

NEG-shift in the Scandinavian Languages and English

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1 NEG-shift, The Negative Criterion, and Holmberg's generalisation

In the Scandinavian languages indefinite negated object DP with neutral stress must move out of VP to a sentence medial position to license sentence negation. This movement is what Jónsson (1996: 82) refers to as Negative Movement. However, due to its resemblance with OBJ-shift and to distinguish it from movement of negated elements to e.g. spec-CP or spec-AGRSP, I choose to label it Negative Shift or **NEG-shift**.

In Danish (Hansen 1977), Icelandic, (Jónsson 1996) Faroese (Petersen, Jacobsen, Hansen & Thráinsson 1998), Norwegian (Christensen 1986, 1987; Svenonius 2002) and Swedish (Holmes & Hinchcliffe 1994), **NEG-shift** is obligatory. In main clauses where the only verb is the main verb (i.e. simplex VP) in V2 position, it is string vacuous (as VP-adverbials usually are sentence-final):

- (1) Da: Jeg læste_v ingen bog_i [_{VP} t_v t_i] langsomt
I read no book slowly

In clauses with auxiliary verbs (complex VP), NEG-shift moves the object to a position to the left of the main verb but to the right of the finite auxiliary:

- (2) Da: a. *Jeg har læst ingen bog
b. Jeg har ingen bog læst
I have no book read

- (3) Ic: a. *Ég hef lesið enga bók
b. Ég hef enga bók lesið
I have no book read

(Jónsson 1996: 82 (103))

- (4) Fa: a. *Eg havi sæð ongan
b. Eg havi ongan sæð
I have nobody seen

(Petersen et al. 1998: 187, footnote 4)

- (5) No: a. *Studentene har læst ingen romaner
b. Studentene har ingen romaner læst
The students have no novels read

(Christensen 1986: 1 (1) & (2))

- (6) Sw: a. *Han har läst inga böcker
b. Han har inga böcker läst
He has no books read

(due to Platzack. Vikner p.c.)

According to Svenonius (2002: 2), Norwegian NEG-shift in main clauses with complex VPs is not allowed in colloquial speech, but found in literary or formal styles (however, Christensen 1987 makes no such distinction). Holmes & Hinchcliffe (1994: 524) makes the same claim for Swedish. Furthermore, the same is felt by some Danish speakers. As the three languages pattern alike in this restricted form, I have put them together in one ‘dialect’, labelled Scan2:

- (7) Scan2: a. Han har ikke læst nogen bøger
He has not read any books
 b. *Han har læst ingen bøger
 c. *Han har ingen bøger læst
He has no books read

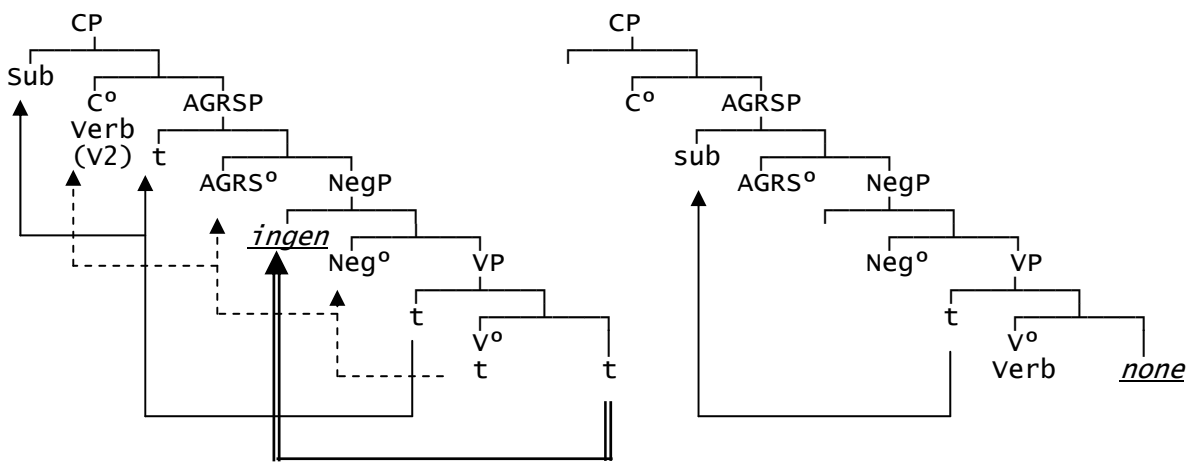
In English, on the other hand, NEG-shift is never possible:

- (8) En: a. I have not read any books
 b. I have read no books
 c. *I have no books read

I assume the landing site for NEG-shift to be spec-NEGP (leaving out irrelevant details):

(9) Scandinavian¹:

English:



I concentrate on main clauses and leave out examples with embedded clauses as they are completely parallel to main clauses with compound tense (i.e. complex VPs) in Mainland Scandinavian (in both cases the verb cases the main remains in V°), and they are completely parallel to main clauses where the finite verb is the main verb (simplex VP) in Icelandic due to V°-I° (T°).

¹ In Swedish (as well as Icelandic), TP immediately dominates NEGP, which can be observed by the grammaticality of split infinitives: “vi uppmanade dem att aldrig göra om det” (Holmes & Hinchcliffe 1994: 522). The hierarchy is [AGRSP [πP [TP [NEGP [VP]]]]. In the other Scandinavian languages and English, the order of TP and NEGP is the other way around :[AGRSP [πP [NEGP [TP [VP]]]].

NEG-shift is motivated by the Negative Criterion, or **NEG-criterion** (cf. Haegeman & Zanuttini 1991: 244; Haegeman 1995: 106), according to which negative operators and negative heads must always be in a spec-head relation with each other:

(10) **The NEG-criterion:**

Each NEG X⁰ must be in spec-head relation with a NEG operator and vice versa.

The NEG-criterion can thus be satisfied by either merging *ikke* with NEG' or by moving an *ingen*-phrase into spec-NEGP. Both operations will check the NEG feature on NEG⁰.

As NEG-shift is object extraction (or indeed subject extraction) it is natural to take into account Holmberg's (1986: 165) famous generalisation about object shift:

(11) **Holmberg's Generalisation (HG):**

Object shift cannot move across the surface position of its case assigner and is therefore dependent on verb movement.

In examples (2) to (6) above, NEG-shift takes place across lexical material in V⁰, i.e. the main verb, which clearly shows that Scandinavian NEG-shift is not subject to HG. In examples (7) and (8) on the other hand, NEG-shift is not possible in such contexts, which indicates that in Scan2 and English NEG-shift is crucially dependent on (main) verb movement. In Scan2, NEG-shift is only possible in main clauses with simplex VPs and in English, it is never possible.

