

Grammaticalization in progress: the development of negative focus particles*

Ton van der Wouden
Groningen and Leiden
ATW, PO BOX 9515, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands
vdwouden@let.rug.nl

ICHL XIV, Vancouver, B.C., Canada, Monday, August 9, 1999

1 Introduction

In this paper, we argue that combinations consisting of a negation and an existential quantifier over time (comparable to e.g. English *once*) may develop into negative focus particles (comparable to English *not even*). The German combination *nicht einmal* is an example of the type of result this development can yield, English *once* demonstrates that the development is not obligatory.

Most of the data in the paper will be drawn from Dutch. By comparing three Dutch existential temporal quantifiers, we try to illustrate some of the factors that may illustrate the development from quantifier into focus particle. Occasional comparison with other languages will show that the mechanisms discussed are more general.

2 Focus

The concept generally known as FOCUS is not an easy one to define. For the purpose of this paper, let us assume something along the lines of the definition in (1).

- (1) [F]ocus [...] is that element in a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition and which makes the utterance of a sentence informative. (Lambrecht 1994:xiv)

For the point made in this paper, the choice of this particular definition is not crucial.¹

Languages may employ various means to put elements in focus: syntactic operations such as preposing (2a), intonational means (2b), focus particles and adverbs (2c), etc.

- (2) a. It's beans that John likes
b. John likes BEANS
c. John likes only beans

*The research reported on here is carried out within the framework of the VNC-project 'Aspects of Particle Use in the Netherlands and Flanders', which is financed by NWO, the Dutch Organization for Scientific Research, and FWO, the Flemish Organisation for Scientific Research. Parts have been presented already at the TIN-dag 1998 and elsewhere. Thanks to Inge Callebaut, Piet Van de Craen, Ad Foolen, Jack Hoeksema and Frans Zwarts for discussion, cooperation and data. Usual disclaimers apply.

¹Cf., however, footnote 2.

In each of the three sentences, *beans* is in focus. Each of the sentences asserts that John likes beans and that this is not exactly what was or could be expected.²

3 Focus particles

In the rest of the paper, we will mainly deal with focus particles, the third listed option of putting constituents in focus.

König (1991) offers a useful overview of the syntax, the semantics and the history of focus particles in a number of languages. He also makes clear that it may not always be easy to decide whether a particular lexical element is a focus particle or something else (cf. also Taylor (1989)). His conclusion is in (3):

- (3) “The category ‘focus particle’ is thus no more than a convenient abbreviation for a number of syntactic and semantic properties. The relevant group has some prototypical members, which have a great deal in common and some marginal ones, which also share properties with other classes or subclasses of lexical items.(König 1991:15)

According to König (1991:10ff), prototypical members of the category of focus particles show properties such as the ones given in (4)

- (4)
- they may occur almost anywhere in the sentence
 - different positions of the focus particle correlate with different locations of the main accent, and with different interpretations of the sentence
 - they interact with the focus structure of the sentence
 - they may occur in a sentence more than once

We will return to some of these properties shortly.

4 Negative focus particles

Rooth (1985) postulates the existence of two focus particles *even* in English: a positive one (1) and a negative polarity one (2), the latter being restricted to negative contexts.

- (5)
- a. Someone even cleaned the bathroom
 - b. The censorship committee kept John from even reading Syntactic Structures

Rooth’s main argument for assuming a special use of *even* in negative contexts is the observation of ambiguities such as the one in (6)

- (6) If you do that even twice, you will be punished severely.

where *twice* could be read as being near the low end or near the high end of a scale.³

²Cf., however, the remark in Rooth (1996:296) “that intonational focus in English has a weak semantics of evoking alternatives. This conclusion has no immediate bearing on the semantics of other constructions in English and other languages which we choose to describe as focusing constructions. For instance, a cleft has a strengthened semantics of existential presupposition and exhaustive listing”, which suggests that the focus constructions in (2) may each have a different semantics. On the same page, however, Rooth also states that “it would be surprising if at least many of the things in the world’s languages that we call focus did not turn out to have a common semantic and/or pragmatic core.”.

