

OBJ-shift, NEG-shift & Double Objects

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1 NEG-shift

1.1 Sentential Negation and Negative Objects

In all the Scandinavian languages, i.e. Danish, Faroese, Finland Swedish, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish, negation can be expressed with (some version of) the sentence medial adverb *ikke* 'not'. The following Danish example is representative of all the Scandinavian languages.

- (1) Da: Anders har ikke [_{VP} modtaget nogen breve]
Anders has not received any letters

As the gloss shows, the same is the case for English. In all the languages, the same meaning (more or less) can be expressed with a NEGQP object consisting of the negative quantifier *ingen* 'no' and an NP. This NEGQP must be outside VP to license sentential negation (see Christensen 2003 and references cited there. In this paper, I leave out discussion of PP objects). The languages differ in the licensing conditions for this construction where the negative object has undergone NEG-shift.

All the examples with negative objects here share the same basic meaning which is also part of the input along with the numeration:

- (2) *Ikke nogen*: NOT[some y (x =subject, y =object), $P(x, y)$]
(3) *Ingen*: NO y (x =subject, y =object), $P(x, y)$

The languages fall into four groups.

First, in Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish, NEG-shift is obligatory. It takes place across the main verb in situ in sentences with auxiliary verbs, and is therefore not subject to Holmberg's Generalisation HG (Holmberg 1986: 165, 1999: 2). Again, I only give examples in Danish but they are representative¹:

- (4) Da: a. *Anders modtog_v [VP t_v ingen breve]
 b. Anders modtog_v ingen breve₁ [VP t_v t₁]
Anders received no letters
- (5) Da: a. *Anders har [VP modtaget ingen breve]
 b. Anders har ingen breve₁ [VP modtaget t₁]
Anders has no letters received

Second, in colloquial Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish, grouped together as Scan2, NEG-shift is subject to HG. NEG-shift can only apply in clauses without auxiliary verbs:

- (6) Scan2: a. *Anders modtog_v [VP t_v ingen breve]
 b. Anders modtog_v ingen breve₁ [VP t_v t₁]
Anders received no letters
- (7) Scan2: a. *Anders har [VP modtaget ingen breve]
 b. *Anders har ingen breve₁ [VP modtaget t₁]
Anders has no letters received

Third, in Finland Swedish, NEG-shift is subject to HG as in Scan2, but unlike all the other Scandinavian languages, Finland Swedish allows the NEGQP to license sentential negation in situ.

- (8) FS: *a. Jag hade [VP t_v ingenting att skaffa med den saken]
 b. Jag hade ingenting₁ [VP t_v t₁ att skaffa med den saken]
I had nothing to do with that case
- (9) FS: a. Jag har [VP haft ingenting att skaffa med den saken]
 *b. Jag har ingenting₁ [VP haft t₁ att skaffa med den saken]
I have nothing had to do with that case
 (Hulthén 1947: 130²)

Fourth, English never allows the object to undergo NEG-shift, regardless of the presence of auxiliaries. In fact, it can be claimed that NEG-shift is subject to HG and never occurs as the verb never moves out of VP (or at least not out of vP³):

¹ I concentrate on main clauses and leave out examples with embedded clauses as the examples would be completely parallel.

² The source does not provide the examples in (8)a and b and (9)b but the text makes it very clear that only (9)a, and not (9)b, is grammatical.

³ Possessive *have* may be an exception. In certain dialects of English, it doesn't take *do*-insertion as in Standard English but moves to a position preceding negation: *I haven't any money* vs. *I don't have any money*.

- (10) En: a. Jack [VP received no letters]
 b. *Jack no letters₁ [VP received t₁]
- (11) En: a. Jack has [VP received no letters]
 b. *Jack has no letters₁ [VP received t₁]

Alternatively, under Kayne's (1998) analysis, English has NEG-shift and OBJ-shift followed by VP-preposing (remnant movement). Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish lack VP-preposing, and the difference is still one of movement versus not movement. Only, the tables have turned and English has more movement than the V2 languages. Here is a simplified example:

- (12) a. Base: He has probably [VP seen nothing]
 b. NEG-shift: He has probably nothing₁ [VP seen t₁]
 c. VP-preposing: He has probably [VP seen t₁]₂ nothing₁ t₂

In this paper I do not adopt Kayne's approach and I shall not pursue this any further.

NEG-shift is motivated by the NEG-criterion (Haegeman & Zanuttini 1991: 244):

(13) **NEGCRT**

Each X^o_[NEG] must be in spec-head relation with a negative operator XP_[NEG] and vice versa⁴.

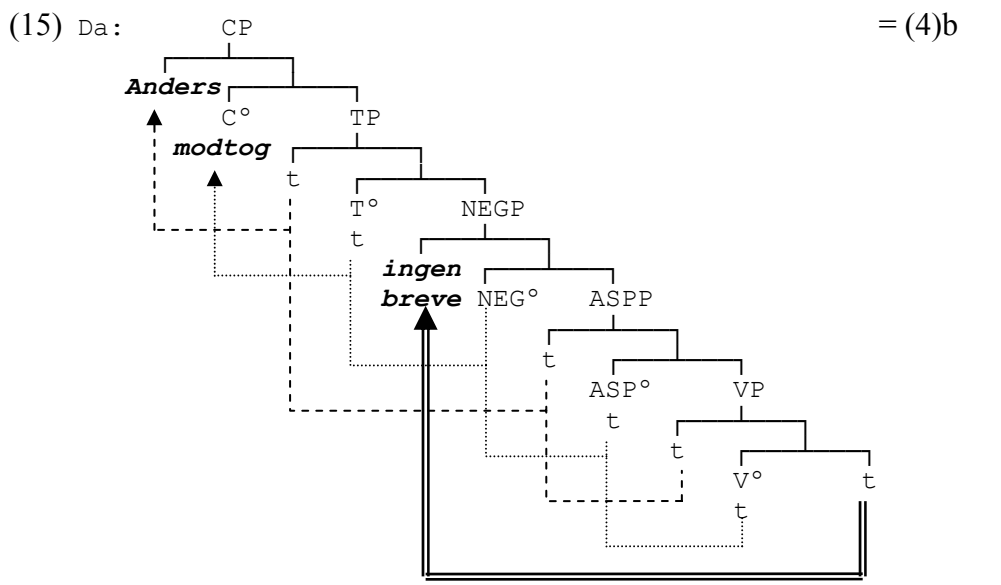
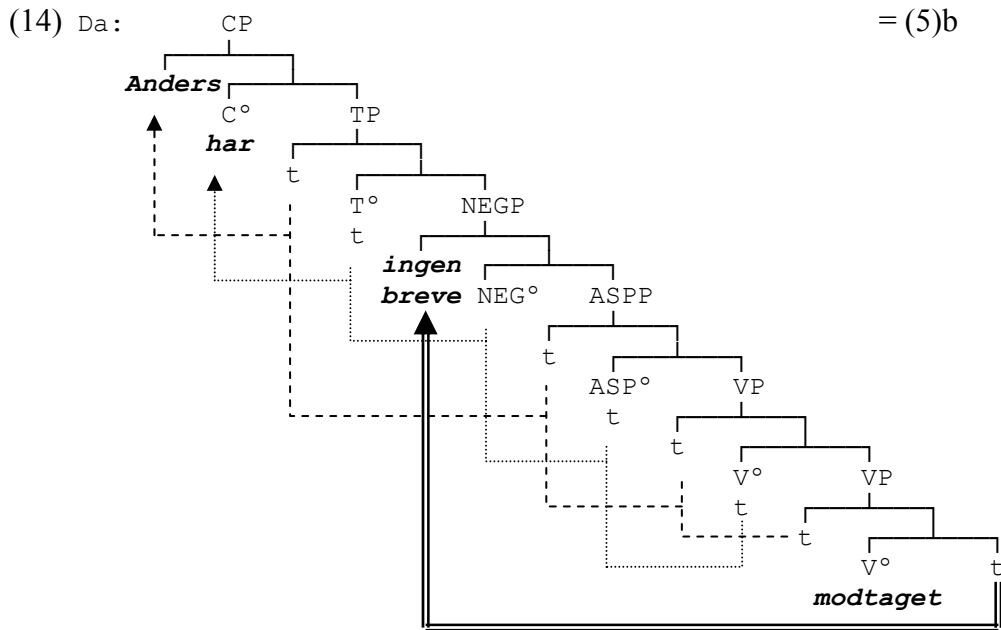
In other words, the target of NEG-shift is spec-NEGP. Unlike Haegeman & Zanuttini, I take NEGCRT to be a violable constraint in an optimality-theoretic approach.

