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## SHORT COMMUNICATIONS

### Long object shift and reflexives

Fredrik Heinat

This short communication is concerned with long object shift of reflexives in Swedish. Only 3rd person reflexives can shift across their antecedent. For some reason this is possible even if the antecedent is 1st or 2nd person as well, but certain requirements on the antecedent are necessary. This paper shows that neither a purely syntactic nor a purely semantic analysis can account for all the facts. Instead the best analysis seems to be one that makes use of Bonet's (1995) post-syntactic morphological processes: feature delinking, feature erasure and feature insertion.

**Keywords** binding, morphology, object shift, pronouns, reflexives, Swedish

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#### 1. INTRODUCTION

This short communication concerns a mismatch in agreement between the Swedish 3rd person reflexive pronoun and its antecedent. In certain contexts, a 1st or 2nd person pronoun can bind a 3rd person reflexive, as in (1).

- (1) Igår latade sej<sub>i</sub> inte bara du<sub>i</sub>/ni<sub>i</sub>/jag<sub>i</sub>/vi<sub>i</sub>(, alla gjorde det).  
*yesterday were.lazy REFL.3RD not only you/you.PL/I/WE everyone did it*  
 'Yesterday, not only you/I/we was/were lazy(, everyone was).'

There are both syntactic and semantic restrictions on this phenomenon. A syntactic prerequisite is that the reflexive has undergone object shift. The semantic/pragmatic prerequisite is that the 1st or 2nd person pronoun must be modified so that the discourse context implies a 3rd person referent.

The outline of the paper is as follows. The second and third sections outline object shift and long object shift (LOS), respectively. The section 4 introduces LOS and reflexives, and sections 5 and 6 concentrate on the 'quirky' LOS that we see in (1), and its properties. Section 7 outlines the problems of a strictly syntactic analysis, and section 8 deals with the problems of a purely semantic analysis. The section after that presents a different way to account for the Swedish data. The analysis makes use of some of the post-syntactic morphological processes that Bonet (1995) argues for

in her analysis of Romance clitics. The final section is a conclusion and a discussion about the syntactic differences we see between 1st and 2nd person reflexives and object pronouns, despite their similar forms in Swedish, and the consequences these differences have for the treatment of 3rd person features in syntax and morphology.

## 2. OBJECT SHIFT

The term OBJECT SHIFT is commonly used to refer to the placement of an object pronoun to the left of an adverb, such as negation, illustrated in (2a–a'). Only if the lexical verb has raised out of VP, as in (2b), is object shift possible (Holmberg, 1986, 1999; Vikner, 2005).

- (2) a. Personalen såg (\*tjuven) inte tjuven.  
*staff.the saw not thief.the*  
 'The staff didn't see the thief.'
- a.' Personalen såg honom inte.  
*staff.the saw him not*  
 'The staff didn't see him.'
- b. \*Personalen har honom inte sett.  
*staff.the has him not seen*  
 'The staff didn't see him.'
- b.' Personalen har inte sett honom.  
*staff.the has not seen him*  
 'The staff didn't see him.'

This interplay of verb movement and object shift is known as 'Holmberg's Generalization'.

## 3. LONG OBJECT SHIFT

The term LONG OBJECT SHIFT (LOS) is commonly used to refer to the placement of an object pronoun to the left of the subject, as in (3) (examples in (3a, b) are from Holmberg 1986).

- (3) a. Varför gör **mej** Helge alltid så irriterad?  
*why makes me Helge always so irritated*  
 'Why does Helge always make me so irritated?'
- b. Gav **dej** snuten körkortet tillbaka?  
*gave you cops.the driving licence.the back*  
 'Did the cops give you your driving licence back?'
- c. Varför gör **mej** HON alltid så irriterad?  
*why makes me she always so irritated*  
 'Why does SHE always make me so irritated?'

It is clear from the examples in (3) that 1st and 2nd person pronouns can undergo LOS. The next section takes a closer look at reflexives and LOS.

#### 4. LOS AND REFLEXIVES

Holmberg (1986), Josefsson (1992) and Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson (1999) all claim that weak (unstressed) reflexives can undergo LONG OBJECT SHIFT, as in (4a–b). The reflexive pronoun can even precede, i.e. raise above a (focused) subject pronoun, as in (4c).<sup>1</sup> This does not hold for all reflexives, as is evident in (5).

