

Emphatic Multiple Negative Expressions in Dutch¹

Abstract: Double Negation languages such as Dutch and German still exhibit constructions, such as Dutch *niemand niet* ('nobody not') or *nooit geen* ('nothing no'), that seem to have a Negative Concord reading. Since these constructions normally have an emphatic reading, they are called Emphatic Multiple Negative Expressions (EMNE's). In this paper I discuss the difference between so-called EMNE's and plain Negative Concord constructions. I demonstrate that EMNE's are fundamentally different from Negative Concord constructions, and that for this reason EMNE's should not be taken to be instances of Negative Concord in Double Negation languages. Instead I argue that EMNE's are best analysed as lexical items that consist of two semantic objects, of which only one is semantically negative. By applying overt movement, followed by partial reconstruction at the level of Logical Form both semantic objects can take scope from a different position in the tree. I argue that the single negation an EMNE consist of is the result of the disappearance of Negative Concord in Dutch: after the loss of the preverbal negative marker *en/ne*, strings containing two *n*-words or an *n*-word and a negative marker *niet* could no longer act as a cue for NC and therefore had to be stored in the lexicon. The death of Dutch NC, so to speak, led to the birth of EMNE's.

1 Emphatic Multiple Negative Expressions in Dutch

In languages such as Dutch and German each morphosyntactically negative element corresponds to a semantic negation. Consequently, whenever two such elements occur in the same clause, the semantics of this clause also contains two negations rendering it positive. Such languages are called Double Negation (DN) languages after the law of Double Negation, according to which two negations cancel each other out. Examples of multiple negative expressions in Dutch can be found in (1) below.

¹ Acknowledgements will follow.

- (1) a. *Niemand zei niets* Dutch
 Nobody said nothing
 DN: ‘Nobody said nothing’ = ‘everybody said something’
- b. *Geen mens was daar niet bij*
 No person was there NEG at
 DN: ‘No man wasn’t there’ = ‘everybody was there’

The one-to-one correspondence between morphosyntactically negative elements and semantic negations is not surprising from a compositional perspective. The semantics of the sentences in (1) follows immediately from the lexical semantics of the negative items. However, DN languages are typologically quite rare. Most languages that exhibit multiple negative items in one clause do not exhibit DN readings (cf. Haspelmath (1997), Zeijlstra (2004)). To illustrate this, within the Indo-European language family DN is primarily attested in a number of Germanic languages, for instance Dutch, German, Danish and Swedish. Most other Indo-European languages, amongst which all Slavic and Romance languages, do not exhibit DN. Instead, those languages exhibit Negative Concord (NC). In NC constructions, multiple morphosyntactically negative elements correspond to only one semantic negation. This is illustrated in (2) for Italian and in (3) for West Flemish (taken from Haegeman (1995: 3.2)). Although each negative element can express negation in isolation, a joint occurrence of two negative elements in those languages yields only one semantic negation.

- (2) a. *Non ha telefonato* Italian
 NEG has called
 ‘He didn’t call’
- b. *Nessuno ha telefonato*
 Nobody has called
 ‘Nobody called’
- c. *Non ha telefonato a nessuno*
 NEG has called to n-body
 NC: ‘He didn’t call anybody’

- (3) a. ... da Valère *nie* nor us goast West Flemish
 ... that Valère NEG to house goes
 ‘... that Valère doesn’t go home’
 b. ... da *niemand* Valère kent
 ... that nobody Valère knows
 ‘... that nobody knows Valère’
 c. ... da *niemand* Valère *nie* kent
 ... that nobody Valère NEG knows
 NC: ‘... that nobody knows Valère’

The difference between DN and NC languages seems to be an instance of parametric variation. However, in DN languages such as Dutch and German one may find examples of constructions in which two negative elements also yield one single semantic negation, as is shown in (4) and (5). These constructions are normatively ruled out, but found in almost all (non-standard) varieties of Dutch and a substantial number of German (substandard) varieties. Since these constructions come along with an emphatic reading (see section 2.1), these constructions are called *Emphatic Multiple Negative Expressions* (EMNE’s).

- (4) a. Zij heeft *nergens geen* zin in² Dutch
 She has nowhere no lust in
 ‘She doesn’t feel like anything at all’
 b. %Hij gaat *nooit niet* naar school
 He goes never NEG to school
 ‘He never ever goes to school’
 c. Zij hebben *nooit geen* geld
 They have never no money
 ‘They never have any money’
- (5) Sie hat *nie keine* Lust German
 She has never no lust
 ‘She never feels like anything at all’

² All examples have been judged by at least 20 native speakers of Dutch. In cases where judgements differ this has been indicated by the percentage sign (%).

In parallel constructions, such as the one in (6), the presence of an additional negative marker on the final conjunct is even the preferred option as has been reported by Barbiers (2002).

- (6) *Niemand was op het feest, Piet niet, Jan niet, niemand* [?](*niet*) Dutch
Nobody was at the party, Piet NEG, Jan NEG, nobody NEG
'Nobody was at the part. Piet wasn't, Jan wasn't, nobody was'

The question now rises what the status of these EMNE's (in DN languages) is. Two options suggest themselves: either these EMNE's are instances of NC that surface in DN languages, or EMNE's constitute a phenomenon of their own and are only superficially reminiscent of NC expressions. The first position has been defended by Van der Wouden (1994), Giannakidou (2000) and Weiss (2002) amongst others. In this paper I defend the opposite view by demonstrating that EMNE exhibit fundamentally different behaviour from NC and that they should thus be analysed in a different fashion. I argue that EMNE's are complex lexical items consisting of one semantic negation and one or more indefinites and I show that this analysis correctly accounts for the syntactic and semantic behaviour of EMNE's. Furthermore, I motivate the idea that EMNE's are complex lexical items by demonstrating that they are a by-product of the change of Dutch from an NC to a DN language that took place around the 17th century.

This paper is organised as follows. In section 2, I discuss a number of differences between EMNE's and NC expression. In section 3, I propose my analysis that takes EMNE's to be lexical items and show that the differences between EMNE's and NC expressions follow immediately under this approach. In section 4, I discuss the diachronic development of EMNE expressions. Section 5 concludes this paper.

2. Emphatic Multiple Negative Expressions vs. Negative Concord

2.1 Empirical differences between EMNE's and NC

Despite their superficial similarities, EMNE's differ from standard NC constructions in at least five different aspects, which have been listed below:

- (7) Differences between EMNE's and NC expressions:
- a. EMNE's always have an emphatic reading; NC constructions usually do not;

- b. EMNE's are subject to strict adjacency conditions, contrary to NC constructions;
- c. Only the first element of the EMNE may carry stress, whereas in NC constructions all elements may do so;
- d. The meaning of EMNE's can be idiosyncratic, contrary to NC constructions;
- e. The formation of EMNE's is not productive; speakers generally differ with respect to which EMNE they accept and which they do not accept;

One of the most striking differences between plain NC constructions and EMNE's is, as the name indicates, the fact that EMNE's always give rise to emphatic negative readings. NC expressions, on the other hand, yield plain negative readings. Even stronger, in pure NC languages, such as Italian, the usage of the NC construction is even dispreferred if an emphatic reading is intended; in those cases a Negative Polarity Item (NPI) usually replaces the n-word. This is shown in (8) and (9) for Dutch and Italian. The reading of the Dutch example in (8a) is identical to the reading of Italian (9a), and the same holds for the readings in the b examples.³

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---|---------|
| (8) | a. | Hij heeft <i>niemand niet</i> gezien
He has nobody NEG seen
'He didn't see ANYbody' | Dutch |
| | b. | Hij heeft <i>niemand</i> gezien
He has nobody NEG seen
'He didn't see anybody' | |
| (9) | a. | <i>Non</i> ha visto alcunché
NEG has seen anybody
'He didn't see ANYbody' | Italian |
| | b. | <i>Non</i> ha visto <i>nessuno</i>
NEG has seen nobody
'He didn't see anybody' | |

³ Emphatic expressions may be subject to erosion effects so that for some speakers the emphatic effects of EMNE's reduce. However, in comparison with a plain negation the usage of an EMNE is always felt to yield a stronger reading.

