Not in the first place

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Abstract

In this paper I discuss two problems concerning the syntax and semantic of sentence-initial negation: the ban on True Negative Imeratives that is attested in many languages and the ban on sole negative markers in sentence-initial position in V-to-C languages.

In this paper I have argued that both problems can be explained in a unified way as a result of the interplay between the syntactic and semantic status of negative markers, the fact that operators encoding the illocutionary force of a speech act take scope from C° and general effects that govern movement.

The ban on TNI's follows from the fact that no semantically negative marker may dominate the illocutionary feature in C° and it is correctly predicted that all languages where such a semantically negative marker is a syntactic head ban TNI's.

The ban on sole negative markers in sentence-initial position in V-to-C languages also results from the fact that no negative material is allowed to dominate the illocutionary features in C° and that therefore negative material may only appear in Spec,CP provided that it can be reconstructed at LF.

1 Introduction: two problems

Although from a logical perspective, negation, being a propositional operator, would be expected to be expressed in sentence-initial position, negative markers cross-linguistically tend to occur in the so-called middle field of the clause (cf. Payne (1985) and Horn (1989)). In fact, in several cases negation is even banned from sentence-initial position. In this paper I discuss two such cases, the ban on Tue Negative Imperatives that is attested in many languages and the ban on sole negative markers in sentence-initial position in V2 languages.

In this paper I argue that both problems can be explained in a unified way as a result of the interplay between the syntactic and semantic status of negative markers and the fact that operators that encode the illocutionary force of a speech act take scope from C°.

This paper is set up as follows: first I briefly introduce the two problems under investigation; in section 2 I analyse the ban on True Negative Imperatives and in section 3 I demonstrate that this analysis also applies to the ban on sole negative markers in sentence-initial position in V2 languages. Section 4, finally, concludes.

1.1 The ban on True Negative Imperatives

The second problem paper is about the fact that not every language accepts so-called True Negative Imperatives (TNI's).[1] TNI's are exemplified in (1) and (2) for Dutch and Polish respectively. In Dutch, in main clauses the finite verb precedes the negative

[1] Terminology after Zanuttini (1994)

marker *niet*. In imperative clauses the negation can also follow the finite imperative verb without yielding ungrammaticality. Polish also accepts TNI's: both in regular negative indicative clauses and in imperative clauses, the negative marker *nie* immediately precedes the finite verb.

(1)	a.	Jij slaapt *niet*	Dutch
		You sleep NEG	
		'You don't sleep'	
	b.	Slaap!	
		Sleep!	
		'Sleep'	
	b.	Slaap *niet*!	(TNI)
		Sleep NEG!	
		'Don't sleep!'	
(2)	a.	(Ty) *nie* pracujesz	Polish
		You NEG work.2SG	
		'You don't work!'	
	b.	Pracuj!	
		Work.2SG.IMP	
		'Work!'	
	c.	*Nie* pracuj!	(TNI)
		NEG work.2SG.IMP	
		'Don't work!'	

Things are different however in a language like Spanish, as illustrated in (3). In Spanish the negative marker *no* always occurs in preverbal position. However, if the verb has an imperative form, it may not be combined with this negative marker. Spanish does not allow TNI's. In order to express the illocutionary force of an imperative[2], the imperative verb must be replaced by a subjunctive. Such constructions are called Surrogate Negative Imperatives (SNIs).[3]

(3)	a.	Tu *no* lees	Spanish
		NEG read.2SG	
		'You don't read'	
	b.	¡Lee!	
		Read.2SG.IMP	
		'Read!'	
	c.	*¡*No* lee!	(*TNI)
		NEG read.2SG.IMP	
		'Don't read'	

[2] Negative sentences with the illocutionary force of an imperative are often referred to as prohibitives.

[3] See Van den Auwera 2005 (and references therein) for many more examples of languages that ban TNI's and the way those languages express SNIs.

d. ¡*No* leas! (SNI)
NEG read.2SG.SUBJ
'Don't read'

In this paper I address two questions: (i) how can this ban on TNI's in languages such as Spanish be explained? And (ii) how does the observed cross-linguistic variation follow?

1.2 The ban on sole negative markers in sentence-initial position in V2 languages

In V2 languages (such as Dutch, German or Swedish), negative expressions, negative markers included, are in principled allowed to occur in sentence initial position (i.e. in Spec,CP), as shown in (4)-(5).

(4) a. Niemand komt Dutch
Nobody comes
'Nobody comes'
b. Niet iedereen komt
NEG everybody comes
'Not everybody comes'
c. Nooit neem ik een hond
Never take I a dog
'I'll never have a dog'

(5) a. Niet Marie heb ik gebeld ??(maar Jan) Dutch
Neg Marie have I called, but Jan
'I didn't call Marie (but Jan)'
b. Niet kippen hebben vier poten, ??(maar koeien)
NEG chickens have four legs, but cows
'Chickens don't have four legs, cows do'

However, the occurrence of single *niet* ('NEG') is banned in this position. Sentence is ruled out:

(6) *Niet komt Jan Dutch
NEG comes Jan
'John doesn't come'

These facts seem to hold for all V2-languages. This means that in those languages that only allow Spec,CP to occur left of V_{fin}, no sole negative operator is allowed to occupy this position, but a complex negative operator ('not XP') is, as is illustrated for German and Swedish.

(7) a. *Nicht hat er Hans gesehen German
NEG has he Hans seen
'He didn't see Hans'
b. Keiner hat das gemacht
Nobody has that done
'Nobody did that'

c. Nicht Hans hat er gesehen, sondern Peter
NEG Hans has he seen, but Peter
'He didn't see Hans, but peter'

(8) a. *Inte var det Selma — Swedish
NEG was it Selma
'It wasn't Selma'
b. Inte all kom till festen
Neg all came to party.the
'Not everybody came to the party'
c. Inte Selma utan Sven var det — (Brandtler 2006)
NEG Selma but Sven was it
'It wasn't Selma but Sven'

The fact that the constructions in (4) are plainly grammatical, and that the ones in (5) can be easily accepted when a proper contrast is given, indicates that the following generalisations be true:

(9) *[$_{CP}$ NEG [$_{C°}$ V_{fin}]]

(10) [$_{CP}$ [NEG XP] [$_{C°}$ V_{fin}]]

This leads to the following questions: why is (9) ruled out whereas (10) is ruled in?

2 The ban on True Negative Imperatives

In this section I show that ban on True Negative Imperatives follows from three generally accepted assumptions: (i) the fact that the operator that encodes the illocutionary force of an imperative universally takes scope from C°; (ii) the fact that this operator may not be operated on by a negative operator and (iii) the Head Movement Constraint (an instance of Relativized Minimality). In this paper I argue that languages differ too with respect to both the syntactic status (head/phrasal) and the semantic value (negative/non-negative) of their negative markers. Given these differences across languages and the analysis of TNI's based on the three above-mentioned assumptions, two typological generalisations can be predicted: (i) every language with an overt negative marker X° that is semantically negative bans TNI's; and (ii) every language that bans TNI's exhibits an overt negative marker X°. I demonstrate in my paper that both typological predictions are born out.

2.1 Previous analyses

2.1.1 Rivero (1994), Rivero & Terzi (1995)

Rivero (1994) and Rivero & Terzi (1995) assume that the clausal structure always has the structural relations in (11).