- (4) a. Varför gömde sej barnen?  
*why hid REFL.3RD kids.the*  
 ‘Why did the kids hide?’
- b. Igår latade sej Lisa (inte).  
*yesterday was.lazy REFL.3RD Lisa not*  
 ‘Yesterday, Lisa was(n’t) lazy.’
- c. Förra veckan gifte sej HON.  
*last week married REFL.3RD she*  
 ‘Last week SHE got married.’
- (5) a. \*Förra veckan gifte mej JAG.  
*last week married REFL.1ST I*  
 ‘Last week I got married.’
- a.’ Förra veckan gifte JAG mej.  
*last week married I REFL.1ST*  
 ‘Last week I got married.’
- b. \*Förra veckan gifte dej DU.  
*last week married REFL.2ND you*  
 ‘Last week YOU got married.’
- b.’ Förra veckan gifte DU dej.  
*last week married you REFL.2ND*  
 ‘Last week YOU got married.’
- c. \*Förra veckan gifte er NI.  
*last week married REFL.2ND.PL you.PL*  
 ‘Last week YOU got married.’
- d. \*Förra veckan gifte oss VI.  
*last week married REFL.1ST.PL we*  
 ‘Last week WE got married.’

The conclusion we can draw from (5) is that long object shift is not allowed with 1st and 2nd person reflexives. Recall from (3) that it is possible with 1st and 2nd person object pronouns. Note that Swedish object pronouns and reflexive pronouns have the same forms in 1st and 2nd person. This similarity in form has led some people to treat all these items as members of the same pronoun category. I will return to this similarity in section 10.

## 5. QUIRKY LOS

We now return to the mismatch in agreement that we saw in sentence (1). The following sentences show that long object shift of reflexives is possible with 1st and 2nd person antecedents, but the funny thing is that the reflexive has to be 3rd person. I use the term QUIRKY LOS to refer to constructions involving long object shift and no person-agreement between the reflexive and its antecedent.<sup>2</sup>

- (6) a. Förra veckan gifte sej inte bara jag (Nisse gjorde det med).  
*last week married REFL.3RD not only I Nisse did it too*  
 ‘Last week, not only I got married(, Nisse did it too).’
- b. Igår latade sej inte bara du(, alla gjorde det).  
*yesterday were.lazy REFL.3RD not only you everyone did it*  
 ‘Yesterday, not only you were lazy(, everyone was).’
- c. Kanske satte sej inte bara vi och vilade.  
*maybe sat REFL.3RD not only we and rested*  
 ‘Maybe not only we sat down and rested.’
- d. Givetvis lade sej inte enbart ni alldeles försent.  
*of.course lay REFL.3RD not only you.PL much too late*  
 ‘Of course, not only you went to bed much too late.’

There are more requirements on the LOS of 1st and 2nd person reflexives. The next section deals with the conditions that must hold on the antecedent in this construction.

## 6. PROPERTIES OF QUIRKY LOS

### 6.1 The antecedent must be modified

In order for the reflexive to be shifted to the left of the subject, the antecedent must be modified in a way that presupposes a 3rd person in the discourse context.<sup>3</sup>

- (7) a. \*Igår latade sej du och jag.  
*yesterday were.lazy REFL.3RD you and I*  
 ‘Yesterday you and me were lazy.’
- b. Igår latade sej inte bara du och jag.  
*yesterday were.lazy REFL.3RD not only you and I*  
 ‘Yesterday not only you and me were lazy.’
- c. \*Förra gången satte sej vi allihop och vilade.  
*last time sat REFL.3RD we all and rested*  
 ‘Last time, we all sat down and had a rest.’
- d. Förra gången satte sej vi och dom och latade  
*last time sat REFL.3RD we and they and were.lazy*  
 OSS.  
*REFL.1ST.PL*  
 ‘Last time, both we and them sat down and had a rest.’

- e. \*Igår latade sej JAG.  
*yesterday was.lazy REFL.3RD I*  
 ‘Yesterday I was lazy.’

Coordination such as in (7a) is not enough, but if the antecedent is modified as in (7b), long object shift of the reflexive is possible. Given (7c), it is clear that a quantifier such as *allihop* ‘all’, which does not imply a 3rd person in the context, is not enough to license LOS of the reflexive. It is also possible to shift when the antecedent contains an explicit 3rd person as in (7d), even though the whole coordinated DP is 1st person plural, which is evident from the second reflexive *oss* ‘ourselves’. In contrast to 3rd person reflexives (see (4c), repeated below), a focused antecedent is not enough to license LOS of 1st and 2nd person reflexives, as seen in (7e).

