

**THE ROOTS OF NEGATIVE CONCORD
IN FRENCH AND FRENCH BASED CREOLES**

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Introduction

Within the Principle and Parameters model of Universal Grammar (UG), double negatives, which I will henceforth refer to as Negative Concord (NC), have been argued to invoke a fundamental syntactic relation between the head and the specifier of a constituent. More precisely, it has been proposed that sentential negation universally projects a syntactic constituent conform to X' theory composed of a negative head and of an optional dependent specifier (Laka 1991, Zanuttini 1991, Pollock 1989), either base generated in Spec NegP or moved to it. Within this structural approach to negation, Negative Concord is taken to illustrate the concurrent overt manifestation of both a negative head and a negative specifier which combine through overt or covert movement to form a single negative constituent (Zanuttini (1991)).

This analysis has desirable consequences. In contrast to a long standing grammatical tradition which condemns double negatives as logically faulty, the structural approach to negation fully legitimizes this construction as one of the possible options provided by UG for the expression of negative meaning. It also establishes a parallel with the by now classic approach to overt questions, multiple questions and relative clauses in terms of Spec-Head relations. On this view, parametric variations are expected between languages in which negation is manifested with an overt head alone, with an overt specifier alone or with both an overt head and an overt specifier and Negative Concord could be conceived as an unmarked UG option if overt realization of both the Spec and the head of the Neg constituent could be shown to be a default option for constituents of this nature. This is an advantage in view of the fact that Negative Concord may well be the most “unmarked” expression of negation. As is well known, it appears as a possible historical state in many languages (Cf. the “Jespersen cycle”). It has also been observed to be a common feature to most Creole languages, irrespective of their origins or the nature of their substrate and superstrate. If as Bickerton (1981) has argued, Creole grammars instantiate the least marked options permitted by UG, then the use of double negatives, far from being accidental or illogical is probably better thought of as “the norm” rather than the exception.

In this paper, the structural analysis of Negative Concord is put to the test in light of comparative data from French based Creoles and their superstrate. Amongst the French based Creole considered, the paper will focus mostly on Haitian Creole (HC). But data from Louisiana French Creole will provide an interesting comparison between two syntactically diverging Creoles. What is of particular interest in the case here considered is that both the Creoles and their superstrate manifest the characteristic features of Negative Concord. Thus, the fact that the Creoles manifest Concord could here plausibly be attributed to superstrate influence. As we demonstrate, however, despite superficial similarities, the syntactic properties of Negative Concord are not uniform across the Creoles and the superstrate thus failing to support a superstrate influence hypothesis. Furthermore, the differences observed among the various languages considered turn out to be neither predicted nor explained by the structural approach to Negative Concord as they do not depend on differences in the structure of the NegP constituent. Thus, despite its apparent advantages, we will show that the structural analysis fails to account for the observed crosslinguistic variation and provides no clear avenue of explanation as to how the diverse systems interrelate.

The paper then goes on to propose an alternative approach to Negative Concord which does not view Negative Concord as a unitary phenomenon enforcing obligatory movement on the expressions which participate in the constructions, N-words as Laka (1991) calls them. Rather we distinguish two basic systems of Negative Concord which can be taken to form the two poles of the possible diversity. On one end of the pole, Negative Concord involves unselective binding of N-words by negation (Ladusaw 1992), on the other, it involves pair quantifier formation (May 1989). It is argued that neither form of Negative Concord involves negation absorption and that both depend not so much on the negative values of N-words but on their intrinsic quantificational force. Since both result from the interaction of very general and independently required principles such as those of Case theory, a theory of Scope and variable binding inscribed within the Minimalist approach to syntax (Chomsky 1992, 1993) and the Mapping Hypothesis of Diesing's (1992) no “negation” specific principle such as the Negative Criterion is needed. The modular approach we propose permits a greater variation in the syntactic properties of Negative Concord affording an account of the observed variation as well as interesting speculations as to how various systems can interrelate crosslinguistically, historically and in creolization. In contrast to the structural approach, the alternative approach we develop argues that variation and change do not reside so much in the differing syntactic structure of a negative constituent NegP as in the diverging structure and semantic nature of the N-words themselves. Our proposal takes into account the internal composition of N-words deriving most observed differences from it. We ultimately relate the differences in the internal composition of N-words to a more general distinction between the Creoles and their superstrate with regards to the richness of their morphology and determiner system which offers a first speculative explanation as to why Negative Concord should be so generally present in Creole languages.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 1 reviews the motivations for the structural analysis of NC and lays out the properties which are common to Haitian Creole and its superstrate. Sections 2 and 3 discuss the further differences that a more detailed examination of Negative Concord in French based Creoles and their superstrate reveals. Section 4 sketches the proposed alternative analysis and shows how it accounts for the observed differences.

Section 5 discusses and compares the implications of this analysis for parametrization, creolization and historical change.

1. The structural account of Negative Concord

1.1 Properties of Haitian N-words

It has often been observed that the expressions which participate in Negative Concord (henceforth N-words) manifest a dependency towards negation which strikingly resembles the dependency observed in polarity licensing (Longobardi 1991, Laka 1991). Like negative polarity items (NPIs), N-words require some negative element or some appropriately negative context for their licensing. In HC, N-words usually require the presence of a negative marker as illustrated in (1) where we see that the negation *pa* must be present whenever N-words occur as complements of verbs or prepositions:

- (1) a. M *(**pa**) te wè **pèsonn/anyen**
I haven't seen anyone or anything
b. Li **pa** danse ak **pèsonn**
She didn't dance with anyone

In contrast to Spanish or Italian though, HC N-words also requires negation when in subject positions¹.

- (2) a. **Pèsonn/anyen** *(**pa**) rive
No one arrived/Nothing happened

There are, nevertheless, some contexts in which *pa* is not necessary. One illustrated in (3a,b), involve the sentential complement of adversative predicates with intrinsic negative meaning.

- (3) a. Jan refize pou li manje anyen²
John refuses to eat anything

Pa is also unnecessary for Haitian speakers of the North West provinces (St. Louis du Nord) in yes/no questions or in embedded *if* clauses.

- (4) a. Èske pèsonn rele m ?
Did anyone call me ?
b. M ap mande si pèsonn ap vini
I wonder whether anyone will come³

The fact that these contexts are parallel to those standardly licensing NPIs suggests that HC N-words are perhaps better simply regarded as negative polarity items. But HC N-words clearly differ from NPIs in other respects. As

¹ The obligatory presence of negation with a N-word in subject position is not a feature which singles out Creole languages. As reported by Ladusaw (1994), negation is at least optionally present in one dialect of Catalan. It is further obligatory in Romanian. It is unknown at present whether other characteristic features pattern with this difference, an interesting topic for further research.

² Another contexts in which *pa* is not required by our informants is the sentential complement of the preposition *san*. *Jan pati san di pèsonn orevwa* (John left without saying good bye to anyone) As DeGraff informs me (pc), for other speakers, including himself, such contexts do not permit an infinitival complement and *pa* is required with tense, i.e. *Jan pati san li pa di pèsonn orevwa*.

³ Such sentences are not acceptable for the speakers of the Port au Prince dialect we consulted. However, these speakers accepted such questions with other N-words such as *okenn moun* (no one/anyone) or *anyen* (nothing):

- (i) a. Èske okenn moun rele m ?
Did anyone call me ?
b. Èske ou te wè anyen ?
Did you see anything ?
b M ap mande si okenn moun ap vini
I wonder whether anyone will come

shown in (5), they are not licenced in characteristic NPI contexts such as counterfactuals (5a), comparatives (5b) and the downward restrictive clause of universal quantifiers (5c)

- (5) a. *Si ou touye pèsonn, ou pral nan prison (DeGraff 1993)
 If you kill anyone, you will go to jail
 b. * Bouki pi wo pase pèsonn (DeGraff 1993)
 Bouki is taller than anyone
 c. Tout timoun ki wè *anyen/yon bagay dwe di'm
 Every child who sees anything must tell me

Moreover, when occurring as answers to questions as in (6), they have a negative meaning :

- (6) a. Kimoun ki wè ou ? Pèsonn (DeGraff 1993)
 Who saw you? No one/*Anyone

Finally, in contrast again to NPIs, HC N-words can be modified by adverbs such as *prèske* (almost).

- (7) a. Prèske pèsonn pa vote pou Manigat (DeGraff 1993)
 Almost no one voted for Manigat

As Zanuttini (1991) argued, these last two properties illustrate fundamental differences between N-words and NPIs. Examples such as (6) are taken to show that N-words as opposed to NPIs have an inherent negative meaning. (7), on the other hand, suggests that they are universal quantifiers as only universal quantifiers can usually be modified by this type of adverbs. NPIs, in contrast, are neither inherently negative nor universal quantifiers but standardly assumed to be non-negative existential indefinites (Carlson 1980, Ladusaw 1979). Thus, Zanuttini concludes, N-words and NPIs must be distinguished and Negative Concord cannot be assimilated to polarity licensing.

Zanuttini (1991) proposes to distinguish N-words from NPIs with respect to their syntactic licensing taking the former to be subject to the Neg Criterion (8), but not the latter:

- (8) The Neg Criterion : Each negative X^0 must be in a Spec-Head relation with a negative XP .
 Each negative XP must be in a Spec-Head relation with a negative X^0

The Neg-Criterion in strict parallelism with the Wh-criterion of Rizzi (1991) requires that every element bearing negative features forms a constituent with a negative head at some level of representation. Since N-words are assumed to be negative, they must undergo movement to satisfy (8). NPIs, in contrast, remain in situ. In (9), for instance, the N-word *anyen*, which does not form a constituent with *pa* at S-structure must undergo covert LF movement to Spec NegP deriving the structure (10):

- (9) M pa te wè anyen
 I didn't see anything
 (10) [_{AGRP} M [_{NEGP} anyen pa [_{TP} te [_{VP} wè t]]]⁴

In (10), *anyen* is in Spec NegP and Spec NegP is occupied by a negative XP, satisfying the Neg-Criterion.

The proposal that Spec-Head agreement is involved in NC raises an immediate problem. Spec-Head relations are usually one to one relations bearing no multiplicity as in the core case of Spec-Head agreement, namely subject verb agreement. Unicity, however, is clearly not observed in the case of Negative Concord. As shown in (11) indeed, a multiplicity of N-words can freely co-occur in HC:

- (11) Pèsonn pa janm di pèsonn anyen
 No one Neg never say no one nothing
 No one ever says anything to anyone

Since, they must all move to the Spec NegP to satisfy the Neg-Criterion, the Spec-Head relation in this case will clearly not be one to one. The solution proposed by Zanuttini (91) is that these multiple specifiers undergo a rule of

⁴ See Déprez and Vinet (1992) for a detailed discussion of the functional structure of sentences in HC.

semantic absorption in Spec NegP, similar to the one proposed by Higginbotham and May (81) for multiple questions. Absorption is an operation taken to create a unique n-any quantifier from a multiplicity of unary quantifiers. In Negative Concord it is assumed to take the form in (13) and to reduce several negation to a single one.

$$(12) \quad \forall x\sim, \forall y\sim, \forall z\sim \text{ ----> } \forall x,y,z\sim$$

The consequences of absorption in NC are twofold. On the one hand, it abstractly preserves the unicity requirement of the Spec-head relation. On the other hand, (12) is assumed to provide an explanation for the fact that a multiplicity of N-words taken to each be inherently negative are not interpreted as multiple negations but as a single negation shared by all the participants in the construction. Moreover, since Higginbotham and May's absorption rule was proposed to account for the interpretation of multiple wh-questions, we see here another striking parallelism between this analysis of Negative Concord and the standard analysis of wh-movement. Essentially, the same principles are at work: The Neg-Criterion parallels the wh-criterion of Rizzi (91) and the proposed analysis of multiple negatives parallels that of multiple questions. Consequently, an important prediction of the structural analysis of NC is that the two constructions should manifest parallel syntactic properties. But as we show in 2. and 3., this prediction, is only superficially correct. While wh-movement and Negative Concord share some properties, it is clear that they also display important differences, which remain mostly unpredicted under a structural analysis.

