

The Effect of Negation on Subject Position

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Generative Initiatives in Syntactic
Theory #6

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Introduction

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It is widely assumed that the movement of a subject from its base-position in [SPEC, vP] or [SPEC, VP] to [SPEC, IP] is related to the Extended Projection Principle from Chomsky (1982).

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Tous les invités sont arrivés.

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Tous les invités sont arrivés.

*Sont arrivés tous les invités.

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Introduction

There is evidence that not all languages are subject to the EPP. It has been argued in McCloskey 1996, for example, that some languages, like Irish, lack an EPP altogether, as is evidenced not only by their VSO word order but by their apparent lack of expletives.

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Introduction

Languages like Italian and Spanish constitute yet another linguistic category. They are SVO, meaning that they probably have EPP effects, but they also allow VS word order, which indicates that the EPP is not always obligatory. The following sentences from Italian and Spanish illustrate:

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Introduction

Tutti gli ospiti sono arrivati.

Todas las huéspedes han llegado.

all the guests are/have arrived

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Introduction

Tutti gli ospiti sono arrivati.

Todas las huéspedes han llegado.

all the guests are/have arrived

Sono arrivati tutti gli ospiti.

Han llegado todas las huéspedes.

are/have arrived all the guests

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Introduction

What happens in Italian and Spanish if the subject is a negated constituent, that is, a constituent that is negated in the absence of sentential negation?

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Introduction

Non tutti gli ospiti sono arrivati.
No todas las huéspedes han llegado.
not all the guests are/have arrived

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Introduction

Non tutti gli ospiti sono arrivati.
 No todas las huéspedes han llegado.
 not all the guests are/have arrived

*Sono arrivati non tutti gli ospiti.
 *Han llegado no todas las huéspedes.
 are/have arrived not all the guests

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Introduction

This does not hold for VS structures in Germanic languages.

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Introduction

Alle Studenten haben dieses Buch gelesen.

Alle studenten hebben dit boek gelezen

all (the) students have this book read

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Introduction

Alle Studenten haben dieses Buch gelesen.

Alle studenten hebben dit boek gelezen

all (the) students have this book read

Dieses Buch haben alle Studenten gelesen.

Dit boek hebben alle studenten gelezen

this book have all (the) students read

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Introduction

Dieses Buch haben nicht alle Studenten gelesen.
 Dit boek hebben niet alle studenten gelezen.
 this book have not all (the) students read

17

Introduction

Dieses Buch haben nicht alle Studenten gelesen.
 Dit boek hebben niet alle studenten gelezen.
 this book have not all (the) students read

Dieses Buch haben nicht alle Studenten nicht
 gelesen.

Dit boek hebben niet alle studenten niet gelezen.

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Introduction

Related topic: stranded negated quantifiers

Die Studenten haben nicht alle das Buch gelesen.

the students have not all the book read

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Introduction

Related topic: stranded negated quantifiers

Die Studenten haben nicht alle das Buch gelesen.

the students have not all the book read

*Gli studenti hanno non tutti letto il libro.

the students have not all read the book

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Introduction

Related topic: stranded negated quantifiers

Die Studenten haben nicht alle das Buch gelesen.

the students have not all the book read

*Gli studenti hanno non tutti letto il libro.

the students have not all read the book

Die Studenten haben nicht alle das Buch nicht

the students have not all the book read

gelesen.

read

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One Possible Approach

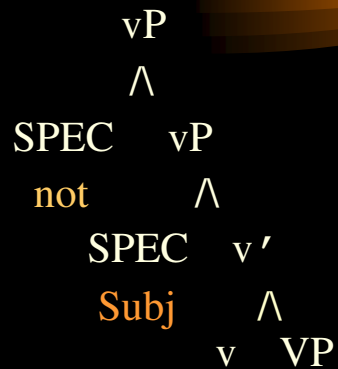
The discrepancy between the Romance and Germanic languages has to do with the nature and positioning of negation.

According to the theory of sentential negation in Zeijlstra (2004), negation is not a universal functional category. The Romance languages have NegP, the Germanic languages do not.

