1, object shift moves a DP to a position which follows the subject and which in main clauses also follows the finite verb (in Icelandic it follows the finite verb also in embedded clauses). The position targeted by object shift furthermore precedes the negation and any (medial) sentential adverbial, both of which again precede all non-finite verbs (in Danish, Faroese, Norwegian, and Swedish embedded clauses, the negation and sentential adverbials also precede the finite verb).

---

[8]   The reason why the example of non-clausebound scrambling is from Russian is that German (and Dutch) scrambling actually is clausebound, and therefore completely parallel to the object shift data in (50):


    (i) German

        a. * Ich weiß **dieses Buch**<sub>i</sub> [ warum sie          nicht t<sub>i</sub>          verkaufen ].

            *I   know this   book   why   they          not          sell*

        b.   Ich weiß          [ warum sie **dieses Buch**<sub>i</sub> nicht t<sub>i</sub>          verkaufen ].

            *I   know          why   they this   book not          sell*

        c.   Ich weiß          [ warum sie          nicht **dieses Buch** verkaufen ].

            *I   know          why   they          not   this   book sell*

           'I know why they do not sell this book'

### 2.4.2  Is object shift movement to an adjoined position?

In the earliest treatment of object shift, Holmberg (1986:218, 170), the shifted object is taken to be adjoined to VP in Icelandic and to I-bar in Mainland Scandinavian (i.e., Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish). Holmberg (1986:170, 93) is forced to assume adjunction to I-bar in Mainland Scandinavian because of his assumption that the finite verb in embedded clauses occurs in I° in all of the Scandinavian languages. Following Pollock's (1989) suggestions that finite French verbs move to I° whereas finite English verbs remain in V°, Holmberg and Platzack (1988), among others, suggested that the same difference obtains between Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian. One of the advantages of this view was that the landing site of object shift in Icelandic could now be taken to be the same as the landing site of object shift in Mainland Scandinavian, a view followed by almost all subsequent analyses (cf. also section 2.1.1). Consequently Vikner (1989, 1994b) takes object shift to be adjunction to (the highest) VP in all of the Scandinavian languages (as opposed to scrambling in e.g. German, which is taken also to allow adjunction to IP). Holmberg and Platzack (1995:142, 20) follow a very similar approach in that they take object shift to be adjunction to ActiveP, a functional projection immediately above (the highest) VP.

### 2.4.3  Is object shift movement to a specifier position?

Whereas most early analyses of object shift thus assume that the shifted object occurs in an adjoined position, many but far from all later analyses take the shifted object to occur in a specifier position, namely, the specifier position of some functional projection immediately above VP. Two of the earliest suggestions along these lines are Déprez (1989:226) and Johnson (1991), who consider object shift movement to [AgrOP, Spec] (Johnson 1991 first refers to the landing site of object shift as [μP, Spec], 1991:606-608, but later identifies [μP, Spec] with [AgrOP, Spec], 1991:628). This analysis is also found in e.g. Chomsky (1993:12–16), Bobaljik (1995:80) and Collins and Thráinsson (1996).

As Holmberg (1999:6-7, 14-15) points out, the exact position of [AgrOP, Spec] with respect to e.g. auxiliary verbs is crucial. Compare Déprez's (1989:113) analysis in (51)a with Bobaljik's (1995:83) in (51)b:

(51)  a.  ... [$_{AgrOP}$  <u>spec</u> AgrO°  [$_{V(aux)P}$ spec V°(aux) [$_{V(main)P}$ spec V°(main) ]]]

   b.  ... [$_{V(aux)P}$ spec V°(aux) [$_{AgrOP}$  <u>spec</u> AgrO°  [$_{V(main)P}$ spec V°(main) ]]]

Déprez (1989:113) situates AgrOP above all VPs in the same clause, whereas Bobaljik (1995:83) explicitly situates AgrOP immediately above the VP of the main verb and below the VP of the auxiliary (or the VPs of the auxiliaries). Given that a shifted object always precedes negation and (medial) sentential adverbs, these two analyses then make different predictions as to whether the auxiliary V° follows or precedes negation and (medial) sentential adverbs. The fact that all non-finite auxiliaries in Scandinavian as well as all finite auxiliaries in Mainland Scandinavian embedded clauses follow rather than precede the negation and (medial) sentential adverbs is only compatible with an analysis such as (51)a, where the potential landing site of object shift precedes all VPs.

In a reaction to this criticism, Bobaljik (2002:225)[9] explicitly assumes both that negation (and presumably also sentential adverbials) always adjoin to the highest VP of the clause and that object shift is to the specifier position of an AgrOP, which is right above the VP of the verb that selects the shifting object. In other words, only when the highest VP is also the VP of the main verb (i.e., the verb that selects the shifting object), does the [AgrOP, Spec] position targeted by object shift precede the negation (and sentential adverbials). This makes the prediction that if it should be possible to have object shift in a clause where the finite verb and the object-selecting main verb are not the same verb (something which is normally excluded, cf. (9)b, (10)b, and (12)b above), the shifted object (which is in [AgrOP, Spec] right above the VP of the main verb) should follow, not precede, the negation (which is adjoined to the VP of the finite auxiliary verb). As Bobaljik (2002:235) himself notes ("it might leave as problematic the

---

[9]  Bobaljik's (2002) analysis is based on his definition of adjacency, where two elements may be adjacent even though elements in adjoined positions occur between them (Bobaljik 2002:210–221). When the main verb is finite, I° has to be adjacent to the main verb, and this blocks object shift in those cases where a shifted object would intervene between the two (Bobaljik 2002:221–224) e.g. in those embedded clauses where the finite verb occurs in V° (e.g. (16) above). When the main verb is a participle, it is Pple° that has to be adjacent to the main verb (Bobaljik 2002:225), and this blocks object shift in those cases where the overt shifted object would intervene between Pple° and the main verb.

respective order of the pronoun and negation"), this is precisely the wrong prediction for the central example of Holmberg (1999:7):

(52) Swedish

Kysst$_x$ har$_v$ jag **henne$_i$** inte [$_{VP}$ t$_v$   [$_{VP}$ t$_x$ t$_i$ ] ], bara hållit henne i handen.

*Kissed has I    her    not                only held  her    in hand-the*

'Kissed her, I haven't, only held her hand'

(from Holmberg 1999:7, (11a))

The (shifted) object has to precede the negation, even though the sentence contains both a finite auxiliary and a non-finite main verb (which has been topicalised). For much more discussion of this and other examples of remnant VP topicalisation, see sections 5.2-5.5 below.

It would thus seem that Holmberg's (1999:6-7, 14-15) criticism of at least some [AgrOP, Spec] analyses is still highly relevant.

Even though Johnson (1991) and Chomsky (1993:12–16), do not explicitly say where an auxiliary VP would be placed in the structure, the above criticism applies to these analyses as well. This is because both Johnson (1991) and Chomsky (1993:12–16) require that all main verbs (even non-finite ones) move to AgrO°; for Johnson (1991) because non-finite main verbs, too, exhibit the positional effects he accounts for by assuming V°-to-AgrO° movement, and for Chomsky (1993:12–16) because all main verbs must move to AgrO° to make it possible for the object in all types of clauses to undergo overt or covert object shift to [AgrOP, Spec] to have its object case checked (see also section 4 below on equidistance). The point is that the main verb could not possibly move to AgrO° if an auxiliary V° would intervene between AgrO° and the main V°. On the other hand, as outlined above, the auxiliary V° must intervene between AgrO° and the main V° to produce the correct predictions for (52).

Similar to the [AgrOP, Spec] analyses are the analyses of object shift as movement to (or through) [TenseP, Spec], as in Bobaljik and Jonas (1996) or Bošković (2004), or as movement to the specifier position of an IP-internal TopicP, as in Jayaseelan (2001:71) or Josefsson (2001). However, as long as the position targeted by object shift is a position above even the highest VP of the clause, these analyses are not subject to Holmberg's (1999:6-7, 14-15) criticism discussed above. Nilsen (1997) and Cinque (1999:115), who assume the existence of a large number of functional projections inside IP but above VP, suggest that object shift may end in the specifier position of most if not all of these functional projections. These analyses are not subject to the criticisms voiced above as they assume that auxiliary verbs may be inserted in a large number of different functional heads, depending on the meaning of the auxiliary.

In some later discussions of object shift, the landing site of object shift is left open, e.g. in Holmberg (1999). Similarly, whereas Chomsky (1995c:360) suggests that object shift is movement to the outer of two specifier positions of *v*P, Chomsky (2001b:33) makes it clear that although object shift moves through this position, it does not end there (in Chomsky 2001b:33, two different movements, namely, Object Shift and Disl, correspond to what is normally called object shift).

## 2.4.4   Landing site between two adverbials

One of the reasons given by Holmberg and Platzack (1995:152) for analyzing object shift as movement to an adjoined position rather than movement to [AgrOP, Spec] are the adjacency effects discussed by Vikner (1994b:493-497). Here the data will first be discussed from the point of view of the adjunction analysis, and only afterwards will the specifier analysis be considered.

According to Stowell (1981:113), case-assignment under government requires the case assigner and the case assignee to be adjacent. If object shift is movement to a case-assigned position, its landing site would have to be adjacent to a case assigner. If this case assigner is I° (or rather the verb or verb trace inside I°), the landing site of object shift would have to be adjacent to the verb or verb trace in I°. Although adjacency to a trace (including adjacency to a verb trace in I°) is impossible to see, the fact that I° itself is adjacent to the subject in [IP, Spec] (assuming that adverbials or other elements cannot adjoin to intermediate projections like I-bar) means that when I° only contains a trace, adjacency to I° results in surface adjacency to the subject in [IP, Spec]. In other words, under these assumptions, an account can be made for why shifted objects (and also floating quantifiers referring to shifted objects) may not occur separated from the subject in [IP, Spec] or from the verb in I° by an adverbial (as Holmberg and Platzack 1995:182 note, this argumentation may be seen as support of the assumption that Mainland Scandinavian has an I°-position, even though it is never overtly filled by a verb). In scrambling, on the other hand, nothing prevents the scrambled element (or a floated quantifier referring to a scrambled element) from occurring between two adverbials.

In (53)c, (54)c, (55)c, and (56)c, the scrambled or object-shifted object has been adjoined to the left of two adverbials; in (53)b, (54)b, [10] (55)b, and (56)b, the object has been adjoined between two adverbials (which prevents it from being adjacent to [IP, Spec] or I°); and in (53)a, (54)a, (55)a, and (56)a, no movement has taken place at all:

(53) German

       Gestern   hat$_v$ Peter ...
       *Yesterday has Peter*

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | ... | | ohne | Zweifel | | nicht | **das Buch** gelesen t$_v$. |
| | | | *without* | *doubt* | | *not* | *the book read* |
| b. | ... | | ohne | Zweifel | **das Buch$_i$** | nicht t$_i$ | gelesen t$_v$. |
| | | | *without* | *doubt* | *the book* | *not* | *read* |
| c. | ... **das Buch$_i$** | ohne | Zweifel | | | nicht t$_i$ | gelesen t$_v$. |
| | *the book* | *without* | *doubt* | | | *not* | *read* |

       'Yesterday Peter undoubtedly did not read this book'

(54) Icelandic

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Í gær | las$_v$ Pétur | eflaust | | ekki t$_v$ **bókina**. | |
| | *Yesterday* | *read Peter* | *doubtlessly* | | *not book-the* | |
| b. * | Í gær | las$_v$ Pétur | eflaust | **bókina$_i$** | ekki t$_v$ t$_i$. | |
| | *Yesterday* | *read Peter* | *doubtlessly book-the not* | | | |
| c. | Í gær | las$_v$ Pétur **bókina$_i$** | eflaust | | ekki t$_v$ t$_i$. | |
| | *Yesterday* | *read Peter book-the doubtlessly* | | | *not* | |

       'Yesterday Peter undoubtedly did not read this book'

                     ((53) and (54) are from Vikner 1994:493-494, (15)-(16))

    Neither scrambling nor object shift (of a full DP) is obligatory, cf. (53)a and (54)a, though see section 5 on focus. The crucial difference is that whereas a scrambled object may land anywhere, (53)b,c, an object-shifted object may only land in a position adjacent to I°, (54)b,c. (Jónsson 1996:66 finds an example of the same type as (54)b to be only marginal rather than completely ungrammatical.)

    In the other Scandinavian languages, object shift may seem to be obligatory, but this is because, as mentioned above, only pronominal objects undergo object shift, and pronominal object shift is obligatory (see section 3.4 below, and recall that Josefsson 2003:200-202 shows object shift of pronouns in Swedish to be optional rather than obligatory). That this is a difference between pronouns and full DP objects is illustrated by pronominal data from Icelandic, compare (56) to (54):

(55) Danish

      a. * I går     læste$_v$ Peter   uden   tvivl   ikke t$_v$ **den**.

---

[10] It must be admitted that some Icelandic speakers find (54)b acceptable, cf. also that Jónsson (1996:66) finds an example of the same type marginal rather than completely ungrammatical. Nevertheless, Thráinsson (2001:162) gives the following judgment of a completely parallel example:

  (i) Icelandic

    * Jón las$_v$ eflaust    **bókina$_i$**  aldrei t$_v$ t$_i$.
    *John read doubtlessly book-the never*

  It should perhaps be added that there seems to be general agreement among Icelandic speakers as to the unacceptability of the pronominal version of this kind of example, viz. (56)b.

*Yesterday read Peter     without doubt     not     it*

b. * I går     læste<sub>v</sub> Peter     uden     tvivl **den<sub>i</sub>** ikke t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub>.

*Yesterday read Peter     without doubt it     not*

c.   I går     læste<sub>v</sub> Peter **den<sub>i</sub>** uden     tvivl          ikke t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub>.

*Yesterday read Peter it     without doubt     not*

'Yesterday Peter undoubtedly did not read it'


(56) Icelandic

a. * Í gær     las<sub>v</sub> Pétur     eflaust          ekki t<sub>v</sub> **hana**.

*Yesterday read Peter     doubtlessly          not     it*

b. * Í gær     las<sub>v</sub> Pétur     eflaust     **hana<sub>i</sub>** ekki t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub>.

*Yesterday read Peter     doubtlessly it     not*

c.   Í gær     las<sub>v</sub> Pétur **hana<sub>i</sub>** eflaust          ekki t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub>.

*Yesterday read Peter it     doubtlessly          not*

'Yesterday Peter undoubtedly did not read it'

((55) and (56) are from Vikner (1994:493-494, (17)-(18)))

The only two possible object positions in sentences where object shift is allowed are thus the base position of the object and a position preceding all (medial) sentential adverbs and negation. In other words, the object has to be adjacent either to V° or to I°, as expected if it receives case from either V° (if object shift does not apply) or I° (when object shift has applied).

Let us now turn to similar evidence involving so-called floating quantifiers. According to Sportiche (1988), a floated quantifier (see the chapter on *Quantified Expressions and Quantitative Clitics*) may occur only in positions in which the quantified NP may occur, or through which the quantified NP may have moved. Giusti (1990) applies this analysis to scrambling and object shift, arguing that both these movements are ones that may leave floating quantifiers behind.

