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On intervention effects in Bavarian Negative Concord

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## Preface

Negation is pervasive feature of natural language. Independent of any theoretical analysis, it is a universal of human communication systems to have means to express the opposite of a proposition. Yet it is also a field of wide range of cross-linguistic variation that has drawn considerable amount of interest from various perspectives. Among the intricacies of natural language negation, from a syntactic perspective one of the most intriguing features is a widespread phenomenon known as as Negative Concord (NC). In NC structures, several morpho-syntactically negative elements collaborate to express a single semantic negation. Negatives Indefinite (NI) or "n-words" (using Laka (1990)'s terminology) cooccur with each other or with the sentential negation marker yielding a single logical negation. The same elements can induce negativity each on their own, as can be shown by a range of tests including single-word answers, behaviour in syntactic islands, and often their contribution in cases of special (focal) stress.

Unlike Standard German, Bavarian displays NC phenomena. Previous generative analyses of Bavarian NC (Brugger and Poletto, 1993; Weiß, 1999) have pointed out contexts in which NC becomes impossible, and devised syntactic explanations for the emergence of NC that would make these blocking phenomena follow from the nature of NC itself. This thesis, on the one hand, uses novel data from the Bavarian variant of the Innviertel, Upper Austria, to take a closer look at the fine structure of the 'blocking' effect, pointing to problems for the above accounts. On the other hand, it is the first attempt to apply general, typologically oriented theories of NC within the generative framework, such as Zeijlstra (2004), to the Bavarian data. It is shown that Weiß' account is too restrictive to explain some of the details of and apparent exceptions to the 'blocking' phenomena, while Zeijlstra's and similar approaches are permissive enough to allow the 'exceptions' but do not automatically offer a motivation for why the 'blocking' effects should arise in the first place. Some possible mechanisms that would independently explain these effects are sketched, preliminary evidence for a pragmatic account presented, and pathways for their future confirmation laid out.

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For providing extensive comments on earlier versions of this work and/or helpful pointers to literature, I would additionally like to thank Daniel Buring, Friedrich Neubarth, Winfried Lechner, and Wolfgang Dressler, and the audience at the *Privatissimum für allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft*, and more generally all my colleagues at the *Institut für Sprachwissenschaft* in Vienna.

Hedde Zeijlstra's and Elena Herburger's courses at the EGG summer school 2007 in Brno awakened my interest in the syntax of negation. I have also benefited from many other courses and fruitful discussions with too many people to name them all, teachers and fellow students, during the EGG schools of 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, and 2010.

I further want to thank: The L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X community for providing a powerful tool, and detailed instructions somewhere on the internet for almost every hack I needed and that was beyond my own coding abilities. The Open Access movement for fighting for the free dissemination of knowledge, and the Vienna University's library for providing me access to papers while that battle is still raging.

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## Abbreviations and symbols used

$\forall$	ALL, universal quantifier
ACC	accusative case
AGRIOP	indirect object Agreement Phrase
AGROP	(direct) object Agreement Phrase
AGRSP	subject Agreement Phrase
AUX	auxiliary
CP	Complementizer Phrase
DAT	dative case
DN	Double Negation
DP	Determiner Phrase
DRT	Discourse Representation Theory
$e$	event variable
$\exists$	existential quantifier
$X_F$	constituent marked with (narrow, contrastive) focus
IP	Inflection Phrase
[ $i$ NEG]	interpretable negative feature
LF	Logical Form
NEG	negative particle
$\neg$	NOT, negative operator
NEGP	Negation Phrase
NC	Negative Concord
NI	Negative Indefinite
NOM	nominative case
NPI	Negative Polarity Item
OS	object–subject order
OSV	object–subject–verb order
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PPI	Positive Polarity Item
PRT	verb particle
QP	Quantifier Phrase
QR	Quantifier Raising
REFL	reflexive
SG	Standard German
SO	subject–object order
SOV	subject–object–verb order
Spec.XP	Specifier of XP
SUBJ	subjunctive
$t$	movement trace
$X_T$	constituent marked as contrastive Topic
[ $u$ NEG]	uninterpretable negative feature
VP	(Lexical) Verb Phrase
vP	‘Light’ Verb Phrase
XP, YP	Maximal projection with undefined label





# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Structure of the Thesis

After some methodological clarifications in section 1.2 and an overview of the theoretical problem to be addressed in section 1.3, chapter 2 proceeds to give an overview of theories of negative concord within the generative framework over roughly the last two decades, focussing on the “Factorisation and Absorption” approach by Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996) in section 2.2 on the one hand, and on various implementations of an analysis of n-words, or negative indefinites in languages with NC, as semantically non-negative (Ladusaw, 1992; Zeijlstra, 2004; Penka, 2011) in section 2.3 on the other hand; section 2.4 presents previous accounts of Bavarian NC against that background, and section 2.6 gives an overview of the diachronic development of negation and NC in German and Bavarian.

Chapter 3 tries to give a more systematic overview of contexts (already observed by some of the literature in 2.4) that seem to block Negative Concord in Bavarian than hitherto presented. We will discuss blocking with adverbs (section 3.1), starting with ‘often’, discussed in the literature, and comparing its behaviour to that of other adverbs. We further touch upon blocking effects with nominal quantificational elements (section 3.2), and on the effects of narrow focus on availability of NC interpretations in section 3.3.

Chapter 4 presents a hitherto undescribed rescuing effect observed when the offending intervener is moved out of structures where NC is known to be blocked by topicalisation; the nature of these constructions, with no intervener present in the surface string but truth-conditionally equivalent to the offending structures described in the preceding chapter, constrains the space of possible explanations and presents problems for some of the accounts offered in the extant literature.

Finally, chapter 5, without coming to a firm conclusion, illustrates possible directions for future work by giving rough sketches of conceivable accounts of the blocking effects and their obviation, both of a syntactic and a more pragmatically leaning nature, and pointing towards some of their predictions.

## 1.2 Preliminaries

### 1.2.1 Transcription

For the representation of the Bavarian examples I am using a rather informal transcription, largely based on Standard German spelling but without doing too much violence to the phonetics. Thus, digraphs like /ng/ (ŋ), /sch/ (ʃ), and /ch/ (ç or x) will be used in their Standard German phonetic value; the rising diphthong  $i^v/i^v$  and  $u^v$  will be written as /ia/, /ua/. Vowel length and nasality are usually omitted and marked only where they serve to distinguish different lexemes; the single most significant deviation from Standard German orthography is the use of single versus geminate voiced signs (*b*, *d*, *g*) to represent the ‘lenis’ – ‘fortis’ contrast, which is one of quantity rather than quality in the Innviertel, as in other Central Bavarian dialects.

Different conventions may apply for cited examples.

### 1.2.2 A note on the data

The data discussed in this thesis stem from the Central Bavarian dialect of the Innviertel region in Upper Austria (districts Schärding, Ried and Braunau). Since the focus of this work has not been to map interdialectal variation but rather to provide an in-depth analysis of one particular phenomenon, blocking effects on Negative Concord and their obviation under Topicalisation, a narrower localisation has not been attempted. While this may hypothetically prove problematic under closer scrutiny, the preliminary data presented here do not seem to indicate large intraregional differences in the phenomena discussed here.

While the author is a native speaker of the dialect studied and his intuitions were central in showing up interesting tracks to follow, all novel data have been double-checked with at least one linguistically naïve informant, and the judgements reported reflect their assessments. Both oral interviews and written questionnaires have been used for the elicitation of judgements. In order to minimise interference from the standard language, oral interviews were conducted in the dialect, and in written questionnaires, the target sentences (as well as, sometimes, the instructions) were presented in an informal transliteration of the

dialect, and informants instructed to read the sentences aloud to themselves in their dialectal form before assessing them.

Such caution is necessary since the phenomenon is quite restricted to a basal dialectal, unlike other properties of Bavarian syntax, e.g. Complementiser Agreement (Bayer, 1984; Gruber, 2008) or *Präteritumschwund* (Abraham, 1999; Sapp, 2009, a.m.o) which are frequently transferred into the regional colloquial. In contrast, with Negative Concord which is markedly dialectal, informants may be reluctant to state that they actively use such forms<sup>1</sup>, requiring indirect elicitation with questions such as “could this sentence could be heard in your dialect” – even as the researcher has heard some of the informants produce NC structures in spontaneous speech.

Aware of this, some informants try to actively suppress interference from the standard language. In the study of Bavarian Negative Concord, this can be an additional confound: Since NC is largely optional in Bavarian while being ruled out in the standard language, the problem of hyper-corrections in a direction *away* from the standard language (discussed by Cornips and Poletto, 2005, among others) arises. In Constructions with optional NC, some speakers may summarily declare variants *without* NC as intrusions from Standard German (where they are the only possible realisation of the meanings in question) rather than as one among several possible realisations in Bavarian. Any marginal ratings for sentences without NC thus have to be treated with caution.

Both the problem of intrusions from the standard language as well as the contrary, hyper-corrections towards a perceived pure dialectal norm by avoidance of structures that are also possible in the standard, are less severe when directly comparing minimally differing examples and their ranges of possible interpretations, which form a large fraction of the empirical domain of this work. Interferences from Standard German as well as hyper-corrections in a conscious attempt to counteract these are predicted to decrease or increase ratings for NC-structures across the board, rather than selectively for individual sentences. Any systematic difference in preferred interpretations in otherwise parallel and potentially ambiguous structures, can thus not be explained away through these

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<sup>1</sup>Especially in written contexts which may be intuitively reminiscent of school testing (Labov, 1972, 1996; Cornips and Poletto, 2005).

confounding factors, and offers a genuine window into the grammar of negation in Bavarian.

A more serious challenge is posed by the difficulty to empirically distinguish between *grammaticality* and *acceptability* (Labov, 1996; Sternefeld, 2000) through informant judgements. Grammatical sentences are judged marginal or impossible due to parsing constraints (‘garden-path sentences’) or failure to reconstruct a context where they would be appropriate. This is particularly the case when world knowledge makes a meaning salient which is indeed ungrammatical in the version presented. To make things worse, when structures reach a certain complexity threshold (that is, as soon as conscious effort starts to play a role in processing), listeners may switch to extragrammatical means for understanding the meaning, potentially leading to ‘grammatical illusions’ (Haider, 2011). Sternefeld (2000, p. 32) gives the German example in (1) with multiple central embedding and mismatching inflection (NOM/ACC adjectival inflection instead of dative) that, according to him, most speakers are initially unaware of when given the sentence.

- (1) das        der        dem        Menschen    wichtige  
       the.NOM [the.DAT [the.DAT human.DAT] important.**NOM/ACC**  
       Gesundheit abträgliche        Rauchen.  
       health]        detrimental.NOM] smoking.  
       smoking, detrimental to (the) health, important to humans.

These objections are relevant to the case at hand, especially for the discussion in section 3.3, as cancellation of multiple (explicitly or implicitly) negative elements is notoriously hard to parse, even in languages where it presents the only available reading. An example, again from Sternefeld (2000, p. 37), is given in 2 below:

- (2) I by no means wish to deny that I could not disagree with you less.

While these methodological limitations have mostly been discussed in relation with processing overload, they may well come to play a role in the interactions between grammar and pragmatics too: When world knowledge makes a certain structurally trivially available interpretation highly implausible, it may slip consideration and the judgements given implicitly reflect ungrammaticality for a different *specific*, more plausible reading rather than the structure as such.

### 1.3 The Problem

The present thesis discusses a range of partially new data on Negative Concord in Bavarian and its interaction with quantificational elements.

Bavarian is a dialect of German spoken in the south-eastern parts of the German state of Bavaria, as well as in most of Austria and the Italian region of South Tyrol/Alto Adige. Paralleling Standard German (SG), sentential negation (at least in the absence of an indefinite in the scope of negation) is expressed by the particle ‘*ned*’ (SG ‘*nicht*’), which is in the unmarked case situated low in the clause<sup>2</sup>. It has been variously analysed as V-adjoined (Bayer (1990)), VP-adjoined, or projecting a NEGP to the immediate left of VP (Weiß (1998, 1999) and others) or vP (Brugger and Poletto (1993)). Empirically, this means that argument DPs have to precede ‘*ned*’, while some PPs can optionally precede or follow it, and yet others only occur after NEG. Orders deviating from this generalisation are not necessarily ungrammatical, but convey a different meaning, namely narrow focus of negation on the constituent following ‘*ned*’/‘*nicht*’ (the examples below are adapted from Brugger and Poletto (1993, 56)). Marking the negative particle with italics and underlining the relevant phrase, (3a) and (4a) illustrate ‘*ned*’ following accusative and dative objects, respectively, and in (5) it precedes a locative PP.

- (3) a. dass da Hons in Traktor *ned* kaputtgmochn hod.  
           that the Hans the tractor NEG destroyed has  
           ‘...that Hans did not destroy the tractor.’  
       b. # dass da Hons *ned* in Traktor kaputtgmochn hod
- (4) a. dass da Hons sein Freund *ned* ghoifn hod  
           that the Hans his friend.DAT not helped has  
           ‘...that Hans did not help his friend.’  
       b. # ...dass da Hons *ned* sein Freund ghoifn hod.
- (5) a. dass da Hons *ned* aufm Untersberg gstiegen is.  
           that the Hans NEG on the Untersberg climbed AUX  
           ...that Hans did not climb the Untersberg.  
       b. # ...dass da Hons aufm Untersberg *ned* gstiegen is.

---

<sup>2</sup>For an extensive discussion of negation in German, see among others Jacobs (1982); Kappus (2000).

In sentences containing indefinite DPs, sentential scope of negation in SG is marked on the highest indefinite in the clause, by substituting it with an Negative Indefinite (NI) or through association with the negative determiner ‘*kein*’ (‘no’). Thus the following SG examples from Kappus (2000, 30f)<sup>3</sup>. In (6), with ‘*kein*’ on the highest indefinite, the dominant reading is one of wide scope, sentential negation, as illustrated by the ‘it is not the case that P’ paraphrase (see Jackendoff (1969) for this and other tests to establish sentential negation) or informally by the natural English translation. (7), on the other hand, with ‘*kein*’ on a non-initial indefinite, expresses narrow negation of the direct object DP.

- (6) Tobias gab keiner Frau ein Buch.  
 Tobias.NOM gave *neg-a-DAT* woman a.ACC book  
 ‘It is not the case that Tobias gave a book to a women.’ [= Tobias didn’t give a woman a book, JS]
- (7) Tobias gab einer Frau kein Buch.  
 Tobias.NOM gave a-DAT woman *neg-a-DAT* book  
 ‘Tobias gave something else than a book to a woman.’ **or** ‘There is exactly one woman to who Tobias didn’t give a book.’

In contrast to SG, Bavarian (optionally) has NC. Besides (8) and (10), mimicking the SG examples above<sup>4</sup>, we also get (9) and (11)<sup>5</sup>, with the clausal negation particle ‘*ned*’ as well as ‘*koa*’ (the Bavarian equivalent to ‘*kein*’) on all indefinite DPs within the scope of negation. The respective negative elements are highlighted in the examples below.

- (8) Da Tobias hod *koana* Frau a Buach gebm.  
 the.NOM Tobias AUX no.DAT woman a.ACC book given  
 ‘Tobias didn’t give a/any woman a/any book.’ = (6)

---

<sup>3</sup>Kappus (2000, 12, fn10) glosses ‘*kein*’ as *neg-a*, precisely because “the negative contribution of *kein* [...] can take scope wider than the noun phrase in which it occurs”, as illustrated in these examples.

<sup>4</sup>Apart from optional NC, the Bavarian examples also deviate from the SG one in the unavailability of the simple past in Bavarian, replaced by the composite past tense, and the obligatory use of definite articles with proper names. These differences are irrelevant for our purposes

<sup>5</sup>The first reading seems to be less available with NC as indicated, which is expected in the theories of Weiß (1998); Brugger and Poletto (1993) discussed below.

- (9) Da Tobias hod *koana* Frau *koa* Buach *ned* gebm.  
 the.NOM Tobias AUX no.DAT woman no.ACC book NEG given  
 ‘Tobias didn’t give a/any woman a/any book.’ = (6)
- (10) Da Tobias hod ana Frau *koa* Buach gebm.  
 the.NOM Tobias AUX a.DAT woman no.ACC book given  
 ‘Tobias gave something else than a book to a woman.’ **or** ‘There is exactly one woman to who Tobias didn’t give a book.’ = (7)
- (11) Da Tobias hod ana Frau *koa* Buach *ned* gebm.  
 the.NOM Tobias AUX a.DAT woman no.ACC book NEG given  
 (??) ‘Tobias gave something else than a book to a woman.’ **or** ‘There is (exactly) one woman to who Tobias didn’t give a book.’ = (10)=(7)

Several researchers have noted that NC in Bavarian is impossible in a number of contexts. For example, individual level predicates don’t usually allow NC (cf. (12), adapted from Weiß (1999, p.833) or Brugger and Poletto (1993, 65)’s example (13.b), contrasting (13.a) with a stage level predicate). This is explained in terms of the interpretation of the indefinite in Weiß (1999); specifically, individual level predicates (ILP) require a specific interpretation of their subjects, while NC is used to indicate a VP-internal position of the indefinite where it is interpreted as existentially closed, thus, in (12.b), the past tense makes NC possible again<sup>6</sup>. Similarly, Brugger and Poletto (1993) demonstrate that subjects of ILPs are in a higher position in the clause independent of negation, and claim that this projection (the higher of two AGRS-positions in their analysis) is “outside the domain of negative concord” (p.65). In the examples below, the (a) sentences with NC blocked illustrate the obligatorily ‘high’ position for the subjects of present tense Individual Level Predicates.

- (12) a. wai koana (\*ned) intelligent is.  
 because n-body (\*NEG) intelligent is  
 ‘... because nobody is intelligent.’

---

<sup>6</sup>Informally, this can be explained in the following way: individual level predicates in the past tense, as well as stage level predicates, involve quantification over situations. Thus, in a Kamp–Heim–style analysis of quantification involving a restrictor and a nuclear scope, (12.b) can be paraphrased as ‘there is no situation/event of anyone being intelligent’, or (13.a) as ‘there is no situation/event of a/any Texan being present’. A more detailed account of Weiß’ analysis is given in section 2.4.2.

- b. wai koana ned intelligent gween is.  
 because n-body NEG intelligent been is  
 ‘...because nobody was intelligent.’
- (13) a. daß koa Texana (\*nit) groß is, woß ajeda.  
 that no Texan not tall is knows everybody  
 ‘Everybody knows that no Texan is tall.’  
 b. daß koa Texana (nit) do is, is schod.  
 that no Texan not here is, is a.pitty  
 ‘It is a pity that no Texan is here.’

A further restriction, the analysis of which will form the core of the present thesis, has also been observed before (cf. Weiß (1998, 1999); Brugger and Poletto (1993): NC interacts in interesting ways with other quantificational elements as illustrated for the frequentative adverb ‘*ofđ*’ (‘often’) in (14) (Brugger and Poletto (1993, (129)) - they use a # to indicate that the sentence is grammatical on the irrelevant cancellation reading) or (15), adapted from Weiß (1998, (113))<sup>7</sup>

- (14) \*dass koa Schauspiela nit oft auftredn is.  
 that no actor not often performed has  
 No actor often performed
- (15) wei koa Linguist (\*ned) ofđ (\*ned) raalfoad.  
 because no linguist NEG often NEG bicycle-rides  
 because no linguist often rides the bike.

---

<sup>7</sup>Weiß’ glosses and LFs are somewhat intransparent. It remains unclear why he only discusses the order ‘*ofđ*’ > ‘*ned*’, as semantic tests along the lines of Jackendoff (1969) would let us expect the reverse for the expression of clausal negation:

- i dass da Helmut ofđ raalfoad  
 that the Helmut often bicycle-rides  
 that Helmut often rides a bike
- ii dass da Helmut ned ofđ raalfoad  
 that the Helmut NEG often bicycle-rides  
 that Helmut doesn’t often ride a bike (=It is not the case that P(i))
- iii # dass da Helmut ofđ ned raalfoad.  
 that the Helmut often NEG bicycle-rides  
 that Helmut often doesn’t ride a bike.

Note that (iii) is compatible with a situation where he usually does, though not when the weather is too bad, which happens frequently.



More examples with other adverbials in (16 and following) or numerals in (18 and following) are given below. I am using sentences with a high adverb in the *Vorfeld* or preverbal position and embedded verb-final sentences to abstract away from further complications arising from V-to-C movement and XP-movement to SpecCP.

- (16) Heid is neamd (\*ned) long (\*ned) bliebm.  
 today AUX n-body NEG long stayed  
 Intended: Nobody stayed long today.
- (17) dass (heid) neamd (\*ned) long (\*ned) bliem is  
 that today n-body NEG long NEG stayed AUX  
 Intended: that nobody stayed long (today).
- (18) Heid hod neamd (\*ned) drei Bier (\*ned) drunga  
 today AUX n-body NEG three beer NEG drunk  
 Intended: Nobody drank three beers today.
- (19) dass neamd (\*ned) drei Bier (\*ned) drunga hod.  
 that nobody NEG three beer NEG drunk AUX  
 Intended: that nobody drank three beers.

This thesis is an elaboration on this observation. I will introduce new data on the blocking effect quantificational elements in the VP seem to have on NC, in particular on a seeming paradox that has, to the best of my knowledge, hitherto passed unnoticed: The ameliorating effect topicalisation of the Q-elements in (20), (21), and (18) has, illustrated below:

- (20) LONG/ is heid \NEAMD ned bliem  
 long AUX today nobody not stayed.  
 Nobody stayed long today.
- (21) OFT/ foad \KOA Linguist ned min Radl.  
 often rides no linguist NEG with-the bicycle  
 ‘No linguist rides the bicycle often.’
- (22) DREI/ Bier hod heid \NEAMD ned drunga  
 three beers AUX today nobody not drank  
 Nobody drank three beers today

As indicated in the examples, this effect is observed when the fronted element is a contrastive Topic, the typical environment for ‘scope inversion effects’ as witnessed by the obligatory rise–fall contour (cf. Féry (1993); Büring (1997); Krifka (1998), discussed in detail in section 4.1). What is paradoxical about the above sentences is that they seem to derive from a construction that is itself straight-out ungrammatical, via topicalisation, a process that is otherwise seen as driven by Information Structure rather than structural necessities of Narrow Syntax. More specifically, any theory that assumes that (a) the canonical position of ‘often’ is simply too high in the structure to permit NC and (b) scope ordering in German and Bavarian can, on the large, be read off surface c–command relations (modulo reconstruction of certain specified types of movement) would naturally predict the ungrammaticality of (14ff) to extend to (20ff): in order to precede the base position of ‘*oft*’ allowing reconstruction to yield narrow scope of ‘often’, the n-word and NEG are still required to be in a high (e.g. IP–) position. Theories positing QR of the n-word over ‘*oft*’ face different problems: Conceptually, the existential interpretation associated with n-words in NC structures (as demonstrated by Weiß (1998, 1999)) leaves QR unmotivated. On a more empirical note, if QR is allowed to apply to negated existential indefinites, ‘inverted’ scope is predicted to be possible in sentences with *Mittelfeld*–internal ‘*oft*’–NEG orders – contrary to fact<sup>8</sup>:

- (23) dass *oft* koa Linguist (ned) raalfoad.  
that often no linguist NEG bicycle-rides
- a. ‘that often no linguist rides a bicycle.’ (OFTEN > ¬ > ∃)
  - b. ? ‘that rarely, any linguist rides a bicycle.’ (¬ > OFTEN > ∃)
  - c. \* ‘that no linguist often rides a bicycle.’ (¬ > ∃ > OFTEN)

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<sup>8</sup>As discussed in more detail in 3.1.1, similar structures can sometimes get an interpretation with negation scoping over the frequentative adverb. Crucially though, the ‘existential component’ of the NI has to be interpreted *in situ*, thus precluding QR (or lowering/reconstruction of ‘often’) in a straightforward sense.