1.2 Properties of French N-words

French and Haitian N-word licensing manifests a number of striking similarities which make a common analysis of Negative Concord seemingly attractive and a superstrate inheritance approach to HC Negative Concord a priori plausible. Like HC N-words, French N-words such as *personne* (no/any/one) or *rien* (no/any/thing) have a negative meaning when they occur as an isolated answer to a question:

- (13) a. Qui est venu ? **Personne**.
Who came ? No one

Furthermore, they can also be modified by adverbs such as *presque* (almost).

- (14) a. Presque **personne** n'est venu.
Almost no one came

Finally, like in HC, several French N-words can co-occur and be interpreted with a single negation.

- (15) **Personne** n'a **jamais rien** dit à **personne**
No one ever told anyone anything.

In Zanuttini's perspective, these are the core properties of Negative Concord thus undoubtedly identifying standard French as a Negative Concord language. French is in fact a particularly interesting Negative Concord language as it offers very strong evidence supporting the need for a distinction between N-words and NPIs. Indeed, distinct N-words and NPIs are concurrently in use in this language, offering the luxury of an easy comparison. It is thus interesting to observe that there are, in fact, rather few contexts that are common to NPIs and N-words in French. N-words and NPIs are both licensed in contexts such as (16) in which the N-word is locally c-commanded by another one as well as marginally in a few yes/no question contexts and in the sentential complement of the preposition *sans* 'without'. In such contexts, the N-words *personne* or *rien* and the NPIs *quique ce soit* 'anyone' or *quoique ce soit* 'anything' are essentially interchangeable with no truth conditional difference in meaning.

- (16) a. Il n'a **jamais rien/quoique ce soit** dit à **personne/quique ce soit**
He has never said anything to anyone
b. Qui a jamais rencontré **personne/quique ce soit** d'intéressant ici
Who has ever met anyone interesting here ?
c. Il est parti sans penser à **rien/quoique ce soit**
He left without thinking about anything

However, in other typical NPI licensing contexts, such as the complement of adversative predicates (17a), comparatives (17b), counterfactuals (17c) and the downward entailing complement of universal quantifiers (17d), French N-words characteristically contrast with NPIs in their interpretations, being generally negative and thus synonymous with English negative quantifiers, not with NPIs:

- (17) a. Je ne crois pas qu'il (n')invitera **personne/quelque ce soit**
 I don't believe that he will invite no one/anyone
 b. Elle est plus intelligente que ??**personne/quiconque** que je connaisse
 She is more intelligent than ??no one/ anyone I know
 c. Si vous/ ne parlez à **personne/** parlez à **quelque ce soit**, je vous renvoie
 If you speak to no one/anyone, I will fire you
 d. Toute **personne** qui n' a **rien/** a **quelque ce soit** à dire aura l'occasion de le faire
 Everyone who has nothing/anything to say will have the opportunity to do so

In sum, French N-words manifests the ambiguity characteristic of N-words in many languages. In some cases, they appear to behave like NPIs. In other, they behave as their opposite. There is thus little doubt that French N-words and French NPIs need to be distinguished. A particularly strong evidence of this necessary distinction is provided by the fact that while NPIs, as expected, are licensed by regular French negation (18a), N-words, on the contrary, are largely incompatible with it. Sentences such as (18b) receive either a double negative reading or are simply considered deviant.

- (18) a. Je n'ai **pas** vu **quelque ce soit** aujourd'hui
 I haven't seen anyone today
 b.(??) Je n'ai **pas** vu **personne** aujourd'hui
 I haven't seen no one today

Within the framework of Zanuttini's structural analysis of NC, DeGraff (1993) and M&V (1993,1994) have suggested that this property, which distinguishes French from HC (cf. (1)), be understood as stemming from the syntactic status of the negator *pas*. As Pollock (1989) has argued, the French negator *pas*, in contrast to the main negative particle of HC is clearly a specifier, not a head. Evidence supporting this conclusion include the fact that *pas* can be modified as in (19a) and can appear in the specifier of various constituents to express constituent negation as in (19b):

- (19) a. Jean ne m'a [même pas] appelé
 John has even not called me
 b. Qui a fait ça ? pas moi
 Who did that? not me

But the most important evidence comes from its interaction with verb movement. A well established property of heads is that they block the movement of other heads (cf. the Head Movement Constraint of Travis 1984). As Emonds (1978) and Pollock (1989) have argued French tensed verbs move overtly to the head of INFL.⁵ Since this movement crosses over the negation, *pas* must be a head, as it never interferes. Pollock (1989) has further suggested that *pas* is directly base generated in the specifier of the French negative constituent⁶. Building on this assumption, M&V (1994) propose that the incompatibility between N-words and

⁵ See Déprez and Pierce (1993) for supporting evidence for the existence of verb movement in French from first language acquisition.

⁶ The proposal that *pas* is the based generated Spec NegP raises, however, a number of significant problems. First, the head initial character of French predicts that *pas* should precede the head *ne*, but this order is in fact never possible. Pollock proposes that the actual position of *ne* derives from its cliticization to a functional projection above NEGP, a proposal which examples such as (i) noted in Muller (1991) and discussed in Hirschbuhler & Labelle (1992) challenge:

- (i) Jean a téléphoné pour ne pas que Marie s'inquiète
 John called for NE not that Mary worries
 John called so that Mary would not worry

In (i) both *ne* and *pas* precede the complementizer *que*. To capture this possible order, the cliticization proposal requires to posit a functional projection between the preposition and the NegP dominating the complementizer. But as Hirschbuhler and Labelle (1993) argue, there are no independent reason to assume the existence of such a functional projection and some reasons to assume that such a proposal is misguided. This raises serious doubts on the cliticization option. Further doubts arise when considering cliticization in standard infinitives. As (ii) shows, both *ne* and *pas* must precede all other clitics in standard infinitives:

the negation *pas* illustrated in (18b) can be understood as a direct consequence of this property. They suggest that when the Specifier of NegP is occupied by the negative particle *pas* at S-structure, subsequent movement of N-words to this position and, hence absorption, is ruled out. On this view, rather than being a problem (18b) is taken to provide solid confirmation that N-words must move to the Spec of NegP.

The overall picture which emerges from the data reviewed so far is that French and Haitian Negative Concord are essentially parallel phenomena differing only in one respect, the syntactic status of their main negative particle. On this view, despite the different status of *pa/pas* in both languages, the superstrate inheritance hypothesis remains plausible. All there is to the passage of one system to the other is the change in the syntactic status of the negation marker. As we will see, however, this unified picture quickly falls apart on closer inspection of the properties of NC in these two languages and in other French dialects and French based Creoles. There are in fact striking differences among these NC systems which a unified structural analysis involving obligatory A' movement of N-words is neither able to predict, nor to explain. First, comparative evidence from other French dialects and Creoles demonstrate that the syntactic status of the negative particle, as a Spec or a head, and the configuration of the NegP constituent, fails to have predicting value as to the possible co-occurrence of negation with N-words. This, in turn, raises serious doubts that this distinction is at the basis of the difference between French and Haitian. Second, the locality conditions on the relation between the assumed head of NegP and its dependent A' specifier are shown to differ in French and HC, a result unexpected if N-words undergo the same type of obligatory A' movement to Spec NegP. Third, these locality conditions also differ in important respects from those manifested in the standard case of A' movement. This is unexpected under a structural analysis given the parallel drawn between Negative Concord and *wh*-movement. We argue that a unified account of NC in terms of the structural analysis leaves most of the observed differences unaccounted for and is thus not desirable. Furthermore, we show that the difference observed in the locality conditions and the relation between N-words clearly undermine any superstrate inheritance account of HC Negative Concord.

(ii) a. Jean a décidé de ne pas le lui dire, b.* Jean a décidé de ne le lui pas dire (John decided not to tell her) What (ii) shows is that *ne* behaves like no other clitics in the language.

Another problematic example is provided by the interesting case of Negative Concord in Louisiana French Creole. In similarity with HC, the presence of negation is obligatory for N-words licensing in all positions in Louisiana French Creole⁹.

- (22) a. Mo te **pa** wa **pe(r)son**
I did not see anyone
b. On dire zot don **pa** mwe **a(r)ien**
One would think that they want to give me nothing
c. **A(r)jen** gruj **pa**
Nothing moves

Yet in contrast to HC, there are strong evidence that in this Creole negation is a specifier. An important difference between these two Creoles concern their respective status with regard to verb movement. While HC never permits verb movement, verb movement is systematically available in Louisiana French Creole as convincingly argued by Rottet (1993) and it clearly takes place over negation. As shown in (23), negation cannot occurs after a main verb in HC:

- (23) a. *Li vini pa He is not coming
b. *Li manze pa He does not eat

Moreover as first noted by Magloire-Holly (1982) it must always precedes all the Tense Mood Aspect markers whose fixed relative order is illustrated in (24).

- (24) negation tense mood aspect

Finally as illustrated in (25) negation is largely in complementary distribution with the element *se* in nominal copular constructions (DeGraff 1993, Déprez & Vinet 1990, 1991, 1992)

- (25) a. Jean se yon doktè John is a doctor
b. Jan pa yon doktè John is not a doctor

In all these respects, Louisiana French Creole, contrasts with HC. As shown in (26) the Louisiana French negation *pa* occurs systematically after main verbs when the verb is in the short stem form or in the imperative and systematically and before it when the verb is in the long stem form or past tense (Rottet (1993) Newman (1985)):

- (26) a. Mo bwa pa dive a'. Mo pa bwa dive
I don't drink wine I haven't drunk wine
b. Mo mozh pa b'. Mo pa monzhe
I don't eat I haven't eaten (Rottet p 5)
- (27) a. Parl pa merike b. Li vjen pa nopli
Don't speak English He does not come

This provides clear evidence of the existence of verb movement which is further supported by the relative order of the TMA markers which precisely differs from that of HC in that negation systematically follows the tense and the mood markers:

- (28) tense mood negation aspect
te va/a pa ape
sa ano pi

Finally note that the negation can follow the presentative copula *se* or a co-occurring TMA marker in copular sentences, contrasting here again with the order found in HC:

- (29) a. Si le Bla se pa gen en fom neg e en fom blo, nuzot ne setel kom le mun don Lafrik
If whites had not had a black woman and a white woman we would have been just like Africans

⁹ " Avec les pronoms négatifs, *person* 'personne', *arjen* 'rien', et *pa en* 'aucun' l'emploi de la particule négative *pa* est obligatoire" p328 (With the negative pronouns *no one*, *nothing* and *no*, the use of the negative particle is necessary.) Unless otherwise specified, examples of Louisiana French Creole are taken from Newman (1987).

Since verb movement clearly takes place over negation in Louisiana French, it follows that the negative particle cannot be a head but must be a specifier. Additional evidence for this conclusion are found in the fact that negation seems modifiable by an adverb as in (30) and can occur in the Spec of NP in as in (31)

- (30) Li te selmo pa kone ke RICHARD te o vilaz
He did even not know that Richard was in the village
- (31) Li te p(a)' ole [pa en don je]
He did not want a single one of them

Together with verb movement, (30) & (31) provide solid evidence that *pa* in Louisiana Creole is a specifier. This demonstrate that negative morphemes with a specifier status are not just optionally compatible with N-words. In some languages, a negative specifier is necessary to their licensing¹⁰.

The facts reviewed above thus demonstrate that the syntactic status of negation cannot be taken as the factor determining its ability to license or block Negative Concord. There are languages such as French in which negation is a specifier blocking NC and languages such as Louisiana French Creole in which negation is a specifier required for Concord. There are also languages in which negative heads license NC. So what about languages in which heads block it? If Zanuttini (1991) is correct in analyzing the contracted negation as a head, standard English may in fact illustrate the case in which Concord is blocked both by a head and by specifiers, respectively *n't* and the negative quantifiers *nobody*¹¹.