It should be noted though that EMNE's can also be included in those cases where plain negation has already been strengthened. This is the case in the Dutch example in (10) where the usage of the focus-sensitive particle *ook* ('also') forces *nooit* ('never') to be focussed, giving rise to a reading as strong as (10)b, which lacks additional focus.

- (10) a. Je hebt ook *NOOIT* tijd Dutch
 You have also never time
 'You never ever have time'
- b. Je hebt ook *nooit geen* tijd
 You have never no time
 'You never ever have time'

The second difference between EMNE's and NC constructions is that the two negative elements of an EMNE have to be strictly adjacent (already observed by De Vries (1910)), whereas two elements that have established an NC relation still allow other material to intervene. In Italian, as shown in (11), the two NC elements are separated by the verbs *ha* and *telefonato*. In (12) however, it is shown for Dutch that whenever other lexical material intervenes between the two negative elements, only a DN reading can be obtained.

- (11) Ieri *non* ha telefonato *nessuno* Italian
 Yesterday NEG has called nothing
 'Nobody called yesterday'
- (12) a. Gisteren heeft *niemand niet* gebeld Dutch
 Yesterday has n-body NEG called
 'Nobody at all called yesterday'
- b. *Niemand* heeft gisteren *niet* gebeld
 Nobody has yesterday NEG called
 *'Nobody at all called yesterday'
 √'Nobody didn't call yesterday'

Some speakers accept expressions where a single particular element, such as propositional *op* ('on'), may intervene, as is the case with *nooit op geen* ('never on nothing') in (13).

- (13) %Ik heb *nooit* op *geen* paard gereden
 I have never on no horse ridden
 ‘I never ever rode a horse’

However, again here nothing may intervene in this example. Sentence (14) can only receive a DN reading.

- (14) Ik heb *nooit* van mijn leven op *geen* paard gereden
 I have never of my life on no horse ridden
 ?‘Never in my life I rode no horse’
 *‘I never ever rode a horse’

The construction *nooit op geen* thus behaves on a par with EMNE’s in the sense that no other lexical material may intervene them. All material that an EMNE consist of must be strictly adjacent.

The third difference between EMNE’s and plain NC constructions is that for EMNE’s the stress must fall on the first element. If the second element carries stress, again only the DN reading is yielded (see (15)). Stress patterns do however not change the semantics in NC languages in this respect.

- | | | |
|------|---|---------|
| (15) | a. Hij heeft <i>NIKS</i> <i>niet</i> <i>gezegd</i>
He has nothing NEG said
‘He didn’t say anything (at all)’
b. Hij heeft <i>niks</i> <i>NIET</i> <i>gezegd</i>
He has nothing NEG said
*‘He didn’t say anything (at all)’
√ ‘There is nothing he didn’t say’ | Dutch |
| (16) | a. Gianni <i>NON</i> ha detto <i>niente</i>
Gianni NEG has said nothing
‘Gianni did NOT say anything’
b. Gianni <i>non</i> ha detto <i>NIENTE</i>
Gianni NEG has said nothing
‘Gianni didn’t say ANYthing’ | Italian |

A fourth difference between EMNE's and NC is that the meaning of some EMNE constructions, apart from the 'lost negation', is not always derived compositionally. In most cases the reading of sentence containing an EMNE corresponds to the reading of the sentence in which the second negative element is replaced by its non-negative counterpart, modulo the emphatic effect. This is illustrated in (17) below.

- (17) a. Zij leest *nooit geen* boek Dutch
 She reads never no book
 'She never reads any book'
- b. Zij leest *nooit een* boek
 She reads never a book
 'She never reads a book'

Apparently, it is the fact that the second indefinite also carries negative morphology that leads to the emphatic reading of *nooit* ('never'). The meaning of *nooit geen* ('never no') is identical to the meaning of *nooit een* ('never a'), where the second negative element has been replaced by its positive counterpart. This holds for all EMNE's that I have discussed so far. However, it does not seem to be the case in (18a) below. In (18a) the negative indefinite existential quantifier *geen* ('no') cannot be replaced by its positive counter part *een*, or by a zero-determiner, as shown in (18b). In order to express the non-emphatic reading of (18a) *niks* ('nothing') has to be removed instead of *geen* and the reading of (18d) in which *geen* is modified by the adverb *helemaal* ('absolutely') is equivalent to the reading of (18a). This indicates that the EMNE in (18a), apart from the loss of the negation, does not seem to be compositional in other respects either. On the contrary, it indicates that the behaviour of EMNE's can be idiosyncratic in some cases, whereas the behaviour of plain NC expressions is not.

- (18) a. Ik heb er *niks geen* aardigheid in Dutch
 I have there nothing no pleasure in
 'I don't like it all'
- b. *Ik heb er *niks (een)* aardigheid in
 I have there no pleasure in

- c. Ik heb er *geen* aardigheid in
I have there no pleasure in
'I don't like it'
- d. Ik heb er helemaal *geen* aardigheid in
I have there absolutely no pleasure in
'I don't like it all'

This idiosyncratic nature of EMNE's is also reflected by the fact that the class of EMNE expressions is not productive. Several EMNE's are accepted by most speakers of Dutch, such as *nooit niet* or *niks geen*, but many other EMNE's are only accepted by some speakers of Dutch. Only a minority of my informants accepts the examples below.

- (19) a. %Ik heb *niemand niets* gegeven Dutch
I have nobody nothing given
'I didn't give anything to anybody at all'
- b. %Ik heb *nergens niet* gezocht
I have nowhere NEG looked.for
'I didn't look (for it) anywhere'

On the basis of these five differences between EMNE's and NC expressions, I conclude that these two phenomena do not represent two sides of the same coin, but are different in nature and require a different explanation.

2.2 *Theoretical consequences of the differences between EMNE's and NC*

The question now rises what the status is of these EMNE's in DN languages. Originally Van der Wouden (1994), Giannakidou (2000) and Weiss (2002) amongst others defended the position that EMNE's are instances of NC. Weiss (2002), for instance, argues that DN is even an artefact of normative principles and that all speakers of a DN language actually exhibit underlying NC and that EMNE's are visible instances of thus underlying property. However, given the conclusions that have been presented in the previous section, EMNE's cannot be correctly analysed as instances of NC that surface in DN languages.

If EMNE's are not instances of NC, they must be analysed in a different way. In the next section I propose an analysis that takes EMNE's to be complex lexical items. Apart from

that, the observation that EMNE's are fundamentally different from NC constructions has not only consequences for the analysis of EMNE's, but also for NC itself.

If EMNE's are not instances of NC, NC must be subject to cross-linguistic variation and is thus restricted to a limited number of languages. This forms a strong indication that languages are subject to parametric differences with respect to the interpretation of clauses consisting of multiple negative elements. Consequently, NC is not likely to be the result of some mode of interpretation, a view that has been proposed in the literature several times (Haegeman and Zanuttini (1991, 1996), De Swart and Sag (2002)). These scholars have argued that n-words are negative quantifiers that are able to undergo a process of polyadic quantification, which results in their NC readings. However, as modes of interpretation are not subject to parametric variation, the strict distribution between NC and DN languages cannot be explained without making additional assumptions.⁴

The problems for a negative quantifier analysis of n-words as mentioned above do not hold for other analyses of NC. Analyses that take n-words to be different from negative quantifiers already predict cross-linguistic variation with respect to NC. This is for instance the case for analyses that take n-words to be NPI's (Ladusaw (1992), Giannakidou (1997, 2000)) or lexically ambiguous between NPI's and negative quantifiers (Herburger (2001)). The same holds for the explanation of NC in terms of syntactic agreement between (multiple) n-words and a negative operator (Brown (1999), Penka and von Stechow (2001), Zeijlstra (2004)).