Below are the structures corresponding to the examples in (4) and (5) above of NEG-shift in Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish. The first with an auxiliary verb and the second without:

⁴ As Hans-Martin Gärtner (p.c.) has pointed out to me, the "vice versa" part of the definition may be problematic. What about double negations? The object is not in a spec-head relation with a negative head. I think it holds after all. Consider the following two examples:

- i. Du kan da ikke spise ingenting ("you can't eat the amount of zero")
- ii. Du kan da ikke ingenting spise ("you can't eat nothing" → "you must eat something").

The former example is peculiar because of the unshifted negative object, which receives a 'trifle' interpretation. The latter is a true double negation which contains two (sentence medial) NEGPs and the negative object has undergone NEG-shift. It may also be that 'trifle' negation objects also have a NEGP and that *ingen* moves to spec of this projection. (In fact, this is parallel to the classic problem with multiple *wh*-questions, cf. Vikner (2001b: 239-239) and the references cited there.)



(The labels of the functional projections in the split IP are not crucial and instead of TP-NEGP-ASPP it could have been AGRSP-NEGP-TP. However, as none of the examples involve agreement, I use the notation without agreement projections. Sentential adverbs are adjoined to NEGP and VP-adverbials are clause final.)

The languages differ in whether they allow both (14) and (15) (Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish), only (15) (Scan2 and Finland Swedish), or none of them (English). Furthermore, one group allows *ingen/no* in situ (English and Finland Swedish), whereas the other doesn't (all the other languages).

This variation can be derived from different rankings of NEGCRIT, cf. (13) above, and the following three constraints:

(16) **STAY**

Economy of derivation / *TRACE. (Only traces of XP movement are indicated.)

(17) **V-LICENSE (V-LIC)**

An object must be licensed by being c-commanded either by its selecting V^o or the trace of this V^o (Vikner's 2001a: 328, LICENSING).

(18) **FAITHLEX**

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

In the tableaux below, “S V_{aux} [NEGP ...]” and “S V [NEGP ...]” means that the verb is in V2 position in C^o preceded by the subject in spec-CP. For the English examples, it means that spec-TP and T^o are filled by the subject and the finite auxiliary, respectively. I thus leave out information about irrelevant structure between C^o and NEGP and between NEGP and VP.

Danish, Icelandic, Faroese, Norwegian, and Swedish

(19) NEG-shift from VP

- a. Across verb: *Yes* (The (a) competition in the tableau.)
 b. Across t_v: *Yes* (The (b) competition.)

(20) {NEGCRIT, FAITHLEX} » {V-LICENSE, STAY}

Tableau 1: Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish

	VP Input: <i>ingen</i>	NEG CRIT	FAITH LEX	V- LIC	ST AY
a1	S V _{aux} [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP V <i>nogen</i> NP]]		*!		
a2	*S V _{aux} [NEGP [VP V <i>ingen</i> NP]]	*!			
☞ a3	S V _{aux} [NEGP <i>ingen</i> NP [VP V t]]			*	*
b1	S V [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v <i>nogen</i> NP]]		*!		
b2	*S V [NEGP [VP t _v <i>ingen</i> NP]]	*!			
☞ b3	S V [NEGP <i>ingen</i> NP [VP t _v t]]				*

NEG-shift applies across both verb and t_v (the answer is *Yes* in both a and b). V-LICENSE and STAY are violated in order to satisfy NEGCRIT and FAITHLEX, cf. candidates (a3) and (b3), and the constraints are ranked as in (20).

Scan2

- (21) NEG-shift from VP
- a. Across verb: *No* (The (a) competition.)
- i. ↳Lexical Substitution: *Yes*
- b. Across t_v : *Yes* (The (b) competition.)

(22) {NEGCRIT, V-LICENSE} » FAITHLEX » STAY

Tableau 2: Scan2

	VP Input: <i>ingen</i>	NEG CRIT	V- LIC	FAITH LEX	ST AY
☞ a1	S V _{aux} [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP V <i>nogen</i> NP]]			*	
a2	*S V _{aux} [NEGP [VP V <i>ingen</i> NP]]	*!			
a3	*S V _{aux} [NEGP <i>ingen</i> NP [VP V t]]		*!		*
b1	S V [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t_v <i>nogen</i> NP]]			*!	
b2	*S V [NEGP [VP t_v <i>ingen</i> NP]]	*!			
☞ b3	S V [NEGP <i>ingen</i> NP [VP t_v t]]				*

Compared with the parameters for Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish in (19) above, Scan2 differs by one setting: the answer in (21)a is *No*. NEG-shift cannot cross the verb and the optimal candidate (a1) has lexical substitution. V-LICENSE outranks FAITHLEX, which in turn is ranked above STAY to ensure that NEG-shift can cross the trace of the verb instead of allowing lexical substitution, compare (b1) and (b3).

Finland Swedish

- (23) NEG-shift from VP
- a. Across verb: *No* (The (a) competition.)
- ii. ↳Lexical Substitution: *No*
- b. Across t_v : *Yes* (The (b) competition.)

(24) {FAITHLEX, V-LICENSE} » NEGCRIT » STAY

Tableau 3: Finland Swedish

	VP Input: <i>ingen</i>	V- LIC	FAITH LEX	NEG CRIT	ST AY
a1	S V _{aux} [NEGP <i>inte</i> [VP V <i>någon</i> NP]]		*!		
☞ a2	S V _{aux} [NEGP [VP V <i>ingen</i> NP]]			*	
a3	*S V _{aux} [NEGP <i>ingen</i> NP [VP V t]]	*!			*
b1	S V [NEGP <i>inte</i> [VP t_v <i>någon</i> NP]]		*!		
b2	*S V [NEGP [VP t_v <i>ingen</i> NP]]			*!	
☞ b3	S V [NEGP <i>ingen</i> NP [VP t_v t]]				*

As in Scan2, NEG-shift is blocked by the verb in (a3) but lexical substitution is not allowed. Violations of FAITHLEX and V-LICENSE are equally worse than violating NEGCRIT and (a2) is optimal. Because NEGCRIT outranks STAY, NEG-shift takes place across the verb trace in (b3).

English

(25) NEG-shift from VP

- a. Across verb: *No* (The (a) competition.)
 iii. ↳Lexical Substitution: *No*
- b. Across t_v : (*No*) (The (b) competition.)
 iv. ↳Lexical Substitution: (*No*)