So far, we have only considered examples where the object is the complement of V⁰. Let's now consider NEG-shift where the object is the **complement of a preposition**. The following examples illustrate negative object extraction from PP:

- (12) Da: a. Jeg har ikke peget på nogen
I have not pointed at anyone
 b. *Jeg har peget på ingen
 c. Jeg har ingen peget på t
I have no-one pointed at

- (13) Ic: a. Jón hefur ekki talað við neinn
Jón have not spoken to anyone
 b. *Jón hefur talað við engan
 c. Jón hefur engan talað við t
Jón has no-one spoken to

(Jónsson 1996: 83 (105))

- (14) Fa: a. Tit mugu ikki eta av nøkrum træi í urtagarðinum
You must not eat from any tree in the garden
 b. *Tit mugu eta av ongum træi í urtagarðinum
 c. Tit mugu ongum træi í urtagarðinum eta av t²
You must no tree in the garden eat from

² From http://www.livdin.fo/Um_Livdina/Menniskjan_og_synd.php

(15) Sw: a. Han har inte läst i några böker
He has not read in any books

b. *Han har läst i inga böker
 a. *Han har inga böker läst i t
He has no books read in

(16) No: a. studentene leser ikke om noen svenske forfattere
The students read not about any Swedish writers

b. *studentene leser om ingen svenske forfattere
 c. *studentene leser ingen svenske forfattere om t
The students read no Swedish writers about

(Christensen 1987: 6 (13) & (13)', 4 (20))

NOTE:

NEG-shift out of PP is **possible**, however **marked**, in Danish, Icelandic, and Faroese, whereas only constructions with *ikke...nogen* 'not...any' is possible in the other languages. In what follows I leave aside considerations of preferences for pied-piping of the preposition in Icelandic and Faroese. I also note, but do not discuss any further, that the acceptability of PP-extraction in Icelandic, Danish, and Faroese depends highly on the specific preposition. The important thing is that PP-extraction is **possible**.

The following table shows the relationship between NEG-shift and Holmberg's Generalisation:

	NEG-shift takes place out of			NEG-shift is Subject to HG
	Simplex VP	Complex VP	PP	
Danish, Icelandic, Faroese	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Swedish, Norwegian	Yes	Yes	No	No
Scan2	Yes	No	No	Yes
English	No	No	No	Yes

Table 1: NEG-shift & Holmberg's Generalisation

2 An Optimality-theoretic analysis

I will now show how we can account for this pattern while maintaining that the various syntactic criteria are universal but hierarchically ranked such that the effect of their influence may sometimes be hidden.

2.1 VP-extraction

First, we need to consider the following two constraints:

(17) NEGCRIT:

The NEG-criterion as stated in (10) above: Negative operators and negative heads must be in spec-head relation.

(18) STAY:

Economy of derivation / procrastinate: A general ban on (overt) movement and traces³ (cf. Vikner 2001: 328)

I leave aside whatever interaction of constraints that make the finite verb to move to V2 position in Scandinavian main clauses, motivates V^o-to-T^o movement in Icelandic embedded clauses, and keeps the verb from moving at all in English.

Following Müller (2001: 281), I assume the input to be the numeration in Chomsky's (1995: 225) sense.

Tableau 1:

Complex-VP-extraction: YES

Danish, Icelandic, Faroese, Swedish, Norwegian: NEGCRIT » STAY

		NEGCRIT	STAY
☞ a1	Jeg har ikke [læst <u>nogen bog</u>]		
a2	*Jeg har ikke <u>nogen bog</u> [læst t]		*!
b2	*Jeg har [læst <u>ingen bog</u>]	*!	
☞ b2	Jeg har <u>ingen bog</u> [læst t]		*
c1	*Jeg læste [v <u>ingen bog</u>]	*!	
☞ c2	Jeg læste <u>ingen bog</u> [v t]		*

As is clear from the (b) and (c) competitions in tableau 1, NEGCRIT must outrank STAY in Danish, Icelandic, Faroese, Swedish, and Norwegian, otherwise the *ingen*-phrase would never shift out of VP. The exact opposite is the case in English, as illustrated in tableau 2:

Tableau 2:

VP-extraction: NO

English: STAY » NEGCRIT

		STAY	NEG CRIT
☞ a1	I have not [read <u>any book</u>]		
a2	*I have not <u>any book</u> [read t]	*!	
☞ b1	I have [read <u>no book</u>]		*
b2	*I have <u>no book</u> [read t]	*!	
☞ c1	I [read <u>no book</u>]		*
c2	*I <u>no book</u> [read t]	*!	

(In *don't*-constructions, NEG-criterion is satisfied by an Op in spec-NEGP)

To account for the difference between English and Scan2, i.e. the difference in licensing extraction out of simplex VP, we need another constraint. In English, the main verb never leaves V^o, whereas in Scan2 being V2 the verb always moves to C^o. What is needed is a constraint that takes the position of the object relative to the main verb into account:

³ I only indicate traces of object movement. Thus, violations of STAY due to verb movement (and subject movement) are not indicated in the tableaux.

(19) LICENSE:

An object must be licensed by being c-commanded either by its selecting X^0 or the trace of this X^0 (revised version of Vikner's (2001: 328) LICENSING)

We also need a constraint that enables us to make preferences with regards to the specific lexical item expressing negation:

(20) FAITHLEX:

The lexical material of the input must surface in the output.

We also need to consider two versions of the same tableau: one for the 'no' type and one for the 'not any' type of negation.

In tableaux 3.1 and 3.2 below, a ranking of LICENSE, FAITHLEX, and STAY relative to each other is not possible, as at least one of them is violated by the sub-optimal candidates but never by the optimal one. However, they must all be ranked above NEGCRIT, as it is violated by the optimal candidates (a3) and (b3) in tableau 3.2.

Tableau 3.1:

VP-extraction: NO

English: LICENSE, STAY, FAITHLEX » NEGCRIT

	INPUT: NOT	LICENSE	STAY	FAITHLEX	NEGCRIT
☞ a1	I have <u>not</u> [read <u>any book</u>]				
a2	*I have <u>not any book</u> [read t]	*!	*		
a3	I have [read <u>no book</u>]			*!	*
a4	*I have <u>no book</u> [read t]	*!	*	*	
☞ b1	I did <u>not</u> [read <u>any book</u>]				
b2	*I did <u>not any book</u> [read t]	*!	*		
b3	I [read <u>no book</u>]			*!	*
b4	*I <u>no book</u> [read t]	*!	*	*	

Tableau 3.2:

VP-extraction: NO

English: LICENSE, STAY, FAITHLEX » NEGCRIT

	INPUT: NO	LICENSE	STAY	FAITHLEX	NEGCRIT
a1	I have <u>not</u> [read <u>any book</u>]			*!	
a2	*I have <u>not any book</u> [read t]	*!	*	*	
☞ a3	I have [read <u>no book</u>]				*
a4	*I have <u>no book</u> [read t]	*!	*		
b1	I did <u>not</u> [read <u>any book</u>]			*!	*
b2	*I did <u>not any book</u> [read t]	*!	*	*	
☞ b3	I [read <u>no book</u>]				*
b4	*I <u>no book</u> [read t]	*!	*		

In Scan2, as shown in tableau 4 below, both NEGCRIT and LICENSE must be ranked above STAY. Their ranking relative to each other cannot be determined, as the optimal candidates do not violate any of them.

Tableau 4.1:

Complex-VP-extraction: NO

Scan2: NEGCRIT, LICENSE » FAITHLEX » STAY

	INPUT: IKKE	NEG CRIT	LICE NSE	FAITH LEX	ST AY
☞ a1	Jeg har <u>ikke</u> [læst <u>nogen bog</u>]				
a2	*Jeg har <u>ikke nogen bog</u> [læst t]		*!		*
a3	*Jeg har [læst <u>ingen bog</u>]	*!		*	
a4	*Jeg har <u>ingen bog</u> [læst t]		*!	*	*
☞ b1	Jeg læste <u>ikke</u> [v <u>nogen bog</u>]				
b2	*Jeg læste <u>ikke nogen bog</u> [v t]				*!
b3	*Jeg læste [v <u>ingen bog</u>]	*!		*	
b4	Jeg læste <u>ingen bog</u> [v t]			*!	*

Tableau 4.2:

Complex-VP-extraction: NO

Scan2: NEGCRIT, LICENSE » FAITHLEX » STAY

	INPUT: INGEN	NEG CRIT	LICE NSE	FAITH LEX	ST AY
☞ a1	Jeg har <u>ikke</u> [læst <u>nogen bog</u>]			*	
a2	*Jeg har <u>ikke nogen bog</u> [læst t]		*!	*	*
a3	*Jeg har [læst <u>ingen bog</u>]	*!			
a4	*Jeg har <u>ingen bog</u> [læst t]		*!		*
b1	Jeg læste <u>ikke</u> [v <u>nogen bog</u>]			*!	
b2	*Jeg læste <u>ikke nogen bog</u> [v t]			*!	*
b3	*Jeg læste [v <u>ingen bog</u>]	*!			
☞ b4	Jeg læste <u>ingen bog</u> [v t]				*

From the (a) competition in tableau 4.2, it is clear that NEGCRIT and LICENSE outrank FAITHLEX, which is violated by the optimal candidate (a1). Even though the input is *ingen* it has to surface as *ikke* and thus violate FAITHLEX in order to obey the licensing condition and the Negative Criterion. In the (b) competition, we see that FAITHLEX has to outrank STAY to make (b4) win over (b1).