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Sentential Negation Germanic

Zeijlstra (2004)

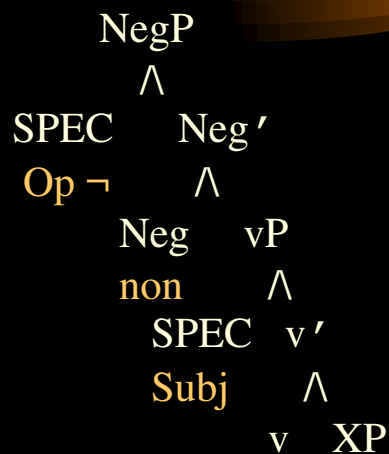


(Partial adaptation of Haegeman 1995)

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Sentential Negation Romance

Zeijlstra (2004)



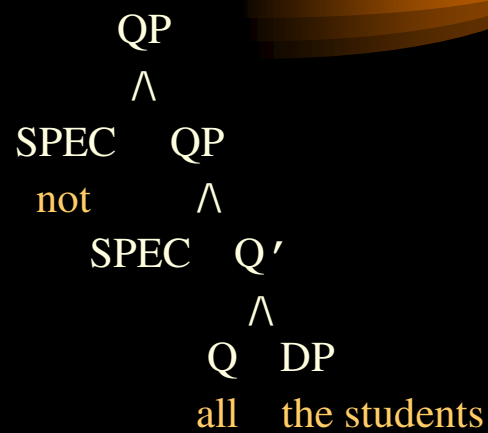
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What if we apply the same concept
to constituent negation?

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Constituent Negation Germanic

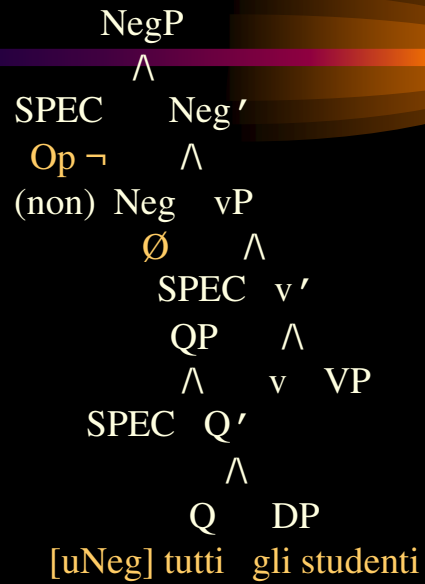
Cirillo (2009)



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Constituent Negation Romance

Cirillo (2009)



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Prediction: In Romance, no negated constituents below Neg

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*Prediction: In Romance, no
negated constituents below Neg*

*L'hanno letto tutti gli studenti.
it have read all the students*

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*Prediction: In Romance, no
negated constituents below Neg*

*L'hanno letto tutti gli studenti.
it have read all the students*

**L'hanno letto non tutti gli studenti.
it have read not all the students*

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Prediction: In Romance, no negated constituents below Neg

L'hanno letto tutti gli studenti.

it have read all the students

**L'hanno letto non tutti gli studenti.*

it have read not all the students

Non tutti gli studenti l'hanno letto.

not all the students it have read

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Prediction: In Romance, no negated constituents below Neg

L'hanno letto tutti gli studenti.

it have read all the students

**L'hanno letto non tutti gli studenti.*

it have read not all the students

Non tutti gli studenti l'hanno letto.

not all the students it have read

**Lo studente ha letto non tutti i libri.*

the student has read not all the books ³²

*Prediction: In Germanic, there will
be subject and object stranded and
non-stranded negated constituents:*

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*Prediction: In Germanic, there will
be subject and object stranded and
non-stranded negated constituents:*

Nicht alle die Studenten haben das Buch gelesen.

not all the students have the book read

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Prediction: In Germanic, there will be subject and object stranded and non-stranded negated constituents:

Nicht alle die Studenten haben das Buch gelesen.

not all the students have the book read

Die Studenten haben nicht alle das Buch gelesen.

