Emphatic Multiple Negative Expressions in Dutch[1]

Abstract: *Double Negation languages like 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 morpohosyntactically 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)   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 only top a single 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 a single 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 a single semantic negation, as 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 (non-standard) 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 in*[2]   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'

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).

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[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 (%).

(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 and conclude that EMNE's and NC are different phenomena. 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. EMNE's 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 four different aspects, which are listed below:

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

One of the most striking differences between plain NC constructions and EMNE's is 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 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 niemand niet gezien*   Dutch

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[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.

He has nobody NEG seen
'He didn't see ANYbody'
- b. *Hij heeft niemand gezien*
He has nobody seen
'He didn't see anybody'

(9) a. *Non ha visto alcunché* Italian
NEG has seen anybody
'He didn't see ANYbody'
- b. *Non ha visto nessuno*
NEG has seen nobody
'He didn't see anybody'

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, (10b) 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 nooit geen tijd*
You have never no time
'You never ever have time'

The second difference between EMNE's and NC is that whereas several EMNE's are accepted by most speakers of Dutch, such as *nooit niet* or *niks geen*, many other EMNE's are only accepted by some speakers of Dutch. Only a minority of my informants accepts the examples below.

(11) 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'

The fact that the examples in (11) are acceptable to only some speakers of Dutch is puzzling if EMNE's are taken to be instances of NC, since NC constructions are hardly ever subject to such language-internal variation.

It should be noted that not every EMNE is possible. Some combinations of negative elements are only DN reading to, if they are accepted at all. Such cases are e.g. the examples in (12): (12a) is perfectly fine, with only a DN reading; (12b) sounds odd, but is still acceptable, again only with a DN reading. In this sense EMNE's behave on a par with NC. In fact, constructions like (12) are not possible in an NC language like West Flemish either (cf. Haegeman 1995).

(12) a. *Ik heb niet niemand gezien* Dutch
I have NEG nobody seen
*'I didn't anybody'
- b. ?*Ik heb niets niemand gegeven*

I   have   nothing   nobody   given
*'I didn't give anybody anything'

However, the existence of such impossible EMNE's in itself does not necessarily call for a structural analysis of EMNE's in terms of NC. If the ungrammaticality of these constructions can be accounted for on independent grounds, no counter-evidence against a strict division between EMNE's and NC is provided by the examples in (12). In Section 4, I demonstrate that this is indeed the case. For now it suffices to say that EMNE's and NC expressions crucially differ, as the former allows for language-internal variation as opposed to the latter.

The third 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 (13), the two NC elements are separated by the verbs *ha* and *telefonato*. In (14) however, it is shown for Dutch that whenever other lexical material intervenes between the two negative elements, only a DN reading can be obtained.

(13)   *Ieri   non   ha telefonato nessuno*   Italian
        Yesterday NEG has called   nothing
        'Nobody called yesterday'

(14)   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' or adverbial *meer* 'more', may intervene, as is the case with *nooit op geen* 'never on nothing' in (15).

(15)   a.   %*Ik heb   nooit op geen paard gereden*   Dutch
                I have never on no   horse ridden
                'I never ever rode a horse'
        b.   %*Hij zal   nooit meer geen klant   zien*
                He will never more no   client see
                'He will never ever see a client anymore'

However, again here no additional material may intervene in this example. The sentences in (16) only receive a DN reading.

(16)   a.   *Ik heb nooit tot mijn spijt   op geen paard gereden* Dutch
                I have never to my   regret on no   horse ridden
                'To my regret I never rode no horse'
                *' To my regret I never ever rode a horse'
        b.   *Nooit meer zal hij geen klant   zien*
                Never more will he no   client see
                'It will no longer be the case that he sees no client'
                *'He will never ever see a client anymore'

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The construction *nooit op geen* and *nooit meer geen* must be considered as units as well and thus behave 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.

An important property is that only a specific preposition is allowed to intervene in these EMNE's. For many speakers (17a) exhibits an EMNE, but (17b) does not. This shows that the EMNE here is indeed *nooit van geen* and not a more general construction of the type [nooit P geen].