- (4) c. Förra veckan gifte sej HON.  
*last week married REFL.3RD she*  
 ‘Last week SHE got married.’

## 6.2 ‘Heaviness’ is not the cause

It is tempting to attribute the modification to heaviness. But other modifications that make the antecedent heavier do not allow for the mismatch:

- (8) a. \*Inte slog sej väl du som är så stark?  
*not hurt REFL.3RD DISC.PART you who are so strong*  
 ‘You, who are so strong, didn’t hurt yourself, did you?’  
 b. \*Inte slog väl dej du som är så stark?  
*not hurt DISC.PART REFL.2ND you who are so strong*  
 ‘You, who are so strong, didn’t hurt yourself, did you?’  
 c. Inte slog väl du dej som är så stark?  
*not hurt DISC.PART you REFL.2ND who are so strong*  
 ‘You, who are so strong, didn’t hurt yourself, did you?’

As the examples in (8) show, a postponed relative clause is possible, (8c), but the reflexive cannot undergo LOS, no matter what form it has, (8a, b). Consequently heaviness plays a role in the ordering of elements in the right periphery, in this case the position of the relative clause. However, the heaviness of the antecedent does not play a role in the case of long object shift of reflexives.

## 6.3 The reflexive must precede the antecedent

If the reflexive does not precede or c-command the antecedent, there must be agreement between them, (9). Note that if the reflexive precedes the antecedent, the reflexive must be 3rd person *sej* (which is not marked for number).

- (9) a. Igår latade sej inte bara du(, alla gjorde det).  
*yesterday were.lazy REFL.3RD not only you everyone was*  
 ‘Yesterday, not only you were lazy(, everyone was).’
- b. \*Igår latade dej inte bara du(, alla gjorde det).  
*yesterday were.lazy REFL.2ND not only you everyone was*  
 ‘Yesterday, not only you were lazy(, everyone was).’
- c. \*Igår latade inte bara du sej(, alla gjorde det).  
*yesterday were.lazy not only you REFL.3RD everyone was*  
 ‘Yesterday, not only you were lazy(, everyone was).’
- d. Igår latade inte bara du dej(, alla gjorde det).  
*yesterday were.lazy not only you REFL.2ND everyone was*  
 ‘Yesterday, not only you were lazy(, everyone was).’

Only in the case where the reflexive has undergone LOS do we get this disagreement. In (10), where the reflexive is topicalized, there must be agreement between reflexive and antecedent, even though the reflexive precedes the antecedent.

- (10) a. Dig själv kan du inte hjälpa.  
*REFL.2ND self can you not help*  
 ‘You can’t help yourself.’
- b. \*Sig själv kan du inte hjälpa.  
*REFL.3RD self can you not help*  
 ‘You can’t help oneself.’

In addition, there must be  $\varphi$ -feature agreement in cases where the reflexive is in the position of LOS but the subject has raised to a position further to the left, presumably spec-CP, and therefore precedes the reflexive:

- (11) a. \*Inte bara du latade sej igår.  
*not only you were.lazy REFL.3RD yesterday*  
 ‘Not only you were lazy yesterday.’
- b. Inte bara du latade dej igår.  
*not only you were.lazy REFL.2ND yesterday*  
 ‘Not only you were lazy yesterday.’

Thus, not only must the reflexive be in a position of long object shift, it must also precede the subject and presumably be adjacent to it.<sup>4</sup>

## 6.4 Summary

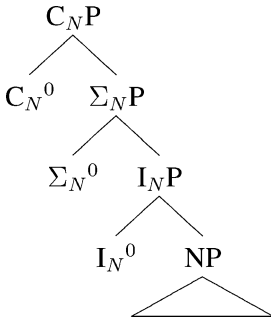
In quirky long object shift:

- (i) the antecedent must be modified in a way that implies a 3rd person;
- (ii) the reflexive must precede the antecedent (if it does not, we have  $\varphi$ -feature agreement with all persons);
- (iii) the reflexive must be 3rd person, irrespective of the features of the antecedent.

