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Item Type	article;article
Authors	Moritz, Luc;Valois, Daniel
Download date	2025-05-19 05:38:40
Link to Item	<a href="https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14394/36680">https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14394/36680</a>

## French Sentential Negation and LF Pied-Piping\*

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In this paper, we will argue that sentential negation is best accounted for in terms of licensing of the head of a Neg(ation) Phrase. This licensing results from movement of a negative XP into the specifier of a NegP (Moritz 1989, Hægeman & Zanuttini 1990). Focussing on the behavior of French *personne* 'nobody', we will show that this movement obeys the constraints generally subsumed under Subjacency. Some asymmetries between negative movement and syntactic WH-movement will be resolved by appealing to a pied-piping strategy which allows the part of the structure that should behave as an Island to move as a whole to the Specifier of NegP. This pied-piping is crucially subject to the condition that only those XPs which bear a [+neg] feature may move to SpecNegP. XPs acquire this feature via specifier-head agreement.

### 1. NegP, its Specifier and sentential negation

#### 1.1. Structure of NegP

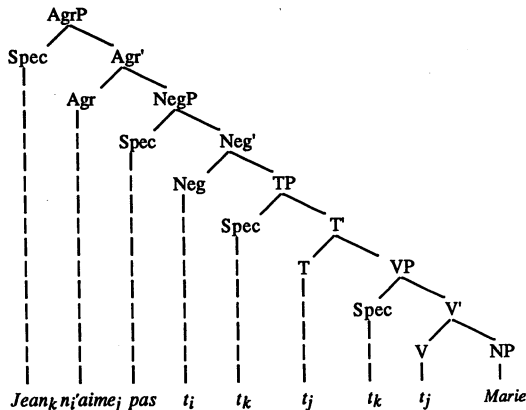
Pollock (1989) was the first to our knowledge to argue for the existence of a NegP as the locus of sentential negation. In French, sentential negation is expressed through a discontinuous constituent of the form [*ne... negation*] (see (1)). Pollock argues that *ne*, traditionally viewed as marking the scope of negation (see for example Kayne 1984, Ch. 2), is really the head of NegP which is located between the two inflectional projections, TP and AGRP. *Ne* cliticizes onto the higher inflectional head. *Pas*, on the other hand, is the Specifier of NegP. A negative sentence in French then looks as follows:<sup>1</sup>

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\* We would like to thank Hilda Koopman, Joseph Aoun, Dominique Sportiche, Anna Szabolcsi, and Tim Stowell for comments on earlier versions of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> We adopt Belletti's (1990) and Chomsky's (1989) view that the projection of (subject) agreement dominates that of tense, and not vice versa as Pollock (1989) proposes. We also omit the details of the derivation.

- (1) Jean n'aime pas Marie.  
 Jean neg-likes not Marie  
 'Jean doesn't like Marie'



### 1.2. Position of *pas*

Let us look at the nature and position of the adverb *pas*. First, it is not a head: otherwise movement of the verb across *pas* in (1) above would violate the Head Movement Constraint.<sup>2</sup> Second, as observed by Pollock, *pas* can never follow an infinitival verb, even when the infinitival verb has moved past a VP adverb like *souvent*. (2) shows the relevant facts: in (a), the verb has remained in VP, while in (b) it has raised to T<sup>0</sup>; as for (c), this example shows that further verb movement is impossible in French:

- (2) a. Ne pas souvent manger...<sup>3</sup>  
 (neg) not often to-eat  
 'Not to often eat...'  
 b. Ne pas manger souvent...  
 (neg) not to-eat often  
 c. \* Ne manger pas souvent...  
 (neg) to-eat not often

<sup>2</sup> An analysis involving *pas* as a head may be possible if we assume that, similar to XP-movement, head-movement is partitioned into A- and A'-movement (cf. Koopman 1984, Lema & Rivero 1990). We could assume that *pas* is in an A'-head position, and that V-movement is an instance of A-head movement. We will not pursue this here.

<sup>3</sup> Note that the *ne* particle is optional, unlike *pas*:

- (i) Pas souvent manger...  
 (ii) \* Ne souvent manger...

