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Pas de deux: further thoughts on the syntax of sentential negation in French¹

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Abstract

This article supports earlier work by arguing that French negative *pas* functions as the specifier of NegP at S-structure (at the earliest) rather than at D-structure, as proposed in Pollock's (1989) original formulation of the NegP hypothesis. After reviewing the NegP hypothesis, the author offers additional syntactic evidence to support the refinement proposed in Rowlett (1993a). He goes on to investigate parallels between the revised model and work by Williams (1991) and Fillmore (1963). Finally, he explores theoretical avenues opened up by the refined hypothesis, considering, for example, whether the distinction drawn between constituent and sentential negation is as significant as has traditionally been assumed.

0.0 Introduction

It could be argued that the most important features and indeed strengths of recent versions of the Principles-and-Parameters framework of generative syntax (see Chomsky 1981; 1986a/b; 1991) have been its strict modularity and the flexibility this has offered. An undeniable benefit which has accrued has been the ability to analyse seemingly monolithic, sometimes language-specific constructions in terms of more basic phenomena. One of the consequences of this development has been the proliferation in the literature of work reconsidering old analyses of familiar constructions, e.g., passive. Another welcome consequence has been that some hitherto neglected phenomena have finally received the attention they deserve. A good example of such a phenomenon is sentential negation. Here, it was doubtlessly the ground-breaking work of Jean-Yves Pollock (1989) which provoked Chomskyan linguistics into addressing issues about which it had previously had embarrassingly little to say. Since then, numerous studies have appeared which have been able to adopt and adapt one of Pollock's most important proposals, namely the NegP hypothesis, e.g., Belletti (1990), Espinal (1991a/b), Haegeman & Zanuttini (1991), Ouhalla (1991), Rivero (1991; 1993), Zanuttini (1991).

In our own work, we have also adopted and adapted Pollock's NegP hypothesis, and it is within the context of the refinements we proposed in Rowlett (1992; 1993a) that the present article is cast. In section 1, we present a brief review of the original NegP hypothesis presented by Pollock for standard French and the refinements argued for in our own earlier work. In section 2, we offer two additional syntactic arguments to support the refined version of the NegP hypothesis, which hinge crucially on the analysis of imperatives proposed in Zanuttini (1991) and the 'island' status traditionally assigned to French PPs. Section 3 takes us beyond our immediate focus (French), arguing that the proposed refinement to the NegP hypothesis makes it more compatible not only with 'traditional' work following Fillmore (1963), who was the first to discuss *Negative Transportation* within the transformational generative literature, but also more recent work on negation, such as Williams (1991) who regards *pas* rather than *ne* as the sentential negator proper in French. In the more speculative section 4, we turn our attention to further theoretical possibilities opened up by our modified NegP hypothesis. This includes, first, an

¹ The first part of this title dates from when the article comprised little more than the contents of section 4.1. It has been retained since reference was made, in a number of published and conference papers, to a manuscript with that title. In part, this article brings together material presented at the Universities of York, Manchester and Edinburgh, UK, as well as the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain; see Rowlett (1993b/c/d) in the References. We are grateful to those audiences for their questions and comments. Our thanks also to Joëlle Riley, Jean-Pierre Mailhac, Marie-Anne Hintze, Myriam Carr, Nives Bazergui and students on the *Advanced Certificate in English as a Foreign Language* course for their native speaker judgements. All errors remain our own.

investigation into the possibility that, in some structures, there is more than one possible initial extraction site for *pas* and, second, a tentative consideration of the wellfoundedness of the traditional distinction drawn between constituent and sentential negation. Our conclusions are summarised in section 5.

1.0 *Pas* as the specifier of NegP: derived or underlying?

Pollock (1989) was doubtlessly a seminal work. The Split-Infl hypothesis, as it has become known, re-analysing the functional category I in terms of the components T and Agr(S), and its consequences for head-to-head verb movement, now seems to have been met with almost universal acceptance in the literature - Belletti's (1990) modification, assumed here throughout, notwithstanding. Similarly, Pollock's (1989) proposal, following Kitagawa (1986), that there is, in negative sentences at least, a further functional projection, NegP, present in clause structure seems also to have become part and parcel of the theoretical baggage Chomskyan linguistics now takes for granted. With respect to standard French, Pollock's (1989) application of the NegP hypothesis suggests: (a) that NegP intervenes between TP and AgrP; (b) that the negative clitic *ne* is generated under the head Neg position², while; (c) *pas* fills the SpecNeg position, as in the partial D-structure representation in (1).

<p>(1) Agr'</p> <table style="margin-left: 40px; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 15%;">Agr</td> <td style="width: 15%;"></td> <td style="width: 15%;">NegP</td> <td style="width: 15%;"></td> <td style="width: 15%;"></td> <td style="width: 15%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td>Spec</td> <td>Neg'</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td><i>pas</i></td> <td>Neg</td> <td>TP</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>{<i>ne</i>}</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td><i>ec</i>}</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	Agr		NegP						Spec	Neg'					<i>pas</i>	Neg	TP					{ <i>ne</i> }						<i>ec</i> }			<p>(2) Agr'</p> <table style="margin-left: 40px; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width: 15%;">Agr</td> <td style="width: 15%;"></td> <td style="width: 15%;">NegP</td> <td style="width: 15%;"></td> <td style="width: 15%;"></td> <td style="width: 15%;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td>Spec</td> <td>Neg'</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td><i>pas</i></td> <td>Neg</td> <td>TP</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>{<i>ne</i>}</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td><i>ec</i>}</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td><i>t_i</i></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	Agr		NegP						Spec	Neg'					<i>pas</i>	Neg	TP					{ <i>ne</i> }						<i>ec</i> }							<i>t_i</i>	
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The underlying configuration in (1) interacts with verb movement in such a way that the clitic *ne* is incorporated, in the sense of Baker (1988), by adjunction to the finite verb located under Agr. (See Roberts (1992) for a presentation of the various types of incorporation.) In non-finite clauses, in which, according to Pollock (1989), the verb moves only as far as the lower of the two inflectional heads, i.e., T in our model, *ne* adjoins to the empty Agr position. In both cases, *ne* precedes *pas* at S-structure, as in the derived representation in (2)³. This analysis allows an account of word order patterns in standard French finite and non-finite clauses:

- (3) a. Michel *ne fume pas*.
 Michel [_{Agr'} *ne fume_i* [_{NegP} *pas* [_{TP} *t_i*]]].
 M. doesn't smoke.
- b. Michel *désire ne pas fumer*.
 Michel *désire* [_{Agr'} *ne* [_{NegP} *pas* [_{TP} *fumer*]]].
 M. wants not to smoke.

In earlier work (Rowlett 1992; 1993a), we reconsidered one aspect of Pollock's (1989) NegP hypothesis, namely his claim that *pas* is typically base-generated in the SpecNeg position. In Rowlett (1993a: section 2), we offered three theoretical and empirical grounds for doubting the validity of this analysis. While not denying the theoretical desirability of positing that *pas*

² This is the case in the written language and some 'conservative' and more formal spoken varieties. In the light of Jespersen's negative cycle, it is not surprising that, in most spoken varieties of French, *ne* is characteristically absent from negative clauses. In such varieties, it is assumed that an empty category, *ec*, is generated under the Neg node, as indicated in (1).

³ In those varieties of French referred to in the previous footnote, we further assume that the phonologically null equivalent of *ne* also adjoins to Agr, as indicated in (2). The empirical justification for this will be discussed in section 2.2 below. Furthermore, given that we would not like to introduce more differences between *ne* and its silent equivalent than are unavoidable, the null hypothesis must be that the syntax of the phonologically null equivalent of *ne* mirrors that of *ne* itself and that it therefore cliticises onto Agr.