(26) {FAITHLEX, V-LICENSE, STAY} » NEGCRIT

Tableau 4: English

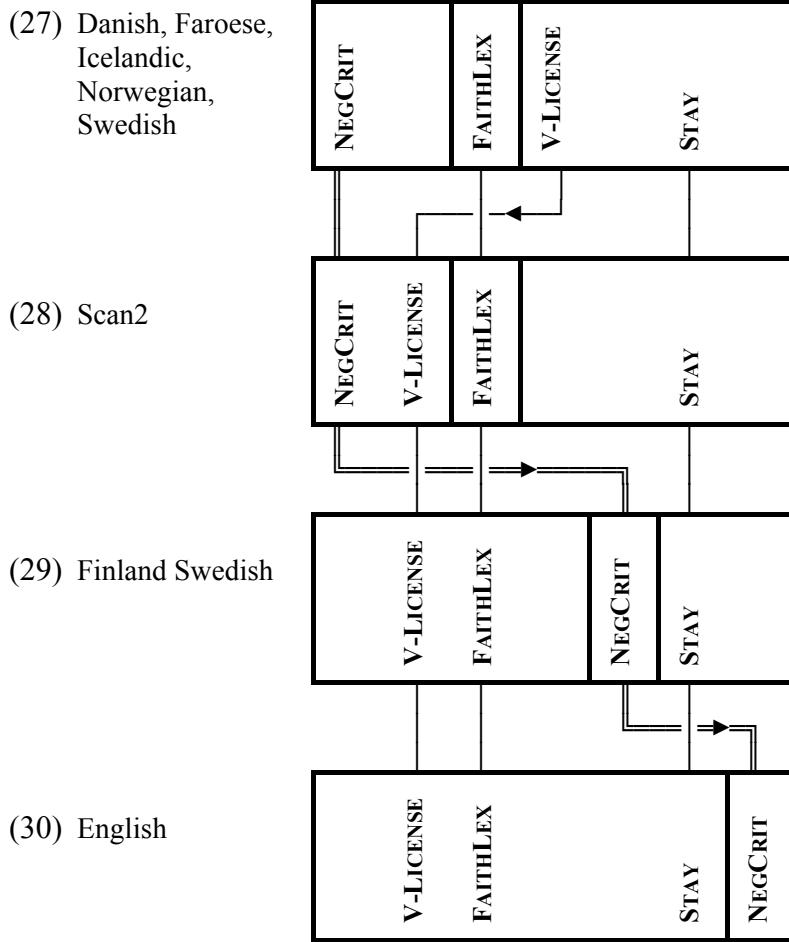
	VP Input: <i>no</i>	V- LIC	FAITH LEX	ST AY	NEG CRIT
a1	S V _{aux} [_{NEGP} <i>not</i> [_{VP} V <i>any</i> NP]]		*!		
a2	S V _{aux} [_{NEGP} [_{VP} V <i>no</i> NP]]				*
a3	*S V _{aux} [_{NEGP} <i>no</i> NP [_{VP} V t]]	*!		*	
b1	*S V [_{NEGP} <i>not</i> [_{VP} t_v <i>any</i> NP]]		*		
b2	*S V [_{NEGP} [_{VP} t_v <i>no</i> NP]]				*
b3	*S V [_{NEGP} <i>no</i> NP [_{VP} t_v t]]			*	

In English, NEG-shift is never allowed and the *no*-phrase is always in situ.

Unlike in Finland Swedish, the (b) competition is not relevant in English because the main verb never leaves V^0 and because English has *do*-insertion.

Therefore, the difference between English and Finland Swedish regarding NEG-shift, i.e. STAY » NEGCRIT versus NEGCRIT » STAY (with everything else outranking NEGCRIT in either case), has no empirical reflex. In fact, the relevant difference between (b2) and (b3) is string vacuous in any of the languages; cf. the structure in (15).

The following box-diagram sums up the variations in constraint ranking that account for observed differences in NEG-shift:



1.2 A Note on Negative Objects in Situ

Svenonius (2002) describes a number of Norwegian exceptions to the general rule that *ingen* is always in spec-NEG sentence medially. The same pattern is found in the other Scandinavian languages as well. I will just focus on one of the types of exception, namely what Svenonius calls *trifling negation*.

Consider the following scenario. A number of people participate in a contest and are rewarded with a number of points on a scale, say, from 0 to 5 which means that everybody gets a number of points even if the number is zero. In this context, *ingen* can occur VP-internally, but with a different reading than sentence negation:

- (31) Da: a. Hun har [VP fået ingen point]
 She has received no points
 ≈ "She scored zero points"
- b. Hun har ingen point₁ [VP fået t₁]
 She has no points received
 ≈ "She hasn't got any points yet/she hasn't been judged yet"

The difference can be emphasised by inserting the NPIs *heller* 'neither' and *overhovedet* 'at all': (32)a is ungrammatical under any reading.

- (32) Da: a. *Hun har heller [VP fået ingen point] overhovedet
 She has neither received no points at.all
- b. Hun har heller ingen point₁ [VP fået t₁] overhovedet
 She has neither no points received at.all
 "She hasn't got any points at all either"

The same effect is found with positive/negative tags: (31)a takes a positive tag (*and so have I*) but not a negative one (*and neither have I*), whereas the pattern is the other way around in (31)b.

Another difference is that trifling negation is very limited. It can only be used with scalar quantities, such as points or salary:

- (33) Da: a. *Hun har [VP fået ingen ideer]
 She has got no ideas
 ≈ "She has got some ideas and the number of ideas she's got is zero"
- b. Hun har ingen ideer₁ [VP fået t₁]
 She has no ideas got
 ≈ "She hasn't got any ideas"

This means that English and Finland Swedish clauses corresponding to (33)a are (potentially) ambiguous because of the lack of NEG-shift in both languages.

In Scan2, clauses with auxiliary verbs never have *ingen* with sentential negation but use *ikke* instead, and therefore they are not ambiguous.

In all the Scandinavian languages, however, clauses with the main verb in V2 position are (potentially) ambiguous because NEG-shift is string-vacuous.

1.3 A Note on Negative Subjects

The question is whether the subject moves through spec-NEGP on the way to spec-TP when the subject is negative, e.g.:

- (34) Da: Ingen har set filmen (ikke engang os)
No.one has seen the.movie (not even us)

The sentence is negative as can be seen from the negative tag.

I assume that the movement of the subject to spec-TP is motivated by a high ranking or possibly inviolable constraint such as CASE (the case filter).

The question can be answered by considering the relative ranking of NEGCRIT and STAY. In all the Scandinavian languages, the ranking is NEGCRIT » STAY which means that movement of the subject through spec-NEG leaving a trace will satisfy NEGCRIT but violate STAY. This violation is licensed as the higher ranking NEGCRIT is satisfied. So, filling spec-NEGP is optimal.

Tableau 5: Scandinavian

		NEG CRIT	ST AY
1	[No one] _i V _{aux} [NEGP t ₁ [VP t ₁ V ...]]		**
2	*[No one] _i V _{aux} [NEGP [VP t ₁ V ...]]	*!	*

In English, the ranking is the other way around and therefore skipping spec-NEGP is optimal:

Tableau 6: English

		ST AY	NEG CRIT
1	*[No one] _i V _{aux} [NEGP t ₁ [VP t ₁ V ...]]	**!	
2	[No one] _i V _{aux} [NEGP [VP t ₁ V ...]]	*	*

The exact same pattern emerges with negative topics. I assume that topicalisation is motivated by a high ranking Topic Criterion:

(35) **TOPCRIT**

The topic of the clause must be in spec-head relation with a C^o_[TOP].

Only English prohibits movement through spec-NEG because of the ranking TOPCRIT » STAY » NEGCRIT (spec-NEGP is never filled by movement), whereas the opposite is the case for Scandinavian with TOPCRIT » NEGCRIT » STAY. This difference, however, is of a purely theoretical nature as it has no empirical realisation.

2 Pronominal OBJ-shift

The Scandinavian languages have OBJ-shift of weak unstressed pronominal objects (e.g. Vikner 1989: 146; 1994), which is subject to Holmberg's Generalisation (Holmberg 1986, 1999), i.e. OBJ-shift is only possible when the main verb has left VP (i.e. V2 or Icelandic V^o-to-I^o).

In Danish, Faroese, and Icelandic, this movement is obligatory.

- (36) Da: a. *Hun så_v ikke [_{VP} t_v ham]
 b. Hun så_v ham₁ ikke [_{VP} t_v t₁]
She saw him not
 ("She didn't see him.")

- (37) Ic: a. *Ég las_v ekki [_{VP} t_v þær]
 b. Ég las_v þær₁ ekki [_{VP} t_v t₁]
I read them not
 ("I didn't read them.")

In colloquial Swedish and Norwegian, pronominal OBJ-shift is optional:

- (38) Sw: a. Jag vet_v inte [_{VP} t_v det]
 b. Jag vet_v det inte [_{VP} t_v t₁]
I know it not
 ("I don't know.")

In the languages mentioned so far, except Icelandic, a pronoun with emphatic focus stress can remain inside VP. In fact OBJ-shift of stressed pronouns is ungrammatical (uppercase letters indicate emphasis):

- (39) Da: a. Jeg mødte_v ikke [_{VP} t_v HAM]
 b. *Jeg mødte_v HAM₁ ikke [_{VP} t_v t₁]
I met HIM not
 ("I didn't meet HIM.")

