

AN ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL FOR FRENCH NEGATION

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, I propose an analysis of the negative expression (ne) pas 'not' in Modern Standard French, set within the minimalist program of Chomsky (1995), whose goal is to keep only principles no theory can do without (Hornstein 1994: 62ff.; see also Abraham et al. 1996; Pollock 1997; etc. for introductions to the theory).¹ The main characteristic of the present account is that it takes seriously the well-known fact that ne, traditionally thought of as the center of sentential negation, is no longer negative (Ashby 1981; Coveney 1996). Therefore, Pollock's (1989) influential proposal of a specific negative functional category NEG_P headed by ne with pas in its SPEC has to be revised. I will focus only on French, and leave for further research how my proposal could be extended to account for the structure of negation in other languages, especially in other Romance languages (see Zanuttini 1991).

1. THE NEG_P HYPOTHESIS: POLLOCK (1989).

The most influential proposal on the structure of sentential negation to have been elaborated in recent times has been the split inflection hypothesis of Pollock (1989) which extends the X-bar schema to separate Tense, Agreement, and Negation functional categories. This proposal is motivated by the need to account for various facts regarding negation, adverb placement, *yes-no* questions, and quantifier float in tensed and untensed clauses in both French and English. It is well known that in Standard French, the lexical verb systematically precedes adverbial items that the verb must follow in the corresponding Standard English sentences, as seen in the glosses:

- (1) a. Paul (ne) (*pas) regarde (pas) la télévision.
Paul (ne) (*not) watches (not) the television.
'Paul does not watch TV.'
- b. Paul (*souvent) regarde (souvent) la télévision.
Paul (*often) watches (often) the television.
'Paul often watches TV.'

¹ A previous version of this paper was presented at *Perspectives on Negation* at Groningen, The Netherlands, August 24-26, 1996. I thank the audience for useful comments. Special thanks to Lisa Reed, Barbara Bullock, Marc Authier, Lillith Barnaby, Silvia Kouwenberg and an anonymous reviewer.

- c. Mes amis (*tous) aiment (tous) Marie.
 My friends (*all) love (all) Mary.
 'My friends all love Mary.'

Pollock (1989), after Emonds (1978), explains the differences by assuming overt verb movement to the highest inflectional category in French tensed clauses, as opposed to affix hopping in English tensed clauses (Chomsky 1957). More importantly, he argues that the insertion of a dummy auxiliary *do* to negate a lexical verb in English is a clear indication of the presence of an intermediate Negative functional category which prevents lexical verb movement or affix hopping from occurring in this language, supposedly by interfering with thematic role assignment. As far as French is concerned, Pollock (1989) proposes that *ne* is the head of the negative functional category NEGP selected by TP with *pas* generated in SPEC position.²

Though this framework—allowing the treatment of complex issues of clause structure—has been influential, Pollock's (1989) proposal has nevertheless been challenged on numerous grounds (see Iatridou 1990, Baker 1991, Ernst 1992, Williams 1994, Abeillé & Godard 1997, etc.), to which may be added the dissatisfaction of Chomsky (1995) and others with the multiplication of functional projections. Given that there are compelling arguments to consider an alternative proposal, I will particularly focus on three difficulties of the NEGP hypothesis which my proposal solves in a natural way.

2. THREE DIFFICULTIES WITH THE NEGP HYPOTHESIS.

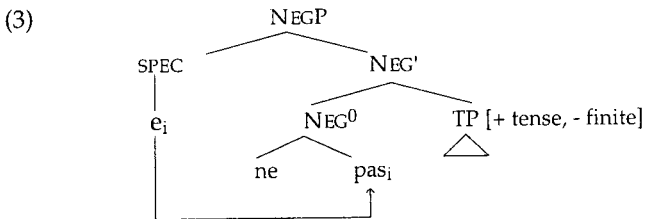
A first difficulty with the NEGP proposal is that the order '*pas + ne*' is always ungrammatical in Modern Standard French. The fact that the head *ne* appears to the left of the negative marker *pas* in SPEC of NEGP is unexpected since in French SPECS are assumed to be merged to the left of their head. This fact has required additional stipulations difficult to fully motivate. Pollock (1989) considers *ne* to be a clitic climbing to Tense. If plausible in tensed clauses where *ne* appears to the left of other clitics attached to the verb—seen in (2a), as noticed in Recourcé (1996)—this proposal does not extend to nonfinite clauses where *ne* does not share the distribution of clitics, as seen in (2b).

² Pollock (1989) proposes the order 'TP + NEGP + AGRP' but other orderings have been proposed in Belletti 1990, Ouhalla 1991, Zanuttini 1991, Rowlett 1998, etc.

- (2) a. Les enfants, Paul ne les voit pas.
 The children, Paul *ne* them sees not.
 'The children, Paul doesn't see them.'
- b. Cet examen, Paul croit ne probablement pas le rater.
 This exam, Paul believe *ne* probably not it to-fail.
 'This exam, Paul believes he probably won't fail it.'

Ne can be separated from the nonfinite verb by various adverbial elements while clitics have to stay closely attached to the verb. Therefore, the clitic nature of *ne* is not sufficient to account for its obligatory movement to Tense.³ I think nevertheless that the original insight of Pollock should be preserved, namely that the negative particle is closely associated with Tense, as this would explain, for instance, why *ne* cannot appear attached to a past participle verb or in a small clause.

Ouhalla (1990: 202-6) has an original answer to this problem. First, he parametrizes the order of functional projections in French as: '(AGRP) + NEGP + TP' and dispenses with AGRP in nonfinite clauses because of the absence of subject-verb agreement. Then, considering *ne* as an affixal word which must attach to an appropriate host, he proposes that, in nonfinite clauses, *pas* is the appropriate host that 'lowers' from the SPEC of NEGP to adjoin to the right of the affixal head in order to satisfy the morphological requirements of the negative head.



With respect to the movement of *pas*, even if Ouhalla (1990: 206) stresses that technically it is not a lowering movement since the trace of *pas* is still m-commanded by its antecedent, postulating adverb movement does not seem appealing for different theoretical and empirical reasons. First, it is a basic assumption of Pollock's (1989) proposal in the first place that adverbs are fixed elements. This is supported, within the Minimalist Program, by Chomsky's formulation of the 'Greedy Principle' (Chomsky

³ Argument clitics could raise to Tense until classical French (Kayne 1991): *en fort bien parler* (to speak of it very well), *c'est à n'y rien comprendre* (it is incomprehensible).

1995: 201), a 'self-serving last resort,' which states that elements can move only to satisfy their own morphological requirements. In this case, the negative adverb in the SPEC position of NEG is already in a checking configuration with *ne* and therefore has nothing to gain by such a vacuous movement. Second, there is no reason why the negative affix *ne* could not satisfy its morphological requirement simply by attaching to the verb situated to its right which constitutes a perfectly adequate host in other infinitival contexts.

- (4) N'aime : personne, c'est bien triste.
 Not-to-love nobody, that-is well sad.
 'Not to love anybody, that is very sad.'

Therefore, it seems descriptively more economical to say that *ne* is generated in some position (yet to be determined) and attaches to the first host to its right whatever category this element might be (adverbs, verbs, pronouns, etc.) rather than postulate a process of adverb lowering which is not independently motivated.