(11) CP > NegP > IP > VP

They propose then that the difference between Slavic languages (which generally allow TNI's) and Romance languages (that generally disallow them) concerns the position where imperative force is induced in the sentence. This is either IP (expressed by movement of V_{imp} to I°) or CP (expressed by verbal movement to C°). Now the difference between Slavic and Romance languages falls out immediately: if the Neg° position is filled by an overt element, i.e. by a negative marker, then verbal movement from I° to C° is no longer allowed, given the Head Movement Constraint (Travis (1984)). Hence Slavic languages, such as Polish, allow TNI's, whereas Romance languages, such as Italian, where the verb moves to C°, do not (see (12)).

(12) a. $[_{CP}\ [_{NegP}\ [_{Neg°}\ \textit{Nie}]\ [_{IP}\ [_{I°}\ \text{pracuj}_{[IMP]i}]\ [_{VP}\ t_i]]]]$ Polish

NEG work.2SG.IMP
'Don't work!'

b. *$[_{CP}\ [_{C°}\ \text{Parla}_{[IMP]i}]\ [_{NegP}\ [_{Neg°}\ \textit{no}]\ [_{IP}\ [_{I°}\ t_i]\ [_{VP}\ t_i]]]]$ Italian[4]

NEG talk.2SG.IMP
'Don't talk!'

Rivero's and Rivero & Terzi's analysis faces two serious problems. The first problem is that it is unclear why in Romance languages the negative marker is not allowed to clitisize onto V_{imp} so that they move together to C° as a unit, a point already addressed by Han (2001). Rizzi (1982) argues that in constructions such as (13), consisting of a participle or an infinitive, the subject occupies a Spec,IP position and the auxiliary moves to C°. In case of negation, the negation then joins the verb to move to C°. Rizzi refers to these structures as Aux-to-Comp constructions.

(13) a. $[[_{C°}$ avendo] Gianni fatto questo] Italian[5]
having Gianni done this
'Gianni having done this, …'

b. $[[_{C°}$ *non* avendo] Gianni fatto questo]
NEG having Gianni done this
'Gianni having not done this, …'

If in the cases above *non* is allowed to attach to V_{part}/V_{inf}, it is unclear why this movement would not be allowed in the case of V_{imp}.[6]

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[4] At first sight the ban on TNI's seems only to apply to the singular imperative forms in Italian. However, the Italian plural imperative form and the corresponding 2nd person indicative are phonological identical. I follow Zanuttini (1997) who takes plural imperatives to banned as well and takes the (phonologically identical) indicative forms as the corresponding SNI. This adoption is in line with the observation that no other language banning TNI's makes a distinction between singular and plural imperatives.

[5] Examples taken from Rizzi (1982)

[6] Rivero and Terzi argue that in these cases the $V_{part/inf}$ does not raise to C°, but to a position lower than Neg° and that the subject is in a position even below. This analysis seems to be contradicted by the fact that (*non*) *avendo* may even precede speaker-

The second problem is that in the structure in (12)a the operator that encodes the illocutionary force of an imperative is c-commanded by the negation. It has already been noted by Frege (1892) and Lee (1988) that negation cannot operate on the illocutionary force of the sentence, but only on its propositional content (a negative assertion remains an assertion, a negative question remains a question, and a negative command has to remain a command). Hence, in Rivero and Terzi's analyses for Slavic languages either negation takes scope from too a high position, or the imperative operator takes scope from too a low position.

2.1.2 Zanuttini (1997)

Zanuttini (1997) discusses different kinds of negative markers basing herself on a number of Romance dialects (mostly from Northern Italy). She distinguishes for instance between negative head markers (X°) that can negate a clause by themselves and those that require an additional negative marker in order to express sentential negation. The differences are given in (14): Italian *non* can negate a clause by itself, French *ne* cannot.

(14) a. Gianni *non* telefona — Italian
Gianni NEG calls
'Gianni doesn't call'

b. Jean *ne* téléphone *(*pas*) — French
Jean NEG calls NEG
'Jean doesn't call'

Zanuttini argues that the difference between Italian *non* and French *ne* reduces to the functional projection they host. Moreover, she observes that with respect to the Italian varieties she studied the following generalisation holds: every variety that has a negative marker that can negate a clause by itself bans TNI's. Moreover Zanuttini observes that in some varieties the negative markers that can negate a clause by themselves are sensitive to mood. Subjunctives may require a different negative marker than indicatives, an observation that goes back to Sadock & Zwicky (1985) who studied a larger set of languages. Zanuttini accounts for the ban on TNI's in Romance varieties by assuming that all negative markers that can negate a clause by themselves are always lexically ambiguous between two different lexical items, which are often phonologically identical. She claims that in Italian the negative marker *non* is lexically ambiguous between *non*-1, which may occur in clauses with the illocutionary force of an imperative, and *non*-2, which may appear in indicative clauses. Furthermore, Zanuttini proposes that *non*-1 subcategorizes a MoodP, whereas *non*-2 does not:

(15) a. $[_{\text{NegP}}$ *non*-1 $[_{\text{MoodP}} \ldots [_{\text{VP}}]]]$ — imperative clauses
b. $[_{\text{NegP}}$ *non*-2 $\ldots [_{\text{VP}}]]$ — indicative clauses

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oriented adverbs such as *evidamente* ('evidently'), which occupy a position higher than NegP (as pointed out by Cinque (1999) and repeated in Han (2001)).

The ban on TNI's can now be accounted for as follows. Imperative verbs are often morphologically defective, indicating that they lack a particular [MOOD] feature. As a result, the [MOOD] feature on Mood° cannot be checked and the sentence becomes ungrammatical. In other clauses, e.g. indicatives, there is no MoodP selected, and thus the sentence is grammatical, as shown in (16).

(16) a. *[NegP *Non*-1 [$_{MoodP}$ [$_{Mood°[Mood]}$ telefona$_{[IMP]i}$] a Gianni [$_{VP}$ t_i]]] Italian
└ x┘
NEG call.2SG.IMP to Gianni
'Don't call Gianni!'

b. [Io [NegP *non*-2 telefono$_i$ a Gianni [$_{VP}$ t_i]]]
I NEG call.1SG to Gianni
'I don't call Gianni'

Still, this analysis suffers from two problems. First, the lexical distinction between *non-1* and *non-2* seems not well motivated. The piece of evidence that *non*'s is lexically ambiguous is motivated by the observation that in languages, which have two distinct negative markers, these markers are often sensitive to mood distinctions in the verbal paradigm (cf. Sadock & Zwicky (1985)). However, in most of these languages this second negative marker is not only used in imperatives, but also in subjunctives. In Greek, for example, the negative marker *dhen* is used in indicatives and the negative marker *mi* in subjunctives and imperatives. However, TNI's are ruled out not only if *dhen* is the negative marker, but also if the negation is expressed by *mi*. The SNI can only be formed using the negative marker *mi* in combination with a subjunctive verb:

(17) a. **Dhen* to diavase! Greek
NEG read.IMP it
'Don't read it!'

b. **Mi* to grapse!
NEG write.IMP it
'Don't write it!'

c. *Mi* to grapsis![7]
NEG it read.SUBJ
'Don't read it!'

The fact that Greek exhibits two negative markers is not related to the fact that TNI's are excluded with the first negative marker as the second negative marker excludes them as well. Consequently, the fact that several languages have different negative markers for different moods does not hold as an argument for the lexical ambiguity of Italian *non*.

Second, the prediction that this analysis makes is too strong. It is unclear why the analysis does not hold for Slavic languages, such as Polish, which has a negative head marker *nie* that negates a clause by itself and allows TNI's. Note that in most

[7] The position of the clitic is related to the imperative/subjunctive distinction. Imperatives require the clitic to appear left adjoined to the verb, subjunctives require enclitisation.