- (40) Ic: a. ?Ég hitti_v ekki [_{VP} t_v HANN]
 b. Ég hitti_v HANN₁ ekki [_{VP} t_v t₁]
I met HIM not
 ("I didn't meet HIM.")

I shall focus on the unstressed pronouns.

Finally, in Finland Swedish this movement is not licensed even with the main verb in V2 position (cf. Bergroth 1917: 172, §255):

- (41) FS: a. Jag vet_v inte [VP t_v det]
 b. *Jag vet_v det inte [VP t_v t₁]
 I know it not
 ("I don't know.")

The same goes for English with the difference that the verb never moves out of VP (or at least never high enough to precede any of the sentence medial adverbs or negation; there may be movement to precede manner adverbs such as *slowly*):

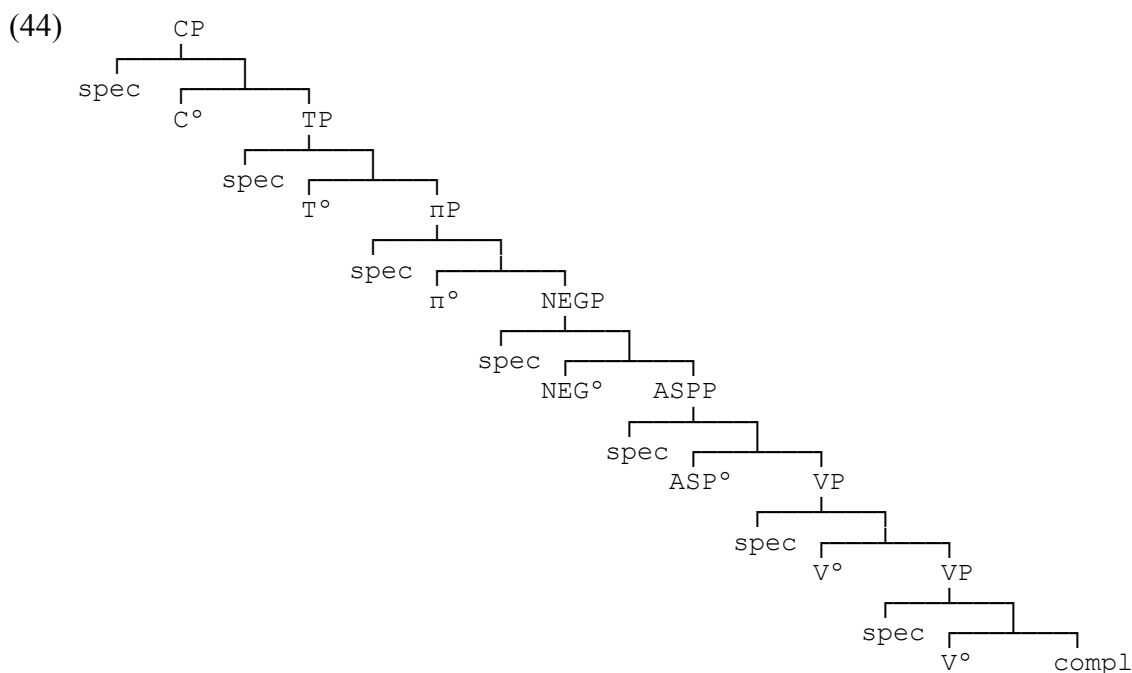
- (42) En: a. I do not [VP like her]
 b. *I do her₁ not [VP like t₁]

Müller (2001) argues that the target of pronominal OBJ-shift (and scrambling of pronouns) is a position in the domain of a functional head π° (π/pi for 'pronoun') and that it is motivated by the Pronoun Criterion⁵:

(43) **PRONCRIT**

Weak pronouns must be in the domain of π at S-Structure (Müller 2001: 289).

The π -projection is located between TP and NEGP:



⁵ See Vogel (2003) for an interesting alternative account of pronominal OBJ-shift based on phonology.

The variation in Scandinavian pronominal OBJ-shift can thus be derived by ranking PRONCRIT differently in the languages. Holmberg's Generalisation states that OBJ-shift cannot cross the licensing verb (among other things), which means that V-LICENSE is ranked above PRONCRIT⁶:

(45) **Holmberg's generalisation**⁷
V-LICENSE » PRONCRIT

In order to take into account the optionality of colloquial Norwegian and Swedish OBJ-shift, an additional constraint is needed:

(46) **SCOPE**⁸
An element has the surface position in the clause that corresponds to its relative scope. (Diesing's 1997: 373, (5): Mapping Hypothesis; Vikner's 2001a: 328, (22b): SCOPING)

Vikner (2001a) uses Scope to account for German scrambling and Icelandic full-DP OBJ-shift.

Tableau 7: Norwegian and Swedish

	“Scope”: pron > <i>inte</i>	V-LIC	PRON CRIT	STAY	SCOPE
a1	S V [_{πP} [_{NEGP} <i>inte</i> [_{VP} t _v <u>pron</u>]]]		*		*!
☞ a2	S V [_{πP} <u>pron</u> _I [_{NEGP} <i>inte</i> [_{VP} t _v t ₁]]]			*	
	“Scope”: <i>inte</i> > pron	V-LIC	PRON CRIT	STAY	SCOPE
☞ b1	S V [_{πP} [_{NEGP} <i>inte</i> [_{VP} t _v <u>pron</u>]]]		*		
b2	S V [_{πP} <u>pron</u> _I [_{NEGP} <i>inte</i> [_{VP} t _v t ₁]]]			*	*!

The tied ranking between PRONCRIT and STAY is crucial in order to make violations of the lower ranked SCOPE important. STAY must outrank SCOPE because Norwegian and Swedish don't have full-DP OBJ-shift like Icelandic.

⁶ The same blocking effect is found with licensing prepositions and therefore the ranking is P-LICENSE, V-LICENSE » PRONCRIT.

⁷ This only accounts for the blocking effect of verbs. P-LICENSE accounts for the effect of prepositions and PARMOVE for intervening indirect objects.

⁸ This is perhaps not the best label for the constraint (at least as it is used here), as pronouns being variables don't actually take scope (thanks to Peter Sells (p.c.) for pointing this out). The constraint should rather be something like MAPPING, which in turn perhaps consists of two sub-constraints: FOCUS stating that focal elements (new information) must be within VP which maps onto the “nuclear scope of an operator”, and PRESUP stating that elements that map onto the “restriction of an operator” (i.e. the presupposition or given information) must be outside VP. (Focus would then be considered an operator along the same line as topic.) This is supported by the contrast in (39) and (40) on the one hand and between pronominal and full-DP OBJ-shift on the other. However, as I restrict myself to unstressed pronouns and pronominal OBJ-shift, I will continue to use Vikner's label for the constraint.

Icelandic is the only Scandinavian language that has full-DP OBJ-shift as well as obligatory pronominal OBJ-shift, both dependent on verb movement. This means that both PRONCRIT and SCOPE outranks STAY⁹:

Tableau 8: Icelandic

		V-LIC	PRON CRIT	SCOPE	STAY
a1	*S V [_{πP} [NEGP <i>ekki</i> [_{VP} t _v <u>pron</u>]]]		*!	(*)	
☞ a2	S V [_{πP} <u>pron</u> _I [NEGP <i>ekki</i> [_{VP} t _v t ₁]]]			(*)	*
	Full-DP OBJ-shift	V-LIC	PRON CRIT	SCOPE	STAY
☞ b1	S V [NEGP <i>ekki</i> [_{VP} t _v <u>DP</u>]]			(*)	
☞ b2	S V [<u>DP</u> _I [NEGP <i>ekki</i> [_{VP} t _v t ₁]]]			(*)	*

PRONCRIT outranks SCOPE and STAY to ensure that pronominal OBJ-shift always takes place when possible (i.e. when V-LICENSE is obeyed). In turn, SCOPE outranks STAY to make full-DP possible.