If apparently less common in NC constructions, cases in which a head acts as a blocker for absorption are clearly instantiated in the constructions which have inspired the absorption analysis of Negative Concord, namely multiple questions. Recall that Zanuttini's absorption proposal for NC is based on Higinbotham and May (1981) proposal for the analysis of multiple questions. A comparison of how heads and Specs interact in such cases is therefore of relevance here. Turning to multiple questions, we observe that the central cases of absorption in this construction involve relations in which wh-specifiers licenses in situ constituent of the same nature as in (32):

- (32) Who saw what

X⁰ question operators, which are heads of interrogative complementizers, systematically fail to license in situ questions and absorption. This is most apparent in embedded question where operators such as *if* in English or *si* in French, although marked with wh-features since they satisfy the required wh subcategorisation of verbs like *wonder* cannot license in situ wh-constituents. That is despite being appropriate +wh heads, these can still not license in situ wh-terms. Here again we observe that the X' status of the operator is of little relevance, since the question operator *whether* generally assumed to be a specifier, manifest the exact same blocking effect as its head counterpart *if*¹².

- (33) a. *I wonder if John saw which man?
b. *I wonder whether John saw which man

As (34) shows, this property is also verified in HC where the yes/no question operator *Eske*, and *si* fail to license in situ constituent questions while wh specifiers permit it:

- (34) a. *Èske Jan te wè ki nèg
Q John past see which man
b. *M mande m si Jan wè ki nèg?
I ask me if John see which man

¹⁰ Other languages which manifest a postverbal specifier negation either compatible or required for N-word licensing are Valdostain and Modern Central Occitan (See Zanuttini 1991).

¹¹ Note incidentally, that if taken literally, it seems to me that the Neg Criterion predicts that Standard English should manifest negative concord, since it has negative XP and according to the Neg Criterion, all negative XPs must obligatorily undergo LF movement to Spec NegP.

¹² It is important not to get confused by terminology here. As in the semantic literature, I will use the term operator here for element who do not have a restricted quantification like question operator and negation operator. Terminologically then, wh-elements are not operators here. The point made here is no different if one wishes to assume that both wh-constituents and the negation and question operators are 'operators'. The point is that since they differ in nature they cannot absorb.

- c. *Ki fanm ki te wè ki nèg*
Which woman saw which man

From this brief comparison with multiple questions, two important conclusions can be drawn. First, we note that there must be an important difference between the nature of the Spec-Head relation involved in multiple questions and the nature of Spec-Head relation involved in Negative Concord languages in which negation (whether a head or a specifier) is required to license Negative Concord. In the former, a +wh operator whether a head or a specifier, is incapable of licensing any dependent XP. In the latter, the exact opposite is true, a +negative head i.e. the negative operator is needed to license dependent N-words. As shown in (35) indeed, HC N-words despite being XPs do not by themselves have the ability to license each other independently of negation:

- (35) **Pèsonn wè anyen*
No one saw nothing

This contrast strongly with both French Negative Concord and multiple questions in which non operator relations are the only ones ever permitted. Descriptively speaking, we observe that while both French Negative Concord and multiple questions allow absorption among constituents of the same semantic nature, they always disallow absorption of an operator while the exact reverse is true in languages like HC.

According to Higinbotham and May (1981) the blocking properties of operators in multiple questions stems from semantic restrictions on absorption. Absorption, they argue, is only possible when the quantifiers involved are similar in their semantic and syntactic properties. On this view, the required similarity does not obtain between wh-elements and questions operators simply because they differ in their semantic nature: only the former are restricted quantifiers which introduces operator variable dependencies, the latter are not. This is sufficient in their view to predict that absorption cannot take place in examples like (32) (33) so that wh in situ will never be licensed in such contexts. That is absorption between operator and restricted quantifiers is always impossible independently of the syntactic status of the operator.

If this proposal is correct note that it raises a serious problem for any analysis which appeals to the same process of semantic absorption to account for Negative Concord languages in which N-words can co-occur with or must be licensed by negation proper. Clearly indeed, the semantic restriction which bans the absorption of an operator with a wh-term on the basis of their semantic differences cannot be assumed to be in effect in these languages. This type of Negative Concord constructions (found in Italian as well) manifests in fact the exact opposite property. This central distinction can clearly not be accounted for if both constructions are assumed to undergo basically the same semantic process of absorption as is the case in the structural analysis of Negative Concord.

To sum up, consideration of further crosslinguistic data has demonstrated that the ability for negation proper to enter into a concord relation is not determined by the syntactic status of the negative morpheme as a head or as a specifier. This finding, which divorces an important crosslinguistic variation among concordant languages from the structural make up of the NegP Projection, essentially robs the structural analysis of Negative Concord of most of its crosslinguistics predictability. It demonstrates that the blocking effect of negation on Negative Concord is not related to the blocking effect that filled specifiers generally have on overt movement but rather to the general impossibility of operators to undergo absorption with restricted quantifiers. It thus provides no supporting evidence that LF movement of N-word to Spec NegP is relevant for an account of Negative Concord. A brief comparison of Negative Concord with multiple question has further demonstrated that the notion of absorption assumed to be common to both constructions under the structural analysis is in fact very different. In multiple questions, absorption is defined as a semantic operation constrained by a uniformity requirement among the absorbed quantifiers thus generally excluding absorption with operators. This, however, cannot be transposed generally to Negative Concord, since in some type of concordant languages such as HC and Louisiana French Creole, the negation operator is at the very center of the phenomenon of Negative Concord, while in others such as French it is excluded from it. Typically, in languages of the first type, Concord between two N-words is not possible without a negative operator, while in languages of the second type Concord between two N-words is the only one ever allowed. The third type of languages (such as Italian & Spanish) in which apparently both are permitted is perhaps best interpreted as a mixture of two previous systems, a possibility I explore in work in progress.

3. Negative Concord and A' dependencies

As noted above, the structural analysis of Negative Concord shows many similarities with the standard analysis of wh-movement. There is a point by point resemblance between the Neg-Criterion and the wh-criterion which enforces movement in both cases. Moreover, like the Specifier position of NEGP, the proposed landing site

of N-words, the specifier position of COMP is assumed to be an A' position (Zanuttini 1991, Rizzi 1990)¹³. These similarities lead us to expect clear parallelisms in the syntactic properties of these two constructions. In this section, we probe further into the properties of Negative Concord through an examination of the locality conditions which governs the relation between NEG-P and N-words in an effort to determine whether A' LF movement is indeed involved. Here, again, we observe striking differences between the two types of concordant languages already distinguished above.

3.1 The locality restrictions on HC Negative Concord

In similarity with wh-movement, the relation between the negative head *pa* and an N-word in HC is clearly unbounded.

- (36) M pa kwè Mari di Jan pale ak pèsonn
I don't believe that Mary said that John spoke to anyone

It furthermore appears to be sensitive to the subject condition and to the adjunct condition:

- (37) i. Subject condition
a. *Renmen Jan renmen pèsonn pa nève Mari
The fact that John loves anyone does not bother Mary
c. *Zanmi pèsonn lan pa envite Jan
The friend of anyone did not invite John
ii. Adjunct condition
a. *Jan pa te rele Mari apre li fin parle ak pèsonn
John Neg past called Mari after he finished speaking to anyone
John did not call Mari after he finished speaking to anyone

This, however, is the extent to which the locality conditions are alike. In other regards, indeed, they are quite distinct. A first distinction can be observed when other islands such as the wh-island are considered. As (38) shows wh-islands generally prevent wh-extractions in HC:

- (38) *Kimoun ou te mande Mari kouman makout la touye ?
Who you past ask Mary kouman macoute the killed
Who did you ask Mary how the macoute killed ?

They have, however, no effect on the relation between *pa* and an embedded N-word. As (41) shows, indeed, an embedded N-word can be licensed by a matrix negation which occurs outside a wh-island.

- (39) M pa te mande Mari kouman Jan te touye pèsonn
I did not ask Mary how John killed anyone

The grammaticality of (39) is troubling for a movement account of Haitian Negative Concord. As its translation indicates, (39) has the single negative meaning expected under Concord. Within the structural analysis of NC, this means that the embedded N-word should have moved from the object position to the Spec of the matrix NegP, thereby crossing the wh-island. Clearly then, that (39) is possible shows a marked difference between wh-movement and N-word licensing which we can characterize as follows: while overt wh-movement observes Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990), Haitian concord does not.

Yet another difference between wh-movement and NC is manifest when we further consider subject extractions. As shown in (40), the extraction of a subject across a wh-complementizer is clearly excluded in HC.

- (40) *Kimoun ou te mande Mari ki kote ale
Who did you ask Mary where went

In contrast, however, we see in (41) that N-words can be licensed in an embedded subject position by a negation in the matrix clause:

¹³ Rizzi (1990) in particular argues that intervening Spec NEG-P create Relativized Minimality effects for A' dependencies.

- (41) M pa te mande Mari ki kote pèsonn ale
I did not ask Mari where anybody went

Thus while overt A'-movement is clearly sensitive to the ECP, the covert movement of N-words is not¹⁴.

The facts reviewed so far reveal that HC Negative Concord obeys neither Relativized Minimality nor the ECP. It thus appears that it does not manifest characteristic properties of A' movement save for its unbounded character and its sensitivity to strong islands. Clearly unboundedness cannot in itself be taken as evidence in support of the movement of N-words since it is also a property of NPIs licensing, generally assumed not to involve LF movement (Kayne 1984). As argued by Cinque (1991), moreover, sensitivity to strong island is not a reliable diagnostic of movement either since there are non-movement dependencies which also manifest it. As already argued by Ross (1967), NPI licensing is precisely an instance of such a dependency, subject to strong island conditions but not involving movement.

So far then, there appears to be no strong reason to assume that N-words must undergo LF movement in HC and a few against it. However, the observed differences between overt wh-movement and Negative Concord do not in fairness provide compelling arguments against a movement analysis of NC as it is in principle possible, even if a priori undesirable, that overt movement and covert LF movement manifest different properties. We should thus be careful in our comparison of Negative Concord with standard A' movement to also take into account the properties of LF wh-movement assumed to occur in multiple question constructions (May (1985)). Multiple question constructions manifest properties which are at first glance closer to the one just observed for Haitian NC. In particular, like NC, multiple questions constructions manifest both apparent violations of Relativized Minimality and the ECP. Consider (42)

- (42) a. Who knows where Mary bought what ?
b. John knows where Mary bought her car, Bill knows where she bought her dress.

As noted by Lasnik and Saito (1992), multiple questions such as (42a) allows list answers which involve pairing between the wh-subject in the matrix and the embedded wh-object (42b). In the terms of May's theory, such pair list answers requires that the embedded wh-object moves to the matrix COMP at LF to undergo absorption with the subject wh-element in its Spec, crossing the wh-island in the intermediate CP. Thus LF wh-movement and HC N-word licensing are parallel in their apparent violation of Relativized Minimality. (43) further shows that LF wh-movement also manifest violations of the ECP:

- (43) a. Who knows where who bought what ?
b. John knows where Mary bought her car and Bill knows where Peter bought his boat

Questions such as (43a) allow list answers pairing the subject of the embedded clause with the subject of the matrix clause (43b). This requires an LF movement of the embedded who to the specifier of the matrix COMP for absorption. Examples such as (43) are generally less acceptable than (42), but they nevertheless remain far better than examples such as (44) in which a subject has been extracted overtly.

- (44) *Who do you know where bought what ?

Clearly then, if multiple questions are assumed to undergo LF movement, the conclusion that overt subject movement and covert subject movement differ seems difficult to escape. There are of course several possible avenues to pursue in this regard. A possible but unattractive one would attribute different properties to the two types of movements. Another one, no doubt simpler, would just be to give up the assumption that movement is taking place in these constructions. Analyses of multiple questions that do not presuppose LF movement have recently been proposed by Chomsky (1992), Hornstein (1994) and Reinhard (1993)¹⁵. Each argued that a non-movement approach to multiple question is more in the spirit of the Minimalist Framework of Chomsky (1992 & following). If this is correct, then the similarities observed between HC Negative Concord and multiple questions with respect

¹⁴ But see DeGraff (1992, 1993) for disagreement on this conclusion and Déprez (1992, 1993) for additional supporting evidence.

