

RAISING AND NEGATIVE QUANTIFICATION IN FRENCH.*

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper set within the Minimalist Program framework (Chomsky, 1995; Boškovic, 1997; Collins, 1997) examines the contrast in the interpretation of the scope of negative quantifiers and adverbs between argument type (A-) movement and non-argument type (A-bar-) movement in Modern Standard French, a language particularly well suited to deal with issues of scope of negation overtly indicated by the presence of *ne* (Kayne, 1981). More specifically, I argue that data on Raising and Focalization provides an additional argument in favor of the checking theory, illustrates the difference between A movement and A-bar movement, and receives a straightforward explanation once minimalist assumptions as well as adequate assumptions on negation and on the structure of CP are adopted.

This paper is organized as follows: section 2 describes the first set of data under investigation (data on A-movement), section 3 introduces theoretical assumptions on feature checking and on negative quantifiers, section 4 proposes a minimalist account of the first set of data, and introduces additional data, section 5 introduces the second set of data (data on local A-bar focalization), section 6 introduces data on long distance focalization and analyzes its distinct properties, and section 7 draws a final conclusion.

2. DATA ON RAISING CONSTRUCTIONS

The behavior of negative quantifiers in raising constructions was first studied by Milner (1979: 97). He notices that, if a negative quantifier (whether determiner or pronoun) in the embedded clause of a raising predicate can either have wide scope outside of the embedded clause, as in (1b), or narrow scope limited to the embedded clause as in (2b), it is impossible for that same negative quantifier to raise outside of the embedded clause through an overt argument-type A-movement as in (2a), unless it has scope within the matrix clause, as in (1a):

- (1) a. *Personne (ne) semble arriver.*
 no one *ne* seems to-arrive
 ‘No one seems to arrive.’
 b. *Il (ne) semble arriver personne.¹*
 it *ne* seems to-arrive no one
 ‘No one seems to arrive.’

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¹ Here is an authentic example of the structure exemplified in (1b):

- (i) *Il ne semble y avoir aucun obstacle technique important à l'implantation de services de radio numérique au Canada dans un avenir rapproché.*
 It *ne* seems there to-have no obstacle technical significant to the introduction of services of radio digital in Canada in a future near.
 ‘There appears to be no significant technical impediment to the introduction of digital radio services in Canada in the near future.’ (<http://www.crtc.gc.ca/archive/Notices/1995/PB95-184.htm>).

- (2) a. * *Personne semble (ne) arriver.*
 no one seems *ne* to-arrive
 ‘It seems that no one is arriving.’
 b. *Il semble (ne) arriver personne.*
 it seems *ne* to-arrive no one
 ‘It seems that no one is arriving.’

In the previous sentences, *ne* is placed in between parentheses, because recent socio-linguistic studies have shown this particle not only to be grammatically redundant, but also to be largely optional and even eliminated in all negative contexts, preserved only under the influence of literacy (see Ashby, 1981; Coveney, 1996). I will use this particle solely as a convenient device to indicate the scope of the negative quantifier, either within the embedded or within the matrix clause, keeping in mind that this indication is normally indicated by contextual information, or by intonation:²

- (3) a. *Paul PEUT pas venir demain.* (Negation in the embedded clause).
 Paul can not come tomorrow
 ‘Paul cannot come tomorrow.’
 b. *Paul peut PAS venir demain.* (Negation in the matrix clause).
 Paul can NOT come tomorrow
 ‘Paul can’t come tomorrow.’

(with stress indicated by capital letters in (3a-b). It is also a well known fact that *ne* can be used in a series of non-negative contexts (see Gaatone, 1971; van der Wouden, 1994;

² More precisely, although *ne* indicates the clause in which the negation is to be interpreted, it should not be inferred that its sole presence is sufficient to determine the scope of negation by itself: First, *ne* does not determine the scope of the markers of absolute negation *pas* (not), *nullement*, *aucunement* ‘not at all’ (see Péters, 1999). Secondly, *ne* is not even a reliable indicator of the scope of negative quantifiers. For instance, it does not account for the wide or narrow interpretation of a negative quantifier with respect to the modal verb *devoir* ‘to ought to’ in (i) and (ii):

- (i) *Dans une négociation réussie, il ne doit y avoir ni gagnant ni perdant.* (DOIT < NEG)
 in a negotiation successful, it *ne* must there to-have no winner, and-no loser
 ‘In a successful negotiation, there must not be a winner or a loser.’
 (ii) *Ce malade n’a dû prendre aucun médicament.* (NEG < DOIT)
 this patient *ne* has had to take no drug
 ‘There was no drug that this patient had to take.’

nor does it account for the fact that scope of negation with respect to universal quantifiers is independent of the position of *ne* and solely determined by the relative properties of the quantifiers in (iii) and (iv):

