



WORKING PAPERS

IN

LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

No 12

On French *personne*

Dr Paul Rowlett
Department of Modern Languages

ESRI

EUROPEAN STUDIES RESEARCH INSTITUTE

On French *personne**

Paul Rowlett

European Studies Research Institute, University of Salford

P.A.Rowlett@mod-lang.salford.ac.uk

1 Introduction

Moritz and Valois (1994) follow Kayne (1981) in suggesting that French *personne* 'no-one'/'anyone' raises at LF. Unlike Kayne's original QR approach, Moritz and Valois motivate LF raising in terms of the Neg Criterion (Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991). *Personne* (or the constituent containing it) is assumed to be [+NEG] (on which see Rowlett 1996:chap. 5) and raise to Spec NegP, as in (1a/b), in order to license *ne* under Neg° and give the negative wide scope producing sentential negation. Raising is delayed until LF assuming that the level the Neg Criterion applies at can be parametrized (cf. Rizzi 1995): whereas in some languages it must be satisfied at S-Structure, in French the crucial level is LF.

- (1) a. SS: Jules n' a vu personne (Moritz and Valois' (5), p. 670)
J. ne has seen *personne*
'J. hasn't seen anyone.'

- b. LF: [_{AgSP} Jules [_{AgS'} n'a [_{NegP} *personne*_i [_{Neg'} ... vu ... *t_i* ...]]]]

The purpose of this short article is to argue that LF raising is neither necessary nor desirable. I argue that *ne* is licensed by spec-head agreement with a negative XP at S-Structure rather than LF and that the negative XP is a non-overt negative operator, Op, rather than *personne*. If this analysis turns out to be along the right lines, it suggests more generally that an adequate theory of grammatical competence might have to forego LF raising to satisfy the Neg Criterion, etc. (Haegeman 1995, Brody 1995). Such a suggestion is clearly consonant with the line of inquiry pursued in Chomsky (1993).

2 Moritz and Valois

Moritz and Valois consider the syntactic relationship between *ne* and *personne* in, for example, (1a). That some abstract relationship exists between the two is uncontroversial since they combine in the expression of sentence negation. Further, in those varieties/registers in which it is overt, the former is—directly or indirectly—licensed by the latter. The issue, then, is not *whether* the two are related, but *how*. The authors consider chain formation as a candidate but reject this in favour of LF raising of *personne* to the specifier of the functional projection, NegP (Pollock 1989), headed underlyingly by *ne*, followed by spec-head agreement between *personne* and *ne*. This decision is taken on the basis of what the authors claim to be evidence that *personne* is higher at LF than S-Structure, which they suggest is not amenable to analysis in terms of chain formation.

The original motivation for Kayne's QR analysis of *personne* was scope. In particular, the contrast in (2) was argued to support an LF raising analysis (Kayne 1981).

- (2) a. ★Je n' ai exigé que personne soit arrêté
I ne have demanded that *personne* be-SUBJ arrested
- b. ?Je n' ai exigé qu' ils arrêtent personne
I ne have demanded that they arrest-SUBJ *personne*

In both examples in (2), *personne* in the embedded clause has matrix scope and is deemed to raise at LF into the matrix clause. In (2a), *personne* is the embedded subject, so raising leaves an ungoverned trace, producing an ECP violation, resulting in ungrammaticality. (2b) is less deviant since the trace is in object position.

Moritz and Valois argue that there are other reasons for believing that *personne* is higher at LF than S-Structure. The arguments involve the licensing of nonpartitive [\emptyset de NP] and the unavailability of negative concord with *pas*. Nonpartitive [\emptyset de NP] has strict licensing conditions: a c-commanding operator is required to A'-bind the empty category (Kayne 1981). In (3a), no such operator is present, hence the

ungrammaticality; in (3b) the operator is *beaucoup* 'lots'; in (3c), it is *pas* 'not'. Obenauer (1983; 1984) refers to the construction exemplified in (3b/c) as Quantification at a distance (QàD). See section 3.