## 2 Negation and NC in generative grammar

### 2.1 Overview

In this section, I will give a brief and selective overview of some of the more recent literature on negation in Generative Grammar. The classification will be leaning mostly on the parameters adopted from Zeijlstra (2004, 151ff).

All natural languages have ways to express negation, formally the complement of the proposition expressed by the simple, unnegated utterance. Natural language negation can be equivalently expressed in several different ways – most frequently through negative particles or adverbs, negative verbs, or negative indefinites (NIs), with not all languages possessing all of these structural means. NIs are defined as pronominal or adverbial forms that have a capacity to induce a negative interpretation in isolation, for example in elliptical answers. Among languages that possess NIs, a distinction can be made between Double Negation (DN) languages, where NIs co-occurring with each other or with a negative particle each obligatorily contribute their own negative force to the logical form of the sentence, and Negative Concord (NC) languages, where multiple NIs can co-occur with each other and with a negative particle in certain configurations while only yielding one logical negation<sup>9</sup>. While many languages do not have any NIs at their disposal but uniquely express negation through a particle or negative verbs, voiding the distinction between NC and DN languages, among those that possess NIs, NC is in fact the norm (Dahl, 1993; Haspelmath, 1997, 2008).

Under an intuitive analysis, where tests such as their behaviour in elliptical answers are taken at face value to indicate negative semantics of NIs (sometimes called ‘n-words’ (Laka, 1990) in the discussion of NC languages to avoid prejudging their negative content), NC constitutes a challenge for the principle of compositionality: Either, interpreting n-words as semantically negative, instances of negation have to be deleted from the Logical Form of sentences with NC, or, analysing them as non-negative, no morphosyntactic element indicates the logical negation present in the interpretation of elliptical answers containing

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<sup>9</sup>DN readings can obtain in NC languages too, and an analysis such phenomena forms the core of the present work, so a better designation might be NC languages *versus* Non-NC languages; I will stick with the established terminology, though.

n-words.

The term ‘Negative Concord’ has been coined, in its current understanding, by Labov (1972), but Mathesius (1937) already used ‘negation concord’, and explicitly argued for an analysis in parallel with other concord, or agreement, phenomena, superficially reminiscent of some modern accounts. Even earlier, Jespersen (1917), systematically analysing negation in various European languages and their diachronic stages, drew great attention to the phenomenon (although, as a consequence of focussing on Germanic and Romance languages, he treated almost exclusively *non-strict* NC, see below).

Current theories about NC can be classified by the semantic content they assign to n-words. With Zeijlstra (2004, 191ff), I classify theories of Negative Concord into several families accordingly:

1. The *Factorisation and Absorption* approach, instantiated e.g. by Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996); Haegeman (1995); Zanuttini (1998), which claims that n-words are semantically negative, but their negative force is fused during the derivation, yielding a single negation at LF. This approach will be presented in more detail in section 2.2 below, and has been applied to Bavarian in a slightly modified version by Weiß (1998, 1999), presented in 2.4.2.
2. The *n-words as NPIs* approach, represented by Laka (1990); Ladusaw (1992). Here, n-words are treated as non-negative indefinites that have to be licensed by an overt or covert clause-mate negation. Related are theories like Giannakidou (2000) who treat n-words as non-negative *universals*, with formal features that force them to scope just *above* clausal negation.
3. The *ambiguity* approach, according to which n-words can be either semantically negative or NPIs within one language due to configurational or even lexical ambiguity.
4. The Agreement Theory of Negative Concord, first proposed for Russian by Brown (1999) and generalised by Zeijlstra (2004) builds upon 2 in that it analyses n-words as *semantically* non-negative elements with an uninterpretable *syntactic* negative feature, using a minimalist feature architecture

to explain their licensing requirements while being able to distinguish them from NPIs proper. For a similar approach, see Watanabe (2004); Penka (2011) extends this analysis to DN-languages.

Typologically, NC-languages can be subclassified into *Strict* and *Non-Strict* NC languages (Giannakidou, 2000). In strict NC, the marker of predicate negation participates in NC irrespective of its position relative to n-words. A typical example are the Slavic languages, illustrated in (24) with Russian (examples from Zeijlstra (2004, p.3,130), negative elements are underlined). In non-strict NC languages, exemplified by many of the Romance languages and illustrated here with Portuguese (25), NEG can and has to license n-words when it is the highest instantiation of negation in the tree (25a), but can not co-occur with pre-verbal n-words to yield and NC-interpretation (25b).

- (24) Ničego ne rabotaet.  
 n-thing NEG works  
 ‘Nothing works.’
- (25) a. O Rui não viu ninguém  
 the Rui NEG looked.at n-body  
 ‘Rui didn’t look at anybody.’
- b. Ninguém (\*não) veio.  
 n-body NEG came  
 ‘Nobody came.’

Note that this classification refers solely to whether n-words can c-command NEG giving rise to NC-readings, not on the optional *versus* obligatory nature of NC within one and the same construction. Thus Bavarian is a *strict* NC language although NC appears to be largely optional: NEG can occur below n-words — in fact it has to if it is to co-occur with them at all given the fixed low position of NEG in the Bavarian (and German) clause.

## 2.2 Factorisation and Absorption

The ‘Factorisation and Absorption’ approach is exemplified by Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996)<sup>10</sup>. Their analysis of NC in West Flemish (WF) rests on the postulation of a syntactic relation between the clausal *negative head* and the NIs in the clause which is subject to the **NEG-Criterion** in (26) (from Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996, p. 153)), an LF well-formedness condition, designed to parallel Rizzi’s (1991; 1996) Wh-Criterion.

- (26) 1. Each Neg  $X^0$  must be in a Spec-Head relation with a Negative phrase  
2. Each Negative phrase must be in a Spec-Head relation with a Neg  $X^0$

The *Neg*-criterion is satisfied via (covert) movement of at least one NI to the specifier of NEGP, which is overtly marked by the negative head ‘*en-*’ (a reflex of older Germanic and Indo-European ‘*ne-*’/‘*ni-*’) in WF; ‘*en*’ is analysed as a semantically empty ‘scope marker’ in contemporary WF. At LF, *all* n-words obligatorily move to the specifier of NEGP. NIs in both NC and DN languages are semantically analysed as  $\forall \neg$ <sup>11</sup>, a position that necessitates to eliminate one or more negations in NC languages. For this, Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996) assume a parametrised rule of ‘Factorization’, present in NC languages and absent in DN languages, which does just that. The factorisation rule states that negation can be ‘factored out’ in a sequence of several operators of the form  $[\forall x \neg][\forall y \neg]$  to yield a binary (or n-ary) operator of the form  $\neg[\forall(x, y)]$ .

## 2.3 N-words as (semantically) non-negative indefinites

### 2.3.1 Ladusaw (1992)

Ladusaw’s theory, one of the earliest explicit instantiations of the treatment of NIs as semantically non-negative, assumes a strong parallelism with Negative

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<sup>10</sup>Manuscript versions of this paper were circulating since 1990.

<sup>11</sup>This is almost always truth-conditionally equivalent to  $\neg \exists$ , and the gist of their analysis can be maintained under such an alternative interpretation as proposed by Weiß (1999) for Bavarian, although necessitating additional stipulations; the choice of  $\forall \neg$  in syntactic terms through the availability of modification of NIs, but not of existentials, with ‘*almost*’ and similar items in other languages. For criticisms of the ‘*almost*’-test, see among others Penka (2011, pp. 232–254) and references therein.

Polarity Items (NPIs), similarly to Laka (1990). Like prototypical NPIs of the English *any*-series, n-words are taken to be (non-negative) existentials, analysed in the spirit of Heim (1982) as introducing a variable to be closed off by a higher operator, that have to be ‘roofed’ by a negative operator in *lf*<sup>12</sup>. Unlike standard NPIs, though, their presence is sufficient to trigger the construction of an *abstract* negation operator when they would otherwise be unlicensed. With respect to strict NC languages like the non-standard English *Dialect B* of Labov (1972) or the dialect of Catalan discussed, Ladusaw (1992) proposes that their negative particles have to be analysed as semantically non-negative too, in parallel with n-words, a conclusion we will re-encounter in the analysis of Zeijlstra (2004) in section 2.3.2 and that will be crucial for our own interpretation. This is argued on the basis of the basis of (27) from a strict NC dialect of English. If ‘-*n’t*’ expressed negation in this dialect, we would expect (27b) (Ladusaw, 1992, (17b)) to be grammatical and synonymous with (27a)<sup>13</sup> — assuming the semantics of this dialect’s and standard English -*n’t* to be identical while treating n-words as NPIs, the grammaticality of (27a) can only be explained as a difference in the structural licensing conditions for NPIs in this dialect. This is ruled out by (27b), where a regular NPI is ungrammatical in the same position. To uphold the claim that NIs are ‘special’ NPIs, we are thus forced to conclude that ‘*nobody*’ in (27a) is licensed by an abstract negative operator just as it would be in a non-strict NC dialect, rather than by the overt particle, forcing us to conclude that ‘-*n’t*’ is not interpreted either.

- (27) a. Nobody didn’t say nothing.  
           ‘Nobody saw anything.’  
       b. \* Anybody didn’t say nothing.

The paper is largely programmatic in that the proposal is not tied to any particular framework, but it does sketch implementations Generalized Phrase Structure

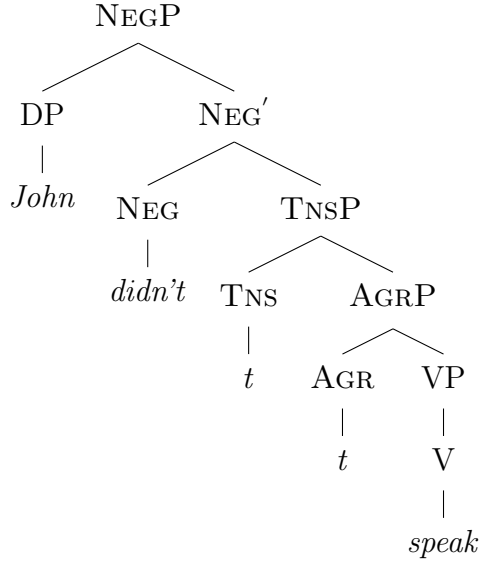
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<sup>12</sup>Ladusaw (1992) uses lower-case *lf* to refer to ‘the structure which is semantically interpreted’ in a theory-independent fashion, and upper-case *LF* specifically for the GB implementation of that concept.

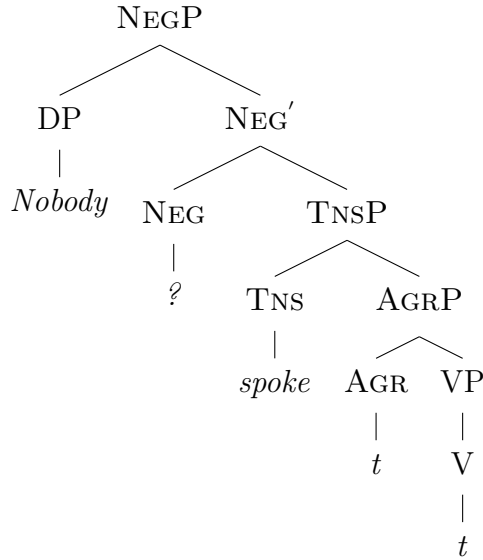
<sup>13</sup>Note that in NC English, *any*-NPIs can be freely substituted for n-words, unlike e.g. in Slavic languages (e.g. Progovac, 1994; Pereltsvaig, 2004, on Serbo-Croatian and Russian respectively), and unlike the German *irgend-* series (Penka, 2011, and references therein).

Grammar and Government and Binding. In the GB implementation, the interpretation of clauses with NIs as containing sentential negation is achieved through the presence of a NEGP which can be directly (28) or indirectly (29) licensed.

(28) (Ladusaw, 1992, (31))



(29) (Ladusaw, 1992, (32))



In (28), ‘*didn’t*’ is inserted into the NEGP’s head position (‘self-licensing’), while for the indirect licensing in (29) through adjunction of an n-word to NEGP, (covert) Neg<sup>0</sup> must be assumed to be NPI-like in that it is ‘subject to surface licensing conditions’. At the LF interface, a negative operator will apply to all and only those clauses headed by a NEGP to yield the desired interpretations.



### 2.3.2 Zeijlstra (2004, 2008a)

Zeijlstra’s 2004 analysis can be considered an explicit implementation of the insights of Ladusaw (1992) in a specific syntactic framework, concretely a Minimalist one, employing feature checking as defined in Chomsky (1995). N-words have an *uninterpretable* syntactic negative feature ([uNEG]) that cannot be read by the interpretative interface or LF (thus, they are semantically non-negative). This feature has to be checked against an *interpretable* NEG-feature ([iNEG]) during the derivation, or else the derivation crashes due to the principle of *Full Interpretation*. Checking of this feature is implemented long-distance, i.e. through *Agree*. A major advantage of this theory compared to earlier theories positing a non-negative semantics for n-words is that the distributional differences between n-words proper and NPIs fall out naturally. The difference between strict and non-strict NC languages also follows. In the case of non-strict NC languages, the sentential negative marker itself carries the interpretable negative feature [iNEG] against which the n-words are checked under c-command. Therefore, only n-words lower than negation can contribute to a cumulative negation reading with the particle present. Subject n-words and Negative Spread between a subject and an object indefinite is explained through inserting a covert  $OP\neg$  above the subject. In strict NC languages, both n-words and the negative particle carry [uNEG] (i.e., are semantically non-negative), and *all* negative sentences require the presence of a covert  $OP\neg$ . The formal representation for a sentence with a negative particle and one n-word in post-*neg* position is illustrated in (30) for strict NC languages and (31) for non-strict NC languages below.

$$(30) \quad OP\neg[iNEG] \text{ negpart}[uNEG] \text{ n-word}[uNEG] \\ \neg\exists(e, x) \emptyset(x)$$

$$(31) \quad \text{negpart}[iNEG] \text{ n-word}[uNEG] \\ \neg\exists(e, x) (x)$$

Zeijlstra (2004) assumes that NEGP is a syntactic category in all and only those languages which show evidence for it in the form of items with an uninterpretable [NEG] feature, i.e. NC languages. In DN languages, negation is syntactically inert. Only when the learner encounters positive evidence for a syn-

tactic feature in the form of *syntactic* processes making reference to it will she postulate such a feature to be part of the syntactic toolkit, and posit a functional projection hosting it (Zeijlstra, 2004, section 8.3)<sup>14</sup>. The presence or absence of NEGP and the semantic status of ‘negative’ expressions are correlated with syntactic phenomena that are superficially independent of NC, giving rise to the following implicational hierarchy (Zeijlstra, 2004, section 9.1.):

- (32)
1. the set of non-strict NC languages is a strict subset of the set of languages that ban true negative imperatives;
  2. the set of languages that ban true negative imperatives is a strict subset of the set of languages that express sentential negation by means of a negative head (i.e. Jespersen Phase I-IV and Phase VI languages);
  3. the set of languages that express sentential negation by means of a negative head is a strict subset of the set of NC languages;
  4. the set of NC languages is a strict subset of the set of languages in which constructions in which an  $\forall$ -subject precedes the negative marker can be assigned a reverse interpretation (with respect to the subject and the negation).

Bavarian, along with Yiddish and Quebecois French, falls into the complement in generalisation 3, i.e it is an NC language that expresses sentential negation by means of an adverb. It is thus correctly predicted to allow true negative imperatives (33)<sup>15</sup> and to display *strict* NC.<sup>16</sup>

- (33) Kimm heid ned!  
 come today NEG  
 ‘Don’t come today!’

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<sup>14</sup>This line of thinking is further elaborated in Zeijlstra (2008b).

<sup>15</sup>I.e., not to use a suppletive construction involving e.g. the subjunctive, as is the case in many Romance languages.

<sup>16</sup>As seen from the gloss in (33), standard English, despite being a DN language, uses suppletion to express a negative imperative. Standard English remains problematic in this analysis for other reasons too. Zeijlstra (2004) is forced to ignore Standard English as it ‘behaves more like a pseudo NC language than a DN language’ (p. 147), with ‘*n’t*’ as a negative head.

### 2.3.3 Penka (2007, 2011)

The theory of Negative Indefinites developed by Penka (2007, 2011) draws on Zeijlstra (2004) in that it derives NC readings by (multiple) Agree between semantically non-negative n-marked indefinites and an overt or covert negative operator. Unlike Zeijlstra (2004), though, Penka (2011) takes NIs in (at least some) DN languages to be non-negative too, and derives obligatory DN readings through a parametrisation of multiple Agree and finer-grained typology of [NEG] features, as presented in (34) (Penka, 2011, p. 246).

(34) **Inventory of [NEG]–features:**

- a. Interpretable features:
  - i. [iNEG] on (some) negative markers
  - ii. [iNEG $\emptyset$ ] on the abstract negation operator  $\text{Op}\neg$
- b. Uninterpretable features:
  - i. [uNEG] has to be checked by [iNEG] or [iNEG $\emptyset$ ]
  - ii. [uNEG $\emptyset$ ] has to be checked by [iNEG $\emptyset$ ]

NIs in DN languages would have the [uNEG $\emptyset$ ], i.e. they come with the requirement that they can only be checked against a *covert*  $\text{Op}\neg$  and not against an overt negative marker. Furthermore, multiple Agree is unavailable in DN languages (and optional in some NC languages that readily allow for DN readings and where NC is (largely) optional, such as French (de Swart and Sag, 2002; de Swart, 2010) and Bavarian).

One of the main motivations for such a seemingly baroque analysis are split scope readings from (DN) languages like standard German or Dutch. It is a long-standing observation (Penka and von Stechow (2001) date it back to Bech (1957)) that NIs show a “peculiar behaviour”, termed *Kohärenz* or ‘coherence’ by Bech (1957) (after Penka and von Stechow (2001)). The core of the observation is that NIs can be ‘split’ into a negative and an existential part in terms of their interpretation, with the negative operator taking sentential scope and the existential scoping locally. This makes it problematic for a Montague-style analysis of NIs as negative quantifiers. An illustration of this is given in (35) below, adapted from Penka and von Stechow (2001, 264). Here, neither the surface-true scope in

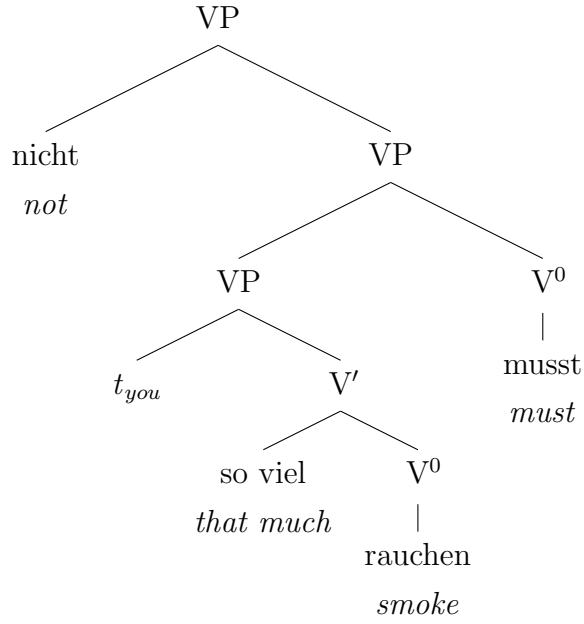
(35b) nor the one derivable by QR of the negative quantifier as a unit in (35c) (a very weak reading that is trivially true in a world without unicorns) represent the most intuitive reading of the sentence. Rather, the sentence is normally understood as (35d), with negation scoping *above* and the indefinite/existential scoping *below* the modal.

- (35) a. Ralph darf kein Einhorn suchen.  
           Ralph may no unicorn seek  
       b. Ralph is allowed not to look for a unicorn.  
       c. There is no unicorn such that Ralph is allowed to look for it.  
       d. Ralph is not allowed to look for a unicorn.

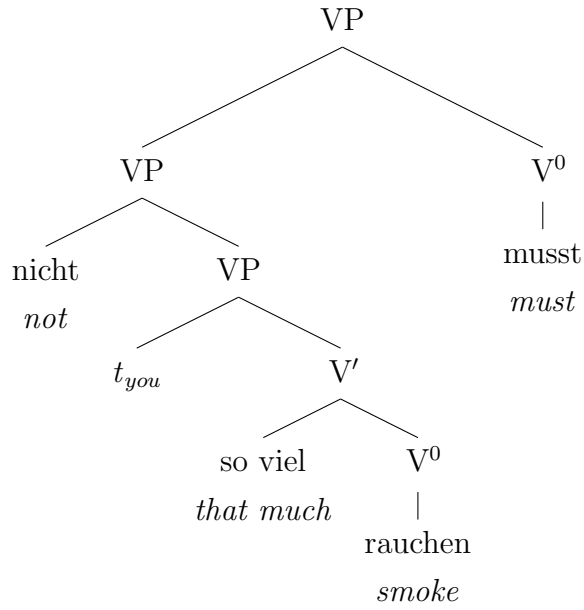
Note that simple negated modal sentences, i.e. strings with a modal and sentential negation but without an n-word, are also ambiguous between narrow and wide scope of negation. Thus, the SG string (36) from Büring (1997, p.119) (attributed to Löbner (1990)) has both readings, as given in the gloss. Assuming a biclausal structure for modal constructions in German, this ambiguity can be represented structurally: The negator ‘*nicht*’ may occur either in the lower (‘lexical’) or in the upper (‘modal’) verb’s projection, and scope is determined by c-command, as illustrated in (37) and (38) (Büring (1997, p.128) - I am leaving out Topic and Focus markings which are not relevant for present purposes).

- (36) Du musst nicht so viel rauchen.  
       you must not so much smoke  
       i. ‘You mustn’t smoke that much.’  
       ii. ‘You don’t have to smoke that much.’

(37)



(38)



Such an analysis of the ambiguities in terms of two different (accidentally string-identical) syntactic structures is not readily available for examples like (35), though. The DP ‘*kein Einhorn*’/‘no unicorn’ is selected by the embedded lexical verb ‘*suchen*’, ‘seek’ and thus unambiguously inserted in the lower VP. Even if this problem can be worked around, we would still only expect the narrowest scope of the modal (i.e. (35.c)), but crucially not the split reading.

Another argument comes from idioms. Idiomatic expressions containing an indefinite or bare plural DP are typically negated by replacing the indefinite with ‘*kein*’, illustrated with the expression ‘*jemandem einen Bären aufbinden*’, ‘to fool someone’ (literally: “to tie a bear onto someone”) from Penka and Zeijlstra (2005, (31.a))<sup>17</sup>.

- (39) Hans hat mir        keinen Bären aufgebunden.  
       Hans has me.DAT no        bear    up-tied  
       ‘Hans hasn’t fooled me.’

This is problematic for the negative quantifier analysis treating NIs as atomic lexical items, under which no LF-constituent in (39) corresponds to the idiom in its bare form. Moreover, embedding under modals leads to split scope readings, too, as in (40) from Penka and Zeijlstra (2005, (33)).

- (40) Mir        kannst du    keinen Bären aufbinden.  
       me.DAT can     you no        bear    up-tie  
       ‘You can’t fool me.’