In the other Scandinavian languages, NEGCRIT and FAITHLEX must be ranked higher than both LICENSE and STAY, cf. Tableau 5 below:

Tableau 5.1:

VP-extraction: YES

Danish, Icelandic, Faroese, Swedish, Norwegian, Swedish: NEGCRIT, FAITHLEX » LICENSE, STAY

	INPUT: IKKE	NEG CRIT	FAITH LEX	LICE NSE	ST AY
☞ a1	Jeg har ikke [læst <u>nogen bog</u>]				
a2	*Jeg har ikke <u>nogen bog</u> [læst t]			*!	*
a3	*Jeg har [læst <u>ingen bog</u>]	*!	*		
a4	Jeg har <u>ingen bog</u> [læst t]		*!	*	*
☞ b1	Jeg læste ikke [v <u>nogen bog</u>]				
b2	Jeg læste ikke <u>nogen bog</u> [v t]				*!
b3	*Jeg læste [v <u>ingen bog</u>]	*!	*		
b4	Jeg læste <u>ingen bog</u> [v t]		*!		*

Tableau 5.2:

VP-extraction: YES

Danish, Icelandic, Faroese, Swedish, Norwegian, Swedish: NEGCRIT, FAITHLEX » LICENSE, STAY

	INPUT: INGEN	NEG CRIT	FAITH LEX	LICE NSE	ST AY
a1	Jeg har ikke [læst <u>nogen bog</u>]		*!		
a2	*Jeg har ikke <u>nogen bog</u> [læst t]		*!	*	*
a3	*Jeg har [læst <u>ingen bog</u>]	*!			
☞ a4	Jeg har <u>ingen bog</u> [læst t]			*	*
b1	Jeg læste ikke [v <u>nogen bog</u>]		*!		
b2	Jeg læste ikke <u>nogen bog</u> [v t]		*!		*
b3	*Jeg læste [v <u>ingen bog</u>]	*!			
☞ b4	Jeg læste <u>ingen bog</u> [v t]				*

To make candidates (a4) and (b4) in tableau 5.2 optimal, we have to rank NEGCRIT and FAITHLEX above LICENSE and STAY, but neither of the two pairs can be crucially ranked relative to each other.

2.2 PP-extraction

The constraint hierarchies argued for above can be applied directly to NEG-shift out of PPs. The following tableau accounts for the grammaticality of PP-extraction in Danish, Icelandic, and Faroese:

Tableau 6.1:

PP-extraction: YES & VP-extraction YES:

Danish, Icelandic, and Faroese: NEGCRIT, FAITHLEX » LICENSE, STAY

	INPUT: IKKE	NEG CRIT	FAITH LEX	LICE NSE	STAY
☞ a1	Jeg har <u>ikke</u> [læst [i <u>nogen bog</u>]]				
a2	*Jeg har <u>ikke nogen bog</u> [læst [i t]]			*!	*
a3	*Jeg har [læst [i <u>ingen bog</u>]]	*!	*		
a4	Jeg har <u>ingen bog</u> [læst [i t]]		*!	*	*
☞ b1	Jeg læste <u>ikke</u> [v [i <u>nogen bog</u>]]				
b2	*Jeg læste <u>ikke nogen bog</u> [v [i t]]			*!	*
b3	*Jeg læste [v [i <u>ingen bog</u>]]	*!	*		
b4	Jeg læste <u>ingen bog</u> [v [i t]]		*!	*	*

Tableau 6.2:

PP-extraction: YES & VP-extraction YES:

Danish, Icelandic, and Faroese: NEGCRIT, FAITHLEX » LICENSE, STAY

	INPUT: INGEN	NEG CRIT	FAITH LEX	LICE NSE	STAY
a1	Jeg har <u>ikke</u> [læst [i <u>nogen bog</u>]]		*!		
a2	*Jeg har <u>ikke nogen bog</u> [læst [i t]]		*!	*	*
a3	*Jeg har [læst [i <u>ingen bog</u>]]	*!			
☞ a4	Jeg har <u>ingen bog</u> [læst [i t]]			*	*
b1	Jeg læste <u>ikke</u> [v [i <u>nogen bog</u>]]		*!		
b2	*Jeg læste <u>ikke nogen bog</u> [v [i t]]		*!	*	*
b3	*Jeg læste [v [i <u>ingen bog</u>]]	*!			
☞ b4	Jeg læste <u>ingen bog</u> [v [i t]]			*	*

If we compare tableaux 6.1 and 6.2, it is clear that in Danish, Icelandic, and Faroese it is more important to be faithful to the lexical input than to obey the licensing condition.

However, when we turn to Swedish and Norwegian, we run into a potential problem:

Tableau 7.1:

PP-extraction NO & VP-extraction YES:

Swedish and Norwegian: NEGCRIT, FAITHLEX » LICENSE, STAY

	INPUT: IKKE	NEG CRI T	FAIT HLE X	LICE NSE	S T A Y
☞ a1	Vi har ikke [lest [om <u>noen</u> forfattere]]				
a2	*Vi har ikke <u>noen</u> forfattere [lest [om t]]			*!	*
a3	*Vi har [lest [om <u>ingen</u> forfattere]]	*!	*		
a4	*Vi har <u>ingen</u> forfattere [lest [om t]]		*!	*	*
☞ b1	Vi leser ikke [v [om <u>noen</u> forfattere]]				
b2	*Vi leser ikke <u>noen</u> forfattere [v [om t]]			*!	*
b3	*Vi leser [v [om <u>ingen</u> forfattere]]	*!	*		
b4	*Vi leser <u>ingen</u> forfattere [v [om t]]		*!	*	*

Tableau 7.2:

PP-extraction NO & VP-extraction YES:

Swedish and Norwegian: NEGCRIT, FAITHLEX » LICENSE, STAY

	INPUT: INGEN	NEG CRI T	FAIT HLE X	LICE NSE	S T A Y
☹ a1	Vi har ikke [lest [om <u>noen</u> forfattere]]		*!		
a2	*Vi har ikke <u>noen</u> forfattere [lest [om t]]		*!	*	*
a3	*Vi har [lest [om <u>ingen</u> forfattere]]	*!			
☞ a4	*Vi har <u>ingen</u> forfattere [lest [om t]]			*	*
☹ b1	Vi leser ikke [v [om <u>noen</u> forfattere]]		*!		
b2	*Vi leser ikke <u>noen</u> forfattere [v [om t]]		*!	*	*
b3	*Vi leser [v [om <u>ingen</u> forfattere]]	*!			
☞ b4	*Vi leser <u>ingen</u> forfattere [v [om t]]			*	*

The ranking must be NEGCRIT » LICENSE and NEGCRIT » STAY or else NEG-shift could not cross the main verb in examples (2)-(6) above. But that makes the unwanted prediction that candidates (a4) and (b4) are optimal. However, to make (a1) and (b1) the optimal candidates in their respective competitions, LICENSE would have to outrank NEGCRIT, which is not an option.

