Object Gap in Icelandic and Short Object Movement[*]

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1. Introduction

Even though Icelandic does not allow for null objects in ordinary sentences, we can find them inside coordination, as the contrast in (1) shows:

(1)   Ég elska þig og   dýrka *e*
         I   love you and admire
        'I love you and admire you'

(2)   *Ég dýrka *e*
          I   admire
        'I admire you'

I will claim in this paper that the object gap in the second conjunct is the result of Across-the-Board movement of the object to a position outside the coordination. My arguments for giving this solution to the problem will lead me to propose that there is a position between vP and VP to which objects must move during the derivation. This short object movement is not seen in ordinary sentences because the verb moves across the object to attach to v, restoring the original VO order. I will argue that this position can be observed not only in object gap in Icelandic but in other constructions as well, such as particle constructions in English and OV word order in Zarma.

2. Object gap in Icelandic is movement

The construction I analyze in this paper involves coordinated phrases with a null object in the second conjunct. These sentences are grammatical in Icelandic, even though a null object in an ordinary sentence is not an option in the language. The contrast in (1) and (2) above illustrated this fact and the examples (3)-(6) below show that the null object can be seen in different environments, as long as it is in the second conjunct of a coordinate structure. [1]

(3)   Ég hjálpaði honum á fætur og fylgdi   (honum) heim til sin
        I   helped   him-D on feet and followed him-D   home to REFL
        "I helped him to his feet and followed him home"

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[1] Examples (1)-(4) are taken from Pouplier (2003) and Rögnvaldsson (1990b). My consultants agree with the judgments. Examples (5) and (6) are my own.

(4)   Ég þekkti hann vel og taldi   (hann) mjög heiðarlegan
       I   knew   him well and believed him-A very honest-A.m.sg
       'I knew him well and believed him to be very honest'

(5)   Jón tók   bókina upp og rétti   (hana) mér
       John picked the book up and handed it   me
       'John picked up the book and handed it to me'

(6)   Jón keypti bókina og setti (hana) í hilluna
       John bought the book and put   it   in the shelf
       'John bought the book and put it in the shelf'

The object gap seems to be connected to the absence of the subject in the second conjunct. The contrast in (7) and (8) below show that an object gap is only possible if there is also subject gap in the second conjunct.

OBJECT GAP REQUIRES SUBJECT GAP

(7)   a. Ég tók   blaðið   og braut   __ saman
          I   took the paper and folded (it) together

       b. *Ég tók   blaðið   og ég braut   __ saman
           I   took the-paper and I   folded (it) together
       'I took the paper and folded it together'

(8)   a. Jón kyssti Maríu og faðmaði __
          John kissed Mary and embraced (her)

       b. *Jón   kyssti Maríu og Pétur faðmaði __
           John kissed Mary and Peter embraced (her)
       'John kissed Mary and Peter embraced her'

The fact that object gap is only possible in coordination will be the starting point of my analysis. I propose that the gap in the second conjunct is the result of an operation restricted to coordination: Across-the-Board movement. It is not important for my proposal which theory of ATB movement is the correct one. What is important is that at some point in the derivation, the verb in both conjuncts had identical complements and that these complements are not in their base position anymore. The structure in (9) illustrates this:

ATB-MOVEMENT OF THE OBJECT:

(9)
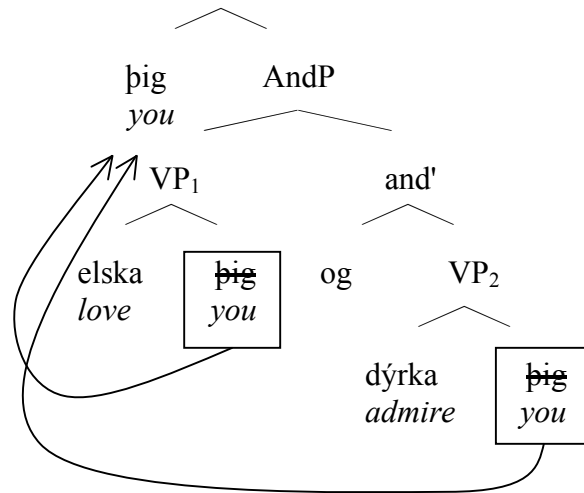
Under this analysis, the object gap is dependent on the subject gap because the coordination happens between phrases below TP. This analysis also accounts for another interesting fact about object gap in Icelandic. Apparently, the object in the second conjunct can only be missing if it receives the same case as the object in the first conjunct, as observed in examples (10)-(13):

THE CASE OF THE OBJECTS IN EACH CONJUNCT MUST MATCH:

(10)   Ég keypti sjónvarp og skilaði *(því) til eiganda sins
           I   bought the TV-A and returned it-D to owner its
          'I bought the TV and returned it to its owner'