¹⁵ To quote Chomsky: The LF rule that associates the in-situ wh-phrase with the wh-phrase in SPEC-CP need not be construed as an instance of Move- α If so, the LF rule need satisfy no one of the conditions on movement. There has long been evidence that conditions on movement do not hold for multiple questions. (Chomsky 1992 p 36)

to apparent violations of both Relativized Minimality and the ECP suggests that a non-movement analysis of Negative Concord in HC may also be on the right track. This is indeed what I will propose in section 4.

To sum up, this section has shown that the locality constraints manifested in HC Negative Concord are not parallel to those of overt A' movement: while the former is sensitive to Relativized Minimality effects and to the ECP, the latter violate both. There seems to be more similarities between Negative Concord constructions and multiple questions constructions in this respect. However, these similarities concern properties distinct from those of overt movement, and thus provide no support for a movement analysis. Furthermore, as argued in the previous section, multiple questions and HC Negative Concord differ fundamentally with respect to the licensing of absorption.

3.2 French Negative Concord and A' movement

In a paper that proposes an analysis of French Negative Concord in terms of Zanuttini's model, Moritz & Valois (1994) have recently argued that French Negative Concord manifests locality constraints that are largely similar to those arising with overt wh-movement. First, as (45) shows, the ne ...N-word relation appears sensitive to the Subject Condition (45a) and the Adjunct condition (45b):

- (45) a. *Inviter **personne** n'a été facile
 To invite nobody NEG was easy
 b. *Fred désire ne rester en ville pour aider **personne**
 Fred wishes to NEG remain in town to help no one

In this respect, French Neg Concord parallels both overt wh-movement and HC Negative Concord. As is quickly apparent, however, this parallel does not extend any farther. First as shown in (46), French NC contrasts with HC in its apparent sensitivity to wh-island or RM effects:

- (46) *Je **ne** me suis demandé comment rencontrer **personne**
 I NEG wondered how to meet no one

This difference raises a problem for a general movement account of Negative Concord. If N-words moved to the A' specifier of a NegP in both French and HC, parallel locality effects are expected. The differing sensitivity to RM effects thus entails either that N-words move in only one of these languages or that movement is to a different position in each. A further difference observed by Kayne (1984), is that French NC also appears to manifest characteristic subject/object asymmetries:

- (47) a. Je n'ai exigé qu'ils arrêtent **personne**
 I NE have requested that they arrest no one
 b. *Je n'ai exigé que **personne** soit arrêté
 I NE have requested that no one be arrested

As shown above, HC NC is not sensitive to such ECP effects. (45) to (47) combined suggest that French and HC negative concord differ with respect to movement with only French N-words undergoing A' LF movement while Haitian N-words remain in situ. As I will argue, however, this conclusion is not correct. The apparent parallelism between A' movement and French NC in fact dissolves under further scrutiny.

Let us note, first, that, as argued by M & V themselves, neither (45) nor (47) provide conclusive evidence for the LF movement of N-words to Spec NegP. First, as is now well known, contrasts such as (47) do not obtain for all speakers (see in particular Rouveret (1987), Muller (1991)). Since such divergence in judgments rarely arises when the ECP is concerned, it is likely that something else is at stake in (47). Furthermore as Cinque (1991) has argued sensitivity to strong island is not a reliable diagnostic for movement. This conclusion is further supported here by the observation that French NPIs, which do not move (Kayne 1984) are excluded in the exact same strong islands contexts as the N-words:

- (48) a. *Inviter quique ce soit n'a pas été facile
 To invite anybody has not been easy
 b. *Fred désire ne pas rester en ville pour aider quique ce soit
 Fred wishes to not remain in town to help anyone

This leaves only the sensitivity to wh-islands. As I will show, however, this last property falls out of a more important difference between wh-movement and French Negative Concord that concerns their respective

boundedness. While unboundedness is clearly a defining characteristic of A' movement, I will show that French Negative Concord does not manifest it. A first evidence of this difference is visible in (49) where French NC contrast with wh-movement in failing to be licensed across an indicative tensed sentence boundary, even in the context of a bridge verb.

- (49) a. Qui as-tu dit que Jean a promis d'inviter?
 Who did you say that John promise to invite
 b. *Tu n'as dit que Jean a promis d'inviter personne
 You NE said that John promis to invite no one

(49) could, however, follow, from Zanuttini's proposal that Negative Concord is an A' dependency strongly sensitive to the Tense Island Condition (TIC). That this characterization is not strong enough, however, is shown by the clear contrast in (50) between sentences in which N-words are separated from *ne* by untensed clause boundary and sentences in which they are clausemates. As (50) shows, French NC is not simply constrained by the TIC but rather essentially bounded in clear contrast to wh-movement overt or covert in the exact same infinitival contexts:

- (50) (i) a. *Je n'ai regretté d'avoir pu rencontrer personne
 I NE regretted to have been able to meet no one
 b. J'ai regretté de n'avoir pu rencontrer personne
 I regretted to NE have been able to meet no one
 c. Qui as-tu regretté d'avoir rencontré / Qui a regretté de rencontrer qui ?
 Who did you regret to have met/ Who regretted to have met who
 (ii) a. * Je n'ai suggéré de rien leur dire
 I NE suggested to tell them nothing
 b. J'ai suggéré de ne rien leur dire
 I suggested to NE tell them nothing
 c. Qu' as-tu suggéré de leur dire / Qui a suggéré de leur dire quoi ?
 What did you suggest to tell them/ who suggested to tell them what ?

Stronger evidence of the clause bounded character of French Negative Concord comes from considerations of interpretation. As shown in (51), the single negation reading characteristic of Negative Concord is not available when two N-words are not clause mates. This is made clear by the meaning difference that arises in the b examples when a true NPI is substituted for the correspondent N-word. The meanings of the a. sentences is in fact equivalent to that of the c sentences in which NPIs are licensed by an additional embedded negation. This parallel clearly shows that the former must involve two logical negations.

- (51)i. a. Personne n'a suggéré de rien faire.
 No one suggested doing nothing.
 b. Personne n'a suggéré de faire quoique ce soit
 No one suggested doing anything
 c. Personne n'a suggéré de ne pas faire quoique ce soit
 No one suggested not doing anything
 ii a. Personne n'a demandé à Marie de rien manger
 No one asked Mary to eat nothing
 b. Personne n'a demandé à Marie de manger quoique ce soit
 No one asked Mary to eat anything
 c. Personne n'a demandé à Marie de ne pas manger quoique ce soit
 No one asked Mary not to eat anything

The fact that such sentences cannot have a Negative Concord reading is clearly unexpected under an LF A' movement analysis, since nothing should prevent movement of embedded N-words to the matrix Spec NegP in such cases. (51) thus provides strong evidence of the clause bounded character of French NC.

Recognizing that French NC is clause bounded has a number of important consequences. First it is clear that in this respect French NC differs from HC NC. This important difference puts yet another nail in the coffin of a unified Zanuttini-style analysis of NC for both languages. Second, this property also clearly distinguishes French NC from standard A'-movement. Note, in particular, that all the island sensitivity effects noted above are now simply subsumed under the clause bounded property. It is indeed hardly surprising that French NC should manifest strong island or wh-island effects since both are cross clausal dependencies.

There are however, well-known exceptions to the clause boundedness of French NC. As I will argue, however, rather than endangering the conclusion that French N-word dependencies are clause bounded, the precise character of these exceptions provide rather strong support for it. As a preliminary, it is important to note that exceptions to the clause boundedness of French NC do not all have the same character. Some involve the association of a matrix *ne* with an embedded N-words across a tensed sentence such as in (52a). These are always rather marginal, only occurring in learned literary style and always requiring a subjunctive.¹⁶ Moreover, they show clear lexical variations, being marginal with *personne*, but generally excluded with other N-words such as *rien* and *jamais*:

- (52) a.? Je n'exige que tu fasses sortir personne
 I require that you make no one go out
 b.* Je n'exige que tu parles de rien
 I require that you speak about nothing

More importantly, as shown in (53), N-words in such contexts cannot receive the interpretation of a single negation that is characteristic of Negative Concord. Even for speakers who accept (47), (53) is interpreted as two independent negatives as the difference of meaning arising with a true NPI shows:

- (53) Rien/Personne n'exige que tu vois personne/ qui que ce soit
 Nothing/No one requires that you see no one/ anyone

This systematic double negative reading is clearly unexpected if LF movement of the embedded N-word to the matrix Spec NegP were possible. This suggests that LF movement can in fact not occur in such contexts and that the marginally accepted examples in (47) featuring a dependency between a matrix *ne* and an embedded N-word, are remnants of an earlier stage of the language preserved in learned style.

Other exceptions to the clause boundedness of N-word licensing, however, are of a different nature. These always occur with infinitival complements of modal verbs as in (54a, a'), of restructuring verbs such as *vouloir/souhaiter* as in (54b), of causatives or perception verbs as in (54c) and in small clause complements as in (55) and are judged quite natural even in an informal style.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|--|
| (54) | Modals | |
| | a. Il n'a pu/du voir personne | a' On ne peut/doit parler de rien ici |
| | He could/should not see anyone | One can't/mustn't talk about anything here |
| | Restructuring V | Causative V |
| | b. Il ne veut/souhaite voir personne | c. Il ne l'ont fait/vu parler à personne |
| | He wants/wishes to see no one | They did not make/seem him talk to anyone |
| (55) | Je ne considère personne stupide | I don't consider anyone stupid |
| | Il ne trouve rien à son gout | He finds nothing to his taste |

All of these contexts, however, involve infinitival complements which are crosslinguistically known to manifest relaxed transparency to otherwise strictly bounded phenomena. In most of Romance (including earlier stages of French) these are precisely the contexts which license clitic climbing. These are also the contexts which are more permissive in Germanic dialects with bounded scrambling and in Slavic languages such as Polish and Serbo-Croatian with respect to scrambling, anaphoric dependencies, scope and Negative Concord dependencies. In short, there is solid crosslinguistic evidence that such contexts are precisely the ones in which otherwise strictly bounded dependencies are allowed to appear. As will be shown in section 4, other bounded dependencies such as quantifiers scope and Leftward-tous are also relaxed in these contexts in French. Clearly, then, the fact that French Negative Concord is possible in precisely the contexts in which typical bounded relations are permitted provides in fact strong support for its bounded character. Further supporting this conclusion, is evidence showing that these cases contrast with (51) above in permitting a concordant reading between two N-words:

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (56) | a. Personne n'a pu/du parler à personne | No one could/should speak to anyone |
| | b. Personne n'a rien voulu dire à personne | No one wanted to say anything to anyone |

¹⁶ The exceptional character of such sentences has often been noted in the literature. For instance, Hirschbuhler quoted in Dekyspotter notes that such examples never occur in corporuses of natural speech samples. Muller p 343 notes that 'l'enchaînement des Neg dans les complétives produit des phrases peu acceptables' (embedding of N-words in complement sentences result in poorly acceptable sentences)

- | | |
|--|---|
| c. Personne n'a rien trouvé digne de son intérêt | No one found anything worthy or of interest |
| d. Personne ne l'a fait/vu parler à personne | No one made/saw him speak to anyone |

To sum up, the evidence reviewed in this section shows that French Negative Concord and standard A'-movement manifest fundamentally different properties. If French Negative Concord appears partially sensitive to locality constraints similar to those of Wh-movement¹⁷, it is only because it is in fact far more constrained. Contrasting with wh-movement, it is clause bounded. We therefore conclude, contra M&V (1995), that available evidence does not support the hypothesis that French N-word must undergo LF movement to an A' Spec NegP¹⁸. If so, neither the locality restrictions nor the blocking effect of negation provide supporting evidence for a structural analysis of French Negative Concord.

