

Four kinds of object symmetry

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Abstract: This paper examines cross-speaker and cross-dialectal variation in object symmetry effects in three Germanic languages, English, Norwegian and Swedish. We argue that object symmetry effects are not a unified phenomenon, but rather that the availability of locality obviating theme movement out of applicative structures has different sources in different constructions. Both case-based and locality-based explanations are needed to model the attested variation. An additional goal of the paper is to describe a new shape conservation effect in object shift contexts. Theme-goal orders in Norwegian object shift obtains if and only if the theme and goal invert vP-internally. This effect is predicted by Fox and Pesetsky's (2005) Cyclic Linearization model.

Keywords: passive; applicative; locality; A-movement; linearization

1. Introduction

This paper focuses on the passive symmetry problem, that is, the problem of explaining cross-linguistic variation in the availability of passive movement out of double object constructions (DOCs). A phenomenon much studied in the comparative syntactic literature of the last three decades is that languages with DOCs fall into one of two main classes with respect to passive movement. One class of language, typically called "asymmetric passive" languages, allows for passivization of goal arguments out of DOCs, but not theme arguments. We illustrate this in (1) from one such language, Danish:

- (1) (a) Jeg blev givet fem ting.
I was given five things
"I was given five things." [Goal passives]
- (b) *Fem ting blev givet mig.
five things were given me
"Five things were given me." [Theme passives]

A second class of languages, typically called “symmetric passive” languages allows for passivization of both theme and goal arguments out of DOCs as illustrated in the Norwegian example in (2).

- (2) (a) Jeg ble gitt Paralgin Forte.
 I was given Paralgin Forte
 “I was given Paralgin Forte.” [Goal passives]
- (b) Lånet ble gitt Meg.
 the.loan was given me
 “The loan was given me.” [Theme passives]

The problem, then, is to understand the source of the cross-linguistic variation that makes theme passives bad in asymmetric passive languages but good in symmetric passive languages. The extensive generative literature on this topic has generally pursued one of two types of explanations. One approach, which we will call the *case-based approach* models the variation in terms of differences in the way that case is assigned to objects. In passive sentences, on this view, passive morphology “absorbs” case assigned to objects in active contexts, and the case-less object instead receives nominative case and raises to TP (Baker 1988, Woolford 1993, Citko 2008). In asymmetric passive languages, passive morphology can absorb the case destined for either the goal or the theme argument, with the result that either argument can raise to subject position. In symmetric passive languages, only the case destined for the goal is absorbed, and hence only the goal may passivize.

A second approach to the variation between (1) and (2) is in terms of intervention and is often called the *locality approach* (Ura 1996, McGinnis 1998, Anagnostopoulou 2003). On this approach, what blocks theme passivization in asymmetric languages is intervention by the goal argument, whose categorial or phi-features block movement of the Theme to subjects position as in (3). What fixes this problem in symmetric passive languages is the availability of some locality obviating movement.

- (3) ***Passivisation of Theme is ruled out by Locality***
 [TP T [vP ... [Goal [F]... [Theme [F]]]]]

All previous work on the passive symmetry problem that we are aware of has (quite sensibly) pursued a single such explanandum providing a unified account of all object symmetry effects. Nevertheless, it could well be that multiple sources of variation exist, that is, that there are multiple types of (a)symmetric passive languages. This paper considers evidence from cross-dialectal variation in Germanic suggesting that, indeed, (at least) four different kinds of object symmetry exist. That is, there exist several different mechanisms in these varieties for moving the theme across the goal without violating locality.

The discussion is organized as follows. Section 2 discusses results from a judgment experiment with British English speakers reported in Haddican and Holmberg (2012). Section 3 reports results from a new experiment focusing on object symmetry effects in Norwegian. Section 4 discusses passive symmetry in Swedish.

2. British English

Several sources in the literature on passive symmetry have noted that some speakers of British English dialects accept theme passive sentences like (4) in addition to goal passive sentences like (5) (Anagnostopoulou 2003, Doggett 2004:95, McGinnis 1998:146-149, 2001, Ura 1996:169-176, Biggs 2013).

- (4) The ball was given the girl.
- (5) The girl was given the ball.