As mentioned above in connection with examples (12)-(16), even in Danish, Icelandic, and Faroese, NEG-shift out of PP is marked and is crucially dependant on the specific [_{VP} [_{PP}]] construction. It may therefore be the case that this difference between Danish, Icelandic, and Faroese on the one hand and Swedish and Norwegian on the other is a **pseudo-difference**.

Alternatively, we could introduce a new licensing constraint for prepositions, such as P-LICENSE, which would then be ranked high in tableaux 7.1 and 7.2 but low in 6.1 and 6.2. (In this connection it is also interesting to notice that, at least in Danish, topicalisation out of PP is always completely unproblematic.)

This collapses the four layers in Table 1 into the three, such that we distinguish between two different types of Scandinavian (Scandinavian and Scan2) and English (see also Table 2 below).

Next, consider Scan2:

Tableau 8.1:

PP-extraction NO & VP-extraction NO:

Scan2: NEGCRIT, LICENSE » FAITHLEX » STAY

	INPUT: IKKE	NEG CRIT	LICE NSE	FAITH LEX	ST AY
☞ a1	Jeg har ikke [læst [i nogen bog]]				
a2	*Jeg har ikke nogen bog [læst [i t]]		*!		*
a3	*Jeg har [læst [i ingen bog]]	*!		*	
a4	*Jeg har ingen bog [læst [i t]]		*!	*	*
☞ b1	Jeg læste ikke [v [i nogen bog]]				
b2	*Jeg læste ikke nogen bog [v [i t]]		*!		*
b3	*Jeg læste [v [i ingen bog]]	*!		*	
b4	*Jeg læste ingen bog [v [i t]]		*!	*	*

Tableau 8.1:

PP-extraction NO & VP-extraction NO:

Scan2: NEGCRIT, LICENSE » FAITHLEX » STAY

	INPUT: INGEN	NEG CRIT	LICE NSE	FAITH LEX	ST AY
☞ a1	Jeg har ikke [læst [i nogen bog]]			*	
a2	*Jeg har ikke nogen bog [læst [i t]]		*!	*	*
a3	*Jeg har [læst [i ingen bog]]	*!			
a4	*Jeg har ingen bog [læst [i t]]		*!		*
☞ b1	Jeg læste ikke [v [i nogen bog]]			*	
b2	*Jeg læste ikke nogen bog [v [i t]]		*!	*	*
b3	*Jeg læste [v [i ingen bog]]	*!			
b4	*Jeg læste ingen bog [v [i t]]		*!		*

Due to the ranking of LICENSE above FAITHLEX, only constructions with *ikke...nogen* can surface: NEG-shift cannot take place across the licensing preposition.

As illustrated in tableau 9, English is easily accounted for by the constraint hierarchy established in tableaux 3.1 and 3.2 above.

Tableau 9.1:

PP-extraction: NO

English: LICENSE, STAY, FAITHLEX » NEGCRIT

	INPUT: NOT	LICENSE	STAY	FAITH LEX	NEG CRIT
☞ a1	I have not [read [in <u>any book</u>]]				
a2	*I have not <u>any book</u> [read [in t]]	*!	*		
b1	I have [read [in <u>no book</u>]]			*!	*
b2	*I have <u>no book</u> [read [in t]]	*!	*	*	
☞ c1	I did <u>not</u> [read [in <u>any book</u>]]				*
c2	*I did <u>not any book</u> [read [in t]]	*!	*		
c1	I [read [in <u>no book</u>]]			*!	*
c2	*I <u>no book</u> [read [in t]]	*!	*	*	

Tableau 9.1:

PP-extraction: NO

English: LICENSE, STAY, FAITHLEX » NEGCRIT

	INPUT: NO	LICENSE	STAY	FAITH LEX	NEG CRIT
a1	I have not [read [in <u>any book</u>]]			*!	
a2	*I have not <u>any book</u> [read [in t]]	*!	*	*	
☞ b1	I have [read [in <u>no book</u>]]				*
b2	*I have <u>no book</u> [read [in t]]	*!	*		
c1	I did <u>not</u> [read [in <u>any book</u>]]			*!	*
c2	*I did <u>not any book</u> [read [in t]]	*!	*	*	
☞ c1	I [read [in <u>no book</u>]]				*
c2	*I <u>no book</u> [read [in t]]	*!	*		

In table 2, the relation between VP-extraction and differential constraint ranking is summarised (the hierarchy for Scandinavian will slightly revised below).

	NEG-shift takes place out of		
	Simplex VP	Complex VP	
Scandinavian	Yes	Yes	NEGCRIT, FAITHLEX » LICENSE, STAY
Scan2	Yes	No	NEGCRIT, LICENSE » FAITHLEX » STAY
English	No	No	LICENSE, STAY, FAITHLEX » NEGCRIT

Table 2: VP-extraction and constraint ranking

NEG-shift is licensed in the languages with the ranking NEGCRIT » STAY. The relative freedom of NEG-shift can be derived from the ranking of FAITHLEX: if it is ranked above LICENSE, NEG-shift is licensed across its licenser; if the ranking is reversed, i.e. LICENSE » FAITHLEX, such movement is not possible.

2.3 Double object constructions, Parallel Movement, and NEG-shift

All the Scandinavian languages have obligatory pronominal OBJ-shift (e.g. Vikner 1989: 146, 1994), which is subject to HG. In clauses without auxiliary verbs, **weak pronominal objects** must shift to a position above VP. Müller (2001) argues that the target of this movement is in the domain of a functional head π^o (π /pi for ‘pronoun’). He labels this requirement the **Pronoun Criterion**:

(21) **PRONCRIT**:

Weak pronouns must be in the domain of π at S-Structure (Müller 2001: 289).
(For YP to be in the domain of X, YP must either be in spec-X or adjoin to XP.)

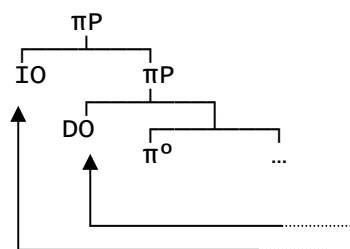
To account for the fact that whenever there is object shift (or scrambling) it always has to preserve the base-generated word order of the two objects, Müller (2001) proposes the **Parallel Movement Constraint**:

(22) **PARMOVE**

If α c-commands β at level L_n , then α c-commands β at level L_{n+1} (where α , β are arguments).
(Müller 2001: 279, (1))

Müller (2001: 289) proposed that the direct object moves to spec- π P and the indirect adjoins to π P:

(23)