In conclusion, no solution based on movement is completely satisfactory to account for the word order in infinitival clauses. Following Pollock, I will assume that, in tensed and untensed clauses, based on its position necessarily to the left of the main verb and of the negative adverb *pas*, the negative particle *ne* always appears on the highest functional category. Its distribution can be accounted for by assuming that it is directly merged on the head of the clause, that is, Tense, and phonetically attaches to the first host to its right. As a consequence, the distribution of *ne* and more specifically the order '*ne* - *pas*' follows directly.

A second difficulty with the NEGP proposal is that it relies on the traditional notion of *ne* being the center of negation (see Grevisse 1969, Wilmet 1997, etc.). Following an argument developed in Ernst (1992), I wonder if it makes sense to assume a NEGP category headed by a weak element which has neither semantic content nor grammatical function, and to assume that this NEGP has an obligatory element *pas* in its SPEC, given that obligatoriness has always been seen as a property of heads rather than of SPECs. The claim that *ne* lacks negative force of its own in Modern Standard French is not uncontroversial but is supported by various facts. First, *ne* can no longer productively express sentential negation without the help of a negative 'auxiliary'.⁴ Following Gaatone (1971: 99), I will assume that *ne* is in fact a *redundant* marking of negation.

⁴ Except in some archaic expressions of the written language such as: *je ne saurais* + verb (I couldn't), *je ne puis* + verb (I can't), *il n'ose* + verb (he

- (5) Je ne regarde *(pas / jamais / plus / etc.) la télévision.
 I *ne* watch (not / never / no longer) the television.
 'I don't watch television // I never / no longer watch television.'

Second, as shown by Ashby (1981) and Coveney (1996) among others, *ne* is largely *optional* in Spoken French, required only in sustained speech, and preserved under the influence of literacy. Third, *ne* is not an adequate licenser of Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) such as: *qui que ce soit* (whoever), *le moindre* + N (the faintest + N), etc. Obviously, this claim is difficult to assess since the particle in question is not allowed by itself in the first place, but it is possible to test this statement in the specific context of coordination with *ni* (neither) which licenses *ne* within the conjoined clauses, as seen in (6a), but fails to license *qui que ce soit* without the help of an additional negative auxiliary, as seen in (6b):

- (6) a. Elle ne boit ni ne fume.
 She *ne* drinks nor *ne* smokes.
 'She doesn't drink or smoke.'
- b. Il n'a *(jamais) téléphoné à qui que ce soit ni n'a écrit.
 He *ne* has (never) called to whoever or *ne*-has written.
 'He has never called anyone at all, nor written.'

It can be concluded that it is the negative force of the negative 'auxiliary' which determines the acceptability of specific NPIs. Besides, *ne* can also be found as an optional semantically *expletive* negation in several non-negative constructions, as well as in subordinate clauses of 'paratactic' negation, for instance after verbs of fearing, forbidding, refusing, etc., and after prepositions like *sans que* (without), *à moins que* (unless), etc. (see Gaatone 1971: 80-100; Grevisse 1969: §877-884; Van der Wouden 1994: 107-110, etc., for an exhaustive list of contexts of so-called 'paratactic' negation), while sentential *pas* is ungrammatical in semantically affirmative clauses.⁵

doesn't dare), *il ne cesse de* (he doesn't stop), which are residual forms of a former stage in the history of the language. See Larrivée (1995) for more on the modal contexts which facilitate the use of a negative *ne*.

⁵ I leave aside the question of negation in rhetorical questions and exclamative sentences where the polarity is somehow 'neutralized': *Gaston n'est-il pas un idiot?* (Come on! Isn't Gaston an idiot?) implying the meaning: 'Gaston is an idiot' (see Gaatone 1971: 211-2), or: *T'es pas un peu malade?* implying the meaning: 'You are sick.' See especially Larrivée (1996), Espinal (1997), Vinet (1998), for recent studies on expletive *pas*.

- (7) a. Rarement réquisitoire contre la guerre n'aura été aussi convaincant. [Muller 1991: 362]
 Rarely speech against the war *ne*-will-have been so convincing.
 'A speech against war has rarely been so convincing.'
- b. Je doute qu'il (n') arrive à l'heure.
 I doubt that-he *ne*-arrive [Subjunctive] at the-time.
 'I doubt he will arrive on time.'

The fact that the assumed head of negation can appear in non-negative sentences while its SPEC can't should be troubling in itself. Furthermore, a lexical distinction becomes necessary between at least three *ne*: the one projecting a functional category NEG in negative contexts; a restrictive one coupled with *que* (maybe) projecting a negative functional category (see Rowlett 1998: 30) although it no longer directly expresses denial in Modern Standard French; and a paratactic one, licensed in non-negative Polarity licensing contexts, not projecting a negative functional category.⁶ The NEGP hypothesis therefore leads to lexical ambiguity. Fifth, we might have expected the meaning of negation to be somehow distributed between both elements *ne* and *pas*, but the scope of negation with respect to other adverbs is solely determined by *pas* on a linear left to right order basis, independently of the position of *ne*:

- (8) a. Paul n'a (souvent) pas (souvent) compris.
 Paul *ne* has (often) not (often) understood.
 'Paul has (often) not (often) understood.'
- b. Paul (probablement) n'a (probablement) pas
 (*probablement) compris.
 Paul (probably) *ne* has (probably) not (*probably) understood.
 'Paul (probably) has (probably) not understood.'

In the previous sentences, it is the adverb *pas* which carries the whole semantic weight of negation: this shows that *ne* does not mark the scope of negation in Modern Standard French, and is just a redundant marking.⁷

⁶ One could also postulate a separate *ne* in comparatives (see Wilmet 1997: 512-3) since this construction authorizes *de* and n-words, contrary to other non-negative contexts.

i. Pierre a ou moins de vin qu'il n'a bu de bière.
 Peter has drunk less of beer than he *ne* has drunk of wine.
 'Peter has drunk less beer than he has drunk wine.'

⁷ Rowlett (1998) reaches the same conclusion about the defective nature of *ne*, but preserves the NEGP hypothesis by assuming that a 'process of dynamic agreement' (Rizzi 1996) has the capacity to support the negative head by

A third difficulty with the NEGP hypothesis is that *ne* does not have head-like properties with respect to deletion or clefting of the verbal complement of NEGP. The head of NEGP, especially according to the 'Negative Criterion' hypothesis (Haegeman & Zanuttini 1991), is arguably an agreeing head. Although agreeing categories are usually head governors, NEG⁰ can't license a trace in its complement, as seen by the ungrammaticality of (9b) and (10b).

- (9) a. Il a fait ce qu'il ne pouvait pas (faire).
He has done that which-he *ne* could not (do).
'He did what he couldn't (do).' (= 'not allowed')
- b. * Il a fait ce qu'il pouvait ne pas.
He has done that which-he could *ne* not.
'He did what he could not do.' (= 'allowed not')
- c. * Il a fait ce qu'il pouvait ne
- d. Il a fait ce qu'il pouvait ne pas faire.
He has done that which-he could *ne* not do
'He did what he could not do.' (= 'allowed not')
- (10) a. C'est [aller au cinéma] que Sam ne peut pas !
It-is to-go to the cinema that Sam *ne* can not!
'What Sam can't do is go to the movies.'
- b. * C'est [aller au cinéma] que Sam peut [TP (ne) pas]!
* It-is to-go to the cinema that Sam can (*ne*) not!
- c. * C'est [pas aller au cinéma] que Sam peut ne!

