Some notes on DP-internal negative doubling*

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1 ▪ INTRODUCTION: AIM AND SCOPE OF THE PAPER

In the literature on negation, attention has been paid to the encoding of negation at the sentence level. Relations such as those between a negative head and a negative constituent or that between multiple negative constituents have, for instance, been examined mainly in terms of sentence structure (see, for instance, Horn 1989, van der Wouden 1994, Bayer 1990, Corblin and Tovena 2000, Déprez 1999, etc). The realisation and interaction of negation markers at sub-sentential levels such as DP, PP *etc* has, to the best of my knowledge, received little and only sporadic attention. I suspect that this is because in the core case there is one negative marker per DP, PP etc. and negative concord (NC) has not been signalled at those sub-sentential levels. However, the Flemish data in (1), described by Vanacker in the late 1970s in a paper written in Dutch, reveal that co-occurrence of negative constituents is also attested at the sub-sentential level. The examples in (1) were collected in the Flemish speaking area in northern France (Vanacker 1975: 127):

(1) a. Bij de jonge gasten en-es er nie vele geen Vlaams mee(r) gesproken.
with the young people en-*is there not much no Flemish more spoken*
'Among the younger people, not much Flemish is spoken.'

b T'es daarvoren da kik nie vele geen beesten en-oude.
it is therefore that I not many no cattle en-*keep*
'That's why I don't keep many animals.'

In these examples, the negative DPs, *nie vele geen Vlaams* ('not much no Flemish') and *nie vele geen beesten* ('not many no animals'), contain two expressions of negation: the negative marker *nie* which negates the quantifier *vele* ('many'), and the negative quantifier *geen*, the Flemish/Dutch equivalent of English *no*, or German *kein*.

The DP-internal co-occurrence of what seems to be two negative quantifiers is interesting and raises a number of questions. First the data suggest that at least in the Flemish dialects, the surface position of the quantifier *veel* ('many') can (or perhaps must) be different from that of the negative quantifier *geen* ('no'), allowing

them to co-occur. Moreover, the order in (1) suggests that the quantifier *veel* is spelt out in a position higher than *geen*.

That quantifiers and articles may not occupy the same position is not a novel idea. As early as 1977 Jackendoff (1977: 105) indicated that quantificational elements need not all be spelt out at the same position, and specifically he assigned a different position to the English quantifiers *no* and *many* (see also Giusti (1997) for a recent discussion of the position of prenominal quantifiers). However, in Jackendoff's proposal English *many* would actually be spelt out lower than the negative quantifier *no*:

> Since some quantifiers [*some, each, all , no, any*, lh] are now Art[icle]s and some [*many, few, several*, lh] are Q[uantifier]s, the phrase structure component will generate structures in which two quantifiers appear, one in each position, e.g. **no many men*, **all several men*, **any much wine*. (Jackendoff 1977: 105)

Jackendoff (1977:105) rules out such co-occurring quantifiers on semantic grounds:

> These are ruled out semantically, however, by the Specifier Constraint (5.1.), which *forbids two (semantic) quantifiers* in the same NP specifier. ' (Jackendoff 1977: 105, my italics)

One might in fact expect that if there are two quantifiers in the Flemish constructions, *geen* ('no') and *nie vele* ('not many'), the construction will crash because one of the quantifiers will quantify vacuously. Obviously, this is not the case since such data are attested

Vanacker's data in (1) are mainly drawn from Flemish dialects in Northern France, but he signals that the phenomenon is also to be found in the West Flemish coastal areas (1975: 132). My own WF dialect (Haegeman 1992), which is spoken in the rural area inland of Knokke-Heist, also exhibits such DP-internal negative doubling. The relevant data have already been briefly discussed in Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996). The main purpose of the present paper is to render the DP-internal negative doubling data accessible to a wider audience by offering a detailed description in English. As far as I can tell, the empirical facts of the WF dialect which I will be describing parallel those described by Vanacker. I hope that this description may encourage other researchers to look at the pattern. In a more

speculative second part of the paper, I will also offer some proposals for an analysis.

The paper is organised as follows: section 2 sets the background and describes the properties of DPs containing negative markers in WF. Section 3 provides a detailed description of the syntactic properties of WF DPs with negative doubling and shows that these seem, to all intents and purposes, to share the external syntactic properties of non-doubled DPs. Section 4 is added to complete the survey and deals with internal negative doubling and NP ellipsis. Section 5 offers an analysis of the internal structure of DPs with negative doubling. Based on additional data from English, an articulated DP is elaborated to accommodate the patterns observed. Section 6 introduces additional data involving degree markers. Section 7 summarises the paper.

2 ▪ WF NEGATIVE QUANTIFIERS, NEGATED QUANTIFIERS AND CLAUSAL SCOPE

In my WF idiolect, a DP can be negated by the negative quantifier *geen.* Such 'negative DPs' may express sentential negation and may be doubled by the negative head *en* in finite sentences. For syntactic restrictions on the distribution of the negative head I refer to my earlier papers (cf. Haegeman 1998a, 1998b, 2000).[1]

(2) K'(en)-een geen geld.
*I (*en*)-have no money*
'I don't have money

As I have discussed at length elsewhere, negative DPs undergo the characteristic leftward movement imposed on all negative constituents with sentential scope (Haegeman 1995 and references cited there, see also Kayne 1998 for a generalised account). In (3), for instance, the adjective *ketent* ('contented') takes a complement introduced by a preposition *van*. Only the order in which the complement precedes the adjective is grammatical.

(3) a. dan-k van geen boeken ketent (en)-zyn
*that I of no books contented (*en*)-am*

[1] In current work I am exploring the possibility that *en* in fact heads Pol rather than Neg. (Haegeman, to appear)

'that I am not satisfied of any books'

b *dan-k ketent van geen boeken en-zyn

c *dan-k ketent en-zyn van geen boeken

When, on the other hand, the complement of *ketent* does not contain a negative quantifier, other patterns are also possible. As shown by (3d) the complement may follow the adjective *ketent*, and (3f) shows that it may also extrapose.