(11)   Þeim finnst stelpan   aðlaðandi og vilja   giftast *(henni)
          they-D find the girl-N attractive and want to marry her-D
          "they find the girl attractive and want to marry her"

(12)   Þeir   sjá stúlkuna   og   finnst *(hún) álitleg
          they-N see the-girl-A   and finds   her-N attractive
          'They see the girl and think she is attractive'

(13)   Þeim   líkar bíllinn   og kaupa *(hann)
          They-D like the-car-N and buy   him-A
          'They like the car and buy it'

This is a property of ATB-movement discussed in Citko (2005), among others. She shows that an element in Polish can undergo ATB-movement only if it receives the same Case in both conjuncts. She gives the following examples:

(14) a.Kogo   Jan lubi *e*   a   Maria podziwia *e*?
     who.ACC Jan likes e.ACC and Maria admires e.ACC
     'Who does Jan like and Maria admire?'

     b.*Kogo/Komu   Jan lubi *e*   a   Maria ufa   *e*?
       who.ACC/DAT Jan likes e.ACC and Maria trusts e.DAT
       'Who does Jan like and Maria trust?'

In (14a), the verbs in both conjuncts assign the same case to the object and ATB-movement is possible. In (14b), the verb in each conjunct assigns a different case to its object and the object cannot ATB-move, neither with the Case from the first conjunct nor with the Case from the second conjunct. I propose that the same happens in Icelandic. Object gap is impossible if each object receives a different case in each conjunct because ATB-movement is impossible in this case. [2]

Once we assume that object gap is the result of ATB-movement, we must start to think about the details of this operation such that it results in the object missing from the second conjunct. In the next section I will discuss the height of coordination for these Icelandic sentences.

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[2] There are two potential counterexamples to the case-matching requirement. (i) is offered by Sigurðsson and Maling (2006; pg15, ex. (33a)), and it is an example collected from an Icelandic newspaper headline (mbl.is | 27.12.2005):
    (i)   __ stal bíl og __ eiðilagði __
               stole car and   destroyed
               'Stole a car and destroyed it'
In this example, the verb '*stal*' assigns dative to its object and the verb '*eiðilagði*' assigns accusative to its object. The objects in each conjunct receive a different Case, and nonetheless the object can gap from the second conjunct. One remarkable fact about case-matching in ATB-movement is that syncretic forms can be used where different Cases are required. (ii) is an example from Polish from Citko (2005):
    (ii)   a.*Czego/Co   Jan nienawidzi *e*   a   Maria lubi *e*?
             whom.GEN/ACC Jan hates   *e*.GEN and Maria likes *e*.ACC
             'Who does Jan hate and Maria like?'
            b.Kogo   Jan nienawidzi *e*   a   Maria lubi *e*?
             who.ACC/GEN Jan hates   *e*.GEN and Maria likes *e*.ACC
             'Whom does Jan hate and Maria like?'
Interestingly, '*bíl*' in (i) above is a syncretic form for both dative and accusative forms of the noun. I tested the sentence in (i) with my consultant together with (iii), in which '*bíl*' is substituted for the plural '*bílum*', which is exclusively dative. My consultant does not reject (iii) completely, but she prefers (i), suggesting that this analysis can be on the right track.
    (iii)   __ stal bílum og __ eiðilagði __
               stole cars and   destroyed
               'Stole cars and destroyed them'

The second counterexample to the case-mismatch property of object gap is the sentence in (iv), from Rögnvaldsson (1990; pg 375, ex. (34)). In this sentence, the verb in the first conjunct assigns dative to the object and the verb in the second conjunct assigns nominative to the object. I don't have anything to say about this sentence, except that my consultant rejects it with object gap.
    (iv)   Englendigar$_i$ drekka dökkan bjór$_j$ og e_i þikir e_j góður
            Englishmen   drink   dark   beer and find   good
            'Englishmen drink dark beer and find it is good'

3. Coordination below vP

In this section, I want to establish the position of coordination in the sentences with object gap. My claim is that the coordination in these sentences is between two VPs and I will argue for this by showing that object gaps are incompatible with coordination between higher phrases. All the data presented here are from my own fieldwork, unless otherwise specified.

One possibility is that in these sentences, the coordination is between two vPs, in a structure like (15):