- (3) a. ★Jean mange [\emptyset de chocolat]
 J. eats of chocolate
- b. Jean a *beaucoup_i* mangé [\emptyset_i de chocolat] (M&V's (25b), p. 676)
 J. has lots eaten of chocolate
 'J. has eaten lots of chocolate.'
- c. Jean (ne) mange pas_i [\emptyset_i de pain] (Moritz and Valois' (28), p. 677)
 J. *ne* eats not of bread
 'J. doesn't eat bread.'

That the operator must c-command the empty category is suggested by the contrast between (3b) and (4), Moritz and Valois' (27a), p. 677:

- (4) ★Jean a vu [_{IP} [_{NP} \emptyset_i d' enfants] [_{VP} *beaucoup_i* manger]]
 J. has seen of children lots eat

In addition to *beaucoup* and *pas*, etc., Moritz and Valois suggest that (5) shows that *personne* can license nonpartitive [\emptyset de NP]:

- (5) Personne ne mange [\emptyset de pain] (Moritz and Valois' (30), p. 677)
 personne ne eats of bread
 'No-one eats bread.'

Interestingly, though, *personne* does not appear to have to c-command the empty category in order to license it, as in (6), Moritz and Valois' (31), pp. 677-8:

- (6) a. Lucie n' a donné [Ø de livres] [à personne]
 L. *ne* has given of books to *personne*
 'L. hasn't given any books to anyone.'
- b. Lucie ne donne [Ø de réceptions] [pour personne]
 L. *ne* gives of receptions for *personne*
 'L. doesn't hold receptions for anyone.'
- c. Lucie n' a donné [Ø de livres] [à l' ami de personne]
 L. *ne* has given of books to the friend of *personne*
 'L. hasn't given any books to anyone's friend.'

Rather than losing Kayne's original generalisation regarding the licensing of nonpartitive [Ø de NP], Moritz and Valois suggest that licensing takes place at LF, after *personne* has raised to Spec NegP, a position from which it c-commands the empty category within [Ø de NP]. Consequently, the authors take the data in (6) to support their analysis of *personne*.

Moritz and Valois argue that the unavailability of negative concord between *pas* and *personne* provides further support for their analysis.

- (7) Jean n' a pas vu personne (= double negation)
 J. *ne* has not, seen *personne*
 'J. hasn't seen no-one, i.e., has seen someone.'

Assuming that *pas* occupies Spec NegP (Pollock 1989), Moritz and Valois account for the double negation in (7) as follows: for negative phrases (e.g., *pas* and *personne*) to contribute to a single instance of sentence negation, they need to be associated with a single (Spec) NegP; in (7) raising of *personne* to Spec NegP would allow such association, yet the presence of *pas* in Spec NegP prevents such raising and, hence, a concordant reading. This, Moritz and Valois argue, provides further support for their analysis.

3 The Neg Criterion: S-Structure or LF?

Crucial for Moritz and Valois are the assumptions: (a) that the Neg Criterion applies at LF in French; and, (b) that *ne* is licensed at LF. In this section, I argue that both in fact happen at S-Structure. Note that *ne* cannot freely occur; it needs to be licensed, e.g., by *pas*, in (8):

- (8) Jean *ne* vient *pas*
J. *ne* comes *pas*
'J. isn't coming.'

Setting aside the details of the syntax of *pas* (but see Rowlett 1993; 1996:chap. 2), let's assume that *pas* occupies Spec NegP at S-Structure and, further, that *ne* is licensed under Neg° by spec-head agreement with *pas*.

While (8) sheds no light on the issue whether *ne* is licensed at S-Structure or LF, there are data which clearly suggest that the crucial level is S-Structure and not, as Moritz and Valois assume, LF. The relevant data show that, in contrast (more or less) to *personne* which appears to be able to license negative *ne* from a number of S-Structure positions, e.g., direct object, indirect object, prepositional object, *pas* must occupy Spec NegP at S-Structure for *ne* to be licensed.

