Ellipsis in negative fragment answers*

Lobke Aelbrecht
Catholic University of Brussels/ CRISSP
lobke.aelbrecht@kubrussel.ac.be

1. INTRODUCTION.

In certain dialects of Belgian Dutch, for instance Asse Dutch, fragment answers of the type in (1B) occur:

(1) A: Wie eit'em gezien? - B: Niemand nie.
who has.he seen no-one not
'Who did he see?' – 'No-one.' [Asse Dutch]

This example displays negative concord: B's answer contains two negative elements (*niemand* 'no-one' and *nie* 'not'), but it expresses only one semantic negation.

Merchant (2004) analyzes fragment answers as involving movement of the fragment to the left periphery of the clause, followed by ellipsis of TP. I claim that the fragment answer *niemand nie* 'no-one not' is derived in a similar manner from the sentence in (2), as is schematically represented in (3) and (4):

(2) B: Ij ee niemand nie gezien.
he has no-one not seen
'He didn't see anyone.' [Asse Dutch]

(3) STEP 1: fronting of *niemand nie*
[[Niemand nie] [$_{TP}$ ij ee $t_{niemand\ nie}$ gezien]]
no-one not he has seen

(4) STEP 2: ellipsis of TP
[[Niemand nie] [~~$_{TP}$ ij ee gezien~~]]

For this analysis to work the fragment must be a constituent, however, and I will show later on, in section four, that this is indeed the case. First, the next section introduces the basic data, while section 3 provides some background on negative concord. The actual analysis of negative fragment answers is presented in section 5. In the sixth section this analysis is extended to another kind of negative concord called negative spread, and I round off with some open questions and problems (section7) and a conclusion (section 8).

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2. THE BASIC DATA.

N-words are words expressing negation, like *no-one*, *nothing* or *not*. I will call *not* a negative marker or negator here, however, because it only marks negation, in contrast with the other n-words, which also express person (*no-one*) or time (*never*) for instance. As can be seen in the examples above, these n-words sometimes co-occur. The combination of the n-word *niemand* 'no-one' and the negator *nie* 'not' is not restricted to fragment answers, however. It can also occur IP-internally and sentence-initially:

(5) a. Ij ee niemand nie gezien.
he has no-one not seen
'He didn't see anyone.'

b. NIEMAND NIE eit'em gezien.
no-one not has.he seen
'He hasn't seen anyone.' [Asse Dutch]

When *niemand nie* occurs at the beginning of a sentence, it has to be stressed. In the Standard Dutch variant with only *niemand*, however, stress is also needed. The same pattern is observed with other n-words, such as the negative adverbs *nerges* 'nowhere' and *noet* 'never'.

(6) a. A: Waor zijde geweist? - B: Nerges nie.
where are.you been nowhere not
'Where have you been?' – 'Nowhere.'

b. Ik zen nerges nie geweist.
I am nowhere not been
'I haven't been anywhere.'

c. NERGES NIE zen ik geweist.
nowhere not am I been
'I haven't been anywhere.'

(7) a. A: Wanneir got'em na 'tschoel? - B: Noet nie.
when goes.he to the.school never not
'When does he go to school?' – 'Never.'

b. Ij got noet nie na 'tschoel.
he goes never not to the.school
'He never goes to school.'

c. NOET NIE got'em na 'tschoel.
never not goes.he to the.school
'He never goes to school.' [Asse Dutch]

In all these examples the n-word and the *nie*-negator express a single semantic negation. This phenomenon, generally known as negative concord, is present in a lot of natural languages and it is widely discussed in the literature. The next section provides some background on this matter.

3. BACKGROUND: NEGATIVE CONCORD.

A lot has been said about negative concord already, among others by Giannakidou (2000, 2002), Haegeman (1995) and references cited there. Giannakidou (2000:458) defines the term as follows: 'situations where negation is interpreted just once although it seems to be expressed more than once in the clause', as was the case in the examples discussed above in that they contained a combination of an n-word plus the negation marker *nie* 'not'.