Two positions remain as candidates for *pas*: SpecTP and SpecNegP. Rizzi (1990, p.18 & note 15, p.115) locates *pas* in SpecTP, mainly due to his agnostic stand as to the existence of a NegP. Instead we assume with Pollock (1989) and Moritz (1989) that *pas* is base-generated in SpecNegP. There is a doubly conceptual motivation for this assumption. First, *pas* - at least when used to express sentential negation<sup>4</sup> - is more intimately linked to negation than to Tense or any other inflectional projection. The existence in French of two words which combine to form sentential negation leads one to assume that they are selectionally related. We therefore postulate that the optional Neg<sup>0</sup> *ne* selects *pas* as its Specifier in the default case, i.e., when there is no negative quantifier like *personne* in the sentence (see section 4).<sup>5</sup> Second, in the spirit of Chomsky's (1989) notion of economy of derivation, we postulate that, in the absence of evidence that *pas* moves at all, the Spec Head relation between *ne* and *pas* is already realized at S-structure. In other words, a derivation in which *pas* is already present in, rather than moved to, Spec NegP is less costly and constitutes the null hypothesis in the absence of counter-evidence. Therefore, *pas* is generated in SpecNegP when used to express sentential negation. More evidence for this will be offered in section 4.1.

## 2. Basic distribution of *personne*

*Personne* can occur in subject position as is shown in (3), but only if it is the head of the subject NP, as the ungrammaticality of the example in (4) illustrates:

- (3) *Personne n'a mangé.*  
 nobody neg-has eaten  
 'Nobody ate'
- (4) \* *Le frère de personne n'a mangé.*  
 the brother of nobody neg-has eaten  
 'Nobody's brother ate'

*Personne* may also occur in direct or indirect object position (cf. (5)), in which case it may be embedded in a subjectless NP (cf. (6); contrast with (4)):

- (5) a. *Jean n'a vu personne.*  
 Jean neg-has seen nobody  
 'Jean didn't see anybody'
- b. *Jean n'a parlé à personne.*  
 Jean neg-has spoken to nobody  
 'Jean didn't speak to anybody'
- (6) a. *Jean n'a vu le frère de personne.*  
 Jean neg-has seen the brother of nobody  
 'Jean didn't see anybody's brother'

<sup>4</sup> We do not concern ourselves with other types of negation. For instance we do not deal in this paper with constituent negation, e.g.:

(i) *J'ai acheté un disque, pas un livre.*  
*I-have bought a record, not a book.*  
 3 3

'I bought a record, not a book'

<sup>5</sup> Notice that we do not wish to take a stand on the nature of *personne*-like elements. Nothing in our analysis hinges on whether they are real quantifiers or Negative Polarity Items.

- b. Jean n'a vu la maison du frère de personne.  
 Jean neg-has seen the house of-the brother of nobody  
 'Jean saw nobody's brother's house'

However, *personne* cannot be embedded inside just any kind of object. In general it cannot be inside what would constitute a barrier for movement, such as a Wh-Island in (7), or an opaque NP in (8) and (9). The NPs in sentences (7)-(9) are to be compared to the non-opaque NP in (6):

- (7) a. \* Je ne me demande quand voir personne.  
 I neg myself ask when to-see nobody  
 'I don't wonder when to see anybody'
- b. ?? L'homme que<sub>i</sub> je me demande quand voir t<sub>i</sub>.  
 the-man who I myself ask when to-see  
 'The man who I wonder when to see'
- (8) a. \* Jean n'a vu cette photo de personne.  
 John neg-has seen this picture of nobody  
 'John didn't see this picture of anybody'
- b. \* La personne dont<sub>i</sub> j'ai vu cette photo t<sub>i</sub>...  
 the person of-whom I-have seen this picture  
 'The person who I saw this picture of'
- (9) a. \* Jules n'a vu la photo de ce photographe (ag.) de personne (th.).  
 Jules neg-has seen the picture of this photographer of nobody  
 'Jules did not see this photographer's picture of anybody'
- b. \* L'homme dont<sub>i</sub> Jules a vu la photo de ce photographe (ag.) t<sub>i</sub>.  
 the-man of-whom Jules has seen the picture of this photographer  
 'The man who John saw this photographer's picture'

In (7), (8), and (9), *personne* and the WH-trace occur in a WH-island, a "specific" island<sup>6</sup>, and in a position thematically lower than the agent *ce photographe* (see Cinque 1980, Milner 1982, among others), respectively.