Less well described in the formal literature is the fact that some dialects of Northern and Western England also allow theme-goal orders in active contexts as in (6) (Doggett 2004, Haddican 2010, Haddican and Holmberg 2012, Biggs 2013, Myler 2013). In some dialects, these sentences behave like true double object constructions on standard diagnostics, including verb class restrictions, the availability of inanimate goals and Person Case Constraint effects. In other dialects, such sentences behave like prepositional dative constructions, perhaps with a silent TO preposition (Haddican 2010, Biggs 2013, Myler 2013).

- (6) The girl gave it me.

The dialects/speakers for which sentences like (6) behave like true DOCs suggest support for one version of the locality hypothesis. Ura (1996), McGinnis (1998) and Anagnostopoulou (2003) propose that theme passivization is fed by short, locality-obviating movement of the theme to an outer specifier of the same projection hosting the goal. From this intermediate position, the theme can raise to TP without crossing the goal argument as in (7). DOC examples such (6) suggest support for this approach in that they seem to provide independent evidence of short theme movement to a position above the goal.

- (7) ***Short theme movement on the locality approach***
[_{TP} Theme T [_{XP} ~~Theme~~ [Goal X ... [~~Theme~~]]]]

If, indeed, theme-goal ditransitives like (6) are related to theme-passives according to the approach illustrated in (7), then we expect the acceptability of these two sentence types to correlate across speakers. That is, speakers should accept theme passive sentences like (4) if and only if they accept theme-goal ditransitives. Haddican and Holmberg (2012) report on a judgment experiment with 136 native speakers of British English designed to test this prediction. The experiment crossed two factors: object order (theme-goal vs. goal-theme) and context (active vs. passive).¹ The results revealed a positive correlation between acceptance of theme-goal orders in passive and active contexts as expected on the locality approach. The data nevertheless suggest a richer inventory of grammars than the two-dialect distribution entailed by (7). In particular,

¹ To test whether theme-goal orders behaved as DOCs or prepositional datives, the experiment included a separate subdesign crossing object order (theme-goal vs. goal-theme) with verb class: “*donate*-class” verbs for which DOCs are typically poor and “*give*-class” verbs which allow them. Subjects for whom *donate*-class verbs were degraded in the theme-goal order were excluded from the analysis since, for these speakers theme-goal orders behaved as prepositional datives. See Haddican and Holmberg (2012) for experimental details.

accepting Theme-Goal passives entailed accepting theme-goal orders in active contexts, but not vice-versa. We summarize the pattern of responses in Table 1. Importantly, the fact that some speakers accept theme-goal orders in active but not passive contexts (Grammar 3-shaded) suggests that the derivation in (7) is insufficient to explain the facts. Some other parameter of variation appears required. The fourth possible pattern—acceptance of theme passives but not theme-goal orders in active contexts—is unattested in Haddican and Holmberg’s results.

Grammar	Theme-goal actives	Theme passives
1	*	*
2	Ok	Ok
3	Ok	*
4	*	Ok

Table 1. Availability of theme-goal orders in active and passive contexts (adapted from Haddican and Holmberg (2012))

As a starting point for our account, we note that, in active contexts, theme-goal ditransitives are accepted most readily when the theme argument is the weak pronoun, *it*. In the relevant dialects, theme-goal orders with stressed pronouns and full DPs are sharply degraded. Many speakers also find theme-goal orders with unstressed *it* better than *them*.

- (8) (a) They sent it the wrong person.
 (b) *She gave the books me.
 (c) *She gave THEM me.

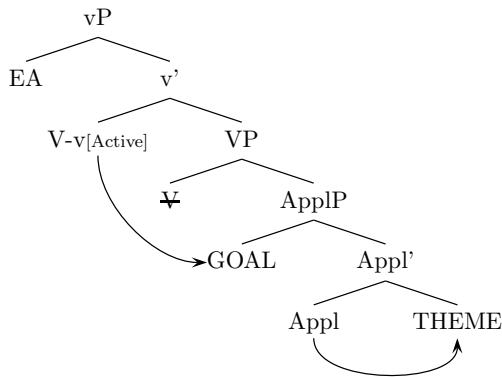
Haddican and Holmberg’s analysis has two main components. First, following Roberts (2010), they propose that theme-goal inversion in active contexts is derived by incorporation of the clitic pronoun *it* into its phi-probe—its source of case—which we take to be *v*. When the features on a phi-probe are a superset of those on a matching goal, the former becomes a copy of the latter through feature valuation, and is spelled out in position of the latter. This will be the case with weak pronouns like *it*, which consist exclusively of phi-features matching those on *v*. In the case of full DP objects which have additional content, agreement and valuation will not produce such identical copies in the position of the probe and goal, and the object will spell out in its lower position.