The observations and conclusions that have been formulated in section 2.1 thus further support the view that n-words are crucially different from negative quantifiers.

3. Emphatic Multiple Negative Expressions as Lexical Items

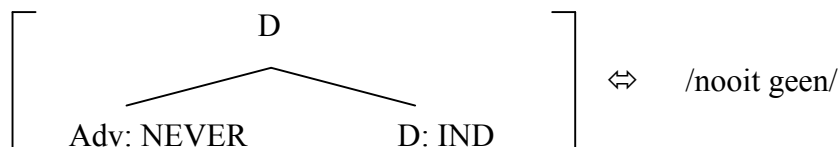
Following on the differences between EMNE's and NC expressions, I propose that, notwithstanding their complex appearance, EMNE's are Lexical Items (LI's). In 3.1 I spell out this proposals in detail and in section 3.2 I demonstrate how this proposal explains the characteristic properties of EMNE's that have been described in the previous section.

⁴ See De Swart (2006) for an OT-based analysis to account for typological differences within this negative quantifier approach.

3.1 Proposal

I take EMNE's such as *nooit geen* or *niemand niet* to be single LI's that consist of two different semantic objects: one negative indefinite and an additional non-negative indefinite or marker like *niet* ('not'). Hence, the entire EMNE contains only one semantic negation.⁵ This means that the lexical representation of an EMNE like *nooit geen* is as in (20). Note that (20) denotes the lexical representation of a single morphological word that contains multiple (mismatching) semantic functions. In this sense EMNE's are different from idiomatic expressions, which consist of structures of different morphological words that are lexically stored.

(20) *Nooit geen*:



The structure in (20) consists of two elements that do not match semantically: a temporal adverb (NEVER) and an indefinite article (IND). Temporal adverbs cannot modify DP's.⁶ In a sentence like (21) the adverb *nooit* applies to the entire VP (*geen boek leest*), whereas the determiner applies to the NP's (*boek*) and cannot apply to a VP. The two elements, NEVER and IND must therefore take scope from a different position in the tree.⁷

⁵ The idea that an EMNE consists of only one negation is motivated in the next section in terms of the diachronic development of EMNE's.

⁶ Cf. Von Stechow (2002). Moreover, due to the fact that the first part of every EMNE is always a negative quantifier (*never, nowhere, nothing, nobody*), the semantics of these elements do not allow an in situ interpretation.

⁷ The question now may come up as to how general representation such as (20) are. Although the discussion falls beyond the scope of this paper, I take it that this kind of representation is more general than just for the type of constructions discussed here. In particular, it has been proposed (in different versions) that negative indefinites such as Dutch *geen* ('no') are actually decomposed into a negation and an indefinite. The main motivation behind such proposals is that it can account for split-scope constructions, such as (i) (from Rullman (1995: 194)) where under the most salient reading negation outscopes a modal verb, which on its turn outscopes the indefinite. For thorough discussion of these facts and an overview of analyses where the negative indefinite in some way splits up, see (a.o.) Jacobs (1980), Rullman (1995), Penka (2007) and Zeijlstra (2007).

(i) Ze mogen geen verpleegkundige ontslaan
They may no nurse fire
'they are not allowed to fire any nurse'

- (21) ... dat Jan *nooit geen* boek leest Dutch
 ... that Jan never no book reads
 ‘... that John never reads a book (at all)’

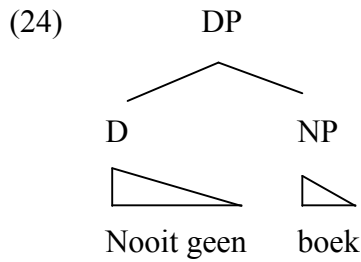
In order to have both semantic objects take scope from their appropriate positions, I argue that (in this case) these constructions exhibit movement of the entire DP from the argument position to the adverbial position that normally hosts *nooit* (‘never’), followed by application of partial reconstruction at LF. Partial reconstruction has been adopted for other syntactic phenomena, for instance anaphora binding. Following standard syntactic assumptions the ambiguity in (22) follows from the fact that *himself* can be interpreted in either the lower or the higher copy. In the latter case *which picture of himself* is partially reconstructed in its base position, yielding an LF interpretation like (23) (cf. Chomsky (1995)).

- (22) John_i wondered which picture of himself_{i/j} Fred_j liked

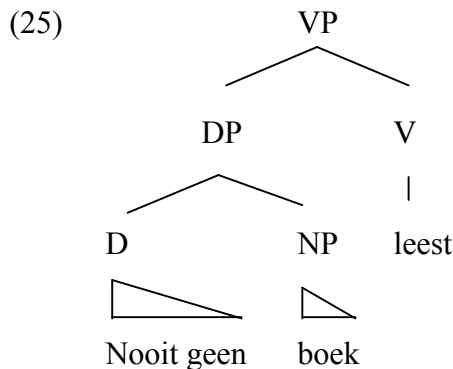
- (23) [John wondered [[which ~~x picture of himself~~] [Fred liked [~~which~~ x picture of himself]]]]⁸

I argue that the same mechanism applies to EMNE constructions. Before demonstrating how the special properties of EMNE’s reported in section 2.1 follow from this analysis, I show how this analysis works by discussing the derivation of (21) step by step. For reasons of presentational adequacy I neglect all extra derivational steps that are required for Quantifier Raising effects, since these are irrelevant to the proposal. First the LI *nooit geen*, having a D-label, must select for an NP, *boek* in this case. This produces (24).

⁸ It is important to emphasize that the *wh*-word *which* is not only interpreted in the highest copy, but that its trace is interpreted as a variable in the lower copy as well. Movement of pied-piped *which* is in that sense different from the material that moved along with it (i.e. *picture of himself*), since the former is semantically active in both copies, whereas the latter is only semantically active in the lowest copy (cf. Chomsky (1995); see also Sportiche (2005) for an overview of different approaches to trace interpretation).



Then, the verb *leest* ('reads'), selecting for a DP, merges with (24), thus creating (25).

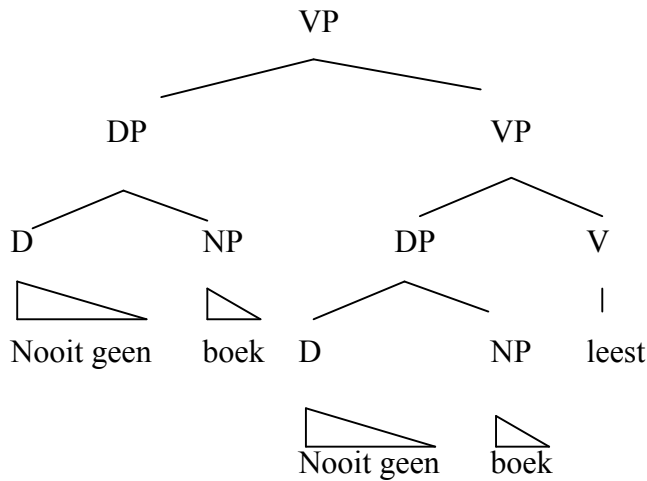


Finally, the DP moves out of its VP complement position to a position adjoining VP, from where the adverbial part of it can already take scope, as is shown in (26).⁹¹⁰ According to the copy theory of movement (Chomsky (1995)), this means that the entire DP is copied and that the copy merges with VP. At this point there are two copies. Note that the copy theory of movement requires that in these cases both at LF and at PF all copies be interpreted only once.

⁹ This kind of movement is different from the traditional minimalist movement in terms of probe-goal relations. The kind of movement described here is highly similar to Quantifier Raising, which is triggered by semantic requirements rather than morpho-syntactic requirements, be it that in cases of QR the trace still receives semantic interpretation. In a number of recent studies several proposals have been formulated in which so-called foot-driven movement has been said to extend to other syntactic domains (cf. Platzack (1996), Koenenman (2000), Van Craenenbroeck (2006) among others).

