Not in the first place

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Abstract

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

I argue that both phenomena can be explained on the basis of the following three well-motivated assumptions (i) the assumption that features that encode the illocutionary force of a speech act are hosted on V_{fin} in C° and that therefore speech act operators take scope from C° (cf. Han (2001)); (ii) the assumption that operators that encode illocutionary force may not be operated on by a (semantic) negation; and (iii) the Head Movement Constraint (cf. Travis' (1984)), an instance of relativized minimality (cf. Rizzi (1989)).

On the basis of these assumptions it is correctly predicted that all languages where such the negative marker is both semantically negative and a syntactic head ban TNI's and that every language that bans TNI's exhibits an overt negative marker X°.

On the bases of these assumptions it also follows that no negative material may 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. This is only the case whenever this negative has the form [NEG XP] or whether the sentence-initial negative marker is solely fronted as part of a process of partial topicalisation.

1 Introduction: two phenomena

Although from a logical perspective one would expect, negation, being a propositional operator, 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: (i) the ban on True Negative Imperatives that is attested in many languages and (ii) the ban on single negative markers in sentence-initial position in V2 languages.

In this paper I argue that both phenomena 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°.

In this section I first introduce these two phenomena. In subsection 1.1, I discuss what is meant by the ban on True Negative Imperatives and in subsection 1.2, I introduce some data concerning the ban on single negative markers in sentence-initial position in V2 languages. After that, in subsection 1.3, I present an outline of the structure of the rest of the paper and the explanation I provide.

1.1 The ban on True Negative Imperatives

The first phenomenon addressed in this paper is that not every language accepts so-called True Negative Imperatives (TNI's).[1] What is meant by TNI's is exemplified in (1) and (2) for Dutch and Polish respectively. In Dutch, in main clauses the finite verb precedes the negative marker *niet* ((1)a). In imperative clauses, where the finite verb is in V1 position ((1)b), the negation also follows the finite imperative verb without yielding ungrammaticality ((1)c). Therefore, Dutch is said to allow TNI's: the sentence with the imperative verb can be negated in the same way indicative sentences are negated. The same holds for Polish. In Polish, the negative marker always precedes the finite verb. This does not only holds for indicative verbs, but also for imperative verbs. As (2) shows, sentences with indicative and imperative verbs are negated in the same way. Polish is thus a language that allows TNI's too.

(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 ((3)a). However, if the verb has an imperative form as in (3)b, it may not be combined with this negative marker ((3)c). 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 ((3)b). Such constructions are called Surrogate Negative Imperatives (SNIs).[3]

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[1] Terminology after Zanuttini (1994)

[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.

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

This immediately leads to two questions: (i) how can this ban on TNI's in languages such as Spanish be explained? And (ii) how does the attested cross-linguistic variation follow?

1.2 The ban on single 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 (6) is ruled out:

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

All V2-languages in principle ban single negative markers in Spec,CP, although, as I will discuss in section 3, some particular contexts allow for exceptions. This means that in those languages that exhibit V-to-C movement in main clauses, single negative markers are not allowed to occupy this position, but complex expressions including negation ('not XP') are, as is illustrated for German and Swedish below.

(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 correct:

(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?

1.3 Outline

The general aim of this paper is to show that both phenomena are to be explained as a result of the interaction between features that encode the illocutionary force of a speech act and features that are responsible for the expression of negation.

In section 2, I return to the ban on TNI's. I argue that this ban follows from the fact that no semantically active negative marker may dominate the feature in C° and it is correctly predicted that all languages where such a semantically negative marker is a syntactic head ban TNI's.

In section 3 I will extend the analysis presented in section 2 to the ban on single negative markers in sentence-initial position in V-to-C languages. I argue that this ban

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.

Section 4, finally, concludes the paper.

2 The ban on True Negative Imperatives

In this section I show that the ban on True Negative Imperatives follows from three generally accepted assumptions: (i) the assumption that the operator that encodes the illocutionary force of an imperative universally takes scope from C°; (ii) the assumption 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 this paper that both typological predictions are born out.

This section is set up as follows. First, in subsection 2.1 I discuss three previous accounts for the ban on TNI's: first Rivero's (1994) and Rivero and Terzi's (1995) account, second Zanuttini's (1997) account and then Han's (2001) account. I argue that whereas the first accounts face serious troubles, Han's account is correct for the analysis of Romance languages, but fails to be extended to e.g. Slavic languages, since she does not take particular syntactic and semantic properties of negative markers into account.