(15)

```
                    TP
                  /    \
              Subj      T'
                      /    \
                    T       AndP
                          /      \
                        vP        and'
                      /   \      /    \
                 t_subj    v'  and     vP
                         /  \         /   \
                        v    VP   t_subj   v'
                           /  \          /   \
                          V   Obj       v     VP
                                             /  \
                                            V    Obj
```
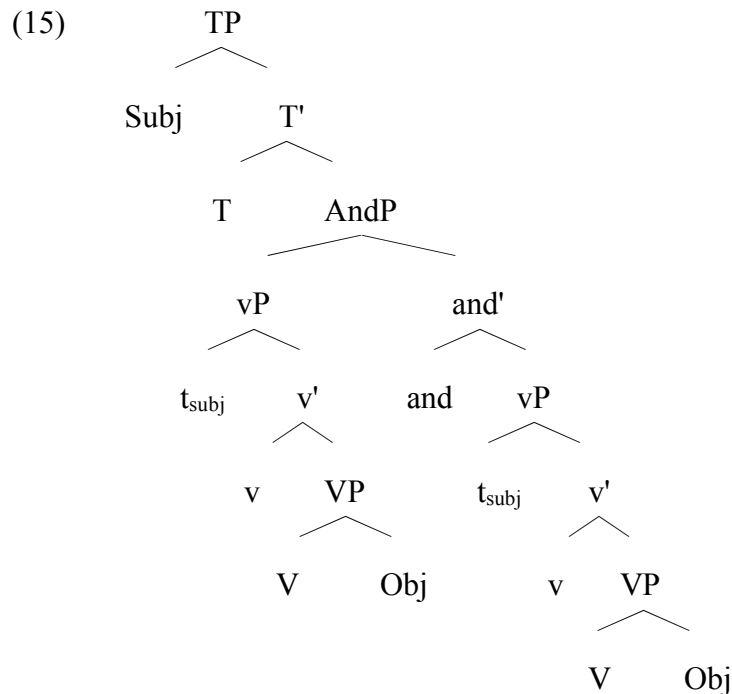
Because Icelandic is a V2 language, the verb always moves at least up to T. If we assume that the object gap is the result of ATB movement, it will have to move to a position between T and AndP.

3.1. Floating Quantifiers

In the structure (15), there are two original positions for the subject, one in each conjunct. The assumption here would be that the subject also moves ATB to specTP. So, if (15) were the structure for sentences with object gap, we would expect the possibility of subject floating quantifiers in each conjunct. The sentences in (16) show that this is not the case. Two FQs are possible only if the object doesn't gap:

(16)   a. *Strákarnir hótuðu   **allir** Joni og   skipaðu **allir** að fara
             the boys   threatened all   John and ordered all   to leave

b. Strákarnir hótuðu   **allir** Joni og   skipaðu honum **allir** að fara
   the boys   threatened all   John and ordered him   all   to leave
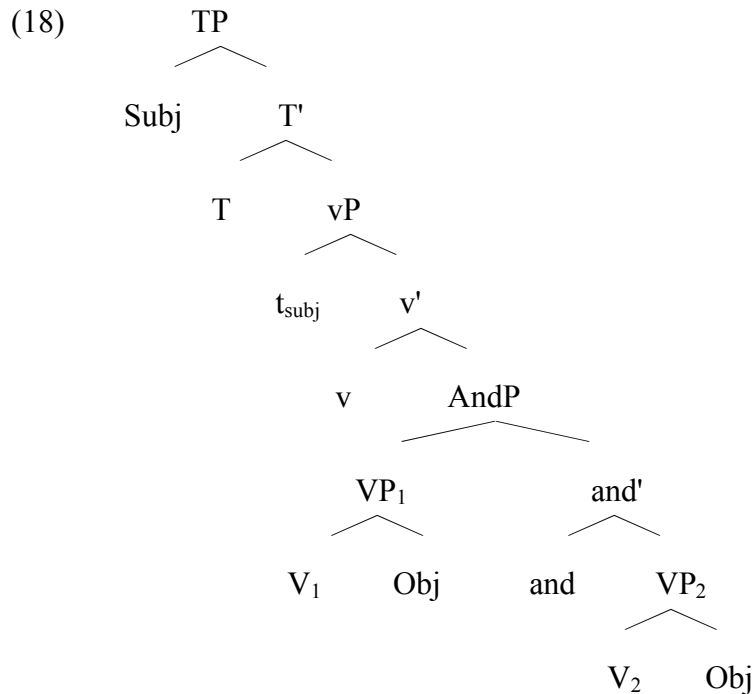"All the boys threatened John and ordered him to leave"

3.2. Negation

Another piece of evidence that the coordination is lower than vP comes from negation. Assuming that negation in Icelandic adjoins to vP, we would expect two positions for negation in the structure in (15), one on each vP. However, when there is an object gap, only one negation is possible, which takes scope over both conjuncts, as illustrated in (17):

(17)   a. Ég elska **ekki** Maríu og   dyrka
           I   love   not Mary and admire

        b. *Ég elska **ekki** Maríu og   dyrka   **ekki**
            I   love   not   Mary and admire not

        c. Ég elska **ekki** Maríu og   dyrka hana **ekki**
           I   love not   Mary and admire her   not
        "I don't love Mary and admire her"

These examples contrast with each other in two ways. First, (17a) and (17b) show that only one negation is possible when the object gaps. Second, (17b) and (17c) show that if the object doesn't gap, two negations are possible. (17a) also shows that negation with object gap can be above the object position. If we assume that the object is outside the coordination, as I am proposing in this paper, then we can only conclude that the coordination is between phrases below vP; and also that there is a position between the coordination and vP to which the object moves.