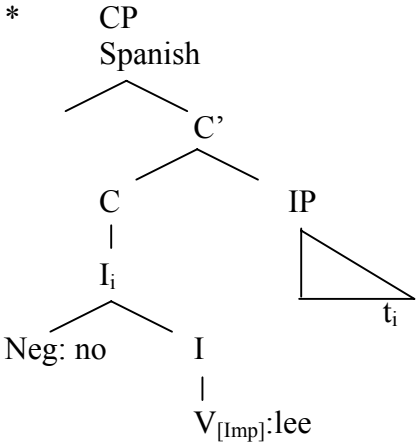
Slavic languages the imperative seems to be morphologically defective as well. Moreover, one may even find Romance varieties, which allow TNI's. Old Italian (18) is an example.

(18) *Ni* ti tormenta di questo! Old Italian
NEG yourself torment.2SG.IMP of this
'Don't torment yourself with this!'

2.1.3 Han (2001)

Han (2001) argues that the ban on TNI's does not follow from syntactic requirements that have been violated, but from a semantic violation: the imperative operator (i.e. the operator that encodes the illocutionary force of an imperative, Op_{IMP} hereafter) may not be in the scope of negation. Op_{IMP} is realised by moving V_{imp}, carrying a feature [IMP], onto C°. Han takes negation in Romance languages to head a projection somewhere high in the IP domain. Hence, negation head-adjoins first to V_{imp}, and then as a unit they move further to C°. As a result Op_{IMP} remains in the c-command domain of negation, which violates the constraint that negation may only operate on the propositional content of the clause. The structure (19) is thus ill formed.

(19) *



Under this analysis, it becomes immediately clear why in languages like Dutch TNI's are allowed. In those languages negation does not form a unit with V_{imp} and V_{imp} raises across negation to C°, as shown in (20).

(20) $[_{CP}$ slaap$_{[Imp]i}$ $[_{VP}$ *niet* $t_i]]$[8] Dutch

For Slavic languages Han assumes that V_{imp} does not move to C°. Consequently, this would mean that V_{imp} remains under the scope of negation (as the negative marker is a syntactic head in those languages, V_{imp} cannot move across it). However, Han argues

[8] In Zeijlstra (2004) it is suggested that there is no NegP and that the negative marker *niet* occupies a VP-adjunct position (instead of Spec,NegP). However, the current analysis of TNI's in Dutch does not depend on this assumption.

that in those cases the feature [IMP] moves out of V_{imp} and moves to C°. Thus, Op_{IMP} outscopes negation, as demonstrated in (21) for Polish.

(21) $[_{CP}$ [IMP]$_i$ $[_{NegP}$ *nie* $[_{IP}$ pracuj$_i$]]] Polish

The fact that Han allows feature movement for the Slavic languages seems to contradict the analysis for Romance languages, since it remains unclear why this feature movement would not be possible in Romance languages. Apart from this problem, Han assumes that the negative marker (in the languages discussed) is always the carrier of semantic negation. In the following section I demonstrate that this is not always the case.

2.2 Semantic and syntactic properties of negative markers

In this section I discuss some semantic properties of negative markers. I present arguments that show that negative markers differ cross-linguistically with respect to their semantic contents. In some languages, such as Spanish and Italian, I argue that the negative marker is the phonological realisation of a negative operator. In other languages, such as Polish and Czech, I argue that the negative marker is semantically vacuous, but has a syntactic requirement that it needs to stand in an Agree relation with a negative operator, which may be left phonologically abstract. The section concludes with a few remarks about the syntactic status of negative markers.

2.2.1 Strict vs. Non-strict NC languages

The term *Negative Concord (NC)* refers to the phenomenon in which two negative elements yield only one semantic negation. The set of NC languages falls apart in two classes: Strict NC languages and Non-strict NC languages. In Strict NC languages the n-words[9] must be accompanied by the negative marker, regardless whether they follow or precede the negative marker, n-words as is demonstrated for Czech in (22). In Non-strict NC languages the negative marker must accompany postverbal n-words, but may not accompany preverbal n--words. An example of a Non-strict NC language is Italian (23).

(22) Strict NC:

a. Milan *(*ne*)vidi *nikoho* Czech
Milan NEG.saw n-body
'Milan didn't see anybody'

b. Dnes *(*ne*)volá *nikdo*
Today NEG.calls n-body
'Today nobody calls'

c. Dnes *nikdo* *(*ne*)volá
Today n-body NEG.calls
'Today nobody calls'

[9] Terminology after Laka (1990), Giannakidou (2002).

(23) Non-strict NC:

a. Gianni *(*non*) ha telefonato a *nessuno* Italian
Gianni NEG has called to n-body
'Gianni didn't call anybody'

b. Ieri *(*non*) ha telefonato *nessuno*
Yesterday NEG has called n-body
'Yesterday nobody called'

c. Ieri *nessuno* (**non*) ha telefonato (a *nessuno*)
Yesterday n-body NEG has called to n-body
'Yesterday nobody called anybody'

In Zeijlstra (2004) it is argued that NC is a form of multiple Agree (cf. Ura (1996), Hiraiwa (2001, 2005)) between a negative operator that carries an interpretable negative feature [iNEG] and elements that carry an uninterpretable negative feature [uNEG]. Sentence (23)a can thus be analysed as (24), where *nessuno*'s [uNEG] feature is checked against *non*'s [iNEG] feature.[10]

(24) $[_{TP}$ Gianni $[_{NegP}$ *non*$_{[iNEG]}$ ha telefonato a *nessuno*$_{[\sout{uNEG}]}$]]

Given the assumption that n-words are analysed as semantically non-negative indefinites that carry a feature [uNEG] (cf. Ladusaw (1992), Brown (1999), Zeijlstra (2004)), it follows that the negative operator must c-command them in order to yield the correct readings. Consequently, it means that if the negative marker carries a feature [iNEG] no n-word is allowed to precede it (and still yield an NC reading).

However, in Strict NC languages such as Czech, the negative marker may be preceded by an n-word. Consequently, this negative marker cannot be the phonological realisation of the negative operator. It then follows that the negative marker itself carries [uNEG] and that it has its [uNEG] feature checked by an abstract negative operator *Op*$_{\neg}$, as shown in (25).[11]

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[10] Note that here a feature checking mechanism is adopted in which checking may take place between a higher interpretable and a lower uninterpretable feature (cf. Adger (2003))

[11] Note that this analysis requires that an abstract *Op*$_{\neg}$ is also available in Non-strict NC languages, for instance in constructions such as (23)c. Here the abstract negative operator dominates the preverbal n-word. Adding the negative marker *non* would lead to a double negation reading (which is actually available if the preverbal n-word is stressed). Given that Italian has an abstract negative operator next to the overt negative operator non, the following question immediately arises: why can't the abstract operator license postverbal n-words as well, given rise to sentences such as *'Gianni ha telefonato a nessuno', which is ruled out. The explanation is the following: the abstract negative operator is induced in the lowest position in the clause. In the case of a single postverbal n—word, it would occupy a VP in situ position. However, this does not give rise to a sentential negation: the reading that comes about in something like 'there is a calling event, but no individual that has been called.' This leads to a semantic

(25) Dnes $Op_{\neg[iNEG]}$ *nikdo*$_{[uNEG]}$ *ne*volá$_{[uNEG]}$ Czech
Today n-body NEG.calls
'Today nobody calls'.