- (iii) *Le directeur n’a montré chaque tableau à aucun visiteur.* (CHAQUE < AUCUN)
 the director *ne* has shown each painting to no visitor
 ‘The director showed each painting to no visitor.’
 (iv) *Le directeur n’a montré aucun tableau à chaque visiteur.* (AUCUN < CHAQUE)
 the director *ne* has shown no painting to each visitor
 ‘The director didn’t show any painting to each visitor.’

nor finally does it account for the impossibility of placing negative quantifiers to the left of modal adverbs, while *ne* can appear to the left of modal adverbs without the slightest difficulty:

- (i) *Il n’a probablement vu personne.* (PROBABLEMENT < PERSONNE)
 he *ne* has probably seen no one
 ‘He has probably seen no one.’
 (ii) ? / **Personne n’a probablement réussi.* (*PERSONNE < PROBABLEMENT)
 no one *ne* has probably succeeded

Note that it is not clear how these various scope relations could be accounted for within the ‘Negative Criterion’ framework (see Haegeman, 1995) in which negative quantifiers are bound by a fixed negative operator in Spec of a separate NegP.

Péters, 1999, or any reference grammar such as Grevisse, 1969, for a list of these contexts of paratactic negation).³ I therefore consider *ne* to be a polarity item, adjoined to the left of Tense (either by Merge or by Move) and phonetically attached to the first host to its right. Of course, *ne*, being a polarity item, will have to be licensed in an appropriate configuration before LF to avoid its over-generation in positive contexts.

3. MINIMALIST THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

According to minimalist assumptions, a language consists of a lexicon specifying the lexical items with their specific idiosyncratic properties, and a computational system generating phrase markers. Lexical items are solely made up of morphological, phonological, and semantic features. The lexicon is connected with the computational system through a “Numeration”, that is, a particular selection of lexical items. No lexical item which is not in the original numeration can be inserted in the course of a derivation, and the output of a derivation is nothing beyond lexical properties of the individual lexical items. That is the interface levels consist of nothing more than rearrangements of lexical features. This is known as the “principle of inclusiveness.”

The goal of the derivation is therefore to form a single phrase marker out of the lexical items present in the Numeration, by putting them together through the operations of ‘Merge’ and ‘Move.’ When the derivation reaches the interface levels, all lexical features are evaluated for interpretability. If the syntactic object created is not interpretable at one or the other of the interface levels of PF or LF, the derivation is said to “crash” at that interface level, if the derivation is interpretable at both interface levels, the derivation is simply said to “converge.”

Minimally, movement of a lexical item is nothing but movement of the formal features that constitute the lexical item (pied-piping the whole lexical item for reasons of lexical and phonological integrity). It is therefore essential to establish a typology of formal features. The first distinction concerns interpretability of features, following Chomsky (1995), I assume Categorical features, whether lexical or functional, to always be interpretable by the computational system. Apart from these, some morphological features are also interpretable at LF, for instance, phi-features of nouns (gender, number, and person) are interpretable, but phi-features of verbs aren’t. When formal features are not interpretable at one or the other of the interface level, they must somehow be eliminated before the derivation reaches that level. A feature is eliminated through an operation of “feature checking” that occurs as soon as two corresponding features are in an adequate “checking configuration” (a Spec-head, or a head-head relation). Furthermore, when two features of the same type do not match, the derivation is canceled. In this theory, movement is a “Last Resort” option, driven by the need to erase delinquent morphological features, and it is defined in the following manner:

Move F raises F to target K only if F enters into a checking relation with a sublabel of K. (Chomsky, 1995: 280).

Finally, reinterpreting movement in terms of “feature attraction”:

³ Notice especially comparatives, the context in which *ne* retention is the strongest:

(i) Des communautés, y en a-t-il davantage qu’il n’y en a eu?
 some communities there of-them has-t-it more than-it *ne* there of-them has had
 ‘Communities, are there more of them than there used to be?’ (*Nouvel Observateur*, March 1996: 82).

K attracts F if F is the closest feature that can enter into a checking relation with a sublabel of K . (ibid.: 297).

(where “closest” will be ideally interpreted in terms of c-command.)

Another distinction is related to the strength of lexical features: strong features are features that must be erased immediately after insertion in the derivation, and therefore, features that will trigger an ‘overt’ movement in case they are inserted before Spell Out. Weak features need not be erased before Spell Out, and therefore will never trigger an ‘overt’ movement, but nevertheless have to trigger a ‘covert’ movement for their elimination before LF. For instance, in the French finite clause (4), as opposed to English as seen in the translation, the verb is overtly attracted to the Tense projection as indicated by the position of the verb with respect to the VP adverb *souvent* ‘often’ (see Pollock, 1989).

- (4) Les chiens chassent souvent les chats.
 the dogs chase[3PL] often the cats
 ‘Dogs often chase cats.’

This data means that [+ finite] Tense, in French, is endowed with a strong uninterpretable verbal feature that must be erased immediately while Tense in English is solely endowed with a weak verbal feature which does not cause overt attraction.

