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A FEATURAL ACCOUNT OF POLARITY PHENOMENA

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION IN LINGUISTICS SUPERVISED BY:

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ABBREVIATIONS & SYMBOLS

■ Abbreviations:

A	Adjective.
Acc	Accusative (case).
Adv	Adverb.
AdvP	Adverbial Phrase.
Agr	Agreement.
AgrIOP	Agreement Indirect Object Phrase.
AgrOP	Agreement Object Phrase.
AgrP	Agreement Phrase.
AgrPPP	Agreement Past Participle Phrase.
AgrSP	Agreement Subject Phrase.
AP	Adjectival Phrase.
AspP	Aspectual Phrase.
C	Complementizer.
Card	Cardinal.
CardP	Cardinal Phrase.
CP	Complementizer Phrase.
Cpl	Complement.
CQPs	Counting QPs.
CR	Compounding Rule.
D-linked	Discourse-linked (Pesetsky [1987]).
DN	Double Negation (reading).
DQPs	Distributive-Universal QPs.
d-structure	Deep-structure (structure before spell-out).
<i>e</i>	Empty category.
ECP	Empty Category Principle.
EPP	Extended Projection Principle.
EQPs	Distributive-Existential QPs.
F	Feminine.
FC	Free Choice.
Foc	Focus.
FocP	Focus Phrase.
ForceP	Force Phrase (Rizzi [1997]).
FP	Functional Phrase.
FQ	Floating Quantifier.
Gend	Gender.
GendP	Gender Phrase.
GQPs	Group-denoting QPs.
I°	Inflection.
IO	Indirect Object.
IP	Inflection Phrase.
K	Case (Laenzlinger [1993]).
LF	Logical Form.
Loc	Locative (case).
LP	Linking Phrase.
M	Masculine.
MC	Minimal Configuration (Rizzi [1998, 2000]).
Mod	Modal (Cinque [1999]).
ModP	Modal Phrase.
MoodP	Mood Phrase.
N	Noun.
NC	Negative Concord (reading).
Nom	Nominative (case).
'n'-p	'Negative' presupposition.
NP	Nominal Phrase.
NPI	Negative Polarity Item.
NQPs	Negative QPs.
Num	Numeral.
Numb	Number.
NumbP	Number Phrase.
NumP	Numeral Phrase.
N-words	Negative words (Laka [1990]).
OP	Operator (without phonological realization).
P	Preposition.
Part	Partitive.
PartP	Partitive Phrase.
Pl	Plural.
PD	Pseudo-Distributivity (Beghelli [1995]).
Pers	Person.
PersP	Person Phrase.
PI	Polarity (sensitive) Item.
PLR	Pair-List Reading.
PolP	Polarity Phrase.
'p'-p	'Positive' presupposition.
PP	Prepositional Phrase.
PPI	Positive Polarity Item.

<i>pro</i>	Null subject of finite sentences.
PRO	Null subject of infinitives.
PS	Polarity Sensitive (reading).
P-words	Positive words.
Q	Quantifier.
QAD	Quantification At a Distance (Obenauer [1984]).
QP	Quantificational Phrase.
Refl	Reflexive.
RefP	Referential Phrase.
RHR	Right-hand Head Rule (Williams [1981]).
RME	Relativized Minimality Effects (Rizzi [1998]).
RT	Relevance Theory.
S	Sentence.
Sg	Singular.
SD	Strong Distributivity (Beghelli [1995]).
SM	Scope Marker.
Spec	Specifier.
s-structure	Surface-structure (old terminology for spell-out).
SupP	Presuppositional Phrase.
TAntP	Tense Anterior Phrase.
TFutP	Tense Future Phrase.
θ -criterion	Thematic criterion.
θ -role	Thematic role.
Top	Topic.
TopP	Topic Phrase.
TPastP	Tense Past Phrase.
UG	Universal Grammar.
V	Verb.
V-2	Verb Second language.
VP	Verbal Phrase.
WFR	Word Formation Rule.
Wh	Interrogative feature.
WhQPs	Interrogative QPs.
X($^{\circ}$)	Variable head.
XP	Variable Phrase.

■ **Symbols:**

• JUDGMENTS:

✓	Current use.
☺	Jocular use.
%	Substandard use.
†	Old-fashioned use.
††	Archaic use.
⌘	Normative rule.
?	Syntactically odd sequence.
??	Syntactically very odd sequence.
*	Ungrammatical sequence.
*⌘	Normative ungrammaticality.
#	Semantic anomaly.

• NOTATIONS:

(...)	Optional content.
{.../...}	Selectable content.
<...>	Derivational step/ Unspelled-out copy.
[...]	Morphological unit (word)/ Syntactic unit (phrase)/ Insertion in a quotation.
A:	First speaker.
B:	Second speaker.
¬	Negative Boolean operator/ Null scope marker for negation.
÷	Unpolarized null scope marker.
→	Logical implication/ Implicature/ Syntactic derivation.
↔	Biconditional implication.
<	Comes from/ Is lower than.
>	Becomes/ Is higher than.
∧	Logical conjunction.
∨	Logical disjunction.
∃	Existential variable.
∀	Universal variable.
=	Absence of a Feature.
-	Incomplete specification of a Feature.
+	Full specification of a Feature.

0. ABSTRACT

0.1. PRESENTATION OF THE SUBJECT

The concept of POLARITY was imported in linguistics from the terminology of mathematics and physics, where it denotes systems characterized by the “possession of two poles having contrary qualities”.¹ Linguists currently use this label to describe the intuitive opposition holding between sentences bearing ‘negative’ morphology (“Peter doesn’t eat chocolate”, or “Peter eats **no** chocolate”), and sentences bearing either a ‘positive’ morphology (“Peter **does** eat chocolate”), or simply no ‘negative’ morphology (“Peter eats chocolate”).

Items whose distribution depends on sentential or local polarity are traditionally called POLARITY (SENSITIVE) ITEMS (PIs). They can be found in all (semi-)lexical grammatical categories (adjectives, adverbs, complementizers, determiners, nouns, prepositions, pronouns, quantifiers, scope markers (SMs), and verbs), and in some phrasal units (VPs, IPs, and CPs); this label includes three subtypes:

- (1) a. NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEMS (NPIs) can only occur under the scope of a ‘negative’ element in the broader sense of Klima [1964], often including interrogative inversion, and sometimes interrogation *in situ*.
- b. POSITIVE POLARITY ITEMS (PPIs) generally cannot occur under the scope of any ‘negative’ element, excepting in particular cases involving some sort of contrastive stress.
- c. FREE CHOICE PIs (FC PIs) need to be c-commanded either by a ‘negative’, or by a ‘positive’ element, but cannot survive in contexts unmarked for polarity.

PIs are known in many typologically very different languages, and presumably can be found in all natural languages, for their behavior depends on basic properties of the Universal Grammar (UG); this dissertation focuses on French PIs, with some crosslinguistic comparisons when illuminating.

One of the salient properties of PIs is the fact of being highly idiomatical: they are subject to wide variations from a ‘register’ to another, from a region to another, and from a speaker to another, so that it is very difficult to describe an abstract ‘Standard French’.² In order to account for this non-trivial problem, we will make the strong hypothesis that most of the language-internal variations called ‘varieties’, be they associated to given geographic areas or given social levels, are simply various moods to make use of a single unitary linguistic machine; and that the compartmentalization of languages into ‘varieties’ is a cultural and normative undertaking, which often doesn’t correspond to any natural reality.

Empirical reason in favor of this view is that culturally opposite ‘varieties’ can perfectly co-occur in a single sentence without showing code-switching properties — for instance, in the following English example, alternation between *-s*-suffixation and no suffixation at all for the third person singular on the one hand, single and multiple occurrence of a *no*-morpheme on the other hand:³

- (2) “Time *waits* for **nobody**/ Time *don’t* wait for **no** one”.⁴

¹ *The concise Oxford Dictionary of current English*, fifth edition.

² Furthermore, the rising shift from Modern French towards Neo French is voiding from any content the notion itself of a standard ‘variety’, which has had concrete existence only in contrast with a controversial spoken language, nowadays replacing it in many areas.

³ Coining a unitary language with culturally miscellaneous ‘registers’ is just the salient property of the greatest French writers, like Céline or Gainsbourg.

⁴ Freddie Mercury, *Time* (Dave Clark & John Christie), Dave Clark Productions, 1986.

Theoretical grounds favoring the hypothesis of unitary languages are to allow reaching the highest level of generalization. If two apparently opposite ‘varieties’, for instance French clitic ordering *imperative-dative-accusative* vs. *imperative-accusative-dative*, may be accounted for by a single theory of French, such a theory, and only such a theory is able to explain their possible co-occurrence in a single sentence without showing code-switching properties; the risk of treating as a coherent system what could be a fortuitous conglomeration of systems, which is the principal motivation for a compartmenting theory, is very weak in comparison with the fact that such a theory just fail to explain ‘miscellaneous’ sentences.⁵

A further argument for bringing in so many ‘varieties’ is the enrichment of the empirical basis of the approach: this has the same effect than bringing in more languages would have.⁶ For all those reasons, taking into account a great range of facts is a necessary condition to reach explanatory adequacy: we are able to explain more phenomena in seeing a particular language, like English or French, as a complex machine from which a particular ‘variety’ only makes a partial use.

Empirical field is thus large and complex, and has for the best part escaped normative codification: the most polarity phenomena being ‘affective’, namely involving features of speaker-oriented nature, and being typical of spoken and especially colloquial uses, dictionaries and traditional grammars keep silent about them. The most salient descriptive inaccuracies are the following four ones:

- Negative arguments like *personne* ‘nobody’ exhibit a reading alternation between a universally quantifying guise (expressed in English by the prefix ‘no-’), and an existentially quantifying guise (expressed in English by the prefix ‘any-’), without visible morphological change; traditional grammars at the best summarily describe this alternation with some examples, but none of these grammars mentions the change of quantificational value illustrated in (3).

⁵ Code-switching processes between distinct ‘national’ languages are mentioned, for instance, by Woolford [1983] for English-Spanish bilingual speakers. On her footsteps, Belazi, Edward J. Rubin & Toribio [1994] “propose two universal syntactic constraints on intrasentential code switching: the Functional Head Constraint, which prohibits switches between functional heads and their complements, and the Word-Grammar Integrity Corollary, which requires all words of a language to obey that language’s grammar in code-switching contexts”, as summarized by Mahootian & Santorini [1996:464], which replaced those constraints by the Complement/Adjunct distinction.

Whatever may be the nature of code-switching processes, they shouldn’t be confused with ‘miscellaneous’ sentences jumping over ‘varieties’: there is simply no switch at all in sentences like the following ((i)ii.a taken from Serge Gainsbourg, *Gloomy Sunday*, Philips, 1987; (i)ii.b taken from Jacques Dutronc, *Elle m’a rien dit, m’a tout dit* (Jean Fauque), Sony, 1995):

- (i) (I) MIXING UP ‘VARIETIES’:
- a. ✓ Si tu vois ce disque, prends-moi-le et dis-le-moi.
If you see this disk, take-me-it and tell-it-me.
 - b. ✓ Si tu vois ce disque, prends-le-moi et dis-moi-le.
If you see this disk, take-it-me and tell-me-it.
‘If you find this CD, buy it for me and let me know.’
- (II) MIXING UP LANGUAGE ‘LEVELS’:
- a. ✓ “En écoutant gueuler la plainte des frimas”.
In hearing bark-like-mad [informal] the moaning of the wintry-weather [literary].
‘While the moaning of the wintry weather was barking like mad.’
 - b. ☺ “Voulez-vous qu’on se tutoie/ Moi j’ai dit c’est vous qui vois”.
Want you that we oneself use-the-informal-you/ Me I have said it is FORMAL-2ND-PERSON-SG that see-INFORMAL-2ND-PERSON-SG.
“Do you want that we use the informal second person?/ I answered, it’s up to you.”

⁶ See the introduction of Zanuttini [1997a] for a detailed exposition of these advantages.

- (3) ✓ **Personne (ne) fait rien.**
 Nobody (*ne*) makes nothing.
 a. → ‘**N**obody [\forall] makes **nothing** [\forall].’ → ‘For every person X, it is **false** that X makes nothing.’
 b. → ‘**N**obody [\forall] makes **anything** [\exists].’ → ‘For every person X, it is **true** that X makes nothing.’
- Double-compounded tenses are widespread in provincial and especially rural ‘varieties’, but never completely described by the traditional grammars; in particular, none of these grammars mentions that these conjugations just cannot be computed under the scope of ‘negative’ elements.
- (4) a. ✓ **Il a eu chanté** (deux soirs de suite).
 He has had sung (two evenings in succession).
 → ‘It’s a long time that he has no longer sung (two evenings in succession).’
 b. * **Il (n’)a {pas/ plus/ jamais} eu chanté** (deux soirs de suite).
 He (*ne*) has {not/ no-longer/ never} had sung (two evenings in succession).
- We never read any comment on the fact that almost all informal and slang words are affectively ‘positive’, and are thus generally not fine under the scope of ‘negative’ elements, diversely from their affectively neutral synonymous: they are actually PPIs.
- (5) a. ✓ Pierre porte un {**pantalon/ fute**⁷} aujourd’hui.
 Peter wears a pant today.
 ‘Peter wears a pair of pants today.’
 b. ✓ Pierre (ne) porte pas de {**pantalon/ * fute**} aujourd’hui.
 Peter (*ne*) wears not of the pant today.
 ‘Peter doesn’t wear a pair of pants today.’
- For adjectival, verbal, and nominal NPIs, dictionaries typically provide a ‘positive’ definition accompanied with ‘negative’ examples, but no comment is done on the fact that one cannot use these words outside of precise polarity contexts. Under the word-entry *croyable*, *Le nouveau petit Robert* gives two examples characterized as ‘negative’ by the tests of Klima [1964], but it just fail to explain what is their common core:
- (6) CROYABLE [krwajabl] **adj.**—XII^c *credable*; de *croire* ♦ (CHOSÉS) Qui peut ou doit être cru. *C’est à peine croyable, ce n’est pas croyable.* ⇒ **crédible, imaginable, pensable, possible.** ♦ CONTR. Impensable, incroyable, inimaginable, invraisemblable.
 ‘BELIEVABLE [bili:vebl] **adj.**—XII^c *credable*; from *to believe* ♦ (THINGS) Which may or must be believed. *It’s hardly believable, it’s not believable.* ⇒ **credible, imaginable, thinkable, possible.** ♦ CONTR. Unthinkable, incredible, unimaginable, implausible.’

PIs directions for use seem on the one hand too intuitive to be explained, on the other hand too evident to be written in clear. Nonetheless, it is not a trivial undertaking to correctly describe the full range of (un)grammatical contexts of occurrence: an important part of this dissertation will thus be to describe as completely as possible, for each component of polarity phenomena, the empirical field, in order to supply the absence of any complete French grammar to which refer to. Even the generative approaches to polarity fail to correctly describe the full extent of polarity phenomena; they abundantly emphasize that idiomatical ‘negative’ nouns (like *âme qui vive* ‘anybody’) need an overt ‘negative’ c-commander, whereas the non-idiomatical ones (like *personne* ‘nobody’) do not, but we never read anything on the fact that idiomatical ‘positive’ nouns simply cannot appear within ‘negative’ sentences:

⁷ Colloquial *fute*, synonymous of ‘standard’ *pantalon*, is a metaphor based on a metonymy: the shape of the barrel denotes the pants.

- (7) a. ✓ (Il) Y'a {des gens/ * âme qui vive} sur la pelouse.
 (It) LOC has {of-the people/ * soul which live} on the lawn.
 'There is some people on the lawn.'
- b. ✓ ((Il) (N')) Y'a pas {* de gens/ âme qui vive} sur la pelouse.
 ((It) (Ne)) LOC has not {* of people/ soul which live} on the lawn.
 'There is no people on the lawn.'

The type of dependency displayed by PPIs and NPIs is fundamentally the same, but only the latter obligatorily involve an overt c-commander. It's thus not a casual fact if numerous explanations for 'negative' dependencies have overshadowed the 'positive' ones: while 'negative' polarity is crosslinguistically made visible by a specific morphology, 'positive' polarity is often morphologically unmarked, and has above all attracted the attention of semanticists—among others Giannakidou [1998], which develops her theory especially on the basis of 'negative' dependencies, of course.

0.2. PRESENTATION OF THE THEORY

In the government-and-binding framework of the last century, standard explanation for polarity dependencies was expressed in terms of licensing. An empirical problem for such an approach is the heteroclit range of licensers, which includes not only morphologically 'negative' items, but also functional linguistic objects like mood, aspect, tense, interrogation, exclamation, and presentational clauses. As emphasized by Tovena [1996], a theoretical problem is the stipulative nature of the concept of licensing itself, whose implementation would require an ad hoc subcategorization device. Even the corollary concept of triggering proves to be insufficient: a trigger is simply the complementary way to define a licenser.

In the coming out featural framework, capitalized by Rizzi [1990, 1998, 1999a, 2000] to explain the apparent blocking of given remote syntactic relations, and by Cinque [1998, 1999] to draw up the universal phrasal hierarchy, we can reformulate the bifid notion of licensing-triggering as the need of featural completeness to correctly project the syntactic structure. Rather than searching for licensers-triggers of PIs, we will see the combinations of features as the result of a dynamic complementarity, in the spirit of Haeberli [1999].

Our central claim is that the peculiarity of polarity features is just to form complementary pairs, in a natural way planed by UG; the two members of a single polarity pair share a single projection, so that they cannot appear both in the same sentence—in this way, we provide a syntactic explanation (rather than semantic) to the inexistence of an item at once Increasing and Decreasing, or at once Scalar and Punctual, or at once Existential and Universal, and so on.

Every linguistic feature X can be either plus-specified, or minus-specified, or absent from the subcategorization frame of a given item. A {+X} specification corresponds to an item displaying the property X on its own; a {-X} specification corresponds to an item which needs to be c-commanded by another occurrence of the X feature; the absence of X from the subcategorization frame corresponds to an item not concerned by the interactions with the X feature. The crossing of two polarity features pertaining to a single pair, by hypothesis 'Negative' and 'Positive', provides nine subcategorization slots; three of them are condemned by the impossibility to project both members of a single pair.

- (8) a. {=Negative, =Positive}: Items not concerned by polarity (like ‘man’).
 b. {=Negative, -Positive}: PPIs (like ‘fellow’).
 c. {=Negative, +Positive}: Positive-words (P-words) (like ‘somebody’).
 d. {-Negative, =Positive}: NPIs (like ‘a soul’).
 e. {-Negative, -Positive}: FC PIs (like ‘anybody’).
 f. {-Negative, +Positive}: *
 g. {+Negative, =Positive}: Negative-words (N-words) (like ‘nobody’).
 h. {+Negative, -Positive}: *
 i. {+Negative, +Positive}: *

In (a), an item non-specified for both values is not concerned by polarity: this is the greatest part of the lexicon. In (b), {-Positive} items need some {+Positive} c-commander: they are the PPIs. In (c), {+Positive} items express a ‘positive’ meaning on their own. In (d), {-Negative} items need a {+Negative} c-commander: they are the NPIs. In (e), items at once {-Negative} and {-Positive} need either a {+Negative}, or a {+Positive} c-commander; when one of the two minus-specifications is satisfied by c-command, the remnant minus-specification can no longer project, since there is a single projection shared by the two features. For the same reason, the plus-specification in (f) and (h) would always block the satisfaction of the minus-specification, so that (f) and (h) would be non-distinct from (c) and (g). In (g), {+Negative} items express a ‘negative’ meaning on their own. In (i), two plus-specifications cannot be projected within a single projection.

The hypothesis of ‘Negative’ and ‘Positive’ features creates an immediate problem for our claim of complementary pairs: since both ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ elements may perfectly appear in the same sentence, supposing that those features constitute a syntactic fact would imply that they wouldn’t be polarity features. If our claim of complementary pairs is fundamentally correct, we have thus a theoretical reason to think that ‘Negative’ and ‘Positive’ are not features, but only intuitive notions including a complex set of features, which create the illusion of a syntactic ‘negativity’ or ‘positivity’. These polarity-related features include such oppositions as Absence vs. Existence (a ‘negative’ item cannot be Existent), Singular vs. Plural (a ‘negative’ item cannot be Plural), Punctual vs. Scalar (a ‘negative’ item cannot be Scalar), Decreasing vs. Increasing (a ‘negative’ item cannot be Increasing).

Amongst the empirical data supporting this view, the opposition Decreasing vs. Increasing well illustrates the mechanism of complementarity. Lexical words concerned by monotone⁸ properties are pointing either towards the top (they are the Increasing ones, and have a ‘positive’ semantics), or towards the bottom (they are the Decreasing ones, and have a ‘negative’ semantics). A Decreasing noun like *mort* ‘death’ is able to combine with the {-Decreasing} NPI *qui que ce soit* in (a), unlike the Increasing noun *naissance* ‘birth’ in (b).⁹

- (9) a. ✓ La **mort** de qui que ce soit est toujours triste.
 ‘The death of anybody is always sad.’
 b. * La **naissance** de qui que ce soit est toujours belle.
 The birth of whoever is always beautiful.

Reciprocally, some PPIs need the Increasing feature: if we combine the noun *fute* with the Increasing feature of an adjective like *neuf*, the contrast noted in (5)b disappears; with a Decreasing adjective like *vieux*, the contrast remains.

⁸ This term, imported in linguistics from the terminology of mathematics, denotes the characteristic of varying in a single direction.

⁹ As observed by Rizzi [p.c.], the combination is done in an indirect way: the ‘negativity’ lexically contained within the noun selects for a PP complement containing a ‘negative’ operator, which is able to combine with a NPI.

- (10) (I) WITH AN INCREASING ADJECTIVE:
 a. ✓ Pierre porte un {pantalon/ fute} **neuf** aujourd’hui.
 Peter wears a pant new today.
 ‘Peter wears a new pair of pants today.’
 b. ✓ Pierre (ne) porte pas de {pantalon/ fute} **neuf** aujourd’hui.¹⁰
 Peter (ne) wears not of pant new today.
 ‘Peter doesn’t wear a new pair of pants today.’
- (II) WITH A DECREASING ADJECTIVE:
 a. ✓ Pierre porte un **vieux** {pantalon/ fute} aujourd’hui.
 Peter wears an old pant today.
 ‘Peter wears an old pair of pants today.’
 b. ✓ Pierre (ne) porte pas de **vieux** {pantalon/ * fute} aujourd’hui.
 Peter (ne) wears not of old pant today.
 ‘Peter doesn’t wear an old pair of pants today.’

Theoretical grounds and empirical data converge thus to indicate that ‘positive’, as good as ‘negative’, are merely intuitive notions covering an intricate node of polarity-related features.

0.3. ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

In the first part, *A range of basic definitions as helpful theoretical tools*, we will define the various uses and levels of strictly speaking negation, and examine thoroughly some desirable consequences of drawing a sharp distinction between local and global negation: in fact, negation being the visible side of polarity phenomena, its observation could give us an opportunity to infer what happens within ‘positive’ sentences. In this connection, we will consider any possible ‘positive’ counterparts of ‘negative’ morphology, and suggest that agreement, as good as negation, may be used as a SM indicating either local, or global negation.

In the second part, *A featural framework*, we will investigate which features are concerned with the expression of polarity by discussing: first, their nature (to which level of grammatical analysis they pertain); second, their combinations (how to characterize the need of complementary features, and how to implement the combinative device); third, their hierarchy (on which criteria UG organizes the features, and on which theoretical and empirical grounds we can determine their hierarchy). A featural machine summarizes then the salient properties within a three-part list of some computational conditions involved in the projection of a grammatical sentence in a natural language: projection conditions, combinative conditions, and hierarchical conditions.

No-one having yet written a general handbook on the sentential structure, namely a sort of detailed syntactic map that would put together, among others, the CP-layer of Rizzi [1997], the high IP-layer of Beghelli [1995], and the low IP-layer of Cinque [1998, 1999], we propose a little encyclopedia of the general architecture of the sentence; we will also argue for the necessity to add, at the top of the sentential hierarchy, a syntactic device able to host the anchors to the universe of discourse, the anchors to the discourse articulation, and the identification of the arguments. This encyclopedic subpart is a necessary tool to refer to in support of our investigation in the remainder of the dissertation; its internal organization facilitates its consultation—the sequencing of the chapters mirrors the universal phrasal

¹⁰ The adjective *neuf* is Increasing: it conveys a ‘positive’ judgment on the good condition of an object. On the other hand, the near-synonymous *nouveau* is not a monotone one at all: it expresses a mere temporal newness, independently on any judgment on the good or bad condition.

(ii) ✓ Pierre (ne) porte pas de **nouveau** {pantalon/ * fute} aujourd’hui.
 Peter (ne) wears not of new pant today.
 ‘Peter doesn’t wear a new pair of pants today.’

hierarchy; each chapter starts with some points of theory, followed by a range of commented examples.

In the third part, *A featural typology of French PIs*, on the basis of theoretical (multiple hierarchical locations) and empirical grounds (variations in the syntactic combinations of ‘negative’ items), we will argue against a unitary concept of ‘negativity’, which has to be split up in several polarity-related features—those previously reviewed in the second part, and presumably further ones. We will then look at the ‘collocations’, namely the relations holding between words that are usually uttered together without forming a fixed expression, and try to explain them as a case of complementarity motivated by a need of complementarity for various features (polarity-related or not). Such an approach would be particularly desirable for PIs typically combining with a given verb devoid of polarity-related properties:

- (11) ✓ **Envoyer** {balader/ chier/ coucher/ dinguer/ paître/ promener/ valser}.
 ‘To send {packing/ packing/ packing/ flying/ packing/ packing/ flying}.’

We would also draw up a polar grammar of French by taking first an empirical inventory of about 750 PIs in the guise of a database, reviewing then the various contexts able to supply their featural defectiveness, and proposing a range of criteria allowing to correctly settle the 16’000 switches, so that the database should be processable by the featural machine of the second part (nevertheless, the implementation of all linguistic combinations would require a much greater number of features).

All in all, we will emphasize in conclusion that the theoretical framework outlined above, in which the polarity pairs of features and their hierarchy are claimed to be part of UG, allows to define the PIs vs. the regular items in featural terms:

- (12) (i) PIs are those items endowed with a univocal specification of at least one polarity pair of features, and
 (ii) Regular items (namely, those ones that are not PIs) are endowed with equivocal specification of all specified polarity pairs of features.
 (iii) Univocal specifications are {=, ±} and {±, =};
 (iv) Equivocal specification is {-, -} (and potentially *{+, +}, *{+, -}, *{-, +});
 (v) Absence of any specification, namely {=, =}, is not relevant for the polar status.

Additionally, this view constitutes a potential tool to measure the degree of idiomaticity:

- (13) (i) Idiomaticity follows from univocal specifications of pairs of features (polarity-related or not), and
 (ii) The degree of idiomaticity is directly proportional to the number of univocal specifications.

This will be our featural account of polarity phenomena.

I. A RANGE OF BASIC DEFINITIONS AS HELPFUL THEORETICAL TOOLS

Before any theory, it's important to define the chosen angle and level of analysis, and to locate them with respect to the other existing or potential angles and levels of analysis. In this first part, we want to build terminological and theoretical tools able to helpfully support our featural account of polarity phenomena.

I.1. TWO USES & FIVE LEVELS FOR ONE NEGATION

Negation is the most investigated side of polarity phenomena; unfortunately, the terminology is not uniform and not always adequate: sometimes, a confusion of levels leads to incoherence and flimsiness. To have a chance of discovering the final solution, particularly relevant is the difference between uses and levels of negation. LOGICAL vs. METALINGUISTIC instances are USES of negation, which will interest above all semanticists and pragmaticians—and phonologists too, as far as stress is involved; LOCAL (phrasal, constituent) vs. GLOBAL (predicate, sentential) scope are LEVELS of negation, which will primarily concern syntacticians. The crossing of the two angles of analysis provides four slots:

(14)		LOGICAL	METALINGUISTIC
	LOCAL	x	x
	GLOBAL	x	x

We will discuss the (in)existence of the four potential linguistic objects denoted by the crosses in the table above, starting from the uses and considering for each of them the levels at which they can(not) act; we will also increase the number of levels up to the attested possibilities.

I.1.1. METALINGUISTIC NEGATION

A basic distinction between two uses is often discussed in the pragmatic literature:¹¹ in broad outline, negation is defined as LOGICAL (also descriptive, representational, conceptual) when put on the same plane as the other words of the sentence, without conveying any particular emphasis; and as METALINGUISTIC (also procedural, computational) when used as a metalanguage able to intervene on a given sentence portion by means of a distinctive stress.

The distinctive stress of metalinguistic negation has a contrastive function, often based on an echoic reprise of a preceding affirmation. As Horn [1989:402] emphasized, “metalinguistic uses of negation tend to occur in contrastive environments, either across speakers in a given discourse context or within a single speaker’s contribution”; thus the distinctive stress of metalinguistic negation presumably follows from the contrastive property of the focus projection (FocP, according to Rizzi [1997]). Now, if all metalinguistic uses do involve a focus, not all focuses are metalinguistic: a logical occurrence of a focused ‘negative’ quantifier can be related to items outside of the focus as the ‘negative’ particle *ne* in (a); a metalinguistic one in (b) cannot.

- (15) a. ✓ PERSONNE (n')a été vu ce matin.
 NOBODY (*ne*) has been seen this morning.
 ‘NOBODY was seen this morning.’
 b. ✓ C'est PERSONNE qui (* n')a été vu, pas quelqu'un!
 It is NOBODY that (* *ne*) has been seen, not somebody!
 ‘NOBODY was seen, not somebody!’

¹¹ See Moeschler [1997] for an overview.

This is consistent with the observation of Tovena [1996:182], “Stress can be considered as processing information. [...] In relational terms, it signals that the stressed element has to be interpreted as outscoping any other scopal element. Or, in absolute terms, it signals that the element has to be interpreted as *se stante*”. Under this analysis, one expects tangible computational consequences of (metalinguistic) contrastive stress. In fact, while the distribution of logical negation is confined within the syntactic domain and a subdomain of the morphology (derivation and compounding), metalinguistic negation can freely negate any type of constituent, regardless of the level of grammatical analysis it pertains to—phonology, morphology, syntax (phrase, predicate, sentence), or semantics (sentence). Five types of constituents are accessible to metalinguistic negation:

- (16) (I) PHONOLOGICAL CONSTITUENT:
 ✓ Pas ergot, Argot!¹²
 ‘Not slant, slanG!’
- (II) MORPHOLOGICAL CONSTITUENT:
 ✓ Pas syntaxicien, syntaxOLOGUE!
 ‘Not syntactolog, syntactICIAN!’
- (III) PHRASAL CONSTITUENT:
 ✓ Jeanne (n’)a pas deux enfants, elle a TROIS AMANTS!
 ‘Jane has not two children, she has THREE LOVERS!’
- (IV) PREDICATE CONSTITUENT:
 ✓ Je (ne) pars pas en vacances, je DEMENAGE DANS LES ILES!
 ‘I don’t set off on vacation, I CLEAR OFF IN THE WEST INDIES!’
- (V) SENTENTIAL CONSTITUENT:
 ✓ C(e n)’est pas que l’argent (ne) fait pas le bonheur, c’est plutôt que LE BONHEUR (NE) FAIT PAS D’ARGENT!
 ‘It’s not that money doesn’t bring happiness, it’s rather that HAPPINESS DOESN’T BRING MONEY!’

Metalinguistic negation, as a metalinguistic operator, can also take a logical negation as a constituent to negate:

- (17) A: ✓ Je pensais ne pas venir...
 ‘I was thinking of not coming...’
 B: ✓ Puisqu’on t’a demandé de NE PAS ne pas venir!
 ‘We’re telling you to NOT not come!’

Stressing a ‘negative’ item in a sentence containing another ‘negative’ item, as in (17), always leads to Double Negation reading (DN), namely the canceling of a negation by another, according to the mathematical principle “minus per minus equals plus”—this holds for every language, independently on its parameterization of Negative Concord (NC), namely the possibility to interpret once several occurrences of negation in a single sentence. The stress associated with the expression of metalinguistic negation entails thus a DN reading either in ‘NC languages’ as Italian in (a), or in ‘non-NC languages’ as Standard English in (b); Tovena [1996:195(6.70)-(6.71)] emphasized, “As noted in Labov [1972], this device is used by speakers of standard and non-standard dialects of English”:

- (18) a. NESSUNO non è venuto.
 NOBODY not is come.
 b. NOBODY didn’t come.

Since metalinguistic negation always acts on a constituent (though intended in a broader sense than a syntactic partition), it seems reasonable to consider it as a metalinguistic use of local negation. The behavior of ‘negative’ quantifiers in cleft sentences supports this claim: according to Acquaviva [1996:308-309], cleft sentences bearing negation-related items in

¹² In this example, the phonological constituent is the nucleus of the first syllable.

their focus are not characterized as ‘negative’—this is visible in Irish where ‘negative’ tags are judged more plausible than ‘positive’ ones before a cleft negation-related item. In French, these sentences require contrastive stress (the focused element is metalinguistic) AND they cannot be related to a SM (the focused element is a phrase):

- (19) a. ✓ C’est PERSONNE que j(e * n)’ai vu, pas quelqu’un!
 b. * C’est personne que j(e * n)’ai vu.
 It’s nobody that I (* *ne*) have seen, not somebody!
 ‘I saw NOBODY, not somebody!’
 a.’ ✓ C’est RIEN que j(e * n)’ai fait, pas quelque chose!
 b.’ * C’est rien que j(e * n)’ai fait.
 It’s nothing that I (* *ne*) have done, not something!
 ‘I done NOTHING, not something!’

Giannakidou [1998:50] also referred to a fact suggesting that metalinguistic negation is a metalinguistic use of local negation: in Greek, the single item *oxi* expresses at once the local (constituent) negation and the metalinguistic negation, whereas the global negation has two distinct items—*dhe(n)* for the {+Indicative} contexts, *mi(n)* for the {-Indicative} contexts. We diverge nevertheless from Giannakidou [1998:51] on the interpretation of this fact: “I take it then that *oxi* expresses metalinguistic negation in Greek, and that the constituent negating reading can be subsumed thereunder. In itself, this fact is interesting because it provides empirical support to the distinction between logical and metalinguistic negation argued for in the literature”. We consider it more desirable to take metalinguistic operators as logical items deflected from their basic use: in fact, the metalinguistic use, even if it covers a broader set of units taken as ‘constituents’, cannot include as a proper subset the logical local negation, simply because the metalinguistic and the logical instances are not concurrent, but parallel.

In a corollary manner, metalinguistic negation presumably obeys to analogous constraints than logical negation from a syntactic standpoint, but crucially requests in addition a complete semantic and phonological theory of the nature and the functions of contrastive stress (and stress generally) to reach explanatory adequacy. In fact, metalinguistic uses of negation diverge from all the logical ones as regards their behavior with respect to the liaison rule. In the following examples, the (im)possibility of liaison can function as a test to distinguish between the two uses of negation: if the liaison is possible (s₁), we are dealing with a logical instance of negation; if the liaison is impossible (s₂), we are dealing with a metalinguistic instance.¹³

- (20) (i) LOGICAL NEGATION:
 a. ✓ Je (ne) te donnerai pas une calotte!
 b. ✓ Je ne¹⁴ te donnerai pas une calotte!
 I *ne* to-you will-give not a slap.
 → {I’ll give you no slap/ I’ll not give you any slap.}
 (ii) METALINGUISTIC NEGATION:
 a. ✓ Je (ne) te donnerai pas UNE CALOTTE!
 b. * Je (ne) te donnerai pas UNE CALOTTE!
 I *ne* to-you will-give not A SLAP.
 → {I’ll give you zero slap/ I’ll give you more than one slap.}¹⁵

¹³ From a pragmatic standpoint, the two instances of negation carry different implicatures. More generally, various occurrences of metalinguistic negation can fill various pragmatic functions—see Moeschler [1997] for a review.

As pointed out by Rizzi [p.c.], the focalized object could occupy an IP-internal position, inaccessible to the liaison rule.

¹⁴ The liaison specially laying emphasis on the ‘negative’ semantics, *ne*-drop is quite impossible in this context.

¹⁵ The latter implicature is used by Maurice Tillieux, *Les 3 taches*, Dupuis, 1965, plate 11:

(iii) A: “Très bien!... Je ne te donnerai pas une calotte.”
 ‘Okay!... I’ll not give you a slap.’

Leaving the phonological area, various syntactic tests can help us to distinguish between the two uses of negation. A test that works for French is mentioned by Horn [1989:427]: the presence of *non pas* forces metalinguistic reading—thus “the negation in [(21)]a may be interpreted ‘contrastively’, but that in [(21)]b must be”:

- (21) a. Max n’a pas abattu un if, mais (il a abattu) ce pin.
 ‘Max didn’t fell a yew, but (he felled) this pine.’
 b. Max a abattu non pas un if, mais (* il a abattu) ce pin.
 ‘Max felled not a yew, but (* he felled) this pine.’

Horn [1989:ch.6.4] also proposed three crosslinguistic diagnostics. “The archetypal frame for metalinguistic negation is the *not X but Y* construction [p. 402]”, a coordinated structure that requires a semantic parallelism in logical use; nevertheless, in metalinguistic use, “semantic kinship is not a necessary criterion for the establishment of such a contrast sets¹⁶ [p. 403]”:

- (22) a. The plate is not red but green.
 b. * The plate is not hot but green.
 c. The plate is not ‘hot’ but ‘hard’.
 [d. * The plate is not ‘hot’ but ‘green’.]

Since “the metalinguistic operator cannot incorporate morphologically as the *un-* or *iN-* prefix [p. 392]”, it cannot act at a distance on a morphologically negated item:

- (23) I {don’t believe/ #disbelieve} they’ll win—I know they will.

Since the metalinguistic negation operates “on another level from that of the rest of the clause in which it is superficially situated, whence its impotence to trigger polarity items within that clause [p. 392]”, then “The negations in [(24)]b become more plausible when the context permits a metalinguistic interpretation [p. 401]” as in (24)c:

- (24) a. He is {pretty/ somewhat/ rather/ sort of/ kind of} tired (ill, tall).
 b. ?? He isn’t {pretty/ somewhat/ rather/ sort of/ kind of} tired (ill, tall).
 [c. ✓ He ISN’T {pretty/ somewhat/ rather/ sort of/ kind of} tired (ill, tall).]

Alike, metalinguistic negation is available with idiomatic expressions of strong degree that don’t allow logical negation:¹⁷

B: “Bon!/ Alors je te délie.”
 ‘Alright! So I untie you.’
 A: “JE T’EN DONNE TROIS!”
 ‘I’ll give you THREE slaps!’

¹⁶ The “semantic kinship” is actually replaced in (22)c by some ‘phonological kinship’, namely a level of analysis precisely excluded from logical negation: the strong parallelism requirement of coordinated structures that we will postulate in the second part isn’t weakened in any way, not even in metalinguistic use, since (22)d is not interpretable.

¹⁷ Bianchi [1993] observed that idiomatic expressions of strong degree, which do not allow predicate negation, nor allow cleavage:

- (iv) a. * La pipe que Pierre a cassée.
 The pipe that Peter has broken.
 b. * Les amarres que Pierre a larguées.
 The moorings that Peter has slipped.

Idiomatic expressions of weak degree, which allow cleavage, also allow predicate negation:

- (v) a. ✓ **Le lapin** que Pierre a **posé** à Jeanne.
 The rabbit that Peter has put-down to Jane.
 ‘The appointment with Jane that Peter missed.’
 b. ✓ Pierre (n’)a pas **posé** {un/ de} **lapin** à Jeanne.
 Peter (*ne*) has not put-down {a/ PART} rabbit to Jane.
 ‘Peter didn’t stood Jane up.’

- (25) a. ✓ Pierre a {**cassé sa pipe/ largué les amarres**}.
Peter has {broken his pipe/ slipped the moorings}.
'Peter {died/ changed his life}.'
- b. * Pierre (n')a pas {cassé sa pipe/ largué les amarres}.
Peter (*ne*) has not {broken his pipe/ slipped the moorings}.
- c. ✓ (NON,) Pierre (n')a PAS {**cassé sa pipe/ largué les amarres**}!
(NO,) Peter (*ne*) has NOT {broken his pipe/ slipped the moorings}!
'(NO,) Peter DIDN'T {die/ change his life}!'

Negating logically these expressions becomes possible only if the 'negative' adverb scopes locally on the constituent expressing the temporality of an event, not on the event itself:

- (26) a. ✓ [_{IP} Pierre [_I (n')a [_{TP} **pas encore** [_{VP} cassé sa pipe]]]].
Peter *ne* has not yet broken his pipe.
'Peter is not yet dead.'
- b. ✓ [_{IP} Pierre [_I (n')a [_{TP} **jamais** [_{VP} largué les amarres]]]].
Peter *ne* has never slipped the moorings.
'Peter never changed his life.'

It's not surprising: the idiomaticity of the expressions in (26) is VP-internal. Since TP is higher than VP, negating the temporality isn't more difficult than emphasizing a non-negative temporality as in (27):

- (27) a. ✓ [_{IP} Pierre [_I a [_{TP} **déjà** [_{VP} cassé sa pipe]]]].
Peter has already broken his pipe.
'Peter is already dead.'
- b. ✓ [_{IP} Pierre [_I a [_{TP} **à plusieurs reprises** [_{VP} largué les amarres]]]].
Peter has on several occasions slipped the moorings.
'Peter changed his life on several occasions.'

Metalinguistic negation, though using essentially the same items as logical negation (sometimes especially compounded for its private use like *non pas*, made up of two independent logical operators whose combination forces metalinguistic reading), and though obeying to very similar syntactic constraints, seems to always act at another level of analysis, specially signaled by phonological means.

1.1.2. LOGICAL NEGATION

Logical negation is commonly considered to scope either on a CONSTITUENT (locally), or on a SENTENCE (globally); the former level corresponds to the INTERNAL, the latter to the EXTERNAL NEGATION of propositional logic. In Horn [1989:X], the notations " $\neg\mathbf{p}$ and $\mathbf{-p}$ are used to denote internal (contrary) and external (contradictory) negation, respectively", in order to distinguish between the case where an affirmation like (28)a is negated as a whole phrase as in (28)b, and the case where it is negated through the relevant constituent as in (28)c (from Horn [1989:133(59)]):

- (28) a. The number 7 is white. **[p]**
b. The number 7 is not white. **[-p]**
c. The number 7 is not-white. **[¬p]**

The logical terminology internal vs. external doesn't perfectly overlap with the syntactic terminology constituent vs. sentence—not to mention that a sentence is just a constituent, namely the biggest one. INTERNAL NEGATION, on the one hand, is a MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESS, which can be done by means of compounding or derivational rules; EXTERNAL

See Bianchi [1993] for a syntactic scalar typology of idiomatic expressions.

NEGATION, on the other hand, is a SYNTACTIC PROCESS that can be in act at more than one syntactic level—for the moment, we will provisionally call LOCAL the constituent negation, and GLOBAL the sentence negation. Since morphology and syntax are two distinct modules of the grammar, the former acting within the words and the latter between the words,¹⁸ we will draw a first distinction between morphological and syntactic expressions of negation.

I.1.2.1. Morphological level, or ‘internal negation’

Derivational and compounding Word Formation Rules (WFR) can create morphologically negated words: those pertaining to the former field are morphosyntactically ‘negative’; those pertaining to the latter are not—this is a general consequence of the predictable semantic contribution provided by the affixes, while compounding is the arbitrary lexicalization of given syntactic configurations associated with unpredictable meaning.¹⁹

I.1.2.1.1. Derivative domain

According to the morphological Right-hand Head Rule (RHR) of Williams [1981:249], “Prefixes cannot be assigned to lexical [= grammatical] categories because they never occupy head position, and thus the language learner will never have any grounds for assigning them to a particular category”.²⁰ Suffixes being consequently the morphological head of derivatives, and ‘negativity’ being of functional nature (vs. lexical nature), ‘negative’ affixes cannot be suffixes, and are thus always prefixes.

The ‘negative’ prefixes haven’t a uniform ‘negative’ content, but express rather fine semantic shades. We will not try to characterize their precise meaning, since the derivational negation leads fundamentally to the same interpretation as the syntactic one:

- (29) DERIVATIONAL NEGATION:
- | | |
|---|--|
| a. <i>A-</i> [and allomorph <i>an-</i>]: | C’est anormal. = C(e n)’est pas normal.
‘It’s abnormal.’ = ‘It’s not normal.’ |
| b. <i>Anti-</i> : | C’est anticonventionnel. = C(e n)’est pas conventionnel.
‘It’s anti-conventional.’ = ‘It’s not conventional.’ |
| c. <i>Dé-</i> [and allomorph <i>dés-</i>]: | C’est déplaisant. = C(e n)’est pas plaisant.
‘It’s disagreeable.’ = ‘It’s not agreeable.’ |

¹⁸ The definition of word is not uniform along the whole grammar: the extension of a given word can vary depending on the standpoint, so that there are phonological words, morphological words, and syntactic words, which often coincide, but not always. See Di Sciullo & Williams [1987] for an overview of the problems towards a uniform definition of word, and Bouvier [1999] for a specific discussion on compounded words.

¹⁹ See Bouvier [2000a] for a review of syntactic configurations made accessible to the CRs.

²⁰ Williams [1981:249-250] noted the exception of *en-* (as in *ennoble*), which displays two typical head effects: it changes the category of the base (it converts nouns and adjectives into verbs), and ‘potentializes’ a suffix (*-ment* in *ennoblement*). However might be the nature of the ‘potentialization’, verbs like *ennoble* could be cases of parasynthesis with the null suffix independently observed in denominal verb formation.

- d. *In-* [and allomorphs *im-*, *ir-*, *il-*²¹]: C'est illégal. = C(e n)'est pas légal.
 'It's illegal.' = 'It's not legal.'
- e. *Mé-* [and allomorph *més-*]: C'est mécompréhensible. = C(e n)'est pas compréhensible.
 'It's misunderstandable.' = 'It's not understandable.'
- f. *Non-*: C'est non-valide. = C(e n)'est pas valide.
 'It's non-valid.' = 'It's not valid.'

This systematic equivalence suggests that morphological negation constitutes a given level of negation, on a par with the syntactic ones. This analysis finds support in the fact that the 'negative' feature of morphologically 'negative' items combines with a {PP/ CP} containing a 'negative' operator,²² which is able to combine with NPIs:

- (30) (I) MORPHOLOGICALLY 'NEGATIVE' NOUNS:
 a. ✓ L'**impossibilité** de rencontrer **qui que ce soit** plaît à Pierre.
 The impossibility to meet whoever pleases to Peter.
 'The impossibility to meet anybody suits Peter.'
- b. * La possibilité de rencontrer **qui que ce soit** plaît à Pierre.
 The possibility to meet whoever pleases to Peter.
- (II) MORPHOLOGICALLY 'NEGATIVE' ADJECTIVES:
 a. ✓ Il est **désagréable** de fumer **quoi que ce soit** sous la pluie.
 It's disagreeable to smoke whatever under the rain.
 'It's disagreeable to smoke anything in the rain.'
- b. * Il est agréable de fumer **quoi que ce soit** sous la pluie.
 It's agreeable to smoke whatever under the rain.
- (III) MORPHOLOGICALLY 'NEGATIVE' VERBS:
 a. ✓ Sa misanthropie le **retient** de rencontrer **âme qui vive**.
 Its misanthropy him refrains to meet whoever.
 'Its misanthropy refrains him to meet anybody.'
- b. * Sa philanthropie le pousse à rencontrer **âme qui vive**.
 Its philanthropy him pushes to meet whoever.

In those cases, 'Negative' c-command of the trace is sufficient:

- (31) ✓ Que **quoi que ce soit** arrive est *(**im**)possible <que quoi que ce soit arrive>.
 That whatever happen is *(im)possible <that whatever happen>.
 'It's impossible that anything happens.'

Morphologically 'negative' adjectives can also satisfy the need of 'negative' complement expressed by a 'negative' coordination:

- (32) a. ✓ Jeanne est belle **mais antipathique**.
 'Jane is pretty but unpleasant.'
- b. * Jeanne est belle **mais sympathique**.
 Jane is pretty but pleasant.

²¹ The regressive assimilation rule is no longer in use: some old words lexicalized with the phonological allomorph coexist with new words prefixed with the base-particle (and the two manners do largely overlap):

- (vi) a. irrémisissable [1234], irrégulier [1283], irrationnel [1361], irrégulier [1406], irréflecti [1784],
 irréel [1794], irremplaçable [1845]
 b. inracontable [1796], inratable [1928]
 a.' illégal [1361], illicite [1364], illégitime [1458], illisible [1686]
 b.' inlassable [1888]

No word beginning with *m-* is attested with the base-prefix, but it's a mere written convention—the pronunciation actually differs in an unpredictable way:

- (vii) a. [imyabl] [1327], [imateriEl] [1336], [imA)syRabl] [1350], [imobil] [1370], [imakyle] [1400],
 [imeRite] [1455], [imodeRe] [XV^e], [imatyR] [1504], [imoral] [1660], [imotive] [1866]
 b. [E)mA)Zabl] [1600], [E)marjabl] [1611], [E)mA)kabl] [1652], [E)metabl] [1845]

²² This analysis was suggested by Rizzi [p.c.].

1.1.2.1.2. Compounding domain

Morphological negation faithfully reproduces within the compounding domain the syntactic ‘*Ne*-insertion condition’ (see (51) below). SM *ne* indicating global negation, we can make the following prediction: if a compound contains *ne*, it results from the lexicalization of an IP (or a CP); if a compound results from the lexicalization of a QP (or an NP), it cannot contain *ne*. The prediction is borne out by the data:²³

- (33) (I) LEXICALIZATION OF AN IP (OR A CP):
- ✓ [Je-ne-sais-quel]_Q, [on-ne-sait-quel]_Q²⁴.
‘{I don’t/ One doesn’t} know what.’
 - ✓ Un [je-ne-sais-quoi]_N, des [je-ne-sais-quoi]_N.
‘A certain something.’
 - ✓ [Naguère]_{Adv}²⁵.
‘{† Not long ago/ Formerly}.’
 - † Un [ne-m’oubliez-pas]_N, des [ne-m’oubliez-pas]_N.
‘A forget-me-not.’
 - ✓ [N’empêche]_C.
‘Honestly!’
 - ✓ [N’est-ce pas]_C.
‘Isn’t it.’
 - ✓ [N’importe]_Q²⁶.
‘Any.’
- (II) LEXICALIZATION OF A QP (OR A NP):
- ☉ Un [pabô]_N, des [pabôs]_N.
‘A not-pretty.’
 - ☉ Un [panoupanou]_N, des [panoupanous]_N²⁷.
‘An African black.’

²³ These data (and also the use of square parenthesis to delimit word atomicity of compounds) are taken from Bouvier [1999].

²⁴ Fully lexicalized determiner displaying word atomicity:

- (viii) (I) 1ST PERSON (SPOKEN ‘REGISTER’):
✓ [Je-ne-sais-quel] N, ✓ [on-ne-sait-quel] N.
I *ne* know what N, one *ne* knows what N.
‘I don’t know what N, one doesn’t know what N.’
- (II) 1ST PERSON (FORMAL ‘REGISTER’):
* [Nous-ne-savons-quel] N.
We *ne* know what N.
- (III) 2ND PERSON:
* [Tu-ne-sais-quel] N, * [vous-ne-savez-quel] N.
You-SG *ne* know what N, You-PL *ne* know what N.
- (IV) 3RD PERSON:
* [{Il/ Elle}-ne-sait-quel] N, * [{ils/ elles}-ne-savent-quel] N.
{He/ She} *ne* know what N, {they-M/ they-F} *ne* know what N.

²⁵ Lexicalized reanalyze of (*il*) *n’(y) a guère* ‘not long ago’.

²⁶ Has to combine with whatever wh-element—excepting compounded *pourquoi*, which is known to exhibit particular behavior in other contexts:

- (ix) ✓ [[N’importe] {comment/ lequel/ où/ quand/ quel/ qui/ quoi}].
Ne matters {how/ which/ where/ when/ which/ who/ what}.
‘{Anyhow/ Anyone/ Anywhere/ Anytime/ Anyone/ Anybody/ Anything}.’
* [[N’importe] *pourquoi*].
Ne matters why.

²⁷ It’s a piece of black humor in figurative and literal senses: during a safari, white hunters shot on black animals that were screaming *Pas nous! Pas nous!* ‘Not us! Not us!’. Serge Gainsbourg used this word in *La nostalgie camarade*, Philips, 1981:

- (x) “Qu’est-ce qui t’a pris bordel de casser la cabane/ De ce panoupanou puis sortir ton canif/ Ouvrir le bide au primitif/ Qui débarquait de sa savane// La nostalgie camarade”.
‘What drive you to break the shack/ Of this not-us-not-us and then take your knife/ Open the belly of the primitive/ Which turned up from its savanna?// The nostalgia, comrade.’

- c. ✓ Un [pataquès]_N, des [pataquès]_N²⁸.
 ‘A wrong liaison.’
 d. ✓ Un [pas grand-chose]_N, des [pas grand-chose]_N.
 ‘A good-for-nothing.’

As appears from the following minimal pairs, French *n'est-ce pas* is a compound, that's to say an atomic word that cannot be internally modified at all—in contrast with its English counterpart ‘isn't it’, which turns into a non-negative guise under a ‘negative’ context:

- (34) (I) ‘POSITIVE’ MAIN CLAUSE:
 a. ✓ Il est beau, [n'est-ce pas]?
 a.' ✓ He's pretty, isn't it?
 b. * Il est beau, est-ce?
 b.' * He's pretty, is it?
 (II) ‘NEGATIVE’ MAIN CLAUSE:
 a. ✓ Il n'est pas beau, [n'est-ce pas]?
 a.' * He's not pretty, isn't it?
 b. * Il n'est pas beau, est-ce?
 b.' ✓ He's not pretty, is it?

Even the ‘negative’ guise isn't modifiable:

- (35) a. * Il n'est pas beau, n'est-ce plus?
 b. * Il n'est pas beau, n'est-ce jamais?
 He's not pretty, is {no-longer/ never} it?

Beside the French lexicalized morphological tag and the mechanical polarity reversing effect of English syntactic tags, Irish is more ‘productive’—according to the data of Acquaviva [1996:307(98)-(99)], “in Irish an affirmative declarative clause may be accompanied either by a positive or by a negative tag, depending on the illocutionary characterization of the sentence [a-b]. However, only a positive tag may be attached to a ‘negative’ declarative [a'-b']”:

- (36) a. Beidh tú ag imeacht amárach, an mbeidh?
 will-be you at leaving tomorrow Q²⁹ will-be
 ‘You're leaving tomorrow, are you?’
 b. Beidh tú ag imeacht amárach, nach mbeidh?
 will-be you at leaving tomorrow NEG.Q will-be
 ‘You're leaving tomorrow, aren't you?’
 a.' Ní beidh tú ag imeacht amárach, an mbeidh?
 NEG will-be you at leaving tomorrow Q will-be
 ‘You're not leaving tomorrow, are you?’
 b.' * Ní beidh tú ag imeacht amárach, nach mbeidh?
 NEG will-be you at leaving tomorrow NEG.Q will-be
 ‘You're not leaving tomorrow, aren't you?’

The unique certitude emerging at first glance is the general compatibility between ‘negative’ tags and non-negative contexts:

	NEGATIVE CONTEXT	NON-NEGATIVE CONTEXT
	<i>English/ Irish/ French</i>	<i>English/ Irish/ French</i>
NEGATIVE TAG	*/*/✓	✓/✓/✓
NON-NEGATIVE TAG	✓/✓/*	*/✓/*

²⁸ From (*je ne sais*) *pas-t-à qui est-ce* ‘(I don't know) to whom it belongs’, with wrong liaison (*pas-t-a* for *pas_a*) which constitutes precisely a *pataquès*.

²⁹ Acquaviva [1996:307] quoted these data from Ó Siadhail [1973:144-145], which labeled as ‘Q’ an interrogative particle, realized as *an* in its ‘positive’ guise, and as *nach* in its ‘negative’ guise.

But the data are less contrasted than it seems: if we take into account that French tag is a morphological object (and thus, as compound, not syntactically ‘negative’), whereas English and Irish tags are syntactic objects, we can also observe on the one hand a general syntactic compatibility between non-negative tags and ‘negative’ contexts, on the other hand a general syntactic incompatibility between ‘negative’ tags and ‘negative’ contexts. What remains contrasted is only the (in)compatibility between non-negative tags and non-negative contexts; then our hypothesis is that there is a strong syntactic incompatibility between ‘negative’ tags and ‘negative’ contexts—but UG makes all other combinations available:

(38)		NEGATIVE CONTEXT	NON-NEGATIVE CONTEXT
		<i>UG</i>	<i>UG</i>
	NEGATIVE TAG	*	✓
	NON-NEGATIVE TAG	✓	✓

- Irish makes use of all the possibilities of UG, and capitalizes the alternation of ‘negative’ vs. non-negative tags in non-negative contexts to express shades of meaning.
- English mechanically applies a rule of polarity reversing: a tag always requires the opposite polarity of the context; such a device indirectly rules out the combination of non-negative tags and non-negative contexts—that ban has thus to be seen as an idiomatic syntactic fact.³⁰
- French doesn’t own syntactic tags, but instead a morphological word-tag that includes a negation made opaque to the syntactic computation by the Compounding Rule (CR). From a syntactic standpoint, the morphologically ‘negative’ *n’est-ce pas* is in fact non-negative—and the final picture is thus the following:

(39)		NEGATIVE CONTEXT	NON-NEGATIVE CONTEXT
		<i>English/ Irish/ French</i>	<i>English/ Irish/ French</i>
	NEGATIVE TAG	*/ */ *	✓/ ✓/ *
	NON-NEGATIVE TAG	✓/ ✓/ ✓	*/ ✓/ ✓

The three above-mentioned languages concord thus on the use of non-negative tags in ‘negative’ contexts—the peculiarities exhibited in non-negative contexts are idiomatical. French simply lacks a ‘negative’ tag, since a compound cannot be syntactically ‘negative’. English makes use of an idiomatic syntactic rule, that indirectly rules out the combination of non-negative tags and non-negative contexts.

What remains to be explained is the general ban of ‘negative’ tags in ‘negative’ contexts. For this purpose, we need a general typology of sentential features, which includes a slot for tags. Two possibilities are offered by the traditional typology. Either tags are interpolated sentences, and that will say nothing to us about their (in)compatibility with ‘negative’ contexts, since interpolated sentences can be freely inserted at almost every point in the sentence, owing to their metalinguistic nature—one can perfectly insert a (metalinguistic) ‘postnegation negative parenthetical’, as observed by Horn [1989:185(33)(vii)]:

- (40) a. It isn’t possible, I don’t think, to solve that problem.
 b. * It is impossible, I don’t think, to solve that problem.

³⁰ A clew supporting an analysis in terms of syntactic idiomaticity is the difficulty to obtain clear results in presence of an NPI like *hardly*, which is neither fully ‘negative’, nor non-negative (but in fact -Negative in our framework), as appears in the following example reported by Horn [1989:185(33)(viii)]:

(xi) He hardly damaged the car, {?? did he?/ ? and neither did you?/ ✓ not even by filling it with gravy}.

Or tags are coordinated sentences; then overlapping an adequate theory of negation with an adequate theory of coordination, we would be able to account for their limited distribution. In the second part, we will propose a tentative implementation of the latter hypothesis.

1.1.2.1.2.1. Compounded status accounting for syntactic behavior

1.1.2.1.2.1.1. Compounded adverbs

Combining ‘negative’ adverbs sometimes leads to strange contrasts:

- (41) a. ✓ Pas non plus.
Not no no-more.
‘Not anymore.’
b. * Pas non pas.
Not no not.

One possibility to account for this contrast is to see it as depending on the position:

- (42) (I) PRENOMINAL POSITION:
a. * Non plus Pierre est venu, mais Jeanne.
b. ✓ **Non pas** Pierre est venu, mais Jeanne.
{* No no-more/ ✓ No not} Peter is came, but Jane.
‘Not Peter, but Jane, did come.’
(II) POSTNOMINAL POSITION:
a. ✓ Pierre **non plus** (n’)est pas venu.
b. * Pierre non pas (n’)est pas venu.
Peter {✓ no no-more/ * no not} (*ne*) is not came.
‘Not even Peter came.’

But there is a more basic difference between *non plus* and *non pas*: the former is a compound, lexicalized as the ‘negative’ counterpart of *aussi* ‘too’, while the latter is just a syntactic combination of two ‘negative’ adverbs. The ban on multiple occurrence of the same featural set in a single clause (see II.4:(2);2.4, and relative discussion in II.2.1), or more informally the ungrammaticality of several occurrences of two items filling the same function in a single sentence, provides us a better reason to rule out (41)b together with (43)b, both containing two ‘negative’ predicate adverbs. On the other hand, the predicate adverb is made opaque to the sentential computation inside the compound, and (43)a is as fine as (41)a, despite the two occurrences of *plus*:

- (43) a. ✓ Plus non plus.
No-more no no-more.
‘No more anymore.’
b. * Plus non pas.
No-more no not.

In fact, the compound is atomic and thus opaque to syntactic rules: the ‘negative’ adverb *plus* is part of it and no longer available to combine with a stranding quantificational noun like *du tout*; the syntactic combination is not atomic and thus transparent to syntactic rules: the ‘negative’ adverb *pas* is available to combine with a stranding quantificational noun.

- (44) (I) STRANDING QUANTIFICATIONAL NOUN & COMPOUND:
a. ✓ Pierre (n’)est plus du tout content.
Peter (*ne*) is no-longer at all happy.
‘Peter isn’t anymore happy at all.’
b. * Pierre (n’)est [non plus]_{Adv} du tout content.
Peter (*ne*) is no-longer at all happy.

- c. * Pierre [non plus]_{Adv} (n')est du tout content.
Peter no no-more (*ne*) is at all happy.
- d. ✓ Pierre [non plus]_{Adv} (n')est plus du tout content.
Peter no no-longer (*ne*) is no-longer at all happy.
'Neither Peter is happy at all anymore.'
- (II) STRANDING QUANTIFICATIONAL NOUN & SYNTACTIC COMBINATION:
- a. ✓ Pierre (n')est pas du tout content.
Peter (*ne*) is not at all happy.
'Peter is not happy at all.'
- b. ✓ Non pas du tout que Pierre soit content.
No not at all that Peter be happy.
'It's not the case that Peter is happy at all.'
- c. ✓ Non pas que Pierre soit content du tout.
No not that Peter be happy at all.
'It's not the case that Peter is happy at all.'
- d. * Non pas que Pierre soit pas content du tout.
No not that Peter be not happy at all.

1.1.2.1.2.1.2. Compounded arguments

There exist three morphological constructs involving the 'negative' quantifiers *personne* and *rien*, which are lexicalized compounds (category I.A.7 of Bouvier [1999]) with conventional meaning not entirely deducible from their components—the shade of meaning between (a) and (b) is unpredictable; they exhibit word atomicity and cannot be altered, as shown by the arbitrary lack of (c):

- (45) a. ✓ **Deux fois rien.**
Two times nothing.
'Not a lot of damage.'
- b. ✓ **Trois fois rien.**
Three times nothing.
'Not much.'
- c. * Deux fois personne.
Two times nobody.
- d. ✓ **Trois fois personne.**
Three times nobody.
'Not a lot of people.'

Their 'negative' part being the morphological complement of the 'positive' quantifier, it stays opaque to the syntactic computation, and is thus unavailable to combine with the SM:

- (46) a. ✓ Il (* n')est arrivé [**deux fois rien**].
It (* *ne*) is happened two times nothing.
'It happened with few damage.'
- b. ✓ Pierre (* n')a dit [**trois fois rien**] aujourd'hui.
Peter (* *ne*) has said three times nothing today.
'Peter said near to nothing today.'
- c. ✓ Il (* n')a été vu [**trois fois personne**] chez Pierre.
It (* *ne*) has been seen three times nobody at Peter.
'Few people was seen at Peter's place.'

Moreover, they behave like PPIs needing to be c-commanded by a 'positive' verb: they are ungrammatical either within a predicate headed by a 'negative' verb in (i), or outside of the predicate in (ii)—they cannot thus reach a subject position.

- (47) (I) INSIDE A PREDICATE HEADED BY A 'NEGATIVE' VERB:
- a. * Il a cessé [**deux fois rien**].
It has ceased two times nothing.

- b. * Pierre a passé sous silence [trois fois rien] aujourd’hui.
Peter has passed over in-silence three times nothing today.
- c. * Il est passé inaperçu [trois fois personne] chez Pierre.
It is passed unnoticed three times nobody at Peter.
- (II) OUTSIDE OF THE PREDICATE:
- a. * [Deux fois rien] est arrivé.
Two times nothing is happened.
- b. * [Trois fois rien] a été fait par Pierre.
Three times nothing has been done by Peter.
- c. * [Trois fois personne] est venu chez Pierre.
Three times nobody is came at Peter.

Their compound status provides thus a principled explanation to their distribution, in sharp contrast with that of the ‘negative’ quantifiers *personne* and *rien*.

I.1.2.2. Syntactic levels, or ‘external negation’

If internal negation is a morphological fact, external negation, conversely, acts at some syntactic levels. Since Klima [1964], two syntactic levels are traditionally recognized, namely CONSTITUENT vs. SENTENTIAL NEGATION. Horn [1989:184-185(33)] reviewed various tests elaborated throughout time to distinguish between them: “The construct of sentence negation [...] is standardly defined by reference to the diagnostics provided by Klima [1964], whose test frames include those in [(48)(i)-(v)], where only the (a) examples pass the test for SENTENTIAL (S-) negation; the (b) sentences contain CONSTITUENT negation”:

- (48) (I) *EITHER* (VS. *TOO*) TAGS:
- a. Mary isn’t happy and John isn’t happy either.
b. Mary is unhappy and John is unhappy { * either/ too }
- (II) *NEITHER* (VS. *SO*) TAGS:
- a. Mary isn’t happy and neither is John.
b. Mary is unhappy and { * neither/ so } is John.
- (III) NEGATIVE APPOSITIVE (E.G., *NOT EVEN*) TAGS:
- a. The attacks weren’t successful, not even the last one.
b. * The attacks were unsuccessful, not even the last one.
- (IV) POSITIVE (VS. NEGATIVE) CONFIRMATORY TAG QUESTIONS:
- a. It isn’t possible to solve that problem, is it?
b. It is impossible to solve that problem, { #is it/ isn’t it }?
- (V) [SUBJECT-AUXILIARY INVERSION AFTER FRONTED ADVERBIALS (KLIMA [1964:300]):]
- a. Not even two years ago could you swim there.
b. Not even two years ago you could swim there.
- (VI) [IDEM (CHARLES BIRD VIA JACKENDOFF [1972:364]):]
- a. With no clothes is Sue attractive.
b. With no clothes Sue is attractive.

Tests (48)(i)-(iv) actually don’t distinguish between sentential vs. constituent negation, but rather between syntactic vs. morphological negation: there is confusion between the scope of negation and the level of grammatical analysis.

Only tests (48)(v)-(vi) match their aim. In fact, subject-auxiliary inversion has to be interpreted as an overt effect of ‘sentential’ scope: since one negates an event, the inflection, if morphologically able to raise up in the structure, reaches some position in the CP-layer; in French translation, the scope of negation is made visible by the optional presence, vs. the obligatory absence, of the SM *ne*:

- (49) a. ✓ Avec aucun habit Suzanne (n’)est séduisante.
‘With no clothes is Sue attractive.’
b. ✓ Avec aucun habit Suzanne (* n’)est séduisante.
‘With no clothes Sue is attractive.’

I.1.2.2.1. Towards local & global levels through scope contrasts

Rizzi [1982:120] already observed that *ne* is an overt SM for every negation scoping on a global constituent:

- (50) The negative particle *ne* thus seems to play the role of an overt scope marker: the scope of a negative quantifier is the S which immediately contains an occurrence of *ne* construed with the quantifier.

According to (50), we can formulate the following ‘*Ne*-insertion condition’:

- (51) *NE*-INSERTION CONDITION:
 (i) *ne* is banned if negation scopes locally on a single phrase other than the Inflection, and
 (ii) if negation scopes globally on a wide constituent made up of several phrases, *ne* can optionally be inserted in the highest clitic position on the borderline of the relevant constituent.

It’s just the possibility to insert *ne* that indicates global negation: in fact, *ne* is almost systematically dropped in spoken French. A ‘negative’ sentence at the present indicative is thus potentially ambiguous between the global negation in (52)a and the local negation in (52)b:

- (52) a. ✓ Je [(ne) suis pas bien] aujourd’hui.
 b. ✓ Je (* ne) suis [pas bien] aujourd’hui.
 I (*ne*) am not good today.
 ‘I feel not good today.’

If we insert a temporal auxiliary, we force the disambiguation of the structure: according to (51), only global negation allows *ne*-insertion, which finds a natural landing site in (53)a, whereas local negation doesn’t tolerate the occurrence of *ne*, which leads to the ungrammatical (53)b:

- (53) a. ✓ J(e [n]’ai pas été bien) hier.
 I (*ne*) have not been good yesterday.
 ‘I didn’t feel good yesterday.’
 b. ✓ J(e * n)’ai été [pas bien] hier.
 I (* *ne*) have been not good yesterday.
 ‘I felt not good yesterday.’

A further syntactic test is the alternation *même pas* vs. *pas même* ‘not even’; the former has only local scope (the ‘negative’ adverb stays under the scope of the ‘positive’ one), the latter both local and global scopes (the ‘negative’ adverb scopes on the ‘positive’ one, locally or globally), as in the following French translation of (48)(v):

- (54) a. ✓ {✓ Pas même/ * Même pas} il y’a deux ans on (ne) pouvait nager là.
 ‘Not even two years ago could you swim there.’
 b. ✓ Il (n’)y’a {✓ pas même/ ✓ même pas} deux ans, on (* ne) pouvait nager là.
 ‘Not even two years ago you could swim there.’

In English, the cliticization of ‘not’ on the inflection unambiguously indicates global scope ((55)a); the absence of cliticization in ((55)b) allows both local and global scope:

- (55) a. Jane **isn’t** ill.
 {✓ Global negation/ * Local negation³¹}.
 b. Jane is **not** ill.
 {✓ Global negation/ ✓ Local negation}.

³¹ The sole exception is the particular case of local negation on the inflection, which may cliticize.

In Italian, scope variation simply accounts for the following contrast, taken from the “residual issues” of Cinque [2000:§8.2(109)-(110)]: long clitic climbing is blocked by global negation, but possible with local negation.

- (56) (I) LONG CLITIC CLIMBING IMPOSSIBLE WITH GLOBAL NEGATION:
- a. * Gianni lo smise di non mangiare (piú).
'G. it stopped not eating it (any longer).'
 - b. ?? Lo sta per non amare (piú).
'(She) was about not to love him (any longer).'
 - c. *? Lo tornò a non apprezzare (affatto).
'(He) once again did not see him (at all).'
 - d. * Gianni li vuole non vedere. (Kayne [1989b:243]) (for [Cinque] “?”, if *vorrebbe* replaces *vuole*)
'G. them wants not to see.'
- (II) LONG CLITIC CLIMBING POSSIBLE WITH LOCAL NEGATION:
- a. Lo sembra non apprezzare affatto.
'(He) it seems not to appreciate at all.'
 - b. Lo vorrei non dover rivedere piú.
'Him I would like not to have to meet anymore.'
 - c. Per stare meglio, la dovresti non rivedere piú per un po' .
'To feel better, her (you) should not see any longer for a while.'
 - d. La potrebbe anche non rivedere mai piú.
'(He) her could even not see ever again.'

In (i), one cease an event (and one cannot stop an actor of the event), one is about to do an event (and one cannot be about to do an actor of the event), one start doing again an event (and one cannot start doing again an actor of the event); with ‘to want’, the sole modal of (i), the conditional favors a local interpretation of negation on Inflection, because the ‘negative’ uncertainty expressed by a mood reinforces that of the modal, focusing the ‘negative’ semantics on the inflection.

In (ii)a-c-d, *non* combines with and scopes on the PIs *affatto*, *piú per un po'*, and *mai piú* (in absence of those PIs, the sentences would strongly deteriorate); (ii)b is an articulate combination of two restructuring clauses: *Lo vorrei rivedere* ‘I would see him again’ is a main restructuring clause, which infinitive is itself a restructuring clause (*non dover rivedere piú* ‘not must see-again anymore’), whose main infinitive is negated; crucially, the negation locally scopes on *dovere*, not on *rivedere*—and the semantics is something like ‘concerning a desire to meet him again, I would I must not’.

UG allows expressing the distinction between these two levels of negation by morphological means. In Greek, one expresses local negation with *oxi* and global negation with *dhe(n)* or *mi(n)*, depending on the modal characterization of the sentence.³² In one of the standard ‘varieties’ of Italian (that of the central linguistic area, which makes use of seven vowels instead of five), a single item *non* is realized by two phonological allomorphs, [n n] for the local negation and [non] for the global negation.³³

- (57) (I) LOCAL NEGATION:
- A: ‘Did all come?’
 - a. B: ✓ N n tutti!
 - b. B: * Non tutti!
'Not all!'
- (II) GLOBAL NEGATION:
- a. * N n tutti sono venuti.³⁴

³² See Giannakidou [1998:50] for complete data and discussion.

³³ Thanks to Adriana Belletti [p.c.] for these data.

³⁴ Possible only under metalinguistic reading, if negation locally modifies the subject quantifier through some contrastive stress:

- b. ✓ Non tutti sono venuti.
 ‘All didn’t come.’ [NEG > ∇]

This basic distinction in terms of levels can account in a simple way for a puzzle of the acquisitional field. It has been observed that certain children use the negation only with the finite form of the verb; the truncating hypothesis of Rizzi [1992] predicts that in their linguistic system, the possibility of root infinitives is limited to the non-negative sentences: if they truncate the CP-layer and the IP-layer, they have no landing site for the SM of global negation. A problem for this analysis is that some children do nevertheless produce ‘negative’ root infinitives. This fact is easily accounted for if we admit that such children just use the local negation to express both local and global scope—as expected if they truncate all functional layers.³⁵ The inappropriate scope clearly appears in the following examples:³⁶

- (58) a. “Moi j’ai été [pas à la mer].” [Clément, 2;11]
 Me I have been not at the sea.
 ‘I’ve not gone to the sea.’
 b. “Il [pas pleut]!... Il [pas pleut],³⁷ on pourra sortir!” [Marie, 2;11]
 There not rains!... There not rains, we can-FUTURE go-out!
 ‘There doesn’t rain!... There doesn’t rain, we will be able to go out!’
 c. “Moi aussi quand je va³⁸ être [plus malade], je viendrai.” [Marie, 2;11]
 Me too when I FUTURE be no-longer ill, I come-FUTURE.
 ‘I will come too, when I will be no longer ill.’
 d. “Regarde, j’ai tout [pas de manches]!” [Arthur, 2;11;21]
 Look, I have all not PART sleeves!
 ‘Look at me, I’ve quite no sleeves!’
 e. “J’arrive à la [ouvri³⁹ pas].” [Camille, 3;0]
 I succeed to it open not.
 ‘I don’t succeed in open it.’
 f. “Je vais à l’abri pour il [pleut pas].” [Chloé, 3;2]
 I go at the refuge to it rains not.
 ‘I go under cover to it doesn’t rain.’
 g. “J’ai envie d’faire [pas pipi]!” [Clément, 3;4]
 I have desire to do not wee-wee.
 ‘I don’t want to have a wee-wee.’
 h. “Adam il est déjà [pas là].” [Mégane, 3;8]
 Adam he is yet not here.
 ‘Adam is not yet here’
 i. “C’est maman qui m’a mis [pas à l’école].” [Kevin, 3;9]
 It’s mommy that me has put not at the school.
 ‘MOMMY put me not at school.’
 j. “C’est l’anniversaire [pas à toi]!” [Adam, 3;11]
 It’s the birthday not to you!
 ‘It’s not YOUR birthday!’
 k. “Et moi t’as [pas vu]?” [Matjorie, 3;11]
 And me you’ve not seen?
 ‘And me? Haven’t you seen me?’

- (xii) ✓ [N N TUTTI]_{QP} sono venuti.

³⁵ This is consistent with the observation of Hoekstra & Jordens [1994:121-123], “a distinction needs to be made between a functional category F and elements instantiating this category. [...] presence of some expression E of category F in the adult grammar at a certain point of development does not by itself constitute sufficient evidence that F is part of the grammar at that stage. [...] We propose that at least in a number of cases, the child starts out with an adjunct structure, which only later is reanalyzed as a head-complement structure”.

In our terms, the ‘adjunct structure’ becomes a local negation freely generated in front of whatever phrase; and the ‘head-complement’ structure, a global negation fit into the sentential hierarchy.

³⁶ Utterances quoted in (58), (59) and (61) were noted by Agnès Lenoire in her nursery school of Magland, Haute-Savoie, France, during the school year 1998-1999.

³⁷ The (repeated) strange order ‘*pas*-finite verb’ follows naturally from the local scope of negation.

³⁸ *Je va* for *je vais* ‘I will’.

³⁹ *Ouvri* for *ouvrir* ‘to open’.

There are cases of level ambiguity with the sequence [inflection - *pas*]. However, even in this ambiguous configuration, the SM is crucially absent:

- (59) a. “On va pas se batter⁴⁰!” [Camille, 3;0]
 We will not ourselves fight!
 ‘Honestly, we will not fight!’
 b. “On met pas des chaussures à les chiens.” [Quentin, 3;4]
 One put not of-PL-INDEF-DET shoes to the dogs.
 ‘One doesn’t put shoes to the dogs.’
 c. “Mon pépé il les tue pas les malades.” [Mélanie, 3;4]
 My grandpa he them kill not the sick.
 ‘My grandpa doesn’t kill the sick [ducks].’
 d. “Moi j’aime pas le café.” [Marjorie, 4;1]
 Me I like not the coffee.
 ‘I don’t like coffee.’

More precisely, in (59) the verb alone could be taken as the local constituent. This particular case is possible even in the adult language, as suggested by the two possible implicatures of sentences containing a negation just around a speaker-oriented verb:

- In the (a) implicature, corresponding to the global negation, the SM is syntactically present and can optionally be phonologically realized. One negates the entire predicate: semantically, this is an anti-veridical proposition in the sense of Giannakidou [1998:106], namely “OP $p \rightarrow \neg p$ ”. This interpretation is adequate if Peter is not philogynous (and not misogynous);
- In the (b) implicature, corresponding to the local negation, the SM is optional—when it is syntactically realized, we are dealing with the particular case of local negation with SM, which may obtain if and only if the phrase is an IP. One negates the verb itself, and the meaning of (*n*)*aime-pas* ‘doesn’t love’ is equivalent to that of *déteste* ‘hates’: semantically, this is a non-veridical proposition⁴¹ in the sense of Giannakidou [1998:116-117], namely “OP $p \neg \rightarrow p$ ”. This interpretation is adequate only if Peter is misogynous.

- (60) ✓ Pierre (*n*)*aime pas* les femmes.
 Peter (*ne*) loves not the women.
 ‘Peter doesn’t love the women.’
 a. \rightarrow It is not the case that “Peter loves the women”. *({*ne*/ \neg })
 b. \rightarrow It is the case that “Peter doesn’t-love the women”. ({*ne*/ \neg })

Children don’t associate different implicatures to different scope levels; if they simply don’t own the functional layers able to host the SM, according to the truncating hypothesis of Rizzi [1992], we have a good reason to think that even the ambiguous cases in (59) are in fact instances of local negation, used to express anyone of the two implicatures associated with the two scope levels. A further fact confirms that global negation isn’t available at all in children language: the systematical presence of the non-negative adverb *aussi* ‘too’ in ‘negative’ contexts where adults use instead the ‘negative’ adverb *non plus* ‘neither’.

- (61) a. “Moi je t’ai pas vu **aussi**!” [Sarah, 3;2]
 Me I you have no seen too!
 ‘Neither did I see you!’

⁴⁰ *Se batter* for *se battre* ‘to fight’.

⁴¹ Giannakidou [1998:116-117] used this term precisely to account for the semantics of the lexically ‘negative’ verbs like ‘to hate’.

- b. “Moi **aussi** j’ai pas peur!” [Laura, 3;4]
 Me too I’ve no fear!
 ‘Neither am I afraid!’
 c. A: T’es pas gentille!
 You’re no kind!
 ‘You’re not kind!’
 B: “Toi **aussi**!” [Marine, 3;4]
 You too!
 ‘Neither did you!’

In adult language, examples in (61) are ungrammatical; their current counterpart is:

- (62) a. ✓ Moi je (ne) t’ai pas vu **non plus**!
 Me I (*ne*) you have not seen neither!
 ‘Neither did I see you!’
 b. ✓ Moi **non plus** j(e n)’ai pas peur!
 Me neither I (*ne*) have not fear!
 ‘Neither am I afraid!’
 c. A: T(u n)’es pas gentille!
 You (*ne*) are not kind!
 ‘You’re not kind!’
 B: ✓ Toi **non plus**!
 You neither!
 ‘Neither did you!’

There is an apparent problem: on the one hand, the fact that *non plus* isn’t attested in children language before the age of five years seems to indicate that such an item strongly requires global scope; on the other hand, *non plus* is allowed in the adult language also in absence of the SM. Since all adult French speakers have clear intuitions on a potential landing site for *ne* in every sentence allowing a global ‘negative’ scope, it’s quite natural to think that even when not spelled-out as *ne*, a Boolean ‘negative’ operator ‘¬’ is syntactically present. This claim finds support in several empirical facts reviewed in the next paragraph.

1.1.2.2.1.1. Some audible effects of a silent operator

In the same spoken ‘register’ that displays *ne*-drop, a phonological rule optionally reduplicates the initial liquid, lateral, sonorant consonant that constitutes, after schwa-drop, the third person singular accusative clitic, when it stays between two vowels (even the nasal ones) in overt syntax—the former vowel being the last of a nominative clitic;⁴² the latter, the

⁴² Another valid context is after the complementizer *de* introducing an infinitive clause; it isn’t relevant here, owing to the intervening ‘negative’ adverb, which is neither clitic, nor pronominal:

- (xiii) a. ✓ J’ai décidé del-l’écouter.
 I’ve decided to it hear.
 ‘I’ve decided to hear it.’
 b. * J’ai décidé de (ne) pal-l’écouter.
 I’ve decided to (*ne*) not it hear.
 c. * J’ai décidé de (ne) plul-l’écouter.
 I’ve decided to (*ne*) no-longer it hear.
 d. * J’ai décidé de (ne) jamail-l’écouter.
 I’ve decided to (*ne*) never it hear.

One could wonder whether the nominative relative pronoun *qui* ‘which’ is a valid context for reduplication:

- (xiv) ✓ Les hommes [killō] aimé savent leur chance.
 The men which-him have loved know their luck.

Two facts clearly indicate that the first of the two *l* is not the result of a reduplication rule: the feminine is ruled out in (a), and the negation is possible in (b).

- (xv) a. * Les femmes [killō] aimé savent leur chance.
 The women which-him have loved know their luck.

first of the verbal stem raised up to Inflection:

- (63) a. ✓ Jel-l'aime.
lh-him love.
'I love him.'
b. ✓ Tul-l'entends?
Youi-it hear?
'Do you hear it?'
c. ✓ Onl-l'appelle le grand blond.
Weh-him call the tall fair-haired.
'We call him the tall fair-haired man.'
d. ✓ Voul-l'avez trouvé?
Youi-it have found?
'Did you find it?'

It might be an instance of a resyllabification rule over words, sensible to the syntactic structure. In fact, it isn't available in 'negative' sentences:

-
- b. ✓ Les hommes [killō] pas aimé (ne) savent pas ce qu'ils perdent.
The men which they (ne) him have not loved (ne) know not what that they lose.
'The men which didn't love him didn't know what they've lost.'

The phonological string corresponding to the preceding sentences has thus rather to be assigned the following structure, which can be freely negated:

- (xvi) a. ✓ Les {hommes qu'ils/ femmes qu'elles} l'ont aimé savent leur chance.
The {men which they/ women which they} him have loved know their luck.
'The {men/ women} which loved him know to be lucky.'
b. ✓ Les {hommes qu'ils/ femmes qu'elles} (ne) l'ont pas aimé (ne) savent pas ce qu'ils perdent.
The {men which they/ women which they} (ne) him have not loved (ne) know not what that they lose.
'The {men/ women} which didn't love him didn't know what they've lost.'

In spoken French, there is in fact a potential ambiguity between the relative pronoun *qui*, became rather archaic but preserved by written conventions, and the syntactic string *qu'il(s)*, when it precedes a consonant (only a following vowel allows to spell-out its latent consonant, *l* at the singular, *s* at the plural). This potential ambiguity has possibly confused the data of Obenauer [1994] quoted by Rizzi [2000:(57)-(58)]. In fact, in the first series of examples, at the masculine, no verb begins with a vowel, so that those speakers which accept *qui* presumably assign it the articulated structure *qu'il(s)*.

- (xvii) a. ? Combien d'hommes crois-tu qui [✓ qu'ils] seraient capables d'escalader le Mont-Blanc?
'How many people do you believe *qui* [that they] would be able to climb the Mont-Blanc?'
b. ? Combien de députés crois-tu qui [✓ qu'ils] voteront la motion?
'How many representatives do you believe *qui* [that they] will vote the proposal?'
c. ? Combien de chefs d'état crois-tu qui [✓ qu'ils] viendront à la réception?
'How many heads of state do you believe *qui* [that they] will come to the party?'

In the second series of examples, at the feminine, the sentences become ungrammatical even for those speakers that assign it the structure *qu'il(s)*, whose feminine guise *qu'elle(s)* breaks the potential ambiguity:

- (xviii) a. * Combien de personnes crois-tu qui [✓ qu'elles] tiennent dans une Twingo?
'How many people[-F] do you believe *qui* [that they] fit into a Twingo?'
b. * Combien d'effractions croyez-vous qui [✓ qu'elles] ont lieu chaque jour?
'How many effractions[-F] do you believe *qui* [that they] take place every day?'
c. * Combien d'essence crois-tu qui [✓ qu'elle] est dans le réservoir?
'How much gas[-F] do you believe *qui* [that they] is in the tank?'

Two facts cannot be plausibly casual: on the one hand the sharp distribution of genders (masculine in the first series, feminine in the second series); on the other hand, the absence of verbs beginning with a vowel in the first series (in fact, it sounds better with a consonant, a vowel almost requesting to pronounce the latent consonant *l* or *s*). Our third series with vowels at the masculine seems to confirm that the right structure to be assigned to the first series is *qu'il(s)*:

- (xix) a. Combien de gens crois-tu {?? qui/✓ qu'ils} entre dans une Twingo?
'How many people[-M] do you believe that he fits into a Twingo?'
b. Combien de vols croyez-vous qui {?? qui/✓ qu'ils} ont lieu chaque jour?
'How many theft[-M] do you believe that they take place every day?'
c. Combien de café crois-tu {?? qui/✓ qu'il} est dans le pot?
'How much coffee[-M] do you believe that he is in the jar?'

- (64) a. * Jel-l'aime pas.
Ih-him love not.
'I don't love him.'
b. * Tul-l'entends pas?
Youi-it hear not?
'Don't you hear it?'
c. * Onl-l'appelle jamais par son nom.
Weh-him call never by its name.
'We never call him with its real name.'
d. * Voul-l'avez pas trouvé?
Youi-it have not found?
'Didn't you find it?'

Marginally,⁴³ reduplication becomes again available when *ne* is phonologically realized, because it provides another vowel able to host the reduplicated consonant:

- (65) a. ✓ Je nel-l'aime pas.
I *neh*-him love not.
'I don't love him.'
b. ✓ Tu nel-l'entends pas?
You *nei*-it hear not?
'Don't you hear it?'
c. ✓ On nel-l'appelle jamais par son nom.
We *neh*-him call never by its name.
'We never call him with its real name.'
d. ✓ Vous nel-l'avez pas trouvé?
You *nei*-it have not found?
'Didn't you find it?'

It is also possible with the local negation, characterized by the full lack of SM (realized or not):

- (66) a. ✓ Jel-l'aime [pas beaucoup].
Ih-him love not much.
'I do not much love him.'
b. ✓ Tul-l'entends [pas bien]?
Youi-it hear not good?
'Do you not good hear it?'
c. ✓ Onl-l'appelle [pas souvent] par son nom.
Weh-him call not often by its name.
'We not often call him with its real name.'
d. ✓ Voul-l'avez trouvé [pas assez tôt]?
Youi-it have found not enough early?
'Didn't you find it early enough?'

It is possible with metalinguistic negation too:

- (67) a. ✓ Jel-l'aime pas PASSIONNEMENT, jel-l'aime A LA FOLIE!
Ih-him love not PASSIONATELY, Ih-him love TO THE MADNESS!
'I do not PASSIONATELY love him, I'm MADLY IN LOVE with him!'
b. ✓ Tul-l'entends ou tul-l'entends PAS?
Youi-it hear or youi-it hear NOT?
'Do you hear it or do you NOT hear it?'
c. ✓ Onl-l'appelle pas le grand BLOND, mais le grand CON!

⁴³ Examples in (65) are rare forms owing to the large extent of *ne*-drop in spoken 'register', but are nevertheless attested—as in Edith Piaf, *Les prisons du roy* (Michel Rivgache), EMI, 1957:

(xx) "Est-il vrai que je nel-l'entendrai jamais/ Jamais plus jamais/ Parce qu'il a volé un diamant plein d'éclats/ Le plus beau des diamants pour moi?"
'It is true that I will never hear he/ Never, never more/ Because he stole a sparkling diamond/ The most beautiful diamond for me?'

Weh-him call not the tall FAIR-HAIRED, but the great FOOL!
 ‘We don’t call him the tall FAIR-HAIRED MAN, but the damn FOOL!’
 d. ✓ Voul-l’avez pas trouvé TROP TARD, voul-l’avez trouvé TROP TOT!
 Youi-it have not found TOO LATE, youi-it have found TOO EARLY!
 ‘You did not find it TOO LATE, you did find it TOO EARLY!’

We take this to mean that *ne*, though not pronounced, is syntactically present—it might be the phonologically null ‘NEG-operator’ of Haegeman [1995], originally proposed under the strong hypothesis that the NEG-criterion is always satisfied at s-structure. The correct representation of the ungrammatical (64)a could thus be something like (68), with a clitic ‘negative’ Boolean operator ‘¬’ breaking the phrasal adjacency, and consequently blocking the reduplication:

- (68) * Jel-¬l’aime pas.
 lh-¬-him love not.
 ‘I don’t love him.’

A similar effect arises with the alternation {*on/ l’on*} ‘one’, possible in ‘positive’ contexts but blocked in ‘negative’ ones:

- (69) (i) ROOT *ON*:
 a. ✓ {*On/ L’on*} aime se promener dans cette forêt.
 One likes oneself walk in this forest.
 ‘One likes to go for a walk in this forest.’
 b. ✓ {*On/ * L’on*} ({*n’/ ¬*}) aime pas se promener dans cette forêt.
 One (*ne*) likes not oneself walk in this forest.
 ‘One doesn’t like to go for a walk in this forest.’
 (ii) EMBEDDED *ON*:
 a. ✓ {*Qu’on/ Que l’on*} nous apporte le dessert!
 That one to-us brings the dessert!
 ‘Bring us the dessert!’
 b. ✓ {*Qu’on/ * Que l’on*} ({*ne/ ¬*}) nous apporte pas le dessert!
 That one (*ne*) to-us brings not the dessert!
 ‘Don’t bring us the dessert!’
 a.’ ✓ (ii) Faut {*qu’on/ que l’on*} parte tout de suite.
 (It) Is-necessary that one leaves all at once.
 ‘It’s necessary that one leaves straightaway.’
 b.’ ✓ (ii) Faut {*qu’on/ * que l’on*} ({*ne/ ¬*}) parte pas tout de suite.
 (It) Is-necessary that one (*ne*) leaves not all at once.
 ‘It’s necessary that one doesn’t leave straightaway.’

If we assume that *l’* is a non-argumental clitic with ‘positive’ emphatic function, generated lower⁴⁴ than *on* and cliticizing then on it, a RME with respect to *ne* is expected: both are polarity-related non-argumental clitics. Furthermore, cliticization of *l’* on *on* being obligatory, there is no way to save its occurrence in the (b) sentences.

Another visible effect of ‘¬’ is to allow the occurrence of proclitics with imperative form. In French, imperative is the sole mood that on the one hand requests *pro*-drop of non-expletive pronouns, on the other hand leads to enclisis of clitic complements, whereas indicative and all other moods always lead to proclisis of clitic complements, and (in normative ‘registers’⁴⁵) don’t allow *pro*-drop of non-expletive pronouns—Kayne [1989b] correlated the two properties through a strong inflection able to L-mark VP:

⁴⁴ The base-position of *l’* could be the head of the projection hosting *bien* ‘well’, namely VoiceP in the “The universal hierarchy of clausal functional projections (a second approximation)” of Cinque [1999:106(92)]. It’s obligatory cliticization on the impersonal guise of *on*, which expresses a kind of ‘passive’ subject, would be motivated by a minus-specified ‘Passive’ feature. Additionally, *l’* conveys a ‘positive’ polarity: *l’on* lays emphasis on the ‘positive’ semantics, while *on* alone is unmarked.

⁴⁵ See (122) for *pro*-drop of expletive pronouns in various (non-normative) written ‘registers’.

- (70) (I) INDICATIVE:
 a. * Tu fais-le.
 You do it.
 b. ✓ Tu le fais.
 You it do.
 ‘You do it.’
 (II) IMPERATIVE:
 a. ✓ Fais-le!
 Do it!
 b. * Le fais!
 It do!
 ‘Do it!’