There are two varieties of negative concord. The first type is negative concord proper, where an n-word obligatory co-occurs with a negative marker. The Hungarian sentences in (8) illustrate this:

(8) a. Balázs *(nem) látott semmit.
Balázs not saw.3sg nothing
'Balázs didn't see anything.'

b. Senki *(nem) jött el.
no-one not came PREVERB
'No-one came along.'

c. Balázs *(nem) beszélt senkivel semmiről.
Balázs not spoke no-one nothing
'Balázs didn't talk about anything to anyone.' [Hungarian, Giannakidou 2000: 458-461]

A second type of negative concord is called negative spread. Here the negative meaning is 'spread' over two or more n-words, but the negative marker is absent.

(9) NADA (*no) le ha dado Juan a nadie.
nothing not cl has given Juan to no-one
'Juan has not given anything to anyone.' [Spanish, Luis Vicente p.c.]

I will come back to this second kind of negative concord in section 6. Now I turn to the main prerequisite for my analysis of negative fragment answers.

4. PREREQUISITE FOR THE ANALYSIS: 'N-WORD + *NIE*' = 1 CONSTITUENT.

Following Merchant (2004) I will claim that the fragment answer *niemand nie* has moved to a position in the left periphery, with subsequent ellipsis of the rest of the clause. This is only possible, however, if the fragment forms one constituent. Several arguments, which are presented below, confirm that this is indeed the case.

4.1 Supporting evidence.

4.1.1. Verb second

The first piece of evidence is provided by verb second sentences. Since Dutch is a verb second language, the finite verb always sits in the second position in declarative main clauses. Exactly one constituent must precede it, as is shown in (10).

(10) a. Ik em em gisteren gezien.
I have him yesterday seen
'I saw him yesterday.'

b. Gisteren em ik em gezien.
yesterday have I him seen
'I saw him yesterday.'

c. *Gisteren ik em em gezien.
yesterday I have him seen

d. *Ik gisteren em em gezien.
I yesterday have him seen [Asse Dutch]

In sentences (10)c,d two constituents precede the finite verb *em* 'have', yielding an ungrammatical result. As is illustrated in (11), however, the n-word and nie can co-occur to the left of the finite verb, a clear indication that they form one constituent.

(11) a. Niemand nie em ik gisteren gezien.
no-one not have I yesterday seen
'I didn't see anyone yesterday.'

b. Noet nie zou ik da doen.
never not would I that do
'I would never do that!' [Asse Dutch]

One could claim that (11) is just a case of movement of *niemand* or *noet* with a sentence negator base generated in a high position. The example in (12)b, however, shows that this analysis must be rejected: the sentence has a non-negative matrix clause. Both *niemand* 'no-one' and the negator *nie* 'not' have undergone long distance movement from their base position in the subclause to the left-peripheral position of the matrix clause:

(12) a. Ij zou dat'em niemand nie gezien aa
he said that.he no-one not seen had
'He said that he hadn't seen anyone.'

b. Niemand nie zou'em dat'em $t_{\text{niemand nie}}$ gezien aa.
no-one not said.he that.he seen had
'He said that he hadn't seen anyone.' [Asse Dutch]

4.1.2. Coordination

Another argument in favor of the claim that 'n-word + *nie'* is one constituent involves coordination. Two sequences of an n-word plus *nie* can be coordinated, as can be seen in (13). As only (like) constituents can be coordinated (cf. Chomsky 1957, see also Williams 1978), this once again suggests that 'n-word + *nie'* is one constituent.

(13) a. Ij ei mou noet nie of nerges nie golpen.
he has me never not or nowhere not helped
'He didn't ever help me anywhere.'

b. Noet nie of nerges nie eit em mou golpen.
never not or nowhere not has he me helped
'He didn't ever help me anywhere.' [Asse Dutch]

4.1.3. Complement of extraposed PPs

The negator *nie* 'not' cannot by itself occur in extraposed position, as is illustrated in (14)a, but when a PP containing *niemand* 'no-one' is extraposed, *nie* is extraposed with it (cf. (14)b). This shows that *nie* must be part of the DP complement of PP, or at least be part of the PP.

(14) a. *Ij zoet da veu niemand doen nie.
he would that for no-one do not

b. Vruuger deet'em da nog veu zen vrienden, ma nou zoet'em da doen veu niemand nie.
previously did.he that still for his friends but now would.he that do for no-one not
'He used to do that for his friends, but now he wouldn't do it for anyone.' [Asse Dutch]

4.1.4. Position to the left of definite DP arguments

In Dutch the sentence negator *nie* 'not' cannot easily occur to the left of definite DP arguments, unless the DP has a contrastive reading (De Hoop 1992, Haegeman 1995).