the students have not all the book read

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Prediction: In Germanic, there will be subject and object stranded and non-stranded negated constituents:

Nicht alle die Studenten haben das Buch gelesen.

not all the students have the book read

Die Studenten haben nicht alle das Buch gelesen.

the students have not all the book read

Er hat nicht alle die Bücher nicht gelesen.

he has not all the books not read

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*Prediction: In Germanic, there will
be subject and object stranded and
non-stranded negated constituents:*

Nicht alle die Studenten haben das Buch gelesen.

not all the students have the book read

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Flaw in the model for Germanic VO

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Like German and unlike Romance, English allows stranded negated subject quantifiers:

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Flaw in the model for Germanic VO

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The students have *not all* read the book.

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Flaw in the model for Germanic VO

Like German and unlike Romance, English allows stranded negated subject quantifiers:

The students have *not all* read the book.

Unlike German and like Romance, English has no object negated quantifiers, stranded or not:

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Flaw in the model for Germanic VO

Like German and unlike Romance, English allows stranded negated subject quantifiers:

The students have *not all* read the book.

Unlike German and like Romance, English has no object negated quantifiers:

*The student has read *not all* the books.

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*Is there one generalisation that describes
Romance and Germanic VO and OV?*

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*Is there one generalisation that describes
Romance and Germanic VO and OV?*

Constituent negation cannot appear
lower than sentential negation.

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Generalisation works for Romance

Negation is highly positioned in NegP.

Only an element that has moved above NegP, e.g., to SPEC of IP, is higher than sentential negation. Any other negated constituent will be below Neg, causing ungrammaticality.

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Generalisation works for English

In English, sentential negation is lower than in Romance, so a stranded negated subject quantifier is above sentential negation:

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Generalisation works for English

In English, sentential negation is lower than in Romance, so a stranded negated subject quantifier is above sentential negation:

The students have not all not read the book.

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Generalisation works for English

In English, sentential negation is lower than in Romance, so a stranded negated subject quantifier is above sentential negation:

The students have not all not read the book.

Since English is VO, a negated object cannot appear as high as sentential negation:

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Generalisation works for English

In English, sentential negation is lower than in Romance, so a stranded negated subject quantifier is above sentential negation:

The students have not all not read the book.

Since English is VO, a negated object cannot appear as high as sentential negation:

**He has not read not all the books.*

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Generalisation works for German

German is OV, sentential negation is in [SPEC, VP], and negated objects can be scrambled to the left of sentential negation. Thus, stranded and non-stranded negated object quantifiers should occur in German:

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Generalisation works for German

German is OV, sentential negation is in [SPEC, VP], and negated objects can be scrambled to the left of sentential negation. Thus, stranded and non-stranded negated object quantifiers should occur in German:

Der Student hat nicht alle die Bücher nicht gelesen.

the student has not all the books not read

Der Student hat die Bücher nicht alle nicht gelesen.

the student has the books not all not read ⁵¹

What about this generalisation that constituent negation must be higher than sentential negation?

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It could be interesting as a hypothesis.

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It's a start.

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It could be interesting as a hypothesis.

It has not been tested cross-linguistically.

It is purely descriptive and explains nothing.

It's a start.

It could have to do with focus. The hypothesis would be that constituent negation is contrastive focalisation and that this focus position is higher than sentential negation.

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Negated objects are possible in English and Romance if they are focalised/topicalised:

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Negated objects are possible in English and Romance if they are focalised/topicalised:

Non tutti li ha letti.
not all them (s)he has read

59

Negated objects are possible in English and Romance if they are focalised/topicalised:

Non tutti li ha letti.
not all them (s)he has read

Ni siquiera un euro he recibido de él.
not even one euro (I) have gotten from him

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Negated objects are possible in English and Romance if they are focalised/topicalised:

Non tutti li ha letti.
not all them (s)he has read

Ni siquiera un euro he recibido de él.
not even one euro (I) have gotten from him

Not one single book has he not read.