I shall review two sets of data here. First, consider imperatives. The positive imperative in (9a) can be negated using *pas* alone, (9b), but not using *ne* and *pas*, (9c):

- (9) a. Regarde-moi
b. Regarde-moi *pas*
 watch me (not)
 'Look at me.'/'Don't look at me.'

c. ★Ne regarde-moi *pas*
 ne watch me not

I propose to deal with (9) by assuming that the verb is below AgrS° (Zanuttini 1994).

In fact, it moves no higher than the head associated with its morphology, say Mood°, and that this underlies the post-verbal position of the pronoun. In (9b), *pas* is, say, VP-adjoined, possibly its base position (Rowlett 1993; 1996:chap. 2). Crucially, *pas* is not in Spec NegP. If *pas* needs to occupy Spec NegP at S-Structure to license *ne*, the ungrammaticality of (9c) is expected. Note though that, if Moritz and Valois are correct in assuming that LF is the crucial level for *ne*-licensing, the ungrammaticality of (9c) remains unexplained: why could *pas* not raise to Spec NegP at LF in the same way that *personne* raises to Spec NegP at LF in (1)? The ungrammaticality of (9c) is thus a problem for Moritz and Valois' assumption that *ne* is licensed and that the Neg Criterion applies at LF.

An alternative negative form of (9a), in which *ne* is licit, is given in (10):

- (10) Ne me regarde pas
 ne me watch not
 (= (9b))

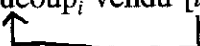
Given the pre-verbal pronoun, let's assume that verb and pronoun raise to AgrS° and that *pas* occupies Spec NegP. The availability of *ne* then comes as no surprise: it is licensed at S-Structure by *pas* and raises to AgrS° in the usual way. In summary, the syntax of negative imperatives suggests that *ne* is licensed at S-Structure.

Consider now the phenomenon referred to as Quantification at a distance (QàD) by Obenauer (1983; 1984) and mentioned in section 2 above.

- (11) a. Le libraire a vendu [beaucoup de romans] (non-QàD)
 the bookseller has sold lots of novels
 'The bookseller has sold lots of novels.'
- b. Le libraire a beaucoup_i vendu [Ø_i de romans] (QàD)
 the bookseller has lots sold of novels
 (= (11a))

In (11a), the direct object of the verb is in its typical post-participial position. In (11b), Obenauer's QàD, the operator *beaucoup* has raised to a position between the auxiliary and the participle, leaving a nonpartitive [\emptyset de NP] behind. Following Milner (1978) and Battye (1991), I assume that (11b) is derived from (11a) by overt raising of the operator, as in (12): $\emptyset = t$. (See Rowlett 1996:chap. 2 for detailed analysis.)

(12) Le libraire a beaucoup_i vendu [_i de romans] (= (11b))




Now consider (13):

(13) Le libraire n' a pas vendu de romans
the bookseller *ne* has not sold of books
'The bookseller hasn't sold any books.'

In Rowlett (1993; 1996:chap. 2) I argue that *pas* in (13) should be treated parallel to *beaucoup* in (11b). In other words, (13) should be analysed as (14):

(14) Le libraire n'a pas_i vendu [_i de romans] (= (13))



The claim that *pas* originates within the direct object in (13)/(14) is supported by the existence of *in situ* [*pas* de NP] constituents in the examples in (15):

- (15) a. L'étudiant est venu avec **pas d'idées** du tout
- b. Entre nous, je préférerais une femme qui me fasse souffrir à **pas de femme** du tout (Gaatone 1971:111)
- c. Aux cérémonies du mois prochain, aucune délégation étrangère n'a été invitée. Non seulement **pas d'Américains**, bien sûr... (*ibid.*)

What is significant about, say, (15a), in which *pas* occupies its base position, i.e., has not raised to Spec NegP, is that *ne* is strictly excluded: (15a) is not a negative sentence.