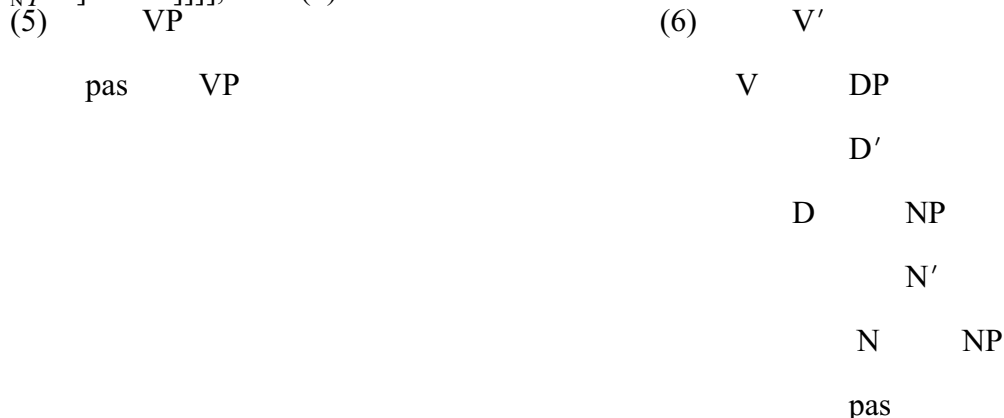
occupies SpecNeg at LF (and, possibly, S-structure), in order to satisfy the Neg Criterion in (4), we argued, contra Pollock (1989), that this element is in fact moved to SpecNeg from the position in which it is base-generated, lower in clause structure.

(4) *The Neg Criterion* (after Haegeman & Zanuttini (1991: 244))

a Each Neg⁰ must be in a Spec-head relationship with a negative operator;

b Each negative operator must be in a Spec-head relationship with a Neg⁰.

With respect to the position in which *pas* is generated, we proposed two possible configurations, either: (a) adjoined to a predicate VP, as an adverbial, [_{VP} *pas* [_{VP} ...]], as in (5); or, (b) under the N node within an (indefinite) DP in direct object position, [_{V'} V [_{DP} [_{NP} [_{N'} [_N *pas*] de ...]]]], as in (6).



In this latter scenario, we are following the thinking of Obenauer (1983; 1984) and Battye (1989; 1990) in that we analyse *pas* as a 'nominal quantifier' in parallel to *beaucoup*, *assez*, *trop*, *peu*, etc⁴. In both (5) and (6), successive cyclic movement promotes *pas* from its D-structure position to the position it occupies at (S-structure and) LF, i.e., SpecNeg. The reader is referred to Rowlett (1993a: sections 4.1 and 4.2) for the analysis proposed. Once the operator *pas* reaches SpecNeg, it can satisfy the Neg Criterion by entering into a Spec-head agreement relationship with the head [_{Neg} *ne/ec*]. In addition, since movement of *pas* to SpecNeg leaves behind a Case-marked trace, i.e., a variable, with which *pas* is co-indexed, and which it therefore A'-binds, *pas* (in SpecNeg) can satisfy the LF constraint on operators. This feature contrasts with Pollock's model where the operator *pas* is base-generated in SpecNeg and therefore does not bind a variable. To do so, it would have to be raised out of SpecNeg whereby it could then A'-bind its trace. However, were it to do that, even if not until LF, *pas* could not satisfy the Neg Criterion since it would no longer be in a specifier-head agreement configuration with a Neg⁰. In this respect, Pollock's model generates a Catch-22 situation. An interesting and probably attractive feature of the movement analysis of *pas* is that the way in which Rizzi's (1991: 2) *wh*-criterion is satisfied runs parallel to the way in which Haegeman & Zanuttini's Neg criterion is satisfied, i.e., by movement of an XP operator (*wh*-XP or [_{XP} *pas*]) bearing the relevant syntactic feature into an A' specifier position.

In Rowlett (1993a: section 2.2) we argued that a derivational analysis of the syntax of *pas*, in contrast with the original account by Pollock, is able to account for the data⁵ in (7):

⁴ In Rowlett (1993a: section 2.1), one of our objections to Pollock's (1989) claim that the nominal *pas* is base-generated in SpecNeg was centred on Θ -theory. We suggested, uncontroversially, that SpecNeg is a Θ' -position and that *pas* would not therefore receive a Θ -role or Case in that position and, hence, violate the Θ -criterion and Case filter. We would like to suggest that the Θ -criterion can be satisfied in (5) and (6) above. In (5), where *pas* is used strictly adverbially, we assume, with Pollock (1991: 86), that it receives the relevant adverbial Θ -role (and, therefore, Case) 'de façon «inhérente»'. In (6), where *pas* is embedded within a Θ -marked complement DP, we assume it receives an internal Θ -role and structural accusative Case from its governor, V, and that, by virtue of its quantificational semantics, it can transmit the Θ -role, but not the Case, to its own complement NP.

⁵ The positive-negative contrast illustrated in (7a) and (7d) applies to the indefinite direct object of accusative Case assigning verbs only; it does not apply to non-accusative Case assigning verbs which subcategorise for a PP headed by *de*, e.g., *disposer*, as illustrated in (i):

- (7) a. Elle me donne **de l'argent**.
 b. ★Elle me donne **d'argent**.
 c. ★Elle ne me donne pas **de l'argent**.
 d. Elle ne me donne pas **d'argent**.

She gives me (some) money/She doesn't give me (any) money.

Following Battye's (1991) analysis, within the DP-hypothesis, of the 'partitive' and 'pseudo-partitive'⁶ structures illustrated in (7a) and (7d) respectively, it is possible to account for the data in terms of the head-complement relationship of subcategorisation. In the negative (7d), the nominal quantifier *pas* which, as in (6), is base-generated within the direct object of the verb, subcategorises for a bare NP, [_{NP} argent], which, at S-structure, is preceded by *de* for Case-theoretic reasons, giving a pseudo-partitive structure after *pas* has raised to SpecNeg:

- (8) pas_i ... [_{DP} ... [_{NP} ... t_i [_{NP} d'argent]]]

In the positive (7a), a phonologically null nominal quantifier, *ec*, which is base-generated in the same position as *pas* in (6), subcategorises for a PP headed by *de*, giving a partitive structure:

- (9) [_{DP} ... [_{NP} ... *ec* [_{PP} de l'argent]]]⁷

The fact that (7b) and (7c) are ungrammatical amounts to nothing more than unsatisfied subcategorisation properties. In (7b), the complement of the phonologically null nominal quantifier is a Case-marked NP instead of a PP, while in (7c) the complement of *pas* is a PP instead of a Case-marked NP.

Of course, this account of the data in (7) crucially depends on a derivational analysis of the syntax of *pas* such as the one proposed in Rowlett (1993a). Consequently, we take this to be direct evidence to support such a derivational account.

In section 2, we offer two additional syntactic arguments in favour of our claim that, in instances of sentential negation, *pas* is in fact base-generated lower in clause structure than SpecNeg and subsequently raised into SpecNeg. Sections 2.1 and 2.2 consider the island nature of French PPs and the syntax of imperatives respectively.