(3) d. dan-k van vele boeken ketent zyn
that I of many books contented am
'that I am pleased with many of the books'

e dan-k ketent van vele boeken zyn

f dan-k ketent zyn van vele boeken

A second way of negating a DP is by means of a negated quantificational element. This is illustrated in (4):

(4) K'(en)-een nie vele tyd.
*I (*en*)-have not much time*
'I don't have much time'

In (4), the DP-internal negation marker *nie*, which bears on the quantifier *vele* ('much'), takes sentential scope. This is shown by the availability of the negative morpheme *en* on the finite verb (see Haegeman 1995). Somehow the negative feature of *nie*, with scope over the quantifier *vele*, must also be able to percolate to the containing DP and to take scope over the containing clause. (5) shows that such a negative DP whose negation marker has clausal scope also has to undergo the typical leftward movement displayed by negative constituents.

(5) a. dan-k van nie vele boeken ketent (en)-zyn
*that I of not many books contented (*en*)-am*
'that I am not pleased with many of the books'

b *dan-k ketent van nie vele boeken (en)-zyn

c *dan-k ketent (en)-zyn van nie vele boeken

At the clause level, both negative DPs in which negation is encoded by *geen* and those in which negation is expressed by means of the negation marker *nie* associated with a quantifier can enter into a N(egative) C(oncord)-relation with clause-mate negative constituents. In (6a) and (6c) they enter into a NC relation with *nooit* ('never') in (6b) and (6d) they enter into a NC relation with *niemand* ('no one').

(6) a. K'(en)-een nooit geenen tyd.
*I (*en*)-have never no time*
'I never have any time.'
b. t'(en)-eet ier niemand geenen tyd.
*it (*en*)-has here no one no time*
'No one has any time around here.'
c K'(en)-een nooit nie vele tyd.
*I (*en*)-have never not much time*
'I never have a lot of time'
d t'(en)-ee niemand nie vele tyd.
*it (*en*)-has no one not much time*
'No one has much time.'

One proviso is in order here. There are restrictions as to constituents entering into NC relations at the clausal level. Specifically, as shown in Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996), negative constituents in which negation is expressed by means of *geen* or by means of a negated quantifier, cannot enter into a NC relation with the canonical marker of sentential negation *nie.*

(6) e. *K'(en)-een geenen tyd nie.
*I (*en*)-have no time not*
f *K'(en)-een nie vele tyd nie
*I (*en*)-have not much time not*

Observe that linear sequence, the fact that *nie* follows the relevant constituent, is not as such an issue since when we replace *nie* by *nie meer* the sentences become grammatical:

(6) g. K'(en)-een geenen tyd nie meer.
*I (*en*)-have no time not more*
'I don't have any time left.'

h K'(en)-een nie vele tyd nie meer
*I (*en*)-have not much time not more*
'I don't have much time left'

On the other hand, negative constituents such as *niemand, niets, nooit,* do enter into NC with *nie*:

(6) i Z (en) komt nooit nie
*she (*en*) comes never not*
'She never comes.'

j K'(en) kennen niemand nie
*I (*en*) know no one not*
'I don't know anyone'

The ungrammaticality of NC with *nie* for the negative DPs in (6e) and (6f) should be related to some matching requirement applying to constituents entering into NC, as discussed in Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996). Leaving aside the issue of matching requirements on NC, I conclude that negative DPs of the type illustrated above which contain the negative quantifier *geen* or which contain a quantifier negated by *nie* can function as clausal negators. As mentioned before, the negative feature of the DP-contained negative marker (*nie, geen*) must be able to percolate to the level of the containing constituent – DP - and ultimately to the clause level, to which it gives negative force.

The DP-internal negative quantifier *geen* and the DP-internal negated quantifier such as *nie vele* ('not much/many') do not necessarily take clausal scope. Their scope may also be restricted to the containing DP (see Haegeman 2000a for more discussion). In the examples in (7), the negative quantifier *geen* has its scope restricted to the dominating PP *vu geen geld* ('for no money'). This is shown by the fact that (i) the negative morpheme *en* is ungrammatical on the finite verb, and that (ii) in (7b) the PP containing the negative constituent is extraposed, an option unavailable for a PP with a negative quantifier taking sentential scope.

(7) a. Vu geen geld (*en)-oan-ze da gedoan gekregen.
*for no money (*en)-had they that done got*
'They got that done for a very small sum of money.'
b. dan-se da (*en)-goan keunen doen vu geen geld
*that they that (*en)-go can do for no money*
'that they will be able to do that for a very small sum of money.'

In the examples in (8) the negated quantifier *nie vele* ('not much') has its scope restricted to the dominating PP. Again, (i) the negative head *en* is ungrammatical on the finite verb, and (ii) the negated PP may appear in extraposed position (8b).

(8) a. Vu nie vele geld (*en)-oan-ze da gedoan gekregen.
*for not much money (*en)-had they that done got*
'For a small fee, they got that done.'
b. dan-se da (*en)-goan keunen doen vu nie vele geld
*that they that (*en)-go can do for not much money*
'that they will be able to do that for a small fee.'

3 ▪ DP-INTERNAL NEGATIVE DOUBLING

3.1 ▪ The data

As already signalled by Vanacker (1975), some western Flemish dialects allow a DP-internal negated quantifier to be doubled DP-internally by the negative quantifier *geen* ('no'). This is illustrated in (9). In (9a), for instance, the DP *nie vele geen geld* ('not much no money'), contains both the negated quantifier *nie vele* and the negative quantifier *geen*. Though each of these as such may carry negative force and negate a sentence, in the example under discussion they do not cancel each other out, rather they express a single negated quantification: *nie vele geen* ('not many no') is equivalent to *nie vele* ('not many'). As already discussed by Vanacker, then, the negative quantifier *geen* here serves to reduplicate the negation *nie* associated with the quantifier *vele*. Vanacker gives examples with *nie vele,* and with *nie vele meer* ('not many/much more'). In my idiolect the doubling pattern also occurs with *genoeg* (9d).

(9) a. K'(en)-een nie vele geen geld.
*I (*en*)-have not much no money*
'I don't have much money.'

b. K'(en)-een nie te vele geen geld.
*I (*en*)-have not too much no money*
'I don't have too much money.'

c K'(en)-een nie meer geen geld.
*I (*en*)-have no more no money*
'I don't have more money.'

d K'(en)-een nie genoeg geen geld.
*I (*en*)-have not enough no money*
'I don't have enough money.'

With respect to the co-occurrence of negative markers that do not cancel each other, a distinction is often made between negative doubling and negative spread, following Den Besten (1986) and van Der Wouden (1994). Van Der Wouden (1994: 95) gives the following definitions:

(i) NEGATIVE SPREAD: the negative features is 'spread' or distributed over any number of indefinite expressions within its scope.
(ii) NEGATIVE DOUBLING: a distinguished negative element shows up in all sentences that contain a negative expression.