French doesn't own a true imperative paradigm in the sense of Zanuttini [1996:187-189]: it borrows by morphological suppletion the forms of the present indicative; for this reason, extrapolating from Zanuttini [1996:188], French imperatives own a TP and can be regularly negated, contrary to Italian where “*non* cannot occur with a true imperative form because it lacks a TP”. A negated imperative allows both enclisis and proclisis, depending of the presence vs. absence of *ne*:

- (71) (I) WITH AN ACCUSATIVE CLITIC:
 a. ✓ (* Ne) Fais-**le** pas!
 (*Ne*) Do it not!
 b. ✓ (Ne) **Le** fais pas!
 (*Ne*) It do not!
 ‘Don't do it!’
 (II) WITH A PARTITIVE CLITIC:
 a. ✓ (* N') Oublies-**en** pas!
 (*Ne*) Forget PART not!
 b. ✓ (N') **En** oublie pas!⁴⁶
 (*Ne*) PART forget not!
 ‘Don't forget any of them!’

This contrast also obtains when there are more than one clitic:

- (72) (I) WITH ACCUSATIVE & DATIVE:
 a. ✓ Dis-**le-moi**!
 Say it to-me!
 b. * Me le dis!
 To-me it say!
 ‘Say it to me!’
 a.' ✓ (* Ne) Dis-**le-moi** pas!
 (*Ne*) Say it to-me not!
 b.' ✓ (Ne) **Me le** dis pas!
 (*Ne*) To-me it say not!
 ‘Don't say it to me!’
 (II) WITH ACCUSATIVE, DATIVE & LOCATIVE:
 a. ☺ Dis-**l'y-moi**!
 Say it there to-me!
 b. * Me l'y dis!
 To-me it there say!
 ‘Say it there (to) me!’
 a.' ☺ (* Ne) Dis-**l'y-moi** pas!
 (*Ne*) Say it there to-me not!

⁴⁶ Also with the idiomatic value ‘for all that’, as in Victor Hubinon, *Un prototype a disparu*, Dupuis, 1960, plate 5:
 (xxi) ✓ “N'en oublie pas que tu dois me passer l'archipel de Niki-Uva au crible!...”
Ne PART forget not that you must for-me pass the archipelago of Niki-Uva at-the riddle!...
 ‘Don't forget for all that to put the Niki-Uva Islands through a riddle!’

- b.' © (Ne) **Me l'y** dis pas!
 (Ne) To-me it there say not!
 'Don't say it to me there!'

If the syntactic function of *ne* is to assign global scope to 'negative' adverbs, (71)(i)a-(ii)a and (72)(i)a'-(ii)a' are instances of local negation; (71)(i)b-(ii)b and (72)(i)b'-(ii)b', instances of global negation. The (im)possibility of proclisis for pronominal clitics ((70)(ii)b vs. (71)(i)b-(ii)b; the (b) vs. the (b') sentences of (72)(i)-(ii)) suggests that the highest pronominal clitic attaches to the 'negative' one (phonologically realized or not), the latter being able to attract and to host the former.⁴⁷ Then the correct representation of sentences like (71)b would be the following:

- (73) a. ✓ ¬ Le fais pas!
 ¬ It do not!
 b. * Le fais pas!
 It do not!
 'Don't do it!'

The existence of '¬' directly accounts for the idiomatic behavior of some verbs like *s'inquiéter* 'to worry' or *s'occuper* 'to (take) care of', which 'negative' imperative allows simultaneously both *ne*-drop and *pas*-drop with proclisis ('¬' being available at the global level), but crucially doesn't allow *pas*-drop with enclisis ('¬' not being available at the local level):

- (74) (I) NON-NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE:
 a. ✓ Inquiète-toi (bien)!
 Worry you (good)!
 b. * T'inquiète (bien)!
 You worry (good)!
 '(Do) worry!'
 a.' ✓ Occupe-toi *(de tes affaires)!
 Take-care you of your business!
 b.' * T'occupe de tes affaires!
 You take-care of your business!
 'Mind your own business!'
 (II) 'NEGATIVE' IMPERATIVE:
 a. ✓ Inquiète-toi *(pas)!
 Worry you not!
 b. ✓ ¬ T'inquiète (pas)!
 You worry (not)!
 'Don't worry!'
 a.' ✓ Occupe-toi *(pas) de mes affaires!
 Take-care you not of my business!
 b.' ✓ ¬ T'occupe ((pas) (de mes affaires))!
 You take-care ((not) (of my business))!
 'None of your business!'

T'inquiète! and *T'occupe!* unambiguously expressing the negated form of the (b) sentences in (74)(ii), and being unable to express the non-negative form of the (b) sentences in (74)(i), pragmatic recoverability necessities suggest that their representations are "¬ T'inquiète!" and "¬ T'occupe!". It's thus not the case that "the negative particle *ne*—a proclitic element—blocks enclisis" as claimed Laenzlinger [1998:147]: it's rather the case that the 'negative' clitic obligatorily attracts the argumental one(s), indirectly preventing its (their) enclisis. The analysis of Laenzlinger [1998] was guided on partial data: he put aside in an

⁴⁷ If we assume that a head always incorporates to the left of its host, according to the general movement principles of Kayne [1994], then the accusative incorporates into a trace of the SM: the 'Neg'-split we argue for in III.1 makes it at least conceivable.

endnote, owing to their ‘colloquial’ character, the negated enclitic form; if we consider the entire paradigm, it becomes quite evident that negation doesn’t block anything, but increases instead clitic placement possibilities:

(75)		ENCLISIS	PROCLISIS
	‘POSITIVE’	✓ Fais-le!	* Le fais!
	‘NEGATIVE’	✓ (* Ne) Fais-le pas!	✓ (Ne) Le fais pas!

In absence of ‘-’, no proclisis can arise: a proclitic imperative is thus always ‘negative’. There exists a unique counterexample to this generalization:

- (76) a. ✓ Ferme-la!
Close it!
b. ✓ La ferme!
It close!
‘Shut up!’

A look at the etymology, reported by Duneton [1990:413], shows that this unique counterexample is only apparent—in fact, if (76)a is a sequence [V-enclitic], (76)b is not a sequence * [proclitic-V], but ✓ [D N], stemmed from a popular burlesque pun:

- (77) “As-tu vu la ferme? - Quelle ferme? - La ferme ta gueule!” [1900]
‘Did you see the farm? - What farm? - {The farm/ It close}⁴⁸ your trap!’

The existence of ‘-’ can be made visible in an independent context where the ‘negative’ clitic (phonologically realized or not) seems to provide a landing site for an argumental clitic. When an indicative sentence contains two clitics, two orders are possible: cluster accusative-dative is in use in the North and the West (and is assumed as the standard order); cluster dative-accusative is in use in the Southeast (more or less up to Lyon)⁴⁹ and in a part of Switzerland (Haut-Valais and La Chaux-de-Fonds). The latter order is presumably derived from the former by a rule of incorporation,⁵⁰ in the (a) sentences of Regional French as in the (b) sentences of Standard Italian; the incorporation process should be fundamentally the same in the two languages, but Italian applies a further readjustment rule inserting the linking vowel *e* between the two clitics.⁵¹

- (78) (I) MASCULINE SINGULAR ACCUSATIVE:
a. % Je lui-le <lui> donne.
b. ✓ *pro* Glielo <gli> do.
{*I pro*} to-him-it-M <to-him> give.
‘I give it to him.’
(II) FEMININE SINGULAR ACCUSATIVE:
a. % Je lui-la <lui> donne.
b. ✓ *pro* Gliela <gli> do.
{*I pro*} to-him-it-F <to-him> give.

⁴⁸ In French, sequences [‘the farm’] and [‘it close’] are homonymous.

⁴⁹ French singer Benjamin Biolay, born near to Lyon, wrote “dis toi le bien” ‘say to-you it well’ in *La monotonie*, Virgin, 2001.

⁵⁰ A theory of incorporation was provided by M. Baker [1988].

⁵¹ For Italian data, a detailed analysis is provided by Laenzlinger [1993:253-254(27)]: “A morpho-lexical rule generates a clitic compound from the dative third person clitic, once it combines with an accusative third person clitic: *glielo*, *gliela*, *glieli*. Another piece of evidence in favor of this analysis concerns the behavior of the feminine dative clitic *le* in clusters. As shown in [example below], the clitic *le* is replaced by *gli* in combinations with third person accusative clitics. The impossibility of *le lo*—two clitics_{+K}—stems from an adjacency requirement on selected incorporation.

(xxii) * Gianni le lo presenta. → [✓] Gianni glielo presenta.
‘John introduces him to her.’

The clitic complex *glielo* is formed during the syntactic derivation of the two pronominal object complements.”

- ‘I give it to him.’
 (III) MASCULINE PLURAL ACCUSATIVE:
 a. % Je lui-les <lui> donne.
 b. ✓ *pro* Glieli <gli> do.
 {I/ *pro*} to-him-them-M <to-him> give.
 ‘I give them to him.’
 (IV) FEMININE PLURAL ACCUSATIVE:
 a. % Je lui-les <lui> donne.
 b. ✓ *pro* Gliele <gli> do.
 {I/ *pro*} to-him-them-F <to-him> give.
 ‘I give them to him.’

According to the analysis of Laenzlinger [1993], the motivation for incorporation is to bypass the ban on clustering of two case-marked {+K} clitics; its result is a compounded clitic occupying a single syntactic slot, internally opaque to agreement rule. At the singular, the opacity is not apparent in French, where *lui* is unspecified for gender, but surfaces in Italian, where the alternation *gli* (dative masculine)-*le* (dative feminine) is replaced by the unspecified for gender *glielo*:

- (79) ✓ *pro* Glielo <le> do.
pro To-him-it-M <to-her> give.
 ‘I give it to her.’

In the plural form, Italian dative pronoun of third person isn’t clitic in formal ‘register’:

- (80) ✓ *pro* Lo do a loro.
pro it give to them.
 ‘I give it to them.’

The common strategy to supply this morphological lack is to use the singular compounded clitic also for plural number:

- (81) ✓ *pro* Glielo <gli> do.
pro To-them-it-M <to-them> give.
 ‘I give it to them.’

Unfortunately, it say nothing to us on the opacity of the compounded clitic, since *gli* alone is commonly used for both numbers. It’s time to turn to French, where the plural bluntly blocks the incorporation process:

- (82) * Je leur le donne.
 I to-them-it give.
 ‘I give it to them.’

Since singular *lui* cannot be used instead of plural *leur* in any ‘register’ of Southeast French, the Italian strategy isn’t available. However, French has another strategy: the incorporation process can be done if another target -K is available. Crucially, the ‘negative’ clitic is -K, and can thus qualify as a valid landing site:

- (83) a. % Je leur (ne) le donne pas.
 I to-them-*ne* it give not.
 ‘I don’t give it to them.’
 b. * Je (ne) leur le donne pas.
 I *ne* to-them-it give not.
 ‘I don’t give it to them.’

This contrast induces to mean, according to the $\pm K$ characterization of Laenzlinger [1993],

that the {+K} dative clitic needs to incorporate, but cannot do so into the {+K} accusative clitic in (83)b, owing to its need of internal agreement made unquenchable by the morphological opacity of the incorporated cluster. On the other hand, it can incorporate into the {-K} ‘negative’ clitic in (83)a if no other landing site is available. Note that if another landing site is available, as arises at the singular form where no syntactic agreement is required, then the dative clitic has to incorporate into the accusative one:⁵²

- (84) a. % Je ne lui-le donne pas.
I *ne* to-him-it give not.
b. ?(?) Je lui-ne le donne pas.
I to-him-*ne* it give.
‘I don’t give it to him.’

However measurable the syntactic effects of ‘¬’ are, one might wonder which is the morphological status of such an unpronounceable particle. Haeberli [1999] observed that syntactic effects of morphological changes are not immediate: after the lack of a given morphological property, syntactic information available for the children, like word order or type of complement, is sufficient to maintain for a while, in a given linguistic system, the syntactic effects of a lost morphology. In some cases, a dying morphology and a dying construct can help each other to survive in formal and jocular uses:

- (85) (i) † INTERROGATIVE INVERSION:
a. {†† Je puis/ ✓ Je peux}.
‘I can.’
b. {✓ Puis-je/ * Peux-je}?
‘Can I?’
(ii) †† V-2 CONSTRAINT:
a. Il (n’)en faut {†† point/ ✓ pas} trop.
There (*ne*) PART it-is-necessary not too-much.
‘It’s not necessary to have too much of that.’
b. {☺ Point/ * Pas} trop n’en faut.
Not too-much *ne* PART it-is-necessary.
☺ ‘Too much might be dangerous!’

Under this view, spoken ‘¬’ could be analyzed as a syntactic survival of a lost lexical SM, used by speakers that know, but not use, a dying *ne* embalmed by scholar lectures and written matter; the progressive transformation from *ne* to ‘¬’ would be the first step towards the disappearance of every ‘negative’ SM. From a synchronic standpoint, the morphological nature of ‘¬’ doesn’t really matter: it is sufficient to retain that French owns a null ‘negative’ clitic, whose visible effects are to block a phonological reduplication rule, and to host {+K} clitics. A most important issue is whether ‘¬’ exists in other languages—and such an issue could indirectly answer the question on its nature.

Roughly speaking, the Italian counterpart of *ne* is *non*, which occupies the scopal position of French *ne*. At a more careful examination, the following (b) French translations of the (a) Italian data show on the one hand, that the Italian SM has (at least part of) the featural set of the French sequence [(*ne...*) *pas*], and negates thus the sentence on its own in (i); on the other hand, that it is also the counterpart of *pas* in case of local negation in (ii), and additionally the morpheme expressing the morphological negation in (iii):

- (86) (i) GLOBAL NEGATION:
a. ✓ A non implica B.
A ¬ → B

⁵² One could try to derive the ungrammaticality of (84)b from the order of the derivational steps, so that the incorporation *lui-le* would be done before the raising of the ‘negative’ clitic, preventing its intervention.

- b. ✓ A (n')implicque pas B.
 $A \neg \rightarrow \text{not } B$
 'A doesn't imply B.'
 a.' ✓ L'inglese non è una lingua a soggetto nullo.
 b.' ✓ L'anglais (n')est pas une langue à sujet nul.
 The English {*non/ (ne)*} is not a tongue to subject null.
 'English isn't a tongue with null subject.'
- (II) LOCAL NEGATION:
 a. ✓ A implica non B.
 b. ✓ A (* n')implicque pas B.
 $A \rightarrow \neg B$
 'A implies not B.'
 a.' ✓ L'inglese è una lingua non a soggetto nullo.
 b.' ✓ L'anglais (* n')est une langue pas à sujet nul.
 The English (* *ne*) is a tongue not to subject null.
 'English is a tongue without null subject.'
- (III) MORPHOLOGICAL NEGATION:
 a. ✓ A implica non-B.
 b. ✓ A (* n')implicque non-B.
 $A \rightarrow \neg B$
 'A implies non-B.'
 a.' ✓ L'inglese è una lingua a soggetto non-nullo.
 b.' ✓ L'anglais (* n')est une langue à sujet non-nul.
 The English (* *ne*) is a tongue to subject not null.
 'English is a tongue with non-null subject.'

There exist nevertheless two approximate Italian counterparts of *pas*: the common emphatic *mica*,⁵³ and the literary emphatic †† *punto*.⁵⁴ Since *non* has more featural richness than *ne*, it cannot be dropped:

- (87) a. ✓ Non ho visto Pietro stasera.
Non I-have seen Peter tonight.
 'I didn't see Peter tonight.'
 b. ✓ Non ho mica visto Pietro stasera.
Non I-have at-all seen Peter tonight.
 'I didn't see Peter at all tonight.'
 c. †† "siccome non mi avvilirono punto le critiche"...⁵⁵
 Since not me degraded at-all the critics...
 'Since the critics didn't degrade me at all...'

On the other hand, when *non* assigns scope to temporal adverbs like *mai* 'never' under NC, it isn't dropped in spoken Italian, but can be dropped in particular 'registers' like songs:

⁵³ Italian *mica* has also further uses that *pas* cannot fill:

- (xxiii) a. ✓ Non ti sei mica offeso?
Non you is at-all offended?
 'I hope you're not really offended?'
 b. ✓ Mica sei arrabbiato, spero?
 At-all your-are angry, I hope?
 'I hope you're not really angry?'

⁵⁴ Not even *punto* is an exact counterpart of *pas*, since it can also be emphatically use after a 'negative' coordination (example from Vittorio Alfieri, *Vita* [1803], Milano, Mursia, 1983, p. 170):

- (xxiv) a. †† "non già perché io la sapessi, né punto ci pretendessi".
 No already because I it knew, neither not to-it aspired.
 b. †† Non pas que je la susse, ni (* pas) que j'y prétendis.
 No not that I it knew, neither (* not) that I to-it aspired.

'It was neither the case that i knew it, nor that I aspired to know it.'

⁵⁵ Vittorio Alfieri, *Vita* [1803], Milano, Mursia, 1983, p. 170.

- (88) ✓ “È soltanto la forza di insistere ancora/ E di arrendersi mai”.⁵⁶
 It-is only the force to insist still/ And to surrender-oneself never.
 ‘It’s only the strength to still insist/ And to never surrender.’

Example (88) induces to mean that also Italian *non* can marginally be realized as ‘¬’ in particular ‘registers’—so that its representation would be the following:

- (89) È soltanto la forza di insistere ancora, e di ¬ arrendersi mai.

The same might hold for Italian dialects where no equivalent of Standard *non* is spelled-out, as in the following Milanese examples taken from Zanuttini [1997b:87(90a)-(91a)]:

- (90) a. [¬] L’han vist pù.
 [¬] S.CL’have seen no more.
 ‘They haven’t seen him anymore.’
 b. [¬] L’u minga truà.
 [¬] It’have NEG found.
 ‘I haven’t found it.’

If the ‘negative’ SM can marginally remain unspelled-out in particular ‘registers’ or ‘varieties’ of languages that don’t standardly allow its drop, one could think that ‘¬’ has a real lexical content conveyed by unpronounceable features, rather than being a mere syntactic survival.

Turning to imperatives, one can see that the Italian paradigm closely reflects the French one, aside from the previous considerations on the necessity of *non*. With a non-negative imperative, only enclisis is allowed:

- (91) a. ✓ Fallo!
 Do it!
 b. * Lo fa!
 It do!
 ‘Do it!’

With a ‘negative’ imperative, since *non* is the counterpart of *ne*, both (92)a and (92)b correspond to the global negation:

- (92) a. ✓ Non farlo!
 Not do it!
 b. ✓ Non lo fare!
 Not it do!
 ‘Don’t do it!’

On the one hand, the (b) form seems to confirm the analysis given in (73) for French (71)b: it’s the ‘negative’ clitic, *non* in Italian and {*ne/ ¬*} in French, which attracts the clitic complement. On the other hand, the (a) form, corresponding to French (71)a, contrasts with it, since *non* can precede the sequence [imperative-clitic complement], whereas *ne* cannot. The relevant difference might reside not in the properties of the ‘negative’ clitic, but in that of the verbal form. In fact, Italian shows a peculiarity in the imperative form of the second singular person: the non-negative guise *fa* exhibits the morphological specification of an imperative; the ‘negative’ guise *fare* exhibits the morphological specification of an infinitive—that holds

⁵⁶ Pippo Pollina, *Cambierà*, Sound Service, 1997 (also Sony, 1998).

for every verb. Since infinitives always lead to enclisis,⁵⁷ one could see (92)a as a remainder, in the imperative form, of the behavior of the infinitive form. A diachronic look seems to confirm this intuition: in fact, (92)a appears to become more and more formal, and the spoken (92)b, which was normatively condemned, tends to gain ground up to become the unmarked form.

One might also wonder whether the local allomorph $n \bullet n$ is allowed in imperatives. It seems not possible:⁵⁸

- (93) a. *N n farlo!
No do it!
b. *N n lo fare!
No it do!
'Don't do it!'

This is not surprising. When $n \bullet n$ acts at the local level, it locally modifies an element like the quantifier *tutti* in (57)a; either the inflection in (93)a, or the clitic complement in (93)b, are heads, not phrases: and one just cannot modify a head.

1.1.2.2.2. Two global levels

Which is the precise scope of what we informally called global negation? At the syntactic level, possible candidates are the predicate and the sentence. On the observation that SENTENTIAL NEGATION always requires some contrastive stress to receive the intended scope, Beghelli [1995:157(n.4)] proposed that logical use of negation is never sentential: "Sentence level negation does seem to be available in natural language, for example in (emphatic) denials, as in (*No*,) *John DIDN'T read your paper* (= it is not the case that John read your paper). But these usages appear to require stressing the negation word. The claim made in this section is that normal, intonationally neutral, uses of clausal negation do not involve a sentence level operator".

This observation suggests that (pure) negation is a predicate-internal phenomenon. A fact supporting this claim is the predicate-bounded behavior of tense and manner 'negative' (and non-negative) adverbs in presence of 'NEG-raising' verbs, vs. the unbounded behavior of modal and aspectual adverbs and quantifiers, are they 'negative' or not. With quantifiers in (i), the (b) sentences are derived from the (a) sentences, and have essentially the same meaning; with tense and manner adverbs in (ii), the (b) sentences are not derived from the (a) sentences—one negates the embedded predicate in the one case, the main predicate in the other; modal and aspectual adverbs in (iii) side with quantifiers, but additionally allow the non-derived interpretation of tense and manner adverbs.

- (94) (i) QUANTIFIERS: $b < a$:
a. ✓ Je veux qu'il (ne) mange **rien**.
I want that he (*ne*) eat nothing.
a.' ✓ Je veux qu'il mange **tout**.
I want that he eat all.
b. ✓ Je (ne) veux **rien** qu'il mange.
I (*ne*) want nothing that he eat.
b.' ✓ Je veux **tout** qu'il mange.
I want all that he eat.

⁵⁷ Excepting in case of 'restructuring', a rule that optionally allows long clitic climbing from the infinitive clause up to the main verb when it is a (semi-)modal. On restructuring rule, see Rizzi [1976, 1978], Roberts [1997], Cinque [1998, 2000].

⁵⁸ Thanks to Adriana Belletti [p.c.] for these judgments.

- ‘I want that he eats {nothing/ all}.’
 (II) TENSE & MANNER ADVERBS: b * < a:
 a. ✓ Je veux qu’il (ne) mange {**jamais/ aucunement**}.
 I want that he (*ne*) eat {never/ in no way}.
 a.’ ✓ Je veux qu’il mange {**toujours/ de toute façon**}.
 I want that he eat {always/ anyway}.
 ‘I want that he {never eats/ always eats/ eats in no way/ eats anyway}.’
 b. ✓ Je (ne) veux {**jamais/ aucunement**} qu’il mange.
 I (*ne*) want {never/ in no way} that he eat.
 b.’ ✓ Je veux {**toujours/ de toute façon**} qu’il mange.
 I want {always/ anyway} that he eat.
 ‘I {never want/ always want/ want in no way/ want anyway} that he eats.’
 (III) MODAL & ASPECTUAL ADVERBS: b (<) a
 a. ✓ Je veux qu’il (ne) mange {**pas/ plus**}.⁵⁹
 I want that he (*ne*) eat {not/ no-longer}.
 a.’ ✓ Je veux qu’il mange {**bien/ encore**}.
 I want that he eat {indeed/ once more}.
 ‘I want that he {doesn’t eat/ eats no longer/ eats indeed/ eats once more}.’
 b. ✓ Je (ne) veux {**pas/ plus**} qu’il mange.
 I (*ne*) want {not/ no longer} that he eat.
 b.’ ✓ Je veux {**bien/ encore**} qu’il mange.
 I want {indeed/ once more} that he eat.
 → ‘I want that he {doesn’t eat/ eats no longer/ eats indeed/ eats once more}.’
 → ‘I {doesn’t want/ want no longer/ indeed want/ want once more} that he eats.’

Substituting the ‘NEG-raising’ *vouloir* ‘to want’ by the near-synonymous *exiger* ‘to require’, which doesn’t pertain to the ‘NEG-raising’ class, gives identical results for tense and manner adverbs in (ii), while the quantifier-raising is unexpectedly ruled out in (i): since the raising is independent from the ‘negativity’, but dependent on some quantificational properties, we will rename the ‘NEG-raising’ verbs Q-raising verbs. Again, modal and aspectual adverbs side with quantifiers in so that the (b) sentences cannot be derived from the (a) sentences, but they additionally allow the (b) positioning thanks to their adverbial nature:

- (95) (i) QUANTIFIERS: * b < a:
 a. ✓ J’exige qu’il (ne) mange **rien**.
 I require that he (*ne*) eat nothing.
 a.’ ✓ J’exige qu’il mange **tout**.
 I require that he eat all.
 ‘I require that he eats {nothing/ all}.’
 b. * J(e n)’exige rien qu’il mange.
 I (*ne*) require nothing that he eat.
 b.’ * J’exige tout qu’il mange.
 I require all that he eat.
 (II) TENSE & MANNER ADVERBS: b * < a:
 a. ✓ J’exige qu’il (ne) mange {**jamais/ aucunement**}.
 I require that he (*ne*) eat {never/ in no way}.
 a.’ ✓ J’exige qu’il mange {**toujours/ de toute façon**}.

⁵⁹ The (a) sentence is less common than the (b) one; nonetheless, (b) being unable to support non-argumental question formation across the main verb because of a RME created by the negation, (a) remains the sole way to form such a question, as in Philippe Katerine, *Le simplet*, Rosebud-Barclay, 1999:

- (xxv) a. ✓ “Comment veux-tu ne pas l’appeler le simplet, l’idiot du village, le benêt?”
 How want-you *ne* not him to-call the simple-minded, the idiot of-the village, the simpleton?
 ‘How want you not call him the simple-minded, the village idiot, the simpleton?’
 b. * Comment ne veux-tu pas l’appeler l’idiot?
 How *ne* want-you not him to-call the simple-minded?

On the other hand, a conditional renders the (a) sentence more natural, as in the following example taken from François Schuiten and Benoît Peeters, *Le musée A. Desombres*, Casterman, 1990, p. 28:

- (xxvi) ✓ “Je voudrais ne plus voir ce visage, ne plus croiser ce regard.”
 I would *ne* no-more see this face, *ne* no-more meet this glance.
 ‘I wouldn’t see this face anymore, not met these eyes anymore.’

- I require that he eat {always/ anyway}.
- ‘I require that he {never eats/ always eats/ eats in no way/ eats anyway}.’
- b. ✓ J(e n)’exige {**jamais/ aucunement**} qu’il mange.
- I (ne) require {never/ in no way} that he eat.
- b.’ ✓ J’exige {**toujours/ de toute façon**} qu’il mange.
- I require {always/ anyway} that he eat.
- ‘I {never require/ always require/ require in no way/ require anyway} that he eats.’
- (III) MODAL & ASPECTUAL ADVERBS: b * < a
- a. ✓ J’exige qu’il (ne) mange {**pas/ plus**}.
- I require that he (ne) eat {not/ no-longer}.
- a.’ ✓ J’exige qu’il mange {**bien/ encore**}.
- I require that he eat {indeed/ once more}.
- ‘I require that he {doesn’t eat/ eats no longer/ eats indeed/ eats once more}.’
- b. ✓ J(e n)’exige {**pas/ plus**} qu’il mange.
- I (ne) require {not/ no longer} that he eat.
- b.’ ✓ J’exige {**bien/ encore**} qu’il mange.
- I require {indeed/ once more} that he eat.
- ‘I {doesn’t require/ require no longer/ indeed require/ require once more} that he eats.’

Horn [1989:315-316] observed that the ‘NEG-raising’ corresponds to a “softening process” of negation force, so that the (possible) transformed (b) sentences of (94) are “somewhat weakened or attenuated” with respect to the base (a) sentences: syntactically, the optional upward step makes the negation intensional rather than extensional, relativizing the ‘negative’ semantics by assuming it as a Speaker-oriented feature. More generally, with non-Q-raising verbs, the ‘negative’ force is extensional in case of a negated embedded clause, and either intensional, or extensional in case of a negated main clause, as made visible by mood selection, which reflects the base position of negation: in the (b) sentences, when indicative is used within the scope of negation the meaning is the same as (a), and there is a derivational relation; when subjunctive is used, the meaning is not that of (a), and there is no derivational relation at all—the preference for an intensional or an extensional characterization depending on the semantics of an embedded adjective:

- (96) (I) WITH AN INTENSIONAL ADJECTIVE:
- a. ✓ Pierre pense que Jeanne {✓(n’)est/ *(ne) soit} pas **heureuse**.
Peter thinks that Jane (ne) {is/ * be} not happy.
‘Peter thinks that Jane isn’t happy.’
- b. ✓ Pierre (ne) pense pas que Jeanne {(?)est/ ✓soit} **heureuse**.
Peter (ne) thinks not that Jane {(?)is/ be} happy.
‘Peter doesn’t think that Jane is happy.’
- (II) WITH A NON-INTENSIONAL ADJECTIVE:
- a. ✓ Pierre pense que Jeanne {✓(n’)est/ *(ne) soit} pas **belle**.
Peter thinks that Jane (ne) {is/ * be} not pretty.
‘Peter thinks that Jane isn’t pretty.’
- b. ✓ Pierre (ne) pense pas que Jeanne {✓est/ (?)soit} **belle**.
Peter (ne) thinks not that Jane {is/ (?)be} pretty.
‘Peter doesn’t think that Jane is pretty.’

Q-raising verbs all pertain to the intensional class (even if the reverse is not true); part of them are modals, namely a proper subset of lexical verbs directly generated in functional heads,⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Some verbs can be generated either within VP as lexical verbs, or directly in a modal head; in the latter case, they exhibit sometimes the possibility of C-drop:

- (xxvii) (I) LEXICAL USE:
✓ J’arrive *(à) la maison.
I arrive to the home.
‘I’m coming home.’
- (II) LIKE-MODAL USE:
✓ J’arrive (à) faire ça tout seul.
I manage (to) do this all alone.

which form a single clause with their apparent subordinate and are thus transparent to various syntactic movements. Even non-modal Q-raising verbs combining with a complementizer allow SM-raising:

- (97) (I) *S'AGIR DE* 'TO BE A MATTER OF':
 a. ✓ Il s'agit de (ne) pas moisir ici!
 It itself is-a-matter-of to (ne) not hang-around here!
 b. ✓ "Il ne s'agit pas de moisir ici!"⁶¹⁻⁶²
 It *ne* itself is-a-matter-of not to hang-around here!
 'I must go off quickly!'
 a.' ✓ "Il s'agit de ne pas s'éterniser!"⁶³
 It itself is-a-matter-of to (ne) not linger-on!
 b.' ✓ Il (ne) s'agit pas de s'éterniser!
 It *ne* itself is-a-matter-of not to linger-on!
 'We must go off quickly!'
 a.'" ✓ "S'agit de ne pas se tromper de gars!..."⁶⁴
 Itself is-a-matter-of to *ne* not itself make-a-mistake of guy!...
 'I mustn't take the wrong guy!'
 b.'" ✓ {"S'agit pas de {le/ te} rater!"^{65/66} / "Il ne s'agit pas de rater Stagmus!"⁶⁷}
 {Itself is-a-matter-of not to {him/ you} miss! / It *ne* itself is-a-matter-of not to miss Stagmus!}
 'I mustn't miss {him/ you/ Stagmus}!'
 a.'" ✓ (II) *S'agirait de* (ne) pas le perdre!
 (It) Itself would-be-a-matter-of to (ne) not him lose!
 b.'" ✓ "S'agirait pas de le perdre!"⁶⁸
 Itself would-be-a-matter-of not to him lose!
 'We mustn't lose him!'
 (II) *S'AVISER DE* 'TO TRY TO':
 a. ✓ Je m'avise de (ne) pas prendre trop de place.
 I myself try to (ne) not take too-much of place.
 b. ✓ "Je ne m'avise pas de prendre trop de place/ J'fais attention aux dimensions".⁶⁹
 I *ne* myself try not to take too-much of place/ I take care of-the dimensions.
 'I try to not take up too much space(, I take care of proportions).'
 a.' ✓ Avise-toi de (ne) plus me refaire ce coup.
 Try yourself to (ne) no-longer to-me do-again this trick.
 b.' ✓ "Ne t'avise plus de me refaire ce coup".⁷⁰
Ne yourself try no-longer to to-me do-again this trick.
 'Don't try to do once again to me this dirty trick.'
 (III) *CONSEILLER DE* 'TO RECOMMEND':
 a. ✓ Je lui conseille de (ne) pas s'approcher trop près.
 I to-him recommend to (ne) not himself approach too near.
 b. ✓ Je "Lui conseille pas de s'approcher trop près".⁷¹
 I To-him recommend not to himself approach too near.
 'I recommend him to not come too near.'
 a.' ✓ Je vous conseille de (ne) pas vous approcher!
 I to-you recommend to (ne) not yourself approach!
 b.' ✓ "Je ne vous conseille pas de vous approcher!"⁷²
 I *ne* to-you recommend not to yourself approach!
 'I recommend you to not come near!'

'I can manage on my own.'

⁶¹ Roland Goossens (Gos), *Les galaxiens*, Dupuis, 1979, plate 22.

⁶² Georges Rémi (Hergé), *L'affaire Tournesol*, Casterman, 1956, plate 31.

⁶³ Francis Bergèse, *Zone interdite*, Dupuis, 1997, plate 27 B.

⁶⁴ Jean Tabary, *L'héritage diabolique* (1966-1967), Dargaud, 1977, plate 20 B.

⁶⁵ Roland Goossens (Gos), *Les kromoks en folie*, Dupuis, 1985, plate 41.

⁶⁶ Nicolas Broca, *Les mémoires de Spirou*, Dupuis, 1989, p. 127.

⁶⁷ Eddy Paape, *La machine à conquérir le monde*, Dupuis, 1956, plate 92.

⁶⁸ Albert Uderzo, *Astérix en Hispanie*, Dargaud, 1969, plate 6 A.

⁶⁹ Princess Erika, *Idée noire*, Sony, 1999.

⁷⁰ André Benniest (Benn), *Elmer et moi, T.2 Les règles du jeu*, Glénat, 1990, plate 19.

⁷¹ Georges Rémi (Hergé), *Tintin au Tibet*, Casterman, 1960, plate 32.

⁷² Roland & Walter Goossens (Gos & Walt), *Les enfants de l'arc-en-ciel*, Dupuis, 1994, plate 25.

Raising *pas* across a complementizer sounds more colloquial than leaving it in low position. In the following example, the author used the latter option for the narrative insert in (b), and the former for the dialog in (a):

- (98) a. ✓ “...S’agit pas de vous soustraire la découverte de cette future étoile.”⁷³
 ...Itself is-a-matter-of not to to-you remove the discovery of this future star.
 ‘It’s not in my intention to steal you the discovery of this future star.’
 b. ✓ “‘S’agit de ne pas louper mon entrée triomphale au studio...’⁷⁴
 ‘Itself is-a-matter-of to *ne* not miss my entrance triumphal at-the studio...
 ‘I’ve to take care to not miss my triumphal entrance in the studio...’

With Q-raising modals, leaving the SM in (i) or the past auxiliary in (ii) around the lowest verb seems little natural: the (b) sentences are currently used to express the meaning of (a), which is used above all to lay emphasis on the ‘negativity’ of the complement.

- (99) (I) SM-RAISING:
 a. ✓ Tu dois ne pas venir.
 You have-to *ne* not come.
 ‘You have to not come.’
 b. ✓ Tu ne dois pas venir.
 You *ne* have-to not come.
 ‘{You haven’t to come/ You have to not come}.’
 a.’ ✓ “Si tu veux ne pas avoir d’ennuis”⁷⁵
 If you want *ne* not to-have of problems.
 ‘If you want to not have problems.’
 b.’ ✓ Si tu ne veux pas avoir d’ennuis.
 If you *ne* want not to-have of problems.’
 ‘{If you won’t to have problems/ If you want to not have problems}.’
 a.’ ✓ “il vaut mieux ne pas se montrer...”⁷⁶
 There is-worth better *ne* not oneself to-show...
 ‘It’s better to not show myself.’
 b.’ ✓ Il ne vaut mieux pas se montrer.
 There *ne* is-worth better not oneself to-show.
 ‘{It’s not better to show myself/ It’s better to not show myself}.’
 (II) AUXILIARY-RAISING:
 a. ✓ Tu dois avoir dépensé un paquet!⁷⁷
 You must have spent a packet!
 ‘You must have spent a small fortune!’
 b. ✓ Tu as dû dépenser un paquet!
 You have must to spend a packet!
 ‘{You must have spent a small fortune/ You had to spent a small fortune}!’
 a.’ ? Il vaut mieux s’être montré.
 There is-worth better oneself to-be shown...
 ‘It’s better to had shown myself.’
 b.’ ✓ Il a mieux valu se montrer.
 There has better been-worth oneself to-show.
 ‘{It has been better to show myself/ It’s better to had shown myself}.’

⁷³ André Benniest (Benn), *La Cité des Anges acte 1*, Dargaud, 1994, plate 9.

⁷⁴ André Benniest (Benn), *La Cité des Anges acte 1*, Dargaud, 1994, plate 6.

⁷⁵ Jean Demesmaeker (Jidéhem), *Starter contre les casseurs* (1961), Dupuis, 1985, plate 5 B.

⁷⁶ Georges Rémi (Hergé), *Tintin au pays de l’or noir*, last version, Casterman, 1971, plate 24.

⁷⁷ In Italian, where the expression of tense displays various differences with French, the two sentences seem not ambiguous: (a) receives an epistemic modal reading, (b) a root modal reading.

- (xxviii) a. ✓ Devi aver sborsato un sacco!
 You-must have spent a sack!
 ‘You must have spent a small fortune!’
 b. ✓ Hai dovuto sborsare un sacco!
 You-have must to-spend a sack!
 ‘You had to spent a small fortune!’

Auxiliaries also pertain to the Q-raising verbs:

- (100) (I) *AVOIR* 'TO HAVE':
 a. ✓ J'ai mangé tout le chocolat.
 I have eaten all the chocolate.
 b. ✓ J'ai tout mangé le chocolat.
 I have all eaten the chocolate.
 'I ate all the chocolate.'
 a.' ✓ J(e n)'ai mangé rien de bon.
 I (ne) have eaten nothing of good.
 b.' ✓ J(e n)'ai rien mangé de bon.
 I (ne) have nothing eaten of good.
 'I ate nothing good.'
- (II) *ETRE* 'TO BE':
 a. ✓ Je suis monté tout l'escalier.⁷⁸
 I am gone-up all the stair.
 b. ✓ Je suis tout monté l'escalier.
 I am all gone-up the stair.
 'I went the entire stairs up.'
 a.' ✓ Je (ne) suis monté rien de raide.
 I am gone-up nothing of steep.
 b.' ✓ Je (ne) suis rien monté de raide.
 I am nothing gone-up of steep.
 'I went nothing steep up.'
- (III) *ALLER* 'TO GO':
 a. ✓ Je vais manger tout le chocolat.⁷⁹
 I am-going-to eat all the chocolate.

⁷⁸ Standard (normative) conjugation of transitive movement verbs requests *avoir*-auxiliary in Modern French; in the emergent use of Neo French, all movement verbs, even the transitive ones, are currently conjugated with *être*-auxiliary.

With verbs allowing both local and temporal uses, only the former allow *être*-auxiliary:

- (xxix) a. ✓ {† J'ai/ Je suis} passé le pont.
 {† I have/ I am} passed the bridge.
 'I crossed the bridge.'
 b. ✓ {J'ai/ * Je suis} passé trois heures sur le pont.
 {I have/ * I am} passed three hours on the bridge.
 'I spent three hours on the bridge.'

⁷⁹ Prospective proximative *aller* 'to be going to' behaves like a modal proper; retrospective proximative *venir de* 'to have just' behaves like an aspectual periphrasis (with complementizer *de*) in non-allowing Q-raising:

- (xxx) (I) NON-NEGATIVE QUANTIFIER:
 a. ✓ Je viens de monter tout l'escalier.
 I have-just to gone-up all the stair.
 b. ?? Je viens de tout monter l'escalier.
 I have-just to all gone-up the stair.
 'I've just gone the entire stairs up.'
- (II) 'NEGATIVE' QUANTIFIER:
 a. * Je (ne) viens de manger rien de bon.
 I (ne) have-just to eat nothing of good.
 b. * Je (ne) viens de rien manger de bon.
 I (ne) have-just to nothing eat of good.
 c. ✓ Je viens de (ne) rien manger <rien> de bon.
 I have-just to (ne) nothing eat <nothing> of good.
 'I've just eat nothing good.'
- (III) QUANTIFICATIONAL 'NEGATIVE' MARKER:
 a. * Je (ne) viens de monter pas l'escalier.
 I (ne) have-just to gone-up not the stair.
 b. * Je (ne) viens de pas monter l'escalier.
 I (ne) have-just to not gone-up the stair.
 c. ✓ Je viens de (ne) pas monter l'escalier.
 I have-just to (ne) not gone-up the stair.
 'I've just not gone the entire stairs up.'

- b. ✓ Je vais tout manger le chocolat.
I am-going-to all eat the chocolate.
'I'm going to eat all the chocolate.'
- a.' ✓ Je (ne) vais manger rien de bon.
I (ne) am-going-to eat nothing of good.
- b.' ✓ Je (ne) vais rien manger de bon.
I (ne) am-going-to eat nothing of good.
'I'm going to eat nothing good.'

In sentences containing two auxiliaries (in the following examples, a temporal and a causative ones), placement possibilities increase:

- (101) (I) *AVOIR* 'TO HAVE' & *FAIRE* 'TO DO':
- a. ✓ Je l'ai fait manger tout le chocolat.
I him have made eat all the chocolate.
- b. ✓ Je l'ai fait tout manger le chocolat.
I him have made all eat the chocolate.
- c. ✓ Je l'ai tout fait manger le chocolat.
I him have all made eat the chocolate.
'I made him eat all the chocolate.'
- a.' ✓ Je (ne) l'ai fait manger rien de bon.
I (ne) him have made eat nothing of good.
- b.' ✓ Je (ne) l'ai fait rien manger de bon.
I (ne) him have made nothing eat of good.
- c.' ✓ Je (ne) l'ai rien fait manger de bon.
I (ne) him have nothing made eat of good.
'I made him eat nothing good.'
- (II) *AVOIR* 'TO HAVE' & *LAISSER* 'TO LET':
- a. ✓ Je l'ai laissé manger tout le chocolat.
I him have let eat all the chocolate.
- b. ✓ Je l'ai laissé tout manger le chocolat.
I him have let all eat the chocolate.
- c. ✓ Je l'ai tout laissé manger le chocolat.
I him all have let eat the chocolate.
'I let him eat all the chocolate.'
- a.' ✓ Je (ne) l'ai laissé manger rien de bon.
I (ne) him have let eat nothing of good.
- b.' ✓ Je (ne) l'ai laissé rien manger de bon.
I (ne) him have let nothing eat of good.
- c.' ✓ Je (ne) l'ai rien laissé manger de bon.
I (ne) him have nothing let eat of good.
'I let him eat nothing good.'
- (III) *AVOIR* 'TO HAVE' & *ENVOYER* 'TO SEND':
- a. ✓ Je l'ai envoyé manger tout le chocolat.
I him have sent eat all the chocolate.
- b. ✓ Je l'ai envoyé tout manger le chocolat.
I him have sent all eat the chocolate.
- c. ? Je l'ai tout envoyé manger le chocolat.
I him all have sent eat the chocolate.
'I sent him eat all the chocolate.'
- a.' ✓ Je (ne) l'ai envoyé manger rien de bon.
I (ne) him have sent eat nothing of good.
- b.' ✓ Je (ne) l'ai envoyé rien manger de bon.
I (ne) him have sent nothing eat of good.
- c.' ✓ Je (ne) l'ai rien envoyé manger de bon.
I (ne) him have nothing sent eat of good.
'I sent him eat nothing good.'

In these cases too, a quantificational 'negative' marker is interpreted within the predicate where it is spelled-out; the (a) sentences can be saved, crucially without the SM, either as instances of local negation, or as metalinguistic uses in contrastive contexts:

- (102) (I) *AVOIR* ‘TO HAVE’:
 a. * J(e n)’ai mangé pas le chocolat.
 I (*ne*) have eaten not the chocolate.
 b. ✓ J(e n)’ai pas mangé le chocolat.
 I (*ne*) have not eaten the chocolate.
 ‘I didn’t eat the chocolate.’
 (II) *ETRE* ‘TO BE’:
 a. * Je (*ne*) suis monté pas l’escalier.
 I (*ne*) am gone-up not the stair.
 b. ✓ Je (*ne*) suis pas monté l’escalier.
 I (*ne*) am not gone-up the stair.
 ‘I didn’t go the entire stairs up.’
 (III) *ALLER* ‘TO GO’:
 a. * Je (*ne*) vais manger pas le chocolat.
 I (*ne*) am-going-to eat not the chocolate.
 b. ✓ Je (*ne*) vais pas manger le chocolat.
 I (*ne*) am-going-to not eat the chocolate.
 ‘I’m going to eat not the chocolate.’

In presence of two auxiliaries, the negated (c) sentences are no longer derived from the (b) ones, as it was the case with quantifiers: the (c) sentences are NEGATED CAUSATIVES, whereas the (b) ones are ‘NEGATIVE’ CAUSATIVES.

- (103) (I) *AVOIR* ‘TO HAVE’ & *FAIRE* ‘TO DO’:
 a. * Je l’ai fait (*ne*) manger pas le chocolat.⁸⁰
 I him have made (*ne*) eat not the chocolate.
 b. ✓ Je l’ai fait (*ne*) pas manger le chocolat.
 I him have made (*ne*) not eat the chocolate.
 ‘I made him not eat the chocolate.’
 c. ✓ Je (*ne*) l’ai pas fait manger le chocolat.
 I (*ne*) him not have made eat the chocolate.
 ‘I didn’t make him eat the chocolate.’
 (II) *AVOIR* ‘TO HAVE’ & *LAISSER* ‘TO LET’:
 a. * Je l’ai laissé (*ne*) manger pas le chocolat.
 I him have let (*ne*) eat not the chocolate.
 b. ✓ Je l’ai laissé (*ne*) pas manger le chocolat.
 I him have let (*ne*) not eat the chocolate.
 ‘I let him not eat the chocolate.’
 c. ✓ Je (*ne*) l’ai pas laissé manger le chocolat.
 I (*ne*) him not have let eat the chocolate.
 ‘I didn’t let him eat the chocolate.’
 (III) *AVOIR* ‘TO HAVE’ & *ENVOYER* ‘TO SEND’:
 a. * Je l’ai envoyé (*ne*) manger pas le chocolat.
 I him have sent (*ne*) eat not the chocolate.
 b. ✓ Je l’ai envoyé (*ne*) pas manger le chocolat.
 I him have sent (*ne*) not eat the chocolate.
 ‘I sent him not eat the chocolate.’
 c. ✓ Je (*ne*) l’ai pas envoyé manger le chocolat.
 I (*ne*) him not have sent eat the chocolate.
 ‘I didn’t send him eat the chocolate.’

At first glance, the difference of behavior between the ‘negative’ adverb *pas* and the ‘negative’ quantifier *rien* is surprising, since both express the lack of any quantity: in fact, the interaction of ‘Negative’ and Quantificational features within a single item leads to apparent oddities. For instance, the SM of global negation can exhibit partial reconstruction effects: in all the examples below, *ne* may be spelled out in the main predicate; whether the ‘Negative’

⁸⁰ This sentence was fine in an earlier stage of French where the infinitive was able to raise one step higher, so that (103)a was derived from (103)b.

feature may be interpreted only in the embedded predicate, only in the main predicate, or in both, will depend on the type of verb, or verbal construct.

In idiomatic constructs involving clitics like *il y'a* ‘there is’, the position of *ne* has no interpretive consequences: it follows from a general property of idiomatic expressions to increase the possibilities of clitic placement. For instance, a widespread jocular construct reduplicates, in a productive-like manner, the accusative clitic argument:

- (104) (I) WITH ITERATIVE SEMANTICS:
 a. ☺ Redis-le-me-le!
 Again-say it to-me it!
 ‘Say it again to me!’
 b. ☺ Refais-le-me-le!
 Again-do it to-me it!
 ‘Do it again to me!’
 (II) WITHOUT ITERATIVE SEMANTICS:
 a. ☺ “Miroir magique, dis-le me le: qui est-ce qui habite le châtaiu?”⁸¹
 Mirror magic, say it to-me it: who is-it which occupies the castle?
 ‘Magic mirror, let me know: who lives in the castle?’
 b. ☺ Prends-le-me-le!
 Take it to-me it!
 ‘Get it for me!’

Extending to pronominal clitics the claim of Bianchi [1993] that the arguments of strongest idiomatic expressions don’t receive θ -role, we can see them as merely functional heads able to be spelled-out more than once, making visible the full range of clitic positions. In the following examples, the first occurrence of locative clitic is superfluous, and normatively condemned.⁸²

- (105) a. ✓ “Il y a dû y avoir erreur sur la personne”.⁸³
 It LOC has owed LOC have error on the person.
 ‘You’ve got the wrong person.’
 b. ✓ “Il y a dû y avoir une fuite.”⁸⁴
 It LOC has owed LOC have a leak.
 ‘Something had to be leaked.’

When an idiomatic expression contains a pronominal clitic plus a ‘negative’ one, both can separately be moved and reduplicated, depending on the language level: in formal ‘register’, they must remain within their base predicate; in spoken ‘register’, they can raise up to the higher predicate, and may also be spelled-out twice. Since both clitics each have three placement options, combining them in a single sentence gives nine grammatical possibilities:

- (106) a. ✓ {II/ L’} a l’air de n’y’avoir personne.
 b. ✓ (II) Y’a l’air de n’avoir personne.
 c. ✓ (II) Y’a l’air de n’y’avoir personne.
 d. ✓ (II) N’a l’air d’y’avoir personne.
 e. ✓ (II) N’a l’air de n’y’avoir personne.
 f. ✓ (II) N’y’a l’air d’avoir personne.

⁸¹ Nikita Mandryka, *A la poursuite du broutchlag mordoré*, Dargaud, 1982, p. 41.

⁸² In spoken French, the phenomena is more extended: even non-idiomatic, non-ethical reflexives can be spelled-out twice, as in the following speech of Vanessa Paradis, taken from *Vanessa Paradis au Zénith*, Barclay, 2001:

(xxx) % “j’voulais vous dire de pas **vous** laisser **vous** impressionner”.
 I wanted to-you to-tell to not you let you upset.
 ‘I would to tell you, don’t let yourselves be overawed.’

⁸³ Philippe Vandeveldé & Jean-Richard Geurts (Tome & Janry), *Luna fatale*, Dupuis, 1995, plate 27.

⁸⁴ Alain Dodier, *Le cœur à droite*, Dupuis, 1999, plate 24.

- g. ✓ (II) N'y'a l'air de n'avoir personne.
 h. ✓ (II) N'y'a l'air d'y'avoir personne.
 i. ✓ (II) N'y'a l'air de n'y'avoir personne.
 There has the appearance to here have nobody.
 'There seems to be nobody here.'

Ethical datives, which are idiomatic, can also be reduplicated. In the following example, the second clitic is superfluous, and normatively condemned:

- (107) ✓ "C'est qu'il faut faire très attention/ A ne pas se laisser se voler ses pauvresses".⁸⁵
 It's that one must make very care/ To ne not oneself let oneself steal his poor-wretches.
 'One must be very careful to not let oneself have his own poor wretches stolen.'

Though appearing in the same fixed order than non-ethical clitics, ethical datives are in some sense left by the wayside of non-ethical clitic clustering: they generate with non-ethical clitics clusters impossible amongst non-ethical clitics.⁸⁶ Ethical datives occupy the same overt position as the 'negative' clitic, and can be either followed, or preceded, or both followed and preceded, by it. The following table investigates all possible combinations of ethical clitics in case of multiple ethical marking, with all possible placements of 'negative' clitic:

- (108) (i) ETHICAL CLITICS > 'NEGATIVE' CLITIC:
 a. ✓ Je te (me ({nous/ vous/ * se})) ne lui épargnerai pas les coups!
 b. ✓ Tu te (me ({nous/ vous/ * se})) ne lui épargneras pas les coups!
 c. ✓ Il te (me ({nous/ vous/ se})) ne lui épargnera pas les coups!
 d. ✓ Nous te (me ({nous/ vous/ * se})) ne lui épargnerons pas les coups!
 e. ✓ Vous te (me ({nous/ vous/ * se})) ne lui épargnerez pas les coups!
 f. ✓ Ils te (me ({nous/ vous/ se})) ne lui épargneront pas les coups!
 (ii) 'NEGATIVE' CLITIC > ETHICAL CLITICS:
 a. ✓ Je ne te (me ({nous/ vous/ * se})) lui épargnerai pas les coups!
 b. ✓ Tu ne te (me ({nous/ vous/ * se})) lui épargneras pas les coups!
 c. ✓ Il ne te (me ({nous/ vous/ se})) lui épargnera pas les coups!
 d. ✓ Nous ne te (me ({nous/ vous/ * se})) lui épargnerons pas les coups!
 e. ✓ Vous ne te (me ({nous/ vous/ * se})) lui épargnerez pas les coups!
 f. ✓ Ils ne te (me ({nous/ vous/ se})) lui épargneront pas les coups!
 (iii) 'NEGATIVE' CLITIC > ETHICAL CLITICS > 'NEGATIVE' CLITIC:
 a. ✓ Je ne te (me ({nous/ vous/ * se})) ne lui épargnerai pas les coups!
 b. ✓ Tu ne te (me ({nous/ vous/ * se})) ne lui épargneras pas les coups!
 c. ✓ Il ne te (me ({nous/ vous/ se})) ne lui épargnera pas les coups!
 d. ✓ Nous ne te (me ({nous/ vous/ * se})) ne lui épargnerons pas les coups!
 e. ✓ Vous ne te (me ({nous/ vous/ * se})) ne lui épargnerez pas les coups!
 f. ✓ Ils ne te (me ({nous/ vous/ se})) ne lui épargneront pas les coups!
 {I/ You/ He/ We/ You/ They} ne for-you-SG (for-me ({for-us/ for-you-PL/ for him})) ne to-him will-spare not the knocks!
 '{I/ You/ He/ We/ You/ They} will not spare him the knocks!'

With non-Q-raising verbs, *ne*-raising sometimes offers a further interpretation; whether the first interpretation can be preserved or not in spoken use will depend on the function of the quantifier, namely {* subject/ ✓ object}. This could be at the source of the controversial judgments given on the sentences of Kayne [1981], which were discussed among others by Rizzi [1982:119-120;126], Acquaviva [1993:1-2], and Déprez [1999:392(47)]. In fact, the two

⁸⁵ Jacques Brel, *La dame patronnesse*, Philips, 1959.

⁸⁶ This observation is due to Laenzlinger [1993:246(11)a;258(39)a]:

- (xxxii) a. * Jean {me lui/ lui me} présente.
 [John {me to-him/ to-him me} introduces.]
 'John introduces me to {him/ her}.'
 b. ✓ Tu vas me lui obéir!
 [You will-be-going-to for-me to-him obey!]
 'You are going to obey him (for me).'

attested judgments of the (b) sentences are not concurrent, but parallel, because corresponding to distinct scope levels; the clitic reduplication that we add as the (c) sentences forces the wider scope reading:

- (109) (I) PASSIVE SUBJECT ‘NEGATIVE’ QUANTIFIER:
 a. ✓ J’ai exigé que personne ne soit arrêté.
 I have required that nobody *ne* be arrested.
 ‘I required that nobody be arrested.’
 b. Je n’ai exigé que personne soit arrêté.
 I *ne* have required that nobody be arrested.
 (i) → * ‘I required that nobody be arrested.’
 (ii) → ✓ ‘I didn’t require that anybody be arrested.’
 c. ✓ Je n’ai exigé que personne ne soit arrêté.
 I *ne* have required that nobody *ne* be arrested.
 ‘I didn’t require that anybody be arrested.’
 (II) OBJECT ‘NEGATIVE’ QUANTIFIER:
 a. ✓ J’ai exigé qu’ils n’arrêtent personne.
 I have required that they *ne* arrest nobody.
 ‘I required that they arrest nobody.’
 b. Je n’ai exigé qu’ils arrêtent personne.
 I *ne* have required that they arrest nobody.
 (i) → ✓(?) ‘I required that they arrest nobody.’
 (ii) → ✓ ‘I didn’t require that they arrest anybody.’
 c. ✓ Je n’ai exigé qu’ils n’arrêtent personne.
 I *ne* have required that they *ne* arrest nobody.
 ‘I didn’t require that they arrest anybody.’

Like *exiger*, the verb *prétendre* marginally allows *ne*-raising with a quantifier in object position:

- (110) a. ✓ Pierre prétend ne rien faire.
 Peter pretends *ne* nothing to-do.
 ‘Peter pretends to do nothing.’
 b. Pierre ne prétend rien faire.
 Peter *ne* pretends nothing to-do.
 (i) → ✓(?) ‘Peter pretends to do nothing.’
 (ii) → ✓ ‘Peter doesn’t pretend to do anything.’
 c. ✓ Pierre ne prétend ne rien faire.
 Peter *ne* pretends *ne* nothing to-do.
 ‘Peter doesn’t pretend to do anything.’

If we replace the ‘negative’ quantifier by the ‘negative’ adverb *pas*, the negated (b) sentence is no longer derived from the (a) sentence—the latter is a ‘negative’ embedded predicate, the former a ‘negative’ main predicate, and *ne* reduplication in (c) is no longer available:

- (111) a. ✓ Pierre prétend ne pas venir.
 Peter pretends *ne* not come.
 ‘Peter pretends to not come.’
 b. ✓ Pierre ne prétend pas venir.
 Peter *ne* pretends not come.
 ‘Peter doesn’t pretend to come.’
 c. * Pierre ne prétend ne pas venir.
 Peter *ne* pretends *ne* not come.

We have just observed that idiomatic expressions generally increase the possibilities of clitic placement. Crucially, in an idiomatic guise signifying ‘to have a determined air’, *prétendre* does allow two sites of spell-out for the SM—even if it doesn’t allow the spell-out of both.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Clitic reduplication typically arises in idiomatic VPs, rather than around a single idiomatic item.

- (112) a. ✓ Le petit écureuil prétend ne pas le quitter.
 b. ✓ “Le petit écureuil ne prétend pas le quitter.”⁸⁸
 c. * Le petit écureuil ne prétend ne pas le quitter.
 The small squirrel (*ne*) pretends (*ne*) not him to-leave.
 ‘The small squirrel pretends to not leave him.’

With Q-raising verbs, the (marginal) raising of *ne* has no interpretive consequences, and the grammaticality of the sentence isn’t conditioned by the quantifier function:

- (113) (I) PASSIVE SUBJECT ‘NEGATIVE’ QUANTIFIER:
 a. ✓ Je veux que rien ne soit mangé.
 b. ✓ Je ne veux que rien soit mangé.
 c. ✓ Je ne veux que rien ne soit mangé.
 I (*ne*) want that nothing (*ne*) be eaten.
 ‘I want that nothing be eaten.’
 (II) OBJECT ‘NEGATIVE’ QUANTIFIER:
 a. ✓ Je veux qu’il ne mange rien.
 b. ✓ Je ne veux qu’il mange rien.
 c. ✓ Je ne veux qu’il ne mange rien.
 I (*ne*) want that he (*ne*) eat nothing.
 ‘I want that he eat nothing.’

With the Q-raising verb *devoir*, the (b) sentences with *ne*-raising are more common than the (a) sentences without *ne*-raising:

- (114) a. ✓(?) On devait ne jamais le revoir.
 b. ✓ On ne devait jamais le revoir.
 One (*ne*) must-had (*ne*) never him to-see-again.
 ‘One had to never see him again.’
 a.’ ✓(?) Il devait ne jamais y arriver.
 b.’ ✓ “Il ne devait jamais y arriver.”⁸⁹
 It (*ne*) must-had (*ne*) never here to-arrive.
 ‘It had to never arrive here.’

Nevertheless, *ne*-raising is ruled out within a hypothetical sentence: the ‘negative’ presupposition⁹⁰ it carries would neutralize the ‘positive’ presupposition introduced by the complementizer *si* ‘if’, there would be no hypothetical supposition, and SupP couldn’t correctly project.

- (115) a. ✓ “s’ils devaient ne pas revenir, j’aurais l’air malin.”⁹¹
 b. * S’ils ne devaient pas revenir, j’aurais l’air malin.
 If they (**ne*) must-had (*ne*) not again-come, I would-have the air cunning.
 ‘If they would not come back, I would look a right idiot.’

The ungrammaticality of (115)b, put together with the speaker-oriented nature of all Q-raising verbs, modal or not, shed some light on the motivation for *ne*-raising: a raised SM always expresses a speaker-oriented presupposition; the “softening process” of negation force noticed by Horn [1989:315-316] results from the shift of negation scope from the real event towards the subjective intentions of the speaker. Extensional verbs don’t allow *ne*-raising simply because, from an extensional standpoint, things *are* or *don’t are*, but cannot “are not”. Now, speaker-oriented intensional verbs just allow things to “are not”: it’s then not surprising that when one chooses such a verb, the preferred form capitalizes this option through a raised SM.

⁸⁸ André Franquin, *La mauvaise tête*, Dupuis, 1956, p. 53.

⁸⁹ André Franquin, *Le repaire de la Murène*, Dupuis, 1957, p. 37.

⁹⁰ On the notion of presupposition, see II.3.1.1.1 (and II.3.1.1.1.1).

⁹¹ Jean-Claude Fournier, *La croisière fantôme*, Dupuis, 1992, plate 6.

I.1.2.2.2.1. Quantificational & ‘negative’ items in subject position

The data reviewed in I.1.2.2.2 bring up a double question: what is the relationship between Quantificational and ‘Negative’ features, and what happens when they are part of a single item? One way to respond is to examine in what measure the respective positions able to be occupied by quantificational and ‘negative’ items do(n’t) overlap.

Generally, quantificational items can raise up to the subject position only if they receive appropriate θ -role and case; thus a ‘negative’ quantifier in (ii) is able to raise out of the predicate, whereas a ‘negative’ adverb in (iii) stays predicate-bounded:

- (116) (I) ARGUMENTAL NON-NEGATIVE QUANTIFIERS:
 ✓ Il est venu tout le monde → ✓ Tout le monde est venu.
 There is came all the people → All the people is came.
 ‘Everybody came.’
- (II) ARGUMENTAL ‘NEGATIVE’ QUANTIFIERS:
 ✓ Il (n’)est venu personne → ✓ Personne (n’)est venu.
 There (ne) is came nobody → Nobody (ne) is came.
 ‘Nobody came.’
- (III) ADVERBIAL ‘NEGATIVE’ QUANTIFIERS:
 ✓ Pierre (n’)est pas venu → * Pas Pierre (n’)est venu.
 Peter (ne) is not came → Not Peter (ne) is came.
 ‘Peter didn’t come.’

The predicate-bounded status of ‘Negative’ feature is the motivation for WFR lexicalizing ‘negative’ quantifiers (and determiners):

- (117) a. * Pas quelqu’un (n’)est venu. → ✓ Personne (n’)est venu.
 * ‘Not somebody came.’ → ✓ ‘Nobody came.’
 b. * Pas quelque chose (n’)est arrivé. → ✓ Rien (n’)est arrivé.
 * ‘Not something happened.’ → ✓ ‘Nothing happened.’

The SM of negation, which is not argumental, is thus also predicate-bounded (even if it is not clause-bounded):

- (118) (I) WITH POSTVERBAL ‘NEGATIVE’ SUBJECT:
 a. ✓ Il (n’)est venu personne.
 b. * N’il est venu personne.
 c. ✓ *pro* N’est venu personne.
 d. * Ne *pro* est venu personne.⁹²
 ‘There came nobody.’
- (II) WITH PREVERBAL ‘NEGATIVE’ SUBJECT:
 a. ✓ Personne (n’)est venu.
 b. * Personne n’il est venu.
 c. ☺ Personne il (n’)est venu.
 d. * Ne personne (il) est venu.
 ‘Nobody (☺ he) came.’

The landing site of *ne* appears to be the highest non-nominative clitic position.⁹³ Idiomatic construct ☺ *point n’est besoin* ‘there is no need to’, a relic of the V-2 stage of French where the raised ‘negative’ adverb †*point* ‘not’ fills the position of the expletive subject (and prevents its occurrence), suggests that this position is the highest incorporated head into

⁹² We infer the (c)-(d) contrast from the (a)-(b) one: *pro* presumably occupies the same position as its phonologically realized counterpart—even if there is no evident way to test it independently.

⁹³ For an overview of ‘negative’ clitics throughout romance dialects, see Zanuttini [1997], particularly chapter 3: *On certain differences among pre-verbal negative markers*.

Inflection:

- (119) a. †† II [_I n'est point besoin de faire des salamalecs].
 There [_I *ne* is not need to do of-the bowing-and-scraping].
 b. ☺ Point [_I n'est besoin de faire des salamalecs].
 Not [_I *ne* is need to do of-the bowing-and-scraping].
 'There is no need to bow and scrape.'

Zanuttini [1996:201-202] related such an inflectional position to Tense: "The question then is why there should be a special relation (or any relation at all) between negation and tense. One answer that immediately comes to mind is that both sentential negation and tense are operators which take scope over the same domain; [...] Another possible answer is to relate the property of depending on tense to another property of this class of negative markers, namely their being weak phonologically (although they cannot be assimilated to pronominal clitics, they do typically show a reduced vowel). Then this class of negative markers could be described as depending on tense at all levels, i.e., phonological, syntactic and semantic (in the sense that their scopal properties can never be distinguished from those of tense)".

The SM is thus the first word of the sentence (below eventual left-dislocations) in the case of imperatives, which are assumed to raise higher than the subject position:

- (120) (I) REGULAR IMPERATIVE:
 ✓ (Ne) le fais pas!
Ne it do not!
 'Don't do it!'
 (II) COMPOUNDED IMPERATIVES:⁹⁴
 a. ✓ "De toute manière, ne nous voilà guère avancés..."⁹⁵
 Anyway, *ne* us see-there not-a-lot brought-forward...
 'A fat lot of good, that's done us!'
 b. ☺ Ne te voici point content...
Ne you see-here not happy...
 'A fat lot of good, that's done you!'

In case of *pro*-drop, the SM is the first realized word of a sentence with predicate negation. Contrary to normative descriptions of French widespread even amongst generativists, non-referential subjects may in fact be dropped (and often are) in current spoken use, provided that the inflection doesn't stay alone:

- (121) (I) NON-REFERENTIAL EXPLETIVE SUBJECTS:
 a. ✓ "N'y a qu'un cheveu sur la tête à Mathieu!..."⁹⁶

⁹⁴ French has two compounded imperatives, lexicalized with a locative complement (category II.A.1 of Bouvier [1999]): *voici* 'here is' (< *vois ci!* 'see here!'), and *voilà* 'there is' (< *vois là!* 'see there!'). Even as compounds, they have retained verbal properties:

- (xxxiii) (I) INTRODUCING A COMPLETIVE:
 ✓ Voilà que Pierre arrive!
 See-there that Peter comes!
 'Peter is coming now!'
 (II) INTRODUCING A DIRECT OBJECT:
 ✓ Voilà Pierre!
 See-there Peter!
 'Peter is coming!'
 (III) HOSTING A CLITICIZED OBJECT:
 ✓ Le voilà!
 Him see-there!
 'He's coming!'

⁹⁵ Georges Rémi (Hergé), *Les bijoux de la Castafiore*, Casterman, 1963, plate 16.

⁹⁶ Georges Rémi (Hergé), *Tintin au pays de l'or noir*, last version, Casterman, 1971, plate 13.

Ne LOC has only one hair on the head of Mathieu!...

‘There’s a single hair on Mathieu’s head!’

b. ✓ “Il est cool faut croire/ Que de tout il en arre/ Ien à cirer enfin faut voir”.⁹⁷

He is cool is-necessary believe/ That of all he PART hasn/ Othing to care after-all is-necessary see.

‘He’s cool, one has to believe that he doesn’t give a damn for anything at all, but after all we’ll see.’

c. ✓ Quand faut y aller faut y aller.

When is-necessary LOC go is-necessary LOC go.

‘When it’s time to go, it’s time to go.’

(II) NON-REFERENTIAL NON-EXPLETIVE SUBJECTS:

a. * Pleut!

Rains!

b. ✓ Pleut fort!

Rains heavily!

c. ✓ (N’)Pleut plus!

(*Ne*) Rains no-more!

In many written ‘registers’, even referential subjects can be dropped:

(122) (I) LYRICS:

a. ✓ “Ont défoncé le portail/ Du château du roi Louis/ Et l’ont surpris/ [...] l’idiot”.⁹⁸

Have smashed-in the gate/ Of-the castle of-the king Louis/ And it have caught/ The idiot.

‘They smashed in the gate of king Louis’ castle and caught the idiot.’

b. ✓ “Y’a sûrement un loup/ [...]/ Pourrait bien, la bête/ Nous bouffer tout cru”.⁹⁹

There has surely a wolf/ Might well, the beast/ Us eat all uncooked.

‘There is surely a wolf. He might well eat us uncooked, this wicked creature.’

c. ✓ “Partirons ensemble/ Bâtirons ensemble/ Vieillirons ensemble/ Aimerons ensemble”.¹⁰⁰

Will-leave together/ Will-build together/ Will-get-old together/ Will-love together.

‘We will leave together, build together, get old together, and love together.’

d. ✓ “Ont touché à rien/ Sont partis plus loin/ Rien à dire/ Faut savoir/ C’que vouloir”.¹⁰¹

Have touched to nothing/ Are gone more far/ Nothing to say/ Must to-know/ What that to-want.

‘They touched nothing, they went somewhere else, I’ve nothing to say, I’ve just to know what I want.’

e. ✓ “Rien fait ce jour/ Suis resté sourd/ Pas desserré les dents”.¹⁰²

Nothing done this day/ Am stayed deaf/ Not unclenched the teeth.

‘I did nothing today, I remained deaf, I didn’t unclench my teeth.’

f. ✓ “Sans même un billet d’absence/ Doucement la porte ai refermée”.¹⁰³

Without even a note of absence/ Gently the door have-1-SG closed.

‘I left without a single letter of explanation, in closing the door silently.’

g. ✓ “On ne l’a pas vue longtemps/ S’en est allée comme sa peine/ Au dernier jour du printemps”.¹⁰⁴

One *ne* her has not seen longtime/ Herself PART is gone like her sadness/ At-the last day of-the spring.

‘One didn’t see her a long time, she went away like her sadness the last spring day.’

h. ✓ “Sur les chapeaux de roue/ De l’impasse caillou/ Suis une fille échappée belle/ Suis une fille marathon/ Un peu loin d’sa maison”.¹⁰⁵

On the hats of wheels/ Of the dead-end stone/ Am a girl broken-out nicely/ Am a girl marathon/ A bit far from its home.

‘Shooting off at top speed on the wheels of the Stone dead-end street, I’m a close-shave girl, I’m a marathon girl, and too far away from home.’

(II) COMICS:¹⁰⁶

a. ✓ “Suis fatigué”.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁷ Serge Gainsbourg, *Ecce homo*, Philips, 1981.

⁹⁸ Jacques Higelin, *L’idiot*, Saravah, 1970.

⁹⁹ Renaud Séchan, *C’est pas du pipeau*, Virgin, 1991.

¹⁰⁰ Jean-Louis Aubert, *La bonne étoile (H)*, Virgin, 1992.

¹⁰¹ Barbara, *Femme-piano-lunettes*, in *Châtelet 93*, Philips, 1994.

¹⁰² Stephan Eicher, *71/200* (Philippe Djian), Barclay, 1996.

¹⁰³ Christophe Miossec, *Le chien mouillé (en silence)*, Play it again Sam, 1998.

¹⁰⁴ William Sheller, *Moon down*, Mercury, 2000. Example provided by Agnès Lenoire.

¹⁰⁵ Enzo Enzo, *A toute berzingue* (Bertrand Pierre – Mathieu Baillot), BMG, 2001.

¹⁰⁶ In some examples (but not all, even within the same author and the same album as in note 143, the dropped subject is replaced by an apostrophe: this symbol corresponds to an optional phonological aspiration sometimes perceptible in the utterance of French null subject sentences.

¹⁰⁷ Willy Maltaite (Will), *Oscar et ses mystères*, Dupuis, 1955, 1984, plate 30 A.

- 'Am tired.
'I'm tired.'
- b. ✓ "Sais pas. Rien vu. [...] Sais pas... Crois pas..."¹⁰⁸
Know not. Nothing seen. [...] Know not... Believe not...
'I don't know. I saw nothing. I don't know... I don't believe...'
- c. ✓ "Le courrier? N'est pas trié! La documentation? N'est pas prête! Il n'a rien fait!"¹⁰⁹
The mail? *Ne* is not sorted! The documentation? *Ne* is not ready! He *ne* has nothing done!!
'The mail? Isn't sorted! The documentation? Isn't ready! He didn't do anything!'
- d. ✓ "Ce... ce qui m'est arrivé?... Ai mangé un de ces machins..."¹¹⁰
What... what that to-me is happened?... Have eaten one of these things.
'What happened to me? I ate one of these things.'
- e. ✓ "Lui conseille pas de s'approcher trop près, cette espèce de boit-sans soif!"¹¹¹
To-him recommend not to himself approach too near, this kind of drinks-without-thirst!
'I recommend him to not come too near, this bloody drunkard!'
- f. ✓ "N'a qu'à se débrouiller!... [...] M'en vais vous apprendre la politesse, moi!"¹¹²
Ne has that to himself cope!... [...] Me LOC go to-you teach the politeness, me.
'He has just to cope on his own! I will teach you some manners!'
- g. ✓ "Rien à faire!... Tout essayé!... N'en démordent pas: veulent aller à la Mecque, point, c'est tout!...
A se cogner la tête contre le cabestan!"¹¹³
Nothing to do!... All tried!... *Ne* PART renounce not: want go to the Mecca, period, that's all!... To oneself bang the head against the capstan!
'It's hopeless! I tried everything! They won't budge an inch: they want go to the Mecca, period, that's all!... It's like banging your head against a capstan!'
- h. ✓ "P... Peux pas!... Je... Je suis coincée!..."¹¹⁴
C... Can not!... I... I am jammed!...
'I cannot! I'm jammed!.'
- i. ✓ "Bien compris, leader!... Faisons un dernier sondage radar avant de prendre le cap retour!..."¹¹⁵
Well understood, leader!... Make a last sounding radar before to take the course return!...
'Okay, leader! We make a last radar sounding before heading for the base!'
- j. ✓ "N'avez rien d'autre à faire que me courir dans les pieds?..."¹¹⁶
Ne have-2-PL nothing of else to do than to-me run in the feet?
'Haven't you anything else to do than to be always getting in my way?'
- k. ✓ "Pouvez pas vous asseoir ailleurs que sur mes piquants, non?"¹¹⁷
Can not yourself sit elsewhere than on my spines, no?
'Cannot you sit down elsewhere than on my spines, can you?'
- l. ✓ "Attend nouvelles instructions..."¹¹⁸
Wait new instructions...
'I'm waiting for new instructions.'
- m. ✓ "Jamais entendu ce nom-là, 'doit pas être de la région!"¹¹⁹
Never heard this name-that, must not be from the region!
'I never heard this name before, he mustn't be from around here!'
- n. ✓ "14 h 55? - Les ceintures attacherons!"¹²⁰
14 ours 55? - The seatbelts will-fasten!!
'2.55 PM? - We will fasten our seatbelts!'
- o. ✓ "C'est con, 'n'ai jamais pu résister à une fringale."¹²¹
It is stupid, 'ne have never been-able to-resist to a raging-hunger.
'How stupid of me, I never have been able to resist to a raging hunger.'

¹⁰⁸ Georges Rémi (Hergé), *L'affaire Tournesol*, Casterman, 1956, plates 21+27.

¹⁰⁹ André Franquin, *Le lourd passé de Lagaffe*, Dupuis, 1986, plate 57 A, p. 7.

¹¹⁰ Georges Rémi (Hergé), *Tintin au Tibet*, Casterman, 1960, plate 12.

¹¹¹ Georges Rémi (Hergé), *Tintin au Tibet*, Casterman, 1960, plate 32.

¹¹² Georges Rémi (Hergé), *Coke en stock*, second version, Casterman, 1963, plate 35.

¹¹³ Georges Rémi (Hergé), *Coke en stock*, second version, Casterman, 1963, plate 50.

¹¹⁴ Victor Hubinon, *Le mystère des avions fantômes*, Dupuis, 1966, plate 2 C.

¹¹⁵ Victor Hubinon, *Le mystère des avions fantômes*, Dupuis, 1966, plate 11 A.

¹¹⁶ André Franquin, *Un gaffeur sachant gaffer*, Dupuis, 1969, plate 487 B, p. 15.

¹¹⁷ Othon Aristidès (Fred), *La mémoire*, Dargaud, 1977, plate 1.

¹¹⁸ Nikita Mandryka, *A la poursuite du broutchlag mordoré*, Dargaud, 1982, p. 23.

¹¹⁹ André Benniest (Benn), *Le tyran de Midnight Cross*, Dupuis, 1982, plate 8.

¹²⁰ Christian Binet, *Les Bidochon en voyage organisé*, Fluide Glacial, 1984, p. 13. Example provided by Agnès Lenoire.

¹²¹ André Franquin, *Idées noires*, vol. 2, Fluide Glacial, 1984, plate 62.

- p. ✓ “‘Sais pas! Tais-toi et cours!’”¹²²
 ‘Know not! Keep-quiet you and run!’
 ‘I don’t know! Keep quiet and run!’
- q. ✓ “‘Chais pas... Ont tous quitté la ville en gueulant... Chais pas!’”¹²³
 I-know not... Have all left the town in shouting... I-know not!
 ‘I don’t know... All them have left the town shouting... I don’t know!’
- r. ✓ “‘Voulez nous aider?’”¹²⁴
 ‘Want us help?’
 ‘Do you wanna help us?’
- s. ✓ “‘Vais faire un tour dans le couloir.’”¹²⁵
 ‘Go to-do a walk in the corridor.’
 ‘I’m going to take a walk in the corridor.’
- t. ✓ “‘Parlez d’un plaisir!’”¹²⁶
 ‘Talk of a pleasure!’
 ‘I can hardly wait!’
- u. ✓ “‘L’aviez pas, celui-là...’”¹²⁷
 It had not, this-that...
 ‘You hadn’t this [book]...’
- v. ✓ “‘Ouaip! L’était avec une fille... Viennent de partir... Route du sud!’”¹²⁸
 Yep! He was with a girl... Come of to-leave... Road of-the south!
 ‘Yep! He stayed with a girl... They’ve just left... South road!’
- w. ✓ “‘Snowball d’Eagle! Avons complètement perdu l’hostile...’”¹²⁹
 Snowball from Eagle! Have completely lost the hostile...
 ‘To Snowball from Eagle! We have totally lost the enemy...’
- x. ✓ “‘M’en occupe, Fred!... Je t’embrasse!’”¹³⁰
 Me PART care, Fred!... I you kiss!
 ‘I take charge of this, Fred! Kisses!’
- y. ✓ “‘O.K.! Pouvez passer!’”¹³¹
 O.K.! Can pass!
 ‘Okay, you can go!’
- z. ✓ “‘Que se passe-t-il? - ‘Sais pas!’”¹³²
 What itself happen-t-it? - ‘Know not!’
 ‘What happens? - I don’t know!’
- a.’ ✓ “‘...Savez lire, je ☺superpose?’”¹³³
 ...Know read, I superimpose?
 ‘I sup(☺erim)pose you can read.’
- b.’ ✓ “‘Je ne suis pas sûr de bien comprendre le charabia de ce monsieur, pouvez me traduire, inspecteur?’”¹³⁴
 I ne am not sure to good understand the gibberish of this gentleman, can to-me translate, inspector?
 ‘I’m not sure to really understand the gibberish of this gentleman, can you make the translation for me, inspector?’
- c.’ ✓ “‘Un vrai pote lui, ’s’est immédiatement proposé de se mettre à mon service!...’”¹³⁵
 A true buddy it [your gun], itself is immediately proposed to itself enter to my service!...
 ‘Your gun is my buddy, it immediately proposed me to enter my service!’
- d.’ ✓ “‘Croyez que ça puisse vous aider à tirer cette histoire au clair?...’”¹³⁶
 ‘Believe that it might you help to pull this story at-the clear?’
 ‘Do you believe that it might help you to clear up the whole story?’

¹²² Roland Goossens (Gos), *Les kromoks en folie*, Dupuis, 1985, plate 23.

¹²³ Philippe Berthet, *Mortes saisons*, Dupuis, 1985, p. 7.

¹²⁴ Philippe Berthet, *Mortes saisons*, Dupuis, 1985, p. 11.

¹²⁵ Philippe Berthet, *Mortes saisons*, Dupuis, 1985, p. 43.

¹²⁶ Alain Dodier, *Les êtres de papier*, Dupuis, 1985, plate 11.

¹²⁷ André Benniest (Benn), *Monsieur Cauchemar*, Glénat, 1987, plate 13.

¹²⁸ Philippe Berthet, *L’œil du chasseur*, Dupuis, 1988, plate 12.

¹²⁹ Francis Bergèse, *Les Agressseurs*, Novedi, 1988, plate 6.

¹³⁰ Francis Bergèse, *Les Agressseurs*, Novedi, 1988, plate 21.

¹³¹ Francis Bergèse, *Les Agressseurs*, Novedi, 1988, plate 40.

¹³² Roland & Walter Goossens (Gos & Walt), *L’œuf astral*, Dupuis, 1991, plate 31.

¹³³ Nikita Mandryka, *Le concombre masqué dépasse les bornes*, Dupuis, 1991, plate 3.

¹³⁴ André Benniest (Benn), *Un monde truqué*, Dargaud, 1992, p. 24.

¹³⁵ André Benniest (Benn), *Un monde truqué*, Dargaud, 1992, p. 48.

¹³⁶ André Benniest (Benn), *Un monde truqué*, Dargaud, 1992, p. 56.

- e.' ✓ "Savez, j'commence à vous connaître. 'Pas votre genre de laisser jouer le hasard..."¹³⁷
'Know, I begin to you know. Not your style to let play the chance.
'You know, I'm getting to know you. It's not your style to trust to luck.'
- f.' ✓ "Le commandant Tempel est absent... Parti en mission... Peux rien vous dire de plus."¹³⁸
The commandant Tempel is absent... Left in mission... Can nothing to-you say of more.
'Commandant Tempel isn't here... He's gone on an assignment... I cannot say you anything more.'
- g.' ✓ "M'faites chier avec votre précision!"¹³⁹
To-me make shit with your precision!
'Your precision is a pain in the ass!'
- h.' ✓ "Sais pas, renseigne-toi!"¹⁴⁰
Know not, inform you!
'I don't know, inform yourself!'
- i.' ✓ "Sais pas!"¹⁴¹
'Know not!
'I don't know!'
- j.' ✓ "Sais pas!"¹⁴²
Know not!
'I don't know!'
- k.' ✓ "{Sais/ Sais} pas!"¹⁴³
{Know/ Know} not!
'I don't know!'
- l.' ✓ "Sais pas!"¹⁴⁴
Know not!
'I don't know!'
- m.' ✓ "Te jure que c'était un vrai foutoir."¹⁴⁵
'To-you assure that it was a true chaos.
'I assure you that it was a goddamned chaos.'
- n.' ✓ "Sont fous!"¹⁴⁶
Are crazy!
'They are crazy!'
- o.' ✓ "Peux pas vous dire!"¹⁴⁷
Can not to-you say!
'I cannot say it to you.'
- p.' ✓ "S'ennuie pas le père John!"¹⁴⁸
Himself bores not the father John!
'Old John certainly spoils himself!'
- q.' ✓ "Me font pitié!"¹⁴⁹
'To-me make pity!
'I pity them.'
- (III) NOVELS:
- a.' ✓ "Lui, a été ôté du monde comme nous le serons, nous aussi."¹⁵⁰
Him, has been removed of-the world like we it will-be, us too.
'He was taken away from the earth, as we will be too.'
- b.' ✓ "Ne parle pas z'yeux. Tu parles z'œil, toi?"¹⁵¹
Ne speak not z¹⁵² eyes. You speak z eye, you?
'I don't speak Eyes. And you, do you speak Eye?'

¹³⁷ André Benniest (Benn), *Un monde truqué*, Dargaud, 1992, p. 59.

¹³⁸ Pierre Séron, *Choucroute Melba*, Dupuis, 1993, plate 5.

¹³⁹ Othon Aristidès (Fred), *L'histoire du corbac aux baskets*, Dargaud, 1993, plate 6.

¹⁴⁰ Pierre Séron, *Bébé Tango*, Dupuis, 1994, plate 9.

¹⁴¹ Roland & Walter Goossens (Gos & Walt), *Les enfants de l'arc-en-ciel*, Dupuis, 1994, plate 12.

¹⁴² Pierre Séron, *Tchakakahn*, Dupuis, 1995, plate 4.

¹⁴³ Roland Goossens (Gos), *Les naufragés du Chastang*, Dupuis, 1995, plates 3 and 43.

¹⁴⁴ Pierre Séron, *Melting-pot*, Dupuis, 1996, plate 46.

¹⁴⁵ André Benniest (Benn), *La Cité des Anges acte 2*, Dargaud, 1996, plate 32.

¹⁴⁶ Roland & Walter Goossens (Gos & Walt), *Le président galaxien*, Dupuis, 1997, plate 27.

¹⁴⁷ Alain Dodier, *Le gabion*, Dupuis, 1997, plate 8.

¹⁴⁸ André Benniest (Benn), *Le samaritain de Yosemite*, Dargaud, 1998, plate 46.

¹⁴⁹ Philippe Chappuis (Zep), *L'enfer des concerts*, Dupuis, 1999, p. 18.

¹⁵⁰ Charles Ferdinand Ramuz, *Passage du poète*, 1923, ch. VIII, § 11.

¹⁵¹ Frédéric Dard, *San Antonio n° 111: Du bois dont on fait les pipes*, Fleuve Noir, 1982, p. 151.

¹⁵² Jocular liaison consonant.

- c. ✓ “Ne pleurera plus de sa vie, je gage.”¹⁵³
Ne will-weep no-longer of her life, I bet.
 ‘I bet you that she will not weep anymore in her life.’
- d. ✓ “Me momifierai. Mon teint deviendra ivoire.”¹⁵⁴
 Myself will-fossilize. My coloring will-become ivory.
 ‘I will fossilize. My coloring will become like ivory.’
- e. ✓ “Sa prose, espère, c’est pas du Louis XVI branlant.”¹⁵⁵
 His prose, hopes, it’s not of-the Louis XVI shaky.
 ‘He hopes that his prose doesn’t sound like a shaky piece of Louis XVI furniture.’
- f. ✓ “Ouvrent, referment.”¹⁵⁶
 Open, close.
 ‘They open, they close.’
- g. ✓ “Il a secoué la tête. - Connais pas.”¹⁵⁷
 He has shaken the head. - Know not.
 ‘He shook his head. - I don’t know.’
- h. ✓ “Sortait de ses lèvres vermeilles une mélodie liquide et cristalline”.¹⁵⁸
 Went-out of her lips vermilion a melody liquid and crystal-clear.
 ‘There came out of her cherry lips a liquid and crystal-clear melody.’
- i. ✓ “S’y était rassemblée une manière d’équipage lié par l’attrait des sentiers à feux follets [...] Se serait agacé d’entendre cet apprenti thaumaturge-là réinventer la Genèse”.¹⁵⁹
 Itself LOC was assembled a kind of crew stricken-up by the appeal of-the paths with fires will-o’-the-wisp [...] Itself would-be aggravated to hear this apprentice thaumaturgist-that reinvent the Genesis.
 ‘[Within these enclosed walls] assembled a kind of crew stricken up by the will-o’-the-wisp paths appeal. [A soulless visitor] would be aggravated to hear this thaumaturgist’s apprentice reinvent the Genesis.’
- (IV) DIARIES:¹⁶⁰
- a. ✓ “Cherché places au Tabarin. N’ai pas pu en obtenir. Rentré.”¹⁶¹
 Searched-for places at Tabarin. *Ne* have not can-ed PART get. Returned.
 ‘I searched for places at the Tabarin. I wasn’t able to get them. I returned home.’
- b. ✓ “Me dit que l’architecte Perret est désireux de passer un moment avec moi”.¹⁶²
 ‘Me says that the architect Perret is desirous of spending a moment with me.’
- c. ✓ “Puis se colle à moi”.¹⁶³
 ‘Then clings to me.’
- (V) NOTICES OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS:
- a. ✓ Agit sans frotter.
 ‘Acts without shining.’
- b. ✓ S’élimine sans nuire.
 Itself eliminates without to-damage.
 ‘Can be incinerated without damaging the environment.’
- c. ✓ Durcit en trois heures.
 ‘Harden in three hours.’

In case of global (predicate) negation, the SM cannot be null when the nominative pronoun has no phonological realization:

- (123) (i) WITH *pro*:
- a. ✓ {II/ *pro*} N’est venu personne ce matin.
 b. ✓ {II/ * *pro*} ¬ est venu personne ce matin.
 (There) *Ne* is came nobody this morning.

¹⁵³ Frédéric Dard, *San Antonio n° 111: Du bois dont on fait les pipes*, Fleuve Noir, 1982, p. 15.

¹⁵⁴ Frédéric Dard, *San Antonio n° 111: Du bois dont on fait les pipes*, Fleuve Noir, 1982, p. 22.

¹⁵⁵ Frédéric Dard, *San Antonio n° 111: Du bois dont on fait les pipes*, Fleuve Noir, 1982, p. 31.

¹⁵⁶ Frédéric Dard, *San Antonio n° 111: Du bois dont on fait les pipes*, Fleuve Noir, 1982, p. 45.

¹⁵⁷ Jean-Jacques Nguyen, *L’amour au temps du silicium*, in *Escapes sur l’horizon*, Fleuve Noir, 1998, p. 311. Example provided by Agnès Lenoire.

¹⁵⁸ Pierre Dubois, *Les contes de crimes*, Hoëbeke, 2000, p. 105.

¹⁵⁹ Pierre Dubois, *Les contes de crimes*, Hoëbeke, 2000, p. 228.

¹⁶⁰ See Haegeman [1997] for an analysis of *pro*-drop in French and English diaries as a CP-truncation; see Thrasher [1977] for subject omission in idiolects of spoken English.

¹⁶¹ Jehan-Rictus, *Journal*, 3 avril 1899, quoted by Duneton [1990], p. 613.

¹⁶² Paul Léautaud, *Journal particulier*, 1933, p. 44, quoted by Haegeman [1997:237(8)c].

¹⁶³ Paul Léautaud, *Journal particulier*, 1933, p. 31, quoted by Haegeman [1997:249(38)a].

- ‘There came nobody this morning.’
 a. ✓ {Ça/ † Il/ *pro*} N’empêche que...
 b. ✓ {Ça/ † Il/ * *pro*} ¬ empêche que...
 ({That/ It}) *Ne* prevents that...
 ‘All the same...’
 a. ✓ *pro* N’importe les circonstances...
 b. ✓ * *pro* ¬ importe les circonstances...
Ne matters the circumstances...
 ‘...whatever the circumstances are like.’
 (II) WITH PRO:
 a. ✓ PRO *Ne* pas se pencher en dehors.
 b. * PRO ¬ Pas se pencher en dehors.
 PRO *Ne* not oneself lean in out.
 ‘Do not lean out.’

There might be a general ban on contiguous null clitics: a sequence [*pro*/ PRO} ¬] is in fact uninterpretable. On the other hand, with imperatives, which are assumed to raise higher than the subject position, the null clitics are not contiguous, and ‘¬’ is fine:

- (124) a. ✓ ¬ Le fais *pro* pas!
 ‘Don’t do it!’
 b. ✓ ¬ T’inquiète *pro* (pas)!
 ‘Don’t worry!’

I.1.2.2.2. Quantificational & ‘negative’ positions inside IP

A common position to both Quantificational and ‘Negative’ features is located between IP and AgrPPP:

- (125) a. ✓ Pierre (n’)a pas mangé de chocolat.
 Peter (*ne*) has not eaten of chocolate.
 ‘Peter didn’t eat chocolate.’
 b. ✓ Pierre a tout mangé le chocolat.
 Peter has all eaten the chocolate.
 ‘Peter ate all the chocolate.’
 c. ✓ Pierre a bien mangé du chocolat.
 Peter has indeed eaten of-the chocolate.
 ‘Indeed, Peter ate chocolate.’

The Italian paradigm differs minimally from the French one: *tutto* seems unable to overtly raise higher than the past participle, unlike its French counterpart *tout*:

- (126) a. ✓ Piero non ha {mica/ †† punto} mangiato del cioccolato.
 Peter not has (at all) eaten of-the chocolate.
 ‘Peter didn’t eat chocolate (at all).’
 b. ✓ Piero ha (* tutto) mangiato (tutto) il cioccolato.
 Peter has eaten all the chocolate.
 ‘Peter ate all the chocolate.’
 c. ✓ Piero ha ben mangiato del cioccolato.
 Peter has indeed eaten of-the chocolate.
 ‘Indeed, Peter ate chocolate.’

It is currently assumed, since Pollock [1989] and Belletti [1990], that Italian past participle raises higher than its French counterpart does. This claim would account for (126)b, but not for (126)c; Cinque [1992] argued that *tutto* is able to move leftward only when it has no nominal complement, owing to its inability to assign partitive case, in contrast with *molto* ‘a lot’. Giusti [1992:84-101] also observed that while indefinite (existential) quantifiers select either for a partitive NP, or for a PP, universal quantifiers cannot select a partitive

complement: “un Q indefinito, che induce interpretazione partitiva, assegnerà caso partitivo al suo complemento, mentre un Q universale funzionerà come semplice trasmettitore di caso [p. 101]”.¹⁶⁴ Under this view, it’s not the possible movements of the past participle that leave the quantifier behind in (126)b, but rather *tutto* that cannot raise for casual grounds.

- (127) a. ✓ Ho apprezzato tutti i piatti. → * Ho tutto apprezzato i piatti.
I-have appreciated all the dishes. → I-have all appreciated the dishes.
‘I appreciated all the dishes.’
b. ✓ Ho apprezzato molti (* i) piatti. → ✓ Ho molto apprezzato i piatti.
I-have appreciated much (* the) dishes. → I-have much appreciated the dishes.
‘I appreciated much (the) dishes.’