Second, Haddican and Holmberg propose that the locus of variation governing theme-goal orders in active and passive contexts is whether the “extra” source of case in double object constructions is Appl or rather a null prepositional head, labeled Linker (Lk) in Haddican and Holmberg (2012), that takes ApplP as its sister.

Let us now illustrate how these assumptions help to model the inventory of grammars in Table 1. We begin by considering the standard pattern, Grammar 1, where the objects are ordered theme-goal in both active and passive contexts. The analysis for such sentences is a fairly standard one. Here, in active contexts, Appl will agree with the theme and *v* will agree with the goal in the usual way. We illustrate this proposal in (10), which illustrates the lower portion of a standard English DOC sentence like (9). (Arrows denote probe-goal relations.)

(9) She gave the girl the ball.

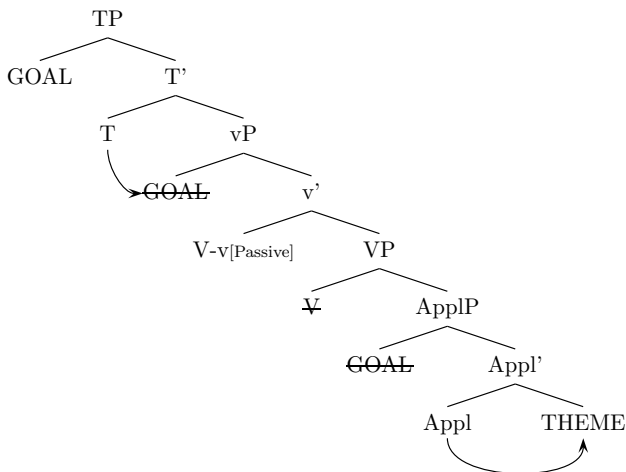
(10) **Grammar 1, active contexts**



In passive contexts, *v* is not a case assigner and no external argument (EA) is merged, so the goal argument raises to TP (via the edge of the *vP* phase), where it receives nominative case. We illustrate this in (12), which corresponds to a sentence like (11) (repeating (5)).

(11) The girl was given the ball.

(12) **Grammar 1, passive contexts**

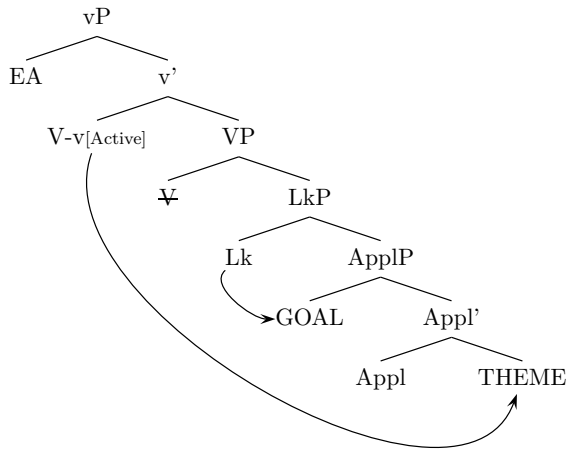


Grammar 2—the grammar of speakers with theme-goal orders in both active and passive contexts—will differ minimally from Grammar 1 in that the “extra” probe in

applicative contexts will be the linker morpheme, rather than Appl. (See Baker and Collins (2006) for an extensive discussion of such morphemes in Niger-Congo and Khoisan languages where these morphemes are overt.) When the linker morpheme is merged it will probe the closest element with unvalued matching features, namely the goal argument. The theme argument will be probed by *v* across the now inactive goal argument—that is, with no defective intervention effect (Richards 2004, Broekhuis 2007, Bruening forthcoming). In cases where the theme is the weak pronoun, *it*, it will incorporate into its probe, *v*, giving the order V-theme-goal as in (13) (which repeats (6)). We illustrate this proposal in (14).

(13) The girl gave it me.