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A remark on this generalisation:

N-words are not *negated* constituents but *negative* constituents and for this reason can appear below sentential negation:

Non ho visto niente. Non è venuto nessuno.
not have seen nothing not is come no one

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Another remark:

It may not apply across clausal boundaries:

Ha deciso di non ratificare l'accordo?

has he decided to not ratify the agreement

No, non ha deciso di non ratificare l'accordo.

no not he has decided to not ratify the agreement

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We have seen that the Romance and the Germanic languages behave differently in their handling of negated subjects and other negated constituents. I have proposed an explanation that is more or less an adaptation of the theory of sentential negation in Zeijlstra (2004) to constituent negation.

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Is there any independent evidence for an approach like mine that treats constituent negation differently in the Germanic and Romance languages?

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Is there any independent evidence for an approach like mine that treats constituent negation differently in the Germanic and Romance languages?

Inverse scope of negation over a subject may provide a clue.

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Linear order is often associated with scope.

If two quantificational elements co-occur, the more highly positioned one will normally out-scope the other.

This is why at LF an element is moved above another element if it has scope over it.

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Based on linear order, in the sentence

All the students have **not** read the book.

a $[\forall > \neg]$ reading is expected.

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Based on linear order, in the sentence

All the students have **not** read the book.

a $[\forall > \neg]$ reading is expected.

This reading is in fact available. (All the students have neglected to read the book.)

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However, another reading is also available:

(1) **All** the students have **not** read the book.

In (1) a $[\neg > \forall]$ or *inverse scope* reading is quite natural in the Germanic languages, with the meaning in (2).

(2) **Not all** the students have read the book.

Inverse scope of negation is problematic in the Romance languages.

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Italian, for example:

Tutti gli studenti non hanno letto il libro.
all the students not have read the book

$\forall > \neg$

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*Proposal to explain ambiguity
produced by inverse scope:
the Neg Stranding Hypothesis*