³Wilkinson (1993) has argued against lexical ambiguity of *even*, opting instead for scopal ambiguity. Rullmann (1997) is not convinced by Wilkinson’s arguments. Cf. Rullmann & Hoeksema (1997) and Hoeksema & Rullmann (1999).

Languages such as Dutch employ (at least) two strategies to mark focus in negative contexts: either the standard focus particle *zelfs* followed by negation is used, or negation plus a special particle *eens* (Rullmann 1995), which we will gloss as *once*.

- (7) a. *Hij had zelfs zijn jas nog aan*
 he had even his coat still on
 'He was even still wearing his coat'
 b. *Hij had zelfs zijn jas niet uitgedaan*
 he had even his coat not out-done
 'He even hadn't taken off his coat'
 c. *Hij had niet eens zijn jas uitgedaan*
 he had not once his coat out-done
 'He hadn't even taken off his coat'
 d. **Hij had eens zijn jas nog aan*
 he had once his coat still on
 e. **Hij had niet zijn jas eens uitgedaan*
 he had not his coat once out-done

An important difference between English negative *even* and the Dutch element *eens* is that whereas *even* can be considered a true negative polarity item, licensed by all kinds of negative contexts (van der Wouden 1997), including affective predicates such as *keep from* as in example (5b), *niet eens* appears to function as one lexical item in all relevant aspects: no lexical material whatsoever may intervene between the elements *niet* and *eens* (we only get the relevant reading under strict adjacency, cf. (7e)), *niet* cannot be replaced by any other negative operator,⁴ and some authors (albeit only a few) even tend to write the combination as one word, which suggests that it is one word according to their intuition.⁵ An example is given in (8).

- (8) *de vrouw wier naam hij nieteens wist*
 the woman whose name he not-even knew
 'the woman he did not even know the name of⁶

Niet eens shows some of properties of focus particles mentioned by König quite neatly: it can occur in various positions in the sentence, with immediate consequences for intonation and interpretation:

- (9) a. *Hij had niet EENS zijn JAS uitgedaan*
 he had not once his coat out-done
 'He hadn't even taken off his coat' (=⁷c)
 b. *Hij had zijn JAS niet eens uitgedaan*
 he had his coat not once out-done
 'He hadn't even taken off his coat'

⁴In the vernacular one also finds *geeneens*, consisting of *eens* and the negative indefinite *geen* 'no', as in *het doet het geeneens* 'it doesn't even work' (Harold Pinter, *De huisbewaarder* (The Caretaker). Transl. G.K. van het Reve. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 1961.)

⁵Cf. van der Wouden (1998) for elaboration of this last argument. Phonological matters such as intonation might also be worth mentioning: *eens* in *niet eens* always has a full vowel and an intonational peak (and even a drag tone which is claimed to be a typical property of NPIs in Postma (1996)), whereas the vowel is (or can be) reduced in many other usages of *eens*: cf. van der Wouden *et al.* (1998).

⁶Albert Helman, *Het vergeten gezicht*. Rotterdam: Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 1939.

Contrary to what the glosses suggest, the two sentences convey different messages: in (9a), the whole predicate is in focus, suggesting that taking off his coat was among the most likely of all the things “he” could have done, while asserting that “he” did not do that. In (9b), on the other hand, only *jas* ‘coat’ is in focus and the taking off is taken for granted, suggesting that of all the things “he” could have taken off, the coat was the most likely; but “he” did not take that off.

5 Sources of focus particles

König (1991:163ff.) discusses a number of sources for various types of focus particles. E.g., exclusive or restrictive particles (such as *only*) typically derive from or are related to the numeral *one* (e.g. *only, alone; einzig, allein, erst*), from privative notions (*purely, exclusively*) or from restricted negation (‘nothing except’: e.g. Fr. *ne ... que*).

Although König does mention the fact that *nicht einmal* in German has become an inseparable unit and thus a complex particle, he does not systematically investigate the way in which such combinations may develop. And that is exactly what we will explore in the remainder of this paper.