Penka and von Stechow (2001)’s conclusion is that NIs are semantically non-negative indefinites that trigger a covert negative operator; the semantic representation of the idiom correspondingly contains only the existential, while behaving as an NPI. Note, though, that the focus of Penka and von Stechow (2001) is on the DN-language Standard German (though they include a section on Bavarian NC): Even NIs in Dutch or SG are assumed to be non-negative, the parametric difference resting in the way the required licensing operation works. While in Bavarian and other NC-languages, n-words are licensed whenever an indefinite is c-commanded by a negative operator, in SG or Dutch, they have to be *immediately* c-commanded by  $OP\neg$ . Any intervening operator, including other indefinites, precludes licensing of NIs. This correctly derives the SG pattern, where in a series of indefinites in the scope of negation, only the highest is expressed as an

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<sup>17</sup>Despite joint work, Doris Penka and Hedde Zeijlstra maintain different positions on the nature of NIs in DN languages: While for Zeijlstra (2011), they are composed of an indefinite part and  $\neg$  which can be interpreted independently, Penka (2011) derives the impossibility of NC in those languages from their specific licensing requirements while treating *all* NIs as non-negative.

NI. In (Penka, 2007, 2011) this analysis is combined with the Agreement theory of Negative Concord (Zeijlstra, 2004).

Penka (2011) relies on the Elsewhere principle (Kiparsky, 1973) for the impossibility of non-negative indefinites directly adjacent to negation in German (and the ‘bagel problem’ of Pereltsvaig (2004)). Rather than analysing the indefinite article ‘*ein*’ and the ‘*irgend*’-series of NPIs<sup>18</sup> as semantically incompatible with negation (a Positive Polarity account), they are simply morphologically excluded due to the availability of a more specific item expressing the same semantics as the collocation ‘*nicht ein*’ would. To types of evidence are given in support of this view: Sentences with ‘*ein*’ scoping directly below  $\neg$  at LF, such as (41a) with a topicalised indefinite object that reconstructs into a position immediately below  $\neg$  where it would be ungrammatical without topicalisation (Penka, 2011, p. 209, (32)), c.f the ungrammatical (41b), and sentences like (42) where a modal intervenes between  $\neg$  and the indefinite at LF and which are predicted to be grammatical by a PPI analysis (Penka, 2011, p. 208, (31)).

- (41) a. Ein AUTO/ hat Frank nicht.  
           a   car       has Frank NEG  
           ‘Frank doesn’t have a car.’
- b. \* Frank hat nicht ein Auto  
           Frank has NEG a   car  
           (Intended: ‘Frank doesn’t have a car.’)
- (42) \* Mary darf nicht einen Arzt   heiraten.  
       Mary may NEG a       doctor marry  
       (Intended: ‘Mary may not marry a doctor.’)

Despite similarities between the two frameworks, there are crucial differences, and Zeijlstra (2011) maintains an analysis of Standard German ‘kein’ and its Dutch equivalent as a semantically negative composite lexical item.  $OP\neg$  and  $\exists$  can be analysed in different positions after overt and covert movement have applied (making use of Chomsky (1995)’s *copy and deletion theory of movement*).

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<sup>18</sup>Note, though, that in their Free Choice interpretation accompanied with explicit prosodic marking, ‘*irgend*’-indefinites *are* compatible with negation.

## 2.4 Negative Concord in Bavarian

### 2.4.1 Bayer (1990)

Bayer's (1990) short paper is an attempt to shed light on debates about the configurationality of German and the nature of *Scrambling* (cf. Fanselow (1987) and the papers in Grewendorf and Sternefeld (1990) for then contemporary discussions). The paper attempts to show that Bavarian Negative Concord only applies when the nominal elements entering a Negative Doubling relation (to be specified below) with '*ned*' remain within the VP. On the basis of this assumption, Bayer tries to show that *Scrambling* is not an instance of *Move  $\alpha$*  but rather that German disposes of two alternative base orders yielding SO and OS orders in the *Mittelfeld* without a requirement for Subject-over-Object movement.

Bayer observes an asymmetry between object and subject Negative QPs. In a transitive (subordinate) clause with canonical SOV order, the object can be in an NC relation with clausal negation '*ned*'/'*nicht*' to the exclusion of the subject, but not vice versa. Assuming that '*nicht*' adjoins to  $V^0$  <sup>19</sup>, Bayer concludes that:

- (43) NC in Bavarian can only hold between a (primary) negative element X and a negative quantified constituent Y if both X and Y are VP-internal. (Bayer, 1990, p.16,(8))

The proposed explanation for this generalisation is that the negated NEG+V has to m-command the Negative Indefinite for an NC relation to obtain, using the definition of m-command from Chomsky (1986), given in (44).

- (44) If  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are two nodes in a syntactic tree,  $\alpha$  m-commands  $\beta$  if and only if:
- a.  $\alpha$  does not dominate  $\beta$ ,
  - b.  $\beta$  does not dominate  $\alpha$ , and
  - c. the maximal projection of  $\alpha$  dominates  $\beta$ .

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<sup>19</sup> "[I]n the unmarked case" (Bayer, 1990, p.17). Bayer explicitly allows for '*nicht*' to precede PP-V complexes in the case of verbs with obligatory PP complements, which is indeed the unmarked position.



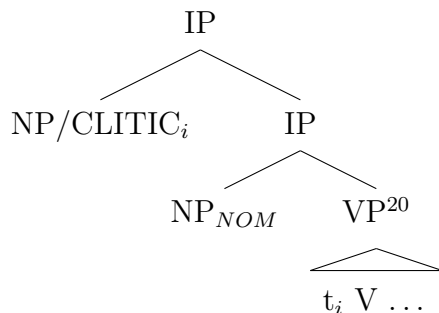
Using standard assumptions of the day, with a high, VP-external base position for subjects, this would include objects of transitives and sole arguments of intransitive/ergative verbs, as in Bayer's examples (taken from Ludwig Thoma's early 20<sup>th</sup> century satirical works) below:

- (45) ich bin froh, das ich keine Rede nicht halten brauch,...  
 I am glad that I no talk not give need  
 'I am glad that I don't have to give a talk.'  
 (DO of transitive verb, SOV order, Bayer (1990, p.15,(5a)))
- (46) das keine Unanstendikeit nichd bassirt isd.  
 that no indecency not happened is  
 '... that no indecency has occurred.'  
 (Sole argument of ergative verb, Bayer (1990, p.16,(7a)))

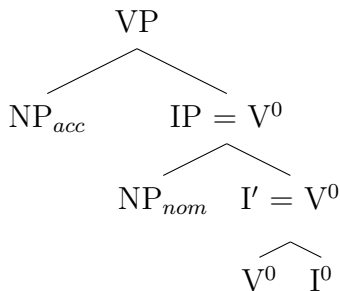
Crucially, though, given the then standard assumption that subjects are base-generated in the IP, the requirement of m-command from the V-NEG-complex to the negative indefinite would exclude NC with subjects of transitive verbs *irrespective of surface order*. If canonical and scrambled sentences like the ones contrasted in (47) (Bayer, 1990, (19)) had the same base order, deriving the surface ordering through the application of *move  $\alpha$* . With an invariable SOV base structure and a high position for subjects, V m-commands only the object trace but crucially not the subject in the 'inverted' OSV variant of such sentences. This is as sketched in (48). Given Bayer's assumptions, such a structure would predict (47a) to be every bit as ungrammatical as (47b). Therefore, he concludes that the correct analysis is instead one under which Bavarian (and German) has two alternative base orders, the canonical SOV and the 'scrambled' OSV, rather than deriving the latter through movement. In his framework, this also implies conflating IP and VP for a language like German, thus the final analysis of structures with subject NC is as illustrated in (49).

- (47) a. <sup>ok</sup> das an bosboon koa Hund ned beisd  
 that the postman.ACC no dog.NOM NEG bites  
 '... that no dog bites the postman.'
- b. \* das koa Hund an Bosboon ned beisd  
 that no dog.NOM the postman.ACC NEG bites

(48) Structure of (47a) given  
standard assumptions:



(49) Structure of (47a), final:



Thus, German at least allows for a D-Structure with the the subject following the object. Bayer does not exclude in principle overt OS orders that derive from underlying SO: example (50) (Bayer, 1990, fn. 4), is grammatical with NC, implying, given these assumptions, that the accusative DP has originated from a position directly adjacent to NEG+V prior to the application of *Move α*.

- (50) [Keinen Widerspruch]<sub>i</sub> gibd<sub>j</sub> es t<sub>i</sub> nicht t<sub>j</sub>  
 no objection.ACC gives it neg  
 ‘There is no objection.’ or ‘Objections are not allowed.’

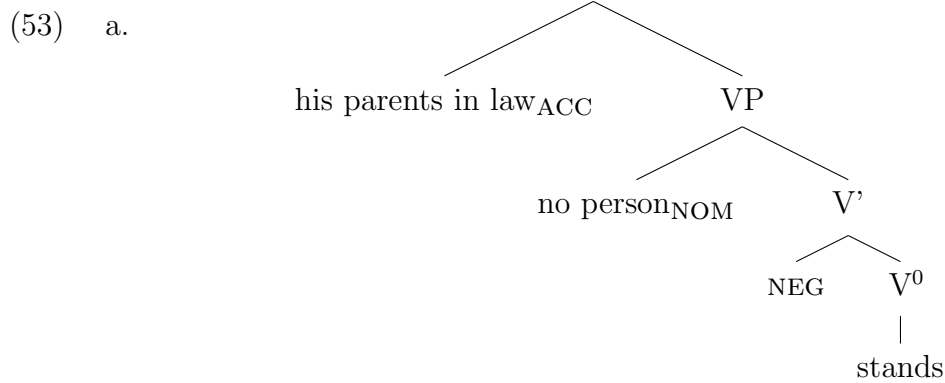
Here, an underlying SOV-order is assumed, with the trace of the accusative NP *keinen Widerspruch* c-commanded by the negation-verb complex, making NEG-Absorption licit.

There is a problem with the assumption that German has two alternative D-Structures, corresponding to SO and OS orders in the *Mittelfeld*, and that subject NC implies the non-canonical OS order, though. My informants found binding from a subject into a ‘scrambled’ object unproblematic even in NC structures, as illustrated in (51) below. In fact, sometimes the presence of NC made the bound reading more prominent compared to the sentences in (52) without NC:

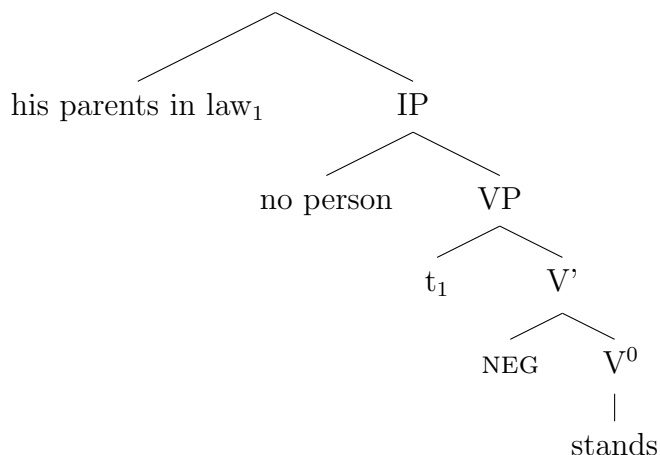
- (51) a. dass se<sub>i</sub> (söba) koana ned aus-m Sumpf ziaŋ kō  
 that REFL (self) no.NOM NEG out.of-the.DAT swamp tear can  
 ‘...that no (one) can pull himself out of the swamp.’  
 b. dass seine<sub>i</sub> Schwiegeröddan [kōa Mensch]<sub>i</sub> ned aussteht  
 that his parents-in-law no.NOM human NEG stands  
 ‘...that nobody<sub>i</sub> can stand his<sub>i</sub> parents in law.’

- (52) a. ?dass se<sub>i</sub> (söba) koana aus-m Sumpf ziaŋ kō  
 that REFL (self) no.NOM out.of-the.DAT swamp tear can  
 ‘...that no-one can pull themselves out of a swamp.’  
 b. dass seine<sub>j</sub>/?<sub>i</sub> Schwiegeröddan [kōa Mensch]<sub>i</sub> aussteht  
 that his parents-in-law no.NOM human stands  
 ‘...that no-one can stand his parents in law.’

These data are difficult to accommodate with Bayer’s analysis. As we saw earlier, he considers the availability of NC involving a subject n-word as diagnostic of an underlying OSV structure in German and Bavarian scrambling constructions. While the model *allows* for objects to reach a surface position in which they c-command the subject through movement, it requires contiguity of V and any n-words at D-Structure, thus subject NC is seen as indicative of a OSV base structure. The underlying structure for (52b) would thus have to be as sketched in (53a), in which binding should be impossible under standard assumptions. Conversely, if we focus on obtaining the binding effect, we have to assume that in these examples the surface OS order observed *does* derive from underlying SO, as in (53b), where ‘no person’ is situated outside of the VP and of the negative particle’s m-command domain — the exact same configuration that was argued to be responsible for the ungrammaticality of (47b) above.



b.



A second problematic aspect is that Bayer’s assumption that NEG adjoins to  $V^0$  rather than to the maximal projection of V enforces one to analyse any material that intervenes between ‘*ned*’ and V (or the trace of V in V2-structures) as incorporated into the verb (even if Bayer does not state this explicitly). A rather prototypical example is given in (51) above, where the PP ‘out of the swamp’ intervenes. While there are indeed severe restrictions on what sort of elements can intervene, this result is still wanting independent confirmation.

In conclusion, while the technical details of Bayer’s 1990 account are hard to reformulate in minimalist terms and cannot be easily maintained on empirical grounds, the observation that some version of locality/adjacency must play a role in licensing NC in Bavarian (and possibly beyond) laid ground for later work on the topic like Weiß (1998, 1999); Brugger and Poletto (1993); Abraham (2000) and will be central to this thesis.

#### 2.4.2 Weiß (1998, 1999)

Helmut Weiß, in a series of works 1998; 1999, developed a theory of Bavarian NC that synthesises the insights of Bayer (1990) with theories of NEGP as a functional projection and the NEG-Criterion as developed by Haegeman (1995); Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996) (v. section 2.2) for Romance and West Flemish. (Weiß, 1999) assumes negative semantics for *n*-word and uses a modified version of the NEG-Criterion in order to derive the correct, single-negation readings. Unlike Haegeman (1995); Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996), though, he analyses NIs as negated existentials rather than as universals scoping over negation.

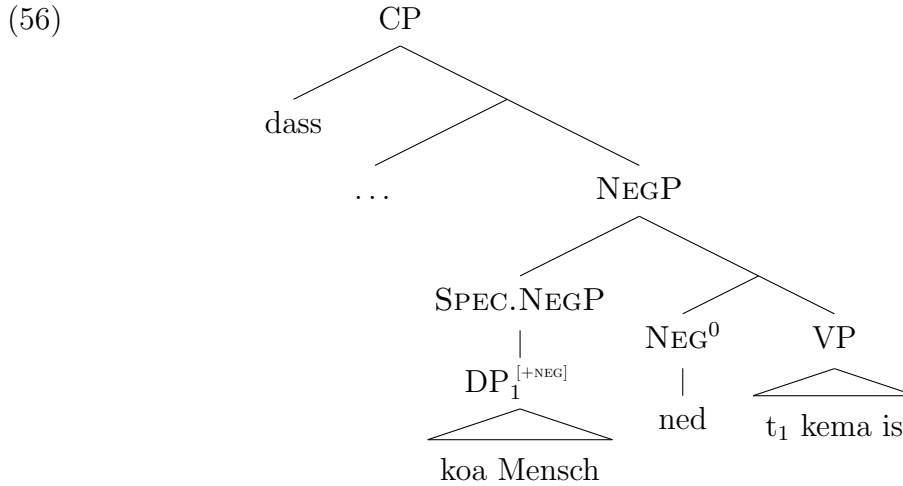
Weiß (1999) goes beyond this, though, in trying to motivate semantically why Negative Concord is *necessary* in certain languages or constructions. He criticises approaches to NC that explain it in purely ‘stylistic’ terms as ‘reinforcement’, common in traditional grammars, on the grounds that (a) NC is in general restricted to a limited class of items, i.e. negated weak indefinite quantifiers, and (b) NC is disallowed under certain configurations, in particular in interaction with other quantificational elements. For example, in (55) (Weiß (1999, (5a))) is impossible (under the intended NC-reading) with ‘*ned*’ inserted either before or after ‘*oft*’. (54, his (5b)) serves to show that surface non-adjacency due to topicalisation is not at issue.

- (54) koan    bessan findsd    aaf da    ganzn Wejd ned  
no.ACC better find-2sg in    the whole world not  
You won’t find a better one in the whole world.
- (55) koa Mensch fod    oft    raal  
no man    rides often (a) bicycle  
Nobody rides a bicycle often.

While application of the NEG-criterion correctly predicts (54) to be grammatical if it is allowed to apply to an intermediate state of the derivation (i.e. before the application of Verb Second and Topicalisation of the Negative Indefinite), nothing in the original formulation would prevent its application in the case of (55), and neither would an account of NC in terms of reinforcement, which would lead one not to expect any contrasts. Instead, Weiß (1999) provides an explanation in terms of the properties of n-words as weak indefinites. Observing that ‘weak’ “[i]ndefinite] Q[uantifier]s are not permeable for the scope of negation” Weiß (1999, p.823), and that they “must normally stay within the VP in order to receive existential interpretation” (Weiß (1999, p.824), after Diesing (1992)’s *Mapping Hypothesis*, the conclusion is that the *only* way for Indefinites to receive an existential reading without blocking sentential negation is to attach to Spec.NEGP, where they are inherently in the scope of negation while remaining in the extended VP. Furthermore, the NEG-criterion ensures that only indefinites that themselves have a [+neg]-feature can land there. Unlike in Bayer (1990), NEGP is assumed to be a syntactic category in its own right, closing off the

(wider) VP domain, which allows elements in its Spec-position to fall into the Nuclear Scope in the terminology of DRT (cf. Diesing, 1992).

Example (56) illustrates in an abbreviated form a simple sentence with NC under this analyses. Here, the NI, originating from within the VP, moves to Spec.NEGP where it checks its [+neg] feature against  $Neg^0$ . With  $Neg^0$  being the locus of sentential negation, NEG is expected to potentially outscope any quantificational material in the (low) *Mittelfeld* as long as it can stay in the VP.



It follows from the analysis that any indefinites scrambled beyond SPEC.NEGP (thus outside of the VP in Diesing (1992)’s terms) can not be existentially closed and must thus be interpreted specifically or generically (i.e. bound by a GEN-operator). In terms of available interpretations, this means that negative concord can only apply between existential indefinites and sentential negation, or between different existential indefinites, but not include generic indefinites.

This is illustrated with (57a), a constructed variant of the proverb in (57b). The intended generic interpretation, given in the glosses, is unavailable with a ‘koa’-headed subject phrase.

- (57) a. \* Koa Indianer kennt koan Schmerz ned.  
           no Indian knows no pain not  
           ((Weiß, 1999, (17)))  
           Gen(x)[Indianer(x)]¬∃(y)[Schmerz(y) ∧ kennen(x,y)]
- b. A Indianer kennt koan Schmerz ned.  
    an Indian knows no pain not

The point to note is that NC encompassing both n-words as in (57a) is impossible, which Weiß attributes to the generic interpretation of the first indefinite and its corresponding high clausal position.

Abstracting away from the impossibility of NC in Standard German, a comparable phenomenon has been observed here: While it is generally the highest indefinite of a sentence that is marked with ‘kein’, on closer inspection, this does not always hold. Kappus (2000, (84)) gives the series of examples in (58), where (58b) negates a possible, but dispreferred reading of (58a). The more salient reading indicated by the English gloss is a generic one, with ‘father’ and, as Kappus argues, ‘child’ interpreted generically, is negated with (58c). The contrast can be made even sharper by including an overt Q-adverb as in (59)<sup>21</sup>. Here again, the unmarked interpretation of (59a) is negated by (59b) rather than the by (59c) as would be expected under a rule of SIMPLY NEG-marking the highest indefinite without qualifications. (59c) instead negates (59d) with contrastive stress on ‘one/a’, being interpreted with ‘usually’ quantifying over biker conventions and stating that typically, not even one of the bikes present has a roof.

- (58) a. Ein Vater gibt einem Kind ein Gewehr.  
a.NOM father gives a.DAT child a.ACC gun  
‘(Usually), a father gives a gun to a child.’  
b. ? Kein Vater gibt einem Kind ein Gewehr.  
NEG.a.NOM father gives a.DAT child a.ACC gun  
‘No (single) father would give a gun to a child.’  
c. Ein Vater gibt einem Kind kein Gewehr.  
a.NOM father gives a.DAT child NEG.a.ACC gun  
‘(Usually), a father doesn’t [give] a gun to a child.’
- (59) a. In der Regel hat ein Motorrad ein Dach.  
in the rule has a motor-bike a roof  
‘A motor-bike usually has a roof.’  
b. In der Regel hat ein Motorrad kein Dach.  
in the rule has a motor-bike NEG.a roof  
A motor-bike usually doesn’t have a roof.

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<sup>21</sup>Example suggested by Daniel Buring (personal communication, 2012).

- c. In der Regel hat kein Motorrad ein Dach.  
in the rule has NEG.a motor-bike a roof  
'Usually, no motor-bike has a roof.'
- d. In der Regel hat EIN Motorrad ein Dach.  
in the rule has ONE motor-bike a roof  
'Usually, one motor-bike has a roof.'

Kappus (2000, p.91) thus concludes, (following Diesing (1992) and many others), that specifically or generically interpreted indefinites (both subjects and objects) occupy different positions from existential ones in SG. In parallel to Weiß (1998, 1999)'s account of Bavarian NC, the lower, existential positions, but not the high one, is subject to what Kappus (2000) terms '*k*-marking', i.e. replacing the determiner of the highest indefinite within the domain with 'kein-', under sentential negation.<sup>22</sup>

While Weiß (1999) builds on this general line of thinking with respect to the role of a high clausal position for the specific interpretation of German indefinites, there are several peculiarities to Weiß' proposal — the most controversial one probably being that '*ned*' is a syntactic head, where other analyses posit XP-status for '*ned*' and its Standard German cognate '*nicht*'. Incidentally, as elaborated in section 3.3.1 '*ned*' is obligatorily unstressed and short – any stress on the negation particle enforces a cancellation reading at best and renders the sentences unparsable if other factors preclude that reading.

Another point to note is that Weiß predicts that all languages that possess inherently negated indefinites should also have NC. He is thus forced to analyse the existence DN-languages (cf Zeijlstra (2004)) like Standard German or Standard English as a purely prescriptivist artefact. That is, centuries of pressure by prescriptivist grammar has made the PF-deletion of '*ned*' — optional in Bavarian — an obligatory process in Standard German, while essentially the grammar of negation in the two languages is the same. What makes this proposal somewhat attractive (even if counter-intuitive) is (I) the notorious rarity of DN-languages (cf. Dahl (1993); Haspelmath (2008)) and (II) that even in DN-languages like

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<sup>22</sup>The implementation of this correlation is quite different, though. Kappus (2000) employs feature movement from the indefinites in their agreement positions to a *high* NEGP dominating T, but not the landing sites for specific or generic DPs.



Dutch, English or German, many dialects do indeed show NC. On the other hand, NC is far from universal in the dialects studied e.g. in the *Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects* project (*'Syntactische Atlas Van De Nederlandse Dialecten*, SAND), and the systematic correlations between NC vs. DN and other syntactic properties of Dutch dialects make it rather unlikely that the latter are simply more prone to intrusion from prescriptivist tendencies in the Standard Language (van der Auwera and Vogelaer, 2008). These data also form part of the empirical basis of (Zeijlstra, 2004) discussed in section 2.3.2.