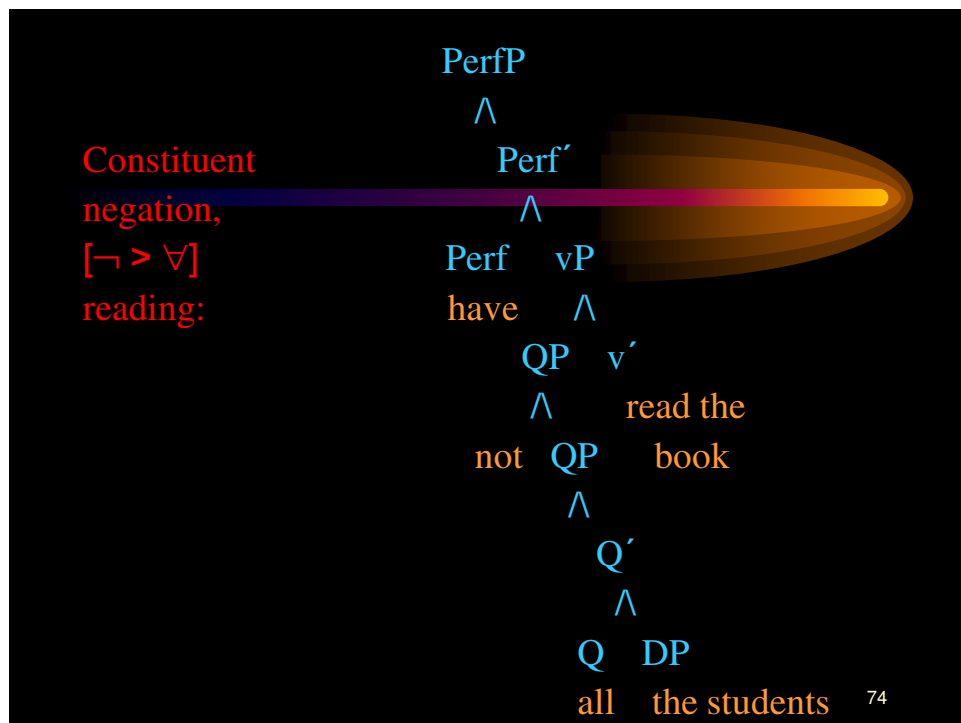
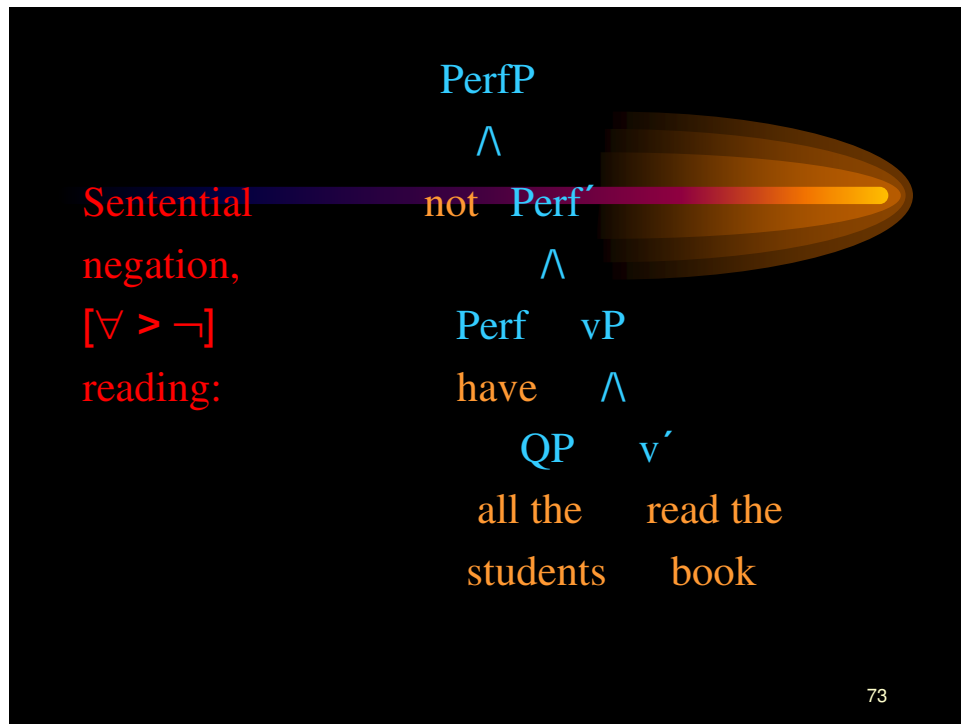
All the students have not read the book.

Two base-structures for two readings:

For $[\forall > \neg]$: Sentential negation, *not* generated in [SPEC, PerfP], subject is *all the students*.

For $[\neg > \forall]$: Constituent negation, *not* generated in [SPEC, QP], subject is *not all the students*, the negation marker is stranded.

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Significant generalization:

Three sentences with the same elements and the same meaning derived from one base.

1. **Not all** the students have read the book.
2. The students have **not all** read the book.
3. **All** the students have **not** read the book.

($[\neg > \forall]$ with Neg Stranding)

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Does Neg Stranding exist?

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Proof of Neg Stranding:

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Proof of Neg Stranding:

Er hat **nicht den Hund** gefüttert, sondern die
Katze.

(He didn't feed the dog, but the cat.)

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Proof of Neg Stranding:

Er hat **nicht den Hund** gefüttert, sondern die Katze.

(He didn't feed the dog, but the cat.)

Nicht den Hund hat er gefüttert, sondern die Katze.

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Proof of Neg Stranding:

Er hat **nicht den Hund** gefüttert, sondern die Katze.

(He didn't feed the dog, but the cat.)

Nicht den Hund hat er gefüttert, sondern die Katze.

Den Hund hat er **nicht** gefüttert, sondern die Katze.

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Proof of Neg Stranding:

Er hat **nicht den Hund** nicht gefüttert, sondern die Katze.

(It wasn't the dog he didn't feed, but the cat.)

81

Proof of Neg Stranding:

Er hat **nicht den Hund** nicht gefüttert, sondern die Katze.

(It wasn't the dog he didn't feed, but the cat.)