As shown by the following examples, the possible positions of floated quantifiers are the same as the possible positions of the object. In other words, any position is possible in scrambling (57), but only the position preceding the adverbials and the base position are possible in object shift (58):


(57) German

a. Peter wird     **die<sub>i</sub> Bücher<sub>i</sub>**     ohne     Zweifel          nie     **alle<sub>i</sub>** t<sub>i</sub> lesen.
*Peter will     the books          without doubt          never all     read*

b. Peter wird     **die<sub>i</sub> Bücher<sub>i</sub>**     ohne     Zweifel **alle<sub>i</sub>** nie          t<sub>i</sub> lesen.
*Peter wird will the books          without doubt     all     never          read*

c. Peter wird     **die<sub>i</sub> Bücher<sub>i</sub> alle<sub>i</sub>** ohne     Zweifel          nie          t<sub>i</sub> lesen.
*Peter will          the books     all     without doubt          never          read*

'Peter will undoubtedly never read all the books'


(58) Icelandic

a.   Pétur las<sub>v</sub>     **bækurnar<sub>i</sub>** eflaust          ekki **allar<sub>i</sub>** t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub>.
*Peter read          books-the     doubtlessly     not all*

b. * Pétur las<sub>v</sub>     **bækurnar<sub>i</sub>** eflaust     **allar<sub>i</sub>** ekki          t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub>.
*Peter read          books-the     doubtlessly all     not*

c.   Pétur las<sub>v</sub> **allar bækurnar<sub>i</sub>** eflaust          ekki          t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub>.
*Peter read all     books-the     doubtlessly          not*

'Peter undoubtedly never read all the books'

((57) and (58) are from Vikner (1994:496, (20), (21)))


Admittedly, the ungrammaticality of (58)b is not directly explained by the adjacency requirement discussed above, as case is assigned to the NP *bækurnar* or *allar bækurnar*, which is adjacent to I° in all three cases in (58). One possible account for (58)b would be that it shows that the object cannot have moved through a position beween the adverbials on its way to its surface position, maybe because such a

position would not be an A-position (making the movement an instance of 'improper movement', cf. e.g. Chomsky 1981:195, 199), or because there would be no need for object shift to go via this position.

Summing up so far, if object shift is movement to an adjoined position, the data in (53)–57) may be explained by assuming case may be assigned to an adjoined position, provided adjacency is respected.

If, on the other hand, object shift is movement to [AgrOP, Spec], then the requirements that the shifted object precede both negation and sentential adverbials must stem from [AgrOP, Spec] preceding the position of negation and medial sentential adverbials. This again would have to mean either (a) that scrambling (in Continental West Germanic) and object shift (in Scandinavian) have different landing sites (i.e., they cannot both be movement to [AgrOP, Spec]) or (b) that negation and the sentential adverbials have different positions in the two types of language. To be more precise, if object shift and scrambling target the same position (as assumed e.g. by Bobaljik 2002:230-233), negation and sentential adverbials in Continental West Germanic must be possible both to the left and to the right of this target [AgrOP, Spec], whereas negation and sentential adverbials in Scandinavian have to be restricted to the right of the target [AgrOP, Spec].

Notice finally that adjacency as discussed here is very different from what Bobaljik (2002:210-221) calls adjacency in that two elements may be adjacent in Bobaljik's sense even though an adverbial occurs between them.

## 2.5  Summary: object shift vs. scrambling

Throughout section 2, the properties of object shift in Scandinavian have been compared to the less restricted characteristics of scrambling in languages like Dutch and German (see (59)). Two additional differences between the Scandinavian languages were shown to follow from independent variation. First, only in Icelandic is object shift possible in embedded clauses, because only in Icelandic do all finite verbs move to I°, see examples (13) and (14)b. Second, only in Swedish is object shift actually blocked by a particle, because only in Swedish does the object never precede the particle before object shift, see examples (23) and (24).

(59)

| Section | Property | Object shift in Scandinavian | Scrambling in German/Dutch/... |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2.1.1 | It may take place independently of verb movement out of VP | No | Yes |
| 2.1.2 | It may cross a preposition | No | Yes |
|  | It may cross a particle | No | Yes |
|  | It may cross an indirect object | No | Yes |
| 2.2 | It allows a parasitic gap | No | Yes |
| 2.3 | It moves (pronominal) DPs | Yes | Yes |
|  | It moves PPs | No | Yes |
|  | It moves predicative APs | No | No |
| 2.4.1 | It may cross a clause boundary | No | No (Russian: yes) |
| 2.4.4 | It may land between adverbials | No | Yes |

One difference between the Scandinavian languages which does not follow from independent variation is that only in Icelandic do full DPs undergo object shift, see examples (4) and (5). In the other Scandinavian languages only pronominal DPs undergo object shift, see examples (6) and (7). This is further discussed in section 3.4 below.

Sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.3 discussed which kind of position is targeted by object shift (and scrambling), and noted that although there is no general agreement in the literature, there is perhaps a growing trend to assume the landing site to be a specifier position rather than an adjoined position.

# 3. Case and object shift

## 3.1 Traces of case assigners are optional case assigners

As mentioned in section 2.1.2, Holmberg (1986:176) was the first to suggest an analysis of object shift where case assignment by a trace is optional, as also assumed in Vikner (1994b:500) and Holmberg and Platzack (1995:166). This means that in structures where we would expect a DP to be assigned case by a V°, such case assignment is only obligatory if V° contains a verb. If V° does not contain a verb but only its trace, this V° 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 and be assigned case there. If an object is assigned case not by the trace of a verb, but by the verb itself (i.e., if the verb has not left VP), this case assignment is not optional but obligatory, and therefore the object is not free to move into a different position and be assigned case there. How is the shifted object assigned case, then, if not by V°? In Holmberg (1986:208, 217), the shifted objects are not assigned case at all: Because shifted objects (in Swedish only pronouns, in Icelandic all DPs) have morphological case, they do not need to be assigned case syntactically. One problem for this hypothesis is that, as illustrated in the next section, full DP objects have morphological case in Faroese, and yet they may not undergo object shift.

## 3.2 The role of morphological case

Morphological case is realised on all DPs only in two of the Scandinavian languages – Faroese and Icelandic.

| (60) *the book* | **Icelandic** | **Faroese** | **Danish** | **Swedish** | **Norwegian** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Nominative** | *bókin* | *bókin* | *bogen* | *boken* | *boka/boken* |
| **Accusative** | *bókina* | *bókina* | *bogen* | *boken* | *boka/boken* |
| **Dative** | *bókinni* | *bókini* | *bogen* | *boken* | *boka/boken* |

(from Vikner 1994:502, (34))

From the point of view of case morphology, Faroese thus patterns with Icelandic against the other Scandinavian languages, whereas as far as object shift is concerned, Faroese is more like the other Scandinavian languages, see (6) and (7), than like Icelandic, see (4) and (5):[11]

(61) Faroese

    a.   Jógvan keypti$_v$         ikki [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **bókina**    ].
        *Jógvan bought*         *not*     *book-the.ACC*

    b. * Jógvan keypti$_v$ **bókina$_i$**    ikki [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$        ].
        *Jógvan bought book-the.ACC not*

(62) Faroese

    a. * Jógvan keypti$_v$        ikki [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **hana** ].
        *Jógvan bought*       *not*     *it.ACC*

    b.   Jógvan keypti$_v$ **hana$_i$** ikki [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$    ].
        *Jógvan bought it.ACC not*

((61) is from Barnes 1992:28, (2n), and (62) is from Vikner 1994:502, (36))

According to Sundquist (2002), a similar situation obtained in Middle Norwegian, in that morphological case was also found outside the pronominal system, and yet object shift was restricted to pronouns. In early modern English, too, we find only pronominal object shift and not object shift of full DPs (Roberts

---

[11] In a questionnaire-based study, Thráinsson (2013) claims that object shift of full DPs is an option in Faroese, based the percentage of speakers that reject full DP object shift being somewhat lower for Faroese than for Danish. However, what is probably most important here is that even though the percentage of speakers that reject full DP object shift is lower for Faroese than for Danish, it is always very high, substantially above 50% (ranging from 66% to 96% in the six relevant Faroese cases).

1995:274-276). From the point of view of case this is less surprising, as early modern English did not have morphological case outside the pronominal system. Object shift in early modern English is remarkable in the fact that it shows that object shift may also be found in a non-Scandinavian language, indeed in a non-V2 language. Another potential problem related to morphological case 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 (63), dative in (64), and even nominative in (65) (where the subject is dative; see Sigurðsson 1989:198-241; Taraldsen 1995):

(63) Icelandic

Í gær    leitaði<sub>v</sub>    Pétur    ...
*Yesterday looked-for Peter.NOM*

a.    ...                        sennilega                    ekki t<sub>v</sub> **þessarar bókar**.
                               *probably*                    *not    this        book.GEN*

b. * ...                        sennilega **þessarar bókar<sub>i</sub>**    ekki t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub>.
                               *probably this        book.GEN not*

c.    ... **þessarar bókar<sub>i</sub>**    sennilega                    ekki t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub>.
       *this        book.GEN probably*                    *not*
       'Yesterday Peter undoubtedly did not look for this book'


(64) Icelandic

Í gær        lýsti<sub>v</sub>    Pétur        ...
*Yesterday described Peter.NOM*

a.    ...                        sennilega                    ekki t<sub>v</sub> **þessari bók**.
                               *probably*                    *not    this    book.DAT*

b. * ...                        sennilega **þessari bók<sub>i</sub>**    ekki t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub>.
                               *probably this    book.DAT not*

c.    ... **þessari bók<sub>i</sub>**    sennilega                    ekki t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub>.
       *this    book.DAT probably*                    *not*
       'Yesterday Peter probably did not describe this book'

                                                    ((63) and (64) are from Vikner (1994:512, note 2))

(65) Icelandic

Í dag  þykir<sub>v</sub>        þér            ...
*Today thinks.3.SG you.SG.DAT*

a. ? ...                        sennilega                    ekki t<sub>v</sub> **þessi bók**        skemmtileg.
                               *probably*                    *not    this    book.NOM amusing.NOM*

b. * ...                        sennilega **þessi bók<sub>i</sub>**    ekki t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub>            skemmtileg.
                               *probably this    book.NOM not*                            *amusing.NOM*

c.    ... **þessi bók<sub>i</sub>**    sennilega                    ekki t<sub>v</sub> t<sub>i</sub>            skemmtileg.
       *this    book.NOM probably*                    *not*                            *amusing.NOM*
       'Today you probably do not find this book amusing'


The standard view on oblique case is that it is inherent or lexical case, which is assigned together with the thematic role (see Marantz 1984:81 or Andrews 1990 and references there). To analyze these facts in a way compatible both with this standard view and with the analysis that object shift is movement to a case-assigned position, inherent case (i.e., case which is assigned at D-structure) would have to be licensed at S-structure, and this licensing would have to take place under conditions identical to the ones under which structural case assignment takes place.

## 3.3 Case assignment from I°

Holmberg's (1986:208, 217) suggestion that shifted objects are not assigned case at all as they do not need case assignment because they have morphological case thus predicts that objects may shift if and only if they have morphological case. The ungrammaticality of full DP object shift in Faroese, (61)b, was a direct counterexample to this analysis.

In Vikner (1994b:500) and in Holmberg and Platzack (1995:152), the shifted object is assigned case from I°. Vikner (1994b:500) further suggests that a non-nominative case cannot be assigned by an X° which is already assigning nominative, e.g. C° in V2-languages and I° in non-V2-languages. Thus, object shift never occurs into a position preceding the verb, where C° is busy assigning nominative case (though see n. 12 on long object shift in Swedish). Also, object shift never occurs at all in non-V2 languages, where I° is busy assigning nominative case, although object shift in early modern English, mentioned in the previous section, is a problem for this claim because early modern English is not a V2-language. The fact that early modern English is a VO-language and that it does not allow object shift of full DPs also excludes scrambling as a possible analysis.

The formulation of Holmberg's generalisation in section 2.1.1 referred to the (obligatory) movement of the selecting verb, rather than to the (obligatory) movement of the case-assigning verb. The possibility of object shift in two particular contexts, perception verbs and causative verbs, however, indicate that case-assignment is the relevant notion rather than selection, which again lends further, if rather indirect, support to the idea that case assignment is the key to object shift. For reasons of exposition, this will only be illustrated with perception verbs. A perception verb like *see* may either select a DP or an embedded clause as its object, and if it selects an embedded clause, this may either be finite or non-finite. When *see* selects a non-finite embedded clause, as in (66)–(71), the subject of the embedded clause is not selected by *see* but by the verb (or the VP) of the embedded clause, *beat*. There is nevertheless a particular relation between *see* and the embedded subject: *see* is taken to assign case to the embedded subject, which is why this subject is accusative and not nominative, as witnessed by its form, which is *þá* 'them.MASC' rather than *þeir* 'they.MASC' in Icelandic (67)b, and *dem* 'them' rather than *de* 'they' in Danish (69)b.

(66) Icelandic

    a.   Pétur sá$_v$       áreiðanlega [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ [$_{IP}$ **FH**   vinna Hauka  ]].

        *Peter saw*       *presumably*       *FH*   *beat   Haukar*

    b.   Pétur sá$_v$  **FH$_i$** áreiðanlega [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ [$_{IP}$ t$_i$     vinna Hauka  ]].

        *Peter saw FH presumably*            *beat   Haukar*

(67) Icelandic

    a. * Pétur sá$_v$       áreiðanlega [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ [$_{IP}$ **þá**    vinna Hauka  ]].

        *Peter saw*       *presumably*      *them beat   Haukar*

    b.   Pétur sá$_v$  **þá$_i$** áreiðanlega [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ [$_{IP}$ t$_i$     vinna Hauka  ]].

        *Peter saw them presumably*           *beat   Haukar*

(68) Danish

    a.   Peter så$_v$       formentlig  [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ [$_{IP}$ **AGF** slå   FC København  ]].

        *Peter saw*       *presumably*       *AGF   beat FC Copenhagen*

    b. * Peter så$_v$  **AGF$_i$** formentlig  [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ [$_{IP}$ t$_i$     slå   FC København  ]].

        *Peter saw AGF   presumably*         *beat FC Copenhagen*

(69) Danish

    a. * Peter så$_v$       formentlig  [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ [$_{IP}$ **dem** slå   FC København  ]].

        *Peter saw*       *presumably*       *them   beat FC Copenhagen*

    b.   Peter så$_v$  **dem$_i$** formentlig [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ [$_{IP}$ t$_i$     slå   FC København  ]].

        *Peter saw them presumably*         *beat FC Copenhagen*

In spite of the relation between *see* and the embedded subject, *FH/þá/AGF/dem*, being one of case-assignment and not one of selection, the verb movement of *see* allows the embedded subject to undergo

object shift in the usual fashion, i.e., obligatorily if it is a pronoun (67) and (69), optionally if it is an Icelandic full DP (66), and not at all if it is a Danish full DP (68).

That (66)-(69) are cases of object shift, i.e., that the embedded subject is moving around an adverbial of the main clause in (66)b, (67)b, and (69)b, is supported by the fact that the adverbial in question, *presumably*, is a speaker-oriented adverbial which only occurs as a sentential adverbial in main clauses. This is shown by it being ill-formed to the right of the main clause participle, *seen*:

(70)  Icelandic

    a.   Pétur hefur$_v$ **áreiðanlega** [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ séð  [$_{IP}$ FH  vinna  Hauka   ]]].
        *Peter has    presumably              seen    FH beat  Haukar*

    b. * Pétur hefur séð  **áreiðanlega** FH vinna Hauka.
        *Peter has    seen presumably FH beat   Haukar*

    c. * Pétur hefur séð  FH **áreiðanlega** vinna Hauka.
        *Peter has    seen FH presumably  beat   Haukar*

(71)  Danish

    a.   Peter har$_v$ **formentlig** [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ set   [$_{IP}$ AGF  slå   FC København   ]]].
        *Peter has  presumably              seen    AGF  beat FC Copenhagen*

    b. * Peter har set   **formentlig** AGF slå   FC København.
        *Peter has seen presumably AGF  beat FC Copenhagen*

    c. * Peter har set   AGF **formentlig** slå   FC København.
        *Peter has seen AGF  presumably beat FC Copenhagen*

Summarising sections 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3, it was shown how assuming case assignment by a verb trace to be optional was an attempt to account for Holmberg's generalisation. Object shift is possible only if the case-assigning verb leaves VP because only then is the case-assigned DP assigned case by a trace, which again means that only then is it possible for this DP not to be assigned case and therefore to move into a case position higher up in the clause.