As far as raising constructions in general are concerned (see Ruwet, 1972, and others for French) I consider that the nominal features of an infinitival Tense, which are the realization of the Extended Projection Principle (EPP), are always strong (Collins, 1997), whereas its verbal features are weak:

- (5) Un invité semble (t') arriver (t).
 a guest seems to arrive
 ‘A guest seems to arrive.’

With respect to Case, I assume, following Boškovic (1997), that the infinitival complement of raising predicates is unable to check Casual features of nominal phrases, forcing the subject to raise to the Specifier of the matrix [+ finite] Tense, as shown in (5) with t and t' intermediate traces of the overt movement of the internal argument.

Following Chomsky (1995), an additional assumption concerning argument movement, has to be made. Indeed, observe that (5) contains two successive A-chains: CH1 and CH2:

- (6) CH1 = (t' , t)
 CH2 = (*un invité*, t')

Assuming that the Case features of the subject DP must be checked, and that this checking does not occur before the subject reaches the matrix TP, only the second chain CH2 should in fact constitute a legitimate object interpretable at LF, that is, the derivation should crash because of the unchecked Case features that renders CH1 uninterpretable. The solution proposed in Chomsky (1995: 300-312) is simply to eliminate all formal features of intermediate traces of A-movement, apart from Categorical features always accessible for recovery of deletion. As a consequence, intermediate traces of A movement become ‘invisible’ to the computational system at LF, preventing reconstruction and only a single

chain remains with ‘defective’ intermediate traces of the overt movement at the interface level.⁴

As far as sentential negation is concerned within this framework, let us assume first that negative quantifiers (whether determiners (*aucun* ‘none’), adverbs (*jamais* ‘never’), or conjunctions (*ni* ‘and not’) are optionally endowed with a formal negative feature [+ Neg], following Zanuttini (1991) and Vinet (1998) among others.⁵

I then hypothesize that the highest verb endowed with tense features can also be optionally endowed with an affix of polarity, either inherently in the lexicon proper, or by raising through an independent Neg projection. Motivation for this hypothesis is essentially cross-linguistics in the sense that numerous languages, including English (Pullum & Zwicky, 1983), encode negation as a verbal affix: *can’t*, *shouldn’t*. In French, of course, one must consider this negative affix as a purely abstract one, which means that I distinguish this formal feature from the polarity item *ne* licensed in a series of negative and non-negative contexts.

In our typology of features, I assume that this formal feature of negation on the verb is uninterpretable and therefore, just like verbal phi-features, has to be erased before LF by entering in a checking configuration with a phrase endowed with corresponding negative features. Negative quantifiers are therefore susceptible of being attracted by the negative affix of the Verb for checking purposes. This means that, among lexical classes, negation is an interpretable feature of determiners, adverbs (or even conjunctions), but not of verbs, adjectives, or prepositions.

With respect to the strength of the negative feature of the verb, I assume that, in French, a language in which contrary to Spanish or Italian (Zanuttini, 1991) no negative word has to be overtly preverbal, this latter feature is weak.

4. EXPLANATION OF THE DATA ON QUANTIFIER RAISING

With such assumptions in mind, both the grammaticality and the ungrammaticality of the various (1-2) sentences, repeated below for convenience, can be accounted for as a consequence of the fact that the negative quantifier *personne* ‘no one’ and the “negative” verb (in the embedded or in the matrix clause) are or are not in an appropriate checking configuration at the relevant level of LF.

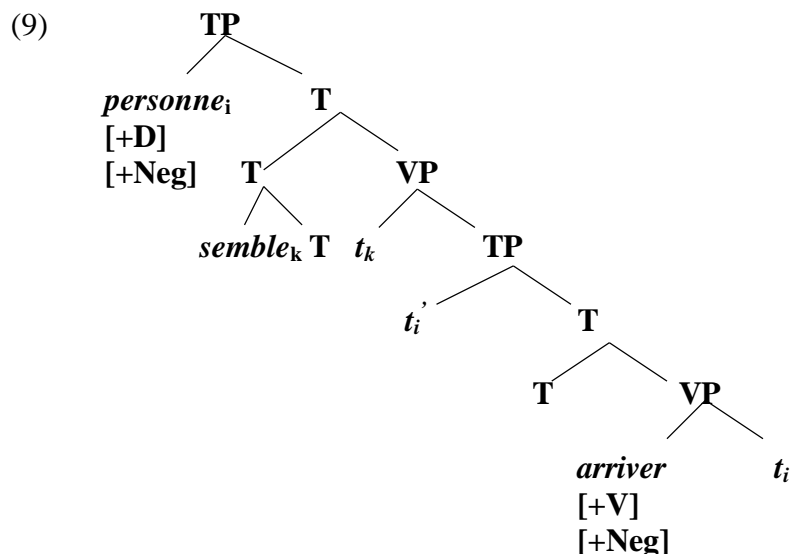
- (1) a. *Personne (ne) semble arriver.*
 b. *Il (ne) semble arriver personne.*

⁴ This assumption also accounts for the impossibility of a wide scope reading of negation in the following example (adapted from Chomsky, 1995 : 327).