Nicht den Hund hat er nicht gefüttert, sondern die Katze.

82

Proof of Neg Stranding:

Er hat **nicht den Hund** nicht gefüttert, sondern die Katze.

(It wasn't the dog he didn't feed, but the cat.)

Nicht den Hund hat er nicht gefüttert, sondern die Katze.

Den Hund hat er **nicht** nicht gefüttert, sondern die Katze.

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Neg Stranding occurs in natural language and should be part of a model of syntax.

Because Neg Stranding is needed anyway, the explanation of inverse scope in sentences like *All the students have not read the book* comes at no extra cost to the theory.

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Brief recapitulation:

Because negation is a maximal projection in the Germanic languages it appears in the SPEC positions of both verbal and nominal phrases and can be stranded. This creates inverse scope and ambiguity.

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Brief recapitulation:

In Romance, negation is a highly positioned head rather than a maximal projection that appears in SPEC positions. This means that in Romance Neg Stranding is not possible and since inverse scope of negation comes from Neg Stranding we would not expect inverse scope of negation in Romance.

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Brief recapitulation:

I have proposed that the inverse scope of negation in the Germanic languages is related to the ability of negated constituents, especially negated subjects, to be positioned lower in Germanic than in Romance, and that both phenomena can therefore be explained by the theory that negation is not a functional category in both language families.

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Some issues from Portuguese, Romanian, Spanish and French

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Portuguese and Romanian

*Todos os alunos não têm lido o livro.

all the students not have read the book

*Toți studenții nu au citit cartea.

all students the not have read book the

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Portuguese and Romanian

*Todos os alunos não têm lido o livro.

all the students not have read the book

*Toți studenții nu au citit cartea.

all students the not have read book the

Zeijlstra (2004) and to some extent Buring (1997) note that there seems to be a universal principle against moving $\forall$ across $\neg$. Cirillo (2009) attributes this to a hierarchy of quantification.

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In a hierarchy of quantification, negation would be ranked the highest, even higher than universal quantification. This could explain why inverse scope seems to be the most natural reading in a sentence like

All the students haven't read the book.

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In the same hierarchy, $\forall$ would outrank $\exists$, which could explain why a $[\forall > \exists]$ reading seems to be the preferred reading in both of the following sentences:

Everybody loves somebody.

Somebody loves everybody.

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Spanish

Todos los alumnos no han leído el libro.

all the students not have read the book

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Spanish

Todos los alumnos no han leído el libro.

all the students not have read the book

Latin American Spanish speakers generally seem to accept this sentence with a $[\forall > \neg]$ reading, like most Italian speakers.

94

Spanish

Todos los alumnos no han leído el libro.

all the students not have read the book

Latin American Spanish speakers generally seem to accept this sentence with a $[\forall > \neg]$ reading, like most Italian speakers. Some European Spanish speakers judge the sentence ungrammatical, like Portuguese and Romanian speakers.

95

Spanish

Todos los alumnos no han leído el libro.

all the students not have read the book

Latin American Spanish speakers generally seem to accept this sentence with a $[\forall > \neg]$ reading, like most Italian speakers. Some European Spanish speakers judge the sentence ungrammatical, like Portuguese and Romanian speakers. Other European Spanish speakers allow both a $[\forall > \neg]$ and a $[\neg > \forall]$ reading.

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Spanish

Todos los alumnos no han leído el libro.

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Latin American Spanish speakers generally seem to accept this sentence with a $[\forall > \neg]$ reading, like most Italian speakers. Some European Spanish speakers judge the sentence ungrammatical, like Portuguese and Romanian speakers. Other European Spanish speakers allow both a $[\forall > \neg]$ and a $[\neg > \forall]$ reading. The $[\neg > \forall]$ reading implies Neg Stranding, but this cannot be Neg Stranding, because the negation marker is in sentential negation position.

97

Spanish

Todos los alumnos no han leído el libro.