6 From negated existential quantifier to negative focus particle

Dutch currently has (at least) three existential quantifiers ranging over moments in time: *eens*, *eenmaal* and *een keer*. They all mean something like *once* originally, and they derive from the numeral *een* ‘one’ (or from the indefinite determiner *een*, for that matter). *Eens* is a genitive form, which has an adverbial function here, as often; morphologically, it is completely comparable to English *once*; *eenmaal* is from *een* + *maal* ‘time’, completely parallel to the German cognate *einmal*; *een keer* has the same structure, but the second part is *keer* ‘turn’:

- (10) a. *eens* < *een* + genitive/adverbial *s* (cf. Engl. *once*)
 b. *eenmaal* < *een* + *maal* ‘sign; point in time’ (cf. G. *einmal*)
 c. *een keer* < *een* + *keer* ‘turn’

In (11), some of our earliest examples of this temporal usage of the three quantifiers are given. Note that this type of usage of *keer* is relatively young; according to Verwijs & Verdam (1947:s.v. *mael*, 4), this usage of *keer* was unknown in Middle Dutch.

- (11) a. *Doen Willem van Hollant ...te Colen eens [was]*
 When William of Holland ...in Cologne once was
 ‘When William of Holland once was in Cologne’⁷
 b. *Doe hy op een mael na synen Vijver gesonden hadde om Visch te*
 When he on one time to his pond sent had to fish to
crijghen, so ...
get, so ...
 ‘When he once sent someone to his pond to get some fish, then ...’⁸
 c. *Het Engeltje kuschte haar eigen handje verscheiden keer*
 The angel-DIM kissed her own hand-DIM various time
 ‘The little angel kissed her own hand several times’⁹

⁷Velthem I, 26, 3 (13th C.) via MNW.

⁸Ph. van Marnix van St. Aldegonde, *De Byencorff der H. Roomsche Kercke*, 1574, via WNT on CD ROM.

⁹E. Wolff-Bekker and A. Deken *Historie van den Heer Willem Leevend*, 1784–1785, via WNT on CD ROM.

In time, *eens* and, to a lesser extent, *eenmaal*, have developed a number of usages where the original existential quantifier meaning is bleached or even completely lost:

(12) modal particle

- a. *kom eens*
 come once
 'do come'
- b. *hij is nu eenmaal je man*
 he is now once your man
 'he is your husband after all'

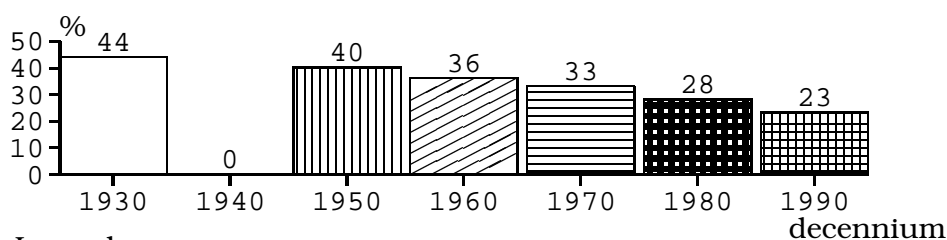
(13) conjunct

- a. *eens uit mijn gezicht herbegint hij zijn lieddeuntje te fluiten.*
 once from my sight re-begins he his love-song to whistle
 'once he is out of sight he starts whistling his love-song again'¹⁰
- b. *eenmaal in zijn lichaam verandert zijn kost*
 once in his body changes his food
 'once his food is in his body, it changes'¹¹

So far, *een keer* hardly shows a trace of this type of grammaticalisation in the Netherlands — which may be due to the fact that it is much younger.¹²

König (1991) also discusses another tendency of heavily grammaticalized elements, especially particles: they may become so weak semantically and/or phonologically as to need reinforcement in order to be able to fulfill their function.¹³ This effect is particularly strong in the case of *eens*, which is found in isolation in a monotone decreasing number of cases in this century. A picture of this development is given in (14). In the 1930's, almost half of the cases of *eens* was not adjacent to negation nor reinforced by some other particle, while in the 1990's, this number is reduced to less than 25%.¹⁴