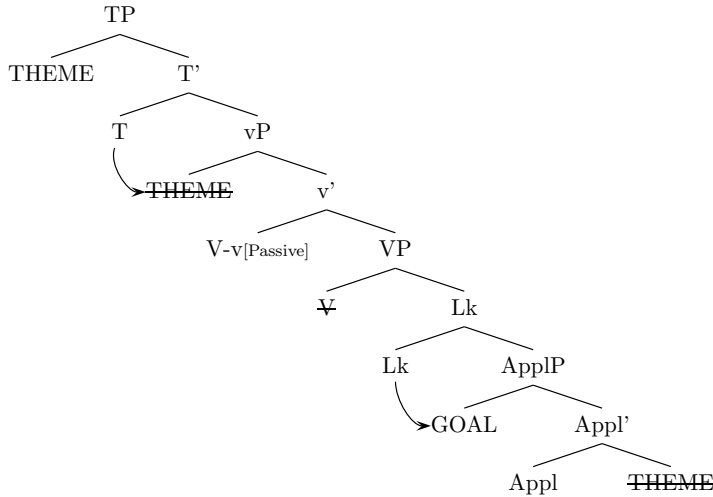
(14) **Grammar 2, active contexts**



In passive contexts, Grammar 2 will generate theme-passive sentences if, as we have proposed above for Grammar 1, *v* has an EPP feature that raises the theme—the goal being inactive—to *v*P. We illustrate this in (16) which derives the theme passive example in (15) (repeating (4)). Grammar 3—the pattern of speakers with theme-goal orders in active but not passive contexts—will differ from Grammar 2 in lacking an EPP feature on passive *v*. The theme will then be trapped in the lower phase and will not be able to raise to TP.

(15) The ball was given the girl.

(16) *Grammar 2, passive contexts*



The unattested Grammar 4—with theme-goal orders in passive but not active contexts—will be blocked on this approach, since the linker, which is crucial to the availability of theme-goal orders in passives, will necessarily allow for incorporation of weak pronouns on the assumptions introduced. A grammar producing theme-goal orders in passive but not active contexts, is therefore correctly excluded.

To summarize the discussion so far, we have described two ways of deriving object symmetry without violating locality. One such case involves active contexts, where a null linker morpheme together with clitic incorporation into a higher *v* produces verb-theme-goal surface orders in cases where the theme is a clitic. A second case involves passive contexts where movement of the theme to the edge of *vP* is possible because the goal is previously deactivated. We consider evidence for a third such mechanism in the following section focusing on Norwegian.

3. Norwegian

In the previous section, we considered one possible source of evidence in favor of the locality approach to theme passivization, namely the fact that some British English dialects with theme passives also permit theme-goal orders in active contexts. Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) argues for the locality approach based on a similar set of facts from Mainland Scandinavian languages. In particular, she notes a cross-linguistic correlation within these varieties between acceptance of theme passives and availability of theme-goal orders in object shift (OS), which we describe shortly. Norwegian and Swedish, which both allow theme passivization (Norwegian robustly, Swedish more marginally), also marginally allow for theme-goal orders in OS contexts. Danish, which does not have theme passivization, appears to lack theme-goal OS altogether. Anagnostopoulou (2003) takes these facts to indicate that the short theme movement in (7) that feeds theme passivization cross-linguistically also feeds theme-goal orders in Mainland Scandinavian. Where such short theme movement is not possible (e.g. Danish) theme-goal orders are excluded in both passives and OS.

Anagnostopoulou’s approach makes a strong prediction about cross-speaker variation, namely that the same speakers who accept theme-goal orders in OS will accept theme-goal orders in passives and vice-versa. In this section, we report on a recent judgment experiment with native speakers of Norwegian, similar to that just described for British English, designed to test this prediction.

Participants in the experiment were 500 self-described native speakers of Norwegian, 18-81 years old, recruited online by the researchers. We did not require subjects to be linguistically naïve.

The experiment crossed two factors: *object order*, with levels goal-theme theme-goal, and *context*, with three levels: passives, active OS and active non-OS. Object shift refers to contexts where the finite verb and pronominal objects raise out of VP, as diagnosed by their position relative to low adverbs. (17a) shows that the weak pronominal object *den* can raise out of the verb phrase—as shown by its position to the left of the negative adverbial *ikke*—but it can only do so if the verb also raises. (17b) shows that in the perfect, where the main verb stays inside the VP, the object cannot raise, but rather must stay in its first-merged position, as in (17c). The sensitivity of object shift to verb movement is typically referred to as “Holmberg’s Generalization” (Holmberg 1986).

(17) (a) Jeg så den ikke.
 I saw it not
 “I didn’t see it.”

(b) *Jeg har den ikke sett.
 I have it not seen
 “I haven’t seen it.”

(b) Jeg har ikke sett den.
 I have not seen it
 “I haven’t seen it.”