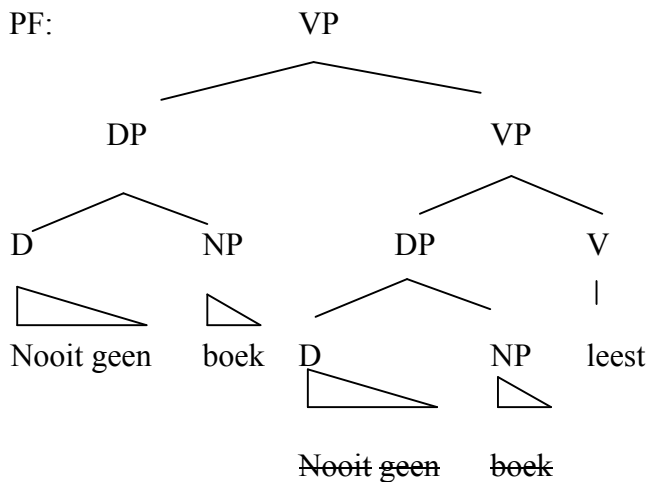
¹⁰ For purposes of illustration I am ignoring possible movement VP-internal movement that DP's should undergo anyway. In theories where a DP must move away from its VP-internal position to some higher position, for instance for reasons of case licensing, such an instance movement would count as an intermediate step in the process sketched here.

(26)



After Spell-Out, all deletion operations have to apply twice: once on the PF side, and once on the LF side. Following the copy theory of movement PF deletion targets the lowest copy and the highest copy gets phonologically realised.¹¹ Then the derivation meets all requirements that the phonological component imposes. The PF of (21) consists thus of (27).

(27) PF:

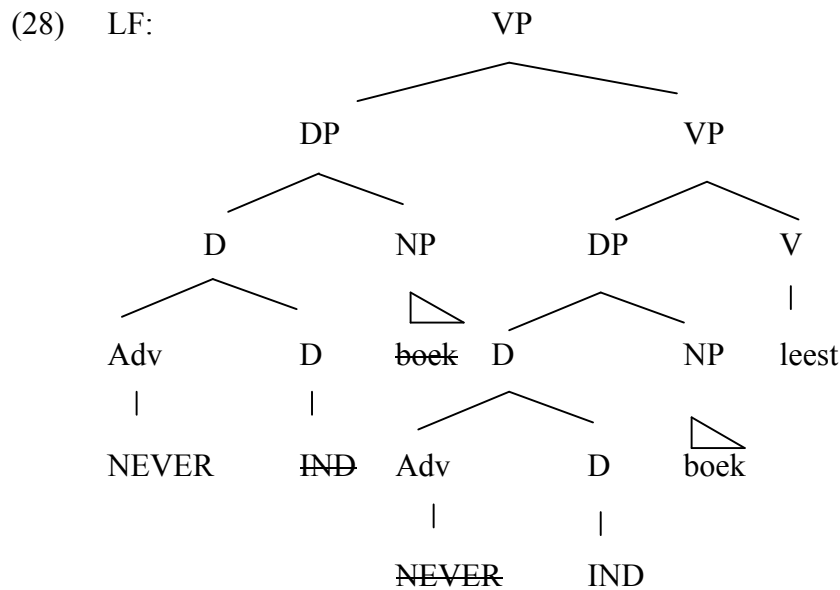


On the LF side things are slightly more complicated. Here, the entire DP has moved to a VP adjunct position. However, only the adverbial part (*nooit*) can be interpreted in this position and not the argument DP.¹² On the other hand, the adverbial cannot be interpreted semantically in the lower copy, but the DP argument can. Consequently, LF deletion of one of

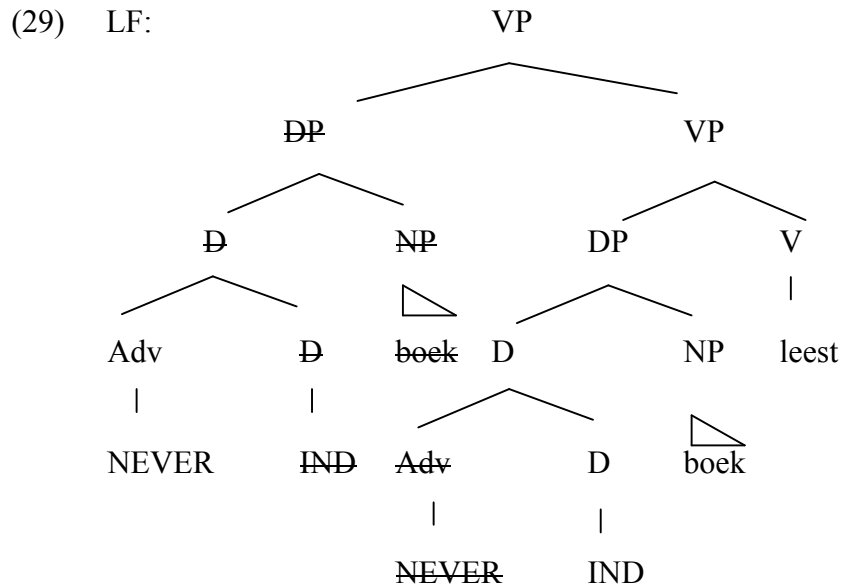
¹¹ One may wonder whether it is always the highest copy that gets spelled out, or whether there spell-out of a lower copy or LF-movement of the complex DP to the adverbial position. Although nothing crucial hinges on this, I am committed to the idea that movement takes place overtly here, as (in languages like Dutch) the interpretation of negation at LF always coincides with the position that negation occupies at surface structure.

¹² In proposals such as Cinque (1999) adverbial classes have functional projections of their own. This does not change the line of argumentation either, since those positions would not be available for DP's either.

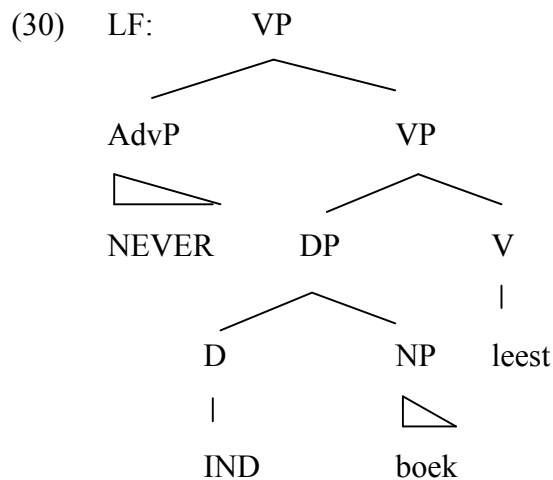
the two DP copies will yield a structure that is not interpretable at LF and therefore will violate Full Interpretation (Chomsky (1995)). The only way that deletion can take place is by means of partial reconstruction, such that the nominal part of *nooit geen boek* is deleted in the higher copy and the adverbial part is deleted in the lower one. This means that at LF all D/N material will be interpreted in the lower copy, whereas all adverbial material will be interpreted in the higher one. Hence the derivation changes into (28).



However, (28) still faces problems: the VP still seems to be modified by a DP in adjunct position. The highest copy in (28) seems to be one in which *nooit* is a DP headed by an empty D° that is adjoined to the adverb. But, despite the fact that the EMNE *nooit geen* has been lexically assigned the categorial status of a determiner (which was required in order to select for NP's), the adverb *nooit*, as it surfaces in the higher LF copy, may by no means carry determiner status in the LF (28). On closer inspection, this is what has already been achieved. Let us focus at the higher DP copy in (28). Every element in this copy that contains a D-feature has been deleted. Since only formal features can project, in this case the D-label on the top node of the copy can only result from the presence of D-features in the highest copy. But in (28) all these features have been deleted. Hence there is no D-feature to project in the first place, and (28) is actually (29) in disguise, where the label DP has in effect changed into AdvP, since the [Adv] feature is the only feature available that can project.