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Latin American Spanish speakers generally seem to accept this sentence with a $[\forall > \neg]$ reading, like most Italian speakers. Some European Spanish speakers judge the sentence ungrammatical, like Portuguese and Romanian speakers. Other European Spanish speakers allow both a $[\forall > \neg]$ and a $[\neg > \forall]$ reading. The $[\neg > \forall]$ reading implies Neg Stranding, but this cannot be Neg Stranding, because the negation marker is in sentential negation position. Additional research is obviously needed.

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What if the explanation has nothing to do with syntax but is purely semantic?

What if there is a semantic principle that overrides syntax and says that if two forms of quantification co-occur, regardless of syntactic structure, the stronger quantifier takes scope over the other one?

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What if the explanation has nothing to do with syntax but is purely semantic?

What if there is a semantic principle that overrides syntax and says that if two forms of quantification co-occur, regardless of syntactic structure, the stronger quantifier takes scope over the other one?

In Gualmini and Moscati (2009) examples are shown of inverse scope of negation (over modal verbs) that is present in child Italian but absent in adult speech.

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What about French?



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What about French?



Ne vous inquiétez pas!

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What about French?

French according to Zeijlstra (2004):

NegP	Haegeman 1995
∧	Rowlett 1998
pas Neg'	Zanuttini 1991, 1994,
[iNeg] ∧	1996, 1998
Neg vP	
ne	
[uNeg]	

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What about French?

The essential data:

1. Pas tous les étudiants ont lu le livre.
2. Pas tous les étudiants n'ont pas lu le livre.
3. *Pas tous les étudiants n'ont lu le livre.
4. Les étudiants n'ont pas tous lu le livre.
5. *Les étudiants ont pas tous lu le livre.
6. *Tous les étudiants n'ont pas pas lu le livre.
7. *Les étudiants n'ont pas tous pas lu le livre.
8. Tous les étudiants n'ont pas lu le livre. $[\neg > \forall]_{104}$

What about French?

The essential data:

1. Pas tous les étudiants ont lu le livre.

Theoretically, two possible approaches:

1. The sentence is produced as it is in other Romance languages, with NegP (confer *non tutti* in Italian).
2. Since *pas* is a post-verbal negation marker, as in Germanic, perhaps it is base-generated in [SPEC, QP] and there is no NegP.

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2. Pas tous les étudiants n'ont pas lu le livre.

106

What about French?

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Example 2, with two occurrences of *pas*, suggests that one *pas* is in [SPEC, NegP] and the other in [SPEC, QP].

107

What about French?

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1. Pas tous les étudiants ont lu le livre.
2. Pas tous les étudiants n'ont pas lu le livre.

Example 2, with two occurrences of *pas*, suggests that one *pas* is in [SPEC, NegP] and the other in [SPEC, QP]. It could be that both occurrences of *pas* are specifiers or adjuncts of NegP. The second adjunct position is needed anyway for subjects that move from [SPEC, vP] to [SPEC, IP].

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What about French?

The essential data:

3. *Pas tous les étudiants n'ont lu le livre.

109

What about French?

The essential data:

3. *Pas tous les étudiants n'ont lu le livre.

Following Zeijlstra (2004), *ne* is a weak negation marker and has an uninterpretable negative feature. In example 3, *pas* is not in [SPEC, NegP] and cannot eliminate the [uNeg] feature of *ne*, which produces ungrammaticality.

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What about French?

The essential data:

3. *Pas tous les étudiants n'ont lu le livre.

Following Zeijlstra (2004), *ne* is a weak negation marker and has an uninterpretable negative feature. In example 3, *pas* is not in [SPEC, NegP] and cannot eliminate the [uNeg] feature of *ne*, which produces ungrammaticality. A more probable explanation:

The word *ne* specifies sentential negation, and a *pas* corresponding to sentential negation is missing.

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What about French?

The essential data:

4. Les étudiants n'ont pas tous lu le livre.

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What about French?

The essential data:

4. Les étudiants n'ont pas tous lu le livre.

Example 4 must be analyzed as an instance of sentential negation. This is why *ne* is required.

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What about French?

The essential data:

5. *Les étudiants ont pas tous lu le livre.