## 3.4  Pronominal object shift as cliticisation

If case were crucial for object shift in the manner described in the previous section, we might expect that one of two situations would obtain in a given language: Either all objects may undergo object shift (provided all other conditions on object shift were fulfilled), or no objects may undergo object shift at all. There would be no reason to expect pronouns (i.e., pronominal DPs) to behave any differently from full DPs, given that all DPs are alike in requiring case. However, cross-linguistically, the two types of object often behave differently with respect to object shift.

In Icelandic, both pronominal objects and full DP objects may undergo object shift, see (4) and (5) above, whereas in the other Scandinavian languages (Danish, Faroese, Norwegian, and Swedish), only pronominal objects may undergo object shift, full DP objects may not, see (6), (7), (61) and (62).

Before discussing potential accounts of this difference, I shall give some further examples. 'Strong' pronouns (i.e., pronouns which are stressed, modified, or coordinated, cf. Holmberg 1986:209) differ from pronominals which are not stressed, modified, or coordinated. As seen in (5) and (7) above, normally, pronouns obligatorily undergo object shift (though only optionally in Swedish, see (8)). Strong pronouns, however, behave like full DPs in this respect, i.e., they may optionally undergo object shift in Icelandic, see (4), and they may not undergo object shift in Danish, see (6).

The strong pronouns in (72) and (74) are stressed versions of the unstressed pronouns in (5) and (7), i.e., Icelandic *hana* and Danish *den* 'it'. The strong pronouns in (73) and (75) are Icelandic *þessa hérna* and Danish *den her*, 'this here'. The result would have been the same with expressions such as Icelandic *þessa með rauðu kápuna* or Danish *den med det røde omslag* 'the one with the red cover'.

(72) Icelandic: strong pronouns may undergo object shift

    a.   Af hverju las$_v$ Pétur               aldrei [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **HANA**     ] ?
          *Why*    *read Peter*           *never*      *it*

    b.   Af hverju las$_v$ Pétur **HANA$_i$**    aldrei [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$      ] ?
          *Why*    *read Peter it*       *never*

(73) Icelandic: full DPs may undergo object shift

    a.   Af hverju las$_v$ Pétur             aldrei [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **þessa hérna** ] ?
          *Why*    *read Peter*          *never*     *this*   *here*

    b.   Af hverju las$_v$ Pétur **þessa hérna$_i$** aldrei [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$      ] ?
          *Why*    *read Peter this*    *here*    *never*

(74) Danish: strong pronouns do not undergo object shift

    a.   Hvorfor læste$_v$ Peter         aldrig [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **DEN**    ] ?
          *Why*    *read Peter*       *never*       *it*

    b. * Hvorfor læste$_v$ Peter **DEN$_i$** aldrig [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$     ] ?
          *Why*    *read Peter it*      *never*

(75) Danish: full DPs do not undergo object shift

    a.   Hvorfor læste$_v$ Peter         aldrig [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **den her** ] ?
          *Why*    *read Peter*       *never*      *this*  *here*

    b. * Hvorfor læste$_v$ Peter **den her** aldrig [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$     ] ?
          *Why*    *read Peter this here never*

    Let us now turn to some proposed accounts of the difference between pronominal object shift and full DP object shift. A number of analyses take pronominal object shift to be X°-movement along the lines of e.g. cliticisation in the Romance languages (Holmberg 1991a:167; Josefsson 1992, 1993; Déprez 1994:122; Bobaljik and Jonas 1996:207; Diesing 1996:77, 1997:415). The main advantage of such an approach is that the question of whether or not a language has object shift can now be turned into the question of whether or not a language has full DP object shift, and this can then plausibly be tied to whether or not I° (or T°) has strong features. I° (or T°) can be argued to have strong features in Icelandic (as reflected in the presence of V°-to-I° movement), but weak features in the other Scandinavian languages (which lack V°-to-I° movement). The main drawback, to be further discussed below, is that although it may become easier to account for whether or not a language has object shift of full DPs, it becomes much more difficult to account for whether or not a language has pronominal object shift, as the differences between pronominal object shift in Scandinavian and cliticisation in Romance become unexpected (e.g., why do the former but not the latter observe Holmberg's generalisation?).

    As pointed out in Vikner (1994b:504-506) and Holmberg and Platzack (1995:154-156), assuming pronominal object shift to be X°-movement is problematic for at least two reasons. One is that the object-shifted pronoun behaves differently from a Romance clitic pronoun, in that object-shifted pronouns do not occur in C° together with the finite verb, whereas Romance clitic pronouns do. If the object-shifted pronoun has incorporated into the verb, it should not only move along with the verb when the verb moves from V° to I° (which it arguably does; shifted objects occur adjacent to I°, see section 2.4.4), but it should also move along with the verb when the verb moves from I° to C°. The latter is quite clearly not the case, (76)a:

(76) Danish

    a. * Hvorfor [$_{C°}$ læste- **den$_v$** ] Peter [$_{I°}$ t$_v$      ] aldrig [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$ ] ?
          *Why*       *read it*     *Peter*         *never*

    b.   Hvorfor [$_{C°}$ læste$_v$     ] Peter [$_{I°}$ t$_v$- **den$_i$** ] aldrig [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$ ] ?
          *Why*      *read*        *Peter*    *it*     *never*
          'Why did Peter never read it?'

Not only would (76)a incorrectly be expected to be grammatical, but (76)b would also, again incorrectly, be expected to be ungrammatical. Although it should not be possible for the pronoun to be left behind in I° when the verb moves on to C° (see Kayne 1991:649, who says a trace cannot be "a proper subpart of a X° constituent," referring to Baker 1988a:73), this is exactly how (76)b would have to be analyzed if pronominal object shift were X°-movement: The trace of the verb which has moved to C° is a proper subpart of I°.

It is of course possible to revise the analyses of Kayne (1991:649) and Baker (1988a:73), and to allow some form of excorporation, as in Roberts (1991a:214-216). However, it is far from clear that this could be done in such a way as to rule out (76)a and rule in (76)b without doing the same to the Romance data. In French, for instance, ruling out (77)a and allowing (77)b would be problematic, as the French judgments are the exact mirror image of the Scandinavian ones; compare (77) and (76):[12]

(77) French

    a.  Où      [$_{C°}$ **l'** avait$_v$ ]- il [$_{I°}$ t$_v$    ] [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ acheté t$_i$ ]] ?

         *Where   it- had    he                bought*

    b. * Où      [$_{C°}$   avait$_v$ ]- il [$_{I°}$ **le$_i$** t$_v$ ] [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ acheté t$_i$ ]] ?

         *Where      had   he   it            bought*

        'Where had he bought it?'

Josefsson (1993:21–22) says about the above difference that Scandinavian has weak pronouns, i.e., what she calls independent heads, whereas Romance has clitics, i.e., dependent heads. The crucial difference is that only independent heads are able to excorporate. However, the ability to excorporate is exactly the property that we are trying to account for, and so we arrive at a restatement of the problem above; if pronominal object shift is X°-movement along the lines of cliticisation in Romance, why do the two not behave alike? The other problem with the assumption that pronominal object shift is X°-movement is connected with the fact that Scandinavian pronouns (if they should turn out to be clitics) would be clitics on the right side of their incorporating heads, as opposed to Romance clitics, which are on the left; see (77)a.

If the Scandinavian pronoun were to incorporate into the verb already in the V°-position, we would expect a situation (e.g., right before verb movement to C°) in which finite tense endings would follow the compound head consisting of the verb and the incorporated pronominal object. This is clearly not the case; cf. (3)c with (78).

(78) Danish

      * ... [$_{I°}$ [$_{T°}$ [$_{V°}$ [$_{V°}$ læs-  ] **dem** ] -te    ] ] ...

                       *read-  them   PAST*

---

[12] To complicate matters even further, pronominal object shift in Swedish is different both from pronominal object shift in the other Scandinavian languages, (76), and from Romance clitic pronouns, (77), in that both options are possible. The shifted pronoun may occur either left of the subject, (i)a or right of the subject, (i)b:

  (i) Swedish

    a.  Därför    ger$_v$ **mig$_i$** [$_{IP}$ Tutanchamons hemska förbannelse     ingen ro$_j$  [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$ t$_j$ ]].

        *Therefore gives me     Tutanchamon's terrible  curse          no    rest*

    b.  Därför    ger$_v$      [$_{IP}$ Tutanchamons hemska förbannelse **mig$_i$** ingen ro$_j$  [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$ t$_j$ ]].

        *Therefore gives     Tutanchamon's terrible  curse     me  no    rest*

                                  ((i)a is from Josefsson 1992:65, (14))

Example (i)a is commonly referred to as long object shift, and compared to normal or 'short' object shift, as in (i)b, long object shift is subject to some additional and rather elusive restrictions. According to Holmberg (1984:3), only weak reflexive pronouns or weak first or second person pronouns undergo long object shift; whereas Josefsson (1992:68) shows that all those pronouns that have different nominative and accusative forms undergo long object shift. Josefsson (1992:65-67) also discusses certain thematic restrictions on long object shift. Finally, Thráinsson (2001:154) points out that long object shift was also found in Danish and Norwegian in the nineteenth century.

(I am assuming here, along with Roberts 2001:122, that Baker's 1988a:13-15 mirror principle is relevant for the sequence of morphemes in complex words, even in a framework where such elements are checked in the relevant functional heads rather than base-generated there, as originally assumed by Baker 1988a.)

If, on the other hand, the Scandinavian pronoun were to incorporate into the verb at some point higher than V° (e.g., in T° or in I°), then it would have to be able to move at least one step as an XP since it would have to be able to move out of VP without incorporating into V°. If this were possible, however, then we would no longer have an account for Holmberg's generalisation, i.e., for why it is necessary for the verb to move out of VP even for pronominal object shift to be possible. There would in effect be no difference in this respect between an incorporation analysis of Scandinavian object shift and cliticisation in Romance, where the object clearly does not incorporate into V°; cf. that the object is not incorporated into the main verb *acheté* 'bought' in (77)a.

It would thus seem that there are good reasons not to take pronominal object shift to be X°-movement along the lines of cliticisation in Romance. But then, what is it? And if pronominal object shift is no different from object shift of full DPs, we have no account of why four out of five Scandinavian languages have the former but not the latter. Later accounts (including the ones to be discussed in the rest of this chapter) have little to add to this discussion; although Holmberg (1999:22) and Chomsky (2001b:33) both assume that pronominal object shift is XP-movement as well, they do not attempt to account for why pronominal object shift is also found in at least four languages that do not have object shift of full DPs.

# 4. Equidistance and object shift

The so-called equidistance account (Chomsky 1993:15-19) is an attempt to derive Holmberg's generalisation. The idea is that the reason why object shift is possible only if the main verb leaves VP is that this verb movement is necessary to allow the object to move across [VP, Spec], which is the position where the subject is base-generated.

Chomsky (1993:15–19) thus solves two problems at the same time. One problem is to find a reason for Holmberg's generalisation, the other, to explain how object shift (as A-movement) may move across the base position of the subject in [VP, Spec] (which is an A-position), in violation of relativised minimality and/or the shortest movement condition. In other words, how can the object move from its base position, as in (79)a across [VP, Spec] into a higher specifier position, here [AgrOP, Spec], as in (79)b?

(79) a.                              [$_{VP}$ Subject  V°  Object ]

   b.   [$_{AgrOP}$ **Object**  AgrO°  [$_{VP}$ Subject  V°  $t_{obj}$       ]]

Chomsky's (1993:18) suggestion is that if and only if the verb moves from V° to AgrO° do [VP, Spec] and [AgrOP, Spec] count as belonging to the same minimal domain. If [VP, Spec] and [AgrOP, Spec] belong to the same minimal domain, they are equidistant from the object position, which means that from the point of view of the shortest movement condition, the object is free to move into either [VP, Spec] or [AgrOP, Spec]. In other words, the object is free to move into [AgrOP, Spec] even though this means moving across the base position of the subject in [VP, Spec], as in the derivational step from (80)b to (80)c, as long as the verb has just moved from V° to AgrO°, as in the step from (80)a to (80)b:

(80) a.                              [$_{VP}$ Subject [$_{V°}$ Verb ] Object ]

   b.   [$_{AgrOP}$          [$_{AgrO°}$ **Verb** ] [$_{VP}$ Subject [$_{V°}$ **$t_{verb}$** ] Object ]]

   c.   [$_{AgrOP}$ **Object** [$_{AgrO°}$ Verb ] [$_{VP}$ Subject [$_{V°}$ $t_{verb}$ ] **$t_{obj}$**       ]]

If the verb would not move, [VP, Spec] and [AgrOP, Spec] would not belong to the same minimal domain and they would therefore not be equidistant, and so the object could not leave its base position (at least not by means of A-movement).[13]

---

[13]  As pointed out by Holmberg (1999:14) and Sells (2001:49), given that equidistance requires the main verb to undergo X°-movement to the next c-commanding head in order to make it possible for the shifted object to move past the trace of the subject, the combination of object shift and remnant VP-topicalisation discussed above as (52) and further below as (94)c/ (106)b/(112)a presents a serious challenge for an equidistance approach: Here the main verb moves as part of a topicalised VP, and thus there should be no equidistance between the object and the base position of the subject at any point.

According to Bobaljik and Jonas (1996:202), this scenario repeats itself when the subject moves out of its base position on its way to [AgrSP, Spec] (roughly equivalent to [IP, Spec]). The question is now how the subject may move across the object (or object trace) in [AgrOP, Spec] (which is an A-position). If we assume with Bobaljik and Jonas (1996:198) that AgrOP is the complement of T°, then if the verb moves from Agr° to T°, as in the step from (81)c to (81)d, then [AgrOP, Spec] and [TP, Spec] count as equidistant, and the subject may move across the object (or object trace) in [AgrOP, Spec], as in the step from (81)d to (81)e:

(81) a.                                              [$_{VP}$ Subject [$_{V°}$ Verb ] Object ]

   b.                    [$_{AgrOP}$          [$_{AgrO°}$ **Verb** ] [$_{VP}$ Subject [$_{V°}$ **t$_{verb}$** ] Object ]]

   c.                    [$_{AgrOP}$ **Object** [$_{AgrO°}$ Verb ] [$_{VP}$ Subject [$_{V°}$ t$_{verb}$ ] **t$_{obj}$** ]]

   d. [$_{TP}$          [$_{T°}$ **Verb** ] [$_{AgrOP}$ Object [$_{AgrO°}$ **t$_{verb}$** ] [$_{VP}$ Subject [$_{V°}$ t$_{verb}$ ] t$_{obj}$ ]]]

   e. [$_{TP}$ **Subject** [$_{T°}$ Verb ] [$_{AgrOP}$ Object [$_{AgrO°}$ t$_{verb}$ ] [$_{VP}$ **t$_{subj}$** [$_{V°}$ t$_{verb}$ ] t$_{obj}$ ]]]

Chomsky (1995c:349–355) eliminates Agr categories altogether and introduces the concept of multiple specifiers, so that in effect what was described earlier as [VP, Spec] and [AgrOP, Spec] are now considered to be two different specifiers of the same VP (or of the same V°). Chomsky (1995c:356–357) then goes on to revise the conditions on equidistance so that two specifiers of the same head are equidistant. This in turn means that equidistance no longer requires the verb to move from one head to the next higher one, and therefore the account of Holmberg's generalisation is lost,[14] as noted by Chomsky (1995c:358) himself. The first step of object shift can now be a movement into the outer specifier of VP, and object shift is therefore able to cross the base position of the subject, which is the inner specifier of the same verb. As Chomsky (1995c:358) says, Holmberg's generalisation would have to be a property of the verb, so that it can have more than one specifier only if it is a trace. And Chomsky continues, "There is no obvious reason why this should be so."

# 5. Focus, interpretation and object shift

The two accounts discussed so far, the one linked to optional case assignment by a trace and the equidistance account, have at least three features in common:

(82) (i)     They assume that full DP object shift is optional and they therefore have nothing to say about which full DPs undergo object shift and which ones do not.