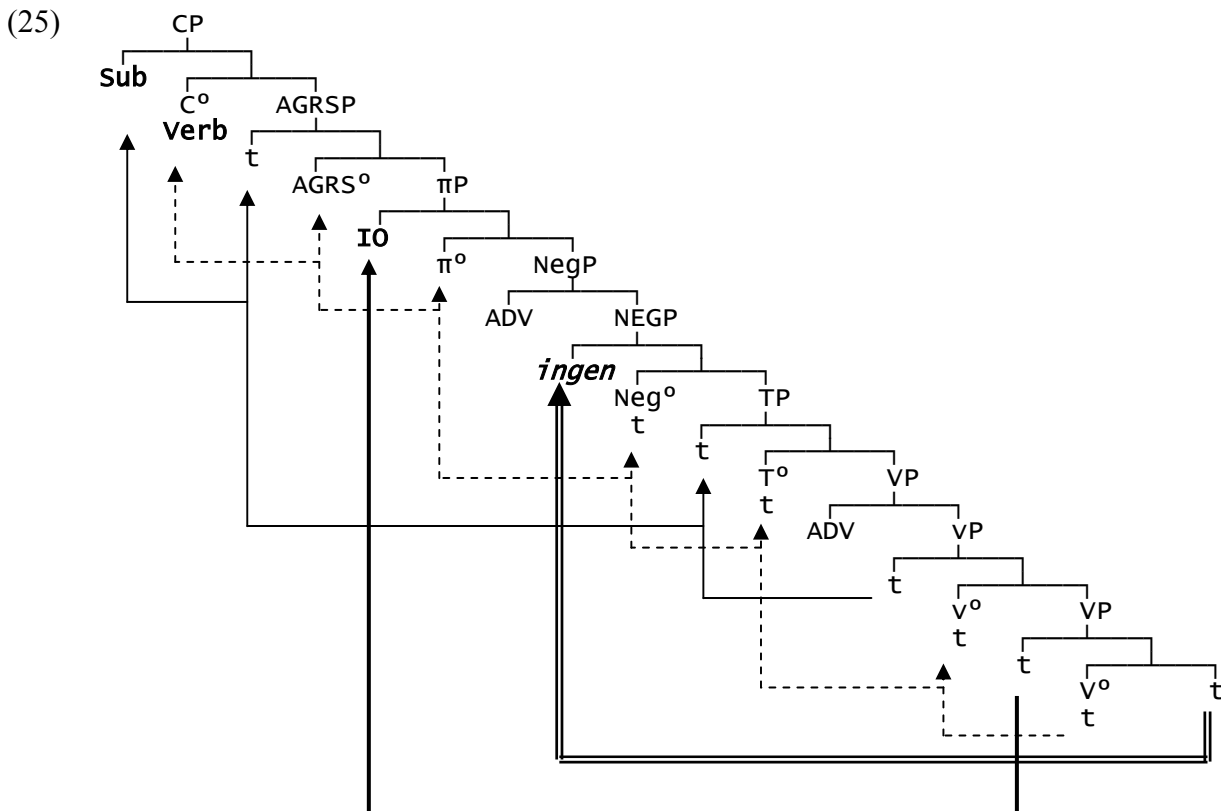
There is, of course, also the logical possibility that there are two π P projections, one for the direct object π OP and another for the indirect object π IOP, where the latter presumably immediately dominates the former.

I believe we would have to assume such a division to account for Icelandic full-DP OBJ-shift when it occurs in tandem with pronominal OBJ-shift in order to preserve the order of the arguments. As the following examples show, when both the direct and the indirect object are shifted, only the versions where the base order is preserved are grammatical⁴:

⁴ Thanks to Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson (p.c.) for providing the grammaticality judgements. This pattern is also discussed in Vikner (1989) and my examples are equivalent to his (42)-(45). In order to account to the obligatory word order preservation in double object shift, Vikner suggests it is the entire [_{VP} IO V^o DO] (see (25) above; Vikner labels this projection δ P, cf. Vikner 1989: 148, (36)) that is shifted to a position to the left of the sentence adverbial(s).

- (24) a. Ég lána _[AGRIOP] Mariú _[AGROP] bækurnar _[NEGP] ekki _[VP t t]]
- b. *Ég lána _[AGROP] bækurnar _[AGRIOP] Mariú _[NEGP] ekki _[VP t t]]
I lent the books Mary not
 (“I didn’t lend Mary the books.”)
- c. Ég lána+henni _[AGROP] bækurnar _[π IOp] t _[NEGP] ekki _[VP t t]]
- d. *Ég lána _[AGROP] bækurnar _[π IOp] henni _[NEGP] ekki _[VP t t]]
I lent the books her not
 (“I didn’t lend her the books.”)
- e. Ég lána _[AGRIOP] Mariú _[π OP] þær _[NEGP] ekki _[VP t t]]
- f. *Ég lána+þær _[AGRIOP] Mariú _[π OP] t _[NEGP] ekki _[VP t t]]
I lent+them Mary not
 (“I didn’t lend it to Mary.”)
- g. Ég lána+henni+þær _[π OP] t _[π IOp] t _[NEGP] ekki _[VP t t]]
- h. *Ég lána _[π OP] þær _[π IOp] henni _[NEGP] ekki _[VP t t]]
I lent them her not
 (“I didn’t lend it to her.”)

In (c) and (g) the pronouns are cliticised to the verb; in all examples the pronouns are **weak**. The clitic versions of the pronouns target π^0 , whereas the non-clitic ones target spec- π P. (The representations are simplified and a bit inaccurate, as I have left out information about verb movement and simplified the differences between the clitic pronouns, which are heads, and the non-clitic pronouns, which are DPs.) Note that AGROP and AGRIOP are reserved for full-DP OBJ-shift found only in Icelandic. Whether in the other Scandinavian languages π P should be reanalysed into two separate projections, π IOp and π OP, is an open question. In any case, π P dominates NEGP as shifted pronominal objects always precede shifted negative objects.



Each derivational step is an instance of **shortest move**. The long movement of the indirect object from spec-VP to spec- π P is movement to the first available spec-position. The indirect object is also the closest possible target with a π -feature available for attraction by π^0 .

Subject movement and OBJ-shift are both instances of **A-movement**, but they do not block each other. The same holds for NEG-shift, which is **\bar{A} -movement**: it does not block *Wh*-movement, which is also \bar{A} -movement.

Curiously, both NEG-shift and OBJ-shift, but not *wh*-movement, is blocked by a full-DP in spec-VP:

- (26) a. Jeg gav ham ingen gave [VP ... t t] (OBJ- & NEG-shift)
I gave him no present
- b. *Jeg gav ingen gave [VP ... manden t] (NEG-shift)
I gave no present the man
 (“I didn’t give him any present.”)
- c. Jeg gav ham den ikke [VP ... t t] (double OBJ-shift)
I gave him it not
- d. *Jeg gav den ikke [VP ... manden t] (OBJ-shift)
I gave it not the man
- e. Jeg gav ikke [VP ... manden den]
I gave not the man it
 (“I didn’t give it to him/the man.”)
- f. Hvad gav jeg ikke [VP ... manden t] (Wh-movement)
what gave I not the man
- g. Hvad gav jeg ingen [VP ... t t] (Wh- & NEG-shift)
what gave I non-one
- h. Hvad gav jeg ham ikke [VP ... t t] (Wh- & OBJ-shift)
what gave I him not
- i. Hvem gav jeg ingen gave [VP ... t t] (Wh- & NEG-shift)
who gave I no present
- j. Hvem gav jeg den ikke [VP ... t t] (Wh- & OBJ-shift)
who gave I it not

This goes to show that a distinction between A- and \bar{A} -movement doesn’t help in accounting for the observed pattern.