In Danish, Faroese, and Norwegian, pronominal OBJ-shift is obligatory, regardless of scope, and therefore PRONCRIT outranks STAY and SCOPE. Here STAY outranks SCOPE to prevent full-DP OBJ-shift:

Tableau 9: Danish, Faroese, and Norwegian

		V-LIC	PRON CRIT	STAY	SCOPE
1	*S V [_{πP} [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [_{VP} t _v <u>pron</u>]]]		*!		(*)
☞ 2	S V [_{πP} <u>pron</u> _I [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [_{VP} t _v t ₁]]]			*	(*)

In Finland Swedish and English, STAY outranks PRONCRIT and there is no OBJ-shift. In this respect, the two languages differ syntactically only on the movement of the main verb: Finland Swedish is a V2 language and English has *do*-insertion.

Tableau 10: Finland Swedish

		V-LIC	STAY	PRON CRIT	SCOPE
☞ 1	S V [_{πP} [NEGP <i>inte</i> [_{VP} t _v <u>pron</u>]]]			*	(*)
2	*S V [_{πP} <u>pron</u> _I [NEGP <i>inte</i> [_{VP} t _v t ₁]]]		*!		(*)

⁹ The parentheses indicate that the constraint is not necessarily violated. Depending on the input scope relation between the negation and the pronominal object, SCOPE is either violated in (a1) or in (a2) but never in both. For example, if the input is pron > NEG, (a1) violates SCOPE, whereas (a2) doesn't.

Tableau 11: English

		V-LIC	STAY	PRON	SCOPE
				CRIT	
1	S do [π P [NEGP not [VP V pron]]]			*	(*)
2	*S do [π P pron ₁ [NEGP not [VP V t ₁]]]		*!		(*)

(On the difference in the ranking of V-LICENSE and STAY, recall from above that Finland Swedish has V-LICENSE » NEGCRIT » STAY, whereas English has {V-LICENSE, STAY} » NEGCRIT. As already noted, this difference has no empirical reflex.)

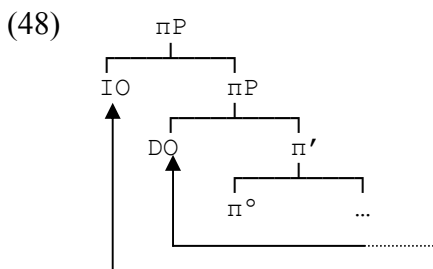
3 Double Objects and Parallel Movement

In double object construction with OBJ-shift (or scrambling), movement always has to preserve the base-generated or initial word order of the two objects (Scandinavian and English: IO-DO, German: DO-IO). Müller (2001) proposes that this is due to the Parallel Movement Constraint:

(47) **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))

The direct object DO moves to spec- π P and the indirect object IO adjoins to π P and the base-generated word order is preserved¹⁰:



(There is, of course, also the logical possibility that there are two π P projections, one for the direct object π DOP and another for the indirect object π IOP. This is parallel to the two projections for object agreement, AGROP and AGRIOP. If so, the structural order of the two π P projections would have to be subject to parametric variation: [π IOP [π DOP]] vs. [π DOP [π IOP]].)

The following Danish examples are representative of the other Scandinavian languages. What (49) and (50) show is that PARMOVE must be obeyed. A comparison of (49)b and (49)c shows that OBJ-shift must apply to satisfy PRONCRIT. However, (50)b shows that PRONCRIT can be violated to satisfy PARMOVE:

¹⁰ This obligatory word order preservation in double object shift is also discussed by Vikner (1989), who suggests that what is moved is the entire lower VP-shell, i.e. [$_{VP}$ IO V^o DO], which he labels δ P (1989: 148, (36)).

- (49) Da: a. Jeg lånte_v ikke [_{VP} t_v Marie bøgerne]
 b. *Jeg lånte_v ikke [_{VP} t_v hende bøgerne]
 c. Jeg lånte_v hende₁ ikke [_{VP} t_v t₁ bøgerne]
 d. Jeg lånte_v hende₁ dem₂ ikke [_{VP} t_v t₁ t₂]
I lent her them not (Marie) (the.books)
 (“I didn’t lend the books/them to Mary/her.”)

- (50) Da: a. Jeg lånte_v ikke [_{VP} t_v Marie bøgerne]
 b. Jeg lånte_v ikke [_{VP} t_v Marie dem]
 c. *Jeg lånte_v dem₂ ikke [_{VP} t_v Marie t₂]
 d. *Jeg lånte_v dem₂ hende₁ ikke [_{VP} t_v t₁ t₂]
I lent them her not (Marie) (the.books)
 (“I didn’t lend the books/them to Mary/her.”)

Unlike the other Scandinavian languages, Icelandic has OBJ-shift of full DPs which can be seen from the fact that they may precede the negation *ekki* ‘not’. In double object constructions, only those that respect the underlying order are grammatical. This is true for any combination of DPs, pronouns, and clitics:

- (51) Ic: a. Ég lána_v Mariú₁ bækurnar₂ ekki [_{VP} t_v t₁ t₂]
 b. *Ég lána_v bækurnar₂ Mariú₁ ekki [_{VP} t_v t₁ t₂]
I lent the.books Maria not
 (“I didn’t lend Mary the books.”)

- (52) Ic: a. Ég [lána+henni₁]_v bækurnar₂ ekki [_{VP} t_v t₁ t₂]
 b. *Ég lána_v bækurnar₂ henni₁ ekki [_{VP} t_v t₁ t₂]
I lent the.books her not
 (“I didn’t lend her the books.”)

- (53) Ic: a. Ég lána_v Mariú₁ þær₂ ekki [_{VP} t_v t₁ t₂]
 b. *Ég [lána+þær₂]_v Mariú₁ ekki [_{VP} t_v t₁ t₂]
I lent+them Maria not
 (“I didn’t lend them to Mary.”)

- (54) Ic: a. Ég [lána+henni₁+þær₂]_v ekki [_{VP} t_v t₁ t₂]
 b. *Ég lána_v þær₂ henni₁ ekki [_{VP} t_v t₁ t₂]
I lent them her not
 (“I didn’t lend them to her.”)

Thus, in all the languages discussed, PARMOVE must be ranked above PRONCRIT and SCOPE¹¹.

¹¹ According to Anagnostopoulou (2003: 123-127), some speakers of Swedish and Norwegian allow both (49)d and (50)d. As violating PARMOVE doesn’t necessarily result in ungrammaticality, the ranking in these dialects must be SCOPE » PARMOVE. Interestingly, Anagnostopoulou (2003) relates the possibility of non-parallel OBJ-shift to the Norwegian and Swedish symmetric passive. That is, both the direct and the indirect object can raise to subject under passivisation which is not possible in Danish and Icelandic (it is, however, not clear whether all speakers of Norwegian and Swedish accept both (i) and (ii) or whether it correlates completely with (un)acceptability of non-parallel OBJ-shift):

- i. Jon₁ ble gitt t₁ en bok
 ii. En bok₂ ble gitt Jon t₂
A book was given John

The following tableau shows the relevant candidates for Danish, Faroese, and Icelandic, leaving out details of Icelandic clitisation:

Tableau 12: Danish, Faroese, and Icelandic

	Input: pron _{IO} , pron _{DO}	PAR MOVE	V- LICENSE	PRON CRIT	STAY	SCOPE
1	*S V [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v <u>IO</u> <u>DO</u>]]]			*!*		
2	*S V <u>IO</u> ₁ [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v t ₁ <u>DO</u>]]]			*!	*	
3	*S V <u>DO</u> ₂ [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v <u>IO</u> t ₂]]]	*!		*	*	
4	S V <u>IO</u> ₁ <u>DO</u> ₂ [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v t ₁ t ₂]]]				**	
5	*S V <u>DO</u> ₂ <u>IO</u> ₁ [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v t ₁ t ₂]]]	*!			**	

Norwegian and Swedish allow pronominal objects in situ. Satisfying the high ranking PARMOVE, three possible constructions survive, which have to be evaluated by SCOPE. Only the candidate with the proper word order is optimal ([_{VP} IO DO] vs. [IO [_{VP} t DO] vs. [IO DO [_{VP} t t]]):