2.0 Additional arguments in support of a derivational analysis of *pas*

2.1 Impossible extraction of *pas* from within a PP

Following work on 'islands' in the tradition of Ross (1967), there is a body of literature suggesting that PPs are islands in French but not in English. According to Pollock (1991: 87-8), for example, 'le français est, lui, rebelle à toute extraction à partir d'un PP' (French does not allow any extraction from a PP-embedded position). This contrast has been used to account for the fact that preposition-stranding is, under certain circumstances, possible in English but not in French, as illustrated in (10):

- (10) a. That's the guy John used to go out with *t*.
 b. ★Voilà le gars que Jean sortait avec *t*.⁸

Assuming that the contrast illustrated by the data in (10) can indeed be accounted for in

-
- (i) a. Le marchand dispose **du** capital nécessaire.
 b. Le marchand ne dispose pas **du** capital nécessaire.
 The shopkeeper does/doesn't have the necessary capital at his disposal.

⁶ Battye attributes the terms 'partitive' and 'pseudo-partitive' to Selkirk (1977). The ability of a nominal quantifier to appear within an indefinite DP but not a definite DP could, following Muller (1991: 118), be attributable to the fact that definite DPs are presented as pre-identified objects - 'des objets déjà identifiés' - and, hence, cannot be modified.

⁷ Since *ec* is non-negative and, presumably, unaffected by the Neg Criterion in (4), we assume that it does not need to raise to SpecNeg. Hence, there is no trace in (9). This assumption will be relevant below.

⁸ The reader is referred to Pollock (1991) for a recent discussion and account of PP-islands. Pollock compares and contrasts French, English and the Scandinavian languages. A precise explanation of PP-island effects is irrelevant to our discussion.

terms of the island nature of PPs, and given that the derivational analysis of *pas* supported in this article amounts to a movement analysis, we predict that *pas* promotion is impossible from an extraction site within a PP to a landing site outside PP⁹. To test this predication, we need structures in which the element *pas* can be base-generated within a PP while the nearest NegP is outside the PP. Given the configurations we posited in (5) and (6) above, such structures will contain either a PP-embedded indefinite DP (which *pas* can appear within) or a PP-embedded VP (which *pas* can appear adjoined to). However, given the status of the null pronominal anaphor PRO - the assumed subject of embedded infinitives - and the proliferation of functional heads currently being proposed in the literature, it is debatable whether a VP could be generated without being dominated by one or more functional projections including, where relevant, NegP. It is therefore unclear whether *pas* adjoined to a PP-embedded VP would need to cross the PP node to reach SpecNeg. For this reason, we shall restrict our attention to PP-embedded DPs.

Thus, we can test our prediction with respect to clauses containing a PP whose head P takes an indefinite DP as its complement. For, although our model allows the nominal quantifier *pas* to be generated within such an indefinite DP, in a configuration similar to that in (6) above, whereby V and V' would be replaced by P and P', the island nature of the dominating PP will not allow *pas* to be extracted for promotion to SpecNeg. Consider (11):

- (11) a. Jean aime tartiner son pain [_{PP} avec [_{DP} *ec* **du** beurre et **de la** confiture]].
 b. ★Jean n'aime pas_i tartiner son pain [_{PP} avec [_{DP} *t_i* **de** beurre et **de** confiture]].
 c. Jean n'aime pas tartiner son pain avec **du** beurre et **de la** confiture.

J. likes/doesn't like spreading butter and jam on his bread.

The string in (11a) contains a PP whose head P, *avec* (with), takes an indefinite DP complement. In turn, the ultimate head N of the indefinite DP is the phonologically null (non-negative) nominal quantifier, *ec*, which subcategorises for a PP headed by *de*, as in (7a) and (9) above. This *partitive* structure is licensed in our model.

A similar structure, in which the (negative) nominal quantifier *pas* is the ultimate head N of the indefinite DP, is also licensed in our model (at D-structure). In this case, given that *pas* will absorb the oblique Case assigned to the indefinite DP by the preposition, the complement of *pas*, an NP, will be Case-marked by the prepositional Case-marker *de*, forming the basis of a *pseudo-partitive* structure, as in (7d) and (8). If movement of *pas* from within the indefinite DP to SpecNeg were possible, i.e., if the intervening PP node were *not* an island, then we would expect the negative of (11a) to be (11b), with just such a pseudo-partitive structure. This is, however, contrary to fact. The string in (11b) is not the negative of (11a) and is, in fact, ungrammatical. Rather, the negative of (11a) is (11c), in which the indefinite DP retains a partitive structure. By hypothesis, therefore, it contains the non-negative phonologically null nominal quantifier, *ec*, which, as mentioned in footnote 7 above, we assume does not need to raise beyond its containing PP. A consequence of this analysis is that, in (11c), *pas* can not be generated within the PP-embedded indefinite DP. Rather, *pas* must be VP-adjoined, as in (5). This allows us to contrast the grammaticality of (11b) and (11c). In the ungrammatical (11b), an attempt is made to move *pas* across a PP node, as illustrated in (12), which is impossible:

- (12) ★... pas_i ... [_{PP} ... [_{DP} ... *t_i* ...]]

In (11c) in contrast, where *pas* originates from a position adjoined to the matrix VP headed by *aimer* rather than a position within the PP, promotion to SpecNeg is possible, as in (13), since no island node is crossed:

- (13) ... pas_i ... [_{VP} *t_i* [_{VP} ... [_{PP} ...]]]

Of course, this account of the data hinges crucially on a derivational approach to the syntax of *pas*.

The structures in (14) point to the same conclusion:

- (14) a. %L'un d'entre eux est venu me voir [_{PP} avec [_{DP} *pas* d'idées en tête du tout]].
 b. ★L'un d'entre eux n'est pas_i venu me voir [_{PP} avec [_{DP} *t_i* d'idées en tête du tout]].

One of them came to see me without a single idea in mind.

Although (14a) would probably be frowned upon by prescriptive grammarians, and is certainly

⁹ Muller (1991: 147fn1) refers to `l'habitude inacceptabilité de *pas* lié à *ne* et construit dans un GP' (the usual unacceptability of construing *ne* with a PP-embedded *pas*).

not standard written French, it is judged by many native speakers to be an acceptable (spoken) utterance. It would seem that, in (14a), *pas* appears in (something like) its base-generated position, i.e., within the indefinite DP which is the complement of the preposition *avec*. We assume that this is not a canonical instance of sentential negation since, first, the presence of *ne* is excluded¹⁰, and, second, *pas* has not been promoted to SpecNeg to satisfy the Neg Criterion which, given the other examples we have reviewed, seems to be a property of sentential negation in French. Indeed, given the island status of PPs in French, we must predict that it would be impossible for *pas* to be promoted to SpecNeg - even at LF. This prediction is borne out by the ungrammatical status of (14b), in which an attempt has been made to move *pas* from within the PP headed by *avec* to SpecNeg, outside PP. This judgement is perfectly straightforward given the island nature of the PP in French and the movement approach to the syntax of *pas*.

Finally in this section, in (15) below, the relevant issue is whether or not the idiomatic sense of *pas un(e) seul(e) N* ('no N at all') can be maintained when a PP node intervenes between *pas* and *un(e) seul(e) N*. In fact, it cannot. Only the non-idiomatic componential reading (\neg *un(e) seul(e) N*, i.e., not one N but maybe several Ns) is possible.

- (15) a. %Il est venu me voir [_{PP} avec pas une seule idée en tête]. (idiomatic reading retained)
 b. ★Il n'est pas_i venu me voir [_{PP} avec *t_i* une seule idée en tête]. (idiomatic reading lost)
 He came to see me without a single idea in mind.

Under the hardly implausible assumption that the idiomatic reading relies crucially on a structure in which *pas un(e) seul(e) N* is generated as a constituent, an explanation for why the idiomatic reading is not available in (15b) can be found by reasoning that for *pas un(e) seul(e) N* to have been generated as a constituent (within in the terms of the present analysis of the syntax of *pas*), *pas* would have to have crossed a PP node to reach its S-structure location, the impossibility of which can be accounted for by the island nature of the PP in French. Hence, for (15b) to be grammatical, *pas* must originate in a VP-adjoined position, as a consequence of which the idiomatic reading is lost.