- (16) ★L' étudiant n' est venu avec pas d' idées du tout
 the student *ne* is come with not of ideas at all

Why? Given the minimally contrasting pair in (17), and assuming Moritz and Valois' analysis of (17a) in terms of LF raising of *personne*, the question arises as to why *personne* can apparently raise to Spec NegP at LF to license *ne* in (17a) while, in (17b), [pas...] cannot. Note in particular that it would not be possible to account for the ungrammaticality of (17b) by claiming that *pas* cannot be base-generated in such a PP-embedded position in the first place: (17b) is perfectly grammatical without *ne*.

- (17) a. Pierre n' est parti avec *personne* (Moritz and Valois' (8), p. 671)
 P. *ne* is left with *personne*
 'P. didn't leave with anyone.'
- b. Pierre (★n') est parti avec *pas* un sou en poche
 P. *ne* is left with not a penny in pocket
 'P. left without a penny on him.'

Given the previous discussion, I suggest that *ne* is ruled out in (17b) because *pas* does not occupy Spec NegP at S-Structure. What then of (17a)? If *ne* is licensed and the Neg Criterion satisfied at S-Structure, how is it that (17a) is a perfectly grammatical negative sentence containing *ne*? In section 5, I argue that (17a) is grammatical not because *personne* raises to Spec NegP at LF but because a non-overt negative operator, Op, occupies Spec NegP at S-Structure. First, in section 4, I consider a number of other respects in which Moritz and Valois' analysis is inadequate.

4 Inadequacies of Moritz and Valois' analysis

Consider (18):

- (18) Je ne crois pas que personne soit arrivé (Prince 1976:410, (29d))
I ne believe not that *personne* be-SUBJ arrived
'I don't think anyone has arrived.'

This example poses a number of problems for Moritz and Valois. First, recall that part of Kayne's (1981) original motivation for LF raising of elements like *personne* was scope. In (1), *personne* has wide scope. In (2), *personne* has matrix scope. LF raising was argued to be a natural way of capturing these properties. Note, though, that, in (18) too, *personne* has wide/matrix scope. How can this be? Presumably, LF raising does not take place. If it did, it would leave a subject trace and lead to ungrammaticality, as in (2a). The perfect grammaticality of (18) suggests that LF raising cannot take place. Yet, if *personne* does not raise at LF in (18) but nevertheless has matrix scope, the scope argument for LF raising becomes invalid. Moritz and Valois do not address this issue. Note further that (18) is a problem for Moritz and Valois' account of the double negation in (7). Moritz and Valois attribute the unavailability of negative concord to presence of *pas* in Spec NegP blocking the required LF raising of *personne*. Yet, in (18), negative concord seems to be possible despite the presence of *pas* in Spec NegP and without LF raising of *personne*, a fact which casts doubt on Moritz and Valois' analysis of (7).

Finally, in the light of the claim that *personne* raises to Spec NegP at LF, consider again (7). The authors suggest the lack of negative concord between *pas* and *personne* is due to the presence of *pas* in Spec NegP blocking LF raising of *personne* to that position. They make no further comment. One assumes that *personne* is deemed not to move. Yet, if *personne* can legitimately avoid raising at LF in (7), why should it bother to do so in, say, (1)? Further, if *personne* can be licit without LF raising in (7), how can Moritz and Valois claim that examples such as (19), their (45b), p. 681, are ungrammatical due to the inability of *personne* to raise to Spec NegP?

- (19) ★Tu n' as vu le cadeau pour personne
 you *ne* have seen the gift for *personne*

The result is a rather confused situation in which:

- (a) generally, *personne* raises at LF to Spec NegP to license *ne* and to produce a negative sentence, as in (1a);
- (b) where *pas* is present in the *same* clause, as in (7), *personne* does not need to raise at LF and *cannot* enter into negative concord with *pas*;
- (c) where *pas* is present in a *higher* clause, as in (18), *personne* does not need to raise at LF but *can* enter into negative concord with *pas*; and, finally,
- (d) the inability of *personne* to raise at LF can lead to ungrammaticality, as in (19).

It seems to me that the source of this confusion is the claim that *personne* raises at LF.