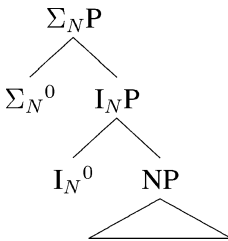
**7. A SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS**

Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) make a distinction between three types of pronouns: strong pronouns, weak pronouns, and clitics, illustrated in (12).<sup>5</sup> Their basic claim is that the more structure a pronoun is missing, the further up it must move to recover its structure. Clitics lack the most structure and will, as a consequence, move furthest.

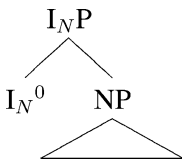
(12) a. *Strong pronouns*



b. *Weak pronouns*



c. *Clitic pronouns*



The structure of weak elements is thus a ‘peeled’ structure of the next higher strong element. The reason a deficient element is chosen over a more structurally complex one is, according to Cardinaletti & Starke (1999:198), an ‘economy’ condition:

Economy of representations: Use as few projections as possible without the derivation crashing.

A possible analysis of quirky LOS is to assume that there is only one Swedish reflexive clitic, *sej*.<sup>6</sup> There is agreement between the antecedent and the reflexive at some point during the syntactic derivation, (13a), satisfying binding principle A

(see e.g. Reuland 2001; Heinat 2006 for analyses of binding involving Agree) but at lexical insertion there is only one clitic form available for the highest – i.e. the long object shifted – position.

- (13) a. subject [V P verb refl]  
 b. [CP verb refl subject . . .]

Thus, when we have the order in (13b), i.e. a long object shifted reflexive, *sej* is the only possible form to insert. However, this analysis fails to account for the fact that in order for the reflexive to long object shift across a 1st or 2nd person pronoun, the antecedent has to be modified, as we saw in section 6.1. Consequently, the prediction of this analysis is that sentences such as (14) are well formed.<sup>7</sup>

- (14) \*Igår latade sej JAG.  
*yesterday was.lazy REFL.3RD I*  
 ‘Yesterday I was lazy.’

## 8. A CONCEPTUAL SEMANTIC ANALYSIS

Since the antecedent must be modified in a way that implies a discourse context of 3rd person, it is tempting to try to account for the data in a semantically-oriented framework. In conceptual semantics (such as Jackendoff 1990), given a sentence like (15), the antecedent has approximately the conceptual structure as in (16) (notation from Culicover & Jackendoff 2005).

- (15) Inte bara jag klippte mej.  
*not only I cut me*  
 ‘Not only I cut my hair.’

- (16) [CUT ([not only 1st, but also [OTHERS]], REFL)]

Either, or both, of the parts of the subject arguments can appear in syntax (Culicover & Jackendoff 2005:381). However, assuming that [OTHER] is visible in the syntax would predict that sentence (17) is well formed, since the reflexive should be bound by OTHERS.

- (17) \*Igår klippte inte bara jag sej.  
*yesterday cut not only I REFL.3RD*  
 ‘Yesterday, not only I cut my hair.’

In (17), the reflexive hasn’t shifted but since the order between the reflexive and its antecedent is irrelevant in a semantic analysis, in contrast to a syntactic analysis, there is nothing that can rule out sentences with a mismatch in agreement with the reflexive in its base position.<sup>8</sup> The conclusion is that even though the implied 3rd person can be accounted for in this type of framework, a (conceptual) semantic analysis makes



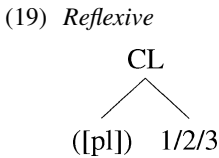
no distinction between the order of the antecedent and the reflexive, and this order has to be stipulated.

### 9. A MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

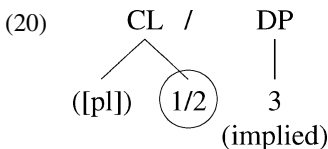
What seems to be needed in an account of the data involving the reflexive and LOS are morphological processes that take into consideration both the linear order of the reflexive and the antecedent, and the mismatch between their  $\varphi$ -features. In her analysis of Romance clitic clusters, Bonet (1995) makes use of exactly these kinds of processes. She wants to account for, among other things, the unexpected form *se* in (18a), from Spanish. The expected form is the dative clitic *le* we see in (18b).