What should be clear from the above discussion is that the derivational approach to the syntax of *pas* being proposed provides a logical account of the data involving negation and PPs containing indefinite DPs. We assume, therefore, that the validity of our account of the syntax of *pas* is strengthened. In section 2.2 we see that the syntax of imperatives provides further support for our analysis of *pas*.

2.2 Imperatives

Negative imperatives in French can, under certain conditions, appear with either tonic or atonic complement pro-forms. Tonic forms always follow the verb; atonic forms always precede the verb. The other conditions determining how the realisation of the complement pro-forms interacts with negation are illustrated in (16) and (17), the grammaticality judgements for which are taken from Muller (1991: ch. 4):

- (16) a. Regarde-moi/Donne-le lui
 b. Regarde-moi pas/Donne-le lui pas
 c. ★Ne regarde-moi pas/★Ne donne-le lui pas
 (17) a. ★Me regarde/★Le lui donne
 b. Me regarde pas/Le lui donne pas
 c. Ne me regarde pas/Ne le lui donne pas
 (Don't) look at me/(Don't) give it to him (second person singular)

These and similar data from other Romance languages have been considered, within the Principles-and-Parameters framework, by Zanuttini (1991) and Rivero (1993). Both authors exploit the distinction drawn by Joseph & Philippaki-Warbuton (1987) between 'true' imperatives (e.g., (16)) and 'surrogate' imperatives (e.g., (17)).

In brief, both Zanuttini and Rivero suggest that the position occupied by the true

¹⁰ This is the view of Muller (1991: 151) who considers the following examples:

- (i) a. Elle (★ne) s'habille [_{PP} pour pas cher].
 b. Il (★n') arrivera [_{PP} dans pas longtemps].
 c. Il (★ne) sort [_{PP} avec pas un sou en poche].

imperatives in (16), where the pro-forms are tonic and post-verbal, is different from the position occupied by the surrogate imperatives in (17), where the pro-forms are atonic and pre-verbal. According to Zanuttini, the crucial difference between (16) and (17) is that the position occupied by the verb in (16) is lower than NegP whereas the position occupied by the verb in (17) is higher than NegP. Given the CP-AgrP-NegP-TP-(...) ordering of functional projections assumed here, the position occupied by the imperative verb in (16) would be T (or, possibly, some other functional head above VP, perhaps Asp(ect), encoding whatever 'aspectual' feature(s) are associated with imperatives). The post-verbal tonic pro-forms are presumably enclitic on the imperative verb, as in (18) below:

(18) TP

Spec T'

T VP

Regarde-moi
Donne-le-lui

Further, in clauses like those exemplified in (16a) and represented in (18), Zanuttini suggests that the projection headed by the imperative verb is the highest syntactic category in the (defective) clause structure, i.e., CP, AgrP and NegP are missing¹¹. Zanuttini's analysis has certain explanatory adequacy. It explains:

- (a) why the complement pro-forms in (16) are post-verbal, i.e., tonic. Pre-verbal atonic pro-forms are pro-clitic on Agr (according to the Pollock/Belletti model)¹². Since AgrP is above NegP and everything above and including NegP is missing, there is no pre-verbal Agr position for the pro-forms to cliticise onto, hence their obligatory post-verbal position.

It also explains:

- (b) why sentential negation using *ne...pas* cannot occur in (16c). According to Pollock/Belletti, *ne* and *pas* are base-generated in NegP. Since, according to Zanuttini, NegP is absent, *ne...pas* cannot occur.

Despite the elegant way in which Zanuttini's analysis accounts for these two features of the data in (16), her proposals do not account for why, in (16b), negation *can* be expressed using *pas* alone, i.e., without *ne*. If NegP (above TP) is missing as Zanuttini suggests, what is the source of *pas* which, according to Pollock's original proposal, endorsed by Zanuttini, is base-generated in SpecNeg? Zanuttini's explanation posits the presence of another NegP, call it NegP-2, not above but *below* TP. Indeed, it is in the specifier position of this lower NegP(-2) that Zanuttini suggests *pas* appears (with an empty head, \emptyset ¹³), as in (19).

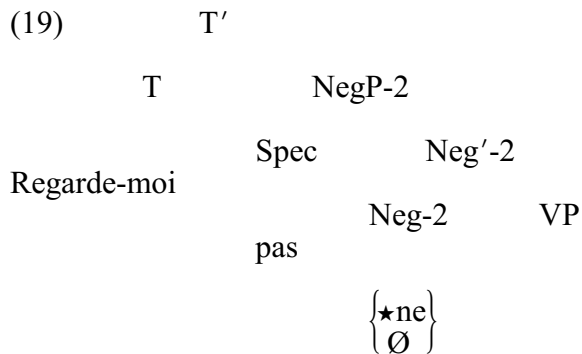
¹¹ This is perhaps because Neg⁰ cannot select an imperative T.

¹² Note that data such as the following are something of a problem for this analysis:

- (i) Jean a décidé de ne pas **le** faire.
J. has decided not to do it.

Pollock argues both that pronominal complement clitics are proclitic on Agr and that infinitival verbs only (optionally) move as far as T. While this accounts for the fact that both *ne* and *pas* are preverbal in (i), it does not account for the fact that the complement clitic *le* appears between *pas* and *faire*. If this clitic were proclitic on Agr, i.e., like *ne*, it should be between *ne* and *pas*. It may be possible to solve this problem using Chomsky's (1991) Agr-O position.

¹³ Note that the *empty* head being posited here, \emptyset , is not the same as the *phonologically null* head referred to, for example, in footnote 2 earlier, and represented as *ec*. In footnote 3, we assumed that the phonologically null [_{Neg} *ec*] is syntactically present, i.e., encodes syntactic features, that it marks the scope of sentential polarity, and that it cliticises onto Agr in the same way as its phonologically realised counterpart *ne*. Crucially, the head of Zanuttini's NegP-2, \emptyset , must *not* be syntactically realised, i.e., be void of syntactic features. If the empty category in the Neg-2 position in (19), i.e., \emptyset , were the same as the empty category in the Neg position in (1), i.e., *ec*, we would expect it to be a clitic. However, this position is clearly untenable since there is no Agr for the element to cliticise onto. In



Turning now to the imperatives in (17), Zanuttini's model suggests that the verb in these structures moves higher than T - presumably to Agr - and that, consequently, NegP and AgrP are generated in the clause¹⁴. This being so, the atonic pre-verbal complement pro-forms are licensed since there is a head Agr position onto which they can cliticise, while the contents of the NegP projection above TP allows sentential negation to be expressed using *ne...pas*, with *ne* cliticisation onto Agr. In this scenario, there is no need to posit the presence of NegP-2.

In summary, to account for the data in (16) and (17) on the basis of the model of French sentential negation proposed by Pollock and Belletti, Zanuttini has to posit that there are in fact two positions in one language, French, in which NegP can be licensed, one above and one below TP. The lower realisation, NegP-2, is only used in (a subset of) imperatives. Also, when NegP occurs in the lower position, its head must be syntactically empty¹⁵.

This seems to us to be a rather implausible set of claims to want to make, all the more so given that an analysis of imperatives in French in terms of a derivational approach to the syntax

addition, it could be argued - at least for French (see Ouhalla (1990)) -that a syntactically realised Neg needs to take scope over, i.e., be above, T. This requirement, too, would prevent the head of NegP-2 from being syntactically realised. The distinction between a phonologically null Neg, *ec*, and a syntactically null Neg, Ø, echoes Muller (1991: 142).