Consider tableau 10 for Scandinavian. As the competition between candidates (a1) and (a2) in tableau 10 below shows, in order to restrict the licensing of (pronominal) OBJ-shift to clauses where the main verb has moved out of V°, LICENSE must be ranked above PRONCRIT:

(27) LICENSE » PRONCRIT

Tableau 10:

Pronominal OBJ-shift:

Scandinavian: NEGCRIT, FAITHLEX, PARMOVE » LICENSE » PRONCRIT » STAY

		NEG CRIT	FAITH LEX	PAR MOV E	LICE NSE	PRO NCRI T	ST AY
☞ a1	Jeg har faktisk ikke fået [v <u>den</u>]					*	
a2	*Jeg har <u>den</u> faktisk ikke fået [v t]				*!		*
b1	*Jeg fik faktisk ikke [v <u>den</u>]					*!	
☞ b2	Jeg fik <u>den</u> faktisk ikke [v t]						*
☞ c1	Jeg har ikke [givet <u>manden den</u>]					*	
c2	*Jeg har <u>den</u> ikke [givet <u>manden</u> t]			*!	*		*
☞ d1	Jeg gav ikke [v <u>manden den</u>]					*	
d2	*Jeg gav <u>den</u> ikke [v <u>manden</u> t]			*!			*
☞ e1	Jeg har ikke [givet ham den]					**	
e2	*Jeg har ham ikke [givet den t]				*!	*	*
e3	*Jeg har den ikke [givet ham t]			*!	*	*	*
e4	*Jeg har ham den ikke [givet t t]				*!*		**
e5	*Jeg har den ham ikke [givet t t]			*!	**		**
f1	*Jeg gav ikke [v <u>ham den</u>]					*!*	
f2	*Jeg gav <u>ham</u> ikke [v t <u>den</u>]					*!	*
f3	*Jeg gav <u>den</u> ikke [v <u>ham</u> t]			*!		*	*
☞ f4	Jeg gav <u>ham den</u> ikke [v t t]						**
f5	*Jeg gav <u>den ham</u> ikke [v t t]			*!			**

In turn, as illustrated with candidates (b1) and (b2), PRONCRIT must be ranked above STAY in order to enforce pronominal OBJ-shift:

(28) PRONCRIT » STAY

It is also clear from the competition between (d1) and (d2) PARMOVE must be ranked above PRONCRIT: Whenever there is pronominal OBJ-shift, it preserves the underlying word order, compare (e1) and (f4).

(29) PARMOVE » PRONCRIT

Above, we established that NEGCRIT and FAITHLEX are ranked above LICENSE and STAY:

(30) NEGCRIT, FAITHLEX » LICENSE, STAY

Recall from above that Scan2 has NEGCRIT, LICENSE whereas the other Scandinavian languages have NEGCRIT » LICENSE:

(31) LICENSE, NEGCRIT » FAITHLEX » STAY

Apart from that, Da/No/Sw 2 shares the rankings in (27)-(29) with the other Scandinavian languages. I repeat them here for convenience:

(32) LICENSE » PRONCRIT

(33) PRONCRIT » STAY

(34) PARMOVE » PRONCRIT

Tableau 11:

Pronominal OBJ-shift:

Scan2: NEGCRIT, LICENSE » FAITHLEX, PARMOVE » PRONCRIT » STAY

		NEG CRIT	LICE NSE	FAITH LEX	PAR MOVE	PRON CRIT	ST AY
☞ a1	Jeg har faktisk ikke fået [v <u>den</u>]					*	
a2	*Jeg har <u>den</u> faktisk ikke fået [v t]		*!				*
b1	*Jeg fik faktisk ikke [v <u>den</u>]					*!	
☞ b2	Jeg fik <u>den</u> faktisk ikke [v t]						*
☞ c1	Jeg har ikke [givet <u>manden den</u>]					*	
c2	*Jeg har <u>den</u> ikke [givet <u>manden</u> t]		*!				*
☞ d1	Jeg gav ikke [v <u>manden den</u>]					*	
d2	*Jeg gav <u>den</u> ikke [v <u>manden</u> t]				*!		*
☞ e1	Jeg har ikke [givet ham den]					**	
e2	*Jeg har ham ikke [givet den t]		*!			*	*
e3	*Jeg har den ikke [givet ham t]		*!		*	*	*
e4	*Jeg har ham den ikke [givet t t]		*!*				**
e5	*Jeg har den ham ikke [givet t t]		*!*		*		**
f1	*Jeg gav ikke [v <u>ham den</u>]					*!*	
f2	*Jeg gav <u>ham</u> ikke [v t <u>den</u>]					*!	*
f3	*Jeg gav <u>den</u> ikke [v <u>ham</u> t]				*!	*	*
☞ f4	Jeg gav <u>ham den</u> ikke [v t t]						**
f5	*Jeg gav <u>den ham</u> ikke [v t t]				*!		**

Next, we turn to **double object constructions with NEG-shift**.

In tableau 10 above, we had the following constraint hierarchy for Scandinavian:

(35) NEGCRIT, FAITHLEX, PARMOVE » LICENSE » PRONCRIT » STAY

This holds for tableau 12.1 as well, but in tableau 12.2 it becomes clear that NEGCRIT has to be ranked above FAITHLEX and PARMOVE.

Tableau 12.1:

Double object and NEG-shift:

Scandinavian: NEGCRIT » FAITHLEX, PARMOVE » LICENSE » PRONCRIT » STAY

	INPUT: IKKE	NE GC RIT	FAIT HLE X	PAR MO VE	LICE NSE	PRO NCR IT	S T A Y
☞ a1	Jeg har ikke [givet manden nogen gave]						
a2	*Jeg har ikke nogen gave [givet manden t]			*!	*		*
a3	*Jeg har [givet manden ingen gave]	*!	*				
a4	Jeg har ingen gave [givet manden t]		*!	*	*		*
☞ b1	Jeg gav ikke [v manden nogen gave]						
b2	*Jeg gav ikke nogen gave [v manden t]			*!			*
b3	*Jeg gav [v manden ingen gave]	*!	*				
b4	*Jeg gav ingen gave [v manden t]		*!	*			*

Tableau 12.2:

Double object and NEG-shift:

Scandinavian: NEGCRIT » FAITHLEX, PARMOVE » LICENSE » PRONCRIT » STAY

	INPUT: INGEN	NE GC RIT	FAIT HLE X	PAR MO VE	LICE NSE	PRO NCR IT	S T A Y
☞ a1	Jeg har ikke [givet manden nogen gave]		*				
a2	*Jeg har ikke nogen gave [givet manden t]		*	*!	*		*
a3	*Jeg har [givet manden ingen gave]	*!					
⊖ a4	Jeg har ingen gave [givet manden t]			*	*!		*
☞ b1	Jeg gav ikke [v manden nogen gave]		*				
b2	*Jeg gav ikke nogen gave [v manden t]		*	*!			*
b3	*Jeg gav [v manden ingen gave]	*!					
b4	*Jeg gav ingen gave [v manden t]			*			*!

Consider the (b) competition in tableau 12.2. If the ranking had been NEGCRIT, FAITHLEX, PARMOVE, only (b2) would be out at first, because it violates two of the constraints. Candidates (b1), (b3), and (b4) violate only one constraint each, and as the constraints are tied (ranked equally) they all survive. Next, (b4) violates STAY and lose out to (b1) and (b3). This leaves us with two optimal candidates, (b1) and (b3), which is no good. First of all, there can be only one optimal candidate, and second, (b3) is ungrammatical. In order to make (b1) the winner, we need to rank NEGCRIT above FAITHLEX and PARMOVE.

(36) NEGCRIT » FAITHLEX, PARMOVE » LICENSE » PRONCRIT » STAY

However, this leads to an interesting problem for which I have no solution: (a1) wins the competition but (a4) should have been the optimal candidate, hence the sour face. The good question is: Why is (a1) well-formed when (b4) is not? As we saw in example (26) (f) above, a full-DP indirect object does not prevent *wh*-extraction of the direct object, so movement in general is not blocked.