   (ii)    They also both assume that pronominal object shift is obligatory.

   (iii)   Finally, they both predict that non-DPs cannot possibly undergo object shift.

In section 5.1 we shall see that the first two assumptions do not hold, and in this section, we will see that the prediction that only DPs undergo object shift is not quite borne out either.

   When the adverb *there* is unstressed and defocused, it may undergo object shift in Icelandic, (84), and it must do so in Danish, (86) (as observed in Mikkelsen 1911:653, Josefsson 1994:117; Haider et al. 1995:20; Thráinsson 2001:197, n. 10):

(83) Icelandic

   a.  Býr$_v$ Pétur                    ekki lengur t$_v$ **í Kaupmannahöfn** ?
      *Lives Peter*                    *not  longer    in Copenhagen.DAT*

   b. * Býr$_v$ Pétur **í Kaupmannahöfn$_i$** ekki lengur t$_v$ t$_i$              ?
      *Lives Peter in Copenhagen.DAT  not  longer*

(84) Icelandic

---

14  Even so, many analyses of object shift appealing to some form of equidistance have appeared, also after the publication of Chomsky (1995c), e.g. Bobaljik and Jonas (1996), Collins and Thráinsson (1996), Broekhuis (2000), and Hornstein, Nunes & Grohmann (2005:154).

a. Býr$_v$ Pétur          ekki lengur t$_v$ **þar**          ?
   *Lives Peter          not longer    there*

b. Býr$_v$ Pétur **þar$_i$**     ekki lengur t$_v$ t$_i$          ?
   *Lives Peter there          not longer*

(85) Danish

a. Bor$_v$ Peter          ikke længere t$_v$ **i København** ?
   *Lives Peter          not longer       in Copenhagen*

b. * Bor$_v$ Peter **i København$_i$** ikke længere t$_v$ t$_i$          ?
   *Lives Peter in Copenhagen not   longer*

(86) Danish

a. ?? Bor$_v$ Peter          ikke længere t$_v$ **der**          ?
   *Lives Peter          not longer       there*

b. Bor$_v$ Peter **der$_i$**          ikke længere t$_v$ t$_i$          ?
   *Lives Peter there          not longer*

These data might seem to support the view discussed in section 3.4, that pronominal object shift is cliticisation, because cliticisation in Romance also affects clitic adverbials, e.g. French *y* 'there'. However, like any other kind of object shift, object shift of Icelandic *þar* and of Danish *der* 'there' at subject to Holmberg's generalisation, as opposed to cliticisation of their Romance counterparts:

(87) French

a. Pierre n' **y**    a        jamais vécu.
   *Pierre not there has        never   lived*

   Danish

b. * Peter          har **der** aldrig boet.
   *Peter          has there never  lived*

c. Peter          har        aldrig boet **der**.
   *Peter          has        never  lived there*

The *there*-cases in (84) and (86) are actually the second time we have seen object shift applying to elements which could not possibly be objects. The first time was object shift with perception verbs (and causative verbs), as discussed in section 3.4 above, where the elements undergoing object shift were embedded subjects, not objects. A necessary criterion for object shift is thus that it is subject to Holmberg's generalisation, as opposed to most other kinds of syntactic movement.

As in section 3.4, the conclusion therefore remains that pronominal object shift is not a kind of cliticisation but a kind of object shift. The fact that non-DPs undergo object shift as well suggests that the key property is not case or equidistance, but something entirely different. In the following sections we shall see that the key property may be focus and interpretation.

## 5.1   The interpretation of object shift

From what has been said so far about full DP object shift in Icelandic, it might seem as if it is completely optional. This is not the case, however. As observed in Diesing and Jelinek (1995:150) and in Diesing (1996:79, 1997:418), the interpretation of an object-shifted object in Icelandic differs from that of a non-object-shifted one, and this difference parallels the difference in interpretation between scrambled and non-scrambled objects in e.g. German and Yiddish (cf. Diesing 1992b:129). Consider first a German example:

(88) German

a.  ...  weil    ich                selten **die kleinste Katze** streichle.

           *because I*                   *rarely  the  smallest  cat*    *pet*

    b.    ...    weil     ich **die kleinste Katze$_i$** selten $t_i$                 streichle.

               *because I*    *the  smallest  cat*    *rarely*               *pet*

         (from Diesing & Jelinek 1995:130, (9a), Diesing 1996:73 (17), and Diesing 1997:379, (14a))

Diesing and Jelinek (1995) and Diesing (1996, 1997) observe that the interpretation of (88)a is that whichever group of cats I meet, I rarely pet the one which is the smallest in that particular group. The interpretation of (88)b is that there is a cat which is smaller than all others, and that cat I rarely pet. In other words, the relative scope of *rarely* and *the smallest cat* correspond to their surface order, the one furthest left has wider scope. This is also the case in Icelandic:

(89) Icelandic

    a.    Hann   les                  sjaldan **lengstu bókina**.

        *He*     *read*                  *rarely  longest  book-the*

    b.    Hann   les   **lengstu bókina$_i$** sjaldan $t_i$.

        *He*      *read longest  book-the rarely*

                      (from Diesing 1996:79, (32), and Diesing 1997:418, (82))

According to Diesing (1996, 1997), the interpretation of (89)a is that whichever group of books he is put in front of, he rarely reads the one which is the longest in that particular group. The interpretation of (89)b is that there is a book which is longer than all others, and that book, he rarely reads. Thus also here, the relative scope of *rarely* and *the longest book* correspond to their surface order, the one furthest left has wider scope. Diesing's claim is that these interpretation differences can be derived from the Mapping Hypothesis of Diesing (1992b:10, 1997:373); see also Diesing and Jelinek (1995:124). In other words, the differences follow from whether the object is inside the VP and thereby part of the 'nuclear scope (the domain of existential closure)' or outside VP but inside IP and thereby part of the 'Restriction (of an operator)'. The difference in interpretation between (89)a and (89)b thus supports an analysis where full DP object shift is not optional but, depending on which interpretation is the target, full DP object shift is either obligatory or impossible.[15]

---

[15] If object shift is blocked (e.g., by the main verb being a participle), both the reading that is associated only with a shifted object in an object-shift construction and the reading associated only with a non-shifted object in an object shift construction are possible:

(i) Icelandic

    a.   Í   prófunum svarar   hann **sjaldan** [$_{DP}$ erfiðustu      spurningunni ].

      *In exams-the answers he*     *rarely*       *most-difficult question-the*

    b.   Í   prófunum svarar   hann [$_{DP}$ erfiðustu      spurningunni ] **sjaldan**.

      *In exams-the answers he*         *most-difficult question-the*      *rarely*

    c.   Í   prófunum hefur hann **sjaldan** svarað    [$_{DP}$ erfiðustu      spurningunni ].

      *In exams-the has*    *he*      *rarely*    *answered [$_{DP}$ most-difficult question-the*

                         (from Vikner 2001a:325-326, (17), (18a))

The difference between (i)a and (i)b parallels the difference between (89)a and (89)b in the main text. The interpretation of (i)a is that regardless of which exam he is taking, he rarely answers whichever question happens to be the most difficult one in that particular exam. The interpretation of (i)b on the other hand, is that there is one particular question which is more difficult than all others (e.g., 'list all the irregular verbs in Icelandic') and which appears in most or all exams, and when he encounters this question, he rarely answers it.

In her minimalist analysis of (89)a and (89)b (and, by extension, of (i)a and (i)b), Diesing (1996:70, 1997:375-376) assumes the existence of a 'scoping constraint', which says that DPs should move to the position in the surface order that corresponds to their scope, and which therefore forces object shift in (89)b and (i)b and prevents object shift in (89)a and (i)a. Diesing takes these examples, (89)a,b and (i)a,b, to show that the scoping constraint must be a 'condition on convergence', to explain why the scoping constraint overrides 'procrastinate', an 'economy condition', which says do not move unless absolutely necessary.

Vikner (2001a:334) argues that while these assumptions give the correct predictions concerning (89)a,b and (i)a,b, they make an incorrect prediction concerning (i)c. The point is that in the reading of (i)c that corresponds to (i)b, the scoping constraint is overridden, *the most difficult question* has scope over *rarely* and yet does not

Diesing and Jelinek (1995:155) and Diesing (1997:413) also point out that claiming pronominal object shift to be obligatory is at best a gross oversimplification. The point is that there are pronouns which do not undergo object shift, namely, indefinite pronouns. They do not have wide scope, and therefore nothing forces them to leave their base position (both in languages with object shift, here Icelandic and Danish, and in languages with scrambling, here German):

(90) Icelandic

    a.  Ég á    ekki regnhlíf, áttu      ekki **eina** ?
       *I  have not  umbrella, have-you    not   one*

    b. * Ég á    ekki regnhlíf¸ áttu    **eina**$_i$ ekki t$_i$    ?
       *I  have not  umbrella, have-you one  not*

(91) Danish

    a.  Jeg har ikke nogen paraply, har du    ikke **en** ?
       *I  have not  any  umbrella, have you    not  one*

    b. * Jeg har ikke nogen paraply, har du **en**$_i$ ikke t$_i$    ?
       *I  have not  any   umbrella, have you one not*

(92) German

    a.  Ich habe immer einen Regenschirm, warum hast Du      nie  **einen** ?
       *I  have always an    umbrella,    why   have you      never one*

    b. * Ich habe immer einen Regenschirm, warum hast Du **einen**$_i$ nie    t$_i$     ?
       *I  have always an    umbrella,    why   have you one    never*

                          (from Vikner 1997a:11-12, (34)-(36), based on Diesing 1996:76, (24)-(25))

Actually, it can also be claimed that it is possible for definite pronouns not to undergo object shift. We have already discussed (72) and (74), where it was shown that stressed definite pronouns do not have to undergo object shift (and in languages where full DPs cannot undergo object shift, stressed definite pronouns cannot do it either). It is possible to reinterpret this kind of data to show that the interpretation depends on whether or not object shift takes place, and then the obligatory stress on definite pronouns that have not undergone object shift is a consequence of them being focused. The following is a further example from Danish:

(93) Danish

    En  Dag saa hun Niccolo i  Gaden     ... Men han saa ikke hende.
    *One day  saw she Niccolo in street-the    But  he  saw not  her*
           (from *Ekko* by Karen Blixen, with the original orthography, cited in Togeby 2003:169)

As pointed out by Togeby (2003:169), (93) requires that both the subject *han* 'he' and the object *hende* 'her' are stressed. In other words, (93) corresponds to English . . . *but HE did not see HER*, where the focus is on *he* and *she* having switched roles, from 'seer' to 'seen' and vice versa. It would not have been

---

precede it. In other words, (i)c shows that Holmberg's generalisation overrides the scoping constraint, and (i)b shows that the scoping constraint overrides procrastinate. The problem is that within minimalism, for the scoping constraint to override procrastinate, it would (as Diesing 1997:422 says) have to be a condition on convergence, but that in turn would mean that it could not itself be overriden by anything; on the contrary, a violation of a condition on convergence must lead to a crash and this would incorrectly predict (i)c to be unambiguous. On the other hand, as Vikner (2001a) shows, an analysis within optimality theory would not run into this problem. In OT, it would be perfectly possible to have a particular constraint both override one constraint and itself be overridden by another.

    Thráinsson (2001:193) points to a basic problem common to the accounts of Diesing (1996, 1997), Vikner (2001a), and Chomsky (2001b). In structures where a DP is not prevented from object shift by Holmberg's generalisation but nevertheless does not undergo object shift, see e.g. (89)a and (i)a, these accounts assume the DP to have only one interpretation, namely, the narrow scope/unfocused/weak reading. Although speakers agree that this reading is possible and preferred, it is not quite clear that the other one, the wide scope/focused/strong reading (i.e., the one that is the only reading in (89)b and (i)b), is completely excluded for all speakers; cf. de Hoop (1992:137–139).

ungrammatical for Karen Blixen to have written . . . *Men han saa hende ikke*, but this would not have the interpretation with focus on the role switching, it would simply correspond to English . . . *but he did not see her*, where the focus is on the entire VP.

This section has shown that depending on interpretation and focus, object shift of full DPs and object shift of pronouns may or may not take place.

## 5.2 Objects marked [−focus] must be licensed by being adjacent to elements marked [+focus]

Here we review the analysis proposed in Holmberg (1999). Even though focus and interpretation (which were dealt with in the previous section) are central to Holmberg's (1999) analysis, they will only come in at the end of the discussion.

Holmberg (1999:6) points out that Chomsky's (1993:15-19) equidistance account (as presented in section 4 above) only accounts for those cases of Holmberg's generalisation where the main verb leaves VP by moving into the next higher head position (i.e., the head which is the sister of the VP in question). The reason is that only by means of such a head movement do [VP, Spec] and [AgrOP, Spec] count as equidistant. If the verb were to leave VP in a different fashion, the equidistance account would predict object shift to be impossible, as [VP, Spec] and [AgrOP, Spec] would not be part of the same minimal domain and therefore not count as equidistant. Holmberg (1999) argues that this prediction is not borne out, and the example that shows this is (52) above, the Danish version[16] of which is given here (94)c. The non-finite main verb *kysset* 'kissed' has left its VP by means not of head movement but of topicalisation, and yet object shift is well-formed:

(94) Danish

    a. * Kysset$_x$ har$_v$ jeg      ikke [$_{VP}$ t$_v$      [$_{VP}$ t$_x$ **hende** ] ], ...

       *Kissed has I*      *not*              *her*

---

[16] Many speakers of (at least) Danish and Icelandic do not find (94)c/(i)c completely acceptable, but it would seem that there is general agreement that (94)c/(i)c is considerably less unacceptable than (94)a,b/(i)a,b:

    (i) Icelandic

      a. * Kysst$_x$ hef$_v$ ég      ekki [$_{VP}$ t$_v$      [$_{VP}$ t$_x$ **hana** ] ], ...

        *Kissed has I*      *not*            *her*

      b. * Kysst$_x$ hef$_v$ ég      ekki [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **hana$_i$** [$_{VP}$ t$_x$ t$_i$     ] ], ...

        *Kissed has I*      *not*      *her*

      c. ? Kysst$_x$ hef$_v$ ég **hana$_i$** ekki [$_{VP}$ t$_v$      [$_{VP}$ t$_x$ t$_i$     ] ], ...

        *Kissed has I*  *her*  *not*

                       ... bara haldið í höndina á henni.

                         *only held in hand-the on her*

      'Kissed her, I haven't, only held her hand'

Engels & Vikner (2014:98, n. 1) list the following two Danish examples of (94)c which were found on the web:

    (ii) Danish

      a. *  Tja, helt     stoppe  kan man **det** nok     ikke, ...

        *Well, completely stop*     *can one it probably not*

      'Well, completely stop it, that probably cannot be done.'

      b. * ... men helt      udelukke kan man **det** da     ikke, ...