At the clausal level, negative spread is illustrated by (10a), in which *niemand* ('no one') and *niets* ('nothing') jointly express a single negation. Negative doubling is illustrated by (10b), in which the negative morpheme *en* appears on the finite verb.

(10) a. T' ee niemand niets gezeid.
it has no one nothing said
'Nobody said anything.'

b. T–en- ee niemand entwa gezeid.
it en-*has no one something said*
'Nobody said anything.'

In (10c) we find both negative spread (*niemand, niets*) and negative doubling (*en*):

(10) b. T'-en- ee niemand niets gezeid.
it en-*has no one nothing said*
'Nobody said anything.'

I will assume that the DP-internal multiple negative markers in (9) illustrate negative doubling, since the negated quantifier is systematically doubled by *geen*. In the first part of this paper I concentrate on examples with *nie vele geen*; in section 6 I will briefly discuss the other examples.

3.2 ▪ Constituency

The string *nie*- quantifier- *geen* NP in the above examples definitely is a single constituent. This is shown (i) by the fact that DPs with this type of negative doubling can occupy the first position in a root V2 clause (11a), and (ii) by the fact that they may be the complements of prepositions. For the latter argument, I use an extraposed PP in (11b), since the constituent structure of such examples is more transparent. As expected, the scope of the negation in the latter example is restricted to the containing PP:

(11) a. ?[Nie vele geen mensen] (en)-weten der da.
*not many no people (*en*)-know there that*
'Not many people are aware of that.'[2]
b Z' (*en)-een da gedoan [vu nie vele geen geld].
*they (**en*)*-have that done for not much no money*
'They did that for little money.'

[2] The sentence is marginal but the marginality is not due to the negative doubling:

(i) a. ??[Nie vele mensen] (en)-weten der da.
not many people (*en*)-know there that
'Not many people are aware of that.'

b ??[Geen mensen] (en)-weten der da.
no people (*en*)-know there that
'No people are aware of that.'

It seems that with negated quantificational subject of this kind WF prefers the subject to remain in the middle field

(ii) a. T weten da nie vele mensen.
it know that not many people
b T weten da geen mensen.
it know that no students
c T weten da nie vele geen mensen.
it know that not many no people

To the best of my knowledge, the presence or absence of doubling *geen* makes no difference in the distribution and/or interpretation of the DPs or the sentences that contain them. In my idiolect, the preferred form of the DP is that displaying doubling *geen*.[3] Vanacker (1975:128) also points out the tendency in Northern French Flemish to use the doubled construction in preference to the non-doubled variant. DP-internal doubling of negation is not grammatical in Dutch nor is it generally admitted in Flemish dialects, and according to Vanacker (1975) it is a recent innovation.

3.3 ▪ Scope of negative DPs with doubling

I will first show that the negative doubled DPs in (9) share the syntactic/scopal properties of the non-doubled variants. DPs with negative doubling can take sentential scope, in which case they license *en* on the finite verb (12a,13a). When taking sentential scope, DPs with negative doubling undergo obligatory leftward movement (12) and they enter into negative concord with clause-mate negative constituents (13).

(12) a. dan-k van nie vele geen studenen ketent (en)-zyn
*that I of not many no students contented (*en*)-am*
'that I am not satisfied with many students

b *dan-k ketent van nie vele geen studenten (en)-zyn

c *dan-k ketent (en)-zyn van nie vele geen studenten

(13) a. K'(en)-een nooit nie vele geen studenten.
*I (*en*)-have never not many no students*
'I never have a lot of students.'

b. t'(en)-een niemand nie vele geen studenten.
*it (*en*)-has no one not many no students*
'No one has many students.'

[3] It is therefore not really possible to say that doubling with *geen* is emphatic, since *geen* is preferably present.

On the other hand, just like their non-doubled counterparts, the negative markers in DPs with negative doubling need not have sentential scope: the scope of the negative component may also be restricted to the dominating constituent:

(14) a. Vu nie vele geen geld (*en)-oan-ze da gedoan gekregen.
*for not much no money (*en)-had they that done got*
'For a small fee, they got it done.'
b. dan-se da (*en)-goan keunen doen vu nie vele geen geld
*that they that (*en)-go can do for not much no money*
'that they will be able to do that for a small fee.'

In the examples in (14), the DP-contained doubled negation fails to license the negative head *en* on the finite verb, it does not trigger leftward Neg-movement, nor will the negation enter into NC with other clause-mate constituents with sentential negation. In (15), the negation expressed internally to the PP *vu nie vele geen geld* ('for not much no money) does not enter into a negative concord relation with other constituents in the clause. In (15a) the negative marker *nie* takes sentential scope and can thus license the negative morpheme *en* on the finite verb, but the sentential negation encoded by *nie* does not enter into a negative concord relation with the negation expressed by *nie vele geen* in the extraposed PP. Similarly, the expression of sentential negation *niemand* in (15b) does not enter into a negative concord relation with the negation expressed by *nie vele geen* in the extraposed PP.

(15) a da-j da nie (en)-keut doen vu nie vele geen geld
that you that not (en)-can do for not much no money
'that you cannot get that done that for a small fee.'
b. dat er da niemand (en)-keut doen vu nie vele geen geld
that there that no one (en)-can do for not much no money
'that no one can get that done for a small fee.'

3.4 ▪ Type of negative DPs with doubling

In my idiolect the DP-internal doubling phenomenon is restricted to the type of negated quantifiers illustrated in (9), i.e. those in which negation is spelt out separately from the quantifier. A quantifier like *wenig* ('few, little') which is

arguably near-synonymous to *nie vele* ('not much/many') does not allow for this kind of doubling, nor does the quantifier *minder* ('fewer, less')[4]:

(16) a K' een weinig (*geen) tyd.
*I have little (*no) time*
b K' een minder (*geen) tyd.
*I have less (*no) time*

3.5 ▪ The distribution of negative DPs with doubling

DPs with internal negative doubling may serve an array of grammatical functions in the clause, an observation also made by Vanacker. Some illustrations of WF examples are given in (17). The relevant DP is a subject in (17a), a direct object in (17b), an indirect object in (17c,d), a predicate in (17e), and an adjunct in (17e).