- (i) *Tout le monde semble ne pas être là.*
 everyone seems *ne* not to-be there
 ‘Everyone seems not to be there.’

This sentence cannot mean “Not everybody seems to be there”, that is, the trace of the universal quantifier cannot be reconstructed in the embedded clause because intermediate traces of A-movement are eliminated. The necessity to erase intermediate traces of A-type movement, and, according to Boeckx (2000) also finds justification in the fact that thematic roles are features to be checked, eliminating the need for A traces altogether.

⁵ That N-words are only optionally endowed with negative features is showed by the fact that, in the relevant register of speech, they are available in a series of non negative context as negative polarity items: interrogative contexts of direct or indirect questions, in the complement clause of a negative clause, in the complement clause of an adversative predicate, in the complement clause of certain conjunctions, or in comparative constructions. (See van der Wouden, 1994; Gaatone, 1971; or any reference grammar such as Grevisse, 1969, etc. for an exhaustive list of these contexts).



The ungrammaticality of (2a) follows from the failure to check the negative feature of the embedded verb. Even by raising covertly to adjoin to the embedded Tense, the verb cannot eliminate its delinquent features, since the trace of an Argument movement is invisible to the computational system. Since there is no other negative phrase susceptible of being attracted from below in the sentence, the delinquent negative feature of the verb is not eliminated and the derivation crashes at LF.⁸

The grammaticality of (1a) now follows from the fact that, since both the negative quantifier *personne* and the negative verb *semble* are being overtly attracted in the checking domain of the finite Tense, they are in a Spec-head relation which is an appropriate checking configuration to eliminate the delinquent negative feature of the verb before LF. The grammaticality of the remaining sentences (1b) and (2b), repeated below for convenience, is also easily accounted for by considering that the attraction of the relevant negative feature of the closest n-word and the subsequent elimination of the delinquent feature of V can be done in covert syntax after Spell Out, whether the verb is in the matrix or in the embedded clause:⁹

- (1) b. Il ne semble-[+Neg] arriver personne-[+Neg].
- (2) b. Il semble n'arriver-[+Neg] personne-[+Neg].

Covert feature attraction being arguably akin to a form of head movement, this characteristic prevents a 'negative' verb from attracting a negative term across a CP boundary, this accounts for the fact that negation is essentially bounded:¹⁰

⁸ A treatment too rigid *du style* Moritz & Valois (1994) in which Haegeman & Zanuttini's (1991) Negative Criterion must be realized within NegP is unable to account the difference between (1) et (2) since the subject negative quantifier licenses Neg passing through Spec of Neg and since nothing will prevent it from raising to a higher projection. In Haegeman (1995), the Negative quantifier in subject position is in an A-bar position, further raising to a higher subject position might be forbidden by the ban on A-bar to A movement (but of course it is not clear what would prevent the higher subject position from acquiring an A-bar status as well).

⁹ Following Belletti (1988), I assume these nominal phrases to bear inherent Partitive Case rather than Nominative Case, as manifested by the Definiteness Effect of these postverbal subject constructions.

¹⁰ I will not deal with the controversial example from Kayne (1981) showing LF movement of a negative quantifier across a CP boundary:

- (i) Je n'exige que tu voies personne.
I *ne* require that you see no one
'I don't want you to see anyone.'

Let me only mention that Shlonsky (1988: 713-5) argues that in order to treat this phenomenon in terms of ECP, it is necessary to explicitly forbid raising of the quantifier through Spec of CP. Additionally, it is not clear that

- (10) ?* Il (ne) semble que les enfants aient vu personne.
 it *ne* seems that the children have-SUBJUNCT seen no one
 ‘It doesn’t seem that the children have seen anyone.’

Let us now analyze some additional data on the same construction, data that will force me to adopt a slightly modified version of the checking theory. First, here is sentence (11) with an infinitival auxiliary verb in the embedded clause:

- (11) * Personne semble (n’)être souvent venu.
 no one seems *ne* to-be often come
 ‘No one seems to have come frequently.’

Even though, based on word order with respect to various types of adverbs and floating quantifiers, it has been established by Pollock (1989) that auxiliary verbs can optionally raise outside of VP in nonfinite clauses before Spell Out, the sentence is still ungrammatical.

The ungrammaticality of (11) can be explained in various ways. One can assume that the adequate checking configuration is not established either because, within a split-INFL framework, auxiliary movement is too short to overtly reach Tense in which the EPP is realized, or because the “visible” movement of the auxiliary is not due to a divergent value in the strength of nonfinite Tense, but rather constitutes a purely PF phenomenon, assuming that notions such as “head” or “phrase” are still accessible at PF, and assuming that lexical integrity is preserved. However, I will rather adopt a second way of explaining the data under consideration, that requires a new assumption about properties of “weak” features. Until now, I have assumed that weak features do not have to be eliminated immediately upon insertion, and therefore cannot overtly attract any corresponding feature for feature checking. Let us now assume that checking of weak features must be delayed until LF. It is now possible to account for (11) by saying that, whether or not the auxiliary verb raises to Tense in overt syntax, weak features are invisible to the computational system until the derivation reaches the interface level of LF. The checking operation cannot occur before the interface level of LF is reached, level at which the intermediate traces of A-movement must have been eliminated as explained previously, and therefore the checking operation does not occur.