### 2.4.3 Brugger and Poletto (1993)

Brugger and Poletto (1993)'s paper discusses the position of SG and Bavarian negation relative to various types of adverbs, (argument) DPs and (argument and non-argument) PPs from a topological/early cartographic perspective. They posit (60) as a partial structure of the German clause (their (160), p.78).

$$(60) \quad [_{AgrSP} \dots [_{XP} \textit{wohl} [_{YP} \textit{nie} [_{AgrSiP} [_{AgrIOP} [_{AgrOP} [_{NegP} [_{ZP} \textit{gut} [_{VP} ] ] ] ] ] ] ] ] ] ]$$

Here, AGRSP is the 'higher' of two subject agreement phrases, the one typically hosting definite subjects, but also subjects of individual-level predicates (as seen earlier with (13)). XP is a projection that hosts discourse particles like *wohl*, which are traditionally used as diagnostics for the IP-VP boundary (or alternatively, the Topic-Focus break) in German. Below that is a position which hosts temporal adverbs, illustrated with the negative temporal adverb 'nie'. AGRSiP, AGRIOP, and AGROP are the agreement phrases for subjects ('low' or *in situ* position), indirect and direct objects, respectively. NEGP is the position where sentential negation overtly appears as '*nicht*'/'*ned*'. ZP is the canonical position of low manner adverbs like 'good'.

Unlike Weiß (1998, 1999), and *contra* Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996) (circulating as a manuscript then), they do not tie NC to to a specifier-head relation between n-words and NEG. instead, they conclude that NC should be seen as "a relation extending over a wider structural domain, limited by to [sic!] negative elements: the negative marker '*nit*' [= '*ned*', JS] and the negative adverb 'nie'

[‘never’, JS]” (Brugger and Poletto (1993, p.160)). Negative indefinites move to their case/agreement positions just as their positive counterparts would. Thus they do not need to postulate multiple specifiers for sentences with more than one n-word, nor a specific type of movement to license negative features. One reason to dispose of the hypothesis that n-words occupy multiple specifiers of NEGP is that a sequence of n-words can in fact be interrupted (although strictly only by definite phrases, and examples are hard to come by). Examples are given in (61), after Brugger and Poletto (1993, (104)).

- (61) a. dass *neamd* sei Frau *nit* mitgnumma hot.  
           that nobody his wife not taken-along has  
           ‘that nobody took his wife along.’  
       b. dass *neamd* sei Madl       *nit* busslt hot.  
           that nobody his girlfriend not kissed has  
           ‘that nobody kissed his girlfriend’

It is implied that “[t]he NEGP which hosts the negative head at S-structure does not determine the scope of sentential negation, which is given by a higher NEGP situated above QP but below TP” (Brugger and Poletto (1993, p.160)). This brings the theory close to agreement theories of NC in that the overt marker of negation is distinct from where it is semantically interpreted – and it is only the latter position that has to c-command the n-words.

Brugger and Poletto (1993, p.67ff) discuss adverbial quantifiers. Observing that some adverbs (i.e. ‘mostly’, ‘sometimes’, ‘several times’, ‘usually’) have to precede negation, while others (‘often’, ‘rarely’) can either precede or follow it and ‘always’ has to follow, they first consider the option of two different base positions for adverbial quantifiers, one below NEGP and one further up, in the vicinity of AGRSiP. They discard this analysis, though. Instead, they conclude that whenever ‘nicht’ precedes an adverbial quantifier, the two items form a constituent.

One reason for this assumption is that nominal arguments can follow ‘oft’ when it is presumably ‘low’, i.e. preceded by negation (their SG example (127.b)):

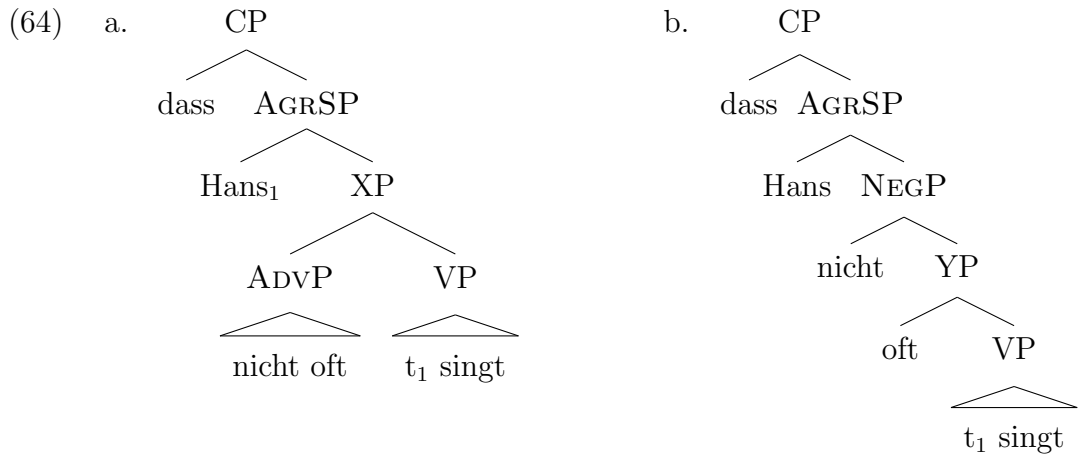
- (62) dass Hans nicht oft    ein gutes Buch liest.  
       that Hans not    often a    good book reads

‘that Hans does not often read a good book.’

They also observe that ‘not often’ can topicalise as a constituent as illustrated below (Brugger and Poletto (1993, (128))):

- (63) Nicht oft    hat Hans gesungen.  
          not    often has Hans sung  
          ‘Hans did not sing often.’

So far, this does not tell us that ‘*nit oft*’ *must* be a constituent. Such strings might presumably still be ambiguous between constituent negation of ‘*oft*’, with the adverb potentially higher in the tree than the overt marker of clausal negation in NEGP, represented in (64) – a structure required to allow joint movement as in (63) – and mere surface adjacency of clausal negation and ‘*oft*’, with the latter in a low post-NEGP position.



The crucial datum to show that the latter option is unavailable in principle is given by Bavarian NC. If ‘often’ could indeed occupy a low position, nothing in their analysis would preclude NC; if it is, on the other hand, obligatorily in its high position, above the argument agreement projections where n-words are licensed, the ungrammaticality of (14), repeated as (65), under an NC-reading is expected: The position of ‘*oft*’, and consequently that of the constituent ‘*nit oft*’ being higher up than the position licensing n-words, ‘*koa Schauspieler*’ has to be licensed by an independent covert NEG before moving further to the left through A’-movement. The only (marginal) interpretation is thus the DN-reading.

- (65) \*dass koa Schauspiela nit oft auftrdn is.  
 that no actor not often performed has  
 ‘No actor often performed.’

While this readily explains the ungrammaticality of (65) and similar examples, as with the other previous accounts sketched here, it remains unexplained why the structures should improve through topicalisation of the adverb. If ‘often’ moves out of a constituent (‘not often’), the not is still stranded ‘too high’ for NC, if ‘*nicht*’ is in its canonical position of clausal negation, the adverb should not be able to reconstruct below it.

## 2.5 Problems

One problem the analysis in Zeijlstra (2004) shares with the NEG–Criterion theory is that it forces us to assume the presence of NegP as a syntactic projection in an NC language like Bavarian<sup>23</sup>. While this projection is universal in the theory Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996), Zeijlstra (2004) explicitly claims it to be subject to cross-linguistic variation. In this theory, all and only NC-languages exhibit NEGP as a syntactic category: It is required for licensing the [uNEG] feature of n-words (as well as that of NEG in strict NC languages); conversely, the learner will only posit such a category if the input contains evidence for it in the form of *syntactic* processes such as Agree, absent in DN-languages where the negative component of the meaning of NIs is directly legible by LF. Bavarian being a strict NC language, ‘*ned*’ would itself have to be licensed through Agreement with NegP. This proposed difference does not seem to have any effects on word-order generalisations in Standard German and Bavarian negated clauses where NC does not apply (i.e., in the absence of any indefinites in the scope of negation). The distributional properties of SG ‘*nicht*’ and Bavarian ‘*ned*’ in such are exactly parallel. Thus, in both SG and Bavarian, *neg* follows definite objects (66) but precedes instrumental PPs (67):

- (66) a. ...dass Hans Peter nicht kennt.  
 ...that John Peter NEG knows

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<sup>23</sup>For a critique of the NEG-criterion family of theories along similar lines, see Haider (2004, section 4)

- ‘John doesn’t know Peter
- b. \*...dass Hans nicht Peter kennt
- c. ...dass da Hons in Beda ned kennd.  
...that the John the Peter NEG knows  
‘John doesn’t know Peter.’
- d. \*...dass da Hons ned in Beda kennd
- (67) a. ...dass Hans nicht mit dem Zug gekommen ist.  
...that John NEG with the train come has  
‘John did not come by train.’
- b. \*...dass Hans mit dem Zug nicht gekommen ist.
- c. ...dass da Hons ned mi-m Zug kema is.  
...that the John NEG with-the train come has  
‘John did not come by train.’
- d. \*...dass da Hons mi-m Zug ned kema is.

This is reproduced in structures containing indefinites, where ‘*ned*’ obligatorily *follows* any n-words. While (68) allows for an NC-reading (which is indeed its most prominent reading), (69) only allows for a DN-reading and is thus best analysed as some variant of constituent negation:

- (68) Da Hons hod nix ned gsogd.  
the John has n-thing NEG said  
a. ‘John didn’t say anything.’ (NC)  
b. ? ‘John did not say nothing.’ (DN)
- (69) Da Hons hod ned nix gsogd.  
the John has NEG n-thing said  
a. \* ‘John didn’t say anything.’ (NC)  
b. ‘John did not say nothing.’ (DN)

The strong parallelism between Standard German and Bavarian evidenced here sheds doubt on the assumption that Bavarian ‘*ned*’, but not SG ‘*nicht*’, marks a position NEGP in which negation is interpreted at the interface, through moving to Spec,NEGP from a *vP*-internal base position as per Zeijlstra (2004).

Neither is analysing ‘*ned*’ as an affixal marker, comparable to ‘ne-’ in Slavic languages or earlier stages of Germanic appealing: Strict adjacency to  $V^0$  is not required, as per (67) above and many other examples.

## 2.6 German and Bavarian negation in a diachronic perspective

The diachronic development of negation has been a major topic in diachronic syntax since at least Jespersen (1917). That seminal work also represents the first detailed empirical description of a *cyclical change* in syntax – the diachronic drift from a preverbal negative marker (often analysed as Head of NEGP in modern syntactic theory), via a “split” to postverbal negation (SPEC.NEGP or adjunct).

The driving process behind this series of changes is assumed to be, in Jespersen’s 1917 original analysis, phonological weakening of the original negative particle, which is consequently grammaticalised as a ad-verbal clitic. At some point, the particle is felt to be insufficient for expressing negation alone, thus being more and more frequently reinforced by a minimiser or (negative) indefinite. Furthermore, this reinforcement may become obligatory, which can again lead to a reinterpretation of the ‘reinforcing’ element as the actual carrier of negation. Once this has happened, the now ‘redundant’ original negative particle, already phonologically weakened, may be dropped entirely, leaving the former reinforcer as the sole negative particle. This is illustrated below with the sentence ‘I do not say’ in three historic stages of German, with the negative element(s) underlined (adapted from Jäger (2008, p. 15)):

- (70) Stage I: *nisagu*  
 Stage II: *ih ensage niht*  
 Stage III: *Ich sage nicht*

The source of this reinforcing element can be a “minimiser”, that is a noun signifying a minimal quantity, as in French ‘*pas*’ (←‘*passus*’, ‘step’), or a negative item of its own right, as was the case in the Germanic languages with *nicht* ← ‘*ni-wiht*’, ‘no thing’. Either way, the process of grammaticalisation can be

analysed in the following way within a theory of NegP: In Stage I, the negative particle is an instantiation of  $\text{NEG}^0$ . In the course towards Stage II, a lexical word grammaticalises as the specifier of NegP. Finally, in Stage III, the specifier becomes the sole expression of negation. Ultimately, this adverbial negator can be reanalysed as a Head of  $\text{NEG}^0$ , thus starting the cycle anew. Thus, the theory can be tightly tied to a synchronic typology of negation: Languages that, synchronically, employ adverbial or specifier-negation, can be specified as Stage III languages in historical terms (cf. Jäger (2008)).

The Minimalist Program has spawned a productive strand of research in historical linguistics. In particular, the notion of Economy has served to rationalise observed trajectories of change: Assuming, e.g., the following two economy principles of van Gelderen (2009, p. 99), the Cycle can be explained: (72) forces the reanalysis of a lexical item as a functional one, in the case at hand replacing movement from the lexical domain with base-generation as specifier of NegP, thus representing the switch to Stage II of Jespersen’s Cycle. On the other hand, (71) motivates the final step in the Cycle, reanalysis of the ‘new’ negator as a Head.

(71) **Head Preference Principle (HPP)**

Be a head, rather than a phrase

(72) **Late Merge Principle (LMP)**

Merge as late as possible

Theories of this type have been applied to the development of German negation, especially in Jäger (2008, 2009))<sup>24</sup>. Old High German (OHG) was a Jespersen’s Stage I language, and showed NC with high frequency, though not obligatorily: Like in Modern Italian, but unlike in modern Slavic languages, an n-indefinite in the scope of negation could be replaced by a non-negative Negative Polarity Item (NPI), cf. Jäger (2008, 326ff). The typical NC configuration in OHG was Neg–Doubling (in the sense of Haegeman (1995) as discussed in section 2.2) between the verbal prefix) ‘*ni*’ analysed as the overt head of  $\text{Neg}^0$

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<sup>24</sup>For a recent critique of Jäger’s analysis, see Willis (2011). Willis objects in particular to Jäger’s claim that individual lexical items have undergone ‘weakening’ from an NPI to a general indefinite, as well as from n-word to NPI, contrary to the general trend of ‘strengthening’ of change as expressed by Jespersen’s cycle and predicted by several modern theories. For this brief overview, we can gloss over this issue.

and an n-indefinite. Later ‘*ni(wi)ht*’ grammaticalised as a reinforcer in clauses not containing any indefinites in the scope of negation (analysed as SpecNegP by Jäger (2008), in accordance with much of the literature on the synchronic status of German ‘nicht’), and the Neg<sup>0</sup> particle gradually lost in the Middle High German (MHG) period, the configurations that would previously have given rise to NC became increasingly rare.

The loss of NC was not a necessary consequence of the loss of the preverbal negative particle, though. While all languages with pre-verbal (Head) negative particles show Negative Concord, and conversely all DN-languages, that is languages that only allow cancellation readings of sentences with multiple negative elements, have a XP-negator, the loss of the Neg<sup>0</sup>-particle is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for becoming a DN language. Bavarian, with (strict) NC and generally analysed as having an adverbial or SpecNegP particle (pace Weiß (1998)) is one counterexample. Further such languages as listed in Zeijlstra (2004) are Yiddish and Quebecois French, and historical stages of Dutch.

A further contributing factor emphasised in Jäger (2008, 2009) for the development of German negation is the loss of the original NPI series of indefinites. OHG had a full triple series of Positive Polarity indefinites, NPI indefinites and n-indefinites. In the scope of negation, either the n-indefinites (yielding NC) or the NPIs could be used. When the NPIs were lost, only the former option remained. As this change roughly coincided chronologically with the loss of the Neg<sup>0</sup>-particle, the result was a high frequency of sentences with n-indefinites as the sole markers of negation in the learners’ input, which still constitutes the unmarked pattern in non-NC dialects of German today whenever the intended interpretation requires an indefinite in the scope of negation. Thus, the following example from Kappus (2000, 14) represents sentential negation semantically, as indicated by the English gloss.

- (73) Niels hat keinen Film gesehen.  
 Niels has neg-a movie seen  
 ‘Niels didn’t see a movie.’

NC in modern dialects of German is, according to Jäger (2009) a more recent development. In particular, she argues that the reinterpretation of the NPI deter-



miner ‘*dehein*’ as a NI (or n-indefinite in her terms) led to large numbers of input sentences with apparent NC at a stage when German had already become overwhelmingly a DN-language. ‘*dehein*’/‘*kein*’ may have been ambiguous between an NPI and an NI proper for some period. The learner would tend to treat it as an n-word upon encountering sentences where it constitutes the sole marker of negation. At the same time, the input still contained large numbers of sentences where ‘*kein*’ co-occurs with other negative phrases, in particular with ‘*ni(wi)ht*’. Furthermore “[t]he learner, economising rules, would extend this pattern to other n-words, arriving at a Bavarian-type NC system” (Jäger, 2009, 126). In fact, it is claimed that NC is “particularly common with [...] *kein*” (Jäger, 2008, 180) even in modern dialects<sup>25</sup>.

This is observed in Bavarian as well. Although the language allows NC with other indefinites, it is most common with ‘*koa*’-headed DPs, and judgements are often clearer with these than with ‘*neamd*’, ‘nobody’ or ‘*nix*’, ‘nothing’. A detailed analysis of the subtle differences between the licensing conditions for different n-words within the language has yet to be conducted, to the best of my knowledge. This is beyond the scope of this thesis, though. A parallel research endeavour has proven fruitful in the analysis of NPIs, (Zwarts, 1996; van der Wouden, 1997; Hoeksema, 2000)

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<sup>25</sup>According to Poole (2011) who not uncontroversially analyses Old Spanish n-words as NPIs, a parallel disparity between ‘*ningún*’ and pronominal n-words (‘*nadie*’, ‘nobody’ and ‘*nada*’, ‘nothing’ in the Spanish case) was present in an intermediate stage during the development of the Modern Spanish pattern of negation, with *ningún* acquiring a negative feature a century or so earlier.

### 3 More on blocking contexts

#### 3.1 (Quantificational) adverbs

##### 3.1.1 ‘Often’

As we have briefly seen in section 1.3, as well as in some previous accounts of Bavarian NC (Weiß, 1999; Brugger and Poletto, 1993, as discussed in 2.4.2 and 2.4.3), NC was seen to be impossible with ‘*ofd*’, ‘often’ in the scope of negation. Relevant examples are repeated in (74). We have also seen that the effect disappears when ‘often’ is topicalised and thus no longer linearly intervenes between the negative expressions and the base position of the verb, repeated in (75) and discussed in more details in section 4.

- (74) a. \*dass koa Schauspiela nit oft auftrɛdn̩ is.  
           that no actor not often performed has  
           No actor often performed
- b. wei koa Linguist (\*ned) ofd̩ (\*ned̩) raalfɔad̩.  
           because no linguist NEG often NEG bicycle-rides  
           because no linguist often rides the bike.
- (75) OFD/ fɔad̩ \KOA Linguist ned̩ min Radl.  
       often rides no linguist NEG with-the bicycle  
       ‘No linguist rides the bicycle often.’

In order to make sense of these observations, let us first take a closer look at the behaviour of ‘*ofd*’ with respect to negation in contexts where no blocking effect is expected.

Independent of whether we analyse NIs as complex expressions consisting of a negative operator  $\neg$  and an existential  $\exists$ , or as semantically positive existentials licensing an abstract negative head, we expect a range of possible scope orderings, including ‘split scope’ when ‘often’ *precedes* the negative element(s) in the surface string. Not all of them seem to be possible, though. For an illustration, let’s assume Peter is a semi-professional musician entertaining guests at weddings and similar occasions. His repertoire includes at least some traditional songs, but may contain other genres as well. In this context all scope orderings of (76) should have a plausible interpretation, as illustrated below:

- (76) Ofđ singđ da Beda koa Voiksliad ned.  
 often sings the Peter koa traditional not  
 (Various interpretations, see text.)

Looking first at the NC-readings, the prominent one with neutral intonation seems to be the surface-true scope ordering in (77), where he often does not sing any traditional songs – he may see them as unfitting to the occasion at hand, or the organisers may have asked him not to.

- (77) Ofđ singđ da Beda koa Voiksliad ned.  
 often sings the Peter koa traditional not  
 ‘Often, Peter doesn’t sing traditional songs.’ =  $\text{OFTEN} > \neg > \exists$

A ‘split-scope’ reading obtains when it is not often the case that Peter sings a traditional song, that is when he rarely sings any traditionals. This reading is unexpected if scope inversion follows from reconstruction, but readily explicable for any theory where NEG can take scope independently of the surface NI. It is indeed an available interpretation, though requiring focal stress on the NI (The reading becomes more prominent with a plural QP ‘*koane Voiksliada*’)<sup>26</sup>:

- (78) Ofđ singđ da Beda KOA Voiksliad ned  
 often sings the Peter no traditional not  
 ‘Peter rarely sings traditionals.’ =  $\neg > \text{OFTEN} > \exists$

Finally, the ‘inverted’ reading with narrowest scope of ‘often’ in (79) requires a ‘hat-contour’ indicating focus on the NI and contrastive topic-hood of the adverb. This reading pictures a situation where Peter may be singing nearly exclusively folk songs at every occasion, but with little repetition since he has a vast repertoire. This type of readings will be discussed in more detail in 4.2.

- (79) OFD/ singđ da Beda \KOA Voiksliad ned  
 often sings the Peter no traditional not  
 ‘Peter doesn’t sing any traditional often.’ =  $\neg > \exists > \text{OFTEN}$

Further readings arising when narrow focus enforces DN-readings are discussed in section 3.3.1.

<sup>26</sup>Although judgements are very subtle, this reading seems to be less readily available without NC, that is when leaving out the ‘*ned*’. Possibly, the non-NC structure makes the ‘*kein*’-phrase ambiguous between narrow constituent negation and a reflex of sentential negation.

### 3.1.2 Two positions for ‘often’?

At first sight, ‘often’ seems to be able to occupy two different positions relative to sentential negation (80), or n-words(81).

- (80) a. *dass da Beda ofð ned kema is.*  
           that the Peter often NEG come AUX  
           ‘...that Peter often didn’t come.’  
       b. *dass da Beda ned ofð kema is.*  
           that the Peter NEG often come AUX  
           ‘...that Peter didn’t often come.’
- (81) a. *dass ofð neamd (ned) kema is.*  
           that often n-body NEG come AUX  
           ‘...that often nobody came.’  
       b. *dass neamd (\*ned) ofð (\*ned) kema is.*  
           that n-body NEG often NEG come AUX  
           ‘...that nobody came often.’

As seen in the discussion of Brugger and Poletto (1993) in 2.4, there are reasons to suspect that only the (a)–sentences are genuine examples of sentential negation in structural terms, while the (b)–sentences are constituent negation of the adverb (even though it is the (b)–sentences that negate the corresponding simple sentences in semantic terms). One argument is the ungrammaticality of (81b) with NC as seen above. A counterargument could be that it is at least marginally possible to have two instances of ‘*ofð*’ in one and the same sentence: Imagine a group of people, some linguists, some mathematicians and some astronomers, who regularly play darts together. Here, (82) can be used to convey that on many evenings, the linguists don’t score much.

- (82) *dass ofð koa Linguist ofð ins Schwoaze drifð.*  
       that often no linguist often into-the black hits.  
       ‘...that often, no linguist hits the bulls eye often.’

Intuitively, the two instances of ‘*ofð*’ quantify over different domains: the lower one over individual shots, the higher one over evenings. Indeed, even with one instance of ‘*ofð*’, only when following the n–word can the adverb quantify

over individual shot–events. Thus, (83a) is awkward. It can either be interpreted as stating that often, a non-linguist scored (if the linguists are known to be the best players), or, alternatively, it can quantify over sub–events of the darting evening that are still larger than individual shots, i.e. rounds or matches; neither is a particularly salient construal out of context, which explains the awkwardness. Only in (83b), ‘*ofd*’ quantifies over shots. In (83c–d), with a referential subject, both orders are compatible with a narrow domain for quantification. In (83c), Peter often missed the target, while in (83d) he rarely hit.