(17) a. T (en)-weten da nie vele geen mensen.
*it (*en*)-know that not many no people*
'Not many people know that.'
b K'(en)-een doa nie vele geen mensen gezien.
*I (*en*)-have there not many no people seen*
'I didn't see many people there.'
c K'(en)-een dat an nie vele mensen gezeid.
*I (*en*) have that to not many no people said*
'I didn't tell that to many people.'
d K'(en)-een nie vele geen studenten dienen cursus gegeven.
*I (*en*)-have not many no students that course given*
'I did not give that course to many students.'
e Dat (en)-is nie vele geen werk vu myn.
*that (*en*)-is not much no work for me*
'That is not much work.'
f J'(en)-ee nie genoeg geen doagen gewerkt.

[4] I add for completeness' sake that in my idiolect both *weinig* and *minder* marginally licenses sentential *en*. The syntax of these elements awaits further study.
(i) a K' (?en) een weinig tyd.
I have little time
b K' (??en) een minder tyd dan anders.
I have less time than otherwise

*he (*en*)-has not enough no days worked*
'He has not totalled up enough working days.'

4 ▪ DOUBLING AND NON OVERT NP

For completeness' sake[5], I briefly consider ellipsis contexts in this section, but I will not develop this issue in the remainder of the paper. I wish to present the data, though, so as to make them available.

With NP ellipsis, bare *geen* is possible, in which case it has an *–e* ending, presumably to license the null NP (cf. Lobeck 1995, Kester 1996):

(18) a K'en een gene
I have gene
'I have none'

However, with NP ellipsis in a negative DP with negated quantifier, *geen* doubling is ungrammatical:

(18) b. K'(en) een nie vele (*gene)
*I en have not much (*gene*)*
'I don't have much'

In a split-topic construction (cf Van Riemsdijk 1989), the quantifier *vele* can be stranded (19a) but stranded *geen* is ungrammatical in my idiolect (19b):

(19) a. Boeken een-k vele
books have I many
b *Boeken (en)-een-k geen/gene
books (en) have-I geen/gene

Similarly, with a split construction containing a negated quantifier, doubling *geen* would also be ungrammatical both in the stranded part (19a) and in the topicalised part (19b). Only the version without *geen* is acceptable:

[5] This section tries to provide an answer to a question raised by Henk van Riemsdijk.

(20) a. *Boeken (en)-een-k nie vele geen/gene
books (en) have-I not many geen/gene
b. *Geen boeken (en)-een-k nie vele
geen books (en) have-I not many
c. Boeken (en) een-k nie vele
books (en) have I not many

On the other hand, when the NP complement of the negative quantifier is extracted as partitive *er* (cf Bennis 1986: 171-258) on various uses of *er*), then bare (inflected) *geen* is possible:

(21) K'en een der gene.
I en have there

With partitive *er*-extraction, negative doubling is marginally possible in (22a), though in my idiolect non-doubled (22b) remains the preferred option.

(22) a. ??K'(en) een der nie vele gene.
I (en) have there not many no
'I don't have many of them'
b K(en) een der nie vele.
I (en) have there not many

But these data should be investigated further since doubling becomes more natural (23a) when there is an additional negative constituent such as *nie meer*. Even so, I still prefer the non-doubled (23b).

(23) a. (?) K'(en) een der nie vele gene nie meer
I (en) have there not many no no more
'I don't have many of them'

b K(en) een der nie vele nie meer
I (en) have there not many no more

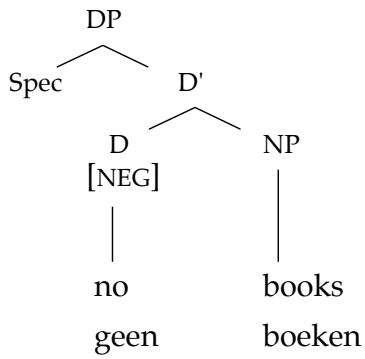
5 ▪ AN ANALYSIS

This section will outline a first analysis of the DPs with internal negative doubling. Section 6 refines the analysis somewhat.

5.1 ▪ Geen as D [NEG]

It might at first sight seem natural to propose that *geen* spells out a negated indefinite article, or, putting it differently, that *geen* is the result of a merger of the negative quantifier with the indefinite article. This was the analysis proposed in Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996), and it would be in line with analyses of English *no* as a (negative) determiner (cf. Jackendoff (1977), cited in section 1)

(24)



Evidence in support of this proposal comes from the observation that in the masculine singular *geen* bears the *-en-* ending which is also found on the article.

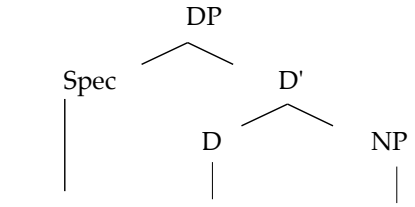
TABLE 1 ▪ *masculine, feminine and neutral*

	Masc	Fem	Neut
Singular	nen boek 'a book'	en deure 'a door'	en us 'a house'
Neg+singular	geenen boek 'no book'	geen deure 'no door'	geen us 'no house'
Plural	boeken 'books'	deuren 'doors'	uzen 'houses'
Neg+ plural	geen boeken 'no books'	geen deuren 'no doors'	geen uzen 'no houses'

Negated quantifiers such as *nie vele* could be argued to occupy a specifier position, and given that in the doubling construction such negated quantifiers precede *geen* one might propose that they occupy [Spec,DP], giving rise to a specifier head

relation with the head occupied by *geen*. Since both the negated quantifier and *geen* can express sentential negation independently, I assume that both carry the [NEG]-feature.

(26)



a.	Nie vele	geen	studenten
	[NEG]	[NEG]	
b.	Nie vele		studenten
	[NEG]	[NEG]	

Taken this way, the negative doubling pattern in (26a) can be seen as the overt spell out of a checking relation between a negative head *geen* and a negated quantifier (*nie vele*). In the standard language and in the dialects which lack doubling, D [NEG] is zero (26b).[6]
The relation is reminiscent of, for instance, the relation between [Spec,NegP] and the negative head, which is usually taken to be instantiated by French *pas* and *ne.*

(27) a. Je ne mange pas de viande.
I ne *eat not* de *meat*

The difference between standard Dutch and WF could be stated in terms of whether [NEG] on D is spelt out or not. The same kind of variation is instantiated at

[6] Another instance of a specifier head relation with both elements spelt out is illustrated by the doubled possessor construction in (i): (i) dienen vent zyn boeken
that man his books
(ii) da wuf eur boeken
that woman her books
In these cases, though, there is an asymmetry in that while the prenominal possessive pronoun may appear without the doubling possessor, the latter, in a prenominal position, requires some spell out of possession relation, either by the doubling pronoun or by the invariant possessor morpheme *se*:

(iii)	a. zyn boeken	b. eur boeken
	his books	her books
(iv)	a. dienen vent se boeken	da wuf se boeken
	that man *se* books	that woman *se* books

For discussion see Haegeman (2000c, 2001).

the clausal level in French: colloquial French allows the negative head to be non-overt:

(27) b. Je mange pas de viande.