3.4. VP coordination

What we need is a structure in which there is only one position for the subject and also only one position for negation. What this tells us is that the structure for object gap has to be coordinated below vP. I propose that the structure for object gap is the one in (18) below, in which the coordination happens between two VPs.

(18)

```
              TP
            /    \
         Subj     T'
                /    \
               T      vP
                    /    \
                 t_subj   v'
                        /    \
                       v      AndP
                            /      \
                          VP₁       and'
                         /   \     /    \
                       V₁    Obj  and    VP₂
                                        /    \
                                      V₂     Obj
```

In this structure, there is only one subject position, so only one floating quantifier would be possible. Also, there is only one vP available for the negation to adjoin, so we can account for the facts in (17).

From this structure, the object inside both conjuncts undergoes ATB-movement to some position outside the coordination. The next section will discuss this position. First, I want to discuss a technical issue of my proposal. According to my analysis so far, the object moves outside both conjuncts, yielding the order [S O V_1 and V_2]. But this is not the order we get on the sentences we are investigating. The order of the sentences in Icelandic with object gap is [S V_1 O and V_2]. My proposal is that V_1 moves from the first conjunct to v (and from there to T) violating the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC).

Even though it may seem controversial to assume a movement that violates CSC, there is evidence in favor of some other instances of violation of this constraint. Lin (2001), for example, argues that A-movement can violate the CSC, provided that there is reconstruction of the moved element. Johnson (1996) also gives examples in which the subject of the first conjunct binds a pronoun inside the second conjunct. This can only be possible if the subject moves outside the first conjunct only, also violating the CSC. I will assume, then, that the verb moving outside the first conjunct in my analysis of object gap in Icelandic is another instance of CSC violation. [3]

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[3] I don't want to go too far in the discussion about verb movement always violating the CSC or only on special occasions. I'd like to speculate, though, that v in Icelandic (and I would claim the same for other languages that require obligatory V-to-v movement) has some feature that requires a verb to attach to it. In the case of coordinated VPs, v probes inside both conjuncts and valuates the features of both verbs, but it still needs a verb to raise to it. If the two conjuncts have the same verb, both verbs may move ATB, but in the case where the conjuncts have different verbs, only one of the verbs can move, probably because of some constraint against two heads moving to the same head. As I said, this is only speculation.

After moving to v, V_1 moves higher in the structure, at least up to T. So, there are at least two positions for the verb in the final structure: attached to v, or to T; which leaves us with at least two positions where the object could move to (and still follow the verb): somewhere between vP and VP, or somewhere between TP and vP. Defining this position is the topic of the next section.

4. Short object movement

In this section, I will discuss object movement. As I mentioned previously, there are two positions to which the object can move and still follow the verb: right above vP, or right above VP. The first position (above vP) is the one occupied by objects in Object Shift constructions and it would be a good result if the possibility of object gap matched the possibility of Object Shift. I will first discuss this idea and move to the other possibility as I show that object gap cannot be reduced to ATB Object Shift.

4.1. The movement is not object shift

Icelandic is a language with productive Object Shift. In fact, it is the only Germanic language with Object Shift not only of pronouns, but also of full DPs. Object Shift is claimed to move the object to a position above vP (and negation) and below TP. So, it seems quite appealing to try to account for object gap as an instance of Object Shift. Object gap inside coordination would be the result of ATB Object Shift. If this were the case, object gap should present the same restrictions as Object Shift.

One restriction of Object Shift is that it is dependent on the verb moving outside vP. In Icelandic, the verb always moves (at least) to T, because it is a V2 language. What indicates the position of the object, then, is the position of negation, which is attached to vP. If negation follows the object, it indicates that the object has shifted over vP. If the object follows negation, it indicates that it didn't leave the vP. These two possibilities are illustrated in (19).[4] If object gap were the result of ATB OS, negation should always follow the object in a object gap construction. However, we find sentences like (20a), with the object following negation, indicating that the object did not leave the vP.

(19) a. *Object-Shift – object is outside vP*
      Nemandinn las **bókina** ekki
      the student read the book not

      b. *No Object-Shift – object is inside vP*
      Nemandinn las ekki **bókina**
      the student read not the book
      'The student doesn't read the book'

(20) a. *Object inside vP: it follows negation*
      Ég tók ekki **blaðið** og braut saman
      I took not the paper and folded together

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[4] Most of the examples on Object Shift were taken from Thráinsson (2001).

b. *Object outside vP: it precedes negation*
Ég tók **blaðið**   ekki og braut saman
I   took the paper not   and folded together

There are cases in which the verb does not move from v to T: when there is an auxiliary in the sentence. In this case object shift is impossible, as illustrated in (21):