Let us examine three additional examples in (12):

- (12) a. Personne (ne) semble ne jamais partir.¹¹
 no one *ne* seems *ne* never to-leave
 ‘No one seems not to leave.’

the negative quantifier actually receives wide scope. Rouveret (1987: 265-7) notices that the following example is perceived as contradictory:

- (ii) # Je n'exige que tu voies personne, mais j'exige que tu voies quelqu'un.
 I *ne* require that you see no one, but I require that you see someone
 ‘I don’t want you to see anyone, but I want you to see someone.’

If the negative quantifier really had wide scope, these sentences shouldn’t be contradictory, as seen in the English gloss. Furthermore, this utterance is legitimate only with a strong stress on PERSONNE which suggests that focalization has some role to play in the acceptability of the sentence.

¹¹ As mentioned by Ur Shlonsky (personal communication), (12a) is especially interesting in the sense that the lower negation seems to provide a way for the quantifier to escape the negative clause:

- (i) Personne semble ne jamais partir.
 no one seems *ne* never to-leave
 ‘No one seems not to leave.’

- b. * *Personne ne semble ne partir.*¹²
 no one *ne* seems *ne* to-leave
- c. * *Il ne semble ne partir personne.*¹³
 it *ne* seems *ne* to-leave no one

In (12a), the additional presence within the embedded clause of a (potentially) negative adverb *jamais* 'never-ever' accounts for the elimination of the delinquent negative feature in the embedded clause, and allows the quantifier to raise to the highest TP and have wide scope. This sentence has to be interpreted with a double negation (DN) reading equivalent to: "Everyone seems to leave sometimes." In contrast, (12b) provides us with another illustration of a derivation crashing because of a failure to eliminate uninterpretable negative features in the embedded clause at LF while the negative quantifier has overtly climbed in the matrix TP (but see note 12 for the possible grammaticality of this example). Finally, as far as the ungrammaticality of (12c) is concerned, it simply illustrates the fact that if a quantifier can have either wide or narrow scope in covert syntax, as shown in (1b) and (2b), it cannot of course have both scopes at the same time.

5. DATA ON NEGATIVE FRONTING

Before introducing data on long distance negative fronting, let me first introduce some data on local fronting of negative adverbials within the same sentence. In this section, I adopt the complex-CP hypothesis from Rizzi (1997) in which the CP domain can split into a higher (force) CP which contains the illocutionary force of the sentence or interfaces with the matrix sentence and a lower (finiteness) CP interfacing with the inflectional material of the selected TP, with the higher and the lower CPs surrounding optional Topic and Focus phrases.

Focus and Topic phrases have distinct properties. If several topic phrases are allowed within a sentence, there can be only one focalized element per sentence for reasons of semantic integrity. As explained in Rizzi (1997: 296-297), if a focalized element in Spec of Focus is defined in terms of 'new' information and the complement of Focus in terms of 'given-old' information, there cannot be a second Focus introducing 'new' information in the complement of the first one. Finally, the focus phrase is located in between iterable Topic projections, in the following order:

- (13) CP (= ForceP) > (TOPP*) > (FOCP) > (TOPP*) > CP (= FinitenessP)

This is illustrated by the following French sentence:

- (14) *Cette année, pendant les vacances, sur quelle plage, ton sac, le poseras-tu?*
 this year, during the holidays, on which beach your bag, it will-put-you
 'This year, during the holidays, on which beach, your bag, will you put?'

In this sentence, *cette année, pendant les vacances* and *ton sac* constitute several fronted topicalized material surrounding the single fronted focalized phrase: *sur quelle plage* (but see

¹² According to Michal Starke (personal communication), (12b) does not seem significantly worse, and might even be better than the grammatical sentence in (1b). Besides issues of dialectal variation and of normative French, the improvement of (12b) over (2a) for instance, is clear. This observation confirms, in my opinion, the loss of the negative value of *ne* acquiring more and more the value of a polarity item, licensed in non negative contexts, to be determined more precisely (see van der Wouden, 1994).

¹³ Once more, some speaker could judge that this sentence is grammatical, and such a judgment would be related to the fact that *ne* is becoming a sort of polarity item licensed a series of in non negative contexts.

Haegeman, 2000 among others for a richer structure including additional Scene-Setting projections to account for the difference between adverb preposing and argument topicalization). It can be noticed also that the operator in FocP triggers optional subject-verb inversion in French, by attracting Tense inside the CP domain.

