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## Negation marking in conjuncts: A many-to-one relation?

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In Standard German (and in Standard English), sentential negation can be expressed by a constituent containing a so-called *n-word* such as *niemand* ‘nobody’ or *kein-* ‘no’. If this constituent occurs in a conjunction, as in (1), several such negative constituents can be conjoined without giving rise to a double negation reading or a negative concord reading (see fn. 1 of Larrivéé 2016). We will point out analytical challenges of these cases and suggest a possible analysis.

- (1) Die meisten Berühmtheiten beantworten **keine** Briefe und **keine** e-Mails.

‘Most celebrities answer no letters and no e-mail messages.’

A simple first analysis interprets sentence (1) as a conjunction of two negated sentences with the logical representation  $(\neg\exists x(\phi \wedge \psi)) \wedge (\neg\exists x(\phi' \wedge \psi))$ . Closer inspection of the data reveals that negatively marked conjuncts can bind a pronoun outside of the conjunction, which shows that an interpretation as clausal conjunction is not possible. An alternative logical form is  $\neg\exists x((\phi \vee \phi') \wedge \psi)$ . It contains a single negation, and the restrictors of the two negative determiners are combined by logical disjunction instead of conjunction.

We argue that current analyses of negation do not predict the observed semantic behavior. We propose an analysis in *Lexical Resource Semantics* (Richter & Sailer, 2004), which allows for negation amalgamation in coordination structures in German, and discuss independent evidence for analyzing the coordination particle *und* ‘and’ as ambiguous between logical conjunction and disjunction. Its actual reading is determined on the basis of the overall semantic contribution of its arguments.

**References:** • Larrivéé, P. (2016): The markedness of double negation. In P. Larrivéé & Ch. Lee (eds.), *Negation and polarity: Experimental perspectives*, vol. 1, 177–197. Springer. • Richter, F. & M. Sailer (2006): Modeling typological markedness in semantics. the case of negative concord. In St. Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 13th international conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Varna 2006*, 305–325. Stanford: CSLI Publications. [csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/7/richter-sailer.pdf](http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/HPSG/7/richter-sailer.pdf).