(15) a. Ik peis dat'em den auto nie gekocht eit.
I think that.he the car not bought has
'I think that he didn't buy the car.'

b. Ik peis dat'em nie den auto gekocht eit, *?(ma 't ois).
I think that.he not the car bought has but the house
'I think that he bought not the car, but the house.' [Asse Dutch]

In (15)a the sentence negator sits in its regular position right above the VP, while in (15)b it precedes the definite DP argument. Without the contrastive reading 'not the car, but the house', the sentence is odd. The string 'n-word + *nie'*, however, can occur to the left of a DP argument without a contrastive reading.

(16) Ik peis da niemand nie den auto gekocht eit.
I think that no-one not the.MASC car bought has
'I think that no-one has bought the car.' [Asse Dutch]

I claim that *nie* is not a sentence negator in this case, but that it is part of the subject DP containing the n-word. Thus, *niemand* and *nie* form one constituent.

4.1.5. Co-occurrence with indefinite DP arguments

A final argument in favor of the 'one constituent'-hypothesis is the co-occurrence of *niemand nie* with indefinite DP arguments. Normally, when the Dutch sentence negator *nie* co-occurs with an indefinite DP argument, *nie* 'not' and the indefinite article *nen* 'a' "fuse", forming *gien* 'no'.[1]

(17) a. * Ik peis dat'em nie nen boek eit geliezen.
I think that.he not a.masc book has read

b. Ik peis dat'em gienen boek eit geliezen.
I think that.he no.masc book has read
'I think that he didn't read a book.' [Asse Dutch]

The nie which appears in the sequence *niemand nie* in (18), however, does not obligatorily "fuse" with the indefinite article.[2] This suggests that this *nie* is not a sentence negator, but that it is part of the DP containing *niemand*.

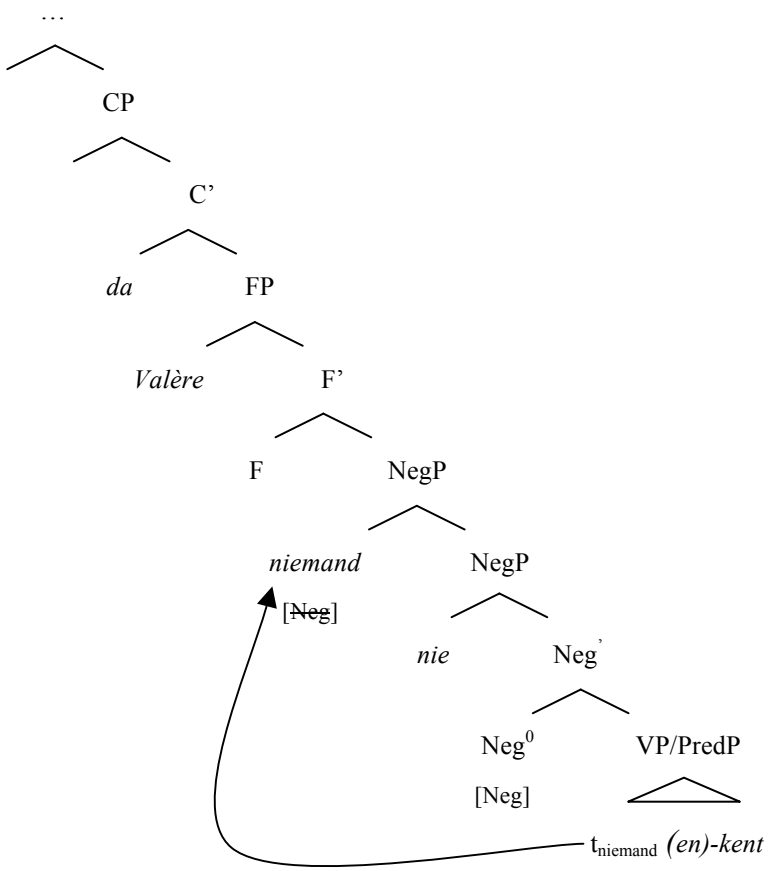
(18) Ik peis da niemand nie nen boek eit geliezen.
I think that no-one not a book has read
'I think that no-one has read a book.' [Asse Dutch]