As far as fronted negative adverbials are concerned, it has long been noticed that, in French, such fronting occurs in matrix and embedded clauses alike (Haegeman, 1995; Laenzinger & Mussolino, 1995: 92-93). It has also been noticed that, when such negative preposing occurs within the root sentence, subject-verb inversion is optionally triggered, but that subject-verb inversion is not triggered in embedded clauses, as shown in (15-16), although complex subject verb inversion (16a) (as opposed to simple inversion) is possible for certain speakers of French, according to Laenzinger & Mussolino (1995):¹⁴

- (15) a. **En aucun cas**, à mon avis, (ta mère) (ne) nous invitera-t-elle.
on no account in my opinion (your mother) *ne* us will-invite-*t*-she
'In my opinion, on no account will your mother invite us.'
- b. **En aucun cas**, à mon avis, tes parents (ne) nous inviteront après cette soirée.
on no account in my opinion your parents *ne* us will-invite after this party
'In my opinion, on no account will your mother invite us.'
- (16) a. (*)J'ai peur qu'**en aucun cas**, à mon avis, ta mère (ne) nous invitera-t-elle.
I have fear that on no account in my opinion your mother *ne* us will-invite-*t*-she
'I fear that, in my opinion, on no account will your mother invite us'.
- b. J'ai peur qu'**en aucun cas**, à mon avis, ta mère (ne) nous invitera.
I have fear that on no account in my opinion your mother *ne* us will-invite
'I fear that, in my opinion, on no account will your mother invite us'.

In French, this pattern is exactly similar to the pattern of *Wh*-movement with optional subject-verb inversion in the root sentence, and no subject-verb inversion in the embedded one, as shown in (17-18), although once more, complex subject-verb inversion (18a) is possible for certain speakers of French according to Laenzinger & Mussolino (1995):¹⁵

- (17) a. **Quand** (tes parents) nous inviteront-ils?
when (your parents) us will-invite-they
'When will your parents invite us?'
- b. **Quand** tes parents nous inviteront?
when your parents us will-invite
'On no account will your parents invite us after this party.'
- (18) a. (*)Je me demande **quand** tes parents nous inviteront-ils.
I myself wonder when your parents us will-invite-they
'I wonder when your parents will invite us'.
- b. Je me demande **quand** tes parents nous inviteront.
I myself wonder when your parents us will-invite
'I wonder when your parents will invite us'.

Considering that negative fronting triggers subject-verb inversion in the same conditions as *Wh*-movement does, and considering that negative fronting is in complementary

¹⁴ In English, obligatory subject-auxiliary inversion occurs both in root and embedded sentences in English as a consequence of negative fronting (see Rizzi, 1996: 73-4; Rizzi, 1997; Haegeman, 2000, and references).

¹⁵ Speakers from the Savoie region, as mentioned by Christopher Laenzinger (personal communication).

distribution with *Wh*-movement, I will hypothesize, following a suggestion by Rizzi (1997: 317), that negative fronting is indeed a form of focalization within the CP domain.^{16, 17}

Additional support for this hypothesis comes from the fact that the focalization structure can be rendered explicit by the cleft construction *c'est...que* in main or embedded clauses, this structure being slightly easier to get with prepositional or adverbial arguments :

- (19) a. ? C'est **jamais plus** que ta mère (ne) nous invitera à la maison.
it is never again that your mother *ne* us will-invite at home
'Never again will your mother invite us in Geneva.'
- b. ? Je crains que c'est **jamais plus** que ta mère (ne) nous invitera.
I fear that it is never again that your mother *ne* us will-invite
'I fear that never again will your mother invite us.'
- c. C'est **à personne** que tes parents ne parleront.
it is to no one that your parents *ne* will-speak
'Your parents won't speak to anyone.'
- d. J'ai peur que c'est **nulle part** que tes parents n'iront.
I have fear that it is nowhere that your parents *ne* will-go
'I fear that your parents won't go anywhere.'

With the contrastive stress on the fronted negative adverbial, an interpretation of Double Negation becomes obligatory, which is also the case with clefting of negative material which obligatorily marks the clefted element as contrasted (see Vinet, 1998):¹⁸

- (20) a. ? **Jamais plus** (n') inviteront-ils aucun de tes amis.
never again, *ne* will-invite-they none of your friends
'Never again will your parents invite none of your friends.'
- b. ? C'est **jamais plus** qu'ils (n') inviteront aucun de tes amis.
it is never again that they *ne* will-invite none of your friends
'Never again will your parents invite none of your friends for your birthday.'

The interpretation of the previous sentence (20a-b) can only be that of a Double Negation "From now on, your parents will always invite some of your friends." If the

¹⁶ According to Laenzlinger & Mussolino (1995: 92-3), preposed adverbs are rather topicalized and associated by a relation of predication with a covert operator either in Spec of Focus in root sentence or in Spec of the lower CP in embedded sentences.

¹⁷ Another similarity between focalization of negative adverbials and *Wh*-movement is the possibility to have Focus in situ, marked with a contrastive stress and separation by a pause, in the same way as *Wh*-in situ is an option in French. In the absence of overt fronting of the focused adverbial no subject-verb inversion is allowed.

