EPP: Object Shift and Stylistic Fronting in Scandinavian

Ken Hiraiwa
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

1. Introduction

One of the intriguing parametric differences between Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian languages (MSc.; Da(nish), Nor(wegian) and Swe(dish)) is the fact that Icelandic allows Object Shift (OS) of weak pronominals as well as full DPs, whereas MSc. allows the former (Holmberg 1986, Holmberg and Platzack 1995, Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998, Thráinsson 2001). Thus the main question of this paper is (1).

(1) Why is full DP OS illicit in MSc. but licit in Icelandic?

In this paper, I will propose an articulated theory of EPP, *A Split EPP/Agree Theory*, and its parameterization in Scandinavian, and show that this provides a principled explanation for the apparent difference in OS between Icelandic and MSc.. It will be demonstrated that another parametric difference in Stylistic Fronting (SF) in Scandinavian also reduces to the proposed Split EPP/Agree parameter.

The organization of this paper is as follows: Section 2 briefly reviews parametric differences in OS and SF between Icelandic and MSc.. Section 3 first introduces a Split EPP/Agree Theory and then demonstrates that the proposed theory provides a principle explanation to the question (1) within a refined theory of locality and local economy. In particular, it is argued that full DP OS is in fact more complex than it appears and it is 'decomposed' into movement into Spec, *v*P (Move (*v*, OBJ)) and subsequent movement into Spec, TP (Move (T, OBJ)). Section 4 discusses SF and its correlation with full DP OS in Scandinavian, where an interesting parallelism between the derivations of the ostensibly unrelated phenomena is revealed. Section 5 investigates the nature of weak pronominal OS in Scandinavian and an articulation of a cliticization hypothesis of it.

---

* I am deeply indebted to Jonathan Bobaljik, Noam Chomsky, Chris Collins, Ken Hale, Shin Ishihara, Howard Lasnik, David Pesetsky and the audiences at MIT Ling-Lunch, CGSW16 and WCCFL20 for insightful discussions and/or helpful comments and questions. For more extensive discussions and references, see Hiraiwa (2001b).

 WCCFL 20 Proceedings, ed. K. Megerdoomian and L. A. Barel, pp.290-303. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.

2. Object shift and stylistic fronting in Scandinavian

As is well-known in the literature, Icelandic and MSc. parametric a number of differences in OS and SF as listed in (2).

(2) a. Full-DP OS: ^{ok}Icelandic, *MSc.
b. Obligatory Weak Pronominal OS: ^{ok}Icelandic, ^{ok}MSc.
c. Stylistic Fronting (SF): ^{ok}Icelandic, *MSc.

First, Icelandic allows full DP OS as well as weak pronominal OS, whereas MSc. allows only the latter (cf. Holmberg 1986, Holmberg and Platzack 1995, Bobaljik and Jonas 1996, Jonas 1996, Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998, Thráinsson 2001). Consider Icelandic (3).[1]

(3) a. Nemandinn las ekki bókina/*hana (Ice)
students-the read not book-the/it
b. Nemandinn las bókina$_i$/hana$_i$ ekki t$_i$
'The students didn't read the book.' (Thráinsson 2001)

(3) shows that in Icelandic a full DP (definite) object can be optionally shifted in front of a VP adverb, whereas weak pronominal OS is obligatory in Icelandic.

This contrasts with MSc., as shown in (4) (the examples are slightly modified).

(4) a. Studenten læste den$_i$/*LGB$_i$ ikke t$_i$ (Da)
students read it/LGB not
b. Studenten læste ikke LGB/*den
c. Studenten leste den$_i$/*LGB$_i$ ikke t$_i$ (Nor)
d. Studenten leste ikke LGB$_i$/*den$_i$
e. Studenten läste den$_i$/*LGB$_i$ inte t$_i$ (Sw)
f. Studenten läste inte LGB$_i$/(*)den$_i$[2]
'The students didn't read it/LGB.' (Thráinsson 2001)

(4) shows that in MSc. full DP OS is strictly prohibited and only (obligatory) weak pronominal OS is allowed. I will assume with other previous studies on OS in Scandinavian that negation adverbs and other time/manner adverbs are adjoined to *v*P. Thus the landing site of the shifted object is Spec, *v*P (or higher than it; see the discussions below).