(21)   *No Object-Shift because the verb doesn't move*
a. Jón   hefur ekki lesið **bókina**
John has   not   read the book

b. *Jón hefur **bókina**   ekki lesið
John has the book not   read

If the object gap were the result of ATB object shift, we shouldn't expect to see object gap in sentences with auxiliaries. However, the object gap is allowed in this context:

(22)   Jón   mun kaupa bókina   og   setja __ í hilluna
John will buy   the book and put   on the shelf

Object Shift is also restricted to definite nouns. The object gap, however can apply to indefinite nouns. We can see the contrast in (38):

(23)   a. Hún keypti ekki kaffi
she bought not   coffee

b. *Hún keypti kaffi   ekki
She bought coffee not
'She didn't buy coffee'

(24)   Hún keypti ekki kaffi og geymdi (það)
She bought not coffee and stored it
'She didn't buy coffee and store it'

The data above shows that the object gap is allowed in several environments in which object shift is not permitted. I believe it is safe to conclude then that object gap is not the result of ATB object shift.

4.2. Adverb Placement

The fact that the object can follow negation in (20a) indicates that the position to which the object moves in object gap constructions is below vP. Another indication that the object moves inside vP comes from the interaction of adverb placement and object gap. Let's assume that a low adverb, such as *quickly* can adjoin to two positions: vP or
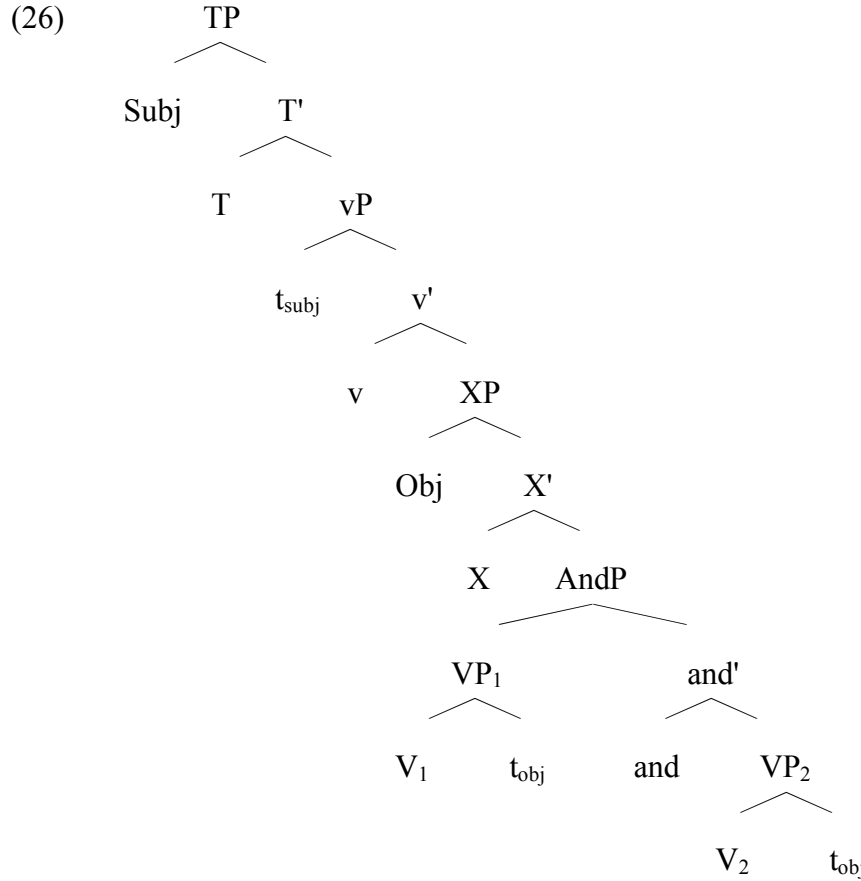
VP. If the object moves higher than vP, it will precede the adverb in any case and if it moves lower than vP, it will precede the adverb when this is adjoined to VP and follow the adverb when this is adjoined to vP. The sentences in (25) show that the object can either precede or follow the adverb.

(25)   a. Jón tók   boltann fljótlega upp og kastaði   *e*
             John picked the ball quickly up and threw away
          'John picked up the ball quickly and threw it away'

       b. Jón tók   fljótlega boltann upp og kastaði   *e*
             John picked quickly the ball up   and threw away
          'John quickly picked up the ball and threw it away'

Scope facts can be brought into play to reinforce the position of the object in each sentence. If one assumes, as I am assuming here, that the coordination in these sentences is at the VP level, an adverb to VP will be located inside the coordination and will have scope only over this VP and not over the whole coordination phrase. This is exactly the result we have in (25a), where 'fljótlega' (*quickly*) scopes only over the first conjunct. Only the act of picking up the ball was quickly and not the one of throwing it away. On the other hand, if the adverb is adjoined to vP, it will be located above the coordination and can scope over both conjuncts. This is exemplified in (25b), in which the adverb scopes over both conjuncts.