(14) **Combinations with *eens* in 20th century texts:**
#*eens* found in isolation relative to the total number of *eens*'s



Legend:

□ 1930's (*N* = 1539), ▨ 1950's (*N* = 297), ▩ 1960's (*N* = 1495),
 ▧ 1970's (*N* = 893), ▣ 1980's (*N* = 730), ▤ 1990's (*N* = 2991)

(insufficient data for the 1940s)

¹⁰Felix Timmermans, *Ik zag Cecilia komen*, 1938

¹¹*Job*. Transl. Pius Drijvers and Pé Hawinkels, 1978

¹²In many Belgian dialects, *een keer* functions as a mitigator of directive speech acts (to use terminology of Vismans (1994), especially imperatives, completely parallel to *eens* in (12a).

¹³"If an element is weakened in its phonological and/or semantic substance as a result of grammaticalisation, its decay may be checked by reinforcement (cf. [Lehmann (1982:23ff)].)"

¹⁴The number of examples from the 1940's or before the 1930's is too small yet for trustworthy statistics.

Apart from *niet eens*, popular combinations (around 15 to 20 % of all cases) nowadays are clusters such as *wel eens* and *nog eens* ‘once again’. Longer clusters, however, are rare, but far from impossible either; (15c) shows a quite natural real life cluster of five particles, whereas the theoretical limit is six or seven.¹⁵

- (15) a. *Ben je wel eens in Parijs geweest?*
 Are you PART PART in Paris been
 ‘Have you ever been in Paris?’
 b. *We zullen het nog eens proberen*
 We will it PART PART try
 ‘We will try it once again’
 c. *om Wendy dan toch ook maar eens aan te spreken*
 to Wendy PART PART PART PART PART on to speak
 ‘to address Wendy as well after all’¹⁶

But let us return now to the focus particle *niet eens* and its colleagues. The combination of *eens* with *niet* is not attested in the large Middle Dutch Dictionary *MNW*. The earliest examples in the historical Dutch Dictionary *WNT* are from the first part of the sixteenth century already, and the use as a complex focus particle dates back to at least as early as the second part of the sixteenth century (16b).

- (16) a. *op dat v die wederpartider niet eens den rechter ouer*
 up that you-ACC the other-party not once the judge-DAT PART
en leuere
 neg give
 ‘lest the other party hand you over to the judge at a certain moment’¹⁷
 b. *dat die ouders niet eens en weten waer haer arme kinderen*
 that those parent not once NEG know where their poor children
gebleven zijn
 stayed are
 ‘that these parents don’t even know the whereabouts of their poor children’¹⁸

The combination *niet eenmaal* is not only much more rare, the earliest examples are considerably younger than the cases of *niet eens*. And the focus particle usage of *niet eenmaal* appears to be particularly recent.

- (17) a. *Ghy sult niet eenmael, laes! de Griexsche ruggen wonden*
 Thou shalt not once, alas! the Greek backs wound
 ‘thou shalt not even/not once wound the Greek backs, alas’¹⁹

¹⁵On clusters with *eens* vide Hoogvliet (1903), de Vriendt *et al.* (1991), Vismans (1994), van der Wouden *et al.* (1998), Zwarts (1999).

¹⁶Ronald Giphart: Jongens van de wereld, in *De eerste keer. Een wereldwijde verhalenbundel*. Den Haag, Novib, 1995.

¹⁷Bijbel v. Liesveldt (1534), Matth. 5 c via WNT on CD ROM.

¹⁸in Fredericq, Pamfl. 34 [1568], via WNT on CD ROM.

¹⁹Vondel: *Amsterdamsche Hecuba* 1626.