The [uNEG]/[iNEG] distinction directly explains the Strict NC vs. Non-strict NC pattern that one finds amongst NC languages. Thus I argue that negative markers in Non-strict NC languages, like Italian *non* and Spanish *no*, carry a feature [iNEG], whereas negative markers in Strict NC languages, such as Czech *ne* and Polish *nie*, carry a feature [uNEG].

2.2.2 Further evidence

I now present some further evidence for the assumption that the difference between Strict and Non-strict NC languages reduces to the semantic value of their negative markers. First it can be shown that negation behaves differently in Strict and Non-strict NC languages with respect to the scope of quantifying DPs. This is shown in (26). Although Czech *moc* ('much') dominates the negative marker, it is outscoped by negation. This reading is however not obtained in a similar construction in Italian, where *molto* ('much') remains in the scope of negation. This is a further indication that Italian *non*, contrary to Czech *ne*, is a phonological realisation of $Op_{\neg}$.

(26) a. Milan moc *ne*jedl Czech
Milan much NEG.eat.PERF
$\neg$ > much: 'Milan hasn't eaten much'
*much > $\neg$: 'There is much that Milan didn't eat'

b. Molto *non* ha mangiato Gianni Italian
Much NEG has eaten Gianni
*$\neg$ > much: 'Gianni hasn't eaten much'
much > $\neg$: 'There is much that Gianni didn't eat'

Second, in some Strict NC languages the negative marker may be left out if it is preceded by an n-word, something to be expected on functional grounds if the negative marker carries [uNEG] (if an n-word precedes it, the negative marker is no longer needed as a scope marker). This is for instance the case in Greek (a Strict NC language) with *oute kan* ('NPI-even'). If *oute kan* precedes the negative marker *dhen*, the latter may be left out. If it follows *dhen*, *dhen* may not be removed (cf. Giannakidou (2005)). This forms an argument that Greek *dhen* is in fact not semantically negative. As Greek is a Strict NC language, this confirms the assumption that in Strict NC languages the negative marker carries [uNEG].

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contradiction. See Herburger (2001) and Zeijlstra (2004) for a more detailed description and explanation of these facts.

(27) a. O Jannis *(*dhen*) dhiavase *oute kan* tis Sindaktikes Dhomes[12] Greek
The Jannis neg reads even the Syntactic Structures
'Jannis doesn't read even Syntactic Structures'
b. *Oute kan* ti Maria (*dhen*) proskalese o pritanis
Even Maria NEG invite the dean
'Not even Maria did the dean invite'

Finally, the semantic emptiness of negative markers may solve a problem put forward by Watanabe (2005) against Giannakidou's (2000) analysis of fragmentary answers. Giannakidou (2000, 2002) argues that n-words in Greek are semantically non-negative. Hence, she has to account for the fact that n-words in fragmentary answers like in (28)a yield a reading that includes a negation. She argues that this negation, expressed by *dhen*, is deleted under ellipsis. Hence the assumption that n-words are semantically non-negative can be maintained. Watanabe (2004) argues that this analysis violates the condition that ellipsis may only take place under semantic identity (cf. Merchant's (2001a) notion of e-GIVENness). However, as the question does not contain a negation, it may not license ellipsis of the negative marker *dhen*. If on the other hand, *dhen* is semantically non-negative, the identity condition is met again. The abstract negative operator then induces the negation in the answer. Note that in Non-strict NC languages, such as Spanish or Italian, the negative marker never follows an n-word, and therefore no negative marker can be deleted under ellipsis in the first place.

(28) a. Q: Ti ides? A: [*Op*¬ [*TIPOTA* [~~*dhen* ida~~]]] Greek
What saw.2SG? N-thing [NEG saw.1SG]
'What did you see?' 'Nothing!'
b. Q: ¿A quién viste? A: [*Op*¬ [A *nadie* [~~vió~~]]] Spanish
What saw.2SG? N-thing [saw.1SG]
'What did you see?' 'Nothing!'

2.2.3 A few words on syntax

Finally, a few words on the syntactic status of negative markers need to be said. All three analyses that have been discussed in section 2, as well as my own analysis that I present in section 5, crucially rely on the distinction between negative markers that are syntactic heads (X°) and those that have phrasal status (XP). I follow the standard analysis (Haegeman (1995), Zanuttini (1997, 2001), Merchant (2001b), Zeijlstra (2004) amongst many others) that negative adverbs (such as Dutch *niet*, German *nicht*, French *pas*) are XPs, whereas weak or strong preverbal negative markers as well as affixal negative markers have X° status (Italian *non*, Spanish *no*, Polish *nie*, Czech *ne*, Greek *dhen*, French *ne*). The tests on which these analyses are grounded are blocking of verbal movement or clitic climbing (negative markers X° do, negative markers XP do not, cf. Zanuttini (1997, 2001)) or the possibility to adjoin to XP phrases such as 'why' climbing (negative markers X° do not, negative markers XP do, cf. (Merchant 2001b)). The syntactic status of negative markers has been widely discussed in the literature and

[12] Example taken from Giannakidou (2005).

will therefore not be repeated here. The reader is referred to Zeijlstra (2004) for an evaluation of analyses concerning the syntactic status of negative markers.

Negative markers can thus be distinguished in two respects, each with two possible values: they have either X° or XP status and they have either a value [iNEG] or [uNEG].[13]

2.3 Analysis

I argue that both the ban on TNI's and its cross-linguistic distribution can be explained on the basis of the following three well-motivated assumptions. First, I assume that Op_{IMP} must take scope from C°, a standard analysis in the syntax of imperatives (cf. Han (2001)).[14] Second, I adopt the classical observation that operators that encode illocutionary force may not be operated on by a (semantic) negation. In this respect, the analysis presented here reflects Han's analysis. Third, I adopt the HMC (Travis' (1984)), an instance of relativized minimality (cf. Rizzi (1989)).[15]

As the occurrence of TNI's depends on two different parameters, the occurrence of a syntactic head in a particular language (±Neg°) and the status of the negative marker [i/uNEG], it makes sense to discuss different classes of languages constituted on the basis of these types. As I will conclude that the ban on TNI's is a consequence of the fact that negative markers hosted in C° are not allow to introduce a semantic negation in that position, it makes sense to determine three different classes of languages. Class I languages (that exhibit negative markers that are syntactic heads, which carry [iNEG]), Class II languages (that exhibit negative markers that are syntactic heads, which carry [uNEG]) and Class III languages (which do not carry a negative marker that is a syntactic head).

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[13] In Zeijlstra (2006), it is argued that in Non-strict NC languages negative markers do not have a formal feature [iNEG], but a semantic feature [NEG]. However, as the interpretation of an element carrying [iNEG] is identical to the interpretation of an element carrying [NEG], I disregard this distinction in this paper, as nothing crucial in this analysis hinges on it.

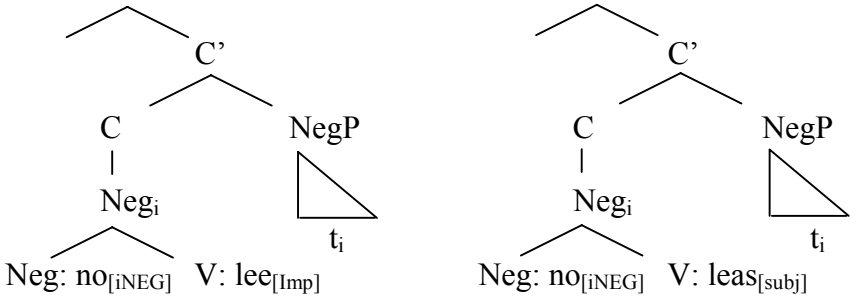
[14] Strictly speaking, it does not have to be C° from which the Op_{IMP} takes scope from. Crucially, the [IMP] feature on V_{imp} triggers the verb to move to a particular position which has many similarities to C° in non-imperative clauses. The fact that this position must be the highest in the clausal structure follows from its semantics. As Op_{IMP} encodes the illocutionary force rather than the propositional content of the sentence, it cannot be located below other functional projections. The presented analysis is blind to the distinction between C° or a particular imperative position (call it Imp°). In the rest of this paper I conveniently talk about movement to C° without committing myself to it.