---

1 . Throughout this paper, I assume that the subject DP always moves to Spec, CP in V2 context. See Section 5 (see also Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998).

2 . Some dialects of Swedish allow a weak pronoun to remain in-situ. See Holmberg and Platzack (1995), Thráinsson (2001) among others.

Apart from the above striking difference, the two types of languages show another important parametric difference. As (5) and (6) show, Icelandic has SF of various categories, but none of the MSc. languages allows SF (see Holmberg 2000).

(5) a. þetta er maður sem hefur ekki leikið nítíu leiki (Ice)
this is a-man that has not played ninety games
'This is a man that has not played ninety games.'
b. þetta er maður sem *ekki*$_i$ hefur t_i leikið nítíu leiki
this is a man that not has played ninety games
c. sá sem hefur skrifað þessa bók (Ice)
he that has written this book
'the one who has written this book.'
d. sá sem *skrifa*ð$_i$ hefur t_i þessa bók
he that written has this book
e. þeir sem verða að taka pessa erfirðu ákvörrðun (Ice)
those that have to take this difficult decision
'those who have to take this difficult decision.'
f. þeir sem p*essa erfirðu ákvörrðun*$_i$ verða að taka t_i
those that this difficult decision have to take
(cf. Jósson 1991, Holmberg 2000)

(6) a. den som är först att göra mal (Sw)
he that is first to score goal
'the first one to score a goal'
b.*den som *först*$_i$ är t_i att göra mal
he that first is to score goal
c. Hvem tror du (at) har stjalet sykkeken? (Nor)
who think you that has stolen the-bike
'Who do you think has stolen the bike?'
d.*Hvem tror du (at) *stjalet*$_i$ har t_i sykkeken?
who think you that stolen has the-bike
(Holmberg 2000)

In (5b) the negation adverb is fronted before the main verb. (5d) is a case where a participle is fronted and in (5f) an accusative object is fronted. On the other hand, as shown in (6), MSc. does not allow any form of SF. Holmberg (2000) argues that SF is a movement of non-subjects into Spec, TP for EPP reason. We will directly return to this issue in Section 5.

3. Full DP object shift in Scandinavian:

3.1. The Split EPP/Agree Parameter

In this paper, I propose (7), elaborating the notion of EPP and Agree.

(7) The Split EPP/Agree Parameter
Satisfaction of EPP on T is (not) contingent on a syntactic operation Agree.

Under this theory, languages vary in whether EPP satisfaction is contingent on Agree or not. If a language L has a negative setting of (7), EPP is considered to be a feature/property distinct from the feature that requires a syntactic relation Agree (see Collins 1997, Ura 2000 for a precursor to split EPP from φ-feature checking). If L has a positive setting, satisfaction of EPP is strictly contingent on a syntactic operation Agree. In this case, Move (Internal Merge) is considered to be a reflex of the operation Agree.

Given these possibilities, I would like to propose the following parameterization of the Split EPP/Agree among Scandinavian.

(8) *Split EPP/Agree Parameterization on T in Scandinavian*
a. Icelandic: EPP is not contingent on the operation Agree.
b. MSc. : EPP is contingent on the operation Agree.

The parameterization (8) leads to the following feature constitution of T.[3]

(9) Probe Features on T in Icelandic and MSc.
a. Icelandic: T[EPP, φ_{EPP}]
b. MSc. : T[φ_{EPP}] (EPP of φ_{EPP} is optional)

In Icelandic, probe T has [EPP, φ_{EPP}], splitting EPP from Agree (cf. Ura 2000; cf. also Holmberg 2000, Lasnik 2001). Pure EPP is not contingent on the syntactic operation Agree, whereas φ_{EPP} is contingent on Agree. On the other hand, MSc. probe T has only [φ_{EPP}]. Thus in Icelandic it is expected under certain syntactic environments that there should be two types of displacement: one by pure EPP and the other by a reflex of Agree.

A few other notes on theoretical assumptions are in order here. First I will crucially assume, with Chomsky (2001) and Hiraiwa (2000, 2001ab), that multiple specifiers are not equidistant from a probe P, eliminating the Equidistance Principle of Chomsky (1993, 1995, 2000). As a result, closeness is purely determined in terms of c-command relation.