Tableau 13: Norwegian and Swedish

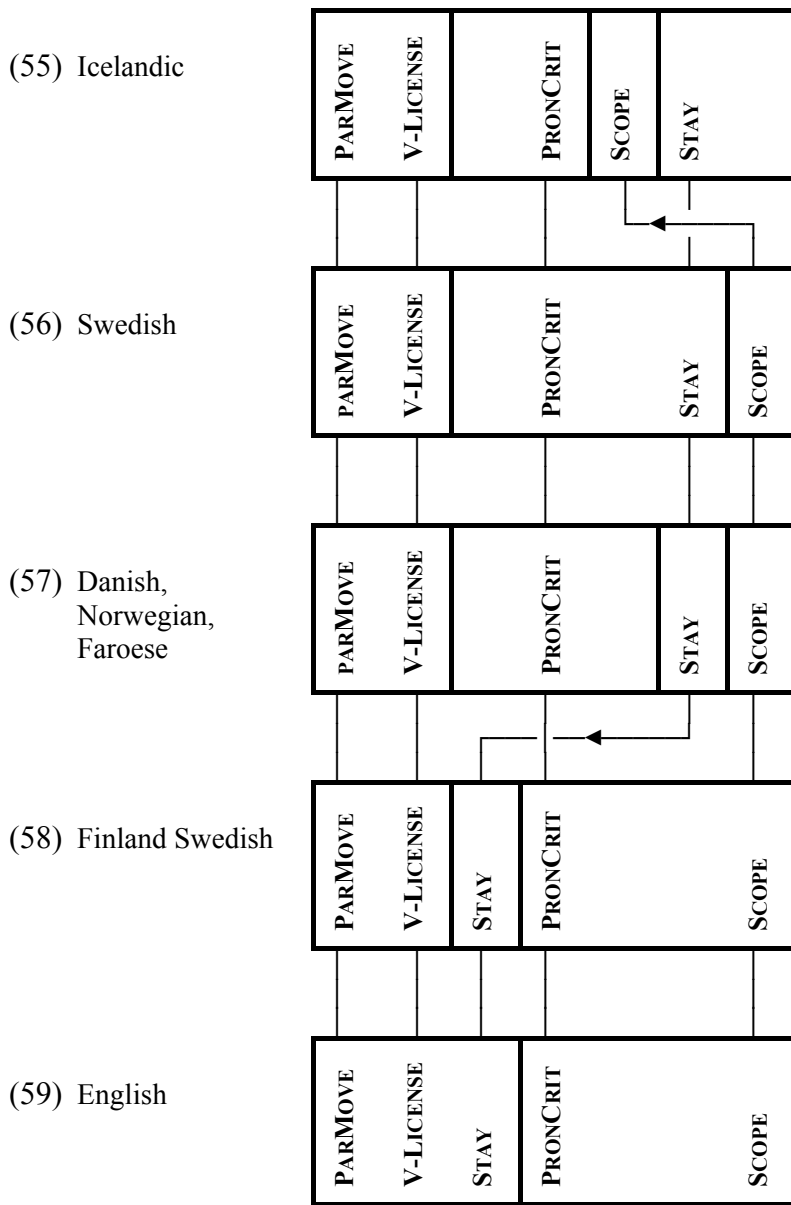
	Input: pron _{IO} , pron _{DO}	PAR MOVE	V- LICENSE	PRON CRIT	STAY	SCOPE
1	S V [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v <u>IO</u> <u>DO</u>]]]			**		(*)
2	S V <u>IO</u> ₁ [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v t ₁ <u>DO</u>]]]			*	*	(*)
3	*S V <u>DO</u> ₂ [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v <u>IO</u> t ₂]]]	*!		*	*	(*)
4	S V <u>IO</u> ₁ <u>DO</u> ₂ [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v t ₁ t ₂]]]				**	(*)
5	*S V <u>DO</u> ₂ <u>IO</u> ₁ [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v t ₁ t ₂]]]	*!			**	(*)

In Finland Swedish and English, the high ranking of Stay makes the candidate without movement optimal (I only provide a tableau for Finland Swedish but English patterns completely the same just without V2):

Tableau 14: Finland Swedish (and English)

	Input: pron _{IO} , pron _{DO}	PAR MOVE	V- LICENSE	STAY	PRON CRIT	SCOPE
1	S V [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v <u>IO</u> <u>DO</u>]]]				**	
2	*S V <u>IO</u> ₁ [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v t ₁ <u>DO</u>]]]			*!	*	
3	*S V <u>DO</u> ₂ [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v <u>IO</u> t ₂]]]	*!		*	*	
4	*S V <u>IO</u> ₁ <u>DO</u> ₂ [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v t ₁ t ₂]]]			*!*		
5	*S V <u>DO</u> ₂ <u>IO</u> ₁ [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v t ₁ t ₂]]]	*!		**		

The following box-diagram sums up the micro-variation in pronominal OBJ-shift:



4 NEG-shift and Double Objects

4.1 A Note on Wh-Movement

In traditional terms, subject movement and OBJ-shift are both instances of A-movement, but they do not block each other. The same holds for NEG-shift and *wh*-movement which are both \bar{A} -movement but do not block each other.

Curiously, both NEG-shift and OBJ-shift, but not *wh*-movement, are blocked by a VP-internal indirect object:

- (60) Da: a. Jeg gav_v ham₁ ingen gave₂ [VP t_v t₁ t₂] (OBJ- & NEG-shift)
 b. *Jeg gav_v ingen gave₂ [VP t_v manden t₂] (NEG-shift)
 c. *Jeg gav_v [VP t_v manden ingen gave]¹² (no NEG-shift)
I gave (him) (no present) the.man (no present)
 (“I didn’t give him/the man any present.”)

- (61) Da: a. Jeg gav_v ham₁ den₂ ikke [VP t_v t₁ t₂] (double OBJ-shift)
 b. *Jeg gav_v den₂ ikke [VP t_v manden t₂]¹³ (OBJ-shift)
 c. Jeg gav_v ikke [VP t_v manden den] (no OBJ-shift)
I gave (him) (it) not the.man it
 (“I didn’t give it to him/the man.”)

- (62) Da: a. Hvad₂ gav_v jeg ham₁ [VP t_v t₁ t₂] (OBJ-shift & *wh*-move)
 b. Hvad₂ gav_v jeg ingen₁ [VP t_v t₁ t₂] (NEG-shift & *wh*-move)
 c. Hvad₂ gav_v jeg [VP t_v manden t₂] (*wh*-move)
What gave I (him/no-one) the.man
 (“What did I give him/no-one/the man?”)

Wh-movement is motivated by the *Wh*-Criterion (Rizzi 1996: 64) which must be ranked above PARMOVE to make the sentences in (62) grammatical as the order of the objects is reversed.

(63) WHCRIT

XP_[+WH] is in the domain of C_[+WH] at S-structure (Müller 2001: 29, (38)).

¹² As Icelandic has full-DP OBJ-shift, the string in (60)c is grammatical with a different structure, namely the one where the negative direct object has undergone NEG-shift and the indirect object has shifted across it:

- i. *Ég gaf_v [VP t_v manninum enga gjöf]
 ii. Ég gaf_v [manninum₁ [_{NEGP} enga gjöf₂ [VP t_v t₁ t₂]]]
I gave the.man no present

¹³ This is grammatical (but has a different meaning) in Icelandic if the indirect object DP (Ic. *MADURINN*, Da. *MANDEN*) is stressed.

Note that (61)c is grammatical despite the PRONCRIT violation. The pronominal direct object *den* is preceded by the full DP indirect object *manden*. As Danish does not have full-DP OBJ-shift, both objects must be inside VP. This is licensed because PARMOVE » PRONCRIT. Leaving the object in situ is not available for NEG-shift in (60)c. I return to this in section 4.3 below.

With OBJ-shift and *wh*-movement out of the way, only NEG-shift needs an explanation.

4.2 NEG-shift and Pronominal Objects

Consider first NEG-shift of the **direct** object (DO) together with OBJ-shift of a pronominal indirect object (IO):

- (64) Da: a. *Jeg gav faktisk hende ingen gave¹⁴
 b. *Jeg gav faktisk ingen gave hende
 c. Jeg gav hende faktisk ingen gave
I gave her actually no present
 (“I actually gave her no present.”)