(i) Ils (n') inviteront jamais plus // AUCUN de tes amis.
they *ne* will-invite never again none of your friends
'They will never again invite none of your friends.'

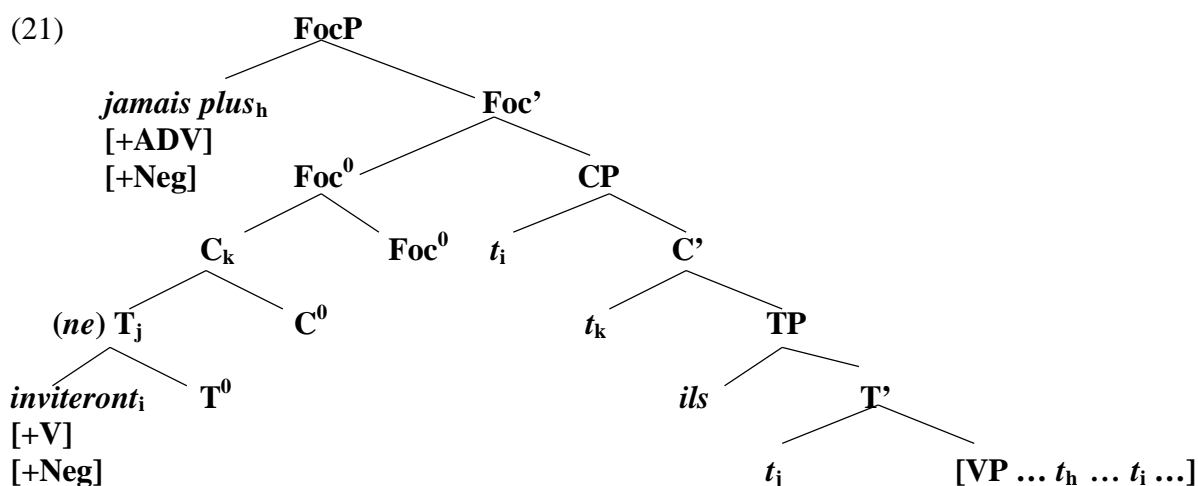
(ii) Tes parents nous inviteront quand ?
your parents us will-invite when
'When will your parents invite us.'

¹⁸ Enoch Aboh (personal communication) mentioned a contrast between *jamais plus* which is focalized and *plus jamais* which is rather topicalized when moved to the left of the clause. If no focussed phrase is inserted, I assume that the fronted negative adverbial is either topicalized in Spec of TopicP, adjoined to CP (see Rizzi, 1997, note 20), or moved in a separate SceneP (see Haegeman, 2000), and I predict that it is unable to trigger a reading of Double Negation.

focalization occurs in the embedded clause, it will prevent any further A-bar extraction (see Rizzi, 1997).¹⁹

The data in (15-16) and (20a) can now be explained on a similar fashion as the data in (17-18), by proposing first that a focused negative adverbial can be overtly attracted inside the CP domain by an abstract head feature (F) of a separate Focus projection, and second by considering that the head of the same Focus phrase is also able to attract the lower complementizer in its checking domain, the latter having previously (overtly or covertly) attracted the highest tensed verb (via attraction of the Tense functional projection). It is now possible to explain how a tensed verb such as *inviteront* endowed with formal negative uninterpretable features can check these delinquent features by entering in a Spec-head feature checking relation with the focussed negative adverbial in Spec of Focus before the derivation reaches the LF interface level.

The final steps in the derivation of (20a) concerning verb movement can now be represented in the following manner:



In (21), the fronted negative adverbial is overtly attracted to Spec of Focus, and the verb is overtly attracted to Focus by successive adjunction movements (via attraction of Tense by Comp and of Comp by Foc). Subsequently, the fronted negative adverbial and the 'negative' verb end up in an adequate checking configuration by LF.

6. DATA ON LONG DISTANCE NEGATIVE FRONTING

Now, more interestingly for our present purpose, there is some data showing that fronted negative adverbials or fronted negative PPs can be overtly extracted from their clause and raised into a higher complex CP in the form of Long Distance Negative Fronting (see Haegeman, 1995: 211-219, 230):

- (22) a. ? **Jamais plus**, il faudra que tu n'hésites à m'appeler.
 never again, it will-be-necessary that you *ne*-hesitate-SUBJ. Comp me-to-call
 'It will be necessary that you never hesitate again to call me.'
- b. ? **En aucun cas**, elle a exigé que je ne regarde la TV.
 on no account she has required that I *ne* watch the TV
 'She required that I never watch TV.'

¹⁹ Similarly, if a *Wh*-constituent is moved to the CP domain of an embedded interrogative sentence, it will be barred from any further movement.