(17)   a.   *Hij heeft nooit van geen gesprek   geweten*   Dutch
           He   has   never of no   conversation known
           'He never knew about any conversation (at all)'
       b.   [%]*Hij heeft nooit over   geen gesprek   geweten*
           He   has   never about no   conversation known
           'He always knew about some conversation'

It should be acknowledged though that also examples have been attested (albeit less frequently) where EMNE's appear that allow some kind of intervention in (i) certain idiomatic expressions or (ii) constructions containing minimizers (which are also idiomatic in nature). Examples of the two types are given below (provided by an anonymous reviewer):

(18)   a.   *Al   jaren weet   niemand zich   geen raad   met Somalia* Dutch
           Already years knows nobody   REFL no   advice with Somalia
           'For years nobody knows what to do with Somalia'
       b.   *Niemand heeft er   geen bal mee   te maken*
           Nobody has   there no   ball with to make
           'Nobody has anything to do with it'

Again these examples are still subject to strict locality conditions, as illustrated in (19) where more intervening material has been included and where the EMNE reading is gone.

(19)   a.   *Niemand weet   zich   al   jaren geen raad   met Somalia* Dutch
           Nobody   knows REFL already years no   advice with Somalia
           'For years nobody doesn't know what to do with Somalia'
       b.   *Niemand heeft er volgens mij geen* bal mee te maken
           Nobody has   there according to me no ball with to make
           'According to me, nobody has anything to do with it'

The fourth 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 as shown in (20). Stress patterns do however not change the semantics in NC languages in this respect.

(20)   a.   *Hij heeft NIKS   niet gezegd*   Dutch
           He   has   nothing NEG said
           'He didn't say anything (at all)'
       b.   Hij heeft *niks   NIET gezegd*
           He has   nothing NEG   said
           *'He didn't say anything (at all)'
           √ 'There is nothing he didn't say'

(21)   a.   Gianni *NON* ha   detto *niente*   Italian

Gianni NEG has said   nothing
'Gianni did NOT say anything'
b.   Gianni *non*   ha   detto *NIENTE*
Gianni NEG   has said   nothing
'Gianni didn't say ANYthing'

On the basis of these four 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) goes as far as to argue that DN is 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 this 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 not universal property of language. 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 by several authors (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.
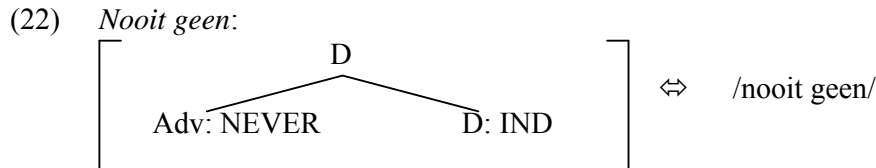
3. Emphatic Multiple Negative Expressions as Lexical Items
Following on the differences between EMNE's and NC expressions, I propose that, notwithstanding their complex appearance, EMNE's are Lexical Items (LI's). In 3.1 I spell out this proposal in detail and in Section 3.2 I demonstrate how this proposal explains the characteristic properties of EMNE's that have been described in the previous section.
3.1. Proposal

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

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 (22). Note that (22) 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.

(22)   *Nooit geen*:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} D \\ \overbrace{\text{Adv: NEVER} \qquad \text{D: IND}} \end{array} \right] \quad \Leftrightarrow \quad \text{/nooit geen/}$$

The structure in (22) 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 (23) the adverb *nooit* applies to the entire VP (*geen boek leest*), whereas the determiner *geen* 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]

(23)   … *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 anaphoric binding. Following standard syntactic assumptions the ambiguity in (24) 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 (25) (cf. Chomsky 1995).

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[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 (22) 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 propsals 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'

(24)   John[i] wondered which picture of himself[i/j] Fred[j] liked

(25)   [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 (23) 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 (26).