Along with passive sentences and OS sentences, the experiment included unshifted (non-OS) active sentences as baseline against which to compare acceptability of the two movement conditions. We summarize these six conditions in Table 2.

	Theme-goal	Goal-theme
Passives	Den ble gitt ham. It was given him “It was given him.”	Han ble gitt den. He was given it “He was given it.”
Active OS	Elsa ga den ham ikke. Elsa gave it him not “Elsa didn’t give it to him.”	Elsa ga ham den ikke. Elsa gave him it not “Elsa didn’t give it to him.”
Active non-OS	Elsa har ikke gitt den ham. Elsa has not given it him “Elsa hasn’t given it to him.”	Elsa har ikke gitt ham den. Elsa has not given him it “Elsa hasn’t given it to him.”

Table 1. Examples of six experimental conditions

All theme and goal arguments in the experiment were 3rd person pronouns. Theme and goal interpretations were biased using animate pronouns (to bias goals) and

inanimates (for themes). 12 lexicalizations were created for each of these six conditions and blocked and assigned to lists by latin square. Each subject saw four items per condition for a total of 24 critical items. (Each subject saw each lexicalization twice.) These 24 sentences were pseudo-randomized with 24 fillers, half of which were grammatical and half ungrammatical. Subjects were pseudo-randomly (using a counter mechanism) assigned to lists by the software used, Ibx Farm (Drummond 2013).

The experiment was self-paced, conducted online in the Spring of 2013. Subjects judged each sentence on an 11-point (0-10) scale with points arranged horizontally left to right and endpoints labeled *dårlig*, “bad” and *god*, “good”, respectively. Raw results were normalized by converting to z-scores based on by-speaker means and standard deviations of the filler scores.

Figure 1 plots mean scores and 95% confidence intervals for our six conditions. Zero on the y-axis corresponds to the mean scores for the fillers, half of which, again, were grammatical and half ungrammatical. Zero on the y-axis might therefore be taken as a rough midpoint of acceptability. The figure shows that theme-goal orders are on aggregate quite bad in the active conditions. In passives, on the other hand, both theme-goal and goal-theme orders are generally good, with theme-goal orders judged slightly better.

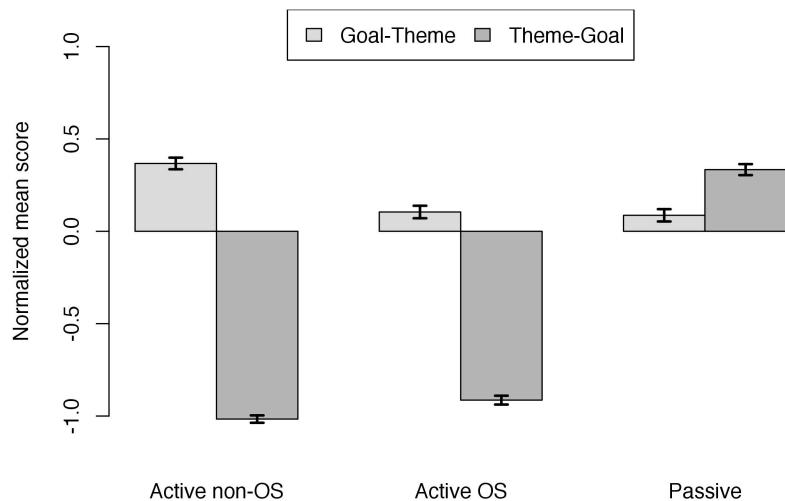


Figure 1. Mean scores and 95% CIs for six conditions

Figure 2 plots the comparisons most relevant for testing predictions of the locality hypothesis, namely by-subject correlations in acceptability scores of theme-goal orders in active and passive conditions. The x-axis in the two plots represents the by-subject contrast between theme-goal orders and goal-theme orders in OS and non-OS active conditions, that is, taking the mean normalized score for theme-goal orders minus the mean normalized score for goal-theme orders.² The y-axis corresponds to this same contrast in passive contexts. Zero on each axis—marked with a solid line in the plots—therefore corresponds to equal acceptance of theme-goal and goal-theme orders in each

² We chose this measure to control for variation across speakers in relative acceptability of passive vs. active sentences.

condition. The broken line is a regression line fit by ordinary least squares regression. The plots show no correlation across speakers in acceptance of theme-goal orders in active and passive contexts ($r=.01$, $p=.897$, for the active OS plot, $r=.06$, $p=.153$ for the non-OS plot).