- (83) a. ?dass am letztzn Freidog oft koa Linguist ins Schwoaze droffm hod.  
           that on last Friday often no linguist in.D black hit AUX
- b. dass am letztzn Freidog koa Linguist ofd ins Schwoaze droffm hod.  
           that on last Friday no linguist often in-the black hit AUX
- c. dass da Beda am letztzn Freidog ofd ned droffm hod.  
           that the Peter on last Friday often NEG hit AUX
- d. dass da Beda am letztzn Freidog ned ofd droffm hod.  
           that the Peter on last friday NEG often hit AUX

A more serious problem is posed by the topicalisation data presented here. If the scope ordering  $\neg > \text{OFTEN}$  can only be achieved by constituent negation of ‘often’, in a position too high for NC to apply, sub–extraction of the adverb from this constituent would still strand the negation in the IP domain and thus NC should remain impossible. We have seen before that this is not the case, and similar examples can be construed with two occurrences of ‘often’: In (84), the ‘lower’ often is topicalised, and NC is possible, with the interpretation of (82). That the topicalised adverb, and not the second occurrence in the *Mittelfeld*, is interpreted with narrow scope can be shown by replacing one of the two instances with ‘sometimes’. Observe that (86) is straight-out ungrammatical, which is expected from the fact that ‘nicht manchmal’ is not a possible string (as noted by Brugger and Poletto (1993) among others, ‘manchmal’ appears to have some positive polarity properties) if the TOPIC–adverb obligatorily reconstructs low.

- (84) OFD/ hod ofd \KOA Linguist ned ins Schwoarze droffm.  
       often AUX often no linguist NEG in-the black hit

- (85) OFT/ hod monchmoi \KOA Linguist ned droffm.  
 often AUX sometimes no linguist NEG hit  
 ‘Sometimes, no linguist hit often.’

- (86) \* MONCHMOI hod ofd \KOA Linguist ned droffm.  
 sometimes AUX often no linguist NEG hit

### 3.1.3 ‘most(ly)’

The semantics of ‘most’ and ‘mostly’, standardly analysed as ‘more than half’, make it difficult to discern potential scope inversion in the simple case where it co-occurs with sentential negation, but no other operators:  $\neg > \text{MOST}$  and  $\text{MOST} > \neg$  imply each other<sup>27</sup>

- (87)  $\neg \text{most}(x):P(x) \longleftrightarrow \text{most}(x):\neg P(x)$

Scope order does make a difference when n-words (or modal verbs) come into play. Thus, (88) and (89) have clearly different truth conditions, neither implying the other. Concretely, (88) is true in a situation where John comes in by bike on Mondays, Ann on Tuesdays, Mary on Wednesdays, and so on, that is when every day, *somebody* takes the bike to work (a situation in which (89) is clearly false) — it states that for none of the relevant people, the bike is the dominant means of transportation. In contrast, (89) can be judged true even when Alex, who only works on Mondays and Tuesdays, consistently uses the bicycle, but no-one else ever does — thus, on Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays nobody rides in (inconsistent with (88)).

- (88) dass koana die mehra Zeid min Radl kimmd.  
 that no  $\emptyset$  the most time with-the bike comes  
 that no-one comes by bike most of the time.

- (89) dass die mehra Zeid koana (ned) min Radl kimmd.  
 that the most time no  $\emptyset$  NEG with-the bike comes  
 that most of the time no-one comes by bike.

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<sup>27</sup>Except arguably in the special case when *exactly* half of the  $Ps \rightarrow Q$ , in which case  $\neg > \text{MOST}$  may be true, but  $\text{MOST} > \neg$  false.

Scope inversion effects can be observed here as well. While these examples proved difficult to test, it seems nonetheless clear that topicalisation of ‘most of the time’ can yield an interpretation like in (88):

- (90) [Die MEHRA Zeid/] <sub>T</sub> foad \[KOANA] <sub>F</sub> ned min Radl her.  
the most time rides no  $\emptyset$  NEG with-the bicycle here.  
‘No-one mostly rides in by bike.’

### 3.1.4 ‘long’

Unlike ‘often’ or ‘mostly’, which quantify over a cardinality of events, ‘long’ modifies a unique situation. As a consequence, many sentences with ‘long’ and negation are unambiguous (or straight ungrammatical if the only possible interpretation is blocked by other factors). This is explained in the following way: ‘Long’ can only modify situations that extend over a period of time, i.e. in the simple case of positive sentences stative predicates. In a negated sentence with an eventive predicate, the only possible scope is  $\text{LONG} > \neg$ : Only the period for which nobody came, or nobody hit the bull’s eye, is an appropriate domain for quantification by ‘long’, while the event of coming or hitting marks a point in time.

- (91) a. Long hod koa Linguist (ned) droffm.  
long has no linguist NEG hit  
b. dass long koa Linguist (ned) droffm hod.  
that long no linguist NEG hit has.  
‘For a long time, no linguist hit.’  
c. \*dass koa Linguist (ned) long droffm hod.  
that no linguist NEG long hit has

The picture is reversed with stative predicates in the present tense as shown in examples (92) – (93), while stative predicates in the past tense allow for both scope orderings, as the ambiguous (95) shows (the second reading of (95), as well as (97), correspond to a situation where Peter has recently improved his programme, previously quite unbearable.

- (92) Long hoidd in Beda sei Musi neamd (ned) aus.  
long endures the Peter his music n-body NEG PRT

- ‘Nobody can endure Peters music show for long.’
- (93) ... dass in Beda sei Musi neamd (\*ned) long aushoidd.  
 that the Peter his music n-body NEG long endures.  
 ‘... that nobody can endure Peters music show for long.’
- (94) ... \*dass in Beda sei Musi long neamd (ned) aushoidd.  
 that the Peter his music long n-body NEG endures
- (95) Long hod in Beda sei Musi neamd ned ausghoiddn.  
 long AUX the Peter his music n-body NEG endured  
 ‘Nobody endured Peter’s music show for long.’ **or**  
 ‘For a long time, nobody would endure Peter’s music show.’
- (96) ... dass in Beda sei Musi neamd (\*ned) long ausghoiddn hod.  
 that the Peter his music n-body NEG long endured AUX.  
 ‘... that nobody could endure Peters music show for long.’
- (97) ... dass in Beda sei Musi long neamd (ned) ausghoiddn hod.  
 that the Peter his music long n-body NEG endured AUX  
 ‘... that for a long time nobody could endure Peter’s music show.’

These examples are quite informative. While (92) is most naturally pronounced with some degree of stress on ‘*long*’, it does not require the rising stress typical of the ‘hat contour’ that seems to be a prerequisite for inverted readings elsewhere. This strengthens the notion that in cases where SI-readings are only obtained under special intonation, this is due to pragmatic factors like preference for a representation for which an appropriate context is more easily construed (in line with the reasoning in Büring (1997)). Thus, where surface scope appears to be the only available interpretation, it simply overrides any alternative interpretations which are nonetheless possible on purely formal grounds; where formal properties already exclude the surface-true reading, no special mechanism is required.

Examples like (93) illustrate that the impossibility of NC with negation scoping over adverbs is not a peculiarity of ‘*ofd*’, and makes it thus harder to reduce the phenomenon to syntactic positions. Likewise, the contrast between present and past tense predicates suggests a semantic interpretation for relative scope of adverbs and negation.



### 3.1.5 A cartographic explanation?

In the cartographic tradition of syntactic research, represented by Cinque (1999) (earlier published as a working paper Cinque (1997)) and, most explicitly for negation Poletto (2008a,b), the clausal architecture includes a number of projections for adverbs and aspectual markers, aligned in a strict order relative to each other and to the standard positions for verbs, arguments, and negation. This “universal hierarchy of clausal functional projections” is given in (98) below, in the version of Cinque (1997, p.178), with projections relevant for the present discussion highlighted in boldface.

- (98) [*frankly* Mood<sub>speechact</sub> [*fortunately* Mood<sub>evaluative</sub> [*allegedly* Mood<sub>evidential</sub> [*probably* Mood<sub>epistemic</sub> [*once* T(Past) [*then* T(Future) [*perhaps* Mood<sub>irrealis</sub> [*necessarily* Mod<sub>necessity</sub> [*possibly* Mod<sub>possibility</sub> [*willingly* Mod<sub>volitional</sub> [*inevitably* Mod<sub>obligation</sub> [*cleverly* Mod<sub>ability/permission</sub> [***usually*** Asp<sub>habitual</sub> [*again* Asp<sub>repetitive(I)</sub> [***often*** Asp<sub>frequentative(I)</sub> [*quickly* Asp<sub>celerative(I)</sub> [*already* T<sub>(Anterior)</sub> [*no longer* Asp<sub>terminative</sub> [*still* Asp<sub>continutative</sub> [*always* Asp<sub>perfect(?)</sub> [*just* Asp<sub>retrospective</sub> [*soon* Asp<sub>proximative</sub> [***briefly*** Asp<sub>durative</sub> [*characteristically (?)* Asp<sub>generic/progressive</sub> [*almost* Asp<sub>prospective</sub> [*completely* Asp<sub>SgCompletive(I)</sub> [*tutto* Asp<sub>PlCompletive</sub> [*well* Voice [*fast/early* Asp<sub>celerative(II)</sub> [*completely* Asp<sub>SgCompletive(II)</sub> [*again* Asp<sub>repetitive(II)</sub> [***often*** Asp<sub>frequentative(II)</sub>]

Applying some of the theories of NC we gave seen in section 2 within a cartographic framework of adverbial syntax leads to a relatively straightforward explanation for the blocking effects observed in Bavarian, and some empirical predictions: We will assume, with Brugger and Poletto (1993) that *frequentative(II)*, the lower position for ‘often’ postulated by Cinque (1999) does not in fact exist, or at the very least is not instantiated in Bavarian. Given that cross-linguistically much of the evidence for a second, lower position for ‘often’ comes from the possibility of strings of the form ‘NEG often’, within this framework, re-analysing these as constituent negation of the adverb not in fact involving a clausal negation at all allows us to dispense with *frequentative(II)*.

If this is correct, the constituent formed by ‘not + often’ is expected be merged into in the canonical position for its semantic class. There is ample space in the tree to the right of *frequentative(I)*, allowing us to posit that ‘ned’ and/or the

covert negative operator licensing it are simply too far down in the tree: ‘not often’, even if it has the right semantic properties (i.e., if the feature [NEG] can percolate), can intrinsically never license n-words.

A surface order ‘n-word OFTEN’ is only derivable through movement of the n-word *after* negative absorption has taken place (after the n-words’s [uNEG] feature has been discharged (Zeijlstra, 2004), or after the existential variable introduced by the n-word *qua* indefinite has been bound under existential closure (Ladusaw, 1992), for example). The negative component is therefore unavailable to enter into concord (whatever its technical implementation) with ‘not often’ which is thus forced to contribute a negation of its own to the semantics, hence the obligatory DN-reading as the only available interpretation. The marginality of the construction under *any* reading that has been reported in some of the literature can probably be reduced to the (pragmatic) markedness of multiple negations in general.<sup>28</sup>

This analysis only derives the blocking effects observed if we also assume an invariant position for clausal negation somewhere to the right of the projections hosting the relevant adverbs for which we already know that blocking does occur. Adverbs to the right of *Asp<sub>Durative</sub>*, where ‘long’ is generated, may or may not block NC, and the behaviour of different classes of those adverbs can be used as a diagnostic for the precise position of negation in Bavarian. Adverbs further left are predicted to induce the effect without exception, as any string consisting of NEG+ADN will invariably have to be analysed as constituent negation. Turning to the first case, examples like (99), illustrating VOICE, and (100), illustrating *ASP<sub>SgCompletive(I)</sub>*, are indeed unproblematic.

- (99) ... dass neamd ned guad droffm hod.  
           that n-body NEG well hit       AUX.  
           ‘...that nobody hit well.’

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<sup>28</sup>Givón (1978, p. 109) states that “negatives are consistently more marked in terms of discourse pragmatic presuppositions, as compared to affirmatives” and preferentially uttered in contexts where the speaker may assume the hearer’s familiarity with the corresponding affirmative. For DN readings, this would imply familiarity with the – already ‘marked’, in Givon’s terms – singly negative proposition, hence it’s awkwardness and even unavailability in out-of-the-blue contexts for many speakers.

- (100) ... dass's neamd ned gonz darodn hod.  
that-it n-body NEG completely guessed AUX  
'... that nobody quite guessed it.'

Turning to the second case, adverbs to the left of our familiar interveners, if NC is compatible with any of the adverbs to the left of  $ASP_{habitual}$  and  $ASP_{Frequentative}$ , a different explanation has to be sought. Similarly, if it is possible with any of the adverbs below  $ASP_{frequentative(I)}$  (the only perceivable sites for 'oft' if we exclude  $ASP_{frequentative(II)}$ ), but above  $ASP_{durative}$ , such an analysis might cover the case of 'oft' while an independent mechanism will still be required to explain the effects with 'long'. If such a semantic can cover the case of 'oft', too, the topological account becomes superfluous. While many speakers find the examples in (101) – (103) marginal, they are still significantly better than sentences with 'often' or 'long' encountered before. Note that the *proximative* (in (101)) and the *retrospective* (in (103)) aspect phrase are both to the *left* of  $ASP_{durative}$ . If 'quickly' in (102) is analysed as an instance of *celerative(I)*, it would be fairly high up, right below 'often' (it could be argued to occupy the lower *celerative(II)* position, though).

- (101) ... dass neamd ned boid kimmd.  
that n-body NEG soon comes  
'... that nobody comes soon.'

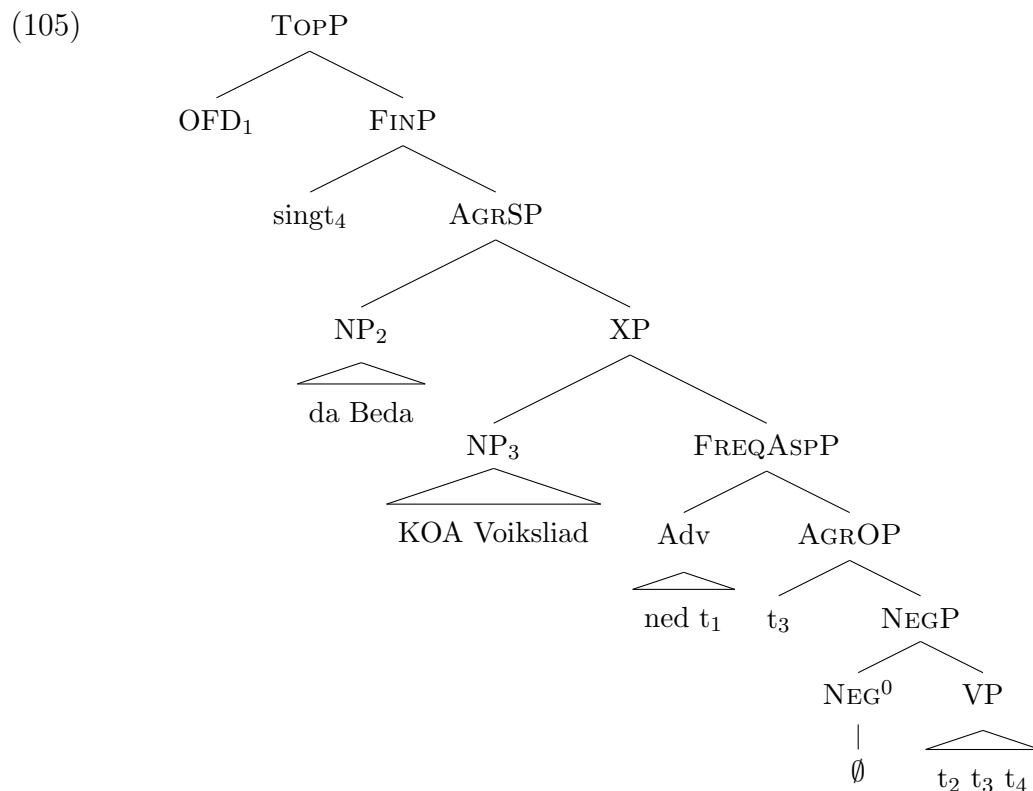
- (102) ... dass neamd ned schnö kimmd.  
that n-body NEG quickly comes  
'... that nobody comes quickly.'

- (103) ...dass neamd ned grod am Gëẽ is.  
...that n-body NEG just at going is  
'... that nobody is just leaving.'

To the extent that any of these are grammatical, being 'too high in the tree' can not be the reason for the ungrammaticality of NC with 'often'.

A cartographic explanation faces similar problems accounting for the topicalisation data discussed in more details in section 4. Even if we allow an adverb like ‘often’ to move out of this constituent, it will still be in that position, thus to the *left* of true sentential negation and, apparently, NIs. Thus, the only possible structure for a sentence like (79), repeated here as (104), would be as given in (105). Here, the constituent [KOA Voiksliad] (‘no traditional’) must be assumed to have moved out to a high *Mittelfeld*-position after checking its negative features against the covert head of  $\text{Neg}^0$ . Constituent negation of ‘often’, to high to be checked against  $\text{Neg}^0$ , should be unable to participate in NC. The sentence is thus predicted to be ungrammatical, contrary to fact.

- (104) OFD/ singd da Beda \KOA Voiksliad ned  
 often sings the Peter no traditional not  
 Peter doesn’t sing any traditional often. =  $\neg > \exists > \text{OFTEN}$



### 3.1.6 Criticisms of Cartography

In contrast to cartographic approach above, a number of theories have been proposed that attempt to reduce the adverb placement facts to semantic principles, notably Nilsen (2004); Ernst (2002, 2007); Biskup (2009). A common feature of such proposals is that they attribute the observed positions of different semantic classes of adverbials from their respective scope requirements, which should ultimately be determinable from the semantics, although the processes to bring this about often remain sketchy. For example, the observation that speaker oriented adverbs precede negation (as illustrated in (106), Ernst (2007)’s (67)) is interpreted as a consequence of a more general Positive Polarity property (PPI) which can be demonstrated by their unavailability in other NPI contexts such as questions ((107, Ernst (2007)’s (68)) or conditionals ((108), Ernst (2007)’s (69)):

- (106) a. They unfortunately have not withdrawn their funds.  
b. \* They have not unfortunately withdrawn their funds.
- (107) a. They unfortunately/possibly withdrew their funds.  
b. \* Did they unfortunately/possibly withdraw their funds?
- (108) a. Luckily, they arrived on time.  
b. \* If they luckily arrived on time, we will be saved.

If cartography falls short of explaining the restrictions against (107.b) – (108.b) and has to invoke semantic principles to rule those sentences out, this would make the elaborate syntactic hierarchy of functional heads look less favourable. The argument is that if semantic principles either theory will have to invoke demonstrably suffice to account for a large body of ordering data, the syntactic component will be rendered largely redundant, and searching for semantic (or pragmatic) explanations for those restrictions that remain unexplained starts to look like a more promising venue for future research.

With respect to the present work, this line of reasoning means the following: If we find that similar blocking effects to the ones observed with ‘often’ and some other adverbs can be found with different classes of interveners, we should seek a unified account of the intervention effects based on shared properties of different

classes of interveners. Based on the set of adverbs that could be shown to be robust interveners in this section, and in line with Beck (1996a,b) and blocking of in situ Wh interpretation, a promising candidate for the source of the intervention effect is the quantificational nature of the items involved. The following section will thus briefly look at putative intervention effects in constructions with nominal quantifiers.

### 3.2 Nominal quantifiers

Already in the previous literature on Bavarian NC, it has been observed that positive indefinites must not interfere between an NI and NEG. For Weiß (1999), this observation in fact constitutes part of the motivation for his theory of NC: Recall that he claims NC is forced by two competing requirements of NIs, that they be, as weak indefinites stay within the VP to receive existential closure, while they are at the same time impermeable for the scope of negation, which would seem to force them to vacate the VP in order for  $\neg$  to scope over the predicate. The only way to reconcile those two requirements, according to Weiß (1999), is for the NIs to adjoin to NegP and form a complex operator through factorisation with NEG. In a series on NIs every one must be adjoined to NEG to undergo absorption, i.e. including the leftmost of several indefinites where applicable. A positive weak indefinite lacking the required [NEG] feature must be interpreted as outside the VP (and NegP), and invariably receives a generic or specific interpretation if to the left of NEG. Any NI to the left of such a positive indefinite would equally have to be interpreted generically, whatever that means in the case of negative indefinites.

Bayer (1990) also claims a general requirement for adjacency between NIs and NEG (at the relevant level, i.e. before XP-movement to Spec.CP in V2 clauses), a requirement which Brugger and Poletto (1993) show to be too strong in example (61), repeated here as (109). Note, though, that such sentences are only possible with *definite* interveners.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Inclusion of a reflexive serves to demonstrate binding to show that the object DP does indeed follow *neamd* at D-structure rather than only after -movement.

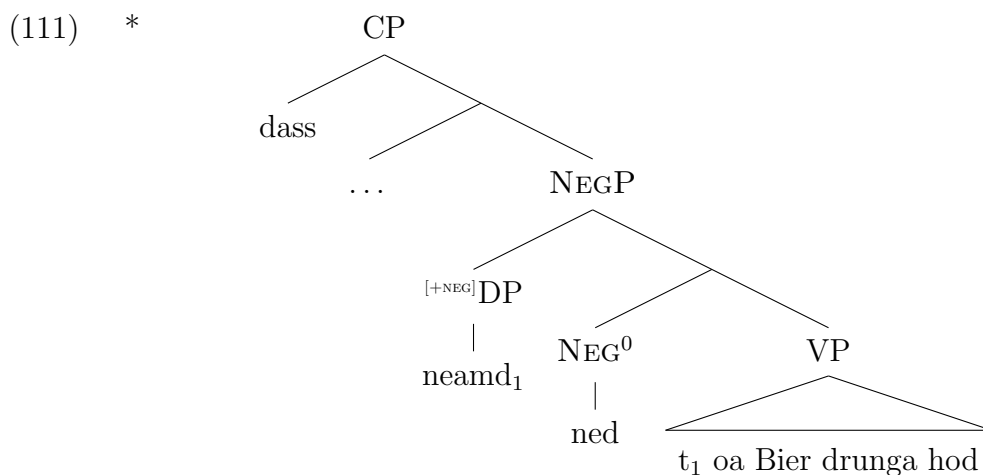
- (109) a. *dass neamd sei Frau nit mitgnumma hot.*  
 that nobody his wife not taken-along has  
 ‘...that nobody took his wife along.’  
 b. *dass neamd sei Madl nit busslt hot.*  
 that nobody his girlfriend not kissed has  
 ‘...that nobody kissed his girlfriend’

### 3.2.1 Absence of blocking with numerals?

Some data point to an apparent counterexample to the claim that scope-bearing elements can not appear ‘lower’ in the tree than NC. While informant judgements differ widely on the acceptability of (110a) and following below, some speakers consistently accept such structures:

- (110) a. *wei neamd ned OA Jackn woin hod*  
 because n-body not one jacket wanted AUX  
 ‘...because nobody wanted a jacket.’  
 b. *Heid hod neamd ned OA Bier drunga*  
 today has n-body not one beer drunk  
 ‘Nobody drank (a) beer today.’

This seems to be a counterexample to the ban on other quantifiers below the site of NC, if straightforwardly analysed as in (111), that is with the quantifier appearing, and scoping, within the VP, and NC between ‘*neamd*’ and ‘*ned*’ applying in its ‘usual’ position.