(26)
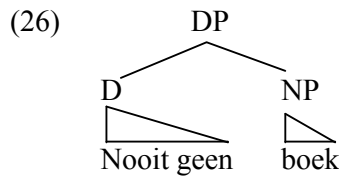
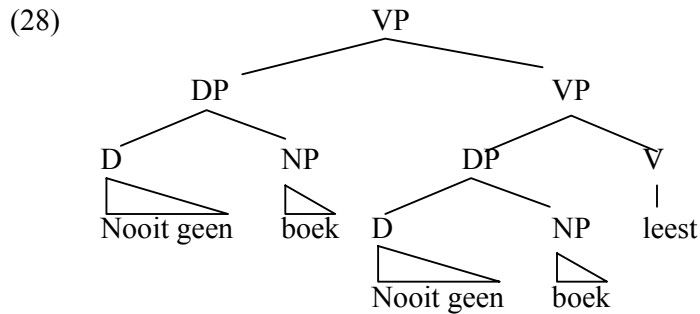Then, the verb *leest* 'reads', selecting for a DP, merges with (26), thus creating (27).

(27)
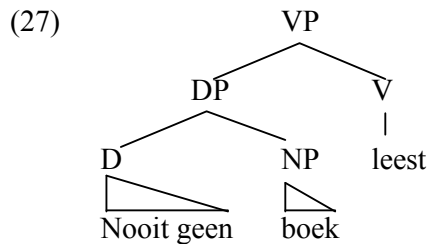
Finally, the DP moves out of its VP complement position to a position adjoining VP, from where the adverbial part of it can already take scope, as is shown in (28).[9,10] According to the copy theory of movement (Chomsky 1995), this means that the entire DP is copied and that the copy merges with VP. At this point there are two copies. Note that the copy theory of

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[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).
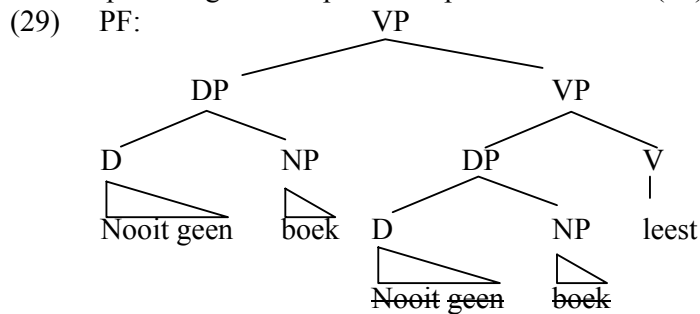[9] This kind of movement is different from the traditional minimalist movement in terms of probe-goal relations. The kind of movement described here is highly similar to Quantifier Raising, which is triggered by semantic requirements rather than morpho-syntactic requirements, be it that in cases of 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), Koeneman (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.

movement requires that in these cases both at LF and at PF all copies be interpreted only once.

(28)

```
                         VP
            _____|_____
           DP                            VP
      _____|_____              _____|_____
     D           NP           DP                       V
     |\          |\       _____|_____                   |
  Nooit geen   boek      D           NP               leest
                         |\          |\
                    Nooit geen      boek
```

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 (23) consists thus of (29).