4.2 The syntactic structure of niemand nie

Haegeman (1995) analyzes the *niemand nie* sequence in Lapscheure Dutch (cf.(19)) as in (20).[3]

(19) …da Valère ier niemand nie (en)-kent
…that Valère here no-one not (NEG)-knows'
'…that Valère doesn't know anyone here.' [Lapscheure Dutch]

(20)

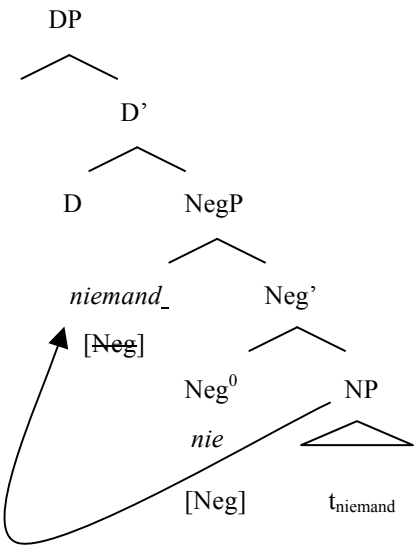


In the tree in (20) *nie* is the first specifier of a NegP dominating the VP or PredP, and the n-word *niemand* moves to a second specifier position of NegP to check its Neg-feature. In a second step the n-word and *nie* undergo Neg-absorption, thus yielding a single semantic negation (see Haegeman 1995 for more details).

Haegeman's account does not carry over to Asse Dutch, however. In her analysis the n-word and *nie* do not form one constituent, in contrast to what the data discussed in section 4.1 suggest. Furthermore, this analysis cannot offer a straightforward account of negative fragment answers such as *niemand nie* in example (1) above. As a result, I propose a new analysis in which *niemand* and *nie* do form one constituent. I claim that there is a NegP inside the DP, with *nie* as its head. As in Haegeman's (1995) structure, negative elements move to the

specifier position of NegP to check their Neg-feature. For the DP *niemand nie* this means that *niemand* moves from its base position to the specifier position of the DP-internal NegP, which results in the order *niemand nie*. This analysis is illustrated in the tree in (21).[4]

(21)

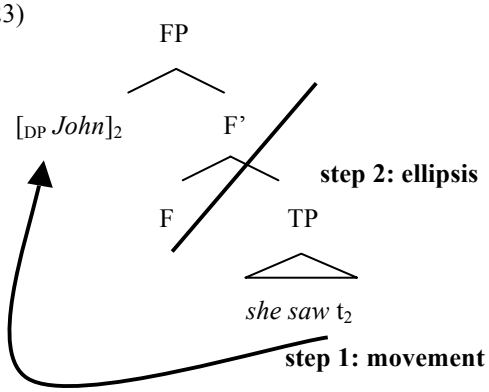


5. THE ANALYSIS: FRAGMENT ANSWERS.

Merchant (2004) assumes fragment answers to be derived from full sentential structures by ellipsis. In his account the fragment first moves from its base position to the left periphery of the clause, followed by ellipsis of TP, so that only the fragment remains. The two steps of the derivation of the fragment answer in (22) are shown in (23).[5]

(22) A: Who did she see?
B: John [~~$_{TP}$ she saw t_{John}~~].

(23)



I analyze negative fragment answers such as *niemand nie* in (1), repeated in (24), in the same way: since the n-word and *nie* form one constituent (cf. section 4), they can move to [spec,FP] together. In a second step TP is elided.

(24) A:Wie eit'em gezien? - B: Niemand nie.
who has.he seen no-one not
'Who did he see?' – 'No-one.' [Asse Dutch]

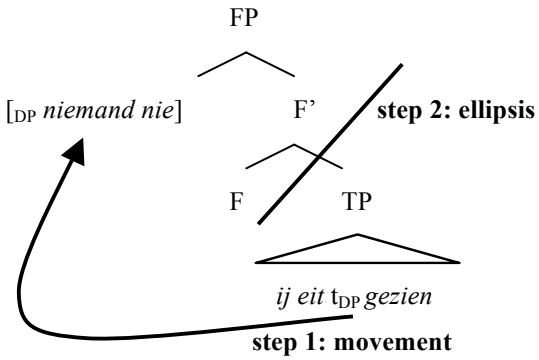
Step 1:

(25) [Ij eit niemand nie gezien]
he has no-one not seen
→ [*Niemand nie* [$_{TP}$ ij eit $t_{niemand\ nie}$ gezien]][6]
no-one not he has seen

Step 2:

(26) [Niemand nie [~~$_{IP}$ ij eit $t_{niemand\ nie}$ gezien~~]]

(27)



Some of Merchant's (2004) arguments in favor of his analysis of fragment answers also apply to these *niemand nie* cases, for instance island sensitivity. As fragments move to the left periphery, the prediction is that they are sensitive to islands. This is not easy to show, however: normally, the question which the fragment would be an answer to would itself involve movement of the wh-element out of an island and thus be ungrammatical. Therefore Merchant uses questions with an intonation rise on the questioned constituent **in situ**, such as the example in (28).[7]

(28) A: Eit'em me EUR geklapt? - B: Nië, me NIEMAND NIE
has.he with her.FOC spoken - no with no-one not
'Did he talk to HER?' – 'No, to NO-ONE.' [Asse Dutch]

Since there is no need to move a wh-element in these questions, the accented constituent can be embedded in an island, providing a test for island sensitivity of the fragment answers: if fragment answers involve movement of the fragment to the left periphery, a fragment answer to a question containing an island should be impossible, while the full sentential answer is grammatical.[8] This prediction is borne out, as (29) and (30) illustrate. As can be seen, *niemand nie* and other fragment answers behave alike.

(29) A: Eit'em geklapt me da maske da THOMAS graug eit?
has.he talked with the girl that Thomas.FOC gladly has
'Did he talk to the girl THOMAS likes?'
B: *Nië, {BERT/NIEMAND NIE}.
no Bert no-one not
B: Nië, ij eit geklapt me da maske da {BERT/NIEMAND NIE} graug eit.
no he has talked with the girl that Bert no-one not gladly has
'No, he talked to the girl {BERT/NO-ONE} likes.

(30) A: Is ze weggegon omda LUKA me eur wou dansen?
is she away.gone because Luka.FOC with her wanted dance

‘Did she leave because LUKA wanted to dance with her?’

B: *Nië, {STIJN/NIEMAND NIE}.
no Stijn no-one not

B: Nië, ze is weggegon omda {STIJN/NIEMAND NIE} me eur wou dansen.
no she is away.gone because Stijn no-one not with her wanted dance
‘No, she left because {STIJN/NO-ONE} wanted to dance with her.’ [Asse Dutch]

6. EXTENSION OF THE ANALYSIS: NEGATIVE SPREAD.

In this section I extend my analysis of *niemand nie* to the phenomenon of negative spread , which is also attested in certain dialects of Belgian Dutch. In a first subsection I take a look at some data, comparing the negative spread cases to that of *niemand nie*. From these data it follows that the string ‘n-word + *nie’* is structurally ambiguous in a number of contexts. Subsection 6.2 provides an analysis for this structural ambiguity.

6.1 Negative spread in southern Dutch

Negative spread is distinguished from negative concord proper by Giannakidou (2000, 2002). In negative spread contexts two or more n-words co-occur, expressing one semantic negation. Normally, a negation marker does not occur in negative spread, but in certain Southern Dutch dialects *nie* ‘not’ optionally appears together with two or more n-words:

(31) Ik em niemand niks (nie) gegeiven.
I have no-one nothing not given
‘I didn’t give anything to anyone.’ [Asse Dutch]

The string *niemand niks nie* ‘no-one nothing not’ in (31) differs from the combination ‘n-word + *nie’* discussed above. First of all, it cannot occur to the left of the finite verb in a declarative matrix clause:

(32) *Niemand niks (nie) em ik gegeiven.
no-one nothing not have I given [Asse Dutch]

A second difference between the two constructions has to do with coordination. Sequences of two n-words plus *nie* cannot be coordinated.

