Levels of (Long) Object Shift
Björn Lundquist

Norwegian and Swedish differ in at least two crucial respects in the placement of light object pronouns: (1) light object pronouns (especially reflexive pronouns) may shift across a DP subject in Swedish (Long object shift), but never in Norwegian, and (2) light object pronouns more or less obligatorily shift across verb particles in Norwegian but never in Swedish:

1a. I går gav {meg} läraren {meg} läraren en ny bok. (SWE)
b. I går ga {*meg} læreren {meg} ei ny bok. (NOR)
   Yesterday gave {me} teacher {me} a new book.

2a. Kalle kastade {*honom} ut {honom} igår. (SWE)
b. Kalle kastet {ham} ut {??ham} i går. (NOR)
   Kalle threw him out yesterday

These two differences are hard to capture both in a PF-based account of OS (see Erteschik-Shir, Josefsson and Köhnlein 2017) and an order preserving account of OS (as in Fox and Pesetsky 2004). According to the PF-based account, a light pronoun must prosodically incorporate into a verb, noun or preposition. However, a light pronoun must follow an inverted DP subject, even when the DP ends in an element that won't allow prosodic incorporation, e.g. a particle (2b, 3b):

   then felt [man.DEF who went out] REFL very sad.
b. Han kledde {seg} ikke {*seg} ut {*seg} som politimann.
   He didn't dress up as a policeman.

The PF-account cannot explain why "seg" has to move in 3b, but simply can't in 3a. The order preserving account runs into other problems: how can an object precede the subject in Swedish without disturbing the underlying constituent order?

In this talk, I will propose a different source for the difference between Norwegian and Swedish here and argue that argument placement and prosodic grouping are determined at different levels in the two languages. Whereas the "form" of the verb and it's argument (here, including verbal inflection/tense and lexical tone of the verb, as well prosodic grouping of the verb and its dependents) is determined mainly already at the VP level in Swedish, Norwegian postpones both the form of the verb and the prosodic grouping to the end of the syntactic derivation.