1. Main Argument

- Focuses on Object Shift in Scandinavian languages.

**Goal**: To explain Object Shift and show that this process is dependent not only on verb movement, but also on domain-limited parameters and the order preservation of the constituents within these domains once Spell-Out has applied.

**Example: Successive-cyclic wh-movement through Spec,CP and Spec,VP**

(1) [CP To whom will he [VP say [CP that Mary [VP gave the book]]]]

- Each successive movement of the wh-constituent brings it to the left edge of a Phase or Domain (1-4).

Schematic Tree for (1)
2. Spell-Out & Spell-Out Domains

Spell-out is the point at which a derivation branches into operations that are purely about form and sound and operations that are purely about meaning (Carnie 398-99).

In example (1), we see the different Spell-Out Domains (1-4) of the wh- sentence. A Spell-Out Domain refers to the constituents that are mapped to phonology by Spell-out and are said to include, at the least, CP and VP.

- **F & P** → Focus on one key aspect of Spell-Out = linearization, with the linearized sequence set out at Spell-Out creating an order that is never deleted in the course of the derivation, thus giving Order Preservation.

- **F & P** → State that in regards to Spell-Out Domains in Scandinavian languages and Object Shift, there are 2 Spell-Out Domains:
  1. Lower Spell-Out Domain = VP
  2. Upper Spell-Out Domain = CP
3. Holmberg’s Generalization (HG) & Object Shift

Movement in general:

(2) Before Spell-Out: ….. Y .. V  t_i  Z = OK

(3) After [Spell-Out]: ….. ….. [VP V Y Z]

Holmberg’s Generalization:

CRUCIAL … If there is NO VERB MOVEMENT then OS is impossible

i) Object Shift + V-movement to C:

(4) Jag  kysste, henne_o inte [VP t_v t_o]  (Swed.)
   I kissed her not

   a. VP: [VP V O] Ordering: V < O

   b. CP: [CP S_t] V_j [TP t_i O_k adv [VP t_j t_k]]
   Ordering: S < V  V < O Order Preserved
              V < O  Order Preserved

   V < O  Order Preserved
              O < adv
                      adv < VP → ø

ii) *Object Shift without V-movement to C (embedded clause):

(5) *... att jag  henne_o inte [VP kysste t_o]  (Swed.)
    … that I her not kissed

   a. VP: [VP V O] Ordering: V < O
b. CP: 

\[ \ast_{[\text{CP} \quad \text{S} \quad \text{adv} \quad \text{V}]} \]

\[ \text{C} < \text{S} \]
\[ \text{S} < \text{O} \]
\[ \text{O} < \text{adv} \]
\[ \text{adv} < \text{VP} \rightarrow \text{adv} < \text{V} \]

\[ \text{V} < \text{O} \text{ Order Violated} \]

iii) Object Shift blocked by non-verb interveners:

First-object intervener:

(6) \[ *\text{Jag gav\textsubscript{v} den\textsubscript{o} inte} \quad [\text{VP} \quad \text{t\textsubscript{v}} \quad \text{Elsa} \quad \text{t\textsubscript{o}}]. \] (Swed.)

I gave it not Elsa

VP: Spell-Out = [\text{VP} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{XP} \quad \text{O}] \hspace{1cm} \text{Ordering: V} < \text{XP}

\[ \text{XP} < \text{O} \]

CP: \[ \ast_{[\text{CP} \quad \text{S} \quad \text{Vt} \quad \text{Adv} \quad [\text{VP} \quad \text{t\textsubscript{i}} \quad \text{XP} \quad \text{t\textsubscript{j}}] \}] \]

Movement results in an ordering contradiction

Ordering: \[ \text{S} < \text{V} \]
\[ \text{V} < \text{XP} \]
\[ \text{XP} < \text{O} \]
\[ \text{V} < \text{O} \]
\[ \text{O} < \text{Adv} \]
\[ \text{Adv} < \text{VP} \rightarrow \text{Adv} < \text{XP} \]

Movement preserving order:

First object intervener moves

(7) \[ \text{Vem\textsubscript{i} gav\textsubscript{j} du den\textsubscript{k} inte?} \quad [\text{VP} \quad \text{t\textsubscript{j}} \quad \text{t\textsubscript{i}} \quad \text{t\textsubscript{k}}] \] (Swed.)