For that reason I take a short detour in subsection 2.2 to discuss different semantic and syntactic types of negative markers. Crucial in this respect is that negative markers do not necessarily have to be the carrier of semantic negation.

In subsection 3, I argue that adopting the assumptions that Han (2001) proposes in combination with a proper treatment of negative markers explains both the ban on TNI's as well as its cross-linguistic distribution.

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 where the verb is assumed to raise to I°, allow TNI's, whereas Romance languages, such as Italian, where the verb moves to C°, do not (see (12)).

(12) a. [$_{CP}$ [$_{NegP}$ [$_{Neg°}$ *Nie*] [$_{IP}$ [$_{I°}$ pracuj$_{[IMP]i}$] [$_{VP}$ t$_i$]]]] Polish
NEG work.2SG.IMP
'Don't work!'

b. *[$_{CP}$ [$_{C°}$ Parla$_{[IMP]i}$] [$_{NegP}$ [$_{Neg°}$ *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]

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

[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 be 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). These examples are also discussed in Han (2001)

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

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 high a position, or the imperative operator takes scope from too low a 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 has 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. $[_{NegP}$ *non*-1 $[_{MoodP} \ldots [_{VP}\ ]]]$ — imperative clauses
b. $[_{NegP}$ *non*-2 $\ldots [_{VP}\ ]]$ — indicative clauses

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 comes from the observation that in languages that 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, this analysis 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 Slavic languages the imperative seems to be morphologically defective as well. Moreover, one may even find Romance varieties as acknowledged by Zanuttini, which allow TNI's. Old Italian (18) is an example.

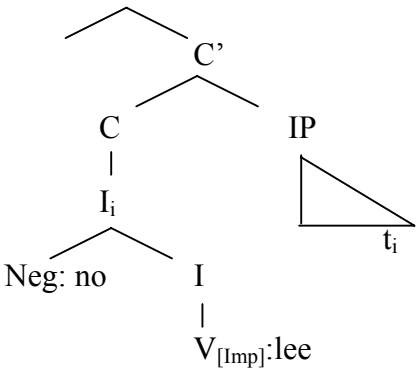
[7] The position of the pronominal clitic *to* ('it') is related to the imperative/subjunctive distinction. Imperatives require the clitic to appear left adjoined to the verb, subjunctives require enclitisation.

(18) *Ni* ti tormenta di questo! Old Italian[8]
NEG yourself torment.2SG.IMP of this
'Don't torment yourself with this!'

2.1.3 Han (2001)

Han (2001), finally, 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) * CP
Spanish



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* $t_i]]$[9] 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 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

[8] Example taken from Zanuttini (1997).

[9] In Zeijlstra (2004) it is argued for Dutch 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.

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, an assumption which is, as I will show in the next subsection, too naïve.

2.1.4 Concluding remarks

All three analyses that I have discussed face serious problems. However, although the three analyses discussed so fare appear to be problematic, it is, contrary to the first two analyses, not the case that the latter account is false. Rather, it appears to be incomplete, as the semantic and syntactic status of negative markers has not been included. Therefore, before I present my own analysis, I first discuss the major semantic and syntactic differences that negative markers exhibit.

2.2 Semantic and syntactic properties of negative markers

In this section I focus on the semantic and syntactic differences between negative markers. In the first subsection, I argue that negative markers cross-linguistically fifer with respect to their semantic status. Some negative markers are inherently (i.e. semantically) negative, whereas in other languages negative markers merely indicate the presence of a negative operator, but are themselves semantically vacuous.

In the second subsection I discuss the different syntactic status that negative markers may exhibit. In particular I zoom in on the head-phrasal distinction between negative markers, which has been subject to intensive study over the past decade.

2.2.1 On the semantic status of negative markers

In this section I discuss the semantic status of negative markers. I present a number of 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 is subject to a syntactic requirement that it needs to stand in an Agree relation with a negative operator, which may be left phonologically abstract.

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 n-words[10] are accompanied by the negative marker, regardless whether they follow or precede the negative marker, as is demonstrated for Czech in (22). In Non-strict NC languages the negative marker accompanies postverbal n-words, but must not accompany preverbal n--words. An example of a Non-strict NC language is Italian (23).