The grammaticality of (9a) and (10a) is due to the fact that the modal verb itself (a raising verb taking a clausal complement in Modern Standard French) licenses the trace in its complement while the ungrammaticality of (9c) and (10c) can be accounted for by the absence of an adequate host to which the affixal *ne* can attach.

In sum, there is compelling evidence showing that *ne* is no longer negative, does not have the properties of a head (optional, not a potential governor), is independent of negation (expletive uses), and therefore, in my opinion, isn't the head of NEGP. I consider *ne* as the historical remnant of an earlier stage in the grammar of French when it did encode negation (see Hirschbüller & Labelle 1994 for an analysis of the evolution of negation in French). Even if it is no longer the center of negation, it does potentially appear in negative contexts of sentential (as opposed to constituent

entering in a SPEC-head agreement either with the negative marker *pas* or with its non-overt counterpart, Op, raising to the SPEC of NEG.

or term) negation, and its distribution can be accounted for simply by assuming that it is merged to the left of Tense and attached to an appropriate lexical host to its right.⁸

3. AN ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL.

The best candidate as the center of sentential negation in Modern Standard French is the adverb *pas* (as already argued for in Abeillé & Godard 1997, Bouchard 1997, and others) that I assume to be an inherently negative adverb lexically endowed with [+Negative] formal features interpretable at LF. I will study the behavior of this adverb, and especially compare its uses in contexts of constituent and sentential negation.

It is necessary to review briefly what is implied by the concept of negation, as according to Klima (1964: 247), 'labels like negative have no meaning above and beyond their grammatical function of specifying a structural position and some difference for other symbols.' He provides us with three (English specific) syntactic tests of sentential negation as opposed to constituent negation: positive rather than negative tag questions, tags with *neither* rather than the *so* associated with positive sentences, and continuation with phrases beginning with *not even* (see Horn 1989: 184ff). Two similar tests of sentential negation are available in French: continuation with *ni non plus* (neither) instead of *aussi* (so), and continuation with *pas même* (not even) (see Attal 1971).

- (11) Jean n'a pas vu Lise sous la pluie,
 {ni moi non plus / pas même une fois}.
 Jean *ne* has not seen Lise under the rain,
 {and me neither / not even once}.
 'John didn't see Lise in the rain, {and neither did I / not even once}'.⁹

⁸ Following Van der Wouden (1994), *ne* in negative contexts is a form of 'doubling', and in non-negative contexts is a particular type of NPI in polarity licensing contexts.

⁹ Notice that the scope of a sentential negation can be pragmatically reduced when a specific element is in focus. For instance, the utterance 'John did not kiss Celia in the rain' could be rendered more informative with the interpretation in which only the locative is negated with the performative meaning that 'I say of John kissing Celia that it is not true that it was in the rain' (Payne 1985: 199 for details). One way of analyzing this phenomenon is to assume that among all the potential scopes for sentential negation, the actual one in a given utterance will be determined at a pragmatic level on the basis of the intonation and contextual information shared by the participants in a conversation (see Horn 1989: 515).

Unfortunately, these tests are sensitive to denial expressed only in the matrix clause by a whole series of expressions, some explicitly negative (*no, not, never, etc.*), and others only implying partial negation (*scarcely, hardly, few, etc.*) (Horn 1989: 184ff). Furthermore, these tests are inconclusive in crucial cases. This problem is obvious in French since a word like *rarement* (rarely) which is by no means morphologically negative, but is semantically equivalent to *not often*, and, sometimes, when in a topicalized position, even licenses an expletive *ne* (see 7a), offers contradictory results with respect to syntactic tests:

- (12) Rarement les auteurs acceptent-ils des suggestions, {pas même des suggestions raisonnables / *les peintres non plus / *et de l'argent non plus}.
 Rarely the writers accept-they some suggestions, {not even some suggestions reasonable / *the painters neither / *and of the money neither}.
 'Writers rarely accept suggestions, {not even reasonable ones / *neither do painters / *neither do they accept money}.'

Semantic tests of the type favored in Jackendoff (1969) in which sentential negation is equivalent to contradictory negation—as shown by the possibility of embedding the corresponding positive clause after the expression *it is not so that*—have even more shortcomings (see Attal 1971, Horn 1989). Indeed, a contradictory negation expressed by predicate denial often strengthens into a contrary negation: *Paul doesn't like Mary* usually means 'Paul dislikes Mary', *I don't want to leave* usually means 'I want not to leave' (see Attal 1971: 106), and *Someone doesn't like Mary* almost always means 'There is someone who doesn't like Mary' with the quantified subject outside of the scope of negation.¹⁰ The meaning of these sentences is not equivalent to the meaning of their positive counterpart introduced by *it is not so that*. For instance, in French, the utterance *Il ne faut pas que tu partes* (You shouldn't leave) will normally be interpreted as contrary negation and is therefore not equivalent to 'It is not so that you should leave', but rather to 'You should not-leave'. As argued by Horn (1989), this strengthening being pragmatic in nature (due to the interaction of Q and R-based implicatures, Horn 1989: 194ff) does not have to be treated in the syntax proper, and it still constitutes a case of sentential negation / predicate denial even if the scope of negation is narrowed. In

¹⁰ In fact, a quantifier like *someone* in subject position always take wide scope over negation, except in some contexts in which the corresponding positive expectation has been established: *I am surprised someone hasn't already said something to you* (see Horn 1989: 494ff).

fact, predicate denial has sentential scope (expressing a contradictory negation) only when the subject of predication is semantically transparent to negation, and therefore interpretable within the scope of *pas* (Attal 1971, Tovena 1998: 245). Inversely, there are cases in which an affixal (term-constituent) negation semantically expresses contradictory negation: *This is impossible* always means 'It is not so that this is possible'. Let us now examine the syntactic representations that can lead to (clear cases of) constituent and sentential negation.

3.1. *Pas* as constituent negation.

Let us provisionally define constituent (or term) negation as a negation which, by its syntactic position, has scope over a constituent smaller than the clause. Syntactically, the adverbial status and inherent negativity of *pas* are manifested in the fact that the latter adverb is a modifier of various categories and has semantic scope only over the phrase it modifies. Let us examine several cases when the negative adverb seems to modify an adjective, an adverb, a degree modifier, or a preposition (as in 13a-d) (see Rizzi 1990: 19, Rowlett 1998: 42ff):

- (13) a. Un comédien pas drôle.
A comedian not funny.
'A not funny comedian.'
- b. Un exercice pas soigneusement exécuté.
An exercise not carefully executed.
'A not carefully executed exercise.'
- c. Un élève pas trop /très /si doué.
A student not too /very /so talented.
'A not too /very /so talented student.'
- d. Une maison pas comme les autres.
A house not as the others.
'A house not like the others.'

In these cases, we have instances of constituent negation (as defined previously), and the negative adverb is part of its modified phrase, as can be shown by several constituency tests:

- (14) a. C'est pas drôle du tout qu'il est, ce comédien.
That-is not funny at all that-he is, this comedian.
'Not funny, that comedian.'
- b. Quoiqu'il pas soigneusement, cet exercice a quand même été exécuté.
Although not carefully, this exercise has nevertheless been executed.
'Although not carefully, that exercise was nevertheless completed.'