Summarizing, section 3 has shown that a closer look at the properties of HC and French Negative Concord reveals profound differences between the two systems. The central differences observed are 1) that HC NC is unbounded while French NC is not; 2) that HC permits Relativized Minimality violations while French NC does not; 3) that HC NC permits apparent ECP violations while French NC does not. These properties distinguish French and Haitian NC from each other and from standard A' movement. Thus, the differences we have here observed between Negative Concord in HC and in French are not predicted by a structural analysis of NC in terms of A' movement of N-words to the specifier of Neg. These differences further weigh heavily against a unified analysis of these two systems of Negative Concord, and thus contribute in refuting an account of the Haitian concord system that would view it as resulting from superstrate influence. These findings suggest rather that two distinct analyses of the concord phenomenon are needed. The danger, however, is that two fully distinct analyses would fail to account for the similarities noted in section 1. The challenge, then, is to propose an analysis which accounts for both the similarities and the differences between these two systems of Negative Concord. Our proposal in section 4 is an attempt to reach this goal.

4. An alternative analysis of Negative Concord.

We have seen in the previous sections that there are serious arguments against a unified analysis of French and Haitian Negative Concord in terms of A' LF movement to Spec NegP enforced by the Negative Criterion. The central arguments against such an analysis rest on the fact that neither type of NC manifests interpretative conditions or locality restrictions characteristic of A' movement. In contrast to wh-movement, NC in HC permits operator absorption and violates both RM and ECP effects. French NC on the other hand is essentially clause bounded. Note, however, that although the clause boundedness of French negative concord clearly distinguishes it from both standard A' movement and HC Negative Concord, this property does not eliminate the possibility that movement is involved. There are indeed other types of both overt and covert instances of movement such as A-movement and QR, which like French Negative Concord, have a bounded character. Within the Minimalist Program of Chomsky (1993), it has been proposed by Hornstein (1994) and Lasnik (1994) that QR be in fact reanalyzed as involving LF A-movement to the specifiers of AGR-S and AGR-O projections. This proposal builds on Chomsky (1989) proposal that Case involves an LF Spec-Head relation within an AGR node. Simplifying somewhat, the idea is that if NP must undergo LF raising for reasons other than scope, the scope relation can then be read off the resulting structures without requiring further (non-morphologically motivated) movement¹⁹. One of the most attractive features of this

¹⁷ Note that in any event, the apparent sensitivity of N-word dependencies to wh-island taken by M&V as providing support for the LF movement of N-words to Spec NegP is in fact very surprising in this perspective. It is well known indeed that French wh-movement of arguments is usually quite acceptable across wh-islands, especially out of infinitival clauses (Sportiche 1981). Thus, if N-words did undergo A' movement, we would expect a similar suspension of wh-island effects. The fact that this suspension does not arise clearly argues that what has been misanalyzed as sensitivity to wh-island is in fact simply another clear effect of the boundedness of N-words dependencies.

¹⁸ M&V 1995 have given another argument for the movement of N-words based on the distribution of [de NPs] in French. In an earlier version of this paper, a full response to this argument was included which for space reasons was left out. We showed: 1) That even if correct, M&V's argument did not entail that N-words A' move to Spec Neg. 2) There is an alternative analysis of M&V's facts, first proposed by Kayne (1968) in which *ne* itself licenses the [de NP] in examples like: *Lucie n'a donné de livres à personne* (Lucy gave books to no one). If so such examples provide no argument for LF movement of N-words. We provided independent evidence for this alternative which are repeated in forthcoming work.

¹⁹ Although Case is enforced for all NPs this of course does not mean that all NPs undergo QR. Chomsky's general assumption about movement is that it leaves a copy. Interpretation considerations will determine which copy are

reanalysis of QR is that it correctly predicts a common observation which had long remained mysterious, regarding the clause bounded character of QR.

In this section, I outline an alternative analysis of Negative Concord which builds on this proposal. I will first present arguments linking French Negative Concord with QR and A-movement and then propose an analysis of Negative Concord in which movement is motivated not by Spec/head agreement and the necessity to form a constituent with a Negative head but by the semantic interpretation of N-words. Following Ladusaw (1991), I argue that N-words are indefinite terms. More precisely, I will propose that N-words are weak terms (Milsark (1974) which can be of two types, one akin to numeral terms (French) and the other akin to bare indefinite plurals (HC). Both can receive two distinct interpretations, a strong (or presuppositional) interpretation and a weak (or cardinal) interpretation. Following Diesing's (1992) approach, I propose that when N-words are strong indefinites, they undergo QR (here LF movement to spec AGR) and are interpreted as part of the restrictive clause of a tripartite structure. When N-words are weak on the other hand, they remain internal to VP and are interpreted within the nuclear scope as cardinal predicates or variables which can be unselectively bound. These different interpretations intertwined with the two types of N-words lead in turn to two different systems of Negative Concord. When strong, N-words which are akin to numeral terms can undergo pair quantifier formation under identity (May 1989) since they have their own quantificational force. When strong, N-words which are akin to bare plurals on the other hand are bound by a negative operator in the restrictive clause, in similarity with generic indefinites bound by a modal operator in Diesing (1992). When weak, N-words which are akin to numerals are cardinal predicates, N-words which are akin to bare plurals are variables which again require binding by a negative operator. These leads two distinct system of Negative Concord, one which involves pair (or n-tuple)quantifier formation and the other unselective binding by a negative operator. I will further propose that languages differ with respect to the interpretation accorded to their N-words and that much of the crosslinguistic differences that we have seen in the previous sections essentially follow from these differences. Finally, I will propose that the difference in interpretation correspond to a difference in the internal structure of N-words which I will ultimately relate to a difference in how languages enact their morphology.

Departing for expository reasons from the structure so far followed, I will begin in this section by developing the analysis of French Negative Concord turning to HC in the second part of the section.

4. 1. A QR analysis of French Negative Concord or N-word movement to Spec AGR:

As we have shown, French N-word licensing is essentially clause bound with, however, a number of exceptions. This apparently capricious behavior of N-words has long been noted to parallel that of another French construction carefully studied by Kayne (1975, 1984) and Milner (1982), the so-called leftward- *tous* construction, which involves the leftward movement of certain bare quantifiers or the floating of an object quantifier to a position preceding VP:

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (57) | Jean a tout vendu
John has everything sold | Jean les a tous vendus
Jean them has all sold (John sold them all) |
|------|---|---|

It has been convincingly argued by Sportiche (1988) that French subject quantifier float is intrinsically linked to A-movement. On this view, subject floated quantifiers (FQs) (*They all left*) are analyzed as quantifiers which are stranded by the movement of an NP. In Déprez (1990), I provide further crosslinguistic evidence that FQs are universally linked to A-movement and that the French leftward object quantifier movement in (57) also shows characteristic properties of A movement. Leftward object quantifier float must be strictly local, even when it is parasitic on non local movement such as relative clause formation. This is illustrated in (56) where we see that the FQ can be stranded to the immediate left of the V, but not in any other positions along the A'chain such as the Spec CP or a position in the matrix clause:

- | | |
|------|---|
| (56) | Ces objets d'arts que Jean a (*tous) dit (*tous) que Marie avait tous vendus
These art objects that John has (all) said (all) that Mary has (all) sold |
|------|---|

Déprez (1990) argues that this distribution can be explained if leftward Q movement involves object shift, i.e. stranding of the Q under A-movement to the specifier of AGR-O, so that the local step is an A-chain, while all other

preserved at LF and which are deleted. QR then corresponds to interpreting the copy external to VP, while its absence correspond to interpreting the copy internal to VP (Hornstein 1994). The various ways of implementing these ideas being of little consequences to our proposal, we will leave them aside and continue to refer to QR as movement to Spec AGR rather than copy deletion.

positions are part of an A' chain, always incompatible with FQs²⁰. (57) further provides evidence of the bounded character of leftward *tous*, showing that leftward movement cannot cross even an infinitival sentence boundary:

- (57) a. *J'ai tout regretté de lire
 I have everything regretted to read
 b. *J'ai tout forcé Jean à lire
 I everything forced John to read
 c. *J' ai tout permis à Jean de lire (Milner 1982)
 I everything allowed John to read

Of particular interest to us, are the exceptions to clause boundedness that Leftward *tous* manifest. Observe in (58) that they involve exactly the same contexts as the one noted for French NC in (54), (55) :

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|--|
| (58) | Modals | |
| | Il a tout pu/du voir | |
| | He could/should see everything | |
| | Restructuring V | Causative V |
| | Il a tout voulu voir | Ils lui ont tout fait/vu dire |
| | He everything wanted to see | They did not make/see him say everything |
| (59) | Je les ai tous considérés stupides | I consider them all stupid |
| | Il a tout trouvé passionnant | He finds everything fascinating |
| | J'ai tout estimé dangereux | I judged everything dangerous |

Exceptions such as these have led Sportiche (1988) to propose that Leftward *tous* is different from subject quantifier float. On his view, the latter instantiates stranding by NP movement, while the former instantiates QR at S-structure (See also Kayne (1984)). Within the Minimalist Program of Chomsky's (1989), the apparent double nature of the Leftward *tous* dependency. i.e. its A-nature argued for by Déprez (1990) and its QR nature find a natural reconciliation, if following, Hornstein (1994) & Lasnik (1994) proposals, we assume that QR involves in fact A-movement to Spec AGR at LF. On this view, Leftward *tous* is overt A-movement to or through Spec AGR-O as proposed in Déprez (1990) and it is also QR, since QR involves LF A-movement to Spec AGR²¹.

Returning now to French NC, the first step in our analysis is to propose that N-words undergo a similar type of QR A-movement²². Motivation for this proposal can be found on the one hand in the fact shown in section 3 that NC manifests the same bounded character as Leftward *tous* and QR and the same exceptions to it as shown in (54) & (55) above, and on the other hand in the fact that at least one N-word, *rien*, is overtly subject to the very process of Leftward movement with all its possibilities and restrictions. That is in short, Leftward *tous* is also Leftward *rien*, one of the chief actor in the Negative Concord saga:

²⁰ In Déprez (1990) I argue that the incompatibility of FQs with A' chains ultimately follows from the Principle of Full Interpretation. As proposed by Chomsky (1989), FI requires intermediate traces of operator variable dependencies to be deleted. Since FQs rely on the presence of a trace (or copy) to provide the domain over which they quantify, they will have no domain if the trace is deleted, thus leading to vacuous quantification. In A-chain, in contrast, traces cannot delete so that the requirement for accessing a domain of quantification is satisfied.

²¹ Further supporting evidence linking Leftward-tous, A-movement and QR is provided by the fact that the scope of ditributive quantifiers can escape clause boundedness in the exact same type of environments. See (1995) manuscript version of this paper and forthcoming work for evidence.

²² M& V argue against a QR analysis on the basis of the ungrammaticality of examples such as (i) with a [de NP] in subject position.

(i) De gens n'ont rien dit à personne.
 Of people have said nothing to no one

They argue that if *personne* or *rien* could undergo QR to an IP adjoined position [de NP] in subject position would be licensed. This objection, which is in any event quite doubtful given the ungrammaticality of examples such as (ii) in which a subject [de NP] is not licensed despite the fact that it is clearly c-commanded by an N-word, has no bearing on our proposed analysis within the Minimalist model assumed here, where QR is not adjunction to IP but movement to Spec AGR.

(ii) *Personne ne pense que [de gens] vont venir
 No one thinks that of people will come

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| (58) | a. *Je n'ai rien regretté de voir | I regretted seeing nothing | |
| | b. *Je n'ai rien suggéré de faire | I suggested to do nothing | |
| (59) | a. Je n'ai rien voulu dire | I wanted to say nothing | (Restructuring V) |
| | b. Je n'ai rien pu faire | I could do nothing | (modal V) |
| | c. On ne lui a rien fait dire | One made him say nothing | (Causative) |
| | d. Il n'a rien trouvé intéressant | He found nothing interesting | (ECM) |

An immediate benefit of the proposal that N-words undergo A-movement to an AGR-Spec (by Spell out for *rien*, at LF for *personne*) is that it provides the first step of an account of the bounded character of French NC. If NC involves A-movement to Spec AGR-O not A' movement to Spec NegP, boundedness is clearly expected²³. What remains to be clarified is the motivation for this movement and how it is implicated in the concordance reading of N-words. We consider each in turn.