(33) *Ij eit noet niks (nie) en nerges niks (nie) gezien.
he has never nothing not and nowhere nothing not seen

(34) *Ij eit noet niemand (nie) en nerges niks (nie) gezien.
he has never no-one not and nowhere nothing not seen [Asse Dutch]

Furthermore, *niemand niks nie* is disallowed as the complement of an extraposed PP (35) and cannot easily precede definite DP arguments (36), unlike *niemand nie*:

(35) *Ij zoet $t_{\text{voor niemand niks nie}}$ doen veu niemand niks (nie).
he would do for no-one nothing not [Asse Dutch]

(36) ?? Ij eit noet niemand nie dienen boek gegeiven.
he has never no-one not that.MASC book given [Asse Dutch]

The fifth argument that showed *niemand* and *nie* to be one constituent in section 4.1 once again yields the opposite result for *niemand niks nie* either: when the string occurs with an indefinite DP argument, *nie* must ‘fuse’ with the indefinite article to form *gien* ‘no’.

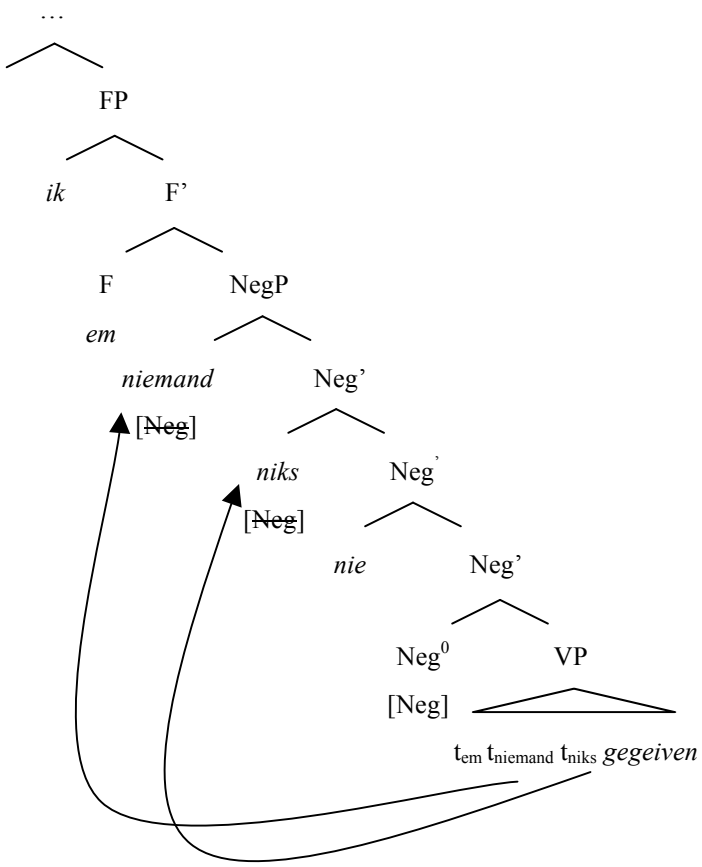
(37) a.*Ij eit noet niemand nie nen boek gegeiven. (NC)
he has never no-one not a.MASC book given
b. Ij eit noet niemand gienen boek gegeiven.
he has never no-one no.MASC book given
'He never gave anyone a book.' [Asse Dutch]

Finally, the string with two n-words and nie is disallowed as a fragment answer:

(38) A: Wie eit'em wa gegeiven? - B: *Niemand niks nie.[9]
who has.he what given no-one nothing not [Asse Dutch]

These 6 empirical tests show that the string *niemand niks nie* does not form a constituent, and that *nie* is a sentence negator here, which I assume occupies a position in a NegP preceding the verb phrase. I therefore adopt Haegeman's (1995) proposal for these negative spread phenomena. In her analysis both n-words move from their base position to a specifier position of NegP dominating the VP, checking their Neg-feature:

(39)