The structure in (29) can be rewritten as (30), which is the same LF representation as that of a sentence in which a negative adverb would have been combined with an indefinite DP, such as (31).



- (31) ... dat Jan *nooit* een boek leest Dutch
 ... that Jan never a book reads
 ‘... that Jan never reads a book’

The observation that at LF (21) and (31) are structurally identical at the level of LF demonstrates that, although EMNE’s consist of two different semantic objects, this does not imply that these semantic objects cannot be part of one and the same LI. Under this analysis, the entire EMNE forms a single LI, forming a constituent that undergoes overt movement.

The phonological interpretation is then nothing but the spell-out of the highest copy, the semantic interpretation is the result of both overt movement of the EMNE and the application of partial reconstruction.

If this picture is correct, criteria for movement, constituency and partial reconstruction should therefore also apply to EMNE's as well. Note that I am not proposing any new instances of movement or conditions on it. The only purpose of this section is to show that the current theory of movement correctly predicts that lexical prefabricated structure such as (20) can be included in the derivation and yield structures that are syntactically and semantically well-formed. In the next three subsections I provide a number of arguments that support that conclusion.

3.2 Empirical support for the proposal

3.2.1 Movement

Evidence for the idea that EMNE's always undergo movement follows from the fact that EMNE's obey locality constraints that are typical for movement. For instance, extraction of DP's out of in PP's is generally forbidden in Dutch. Therefore, (32) is ruled out:

- (32) *... dat hij [*geen* vrouw]_i van t_i heeft gehouden Dutch
 ... that he no woman of has hold
 '... that he loved no woman'

This is also the reason that (33) is ruled out. The phrase *nooit geen vrouw*, containing an EMNE, cannot move to the VP-adjunct position that it needs to occupy for semantic reasons.

- (33) *... dat hij [*nooit geen* vrouw]_i van t_i heeft gehouden Dutch
... that he never no woman of has hold

At least two cases are, however, known, where DP's may move out of PP's. The first case is extraction of R-expressions, the second case is DP fronting with preposition stranding. In both cases extraction of an EMNE out of a PP is expected to be allowed as well.

Concerning the first case: R-expressions, including negative ones, are allowed to raise out of PP's. Take for instance (34):

- (34) Je hebt *nergens*_i tijd voor t_i
 You have nowhere time for
 ‘You have no time for anything’

The analysis would predict that in such cases EMNE’s are base-generated in the position where *nergens* originate and allowed to move out of PP. This seems indeed to be the case:

- (35) Je hebt [*nergens geen*]_i t_i tijd voor t_i
 You have nowhere no time for
 ‘You have no time for anything at all’

In (35) the complex DP *nergens geen* (‘nowhere no’) is first selected by the preposition *voor* (‘for’) selected, which in turn is selected by the noun *tijd* (‘time’), yielding *tijd voor nergens geen* (‘time for nowhere no’). Then the complex DP moves out of PP and merges with the remnant *tijd voor t_i*, yielding [*nergens geen*]_i tijd voor t_i fulfilling D’s selectional requirements. Now all selectional requirements (of D, N and P) have been fulfilled. Finally *nergens geen* moves to a higher position, assumably a *vP* adjunct position, which is sanctioned by virtue of the fact that *nergens* is an R-expression (cf. Van Riemsdijk (1978)). Note that here, contrary to other cases of EMNE’s, *nergens* does not fully reconstruct to the original PP, in line with the assumption that the first element of an EMNE carries the semantic negation. This can be shown by the fact that *nergens*, in a non-EMNE counterpart can license NPIs that are above PP, as shown in (36). If *nergens* were to be interpreted below the NPI *ook maar*, it could not have been licensed by *nergens*, as is shown when *nergens* is replaced by a non-R-expression, as is the case in (37).

- (36) Je hebt *nergens* ook-maar tijd voor
 You have nowhere any time for
 ‘You have no time for anything’

- (37) *Je hebt ook-maar tijd voor *niemand*
 You have any time for nobody
 ‘You have no time for anybody’

The only thing that thus gets interpreted in the lower copy is the trace of *nergens* that is interpreted as a bound variable.¹³

Note that in principle noting limits the number of elements that EMNE's consist of. Although they occur highly infrequent in comparison to the type of EMNE's discussed so far, some speakers accept EMNE's that consist of three (adjacent) indefinites, such as (38).

- (38) Zij heeft nooit nergens geen tijd voor Dutch
 She has never nowhere no time for
 'She has never any time for anything (at all)'

Although the derivation becomes much more complex, the analysis correctly predicts that this sentence is grammatical and yields a reading where the temporal adverb *nooit* ('never') and the non-negative counterparts of *nergens* ('nowhere') and *geen* ('no') are interpreted in their canonical positions:

- (39) Zij heeft [*nergens geen*]_i t_i t_i tijd voor t_i

Concerning the second case: DP-fronting with preposition stranding is accepted by a number of Dutch speakers, especially if the DP contains some emphasis, as is shown in (40):

- (40) %[*Geen enkele vrouw*]_i heeft hij van t_i gehouden Dutch
 No single woman has he of hold
 'Not a single woman he loved'

Since in such cases, DP's can move out of a PP, it is predicted that in such cases EMNE's can be included, since the ban on movement out of the PP no longer applies. This is indeed the case. Speakers who allow fronting in (40) also accept (41).

- (41) %[*Nooit geen vrouw*]_i heeft hij van t_i gehouden Dutch
 No woman has he of hold
 'Not a single woman he loved'

¹³ The question what determines whether the trace of a moved element is interpreted as a trace is addressed in section 3.2.3.

This fact again illustrates that EMNE's are constituents that are base-generated in the position where the lowest part takes scope from and move towards the position where the highest part takes scope.

3.2.2 Constituency

That EMNE's can be fronted also forms evidence that EMNE's are single constituents. Take for example the EMNE *nooit geen* in (42).

- (42) *Nooit geen* boek heb ik gelezen Dutch
 Never no book have I read
 'I have never ever read a book'

A property of V-to-C languages, such as Dutch and German, is that only one constituent may appear to the left of the finite verb in main clauses. This means that in (42) *nooit geen boek* ('never no book') must be a constituent. The internal structure of *nooit geen boek* can then only be *[[nooit geen] boek]* or *[nooit [geen boek]]*. The latter can be ruled out, since it predicts that *nooit* in (42) can be changed by another temporal adverb. DP. But, as shown in (43), that is impossible in Dutch. Hence *[[nooit geen] boek]* must be the correct internal structure of the fronted element, indicating that the ENNE *nooit geen* is a constituent itself.

- (43) **Altijd/vaak/soms geen* boek heb ik gelezen.
 Always/often/sometimes no book have I read
 'Always/often/sometimes I read no book'

However, not every EMNE is allowed to occur in first position. *Nooit niet*, for example, is not allowed in this position. If *nooit niet* is indeed an LI, the question rises why (44) is ruled out.

- (44) **Nooit niet* heb ik het gedaan Dutch
 Never NEG have I it done
 'I never ever did it'

I suspect that this ban on sentence-initial *nooit niet* follows from the more general ban on the negative marker *niet* immediately preceding a finite verb in verb second position, as shown in (45) (cf. Haeseryn et al. (1997), Barbiers (2002)).

- (45) **Niet* heb ik gegeten Dutch
 NEG have I eaten
 ‘I didn’t eat’

The ban on single negative markers in sentence-initial position is a property that is attested across languages (see Payne (1985), Horn (1989)) for an overview of facts, analyses and discussions). However, as Barbiers (2002) has shown, there are contexts in Dutch where *niet* in sentence-initial position is accepted, as shown in (46).