As proposed by Zanuttini (1991) N-words are universal negative quantifiers. Within Diesing's model of interpretation adopted here, this assumption, if correct, would suffice to motivate QR, i.e. LF A-movement. Following Heim (1982), Diesing assumes that the interpretation of strong quantifiers always requires the formation of a tripartite structure with an operator, a restrictive clause and a nuclear scope. She further proposes a Mapping Principle which associates the parts of the tripartite structure to a standard clause structure with the restrictive clause mapping into IP and the nuclear scope into VP.

- | | | | |
|------|----------|--------------------|---------------|
| (60) | Every | man x | x left |
| | Operator | restrictive clause | Nuclear Scope |
| | | IP | VP |

Still following Heim (1982), Diesing (1992) further assumes that strong quantifiers always maps onto a restrictive clause while weak quantifiers can be variables inside the nuclear scope where they get bound by an operation of existential closure. This has as a consequence that strong quantifiers must necessarily occur within IP or more generally within the functional structure of a sentence at LF (AGRP in our view), and thus undergo obligatory QR. Weak quantifiers, on the contrary, do not undergo QR and remain inside VP. If N-words are universal quantifiers, as claimed by Zanuttini (1991), they are strong quantifiers and must therefore be mapped into the restrictive clause at LF. This would enforce obligatory QR, i.e. movement of the N-word to Spec AGR. A problem for this assumption, however, is that there are strong evidence which suggest that N-words cannot always be strong quantifiers. As (61) shows, N-words can occur in the French equivalent of 'there constructions' from which universal quantifiers are banned:

- | | | |
|------|--|--------------------------------|
| (61) | Il n'y a personne dans cette maison | There is no one in the house |
| | * Il y a tout le monde dans cette maison | There is everyone in the house |

Since this is Milsark's central test of the weak or strong character of a term, this evidence clearly suggests that French N-words are weak quantifiers, not strong quantifiers and thus they cannot be universals. As noted by Milsark, however, weak quantifiers are ambiguous terms which can receive both a strong and a weak interpretation. In the former, the term ranges over a presupposed set and is specific. In the latter, its range is not presupposed. This ambiguity is illustrated for numeral terms in (62), with (a) permitting a strong reading (=2 out of a know set of books) while (b) is limited to a weak reading indicating strictly a quantity of indeterminate books:

- | | |
|------|---------------------------------------|
| (62) | Two (of these) books are on the table |
| | There are two books on the table |

²³ For reason of space and because a full analysis of French Negative Concord is not the point of this paper we do not furnish an exact analysis of how LF A-movement can proceed to a matrix clause in the cases of transparency. It is however important to mention that transparency to LF A-movement does not imply in our view, transparency to clitic movement (Hence the contrast: *Il l'a voulu lire/ il a tout voulu lire (Kayne 1984)). Following a suggestion of Terzi (1995) we assume that clitic climbing, in contrast to LF -A-movement requires complementizer incorporation. As argued by Déprez (1990) movement to a complementizer position can be movement to an A-position under specific conditions (i.e agreement between COMP & INFL). Although spelling out the exact conditions here would take us too far astray, note that a crucial requirement is for the embedded Infl not to carry agreement feature which contrasts with those of COMP, a requirement which can only be met for objects in non-finite clauses. We provide further details on the mechanics of cross-clausal LF A-movement in work in progress.

reading, the meaning is close to: I saw zero of the people I expected to see, the covert partitive reading which is typically the strong reading.

Having provided a motivation for the LF-movement of N-words in French, the next question we now need to answer concerns the relation between these properties of N-words and the existence of negative concord. It has been argued by May (1989) that natural language permits a general semantic procedure which derives a pair or n-tuple quantifier from a series of identical quantifiers. To take an illustrative example, May claims that sentences such as (64) can have a special paired reading the meaning of which is paraphrased as in (b):

- (64) a. Few detectives solved few cases
b. There were few pairs of detectives and cases in the solving relation.

Reading (64b) is accounted for under the following procedure; two (or more) unary quantifiers unite to form a pair (or n-ary) quantifier. This is informally represented in (65):

- (65) Few < x, y> [detective x], [case y] x solved y

Pursuing the assumption that *personne* and *rien* have essentially the meaning ‘zero person’ and ‘zero things’, we can now describe the concordant reading as being precisely the pair (or n-tuple) quantifier formation May describes²⁶. On this view, (66a) has the meaning represented in (66b), which can be paraphrased as follows “there were zero pairs of people and things in the seeing relation”. That is the total count of persons and things seen amount to zero. This, of course, is an instance of “concord reading” equivalent to “no one saw anyone”:

- (66) a. Personne n’a rien vu
b. zero <x,y> [person x] [thing y] x saw y

Confirmation for this proposal can be found in the fact that such a reading is clearly available in examples using the real numeral zero, given an appropriate context. Imagine a restaurant in which, at the end of the evening, a chef is attempting to make an exact count of what was eaten by customers so as to prepare the order of the next day. At some point he notes:

- (67) Zéro personnes ont mangé zéro gateaux
Zéro persons ate zéro cakes
zero < x, y> [person x] [cake y], y ate y

Clearly in this context the sentence means that the totality of cakes eaten by anyone is zero, i.e. a concordant reading, and not a double negative reading from which it could be inferred that all people must have eaten at least one cake. In other words, the salient reading as given in (67) can be paraphrased as follows: there were zero pairs of people and cakes in the eating relation. Here no double negation occurs but the total count simply amounts to zero. My proposal is that this is essentially the process at work in the French negative concord case. The negative concord reading corresponds essentially to the pair reading given in (67) with a zero numeral. Evidence in support of this analysis can be found in the following contrast:

- (67) a. Pas une personne n’a rien fait
b. Personne n’a rien fait

The facts are as follows. Only (67a) can lead to a concordant reading not (67b). Note, incidentally, that this fact is very surprising under the negative absorption analysis proposed by Zanuttini and adapted for French by M&V. If French Negative concord involved the absorption of a negative feature, it is unclear why this process should not be

²⁶ May assumes the pair reading is also available in sentences such as (i):

- (i) Nobody loves nobody

For the speakers for whom this obtains, it would appear that the analysis we propose for French essentially transposes to English (support for this conclusion comes from similar locality restrictions on this reading which were pointed out to me by Hornstein pc). There are, however, speakers for whom such sentences leads only to a double negative reading (Kroch pc). For these speakers, we could then assume that words like *nobody* are truly semantically negative and that negation does not allow pair quantifier formation. The full range of restrictions on pair quantifier formation remains to be further explored, an exploration which lies, however, clearly beyond the scope of this paper.

available in (67a). The failure of Negative Concord in (67a) thus suggest that concord does not really involve ‘negation absorption’ but rather the process of pair quantifier formation we have argued for. Under this view, pair quantifier formation fails to take place in (67a) simply because the quantifiers are not parallel, one including a negation and the other a zero numeral but no negation. As already noted by May indeed, pair formation requires syntactic as well as semantic parallelism between the quantifiers involved. In (67a) since parallelism is not achieved, the concord reading is not available.

Note that this proposal provides an immediate explanation for the fact that the association of French N-words with negation systematically leads to a non-concordant reading. It is clear indeed that negating zero things or persons amounts to saying that there must be some things or persons. Thus the double negative reading induced by negation will clearly obtain under the weak reading of French N-words when they are interpreted as cardinality predicates of zero quantity. Moreover, it is clear that even under the strong reading pair quantifier formation with negation will never be possible given the lack of parallelism between N-words and negation. On this view, (68a) is equivalent to (68b):

- (68) a. ??Je n’ai pas vu personne
I didn’t see nobody
b. ??Je n’ai pas vu zéro personnes
I did not see zero person

Both have a strange reading alternating between double negation and unacceptability.

The last step in our analysis of French Negative Concord is to provide a full explanation for its clause boundedness. We have already argued that this property follows in part from the A nature of QR within the minimalist system. What remains to be done is to connect QR with the concordant reading as we have just described it. The connection is in fact fairly obvious. Clearly indeed, only terms with some quantificational value will be able to lead to pair quantifier formation since only elements with quantificational force will be able to unite their quantifiers. Moreover, for quantifier pair formation to take place it is clear that both restrictions of the paired quantifier must be directly accessible. Within the approach adopted here, this means that pair quantifier formation will only be possible for terms which are in the same restrictive clause. From Diesing’s mapping hypothesis, it then follows that only terms which share the same functional structure can undergo pair quantifier formation²⁷. Since French Negative Concord is restricted to pair quantifier formation it follows that it will only be possible in bounded contexts when A-movement QR bring two N-words into the same functional structure. This will clearly enforce boundedness giving a natural account of this important characteristic of French Negative Concord²⁸.

To recap, we have argued that French N-words are weak terms equivalent to numeral terms meaning zero. Like other numeral terms they can have either a strong or a weak reading. Under the former they undergo QR, here interpreted as LF A-movement to an AGR-Spec (Hornstein 1994), and they can lead to a concord reading under the pair formation mechanism proposed by May. This proposal naturally derives the bounded character of French Negative Concord as follows: since the pair quantifier formation which lead to the concord reading can only take place under QR, and since QR is A-movement at LF, it follows that French Negative Concord will be necessarily bounded. Moreover, the incompatibility between N-words and French Negation simply derives from the lack of parallelism between negation and N-words thus precluding pair quantifier formation.

5.2 Negative Concord in Haitian Creole

Having now provided an analysis for the French type of Negative Concord, it is now time to turn to HC Negative Concord. Recall the salient properties of HC NC. First as opposed to French NC, it is unbounded. Yet, as we have observed, it does not obey characteristic constraints on movement. Moreover, in stark contrast to French Negative

²⁷ This proposal makes predictions as to when Negative Concord will be possible for N-words in PPs which we cannot pursue here for reason of space. For a possible structure which predicts the correct result for sentences such as *Personne n’a rien dit à personne* (No one told no one anything) see Collins and Thrainson (1994) who propose a more complex functional structure for dative NPs. Various possibilities are explored in work in progress which investigate more thoroughly the semantic properties of French Negative Concord.

²⁸ Contrary to May (1989), and following Chierchia (1993) and Reinhard (1994) I do not assume that the list reading of multiple questions involve pair quantifier formation. It is thus not an expectation of our analysis that list reading of multiple questions be clause bounded. In our view, the process of pair quantifier formation is more linked to the cumulative readings of plurals than to list reading. It is well known that cumulative readings of plurals are subject to a variety of pragmatic restrictions. This is also true of Negative Concord readings whose availability vary contextually. The subtleties of these variations remain to be explored.

To recap, we have proposed that HC N-words are weak terms akin to English bare plurals which are distinguished from NPIs by a capacity to license a strong reading. Only N-words can be like generic bare NPs, have a strong reading and undergo QR, NPIs cannot. Both, however, can also remain VP internal and be bound at an unlimited distance by negation in the Nuclear Scope.

The proposal here put forth makes a very interesting prediction. Recall that in our view, since QR involve A-movement at LF, it is essentially bounded. This has as a consequence that HC N-words should be able to have a strong reading only when in a clausemate relation with a negative operator binding them in its restrictive clause. If this is correct, we predict that properties of N-words in bounded context should differ from those in unbounded contexts. More specifically, we predict that the typical properties distinguishing N-word from NPIs should be able obtain only within a clause bounded domain and not when N-words are variables bound at a distance within the nuclear scope. This prediction is in fact borne out by the data. Recall that one of the characteristic difference between N-words and NPIs is that only the former can sustain modification by an adverb such as *almost*. Our analysis thus predicts that modification by *almost* although available in bounded contexts should be unavailable when N-words like NPIs act as nuclear scope variables bound at a distance. As shown in (72) this prediction is borne out providing striking support for the analysis we have proposed:

- (72) a. Prèske pèsonn pa te vini
 Almost no one came
 b. M pa te di Mari (*prèske) pèsonn te vini³⁰
 I didn't say to Mari that almost anyone came

To summarize, we have proposed in this section that French and HC-N-words are weak terms which permit both a strong and a weak reading. Under the former they undergo QR which we have here interpreted as LF A-movement to an AGR-specifier. Under the latter they remain inside VP and are interpreted either as cardinality predicates (in French) or as variables which require binding (in HC). We have shown that the proposed analysis accounts in a very natural way for all the properties which distinguish Negative Concord in French and Negative Concord in HC.