(10) *Closeness* (Chomsky 2001)
Locality reduces to "closest c-command."

---

3. See Holmberg (2000), and Lasnik (2001) for EPP as a requirement for a 'specifier'. I propose that EPP of φ_{EPP} is a 'feature/property' on φ-features. See Pesetsky and Torrego (2000).

Another important theoretical assumption is that locality/minimality is a strictly derivational condition on syntactic operations Agree/Move, departing from Chomsky (2001), who proposes a phase-evaluation theory of locality (see Hiraiwa 2000; cf. also Chomsky 1995, Collins 1997).

(11) Locality is a strictly derivational/cyclic condition on each application of a syntactic operation Agree/Move.

Finally, I propose that when two distinct probe features are located in the same single probe, there cannot be any a priori ordering as to which of the probe features probes first. This can be formulated as Multiple Probe Computation, adopting Collins' (2001) notion of *Locus*.

(12) *Multiple Probe Computation (MPC)*
If more than one feature (α_1 and α_2) are located in a single Locus (i.e. head/probe), there is no intrinsic ordering as to which feature has to probe first.

Thus syntactic optionality reduces to the computational indeterminacy within a single Locus (cf. Collins 1997).

Now let us consider the derivation of OS in Icelandic. OS in Scandinavian is strictly restricted to 'objects' of a verb V and hence it is impossible to shift a PP or any other category. (cf. Thráinsson 2001). Thus I will assume that OS is a phenomenon distinct from Scrambling and propose that OS (of both full DPs and of weak pronominals) is Agree-driven movement of an object to Spec, *v*P via Agree (*v*, OBJ) (cf. Bobaljik and Jonas 1996, Bobaljik and Thráinsson 2001, among many others). [4]

4. In this paper I will not discuss the nature of Holmberg's Generalization. See Bobaljik (1995), Bobaljik and Jonas (1996), Holmberg (1999), and Chomsky (2001) for various attempts to derive the generalization. In the discussions below, I will just assume a version of Holmberg's Generalization in (i) (cf. Hiraiwa 2001b).

(i) A shifted object must be derivationally c-commanded in the shifted position by a main verb.

(i) successfully excludes all the illicit cases of OS in Scandinavian where a shifted object precedes a main verb as a violation of Holmberg's Generalization. Thus an example like (ii), recently discussed in Holmberg (1999), is analyzed as a usual case of weak pronominal OS with the fronted verb (i.e. participle) c-commanding the shifted object. Compare (ii) with (iii), where the verb does not c-command the shifted object, which has been excluded as a typical violation of Holmberg's Generalization.

(ii) Kiysst har jag henne inte. (Sw)
kissed have I her not
'I have not kissed her.' (Holmberg 1999)

(iii)*att Jag (henne) har (henne) inte kysst.
that I her have her not kissed.

Importantly, as Jonas (1996) shows, in Icelandic a shifted object DP always precedes a VP adverb and the base-position of a subject. This is clearly shown by (13)-(14) (cf. also Collins 1997).

(13) það lásu *þessar bækur*$_i$ aldrei neinir stúdentar í fyrra t_i (Ice)
there read these books never any student last year
'No students read these books last year.' (Jonas 1996:37)

(14) þá máluðu *bílana*$_i$ stundum einhverjir stránkar t_i rauðas (Ice)
then painted cars-the sometimes some boys red
'Then some boys sometimes painted the cars red.' (Thráinsson 2001)

In (13)-(14), the shifted objects precede the in-situ quantified indefinite subjects and/or VP adverbs, which is schematically represented in (15).

(15) $[_{TP}$ T $[_{vP}$ OBJ_i [SUBJ *v* $[_{VP}$ V t_i]]]]

Given these background theoretical assumptions above, an interesting question emerges immediately concerning the derivation (15) (cf. Chomsky 2001); at the point of the derivation where an object is shifted and T is merged, Agree (T, SUBJ) is blocked due to Defective Intervention Constraints induced by the closer inactive goal (i.e. the shifted object DP) and hence the derivation crashes.

(16) *Defective Intervention Constraint* (Chomsky 2000:123)
$\alpha > \beta > \gamma$
(*Agree (α, γ), α is a probe and β is a matching goal, and β is inactive due to a prior Agree with some other probe.)