- c. * **Jamais**, elle a pensé que tu n'oublieras cela.
never she has thought that you *ne* will forget that
'She thought that you will never forget that.'
- d. * **Jamais**, elle a pensé à n'oublier de s'informer.
never she has thought Comp *ne* to forget Comp herself-to inform
'She thought about never forgetting to inform herself.'

These sentences are marginal and require heavy stress on the fronted material, but are nevertheless interpretable in context. To my ear, this long distance extraction is facilitated by the subjunctive mood in the embedded clause, as manifested by the sharp degradation of acceptability of sentences at the indicative or infinitive mood. It is also facilitated by the type of predicates that allow the pragmatic interpretation in the embedded clause of a negation located in the matrix clause (see Horn, 1978 on 'Negative-raising').

My explanation assumes that the focus phrase responsible for long distance fronting is located in the matrix CP, and that the focalized negative phrase leaves a trace in the embedded CP which independently attracts the lower subjunctive verb (via Tense) in its domain and allows checking of delinquent negative features of the latter verb with the trace of the negative adverbial. The reason why the embedded CP attracts the verb (via Tense) is because the subjunctive mood is selected by the matrix predicate, and checking of some mood feature in CP is required.

The absence of a focus phrase in the embedded CP immediately accounts for the total ungrammaticality of subject-verb inversion in the embedded clause with long distance fronting:

- (23) * **Jamais**, il pensera que (tes parents) n'aient-ils tort.
never he will-think that your parents *ne*-have-they wrong
'He will think that your parents are never wrong.'

In direct contrast with data on Argument Raising (2a), Long Distance Negative Fronting is acceptable when the complement of the Neg-raising predicate is an infinitival TP, as exemplified by the following sentences:

- (24) a. **Jamais plus**, il faudra n'hésiter à m'appeler.
never again, it will-be-necessary *ne*-to-hesitate Comp me-to-call
'Never hesitate again to call me.'
- b. **En aucun cas**, elle voudra ne regarder la TV moins de 10 heures par jour.
in no account she will-want *ne*-to-watch the TV less of 10 hours per day
'She won't accept to watch TV less than 10 hours a day.'

My explanation must assume that, in the absence of any intermediate CP layer, the fronted negative phrase in focus will jump in one swoop to the matrix CP domain leaving a trace in the embedded clause able to check the delinquent negative features of the verb. The absence of an intermediate landing site is manifested by the degradation in acceptability of (25a) as compared to the intra-sentential in-situ negation (25b):

- (25) a. ?* Il faut **jamais plus** n'hésiter à m'appeler.
it is necessary never again *ne* to hesitate Comp me-to-call
- b. Il faut **ne plus jamais** hésiter à m'appeler.
it is necessary *ne* never again to hesitate Comp me-to-call
'Never hesitate to call me.'

In (25a), the ungrammaticality ensues because the negative adverbial does not have a proper landing site in the embedded TP, since adjunction to complements is generally forbidden, and because the embedded infinitival verb endowed with an uninterpretable negative feature does not appear in a checking configuration with a negative phrase, and will therefore be unable to check its delinquent negative features.²⁰

7. CONCLUSION

The data under investigation has been accounted for by having recourse to the conceptual apparatus of the checking theory: weak and strong features, interpretable and uninterpretable features; movement as a last resort operation triggered by the necessity to erase uninterpretable features of heads; erasure of features in checking configurations. As far as negation is concerned, I have proposed that a tensed verb in French is potentially endowed with polarity features that must be eliminated by entering in a checking configuration with matching formal features of a negative term before LF; and I have assumed that negative quantifiers and adverbs are potentially endowed with inherent features of negation and are therefore suited for the elimination of the delinquent negative features of the verb.

The main point I want to emphasize in comparing the data in (1-2-11-12) and the data in (22 and 24) is the difference between the latter type of A-bar focalization and the former type of A movement. To account for this difference, I have assumed, on the one hand, that the focalized negative adverbial in the root sentence is capable of leaving a trace either within the CP domain of the embedded sentence or in situ in the embedded sentence, and therefore that the 'negative' verb and the trace of the focussed negative adverbial are able to find themselves in an adequate checking configuration before the derivation reaches the LF interface level. Data on long distance negative-focalization lead us to the consideration of the importance of an additional projection, namely Focus, notably to compute interpretations of Double Negation.

On the other hand, the failure of a similar long distance A-type movement has been related to the elimination of intermediate trace of argument movement for convergence at LF, and therefore to the failure of eliminating the delinquent negative features of the embedded clause. In relation to this last point, I also had to propose that checking of weak features must be delayed until LF.

Further work should pursue the interaction of Focus and Negation, especially in relation with the different configurations triggering an interpretation of Double Negation. The situation in French should be compared with data from other languages, especially of the Romance family. The types of negative phrases, predicates, and contextual information involved in local or long distance fronting should be described more precisely.

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²⁰ This ungrammaticality is even more dramatic with the focalization of selected adverbials:

(i) * Il faut **nulle part** n'aller.
 it is necessary nowhere *ne* to go
 'Don't go anywhere.'

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