As we will discuss in details in section 5, *personne* can also occur in contexts in which WH-traces are disallowed. For instance, it can be embedded inside an adjunct PP:

- (10) a. Jean n'est arrivé avant personne.  
 Jean neg-is arrived before nobody  
 'Jean hasn't arrived before anybody'
- b. (?) Jean n'est arrivé avant la sœur de personne.  
 Jean neg-is arrived before the sister of nobody  
 'Jean hasn't arrived before anybody's sister'
- c. \* Qui Jean est-il arrivé avant?  
 who John has-CL arrived before  
 'Who has John arrived before?'

<sup>6</sup> See Fiengo & Higginbotham (1981) for the notion of Opacity in specific NPs. Notice that the French definite article 'le, la, les' does not create opacity, contrary to its English counterpart 'the'. It might be argued that this difference follows from the different position occupied by the definite determiner in the two languages: the specifier of DP in English, the head of DP in French.

### 3. Against a binding approach: The licensing of *ne*

In this section, we present evidence that the distribution of *personne* cannot be accounted for in terms of a binding relation between *ne* and *personne*.<sup>7</sup> First, notice that *ne* needs some sort of licensing; it never appears on its own:

- (11) \* Jean *ne* mange.  
           Jean neg eats  
           'Jean doesn't eat'

The ungrammaticality of (11) seems to argue against Milner's (1982) position that *personne* is an anaphor and subject to Condition A of the Binding Theory. Rather, this example suggests that it is *ne* which must be licensed, given that it cannot appear by itself. There are a number of additional facts which cast a doubt on a binding approach to the relationship between *ne* and *personne*. First, take sentence (8a) again:

- (8) a. \* Jean n'a vu cette photo de personne.  
           John neg-has seen this picture of nobody  
           'John didn't see this picture of anybody'

It is not clear how (8a) can be excluded under an A-binding approach. Here, there is no subject between *ne* and *personne*. Yet, the sentence is ungrammatical.

Second, consider the following:

- (12) a. Jean n'a vu Marie parler à personne.<sup>8</sup>  
           John neg-has seen Mary to-talk to nobody  
           'John didn't see Mary talk to anybody'
- b. Jean *ne* considère Marie l'amie de personne.  
           John neg considers Mary the-friend of nobody  
           'John considers Mary the friend of anybody'
- c. Jean *ne* veut PRO voir personne.  
           John neg wants to-see nobody  
           'John doesn't want to see anybody'

In each of the examples in (12), a subject intervenes between *ne* and *personne*. If A-binding were relevant, these sentences should violate the Specified Subject Condition. Their grammaticality and the ungrammaticality of (8a) demonstrate that an A-binding approach to negation makes the wrong predictions. Note that we cannot appeal to A'-binding either:

- (9) a. \* Jules n'a vu la photo de ce photographe de personne.  
           Jules neg-has seen the picture of this photographer of nobody  
           'Jules did not see this photographer's picture of anybody'

<sup>7</sup> The discussion is based on our (and other native speakers') judgements. See Aoun (1985) who presents an analysis which takes into account dialectal differences in the distribution of *personne*, in which he proposes that *personne* can be analyzed either as an anaphor or a variable. See also footnote 8.

<sup>8</sup> These judgements differ from those in Milner (1982) where sentences such as (12a) are viewed as ungrammatical. These sentences are perfectly grammatical according to our sources (which include ourselves).

In the interpretation of (9a) where *ce photographe* is the external argument of *photo*, there is no potential A'-binder between *ne* and *personne*. Therefore, an A'-binding account of negation would wrongly predict that (9a) is grammatical.