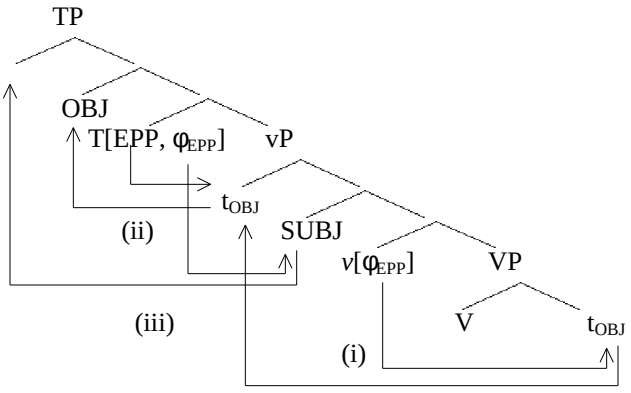
In the next section, I will demonstrate that the proposed Split EPP/Agree Theory overcomes the apparent problem of defective intervention in a very interesting way with further deep implications for the Scandinavian parametric syntax.

3.2. Full DP object shift in Icelandic and MSc.: 'Decomposing' OS

Now consider the derivation of full DP OS in Icelandic (3) under the proposed mechanism.

(3) a. Nemandinn las ekki bókina/*hana (Ice)
students-the read not book-the/it
b. Nemandinn las $bókina_i$/$hana_i$ ekki t_i
'The students didn't read the book.' (Thráinsson 2001)

(17)



At the point of the derivation where *v*[φ_{EPP}] is merged, with which SUBJ is merged in an inner specifier, the φ_{EPP} features of the probe searches down the c-command domain (VP) and enters into an Agree relation with the matching goal full DP object. Suppose that the probe φ on *v* has a 'EPP' property (φ_{EPP}) in this case (note that a full DP OS in Icelandic is optional in principle). Then Agree (*v*, OBJ) results in Move (*v*, OBJ), which moves OBJ into an outer specifier of *v*P (*step (i)*). It should be noted that there is crucially no tucking-in here, since the operation that merges SUBJ and the operation that merges OBJ into Spec, *v*P are driven by distinct probe features of *v* (McGinnis 1998, Hiraiwa 2000).

Now the derivation proceeds and T[EPP, φ_{EPP}] is merged with *v*P. At this point of the derivation, the probe φ_{EPP} features on T cannot establish Agree ($T_{\varphi EPP}$, SUBJ), since there is a closer inactive matching goal (the shifted OBJ). Thus, defective intervention constraints (Chomsky 2000) prohibit this operation. However, under our theory, T has another probe feature, pure EPP. Thus in Icelandic, T_{EPP} can attract any closest element to satisfy pure EPP. Therefore at the point of the derivation where OBJ is shifted to the outer specifier of *v*, the shifted OBJ is the closest goal for the probe pure EPP and Move (T_{EPP}, OBJ) is established, moving the shifted OBJ to Spec, TP (*step (ii)*). More precisely put, all T can do at this point of the derivation is to attract the shifted OBJ to satisfy its pure EPP.

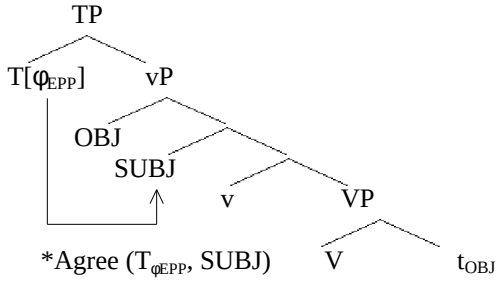
Now that T has attracted the shifted OBJ to Spec-TP, there is no intervening goal between $T_{\varphi EPP}$ and SUBJ. Thus the probe $T_{\varphi EPP}$ enters into an Agree relation with SUBJ (Agree ($T_{\varphi EPP}$, SUBJ)) and attracts it into the outer specifier of TP (above the OBJ) (Move ($T_{\varphi EPP}$, SUBJ)). Again, there should be no tucking-in here since Move (T_{EPP}, OBJ) and Move ($T_{\varphi EPP}$, SUBJ) are driven by distinct features, pure EPP and φ_{EPP} respectively.