(29)   PF:

```
                         VP
            _____|_____
           DP                            VP
      _____|_____              _____|_____
     D           NP           DP                       V
     |\          |\       _____|_____                   |
  Nooit geen   boek      D           NP               leest
                         |\          |\
                    Nooit geen      boek
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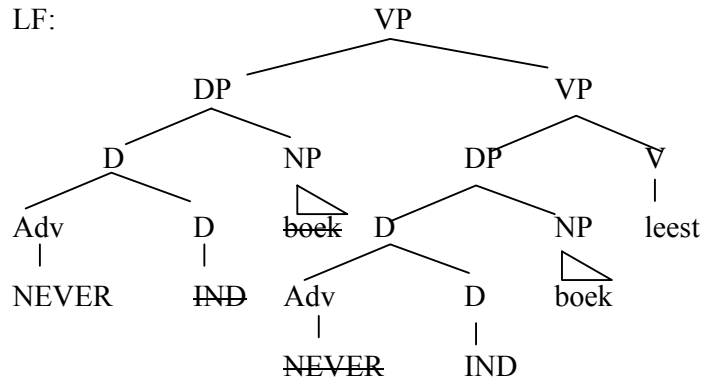
On the LF side things are slightly more complicated. Here, the entire DP has moved to a VP adjunct position. However, only the adverbial part (*nooit*) can be interpreted in this position and not the argument DP.[12] On the other hand, the adverbial cannot be interpreted semantically in the lower copy, but the DP argument can. Consequently, LF deletion of one of 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 (30).

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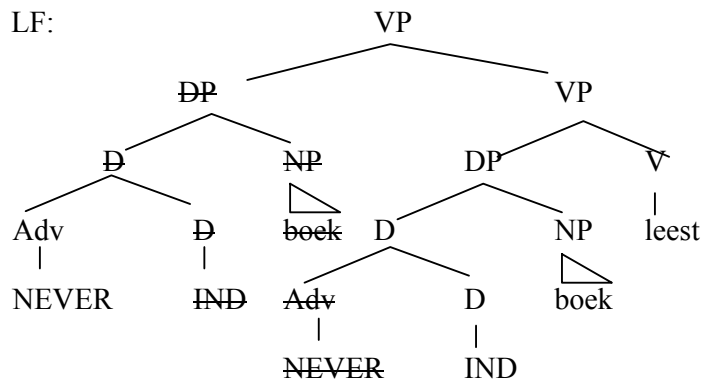
[12] In proposals such as Cinque (1999) adverbial classes have functional projections of their own. This does not change the line of argumentation either, since those positions would not be available for DP's either.

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(30) LF:

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                              VP
                  ┌───────────┴──────────┐
                 DP                       VP
           ┌──────┴──────┐          ┌──────┴──────┐
          D             NP         DP             V
      ┌───┴───┐       ┌─┴─┐     ┌───┴───┐         │
     Adv      D      boek  D   NP      leest
      │       │          ┌──┴──┐  △
    NEVER    IND       Adv     D   boek
                        │       │
                      NEVER    IND
```
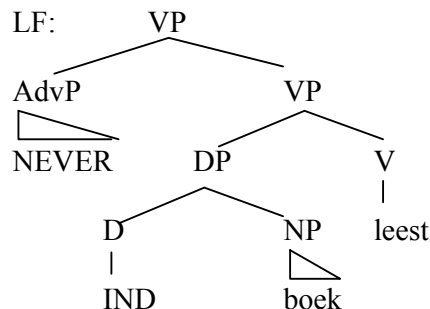
However, (30) still faces problems: the VP still seems to be modified by a DP in adjunct position. The highest copy in (30) seems to be one in which *nooit* is a DP headed by an empty D° that is adjoined to the adverb. But, despite the fact that the EMNE *nooit geen* has been lexically assigned the categorial 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 (30). On closer inspection, this is what already has been achieved. Let us focus at the higher DP copy in (30). 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 (30) all these features have been deleted. Hence there is no D-feature to project in the first place, and (30) is actually (31) in disguise, where the label DP has in effect changed into AdvP, since the [Adv] feature is the only feature available that can project.

(31) LF:

```
                              VP
                  ┌───────────┴──────────┐
                 D̶P̶                       VP
           ┌──────┴──────┐          ┌──────┴──────┐
          D̶             N̶P̶         DP             V
      ┌───┴───┐       ┌─┴─┐     ┌───┴───┐         │
     Adv      D̶      boek  D   NP      leest
      │       │          ┌──┴──┐  △
    NEVER    IND       Adv̶     D   boek
                        │       │
                      NEVER    IND
```

The structure in (31) can be rewritten as (32), 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 (33).

(32) LF:

```
                 VP
          ┌──────┴──────┐
        AdvP            VP
         △         ┌─────┴─────┐
       NEVER      DP           V
              ┌────┴────┐      │
             D         NP    leest
             │          △
            IND        boek
```

(33)   … *dat Jan nooit   een   boek leest*   Dutch
        … that Jan never a   book reads
        '… that Jan never reads a book'

The observation that at LF (23) and (33) 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 (22) 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 PP's is generally forbidden in Dutch. Therefore, (34) is ruled out:

(34)   *… *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 (35) 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.