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

(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'

(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.[11]

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

Under the analysis that n-words are analysed as semantically non-negative indefinites that carry a feature [uNEG] (cf. Ladusaw (1992), Brown (1999), Zeijlstra (2004)), a negative operator must c-command them in order to yield the correct readings. This implies 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

[11] 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))

[uNEG] and that it has its [uNEG] feature checked by an abstract negative operator $Op_{\neg}$, as shown in (25).[12]

(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].

Now I present some additional arguments in favour of the idea 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') is not 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'

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

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* ('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].

(27) a. O Jannis *(*dhen*) dhiavase *oute kan* tis Sindaktikes Dhomes[13] 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!'

To conclude, I take these arguments to be conclusive for the assumption that negative markers vary cross-linguistically with respect to their semantic status. This is of course of direct importance for any explanation of the ban on TNI's along the lines of Han (2001), as this analysis crucially relies on the semantic effects of negative markers c-commanding imperative verbs.

[13] Example taken from Giannakidou (2005).

2.2.2 On the syntactic status of negative markers

Now I continue this excursion on negative markers by discussing the syntactic status of negative markers. This subsection will not that many words however, since there is not much controversy about the criteria that determine whether a negative marker is a syntactic head (X°) or whether it is phrasal (XP).

All three analyses that have been discussed in section 2 (as well as my own analysis that I present in section 2.3) also 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' (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 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.

To conclude this subsection, negative markers must 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].[14]

2.3 Analysis

Given the discussion of the previous analyses of the ban on TNI's and the results of the previous subsection on the semantic and syntactic status of negative markers, the toolset is complete to explain the peculiar behaviour of TNI's.

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 [IMP] is hosted on V_{imp} in C° and that therefore OP_{IMP} must take scope from C°, a standard analysis in the syntax of imperatives (cf. Han (2001)). 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)).

In a nutshell, I will show that from these assumptions it follows that if a negative marker is semantically active and a syntactic head, the verb is not allowed to move

[14] 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.

across this negative marker, and the semantic negative feature will therefore c-command the imperative feature on V_{imp}, ruling out this TNI.

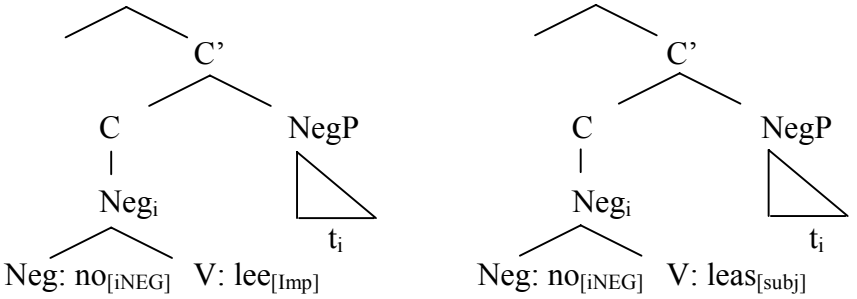
As the availability of TNI's thus depends on two different properties of negative markers, I analyse the ban on TNI's by discussing different classes of languages. First I discuss Class I languages: languages that have a negative marker that is both semantically active (carrying [iNEG]) and a syntactic head. Second I discuss class II languages: langauges that also have a negative head marker, but this marker is carries a feature [uNEG]; Finally I discuss Class III languages: languages that lack a negative marker which is a syntactic head.

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]. Since [IMP] has the illocutionary force of a speech act. It follows that the imperative operator takes scope from V_{fin} in C°. 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.[15]

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



2.3.2 Class II languages

Languages that have negative markers X° carrying [uNEG] differ with respect to the ban on TNI's. Czech, Polish, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croation for instance accept TNI's,