- c. Quoique pas très doué, cet élève fera des progrès.
Although not very talented, this student will make some progress.
'Although not very talented, that student will make progress.'
- d. Quoique pas comme les autres, cette maison est très belle.
Although not like the others, this house is very nice.
'Although not like the others, this house is very nice.'

In all the previous examples, *pas* is part of the particular phrase it modifies. For instance, in (13a and b), a second adjective / adverb added in a coordinated structure would fall outside the scope of negation: *un comédien [pas drôle] et malheureux* (a not funny and unhappy comedian) / *un exercice [pas soigneusement] et trop rapidement exécuté* (an exercise not carefully and too quickly executed).¹¹ The expression *et pas non plus...* (and not either...) indicates that the scope of negation is limited to the constituent it modifies, with sentences (15b to d) possibly as instances of Right Node Raising:

- (15) a. Un comédien pas **drôle**, [et pas non plus **intelligent**].
A comedian not funny, and not either intelligent.
'A comedian neither funny, nor intelligent.'
- b. Un exercice pas **soigneusement**,
[et pas non plus **complètement**], exécuté.
An exercise not carefully, and not either completely, executed.
'An exercise neither carefully nor completely executed.'
- c. Un élève pas **trop**, [et pas non plus **très**], travailleur.
A student not too much, and not either very hard-working.
'A student neither too, nor very, hard-working.'
- d. Une maison pas **comme**, [et pas non plus **loin**] des autres.
A house not like, and not either far from the others.
'A house not like the others, and not far from the others either.'

Notice that the possibility of coordination with *pas non plus* (neither) calls into question the difference between sentential and constituent negation. It is also the case that, in all the previous examples, a predicative structure could be easily reconstructed with the copula *être* (to be): *ce comédien n'est pas drôle* (this comedian is not funny); *cet exercice n'est pas soigneusement exécuté* (This exercise is not carefully executed); *cette maison n'est pas comme les autres* (this house is not like the others); etc., in sentences which would express predicate denial. In the previous examples, the determining factor seems to be the predicative nature of the phrase

¹¹ *Pas* has the same scope properties as a degree modifier, similarly narrow in a coordinated structure: *un homme très drôle et imagiatif* (a very funny and imaginative man).

modifiable by *pas*. Finally, the previous phrases can appear in small clauses such as: *Je les ai considérés pas (très) intelligents, pas (bien) éduqués, pas tout à fait comme les autres, etc.* (I considered them not (very) intelligent, not (we)l educated, not (quite) like the others, etc.). As stated in Attal (1971: 99), it is important to realize that even for Klima (1964), no fundamental distinction exists between sentential and constituent negation since negation is always introduced by the same abstract morpheme *neg* which can be inserted in different positions within the tree, leading to the distinction between constituent and sentential negation solely on the basis of where it is realized. It is similarly in terms of configuration that I would like to treat the latter distinction.

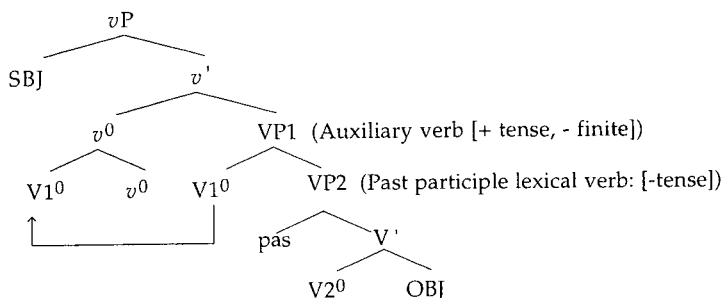
Let us examine more examples of constituent negation. It seems that the negative marker can modify the past participle in a compound past construction, or in a passive construction.¹²

- (16) a. Ils ont tous **pas accepté** de passer l'examen oral.
 They have all not accepted to take the-exam oral.
 'They all have not accepted to take the oral exam.'
- b. Ils ont tous été **pas acceptés** à l'examen.
 They have all been not accepted at the exam.
 'They were all not accepted at the exam.'

Let us mention first that the reading of constituent negation applied to a verb is quite unnatural, although possible, and apparently restricted to the modification of participial verbs, the verbal form closer to adjectives in the sense that they are devoid of tense specification. Considering the VP-internal Subject Hypothesis (Koopman & Sportiche 1991), according to which subject floating quantifiers like *tous* (all) are merged in SPEC of the lexical verb and are supposed to act like 'overt traces' of subject movement to SPEC of TP, and assuming as is customary a complex Larsonian structure headed by a light verb (Larson 1988), constituent *pas* appears to be inserted in the derivation below the SPEC of the subject of predication. I hypothesize that the adverbial modifier *pas* is freely merged in SPEC of the past participle lexical verb (VP2).

¹² The complement of the passive *be* has been argued to be a small clause (see Bošković 1997: 108-9, and references cited).

(17)



In the representation above, both the auxiliary and the past participle verbs are merged below the light verb (see Den Dikken 1996: 74, 95, for 'staking': a structure in which two adjacent categories can share the same SPEC: here a subject), but a construction in which *vP* is in between the auxiliary and the lexical verb would work as well assuming the latter verb does not adjoin overtly to *v*.

Another potential case of constituent negation is the modification of determiners / quantifiers: *pas beaucoup* (not many), *pas un* (not a), *pas le moindre* (not a single), etc., which seem to form a complex negative quantifier, mainly in subject position, or inside adjunct prepositional phrases which have obligatory narrow constituent scope (see Tovena 1998: 254ff), usually disallowed as direct or prepositional object.

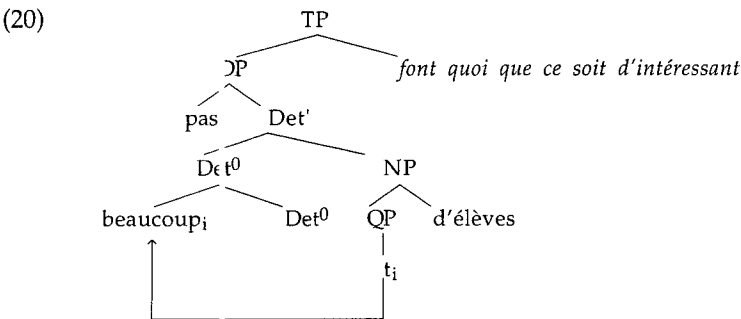
- (18) a. Pas beaucoup d'étudiants (ni le moindre prof.) font
 quoi que ce soit d'intéressant.
 Not many of students (nor the single teacher) do anything of-interesting.
 'Not many students (or a single teacher) do anything interesting.'
- b. Il est venu me voir avec pas **une** seule idée
 en tête. (Rowlett 1998: 78)
 He is come me see with not a single idea in head.
 'He came to see me without a (single) idea in mind.'