(35)   *… *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 known, however, 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 (36):

(36)   *Je   hebt nergens$_i$ tijd   voor t$_i$*   Dutch
        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:

(37)   *Je   hebt* [*nergens   geen*]$_i$ *t$_i$ tijd   voor t$_i$*   Dutch
        You   have nowhere   no   time for
        'You have no time for anything at all'

12

In (37) 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 *v*P 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 (38). 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 (39).

(38) *Je   hebt nergens ook-maar tijd   voor*   Dutch
       You   have nowhere any   time   for
       'You have no time for anything'

(39) **Je   hebt ook-maar tijd   voor niemand*   Dutch
        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 nothing 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 (40).

(40) *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:

(41) *Zij heeft* [*nergens geen*]$_i$ t_i t_i *tijd voor* t_i Dutch

  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 (42):

(42) $^%$[*Geen enkele vrouw*]$_i$ *heeft hij van* t_i *gehouden*   Dutch
        No   single 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.

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 op the PP no longer applies. This is indeed the case. Speakers who allow fronting in (42) also accept (43).

(43)   %[*Nooit geen vrouw*]ᵢ *heeft hij van tᵢ gehouden*   Dutch
          Never no   woman has   he   of   hold
          'Not a single woman he loved'

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. The observation that EMNE's can be fronted also forms evidence that they are single constituents. Take for example the EMNE *nooit geen* in (44).

(44)   *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 (44) *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 (44) can be changed by another temporal adverb. But, as shown in (45), that is impossible in Dutch. Hence, [[nooit geen] boek] must be the correct internal structure of the fronted element, indicating that the EMNE *nooit geen* is a constituent itself.

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

However, not every EMNE is allowed to occur in sentence-initial position. *Nooit niet*, for example, is not allowed in this position. If *nooit niet* is indeed an LI, the question rises why (46) is ruled out.

(46)   *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 (47) (cf. Haeseryn et al. 1997, Barbiers 2002).

(47)   *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 (48).

(48)   *Ik had wel gezien dat Jan aankwam,*   Dutch
         I   had PRT seen   that Jan arrived,
         maar niet   had ik gezien dat Ed vertrok
         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.

(49)   %*Ik had altijd   wel gezien dat Jan aankwam,*   Dutch
         I   had always PRT seen   that Jan arrived,
         maar nooit niet had ik gezien dat Ed vertrok
         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 (49) 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 it is vulnerable to overgeneralization. Take for instance (35), repeated as (50).

(50)   *… *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 (50) 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:

(51)   … *dat hij* [~~van~~ *nooit* ~~geen vrouw~~] [*van* ~~nooit~~ *geen vrouw*] *heeft gehouden*

The reason why (51) 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 (51).
        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

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

copy forms a contiguous chunk at LF and reconstruction is allowed. This is not the case with *nooit* in (51), 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 (37) (repeated as (52) below) again must have their lowest trace interpreted as well as P requires its complement not to be semantically vacuous.

(52) *Je   hebt* [*nergens   geen*]$_i$ t_i *tijd   voor* t_i Dutch
       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 of 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).

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

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 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 and then it is actually predicted that language-internal variation arises. Therefore, relatively infrequent EMNE's such as the ones in (54) are accepted by only a minority of speakers.

(54)   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'

The third 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, existing of a negation two indefinites and a proposition or an adverb like *meer* 'more'. The fact that speakers may vary with respect to which preposition/adverb they allow to participate in EMNE's follows directly under this lexical approach. This approach also explains why no other material than the preposition/adverb may intervene: then the EMNE can no longer be one LI. Note also that the more idiomatic expressions that have been discussed in Section 2 are in line with this analysis as idiomatic expressions need to be lexically stored anyway. This latter conclusion is furthermore supported (but, admittedly, not proven) by the fact that the same type of locality restrictions also apply to these idiomatic expressions.

The fourth difference, finally, is also predicted once EMNE's are considered to be complex LI's. Take for instance the following minimal pair:

(55)   a.   *… dat Jan NOOITgeen boek leest*   Dutch
             … 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 (55a) the first part of the EMNE obtained stress, in (55b) the second part. These stress effects do not stand on their own. When elements carry heavy stress, as is the case in (55), a preceding intonational break (//) is required, as shown in (56).