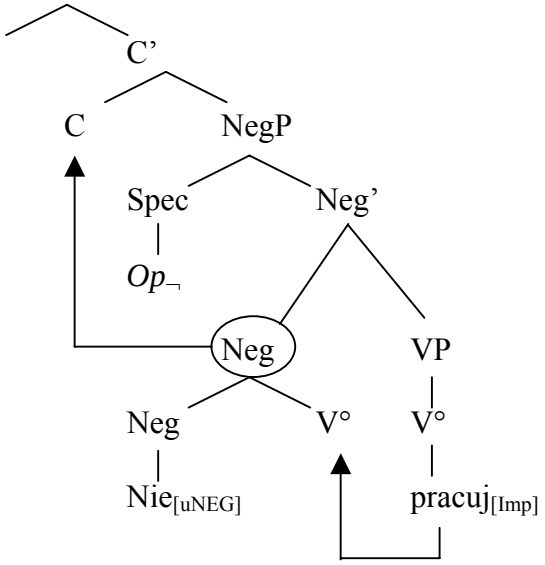
[15] Han (2001) suggests that the fact that the subjunctive encodes an irrealis, plays a role in the imperative interpretation. This is however contradicted by the fact that (for instance) an indicative can fulfil this function as well (Italian plural SNIs exhibit an indicative).

whereas Romanian, Hungarian and Greek disallow them. I begin with the first kind of languages.

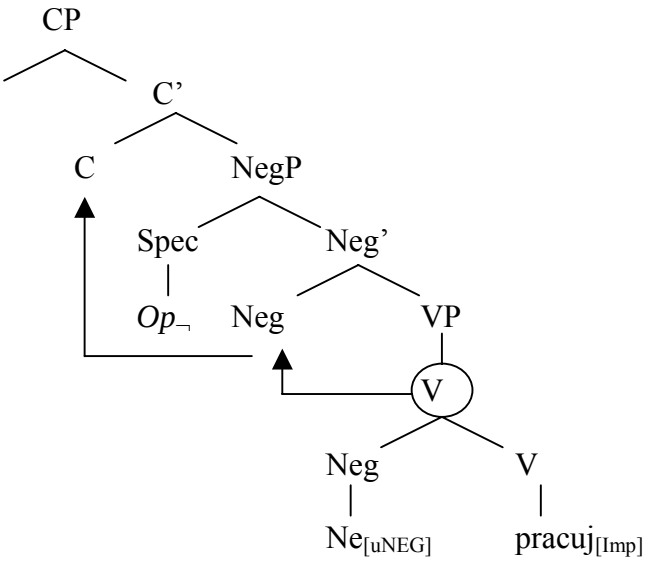
In Slavic languages, such as Czech, Polish, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croation, the negative marker is always in preverbal position. All Slavic languages are Strict NC languages and their (preverbal) negative markers thus carry a feature [uNEG]. Slavic languages however differ with respect to the phonological 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. In both cases, these negative markers are semantically non-negative and negation is thus induced from $Op_{\neg}$.

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 for Polish in (30) and for the latter analysis of Czech in (31).

(30) Polish



(31) Czech

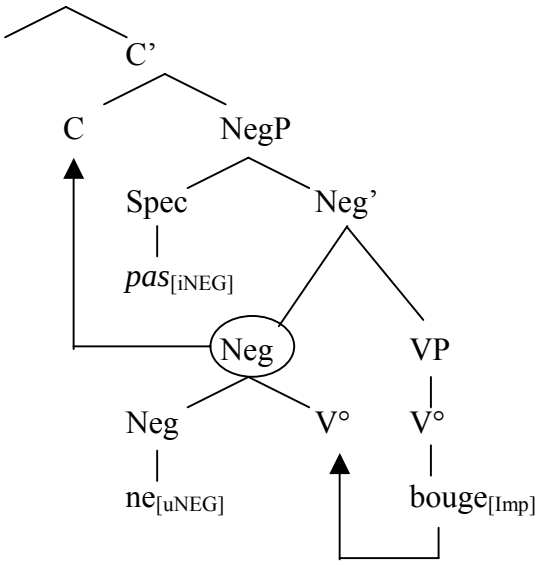


Another language that has a negative marker X° carrying [uNEG] and allows TNI's is Standard French. Standard French differs from the above-mentioned languages in that it has two negative markers: *ne* and *pas*. Following standard analyses about French (Rowlett (1998) among many others), *pas* is taken to be the realisation of the negative operator, whereas *ne* is semantically non-negative. This explains why French *ne* may move along with V_{imp} to C°. Standard French is analysed similarly to Polish, except for the fact that the negative operator in Spec,NegP is not realised covertly, but overtly.[16]

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

[16] In French negative imperatives are different from non-negative imperatives in the sense that non-negative imperatives block proclitisation on V_{imp}, whereas this is allowed with negative imperatives: *Regarde le*! (‚watch it') vs. *Ne le regarde pas!* (‚don't watch it'). However, this is not due to the negation, but due to the fact that French blocks proclitisation in sentence-initial position. If on the other hand, the negative marker precedes the verbal-clitic complex, nothing prevents clitics from keeping their positions.