Interestingly, the resulting constituent negation in subject position in (18a) has all the characteristics of wide scope sentential negation: the sentence semantically realizes the contradictory negation of the corresponding positive assertion: 'It is not the case that many students do something'; it also licenses NPIs such as *quoi que ce soit* (anything) below in the sentence, and it is negative with respect to Klima's (1964) tests:¹³

¹³ The quantifier *pas beaucoup* (not many) is characteristic of popular speech, and *ne* does not appear in such register. *Ne* normally appears with *pas un* (not one) which does not belong to a popular register. This could show that

- (19) Pas beaucoup d'étudiants font quoi que ce soit, {pas même pendant la période d'examens / ni non plus beaucoup de professeurs};.
 Not many of students do anything {not even during the period of exams / and neither many of professors}.
 'Not many students do anything, {not even during the exam period / and neither do many professors}.'

If, following Hornstein (1994: 171), the licensing of NPIs occurs under (asymmetric) c-command by a negative operator at LF, (18a) tells us that the domain of c-command of *pas* extends outside the DP to include the whole clause. It is not clear, but not impossible to implement, how a SPEC position could c-command outside of its category.¹⁴



I assume the nominal quantifiers to be generated in SPEC of NP, with the quantifier raising to the head of DP. In this case, the instance of constituent negation receives sentential scope simply by virtue of the position of the DP in SPEC of TP, that is, by virtue of the configuration in which it is inserted.

the latter quantifier *pas un* has been completely lexicalized in subject position. There is also a complex lexicalized quantifier *pas mal de* (several) that appears in all positions. Constituent *pas* never takes a complement: *pas un* (not one) for instance would be unable to check Case and Agreement features, and to realize the EPP if the subject was headed by a NEG⁰ category instead of a determiner.

¹⁴ Kayne (1994) proposes that SPECS are in fact adjoined to XP, and able to c-command outside of their category. However, within the *minimalist* framework, adjunction is severely restricted first to non-arguments (Chomsky 1986), and second to (X' or) head-adjunction (Chomsky 1995). If *pas* is inserted in SPEC of the determiner, then we might have to assume that Quantifier Raising to a higher functional projection will allow the negative operator to c-command the whole clause.

Any position from which *pas* c-commands the head of the clause, Tense, would do. For instance, in a topicalized temporal phrase: *Pas un instant, il ne m'a cru* (He didn't believe me for a moment), the negation has wide sentential scope, and *ne* is licensed on Tense even though *pas un instant* (not a moment) would not normally form a constituent in a post verbal position, as in: *Il ne m'a pas cru un instant* (He didn't believe me at all).

It has been argued that constituent *pas* can also modify complementizers, which is doubtful considering the ungrammaticality of a sentence like **pas que tu partes me réjouit* (not that you leave rejoices me). However, several cases of apparent constituent negation have been studied in the literature (Muller 1984: 62, Rizzi 1990: 19, Rowlett 1998: 20ff).

- (21) a. J'aime mieux pas (qu'il vienne). (Muller 1984: 62)
I like better not (that-he come [subjunctive]).
'I prefer that he doesn't come.'
- b. Je ferais n'importe quoi pour (ne) pas que tu partes.
I would do anything for (ne) not that you leave [subjunctive].
'I would do anything for you not to leave.'

Based on the data of topicalization in (22) and (23), I will simply assume that in the second example the negative adverb is as closely tied to the preceding preposition *pour* (in order to) as to the following CP (see appendix), and that in the first example, the negative adverb does not form a syntactic constituent with the CP which, in any case, can be deleted or moved without the negative operator.¹⁵

- (22) a. (Qu'il vienne), j'aime mieux pas.
That he come, I like better not.
'That he come, I prefer not.'
- b. * Pas qu'il vienne, j'aime mieux.
Not that he come, I like better.
- (23) a. Pour (ne) pas que tu partes, je ferais n'importe quoi.
For (ne) not that you leave, I would do anything.
'For you not to leave, I would do anything.'
- b. * Pas que tu partes, je ferais n'importe quoi pour.
For that you leave, I would-do anything not.

¹⁵ The possibility of deleting the whole CP complement while stranding the negative operator is reminiscent of examples such as *Bill aime la poésie, mais pas Jean* (Bill likes poetry, but not Paul) where the resulting construction is the consequence of deleting redundant material (maybe) at PF (see Klima 1964, and remarks in Chomsky 1995: 126).

In conclusion, my assumptions about *pas* with constituent scope can be summarized as follows, with X representing adjectives, past participle lexical verbs, determiners and prepositions (as well as modifiers—adverbs, degree modifiers):

- i) it is an adverbial modifier merged in SPEC of the X_i phrase it modifies;
- ii) it is lexically endowed with [+Negative] features interpretable at LF;
- iii) it has the same scope properties as the constituent it modifies.

3.2. *Pas* as sentential negation.

Having examined *pas* in its use of constituent (or term) negation, the following question then arises: How can one account for the use of *pas* as the negative marker of sentential negation? More precisely, how can one account for the distribution of *pas* when it syntactically realizes predicate denial (the denial that a predicate applies to the subject of predication). Let us first review the distribution of the negative marker *pas*, as compared with the distribution of another negative adverb *jamais* (never) in its role of sentential negation in tensed clauses.

- (24) a. Ce chien (ne) poursuit {pas /jamais} les chats.
This dog_i; (ne) chases {not /never} the cats.
'This dog_i {does not chase /never chases} cats.'
- b. Ce chien (n') a {pas /jamais} poursuivi {*idem} les chats.
This dog_i; (ne)-has {not /never} chased {*idem} the cats.
'This dog_i has {not /never} chased cats.'
- c. Ce chien (n') a {pas /jamais} été {*idem} dressé {*idem}.
This dog_i; (ne)-has {not /never} been {*idem} trained {*idem}.
'This dog_i has {not /never} been trained.'

In the previous sentences, *pas* has a distribution very similar to that of *jamais* (never) in tensed clauses: the negative adverbs immediately follow the tensed verb (whether auxiliary or lexical). This fact is the most obvious with the example of the passive compound past (24c) because it contains several auxiliaries. However, a certain amount of variation exists among adverbs: *jamais* can additionally appear in a pre-verbal position before or after the lexical subject:

- (25) {Jamais /*pas} ses parents {jamais /*pas} (n') accepteront
{jamais /pas} cela.
{Never / 'not} his parents {never /*not} (ne) will accept {never/not} that.
'His parents will {never /not} accept that.'

This variation is significant in the sense that all negative adverbs seem to have to be 'close enough' to the tensed verb (the one raising to the head of the clause), but that only *jamais* can actually adjoin at the inflectional level, perhaps because of its unique temporal value.

Assuming the VP-internal Subject Hypothesis (Koopman & Sportiche 1991), and considering that the negative marker *pas* always precedes the stranded floating quantifier necessarily under the scope of negation, the data with floating quantifiers gives us more insight on the insertion point of sentential *pas*.

- (26) a. Les enfants (*ne*) sont (**tous*) *pas* (*tous*) venus.
 The children *ne* are (all) not (all) come.
 'The children haven't all come.'
- b. Ils ont décidé de (**tous*) (*ne*) *pas* (*tous*) partir.
 They have decided to (all) *ne* not (all) to-leave.
 'They decided to not all leave.'

Furthermore, even when the floating quantifier raises alongside the subject, as in (27), the sentence is still ambiguous between a wide and a narrow scope reading of negation. Under Aoun & Li's (1989; 1993) and Hornstein's (1994) theory of scope, an element has scope over another one if the former c-commands the latter or its trace. So, the ambiguity of (27) indirectly indicates that sentential *pas* is inserted above the subject.