The contrast French (125)b vs. Italian (126)b suggests that *tout* has some property, absent from *tutto*, which allows it to move leftward even if it has a nominal complement. Since *tout* always occurs in the morphologically unmarked masculine singular form when it leaves any nominal complement behind,¹⁶⁵ the relevant property may be of morphological nature; in fact, besides its adjectival use, *tout* has an adverbial guise, able to modify not only a verb, but also an adverb:

- (128) a. ✓ “Tu sais c’que j’ai envie d’tu faire? Devine? Des bisous tout partout”.¹⁶⁶
You know what which I’ve desire of to-you make? Guess? PL-INDEF-DET kisses all everywhere.
‘Do you know what I wanna make to you? Can’t you guess? Kisses everywhere!’
b. ✓ Voglio farti dei baci (* tutto) dappertutto.
I-want make-to-you of-the kisses (* all) everywhere.
I wanna make you kisses everywhere.

When *tout* is spelled out around the past participle but interpreted within the object NP, agreement cannot take place, owing to the adverbial nature of the overt position (both interpretations are nevertheless possible):

- (129) ✓ Pierre a {tout/ * toute} mangé(* e) la tarte.
Peter has {all/ * all-F} eaten(* -F) the tart.
→ (i) ✓ ‘Peter ate the whole tart.’
→ (ii) ✓ ‘Peter completely ate the tart.’

Italian *tutto* just doesn’t own an adverbial invariable guise and cannot thus be spelled out around the past participle. For the rest, *tout* and *tutto* behave similarly; with Increasing verbs, the Italian paradigm (127) can be found in French (130)(i) vs. (ii):

- (130) (i) WITH AN INCREASING VERB:
a. ✓ J’ai apprécié tous les plats. → * J’ai tout apprécié les plats.
I-have appreciated all the dishes. → I-have all appreciated the dishes.
‘I appreciated all the dishes.’

¹⁶⁴ An indefinite Q, which induces partitive interpretation, will assign partitive case to its complement, whereas a universal Q will function as a simple case transmitter.

¹⁶⁵ This property has perhaps to be related to the impossibility to make a prepositionless floating quantifier agreeing with the marked gender:

- (xxxiv) a. ✓ Aux garçons, je leur ai tous donné un cadeau.
To-the boys, I to-them have all given a present.
‘As regards the boys, I give them all a present.’
b. ?? Aux filles, je leur ai { * toutes/ ?? tous } donné un cadeau.
To-the girls-F, I to-them have { * all-F/ ?? all } given a present.

The “prepositionless FQ-IO” is in fact limited to the default morphological form, *tous*; this restriction alone is responsible for the ungrammaticality of the following example discussed by Cinque [1999:117(21)]:

- (xxxv) * Je les_i leur_k ai tous_i toutes_k montrées.
I them-M to-them-F have all all-F showed.

¹⁶⁶ Jane Birkin, *Raccrochez c’est une horreur* (Serge Gainsbourg), Fontana, 1976.

- b. ✓ J'ai apprécié beaucoup {de/ * les} plats. → ✓ J'ai beaucoup apprécié {de/ les} plats.
 I-have appreciated much {of/ * the} dishes. → I-have much appreciated {of/ the} dishes.
 'I appreciated much (the) dishes.'
- (II) WITH A NON-INCREASING VERB:
- a. ✓ J'ai mangé tous les chocolats. → ✓ J'ai tout mangé les chocolats.
 I-have eaten all the chocolates. → I-have all eaten the chocolates.
 'I ate all the chocolates.' → 'I {ate all/ completely ate} the chocolates.'
- b. ✓ J'ai mangé beaucoup de chocolats. → ✓ J'ai beaucoup mangé de chocolats.
 I-have eaten much of chocolates. → I-have much eaten of chocolates.
 'I ate much chocolates.' → 'I {ate much/ much ate} chocolates.'

The impossibility of *tout*-raising in (130)(i)a doesn't follow from scalarity in general, but is limited to Increasing verbs: being \forall , *tout* cannot support scope interactions with Increasing verbs that start at the bottom of the scale and doesn't reach the top (\forall), but is perfectly compatible with Decreasing verbs that start at the top (\forall).

- (131) WITH A DECREASING VERB:
- a. ✓ J'ai déprécié tous les plats. → ✓ J'ai tout déprécié les plats.
 I-have depreciated all the dishes. → I-have all depreciated the dishes.
 'I depreciated all the dishes.'
- b. ✓ J'ai déprécié beaucoup {de/ * les} plats. → ✓ J'ai beaucoup déprécié {de/ les} plats.
 I-have depreciated much {of/ * the} dishes. → I-have much depreciated {of/ the} dishes.
 'I depreciated much (the) dishes.'

Being \exists , *beaucoup* doesn't show such a restriction. For the rest, the two quantifiers behave identically in being ambiguous between a high and a raised interpretation, when spelled-out in a high position:

- (132) (i) WITH *BEAUCOUP*:
- a. Pierre a posté beaucoup de lettres.
 Peter has mailed much of letters.
 → '{✓ Peter mailed much letters/ * Peter mailed letters much times (even one letter at once)}.'
- b. Pierre a beaucoup posté de lettres.
 Peter has much mailed of letters.
 → '{✓ Peter mailed much letters/ ✓ Peter mailed letters much times (even one letter at once)}.'
- (ii) WITH *TOUT*:
- a. ✓ Pierre a posté toutes les lettres.
 Peter has mailed all-F the letters.
 → '{✓ Peter mailed all the letters/ * Letters were all mailed right down to the last one by Peter}.'
- b. ✓ Pierre a tout posté les lettres.
 Peter has all mailed the letters.
 → '{✓ Peter mailed all the letters/ ✓ Letters were all mailed right down to the last one by Peter}.'

Obenauer [1983, 1984, 1994] discussed in detail the two positions of *beaucoup* and their possible meanings, and argued that there is no derivational relation between them—contrary to the analysis of Kayne [1975:30], which proposed an empty category within the (extended) NP as the basic position of a raised quantifier, as follows:

- (133) Pierre a beaucoup_i posté [_{NP} e_i de lettres].

We will adopt the analysis of Kayne [1975:29ff] and reject the conclusions of Obenauer [1983, 1984, 1994], because the latter based his analysis against any derivational relation on highly normative data. In fact, Obenauer [1984:166(29)] doesn't admit the low interpretation with the high position, contrary to current spoken use—"While (b) means that there were many sportsmen (individually) welcomed by the mayor, only (a) can also be interpreted as saying that the mayor addressed his greetings to a whole crowd of people; for more details,

see Obenauer [1983]”:

- (134) a. Le maire a salué beaucoup de sportifs.
 b. Le maire a beaucoup salué de sportifs.
 ‘The mayor greeted many sportsmen.’

Obenauer [1984:164(24)] provides another normative judgment: “In (a) as well as in (b), the context strongly suggests uniqueness of the discovery; use of the QAD construction with pre-verbal *beaucoup* should therefore be impossible. This is indeed what we find:”

- (135) a. * [for us * \mathfrak{R}] Dans cette marmite, il a beaucoup trouvé de pièces d’or.
 b. * [for us * \mathfrak{R}] En soulevant le couvercle, il a beaucoup trouvé de pièces d’or.
 ‘{In this pot/ By lifting up the cover}, he found many gold coins.’

The two previous quotations concern interpretation; Obenauer [1984:159] also invokes syntactic facts: “while a great many verbs can properly appear in the structure ...QP V [QP e] de..., a certain number of verbs cannot. Such a restriction is unexpected under the QP Reconstruction Hypothesis, since reconstruction does not, in general, seem to depend on lexical properties”. In support of this, Obenauer [1984:158-159(10)] gives as ungrammatical in French (on the model of his German examples [(16)-(18)]) sentences that sound fine to our ears, and are widespread in spoken use:

- (136) a. * [for us * \mathfrak{R}] Le critique a peu apprécié de films.
 ‘The critic appreciated few pictures.’
 b. * [for us * \mathfrak{R}] Son regard a beaucoup impressionné de minettes.
 ‘His glance impressed many girls.’
 c. * [for us * \mathfrak{R}] La réorganisation a beaucoup accéléré de procédures.
 ‘The reorganization sped up many procedures.’
 d. * [for us * \mathfrak{R}] La nouvelle a beaucoup inquiété d’experts.
 ‘The news worried many experts.’
 e. * [for us * \mathfrak{R}] Une fois installé loin de la ville, il a beaucoup regretté d’amis.
 ‘Once settled far from the town, he missed many friends.’

For us, the unique ban on QP reconstruction is an intransitive verb taking a prepositional complement:

- (137) * Son regard a beaucoup plu à de minettes.
 His glance has many liked to of girls.

The impossibility of (137), in sharp contrast with the fine (136)b, constitutes a strong piece of evidence in favor of a derivational relation, in so that prepositions are known to generally block (or degrade) extraction. On the other hand, nothing prevents to directly generate the quantifier in the highest position: hence the ambiguity of (132)b, vs. the univocity of (132)a. That a local quantificational position is available around the inflected verb is made visible by another intensifier, *trop* ‘(too) much’:

- (138) a. ✓ Ça me fait [trop de bien]. (* Ça me fait de bien.)
 It to-me makes too-much of good. (* It to-me makes of good.)
 b. ✓ Ça [me fait trop] du bien. (✓ Ça me fait du bien.)
 It to-me makes too-much of-the good. (It to-me makes of-the good.)
 ‘It does me much good.’ (‘It does me good.’)

Naturally, (137) becomes fine if *beaucoup* locally modifies the verb:

- (139) ✓ Son regard a beaucoup plu à des minettes.
 His glance has many liked to PL-INDEF-DET girls.

‘Many girls liked very much his glance.’

Obenauer [1994:(quoted by Rizzi [1999a:3;(29a)-(30a)]] also observed that *beaucoup* creates an island effect in (b), whereas a non-quantificational adverb in (b’) does not:

- (140) a. Combien de livres a-t-il beaucoup consultés ___?
 ‘How many of books has he a lot consulted?’
 b. * Combien a-t-il beaucoup consulté ___ de livres?
 ‘How many has he a lot consulted of books?’
 a.’ Combien de livres a-t-il attentivement consultés ___?
 ‘How many of books did he carefully consult?’
 b.’ Combien a-t-il attentivement consulté ___ de livres?
 ‘How many did he carefully consult of books?’

The ungrammaticality of the (b) sentence could confirm our intuition that *beaucoup* comes from a lower position in the nominal layer: if it were a local modifier of the past participle (generated in its specifier), the island effect wouldn’t be expected. A last argument in favor of a derivational relationship is a slight argument-adjunct asymmetry: for some speakers, high quantifiers are systematically less acceptable with an adjunct than with an argument—such a contrast would be unexpected if it were no derivation.

- (141) (I) WITH *ASSEZ*:
 a. ✓ Pierre a mangé assez de {chocolat/ fois} aujourd’hui.
 Peter has eaten enough of {chocolate/ times} today.
 ‘Peter ate enough {chocolate/ times} today.’
 b. ✓ Pierre a assez mangé de {chocolat/ ?(?)fois} aujourd’hui.
 Peter has enough eaten of {chocolate/ ?(?)times} today.
 ‘Peter {ate enough/ enough ate} {chocolate/ ?(?)times} today.’
 (II) WITH *BEAUCOUP*:
 a. ✓ Pierre a mangé beaucoup de {chocolat/ fois} aujourd’hui.
 Peter has eaten much of {chocolate/ times} today.
 ‘Peter ate much {chocolate/ times} today.’
 b. ✓ Pierre a beaucoup mangé de {chocolat/ ?(?)fois} aujourd’hui.
 Peter has much eaten of {chocolate/ ?(?)times} today.
 ‘Peter {ate much/ much ate} {chocolate/ ?(?)times} today.’
 (III) WITH *TROP*:
 a. ✓ Pierre a mangé trop de {chocolat/ fois} aujourd’hui.
 Peter has eaten too-much of {chocolate/ times} today.
 ‘Peter ate too much {chocolate/ times} today.’
 b. ✓ Pierre a trop mangé de {chocolat/ ?(?)fois} aujourd’hui.
 Peter has too-much eaten of {chocolate/ ?(?)times} today.
 ‘Peter {ate too much/ too much ate} {chocolate/ ?(?)times} today.’

Turning to examples in (132), insertion of a ‘negative’ predicate adverb may be done only in the highest position, as expected since the lower position is a nominal one:

- (142) a. * Pierre (n’)a posté {pas/ jamais} de lettres.
 b. ✓ Pierre (n’)a {pas/ jamais} posté de lettres.
 Peter (*ne*) has {not/ never} mailed of letters.
 ‘Peter did {not/ never} mail letters.’

In non-finite predicates, three quantificational positions are (marginally) available:¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ In some peripheral dialects of the Lemman area, the three quantificational positions can be made visible in a finite clause, by means of the autonomous iterative particle *re* ‘again’:

(xxxvi) ✓ Je vais re me <re> baigner <re>.
 I go again me <again> bathe <again>.
 ‘I go back to bathe.’

- (143) a. ✓ Il me fit promettre de te la répéter toute.
He to-me makes promise of to-you it repeat all.
'He makes me promise to repeat it entirely to you.'
b. ✓ (†) "Il [...] me fit promettre de te la toute répéter".¹⁶⁸
c. ✓ Il me fit promettre de toute te la répéter.
'He makes me promise to entirely repeat it to you.'

'Negative' adverbs expressing temporality, like *jamais*, can occupy all the three quantificational positions of (143):

- (144) a. ✓ Il me fit promettre de (ne) te la répéter jamais.
b. ✓ Il me fit promettre de (ne) te la jamais répéter.
c. ✓ Il me fit promettre de (ne) jamais te la répéter.
He to-me makes promise of *ne* never to-you it repeat.
'He makes me promise to never repeat it to you.'

'Negative' items expressing modality, like *pas*, cannot appear in the lowest position, namely that associated with local scope:

- (145) a. * Il me fit promettre de (ne) te la répéter pas.¹⁶⁹
b. ✓ Il me fit promettre de (ne) te la pas répéter.
c. ✓ Il me fit promettre de (ne) pas te la répéter.
He to-me makes promise of *ne* not to-you it repeat.
'He makes me promise to not repeat it to you.'

'Negative' items expressing the aspect, like *plus*, give intermediate results:

- (146) a. ? Il me fit promettre de (ne) te la répéter plus.
b. ✓ Il me fit promettre de (ne) te la plus répéter.
c. ✓ Il me fit promettre de (ne) plus te la répéter.
He to-me makes promise of *ne* no-longer to-you it repeat.
'He makes me promise to no longer repeat it to you.'

Mood, Tense, and Aspect heads that host 'negative' adverbs are thus in a hierarchical relationship consistent with the observation of Pollock [1989:413;(124)-(125)]—the height (marginally) reachable by the infinitive evidences that *pas* occupies the highest 'negative' adverbial position, since it is too high to be crossed, unlike its classmates.

- (147) a. * Pierre dit ne manger pas.¹⁷⁰
'Pierre says *ne* to eat not.'
b. (?) Pierre dit ne manger {[†] point/ plus/ rien}.
'Pierre says *ne* to eat {not/ no longer/ nothing}.'

The positions occupied by 'negative' and quantificational items are thus the same, simply because even the 'negative' items other than quantifiers are quantificational; the fundamental

In such tensed clauses, 'negative' adverbs are only allowed in the highest position, having to negate also the tense of the event:

- (xxxvii) ✓ Je (ne) vais {pas/ jamais} me {* pas/ * jamais} baigner {* pas/ * jamais}.
I (*ne*) go {not/ never} me bathe.
'I do {not/ never} go to bathe.'

¹⁶⁸ Pierre Séron, *Le dernier des petits hommes*, Dupuis, 1988, plate 39.

¹⁶⁹ Example (145)a becomes acceptable if we add some phrasal complement to the adverb, so that it receives local scope, and if no *ne*-insertion is done:

- (xxxviii)a. ✓ Il me fit promettre de (* ne) te la répéter pas du tout.
He to-me makes promise of to-you it repeat not at all.
'He makes me promise to repeat it not at all to you.'

¹⁷⁰ The observation in footnote 169 also holds for (337)a.

difference between the two classes is the site of interpretation:

- QUANTIFIERS (NEGATIVE OR NOT) can freely raise up in the structure, each step providing an additional interpretive possibility, so that they are potentially ambiguous between a high and a raised interpretation;
- ‘NEGATIVE’ ITEMS OTHER THAN QUANTIFIERS are always interpreted within the predicate where they are spelled-out, so that each (apparent) step provides a replacement interpretation.

1.1.2.2.3. Quantificational & ‘negative’ positions within the extended NP

The extended NP contains quantificational and ‘negative’ positions; from this fact follow apparent counterexamples to the ban on ‘negative’ adverbs in subject position:

- (148) a. ✓ Pas âme qui vive (n’)est arrivée.
Not soul which live-SUBJ (*ne*) is arrived.
‘There didn’t arrive anybody.’
b. ✓ Pas grand-chose (ne) s’est passé.
Not great-thing (*ne*) itself is happened.
‘There doesn’t happened many things.’

The compounded nominal PIs need to be c-commanded by a ‘negative’ adverb, which finds a natural landing site in its empty QP; the (abridged) syntactic representation of (148) is the following:

- (149) a. [IP [QP Pas [NP [N âme qui vive]]] [I (n’)est [AgrPPP arrivée [VP t]]]].
b. [IP [QP Pas [NP [N grand-chose]]] [I (ne) s’est [AgrPPP passé [VP t]]]].

If a compounded PI is categorized as a quantifier rather than as a noun, the CR makes its quantificational structure opaque to the syntax, and the ‘negative’ adverb finds no landing site within the nominal QP-layer:

- (150) a. * Pas [qui que ce soit]_Q (n’)est arrivé.
Not whoever (*ne*) is arrived.
‘Nobody arrived.’
b. * Pas [tout-tout]_Q (n’)a été compris.
Not all-all (*ne*) has been understood.
‘Not everything was understood.’
c. * Pas [qui]_Q (n’)est parti?¹⁷¹
Not who (*ne*) is left?
‘Who has not left?’

For a hierarchical reason too, inverse scope is banned when a negation follows a subject quantifier:

- (151) a. ✓ Qui (n’)est pas parti?
Who (*ne*) is not left?
‘Who has not left?’
→ {✓ Subject > negation/ * Negation > subject}.

¹⁷¹ Possible only in metalinguistic use, as an echoic question, without SM; in such a case, the ‘negative’ adverb is locally generated in the specifier of the QP:

- (xxxix) A: ✓ Finalement, ce n’est pas Pierre qui est parti, mais Jeanne.
‘Finally, it’s not Peter which has left, but Jane.’
B: ✓ PAS QUI (* n’)est parti?
‘NOT WHO has left?’

- b. ✓ *Quelqu'un (n')est pas parti.*
 Someone (*ne*) is not left.
 'Someone has not left.'
 → {✓ Subject > negation/ * Negation > subject}.

There is thus a tension between the large autonomy of the main subject and the predicate-bounded movement of 'negative' items: unless an expletive pronoun marks its argumental scope, the main subject, in order to satisfy EPP, needs to raise outside of the domain accessible to non-argumental 'negative' items. From this tension, follow the crosslinguistic often-observed subject-object asymmetries, some of which are reviewed in the next paragraph.

1.1.2.2.4. Subject-object asymmetries

In a territorially widespread popular 'register' of European French,¹⁷² NC between 'negative' adverb *pas* and other 'negative' items is commonly used, unlike in Standard French. Such an 'extended-NC' is allowed with an accusative or an oblique complement, and also with a postverbal subject, but not with a raised subject:

- (152) a. % *J(e n)'ai pas vu personne.*
 I (*ne*) have not seen nobody.
 'I didn't see nobody.'
 b. % *J(e n)'ai pas rien dit à personne.*
 I (*ne*) have not nothing said to nobody.
 'I didn't say nothing to nobody.'
 c. % *Il (n')est pas arrivé personne.*
 There (*ne*) is not arrived nobody.
 'There didn't arrive nobody.'
 d. * *Personne (n')est pas arrivé.*
 Nobody (*ne*) is not arrived.
 'Nobody didn't arrive.'
 e. * *Pas personne (n')est arrivé.*
 Not nobody (*ne*) is arrived.
 'Nobody didn't arrive.'

The same holds for the territorially widespread spoken 'varieties' of English currently allowing NC between 'negative' adverb 'not' and other 'negative' items:

- (153) a. % I didn't see nobody.
 b. % I didn't say nothing to nobody.
 c. % There didn't arrive nobody.
 d. * Nobody didn't arrive.

In fact, the predicate-bounded 'negative' adverb creates a RME blocking the raising of a 'negative' argument. The same holds for NPIs of Standard English, traditionally analyzed as needing 'negative' c-command:

- (154) a. ✓ There didn't come anyone. → * Anyone didn't come <anyone>.

¹⁷² In Quebecois, *personne* is categorized as a noun (rather than as a determiner), so that it has an internal landing site for the 'negative' adverb, covert in (a) or overt in (b); being a 'negative' word unlike the NPI *âme qui vive*, it doesn't need to be c-commanded by a 'negative' adverb at spell-out:

- (x1) a. % *Personne (n')est pas arrivé.*
 Nobody (*ne*) is not arrived.
 'Nobody didn't arrive.'
 b. % *Pas personne (n')est arrivé.*
 Not nobody (*ne*) is arrived.
 'Nobody didn't arrive.'

- b. ✓ Why didn't anyone go there? → * Why did anyone not <anyone> go there?

In Standard Italian, *nessuno* 'nobody' has either to raise up to a quantificational position, or to receive scope from a c-commanding 'negative' item, in our example *non* 'not'. Whereas *non* is obligatory with an object 'negative' quantifier as in (i)a-b, and with a postverbal subject 'negative' quantifier as in (ii)a-b, it is banned if the 'negative' quantifier is in subject position as in (ii)c-d-e:

- (155) (i) WITH AN OBJECT 'NEGATIVE' QUANTIFIER:

a. * *pro* Vedo nessuno.
pro See nobody.
 b. ✓ *pro* **Non** vedo **nessuno**.
pro Not see nobody.
 'I see nobody.'

- (ii) WITH A SUBJECT 'NEGATIVE' QUANTIFIER:

a. * *pro* Parla nessuno.
pro Speaks nobody.
 b. ✓ *pro* **Non** parla **nessuno**.
pro Not speaks nobody.
 c. ✓ **Nessuno** parla.
 Nobody speaks.
 d. * Nessuno non parla.
 Nobody not speaks.
 e. * Non nessuno parla.
 Not nobody speaks.
 'Nobody speaks.'

An object-*nessuno* embedded within a complex subject can neither scope on the predicate, nor receive scope from *non*, as in the following contrast taken from Beghelli [1995:113:(8)]:

- (156) a. ? Chiamare **nessuno** servirà a niente, ormai.
 To call no-one will serve to nothing, now.
 b. ✓ **Non** fa **niente** per aiutare **nessuno**.
 Not (s/he) does nothing to help no-one.
 '(S/He) doesn't do anything to help anyone.'

Adverbs side with non-subject arguments, underlining the peculiarity of the raised position of quantificational subjects:

- (157) a. * *pro* Ha **piú** colore.
pro Has no-longer color.
 b. ✓ *pro* **Non** ha **piú** colore.
pro Not has no-longer color.
 'It hasn't color anymore.'
 c. ✓ "la mia pelle che colore **piú non ha**".¹⁷³
 My skin that color no-longer not has.
 'My skin, which hasn't color anymore.'

In Albanian,¹⁷⁴ an NPI expresses the 'negative' object, whereas a compounded quantifier expresses the 'negative' subject; this alternation induces to mean that the PI guise *njeri* is neither able to survive without being c-commanded by a 'negative' adverb, nor to provide a landing site for the negation, then it appears in main subject position under a reinforced guise.

- (158) (i) NPI WITH A 'NEGATIVE' OBJECT:
 a. ✓ Nuk shoh *njeri*.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Gianna Nannini, *Contaminata* (Nannini-Redeghieri-Malavasi), Polygram, 1996.

¹⁷⁴ Thanks to Merita Reso [p.c.] for these data.

¹⁷⁵ As a regular noun, *njeri-u* means 'man-NOMINATIVE', as an NPI, its invariable guise *njeri* means 'anybody'.

- Not I-see anybody.
 ‘I don’t see anybody.’
 b. ✓ Nuk kam parë njeri.
 Not I-saw never anybody.
 ‘I never saw anybody.’
 (II) COMPOUNDED Q WITH A ‘NEGATIVE’ OBJECT:
 a. ✓ Asnjeri¹⁷⁶ nuk vjen.
 Nobody not come.
 ‘Nobody come.’
 b. ✓ Asnjeri nuk ka ardhur.
 Nobody not is came.
 ‘Nobody came.’

All these subject-object asymmetries find an explanatory ground in the predicate-bounded nature of ‘Negative’ feature: a ‘negative’ item can reach the subject position only if it is part of the extended NP, either lexically (within the inherently ‘negative’ quantifiers), or syntactically (inside the QP-layer of nouns needing ‘negative’ c-command).

I.1.2.2.2.5. Predicate & sentential levels

In the light of the previous data, the observation of Beghelli [1995:157(n.4)] simply seems to emphasize that logical global negation cannot scope over the main subject of the sentence on its own (without being lifted by any quantificational item). This logical use of global negation without sentence level operator will be referred to, in our terminology, as PREDICATE NEGATION.

- (159) LOGICAL PREDICATE NEGATION obtains when:
 (i) no ‘negative’ item other than a SM raises higher than the inflection, and
 (ii) a (global) SM is available according to the ‘*Ne*-insertion condition’ in (51).¹⁷⁷

On the other hand, when the main subject is a ‘negative’ quantifier, we do actually have a sentence level operator in logical use—namely the ‘negative’ feature lifted up to the main subject position by the subject quantifier. This case, and only this case, will be referred to, in our terminology, as SENTENTIAL NEGATION.

- (160) LOGICAL SENTENTIAL NEGATION obtains when:
 (i) some ‘negative’ item raises at least up to the specifier of IP, and
 (ii) a (global) SM is available according to the ‘*Ne*-insertion condition’ in (51).

Tovena [1996:188-189(6.45)-(6.47)] already observed, “the possibility of having sentential scope negation depends on the nature of the subject”, so that we have sentential scope in (b) with a ‘negative’ subject, but only predicate scope in (a) with a non-negative subject:

- (161) a. Luisa non ha detto niente.
 Louise not has told nothing.
 ‘Louise didn’t say anything.’
 b. Nessuno ha detto niente.
 Nobody has said nothing.
 ‘Nobody said anything.’

¹⁷⁶ The compounded quantifier *asnjeri* ‘nobody’ is made up of *as* ‘nor’ and *njeri* ‘anybody’.

¹⁷⁷ We repeat (51) here for convenience:

- (xli) *NE*-INSERTION CONDITION:
 (i) *ne* is banned if negation scopes locally on a single phrase other than the Inflection, and
 (ii) if negation scopes globally on a wide constituent made up of several phrases, *ne* can optionally be inserted in the highest clitic position on the borderline of the relevant constituent.

In Italian, where *non* occupies the scopal position of French *ne* but owns the full featural set of French (*ne...*) *pas*, sentential negation in preverbal position excludes ‘negative’ marking on the inflection, which can be saved only by a metalinguistic reading:

- (162) ✓ NESSUNO non ha detto niente.
 Nobody not has said nothing.
 ‘NOBODY didn’t say anything.’

Definitions (159) and (160) indirectly provide a principled explanation for an old syntactic-semantic questioning: which sentences are ‘negative’, and which are not? In English, according to the data of Horn [1989:185(33)(ix)], there is an intriguing subject-object asymmetry in question-tags, which are known to exhibit the reverse polarity than that of the main sentence: the subject ‘negative’ quantifier in (a) requests a non-negative question-tag; the object ‘negative’ quantifier in (b) a ‘negative’ one.

- (163) a. ✓ Nobody saw John, did(* n’t) they?
 b. ✓ John saw nobody, did*(n’t) he?

Under our analysis, this contrast simply indicates that to be characterized as ‘negative’, a sentence needs a ‘Negative’ feature in the IP-layer; if the ‘Negative’ feature, which is part of the nominal QP-layer, is contained by a QP lower than the inflection, the sentence is not ‘negative’—only the QP is.

1.1.3. SYNOPTIC TABLES CROSSING LEVELS & USES

Summarizing, the five levels of negation are distributed across the two uses of negation in the following manner:

(164)	LOGICAL USE	METALINGUISTIC USE
PHONOLOGICAL LEVEL	* ¹⁷⁸	✓
MORPHOLOGICAL LEVEL	✓	✓
LOCAL LEVEL	✓	✓
PREDICATE LEVEL	✓	✓
SENTENTIAL LEVEL	✓	✓

The five levels of negation are productive, as shown in the paradigm below where (a) examples are logical uses, and (b) examples metalinguistic uses:

- (165) (I) PHONOLOGICAL LEVEL:
 a. *
 b. ✓ (Non,) Pas Ergot, Argot!
 ‘(No), Not slanT, slanG!’
 (II) MORPHOLOGICAL LEVEL:
 a. ✓ C’est un pabô.
 It is a not-pretty.
 ‘He’s a not-pretty.’
 b. ✓ Pas syntaxicien, syntaxOLOGUE!
 ‘Not syntactolog, syntactICIAN!’
 (III) PHRASAL LEVEL:
 a. ✓ “C’est le pas beau avec le cigare...”¹⁷⁹
 ‘It’s the not pretty with the cigar...’
 b. ✓ “Ce n’est pas la route qui est sous eau, c’est LE CAMION QUI N’EST PLUS SUR LA ROUTE!”¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ The fact that the phonological level isn’t available for the logical negation isn’t surprising: the entire phonological domain is opaque to the syntactic rules (though the reverse isn’t true).

¹⁷⁹ Maurice Maréchal, *L’affaire Frick*, Spirou n° 2513, 10.06.86, plate 7.

¹⁸⁰ Maurice Tillieux, *Le Chinois à deux roues*, Dupuis, 1967, front cover.

‘It’s not the road which is under the water, it’s THE TRUCK THAT IS NO LONGER ON THE ROAD!’

(IV) PREDICATE LEVEL:

a. ✓ Il [IP n’est pas beau].

He (*ne*) is not pretty.

‘He isn’t pretty.’

b. ✓ Je (*ne*) pars pas en vacances, je DEMENAGE DANS LES ILES!

‘I don’t set off on vacation, I CLEAR OFF IN THE WEST INDIES!’

(V) SENTENTIAL LEVEL:

a. ✓ Personne (*n*)est beau.

Nobody *ne* is pretty.

‘Nobody is pretty.’

b. ✓ (NON,) Il n’est PAS beau.

(NO,) He (*ne*) is NOT pretty.

‘(NO,) He is NOT pretty.’

I.2. CONCEIVABLE NON-NEGATIVE COUNTERPARTS OF ‘NEGATIVE’ MORPHOLOGY

I.2.1. ‘NEG_P’ AS A STRUCTURE OPENER

For Pollock [1989], ‘Neg_P’ wasn’t projected in a non-negative sentence, so that no non-negative item was able to occupy its position. His hypothesis finds support in pronominal cliticization facts within ‘negative’ causatives,¹⁸¹ where the presence of some ‘Neg_P’ is made sensible, in contrast with its absence in non-negative causatives.

Concerning causatives in general, Wehrli [1986:271(16)-(17)] noted, “when an infinitival verb is embedded under *faire*, the subject of this infinitival verb takes the form of a direct object NP if this verb is intransitive, as shown in [(i)]. If the infinitival verb is transitive, its subject takes the form of a prepositional phrase headed by *à*, as in [(ii)]”:

(166) (I) INTRANSITIVE [ERGATIVE]:

a. Jean fait partir Paul.

Jean makes go Paul.

b.* Jean fait partir à Paul.

Jean makes go to Paul.

‘Jean makes Paul go.’

(II) TRANSITIVE:

a. * Jean fait laver la vaisselle les enfants.

Jean makes wash the dishes the kids.

b. Jean fait laver la vaisselle aux enfants.

Jean makes wash the dishes to the kids.

‘Jean makes the kids wash the dishes.’

Intransitive unergative verbs allow the two possibilities, though the (b) sentence is rather colloquial, and normatively condemned:

(167) (III) INTRANSITIVE UNERGATIVE:

a. ✓ Jean fait téléphoner Pierre.

John makes phone Peter.

b. ✓ (* \mathcal{R}) Jean fait téléphoner à Pierre.¹⁸²

John makes phone to Peter.

‘John makes Peter phone.’

In case of cliticization, part of the asymmetry disappears: while a dative remains impossible

¹⁸¹ Causative auxiliary *faire* can actually be followed by a ‘negative’ complement, with a slight marginality of pragmatic nature: contexts requiring that somebody be caused to not make something are rare—but no grammatical device or insufficiency blocks such a possibility.

¹⁸² The sentence is actually ambiguous between the one reading relevant here, where Peter is Agent, and another reading where Peter is Beneficiary (with unexpressed Agent).

with an intransitive ergative, it becomes fully acceptable with an intransitive unergative, and an accusative becomes possible with a transitive, perhaps because cliticization is done before preposition insertion.¹⁸³

- (168) (I) INTRANSITIVE [ERGATIVE]:
 a. ✓ Jean le fait partir.
 John him makes go.
 b. * Jean lui fait partir.
 John to-him makes go.
 ‘John makes him go.’
 (II) TRANSITIVE:
 a. ✓ Jean les fait laver la vaisselle.
 John them makes wash the dishes.
 b. ✓ Jean leur fait laver la vaisselle.
 Jean to-them makes wash the dishes.
 ‘John makes them wash the dishes.’
 (III) INTRANSITIVE UNERGATIVE:¹⁸⁴
 a. ✓ Jean le fait téléphoner.
 John him makes phone.
 b. ✓ Jean lui fait téléphoner.
 John to-him makes phone.
 ‘John makes him phone.’

The embedded object may also be cliticized by an accusative; if we combine a cliticized subject with an accusative cliticized object, we obtain the following (im)possible combinations:

- (169) (I) NON-NEGATIVE CAUSATIVE:
 a. ✓ Pierre le fait laver la vaisselle.
 Peter CL-ACC-M makes to-wash the dishes-F.
 b. ✓ Pierre la fait laver à l’enfant.
 Peter CL-ACC-F makes to-wash to the child-M.
 c. * Pierre {le la/ la le} fait laver.
 Peter {CL-ACC-M CL-ACC-F/ CL-ACC-F CL-ACC-M} makes to-wash.
 d. ✓ Pierre le fait la laver.
 Peter CL-ACC-M makes CL-ACC-F to-wash.
 e. * Pierre la fait le laver.
 Peter CL-ACC-F makes CL-ACC-M to-wash.
 ‘Peter makes the child wash the dishes.’
 (II) ‘NEGATIVE’ CAUSATIVE:
 a. ✓ Pierre le fait ne pas laver la vaisselle.
 Peter CL-ACC-M makes *ne* not to-wash the dishes-F.
 b. * Pierre la fait ne pas laver à l’enfant.
 Peter CL-ACC-F makes *ne* not to-wash to the child-M.
 c. * Pierre {le la/ la le} fait ne pas laver.
 Peter {CL-ACC-M CL-ACC-F/ CL-ACC-F CL-ACC-M} makes *ne* not to-wash.
 d. ✓ Pierre le fait ne pas la laver.

¹⁸³ Kayne [1975] proposed a general analysis of the interactions between causativeness and cliticization through an extrinsic ordering device; the precedence of cliticization in causative structure may nonetheless be intrinsic.

¹⁸⁴ The sole impossibility, investigated by Rouveret & Vergnaud [1980:98(2)], is the cliticization of the nominal complement of the embedded subject in (c), according to the Specified Subject Condition of Chomsky [1973]:

- (xlii) a. Cela fera téléphoner Pierre à ses parents.
 That will-make telephone Pierre to his parents.
 ‘That will make Pierre telephone to his parents.’
 b. Cela le fera téléphoner à ses parents.
 That him will-make telephone to his parents.
 ‘That will make him telephone to his parents.’
 c. * Cela leur fera téléphoner leur fils.
 That to-them will-make telephone their son.
 ‘That will make their son telephone to them.’

Peter CL-ACC-M makes *ne* not CL-ACC-F to-wash.
 e. * Pierre la fait *ne pas* le laver.
 Peter CL-ACC-F makes *ne* not CL-ACC-M to-wash.
 ‘Peter makes the child not wash the dishes.’

The (c) sentences show that there is only one accusative clitic position per inflection. The (e) sentences show that a violation of the thematic hierarchy can determine RME: in the case in point, a Patient (the dishes) cannot cross an Actor (the child).¹⁸⁵ These data correspond to the thematic hierarchy established by Kiefer [1992:71] to account for the lack of certain combinations of θ -roles in compounding:

(170) (Actor(Agent(Beneficiary(Theme or Patient(Instrument))))))

The ungrammaticality of (169)(ii)b follows from the fact that the Actor, here an embedded subject, remains within the scope of negation, whereas the subject has just to escape the scope of negation;¹⁸⁶ incidentally, it provides a further reason to reject (169)(ii)e.

Now, if we combine an (accusative) cliticized subject with a dative cliticized object, we obtain the following (im)possible combinations:

(171) (I) NON-NEGATIVE CAUSATIVE:

a. ✓ Pierre lui fait laver la vaisselle.
 Peter CL-DAT-M makes to-wash the dishes-F.
 b. ✓ Pierre la fait laver à l’enfant.
 Peter CL-ACC-F makes to-wash to the child-M.
 c. ✓ Pierre {lui la/ la lui} fait laver.
 Peter {CL-DAT-M CL-ACC-F/ CL-ACC-F CL-DAT-M} makes to-wash.
 d. * Pierre lui fait la laver.
 Peter CL-DAT-M makes CL-ACC-F to-wash.
 e. * Pierre la fait lui laver.
 Peter CL-ACC-F makes CL-DAT-M to-wash.
 ‘Peter makes the child wash the dishes.’

(II) ‘NEGATIVE’ CAUSATIVE:

a. ✓ Pierre lui fait *ne pas* laver la vaisselle.
 Peter CL-DAT-M makes *ne* not to-wash the dishes-F.
 b. * Pierre la fait *ne pas* laver à l’enfant.
 Peter CL-ACC-F makes *ne* not to-wash to the child-M.
 c. ✓ Pierre {lui la/ la lui}¹⁸⁷ fait *ne pas* laver.
 Peter {CL-DAT-M CL-ACC-F/ CL-ACC-F CL-DAT-M} makes *ne* not to-wash.
 d. ✓ Pierre lui fait *ne pas* la laver.
 Peter CL-DAT-M makes *ne* not CL-ACC-F to-wash.
 e. * Pierre la fait *ne pas* lui laver.
 Peter CL-ACC-F makes *ne* not CL-DAT-M to-wash.
 ‘Peter makes the child not wash the dishes.’

What is crucial is the ungrammaticality of (171)(i)d vs. the grammaticality of (169)(i)d, (169)(ii)d and (171)(ii)d. Such a contrast doesn’t arise with a dative:

(172) a. ✓ Pierre fait faire un sort à la tarte à l’enfant.
 Peter makes to-make a fate to the tart-F to the children-M.
 b. ✓ Pierre lui fait lui faire un sort.
 Peter CL-DAT-M makes CL-DAT-F to-make a fate.

¹⁸⁵ If both are cliticized; cliticization of part of the arguments can lead to a reordering apparently violating the hierarchy. Nonetheless, the hierarchy cannot be violated if all arguments are of the same category (all clitics, or all NPs).

¹⁸⁶ See discussions in I.1.2.2.2 and II.3.1.1.3.3.

¹⁸⁷ Here both orders are possible, depending on an optional (and regional) incorporation rule, as discussed in footnote 51.

- c. ✓ Pierre lui fait ne pas lui faire un sort.
 Peter CL-DAT-M makes *ne* not CL-DAT-F to-make a fate.
 ‘Peter makes the children polish off the tart.’

Negation in (171)(i)d seems thus to open the IP-layer, otherwise not available in (171)(ii)d, where the accusative clitic finds a valid landing site. Dative pronoun in (172)b, on the other hand, doesn’t need negation to find a valid landing site. The structural difference between *lui*, extracted from a PP, and *le*, extracted from an accusative NP, seems to have the same consequence as the presence vs. absence of negation. A precise analysis will depend on a theory of cliticization.

The structure of a non-negative sentence seems thus reduced in comparison with that of a ‘negative’ one. Zanuttini [1996:181] observed, “in both Romance and English the functional category NegP is parasitic on the functional category TP, i.e., NegP can only occur in the sentence if TP is present”; she also examined structures overtly lacking TP as the absolute participles of Romance, where negation cannot take place. In other structures where TP is potentially realizable, it might be the case that the realization of negation entails the realization of a silent TP, able to host clitic heads.

Anyway, in a framework where the featural richness makes many positions available to the syntactic computation, and where ‘NegP’ has possibly to be split in several functional projections, the initial issue comes out in a new guise: may non-negative items project (at least part of) the same phrases as the ‘negative’ ones?

1.2.2. DO, DON’T OR DIE

There is a basic query that we have not put: what is a ‘negative’ sentence? In an historical perspective, Horn [1989] noticed, from a pragmatic standpoint, “Royce argues that there cannot be a coherent class of negative (or affirmative) propositions. Every denial is ipso facto an affirmation, and vice versa, since ‘to affirm is to deny the contradictory of whatever one affirms’ [p. 33]”, and from a semantic standpoint, Kissin “points out that the traditional criteria for negativity—the presence of a negative particle, its appearance in a specified syntactic location, and so forth—apply only to sentences, not to statements or propositions. In fact, for Kissin, there is no such animal as a negative statement or proposition. AFFIRMATION (AFFIRMATIVE) refers to what people do with sentences; its opposite number is DENIAL. NEGATION (NEGATIVE) is a property of sentences; as its counterpart, Kissin proposes NONNEGATION (NONNEGATIVE) [p. 34]”. Adopting this standpoint, we will treat negation and affirmation as a syntactic fact consisting in the realization of complementary polarity-related features.

1.2.2.1. Morphological parallelisms & asymmetries

Theoretically, polarity could be expressed either with a ‘Negative’ feature, or with a ‘Positive’ feature; empirically, ‘negative’ sentences universally require additional morphological specifications. In French, while a ‘negative’ semantics is morphologically realized by (*ne...pas*) in the (a) sentence, a non-negative semantics follows from the absence of any ‘negative’ word in the (b) sentence:

- (173) a. ✓ Pierre (**ne**) mange **pas** de chocolat.
 Peter (*ne*) eats not of chocolate.
 ‘Peter doesn’t eat chocolate.’
 b. ✓ Pierre mange du chocolat.
 Peter eats of-the chocolate.
 ‘Peter eats chocolate.’

It would thus be more economical to express the absence of any particular morphology as -Negative, rather than to express the presence of some particular morphology as -Positive.¹⁸⁸ Nonetheless, when one wants to lay emphasis on the non-negative semantics, a ‘negative’ adverb may have two non-negative counterparts (due to its bifacial nature): its quantificational aspect can be expressed by the non-negative adverb *tout* ‘all’; its polar aspect can be expressed by the non-negative adverb *bien* ‘indeed’.

- (174) a. ✓ Pierre mange **tout** le chocolat.
‘Peter eats all the chocolate.’
b. ✓ Pierre mange **bien** du chocolat.
Peter eats indeed of-the chocolate.
‘Indeed, Peter eats chocolate.’

The difference between ‘negative’ and non-negative sentences is thus not simply the presence vs. absence of a particular morphology: ‘negative’ polarity **MUST** be overtly projected through adequate morphology, whereas non-negative polarity **MAY** be overtly projected through adequate morphology if further specifications like particular quantity or emphasis are requested by the context. Despite this asymmetry, the idea of a complementarity between items expressing the two poles is commonplace. One finds it in popular songs:

- (175) ✓ “Je ne sais **rien**/ De l’avenir/ Mais je sais **bien**/ Qu’il est temps de partir.”¹⁸⁹
I ne know nothing/ Of the future/ But I know good/ That it is time to leave.
‘I don’t know anything on future, but I do know that it’s time to leave.’

Such an idea is not new. In the first complete grammar of Italian, Bembo [1549:LXXI] lays out the affirmative adverb *sí*¹⁹⁰ ‘yes’ as the counterpart of *non* ‘not’:

- (176) Dicesi *Non* la voce che nega; contraria di cui è *Sí*, che afferma; come che ella eziandio, in vece di *Cosí*,¹⁹¹ si ponga per chi vuole.
‘One says *Not* the word that negates; whose opposite is *Yes*, that affirms; whenever the latter too, instead of *So*, be used by who wants.’

In Modern Italian, ‘positive’ adverb *sí* can appear, with emphatic function, in the same overt position as ‘negative’ adverb *non*. When one wants to lay emphasis on the non-negative polar semantics, one can thus use an adverbial non-negative morphology mirroring the ‘negative’ one:

- (177) a. ✓ Questa **non** è bella.
This-F not is beautiful.
‘This isn’t lovely.’
b. ✓ Questa **sí** è bella!
This- F yes is beautiful!
‘THIS is lovely!’
a.’ ✓ Questa **non** è giustizia.
This- F not is justice.
‘This is not justice.’
b.’ ✓ Questa **sí** è giustizia!
This- F yes is justice!
‘THIS is justice!’

¹⁸⁸ In the same way, the morphosyntactic features in Romance are currently defined as {±Plural} (rather than {±Singular}) and {±Feminine} (rather than {±Masculine}).

¹⁸⁹ Claude François, *J’ai encore ma maison* (E. Marnay), Flèche, 1973.

¹⁹⁰ Also *síe* emphatically or in Toscana; from Latin *sic est* ‘it is so’.

¹⁹¹ From Latin *eccum sic* ‘there are so’.

In other contexts, *sí* alternates with *no* ‘no’, and the naive parallelism of Bembo breaks:

- (178) a. ✓ **Sí** che è bello!
 Yes that he-is pretty!
 ‘He’s pretty, yes it is!’
 b. ✓ **No** che **non** è bello!
 No that not he-is pretty!
 ‘He’s not pretty, no it isn’t!’

One might think that what is realized in Romance by means of an adverbial non-negative morphology, which in some cases mirrors the ‘negative’ one, is done in English through the multi-purpose auxiliary ‘do’. Such a difference wouldn’t be surprising, since the properties of the inflection are not the same in the two languages—Kayne [1989b] analyzed the basis of that difference in terms of weak vs. strong inflection. Nevertheless, ‘do’ is not the counterpart of ‘not’, as shown by the following pairs:

- (179) a. ✓ Peter eats **no** chocolate.
 b. ✓ Peter eats chocolate.
 a.’ ✓ Peter **doesn’t** eat chocolate.
 b.’ ✓ Peter **does** eat chocolate.

In fact, the difference between (a) and (a’) is simply a difference of level: the former is an instance of local negation, the latter an instance of predicate negation—and none of the (b) examples displays any morphological counterpart of ‘not’. What’s exactly the function of ‘do’? In (a’), it is supposed to provide a landing site for the clitic guise of ‘not’, though such a claim doesn’t say to us why cliticization is not obligatory. In (b’), we will assume that it indicates the predicate scope of ‘positive’ polarity—so that in (a’), in combination with the ‘negative’ adverb it has attracted (cliticized or not), it actually indicates the predicate scope of ‘negative’ polarity.¹⁹² On the other hand, ‘no’ indicates local negation.

In its grammar of early Italian, Bembo [1549:LXXII] drew, between *non* and *no*, a distinction very similar to that existing between ‘not’ and ‘no’:

- (180) Ma, tornando alla particella *Non*, [...] si dice *No*, quando con lei si fornisce e chiude il sentimento, *Io no Questi no*, ché, altramente dicendosi, si direbbe *Non io Non questi*; o quando ella si pon dopo ’l verbo: **Ma romper no[,] l’imagine aspra e cruda**; o ancora quando si pon due volte: *Non farnetico no, Madonna*, e *Non son mio no*, e *A’ quali dir di no non si puote*, e simili; o quando ella si pon col *Sí*: **Ch’or sí or no s’intendon le parole**. Dicesi ancora *No* ogni volta, che dopo lei si pon l’articolo *Il*, e nelle prose e nel verso. Nel qual verso è alcun’altra volta, che ella così si dice quando la segue alcuna vocale, per lo medesimo divertimento della *N* ultima, che vi si fa: **Né chi lo scorga/ v’è se no amor, che mai no ’l lascia un passo**.
 ‘But, turning to the particle *Non*, [...] it becomes *No* when it provides and ends the sense, *I no This no*, because, otherwise speaking, one would say *Not I Not this*; or when it stays after the verb: **[the sun can stop me sleeping,] But break no, the harsh and cruel image**; or also when it occurs twice: *I’m not raving no, Madonna*, and *I’m not mine no*, and *To whom one can not say no*, and so on; or when it is used with *Yes*: **When sometimes yes, sometimes no, one can hear the words**. One says also *No* whenever it is followed by the determiner *The*, as in the prose, as in verse. In verse, it has also this guise when followed by any vowel, owing to the same elision of the final *N*, which is done: **Nor is it nobody that see it/ except love, which never no it leaves for a single second.**’

Bembo’s intuition of ending position or after-verb position properties corresponds to the local level: the contrast “I no” vs. “Not I”, or “can break no” vs. “can not break”, is just a scope contrast. In the same way, when the ‘negative’ adverb occurs twice, its two guises are distributed around the verb. The final remarks are not crucial for our analysis: the formula *or*

¹⁹² As seen in (55), the cliticization of ‘not’ forces global negation reading, while its absence allows both global and local negation readings.

sí or *no* ‘sometimes yes, sometimes no’ is a set form (with the local guise *no*), and the reduction of the sequence †† [*non il*] (and ✓ [*non lo*]) in †† *nol* is probably the result of a phonological readjustment rule. Note that the author says nothing about *no* in the sequence [*se no amor*]: in fact, *se no* ‘except’ (also written *sennò* today) is a compounded complementizer, used to introduce a concessive complement—if it’s true that *no* corresponds to the local level, one can mean that when associated with *se* its scope is compound-internal, in so that it doesn’t negate the complement.

If a ‘negative’ item as Italian *no* cannot act alone as a complementizer, on the other hand the complementizer guise of *sí* was also used in Old Italian with a concessive semantics:

- (181) a. “e se io nol credo, **sí** ’l fa”¹⁹³
 And if I not-him believe, yes it *pro* does.
 ‘Also if I don’t believe him, he nevertheless does it.’
 b. “E tutto fosse per questa cagione uomo di sangue, **sí** fece buona fine”¹⁹⁴.
 And though be for this reason man of blood, yes makes good end.
 ‘And though he was for this reason blue-blooded, nevertheless he had a happy ending.’

Bembo [1549:LXXI] listed another semantics of *sí* as a complementizer; crucially, it is not that unspecified of a multi-purpose complementizer like ‘that’: it vehicles a marked aspectual content, something like ‘before’ or ‘until’, but considered from a resulting, retrospective standpoint—English doesn’t seem to own an equivalent word.

- (182) Né solo in vece di *Cosí*, ma ancora in vece di *Che*, la pose il Boccaccio piú volte [...]: [...] *non si ritenne di correre, sí fu a Castel Guiglielmo*, in luogo di dire: *non si ritenne di correre, che fu a Castel Guiglielmo*; e ancora, [...] *io ho messo il capo sotto, né mai ho avuto ardir di trarlo fuori, sí è stato di chiaro*.
 ‘And not only instead of *So*, but also instead of *That*, Boccaccio used it more than once: *he didn’t refrain from running, sí he was at Castel Guiglielmo*, instead of saying: *he didn’t refrain from running, that he was at Castel Guiglielmo*; and also *I’ve put my head underneath, and I never dared to take it out, sí there was daylight*.’

Anyway, so great differences in uses and meanings amongst the complementizer-guises of *sí* and *no* in Old Italian lead to conclude that the morphological parallelism between ‘negative’ and non-negative sentences is only apparent.

I.2.2.2. Co-occurrence of ‘negative’ & ‘positive’ items

We have just seen that Italian *se* ‘if’ and *no* ‘no’ can be morphologically associated within the compounded complementizer *sennò* ‘except’, which has an equivalent in French *sinon*. Crucially, the WFR respects hierarchical constraints, as expected under the assumption of Bouvier [1999, 2000a] that morphological CRs make use of the syntactic configurations made available by UG:

- (183) (I) ITALIAN:
 a. ✓ {**Se no/ Sennò**}.
 b. * No *se*.
 (II) FRENCH:
 a. ✓ **Sinon**.
 b. * Nonsi.

As expected under the Mirror Principle of M. Baker [1985], which predicts that the morphological order mirrors the syntactic order owing to the incorporation process, the

¹⁹³ Boccaccio, quoted in the dictionary *Zingarelli* 1995 under the entry word ‘*si* (1)’.

¹⁹⁴ Giovan Villani, *Cronica*, IV.15, quoted by Bembo [1549:LXIV].

syntactic hierarchy in (i) is reverted within the morphological field in (ii):

- (184) (I) SYNTAX: BASIC ORDER: ‘POSITIVE’ > ‘NEGATIVE’:
 a. ✓ **Oui non.**
 Yes no.
 b. * Non oui.
 No yes.
 (II) MORPHOLOGY: ORDER REVERTED BY INCORPORATION: ‘NEGATIVE’ > ‘POSITIVE’:
 a. ✓ **Désenfournier** [< enfournier].
 ‘NEG’-‘POS’-oven [< ‘POS’-oven].
 ‘To take out of the oven [< to put in the oven].’
 b. * Endéfournier [< ✓ défournier].
 ‘POS’-‘NEG’-oven [< ‘NEG’-oven].

In connection with the syntactic hierarchy underlying (183)-(184), Cinque [1999:126(69)] observed not only that (emphatic) affirmation and negation “both appear to be marked values”, but also that both may co-occur in a fixed order:

- (185) a. (?) Gianni non ci ha **sí mica** detto tutto (ma ce lo ha lasciato capire).
 b. * Gianni non ci ha **mica sí** detto tutto (ma ce lo ha lasciato capire).
 ‘Gianni not us has {yes not/ * not yes} told everything (but he has let us understand it).’

French and Italian data concur: even in the case of coordination in (iii), the ‘positive’ adverb must precede the ‘negative’ one.

- (186) (I) ‘MANNER’ ADVERBS:
 a. ✓ Pierre (ne) nous a **certes pas** tout dit (mais il nous l’a laissé entendre).
 b. * Pierre (ne) nous a pas certes tout dit (mais il nous l’a laissé entendre).
 Peter (ne) to-us has {✓ indeed not/ * not indeed} all said (but he us it has let understand).
 ‘Peter DID not said us everything (but he let us understand it).’
 a.’ ✓ Pierre (ne) vient **bien pas**.
 b.’ * Pierre (ne) vient pas bien.
 Peter (ne) comes {✓ good not/ * not good}.
 ‘Peter indeed doesn’t come.’
 (II) SCOPE MARKING ADVERBS:
 a. ✓ **Ouais non**, je (ne) pense pas que Pierre viendra.
 b. * Non ouais, je (ne) pense pas que Pierre viendra.
 {✓ Yep no/ * No yep}, I (ne) think not that Peter will-come.
 ‘I indeed don’t think that Peter will come.’
 (III) COORDINATED ADVERBS:
 a. ✓ Pour **toujours** et à **jamais**.
 b. * A jamais et pour toujours
 {✓ For ever and to never/ * To never and for ever}.
 ‘For ever and ever.’
 a.’ ✓ **Oui** mais **non**, ça (ne) va pas!
 b.’ * Non mais oui, ça (ne) va pas!
 {✓ Yes but no/ * No but yes}, it (ne) goes not!
 ‘No, I don’t agree!’

The hierarchical superiority of ‘Positive’ feature on the ‘Negative’ one could explain the scope variations between ‘yes’ and ‘no’ used as sentential SMs: while a ‘positive’ SM in (i) can scope on a ‘negative’ sentence, a ‘negative’ SM cannot scope on a ‘positive’ sentence.

- (187) (I) ‘POSITIVE’ SENTENCE:
 a. ✓ Oui, on a du temps à perdre.
 b. * Non, on a du temps à perdre.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ Possible with *non* used not as an utterance-internal SM, but as an answer:

(xlili) A: ✓ Tu te dépêches?
 ‘Do you hurry?’

- {Yes/ * No}, we have time to lose.’
 (II) ‘NEGATIVE’ SENTENCE:
 a. ✓ Oui, on n’a pas de temps à perdre.
 b. ✓ Non, on n’a pas de temps à perdre.
 ‘{Yes/ No}, we don’t have time to lose.’

We have thus to admit that the naive intuition on the complementary distribution of {yes/ no} items is matched neither by theoretical considerations, nor by empirical facts: there exist (non-)‘negative’ sentences as good as (non-)‘positive’ sentences. Within the notational system of Cinque [1999], where square parenthesis enclose the unmarked values, the general picture would be the following:

- (188) a. ‘Negative’ sentence: [-negative].
 b. Non-negative sentence: [-negative].
 c. Non-positive sentence: [-positive].
 d. (Emphatic) ‘positive’ sentence: [-positive].

The crossing of ‘Negative’ and ‘Positive’ features can be exemplified as follows:

- (189) (a) & (b): *
 (a) & (c): ✓ Pierre (n’)est **pas** content.
 Peter (*ne*) is not happy.
 (a) & (d): ✓ Pierre (n’)est {**bien/ certes**} **pas** content.
 Peter (*ne*) is indeed not happy.
 (b) & (c): ✓ Pierre est content.
 Peter is happy.
 (b) & (d): ✓ Pierre est {**bien/ certes**} content.
 Peter is indeed happy.
 (c) & (d): *

This view implies a strong claim: a non-negative phrase that is not (emphatically) ‘positive’ is also non-positive—in other words, polarity unmarked sentences as “Peter is happy” are minus-specified for both ‘Negative’ and ‘Positive’ features. In this way, and only in this way, we can account for sentences marked for both ‘Negative’ and ‘Positive’ features like “Peter is indeed not happy”. An immediate consequence of this view at the lexical level is that every item has to be encoded with both ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ values; the crossing of two polarity features pertaining to a single pair provides nine subcategorization slots, three of them are condemned by the impossibility to project both members of a single pair:

- (190) a. {=Negative, =Positive}: Items not concerned by polarity (like ‘man’).
 b. {=Negative, -Positive}: PPIs (like ‘fellow’).
 c. {=Negative, +Positive}: Positive-words (P-words) (like ‘somebody’).
 d. {-Negative, =Positive}: NPIs (like ‘a soul’).
 e. {-Negative, -Positive}: FC PIs (like ‘anybody’).
 f. {-Negative, +Positive}: *
 g. {+Negative, =Positive}: Negative-words (N-words) (like ‘nobody’).
 h. {+Negative, -Positive}: *
 i. {+Negative, +Positive}: *

In (a), an item non-specified for both values is not concerned by polarity: there is the greatest part of the lexicon. In (b), {-Positive} items need some {+Positive} c-commander: they are the PPIs. In (c), {+Positive} items express a ‘positive’ meaning on their own. In (d), {-Negative} items need a {+Negative} c-commander: they are the NPIs. In (e), items at once

B: ✓ Non(, je ne me dépêche pas), on a du temps à perdre!
 ‘No(, I don’t hurry), we have time to lose!’

{-Negative} and {-Positive} need either a {+Negative}, or a {+Positive} c-commander; when one of the two minus-specifications is satisfied by c-command, the remnant minus-specification can no longer project, since there is a single projection shared by the two features. For the same reason, the plus-specification in (f) and (h) would always block the satisfaction of the minus-specification, so that (f) and (h) would be non-distinct from (c) and (g). In (g), {+Negative} items express a ‘negative’ meaning on their own. In (i), two plus-specifications cannot be projected within a single projection: their co-existence would thus be at the source of a lethal projection conflict.

In the remainder of this dissertation, we will claim that the lexical specifications of polarity-related elements are further complicated by the lack of unitary syntactic realization of any ‘Negative’ and ‘Positive’ features, and split up the naive notions of ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ items as a composite node of several polarity-related features, which are part of the sentence architecture reviewed in II.3.1. Theoretical and empirical grounds supporting this view are summarized in III.1.

I.2.3. SCANNING THE ‘POSITIVE’ SCOPES

The previous search for lexical ‘positive’ counterparts of ‘negative’ items concerned a global ‘negative’ semantics; if ‘negativity’ is an intuitive notion covering an intricate node of polarity-related features, including Quantificational feature, we can ask again the question of polarized counterparts regarding quantification facts. For instance, as we will see in II.2.2.1.2.4, a \forall ‘negative’ quantifier c-commanding another \forall ‘negative’ quantifier forces an \exists reading of the latter; now, a \forall ‘positive’ quantifier displays the same effect:

- (191) ✓ “**Tout** ce que je t’ai **jamais** vu ‘descendre’ dans le civil, ce sont les pintes de bière!...”¹⁹⁶
 All [\forall] what that I from-you have never [\exists] seen ‘shoot-down’ in the civil, that are the pints of beer!...
 ‘Pints of beer are all I ever see you shoot down in civilian life.’

On the other hand, the morphological parallelism between ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ argumental quantifiers, in base position in (a) or with Q-raising¹⁹⁷ in (b), is perfect:

- (192) a. ✓ Je veux qu’il (ne) mange {rien/ tout}.
 I want that he (ne) eat {nothing/ all}.
 b. ✓ Je (ne) veux {rien/ tout} qu’il mange.
 I (ne) want {nothing/ all} that he eat.
 ‘I want that he eats {nothing/ all}.’

Polarized counterparts of quantificational items might thus be a right track to investigate.

I.2.3.1. A silent operator as ‘positive’ SM

Rizzi [1999:468] mentioned, “Question operators sometimes involve scope markers (e.g., the Japanese particle *ka* indicating the scope of the *wh*-element *in situ*)”. Do quantificational functional heads like the ‘negative’ SM have some non-negative counterpart?

We have reviewed in I.1.2.2.1.1 some contexts where a silent ‘negative’ SM displays audible effects.¹⁹⁸ A corollary silent ‘positive’ SM could be in act in (emphatically) ‘positive’ sentences, blocking then the phonological reduplication rule previously claimed to reveal the presence of a silent ‘negative’ operator:

¹⁹⁶ Victor Hubinon, *L’escadrille de la mort*, Dupuis, 1968, plate 11 A.

¹⁹⁷ In I.1.2.2.2, we have relabeled the so-called ‘NEG-raising’ as Q-raising.

¹⁹⁸ The salient facts are briefly summarized in Bouvier [2001b].

- (193) a. ✓ Jel-l'aime.
Ih-him love.
'I love him.'
b. * Jel-l'aime {pas/ bien/ certes}.
Ih-him love {not/ indeed/ indeed}.
c. * Que jel-l'aime!
What Ih-him love!

Such a 'positive' SM is available only when high layers are involved, as with the emphatic 'positive' adverb *bien* 'indeed'. With non-emphatic adverbs, the blocking effect disappears, and the reduplication is available:

- (194) ✓ Jel-l'aime {vraiment/ beaucoup/ tellement}.
Ih-him love {truly/ much/ so much}.
'I love him {truly/ much/ so much}.'

This calls in mind the existence, in Romance, of expletive guises of usually 'negative' SMs, namely their occurrence in non-negative sentences. Italian owns an 'expletive *non*' with Presuppositional properties:¹⁹⁹

- (195) a. ✓ "Io non mi chiedo se è giusto o no/ Fino a che **non** ti avrò".²⁰⁰
I not to-me ask if it-is right or not/ Until at that not you I-will-have.
'I don't ask me if it's right until I'll possess you.' → 'One day I will possess you.'
b. ✓ Io non mi chiedo se è giusto o no fino a che ti avrò.²⁰¹
I not to-me ask if it-is right or not/ Until at that you I-will-have.
'I don't ask me if it's right until I'll possess you.' → 'I don't know if I will possess you.'

French expletive *ne* appears in a set of restrictive constructs: in (i), it presumably assigns scope to the force-complementizer (see II.3.1.1.2.1) *que*; it presumably receives a 'negative' presupposition transmitted by the force-complementizer *que* either depending on a 'negative' main clause in (ii), or on a comparative structure negating a false presupposition in (iii); in (iv), it combines with various prepositions. Since those sentences are not 'negative', it doesn't

¹⁹⁹ On the notion of presupposition in general, see II.3.1.1.1; for the Presuppositional properties of French expletive *ne*, see in particular II.3.1.1.1.1.1.

²⁰⁰ Nek, *Giusto o no* (Antonello de Sanctis), Warner, 1998.

²⁰¹ Some speakers reject the (b) sentence, but their educational level suggests that their judgment follows from normative commands. In the light of the following contrast, Tovena [1996:90(4.76)-(4.77)] argued against the normative tradition maintaining the obligatoriness (vs. expletiveness) of *non*:

- (xliv) (i) WITH A PUNCTUAL EVENT:
a. Resto qui finché non arrivi.
Stay-1s here FINCHE not arrive-2s.
'I stay here until you arrive.'
b. Resto qui finché arrivi.
Stay-1s here FINCHE arrive-2s.
'I stay here until you arrive.'
(ii) WITH A DURATIVE EVENT:
a. Resto qui finché non parli.
Stay-1s here FINCHE not talk-2s.
'I stay here until you talk.'
b. Resto qui finché parli.
Stay-1s here FINCHE talk-2s.
'I stay here while you talk.'

Tovena [1996:90] commented, "In [(ii)a] my staying terminates when your talking starts, which is consistent with speakers' intuitions; in [(ii)b] my staying terminates when your talking also terminates. The reason why there is no contrast in [(i)] is that the starting and terminating points coincide in an event of arriving, hence the switch between the two does not have an overt effect on the ordering. This lack of overt effect makes it possible to drop the negation in some 'registers' with no appreciable variation in meaning".

tolerate a clausemate *pas*, which is its archetypal mate in its non-expletive guise.²⁰²

- (196) (I) *NE... QUE*:
- a. ✓ Je (**ne**) peux (* pas) **qu'**approuver.
I (*ne*) can (* not) only approve.
'I can only agree.'
 - b. ✓ Pierre (**n'**)a (* pas) rêvé **que** de Jean toute la nuit.
Peter (*ne*) has (* not) dreamed only of John all the night.
'Peter dreamed only about John all night long.'
 - c. ✓ Pierre (**n'**)a (* pas) **qu'**à venir.
Peter (*ne*) had (* not) only to come.
'Peter must come (if he will that).'
 - d. ✓ Jeanne (**ne**) fait (* pas) **qu'**acheter des bêtises.
Jane (*ne*) makes (* not) that to-buy of-the silly-things.
'Jane is always buying garbage.'
 - e. ✓ "Et pour que tu ne t'effarouches/ Vois, je **ne** prends **que** ta bouche".²⁰³
And for that you *ne* yourself shy/ See, I *ne* take only your mouth.
'And to not frighten you, I take your only mouth.'
- (II) 'NEGATIVE' MAIN CLAUSE... *QUE... NE*:
- a. ✓ Le pauvre garçon (*ne*) sortira **pas** de table **qu'**il (**n'**)ait (* pas) fini son assiette.
The poor boy (*ne*) will-leave not of table that he (*ne*) have (* not) finished his plate.
'The poor boy will be allowed to leave the table only after having finished his plateful.'
 - b. ✓ Il s'en est fallu **de peu que** Pierre (**n'**)y laisse sa réputation.
It itself is happened of few that Peter (*ne*) LOC let his reputation.
'It came very close to happening that Peter loses his reputation.'
- (III) COMPARATIVE 'NEGATING' A FALSE PRESUPPOSITION... *QUE... NE*:
- a. ✓ Pierre est encore **plus** beau **que** je (**ne**) {croyais/ * savais}.
Peter is still more pretty than I (*ne*) {believed/ * knew}.
'Peter is even prettier than I believed.'
 - b. ✓ Pierre est **moins** fidèle **que** je (**ne**) {pensais/ * apprenais}.
Peter is less faithful than I (*ne*) {thought/ * learned}.
'Peter is less faithful than I thought.'
- (IV) WITH VARIOUS PREPOSITIONS:
- a. ✓ Je partirai, **à moins qu'**il (**ne**) me dise (* pas) de rester.
I will-leave, at minus than he (*ne*) to-me say (* not) to stay.
'I will leave, unless he asks me to stay.'
 - b. ✓ Je (*ne*) partirai pas, **sauf s'**il (**ne**) vient (* pas) me chercher.
I (*ne*) will-leave not, except if he (*ne*) comes (* not) me search.
'I will leave, except if he goes and gets me.'
 - c. ✓ Il se passera du temps **avant que** je (**ne**) le revoie (* pas).
It itself will-pass of time before that I (*ne*) him see-again (* not).
'Much time will go by before I will see him again.'

Though normatively excluded, the Decreasing adjective *seul* 'sole', or the Decreasing adverbs *seulement*, *simplement*, and *plus* 'only', can emphatically co-occur with *ne... que*:

- (197) (I) *NE... QUE & A DECREASING ADJECTIVE*:
- a. ✓ "J'ai bien peur que nous **ne** devons compter **que** sur nous **seuls**".²⁰⁴
I have well fear that we *ne* must count only on ourselves sole.
'I'm afraid that we must count only on ourselves.'
 - b. ✓ "Nous **n'**avons **que** votre **seul** témoignage".²⁰⁵

²⁰² Tovena [1996:85(4.60)] argued, "The reason for there being only *ne* without *pas* before *que* is that full negation sets to false the truth value of the relation, cf. [a]. In [b], *ne* just controls the left border of the first eventuality, preventing it from sliding back beyond [the terminating point]":

- (xlv) a. ✓ Le moteur n'a pas tourné qu'à trois heures, mais à midi aussi.
'The engine did not work only at three, but also at noon.'
b. ✓ Le moteur n'a tourné qu'à trois heures.
'The engine did not work until three.'

²⁰³ Serge Gainsbourg, *L'eau à la bouche*, Philips, 1960.

²⁰⁴ Victor Hubinon, *Patrouille à l'aube*, Dupuis, 1956, plate 31.

²⁰⁵ Victor Hubinon, *NC-22654 ne répond plus*, Dupuis, 1957, plate 9.

- We *ne* have only your sole testimony.
 ‘We only have your sole testimony.’
 c. ✓ “A **ne** déchiffrer **que** par vous **seul**, sir!”²⁰⁶
 To *ne* decode only by you alone, sir!
 ‘To only decode by you alone, sir!’
 d. ✓ Jeanne (**n**)a **que** son **seul** mari pour amant.
 Jane (*ne*) has only her sole husband for lover.
 ‘The unique lover of Jane is her sole husband.’
 (II) *NE... QUE* & A DECREASING ADVERB:
 a. ✓ “Le personnage bizarre **n**’apparaît **que** quelques instants **seulement**”.²⁰⁷
 The character bizarre *ne* appears only some instants only.
 ‘The strange character only appears for solely few minutes.’
 b. ✓ “Il **ne** va rester **qu**’un instant **seulement**”.²⁰⁸
 He *ne* will stay only one instant only.
 ‘He will stay for a single minute only.’
 c. ✓ “Et **ne** se battre **seulement/ Qu**’avec les feux de la tendresse”.²⁰⁹
 And *ne* oneself to-fight only/ Only with the fires of the tenderness.
 ‘And only fight with the sole guns of tenderness.’
 d. ✓ “Je **ne** fais **simplement que** de les ramasser...”²¹⁰
 I *ne* do simply only to them collect...
 ‘I’m simply only collecting them...’
 (III) *NE... QUE* & A DECREASING ADVERB & A DECREASING ADJECTIVE:
 ✓ “Il **ne** me reste **plus qu**’une **seule** chance!...”²¹¹
 It *ne* to-me remains only only one sole chance!...
 ‘It only remains me a unique chance!’

Other ‘negative’ adverbs than *pas*, namely non-modal ‘negative’ items, which don’t interfere with the speaker-oriented features, can co-occur—but their ‘positive’ counterparts are ruled out, because they would interfere with some ‘positive’ features of the SM:

- (198) a. ✓ La lune (**n**)a-t-elle {**jamais/ * une fois**} été **qu**’un astre mort?
 The moon (*ne*) has-*t*-she {never/ * once} been only a star dead?
 ‘Has the moon always been nothing other than a dead star?’
 b. ✓ “Des noisettes géantes! Je croyais que ces choses-là **n**’arrivaient jamais **que** dans les rêves d’un écureuil!”²¹²
 PL-INDEF-DET hazelnut gigantic! I believed that that things-that *ne* happened never only in the dreams of a squirrel!
 ‘I believed that giant hazelnuts happened nowhere else than in the squirrel dreams!’
 c. ✓ Ça (**ne**) fait {**jamais/ * une fois**} **qu**’une semaine à attendre!
 It (*ne*) makes {never/ * once} only one week to wait.
 ‘There remains nothing more than one week to wait.’
 d. ✓ Ça (**ne**) fait {**plus/ * encore**} **qu**’une semaine à attendre!
 It (*ne*) makes {no-longer/ * still} only one week to wait.
 ‘There still remains only one week to wait.’
 e. ✓ Jeanne (**n**)a {**rien/ * tout**} **qu**’à partir.
 Jane (*ne*) has {nothing/ * all} only to leave.
 ‘It remains to Jane to do nothing other than to leave.’

French expletive *ne* also appears in sentences involving verbs of fear, impediment, and doubt (namely a speaker-oriented subclass of semantically ‘negative’ verbs).²¹³ Insertion of *pas* is

²⁰⁶ Victor Hubinon, *Le mystère des avions fantômes*, Dupuis, 1966, plate 34 B.

²⁰⁷ Othon Aristidès (Fred), *Le diable du peintre*, Dargaud, 1987, plate 4.

²⁰⁸ Othon Aristidès (Fred), *Le diable du peintre*, Dargaud, 1987, plate 5.

²⁰⁹ Barbara, *Perlimpinpin*, in *Gauguin* [Bobino 1990], Philips, 1990.

²¹⁰ Nikita Mandryka, *A la poursuite du broutchlag mordoré*, Dargaud, 1982, p. 24.

²¹¹ Victor Hubinon, *Les anges bleus*, Dupuis, 1970, plate 31 B.

²¹² André Franquin, *Le prisonnier du bouddha*, Dupuis, 1960, p. 8.

²¹³ In the Classic Latin described by Ernout & Thomas [1959], the same class of verbs displayed visible effects in the CP-layer. Normative grammarians often compare French ‘expletive *ne*’ with his Latin ancestor, but their syntax is quite different: in Latin, fear about the happening of an event was obligatorily expressed through the

possible, but reverses the meaning:

- (199) (I) HAPPENING:
 ✓ Je {**crains/ doute/ empêche/ évite**} qu'il (**ne**) vienne.
 I {fear/ doubt/ prevent/ avoid} that he (*ne*) comes.
 'I {fear/ doubt/ prevent/ avoid} his coming.'
 (II) NON-HAPPENING:
 ✓ Je {crains/ doute/ empêche/ évite} qu'il (**ne**) vienne ***(pas)**.
 I {fear/ doubt/ prevent/ avoid} that he (*ne*) comes ***(not)**.
 'I {fear/ doubt/ prevent/ avoid} his un-coming.'

The absence of an expletive *ne* has no semantic consequences, since it can be interpreted either as pure absence, or as silent presence. On the other hand, its presence is motivated by a presupposition: in contexts banning any presupposition as negation in (i), interrogation in (ii), or both in (iii), the expletive *ne* of the (a) sentences is ungrammatical—only the 'negative' SM of the (b) sentences is possible.

- (200) (I) 'NEGATIVE' SENTENCE:
 a. ✓ Je (**ne**) {crains/ doute/ empêche/ évite} **pas** qu'il (*** ne**) vienne.
 I (*ne*) {fear/ doubt/ prevent/ avoid} not that he (*** ne**) comes.
 'I don't {fear/ doubt/ prevent/ avoid} his coming.'
 b. ✓ Je (**ne**) {crains/ doute/ empêche/ évite} **pas** qu'il (**ne**) vienne ***(pas)**.
 I (*ne*) {fear/ doubt/ prevent/ avoid} not that he (*ne*) comes ***(not)**.
 'I don't {fear/ doubt/ prevent/ avoid} his un-coming.'
 (II) INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE:
 a. ✓ **Est-ce que** je {crains/ doute/ empêche/ évite} qu'il (*** ne**) vienne?
 Is it that I {fear/ doubt/ prevent/ avoid} that he (*** ne**) comes?
 'Do I {fear/ doubt/ prevent/ avoid} his coming?'
 b. ✓ **Est-ce que** je {crains/ doute/ empêche/ évite} qu'il (**ne**) vienne ***(pas)**?
 Is it that I {fear/ doubt/ prevent/ avoid} that he (*ne*) comes ***(not)**?
 'Do I {fear/ doubt/ prevent/ avoid} his un-coming?'
 (III) NEGATED INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE:
 a. ✓ **Est-ce que** je (**ne**) {crains/ doute/ empêche/ évite} **pas** qu'il (*** ne**) vienne?
 Is it that I (*ne*) {fear/ doubt/ prevent/ avoid} not that he (*** ne**) comes?
 'Don't I {fear/ doubt/ prevent/ avoid} his coming?'
 b. ✓ **Est-ce que** je (**ne**) {crains/ doute/ empêche/ évite} **pas** qu'il (**ne**) vienne ***(pas)**?
 Is it that I (*ne*) {fear/ doubt/ prevent/ avoid} not that he (*ne*) comes ***(not)**?
 'Don't I {fear/ doubt/ prevent/ avoid} his un-coming?'

Expletive uses of *ne* appear thus to be typically Presuppositional, in French as in Italian: they are used to cancel a 'negative' presupposition. Are they thus 'positive' SMs? On the one hand, the fact that they are essentially used in restrictive constructs or with semantically 'negative' speaker-oriented verbs, namely within partially 'negative' environments, could make one question their 'positivity'; on the other hand, we have seen in (187) that, depending on the hierarchical superiority of 'Positive' feature on the 'Negative' one, a 'negative' SM cannot scope on a 'positive' sentence, whereas a 'positive' SM is able to scope on a 'negative' sentence. There is thus no contradiction in the existence of a 'positive' SM used in 'negative' environments, if its scope interacts neither with that of 'negative' items involving the same layers (hence the ban on co-occurrence of an expletive *ne* with *pas*), nor with that of 'positive' items sharing some features with it (hence the ban on co-occurrence of an expletive *ne* with the 'positive' items of (198)).

A general solution could be to claim that *ne* is unspecified for polarity: it's a SM, often expressing presuppositional properties, able to combine either with 'positive', or with

'negative' complementizer *ne*, so that the literal translation of "I fear that he might come" actually meant "I fear that he might not come"; see examples (378)-(379).

‘negative’ items—combining in fact with the polarity-related features of the items it enters relation with, maybe by covert reconstruction effects. Since an overt ‘positive’ morphology is rarer than an overt ‘negative’ morphology, it is expected to find little ‘positive’ phonological realizations of the SM. Nevertheless, a silent operator is plausibly in act, as suggested by (193). If we adopt this general solution, we have to reconcile the ‘negative’ guise (previously transcribed as ‘-’) and the ‘positive’ guise of the silent SM with a new notation indicating polarity-unmarked scope. We propose to symbolize the two poles (:) of polarity, balanced around the crossbar (-) of an unpolarized equator, as ‘÷’; so, the representation of a sentence containing a silent SM, ‘negative’ or ‘positive’, would be the following:

- (201) a. ✓ Je ÷ l’aime {pas/ bien/ certes}.
 I ÷ him love {not/ indeed/ indeed}.
 ‘I {do/ don’t} love him.’
 b. ✓ Que je ÷ l’aime!
 What I ÷ him love!
 ‘How much I love him!’

Such an analysis could account for the ‘positive’ Q-raising²¹⁴ in the (b) sentences (when interpreted as derived from the (a) sentences): in this case, the base-position of the raised adverb is c-commanded by the (base-)position of the null SM ‘÷’.

- (202) a. ✓ Je pense que l’un d’eux ÷ est même basé à Panama.
 I think that the one of them ÷ is even based in Panama.
 b. ✓ “Je pense **même** que l’un d’eux [÷] est [<même>] basé à Panama”.²¹⁵
 I think even that the one of them ÷ is <even> based in Panama.
 ‘I think that one of them is even based in Panama.’
 a.’ ✓ Je pense qu’il ÷ viendra bien.
 I think that he ÷ will-come well.
 b.’ ✓ Je pense **bien** qu’il ÷ viendra <bien>.
 I think well that he ÷ will-come <well>.
 ‘I think that he will indeed come.’

I.2.3.2. Agreement as a ‘positive’ SM

There exist various contexts where scope variations are expressed through agreement. The nature of the involved agreement can be either verbal (inflectional), or adjectival, or both verbal and adjectival (participial, etymologically “which *participates* from verbal and adjectival nature”).

I.2.3.2.1. Inflectional agreement following from ‘positive’ scope

Inflectional agreement with heavy impersonal subjects may be of two types: either with the sole noun heading the subject in (a), or globally with the whole subject by using the unmarked form in (b). The former case denotes local scope; the latter case predicate scope:

- (203) a. ✓ Quelques heures de repos nous **feront** le plus grand bien.
 Some ours of rest to-us will-make-PL the much great good.
 → ‘A rest of some ours will do us good.’
 b. ✓ Quelques heures de repos nous **fera** le plus grand bien.
 Some ours of rest to-us will-make-SG the much great good.
 → ‘To have a rest during some ours will do us good.’

In some cases, predicate vs. sentential ‘positive’ scopes are made sensible by non-negative

²¹⁴ In I.1.2.2.2, we have relabeled as Q-raising the traditional ‘NEG-raising’.

²¹⁵ Victor Hubinon, *Alerte atomique*, Dupuis, 1967, plate 21 B.

quantifiers. ‘Positive’ partitive nominal quantifiers are known to introduce a structural ambiguity: the subject of the predication can be either the part, or the whole. Normative grammarians like Thomas [1971:308] admit both possibilities:

- (204) *Avec une partie, une petite partie, une grande partie, l’accord du verbe se fait aujourd’hui soit avec le collectif, soit avec son complément, et dépend de l’intention de celui qui parle ou qui écrit: Une petite partie des dettes fut payée avec la part d’héritage. Une partie des domestiques avaient quitté l’hôtel* (M. Maindron, *Dariolette*, 286; cité par Grevisse).
 ‘With a part, a little part, a great part, verbal agreement is done nowadays either with the collective noun, or with its complement, depending on the intention of who speaks or writes: *A little part of the debts was paid with the inheritance part. A part of the servants had-PL left the hotel* (M. Maindron, *Dariolette*, 286; quoted by Grevisse).’

The “intention” of the speaker corresponds to a scope variation—the partitive may scope either globally on the whole sentence as in (a), leading to singular agreement; or locally within the extended NP as in (b), requesting agreement with the noun (here plural):

- (205) a. ✓ Une partie des hommes **est venue**.
 A part-F of-the men-M is come-F.
 b. ✓ Une partie des hommes **sont venus**.
 A part-F of-the men-M are come-M.
 ‘Part of the men came.’

Thomas [1971] keeps silent about the issue of ‘negative’ partitives. The same contrast is clearly reproducible:

- (206) a. ✓ Aucun des hommes (n’)est venu.
 No-one of-the men is come.
 b. ✓ Aucun des hommes (ne) **sont venus**.
 No-one of-the men are come.
 ‘None of the men came.’

Concerning ‘positive’ distributive quantifiers, Giusti [1992:71(n.1)] left open a little puzzle, in arguing that the following sentences cannot stay in derivational relationship, owing to the number variation of the subject:

- (207) a. ✓ I ragazzi **sono arrivati** ciascuno con un fiore.
 The boys are come-M-PL each with a flower.
 ‘The boys came each with a flower.’
 b. ✓ Ciascun ragazzo **è arrivato** con un fiore.
 Each boy is come-M-SG with a flower.
 ‘Each boy came with a flower.’

The distinct structures correspond to distinct scope levels: in the (b) sentence, adjectival quantifier *ciascuno* is lifted up to the subject position by the argumental noun *ragazzo*, and leads thus to sentential scope, made visible by the singular inflection following from the distributive syntax;²¹⁶ in the (a) sentence, the quantifier stays within the complement of VP, where it scopes on the PP (local scope), and has thus no consequence on verbal agreement. The slight peculiarity of the (a) sentence is to not exhibit the basic order, but an order derived from the following one:

²¹⁶ Distributive quantifiers crosslinguistically seem to require singular agreement. This fact may be interpreted as a syntactic implementation of the semantic properties of distributivity—as emphasized Beghelli [1995:149], “Semantically, the notion of distributivity assumed here is a relation that matches individual members of the distributor set to individuals (events and groups) contributed by the distributee. To illustrate: the distributive reading of a sentence like (6a) below [‘Every student read two books’] requires that all the students be individually associated with events of reading involving plural individuals consisting of two books”.

- (208) ✓ I ragazzi **sono arrivati** con un fiore ciascuno.
The boys are come-M-PL each with a flower.
'The boys came with a flower each.'

Crucially, the marked case of singular sentential agreement follows from the raising of the distributive quantifier in subject position, which is the position of sentential ('positive') scope.

I.2.3.2.2. Adjectival agreement following from local 'positive' scope

Within the extended NP, determiners do not always agree with the first noun following it as in (a); in some idiomatic expressions, they may agree across a preposition with its nominal complement as in (b):

- (209) a. ✓ Une espèce d'idiot.
A-F sort-F of idiot-M.
b. ✓ Un espèce d'idiot.
A-M sort-F of idiot-M.
'A bloody fool.'

Crucially, local agreement in the (a) sentence cannot motivate further agreements at a distance in the rest of the sentence:

- (210) a. ✓ Une espèce d'idiot est venu(* e).
A-F sort-F of idiot-M is come(* -F).
b. ✓ Un espèce d'idiot est venu.
A-M sort-F of idiot-M is come-M.
'A bloody fool came.'

In genitive contexts, adjectives may agree either with the complemented, or with the complementing noun, as they do with partitives. Agreement with the main noun in (a) denotes global adjectival scope on the whole extended NP; agreement with the complement noun in (b) denotes local adjectival scope inside the nominal complement:

- (211) a. ✓ L'intérieur de son âme est noir.
The inside-M of his soul-F is black-M.
→ 'The inside of his soul is black.'
b. ✓ L'intérieur de son âme est noire.
The inside-M of his soul-F is black-F.
→ 'His soul is black inside.'

Within a PP, the agreed form in (a) scopes on the noun alone; the non-agreed form in (b), on the entire event:

- (212) a. ✓ Jeanne se ferait teindre en blonde²¹⁷ si Pierre le lui demandait.
Jane herself would-make dye in blond-F if Peter it her would-ask.
→ In blonde-haired woman, Jane would dye herself if Peter would ask her.
b. ✓ Jeanne se ferait teindre en blond si Pierre le lui demandait.

²¹⁷ One could alternatively analyze the agreed form of the adjective as the feminine noun *une blonde* 'a blonde-haired woman'. An agreed adjective seems nevertheless possible, as in the following example with an inexistent nominal counterpart **une verte* to say 'a green-haired woman':

- (xlv) a. ✓ Jeanne se ferait teindre en verte si Pierre le lui demandait.
Jane herself would-make dye in green-F if Peter it her would-ask.
→ 'In green-haired woman, Jane would dye herself if Peter would ask her.'
b. ✓ Jeanne se ferait teindre en vert si Pierre le lui demandait.
Jane herself would-make dye in green-M if Peter it her would-ask.
→ 'Dying in green her hair, Jane would do it if Peter would ask her.'

Jane herself would-make dye in blond-M if Peter it her would-ask.
 → Dying in blond her hair, Jane would do it if Peter would ask her.

Some colloquial adjectives, recategorized from nouns used appositionally, allow both an agreed and a non-agreed form after a feminine noun. The global meaning is affected: in the former case in (a), the adjective scopes on the noun alone; in the latter case in (b), on the entire event.²¹⁸

- (213) a. ✓ *Jeanne est conne.*
 Jane is stupid-F.
 → Jane has the property to be stupid.
 b. ✓ *Jeanne est con.*
 Jane is stupid-M.
 → There exists a state of events, namely “Jane is stupid”.

The class displaying such an effect broadens to every adjective after idiomatic VPs like *avoir l’air* ‘to seem’. Again, agreement expresses restricted scope on the noun; absence of agreement, global scope on the state of events.

- (214) a. ✓ *Jeanne a l’air {conne/ intelligente}.*
 Jane has the air {stupid-F/ smart-F}.
 → It appears from her look that Jane is {stupid/ smart}.
 b. ✓ *Jeanne a l’air {con/ intelligent}.*
 Jane has the air {stupid-M/ smart-M}.
 → {Stupid/ Smart} is the look, which Jane has.

This scopal property of adjectives, visible only in some contexts, becomes systematically available with participles, thanks to their verbal nature.

I.2.3.2.3. Participial agreement following from local ‘positive’ scope

Cinque [1990] claimed that optimal extractability of Wh-elements from weak islands is restricted to DPs that are D-linked in the sense of Pesetsky [1987]; this explains such contrasts as the following from Rizzi [2000:§4(19)]:

- (215) a. ? *Quale dei libri che ti servono non sai dove trovare?*
 ‘Which one of the books that you need don’t you know where to find?’
 b. * *Che diavolo non sai dove trovare?*
 ‘What the hell don’t you know where to find?’

The contrast (a) vs. (b) follows from the impossibility to D-link an idiomatic chunk like ‘what the hell’. An immediate problem for this analysis is the grammaticality of the French translation of (215)b:

- (216) ✓ *Que diable ne sais-tu pas où trouver?*
 What devil *ne* knows-you not where to-find?
 ‘What the hell don’t you know where to find?’

The problem follows from the vagueness of the notion of D-linking, which is a mixture of three concepts:²¹⁹

- (217) a. Be-in-the-discourse: {±Given}.

²¹⁸ For those speakers that have not yet recategorized the noun as an adjective, the (b) sentence expresses ambiguously (a) and (b), the feminine morphology not being available.

²¹⁹ Thanks to Michal Starke [p.c.] for this observation.

- b. Presupposition of existence: {±Presuppositional}.
- c. Possibility to identify the actors: {±Specific}.

Refining this composite notion will account for the contrast (216) vs. (215)b. Both Italian *che diavolo* and French *que diable* can be neither Given, nor Specific; the relevant difference is that the latter, but not the former, may be Presuppositional, with some ironical shade of meaning; only presuppositional items can thus survive in configuration (215).

In other contexts, the notion of D-linking is advantageously replaced by that of topic (vs. comment). A topic is another composite notion, partially overlapping with that of D-linking. On the one hand, a topic is virtually specific; on the other hand, as observed by Rizzi [2000:§5], “a topic is a contextually given element that is made salient and turned into a kind of ‘subject of predication’, with the predicate expressed by the comment. A topic is typically licensed in the left periphery. Adopting the structural approach to Topic, Focus and other left-peripheral configurations in Rizzi [1997], I will assume that an element to be interpreted as a Topic is licensed in the left periphery as the Specifier of a special Top head, whose complement is interpreted as the comment”. The overt object movement to Spec TopP presumably passes through Spec AgrPPP, motivating participial agreement of the participial head; it would then correctly predict the obligation of agreement in case of extraction from an indirect question:

- (218) a. ✓ *Quelle bêtise te demandes-tu si Pierre a faite?*
 What silly-thing yourself wonder-you whether Peter has made-F?
 → ‘There exist silly things that Peter do, so that you wonder which one he did.’
 b. * *Quelle bêtise te demandes-tu si Pierre a fait?*
 What silly-thing yourself wonder-you whether Peter has made-M²²⁰?

When a weak island intervenes as in (218), the (obligatory) Topic characterization forces participial agreement, AgrPPP being an obligatory stage in order to respect locality constraints on movement. When no island intervenes as in (219), participial agreement is optional (aside from normative pressure that demands it when the object c-commands the participle), with an important shade of meaning that was the matter of our first grammatical theory when we were eight years old: the agreed form in (a) says something about the substantive, which is alone the Topic of the sentence; the default form in (b) takes the entire event as the Topic of the sentence.²²¹

- (219) a. ✓ *La bêtise que Pierre a faite...*
 The-F silly-thing that Peter has made-F...
 → ‘There exists a silly thing that Peter did, so that...’
 b. ✓ *La bêtise que Pierre a fait...*
 The-F silly-thing that Peter has made-M...
 → ‘There exists an event, namely that Peter made a silly thing, so that...’

Crucially, the topical characterization of the noun in (219)a coincides with a local scope of the participle underlining morphologically the semantic salience acquired by the noun; the topical characterization of the entire event in (219)b coincides with a predicate scope of the participle, appearing in the default form simply because no morphological marking is available to agree with a predicate. The following example capitalizes on this contrast: what falls is the lightning (agreement with the feminine noun alone), but what one hears is the lightning falling (default form ‘agreeing’ with the predicate).

²²⁰ The morphologically masculine guise constitutes the default form.

²²¹ Déprez [1998a:1] made a similar observation in terms of (non-)specificity: “Only DPs or their formal features FF(N) which are adjoined to V at LF, and not to AgrO, can be interpreted predicatively in the sense of De Hoop [1992] and thus non-specifically”—in other words, specific objects obligatorily leads to agreement.

- (220) ✓ “Si la foudre était tombée, on l’aurait entendu”.²²²
 If the-F lightning-F was fallen-F, we it-F would-have heard-M.
 ‘If the lightning would have flashed, we would have heard it.’

In this light, the case of passive, where an object is raised in subject position, can be seen as the grammaticalization of object topic-hood: the obligatoriness of agreement is then expected.

- (221) ✓ La bêtise a été fait*(e) par Pierre.
 The-F silly-thing has been made*(-F) by Peter.
 → ‘There exists a silly thing, and Peter did it.’

Participial agreement depends thus on ‘positive’ scope (and unambiguously indicates local scope); movement of the object across weak islands, possible only with TopP as a target,²²³ obligatorily leads to participial agreement, because only a DP, not a predicate, can cross island boundaries, according to Rizzi [2000:§9]: “the non-local binding connection in chain formation is restricted to the category DP, the only category that enters into genuine referential dependencies; chain links involving other categories (APs, QPs, AdvPs, etc.) must meet the locality requirements of the Minimal Configuration [(²²⁴)], our current formal characterization of Relativized Minimality”.