If *pas* in example 1 (*Pas tous les étudiants ont lu le livre*) originates in [SPEC, QP], 5 should be possible. *Pas* must have originated as an adjunct (upper SPEC) of NegP. 5 is ungrammatical because the negated constituent has not moved up and adjoined to *pas* (*pas* is in an impossible position).

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What about French?

The essential data:

5. *Les étudiants ont pas tous lu le livre.

If *pas* in example 1 (*Pas tous les étudiants ont lu le livre*) originates in [SPEC, QP], 5 should be possible. *Pas* must have originated as an adjunct (upper SPEC) of NegP. 5 is ungrammatical because the negated constituent has not moved up and adjoined to *pas* (*pas* is in an impossible position). (Or, we have sentential negation and *ne* is missing.)

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What about French?

The essential data:

6. *Tous les étudiants n'ont pas pas lu le livre.
7. *Les étudiants n'ont pas tous pas lu le livre.

The upper *pas* is the constituent negation marker, so why are 6 and 7 impossible? Because [SPEC, NegP] is not a stranding position. If it were it would be possible to say **Gli studenti non tutti hanno letto il libro* or **Los alumnos no todos han leído el libro*.

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What about French?

The essential data:

8. Tous les étudiants n'ont pas lu le livre. [$\neg > \forall$]

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What about French?

The essential data:

8. Tous les étudiants n'ont pas lu le livre. [$\neg > \forall$]

Inverse scope implies Neg Stranding, but this cannot be Neg Stranding because the presence of *ne* means sentential negation. Either we must appeal to the semantic principle of quantificational hierarchy or we must attribute this behavior to a transitional phase in Jespersen's Cycle.

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What about colloquial French?

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What about colloquial French?

The essential data:

1. Pas tous les étudiants ont lu le livre.
2. Les étudiants ont pas tous lu le livre.
3. Tous les étudiants ont pas lu le livre. [$\neg > \forall$]
4. *Tous les étudiants ont pas pas lu le livre.
5. *Les étudiants ont pas tous pas lu le livre.

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What about colloquial French?

The essential data:

1. Pas tous les étudiants ont lu le livre.
2. Les étudiants ont pas tous lu le livre.
3. Tous les étudiants ont pas lu le livre. [$\neg > \forall$]

These can be explained on the basis of a lack of NegP, with *pas* being a specifier of QP or PerfP.

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What about colloquial French?

The essential data:

4. *Tous les étudiants ont pas pas lu le livre.
5. *Les étudiants ont pas tous pas lu le livre.

These can be explained if one assumes NegP with a null head. Which would mean that even in colloquial French NegP still occurs, with an invisible *ne*. It is thus too early to sound the death knell for *ne*.

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Summary

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Summary

The Romance languages, unlike the Germanic languages, do not allow negated subjects (or actually negated constituents) to remain in their base positions.

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A solution has been proposed that is a kind of adaptation of the theory of sentential negation in Zeijlstra (2004) to constituent negation.

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Summary

The Romance languages, unlike the Germanic languages, do not allow negated subjects (or actually negated constituents) to remain in their base positions.

A solution has been proposed that is a kind of adaptation of the theory of sentential negation in Zeijlstra (2004) to constituent negation.

This analysis is independently supported by data involving inverse scope of negation in the Germanic languages, based on the Neg Stranding Hypothesis in Cirillo (2009).

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Open Items

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Open Items

The hypothesis that negated constituents are
focused and focus is above sentential
negation

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Open Items

The hypothesis that negated constituents are focused and focus is above sentential negation

Hierarchy of quantification $\neg > \forall > \exists$

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Semantic principle, based on the hierarchy of quantification, that overrides syntax

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Open Items

The hypothesis that negated constituents are focused and focus is above sentential negation

Hierarchy of quantification $\neg > \forall > \exists$

Semantic principle, based on the hierarchy of quantification, that overrides syntax

The mechanics of inverse scope of negation in Romance (Spanish, French)

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GRAZIE MILLE!

VIELEN DANK!

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