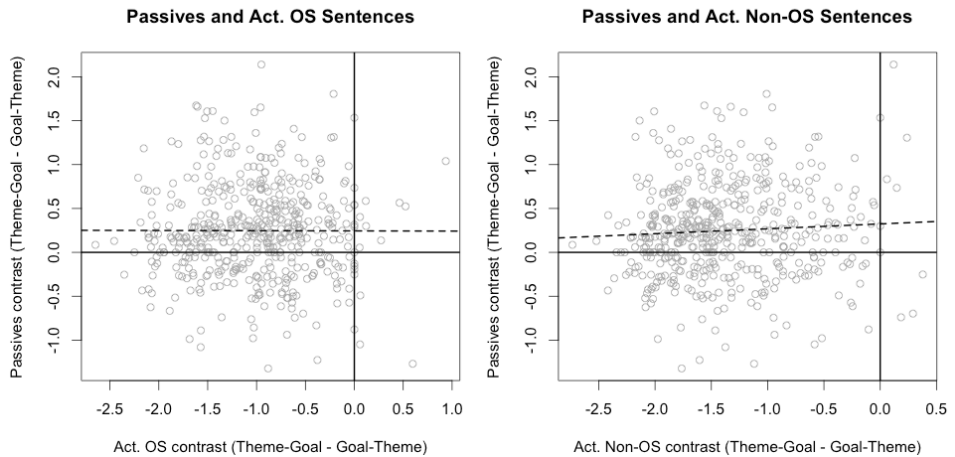


Figure 2. By-subject contrasts in actives and passives

Figure 3 plots the correlation between active OS and active non-OS scores (again, by-speaker contrasts between theme-goal and goal-theme orders). The figure shows a highly significant positive correlation between the two conditions ($r=.57$, $p<.0001$), indicating that participants tend to accept theme-goal orders in OS sentences if and only if they accept theme-goal orders in active non-OS sentences.

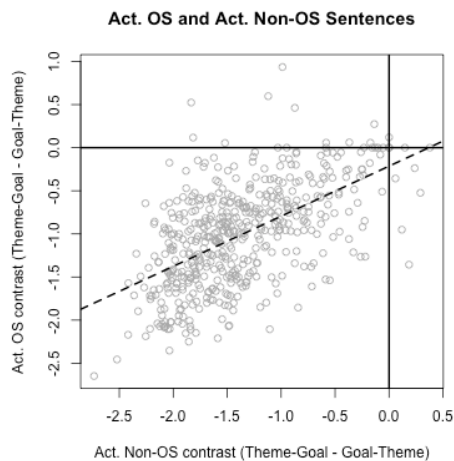


Figure 2. By-subject contrasts in OS and non-OS actives

The results in Figure 1, therefore, suggest no support for Anagnostopoulou’s proposal that short theme movement feeds theme-goal orders in both OS and passives. This approach, again, predicts a cross-speaker correlation in acceptance of theme-goal orders in these two contexts, contrary to the present results. The results from Figure 2, however, do support a relationship between theme-goal orders in OS and active non-OS contexts. In particular, the results suggest that the same movement operation responsible for theme-goal orders vP-internally—in non-OS contexts—feeds theme-goal orders in OS. Intriguingly, this object order preservation effect applies in the same environments (OS contexts) as HG, which preserves the relative order of verbs and objects.

One initially appealing approach to these order preservation facts is that some movement operation permutes the order of the objects vP-internally and that, in OS, a constituent containing these two elements raises them out of vP, as in (18).

(18) [_{TP} [_{XP} THEME GOAL] ... [_{XP} ~~THEME GOAL~~ THEME]]]

Nevertheless, the fact that shifted objects can be separated by an extra-VP adverb like *sjølsagt*, ‘obviously’, as in (19), suggests that objects do not raise as a constituent, but rather independently.

(19) Jeg ga ham sjølsagt den ikke.
 I gave him obviously it not
 “Obviously, I didn’t give it to him.”