We can reconsider in this light a set of observations from Obenauer [1994:173-ff], which claimed about examples like (222) (quoted by Rizzi [2000:§7(49)]), “l’accord n’est naturel que dans un contexte où on parle de fautes spécifiques—probables, faciles à faire, énumérées dans une liste” ‘Agreement is natural only in a context where one talks about specific mistakes—probable, easy to do, enumerated in a list’:

- (222) Dis-moi combien de fautes tu as faites?
 ‘Tell me how many mistakes you have made+Agr?’

To support his claim, he noticed that participial agreement becomes ungrammatical if one adds a modifier that excludes a specific reading as in (223) (quoted by Rizzi [2000:§7(50)]):

- (223) a. Jusqu’à combien de fautes ont-ils fait(* es), vos élèves?
 ‘Up to how many mistakes have they made(+Agr), your students?’
 b. Combien de fautes en moins a-t-il fait(* es) cette fois?
 ‘How many mistakes less (than last time) has he made(+Agr) this time?’

Under our analysis, the modifiers chosen in (223) simply block the possibility of local scope, because they operate a restriction on the entire QP, including its NP complement whose gender and number features are no longer accessible to the participial head for agreement checking: they force thus predicate scope. If we choose a modifier able to operate a restriction on the quantifier alone, namely locally generated in its specifier, local scope is possible, and (in absence of specific reading) participial agreement becomes fine:

- (224) ✓ [_{QP} Environ [_Q combien]] de fautes a-t-il fait(es)?
 About how-many of mistakes has-t-he done(F)?
 ‘About how many mistakes did he do?’

²²² Roland Goossens (Gos), *Le grand retour*, Dupuis, 1987, plate 21.

²²³ See Rizzi [2000] for an analysis (in terms of D-linking) of this constraint.

²²⁴ Rizzi [2000:§1(8)]:

(xlvii) Y is in a Minimal Configuration with X iff there is no Z such that:
 (i) Z is of the same structural type as X, and
 (ii) Z intervenes between X and Y.

Scope variations expressed by the presence vs. absence of participial agreement are the same in Italian, aside from the fact that normative grammarians have promoted the default form—so that today the agreed form sounds either colloquial, or old-fashioned:

- (225) a. ✓(†) La corbelleria che Piero ha fatta...
The-F silly-thing that Peter has made-F...
→ ‘There exists a silly thing that Peter done, so that...’
b. ✓ La corbelleria che Piero ha fatto...
The-F silly-thing that Peter has made-M...
→ ‘There exists an event, namely that Peter made a silly thing, so that...’

The scope properties of participial agreement are strong enough to survive in case of clitic left dislocation:

- (226) (I) FRENCH:
a. ✓ Des bêtises de ce genre, tu n’en as jamais faites!
INDEF-the-F silly-things of that kind, you *ne* PART-CLITIC have never made-F-PL!
→ ‘There exist silly things of a given kind, but you never did them.’
b. ✓ Des bêtises de ce genre, tu n’en as jamais fait!
INDEF-the-F silly-things of that kind, you *ne* PART-CLITIC have never made-M-PL!
→ ‘There exists an event, namely that someone made silly things of a given kind, but you never did the same.’
(II) ITALIAN:
a. ✓ “Di prodotti del genere/ Non ne avete mai visti.”²²⁵
INDEF-the-M-PL products of that kind, not PART-CLITIC have never seen-M-PL.
→ ‘There exist products of a given kind, but you never saw them.’
b. ✓ Di prodotti del genere, non ne avete mai visto.
INDEF-the-M-PL products of that kind, not PART-CLITIC have never seen-M-SG.
→ ‘There could exist an event, namely that someone have seen products of a given kind, but you never did so.’

The scope properties of participial agreement are strong enough to survive in causative structures:²²⁶

- (227) a. ✓ “Mais quand bouger l’a faite tourner/ Ma réalité/ M’a pardonné”.²²⁷
But when to-move her has make-F go-round/ My-F reality-F/ Me has forgiven.
→ ‘There exists a reality of mine, so that it was caused to go round and to forgive me when I moved.’
b. ✓ Mais quand bouger l’a fait tourner, ma réalité m’a pardonné.
But when to-move her has make-M go-round, my-F reality-F me has forgiven.
→ ‘There exists an event, namely that my reality forgave me and started to go round when I moved.’

The scope contrast also arises in case of anticipated agreement—again, anticipated agreement sounds modern and colloquial in French, but old-fashioned and literary in Italian:

- (228) (I) FRENCH:
a. ✓ “Tes folies passagères m’ont mise la tête à l’envers”.²²⁸

²²⁵ Pippo Pollina, *Seconda repubblica*, Zytglogge, 1995.

²²⁶ As regards French, the invariability of the causative guise of *fait* discussed in Bouvier [2000b] concerned a normative language ‘level’; in current spoken use, *fait* can agree even in causative structures, just depending on scope.

As regards Italian, where causatives probably have a slightly different structure, agreement is obligatory:

- (xlvi) a. ✓ Gianna, Piero l’ha fatta venire.
Jane, Peter her has made-F come.
→ ‘There exists a girl called Jane, which was caused to come by Peter.’
b. * Gianna, Piero l’ha fatto venire.
Jane, Peter her has made-M come.

²²⁷ Téléphone, *Un autre monde* (Jean-Louis Aubert), Virgin, 1984. Agreement is written and sung.

²²⁸ FFF, *Alice*, V2, 2000. Though not written in the booklet, agreement is clearly sung.

- Your extravagances passing to-me [M.] have put-F the head at the wrong-side.
 → ‘It is the case that my head has been put wrong side up by your passing extravagances.’
 b. ✓ *Tes folies passagères m’ont mis la tête à l’envers.*
 Your extravagances passing to-me have put-M the head at the wrong-side.
 → ‘It is the case that your passing extravagances put my head wrong side up.’
 a. ✓ “*Sonny et moi, nous sommes répartis les films...*”²²⁹
 Sonny and I, to-us have shared-PL the films...
 → ‘It is the case that the films have been shared amongst ourselves.’
 b. ✓ *Sonny et moi, nous sommes réparti les films.*
 Sonny and I, to-us have shared-SG the films.
 → ‘It is the case that the sharing of the films amongst ourselves has been done.’
 (II) ITALIAN:
 a. ✓ “*se strisce di caligine non avessero un poco offuscata la luna*”...²³⁰
 If ribbons of mist not would-have a little overshadowed-F the moon...
 → ‘If it would be the case that the moon has been a little overshadowed by ribbons of mist...’
 b. ✓ *se strisce di caligine non avessero un poco offuscato la luna*...
 If ribbons of mist not would-have a little overshadowed-M the moon...
 → ‘If it would be the case that ribbons of mist have been a little overshadowed the moon...’

Interestingly, in his Italian grammar officially in use in the secondary schools of Florence, Satta [1971:327] formulates in intuitive terms a converging thought on the scope of participial agreement:

- (229) Ripetiamo: è meglio non concordare quando il verbo viene prima del complemento. Ma bisogna tener conto di una sfumatura di pensiero e di stile. Se nella costruzione normale verbo + complemento si ha la concordanza, può darsi che l’autore abbia voluto dare una particolare intensità al participio, diminuendo il valore del verbo come azione e spostando il participio verso la sfera dell’aggettivo. In parole più semplici, e con un esempio: di fronte a “*Egli ha spento la sigaretta*”, azione pura, “*Egli ha spenta la sigaretta*” viene a significare quasi “*Egli tiene spenta la sigaretta*”, cioè “*Egli ha la sigaretta spenta*”.
 ‘We repeat: it’s better to not agree when the verb comes before the complement. But one has to consider a shade of thought and style. If in the normal construct verb + complement one finds agreement, it can be the case that the author wished to give a particular intensity to the participle, reducing the valor of the verb as action and shifting the participle towards the adjectival sphere. In simplest words, and with an example: in the face of “*He has extinguished-M the cigarette*”, mere action, “*He has extinguished-F the cigarette*” turns to signify nearly “*He holds extinguished-F the cigarette*”, that’s to say “*He has the cigarette extinguished-F*”.’

Agreement morphology borne by the participle can thus be used to indicate some non-negative scope in the same manner the ‘negative’ SM cliticized on inflection (or some clitic cluster around inflection) indicates ‘negative’ scope; their common scopal properties motivate the observation of Cinque [1999:141], “Agreement and negation stand out as rather special among the other functional elements since they can occur in several distinct positions even within the same language, sometimes simultaneously”.

Both agreement and negation actually have to do with quantification, though in a different way: NEGATION, which acts on arguments as good as on adverbs, directly activates scopal properties, all ‘negative’ items being also endowed with quantificational features; AGREEMENT, which is linked to argumental and adjectival heads, indirectly activates scopal properties through the realization of cardinal or numeral (and gender)²³¹ heads. Moreover, the phonological reduplication rule discussed in I.1.2.2.1.1 provides a good reason to think that when (absence of) agreement indicates global scope, it combines with a null SM supplying the lack of predicate-agreeing morphology: in fact, absence of agreement just blocks the reduplication rule in the (b) sentence.

²²⁹ Victor Hubinon, *Alerte à Cap Kennedy*, Dupuis, 1965, plate 39 B.

²³⁰ Dino Buzzati, *Cronache terrestri*, Mondadori, 1972, series Oscar Mondadori, 1995, p. 11.

²³¹ Shlonsky [1989] proposed an AgrP-split into three independent Phrases: Person, Number, and Gender.

- (230) a. ✓ Je l'ai {pris/ prise}.
 I it-F have {taken-M/ taken-F}.
 '✓ There is the case that I took it/ ✓ IT, I took it.'
- b. ✓ Jel-l'ai {* pris/ prise}.
 li-it-F have {* taken-M/ taken-F}.
 '* There is the case that I took it/ ✓ IT, I took it.'

Our analysis is that global scope, made visible by the absence of agreement, involves the 'positive' SM '÷' in (i)a, which has the effect to block reduplication in (ii)a; on the other hand, local scope, made visible by a specific agreement morphology, rules out the 'positive' SM '÷' in (i)b, and allow consequently reduplication in (ii)b:

- (231) (I) WITHOUT REDUPLICATION:
 a. ✓ Je ÷ l'ai pris.
 I ÷ it-F has taken-M.
 There is the case that I took it.
 b. ✓ Je (* ÷) l'ai prise.
 I (* ÷) it-F has taken-F.
 IT, I took it.
- (II) WITH REDUPLICATION:
 a. * Jel-÷-l'ai pris.
 li-÷-it-F has taken-M.
 b. ✓ Jel-l'ai prise.
 li-it-F has taken-F.
 IT, I took it.

We will thus conclude that the 'negative' SM '¬', sometimes spelled-out as *ne*, has a 'positive' counterpart lacking any phonological realization, but displaying the property to block participial agreement as good as the phonological reduplication rule discussed in I.1.2.2.1.1. Since the 'negative' and the 'positive' guises display symmetric effects, both can be symbolized as '÷'; for the clarity of the discussion, we will nevertheless use the common notation '¬' when '÷' plays the role of a 'negative' SM.

II. A FEATURAL FRAMEWORK

The linguistic featural device can be analyzed from three main standpoints: at the individual level, one can define the NATURE OF THE FEATURES (II.1) involved in natural languages; at the overall level, one can examine the rules directing the COMBINATION OF THE FEATURES (II.2), and, under the strong hypothesis that words ordering and affixes ordering are part of UG, the intrinsic HIERARCHY OF THE FEATURES (II.3). The syntactic conditions entailed by those three axes of analysis will be summarized in a featural machine (II.4;(659)) articulated in three corresponding parts: PROJECTION CONDITIONS, COMBINATIVE CONDITIONS, and HIERARCHICAL CONDITIONS.

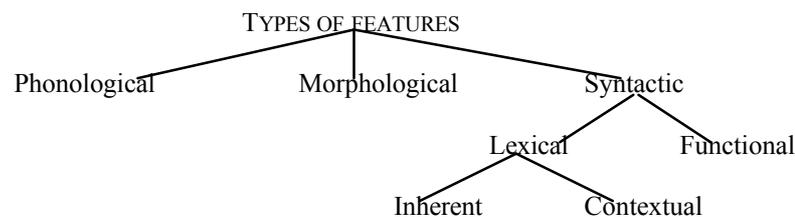
II.1. NATURE OF THE FEATURES

II.1.1. FEATURES AT EVERY LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

PIs, ‘negative’ or ‘positive’, behave as featurally deficient words: they must combine with other items owning the needed features in order to be interpreted. This puts forward the general issue of the nature of the features, and their representation within a syntactic theory. Our framework is built around the belief that the complexity of the syntactic structure can be explained in a principled way if viewed as the projection of featural sets, internally organized, carried by the items; as a corollary of this, an item is viewed as an articulated set of features²³² pertaining to the various levels of grammatical analysis:

- PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES serve to enable the phonological realization; lack of phonological features characterizes the null pronouns and the null operators;
- MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES define the internal structure of the word (or the lexicalized expression), and consequently its resulting grammatical category;
- SYNTACTIC FEATURES (those concerned with this dissertation) pertain to two categories: lexical and functional. LEXICAL FEATURES (inherent or contextual) are carried by items as adjectives, adverbs, determiners, nouns, pronouns, quantifiers, and verbs; FUNCTIONAL FEATURES are carried by functional items, namely prepositions and complementizers (including coordinations²³³), which define the clause types, and SMs, which delimit the scope of quantificational items.

(232)



A desirable consequence of the featural approach is to avoid the following old debate: when I simply say “Peter is eating an apple”, do I project all the thousand and one functional heads identified by Beghelli [1995], Cinque [1998, 1999], Rizzi [1997], Zanuttini [1997a-b], among others? For us, the question simply doesn’t arise: a phrase being the projection of a given feature carried by some item (with or without phonological features), only the phrases corresponding to a given lexical array in the sense of Chomsky [1998] are projected in a given sentence. So, when I simply say “Peter is eating an apple” to comment a fact that is really happening, I project only, regarding the extended VP, the present tense and the progressive

²³² It’s also true that the items are not only made up of features: each lexical featural set is related to a semantic definition (which can naively be viewed as a referent in the real or mental world, or articulately *à la* Hjelmslev as a *form of Content*), and, for people owning a written code, to a graphic form.

²³³ For a discussion about coordinations seen as a subtype of complementizers, see II.3.1.1.2.6.

aspect—but I project nor VoiceP, nor CausP, nor any MoodP, simply because no item in the lexical array that I chose for my purpose is endowed with the corresponding features.

II.1.2. PAIRED DIFFERENCES CALLING FOR COMPLEMENTARITY

II.1.2.1. Previous attempts

Haeberli [1999] claimed that a sentence is the product of the combination of two different and complementary sets of categorial features, namely noun and verb. Nouns being {+N, -V}, and verbs {-N, +V}, according to the characterization of Chomsky [1965, 1970], the resulting combination is a complete sentential matrix.

PIs just seem a case where the featural complementarity is made visible: we will thus implement our featural machine around the idea that featural complementarity is the mover of the syntactic projection. An indirect advantage of the notion of featural complementarity is to replace that of licensing, uneasy to implement in a derivational manner. As observed by Tovena [1996:2], licensing in general is a merely stipulative mechanism: “The existence of various relations between elements inside a natural language sentence, e.g. anaphoric or thematic links, is an undisputed fact. However, these relations are not necessarily expressed in terms of licensing. For instance, verbs are not said to license NP arguments, rather they are considered to assign these arguments particular functions in the sentence, under certain locality conditions. Licensing is a syntactic form of enforcing co-occurrence of elements, possibly grouped in classes, possibly under particular locality conditions, without providing explanation or understanding of the phenomenon. In the case of negative polarity licensing, little justification is provided for its enforcement, apart from some vague reference to negative feature matching, idiosyncratic requirements, or similar. Given the situation, an analysis based only on licensing would fall short on explanatory ground”.

We would thus implement a computational system where co-occurrences of items are not licensed, but motivated by featural complementarity. The question arises how to characterize in a principled way the relevant difference type that creates complementarity. If we succeed in reducing such a difference to a basic property of the features, we would take a step forward in the reduction of grammatical principles to featural combinations, which was the main aim of Haeberli [1999].

One way to account for the complementarity without need of difference is to claim that features are not mere binary switches with a plus-position and a minus-position, but can also be underspecified. This was the solution of Beghelli [1995] to explain the optional distributivity of a restricted class of quantifiers. This was also the choice of Bouvier [2000c] to deal with the versatile behavior of certain PIs, like the SM of predicate negation, that seem sometimes ‘negative’ (either on its own, or in combination with another ‘negative’ item), sometimes non-negative.

Advantages of three-position switches are on the one hand to increase the number of potential combinations without inventing further features; on the other hand, to express complementarity without recourse of any difference, the same feature being complementary with itself when it occurs twice in an underspecified guise. Problems of three-position switches are on the one hand to create unmanageable difficulties in the formulation of projection rules; on the other hand, to introduce a ternary device within a binary branching theory, with consequent weakening of a framework intentionally restrictive to account for the power of the acquisitional device in front of the poverty of stimulus. We will thus reject the three-position switches, and search for a new model of complementarity.

Rizzi [1999a:(57);(65)] drew a promising tentative to reduce the syntactic lexical features N and V to more basic properties,²³⁴ with on the one hand a list of the basic features characterizing three classes of sentential actors (whose aim is to refine the traditional A- \bar{A} typology):

- (233) a. QUANTIFICATIONAL [CLASS]: Wh, Neg, measure, focus, ...
 b. MODIFIER [CLASS]: evaluative, epistemic, Neg, frequentative, celerative, measure, manner, ...
 c. ARGUMENTAL [CLASS]: person, number, gender, case [, θ -role, ...].

On the other hand, a superordinate list of the all potential combinations of the three classes, exemplified with related items:

(234)	ARG.	Q	MOD.	:	
	[1]	+	-	-	: <i>John</i> (non-quantificational subjects).
	[2]	+	-	+	: *
	[3]	-	+	-	: Wh, Foc.
	[4]	-	+	+	: <i>Beaucoup</i> [‘a lot’], <i>pas</i> [‘not’].
	[5]	+	+	-	: <i>No-one</i> (quantificational subjects).
	[6]	+	+	+	: *
	[7]	-	-	+	: <i>Carefully</i> .
	[8]	-	-	-	: Topic.

Negation is mentioned twice in (233), namely in the Quantificational class and in the Modifier class: it’s not surprising, since quantifiers and adverbs may bear ‘negative’ features. We could even take a step forward in saying that ‘Negative’ feature is cross-categorial, since there also exist ‘negative’ arguments like *nobody*.

In (234), the impossibility of an item of the sixth type can be reduced to the impossibility of an item of the second type: the problem seems an incompatibility between (some) features of the Argumental class and (some) features of the Modifier class—it’s actually hard to imagine an item at once argumental and modifier.

Leaving open the reduction of N and V to more basic properties, and turning to polarity, we can observe that ‘Negative’ vs. ‘Positive’ features behave just as complementary ones: they are different, but they own a common semantic core, and they stay in complementary distribution within a single item. If ‘Negative’ vs. ‘Positive’ does form a sort of alternation, the deficiency of both would condemn a given item to search for a lexical array owning one, or the other, feature. PIs are just such a thing: though expressing polarity, they are neither ‘negative’, nor ‘positive’ on their own.

(235)		{‘Negative’/	‘Positive’}
	*	+	+
	<i>no</i>	+	-
	<i>yes</i>	-	+
	PI	-	-

The hypothesis of ‘Negative’ and ‘Positive’ features creates an immediate problem for our claim of polarity complementary pairs: both ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ elements may appear in

²³⁴ This was already suggested in Chomsky [1970:199;207;208]: “It is quite possible that the categories noun, verb, adjective are the reflection of a deeper feature structure, each being a combination of features of a more abstract sort. In this way, the various relations among these categories might be expressible”; “Such an extension of the theory of syntactic features suggests that the distinction between features and categories is a rather artificial one”; “In fact, when the reliance on analytic procedures of segmentation and classification is abandoned, there is no reason to retain the notion of category at all, even for the base. We might just as well eliminate the distinction of feature and category, and regard all symbols of the grammar as sets of features”.

the same sentence, as seen in I.2.2.2 (examples (185)-(186)). To assume that those features constitute a syntactic fact would imply that they wouldn't be polarity features—an absurd conclusion, in so that they embody the archetype of polarity. If our claim of polarity complementary pairs is fundamentally correct, we have thus a theoretical reason to think that 'Negative' and 'Positive' are not features, but only intuitive notions including a complex set of features, which create the illusion of a global 'negativity' or 'positivity'. We will thus claim that several polarity-related features are responsible for the general intuition on 'negative' and 'positive' items and sentences.²³⁵

II.1.2.2. Polarity-related features

A semanticist interested in the syntax, Giannakidou [1998:vii], argued that 'negative' dependencies are in fact non-veridical dependencies: "The common core in all polarity phenomena is sensitivity to (non)veridicality. Sensitivities to negation or downward entailment emerge as subcases of [sic] thereof". If one examines the list of contexts able to combine with the various kinds of PIs provided by Giannakidou [1998:169(table 5)], one can wonder where stays the non-veridicality of comparative and exclamatory clauses, or habitual and generic Aspects, for instance. Moreover, it seems difficult to reduce to a single feature the whole kit and caboodle:

- (236) ✓ Negation, ✓ *Before*-clauses, ✓ *Without*-clauses, ✓ Polar/ constituent questions, ✓ Conditionals, ✓ Restriction of \forall , ✓ *Too*-clauses, ✓ S-comparatives, ✓ Superlatives, ✓ Future particle/ will, ✓ Strong intensional verbs, ✓ Imperatives, ✓ Exclamatives [sic], ✓ Habituals, ✓ Disjunctions, ✓ *Isos/ perhaps*, ✓ Downward entailing DPs, ✓ Negative verbs (objects of), ✓ Generics, ✓ NP-comparatives, ✓ *Monon/ only*, ✓ 'Negative' factives, * Affirmative episodic sentences, * Weak intensional verbs, * Factive verbs.

A first difficulty to identify "the common core in all polarity phenomena" is thus the wide range of contexts able to complete the featural defectiveness of PIs. For French, we can exemplify (236) with the following **NPIs**, somewhere interpreted as FC PIs:

- (237) (I) C-COMMANDING NEGATION:
 a. ✓ Jeanne (n')a {pas/ plus/ jamais} **un radis** depuis son divorce.
 Jane (ne) has {not/ no-more/ never} a radish since her divorce.
 'Jane has {not/ no more/ never} a bean since her divorce.'
 b. ✓ {Personne/ Aucun étudiant/ Rien} (ne) sert à **grand-chose**.
 {Nobody/ No student/ Nothing} (ne) is-of-help to great-thing.
 '{Nobody/ No student/ Nothing} is of much help.'
- (II) *BEFORE*-CLAUSES:
 a. ✓ Pierre fait ses achats avant que **grand-monde** (n')envahisse le magasin.
 Peter makes his purchases before than great-people (ne) invade-SUBJ the market.
 'Peter goes shopping before than many people invades the market.'
 b. * Pierre a fait ses achats après que **grand-monde** a(it)²³⁶ envahi le magasin.
 Peter has made his purchases after than great-people have(-SUBJ) invaded the market.
- (III) *WITHOUT*-CLAUSES:
 a. ✓ Pierre a traversé la pelouse sans voir **âme qui vive**.
 Peter has crossed the lawn without seeing soul which live.
 'Peter crossed the lawn without seeing anyone.'
 b. * Pierre a traversé la pelouse en voyant **âme qui vive**.
 Peter has crossed the lawn in seeing soul which live.
- (IV) POLAR/ CONSTITUENT QUESTIONS:
 a. ✓ {As-tu/ Tu as} vu **qui que ce soit** sur la pelouse?
 {Have you/ you have} seen whoever on the lawn?
 'Did you see whoever on the lawn?'

²³⁵ See III.1 for a review of arguments in favor of a 'negative' split.

²³⁶ Normatively, *avant que* combines with a subjunctive subordinate, *après que* with an indicative clause: the underlying motivation is the non-veridicality of a future fact, vs. the veridicality of a past fact; current use chose subjunctive in all cases, the (non-)veridicality being conveyed by the intrinsic semantics of the complementizer.

- b. ✓ **Qui que ce soit** a-t-il marché sur la pelouse?
Whoever has-*t*-he walked on the lawn?
'Did whoever walk on the lawn?'
- c. ✓ Penses-tu que j'ai(e) vu **qui que ce soit** sur la pelouse?
Think you that I have(-SUBJ) seen whoever on the lawn?
'Do you think that I have seen whoever on the lawn?'
- d. ✓ Qui {est-ce qui/ c'est qui} a vu **âme qui vive** sur la pelouse?
Who {is it which/ it is which} has seen soul which live on the lawn?
'Who did see anyone on the lawn?'
- e. ✓ Je me demande quand on verra **âme qui vive** sur la pelouse.
I to-me ask when we will-see soul which live on the lawn.
'I ask me when we will see anyone on the lawn.'
- f. ✓ Pierre se demande s'il apprendra **grand-chose** à ce cours.
Peter himself asks if he will-learn great-thing at this course.
'Peter asks to himself if he will learn much things at this course.'
- (V) CONDITIONALS:
- a. ✓ Si Pierre avait dévoilé mes intentions à **qui que ce soit**, je lui en aurais voulu.
If Peter had revealed my intentions to whoever, I to-him PART would-have hold-something.
'If Peter would have disclosed my intentions to whoever, I would have hold something against him.'
- b. ✓ On verrait **grand-monde** sur la pelouse que ça m'étonnerait.
One would-see great-people on the lawn that it me would-surprise.
'I should be very surprised to see many people on the lawn.'
- (VI) RESTRICTION OF \forall :
- a. ✓ {Toute personne/ † Tout} qui sait **quoi que ce soit** de cette affaire le dise.
{Every person/ Everyone} who knows whatever of this affair it say-SUBJ.
'Everyone who knows anything about this affair would he please say it.'
- b. ✓ Les affaires **croyables** sont une minorité.
The affairs believable are a minority.
'The affairs that are believable are a minority.'
- (VII) TOO-CLAUSES:
- a. ✓ Pierre est trop content pour faire **quoi que ce soit**.
'Peter is too happy to do anything.'
- b. ✓ Cette histoire est trop énorme pour être **croyable**.
'This story is too enormous to be believable.'
- (VIII) S-COMPARATIVES:
- a. ✓ Pierre mange plus de kilos de chocolat que **qui que ce soit** (ne) boit de litres d'eau.
Peter eats more of kilos of chocolate than whoever (ne) drinks of liters of water.
'Peter eats more kilos of chocolate than anybody drinks liters of water.'
- b. ✓ Jeanne est moins **sortable** que Pierre (n'est) **causant**.
Jane is less presentable than Peter (ne) is chatty.
'Jane is less presentable than Peter is chatty.'
- (IX) SUPERLATIVES:
- a. ✓ Pierre est le plus **causant** de sa classe.
Peter is the most chatty of his grade.
'Peter is the chattiest boy of his grade.'
- b. ✓ Jeanne est la moins **sortable** de sa classe.
Jane is the less presentable of her grade.
Jane is the less presentable girl of her grade.
- c. ✓ Il fait trop froid pour voir **qui que ce soit** sur la pelouse.
It makes too cold to see whoever on the lawn.
'It's too cold to see anybody on the lawn.'
- d. ✓ Il (ne) fait pas assez chaud pour voir **grand-monde** sur la pelouse.
It (ne) makes not enough warm to see great-people on the lawn.
'It's not warm enough to see many people on the lawn.'
- (X) FUTURE:
- a. ✓ Tu trouveras des gens qui t'aiment **où que ce soit** sur cette terre.
You will-find of-the people that you love wherever on this earth.
'You'll find friendly people wherever in the world.'
- b. ✓ Jeanne deviendra **sortable** avec le temps.
Jane will-become presentable with the time.
'Jane will become presentable with time.'
- (XI) STRONG INTENSIONAL VERBS:
- a. ✓ Jeanne espère retrouver Pierre **où que ce soit**.

Jane hope to-find-again Peter wherever.

‘Jane hope meet up with Peter again wherever.’

b. ✓ Pierre aime manger du chocolat **quand que ce soit**.

Peter likes eat of-the chocolate whenever.

‘Peter likes to eat chocolate whenever.’

(XII) IMPERATIVES:

a. ✓ Va **où que ce soit** en mon absence et tu auras de mes nouvelles!

Go wherever in my absence and you will-have of my news!

‘Go wherever in my absence, and I’ll give you a piece of my mind!’

b. ✓ Choisis **quoi que ce soit** qui te fasse plaisir!

Chose whatever that to-you make pleasure!

‘Chose anything that gives you great pleasure!’

(XIII) EXCLAMATIONS:

a. ✓ “Ce qui va être **folichon**, c’est d’expliquer tout ça à Tonton Georges...”²³⁷

What that will be exciting, it is to explain all that to Uncle George...

‘Explain the whole story to Uncle George will be much fun...’

b. ✓ Faire **quoi que ce soit** m’ennuie!

To-do whatever me bore!

‘To do anything bore me!’

(XIV) HABITUALS (NON-GENERIC):

✓ **Quoi que ce soit** que Jeanne apprenait sur Pierre, elle allait le répéter à Jean.

Whatever that Jane learned about Peter, she went it to-repeat to John.

‘Whatever Jane learned about Peter, she went and told John all.’

(XV) DISJUNCTIONS:

a. ✓ Ou on a garé la voiture ailleurs, ou **quoi que ce soit** lui est arrivé.

Either we have parked the car elsewhere, or whatever to-it is happened.

‘Either we parked the car elsewhere, or anything happened to it.’

b. ✓ Jeanne est soit muette, soit **causante**.

‘Jane is either silent, or chatty.’

(XVI) *PERHAPS*:

a. ✓ Peut-être que Jeanne est **sortable** quand elle se coiffe.

Perhaps that Jane is presentable when she herself does-her-hair.

‘Perhaps Jane is presentable when she does her hair.’

b. ✓ Jeanne devient peut-être **causante** quand elle est triste.

Jane becomes perhaps chatty when she is sad.

‘Perhaps Jane becomes chatty when she’s sad.’

(XVII) DOWNWARD ENTAILING DPS:

a. ✓ Peu de gens ont vu **âme qui vive** sur la pelouse un jour de pluie.

Few of people have seen soul which live on the lawn a day of rain.

‘Few people saw anybody on the lawn during a rainy day.’

b. ✓ Rares sont les gens qui ont vu **qui que ce soit** sur la pelouse un jour de pluie.

Rare are the people that have seen whoever on the lawn a day of rain.

‘Rare persons saw anybody on the lawn during a rainy day.’

(XVIII) ‘NEGATIVE’ VERBS (OBJECTS OF):

✓ Pierre {nie/ * avoue} avoir dit **grand-chose**.

Peter {denies/ * confess} to-have said great-thing.

‘Peter denies to have said anything.’

(XIX) GENERICS:

✓ **Qui que ce soit** de vivant a besoin de sommeil.

Whoever of living has need of sleep.

‘Anybody who is living needs to sleep.’

(XX) NP-COMPARATIVES:

a. ✓ Pierre est plus beau que **qui que ce soit** de sa classe.

Peter is more pretty than whoever in his grade.

‘Peter is prettier than anybody in his grade.’

b. ✓ Jeanne est aussi **sortable** que Pierre.

‘Jane is as presentable as Peter.’

(XXI) *ONLY*:

a. ✓ Seul Pierre a vu **âme qui vive** sur la pelouse un jour de pluie.

Only Peter has seen soul which live on the lawn a day of rain.

‘Only Peter saw anybody on the lawn during a rainy day.’

²³⁷ Roland Goossens (Gos), *Le continent des deux lunes*, Dupuis, 1976, plate 11.

- b. ✓ C'est seulement en se trompant qu'on apprend **quoi que ce soit**.
It is only in oneself mistaking that we learn whatever.
'Only in making mistakes can we learn whatever.'
(XXII) 'NEGATIVE' FACTIVES (WITH A 'NEGATIVE' PRESUPPOSITION):
✓ Pierre est {surpris/ * blasé} que Jeanne soit **sortable**.
Peter is {surprised/ * blasé} that Jane be presentable.
'Peter is surprised that Jane is presentable.'

Another difficulty to identify "the common core in all polarity phenomena" is the fact that they involve on the one hand PIs pertaining to all (semi-)lexical grammatical categories (adjectives, adverbs, complementizers, determiners, nouns, prepositions, pronouns, quantifiers, SMS, and verbs), as in (i)-(x); on the other hand, polarity phrases consisting in VPs, IPs, and CPs, as in (xi)-(xiii):

(238) (I) ADJECTIVES:

- a. ✓ Cet endroit (n')est pas **folichon**.
This place (*ne*) is not pleasant.
'This place isn't pleasant.'
b. ✓ Ce mec est **cave**.
'This guy is silly.'
c. ✓ {C(e n')est pas/ C'est *(vachement)} **ragoûtant!**
{It (*ne*) is not/ It's really} appetizing.
'{It's not/ It's really} appetizing.'

(II) ADVERBS:

- a. ✓ Pierre (n')est **aucunement** triste.
Peter (*ne*) is nothingly sad.
'Peter isn't sad in any way.'
b. ✓ Pierre est arrivé **dare-dare**.
Peter is arrived double-quick.
c. ✓ Si Pierre (*ne*) voit **jamais** ça, il sera fâché.
If Peter (*ne*) sees never that, he will-be sorry.
'If Peter never sees that, he will be sorry.'
c.' ✓ Si **jamais** Pierre voit ça, il sera fâché.
If ever Peter sees that, he will-be sorry.
'If Peter would see that, he would be sorry.'

(III) COMPLEMENTIZERS:

- a. ✓ Jeanne (n')est **ni** belle **ni** bonne.
Jane (*ne*) is nor pretty, nor good.
'Jane is neither pretty, nor kind.'
b. ✓ Jeanne est (**et**) belle **et** bonne.
Jane is (and) pretty and good.
'Jane is pretty and kind.'
b.' ✓ {**Voyons/ Allez**}, (*ne*) faites pas ça!
{Let's see/ Go}, (*ne*) do not that!
'Come on, don't do that!'
c. ✓ Jeanne (*ne*) vient pas **ou** peut-être.
Jane (*ne*) comes not or may-be.
'Maybe Jane comes, maybe she doesn't come.'
c.' ✓ Jeanne vient *(demain) **ou** (*ne*) vient pas.
Jane comes *(tomorrow) or (*ne*) comes not.
'Jane comes tomorrow or doesn't come.'

(IV) DETERMINERS:

- a. ✓ ((II) (N'))Y'a **personne** derrière la porte.
((There) (*Ne*)) LOC has nobody behind the door.
'There's nobody behind the door.'
b. ✓ (II) Y'a **je-ne-sais-quel** fâcheux qui attend derrière la porte.
(There) LOC has I-don't-know-what bore which waits behind the door.
'There are some bores waiting behind the door.'
c. ✓ Jeanne {(ne) verra pas/ verra} personnellement chaque prétendant.
Jane {(*ne*) will-see not/ will-see} personally each suitor.
'Jane will (not) personally examine each of her suitors.'

(V) NOUNS:

a. ✓ Jeanne est {dure/ * facile} à la **comprenette**.

Jane is {hard/ * easy} to the uptake.

‘Jane is slow on the uptake.’

b. ✓ Jeanne a la **cosse**.

Jane has the pod.

‘Jane is in a lazy mood.’

c. ✓ Jeanne {(n’)a pas/ a} **grand-faim**.

Jane {(ne) has not/ has} great-hunger.

‘Jane {isn’t/ is} very hungry.’

(VI) PREPOSITIONS:

a. ✓ Il est difficile de manger un steak **sans** {un/ aucun}²³⁸ couteau.

It is difficult to eat a steak without {a/ no} knife.

‘It’s difficult to eat a steak without a knife.’

b. ✓ Il est agréable de manger **avec** {une/ * aucune} cuillère.

It is agreeable to eat with {a/ * no} spoon.

‘It’s pleasant to eat with a spoon.’

c. ✓ L’usage **d**’un couteau facilite le découpage du steak.

The use of a knife facilitates the carving of-the steak.

‘To use a knife makes the carving of the steak easier.’

c.’ ✓ L’usage **d**’aucun couteau (ne) facilite pas le découpage du steak.

The use of no knife (ne) facilitates not the carving of-the steak.

‘To not use a knife doesn’t make the carving of the steak easier.’

(VII) PRONOUNS:

a. *²³⁹

b. ✓ Les corvées c’est {toujours/ * jamais} pour {**bibi/ mézigue**}.

The drudgery it is {always/ * never} for {me-me/ me-guy}.

‘Drudgery is always for me.’

c. *

(VIII) QUANTIFIERS:

a. ✓ **Rien** (ne) s’est passé.

Nothing (ne) itself is happened.

‘Nothing happened.’

b. ✓ **Quelque chose** s’est passé.

Something itself is happened.

‘Something happened.’

c. ✓ (Ne) Fais pas **quoi que ce soit** et tu auras de mes nouvelles!

(Ne) Do not anything and you will-have of my news!

‘If you don’t do a damn thing all day, I’ll give you a piece of my mind!’

c.’ ✓ Fais **quoi que ce soit** et tu auras de mes nouvelles!

Do anything and you will-have of my news!

‘If you do anything, I’ll give you a piece of my mind!’

(IX) SMS:

a. ✓ **Non**, Pierre (n’)est pas beau.

No, Peter (ne) is not pretty.

‘Peter isn’t pretty, no.’

b. ✓ **Oui**, Pierre est beau.

Yes, Peter is pretty.

‘Peter is pretty, it is.’

c. ✓ Pierre **n**’aime {pas/ que} Jeanne.

Peter *ne* loves {not/ only} Jane.

‘Peter {doesn’t love/ loves only} Jane.’

(X) VERBS:

²³⁸ Under the scope of *sans*, *un* and *aucun* receive the same ‘negative’ interpretation; see II.3.1.2.9.2 for a discussion.

²³⁹ No pronoun can request a ‘negative’ context, because pronouns just cannot be negated as a phrase as in (a)—excepting in the focus of a (contrastive) ‘negative’ cleft sentence as in (b):

(xlix) a. * Pierre (n’)a vu pas lui.

Peter (ne) has seen not him.

b. ✓ C(e n’)est pas LUI que Pierre a vu.

It (ne) is not HIM that Peter has seen.

‘Peter hasn’t seen HIM.’

- a. ✓ Pierre (ne) **baise** rien aux mathématiques.
Peter (*ne*) understands nothing to-the mathematics.
'Peter doesn't understand mathematics in any way.'
- b. ✓ Jeanne peut (toujours) **repasser**.
Jane can (always) come-back.
'Jane doesn't have a prayer.'
- c. ✓ Pierre (ne) peut pas **se farcir** Jeanne.
Peter (*ne*) can not himself to-stuff Jane.
'Peter cannot put up with Jane.'
- c.' ✓ Pierre **se farcit** Jeanne *(à longueur de journée).
Peter himself stuffs Jane to length of day.
'Peter has to put up with Jane all day long.'
- (XI) VPs:
- a. ✓ Comprendre ce livre (**n'est pas de la tarte!**)
To-understand this book (*ne*) is not of the tart!
'To understand this book isn't easy!'
- b. ✓ Comprendre ce livre **est du gâteau!**
To-understand this book is of-the cake!
'To understand this book is easy!'
- c. ✓ Comprendre ce livre **{(n'est pas/ est} du nougat!**
To-understand this book {isn't/ is} of-the nougat!
'To understand this book {isn't/ is} easy!'
- (XII) IPs:
- a. ✓ **Ça (ne) mange pas de foin!**
It (*ne*) eats of the hay!
'It's economical!'
- b. ✓ **Je veux mon neveu!**
I want my nephew!
'Indeed I want!'
- c. *²⁴⁰
- (XIII) CPs:
- a. ✓ **C(e n')est pas chez Barnum qu'on fait les hommes.**
There (*ne*) is not at Barnum that one makes the men.
'Artists and men don't belong to the same circles.'
- b. ✓ **C'est en forgeant qu'on devient forgeron.**
That is in forging that one becomes smith.
'Practice makes perfect.'
- c. *

The salient common property of all PIs is their idiomaticity: none displays a regular distribution. Amongst the lexical ones, none is a *verbum proprium*—at the most, some of them have a non-polar, non-tropological guise besides the polar, tropological one. Even the semi-lexical ones (complementizers and prepositions) are somehow idiomatical: for instance, French *sans* cannot be simply translated by 'without'.²⁴¹ further polarity adjustments are necessary. In other words, PIs just form a proper subset of idiomatic items.

If idiomaticity is the lack of given features, along a line suggested by Bianchi [1993], we could pursue the undertaking of reducing idiomaticity to featural deficiency by claiming that part of those features, whose deficiency leads to idiomaticity, are also responsible for polarity phenomena. Polarity IPs (and CPs) are just a trivial case: owing to their great width, the lexicalization freezes the sentential layer concerned with polarity, so that they cannot support any syntactic computation as polarity changes in the (b) sentences, or question formation in the (c) sentences.

- (239) (i) 'NEGATIVE' IPs:
a. ✓ **Ça (ne) mange pas de foin!**

²⁴⁰ Polarity IPs are just unmodifiable, since the sentential layer concerned with polarity is frozen by the lexicalization: there are thus no FC PIs in this category. The same holds for CPs.

²⁴¹ See the discussion in II.3.1.2.9.2 about the idiomaticity effects of French *sans* and Italian *senza*.

- It (*ne*) eats not of hay!
 ‘It’s economical!’
 b. * Ça mange du foin!
 It eats of hay!
 c. * Est-ce que ça mange du foin?
 Is it that it eats of hay?
 a. ✓ **L’habit (ne) fait pas le moine.**
 The dress (*ne*) makes not the monk.
 ‘Appearances are deceptive.’
 b. * L’habit fait le moine.
 The dress makes the monk.
 c. * L’habit fait-il le moine?
 The dress makes it the monk?
 (ii) ‘POSITIVE’ IPs:
 a. ✓ **Le fond de l’air est frais.**
 The bottom of the air is chilly.
 ‘There’s a nip in the air.’
 b. * Le fond de l’air (*n*)est pas frais.
 The bottom of the air (*ne*) is not chilly.
 c. * Est-ce que le fond de l’air est frais?
 Is it that the bottom of the air is chilly?
 a. ✓ **Je veux mon neveu!**
 I want my nephew!
 ‘I want, and how!’
 b. * Je (*ne*) veux pas mon neveu!²⁴²
 I (*ne*) want not my nephew!
 c. * Est-ce que je veux mon neveu?
 Is it that I want my nephew?

The sole possible syntactic manipulation on IPs in (i) and CPs in (ii) is the subordination:

- (240) (i) IPs:
 a. ✓ Jeanne prétend que **ça (ne) mange pas de foin.**
 Jane maintains that it (*ne*) eats not of hay.
 ‘Jane maintains that it’s economical.’
 b. ✓ Jeanne trouve que **le fond de l’air est frais.**
 Jane finds that the bottom of the air is chilly.
 ‘Jane thinks that there’s a nip in the air.’
 (ii) CPs:
 a. ✓ Jeanne trouve que **c(e n)’est pas le culot qu’il lui manque.**
 Jane finds that this (*ne*) is not the nerve that it to-him lacks.
 ‘Jane thinks that he’s got a nerve.’
 b. ✓ Jeanne prétend que **c’est au pied du mur qu’on voit le maçon.**
 Jane maintains that this is at the foot of the wall that one sees the bricklayer.
 ‘Jane maintains that promises have no value.’
 c. ✓ {**Allons/ Allez**}, mangez!
 {Go-1ST-PL/ Go-2ND-PL}, eat!
 ‘Come on, let’s eat!’

Lexicalized IPs and CPs will thus say nothing to us about syntactic interactions with polarity-related features: they are just invariable items with the largest categorial labels. Nonetheless, according to Bouvier [1999:II.II.1], they are not compounds, since they cannot be inserted in a XP in the (b) sentences, contrary to the compounds in the (a) sentences:

- (241) (i) INSERTION IN A DP:
 a. ✓ Un [ne-m’oubliez-pas]_N.

²⁴² One could think that it is the break of the rhyme on which is founded the expression that creates a problem; but the negation is no longer possible if we try to preserve the rhyme:

- (l) * Je (*ne*) veux pas mon papa!
 I (*ne*) want not my dad!

- A forget-me-not.
 b. * Un [l'appétit vient en mangeant]_{IP}.
 A the appetite comes in eating.
 (II) INSERTION IN A SEQUENCE [AP – NP]:
 a. ✓ Ce petit [je-ne-sais-quoi]_N.
 This little I-don't-know-what.
 b. * Ce petit [le fond de l'air est frais]_{IP}.
 This little the bottom of the air is chilly.
 (III) INSERTION IN A PP:
 a. ✓ A [bouche-que-veux-tu]_N.
 To mouth-what-want-you.
 b. * A [c'est en forgeant qu'on devient forgeron]_{IP}.
 To it's in forging that one becomes blacksmith.

Idiomatic VPs are more interesting than IPs and CPs in allowing some syntactic operations. First, there exist FC PI VPs:

- (242) a. ✓ Pierre s'est **cassé le cul** pour Jeanne.
 Peter himself is broken the ass for Jane.
 'Peter made an effort for Jane.'
 b. ✓ Pierre (**ne**) s'est **pas cassé le cul** pour Jeanne.
 Peter (*ne*) himself is not broken the ass for Jane.
 'Peter didn't exactly put himself out for Jane.'

Second, as noted by Bianchi [1993], weak idiomatic VPs allow cleavage of their complement as in (i); cleavage of the complement of strong idiomatic VPs gives comical results as in (ii), because the idiomatic interpretation doesn't obtain, and the proper (non)sense is waked up:

- (243) (I) WEAK IDIOMATIC VPS ALLOW CLEAVAGE:
 a. ✓ Le **lapin** que Pierre a **posé** à Jeanne.
 The rabbit that Peter has put-down to Jane.
 'The appointment with Jane that Peter missed.'
 b. ✓ Le **patin** que Pierre a **roulé** à Jean.
 The skate that Peter has rolled to John.
 'The French kiss that Peter gave to John.'
 (II) STRONG IDIOMATIC VPS DISALLOW CLEAVAGE:
 a. * {Les/ Ses} arrières que Pierre a protégé(s).
 {The/ Its} rears that Peter has protected.
 b. * Les voitures dont Pierre s'est rangé.
 The cars from-which Peter himself is stood-aside.
 c. * L'oseille que Pierre a allongé(e).
 The sorrel that Peter has stretched-out.
 d. * Le beurre comme dans lequel Pierre est entré.
 The butter like in which Peter is entered.
 e. * La girafe que Pierre a peigné(e).
 The giraffe that Peter has combed.
 f. * L'haricot sur lequel Pierre a couru à Jeanne.
 The bean on which Peter has run to Jane.
 g. * Les deux coups que Jeanne a faits d'une pierre.
 The two jobs that Jane has done with one stone.
 h. * Le chaud que Jeanne a eu.
 The heat that Jane has had.
 i. * Le cul que Pierre {s'est/ (ne) s'est pas} cassé (pour Jeanne).
 The ass that Peter {himself is/ (*ne*) himself is not} broken (for Jane).

Idiomatic VPs allowing cleavage of their complement can be freely negated:

- (244) a. ✓ Pierre (n')a pas **posé de lapin** à Jeanne.
 Peter (*ne*) has not put-down of rabbit to Jane.
 'Peter didn't miss an appointment with Jane.'

- b. ✓ Pierre (n')a pas **roulé de patin** à Jean.
Peter (*ne*) has not rolled of skate to John.
'Peter didn't give a French kiss to John.'

Idiomatic VPs disallowing cleavage of their complement cannot generally be negated (metalinguistic uses apart):

- (245) a. * Pierre (n')a pas couru sur l'haricot à Jeanne.
Peter (*ne*) has not run on the bean to Jane.
b. * Pierre (n')a pas eu chaud.
Peter (*ne*) has not had heat.
c. ?? Pierre (n')a pas protégé ses arrières.
Peter (*ne*) has not protected its rears.

Cleavage acceptability depends on the idiomaticity degree of the sole object, as shown by the contrast (b) vs. (b'); logical negation acceptability depends on the idiomaticity of the entire expression, as shown by the lack of contrast between (c) and (c'):

- (246) a. ✓ Pierre a **graissé la patte** au professeur.
Peter has greased the paw to-the professor.
'Peter oiled the professor's palm.'
b. ?(?) La patte que Pierre a graissée.
The paw that Peter has greased.
c. * Pierre (n')a pas graissé la patte au professeur.
Peter (*ne*) has not greased the paw to-the professor.
a.' ✓ Jeanne a **graissé l'oignon** à Pierre.
Jane has greased the onion to Peter.
'Jane did a fellatio to Peter.'
b.' * L'oignon que Jeanne a graissé.
The onion that Jane has greased.
c.' * Jeanne (n')a pas graissé l'oignon à Pierre.
Jane (*ne*) has not greased the onion to Peter.

Bianchi [1993:382(a)] claims that the ban on cleavage follows from the lack of θ -role:

- (247) Non-quantificational movement requires that the moved element receive a θ -role.

Adopting this idea, we will take a step forward: complements of idiomatic verbs are generated higher than the thematic layer (VP-layer), directly in their casual position (IP-layer). In fact, an idiomatic meaning is always additional, and available when any apparent movement has taken place:

- (248) a. Il est tombé un verdict.
It is felt a verdict.
→ 'They have {✓ taken/ * cancelled} a decision.'
b. Un verdict est tombé.
A verdict is felt.
→ 'They have {✓ taken/ ✓ cancelled} a decision.'

In fact, there is no movement at all, because idiomatic VPs have a thematic layer frozen by the lexicalization.

II.1.2.3. Polarity-related complementary pairs

The polar semantics alternatively expressing two exclusive poles suggests that polarity-related features naturally gather into complementary pairs, with one member projecting one pole, the other member the other pole. The mutual exclusivity of the two poles is manifested in the

most economical way by the syntactic device: since the two members of a complementary pair never co-occur, they share a single projection. By example, a hypothetical 'PolP' would be projected alternatively either by a 'Positive', or by a 'Negative' item; an item at once {+'Positive'} and {+'Negative'} would experiment an internal lethal conflict and couldn't project any phrase. Items endowed with plus-specifications project autonomously; items endowed with minus-specifications project with syntactic help:

- (249) (I) {+'POSITIVE'} ARE AUTONOMOUS:
 a. ✓ Je vois {un/ l'} **homme**.
 'I see {a/ the} man.'
 b. ✓ Je (ne) vois **pas** {un/ l'/ d'} **homme**.
 'I don't see {a/ the/ PART} man.'
- (II) {-'POSITIVE'} NEED A 'POSITIVE' CONTEXT:
 a. ✓ Je vois **quelqu'un**.
 'I see somebody.'
 b. * Je (ne) vois pas quelqu'un.
 'I don't see somebody.'
- (III) {+'NEGATIVE'} ARE AUTONOMOUS:
 a. ✓ Je vois **personne**.
 'I see nobody.'
 b. ✓ Je (ne) vois **plus**²⁴³ **personne**.
 'I don't see no more nobody.'
- (IV) {-'NEGATIVE'} NEED A 'NEGATIVE' CONTEXT:
 a. * Je vois **âme qui vive**.
 'I see anybody.'
 b. ✓ Je (ne) vois **pas âme qui vive**.
 'I don't see anybody.'

Extrapolating from Bianchi [1993], we have claimed in the preceding paragraph that idiomaticity in general, and polarity in particular, follow from a featural deficiency; it remains now to identify which are the deficient features responsible for polarity phenomena. If all polarity-related features naturally gather into complementary pairs, a way to investigate the featural content of polarity phenomena is to search for features intuitively gathering into complementary pairs, as 'Positive' vs. 'Negative' do.

Amongst verbal features, the aspectual ones seems to provide good candidates, for instance the following complementary aspects taken from Cinque [1999:106(92)] (excepting 'Decelerative'):

(250)		{Terminative/	Continuative}
*		+	+
<i>No longer.</i>		+	-
<i>Still.</i>		-	+
Pis.		-	-
(251)		{Celerative/	Decelerative}
*		+	+
<i>Quickly.</i>		+	-
<i>Slowly.</i>		-	+
PIs.		-	-

²⁴³ For independent reasons (incompatibility of two \forall), a \forall *personne* cannot co-occur with *pas*. See III.1.1 for a discussion.

(252)		{Prospective/	Retrospective}
*		+	+
<i>Almost.</i>		+	-
<i>Just.</i>		-	+
PIs.		-	-

Amongst quantificational domain, the alternation \exists vs. \forall displays a twofold peculiarity: on the one hand, universality including existentiality as a proper subset, an item can be both plus-universal and plus-existential; on the other hand, the null bare numeral ‘zero’, which expresses ‘positively’ the hundred percent ($+\forall$) of an absence ($-\exists$), is universal without being existential.

(253) QP:		{ \exists /	\forall }	
<i>All.</i>		+	+	‘Full existence.’
<i>1, 2, 3...</i>		+	-	
<i>Zero.</i>		-	+	‘Total absence.’
PIs.		-	-	

Its peculiarity to offer four possible slots suggests that the QP in 0 has to be further split up in two pairs of features: in fact, if \forall has a univocal semantics, \exists conveys a twofold semantics—it expresses at once alternations Existence vs. Absence and Individual vs. Universal. We will call Bottom-QP the former alternation accounting for the difference between ‘zero’ on the one hand, the bare numerals and the universals on the other hand:

(254) TOP-QP:		{Existence/	Absence}
*		+	+
<i>1, 2, 3.../ All.</i>		+	-
<i>Zero.</i>		-	+
PIs.		-	-

We will call Top-QP the latter alternation accounting for the difference between bare numerals from one up to the infinity on the one hand, ‘zero’ and the universals on the other hand (full existence and total absence being equally universal):

(255) BOTTOM-QP:		{Universal/	Individual}
*		+	+
<i>1, 2, 3...</i>		-	+
<i>Zero/ All.</i>		+	-
PIs.		-	-

Like quantification, scalarity offers complementary concepts, and is not a univocal notion: there exist items expressing at once the top and the bottom.

(256) DEGP:		{Bottom/	Top}
<i>Entire.</i>		+	+
<i>Small.</i>		+	-
<i>Tall.</i>		-	+
<i>Medium/ Partial.</i>		-	-

As QP, DegP has thus to be split up in two complementary pairs of features. We will call Top-DegP the alternation Decreasing vs. Increasing:

(257) TOP-DEGP:

	{Decreasing/	Increasing}
*	+	+
<i>Small/ Partial</i>	+	-
<i>Tall/ Entire.</i>	-	+
<i>Medium.</i>	-	-

We will call Bottom-DegP the alternation Punctual vs. Scalar:

(258) BOTTOM-DEGP:

	{Punctual/	Scalar}
*	+	+
<i>Entire/ Medium.</i>	+	-
<i>Partial/ Small/ Tall.</i>	-	+
Non-quantificational items.	-	-

Replacing the hypothetic ‘Positive’ and ‘Negative’ features by a large range of polarity complementary pairs will provide an articulated tool to account for the various behaviors within the heterogeneous PIs class: the most sensitive PIs will have the greatest number of deficient complementary pairs; the less sensitive PIs will have the smallest number of deficient complementary pairs.

II.1.3. TERNARITY BY MEANS OF BINARITY

In postulating that polarity-related features gather into natural pairs expressing the two poles of a common semantic core ruling out the doubly plus-specified slot of the four virtual combinations, we have in fact reintroduced ternary switches by means of binary switches: it’s a desirable result within a binary branching theory.

We have now to refine the device proposed in the preceding paragraph: in fact, the minus-specification is ambiguous between the TOTAL ABSENCE of the feature in configurations $\{-, +\}$ and $\{+, -\}$, and the VIRTUAL PRESENCE of the feature in configuration $\{-, -\}$. We will keep the symbol $\{-\}$ to denote the virtual presence calling for syntactic reinforcement by combination, and introduce now the symbol $\{=\}$ (to understand as ‘double-crossed’) to denote the total absence. We still express ternarity by means of binarity: a switch has only two positions ($\{\pm\}$), but the absence of the switch itself ($\{=\}$) gives a third possibility. This additional notation will felicitously increase the number of slots for item types: in fact, in example (249), (ii) corresponded to the P-words, (iii) to the N-words, (iv) to the NPIs, but we had no mean to distinguish between unpolarized words, PPIs, and FC PIs—unpolarized words and PPIs being mixed up in (i), and FC PIs remaining without any slot.

With these refinements, we finally have an adequate tool to approach polarity phenomena as the result of a predefined interaction between the lexicon and the syntax. In the syntax, complementary pairs of features are organized along a fixed hierarchy, and need items to be projected. In the lexicon, every item is a set of features specified for every feature either with a plus value ($\{+\}$), either with a minus value ($\{-\}$), or with no value at all ($\{=\}$):

- (259) (i) + denotes full specification of a feature.
 (ii) - denotes incomplete specification of a feature.
 (iii) = denotes the absence of a feature within a subcategorization frame.

Instead of the four slots of (249), each complementary pair of features provides the nine virtual internal combinations of (260)—univocal in (i), equivocal in (ii), or null in (iii). Projections constraints rules out the asymmetric equivocal combinations: a plus-specified

feature having to project, and two features sharing a single projection being unable to project both, a double plus-specification would lead to a lethal conflict—asymmetric specifications have thus to be univocal.

- (260) (i) Univocal specifications are $\{=, \pm\}$ and $\{\pm, =\}$;
 (ii) Equivocal specification is $\{-, -\}$ (and potentially $*\{+, +\}$, $*\{+, -\}$, $*\{-, +\}$);
 (iii) Absence of any specification, namely $\{=, =\}$, is not relevant for the polar status.

There remain six grammatical slots, what is exactly the right number to characterize our six categories: unpolarized items, P-words, N-words, PPIs, NPIs, and FC PIs. The possible combinations are illustrated below with an hypothetical ‘PolP’:

- (261) POSSIBLE COMBINATIONS ILLUSTRATED FOR AN HYPOTHETIC ‘POLP’:

	{‘Negative’/	‘Positive’}
*	+	+
*	+	-
*	-	+
N-words.	+	=
P-words.	=	+
NPI.	-	=
PPI.	=	-
FC PIs.	-	-
Unpolarized items.	=	=

II.2. COMBINATION OF THE FEATURES

II.2.1. USEFUL REDUNDANCY

The marked case of multiple occurrences of a given feature in a single sentence is the multiple occurrences of the same featural set (namely the same item) in a single sentence. When two occurrences of a single item receive distinct θ -roles, the two featural sets are not identical: a single sentence can thus contain twice the same item (though it will be poor in informative content), provided that the θ -criterion isn’t violated.

- (262) a. ✓ A la **guerre** comme à la **guerre**.
 At the war like at the war.
 ‘We’ll just have to make the best of things.’
 b. ✓ L’**homme** est un loup pour l’**homme**.
 The (hu)man is a wolf for the (hu)man.
 ‘Brother will turn on brother.’
 c. ✓ Le **bien** appelle le **bien**.
 The good calls the good.
 ‘One good action begets another.’
 d. ✓ “Les filles/ Ça **joue** à **jouer**”²⁴⁴
 The girls, this play to play.
 ‘Girls do play at play.’
 e. ✓ Quand **faut y aller faut y aller**.
 When is-necessary LOC go is-necessary LOC go.
 ‘When it’s time to go, it’s time to go.’
 f. ✓ “**Vous allez voir** ce que **vous allez voir!**”²⁴⁵
 You will see what that you will see!
 ‘You haven’t seen anything yet!’

The comparison of an item with itself normally conveys vacuous informative content, but it may gain a meaning in contrast with a previous (non-vacuous) comparison:

²⁴⁴ Jacques Brel, *Les filles et les chiens*, Barclay, 1963.

²⁴⁵ Jacques Tardi, *Le savant fou*, Casterman, 1977, p. 5.

- (263) a. ✓ “Les filles/ C’est beau comme un renard/ [...]/ Mais **les chiens**/ C’est beau **comme des chiens**”.²⁴⁶
 ‘Girls are as lovely as a fox, but dogs are as lovely as dogs.’
 b. ✓ “Il est vrai que parfois/ Près du soir les oiseaux/ Ressemblent à des vagues/ Et les vagues aux oiseaux [...]/ Mais **les femmes** toujours/ Ne **ressemblent qu’aux femmes**/ Et d’entre elles **les connes**/ Ne **ressemblent qu’aux connes**”.²⁴⁷
 ‘It’s true that sometimes, near of the night, birds are like waves, and waves like birds [...], but women are always like women, and stupid women are only like stupid women.’

In absence of a previous (non-vacuous) comparison, a vacuous informative content can at the most create jocular effect:

- (264) a. ☺ “**Moi** j’étais presque aussi saoul **que moi**”.²⁴⁸
 Me I was quite as drunk than me.
 ‘I was quite as drunk as me.’
 b. ☺ “**Tout le monde** est né souffrant, **comme tout le monde**”.²⁴⁹
 All the people is born suffering, like all the people.
 ‘Everybody was born suffering, like everybody’

The same holds for synonymous:

- (265) ☺ Les plaisanteries **les plus courtes** sont **les moins longues**.
 ‘The most short pranks are the less long ones.’

The decreasing of informative content is proportional to the increasing of the number of occurrences of the same item: the difficulty to process interpretation leads to semantic oddity, even if the syntax is fine.

- (266) a. # Pierre part en **guerre** à la **guerre** comme à la **guerre**.
 Peter goes at war at the war as at the war.
 b. #☺ “Les **hommes** ne sont que des **hommes** pour l’**homme**, maman”.²⁵⁰
 The men *ne* are only PL-INDEF-DET men for the man, mom.
 ‘Men are nothing other than brothers which will turn on brothers, mom.’
 c. # Le **bien** appelle le **bien** en **bien**.
 The good calls the good in good.
 ‘One good action begets another for the better.’
 d. # Les filles **jouent** à **jouer** à un **jeu**.
 The girls play to play at a play.
 ‘Girls do play at play a game.’
 e. #☺ “C’est **pas juste**, c’est **pas juste** et c’est **pas juste**...”²⁵¹
 It is not fair, it is not fair and it is not fair...
 ‘It isn’t fair, it isn’t fair, and it isn’t fair...’

Multiple occurrences of items not having nominal features (and thus unable to receive lexical contextual features like θ -roles) are banned. This is the case of adverbs.²⁵²

- (267) (i) NON-NEGATIVE ADVERBS:
 a. * **Vraiment**, Pierre mange **vraiment** une sauterelle.
 Really, Peter eats really a grasshopper.

²⁴⁶ Jacques Brel, *Les filles et les chiens*, Barclay, 1963.

²⁴⁷ Jacques Brel, *La ville s’endormait*, Barclay, 1977.

²⁴⁸ Jacques Brel, *Les bourgeois*, Barclay, 1962.

²⁴⁹ Etienne Daho, *Rendez-vous au jardin des plaisirs*, Virgin, 1996.

²⁵⁰ Frédéric Dard, *San Antonio n° 111: Du bois dont on fait les pipes*, Fleuve Noir, 1982, p. 123.

²⁵¹ Albert Uderzo, *Le tour de Gaule d’Astérix*, Dargaud, 1965, plate 2.

²⁵² Not being able to bear lexical contextual features could be the reason why adverbs always appear in the fixed order investigated by Cinque [1999]: they correspond bi-univocally to one and only one structural position (dislocation cases apart).

- b. * **Maintenant**, Pierre mange **maintenant** une sauterelle.
Now, Peter eats now a grasshopper.
(II) 'NEGATIVE' ADVERBS:
a. * **Jamais** Pierre (ne) mange **jamais** de sauterelles.
Never Peter (*ne*) eats never of grasshoppers.
b. * Pierre ne mange **pas pas** une sauterelle.
Peter (*ne*) eats not not a grasshopper.

There exists nonetheless a productive rule that locally reduplicates words of many grammatical categories; crucially, according to Bouvier [1999:IV.I.F.1-2], reduplication acts within the atomic area of the word, and creates genuine compounds like the following:

- (268) a. ✓ Pierre (ne) mange [**jamais-jamais**]_{Adv} de sauterelles.
Peter (*ne*) eats never-never of grasshoppers.
'Peter does never eat grasshoppers.'
b. ✓ Pierre préfère les bons_A [**bonbons**]_N aux mauvais_A [**bonbons**]_N.
Peter prefers the good good-goods to-the bad good-goods.
'Peter prefers good pieces of candy than bad pieces of candy.'
c. ✓ Pierre (n')a pas [**tout-tout**]_Q compris.
Peter (*ne*) has not all-all understood.
'Peter hasn't really understood everything.'

On the other hand, though normatively condemned as a pleonasm, multiple occurrences of a single feature are allowed within items pertaining to distinct grammatical categories. In the following examples, Iterative feature may either appear within the syntactic prefix *re* 'again' in the (a) sentences, or within an adverb in the (b) sentences, or (emphatically) within both in the (c) sentences:

- (269) a. ✓ Je {veux le **refaire**/ % veux **re** le faire/ % **reveux** le faire}.
I {want it again-to-do/ % want again it to-do/ % again-want it to-do}.
b. ✓ Je veux le faire **une deuxième fois**.
I want it to-do a second time.
c. ✓ Je {veux le **refaire**/ % veux **re** le faire/ % **reveux** le faire} **une deuxième fois**.
I {want it again-to-do/ % want again it to-do/ % again-want it to-do} a second time.
'I want to do it (again) a second time.'
a.' ✓ Je {veux le **revoir**/ % veux **re** le voir/ % **reveux** le voir}.
I {want it again-to-see/ % want again it to-see/ % again-want it to-see}.
b.' ✓ Je veux **encore** le voir.
I want again him to-see.
c.' ✓ Je {veux **encore** le **revoir**/ % veux **encore re** le voir/ % **reveux encore** le voir}.
I {want again him again-to-see/ % want again again it to-see/ % again-want again it to-see}.
'I want to see it again.'
a.'' ✓ Je {veux le **revoir**/ % veux **re** le voir/ % **reveux** le voir} **une deuxième fois**.
I {want it again-to-see/ % want again it to-see/ % again-want it to-see} a second time.
b.'' ✓ Je veux **encore** le voir **une deuxième fois**.
I want again him to-see a second time.
c.'' ✓ Je {veux **encore** le **revoir**/ % veux **encore re** le voir/ % **reveux encore** le voir} **une deuxième fois**.
I {want again him again-to-see/ % want again again it to-see/ % again-want again it to-see} a second time.
'I want to see it again a second time.'

Multiple marking of degree comparison is harshly repressed in French schools, but children, as good as adults in jocular 'registers', productively use it:

- (270) a. ☺ C'est **plus meilleur**!
'It's more better!
b. ☹ C'est **plus pire**!
'It's more worse!'

Jocular ‘registers’ apart, this construct is the sole way to formulate a comparison between different degrees of worseness:

- (271) a. ✓ Parmi ses **pires** disques, Pierre a vendu les **moins pires** et jeté les **plus pires**.
Amongst his worst discs, Peter has sold the less worse and thrown-away the most worse.
‘Amongst his worst discs, Peter sold the less worse and threw away the most worse.’
b. ✓ Comme atroce chanteur, Obispo est **plus pire** que Dave (n’)est **pire** que Pagny.
As dreadful singer, Obispo is more worse than Dave (*ne*) is worse than Pagny.
‘As a dreadful singer, Obispo is more worse than Dave is worse than Pagny.’

Multiple occurrences of modal features through verbal and adverbial marking is very common—the (a) and the (b) sentences are synonymous:

- (272) (I) CONDITIONAL:
a. ✓ C’est **peut-être** ouvert si on revient après.
It’s perhaps open if we come-back after.
b. ✓ Ce **serait peut-être** ouvert si on revenait après.
It could-be perhaps open if we would-come-back after.
‘It would perhaps be open if we come back after.’
(II) FUTURE:
a. ✓ C’est ouvert **demain**.
It’s open tomorrow.
b. ✓ Ce **sera** ouvert **demain**.
It will-be open tomorrow.
‘It will be open tomorrow.’

In normative French, conditional is restricted to the apodosis of hypothetical clauses: in the protasis, the imperfect is requested instead. In spoken use, conditional is nevertheless used in the protasis, leading to multiple occurrences of Unrealistic feature within both complementizer *si* ‘if’ and conditional Mood:

- (273) a. ✓ “**Si** elle m’**aurait** connu Fréhel” ...²⁵³
If she me would-have known Fréhel...
‘If Fréhel would have known me...’
b. ☺ **Si j’aurais** su j’aurais pas venu.
If I would-have known I would-have not come.
‘If I had known, I wouldn’t come.’

Even the future is normatively restricted to the apodosis of hypothetical clauses: French people should use the present in the protasis, but commonly use the future instead, leading to multiple occurrences of Unrealistic feature within both complementizer *si* ‘if’ and future Mood.

- (274) a. ✓ **Si tu viendras** me voir, on en parlera.
If you will-come me see, we of-that will-speak.
‘If you will go to see me, we will speak of that.’
b. ✓ “Et gare à toi **si j’entendrai** des murmures!”²⁵⁴
And care to you if I will-hear of-the murmurs!
‘You’ll be in for it if I hear murmurs of protest!’
c. ✓ “C’est toi qui décideras/ **Si tu me laisseras** là”²⁵⁵
It’s you that will-decide if you me will-leave here.
‘YOU will decide if you will leave me alone.’

²⁵³ Renaud Séchan, spoken introduction to the song *C’est un mâle* (Charlys) recorded at Bobino, Paris (album *Le p’tit bal du samedi soir et autres chansons réalistes*, Polydor, 1981).

²⁵⁴ Albert Uderzo, *Le devin*, Dargaud, 1972, plate 42 B. This is a cue of a plebeian Roman *optione*, which idiolect is built to make fun of popular speaking.

²⁵⁵ Les Rita Mitsouko, *Un soir, un chien*, Virgin, 1986.

Using the future after ‘if’ is the choice of Standard Italian:

- (275) ✓ **Se** {**verrai**/ * **vieni**} a trovarmi, ne parleremo.
 If {you-will-come/ * you-come} to see-me, of-that we-will-speak.
 ‘If you will go to see me, we will speak of that.’

Multiple syntactic occurrences of a single semantic feature are widespread (and normatively condemned as pleonastic): this evidences the natural functioning of linguistic computation, where ‘a strange oddness’ can only be understood as a doubly strange thing (emphatic cumulative reading), never at all as a normal thing (an oddness cannot be cancelled by a further oddness).

- (276) (I) LYRICS:
- a. ✓ “L’**illusion de croire** qu’on durera toujours”.²⁵⁶
 The illusion to believe that one will-last forever.
 ‘The illusion to believe that we will last forever.’
 - b. ✓ “Si tu **décidais de choisir**/ Un beau jour de porter mon nom”.²⁵⁷
 If you would-decide to choose/ A nice day to bear my name.
 ‘If one day you decided to choose to marry me.’
 - c. ✓ “**Toute** la prison **entière**/ M’applaudit sur les barreaux”.²⁵⁸
 All the jailhouse entire/ Me applauds on the bars.
 ‘All the whole jailhouse applauds me on the bars.’
 - d. ✓ “Et vous feraient le **bruit** d’un heureux **tintamarre**”.²⁵⁹
 And to-you would-make the noise of a happy din.
 ‘And they will make for you the noise of a happy din.’
 - e. ✓ “Et **ne** se battre **seulement**/ **Qu’**avec les feux de la tendresse”.²⁶⁰
 And *ne* oneself to-fight only/ Only with the fires of the tenderness.
 ‘And only fight with the sole guns of tenderness.’
 - f. ✓ “Tu t’**demandes** pas si t’as **envie**/ **De vouloir** être quelqu’un d’autre”.²⁶¹
 You to-you ask not if you have desire/ To want to-be some-one of else.
 ‘You don’t ask you if you have any desire to want to be anybody else.’
- (II) COMICS:
- a. ✓ “Ce n’est **pas tout**: les fils **continuent encore**...”²⁶²
 There *ne* is not all: the wires go-on still...
 ‘There’s not all: the electric wires do still go on...’
 - b. ✓ “J’ai bien peur que nous **ne** devons compter **que** sur nous **seuls**”.²⁶³
 I have well fear that we *ne* must count only on ourselves sole.
 ‘I’m afraid that we must count only on ourselves.’
 - c. ✓ “Nous **n**’avons **que** votre **seul** témoignage”.²⁶⁴
 We *ne* have only your sole testimony.
 ‘We only have your sole testimony.’
 - d. ✓ “Il me **suffit simplement** de craquer une allumette...”²⁶⁵
 It to-me suffices simply to strike a match...
 ‘It’s simply sufficient to strike a match...’
 - e. ✓ “Je ne fais **simplement que** de les ramasser...”²⁶⁶
 I *ne* do simply only to them collect...
 ‘I’m simply only collecting them...’
 - f. ☺ “Et si nous partions **ensemble tous avec!**?”²⁶⁷

²⁵⁶ Claude François, *C’est de l’eau, c’est du vent* (Pierre Delanoë), Flèche, 1970.

²⁵⁷ Michel Fugain, *Si tu décidais* (Vline Buggy), CBS, 1970.

²⁵⁸ Claude Nougaro, *Jojo le projo*, Barclay, 1980.

²⁵⁹ Barbara, *Le soleil noir*, Phonogram, 1981.

²⁶⁰ Barbara, *Perlimpinpin*, in *Gauguin [Bobino 1990]*, Philips, 1990.

²⁶¹ Patricia Kaas, *Ceux qui n’ont rien* (Barbelivien-Bernheim), Columbia, 1993.

²⁶² Georges Rémi (Hergé), *L’île noire*, Casterman, 1943 (first color version) and 1966 (second color version), plate 24.

²⁶³ Victor Hubinon, *Patrouille à l’aube*, Dupuis, 1956, plate 31.

²⁶⁴ Victor Hubinon, *NC-22654 ne répond plus*, Dupuis, 1957, plate 9.

²⁶⁵ Jean Tabary, *L’héritage diabolique* (1966-1967), Dargaud, 1977, plate 21 B.

²⁶⁶ Nikita Mandryka, *A la poursuite du broutchlag mordoré*, Dargaud, 1982, p. 24.

And if we would-go together all with!?

‘Could we go together all with?’

g. ✓ “Donc, la suggestion n’est pas un **simple** processus **purement** psychologique...”²⁶⁸

Thus, the suggestion *ne* is not a simple process purely psychological...

‘Suggestion is not a pure process merely psychological.’

h. ✓ “I’as des as Boche, **lui-même en personne!!!** [...] le BARON ROUGE, **lui-même en personne!**”²⁶⁹

The ace of the aces German, him-self in person!!! [...] the BARON RED, him-self in person!

‘The German crack himself in person! The Red Baron himself in person!’

i. ✓ “Ça serait trop bête de laisser filer l’opportunité de t’**immortaliser à jamais** devant un séquoia géant...”²⁷⁰

It would-be too stupid to let slip the opportunity to you immortalize at ever before a sequoia giant...

‘It would be such a pity that I let slip the opportunity to immortalize you forever in front of a giant sequoia...’

The data gathered in this paragraph should give some idea of how redundancy is widespread in spoken use. It’s not casual, redundancy being useful for the communicational use of language: it permits on the one hand to recover the entire information from fragments of it; on the other hand, to check the correctness of the information from its repetition.

II.2.2. NC AS THE UNIVERSAL READING

Déprez [2000] took “a step in the direction of eliminating construction specific principles in the account of negative concord phenomena [p. 338]” by claiming that some N-words display a deficient DP, so that “N-words with a null determiner are essentially predicted to require the presence of negation, and N-words with a filled determiner to preclude it [p. 258]”. We would take a step forward in maintaining that NC is the sole way to interpret a logical combination of negated quantifiers.

II.2.2.1. Logical combinations of negated quantifiers

As seen in the preceding paragraph, despite a harsh normative pressure against redundancy of all kind, multiple occurrences of a single feature within several items of a single sentence crosslinguistically converge towards a unique strong result: the more times you use the same feature in a single sentence, the more you lay emphasis on its semantics. Morphological and syntactic evidences suggest that ‘Negative’ feature behaves on a par with all other features in front of redundancy.

II.2.2.1.1. Morphological evidences

A CR highly productive in French reduplicates words or parts of words (category I.F of Bouvier [1999]). When the input is a ‘negative’ item, the output remains ‘negative’:

(277) a. ✓ Jeanne (*ne*) fait [**jamais-jamais**] aucun effort pour s’arranger.

Jane (*ne*) makes [never-never] no effort to herself tidy-up.

→ ‘Jane {never/ * always} makes any effort to tidy herself up.’

b. ✓ [**Non-non**], je suis sûr que Pierre (*n*)est pas venu.

[No-no], I am sure that Peter (*ne*) is not come.

→ ‘{No/ * Yes}, Peter didn’t come, I’m sure.’

In French, the ‘positive’ adverbial SM *oui* ‘yes’ is replaced by its allomorph *si* ‘indeed I am’ when one has to cancel a ‘negative’ presupposition of the interlocutor; the ‘negative’

²⁶⁷ Nikita Mandryka, *A la poursuite du broutchlag mordoré*, Dargaud, 1982, p. 30.

²⁶⁸ André Benniest (Benn), *Monsieur Cauchemar*, Glénat, 1987, plate 6.

²⁶⁹ Jacques Tardi, *Tous des monstres!*, Casterman, 1994, p. 3.

²⁷⁰ André Benniest (Benn), *Le samaritain de Yosemite*, Dargaud, 1998, plate 6.

adverbial SM *non* ‘no’ has no allomorph depending on the polarity of the presupposition:

- (278) (i) ‘POSITIVE’ PRESUPPOSITION:
 A: Pierre est venu!
 ‘Peter came!’
 a. B: {✓ **Oui!**/ * **Si!**}
 → {‘Yes, he did!’/ ‘Indeed, he did!’}
 b. B: ✓ **Non!**
 → {* ‘No, he did!’/ ✓ ‘No, he didn’t!’}
 (ii) ‘NEGATIVE’ PRESUPPOSITION:
 A: Pierre (n’)est pas venu!
 ‘Peter didn’t come!’
 a. B: {* **Oui!**/ ✓ **Si!**}
 → {‘Yes, he didn’t!’/ ‘Indeed, he didn’t!’}
 b. B: ✓ **Non!**
 → {✓ ‘No, he did!’/ * ‘No, he didn’t!’}

Coordinating an exclamation-tag with the adverbial SM reveals that a *non* canceling a ‘negative’ presupposition in (ii) has a metalinguistic nature, contrary to a *non* canceling a ‘positive’ presupposition in (i):

- (279) (i) ‘POSITIVE’ PRESUPPOSITION:
 A: Pierre est venu!
 ‘Peter came!’
 a. B: ✓ **Non**, Pierre (n’)est pas venu!
 ‘No, Peter didn’t come!’
 b. B: ✓ **NON**, Pierre (n’)est PAS venu(, il est parti)!
 ‘NO, Peter DIDN’T come(, he left)!’
 (ii) ‘NEGATIVE’ PRESUPPOSITION:
 A: Pierre (n’)est pas venu!
 ‘Peter didn’t come!’
 a. B: * **Non**, Pierre (n’)est pas pas venu!
 ‘No, Peter didn’t not come!’
 b. B: ✓ **NON**, Pierre (n’)est PAS pas venu!
 ‘NO, Peter DIDN’T not come!’

It’s simply impossible to cancel a ‘negative’ presupposition in logical use,²⁷¹ because negation is always cumulative; the lack of (logical) ‘negative’ counterpart of *si* just follows from the forced metalinguistic nature of negation canceling.

II.2.2.1.2. Syntactic evidences

II.2.2.1.2.1. NC vs. DN

NC is the fact to interpret once several occurrences of ‘Negative’ feature in a single sentence, according to the natural linguistic tendency to redundancy; DN reading is the canceling of a negation by another, according to the mathematical principle “minus per minus equals plus”. As seen in I.1.1, DN reading appears to be typically metalinguistic in requiring a particular stress and a previous ‘negative’ context to deny; this could be related to the impossibility to

²⁷¹ A hypothetical clause introduced by *sinon* ‘if not’ is the sole (indirect) way to cancel a ‘negative’ presupposition in logical use:

- (li) ✓ Pierre (n’)est pas venu. Sinon [→ s’il (n’)était pas “pas venu”], je l’aurais vu.
 Peter (*ne*) is not came. If-not [→ if he (*ne*) was not “not came”], I him would-have seen.
 ‘Peter didn’t come. If not [→ If he did not “didn’t come”], I would have seen him.’

Interestingly, as underlined by orthographic conventions, *sinon* is a compound (category I.A.6 of Bouvier [1999]), whereas *si oui* is not: the indirect way to reverse the polarity of a presupposition is lexicalized for the sole form lacking a direct way, namely the ‘negative’ one.

negate the bottom of the scale.²⁷²

- (280) (I) NOUNS:
 a. Succès vs. {✓ insuccès/ ✓ échec}.
 Success vs. {unsuccess/ failure}.
 b. Echec vs. {* inéchec/ ✓ succès}.
 Failure vs. {* unfailure/ success}.
 a.' Plaisir vs. {✓ déplaisir/ ✓ douleur}.
 Pleasure vs. {displeasure/ pain}.
 b.' Douleur vs. {* dédouleur/ ✓ plaisir}.
 Pain vs. {* dis-pain/ pleasure}.
- (II) ADJECTIVES:
 a. Réel vs. {✓ irréel/ ✓ imaginaire}.
 Realistic vs. {unrealistic/ imaginary}.
 b. Imaginaire vs. {* inimaginaire/ ✓ réel}.
 Imaginary vs. {* unimaginary/ real}.
 a.' Intelligent vs. {✓ inintelligent/ ✓ bête}.
 Intelligent vs. {inintelligent/ stupid}.
 b.' Bête vs. {* inbête/ ✓ intelligent}.
 Stupid vs. {* unstupid/ intelligent}.
- (III) ADVERBS:
 a. Bien vs. {✓ pas bien/ ✓ pas}.
 Indeed vs. {not indeed/ not}.
 b. Pas vs. {* pas pas/ ✓ bien}.
 Not vs. {* not not/ good}.
 a.' Encore vs. {✓ pas encore/ ✓ plus}.
 More vs. {no more/ no-more}.
 b.' Plus vs. {* pas plus/ ✓ encore}.
 No-more vs. {* not no-more/ more}.
 a.'" Toujours vs. {✓ pas toujours/ ✓ jamais}.
 Always vs. {not always/ never}.
 b.'" Jamais vs. {* pas jamais/ ✓ toujours}.
 Never vs. {* not never/ always}.

In logical use, NC remains thus the sole interpretive strategy available to give a meaning to (normatively condemned) sentences containing at once a negation and a 'negative' item expressing the bottom of the scale:

- (281) (I) * LOGICAL DN:
 * Il (ne) vient [pas jamais] = ✓ Il vient toujours.
 He (ne) comes [not never] = He comes always.
 'He [not never] comes' = 'He always comes.'
- (II) ✓ LOGICAL NC:
 % Il (ne) vient pas jamais = ✓ Il (ne) vient jamais.
 He (ne) comes not never = He (ne) comes never.
 'He doesn't ever comes.' = 'He never comes.'

Redundancy examples as the 'positive' ones listed in (276) may also be found with 'negative' feature in various 'registers':

- (282) (I) LYRICS:
 ✓ "Faut [...] **pas** abuser de **rien** pour aller loin".²⁷³
 One-must not excess of nothing to go far.
 'If you want to go a long way, you shouldn't take too much of anything.'
- (II) COMICS:
 a. ✓ "Fred **évite** soigneusement d'en parler à **personne**."²⁷⁴
 Fred avoids carefully of PART to-talk to nobody.

²⁷² See II.3.1.2.5.2 for a discussion.

²⁷³ Serge Gainsbourg, *L'herbe tendre*, Philips, 1968.

²⁷⁴ Victor Hubinon, *Un avion n'est pas rentré*, Dupuis, 1954, plate 306.

- ‘Fred carefully avoids to talk to anybody about it.’
 b. ✓ “il a **refusé** de me donner **aucun** détail.”²⁷⁵
 He has refused to to-me give no detail.
 ‘He refused to give me any detail.’
 c. ✓ “Alors je puis vous assurer qu’**aucune** photo d’île ou de bateau ne comporte **rien** de ce genre”.²⁷⁶
 Then I can you assure that no photograph of island or of boat *ne* comprises nothing of this kind.
 ‘I can assure you that no photograph of island or boat contains anything of this kind.’
 d. ✓ “**Ni** Gordon, [...] **ni** la sentinelle **ne** pourront avertir **aucun** pilote”.²⁷⁷
 Neither Gordon, neither the sentry *ne* will-can inform no pilot.
 ‘Neither Gordon, nor the sentry will be able to inform any pilot.’
 e. ✓ “Il **nie** qu’**aucun** sous-marin connu ou inconnu se trouve dans ses eaux territoriales”.²⁷⁸
 He denies that no submarine known or unknown itself stay in his waters territorial.
 ‘He denies that any known or unknown submarine stands in his territorial waters.’
 f. ✓ “**Jamais ni** les Américains, **ni** les Russes, **ne** vous laisseront les mains libres!...”²⁷⁹
 Never neither the Americans, nor the Russians, *ne* you will-let the hands free!...
 ‘Neither Americans, nor Russians, will ever give you a free hand!’
 g. ✓ “**Aucun** pilote n’a **plus rien** signalé!...”²⁸⁰
 No pilot *ne* has no-longer nothing reported!...
 ‘No pilot has any longer reported anything!’
 h. ✓ “**Personne ne** t’a-t-il **jamais** offert son amitié?”²⁸¹
 Nobody *ne* to-you has-t-he never given his friendship?
 ‘Didn’t anybody ever give you his friendship?’
 i. ✓ “**Ni moi non plus**, Seeley!”²⁸²
 Neither me not no-longer, Seeley!
 ‘Neither am I, Seeley!’
 j. ✓ “Le fait qu’il n’ait **aucun** lien avec l’Agence, **ni** avec la Mafia, **ni** avec **aucune** organisation d’**aucune** sorte, le désignait comme l’instrument idéal”²⁸³
 The fact that he *ne* have no tie with the Agency, neither with the Mafia, neither with no organization of no kind, him marked-out as the instrument ideal.
 ‘His lack of any tie either with the Agency, either with the Mafia, or with any organization of any kind, marked him out as the ideal instrument.’
 k. ✓ “Un type qu’on **ne** voit **jamais ni** dehors, **ni** au café...”²⁸⁴
 A guy that one *ne* sees never neither outside, nor at the café...
 ‘A guy that never goes neither out, neither at the café...’

The same cumulative way is chosen in the non-normative, spontaneous understanding of a widespread French expression, against its normative understanding in (283):

- (283) a. \Re Vous **n’êtes pas sans savoir**. → Vous n’êtes pas ignorant. → Vous savez.
 ‘You are not without knowing.’ → ‘You are not unaware.’ → ‘You know.’
 b. \Re Vous **n’êtes pas sans ignorer**. → Vous n’êtes pas sachant. → Vous ignorez.
 ‘You are not without ignoring.’ → ‘You are not knowing.’ → ‘You don’t know.’

In (normative) theory, (a) is intended to express, ironically and emphatically, “you know”. In practice, non-normative speakers spontaneously coined (b) to express the meaning of (a) with more emphasis; then the normative level has recycled (b) with the contrary meaning of (a). In current practice, both (a) and (b) express thus the meaning of (a), and there is no way to express ironically the normative meaning of (b):

²⁷⁵ Victor Hubinon, *NC-22654 ne répond plus*, Dupuis, 1957, plate 15.

²⁷⁶ Victor Hubinon, *Un prototype a disparu*, Dupuis, 1960, plate 9 A.

²⁷⁷ Victor Hubinon, *Escadrille ZZ*, Dupuis, 1961, plate 32 B.

²⁷⁸ Victor Hubinon, *Les voleurs de satellites*, Dupuis, 1964, plate 15 A.

²⁷⁹ Victor Hubinon, *Alerte à Cap Kennedy*, Dupuis, 1965, plate 33 A.

²⁸⁰ Victor Hubinon, *Le mystère des avions fantômes*, Dupuis, 1966, plate 14 B.

²⁸¹ Guy Mouminoux (Dimitri), *L’hymne à la forêt*, Glénat, 1994, plate 18.

²⁸² André Benniest (Benn), *Le samaritain de Yosemite*, Dargaud, 1998, plate 21.

²⁸³ Alain Dodier, *Le cœur à droite*, Dupuis, 1999, plate 7.

²⁸⁴ Othon Aristidès (Fred), *L’histoire de la dernière image*, Dargaud, 1999, plate 4.

- (284) ✓ Vous **n'êtes pas sans** {savoir/ ignorer}. → Vous savez.
 'You are not without {knowing/ ignoring}.' → 'You know.'

This equivalence isn't limited to spoken expression, but used even in written 'registers':

- (285) (i) NOVELS:
 ✓ "Vous **n'êtes pas sans ignorer** jusqu'à quelles extrémités sa misogynie et son rationalisme maladif l'ont conduit!"²⁸⁵
 You *ne* are not without ignoring up to what plights his misogyny and his rationalism pathological him-have led!
 'You perfectly know what a dreadful plight his misogyny and his pathological rationalism led him in!'
 (ii) COMICS:
 ✓ "Mes chers administrés, vous **n'êtes pas sans ignorer** que dans quelques instants, un homme, Cényl, va sortir de cette maison immensément riche!!"²⁸⁶
 My dear citizens, you *ne* are not without ignoring that in some instants, a man, Cényl, will leave of this house tremendously rich!!
 'Dear citizens, you perfectly know that in few moments the man called Cényl will leave this house tremendously rich!'

Moreover, it is consistent with the interpretation of indefinites under the scope of *sans*, in normative as good as in non-normative levels:²⁸⁷

- (286) ✓ **Sans** {(un) effort/ aucun effort}.
 Without {(an) effort/ no effort}.
 'Without an effort.'

In particular, the addition of *aucun* within the expression *sans doute* reinforces the 'negative' semantics, and rules out the weak reading:

- (287) a. ✓ **Sans** doute.
 Without doubt.
 → '{✓ Surely [strong reading]/ ✓ Perhaps [weak reading]}.'
 b. ✓ **Sans aucun** doute.
 Without no doubt.
 → '{✓ Surely [strong reading]/ * Perhaps [weak reading]}.'

The sole natural limitation on NC in logical use is the multiple occurrences of the same item in a single sentence:²⁸⁸

²⁸⁵ Pierre Dubois, *Les contes de crimes*, Hoëbeke, 2000, p. 111.

²⁸⁶ Jean Tabary, *L'héritage diabolique*, 1966-1967, Dargaud, 1977, plate 32 B.

²⁸⁷ See II.3.1.2.9.2 for discussion and crosslinguistic comparison with Italian and English.

²⁸⁸ Fine in metalinguistic use:

- (iii) a. A: ✓ Ce matin, je (ne) tousse pas!
 This morning, I (*ne*) cough not!
 'I don't cough this morning!'
 ✓ B: (NON,) Tu (ne) tousses PAS pas ce matin.
 (NO,) You (*ne*) cough NOT not this morning.
 '(NO,) You DIDN'T not cough this morning.'
 b. A: ✓ De toute façon, t(u n)'as pas mangé!
 Anyway, you (*ne*) has not eaten!
 'Anyway, you didn't eat!'
 ✓ B: J(e n)'ai pas PAS mangé, j'ai mangé légèrement!
 I (*ne*) have not NOT eaten, I have eaten lightly!
 'I didn't NOT ate, I ate a light meal!'
 c. A: ✓ Tu (ne) m'as pas demandé de (ne) pas venir...
 You (*ne*) to-me has not asked to (*ne*) not come...
 'You didn't ask me to not come...'
 ✓ B: Je (ne) te demande pas PAS de (ne) pas venir!
 I (*ne*) to-you ask not NOT to (*ne*) not come!

- (288) a. * Tu (ne) tousses pas pas ce matin.
 You (ne) cough not not this morning.
 b. * J(e n)'ai pas pas mangé.
 I (ne) have not not eaten.
 c. * Je (ne) te demande pas pas de (ne) pas venir.
 I (ne) to-you ask not not to (ne) not come.

Nonetheless, one can get DN in logical use through the combination of local scope with global scope, so that part of the negations is interpreted locally, and the others globally. In fact, cases of “simultaneous realization of several negations which cancel each other out” mentioned by Cinque [1999:126(66)-(68)] for Italian in (a), English in (b), and Hawick Scots in (c), are actually analyzable as the interaction between one global negation and one (or two) local negation(s) (our square parenthesis):

- (289) a. *Non* è [*non andato*] distrutto.
 ‘It hasn’t not gone destroyed.’
 b. He couldn’t (possibly) [*not have*] accepted.
 c. He couldnae have [*no been*] [*no working*].
 ‘It is impossible that he has not been out of work.’

French functions alike:

- (290) a. ✓ Il (n’)a pas été [**pas** détruit].
 It (ne) has not gone not destroyed.
 ‘It hasn’t not gone destroyed.’
 b. ✓ **Personne** (n’)est [**pas** venu].
 Nobody (ne) is not come.
 ‘Nobody did not come.’

Combination of global and local levels apart, DN is always metalinguistic, and logical negation is always interpreted as NC in non-normative expression.

II.2.2.1.2.2. PLR NC

Even in normalized languages considering NC as dirty slang, the case of two (or more) structurally parallel ‘negative’ items leading to a Pair-List Reading (PLR) induces normative grammarians to retain NC as the most natural reading, as in the followings FRENCH examples:²⁸⁹

- (291) (i) *PERSONNE* ‘NOBODY’:
 a. ✓ “**Personne** n’aime **personne**”.²⁹⁰

‘I didn’t NOT ask you to not come!’

²⁸⁹ The particular functioning of PLR NC motivated by structurally parallel N-words could be at the source of the claim of Déprez [1997:103], “crosslinguistic variations [of NC] are largely deducible from the differing internal syntactic and semantic make-up of N-words rather than from differences in the structure of a putative sentential NegP constituent. On this view, parameterization is shifted from the sentential level into the DP”.