- b. *Het gerucht ...maakte dat men Modde baas ...niet eenmaal hoorde*
 The noise ...made that one Modde boss ...not once heard
 'the noise made that one didn't even/once heard boss Modde'²⁰
- c. *(Ik zal) het u mooglyk niet eenmaal zeggen.*
 I will it you possibly not once say
 'I might not even tell you'²¹
- d. *doch hij wenscht het niet eenmaal, anders...*
 but he wishes it not once, otherwise...
 'but he doesn't even want it, otherwise ...'²²
- e. *Jozef is op reis, hij weet niet eenmaal wat er geschied is,*
 Jozef is on travel, he knows not once what there happened has
 'Jozef is traveling, he doesn't even know what has happened'²³

A problem with focus particles such as *niet eens* and *niet eenmaal* is that they cannot always be distinguished easily from the negated existential quantifier. Often both readings are equally possible, especially in combinations with predicates denoting events, i.e., referring to countable, bounded stretches of time (Vendler 1967; Verkuyl 1993). If, however, the predicate refers to some kind of state, such as the verb *weten* 'know' in (16b), we know that we must be dealing with the focus usage, as one cannot quantify temporarily over such predicates (one cannot know once). That is to say, combinability of these particle combinations with such stative predicates is a clear proof of them being focus particles rather than existential quantifiers.

In the case of (17a), the quantifier reading is still possible, so *niet eenmaal*'s usage as a focus particle may be younger even than 1626. So far, we didn't find any cases that are relatively clear before the second half of the eighteenth century (17). The first really clear case in our material is (17d) which dates from 1845.

7 Making sense of the development

How should we understand this development from an existential temporal quantifier into a focus particle within negative contexts? We saw that the oldest instances of these negated existential temporal quantifiers, invariantly accompanied predicates allowing for existential quantification.

Now consider once again such a sentence:

- (18) *Hij had niet één keer zijn jas uitgedaan*
 he had not once his coat out-done
 'He hadn't taken off his coat once'

Now taking off one's coat once is a kind of activity that usually takes little effort; moreover, taking off one's coat once can be assumed to be an endpoint on the kind of pragmatic scale usually known as Horn scale (Horn 1972), e.g. the one in (19):

- (19) *take off your coat once < take off your coat twice ... < take off your coat many times*

²⁰Buma, *Boere Bruiloft* 131 [1767], via WNT on CD ROM.

²¹E. Wolff-Bekker and A. Deken *Historie van den Heer Willem Leevend*, 1784–1785, via WNT on CD ROM.

²²Bosboom-Toussaint, Leicester, 1845, via WNT on CD ROM.

²³V. Loveling; Sophie, 1885, via WNT on CD ROM.

Together, this may yield a conversational implicature that not even a minimal amount of activity was undertaken. In other words, the utterance in (18) may become semantically and pragmatically equivalent to *he had not even taken off his coat*, i.e. (7c).

The following step may be that the implicational reading of (18) is re-interpreted or re-analyzed such that *niet een keer* develops into the locus of the implicature, i.e. that *niet een keer* develops (grammaticalizes into) a new meaning *not even*. In other words, the implicature is lexicalized, and becomes part of the lexical meaning of *niet een keer* – a process not unheard of in the realm of focus particles, as König (1991:Ch. 6) amply demonstrates.

And once that effect has been established, it will also become possible to combine this multi word unit – one might also say idiom – with statives, in order to convey the *not even*-meaning *cum implicatures*.

8 Lexical differences

The three combinations discussed here show large differences in frequency nowadays.

(20) Occurrences in the 1990s of three existential quantifiers turned into particles

particle	#	% <i>niet</i>	neg. focus particle
<i>eens</i>	ca. 3000	13%	13%
<i>eenmaal</i>	ca. 32	0%	0%
<i>een keer</i>	ca. 50	4%	0%

We already saw that *niet een keer* never developed into a focus particle. Maybe it will, sometimes in the next century or so, although the position of *niet eens* appears to be very well established. But we also saw (in table (14)) that such numbers may change quite rapidly.