5 A sketch of an alternative

In section 3 above, it was argued that negative *ne* is licensed at S-Structure by spec-head agreement with a negative operator. How can this conclusion be squared with the grammaticality of (1a) in which *personne* clearly does not occupy Spec NegP? I would like to suggest that the most promising way to deal with this problem is by positing a non-overt negative operator, Op. In (1a), Op occupies Spec NegP at S-Structure and licenses *ne*. In fact, there is independent evidence for the existence of Op in French. There is a class of verbs, e.g., *pouvoir* 'to be able', which, when used as pseudo-modals, can be negated by *ne* alone, as in (20). Under the generally accepted view that *ne* is non-negative, the negativity of (20) must be attributed to a non-overt constituent. Op is such a constituent and, assuming that Op occupies Spec NegP at S-Structure, *ne* can be licensed in the usual way, namely by spec-head agreement (Rowlett 1996:41):

- (20) a. On *ne* peut vous aider
 we *ne* can you help
 'We are unable to help you.'

- b. [_{AgrSP} On [_{AgrS'} ne peut [_{NegP} **Op** [_{Neg'} ... vous aider ...]]]]

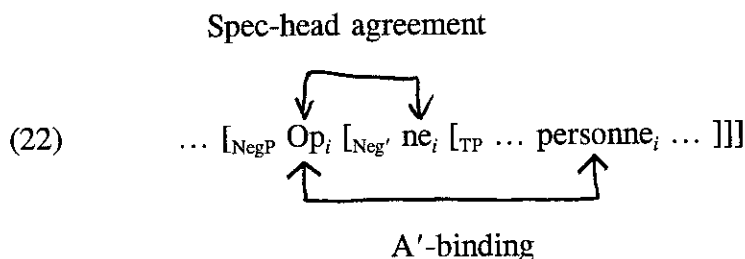
(The use of Op in examples such as (20) also makes predictions about the availability of nonpartitive [\emptyset de NP], to which I turn below.)

Further evidence for the existence of Op comes from the 'pseudo-negative' *ne...que* 'only' construction, illustrated in (21). There are a number of reasons – both syntactic and semantic – for concluding that *ne...que* involves Op. Syntactically, the fact that *ne* is licensed in the construction at all can be explained with reference to Op. As in the case of (20), if Op occupies Spec NegP at S-Structure, *ne* can be licensed in the usual way. Semantically, Op can be argued to represent the negation to which the constituent introduced by *que* provides the exception. (If Moritz and Valois' analysis of *personne* were adopted, it is unclear how its essence could be extended to the *ne...que* construction. It seems implausible to me to suggest that the constituent introduced by *que* should raise at LF to Spec NegP.)

- (21) a. Marie ne mange que du pain
 M. *ne* eats *que* of-the bread
 'M. only eats bread.'

- b. [_{AgrSP} Marie [_{AgrS'} ne mange [_{NegP} **Op** [_{Neg'} ... que du pain]]]]

How might one exploit Op in an analysis of *personne*? How can the insight be maintained that *personne* somehow licenses *ne*? One might assume that Op mediates between *ne* and *personne*: *ne* is licensed by spec-head agreement with Op; Op is licensed by unselectively A'-binding *personne*. Co-indexation of Op and *ne* via spec-head agreement and of Op and *personne* by A'-binding means that *ne* will indirectly be co-indexed with *personne*, and a relationship will have been established.



Summarizing our differences, for Moritz and Valois the relationship between *ne* and *personne* is direct, involving LF raising of *personne* and spec-head agreement between *personne* and *ne*; for me, the relationship is indirect, mediated by Op which A'-binds *personne* and appears in a spec-head configuration *ne*.

Let's now return to Moritz and Valois' arguments for concluding that *personne* was higher at LF than S-Structure to see how the current proposal fares. First, Moritz and Valois noted that *personne* could apparently license nonpartitive [\emptyset de NP] even when *personne* does not c-command the empty category, as in (6). Here, my proposal is more restrictive. Kayne's original generalisation was that the empty category in nonpartitive [\emptyset de NP] is licensed by a c-commanding operator at S-Structure. Moritz and Valois weaken this condition to one that applies at LF. In the current proposal, the operator which licenses the empty category in (6) is Op which occupies Spec NegP at S-Structure. There is consequently no need to weaken Kayne's generalisation.