Thus under the Split EPP/Agree Theory, the object DP shifted to Spec, *v*P always undergoes further movement into Spec, TP for pure EPP, obviating defective intervention.

Now we are ready to provide a principled explanation for the facts that full DP OS is illicit in MSc. (cf. Holmberg and Platzack 1995, Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998). Consider the derivation of full DP OS in MSc. in (18).

(4) a. Studenten laste *LGB$_i$ ikke t_i (Da)
c. Studenten leste *LGB$_i$ ikke t_i (Nor)
e. Studenten läste *LGB$_i$ inte t_i (Sw)
'The students didn't read LGB.'

(18)



Under the parameterization (9), in MSc., EPP is strictly contingent on Agree. Hence T in MSc. has only [φ_{EPP}] but not pure EPP, unlike Icelandic.

Suppose that Agree/Move applies freely, and a full DP object is shifted in MSc., just as in Icelandic, giving the structure (18). At the point of the derivation where a full DP object is shifted above the subject and T is merged with *v*P, $T_{\varphi EPP}$ has no way to establish Agree with a matching active goal subject DP; T cannot satisfy EPP of φ_{EPP} by attracting the shifted object, because EPP satisfaction is contingent on Agree in these languages. However, neither can $T_{\varphi EPP}$ Agree with the shifted object DP because it is already inactive due to a prior Agree (*v*, OBJ). Thus all that the probe T can do is to search a closest matching active goal and establish Agree. However, the closer shifted full DP object always triggers defective intervention, blocking Agree ($T_{\varphi EPP}$, SUBJ). Thus in MSc., a derivation with a full DP OS necessarily crashes and hence the absence of full DP OS.

Summing up the discussions in this section, we have demonstrated that availability of full DP OS in Scandinavian crucially depends on the existence of pure EPP independent of Agree. Thus we reach the generalization (19).[5]

(19) 'Decomposition' of Object Shift (cf. (22))
In Scandinavian, full DP OS is possible if and only if T allows Split EPP/Agree; thus full DP OS is 'decomposed' into Agree/Move (v_{φ}, OBJ) and Move (T_{EPP}, OBJ).

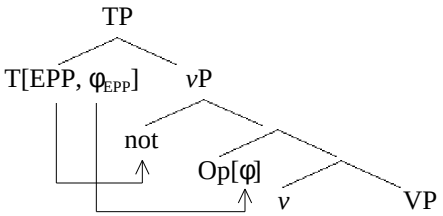
5. See also Hiraiwa (2001b) for more empirical consequences of the proposed parameter for various other aspects of Scandinavian syntax.

4. Stylistic fronting in Scandinavian

The claim that a shifted full DP object always undergoes further movement into Spec, TP for satisfaction of pure EPP sheds a light on an interesting correlation between OS and SF. Holmberg (2000) claims that Stylistic Fronting (SF) in Icelandic is a movement into Spec, TP for EPP satisfaction. Interestingly, under the Split EPP/Agree Theory, SF is allowed if and only if T in a language L has pure EPP that is not contingent on Agree (cf. (8)). Thus it follows from the unsplit EPP/Agree parameter-setting in MSc. that SF is never allowed in these languages because EPP is strictly contingent on Agree. On the other hand, Icelandic, whose T has pure EPP as well as φ_{EPP}, is predicted to allow SF. As reviewed in Section 2, in Icelandic, non-subject elements (adverbs, predicative adjectives, participles, DPs, etc.) can be fronted before the main verb (see Holmberg 2000).

Let us consider the derivation of SF (20).

(20)



Note that T in Icelandic has two distinct probe features, pure EPP and φ_{EPP}, between which no inherent ordering is determined. Importantly, unlike the case of OS in (17), there is no defective intervention effect for Agree ($T_{\varphi EPP}$, OP) because the intervening negation adverb does not have any φ-features. Thus optionality emerges here; if the pure EPP of T probes first, the negation adverb is the closest goal and must be attracted to satisfy EPP. If the φ-features of T probes first, Agree ($T_{\varphi EPP}$, Op) is established, which results in Move ($T_{\varphi EPP}$, Op) and satisfies φ_{EPP} and pure EPP simultaneously.

(21) a. The negation adverb *ekki* is the closest goal for probe T_{EPP}.
b. Op is the closest goal for probe $T_{\varphi EPP}$.