²⁹⁰ Alain Chamfort, *Personne n’aime personne* (Jacques Duvall), CBS, 1990. Here the singer plays on readings alternation: he works on the assumption that the listener will understand the title as a PLR NC; in a second time, he induces the regular NC reading:

- (liii) “Malgré les mots qu’on fredonne/ Malgré les ‘mon amour’ qu’on s’donne/ On s’en doute bien on le soupçonne/ *Personne n’aime personne* [PLR NC]// Même si je te trouve mignonne/ Même si c’est pour moi qu’tu t’pomponnes/ Même si dans tes bras j’m’abandonne/ *Personne n’aime personne* [PLR NC]// *Personne n’aime personne* [PLR NC] mais/ *Personne n’aime personne* comme je t’aime [regular NC]”.

‘Despite the words that we hum, despite the ‘my love’ that we give us each other, one imagine it, one suspect it, nobody loves nobody; even if I find you sweet-looking, even if it is for me that you

- Nobody *ne* loves nobody.
 ‘Nobody loves nobody.’
 b. ✓ “Détrompe-toi, ici, **personne** ne prend **personne** pour **personne**...”²⁹¹
 Disabuse you, here, nobody *ne* takes nobody for nobody...
 ‘You’re quite mistaken, here nobody takes nobody for nobody else...’
 (II) *RIEN* ‘NOTHING’:
 a. ✓ “Mais elle a **rien** à faire de **rien**...”²⁹²
 But she has nothing to care about nothing.
 ‘But she doesn’t care about anything.’
 b. ✓ “Enfin... On n’a **rien** sans **rien**...”²⁹³
 Anyway... One *ne* has nothing without nothing...
 ‘Anyway, one has no thing for no thing...’
 c. ✓ “On ne demande **rien** pour **rien**...”²⁹⁴
 One *ne* demands nothing for nothing.
 ‘One doesn’t demand anything without any ground.’
 (III) *AUCUN* ‘NO’:
 ✓ **Aucun** étudiant (n’) a lu **aucun** livre.
 No-one student *ne* has read no-one book.
 ‘No student read [red/] no book.’

For GERMAN, Hamann [1993:5(11)] emphasized, “Though Standard German does not have negative concord, there are constructions where a double negative does not get a positive interpretation. These are reminiscent of multiple questions like [‘]Who saw what[’] and involve examples like[:]”

- (292) ✓ **Niemand** ist mit **nichts** zufrieden.
 Nobody is with nothing happy.

For WEST FLEMISH, Haegeman [1996] observed that structural parallelism is one of the cumulative conditions necessary to lead to multiple NC in normative ‘register’; this PLR NC is possible between ‘negative’ quantifiers pertaining to the same structural class, but not across classes—the two relevant classes being on the one hand *niet, niets, niemand, nooit*; on the other hand, *nie lange, nie meer, geen X*.²⁹⁵

II.2.2.1.2.3. Crosslinguistic popular NC

PLR NC apart, all languages standardly rejecting NC crucially have ‘varieties’ or ‘registers’ allowing it. As regards GERMAN, Acquaviva [1995:7-8] reported the following data:

- (293) a. ✓ Hier hilft **keiner** **keinem**.
 Here helps nobody-NOM nobody-ACC.
 ‘Here, nobody helps nobody.’
 b. ✓ **Keine** Macht für **niemand**!
 ‘No power for nobody!’

The phenomenon doesn’t seem exceptional:

doll yourself up, even if I give myself to you in your arms, nobody loves nobody, nobody loves nobody, but nobody loves nobody as I love you.’

²⁹¹ Jean Mariette (Mittéi), *Bonaventure*, Dupuis, 1981, p. 14.

²⁹² Alain Chamfort, *Géant* (Jean-Michel Rivat), CBS, 1979.

²⁹³ Othon Aristidès (Fred), *L’histoire du corbac aux baskets*, Dargaud, 1993, plate 15.

²⁹⁴ Othon Aristidès (Fred), *L’histoire du corbac aux baskets*, Dargaud, 1993, plate 5.

²⁹⁵ Haegeman [1996] postulated a cyclic absorption of ‘negative’ feature at LF by pairs of ‘negative’ quantifiers: each ‘negative’ quantifier incorporates into the immediately higher ‘negative’ quantifier, forming a complex ‘negative’ quantifier that incorporates then into the immediately higher ‘negative’ quantifier, and so on up to (the position reached by) Neg°. Before her, Acquaviva [1995:9-10] analyzed PLR NC as a manifestation of resumptive quantification.

- (294) ✓ “Ich sagte **nie niemals** für immer/ Ich sagte **nie niemals** würd ich von dir gehen”.²⁹⁶
 ‘I said never nevermore for ever/ I said never nevermore would I come from you.’

ITALIAN doesn’t have a modal ‘negative’ adverb like French *pas*, but some dialects do. The following Piedmontese examples are taken from Zanuttini [1997b:77(54)]:

- (295) a. I l’hai (*pa/ nen*) vist *gnun*.
 S.CL. S.CL.’have (neg) seen no one.
 ‘I haven’t seen anyone.’
 b. A l’ha (*pa/ nen*) fait *gnente* ad mal!
 S.CL. S.CL.’has (neg) done nothing of bad.
 ‘He hasn’t done anything bad.’

As regards WEST FLEMISH, in accordance with the data of Liliane Haegeman [p.c.], the situation is similar:

- (296) (I) PRESENT INDICATIVE:
 a. { % NC/ * DN } Valère **en-klaapt me niemand nie**.²⁹⁷
 Valère NEG-speak with nobody not.
 b. { * NC/ ? DN²⁹⁸ } Valère **en-klaapt nie me niemand**.
 Valère NEG-speak not with nobody.
 c. { % NC/ * DN } Valère **en-klaapt nie, me niemand (nie)**.
 Valère NEG-speak not, with nobody (not).
 ‘Valère doesn’t speak with anybody.’
 (II) COMPOUNDED PAST INDICATIVE:
 a. { % NC/ * DN } Valère **en-ee me niemand nie** geklaapt.²⁹⁹
 Valère NEG-has with nobody not spoken.
 b. { * NC/ ? DN³⁰⁰ } Valère **en-ee nie** geklaapt me **niemand**.
 Valère NEG-has not spoken with nobody.
 c. { % NC/ * DN } Valère **en-ee nie** geklaapt, me **niemand (nie)**.
 Valère NEG-has not spoken, with nobody (not).
 ‘Valère didn’t speak with anybody.’

As regards ENGLISH, it will be enough to listen at the pop songs of the last and the present century to see that popular NC is far from be limited to Black English; in fact, it involves people from all the main English-speaking countries (England, Ireland, America, Australia) as in (a)-(q), and even French singers writing original songs in English as in (r).

- (297) a. % “I **can’t** get **no** satisfaction/ I **can’t** get **no** girl reaction”.³⁰¹
 b. % “I **don’t** love **nobody**”.³⁰²
 c. % “It **ain’t** **no** big thing/ But it’s growing”.³⁰³
 d. % “I **don’t** need **no** heavy trips”.³⁰⁴
 e. % “I **don’t** want **no** holiday in the sun”.³⁰⁵

²⁹⁶ Michael Von Der Heide, *Zu nah am Colt*, BMG, 2000.

²⁹⁷ Standardized form is:

- (liv) ✓ Valère **en-klaapt me niemand**.
 Valère NEG-speak with nobody.
 ‘Valère doesn’t speak with anybody.’

²⁹⁸ With contrastive stress on *NIEMAND*.

²⁹⁹ Standardized form is:

- (lv) ✓ Valère **en-ee me niemand** geklaapt.
 Valère NEG-has with nobody spoken.
 ‘Valère didn’t speak with anybody.’

³⁰⁰ With contrastive stress on *NIEMAND*.

³⁰¹ The Rolling Stones, (*I can’t get no*) *Satisfaction*, ABKCO, 1965.

³⁰² David Edwards with The Fleetwood Mac, *My baby’s gone*, in *Blues jam in Chicago, vol. 2*, Blue Horizon, 1969 (published 1999).

³⁰³ Elvis Presley, *It ain’t no big thing (but it’s growing)* (Merritt-Joy-Hall), RCA, 1971.

³⁰⁴ Iggy Pop, *Funtime*, RCA, 1977.

- f. % “I don’t want **no** dead end job”.³⁰⁶
 g. % “We don’t need **no** education/ We don’t need **no** thought control”.³⁰⁷
 h. % “It **ain’t no** use in pretending/ You don’t wanna play **no more**/ It’s plain that you **ain’t no** baby”.³⁰⁸
 i. % “I don’t feel all right/ **Ain’t got no** black coat/ **Ain’t got no** tie/ [...] / **Ain’t no** doubt about it”.³⁰⁹
 j. % “Heaven is a place/ A place where **nothing/ Nothing never** happens”.³¹⁰
 k. % “I don’t have **no** time for **no** monkey business”.³¹¹
 l. % “Time waits for nobody/ Time don’t wait for **no** one”.³¹²
 m. % “But I **ain’t** gonna be **no** squarehead/ **No I ain’t** gonna be **no** squarehead/ **No I never** gonna be **no** squarehead”.³¹³
 n. % “I’m **not no** animal in the zoo”.³¹⁴
 o. % “There **ain’t no** reason to tell **no** lie”.³¹⁵
 p. % “I don’t {want/ need} **nobody** always hanging around”.³¹⁶
 q. % “Well the stores are open/ But I ain’t got **no** \$/ I ain’t got **no** \$”.³¹⁷
 r. % “But I don’t have **nothing** to sell **no more**”.³¹⁸
 s. % “Don’t you play me **no** jazz/ [...] Don’t you give me **no** lies”.³¹⁹
 t. % “I don’t wanna be **no** man’s woman/ [...] I **never** wanna be **no** man’s woman”.³²⁰
 u. % “Don’t want **no** explanation/ [...] / Don’t need **no** complications”.³²¹

Nor it is some slang or dialect unrelated to Standard English: in fact, both ‘anybody’ (in italics) and concordant ‘nobody’ (in boldface) may appear within a single sentence:

- (298) {%/✓} “She **ain’t** got **nobody**/ But herself/ And she *ain’t* needing *anybody* else”.³²²

On the other hand, this ‘variety’ can also be found in formal written:

- (299) {%/✓} “**no** theory of grammar which **cannot** reflect this sameness [...] can be considered adequate”.³²³

There is more: as emphasized by Pinker [1994:376-377], NC is the sole way to interpret logically sentences as (297)-(298)—a DN reading being unnatural, and possible only with contrastive stress (and thus only in metalinguistic use).

- (300) In the grammar of Standard English, a double negative does *not* assert the corresponding affirmative. No one would dream of saying *I can’t get no satisfaction* out of the blue to boast that he easily attains contentment. There are circumstances in which one might use the construction to deny a preceding negation in the discourse, but denying a negation is not the same as asserting an affirmative, and even then one could probably only use it by putting heavy stress on the negative element, as in the following contrived example:

- (i) As hard as I try not to be smug about the misfortunes of my adversaries, I must admit that I can’t get NO satisfaction out of his tenure denial.

So the implication that use of the nonstandard form would lead to confusion is pure pedantry.

³⁰⁵ The Sex Pistols, *Holidays in the sun*, Virgin, 1977.

³⁰⁶ The Police, *Dead end job* (Sting-Copeland-Summers), A&M, 1978.

³⁰⁷ The Pink Floyd, *The wall*, EMI, 1979.

³⁰⁸ Queen, *Sail away sweet sister*, Raincloud, 1980.

³⁰⁹ Queen, *Dancer* (Brian May), Raincloud, 1982.

³¹⁰ Simply Red, *Heaven* (D. Byrne), Warner, 1985.

³¹¹ Freddie Mercury, *Living on my own*, Columbia, 1985.

³¹² Freddie Mercury, *Time* (Dave Clark & John Christie), Dave Clark Productions, 1986.

³¹³ Iggy Pop, *Squarehead*, A&M, 1988.

³¹⁴ Sinéad O’Connor, *Red football*, Ensign, 1994.

³¹⁵ Iggy Pop, *Innocent world*, Virgin, 1996.

³¹⁶ B.B. King, *I’m gonna move to the outskirts of town* (William Weldon - Andy Razaf), MCA, 1999.

³¹⁷ Tom Waits, *Cold water*, Anti, 1999.

³¹⁸ Van Morrison, *Reminds me of you*, Virgin, 1999.

³¹⁹ AC/DC, *Can’t stop rock ‘n’ roll* (Young & Young), Warner, 2000.

³²⁰ Sinéad O’Connor, *No man’s woman*, Atlantic, 2000.

³²¹ Vanessa Paradis, *La la la song* (G. Deveaux), Barclay, 2000.

³²² Vaya Con Dios, *Brave Jane*, BMG, 1992.

³²³ Ross [1970:229].

Popular English NC functions substantially like Standard French NC, with a clitic negation on the inflection plus an adverbial negation:

- (301) a. % Peter doesn't eat **no** chocolate.
 b. ✓ Pierre **ne** mange **pas** de chocolat.

Regarding the position of the SM, opposite orders French [\neg - I°] vs. English [I° - \neg] could indicate reverse derivational sequencing: French ' \neg ' would cliticize on a filled I°, whereas English *n't* would attach to an empty I°; alternative analysis would be that *n't* isn't clitic in a syntactic sense, but is rather the result of a readjustment rule at spell-out.³²⁴ Argument in favor of the former hypothesis could be that the 'negative' adverb attracts the auxiliary higher than its regular position (English verbs are known to raise less than French ones do); argument in favor of the latter hypothesis could be the optionality of *not*-cliticization.

II.2.2.1.2.3.1. French popular NC involving 'pas' & N-words

Though Standard French is currently described as a NC-language, NC cannot standardly obtain between N-words and the modal 'negative' adverb *pas*.³²⁵ In a widespread 'variety', this extended NC is nevertheless possible under particular conditions, namely in presence of a modal in (b), or a temporal auxiliary in (c):

- (302) a. * Je (ne) vois pas personne.
 I (ne) see not nobody.
 b. % Je (ne) **veux pas** voir **personne**.
 I (ne) want not see nobody.
 'I won't see anybody.'
 b.' % "j'ai **pas aucune** raison de l'arrêter."³²⁶
 I have not no reason to him arrest.
 'I haven't any reason to arrest him.'
 c. % J(e n')**ai pas** vu **personne**.
 I (ne) have not seen nobody.
 'I didn't see anybody.'

One could wonder why in 'varieties' of English, but not of French, a 'negative' argument can combine with the modal 'negative' adverb in a present indicative sentence:

- (303) % I don't see **nobody**.

The relevant difference is that in English, but not in French, the structure contains an auxiliary even at the (negated) present indicative; being generated in a functional head of the extended IP-layer, this auxiliary provides a correct landing site for *not*. The problem in French (302)a is actually the lack of landing site for *pas*: no verb projecting any 'modal' head, no functional specifier is available for the modal negation within the extended VP, and only a non-modal

³²⁴ Roberts [1997:454] made a similar claim regarding 'wanna' < 'want to': "This affix ['to'] is lexically, not syntactically, attached". That recalls the following contrast:

- (lvi) a. Mustn't.
 → 'Must to not.'
 b. Can't.
 → 'Not can.'

This suggests that 'can't', contrary to the regular 'mustn't', 'don't', 'doesn't', 'isn't', 'hasn't' and 'ain't', is a lexicalized form with a lexicalized meaning. What is not clear is to which category pertains 'won't', from the Q-raising verb 'want'.

³²⁵ On the Mood characterization of *pas*, see discussion in II.3.1.1.4.1.

³²⁶ Albert Uderzo, *Le devin*, Dargaud, 1972, plate 42 B. This is a cue of a plebeian Roman *optione*, which idiolect is built to make fun of popular speaking.

negation is fine:

- (304) % Je (ne) vois {**aucunement/ nullement**} **personne**.

I (ne) see in-no-way nobody.

‘I don’t see anybody.’

The insertion of a preposition creates more structure and adds a potential landing site for a local quantifier, so that the sentence becomes fine even at the present indicative:

- (305) a. % Je (ne) pense **pas à personne**.

I (ne) think not to nobody.

‘I don’t think to anybody.’

- b. ✓ “Faut [...] **pas abuser de rien** pour aller loin”.³²⁷

One-must not excess of nothing to go far.

‘If you want to go a long way, you shouldn’t take too much of anything.’

An alternative landing site for the modal negation is available within the extended NP, when the argument lets the QP-layer free. Now, *personne* being a determiner and *rien* a quantifier, the functional layers of the extended NP are not free in (i); with a noun like *âme qui vive* or *un chat*, they are free in (ii):³²⁸

- (306) (i) FUNCTIONAL NOMINAL ITEM:

- a. * Je (ne) vois pas [personne]_D.

I (ne) see not nobody.

- b. * Je (ne) vois pas [rien]_Q.

I (ne) see not nothing.

(ii) LEXICAL NOMINAL ITEM:

- a. ✓ Je (ne) vois [QP **pas** [NP [**âme qui vive**]_N]].

- b. ✓ Je (ne) vois [QP **pas** [NP [**un chat**]_N]].

I (ne) see not {soul which live/ a cat}.

‘I don’t see a soul.’

A further possibility is to generate the ‘negative’ adverb as an adjunct to the functional projection already occupied by the ‘negative’ argument. In such an adjunctive configuration, a further contrast appears, depending on the alternation \forall - \exists : a single projection can host two occurrences of \exists , but only one occurrence of \forall . This explains why the \exists NPIs *qui que ce soit* and *quoi que ce soit* in (i) are compatible with the \forall *pas* as good as with the \exists *plus*, while \forall s *personne* and *rien* are only compatible with \exists *plus*:

- (307) (i) WITH AN \exists NPI QUANTIFIER:

- a. ✓ On³²⁹ (ne) voit {**pas/ plus**} **qui que ce soit**.

One (ne) sees {not/ no-longer} whoever.

‘One doesn’t see whoever (anymore).’

- b. ✓ On (ne) comprend {**pas/ plus**} **quoi que ce soit**.

One (ne) understands {not/ no-longer} whatever.

‘One doesn’t understand whatever (anymore).’

(ii) WITH A \forall DETERMINER OR QUANTIFIER:

- a. ✓ Je (ne) vois {* pas/ **plus**} **personne**.

I (ne) see {not/ no-longer} nobody.

‘I didn’t see anybody anymore.’

- b. ✓ Je (ne) vois {* pas/ **plus**} **rien**.

³²⁷ Serge Gainsbourg, *L’herbe tendre*, Philips, 1968.

³²⁸ It is consistent with the observation of Déprez [2000:258], “N-words with a null determiner [nouns, under our analysis] are essentially predicted to require the presence of negation, and N-words with a filled determiner [determiners and quantifiers, under our analysis] to preclude it [p. 258]”.

³²⁹ A Generic pronoun, typically *on* ‘one’, is requested by {=Specific, -Generic} NPIs. See II.3.1.1.1.2 and III.4.2.2.

I (*ne*) see {not/ no-longer} nothing.
 ‘I didn’t see anything anymore.’

The sole items always incompatible with *pas* in all ‘varieties’ are {*plus/ guère*}: in fact, {*plus/ guère*} express the Terminative Aspect (requesting from the verb the projection of Terminative feature), whereas *pas* negates the Continuative aspect (requesting thus from the verb the projection of Continuative feature); since Continuative-Terminative form a polarity-pair, they cannot project both in a single clause, preventing the co-occurrence of {*plus/ guère*} and *pas*.³³⁰ With other N-words, if there is either an auxiliary, or a preposition, or both, NC is potentially unlimited:

- (308) a. % Je (*ne*) veux **pas** {**jamais/ * plus/ * guère**} **rien** devoir à **personne**.
 I (*ne*) want not {never/ * no-longer/ * scarcely} nothing owe to nobody.
 ‘I never want to owe anything to anybody.’
 b. % ((Il) (*ne*)) faut **pas** {**jamais/ * plus/ * guère**} **rien** dire à **personne**.
 ((It) (*ne*)) is-necessary not {never/ * no-longer/ * scarcely} nothing to-say to nobody.
 ‘One shouldn’t ever say anything to anybody.’
 c. % J(e n’)ai **pas** {**jamais/ * plus/ * guère**} **rien** besoin de dire à **personne**.
 I (*ne*) have not {never/ * no-longer/ * scarcely} nothing need to say to nobody.
 ‘I never have any need to say anything to anybody.’
 d. % Je suis surpris que tu (*ne*) dises **pas** {**jamais/ * plus/ * guère**} **rien** à **personne**.
 I am surprised that you (*ne*) say not {never/ * no-longer/ * scarcely} nothing to nobody.
 ‘I’m surprised that you never say anything to anybody.’

When structurally possible, multiple occurrences of ‘Negative’ feature in logical use are thus simply redundant, and fill the three linguistic functions of redundancy: recovering the entire information from fragments of it, checking the correctness of the information from its repetition, and laying affective emphasis on the semantic content. The following example underlines the affective, emphatic function: in his manuscript, the author has added a ‘negative’ argument in a sentence already containing *pas*.

- (309) ✓ “Je n’ai **pas** d’opinion!... Et fidez-moi la paix!” → ✓ “Je n’ai **pas** d’opinion sur **rien**!... Et fidez-moi la paix!”³³¹
 I *ne* have no of opinion!... And leave me in peace! → I *ne* have no of opinion about nothing!... And leave me in peace!
 ‘I have no opinion about nothing!... And stop pestering me!’

II.2.2.1.2.4. " -\$ alternation under NC

There is an important crosslinguistic semantic difference between a standard sentence containing one negation and a substandard sentence containing several negations interpreted under NC: a \forall ‘negative’ quantifier becomes \exists under ‘negative’ c-command.

- (310) a. ✓ Pierre (*ne*) fait **rien**. ≠ ✓ Pierre (*ne*) fait **pas** **quoi que ce soit**.
 Peter [\exists] (*ne*) does nothing [\forall] ≠ Peter [\exists] (*ne*) does not whatever [$\neg\exists$]
 ‘Peter does nothing.’ ≠ ‘Peter doesn’t do anything.’
 b. ✓ **Personne** (*ne*) fait **rien**. = ✓ **Personne** (*ne*) fait **quoi que ce soit**.
 Nobody [\forall] (*ne*) does whatever [$\neg\exists$]
 ‘Nobody does anything.’

³³⁰ A graphic homonymous of *plus* ‘no longer’ (pronounced /ply/; †/plyz/ before a vowel) in (a), the Scalar Increasing quantifier *plus* ‘more’ (pronounced /plys/ in sentential end-position and before a vowel; /ply(s)/ before a consonant) in (b), can perfectly be negated, since it offers to *pas* a scale to negate:

- (lvii) a. * Pas plus.
 Not no-longer.
 b. ✓ Pas plus.
 ‘Not more.’

³³¹ Georges Rémi (Hergé), *Tintin et l’Alph Art*, published manuscript, Casterman, 1983, plate 27.

The same effect arises under the scope of Decreasing quantifiers assimilated to ‘negative’ items by the tests of Klima [1964]:

- (311) ✓ “Il reste **peu** d’espoir qu’**aucun** des 14 passagers [...] ait pu échapper à la mort.”³³²
 It remains few [\forall] of hope that no-one [$\neg\exists$] of-the 14 passengers [...] be can-ed escape to the death.
 → ‘For every hope of escaping death, there exist few persons able to confirm it.’

The same effect also arises under the scope of the ‘negative’ operator contained within the {PP/ CP} of lexically ‘negative’ transitive nouns in (i), and verbs in (ii):³³³

- (312) (i) ‘NEGATIVE’ NOUNS:
 ✓ “[...] mais **interdiction** absolue **de** franchir la limite des eaux territoriales dominicaines sous **aucun** prétexte!”³³⁴
 But interdiction [\forall] absolute of overstep the limit of-the waters territorial Dominican under no [\exists] pretext!
 ‘But this is strictly forbidden to overstep the Dominican territorial waters border on any pretext!’
 (ii) ‘NEGATIVE’ VERBS:
 a. ✓ “Fred **évite** soigneusement **d’**en parler à **personne**.”³³⁵
 Fred avoids [\forall] carefully of PART to-talk to nobody [\exists].
 ‘Fred carefully avoids to talk to anybody about it.’
 b. ✓ “il a **refusé de** me donner **aucun** détail.”³³⁶
 He has refused [\forall] to to-me give no [\exists] detail.
 ‘He refused to give me any detail.’

Serge Gainsbourg gathered various interpretations of *rien* (also inside idiomatic compounds and expressions) in his song *Ces petits riens* [1964], where this word appears not less than twenty-one times (not counting the title): it is systematically interpreted as \forall (‘nothing’) when not c-commanded by ‘negative’ elements, and as \exists (‘anything’) when c-commanded by ‘negative’ elements.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (313) <i>CES PETITS RIENS</i> | THOSE LITTLE THINGS |
| <i>Mieux vaut n’penser à rien</i> | Not thinking to anything is better |
| <i>Que n’pas penser du tout</i> | Than not thinking at all |
| <i>Rien c’est déjà</i> | Nothing is already |
| <i>Rien c’est déjà beaucoup</i> | Nothing is already a great deal |
| <i>On se souvient de rien</i> | One doesn’t remember anything |
| <i>Et puisqu’on oublie tout</i> | Well since one forget all |
| <i>Rien c’est bien mieux</i> | Nothing is better |
| <i>Rien c’est bien mieux que tout.</i> | Nothing is better than all. |
| <i>Mieux vaut n’penser à rien</i> | Not thinking to anything is better |
| <i>Que de penser à vous</i> | Than thinking to you |
| <i>Ça n’me vaut rien</i> | It’s for nothing worth for me |
| <i>Ça n’me vaut rien du tout</i> | It’s for nothing at all worth for me |
| <i>Mais comme si de rien</i> | But as if nothing were happening |
| <i>N’était je pense à tous</i> | I think about all |
| <i>Ces petits riens</i> | Those little things |
| <i>Qui me venaient de vous.</i> | That went from you to me. |
| <i>Si c’était trois fois rien</i> | If it was next to nothing |
| <i>Trois fois rien entre nous</i> | Next to nothing between us |
| <i>Evidemment</i> | Of course |
| <i>Ça ne fait pas beaucoup</i> | It doesn’t make much |
| <i>Ce sont ces petits riens</i> | They are those little things |

³³² Georges Rémi (Hergé), *Tintin au Tibet*, Casterman, 1960, plate 2.

³³³ This analysis was suggested by Rizzi [p.c.]; about noun-internal negation, see II.3.1.2.8.1.

³³⁴ Victor Hubinon, *Les voleurs de satellites*, Dupuis, 1964, plate 34 B.

³³⁵ Victor Hubinon, *Un avion n’est pas rentré*, Dupuis, 1954, plate 306.

³³⁶ Victor Hubinon, *NC-22654 ne répond plus*, Dupuis, 1957, plate 15.

<i>Que j'ai mis bout à bout</i>	That I pieced all together
<i>Ces petits riens</i>	Those little things
<i>Qui me venaient de vous.</i>	That went from you to me.
<i>Mieux vaut pleurer de rien</i>	It's better to cry for nothing
<i>Que de rire de tout</i>	Than to laugh for everything
<i>Pleurer pour un rien</i>	Crying for a little thing
<i>C'est déjà beaucoup</i>	It's already much
<i>Mais vous vous n'avez rien</i>	But you, you don't have anything
<i>Dans le cœur et j'avoue</i>	In the heart and I confess
<i>Je vous envie</i>	I envy you
<i>Je vous en veux beaucoup.</i>	I have many things against you.
<i>Ce sont ces petits riens</i>	They are those little things
<i>Qui me venaient de vous</i>	That went from you to me.
<i>Les voulez-vous?</i>	Do you want them?
<i>Tenez! Que voulez-vous?</i>	Here you are! What do you want?
<i>Moi je ne veux pour rien</i>	I don't want for nothing at all
<i>Au monde plus rien de vous</i>	Anything yet from you to me
<i>Pour être à vous</i>	To belong to you
<i>Faut être à moitié fou.</i>	One has to be half-mad.

English alternation between *any-* and *no-* guises is just the morphological realization of a cross-linguistic alternation that often remains invisible in French (but is semantically sensible). The potential logical combinations of negated quantifiers are thus the following:

(314) LOGICAL COMBINATIONS OF NEGATED QUANTIFIERS:

- a. ✓ $\neg\exists\neg\exists (\neg\exists (...)) \rightarrow \text{NC}$.
- b. * $\neg\exists\forall\neg (\forall\neg (...)) \rightarrow \text{NC}$.
- c. ✓ $\forall\neg\neg\exists (\neg\exists (...)) \rightarrow \text{NC}$.
- d. * $\forall\neg\forall\neg (\forall\neg (...)) \rightarrow \text{DN}$.

According to (a), 'negative' existentials are not limited in number; according to (d), 'negative' universals are limited to one occurrence per clause in logical use. Combination of both types is possible if conditions (a) & (d) are observed, and if the 'negative' universal c-commands the 'negative' existential(s) according to (b) & (c). This holds at global level of negation: as seen in II.2.2.1.2.1;(289)-(290), a lower local negation, which is not c-commanded by a higher global negation, remains universal in (i), contrary to its forced \exists reading in (ii):

(315) (i) GLOBAL $\forall\neg$ & LOCAL $\forall\neg$:

✓ **Personne (ne)** [fait rien].

Nobody [$\forall\neg$] (*ne*) makes nothing [$\forall\neg$].

'Nobody makes **nothing**.' → 'For every person X, it is **false** that X makes nothing.'

(ii) GLOBAL $\forall\neg$ & GLOBAL $\neg\exists$:

✓ **Personne (ne)** fait rien.

Nobody [$\forall\neg$] (*ne*) makes nothing [$\neg\exists$].

'Nobody makes **anything**.' → 'For every person X, it is **true** that X makes nothing.'

On the other hand, multiple occurrences of 'negative' universals can be saved by metalinguistic reading; metalinguistic reading always leads to DN, and DN always requires contrastive stress:

(316) a. ✓ PERSONNE (ne) fait rien.

NOBODY (*ne*) does nothing.

→ 'There is no person X, such that X does nothing.'

b. ✓ Personne (ne) fait RIEN.

Nobody (*ne*) does NOTHING.

→ 'There is no thing X, such that nobody does X.'

A simple sentence containing two ‘negative’ arguments as “*personne (ne) fait rien*” has thus four readings, two logical ones, and two metalinguistic ones. The place of linguistic stress allows distinguishing between the two metalinguistic interpretations; French (and popular English) doesn’t overtly distinguish between the two logical interpretations (the sole context will allow choosing one or the other): only Standard English expresses the difference morphologically, through the alternation ‘no’ [$\forall\neg$] vs. ‘any’ [$\neg\exists$].

II.2.2.2. Logical combinations of ‘negative’ clauses

What we have just said about NC is true within the domain of negation, namely the predicate: as seen in I.1.2.2.2, ‘negative’ scope is normally clause-internal as in the (a) sentence and the (b’’) interpretation of the (b) sentence, excepted in the special case of overt quantificational raising of the ‘negative’ element across clause boundaries with Q-raising verbs as in the (b’) interpretation of the (b) sentence.

- (317) a. ✓ Je veux qu’il (**ne**) mange {**pas/ plus**}.
 I want that he (*ne*) eats {not/ no-longer}.
 ‘I want that he {doesn’t eat/ eats no longer}.’
 b. ✓ Je (**ne**) veux {**pas/ plus**} qu’il mange.
 I (*ne*) want {not/ no longer} that he eat.
 → b.’ ‘I want that he {doesn’t eat/ eats no-longer}.’
 → b.’’ ‘I {doesn’t want/ want no longer} that he eats.’

As a secondary consequence of the predicate-bounded status of negation, the phonological reduplication rule discussed in I.1.2.2.1.1 is blocked by a clausemate ‘negative’ adverb in the (a) sentence, but possible in the (b) sentence if *pas* is generated within the main clause (and blocked again if *pas* is raised from the embedded clause):

- (318) a. * Faut qu’**on**-l’oublie **pas**.
 Must that oneh-him forget not.
 b. ✓ Faut **pas** qu’**on**-l’oublie.
 Must not that oneh-him forget.
 ‘We must not forget him.’

The main consequence of the predicate-bounded status of negation is apparent in a sentence made up of two clauses, namely containing two distinct predicates: the two separate ‘negative’ scopes fail to cumulate, and DN obtains at sentential level.

- (319) a. ✓ “**Pas** un d’entre nous **ne** peut se vanter de **n**’avoir **jamais** connu la peur panique!...”³³⁷
 Not one of amongst us *ne* can himself pride to *ne* have never known the fear panic!...
 ‘No-one of us can pride himself on having never felt the panic!’
 b. ✓ “Tu **ne** peux **pas ne pas** le reconnaître...”³³⁸
 You *ne* can not *ne* not him recognize...
 ‘You cannot not recognize him...’

Putting together two ‘negative’ clauses creates thus a logical DN at (complex) sentential level: the predicate-bounded status of negation entails that two ‘negative’ clauses are interpreted each as ‘negative’, so that the resulting meaning of the sentence becomes ‘positive’—the (a) sentences express roughly the same statement as the (b) sentences.³³⁹

- (320) (I) WITH Q-RAISING VERB:

³³⁷ Victor Hubinon, *X-15*, Dupuis, 1965, plate 25 B.

³³⁸ Victor Hubinon, *Alerte à Cap Kennedy*, Dupuis, 1965, plate 2 B.

³³⁹ The pragmatic difference between the two formulations stays in the presence vs. absence of ‘negative’ presuppositions.

- a. ✓ Je (**ne**) veux **pas** qu'il (**ne**) vienne **pas**.
 I (*ne*) want not that he (*ne*) comes not.
 'I won't that he doesn't come.'
 b. ✓ Je veux qu'il vienne.
 'I want that he comes.'
- (II) WITH NON-Q-RAISING VERB:
 a. ✓ J(e **n**)'exige **pas** qu'il (**ne**) vienne **pas**.
 I (*ne*) demand not that he (*ne*) comes not.
 'I don't demand that he doesn't come.'
 b. ✓ J'exige qu'il vienne.
 'I demand that he comes.'

In the case of three 'negative' clauses (for those that manage in computing such weighty sentences), the final meaning is 'negative'—again, the (a) sentence expresses the same statement as the (b) sentence:

- (321) a. ✓ J(e **n**)'exige **pas** que tu (**ne**) veuilles **pas (ne) pas** venir.
 I (*ne*) demand not that you (*ne*) want not (*ne*) not to-come.
 'I don't demand that you won't not come.'
 b. ✓ J(e **n**)'exige **pas** que tu veuilles venir.
 I (*ne*) demand not that you want come.
 'I don't demand that you want come.'

We will stop here the examination of possible combinations, before brain breakdown: linguistic computation doesn't function like mathematics primarily owing to the limited RAM of the human machine.

II.3. HIERARCHY OF THE FEATURES

The featural sets carried by the items are organized along an intrinsic hierarchy entailing a uniform projection of covert syntactic information across all natural languages, with apparent language-specific peculiarities reducible to idiomatic morphological requirements in overt syntax.³⁴⁰ Such a featural hierarchy seems built on cognitive universals, holding at every level of grammatical analysis. A pragmatician interested in the syntax, Moeschler [1999:10], proposed a three-level informational hierarchy based on interpretive constraints, and claimed that it reflects the standard syntactic hierarchy; he also noticed that the openness of items classes is due to their conceptual character, whereas the closeness of functional items classes is due to their procedural character.

- (322) a. Contextual assumptions >> Connectives (CP) >> Tenses (IP) >> Verbs (VP).
 b. Contextual information >> Procedural information >> Conceptual information.
 c. Contextual information >> Linguistic information.

This idea would be worth pursuing more thoroughly—but in the same paper, Moeschler [1999:2] said: "One basic assumption of RT is that *utterance interpretation is linguistically underspecified*. This assumption will here be taken for granted, but I will question how linguistic information combines with non-linguistic information (that is, contextual information, encyclopedic information) to achieve pragmatic interpretation". It seems more promising to postulate that contextual information is syntactically encoded, in the same way procedural and conceptual information are, so that the duality expressed by (322)c may be reduced to the homogeneous universe of language.

Lakoff [1974:178] noticed, "We have found that one cannot just set up artificial boundaries

³⁴⁰ Apparent crosslinguistic variations in adjective placement within the extended NP are discussed by Cinque [1993]; apparent crosslinguistic variations in adverbial placement within the extended VP, by Cinque [1999].

and rule out of the study of language such things as human reasoning, context, social interaction, deixis, fuzziness, sarcasm, discourse types, fragments, variation among speakers, etc. Each time we have set up an artificial boundary, we have found some phenomenon that shows that it has to be removed. That is not to say that there are no bounds on the study of linguistics. I only suggest that at this point in history the boundaries are disappearing daily, and one should not be too surprised if the domain of the field continues to expand”.

In the same direction, Ross [1970:257-258] already observed, “A precise theory [of language, or a related theory of language use] would have to specify formally what features of the infinite set of possible contexts can be of linguistic relevance. Furthermore, these features would have to be described with the same primes which are used for the description of syntactic elements, so that rules which range over syntactic elements will also range over them. While such a theory can be envisioned, and may even eventually prove to be necessary, it is obvious that it does not exist at present./ In fact, it seems to me that the only concrete information about the structure of contexts at present is that which can be inferred from the facts discussed in Section 2 [“restrictions on first or second person NPs”, p. 249]. These facts show that if the pragmatic analysis is to be carried through, contexts must be assumed to have the structure of clauses [...]. I consider open the question as to whether the theory of language can be distinguished from the theory of language use. A pragmatic analysis implicitly claims that they cannot be distinguished, whereas the performative analysis makes the more conservative claim that they can be.”

Thirty years after this paper, the coming out featural framework provides us the ideal tool to investigate the “structure of contexts”. In fact, the significant development of the syntactic map in recent years make feasible hosting within the syntactic domain the entire scale of communicational contents without breaking up the formal basis of syntax,³⁴¹ through an extended CP-layer including anchoring procedures corresponding to the “contextual assumptions” of (322)a.

In this dissertation, we will thus adopt the strongest hypothesis on the relation between interpretation, context, and linguistic form: to one interpretively ambiguous utterance, are associated at least two distinct syntactic representations, each corresponding to one and only one interpretation. In general, natural languages loathe synonymy, and demonstrate this at all levels of grammatical analysis—in phonology through adjustment rules like dissimilation or reduction, in morphology through the blocking principle,³⁴² and in syntax through some ‘principle of non-optionality’ as the following:

(323) PRINCIPLE OF NON-OPTIONALITY:

Minimal differences between formal configurations made available by the syntactic combinations of the features are used by the interpretive interface to express minimally different semantics.

This principle predicts that each slight featural difference will result in a slight interpretive difference, so that a single state of events expressed by two minimally different syntaxes is actually commented through two minimally different standpoints. Incidentally, if extended to

³⁴¹ Such a risk led the Generative Semantics to the failure, as outlined by Newmeyer [1980:165]: “by far the most intractable problem for the generative semanticists was the fact that they were still left with the problem of accounting for a primary function of the renounced level of deep structure—the specification of morpheme order. For example, the order of articles, adjectives, negatives, numerals, nouns, and noun complements within a noun phrase simply does not follow from anything semantic. Thus, generative semantics would require some sort of template or filter to ensure the correct order—in itself a sneaking-in of an important aspect of deep structure. But the filter could not be stated without considerable loss of generality”. Now, the universal phrasal hierarchy drawn up by Cinque [1998, 1999] just provides the adequate tool to “ensure the correct order”.

³⁴² See Aronoff [1976:43].

the featural sets stored in the lexicon as items, it renders the blocking principle redundant, and allows removing it from the grammar—this is a desirable consequence within our framework where grammatical rules are seen as dynamic systems allowing sentences projection. Normative attempts apart, there is no blocking at all in natural languages, because synonymy is just an impossible thing, in the syntax as good as in the lexicon.

As regards the syntax, the lack of synonymy can be illustrated by the following pair: as seen in II.2.2.1.2.4, the quantifier is interpreted as a ‘negative’ universal in the (a) sentence, but as a ‘negative’ existential in the (b) sentence.

- (324) a. ✓ J(e n)’ai vu personne.
 I (*ne*) have seen nobody [\forall].
 → ‘For every person X, it’s true that I didn’t see X.’
 b. ✓ J(e n)’ai pas vu {qui que ce soit/ % personne} [\exists].
 I (*ne*) have not seen whoever.
 → ‘There exists no person X, such that I saw X.’

Moreover, the two syntactic structures convey different pragmatic implications: uttered as an answer, (a) is a general noticing, which may be used without a presupposition of any kind; (b) is a precise answer focusing on the inexistence of any person seen by the speaker, requesting some presupposition.

As regards the lexicon, it’s worth noticing that in all natural languages, umpteen concepts have a double lexical paradigm, with a regular word plus a PI; the PI apparently expresses the same meaning than the regular word, but with a restricted distribution. If they were synonymous, one could question the usefulness of such a partial doubling paradigm, as in the following example:

- (325) a. ✓ Il fait {**froid/ friod**}.
 It makes cold.
 ‘It’s cold.’
 b. ✓ Il (*ne*) fait pas {**froid/ * friod**}.
 It (*ne*) makes not cold.
 ‘It’s not cold.’

There is actually a great difference between the base word *froid* and its polarized metathesis *friod*: while the former expresses a neutral noticing of an event, the latter expresses a speaker-oriented noticing of the existence of an event, whose emphatic existence makes it incompatible with its denial. Recognizing the non-optionality underlying all linguistic operation is thus particularly illuminating for linguists desirous of understanding polarity phenomena: in fact, the *raison d’être* of PIs is to express emphatically the existence of the things of this world.

II.3.1. LITTLE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SENTENCE ARCHITECTURE

No general handbook on the sentence architecture having yet been written, we have now to open a little encyclopedia to which we could then refer to in the third part. This will also give us the opportunity to investigate, layer after layer along the featural hierarchy, the plausible candidates for polarity-related features.

The phrases the features project pertain to two distinct domains: the (EXTENDED) VERBAL PHRASE (VP) (II.3.1.1), and the (EXTENDED) NOMINAL PHRASE (NP) (II.3.1.2). Polarity phenomena are concerned by both domains: local polarity takes place within the extended NP, predicate polarity within the extended VP, and sentential polarity within both (the subject NP

is polarized and there is a SM within the predicate).

II.3.1.1. Extended VP

After the functional split of the nineties triggered by Pollock [1989], the basic entities CP, IP and VP became articulated CP-layer, IP-layer, and VP-layer. We will use in addition the label L(inking)P-layer to refer to the highest part of matrix sentences, which mediates between CP-layer and the discourse through anchoring procedures, namely the devices ensuring the connection of the syntax on the one hand to the discourse articulation, on the other hand to the whole universe of discourse.

The XP-layers form, within the hierarchy of features, a superordinate hierarchy of features classes: roughly speaking, VP-layer is the projection of the lexical inherent features, IP-layer that of the morphological features (case, person, and agreement), CP-layer that of the functional features, and LP-layer that of the lexical contextual features. The notion of classes gets particularly relevant in the light of the works of Rizzi [1990, 1998, 1999a, 2000], insofar as only features pertaining to the same class determine between themselves RME. The hierarchy not being trivial, though based on primitive cognitive necessities, RME can conversely constitute an indication to determine which features are classmates, and which ones are not.

II.3.1.1.1. LP-layer

IPs and CPs are the largest category able to be lexicalized; since they contain lexically the part of the hierarchy where polarity acts, they systematically display a fixed polarity:

- (326) (i) POLARITY IPs:
 a. ✓ **C'est la fin des haricots!**
 'That's the last straw!'
 b. ✓ **C(e n)'est pas la mer à boire!**
 'It's no big deal!'
 c. ✓ **L'argent va à l'argent.**
 'Money attracts money.'
 d. ✓ **Temps pommelé et femme fardée n'ont point de durée.**
 'Women wearing too much make up last for few time.'
 e. ✓ **L'appétit vient en mangeant.**
 'Appetite comes with eating.'
 f. ✓ **Pierre qui roule n'amasse pas mousse.**
 'A rolling stone gathers no moss.'
 (ii) POLARITY CPS:
 a. ✓ **C'est en forgeant qu'on devient forgeron.**
 'Practice makes perfect.'
 b. ✓ **C(e n)'est pas la politesse qui l'étouffe.**
 'Politeness is not his strong suit.'

Such ready-made sentences convey various presuppositions which are part of the common encyclopedic knowledge. Nonetheless, they cannot be uttered out of the blue—to be felicitous, they request any context to which they may refer to. In the semantic and pragmatic literature, the general term 'presupposition' is used to characterize every sentence that cannot be uttered out of the blue; Chierchia [1997:134(27);398(3)] provides the following definitions of it:

- (327) (i) INFORMAL DEFINITION OF PRESUPPOSITION:
A presupposes *B* sse *B* deve essere data per scontata in ogni contesto in cui *A* viene usata.
 'A presupposes *B* iff *B* must be given for sure in every context in which *A* is used.'
 (ii) CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION OF PRESUPPOSITION:

A presupposes B = Per ogni w , A ha un valore di verità in w solo se B è vera in w .
 ‘ A presupposes B = For every world w , A has a truth-value in w only if B is true in w .’

It would be desirable to express such constraints in syntactic terms; the crucial issue is how to capture them within the grammar. Rizzi [1999b:457] noticed, “we may say that CP is the category selected by the discourse articulation”. In the light of the introductory discussion of II.3, the next step is to claim that the ‘discourse articulation’ itself is part of the syntax; this should be feasible through an adequate featural implementation of the D-linking discussed by Pesetsky [1987]. D-linking is a mixture of three concepts,³⁴³ all of presuppositional nature, whose corresponding features constitute plausible candidates for an LP-layer dominating the CP-layer:

- (328) a. Be-in-the-discourse: {±Given}.
 b. Presupposition of existence: {±Presuppositional}.
 c. Possibility to identify the actors: {±Specific}.

We will build a tentative LP-layer including the three features in (328), plus three further ones, put together in possible complementarity pairs:

- (329) LP-LAYER: SupP >> IdP >> RefP:
 a. SupP (anchors to the universe of discourse): {±Given, ±Presuppositional}.
 b. IdP (identification of the arguments): {±Specific, ±Generic}.
 c. RefP (anchors to the discourse articulation): {±Referential, ±Idiomatic}.

II.3.1.1.1.1. *Presupposition*

An item cannot be at once Given and Presuppositional: those features are thus good candidates for a complementary pair. We will call Sup(positional)P the phrase they project, which would serve to implement the anchors to the universe of discourse. Regular items are {-Given, -Presuppositional}, so that they can be uttered under every assumption in every pragmatic context.

The possibility to set up a referent in the universe of discourse depends on the specifications of SupP. ‘Positive’ arguments are either Given, or Presuppositional; they project SupP through Given feature when they introduce a referent in the universe of discourse as in the (a) sentence. No ‘negative’ argument can be Given or Presuppositional, the lack of everything being unable to convey any presupposition; ‘negative’ arguments fail thus to set up a referent in the universe of discourse as in the (b) sentence.

- (330) a. ✓ Cet aubergiste a **quelque chose**_i à manger. Quand je suis arrivé, il l_i’a posé sur la table.
 This innkeeper has something_i to eat. When I am arrived, he it_i has put on the table.
 ‘This innkeeper has something to eat. When I arrived, he put it on the table.’
 b. * Cet aubergiste (n’)a **rien**_i à manger. Quand je suis arrivé, il l_i’a renversé par terre.
 This innkeeper (ne) has nothing_i to eat. When I am arrived, he it_i has knocked-over on floor.

Whereas ‘negative’ arguments are not concerned by SupP, ‘negative’ adverbs may be, if they convey modal features of speaker-oriented nature. Regarding modal ‘negative’ adverbs, Zanuttini [1997:76] observed, “*pa* typically precedes *gia*, while *nen* typically follows it. The data concerning the interpretation of these negative markers have led me to conclude that their structural position plays a role in their interpretation. When they occur in a position structurally higher than the one occupied by *gia* ‘already’, they negate a proposition assumed in the discourse. When they occur in a lower structural position, they are interpreted as negative markers that negate a proposition without any particular discourse status”. Crucially,

³⁴³ Thanks to Michal Starke [p.c.] for this observation.

all modal positions are located higher than *already* in the sentential hierarchy of Cinque [1999:106(92)[our (466)]]: only modal negations having reached the modal height of the sentence may thus project SupP (maybe by covert movement).

A presupposition can be semantically ‘positive’ or ‘negative’, depending on the contextual assumptions. French has two adverbial SMs to answer ‘positively’ a question—*oui* is a PPI combining with ‘positive’ presuppositions; *si* is an NPI combining with ‘negative’ presuppositions.

- (331) (i) ‘POSITIVE’ PRESUPPOSITION:
 a. ✓ Tu viens? - {**Oui/ Non**}!
 You come? - {Yes/ No}!
 ‘Are you coming? - {Yes (I am)/ No (I am not)}!’
 b. ✓ Tu (ne) viens pas? - {* **Oui/ Non**}!
 You (ne) come not? - {* Yes/ No}!
 ‘Aren’t you coming? - {* Yes (I am)/ No (I am not)}!’
 (ii) ‘NEGATIVE’ PRESUPPOSITION:
 a. ✓ Tu viens? - {* **Si/ Non**}!
 You come? - {* Yes-indeed/ No}!
 ‘Are you coming? - {* Indeed (I am)/ No (I am not)}!’
 b. ✓ Tu (ne) viens pas? - {**Si/ Non**}!
 You (ne) come not? - {Yes-indeed/ No}!
 ‘Aren’t you coming? - {Indeed I am/ No (I am not)}!’

II.3.1.1.1.1. Expletive ‘ne’

Expletive *ne* behaves as a presuppositional item, able to cancel or to validate presuppositions. An expletive *ne* obligatorily cancels the ‘negative’ presupposition introduced by a verb of fear in (a) or impediment in (b):

- (332) a. ✓ Pierre redoutait que Jeanne vienne (✓ et elle est venue).
 Peter feared that Jane come (and she did come).
 → ‘{✓ Peter feared because Jane came/ ✓ Peter feared that Jane might come}.’
 b. ✓ Pierre redoutait que Jeanne **ne** vienne (* et elle est venue).
 Peter feared that Jane come (and she did come).
 → ‘{* Peter feared because Jane came/ ✓ Peter feared that Jane might come}.’
 a. ✓ Pierre empêchait que Jeanne vienne (✓ et elle est venue).
 Peter feared that Jane come (and she did come).
 → ‘{✓ Peter prevented that Jane actually came/ ✓ ‘Peter prevented that Jane might come}.’
 b. ✓ Pierre empêchait que Jeanne **ne** vienne (* et elle est venue).
 Peter prevented that Jane come (and she did come).
 → ‘{* Peter prevented that Jane actually came/ ✓ ‘Peter prevented that Jane might come}.’

An expletive *ne* obligatorily validates the ‘positive’ presupposition introduced by a temporal complementizer:

- (333) a. ✓ Il faudra du temps avant qu’ils se retrouvent (✓ et ils se sont retrouvés).
 It will-need of time before that they themselves meet-again (and they did meet again).
 → ‘{✓ They have meet again after a long time/ ✓ They will meet again in a long time}.’
 b. ✓ Il faudra du temps avant qu’ils **ne** se retrouvent (✓ et ils se sont retrouvés).
 It will-need of time before that they *ne* themselves meet-again (and they did meet again).
 → ‘{✓ They have meet again after a long time/ * They will meet again in a long time}.’

A hypothetic ‘positive’ presupposition is also obligatorily validated by the expletive *ne*:

- (334) a. ✓ Vous auriez intérêt à disparaître avant que, moi, je vous casse toute la cafetière sur la tête! (→ Si vous disparaissiez, je ne vous casserais pas toute la cafetière sur la tête.)
 You would-have interest to disappear before that, me, I to-you breaks all the coffeepot on the head! (→ If

- you disappear, I *ne* to-you will-break not all the coffeepot on the head.)
 → ‘{✓ If you make yourself scarce, I won’t break the whole coffeepot on your head/ * If you don’t make yourself scarce, I will break the whole coffeepot on your head}.’
- b. ✓ “Vous auriez intérêt à disparaître avant que, *moi*, je **ne** vous casse *toute* la cafetière sur la tête!”³⁴⁴
 (→ Si vous ne disparaissiez pas, je vous casserais toute la cafetière sur la tête.)
 You would-have interest to disappear before that, *me*, I *ne* to-you breaks *all* the coffeepot on the head! (→ If you *ne* disappear not, I to-you will break all the coffeepot on the head.)
 → ‘{* If you make yourself scarce, I won’t break the whole coffeepot on your head/ ✓ If you don’t make yourself scarce, I will break the whole coffeepot on your head}.’
- a.’ ✓ Disparaissez avant que je vous ordonne de le nettoyer vous-même! (→ Si vous disparaissiez, je ne vous ordonnerai pas de le nettoyer.)
 Disappear before that I you order to it clean yourself! (→ If you disappear, I *ne* you will-order not to it clean.)
 → ‘{✓ If you make yourself scarce, I won’t order you to clean it/ * If you don’t make yourself scarce, I will order you to clean it}.’
- b.’ ✓ “Disparaissez avant que je **ne** vous ordonne de le nettoyer vous-même!”³⁴⁵ (→ Si vous ne disparaissiez pas, vous le nettoierez.)
 Disappear before that I *ne* you order to it clean yourself! (→ If you *ne* disappear not, you it will-clean.)
 → ‘{* If you make yourself scarce, I won’t order you to clean it/ ✓ If you don’t make yourself scarce, I will order you to clean it}.’

An expletive *ne* gives fine results within comparatives, which intrinsic semantics is to cancel any presupposition (be it ‘negative’ or ‘positive’):

- (335) a. ✓ Jeanne est {autre/ meilleure/ pire} que je (**ne**) croyais.
 Jane is {different/ better/ worse} than I (*ne*) thought.
 b. ✓ Il y’a {moins/ plus} de problèmes que je (**ne**) croyais.
 There are {minus/ more} of problems than I (*ne*) thought.
 ‘There are {minus/ more} problems than I thought.’

II.3.1.1.1.2. Presuppositional coordination

SupP is also useful in ‘positive’ contexts. In a narrative literary ‘register’, coordination *et* ‘and’ occurs in the (apparent) root position of an independent infinitive, and is obligatory:

- (336) a. ✓ **Et** Pierre de partir.
 And Peter to leave.
 ‘A this point, Peter left.’
 b. * Pierre de partir.
 Peter to leave.

The ungrammaticality of the (b) sentence suggests that the (a) sentence is neither an independent clause, nor a subordinate one. We will claim, in II.3.1.1.2.6.1, that non-independent, non-subordinate clauses are the coordinate ones, and, in II.3.1.1.2.6.2, that the structural parallelism requirement of coordinate structures may be satisfied by a null coordination in SupP, as follows:

- (337) ✓ “(Il se passa quelque chose_i)” [_{SupP} Ø [_{IP} e_i]] [_{CP} Et [_{IP} Pierre de partir]].
 “(It itself happened something)” And Peter to leave.
 ‘(Something happened.) At this point, Peter left.’

The same analysis could hold for exclamatory use of *et*, which cannot be uttered out of the blue:

³⁴⁴ Victor Hubinon, *Opération “Mercury”*, Dupuis, 1962, plate 9 B.

³⁴⁵ Francis Bergès, *Les secrets de la Mer Noire*, Dupuis, 1994, plate 24 B.

- (338) ✓ “(Vous m’avez dit merde_i)” [_{SupP} Ø [_{IP} e_i]] [_{CP} Et [_{IP} moi je vous dis zut]]!
 (“You to-me have said shit.”) And me I to-you say damn!
 ‘(You sent me to hell.) And you, get lost!’

In those uses, *et* acts as a Presuppositional coordination. On the other hand, when the coordinated members are all expressed in a single sentence, the coordination is Given. This alternation is possible owing to the equivocal specification of coordinations, which are {-Given, -Presuppositional}.

II.3.1.1.1.1.3. Presentational sentences

Zucchi [1995:48] observed that presentational sentences of the type ‘there is x’ have the same semantics as the definite determiner, hence the deviance of the following example, which “asserts nothing more than what it presupposes”:

- (339) ?? There is the King of France.

Presentational sentences are always interpreted as presuppositional, and the definite determiner often is. In the case in point, the NP “the King of France” is Presuppositional: the consequent emphasis on the presuppositional semantics creates a redundancy effect, which sounds strange in this particular case, simply because there is no King of France anymore. On the other hand, the redundancy is not ungrammatical at all: it is effectively used in some commonplaces as in (i), and productively to say ‘X is here’ as in (ii):

- (340) (i) COMMONPLACES:
 ✓ (II) Y’a **le feu!**
 (There) LOC has the fire!
 ‘There’s a fire!’
 (ii) PRODUCTIVELY WITH THE MEANING ‘X IS HERE’:
 a. ✓ (II) Y’a **le patron!**
 (There) Loc has the boss!
 ‘The boss is here!’
 b. ✓ (II) Y’a **le président de la République!**
 (There) Loc has the president of the Republic!
 ‘The president of the Republic is here!’

Many polarity expressions are built with *(il) y’a* ‘there is’: they are idiomatic complements with deficient Presuppositional feature, needing the Presuppositional feature of the presentational auxiliary.

- (341) (i) PRESENTATIONAL NPIS:
 a. ✓ ((II) (N’))Y’a **pas!**
 ((There) (*Ne*)) LOC has not!
 ‘There’s no denying!’
 b. * (II) Y’a!
 (There) LOC has!
 a.’ ✓ ((II) (N’))Y’a pas **le feu (au lac)!**
 ((There) (*Ne*)) LOC has not the fire (to-the lake)!
 ‘There’s no panic!’
 b.’ * (II) Y’a le feu (au lac)!
 (There) LOC has the fire (to-the lake)!
 (ii) PRESENTATIONAL PPIs:
 a. * {Qu’est-ce qu’((il) (n’))y’a pas/ ((II) (N’))Y’a pas quoi}?
 {What is it that ((it) (*ne*)) LOC has not/ ((There) (*Ne*)) LOC has not why}?
 b. ✓ {**Qu’est-ce** qu’(il) y’a/ (II) Y’a **quoi**}?
 {What is it that (it) LOC has/ ((There) LOC has why)}?
 ‘What happens?’
 a.’ * ((II) (N’))Y’a pas anguille sous roche.

- ((There) (*ne*)) LOC has not eel under rock.
 b. ✓ (II) Y'a **anguille sous roche**.
 (There) LOC has eel under rock.
 'There's something in the wind.'

The presentational construct itself is an idiomatic VP needing a Presuppositional complement. A non-idiomatic synonymous of *y'avoir* like *se passer*, which has no deficient presuppositional values, renders the equivalent of (341)(ii)a fine:

- (342) a. ✓ Qu'est-ce qu'**il (ne) se passe pas**?
 What is it that it (*ne*) itself happens not?
 'What doesn't happen?'
 b. ✓ Qu'est-ce qu'**il se passe**?
 What is it that it itself happens?
 'What happens?'

Another difference between *y'avoir* and *se passer* is their (in)tolerance towards a Given adverb like *réellement* 'really': the -Presuppositional feature of *y'avoir* forces it to project SupP through Presuppositional feature, so that Given feature can no longer project.

- (343) a. ✓ Qu'est-ce {qui/ qu'il} **se passe réellement**?
 What is it {which/ that it} itself happens really?
 'What really happens?'
 b. * Qu'est-ce qu'(il) **y'a réellement**?
 What is it that (it) LOC has really?

The presuppositional property of the presentational construct could be conveyed by the clitic: in general, verbal PIs involving idiomatic clitics request a presupposed context.

- (344) ✓ "(Le chemin fut long_i.)" [_{SupP} OP_i [_{IP} On **en voit** enfin **le bout**]]!
 ("The way was long.") One PART see finally the end!
 '(The tunnel was long.) One finally see the light at the end of the tunnel!'

II.3.1.1.1.2. Identification

The complementary feature of Specific might be Generic: an item cannot be simultaneously Generic and Specific. This pair serves to implement the identification of the actors: we will call Id(entification)P the phrase it projects. Regular items are {-Specific, -Generic}, so that they can identify to every semantic role.

PIs {-Generic} as *qui que ce soit* 'whoever' cannot combine, in a modally, temporally and aspectually unmarked sentence, with a person-specific pronoun as in (i), but only allows a Generic pronoun as in (ii):

- (345) (I) WITH A PERSON-SPECIFIC PRONOUN:
 a. ✓ **Je** (*ne*) vois pas {âme qui vive/ * qui que ce soit}.
 b. ✓ **Tu** (*ne*) vois pas {âme qui vive/ * qui que ce soit}.
 c. ✓ **{II/ Elle}** (*ne*) voit pas {âme qui vive/ * qui que ce soit}.
 d. ✓ **Nous** (*ne*) voyons pas qui {âme qui vive/ * qui que ce soit}.
 e. ✓ **Vous** (*ne*) voyez pas {âme qui vive/ * qui que ce soit}.
 f. ✓ **{Ils/ Elles}** (*ne*) voient pas {âme qui vive/ * qui que ce soit}.
 {I/ You/ {He/ She}/ We/ You/ They} (*ne*) see(s) not {soul which live/ * whoever}.
 '{I/ You/ {He/ She}/ We/ You/ They} do(es)n't see anybody.'
 (II) WITH A GENERIC PRONOUN:
 a. ✓ **On** (*ne*) voit pas {âme qui vive/ qui que ce soit}.
 One (*ne*) sees not whoever.
 'One doesn't see anybody.'
 b. ✓ **Il** (*n*)'est pas vu {âme qui vive/ qui que ce soit}.

It (*ne*) is not seen whoever.
 ‘There isn’t seen anybody.’

The asymmetry disappears in presence of a modal in (a), an aspectual periphrasis in (b) or a temporal auxiliary in (c): those three linguistic objects seem able to provide the requested genericity, while an unmarked verb seems specific by default.

- (346) a. ✓ **{II/ On}** (*ne*) **veut** pas voir {âme qui vive/ qui que ce soit}.
 {He/ One} (*ne*) want not see {soul which live/ whoever}.
 ‘{He/ One} won’t see anybody.’
 b. ✓ **{II/ On}** (*n*)’est pas **en train de** voir {âme qui vive/ qui que ce soit}.
 {He/ One} (*ne*) is not in train of see {soul which live/ whoever}.
 ‘{He/ One} is not seeing anybody.’
 c. ✓ **{II/ On}** (*n*)’a pas vu {âme qui vive/ qui que ce soit}.
 {He/ One} (*ne*) has not seen {soul which live/ whoever}.
 ‘{He/ One} didn’t see anybody.’

II.3.1.1.1.3. Reference

We have used the pair Given-Presuppositional to implement the anchors to the universe of discourse; we need now a further pair to implement the anchors to a particular discourse articulation. This pair presumably projects the phrase immediately above CP, that we will label Ref(erential)P, as in Beghelli [1995]. Bianchi [1993:349] have summarized the concept of referentiality in the following manner:

- (347) The theory of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi [1990], [1991]) has enlightened the syntactic relevance of a semantic property of constituents, namely, their referentiality. This notion is precisely defined: only true arguments are referential, i.e. only the constituents that receive a referential thematic role, such as Agent, Patient, Experiencer etc., and denote a participant in the event or state expressed by the selecting predicate. All other constituents, either selected or not, are non-referential./ On the basis of this notion, Rizzi argues that the major syntactic boundary to be investigated does not lie between arguments and adjuncts, as usually assumed, but rather between referential and non-referential elements. Consider for instance idiomatic complements: they are non-referential, although selected by the idiomatic verb.

One of the features projecting RefP will be Referential; since idiomatic complements are non-referential, we will call Idiomatic its complementary feature. Regular items are {-Referential, -Idiomatic}, so that they can appear in every pragmatic context. For example, the regular items *pomme* ‘apple’ and *croquer* ‘to bite into’, when they combine to form the VP *croquer la pomme*, can alternatively project either their Referential features (and it will mean ‘to bite into the apple’), or their Idiomatic features (and it will mean ‘to make love’). In this way, all regular items are potentially ambiguous between a referential and an idiomatical use: this is precisely what allows creating new idiomatic chunks with old regular words.

II.3.1.1.1.3.1. Doubling & reprise

In current spoken French, argumental subjects are currently (and almost obligatorily) doubled by a clitic pronoun:

- (348) (I) DOUBLED NOUN:
 a. ✓ **Pierre il** a un nouveau fute.
 Peter he has a new pant.
 ‘Peter has a new pair of pants.’
 b. ✓ **Le professeur il** est sévère.
 The professor he is harsh.
 ‘The professor is harsh.’
 (II) DOUBLED STRONG PRONOUN:
 a. ✓ **Moi je** veux du gâteau.

Me I want of-the cake.
 ‘I want a piece of the cake.’
 b. ✓ **Lui il** m’énervé.
 Him he me annoys.
 ‘He annoys me.’

With quantifiers, pronominal doubling becomes marginal, and pertains to a jocular ‘register’—or to children language where quantificational feature is perhaps not yet available.³⁴⁶ Not all quantifiers support (marginal) pronominal doubling: only those ones endowed with Referential feature are compatible with a Referential pronoun.

- (349) (I) REGULAR QUANTIFIERS:
 a. ☺ **Tout le monde** il est beau, tout le monde il est gentil.
 All the people he is pretty, all the people he is nice.
 ‘Everybody’s pretty, everybody’s nice.’
 b. ☺ “**Tout le monde** il est parfait”.³⁴⁷
 All the people he is perfect.
 ‘Everybody’s perfect.’
 c. ☺ **Personne** il m’aide à m’en sortir.
 Nobody he me helps to myself LOC escape.
 ‘Nobody helps me to cope.’
 d. † “**Personne** ne t’a-t-il jamais offert son amitié?”³⁴⁸
 Nobody *ne* to-you has-*t*-he never given his friendship?
 ‘Didn’t anybody ever give you his friendship?’
 (II) IDIOMATIC NPI QUANTIFIERS:
 a. * Pas **grand-monde** il (n’)est content.
 Not great-people he (*ne*) is happy.
 b. * Pas **âme qui vive** elle (n’)est venue.
 Not soul which live she (*ne*) is came.
 c. * Pas **tout-tout** il (n’)est clair.
 Not all-all he (*ne*) is clear.

The same contrast arises with pronominal reprise:

- (350) a. ✓ “Quel maladroit, cet aubergiste! Non seulement il n’a **rien**, à manger, mais il faut encore qu’il le renverse par terre!”³⁴⁹
 b. * Quel maladroit, cet aubergiste! Non seulement il (n’)a **que dalle**_i à manger, mais il faut encore qu’il le_i renverse par terre!
 What butterfingers, this innkeeper! Not only he (*ne*) has {nothing/_i * only flagstone_i} to eat, but it is-necessary still that he it_i knocks-over on floor!
 ‘What a butterfingers, this innkeeper! Not only doesn’t he have anything to eat, but he even has to knock it over on the floor!’
 a.’ ✓ “C’est seulement quand on n’a besoin de **rien**_i qu’il faut {le_i lui/ vous le_i} demander.”³⁵⁰
 b.’ * C’est seulement quand on (n’)a pas besoin de **quoi que ce soit**_i qu’il faut le_i lui demander.
 It’s only when one (*ne*) has (not) need of (nothing/_i whatever_i) than it is-necessary {it_i to-him/ to-you it_i} to-ask.
 ‘It’s only when one doesn’t need anything than one must ask it to him.’
 a.’ ✓ “Que **personne**_i ne bouge ou il_i sera réduit à la taille de son chef!”³⁵¹
 b.’ * Que pas **âme qui vive**_i (*ne*) bouge ou elle_i sera réduite à la taille de son chef!”

³⁴⁶ Young children systematically use strong quantifiers *rien* and *tout* with the same distribution as the weak quantifier *personne* and the regular DPs, as in the following utterance noted by Agnès Lenoire in her class of the nursery school of Magland, Haute-Savoie, France, during the school year 1998-1999:

(lviii) “T’as mis rien sur la table!” [Kevin, 3;10]
 You have put nothing on the table!
 ‘You put nothing on the table!’

³⁴⁷ Michel Fugain, *Tout va bien* (Claude Lemesle), EMI, 2001.

³⁴⁸ Guy Mouminoux (Dimitri), *L’hymne à la forêt*, Glénat, 1994, plate 18.

³⁴⁹ Pierre Culliford (Peyo), *L’anneau des Castellac*, Dupuis, 1962, plate 4.

³⁵⁰ Maurice Tillieux, *La voiture immergée*, Dupuis, 1960, plate {5/ 37}.

³⁵¹ Pierre Séron, *Le pickpocket*, Dupuis, 1985, plate 42.

That {nobody/ not soul which live;_i} (*ne*) moves or {he/_i she;_i} will-be reduced to the height of his boss!
 ‘Nobody move, or he will be reduced to the height of his boss!’

These examples evidence a Referential deficiency: NPI quantifiers are {=Referential, -Idiomatic}, so that they cannot support Referential reading. The sole way to bypass this impossibility is to provide them with a Referential complement relaying the referential properties:

- (351) a. ✓ Non seulement il a **que dalle de bon**_i à manger, mais il faut encore qu’il le_i renverse par terre!
 Not only he has only paving-stone of good_i to eat, but it is-necessary still that he it_i knocks-over on floor!
 Not only doesn’t he have anything good to eat, but he even has to knock it over on the floor!
 b. ✓ C’est seulement quand on (n’)a pas besoin de **quoi que ce soit d’important**_i qu’il faut le_i lui demander.
 It’s only when one (*ne*) has not need of whatever of important_i than it is-necessary it_i to-him to-ask.
 ‘It’s only when one doesn’t need anything important than one must ask it to him.’
 c. ✓ Que pas **âme qui vive ici présente**_i (*ne*) bouge ou elle_i sera réduite à la taille de son chef!”
 That not soul which live here present_i (*ne*) moves or she_i will-be reduced to the height of his boss!
 ‘No person here present move, or he will be reduced to the height of his boss!’

Those effects of Referential feature are limited to sentence-internal co-indexation: the possibility to set up a referent in the universe of discourse depends on the higher Given-Presuppositional pair of SupP, as seen in II.3.1.1.1.1—no ‘negative’ argument can be Given or Presuppositional, the lack of everything being unable to convey any presupposition.

- (352) * Cet aubergiste (n’)a rien_i à manger. Quand je suis arrivé, il l_i’a renversé par terre.
 This innkeeper (*ne*) has nothing_i to eat. When I am arrived, he it_i has knocked-over on floor.

II.3.1.1.2. CP-layer

II.3.1.1.2.1. Force-complementizers & Fin-complementizers

According to Rizzi [1997], the fine structure of the CP-layer makes two positions typically available for complementizers: the highest one, ForceP, corresponds to French *que*, which combines with finite verbs; the lowest one, FinP, corresponds to French *de*, which combines with non-finite verbs.

- (353) a. ✓ Pierre demande **que** Jeanne **parte**.
 ‘Peter demands that Jane leave.’
 b. ✓ Pierre demande à Jeanne **de partir**.
 ‘Peter asks to Jane to leave.’

In some ‘registers’, both those complementizers can appear in a single clause: the first one combines with a preposition, the second one with the verb. Crucially, they appear in a fixed order, suggesting that *que* is generated higher than *de*, so that their crossing would lead to a RME:

- (354) a. * Avant de qu’elle parte, Jeanne se maquille.
 Before to that she leaves, Jane herself makes-up.
 b. {†/ %} **Avant que de** partir, Jeanne se maquille.
 Before that to to-leave, Jane herself makes-up.
 Before leaving, Jane makes up.
 a.’ * Au lieu de qu’il aide Jeanne, Pierre va dormir.
 In stead to that he helps Jane, Peter goes to-sleep.
 b.’ {†/ %} **Au lieu que d’aider** Jeanne, Pierre va dormir.
 In stead that to to-help Jane, Peter goes to-sleep.
 Instead of helping Jane, Peter goes and sleeps.
 a.’’ * Plutôt de que partir, Jeanne reste.

- Rather to that to-leave, Jane stays.
 b. ✓ **Plutôt que de** partir, Jeanne reste.
 Rather that to to-leave, Jane stays.
 Rather than leaving, Jane stays.

To be the highest complementizer allows *que* to combine with all other complementizers, unlike *de*:

- (355) (I) DE:
 {†/ %} **A moins {que/ * de} d'être** maso, Pierre quittera Jeanne.
 Un less {that/ to} to to-be masochistic, Peter will-leave Jane.
 'Unless Peter does be masochistic, he will leave Jane.'
 (II) A:
 a. ☺ Il fait rien {qu'/ * d'} à m'embêter!³⁵²
 He makes nothing {that/ * to} to me annoy!
 'He's always annoying me!'
 b. % Jeanne (ne) fait {qu'/ * d'} à acheter des bêtises.
 Jane (ne) makes {that/ * to} to buy of-the silly-things.
 'Jane is always buying garbage.'
 (III) POUR:
 {†/ %} Il faudrait être maso {que/ * de} **pour** rester avec Jeanne.
 It would-be-necessary to-be masochistic {that/ * to} for stay with Jane.
 'One would have to be masochistic to stay with Jane.'

We will call FORCE-COMPLEMENTIZER *que*, and FIN-COMPLEMENTIZERS *de*, *à*, and *pour*.³⁵³
 The two classes apparently contrast regarding the availability of expletive *ne*:

- (356) a. ✓ Parle à Pierre **avant qu'il (ne)** parte!
 Talk to Peter before that he (*ne*) leaves!
 'Talk to Peter before his leaving!'
 b. ✓ Pierre chauffe son moteur **avant de (* ne)** partir.
 Peter warms-up his engine before to (* *ne*) move-off.
 'Peter warms up his engine before he moves off.'

Unavailability of expletive *ne* in (356)b follows from the lack of landing site: since the inflectional-layer is reduced to PRO, it cannot cliticize. If we provide a non-nominative clitic as the accusative *le*, proclisis can obtain.³⁵⁴

- (357) ✓ **Avant de (ne) le** faire partir, Pierre chauffe son moteur.
 Before to (*ne*) it make start-up, Peter warms-up his engine.
 'Before to start it up, Peter warms up his engine.'

There is thus no direct incompatibility between a non-argumental clitic and a Fin-complementizer, but simply a lack of the inflectional layer where cliticization is done; if an argumental clitic opens this layer, then a non-argumental clitic may cliticize on it.

³⁵² Typical children's utterance.

³⁵³ Additionally, *pour* has a prepositional guise, which can take a *que*-clause as its complement:

- (lix) ✓ Il faudrait que Pierre soit maso **pour qu'**il reste avec Jeanne.
 It would-be-necessary that Peter be masochistic for that he stay with Jane.
 'Peter would have to be masochistic to stay with Jane.'

³⁵⁴ When *ne* assigns scope to a 'negative' adverb, it plausibly attaches to it when spelled-out in its base position; in spoken use, it preferably raises up to the next inflection where it cliticizes, as seen in I.1.2.2.2:

- (lx) a. ✓ (II) N'y'a l'air de <ne> pas y'avoir grand-monde.
 There *ne* LOC has the appearance to <*ne*> not LOC have great-people.
 'There seems to be not a lot of people here.'
 b. ✓ Je ne pensais <ne> pas venir à la soirée.
 I *ne* was-thinking <*ne*> not to-come at the party.
 'I thought not to come at the party.'

II.3.1.1.2.2. Complementizers reduction

A sequence of two Force-complementizers is a context calling for a readjustment rule:

- (358) (I) SEQUENCING TWO CLAUSES CONTAINING *QUE*:
- a. ✓ Ça prouve **que** tu as des lettres.
It proves that you have PL-INDEF-DET letters.
'It proves that you are well read.'
- b. ✓ Ça (ne) prouve (jamais) **que** ça.
It (*ne*) proves (never) only this.
'It (ever) proves only this.'
- a. + b. → c. ✓ "Ça n'prouve jamais **que** [* **que**] tu as des lettres".³⁵⁵
It (*ne*) proves never that (* that) you have PL-INDEF-DET letters.
'It (ever) proves that you are well read.'
- (II) SEQUENCING *QUE* & A COMPOUNDED C° CONTAINING *QUE*:
- a. ✓ Plutôt **que** de le voir partir, je préfère m'en aller.
Rather that of him to-see to-leave, I prefer me LOC go.
'I prefer leaving rather than see him to leave.'
- b. ✓ **Qu'**il parte m'est égal.
That he leaves to-me is equal.
'I don't care that he leaves.'
- a. + b. → c. ✓ Plutôt (* **que**) **qu'**il parte, je préfère m'en aller.
Rather (* that) that he leaves, I prefer me LOC go.
'I prefer leaving rather than he leaves.'
- (III) SEQUENCING A COMPOUNDED C° CONTAINING *QUE*, & *QUE*:
- a. ✓ Il (ne) manquerait plus **que** ça!
It (*ne*) would-miss no-longer that this!
'That's the last straw!'
- b. ✓ **Que** ce diable de Fynn arrive serait un comble!
That this devil of Fynn come would-be a height!
'The coming of this wretched Fynn would be the last straw!'
- a. + b. → c. ✓ "Il ne manquerait plus [* **que**] que ce diable de Fynn arrive!"³⁵⁶
It *ne* would-miss no-longer that this devil of Fynn come!
'The coming of this wretched Fynn would be the last straw!'

It seems reasonable to think that the two *que* of the (c) sentences would occupy the same position in ForceP, so that their overlapping lead to identification (rather than to cancellation). In fact, no reduction of two contiguous phonologically identical elements applies if they pertain to different grammatical categories:

- (359) a. ✓ Un *(un) en plastique bleu.
A one in plastic blue.
'A one in blue plastic.'
- b. ✓ Une *(une) fracassante.
A front-page shattering.
'A shattering front-page.'
- c. ✓ Tout compte *(tout compte) fait.³⁵⁷
All counts all counts done.
'Everything is important, all things considered.'

More precisely, a canceling rule applies only when the two identical contiguous elements pertain both to the complementizer-preposition class: if only one of them pertains to this class, the canceling rule fails to apply.

³⁵⁵ Isabelle Adjani, *Entre autre pas en traître* (Serge Gainsbourg), Philips, 1983.

³⁵⁶ Philippe Berthet, *Le privé d'Hollywood*, Dupuis, 1985, plate 5.

³⁵⁷ Christophe Miossec, *Tout compte tout compte fait*, Play it again Sam, 1998.

- (360) ✓ Agir en *(en) connaissant l'enjeu.
 To-act in *(GENITIVE) knowing the stake.
 'Acting in knowing what are the action stakes.'

A readjustment rule also applies to the Fin-complementizer *de* when it precedes the compounded plural indefinite determiner, which is made up of the homonymous partitive preposition plus a determiner. In fact, the Fin-complementizer *de* is requested by the verb *se souvenir* 'to remember' at the singular in (a), but cannot appear at the plural in (b):

- (361) a. ✓ Pierre se souvient *(d')un moment difficile de son enfance.
 Peter himself remembers (* of) a moment difficult of his childhood.
 'Peter remembers a difficult moment of his boyhood.'
 b. ✓ Pierre se souvient (* de) des moments difficiles de son enfance.
 Peter himself remembers (* of) of-the moments difficult of his childhood.
 'Peter remembers difficult moments of his boyhood.'

Gross [1967:107] observed, "Ce phénomène n'est pas limité aux compléments indirects en *de*, on le retrouve associé à toutes les fonctions grammaticales dans lesquelles la préposition *de* intervient devant un GN, comme par exemple dans: (*à la place + au lieu*) *de* GN, (*un (morceau + certain nombre)*) *de* GN, (*à partir + au moyen + à la manière*) *de* GN, (*en fonction de*) GN, ainsi qu'en relation avec divers prédétermineurs" 'This phenomenon isn't limited to indirect complements introduced by *de* 'of' [= partitives], one finds it in association with all grammatical functions where the preposition *de* intervenes before a NP, as for instance in: (*in its place or instead*) of NP, (*a (part or given number)*) of NP, (*from or by means or in the manner*) of NP, (*in function of* [= 'according to'] NP, and in relation with various pre-determiners [= quantifiers]'; he proposed, in a transformational framework, the following cancellation rule:

- (362) (RC) [Règle de cacophonie]: *de de Artg* → *de*.
 ['Cacophony rule: *of of Generic-definite-determiner* → *of*']

The 'cacophony rule' would thus apply to sentences as the following:

- (363) a. * En compagnie de de(s) beaux garçons.
 b. ✓ En compagnie de(s) beaux garçons.
 'In company with any pretty boys.'

Again, since the nature of the context is not only phonological, but requests in addition some functional identity, we will claim that the two *de* are somehow overlapping, leading to identification rather than to cancellation.

II.3.1.1.2.3. Exclamation & negation

Exclamatory constructs are just a proper subset of the contexts able to combine with NPIs quoted from Giannakidou [1998:169(table 5)] in (236), and illustrated for French in (237): this could provide an indirect explanation for the fact, often observed in French grammars, that the homonymous exclamatory *que* in (a) and interrogative *que* in (b) lead to inverse meaning.

- (364) a. ✓ Que ne lui as-tu pas dit (là)!
 What *ne* to-him have you not said (there)!
 → 'There is a thing that you said to him (and you wouldn't have had to say it).'
 b. ✓ Que ne lui as-tu pas dit?
 What *ne* to-him have you not said?
 → 'There is a thing that you didn't say to him (and I want to know which thing).'

On the one hand, the ‘negative’ semantics of items appearing within an exclamatory sentence seems to be suspended by the (ironical) exclamation: in fact, the non-negative counterpart of (364) is identical for the (a) sentences, but opposed for the (b) sentences.

- (365) a. ✓ *Que lui as-tu dit (là)!*
 What to-him have you said (there)!
 → ‘There is a thing that you said to him (and you wouldn’t have had to say it).’
 b. ✓ *Que lui as-tu dit?*
 What to-him have you said?
 → ‘There is a thing that you said to him (and I want to know which thing).’

On the other hand, combining exclamatory *que* and interrogation makes a negation obligatory: interrogation implying uncertainty about the polarity of the presupposition, the ‘negative’ semantics of exclamation is frozen, so that its morphological expressions becomes necessary.

- (366) a. * *Que vient-il à la soirée?*
 b. ✓ *Que ne vient-il (pas) à la soirée?*
 What-why (*ne*) comes he (not) at the party?
 → ‘I’m asking why, and I regret that he doesn’t come at the party.’
 a.’ * *Que le lui a-t-il dit?*
 b.’ ✓ *Que ne le lui a-t-il (pas) dit?*
 What-why (*ne*) it to-him has-*t*-he (not) said?
 → ‘I’m asking why, and I regret that he didn’t tell it to him.’

The semantic equivalence between the two polarities of an exclamation is systematical, also in constructs other than exclamatory *que*, as illustrated by the following examples with the ‘positive’ guise in the (a) sentences and the ‘negative’ guise in the (b) sentences:

- (367) (I) WITH A SPEAKER-ORIENTED VERB:
 a. ✓ *Je vous le demande!*
 b. ✓ *Je (ne) vous le demande pas!*
 I (*ne*) to-you it ask (not)!
 → ‘I’m not asking it to you.’
 a.’ ✓ *Tu m’étonnes!*
 b.’ ✓ *Tu (ne) m’étonnes pas!*
 You (*ne*) me amaze (not)!
 → ‘It’s not surprising.’
 a.’’ ✓ *“Je m’en fous qu’elle soit belle/ Au moins elle est fidèle!”*³⁵⁸
 b.’’ ✓ *Je m’en fous qu’elle (ne) soit pas belle, au moins elle est fidèle!*
 I to-me PART give-a-damn-about that she (*ne*) be (not) pretty, at least she is faithful!
 → ‘I couldn’t give a damn whether my face is pretty or not, at least it is faithful.’
 (II) WITH FUTURE:
 a. ✓ *Tu seras déçu!*
 b. ✓ *Tu (ne) seras pas déçu!*
 You (*ne*) will-be (not) disappointed!
 → ‘You will have a deception.’
 a.’ ✓ *C’est ton père qui va être content!*
 b.’ ✓ *C’est ton père qui (ne) va pas être content!*
 It is your dad that (*ne*) will (not) be glad!
 → ‘Your dad won’t be glad.’
 a.’’ ✓ *“Ce qui va être commode, c’est d’expliquer tout ça à Patarsort!”*³⁵⁹
 b.’’ ✓ *Ce qui (ne) va pas être commode, c’est d’expliquer tout ça à Patarsort!*
 What that (*ne*) will (not) be easy, it is to explain all that to Springpaw!
 → ‘Explain the whole story to Springpaw won’t be easy.’

³⁵⁸ Johnny Hallyday, *Ma gueule* (Gilles Thibaut), Philips, 1979.

³⁵⁹ Roland Goossens (Gos), *La menace des kromoks*, Dupuis, 1980, plate 25.

(III) WITH IMPERATIVE:

- a. ✓ Téléphone-moi toujours!
 b. ✓ (Ne) Me téléphone jamais!
 {Phone to-me always/ (Ne) To-me phone never}!
 → ‘Don’t ever call me!’

(IV) WITH EXCLAMATORY *ÇA*:

- a. ✓ Ça m’est bien égal qu’il ait l’air normal!
 b. ✓ Ça m’est bien égal qu’il (n’)ait pas l’air normal!
 That to-me is quite equal that he (*ne*) be (not) the air normal!
 → ‘I really don’t care whether he looks normal.’
 a.’ ✓ Ça t’apprendra à faire des bêtises!
 b.’ ✓ Ça t’apprendra à (ne) pas faire de(s) bêtises!
 That to-you will-learn to (not) do {PART/ PL-INDEF-DET} silly-things!
 → ‘That’ll teach you a lesson.’

(V) WITH *QUEL* ‘WHAT’:

- a. ✓ Quels dégâts causera-t-il!
 b. ✓ Quels dégâts (ne) causera-t-il pas!
 What damages (*ne*) will-cause he (not)!
 → ‘He will cause a lot of damage.’
 a.’ ✓ Quelle fut sa stupeur!
 b.’ ✓ Quelle ne fut (pas) sa stupeur!
 What *ne* was his amazement!
 → ‘He was very amazed.’

If exclamation can have a ‘negative’ semantics to deny a presupposition, the equivalences in (367) provide a further illustration of the generalized NC claimed in II.2.2: under this hypothesis, it’s expected that the insertion of a negation within a presuppositionally ‘negative’ exclamation doesn’t entail any meaning change.

Exclamation is actually able to activate a ‘negative’ presupposition within the LP-layer, so that a ‘positive’ adjective, unable to entail a ‘negative’ reading within a mere descriptive sentence as in (a), becomes able to do so within an exclamatory sentence as in (b)—insults discussed in III.1.2.2.1 are just a systematical use of this ‘negative’ presuppositional property of exclamation.

- (368) a. Jeanne est intelligente. * → Jeanne est stupide.
 ‘Jane is intelligent.’ * → ‘Jane is stupid.’
 b. {Comme/ Qu’est-ce que} Jeanne est intelligente! ✓ → {Comme/ Qu’est-ce que} Jeanne est stupide!
 ‘How intelligent is Jane!’ ✓ → ‘How stupid is Jane!’

Exclamation is necessary to avail the presuppositional guise of the Increasing noun *un peu*, which means ‘a little bit’ in (a) without any presupposition, but ‘a lot’ in (b) when it denies a ‘negative’ presupposition through a ‘negative’ exclamation:

- (369) A: Ça va mieux?
 ‘Are you better?’
 a. B: ✓ **Un peu.**
 A few.
 ‘{✓ A little/ * A lot}.’
 b. B: ✓ **Un peu!**
 A few!
 ‘{* A little/ ✓ A lot}!’

II.3.1.1.2.4. Interrogation & negation

In (in)direct interrogative contexts, Romance N-words are interpreted as P-words—Italian example (ii)b gathers in two contiguous sentences a *nessuno* interpreted as ‘somebody’ under the interrogative scope of *se* ‘whether’, and as ‘nobody’ under the ‘negative’ scope of *non*

‘not’:

(370) (I) FRENCH:

- a. ✓ {**Quelqu’un/ Personne (n’)**} a téléphoné?
 {Somebody/ Nobody (*ne*)} has phoned?
 ‘Did anybody call?’
- b. ✓ {**Quelqu’un/ Personne (n’)**} a vu ma perceuse?
 {Somebody/ Nobody (*ne*)} has seen my hammer-drill?
 ‘Did anybody see my hammer drill?’
- c. ✓ La lune a-t-elle {**un jour/ jamais**} porté la vie?
 The moon has-she {some day/ never} borne the life?
 ‘Did any day the moon borne the life?’
- d. ✓ Je me demande si {**quelqu’un/ personne**} viendra avec moi.
 I to-me ask whether {somebody/ nobody} will-come with me.
 ‘I’m asking to myself whether anybody will come with me.’
- e. ✓ “Il voulait savoir si **aucun** débris important **ne** flottait entre deux eaux...”³⁶⁰
 He wanted to-know if no remains important *ne* floated between two waters...
 ‘He wanted to know whether any significant remains didn’t float just below the surface.’

(II) ITALIAN:

- a. ✓ “C’è **nessuno** in casa...?/ Is **anybody** home...?”³⁶¹
 It is nobody at home...?/ Is anybody home...?
 ‘Is anybody home?’
- b. ✓ “[Renzo] diede un’occhiata [...] per veder se c’era **nessuno**. E non vedendo **nessuno**, cercò con l’occhio il sentiero [...]”³⁶²
 Renzo gave a quick-look to see whether it were nobody. And not seeing nobody, he-searched with the eye the path.
 ‘Renzo took a quick look to see whether it were **somebody**. Then, seeing **nobody**, he searched for the path.’

Tovena [1996:196] noted, “The consensus seems to be that questions are environments for which monotonic properties cannot be asserted”. However, an asymmetry between Increasing and Decreasing PIs in interrogatives suggests that monotonicity is not the right concept: if the question turns on an monotone adjectival PI, whose {Scalar} specification is incompatible with the {=Scalar} specification of negation in declarative contexts, an Increasing one in (i) requests negation in interrogative context, while a Decreasing one in (ii) persists to reject it.

(371) (I) INCREASING ADJECTIVAL PI:

- a. ✓ (Est-ce que) C(e n)’est pas **chouettos**, ça?
 (It is that) It (*ne*) is not funny, this?
 ‘Isn’t it funny, is it?’

- b.* (Est-ce que) C’est chouettos, ça?
 (It is that) It is funny, this?

(II) DECREASING ADJECTIVAL PI:

- a.* (Est-ce que) C(e n)’est pas **craignos**, ça?
 (It is that) It (*ne*) is not shady, this?
- b. ✓ (Est-ce que) C’est **craignos**, ça?
 (It is that) It is shady, this?
 ‘Is it shady, isn’t it?’

Having itself a (non-monotone) quantificational nature, Interrogative feature seems rather to freeze quantificational differences as Universal vs. Individual, or Existent vs. Absent: in fact, a question on a quantificational item implies that one is unaware of its quantificational properties, hence the reading alternation of ‘negative’ quantifiers in questions.

³⁶⁰ Victor Hubinon, *S.O.S. soucoupes volantes!*, Dupuis, 1959, plate 37.

³⁶¹ Sergio Caputo, *Visite a sorpresa*, Fonit Cetra, 1990.

³⁶² Alessandro Manzoni, *I promessi sposi*, 1842, text established by Lanfranco Caretti, Milan, Mursia (GUM), 1966, p. 269.

However, Interrogative feature doesn't freeze the presuppositional properties located in the LP-layer: the *si-oui* alternation of a 'positive' answer made visible the semantic difference between a question containing a 'positive' quantifier in (i), which conveys a 'positive' presupposition, and a 'negative' quantifier in (ii), which conveys a 'negative' presupposition.

- (372) (i) WITHOUT ANY PRESUPPOSITION:
 A: ✓ **Quelqu'un** a(-t-il) téléphoné?
 Somebody has(-t-he) phoned?
 'Did somebody call?'
 B: {✓ **Oui!**/ * **Si!**}
 {'Yes!'/ 'Indeed, he does!'}
 (ii) WITH 'NEGATIVE' PRESUPPOSITION:
 A: ✓ **Personne** (n')a(-t-il) téléphoné?
 Nobody (*ne*) has(-t-he) phoned?
 'Did anybody call?'
 B: {* **Oui!**/ ✓ **Si!**}
 {'Yes!'/ 'Indeed, he does!'}

Interrogation suspends thus the polarity of the presupposition, which is realized by the answer. In such environments, the 'negativity' of the quantifiers fails to relate with a 'negative' SM if there is no presupposition calling for an answer (be it *oui*, *si*, or *no*): *ne* is always presuppositional, and compatible only with direct questions in (i); rhetoric questions in (ii) and indirect questions in (iii), which don't call for an answer, fail to host a presuppositional SM.

- (373) (i) COMPATIBLE WITH DIRECT QUESTIONS:
 ✓ **Personne (n')**a {téléphoné/ vu ma perceuse}?
 Nobody (*ne*) {has phoned/ seen my hammer-drill}?
 'Did anybody {call/ see my hammer drill}?'
 (ii) INCOMPATIBLE WITH RHETORIC QUESTIONS:
 ✓ La lune (* **n')**a-t-elle **jamais** porté la vie?
 The moon (* *ne*) has-she never borne the life?
 'Did the moon ever borne the life?'
 (iii) INCOMPATIBLE WITH INDIRECT QUESTIONS:
 ✓ Je me demande si **personne (* ne)** viendra avec moi.
 I to-me ask whether nobody (* *ne*) will-come with me.
 'I'm asking to myself whether somebody will come with me.'

The uncertainty conveyed by Interrogative feature allows *pas*-drop if the presuppositional SM is spelled out, as arises with Moods and modals expressing uncertainty (see II.3.1.1.4.1):

- (374) a. ✓ Pierre **ne** rêve *(**pas**) d'être beau.
 Peter *ne* dreams not of to-be pretty.
 'Peter doesn't dream to be pretty.'
 b. ✓ Qui **ne** rêve (**pas**) d'être beau?
 Who *ne* dreams (not) of to-be pretty?
 'Who doesn't dream to be pretty?'