[15] An anonymous CSSP reviewer has pointed that the ban on TNI's also applies to imperative conditionals, i.e. expressions of the form 'Don't move or I'll shoot!' The present analysis requires that in these constructions an Op_{IMP} is present as well. This is however not uncontroversial. The question how the conditional reading of those constructions follows from the illocutionary force of an imperative remains subject of study.

2.3.1 Class I languages

The first class of languages consists of languages that exhibit a negative marker X°, which carries an [iNEG] feature. To these languages Han's analysis applies. V_{imp} must raise to C° and as the negative marker Neg° must be attached to V°, this negative marker c-commands [IMP]. Given the syntactic head status of the negative marker, V_{imp} cannot escape out of this unit. This is illustrated for Spanish in (29)a. If, however, the imperative verb is replaced by a subjunctive, nothing leads to ungrammaticality, since the subjunctive does not carry along a feature that encodes illocutionary force, and thus it may be c-commanded by the negation (see (29)b). Obviously, this does not yield the semantics of a prohibitive. However, I assume, following Han, that the prohibitive reading is enforced through pragmatic inference. The language speakers need to fill the functional gap and use the non-imperative construction with the subjunctive as a replacement. The SNI does not yield the reading of a prohibitive, but is then used as one.[16]

(29) a. * CP (*TNI) b. CP (SNI) Spanish



2.3.2 Class II languages

Languages that have negative markers X° which carry [uNEG], differ with respect to the ban on TNI's. Czech, Polish, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croation for instance accept TNI's, whereas Romanian, Hungarian, Greek and Hebrew disallow them. In this subsection I discuss the first kind of languages.

In Slavic languages, such as Czech, Polish, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croation, the negative marker is always in preverbal position. All Slavic languages are Strict negative Concord languages and their (preverbal) negative markers thus carry a feature [uNEG]. Slavic languages however differ with respect to the phonological strength of the negative marker. Polish *nie* is phonologically strong and can be said to be base-generated in its own position Neg° that c-commands VP. Czech *ne* is weaker than Polish *nie* and it is thus unclear whether *ne* originated in Neg° or has been base-generated as a head adjunction onto V. As in both cases, these negative markers are semantically non-negative and negation is thus induced from $Op_{\neg}$.

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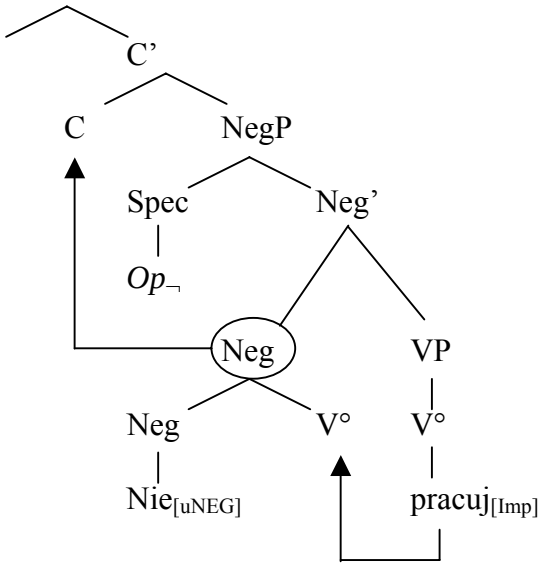
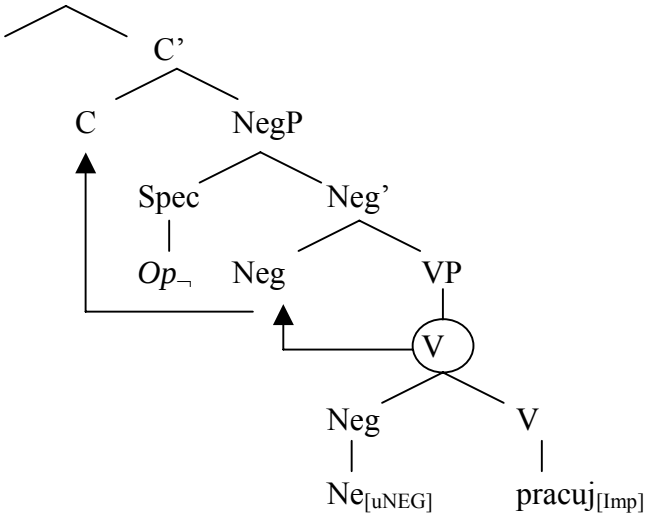
[16] Han (2001) suggests that the fact that the subjunctive encodes an irrealis, plays a role in the imperative interpretation. This is however contradicted by the fact that (for instance) an indicative can fulfil this function as well (Italian plural SNIs exhibit an indicative).

I assume as in Zeijlstra (2004) that this $Op_{\neg}$ occupies a Spec,NegP position. The clausal structure therefore does not block TNI's. In Polish V_{imp} moves to Neg°, attaches to *nie* and as a unit [$_{Neg}$ *nie*-V_{imp}] moves along to C°. $Op_{\neg}$ remains in situ in Spec,NegP and Op_{IMP} takes scope from C°. If Czech *ne* is base-generated in Neg° the analysis of Czech TNI's is similar to the one of Polish. If Czech *ne* is head adjoined to V°, the complex verbal unit [$_{V}$ *ne*-V_{imp}] moves through Neg° (and all other intermediate head positions) to C°, from where Op_{IMP} takes scope. $Op_{\neg}$ is located in Spec,NegP. Thus, both in Polish and Czech (regardless of the position *ne* has been base-generated) the scopal condition $Op_{IMP} > Op_{\neg}$ is met. This is illustrated below in for Polish in (30) and for the latter analysis of Czech in (31).

(30) Polish



(31) Czech

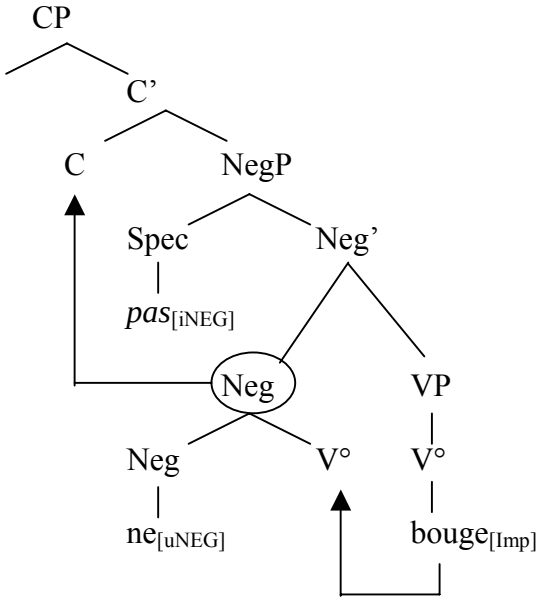


Another language that has a negative marker X° that carries [uNEG] and allows TNI's is Standard French. Standard French differs from the above-mentioned languages in that it has two negative markers: *ne* and *pas*. Following standard analyses about French (Rowlett (1998) among many others), *pas* is taken to be the realisation of the negative

operator, whereas *ne* is semantically non-negative. This explains why French negative imperatives may move along with V_{imp} to C°. Standard French is analysed similarly to Polish, except for the fact that the negative operator is not realised covertly, but overtly.