        *but completely exclude can one it indeed not*

      '... but completely exclude it, that cannot be done.'

b. * Kysset$_x$ har$_v$ jeg      ikke [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **hende$_i$** [$_{VP}$ t$_x$ t$_i$      ] ], ...
    *Kissed has I*      *not*     *her*

c.   Kysset$_x$ har$_v$ jeg **hende$_i$** ikke [$_{VP}$ t$_v$      [$_{VP}$ t$_x$ t$_i$      ] ], ...
    *Kissed has I*   *her*    *not*

          ... bare holdt hende i hånden.
            *only held her in hand-the*

    'Kissed her, I haven't, only held her hand'
         ((94)c is the Danish version of the Swedish (52) above , from Holmberg 1999:7, (11a))

Holmberg (1999) then goes on to discuss other data where an element blocks object shift only if this element is not a trace. One such element is the particle in Swedish. Object shift is not possible across an unmoved particle, (95)b (see also (24)c above), but it is possible across the trace of a particle even in Swedish, (95)d:

(95) Swedish

    Ja ja,     jag ska mata din katt, men ...
    *All right, I shall feed your cat, but*

a.   ... jag$_k$ släpper$_v$ t$_k$       inte t$_v$ in **den**.
    *I*   *let*           *not*    *in it*

b. * ... jag$_k$ släpper$_v$ t$_k$   **den$_i$** inte t$_v$ in t$_i$.
    *I*   *let*       *it*   *not*    *in*

c.   ... IN$_j$ släpper$_v$ jag       inte t$_v$ t$_j$   **den**.
    *in let*    *I*         *not*      *it*

d.   ... IN$_j$ släpper$_v$ jag **den$_i$** inte t$_v$ t$_j$   t$_i$.
    *in let*    *I*   *it*    *not*

    'All right, I'll feed your cat, but I won't let it in'

                 ((95)d is from Holmberg 1999:17, (44b))

The assumption made in section 3.1, that traces of case assigners are optional case assigners, partially accounts both for object shift being possible across the trace of a particle in Swedish even though overt particles block object shift. It also partially accounts for object shift being possible across the trace of a non-finite main verb even though overt non-finite main verbs block object shift. In both case, the account is only partial in so far as what is predicted is that case does not have to be assigned to the base position of the object, because the (potential) case assigner is a trace, but what is not accounted for is how the shifted objects are assigned case, as the case assigners have not moved through I°, for instance. As for the equidistance account discussed in section 4, it is also unclear whether it could account either for object shift being possible across the trace of a particle in Swedish or for object shift being possible across the trace of a non-finite main verb.

Another element that blocks object shift only if it is not a trace is the indirect object. Compare (31)–(33) above, which show that indirect objects block object shift of the direct object, (31)b, (32)b, (33)b, unless the two objects undergo object shift together, (31)c, (32)c, (33)c. Holmberg (1999) gives two Swedish examples where the indirect object has undergone A-bar-movement to [CP, Spec]:

(96) Swedish

a.   Vem$_j$ gav$_v$ du (t$_j$) **den$_i$** inte    t$_v$    t$_j$ t$_i$?
    *Who*    *gave you*    *it*   *not*        ?
    'Who did you not give it?'

b.   Henne$_j$ visar$_v$ jag (t$_j$) **den$_i$** helst inte t$_v$ t$_j$   t$_i$.
    *Her*     *show I*      *it*    *rather not*
    ' To her, I would rather not show it '

However, in both of these examples, both the indirect and the direct object are pronouns. This means that the possibility cannot be excluded that the two objects could have undergone object shift together, and the indirect object, *hvem* 'who'/*henne* 'her' could then have undergone A-bar-movement from the position of the braketed trace ($t_j$) to [CP, Spec] after object shift had taken place. This does not mean, though, that Holmberg does not have a point; it merely means that the two examples cited above do not support this point in an optimal way. A better example might be (97)b, because the indirect object that has undergone *wh*-movement to [CP, Spec], *Maria*, is a full DP which presumably could not have undergone object shift first, cf. (6) above:

(97) Danish

    a.   **Maria$_j$** fortalte$_v$ du       forhåbentlig ikke $t_v$ $t_j$ **noget**.
        *Maria told*    *you*      *hopefully*   *not*        *anything*
        'I hope you did not tell MARIA anything'

    b.   **Maria$_j$** fortalte$_v$ du  **det$_i$** forhåbentlig ikke $t_v$ $t_j$ $t_i$.
        *Maria told*    *you it*   *hopefully*   *not*
        'I hope you did not tell MARIA'

It is clear that the direct object could not have moved across the full DP indirect object, *Maria* if the latter had not undergone *wh*-movement, (98)b:

(98) Danish

    a. ?? Du fortalte$_v$           forhåbentlig ikke $t_v$ **Maria det**.
       *You told*          *hopefully*   *not*    *Maria it*
    b. * Du fortalte$_v$    **det$_i$** forhåbentlig ikke $t_v$ **Maria** $t_i$.
       *You told*       *it*    *hopefully*   *not*    *Maria*
    c. * Du fortalte$_v$ **Maria$_j$** **det$_i$** forhåbentlig ikke $t_v$ $t_j$      $t_i$.
       *You told*    *Maria it*   *hopefully*   *not*
    d. * Du fortalte$_v$ **Maria$_j$**      forhåbentlig ikke $t_v$ $t_j$     **det**.
       *You told*    *Maria*    *hopefully*   *not*       *it*

The same picture appears when A-movement of the indirect object occurs e.g. when the finite main verb is passivised in Icelandic. In (99), the indirect object *þér* 'you.DAT' has moved out of VP, and the direct object *þvílíkt tækifæri* 'such a chance' can therefore undergo object shift, (99)b:

(99) Icelandic

    a.   Þér$_j$      gafst$_v$               oft    $t_v$ $t_j$ **þvílíkt tækifæri**.
        *You.DAT was-given*        *often*    *such*    *chance*
    b.   Þér$_j$      gafst$_v$    **þvílíkt tækifæri$_i$** oft    $t_v$ $t_j$ $t_i$.
        *You.DAT was-given such*    *chance*    *often*
        'You were often given such a chance'

In (100), the indirect object *Maríu* 'Maria.DAT' has not moved out of VP. Therefore the direct object *þvílíkt tækifæri* 'such a chance' cannot undergo object shift, (100)b:

(100) Icelandic

    a.   Pétur gaf$_v$               oft   $t_v$ Maríu    **þvílíkt tækifæri**.
        *Peter gave*         *often*   *Maria.DAT such*    *chance*

b. * Pétur gaf$_v$ **þvílíkt tækifæri$_i$** oft     t$_v$ Maríu        t$_i$.

    *Peter gave such     chance     often   Maria.DAT*

    'Peter often gave Mary such a chance'

That object shift of a direct object is possible across the trace of an indirect object but not across an overt indirect object is not expected under any of the approaches discussed so far. Insofar as any of the above approaches would predict an (overt) indirect object to block object shift, the same would be expected of the trace of an indirect object.

In order to account both for the data captured by the accounts discussed earlier and for the additional data discussed here, Holmberg (1999:25-28) suggests that shifted objects are all marked [−focus] and that they must be licensed by being c-commanded by a category (an X° or an XP) with the feature [+focus]. For more discussion of the shifted objects not being in focus, see section 5.1 above, which showed that objects which are focused do not undergo object shift. The reason why objects never object shift across (overt) verbs, prepositions, and (Swedish) particles is that these are inherently marked [+focus], and therefore they can license objects marked [−focus], and there would be no reason and thus no justification for object shift to go any further.

Adverbials, on the other hand, are not marked [+focus], and they can therefore not license objects marked [−focus]. Furthermore, if an element not marked [+focus] intervenes between the licensing [+focus] element and the [−focus] element that must be licensed, this licensing is blocked. These two assumptions, that an adverbial cannot itself license a [−focus] object and that an adverbial blocks such licensing if it intervenes between a licensing category and a [−focus] object, therefore force shifted objects to precede adverbials.[17]

In his article about phases, Chomsky (2001b:34) proposes an alternative analysis to the above, suggesting that the crucial difference concerning Holmberg's generalisation is whether or not the DP in question is properly inside the VP of the main verb, i.e., whether or not the DP is the leftmost overt element in the VP. If the DP is not the leftmost overt element in the VP, it may have either the interpretation *Int* or *Int'* (see e.g. example (i)c in n. 15, where object shift could not possibly have taken place). *Int'* roughly corresponds to Holmberg's (1999) [+focus], i.e., the interpretation assigned to a DP which remains in situ in an object shift context, cf. the discussion of (89)a above. *Int*, on the other hand, corresponds to Holmberg's (1999) [−focus], i.e., the interpretation assigned to a DP which has undergone object shift; cf. the discussion of (89)b above.

If the DP actually is the leftmost overt element in the VP, however, it may only have the interpretation *Int'* (Chomsky 2001b:34). If a [−focus] DP finds itself with *Int'*, which is an interpretation that is incompatible with its form, the sentence is deviant if the DP stays where it is, but a way out of the problem is for it to move to [v*P, Spec], where it will obtain the right interpretation *Int*, due to to v*'s EPP feature (the result of this is a structure with object shift, see (89)b above and (i)b in n. 15). On the other hand, if a [+focus] object finds itself with *Int'*, there is no problem, as this is not incompatible with its form. It might move to, [v*P, Spec], but then it will be deviant, as here it will get the wrong interpretation *Int*, due to to v*'s EPP feature (the result of this is a structure without object shift even though there could have been object shift, see e.g. (89)a above or (i)a in n. 15). In other words, Chomsky's (2001b) phase-based account rests on distinguishing whether something is the leftmost overt element in VP or not.[18]

## 5.3  Remnant VP-topicalisation as V°-topicalisation

Section 5.3-5.5 will focus on a crucial part of the discussion in the sections 5.1 and 5.2, namely the analysis of cases of object shift in which a topicalised constituent contains a potentially blocking element (e.g. the main verb or a verb particle) but this topicalised constituent does not contain the defocused object.

---

[17]  As pointed out by Holmberg (1999:15) and Josefsson (2001:92, 2003:204), this account would incorrectly predict long object shift (i.e., object shift to a position left of the subject) to be impossible. See (i)a in n. 12 for a grammatical example of long object shift.

[18]  Svenonius (2001) suggests a different account of Holmberg's generalisation, also based on Chomsky's (2001b) phases. If a VP contains an overt verb, it is sent off to spell out and discourse-related movements (which include object shift) are impossible. If, on the other hand, the verb has left the VP, then the VP is not sent off to spell out on its own, but has to wait until it can be sent to spell out as part of a larger XP. In this case, discourse-related movements are allowed within this XP, and so object shift is possible.

The informal formulation of Holmberg's generalisation given in section 2.1.1 above (that the object may move only if verb movement has taken place) only addresses the blocking effect of a verb that has remained in situ, and says very little about the data discussed in the previous section, viz. the blocking effects of other elements, e.g. verb particles and indirect objects. Consider therefore the following more precise formulation of Holmberg's generalisation from Holmberg (1997:208, (20)), where "within VP" means that object shift may only be blocked by elements "properly inside" VP (i.e. not adverbials or other elements adjoined to VP):

(101)    **Holmberg's generalisation**
         Object shift is blocked by any phonologically visible category preceding/c-commanding the object position within VP.

Holmberg (1997, 1999) suggests that Holmberg's generalisation is a derivational condition, not a representational one; in other words, that it may not be violated at any point in the course of a derivation. At first glance, this would seem to be supported by the fact that object shift of an infinitival clause subject is possible as long as there is no intervening non-adverbial material, as illustrated in (102). A violation of Holmberg's generalisation as in (102)c cannot be repaired by subsequent operations as in (102)d that place the blocking element to the left of the shifted object.

(102) Swedish

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Jag | såg$_v$ | **henne$_i$** inte [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ | [$_{IP}$ t$_i$ | arbeta]]. |
| | *I* | *saw* | *her* | *not* | | *work* |
| b. | Jag | har | | inte [$_{VP}$ sett [$_{IP}$ **henne** arbeta]]. |
| | *I* | *have* | | *not seen* | *her* | *work* |
| c. * | Jag | har | **henne$_i$** | [$_{VP}$ sett [$_{IP}$ t$_i$ | arbeta]]. |
| | *I* | *have* | *her* | *not seen* | | *work* |

d. * [$_{VP}$ Sett [$_{IP}$ t$_i$ arbeta]]$_j$ har   jag **henne$_i$** inte t$_j$

   *Seen      work      have I   her    not*

                    ((102)a,c,d are from Holmberg 1997:206, (14), (15))

Holmberg therefore concludes that the derivation of the grammatical examples (52)/(94)c above cannot involve object shift prior to remnant VP-topicalisation since that would violate Holmberg's generalisation in a parallel fashion to (102)d, as shown in (103). Rather, they must be derived by V°-topicalisation, with subsequent object shift; see (104).

(103)  Deriving (52)/(94)c/(106)b as remnant VP-topicalisation

   a.   Jag     har   jag        inte [$_{VP}$ kysst **henne** ]
        *I*           *have I*           *not       kissed her*

   b.   Jag     har   jag **henne$_i$** inte [$_{VP}$ kysst  t$_i$       ]
        *I*           *have I   her       not      kissed*          **object shift across a verb,**
                                                               **against H's generalisation!!**

   c.   [$_{VP}$ Kysst  t$_i$] har   jag **henne$_i$** inte t$_j$
        *Kissed      have I   her     not*                    **VP moves to [CP, Spec]**
                                                               **(remnant VP-topicalisation)**

(104)  Deriving (52)/(94)c/(106)b as V°-topicalisation

   a.   Jag     har   jag        inte [$_{VP}$ kysst **henne** ]
        *I*           *have I*           *not       kissed her*

   b.   [$_{V°}$ Kysst$_j$ ]  har   jag        inte [$_{VP}$ t$_j$       **henne** ]

*Kissed    have I           not            her*          **V° moves to [CP, Spec]**

c. [$_{VP}$ Kysst  t$_i$] har   jag  **henne**$_i$ inte [$_{VP}$ t$_j$      t$_i$     ]

*Kissed    have I   her    not*          **subsequent object shift**
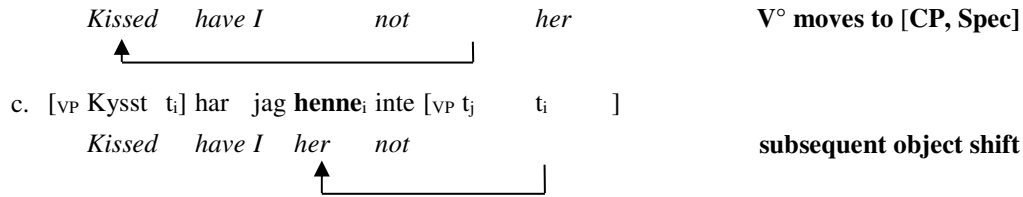
Note that the V°-topicalisation analysis is controversial from a theoretical point of view. First, it involves movement of an X° to an XP-position: The verb is placed in a specifier position. Second, it does not respect strict cyclicity as required by the Extension Condition (Chomsky 1995c:191): The non-finite verb is moved to [CP, Spec] before movement of the object to a lower position takes place. (This second objection may not be so problematic under the assumption that object shift is adjunction rather than substitution, and thus is not subject to the Extension Condition, or under the assumption that object shift is a PF phenomenon as assumed in Holmberg 1999, which would mean that it only takes place after spell out in the phonological component, i.e. at a point where the Extension Condition does not apply.)

Moreover, there is empirical evidence against the V°-topicalisation analysis. While object shift is usually optional in Swedish, it is obligatory if the verb occurs in topic position. See the contrast between (105) and (106).

(105) Swedish

a.  Jag  kysste$_v$           inte [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ **henne** ].

*I    kissed            not         her*

b.  Jag  kysste$_v$ **henne**$_i$ inte [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ t$_i$        ].

*I    kissed  her      not*

'I didn't kiss her'

(106) Swedish

a. * Kysst$_x$ har$_v$ jag              inte [$_{VP}$ t$_v$   [$_{VP}$ t$_x$ **henne** ] ], ...

*Kissed have I              not                  her*

b.  Kysst$_x$ har$_v$ jag **henne**$_i$ inte [$_{VP}$ t$_v$   [$_{VP}$ t$_x$ t$_i$        ] ], ...

*Kissed have I   her    not*

'Kissed her, I haven't, ... '

((106)a is from Erteschik-Shir 2001:59, (18)c,
(106)b=(52) is from Holmberg 1999:7, (11a))

This is unexpected under the V°-topicalisation analysis, where V°-topicalisation is in principle independent of object shift, and so if object shift is optional in (105), it should also be optional in (106). In contrast, the impossibility of (106)a would follow under the remnant VP-topicalisation analysis, as the optionality (±object shift) in (105) would correspond to a choice between object shift, i.e. (106)b, and no object shift, i.e. topicalisation of a VP that includes both the verb and the object.