When we look at Da/No/Sw 2, there is no problem:

Tableau 13.1:

Double object and NEG-shift:

Scan2: NEGCRIT, LICENSE » FAITHLEX, PARMOVE » PRONCRIT » STAY

	INPUT: IKKE	NEG CRI T	LICE NSE	FAIT HLE X	PAR M.	PRO NCR IT	S T A Y
☞ a1	Jeg har <u>ikke</u> [givet <u>manden</u> <u>nogen</u> gave]						
a2	*Jeg har <u>ikke</u> <u>nogen</u> gave [givet <u>manden</u> t]		*!		*		*
a3	*Jeg har [givet <u>manden</u> <u>ingen</u> gave]	*!		*			
a4	Jeg har <u>ingen</u> gave [givet <u>manden</u> t]		*!	*	*		*
☞ b1	Jeg gav <u>ikke</u> [v <u>manden</u> <u>nogen</u> gave]						
b2	*Jeg gav <u>ikke</u> <u>nogen</u> gave [v <u>manden</u> t]				*		*!
b3	*Jeg gav [v <u>manden</u> <u>ingen</u> gave]	*!		*			
b4	*Jeg gav <u>ingen</u> gave [v <u>manden</u> t]			*	*!		*

Tableau 13.2:

Double object and NEG-shift:

Scan2: NEGCRIT, LICENSE » FAITHLEX, PARMOVE » PRONCRIT » STAY

	INPUT: INGEN	NEG CRI T	LICE NSE	FAIT HLE X	PAR M.	PRO NCR IT	S T A Y
☞ a1	Jeg har <u>ikke</u> [givet <u>manden</u> <u>nogen</u> gave]			*			
a2	*Jeg har <u>ikke</u> <u>nogen</u> gave [givet <u>manden</u> t]		*!	*	*		*
a3	*Jeg har [givet <u>manden</u> <u>ingen</u> gave]	*!					
a4	*Jeg har <u>ingen</u> gave [givet <u>manden</u> t]		*!		*		*
☞ b1	Jeg gav <u>ikke</u> [v <u>manden</u> <u>nogen</u> gave]			*			
b2	*Jeg gav <u>ikke</u> <u>nogen</u> gave [v <u>manden</u> t]			*	*!		*
b3	*Jeg gav [v <u>manden</u> <u>ingen</u> gave]	*!					
b4	*Jeg gav <u>ingen</u> gave [v <u>manden</u> t]				*		*!

NEG-shift is never allowed across the licenser in Scan2, and therefore there is no conflict between (a1) and (a4) and no difference in grammaticality between (a4) and (b4) in tableau 13.2 as was the case in Scandinavian in tableau 12.2 above.

Next, consider **simultaneous NEG-shift and pronominal OBJ-shift**:

Tableau 14.1:

OBJ-shift and NEG-shift:

Scandinavian: NEGCRIT » FAITHLEX, PARMOVE » LICENSE » PRONCRIT » STAY

	INPUT: IKKE	NE GC RIT	FAIT HLE X	PAR MOV E	LI CE NS E	PR ON CR IT	ST AY
☞ a1	Jeg gav <u>ham</u> da ikke [v t <u>nogen gave</u>]						*
a2	*Jeg gav da ikke <u>nogen gave</u> [v <u>ham</u> t]			*!		*	*
a3	Jeg gav <u>ham</u> da <u>ingen gave</u> [v t t]		*!				**
a4	*Jeg gav da <u>ingen gave</u> [v <u>ham</u> t]		*!	*		*	*
a5	*Jeg gav <u>ham</u> da [v t <u>ingen gave</u>]	*!	*				*
b1	*Jeg gav da [v <u>ingen den</u>]	*!	*			*	
b2	Jeg gav da <u>ingen</u> [v t <u>den</u>]		*!			*	*
b3	*Jeg gav <u>den</u> da [v <u>ingen</u> t]	*!	*	*			*
b4	*Jeg gav <u>den</u> da <u>ingen</u> [v t t]		*!	*			**
b5	*Jeg gav <u>ingen den</u> da [v t t]	*!	*				**
b6	*Jeg gav <u>den ingen</u> da [v t t]	*!	*	*			**
☞ b7	Jeg gav da ikke [<u>nogen den</u>]					*	
b8	*Jeg gav <u>den</u> da ikke [<u>nogen</u> t]			*!			*
b9	*Jeg gav <u>nogen den</u> da ikke [t t]						**!

Tableau 14.2:

OBJ-shift and NEG-shift:

Scandinavian: NEGCRIT » FAITHLEX, PARMOVE » LICENSE » PRONCRIT » STAY

	INPUT: INGEN	NE GC RIT	FAIT HLE X	PAR MOV E	LI CE NS E	PR ON CR IT	ST AY
a1	Jeg gav <u>ham</u> da ikke [v t <u>nogen gave</u>]		*!				*
a2	*Jeg gav da ikke <u>nogen gave</u> [v <u>ham</u> t]		*!	*		*	*
☞ a1	Jeg gav <u>ham</u> da <u>ingen gave</u> [v t t]						**
a2	*Jeg gav da <u>ingen gave</u> [v <u>ham</u> t]			*!		*	*
a3	*Jeg gav <u>ham</u> da [v t <u>ingen gave</u>]	*!					*
b1	*Jeg gav da [v <u>ingen den</u>]	*!				*	
☞ b2	Jeg gav da <u>ingen</u> [v t <u>den</u>]					*	*
b3	*Jeg gav <u>den</u> da [v <u>ingen</u> t]	*!		*			*
b4	*Jeg gav <u>den</u> da <u>ingen</u> [v t t]			*!			**
b5	*Jeg gav <u>ingen den</u> da [v t t]	*!					**
b6	*Jeg gav <u>den ingen</u> da [v t t]	*!		*			**
b7	Jeg gav da ikke [<u>nogen den</u>]		*!			*	
b8	*Jeg gav <u>den</u> da ikke [<u>nogen</u> t]		*!	*			*
b9	*Jeg gav <u>nogen den</u> da ikke [t t]		*!				**

Tableau 15.1:

OBJ-shift and NEG-shift:

Scan2: NEGCRIT, LICENSE » FAITHLEX, PARMOVE » PRONCRIT » STAY

	INPUT: IKKE	NEGCRIT	LICENSE	FAITHLEX	PARMOVE	PRONCRIT	STAY
☞ a1	Jeg gav <u>ham</u> da ikke [v t <u>nogen gave</u>]						*
a2	*Jeg gav da ikke <u>nogen gave</u> [v <u>ham t</u>]				*!	*	*
a3	Jeg gav <u>ham</u> da <u>ingen gave</u> [v t t]			*!			**
a4	*Jeg gav da <u>ingen gave</u> [v <u>ham t</u>]			*!	*	*	*
a5	*Jeg gav <u>ham</u> da [v t <u>ingen gave</u>]	*!		*			*
b1	*Jeg gav da [v <u>ingen den</u>]	*!		*		*	
b2	Jeg gav da <u>ingen</u> [v t <u>den</u>]			*!		*	*
b3	*Jeg gav <u>den</u> da [v <u>ingen t</u>]	*!		*	*		*
b4	*Jeg gav <u>den</u> da <u>ingen</u> [v t t]			*!	*		**
b5	*Jeg gav <u>ingen den</u> da [v t t]	*!		*			**
b6	*Jeg gav <u>den ingen</u> da [v t t]	*!		*	*		**
☞ b7	Jeg gav da ikke [<u>nogen den</u>]					*	
b8	*Jeg gav <u>den</u> da ikke [<u>nogen t</u>]				*!		*
b9	*Jeg gav <u>nogen den</u> da ikke [t t]						**!