The remaining challenge is to show that the treatment of both French and Haitian N-words as weak terms also permit to express their similarities. We begin by noting that, contrary to Zanuttini assumption, there is evidence that adverbs such as '*almost*' can modify weak terms, since they can modify numerals:

- (73) Presque 5000 civil Haitiens ont été tués par les Tontons Macoutes.
 Almost 5000 Haitian civilians were killed by the Tontons Macoutes

In this respect it thus is not surprising that it can also modify French and HC N-words since as we have claimed these share the essential property with numerals of being weak terms of an ambiguous kind permitting both strong and weak readings. Modification by *almost* can thus be associated with the strong readings of N-words. A further common property needs to be accounted for, namely the fact that both French and Haitian HC can be isolated answers to questions and appear to have in this case a negative meaning. Note first that in this regard, the analysis we have proposed for the French N-words provides an immediate explanation of the French case. It is clear, on the one hand, that weak terms such as numeral can be isolated answers to questions. Furthermore, given our proposal that French N-words mean something like '*zero person/ things*' etc., their apparent negative reading is immediately derived without the necessity to assume that they contain a negative feature. In other words, it is plain as shown in (74) that *no person* and *zero people* as an answer to the question *who came* are in all relevant respects synonymous even though the latter does not contain a negative feature.

- (74) Qui a été invite ? zéro personnes / personne
 Who was invited ? Zero person/ No one

From (74), we conclude that there is no need to ever consider French N-words as intrinsically i.e. semantically negative³¹. We believe that the same is true of Haitian N-words, although the question here is slightly more delicate.

³⁰ The ungrammaticality of such examples further demonstrate that acceptability of N-words in embedded subject positions could not reduce to the pro-drop character of Haitian Creole as proposed by DeGraff (1993). Indeed, what (72b) shows is that N-words in such positions behave exactly as NPIs that cannot be modified by *almost*, and thus presumably never undergo LF movement.

³¹ Evidence that the N-word *rien* & *personne* are not fully negative is provided by the fact that they contrast with negation in their ability to license polarity items. There are certain polarity expressions that only negation can

The context of answer to a question is practically the only context in which Haitian N-words fail to require binding by a negative operator. From possible modification by *prèske* shown in (75) we conclude that N-words in such cases admits of a strong reading. In this, they clearly differs from typical NPIs.

- (75) Ki moun ki vini ? Prèske pèsonn
Who will come ? Almost no one

It seems to us that two possible avenues can be pursued towards a solution. It is possible, that in this isolated context (perhaps because of focus) some reinforcement of HC N-words can occur so that they acquire here some quantificational force and like the French N-words can mean something like zero. The other possibility which appears more likely is that *pèsonn* is here licensed by some covert operator present in the elliptical answer (Laka 1991) or present in the question in similarity to the free choice *anybody* which can be licensed as an isolated answer provided that some modality is present in the question.

- (76) Who can do that ? Anybody

We leave a final decision on this question for future research noting, however, that the analysis we have proposed provides clear avenues for its solution. Given these possibilities, it seems that (75, 76) do not provide any evidence for the negative nature of HC N-words. That HC N-words can ever be intrinsically negative further appears implausible in view of the fact noted above that they cannot license one another. If N-words were intrinsically negative, it is unclear what would account for this impossibility which follows straightforwardly on our account.

Note that if, as we claim, neither French N-words nor Haitian N-words are semantically negative (after all they are not morphologically negative either), the term Negative Concord which we have so far used is a bit of a misnomer. There is indeed no Negative Concord in the sense of two semantic negations blending with one another in either language suggesting that, after all, language may indeed follow logic in rejecting the canceling of two semantic negations even if it appears often to permit it as a morphological process. Our findings suggest that Negative Concord never involves the canceling of two semantic negations but only a relation between a negative operator and a term (or between two terms) which may appear morphologically negative or semantically very close to negation (cf. the meaning of zero) but on closer inspection never turn out to contain a true semantic negation. True semantic negation may in fact never be cancelable as the impossibility of Negative Concord in the standard dialects of English (and perhaps in standard German) would suggest. That is, in standard English, in contrast to other dialects including so called black English (and English based Creoles), the *no* part of *nobody* may well be semantically negative (at least for some conservative speakers), and in such cases, clearly, binding by a negative quantifier will be excluded and perhaps, pair quantifier formation is too³².

To summarize, we have proposed in this section that both French and HC N-words are non-negative weak indefinite terms which permit both a strong and a weak reading. The difference between the two is as follows: while the former can have their own quantificational force which we have identified as something like the numeral zero, the latter have no intrinsic quantificational force thereby resembling bare plurals which are always externally bound. We

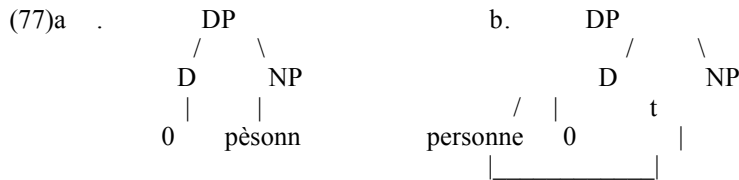
license, not N-words. Examples of this are given in (i) for standard French and in (ii) for Québec French. The Québec French facts were pointed out to me by M.T. Vinet

- (i) a. Je n'ai pas vu un chat (I didn't see a cat = I didn't see anyone)
Personne n'a vu un chat (Nobody saw a cat, * No one saw anyone)
b. Cet enfant n'est pas **tenable** (This child is not "keepable")
??Personne n'est **tenable** (* No one is "keepable")
c. Ce truc-la est pas croyable (That thing is not believable)
*Rien n'est croyable (Nothing is believable)
d. J'ai pas un rond (I don't have a red cent)
??Personne n'a un rond (Nobody has a red cent)
e. Cette affaire-la n'a pas fait un pli (This thing didn't make a wrinkle, It was a sure thing)
*Rien n'a fait un pli (Nothing made a wrinkle)
f. J'ai pas compris du tout (I did not understand at all)
*Personne n'a compris du tout (No one at all understood)
- (ii) a. Jean a pas mange de pommes ben ben (Jean did not eat apples well, well = a lot of apples)
b. *Jean a rien mangé ben ben (John are nothing well well)
c. *Personne a mangé de pommes ben ben (No one ate apples well, well)

³² cf. fnt 33 for a discussion of May's sentence: *Nobody loves Nobody*

have shown that the various differences observed between the two Negative Concord systems are reducible to this distinction. Because of the presence of an internal numeral zero French N-words can undergo pair quantifier formation under QR. This is what derives the concord reading in this language and its necessary boundedness. This is also what explains the fact that French N-words, like other numerals, neither require nor permit binding by an external operator: French N-words even on their weak readings are never variables but cardinality predicates. Thus co-occurrence with negation lead to a reading in which a zero quantity is denied, a reading which is always equivalent to a double negation and rarely felicitous. HC N-words, on the other hand, are bare plurals with no intrinsic quantificational force which require binding on either their weak or their strong reading. This means that negative concord in this language is always unselective binding by a negative operator, never pair quantifier formation. This analysis explains the required presence of negation and the fact that like other unselective binding relations, HC negative concord can be unbounded and multiple.

We have shown how the analysis proposed accounts for all the properties of the two types of Negative Concord examined. This now finally puts us in a position to ask a somewhat deeper question, namely why N-words should have the properties that they have in the respective languages. Entering here somewhat uncharted territories, I would like to propose that the distinction is structural, following perhaps from other properties of the respective languages. The proposal is that N-words have respectively the structure (77a) and (77b) in the two languages, that is while French N-words are in some sense indefinite determiners (or numerals) with empty nouns, Haitian N-words on the contrary are N with empty Ds.



This proposal is only a first sketch of the structural difference, since it is quite possible that the internal structure of the respective DP is more complex, with perhaps a number node etc. as recently proposed by many linguists. (See in particular Cinque (1995) Longobardi (1994) Bernstein (1991) among others), see also Lumsden (1989,1991) for the structure of the Haitian DP and Cardinaletti and Starke (1995)). Details of labeling, however, should not make us lose the central point of the proposal which is that French N-words occur within the DP structure, while Haitian N-words, on the other hand, are NPs with empty determiners. This proposal provides an interesting structural reason for the required binding requirement of HC N-words. For French, I further propose that the position of *personne* is derived under incorporation of an N into a zero numeral, since it is clear that *personne* can still act as a noun in other contexts (*une personne m'a appelée*, a person called me). This assumption opens the possibility of deriving the difference between the two languages in a very interesting way. The differences I propose, is related to the fact that French N words can undergo head-movement within the DP structure, while Haitian N-heads cannot. More generally, recall that as we have discussed above, Haitian manifests no head movement of the V within the sentential functional structure while, as has been convincingly argued by Pollock (1989), French clearly does. Thus, the difference we have here posited in the structure of N-words in both languages is in unison with an other major difference between these two languages with regards to head movement. While French permits it, HC does not. While consequences of this difference have been duly noted with respect to the obvious distribution of adverbs, negation etc. with respect to verbs in the two languages (see Déprez & Vinet (1992), Y. Dejan (1992), DeGraff (1993b), Lefebvre & Lumsden (1992) & Roberts (this volume)), I here propose to further enlarge it with respect to the structure of DPs and suggest that the numerous differences we have observed between the two systems of Negative Concord in the two languages can ultimately be assumed to correlate with the different ways that the two languages check out their morphological properties, i.e. by using head movement or not.

Having motivated the difference between the two languages on the basis of the internal syntactic and semantic properties of their respective N-words, we are now ready to discuss the consequences of our approach for parametrization, creolization and historical change. We turn to a discussion of these issues in the next section.

5. Negative Concord and parametrization

In section 4, we have proposed that the structure of French and HC N-words differs, and that this difference correlates with a difference in interpretation linking the former with numeral terms and the latter with bare plurals. We have further demonstrated that this difference suffices to account for the various properties the two systems of Negative Concord observed in sections 2 and 3. In strong contrast to the structural approach to Negative Concord, the central idea of our proposal puts the burden of crosslinguistic variation on the semantic nature and internal structure of N-words rather than on the structure of a Negative Constituent. Thus, our proposal distinguishes itself

from the structural approach to Negative Concord by putting the focus on the functional structure of NPs rather than on the functional structure of sentences. As a result, our proposal makes very different predictions with regard to crosslinguistic variations, creolization and historical change which can be broadly summed up as follows. While the structural approach to Negation locates possible variations in the nature of negation and the structure of the negative constituent, our proposal instead locates possible variations in the semantic nature and corresponding structure of the elements which depend on it, i.e. the N-words.

The analysis we have proposed in section 4 makes a clear prediction. If N-words in a given language can have the structure (77a) and be assimilated to indefinite bare plurals (or bare kind predicates following Carlson (1977) analysis of bare plurals) in being able to lack (at least sometimes) an intrinsic quantificational force, they will license the type of Negative Concord based on unselective binding by a negative operator, because they will be able to function as variables. On the contrary, if N-words in a language can have structure (77b) and be assimilated to numerals which carry their own quantificational force, they will permit the type of Negative Concord which is based on pair quantifier formation. For ease of exposition, I will refer to the first type of NC as type A and to the second type as type B. It is our claim that availability of either type of NC will depend heavily on the nature of the determiner system in the respective languages. Languages which otherwise feature indefinite bare plurals or bare kind predicates as a possible choice of indefinite terms will favor systems of Negative Concord of the first type, i.e type A. with overt binding by a negative operators. Languages which systematically avoid empty determiners and bare plurals and generally use overt determiners for all their indefinite terms will favor Negative Concord of the second type, i.e. with pair quantifier formation.