Indeed, in this proposal, the generalisation is even more restricted than Kayne's original one. Rather than being licensed by just any c-commanding operator, the empty category is only licensed by its own antecedent; the empty category is the trace of the operator: $\emptyset = t$. While straightforwardly the case in (12) and (14), it cannot be maintained with Moritz and Valois' proposals: *personne* licenses \emptyset in (5) and (6) but is clearly not its antecedent. In my own analysis, in which Op mediates between *ne* and *personne*, Op can be seen to license the empty category in the nonpartitive in the same way as *beaucoup/pas* in (12) and (14): \emptyset is the trace of Op. Op is generated within [Op de NP] and subsequently raised to Spec NegP. Consequently, within my proposal, and *contra* Kayne and Moritz and Valois, nonpartitive [\emptyset de NP] can *only ever* be the result of S-Structure operator extraction, whereby the operator is either overt (*pas*, *beaucoup*) or non-overt (Op).

The claim that the empty category is the trace of the operator is supported by PP-island effects, expected assuming S-Structure movement:

- (23) a. ★Jean ne sort pas_i [_{PP} avec [_{t_i} d' argent]]
 J. *ne* goes-out not with of money
- b. ★Marie a beaucoup_i voté [_{PP} contre [_{t_i} de représentants de droite]]
 M. has lots voted against of representatives of right
- c. ★Nous ne pouvons Op_i compter [_{PP} sur [_{t_i} d' amis]]
 we *ne* can count on of friends

The analysis proposed here also deals with contexts licensing nonpartitive [Ø de NP] which remain a mystery under Moritz and Valois' proposals. Consider (24a) in which the nonpartitive appears without an overt licenser for its empty category, c-commanding or otherwise:

- (24) a. Marie ne peut vous donner [Ø de renseignements]
 M. *ne* can you give of information
 'M. is unable to give you any information.'

Given that I posited Op in the analysis of the examples in (20), the availability of nonpartitive [Ø de NP] in (24a) is not only unproblematic, it is also predicted. In contexts like (20) and (24a), sentential negation is marked, and *ne* licensed, by Op. In the case of (24a), it is also Op that is responsible for licensing the nonpartitive. Op is the antecedent of the empty category, having raised to Spec NegP in the syntax. The relevant structure is given in (24b):

- (24) b. [_{AgrSP} Marie [_{AgrS'} ne peut [_{NegP} Op_i [_{Neg'} ... vous donner [_{t_i} de renseignements] ...]]]]

In contrast, even if generalised to other 'negative' XPs, Moritz and Valois' proposal for *personne* cannot account for the grammaticality of (24).

What then of the availability of nonpartitive [\emptyset de NP] with the *ne...que* construction? Given that, here too, I posit the presence of Op, one might predict that nonpartitives will be licensed. Yet, as shown in (25), this is not the case:

- (25) ★Je ne fais [\emptyset de bêtises] que pour agacer ma mère
 I ne do of idiocies *que* for annoy my mother

In order to maintain my analysis of the *ne...que* construction in terms of Op which is desirable for the reasons set out above, it is necessary to conclude that the underlying relationship between Op and *que* (which does not license [\emptyset de NP]) is different from the one between Op and *personne* (which does). Specifically, one might suggest that Op is generated closer to *que* than to *personne*. Such underlying proximity between Op and *que* would, consequently, preclude Op from being generated within the nonpartitive. Evidence to support such a divergent approach to Op/*personne* and Op/*que* comes from their respective sensitivities to PP-islands. Whereas, as shown in (6) above and (26a) below, *personne* can appear within a PP, *que* cannot, as in (26b):

- (26) a. Je ne suis sorti avec *personne*
 I ne am gone-out with *personne*
 'I didn't go, out with anyone.'
- b. ★Je ne suis sorti avec *que* des amis
 I ne am gone-out with *que* of-the friends

In (26a), Op can A'-bind *personne* from a base-position outside the PP. In (26b), containing *ne...que*, Op is generated closer to *que*, more specifically within the PP, which prevents it from raising to Spec NegP, hence the ungrammaticality.