On the other hand, we also saw examples of *niet eenmaal* from earlier times, especially from the period between the end of the eighteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth. (20) suggests that this usage is extinct nowadays. Is this really the case, or is our sample simply too small? My guess, however, would be that we have a real effect here, the rather small sample notwithstanding. One argument is that it is very hard for native speakers²⁴ to get the relevant examples in (17) in this negative focus reading: they sound extremely awkward nowadays.

How then can we understand this seemingly sudden extinction of the negative focus particle *niet eenmaal*? One explanation that doesn't work is blocking by another element with the same function: there is of course such an element, *niet eens*, which has become very successful, but that element existed already at the time of the first occurrences of *niet eenmaal* as a focus particle at the end of the eighteenth century. We even find sentences which contain both focus particles.

A more plausible explanation, to my taste, would be influence of normative grammar. This is not the appropriate moment for an overview of the successes and failures of the *Germanismenstreit* of the Dutch language mavens and other normative grammarians, because that would be a (long) story all by itself. However, it is a fact that all important dictionaries, at least since the publication of the relevant volume of the large *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (WNT) around 1912, until today, disapprove explicitly of

²⁴At this moment, I can only speak for native speakers from the Netherlands; perhaps some speakers from Belgium can get this reading, but our corpus data do not give any indication to this effect.

this usage of the combination *niet eenmaal*, as a barbarism, or, to be more precise, as a Germanism, a condemnable influence of the German language: the idea is that *niet eenmaal* is a literal translation from German *nicht einmal*, or at least is too much like that combination.²⁵

Whether these dictionaries are right or wrong in assuming that *niet eenmaal* is formed under German influence is unclear – we saw that the combination dates back to at least the seventeenth century, and that the development of a negated existential quantifier into a negative focus particle is quite a natural thing. All that is of course irrelevant – what counts is the opinion of the influential normative sources and their official denunciation. And I assume that they have won this time, making the elimination of the focus particle *niet eenmaal* one of the (few?) successes of the aforementioned fight against Germanisms.

9 To conclude

In this paper, we have tried to show how negative focus particles may develop from negated existential quantifiers within the temporal domain. We have shown that the development occurs, and we have tried to explain the development in terms of lexicalisation of conventional implicatures.

We have focused on three candidates for this development, and we have seen that this process of grammaticalisation has been much more successful in the case of *niet eens* than with *niet eenmaal*. We have shown that *niet een keer* appears to have the same potential as the other two combinations. That it nevertheless fails to show this development may be due to the relative novelty of the existential usage of *een keer*.

We have also shown that the combination *niet eenmaal* was on its way to grammaticalize into a usage as a negative focus particle, but that this development stopped quite suddenly. We have suggested that this sudden death of the focus particle *niet eenmaal* may be due to influence of normative grammarians in their fight against German influence on the purity of the beautiful Dutch language.

Finally, we note that the developments described here are not unique for the Dutch language: although English *once* has not gained such a usage, German *nicht einmal* has. Swedish *ens*, cognate of Dutch *eens* of course, is again a somewhat different story according to van der Auwera (1992): that existential quantifier has turned into a ‘standard’ negative polarity item (found in all kinds of negative contexts (van der Wouden 1997)), meaning *even*, exactly parallel to the NPI *even* hypothesized by Rooth (1985) for English.

References

- DE VRIENDT, SERA, WILLY VANDEWEGHE, & PIET VAN DE CRAEN. 1991. Combinatorial aspects of modal particles in Dutch. *Multilingua* 10, 43–59.
- DE VRIES, MATTHIAS, & LAMMERT A. TE WINKEL ET AL. (eds.). 1864–1998. *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*. 's-Gravenhage [etc.]: Martinus Nijhoff [etc.].
- GEERTS, G., & H. HEESTERMANS (eds.). 1984. *Van Dale Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal*. Utrecht/Antwerpen: Van Dale Lexicografie, 11 edition.
- HOEKSEMA, JACK, & HOTZE RULLMANN. 1999. Scalarity and polarity: a study of scalar adverbs as polarity items. Ms. Groningen and Alberta.