(32) *Ne* bouge *pas*! Standard French
NEG move NEG
'Don't move!'

(33) Standard French



However, not every language that exhibits semantically non-negative head markers allows TNI's. Examples are (amongst others) Romanian, Hungarian, Greek and Hebrew. These languages also exhibit X° negative markers carrying [uNEG] features, but contrary to what would be expected they ban TNI's. Hence, additional explanations are required to account for the ban on TNI's in these languages. Of the four languages studied here, three languages have an additional negative marker for subjunctives. Hungarian *nem* is replaced by *ne* in subjunctives, Greek *dhen* is replaced by *mi* and Hebrew *lo* alternates with *al*.

Let us first focus on Hungarian. Hungarian imperative verbs are fine with this second negative marker *ne*, as is shown in (34).

(34) a. **Nem* olvass! Hungarian
Neg read.IMP
'Don't read!'
b. *Ne* olvass!
Neg read.IMP
'Don't read!'

Ne and *nem* are both allowed to participate in Strict NC constructions and therefore carry both [uNEG]. They behave similar to the Slavic negative markers. The only difference is that *nem* and *ne* differ in their feature make-up with respect to mood. A suggestion would be that *nem* carrries a feature [-IRR] that disallows it to participate in subjunctives/imperatives and likewise *ne* would carry [+IRR] (this is much in line with

Zanuttini's (1998) analysis.). Crucial is that the mood distinction of Hungarian negative markers is not related to the ban on TNI's. Strictly speaking Hungarian does allow TNI's, since imperatives and subjunctives cannot be combined with *nem* for independent reasons. Hungarian is in this sense similar to the Slavic languages.

The situation in Hebrew and Greek is different. Greek and Hebrew also exhibit different markers for different moods, but TNI's are banned for both negative markers. Note however that the classification of TNI's has been based on the semantic value of the negative marker in indicatives (using the Strict / Non-strict NC distinction as a diagnostic criterion). However, it is not required that these negative markers have identical semantics. Below it is shown that the Greek negative marker *mi* (contrary to *dhen*) only allows n-words in postverbal position:

(35) a. *Thelo *KANENAS* na *mi* fiji — Greek
Want.1SG n-body PRT neg leave.3SG.SUBJ
'I want nobody to leave'

b. Thelo na *mi* fiji *KANENAS*
Want.1SG PRT neg leave.3SG.SUBJ n-body
'I want nobody to leave'

It is natural to assume that in Greek the mood distinction of negative markers is similar to that in Hungarian. *Dhen* is marked [-IRR], *mi* is marked [+IRR]. Hence, TNI's could only occur with the negative marker *mi*. But, since *mi* carries [iNEG], Greek TNI's are ruled out for the same reason as their Class I counterparts. This same analysis mutatis mutandis also holds for Hebrew.

Finally, Romanian needs to be discussed. Romanian lacks an additional negative marker for non-indicative mood. But still it disallows TNI's:

(36) **Nu* lucreaza! — Romanian
NEG work.IMP
'Don't work!'

Apparently, TNI's in this language must be blocked for another reason. The explanation of the ban on TNI's lies within the fact that it is a particular property of the Romanian negative marker that it forbids further verbal movement after clitisation with the finite verb. This is motivated by the fact that Romanian verbs allow inversion with respect to their clitic cluster. This can be explained by arguing that in (37)b the verb moves to a higher position, leaving its clitic cluster in a stranded position.

(37) a. M-as mira se vina Ion — Romanian
Me-AUX.SUBJB be.surprised AUX.SUBJB come Ion
'I would be surprised if Ion came'

b. Mira m-as se vina Ion
Be.surprised me-AUX.SUBJB AUX.SUBJB come Ion
'I would be surprised if Ion came'

This movement is however forbidden in the case of clitisation with negative markers. Both verbal movement out of the clitic cluster and clitic inversion below Neg° are forbidden in Romanian, as illustrated in (38).[17]

(38) a. *Nu* m-as mira se vina Ion — Romanian
NEG me-AUX.SUBJB be.surprised AUX.SUBJB come Ion
'I wouldn't be surprised if Ion came'
b. *Mira nu m-as se vina Ion
Be.surprised NEG me-AUX.SUBJB AUX.SUBJB come Ion
'I wouldn't be surprised if Ion came'
c. *Mira m-as *nu* se vina Ion
Be.surprised me-AUX.SUBJB NEG AUX.SUBJB come Ion
'I wouldn't be surprised if Ion came'

The data in (37) and (38) show that Romanian *nu* blocks verbal movement to a higher position than Neg° and thus acts differently than other clitics in Romanian. If verbal movement to a higher position is ruled out in Romanian negative clauses, this immediately explains the ban on TNI's in this language.

The discussion of the languages in this paragraph shows that the languages that seem to be counterexamples to the analysis of the ban on TNI's presented above are actually not.

2.3.3 Class III languages

It follows too that if a negative marker has phrasal rather than head status, TNI's are accepted. Regardless of the position of the negative marker, it cannot block movement of V_{imp} to C°. Hence Op_{IMP} can always take scope from C° and all scopal requirements are met. In Zeijlstra (2004) it has been argued that the position of the negative marker in Dutch is a vP adjunct position. The structure of a TNI in Dutch then would be like (39).

(39) $[_{CP}$ slaap$_{[Imp]i}$ $[_{vP}$ niet $t_i]]$ — Dutch

The analysis of Class IV languages extends to NC languages without a negative head marker, such as Bavarian Quebecois and Yiddish. Given the above explanation**,** it is not expected that TNI's are banned in these languages either. As shown in (40) verbal movement to C° cannot be blocked and therefore TNI's are allowed.

(40) Kuk nit! — Yiddish
Look NEG
'Don't look!'
$[_{CP}$ Kuk$_{[Imp]i}$ $[_{VP}$ nit $[_{VP}$ $t_i]]]$

[17] Thanks to Adrien Brasoveanu (p.c.) who gave me these examples. For a more detailed analysis of the (non-)cliticall behaviour of Romanian negative markers, cf. Monachesi (2001) and Alboiu (2002).

2.3.4 Predictions

In this paper I analyse the ban on TNI's as a result of three principles: (i) the fact that Op_{IMP} universally takes scope from C°; (ii) the fact that Op_{IMP} may not be c-commanded by a negative operator and (iii) the HMC (an instance of Relativized Minimality). It follows that if a negative marker is a syntactic head and carries an [iNEG] feature, V_{imp} may not move across Neg°, but must attach to it. Hence, the [IMP] feature remains under the scope of negation and the TNI is ruled out.

From this analysis the typological generalisations **G1** and **G2** can be derived (see (41)). These typological generalisations indicate that both the semantic value of the negative marker and its syntactic status play a role in determining whether and why a language bans TNI's. **G2** has already been observed by Zanuttini (1997), **G1** is to my knowledge a novel observation.

(41) **G1**: Every language with an overt negative marker X° carrying [iNEG] bans TNI's.
G2: Every language that bans TNI's exhibits an overt negative marker X°.

G1 follows, since (as explained above) in every Non-strict NC language with a negative marker X° this negative marker must carry [iNEG] and thus TNI's are ruled out. **G2** follows because of the HMC. If a language does not exhibit a negative marker Neg°, this marker can never block verbal movement to C° and TNI's must be allowed.