For Italian, where no morphology is available to express the *si-oui* alternation, Tovena [1996:196(6.73)] observed that the presuppositional differences entail a variation of 'negative' marking: "Questions are the only context where *nessuno* can have negative and indefinite ['positive' FC PI] readings."³⁶³ However, these readings are not freely

³⁶³ It's not true: as seen in the preceding paragraph, also exclamation allows a 'positive' reading of 'negative' quantifiers in Romance, including Italian:

(lxi) ✓ Questo è il piú bel servizio che **nessuno** mi abbia **mai** fatto!
 This is the most nice turn that nobody to-me have never done!
 'This is the most good turn anybody ever did me!'

available”—*non* insertion doesn't changes the polarity of the polar quantifier interpreted as 'positive' in (i), but leads to metalinguistic reading with the quantifier interpreted as 'negative' in (ii).

- (375) (i) 'POSITIVE' QUANTIFIER READING:
 a. È venuto nessuno?
 Is come nobody?
 'Did anybody come?'
 b. Non è venuto nessuno?
 Not is come nobody?
 'Didn't anybody come?'
 (ii) 'NEGATIVE' QUANTIFIER READING:
 a. Nessuno è venuto?
 Nobody is come?
 'Did nobody come?'
 b. Nessuno non è venuto?
 Nobody not is come?
 'NOBODY didn't come?' [Small upper case our.]

II.3.1.1.2.5. Negation in the CP-layer

II.3.1.1.2.5.1. Lexically 'negative' complementizers

In subordinate structures, negation can occur either in the IP-layer, or in the dominating CP-layer. In the Classic Latin described by Ernout & Thomas [1959], the position of negation was closely related to the semantics of the sentence. In the case of 'explanation', one negated the embedded verb:

- (376) EXPLANATION (Ernout & Thomas [1959:III.I.§310]):
 a. ✓ Accidit **ut** erremus.
 Happens that we-mistake.
 'It happens that one makes a mistake.'
 b. ✓ Accidit **ut non** veniat.
 Happens that not he-come.
 'It happens that he not come.'

In the case of will, a 'negative' particle *ne* took the place of the complementizer:

- (377) WILL (Ernout & Thomas [1959:III.I.§307]):
 a. ✓ Suadeo tibi **ut** legas.
 I-advise you to read.
 b. ✓ Suadeo tibi **ne** legas.³⁶⁴
 I-advise you to-not read.

The fear about the happening of an event was obligatorily expressed with the 'negative' complementizer, so that the literal translation of "I fear that he might come" actually meant "I fear that he might not come"; the fear about the non-happening of an event was able to be expressed with the non-negative complementizer *ut* as good as with the 'negative' complementizer *non* and the 'negative' particle *ne*:

- (378) FEAR (Ernout & Thomas [1959:III.I.§311]):
 a. ✓ Timeo *(**ne**) veniat.
 I-fear not he-come-SUBJ.
 'I fear that he might come.'

³⁶⁴ Marginally, the complementizer can co-occur with the 'negative' particle, with emphatic function:

(lxii) ✓ Suadeo tibi *ut ne* legas.
 I-advise you to not read.

- b. ✓ *Timeo {ne non/ ut} veniat.*
 I-fear {not non/ that} he-come-SUBJ.
 ‘I fear that he might not come.’

The case of impediment and doubt was more articulated: the complementizer appeared on two distinct ‘negative’ guises, *ne* in non-negative contexts, *quin* in (interro-)‘negative’ contexts.

- (379) (i) IMPEDIMENT & DOUBT (Ernout & Thomas [1959:III.1.§313 & 314]):
 ✓ *Impedio *(ne) proficiscatur.*
 I-prevent *ne* he-leave-SUBJ.
 ‘I prevent him to leave.’
 (ii) NON-IMPEDIMENT:
 ✓ *Non impedio quin proficiscatur.*
 Not I-prevent *quin* he-leave-SUBJ.
 ‘I don’t prevent him to leave.’
 (iii) QUESTION ON IMPEDIMENT:
 ✓ *Impedione³⁶⁵ quin veniat?*
 I-prevent-*ne quin* he-come-SUBJ?
 ‘Do I prevent him to come?’

II.3.1.1.2.5.2. Syntactic negation in the CP-layer

The existence of lexicalized ‘negative’ complementizers in Classic Latin contrasts with the French strategy of overt realization, in the CP-layer, of syntactic sequences functioning like ‘negative’ complementizers:

- (380) a. ✓ *Mieux vaut ne {pas/ plus/ jamais} que tu l’apprennes.*
 Better is-worth *ne* {not/ no-longer/ never} that you it learn.
 ‘It’s better that you {not/ no longer/ never} hear about it.’
 b. ✓ *Il faut ne {pas/ plus/ jamais} que tu l’apprennes.*
 It is-necessary *ne* {not/ no-longer/ never} that you it learn.
 ‘You must {not/ no longer/ never} hear about it.’
 c. ✓ *Ne {pas/ plus/ jamais} que tu l’apprennes est une bonne idée.*
Ne {not/ no-longer/ never} that you it learn is a good idea.
 ‘It’s a good idea that you {not/ no longer/ never} hear about it.’
 d. ✓ *Pierre est parti pour ne {pas/ plus/ * jamais} que Jeanne l’apprenne.*
 Peter is left for *ne* {not/ no-longer/ * never} that Jane it learn.
 ‘Peter has left in order that Jane does {not/ no longer} hear about it.’

Unlike in Classic Latin, only the syntactic sequences of complementizers in (i) allow a negation within the CP-layer; the lexicalized complementizers in (ii), which are compounds of the category I.A.6 of Bouvier [1999], do not:

- (381) (i) SYNTACTIC SEQUENCE:
 a. ✓ *Pour que.*
 For that.
 ‘In order to.’
 b. ✓ *Pour que ne pas.*
 For that *ne* not.
 ‘In order to not.’
 c. ✓ *Pour ne pas que.*
 For *ne* not that.
 ‘In order to prevent that.’
 (ii) COMPOUNDED COMPLEMENTIZER:
 a. ✓ *A moins {que/ de}.*
 To less {that/ of}.

³⁶⁵ Besides its complementizer-like guise with fear-verbs, *ne* was also an affirmative particle signifying ‘indeed’ or ‘I do’, and an enclitic interrogative particle; the interrogative guise of *ne* modifies the complementizer-like one in *quin*, as *non* does.

- ‘Unless that.’
 b. ✓ **A moins {que/ de} ne pas.**
 To less {that/ of} *ne* not.
 ‘Unless that not.’
 c. * **A moins ne pas {que/ de}.**
 To less *ne* not {that/ of}.
 ‘Unless not that.’
 a.’ ✓ **Au lieu {que/ de}.**
 At-the place {that/ of}.
 ‘Instead of.’
 b.’ ✓ **Au lieu {que/ de} ne pas.**
 At-the place {that/ of} *ne* not.
 ‘Instead of not.’
 c.’ * **Au lieu ne pas {que/ de}.**
 At-the place *ne* not {that/ of}.
 ‘Instead not of.’

Though normatively condemned, the syntactic sequence [*pour ne pas que*] is widespread: in fact, it provides an additional semantics not available with normalized sequence [*pour que ne pas*], which can be paraphrased as ‘to prevent’, just like Latin ‘negative’ complementizers.

- (382) a. ✓ “Il s’est peint en bleu **pour ne pas que** je puisse lui faire signer le contrat”.³⁶⁶
 He himself is painted in blue to *ne* not that I can him make sign the contract.
 ‘He painted himself blue to prevent that I can make him sign the contract.’
 b. ✓ “Sur une planète nouvelle, toute bleue/ Bleue **pour (ne) pas qu’**on la confonde”.³⁶⁷
 On a planet new, all blue, blue to (*ne*) not that one it mistake.
 ‘On a new planet entirely blue to prevent that one mistakes it for another.’
 c. ✓ “Je t’offrirai des fleurs/ Et des nappes en couleurs/ **Pour ne pas qu’**Octobre nous prenne”.³⁶⁸
 I to-you will-give-of-the flowers and of-the tablecloths in colors to *ne* not that October us take.
 ‘I will give you flowers and colorful tablecloths to prevent that October take us.’
 d. ✓ “Alors, il lui sourit **pour ne pas qu’**elle s’inquiète”.³⁶⁹
 Then, he to-her smiles to *ne* not that she herself worries.
 ‘Then he smiles to her to prevent that she frightens.’

This construct can also involve adverbial quantifier *plus* in (i)a and argumental quantifier *rien* in (i)b, but neither quantificational adverb *jamais* in (ii)a, nor quantificational argument *personne* in (ii)b:

- (383) (I) ADVERBIAL & ARGUMENTAL QUANTIFIERS:
 a. ✓ Pierre a caché le chocolat **pour (ne) {pas/ plus}** que Jeanne grossisse.
 Peter has hided the chocolate to (*ne*) {not/ no-longer} that Jane get-fatter-SUBJ.
 ‘Peter hided the chocolate to prevent that Jane gets fatter.’
 a.’ ✓ “On tend les bras comme un trémail/ **Pour ne plus** que l’amour s’en aille”.³⁷⁰
 One stretches-out the arms like a trammel-net/ To *ne* no-longer that the love itself LOC leave.
 ‘One stretches out one’s arms like a trammel net to prevent that love leaves any longer.’
 b. ✓ Pierre a tout caché **pour (ne) rien** que Jeanne trouve.
 Peter has all hided to (*ne*) nothing that Jane find-SUBJ.
 ‘Peter hided everything to prevent that Jane finds anything.’
 (II) QUANTIFICATIONAL ADVERBS & ARGUMENTS:
 a. * Pierre a caché le chocolat **pour (ne) jamais** que Jeanne grossisse.³⁷¹

³⁶⁶ Othon Aristidès (Fred), *Le diable du peintre*, Dargaud, 1987, plate 43.

³⁶⁷ Francis Cabrel, *Assis sur le rebord du monde*, Columbia, 1994. The SM within parentheses is written in the booklet but not sung.

³⁶⁸ Francis Cabrel, *Octobre*, Columbia, 1994.

³⁶⁹ Francis Cabrel, *Le noceur*, Columbia, 1994.

³⁷⁰ Gérard Lenorman, *Entre l’amour et l’infini* (A. Damecourt), Sonodisc, 2000.

³⁷¹ Possible in Quebecois, where *jamais* has probably the featural set of a true quantifier, as illustrated by the following example taken from Lynda Lemay, *La place au sous-sol*, Warner Canada, 2000:

(lxiii) % “Et une rampe à l’escalier/ **Pour ne jamais qu’**elle trébuché”.
 And a banister to the stairs/ For *ne* never that she stumbles.

- Peter has hid(ed) the chocolate to (*ne*) never that Jane get-fatter-SUBJ.
 b. * Pierre a tout arrangé **pour (ne) personne** que Jeanne voie.
 Peter has all settled to (*ne*) nobody that Jane see-SUBJ.

Thus the syntactic status of quantifier seems necessary to reach a quantificational position in the CP-layer: quantifiers with adverbial properties like *pas* and *plus* in (i)a are able to reach it, while an adverb with quantificational properties like *jamais* in (ii)a is not; a quantifier with argumental function like *rien* in (i)b is able to reach it, while an argument with quantificational properties like the determiner *personne* in (ii)b is not. The latter contrast mirrors the general distribution of *rien-tout* ‘nothing-all’, which are true quantifiers of the Q category, and *personne-quelqu’un* ‘nobody-somebody’, which are quantificational items of the D category:

- (384) (i) ARGUMENTAL QUANTIFIER:
 a. * J(e n)’ai vu rien.
 I (*ne*) have seen nothing.
 b. ✓ J(e n)’ai rien vu.
 I (*ne*) have nothing seen.
 ‘I saw nothing.’
 a.’ * J’ai vu tout.
 I have seen all.
 b.’ ✓ J’ai tout vu.
 I have all seen.
 ‘I saw everything.’
 (ii) QUANTIFICATIONAL ARGUMENT:
 a. ✓ J(e n)’ai vu personne.
 I (*ne*) have seen nobody.
 b. {☺/ ††} J(e n)’ai personne vu.³⁷²
 I (*ne*) have nobody seen.
 ‘I saw nobody.’
 a.’ ✓ J’ai vu quelqu’un.
 I have seen somebody.
 b.’ {*/ ††} J’ai quelqu’un vu.
 I have somebody seen.
 ‘I saw somebody.’

A ‘negative’ sequence in the CP-layer can introduce either a non-negative, or a ‘negative’ subordinate, since it stays higher than the embedded subject, and thus outside of the predicate scope of an embedded negation:

- (385) a. ✓ Pierre a mangé le chocolat **pour (ne) pas que** Jeanne grossisse.
 Peter has eaten the chocolate for (*ne*) not that Jane get-fat.
 ‘Peter has eaten the chocolate in order that Jane doesn’t get fat.’
 b. ✓ Pierre a laissé le chocolat à Jeanne **pour (ne) pas qu’elle (ne)** grossisse **pas**.
 Peter has let the chocolate to Jane for (*ne*) not that she (*ne*) get-fat not.
 ‘Peter has let the chocolate to Jane in order that she doesn’t get not fat.’

The use of a ‘negative’ CP in (385)b is the sole way to express in logical use what (386) could express only in metalinguistic use: in fact, (385)b becomes ungrammatical if we replace the ‘negative’ CP by a non-negative one, leaving the negation within the embedded predicate.

- (386) * Pierre a laissé le chocolat à Jeanne pour qu’elle ne grossisse pas pas.
 Peter has let the chocolate to Jane for that she *ne* get-fat not not.
 ‘Peter has let the chocolate to Jane in order that she doesn’t not get fat.’

‘And a banister to prevent that she ever stumbles over the stairs.’

³⁷² This archaic raising is not a quantificational movement, but a remainder of the general object-scrambling in Old French. Only the ‘negative’ (ii)b is still in use for jocular purpose, creating an apparent asymmetry with the ‘positive’ (ii)b’.

Three possibilities are thus available for negation-insertion in a sentence made up of a main clause plus a subordinate one: either to negate the main verb, either to negate the embedded verb, or to negate the complementizer. This holds for the double-complementizer *pour que* as good as for the sole *que*:

- (387) (i) WITH *FALLOIR* ‘TO BE NECESSARY’:
 a. ✓ Il **ne** faut **pas que** tu l’apprennes.
 ‘You don’t must to hear about it.’
 b. ✓ (II) Faut **que** tu **ne** l’apprennes **pas**.
 ‘You must to not hear about it.’
 c. ✓ (II) Faut **ne pas que** tu l’apprennes.
 → ‘{You must not to hear about it/ You must to not hear about it}.’
 (ii) WITH *VALOIR MIEUX* ‘TO BE BETTER’:
 a. ✓ Il **ne** vaut mieux **pas que** tu l’apprennes.
 ‘It’s not better that you hear about it.’
 b. ✓ (II) Vaut mieux **que** tu **ne** l’apprennes **pas**.
 ‘It’s better that you not hear about it.’
 c. ✓ (II) Vaut mieux **ne pas que** tu l’apprennes.
 → ‘{It’s better not that you hear about it/ It’s better that you not hear about it}.’

Not all the three possibilities are available in all contexts: Michal Starke [p.c.] observed that the most natural point of negation-insertion in (a) becomes ungrammatical if we raise the adverb *mieux* up to the first position, a relic of the V-2 stage of French still available with the verb *valoir*. The ungrammaticality of the (a) sentence could follow from a RME between the ‘positive’ adverb *mieux* and the ‘negative’ adverb *pas*: the common feature responsible for RME could in fact be Scalar.

- (388) a. * Mieux ne vaut pas que tu l’apprennes.
 b. ✓ Mieux vaut **que** tu **ne** l’apprennes **pas**.
 ‘It’s better that you not hear about it.’
 c. ✓ Mieux vaut **ne pas que** tu l’apprennes.
 → ‘{It’s better not that you hear about it/ It’s better that you not hear about it}.’

Neither are the three possibilities of (387)-(388) equivalent: in absence of a specific RME as in (388)a, the (a) and the (b) sentences are unmarked, the (c) sentences marked; the (a) and the (b) sentences have a univocal interpretation, the (c) sentences exhibit scope ambiguity. The two differences are related. We claimed in the first part that contrary to quantificational feature, whose raising provides additional interpretive possibilities, ‘Negative’ feature is interpreted within the predicate where it is spelled-out. There is no surprise with the adverbial quantifier *pas*, which behaves like a quantifier; more surprisingly, a quantificational adverb is able to occupy a CP-position in the absence of *pour* (vs. (383)(ii)a), and can exhibit the same scopal ambiguity as *pas*:

- (389) a. ✓ (II) Faut **ne jamais que** tu l’apprennes.
 → ‘{You must never to hear about it/ You must to never hear about it}.’
 b. ✓ (II) Vaut mieux **ne jamais que** tu l’apprennes.
 → ‘{It’s better never that you hear about it/ It’s better that you never hear about it}.’

This suggests that a ‘negative’ adverb appearing within the CP-layer is topicalized (excepted within a *pour*-clause, which has a specific structure and other semantic properties). In the ‘raised’ interpretation of the (c) sentences of (387)-(388), as in (389), the scopal properties of negation would thus be falsified by that of Focus and have the same structure as the following cleft ‘negative’ arguments:

- (390) a. ✓ “Avant, il n’y avait **rien** ici que quelques buissons”.³⁷³
 Before, there *ne* LOC were nothing here than some bushes.
 ‘Beforehand, there were only some bushes here.’
 b. ✓ ((II) (N’))Y’a **rien** là que de très naturel.
 ((There) (*Ne*)) LOC has nothing here than of very natural.
 ‘It’s only natural.’
 c. ✓ ((II) (N’))Y’a **personne** ici que quelques touristes égarés.
 ((There) (*Ne*)) LOC has nobody here than some tourists lost.
 ‘Here, there is nobody other than some lost tourists.’

The question is then why does the asymmetry come again between an argumental quantifier in (a) and a quantificational argument in (b):

- (391) a. ✓ (II) Vaut mieux **ne rien que** t’apprennes.
 → ‘{It’s better nothing that you hear/ It’s better that you hear about nothing}.’
 b. * (II) Vaut mieux ne personne que tu vois.
 (It) Is better *ne* nobody that you see.

The contrast presumably follows from independent reason related to extraction conditions across a complementizer: being a quantifier, *rien* can move as a Q head; being a determiner, *personne* can only move as a QP, after extended-NP-internal movement to the specifier of QP.

II.3.1.1.2.5.3. Complementizers allowing ‘pas’-drop

In Old French, *ne* had a fully ‘negative’ featural set, and was always able to negate the sentence on its own.³⁷⁴

- (392) a. “Vostre olifan **ne** deignastes suner”. [XCII.1171]
Vous n’avez [pas] daigné sonner de votre cor.
 You *ne* have [not] deigned sound of you horn.
 ‘You didn’t deign to sound your horn.’
 b. “**Ne** deit manger, se jo ne li cumant”. [CXCII.2659]
[Charles] ne doit [pas] manger si je ne [le] lui commande.
 [Charles] *ne* must [not] eat if I *ne* it to-him command.
 ‘Charles mustn’t eat unless I command him to do so.’
 c. “**Ne** finerai en trestut mun vivant”. [CXCII. 2662]
Je ne reposerai [pas] de tout mon vivant.
 I *ne* will-rest [not] of all my living.
 ‘I won’t have a rest since I will be alive.’

Items that optionally combined with *ne* were non-negative:

- (393) a. “Ultre, culvert! Carles n’est **mie** fol”. [XCIII.1207]
Outre, puceau! Charles n’est un peu fou.
 Beyond, sucker! Charles *ne* is a bit mad.
 ‘Buzz off, sucker! Charles isn’t mad.’
 b. “De voz manaces, culvert, jo n’ai **essoign**”. [XCIV.1232]
De vos menaces, puceau, je n’ai soïn.
 Of your threats, sucker, I *ne* have care.
 ‘I don’t care of your threats, sucker.’
 c. “Suz cel n’ad **gent** ki l’osast querre en champ”. [CXXXIV.1782]
Sous le ciel il n’y a gens qui osassent l’appeler en champ de bataille.
 Under the sky there *ne* LOC has people who dare it call in field of battle.
 ‘Nobody on earth dare to call it into the battlefield.’

³⁷³ Roland Goossens (Gos), *Le magicien de la grande ourse*, Dupuis, 1974, plate 20.

³⁷⁴ Examples (392)-(393) are taken from *La chanson de Roland* written by Turol in the second half of the XIth century. We quote the text established by Pierre Jonin for Gallimard [1979].

In Modern French, *ne* is -‘Negative’: to project a ‘negative’ sentence, it has thus to combine with another ‘negative’ element, typically *pas*. We will see in II.3.1.1.4.1 that the proper subset of modals and Moods expressing uncertainty of the trueness of the event are possible candidates to combine with the SM, leading to optional *pas*-drop. Some complementizers expressing uncertainty of the trueness of an event display the same effect:

- (394) (I) WITH THE ‘NEGATIVE’ GUISE OF *POUR QUE*:
 ✓ “Et **pour que** tu **ne** t’effarouches/ Vois, je ne prends que ta bouche”.³⁷⁵
 And for that you *ne* yourself shy/ See, I *ne* take only your mouth.
 ‘And to not frighten you, I take your only mouth.’
- (II) WITH *SI*:
 a. ✓ La terre serait un paradis, **si** elle **n**’était (pas) si mal habitée.
 The earth would-be a paradise, if it *ne* was (not) so bad inhabited.
 ‘Earth would be a nice place if it wasn’t badly inhabited.’
 b. ✓ **Si** tu **ne** viens (pas) tout de suite, je pars sans toi.
 If you *ne* comes (not) all in succession, I leave without you.
 ‘If you don’t come straightaway, I leave without you.’
- (III) WITH *DE* & COMPARATIVE:
 a. ✓ Il **n**’est (pas) de pire ennemi **que** soi-même.
 There *ne* is (not) of worse enemy than oneself.
 ‘One has no worse enemy than oneself.’
 b. ✓ Il **n**’est (pas) de plus belle ville **que** Paris.
 There *ne* is (not) of more beautiful town than Paris.
 ‘No town is more beautiful than Paris.’
- (IV) WITH TEMPORAL EXPRESSIONS & *QUE*:
 a. ✓ (II) Y’a **vingt ans que** je **ne** l’ai (pas) vu.
 (There) LOC has twenty years that I *ne* him have (not) seen.
 ‘I didn’t see him since twenty years.’
 b. ✓ Ça fait **longtemps qu**’il **n**’est (pas) arrivé de lettre.
 It makes longtime that it *ne* is (not) arrived of letter.
 ‘No letter arrived since a long time.’
- (V) WITH A NOMINATIVE RELATIVE INTRODUCED BY A ‘NEGATIVE’ MAIN CLAUSE:
 ✓ Je (ne) connais **personne qui n**’aime (pas) prendre le temps de vivre.
 I (*ne*) know nobody that-NOM *ne* likes (not) take the time to live.
 ‘I don’t know anybody that doesn’t like to make time to enjoy life.’

II.3.1.1.2.5.4. Comparatives & superlatives

Comparatives are able to combine with some NPIs. This is due on the one hand to their Scalar properties; on the other hand, to their intrinsic semantics conveying a ‘negative’ presupposition, as shown by the availability of expletive *ne*³⁷⁶ in (ii)b.

- (395) (I) ADJECTIVAL NPIs:
 a. ✓ “Avoue que pour camper, il existe des endroits plus **folichons!**”³⁷⁷
 Confess that to camp, there exist-of-the places more exciting!
 ‘You must confess, there exist more exciting places to camp!’
 b. ✓ Jeanne est aussi **causante** qu’une pierre.
 ‘Jane is as chatty as a stone.’
- (II) ARGUMENTAL NPIs:
 a. ✓ Pierre est plus beau que **qui que ce soit** de sa classe.
 Peter is more pretty than whoever in his grade.
 ‘Peter is prettier than anybody in his grade.’
 b. ✓ Pierre est plus intéressant que **grand-monde** (ne) l’est dans sa classe.
 Peter is more interesting than great-people (*ne*) it is in his grade.
 ‘Peter is more interesting than anybody in his grade.’

³⁷⁵ Serge Gainsbourg, *L’eau à la bouche*, Philips, 1960.

³⁷⁶ See II.3.1.1.1.1.1.

³⁷⁷ Pierre Séron, *Le manoir de la dent verte*, plate 3, in *Mosquito 417*, Dupuis, 1984.

Superlatives, which convey the ‘negative’ presupposition “there doesn’t exist another one as A as X”, display the dame effect:

- (396) a. ✓ Cette histoire est la plus **croyable** de toutes.
 ‘This story is the most believable of everyone.’
 b. ✓ Jeanne est la moins **sortable** de sa classe.
 Jane is the less presentable of her grade.
 Jane is the less presentable girl of her grade.

Under the ‘negative’ c-command of superlatives, which also convey a \forall semantics, \forall adverbs like *jamais* are interpreted as \exists , as happens under the scope of a proper $\forall\neg$ c-commander:³⁷⁸

- (397) ✓ “Mais c’est le plus fier service que tu m’aies **jamais** rendu!...”³⁷⁹
 But it is the most good turn that you to-me has never given!...
 ‘But this is the most good turn you ever did me!’

Some polarized expressions typically involve superlative:

- (398) a. ✓ Une situation **du plus haut ridicule**.
 A situation of-the most high ridicule.
 ‘An utterly ridiculous situation.’
 b. ✓ Une œuvre **du meilleur tonneau**.
 A work of-the better barrel.
 ‘An out-of-side work.’
 c. ✓ Un auteur **de la plus belle eau**.
 An author of the most beautiful water.
 ‘An author of the most major fineness.’
 d. ✓ Un fanatique **de la plus pure espèce**.
 A fanatic of the most pure kind.
 ‘A perfect fanatic.’

None of them can be negated: they are PPIs emphatically expressing the most ‘positive’ degree of a thing.

- (399) a. * Une situation qui (n’)est pas du plus haut ridicule.
 A situation which (*ne*) is not of-the most high ridicule.
 b. * Une œuvre qui (n’)est pas du meilleur tonneau.
 A work which (*ne*) is not of-the better barrel.
 c. * Un auteur qui (n’)est pas de la plus belle eau.
 An author which (*ne*) is not of the most beautiful water.
 d. * Un fanatique qui (n’)est pas de la plus pure espèce.
 A fanatic which (*ne*) is not of the most pure kind.

II.3.1.1.2.6. Coordinations as a subtype of complementizers

Coordinations fill essentially the same function as complementizers: they introduce some kind of complement in a broad sense, expressing also its type of dependency. Nevertheless, they are rather special in so that they require from their complement to be structurally parallel to the directly c-commanding element; in fact, the internal structure of coordinated constituents in the (x’) sentences is strongly constrained at every level of analysis, contrary to the subordinate clauses that are freely projected regardless of their content in the (x) sentences:

- (400) (I) SYNTACTIC LEVEL: COORDINATED PHRASES MUST PERTAIN TO THE SAME GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY:
 a. ✓ La fille qui promène le chien.

³⁷⁸ See II.2.2.1.2.4 and II.3.1.1.3.4 for the $\neg\exists$ reading of $\forall\neg$ items under $\forall\neg$ c-command.

³⁷⁹ Victor Hubinon, *Alerte à Cap Kennedy*, Dupuis, 1965, plate 44 B.

- ‘The girl that walks the dog.’
 a. ✓ [La fille]_{DP} et [le chien]_{DP}.
 ‘The girl and the dog.’
 b. ✓ La fille qui part loin.
 ‘The girl that goes away.’
 b. * [La fille]_{DP} et [partir loin]_{VP}.
 ‘The girl and to go away.’
 c. ✓ La fille qui est sur le banc.
 ‘The girl that is on the bench.’
 c. * [La fille]_{DP} et [sur le banc]_{PP}.
 ‘The girls and on the bench.’
 d. ✓ Il boit en mangeant.
 ‘He drinks while eating.’
 d. ✓ [Il boit]_{IP} et [il mange]_{IP}.
 ‘He drinks and he eats.’
 e. ✓ Il boit du vin en mangeant du pain.
 ‘He drinks wine while eating bread.’
 e. ✓ Il [boit du vin]_{VP} et [mange du pain]_{VP}.
 ‘He drinks wine and eats bread.’
 f. ✓ Il boit du vin en mangeant.
 ‘He drinks wine while eating.’
 f. ? Il [boit du vin]_{VP} et [mange]_{VP}.
 ‘He drinks wine and eats.’
 g. ✓ Il boit en mangeant du pain.
 ‘He drinks while eating bread.’
 g. ?? Il [boit]_{VP} et [mange du pain]_{VP}.
 ‘He drinks and eats bread.’

(II) SEMANTIC LEVEL: COORDINATED VERBS MUST PERTAIN TO THE SAME LEXICAL FIELD:

- a. ✓ Il va avant de venir.
 ‘He goes before to come.’
 a. ✓ Il va et il vient.
 ‘He goes and he comes.’
 b. ✓ Il parle avant de venir.
 ‘He speaks before to come.’
 b. * Il parle et il vient.³⁸⁰
 ‘He speaks and he comes.’
 c. ✓ Une femme parle avec goût d’un homme qui a du goût.
 ‘A woman speaks with good taste about a man that has good taste.’
 c. ✓ Cette femme et cet homme ont du goût.
 ‘This woman and this man have good taste.’
 d. ✓ Une femme parle avec goût d’une vache qui a du goût.
 ‘A woman speaks with good taste about a cow that has good taste.’
 d. * Cette femme et cette vache ont du goût.
 ‘This woman and this cow have good taste.’

(III) PHONOLOGICAL LEVEL: BOTH COORDINATED MEMBERS MUST BE AT THE PLURAL TO ALLOW LIAISON:

- a. * Les hommes _et la femme.
 ‘The men and the woman.’
 a. ✓ Les hommes _et les femmes.
 ‘The men and the women.’
 b. ?? Les lèvres _et la peau.³⁸¹

³⁸⁰ Two verbs not pertaining to the same lexical field can be coordinated only if coordination has a temporal value of succession:

(lxiv) ✓ Il parle et il vient. → Il parle puis il vient.

‘He speaks and he comes.’ → ‘He speaks then he comes.’

³⁸¹ France Gall makes this liaison in *Frankenstein* (Gainsbourg), EMI, 1972: it just sounds very strange to our ears. Michal Starke [p.c.], which accepts (b) but rejects (a), suggested that an embedded determiner phrase cannot be specific in case of liaison. For him, (b) becomes ungrammatical if we force a specific reading:

(lxv) * Les lèvres _et la peau du mouton que tu as tué hier.

‘The lips and the skin of the sheep that you killed yesterday.’

We will not adopt his hypothesis, since the following example is not acceptable at all, even if *une femme* receives a generic interpretation:

(lxvi) * {Les/ Des} hommes _et une femme.

- ‘The lips and the skin.’
 b. ✓ Les lèvres *et* les dents.
 ‘The lips and the teeth.’

Coordination can act on every XP, including an entire sentence:

- (401) (i) DP/QP:³⁸²
 a. ✓ Je veux manger [du pain] et [de la confiture].
 I want to-eat of-the bread and of the jam.
 ‘I want to eat bread and jam.’
 b. ✓ Je veux épouser [un prince] ou [personne].
 ‘I want to marry a prince or nobody.’
 (ii) PP:³⁸³
 a. ✓ “Ces vieux films **en noir et blanc** mais **faits/ Comme on les aimait**”.³⁸⁴
 Those old films in black and white but made as one them loved.
 ‘Those old black and white films, but made just as we liked.’
 b. ✓ “[...] un papier **de soie/ Mais qui ne se déchire pas**”.³⁸⁵
 A paper of silk but that *ne* itself tear-up not.
 ‘A paper made of tissue but that never tear.’
 (iii) VP:
 a. ✓ Je veux [manger du bleu] et [boire du rouge].
 I want to-eat of-the blue and to-drink of-the red.
 ‘I want to eat blue-veined cheese and drink red wine.’
 b. ✓ Je veux [épouser un prince] ou [(n’)épouser personne].
 I want to-marry a prince or (*ne*) to-marry nobody.
 ‘I want to marry a prince or to not marry nobody.’
 (iv) PREDICATE:
 a. ✓ Je [veux manger du gigot] et [exige boire un grand millésime].
 I want to-eat of-the leg-of-lamb and demand to-drink a great vintage.
 ‘I want to eat a slice off the joint and demand to drink vintage wine.’
 b. ✓ Je [veux épouser un prince] ou [préfère (n’)épouser personne].
 I want to-marry a prince or prefer (*ne*) to-marry nobody.
 ‘I want to marry a prince or prefer not to marry whoever.’
 (v) SENTENCE:
 a. ✓ [Je veux manger du gigot] et [Pierre veut boire du vin].
 I want to-eat of-the leg-of-lamb and Peter want to-drink of-the wine.
 ‘I want to eat a slice off the joint and Peter want to drink wine.’
 b. ✓ [Je veux épouser un prince] mais [Pierre (*ne*) veut pas épouser un roturier].
 I want to-marry a prince but Peter (*ne*) wants not to-marry a common-birth.
 ‘I want to marry a prince but Peter doesn’t want to marry a common birth.’

The structural parallelism often allows to invert the two coordinated members without meaning change. Even around a ‘negative’ coordination like the compounded *sinon* ‘if not’ (made up of *si* ‘if’ and *non* ‘not’), the two orders describe a unique statement of facts:

- (402) (i) WITH AN OBJECT:
 a. ✓ Je prends un chocolat chaud *sinon* rien.

{The/ D-INDEF-PL} men and a woman.
 ‘(The) Men and a woman.’

³⁸² Proper nouns behave like DPs—they presumably raise in the functional layers of their extended projection (perhaps in the specifier of DP):

- (lxvii) a. ✓ Pierre (*ne*) veut pas manger Macdo ni Pizza Hut.
 Peter (*ne*) wants not to-eat Macdo nor Pizza Hut.
 ‘Peter wants to eat neither Macdo, nor Pizza Hut.’
 b. ✓ Jeanne veut épouser Pierre ou personne.
 Jane want to-marry Peter or nobody.
 ‘Jane wants to marry either Peter, or nobody.’

³⁸³ To be complement of the same noun is sufficient to ensure structural parallelism.

³⁸⁴ Michel Fugain, *Les roncières* (Brice Homs), EMI, 1995.

³⁸⁵ Michel Fugain, *Forteresse* (Brice Homs), Flarenasch, 1992.

- I take a chocolate hot if-not nothing.
 ‘I take a hot chocolate and otherwise nothing.’
 b. ✓ Je (ne) prends rien sinon un chocolat chaud.
 I (ne) take nothing if-not a chocolate hot.
 ‘I take nothing if not a hot chocolate.’
 a.’ ✓ Pierre aime lui-même sinon personne.
 Peter loves him-self if-not nobody.
 ‘Peter loves himself and otherwise nobody.’
 b.’ ✓ Pierre (n’) aime personne sinon lui-même.
 Peter (ne) loves nobody if-not him-self.
 ‘Peter loves nobody if not himself.’
 (II) WITH A SUBJECT:
 a. ✓ Du bon arrivera sinon rien.
 Of good will-arrive if-not nothing.
 ‘Only good things will happen and otherwise nothing.’
 b. ✓ Rien (n’) arrivera sinon du bon.
 Nothing (ne) will-arrive if-not of good.
 ‘Nothing will happen if not good things.’
 a.’ ✓ Pierre viendra chez Jeanne sinon personne.³⁸⁶
 Peter will-come at Jane if-not nobody.
 ‘Peter will come at Jane’s place and otherwise nobody.’
 b.’ ✓ Personne (ne) viendra chez Jeanne sinon Pierre.
 Nobody (ne) will-come at Jane if-not Peter.
 ‘Nobody will come at Jane’s place if not Peter.’

If the syntactic functional features defining the types of clause are carried by the complementizers, and if coordinations are a subtype of complementizers, it remains to determine what sort of features makes the difference between the former and the latter—and call in the one case, but not in the other, for the structural parallelism.

II.3.1.1.2.6.1. Coordinate clauses as {-Subordinate, -Independent}

Grammatical tradition recognizes four types of clauses: independent, coordinate, subordinate, and main clauses;³⁸⁷ two features will thus suffice to derive four combinations. Now, the four types gather into natural pairs: on the one hand, the coordinate depends on a coordinator just as the subordinate depends on a subordinator; on the other hand, main clauses stay in root position like the independents. Such natural pairs constitute an empirical motivation for a featural derivation.

The crucial point is to determine which are the basic features, and which are the derived ones. For theoretical economy, it would be desirable to choose the marked values as the basic features—but three of the four types appear to be marked, namely Independent, Subordinate, and Coordinate, for only one unmarked type, namely Main. Within the three marked types, considering Coordinate as derived would be consistent with our intuition that coordinations are a subtype of complementizers. We will thus choose the following combinations:

³⁸⁶ It’s true that the semantic parallelism is not perfect when a more complex thematic structure intervenes:

- (lxviii) a. ✓ Jeanne aime Pierre sinon personne.
 Jane loves Peter if-not nobody.
 ‘Jane loves Peter and otherwise nobody.’
 b. ✓ Personne (n’) aime Pierre sinon Jeanne.
 Nobody (ne) loves Peter if-not Jane.
 ‘Nobody loves Peter if not Jane.’

Anyway, the difference between (a) and (b) is not syntactic: only the pragmatic implications are not parallel—the fact that Jane loves only Peter doesn’t imply that no other person than Jane loves Peter.

³⁸⁷ We leave aside interpolated clauses: since they can be freely inserted at (almost) every point of the sentence thanks to a distinctive stress, we will consider them as metalinguistic objects.

(403)	{+INDEPENDENT}	{+SUBORDINATE}	{-SUBORDINATE}
	{-INDEPENDENT}	Main clause	Independent clause
		Subordinate clause	Coordinate clause

This tool might provide an explanatory ground for the requirement of structural parallelism between members entering coordination: coordinate clauses at the same time cannot stay alone because they are not Independent, and cannot combine with any main clause because they are not Subordinate; thus the only way for them to not crash is to maintain a straight identity of content—their structural parallelism ensure on the one hand their mutual interpretive dependency, on the other hand their self-sufficiency with respect to the surrounding constituents.

II.3.1.1.2.6.2. Coordination & null elements

Apparent imperfection in structural parallelism may follow from the silent presence of null elements. This might be the case when one of the two coordinated members is negated, and the other not, as in the following Italian example:

- (404) ✓ Piero vuole [[Ø mangiare] e [n n bere]].
 Pierre want to-eat and not to-drink.
 ‘Peter want to eat, not to drink.’

Even if negation and (emphatic) affirmation don’t share the same projection, the empty overt position before the first infinitive constitutes a potential insertion point for a ‘positive’ adverbial SM:

- (405) ✓ Piero vuole [[sí mangiare] e [n n bere]].
 Pierre want yes to-eat and not to-drink.
 ‘Peter want indeed to eat, not to drink.’

This analysis implies that global negation (*non* with close vowel) can precede a gapped modal, but not local negation (*n•n* with open vowel); depending on the ‘negative’ scope, the same sentence will thus have two distinct structures, made visible by the closeness vs. openness of the vowel:

- (406) a. ✓ Piero vuole [[Ø mangiare] e [{* non/ ✓n n} bere]].
 b. ✓ Piero [[Ø vuole mangiare] e [{✓non/* n n} <e V> bere]].

In French, the same structural ambiguity is evidenced by the (im)possibility of *ne*-insertion:

- (407) a. ✓ Pierre veut certes manger et (* ne) pas boire.
 Pierre want indeed to-eat and (* *ne*) not to-drink.
 b. ✓ Pierre certes veut manger et (ne) pas boire.
 Pierre indeed want to-eat and (*ne*) not to-drink.

Coordination itself can be realized as a null element: in fact, coordinated structures can be asyndetical, syndetical, polysyndetical, or asyndetical-syndetical. The most economical way to account for these variations is to claim that in every case a null coordination is present in the structure:

- (408) (I) ASYNDETIICAL (ARCHAIC POETIC USE):
 † Pierre mange [[Ø pain] [Ø fromage]].
 Peter eats bread cheese.
 (II) SYNDETIICAL (COMMON USE):
 ✓ Pierre mange [[Ø pain] [et fromage]].

Peter eats bread and cheese.

(III) POLYSYNDETICAL (EMPHATIC USE):

✓ Pierre mange [[et pain] [et beurre] [et fromage]].

Peter eats and bread and butter and cheese.

(IV) ASYNDETICAL-SYNDETICAL (COMMON USE):

✓ Pierre mange [[Ø pain] [Ø beurre] [et fromage]].

Peter eats bread butter and cheese.

Replacing the non-negative *et* ‘and’ by the ‘negative’ *ni* ‘nor’ gives a grammatical result only with polysyndetical coordination: a null element must be recoverable, as the unmarked coordination above, and in absence of overt ‘negative’ marking one couldn’t understand the coordinated members under the scope of negation.

(409) (I) ASYNDETICAL:

* Pierre (ne) mange [[Ø pain] [Ø fromage]].

Peter (*ne*) eats bread cheese.

(II) SYNDETICAL:

* Pierre (ne) mange [[Ø pain] [ni fromage]].

Peter (*ne*) eats bread nor cheese.

(III) POLYSYNDETICAL (common use):

✓ Pierre (ne) mange [[ni pain] [ni beurre] [ni fromage]].

Peter (*ne*) eats nor bread nor butter nor cheese.

‘Peter eats neither bread, neither butter, nor cheese.’

(IV) ASYNDETICAL-SYNDETICAL:

* Pierre (ne) mange [[Ø pain] [Ø beurre] [ni fromage]].

Peter (*ne*) eats bread butter nor cheese.

Question-tags being neither Subordinate, nor Independent, they have just the featural characterization of coordinate clauses; their peculiarity is to be obligatorily asyndetical, because the ‘coordination’ is a presupposition, devoid of phonological realization. Questions gifted with question-tags sound like a rhetoric question, namely an exclamatory statement of fact: rather than to call for a confirmation, the fundamental semantics of question-tags seems to express the wish of the opposite answer to that carried by the presuppositional feature of the preceding question. Under this view, question-tags might be viewed as coordinate clauses of the opposite polarity of the presupposed answer: when a ‘negative’ presupposition (‘n’-p) combines with a ‘positive’ presupposition (‘p’-p), all presuppositions are cancelled, as in the following tentative implementation on the examples of Ó Siadhail [1973:144-145]:

(410) a. ✓ [SupP -p [CP Beidh tú ag imeacht amárach]], [SupP ‘p’-p [CP an mbeidh]]?

‘You’re leaving tomorrow, are you?’

b. ✓ [SupP +p [CP Beidh tú ag imeacht amárach]], [SupP ‘n’-p [CP nach mbeidh]]?

‘You’re leaving tomorrow, aren’t you?’

c. ✓ [SupP -p [CP Ní beidh tú ag imeacht amárach]], [SupP ‘p’-p [CP an mbeidh]]?

‘You’re not leaving tomorrow, are you?’

d. * [SupP +p [CP Ní beidh tú ag imeacht amárach]], [SupP ‘n’-p [CP nach mbeidh]]?

‘You’re not leaving tomorrow, aren’t you?’

The (a) sentence is appropriate when the question carries a ‘negative’ presupposition that a ‘positive’ question-tag will cancel; the (b) sentence is appropriate when the question carries a ‘positive’ presupposition that a ‘negative’ question-tag will cancel. When the question is ‘negative’, as in the (c) sentence, its ‘negative’ presupposition will be correctly cancelled by a ‘positive’ question-tag.

The problem with the (d) sentence is that a ‘negative’ interrogation cannot carry any ‘positive’ presupposition at all: question-tags apart, if ‘positive’ questions can be freely used when one expects either a ‘positive’, or a ‘negative’ answer, ‘negative’ questions seem universally used when one expects a ‘negative’ answer. This observation is consistent with

the distribution of the two French guises of ‘yes’, *oui* that confirms the hope of the interlocutor, and *si* that dashes the hopes of an interlocutor having formulated a ‘negative’ demand:

- (411) A: ✓ Tu (ne) viens pas à la soirée(, n’est-ce pas)? (‘n’-p)
 You (*ne*) comes not at the party(, *ne* is it not)?
 ‘You do not come at the party, is it?’
 a. B: ✓ **Non!** (‘n’-p)
 ‘Not!’ [Reinforces the interlocutor’s presupposition.]
 b. B: * **Oui!** (no p)
 ‘Yes!’ [Cannot act on any presupposition.]
 c. B: ✓ **Si!** (‘p’-p)
 ‘Indeed I am!’ [Cancels the interlocutor’s presupposition.]

II.3.1.1.2.6.3. Further coordination specificities

Coordinations also carry specific features, for instance Conjunction vs. Disjunction. The four basic coordinations can be defined by the crossing of Disjunction and ‘Negative’:

(412)		‘NEGATIVE’	NON-NEGATIVE
	∧	<i>mais</i> ‘but’	<i>et</i> ‘and’
	∨	<i>ni</i> ‘nor’	<i>ou</i> ‘or’

This characterization implies that *ni* doesn’t function like *et... ne... pas* ‘and not’, as currently assumed by normative grammarians, but actually like the ‘negative’ counterpart of *ou*, consistently with the morphological symmetry of the English translations ‘or’-‘nor’. This would explain why *ni* can combine with *pas* in (i) or another ‘negative’ adverb in (ii)-(iii),³⁸⁸ an unexpected result if *ni* were the lexicalization of *et... ne... pas*, which already contains *pas*.

- (413) (I) WITH *PAS*:
- a. ✓ Pierre **ne** craint **pas ni ne** désire la gloire.
 Peter *ne* fears not nor *ne* wish the glory.
 ‘Peter neither fears, nor wishes the glory.’
- b. ✓ Pierre (**n**)est **pas** sorti **ni** hier **ni** aujourd’hui.
 Peter (*ne*) is not gone-out neither yesterday nor today.
 ‘Peter didn’t go out, neither yesterday, nor today.’
- (II) WITH *JAMAIS*:
- a. ✓ “**Jamais ni** les Américains, **ni** les Russes, **ne** vous laisseront les mains libres!...”³⁸⁹
 Never nor the Americans, nor the Russians, *ne* you will-let the hands free!...
 ‘Neither Americans, nor Russians, will ever give you a free hand!’
- b. ✓ “**Jamais, ni** Lapaille **ni** Lapoûtre **n**’ont porté de gants... **Jamais**...”³⁹⁰
 Never, nor Lapaille, nor Lapoûtre *ne* have worn of gloves... Never...
 ‘Neither Lapaille, nor Lapoûtre, ever wore gloves... They didn’t ever do...’
- c. ✓ “Un type qu’on **ne** voit **jamais ni** dehors, **ni** au café...”³⁹¹
 A guy that one *ne* sees never nor outside, nor at the café...
 ‘A guy that never goes neither out, nor at the café...’
- (III) WITH *NON PLUS*:
- ✓ “**Ni moi non plus**, Seeley!”³⁹²
 Nor me not no-longer, Seeley!
 ‘Neither am I, Seeley!’

³⁸⁸ Such sentences are very common in informal written, even if condemned by normative grammarians.

³⁸⁹ Victor Hubinon, *Alerte à Cap Kennedy*, Dupuis, 1965, plate 33 A.

³⁹⁰ Pierre Séron, *Le triangle du diable*, Dupuis, 1979, plate 9.

³⁹¹ Othon Aristidès (Fred), *L’histoire de la dernière image*, Dargaud, 1999, plate 4.

³⁹² André Benniest (Benn), *Le samaritain de Yosemite*, Dargaud, 1998, plate 21.

II.3.1.1.3. Quantificational questions

II.3.1.1.3.1. One or more ‘negative’ quantifiers classes

Acquaviva [1995:20] postulated a set of functional projections hosting various ‘negative’ adverbs and SMs of various languages, and called them with the neutral label FP followed by an arbitrary number. Such functional projections are presumably of two kinds: part of them is adverbial; part of them is quantificational. Anyway, a quantifier typology should take into account the various quantificational positions of ‘negative’ items—and yet, in that of Beghelli [1995:47], all ‘negative’ quantifiers are globally labeled as NQPs:

- (414) QP-TYPES OF BEGHELLI [WITH POSSIBLE FRENCH COUNTERPARTS]:
- a. **Interrogative QPs (WhQPs)**. These are familiar Wh-phrases such as *who*, *what*, *which man*, etc.
 - b. **Negative QPs (NQPs)**. QPs such as *nobody* [personne], *no man* [aucun homme, nul homme], etc. (In this group belong also French n-words such as *personne* ‘nobody’, and possibly Italian/ Spanish n-words such as *nessuno/ nadie* ‘nobody’, which sometimes require an overt negative element to license them).
 - c. **Distributive-Universal QPs (DQPs) [set referent]**. These are QPs built with *every* [tout], *each* [chaque, chacun]. Their characteristic property is to allow only a distributive interpretation. In English, all DQPs are universally quantificational and require singular agreement.
 - d. **Group-denoting QPs (GQPs) [group referent]**. To this class belong various subtypes, each with partly different properties:
 - (i) indefinite QPs and plain existentials built with *some* [quelques], *several* [plusieurs] [, *all the people* [tout le monde], *all the students* [tous les étudiants], *somebody* [quelqu’un]];³⁹³
 - (ii) ‘bare-numeral’ QPs like *one student* [un étudiant], *two students* [deux étudiants], ...;
 - (iii) definite QPs like *the students* [les étudiants], *these students* [ces étudiants], ...;
 - (iv) and ‘partitive’ QPs like *one of the men* [un des hommes], *two of the men* [deux des hommes], ...
 GQPs may (and often do) receive collective interpretations.
 - e. **Counting QPs (CQPs) [set referent]**. These include cardinality expressions of varying monotonicity: decreasing QPs like *few men* [peu d’hommes], *fewer than five men* [moins de cinq hommes], *at most six men* [au plus six hommes], ...; increasing QPs like [*much men* [beaucoup d’hommes],] *more than five men* [plus de cinq hommes], *at least six men* [au moins six hommes], ...; and non-monotone³⁹⁴ ones like *between six and nine students* [entre six et neuf étudiants], *more (students) than (teachers)* [plus d’(étudiants) que de (professeurs)], ... Typically, these QPs are built with ‘modified numeral’ quantifiers. Their characteristic semantic property is to ‘count’ individuals with a given property.

Beghelli [1995] mentioned the existence of a further class of quantifiers in Hungarian, but didn’t consider it because not attested in English. French owns two plausible candidates for this class, let’s call it EQPs: *moins que* ‘less than’ (distinct from CQP *moins de* ‘less than’) and *plus que* ‘more than’ (distinct from CQP *plus de* ‘more than’).

- (415) ADDITIONAL QP-TYPE:
- f. **Distributive-Existential QPs (EQPs) [group referent]**. These include cardinality expressions of decreasing monotonicity like *moins que cinq homes*, and of increasing monotonicity like *plus que cinq hommes*.

EQPs are Distributive like DQPs, but introduce a group referent like GQPs; they are not \forall , but \exists . According to the tests of Beghelli [1995:86-87], their Distributive feature renders them incompatible with collective predicates:

- (416) (i) WITH *ENCERCLER* ‘TO SURROUND’:
- a. GQP: ✓ **Dix soldats** encerclent la maison.
 - b. CQP: ✓ **Plus de dix soldats** encerclent la maison.

³⁹³ These adjuncts have been confirmed by Beghelli [p.c.].

³⁹⁴ These are analyzed as “determiners that denote existential functions but are not cardinal in Higginbotham’s sense” by Zucchi [1995:76], with the following example:

(lxix) ✓ There are more male than female in the garden.

- c. EQP: * Plus que dix soldats encerclent la maison.
 ‘{Ten/ More than ten/ * More that ten} soldiers surround the house.’
 (II) WITH *COMPARER* ‘TO COMPARE’:
 a. GQP: ✓ Jeanne compare **dix hommes**.
 b. CQP: ✓ Jeanne compare **plus de dix hommes**.
 c. EQP: * Jeanne compare plus que dix hommes.
 ‘Jane compares {ten/ more than ten/ * more that ten} men.’

Conversely, their Distributive feature renders them compatible with the distributive NP *un différent* ‘a different’:

- (417) a. GQP: * Dix étudiants ont lu un livre différent.
 b. CQP: * Plus de dix étudiants ont lu un livre différent.
 c. EQP: ✓ **Plus que dix étudiants** ont lu un livre différent.
 ‘{* Ten/ * More than ten/ More that ten} students read a different book.’

EQPs and CQPs built with *plus* also exhibit a phonological difference: the final consonant cannot be pronounced on the CQP, but must be on the EQP.

- (418) (i) CQP:
 {* PluS/ ✓ **Plus**} de dix étudiants.
 ‘More than ten students.’
 (ii) EQP:
 {✓ **PluS**/ * Plus} que dix étudiants.
 ‘More that ten students.’

NQPs seem far from able to form a homogeneous class: we will rather claim that they are shared out amongst the various non-negative QP classes—excepting the WhQPs, which are also shared out amongst the various QP classes. The following table gathers the possible French ‘negative’ guises of CQPs, DQPs, EQPs, and GQPs—the lack of definite ‘negative’ quantifiers is not surprising, since definiteness requires existence; the lack of ‘negative’ non-monotone quantifiers is expected too: negation representing the bottom of an existential scale, to negate a middle interval is not possible.³⁹⁵

- (419) QP-TYPES WITH ‘NEGATIVE’ GUISES:

CQPs [set referent]:

Monotone decreasing QPs:

Peu d’hommes.	Pas peu d’hommes.
Moins de cinq hommes.	Pas moins de cinq hommes.
Au plus six hommes.	Pas plus de six hommes.

Monotone increasing QPs:

Beaucoup d’hommes.	Pas beaucoup d’hommes.
Plus de cinq hommes.	Pas plus de cinq hommes.
Au moins six hommes.	Pas moins de six hommes.

Non-monotone QPs:

Entre six et neuf étudiants.	*
Plus d’(étudiants) que de (professeurs).	Pas plus d’(étudiants) que de (professeurs).

DQPs [set referent]:

Tout X.	Nul X.
Chacun.	Nul.
Chaque X.	Nul X.

EQPs [group referent]:

Monotone decreasing QPs:

Moins que cinq hommes.	Pas moins que cinq hommes.
------------------------	----------------------------

Monotone increasing QPs:

Plus que cinq hommes.	Pas plus que cinq hommes.
-----------------------	---------------------------

GQPs [group referent]:

³⁹⁵ In the complex expression ‘more X than Y’, negation acts on the first member, namely ‘no more X’.

Indefinite QPs and plain existentials:

Quelques X.	Aucun X.
Plusieurs X.	Aucun X.
Tout le monde.	Pas tout le monde.
Tous les étudiants.	Aucun étudiant.
Quelqu'un.	Personne.

Bare-numeral QPs:

{Un/ Deux/ ...} étudiant(s).	Zéro étudiants.
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Definite QPs:

Les étudiants.	*
Ces étudiants.	*

Partitive QPs:

{Un/ Deux/ ...} des hommes.	Aucun des hommes.
-----------------------------	-------------------

GQPs having a plural ‘positive’ guise become singular in their ‘negative’ guise: it appears quite natural, owing to the Absence feature of ‘negative’ quantifiers.³⁹⁶ Nonetheless, *aucun*, morphologically made up of an indefinite plus a quantificational prefix, must agree in number with nouns morphologically lacking a singular form in (ii), but cannot agree with regular nouns in (i).³⁹⁷

(420) (I) REGULAR NOUNS:

a. ✓ Pierre (n)’a eu **aucune dépense** supplémentaire.
Peter (*ne*) has had no-F-SG expense-F-SG supplementary.
‘Peter didn’t have extra spending.’

b. * Pierre (n)’a eu **aucunes dépenses** supplémentaires.
Peter (*ne*) has had no-F-PL expenses-F-PL supplementary.

(II) NOUNS LACKING A SINGULAR FORM:

a. * Pierre (n)’a eu **aucun** * **frai** supplémentaire.
Peter (*ne*) has had no-M-SG charge-M-SG supplementary.

b. ✓ Pierre (n)’a eu **aucuns frais** supplémentaires.
Peter (*ne*) has had no-M-PL charges-M-PL supplementary.
‘Peter didn’t have extra charges.’

Morphologically, the possible ‘negative’ QPs are of two kinds: either lexicalized items like *personne*, *aucun*, *nul*, *zéro*, or syntactic constructs as *pas* QP ‘not QP’. The type they pertain to isn’t pertinent for their syntactic behavior: within a quantifier category, a ‘negative’ QP behaves as a non-negative one with respect to other features, as illustrated below with Distributive feature.

(421) (I) WITH COLLECTIVE PREDICATE *ENCERCLER* ‘TO SURROUND’:

- a. Non-negative DQP: * Chaque soldat encercle la maison.
b. ‘Negative’ DQP: * Nul soldat (n’) encercle la maison.
c. Non-negative GQP: ✓ **Quelques soldats** encerclent la maison.
d. ‘Negative’ GQP: ✓ **Aucun soldat (n’)** encercle la maison.
‘{* Each/ * No/ Some/ No} soldier(s) surround(s) the house.’
e. Non-negative CQP: ✓ **Plus de dix soldats** encerclent la maison.
f. ‘Negative’ CQP: ✓ **Pas plus de dix soldats** encerclent la maison.
g. Non-negative EQP: * Plus que dix soldats encerclent la maison.
h. ‘Negative’ EQP: * Pas plus que dix soldats encerclent la maison.
‘{(No) More than ten/ *(No) More than ten} soldiers surround the house.’

(II) WITH COLLECTIVE PREDICATE *COMPARER* ‘TO COMPARE’:

- a. Non-negative DQP: * Jeanne compare chaque homme.
b. ‘Negative’ DQP: * Jeanne (*ne*) compare nul homme.
c. Non-negative GQP: ✓ Jeanne compare **quelques hommes**.
d. ‘Negative’ GQP: ✓ Jeanne (**ne**) compare **aucun homme**.
‘Jane compares {* each/ * no/ some/ no} {man/ men}.’

³⁹⁶ But see II.3.1.2.3.3 for crosslinguistic variation of plural availability after a ‘negative’ indefinite, actually depending on the \exists - \forall alternation.

³⁹⁷ See also II.3.1.2.1.1.

- e. Non-negative CQP: ✓ Jeanne compare **plus de dix hommes**.
 - f. ‘Negative’ CQP: ✓ Jeanne (**ne**) compare **pas plus de dix hommes**.
 - g. Non-negative EQP: * Jeanne compare plus que dix hommes.
 - h. ‘Negative’ EQP: * Jeanne (**ne**) compare pas plus que dix hommes.
‘Jane (*ne*) compares {(no) more than ten/ *(no) more that ten} men.’
- (III) WITH THE DISTRIBUTIVE NP *UN DIFFERENT* ‘A DIFFERENT:
- a. Non-negative DQP: ✓ **Chaque** étudiant a lu un livre différent.
 - b. ‘Negative’ DQP: ✓ **Nul étudiant (n’)**a lu un livre différent.
 - c. Non-negative GQP: * Quelques étudiants ont lu un livre différent.
 - d. ‘Negative’ GQP: * **Aucun étudiant (n’)**a lu un livre différent.
‘{Each/ No/ * Some/ * No} student(s) read a different book.’
 - e. Non-negative CQP: * Plus de dix étudiants ont lu un livre différent.
 - f. ‘Negative’ CQP: * Pas plus de dix étudiants ont lu un livre différent.
 - g. Non-negative EQP: ✓ **Plus que dix étudiants** ont lu un livre différent.
 - h. ‘Negative’ EQP: ✓ **Pas plus que dix étudiants** ont lu un livre différent.
‘{* (No) more than ten/ (No) more that ten} students read a different book.’

Interactions between ‘negative’ and non-negative quantifiers will thus depend on the QP-type of both elements. For instance, a Distributive subject in (i) requires a Distributive object, and a Distributive object in (ii) is incompatible with a non-distributive Subject:

- (422) (i) A DISTRIBUTIVE SUBJECT NEEDS A DISTRIBUTIVE OBJECT:
- a. ✓ **Plus de** dix étudiants (n’)ont lu {**aucun/ nul**} livre.
 - b. ✓ **Plus que** dix étudiants (n’)ont lu {* aucun/ **nul**} livre.
‘{More than ten/ More that ten} students didn’t read any book.’
- (ii) A DISTRIBUTIVE OBJECT IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH A NON-DISTRIBUTIVE SUBJECT:
- a. ✓ Les étudiants (n’)ont pas lu **plus de** dix livres (car ils n’en ont lu aucun).
 - b. * Les étudiants (n’)ont pas lu plus que dix livres (car ils n’en ont lu aucun).
‘The students didn’t read {✓ more than ten/ * more that ten} books (because they didn’t read any of them).’

II.3.1.1.3.2. Quantifiers seen as featural sets

Even with the adjunction of EQPs and the redistribution of NQPs and WhQPs across the other categories, the QP-types of Beghelli [1995] are uneasy to transcribe in featural sets:

- (423) TRYING TO TRANSCRIBE THE QP-TYPES OF BEGHELLI [1995] IN FEATURAL SETS:

	Degree	Distributive	Referent
CQP	\exists	-	Set
DQP	\forall	+	Set
EQP	\exists	+	Group
GQP	\exists/\forall	-	Group

The first problem is that GQPs don’t form a homogeneous class: ‘somebody’ is \exists , but ‘all the people’ is \forall . Now, the \exists - \forall alternation is crucial for PI quantifiers, which are just absent from the typology of Beghelli. Rather than to have (also more than four) big blocks of QPs with sharp labels, it appears thus necessary to define each quantifier with a rich featural set, able to predict its behavior in each potential syntactic configuration. Only in this way, PI quantifiers find a natural place in the general typology of quantificational items.

An indirect advantage of articulated featural sets, rather than rigid labels, is to leave open potential slots for crosslinguistic variation: in fact, accidental gaps may arise within a given language, as the absence of monotone distributive existential group-referent quantifiers (EQPs) in English, vs. their presence in French.³⁹⁸ In our framework, even if no French item of our database shows a given featural combination, this combination is nevertheless available

³⁹⁸ There also exist non-accidental gaps due to ungrammatical combination, for instance a monotone universal, because Universal is a Punctual property.

for future research on any language, whereas a lacking label complicates future research, constraining the successors to coin further labels.

The typology inspired by Beghelli [1995] in (419), even if reinterpreted as featural sets as in (423), lacks a slot for the adverbial quantifiers *pas* ‘not’ and *plus* ‘no longer’. This absence is not casual: if we reconsider the possibility of ‘negative’ inverse scope on a subject quantifier, it appears that the contrasts involving them depend on the syntactic configuration, rather than on the QP-type. For instance, inverse scope on DQPs is possible with an adjective, but impossible with a pronoun:

- (424) (I) * INVERSE SCOPE WITH A PRONOUN [$\checkmark \exists > \text{NEG}$]:
 a. * Chacun (n’)est pas venu.
 Each-one (*ne*) is not came.
 b. * Pas chacun (n’)est venu.
 Not each-one (*ne*) is came.
 (II) \checkmark INVERSE SCOPE WITH AN ADJECTIVE:
 a. \checkmark **Chaque** homme (n’)est **pas** venu.
 Each man (*ne*) is not came.
 b. \checkmark **Pas chaque** homme (* n’)est venu.
 Not each man (* *ne*) is came.
 ‘Not each man came.’

With GQPs, a similar contrast depends on the alternation of quantificational determiners (with or without complement) and compounded quantifiers headed by an adjective:

- (425) (I) QUANTIFICATIONAL DETERMINERS [\checkmark (SPECIFIC) $\exists > \text{NEG}$]:
 a. * Quelqu’un (n’)est pas venu.
 b. * Pas quelqu’un (n’)est venu.
 (Not) Somebody (*ne*) is (not) came.
 a.’ * {Quelques/ Plusieurs} hommes (ne) sont pas venus.
 b.’ * Pas {quelques/ plusieurs} hommes (ne) sont venus.
 (Not) {some/ several} men (*ne*) are (not) came.
 (II) COMPOUNDED QUANTIFIERS HEADED BY AN ADJECTIVE:
 a. \checkmark **Tout le monde** (n’)est **pas** venu.
 b. \checkmark **Pas tout le monde** (* n’)est venu.
 a.’ \checkmark **Tous les hommes** (ne) sont **pas** venus.
 b.’ \checkmark **Pas tous les hommes** (* ne) sont venus.
 ‘Not {all the people/ all the men} came.’

Other contrasts arise between bare numerals (with(out) partitive) on the one hand, and determiners, demonstratives, and possessives on the other hand:

- (426) (I) BARE NUMERALS WITHOUT PARTITIVE [\checkmark (SPECIFIC) $\exists > \text{NEG}$]:
 a. * Un homme (n’)est pas venu.
 b. \checkmark **Pas un homme** (n’)est venu.
 a.’ * {Deux/ Trois} hommes (ne) sont pas venus.
 b.’ \checkmark **Pas {deux/ trois} hommes** (ne) sont venus.
 ‘Not {one/ two/ three} {man/ men} came.’
 (II) BARE NUMERALS WITH PARTITIVE [\checkmark (SPECIFIC) $\exists > \text{NEG}$]:
 a. * Un des hommes (n’)est pas venu.
 b. \checkmark **Pas un des hommes** (n’)est venu.
 a.’ * {Deux/ Trois} des hommes (ne) sont pas venus.
 b.’ \checkmark **Pas {deux/ trois} des hommes** (ne) sont venus.
 ‘Not {one/ two/ three} of the men came.’
 (III) DETERMINERS (\checkmark (SPECIFIC) $\exists > \text{NEG}$):
 a. * Les hommes (ne) sont pas venus.
 b. * Pas les hommes (ne) sont venus.
 (IV) DEMONSTRATIVES & POSSESSIVES [\checkmark (SPECIFIC) $\exists > \text{NEG}$]:
 a. * {Ces/ Ses} hommes (ne) sont pas venus.

- b. * Pas {ces/ ses} hommes (ne) sont venus.
 ‘Not {the/ those/ his} men came.’

With CQPs, Increasing quantifiers allow inverse scope, the Decreasing ones do not:

- (427) (i) DECREASING QUANTIFIERS [\checkmark (SPECIFIC) $\exists >$ NEG]:
 a. * Peu d’hommes (ne) sont pas venus.
 b. * Pas peu d’hommes (ne) sont venus.
 a.’ * Moins de cinq hommes (ne) sont pas venus.
 b.’ * Pas moins de cinq hommes (ne) sont venus.
 ‘Not {few/ minus than five} men came.’
 (ii) (NON-PREPOSITIONAL) INCREASING QUANTIFIERS:
 a. \checkmark **Beaucoup d’hommes (ne) sont pas** venus.
 b. \checkmark **Pas beaucoup d’hommes (* ne) sont** venus.
 a.’ \checkmark **Plus de cinq hommes (ne) sont pas** venus.
 b.’ \checkmark **Pas plus de cinq hommes (ne) sont** venus.
 ‘Not {many/ more than five} men came.’

Another structural contrast arises with Increasing CQPs: non-prepositional ones above allow inverse scope and *pas*-raising; prepositional ones below do not:

- (428) PREPOSITIONAL INCREASING QUANTIFIERS [\checkmark (SPECIFIC) $\exists >$ NEG]:
 a. * Au moins six hommes (ne) sont pas venus.
 b. * Pas au moins six hommes (ne) sont venus.
 a.’ * Au plus six hommes (ne) sont pas venus.
 b.’ * Pas au plus six hommes (ne) sont venus.
 ‘Not {at least/ at most} six men came.’

Complex non-monotone CQPs give intermediate results, depending on whether negation may find an Increasing member within the structure, as ‘more X’ in ‘more X than Y’:

- (429) COMPLEX NON-MONOTONE CQPs [\checkmark (SPECIFIC) $\exists >$ NEG]:
 a. \checkmark **Plus d’hommes que de femmes (ne) sont pas** venus.
 b. \checkmark **Pas plus d’hommes que de femmes (ne) sont** venus.
 a.’ * Entre cinq et six hommes (ne) sont pas venus.
 b.’ * Pas entre cinq et six hommes (ne) sont venus.
 ‘Not {more men than women/ between five and six men} came.’

Availability of inverse scope depends on two kinds of conditions. One is featural: Decreasing quantifiers just cannot be negated. The other is structural: *pas* has to find an appropriate landing site in the quantificational structure. Adjectives, numerals, and adverbial quantifiers leave it free or provide it; determiners, demonstratives, possessives, and prepositions, occupy or block it.

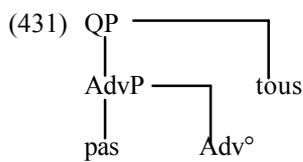
II.3.1.1.3.3. Negation & quantified subjects

In I.1.2.2.2, we have claimed that negation is a predicate-internal phenomenon, and noticed in II.2.2.2 the consequences of this fact on the logical combination of ‘negatives’ clauses. On the one hand, the SM for global negation cannot raise across the main subject: it occupies (at most) the highest non-nominative clitic position. On the other hand, only those ‘negative’ items that receive appropriate θ -role and case can raise up to the main subject position. The apparent predicate-bounded behavior of ‘negative’ items vs. the unbounded behavior of quantificational items follows thus from the (im)possibility to receive (a subject-related) θ -role. We will examine now what happens when a ‘negative’ adverb takes scope on a quantifier in subject position.

French differs from Italian and English in expressing global negation with a SM plus a ‘negative’ adverb: this has a visible consequence on the interaction between the ‘negative’ adverbs and a non-negative quantifier in subject position. In the following example, the (a) ordering is the sole grammatical way to express the meaning associated with the (b) ordering in other languages, so that the single (a) express ambiguously the (a) and the (b) meanings.

- (430) a. ✓ **Tous** les garçons (**ne**) sont **pas** beaux.
 All the boys (*ne*) are not pretty.
 ‘{Not all the boys are pretty/ All the boys are not pretty}.’
 b. * **Pas** tous les garçons (**ne**) sont beaux.
 Not all the boys (*ne*) are pretty.

In some French peripheral dialects, typically Neuchâtelois, (430)b is grammatical, but only without the SM of predicate negation: this is an instance of local negation. The only way for a ‘negative’ adverb to take scope over a subject quantifier is thus to occupy its specifier:



In Standard French, this configuration is used only with quantificational PIs that need to be c-commanded by a ‘negative’ adverb; the impossibility to insert the SM confirms that we are dealing with local negation:

- (432) a. ✓ [_{QP} **Pas** [_Q **qui que ce soit**]] (* n’)est arrivé.
 Not whoever is arrived.
 ‘Nobody arrived.’
 b. ✓ [_{QP} **Pas** [_Q **tout-tout**]] (* n’)a été compris.
 Not all-all has been understood.
 ‘Not everything was understood.’

With non-negative quantifiers, such an order is possible only in isolation, and thus at the local level:

- (433) A: ✓ Les garçons sont beaux!
 The boys are pretty!
 ‘Boys are pretty!’
 B: ✓ **Pas tous**!
 ‘Not all!’

This configuration might account for the jocular (b) form (appeared in the middle of the twentieth century), derived from the colloquial local negation of the (a) form by the raising of the adverbial phrase in the specifier of the imperative:

- (434) a. ✓ Touche pas!
 Touch not!
 b. ☺ Pas touche!
 Not touch!
 ‘Don’t touch!’

Such a possibility of local negation doesn’t weaken the generalization that no ‘negative’ adverb can take sentential scope from a position c-commanding the subject. The sole exception to this rule is when an adverb reaches a Topic position in the CP-layer, as in (ii)b. Not all ‘negative’ adverbs can be topicalized across a quantified subject: only the (extended)

NP-external *jamais* in (ii) can.³⁹⁹

- (435) (I) NP-INTERNAL ‘NEGATIVE’ MARKERS:
 a. ✓ **Tout le monde (n’)**est {**pas/ plus/ †guère/ ††point**} croyant.
 All the people (*ne*) is {not/ no-longer} believer.
 ‘{{Not/ No-longer} everybody is believer/ Everybody is {not/ no longer} believer}.’
 b. * {**Pas/ Plus/ †guère/ ††point**} tout le monde (n’)est croyant.
 {Not/ No-longer} all the people (*ne*) is believer.
 (II) NP-EXTERNAL ‘NEGATIVE’ MARKER:
 a. ✓ **Tout le monde (n’)**est **jamais** croyant.
 All the people (*ne*) is never believer.
 b. ✓ **Jamais tout le monde (n’)**est croyant.
 Never all the people (*ne*) is believer.
 ‘{Everybody is never believer/ It’s never the case that everybody is believer}.’

Regarding the impossibility for a ‘negative’ marker to overtly take global scope on a quantified subject, illustrated in (430)b and (435)(i)b, French in (i) contrasts with Italian in (ii), English in (iii), German in (iv), and Dutch in (v), where the quantifier either can, or must, be c-commanded by the negation in overt syntax:

- (436) (I) FRENCH:
 a. ✓ **Tous les chiens (ne)** sont **pas** dangereux.
 All the dogs (*ne*) are not dangerous.
 ‘Not all dogs are dangerous.’
 b. * Pas tous les chiens (ne) sont dangereux.
 Not all the dogs (*ne*) are dangerous.
 (II) ITALIAN:
 a. * Tutti i cani non sono (mica) pericolosi. [✓ ∇>Neg]
 All the dogs not are (not-at-all) dangerous.
 b. ✓ {**Non/ Mica**⁴⁰⁰} **tutti i cani** sono pericolosi.
 {Not/ Not-at-all} all the dogs are dangerous.
 ‘Not all dogs are dangerous (at all).’
 (III) ENGLISH:
 a. ✓ **All dogs** {are **not/ aren’t**} dangerous.⁴⁰¹
 b. ✓ **Not all dogs** are dangerous.
 (IV) GERMAN:
 a. * Alle Hunde sind nicht gefährlich. [✓ ∇>Neg]
 All dogs are not dangerous.
 b. ✓ **Nicht alle Hunde** sind gefährlich.

³⁹⁹ In II.3.1.2.1.1, we will draw a distinction between the quantificational adverb *jamais*, which is confined within the verbal hierarchy and cannot be part of the extended NP (nouns just lacking temporal properties), and the adverbial quantifiers *pas* and *plus*, which can be inserted in a quantificational position inside the extended NP.

⁴⁰⁰ With *non*, (436)(ii)b is an instance of sentential negation; with *mica*, it becomes an instance of local negation, as shown by the impossibility for *mica* to enter NC with *non*:

(lxx) * Mica tutti i cani non sono pericolosi.
 Not all the dogs not are dangerous.

⁴⁰¹ Despite a widespread (wrong) belief amongst the linguists, such a structure is ambiguous in English as good as in French, as noticed by Horn [1989:318(49)]: for him, the (a) sentence can be construed either as (b), or as (c).

(lxxi) a. All the men didn’t leave.
 b. None of the men left. (All of the men stayed.)
 c. It is not the case that all the men left. (Not all the men left.)

Musolino [2001] also noticed, “the sentence: ‘Every dictator doesn’t have a Swiss bank account.’ can either be interpreted as meaning that every dictator is such that he does not have a Swiss bank account, i.e. none of them do. Notice that on this interpretation, the universally quantified subject takes wide scope with respect to negation (abbreviated every > not). I call this an isomorphic interpretation because in this case the scope relation between every dictator and negation can be directly read off their surface position. On another interpretation, that sentence could mean that not all dictators have a Swiss bank account. Here, negation takes scope over the subject (abbreviated not > every). I call this a non-isomorphic interpretation”.

- ‘Not all dogs are dangerous.’
 (v) DUTCH:
 a. ? **Alle honden** zijn **niet** gevaarlijk.⁴⁰² [✓ ∇>Neg]
 All dogs are not dangerous.
 ‘Not all dogs are dangerous.’
 b. ✓ **Niet alle honden** zijn gevaarlijk.
 ‘Not all dogs are dangerous.’

A consistent difference between French on the one hand, and Italian, English, German, and Dutch on the other hand, is the probable status of the ‘negative’ element, namely XP for *pas* vs. head for *non*, *not*, *nicht*, *niet*. Moving a ‘negative’ head doesn’t lead to RME with a QP; moving a ‘negative’ adverbial XP across a QP do, because both are of the same structural type in the sense of Rizzi [1999a:(58)]:

- (437) “Same structural type” =
 (i) Head or Spec, and
 (ii) Spec licensed by features of the same class.

If we want to give overt sentential scope to the ‘negative’ adverb of (436)a, we have to move it in Spec QP from a lower position, but (i) the common XP status, and (ii) the common quantificational feature of both the elements, make the movement illegal, leading to the ungrammatical (436)b. The sole strategy available to bypass the RME with the sequence [¬ ∇] in subject position is to generate the ‘negative’ adverb higher as the quantificational subject is, for example in the Focus of the CP-layer:

- (438) ✓ *Ce* {(n’)est/ (ne) sont} **pas TOUS LES CHIENS** qui sont dangereux.
 It (*ne*) {is/ are} not all the dogs that are dangerous.
 ‘It’s not all the dogs that are dangerous.’

Support for the RME analysis is provided by the two possible Flemish translations⁴⁰³ of (436)(i)-(v). In the former ‘variety’, *nie* behaves like the ‘negative’ head of Italian, English, German, and Dutch; in the latter ‘variety’, *nie* is a ‘negative’ adverb combining with the proclitic SM *en-*, like French *ne... pas*:⁴⁰⁴

- (439) (I) FLEMISH (ONE ‘VARIETY’):
 a. ? **Al d’hunden** zyn **nie** gevoarlijk.⁴⁰⁵ [✓ ∇>Neg]
 All the dogs are not dangerous.
 ‘Not all dogs are dangerous.’
 b. ✓ **Nie al d’hunden** zyn gevoarlijk.
 Not all the dogs are dangerous.
 ‘Not all dogs are dangerous.’
 (II) FLEMISH (ANOTHER ‘VARIETY’):
 a. ✓ **Al d’hunden en-zyn** **nie** gevoarlijk.
 All the dogs *en* are not dangerous.
 ‘Not all dogs are dangerous.’
 b. * **Nie al d’hunden en-zyn** gevoarlijk.
 Not all the dogs *en* are dangerous.

⁴⁰² For any (but not all) Dutch native speakers, (436)(v)a can receive as in French the meaning unambiguously expressed by (436)(v)b.

⁴⁰³ Thanks to Liliane Haegeman [p.c.] for Flemish translations.

⁴⁰⁴ Alternatively, one could argue that (i) and (ii) actually form a single ‘variety’, where *nie* is always an XP. If things are so, those speakers that reject (i)a assign it local scope (rather than sentential), and also save (i)b with a local scope interpretation; those speakers that accept (i)a assign it the same structure as (ii)a with *en*-drop, and (ii)b is again an instance of local negation, where the SM is illegal.

⁴⁰⁵ In Flemish as good as in Dutch, for some (but not all) native speakers, (439)(i)a can receive the meaning unambiguously expressed by (439)(i)b.

Availability of ‘negative’ raising across a quantified subject depends on two kinds of conditions. One is featural: two \forall cannot combine in a single phrase, hence the asymmetry between \forall *pas* and \exists *plus* with \forall N-words *personne* and *rien* in (ii).⁴⁰⁶ The other is structural: *pas* has to find an appropriate landing site in the quantificational structure. Nouns in (iii) leave it free; determiners and quantifiers in (i)-(ii) occupy or block it. The \forall N-words in (ii) that don’t request a ‘negative’ c-commander can optionally host an \exists ‘negative’ marker in their specifier; even with $\{pas/plus\}$ in their specifier, the NPIs in (i) fail to combine with the SM (as seen in (432)), because from this position the ‘negative’ adverb wouldn’t c-command the SM.

- (440) (I) QUANTIFICATIONAL NPIs:
 a. * $\{Pas/ Plus\}$ **qui que ce soit (n’)**est venu.
 {Not/ No-longer} whoever (*ne*) is came.
 b. \checkmark $\{Pas/ Plus\}$ **qui que ce soit (* n’)**est venu.
 {Not/ No-longer} whoever (** ne*) is came.
 ‘Not anybody did come anymore.’
 (II) N-WORDS (QUANTIFIERS IN (A) & DETERMINERS IN (B)):
 a. \checkmark $\{* Pas/ Plus\}$ **rien (ne)** se passe.
 $\{* Not/ No-longer\}$ nothing (*ne*) itself happens.
 ‘{Nothing ever happens/ Nothing happens anymore}.’
 b. \checkmark $\{* Pas/ Plus\}$ **personne (n’)**est venu.
 $\{* Not/ No-longer\}$ nobody (*ne*) is came.
 ‘{Nobody ever came/ Nobody came anymore}.’
 (III) NOMINAL NPIs:
 a. \checkmark $\{Pas/ Plus\}$ **âme qui vive (n’)**est venue.
 b. \checkmark $\{Pas/ Plus\}$ **un chat (n’)**est venu.
 {Not/ No-longer} {soul which live/ a cat} (*ne*) is came.
 ‘No one came (anymore).’
 c. \checkmark $\{Pas/ Plus\}$ **grand-monde (n’)**est venu.
 {Not/ No-longer} a-lot-of-people (*ne*) is came.
 ‘Not a lot of people came (anymore).’

The overall picture get complicated by the subject position ($\{pre/post\}$ verbal), and the subject type (active or passive). With (active) postverbal subjects, the subject position is filled by an expletive pronoun, so that there is no movement and no RME. A normative problem arises with quantificational and determining N-words disallowing \exists reading under \forall^{-} c-command; other sentences are fine, since the ‘negative’ \exists quantifier is correctly c-commanded by the ‘negative’ adverb.

⁴⁰⁶ The \exists guise of *personne* and *rien* (interpreted as ‘anybody’ and ‘anything’) is only possible under c-command from a distinct higher phrase. As seen in II.2.2.1.2.3.1, when the ‘negative’ adverb is generated as an adjunct to the functional projection already occupied by the ‘negative’ argument, two \forall s lead to a lethal quantificational conflict: a single phrase can host only one occurrence of \forall . This explains why the \exists NPIs *qui que ce soit* and *tout-tout* in (i) are compatible with a \forall *pas* as good as with an \exists *plus*, while \forall s *personne* and *rien* are only compatible with an adjoined \exists *plus*:

- (lxxii) WITH AN \exists NPI QUANTIFIER:
 a. \checkmark On (**ne**) voit $\{pas/ plus\}$ **qui que ce soit**.
 One (*ne*) sees {not/ no-longer} whoever.
 ‘One doesn’t see whoever (anymore).’
 b. \checkmark On (**ne**) comprend $\{pas/ plus\}$ **tout-tout**.
 One (*ne*) understands {not/ no-longer} all-all.
 ‘One doesn’t understand whatever thing (anymore).’
 (II) WITH A \forall DETERMINER OR QUANTIFIER:
 a. \checkmark Je (**ne**) vois $\{* pas/ plus\}$ **personne**.
 I (*ne*) see {not/ no-longer} nobody.
 ‘I didn’t see anybody anymore.’
 b. \checkmark Je (**ne**) vois $\{* pas/ plus\}$ **rien**.
 I (*ne*) see {not/ no-longer} nothing.
 ‘I didn’t see anything anymore.’

- (441) POSTVERBAL QUANTIFICATIONAL SUBJECT:
- a. % Il (n')est **pas** venu **personne**.
 - b. % Il (n')est **pas** venu {aucun/ nul} **homme**.
 - c. ✓ Il (n')est **pas** venu **qui que ce soit**.
 - d. ✓ Il (n')est **pas** venu **âme qui vive**.
 - e. ✓ Il (n')est **pas** venu **un chat**.
There (*ne*) is not come {nobody/ no man/ whoever/ soul which live/ a cat}.
'Nobody came.'
 - f. ✓ Il (n')est **pas** venu **grand-monde**.
There (*ne*) is not come a-lot-of-people.
'Not a lot of people came.'
 - g. ✓ Il (n')est **pas** sorti **mot** de sa bouche.
There (*ne*) is not came-out word from his mouth.
'He didn't said any word.'
 - h. ✓ Il (n')est **pas tout-tout** sorti de sa bouche.
There (*ne*) is not all-all came-out from his mouth.
'He didn't said everything.'
 - i. ✓ Il (n')est **pas** venu **n'importe qui**.
There (*ne*) is not came whatever people.
'Not whatever people came.'
 - j. ✓ Il (n')est **pas** venu **tout le monde**.
There (*ne*) is not came all the people.
'Not all the people came.'

In preverbal position, all 'negative' quantifiers are ruled out, NPIs for lack of c-command, \forall N-words because two occurrences of \forall in a single QP lead to a lethal quantificational conflict—only the 'positive' quantifiers in (i)-(j) allow inverse 'negative' scope:

- (442) PREVERBAL ACTIVE QUANTIFICATIONAL SUBJECT PRECEDING NEGATION:
- a. * *Personne* (n')est pas venu.
 - b. * {Aucun/ Nul} *homme* (n')est pas venu.
 - c. * *Qui que ce soit* (n')est pas venu.
 - d. * *Ame qui vive* (n')est pas venue.
 - e. * *Un chat* (n')est pas venu.
{Nobody/ No man/ Whoever/ Soul which live/ A cat} (*ne*) is not come.
 - f. * *Grand-monde* (n')est pas venu.
A-lot-of-people (*ne*) is not come.
 - g. * *Mot* (n')est pas sorti de sa bouche.
Word (*ne*) is not came-out from his mouth.
 - h. * *Tout-tout* (n')est pas sorti de sa bouche.
All-all (*ne*) is not came-out from his mouth.
 - i. ✓ **N'importe qui** (n')est **pas** venu.
Whatever people (*ne*) is not came.
'Not whatever people came.'
 - j. ✓ **Tout le monde** (n')est **pas** venu.
All the people (*ne*) is not came.
'Not all the people came.'

Raising the 'negative' adverb up to the subject position is possible, with sentential scope, only for nominal NPIs in (d)-(g); quantifiers and determiners, either 'negative' in (a)-(c) and (h), or 'positive' in (i)-(j), which are able to host a 'negative' adverb only in their specifier, fail to set up sentential scope relation— \forall N-words in (a)-(b) even fail to set up local 'negative' scope, owing to the two occurrences of \forall in a single QP leading to a lethal quantificational conflict.

- (443) PREVERBAL ACTIVE QUANTIFICATIONAL SUBJECT FOLLOWING NEGATION:
- a. * *Pas personne* (n')est venu.
 - b. * *Pas* {Aucun/ Nul} *homme* (n')est venu.
 - c. ✓ **Pas qui que ce soit** (* n')est venu.
 - d. ✓ **Pas âme qui vive** (n')est venue.

- e. ✓ **Pas un chat (n')**est venu.
Not {* nobody/ * no man/ whoever/ soul which live/ a cat} (*ne*) is come.
'Nobody came.'
- f. ✓ **Pas grand-monde (n')**est venu.
Not a-lot-of-people (*ne*) is come.
'Not a lot of people came.'
- g. ✓ **Pas mot (n')**est sorti de sa bouche.
Not word (*ne*) is came-out from his mouth.
'He didn't said any word.'
- h. ✓ **Pas tout-tout (* n')**est sorti de sa bouche.
Not all-all is came-out from his mouth.
'He didn't said everything.'
- i. ✓ **Pas n'importe qui (* n')**est venu.
Not whatever people is came.
'Not whatever people came.'
- j. ✓ **Pas tout le monde (* n')**est venu.
Not all the people is came.
'Not all the people came.'

Passive subjects differ from the active ones in being related to a trace in object position, which is c-commanded by the 'negative' adverb and allow even NPIs to survive, though with a slightly precious touch:

- (444) (i) PASSIVE SUBJECT PRECEDING NEGATION:
- a. % **Personne (n')**a pas été vu.
b. % {**Aucun/ Nul**} **homme (n')**a pas été vu.
c. ✓ **Qui que ce soit (n')**a pas été vu.
d. ✓ **Ame qui vive (n')**a pas été vue.
e. ✓ **Un chat (n')**a pas été vu.
{Nobody/ No man/ Whoever/ Soul which live/ A cat} (*ne*) has not been seen.
'Anybody hasn't been seen.'
- f. ✓ **Grand-monde (n')**a pas été vu.
A-lot-of-people (*ne*) has not been seen.
'A lot of people hasn't been seen.'
- g. ✓ **Mot (n')**a pas été dit.
Word (*ne*) has not been said.
'Anything hasn't been said.'
- h. ✓ **Tout-tout (n')**a pas été dit.
All-all (*ne*) has not been said.
'Everything hasn't been said.'
- i. ✓ **N'importe qui (n')**a pas été vu.
Whatever people (*ne*) has not been seen.
'Not whatever people has been seen.'
- j. ✓ **Tout le monde (n')**a pas été vu.
All the people (*ne*) has not been seen.
'All the people hasn't been seen.'

Raising the 'negative' adverb restores the contrast observed with active subjects in (443): only nouns can enter sentential scope, quantifiers and determiners fail to do so.

- (445) PASSIVE SUBJECT FOLLOWING NEGATION:
- a. * Pas personne (n')a été vu.
b. * Pas {aucun/ nul} homme (n')a été vu.
c. ✓ **Pas qui que ce soit (* n')**a été vu.
d. ✓ **Pas âme qui vive (n')**a été vue.
e. ✓ **Pas un chat (n')**a été vu.
Not {* nobody/ * no man/ whoever/ soul which live/ a cat} (*ne*) has been seen.
'Nobody has been seen.'
- f. ✓ **Pas grand-monde (n')**a été vu.
Not a-lot-of-people (*ne*) has been seen.
'Not a lot of people has been seen.'

- g. ✓ **Pas mot (n')**a été dit.
Not word (*ne*) has been said.
'Nothing has been said.'
- h. ✓ **Pas tout-tout (* n')**a été dit.
Not all-all (*ne*) has been said.
'Not everything has been said.'
- i. ✓ **Pas n'importe qui (* n')**a été vu.
Not whatever people (*ne*) has been seen.
'Not whatever people has been seen.'
- j. ✓ **Pas tout le monde (* n')**a été vu.
Not all the people (*ne*) has been seen.
'All the people hasn't been seen.'

Predicate-bounded behavior of 'negative' items is thus limited to adverbs: on the one hand, 'negative' arguments with appropriate θ -role can raise up to the subject position to satisfy EPP; on the other hand, a 'negative' adverb locally generated is not concerned by sentential hierarchical constraints, and can thus be subject-internal if there is a free specifier (possibly adjoined) and if this doesn't create a double occurrence of \forall feature within a single projection.

II.3.1.1.3.4. Negated \$ vs. negated "

In his chapter *Contextual domains*, Zucchi [1995:52] puts forward the question of the relative extent of universal quantification:

- (446) It has often been observed that quantified sentences of natural languages are understood as quantifying over contextually furnished subsets of the domain of discourse. For example, sentence [(i)] is naturally understood as saying that every student belonging to a certain contextually furnished set was at the party, and not as saying that every student in the universe was at the party.
- (i) Every student was at the party.
A formal semantics for natural languages must be able to incorporate this insight concerning the interpretation of universally quantified sentences.

This is a general result of the intensional character of every utterance: universal quantification is always interpreted within the intensional limitations of the human machine. Paradoxically, within their intensional limits, natural languages are able to quantify a single state of events through two distinct featural combinations: the major degree of (Scalar) \exists in (ii) matches the absolute (Punctual) \forall in (i)—it covers the same set of entities than the (limited) universality, but seen from an existential standpoint, and expresses it by Scalar means instead of Punctual means.

- (447) (i) ABSOLUTE (PUNCTUAL) \forall :
a. ✓ Tu peux **tout** demander.
You can all ask-for.
'You can ask for everything.'
b. ✓ **Tout** peut t'arriver.
'Everything can to-you happen.'
'Everything can happen to you.'
- (ii) MAJOR DEGREE OF (SCALAR) \exists :
a. ✓ Tu peux demander **quoi que ce soit**.
'You can ask-for whatever.'
b. ✓ **Quoi que ce soit** peut t'arriver.
Whatever can to-you happen.
'Anything can happen to you.'

Crucially, when a proper \forall and a full- \exists co-occur, the latter cannot be c-commanded by the former, because existentiality is a subset of universality.

- (448) a. ✓ “Je peux changer **tout** en **n’importe quoi!**”⁴⁰⁷
 I can change all in whatever!
 b. * Je peux changer n’importe quoi en tout!
 I can change whatever in all!
 ‘I can change all in anything!’
 a.’ ✓ “C’est une vieille femme méchante qui veut **tout** changer en **n’importe quoi!**”⁴⁰⁸
 That’s an old woman malicious that want all change in whatever!
 b.’ * C’est une vieille femme méchante qui veut changer n’importe quoi en tout!
 That’s an old woman malicious that want change whatever in all!
 ‘That’s an old malicious woman that want to change all in anything!’

As seen in II.2.2.1.2.4, under ‘negative’ \forall c-command, the basically \forall quantifiers becomes \exists : the cognitive reason of this alternation is that \forall being interpreted as absolute and unique, a \forall c-commanded by another \forall can only be understood as \exists , \exists being a proper subset of \forall .

- (449) ✓ “**Rien** de ce qui existe ici ne doit profiter à **personne**.// Et **rien** n’appartiendra à **personne**, parce que **rien** n’existera **plus!**”⁴⁰⁹
 ‘**Nothing** of these things has to be profitable to **anybody**. And **nothing** will belongs to **whoever**, because **nothing** will yet exist!’

As claimed in II.2.2, this \exists reading under ‘negative’ c-command is obligatory in logical use; only metalinguistic use allowing a double \forall reading.⁴¹⁰

- (450) (i) LOGICAL USE:
 a. ✓ **Personne (n’)a rien** dit.
 Nobody (*ne*) has nothing said.
 b. ✓ **Nessuno (* non) ha detto niente**.
 Nobody (* not) has said nothing.
 ‘Nobody [\forall -] said anything [$\neg\exists$].’
 (ii) METALINGUISTIC USE:
 a. ✓ **PERSONNE (n’)a rien** dit.
 NOBODY (*ne*) has nothing said.
 b. ✓ **NESSUNO (non) ha detto niente**.
 NOBODY (not) has said nothing.
 ‘NOBODY [\forall -] said nothing [\forall -].’

If we replace the ‘negative’ argument by a NPI, the sentence unambiguously expresses the meaning of (450)(i):

- (451) a. ✓ **Personne (n’)a dit quoi que ce soit**.
 Nobody (*ne*) has said whatever.
 b. ✓ **Nessuno (* non) ha detto checchessia**.
 Nobody (* non) has said whatever.
 ‘Nobody [\forall -] said anything [$\neg\exists$].’

⁴⁰⁷ Maurice Tillieux, *La vieille tige*, Yann Rudler, 1980, plate 8.