Who gave you it not?

Cycle 1: \[ \text{0} \]

VP: \[ [\text{VP} \quad \text{XP}\textsubscript{i} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{t\textsubscript{i}} \quad \text{O}] \]

Ordering: \[ \text{XP} < \text{V} \]
\[ \text{V} < \text{O} \]
Cycle 2:

\[
\text{CP: } [\text{CP} \quad \text{XP}_i \quad V_j \quad \text{[TP} \quad S \quad O_k \quad \text{Adv} \quad \text{[VP} \quad t_j \quad t_i \quad t_k \quad \text{]}\quad \text{]}\quad O]}
\]

Ordering: \( \text{XP} < \text{V} \quad \text{XP} < \text{V} \quad \text{V} < \text{S} \quad \text{V} < \text{O} \quad \text{S} < \text{O} \quad \text{O} < \text{Adv} \quad \text{Adv} < \text{VP} \rightarrow \emptyset \) (since VP contains only traces)

Order of \( \text{XP} < \text{V} < \text{O} \) is MAINTAINED

iv) Bare Verb Topicalization:

- \( \text{OS} \) is possible not only when \( \text{V} \) moves to \( \text{C} \), but also when \( \text{V} \) moves to \( \text{Spec-CP} \) by the process of \emph{Bare Verb Topicalization}

(8) \( \text{Kysst har jag henne inte (bara hållit henne i handen).} \) (Swed.)
Kissed have I her not (only held her by the hand)

Bare V Topicalization analysis #1: Object Shift + \( \text{V} \)-movement to \( \text{Spec,CP} \)

a. \( \text{VP: } [\text{VP} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{O}] \quad \text{Ordering: } \text{V} < \text{O} \)

b. \( \text{CP: } [\text{CP} \quad V_j \quad \text{Aux}_{x_k} \quad \text{[TP} \quad S \quad O_j \quad \text{Adv} \quad t_k \quad \text{[VP} \quad t_i \quad t_j \quad \text{]}\quad \text{]}\quad \text{]}\quad \text{Ordering: } \text{V} < \text{aux} \quad \text{V} < \text{O} \quad \text{Aux} < \text{S} \quad \text{S} < \text{O} \quad \text{O} < \text{adv} \quad \text{adv} < \text{VP} \rightarrow \emptyset \)

Bare V Topicalization analysis #2: Object Shift + remnant VP topicalization

\( \text{VP: } [\text{VP} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{O}] \quad \text{Ordering: } \text{V} < \text{O} \)
2. Remnant VP Topicalization

\[
\text{CP: } [\text{CP} \quad [\text{VP} \quad V \quad t_j] \quad \text{aux} \quad [\text{TP} \quad S \quad t_k \quad O_j \quad \text{adv} \quad t_i \quad \text{VP} \quad V \quad t_j] \quad ]]
\]

1. Object Shift

Ordering: V < aux → V < aux  \quad V < O
aux < S
S < O
O > adv

F & P → Argue for analysis 2 because movement like (9) a. is possible, while movement like (9) b. is not.

(9)  

a. ?[Gett henne \( t_{oo} \)] har jag \( den_{oo} \) inte ... DO is moved, then remnant of
Given her have I it not… VP is moved

b. *[Gett \( t_{oo} \) den] har jag \( henne_{oo} \) inte ... IO is moved, then remnant of
Given it have I her not… VP is moved

- The DO may shift with *topicalization* of V + IO to the exclusion of DO
- **BUT** IO cannot shift with *topicalization* of V + DO to the exclusion of IO.

4. Conclusion

- Crucial to **OS** is **V-Movement** and the relative ordering of V & O (*linearization*), as well as any non-verb interveners at the various points of Spell-Out (**VP & CP**), not the type of syntactic processes that created these orderings.

- **OS** can be blocked by any non-verb ‘intervener’ (such as another object, a particle etc.).

- So, not only is V-movement crucial, but the linear order of constituents within the different **Phases** established at Spell-out **MUST** be preserved.