The examples correspond to the candidates in the following tableau. The string in (64)c has two possible structures: one with string-vacuous NEG-shift, the optimal candidate (a4), and one without, (a3):

Tableau 15: Danish

	Input: pron _{IO} <i>ingen</i> _{DO}	PAR MOVE	NEG CRIT	PRON CRIT	STAY	SCOPE
1	*S V [NEGP [VP t _v <u>pron</u> <i>ingen</i>]]		*!	*		
2	*S V [NEGP <i>ingen</i> ₂ [VP t _v <u>pron</u> t ₂]]	*!		*	*	
3	*S V <u>pron</u> ₁ [NEGP [VP t _v t ₁ <i>ingen</i>]]		*!		*	
☞ 4	S V <u>pron</u> ₁ [NEGP <i>ingen</i> ₂ [VP t _v t ₁ t ₂]]				**	

All the candidates except the optimal one violate either NEGCRIT or PRONCRIT or both. The fact that candidate 2 violates PARMOVE is ‘secondary’ as it would be ungrammatical regardless.

Consider next NEG-shift of the **indirect** object together with OBJ-shift of a pronominal direct object¹⁵:

¹⁴ This is grammatical (at least in Danish and Icelandic) if the pronoun *hende* is stressed, which is also to be expected as stressed pronouns remain in VP in Danish. Leaving the negative object in situ as well violates NEGCRIT but satisfies PARMOVE.

¹⁵ According to Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson (p.c.), even (65)b is grammatical in Icelandic with a certain ironic intonation with stress on the subject and stress on the subject of the tag:

- i. ÉG gaf hana reyndar engum en það gerðir þú
I gave it actually no.one but that did YOU

- (65) Da: a. Jeg gav faktisk ingen den
 b. *Jeg gav den faktisk ingen
I gave it actually no-one
 (“I actually gave it to no one.”)

The sentences in (65) both have two possible structures: sentence (65)a corresponds to candidates (a1) and (a2) in Tableau 16 below, and (65)b corresponds to candidates (a3) and (a4):

Tableau 16: Danish

	Input: <i>ingen</i> _{IO} <i>pron</i> _{DO}	PAR MOVE	NEG CRIT	PRON CRIT	ST AY	SCO PE
1	*S V Adv [_{NEGP} [_{VP} t _v <u>ingen</u> <u>pron</u>]]		*!	*		
2	S V Adv [_{NEGP} <i>ingen</i> ₁ [_{VP} t _v t ₁ <u>pron</u>]]			*	*	
3	*S V <u>pron</u> ₂ Adv [_{NEGP} [_{VP} t _v <i>ingen</i> t ₂]]	*!	*			*
4	*S V <u>pron</u> ₂ Adv [_{NEGP} <i>ingen</i> ₁ [_{VP} t _v t ₁ t ₂]]	*!				**

Here, the optimal candidate 2 violates PRONCRIT in order to satisfy the higher ranking PARMOVE. In other words, it is better to leave the pronominal object inside VP than to change the word order.

Regarding the relative ranking of NEGCRIT and PRONCRIT in the tableaux above, if PARMOVE, NEGCRIT, and PRONCRIT were tied, (a2) would still be optimal. However, recall from (27) above that Danish (as well as Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish) has NEGCRIT » V-LICENSE and from (57) above that it has V-LICENSE » PRONCRIT. From the principle of strict dominance it follows that NEGCRIT » V-LICENSE » PRONCRIT (OBJ-shift but not NEG-shift is subject to HG).

4.3 A Remaining Problem: the Blocking Indirect Object

The construction with a full DP indirect object in VP, as exemplified in (60)b and c above, provides empirical support for this ranking. Consider the data in (66):

- (66) Da: a. *Jeg gav **manden** ingen gave
 b. *Jeg gav ingen gave **manden**
I gave no present the.man
 (“I gave the man no present.”)
 c. Jeg gav ikke **manden** nogen gave
I gave not the.man any present
 (“I didn’t give the man any present.”)

(As far as I know, the blocking effect of a VP-internal DP_{IO} on both OBJ-shift and NEG-shift is the same in all the Scandinavian languages, so I only provide examples in Danish. As stated in footnote 12 on page 19, (66)a is grammatical in Icelandic with a different structure than the other Scandinavian languages. Again, the point is that Icelandic has OBJ-shift of full DPs.)

Only the *ikke .. nogen* ‘not any’ construction is grammatical. In other words, it is better to change the lexical material and violate FAITHLEX than to violate NEGCRIT ((66)a) or PARMOVE ((66)b).

Interestingly, the presence of the verb in V⁰ appears to be important, as can be seen from the fact that while only the construction with compound tense is possible in main clauses, both versions are grammatical in embedded clauses where the verb is always in situ:

(67) Da: a. Jeg har ingen gave₁ [VP t_v [VP **givet** manden t₁]] (Main clause)
I have no present given the.man

b. *Jeg **gav**_v ingen gave₁ [VP t_v manden t₁]] (Main clause)
I gave no present the.man

(68) Da: a. ...at jeg ingen gave₁ [VP har [VP **givet** manden t₁]] (Embedded clause)
...that I no present have given the.man

b. ...at jeg ingen gave₁ [VP **gav** manden t₁]] (Embedded clause)
...that I no present gave the.man

Some speakers find all the examples in (67) and (68) marked. However, (67)b is still significantly worse than the others. Examples (67)a and (68)b and c would then have a question mark, while (67)b would still have an asterisk. Sentence (67)b has a “garden path” effect: the immediate but absurd interpretation is that the man was given to no present.

It is also interesting to note that the problem is only related to **indirect** objects in situ. Constructions with a NEG-shifted negative indirect object and an in situ full DP **direct** object are not problematic, which is to be expected as there are no PARMOVE violations involved:

(69) Da: a. Jeg har_v ingen lingvist₁ [VP t_v [VP **givet** t₁ en bog]] (Main clause)
I have no linguist given a book

b. Jeg **gav**_v ingen lingvist₁ [VP t_v t₁ en bog]] (Main clause)
I gave no linguist a book

(70) Da: a. ...at jeg ingen lingvist₁ [VP har [VP **givet** t₁ en bog]] (Embedded)
...that I no linguist have given a book

b. ...at jeg ingen lingvist₁ [VP **gav** t₁ en bog]] (Embedded)
...that I no linguist gave a book

This gives rise to a problem for which I at present have no solution.

In Tableau 17 below, the (a) and (b) competitions correspond to (66) and (67)a respectively.

NEGCRIT has been promoted to dominate PARMOVE (as do WHCRIT and TOPCRIT) to make (b1) inherently worse than (b2). As there has been no crucial ranking between the two constraints so far, this minor change has no effect on the choice of optimality in the tableaux above.

Tableau 17: Danish

	Input: DP _{IO} , <i>ingen</i> _{DO}	NEG CRIT	PAR MOVE	FAITHL EX	V- LIC	ST AY	SCO PE
a1	*S V [NEGP [VP t _v <u>DP ingen</u>]]	*!					
a2	*S V [NEGP <i>ingen</i> ₂ [VP t _v <u>DP t₂</u>]]		*!			*	
⊖ a3	S V [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v <u>DP nogen</u>]]			*!			
☞ a4	*S V [DP ₁ [NEGP <i>ingen</i> ₂ [VP t _v t ₁ t ₂]]]					**	
	Input: DP _{IO} , <i>ingen</i> _{DO}	NEG CRIT	PAR MOVE	FAITH LEX	V- LIC	ST AY	SCO PE
b1	*S V _{aux} [NEGP [VP V <u>DP ingen</u>]]	*!					
⊖ b2	S V _{aux} [NEGP <i>ingen</i> ₂ [VP V <u>DP t₂</u>]]		*!		*	*	
b3	S V _{aux} [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP V <u>DP nogen</u>]]			*!			
☞ b4	*S V _{aux} [DP ₁ [NEGP <i>ingen</i> ₂ [VP V t ₁ t ₂]]]				**	**	

Unfortunately, there is a candidate that wins over (a3), namely the one with OBJ-shift of the indirect object. This solution is available in Icelandic, but not in Danish, which is interesting because OBJ-shift of full DPs in Icelandic normally isn't obligatory. This apparently constitutes an exception.

Considering the (b) competition corresponding to (67), once again the wrong candidate wins, i.e. the one with OBJ-shift of the indirect object. This operation, however, is not even licensed in Icelandic.