Finally, note that the contrast in (26) is yet another problem for Moritz and Valois' analysis of *personne* in terms of LF pied-piping. If *personne* can pied-pipe its PP to

Spec NegP at LF, why can't [que...]?

To conclude, it has been shown that 'negative' *ne* requires the presence of a negative operator, *pas* or *Op*, in Spec NegP at S-Structure. Assuming this to be the correct analysis of *ne*-licensing in French, there is no need to posit LF raising of 'negative' elements such as *personne*. Although the above discussion has ostensibly been about a fairly specific aspect of the syntax of sentential negation in French, it is worth noting the wider implications. The conclusion drawn here is that, in one particular context, recourse to LF raising is not required, despite appearances. To that extent, this article follows in the line of Watanabe (1991; 1992) and, more recently, Chomsky (1993) Haegeman (1995) and Brody (1995) who endeavour to show that constructions traditionally analysed in terms of LF raising can be dealt with without such recourse.

*Thanks to Odile Cyrille and Pedro Guijarro Fuentes for their help.

References

- Battye, Adrian. 1991. Partitive and pseudo-partitive revisited: reflections on the status of *de* in French. *Journal of French Language Studies* 1:21-43.
- Brody, Michael. 1995. *Lexico-logical form: a radically minimalist theory*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1993. A minimalist program for linguistic theory. In *The view from Building 20: Essays in linguistics in honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, ed. Kenneth Hale and Samuel Jay Keyser, 1-53. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. Also in Noam Chomsky. 1995. *The minimalist program*, 167-217. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 1995. *The syntax of negation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haegeman, Liliane and Raffaella Zanuttini. 1991. Negative heads and the Neg Criterion. *The Linguistic Review* 8:233-251.
- Kayne, Richard. 1981. Two notes on the NIC. In *Theory of markedness in generative grammar*, ed. Adriana Belletti, Luciana Brandi, and Luigi Rizzi, 317-

346. Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore. Also in Richard Kayne. 1984. *Connectedness and binary branching*, 23-46. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Milner, Jean-Claude. 1978. Cyclicité successive, comparatives et cross-over en français (première partie). *Linguistic Inquiry* 9:673-693.
- Moritz, Luc, and Daniel Valois. 1994. Pied-piping and specifier-head agreement. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25:667-707.
- Obenauer, Hans-Georg. 1983. Une quantification non-canonique: la quantification à distance. *Langue Française* 58:66-88.
- Obenauer, Hans-Georg. 1984. On the identification of empty categories. *The Linguistic Review* 4:153-202.
- Pollock, Jean-Yves. 1989. Verb movement, Universal Grammar, and the structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20:365-424.
- Prince, Ellen F. 1976. The syntax and semantics of Neg-raising, with evidence from French. *Language* 52:404-426.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1995. Residual verb second and the *wh*-criterion. In *Parameters and functional heads: essays in comparative syntax*, ed. Adriana Belletti and Luigi Rizzi. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rowlett, Paul. 1993. On the syntactic derivation of negative sentence adverbials. *Journal of French Language Studies* 3:39-69.
- Rowlett, Paul. 1996. *Negative configurations in French*. Doctoral dissertation, University of York, United Kingdom. Distributed as *University of Salford European Studies Research Institute Working Papers in Language and Linguistics*, 11.
- Watanabe, Akira. 1991. *Wh*-in-situ, subjacency and chain formation. Ms., MIT.
- Watanabe, Akira. 1992. Subjacency and S-Structure movement of *wh*-in-situ. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 1:255-291.
- Zanuttini, Raffaella. 1994. Speculations on negative imperatives. *Rivista di Linguistica* 6:119-142.