- (46) [✓]*Ik* had wel gezien dat Jan aankwam, Dutch
 maar *niet* had ik gezien dat Ed vertrok.
 I had PRT seen that Jan arrived, but NEG had I seen that Ed left
 ‘I did see that Jan arrived, but I had not seen that Ed left’

In these contexts a strong contrast is given by the first conjunct. If *nooit niet* appears in the position of *niet* in a similar construction, with a similar contrast in the first conjunct, the sentence is expected to be grammatical. According to some informants, this is indeed the case.

- (47) [%]*Ik* had altijd wel gezien dat Jan aankwam, Dutch
 maar *nooit niet* had ik gezien dat Ed vertrok.
 I had always PRT seen that Jan arrived, but never NEG had I seen that Ed left
 ‘I always saw that Jan arriving, but I never ever saw Ed leaving’

One should, however, be careful since informants are uncertain about their judgements, as sentences such as (47) are hard to evaluate. In any case, I think it is safe to conclude that the ban on sentence-initial *nooit niet* is a particular property of this EMNE and that the analysis that EMNE’s are LI’s is not contradicted by these data.

3.2.3 *Partial reconstruction*

A question that may arise with the proposed analysis is that is vulnerable to overgeneralization. Take for instance (33), repeated as (48).

- (48) *... dat hij [*nooit geen* vrouw]_i van t_i heeft gehouden Dutch
 ... that he never no woman of has hold

If EMNE's are LI's that may undergo partial reconstruction after overt movement, why could (48) not be the grammatical result of moving the entire PP to the VP adjunct position and have the proposition *van* and the DP *geen vrouw* reconstruct to the lower copy, yielding the following LF representation:

- (49) ... dat hij [~~van~~ *nooit geen vrouw*] [~~van~~ *nooit geen vrouw*] heeft gehouden

The reason why (49) is ruled out does not follow directly from the arguments presented, but is a result of a more general constraint on the application of partial reconstruction, both at LF and PF. Cavar and Fanselow (2001, 2002) and (Fanselow 2001) have argued at length that partial reconstruction always has to create contiguous chunks, a constraint they ultimately derive from (Rizzi's 1989) theory of Relativized Minimality.¹⁴ In other words, partial reconstruction of two copies [A B C] may result in e.g. [A] and [BC], or [AB] and [C], but never in [AC] and [B]. Hence LF reconstruction of *van nooit geen vrouw* into *nooit* and *van geen vrouw* is forbidden and rules out (49).

One may wonder however, whether this constraint incorrectly rules out reconstruction in pied piped PP's with wh-question words, such as 'with which woman did he spend his holiday?' However, it should be noted (see also footnote 9) that in those cases it is not only 'with woman' that is interpreted in the lower copy, but 'with which woman', where the trace of *which* must be interpreted as a variable bound by the highest copy of *which*. Hence the lower copy forms a contiguous chunk at LF and reconstruction is allowed. This is not the case with *nooit* in (49), as the trace of a temporal adverbial cannot be interpreted as a bound variable within a DP (see Von Stechow (2002)). EMNE's containing R-expressions extracted from PP's as in (35) (repeated as (50) below) again must have their lowest trace interpreted as well as P requires its complement not to be semantically vacuous.

¹⁴ See also Elbourne and Sauerland (2002) who on independent grounds reach the same kind of conclusions.

- (50) Je hebt [*nergens geen*]_i t_i tijd voor t_i
 You have nowhere no time for
 ‘You have no time for anything at all’

Note that this is in line with the general picture for trace interpretation at LF, as sketched by Sportiche (2005), which takes trace interpretation to be as minimal as possible.

3.3 *Explaining the differences between EMNE’s and NC*

Thus far I have shown that it is possible to take EMNE’s to be LI’s and have their different components operate from different structural positions as a result of partial reconstruction. This lexical analysis demonstrates that it is not necessary to account for EMNE’s in terms of NC and it paves the way for a parametric account for NC. In this subsection I argue that the differences between EMNE’s and NC constructions immediately follow from their lexical status. For reasons of convenience, let me repeat the list of differences mentioned in (7).

- (51) Differences between EMNE’s and NC expressions:
- a. EMNE’s always have an emphatic reading; NC constructions usually do not;
 - b. EMNE’s are subject to strict adjacency conditions, contrary to NC constructions;
 - c. Only the first element of the EMNE may carry stress, whereas in NC constructions all elements may do so;
 - d. The meaning of some EMNE’s can be idiosyncratic, contrary to NC constructions;
 - e. The formation of EMNE’s is not productive; speakers generally differ with respect to which EMNE they accept and which they do not accept;

The first difference, that EMNE’s -being emphatic- have slightly different pragmatic effects than their counterparts consisting of a single negative element, is no longer unexpected, since they are different LI’s. The question now is why all these EMNE’s are emphatic and do not exhibit other semantic differences in comparison to their non-EMNE counterparts. In other words, why is it that *nooit geen boek* obtains an emphatic reading and *nooit een boek* does not? I argue that the answer to this question lies in the diachronic development of EMNE’s, which will be dealt with in the next section.

The second difference (EMNE's are subject to strict adjacency conditions) falls out immediately. If EMNE's are LI's, they must be included and spelled out in one and the same position. This also holds for those EMNE's in which a proposition shows up in between the two negative elements. These constructions are complex LI's too.

The third difference also falls out of this lexical analysis. Take for instance the following minimal pair:

- (52) a. ... dat Jan *NOOIT* *geen* boek leest
 ... that Jan never no book reads
 '... that Jan never reads a book'
 b. ... dat Jan *nooit* *GEEN* boek leest
 ... that Jan never no book reads
 '... that Jan never reads a book'

In (50a) the first part of the EMNE obtained stress, in (50b) the second part. These stress effects do not stand on their own. When elements carry heavy stress, as is the case in (52), a preceding intonational break (/) is required, as shown in (53).

- (53) a. ... dat Jan // *NOOIT* *geen* boek leest
 b. ... dat Jan *nooit* // *GEEN* boek leest

As is well known from the work by Selkirk (1984) (adopted in a somewhat different version by Van der Koot and Neeleman (2006)), prosodic structure reflects syntactic structure. Phonological boundaries cannot be introduced at each point in the structure, but can only follow after the right edge of a maximal phrase. The prosodic structures in (53) must be derived from different structures in (54).

- (54) a. ... [[dat Jan] [[*NOOIT* *geen* boek] leest]]
 b. ... [[dat Jan] [[*nooit*] [*GEEN* boek] leest]]

It follows from (54) that for the b sentence *nooit* must constitute a maximal projection on its own, whereas this is not required for the a sentence with stress on *nooit*. If EMNE's are LI's, no single part of it can be a maximal projection, thus ruling out EMNE's carrying stress on their second part.

The fourth and fifth differences between EMNE's and plain NC constructions are also consequences of the lexical status of EMNE's. As has been demonstrated in section 2.1, EMNE's such as *niks geen* in (55) behave differently from most other EMNE's in the sense that not the second element that seems to modify the first.

- (55) Ik heb er *niks geen* aardigheid in Dutch
 I have there nothing no pleasure in
 'I don't like it at all'

In (55) *niks*, although it is a shortened form of *niets* ('nothing') is not an argument. At first glance this seems to run counter to the observation that in EMNE constructions the second element modifies the first one. However, in older variations of Dutch non-argument *niks* could be used with a reading of 'not at all.' The following examples from 18th and 19th century Dutch illustrate this behaviour of *niks*:

- (56) Ik geloof *nix* aan den satan¹⁵ 18th Century Dutch
 I believe nothing to the Satan
 'I don't believe in Satan at all'
- (57) Die studie is me *niks* meegevallen¹⁶ 19th Century Dutch
 That study is me nothing with.fallen
 'That study didn't meet my expectations at all'

For most of my informants this usage is still possible in examples like (58)-(59) in contemporary Dutch, although the utterances sound slightly archaic. It should be noted that currently this usage of *niks* does not render any emphatic effects anymore.¹⁷

- (58) a. Ik heb er zin in Dutch
 I have there lust in
 'I feel like it'

¹⁵ Leevend: 4.40

¹⁶ Gelukkige familie: 235.