WF and standard Dutch differ similarly in terms of the spell out of the negative head *en* on the finite verb (but see note 1 and Haegeman (to appear)) for a different view.

(28) a. Wfl dan-k ik niemand dienen boek gegeven (en)-een
*that-I I no one that book given (*en*)-have*
'that I have not given anyone that book.'
b Du dat ik niemand dat boek gegeven heb
that I no one that book given have

Observe that in my own work (Haegeman 1995) I do not treat the relation between *niemand* and *en* in (28) or that between *pas* and *ne* as 'negative concord'. In my approach, the relation between *niemand* and *en* is a reflex of the Neg-Criterion, a specifier head requirement on negative constituents.[7]

5.2 ▪ A split DP

Though the structure in (26) allows a first description of the WF negative doubling data, additional data make it clear that a more articulated structure of the D-layer will be required. Jackendoff (1977: 105) assumed that 'some quantifiers [*some, each, all, no, any,* lh] are now articles.' As a first interpretation we might take this to mean that if there is a single designated position for the article, such quantifiers will merge in the sole position D and hence be in complementary distribution with each other and with articles. Negative quantifiers such as *no, geen, kein,* could be seen as the spell out of a negative indefinite article, or, putting it differently, an indefinite article bearing a [NEG] feature. It turns out that, even for English, the assumption, that negative quantifiers such as *geen, kein, no* are the negative form of the

[7] Obviously, the Neg Criterion can be reinterpreted in terms of feature checking (Watanabe 1998, Kato 1999, 2000 etc).
Recall that I reserve the term 'negative concord' for the absorption process applying to multiple negative XPs (den Besten's (1986) 'negative spread'). I refer to the DP-internal co-occurrence of two negative components, the negated quantifier and *geen*, as negative doubling.

indefinite article and that they merge in the same position as the indefinite article, i.e. a designated position for articles, D, is not straightforward. The following English examples would be problematic for such a view since, in both examples, the quantifier *no* is clearly distinct from the indefinite article *a*:

(29) a. There is no more brutal a species than man. (*Sunday Times.* Books. 19.4.98, p. 2)
b. The US does well but, contrary to myth, is no more open a society than the UK in terms of social origins and destinations. (*Guardian*, 30.4.1, page 11, col 40)

These examples can be paraphrased as follows:

(29) a'. There is no species more brutal than man.
b' There is no society more open than the UK.

The predicative APs *more brutal* and *more open* have inverted with the NP that they are predicated of. Following Bennis et al (1998), to which I return below, I assume that the preposed predicates *more brutal* and *more open* have undergone DP-internal predicate inversion and that they have moved to a pre-nominal specifier position. Assuming that the indefinite article *a* spells out a functional head which we provisionally label D, and also assuming that the inverted predicate occupies [Spec,DP], then we must conclude that at least in (22a) and (22b) the negative quantifier *no* is not inserted at the same point as the indefinite article, i.e. D. We conclude that in such cases *no* is merged as a higher functional head. A further illustration of the problem arising in (29) is illustrated by (30):

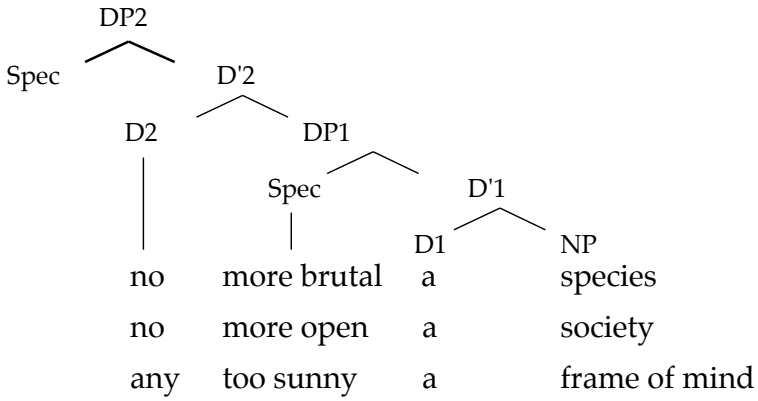
(30) On his previous visit he had not been in **a**ny too sunny a frame of mind. (P.G. Wodehouse, *Frozen assets*, 1964, Vintage, 1993: 211)

Just like *no* in (29), *any* in (30) is not in complementary distribution with the indefinite article.

Data such as (29) and (30) lead us to the conclusion that in the same way that C has to be decomposed into a more articulated structure (Rizzi 1997), D can be decomposed into a sequence of functional heads (cf. Giusti 1996, Haegeman 2001

and many others). For the present discussion, I will label both relevant functional heads D, since as yet too little is known about the projections in the DP periphery to characterise with more precision the nature of the higher functional head.[8]

(31)



English (29a,b) shows that we need to be able to keep separate the negative quantifier *no* and the indefinite article. It is not clear what happens in examples such as (29a',b'), where there is no separate instantiation of the indefinite article. In these examples *no* seems to merge the function of article and that of negation. One way of looking at this is to say that in the absence of an overt specifier, D1 incorporates to the higher D2, or alternatively that D may either spell out as one unitary head (along the lines of Jackendoff (1977) there would be a negative indefinite article), or that it may be split over several heads (D1,D2), depending on whether the head features are required to license specifiers.

5.3 ▪ The interaction of geen *and* zuk

5.3.1 ▪ The data

The splitting of *no* and the indefinite article in English (29) in the context of predicate inversion is relevant for our analysis of the Flemish DPs with internal negative doubling because in a similar context in the dialect we also find *geen* emerging separately from the position occupied by the indefinite article. The pattern arises typically with the demonstrative element *zuk* and is illustrated in (32a), in which *geen* precedes demonstrative *zuk* and modifies a singular masculine N *student*. Observe that the negative quantifier *geen* lacks the *en*-ending. (32b)

[8] As pointed out by Chris Collins, an alternative way of analysing these data is to postulate multiple specifiers, with the inverted predicate as an inner specifier and the scope taking negative quantifier as an outer specifier.

illustrates an alternative word order, in which *geen* follows *zuk* and is associated with the *en* –ending (cf (25)).