⁴⁰⁸ Maurice Tillieux, *La vieille tige*, Yann Rudler, 1980, plate 9.

⁴⁰⁹ Maurice Tillieux, *Les moines rouges*, Dupuis, 1962, plate 39.

⁴¹⁰ As seen in II.2.2.1.2.4;(315), a double \forall reading is marginally available in logical use, by combining local with global ‘negative’ scope, so that the two quantificational scopes don’t interfere one with the other:

- (lxxiii) (i) GLOBAL \forall - & LOCAL \forall -:
 ✓ **Personne (ne) [fait rien]**.
 Nobody [\forall -] (*ne*) makes nothing [\forall -].
 ‘Nobody makes **nothing**.’ → ‘For every person X, it is **false** that X makes nothing.’
 (ii) GLOBAL \forall - & GLOBAL $\neg\exists$:
 ✓ **Personne (ne) fait rien**.
 Nobody [\forall -] (*ne*) makes nothing [$\neg\exists$].
 ‘Nobody makes **anything**.’ → ‘For every person X, it is **true** that X makes nothing.’

In Italian, what is commonly assumed to be NC between postverbal ‘negative’ arguments and the ‘negative’ SM *non* is in fact nothing other than an \exists reading of the \forall quantifiers *niente* ‘nothing’ and *nessuno* ‘nobody’ under the \forall c-command of *non*:

- (452) a. ✓ **Non** sarà concepibile di fare **niente**.
 Not will-be conceivable to do nothing.
 ‘It will not be possible to do anything.’
 b. * Fare niente non sarà concepibile.
 To-do nothing not will-be conceivable.
 a.’ ✓ **Non** ci sarà concesso d’incontrare **nessuno**.
 Not to-us will-be allowed to meet nobody.
 ‘One will not allow us meeting anybody.’
 b.’ * Incontrare nessuno non ci sarà concesso.
 To-meet nobody not to-us will-be allowed.

The (b) sentences of (452) are ruled out because Italian has grammaticalized the postverbal ‘negative’ quantifiers as \exists (requesting a c-commanding *non*), and the preverbal ones as \forall (preventing the occurrence of *non*):

- (453) a. ✓ *pro* *(**Non**) viene **nessuno**.
pro Not comes nobody [$\neg\exists$].
 ‘There comes nobody.’
 b. ✓ **Nessuno** (* non) viene.
 Nobody [$\forall\neg$] (* not) comes.
 ‘Nobody comes.’

In Standard English in (i), the interpretive difference is made morphologically visible by the alternation of the any- and the no-guise depending on $\forall\neg$ c-command; in popular English in (ii), the interpretive alternation remains morphologically invisible, as in French and Italian:

- (454) (i) STANDARD ENGLISH:
 a. ✓ **Nobody** said **anything**.
 ‘For every person X [\forall], it is **true** that X said nothing [\exists].’
 b. ✓ **Nobody** said **nothing**.
 ‘For every person X [\forall], it is **false** that X said nothing [\forall].’
 (ii) POPULAR ENGLISH:
 % **Nobody** said **nothing**.
 a. → ‘For every person X [\forall], it is **true** that X said nothing [\exists].’
 b. → ‘For every person X [\forall], it is **false** that X said nothing [\forall].’

Crucially, in the widespread French ‘variety’ where *personne* is able to enter NC with *pas*, it receives existential interpretation. The difference with a basically \exists quantifier as *qui que ce soit* in the (a) sentences is that a basically \forall quantifier, to be interpreted as \exists in the (b) sentences, need to be c-commanded by a ‘negative’ \forall situated in a projection distinct from its own, hence the contrast in adjoined position in (i); for the rest, the distribution of *personne* is the same as that of *qui que ce soit*—it is not fine in temporally, modally and aspectually unmarked sentences where *pas* has no verbal landing site, but fine with an auxiliary in (ii), a modal in (iii), or a Mood in (iv), having them the effect to open the structure able to host ‘negative’ adverbs.

- (455) (i) WITH NEGATION IN ADJOINED POSITION:
 a. * Je (**ne**) vois pas **personne**.
 I (*ne*) see not nobody.

- b. ✓ On⁴¹¹ (**ne**) voit **pas qui que ce soit**.
 One (*ne*) sees not whoever.
 ‘One doesn’t see anybody.’
 (II) WITH AN AUXILIARY:
 a. % J(e **n**)’ai **pas vu personne**.
 I (*ne*) have not seen nobody.
 ‘I didn’t see anybody.’
 b. ✓ J(e **n**)’ai **pas vu qui que ce soit**.
 I (*ne*) have not seen whoever.
 ‘I didn’t see anybody.’
 (III) WITH A MODAL:
 a. % Je (**ne**) veux **pas voir personne**.
 I (*ne*) want not see nobody.
 ‘I won’t see anybody.’
 b. ✓ Je (**ne**) veux **pas voir qui que ce soit**.
 I (*ne*) want not see whoever.
 ‘I won’t see anybody.’
 (IV) WITH A MOOD:
 a. ✓⁴¹² (**N**)’Attends **pas** que Pierre voie **personne** le dimanche.
 (*Ne*) Wait not that Peter see nobody the Sunday.
 ‘Don’t expect that Peter sees anybody on Sunday.’
 b. ✓ (**N**)’Attends **pas** que Pierre voie **qui que ce soit** le dimanche.
 (*Ne*) Wait not that Peter see whoever the Sunday.
 ‘Don’t expect that Peter sees anybody on Sunday.’

The same alternation arises with ‘negative’ \forall adverbs, and is possible in the same contexts:

- (456) a. ✓ Pierre (**ne**) dit (* pas) **jamais** de mensonges.
 Peter (*ne*) says (* not) never of lies.
 ‘Peter never tells lies.’
 b. % Pierre (**n**)’a **pas jamais** dit de mensonges.
 Peter (*ne*) has not never told of lies.
 ‘Peter didn’t tell lies anytime.’
 c. % Pierre (**ne**) veut **pas jamais** dire de mensonges.
 Peter (*ne*) want not never tell of lies.
 ‘Peter won’t tell lies anytime.’
 d. ✓ (**N**)’Attends **pas** que Pierre dise **jamais** un mensonge.
 (*Ne*) Wait not that Peter say never a lie.
 ‘Don’t expect that Peter tells a lie anytime.’

The sole adverb that cannot be interpreted as \exists is *pas* ‘not’, perhaps owing to its modal properties. On the other hand, *plus* ‘no longer’ is lexically $\neg\exists$. This accounts for their distributional differences with respect to ‘negative’ arguments:

- (457) LOCAL COMBINATIONS OF ‘NEGATIVE’ QUANTIFIERS:
 a. ✓ $\neg\exists \neg\exists$ ✓ Plus qui que ce soit.
 b. ✓ $\neg\exists \forall\neg$ ✓ Plus personne.
 c. ✓ $\forall\neg \neg\exists$ ✓ Pas qui que ce soit.
 d. * $\forall\neg \forall\neg$ * Pas personne.

The $\forall\text{-}\exists$ reading alternation of a single item, vs. the alternation of two morphological allomorphs, has a standard or a substandard status depending on language-specific choices—and, within a single language, depending on the clause-internal configuration in the (a) sentences vs. the cross-clausal configuration in the (b) sentences:

⁴¹¹ A Generic pronoun, typically *on* ‘one’, is requested by {=Specific, -Generic} NPIs. See II.3.1.1.1.2 and III.4.2.2.

⁴¹² Normatively acceptable when they are two clauses linked up by a complementizer.

- (458) (I) FRENCH:
 a. ✓ **Personne (n')a (% pas) rien** dit.
 Nobody (*ne*) has (% not) nothing said.
 'Nobody said anything.'
 b. ✓ **Il (ne) nous sera pas permis de rencontrer personne.**
 It (*ne*) to-us will-be not allowed to meet nobody.
 'One will not allow us meeting anybody.'
- (II) ITALIAN:
 a. ✓ **Nessuno (% non) ha detto niente.**
 Nobody has (% not) said nothing.
 'Nobody said anything.'
 b. ✓ **Non ci sarà concesso d'incontrare nessuno.**
 Not to-us will-be allowed to meet nobody.
 'One will not allow us meeting anybody.'
- (III) ENGLISH:
 a. ✓ **Nobody** said {**anything/ % nothing**}.
 b. ✓ One will **not** allow us meeting {**anybody/ % nobody**}.

II.3.1.1.3.5. Stranding quantifiers

II.3.1.1.3.5.1. FC PI 'd'autre'

Stranding quantificational adjective *d'autre* 'else' in (a) results from the lexicalization of the output of the syntactic rule productive with various adjectives illustrated in (b):

- (459) a. ✓ {Personne/ Quelqu'un/ Rien/ Quelque chose} **d'autre**.
 {Nobody/ Somebody/ Nothing/ Something} of other.
 '{Nobody/ Somebody/ Nothing/ Something} else.'
 b. ✓ {Personne/ Quelqu'un/ Rien/ Quelque chose} {**d'intéressant/ de passionnant/ de chouette**}.
 {Nobody/ Somebody/ Nothing/ Something} {of interesting/ of fascinating/ of great}.
 '{Nobody/ Somebody/ Nothing/ Something} {interesting/ fascinating/ great}.'

Insertion of *d'autre* changes the embedding level of the other quantifier complements, with consequences on the availability of SM in (i), and of pseudo partitive⁴¹³ in (ii): in fact, *autre* is a FC PI, and combines with the polarity of the quantifier it complements.

- (460) (i) *D'AUTRE* ALLOWING *NE*-INSERTION:
 a. ✓ Rien que du bon (* *ne*) peut nous arriver.
 Nothing than of-the good (* *ne*) can to-us happen.
 'Only good things can happen to us.'
 b. ✓ Rien **d'autre** que du bon (*ne*) peut nous arriver.
 Nothing of other than of-the good (*ne*) can to-us happen.
 'Nothing other than good things can happen to us.'
- (ii) *D'AUTRE* ALLOWING PSEUDO-PARTITIVE:
 a. ✓ Personne que moi (n')aura {du/ * de} gâteau.
 Nobody than me (*ne*) will-have {of-the/ * of} cake.
 'Only I will have a piece of cake.'
 b. ✓ Personne **d'autre** que moi (n')aura {du/ de} gâteau.
 Nobody of other than me (*ne*) will-have {of-the/ of} cake.
 'Nobody other than me will have a piece of cake.'

The optionality of the pseudo-partitive in (ii)b follows from a structural ambiguity introduced by *d'autre*: one can construe either the non-negative (a) sentence where *autre* functions as the subject of the verb, or the 'negative' (b) sentence where the subject is *personne*:

- (461) a. ✓ [[Personne] [d'autre [que [moi (* n')aura {du/ * de} gâteau]]]].
 b. ✓ [[Personne [d'autre [que moi]]] [n'aura {du/ de} gâteau]].

⁴¹³ See II.3.1.2.2 for a discussion on pseudo-partitive vs. true partitive.

II.3.1.1.3.5.2. NPI 'du tout'

Stranding quantificational noun *du tout* 'at all' is a NPI needing \forall c-command: it is thus fine with 'negative' (\forall) arguments in (i), but not with (\exists) NPI arguments in (ii), and fine again with (nominal) 'negative' markers in (iii):⁴¹⁴

- (462) (i) ✓ WITH A 'NEGATIVE' ARGUMENT:
 a. ✓ Pierre (n)'a {vu **personne**/ ☹ **personne** vu} **du tout**.
 Peter (*ne*) has {seen nobody/ ☹ nobody seen} at all.
 'Peter saw nobody at all.'
 b. ✓ Pierre (n)'a **rien** vu **du tout**.
 Peter (*ne*) has nothing seen at all.
 'Peter saw nothing at all.'
- (ii) * WITH A NPI ARGUMENT:
 * Pierre (n)'a pas vu {**âme qui vive**/ **qui que ce soit**} **du tout**.
 Peter (*ne*) has not seen {soul which live/ whoever} at all.
- (iii) ✓ WITH A 'NEGATIVE' ADVERB:
 ✓ Pierre (n)'a {**pas**/ **plus**/ * **jamais**} vu Jeanne **du tout** depuis l'été dernier.
 Peter (*ne*) has {not/ no-longer/ * never} seen Jane at all since the summer last.
 'Peter didn't (anymore) see Jane at all since last summer.'

Stranding is always optional with adverbs in (i); with arguments, it is optional in subject position in (ii), but obligatory in object position in (iii)—being a quantificational noun, *du tout* would overlap with the denominal quantifiers in a single nominal 'floating' position.

- (463) (i) WITH AN ADVERB:
 ✓ Pierre (n)'a {**pas**/ **plus**/ * **jamais**} **du tout** vu Jeanne <du tout> depuis l'été dernier.
 Peter (*ne*) has {not/ no-longer/ * never} at all seen Jane <at all> since the summer last.
 'Peter didn't (anymore) see Jane at all since last summer.'
- (ii) WITH AN ARGUMENT IN SUBJECT POSITION:
 a. ✓ **Personne** {**du tout** (*ne*) vient/ (*ne*) vient du tout}.
 Nobody {at all (*ne*) comes/ (*ne*) comes at all}.
 'Nobody comes at all.'
 b. ✓ **Rien** {du tout (*ne*) se passe/ (*ne*) se passe du tout}.
 Nothing {at all (*ne*) itself happens/ (*ne*) itself happens at all}.
 'Nothing happens at all.'
- (iii) WITH AN ARGUMENT IN OBJECT POSITION:
 a. ✓ Pierre (n)'a {vu **personne**/ ☹ **personne** vu} du tout/ * **personne** du tout vu}.
 Peter (*ne*) has {{seen nobody/ ☹ nobody seen} at all/ * nobody at all seen}.
 'Peter saw nobody at all.'
 b. ✓ Pierre (n)'a **rien** {vu du tout/ * du tout vu}.
 Peter (*ne*) has nothing {seen at all/ * at all seen}.
 'Peter saw nothing at all.'

II.3.1.1.4. Adverbs under advisement

Acquaviva [1995:19;n.9] suggested, but not pursued, the idea that 'negative' adverbs are the counterpart of 'positive' ones: "An alternative worth pursuing would consist in thinking that the various FPs [of the extended VP] coincide with the projections where adverbials are hosted, in the hypothesis that the ordering and placement of such adverb positions is universally given (see Cinque [1995] for a proposal). The negative adverbials would then simply be the negative counterparts of the usual fillers of the same specifiers. More precisely,

⁴¹⁴ The ungrammaticality of temporal adverb *jamais* 'never', in contrast with the acceptability of modal adverb *pas* 'not' and aspectual adverb *plus* 'no longer', follows from the lack of temporality-related landing site within the extended NP of the nominal quantifier *du tout*; see II.3.1.2.1.1 on the opposition nominal vs. verbal 'negative' markers.

French multiple-compounded⁴¹⁶ conjugations seem to match this schematization: in the following sentences, *{ait/ aurait}* are the realization of (*{subjunctive/ conditional}*) Mood, *eu* that of Tense (anterior), and *été* and *chantant* that of (terminative and progressive) Aspect.

- (468) a. ✓ Que Pierre **ait eu été chantant** sous la pluie (ne) m'étonnerait pas.
That Peter be had been singing in the rain (ne) me would-surprise not.
'It wouldn't surprise me that Peter were been singing in the rain.'
b. ✓ Pierre **aurait eu été chantant** sous la pluie que ça (ne) m'étonnerait pas.
Peter would had been singing in the rain that it (ne) me would-surprise not.
'It wouldn't surprise me if Peter would have been singing in the rain.'

If 'negative' adverbs are the specifiers of modal, temporal, and aspectual projections, they should appear in predetermined positions and in fixed order. Pollock [1989:413;(124)-(125)] observed that *pas* occupies the highest 'negative' adverbial position: unlike its classmates, it is generated too high to be crossed by a raised infinitive.

- (469) a. * Pierre dit **ne manger pas**.
'Pierre says *ne* to eat not.'
b. (?) Pierre dit **ne manger {point/ plus/ rien}**.
'Pierre says *ne* to eat {not/ no longer/ nothing}.'

On the other hand, the lowest 'negative' adverbial position seems that of †*guère* 'not much', which is lower than *plus*:

- (470) a. ✓ ((II) (N'))Y'a **plus †guère** d'hommes virils.
b. * ((II) (N'))Y'a **guère plus** d'hommes virils.
(There) (Ne) LOC has {✓ no-longer not-much/ * not-much no-longer} of men manly.
'There are hardly any manly men.'

In popular French, the three archetypal 'negative' adverbs can co-occur, but only in a fixed order:

- (471) % Pierre (n')est **pas jamais plus** venu
Peter (ne) is not never no-longer come.
'Peter didn't ever came anymore.'

Crucially, this order corresponds to (467), repeated here with the 'negative' adverbial counterparts:

- (472) THREE (ARCHE)TYPES OF 'NEGATIVE' ADVERBS:
a. NEGATED MOOD_(irrealis): *Pas*. 'Not.'
b. NEGATED TENSE_(anterior): *Jamais*. 'Never.'
c. NEGATED ASPECT_(continuative): *Plus*. 'No longer.'

In the framework of Acquaviva [1993, 1995, 1996], negation-related items were classified according to their (in)capacity to freely bind variables of the quantificational phrase. Acquaviva [1995:45] claimed, "[...] 'heavy' markers [*pas*-type] can only enter NC with variable-binding quantifiers if they are themselves variable-binding quantifiers". In our

order of tense-mood-aspect (TMA) in Creoles". It could follow from the difference drawn by Cinque [1999] between Moods (Mood) and Modals (Mod)—in fact, the simplified hierarchy seems to be:

(lxxiv) Mood >> Tense >> Mod >> Aspect.

Creoles would only own Modals (auxiliary-like elements), but no Moods (specific is morphology just unavailable). More radically, a Mood might just be a Modal incorporated into Tense, hence the height variations of modalities in general around Tense.

⁴¹⁶ On French multiple-compounded tenses, see II.3.1.1.4.3.1.

framework, the alternation between ‘variable-binding’ and ‘non-variable-binding’ guises can be reformulated in terms of structural layer: a ‘heavy’ marker is a MODAL NEGATION. A modal negation is a functional item devoid of lexical content, so that it expresses the UNMARKED DENIAL. The (a) sentence with a modal negation is adequate in whatever context; the (b) sentences with non-modal negations conveying a lexical content is adequate only under particular contextual assumptions:

- (473) a. ✓ Vous (**ne**) me dérangez **pas**.
 You (*ne*) me disturb not.
 ‘You don’t disturb me.’
 b. ✓ Vous (**ne**) me dérangez {**aucunement/ nullement/ jamais/ plus**}.
 You (*ne*) me disturb {in-no-way/ in-no-measure/ never/ no-longer}.
 → ‘I mean you meant you did disturb me {in any way/ in any measure/ at any time/ in the past}.’

II.3.1.1.4.1. Modal negation

II.3.1.1.4.1.1. ‘Negative’ modals & negated modals

The existence of a modal ‘negative’ adverb is consistent with the general observation of Hoekstra & Jordens [1994:122], “modality is categorially also expressed by adverbs and adjectives”, and their particular observation on the existence of “negative modals” in Early Dutch [pp. 129-134]. Classic Latin also had a ‘negative’ modal, which was the lexicalized contraction of a syntactic sequence [negation - ‘positive’ modal]. The ‘negative’ *nolere* ‘to non-want’ had a full paradigm, excepted for three persons at the present indicative, where the contraction wasn’t in use; on the other hand, it had a present and a future imperatives refused to the ‘positive’ *volere* ‘to want’:

- (474) (I) PRESENT INDICATIVE:
 1st person sg: {Volo/ **Nolo**}.
 2nd person sg: {Vis/ **Non vis**}.
 3rd person sg: {Vult/ **Non vult**}.
 1st person pl: {Volumus/ **Nolumus**}.
 2nd person pl: {Vultis/ **Non vultis**}.
 3rd person pl: {Volunt/ **Nolunt**}.
 (II) PRESENT IMPERATIVE:
 2nd person sg: {* Voli/ **Noli**}.
 2nd person pl: {* Volite/ **Nolite**}.
 (III) FUTURE IMPERATIVE:
 2nd person sg: {* Volito/ **Nolito**}.
 2nd person pl: {* Volitote/ **Nolitote**}.

In adult French, some (semi-)modals are somehow ‘negative’, in being able to substitute the modal ‘negative’ adverb *pas* if the SM has phonological realization; the substitution is always optional, according to the generalized NC examined in II.2.2.

- (475) (I) LEXICAL VERBS:
 a. * Pierre n’aime venir.
 b. ✓ Pierre (**n**)aime **pas** venir.
 Peter (*ne*) likes (not) to-come.
 ‘Peter doesn’t like to come.’
 (II) MODALS:
 a. ✓ Pierre **ne veut** venir.
 b. ✓ Pierre (**ne**) veut **pas** venir.
 Peter (*ne*) wants (not) to-come.
 ‘Peter doesn’t want to come.’
 (III) SEMI-MODALS:
 a. ✓ Pierre **n’ose** venir.
 b. ✓ Pierre (**n**)ose **pas** venir.

Peter (*ne*) dares (not) to-come.
 ‘Peter doesn’t dare to come.’
 a. ✓ Pierre **ne cesse** de parler.
 b. ✓ Pierre (**ne**) cesse **pas** de parler.
 Peter (*ne*) stops (not) to speak.
 ‘Peter doesn’t stop talking.’

Not all modals allow *pas*-drop: only four of the six modals of the draft of Cinque [1999:(see our (524))] do, in precious ‘registers’.⁴¹⁷

- (476) (i) NECESSITY: *falloir*
 * Il ne faut laisser les sots penser pour soi.
 It *ne* is-necessary to-let the fools think for oneself.
 (ii) POSSIBILITY: *pouvoir*
 ✓ Il **ne peut** pleuvoir quand le ciel est bleu.
 It *ne* can rain when the sky is blue.
 ‘It cannot rain when the sky is blue.’
 (iii) VOLITIONAL: *vouloir*
 ✓ Je **ne veux** croire de telles sottises.
 I *ne* want believe PL-INDEF-DET such silly-things.
 ‘I cannot believe silly things of this kind.’
 (iv) OBLIGATION: *devoir*
 * Je ne dois laisser Jeanne faire ça.
 I *ne* must let Jane do that.
 (v) ABILITY: *savoir*
 ✓ Je **ne sais** comment résoudre ce dilemme.
 I *ne* know how solve this dilemma.
 ‘I don’t know how to solve that dilemma.’
 (vi) PERMISSION: *pouvoir*
 ✓ Je **ne peux** faire ça à Pierre.
 I *ne* can do that to Peter.
 ‘I cannot do that to Peter.’

Expressing a condition on the trueness of the event seems a necessary condition to allow a Mood to substitute *pas*; some uncertainty is in fact shared by Possibility, Volition, Ability, and Permission, but not by Necessity and Obligation, that are deontic. The contrast can be repeated amongst two guises of the single modal *savoir* ‘to know’, which (dis)allow *pas*-drop depending on its interpretation:

- (477) (i) UNCERTAINTY ALLOWS *PAS*-DROP:
 a. ✓ Pierre **ne sait (pas)** s’il doit dire ça à Jeanne.
 Peter *ne* knows (not) if he must say that to Jane.
 ‘Peter doesn’t know if saying that to Jane is good.’
 b. ✓ Pierre **ne sait (pas)** comment aller à Rome.
 Peter *ne* knows (not) how to-go to Rome.
 ‘Peter doesn’t know how to go to Rome.’
 (ii) LACK OF KNOWLEDGE DISALLOWS *PAS*-DROP:
 a. ✓ Pierre **ne sait *(pas)** où est Jeanne.
 Peter *ne* knows *(not) where is Jane.
 ‘Peter doesn’t know where is Jane.’
 b. ✓ Pierre **ne sait *(pas)** le chemin de Rome.
 Peter *ne* knows *(not) the way of Rome.
 ‘Peter doesn’t know the way to Rome.’

⁴¹⁷ Marginally, even the auxiliary guise of *avoir* allows *pas*-drop, as in the following example taken from Jacques Tardi, *Momies en folie*, Casterman, 1978, p. 7:

(lxxv) ✓ “Les agents de police **n’ont** le temps de réagir”.
 The agents of police *ne* have the time of react.
 ‘The policemen didn’t get the time to do anything.’

As expected under this analysis, conditional Mood, the archetype of uncertainty, also allows *pas-drop*.⁴¹⁸

- (478) a. ✓ “Que **ne raconteraient** ces pierres si elles pouvaient parler!...”⁴¹⁹
 What *ne* would-tell these stones if they were-able-to speak!...
 ‘What would tell these stones if they only were able to speak!’
 b. ✓ “Tout ceci **n’aurait** une telle importance si la presse ne s’en était emparé...”⁴²⁰
 All this *ne* would-have a such importance if the press *ne* itself PART was took-over...
 ‘All that wouldn’t be of so high importance if the press hadn’t taken it over...’
 c. ✓ Pierre **ne saurait (pas)** approuver Jeanne.⁴²¹
 Peter *ne* would-know (not) to-approve Jane.
 ‘Peter is afraid he can’t agree with Jane.’

For Standard Italian, where no modal adverb combines with the SM *non*, Cinque [2000:§8.2(109)] observed in his “residual issues” that the long clitic climbing, blocked by the negation in (a), becomes more acceptable if the sentence is at the conditional as in (b): under our analysis in terms of scope levels, the ‘negative’ semantics of conditional favors a local interpretation of negation on the Inflection alone, preventing RME between negation and global-scope elements like long-climbing clitics.

- (479) a. * Gianni li vuole non vedere. (Kayne [1989b:243])
 ‘G. them wants not to see.’
 b. ? Gianni **li vorrebbe non** vedere.
 ‘G. them would want not to see.’

II.3.1.1.4.1.2. Negation & subjunctive

In a non-negative sentence, only given classes of verbs can combine with subjunctive. In French, the partition is drawn between modal vs. non-modal verbs:

- (480) (I) NON-MODAL VERBS:
 a. * Je dis que ce soit bien.
 b. * Je pense que ce soit bien.
 c. * J’imagine que ce soit bien.
 d. * Je crois que ce soit bien.
 I {say/ think/ imagine/ believe} that it be good.
 (II) MODALS:
 a. ✓ Il **faut** que ce **soit** bien.
 ‘It is-necessary that it be good.’
 b. ✓ Je **veux** que ce **soit** bien.
 c. ✓ Je **nie** que ce **soit** bien.
 d. ✓ Je **refuse** que ce **soit** bien.
 ‘I {want/ deny/ refuse} that it be good.’

In Italian, the partition is drawn between Modals and intensional verbs, vs. extensional verbs:

- (481) (I) EXTENSIONAL VERBS:
 * Dico che sia bene.
pro I-say that it be good.
 (II) INTENSIONAL VERBS & MODALS:
 a. ✓ **Penso** che **sia** bene.
 b. ✓ **Immagino** che **sia** bene.

⁴¹⁸ In normalized French, conditional is restricted to the apodosis of hypothetical clauses: in the protasis, the imperfect is requested instead, but has the same effect on *pas-drop*, maybe due to the uncertainty conveyed by the hypothetical complementizer *si*. In spoken use, conditional is also used in the protasis.

⁴¹⁹ Roger Leloup, *La spirale du temps*, Dupuis, 1981, plate 3 A.

⁴²⁰ Francis Bergèse, *Les secrets de la Mer Noire*, Dupuis, 1994, plate 5 B.

⁴²¹ Rhetoric conditional conveying feigned uncertainty for civil or ironic purpose.

- c. ✓ **Credo** che **sia** bene.
pro I- {think/ imagine/ believe} that it be good.
 ‘I {think/ imagine/ believe} that it is good.’
- d. ✓ **Bisogna** che **sia** bene.
pro it-is-necessary that *pro* be good.
 ‘It is necessary that it be good.’
- e. ✓ **Voglio** che **sia** bene.
- f. ✓ **Nego** che **sia** bene.
- g. ✓ **Rifiuto** che **sia** bene.
pro I- {want/ deny/ refuse} that *pro* be good.
 ‘I {want/ deny/ refuse} that it be good.’

Now, a modal ‘negative’ adverb displays similar effects as modal verbs regarding the possible combination with subjunctive: a negated non-modal verb allows subjunctive, in French (a) as in Italian (b).

- (482) a. ✓ Je (**ne**) dis **pas** que ce **soit** bien.
 I (*ne*) say not that it be good.
- b. ✓ **Non** dico che **sia** bene.
pro-I not say that *pro* be good.
 ‘I don’t say that it is good.’

In French, subjunctive motivated by negation is facultative: negation simply increases the possibilities.

- (483) a. ✓ Je pense qu’il {**est**/ * **soit**} venu.
 I think that he {is/ * be} come.
 ‘I think that he came.’
- b. ✓ Je (**ne**) pense **pas** qu’il {**est**/ **soit**} venu.
 I (*ne*) think not that he {is/ * be} come.
 ‘I don’t think that he came.’

Only *pas* and † *point* can lead to subjunctive: the other negations are not modal.

- (484) ✓ Je (**ne**) dis {**pas**/ † **point**/ * **jamais**/ * **plus**/ * † **guère**} que ce **soit** bien.
 I (*ne*) can {not/ not/ * never/ * no-longer/ * not-much} say that it be good.
 ‘I cannot say that it is good.’

This follows from the hierarchical superiority of Mood on Tense and Aspect: only (non-modal) ‘negative’ elements spelled out higher than the highest Mood, as subject quantifiers in (i), and adverbs in the CP-layer in (ii), also combine with the subjunctive.

- (485) (i) SUBJECT ‘NEGATIVE’ Q:
 a. ✓ **Personne** (**ne**) peut dire que {c’**est**/ ce **soit**} nul.
 Nobody (*ne*) can say that it {is/ be} null.
 ‘Nobody can say that it’s worth nothing.’
- b. ✓ **Rien** (**ne**) peut arriver qui {**est**/ **soit**} nul.
 Nothing (*ne*) can happen which {is/ be} null.
 ‘Nothing can happen, which is worth nothing.’
- (ii) ‘NEGATIVE’ ADVERBS IN THE CP-LAYER:
 a. ✓ **Non** qu’il { * **est**/ **soit**} beau, loin de là!
 Not that he { * is/ be} pretty, far from it!
 ‘It’s not the case that he is pretty, far from it!’
- b. ✓ **Plus** que je { * **sais**/ **sache**}!
 No-more that I know- { * INDICATIVE/ SUBJUNCTIVE} !
 ‘Not to my knowledge anymore!’

This holds for matrix subjunctives. A relative structure depending on whatever ‘negative’ predicate is sufficient to combine with subjunctive; subjunctive in (i) is facultative, and

introduces an intensional semantics, absent from the indicative guise in (ii).

- (486) (I) SUBJUNCTIVE:
 a. * Pierre trouve des hommes qui soient beaux.
 Peter finds PL-INDEF-DET men that be pretty.
 b. ✓ Pierre (**ne**) trouve {**pas**/ † **point**/ **jamais**/ **plus**/ † **guère**} d'hommes qui **soient** beaux.
 Peter (*ne*) finds {not/ not/ never/ no-longer/ not-much} of men that be pretty.
 'Peter doesn't find men that are pretty.'
 (II) INDICATIVE:
 ✓ Pierre (**ne**) trouve {**pas**/ † **point**/ **jamais**/ **plus**/ † **guère**} d'hommes qui **sont** beaux.
 Peter (*ne*) finds {not/ not/ never/ no-longer/ not-much} of men that are pretty.
 'Peter doesn't find men, which are pretty.'

Complementizers in general tend to be intensional, and to request subjunctive, as the 'negative' complementizer *sans* 'without':

- (487) ✓ Il est parti **sans qu'**on {**puisse**/ * **peut**} savoir pourquoi.
 He is left without that one {can-IND/ * can-SUBJ} know why.
 'He left without let us know the reason why.'

The rare non-intensional complementizers can combine with both indicative and subjunctive, depending on the language level—and, within the non-normative level, depending on the intended meaning. With opposition complementizers, indicative is normatively condemned and currently used:

- (488) ✓ {**Malgré qu'**/ **bien qu'**}il {**est**/ **soit**} parti, on a continué la fête.
 Despite that he {is-IND/ is-SUBJ} left, one has continued the party.
 'Despite his leaving, we gone on with the party.'

With temporal succession complementizers, subjunctive is normatively condemned and currently used:

- (489) ✓ **Après qu'**il {**est**/ **soit**} parti, on a continué la fête sans lui.
 After that he {is-IND/ is-SUBJ} left, one have continued the party without him.
 'After his leaving, we gone on with the party without him.'

Amongst the 'negative' adverbs, the fact that *pas*, but not *plus* or *jamais*, can be used as a *pro*-subordinate, has perhaps to be related to modal properties: the hierarchical superiority of Mood would ensure its self-sufficiency as a complement clause.

- (490) A: ✓ "Non, mais! Tu m'as regardé, oui?!"
 'I ask you! Didn't you watch me, did you?'
 a. B: ✓ "J'essaie de **ne pas**... En voiture!"⁴²²
 I try to *ne* not... In car!
 'I try to not... All aboard!'
 b. B: * J'essaie de (ne) plus!
 I try to (*ne*) no-longer!
 c. B: * J'essaie de (ne) jamais!
 I try to (*ne*) never!

II.3.1.1.4.1.3. Modal 'negative' arguments

Only 'negative' arguments morphologically containing modal features, as the *-que ce soit* set, can combine with subjunctive:

⁴²² André Franquin, *Les pirates du silence*, Dupuis, 1958, p. 11.

- (491) (I) IN PREVERBAL POSITION:
- a. ✓ {**Où que ce soit**/ * Nulle part} que tu **ailles**, tu trouveras toujours des gens qui t'aiment.
 {Wherever/ * Nowhere} that you go, you will-find always of-the people which you love.
 'Wherever you go, you'll always fond people who loves you.'
- b. ✓ A {**qui que ce soit**/ * nul autre} que tu **plaises**, tu regretteras Pierre.
 To {whoever/ * no-one else} that you be-liked, you will regret Peter.
 'You may be liked by whoever, it will not prevent you to regret Peter.'
- c. ✓ {**Quoi que ce soit**/ * Nulle chose} que tu **fasses**, les dernières vacances (ne) reviendront pas.
 {Whatever/ * No thing} that you do, the last vacations (ne) will-come-again not.
 'Whatever you do, the last vacations will not come again.'
- (II) IN POSTVERBAL POSITION:
- a. ✓ Que tu **ailles** {**où que ce soit**/ * nulle part}, tu trouveras toujours des gens qui t'aiment.
 That you go {wherever/ * nowhere}, you will-find always of-the people which you love.
 'Wherever you go, you'll always fond people who loves you.'
- b. ✓ Que tu **plaises** à {**qui que ce soit**/ * nul autre}, tu regretteras Pierre.
 That you be-liked to {whoever/ * no-one else}, you will regret Peter.
 'You may be liked by whoever, it will not prevent you to regret Peter.'
- c. ✓ Que tu **fasses** {**quoi que ce soit**/ * nulle chose}, les dernières vacances (ne) reviendront pas.
 That you do {whatever/ * no thing}, the last vacations (ne) will-come-again not.
 'Whatever you do, the last vacations will not come again.'

In the modal non-negative (a) sentences, the 'negative' *que ce soit*-series is interpreted with the same 'positive' meaning as the *n'importe*-series; in the modal 'negative' (b) sentences, they regain their specificities: the *que ce soit*-series is interpreted within the scope of negation, the *n'importe*-series outside of the scope of negation, according to the sentential hierarchy where (emphatic) 'positivity' is higher than 'negativity'.

- (492) (I) WITH A MODAL:
- a. ✓ Tu **peux** venir {**quand que ce soit/ n'importe quand**} avant la fin de l'année.
 You can come {whenever/ anytime} before the end of the year.
 'You can come anytime before the end of the year.'
- b. ✓ Tu (**ne**) **peux pas** venir {**quand que ce soit/ n'importe quand**} avant la fin de l'année.
 You (ne) can not come {whenever/ anytime} before the end of the year.
 'You cannot come {whenever/ anytime} before the end of the year.'
- (II) WITH SUBJUNCTIVE:
- a. ✓ Que tu **penses** {**quoi que ce soit/ n'importe quoi**} m'est égal!
 That you think {whatever/ anything} to-me is equal!
 'You can think anything, I don't care!'
- b. ✓ Que tu (**ne**) **penses pas** {**quoi que ce soit/ n'importe quoi**} m'est égal!
 That you (ne) think not {whatever/ anything} to-me is equal!
 'If you don't think {whatever/ anything}, I don't care!'
- (III) WITH IMPERATIVE:
- a. ✓ **Va** {**où que ce soit/ n'importe où**} en mon absence et tu auras de mes nouvelles!
 Go {wherever/ anyplace} in my absence and you will-have of my news!
 'Go anyplace in my absence, and I'll give you a piece of my mind!'
- b. ✓ (**Ne**) **Va pas** {**où que ce soit/ n'importe où**} en mon absence ou tu auras de mes nouvelles!
 (Ne) Go not {wherever/ anyplace} in my absence or you will-have of my news!
 'Don't go {wherever/ anyplace} in my absence, or I'll give you a piece of my mind!'
- (IV) WITH CONDITIONAL:
- a. ✓ Tu **verrais** {**âme qui vive/ n'importe quel être vivant**} que ça m'étonnerait.
 You would-see {soul which live/ anyone} that it me would-surprise.
 'I would be surprised if you would see anyone.'
- b. ✓ Tu (**ne**) **verrais pas** {**âme qui vive/ n'importe quel être vivant**} que ça ne m'étonnerait pas.
 You (ne) would-see not {soul which live/ anyone} that it (ne) me would-surprise not.
 'I wouldn't be surprised if you wouldn't see {a soul/ anyone}.'
- (V) WITH A HYPOTHETIC CLAUSE:
- a. ✓ **Si** tu rencontres {**qui que ce soit/ n'importe qui**}, cache-toi.
 If you meet {whoever/ anybody}, hide yourself.
 'If you meet anybody, hide yourself.'
- b. ✓ **Si** tu (**ne**) rencontres **pas** {**qui que ce soit/ n'importe qui**}, c'est mieux.
 If you (ne) meet not {whoever/ anybody}, it's better.

‘If you don’t meet {whoever/ anybody}, it’s better.’

CRs respect the syntactic hierarchy: when the two series above merge for emphatic purpose, no double-compounded output is attested with a ‘negative’ portion preceding the ‘positive’ one:

- (493) (I) ‘NEGATIVE’ * > ‘POSITIVE’:
 a. * [Où que ce soit n’importe]_Q.
 b. * [Quand que ce soit n’importe]_Q.
 c. * [Qui que ce soit n’importe]_Q.
 d. * [Quoi que ce soit n’importe]_Q.
 (II) ‘POSITIVE’ ✓ > ‘NEGATIVE’:
 a. ✓ [N’importe où que ce soit]_Q.
 b. ✓ [N’importe quand que ce soit]_Q.
 c. ✓ [N’importe qui que ce soit]_Q.
 d. ✓ [N’importe quoi que ce soit]_Q.

This WFR makes use of linear complementation CR (category I.A.7 of Bouvier [1999]), and creates thus left-headed compounds. The **head** being the ‘positive’ portion, which includes the pre-compounded quantifiers of the *n’importe*-series, the grammaticality of (iii)a-b-e, vs. the ungrammaticality of (i)a-b-e, directly follows from the grammaticality of (ii)a-b-e:

- (494) (I) ‘NEGATIVE’ COMPOUNDED QUANTIFIERS:
 a. * [Comment [que ce soit]]_Q.
 b. * [Lequel [que ce soit]]_Q.
 c. ✓ [Où [que ce soit]]_Q.
 d. ✓ [Quand [que ce soit]]_Q.
 e. * [Quel N [que ce soit]]_Q.
 f. ✓ [Qui [que ce soit]]_Q.
 g. ✓ [Quoi [que ce soit]]_Q.
 (II) ‘POSITIVE’ COMPOUNDED QUANTIFIERS:
 a. ✓ [N’importe [comment]]_Q.
 b. ✓ [N’importe [lequel]]_Q.
 c. ✓ [N’importe [où]]_Q.
 d. ✓ [N’importe [quand]]_Q.
 e. ✓ [N’importe [quel N]]_Q.
 f. ✓ [N’importe [qui]]_Q.
 g. ✓ [N’importe [quoi]]_Q.
 (III) ‘POSITIVE’ DOUBLE-COMPOUNDED QUANTIFIERS MERGING (I) & (II):
 a. ✓ [N’importe comment [que ce soit]]_Q.
 b. ✓ [N’importe lequel [que ce soit]]_Q.
 c. ✓ [N’importe où [que ce soit]]_Q.
 d. ✓ [N’importe quand [que ce soit]]_Q.
 e. ✓ [N’importe quel N [que ce soit]]_Q.
 f. ✓ [N’importe qui [que ce soit]]_Q.
 g. ✓ [N’importe quoi [que ce soit]]_Q.

The ‘negative’ portion of double-compounded quantifiers is opaque to the syntax; only the ‘positive’ reading is available within the ‘positive’ modal (a) sentences, and fails to be construed in the ‘negative’ modal (b) sentences:

- (495) (I) WITH A MODAL:
 a. ✓ Tu **peux** venir **n’importe quand que ce soit** avant la fin de l’année.
 You can come anytime-it-may-be before the end of the year.
 ‘You can really come anytime before the end of the year.’
 b. * Tu (ne) **peux pas** venir **n’importe quand que ce soit** avant la fin de l’année.
 You (ne) can not come anytime-it-may-be before the end of the year.
 (II) WITH SUBJUNCTIVE:
 a. ✓ Que tu **penses n’importe quoi que ce soit** m’est égal!
 That you think anything-it-may-be to-me is equal!

- ‘You can really think anything, I don’t care!’
 b. * Que tu (ne) penses pas n’importe quoi que ce soit m’est égal!
 That you (ne) think not anything-it-may-be to-me is equal!
- (III) WITH IMPERATIVE:
 a. ✓ Va **n’importe où que ce soit** en mon absence et tu auras de mes nouvelles!
 Go anyplace-it-may-be in my absence and you will-have of my news!
 ‘Try really to go anyplace in my absence, and I’ll give you a piece of my mind!’
 b. * (Ne) Va pas n’importe où que ce soit en mon absence ou tu auras de mes nouvelles!
 (Ne) Go not anyplace-it-may-be in my absence or you will-have of my news!
- (IV) WITH CONDITIONAL:
 a. ✓ Tu **verrais n’importe quel être vivant que ce soit** que ça m’étonnerait.
 You would-see anyone-it-may-be that it me would-surprise.
 ‘I would be surprised if you really would see anyone.’
 b. * Tu (ne) verrais pas n’importe quel être vivant que ce soit que ça ne m’étonnerait pas.
 You (ne) would-see not anyone-it-may-be that it (ne) me would-surprise not.
- (V) WITH A HYPOTHETIC CLAUSE:
 a. ✓ **Si tu rencontres n’importe qui que ce soit**, cache-toi.
 If you meet anybody-it-may-be, hide yourself.
 ‘If you really meet anybody, hide yourself.’
 b. * Si tu (ne) rencontres pas n’importe qui que ce soit, c’est mieux.
 If you (ne) meet not anybody-it-may-be, it’s better.

II.3.1.1.4.2. Temporal negation

Adverb *jamais* ‘never’, compounded of †† *jà* ‘straightaway’ and †† *mais* (< Latin *magis*) ‘plus’, refers to an event that is $\neg\exists$ up to the point of utterance:

- (496) ✓ Pierre (**n**)est **jamais** venu ici (avant cette fois).
 Peter (ne) is never come here (before this time).
 ‘Peter never came here (before this time).’

It is thus presumably the ‘negative’ guise of *déjà* ‘already’, the specifier of TAntP in the hierarchy of Cinque [1999:106(92)]:

- (497) [*Déjà/ Jamais*] T(Anterior).
 [*Already/ Never*] T(Anterior).

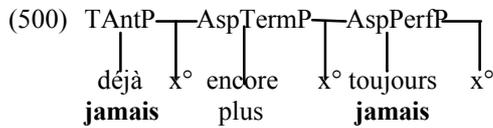
In other contexts, *jamais* conveys an aspectual semantics, expressing the ‘negative’ perfectness of a generic event:

- (498) a. ✓ Pierre (**ne**) mange **jamais** de sauterelles.
 Peter (ne) eats never of grasshoppers.
 ‘Peter never eats grasshoppers.’

In this use, it behaves like the ‘negative’ guise of *toujours* ‘always’, the specifier of Aspect_{perfect} in the hierarchy of Cinque [1999:106(92)]:

- (499) [*Toujours/ Jamais*] Aspect_{perfect}.
 [*Always/ Never*] Aspect_{perfect}.

Nothing prevents that a single item occupies more than one adverbial position, if it fills two lexical slots with different featural content: it is just a case of homonymy. We will thus postulate two distinct guises of *jamais*, a temporal one and an aspectual one:



(II) ✓ ASPECTUAL NEGATION:

✓ Pierre (ne) peut plus {avalier/ blairer/ boire/ digérer/ encadrer/ encaisser/ piffer/ puer/ sacquer/ se farcir/ sentir/ souffrir/ voir} Jeanne.

Peter (ne) can no-longer {swallow-down/ smell/ drink/ digest/ frame/ collect/ smell/ stink/ kick-out/ himself stuff/ smell/ suffer/ see} Jane.

‘Peter can no longer put up with Jane.’

(III) * TEMPORAL NEGATION:

* Pierre (ne) peut jamais {avalier/ blairer/ boire/ digérer/ encadrer/ encaisser/ piffer/ puer/ sacquer/ se farcir/ sentir/ souffrir/ voir} Jeanne.

Peter (ne) can never {swallow-down/ smell/ drink/ digest/ frame/ collect/ smell/ stink/ kick-out/ himself stuff/ smell/ suffer/ see} Jane.

II.3.1.1.4.3.1. Aspectual properties of multiple-compounded tenses

French owns DOUBLE-COMPOUNDED TENSES, widespread in provincial and especially rural ‘varieties’, as good as in some literary ‘registers’—in particular, Charles Ferdinand Ramuz made an abundant use of them. Their articulated semantics denotes perfective terminative aspect of a remote habitual verbal event:

(505) a. ✓ Il a eu chanté (deux soirs de suite).

He has had sung (two evenings in succession).

→ ‘It’s a long time that he has no longer sung two evenings in succession.’

b. ✓ Il a été parti (plus de trois semaines).

He has been gone (more than three weeks).

→ ‘It’s a long time that he was no longer gone more than three weeks.’

There exist nine double-compounded paradigms in French. We give below for each of them an (a) example with *chanter* ‘to sing’, which combines with *avoir*-auxiliary, and a (b) example with *partir* ‘to leave’, which combines with *être*-auxiliary.

(506) (i) DOUBLE-COMPOUNDED PERFECT:

a. ✓ J’ai eu chanté.

b. ✓ J’ai été parti.

(ii) DOUBLE-COMPOUNDED PLUPERFECT:

a. ✓ J’avais eu chanté.

b. ✓ J’avais été parti.

(iii) DOUBLE-COMPOUNDED FUTURE PERFECT:

a. ✓ J’aurai eu chanté.

b. ✓ J’aurai été parti.

(iv) DOUBLE-COMPOUNDED PAST CONDITIONAL, FIRST FORM:

a. ✓ J’aurais eu chanté.

b. ✓ J’aurais été parti.

(v) DOUBLE-COMPOUNDED PAST CONDITIONAL, SECOND FORM:

a. †(†) J’eusse eu chanté.

b. †(†) J’eusse été parti.

(vi) DOUBLE-COMPOUNDED PAST SUBJUNCTIVE:

a. ✓ Que j’aie eu chanté.

b. ✓ Que j’aie été parti.

(vii) DOUBLE-COMPOUNDED PLUPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE:

a. †(†) Que j’eusse eu chanté.

b. †(†) Que j’eusse été parti.

(viii) DOUBLE-COMPOUNDED PAST PARTICIPLE:

a. ✓ Ayant eu chanté.

b. ✓ Ayant été parti.

(ix) DOUBLE-COMPOUNDED PAST INFINITIVE:

a. ✓ Avoir eu chanté.

b. ✓ Avoir été parti.

Non-habitual aspect of past anterior is incompatible with habitual aspect of

double-compounding:

(507) * DOUBLE-COMPOUNDED PAST ANTERIOR:

a. * J'eus eu chanté.

b. * J'eus été parti.

Double-compounded tenses are recursive, with the effect to take the perfective action a step backward in the past:

(508) TRIPLE-COMPOUNDED PERFECT:

a. ✓ J'ai eu eu chanté.

→ 'It's a long time that I have been a long time without singing.'

b. ✓ J'ai eu été parti.

→ 'It's a long time that I have been a long time without leaving.'

Recursiveness is confined within the habitual processing limitations of the human machine:

(509) QUADRUPLE-COMPOUNDED PERFECT:

a. ?? J'ai eu eu eu chanté.

→ 'It's a long time that I have been a long time that I have been a long time without singing.'

b. ? J'ai eu eu été parti.

→ 'It's a long time that I have been a long time that I have been a long time without leaving.'

Now, all possible double-compounded tenses are incompatible with logical negation: if the double-compounding auxiliaries *eu* and *été* project AspContP, but somehow negating the Continuative feature which becomes thus Terminative, then the specifier of AspContP is no longer available for a 'negative' adverb.

(510) a. * Il (n')a {pas/ plus/ jamais} eu chanté.

He (*ne*) has {not/ no-longer/ never} had sung.

b. * Il (n')a {pas/ plus/ jamais} été parti.

He (*ne*) has {not/ no-longer/ never} been gone.

Only local negation is conceivable:⁴²³ in this case, one negates the lexical verb alone, without breaking into the temporal structure.

(511) a. ✓ (%) Il (* n')a eu **pas chanté**.

He has had not sung.

'It has been the case that he didn't sing.'

b. ✓ (%) Il (* n')a été **pas parti**.

He has been not gone.

'It has been the case that he wasn't gone.'

The same holds for metalinguistic use:

(512) a. ✓ Il (n')a pas EU CHANTE, il chante (encore)!

He (*ne*) has not HAD SUNG, he (still) sings!

'He DOESN'T had sung, he (still) sings!'

b. ✓ Il n'a pas ETE PARTI, il est parti!

He (*ne*) has not BEEN GONE, he is gone!

'He DOESN'T was gone, he is gone!'

On the other hand, 'positive' adverbs that are neither aspectual, nor temporal, are fine:

(513) a. ✓ Il a {**bien/ certes**} eu chanté.

He has {good/ indeed} had sung.

⁴²³ Thanks to Isabelle De Crousaz [p.c.] for this observation.

- ‘He does indeed had sung.’
 b. ✓ Il a {**bien/ certes**} été parti.
 He has {good/ indeed} been gone.
 ‘He does indeed been gone.’

The last possibility to insert a negation within a double-compounded structure is to relate it to a complementizer like *tant que* ‘as long as’, which semantic effect is to break off the terminative point: Terminative feature cannot thus be projected, and *pas*-insertion is fine.

- (514) ✓ J(e n)’aurais pas été content **tant que** j(e n)’aurais **pas** eu fini ce travail.
 I (ne) would-have not been happy as-long as I (ne) would-have not had finished this work.
 ‘I wouldn’t have been happy as long as I wouldn’t have finished this work.’

II.3.1.1.4.4. Table of some possible {‘Negative’/ ‘Positive’} counterparts

The main quantificational ‘negative’ adverbs seem to find natural ‘positive’ counterparts:

- (515) a. {**Aucunement/ Parfaitement**}.
 {In no way/ Certainly}.
 b. {**D’aucune façon/ Tout à fait**}.
 {In no way/ Perfectly}.
 c. {†**Guère/ Beaucoup**}.
 {Not a lot/ A lot}.
 d. {**Jamais/ {Déjà/ Toujours}**}.
 {Never/ {Already/ Always}}.
 e. {**Non pas/ †Si fait**}.
 {Not that/ Indeed yes}.
 f. {**Non plus/ Aussi**}.
 {Neither/ Too}.
 g. {**Nullement/ Complètement**}.
 {Not at all/ Completely}.
 h. {**Pas/ Bien**}.
 {Not/ Indeed}.
 i. {**Plus/ Encore**}.
 {No longer/ Still}.

We will thus maintain, as suggested by Acquaviva [1995:19;n.9], that ‘negative’ adverbs are generated in the same specifiers as the ‘positive’ ones.

II.3.1.1.5. Modalities

II.3.1.1.5.1. Five features for Mood & Tense

Reducing verbal forms to featural combinations without postulating an overabundance of features requests the reexamination of the traditional temporal triple partition:

- (516) *PAST* > *PRESENT* > *FUTURE*.

If the opposition present vs. past is a temporal one, the opposition present vs. future could be seen as a modal one.⁴²⁴ present and past are veridical; future is just not veridical, like conditional, subjunctive, and imperative. Furthermore, future, like the three other Moods, can make on NPIs the same effect as negation (which has either functional modal properties like *pas*, or at least Speaker-oriented properties), through an unrealistic featural combination not conveyed by the non-Mood forms:

⁴²⁴ See Giannakidou & Zwarts [1998] for this claim, and relative argumentation.

- (517) (I) FUTURE:
- a. ✓ **Quand tu verras un chat** dans ce désert, je mangerai du boudin.
When you will-see a cat in this desert, I will-eat of-the blood-sausage.
'When you will see anybody in this desert, I will eat blood sausage.'
- b. ✓ Pierre **sera** moine le jour où Jeanne aura **un rotin** en poche.
Peter will-be monk the day where Jane will-have a red-cent in task.
'Peter will become a monk when Jane will have a red cent on her.'
- c. ✓ (II) Y'**aura grand-risque** à parler avec Jeanne après son divorce.
There LOC will-be great-risk to talk with Jane after her divorce.
'(There) LOC will be any risk to talk to Jane after her divorce.'
- d. ✓ Il **neigera** quand Jeanne dira **mot** de cette histoire.
It will-snow when Jane will-say word of this story.
'There will snow when Jane will tell anything about that story.'
- (II) CONDITIONAL:
- a. ✓ Il **viendrait grand-monde** à l'enterrement de Jeanne que j'en serais surpris.
It would-come great-people to the funeral of Jane that I PART would-be surprised.
'I would be surprise if a lot of people would come to Jane's funeral.'
- b. ✓ On **verrait un chat** sur la pelouse que j'en serais surpris.
One would-see a cat on the lawn that I PART would-be surprised.
'I would be surprise if there were anybody on the lawn.'
- c. ✓ Pierre **serait** étonné de progresser **des masses** à ce cours.
Peter would-be surprised to progress PL-INDEF-DET masses at this course.
'Peter would be surprised to make a lot of progress at this course.'
- (III) SUBJUNCTIVE:
- a. ✓ **Où que ce soit** que tu **ailles** tu trouveras toujours des gens qui t'aiment.
Wherever that you go you will-find always PL-INDEF-DET people-PL that you love.
'Wherever you may go, you'll always find people which love you.'
- b. ✓ **Puisses-tu** trouver un endroit **folichon** où refaire ta vie.
May you find a place nice where restart your life.
'Let's hope you'll find a nice place to start a new life.'
- c. ✓ Que ça **ait grande importance** pour Jeanne est égal à Pierre.
That this be great importance for Jane is equal to Peter.
'Peter doesn't care that this should be important for Jane.'
- (IV) IMPERATIVE:
- a. ✓ **Parle** de **quoi que ce soit** à **qui que ce soit** et je t'étrangle.
Tell of whatever to whoever and I you strangle.
'I will strangle you if you say anything to anyone.'
- b. ✓ **Souffle mot** de cette affaire et je t'étrangle.
Say word of this affair and I you strangle.
'I will strangle you if you tell anything about this story.'
- c. ✓ **Gagne un sou** avec cette invention et je te paie un château.
Earn one red-cent with that invention and I you pay a castle.
'If you earn money with that invention, I buy you a castle.'

We will postulate first a temporal feature $\{\pm\text{Past}\}$ to distinguish between present and past, and a modal feature $\{\pm\text{Mood}\}$ to distinguish between present on the one hand, and future, conditional, subjunctive, and imperative on the other hand.

(518)	=MOOD	+MOOD
=PAST	Present indicative.	Present imperative.
	Present infinitive.	Present subjunctive.
	Present participle.	Present conditional.
		Future.
+PAST	Past indicative.	Past imperatives.
	Past infinitive.	Past subjunctives.
	Past participle.	Past conditionals.
	Future perfect.	

Within the $\{=\text{Mood}\}$ class, infinitives are characterized by the absence of inflection, and participles by some adjectival feature requesting gender agreement. Some $\{\pm\text{Finite}\}$ feature has thus to be added to distinguish between infinitives on the one hand, indicatives and

participles on the other hand; and some {±Gender} feature to distinguish between participles on the one hand, indicatives and infinitives on the other hand. What is absent from French and Romance in general is a verbal form at once {+Finite, +Gender}.

(519)	=FINITE	+FINITE
=GENDER	Infinitives.	Indicatives.
+GENDER	Participles.	?

Within the {+Mood} class, future and conditional are LOW MOODS pertaining to the extended IP-layer. In the hierarchy of Cinque [1998, 1999], they seem contiguous: future projects TFutP, and conditional is plausibly the realization of Mood *irrealis*. Both can appear in interrogative sentences:

- (520) (i) FUTURE:
 a. ✓ **Viendras-tu?**
 Will-come you?
 ‘Will you come?’
 b. ✓ **Ne viendras-tu pas?**
 Ne will-come you not?
 ‘Will you not come?’
 (ii) CONDITIONAL:
 a. ✓ **Viendrais-tu?**
 Would-come you?
 ‘Would you come?’
 b. ✓ **Ne viendrais-tu pas?**
 Ne would-come you not?
 ‘Wouldn’t you come?’

Subjunctive and imperative are HIGH MOODS involving an operator in the CP-layer. They activate the ForceP of Rizzi [1997],⁴²⁵ subjunctive through the high complementizer *que*, imperative through an overt raising made visible by pronominal enclisis. Both are incompatible with interrogation, two Force operators not being able to co-occur:

- (521) (i) SUBJUNCTIVE:
 a. * **Viennes-que-tu?**
 Come that you
 b. * **Ne viennes-que-tu pas?**
 Ne come that you not?
 (ii) IMPERATIVE:
 a. * **Viens-pro?**
 Come?
 b. * **Ne viens-pro pas?**
 Ne come not?

Finite feature can thus be used again to distinguish between IP-INTERNAL MOODS like future and conditional, and IP-EXTERNAL MOODS like imperative and subjunctive; we need now a further feature to distinguish between the members of those two classes. Imperative in (i)a and future in (i)b show a common semantics of speaker-oriented will; subjunctive in (ii)a and conditional in (ii)b display a common semantics of speaker-external will:

- (522) (i) SPEAKER-ORIENTED WILL:
 a. ✓ **Mange ta soupe!**
 ‘Eat your soup!’
 b. ✓ **Tu mangeras ta soupe!**
 You will-eat your soup!
 → ‘You have to eat your soup (because I want it)’

⁴²⁵ The force-operators hosted by ForceP are, among others: Relative OP >> Foc OP >> Wh OP.

- (II) SPEAKER-EXTERNAL WILL:
 a. ✓ C'est l'heure que tu **manges** ta soupe!
 It's the time that you eat your soup!
 'It's time for you to eat your soup!'
 b. ✓ Tu **mangerais** ta soupe...
 You would-eat your soup...
 → '(Circumstances would lead) you to eat your soup!'

Further refinements are not excluded, depending among others of aspectual specifications. For our purpose, we will minimally characterize the {+Mood} class by means of two features:

- | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|---------------|
| (523) | =FINITE | +FINITE |
| =SPEAKER-ORIENTED | Subjunctives. | Conditionals. |
| +SPEAKER-ORIENTED | Imperatives. | Futures. |

II.3.1.1.5.2. Modals & polarity phenomena

In the framework of Cinque [1998, 1999], modals are generated higher than the lexical verbs are. In the draft of Cinque [1999], six modals are located between Mood_{irrealis} and Asp_{habitual}:

- (524) (Mood_{irrealis} >>) Mod_{necessity} >> Mod_{possibility} >> Mod_{volitional} >> Mod_{obligation} >> Mod_{ability/permission} (>>Asp_{habitual}).

Unlike the lexical verbs in (i), the modals in (ii) can additionally raise higher than the position occupied by *pas*, which is itself generated higher than the base position of the highest modal:

- (525) (I) LEXICAL VERBS:
 a. ✓ **Ne pas aimer** venir est dommage.
Ne not like to-come is shame.
 'Not to like to come is a shame.'
 b. {*/††} N'aimer pas venir est dommage.
Ne like not to-come is shame.
 (II) MODALS:
 a. ✓ **Ne pas vouloir** venir est dommage.
Ne not want to-come is shame.
 b. ✓ **Ne vouloir pas** venir est dommage.
Ne want not to-come is shame.
 'Not to want to come is a shame.'

As discussed in II.3.1.1.4.1.1, some modals and semi-modals⁴²⁶ allow dropping the 'negative' adverb of a 'negative' sentence if the SM is phonologically realized:

- (526) (I) LEXICAL VERBS:
 a. * Pierre n'aime venir.
 b. ✓ Pierre (**n'**)aime **pas** venir.
 Peter (*ne*) likes (not) to-come.
 'Peter doesn't like to come.'
 (II) MODALS:
 a. ✓ Pierre **ne veut** venir.
 b. ✓ Pierre (**ne**) veut **pas** venir.
 Peter (*ne*) wants (not) to-come.
 'Peter doesn't want to come.'
 (III) SEMI-MODALS:
 a. ✓ Pierre **n'ose** venir.
 b. ✓ Pierre (**n'**)ose **pas** venir.

⁴²⁶ The semi-modal class probably consists of lexical verbs marginally able to be generated in functional heads, besides a regular lexical use (for instance, such a functional head could be Mood_{Ability} for *oser* 'to dare', which is normally generated inside as a lexical verb inside VP).

Peter (*ne*) dares (not) to-come.
 ‘Peter doesn’t dare to come.’
 a.’ ✓ Pierre **ne cesse** de parler.
 b.’ ✓ Pierre (**ne**) cesse **pas** de parler.
 Peter (*ne*) stops (not) to speak.
 ‘Peter doesn’t stop talking.’

One could say that the Moods are fundamentally unrealistic, and that the complementary feature of Mood is Real. The SM for global negation is {-Mood, -Real}: when it combines with a ‘negative’ adverb, it becomes properly ‘negative’; when it combines with a modal, it becomes unrealistic, indirectly leading to a ‘negative’ interpretation.

(527)		{Mood/	Real}
	<i>Subjunctive.</i>	+	=
	<i>Indicative.</i>	=	+
	SM for global negation.	-	-

II.3.1.1.6. Lexical ‘negativity’

II.3.1.1.6.1. ‘Negative’ verbs

As anticipated in II.2.2.1.2.4, a lexically ‘negative’ transitive verb is sufficient to lead to the \exists reading of \forall ‘negative’ quantifiers, and contains thus a ‘negative’ operator within its CP complement.⁴²⁷

- (528) a. ✓ “Fred **évite** soigneusement **d’**en parler à **personne**.”⁴²⁸
 Fred avoids [\forall] carefully of PART to-talk to nobody [\exists].
 ‘Fred carefully avoids to talk to anybody about it.’
 b. ✓ “il a **refusé de** me donner **aucun** détail.”⁴²⁹
 He has refused [\forall] to to-me give no [\exists] detail.
 ‘He refused to give me any detail.’

Some verbs bear ‘negative’ affixes. From the six productive ‘negative’ prefixes of the derivational domain, illustrated in (29) with adjectives and in (623) with nouns, only *dé-*, *in-*, and *mé-* are compatible with verbs, at different degrees:

- (529) a. * *A-* [and allomorph *an-*]: * Anactiver, * afaire, * amonter, * apprendre.
 To an-activate, to a-do, to an-assemble, to a-take.
 b. * *Anti-*: * Antiactiver, * antifaire, * antimonter, * antiprendre.
 To anti-activate, to anti-do, to anti-assemble, to anti-take.
 c. ✓ *Dé-* [and allomorph *dés-*]: Désactiver, défaire, démonter, ??déprendre.
 To dis-activate, to dis-do, to disassemble, to dis-take.
 d. ✓ *In-* [and allomorphs *im-*, *ir-*, *il-*]: Inactiver, * infaire, * inmonter, * inprendre.
 To un-activate, to undo, to un-assemble, to un-take.
 e. ✓ *Mé-* [and allomorph *més-*]: ??Mésactiver, ??méfaire, * mémonter, méprendre.
 To mis-activate, to mis-do, to misassemble, to mistake.
 f. * *Non-*: * Non-activer, * non-faire, * non-monter, * non-prendre.
 To non-activate, to non-do, to non-assemble, to non-take.

The intermediate status of *in-* plausibly follows from its aspectual properties, incompatible with the aspectual properties of many verbs: at the morphological level it’s conceivable to coin a verb like *inachever* ‘to unachieve’, but it’s impossible to find a situation aspectually adequate for its utterance. In fact, in French as good as in English, only the past participle of

⁴²⁷ This analysis was suggested by Rizzi [p.c.].

⁴²⁸ Victor Hubinon, *Un avion n’est pas rentré*, Dupuis, 1954, plate 306.

⁴²⁹ Victor Hubinon, *NC-22654 ne répond plus*, Dupuis, 1957, plate 15.

the ‘positive’ verb is used with the ‘negative’ prefix, namely *inachevé* ‘unachieved’. The incompatibility not being morphological, it’s not surprising to find some collectors:

- (530) a. ✓ *Indifférer* [1888].
Colloquial term from Latin adjective *indifferens* ‘indifferent’.
b. ✓ *Immuniser* [1894].
Current term from Latin adjective *immunis* ‘immune’.
c. ✓ *Inactiver* [1911].
Biological term from French adjective *inactif* ‘inactive’.

The prefix *non-* can combine neither with a verb, nor with a deverbal noun: in fact, *non-* is a modal prefix. Verbs may bear modal features, but not by means of WFR (compounding or derivation): only inflection rules can add modal features on verbs.⁴³⁰

- (531) (I) VERBS:
a. * Non-manger.
To-non-eat.
b. * Non-courir.
To-non-run.
c. * Non-dormir.
To-non-sleep.
(II) DEVERBAL NOUNS:
a. * Non-{manger/ mangeaille}.
Non-{eat/ eating}.
b. * Non-{courir/ course}.
Non-{run/ running}.
c. * Non-{dormir/ dormition}.
Non-{sleep/ sleeping}.

This makes a prediction: in the hierarchy of Cinque [1998, 1999], modals generated outside of VP, which just bear lexical modal features, should be compatible with *non-*. Though French doesn’t own any morphologically ‘negative’ modal, deverbal nouns coming from modals (and auxiliaries) are attested with *non-*:

- (532) (II) MODAL-DEVERBAL NOUNS:
a. ✓ **Non-pouvoir**.
Non-can.
b. ✓ **Non-vouloir**.
Non-will.
c. ✓ **Non-devoir**.
Non-must.
d. ✓ **Non-savoir**.
Non-know.
(II) AUXILIARY-DEVERBAL NOUNS:
a. ✓ **Non-être**.
Non-be.
b. ✓ **Non-avoir**.
Non-have.

As anticipated in II.3.1.1.4.1.1, Classic Latin owned a ‘negative’ modal prefixed with *non*, *nolere* ‘to non-want’, which had a full paradigm (excepting three persons of the present indicative); on the other hand, it had a present and a future imperatives refused to the ‘positive’ *volere* ‘to want’, presumably due to the intrinsic modal properties of the ‘negative’

⁴³⁰ The difference between derivative affixation and flecional affixation didn’t yet reach explicative adequacy in standard morphological theories: the claim that derivative affixation (like compounding) create new words, while inflectional affixation doesn’t create new words, but new syntactic guises of existing words, is merely descriptive, and not perfectly true—on the one hand, irregular inflected forms are listed in the lexicon; on the other hand, different words can be inflectionally related by suppletion.

affix itself:

- (533) (I) PRESENT INDICATIVE:
 1st person sg: {Volo/ **Nolo**}.
 2nd person sg: {Vis/ **Non vis**}.
 3rd person sg: {Vult/ **Non vult**}.
 1st person pl: {Volumus/ **Nolumus**}.
 2nd person pl: {Vultis/ **Non vultis**}.
 3rd person pl: {Volunt/ **Nolunt**}.
 (II) PRESENT IMPERATIVE:
 2nd person sg: {* Voli/ **Noli**}.
 2nd person pl: {* Volite/ **Nolite**}.
 (III) FUTURE IMPERATIVE:
 2nd person sg: {* Volito/ **Nolito**}.
 2nd person pl: {* Volitote/ **Nolitote**}.

II.3.1.1.6.2. 'Negative' adverbs

Five of the six productive 'negative' prefixes of the derivational domain are compatible, at different degrees of productivity, with adverbs:

- (534) a. ✓ *A-* [and allomorph *an-*]: Anormalement, apolitiquement, asyndétiquement.
 Abnormally, apolitically, asyndetically.
 b. ✓ *Anti-*: Anticonstitutionnellement, antidémocratiquement, antipathiquement.
 Unconstitutionally, antidemocratically, disagreeably.
 c. ✓ *Dé-* [and allomorph *dés-*]: Déplorablement, dépressionnairement, déréglementairement.
 Deplorably, depressionally, unstatutorily.
 d. ✓ *In-* [and allomorphs *im-*, *ir-*, *il-*]: Incroyablement, inévitablement, infidèlement.
 Unbelievably, inevitably, unfaithfully.
 e. ✓ *Mé-* [and allomorph *més-*]: Mécompréhensiblement, mésamoureusement, mésélégamment.
 Misunderstandably, misamorously, miselegantly.
 f. * *Non-*: *Non-conventionnellement, *non-politiquement, *non-sympathiquement.
 Non-conventionally, non-politically, non-friendly.

Only *non-* seems incompatible with adverbs, as it was with verbs. Nevertheless, consistently with the deverbal nouns of (532), modal adverbs globally lead to better results than aspectual ones:⁴³¹

- (535) (I) MODAL ADVERBS:
 a. ?? Non-franchement.
 Non-frankly.
 b. ? **Non-heureusement**.
 Non-fortunately.
 c. ? **Non-évidemment**.
 Non-allegedly.
 d. ? **Non-probablement**.
 Non-probably.
 e. ✓ **Non-nécessairement**.
 Non-necessarily.
 f. ? **Non-éventuellement**.
 Non-possibly.
 g. ? **Non-volontairement**.
 Non-willingly.
 h. ✓ **Non-inévitablement**.
 Non-inevitably.
 i. ?? **Non-ingénieusement**.

⁴³¹ We quote from top to bottom the hierarchy from the draft of Cinque [1999:178] with 'negative' French counterparts, omitting compounded adverbs like *peut-être* 'perhaps', *à nouveau* 'again' or *à peine* 'just', since their idiomaticity prevents any prefixation.

- Non-cleverly.
 (II) ASPECTUAL ADVERBS:
 a. ? **Non-habituellement**.
 Non-usually.
 b. * Non-souvent.
 Non-often.
 c. * Non-rapidement.
 Non-quickly.
 d. ✓ **Non plus**.
 Non-no longer.
 e. * Non-encore.
 Non-still.
 f. * Non-toujours.
 Non-always.
 g. * Non-bientôt.
 Non-soon.
 h. * Non-brièvement.
 Non-briefly.
 i. ? **Non-caractéristiquement**.
 Non-characteristically.
 j. * Non-presque.
 Non-almost.
 k. ? **Non-complètement**.
 Non-completely.
 l. * Non-tout.
 Non-all.
 m. * Non-tôt.
 Non-early.

II.3.1.1.7. (Provisional) Hierarchy of extended VP

We will adopt here the following (provisional) hierarchy of extended VP, including our tentative LP-layer, the CP-layer of Rizzi [1997], the high IP-layer of Beghelli [1995], and the low IP-layer of Cinque [1998, 1999]:

(536) EXTENDED VP: LP-layer >> CP-layer >> IP-layer >> VP-layer.

■ **LP-layer:**

- SupP (anchors to the universe of discourse): {±Given, ±Presuppositional}.
- IdP (identification of the arguments): {±Specific, ±Generic}.
- RefP (anchors to the discourse articulation): {±Referential, ±Idiomatic}.

■ **CP-layer:**

- ForceP (*que*-type complementizers): {±Force}.⁴³²
- Topic(IP): {±High-Topic}.
- FocP: {±Contrastive, ±Focus}.
- ModP: {±Adverbial}.
- Topic(II)P: {±Low-Topic}.
- FinP (*de*-type complementizers): {±Finite}.

■ **IP-layer:**

- AgrSP: {±EPP}.
- DistP: {±Distributive}.
- ShareP: {±Group-referent}.
- Speaker-Oriented-MoodPs: {±Speech-act, ±Evaluative, ±Evidential, ±Epistemic}.
- TPastP: {±Past}.

⁴³² Force-operators are, among others: Relative OP >> Foc OP >> Wh OP. Because they occupy the same projection, wh-inversion is in complementary distribution with a jocular double-complementizer:

- (lxxvi) a. ☺ Avec **quoi que** je l'aurais fait?
 With what that I it would-have done?
 'By what means would I did it?'
 b. * Avec **quoi que** l'aurais-je fait?
 With what that it would-have I done?

- {TFutP/ MoodFutP}: {+Mood, +Finite, +Speaker-oriented}.
- MoodPs: {±Real, ±Necessity, ±Possibility}.
- AspPs: {±Habitual, ±Repetitive(I), ±Frequentative(I)}.
- ModVolitionalP: {±Volitional}.
- AspCelerative(I)P: {±Celerative(I)}.
- TAntP: {±Anterior}.
- AspPs: {±Inceptive(I), ±Terminative, ±Continuative(I), ±Perfect, ±Retrospective, ±Proximative, ±Durative, ±Generic, ±Progressive, ±Prospective, ±Sg-completive(I), ±Pl-completive}.
- VoiceP: {±Passive, ±Active}.
- PercepP: {±Perception}.
- CausP: {±Causative}.
- AspPs: {±Inceptive(II), ±Continuative(II), ±Celerative(II)}.
- AndativeP: {±Motion}.
- AspPs: {±Repetitive(II), ±>Frequentative(II), ±Sg-completive(II)}.
- AgrPPP: {±Number, ±Gender}.
- **VP-layer:**
 - AgrIOP: {±Number, ±Gender}.
 - AgrOP: {±Number, ±Gender}.
 - VP: {-N, +V}.

II.3.1.2. Extended NP

The basic NP became successively a DP since Abney [1987], and a QP since Giusti [1992]; it also includes the adjectival hierarchy of Cinque [1993], and the DegP of Corver [1991].

II.3.1.2.1. Nominal QPs

It is often assumed that ‘negative’ words as *personne* ‘nobody’ can be uttered in isolation as an answer, whereas NPIs as *âme qui vive* ‘anybody’ cannot. At a closer look, the distinction is of a different kind:

- (537) A: As-tu vu quelqu’un?
 ‘Did you see somebody?’
 a. B: ✓ (Non,) (* Pas) **Personne!**⁴³³
 b. B: ✓ (Non,) (**Pas**) {**Du tout/ Qui que ce soit!**}
 c. B: ✓ (Non,) *(**Pas**) {**un chat/ une âme/ âme qui vive!**}
 (No,) (Not) {nobody/ at all/ whoever/ a cat/ a soul/ soul which live!}
 ‘Not anybody!’

If the contrast were a consequence of the ‘negative’ force, then *qui que ce soit* and *âme qui vive* should give identical results. The difference is rather a categorial one: determiners in (a) and quantifiers in (b), which are functional nominal categories, can survive in isolation as an answer; nouns in (c), which are lexical nominal categories, are unable to project on their own an extended NP, and cannot thus survive in isolation. Categorial distinctions within the extended NP are thus necessary to explain syntactic contrasts.

II.3.1.2.1.1. Nominal vs. verbal ‘negative’ markers

There is an important difference between the three archetypal ‘negative’ markers of (472): on the one hand, the quantificational adverb *jamais* is confined within the verbal hierarchy and cannot be part of the extended NP, nouns just lacking temporal properties; on the other hand, the adverbial quantifiers *pas* and *plus* can be inserted either in an adverbial position inside the extended VP, or in a quantificational position inside the extended NP, nouns being able to express modal properties (semantically as ‘desire’, ‘ability’, ‘possibility’, morphologically as

⁴³³ As seen in II.3.1.1.3.4, to be interpreted as \exists , a basically \forall quantifier or determiner need $\forall \neg$ c-command from a projection distinct from its own, hence the incompatibility between *pas* and *personne* in a laconic answer.

âme qui vive) and aspectual properties ('departure', 'arrival', 'continuation'). The two guises of *pas* and *plus*, homonymous in French, are morphologically distinct in English:

(538)		VERBAL GUISE	NOMINAL GUISE
	<i>Pas.</i>	'Not.'	'No.'
	<i>Plus.</i>	'No longer.'	'No more.'
	<i>Jamais.</i>	'Never.'	*

The 'not'-'no' alternation recalls the global-local scope alternation examined in I.1.2.2.1: in fact, global scope makes use of a verbal 'negative' marking; local scope, of a nominal 'negative' marking. What is morphologically expressed in English with lexical alternations will thus become syntactically apparent in French, through the (im)possible *ne*-insertion of (51):⁴³⁴ the SM will always be possible with the verbal guise of 'negative' markers; with their nominal guise, the situation is more articulated, depending on the grammatical category of the subject.

Nominal PIs have a free functional layer and offer thus to the 'negative' c-commander a landing site 'visible' at the sentence level: in this case, we have a nominal 'negative' marker and a SM in (i); a topicalized verbal 'negative' marker as *jamais* in (ii) also allows a SM.

- (539) (i) NOMINAL PI & NOMINAL 'NEGATIVE' MARKER: ✓ SM:
 a. ✓ **Pas âme qui vive (n')**est venue.
 b. ✓ **Plus âme qui vive (n')**est venue.
 {Not/ No-more} soul which live (*ne*) is come.
 'No-one came (anymore).'
- (ii) VERBAL 'NEGATIVE' MARKER: ✓ SM:
 ✓ **Jamais âme qui vive (n')**est venue.
 Never soul which live (*ne*) is come.
 'No-one ever came.'

Quantificational PIs occupy themselves their functional layer, and offer thus to the 'negative' marker a landing site in a specifier 'invisible' at the sentence level, because in adjoined position: in this case, we have a nominal 'negative' marker and no SM—a SM is only possible with a topicalized verbal 'negative' marker as *jamais* in (b).

- (540) (i) QUANTIFICATIONAL PI & NOMINAL 'NEGATIVE' MARKER: * SM:
 a. ✓ **Pas qui que ce soit (* n')**est venu.
 b. ✓ **Plus qui que ce soit (* n')**est venu.
 {Not/ No-more} whoever (* *ne*) is come.
 'No-one came (anymore).'
- (ii) VERBAL 'NEGATIVE' MARKER: ✓ SM:
 ✓ **Jamais qui que ce soit (n')**est venu.
 Never whoever (*ne*) is come.
 'No-one ever came.'

Only *jamais*, which has a lexical content, can be topicalized, unlike the functional markers *pas* and *plus*, as made quite clear in presence of non-quantificational subjects:

- (541) ✓ { * *Pas*/ * *Plus*/ **Jamais** } Pierre (**ne**) vient.
 { * Not/ * No-longer/ Never } Peter (*ne*) comes.
 'Never Peter comes.'

⁴³⁴ We repeat (51) here for convenience:

(lxxvii) *NE*-INSERTION CONDITION:

(i) *ne* is banned if negation scopes locally on a single phrase other than the Inflection, and
 (ii) if negation scopes globally on a wide constituent made up of several phrases, *ne* can optionally be inserted in the highest clitic position on the borderline of the relevant constituent.

II.3.1.2.1.2. *Lack vs. absence of quantity*

When no quantity has to be stated, natural languages express either its absence, or its lack. Lack of quantity is expressed as a ‘NEGATIVE’ QUANTITY by means of a negated quantifier; absence of quantity as a NULL QUANTITY by means of a null numeral. Though commenting the same state of events than null quantity, ‘negative’ quantity doesn’t express a zero quantity, but denies any quantity. Two basic tests allow distinguishing the two types:⁴³⁵ ‘negative’ quantity in the (a) sentences supports *ne*-insertion (and enter NC with ‘negative’ adverbs), null quantity in the (b) sentences does not;⁴³⁶ in subject position in (i), ‘negative’ quantity requests singular agreement, null quantity plural agreement.⁴³⁷

- (542) (I) IN SUBJECT POSITION:
 a. ✓ **Rien (ne)** se **pass**e (jamais).
 Nothing (*ne*) itself happens (never).
 ‘Nothing (never) happens.’
 b. ✓ **Zéro choses** (* *ne*) se **passent** (* jamais).
 Zero things (* *ne*) itself happens (* never).
 ‘Zero things happen.’
 a.’ ✓ **Personne (ne)** **vient** (jamais) ici.
 Nobody (*ne*) comes (never) here.
 ‘Nobody (never) comes here.’
 b.’ ✓ **Zéro personnes** (* *ne*) **viennent** (* jamais) ici.
 Zero people (* *ne*) come (* never) here.
 ‘Zero people come here.’
 (II) IN OBJECT POSITION:
 a. ✓ Je (**ne**) vois (jamais) **rien**.
 I (*ne*) see (never) nothing.
 ‘I (never) see nothing.’
 b. ✓ Je (* *ne*) vois (* jamais) **zéro choses**.
 I (* *ne*) see (* never) zero things.
 ‘I see zero things.’
 a.’ ✓ Je (**ne**) vois (jamais) **personne**.
 I (*ne*) see (never) nobody.
 ‘I (never) see nobody.’
 b.’ ✓ Je (* *ne*) vois (* jamais) **zéro personnes**.
 I (* *ne*) see (* never) zero people.
 ‘I see zero people.’

Table (543) summarizes the facts of (542):

(543)	‘NEGATIVE’ Q	NULL Q
NE-INSERTION.	✓	*
SINGULAR AGREEMENT.	✓	*
PLURAL AGREEMENT.	*	✓

Regarding null quantity, normative grammarians wish people use the singular after zero, and Cornulier [1985] does so. It’s of little use for expression: singular agreement of the verb being simply unpronounceable, it would lead to the total impossibility of using the number zero in subject position.

- (544) a. * Zéro chose a été faite par Pierre.

⁴³⁵ See also Haegeman [1996] about the different properties of N-words and null numerals.

⁴³⁶ Null quantity doesn’t tolerate the Presuppositional feature, hence the incompatibility with the SM, which is {-Presuppositional}, and need thus another Presuppositional item like the ‘negative’ items.

⁴³⁷ One could think that plural agreement with ‘zero’ follows from the linguistic meaning of cardinal numbers, which is ‘at least *n*’ and not ‘exactly *n*’, according to De Cornulier [1985:94-97]; if it were true, ‘one’ too would request plural agreement.

- Zero thing has been done by Peter.
 b. ✓ **Zéro choses ont** été faites par Pierre.
 ‘Zero things have been done by Peter.’

Déprez [1999:403(71)], which needed the number zero in subject position for her purpose, naturally used plural agreement:

- (545) **Zéro personnes ont mangé zéro gâteaux.**
 ‘Zero persons have eaten zero cakes.’

In languages where the plural morpheme has phonological realization in the unmarked cases, as English in the glosses of (544), and Italian in (546), it’s simply inconceivable to not use plural after zero.

- (546) a. * Piero ha fatto zero punto.
 Peter has gotten zero point.
 b. ✓ Piero ha fatto **zero punti**.
 Peter has gotten zero points.
 ‘Peter got zero marks.’

In French, the fact that the nominal PI *balles* ‘francs’ lacks a singular form, but can perfectly be used with ‘zero’, evidences the normative character of the use of singular after zero:

- (547) a. ✓ Pierre a **zéro balles** en poche.
 Peter has zero balls in pocket.
 b. * Pierre a une * balle en poche.
 Peter has one ball in pocket.
 c. ✓ Pierre a **deux balles** en poche.
 Peter has two balls in pocket.
 ‘Peter has {zero/ * one/ two} francs on him.’

Another argument comes from some irregular French plurals with phonological realization: after *zéro*, the plural form is the sole pronounceable.

- (548) a. * Pierre a vu zéro cheval à la ferme.
 Peter has seen zero horse in the farm.
 b. ✓ Pierre a vu **zéro chevaux** à la ferme.
 Peter has seen zero horses in the farm.
 ‘Peter saw zero horses in the farm.’
 a.’ * Pierre a fait zéro travail cette semaine.
 Peter has done zero work this week.
 b.’ ✓ Pierre a fait **zéro travaux** cette semaine.
 Peter has done zero works this week.
 ‘Peter did zero works this week.’
 a.’’ * Pierre a cassé zéro vitrail cette semaine.
 Peter has broken zero stained-glass-window this week.
 b.’’ ✓ Pierre a cassé **zéro vitraux** cette semaine.
 Peter has broken zero stained-glass-windows this week.
 ‘Peter broke zero stained-glass-windows this week.’

The ‘negative’ determiner *aucun* ‘none’ behaves like a ‘negative’ quantifier with nouns supporting singular form in (i), but like a null numeral with nouns lacking a singular form in (ii), or having a specialized meaning at the plural in (iii):

- (549) (i) REGULAR NOUNS:
 a. ✓ **Aucun lavabo** (n’)est propre.
 No-M-SG sink-M-SG (*ne*) is clean.
 ‘No sink is clean.’

- b. * *Aucuns lavabos (ne) sont propres.*
No-M-PL sinks-M-PL (*ne*) are clean.
- (II) NOUNS LACKING A SINGULAR FORM:
- a. * *Aucune *toilette (n')est propre.*
No-F-SG lavatory-F-SG (*ne*) is clean.
- b. ✓ *Aucunes toilettes (ne) sont propres.*
No-F-PL lavatories-F-PL (*ne*) are clean.
'No lavatory pan is clean.'
- (III) NOUNS HAVING A PLURAL FORM LEXICALIZED WITH A SPECIFIC MEANING:
- a. ✓ *Aucuns travaux (n')ont été entrepris.*
No-M-PL works-M-PL (*ne*) has been undertaken.
'No work was undertaken.'
- b. ✓ "Remplissez consciencieusement ce formulaire et n'omettez **aucunes coordonnées**..."⁴³⁸
Fill conscientiously this form and *ne* omit no-F-PL name-and-address-F-PL...
'Please fill this form without leaving any information out.'

Agreement in (ii)-(iii) is a remainder of an older stage of French where *aucun* still conveyed the 'positive' value of its Latin ancestor *aliquunus* (> *aliquis unus*) 'some one', and regularly agreed in number and gender with its nominal complement. Nevertheless, even normative grammarians admit a plural form with the new 'negative' meaning to transcribe common utterances with nouns lacking a singular form, as Thomas [1971:42]:

- (550) [*Aucun*] ne prend plus guère la marque du pluriel que devant un nom qui n'a pas de singulier, ou qui a au pluriel un sens particulier: *Aucuns frais. Aucuns faux frais. On ne lui fit aucunes funérailles* (Lar. du XX^e s.). *Aucunes troupes.*
'[No-one] did not much take anymore the plural mark but before a noun lacking a singular form, or having at the plural a particular meaning: No-M-PL charges. No-M-PL incidental charges. One didn't make him any-F-PL obsequies (Larousse of the XXth century). No-F-PL troops.'

Nonetheless, *aucun* is not a numeral for all that: unlike *zéro*, it cannot co-occur with determiners, because it is itself a lexically 'negative' determiner:

- (551) a. ✓ Les **zéro points** d'hier sont déjà oubliés.
The zero points of yesterday are already forgotten.
b. * {Le aucun point/ Les aucuns points} d'hier {est/ sont} déjà {oublié/ oubliés}.
The no {point/ points} of yesterday {is/ are} already forgotten-{SG/ PL}.

Rizzi [1999b:468(13)] pointed out at a further difference between 'negative' quantity and null quantity in English, where fronted 'negative' elements, but not zero numerals, request inversion:

- (552) a. No result did we achieve.
b. * Zero results did we achieve.

Rizzi [1999b:469(14)-(15)] also mentioned, "Ross [1983] observed that negative operators interfere with adjunct movement, whereas other operators, including (zero) numerals, do not":

- (553) a. * How much does no pearl cost?
b. How much do {zero/ three/ some} pearls cost?

This contrast follows from a RME, made visible in the French translation by the presence vs. absence of the SM, whose quantificational and 'negative' features interfere with those of the 'negative' quantifier *aucun*:

- (554) a. * Combien {ne/ ¬} coûte aucune perle?
b. ✓ **Combien** (* ne) coûtent {zéro/ trois/ quelques} perles?

⁴³⁸ André Benniest (Benn), *Un monde truqué*, Dargaud, 1992, p. 16.

Another difference is the interpretation within a ‘negative’ predicate: a ‘negative’ quantifier in (a) is construed under NC in all ‘varieties’ allowing it; a null numeral in (b) is construed outside of the scope of negation.

- (555) a. % J(e n)’ai **pas** vu **personne**.
 I (*ne*) have not seen nobody.
 ‘I saw nobody.’
 b. ✓ J(e n)’ai pas vu **zéro personnes**.
 I (*ne*) have not seen zero people.
 ‘I didn’t see zero people.’ → ‘I saw more than zero persons.’

Similarities and differences between ‘negative’ quantifiers and null numerals follow from the combination of two polarity pairs of quantificational features. On the one hand, *zéro* and *personne* are similarly {+Absent}, contrary to the ‘positive’ numerals which are {+Existent}—FC PIs being {-Existent, -Absent}:

(556) BOTTOM-QP:

	{Existence/	Absence}
*	+	+
*	+	-
*	-	+
<i>Quelqu’un, 1, 2, 3... tous.</i>	+	=
<i>Zéro, personne.</i>	=	+
<i>Berzingue (A tout(e)).</i>	-	=
<i>Ame qui vive.</i>	=	-
<i>Qui que ce soit.</i>	-	-
Non-quantificational items.	=	=

On the other hand, *zéro* is {+Individual} like the other numerals, and *personne* {+Universal} like the ‘positive’ universals—that particular pair of features cannot be doubly underspecified, no quantificational item expressing alternatively Universality and Individuality:

(557) TOP-QP:

	{Individual/	Universal}
*	+	+
*	+	-
*	-	+
<i>Zéro, 1, 2, 3...</i>	+	=
<i>Personne, tous.</i>	=	+
<i>Qui que ce soit.</i>	-	=
<i>Berzingue (A tout(e)).</i>	=	-
*	-	-
Non-quantificational items.	=	=

The absence of quantity is thus the expression of {+Absent, +Individual} items; the lack of quantity, the expression of {+Absent, +Universal} items. The fact that ‘negative’ universals request singular agreement could be related to the observation of Beghelli [1995:47], “In English, [but also in Romance,] all DQPs are universally quantificational and require singular agreement”: in fact, ‘negative’ universals are generally compatible with distributive readings and PLR. The fact that the null numeral crosslinguistically (and non-normatively) requests plural agreement could follow from the default value of CardP: excepting in the special case of the unique singular numeral, namely ‘one’, all numerals, including the null guise, project CardP through Plural feature.

II.3.1.2.2. Partitive

II.3.1.2.2.1. True partitive & pseudo-partitive

Partitive *de* cannot take a bare noun as complement: it needs a determiner, a demonstrative, or a possessive; an indefinite determiner is possible only with a mass noun:

- (558) (I) MASS NOUN:
 a. ✓ Une partie **de la** farine.
 A part of the flour.
 b. ✓ Une partie **de cette** farine.
 A part of this flour.
 c. ✓ Une partie **de sa** farine.
 A part of his flour.
 d. ✓ Une partie **d'une** farine.
 A part of a flour.
 e. * Une partie de farine.
 A part of flour.
 (II) COUNTABLE NOUN:
 a. ✓ Une partie **des** [= de les] hommes.
 A part of the men.
 b. ✓ Une partie **de ces** hommes.
 A part of these men.
 c. ✓ Une partie **de ses** hommes.
 A part of his men.
 d. * Une partie des [= de des] hommes.
 A part of-PL-INDEF-DET men.
 e. * Une partie d'hommes.
 A part of men.

Only adjectives can appear as bare (mass) complements of a partitive *de*. Universal feature including all possible parts, the c-commanding quantifier cannot be \forall , and even a $\forall\neg$ quantifier like *rien* 'nothing' is interpreted as $\neg\exists$, as shown by the ungrammaticality of its 'positive' counterpart *tout*, which cannot support \exists reading:

- (559) ✓ {**Quelque chose/ Rien/ * Tout**} **d'**intéressant.
 '{Something/ Nothing/ * Everything} of interesting.
 '{Something/ Nothing} interesting.'

Negation introduces a pseudo-partitive actually behaving like genitive (see II.3.1.2.2.2;(568)):

- (560) (I) MASS NOUN:
 a. * Pas de la farine.
 A part of the flour.
 b. ✓ Pas **de cette** farine.
 A part of this flour.
 c. ✓ Pas **de sa** farine.
 A part of his flour.
 d. ✓ Pas **d'une** farine.
 A part of a flour.
 e. ✓ Pas **de** farine.
 A part of flour.
 (II) COUNTABLE NOUN:
 a. * Pas des [= de les] hommes.
 A part of the men.
 b. ✓ Pas **de ces** hommes.
 A part of these men.
 c. ✓ Pas **de ses** hommes.
 A part of his men.
 d. * Pas des [= de des] hommes.
 A part of-PL-INDEF-DET men.
 e. ✓ Pas **d'**hommes.

A part of men.

Within a verbal sentence, *pas* has two distinct functions: negating a constituent, and allowing the occurrence of pseudo-partitive—the latter accumulating with the former.

- (561) (I) *PAS* NEGATING A CONSTITUENT (WITH TRUE PARTITIVE):
 a. ✓ (II) Faut se faire **du** souci.
 (It) is-necessary oneself to-make of-the worry.
 ‘One has to worry.’
 b. ✓ ((II) (ne)) Faut pas se faire **du** souci.
 ((It) (ne)) is-necessary not oneself to-make of-the worry.
 ‘One has not to worry.’
 (II) *PAS* NEGATING A CONSTITUENT & ALLOWING PSEUDO-PARTITIVE:
 a. *(II) Faut se faire de souci.
 (It) is-necessary oneself to-make of worry.
 b. ✓ ((II) (ne)) Faut **pas** se faire **de** souci.
 (It) (ne)) is-necessary not oneself to-make of worry.
 ‘One doesn’t have to worry.’