¹⁷ See Bayer (2006) for an intensive discussion on the usage on English *nothing* and German *nichts* that still exhibit similar usages as Dutch *niks* did, including its emphatic usage. Note that this phenomenon may also have survived in a number of Dutch dialects.

- b. Ik heb er *geen* zin in
I have there geen lust in
'I don't feel like it'
 - c. %Ik heb er *niks* zin in
I have there nothing lust in
'I don't feel like it'
- (59)
- a. Ik heb er last van
I have there load of
'I suffer from it'
 - b. Ik heb er *geen* last van
I have there no load of
'I don't suffer from it'
 - c. %Ik heb er *niks* last van
I have there nothing load of
'I don't suffer from it'

Niks geen is thus nothing but the semantic combination of the negation (the meaning of *niks*) and the indefinite *een* ('a(n)'). Now, it follows that *geen* can be replaced by *niks geen*, resulting in an emphatic reading 'absolutely not a', which is of course equivalent to absolutely no'.¹⁸ The fact that *niks* can still be used in EMNE constructions, but is no longer productive as an emphatic negation is not surprising under the lexical analysis of EMNE's.

The fifth property concerns the speaker variation with respect to EMNE's. Since the acquisition of EMNE's is a purely lexical process, each EMNE has to be acquired independently. Therefore relatively infrequent EMNE's such as the ones in (60) are only accepted by only a minority of speakers.

- (60)
- a. %Ik heb *niemand niets* gegeven
I have nobody nothing given
'I didn't give anything to anybody at all'
- Dutch

¹⁸ Note that *niks* can still be used as a negative argument meaning 'nothing', also in EMNE constructions.

- b. %Ik heb *nergens niet* gezocht
 I have nowhere NEG looked.for
 ‘I didn’t look (for it) anywhere’

To conclude, all differences between EMNE’s and plain NC constructions immediately follow when the proposal presented in section 3.1 is adopted. I take this to be firm support for the analysis that EMNE’s are not instances of NC, but are LI’s consisting of two independent semantic objects, of which one is semantically negative.

Finally, the analysis that takes EMNE’s to be LI’s with some emphatic effect also accounts for the parallelism cases presented in section 1 where inclusions of an EMNE was almost obligatory, as is shown in (61) (repeated from (6)).

- (61) a. *Niemand* was op het feest, Piet *niet*, Jan *niet*, *niemand niet* Dutch
 Nobody was at the party, Piet NEG, Jan NEG, nobody NEG
 ‘Nobody was at the part. Piet wasn’t, Jan wasn’t, nobody was’
 b. ??*Niemand* was op het feest, Piet *niet*, Jan *niet*, *niemand*
 Nobody was at the party, Piet NEG, Jan NEG, nobody
 ‘Nobody was at the part. Piet wasn’t, Jan wasn’t, nobody was’

The question is why *niet* in the final conjunct is almost obligatory. Why can’t *niemand* appear on its own?

Note that the reading of final *niemand* must be emphatic as it occurs in a so-called appendix position. Van der Wouden (2000) has argued that these sentence-final appendixes are all focus positions, and therefore require to be occupied by emphatic elements. This already calls for either an EMNE, or another emphatic modifier, such as *helemaal* (‘absolutely’), as shown in (62)

- (62) *Niemand* was op het feest, Piet *niet*, Jan *niet*, *helemaal niemand* Dutch
 Nobody was at the party, Piet NEG, Jan NEG, absolutely nobody
 Nobody was at the part. Piet wasn’t, Jan wasn’t, nobody was’

A second reason why an EMNE is preferred in these parallel constructions is that the prosodic parallelism must be maintained as well. Take the example in (63). Here the particle *wel* is used in both the main clause and the first and second conjuncts. If *wel*, which is not required

in the final conjunct for semantic reasons, is left out, the sentence sounds odd as well. This is the second reason why final *niet* in (61) cannot be left out easily.

- (63) Er waren wel wat mensen gekomen. Marie wel, Piet wel, mijn vrienden *(wel)
 There were PRT some people come. Marie PRT, Piet PRT, my friends PRT
 ‘Some people came, Marie did, Piet did, my friends did’

The empathic reading and the prosodic parallelism requirement call for the inclusion of an EMNE in these constructions, which explains why the inclusion of EMNE’s is almost obligatory in these parallel constructions, despite the fact that they are prescriptively ruled out.

4 The development of Emphatic Multiple Negative Expressions

Thus far I have addressed the question of how EMNE’s should be analysed. Yet one of the main questions, why there are EMNE’s in the first place, is still open. The answer to this question is of acute interest since it still needs to be explained why meanings assigned to EMNE’s contain only one negation. In order to answer this question, I first discuss the way sentential negation was expressed in Middle Dutch.

Middle Dutch was special with respect to the expression of negation in two ways: first, it had two negative markers instead of one: *en/ne* and *niet*, much like French *ne...pas*; second, it was an NC language, contrary to Modern Dutch. The first property is shown in (64), the second in (65).

- (64) a. *En laettine mi spreke niet*¹⁹ 13th Century Dutch
 NEG let.he me speak NEG
 ‘If he doesn’t let me speak’
 b. *Sine ware niet genedert heden*²⁰
 She.NEG were NEG humiliated currently
 ‘She wasn’t humiliated currently’

¹⁹ Lanceloet: 20316.

²⁰ Lanceloet: 20166.

- c. Dat si *niet en* sach dat si sochte²¹
 That she NEG NEG saw that she looked-for
 ‘That she didn’t see what she looked for’
- (65) a. Ic *en* sag *niemen*²² Middle Dutch
 I NEG saw n-body
 ‘I didn’t see anybody’
- b. Die *niemen en* spaers²³
 That nobody NEG saves
 ‘Who saves nobody’
- c. Den onderseten *niet en* was // gheoorlooft *niets niet* met allen //
 aen enen andren paus te vallen²⁴
 The shephards NEG NEG was // allowed nothing NEG with all
 PRT an other pope to attack
 ‘The shephards were not at all allowed to attack another pope together’
- d. Welc es .i. groet berch, ende een hoech, daer *noyt niemen* over *ne* vloech?²⁵
 Which is a big mountain and a high, there never nobody about NEG flew
 ‘Which as a big and high mountain, that never anybody flew above’

As Den Besten (1985, 1989) has shown, NC may come about in different types. The two types Den Besten distinguishes are *negative doubling* and *negative spread*. Negative doubling is the co-occurrence of an n-word with an additional negative marker, such as *en ... niemen* (‘neg ... nobody’) in (65a), *niemen ... en* (‘nobody ... neg’) as in (65b), or *niets niet* (‘nothing ... neg’) in (53c). Negative spread refers to the co-occurrence of two n-words, like *noyt niemen* (‘never ... nobody’) in (635d).

A particular property of Middle Dutch negation is that the preverbal negative marker *en/ne* must occur in all sentences containing sentential negation, but that it cannot occur by itself and must be licensed by another negative element (except for a limited number of special contexts, cf. Postma (2000)). In negative sentences without indefinite arguments (i.e. without n-words) the additional negative marker *niet* licenses the presence of *en/ne*. In

²¹ Lanceloet: 20042.

²² Cf. Hoeksema (1997)

²³ Vanden leve ons heren 2018.

²⁴ Brabantsche yeesten 7957-9.