Note, though, that the only interpretation available is one where the numeral gets a scalar reading, thus the sentences in (110a) above are incompatible with a situation where Sue and Peter both had three beers / both wanted three jackets, while Ann did not drink / buy any, as can also be seen from the examples in (112) where context implies a precise interpretation of the numeral, leading to ungrammaticality<sup>30</sup>.

- (112) a. % Wei neamd ned OA Jackn woin hod san-s uns alle  
because n-body NEG one jacket wanted AUX AUX-they us all  
überbliem.  
remained.  
‘Because nobody wanted (even) one jacket, they were all left over.’
- b. \*wei neamd ned OA Jackn woin hod san-s uns  
because n-body NEG one jacket wanted AUX AUX-they us  
schnö ausgonga.  
quickly out-went  
‘Because nobody wanted one (and only one) jacket, they were quickly sold out.’

Thus we might reach the preliminary conclusion in (113) below:

- (113) Restriction on numerals within below a site of NC (preliminary version):  
 $\neg > \exists > \text{NUM}_{\text{scalar}} / * \text{NUM}_{\text{exact}}$

There are reasons to reject this analysis, though. Firstly, no numerals other than ONE can appear in this kind of construction, which is already in itself suspicious — see (114), impossible with an NC reading<sup>31</sup>.

- (114) \*Heid hod neamd ned drei / DREI Bier drunga  
today has n-body not three beer drunk  
Nobody drank three beers tonight.

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<sup>30</sup>Note that this sentence, while still requiring special intonation, is perfectly grammatical without NC, as below

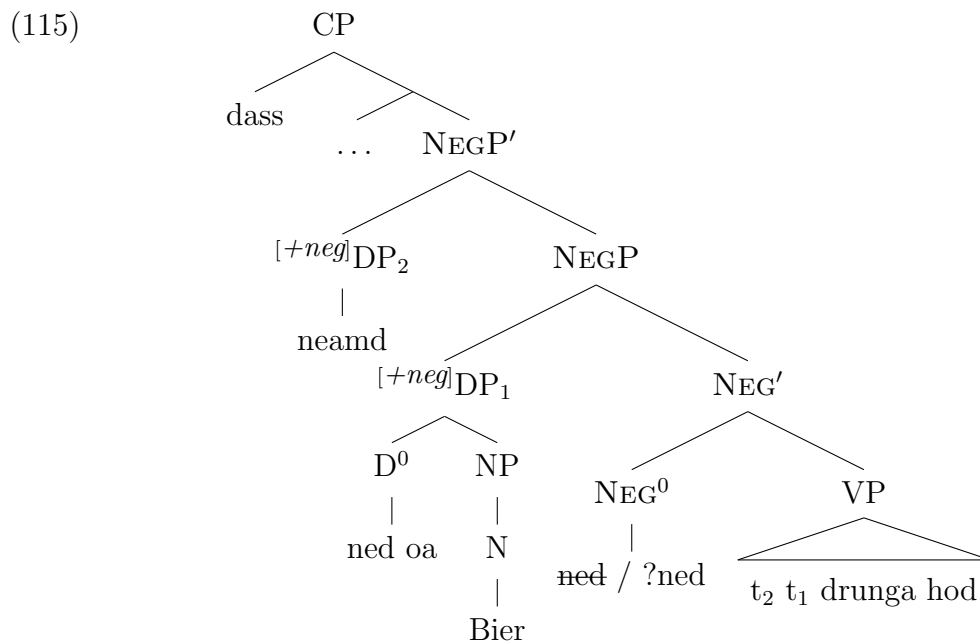
- i Wei neamd OA Jackn woin hod san-s uns schnö ausgonga.  
because n-body one jacket wanted AUX AUX-they us quickly out-went  
‘Because nobody wanted (just) one jacket, they were quickly sold out.’

<sup>31</sup>As explicated in section 3.3.1, this sentence is indeed possible, though with an irrelevant *cancellation* reading whereby ‘nobody did not drink three beers’, that is ‘everybody drank (at least) three beers’, where the scalar reading is contributed by the numeral’s scalar character

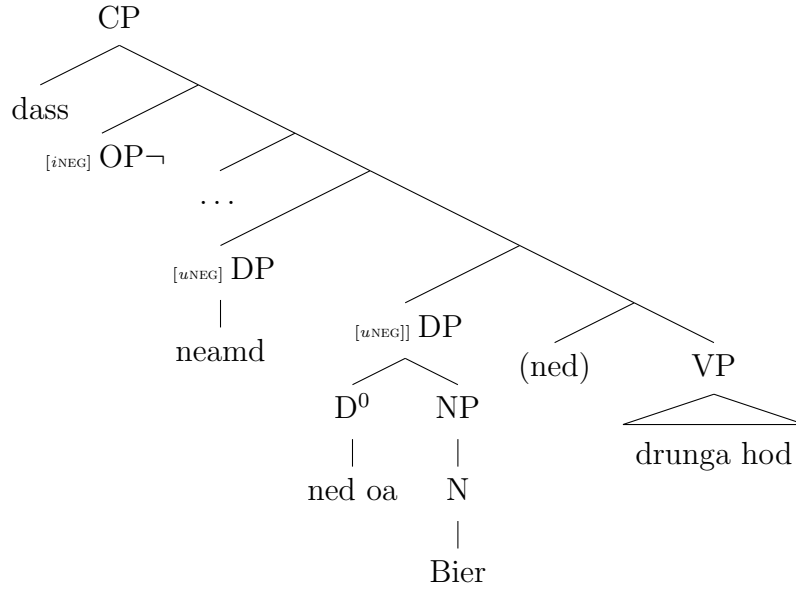


Secondly, even with ONE it is quite limited and felt felicitous only in specific intonation patterns, with acceptability varying across speakers. Minimally, some sort of contrastive accent on ‘one’ is obligatory in these examples. The requirement for strong (Focus) intonation on the numeral, combined with the restriction in (113), seems unexpected if it truly does function as a numeral. Marked intonation patterns generally make the *precise* interpretation more readily available, if anything.

Thirdly, as mentioned before, there is vast interspeaker variation as to the acceptability of these examples to start with. In particular, some speakers from the Traunviertel region of Upper Austria whose judgements were otherwise confirming those of my Innviertel informants rejected them throughout. I will thus treat the sequence ‘*ned OA*’ as a functional unit, a complex quantifier possibly expressing extra emphasis but otherwise equivalent to ‘*koa*’, that has at some point in the past lexicalised in certain dialects but not others. Thus I will represent this and similar strings as representative of one more class of NIs as illustrated in (115), using the representation of NC employed by (Weiß, 1998, 1999) with PF-deletion of ‘*ned*’, or (116), analysed according to the Agreement theory of NC.



(116)



This analysis is further confirmed by the observation that among speakers that accept (110a), several reported that they also accept (in one case explicitly preferred) (117) below, again with the same NC reading - unexpected if ‘*ned*’ here is a genuine instance of clausal negation. For those speakers who reject (117), I will assume that it fails for reasons of focus: The complex negative determine ‘*ned oa*’, being used as an emphatic substitute of ‘*koa*’, is for pragmatic reasons preferentially constructed as focussed by the hearer with our without explicit prosodic marking. This may lead to failure of application of NC (cf. also section 3.3.1).

- (117) \* weil neamd ned OA Jack’n ned wolln hod san-s uns oi  
 because n-body NED OA jacket NEG wanted AUX, AUX-they us all  
 überbliem  
 remained.  
 ‘Because nobody wanted a jacket they were all left over.’

As with adverbial constructions, Topicalisation appears to make available constructions with *one* as a true numeral, being able to receive a precise interpretation, whose corresponding base is ungrammatical with NC as shown in (112) and (114). These are illustrated in (118–119) below, with continuations enforcing a precise reading.

- (118) OA Jackn sogd da Hans dass NEAMD ned woin hod, die meistn  
 one jacket says the John that n-body NEG wanted has the most  
 hättn glei drei gnumma.  
 had PRT three taken  
 John says that nobody wanted one (and only one) jacket, most would  
 take three.
- (119) DREI Bier hod heid NEAMD ned drunga, da Jakob hod fnfe ghobd  
 three beer has today n-body NEG drunk the Jakob has five had  
 und die oa nedda oans oda zwoa.  
 the others only one or two  
 ‘Nobody had (exactly) three beers today, Jakob drank five and the others  
 only one or two each.’

In conclusion, despite initial appearance numeral expressions do not pose a counterexample to our putative generalisation that all weak quantifiers are potential interveners in Bavarian NC.

### 3.3 Focus and Narrow Scope of Negation

#### 3.3.1 Contrastive (focus) stress and cancellation readings

Stressing a non-final element in a sequence of n-words, or in particular stressing the NEG-particle, induces obligatory cancellation readings. In section 3.3.3 we will use this fact in a test case for different theories of NC in Bavarian. Here, I will briefly present the relevant data. While (120) receives most naturally an NC-reading, (121) can only be interpreted with a DN-reading.<sup>32</sup>

- (120) Heid is neamd ned kema.  
 today AUX n-body NEG come  
 ‘Nobody came today.’ (Marginally also: ‘Nobody did not come today.’)
- (121) Heid is neamd NED kema.  
 today AUX n-body NEG come  
 Only: ‘Nobody did NOT come today.’ (= everybody came)

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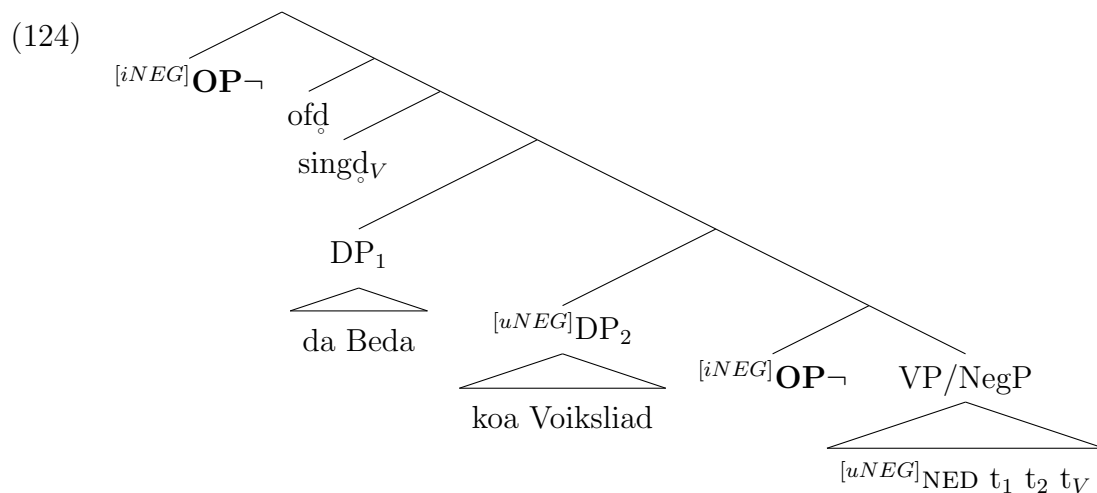
<sup>32</sup>For earlier treatments of DN-readings in NC languages, see Espinal and Prieto (2011) for Catalan, Falaus (2007, 2008) for Romanian, Puskás (2012), for Hungarian and Khanjian (2012b,a) for Western Armenian. The contexts which force DN-readings discussed there show interesting parallels with the Bavarian data to follow.

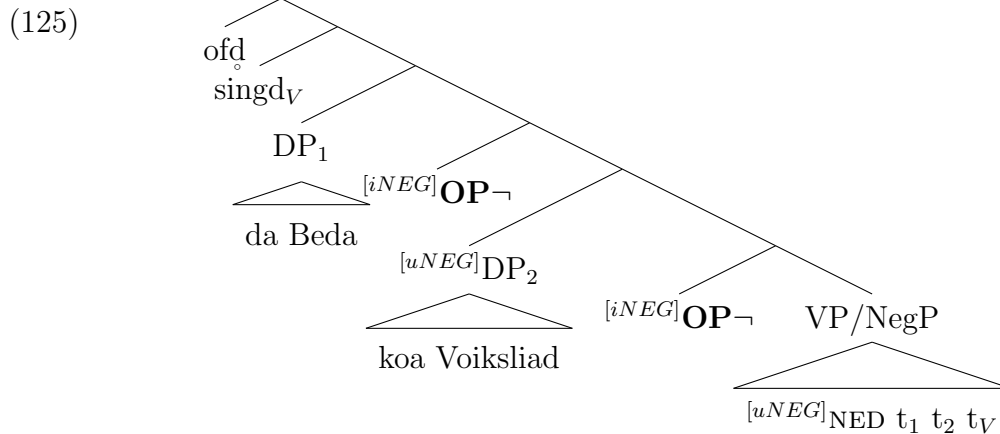
Returning to our musician Peter from section 3.1.1, stressed, or focussed, NEG enforces a DN-reading here too, interacting with the scope of OFTEN. In (76), repeated here as (122), we saw a single semantic negation that could scope above or below OFTEN, and independently from the n-word's indefinite component. This is repeated in (123) *modulo* the effect of focus introducing a second semantic negation, where the split scope reading paraphrased in (123a) is indeed the most natural one. The surface true scope in (123b) is also possible. (124–125) illustrate these two readings under the analysis of Zeijlstra (2004).

- (122) Of<sub>o</sub>d singd da Beda koa Voiksliad ned.  
 often sings the Peter no traditional not  
 (NC-reading, various scope between NEG and OFTEN)

- (123) Of<sub>o</sub>d singd da Beda koa Voiksliad NED.  
 often sings the Peter no traditional [not]<sub>F</sub>

- a. ‘Peter doesn’t often fail to sing any of the traditionals in his repertoire.’ =  $\neg > \text{OFTEN} > \exists > \neg$   
 b. ‘Often, there is no traditional Peter doesn’t sing.’ =  $\text{OFTEN} > \neg > \exists > \neg$





### 3.3.2 Excursus: Stressed NEG in non-NC contexts

Similar effects can be observed in contexts other than NC. Thus, the phenomenon of ‘parasitic’, ‘anaphoric’ or ‘light’ (Penka, 2011, p. 214) negation, where an embedded predicate is (optionally) negated in downward entailing contexts, also requires the weak variant. Phrasal accent on NEG is impossible both in Bavarian (126 and in Penka’s (2011) Standard German example (127).

- (126) Mir kinan nix      mochn bis    dass da    Hons ned/\*NED kimmd.  
 we    can    nothing do      until that the Hans NEG            comes  
 ‘We can not do anything before H. arrives.’

- (127) Wir werden nicht ruhen bevor nicht/\*NICHT ein Verdä chtiger  
 We will      not    rest    before NEG                            a    suspect  
 festgenommen wurde  
 arrested            was  
 ‘We won’t rest until a suspect has been arrested.’

Unlike Standard German, Bavarian distinguishes strong and weak variants of the negative particle not only through increased stress, but categorically through vowel length and quality. Thus, what I am glossing as ‘NED’ has a full, long vowel [e:], while the /e/ in unstressed ‘ned’ has a short  $\varepsilon$  or  $\text{ə}$  in its place. This makes it easy which contexts enforce or inhibit the use of the full variant independent

of NC and / primary sentential accent.

Though I did not test a wide range of constructions, and judgements are rather subtle, preliminary results suggest that the phonologically strong variant is obligatory when negating a presupposition or implicature that arose in the previous discourse. Crucially, though, it is not required to refute an overt antecedent proposition. For example, organizing a weekend trip to a lake and discussing at what time to meet after finishing work at 5 o'clock, (128), with refutation of an overt proposition, is fine with the reduced form. On the other hand, (129) requires the full form.<sup>33</sup>

(128) *Context A: 'Let's meet at six, we're all in Vienna anyway'.*

I oawad ned in Wea.

I work not in Vienna.

'I am not working in Vienna.'

(129) *Context B: 'Let's meet at six, that gives us all one hour.'*

B:

I oawad NED in Wea.

I work not in Vienna.

'I am not working in Vienna.'

Similarly, in an argument with somebody who claims that the entire electorate of Austria's far-right "Freedom Party" consists of entrenched fascists irretrievably lost to any form of democratic political discussion, I might use (130) to defend my position that this may well hold for most the party hierarchy, but not for the voters, and that to alienate them from the party should be one of the major goals of left wing political action in the country today.

(130) Da dübbische Wähler is ned faschisdisch owa wemma nix dan  
the typical voter is not fascist but if-we nothing do  
wird a's mid da Zeid.  
becomes he-it with the time

---

<sup>33</sup>Usage of the long form does not necessarily imply that NED carries the primary sentential stress. E.g., (129) is most naturally uttered with primary stress on 'I' and a pronounced secondary stress on 'ned'.

‘The prototypical voter is not a fascist, but he will turn so with time if we don’t do anything about it.’

Conversely, when arguing with someone who interprets my position of the FPÖ as claiming that fully a quarter of Austria’s adult population are terminal fascists, I might use (131) to clarify my position, thus refuting an implicit assumption he or she made about my beliefs, rather than an overt antecedent statement - and the long form becomes obligatory to express the intended cancellation of presuppositions. Unstressed ‘*ned*’ is in fact possible in similar contexts, but it does not convey the flavour of refuting my interlocutor’s assumption about my beliefs.

- (131) Da dübbische Wähler is NED/?*ned* faschisdisch owa die Bardei is es.  
the typical voter is not fascist but the party is it  
‘The prototypical voter is not a fascist, but the party itself is.’

While this picture is very sketchy and the data fragile, it seems clear that the notion that ‘*ned*’ has to be surface in its full form whenever it singularly introduces negation is unconfirmed by the data, which is clearest in (128). A pragmatic explanation seems feasible, and would be in line with severely restricted occurrence and marked status of Double Negation structures in natural language. Alternatively, one might argue that in the cases where ‘NED’ becomes obligatory, as well as in where NC breaks down in examples like (121), what looks like a marker of sentential negation rather constitutes narrow VP constituent negation – although in most approaches to German and Bavarian negation, where clausal negation is structurally very low, it seems unclear how to structurally implement that difference.

### 3.3.3 Multiple NIs and DN-readings

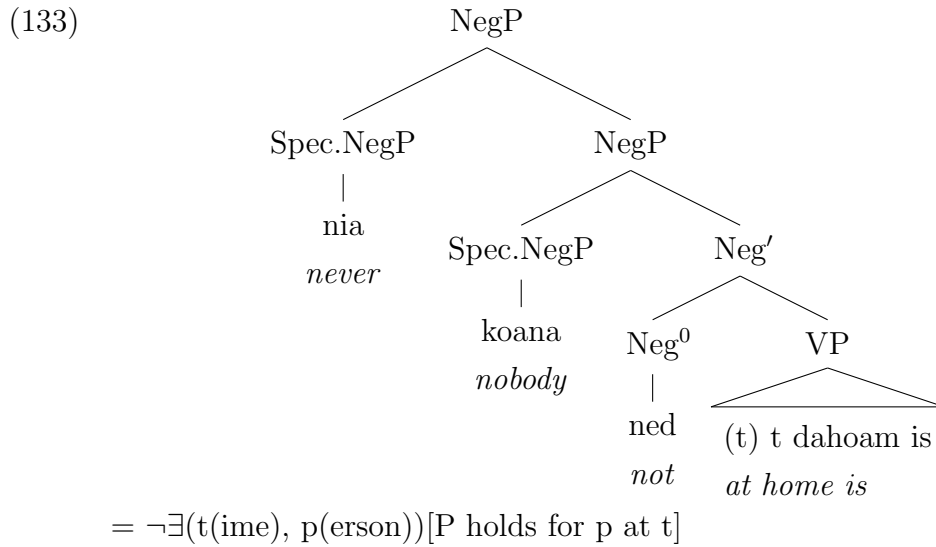
A particularly informative test case for theories of NC is presented by sentences with more than one NI in configuration with the negative particle. While the unmarked case — which I will call ‘full NC’ — with a single logical negation binding both or all indefinites is unproblematic for both the NEGP/Absorption along the lines of Haegeman (1995); Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996); Weiß (1998, 1999) and

the Agreement or Abstract Operator approach of Zeijlstra (2004); Penka (2007, 2011), the theories make different predictions for situations where NC breaks down.

(132) illustrates a simple sentence with two NIs and NEG under the unmarked full NC interpretation.

- (132) dass bei uns am Freidog nia koana ned dahoam is.  
that at us at.the Friday n-ever n-body NEG at.home is  
‘... that at our place, nobody is ever home on Fridays.’

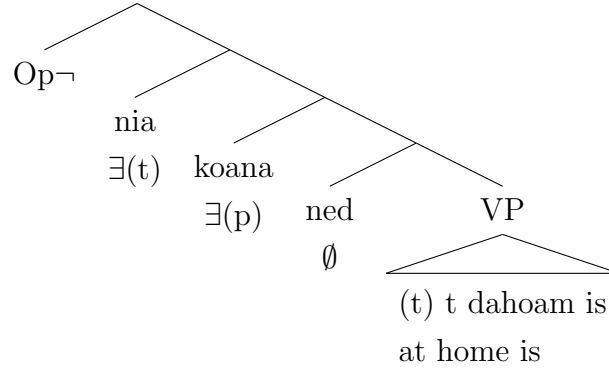
To illustrate, I will sketch the relevant portion of the tree for (132) in the Neg–Absorption theory, using Weiß’ formulation (1998; 1999), where several lexically negative items form a single negation through absorption under c–command, in (133), forming a complex Negative Quantifier applied to the predication established in the VP. The sentence is given with an informal semantic analysis.



The same sentence can be analysed as in (134) in a theory like Zeijlstra’s 2004 or Penka’s 2011, where n-words are semantically non-negative and licensed by a covert negative operator  $Op\neg$ . Whether the operator is located in a specific NegP–position higher in the verbal projection, or is free to attach anywhere, subject only to semantic interpretability and pragmatic plausibility, is irrelevant for present purposes.



(134)



(135)  $\neg (\exists t \& \exists p \text{ such that } P \text{ holds for } p \text{ at } t)$

As can be easily established, both representations are truth-conditionally equivalent. When taking into account cancellation readings, the theories yield different predictions, though: Under Weiß' account, any or all NIs can move further up than Spec.NegP, into the IP-domain, where they will be unbound by existential closure and receive a generic or specific interpretation. Crucially, this will prevent Absorption under the Neg-criterion, the negative feature of the NI will be mapped onto LF, and a second (or third) negation reappear in the logical interpretation of the clause. Thus, the following possibilities of interpretation are predicted for structures with two NIs and a negative particle:

(136) a.  $\dots [_{NegP} NI^1 NI^2 [_{Neg'} NEG [_{VP} \dots]]] = \text{'full NC'}$

b.  $\dots [_{IP} NI^1 [_{NegP} NI^2 [_{Neg'} NEG [_{VP} \dots]]] = \text{independent semantic contribution of } NI^1, \text{ NC between } NI^2 \text{ and NEG}$

c.  $\dots [_{IP} NI^1 NI^2 [_{NegP} NEG [_{VP} \dots]]] = \text{full cancellation, independent contribution of each negative element}$

If NC is blocked, using again the stressed NED as a trigger, we expect to only get the reading in (136c). Another logical possibility, namely NC between the two NIs to the exclusion of NEG, is not even expressible in this theory. This reading is available, though, and in fact the most prominent one once 'full NC' is blocked:

- (137) dass am Freidog nia koana NED dahome is.  
 that at.the Friday n-ever n-body NEG at.home is  
 ‘... that everybody is always at home on Fridays.’  $\neg > \exists(t, p) > \neg(at.home(t, p))$

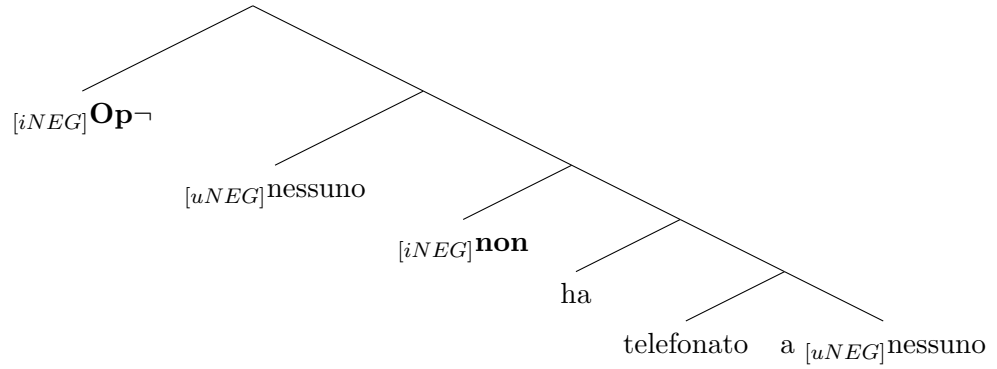
- (138) dass i in dera Buachhondlung nia koa Buach NED find.  
 that I in this bookshop never no book not find  
 ‘... that I always find every book (I am looking for) in this bookshop.  
 (= There isn’t ever any book that I don’t find.)