Although the analysis we propose is in a sense too novel for crosslinguistic, creolization and historical studies of Negative Concord to have yet focused on the factors that are directly relevant to its predictions, it is nevertheless rather encouraging to note that even a cursory look at the creolization and historical evidence provides very interesting support for our view. Beginning within French based Creoles, we note that to our knowledge, they all manifest negative concord and they all license bare plurals or bare kind predicates. Examples of bare plurals in HC have been given in (71) above. As the examples below show, Louisiana French Creole which as we showed in section 2 manifest obligatory Negative Concord with Negation (type A) also permits bare NPs (Newman 1985):

- (78) a. **malor** capa rive mouen
terrible things could happen to me
b. O Pon Bro je pa gen **koton** ditu, je t'abitsyd lonton pase
In Breaux Bridge we don't have cotton anymore, but we used to
c. Si mo te pase but-la, se te pa fe **diferons**
If I had gone this way, if would not have made difference

Note that in our view, this is sufficient to predict that type A negative Concord will be available despite the specifier status of the negation discussed in section 2. In this respect, our analysis appears to make better predictions than the structural analysis which, as we saw, is not supported in its predictions by these creole data.

A third French based Creole in which this correlation is verified is Seychelles Creole which manifests both Negative Concord and bare NPs. Examples of both are given below (Chris Corne 1977):

- (79) a. lonta, ban **esklav** ti degrad **karo**
in the past, slaves used to clear the fields of stones
b. ka u kapab gayn **larzan** u pa i kompran **mizer**
when you make money you don't understand poverty
c. **pa fer narien**
does not do nothing (It does not matter)
d. **person pa** kontan mua
Nobody loves me

Thus the correlation predicted under our approach between the type of NPs licensed in a language and the manifestation of Negative Concord of type A appears to be upheld by the creolization data.

It is fitting at this point to try to probe somewhat deeper into the possible motivations for this correlation. One general consideration immediately springs to mind as potentially relevant. Creoles are evidently well known for the paucity of their morphology. Thus if it were the case that bare NPs generally coincided with poor morphology, then their presence in Creoles would be expected and would simply reduce to this more general property and so would indirectly the well-known general presence of Negative Concord in Creole languages.

As it turns out, it is indeed a well known fact that languages which are morphologically very poor generally license bare NPs with various possible interpretations. To take obvious examples, both Chinese and Japanese, two languages famous for the paucity of their morphology, license bare NPs. Both are in fact well known for not having

determiners at all and moreover for lacking plural morphology. It is therefore interesting to see that, as expected under our analysis, both also manifest the unselective binding type of Negative Concord, i.e. Negative Concord of type A with a negation operator as the binder. These languages thus provide at least some confirmation that the paucity of morphology is indeed a relevant factor in predicting the occurrence of indefinite bare NPs and the consequent occurrence of Negative Concord.

The predictivity of this factor, however, does not appear to be universally supported. There are indeed many other languages for which it does not hold. That is, there are many languages which are morphologically quite rich and yet freely license bare NPs. To cite but a few Russian, Hindi and Modern Greek are all morphologically very rich languages and yet they also manifest bare NPs. (80) below, for instance gives examples of bare plurals and bare mass nouns in Modern Greek and (81) examples of bare NPs in Hindi:

- (80) Thelo mila/ rizi / hrimata
I want apples/ rice / money
- (81) anuu kitaab paRh rahii has
Veena book reading is (Veena is book reading)

This clearly suggests that if there is a correlation between the paucity of morphology and the licensing of bare NPs, this correlation is only unidirectional. That is, while it may well be true that languages with poor morphology systematically license bare NPs, it is not true that bare NPs are licensed only in morphologically poor languages. The implication appears to go through only from left to right but not vice-versa:

- (82) Poor morphology -----> bare NPs

If correct, however, (82) is clearly sufficient to have an interesting predictive power with respect to the behavior of Creole languages. Given their general morphological paucity, it is indeed expected that they will generally license bare NPs and, correlatively, under our view, Negative Concord of type A, a correlation which as far as we know seems to be upheld. Note, moreover, that even the above mentioned morphologically rich languages, although failing to uphold (82) from right to left appear nevertheless to provide further support for our proposal since they still obey the central correlation of interest here, namely the one between the licensing of bare NPs and Negative Concord of type A. All these morphologically rich languages are indeed languages which systematically license Negative Concord of type A. Thus, the correlation between the licensing of bare NPs and Negative Concord is here again supported.

An interesting fact about Italian provides yet further support for our proposal, as it demonstrates a striking correlation between the licensing of bare NPs and the type of Negative Concord licensed. As well known Italian differs from HC and the other Creoles analyzed in our study in forbidding the co-occurrence of Negation with an N-word in subject position while requiring it in complement position. Simplifying somewhat, we could think of Italian as manifesting the French type of Concord in subject position (i.e. type B Concorde, i.e. between two N-words) and the HC type of Concord (type A) in object position. It is in this regard rather interesting to note that as shown in (83) the same asymmetry occurs with bare plurals which although licensed in object position in Italian cannot occur in subject position.

- (83) a. Mancano pompieri
We are lacking fireman
- b. *Pompieri mancano
Fireman are lacking

Although a detailed analysis of this phenomenon remains to be done, what is important for the present discussion is that the correlation is exactly as predicted. Type A Negative concord is limited to the contexts in which bare plurals are licensed. Where bare plurals are not licensed, Negative Concord of type B, i.e. that between two N-words is the only one available³³.

³³ Ladusaw (1993) has suggested that the subject position was the major position in which N-word would begin to acquire a Negative meaning because it is a position in which they c-command NegP, instead of being c-commanded by it. Our approach is clearly distinct, in that we link the possibility of being licensed in the subject position to comparable licensing of bare plurals. Note that historical evidence do not support Ladusaw's conjecture. It is well known that the negation *pas* used to be a full NP meaning step that acquired a negative meaning gradually. As far as we know, however, it is not the case that the negative meaning of *pas* was first found in subject position.

Use of bare NPs ceased to be productively used around the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. At all times, certain syntactic contexts have been noted to favor the use of bare NPs. Moignet (1973) gives a list of this contexts in Old French and it is interesting to note the striking similarities between these contexts and the contexts in which crosslinguistically polarity items are licensed (negative verbs, hypothetical sentences and comparative sentences). One context of use, however, stands out, the generic use of bare NPs, an “exception” not unexpected under our views, which assumes that bare generic NPs are also operator bound type of indefinites.

In short, there is abundant evidence that bare NPs were in common use throughout the history of French until a fairly recent time. It is, in this regard, interesting to survey the development of French N-words across the same periods. The most striking generalization which springs out of even a cursory look at the data is that N-words (especially *rien*) underwent a gradual process of grammaticization essentially paralleling the disappearance of bare NPs. Both *rien* and *personne* were originally regular nouns with entirely positive values, meaning respectively, thing and person (note that *rien* could also refer to a person as in (87a) addressed to the poet’s lover). They were both feminine nouns as could be seen from the adjectival agreement they triggered. Agreeing examples of each are given in (87):

- (87) Douces riens por cui je chant (Colin Muset 13th)
 Soft thing for whom I sing
 Je vous aime sur toutes riens (Satyre Ménippée 16th)
 I like you on everything
 Je ne connais personne si heureuse qu’elle (Vaugelas 17th)
 I don’t know a personne as happy as her
 Il n’a personne qui ne soit intéressée en faveur de la belle Susanne (Féraud 18th)
 There isn’t a person who fails to be interested in the beautiful Susanne

They further seem to have been able to be used as fully positive nouns right up until the disappearance of their gender feature, which occurred around the beginning of the 18th century. As noted by B&B the agreeing use of *rien* was ‘officially’ banned by the French academy in 1704, which suggests that it had remained in use up to that time. Recall that the 18th century is as well the approximate time at which bare NPs essentially disappeared from the language. In view of this parallelism, an attractive conjecture is that the use of bare *rien* and *personne* in environments from which bare NPs gradually disappeared, survived by becoming grammaticized, first through the loss of gender and number features (they are now singular neuter³⁶) and then by undergoing incorporation into the obsolete empty indefinite determiners which preceded them, thus leading to the structure we have proposed in section 4. It is further likely that the reduced contexts of their use in turn determined their reanalysis as indefinites associated with a degree zero quantity, i.e as zero numerals. It is perhaps useful to provide further precision as to what is here understood as grammaticization. I take it that it involves the mutation of the N-words from regular noun phrases to indefinite numerals with empty complement nouns (i.e structure (93a) of section 4) and I suggest that the process of grammaticization be here (and perhaps more generally) understood as the incorporation of a lexical head into its projected functional structure, i.e into its extended projection in the sense of Grimshaw (1993). I view the grammaticization process as strictly lexically driven, item specific, and crucially not generalizing to other elements of the same category, here nouns. In a sense, the claim is that the development of the modern French N-words can be understood as the formation of a structural idiom enforced by the disappearance of bare NPs from the grammar of the language.

Summing up, we have seen that historical data provide evidence of an interesting parallelism between the gradual grammaticization of N-words and the gradual loss of bare NPs in the evolution of French. This parallel evolution if upheld by further research should provide yet further support for the approach we have here proposed which locates the center of variation between Negative Concord systems within the structure of DPs rather than within the structure of the clause.

Note that the historical evidence we have just reviewed raise new questions for the approach we have so far taken to the creolization data. We have suggested above that the nature and the general presence of Negative Concord in Creole in general and in the French based Creoles in particular is related to the morphological poverty of their DPs. Earlier, we had also argued against the possibility of superstrate influence on the basis of a comparison of the properties of Negative Concord in contemporary French and in HC. But the historical evidence just reviewed make a superstrate influence hypothesis appear more plausible given the existence of bare NPs in earlier stages of French. That is, a potential question arises as to whether the use of bare NPs in HC could be said to be due to superstrate influence. There are, I believe, a number of factor which raise doubt about such an hypothesis. Let us

³⁶ Note that in this respect, they clearly differ from the Italian N-words which still bear the masculine gender feature (*Nessuno*).

assume with Singler (1994) (among others) that the formation of HC occurred sometimes between 1680 and 1740, that is between the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. Recall that as we have seen above, this is precisely the period at which bare NPs essentially disappeared from French. Since, in contrast, bare NPs are in fact the only type of plural and mass indefinites licensed in HC, this suggests that instead of inheriting (or emphasizing) the tendency present in the superstrate towards the disappearance of bare NPs, HC appears in fact to have reversed it. That is, bare NPs i.e licensing in Haitian is far freer than it appeared to have been at the time in the superstrate thus raising doubts that their fully productive use is the result of superstrate influence. Further evidence of the reversal of this tendency is provided by a look at the form of certain mass nouns in Haitian. As shown in (88), the mass nouns for rice and water which are used without a determiner in HC derive from the combination of the French lexical items and the partitive article *de*.

(88) Jan vle diri /dlo Jean veut du riz, de l'eau
 John want rice, water John wants rice

This type of examples shows, on the one hand, that the partitive article must already have been in use with mass nouns in the superstrate at the time of the formation of HC, since it is undoubtedly the source of the initial *d* consonant of these words. This, in turn, suggests that bare mass nouns were no longer in productive use in such contexts. Second, it shows that determiner incorporation to form a new lexical item is a possible process. Recall that this is exactly what we claim is at the source of the development of the N-words in the evolution of French.

From this evidence, we conclude that superstrate influence is not a likely source of the use of bare plurals in HC. Even though this may appear to have some plausibility for French based Creole, it does not have sufficient generality to explain the general occurrence of bare NPs in Creoles in general and, if we are correct, the consequent use of Negative Concord. In contrast, the proposal we have put forth linking both phenomena to the morphological poverty of the Creole DP is on the right level of generality. Moreover, rather than attributing the presence of the type A Negative Concord to a specific property of Creole languages, NC is linked to general properties of indefinites across languages which are present in Creole languages as well as in non-Creole languages and in historical data. In this regard, our proposal supports Bickerton's influential view that Creole formation like language change and language acquisition is essentially governed by the principles of Universal Grammar.

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