(56)   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 (56) must be derived from different structures in (57).

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

It follows from (57) 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.

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.

However, it should be addressed that not all EMNE's seem to fall directly under the analysis proposed. *Niks geen* for instance in (58) looks like a problematic example as contrary to most other EMNE's the second element here cannot be easily interchanged with a non-negative indefinite.

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

b. ^? *Ik heb er niks een aardigheid in*
I have there nothing a pleasure in
'I don't like it at all'

However, this appears to problematic only at first sight. In (58) *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*:

(59) *Ik geloof nix aan den Satan*[15]   18th Century Dutch
I believe nothing to the Satan
'I don't believe in Satan at all'

(60) *Die studie is me niks meegevallen*[16]   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 (61)-(62) 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]

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

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'

(62) 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'

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[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.

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 geen* can still be used in EMNE constructions is not surprising under the lexical analysis of EMNE's.

　　　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 (63) (repeated from (6)).

(63)　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 now 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 (64)

(64)　*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 (65). 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 (63) cannot be left out easily.

(65)　*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

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

EMNE's contain only a single 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 (66), the second in (67).

(66) 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

        c.   *Dat si niet en   sach dat si   sochte*[21]
            That she NEG NEG saw that she looked-for
            'That she didn't see what she looked for'

(67) a.   *Ic en   sag niemen*[22]   Middle Dutch
            I   NEG   saw n-body
            'I didn't see anybody'

        b.   *Die   niemen en spaers*[23]
            That nobody NEG saves
            'Who saves nobody'

        c.   *Den onderseten niet en was // gheoorlooft niets   niet met allen //*
            The shephards NEG NEG was // allowed   nothing NEG with all
            aen   enen andren paus te vallen[24]
            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,*
            Which is a big   mountain and a   high,
            daer noyt niemen over   ne vloech?[25]
            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 (67a), *niemen ... en* 'nobody … neg' as in (67b), or *niets niet* 'nothing … neg' in (67c). Negative spread refers to the co-occurrence of two n-words, like *noyt niemen* 'never … nobody' in (67d).

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

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[19] Lanceloet: 20316.
[20] Lanceloet: 20166.
[21] Lanceloet: 20042.
[22] Cf. Hoeksema (1997)
[23] Vanden levene ons heren 2018.
[24] Brabantsche yeesten 7957-9.
[25] Middelnederlandsche gedichten en fragmenten: 189.

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 contexts in which there is an n-word, the n-word may license *en/ne* as well and *niet* can be left out. Adding *niet* or additional n-words to a combination of *en/ne* and an n-word may yield NC readings as well, as has been shown in (67). Yet at the same time these instances were much less frequent. In a recent corpus study Deurloo (2009) presents results from the period of 1500-1640 where she attests 285 sentences (of a total of 8621 negative sentence in her corpus of that period) which consist of either two or more n-words or one or more n-words and the negative marker *niet*. This very low frequency (roughly 3.3%) she attributes to the fact that including an additional negative element does not alter the semantics and is therefore redundant. Thus, in Middle Dutch most instances of NC 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.[26] The development of *en*-deletion in Holland Dutch is shown in Table 1.

(68) a. *Maer niemant gaf gehoor*[27]   1638 Dutch
          But nobody gave obeying
          'But nobody obeyed'
      b. *Dat niemant zich het woên   der   vyanden en kreunde*[28]
          That nobody REFL 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.[29] As the majority of such cues to consist of examples with *en/ne* in combination with either *niet*

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

[27] Gysbrecht V: 1368.

[28] Gysbrecht V: 1410.

[29] 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.

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 much less frequent former negative spread expressions consisting of multiple n-words or n-word(s) in combination with *niet*. 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.