²⁵ Middelnederlandsche gedichten en fragmenten: 189.

contexts in which there is an *n*-word, the *n*-word may license *en/ne* as well and *niet* can be left out. Although adding *niet* or additional *n*-words to a combination of *en/ne* and an *n*-word may yield NC readings, inclusion of those extra elements does not alter the semantics of the sentence. This can be illustrated for modern NC languages, such as Afrikaans:

- (66) a. Sy is *nooit* beskikbaar *nie*²⁶ Afrikaans
 She is never available NEG
 ‘She's never available’
 b. Sy is *nooit nie* beskikbaar *nie*
 She is never NEG available NEG
 ‘She's never ever available’

Truth-conditionally (66a) and (66b) are identical. The only difference between the two sentences is that in (66b) a redundant negative marker has been included. Such inclusions are known to yield an emphatic effect, which explains why (66b) is felt to have a stronger reading than (66a). The same holds for inclusion of additional indefinites. Since (67a) entails (67b), the usage of the indefinite in (67b) is redundant and, again, triggers an emphatic effect.

- (67) a. John *never* eats
 b. John *never* eats a thing

Turning back to the situation in Middle Dutch, most instances of NC in Middle Dutch were cases of negative doubling with the preverbal negative marker *en/ne*. Cases of negative spread or negative doubling with the (optional) negative marker *niet* were much less attested, as they could only be used to mark emphasis (see Burridge (2003), Jäger (2008)).

It has been known since Jespersen's seminal work (Jespersen (1917)) that preverbal negative markers such as Middle Dutch *en/ne* lost force and gradually started to disappear. Their usage became optional as is shown below in (68), which consists of two examples out of one the same text: one where *en* is lacking, one where *en* is still present. In the middle of the 17th century for instance the usage of *en/ne* was almost entirely gone.²⁷ The development of *en*-deletion in Holland Dutch is shown in table 1.

²⁶ Data from Theresa Biberauer (p.c.).

²⁷ Note that this is still early work by Vondel; in later work by Vondel *en/ne* has completely disappeared.

- (68) a. Maer *niemant* gaf gehoor²⁸ 1638 Dutch
 But nobody gave obeying
 ‘But nobody obeyed’
- b. Dat *niemant* zich het woên der vyanden *en* kreunde²⁹
 That nobody SE the raging of.the enemies NEG moaned
 ‘That nobody cared about the raging of the enemies’

Table 1: *En*-deletion in Holland Dutch (in %) (Burridge (1993))

	V1	V2	V-final
1300	43	28	8
1400	75	25	36
1500	77	48	28
1600	100	30	8
1650	100	100	98

Following the line of reasoning pursued in this paper, NC has been taken to be subject to parametric variation. This means that the language learner on the basis of the language input has to determine whether the target language is an NC or a DN language. This means that if the cue to set the parameter to NC is robust enough the language will be taken to be an NC language. For the NC/DN distinction such a cue is formed by sentences with more than one morphosyntactic instance of negation that is interpreted with only single semantic negation.³⁰ As the majority of such cues to consist of examples consisting of *en/ne* in combination with either *niet* or a single n-word, *en*-deletion resulted in disappearance of the cue robust enough to set the language as an NC language. This led to the following situation: the majority of NC expressions have disappeared from Dutch and the language can no longer be acquired as an NC language. But there are still these less frequent former negative spread expressions consisting of multiple n-words or n-word(s) in combination with *niet* that carried an empathic reading. Since the language learner could not interpret these instances as instances of NC, they had to be analysed as LI’s as a last resort option. Since in the language input the adult

²⁸ Gysbrecht V: 1368.

²⁹ Gysbrecht V: 1410.

³⁰ Note that this only concerns the NC/DN distinction. Different types of NC are triggered by additional cues. See (Zeijlstra 2008) for an overview of such cues.

NC speakers still assigned an emphatic NC reading to these constructions, these LI's have been analysed as carrying only one semantic negation with extra emphasis.

Note that these remainders of Dutch NC need not have to consist of n-words and negative marker *niet* only. If an object had been introduced by a preposition, which is likely to happen in a language like Dutch, as is the case in (69), this would lead to a situation where the two negative elements with the intervening preposition were reanalysed as complex LI's.

- (69) Na dien tyd wist Reintje *nooit* van *geen* betalen³¹
 After that time knew Reintje never of no pay
 'After that Reintje couldn't pay anything'

This explains why some current EMNE's may still carry a intervening preposition, such as *nooit van geen*. The two negations in (69) cannot be the result of NC; therefore they can only be analysed as a complex lexical item, similar to plain EMNE's.

If this analysis is correct, the death of Dutch NC, so to speak, led to the birth of EMNE's. It is also predicted that other languages that have undergone a similar development with respect to their negative markers, similar effects would arise. The languages closest to Dutch in this respect are Frisian and German. Indeed both languages exhibit EMNE's as well. Research executed for the Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects (SAND, Barbiers et al. (2005)) show that various Frisian dialects exhibit EMNE's, such as Anjum Frisian where the following expressions are taken from.

- (70) a. Der wol *net* ien *net* dansje³²
 There wants NEG one NEG dance
 'Nobody wants to dance'
 b. Zitte hjir *nergens* *gjin* muizen?
 Sit here nowhere ni mice
 'Are there any mice here?'

Also German, which underwent a similar development (cf. Jäger (2008)), exhibits EMNE's, as has been mentioned in section 1 and is further illustrated by examples (71)-(73).³³

³¹ Apollo's marsdrager: 321

³² Data from Zeijlstra (2004: 115).

- (71) Mein Vater war ein Fänger, doch machte *nie kein* Fang³⁴
 My father was a catcher, but made never no catch
 ‘My father was a catcher, made never (ever) made a catch’
- (72) ... weil *niemand nie* auf meine statements antwortet³⁵
 ... because nobody never on my statements answers
 ‘... because nobody ever answers my statements (at all)’
- (73) Ich war auch *nie nicht* Teil irgendeiner Jugendbewegung³⁶
 I was also never NEG part of any-kind-of youth-movement
 ‘I was never ever part of any kind of youth movement’

German EMNE’s are however less frequent and belong to (even) less formal registers than Dutch EMNE’s. But this is by no means surprising, since German is known to be much more sensitive to normative pressure on language use than Dutch (see Weiss (2002), Weerman (2006)).^{37,38}

5. Conclusions

In this paper I have discussed the difference between so-called EMNE’s and NC constructions. I have demonstrated that EMNE’s are fundamentally different from NC constructions, and that for this reason EMNE’s should not be taken to be instances of NC in DN languages. Instead I have argued that EMNE’s are best analysed as lexical items that consist of two semantic objects, of which only one is semantically negative. By applying

³³ The examples are just a small selection and many more can be attested. All examples have been checked with native speakers if Germans and have been confirmed to have the EMNE reading.

³⁴ <http://www.peter-toepfer.org/Musikproduktion/texte/texte.html>

³⁵ <http://forum.pop24.de/forum/archive/index.php/t-2073.html>

³⁶ <http://www.thafaker.de/2007/07/26/tocotronic-tour/>

³⁷ English, on the other hand does not exhibit EMNE’s, but the development that English has undergone is quite different from the Dutch/German/Frysian changes in the sense that in English the usage of the preverbal negative marker (‘*n’t*’) increased rather than decreased and that *n*-words were at large scale replaced by NPI indefinites of the *any*-series (cf. Ingham (2000)).

³⁸ Note that not all German dialects are DN languages that may or may not have EMNE’s. Bavarian for instance is a dialect that shows all the characteristics of a plain NC language.

overt movement, followed by partial reconstruction at the level of Logical Form both semantic objects can take scope from a different position in the tree. I have argued that the single negation an EMNE consist of is the result of the disappearance of Negative Concord in Dutch: after the loss of the preverbal negative marker *en/ne*, strings containing two n-words or an n-word and the negative marker *niet* could no longer act as a cue for NC and therefore had to be stored in the lexicon. The death of Dutch NC, so to speak, led to the birth of EMNE's.

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