In addition, if V°-topicalisation were possible, the sentences in (107)b and (108)b would be expected to be acceptable, contrary to fact. A verb cannot be topicalised on its own if it would leave behind a particle or PP-complement:

Danish

(107) a.  Jeg       har            ikke smidt   den ud.

*I          have           not thrown it    out*

b. * Smidt$_v$  har   jeg **den**$_i$ ikke t$_v$        t$_i$   ud.

*Thrown have I    it    not                out*

(108) a.  Jeg       har            ikke stillet  det på  bordet.

*I          have           not put     it   on table-the*

b. * Stillet$_v$  har   jeg **det**$_i$ ikke t$_v$        t$_i$   på bordet.

*Put        have I    it   not                on table-the*

Moreover, Fox & Pesetsky (2005a) present data which show that remnant VP-topicalisation is actually possible in Scandinavian, as admitted in Holmberg (2005:148). These data as well as Fox & Pesetsky's analysis of them are the topic of the following section.

## 5.4  Holmberg's generalisation as the result of cyclic linearisation

As Fox & Pesetsky (2005a) observe, remnant VP-topicalisation is possible in Swedish under certain conditions: In double object constructions, topicalisation of a non-finite main verb may pied-pipe the indirect object, stranding the direct object in shifted position, (109)a. By contrast, stranding of an indirect object pronoun on its own is not possible, (109)b. Note also that (109)a must involve remnant VP-topicalisation, it cannot be the result of one movement of the verb *gett* and another movement of the indirect object *henne*: The Scandinavian languages are V2 languages, permitting only one constituent to the left of the finite verb in main clauses.

(109)  Swedish

      a. ? [$_{VP}$ Gett    henne $t_i$    ] har   jag   **den**$_i$    inte.

          *Given her*          *have I*   *it*      *not*

      b. * [$_{VP}$ Gett    $t_i$      den ] har   jag   **henne**$_i$ inte.

          *Given*         *it*     *have I*   *her*     *not*

Fox & Pesetsky (2005a) suggest that the mapping between syntax and phonology, i.e. spell-out, takes place at a number of points during the course of derivation (including at VP and at CP), whereby the material in the spell-out domain D is linearised. The crucial property of spell-out is that it may only add information about the linearisation of a newly constructed spell-out domain D' to the information cumulatively produced by previous applications of spell-out. Established information cannot be deleted in the course of derivation, which is how order preservation effects are derived.

To Fox & Pesetsky (2005a), the fact that object shift observes Holmberg's generalisation is a consequence of their cyclic linearisation. At the spell-out domain VP, the ordering statement V<O ("verb precedes object") is established, (110)b. At CP, spell-out adds information about the linearisation of the new material, (110)c; this information is consistent with the previously established information: The finite main verb moves to C° in the main clause and the pronominal object undergoes object shift, maintaining their relative order.

(110)  Danish

      a.   Jag kyssede$_v$ **hende**$_i$ ikke [$_{VP}$ $t_v$ $t_i$ ].

          *I*     *kissed*    *her*     *not*

      b.   Spell out VP: [$_{VP}$ V <u>Obj</u>]

          Ordering:      **V < Obj**

      c.   Spell out CP: [$_{CP}$ Subj V [$_{IP}$ $t_{Subj}$ <u>Obj</u> Adv [$_{VP}$ $t_V$ $t_{Obj}$]]]

          Ordering:      **Subj < V**           V < Obj

                              **V < Obj**

                              **Obj < Adv**

Note that the adverbial is merged outside the VP spell-out domain. Its position relative to the object (and the main verb) is thus not fixed until spell-out of CP, predicting that object shift can cross an adverb.

Object shift across a verb *in situ* gives rise to contradictory ordering statements (marked in grey in (111)). The ordering statements produced at the spell-out of CP, (111)c, contradict the statement V<Obj established at the spell-out of VP, (111)b:

(111)  Danish

a. * Jag har   **hende$_i$** ikke  [$_{VP}$ kysset t$_i$ ].

   *I   have her     not        kissed*

b.  Spell out VP: [$_{VP}$ V <u>Obj</u>]

   Ordering:     **V < Obj**

c.  Spell out CP: [$_{CP}$ Subj Aux [$_{IP}$ t$_{Subj}$ <u>Obj</u> Adv [$_{VP}$ t$_{Aux}$ [$_{VP}$ V t$_{Obj}$]]]]

   Ordering:     **Subj < Aux**          **V < Obj**

                       **Aux < Obj**

                       **Obj < Adv**

                       **Adv < V**

In this way, Fox & Pesetsky (2005a) derive Holmberg's generalisation from ordering contradictions: Object shift cannot take place if it results in ordering statements at the spell-out of CP that contradict the ordering statments established at the spell-out of VP.

   Notice that order preservation does not necessarily require that the main verb undergoes V°-to-I°-to-C° movement in all object shift cases. Consistent ordering statements can also be obtained when object shift applies across a non-finite verb *in situ* if subsequently remnant VP-topicalisation takes place, as in (52)/(94)c/(106)b above, repeated here as (112)a:

(112)  Danish

a.  Kysset$_x$ har$_v$  jeg  **hende$_i$** ikke  [$_{VP}$ t$_v$ [$_{VP}$ t$_x$ t$_i$ ]  ], ...

   *Kissed  have I     her       not*

b.  Spell out VP: [$_{VP}$ V <u>Obj</u>]

   Ordering:     **V < Obj**

c.  Spell out CP: [$_{CP}$ Subj Aux [$_{IP}$ t$_{Subj}$ <u>Obj</u> Adv [$_{VP}$ t$_{Aux}$ [$_{VP}$ V t$_{Obj}$]]]]

   Ordering:     **V < Aux**          V < Obj

                       **Aux < Subj**

                       **Subj < Obj**

                       **Obj < Adv**

   Correspondingly, the asymmetry between stranding of an indirect object and stranding of a direct object by remnant VP-topicalisation illustrated in (109) above is expected by order preservation. Stranding of an indirect object, but not stranding of a direct object gives rise to contradictory ordering statements at the various spell out domains: At VP, 'indirect object<direct object' is established, which is consistent with the spell out of CP if direct object is stranded under remnant VP-topicalisation as in (109)a but not if indirect object is stranded as in (109)b.

   Note that various instances of A-movement and A-bar-movement operations, such as Scandinavian Negative Shift (see Christensen 2005, Engels 2011, 2012), *wh*-movement, topicalisation, passivisation, and subject raising do not obey Holmberg's generalisation.

(113)  Danish

a.  Måske        har   de        **ingenting$_i$** spist  t$_i$ hele dagen.        Scandinavian

   *Maybe       have they    nothing   eaten   all day*            Negative Shift

   'Maybe they haven't eaten anything all day'

b.  **Hvor meget$_i$** har   de                 spist  t$_i$ i dag?           *wh*-movement

   *How much   have they                 eaten   today*

c. **Kagen**ᵢ    vil    vi              spise  tᵢ i aften.              topicalisation
   *Cake-the    will    we              eat        tonight*

d. Måske    bliver **kagen**ᵢ          spist  tᵢ i aften.              passivisation
   *Maybe    is    cake-the          eat        tonight*

   'Maybe the cake will be eaten tonight'

e. Nu          ser    **de**ᵢ              ud til  tᵢ at falde i søvn.        subject raising
   *Now          looks  they              out to    to fall aspleep*

   'Now they seem to be falling asleep'

Fox & Pesetsky (2005a) predict that these movement operations proceed successive cyclically: The moved constituents in (113) must have moved to the edge of VP prior to linearisation of the VP domain to prevent ordering contradictions at the spell out of CP. This is illustrated in (114)for the Negative Shift in (113)a:

(114) Danish
   a. Måske harᵥ de  **ingenting**ᵢ [$_{VP}$ spist  tᵢ hele dagen ].
      *Maybe have they **nothing**          eaten    all    day*

   b. Spell out VP: [$_{VP}$ <u>Obj</u> [$_{VP}$ V t$_{Obj}$]]
      Ordering:      **Obj < V**

   c. Spell out CP: [$_{CP}$ Adv Aux [$_{IP}$ Subj t$_{Aux}$ [$_{NegP}$ <u>Obj</u> [$_{AuxP}$ t$_{Aux}$ [$_{VP}$ t$_{Obj}$ V t$_{Obj}$]]]]]
      Ordering:      **Adv <Aux          Obj < V**
                     **Aux<Subj**
                     **Subj<Obj**
                     **Obj<V**

Hence, the crucial difference between the various movement operations in (113) on one hand and object shift on the other is that the former may go via the edge of VP while object shift cannot. Fox & Pesetsky (2005b:245) propose that the movement through the edge of VP might be semantically motivated: Phrases with a feature [+negative], [+wh], [+topic] or [+focus] cannot be interpreted in argument position and thus must undergo movement:

> *It is possible that movement to the edge of VP is motivated by this semantic factor, and that there is no independent feature of v that could motivate such movement. In the case of [negative] phrases, it is the semantics that motivates the movement, and in the case of object shift there is no motivation.*                          Fox & Pesetsky (2005b:245).

However, the ability to move across a verb *in situ* may be subject to cross-linguistic variation. For instance, Negative Shift across a verb *in situ* is prohibited in present-day colloquial Norwegian, (115)a, but possible in the other Scandinavian varieties, cf. e.g. (113)a, and see e.g. Faarlund et al. (1997:712) and the corpus data reported in Engels (2012:114). In other words, although movement of a negative object through the edge of VP is obligatory in Danish, it is not possible in Norwegian; the semantic factor apparently does not apply in this language. Note that *in situ* occurrence of a negative phrase is not permitted under a sentential negation reading either, (115)b; instead, the *ikke…noen*-variant ('not…any') must be used, (115)c.

(115) Norwegian
   a. * De    har  **ingenting**ᵢ spist  tᵢ              hele dagen.
        *They have nothing      eaten            all day*
   b. * De    har                spist  **ingenting** hele dagen.
        *They have                eaten nothing    all day*

c.  De  har  ikke      spist  **noen ting** hele dagen.
    *They have not         eaten any thing  all day*

In addition, if movement via the edge of VP was motivated by the feature [+negative], such movement would be expected to be obligatory. However, this could not possibly be the case, given that string-vacuous Negative Shift is possible in all Scandinavian varieties, cf. (116) which is grammatical both in Norwegian and in Danish (and which has same spelling in the two languages). The fact that *in situ* occurrence of a negative object is prohibited, (115)b, suggests that string-vacuous Negative Shift takes place in (116). The derivation of (116) would in fact have to be parallel to the one in (110) above, i.e. the object could not have gone through the edge of VP, since this would lead to an ordering contradiction.

(116)  Norwegian & Danish

a.  De   spiste **ingenting** hele dagen.
    *They ate    nothing    all day*

Fox & Pesetsky (2005b:245) also consider the option of covert movement through the edge of VP, but if covert movement was possible, it would additionally be expected that a negative object may occur *in situ*, contrary to fact; see (115)b.

Note further that Fox & Pesetsky (2005a,b) make an incorrect prediction concerning remnant VP-topicalisation in constructions with an auxiliary *in situ* (see also the discussion in Engels & Vikner 2013a). Fox & Pesetsky (2005a,b) assume that auxiliary verbs are merged outside *v*P and therefore also after spell out of VP. As a consequence, the ordering of object and auxiliary verb is not fixed until spell out of CP, which incorrectly predicts that object shift across an auxiliary is possible, (117)a = (118)c. This is because it is consistent with the ordering statements previously established, none of which mention the auxiliary at all. (See also the examples in (118) and (119) below.)

(117)  Danish

a.  * [$_{VP}$ Kysse t$_i$ ] har   jeg  **hende$_i$** aldrig villet.
      *Kiss       have I    her     never wanted*

b.  Spell out VP: [$_{VP}$ V <u>O</u>]
    Ordering:    **V < Obj**

c.  Spell out CP: [$_{CP}$ [$_{VP}$ V t$_O$] Aux2 [$_{IP}$ S t$_{Aux}$ [$_{AuxP2}$ <u>O</u> [$_{AuxP2}$ Adv [$_{AuxP2}$ t$_{Aux}$ [$_{AuxP1}$ Aux1
                                                                            t$_{VP}$]]]]]]]

   Ordering:    **V < Aux2**          V < Obj
                **Aux2 < Subj**
                **Subj < Obj**
                **Obj < Adv**
                **Adv < Aux1**

Fox & Pesetsky (2005b:252) even go so far as to draw a tree structure of the problematic structure, but then they claim, following Holmberg (2005:151) that their prediction cannot be checked because VP-topicalisation is impossible across an auxiliary *in situ*, regardless of whether or not object shift out of the VP has taken place first. However, as shown in (118)/(119), this is not correct: VP-topicalisation is actually possible across an auxiliary *in situ*, but remnant VP-topicalisation is not; the shifted object can neither precede nor follow the auxiliary *in situ*.

(118)  Danish

a.    [$_{VP}$ Kysse hende ] har$_v$ jeg         aldrig villet.
        *Kiss   her      have I         never wanted*

b.  * [$_{VP}$ Kysse t$_i$    ] har  jeg         aldrig villet  **hende$_i$**.

c.  * [$_{VP}$ Kysse t$_i$    ] har  jeg **hende$_i$** aldrig villet.

(119) Swedish

    a.   [$_{VP}$ Kyssa henne ] har$_v$ jag    aldrig velat.

          *Kiss   her    have I    never wanted*

    b. ?? [$_{VP}$ Kyssa t$_i$   ] har  jag    aldrig velat   **henne$_i$**.

    c.  * [$_{VP}$ Kyssa t$_i$   ] har  jag **henne$_i$** aldrig velat.

In order to account for the data in (118)/(119) which are not accounted for given the formulation of the analysis in Fox & Pesetsky (2005a,b), another assumption could be added to the analysis, viz. that auxiliary phrases also constitute spell-out domains (see also Bobaljik 2005): Then VP-topicalisation would have to proceed via the edge of the AuxP of *villet/velat* and via the edge of the AuxP of *har* at points where object shift could not possibly already have applied (given that object shift targets a position to the left of the VP-internal position of the finite verb). In other words, remnant VP-topicalisation would correctly be expected to be ungrammatical; see the conflicting ordering statements marked in grey in (120). Movement of the entire VP, still including the object, via these two edge positions predicts that the object precedes both auxiliaries as in the case of topicalisation of the entire VP, (118)a/(119)a. As illustrated in (120), object shift and subsequent V°-to-I°-to-C° movement of the finite auxiliary across the shifted object is thus correctly ruled out by ordering contradictions.

(120) Danish

    a. * [$_{VP}$ Kysse t$_i$ ] har  jeg  **hende$_i$** aldrig villet.

          *Kiss     have I   her    never wanted*

    b.  Spell out VP: [$_{VP}$ V O]

       Ordering:    **V < Obj**

    c.  Spell out AuxP1: [$_{AuxP1}$ [$_{VP}$ V O] [$_{AuxP1}$ Aux1 t$_{VP}$]]

       Ordering:    **V < Obj**         V< Obj

                   **Obj < Aux1**

    d.  Spell out AuxP2: [$_{AuxP2}$ [$_{VP}$ V O] [$_{AuxP2}$ Aux2 [$_{AuxP2}$ t$_{VP}$ [$_{AuxP1}$ Aux1 t$_{VP}$]]]]

       Ordering:    **V < Obj**         V< Obj         V< Obj

                   **Obj < Aux2**     Obj < Aux1

                   **Aux2 < Aux1**

    c.  Spell out CP: [$_{CP}$ [$_{VP}$ V t$_O$] Aux2 [$_{IP}$ S t [$_{AuxP2}$ O [$_{AuxP2}$ Adv [$_{AuxP2}$ t$_{VP}$ [$_{AuxP2}$ t [$_{AuxP2}$ t$_{VP}$

                                                [$_{AuxP1}$ Aux1 t$_{VP}$]]]]

       Ordering:    **V < Aux2**     V < Obj       V< Obj        V< Obj

                   **Aux2 < Subj**   **Obj < Aux2**    Obj < Aux1

                   **Subj < Obj**    Aux2 < Aux1

                   **Obj < Adv**

                   **Adv < Aux1**

    However, with the additional assumption that auxiliary phrases also constitute spell-out domains, the derivation given in (112) of the remnant VP-topicalisation in the grammatical example in (52)/(94)c/(106)b above, repeated here as (121), would no longer be possible:

(121) Swedish

    Kysst$_x$ har$_v$ jag **henne$_i$** inte [$_{VP}$ t$_v$   [$_{VP}$ t$_x$ t$_i$ ] ], ...