When the system is applied to the sentences in (69) with a NEG-shifted IO and an in situ full DP DO, the preferred candidates are optimal:

Tableau 18: Danish

	Input: <i>ingen</i> _{IO} , DP _{DO}	NEG CRIT	PAR MOVE	FAITHL EX	V- LIC	ST AY	SCO PE
a1	*S V [NEGP [VP t _v <i>ingen</i> <u>DP</u>]]	*!					
☞ a2	S V [NEGP <i>ingen</i> ₁ [VP t _v t ₁ <u>DP</u>]]					*	
a3	S V [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP t _v <i>nogen</i> <u>DP</u>]]			*!			
a4	*S V [DP ₂ [NEGP <i>ingen</i> ₁ [VP t _v t ₁ t ₂]]]		*!			**	
	Input: DP _{IO} , <i>ingen</i> _{DO}	NEG CRIT	PAR MOVE	FAITH LEX	V- LIC	ST AY	SCO PE
b1	*S V _{aux} [NEGP [VP V <i>ingen</i> <u>DP</u>]]	*!					
☞ b2	S V _{aux} [NEGP <i>ingen</i> ₁ [VP V t ₁ <u>DP</u>]]				*	*	
b3	S V _{aux} [NEGP <i>ikke</i> [VP V <i>nogen</i> <u>DP</u>]]			*!			
b4	*S V _{aux} [DP ₂ [NEGP <i>ingen</i> ₁ [VP V t ₁ t ₂]]]		*!		**	**	

5 Summary

The languages differ with respect to the licensing of NEG-shift:

- Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish all have NEG-shift, even across the licensing main verb in V°.
- Scan2 only allows NEG-shift in clauses where the main verb has left VP.
- Finland Swedish has NEG-shift when the main verb is in V2 and *ingen* in situ when the main verb is in V°.
- English never has NEG-shift.

	NEG-shift		Subject to HG
	Across t _v	across Verb	
Da, Fa, Ic, No, and Sw	✓	✓	✗
Scan2	✓	✗ Substitution	✗
FS	✓	✗ NEG in situ	✓
En	✗?	✗ NEG in situ	✓

Non-shifted NEGQPs can be interpreted as trifling negation, which means that they are ambiguous:

- in main clauses with the main verb in V2 in all the Scandinavian languages
- in main clauses with the main verb in V° in FS and En

The languages also differ in the licensing of OBJ-shift:

- Da, Fa, and Ic have obligatory OBJ-shift
- Sw and No have optional OBJ-shift
- FS and En have no OBJ-shift

As predicted, OBJ-shift is licensed in accordance with Holmberg's Generalisation, except that Finland Swedish needs a stronger version as OBJ-shift cannot cross the verb trace when the main verb has moved.

Parallel Movement (PARMOVE) is respected in all the languages that have OBJ-shift (i.e. Da, Fa, Ic, No, Sw, and Scan2; see footnote 11 for exceptions) when both objects undergo OBJ-shift.

PARMOVE can be (and must be) violated in topicalisation (which I haven't discussed) and *wh*-questions.

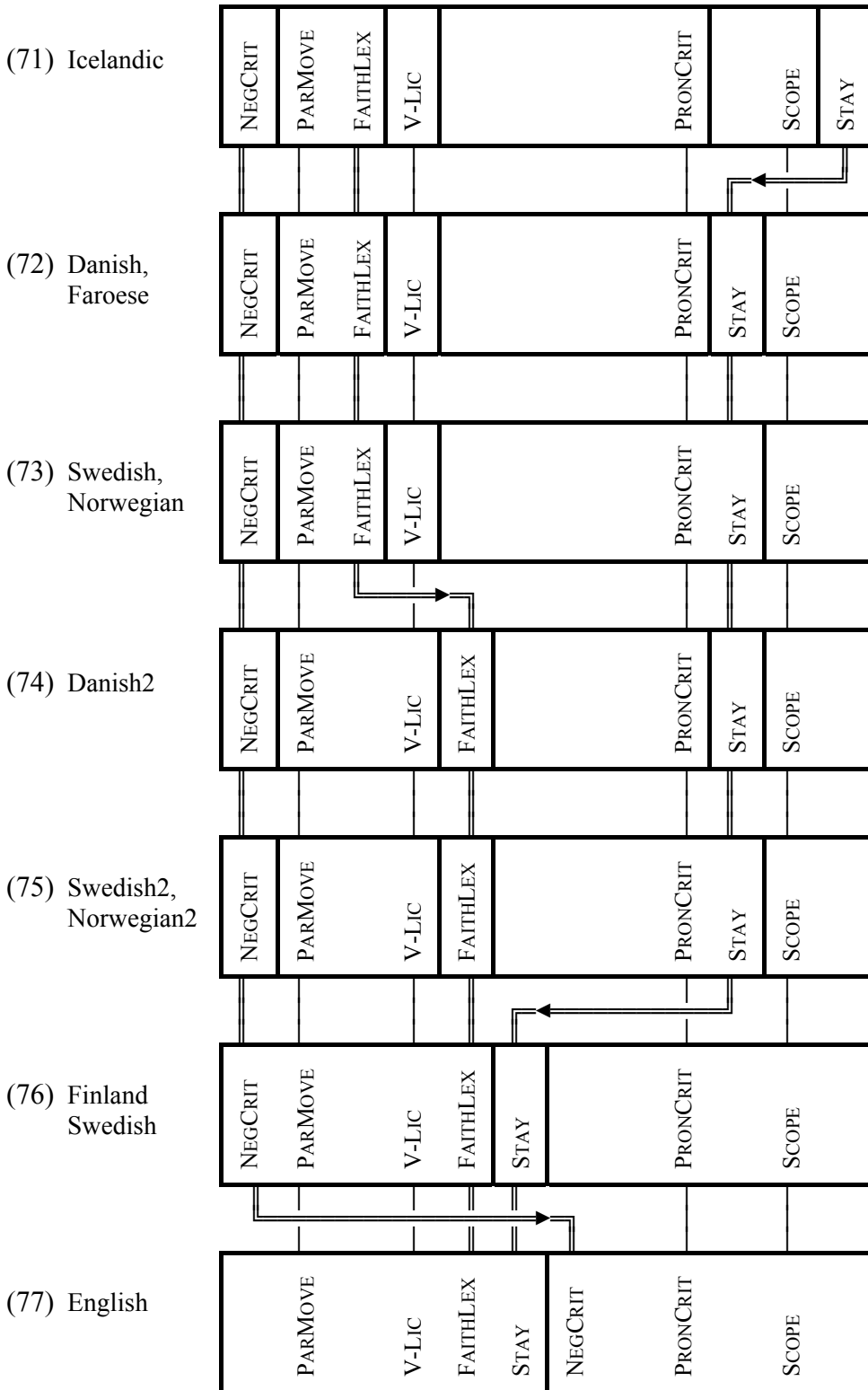
In double object constructions with one pronominal object and one negative object, PARMOVE is always respected:

- $\text{Pron}_{\text{IO}} \& \text{NEG}_{\text{DO}} \rightarrow \text{PRONCRIT}$ is violated as the pronominal IO cannot shift across the indirect object in spec-NEGP thus violating PARMOVE.
- $\text{NEG}_{\text{IO}} \& \text{pron}_{\text{DO}} \rightarrow$ both objects shift, i.e. the former undergoes NEG-shift, the latter OBJ-shift, which re-establishes the basic word order.

When one of the objects is a NEGQP and the other is a full DP:

- With $\text{NEG}_{\text{IO}} \& \text{DP}_{\text{DO}}$, PARMOVE is vacuously respected, as the IO undergoes NEG-shift while the full-DP DO stays in situ.
- With $\text{DP}_{\text{IO}} \& \text{NEG}_{\text{DO}}$, the wrong candidate wins: Full-DP OBJ-shift is the optimal, which is fine for Icelandic, and Icelandic alone, clauses with the main verb in V2, but it's ungrammatical in all the languages in clauses with the main verb in V°.

As the diagram below shows, the differences between the languages can be accounted by minimal constraint re-ranking.



6 References

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