The fact that EMNE's arose out of remnants of the former NC stage of the language answers a number of questions that have been left open so far. First, it provides a natural basis for the last resort status of the proposal that EMNE's are LI's. From a synchronic perspective this last resort status may not be that attractive, as its main motivation is that EMNE's cannot be analyzed in a more structural and syntagmatic way. However, if the last resort status of the lexical status of EMNE's follows from the idea that lexicalisation is a last resort strategy in the process of language acquisition for all expressions that cannot be analyzed on the basis of acquired language rules, this status receives a more principled motivation in diachronic terms.

The analysis also explains why EMNE's are LI's with only one negation: the fact that the former NC constructions only corresponded to one negation makes that these EMNE's could not have been reanalysed otherwise.

Moreover, it can also be explained why EMNE's are emphatic and plain NC constructions are not. However, one remark has to be made first: the fact that plain NC constructions do not give rise to emphasis does not entail that NC constructions may never be emphatic. NC is not the cause for emphasis, but it may still arise if there is a different cause for it. This is the case when redundant material is added to a sentence, for instance when an n-word is included without giving rise to a more specific reading or when a negative marker in an NC language only optionally is added. To illustrate this, let us look at the following data from Italian and Czech respectively:

(69) a.   *Non ha ditto niente*   Italian
             Not has said   nothing
             'He didn't say anything'
      b.   *Non ha detto   niente   a   nessuno*
             Not has said   nothing to nobody
             'He didn't say anything to anybody'

(70) a.   *Sy   is nooit beskikbaar* *(nie)*[30]   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'

All four sentences in (69) and (70) have an NC reading, but only the b-examples are slightly emphatic. In Italian, the first example shows an n-word in object position that obligatorily needs to be accompanied by a preverbal negative marker. Note that without the negative marker or the n-word the sentence would be ungrammatical. In the b-example an additional PP containing an n-word 'a nessuno' is included that does not alter the semantics: if nothing is said it is entailed that nothing is said to anybody. Removing this PP would neither change the grammaticality of the sentence nor its meaning. The b-example contains an optional redundant element and is therefore felt to be emphatic. This emphatic however has nothing to

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[30] Data from Theresa Biberauer (p.c.).

do with the fact that Italian is an NC language, it only follows from the fact that *dire* 'to say' has an optional third argument position.

Something similar applies in Afrikaans where in some varieties an additional negative marker may be added, which again does not change the grammaticality or the semantics of the sentence (see Biberauer and Zeijlstra 2009). Hence a redundant effect arises which translates itself into emphasis. Again it is not NC that leads to this emphasis (note that the obligatory negative marker in sentence-final position does not give rise to a semantic effect) but the inclusion of a redundant element that does not alter the semantics of the sentence.

With this in mind, the reader can imagine that a substantial number of the NC cases where *en/ne* was no longer involved also gave rise to emphasis as they were similar to the Italian and Afrikaans b-examples. Combinations multiple n-words where only one was required for syntactic and semantic reasons or cases of inclusion of redundant *niet* (i.e. where *niet* could not induce a semantic effect such as scope-marking) came along with an emphatic effect. Of course this does not hold for all cases of NC without *en/ne*, but if language learners had to acquire those emphatic expressions as LI's, they had to lexicalise this emphatic effect as well.

This does not account, however, why EMNE's are always emphatic; at best it may explain why some EMNE's, e.g. *nooit niet* 'never not', are emphatic. However after the downfall of preverbal *en/ne* in 16th / 17th century Dutch many instances of two n-words remained, e.g, in cases of obligatory transitive verbs, which did not invoke redundancy and therefore emphatic effects.

The fact that all EMNE's are emphatic follows from independent principles of language change. After NC disappeared in 16th / 17th century Dutch, two ways became available to express what previously had been expressed by using two n-words, as is still the case in contemporary Dutch: usages of EMNE's and usages of a single negation and an additional non-negative indefinite, as shown below:

(71) a.   *Hij heeft nooit niemand gezien*   Dutch
           He   has   never nobody seen
           'He didn't see anybody (at all)'
      b.   *Hij heeft nooit iemand   gezien*
           He   has   never somebody seen
           'He didn't see anybody'

The question remains open as to why (71a) as opposed to (71b) is emphatic. Since *zien* 'to see' is an (obligatory) transitive verb it requires an object, so no redundant material has been included. However, it is a general property of language change that doublets, i.e. pairs of expressions conveying the same meaning, always in one way or another diverge with respect to their meaning effects, an principle of language tracing back to Von Humboldt (1836) and discussed intensively for cases of diachronic change by Kroch (in this case most notably by Kroch 1994).