    *Kissed has I   her    not*

               ... bara hållit henne i  handen.

                 *only held  her    in hand-the*

'Kissed her, I haven't, only held her hand'

<div align="right">(from Holmberg 1999:7, (11a))</div>

Also here, (remnant) VP-topicalisation would have to move via the edge of the AuxP of *har* at a point where object shift could not possibly already have applied. Stranding of the object in object shift position during VP-topicalisation as in (121) would thus incorrectly be predicted to be ungrammatical as the finite auxiliary would have to undergo V°-to-I°-to-C° movement across the shifted object, giving rise to ordering contradictions.

The only way to derive (121) with the additional assumption that AuxPs also constitute spell-out domains, would be to follow Holmberg (1997, 1999) and take it to be a case of V°-topicalisation, but that in turn would incorrectly predict not only (121) but also (118)c/(119)c as well as (107)b/(108)b above to be grammatical.

## 5.5 Order preservation as a violable constraint

As an alternative to the analyses discussed above, Holmberg (1997, 1999) and Fox & Pesetsky (2005a,b), an optimality-theoretic approach to object shift is proposed in Engels & Vikner (2006, 2013a,b, 2014), i.e. an analysis in terms of interaction of violable constraints.[19] The three main constraints are STAY (economy of movement, i.e. move as little as possible), SHIFT (i.e. move any [-focus] constituent out of the VP), and ORDER PRESERVATION (keep the original order between constituents).

The idea of preservation of linear order goes back to Müller (2001:288-294), Sells (2001:178)[20], and Williams (2003:15-23), and the constraint ORDER PRESERVATION restricts object shift so that it applies only when the verb has moved out of the VP (i.e. Holmberg's generalisation, section 2.1.1 above). Only when the verb leaves VP does object shift not reverse the original order between the main verb and the shifted object. Similarly, object shift crossing an indirect object, a particle or a preposition would reverse the original order between these elements and the shifted object (section 2.1.2 above), and object shift under these circumstances is therefore also dispreferred by ORDER PRESERVATION.

Also the asymmetry between the indirect and the direct object under remnant VP-topicalisation in (109) (repeated here as (122)), which was the main motivation for the analysis of Fox & Pesetsky (2005a), can be accounted for by means of ORDER PRESERVATION:

(122) Swedish

a. ? [$_{VP}$ Gett   henne   t$_i$   ] har   jag   **den**$_i$   inte.
   *Given   her            have   I     it        not*

b. * [$_{VP}$ Gett   t$_i$      den ] har   jag   **henne**$_i$   inte.
   *Given         it      have   I     her         not*

<div align="right">(from Fox & Pesetsky 2005a:25, (30))</div>

The crucial difference between (122)a and (122)b is that in (122)a, where the direct object has undergone object shift out of the VP before the remnant VP is topicalised, the original order between the two objects (indirect precedes direct) is not reversed, whereas the original order between the two objects is reversed in

---

[19]  In addition to Sells (2001), cf. n. 20 below, and Vogel (2006), cf. section 6 below, preceding Optimality Theory analyses also include Broekhuis (2008), where the two constraints RELATIVISED MINIMALITY and HEADS PRECEDE THEIR COMPLEMENTS together have an effect very similar to ORDER PRESERVATION. For details of the problems such an analysis might have with an asymmetry like (122) above, see Engels & Vikner (2014:40).

[20]  Sells (2001) actually derives order preservation (rather than postulating it as a constraint) in an analysis in which object shift does not involve syntactic movement (see also Börjars et al. 2003, Andréasson 2007, 2010). Both word orders, with and without object shift, are base-generated and subject to the same set of alignment constraints. Sells (2001:54) furthermore takes the position of the shifted object to be adjoined to I°, which means that pronominal object shift receives a very different analysis from the full DP object shift found as found in Icelandic, cf. the discussion in section 3.4 above. Furthermore, in Engels & Vikner (2014:42-44), it is claimed that the analysis in Sells (2001) could not account for various of the remnant VP-topicalisation cases discussed above, in particular (122).

(122)b, where the direct object occurs further left than the indirect one. This means that (122)a will incur less violations of ORDER PRESERVATION than (122)b.

Another asymmetry, not mentioned above, can be accounted for in a similar way. Consider again the combination of object shift and remnant VP-topicalisation discussed above as (52)/(94)c/(106)b/(112)a, of which a slightly different version is given in (123)a. The difference between (123)a and (123)b,c is that the remnant VP is topicalised out of the main clause in (123)a but out of an embedded clause in (123)b,c:

(123) Danish

    a.   $^?$ [$_{VP}$ Set   t$_i$ ] har     jeg **ham$_i$** faktisk ikke ، ...
         *Seen*     *has*     *I*    *him*       *not*

                   ... men jeg har da     talt    i telefon med ham.
                   *but I    have at-least spoken on phone   with him*

        'I haven't actually seen him, but I have indeed talked to him on the phone'

    b.   * [$_{VP}$ Set   t$_i$ ] tror     jeg         ikke    at    hun       har **ham$_i$**, ...
         *Seen*     *believe I*         *not*    *that she*       *har him*

    c.   * [$_{VP}$ Set   t$_i$ ] tror     jeg         ikke    at    hun **ham$_i$** har,         ...
         *Seen*     *believe I*         *not*    *that she him   har*

                ... men hun har måske nok talt     i telefon med ham.
                *but she has maybe well spoken on phone   with him*

        'Seen him, I don't think that she has, but she may very well have talked to him on the phone'

                         (adapted from Engels & Vikner 2013a:209, (44))

In (123)b, the object has actually not left VP completely (all Danish finite verbs, including finite auxiliaries, remain inside the VP in non-V2 contexts, as Danish does not have V°-to-I° movement), and a crucial violation of SHIFT is incurred. In (123)c, the object has been moved outside all VPs, but now the original order between the finite auxilliary *har* 'has' and the shifted object has been reversed, which causes a crucial violation of ORDER PRESERVATION. Given that (123)b,c involve object shift in combination with an auxiliary which has not left the VP, rather parallel to (118)/(119), the analysis in Fox & Pesetsky (2005b:252) would have exactly the same problems as it had with (118)/(119), cf. the discussion above.

Section 5 was concerned with the interaction between object shift and focus and interpretation. Section 5.1 clearly showed that focus and interpretation had to be taken into account, as object shift never applies to focussed elements. Section 5.2 discussed two analyses of this: Holmberg's (1999:25-28) analysis that shifted objects are all marked [−focus] and have to be licensed by being c-commanded by a [+focus] category, and Chomsky's (2001b) *Int* vs. *Int'* analysis. Section 5.3-5.5 took up a crucial part of the discussion in the sections 5.1 and 5.2, namely the analysis of cases of object shift in which a topicalised constituent contains a potentially blocking element (e.g. the main verb or a verb particle) but this topicalised constituent does not contain the defocused object. Topicalisation thus removes a block to object shift, and this allowed the teasing apart of opposite forces: One that fuels movement out of focus (causing object shift) and one that avoids movement and retains the original ordering (counteracting object shift).

# 6. Prosody and object shift

This section will briefly discuss some analyses in which phonetic and prosodic properties play a crucial role, but it will not touch on analyses that contain only more peripheral references to phonology, e.g. Chomsky's (2001b:34, (58)) reference to phonological borders or Josefsson's (2010:13) observation that disyllabic object pronouns are somewhat more resistant to object shift than monosyllabic ones.

Vogel's (2006) Optimality Theory analysis of OS combines syntactic constraints with phonological ones, with the latter having a central status, e.g. ALIGN-PHONOLOGICAL-PHRASE, which says that the right edge of a phonological phrase should be aligned with the right edge of a prosodic word. As a right-peripheral unstressed pronoun does not constitute a prosodic word, the version of the sentence where the unstressed pronouns has moved away from the right edge of the clause is therefore favoured, as in (7)

above. However, if the unshifted object pronoun is not at the right edge of the clause (e.g. if the base position of the potentially shifted object is followed by something else, as in (32)a above), it is a completely different constraint that causes object shift, namely one that prefers the medial adverbial to be adjacent to the element to the right of the pronoun (thus pushing the pronoun away from the expected position between these two elements).

    Another prosodically based analysis to object shift is Erteschik-Shir (2005a,b). This analysis takes adverbials as a starting point, i.e. the one type of constituent that object shift would seem to be able to move across. Adverbials are here not seen as "merged at the left VP edge [... but] instead [...], adjuncts are assumed to be merged on a separate plane" (Erteschik-Shir 2005a:57-58). This has the effect that sentential adverbials (including negation) may occur left of IP, left of VP, or right of VP. This is of course subject to other constraints, and one such constraint is that both weak adverbials and weak pronouns must prosodically incorporate e.g. into a verb. This would still allow for both verb-pronoun-adverbial and verb-adverbial-pronoun orders, even though object shift always result in the latter. Erteschik-Shir (2007:150): In the verb-adverbial-pronoun order, "the adverb incorporates into the verb and the pronoun is no longer able to incorporate as required". In the verb-pronoun-adverbial order, "however, the pronoun incorporates first. The verb-pronoun sequence, probably due to the phonological weakness of the incorporated pronoun, can still serve as a host for incorporation, allowing the adverb to incorporate." (This obligatory prosodic incorporation is perhaps not all that far from Holmberg's (1997, 1999) idea (discussed in section 5.2) that an object marked [−focus] has to be licensed by being adjacent to a categories marked [+focus].)

    There is however one set of exceptions to this. In Swedish and the south-eastern dialects of Danish (cf. (8) above and n. 3) where object shift is not obligatory, Erteschik-Shir (2005a:70) assumes that the resulting verb-adverbial-pronoun order is allowed by the weak pronoun being prosodically incorporated into the adverbial, an option that requires the possibility of a special pitch accent which is not available e.g. in standard Danish. The reason why this gives rise to optional object shift (rather than prevent object shift) is linked to the above assumptions concerning adverbial licensing where the adverbial may be realised in different positions, and it contrasts with the situation where a weak pronoun incorporates into e.g. a preposition, a particle or an indirect object, as these elements do not have the positional flexibility that adverbials have.[21]

    For Vogel (2006), an object pronoun may remain in situ in an object shift context only if it is stressed, as then it will count as a prosodic word. For Erteschik-Shir (2005a,b), a pronoun can occur in a verb-adverbial-pronoun order only if it does not have to undergo prosodic incorporation, i.e. if it it has its own stress (disregarding the above-mentioned special tonal pitch properties of Swedish and south-eastern Danish which allow this order even with weak pronouns). Against both these analyses, Mikkelsen (2011:241) argues that it is focus rather than stress that matters for object shift. In specificational copular clauses like (124), the pronoun is invariably focused, and it cannot undergo object shift, even though it is unstressed:

(124)  Danish

       Den hurtigste spiller på holdet    er uden    tvivl  Morten og  ...
       *the  fastest    player on team-the is without doubt Morten and*

  a.  ... den  højeste er      faktisk  også **ham**.
      *the  tallest  is      actually also  him*

  b. * ... *den højeste er **ham$_i$** faktisk  også t$_i$.

                                  (from Mikkelsen 2011:241-42, (20)a,b)

To Mikkelsen (2011), such data suggest that the triggering factor is information structure rather than prosody.

    Also in the last analysis to be mentioned here, Hosono (2013), prosodic considerations are essential. There it is argued that unstressed objects cause a tonal downstep which also affects the following elements, and which therefore triggers a focal effect on the element preceding the unstressed object. If an unstressed object thus were to follow e.g. a negation, this would cause a focal effect on the negation, and so if negation is not intended to be in focus, the unstressed object has to move, and then the tonal downstep that the shifted object causes will carry on to the negation that follows it, preventing a focal effect on the negation (Hosono 2013:151). The elements that block object shift (prepositions, particles or indirect objects) are elements that need a focal accent and which would be prevented from getting one if

---

[21]  For arguments against the way this analysis is applied to Icelandic and Faroese in Erteschik-Shir (2005a:77-80), see Thráinsson (2013:168-170).

object shift would take place, and this is why object shift is blocked. In other words, object shift is only possible when it crosses elements that do not need focal accent.

This also makes a difference with respect to the argument based on (124) above, which would not be a counterexample: The impossible (124) is impossible because it would prevent any kind of focal effect on *også* 'too', which however has to be in focus.

Hosono (2013:152) further argues that the later in the clause the pitch peak normally occurs in a continental Scandinavian language or dialect, the less likely the language or dialect is to have (obligatory) object shift, and she mentions Älvdalsmålet, which has a late pitch peak and which does not seem to have object shift.

# 7. Conclusion

As set out in section 1, this chapter took 'object shift' to only refer to the kind of object shift typically found in the Scandinavian languages (following the original use of the term in Holmberg 1986:165), to the exclusion of e.g. scrambling as found in Afrikaans, Dutch, Frisian, German, and Yiddish.

Section 2 reviewed a number of properties and restrictions that apply to object shift but not to scrambling: E.g. that the verb has to leave the VP, section 2.1.1; that prepositions, particles, and indirect objects block object shift, section 2.1.2; that object shift does not license parasitic gaps, section 2.2; and that only DPs (or almost only DPs) undergo object shift, section 2.3. Finally, the potential landing sites were discussed in section 2.4.

The difference between Icelandic object shift, which applies to all DPs, and object shift in the other Scandinavian languages, which only applies to pronouns, was discussed in section 3.4.

The bulk of the chapter discussed the various suggestions as to key factors in the analysis of object shift and the restrictions it underlies: Case in section 3, equidistance in section 4, focus/interpretation in section 5, and prosody in section 6.

# See also:

*Mittelfeld Phenomena: Scrambling in Germanic; Clitic Climbing; Clitic Clusters; Clitic Doubling; Quantified Expressions and Quantitative Clitics; Embedded Root Phenomena*

# References

Aboh, Enoch (2005). Object shift, verb movement, and verb reduplication. In: The *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Syntax.* Cinque, Guglielmo, and Richard S. Kayne (eds.), 138-177. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Åfarli, Tor A. (1985). Norwegian Verb Particle Constructions as Causative Constructions. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 8: 75–98.

Anderssen, Merete, Kristine Bentzen and Yulia Rodina (2011). Topicality and complexity in the aquisition of Norwegian object shift. *Language Aquisition* 19: 39-72.

Andréasson, Maia (2007). *Satsadverbial, ledföljd och informationsdynamik i svenskan* (Sentence adverbials, word order and information dynamics in Swedish). Phd dissertation, Göteborgsstudier i nordisk språkvetenskap 7, University of Göteborg.

Andréasson, Maia (2008). Not all objects are born alike – accessibility as a key to pronominal object shift in Swedish and Danish. In *Proceedings of the LFG08 Conference*, Miriam Butt & Tracy Holloway King (eds.), 26-45. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Andréasson, Maia (2010). Object shift or object placement in general? In *Proceedings of the LFG10 Conference*, Miriam Butt & Tracy Holloway King (eds.), 27-42. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Andréasson, Maia (2013). Object shift in scandinavian languages: The impact of contrasted elements. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, 36: 187-217

Andrews, Avery (1990). Case Structures and Control in Modern Icelandic. In: *Modern Icelandic Syntax*. Joan Maling and Annie Zaenen (eds.), 187–234. San Diego: Academic Press.