The facts presented above suggest that the relation between *ne* and *personne* does not involve binding. Rather, we claim that *ne* must be licensed by Spec-Head Agreement in SpecNegP at LF.<sup>9</sup> This agreement requirement may already be satisfied at D-structure in the case of *pas*. It can also be satisfied at S-structure in the case of subject *personne*. Here the subject originates inside VP (Koopman & Sportiche 1991 and others) and then moves through SpecNegP on its way to SpecAgrP.<sup>10</sup> Note that, in order to license *ne*, *personne* must c-command it. A sentence such as (4) is ungrammatical because *personne*, which is embedded inside a larger constituent, fails to c-command *ne* (see footnote 14). Observe finally that, if the licensing of *ne* is a consequence of Spec-Head Agreement in NegP, the requirement may be satisfied as late as LF when *personne* is not in subject position as in (5) and (6).

#### 4. *Personne* moves to SpecNegP

The discussion in the above section compels us to conclude that the grammar of negation involves LF-movement of *personne* to SpecNegP. In this section we provide independent arguments in support of this conclusion.

##### 4.1. *pas* and *personne* are incompatible

First, Moritz (1989) observes that *pas* and *personne* are incompatible.<sup>11</sup> Whether *personne* is in subject position as in (13a), or in object position as in (13b) is irrelevant in that respect. Together *pas* and *personne* cannot express one sentential negation; they cancel each other out as in regular logical double negation (the [\*] diacritic refers to the fact that the reading with one negation only is impossible):

- (13) a. [\*] Jean n'a pas vu personne.  
           Jean neg-has not seen nobody  
           'John hasn't seen anybody'

<sup>9</sup> Note that this applies regardless of whether the head of NegP is phonetically realized. Thus the following sentence is perfectly grammatical:

- (i) Julie  $\emptyset$  a vu personne  
       Julie  $\emptyset$ -neg has seen nobody

<sup>10</sup> This assumption raises the question of the nature of the SpecNegP position. We will return to this issue in section 7.

<sup>11</sup> This is not true of Québec French, as (i) shows:

- (i) J'ai pas vu personne.  
       I-have not seen nobody

Note though that *ne* is never found in sentences such as (i):

- (ii) \* Je n'ai pas vu personne.  
       I neg-have not seen nobody

This suggests that *pas* in Québec French has been reanalyzed as the head of NegP. (We owe this observation to Marie Labelle.)

- b. [\*] *Personne n'a pas mangé de viande.*  
 nobody neg-has not eaten of meat  
 'Nobody ate meat'

There is a very natural explanation for this incompatibility: it merely reflects the fact that SpecNegP is already filled at D-structure by *pas*, and hence cannot be the landing site for movement of *personne*.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4.2. Licensing of non-partitive [ $\emptyset$ de NP]

So far we have seen a couple of arguments that point toward the hypothesis that *personne* moves at LF: *pas* blocks movement of *personne*, and sentential negation is subject to island constraints (see (7)-(9)). The licensing of the empty category in a quantified NP of the form [ $\emptyset$  de NP] in French provides further (direct) evidence for LF-movement of *personne*. As shown by Obenauer (1984), this empty category is licensed (among other things) by a quantifier like *beaucoup* 'much' when c-commanded by it. (14a) shows that the quantifier *beaucoup* may appear inside the Noun (or Quantifier) Phrase; (14b) that the empty category inside the NP can be licensed by a c-commanding *beaucoup*; and (14c) that the empty category is not licensed if not c-commanded by *beaucoup*:

- (14) a. *Jean a mangé [beaucoup de chocolat].*  
 Jean has eaten much of chocolate  
 'Jean ate a lot of chocolate'
- b. *Jean a beaucoup mangé [ $\emptyset$  de chocolat].*  
 Jean has much eaten of chocolate  
 'Jean ate a lot of chocolate'
- c. \* *Jean a vu [ $\emptyset$  d'enfants] beaucoup manger.*  
 Jean has seen of-kids much eat  
 'Jean saw kids eat much'

Interestingly  $\emptyset$  is also licensed by sentential negation, although not by *ne* alone. (15a) illustrates the licensing of  $\emptyset$  with subject *personne*, (15b) with *pas*, and (15c) shows that  $\emptyset$  cannot be licensed by *ne* alone:

- (15) a. *Personne ne mange [ $\emptyset$  de pain].*  
 nobody neg eats of bread  
 'Nobody eats bread'
- b. *Jean ne mange pas [ $\emptyset$  de pain].*  
 Jean neg eats not of bread  
 'Jean doesn't eat bread'
- c. \* *Jean ne mange [ $\emptyset$  de pain].*  
 Jean neg eats of bread  
 'Jean doesn't eat bread'

<sup>12</sup> *Pas*, in addition to this blocking effect, also blocks the process by which an arbitrary number of negative quantifiers can form a single negative chain at LF and move into SpecNegP (provided that the locality constraints are respected between each link of the chain). Hageman & Zanuttini (1990) label this process Negative Concord. We will not discuss Negative Concord in this paper, although it could be shown to hold in French as well, modulo the special behavior of *pas*.



The point that (15) establishes is that a full-fledged sentential negation is necessary to license  $\emptyset$ . Now consider (16):

- (16) a. Jean n'a donné [ $\emptyset$  de livres] à personne.  
 Jean neg-has given of books to nobody  
 'Jean has not given books to anybody'
- b. Jean n'a vu d'enfants parler à personne.  
 John neg-has seen of kids talk to nobody  
 'John did not see kids talk to anybody'

Here, *personne* does not c-command [ $\emptyset$  de NP] at S-structure. However, under the assumption that the licensing of [ $\emptyset$ ] is checked at LF, LF-movement of *personne* establishes the required c-command relation, thereby licensing the empty category.

### 5. *Personne* movement. Specifiers in DP and Wh movement

The proposal that sentential negation should be analyzed as movement to SpecNegP makes the straightforward prediction that the distribution of *personne* should parallel that of WH-gaps. We have already shown examples (repeated below) which verify this prediction:

- (7) a. \* Je ne me demande quand voir personne.  
 I neg myself ask when to-see nobody  
 'I don't wonder when to see anybody'
- b. ?? L'homme que<sub>i</sub> je me demande quand voir t<sub>i</sub>.  
 the-man who I myself ask when to-see  
 'The man who I wonder when to see'
- (8) a. \* Jean n'a vu cette photo de personne.  
 John neg-has seen this picture of nobody  
 'John didn't see this picture of anybody'
- b. \* La personne dont<sub>i</sub> j'ai vu cette photo t<sub>i</sub>.  
 the person of-whom I-have seen this picture  
 'The person who I saw this picture of'
- (9) a. \* Jules n'a vu la photo de ce photographe (ag.) de personne (th.).  
 Jules neg-has seen the picture of this photographer of nobody  
 'Jules did not see this photographer's picture of anybody'
- b. \* L'homme dont<sub>i</sub> Jules a vu la photo de ce photographe (ag.) t<sub>i</sub>.  
 the-man of-whom Jules has seen the picture of this photographer  
 'The man who John saw this photographer's picture'

However, the prediction fails in a surprisingly large number of cases. First, as pointed out by Aoun (1985), *personne* can appear as complement of a preposition; a WH-trace cannot:

- (17) a. \* Qui as-tu parlé à?  
 who have-you talked to  
 'Who did you talk to?'
- b. Tu n'as parlé à personne.  
 you neg-have talked to nobody  
 'You talked to nobody'

The same contrast is found with *personne* inside an adjunct:

- (18) a. \* L'homme que<sub>i</sub> je suis sorti avant t<sub>i</sub>.  
 the-man that I am gone-out before  
 'The man I went out before'  
 b. Je ne suis sorti avant personne.  
 I neg am gone-out before nobody  
 'I did not get out before anybody'

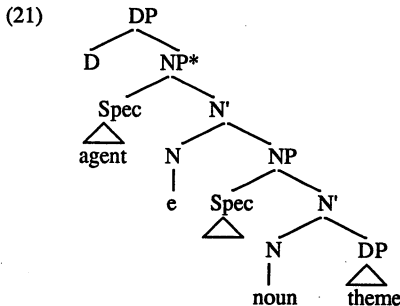
Second, *personne*, unlike a WH-trace, can appear as complement of a noun which is itself complement of a preposition:

- (19) a. \* L'homme dont<sub>i</sub> j'ai parlé au frère t<sub>i</sub>...  
 the-man of-whom I-have talked to-the brother  
 'The man whose brother I talked to'  
 b. Je n'ai parlé au frère de personne.  
 I neg-have talked to-the brother of nobody  
 'I didn't talk to anybody's brother'