- (27) Tous les enfants (*ne*) sont *pas* partis.
 All the children *ne* are not left.
 'All the children have not left.'

What can we conclude on the basis of the data reviewed with respect to the structural position of the sentential *pas*? It seems clear that sentential *pas* (contrary to constituent *pas*, see (17)) is necessarily inserted in a position above the subject in between Tense and the VP. This observation is compatible with the hypothesis of a NEGP above VP, but importantly for my purpose does not require such an hypothesis.

Having demonstrated that the semantics and the distribution of *ne* do not support the choice of this word as the head of NEGP, two options are available to us: the distribution of *pas* can be accounted for by considering either, as proposed for example in Bouchard (1997), that *pas* has been grammaticalized as the head of NEGP above VP as in (28a), or, as proposed by Ernst (1992) for English *not*, that *pas* is merged in the SPEC of a lexical category VP as in (28b):

- (28) a.
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{NEGP} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \text{pas} \quad \text{VP [+Tense]} \end{array}$$
- b.
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \text{pas} \quad \text{VP [+Tense]} \end{array}$$

The first option which assumes that *pas* is the head of NEG_P is supported by historical data on the evolution of negation from Hirschbüller & Labelle (1994) showing that *pas* has been generated higher in the sentence when it became negative (during the 17th century) than when it was solely an optional negative auxiliary. However, the distribution of *pas* as opposed to *jamais* shows that *pas* cannot freely adjoin to inflectional categories, and therefore generating it in a separate NEG_P obscures this interesting property and perhaps misses an important generalization. Furthermore, faced with a similar proposal for English *not* (or *n't*), Ernst (1992: 114-122) demonstrates that this solution requires one to make a distinction between two lexical elements corresponding loosely to the difference between constituent and sentential negation. Indeed, constituent and sentential *pas* would have distinct syntactic properties: constituent *pas*-NEG does not project, never takes a complement, and constitutes the 'unmarked' occurrence, appearing in all contexts apart from the specific case of sentential negation selected by TP, projecting a functional category, and taking a VP (/ AGRP) complement. The difference in distribution between the two NEG_Ps headed by *pas* would have to be encoded lexically, and Ernst (1992) wonders if such a lexical stipulation is useful when a syntactic solution in terms of configuration is readily available and is needed anyway to explain cases in which the negated determiner in subject position has sentential scope.¹⁶ It can also be argued that an account for the restricted distribution of *pas* which does not require an additional separate functional category is more economical than one that does. Taking advantage of the possibility offered in the minimalist program to merge several SPECS, free of cost for the computational system, I will therefore consider the second option, that is, the option of inserting the negative marker as a VP modifier (Abeillé & Godard 1997).

My approach which assumes verb movement posits an abstract morphological negative feature of the tensed verb able to license a supplementary negative SPEC of the VP (see Battistella 1995 for adverb licensing).

¹⁶ According to Ernst (1992), other problems with this proposal are that it violates locality of selection: Tense should have no say on the complement selected by *pas* (not), and this could potentially create ungrammatical sentences. It is also the case that the negative marker does not prevent head movement of the verb which means that if one takes into account the Head Movement Constraint *pas* does not constitute an intervening head. However, in the minimalist program, movement is reinterpreted in terms of feature attraction, and since the negative marker and the verb do not have features in common according to the NEG_P hypothesis, this argument does not hold.

- (29) A VP headed by a verb having [+Tense] [+/- finite] morphological features, can be lexically endowed with [+negative] features allowing it to license a [+negative] *pas*.¹⁷

When followed by a VP, a [+Auxiliary] verb has a past participle VP complement, and certain [+Modal] verbs have a TP complement (*Paul, peut t_i partir* 'Paul can leave'), while others have a CP complement (*Il faut que Paul vienne* 'It is necessary for Paul to come') depending on whether the complement has (or not) an overt complementizer to lexically license the CP (see Bošković 1997).^{18,19}

¹⁷ When *pas* follows the main auxiliary in nonfinite clauses, it realizes sentential negation, as can be shown by the fact that in Modern Standard French (contrary to English, see Iatridou 1990: 57ff), the following sentence is ambiguous between a wide and a narrow scope of negation with respect to the adjunct *because*-clause:

- i. Les étudiants ont dit n'avoir pas raté un examen parce que le professeur était en retard
The students have said *ne* to-have not failed an exam because the professor was late.
'The students said that they had not failed any exams because the professor was late.'

The ambiguity can be made obvious when followed either by 'indeed they were able to review their notes once more before the exam', or by 'but because they didn't study enough.' The wide scope of negation over *because* indicates that we are dealing with sentential negation.

- ¹⁸ The potential ambiguity (without intonation or out of context), mentioned by an anonymous reviewer, of: *Paul peut pas y aller* (Paul cannot leave), with internal or external reading of negation depends in my opinion on whether the negative marker is inserted in the matrix or in the embedded clause. In the registers of French which still have *ne*-insertion, this particle plays exactly the role of intonation in registers which do not have this learned *ne*-insertion: *Paul (ne) peut (ne) pas y aller*. *Ne* in the matrix clause is equivalent to stress on *pas* indicating external negation, *ne* in the embedded clause is equivalent to stress on *peut* indicating internal negation (see Coveney 1996: 57). *Ne* insertion in the matrix or embedded clause is a consequence of the locus of negative features of the verb.
- ¹⁹ I assume that in nonfinite clauses, a light modal verb (with no phonetic shape) can also head the highest VP taking a TP complement. The motivation for such a light modal verb is that it will help us to account in a simple manner for (i) the structure of recursive negation: *Il dit ne pas ne pas travailler* (He says not not to work), and (ii) the deontic use of negated nonfinite verbs: *Ne pas parler!* (Not to speak!) (see appendix for details).

A first argument that sentential *pas* is inside the VP is provided in Abeillé & Godard (1997: 9) by the possibility of a narrow scope reading of negation in a nonfinite VP coordinated structure: *ne pas travailler mais dormir tout le temps* (not to work but sleep all the time).^{20,21}

Conceptually, the assumption that negation is an abstract morphological feature of the verb is supported by the fact that negation is often realized as a verbal affix (Dahl 1979). In English, for instance, there exist inherently negative auxiliaries: *can't*, *shouldn't*, etc., alongside the negative marker *not* (Zwicky & Pullum 1983; French *ne* itself is often considered a verbal affix (Recorché 1994, Ouhalla 1990).²² The verb therefore seems to be the natural place to encode both tense (+tense, +/- finite) and polarity (+/- negative) morphology.²³ I assume the formal negative feature of the

²⁰ However, they also show that negation can have wide scope in coordination:

- i. Ne pas lire le journal ou regarder la télévision.
Ne not to-read the newspaper or to-watch the television.
 'Not to read newspapers or watch television.'

This possibility depends on the level at which the coordination operates inside the VP.

²¹ Another argument in favor of the XP status of sentential *pas* is the fact that it is modifiable by adverbs of gradation like *presque* (almost), or *même* (even), etc.:

- i. Ce pantalon n'a presque pas déteint.
 These pants *ne* has almost not lost colors.
 'These pants have barely lost their colors.'