We propose that these results are best expressed in terms of shape conservation, the idea that certain movement operations—in this case OS—cannot change the order of elements established by at a prior level (Sells 2001, Richards 2004, Fox and Pesetsky 2005, Engels and Vikner 2014). There are several different formal implementations of this idea, and here we adopt Fox & Pesetsky’s (2005) cyclic linearization proposal, originally formulated in view of Holmberg’s Generalization effects. Fox and Pesetsky propose that linearization maps precedence relations among syntactic objects that are established phase-by-phase. Extra-phasal movement cannot change a precedence relation between two syntactic objects established in a previous phase, since this would entail conflicting ordering relations for linearization:

(20) (a) [_{Phase2P} X Y [_{Phase1P} ✕ Y]] → X>Y
 (b) * [_{Phase2P} Y X [_{Phase1P} ✕ Y]] → X>Y, Y>X

OS appears to target a position outside of vP (which we take to be a phase), given that the landing site of OS is above negative adverbials like *ikke*. As Holmberg (1999:6) notes, the merged position of *ikke* appears to be above the first merged position of *have*-auxiliaries in embedded contexts, which lack verb movement, as in (21). Assuming that such auxiliaries are merged outside of vP, then such sentences suggest that *ikke*, and therefore the position targeted by OS, must also be outside vP.

(21) Det er mulig at Per ikke har kysset henne.
 It is possible that Per not has kissed her
 “It is possible that Per hasn’t kissed her.”

Given that OS is to a position outside the vP phase, Fox & Pesetsky’s proposal immediately provides the desired result, namely that theme-goal orders in OS are possible if and only if the theme and goal invert inside the lower phase. Let us assume, in particular, that theme-goal orders reflect theme movement to an outer spec of Appl. OS will then preserve the order of the objects, as illustrated in (22).

(22) [TP ... THEME ... GOAL [vP v ... [AppIP ~~THEME~~ [AppIP ~~GOAL~~ [Appl' Appl ~~THEME~~]

The results in Figure 2, again, suggest that theme passivization in Norwegian must be partly independent of the mechanism responsible for theme-goal orders in OS. We propose that theme-passivization is not fed by this short theme movement, but rather, like in British English, reflects variation in whether the extra case in applicative structures is located on Appl or a Linker head above ApplP, where it assigns case to the goal argument. In passives, v cannot assign case, but can probe and attract the theme across the deactivated goal, just as in (16) for British English passives.

The derivation of theme-goal orders in active (OS and non-OS) contexts in Norwegian, therefore differs from that for passive contexts and theme-goal orders in British English. Our analysis of the Norwegian actives results entail a third way of inverting object order in applicative structures without violating locality, namely raising the theme to an outer spec of the same ApplP in which the goal is merged. This proposal then, is close in spirit to the classic locality “escape hatch” solution as in (7) (Ura 1996, McGinnis 1998, Anagnostopoulou 2003).

The proposals for British English passives and theme-goal DOCs, as well as Norwegian passives have so far depended crucially on variation in the placement of the extra source of case in applicative constructions, that is, whether a linker morpheme is merged above ApplP. However, we have not so far provided any independent evidence for such a head. We suggest that evidence to this effect can be found in Swedish passives, which we turn to next.

4. Swedish

In Swedish, simple theme passive constructions like (23) are generally quite degraded with monomorphemic ditransitive verbs like *ge* ‘give’, though marginally acceptable for some speakers (Holmberg and Platzack 1995: 219).

(23) ??/*Bok-en gav-s mig.
 Book-the gave-PASS me
 “The book was given me.”

Holmberg and Platzack (1995:219-220) report that theme passives improve with bimorphemic verbs like *till-dela*, ‘award, lit. to-share’, *till-skriva*, ‘ascribe, lit. to-write’, and *för-ära* ‘award, lit. for honor’.

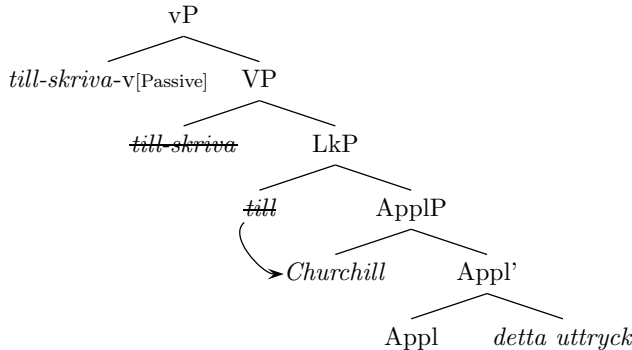
(24) Detta uttryck brukar till-skriva-s Churchill.
 This expression is.usually to-write-PASS Churchill
 “This expression is usually ascribed to Churchill.”