And third, *personne* can be embedded into what seems to be an unlimited number of NPs, while WH-traces cannot:

- (20) a. \* L'homme dont<sub>i</sub> j'ai vu la photo de la soeur t<sub>i</sub>...  
 the-man of-whom I-have seen the picture of the sister  
 'The man whose sister I saw a picture of'  
 b. Je n'ai vu la photo de la soeur de personne.  
 I neg-have seen the picture of the sister of nobody  
 'I didn't see anybody's sister's picture'

Let us look at (19) and (20) first. The ungrammaticality of (19a) and (20a) is accounted for in Valois (1991a, b). There, it is argued that the structure and syntax of DP completely parallels that of CP, a claim which involves that: (i) arguments are projected similarly in both clauses and nominals; and (ii) SpecDP, like SpecCP, is an A'-position (Szabolcsi 1983, 1987, 1990; Tellier 1991), while other specifiers are A-positions. Valois also adopts Sportiche's (1990) proposal that every argument is contained in a maximal projection of the head that selects it. Accordingly, DP has the structure in (21), *pace* functional categories other than D which we omit here as they are irrelevant to our claims:



Valois finally makes use of the mechanics of Sportiche's (1990) theory of movement, according to which each step of movement must be strictly local. In a nutshell, the basic definitions are the following:

(22) Condition on Chain Links (CCL)

Traces must be antecedent-governed at S-structure.

(23) Government

A governs B if A i-commands B and no barrier intervenes between A and B;

i-command

A i(mmediately)-commands B if the first constituent containing A contains B.

(24) Barrierhood

Given B some constituent, and Y some category (with  $B \neq$  a projection of Y), if for some  $n$ ,  $Y^n$  is not L-marked and includes B, then YP is a barrier for B.

L-marking

$X^0$  L-marks YP if  $X^0$  governs YP.

(25) Adjunction to CP, NP, DP, and PP is not allowed.

In (19a), the extracted WH cannot move from the specifier of the DP headed by *frère* to the specifier of the PP since this would constitute an instance of improper movement (from an A'-position to an A-position); neither can the WH-phrase adjoin to PP as (25) rules out this option. In (20a), the WH may not move from the A' specifier of the DP headed by *soeur* to the NP-specifier of *photo* (an A-position), nor does (25) allow its adjunction to NP. This forces the derivations in (26a) and (26b) for (19a) and (20a) respectively:

(26) a. L'homme dont<sub>i</sub> j'ai parlé [pp au [DP t<sub>i</sub> frère t<sub>i</sub> ]]

↑                                  ↑

b. L'homme dont<sub>i</sub> j'ai vu [DP la [NP photo de [DP t<sub>i</sub> la soeur t<sub>i</sub>]]]

↑    ↑

In (26a), the second step involves crossing both P' and PP, while in (26b) it involves crossing both N' and NP; as a result PP in (26a) and NP in (26b) are barriers, and the derivations violate the CCL. The ban on *personne* or a WH-trace occurring as the theme argument in a DP containing an external argument is explained in similar terms (cf. (9)).

## 6. LF pied-piping

The challenge now is to explain the asymmetries in the distribution of WH-traces and *personne*. For instance, why are (19b) and (20b) grammatical? Our solution to this puzzle is inspired by an idea of Pesetsky (1987). For him, grammatical cases of WH-phrases buried inside what should constitute islands are best accounted for if one assumes that the island itself moves at LF. This move allows Pesetsky to counter Huang's (1982) claim that Subjacency does not hold at LF. In examples such as (27) [Pesetsky's (39a)], in languages where WH-movement only takes place at LF -here Japanese-, the movement involves the

entire Complex Noun Phrase:

- (27) Mary-wa [NP [S' John-ni nani-o ageta] hito-ni] atta-no?  
 Mary-Top John-Dat what-Acc gave man-Dat met-Q  
 'What did Mary meet the man who gave to John'