A number of languages have been investigated for the syntactic status of their negative markers, and their semantic value. Moreover it has been investigated whether these languages allow TNI's or not. The results are shown in (42) below, indicating that the typological generalisations that follow from this analysis are correct for the studied languages.

(42) Language sample

Class:	*Language:*	*Neg. marker: X°*	*Neg. marker: [iNEG]*	*TNI's allowed*
I	Spanish	√	√	*
	Italian	√	√	*
	Portuguese	√	√	*
II	Czech	√	*	√
	Polish	√	*	√
	Bulgarian	√	*	√
	Serbo-Croatian	√	*	√
	Standard French	√	*	√
	Greek	√	*	*
	Romanian	√	*	*
	Hebrew	√	*	*
	Hungarian	√	*	*
III	Dutch	*	√	√
	German	*	√	√
	Norwegian	*	√	√
	Swedish	*	√	√
	Bavarian	*	*	√
	Yiddish	*	*	√
	Quebecois	*	*	√

It has been shown that the three assumptions that I presented in the beginning of this section (Op_{IMP} takes scope from C°, Op_{IMP} may not be c-commanded by a negative operator and the HMC) predicts correctly in which class of langauges TNI's are excluded, thus correctly predicting the typological generalisations **G1** and **G2**.

The analysis is also confirmed by diachronic facts. In Non-strict NC languages with a negative marker X° (carrying [iNEG]) TNI's must be banned. This holds for instance for Italian. However, it is known that Old Italian allowed TNI's (as pointed out by Zanuttini (1997) and shown in (43)). The analysis presented above predicts that is impossible that the negative marker *non* in Old Italian carries a feature [iNEG]. In other words, the analysis predicts that Old Italian *non* must have carried [uNEG]. Consequently, Old Italian cannot have been a Non-strict NC language. This prediction is indeed born out. Old Italian was a Strict NC language, as shown in (44).

(43) a. *Ni* ti tormenta di questo![18] Old Italian
NEG yourself torment.2SG.IMP of this
'Don't torment yourself with this'

b. **Non* telefona a Gianni! Cont. Italian
NEG call.2SG.IMP to Gianni
'Don't call Gianni'

[18] Example taken from Zanuttini (1997).

(44) a. Mai *nessuno* oma *non* si pió guarare[19] Old Italian
N-ever n-even-one man NEG himself can protect
'Nobody can ever protect himself'
b. *Nessuno* (**non*) ha detto *niente* Cont. Italian
N-body neg has said n-thing
'Nobody said anything'

Apparently Italian developed from a Strict NC language into a Non-strict NC language. Since in Old Italian TNI's were allowed, the change from Strict NC into Non-strict NC must have caused the ban on TNI's. Similar observations can be made for the development of Portuguese that used to be a Strict NC language that allowed TNI's and transformed into a Non-strict NC language that bans TNI's (see Zeijlstra (2006) for a more detailed analysis of the development of Romance languages with respect to NC).

The analysis presented above predicts that the diachronic developments with respect to the acceptance of TNI's and the kind of NC that a language exhibits are related. This prediction further supports the presented account for the ban on TNI's.

3 The ban sole NEG in Spec,CP.

In this section I address the problem of the ban on sole NEG in Spec,CP. I first discuss a previous analysis on this problem by Barbiers (2002). After that I argue that the same principles underlying the ban on TNI's are also responsible for the ban on topicalised negative markers in V2 languages along with the Merge-over-Move-constraint (Chomksy (1995a)). In this section I take Dutch as a standard example for V-to-C languages.

3.1 Previous analysis: Barbiers (2002)

Barbiers (2002) adopts bare phrase structure theory (cf. Chomsky's (1995b)) and proposes that the phrasal status of Dutch *niet* is flexible: it may appear in head position (projection a NegP) as well as in phrasal position. Apart from that Barbiers claims that *niet* has similar properties as expletives: it carries a case feature ([uT(ense) in Barbiers' analysis]) and it cannot receive a theta-role.

The expletive-like properties of *niet* strongly limit its distribution. As it needs to have its case checked it may not appear in adjunct positions and it cannot appear in a verbs fixed argument position, as it would receive a theta-role there. The only position where *niet* would be allowed to appear is the position where a verb assigns case but no theta-role. Not surprisingly this is the position where one usually attests expletive objects. This is the case with a verb that can select a DP or a CP object, like the verb *zien* ('to see').

(45) a. … dat Jan die vrouw ziet Dutch
… that Jan that woman sees
'… that jan sees that woman'

[19] Examples taken from Martins (2000): 194

b. … dat Jan ziet dat die vrouw rondloopt
… that Jan sees that that woman around.walks
'… that jan sees that that woman walks around'

Apparently the verb has different positions for the DP and for the CP complement, as shown in (46).

(46) $[_{VP}$ <DP> V <CP]]

As DP's contrary to CP's require the verb to assign case to them, the DP position is a position, which receives case. If then the verb selects for a CP complement, which receives its theta-role, the DP position is a position available for elements that must receive case, but may not receive a theta-role, such as (object) expletives, and according to Barbiers (2002), Dutch *niet*. In all other phrasal positions these conditions cannot be met, and niet must host a syntactic projection.

This means that except for the structures discussed above, *niet* is a syntactic head in other cases, and due to its head status, *niet* may not move to a phrasal position, such as Spec,CP.

Only in cases where *niet* is able to occupy a phrasal position, it may move out to Spec,CP. Barbiers motivates this analysis by presenting examples of similar constructions where *niet* can be fronted indeed, such as (47), where *niet* is allowed in Spec,CP.

(47) Ik had wel gezien dat Jan aankwam, maar niet had ik gezien dat Eddy vertrok
I had PRT seen that Jan arrived, but NEG had I seen that Eddy left
'I did see that Jan arrived, but I didn't see that Eddy left'

However, Barbiers' analysis is problematic in several respects. First of all, it is unclear how in those cases where *niet* is a head verbal movement across the verb can be explained. In Dutch main clauses finite verbs are always able to move across *niet*, which is unexpected if *niet* were a head (see also section 2.1.1).

(48) Ik kom niet
I come not
'I don't come'
$[_{CP}$ Ik kom $[[_{Neg^{\circ}}$ niet] $[_{VP}$ $t_i]]$

Apart from that, Barbiers' analysis suffers from both overgeneralization and undergeneralization. For instance, it predicts that in all cases like (46) *niet* is allowed to occupy the DP position and be fronted to Spec,CP if a complement CP has been selected. However this prediction is false, as shown in (49).

(49) *Niet had ik gezien dat Eddy vertrok Dutch
NEG had I seen that Eddy left
'I didn't see that Eddy left'

Apparently, the grammaticality of (47) is does not dependent on the base position of *niet*, as that is identical as the one in (49).

Moreover, (47) is not the only type of construction where *niet* may topicalise. In (50) no CP complement has been selected by the verb, but *niet* is allowed to appear in Spec,CP as well.

(50) Níet moeten in de lijst worden aangekruist de planten die je al hébt[20]
NEG must in the list be crossed the plants that you already have
'You must marks the plants on the list that you already have'

3.2 Analysis

In this section I demonstrate that the analysis for the ban on TNI's also applies to *niet*-topicalisation. The central goal of this analysis is to account for the generalisations in (9)-(10), repeated as (51) and (52), and the apparent counter arguments presented above.