4.3. Proposal: Short Object Movement

Given these facts, I would like to propose that there is a position between VP and vP to which the object moves. This movement is usually masked in most sentences because the movement of the object is followed by the movement of the verb to v, restoring the SVO order. However, in cases in which the verb doesn't move, the short object movement can be observed. In the object gap constructions in Icelandic, only the verb in the first conjunct moves to v, which makes the verb inside the second conjunct follow the object. Going back to the structure in (18) in section 3, I would like to propose the more detailed structure in (26) below with a position for the short object movement:

(26)

```
                TP
            ╱        ╲
        Subj          T'
                   ╱      ╲
                  T         vP
                         ╱      ╲
                     t_subj       v'
                              ╱      ╲
                             v        XP
                                   ╱      ╲
                                 Obj        X'
                                         ╱      ╲
                                        X        AndP
                                             ╱        ╲
                                          VP₁          and'
                                        ╱    ╲        ╱    ╲
                                      V₁     t_obj   and     VP₂
                                                          ╱    ╲
                                                         V₂     t_obj
```

At this point, I want to propose that there is actually a head above VP that hosts the object, and I will call this head X because I don't know its nature. It is not important for my argument to establish which head X is, nor the reason for the object movement. Based on the data I present here, I believe that there is reason to propose the movement of the object to a position between VP and vP, independent of which head X is.

5. Other instances of observable short object movement

In this section, I will discuss a few other cases in which I would like to claim that there is short object movement. As I pointed out earlier, the object movement is usually masked by verb movement, which restores the original SVO order. There are cases however, in which we can see sequences of OV, even thought the language is SVO. My claim is that in these cases, we are observing short object movement, because the verb, or part of it, stays in situ.

5.1. Zarma Word Order – From Koizumi (1995)

Koizumi (1995) presents the language Zarma, in which I would like to claim that short object movement happens. There are two kinds of verbs in this language, those that have a particle element *na* and those that don't. Whenever the particle *na* is present, the word order of the sentence is S *na* OV, and the word order without *na* is SVO. This is illustrated in (27) and (28) below. All the examples are from Koizumi (1995):

(27)   a. a na hansoo kar
          he NA the dog beat

        b. *a na kar hansoo
          he NA beat the dog

    'He beat the dog'

(28)   a. a di hansoo
          he see the dog

        b. *a hansoo di
          he the dog see

    'He saw the dog'

Koizumi suggests that there is an AgrO position above VP to which the object moves and a position above AgrO that hosts the particle *na*. His claim is that when the particle is not present, the verb raises to its position, thus preceding the object. In fact, if we adapt his analysis to the one I am proposing here, we have a clear instance of short object movement. AgrO is the X head in (26) and v is the position above X that hosts the particle *na*, if present, or to which the verb moves, in case *na* is not present. When the verb stays in situ, we can observe the object preceding the verb, indicating that it moved from its original position.

It is important to notice that the object movement is obligatory in this case. If in (27a) the object hadn't moved to spec XP, but stayed in situ, sentence (27b), with the order S *na* VO would be grammatical, contrary to facts. What rules out (27b) is that the verb cannot raise past the object, because v is already filled. This should be strong evidence for short object movement, because the sentence would be grammatical if there were no movement.

5.2. Particle constructions

Another construction where we can observe short object movement is particle constructions. English, and other Germanic languages, has verbs that are followed by particles; and frequently, these particles are separated from the verb, having the object between them. (29) brings examples both from English and Icelandic:[5]

(29)   a. Mickey looked the reference up
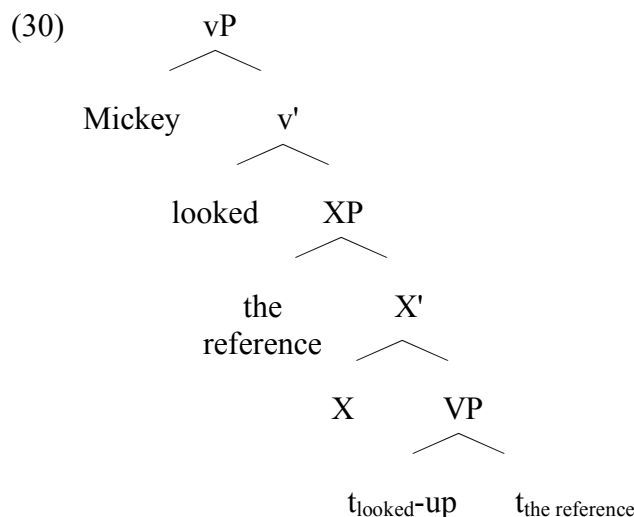
        b. Jón tók   bókina   upp
          John picked the book up
    'John picked up the book'

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[5] Most facts and data about particles in English are taken from Johnson (1991)

Johnson (1991) analyzes these sentences in light of his proposal that verbs move outside VP to a position he calls μP and that objects move to spec VP. He proposes that in English particle constructions the verb and the particle start the derivation under the same head. The object moves from its base position, past V, and subsequently the verb moves to a position higher than the object, leaving the particle behind. Johnson claims that the object must move to receive Case and that Case is assigned under government by μ. Again, we can see another construction in which the object must move to a position right above its base position. It will be convenient to unify all the constructions we observed so far into the same phrase structure.