¹⁴ The fact that the negative imperatives in (16) do not take the usual *-s* agreement morpheme associated with second person singular verbs could be taken to support Zanuttini's contention that the verb has not been incorporated into Agr. The case is weakened though by the data in (17). In these structures, Zanuttini claims that the verb *does* move into Agr; however, it still lacks the *-s* agreement morpheme. In addition, data such as the negative imperatives in (i), in which the second person *plural* agreement morpheme appears on the imperative verb irrespective of whether the pronomial clitics are pre- or post-verbal, further weaken the morphological support for Zanuttini's claim:

- (i) a. Regardez-moi pas/Donnez-le-lui pas.
 b. Me regardez pas/Me le donnez pas.
 Don't look at me/Don't give it to him (second person *plural*)

¹⁵ The account proposed by Rivero (1993) does not have this weakness. In her discussion of negative imperatives in Romance and other languages, she claims that, while both true and surrogate imperatives undergo V-to-I movement, true imperatives also undergo I-to-C movement whereas surrogate imperatives do not. In essence, then, true imperatives move higher than surrogate imperatives. This is in contrast to Zanuttini who suggests that surrogate imperatives move higher than true imperatives.

By arguing, following Rooryck (1992), that the true imperative verb *alone* moves into C, i.e., without pronominal and negative clitics, for it to be able to properly govern its trace to satisfy the ECP, Rivero can account for the verb-clitic ordering in (16) and (17). The issue which the Rooryck/Rivero account has to deal with is why pronomial and negative clitics *cannot* follow a true imperative verb into C while they *can* follow a non-imperative verb into C, as in subject-verb inversion in (i).

- (i) a. [_C L'avez]-vous vu?
 Have you seen him?
 b. [_C Lui a]-t-elle déjà téléphoné?
 Has she already phoned him?
 c. [_C N'êtes]-vous pas encore prêt?
 Aren't you ready yet?
 d. [_C Ne les lui avait]-il pas envoyés?
 Hadn't he sent them to her?

It might be possible to find a solution by exploiting the different mechanisms of incorporation, outlined in Roberts (1992).

of *pas* allows an account of the data without recourse to NegP-2. By suggesting that *pas* and the like are base-generated relatively low in clause structure and subsequently promoted to the SpecNeg position to satisfy the Neg Criterion, it is not necessary to posit a special realisation of NegP just for a proper subset of negative imperatives. Rather, one could reason along the following lines:

- (a) Movement of *pas* to SpecNeg is triggered by a need to satisfy the Neg Criterion which, at S-structure at least, should only stipulate that a negative head needs a negative operator in specifier position to agree with.
- (b) Some 'negative imperative clauses', i.e., those illustrated in (16), do not have a NegP or anything above NegP.
- (c) In such clauses, the Neg Criterion is not applicable and *pas* is therefore licensed, *VP-adjoined*, obligatorily without *ne*, in the kind of 'negative imperative' illustrated in (16).

So, by assuming a derivational approach to the syntax of *pas*, it is not necessary to posit that NegP can appear in two different positions in clause structure in one and the same language. We shall assume that this constitutes further evidence to support the derivational approach to the syntax of *pas* proposed in Rowlett (1993a) and defended here throughout. Having offered two additional arguments to support our modified version of Pollock's NegP hypothesis, we go on, in section 3, to discuss interesting parallels between our revised analysis of sentential negation in French and other work on the subject.

3.0 Links with other work on negation

In section 3.1, we relate our approach to the syntax of *pas* to the literature which has, either implicitly or explicitly, and for reasons which are independent of the arguments presented here, adopted a derivational or transformational approach to a number of syntactic phenomena involving negation. In section 3.2, we consider the extent to which either *ne* or *pas* has been analysed as the negator proper in French sentential negation. It will be argued that, in contrast with the original formulation of the NegP hypothesis, our modified version of Pollock's proposals ties in with the conclusions of other researchers in interesting and desirable ways.

3.1 Movement analyses of sentential negation

It is perhaps worthy of note that a movement analysis of *pas* is reminiscent of a tradition of work going back at least as far as Jespersen (1917) and, more recently, Fillmore (1963) and, for French, Prince (1976), all of whom refer to a cross-linguistic syntactic phenomenon - much discussed in the linguistic and philosophical literature (see Horn (1978: 129-31) for selected references) - called negative transportation, *not*-hopping, anticipated negation, Neg-Raising, etc. Consider (20):

- (20) a. Robert veut que Jean regarde la télé.
 R. wants J. to watch TV.
 R (want' (J (X))); (X = regarder la télé)
- b. Robert ne veut pas que Jean regarde la télé.
 R. 'not-wants' J. to watch TV

The positive string in (20a) is unambiguous, unlike its negative counterpart in (20b), which has two possible interpretations. In the unmarked case, (20b) will be interpreted as (20d); less naturally, as (20c)¹⁶. (Informal semantic representations of the two possible readings of (20b) are given under (20c) and (20d). See Muller (1991: 126) for similar examples.)

- (20) c. Il n'est pas vrai que Robert veuille que Jean regarde la télé.

¹⁶ Without the necessary contextual features, (20b) will be interpreted as (20d). Contexts in which (20b) would more readily be interpreted as (20c) are given in (i):

- (i) a. Robert ne veut pas que Jean regarde la télé, c'est *Jean* qui veut, lui-même, voir le film qui passe.
 R. doesn't want J. to watch TV, it's J. who wants to watch the film they're showing.
- b. Je n'ai pas voulu qu'il s'en aille, mais son départ me convient tout à fait.
 I didn't *want* him to leave, but his having left suits me down to the ground.

- It is not the case that R. wants J. to watch TV.
 \neg (R (want' (J (X))))
- d. Robert veut que Jean ne regarde pas la télé.
 R. wants J. not to watch TV.
 R (want' (\neg (J (X))))

The two possible interpretations of (20b) are distinct in as much as the negation can be interpreted in association with the matrix predicate *vouloir que* S or with the embedded predicate *regarder la télé*. Interpreting the negation in association with the former is straightforward enough (albeit the marked case), since it is the tensed form of *vouloir* which is preceded and followed by *ne* and *pas* respectively. Interpreting it in association with *regarder la télé* is not so straightforward. The analysis offered by Fillmore and other researchers working within the transformational generative tradition suggests that the ambiguity is due to the fact that two distinct underlying representations, e.g., corresponding to the interpretations in (20c) and (20d), can be mapped onto one and the same surface representation, i.e., (20b). It is argued that the negation is base-generated 'with' its logical predicate, and that it is subsequently in some way 'attracted', to use Jespersen's term, by the matrix predicate (with which it is associated at surface structure). Thus, for the (20d) reading of (20b), the negation is base-generated in association with the lower, embedded, predicate and subsequently drawn out of the lower clause by the matrix predicate. For the (20c) reading of (20d), it could be argued that the same thing has happened. Within the terms of our model of clause structure, this amounts to saying that the negation is base-generated adjoined to either the matrix or the embedded VP and that it is subsequently raised into the matrix SpecNeg¹⁷.

This clause-hopping derivation is lexically determined by some syntactic feature of the matrix predicate. For example, while *souhaiter* can attract the negation associated with an embedded predicate, the near synonym *espérer* cannot. (See also Muller (1991: 129).)

- (21) a. Jean ne souhaite pas devenir premier ministre.
 J. does not wish to become PM.
- b. Jean n'espère pas devenir premier ministre.
 J. does not hope to become PM.

(21a) is ambiguous in the same way as (20b) above, (21b) is not. (21a) could be the positive expression of a negative desire, i.e., a conscious desire not to become PM, or the denial of a desire, presumably to counter a perceived assumption within the speaker's audience. The first of these two interpretations is not available for (21b), which can only serve to deny the assumed wish, and cannot express a positive hope for something not to happen. It is conceivable that this difference between the two verbs can be correlated with another interesting difference, namely

¹⁷ Our claim that *pas* occurring, superficially, in some matrix clauses could derive from a range of underlying positions is supported by data such as in (i), based on Barbaud (1991: 132):

- (i) a. Sonia ne veut pas que tu boives **de** vin.
 b. Sonia ne veut pas que tu boives **du** vin.

In view of the presence of the pseudo-partitive article in (ia), we assume that *pas* originates within the direct object of *boire*. In view of the presence of the partitive article in (ib), we assume that *pas* originates not within the direct object of *boire*, but rather adjoined to the VP headed by *vouloir*. (See section 4.1 below for a view that *pas* could be base-generated adjoined to the VP headed by *boire* in (ib).) Our thanks to Douglas Proctor, a student on the 1993 syntax course we taught at the University of York, UK, for drawing our attention to Barbaud's article.

The transformational, i.e., syntactic, account of this phenomenon is criticised by Attal (1979), Cornulier (1973; 1974), Epstein (1976), Horn (1978) and Muller (1991). Instead, Epstein (1976) and Attal (1979) offer pragmatic accounts (cited by Muller (1991: 127)). Epstein's premise is that, *in pragmatic terms*, to say that an individual not-wants P amounts to saying that the individual wants not-P. Thus the fact, in the unmarked case, text example (20b) will be interpreted as (20d) is a consequence of pragmatic principles rather than a syntactic derivation. In our view, this premise is unfounded. Cornulier (1973) uses data like the following to argue against a raising account of sentential negation:

- (ii) Je ne veux plus t'épouser.
 (iii) ?Je veux ne plus t'épouser.

By pointing out that (iii) is not the equivalent of (ii), Cornulier claims that negation in the matrix clause cannot be derived from negation in the embedded clause. This may well be the case in this example, and is probably due to an incompatibility between the verb *épouser* and *ne...plus*, illustrated in (iv).

- (iv) ?Je ne t'épouse plus.

However, this goes no way to ruling out, in principle, Neg-Raising from a legitimate underlying configuration.

the fact that, when the verbs take a finite clause as their complement, the verb in the embedded clause must be in the subjunctive mood in the case of *souhaiter*, indicative in the case of *espérer*. We shall not speculate as to the exact characterisation of this contrast¹⁸.

Another verb which does not allow Neg-Raising is *demander*. Consider (22):

- (22) a. Le maire a demandé à son ancien adjoint de faire suivre son courrier.
The mayor asked his former deputy to forward his mail.
b. Le maire *n'a pas* demandé à son ancien adjoint de faire suivre son courrier.
The mayor did not ask his former deputy to forward his mail.
c. Le maire a demandé à son ancien adjoint de *ne pas* faire suivre son courrier.
The mayor asked his former deputy not to forward his mail.

The glosses in (22) should clearly show how the sentential negation in the matrix clause in (22b) could not have been raised from the embedded clause.

Finally in this section, there are verbs in French for which a clause-hopping derivation of sentential negation is obligatory. Consider (23):

- (23) a. Il faut [_{CP} que vous soyez là].
It is-necessary that you be here.
b. Il ne faut pas [_{CP} que vous soyez là].
It *ne* is-necessary *pas* that you be here.
c. Il faut [_{CP} que vous ne soyez pas là].
It is-necessary that you *ne* be *pas* here.
d. It is not necessary for you to be here.

The matrix verb in (23) is the impersonal *falloir* which obligatorily appears with a pleonastic subject *il*. The subcategorisation properties of the verb are such that it can select a finite (subjunctive) clause as its internal argument, which can be either positive, as in (23a), or (less naturally) negative, as in (23c). In addition, it is possible for the negation to appear in the matrix clause, as in (23b), which is in fact the more natural way of expressing (23c). What is of relevance to our discussion are the possible interpretations of (23b). For, if *falloir* behaves like *vouloir*, for example, we would expect (23b) to be ambiguous. We would expect it to be possible to interpret (23b) not only as (23c) but also as (23d). The (23c) interpretation would involve Neg-Raising while the (23d) interpretation would not. In fact, (23d) (without Neg-Raising) is not a possible interpretation of (23b)¹⁹. In this sense, *falloir* is the opposite of *espérer*²⁰.

¹⁸ Within the context of the contrast noted between *espérer* and *souhaiter* in French (discussed by Gross (1978) and, in passing, Muller (1991: 81)), it is interesting that the difference illustrated in (21) between near-synonyms in the same language also appears cross-linguistically. The etymologically related 'modals' *must* in English and *müssen* in German seem to differ in the same way as the two French verbs for, while (ia) and (ib) are, in all relevant respects, synonymous, their negated counterparts in (iia) and (iib) are not.

- (i) a. Der Student muß dabei sein.
b. The student must be present.
(ii) a. Der Student muß nicht dabei sein.
b. The student must not be present.

While (iib) expresses an obligation not to be present, or an indication that presence is not permitted, (iia) expresses no more than the absence of any obligation to be present. Hence, (iia) could be translated as (iii):

- (iii) The student does not have to be present.

These data suggest that the English modal *must* (like *souhaiter*) allows the negation to move out of the embedded clause and into the matrix clause (assuming, perhaps not uncontroversially, that the examples are bi-clausal constructions), while its German counterpart *müssen* does not (like *espérer*). In the case of the Germanic example, this property could be related to the fact that English *must* is a true syntactic modal (lacking all tense and agreement morphology) whereas German *müssen* is not. On a related note, Muller (1991: 133) comments that, in the same way that when a clause containing the English modal *must* is negated, the modal is still interpreted as positive, so it is also the case that, when an imperative is negated, it is still interpreted as a positive command, i.e., not to do something, rather than as the absence of a command. We leave the issue open. For a discussion of the relationship between modality and mood, see Barbaud (1991).

¹⁹ In this judgement, all our informants disagreed with Muller (1991: 126, 132) who claims that clauses with *falloir* can be interpreted as if Neg-Raising has happened, and, thus, that (i) below can be interpreted either as (iia) or as (iib):

- (i) Il ne faut pas que Pierre parte.
(ii) a. Il faut que Pierre ne parte pas.
b. Il n'est pas obligatoire que Pierre parte.

To summarise, the essential characteristic of this approach to the data in (20)-(24) and in the footnote is that negative elements can, and under certain circumstances must, be raised out of a containing clause. Seen from this perspective, our analysis of *pas* - involving promotion from a position adjoined to or within VP to SpecNeg - hardly seems radical.

3.2 Which is the 'real' negative: *ne* or *pas*?

The approach adopted here implies that *pas* has quantificational properties (in addition to being negative) along the same lines as *beaucoup*, an assumption also made by Muller (1991: 158, 209), and supported diachronically by the fact that most of the post-verbal (XP) negative markers in Romance were originally indefinite quantifiers used to denote a minimal amount (cf. Muller (1991: 216), also Zanuttini).

As such, *pas* is the more important of the two elements involved in sentential negation in French. Pollock's own presentation, in contrast, implies that it is *ne*, the ultimate head of a *NegP*, which is the more important. Intuitively, it is *pas* which is more closely associated with negation than *ne* (in modern French). Also, the contexts in which *ne* alone suffices to convey sentential negation are very limited and indicative of a conservative or elevated register. Further, there are structures, notably those expressing fear, doubt, etc., in which the occurrence of a lone *ne* must be interpreted positively, e.g., (24)²¹. In contrast, *pas* alone suffices to express sentential negation in almost all contexts. Indeed, in those varieties of spoken French mentioned above, *pas* used alone to express sentential negation is the norm. This intuitive view is also supported by more theoretical work, for example, by Williams (1991) who argues that, while *pas* is the negator proper, *ne*, or *ec*, is no more than a scope marker for sentential negation. This view is echoed by Muller (1991) who suggests (p. 125) that *ne* can only appear in a 'negative' structure if the verb appears within the scope of the (sentential) negation and (p. 141) that *ne* cliticises onto the first verb over which it takes (negative) scope.

- (24) a. Pierre craint que Sophie *ne* l'ait oublié
 P. fears S. might have forgotten him
 b. Je lui ai téléphoné de peur qu'il *ne* pense *pas* à l'anniversaire de sa femme.
 I phoned him through fear he might not remember his wife's birthday
 c. Je doute que Manchester *ne* soit choisi pour les Jeux Olympiques de l'an 2000.
 I doubt Manchester will be chosen for the 2000 Olympic Games.

Indeed, data such as in (24) could be used to endorse Laka's (1990) idea that Pollock's *NegP* is not so much an inherently *negative* phrase as a *polarity* phrase (PolP or ΣP). With this interpretation of the functional projection headed by *ne*, one could reason that the polarity features of the head *ne* are determined, perhaps partially, by agreement with an operator, e.g., *pas*, in specifier position.

In this section, we have tried to show that the derivational analysis of the syntax of *pas* has, in contrast with Pollock's original analysis, more in common with conclusions reached by linguists and philosophers over the decades and with our intuitions about the status of *pas* and *ne* in French. In the next - more speculative - section, we address a couple of issues which arise from the modifications proposed to the *NegP* hypothesis for French.

Our informants find it impossible to interpret (i) as (iib), even in a suitable context.

²⁰ It is tempting to conclude that *falloir* is incompatible with underlying negation. If we were to conclude this, it is not immediately clear how we could account for the data in (i):

- (i) a. Il ne faut pas [_{CP} que vous ne soyez pas là].
 It *ne* is-necessary *pas* that you *ne* be *pas* here (i.e., you must be here).
 b. Fillette: Maman, je peux laver le chat dans la machine à laver?
 Mère: Non, il faut pas!
 Little girl: Mummy, can I wash the cat in the washing machine?
 Mother: No, you musn't!

²¹ For recent work on this so-called 'expletive' negation, especially with respect to Catalan, see the work of Espinal.

4.0 Unconsidered theoretical possibilities

4.1 Two possible initial extraction sites for *pas* in [_{V'} V DP_{-def}]

In this section, we shall argue that, in one particular configuration, our model predicts that *pas* can be generated in either of the two structures illustrated in (5) and (6). That scenario is where a transitive verb governs an indefinite DP, as in (7), discussed in section 1 above, and repeated here, for the reader's convenience, as (25).

- (25) a. Elle me donne **de l'**argent.
 b. ★Elle me donne **d'**argent.
 c. ★Elle ne me donne pas **de l'**argent.
 d. Elle ne me donne pas **d'**argent.

In (5), *pas* is adjoined to the predicate VP; in (6), it appears as the ultimate head N of an indefinite (direct object) DP. In Rowlett (1993a: section 4), we argued that, in a negative clause containing a transitive verb governing an indefinite DP, *pas* is generated in the structure illustrated in (6). In all other negative clauses containing *pas*, in contrast, it was argued that *pas* is generated in the structure illustrated in (5). It was claimed that this explained the data in (25) above.

However, while the model proposed in Rowlett (1993a) and supported here *allows* the negative nominal quantifier *pas*, where possible, to appear within the indefinite direct object of a transitive verb, it does not *oblige* it to do so. Given the model as presented, it should be possible for *pas* to be generated in a VP-adjoined position in all negative clauses, i.e., even in those in which a transitive verb governs an indefinite direct object. In other words, our model predicts that, given such a configuration, *pas* can be generated either VP-adjoined or DP-internal, as in (26).

- (26) VP
- (pas) VP
- V'
- V DP
- D'
- D NP
- N'
- N XP

(pas)
ec

A look at the data in (25) suggests that this flexibility in the model leads to overgeneration. It predicts that (25c) above is grammatical, which it is not. Indeed it seems that the model is too flexible in its current format. It would seem necessary to introduce some constraint barring *pas* from being generated adjoined to a VP containing an indefinite direct object, i.e., in a structure like (27):

- (27) ★[_{VP} pas [_{VP} ... [DP_{-def}]]]

In (27), the indefinite direct object DP in the negative clause would be realised as a partitive structure, as in (25c) above, which is ungrammatical.

However, the constraint barring a partitive direct object DP in a negative clause, and, more generally, in a clause containing any nominal quantifier, is not without exception. Consider the data in (28)-(30) (from Grevisse (1986: 916), apart from (28b)), especially the minimally contrastive (30c-d), taken from Muller (1991: 175-6):

- (28) a. N'avez-vous pas **des** amis pour vous défendre?
Don't you have any friends to defend you?
b. Ne voient-ils pas **des** problèmes qui puissent encore nous gêner.
Can't they see any problems which might still bother us.
- (29) a. On n'y voyait presque jamais **des** barques de pêche.
Fishing boats were hardly ever seen there.
b. Je n'ai pas amassé **des** millions pour envoyer mon unique héritier se faire casser la tête en Afrique!
I didn't accumulate millions in order to see my sole heir go off and get himself killed in Africa!
- (30) a. Elle n'a pas demandé **du** vin, mais de la bière.
She didn't ask for wine, she asked for beer.
b. Nous ne disons pas **du** mal de lui!
We're not slagging *him* off (i.e., not him but someone else).
c. Paul a bu de l'eau, (et) pas **du** vin. (Contrastive)
Paul drank water, not wine.
d. Paul a bu de l'eau, et pas **de** vin. (Non-contrastive)
Paul drank water, and not wine.

Grevisse (1986: 916) suggests that the partitive article can be retained in a number of cases, i.e.: (a) if the sentence or a part of the sentence has a positive meaning, e.g., (28); (b) if the negation does not really have scope over the noun, e.g., (29); or, (c) if the negated phrase contrasts with another phrase fulfilling the same function, e.g., (30)²². So we would not want to attribute too great a role to any mechanism amounting to a constraint barring the structure illustrated in (27)²³.

4.2 Relationship between constituent and sentential negation

In this final section, we would like to make a few remarks which have been provoked by the preceding discussion. The salient feature which distinguishes our analysis of sentential negation in French using the element *pas* from the one proposed by Pollock (1989) is that, in Pollock's model, sentential negation is an underlying property of the clause, while in our model, it is a derived property of the clause. In Pollock's analysis, a clause is negative at D-structure since the elements *ne* and, more importantly, *pas* occupy the head and specifier slots in NegP at that level. In our analysis, it is not until S-structure, at the earliest, that *pas* occupies the SpecNeg position and that *ne* and *pas* can come together, via Spec-head agreement, for the negative features of *pas* to be linked with the (sentential) scope features of *ne* to produce sentential negation²⁴. Hence, the underlying structure, in which the negator proper, *pas*, appears in association with the

²² Les articles indéfinis ou partitifs se maintiennent, si la phrase (ou le membre de la phrase) a un sens positif, si la négation ne porte pas réellement sur le nom, [ou] si le syntagme nié s'oppose à un autre syntagme de même fonction.

²³ Grevisse (1986: 914-5) gives other examples of nominal quantifiers appearing with the partitive instead of the pseudo-partitive article. Some of these are repeated in (i) and (ii) below:

- (i) a. Il y a beaucoup des gens qui ...
b. Assez des bonnes nouvelles
c. Ayant beaucoup des enfants
- (ii) a. Trop du vin que vous m'avez envoyé est éventé.
b. Il me reste peu de la laine que vous m'avez fournie.
c. Beaucoup des maximes étaient déjà écrites.
d. Il y avait tellement du cuivre et de l'argent que ...

Grevisse attributes these utterances to the 'langue populaire de diverses régions'. We do not propose to analyse the syntax of these nominal quantifiers in the same way as the syntax of *pas/jamais* in text example (28)-(30). Instead of claiming that the nominal quantifiers in (i) and (ii) are base-generated in the VP-adjoined position, we suggest rather that they appear in underlying representation within their associated indefinite DP but that their subcategorisation properties differ from standard French, i.e., they take a PP complement (headed by *de*) rather than a bare NP complement.

²⁴ This amounts to arguing that negative sentences are underlyingly positive, or at least non-negative. In similar vein, Muller (1991: 35) suggests that negative utterances presuppose pragmatically the equivalent positive utterances ('un énoncé négatif présuppose pragmatiquement l'énoncé positif qu'il nie').

constituent which it logically negates, is more reminiscent of constituent rather than sentential negation. Following this line of thinking through to its logical conclusion, sentential negation is derived from constituent negation.

This is an interesting conclusion since it relates two familiar syntactic phenomena which are traditionally analysed separately in the literature. In that respect, it relates sentential and constituent negation in the same way, for example, as passive and active, the links between which have, of course, been recognised since the earliest days of generative grammar.

- (31) thematic structure $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{active} \\ \text{passive} \end{array} \right.$
- (32) logical negation $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{constituent negation} \\ \text{sentential negation} \end{array} \right.$

Thus, what distinguishes sentential from constituent negation is the transformational component, Move- α . Each of the two sentence pairs in (33), taken from Muller (1991: 123), can be argued to derive from identical underlying structures but have diverging derivational histories:

- (33) a. Luc habite pas loin de l'église.
L. lives not far from the church.
- b. Luc n'habite pas loin de l'église.
Luc doesn't live far from the church.
- c. En 1960, Luc a habité quelque temps pas loin de l'église.
In 1960, L. lived for a time not far from the church.
- d. En 1960, Luc n'a pas habité quelque temps loin de l'église.
In 1960, L. didn't live for a time far from the church.

In the following examples, containing adverbial expressions (adapted from Ayer (1882: 378), cited by Muller (1991: 101)), we further illustrate this idea.

- (34) a. Je le verrai.
I shall see him.
- b. Je ne le verrai pas.
I shall not see him.
- c. Je le verrai avec plaisir.
I shall gladly see him.
- d. Je ne le verrai pas avec plaisir.

The superficial sentential negation in (34b) derives from an underlying structure in which *pas* is adjoined to, and therefore negates, VP. The superficial sentential negation in (34d) could derive from one of three possible underlying configurations, each of which is represented in (35):

- (35) a. $[_{VP} \text{ pas } [_{VP} [_{VP} \text{ le voir }] [_{PP} \text{ avec plaisir }]]]$

pas VP

- b. $[_{VP} [_{VP} \text{ pas } [_{VP} \text{ le voir }]] [_{PP} \text{ avec plaisir }]]$
- VP

VP PP

pas VP avec plaisir

- c. $[_{VP} [_{VP} \text{ le voir }] [_{PP} \text{ pas } [_{PP} \text{ avec plaisir }]]]$

VP

VP

PP

le voir

pas PP

avec plaisir

In each of the three underlying structures in (35) the constituent to which *pas* is adjoined and over which it has scope is different. Thus, in (35a), *pas* is adjoined to and therefore negates the entire [_{VP} le voir avec plaisir]; in (35b) the negated constituent is the smaller [_{VP} le voir]; in (35c) it is just the adverbial PP that is negated. The consequence of this is that the negative utterance in (34d) above is three-ways ambiguous. It can have any one of the interpretations in (36):

- (36) a. It is not the case that I shall gladly see him.
 b. It is with pleasure that I shall not see him.
 c. It is without pleasure that I shall see him.²⁵

If it were argued, à la Pollock, that *both ne* and *pas* are base-generated, in fixed positions, as head and specifier respectively of NegP, it would not be possible, in syntactic terms, to account for these ambiguities. Instead, recourse would have to be made to pragmatic principles.²⁶ Further, Muller (1991: 218) argues that part of the reason why French, for example, developed a system of negation involving two elements must be because the original element, i.e., *ne*, appearing in a fixed position, was unable to mark negative scope over domains smaller than the clause. This weakness within the system would not be eradicated if *pas* had also to appear in a fixed position.

For a final example, consider the possible interpretations in (38) of the utterance in (37), based on an example from Heldner (1981), cited by Muller (1991: 108-9):

- (37) L'étudiant n'était pas là pour défendre sa thèse.

The student wasn't there to defend his thesis.

- (38) a. L'étudiant n'était pas là et n'a donc pas défendu sa thèse.
 The student wasn't there and therefore didn't/couldn't defend his thesis.
 b. L'étudiant, saoul, est resté absent en croyant que sa thèse serait mieux défendue par son absence que par sa présence.
 The student, drunk, stayed away thinking that his thesis would get a better defence in his absence than in his presence.
 c. L'étudiant était présent mais pas pour défendre sa thèse.
 The student was there, but not to defend his thesis.

We leave the reader to see how, for each of the three interpretations of (37), the scope of the negation is different.

What should by now be clear from the discussion is that the scope ambiguities illustrated in the examples are a consequence of distinct underlying representations involving constituent negation being mapped onto homophonous superficial structures containing sentential negation.

²⁵ The interpretation in (35c) is nothing like as natural as those in (35a) and (35b), and requires suitable contextual features, as in (i). This can perhaps be attributed to the fact that, for the (35c) reading, *pas* has to be raised from within an adjunct. But see Heldner (1981) for an account based on pragmatic issues, i.e., Grice's maxim of quality.

- (i) Je ne le verrai pas avec plaisir, plutôt/sinon avec horreur.
 I shall not see him with pleasure, but with horror.

Muller (1991: 48) cites the following example from Nølke (to appear) in which the negation can more readily be associated with the PP adjunct:

- (ii) Paul n'a pas battu le chat avec le baton.
 Paul did not hit the cat with the stick.

²⁶ In fact, the interpretation of negative sentences containing an adverbial modifier such as those considered here is discussed with reference to the Gricean maxims of pragmatics by Heldner (1981) and Gabbay & Moravčšik (1978). See Muller (1991: 104-10) for review.

5.0 Summary

In this article, we have considered sentential negation in French. Taking as our starting point Pollock's (1989) NegP hypothesis as modified by Rowlett (1993a), we offered additional syntactic evidence involving PP-islands and negative imperatives to support the claim that the element *pas* cannot be analysed as the underlying specifier of NegP. Rather, it was argued that *pas* is base-generated lower in clause structure and subsequently raised to fill the SpecNeg position at a later stage in the derivation.

We went on to explore the extent to which this movement approach to the syntax of *pas* ties in with other analyses of sentential negation within the transformational generative tradition. The fact that the modified NegP hypothesis presented here reflects more closely the insights of earlier work offers additional and significant support.

Finally, we turned our attention to a number of theoretical possibilities opened up by this modified application of the NegP hypothesis to French. We concluded, for example, that the distinction which is drawn between sentential and constituent negation is not always as great a difference as has traditionally been believed.

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