It is very important to emphasize that pure EPP and φ_{EPP} on T are two *distinct* probe features. Nothing determines which of the two features probes first (cf. MPC (12)). Note that the negation adverb in the outer specifier of *v*P c-commands the subject Op in the inner specifier of *v*P, and thus 'structurally' the former is closer to T than the latter. However, it is noteworthy that as formulated in (16), closeness is determined if and only if two goals β and γ have a same common feature with respect to a single

probe α. But in (20), pure EPP and φ_{EPP} on T are two distinct probe features and the negation adverb and the subject Op do not share any feature.

Thus under the definition of closeness, no closeness is defined between β (the negation) and γ (the subject Op), because they are matching with distinct probe features α_1 (pure EPP) and α_2 (φ_{EPP}), respectively. Given that CHL does not execute a trans-derivational computation, either derivation (the one where T_{EPP} proves first and the negation adverb is attracted, or the one where $T_{\varphi EPP}$ probes first and the subject Op is attracted) is properly allowed since both derivations obey strict locality on syntactic operations, and thus optionality of SF follows.

It is very important to note that under the analysis proposed in this paper, full DP OS and SF involve the same operation Move (T_{EPP}, α). In particular the parallelism becomes evident if we compare the derivation of full DP OS in (17) and SF of an object DP in (5f): in (5f), the full DP object has been stylistically fronted to Spec, TP by $T_{\varphi EPP}$, which is exactly the same operation that requires movement of the shifted full DP object to Spec, TP in (17). Thus full DP OS is considered to be (22).

(22) Full DP OS = 'Object Movement' (Agree/Move (*v*, OBJ)) + 'Stylistic Fronting' (Move (T_{EPP}, OBJ))

5. Weak pronominal OS in MSc.

I have shown in the preceding section that the absence of full DP OS in MSc. reduces to the absence of pure EPP on T, which consequently triggers defective intervention effects. However, as we have reviewed in Section 2, MSc. does allow weak pronominal OS.

(23) a. Studenten læste den_i ikke t_i (Da)
b. Studenten leste den_i ikke t_i (Nor)
c. Studenten läste den_i inte t_i (Sw)
'The students didn't read it.'

This raises a very interesting question why weak pronominal OS does not induce defective intervention effect.

The key to elucidate the nature of weak pronominal OS is the well-known similarities between weak pronominal OS in Scandinavian and cliticization in Romance (see Holmberg 1986, Kayne 1991, Josefsson 1992, Holmberg and Platzack 1995). As Holmberg (1986) first notes, there is a striking parallelism between the two phenomena; neither clitics in Romance nor weak pronominal objects in Scandinavian can be stressed, modified, or conjoined, and both must be 'shifted' obligatorily.

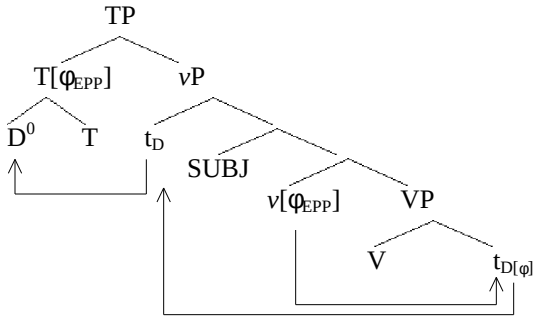
Given the above similarities, I propose that weak pronominal objects in MSc. are syntactically D^0 elements, which are subject to condition (24).

(24) Weak pronominals are D^0; weak pronominals shifted to Spec, vP undergo further 'cliticization' onto T.

Under (24), weak pronominal OS in MSc. is exactly the same phenomenon as full DP OS in Icelandic in that it is a movement of an object to Spec, *v*P via Agree (*v*, OBJ). The only difference is that phonologically 'weak' elements like weak pronominals in MSc. and clitics in Romance (but not full DPs) have an intrinsic requirement that they must cliticize onto a functional category with [+tense] T, just as clitics in Romance have to cliticize onto T.

Now establishing the hypothesis (24), consider the derivation of weak pronominal OS under the hypothesis (25).