Let's assume that μ in Johnson's analysis is v. One difference between Johnson's proposal and mine is that he assumes that the object moves to the specifier of VP and I claim that there is a head outside VP that hosts the object. To assume that there is a head outside VP raises questions about the nature of this head, the features it bears or not and their relation with the movement of the object. To assume that the object moves to spec VP also raises many questions, such as what drives the movement and the possibility or not to move from the complement of a head to the specifier of the same head. I don't think it is important at this point to discuss these matters and I would like to argue that the particle construction is also a place where we can detect short object movement, just like in Icelandic object gap constructions and *na*-verbs in Zarma. As proposed by Johnson, the verb and the particle start the derivation together, but when the verb moves to v, it has the option of leaving the particle behind. Since the particle stays in its base position, we can detect the object moving over it. The structure for particle constructions will be the one in (30):

(30)

```
                    vP
                 /      \
            Mickey       v'
                      /      \
                  looked      XP
                           /      \
                        the        X'
                     reference    /  \
                                 X    VP
                                    /    \
                          t_looked-up   t_the reference
```

Johnson claims that the short object movement is the same movement involved in Object Shift. In English, since the verb doesn't move outside vP, only spec VP is a position in which the object can receive Case. In languages with object shift, the verb moves higher, making spec μP also a position for object Case assignment, so the object can move higher than in English. One argument he presents to assume that short object movement is Object Shift is the fact that this movement is dependent on the verb moving

past the object, just like Object Shift. However, as we have seen above with the examples in Zarma, the object movement is obligatory, independent of the verb moving or not. Also, Thráinsson (2001) points out that the object movement in particle constructions in Icelandic is not restricted the same way as Object Shift constructions are. For example, (31a) shows that the object can move past a particle even if there is an auxiliary in the sentence, contrary to object shift constructions (31b), indicating that the object moves to a position lower than the position object moves to in Object Shift constructions.

(31)   a. Jón hefur tekið   bókinna upp   *Particle construction*
           John has   picked the book up

       b. *Jón   hefur bókina   ekki lesið   *Object-Shift*
           John has   the book not   read

All these facts suggest that particle constructions also involve object movement to a position different from the one assumed for Object Shift constructions. The position the object moves in particle constructions can only be placed low in the structure, between vP and VP, just like in Icelandic object gap and Zarma *na*-verb constructions.

6. Final remarks

In section 3 I argued that the coordination in Icelandic object gap construction has to be below vP. I showed that these construction are not compatible with a structure in which two vPs are present. I didn't discuss the possibility of the coordination being located above vP, though, because any phrase above vP would result on the sentence having two vPs. However, previous analysis of object gap assumed that coordination happened at the CP level, and I would like to discuss it briefly.

Pouplier (2003) analyzes object gap as involving topic drop in the second conjunct. She argues that "object-topic drop is needed independently in the grammar of Icelandic; it thus seems desirable to explain the argumental gaps in these terms."

In fact, a topic drop analysis seems to be the most appropriate for sentences like the ones in (32) and (33), from Sigurðsson and Maling (2006; pgs. 17, ex. (35c) and 15, ex. (31)):

(32)   (það) þekki'ég   __ ekki
         that recognize-I   not
       'I don't recognize that'

(33)   A: Hvað finnst þér um nýaja húsvörðinn?
            what think you about new janitor-the
         B: __ Veit'ég __ ekki, __ hef'ég ekki séð __ enn
            know-I   not   have-I not seen   yet

These sentences mirror the German examples in (34), from Huang (1984).[6] Huang analyzes this construction as involving a null topic binding a variable in object position. Because of the V2 condition of both German and Icelandic, it seems desirable to assume that if the verb surfaces in first position, it is because there is some null element occupying the first position of the sentence.

(34)   a. Hab'ich schon gesehen
       have I already seen
       'I saw him/it/her/them already'

       b. Trage ich schon
         wear I already
         'I am wearing them/it already'

Pouplier (2003) proposes that the second conjunct of the sentences with object gap in Icelandic has a topic drop structure, as represented in (35):

(35)   Ég elska þig og [$_{CP}$ e$_i$ dýrka *pro* t$_i$].

It is crucial for this analysis that each conjunct is a CP, or at least, big enough to hold a topic. Pouplier accepts this assumption following Rögnvaldsson (1990a). Rögnvaldsson presents the examples in (36) and (37), among others, in which the subject is missing from the second conjunct, even though it triggers agreement on the verb.