(33) Standard French



However, not every language that exhibits semantically non-negative head markers allows TNI's. Examples are (amongst others) Romanian, Hungarian and Greek. 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 three languages studied here, two languages have an additional negative marker for subjunctives. Hungarian *nem* is replaced by *ne* in subjunctives and Greek *dhen* is replaced by *mi*.

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 (1997) 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 and imperatives and subjunctives cannot be combined with *nem* for independent reasons. Hungarian is in this sense similar to the Slavic languages.

The situation in Greek is different. Greek also exhibits 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.

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'

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

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 III 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° is not be blocked and therefore TNI's are allowed.

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

2.4 Concluding remarks

In this paper I analyse the ban on TNI's as a result of three assumptions: (i) the assumption that [IMP] is hosted on V_{imp} in C° and that therefore OP_{IMP} must take scope from C; (ii) the classical observation that operators that encode illocutionary force may not be operated on by a (semantic) negation; (iii) the HMC (Travis' (1984)), an instance of relativized minimality (cf. Rizzi (1989)). As has been discussed above, these assumptions neatly explain the ban on TNI's and its cross-linguistic distribution. In this subsection I want to present some additional evidence in favour of the explanation based on these three assumptions.

2.4.1 Typological evidence

From these assumption it follows immediately that that the following two typological generalisations **G1** and **G2** hold:

(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 for reasons explained above: if a negative marker X° carrying [iNEG] attaches to V_{IMP}, it illegitimately c-commands the feature that encodes the illocutionary force. Being a syntactic head the verb can by no means move out of this c-command constellation. Hence, thus TNI's are ruled in languages out in languages with overt negative markers X° carrying [iNEG].

G2 also 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.

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.

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, thus providing additional evidence for the proposed analysis.

(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	√	*	√
	Albanian	√	*	*
	Greek	√	*	*
	Hebrew	√	*	*
	Romanian	√	*	*
	Hungarian	√	*	*
III	Dutch	*	√	√
	Danish	*	√	√
	German	*	√	√
	Norwegian	*	√	√
	Swedish	*	√	√
	Bavarian	*	*	√
	Yiddish	*	*	√
	Quebecois	*	*	√

2.4.2 Diachronic evidence

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 *ni* 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.

2.4.3 Domain extension

Finally, if the explanation presented above is correct, it follows that not only in the case of negative imperatives, but all sentences where a feature that encodes the illocutionary force of a speech act is c-commanded by a semantically negative feature, are ruled out. In the next section I demonstrate that this is exactly what blocks single negative markers in Spec,CP. The fact that the ban on single negative markers in Spec,CP follows from the analysis presented above, is a final and strong piece of evidence in favour of it.

3 The ban on single negative markers in sentence-initial position in V2 languages.

In this section I address the problem of the ban on single negative markers in Spec,CP in V2 languages, formalised as in (45) (repeated from (9)).

(45) *$[_{CP}$ NEG $[_{C^\circ}$ $V_{fin}]]$

In the first subsection I discuss why the previous analysis on this problem by Barbiers (2002) is incorrect. 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)), thus providing additional evidence for these correctness of that explanation. In this section I take Dutch as a standard example for V-to-C languages, but the analysis extends to other Germanic languages as well.

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

3.1 Previous analysis: Barbiers (2002)

On order to account for (45) Barbiers (2002) adopts Chomsky's (1995b) bare phrase structure theory and proposes that the phrasal status of Dutch *niet* is flexible: it may appear in head position (projection of 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 *niet* needs to have its case feature checked it may not appear in adjunct positions but it cannot appear in a verb's 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 an extraposed CP object, like the verb *zien* ('to see').

(46) a. … dat Jan die vrouw ziet Dutch
… that Jan that woman sees
'… that Jan sees that woman'
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 (47).

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

As DP's contrary to CP's require the verb to assign case to them, the DP position is a position that 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* must be 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 (48), where *niet* is allowed in Spec,CP.