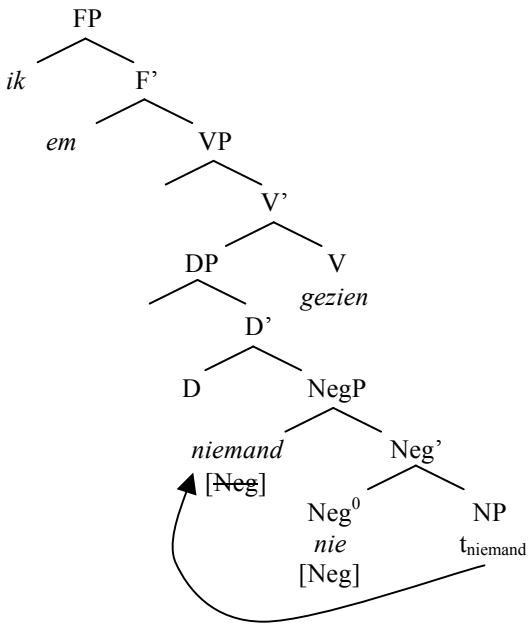


6.2 The structural ambiguity of 'n-word + nie'

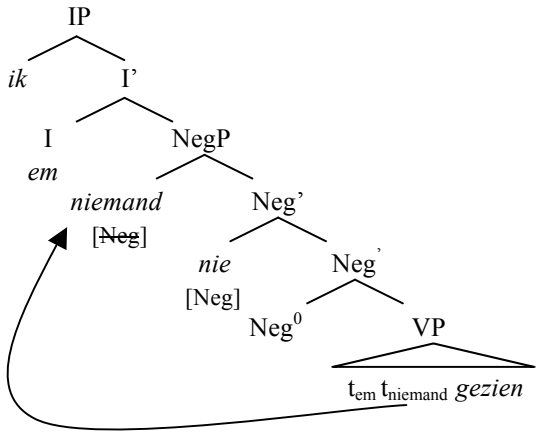
It is clear from the previous subsection that a string with two n-words and an optional *nie* has a different structure than the *niemand nie* we find in fragment answers. The latter is one constituent, a DP with an internal NegP, while in the former the n-words and *nie* are all specifiers of a NegP dominating the VP. This account predicts, however, that the structure used for two or more n-words should in principle also be available for sentences with only one n-word plus *nie*. Nothing in the structure in (39) forces the sentence to contain more than one n-word. That means that a sentence such as *Ik em niemand nie gezien* 'I have no-one not seen' is

structurally ambiguous: *niemand* and *nie* can form one DP (40), or they can both be specifiers of a sentential NegP (41).

(40)



(41)



Fronting of the constituent containing *niemand* yields different results for the two structures: when *niemand* and *nie* form one DP, *nie* is fronted as well, while in the case of (41) it stays behind.

(42) a. Niemand nie em ik gezien.
no-one not have I seen
b. Niemand em ik nie gezien.
no-one have I not seen
'I didn't see anyone at all.' [Asse Dutch]

The structural ambiguity is also visible in sentences with indefinite DP arguments. As *nie* is inside the DP in (40), it is not a sentence negator and does not 'fuse' with an indefinite article ((43)a). In the structure in (41), however, *nie* is a specifier of a clausal NegP, and *nie* and *nen* 'a' must form *gien* 'no' ((43)b).

(43) a. Ik peis da niemand nie nen boek gelezen eit.
I think that no-one not a.MASC book read has
b. Ik peis da niemand gienen boek gelezen eit.

I think that no-one no.MASC book read has
'I think that no-one has read a book.' [Asse Dutch]

Summing up, the structure of 'n-word + nie' is ambiguous in sentences such as *Ik em niemand nie gezien* 'I have no-one not seen'. *Niemand nie* can either be one constituent or it can be part of a NegP dominating the VP, parallel to negative spread.

7. Open questions and problems.

The analysis of negative fragments presented above still leaves open some questions. First of all, not all n-words combine equally easily with *nie*. The examples in (44) and (45) show that *gienien* 'not a single one' excludes *nie* for practically all speakers of Asse Dutch in all contexts and *niks nie* 'nothing not' sounds odd as a fragment answer.

(44) a. Ik em er gieneniene (* nie) gezien.[10]
I have there no.MASC.one.MASC not seen
'I haven't seen a single one.'

b. A: Oeveul hebde der gezien? - B: Gieneniene (* nie).
how.many have.you there seen no.MASC.one.MASC not
'How many of them did you see?' – 'Not a single one.'

(45) a. Ik em niks (? nie) gekocht.
I have nothing not bought
'I didn't buy anything.'

b. A: Wat hebde gekocht? - B: Niks (?? nie).
what have.you bought nothing not
'What did you buy?' – 'Nothing.' [Asse Dutch]

As the data on these cases are not very clear yet, I defer this issue to further research.

Another question that comes to mind is why the two structures presented in section 6 cannot co-occur. That is, why for instance (46) is ungrammatical.