(36)   þeir   sjá   stúlkuna og __ finnst(3sg)/*finnast(3pl) hún álitleg
        they(nom) see(3pl) the-girl   and   finds   her attractive

(37)   þeim   líkar maturinn og __ borða(3pl)/*borðar(3sg) mikið
        they(dat) likes the-food and   eat   much

In both sentences, the verb in each conjunct assigns a different Case to the subject. Agreement in Icelandic happens exclusively between the verb and Nominative noun. If the subject receives a different Case, the verb surfaces with the default 3rd person singular agreement. In (36), the nominative subject in the first conjunct is not enough to trigger agreement on the verb in the second conjunct; likewise, the dative subject in the first conjunct in (37) does not block agreement on the verb in the second conjunct. Rögnvaldsson (1990a) claims that these facts are evidence that the subject in the second conjunct is somehow present in the structure triggering agreement (or lack of it) on the verb. In such an analysis, the coordination happens at the sentence level.

However, we don't have to assume that subject gap and object gap are both part of the same phenomenon. Both Rögnvaldsson (1990b) and Pouplier (2003) assume that the coordination happens between CPs based mainly on the facts above about subject gap.

I presented in section 3 evidence for a coordination much lower than the CP level. The facts about Case-matching discussed in section 2 are also evidence that the sentences

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[6] Huang (1984) credits the observation that topics can drop in German to Ross (1982).

in (36) and (37) cannot be the starting point for object gap constructions. If the subjects in each conjunct receive different cases, this implies that the object in each conjunct will also receive different Cases. However, we've seen that object drop can only take place if the object inside both conjuncts receives the same Case. I repeat in (38)-(41) the examples from section 2 showing the case-matching effects.

(38)   Ég keypti sjónvarp og skilaði *(því) til eiganda sins
        I   bought the TV-A and returned it-D to owner its
        'I bought the TV and returned it to its owner'

(39)   Þeim finnst stelpan   aðlaðandi og vilja giftast *(henni)
        they-D find the girl-N attractive and want to marry her-D
        "they find the girl attractive and want to marry her"

(40)   Þeir   sjá stúlkuna   og finnst *(hún) álitleg
        they-N see the-girl-A   and finds   her-N attractive

(41)   Þeim   líkar bíllinn   og kaupa *(hann)
        They-D like the-car-N and buy   him-A
        'They like the car and buy it'

While this fact does not constitute evidence against CP coordination, it clearly shows that we shouldn't base ourselves on subject gap construction to determine the structure for object gap. The evidence against CP coordination was discussed in section 3, where I showed that object gap is not possible in an environment with two vPs.

Another disadvantage of assuming that the conjuncts are CPs is that one has to account for the subject gap in the second conjunct. Why should object gap be conditioned to subject gap? Pouplier (2003) claims that the subject in the second conjunct is a *pro* following the verb (because of V2) and she hands over to pragmatics the explanation of why the subject cannot be overt in this situation. On the other hand, if we assume that the coordination in object gap constructions happens below TP, subject gap follows straightforwardly.

7. Conclusion

The purpose of this paper began as a way to explain the occurrence of null object in Icelandic, a language that does not allow for null objects in ordinary sentences. However, the object can be missing from the second conjunct of a coordinate structure when it co-refers with the object in the first conjunct. The fact that these null objects could only be seen inside coordination and that the case of the objects in both conjuncts needed to match was strong indication that the object gap should be analyzed as Across-the-Board movement of the object.

I proposed that the object moves ATB from both conjuncts to a position outside the coordination, and this movement is followed by the verb from the first conjunct also moving outside the coordination, to a position higher than the object position. This

second movement masks the object movement, giving the impression that there is a gap only inside the second conjunct.

A number of examples from Icelandic showed that the coordination must be between phrases below vP, i.e. VP. I also presented examples indicating that the object moves to a position below v, thus rejecting the idea that the object movement we are dealing with is object shift.

These facts led us to an unexpected result: there has to be a position between vP and VP to which the object moves. The strong hypothesis would be that this movement is obligatory and universal. This is the approach I would like to pursue: every object in the course of the derivation moves to a position right above VP. However, this movement is masked by the verb also moving to v. A way to observe this movement would be to find constructions where no verb movement takes place, or in which some part of the verb was left behind. Zarma is a language that presents the first kind of construction. In the presence of the particle *na*, the verb stays in situ, and what we observe is that the object precedes the verb. English particle constructions are an example of the second kind. Assuming that verb and particle start the derivation under the same node, when the verb moves to v, it leaves the particle behind and we can observe the object preceding the particle.

A plan for future research would be to find other constructions in different languages where we could observe the short object movement. By studying this movement more deeply, we might be able to indicate the reason why the object moves outside VP, which is a major theoretical question.

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