(51) *[$_{CP}$ NEG [$_{C°}$ V_{fin}]]

(52) [$_{CP}$ [NEG XP] [$_{C°}$ V_{fin}]]

First, operators that encode illocutionary force may not be operated on by a (semantic) negation. Second, I adopt the analysis that V-to-C movement is the triggered by the illocutionary force of the clause (see Truckenbrodt (2006), Wechsler (1991), Lohnstein (2000), Gartner (2002) amongst many others)). Similar to the imperative cases, this amounts to saying that the features that encode operators with the illocutionary force of a speech act take scope from C°. Consequently, these features may not be c-commanded by negation. Hence, in principle no negative material is allowed to occur in Spec,CP.

However, such a constraint would be much too strong as much negative material is allowed in Spec,CP, as shown in (4)-(5) (= (53)-(54)).

(53) a. Niemand komt — Dutch
Nobody comes
'Nobody comes'
b. Niet iedereen komt
NEG everybody comes
'Not everybody comes'
c. Nooit neem ik een hond
Never take I a dog
'I'll never have a dog'

(54) a. Niet Marie heb ik gebeld ??(maar Jan) — Dutch
Neg Marie have I called, but Jan
'I didn't call Marie (but Jan)'
b. Niet kippen hebben vier poten, *(maar koeien)
Neg chickens have four legs, but cows
'Chickens don't have four legs, cows do'

[20] Example taken from Haeseryn et al. (1997: 1280).

But the fact that all these constructions are ruled in is due to the fact that Spec,CP is not the base position of these negative expressions. All these expressions are realised either as a temporal adverb (in the case of *nooit* ('never)) or as an argument (all others). Hence they must have been base-generated in a lower position in the clause. Given that movement to Spec,CP is an instance of A-Bar movement, all these expressions must be reconstructed at LF, and do not violate the condition that operators with illocutionary force are outscoped by negation.

The question now arises is why *niet* itself is not able to reconstruct. This fact follows from the idea that movement is a costly operation (cf. (Chomsky (1995a)). One of the consequences of this fact is that movement only applies of necessary. However, given the fact that negation is a semantically flexible operation that is not necessarily fixed to some particular clausal position, fronting the negative marker *niet* is prohibited, since *niet* can be base-generated in Spec,CP as well. This base-generated *niet* cannot be lowered at LF and must therefore scope over the illocutionary feature in C°.[21]

Now, (51) and (52) follow immediately. An expression of the form *niet XP* may move to Spec,CP and reconstruct to the base position of *XP* at LF, thus yielding no problem for pragmatics/semantics. Single *niet* however cannot lower at LF and renders the sentence ungrammatical.

However, the counter examples against the observation that *niet* cannot appear solely in Spec,CP (see section 3.1), are now in need explanation. Let me repeat them below:

(55) Ik had wel gezien dat Jan aankwam, maar niet had ik gezien dat Eddy vertrok
I had PRT seen that Jan arrived, but NEG had I seen that Eddy left
'I did see that Jan arrived, but I didn't see that Eddy left'

(56) Níet moeten in de lijst worden aangekruist de planten die je al hébt
NEG must in the list be crossed the plants that you already have
'You must marks the plants on the list that you already have'

In both cases the element *niet* is disconnected from the elements it takes direct scope over. In (55) the speaker says s/he saw's John's arrival, but not Eddy's departure. In (56) the speaker asserts that of some things have to marked but plants that you already have do not belong to those things. These readings strongly suggest that the kind of negation exhibited here is actually constituent negation, with *niet dat Eddy vertrok* and *niet de planten die je al hebt* being negative constituents. If that is indeed the case, what (55) and (56) reflect is partial topicalisation. Being part of a larger constituent niet in these examples is then indeed expected to reconstruct at LF.

These constructions are not the only cases of partial topicalisation in Dutch. Other examples are given in (57):

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[21] Note that sentence-initial *niet* is not syntactically ill-formed, and thus strictly speaking not ungrammatical, but that it yields a pragmasemantically infelicitous expressions.

(57) a. *Boeken heb ik over Mulisch niet gelezen Dutch
Books have I about Mulisch NEG read
'I didn't read books about Mulisch'

b. Boeken heb ik over die arrogante schrijver uit Amsterdam niet gelezen, wel artikelen
Books have I about that arrogant writer from Amsterdam NEG read, PRT articles
'I didn't read books about that arrogant writer from Amsterdam, but articles'

c. Boeken heb ik over Mulisch, die onder andere "de ontdekking nan de hemel heeft geschreven" niet gelezen, wel artikelen
Books have I about Mulisch who amongst other wrote "the discovery of heavens", NEG read, PRT articles
'I didn't read books about Mulisch, who amongst other things wrote "the discovery of heavens", but articles'

The a example in (57) is clearly out, but the b and c examples are not. This illustrates that in cases where the stranded XP is sufficiently heavy, it does not have to move along with the negative marker. As the stranded CP and NP in (55) and (56) are heavy enough, these examples indeed allow for partial topicalisation. The idea that (55) involves an instance of constituent negation, which undergoes partial topicalisation, also explains the ungrammaticality of (49), repeated as (58).

(58) *Niet had ik gezien dat Eddy vertrok Dutch
NEG had I seen that Eddy left
'I didn't see that Eddy left'

Normally constituent negation induces a contrastive effect. This can be illustrated for Dutch in the following way in (59) where both sentences exhibit constituent negation but where the example with the given contrast is much better than the sentence without.

(59) a. ??Zij heeft niet Hans gezien Dutch
She has NEG Hans seen
'It wasn't Hans whom she saw'

b. Zij heeft niet Hans gezien maar Piet
She has NEG Hans seen but Piet
'It wasn't Hans but Piet whom she saw'

In (55) and (56) such contrastive effects are present as well (as in (57)), but not in (58). Hence, the markedness of (58) also follows from the analysis in terms of partial topicalisation.

The idea that those cases that allow a single fronted *niet* are cases of partial reconstruction and therefore cases of constituent negation is also motivated by the following example from Swedish, which also exhibits V-to-C movement. Here, *inte* ('NEG') can be fronted in cases such as (60).

(60) A: Inte kom SVEN, utan BERTIL till festen igår Swedish[22]
Neg came Sven but Bertil to party-the yesterday
'Not Sven, but Bertil came to the part yesterday'
B: Ja, det gjorde han, och Arne också /*heller
yes that did he and Arne too / either
'Yes he did and so did Arne'

Swedish exhibits the same type of *either/too*-pair (*också /heller*), which can be used as diagnostics for the distinction between sentential and constituent negation, just like their English counter part (cf. Klima (1964)). *Också* can be used in cases of constituent negation, where as *heller* is included in cases of sentential negation. The fact that the answer in (60) includes *också* indicates that *inte* has only scope over Sven, and not over the entire sentence.

To conclude, the analysis that has explained the ban on TNI's in section 2 naturally extends to the cases of sentence-initial *niet* in Dutch and other V2 languages and overcomes many of the problems that the previous analysis of this problem suffered from.

4 Conclusions

In this paper I have discussed two problems: the ban on TNI's that is attested in many languages and the ban on sole NEG in Spec,CP.

In this paper I have argued that both problems can be explained in a unified way as a result of the interplay between the syntactic and semantic status of negative markers, the fact that operators encoding the illocutionary force of a speech act take scope from C° and general effects that govern movement.

The ban on TNI's follows from the fact that no semantically negative marker may dominate the illocutionary feature in C° and it is correctly predicted that all languages where such a semantically negative marker is a syntactic head ban TNI's.

The ban on sole NEG in Spec,CP also results from the fact that no negative material is allowed to dominate the illocutionary features in C° and that therefore negative material may only appear in Spec,CP provided that it can be reconstructed at LF.

[22] Examples based on Brandtler (2006).

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