(25) Varning-en till-delade-s honom för sent.
 warning-the to-give-PASS him too late

“The warning was sent to him to late.”

We propose that Swedish has a prepositional linker head only as an accompaniment of certain verbs, that is, that the morphemes *till* and *för* in the above examples are merged as linker heads that later adjoin to their selecting verbs. The fact that theme passives are best with this class of bimorphemic verbs therefore suggests some morphological evidence for the linker morpheme proposal in sections 2 and 3. We illustrate this proposal in (26), which corresponds to the lower portion of (24).

(26) *Theme passives with bi-morphemic verbs in Swedish*



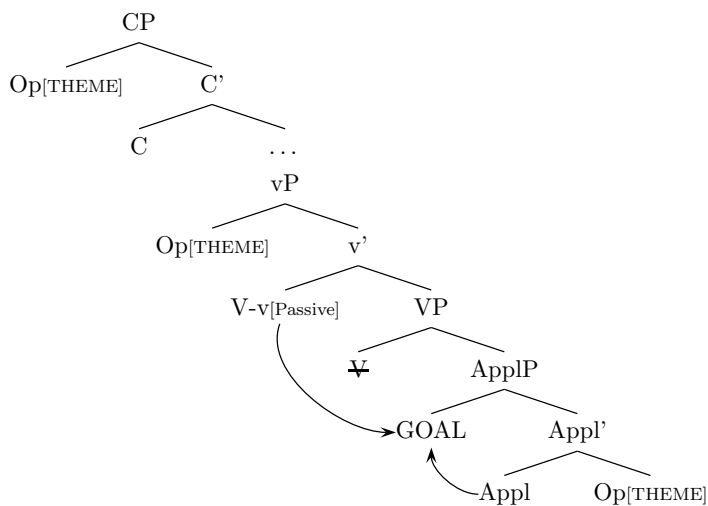
In addition, we note that with non-bimorphemic ditransitive verbs like *ge*, ‘give’, theme passives are better in relative clauses with a relativized theme than in non-relatives (like (23)).

- (27) Jag är så tacksam över allt som givit-s mej.
 I am so grateful for all that give-pass me
 “I’m so grateful for all that has been given me.”

The contrast between relative and non-relative contexts suggests that A-bar movement is crucial to the availability of theme-passivization. We propose that in non-relative ditransitive passives, *v* probes the theme and its EPP feature will attract the theme if and only if the goal argument is assigned case by the linker morpheme. In the object relative case, theme movement is not triggered by the EPP feature on *v*. Rather, the theme moves to the edge of vP because it is a silent operator. From this position, it can later raise to CP.

Something more, though, needs to be said to account for case on the goal in cases like (27). If, as we have proposed, applicative constructions with *give*-class verbs do not have a linker in Swedish, then some other source of case on the goal argument is needed. We suggest that the fact that *v* is not involved in the licensing of the theme means that it can probe the goal and together with Appl assign the “extra case” to it. In Danish, theme passives are unacceptable even in theme relatives, as might be expected given that Danish is a strictly asymmetric passive language. We suggest that the difference between Swedish and Danish is that the *v*-Appl combination is incapable of assigning case to the goal in Danish even in theme relatives.

(28) *Relative operator movement to spec, vP*



Swedish relative clauses, therefore, suggest a fourth way of circumventing locality in raising a theme argument past a goal in applicative constructions. Here, the theme can raise past the goal to the edge of vP because it is a silent operator.

5. Conclusions

This paper has focused on cross-speaker and cross-dialectal variation in object symmetry effects—the availability of locality obviating theme movement out of applicative constructions—in English, Swedish and Norwegian. We have argued that object symmetry is not a unified phenomenon, but rather that there are several different ways that locality can be circumvented. We have proposed that neither of the two principal models of objects symmetry effects—the case approach and the locality approach—are exclusively correct, but rather that both are needed to model the relevant facts across Germanic varieties.

A second goal of this paper has been to describe a shape conservation effect in OS contexts not previously reported in the literature. Judgment experiment results show that theme-goal orders in Norwegian OS contexts are available for just those speakers who also accept theme-goal orders in active non-OS contexts. This can be understood if theme-goal orders in OS are fed by short theme movement vP-internally. This object ordering constraint applies in the same environment that another, much better described ordering constraint applies, namely Holmberg's Generalization effects. We have shown

that these results are explained by Fox and Pesetsky's (2005) cyclic linearization proposal without further assumptions.

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