Semantically, the adverb of gradation has scope over *pas*, but not outside. A simple test of the scope of negation (suggested by Lisa Reed, personal communication) illustrates this point. Since (i) is not equivalent to: 'It isn't true that these pants have almost lost colors', *presque* must solely modify *pas* rather than *déteint* (discolored). However, this argument is not very strong as mentioned by an anonymous reviewer since *presque* can also modify heads: *presque trois* (almost three), etc.

²² The difference between French and English with respect to the licensing of *pas* and *not* respectively would be that English assigns the optional negative feature of the verb only to (certain) finite auxiliary verbs, while French can assign the feature to all tensed verbs (whether modal, auxiliary, or lexical).

²³ An interesting question should be to wonder about this association of Tense and Polarity features. This close association has been previously noticed on different occasions: see especially Zanuttini (1996). The absence of tense specification is taken by Belletti (1990) to be the fundamental reason why negation is impossible in 'Italian absolute constructions', and by Pollock (1989) to explain why it is impossible to have *ne*, as well as other clitics, with a past participle (as in **Il a la mangée* versus *Il l'a mangée* (He ate it)).

verb to be uninterpretable and that *pas* is able to check these delinquent features of the tensed verb simply by being merged in its SPEC, therefore the canonical position for the negative marker to have sentential scope.

The first advantage of this proposal is that it preserves the symmetry between constituent and sentential negation: both are centered around *pas* in Modern Standard French (even if archaisms with *ne* can still be found, motivated by sociolinguistic factors). The only difference between the two is a question of configuration, namely the presence of an additional negative SPEC licensed by a negative-tensed VP. Second, it does not require the negative adverb to project an independent functional category since the properties of sentential negation are accounted for by assuming that *pas* c-commands the predicate (and its internal argument) as well as the subject (the external argument) according to the predicate-internal subject hypothesis. Whether predicate denial actually realizes wide scope sentential negation depends on the specific semantic properties of the subject, as mentioned previously.²⁴ Finally, this configuration allows us to explain in a natural way the data of VP deletion that did not receive an adequate answer within the NEG-P proposal (see examples 9 and 10). In the present framework, VP deletion or VP fronting without the sentential negative marker is not allowed because *pas* is part of the moved or deleted (tensed) VP.

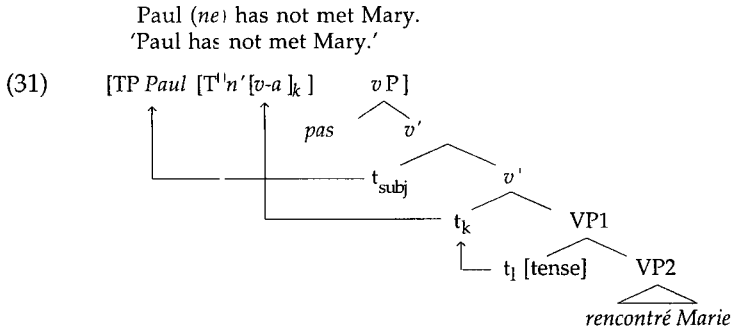
4. REPRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF SOME EXAMPLES.

Let us examine a few examples to illustrate the structure of sentential negation for simple and complex tenses. Within a Larsonian structure of the VP, the negative marker is in fact merged in SPEC of the verbal complex constituted of a tensed verb and a light verb which expands the tensed verb.²⁵

(30) Paul (n') a pas rencontré Marie.

²⁴ Notice also that, as seen previously, there is another configuration in which constituent *pas* can have sentential scope: when it modifies a determiner in subject position, or more generally a constituent phrase dominating the whole sentence.

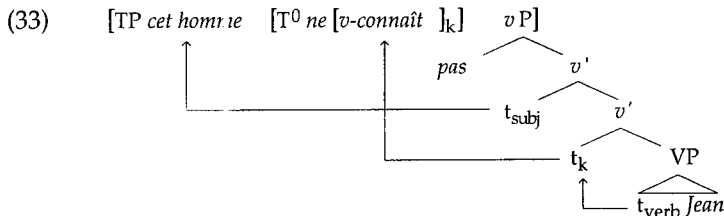
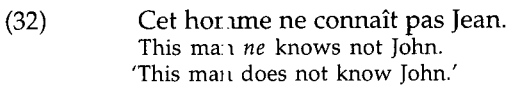
²⁵ Here I adopt the possibility of 'staking' (den Dikken 1996: 74, 95; see also example 16 above) to preserve a parallelism with simple tenses, but a more traditional construction: 'auxiliary VP1 + *v*P + VP2' would work as well. No multiple SPEC would be necessary in complex tenses since the subject is merged in SPEC of *v*P and the negative operator is merged in SPEC of the tensed auxiliary verb (VP1).



The subject DP *s* attracted to the SPEC of TP where it must overtly appear at least for Case checking reasons. Following Pollock (1989) and Iatridou (1990) among others, I assume that with complex tenses, each verb projects its independent VP category. The auxiliary verb, heading VP1, has a complement participial verb, heading VP2. Notice that the tensed auxiliary verb heading the first VP1 adjoins to the light verb and the tensed complex adjoins to Tense to check the strong verbal features of the latter functional category. Notice also that multiple SPECS must be allowed in VP to generate both the subject and the negative marker.

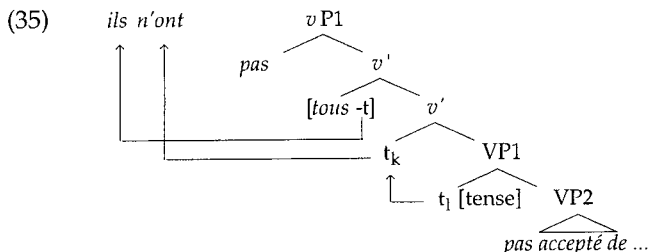
With respect to the order of SPECS, the interaction between the negative marker and the floating quantifier *tous* leads me to propose the order: '*neg* + external argument'. It also seems natural for the complex verbal predicate to have its 'external' argument, that is, the argument to which it assigns a theta role, merged in the closest SPEC.

Simple tenses can be treated in a similar way, without additional commentary:



Before concluding, I would like to examine an additional structures, provided to me by Lisa Reed (personal communication), which is apparently an instance of double negation.

- (34) Ils n'ont pas tous [pas accepté de finir leur verre].
 They *ne* have not all [not accepted of to-finish their drink].
 'They haven't all not accepted to finish their drink.'



This representation makes clear that the so-called 'double negation' realizes the possibility of having a negative adverb in a configuration of sentential negation as well as an adverb in SPEC of the past participle verb, each having different properties based on the position in which they are inserted. Double negation is in fact the result of the co-occurrence of a sentential negation followed by an instance of constituent negation.

5. CONCLUSION.

I have presented an alternative to Pollock's (1989) NEGP hypothesis, by proposing that the redundant *ne*, which no longer expresses sentential negation is directly merged to the left of Tense and attached to the first host to its right (at PF), and that the adverb *pas* inherently endowed with interpretable negative features realizes predicate denial when merged in SPEC of the verbal complex endowed with tensed features. Following Tovina (1998), in a case of predicate denial, negation has potentially sentential scope only if the subject is transparent to negation.