(25)



At the stage of the derivation in (25), where v is merged, Agree (*v*, D) is established, dislocating (i.e. shifting) the weak pronominal object to an outer Spec, vP. Next, T is merged with *v*P. But at this point of the derivation Agree (T, SUBJ) cannot be established due to the obvious defective intervention (see Section 3). However, a weak pronominal D^0 has an inherent requirement to cliticize onto T under (24). Thus in (25), D^0 can 'head-move' to the probe T as shown in (25).

Now as it is obvious, after the cliticization of the weak pronominal D^0 onto T, there is no intervening matching goal between the probe T and the goal SUBJ. Thus Agree (T, SUBJ) and Move (T, SUBJ) can be properly established without any defective intervention effects.

In the theory of OS proposed above, full DP OS and weak pronominal OS are the same phenomenon; both are movements of objects to Spec, *v*P via Agree, with differences restricted to 'after OS'.

Given the above analysis of the absence of defective intervention effects, it is very interesting to note that clitics in Romance also obviate defective intervention effects.

(26) a.*Gianni sembra a Marie essere stanco
Gianni seems to Mary be ill
'Gianni seems to Mary to be ill.'

b. Gianni gli sembra essere stanco
Gianni to-her seems to-be ill
'Gianni seems to her to be ill.' (cf. Boeckx 2000, Ura 2000)

In Italian, for example, a nominative DP cannot be raised over a full DP experiencer (abstracting away topicalization) (26a). However, raising-over-experiencer is licit when the experiencer is a clitic (26b). Note that this is exactly the same as what we have seen in OS in MSc.; when a full DP object intervenes, Agree (T, SUBJ) is illicit due to a defective intervention effect, whereas if the intervening matching element is a weak pronoun (i.e. a clitic), Agree (T, SUBJ) becomes licit, since the weak pronominal/clitic is obligatorily moved to T^0 position.

It has been often pointed out in the literature, however, that there is a serious problem with a cliticization analysis of weak pronominal OS despite its initial attractiveness. The problem is that in fact a cliticized weak pronominal object is not pied-piped in V-to-C verb movement in any of the Scandinavian languages, typically in a question sentence.

(27)*Hvor sa henne Jon? (Nor)
where saw her Jon
'Where did Jon saw her?'

Thus there is no evidence for 'clitic' pied-piping in V-to-C movement in MSc. (cf. Josefsson 1992). However, this is inconsistent with the facts of a clitic in Romance, where it always moves with a verb in T-to-C. (28) is a case of SUBJ-AUX inversion in French.

(28) Où l'a-t-il vue?
where her-has-he seen
'Where has he seen her?' (Holmberg and Platzack 1995)

Why is it that this is so? I suggest that in fact the apparent striking asymmetry follows from an availability of independent V-to-T movement in Romance and MSc. As is well-known since Pollock (1989), a verb in French (in contrast with English) overtly moves to T, preceding a negation.

(29) Jean (n')aime pas Marie.
Jean likes not Marie
'John does not like Mary.'

On the other hand, Jonas (1996) presents compelling empirical arguments that MSc., unlike Icelandic, does not have V-to-T movement independent of V-to-C (i.e. V2).

(30) a. att Ul inte köpte boken (Sw)

that Ulf not bought the-book
'that Ulf didn't buy the book' (Holmberg and Platzack 1995)

b. Jeg spurgte hvorfor Jon ikke havde læst bogen (Da)
I asked why John not had read the book
'I asked why John had not read the book.' (Jonas 1996)

(30a) and (30b) indicate that T in MSc. does not require an overt verb movement for verbal inflection and that in-situ strategy is sufficient (cf. Bobaljik's (1995) morphological merger). Jonas (1996), based on Vikner (1995), convincingly concludes from various other constructions that there is no V-to-T movement independent of V-to-C available in MSc. (see Jonas 1996 for extensive discussions).

Thus it seems plausible to think that T^0 is always empty in MSc. even in matrix V2 context. This rather straightforwardly explains why object pronoun is always 'stranded' in V-to-C context. Recall that MSc. does not allow independent V-to-T. Thus V2 should naturally be analyzed as a direct head movement of V to C, without landing on T.