(32) a G' (en)-meugt dat an geen zuk nen student tuogen.
*you (*en*)-may that to no (uninflected) such a student show*
'You must not show that to such a student.'
b G' (en)-meugt dat an zuk geenen student tuogen.
*you (*en*)-may that to such no-inflected students show*
'You must not show that to such a student.'

5.3.2 ▪ Prenominal *zuk*

Before dealing with the interaction of *zuk* and negative quantification, I will briefly discuss some of the properties of *zuk* in WF. I do not provide a full-fledged account here, but I will merely outline those properties that bear on the negative doubling data.

In (33) *zuk* is adjacent to what seems to be an indefinite article. At first sight one might propose that *zuk* is adjoined to D, where it incorporates to the article.

(33) a. K'een ook zuk nen boek.
I have also such a book
b K'een ook zuk en deure.
I have also such a door
c K'een ook zuk en us.
I have also such a house

Before going into the discussion of (33) I should point out that WF seems also to display an alternative pattern with prenominal *zuk* which I feel is less common and perhaps marginal. It is illustrated in (34). Here, *zuk* follows the article and has adjectival inflection. The pattern is to my mind more acceptable in the plural as illustrated in (35). Given that there is no plural indefinite article, I use definite DPs to illustrate the position of *zukke* with respect to the determiner, here a demonstrative.

(34) a. ?K'een ook nen zukken boek.
I have also a such book

b ?K'een ook en zukke deure.
I have also a such a door

c ??K'een ook en zuk us.
I have also a such a house

(35) a. Die zukke dikke boeken moe-j nie kuopen.
those such thick books must-you not buy
'You should not buy such big books.'

b Die zukke dikke deuren moe-j nie verwen.
those such thick doors must-you not paint
'You needn't paint such thick doors.'

c Die zukke gruote uzen goan-ze verkuopen.
those such tall houses will they sell
'They will sell those high houses.

Though they are obviously also interesting on their own score, I will not go into the data in (34)-(35), in which *zuk* appears to the right of the article. I assume that *zuk* is adjectival in nature. Like other prenominal adjectives in WF it agrees with the head noun. Various analyses have been proposed for prenominal adjectives, either they are heads selecting NP complements or they occupy the specifier positions of specialised projections, or they are adjoined to maximal projections (for the various views see Abney 1987, Androtsopoulou 1996, Cinque 1994, Delsing 1993, Sproat and Shih 1988).

In (33) *zuk* precedes what seems to be the singular indefinite article. Let us turn to the plural variant of these examples. In (36) *zuk* is invariant and it modifies a plural head N. In these examples, though, *zuk* again precedes what looks like an indefinite article:

(36) a. K'een ook zuk en boeken.
I have also such en *books*

b K'een ook zuk en deuren.
I have also such en *doors*

c K'een ook zuk en uzen.
I have also such *en* houses

These examples display what has been called a 'spurious' article (Bennis et al 1998). Bennis et al (1998) identify the spurious article in the Standard Dutch constructions in (37). In such cases, a singular - spurious – article, *een* ('a'), spells out the head whose specifier is the landing site of a predicate which has undergone DP-internal leftward movement ('predicate inversion'). The spurious article is insensitive to the number of the head N: *boeken* ('books') in (37b,c,d) is plural. The relevant movement is taken to be A-movement in (37a) and A'-movement in (37b-d). I refer to Bennis et al (1998) for more discussion and motivation.

(37) a. een beer van een vent
a bear of een *man*
b Wat een boeken!
What een *books*
c wat voor een boeken
what for een *books*
d zo'n boeken
so-een *books*

Following Bennis et al (1998: 106), I assume that *en* in the WF *zuk*-construction in (36) is a spurious article and that it spells out a DP-internal functional head which I label D. Given the semantic analogy with (37d), I assume that, like *zo* in (37d), *zuk* is the inverted predicate of a small clause which has undergone leftward A'-movement.[9]

5.3.3 ▪ Prenominal *zuk* and negation

When we turn to the negation of the DP containing *zuk*, there are three options. In (38a) *geen* is added to the pattern in (34), i.e. where *zuk* follows the determiner and is adjectival. I do not deal with this example here. In (38b) *geen* is merged higher than uninflected *zuk*, and the (spurious) article is present. In (38c) *geen* follows uninflected *zuk*.[10]

[9] That we have to do with a spurious article is also suggested by data such as those in (i), in which *zuk nen* precedes a mass term *melk* ('milk'):
(i) Zuk nen melk drinken-k nie.
such 'a' milk drink I not

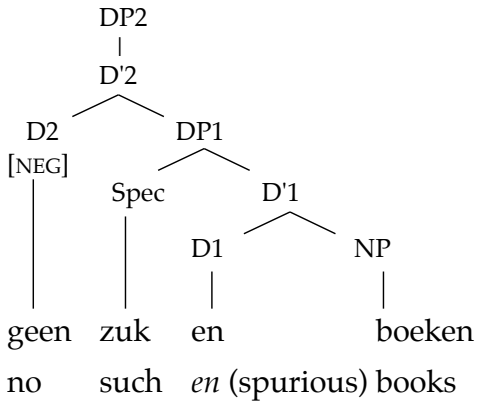
[10] The alternation between inflected and uninflected *zuk* is also found in German, where *solch* is invariant when preceding the article and agrees with the head noun when following the article.

(38) a. K'een geen zukke boeken.
I have no such books
'I have no such books.'
b K'een geen zuk en boeken.
I have no such en *books*
c. K'een zuk geen boeken.
I have such no books
'I have no such books'

Let us suppose that the two D-postions postulated above, D1 and D2, are always projected as separate heads, and that the negative features of a DP is merged in D2. This would be in line with the structure for English (29).

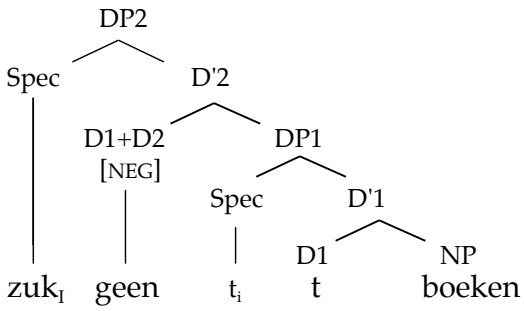
Let us first consider (38b) in which *geen* precedes *zuk*. Above I assumed that *zuk* is an inverted predicate occupying a specifier position whose head is filled by the indefinite article. This would lead to the structure in (39a).