In accordance with this principle, the unmarked expression, i.e. the expression with one morphosyntactic negation, yields to form the plain, non-emphatic reading. The marked expression in turn had to give rise to some additional meaning effect. As a substantial number EMNE's due to the pragmatics of their NC precessors were already emphatic in nature, as described above, it follows naturally this property has been overgeneralized to all marked expressions that, so to speak, were in need of an extra meaning effect. The emphatic usage of all EMNE's has then always been lexically stored during the process of acquisition by following generations.

One may argue now that the emphasis distinction between EMNE's and NC constructions has lost some force. However, as said before, the primary distinction between

EMNE's and NC constructions in this respect is that EMNE's always give rise to emphasis, whereas NC constructions usually do not. That EMNE's partly find their origin in those NC constructions that did give rise to emphasis does not invalidate this original observation in any sense. Any account of EMNE's must still explain why EMNE's always give rise to emphasis whereas NC expressions usually do not do so, and the explanation provided here, namely that EMNE's, are LI's does so in a natural manner.

The analysis also explains why not every EMNE construction is possible. The examples in (12), repeated as (72) below, are never attested and informants only assign a DN reading to them.

(72)   a.   *Ik heb   niet niemand gezien*   Dutch
                 I have not nobody   seen
                 *'I didn't anybody'
       b.   *Ik heb   niets   niemand gegeven*
                 I   have nothing nobody   given
                 *'I didn't give anybody anything'

The unavailability of those examples can hardly, if at all, be explained in lexical terms only. If these constructions are never part of the lexicon, this is obviously in need of explanation. However, if for independent reasons, constructions such as the ones in (12)/(72) were not grammatical in Middle Dutch, as is reflected by their current West Flemish ungrammaticality, it also follows that those examples could never have been lexicalized in the first place. For the first example this is due to the fact that n-words in Middle Dutch always had to scramble out of the vP in order to participate in an NC relation with the negative marker. In (72a) this is not the case, and therefore (72a) does not constitute an instance of NC. (72b) is also ruled out, as it concerns an instance where *niets* 'nothing' is the indirect object of the verb *gegeven* 'given' and therefore receives the thematic role of RECIPIENS, whereas the direct object *niemand* 'nobody' acts as the PATIENS. However, inanimate recipients of animate objects are hardly conceivable and therefore this construction is ruled out as well in Middle Dutch, albeit on different grounds, namely pragma-semantic rather than syntactic grounds. Both examples however, for different reasons, could not occur in Middle Dutch and therefore could not provide the input for the lexicalisation process that created EMNE's. So the fact that Middle Dutch NC has been subject to certain structural constraints naturally accounts for the absence of their lexical successors without invalidating the claim that EMNE's themselves are not subject to syntactic constraints of the kind.

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 (73), this would lead to a situation where the two negative elements with the intervening preposition were reanalysed as complex LI's.

(73)   *Na   dien tyd wist Reintje nooit van geen betalen*[31]   1728 Dutch
       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 (73) 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

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[31] Apollo's marsdrager: 321

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 Frysian where the following expressions are taken from.

(74) a. *Der   wol   net ien net dansje*[32]   Amjum Frysian
           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 (75)-(77).[33]

(75) *Mein Vater war ein Fänger, doch machte nie   kein Fang*[34]   German
       My   father was a   catcher, but   made   never no   catch
       'My father was a catcher, made never (ever) made a catch'

(76) *… weil   niemand nie   auf meine statements antwortet*[35]   German
       … because nobody   never   on my   statements answers
       '… because nobody ever answers my statements (at all)'

(77) *Ich war auch nie   nicht Teil irgendeiner   Jugendbewegung*[36]   German
       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

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[32] Data from Zeijlstra (2004: 115).

[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.

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 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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