

Negative Concord in Russian and Attract-all-F*

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0. Introduction

In this paper I propose a Minimalist account of the pattern of Negative Concord in Russian. Taking my inspiration from the Attract-all-F feature that Bošković (1998, 1999a, 1999b) uses to account for certain facts in languages with multiple WH-fronting, I will show how an Attract-all-F negative feature (of a slightly different nature) introduced into the derivation as the head of the functional category NegP can account for the pattern of Negative Concord exhibited in Russian, as well as in Italian, Catalan, West Flemish, Old Russian, and Old Church Slavonic. This proposal will also account for the interpretation of sentences containing Negative Concord, namely, as a single instance of negation regardless of how many morphologically negative constituents the sentence contains.

I will argue that the negative feature that resides in the head of NegP is an Attract-all-F feature in the sense that it must attract and erase (i.e., check) all uninterpretable negative features co-occurring in its clause. Once these features have been eliminated, the negation feature residing in NegP remains the sole expressor of negation. This account can easily be extended to other Slavic languages.

1. Negative Concord in Russian and Other Languages

As is well known, in Russian and other Slavic languages, negative constituents require overt clausemate negation in the form of the negative verbal proclitic *ne* in order to be grammatical, as in (1):¹

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¹ Note that this statement applies to “full” clauses, i.e., those where the verb is also present. As pointed out by a reviewer, negative constituents can and do occur on their own in answers to questions, as in (i):

- (i) —Kogo ty videl? —**Nikogo.**
—who you saw —no-who
‘—Who did you see? —No one.’

- (1) Ivan **nigde** **ni** s **kem** *(**ne**) tancuet.
 Ivan nowhere no with whom NEG dances
 ‘Ivan doesn’t dance anywhere with anyone.’

Arguably, we are dealing with some sort of ellipsis here, where what is elided contains the negative particle, as in (ii):

- (ii) ~~Ja ne videl~~ **nikogo**.
 I NEG saw no-who
 ‘I saw no one.’

Other possible counterexamples suggested by a reviewer are comparison sentences, such as (iii):

- (iii) On umen kak **nikto** drugoj. [R]
 he smart like no-who other
 ‘He’s smart like no other.’

Again, here an argument can be made for ellipsis, as in (iv):

- (iv) On umen kak **nikto** drugoj ~~ne umen~~. [R]
 he smart like no-who other NEG smart

Likewise, we find examples, such as (v), where the preposition *bez* ‘without’, licenses negative constituents:

- (v) Ona ljubit pit’ kofe bez **niãego**. [R]
 She likes to-drink coffee without no-what
 ‘She likes to drink coffee black.’

There is one possible approach to such counterexamples, which, unfortunately, provides little in the way of explanatory value. One could claim that that the preposition *bez* has somehow been marked in the Lexicon as containing the same negative feature that I will propose the sentential negation marker *ne* contains in negated clauses. This is arguably a strong a claim to make, but within the framework being developed here, it does unify these exceptional cases with true sentential negation.

Finally, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian exhibits clause-union effects with certain “bridge” verbs, where negative constituents are licensed in what appears to be subordinate clause, as discussed in Progovac 1993 and illustrated in (vi):

- (vi) Ne želim da vidim nikoga.
 not wish that I-see no-who
 ‘I don’t want to see anyone.’

See Progovac 1993 for details.

In addition, as is also seen in (1) for Russian, negative pronouns in Slavic exhibit **Negative Concord** (NC); NC refers to the phenomenon of multiple negative constituents co-occurring which express only one semantic instance of negation. Thus, while Standard English allows only one morphologically negative word per negated clause² (as we see in the gloss to (1)), in languages exhibiting NC, multiple constituents within a single negated clause can exhibit negative morphology. Nonetheless, such negated sentences are interpreted semantically as having only one instance of negation. Replacing the Standard English non-negative indefinites in the gloss to (1) with the corresponding negative pronouns results in a reading of **Double Negation** (DN), as shown in (2):

(2) ‘Ivan doesn’t dance nowhere with no one.’

This sentence is grammatical in Standard English, if it is true that Ivan does dance somewhere with someone. Hence, in DN languages the multiple negative pronouns in effect cancel each other out. In familiar non-standard dialects of English, this sentence, like its Russian counterpart, would have a reading of Negative Concord.^{3,4}

1.1. Patterns of Negative Concord

While the unifying characteristic of languages that exhibit NC is the possible co-occurrence in negated sentences of multiple pronouns exhibiting negative morphology, the pattern of NC in Slavic differs

² Note that in this statement “per negated clause” is to be understood as “per semantically negated clause”. The interpretation of (2) in Standard English is positive.

³ Note that in Standard English the sentence in (2) **cannot** be discourse-initial. There must be some context that assumes that Ivan likes to dance wherever and with whomever he can. The utterance in (2) is a denial of this assumption.

⁴ A reviewer points out a possible remnant of Negative Concord in Standard English, first discussed in Higginbotham and May 1981, as shown in the two different readings for (i), given in (ii) and (iii):

- (i) Nobody loves nobody.
- (ii) Everybody love somebody. (Double Negation)
- (iii) Nobody loves anybody. (Negative Concord)

The reading in (ii) is usually referred to as the “loving world interpretation”, while the reading in (iii) is referred to as the “unloving world interpretation”. I would argue that the Negative Concord reading in (iii) is influenced by non-standard dialects of English where Negative Concord is the norm and which speakers of Standard English have no problem understanding. This, of course, may be the influence of my own native dialect, which exhibits Negative Concord.

somewhat from the pattern found in the languages that have been discussed in recent studies of negation (Zanuttini 1991, Laka 1990, 1994, Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991, Progovac 1994, Zanuttini 1994, and Haegeman 1995). As mentioned above with respect to (1), negative pronouns in Slavic can only occur when the preverbal negative clitic *ne* indicating sentential negation is present in the clause (but see fn. 1). This pattern differs from the NC pattern observed in Italian, Spanish, and Catalan, discussed by Haegeman (1995) and others, where postverbal constituents, including postposed subjects, co-occur with (and require) either the negative particle or a preverbal negative constituent; on the other hand, preposed negative constituents and preverbal negative subjects do not co-occur with the negative particle (and cannot for Italian and Spanish; but see (26a)). The examples in (3) illustrate the contrast in Italian between sentences containing a **preverbal negative subject** (3a) (from Ladusaw 1992), which does not co-occur with the particle *non*, and a **postverbal negative object** (3b) (from Haegeman 1995), which requires it.

- (3) a. **Nessuno** (***non**) ha telefonato.
 no one not has called
 'No one called.'
- b. Gianni*(**non**) dice **niente** a **nessuno**.
 Gianni not said nothing to no one
 'Gianni doesn't tell anyone anything.'

A further distinction of the NC pattern in Slavic is that word order permutations do not induce readings of Double Negation, whereby the negative elements cancel each other out. This pattern is attributed by Haegeman (1995) to West Flemish. According to Haegeman, in order for a NC reading to obtain in West Flemish, the negative pronoun must occur in a Spec-head relation with the negative head *nie* at S-structure. This contrast is shown between (4a), which exhibits Negative Concord and ⁵where *van niemand* and *nie* occur in a Spec-head relation, and (4b), where they do not and which, as a result, has a reading of Double Negation.

- (4) a. da Valère **van niemand nie** ketent (en)-was
 that Valère of no one not content **en**-was
 'that Valère was not pleased with anyone' (*DN, NC)

⁵ Note that in the current architecture, this can be construed as a pre-Spellout requirement that the negative constituent move.

- b. da Valère **nie** ketent **van niemand** (en)-was
 that Valère not contentof no one **en**-was
 ‘that Valère was not pleased with no one’ (DN, *NC)
 (i.e., he was pleased with someone)

(Haegeman 1995:132)

Compare this to the Russian example in (5), where the negative constituent does not have to occur in an overt Spec-head relation with the negative head in order for the Negative Concord reading to obtain:

- (5) Ja **ne** čitaju **ničego**.
 I NEG read nothing
 ‘I don’t read *anything*!’

Finally, as the following examples show, the Russian NI-items, unlike Italian *nessuno* and French *personne*, do not occur in non-negative polarity environments (such as those that license English *anyone*). Non-negative polarity environments include Yes/No questions, adversative predicates, and conditionals. For example, while the Italian negative constituent *nessuno* is licensed in Yes/No questions, as shown in (6a), Russian NI-items are not, as in (6b).

- (6) a. Ha telefonato **nessuno**?
 has called no one
 ‘Has anyone called?’
 b. ***Nikto** *(**ne**) zvonil?
 no one NEG called

The Russian question in (6b) is only grammatical with overt clausemate sentential negation indicated by *ne*, and then it only has the reading of a presumptively negative question: ‘Did no one call?’. The characteristics of the Russian NC pattern are summarized in (7).

(7) **Russian NC pattern**

- a. Negative pronouns in Russian can only occur when the preverbal negative clitic *ne* indicating sentential negation is present in the clause.
- b. Word order permutations do not induce a Double Negation reading.
- c. Russian NI-items do not occur in non-negative polarity environments.⁶

⁶ A discussion of the variety in Negative Concord languages with respect to this property is beyond the scope of this paper.

1.2. The NEG-Criterion (Haegeman 1992, 1995, Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991, 1996)

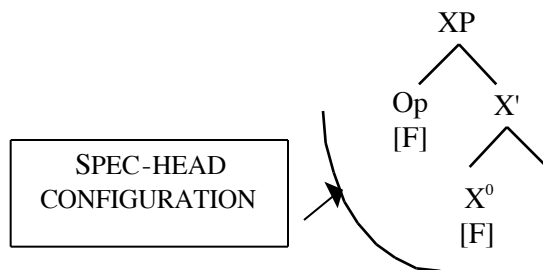
Previous analyses of NC, most notably Haegeman (1992, 1995) and Haegeman and Zanuttini (1991, 1996), argue that the licensing of both WH-elements and negative constituents can be accounted for in accordance with the AFFECT-Criterion (8), which subsumes that WH-operators and NEG-operators are affective operators.

- (8) AFFECT-Criterion (Haegeman 1992)
- a. An AFFECTIVE operator must be in a Spec-head configuration with an [AFFECTIVE] X^0 .
 - b. An [AFFECTIVE] X^0 must be in a Spec-head configuration with an AFFECTIVE operator.
 - c. AFFECTIVE OPERATOR: an AFFECTIVE-phrase in a scope position.
 - d. Scope position: left-peripheral A'-position, i.e., an adjoined position [YP, XP] or a Specifier position [Spec, XP].

Both WH-elements and negative constituents are considered *affective* operators, and as affective operators they must be licensed in a Spec-head relation with an appropriate WH-head or NEG-head.

The Spec-head configuration is schematized in (9), where [F] is the relevant AFFECTIVE feature.

- (9) Spec-head configuration



2. Negative Concord and “Expressing Negation”: A Minimalist Analysis

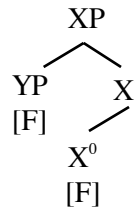
In this section I will show how the abstract [NEG] feature mentioned in the introduction can account for the NC data in Russian, and by extension other languages, within the framework of the Minimalist Program, as outlined in Chomsky 1995.

2.1. Feature Checking

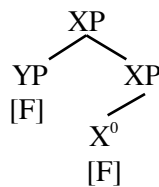
As Chomsky (1995: 253) argues, any movement in the Minimalist framework must be economical and morphology-driven, i.e., driven by formal features which need checking. According to Checking Theory, any **uninterpretable feature** must be checked and erased in order for a derivation to converge. Uninterpretable features include **Case Features** of the noun and **-features** of the verb. Checking takes place in certain configurations allowed by Bare Phrase Structure, as shown in (10).

(10) Feature Checking

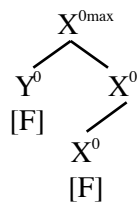
- (a) **Creation of a Specifier Position (Substitution):** A maximal projection, let's call it YP, raises to create a checking configuration with a head X^0 that has the appropriate feature in its feature sublabel (matrix). The head X^0 projects and a new maximal projection labeled $XP = [YP X']$ is created.



- (b) **Adjunction to a maximal projection XP** (with adjunction, a two-segment XP is created): A maximal projection YP raises to adjoin to a maximal projection XP (which can consist of a non-projecting head); a two-segment XP is created.



- (c) **Adjunction to a head X^0** (with this type of adjunction, a new zero-level maximal projection is created): A head Y^0 (or its non-overt feature sublabel) raises to adjoin to a head X^0 ; this is the only option for covert raising of features.



What might enter into these checking relations? Well, inflected elements will move to have inflectional features checked against the same features in the sublabel of the appropriate functional head in one of the above configurations. This applies, for instance, to NPs which move to have case features checked in the Specifier position of some functional category (AgrPs in the older Minimalist literature), the head of which is also marked with the appropriate case features.

This type of checking analysis can be extended to account for the distribution and interpretation of negative constituents in Negative Concord languages.

2.2. The Structure of NegP in Russian

I assume (following Pollock (1989), Ouhalla (1991), and others), that sentential negation consists of a Negative Phrase (NegP) as an independent functional category. What is the structure of this functional category in Russian? First of all, empirical evidence suggests that Russian requires the head of NegP to be overt, which I take to be the negative particle *ne* (following King (1993), Bailyn (1995), Brown and Franks (1995), Brown (1995a, 1996a, 1996b)). For example, as discussed above, sentential negation in Russian requires the negative particle *ne* as a proclitic on the verb. Furthermore, negative constituents (the NI-items) are not licensed without an overt negative head, namely the negative particle *ne*, as was shown in example (1). The negative marker *ne* with an abstract feature [NEG] in its sublabel constitutes the head of the NegP as shown in (11).

(11) Structure of NegP



In Bare Phrase Structure, a Specifier position will be “created” only if it necessary to host some overtly raised element that contains a feature relevant for checking in its sublabel.

2.3. The Nature of [NEG]

The substantive elements in Russian (and by extension other languages that behave similarly) which exhibit overt negative morphology (the NI-items) also have a [NEG] feature in their sublabel.

In Brown (1999) I suggested that it is the [NEG] features of the negative pronouns themselves that drive movement to a checking configuration with the [NEG] feature in the head of NegP. I claimed that

the [NEG] feature in the feature sublabel of the negative constituents is [-interpretable] and needs to be checked and erased. Once the [NEG] feature is merged into the derivation in the sublabel of the head of NegP, the negative constituents (or their abstract feature sublabels) raise to a checking configuration with Neg⁰ to check off their [NEG] feature. This accounts for the Negative Concord reading.

Under that analysis the “formal inadequacy” driving movement lies in the n-phrases themselves, which undergo Move or Attract to a checking position with respect to Neg⁰ to check off their own negative features. As Bošković (1998) points out, it would be desirable, working within the Minimalist framework of Chomsky 1995, for theory internal reasons having to do with “look ahead” operations, to have the “formal inadequacy” lie in the target of movement and not the element undergoing movement. For this reason, in the present paper, I suggest that instead of the NEG-feature of the n-phrase driving movement, the head of NegP contains an uninterpretable feature that needs to be checked. This feature is very similar to the Attract-all-F WH-feature proposed in Bošković (1998, 1999a, 1999b) to account for multiple WH-fronting in Bulgarian (Bg) and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS). Before going into details about the exact nature of this NegP feature and its role in Negative Concord, I will present Bošković’s Attract-all-F feature in more detail.

2.3.1. Attract-all-F (Bošković 1998, 1999a, 1999b)

Bošković’s Attract-all-F feature arose out of the need to account for the certain differences in the pattern of multiple WH-fronting (MWF) in Bg and BCS. The most important difference for the current discussion is that MWF in Bg exhibits Superiority effects,⁷ while in BCS it does not.

⁷Chomsky’s original (1973) formulation of the Superiority Condition is:

- (i) No rule can involve X, Y in the structure ...X...[...Z...WYV...] where the rule applies ambiguously to Z and Y, and Z is superior to Y. The category A is superior to the category B if every major category dominating A dominates B as well but not conversely.

This accounts for the contrast between (ii) and (iii), where the “highest” wh-element must move:

- (ii) Who_i did Geoff tell *t_i* that he should buy what?
- (iii) *?What_i did John tell who that he should buy *t_i*?

Compare the Bg examples in (12) with the BCS examples in (13) for illustration (examples from Bošković (1999: 163)).

- (12) a. **Koj kogo** e vidjal? [Bg]
 who whom isseen
 ‘Who saw whom?’
 b. ***kogo koj** e vidjal
 c. **Koj kak** udari Ivan?
 who how hit Ivan
 ‘Who hit Ivan how?’
 d. ***kak koj** udari Ivan
- (13) a. **Ko** je **koga** vidio? [BCS]
 who is whom seen
 b. **Koga** je **ko** vidio?
 c. **Ko kako** udara Ivana?
 who how hit Ivan
 d. **Kako ko** udara Ivana?

The examples in (12) show that the Superiority effects in Bg result in strict ordering constraints on the WH-elements, where the argument WH-phrase must precede the adjunct WH-phrase, while in the BCS examples in (13), where Superiority effects are absent, the ordering is free.

Interestingly, when more than two WH-elements occur, we get a slightly different picture. The ordering of the WH-elements remains free in BCS, and in Bg we find that only the most “superior” WH-phrase (see fn. 4) is subject to ordering constraints, i.e., it must be first. The remaining WH-elements can occur in any order. This is illustrated in (14)-(17) for Bg (examples from Bošković (1999: 165):

- (14) a. **Kogo kak** e tselunal Ivan?
 who how is kissed Ivan
 ‘How did Ivan kiss whom?’
 b. ?***kak kogo** e tselunal Ivan
- (15) a. **Koj kogo kak** e tselunal?
 who whom how iskissed
 ‘Who kissed whom how?’
 b. **Koj kak kogo** e tselunal?

In an economy-based account, Superiority is accounted for as a requirement that each feature be checked in the most economical way, i.e., through the shortest move possible.

- (16) a. **Kogo kakvo** e pital Ivan?
 whom what is asked Ivan
 ‘Whom did Ivan ask what?’
 b. *?**kakvo kogo** e pital Ivan
- (17) a. **Koj kogo kakvo** e pital?
 who whom what is asked
 ‘Who asked whom what?’
 b. **Koj kakvo kogo** e pital?

The ungrammatical (b) examples in (14) and (16) show the Superiority effects when the question contains only two WH-phrases. Compare these with the (b) examples in (15) and (17), respectively, where the same two WH-elements occur in the *same* order, regardless of their relative “superiority”, with no resulting ungrammaticality.

Bošković explains this in the following way: the WH-feature in C can be strong or weak;⁸ WH-movement actually affects only one WH-phrase; WH-movement is subject to the Superiority Condition (the *highest* phrase moves first); WH-elements may also undergo non-WH-fronting;⁹ non-WH-movement of WH-elements affects the remaining phrases; non-WH-movement is not subject to the Superiority Condition (all remaining WH-phrases end up in the same place, so it does not matter in which order they move). In other words, the WH-feature is an Attract-1-F, and the feature responsible for non-WH-fronting (see fn. 9) is an Attract-all-F feature. Given the abstract schema in (18), we see that a Attract-1-WH-feature will seek out the highest potential attractee (WH-phrase₁) in order to satisfy conditions of economy.

- (18) WH-movement (Attract-1)
- | | | | |
|--------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| F | WH-phrase ₁ | WH-phrase ₂ | WH-phrase ₃ |
| +wh | +wh | +wh | +wh |
| strong | weak | weak | weak |

An Attract-all-Focus-feature, on the other hand, may attract all the elements in any order, since, as Bošković (1999: 170) notes, “the same number of nodes will be crossed to satisfy the Attract-all-focused-elements inadequacy of the relevant head,” as shown in (19).

⁸ Strong features result in overt movement, while weak features induce movement only in the covert component (i.e., at LF).

⁹ Following Stjepanović (1998), Bošković argues that this is focus movement.

- (19) Focus movement (Attract-all)
- | | | | |
|--------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| F | WH-phrase ₁ | WH-phrase ₂ | WH-phrase ₃ |
| +focus | +focus | +focus | +focus |
| strong | weak | weak | weak |

Following this line of reasoning, Bošković concludes that Bg has a strong WH-feature with WH-movement in the overt syntax, in addition to non-WH-movement. The highest WH-phrase must occur first, and any remaining WH-phrases may occur in any order. BCS, on the other hand, has a weak WH-feature and has only non-WH-movement in the overt syntax; WH-movement is postponed until LF. Therefore, BCS multiple WH-questions do not exhibit Superiority effects.

Returning now to our NegP feature, I argue that it is an Attract-all-F feature in the following sense: it requires that it be the only feature of its kind in a clause. In other words, the formal inadequacy driving movement is an “Attract-all-negative-elements” king-of-the-hill feature on the head of NegP. Once NegP is merged into the derivation, this Attract-all-NEG feature scans the derivation for other negative features, attracts them, and erases them, thereby satisfying this requirement.^{10,11} This leaves the negative feature in Neg⁰ as the sole “expressor of negation” in the derivation and accounts for the Negative Concord reading witnessed in negative clauses in Slavic and other languages.

2.3.2. Attract-all-NEG and Negative Concord in Russian

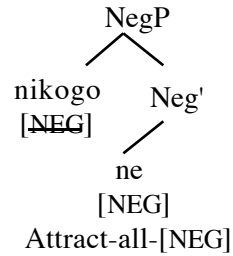
Let’s take a look at Russian and illustrate how the Attract-all-NEG feature works with negation. In Russian, once NegP has merged in the derivation, the Attract-all-NEG feature in the sublabel of *ne* scans the derivation for other NEG features. Should any negative constituents be present in the derivation, the Attract-all-NEG feature in the sublabel of the negative head will attract those features in order to check and erase them. This checking is shown for (20a) by the partial structure in (20b).

¹⁰ It is important to note that this operation is subject to certain locality conditions. In other words, the search area of the Attract-all-[NEG] feature in Neg⁰ for other instances of [NEG] is restricted to the clause containing it. In other words, it does not search into higher embedding clauses or lower embedded (tensed) clauses for other negative features. Furthermore, as mentioned above, it only seeks out uninterpretable negative features and, crucially, *not* interpretable ones. See Section 2.3.3 for further discussion of the relevance of this fact.

¹¹ Note that this might be referred to as “Murderous Greed”.

- (20) a. Ja **nikogo ne** videl.
 I nothing NEG saw
 ‘I didn’t see anything.’

- b. Checking [NEG] in Russian with overt raising of the *nikogo*



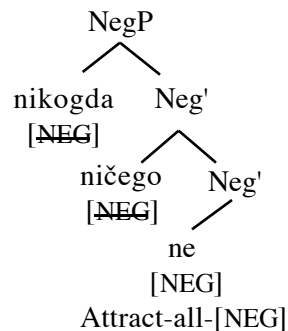
The negative constituent *nikogo* undergoes Move to merge into the Spec position of NegP (note that this is the checking configuration in (10a) above). The negative feature of *nikogo* is checked and erased, and the Attract-all-[NEG] feature of NegP is taken care of as well.

As for multiple negative constituents, nothing in the Minimalist program prevents multiple Specifiers, so in these cases, in order to satisfy the Attract-all-[NEG] feature on the head of NegP, the negative constituents would raise to [Spec, NegP] to have their [NEG] features checked. This is shown in (21b) for the sentence in (21a).

- (21) Checking of [NEG] on multiple negative constituents

- a. Ja **nikogda ničego ne** čitaju.
 I never nothing NEG read
 ‘I never read anything.’

- b. Partial structure of (21a)



Note that the order of the constituents in (21a) appears to violate Superiority, which forces raising of accusative arguments before

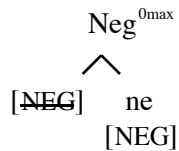
adjuncts. Were raising of negative constituents to obey Superiority, we would expect the order in (21a) to be ungrammatical. In fact, it is perfectly acceptable, as is the ordering where the object precedes the adjunct, as in *Ja ničego nikogda ne čitaju*. This fact provides further evidence that the operation that results in multiple fronting of negative constituents can indeed be captured by the Attract-All mechanism proposed by Bošković.

There are additional issues that arise with respect to word order that I am abstracting away from in the above discussion. As we have seen, the negative constituent need not undergo overt movement. The negative constituent can appear to remain *in situ*, which results in the negative constituent being emphasized or focused, as in (22).

- (22) Ja **ne** videl **nikogo**.
 I NEG saw no one
 ‘I didn’t see ANYONE.’

This might lead us to conclude that the feature [NEG] is abstracted from its host XP and moves covertly for checking, forming the checking configuration in (10c) above, leaving the postverbal NI-item *in situ*. This checking with covert raising of the [NEG] feature abstracted from the NI-item *in situ* is shown in (23).

- (23) Checking of [NEG] with covert feature raising



However, when dealing with multiple negative constituents, it seems that leaving the negative words *in situ* is not an option; at the very least, both negative constituents cannot remain *in situ*. This conclusion was reached on the basis of resistance on the part of native speakers to sentences like (24), where two negative constituents appear to remain *in situ*.

- (24) ?Ja ne čitaju **ničego** **nikogda**.
 I NEG read nothing never
 ‘I never read anything.’

Note that native speakers accept (24) with a clear pause or the conjunction ‘i’ between *ničego* and *nikogda*. They propose (25) as a context-specific alternative, with the most neutral, of course, being (21):

- (25) Ja **nikogda** ne čitaju **ničego**.
 I never NEG read nothing
 ‘I never read ANYTHING.’

In effect, what seems to be happening here is the Attract-all-NEG feature of the head of NegP is strong in Russian, and since strong features must be checked immediately, it forces overt movement of the negative constituent. However, negative constituents can be focused by further rightward movement (after they have raised to check this feature) to a right-edge focus position. Due to the fact that there is only one such position, sentences such as (24), where two negative constituents appear to have undergone this focus movement, are ruled out.¹²

To conclude, the Attract-all-NEG feature that enters a derivation in the head of NegP requires that the NEG-feature in Neg⁰ be the only feature of its kind in a derivation. It scans the derivation in search of similar features, attracts them, and erases them in the appropriate checking configuration. This leaves the [NEG] feature of the head of NegP as the “sole expressor of negation”.

2.3.2. Attract-all-F and True Double Negation

As pointed out by a reviewer, examples, such as the one given in (25), seem to be problematic for the analysis in its current state:

- (25) Ja ne mogu ne pit’ kofe.
 I NEG want NEG to-drink coffee
 ‘I can’t not drink coffee.’

The argument is that, if the Attract-all-NEG of *ne* in the main clause must attract **all** other instances the negative feature, it should attract and check (i.e., erase) the negative feature of *ne* in the infinitival clause, resulting in the incorrect reading in (26) as opposed to the correct one given in the gloss to (26).

- (26) #I can’t drink coffee.

Obviously, this is not the case. In order to explain this, it is necessary to reiterate exactly how the negative feature responsible for sentential negation differs from other negative features, since this difference, I believe, is the solution to this problem.

Recall that we are dealing with two different negative features: the functional negative feature residing in Neg⁰ that expresses sentential negation, and the negative feature that occurs in the feature submatrix of

¹² This is admittedly sketchy. I leave further resolution of this to future work.

negative constituents. The crucial difference is that the negative feature in the former case is *interpretable*, while in the latter it is *uninterpretable*. Assuming a null hypothesis whereby the attractor (or “probe” in the current parlance) only targets uninterpretable features, in examples like (25) above, the Attract-all-NEG feature in the main clause will not even see the interpretable negative feature in Neg^0 of the infinitival clause, given that it is an *interpretable* negative feature expressing sentential negation, or, perhaps more accurately in this case, clausal negation of the infinitival. In other words, the Attract-all-NEG feature in Neg^0 seeks out all other *uninterpretable* negative features, attracts them, and erases them.¹³

2.4. NEG-absorption and the Interpretation of Multiple Negative Constituents: An Alternative Proposal

This checking analysis for Negative Concord handles one problem associated with analyses in terms of the NEG-Criterion: its dependence on the controversial Negative Absorption to account for the interpretation of multiple negative constituents. In other words, within that framework, in order to ensure that multiple instances of negative words in a single clause express only one instance of negation once they have risen to satisfy the NEG-Criterion, they must undergo a process known as ‘negative absorption’ (cf. Higginbotham and May 1981, Zanuttini 1989, Haegeman and Zanuttini 1990, 1996), whereby the NEG-operators merge into one instance of negation by a process known as *factorization* (27):

(27) Factorization

In languages that show NC, when two negative quantifiers raise they undergo a process which we will informally call “factorization”: instead of creating two (or more) consecutive instances of a universal quantifier () each followed by an instance of negation (\neg), negation is factored out and the two (or more) universal quantifiers become one binary (or *n*-ary) quantifier:

¹³ We cannot make an appeal to any type of locality constraints here, given that embedded infinitivals are not opaque to other operations, including Negative Concord when the infinitival is not negated, as in (i):

- (i) Ja **ne** mogu delat’ **ničego**.
 I NEG can to-do no-what
 ‘I can’t do anything.’

In (i) it is the negative feature of the main clause that attracts and erases the negative feature of the negative pronoun *ničego*.

$$[\neg x] [\neg y] ([\neg z]) \quad [\neg x, y, z] \neg$$

(Ladusaw 1992: 242, citing Haegeman and Zanuttini 1990: 21-22)

This accounts for why multiple instances of negative words in NC languages do not give rise to a reading of Double Negation (DN) where each negative constituent is interpreted as independently negative. This is shown in the contrast between the Standard English example in (28), which exhibits DN, and the Russian example in (29), which exhibits NC.

(28) I didn't give **nothing** to **nobody**. (DN, *NC)¹⁴
(i.e. I gave something to somebody)

(29) Ja **nikomu niãego ne** davala. (NC, *DN)
I no one nothing NEG gave
'I didn't give anything to anybody.'

The distinction between these two language types, as noted by Haegeman (1995), reduces to the fact that Standard English does not allow negative absorption, while a language like Russian does.

Hornstein (1995) suggests that WH-absorption is superfluous and therefore incompatible with the notions of economy in the Minimalist program. Suppose we accept his claim and extend it to NEG-absorption. How might it be reinterpreted to account for the facts? Recall that, according to the literature, NEG-absorption must take place once the

¹⁴ A reviewer points out that, according to widespread claims about DN interpretations, including the one assumed in this paper, the sentence in (28) should actually be interpreted as negative. If the DN interpretation results from negative elements canceling each other out, then the presence of three negative elements should result in one remaining instance of semantic negation. This is an interesting point, one that has received little, if any, attention in the literature that I know of. What appears to be taking place in DN sentences with an odd number of occurrences of morphologically negative elements is something akin to absorption, which the conscientious reader will note that I am arguing against. In other words, the negated constituents (*nothing* and *nobody* in (28)) would seem to behave as a **single** instance of negation, as if their negative feature has been factored out, and this single negative feature is what is canceled by sentential negation. However, we must recall, as pointed out in fn. 3, that DN sentences like (28) are only felicitous in response to some previous utterance or assumption. In other words, we are dealing with denial; the sentence in (28) denies *You gave nothing to nobody* and negates the previous utterance or assumption as a whole, i.e., *It is not the case that I gave nothing to nobody*. While a proper formalization of this notion lies beyond the scope of this paper, it seems to suggest that there is a systematic way of accounting for this apparent paradox.

negative constituents have raised to [Spec, NegP] in order for the presence of multiple *n*-phrases in the sense of Laka 1990, 1994 to be construed as a single instance of negation (see also Haegeman and Zanuttini (1991) and Haegeman (1995)). Might we account for the distribution of negative pronouns observed in Russian (and all languages that exhibit Negative Concord, for that matter) without depending on absorption? Here I propose an account of the interpretation of multiple negative constituents that exploits feature deletion as discussed above, and the notion of traces of moved elements as copies put forth by Chomsky (1995). I combine this with the notion of indefinites as variables developed by Heim (1982, 1988). This account in effect dispenses with the need for NEG-absorption.

As we showed above, once a given feature has been checked, it is deleted. This deletion canonically applies to inflectional and case features that are checked in a Spec-head relation with the head of an appropriate functional category. Reiterating the claim that the NEG-Criterion is reducible to Checking Theory, I propose that each negative constituent is semantically composed of a feature [NEG] and an existentially interpreted non-specific indefinite whose semantic content is determined by the XP denotation of its WH-(k-)stem. In this respect, *nikto* ('no one') is semantically equivalent to [NOT [*x*, *x* a person] (or even NOT + 'who', its true morphological decomposition) as in (30):¹⁵

(30) Semantic and Morphological Structure of Negative Constituents

- a. *nikto* (ni + *who*) 'no one' [NEG] [*x*: *x* a PERSON]
- b. *nikogda* (ni + *when*) 'never' [NEG] [[*x*: *x* a TIME]
- c. *nigde* (ni + *where*) 'nowhere' [NEG] [[*x*: *x* a PLACE]

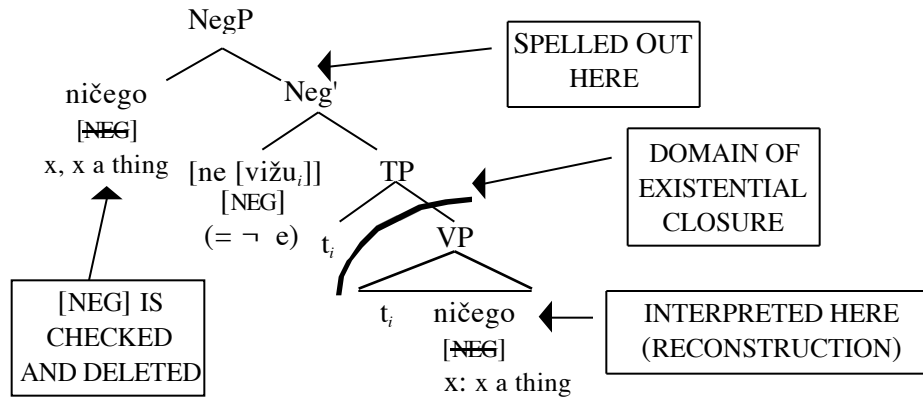
In instances of Negative Concord the negative feature [NEG] of the negative constituent must be checked against the [NEG] feature of the negative head in order to satisfy the requirements of the Attract-all-NEG feature, as we saw before. Once checked, the [NEG] feature on the negative constituent is deleted. Once the [NEG] feature has been deleted, the still present [NEG] feature in the sublabel of Neg⁰ is interpreted as **negative closure** of events, i.e., sentential negation, and the negative pronouns are interpreted as indefinites in the domain of existential closure, i.e., the VP (cf. Diesing 1992).

¹⁵ Note that such an approach to negative constituents in Russian was employed in Brown 1996, 1999, and has been employed elsewhere to account for the behavior of negative constituents in other languages, e.g., by Giannakidou 1997 for Greek, Błaszczak 1998, 1999, Richter and Sailer 1999, and Przepiórkowski and Kupść 1999 for Polish, and Acquaviva 1997 and Przepiórkowski 1999 for Italian.

This is shown for (31) in (32).

- (31) Ja **ničego ne** vižu.
 I nothing NEG see
 ‘I don’t see anything.’

- (32) Interpretation of Negative Constituents.



The negative constituent raises to [Spec, NegP] and leaves behind a copy in its base-generated position. Both copies at some pre-deletion point in the derivation consist of negation ([NEG]) + XP. The [NEG] feature of the lower copy deletes, since it is not required there for checking purposes. The higher [NEG] feature then checks itself against the [NEG] feature of Neg⁰ and itself is deleted. The lower copy is a non-specific indefinite which, as a variable, is bound by existential closure VP internally (cf. Heim 1982, 1988, Diesing 1992); the higher copy deletes. This can also be viewed as a type of post-Spellout reconstruction. The negative pronoun raises to have [NEG] checked in a Spec-head relation with the negative feature on Neg⁰, but the remaining indefinite is a variable that needs to be bound. Therefore the moved constituent is forced by LF interpretability to reconstruct to its base-generated position inside the VP and receive the proper existential interpretation.

Assuming that verbs denote sets of events, the syntactic structure in (32) corresponds to the logical form in (33) in a formal language with events (cf. Parsons 1990).

- (33) $\neg e$ see : x thing (x) Agent(e) = I theme(e) = x

In other words, there is no event of seeing, such that there is a thing x and I see x .

Similarly, multiple negative constituents raise to satisfy the Attract-all-NEG feature. Their [NEG] features are checked and deleted, and their

copies *in situ* are interpreted as indefinites in the domain of existential closure. By making use of feature deletion and traces as copies, we dispense with the need for NEG-absorption. The feature [NEG] of the negative constituent is deleted for independent reasons, leaving no superfluous [NEG] features, while reconstruction back to its VP internal position allows the lower copy to be interpreted as an existential. The string of existential quantifiers in instances of multiple negative constituents can then merge into a polyadic quantifier, without the problems that beset NEG-absorption for compositional semantics (cf. Ladusaw 1992). Following the analysis developed so far, what actually expresses negation is the negative feature introduced in the sublabel of the negative head *ne*.

One particular advantage of the account proposed in this section is that it unifies the intuitions of NEG-absorption with the economical mechanism of feature deletion in the Minimalist program. In addition, the analysis proposed here entails that it is the negative feature in the sublabel of Neg^0 with the semantics of negative closure of events that “expresses negation”. This supports the claim by Ladusaw (1992: 328) that

[O]ne does not associate a recognizable negation operator as the lexical interpretation of any of the visible formatives in the sentence, but rather with an abstract aspect of clause structure which must be licensed by a morphologically negative phrase.

Finally, it allows for both Spec-head feature checking and existential binding to be employed in the analysis of multiple negative constituents.

3. Parametric variation in NC patterns

Now that we have shown how the Attract-all-NEG feature can account for the Negative Concord pattern of Russian, let’s examine the cross-linguistics patterns that we discussed above.

To review briefly, Slavic negative constituents, regardless of their configuration and how many of them occur, always require *ne*, the overt head of NegP, in order to be licit. This accounts for the ungrammaticality of (34a) and (34b) with no overt negative head:

- (34) a. **Nikto** *(**ne**) zvonil. [Russian]
 no one NEG called
 ‘No one called.’
- b. **Nikto** *(**ne**) videl **nikogo**.
 no one NEG saw no one
 ‘No one saw anyone.’

In Italian, on the other hand, only postverbal negative constituents (either VP-internal or postposed) require an overt sentential negation marker (i.e., *non*) or a preverbal negative constituent. Thus *nessuno* ('nobody') in (35a) requires the presence of *non* in NegP, because it is a postverbal subject. In (35b) *non* is required, because *nessuno* is a postverbal object.

- (35) a. ***(Non)** ha telefonato **nessuno**. [Italian]
 NEG has telephoned nobody
 'Nobody called.'
- b. Mario ***(non)** ha telefonato **nessuno**.
 Mario NEG has telephoned nobody
 'Mario didn't call anybody.'

Preverbal negative constituents not only do not require an overt negative marker, they *cannot* co-occur with it. The examples in (36) with a preverbal subject (36a) and a preposed constituent (36b) are ungrammatical with the negative particle *non* (from Haegeman 1995: 211, ex. (63a)).

- (36) a. **Nessuno** (***non**) ha telefonato.
 Nobody NEG has telephoned.
 'Nobody called.'
- b. A **nessuno** Gianni (**%non**)ha parlato.¹⁶
 to nobody Gianni NEG has spoken
 'Gianni has spoken to no one.'

A preverbal negative subject can license a postverbal negative constituent. The particle *non* is disallowed in these constructions, as in (37).

- (37) **Nessuno** (***non**) ha parlato con **nessuno**. [Italian]
 nobody NEG has talked with nobody
 'Nobody talked to anyone.'

This is also true of preposed negative constituents. The particle *non* is disallowed, as in (38) (compare with (36b)).

- (38) A **nessuno** Gianni (***non**) dice **niente**. [Italian]
 to no one Gianni NEG said nothing
 'Gianni does not say anything to anyone.'

¹⁶ The symbol % is used by Haegeman, as far as I can understand, to indicate that this example is grammatical with a slight focus on the preposed constituent. I will return to how such examples can be handled by my account, once I have presented the account in detail. See Section 3.2.

This pattern also occurs in Spanish.

Catalan behaves in some ways like Italian and in some ways like Russian. Preverbal negative constituents can co-occur with the negative particle *no*, as they are required to do in Russian, but do not have to, as they are prohibited from doing in Italian. This is shown in (39) taken from Ladusaw (1992: 250, his (24f) and (24g)).

- (39) a. **Ningú** (**no**) ha vist en Joan. [Catalan]
 nobody NEG has seen DEF John
 ‘No one has seen John.’
- b. En Pere **mai** (**no**) fa **res**.
 DEF Peter never NEG does nothing
 ‘Peter never does anything.’

With postverbal negative constituents, on the other hand, the negative particle or a preverbal negative constituent is obligatory, as in (40), also from Ladusaw 1992.

- (40) a. En Pere ***(no)** ha fet **res**. [Catalan]
 DEF Peter NEG has done nothing
 ‘Peter has done nothing.’
- b. ***(No)** m’ ha telefonat **ningú**.
 NEG me has called nobody
 ‘Nobody has called me.’
- c. En Pere ***(no)** renta **mia** els plats.
 DEF Peter NEG washes never DEF dishes
 ‘Peter never washes the dishes.’

Interestingly enough, this same pattern is attested in Old Russian (OR) and Old Church Slavonic (OCS). The negative particle *ne* was optional in the case of preverbal negative constituents, but was obligatory (or at least always attested) with postverbal ones. This optionality is shown in example (41), where the NI-item occurs without the particle *ne*, and (42) where it occurs with it. All examples are taken from Křížková (1968: 24).

- (41) a. Nъ **niktoŭe** vъzloži na nъ rǫku. [OCS]
 but no one placed on him hand
 ‘But no one laid a hand on him.’
- b. **Niāego** že sja bojatъ bēsi, tokmo kresta. [OR]
 nothing EMP REFL fear demons except cross
 ‘Demons fear nothing but the cross.’

- (42) a. **Niktoĭe ne** naj'ťb nas'b. [OCS]
 no one NEG hired us
 'Nobody hired us.'
- b. ...jako svoego **nikto** že **ne** xulit'b.... [OR]
 ...that own nobody EMP NEG slander
 '...that no one slanders his own.'

The order NI-item–V is the only word order attested where a NI-item does not co-occur with the negative particle *ne*. Postverbal negative constituents are attested only with the negative particle *ne*, as in (43):

- (43) a. az že **ne** sqždŋ **nikomuĭe** [OCS]
 I EMP NEG judge no one
 'I don't judge anyone!'
- b. i **ne** idjaše s nimi **nikto ĭe...** [OR]
 and NEG went with them no one
 '...and nobody went with them.'

West Flemish also exhibits Negative Concord, but only when the negative constituents are in a certain configuration prior to Spellout. Recall example (4a), repeated here as (44), which shows that the negative constituent must occur in a Spec-head relation with the negative head prior to Spellout in order for the NC reading to obtain.

- (44) da Valère **van niemand nie** ketent (en)-was [WF]
 that Valère of no one not contented **en**-was
 'that Valère was not pleased with anyone' (*DN, NC)

Example (4b), repeated here as (45), shows that failure of the negative constituent to raise overtly results in a reading of Double Negation, where the negative constituents cancel each other out.

- (45) da Valère **nie** ketent **van niemand** (en)-was [WF]
 that Valère not contented of no one **en**-was
 'that Valère was not pleased with no one' (DN, *NC)
 (i.e. he was pleased with someone)

In (46)–(49) I summarize the cross-linguistic variation observed in Negative Concord patterns:

- (46) Russian, Catalan, Italian, Spanish, Old Russian, Old Church Slavonic, and West Flemish exhibit Negative Concord;
- (47) For **postverbal** negative constituents, Russian, Catalan, Italian, Spanish, Old Russian, and Old Church Slavonic require an overt

sentential negation marker (or, in the case of Spanish and Italian, a preverbal negative constituent);

- (48) For **preverbal** negative constituents, only Russian requires an overt sentential negation marker; Italian and Spanish disallow it; in Catalan, Old Church Slavonic, and Old Russian it is optional.
- (49) Only West Flemish requires an overt Spec-head relation for a Negative Concord reading.

In (50) we find an outline of what any analysis of NC must account for:

- (50) a. The obligatory Spec-head pattern of NC in West Flemish;
 b. The **historical development** of NC in Russian;
 c. The apparent competing grammars of Catalan, Old Russian, and Old Church Slavonic (vis-a-vis Italian and Russian) with respect to NC;
 e. The patterns of co-occurrence of sentential negation markers with negative constituents given in (51):

(51) Negative Concord and sentential negation markers

	Russian <i>ne</i>	Catalan <i>no</i> /OCS, OR <i>ne</i> *	Italian <i>non</i> ¹⁷
w/preverbals	OBLIGATORY	OPTIONAL	DISALLOWED
w/postverbals	OBLIGATORY	OBLIGATORY (*as attested)	OBLIGATORY

3.1. Russian

In Russian the negative marker *ne* is the head of NegP. The uninterpretable Attract-all-F [NEG] feature of the Neg head attracts and erases the [NEG] feature of any and all negative constituents.

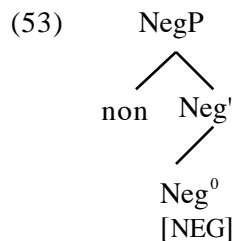
3.2. Italian

In order to account for Italian (and also Spanish), I claim that, like Russian, the Attract-all-NEG feature in Italian and must be checked for the derivation to converge. However, the behavior of Italian postverbal and preverbal negative constituents suggests that perhaps the status of the negative marker in Italian is different from that of Russian.

¹⁷ It is important to bear in mind here that this applies to postverbal negative constituents in clauses that contain no preverbal negative constituents. As noted above, preverbal negative constituents eliminate the requirement for (and in fact disallow) the sentential negation marker *non*.

Recall that Italian preverbal negative constituents cannot co-occur with the negative marker *non* (but see (36b) for a possible counterexample, which I will discuss to below). The reason, I argue, is that the negative head in Italian consists solely of an abstract negative feature. In accordance with claims made in Speas (1994, 1995) that for a phrase to exist it must have phonological content, NegP in Italian requires overt content in its Spec position. Speas' claim is part of an analysis of the null subject parameter as a requirement that the AGR projection have content prior to Spellout, since the derivation has no further access to the Lexicon after Spellout. In languages where the head of AGR hosts overt agreement morphology, the Specifier position can be empty (i.e., null subjects are allowed). In those where the agreement morphology is attached to the verb, the spec must be filled (i.e., null subjects are not allowed). Extending this analysis to the NegP projection, we can claim that NegP must have content prior to Spellout. In languages where the head of NegP does not have its own lexical entry, some element (specifically one with negative features) must move to that position prior to Spellout in order to license the projection. Under this approach, the negative marker *non* in Italian is actually a Spec that adjoins to Neg⁰ to satisfy this requirement. In the case of a negative clause containing no negative constituents, the negative marker *non* is obligatorily merged into that position to provide overt content for NegP, as shown for (52) by the partial structure in (53).

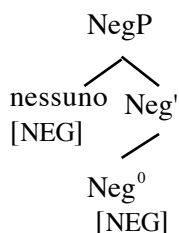
- (52) **Non** ha visto Mario.
 not has seen Mario
 'He hasn't seen Mario.'



The particle *non* is not necessary in the case of preverbal negative constituents, since these overtly pass through [Spec, NegP], providing the overt content for NegP, as shown for (54) in (55).

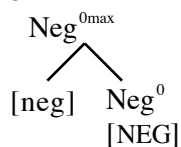
- (54) **Nessuno** ha telefonato
 no one has called
 'No one called'

- (55) Movement of *nessuno* through [Spec, NegP] providing overt material



This also explains why postverbal negative constituents require the presence of the negative marker *non* (or some preverbal negative constituent; see below). The sentential negation marker *non* is required, for the same reason it is required in a negated clause with no negative constituents present, i.e., because the negative head is non-overt and requires its Spec position to be filled. Since the feature [NEG] of a postverbal negative constituent raises covertly for checking and adjoins to the [NEG] which constitutes Neg^0 , in clauses lacking *non*, a new zero-level maximal projection $\text{Neg}^{0\text{max}}$ with no overt content would be created, as shown in (56).

- (56) $\text{Neg}^{0\text{max}}$ in Italian



The requirement that the Neg projection have overt content prior to Spellout is not satisfied and the derivation crashes. The negative particle *non* then provides the necessary overt realization of NegP and is required to merge as its Spec.¹⁸

¹⁸ A reviewer suggests that any element with overt phonological content could satisfy this requirement and that a sentence like (i) would be fine, where the NP *Mario* satisfies this requirement:

- (i) *Mario ha visto nessuno.
 Mario has seen no-one

I would argue that in (i), *Mario* does **not** pass through NegP on its way to a Case-checking position. There is no reason for it to pass through, given it does not check Case there and it does not have a negative feature in its feature submatrix. There is no requirement in the Minimalist program that maximal projections undergo Spec-

Claiming that *non* is actually a Spec, together with the requirement that the Neg projection be overt also allows us to explain the pattern that occurs in Italian when postverbal and preverbal negative constituents co-occur as in (57).

- (57) **Nessuno** (*non) ha visto **niente**.
 no one neg has seen nothing
 ‘No one has seen anything.’

The particle *non* is necessary only to provide overt material for the Neg projection. In (54)-(55) and (57) this is provided by the subject *nessuno* as it moves through [Spec, NegP] on its way to a higher position (for Case checking). The [NEG] feature of *niente* in (57) still raises covertly to head-adjoin to the [NEG] feature of the Neg head in order to be checked. However, nothing requires the presence of *non* to provide the overt material for that projection; this was done when *nessuno* passed through [Spec, NegP].¹⁹

Let us return now to example (36b), repeated here as (58), where a preverbal negative constituent presumably *can* co-occur with the negative marker *non*, if the preverbal negative constituent is focused.

- (58) A **nessuno** Gianni (%**non**) ha parlato.
 to no one Gianni NEG has spoken
 ‘Gianni has spoken to *no one*.’

The fact that examples such as these are only acceptable in specific contexts, i.e., where the fronted negative constituent is focused, suggests that the movement operation responsible for focusing a constituent occurs after the requirement that NegP have overt content has been satisfied. In other words, *non* is merged into NegP to provide content, and then *nessuno* undergoes focus movement, without ever moving through NegP.²⁰ Presumably the negative feature of *nessuno* will raise covertly to be checked before this focus movement occurs.

to-Spec movement. For all intents and purposes, the Spec position of NegP and the NP *Mario* are invisible to each other. This is why whatever passes through NegP must have negative content and require movement through NegP anyway.

¹⁹ Notice that by assuming cyclic Spellout, following Chomsky 1999, we can fine tune this discussion somewhat by claiming that on this particular pass through the Spellout cycle, this requirement is satisfied before the negative constituent raises further for Case checking.

²⁰ Similar data exist in Spanish, which also exhibits the same restrictions on the co-occurrence of *non* and preverbal negative constituents as Italian. See Martin-Gonzalez 2000 for examples and discussion.

3.3. Old Church Slavonic, Old Russian, and Catalan

The data from these languages suggest that they have grammars competing between negation of the Italian-type and the Russian-type; in other words the negative marker sometimes behaves like a Spec and sometimes like a head. This competition is visible only for **preverbal negative constituents**. When the negative marker is a head, as *ne* is in Russian, it is always overt, and the negative feature of the preverbal negative constituents is checked by movement to/to/through [Spec, NegP]. When the negative marker is a Spec, as in Italian, then no negative marker is required for preverbal negative constituents since the negative constituent in Spec provides the overt content. Historically, we might propose, the requirement of a negative marker to provide overt material for Neg projections in sentences containing postverbal negative constituents in Old Church Slavonic and Old Russian (and as seen in IT) led to a resolution of the competing grammars and the negative marker switched categories from a Spec to a head. Perhaps this is the destiny of Catalan.

3.4. West Flemish

The Attract-all-NEG feature of the Neg head in West Flemish is optional. In these instances, the negative constituents all retain their negative features. This accounts for the Double Negation reading in examples where the negative constituent has not raised to the Spec position of NegP overtly.

In NC contexts, the optional Attract-all-NEG feature of the Neg head is present. Furthermore, it is strong and forces overt movement; for this reason the negative constituents must occur in an overt Spec-head relation for a Negative Concord reading to obtain.²¹

²¹ Notice that in order for the present analysis to handle the West Flemish data adequately, we would have to posit that the [NEG] feature of negative constituents in West Flemish is interpretable. Otherwise, we would not expect the readings with Double Negation to occur at all. This conflicts with my claim that the Attract-all-NEG feature in NegP attracts only *uninterpretable* features. I don't see this as an intractable obstacle. It may very well be that the negative features of substantives (i.e., non-functional negative features that express sentential negation) are what the Attract-all-NEG feature of NegP is interested in. In this case, we would not need to make a distinction between interpretable and uninterpretable NEG-features.

4. Closing Remarks

There are other issues that are not addressed in this article due to time and space constraints, which I will mention here. First of all, it would be desirable to include a discussion of the locality constraints alluded to in fn. 10. For example, sentences, such as (59), where the negative constituent occurs in an embedded finite clause and sentential negation occupies the NegP of the higher clause, are disallowed in Russian:

- (59) *Ivan **ne** skazala, čto to kupila **ničego**.
 Ivan NEG said that you bought no-what
 (to mean: Ivan didn't say that you bought anything)

Secondly, as pointed out by a reviewer, certain issues with respect to pied-piping in other Slavic languages arise that we must pass over. Namely, Polish offers interesting examples, such as (60):

- (60) W **adnym** sklepie nie ma takiego wyboru.
 In no shop NEG have such choice
 'There is no (other) shop with such a choice.'

In Polish the adjective *adnym* 'no', while not morphologically negative, falls into the class of negative constituents that undergo Negative Concord. The question is exactly how the negative feature on the adjective is checked by the negative head, given pied-piping of the entire prepositional phrase to [Spec, NegP].²² These are issues which must wait for another article.

In conclusion, I have shown that an Attract-all-NEG feature on the head of NegP can account for a wide variety of facts association with Negative Concord. Under this analysis the formal inadequacy driving movement lies in the target of movement, rather than the element undergoing movement. Once merged, this feature scans the derivation for other uninterpretable [NEG] features, attracts them, and checks and

²² Note that in Russian, such an issue does not arise, given that such negative constituents do not occur (i.e., those that undergo Negative Concord, but which are not morphologically negative). Furthermore, with Russian negative constituents, the NI-items, the prefix *ni-* always detaches from the NI-item and cliticizes to the preposition, as in (i):

- (i) Ni v kakom magazine net takogo vybora.
 no in which store is-not such choice
 'There is no (other) shop with such a choice.'

This precludes the need to appeal to any type of feature percolation, at least for Russian.

erases them. Once this property of the negative head is satisfied, the “sole expressor of negation” remains the negative feature in NegP.

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