Tableau 15.2:

OBJ-shift and NEG-shift:

Scan2: NEGCRIT, LICENSE » FAITHLEX, PARMOVE » PRONCRIT » STAY

	INPUT: INGEN	NEGCRIT	LICENSE	FAITHLEX	PARMOVE	PRONCRIT	STAY
a1	Jeg gav <u>ham</u> da ikke [v t <u>nogen gave</u>]			*!			*
a2	*Jeg gav da ikke <u>nogen gave</u> [v <u>ham t</u>]			*!	*	*	*
☞ a3	Jeg gav <u>ham</u> da <u>ingen gave</u> [v t t]						**
a4	*Jeg gav da <u>ingen gave</u> [v <u>ham t</u>]				*!	*	*
a5	*Jeg gav <u>ham</u> da [v t <u>ingen gave</u>]	*!					*
b1	*Jeg gav da [v <u>ingen den</u>]	*!				*	
☞ b2	Jeg gav da <u>ingen</u> [v t <u>den</u>]					*	*
b3	*Jeg gav <u>den</u> da [v <u>ingen t</u>]	*!			*		*
b4	*Jeg gav <u>den</u> da <u>ingen</u> [v t t]				*!		**
b5	*Jeg gav <u>ingen den</u> da [v t t]	*!					**
b6	*Jeg gav <u>den ingen</u> da [v t t]	*!			*		**
b7	Jeg gav da ikke [<u>nogen den</u>]			*!		*	
b8	*Jeg gav <u>den</u> da ikke [<u>nogen t</u>]			*!	*		*
b9	*Jeg gav <u>nogen den</u> da ikke [t t]			*!			**

English has neither NEG-shift nor OBJ-shift: STAY outranks both PRONCRIT and NEGCRIT, whose relative ranking is not crucial.

There is no empirical argument to rank PARMOVE and LICENSE either above or below STAY, as violating one of them also leads to a violation of STAY. They must, however, all outrank PRONCRIT and NEGCRIT, as these constraints are violated by the optimal candidates:

Tableau 16.1:

English: PARMOVE, LICENSE, STAY, FAITHLEX » PRONCRIT, NEGCRIT

	INPUT: NOT	PAR MO VE	LICE NSE	ST AY	FAIT HLE X	PRO NCR IT	NEG CRI T
a1	I [gave <u>her</u> no money]				*!	*	*
a2	*I no money [gave <u>her</u> t]	*!	*	*	*	*	
a3	*I <u>her</u> [gave t no money]		*!	*	*		*
a4	*I <u>her</u> no money [gave t t]		*!*	**	*		
a5	*I no money <u>her</u> [gave t t]	*!	**	**	*		
☞ a6	I did <u>not</u> [give her <u>any</u> money]					*	
a7	*I did <u>not</u> <u>any</u> money [give <u>her</u> t]	*!	*	*		*	
a8	*I did <u>her</u> <u>not</u> [give t <u>any</u> money]		*!	*			
a9	*I did <u>her</u> <u>not</u> <u>any</u> money [give t t]		*!*	**			
a10	*I did <u>not</u> <u>any</u> money <u>her</u> [give t t]	*!	**	**			

Tableau 16.2:

English: PARMOVE, LICENSE, STAY, FAITHLEX » PRONCRIT, NEGCRIT

	INPUT: NO	PAR MO VE	LICE NSE	ST AY	FAIT HLE X	PRO NCR IT	NEG CRI T
☞ a1	I [gave <u>her</u> no money]					*	*
a2	*I no money [gave <u>her</u> t]	*!	*	*		*	
a3	*I <u>her</u> [gave t no money]		*!	*			*
a4	*I <u>her</u> no money [gave t t]		*!*	**			
a5	*I no money <u>her</u> [gave t t]	*!	**	**			
a7	I did <u>not</u> [give her <u>any</u> money]				*!	*	
a8	*I did <u>not</u> <u>any</u> money [give <u>her</u> t]	*!	*	*	*	*	
a9	*I did <u>her</u> <u>not</u> [give t <u>any</u> money]		*!	*	*		
a10	*I did <u>her</u> <u>not</u> <u>any</u> money [give t t]		*!*	**	*		
a11	*I did <u>not</u> <u>any</u> money <u>her</u> [give t t]	*!	**	**	*		

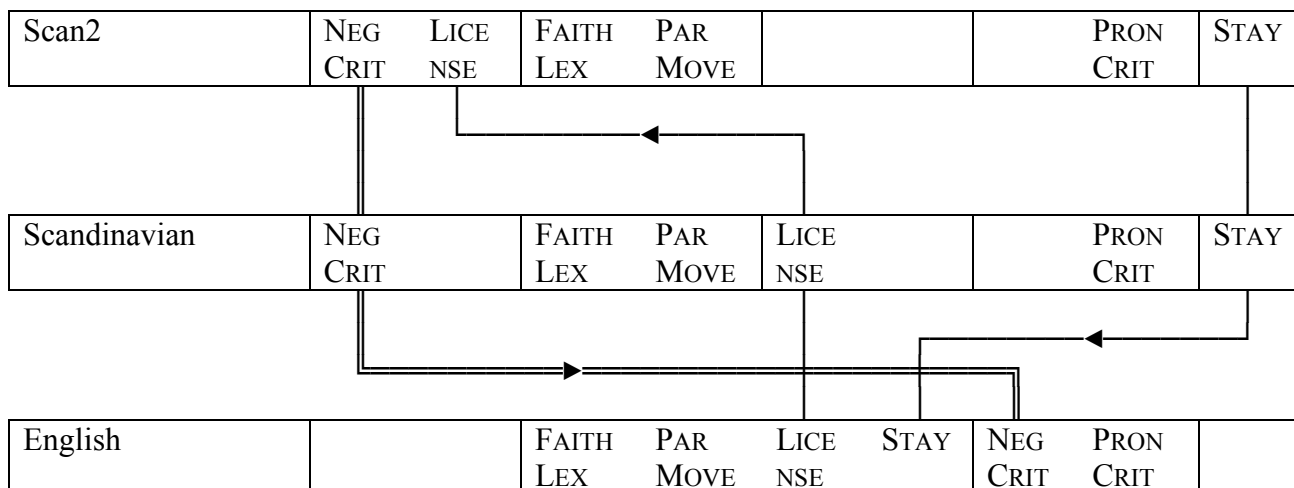
3 Conclusion

Table 3 below is a summary of the relationship between NEG-shift and Holmberg’s Generalisation in the three language groups:

	Extraction out of		Subject to HG	
	Simplex VP	Complex VP		
Scandinavian	Yes	Yes	No	NEGCRIT » FAITHLEX » LICENSE, STAY
Scan2	Yes	No	Yes	NEGCRIT, LICENSE » FAITHLEX » STAY
English	No	No	Yes	LICENSE, STAY, FAITHLEX » NEGCRIT

Table 3

We can also consider the differences as derived from parametric variation of constraint ranking (taking Scandinavian as the arbitrary point of departure):



Language X has pronominal OBJ-shift if: PRONCRIT » STAY Scandinavian & Scan2

Language X has NEG-shift if: NEGCRIT » STAY

Out of complex VP: FAITHLEX » LICENSE Scandinavian
 Or only out of simplex VP: LICENSE » FAITHLEX Scan2

Holmberg’s Generalisation applies to:

OBJ-shift: LICENSE » PRONCRIT Scandinavian & Scan2

NEG-shift: LICENSE, NEGCRIT Scan2
 LICENSE » NEGCRIT English

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