²⁵e.g. WNT s.v. *eenmaal*, 4: “Verbonden met eene ontkenning. Niet eens, zelfs niet. In dit gebruik wellicht, althans voor den jongeren tijd, als germanisme op te vatten.” Geerts & Heestermans (1984:s.v. *eenmaal* 3) (germ.) *niet eenmaal*, niet eens. Cf. also Theissen (1978:59-60).

- HOOGVLIET, J.M. 1903. *Lingua: een beknopt leer- en handboek van Algemeene en Nederlandsche taalkennis, meer bepaaldelijk bestemd voor leeraren en onderwijzenden in moderne en oude talen*. Amsterdam: S.L. van Looy.
- HORN, LAURENCE ROBERT. 1972. *On the semantic properties of logical operators in English*. UCLA dissertation. Distributed by IULC, Bloomington, Indiana.
- KÖNIG, EKKEHARD. 1991. *The meaning of focus particles: a comparative perspective*. London [etc.]: Routledge.
- LAMBRECHT, KNUD. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- LEHMANN, C. 1982. *Thoughts on Grammaticalisation. A Programmatic Sketch*. Köln: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.
- POSTMA, GERTJAN. 1996. Configurationality and negative polarity: The story of *ooit* continued. Paper presented at "Perspectives on Negation" August 24-26, University of Groningen, The Netherlands.
- ROOTH, MATS. 1985. *Association with focus*. University of Massachusetts at Amherst dissertation.
- . 1996. Focus. In *Handbook of Contemporary Semantic Theory*, ed. by Shalom Lappin, 271–297. Oxford: Blackwell.
- RULLMANN, HOTZE. 1995. How to say not even in Dutch. Paper presented at Colloque de Syntaxe et Semantique de Paris/ the Paris Syntax and Semantics Conference, October 12-14, 1995.
- . 1997. Even, polarity and scope. MS, University of Alberta.
- , & JACK HOEKSEMA. 1997. De distributie van *ook maar* en *zelfs maar*. een corpusstudie. *Nederlandse taalkunde* 2, 281–317.
- TAYLOR, JOHN R. 1989. *Linguistic categorization: Prototypes in linguistic theory*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- THEISSEN, S. 1978. *Germanismen in het Nederlands*. Hasselt: HeideLand-Orbis.
- VAN DER AUWERA, JOHAN. 1992. Dutch 'once' and related issues. In *Adverbial quantification and other adverbialia*, ed. by J.C. Moreno Cabrera, 49–55. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation. Eurotyp Working Papers 4.
- VAN DER WOUDE, TON. 1997. *Negative Contexts. Collocation, polarity, and multiple negation*. London and New York: Routledge.
- . 1998. Lexicale eigenschappen van partikelcombinaties. Morfologiedagen, Nijmegen, november 1998 (together with Inge Callebaut); submitted to *Nederlandse Taalkunde*.
- , FRANS ZWARTS, INGE CALLEBAUT, & PIET VAN DE CRAEN. 1998. Once upon a time in Dutch. Ms. Leiden/Groningen/Brussel, 1998, URL: <http://www.let.rug.nl/~vdwouden>.
- VENDLER, ZENO. 1967. *Linguistics in Philosophy*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- VERKUYL, HENK J. 1993. *A theory of aspectuality: the interaction between temporal and atemporal structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- VERWIJS, EELCO, & JAN VERDAM (eds.). 1947. *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- VISMANS, ROEL. 1994. *Modal particles in Dutch directives: a study in functional grammar*. Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam dissertation.

- WILKINSON, KARINA. 1993. Towards a unified semantics of *even*: a reply to Rooth. In *SALT III: Proceedings of the third conference on semantics and linguistic theory*, ed. by Utpal Lahiri & Adam Zachary Wyner. Cornell University Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics.
- ZWARTS, FRANS. 1999. Seuren on *ooit*, Zwarts on *eens*. Tributes to Pieter Seuren on the occasion of his 65th birthday, Nijmegen, July 2nd, 1999.