(39) a.

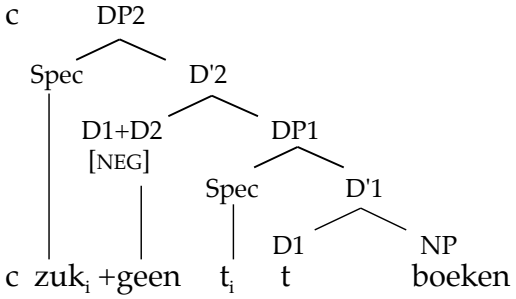


For (38c), I will assume that *geen* continues to occupy D2. I also assume that given that D1 is not spelt out by an article, it has incorporated to D2. In order to derive the order in which *zuk* precedes *geen* we could propose that it has either moved to the specifier of D2 (39b) or that it has incorporated to D2 (39c). Below I will show that the latter may be preferable and I will consider the ramifications of this conclusion for the analysis of (38b/39a).

(39) b



(39) c



The spurious article emerges in D1 only when the specifier of D1 is filled overtly. This could be related to a requirement on the inverted predicate, possibly the inverted predicate requires for the head to which it moves to be overt

With the negated quantifier *nie vele*, we get the patterns in (40):

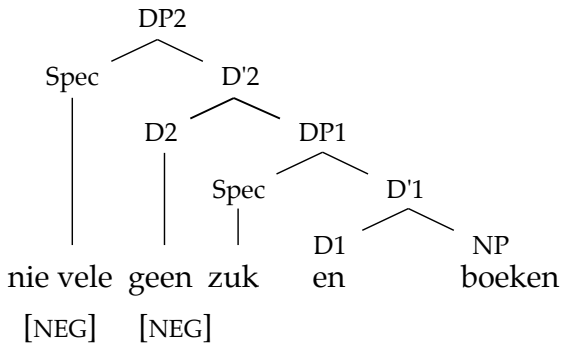
(40) a. K'(en)-een nie vele geen zukke boeken.
*I (*en*)-have not many no such books*
'I don't have many such books.'

b K'(en)-een nie vele geen zuk en boeken.
*I (*en*)-have not many no such books*

c. K'(en)-een nie vele zuk geen boeken.
*I (*en*)-have not many such no books*
'I have no such books'

In (40a) inflected *zukke* is adjectival and D is *geen*. This example again will not concern us here. For the analysis of (40b) we can use the structure in (39a) as a starting point.

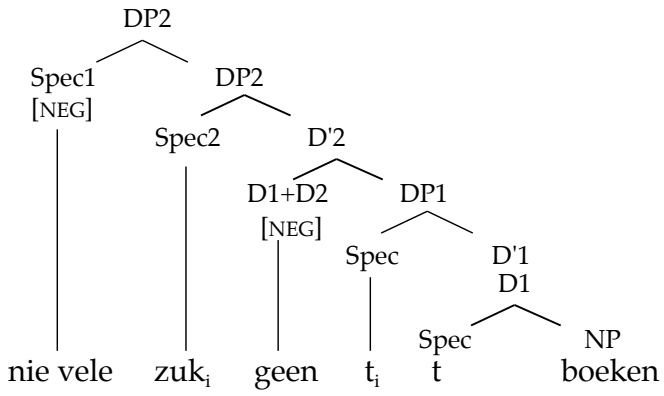
(41)



In (41) *nie vele* has a specifier head relation with *geen*. This relation can be seen as another instantiation of a licensing requirement on negative quantifiers along the lines of the Neg Criterion (Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991, 1996, Haegeman 1995) or in terms of feature checking (Watanabe 1998, Kato 1999, 2000 etc). As was the case for sentential negation, languages vary with respect to the spell-out of the doubling negative head. Standard Dutch does not allow the spell out of *geen* on D2 when its specifier is filled. WF allows is, indeed it is the preferred option in many cases.

The structure of (40c) should correspond to the structure for (38c) with the addition of the negated quantifier. For (38c) we had envisaged two options, with *zuk* either a specifier of D2 (39b) or adjoined to it (39c). If we assume that the negative quantifier also has to attain a specifier head relation with D2 (in the spirit of the Neg-criterion or of feature matching) then (39b) would lead to a multiple specifier analysis. The inner specifier is the inverted predicate and the outer specifier is *nie vele*.

(42)

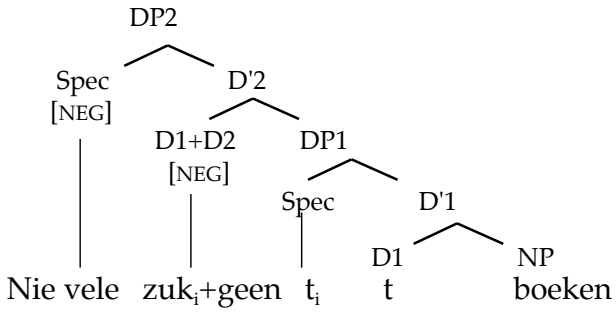


I have so far not opted for the multiple specifier analysis in my other (related) work on sentential negation at the clausal level in WF, I feel that I would only be able to

endorse the multiple specifier analysis if I had also examined its consequences for WF sentential negation.

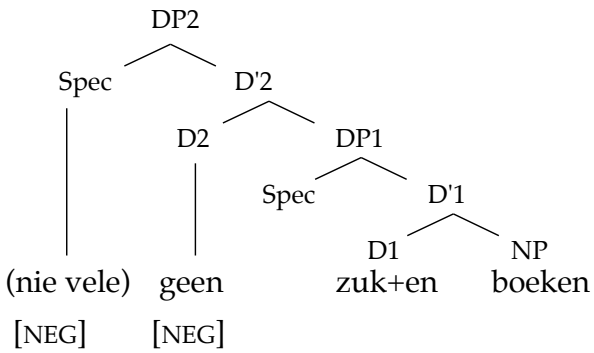
(39c) allows *nie vele* to simply be inserted as the specifier of D2:

(43)



The proposal that uninflected *zuk* is adjoined to D2, however, raises a question as to the analysis of examples in which it follows *geen*. The option I present above has *zuk* as a specifier of D1, it might also be seen, alternatively, as adjoined to D1. The spell out of the article might be required to provide a morphological host for the incorporation of *zuk*.