(48) 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 verbal movement across the verb can be explained if *niet* constitutes a functional

projection of its own: in Dutch main clauses finite verbs are always able to move across *niet*, which is unexpected if *niet* were a head (see also section 2.2.2).

(49) Ik kom *niet*
I come NEG
'I don't come'
[$_{CP}$ Ik kom [[$_{Neg°}$ niet] [$_{VP}$ t_i]]

Apart from that, Barbiers' analysis suffers from both overgeneralization and undergeneralization. For instance, it predicts that in configuration (47) *niet* is always 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 (50).

(50) **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 (48) is does not depend on the base position of *niet*, as that is identical as the one in (50).

Furthermore, (48) is not the only type of construction where *niet* may topicalise. In (51) no CP complement has been selected by the verb, but *niet* is allowed to appear in Spec,CP as well.

(51) *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 not mark the plants on the list that you already have'

The arguments presented above indicate that Barbiers' analysis faces serious problems, both theoretically and empirically. In the next subsection I argue that the alternative analysis, i.e. application of the explanation of the ban on TNI's, can account for (45) and also predicts the grammaticality of examples such as (48) and (51) by adopting Chomksy's (1995a) Merge-over-Move-constraint.

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 (52) and (53), and the apparent counter examples presented above.

(52) *[$_{CP}$ NEG [$_{C°}$ V_{fin}]]

(53) [$_{CP}$ [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 triggered by the

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

illocutionary force of the clause (see Truckenbrodt (2006), Wechsler (1991), Lohnstein (2000), Gärtner (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) (= (54)-(55)).

(54) 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'

(55) 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'

But the fact that all these constructions are grammatical 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 arising 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 if necessary. However, given the fact that negation is a semantically flexible operation (in the sense that it can apply to different types of complements) which 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, (52) and (53) 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

[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.

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 subsection 3.1), are now in need of an explanation. Let me repeat them below:

(56) 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'

(57) *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 (56) the speaker says s/he saw John's arrival, but not Eddy's departure. In (57) the speaker asserts that only those plants that you already have marked do not need to be marked, but all others do. 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 (56) and (57) 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 (58):

(58) 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 (58) 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 (56) and (57) are heavy enough, these examples indeed allow for partial topicalisation. The idea that (56) involves an instance of constituent negation, which undergoes partial topicalisation, also explains the ungrammaticality of (50), repeated as (59).

(59) **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 (60) where both sentences exhibit constituent negation but where the example with the given contrast is much better than the sentence without such a contrast.

(60) 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 (56) and (57) such contrastive effects are present as well (as in (58)), but not in (59). Hence, the markedness of (59) 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 topicalisation 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 (61).

(61) 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 *too/either*-pair (*heller/också*), which can be used as diagnostics for the distinction between sentential and constituent negation, just like their English counter part (cf. Klima (1964)). *Också* ('either') can be used in cases of constituent negation, where as *heller* (''too') is included in cases of sentential negation. The fact that the reply in (61) includes *också* indicates that *inte* has only scope over Sven, and not over the entire sentence.

Hence all counterexamples against the ban on single negative markers in Spec,CP reduce to partial topicalisation. This implies that if partial topicalisation does not apply, the single negative marker is banned from Spec,CP for the same reasons as why TNI's are banned. Hence the two phenomena introduced in section 1 have thus receieved a unified explanation.

[22] Examples based on Brandtler (2006).

4 Conclusions

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

I have argued that both phenomena can be explained on the basis of the following three well-motivated assumptions (i) the assumption that features that encode the illocutionary force of a speech act are hosted on V_{fin} in C° and that therefore speech act operators take scope from C°; (ii) the assumption that operators that encode illocutionary force may not be operated on by a (semantic) negation; and (iii) the Head Movement Constraint (Travis' (1984)), an instance of relativized minimality (cf. Rizzi (1989)).

On the basis of these assumptions it it is correctly predicted that all languages where such the negative marker is both semantically negative and a syntactic head ban TNI's and that every language that bans TNI's exhibits an overt negative marker X°.

On the bases of these assumptions it also follows that no negative material may 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. This is only the case whenever this negative has the form [NEG XP] or whether the sentence-initial negative marker is solely fronted as part of a process of partial topicalisation.

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