Following work by Choe (1984) and Nishigauchi (1986), Pesetsky remarks that the only felicitous answer to (27) necessarily includes the entire NP-island.<sup>13</sup> Only (28b) can be uttered as an answer to (27). This is taken as evidence that the Complex NP is the target of the question and that it moves as a whole at LF:

- (28) a. \*/?? Konpyuuta desu  
 'It's a computer'  
 b. [NP [S' Konpyuuta-o ageta] hito] desu  
 computer-Acc gave man Cop  
 'It's the man who gave a computer (to him)'

Our execution of LF negative Pied-Piping differs from Pesetsky's analysis of WH in situ in one fundamental aspect. We claim that a proper analysis of "negation in situ" requires a restriction on the pied-piping process: in order to pied-pipe at LF with an element that it contains, an XP must bear the relevant feature. When, at LF, *personne* moves to the Specifier of an XP, it agrees with the head X<sup>0</sup>. This agreement allows the whole phrase to bear the [+neg(ation)] feature. As a result, the [+neg] XP as a whole is licensed in SpecNegP. Every time *personne* movement seems to violate an Island constraint without inducing ungrammaticality, it is because *personne* has moved to the highest Specifier of the Island and has licensed the Island to move to SpecNegP. To illustrate, let us look at (17b), repeated below:

- (17) b. Tu n'as parlé à personne.

The LF derivation of (17b) goes as follows (the same applies to (18b)): first, *personne* moves to SpecPP, triggering Spec-Head Agreement. As a result, the PP is inherits [+neg]. Consequently, it can move to SpecNegP. (29) illustrates this:

- (29) a. Je n'ai parlé [pp à personne]

Movement of *personne* to SpecPP & Spec-Head Agreement:

- b. Je n'ai parlé [pp personne<sub>i</sub> [P' à t<sub>i</sub>]]  
 ↑

Movement of PP to SpecNegP:

- c. Je [NegP [PP personne<sub>i</sub> [P' à t<sub>i</sub>]]<sub>k</sub> [Neg' n'ai parlé t<sub>k</sub>]]  
 ↑

Sentences (19b) and (20b) are accounted for in the same way, the only difference being that Spec-Head Agreement and Pied-Piping apply recursively. We illustrate this with (30), the LF derivation of (20b):

<sup>13</sup> But see Fiengo, Huang, Lasnik, and Reinhart (1988).

(20) b. Je n'ai vu la photo de la soeur de personne.

(30) a. Je n'ai vu [DP la maison de [DP la soeur de personne]]

movement of *personne* to SpecDP of *soeur*:

b. Je n'ai vu la maison de [DP *personne*<sub>j</sub> [D' la soeur de t<sub>j</sub>]]

↑ \_\_\_\_\_ |

movement of the italicized DP to SpecDP of *maison*:

c. Je n'ai vu [DP [DP *personne*<sub>j</sub> la soeur de t<sub>j</sub>]<sub>k</sub> [D' la maison de t<sub>k</sub>]]

↑ \_\_\_\_\_ |

movement of italicized DP to SpecNegP:

d. Je [NegP [DP [DP *personne*<sub>j</sub> la soeur de t<sub>j</sub>]<sub>k</sub> la maison de t<sub>k</sub>]<sub>x</sub> n 'ai vu t<sub>x</sub> ]

↑ \_\_\_\_\_ |

As a consequence of our assumptions concerning pied-piping, Spec-Head Agreement, and the recursive application of both of these processes, none of the movements illustrated above is illicit.

That an XP must be marked [+neg] in order to be allowed to move to SpecNegP is supported by the ungrammaticality of examples such as (4), repeated below:

(4) \* Le frère de personne n'a mangé  
 the brother of nobody neg-has eaten  
 'Nobody's brother has eaten'

Here, since *personne* has not moved to SpecDP of *frère*, the DP is not [+neg] at S-structure. Consequently, DP is not licensed in SpecNegP at S-structure. Therefore, the licensing of *ne* (see section 3) fails and the sentence is out.<sup>14</sup>

## 7. Spec NegP as an A' position

Now that we have established that *personne* moves to SpecNegP, the question of the nature of SpecNegP as an A- or A'-specifier arises. There is good evidence that it is an A'-position. First, recall the examples we provided in order to argue against a binding approach of the relationship between *ne* and *personne*:

(12) a. Jean n'a vu Marie parler à personne.  
 John neg-has seen Mary to-talk to nobody  
 'John didn't see Mary talk to anybody'

<sup>14</sup> As J.Aoun (p.c.) pointed out to us, we still need to block the LF derivation in which *personne* moves to SpecDP, marks it with the proper [+neg] feature, enabling it to reconstruct down into SpecNegP. One way to achieve this was suggested to us by T. Stowell: again drawing a parallel between WH-movement and XP[+neg]-movement, we could say that reconstruction into a [+neg] specifier is not possible just as reconstruction into a [+wh] SpecCP is banned.

- b. Jean ne considère Marie l'amie de personne.  
 John neg considers Mary the-friend of nobody  
 'John considers Mary the friend of anybody'
- c. Jean ne veut PRO voir personne.  
 John neg wants to-see nobody  
 'John doesn't want to see anybody'

In each case, although LF-movement of *personne* crosses a subject, the sentences are still perfect. This is, of course, typical of A'-movement. Second, Kayne (1984), Ch. 2, notes the following:

- (31) ? Je n'ai exigé que tu voies personne.  
 I neg-have demanded that you see nobody  
 'I didn't demand that you see anybody'

Although slightly deviant, the sentence is well-formed. Here, *personne* transits through a notoriously A' position, the specifier of the embedded CP.<sup>15</sup> Further movement to Spec NegP would be improper if the latter were an A position. Third, LF-movement to Spec NegP creates Weak Crossover violations. As the contrast in (32) shows, coreference between a pronoun and *personne* is possible, but not if *personne* is c-commanded by the NP containing the pronoun:

- (32) a. Je n'ai vu personne<sub>i</sub> frapper son<sub>i</sub> père.  
 I neg-have seen nobody hit his father  
 'I did not see anybody hit his father'
- b. \* Je n'ai vu son<sub>i</sub> père frapper personne<sub>j</sub>.  
 I neg-have seen his father hit nobody  
 'I did not see his father hit anybody'

The LF-representation of (32b) is similar to that of (33b), which has been argued to represent a WCO violation, a property of A'-movement:

- (33) a. \* His<sub>i</sub> cat likes everyone<sub>i</sub>.  
 b. everyone<sub>i</sub> [his<sub>i</sub> dog likes t<sub>i</sub> ]

We conclude that SpecNegP is an A' position.<sup>16</sup> This conclusion is consistent with Rizzi's (1990) treatment of Negative Islands.

<sup>15</sup> Note that the ungrammaticality of sentences such as (i) can be explained along the same line as the one followed in Kayne (1984), i.e., as ECP violations at LF:

(i) Je n'exige que personne soit arrêté.  
 I neg-demand that nobody be arrested

LF representation:

Je [<sub>NegP</sub> personne<sub>i</sub> n'exige [<sub>CP</sub> que t<sub>i</sub> soit arrêté ]]

<sup>16</sup> This conclusion raises the question concerning the status of SpecIP since we assume that subject *personne* transits through SpecNegP on its way to SpecIP. Obviously, if SpecIP is an A-position, then the last step of the movement is improper. Given that SpecIP is no longer viewed as a thematic position, it could either be unspecified for A/A'-hood and inherit the A or A' property that the subject has acquired during the course of the derivation (Moritz 1989). Alternatively, SpecIP could simply be an A'-position (see Pesetsky 1989, Diesing 1990, among others). This problem raises a number of issues which go well beyond the scope of this paper.

### 8. Conclusion

The main theoretical results of this paper are: (i) that sentential negation involves a licensing procedure in SpecNegP realized by Spec-Head Agreement, and (ii) that LF-movement is subject to Subjacency. We supported this second conclusion by showing that the negative quantifier *personne* is usually found in exactly the same contexts as WH-traces which are themselves subject to Subjacency. Cases in which the contexts of occurrence do not correspond were accounted for by proposing that larger constituents than the immediate constituent containing *personne* can be moved to SpecNegP at LF. This movement is constrained by the requirement that the moved XP bear the [+neg] feature and thus be licensed in SpecNegP.

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