(46) *Ij eit noet nie niemand nie gezien.
he has never not no-one not seen

We expect that *noet* and *nie* can form one constituent and that both *noet nie*, *niemand* and *nie* can be in the specifier of the sentential NegP. The illformedness of this sentence might be due to a restriction that only allows XPs without internal NegP to be in the specifier of sentential Neg, in order to check a Neg-feature. It's not clear whether this solves all problems, however: all sentences with n-words and *nie* in the middle field can in principle be ambiguous between the two structures. This is an issue I still need to look into.

8. Conclusions.

Summing up, the main claim of this paper is that negative concord fragment answers such as *niemand nie* 'no-one not' are derived by movement of the fragment to a left-peripheral position. A second step elides the TP containing the rest of the clause, leaving only *niemand nie*, parallel to Merchant (2004). This analysis implies

that the fragment must be one constituent: the DP contains a NegP headed by *nie* 'not' and *niemand* moves to its specifier to check a Neg-feature. This 'one constituent'-analysis is confirmed by data concerning verb second, coordination, complements of extraposed PPs and the co-occurrence with definite and indefinite DP arguments.

Negative spread, on the other hand, is analyzed differently: the n-words and an optional *nie* occupy (multiple) specifier positions of a NegP dominating the VP. The analysis of *niemand nie* and negative spread as two different structures predicts that sentences such as *ik em niemand nie gezien* 'I have no-one not seen', with one n-word, are structurally ambiguous. *Niemand nie* can be one constituent, like in the fragment answers, or it can be analyzed as negative spread.

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NOTES

[1] When the DP acquires a specific or contrastive reading, the sentence in (17)a is much better:

(i) Ik peis dat'em nie nen boek eit geliezen, ma een toatschrift.
I think that.he not a book has read but a magazine

'I think that he didn't read a book, but a magazine.'

[2] When *niemand nie* is followed by an indefinite DP, *nie* can optionally incorporate into the indefinite. I will argue in section 6.2 that *niemand* and *nie* do not form a constituent in that case, parallel to negative spread.

[3] In Lapscheure Dutch, which is a West-Flemish dialect, a negative clitic *en* can appear on the verb. This clitic rarely expresses negation by itself and I will not discuss it any further here, as it does not change anything about my analysis of *niemand nie*. For more information about *en*, see Haegeman (1995).

[4] The data in (6) and (7) suggest that this analysis for 'n-word + *nie'* can be extended to the negative adverbs: *noet nie* 'never not' and *nerges nie* 'nowhere not' behave like *niemand nie*, which means that they should also be analyzed as one constituent, with a NegP inside the AdvP. It is not yet clear to me how this can be implemented; whether Neg would a head taking the AdvP as its complement or the AdvP has a NegP adjoined to it. When we consider constituent negation, however, – an issue we have to take into account anyway at some point, it is plausible that all kinds of projections will have to allow a position for an internal NegP. This, too, is something I will look at later on.

[5] I adopt Merchant's terminology here: FP is a functional projection dominating TP or 'tense phrase' in the left periphery of the clause.

[6] Note that normally the finite verb would have to move from T to C in order to get the verb-second order. This movement can be bled by ellipsis, however (cf. Merchant 2001:62-74 and Lasnik 1999a, 1999b and 2001 for possible approaches and analyses; see also Kim 1997:183-185. Cf. also Baltin 2002 and Boeckx & Stjepanović 2001 for discussion).

[7] The sentence in (28) is mine; for more examples see Merchant (2004).

[8] This statement simplifies things, as in sluicing the ellipsis can repair island violations (cf. Merchant 2001a&b, 2004). In this paper I am abstracting away from these cases.

[9] Without *nie* the fragment answer is much better. This is expected, since the DPs *niemand* and *niks* should be allowed to move separately as two constituents in fragment answers to multiple questions, parallel to the answer in (i).

(i) A: Wie eit'em wa gegeiven? - B: Reiner een boek en Jessica een cd.
who has.he what given Reiner a book and Jessica a cd
'Who did he give what?' – 'Reiner a book and Jessica a cd.'

The exact analysis of these kinds of answers I defer to future research.

[10] The combination of *gieneniene* and *nie* is possible in these sentences under a double negation reading, however.