(31) $[C_{[V2]}\ [_{TP}$ SUBJ T-D $[_{vP}\ v\text{-}V_{[V2]}]]]$

The probe V2 feature (which would be $[V2_{EPP}]$) enters into an Agree relation with V, which results in Move (C, V). Thus the fact that shifted weak pronominals cliticized onto T in MSc. do not move with a verb to C^0 is rather straightforwardly predicted.

On the other hand, it is now clear why clitics in Romance move to C^0 in verb movement. This is because, as we have seen above, French has an obligatory V-to-T verb movement. Thus a clitic on T and a verb moved to T form a head complex at a relevant point of the derivation, which is consequently 'pied-piped' in T-to-C movement (SUBJ-AUX inversion).[6]

6 A question arises whether a shifted weak pronominal in Icelandic, which has independent V-to-T verb movement, is pied-piped in V-to-T-to-C. In fact the prediction fails; it is 'stranded' even in Icelandic (Holmberg and Platzack 1995).

(i) Las hana Jón ekki? (Ice)
read it John not
'Didn't John read it?'

However, there is good reason to think that weak pronominal OS in Icelandic patterns with a full DP OS and hence is dislocated to Spec, TP. Thráinsson (2001) presents evidence that pronouns in Icelandic are different from the ones in MSc., showing that weak pronominal objects in Icelandic can be stressed, modified and conjoined.

(ii) Hún sá mig/MIG/mig og þig/þennan á hjólinu ekki (Ice)
she saw me/ME/me and you/him on the bike not

References

Bobaljik, Jonathan D. and Dianne Jonas (1996). The subject positions and the role of TP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27, 195-236.

Bobaljik, Jonathan D. and Höskuldur Thráinsson (1998). Two heads aren't always better than one. *Syntax* 1, 37-71.

Chomsky, Noam (2000). Minimalist inquiries. In R. Martin et. al. (eds.) *Step by step: in honor of Howard Lasnik.* Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam (2001). Derivation by phase. In M. Kenstowicz (ed.) *Ken Hale: a life in language.* Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press.

Collins, Chris (1997) *Local economy.* Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press.

Collins, Chris (2001). Eliminating labels. In MITOPL #20. Cambridge, MA.: MITWPL.

Hiraiwa, Ken (2000). Multiple Agree and the Defective Intervention Constraint in Japanese. To appear in *The proceedings of HUMIT 2000.* Cambridge, MA.: MITWPL.

Hiraiwa, Ken (2001a). On nominative-genitive conversion. In MITWPL #39. Cambridge, MA.: MITWPL.

Hiraiwa, Ken (2001b). EPP and object shift in Scandinavian: Deriving parametric differences. Ms., MIT. (http://web.mit.edu/hiraiwa/www/home.html).

Holmberg, Anders (1986). *Word order and the syntactic features in the Scandinavian languages and English* Doctoral dissertation, University of Stockholm.

Holmberg, Anders (1999). Remarks on Holmberg's generalization. *Studia Linguistica* 53, 1-39.

Holmberg, Anders (2000). Scandinavian stylistic fronting: how any category can become an expletive. *Linguistic Inquiry* 31, 445-483.

Holmberg, Anders and Christer Platzack (1995). *The role of inflection in Scandinavian Syntax.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Jonas, Dianne (1996). *Clause structure and verb syntax in Scandinavian and English.* Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University.

Josefsson, G. (1992). Object shift and weak pronominals in Swedish. *Working papers in Scandinavian syntax* 49, 59-94.

Kayne, Richard (1991). Romance clitics, verb movement, and PRO. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22, 647-686.

Lasnik, Howard (2001). A note on the EPP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32, 356-362.

McGinnis, Martha (1998). *Locality in A-movement.* Ph. D. dissertation, MIT.

Pesetsky, David and Esther Torrego (2001) T-to-C movement: causes and consequences. In M. Kenstowicz (ed.) *Ken Hale: a life in language.* Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press.

Pollock, Jean-Yves (1989). Verb movement, universal grammar and the structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry*. 20, 365-424.

Thráinsson, Höskuldur (2001). Object shift and scrambling. In M. Baltin et. al. (eds.) *A handbook of contemporary syntactic theory*. New York: Blackwell.

Ura, Hiroyuki (2000). *Checking theory and grammatical functions in universal grammar.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Vikner, Steven (1995). Verb movement and expletive subjects in the Germanic languages. New York: Oxford University Press.