This proposal has numerous advantages. First, it accounts not only for sentential, but also for constituent negation without positing a lexical ambiguity of the adverb *pas*, by reducing the difference to a question of structural configuration: sentential *pas* is generated either in the SPEC of the tensed VP, or in a position from which it is able to c-command the whole clause; constituent *pas* is merged in SPEC of the phrase it modifies. Second, the proposal eliminates the need for a separate NEGP while still being able to account for the semantic and distributional characteristics of sentential negation that motivated this additional functional projection in the first place.

My particular solution is finally more in line with the principles of the minimalist program because it uses independently motivated operations:

verb movement, complex Larsonian structure of the predicate, multiplication of SPECS at no cost for the computation, checking of delinquent formal features, and because it economizes on an additional functional category. The next step would be to examine crosslinguistically the reason for the similarities between tense and polarity features.

APPENDIX: A LIGHT MODAL VERB IN NON-VERBAL CLAUSES.

An additional benefit of my proposal is that it provides a way to solve in a simple way the puzzle of multiple recursion of negation in untensed clauses (36a), and of the purposive negative construction (36b) in Modern Standard French:

- (36) a. Paul affirme ne pas ne pas travailler.
 Paul declares *ne* not *ne* not to-work.
 'Paul declares that he's not not working.'
- b. Je ferais n'importe quoi pour (ne) pas **que** tu partes.
 I would do anything for (*ne*) not that you leave [subjunctive].
 'I would do anything for you not to leave.'

The status of these constructions is different, and therefore they should not necessarily have a unified solution. Multiple negation, although difficult to process, is nevertheless perfectly grammatical, entailing the assertion by Paul that he is working, while the purposive negation is easily processable, but clearly non-Standard. The issue one has to deal with when examining these sentences is whether they constitute examples of clausal or constituent negation. The presence of *ne* tends to show that speakers' intuitions favor the clausal negation account.

With respect to the first construction, let us notice that the optional raising of an auxiliary verb is not allowed past the first negative word.

- (37) a. Paul dit ne pas ne jamais n'avoir rien mangé.
 Paul says *ne* not *ne* never *ne* to-have nothing eaten.
 'Paul claims that he has not never eaten nothing.'
- b. * Paul dit ne pas n'avoir jamais ne rien mangé.
 Paul says *ne* not *ne* to-have never *ne* nothing eaten.

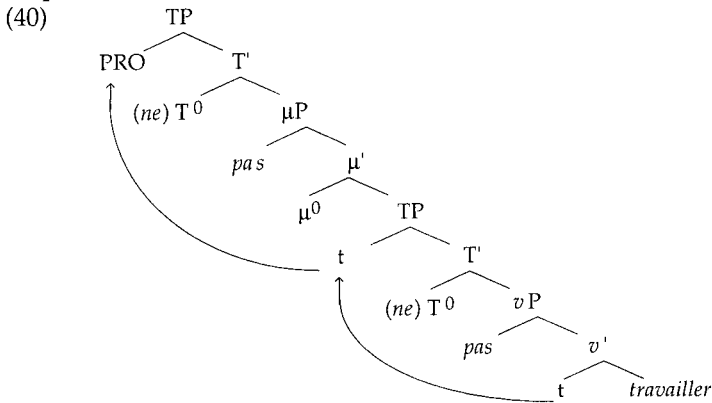
Since the raising of the auxiliary verb is generally considered to be raising to an inflectional category, this suggests that the latter construction involves a complex clausal structure rather than simple recursion of NEGPs, for instance. Furthermore, in comparison with the embedding of modalities, we observe a similarity between the two structures, notably the same difficulty of processing.

- (38) Paul dit devoir pouvoir nager.
 Paul says to-have-to to-be able to swim.
 'Paul claims to have to be able to swim.'

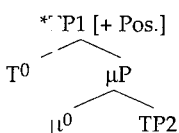

I assume that the recursion of negation is similar to recursion of modals. My proposal is that a light modal verb [μ] can be inserted in the derivation of nonfinite clauses, and function as a placeholder for clausal negation. This proposal accounts for the previous facts, and allows us to preserve the assumption that *ne* is always associated with Tense (which itself presupposes a verb to check its verbal features). Obviously, the possibility of various interactions between overt and non-overt modals is expected, and realized, as shown in (39):

- (39) Paul dit [TP *ne pas* vouloir [TP *ne pas* μ [TP *ne rien* manger]]].
 Paul claims *ne* not to-want *ne* not *ne* nothing to-eat.
 'Paul claims to not want to never eat nothing.'

The relevant part of the sentence (36a) would therefore receive the representation in (40). Notice that the PRO subject checks 'overtly' the D-features of the several TPs to satisfy the Extended Projection Principle. I assume nonfinite Tense to be able to attract overtly auxiliaries and modal verbs (including μ) and μ to have a TP complement like other modal verbs. Furthermore, it is plausible to assume that, due to its lack of phonetic shape, the raising of the light modal verb to Tense will be obligatory.



A question that comes to mind is whether the empty modal verb μ could be licensed without any negative operator in its SPEC, that is, within a positive TP, as in (41a), as opposed to (41b):

- (41) a.  b. 

(41a) being more complex than (41b), the answer is immediately negative. Following general economy principles stating that 'α enters the numeration only if it has an effect on output' (Chomsky 1995: 294), if the light modal verb doesn't host a negative operator, it cannot be inserted at least for PF convergence.

An independent motivation for the light modal hypothesis is given by the deontic reading often associated with negated infinitival clauses, as noted by Pollock (1989: 401-2).

- (42) a. Allons, ne pas avoir peur, s'il vous plaît! (Pollock 1989: 402).
Come on *ne* not to-be scared, please.
'Come on, don't be scared, please!'
- b. * Allons, avoir peur!
Come to-be scared!
'Come on, be scared!'
- c. * Allons, n'avoir pas peur, s'il vous plaît!
Come on *ne* to-be not scared, please.

The first one receives an imperative interpretation equivalent to 'Don't be scared.' This imperative reading could be a consequence of the presence of the non-phonetically realized modal verb μ . A similar imperative reading is not possible with a positive infinitive, as shown in (42b), nor is it possible when an auxiliary verb overtly raises to Tense (42c) (see Pollock 1989: 402). These facts follow if, as I assume, no light modal verb is generated in the latter cases.

The purposive construction in (36b) could be explained in a similar way to the recursion of negation, by the presence of an abstract intermediate clause with a light modal verb, simply allowing this light verb to have a CP complement instead of a TP complement, but this move would generate ungrammatical sentences:

- (43) * Philippe veut [TP [T⁰ ne] pas [μ] [CP que tu viennes]].
Philip wants [TP *ne* not [CP that you come [subjunctive]]].

The reason why such a derivation cannot converge at LF is that there would be no subject in the derivation able to satisfy the Extended Projection Principle of the intermediate negative TP above the CP, because of the blocking effect of the CP category on A-movement. However, following Rowlett (1998: 20ff), who notices that the behavior of this

structure is rather idiosyncratic, being allowed only with the purposive preposition *pour* (for), I will assume that a specific negative preposition / complementizer: *pour (ne) pas* (for not) selecting a CP complement could be added in the lexicon. Analogy and hypercorrectism on the model of infinitival clauses could additionally explain the PF incorporation of *ne* since these examples are clearly non standard. It would constitute one more proof that *ne* is simply an historical remnant with a weak intuitive basis, as I would expect.

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