The nature of the partitive correlates thus with the level of negation:

- (562) (I) TRUE PARTITIVE CORRELATES WITH LOCAL NEGATION (ON I°):
 ✓ ((II) [(ne)) Faut pas] se faire **du** souci.
 ‘One [has not] to worry.’
 (II) PSEUDO-PARTITIVE CORRELATES WITH GLOBAL NEGATION:
 ✓ ((II) [(ne)) Faut **pas** se faire **de** souci].
 ‘One [doesn’t have to worry].’

PPIs banned from ‘negative’ sentences tolerate the local negation on I° in the (a) sentence if they can combine with a ‘positive’ item like a possessive, but reject the pseudo-partitive correlating with global negation in the (b) sentence:

- (563) a. ✓ S’ils (n’)avalent pas **leur rata**, ils seront privés de dessert.
 If they (ne) swallow not their grub, they will-be deprived of dessert.
 ‘If they don’t swallow their grub, they will have to go without their dessert.’
 b. * S’ils (n’)avalent pas de (leur) rata, ils seront privés de dessert.
 If they (ne) swallow not of (their) grub, they will-be deprived of dessert.

The correlation between (pseudo-)partitive and the negation level provides a tool to account without co-indexation device for the contrast observed by Acquaviva [1993:16(49)-(50)]: co-indexation in (i) is a case of global negation; lack of co-indexation in (ii), a case of local negation (on I°)—specificity being just incompatible with negation, it is ruled out with global negation, and only possible with local negation on I°.

- (564) (i) CO-INDEXATION BETWEEN NEG & D: ‘A’ = NON-SPECIFIC:
 John doesn’t_i own a cat_i.
 (There is no cat such that John owns it.)
 (ii) LACK OF CO-INDEXATION BETWEEN NEG & D: ‘A’ = SPECIFIC:
 John doesn’t_i own a cat—namely, my cat.
 (There is a cat, and John doesn’t own it.)

In French, the structure is made visible by the (non)availability of pseudo-partitive:

- (565) (I) LOCAL NEGATION (ON I°) CANNOT COMBINE WITH PSEUDO-PARTITIVE:
 ✓ Pierre (ne) possède **pas** {un/ * de} chat—à savoir mon chat.
 ‘Peter does not own {a/ * of} cat—namely my cat.’
 (II) GLOBAL NEGATION CAN COMBINE WITH PSEUDO-PARTITIVE:
 ✓ Pierre (ne) possède **pas** {un/ de} chat.

‘Peter doesn’t own {a/ of} cat.’

A metalinguistic partitive escapes the scope of negation, and is thus obligatorily true:

- (566) ✓ Pierre (**n**)**a pas** {DES IDEES/ * D’ IDEES}, mais des illuminations.
 Peter (*ne*) has not {OF-THE IDEAS/ * OF IDEAS}, but of-the inspirations.
 ‘Peter hasn’t IDEAS, but inspirations.’

Pronominal reprise within the *pour*-complement⁴³⁹ of a negated partitive forces co-indexation in case of true partitive (lack of co-indexation would render the complement non-specific), but prevents it in case of pseudo-partitive (co-indexation would put the content of the *pour*-complement under the scope of negation, and renders it specific):

- (567) (I) TRUE PARTITIVE (& LOCAL NEGATION (ON I°)):
 a. * Pierre (**n**)**a pas** des idées_i pour les_k jeter.
 b. ✓ Pierre (**n**)**a pas des** idées_i pour les_i jeter.
 Peter (*ne*) has not of-the ideas to them trash.
 ‘Peter hasn’t ideas_i to trash them_i.’
 (II) PSEUDO-PARTITIVE (& GLOBAL NEGATION):
 a. ✓ Pierre (**n**)**a pas d’**idées_i pour les_k jeter.
 b. * Pierre (**n**)**a pas d’**idées_i pour les_i jeter.
 Peter (*ne*) has not of ideas to them trash.
 ‘Peter has no ideas_i to trash them_k.’

II.3.1.2.2.2. Genitive

Though both pseudo-partitive in (560) and genitive in (568) are introduced by the same preposition *de* than the true partitive is, both differ from it in allowing a bare noun complement, but not a definite one:

- (568) (I) MASS NOUN:
 a. * Une dose de la farine.
 A dose of the flour.
 b. ✓ Une dose **de cette** farine.
 A dose of this flour.
 c. ✓ Une dose **de sa** farine.
 A dose of his flour.
 d. ✓ Une dose **d’une** farine.
 A dose of a flour.
 e. ✓ Une dose **de** farine.
 A dose of flour.
 (II) COUNTABLE NOUN:
 a. * Une dose des [= de les] hommes.
 A dose of the men.
 b. ✓ Une dose **de ces** hommes.
 A dose of these men.
 c. ✓ Une dose **de ses** hommes.
 A dose of his men.

⁴³⁹ The processing gets complicated by the equivocal branching level of the complementizer: a *pour*-complement c-commanded by ‘negative’ elements behaves like a *because*-complement in allowing either a global branching as an adjunct outside of the scope of negation, or a local branching on the verb under the scope of negation.

(lxxviii) a. ✓ {[[Je (ne) lui ai pas téléphoné] [pour qu’il vienne]]/ Je (ne) lui ai pas [téléphoné [pour qu’il vienne]]}.

I (*ne*) him has not phoned for that he come.

→ ‘{So that he comes, I didn’t phone him/ I didn’t phone him to ask him to come}.’

b. ✓ {[[Je (ne) lui ai pas téléphoné] [pour (ne) pas qu’il vienne]]/ Je (ne) lui ai pas [téléphoné [pour (ne) pas qu’il vienne]]}.

I (*ne*) him has not phoned for (*ne*) that he not come.

→ ‘{So that he doesn’t come, I didn’t phone him/ I didn’t phone him to ask him to not come}.’

- d. * Une dose des [= de des] hommes.
A portion of-PL-INDEF-DET men.
e. ✓ Une dose **d'**hommes.
A dose of men.

The definite determiner ruled out in the (a) sentences of (568) can head the genitive complement if the highest determiner is itself definite:

- (569) (i) MASS NOUN:
✓ La dose **de la** farine.
The dose of the flour.
(ii) COUNTABLE NOUN:
✓ La dose **des** [= de les] hommes.
The dose of the men.

Genitive preposition seems thus to allow some recursiveness of the DP around it. It is consistent with a rule of Old Italian, supported by Bembo [1549:XII] but always remained archaic and literary:

- (570) Potrei, oltre a questo, d'un altro uso ancora della mia lingua d'intorno al medesimo articolo, quando egli al secondo caso si dà, non più del maschio che della femina, ragionarvi; il quale è che alle volte si pon detto articolo con alquante voci, e con alquante altre non si pone: *Il mortaio della pietra, La corona dello alloro, Le colonne del porfido*, e d'altra parte: *Ad ora di mangiare et Essendo arche grandi di marmo* [...]. [...] La ragione della differenza, messer Ercole, brevemente è questa; che quando alla voce, che dinanzi a queste voci del secondo caso si sta o dee stare, delle quali essa è voce, si danno gli articoli, diate eziandio gli articoli ad esse voci; quando poi allei gli articoli non si danno, e voi a queste voci non gli diate altresì [...].
'I could further reason about another use of my tongue around the same determiner, when it stays at genitive case, either at the masculine or at the feminine; namely that sometimes one puts that determiner with some words, and with some other one doesn't put it: *The mortar of the stone, The corona of the bay leaves, The columns of the porphyry*, and on the other hand: *At time of eaten and Being big arches of marble* [...]. [...] The reason of the difference, mister Hercules, briefly is the following; when to the word, which before those words at genitive stays or has to stay, whose it is a form, one puts the determiners, give also the determiners to those words; when one doesn't put the determiners to them, then you to those words don't put them no longer [...].'

II.3.1.2.2.3. Counting the wholes

To be countable presupposes to exist as a whole: we will thus call the pair of features projecting Part(itive)P Whole and Part. As appears from the (ii)d sentences of (558), (560), and (568), the featural combination of Whole and Plural is incompatible with the Indefinite feature: in fact, the plural renders the Whole feature in (i) semantically similar to the Universal feature in (ii), which is also incompatible with Indefinite feature.

- (571) (i) WHOLE & PLURAL: INCOMPATIBLE WITH INDEFINITE:
a. ✓ Une partie **des** [= de les] hommes.
A part of the men.
'Part of the men.'
b. * Une partie des [= de des] hommes.
A part of-PL-INDEF-DET men.
(ii) UNIVERSAL: INCOMPATIBLE WITH INDEFINITE:
a. ✓ **Tous les** premiers.
All the first.
'The all first ones.'
b. * Tous des premiers.
All PL-INDEF-DET first.

The behavior of 'any', a {-Definite, -Indefinite} determining PI, alternates between a 'negative' (indefinite) PS reading and a non-negative FC reading depending on countable

properties. As noted by Tovena [1996:138(5.71)-(5.72)], forcing a countable reading renders the ‘negative’ (indefinite) guise unavailable: “The domain denoted by a countable noun is made of individuals. The domain denoted by a mass noun does not present the same internal partition. It is possible to segment it into items or portions by prefixing it with the sequence *a kind of, a type of, an instance of*, etc. The structure produced with this change is similar to that of countable nouns; and the behaviour of *any* with respect to it is similar. The change introduces in the domain a partition into individual entities. Data like [(572)a-b] and [(572)a’-b’] confirm the relevance of the internal structure of the quantification domain for the reading alternation”:

- (572) a. She denied any misbehaviour. [✓PS, *FC]
 b. She denied any accusation of misbehaviour. [*PS, ✓FC]
 a.’ She denied any participation. [✓PS, *FC]
 b.’ She denied any kind of participation. [*PS, ✓FC]

II.3.1.2.2.4. Cliticization of partitives

Participial agreement with cliticized partitives is normatively condemned in French, diversely than Italian. Such an agreement is nevertheless widespread:

- (573) a. ✓ “On n’**en** a pas **trouvés** [des gens courageux], alors nous sommes venus avec la pétoche...”⁴⁴⁰
 One *ne* PART has not found-PL [of-the people-PL courageous], then we are come with the fright...
 ‘One didn’t found courageous people, thus we came with the fright.’
 b. ✓ “Tristement, il déclina mon offre car il n’**en** avait jamais **eue** [d’âme]”.⁴⁴¹
 Sadly, he declined my offer because he *ne* PART had never had-F [of soul-F].
 ‘Sadly, he declined my offer because he had never had a soul.’
 c. ✓ “Oui, j’**en** ai **apportées** [des photographies]...”⁴⁴²
 Yes, I PART have brought-F [of-the photographs-F]...
 ‘Yes, I brought photographs.’

Though there is usefully little editorial orthographic revision in the comics, we have found a visible intervention attesting the power of French normative pressure against participial agreement with partitive: in the following example, the feminine morpheme *-e* is visibly erased:

- (574) ✗ > ✕ “Cortizone **en** a **utilisée** une pour saboter mon manomètre.”⁴⁴³
 Cortizone PART has used-# one to sabotage my manometer.
 ‘Cortizone used one of them to sabotage my manometer.’

That pressure against agreement with partitive is normative is evidenced by the two possibilities of agreement for a quantifier modifying a PartP, both commonly used (with consequent shade of meaning):

- (575) ✓ Tu (ne) vois pas {tous/ toutes} ces millions de chandelles.
 You (*ne*) see not {all-M-PL/ all-F-PL} these millions-M of candles-F.
 ‘{You don’t see all these millions of candles/ You don’t see all these candles in millions}.’

II.3.1.2.3. Determiners

⁴⁴⁰ André Franquin, *Le prisonnier du bouddha*, Dupuis, 1960, p. 45.

⁴⁴¹ Othon Aristidès (Fred), *Le diable du peintre*, Dargaud, 1987, plate 22.

⁴⁴² François Dimberton, *Le corbeau*, plate 1, in *Le secret du mouton noir*, Editions du Phylactère, 1984, p. 35.

⁴⁴³ Philippe Vandeveldel & Jean-Richard Geurts (Tome & Janry), *Vito la Déveine*, Dupuis, 1991, plate 37.

II.3.1.2.3.1. 'Un' vs. 'un'

French Indefinite determiner *un* 'a' is homonymous with bare numeral *un* 'one'. This lexical confusion, also found in Italian, could suggest that indefinites and numerals occupy the same position. It's not true, since both a Definite determiner in (a) and an Indefinite determiner in (b) can precede a bare numeral:

- (576) a. ✓ **Les deux** heures sont écoulées.
The two hours are gone-by.
b. ✓ On attend souvent **des deux** heures pour voir ce prof.
One waits often PL-INDEF-DET two hours to see this professor.

What is actually ruled out is the co-occurrence of two determiners as in (a), excepting when the indefinite 'one' appears in a pronominal guise as in (b):

- (577) a. * {Le un/ Un le} professeur
{The a/ A the} professor.
b. ✓ L'un... l'autre.
The a⁴⁴⁴... the other.
'The one... the other (one)'.

We will thus postulate on the one hand a unique DP for Definite and Indefinite determiners, on the other hand some CardP for the bare numerals. Because Definite and Indefinite determiners share a unique DP, its only when the DP contains the {+Definite} specification that PartP can be projected, accounting for (571).

A more thorough examination reveals a slight phonological difference between the two homonymous *un*: the determiner is realized as [E®], the numeral as [ʹE®]. This has two audible consequences:

- (578) (I) ELISION:
a. **L'un**.
{✓ A/ * The one}.
b. **Le un**.
{* A/ ✓ The one}.
a.ʹ **D'un**.
{✓ Of a/ * Of one}.
b.ʹ **De un**.
{* Of a/ ✓ Of one}.
(II) LIAISON:
a. **Pas_un**.
{✓ Not a/ * not one}.
b. **Pas un**.
{* Not a/ ✓ Not one}.

The difference is also made visible by the interactions with negation. The determiner in (i)a can be syntactically negated in (i)b, lexically negated in (i)c, or replaced by a partitive in (i)d; a noun like *chance*, in the relevant interpretation needing a quantificational c-commander in (ii)a, doesn't allow negating the numeral phrase in (ii)b, does allow a lexically 'negative' numeral in (ii)c, but doesn't allow a partitive in (ii)d:

- (579) (I) DETERMINER GUISE:
a. ✓ Pierre a **une** idée à exploiter.
'Peter has an idea to exploit.'

⁴⁴⁴ That *un* in *l'un* is the determiner, and not the bare numeral as in English, is shown by the elision test below in (578)(i)a.

- b. ✓ Pierre (n')a **pas une** idée à exploiter.
Peter (*ne*) has not an idea to exploit.
'Peter doesn't have an idea to exploit.'
- c. ✓ Pierre (n')a **aucune** idée à exploiter.
Peter (*ne*) has no idea to exploit.
'Peter ha no idea to exploit.'
- d. ✓ Pierre (n')a **pas d'**idée à exploiter.
Peter (*ne*) has not of idea to exploit.
'Peter doesn't have some idea to exploit.'
- (II) BARE NUMERAL GUISE:
- a. ✓ Pierre a **une** chance de gagner.
'Peter has one chance to win.'
- b. * Pierre (n')a pas une chance de gagner.
Peter (*ne*) has not one chance to win.
- c. ✓ Pierre (n')a **aucune chance** de gagner.
Peter (*ne*) has no chance to win.
'Peter has no chance to win.'
- d. * Pierre (n')a pas de chance de gagner.
Peter (*ne*) has not of chance to win.

II.3.1.2.3.2. Some interactions between quantifiers & determiners

The traditional opposition between WEAK DETERMINERS, which can appear in a presentational sentence, and STRONG DETERMINERS, which cannot, depends on the quantificational features Existence, Absence, Individual, and Universal.

Presentational sentences assert Individual Existence. In the following examples taken from Zucchi [1995:33(2)-(1);74(58)-(59)], determiners that are either {+Existent, +Individual} as in (i)a-b, or {+Absent, +Individual} as in (i)c, are compatible with the presentational sentence, since they project the same feature of the Top-DegP pair; the oddity of the sentences in (ii) is due to the occurrence, in a context asserting Individual Existence, either of a properly {+Existent, +Universal} item as in (a)-(c), or of {+Existent, +Individual} item contextually interpreted as Universal as in (d)-(f):

- (580) (I) WEAK DETERMINERS ARE \exists :
- a. ✓ There is **a** student in the garden.
b. ✓ There are **three** students in the garden.
c. ✓ There are **no** students in the garden.
- (II) STRONG DETERMINERS ARE (AT LEAST INTERPRETED AS) \forall :
- a. ?? There is **every** student in the garden.
b. ?? There are **all** students in the garden.
c. ?? There are **most** students in the garden.
d. ?? There is **the** student in the garden.
e. ?? There is **John** in the garden.
f. ?? There is **he** in the garden.

In fact, by saying, "There is the student", we intend something like "There is the entire student". The Definite determiner is clearly interpreted with the meaning 'all' in case of topic left-dislocation:

- (581) a. ✓ **Le** dimanche, Pierre boit un café.
The Sunday, Peter drinks a coffee.
'All Sundays, Peter drinks a coffee.'
- b. ✓ **Le** matin, Jeanne paresse au lit.
The morning, Jane laze in-the bed.
'All the mornings, Jane lazes in bed.'

Turning to (580)(ii)d, if we replace the person-denoting noun by a role-denoting noun, unable

to receive Universal reading because not quantifiable, the sentence becomes fine:

(582) ✓ There is **the mailman** behind the door.

As seen in II.3.1.1.1.3 in connection with the presuppositional properties of presentational sentences, the commonplaces in (i), and the productive use to say ‘X is here’ in (ii), involve a Definite determiner. We can explain now the common property of nouns allowing the Definite determiner to appear in presentational sentences: all are interpreted as Universal, ‘the boss’ and ‘the president of the Republic’ because they are unique, so that ‘the’ implies ‘all the possible ones’, and ‘the fire’ owing to its uncountable character.

- (583) (i) COMMONPLACES:
 ✓ (II) Y’a **le feu!**
 (There) LOC has the fire!
 ‘There’s a fire!’
 (ii) PRODUCTIVELY WITH THE MEANING ‘X IS HERE’:
 a. ✓ (II) Y’a **le patron!**
 (There) LOC has the boss!
 ‘The boss is here!’
 b. ✓ (II) Y’a **le président de la République!**
 (There) LOC has the president of the Republic!
 ‘The president of the Republic is here!’

II.3.1.2.3.3. Some interactions between negation & determiners

If languages concord in allowing the occurrence of a non-negative DP within every ‘negative’ predicate as in the (a) examples, they differ in the possibility of having a negated DP within a copular predicate, as in the (b) examples:

- (584) (i) ENGLISH:
 a. ✓ School is **not** [a fairy tale].
 b. ✓ School is [no fairy tale].
 (ii) GERMAN:
 a. ✓ Die Schule ist **nicht** [ein Märchen].
 b. ✓ Die Schule ist [kein Märchen].
 (iii) FRENCH:
 a. ✓ L’école (n’)est **pas** [un conte de fées].
 b. * L’école (n’)est [{aucun/ nul} conte de fées].
 (iv) ITALIAN:
 a. ✓ La scuola **non** è [una fantasmagoria].
 b. * La scuola è [nessuna fantasmagoria].
 c. ✓ La scuola è [niente fantasmagoria].

The most salient difference between *no* and *kein* on the one hand, {*aucun/ nul*} and *nessun* on the other hand, is that the formers allow a plural with the full semantics of the plural, while the latter ones disallow any plural, excepting a merely grammatical plural with nouns lacking a singular form for *aucun*; as a confirmation, the alternative possibility available in Italian (iv)c also allow a plural with the full semantics of the plural.

- (585) (i) English:
 a. ✓ Peter sees **no student**.
 b. ✓ Peter sees **no students**.
 (ii) GERMAN:
 a. ✓ Peter sieht **kein Student**.
 Peter sees no-SG student.
 b. ✓ Peter sieht **keine Studenten**.
 Peter sees no-PL students.
 (iii) FRENCH:

- a. ✓ Pierre (ne) voit {aucun/ †nul} étudiant.
Peter sees no-SG student.
- b. * Pierre (ne) voit {aucuns⁴⁴⁵/ * nuls} étudiants.
Peter sees * no-PL students.
- (IV) ITALIAN:
- a. ✓ Piero non vede **nessun studente**.
Peter sees no-SG student.
- b. * Piero non vede * **nessuni studenti**.
Peter sees * no-PL students.
- c. ✓ Piero non vede **niente studente**.
Peter sees no student.
- d. ✓ Piero non vede **niente studenti**.
Peter sees no students.

Availability of plural correlates with Individual feature, unavailability of plural with Universal feature, for an obvious semantic ground: one can number Individual objects, but not a Universal set, which is just unique in a given context. Now, copular sentences force an Existential Individual reading: the verb *être* is the archetypal provider of Existence,⁴⁴⁶ and the subject of a copular sentence tends to be interpreted as Individual. If we add within the DP some linguistic content forcing Individual reading, the (b) sentences of (584)(iii)-(iv) become grammatical:

- (586) a. ✓ L'école (n')est [{aucun/ †nul} **des trois** contes de fées que tu as lus].
b. ✓ La scuola è [nessuna delle **tre** fantasmagorie che hai lette].
The school (*ne*) is [none of the three fairy tales that you has read].
'School is none of the three fairy tales you read.'

II.3.1.2.4. Demonstratives & possessives

Featural specifications characterizing classes of items vary amongst languages, so that contiguous pairs of phrases may be not distinct. In Italian (a) as in French (b), the demonstrative is endowed as a determiner, and is thus in complementary distribution with it:

- (587) a. ✓ {**Dei/ Questi**} miei amici.
b. † {**Des/ Ces**} miens amis.
{PL-INDEF-DET/ These} of-mine friends.
'(These) Friends of mine.'

In Rumanian, according to the data of Cinque [1993:27(27a)], both (enclitic) determiner and demonstrative can be realized in the same phrase:

- (588) [_{DP} Portret-**ul** [**acesta** *t* [frumos [t]]]].
Picture-the this-AGR beautiful.

French and English possessives are categorized as determiners, and thus in complementary distribution with other determiners; on the other hand, Italian possessives are categorized as

⁴⁴⁵ The plural form *aucuns* is possible with a noun lacking a singular form, or having at the plural a specialized meaning. In this case, the plural expresses syntactic agreement in number with the deficient noun, but the semantics is that of the singular; for instance, under the scope of *aucun*, the meaning of *toilettes* can only be 'one lavatory pan', not 'the lavatories':

- (lxxix) * Aucune *toilette (n')est propre.
No-F-SG lavatory-F-SG (*ne*) is clean.
b. ✓ **Aucunes toilettes** (ne) sont propres.
No-F-PL lavatories-F-PL (*ne*) are clean.
'No {lavatory pan is/ * lavatories are} clean.'

⁴⁴⁶ See III.4.6.2.

adjectives, so that they must co-occur with a determiner.⁴⁴⁷

- (589) (I) FRENCH:
 a. ✓ **Mon** livre.
 b. * Le mon livre.
 (II) ENGLISH:
 a. ✓ **My** book.
 b. * The my book.
 (III) ITALIAN:
 a. ?? Mio libro.
 b. ✓ **Il mio** libro.

II.3.1.2.5. Degrees & Scales

II.3.1.2.5.1. Introducing degrees in the structure

Kennedy [1999] argued that scalar adjectives like *bright*, *dense*, or *short*, which denote measure functions, project an extended functional structure headed by a degree morphology. A DegP above the various APs was already proposed by Corver [1991:36-45], based on several evidences, to host Dutch {hoe/ zo/ te/ even/ meer/ minder}, and English {how/ so/ too/ as/ more/ less/ this/ that}. First he observed, “It is impossible for adjective phrases containing degree words to be moved in a position immediately before *though*, whereas it is generally permitted to move an adjective phrase containing an adjectival modifier like *very* into the same structural position [pp. 36-37(11)-(12)]”:

- (590) (I) ADJECTIVAL MODIFIER:
 a. Though John is extremely keen on sports, ...
 b. Extremely keen on sports though John is, ...
 (II) DEGREE-WORD:
 a. Though Fred is so tall, he rarely tries to touch the rim.
 b. * So tall though Fred is, he rarely tries to touch the rim.

Second, “it is impossible for adjective phrases containing an adjectival modifier to occur in a position preceding the indefinite article [p. 37(14)-(13)]”:

- (591) (I) ADJECTIVAL MODIFIER:
 a. * Very big a car.
 b. * Extremely big a car.
 (II) DEGREE-WORD:
 a. So big a car.
 b. Too big a car.
 c. How big a car.
 d. That big a car.

Third, “Dutch also distinguishes the class of degree words from the class of adjectival modifiers. The former cannot appear in so-called exclamative [sic] WH-phrases, the latter can [p. 37(15)]”:

- (592) a. * Wat een {te/ minder/ zo} mooie vrouw!
 What a {too/ less/ so} beautiful woman!

⁴⁴⁷ The close-family nouns constitute an exception to this rule: *madre* ‘mother’, *padre* ‘father’, *figlia* ‘daughter’, *figlio* ‘son’, *moglie* ‘wife’, *marito* ‘husband’, *sorella* ‘sister’, and *fratello* ‘brother’, don’t tolerate any determiner with the possessive at the singular form; the determiner becomes obligatorily again if the possessive is at the plural, if another adjective intervenes between the possessive and the noun, and if the noun raises across the possessive. It’s presumably a survival of an older stage of the tongue, attested in various idiomatic expressions, as the following taken from Satta [1971]: *in sua vece* ‘in its place’, *per sua fortuna* ‘fortunately’, *a mio vantaggio* ‘to my benefit’, *con nostra grande sorpresa* ‘to our great surprise’.

- b. Wat een {erg/ belachelijk/ ontzettend/ vreselijk} mooie vrouw!
 What a {very/ ridiculously/ terribly/ extremely} beautiful woman!

The same contrast is found in French:

- (593) a. * *Quel trop beau mec!*
 What too pretty guy!
 ‘What a too pretty guy!’
 b. ✓ *Quel très beau mec!*
 What very pretty guy!
 ‘What a very pretty guy!’

Fourth, “If it is assumed that degree words occupy a position different from modifiers such as *very* and *extremely*, then it should be possible syntactically to have structures in which both a degree word and a modifier appear. [...] Presumably these words [*how* and *so*] are not modifiers contained within the AP *very*, since normally *very* cannot be modified [p. 38(17)-(16)]”:

- (594) (I) ADVERBIAL MODIFIER:
 * The play was [incredibly very interesting].
 (II) DEGREE-WORD:
 a. [How [very interesting]]!
 b. [How [very nice of you to invite me]]!
 c. The talk was [so [very interesting]].

The same contrast is found in French too:

- (595) a. ✓ *La causerie était [tellement [très intéressante]].*
 b. * *La causerie était [incroyablement très intéressante].*
 ‘The talk was {so/ * incredibly} very interesting.’

Other nine empirical grounds are given to motivate a structural configuration with a DegP selecting the APs as its complements. The first one is strong enough, and nice enough, to be quoted alone: “As is well-known, the comparative morpheme *-er* alternates with the pre-adjectival *more*. I will assume that both elements are base-generated in the Deg^o-position. The comparative morpheme *-er*, however, must be attached to a head. This happens after left adjunction of the adjectival head (e.g. *tall*, *sick*) to it [pp. 38-39(20)]”.

- (596) [_{DegP} [_{Deg} A-er] [_{AP} <A^o> XP]].

II.3.1.2.5.2. Scales & negation

In given contexts, a negation seems able to occupy the position of a degree-word:

- (597) (I) ‘NEGATIVE’ ADVERB:
 a. ✓ *Pas très intéressant!*
 b. ✓ *Not very interesting!*
 (II) DEGREE-WORD:
 a. † *Combien très intéressant...*
 b. ✓ *How very interesting...*

This follows from the Scalar properties of negation: these are in fact the common core of degree-denoting adverbs in (c) and ‘negative’ adverbs in (b), which all may combine with some adjectival PIs displaying deficient scalarity.

- (598) a. * *Ce problème est évitable.*
 This problem is avoidable.

- b. ✓ Ce problème (n'est) **{pas/ plus} évitable**.
This problem (*ne*) is {not/ no longer} avoidable.
'One can {not/ no longer} avoid this problem.'
- c. ✓ Ce problème est **{vraiment/ très/ facilement/ difficilement} évitable**.
This problem is {really/ very/ easily/ difficultly} avoidable.
'One can {really/ really/ easily/ difficultly} avoid this problem.'

For Tovenà [1996:175], "[‘negative’ elements] point at the bottom of downward monotonic scales [...]. Polarity sensitive elements are endpoints of arbitrary scales, they can refer either to the bottom or to the top of the lattice". When the ‘Negative’ feature acts at the morphological level, it searches for words expressing the top of an existential scale as in (a): those in (b), expressing the bottom, wouldn’t give it any reason to make use of its Decreasing properties.⁴⁴⁸

(599) (I) NOUNS:

- a. Succès vs. {✓ insuccès/ ✓ échec}.
Success vs. {unsuccess/ failure}.
b. Echec vs. {* inéchec/ ✓ succès}.
Failure vs. {* unfailure/ success}.
a.’ Plaisir vs. {✓ déplaisir/ ✓ douleur}.
Pleasure vs. {displeasure/ pain}.
b.’ Douleur vs. {* dédouleur/ ✓ plaisir}.
Pain vs. {* dis-pain/ pleasure}.

(II) ADJECTIVES:

- a. Réel vs. {✓ irréel/ ✓ imaginaire}.
Realistic vs. {unrealistic/ imaginary}.
b. Imaginaire vs. {* inimaginaire/ ✓ réel}.
Imaginary vs. {* unimaginary/ real}.
a.’ Intelligent vs. {✓ inintelligent/ ✓ bête}.
Intelligent vs. {inintelligent/ stupid}.
b.’ Bête vs. {* inbête/ ✓ intelligent}.
Stupid vs. {* unstupid/ intelligent}.

(III) ADVERBS:

- a. Bien vs. {✓ pas bien/ ✓ pas}.
Indeed vs. {not indeed/ not}.
b. Pas vs. {* pas pas/ ✓ bien}.
Not vs. {* not not/ good}.
a.’ Encore vs. {✓ pas encore/ ✓ plus}.
More vs. {no more/ no-more}.
b.’ Plus vs. {* pas plus/ ✓ encore}.
No-more vs. {* not no-more/ more}.
a.’’ Toujours vs. {✓ pas toujours/ ✓ jamais}.
Always vs. {not always/ never}.
b.’’ Jamais vs. {* pas jamais/ ✓ toujours}.
Never vs. {* not never/ always}.

For Kennedy [1999], degrees are formalized as extents on a scale; the distinction between ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ extents permits to classify in a principled way adjectives displaying ‘negative’ or ‘positive’ polarity. This idea could be extended to other grammatical categories: it is consistent with the prediction of our framework that given PIs are minus-specified either for Increasing, or for Decreasing features, so that they either must, or mustn’t, be c-commanded by a (Decreasing) ‘negative’ item. Decreasing quantifiers like ‘few’ are known to behave actually like ‘negative’ items since Klima [1964], who noticed their ability to

⁴⁴⁸ Some exceptions are due to cultural scale reversing throughout time. The word *non-fumeur* ‘non-smoker’ is the product of a smoking society having put the word ‘smoker’ at the top of the scale. The word *incirconcis* ‘uncut’ has been derived by priests and physicians having reversed the natural scale for domination purpose, and remains a didactical, religious, or medical term—in spoken use, the bottom of the scale is occupied by *circoncis* ‘cut’ and the top by *entier* ‘entire’.

combine with NPIs (and their need of a ‘positive’ question-tag in English):

- (600) (I) ENGLISH:
 a. ✓ **Few** of your friends said **anything**, did they?
 b. * Few of your friends said anything, didn’t they?
 (II) FRENCH:
 a. ✓ **Peu** de gens aiment **qui que ce soit**.
 Few of people like whatever person.
 ‘Few people like anyone.’
 b. * Des gens aiment qui que ce soit.
 Of-PL-INDEF-DET people like whoever.

II.3.1.2.5.3. Splitting up the notion of degrees

As anticipated in II.1.2.3, scalarity is not a univocal notion, and has to be split up in two complementary pairs of features. The major problem for a unique DegP is the twofold alternation between on the one hand items expressing at once the top and the bottom in (a), or neither the top, nor the bottom in (d); on the other hand, items expressing alternatively either the top, or the bottom in (b)-(c).

- (601) * UNIQUE DEGP:
- | | {Bottom/ | Top} |
|-----------------------------|----------|------|
| a. <i>Entire</i> . | + | + |
| b. <i>Small</i> . | + | = |
| c. <i>Tall</i> . | = | + |
| d. <i>Medium/ Partial</i> . | = | = |

The alternation between the simultaneous, vs. the alternative expression of top and bottom follows from the features Punctual vs. Scalar, which project Bottom-DegP:

- (602) BOTTOM-DEGP:
- | | {Punctual/ | Scalar} |
|-------------------------------|------------|---------|
| * | + | + |
| <i>Entire/ Medium</i> . | + | = |
| <i>Partial/ Small/ Tall</i> . | = | + |
| Non-quantificational items. | = | = |

The alternation between the expression of top vs. bottom follows from the features Decreasing vs. Increasing, which project Top-DegP:

- (603) TOP-DEGP:
- | | {Decreasing/ | Increasing} |
|-------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| * | + | + |
| <i>Partial/ Small</i> . | + | = |
| <i>Entire/ Tall</i> . | = | + |
| <i>Medium</i> . | = | = |

II.3.1.2.6. Numerals

II.3.1.2.6.1. The ordering of cardinals & ordinals

In the hierarchy of Cinque [1993:26(25)], cardinals are located immediately above ordinals. At first glance, their respective ordering is problematic, since both possibilities are attested. The following Italian data are taken from Giusti [1992:123-124(106)-(107)]:

- (604) (I) CARDINALS > ORDINALS:
 a. I tre primi concorrenti.

- b. I tre ultimi concorrenti.
 - c. I tre secondi concorrenti.
 - d. I tre terzi concorrenti.
- The three {first/ last/ second/ third} competitors.
- (II) ORDINALS > CARDINALS:
- a. I primi tre concorrenti.
 - b. Gli ultimi tre concorrenti.
 - c. ? I secondi tre concorrenti.
 - d. * I terzi tre concorrenti.
- The {first/ last/ second/ third} three competitors.

Crucially the cardinals, but not the ordinals, can function as determiners, and the ordinals, but not the cardinals, display in Romance an adjective-like derivational and agreement morphology. The basic position is thus plausibly represented by (604)(i), where all ordinals can freely occur; a derived order is that of (604)(ii), where the top (a) and the bottom (b) ordinals are presumably raised up to Top-DegP; ordinals not expressing the top or the bottom of the scale as (c) and (d) cannot raise to any DegP. Metropolitan French really doesn't like the derived order:⁴⁴⁹

- (605) (I) CARDINALS > ORDINALS:
- a. ✓ Les trois premiers concurrents.
 - b. ✓ Les trois derniers concurrents.
 - c. ✓ Les trois {seconds/ deuxièmes} concurrents.
 - d. ✓ Les trois troisièmes concurrents.
- The three {first/ last/ second/ third} competitors.
- (II) ORDINALS > CARDINALS:
- a. ? Les premiers trois concurrents.
 - b. ? Les derniers trois concurrents.
 - c. ?? Les {seconds/ deuxièmes} trois concurrents.
 - d. * Les troisièmes trois concurrents.
- The {first/ last/ second/ third} three competitors.

The Italian preferred order in (604)(ii)a-b is also possible with the adjective *altro* 'other' (classified by Cinque [1993] as an ordinal), but crucially not at the singular, as noted by Giusti [1992:119(92)-(91)]:

- (606) (I) SINGULAR:
- a. {Un/ Nessun/ Ciascun/ Qualcun/ L'} altro ragazzo.
 - {A/ One}/ No/ Each/ Some/ The} other guy.
 - b. * Altro {un/ nessun/ ciascun/ qualcun/ il} ragazzo.
 - Other {{a/ one}/ no/ each/ some/ the} guy.
- (II) PLURAL:
- a. ? Tre altre ragazze.
 - Three other maids.
 - b. Altre tre ragazze.
 - Other three maids.
 - 'Three other maids.'

Again, these data lead to think that when it precedes the ordinal, *altro* is raised for some

⁴⁴⁹ The derived order is preferred in peripheral regions like Swiss (excepting Geneva), but only for the top and the bottom ordinals, consistently with the Italian paradigm. In Metropolitan French, the derived order is marginally possible in particular contexts, namely when the relevant unit is not expressed by the noun, but by a given quantity of that noun. The marginal and even the ungrammatical order of (605)(ii) become possible in the case of a competition with three-members teams; but in this case, the sequence [*trois concurrents*] will function as a morphological compound signifying 'team'. The same holds for the phrase 'two thousand years' in the following example of Michel Fugain, *2000 ans et un jour* (Claude Lemesle), EMI, 1998:

(lxxx) ✓ "Car, pour les années, paraît-il./ Ce sont toujours **les premières deux mille** les plus difficiles."
'Apparently, concerning the years, the most difficult are always the first two thousand.'

reason related to the Plural feature; French *autre* conveying a different featural set, this order is not possible:

- (607) a. ✓ (Les) Trois autres filles.
 (The) Three other maids.
 ‘Three other maids.’
 b. * (Les) Autres trois filles.
 (The) Other three maids.

This is not surprising, since the partitive guise of ‘other’ is built without determiner in French (a) but with determiner in Italian (b):

- (608) a. ✓ Veux-tu d(*e l)’autre soupe? → ✓ En veux-tu d(*e l)’autre?
 b. ✓ Vuoi d*(ell)’altra minestra? → ✓ Ne vuoi d*(ell)’altra?
 Want {you/ *pro*} of (the) other soup? → Of-them want {you/ *pro*} (the) other?
 ‘Do you want any more soup?’

This suggests that Italian *altro* needs either a Singular determiner, or to raise up to the specifier of CardP to complete a deficient Plural feature; French *autre*, on the other hand, is regularly specified for the DP and CardP features.

II.3.1.2.6.2. Linguistic numbers vs. mathematical numbers

The linguistic value of cardinal numbers diverges from their mathematical value. According to De Cornulier [1985:94-97], the basic meaning of *n* is ‘not exactly *n*, but at least *n*’; a pragmatic presumption of exhaustiveness can optionally lead to the meaning ‘exactly *n*’. An apparent problem arises when *n* = zero:

- (609) *Cloud a au moins zéro dent* [sic]: la bizarrerie introduite par *au moins* dans cet énoncé pourrait suggérer que *zéro*, quoique construit sans *ne*, a comme *ne... aucun* une valeur intrinsèquement restrictive; mais l’information que “Cloud a zéro dent [sic]” serait forcément vide, tout nombre possible de dents se situant entre zéro et au-dessus; *zéro* se combine bien avec *au moins* dans *Maintenant qu’il fait au moins zéro degré* [sic], *on peut sortir sans se geler*, où l’information n’est pas nulle parce que le nombre de degrés peut être inférieur à zéro.
 ‘Cloud has at least zero teeth: the oddity introduced by *at least* in this utterance might be suggest that *zero*, although built without *ne*, has like *ne... aucun* an intrinsically restrictive [= ‘negative’] value; but the information that “Cloud has zero teeth” should inevitably be vacuous, every possible teeth number being included between zero and more; *zero* combines goodly with *at least* in *Now that it’s at least zero degrees centigrade, we can go out without freezing*, where the information is not null because the number of degrees centigrade can be lower than zero.’

The occurrence of any cardinal introduces a potential ambiguity, owing to its undefined lexical value ‘at least *n*’:

- (610) ✓ Pierre a parlé avec un professeur.
 Peter has talked with one professor.
 a. → ✓ ‘Peter talked with at least one professor.’
 b. → ✓ ‘Peter talked with exactly one professor.’

In addition, (b) has two readings, a Generic one in (b’), and a Specific one in (b’’):

- (611) b.’ → ✓ ‘Peter talked with some professor.’
 b.’’ → ✓ ‘Peter talked with a given professor.’

The ‘negative’ counterpart of (610) increases the number of readings, depending on the possible presuppositions within parentheses:

- (612) ✓ Pierre (n')a pas parlé avec un professeur.
Peter (*ne*) has not talked with one professor.
a. → ✓ 'Peter didn't talked with at least one professor (but with less than one).'
b. → ✓ 'Peter didn't talked with at least one professor (but with more than one).'
c. → ✓ 'Peter didn't talked with some professor (but with no professor).'
d. → ✓ 'Peter didn't talked with a given professor (but with other ones).'
e. → ✓ 'Peter didn't talked with a given professor (and with no other ones).'

II.3.1.2.7. Attributive adjectives

Cinque [1993:26(25)] proposed the following hierarchy of attributive adjectives, corresponding to event nominals in (a) and to object-denoting nominals in (b):

- (613) a. Possessive > cardinal > ordinal > speaker-oriented > subject-oriented > manner > thematic.
b. Possessive > cardinal > ordinal > quality > size > shape > color > nationality.

It is tempting to merge the two hierarchies into a unique one. On the one hand, the 'quality' (also labeled as 'evaluating' in the abridged hierarchy of Cinque [1993:28(37)])⁴⁵⁰ would correspond to the 'speaker-oriented' feature; on the other hand, 'size', 'shape', 'color' and 'nationality' would constitute the detail of the 'subject-oriented' properties—in fact, the difference between 'the Italian invasion' with an event nominal, and 'the Italian boy' with an object-denoting nominal, resides in the nouns, not in the adjective. The following data seem to support this attempt: in French exclamatory nominals, a Speaker-oriented adjective may raise up to the specifier of DP; a non-speaker-oriented cannot.

- (614) (I) {SPEAKER-ORIENTED/ QUALITY}:
a. ✓ Belle la vie!
Nice the life!
b. ✓ Idiote la Jeanne!
Stupid the Jane!
c. ✓ Intéressant ce cours!
Interesting this class!
d. ✓ Bonnards les mecs!
Friendly these guys!
(II) SIZE:⁴⁵¹
a. ✓ "Longs les jours".⁴⁵²
Long the days.
b. * Long le ruban.
Long the ribbon.
c. ✓ Petite la maison!
Little the house!
(III) SHAPE:
* Carrée la table!
Square the table!
(IV) COLOR:
* Vert l'arbre!
Green the three!
(V) NATIONALITY:
* Italien le garçon!
Italian the boy!

⁴⁵⁰ Cinque [1993:28(37)] itself proposed in fact the following abridged hierarchy for basic phrases like 'a beautiful big red ball':

(lxxxix) Evaluating > size > color.

⁴⁵¹ Crucially possible with a temporal reading as in (a) (subjective expression of duration), but not with a spatial one as in (b)—unless a 'negative' judgment is expressed through a Speaker-oriented reading of 'size' as in (c).

⁴⁵² Michael Von Der Heide, *Longs les jours*, BMG, 2000.

French owns a particular construct, productive only with the parts of the body, where an adjective seems to do within the extended NP in (a) a movement very similar to that of the object of a passive sentence within the extended VP in (b), entailing a similar preposition-insertion rule:

- (615) a. ✓ Il a le bide gras. → Il est gras du bide.⁴⁵³
 He has the belly fat. → He is fat **of**-the belly.
 ‘He has a fat belly.’
- b. ✓ Le bide prend toute la graisse. → Toute la graisse est prise **par le bide**.
 The belly picks all the fat. → All the fat is picked **by** the belly.
 ‘The belly attracts the all fat.’

Whatever may be this high position, only Speaker-oriented adjectives can access it:

- (616) (I) {SPEAKER-ORIENTED/ QUALITY}:

- a. ✓ Dur de la feuille.
 Hard of the leaf.
 ‘With deaf ears.’
- b. ✓ Lisse du caillou.
 Smooth of-the stone.
 ‘Bald-headed.’
- c. ✓ Amputé du cerveau.
 Amputated of-the brain.
 ‘Brainless.’
- d. ✓ Puant de la gueule.
 Stinking of the mouth.
 ‘With stinking mouth.’
- e. ✓ Molle à la fesse.⁴⁵⁴
 Flabby at the bottom.
 ‘Flabby-bottomed.’
- f. ✓ Décontracté du gland.
 Relax of-the glans.
 ‘With cool attitude.’

(II) SIZE:

- * Long des jambes.
 Long of-the legs

(III) SHAPE:

- * Rond du visage.
 Round of-the face.

(IV) COLOR:

- * Rouge du nez.
 Red of-the nose.

(V) NATIONALITY:

- * Anglais du palais.
 English of-the palate.

In Italian vocatives, a speaker-oriented adjective may raise up to the specifier of the null DP; a non-speaker-oriented cannot.

- (617) (i) {SPEAKER-ORIENTED/ QUALITY}:

- a. ✓ Caro mio bimbo!

⁴⁵³ Also used as a nominal compound, as in Trust, *Marche ou crève* (Bernie Bonvoisin), Epic, 1981:

(lxxxii) ✓ “Ce qu’il en adviendra demain je ne sais pas/ Je laisse **les gras du bide** se charger de tout ça”.
 ‘I don’t know what will happen tomorrow/ I let the fat-of-the-belly take care of all.’

⁴⁵⁴ Famous spoonerism of François Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, 1532, ch. XVI:

(lxxxiii) “[Panurge] disoit qu’il n’y avoit qu’un antistrophe entre femme **folle à la messe** et femme **molle à la fesse**”.
 ‘Panurge said that [in French] there was only a metathesis from *woman mad at the mass* to *woman flabby at the bottom*.’

Dear my babe!
 b. ✓ Prezioso mio bimbo!
 Precious my babe!
 c. ✓ Sconvolgente mio bimbo!
 Arousing my babe!
 (II) SIZE:
 * Grande mio bimbo!
 Tall my babe!
 (III) SHAPE:
 * Lungo mio bimbo!
 Long my babe!
 (IV) COLOR:
 * Rosso mio bimbo!
 Red my babe!
 (V) NATIONALITY:
 * Italiano mio bimbo!
 Italian my babe!

We will thus group together (613)a-b as follows, with the addition of the DegP of Corver [1991]:

(618) Possessive >> degree >> cardinal >> ordinal >> {speaker-oriented/ quality} >> {subject-oriented/ size/ shape/ color/ nationality} >> manner >> thematic.

Adjectives may carry a quantificational semantics, which doesn't lead to syntactic effects. As Giusti [1992:106-108] observed, negation interacts only with quantifiers heading an extended NP, not with quantified adjectives. Though the most natural reading of the sequence [\forall ... \neg] is [$\neg\forall$] in Standard French with proper quantifiers,⁴⁵⁵ a quantified adjective in the same sequence, as in (b), just fail to allow the reconstructed reading:

(619) a. ✓ Toute l'école (n')est pas venue.
 All the school (*ne*) is not came.
 → '{✓ Not all the school did come/ ✓ All the school didn't come}.'
 b. ✓ L'entière école (n')est pas venue.
 The all school (*ne*) is not came.
 → '{* Not all the school did come/ ✓ All the school didn't come}.'

Conversely, in the following example, a sequence [$\neg\exists$] can be interpreted as [$\exists\neg$] with a quantifier in (a), but not with a quantified adjective in (b):

(620) a. ✓ Je n'ai pas vu beaucoup d'enfants aujourd'hui.
 I (*ne*) have not seen a-lot of children today.
 → '{✓ I didn't see much children today/ ✓ There exist a lot of children that I didn't see today}.'
 b. ✓ Je n'ai pas vu de nombreux enfants aujourd'hui.
 I (*ne*) have not seen of numerous children today.
 → '{✓ I didn't see much children today/ * There exist a lot of children that I didn't see today}.'

II.3.1.2.8. Nouns

II.3.1.2.8.1. Noun-internal negation

A general property of nouns, following from their head status, is their inability to be logically negated: they must be part of a DP to be.

(621) a. * Jeanne (n')est une pas fumeuse.

⁴⁵⁵ As seen in II.3.1.1.3.3, the sequence [\neg ... \forall] is not available at spell-out under global scope, but only marginally under local scope (without any SM).

- Jane (*ne*) is a not smoker.
 b. ✓ Jeanne(n')est **pas une** fumeuse.
 Jane (*ne*) is not a smoker.

Morphological means are able to bypass syntactic bans, hence the existence of derivative 'negative' nouns; their 'negativity' has no quantificational properties, and is thus opaque to scope marking.

- (622) ✓ Jeanne (* n')est **une non**-fumeuse.
 'Jane is a non-smoker.'

In the first part, we took the systematic interpretive equivalence between derivational and syntactic negation to mean that morphology, as good as syntax, is an independent level at which negation can act:

- (623) DERIVATIONAL NEGATION:
- | | |
|---|---|
| a. <i>A-</i> [and allomorph <i>an-</i>]: | C'est un anion. = C(e n)'est pas un ion.
'It's an anion.' = 'It's not a ion.' |
| b. <i>Anti-</i> : | C'est de l'antipolitique. = C(e n)'est pas de la politique.
'It's anti-politics.' = 'It's not politics.' |
| c. <i>Dé-</i> [and allomorph <i>dés-</i>]: | C'est un déplaisir. = C(e n)'est pas un plaisir.
'It's a disagreement.' = 'It's not an agreement.' |
| d. <i>In-</i> [and allomorphs <i>im-</i> , <i>ir-</i> , <i>il-</i>]: | C'est un illettré. = C(e n)'est pas un lettré.
'It's an illiterate.' = 'It's not a literate.' |
| e. <i>Mé-</i> [and allomorph <i>més-</i>]: | C'est un mécompte. = C(e n)'est pas un (bon) compte.
'It's a miscount.' = 'It's not a (right) count.' |
| f. <i>Non-</i> : | C'est un non-pratiquant. = C(e n)'est pas un pratiquant.
'It's a non-practicing.' = 'It's not a practicing.' |

The subclass of measure nouns is incompatible even with derivative morphological negation: it's expected, since measure nouns are Increasing, and negation Decreasing, the two features alternatively projecting Top-DegP.

- (624) a. * Aseconde.
 A-second.
 b. * Antimètre.
 Anti-meter.
 c. * Déminute.
 Dis-minute.
 d. * Inkilo.
 In-kilogram
 e. * Mésheure.
 Mis-hour.
 f. * Non-gramme.
 Non-gram.

The great range of 'negative' prefixes presumably express at morphological level different grammatical combinations of polarity-related syntactic features: this view could furnish a principled tool to explain the morphological hierarchy that orders the WFRs in case of multiple prefixations. In fact, the two ends of a multiple prefixations chain are not synonymous: in the following example, while *continuité* denotes a 'continuous succession', *indiscontinuité* denotes a 'non-discontinuous succession'—the result is the same, but the way to present it makes recourse to opposite polarities; this suggests that (some version of) the syntactic featural hierarchy is also in act within the morphological module.

- (625) a. ✓ continuité → ✓ **dis**continuité → ✓ **indis**continuité
 continuity → discontinuity → undiscontinuity
 b. ✓ continuité → ?? incontinuité → * **disin**continuité

continuity → uncontinuity → disuncontinuity

‘Negative’ prefixes are not syntactically homogeneous. Those in (i) form with the noun they adjoin to an atomic word at morphosyntactic level;⁴⁵⁶ they are $\neg\exists$ and thus licit under the scope of $\forall\neg$. On its side, *non* in (ii) displays partial syntactic transparency: it assigns the noun it prefixes $\forall\neg$ value, but fails to become $\neg\exists$ under $\forall\neg$ scope in the (ii)x sentences, so that it cannot relate to a (Universal) deictic subject in a copular predicate containing the $\forall\neg$ *pas*—unless a NP complement restricts the quantifying domain of the subject, rendering it \exists . On the other hand, in a ‘positive’ copular predicate as in the (ii)x’ sentences, where the Existential Individual reading⁴⁵⁷ is not neutralized by the negation, even the (Universal) deictic is fine.

(626) (I) ATOMIC PREFIXES:

- a. ✓ Cet acte {est/ (n’)est pas} une **méprise**.
This act {is/ (ne) is not} a misunderstanding.
‘This act {is/ isn’t} misunderstanding.’
- b. ✓ Ce verdict {est/ (n’)est pas} un **déplaisir**.
This verdict {is/ (ne) is not} an inconvenience.
‘This verdict {is/ isn’t} an inconvenience.’
- c. ✓ Cette absence {est/ (n’)est pas} une **impossibilité**.
This absence {is/ (ne) is not} an impossibility.
‘This absence {is/ isn’t} an impossibility.’
- d. ✓ Cette conduite {est/ (n’)est pas} de l’**antipolitique**.
This behavior {is/ (ne) is not} of the anti-politics.
‘This attitude {is/ isn’t} anti-politics.’
- e. ✓ Cet homme {est/ (n’)est pas} un **agnostique**.
This man {is/ (ne) is not} an agnostic.
‘This man {is/ isn’t} an agnostic.’

(II) NON-ATOMIC PREFIX:

- a. ✓ {L’acte de Pierre/ Cet acte} est un **non-sens**.
a.’ ✓ {L’acte de Pierre/ * Cet acte} (n’)est pas un **non-sens**.
{Peter’s act/ This act} {is/ (ne) is not} a nonsense.
‘Peter’s act {is/ isn’t} a nonsense.’
- b. ✓ {Le dernier verdict du tribunal/ Ce verdict} est un **non-lieu**.
b.’ ✓ {Le dernier verdict du tribunal/ * Ce verdict} (n’)est pas un **non-lieu**.
{The last verdict of the court/ This verdict} {is/ (ne) is not} a dismissal.
‘The last verdict of the court {is/ isn’t} a dismissal.’
- c. ✓ {Une absence prolongée/ Cette absence} est un **non-usage**.
c.’ ✓ {Une absence prolongée/ * Cette absence} (n’)est pas un **non-usage**.
{An absence lengthy/ This absence} {is/ (ne) is not} a nonuse.
‘A lengthy absence {is/ isn’t} a nonuse.’
- d. ✓ {Une conduite passive/ Cette conduite} est de la **non-belligérance**.
d.’ ✓ {Une conduite passive/ * Cette conduite} (n’)est pas de la **non-belligérance**.
{A behavior passive/ This behavior} {is/ (ne) is not} non-belligerency.
‘A passive attitude {is/ isn’t} non-belligerency.’
- e. ✓ {Le mari de Pierre/ Cet homme} est un **non-fumeur**.
e.’ ✓ {Le mari de Pierre/ ?⁴⁵⁸ Cet homme} (n’)est pas un **non-fumeur**.
{The husband of Peter/ That man} {is/ (ne) is not} a non-smoker.
‘Peter’s husband {is/ isn’t} a non-smoker.’

Nouns may be ‘negative’ either by prefixation, or by intrinsic semantic value. This is not relevant for the syntactic computation: when transitive, both types of ‘negative’ nouns

⁴⁵⁶ A morphosyntactic word like *asymétrie* ‘asymmetry’ is in fact a sequence of two phonological words: its single *s* is unvoiced as if it were a double *s*, because the prefix *a-*, from the Greek privative alpha, is autonomous.

⁴⁵⁷ See II.3.1.2.3.3 on the Existential Individual reading of copular sentences.

⁴⁵⁸ Though being ‘negatively’ prefixed, *non-fumeur* stays at the top of the scale in the current puritan wave, hence the improvement of a co-occurring deictic. See II.3.1.2.5.2 for a discussion on the scalarity of ‘negative’ items.

combine with a {PP/ CP} containing a ‘negative’ operator able to combine either with NPIs as in (i), or with ‘negative’ coordination as in (ii), and also to force the \exists reading of a \forall ‘negative’ item as in (iii):

- (627) (I) COMBINING WITH NPIs:
 a. ✓ La **mort de qui que ce soit** est toujours triste.
 ‘The death of whoever is always sad.’
 b. * La naissance de qui que ce soit est toujours belle.
 The birth of whoever is ever beautiful.
- (II) COMBINING WITH ‘NEGATIVE’ COORDINATION:
 a. ✓ “Tumbler, dans l’**impossibilité de tirer ni d’appeler du secours**, se débat désespérément”.⁴⁵⁹
 Tumbler, in the impossibility of fire nor of call of-the assistance, himself struggles desperately.
 ‘In the impossibility neither to fire, nor to ask for assistance, Tumbler struggles desperately.’
 b. * Tumbler, dans la possibilité de tirer ni d’appeler du secours, se débat désespérément.
 Tumbler, in the possibility of fire nor of call of-the help, himself struggles desperately.
- (III) FORCING \exists READING OF A \forall ‘NEGATIVE’ ITEM:⁴⁶⁰
 a. ✓ “[...] mais **interdiction absolue de franchir la limite des eaux territoriales dominicaines** sous **aucun** prétexte!”⁴⁶¹
 But interdiction [\forall] absolute of overstep the limit of-the waters territorial Dominican under no [\exists] pretext!
 ‘But this is strictly forbidden to overstep the Dominican territorial waters border on any pretext!’
 b. ✓ Il (ne) faut franchir la limite des eaux territoriales dominicaines sous **aucun** prétexte!
 It (ne) is-necessary-to overstep the limit of-the waters territorial Dominican under no [\forall] pretext!
 ‘One must overstep the Dominican territorial waters border on no pretext!’

This analysis, suggested by Rizzi [p.c.], finds support in the fact that ‘negative’ nouns like *garde* or *attention* ‘care’ may either be followed by a ‘negative’, or by a non-negative clause, without meaning change: under our analysis of generalized NC in II.2.2, such a result is expected if they combine with a ‘negative’ {PP/ CP}.

- (628) a. ✓ Prends **garde de** tomber!
 Take care to fall!
 b. ✓ Prends **garde de (ne) pas** tomber!
 Take care to (ne) not fall!
 ‘Take care you don’t fall!’
 a.’ ✓ (†) “**Attention de** te faire repérer, Bob!”⁴⁶²
 Careful to you to-make spot, Bob!
 b.’ ✓ **Attention de (ne) pas** te faire repérer, Bob!
 Careful to (ne) not you to-make spot, Bob!
 ‘Be careful not to be spotted, Bob!’

II.3.1.2.8.2. Bare nouns

Though productive uses of common nouns always request a determiner in Modern French, some nouns have a polarized use excluding every determiner. Part of them are compounds by attributive modification (category I.C.1 of Bouvier [1999]):

- (629) (I) {-‘POSITIVE’}: CANNOT BE NEGATED:
 a. **Belle lurette.**
 ‘A long time.’
 b. **Grand-besoin.**
 ‘Very needing.’
 c. **Grand-faim.**
 ‘Very hungry.’

⁴⁵⁹ Victor Hubinon, *Les voleurs de satellites*, Dupuis, 1964, plate 17 A.

⁴⁶⁰ See II.2.2.1.2.4.

⁴⁶¹ Victor Hubinon, *Les voleurs de satellites*, Dupuis, 1964, plate 34 B.

⁴⁶² Eddy Paape, *L’or du ‘Vent d’Est’*, Deligne, 1976 (also Dupuis, 1982), plate 37.

- d. **Grand-peine.**
‘Very sad.’
- e. **Grand-peur.**
‘A great fear.’
- f. **Grand-soif.**
‘Very thirsty.’
- (II) {-‘NEGATIVE’}: MUST BE NEGATED:
- a. **Grand-choix.**
‘Not a great choice.’
- b. **Grand-chose.**
‘Not a lot of things.’
- c. **Grande envie.**
‘Not a great desire.’
- d. **Grande importance.**
‘Not a great importance.’
- e. **Grand-monde.**
‘Not a lot of people.’
- f. **Grand-risque.**
‘Not a great risk.’

Their compound status is made sensible by three tests of Bouvier [1999:II.III.3;5;6]:

- (630) (I) HEAD’S TEST:
If an endocentric complex word has its head on the right, it can be a compound only if the element on the left is either a modifier (Mod = {A, Adv}), or an incorporated complement.
- (II) RECURSIVENESS TEST:
If a Word Formation Rule making use of an element which status is ambiguous between affix and base cannot reapply to its output, then such a WFR is a CR.
- (III) AFFIXAL UNBREAKABILITY:
If a sequence of words cannot be broken by an affix compatible with its elements, such a sequence of words is a compound.

Adjectives on the left of the noun are valid modifiers in the sense of test (i). As regards test (ii), the reapplication of CR 1.C.1 to its outputs gives bad results:

- (631) (I) COMPOUNDS:
- a. * La grand-grand-mère de Jeanne est morte.
The grand-grandmother of Jane is dead.
- b. * ((II) (N’))Y’a pas grand-grand-chose à voir.
((There) (Ne) LOC has not great-great-thing to see.
- (II) DERIVATIVES:⁴⁶³
- a. ✓ L’ex-ex-mari de Pierre était beau.
The ex-ex-husband of Peter was pretty.
- b. ✓ Pierre aime le chocolat extra-extrafin.
Peter likes the chocolate super-superfine.

As regards test (iii), insertion of nominal prefixes between the adjective and the noun gives ungrammatical results:

- (632) (I) COMPOUNDS:
- a. * La grand-arrière-mère de Jeanne est morte.
The grand-great-mother of Jane is dead.
- b. ✓ L’**arrière-[grand-mère]** de Jeanne est morte.
The great-grandmother of Jane is dead.
- c. * Ça (n’)a pas grande super importance.
It (ne) has not great super importance.
- d. ✓ Ça (n’)a pas **super [grande importance]**.
It (ne) has not super great importance.
- (II) DERIVATIVES:

⁴⁶³ Examples taken from Bouvier [1999:II.III.5].

- a. ✓ Pierre aime le chocolat **extra-superfin**.
Peter likes the chocolate extra-superfine.
b. ✓ Pierre aime le chocolat **super-extrafin**.
Peter likes the chocolate super-extra-fine.

Another compound, *âme qui vive* ‘soul which live’, is built by predicative modification (category I.D.3 of Bouvier [1999]). Other nominal PIs are uncompounded bare nouns:

- (633) (i) {-‘POSITIVE’}:
Peur.
‘Fear.’
(ii) {-‘POSITIVE’, -‘NEGATIVE’}:
a. **Garde**.
‘Care.’
b. **Soin**.
‘Care.’
(iii) {-‘NEGATIVE’}:
a. **Cesse**.
‘Stop.’
b. **Crainte**.
‘Fear.’
c. **Cure**.
‘Care.’
d. †† **Goutte**.
‘Not.’
e. †† **Mie**.
‘Not.’
f. †† **Miette**.
‘Not.’
g. † **Mot**.
‘Word.’

Besides their polarized bare guise, part of these nouns have also a regular guise, either with identical meaning, like ††*cesse* ‘stop’, *crainte* ‘fear’, *mot* ‘word’, *peur* ‘fear’, *soin* ‘care’, or with a different meaning like *cure* ‘course of treatment’, *garde* ‘guard’, *goutte* ‘drop’, *mie* ‘flake’, *miette* ‘flake’. Since the two guises exhibit differentiated syntactic behaviors, even for the words having the same meaning, it is not redundant to list them twice in the lexicon. Part of these nouns are \forall , and behaves thus like *personne* with respect to *pas*:

- (634) a. ✓ Jeanne n’a (* pas) **crainte** de parler à Pierre.
Jane *ne* has (* not) fear to talk to Peter.
‘Jane doesn’t fear to talk to Peter.’
b. ✓ Jeanne n’a (* pas) {**cure/ garde/ soin**} de plaire à Pierre.
Jane *ne* has (* not) care to suit to Peter.
‘Jane doesn’t care to be liked by Peter.’
c. † Pierre ne comprend (* pas) **goutte** à ce cours.
Peter *ne* understands (* not) not at this course
‘Peter doesn’t understand anything at this course.’

Part of these nouns are \exists , and behaves thus like *qui que ce soit* with respect to *pas*:

- (635) a. ✓ Pierre ne dit (**pas**) **mot**.
Peter *ne* says (not) word.
‘Peter doesn’t say anything.’
b. ✓ Pierre n’a (**pas**) **de cesse** que son travail soit terminé.
Peter *ne* has (not) of stop that his work be finished.
‘Peter will not rest until his work is done.’

On its side, *peur* cannot be negated at all in (iii), but is able to head a predicate containing a

presuppositional expletive *ne* in (i), or a ‘negative’ clause in (ii):

- (636) (I) FEAR OF HAPPENING:
 ✓ Pierre a **peur** que Jeanne (**ne**) vienne (* pas).
 Peter has fear that Jane (*ne*) comes (* not).
 ‘Peter fears that Jane might come.’
 (II) FEAR OF NON-HAPPENING:
 ✓ Pierre a **peur** que Jeanne (**ne**) vienne *(pas).
 Peter has fear that Jane (*ne*) comes *(not).
 ‘Peter fears that Jane might not come.’
 (III) NON-FEAR:
 * Pierre (n’)a pas peur que Jeanne vienne.
 Peter (*ne*) has not fear that Jane comes.

Only *mot* can appear in subject position, the other ones being either idiomatic objects, or idiomatic oblique complements; it requests overt ‘negative’ c-command:

- (637) a. * Mot ne formule pas ce principe.
 Word *ne* formulates not this principle.
 b. ✓ **Pas mot ne** formule ce principe.
 Not word *ne* formulates this principle.
 ‘No word can formulate this principle.’

In their polarity guise, †† *goutte* and †† *mie(tte)* are synonymous with *pas* and † *point*. Once upon a time, all them were nouns, signifying respectively ‘drop’, ‘flake’, ‘step’, and ‘point’; in Modern French, only the latter ones have been recategorized as adverbial quantifiers: the formers dead before being recategorized. The categorial difference between the recategorized ones and the non recategorized ones is made visible by their distribution: only the adverbial quantifiers can modify an adverb:

- (638) (I) ADVERBIAL PIS:
 ✓ [{**Pas**/ † **Point**} [vraiment]].
 {Step/ Point} really.
 ‘Not really.’
 (II) NOMINAL PI:
 * [{Goutte/ Mie/ Miette} [vraiment]].
 {Drop/ Flake/ Flake} really.

Only the adverbial quantifiers can be modified by an adverb:

- (639) (I) ADVERBIAL PIS:
 ✓ [Vraiment [{**pas**/ † **point**}]].
 Really {step/ point}.
 ‘Really not.’
 (II) NOMINAL PI:
 ?? [Vraiment [{goutte/ mie/ miette}]].
 Really {drop/ flake/ flake}.

II.3.1.2.8.3. Quantificational recategorization of nouns

The ‘negative’ arguments *personne* ‘nobody’ (from Latin *persona* ‘person’), and *rien* ‘nothing’ (from Latin *rem*, accusative of *res* ‘thing’), are lexical recategorizations of still used non-negative nouns conveying their etymological meaning:

- (640) a. ✓ Pierre est **une personne** intéressante.
 Peter is a person interesting.
 ‘Peter is an interesting guy.’
 b. ✓ **Un rien** l’habille.

A little-thing him dresses.
 ‘Anything is enough to make him looking good.’

Concerning the grammatical category of the recategorized guises, Déprez [1997:122] maintained, “French N-words are a type of numeral indefinites or perhaps more exactly, nouns which have incorporated into an empty numeral meaning something like zero. That is, we propose that *personne* or *rien* mean something like zero people or zero things, with the numeral incorporated through movement of the noun *personne* to the head of a functional projection NumP”. NumP, a label more or less equivalent to our CardP, doesn’t seem to be the right site of incorporation for the ‘negative arguments: on the one hand, as seen in II.3.1.2.1.2, negated quantifiers express, through singular agreement, the denial of any quantity and possibly a SM, whereas null numerals simply express, through plural agreement, a null quantity just incompatible with a SM;⁴⁶⁴ on the other hand, since numerals in general occur lower than DegP in the universal hierarchy of the extended NP, *personne* and *rien*, if they were numerals, should be compatible with the CR adding the degree-word *grand* to a lowest head—but they are not.

- (641) (i) ✓ *GRAND* + NOUN:
 a. ✓ Grand-monde.
 A-lot-of people.
 ‘Many people.’
 b. ✓ Grand-chose.
 A-lot-of thing.
 ‘Not many things.’
 (ii) * *GRAND* + AN ITEM HIGHER THAN DEGP:
 a. * Grand-personne.
 A-lot-of nobody.
 b. * Grand-rien.
 A-lot-of nothing.

According to the morphological framework of Bouvier [1999, 2000a] where CRs are interpreted as a morphological use of syntactic configurations, the internal structure of *personne* and *rien* just blocks some functional layer higher than DegP. Now, the relevant projection is not the same for the two recategorized items. On the one hand, *rien*, unlike *personne*, can also be used as an ironical PPI intensifier, alone in (i) or in combination with an Indefinite determiner in (ii), with the peculiarity to request a semantically ‘negative’ adjective to ensure irony.⁴⁶⁵

- (642) (i) WITH A DETERMINER:
 a. ✓ Jeanne est **un rien** débile.
 Jane is a little-thing stupid.
 ‘Jane is a little bit stupid.’
 b. * Jeanne est **un rien** intelligente.
 Jane is a little-thing clever.
 (ii) WITHOUT DETERMINER:
 a. ✓ Il fait **rien** froid.
 It makes little-thing cold.
 ‘It’s very cold.’
 b. * Il fait **rien** chaud.
 It makes little-thing warm.

On the other hand, they display an important distributional differences: *personne*, like *quelqu’un* and *quelque chose*, has the distribution of a DP in (i), while *rien*, like *tout*, has the distribution of a QP in (ii):

⁴⁶⁴ See the discussion in II.3.1.2.1.1.

⁴⁶⁵ See III.1.2.2.1 on ironical PPIs.

- (643) (I) *PERSONNE* IS DISTRIBUTED AS A DP:
- a. ✓ J(e n)'ai vu **personne**.
I (ne) have seen nobody.
- b. {☺/ ††} J(e n)'ai **personne** vu.⁴⁶⁶
I (ne) have nobody seen.
'I saw nobody.'
- a.' ✓ J'ai vu {**quelqu'un/ quelque chose**}.
I have seen {somebody/ something}.
- b.' {*/ ††} J'ai {quelqu'un/ quelque chose} vu.
I have {somebody/ something} seen.
'I saw {somebody/ something}.'
- (II) *RIEN* IS DISTRIBUTED AS A QP:
- a. * J(e n)'ai vu rien.⁴⁶⁷
I (ne) have seen nothing.
- b. ✓ J(e n)'ai **rien** vu.
I (ne) have nothing seen.
'I saw nothing.'
- a.' * J'ai vu tout.⁴⁶⁸
I have seen all.
- b.' ✓ J'ai **tout** vu.
I have all seen.
'I saw everything.'

This shows that *personne* is a determiner, and *rien* a quantifier. Their categorial difference entails a contrast in the nature of a partitive complement, absent from Italian where both *nessuno* and *niente* have an identical distribution: only quantifiers are able to take a true partitive as their complement; determiners can only take a pseudo-partitive as their complement, through their 'negative' syntax, so that the insertion of a further partitive preposition (here *entre* 'amongst') is necessary to head the PartP complement.

- (644) (I) QUANTIFIERS *RIEN* & *NIENTE* WITH TRUE PARTITIVE.⁴⁶⁹
- a. ✓ {**Rien/ Une partie**} **des** problèmes actuels {(ne)/ ∅} concerne Pierre.
- b. ✓ {**Niente/ Parte**} **dei** problemi attuali concerne Piero.
{Nothing/ Part} of-the problems current ((ne)/ ∅) concerns Peter.
'{Nothing/ Part} of the current problems concerns Peter.'

⁴⁶⁶ This archaic raising is not a quantificational movement, but a remainder of the general object-scrambling of Old French. Only the 'negative' (i)b is still in use for jocular purpose, creating an apparent asymmetry with the 'positive' (i)b'.

⁴⁶⁷ Young children don't make this distinction, and typically use *rien* with the distribution of *personne* (the following utterance was noted by Agnès Lenoire in her class of the nursery school of Magland, Haute-Savoie, France, during the school year 1998-1999):

(lxxxiv) "T'as mis **rien** sur la table!" [Kevin, 3;10]
You have put nothing on the table!
'You put nothing on the table!'

⁴⁶⁸ This order becomes grammatical only with a heavy complement:

(lxxxv) a. ✓ J'ai vu **tout ce qu'**il est possible de voir.
I have seen all what that it is possible to see.

b. ✓ J'ai **tout** vu **ce qu'**il est possible de voir.
I have all seen what that it is possible to see.
'I saw everything that one can possibly see.'

Nonetheless, the 'negative' counterpart remains ungrammatical because *rien* has to escape the extended NP to reach a quantificational position within the extended VP, where it combines with the SM; additionally, a partitive preposition has to be inserted because *rien* is {+Whole, -Part}, so that it cannot head a partitive.

(lxxxvi) * J(e n)'ai vu rien de ce qu'il est possible de voir.
I (ne) have seen nothing of what that it is possible to see.
✓ J(e n)'ai **rien** vu **de ce qu'**il est possible de voir.
I (ne) have nothing seen of what that it is possible to see.
'I saw nothing of what one can possibly see.'

⁴⁶⁹ A pseudo-partitive would rule out the Definite determiner (see (560)(ii)a).

(II) DETERMINER *PERSONNE* WITH PSEUDO-PARTITIVE VS. QUANTIFIER *NESSUNO* WITH TRUE PARTITIVE:

- a. ✓ {**Personne/Quelqu'un**} {* des/ **d'entre les**} étudiants.
 {Nobody/ Somebody} {* of-the/ of amongst the} students.
 b. ✓ {**Nessuno/ Alcuno**} {**degli/ *** di tra gli} studenti.
 {Nobody/ Somebody} {of-the/ * of amongst the} students.
 ‘{Nobody/ Somebody} of the students.’

As seen in example (559), only adjectives can appear as bare (mass) complements of a partitive *de*—this is in fact the sole case where the determiner *personne* and the quantifier *nessuno* take a complement with identical syntax:

- (645) a. ✓ J(e n)’ai vu **personne de** beau.
 I (ne) have seen nobody of pretty.
 b. ✓ Non ho visto **nessuno di** bello.
 Not have seen nobody of pretty.
 ‘I saw nobody pretty.’

II.3.1.2.9. Complements of the noun

II.3.1.2.9.1. Predicative adjectives

According to Cinque [1993], ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES discussed in II.3.1.2.7 are always generated to the left of the noun they attribute a quality to; in Romance, the noun obligatorily raises across the lower adjective, but the latter can conversely raise across the noun up to a higher specifier. Attributive adjectives may thus be spelled-out alternatively (and by joke simultaneously) in both pre- and postnominal position, sometimes with important semantic differences associated with a given position:⁴⁷⁰

- (646) (I) IN POSTNOMINAL POSITION:
 a. * La semaine dernière avant les vacances.
 The week last before the vacation.
 b. ✓ La semaine **dernière** nous avons eu les Bidochons à manger.
 The week last we have invited the Bidochons to eat.
 (II) IN PRENOMINAL POSITION:
 a. ✓ La **dernière** semaine avant les vacances.
 The last week before the vacation.
 b. * La dernière semaine nous avons eu les Bidochons à manger.
 The last week we have invited the Bidochons to eat.
 (III) IN BOTH POSITIONS:
 ☺ “La **magique** lanterne **magique**”.⁴⁷¹
 The magic lantern magic.

With adjectives freely occurring in both positions, the highest one is the most emphatic, as shown by the jocular regressive comparison of the same adjective with itself:

- (647) (I) WITH REGRESSIVE SEQUENCE:
 a. ☺ “Et moi j’adore les **étranges choses** presque autant que les **choses étranges**”.⁴⁷²
 ‘I like strange things quite as much as I like things strange.’
 b. ☺ “C’est encore un coup de ce **maudit peintre qui** n’est même pas encore **maudit**”.⁴⁷³
 ‘It’s a new dirty trick of this damned painter which is not even already damned.’
 c. ☺ “Il vient de nous arriver une **bizarre aventure!** - Je dirais même plus: je... c’est une **aventure**...”

⁴⁷⁰ See also Laenzlinger [2000] for DP-internal movement types involving adjectives.

⁴⁷¹ Othon Aristidès (Fred), *La magique lanterne magique*, Imagerie Pellerin, 1983.

⁴⁷² Othon Aristidès (Fred), *Le voyage de l’incrédule*, Dargaud, 1988 (1974), p. 47.

⁴⁷³ Othon Aristidès (Fred), *Le diable du peintre*, Dargaud, 1987, plate 31.

heu... **bizarre!**⁴⁷⁴

‘It just happened to us a bizarre adventure! - I would say even more: I... this is an adventure... er... bizarre!’

(II) WITH PROGRESSIVE SEQUENCE:

a. # Et moi j’adore les choses étranges presque autant que les étranges choses.

I like things strange quite as much as I like strange things.

b. # C’est encore un coup de ce peintre maudit qui (n’)est même pas encore maudit.

It’s a new dirty trick of this painter damned which is not even already damned.

c. # Il vient de nous arriver une aventure bizarre! - Je dirais même plus: c’est une bizarre aventure!

It just happened to us an adventure bizarre! - I would say even more: this is a bizarre adventure!

Postnominal adjectives can also be PREDICATIVE; they complement the noun they follow as a relative phrase does:

(648) ✓ Les personnes **handicapées**. = Les personnes **qui sont** handicapées.
The persons handicapped. = The persons that are handicapped.

Predicative adjectives are able to take a complement, but cannot be moved across the noun.

(649) a. ✓ Une femme **belle** (de visage).
A woman pretty (of face).
‘A woman (with a) pretty (face).’
b. * Une belle femme (de visage).
A pretty woman (of face).
c. * Une belle (de visage) femme.
A pretty (of face) woman.

Given adjectives are exclusively predicative; this is the case of *handicapé* ‘handicapped’. Given adjectives are exclusively attributive; this is the case of *dernier* ‘last’. The formers are able to appear within a copular sentence, the latter unable:

(650) (I) MERELY PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVES:
✓ Cette personne **est handicapée**.
This person is handicapped.
(II) MERELY ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVES:
* Cette semaine est dernière.
This week is last.

The most adjectives, as *élégant* or *orange*, can be used attributively as good as predicatively. The nature of their use has a sensible consequence on the status of the liaison, obligatory or facultative (depending on the language level) vs. marginal or impossible (in all language levels):

(651) (I) ATTRIBUTIVE:
a. ✓ Tous les hommes **élégants** du monde plaisent à Pierre.
b. * Tous les hommes ~~es~~ élégants du monde plaisent à Pierre.
All the men elegant of-the world suit to Peter.
‘Peter likes all the men that are elegant in the world.’
a.’ ✓ Les ballons **oranges** de Pierre sont chouettes.
b.’ ?? Les ballons ~~es~~ oranges de Pierre sont chouettes.
The balloons orange of Peter are fun.

⁴⁷⁴ Georges Rémi (Hergé), *Tintin au pays de l’or noir*, last version, Casterman, 1971, plate 3. Almost the same dialog with *affaire* instead of *aventure* in *L’île noire*, Casterman, 1943 (first color version) and 1966 (second color version), plate 2:

(lxxxvii) © “Bizarre affaire... Bizarre affaire... - Je dirais même plus: c’est une affaire... heuh... une affaire... bizarre.”
‘Bizarre affair... Bizarre affair... - I would say even more: this is an affair... er... an affair... bizarre.’

- ‘Peter’s orange balloons are fun.’
 (II) PREDICATIVE:
 a. ?? Les hommes_élégants plaisent à Pierre.
 b. ✓ Les hommes **élégants** plaisent à Pierre.
 The men elegant suit to Peter.
 ‘Peter likes elegant men.’
 a.’ * Les ballons_oranges sont chouettes.
 b.’ ✓ Les ballons **oranges** sont chouettes.
 The balloons orange are fun.
 ‘Orange balloons are fun.’

II.3.1.2.9.2. Prepositions

In French (a) and in Italian (b), unlike in English (c), the non-negative instrumental or manner preposition ‘with’ cannot combine with a ‘negative’ determiner, but turns into a ‘negative’ preposition plus a non-negative determiner:⁴⁷⁵

- (652) a. * Avec aucun. → ✓ **Sans un**.
 b. * Con nessuno. → ✓ **Senza un(o)**.
 c. ✓ **With no**. ↔ ✓ **Without a(n)**.

Moreover, in Romance the ‘negative’ preposition plus a ‘negative’ determiner lead to the same interpretation as the ‘negative’ preposition plus a non-negative determiner:

- (653) a. * Avec aucun effort. → ✓ Sans (un) effort. = ✓ Sans aucun effort.
 b. * Con nessun sforzo. → ✓ Senza (uno) sforzo. = ✓ Senza nessun sforzo.
 c. ✓ With no effort. ↔ ✓ Without (an) effort. ≠ * Without no effort.

In the same way, the addition of *aucun* reinforces the ‘negative’ semantics in the idiomatic expression *sans doute*, ruling out the weak reading:

- (654) a. ✓ **Sans doute**.
 Without doubt.
 a.’ → ✓ ‘Surely.’ [Strong reading.]
 a.’’ → ✓ ‘Perhaps.’ [Weak reading.]
 b. ✓ **Sans aucun doute**.
 Without no doubt.
 b.’ → ✓ ‘Surely.’ [Strong reading.]
 b.’’ → * ‘Perhaps.’ [Weak reading.]

The difference between French and Italian on the one hand, and English on the other hand, is that *{avec/ sans}* and *{con/ senza}* are PIs, whereas *{with/ without}* are regular prepositions. More precisely, *sans* and *senza* are $\forall\bar{\neg}$. Their featural ‘negativity’ becomes apparent in combination with NPIs:

- (655) (I) NPI + ‘POSITIVE’ PREPOSITION:
 a. * Avec {un/ le} sou.
 b. * Con un soldo.
 With {a/ the} red-cent.
 (II) NPI + ‘NEGATIVE’ PREPOSITION:
 a. ✓ **Sans** {un/ le} sou.
 b. ✓ **Senza un soldo**.
 Without {a/ the} red-cent.
 ‘Without a red cent.’

⁴⁷⁵ On the syntax of *sans*, see also II.2.2.1.2.1.

Their Universality forces the ‘negative’ items they c-command to receive $\neg\exists$ reading, so that ‘negative’ quantifiers and NPIs become equivalent under its scope:

- (656) ✓ Ça s’est fait **sans** qu’il (ne) me dise {rien/ **quoi que ce soit**}.
That itself is happened without that he (ne) to-me say {nothing/ whatever}.
‘That happened without any warning from him.’

Conversely, when c-commanded by a $\forall\neg$ like *rien*, *sans* appears under a $\neg\exists$ guise in the (a) sentence, and the particular effect noted in (653) disappears from the (b) sentence, which is only interpretable in the popular ‘register’ of the (c) sentence where *aucune* too is interpreted as $\neg\exists$.

- (657) a. ✓ Pierre (**ne**) mange **rien sans une** cuillère.
Peter (ne) eats nothing without a spoon.
‘Peter always eats with a spoon.’
b. * Pierre (ne) mange rien sans aucune cuillère.
Peter (ne) eats nothing without no spoon.
c. % Pierre (**ne**) mange **rien sans aucune** cuillère.
Peter (ne) eats nothing without no spoon.
‘Peter always eat with any spoon.’

II.3.1.2.10. (Provisional) Hierarchy of extended NP

We will adopt here the following (provisional) hierarchy of extended NP, including the DP postulated by Abney [1987], the QP postulated by Giusti [1992] (with further split), the adjectival hierarchy of Cinque [1993], and the DegP postulated by Corver [1991] (with further split).

- (658) EXTENDED NP: Top-QP >> Bottom-QP >> PartP >> DP >> DemP >> PossP >> Top-DegP >> Bottom-DegP >> CardP >> OrdP >> APs >> NP >> APs.
- Top-QP: {±Universal, ±Individual}.
 - Bottom-QP: {±Existent, ±Absent}.
 - PartP: {±Whole, ±Part}.
 - DP: {±Definite, ±Indefinite}.
 - DemP: {±Demonstrative}.
 - PossP: {±Possessive}.
 - Top-DegP: {±Increasing, ±Decreasing}.
 - Bottom-DegP: {±Scalar, ±Punctual}.
 - CardP: {±Plural, ±Singular}.
 - OrdP: {±Ordinal}.
 - APs: {±Attributer of {Quality/ Size/ Shape/ Color/ Nationality}}.
 - NP: {+N, -V}.
 - APs: {±Predicative}.

II.4. A FEATURAL MACHINE

The syntactic conditions entailed by the three axes of analysis reviewed in this second part, namely the nature (II.1), the combination (II.2), and the hierarchy (II.3) of the features, are summarized in the guise of a featural machine articulated in three corresponding parts.

(659) A FEATURAL MACHINE:

(1) PROJECTION CONDITIONS:

- 1.1. A projection is the syntactic realization of a feature.
- 1.2. Features gather into featural sets stored in the lexicon.
- 1.3. An item is a featural set associated to a concept by an arbitrary lexicalization.
- 1.4. According to 1.1 to 1.3, a lexical array (in the sense of Chomsky [1998]) has to contain all the features corresponding to the projections requested by a given clause.
- 1.5. An item endowed with a number n of features has to realize all the n corresponding projections at

spell-out.

- 1.6. When an item carrying a given feature has already realized the corresponding projection, the other items endowed with the same feature have just to reach that projection, according to the affect-criterion of Rizzi [1990a].
 - 1.7. A feature is a binary switch, which can be plus-specified or minus-specified.
 - 1.8. A third possibility is the absence of a given feature from a given featural set.
 - 1.9. A plus-specified feature forces the item carrying it to realize the corresponding projection.
 - 1.10. A minus-specified feature forces the item carrying it to combine with another item at least minus-specified for the same feature to realize the corresponding projection.
 - 1.11. The absence of a given feature from a given featural set let an item unconcerned by the interactions with this feature.
 - 1.12. Minus-specifications, in forcing item combinations, are the mover of the syntactic projection.
 - 1.13. A grammatical category, namely {A, Adv, C, N, P, Q, SM, V}, is a featural set, which is a proper subset of the featural set carried by an item.
 - 1.14. The grammatical category of complementizers carries syntactic functional features defining clause types.
 - 1.15. The syntactic functional features defining clause types are Independent and Subordinate; main and coordinate clauses are derived by the combination of the formers.
 - 1.16. In compliance with 1.14 and 1.15, a clause type, namely {independent, main, subordinate, coordinate}, is a featural set.
- (2) COMBINATIVE CONDITIONS:
- 2.1. Polarity-related features gather into complementary pairs.
 - 2.2. A complementary pair of polarity-related features projects a single XP, so that only one of the two features of a complementary pair can be realized in a single clause.
 - 2.3. A single clause contains maximally one of each XP, so that all occurrences of a given feature are interpreted once in a single clause.
 - 2.4. The unique ban on multiple occurrences of a given feature in a single clause concerns multiple occurrences of exactly the same featural set.
 - 2.5. There is no featural selection: there is just a need of completeness from minus-specified features calling for another occurrence of the same feature at least minus-specified.
 - 2.6. The need of completeness motivates complementary combinations of the featural sets carried by the items, which project a (more or less grammatical) sentence or no sentence, depending on the degree of complementarity that obtains.⁴⁷⁶
- (3) HIERARCHICAL CONDITIONS:
- 3.1. A feature *B* which existence is presupposed by a feature *A* occupies a lower hierarchical position than this occupied by the feature *A*.
 - 3.2. The notion of features presupposed by other features is semantically motivated by logical implications depending on primitive cognitive necessities: if an item expresses any quantity, it can be negated; if an item expresses a null quantity, it cannot be negated.
 - 3.3. The logical implications of the primitive cognitive necessities ensure the universality of the featural hierarchy throughout time and space; from their intrinsic articulation follows the syntactic derivation from bottom to top.
 - 3.4. Each 'height' in the hierarchy corresponds to a class of features, and is called XP-layer, where XP = {LP, CP, IP, VP; QP, DP, NP}.
 - 3.5. XP-layers form a superordinate hierarchy of classes of features.
 - 3.6. Features of the same class determine between themselves RME in the sense of Rizzi [1990, 1998, 1999a, 2000].
 - 3.7. Featural (in)compatibilities are reducible to c-command.
 - 3.8. C-command is the owning of an overtly projected, hierarchically higher feature.
 - 3.9. Scope is the c-command of a quantificational item by another quantificational item.
 - 3.10. Phenomena of scope reversing are due to the interactions between the predicate-bounded behavior of 'Negative' features and the unbounded behavior of Quantificational feature.

The featural framework so defined should be a helpful tool to study polarity phenomena in natural languages in general. In the third part, we will use it to make a tentative featural typology of French PIs.

⁴⁷⁶ The degree of complementarity, measurable through the number of minus-specified features effectively projected or not projected, provides a principled tool to account for the graded judgments of Lakoff [1973], commented by Newmeyer [1980:158]: "Lakoff concluded that such graded judgments falsify the notion that sentences should be either generated (i.e., be 'grammatical') or not generated (i.e., be 'ungrammatical'). Rather, some mechanism has to allow for their being assigned grammaticality TO A CERTAIN DEGREE".

III. A FEATURAL TYPOLOGY OF FRENCH PIs

Splitting ‘Negative’ feature in III.1 will allow us to motivate the great range of polarized behaviors by minimally different specifications of varying parts of the intuitive concept of ‘negation’. The need of featural complementarity favors given combinations, which are seen in III.2 as subcases of ‘collocations’, namely a first step on the way of idiomaticity. The featural richness reviewed in II.3 requests a range of criteria (I.1) to correctly settle the numerous switches of the representative sample of PIs gathered in our database (III.3), so that it should be processable by the featural machine described in II.4: this is our featural typology of French PIs.

III.1. AGAINST A UNITARY CONCEPT OF ‘NEGATIVITY’

As seen in I.2.2.2 (examples (185)-(186)), ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ elements may co-occur in a single sentence, always in a fixed hierarchical order:

- (660) a. ✓ Pierre (ne) vient **bien pas**.
 b. * Pierre (ne) vient pas bien.
 Peter (ne) comes {well not/ * not well}.
 ‘Peter indeed doesn’t come.’

According to our claim of polarity complementary pairs of features set out in II.1.2, which implies that the two members of a pair cannot project both in a single computation, supposing that ‘Negative’ and ‘Positive’ features constitute a unitary syntactic fact would imply that they wouldn’t be polarity features—an absurd conclusion, since they embody the archetype of polarity.

If our claim of polarity complementary pairs is fundamentally correct, we have thus a theoretical reason to think that ‘Negative’ and ‘Positive’ are not features, but only intuitive notions made up of a complex set of features, including various oppositions reviewed in II.3.1.2 as Absence vs. Existence (a ‘negative’ item cannot be Existent), Decreasing vs. Increasing (a ‘negative’ item cannot be Increasing), Punctual vs. Scalar (a ‘negative’ item cannot be Scalar), Singular vs. Plural (a ‘negative’ item cannot be Plural). The numerous grammatical combinations of those polarity-related features creates on the one hand the illusion of ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ items; on the other hand, their numerous differentiated behaviors.

Not only theoretical grounds suggest that ‘negativity’ and ‘positivity’ are merely intuitive notions covering an intricate node of polarity-related features: empirical data converge to support this view.

III.1.1. MULTIPLE HIERARCHICAL LOCATIONS

If all features do project along a fixed hierarchy, a big question would be where to locate some ‘NegP’, within the extended VP as good as within the extended NP.

- As regards the extended VP, Laenzlinger [1998:314] said, “The IP-domain in Germanic differs from that in Romance in the level of occurrence of NegP [...]. NegP occurs in a lower opposition in German, i.e. close to VP, than it does in Romance, i.e. between AgrSP and TP. Apart from NegP, the other functional projections of the IP-domain are assigned the same hierarchy in Germanic and Romance: AgrSP dominates TP, which dominate AspP”; Cinque [1999:140] emphasized, “*if one sets aside agreement and negation*, the order of the head morphemes encoding the different types of functional notions of the

clause (mood, modality, tense, aspect, and voice) is also rigidly fixed, and apparently invariant across languages” (our italics).

- As regards the featural characterization of the non-verbal phrases outlined in Rizzi [1999a:(57);(65)], negation appears twice, within Quantificational and Modifier classes—not to mention that there also exist ‘negative’ arguments.

The fact that ‘Negative’ and Agreement features are not unambiguously located within the syntactic structure, but can instead appear on various heights depending on their scope and their semantics, suggests that they haven’t a uniform syntactic content: the intuitive notion of ‘negativity’ is plausibly made up of several polarity-related features; the general notion of agreement includes several subtypes with different properties—so that their occurrence points are multiple, but not casual.

- Nominal and verbal agreements are interdependent, but they share only a subpart of their properties, Gender being specific to nouns and Person specific to verbs; participial agreement is used (or not used) to express scopal properties, as seen in I.2.3.2.3.
- The position of ‘negative’ features, overt or covert, is always related to scope; the maximal height reachable by ‘negative’ items is limited by hierarchical constraints—within the extended VP, negation is predicate-bounded in lack of subject θ -role; within the extended NP, negation is QP-internal.

A consequence of the composite nature of ‘Negative’ feature is the possibility to have multiple realizations within a single sentence. We have seen that the traditional typology describing French and Italian as NC-languages (where negation is cumulative), and English and German as DN-languages (where two negations would cancel each other out), is a mere descriptive label only adequate for a subpart of those languages: on the one hand, NC is blocked by the modal negation (in French *pas*, which cannot enter NC with \forall quantifiers); on the other hand, almost all spoken ‘varieties’ of English admits NC (see examples (297)-(298), and the comment of Pinker [1994] in (300)). NC vs. DN seems actually to depend on quantificational properties: negation seems crosslinguistically cumulative when hosted by an existential operator, but exclusive when hosted by a universal one—the latter case being possible only under metalinguistic use. Either within a single language, or amongst languages, the contrast NC vs. DN is reducible respectively to $[\neg\exists\neg\exists(\neg\exists(\neg\exists))]$ vs. $[\forall\neg\neg\neg\neg(?\forall\neg\neg\neg\neg(??\forall\neg\neg))]$:

- (661) (i) $[\neg\exists\neg\exists(\neg\exists(\neg\exists))]$ \rightarrow NC:
 a. ