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In this new book Liliane Haegeman presents an account of sentential negation within the Government and Binding framework. Building on the work of Klima and Lasnik, Haegeman demonstrates the parallelism between negative sentences and interrogative sentences, and gives a unified analysis in terms of a well-formedness condition on syntactic representations: the AFFECT-criterion, instantiated as the WH-criterion in interrogative sentences and as the NEG-criterion in negative sentences. It is shown that in the same way that in many languages the WH-criterion gives rise to WH-movement, the NEG-criterion may also give rise to NEG-movement. This is particularly clear in the Germanic languages. In the analysis of sentential negation in Romance languages the author makes extensive use of the notion of representational chain, showing that in these languages too the NEG-criterion applies at the level of S-structure.

In addition to providing a syntactic analysis of sentential negation the book also raises a number of theoretical issues such as that of the distinction between A-positions and A′-positions and the level of application of well-formedness conditions.

This book will be of interest to all those working on theoretical syntax, particularly of the Germanic and Romance languages.

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THE SYNTAX OF NEGATION

LILIANE HAEGEMAN
Department of Linguistics, University of Geneva

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Il n'y a guère que les savants et les marchands de chandelles pour déplorer qu'au lever du soleil les lanternes soient inutiles!
Christiane Singer, *Une Passion* (Albin Michel, 1992: 69)

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Preface

In this book I develop an analysis of the syntax of negation against the background of the generative tradition, more specifically the Principles and Parameters framework initiated by Noam Chomsky.

The linguistics literature is full of discussions of negation and has been so for a long time. Discussions have ranged from the morphological aspects of negation, to the syntax, the semantics and the pragmatics. In this book I do not intend to provide an exhaustive discussion of all the aspects of negation which were, at one moment or another, prominent issues in the linguistics literature. This could not be the topic of one book, but it would be the topic of a series. I concentrate on the syntactic aspects of negation, focusing almost exclusively on what is usually referred to as sentence negation, i.e. those examples where the negation marker has scope over and thus gives negative value to a whole sentence, as is the case in the following English sentences: (i) *I won't go there any more* and (ii) *No one said nothing* or (iii) *He gave nothing to Mary*.

I will not restrict the discussion to an analysis of aspects of the syntax of negation; rather I will try to bring out those aspects of the syntax of negation which are not specific to negative sentences as such, but which belong to the larger domain of the syntax of operators, with special attention to the parallelism between negative sentences and interrogative sentences. This line of research was initiated in the generative tradition by Edward Klima in the 1960s. What is important about Klima's work is that much of the analysis is still valid in the current framework, and his work contains the essence of what are the central topics of discussion in the current literature. What my work will do is recast some of Klima's earlier proposals in terms of the current generative model. I also draw on Lasnik's work on negation written in the 1970s.

With respect to the framework used, I will adopt the so-called Government and Binding tradition. I will, however, refer to the more recent Minimalist Program regularly, and bring out parallelisms and

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differences between the two frameworks with respect to the matter at hand. I have adopted the traditional SOV analysis for the West Germanic languages but I have inserted occasional references to those accounts which adopt the Universal Base hypothesis and postulate a universal SVO base order.

In my discussion I have made essential use of two recent discussions of WH-movement. My analysis starts out from Rizzi's discussion of the WH-criterion, which I generalize and develop for negation in terms of the NEG-criterion. I first discuss the application of the NEG-criterion to West Flemish, a language in which negative constituents undergo movement, exactly like WH-constituents undergo movement in, say, English or French. Then I show how the same kind of approach can be extended to other languages, some of which lack overt movement of negative constituents. In order to deal with these languages I will depart strongly from Rizzi's original approach and I follow recent work by Brody in which extensive and systematic use is made of operator chains. It seems to me that the latter option has important conceptual advantages and that its empirical coverage is at least equal to Rizzi's original approach. The discussion will also reveal the need to rethink the nature of derivational and representational chains: contrary to what would be expected from the Relativized Minimality framework, for instance, derivational chains headed by negative arguments sometimes cannot be formed by binding and antecedent-government is required. In order to deal with this I propose the notion of layered chains, with an argument layer and an operator layer; in the case which will be discussed, the operator layer, which imposes antecedent government relations on the links of the chain, overrules the argument layer.

This book is organized as follows. In chapter 1 I outline the basic tenets of the model I am adopting. Readers familiar with the Government and Binding literature will not find this chapter particularly innovative. I simply discuss those domains of the grammar which will be relevant to my work and include some reference to recent developments. In chapter 2 I show how the syntax of negation can be treated in parallel with the syntax of interrogative sentences and I develop the NEG-criterion, a well-formedness condition on the distribution of negative heads and negative quantifiers first formulated in joint work with Raffaella Zanuttini. In chapter 3 I consider the syntax of negation in West Flemish. In chapter 4 I extend the analysis to other languages, and I introduce the concept of the layered chain. Given that the discussion in chapters 2, 3 and 4 relies

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on the distinction between A- and A′-positions, I turn to a general discussion of this issue in chapter 5. Finally, chapter 6 summarizes the book, points to the more important remaining problems and briefly discusses non-sentential negation.

Parts of this book are based on papers which were published elsewhere. Some of the West Flemish data discussed in chapter 3 are also to be found in the paper 'Negative Concord, Negative heads' which appeared in D. Delfitto, M. Everaert, A. Evers and F. Stuurman (eds.) *Going Romance and Beyond* published in 1991. Chapter 2 is parallel to the discussion in 'Negation in West Flemish and the NEG-criterion', in the *Proceedings of the NELS Conference 22* (1992), edited by K. Broderick. Chapter 4 is related to the paper 'Negative heads and negative operators: the NEG-criterion' in B. Lust, M. Suner, and J. Whitman (eds.) *Syntactic Theory and First Language Acquisition: Cross linguistic perspectives. Vol 1. Heads, Projections and Learnability*. I also refer to the two joint papers with Raffaella Zanuttini, which were the starting point for this book: in 1991 we published 'Negative heads and the NEG-criterion', in *The Linguistic Review*. Our second joint paper, which contains a detailed analysis of the conditions on negative concord, is 'Negative Concord in West Flemish', to appear in *Parameters and Functional Heads*, edited by Adriana Belletti and Luigi Rizzi. However, I wish to emphasize that though the leading idea of this book is the same as that in the related articles, the specific implementation of the analysis differs considerably from the published papers.

I started working on negation in 1989. Most of this work has been presented in the DES course at the University of Geneva. I thank the students who attended these classes for patiently listening to what at times must have been variations on a theme with frequent changes of direction. Special thanks are due to Lucienne Rasetti and Julien Musolino for their valuable questions and suggestions. I also presented this work at the Seminaire de Recherche at the University of Geneva, for the GDR group 120 (syntaxe comparative) at Paris in 1990, at Tilburg University in 1990, at University College London in 1991, at the Going Romance conference in Utrecht in 1991, at the LAGB conference in Brighton in 1992, at the conference on Celtic languages in Bangor in 1992, at the Department of Cognitive Sciences at Johns Hopkins University in 1992 and at the DEA programme in linguistics at the University of Nancy in 1993. I wish to thank all the audiences of these meetings for their comments and suggestions.

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In addition I also thank the colleagues and friends who have discussed parts of this book with me: Enoch Aboh, Adriana Belletti, Hans den Besten, Luigi Burzio, Carlo Cecchetto, Peter Coopmans, Siobhan Cottell, Arnold Evers, Riny Huybregts, Michel de Graff, Corinne Grange, Jane Grimshaw, Teresa Guasti, Eric Haeberli, Teun Hoekstra, Carla Luijks, Rita Manzini, Jamal Ouhalla, Genoveva Puskas, Henk Van Riemsdijk, Karin Robbers, Beatrice Santorini, Manuela Schoenenberger, Ur Shlonsky and Michal Starke.

Michael Brody and Luigi Rizzi were the main sources of inspiration for the theoretical basis of this book, and I am grateful to them for the discussion we had on various issues. I think that the extensive use I make in this book of representational chains is not a coincidence. Of course, neither can be held responsible for the way I have elaborated and modified their proposals. I also express my gratitude to Paolo Acquaviva and Magui Suner for sending me their work and for discussing various points with me. It was very stimulating to find out how, starting from different empirical data, our analyses converged towards the same conclusions.

Thanks are also due to Carlo Cecchetto, Claire Foley, Corinne Grange, Genoveva Puskas, Lucienne Rasetti, Raffaella Zanuttini and two anonymous CUP reviewers for detailed comments on the manuscript.

My warmest thanks also go to Eric Haeberli and Manuela Schoenenberger who spent the first part of their Easter vacation reading through a final version of the text and doing a lot of copy editing. Without them the book would not have taken the shape it has now. Thanks also to Mariette Suttels for proofreading.

Special thanks go to David Lightfoot and Neil Smith. They managed to make me laugh when life seemed to have turned itself into a negative chain.

Among all the colleagues and friends in the linguistics world there is no doubt that Raffaella Zanuttini deserves special mention. If it had not been for that long discussion over coffee and Swiss chocolates at Micheli's on a cold December afternoon in 1989, this book would not have existed. Raffaella's first GLOW paper on negation in 1989 and her stay in Geneva in 1989-1990 were the starting point for my work on negation and the continuous discussion we have had throughout the last five years has helped me to give shape to my ideas. And, more importantly, we developed a friendship which goes far beyond the

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question where to locate NegP in the tree. Raffaella deserves the credit for whatever merits this book may have. Needless to say, I am responsible for everything that is wrong with it.

Finally, thanks to my parents and my brother for their friendship (and their judgements) and to Hedwig, who was the positive antidote to working on negation.

This research is part of project 11-33542.93 subsidized by the Fonds National Suisse de la Recherche Scientifique. I also make extensive use of work by Puskas (1994) and Hamann (1993), both part of the same project.

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