(44)



The advantage of the latter option is that it offers a unified analysis for uninflected *zuk*: it head-adjoins to either D2 or to D1. We could propose that inflected *zuk* heads a maximal projection while uninflected *zuk* is a clitic-like element and is incorporated to a functional head.

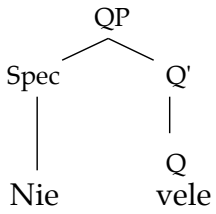
6 ▪ THE NEGATIVE QUANTIFIER

At this point I have only dealt with the pattern (9a), repeated here as (45a), which is also the kind of example discussed by Vanacker.

(45) a. K'en-een nie vele geen geld.
I *en*-have not much no money

In the above I have not detailed the structure of the prenominal negated quantifier. As a first approximation, one might assume that *vele* heads QP and that *nie* is its specifier.

(46)



For completeness' sake, I point out that in many instances, illustrated in (45), there is in addition to the quantificational element also a degree element present in what we could loosely call the prenominal modifiers. (45b-k) illustrate the enriched patterns:

(45) b K'en-een nie te vele geen geld.
*I (*en*)- have not too much no money*

c K'en-een nie vrie vele geen geld.
*I (*en*)- have not very much no money*

d K'en-een nie zu vrie vele geen geld.
*I (*en*)-have not so very much no money*

e K'en een nie styf vele geen geld.
*I (*en*)-have not very much no money*

f K'en-een nie al te vele geen geld.
*I (*en*)-have not all too much no money*

g K'en-een nie bezunder/speciaal vele geen geld.
*I (*en*)-have not specially much no money*

h K'en een nie vele meer geen geld dan tun.
*I (*en*)-have not much more no money than then*

i K'en-een nie genoeg geen geld.
*I (*en*)-have not enough no money*

As shown by the availability of the negative morpheme *en* on the finite verb in (45) the DP-internal negation systematically may take sentential scope. As shown by the examples in (47) all the relevant strings are constituents:

(47) a. Ge keut da doen [vu nie vele geen geld].
you can that do [*for not much no money*]

b Ge keut da doen vu [nie te vele geen geld].
you can that do for not too much no money

c Ge keut da doen vu [nie vrie vele geen geld].
you can that do for not very much no money

d Ge keut da doen vu [nie zu vrie vele geen geld].
you can taht do for not so very much no money

e Ge keut da doen [nie styf vele geen geld].
you can that do for not very much nno money

f Ge keut da doen vo [nie al te vele geen geld].
you can that do for not all too much no money

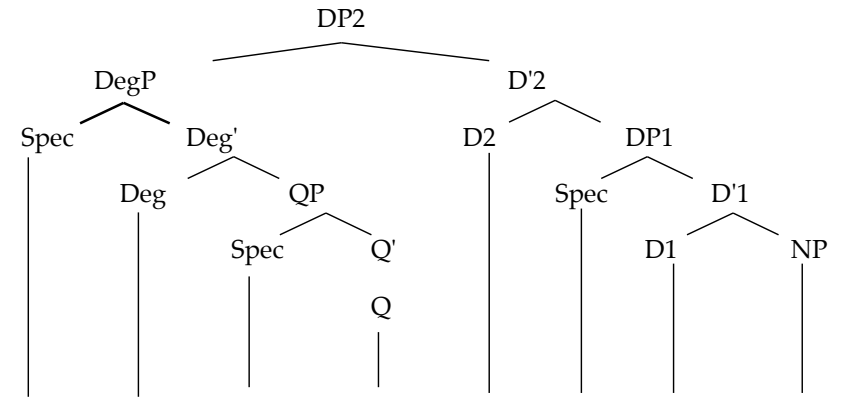
g Ge keut da doen vu [nie bezunder/speciaal vele geen geld].
you can that do for not specially much no money

h Ge keut da kuopen vu [nie vele meer geen geld].
you can that buy for not much more no money

i [An nie genoeg geen mensen] en een'k da keunen zeggen.
to not enough no people en have I that can say

These examples can be handled in the same way as the earlier examples, with additional structure for the negative quantifier in [Spec, DP2]. Assuming that the degree word head a projection selecting QP (Corver 1997a,b), we would however now have to assume that *nie* is the specifier of Deg.

(48)



a.	Nie	te		vele	geen	zuk	en	geld
b.	Nie	zo		vele	geen	zuk	en	geld
c.	Nie	zo	vrie	vele	geen	zuk	en	geld
d.	Nie		vrie	vele	geen	zuk	en	geld

A further complication arises for (45f) repeated here as (49). If we do not allow for multiple specfiers, and if *al* is a specifier to *te* in Deg, then is not possible that *nie* is the specifier of Deg.

(49) a. nie al te vele

b. [$_{??}$ Nie [$_{DegP}$ al [$_{Deg}$ te] [$_{QP}$ vele]]]

In order to accommodate such examples we might in fact propose that *nie* is a specifier of NegP, both when it functions as clausal negation, and when it functions as a constituent negation (which may also attain clausal scope). This would allow for *nie* to be generated consistently in the same position.

(49) c [$_{NegP}$ nie [$_{Neg}$] [$_{DegP}$ al [$_{Deg}$ te] [$_{QP}$ vele]]]

If all QPs are dominated by DegP, then in the absence of the overt degree word we would have the structure in (49d):

(49) d [$_{NegP}$ nie [$_{Neg}$] [$_{DegP}$ [$_{Deg}$] [$_{QP}$ vele]]]

Alternatively, if DegP were only projected when there is an overt degree word, structures without such a degree expression might have the structure in (49e), in which NegP would select QP.

(49) e [$_{NegP}$ nie [$_{QP}$ vele]]

The generalisation of NegP to DegP (and possibly QP) obviously raises further questions. One that concerns us here is whether there should be an NegP projected in the DP. I leave this for future study.

7 ▪ CONCLUSION

The first part of this paper offers a description of DP-internal negative doubling in WF. I discuss the scope and distribution of such DP in comparison with non-doubled DPs with a negative quantifier.

In the second part of the paper I analyse the WF data in the light of the articulation of the DP. An interesting pattern of variation is shown to emerge when we take into consideration the interaction of DP-internal negative doubling with prenominal *zuk*. This leads to the hypothesis of DP-recursion. In the last section of the paper I briefly discuss the syntax of degree expressions and the syntax of negation markers at the sub-clausal level.

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29/08/01