Baker, Mark (1988a). *Incorporation: A Theory of Grammatical Function Changing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Barnes, Michael (1992). Faroese Syntax: Achievements, Goals, and Problems. In: *The Nordic Languages and Modern Linguistics* 7. Jonna Louis-Jensen and Jóhan Hendrik W. Poulsen (eds.), 17–37. Tórshavn: Føroya Fróðskaparfelag.

Bentzen, Kirstine (2014). Object Shift. *Nordic Atlas of Language Structures (NALS) Journal*, 1: 332-343. (www.tekstlab.uio.no/nals)

Bentzen, Kirstine, Merete Anderssen and Christian Waldmann (2013). Object Shift in Spoken Mainland Scandinavian: A Corpus Study of Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, 36: 115-151.

Bennis, Hans and Teun Hoekstra (1984). Gaps and Parasitic Gaps. *Linguistic Review* 4: 29-87.

Bergroth, Hugo (1917). *Finlandssvenska. Handledning till undvikande av provinsialismer i tal och skrift*. Helsinki: Holger Schildts Förlag.

Besten, Hans den and Corretje Moed-van Walraven (1986). The Syntax of Verbs in Yiddish. In: *Verb Second Phenomena in Germanic Languages*. Hubert Haider and Martin Prinzhorn (eds.), 111–135. Dordrecht: Foris.

Bobaljik, Jonathan (1995). Morphosyntax: The Syntax of Verbal Inflection. PhD dissertation, MIT.

Bobaljik, Jonathan (2002). A-Chains at the PF-Interface: Copies and 'Covert' Movement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 20/2: 197–267.

Bobaljik, Jonathan (2005). Re: CycLin and the role of PF in object shift. *Theoretical Linguistics* 31, 111-125.

Bobaljik, Jonathan and Diane Jonas (1996). Subject Positions and the Role of TP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 37: 195-236.

Börjars, Kersti, Elisabet Engdahl and Maia Andréasson (2003). Subject and Object Positions in Swedish. In: *Proceedings of the LFG03 Conference*. Butt, Miriam & Tracy Holloway King (eds.), 43–58. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Bošković, Željko (2004). PF Merger in Stylistic Fronting and Object Shift. In: *Minimality Effects in Syntax*. Arthur Stepanov, Gisbert Fanselow, and Ralf Vogel (eds.), 37–71. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Broekhuis, Hans (2000). Against feature strength: The case of Scandinavian object shift. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 18: 673-721.

Broekhuis, Hans (2008). *Derivations and Evaluations: Object Shift in the Germanic Languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Chomsky, Noam (1981). *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Chomsky, Noam (1982). *Some Concepts and Consequences of the Theory of Government and Binding*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam (1986a). *Barriers*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam (1993). A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory. In: *The View from Building 20: Essays in Linguistics in Honor of Sylvain Bromberger*. Ken Hale and Samuel J. Keyser (eds.), 1-52. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam (1995c). *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam (2001b). Derivation by Phase. In: *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*. Michael Kenstowicz (ed.), 1-52. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Christensen, Ken Ramshøj (2005). *Interfaces: Negation – Syntax – Brain*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Aarhus. (www.hum.au.dk/engelsk/engkrc/Papers/krc-phd.pdf)

Cinque, Guglielmo (1999). *Adverbs and Functional Heads: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Collins, Chris and Höskuldur Thráinsson (1993). Object Shift in Double Object Constructions and the Theory of Case. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 19: 131–147.

Collins, Chris and Höskuldur Thráinsson (1996). VP-Internal Structure and Object Shift in Icelandic. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27: 391-444.

Déprez, Viviane (1989). On the Typology of Syntactic Positions and the Nature of Chains: Move A to the Specifier of Functional Projections. PhD dissertation, MIT.

Déprez, Viviane (1994). Parameters of Object Movement. In: *Studies on Scrambling*. Norbert Corver and Henk C. van Riemsdijk (eds.), 101–152. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Diesing, Molly (1992b). *Indefinites*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Diesing, Molly (1996). Semantic Variables and Object Shift. In: *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax II*. Höskuldur Thráinsson, Samuel Epstein, and Steve Peter (eds.), 66-84. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Diesing, Molly (1997). Yiddish VP Order and the Typology of Object Movement in Germanic. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 15: 369–427.

Diesing, Molly and Eloise Jelinek (1995). Distributing Arguments. *Natural Language Semantics* 3/2: 123–176.

Engels, Eva (2011). Microvariation in object positions: Negative shift in Scandinavian. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 34, *Special Issue* 2 (The Nordic Languages and Typology), 135-155.

Engels, Eva (2012). Scandinavian negative indefinites and cyclic linearization. *Syntax* 15, 109-141.

Engels, Eva and Sten Vikner (2006). An Optimality-Theoretic analysis of Scandinavian Object Shift and remnant VP-topicalisation. *Linguistics in Potsdam* 25, 195–231.

Engels, Eva & Sten Vikner (2013a). The derivation of Scandinavian object shift and remnant VP-topicalisation. In *Linguistic Derivations and Filtering: Minimalism and Optimality Theory*, Hans Broekhuis & Ralf Vogel (eds.), 193-220. London: Equinox.

Engels, Eva & Sten Vikner (2013b). Scandinavian object shift, remnant VP-topicalisation, verb particles and causatives. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 36, 219-244.

Engels, Eva, and Sten Vikner (2014). *Scandinavian Object Shift and Optimality Theory*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

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). The Sound Patterns of Syntax: The Case of Object Shift. *Theoretical Linguistics* 31, 47-94.

Erteschik-Shir, Nomi (2005b). What is syntax? *Theoretical Linguistics* 31, 263-274.

Erteschik-Shir, Nomi. 2007. *Information Structure: The Syntax-Discourse Interface*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Faarlund, Jan Terje, Svein Lie, and Kjell Ivar Vannebo (1997). *Norsk referansegrammatikk*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Fox, Danny & David Pesetsky (2005a). Cyclic linearization of syntactic structure. *Theoretical Linguistics* 31, 1-45.

Fox, Danny & David Pesetsky (2005b). Cyclic linearization and its interaction with other aspects of grammar: a reply. *Theoretical Linguistics* 31, 235-262.

Garbacz, Piotr (2010). *Word Order in Övdalian. A Study in Variation and Change*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Lund.

Geilfuss, Jochen (1991). Jiddisch als SOV-Sprache. (Yiddish as an SOV-Language.) *Working Papers of the Sonderforschungsbereich 340* 11: 3-17.

Giusti, Giuliana (1990). Floating Quantifiers, Scrambling and Configurationality. *Linguistic Inquiry* 21: 633-641.

Haider, Hubert and Inger Rosengren (1998). Scrambling. *Sprache und Pragmatik* 49: 1–104.

Haider, Hubert, Susan Olsen, and Sten Vikner (1995). Introduction. In: *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax*. Hubert Haider, Susan Olsen, and Sten Vikner (eds.), 1-45. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

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 and Martin Pam (eds.), 253-287. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hansen, Erik (1977): *Dæmonernes Port*. Copenhagen: Hans Reitzel.

Holmberg, Anders (1984). On Certain Clitic-Like Elements in Swedish. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 13.

Holmberg, Anders (1986). Word Order and Syntactic Features in the Scandinavian Languages and English. PhD dissertation, University of Stockholm.

Holmberg, Anders (1991a). The Distribution of Scandinavian Weak Pronouns. In: *Clitics and their Hosts*. Henk C. van Riemsdijk and Luigi Rizzi (eds.), 155-173. Tilburg University.

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: 1–39.

Holmberg, Anders (2005). Linearization in two ways. *Theoretical Linguistics* 31, 147-157.

Holmberg, Anders and Christer Platzack (1988). On the Role of Inflection in Scandinavian Syntax. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 42: 25-42.

Holmberg, Anders and Christer Platzack (1995). *The Role of Inflection in Scandinavian Syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hoop, Helen de (1992). Case Configuration and Noun Phrase Interpretation. PhD dissertation, Groningen University.

Hornstein, Norbert, Jairo Nunes and Kleanthes Grohmann (2005). *Understanding minimalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hosono, Mayumi (2013). *Object shift in the Scandinavian languages syntax, information structure, and intonation*. Phd Dissertation, University of Leiden. Utrecht: LOT.

Jayaseelan, Karattuparambil (2001a). IP-Internal Topic and Focus Phrases. *Studia Linguistica* 55/1: 39–75.

Johnson, Kyle (1991). Objects Positions. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 9: 577-636.

Johnson, Kyle and Sten Vikner (1994). The Position of the Verb in Scandinavian Infinitives: In V or C but not in I. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 53: 61-84. University of Lund.

Jónsson, Jóhannes Gísli (1996). Clausal Architecture and Case in Icelandic. PhD dissertation, University of Massachusetts.

Josefsson, Gunlög (1992). Object Shift and Weak Pronominals in Swedish. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 49: 59-94.

Josefsson, Gunlög (1993). Scandinavian Pronouns and Object Shift. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 52: 1–28.

Josefsson, Gunlög (1994). Scandinavian Pronouns and Object Shift. In: *Clitics: Their Origin, Status and Position*. Henk C. van Riemsdijk and Lars Hellan (eds.), 91–122. Tilburg: ESF-EUROTYP.

Josefsson, Gunlög (2001). The True Nature of Holmberg's Generalization Revisited – Once Again. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 67: 85-102.

Josefsson, Gunlög (2003). Four Myths about Object Shift in Swedish – and the Truth . . . In: *Grammar in Focus: Festschrift for Christer Platzack 2*. Lars-Olof Delsing, Cecilia Falk, Gunlög Josefsson, and Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson (eds.), 199–207. University of Lund.

Josefsson, Gunlög (2010). Object Shift and optionality: An intricate interplay between syntax, prosody and information structure. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 86: 1-24.

Kayne, Richard (1991). Romance Clitics, Verb Movement, and PRO. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22: 647-686.

Koeneman, Olaf (2006). Shape conservation, Holmberg's generalization and predication. In: *Comparative studies in Germanic syntax*. Jutta Hartmann & Lázló Molnarfi (eds.), 51-88. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Marantz, Alec (1984). *On the Nature of Grammatical Relations*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Mikkelsen, Kristian (1911). *Dansk Ordföjningslære*. Copenhagen: Lehmann & Stage. Reprinted 1975, Copenhagen: Hans Reitzel.

Mikkelsen, Line (2011). On prosody and focus in object shift. *Syntax* 14: 230-264.

Müller, Gereon (1995). *A-Bar Syntax: A Study in Movement Types*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Müller, Gereon (2001). Order Preservation, Parallel Movement and the Emergence of the Unmarked. In: *Optimality-Theoretic Syntax*. Géraldine Legendre, Jane Grimshaw, and Sten Vikner (eds.), 297-313. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Nilsen, Øystein (1997). Adverbs and A-Shift. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 59: 1–31.

Ørsnes, Bjarne (2013). VP anaphors and object shift: What do VP anaphors reveal about the licensing conditions for object shift in danish? *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, 36: 245-274

Pedersen, Karen Margrethe (1993). Letledsreglen og lighedsreglen. Novation, ekspansion og resistens. In: *Jyske Studier tilegnede Magda Nyberg og Bent Jul Nielsen*, Inge Lise Pedersen and Karen Margrethe Pedersen (eds.), 199-218. Copenhagen: Reitzels Forlag.

Pollock, Jean-Yves (1989). Verb Movement, Universal Grammar and the Structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20: 365-424.

Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London/New York: Longman.

Roberts, Ian (1991a). Excorporation and Minimality. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22: 209-218.

Roberts, Ian (1995). Object Shift and Verb Movement in Early Modern English. In: *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax*. Hubert Haider, Susan Olsen, and Sten Vikner (eds.), 269-284. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Roberts, Ian (2001). Head Movement. In: *Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*. Mark Baltin and Chris Collins (eds.), 113-147. Oxford: Blackwell.

Rohrbacher, Bernhard (1999). *Morphology-Driven Syntax*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Sadock, Jerrold (1998). A Vestige of Verb Final Syntax in Yiddish. *Monatshefte für Deutschsprachige Literatur und Kultur* 90: 220-226.

Santorini, Beatrice (1993). Jiddisch als Gemischte OV/VO-Sprache (Yiddish as a Mixed OV/VO-Language). In: *Dialektsyntax*. Werner Abraham and Josef Bayer (eds.), 230-245. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Sells, Peter (2001). *Structure, Alignment and Optimality in Swedish*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann (1989). Verbal Syntax and Case in Icelandic. PhD dissertation, University of Lund.

Sportiche, Dominique (1988). A Theory of Floating Quantifiers and its Corollaries for Constituent Structure. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19: 425-449.

Stowell, Tim (1981). Origins of Phrase Structure. PhD dissertation, MIT.

Sundquist, John (2002). Object Shift and Holmberg's Generalizaion in the History of Norwegian. In: *Syntactic Effects of Morphological Change*. David Lightfoot (ed.), 326-347. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Svenonius, Peter (2001). On Object Shift, Scrambling, and the PIC. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 39: 267–289.

Taraldsen, Knut Tarald (1984). Some Phrase-Structure Dependent Differences Between Swedish and Norwegian. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 9: 1-45.

Taraldsen, Knut Tarald (1995). On Agreement and Nominative Objects in Icelandic. In: *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax*. Hubert Haider, Susan Olsen, and Sten Vikner (eds.), 307–327. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur (1986). On Auxiliaries, AUX and VPs in Icelandic. In: *Topics in Scandinavian Syntax*. Lars Hellan and Kirsti Koch Christensen (eds.), 235-265. Dordrecht: Reidel.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur (2001). Object Shift and Scrambling. In: *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*. Mark Baltin and Chris Collins (eds.), 148-202. Oxford: Blackwell.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur (2013). Full NP object shift: The old norse puzzle and the faroese puzzle revisited. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 36: 153-186.

Togeby, Ole (2003). *Fungerer denne Sætning? Funktionel Dansk Sproglære*. (*Does this Sentence Function? Functional Danish Linguistics*.) Copenhagen: Gads Forlag.

Vanden Wyngaerd, Guido (1989). Object Shift as an A-Movement Rule. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 11: 256-271.

Vikner, Sten (1987). Case Assignment Differences between Danish and Swedish. In: *Proceedings of the Seventh Conference of Scandinavian Studies in Great Britain*. Robin Allan and Michael Barnes (eds.), 262–281. London: University College London.

Vikner, Sten (1989). Object Shift and Double Objects in Danish. In: *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 44: 141–155. Vikner, Sten (1994b). Scandinavian Object Shift and West Germanic Scrambling. In: *Studies on Scrambling*. Norbert Corver and Henk C. van Riemsdijk (eds.), 487-517. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Vikner, Sten (1995). *Verb Movement and Expletive Subjects in the Germanic Languages*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Vikner, Sten (1997a). The Interpretation of Object Shift, Optimality Theory, and Minimalism. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 60: 1–24.

Vikner, Sten (1997b). V°-to-I° Movement and Inflection for Person in All Tenses. In: *The New Comparative Syntax*. Liliane Haegeman (ed.), 189-213. London: Longman.

Vikner, Sten (2001a). The Interpretation of Object Shift and Optimality Theory. In: *Competition in Syntax*. Gereon Müller and Wolfgang Sternefeld (eds.), 321–340. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Vikner, Sten (2001b). Verb Movement Variation in Germanic and Optimality Theory. Habilitation thesis, Tübingen University.

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, Gunlög Josefsson & Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson, (eds.), 365-375. Dept. of Scandinavian Languages, University of Lund.

Vikner, Sten (2005). Immobile Complex Verbs in Germanic. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 8: 83-115.

Vogel, Ralf (2006). Weak function word shift. *Linguistics* 44: 1059-1093.

Williams, Edwin (2003). *Representation Theory*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Woolford, Ellen (2007). Case Locality: Pure Domains and Object Shift. *Lingua* 117: 1591-1616.