Note, though, that this reading falls out automatically under an Agreement approach, once we allow for more than one (overt or covert) negative operator in the clause. This has to be allowed on independent grounds to derive the (marginal, or requiring a highly specific context) DN readings present in non-strict NC languages when preverbal NIs co-occur with a clausal negative marker, as in the Italian example (139) below, taken from Zeijlstra (2008a, (73)):

- (139) ?Ieri *NESSUNO non* ha telefonato a *nessuno*.  
 Yesterday n-body NEG has called to n-body  
 ‘Yesterday nobody didn’t call anybody.’ (=everybody called somebody, JS)

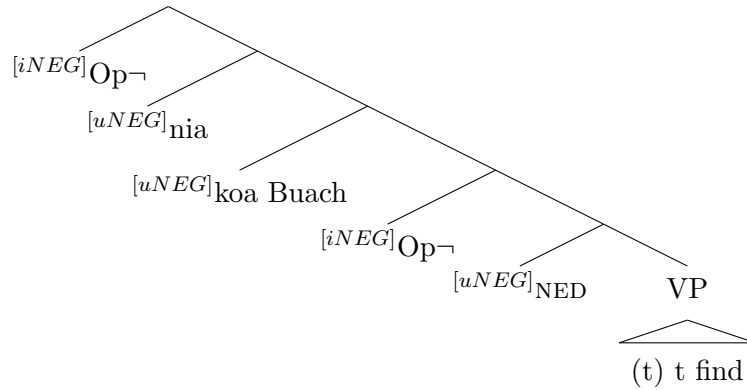
In Zeijlstra’s framework, (139) is derived by positing an abstract negative operator high enough in the tree to license the preverbal n-word (the subject *nessuno*) with its uninterpretable neg-feature that would otherwise remain unlicensed. At the same time, Italian being a non-strict NC language, *non* has an interpretable negative feature that has to be mapped to the semantics. The uninterpretable neg-feature of the object n-word is licensed by ‘non’. This is illustrated below, with the licensing [*i*NEG] items boldfaced:

(140)



In a parallel fashion, when other factors enforce a local insertion of  $Op\neg$  directly outside of ‘*ned*’ in Bavarian, the  $[uNEG]$ -features of the NIs remain consequently unchecked enforcing the introduction of a *second*  $Op\neg$  higher up the tree. Note that in Bavarian, as a strict NC language, the negative particle is uninterpretable as well and needs thus to be licensed by a covert operator. In the normal case, all  $[uNEG]$ -elements in the clause are licensed by one single operator. Whatever mechanism is invoked to explain the use of stressed, long-form ‘NED’ in the case of constituent negation will equally apply to ‘NED’ in NC contexts <sup>34</sup>.

(141)



<sup>34</sup>Alternatively, one could postulate a lexical difference between phonetically strong and weak particles, one carrying an interpretable negative feature, the other one an uninterpretable one. I will not pursue this option here, as the same results can be achieved without lexical proliferation, and using devices already needed independently.

## 4 Topicalisation redeems NC

### 4.1 Contrastive Topics and Scope Inversion

This section is mostly based on Büring (1997)’s analysis of so-called scope inversion with contrastive TOPICS in German. The phenomenon of obligatory scope inversion has been observed among others by Jacobs (1982, 1984), who gives the example in (142) below, ambiguous under a ‘neutral’ intonation. With a contrastive TOPIC accent on the initial quantifier ‘all’ as in (143) only the narrow scope reading remains available — the one that contradicts the surface order of  $\forall$  and  $\neg$ . This accent is embodied by a sharp pitch rise, and accompanied by focus on the other scope-bearing element, expressed with a falling accent. The resulting phrasal accent pattern has been termed a *hat contour* or *bridge accent* in the literature, and is marked with / and \, approximating the movement of the  $f_0$ .

- (142) Alle Politiker sind nicht korrupt.  
all politicians are not corrupt.  
‘No politicians are corrupt’ ( $\forall > \neg$ ) OR ‘It is not the case that all politicians are corrupt.’ ( $\neg > \forall$ )
- (143) ALLE/ Politiker sind \NICHT korrupt.  
‘It is not the case that all politicians are corrupt.’ ( $\neg > \forall$ )  
\* ‘No politicians are corrupt’ ( $*\forall > \neg$ )

The core claim is that the observed scope inversion is a product of the interaction between grammar and pragmatics rather than a purely syntactic phenomenon. In this model, ‘scope inversion’ examples structurally permit at least two different interpretations from the perspective of syntax and formal semantics proper. The prosodic marking of scope-bearing constituents as (contrastive) topic or focus does not indicate that they are in a designated syntactic position related to their information-structural roles. Rather, Information Structure interacts directly with discourse pragmatics. The sentences appear unambiguous in the scope-inverted reading because the alternative reading(s) systematically fail to satisfy the implicatures entailed by assigning TOPIC and *Focus* status

to those respective constituents. Sentences in a natural environment are never context-free, thus the hearer, when submitted an ‘out of the blue’ sentence for grammaticality judgement, construes a plausible context in which this sentence could be uttered. Intonation patterns expressing TOPIC and Focus marking rule out contexts compatible with surface scope and thus make the ‘inverted’ readings the only ones available.

In a nutshell, the focus value of an indicative expression corresponds to a set of propositions – concretely, the set of alternative answers to the question to which it forms an answer in terms of Alternative Semantics (Rooth, 1985). The TOPIC value of an utterance, on the other hand, is a set of question (i.e., the set of sets of propositions), such that the utterance at hand forms one of them. Contrastive TOPIC signals that at least one of the other salient questions in this set is still disputable after the speech act – that is, neither excluded nor implied by the (updated) Common Ground (CG). In other words, a TOPIC will only be licit when the utterance leaves a question under discussion.

## 4.2 Scope Inversion and NC

In scope inverted contexts ((Büring, 1997; Krifka, 1998; Féry, 1993), *inter alia*) NC becomes possible again, thus allowing to structures that seem to derive from, and are truth-conditionally equivalent to, sentences that are themselves judged as straight-out ungrammatical:

- (144) a. \*...dass neamd ned ofd kimmd  $\leftrightarrow$   
           ...that n-body NEG often comes  
           (intended: ‘...that nobody comes often.’<sup>35</sup>)
- b. OFD/ kimmd \NEAMD ned  
      OFTEN<sub>T</sub> comes n-body<sub>F</sub> NEG  
      ‘Nobody comes often.’

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<sup>35</sup>As discussed in section 3.3, narrow focus intonation can make this sentence felicitous under a DN interpretation which is irrelevant here.

Similar salvaging effects of topicalisation have been observed ((Penka, 2011) and references therein) in the context of SG non-negative indefinites under NEG. Thus, (145a) is ungrammatical under the intended reading<sup>36</sup>, while (145b) with ‘scope inversion’, its equivalent in *modulo* topicalisation, is unproblematic.

- (145) a. \*Frank hat nicht ein Auto.  
           Frank has NEG a car  
           (Intended: ‘Frank does not have a car.’)
- b. Ein AUTO/ hat Frank \NICHT.  
    a car<sub>T</sub> has Frank NEG<sub>F</sub>  
    ‘Frank does not have a car.’

#### 4.2.1 Enforcing Topic-hood

In written questionnaires, but even in oral interviews, judgements are sometimes difficult to obtain because informants do not get the intended contrastive TOPIC reading immediately. Strings such as (146) below are structurally ambiguous: In the context of e.g. talking about a karaoke event, the adverb can either be interpreted in its default IP position<sup>37</sup>, reflecting a reading where for a long time, nobody sung (only when people were getting drunk, they found the bravery to expose themselves); or, the adverb is interpreted as a TOPIC, opening the path for the scope inverted reading where the air was too bad to permit anybody to sing for long without getting a sore throat. Contrastive accent helps to make the latter reading more prominent, but does not always suffice to enforce it.

- (146) Long hod neamd ned gsunga.  
       long has n-body NEG sung  
       ‘Nobody sang for long.’ OR ‘For a long time, nobody sang.’

When ‘*long*’ competes with another high adverbial, though, the structures can be disambiguated. In (147) the temporal adverbial ‘yesterday night’ presumably

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<sup>36</sup>As before, other, irrelevant, readings are sometimes available in such constructions, notably meta-linguistic negation; with heavy stress on *ein*, a numeral reading results. These readings are mentioned in Penka (2011). For a variant of the latter, see also section 3.2.1.

<sup>37</sup>Or even higher, in the position of scene-setting adverbials, in the terms of Rizzi (2000)’s split CP, cf. Poletto (2002)

is base generated high in the left periphery, in a position for circumstantial or scene-setting adverbials. Long is interpreted in its IP surface position, and Scope Inversion is impossible.

- (147) Gesdan afd Nocht hod long neamd ned gsunga.  
 yesterday at night has long n-body NEG sung.  
 Last night, for a long time nobody sang. (LONG > NEG)

The story becomes more complicated with (148)<sup>38</sup>. Under a cartographic approach, the temporal adverb here marks the ‘scene-setting adverb’ position (after Poletto (2002)). ‘Long’, to the left of it, can *only* occupy a high TOPIC position. Here, only the ‘inverted’ reading is available.

- (148) LONG/?long hod gesdan afd Nocht \NEAMD ned gsunga.  
 long has yesterday at night n-body not sung  
 Nobody sang long yesterday night. (NEG > LONG)

Another way to enforce TOPIC-hood is via long extraction, i.e. positioning of a topicalised element interpreted within an embedded sentence in the *Vorfeld* of the matrix clause.

- (149) Long<sub>1</sub> sogd da Beda das neamd ned t<sub>1</sub> dogwen warad.  
 long says the Peter that n-body NEG here-been AUX.SUBJ  
 Peter said that nobody had been here for long.
- (150) \*OA Jack’n sogd da Hons dass NEAMD ned woin hod, de  
 ONE/A jacket says the John that n-body NEG wanted has that  
 woa so schiach.  
 was so ugly.  
 (Intended: ‘John says that there was one jacket nobody wanted.’)
- (151) OA Jack’n sogd da Hons dass NEAMD ned woin hod, die  
 ONE/A jacket says the John that n-body NEG wanted has the  
 meisten htten glei drei gnumma.  
 most had even three taken  
 ‘John says that nobody wanted (just) one jacket, most took THREE.’

<sup>38</sup>The example is most naturally pronounced with the now-familiar hat-contour, i.e. ‘LONG/... \NEAMD ...’, but even without intonational cues, i.e. when presented to informants in written form, this is the only available interpretation. The same holds for (149) below.

While long topicalisation is not always easy to elicit and some speakers judge sentences like (149) as marginal, to the extent that they accept them the only possible interpretation is invariably the scope inverted one given in the gloss. Incidentally, topicalisation and SI is not restricted to matrix clauses. In embedded verb-second contexts such as (152), using a predicate that is ambiguous for *Aktionsart*, rather than the more natural *bleiben*, ‘stay’ to create ambiguity,<sup>39</sup> ‘long’ is scopally ambiguous (at least without the prosodic marking), but the inverted scope, given in the gloss, is clearly a possibility.

- (152) Da Beda sogd LONG/ warad \NEAMD ned dogwen.  
 the Peter says long AUX.SUBJ n-body NEG here-been  
 ‘Peter says nobody had been here long.’

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<sup>39</sup>VP-topicalisation yields an unambiguous structure even without special intonation, as in:

- i Da Beda sogd long dogween warad neamd ned.  
 the Peter says long here-been be.SUBJ n-body NEG  
 ‘Peter says that nobody stayed for long.’

This is expected under any standard analysis of Verb Second phenomena: If the adverb and the infinitival verb can both occupy the *Vorfeld*, they must form a constituent to the exclusion of ‘ned’.



## 5 Analysis

### 5.1 Syntactic/Semantic Analyses

#### 5.1.1 ‘Roofing’ the *event* variable

Analysing sentential negation as negation scoping above the event variable introduced by the verb (Ladusaw, 1992; Acquaviva, 1997), there is a straightforward explanation for why NC with ‘often’ scoping below NEG is excluded in the base scenario without Topicalisation. With the simple negated sentence in (153), quoted from Penka (2011, p. 7) where *e* marks the *event* variable introduced by the verb, as a starting point, structures with intervening quantifiers can be analysed as in (154) below.

- (153) a. John didn’t kiss Mary.  
       b.  $\neg\exists e [\text{AGENT}(\text{John}, e) \ \& \ \text{THEME}(\text{Mary}, e) \ \& \ \text{kiss}(e)]$
- (154) a. dass in Hons neamd ned küsst hod.  
       that the John n-body NEG kissed has  
       ‘...that nobody kissed John.’  
        $\neg\exists(x, e)[\text{AGENT}(x, e) \ \& \ \text{THEME}(\text{John}, e) \ \& \ \text{kiss}(e)]$
- b. dass in Hons neamd (\*ned) ofd (\*ned) küssd hod.  
       that the John n-body often kissed has  
       ‘...that nobody often kissed John.’  
        $\neg\exists x[\text{OFTEN}/\text{MANY}(e)[\text{AGENT}(x, e) \ \& \ \text{THEME}(\text{John}, e) \ \& \ \text{kiss}(e)]]$
- c. dass in Hons ofd neamd ned küssd hod.  
       that the John often n-body not kissed has  
       ‘...that often nobody kissed John.’  
        $\text{OFTEN}/\text{MANY}(i)[\neg\exists(x, e)[\text{AGENT}(x, e) \ \& \ \text{THEME}(\text{John}, e) \ \& \ \text{kiss}(e)]$   
       in *i*]]<sup>40</sup>

We see that NC is possible in (154a) and (154c) where the *event* variable introduced by the predicate and the *person* variable introduced by the indefinite are bound by one and the same operator, but impossible in (154b) where the two

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<sup>40</sup>*i* is here used to represent an *interval*; the interpretation can thus be paraphrased as “There are many intervals *i* such that no kissing event with John as the kissee took place in *i*”

variables are bound by different operators. Such an analysis would also preserve the spirit of Weiß (1999)’s account in terms of tripartite structure.

However, this would not yield the correct predictions in more complex cases. As Penka (2011) argues in her criticism of Ladusaw (1992), it offers no straightforward explanation for split scope readings, and neither is the rescuing effect of topicalisation presented here predicted or even expressible, at least assuming reconstruction through type-raising of the trace. If the trace in reconstruction cases is indistinguishable from the operator it represents prior to movement, e.g. in the following pair of examples repeated from the introduction, whatever explains the ungrammaticality of (155) should naturally extend to (156).

(155) Heid is neamd (\*ned) long (\*ned) bliebm.  
today AUX n-body NEG long stayed  
Intended: Nobody stayed long today.

(156) LONG/ is heid \NEAMD ned bliem  
long AUX today nobody not stayed.  
Nobody stayed long today.

### 5.1.2 LF syntax (Beck, 1996a,b)

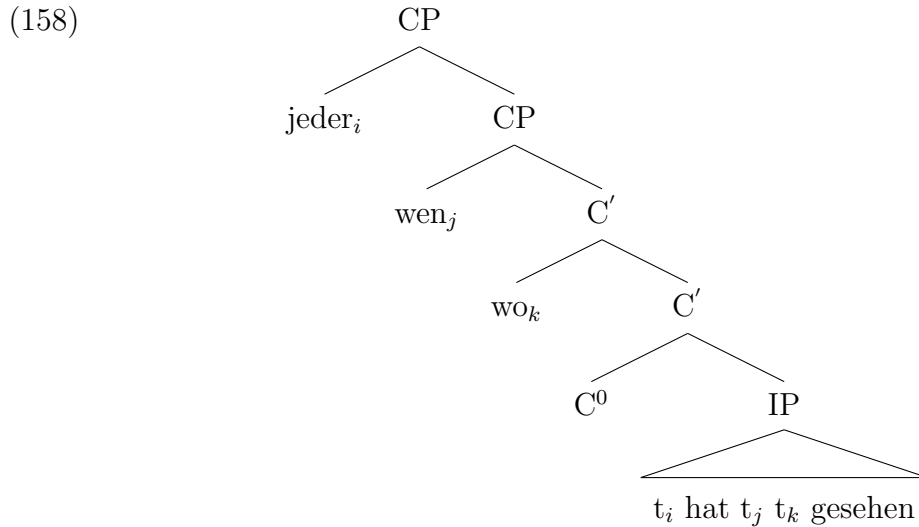
Building on the analyses above of ‘*ned*’ as a free morpheme marking the introduction of the situation or event variable *e*, and using a Heim-style analysis of variable binding (Heim, 1982), most of the restrictions on NC in Bavarian observed so far can be explained if we stipulate that all variables introduced by the elements participating in an NC-relation have to be bound by (existential closure applying immediately below) negation, i.e. they are ‘roofed’ by negation (Ladusaw, 1992).

Treating (contrastive) Focus as an operator, this can also explain the obligatory DN-readings under focus accent, as well as the patterns of interference between NC and adverbial quantification in the ‘base order’ examples, as similar intervention effects have been observed to be induced by ‘often’ and other relevant interveners in parallel contexts.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup>Within the cartographic framework, Brugger and Poletto (1993)’s hypothesis that ‘*ned*’ spells out the lower of two syntactic positions of negation in the Bavarian clause, only the higher of which is relevant for semantic interpretation, comes close.

Along these lines, with ‘*ned*’ as a semantically non-negative morphological marker indicating that the the *event* or *situation* variable introduced by the predicate is to be ‘roofed’ by negation in parallel to what Ladusaw (1992) has suggested for NIs, it suggests itself to draw a parallel to the intervention effects observed with *Wh-in situ* (Beck, 1996b, 2006; Tomioka, 2007a,b). These were originally analysed in terms of LF movement and reconstruction, the *Minimal Quantified Structure Constraint* (MQSC) which blocks binding of variables across another operator at LF, and the Simplest Types Restriction (STyR) stating that traces must be interpreted as the simplest semantic type that allows successful composition with their sisters and that is compatible with their binder, specifically ruling out reconstruction as type-raising of traces. For instance, the *in situ* adjunct Wh-phrase ‘where’ in the multiple wh-question (157) is taken to be introduce a variable that has to be bound by the question operator *Q* in *C* (whose position is marked by the moved wh-phrase ‘who’). The intervening universal quantifier blocks this, and thus the only available interpretation is a pair list reading, achieved by QR-ing ‘*jeder*’ above *Q* (Beck, 1996b, p. 39ff).

- (157) Wen hat jeder wo gesehen?  
 Who.acc has everybody.nom where seen  
 ‘Where did everyone see whom?’



If we treat quantificational adverbs like ‘often’ or ‘mostly’ as quantifiers over events (and possibly ‘long’ as a quantifier over intervals), and furthermore assume

that Bavarian ‘*ned*’ and plausibly negative particles in other strict NC languages are an overt manifestation of the event variable<sup>42</sup> with a morphosyntactic [NEG] feature, a parallel explanation for the blocking of NC with (adverbs and nominal quantifiers seems possible.

### 5.1.3 Focus and Alternative semantics (Beck, 2006)

The analysis of Intervention Effects in terms of focus alternatives presented in Beck (2006) offers itself less readily for an extension to the data presented here. This analysis relies on a Hamblin semantics for questions, and the intervention effects are derived by illicit binding of the question alternatives by a focus operator, taken to introduce a set of propositions in the style of Rooth (1985), yielding uninterpretability. Since this analysis crucially depends on how both questions and Focus operate over propositions, it is hard to imagine how this can be applied to the binding of variables of a non-propositional type. The observation that the relevant unifying property of interveners might be their (tendency towards) inducing Focus rather than their quantificational force may become relevant, though. In particular, Tomioka (2007a,b) has claimed that Beck (2006) is right in taking Focus to be the culprit, but using the wrong notion of Focus for doing so: He claims that an *information structural* notion of focus (or ‘Rheme’, in the terms of Vallduví and Vilkuna., 1998), rather than a semantic operator over alternatives, is responsible for intervention effects, arguing so on the basis of data that seem to indicate a repair effect in adequately specific contexts, as well as an absence of intervention effects with Second Occurrence Foci, taken to be foci in terms Alternative semantics, but thematic in information structural terms. In a similar vein, Eilam (2010) claims that Amharic shows no intervention effects at all and purports to derive this from the way information structure is being expressed in this language.

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<sup>42</sup>This might offer a ready explanation for the unavailability of NC with Individual Level Predicates, too.

## 5.2 A pragmatic solution?

### 5.2.1 Motivations for a pragmatic account

Besides the parallelism with the recent accounts of intervention effects in the context of wh (Tomiooka, 2007b, among others), a conceptual argument for an information structural account of the NC blocking data is that it potentially allows a unified account of the blocking effects with quantifiers discussed in sections 3.1 and 3.2 (and their obviation under topicalisation, c.f. section 4) on the one hand, and the ability of Focus to enforce narrow scope of negation, and thus DN readings when a higher NI is also present in the structure.

Furthermore, cross-linguistically, the emergence of (obligatory) DN readings in certain constructions in NC languages has most frequently been discussed in terms of certain constructions' information structural properties<sup>43</sup>. Relevant examples include Puskás (2012) on Hungarian, who discusses two different constructions leading to DN readings in Hungarian, on involving a Verum focus and the other Contrastive Topics, that can be distinguished in terms of their syntax and semantics (building also on discussions by Surányi, 2003, 2006; Kenesei, 2009, among others); on Catalan, Vallduví (1990) and more specifically Espinal and Prieto (2011), who discuss effects of prosody on the perception of DN vs. NC readings (paralleling the discussion in section 3.3.1); and MacNeill Hoyt (2010) who discusses the formative '*wala*' ('not even X, no X') in Levantine Arabic that shows a distribution associated with the n-words of non-strict NC languages i.e. it enters into concord when following but not when preceding a negated predicate, in a language that is otherwise a strict NC language, and derives this special behaviour from discourse properties of '*wala*'. A detailed comparison with the data presented here and DN readings in other NC languages is beyond the scope of this thesis, but investigating the parallelisms and differences between such phenomena, and possibly finding independent motivations for the latter, making the Bavarian blocking data less exotic, would seem like a promising venue for future

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<sup>43</sup>Although some of the languages for which this has been described, viz. Catalan and Hungarian, strongly encode their information structure in the syntax. Since this makes it hard to determine whether the blocking is caused by specific *syntactic* configurations those languages employ to reflect certain information structures, or directly by pragmatic factors, it is unclear whether these results can be generalised to Bavarian.

research.