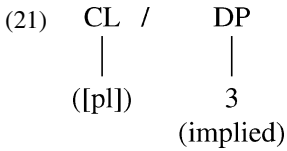
- (18) a. A Pedro, el premio **se lo** dieron ayer.  
*to Pedro the prize se 3RD.ACC gave.3RD.PL yesterday*  
 b. \*A Pedro, el premio **le lo** dieron ayer.  
*to Pedro the prize 3RD.DAT 3RD.ACC gave.3RD.PL yesterday*  
 ‘They gave the prize to Pedro yesterday.’

Bonet (1995) makes use of the morphological processes feature delinking (which may result in deletion) and feature insertion. These processes take place when certain types of clitics cluster. She also claims that ‘[p]ronominal clitics constitute hierarchical structures of unordered morphological features’ (p. 614). In line with Bonet’s assumptions about the structure of Romance clitics, I assume that the structure of Swedish reflexive pronouns/clitics is the following:<sup>9</sup>

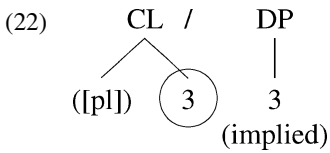


When the syntactic component gives the post-syntactic morphophonological component the order reflexive – antecedent, i.e. when the reflexive has undergone long object shift, as in (20), the following processes takes place: the 1st or 2nd person feature is first delinked and later deleted by stray erasure, (21) (from Bonet 1995:633). This is only possible if the antecedent has a 3rd person feature, implied or explicit, and there will be no delinking if the antecedent has 1st or 2nd person feature. Any sequence of a reflexive with 1st and 2nd person features and an antecedent with those features will be ruled out by morphological rules, in line with Bonet’s analysis.





Bonet claims that in addition to deleting features, it is possible to insert features into the clitic structure (Bonet 1995:631–633). What we find in Swedish, in (22), is that a 3rd person feature is inserted, just as in Bonet’s account of Italian, where she claims that a 1st person feature is inserted into clusters such as the one in (23).



- (23) a. \*Si si lava.  
*SI SI washes*  
 ‘One washes oneself.’
- b. Ci si lava.  
*ci(1PL) SI washes*  
 ‘One washes oneself.’
- c.
- |      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| Cl.  | / | Cl. |
|      |   |     |
| ARG  |   | ARG |
|      | / |     |
| [pl] | 1 |     |

In (23c), a feature 1st is inserted and since impersonals are inherently specified for plural (p.631) the resulting structure is the same as 1st person plural, i.e. *ci* ‘we’. In contrast to Bonet’s analysis of Italian, we have a reason for why in Swedish a 3rd person feature is to be inserted into the structure in (22). This feature is only licensed in a context where a third person is implied. Since this feature is inserted in the morphophonological component, it has no effect on agreement relations in the syntax. Also, the fact that the insertion of features has to be licensed somehow (contra Bonet) accounts for the fact that *sej* can never precede antecedents that fail to imply a 3rd person.<sup>10</sup>

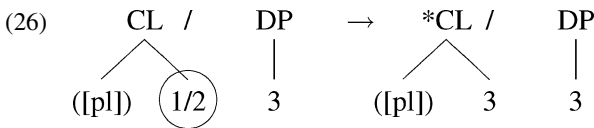
## 10. CONSEQUENCES

One conclusion we can draw from the feature mismatch between antecedent and reflexives that we have seen in this paper is that there is a difference between 1st

and 2nd person pronouns and 1st and 2nd person reflexives. If these two types of pronoun were the same, as, for example, Reuland (2001:464–465) claims, we would expect this mismatch in agreement also in sentences such as (24), exemplified in (25), where a personal pronoun has long object shifted and is adjacent to a DP that not only implies but also syntactically has a 3rd person feature.

- (24) Sist gjorde mej syrran så oerhört irriterad.  
*last.time made me sister.the so incredibly irritated*  
 ‘Last time my sister made me so incredibly irritated.’
- (25) \*Sist gjorde sej syrran så oerhört irriterad.  
*last.time made REFL.3RD sister so incredibly irritated*  
 ‘Last time my sister made me so incredibly irritated.’

In (25), we have the following linear order:



Delinking of the 1st or 2nd person feature and insertion of the 3rd person feature are not allowed, and this indicates that there is a difference between 1st and 2nd person pronouns and reflexives. Only reflexives can have their person features delinked. Exactly what this difference is is not the topic of this paper, but see Heinat (2006) for an analysis where the difference between reflexive and personal pronouns lies in the internal syntactic structure of the two types of pronoun.