Yet another argument is the behaviour of indefinites in languages that do not have dedicated NIs. Davison (1978, p. 23) observes that in Hindi, a language which does not morphologically distinguish between negative and non-negative indefinites, focus strongly disambiguates towards  $\neg \exists$  readings. Cf (159) which is potentially ambiguous, but can be disambiguated by NP-specification as in (160), which, while technically ambiguous, has "in practice [...] only the negated indefinite reading" (p. 29), while (161) with the indefinite modified by a numeral and the plural (161) only allow for narrow scope of negation (i.e.  $\exists \neg$ ). With certain focus particles (Davison's "emphatic" particles), only the negative indefinite reading, a  $\neg \exists$  scope hierarchy, already the preferred one in the basic case, is possible.

- (159) Aaj kooii nahiĩ aayaa.  
 today someone not came  
 'Today no one came' **or** 'today someone didn't come.'  
 (Davison, 1978, (1))
- (160) Aaj kooii (bhii) nahiĩ aayaa.  
 today someone emphasis not came  
 'Today no one came' / # 'today someone didn't come.'  
 (Davison, 1978, (17))
- (161) Kooii eek aadmii nahiĩ aayaa.  
 somebody one not came  
 'Someone didn't come.'  
 (Davison, 1978, (19))
- (162) Kuch loog nahiĩ aae.  
 some people not came  
 'Some people didn't come.'  
 (Davison, 1978, (20))
- (163) Sirf jaan hii nahiĩ aayaa  
 only John emph not came  
 'Not only John came ...'  
 (Davison, 1978, (25))

- (164) Sirf jaan  $\emptyset$  nahĩĩ aayaa.  
 only John not came  
 ‘Only John didn’t come.’  
 (Davison, 1978, (26))

He observes that emphatic particles are *never* used if the intended scope is the reverse (Davison, 1978, p. 33), and compares this with the English facts below:.

- (165) If Clyde does not do any of the jobs listed above, please let me know  
 a. If there is some (one) job clyde does not do, let me know.  
 b. If Clyde does none (not one) of these jobs, let me know.

Here, (165) is “odd if *any* is contrastively stressed” and the intended reading is the one paraphrased in (165a), where the indefinite is not negated. Contrastive stress is possible, however, in the ([165b]) reading, in which the indefinite is negated.” (Davison, 1978). This is interpreted as a hint towards a universal tendency to associate emphasis preferentially to constituents that are to be interpreted as in the scope of negation (Davison, 1978, cf. p. 34).

The pragmatic hypothesis of the intervention effects in Bavarian NC, if it can be made to work, thus not only offers the perspective of a unified account of both the blocking and the ‘rescuing’ effect through topicalisation, but may also allow to draw parallels with with observations in a wide range of languages, employing mechanisms that are independently required to explain phenomena such as the scopal properties of indefinites in negative clauses in languages lacking dedicated NIs.

### 5.2.2 Hints at an implementation

Parallelisms between operator scope and and focus have been noted before, among others in work coming out of the Prague school (Hajičová et al., 1998; Hajičová, 2010; Partee, 1993)<sup>44</sup>. Along these lines, and without implying full equivalence between TFA and operator scope, it could be stipulated that NC is possible only

<sup>44</sup>Hajičová (2010) credits Vachek (1947) with first noting the relationship between the scope of negation and quantifiers, on the semantic side, and their topic/focus articulation.

when both the (variable introduced by the) n-word and the (event variable introduced by the) predicate fall into a sentence's 'Rheme' (in the terms of Vallduví and Vilkuna., 1998)). The rescuing effects discussed in section 4, are explained by analysing interveners as strong triggers of a specific information-structural partitioning of the sentence which would straddle n-words and NEG. If this is correct, e.g. 'often' in Bavarian should trigger an interpretation of material outside of its scope as thematic in other contexts too. This seems to be borne out in my preliminary data. Let us assume that expletive constructions are used as a strategy to produce topicless sentences (or sentential focus/thetic statements (Kuroda, 1972)).

In a questionnaire with a small sample (N=6), using graded ratings from 0–10, I tested whether inclusion of 'often' would decrease ratings for expletive 'es'-constructions significantly more than for their counterparts with the indefinite in the preverbal slot, i.e., given the above assumptions, whether a sequence '*neamd ofđ*' makes a rhematic construal of '*neamd*' infelicitous. The results are positive, but not as strong as I would have expected. The ratings decrease on average by 2.75 from (166,170) to (168,172), while no significant decrease is seen between (167,171) and (169,173).

(166) Es is neamd kema. it is n-body come 'Nobody came.'	(170) Es is neamd bliem. it is n-body stayed 'Nobody stayed.'
(167) Neamd is kema. n-body is come 'Nobody came.'	(171) ? Neamd is bliem. n-body is stayed 'Nobody stayed.'
(168) * Es is neamd ofđ kema. it is n-body often come 'Nobody came often'	(172) Es is neamd long bliem. it is n-body long stayed 'Nobody stayed long.'
(169) ? Neamd is ofđ kema. n-body is often come 'Nobody came often.'	(173) Neamd is long bliem. n-body is long stayed 'Nobody stayed long.'

The results are summarised in table 1 with mean ratings and the range of variation given for all of the above target sentences. The last two columns, 'mean



(B)’ and ‘range (B)’ are derived by excluding two outliers, informants who only gave categorical judgements (ratings of 0 and 10) throughout the task. In the more traditional exposition above, grammaticality corresponds to a (corrected) mean rating  $M \geq 8$ , marginality (marked ‘?’) to means  $5 \leq M < 8$ , and ungrammaticality ‘\*’ to ratings  $M < 5$

S	mean	range	mean (B)	range (B)
166	9.33	8–10	9.0	8–10
168	3.5	0–10	2.75	0–5
167	9.17	7–10	8.75	7–10
169	6.0	0–10	6.5	5–8
170	9.17	7–10	8.75	7–10
172	9.5	8–10	9.25	8–10
171	8.17	5–10	7.25	5–10
173	9.33	8–10	9.0	8–10

Table 1: Ratings

In the first block, the examples with ‘*ofd*’, we see a strong reduction of acceptability for the expletive constructions, but not for the constructions with preverbal ‘*neamd*’, as predicted. There is an unexplained contrast between the behaviour of examples in the first block with the verb ‘come’ and the second block, with ‘stay’, though. With the latter, no reduction of acceptability for the expletive construction is observed; instead, there seems to be a tendency for the non-expletive construction with a topical indefinite to be somewhat marked in the base scenario and become more acceptable with an adverb.

Using a paired t-test for within-speaker comparison of the rating differentials for the expletive constructions with and without the adverbs (i.e., (166)-(168) and (170)-(172)) versus the non-expletive constructions with or without adverbs ((167)-(169) and (171)-(173)), this difference is, despite the small sample, statistically significant (see 1A and 1B in table 2), independently of whether the outliers are included (A) or excluded (B). However, this difference is mostly due to the behaviour of ‘often’ (tested separately in 2A& B) - the slight relative reduction of acceptability of the expletive construction (or rather, increase of acceptability of the non-expletive one) with ‘long’ is insignificant (3A& B).

It remains to be seen whether such relatively subtle differences can be analysed

Test #	Group A	Group B	mean $\Delta$	P-value
1A	(166-168)	(167-169)	2.67	0.0477
1B	(166-168)	(167-169)	4.0	0.0220
2A	(166-168)&(170-172)	(167-169)&(171-173)	1.75	0.0332
2B	(166-168)&(170-172)	(167-169)&(171-173)	2.63	0.0272
3A	170-172	(171-173)	0.83	n.s.
3B	170-172	(171-173)	1.25	n.s.

Table 2: Paired t-test results; A tests include the entire sample, in B tests, outliers are removed.

as conspiring with other independently motivated factors to produce the robust unacceptability judgements in constructions with ‘often’ and NC.

If successful this account would predict the rescuing effects in the following way: When an information structure deviating from this default is explicitly marked (through Topicalisation in the cases addressed), both n-elements are mapped into the rheme and NC applies again. The semantic scope of a quantifier thus only indirectly precludes NC by triggering the postulation of a Topic/Focus-Articulation that straddles the elements participating. Future research will hopefully find sentences and dialogues which unambiguously imply a deviating IS with the adverb/quantifier remaining *in situ*. One prediction might be that once an atypical information–structural partition of the utterance is unambiguous even in the absence of Topic-movement, the apparent ‘blocking’ effect should disappear as it does with movement.

### 5.2.3 *In situ* information–structural effects?

In interesting prediction from an account based directly on the information structure of the topicalised constructions is that it should be possible, to the extent that it is possible to construe contexts in which the focussing tendency of quantifying adverbs can be undone, to observe the rescuing effect of non–standard information structure *in site*. A first superficial survey suggests that the following examples might indeed be more acceptable than the same sentences out of the blue, which were almost unequivocally rejected. At the moment, these data are very tentative and should be treated with caution, though.

- (174) a. Q: Wia san da Hons und da Beda ois Menschn so?  
 how are the John and the Peter as people so  
 ‘What kind of chaps are John and Peter?’
- b. A: In HONS hoidd neamd ned long aus. (Da Beda ...  
 the John stands n-body NEG long PRT the Peter  
 ‘John, nobody can stand for long. As for Peter ...’
- (175) a. Q: Wia, du hosd gwuna obwoi’st so mies gspüüd hosd?  
 how you have won although-you.CL so bad played have  
 ‘What, you won after you played so poor?’
- b. A: Jo, heid hod neamd ned ofd droffm.  
 yes today has n-body NEG often hit  
 ‘Yes, today nobody scored much.’

While judgements here are very subtle and the data too fragmentary to conclude anything at the moment without a more rigid battery of controls, this too might be promising vein for future empirical investigations, using larger samples and a broad range of contextual controls to make up for the subtlety of the data.

### 5.3 Summary

The redeeming effect Topicalisation of an intervener has on NC intervention structures in Bavarian is troublesome for previous analyses of Bavarian NC that have attempted to directly derive such effects from the core syntax of NC, through requiring D–Structure adjacency of the negated verb and Negative Indefinites (Bayer, 1990), postulating a fixed structural position for the negative operator too low to scope over the interveners in a cartography-inspired account (Brugger and Poletto, 1993), or interpreting the interveners as inherently outside of the (wider) VP and thus part of the restrictor of clausal negation in a DRT-inspired analysis (Weiß, 1999).

A different family of theories, dubbed here the “Negative Concord as agreement” approach (Zeijlstra, 2004; Penka, 2011) developed to account for the behaviour of NC cross-linguistically, analyses NC as long-distance agreement between a covert negative operator and n-elements in its scope. While its application to

Bavarian has not previously been spelt out in detail, this model is liberal enough to predict, with trivial and independently motivated stipulations about possible scope positions of the negative operator, the grammaticality of the structures resulting from Topicalisation but fails to predict the intervention effects in the base scenario under the same set of assumptions.

In order to reconcile the “NC as Agreement” approach with the data that have served as justification for restrictive structural analyses of Bavarian NC, and to provide an account for both the intervention effects and their *absence* under Topicalisation, the intervention effects are to be explained independently of the inner workings of NC itself.

Based in part on the results of cataloguing interveners more comprehensively than previously in chapter 3, the current chapter considers candidates for such an independent explanation of the intervention effects. I propose a pragmatic account, according to which the (im-)possibility of NC is determined by the information structural roles of the participating n-words rather than their syntactic positions, delegating the role of the interveners to pushing towards or enforcing a specific information structural partition of the clause. Such an account yields two empirical predictions:

1. Intervenors can be demonstrated to enforce a specific information structure independently of NC
2. In principle, a sufficiently specific context enforcing an IS partition similar to the one under overt Topic-movement might redeem intervention structures *in situ*

While it has so far proven difficult to find contexts that lead to a strong effect along the lines predicted by (2), prediction (1) could be preliminarily confirmed in section 5.2.2. The pragmatic hypothesis for NC intervention effects seems thus tenable and a promising field for more detailed future investigation.

## 6 General Summary

Building, on the one hand, on a discussion of some of the recent literature on Negative Concord in general, and its applications to Bavarian, and on the other hand on novel data collected from an Upper Austrian variant of Bavarian, this thesis attempts to shed more light on some apparent intervention effects in Bavarian NC discussed in earlier work. After the introduction, chapter 2 gives an overview over the previous literature, with section 2.4 discussing the literature on Bavarian. Here, the focus is already on the ways in which the authors discussed (Bayer, 1990; Brugger and Poletto, 1993; Weiß, 1999) explained the intervention effects, and incorporated them into their overall theories of Bavarian NC.

Chapters 3 and 4 use newly elicited data to provide a more systematic overview of blocking conditions than hitherto published. Sections 3.1 and 3.2 provide an inventory of lexical interveners, while section 3.3 compares this to the breakdown of NC and emergence of obligatory DN interpretations in the absence of overt lexical interveners through narrow contrastive focus alone; chapter 4 introduces an obviation effect through Topicalisation, or movement of the offending element into the *Vorfeld*, with ‘scope inversion’ or reconstruction ensuring truth-conditional equivalence with the ungrammatical constructions without topicalisation.

This more complete picture presents problems for previous theories: The details of the interpretation of Negative Indefinites when NC breaks down due to narrow focus are unexpected for theories like Weiß (1999) whose recourse to local (Specifier–Head) agreement leads to the prediction that no NC may obtain unless the negative Head itself participates, while the repair effects through topicalisation are problematic for almost any theory that relies on purely structural mechanisms for ruling out the ungrammatical intervention cases.

Some more general, cross-linguistically oriented theories of NC such as Zeijlstra (2004) who relies on (multiple) long distance Agree are in principle capable of explaining grammaticality of topicalised structures as well as the behaviour of sentences with multiple NIs under narrow focus, but unlike in theories on Bavarian that were specifically tailored to capture (a subset of) the intervention data, the ungrammaticality in the base scenario remains unmotivated here.

A complete theory of Bavarian NC will have to be liberal enough to allow for the cases that are problematic for Weiß (1999) while providing a natural account for the intervention data that motivated his approach. Chapter 5 thus draws a roadmap for possible approaches to explaining those effects without directly deriving them from the fine structure of the Bavarian clause and the mechanisms that produce NC in the first place, the reasoning being that if the blocking effects can be motivated independently and in a way that does not extend to the cases where they are obviated, a less restrictive theory of NC such as Zeijlstra (2004) or Penka (2007, 2011) becomes viable for Bavarian. Several conceivable hypothesis for such an independent mechanism are, both syntactic and pragmatic in nature, are sketched and parallels drawn with the literature on intervention effects in other domains, as well as DN readings in NC languages.

Subject to further empirical confirmation, I outline a pragmatic analysis that derives intervener status from an element's tendency to enforce a particular information structural partition of the clause, blocking NC when the resulting boundaries straddle the participant *n*-elements. I present preliminary supporting evidence for this hypothesis and sketch avenues for future empirical testing.

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## Glossary

**Contrastive Topic** *Contrastive Topics* (also referred to as TOPIC in the present thesis) is a topical constituent that introduces alternatives into the discourse. In Büring (1997)’s model it introduces alternative focus values, thus indicates the discourse availability of a set of sets of propositions of which the current utterance with its focus value constitutes one; in Krifka (2007, p.44) it is decomposed as “an aboutness topic that contains a focus”, where the focus component introduces alternatives.

**Double Negation** *Double Negation* readings obtain when multiple morphosyntactically negative elements in a clause each contribute their own negative semantics. If no other operator intervenes between two instances of  $\neg$ , these will ‘cancel each other out’, whence such readings are often referred to as ‘cancellation readings’. This equivalence, however, frequently breaks down in more complex constructions.

- i John did not not come.  
John came.  
 $\neg\neg = \emptyset$
- ii John did not see nothing.  
John saw something.  
 $\neg\neg\exists(thing)\emptyset\exists(thing) = \exists(thing)$
- iii Nobody saw nothing.  
Everybody saw something.  $\neq$  Somebody saw something.  
 $\neg\exists(person)\neg\exists(thing) \neq \emptyset\exists(person)\exists(thing)$

Thus, the term ‘cancellation’ is misleading as a general term for DN readings.

**Double Negation language** Double Negation languages are languages that do not display Negative Concord phenomena, i.e. where DN readings are the only ones available in all relevant constructions. DN languages are typologically rare.

***Mittelfeld*** The *Mittelfeld* in the topography of the German clause is the area between the finite verb (traditionally  $C^0$ ) and any infinitival elements or verb particles in  $V^0$ . In structural terms *Mittelfeld* thus includes the VP and IP domains.

**Negative Concord (NC)** The phenomenon of one and only one logical negation being interpreted in a construction containing several morphosyntactically negative items, such as Negative indefinites and a clausal negative particle. An **NC language** is any language that displays NC phenomena in *some* configurations, even when DN readings are available in parallel and/or obligatory in certain other configurations.

**Negative Indefinite** A pro-form that is minimally capable of expressing negation, or inducing a negative interpretation of the utterance, in isolation, in contexts such as syntactic islands or in elliptical answers. While some authors strictly reserve the term for such items in DN languages which *obligatorily* express negation, here it is used in its broader sense to include ‘n-words’ of NC languages, without an implication that n-words are semantically negative.

**Negative Polarity Item (NPI)** A constituent whose distribution is limited to downward entailing contexts (Ladusaw, 1979), for example in the scope of negation, in questions, and in conditionals, distinguished from NIs/n-words by a typically more liberal distribution and more importantly being unable to express negation (or induce a negative interpretation) in isolation.

**n-word** A term used by some authors (going back to Laka, 1990) to refer to the NIs of NC languages to defer judgement of their semantic negativity.

**Rheme** I use *Rheme* after Vallduví and Vilkkuna. (1998) to talk about Focus in a purely information-structural sense without implication of particular prominence or contrast, as the ‘new’ part of an utterance, that what is being said about the *Theme* (Hajičová, 2008).



**Scrambling** *Scrambling* refers to any non-canonical constituent orders within the *Mittelfeld* of the German clause. Movement into the *Vorfeld* is explicitly excluded since it displays significantly different behaviour in terms of restrictions, and possibilities of reconstruction.

**Theme** The *Theme* is the part of the utterance marking what is being talked about (Hajičová, 2008). While often referred to as *Topic*, I am using *Topic* in a narrower sense as defined below and reserving *theme* for the broader information-structural notion of ‘topic’. In topological terms, the theme, thus defined, in the German /Bavarian clause extends considerably into the *Mittelfeld* (some IP-adverbs and modal particles are traditionally associated with the Theme-Rheme boundary, and Scrambling is seen as motivated by constituents thematic status) while *Topics* are restricted to the *Vorfeld*.

**Topic** This thesis discusses mostly contrastive topics or Topic-Focus when referring to *Topic*. Descriptively, *Topic* may sometimes be used to refer to any non-canonical constituents in *Vorfeld* position (i.e., constituents other than definite subjects and high sentential adverbs), without implication about their information-structural functions. For the broader information-structural notion of *topic*, see *Theme*.

**Vorfeld** The *Vorfeld* refers to the preverbal position in the topology of the German verb second (V2) clause. In the unmarked case, this position hosts frame-setting adverbs or subjects, but virtually any XP-constituent can be fronted for IS requirements.

## Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit behandelt das Phänomen des *Negative Concord*, d.h. Kollokationen von Satznegation und einem oder mehreren negativen Indefinita welche als eine einzige logische Verneinung verstanden werden, in einer Variante des Bairischen vom Standpunkt der generativen Grammatiktheorie. Besonderes Augenmerk liegt dabei auf der Analyse von Kontexten und Konstruktionen, welche auch in dieser Sprache eine dem Standarddeutschen entsprechende logische doppelte Verneinung erzwingen. Ein in der Literatur (u.a. Weiß, 1998, Kapitel 4) diskutiertes Beispiel hierfür sind Sätze mit quantifizierenden Adverbien wie „oft“ im Skopus von Negation.

Die Arbeit ist folgendermaßen aufgebaut: Nach der Einleitung bietet Kapitel 2 ein Überblick über einige der wichtigsten rezenten generativen Theorien zu *Negative Concord*, insbesondere werden Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996) und Zeijlstra (2004) kontrastiert. In Abschnitt 2.4 wird anhand dreier Arbeiten (Bayer, 1990; Weiß, 1998, 1999; Brugger and Poletto, 1993) die Anwendung auf das Bairische vorgestellt, der Fokus liegt dabei bereits auf den Erklärungsansätzen für die Unmöglichkeit von NC in bestimmten Konstruktionen; Abschnitt 2.6 bietet einen Abriss über die diachrone Entwicklung von Negation und NC im Deutschen und Bairischen. Die folgenden Kapitel dienen einer ausführlicheren Katalogisierung der beschriebenen Blockierungseffekte, auch anhand neuer Daten insbesondere zum Einfluss von Thema-Rhema-Gliederung und Kontrast auf die Verfügbarkeit von NC. Als problematisch für die in der Literatur zum Bairischen gebotenen Erklärungsversuche erweist sich dabei besonders die Beobachtung, dass der Blockierungseffekt bei Vorfeldanhebung des auslösenden Elements ausbleibt. Dies läßt sich zwar mit anderen Modellen (Zeijlstra, 2004; Penka, 2011) darstellen, hier bleibt dafür unklar, warum der Effekt überhaupt auftreten sollte. Abschließend werden in Kapitel 5 mehrere Lösungsansätze skizziert, und eine pragmatisch orientierte Erklärung vorgeschlagen, wonach die Interventionseffekte dadurch zustande kommen, dass die auslösenden Elemente eine spezifische Thema-Rhema-Partition des Satzes hervorrufen welche eine informationsstrukturelle Grenze zwischen den NC-Elementen einzieht. Vorhersagen dieser Hypothese werden vorgestellt, und können in Teilen vorläufig bestätigt werden.

# Curriculum Vitæ

## Personal information

Born: Rappottenstein, Austria, 17/02/1983

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## Education

- Since 2004: *Diplomstudium* in Theoretical and Cognitive Linguistics, University of Vienna.
- 2004 – 2008: Uncompleted *Diplomstudium* (completed First Diploma), in Cultural and Social Anthropology, University of Vienna
- High school diploma with focus on natural sciences (“Realgymnasium, naturwissenschaftlicher Zweig”), Bundesgymnasium Dornbirn, 2002.
- Student exchange at Sands School, Ashburton, England, Jan. - June 1998

## Summer schools

- Eastern Generative Grammar (EGG) summer school, Olomouc 2006; theme: the interface of phonology with morphology and syntax
- EGG summer school, Brno 2007
- EGG summer school, Debrecen 2008
- EGG summer school, Poznan 2009; theme: external evidence for linguistic theories
- EGG summer school, Constanta 2010; theme: computation in phonology

## Research

- Masters’ thesis on the effects of focus/prominence on interpretation of negation in Bavarian (supervisor: Martin Prinzhorn).

- Student assistant in the Yukuben project (FWF project ID P16496-GO3), July to December 2005 (projekt coordinator: John Rennison): Annotation of field recordings of an endangered language in StX.

### **Administrative experience**

- Elected student representative (“Studienrichtungsvertreter”) of linguistics at the University of Vienna, 2005–07
- Student deputy to the department assembly at the department of linguistics, University of Vienna, 2005–09
- Student deputy to the working group for adaptation of the curricula at the department of linguistics, University of Vienna, 2007–10.

### **Selected extra–academic activities**

- 2002–03: Conscientious objector at the Centre for Peace, Nonviolence and Human Rights, Osijek, Croatia
- 2004 (Feb.–June): Full-time Volunteer at NGO “Abraham” in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina
- Summer 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008: Translator and assistant coordinator at the youth camp “Vacations from War”, Neum, Bosnia-Herzegovina
- 2008–present: outreaching youth work at Kinderfreunde Leopoldstadt, Vienna