Another conclusion is that the quirky long object shifted *sej* in Swedish supports Nevins (2007) claims that some morphophonological processes cannot be accounted for without making reference to a 3rd person feature, even if it seems to be possible to do so in the syntax. In the case of Swedish it is obvious that the delinking and deletion of the reflexive’s person features can only happen in the context of a 3rd person feature even if that feature is not visible to agreement effects in the syntactic derivation. Also the 3rd person feature that is inserted in the structure of the reflexive cannot be visible in the syntax. Consequently, both the delinking and the insertion make reference to a third person and they both take place as post-syntactic morphological processes.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## NOTES

1. Since the focused subject *hon* is in subject position (spec-TP), the reflexive must have undergone LOS.
2. The sentences in (6) have been tested on approximately twenty native speakers of Swedish. They all agree that there is a scale of acceptance concerning LOS and the agreement of the reflexive. The uncontroversial combination is agreement and no LOS. The second best is a long object shifted reflexive and no agreement, i.e. what I call quirky LOS. Third, and worst, is LOS and agreement, and no LOS and no agreement.
3. Andrew Nevins (personal communication, April 2008) and a reviewer point out that perhaps it is not third person but quantification that matters (see Kratzer 1998; Stechow 2003). Most examples involve quantifiers but there are cases with coordination that allow for the mismatch, (7d) for example, does not involve quantification. Also, when the modification is a quantifier that does not presuppose a 3rd person interpretation, as in (7c), quirky LOS is not possible. Quantification often implies a third person but I think these two examples show that quantification per se is not what matters.
4. It is difficult to say whether the reflexives in (11) have undergone LOS or only object shift since the difference between them can only be seen in the object's position relative to the subject when the subject is in spec-TP.
5. Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) assume that the functional projections are the same in the verbal and the nominal domain. The subscript N in (12) indicates the nominal domain.
6. This analysis was suggested in Heinat (2005). At that time I was not aware of the third person effect.
7. One reviewer suggests that the phenomenon can be accounted for in distributed morphology, since in that framework the shifted object could get different forms depending on what head position it is in at Spell-out. It is uncontroversial to assume that the shifted and the non-shifted objects are in different structural positions. However, it is not obvious that object shift is head movement, which it has to be if the difference in form depends on different head positions (see Vikner 2005 for references). Also, in order to account for (14), the head position has to be sensitive to the modification. This requires two additional assumptions. Firstly, the structure and the types of heads of an unmodified and a modified subject must be assumed to be different. This is possibly the case concerning quantification, but probably not when it comes to coordinated DPs. Secondly, and this is very controversial, it must be assumed that the shifted object moves into one of the heads in the modified subject DP, or it will not be in a head position different from a shifted object with an unmodified antecedent. In those analyses, where the shifted object undergoes head movement (Holmberg, 1991; Bobaljik & Jonas 1996, among others), it always moves in the verbal domain, not into the subject DP. Also, moving the reflexive into the subject DP predicts that the reflexive would move with the subject if the subject is topicalized. This is impossible, as (i) shows.

- (i) \*Sej        inte bara du    latade    igår.  
               REFL.3RD not only you were.lazy yesterday  
               'Not only you were lazy yesterday.'

8. It is not a general condition in Swedish that the implied conceptual structure argument is absent in the syntax:

- (i) Bord åtta har satt sej och dom vill beställa dricka.  
*table eight has sat REFL.3RD and they want to order drinks*  
 'Table eight has sat down and they want to order their drinks.'

(i') [SIT ([PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH [TABLE EIGHT]], REFL)]

In (i) it has to be [PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH [TABLE EIGHT]] that binds the reflexive and not [TABLE EIGHT], which is the overt expression, since a table cannot sit down, whereas people can.

9. Bonet (1995) claims that there is one more level between CL and the  $\varphi$ -feature, namely ARG, a projection connected to argument position, but not an argument per se. In the analysis presented in this paper, I do not think that the presence or absence of ARG is of any importance. The reason it is not included in (19) is that the argument status of reflexives is debatable, and beside the point of this paper. The distinction between different types of pronouns, in terms of weak, strong, clitic is not relevant in this paper.
10. One reviewer suggests that the feature insertion in (22) is not necessary since the absence of person features could be assumed to be 3rd person by default. This seems to be an alternative analysis, in which there is no need for an otherwise controversial feature insertion.

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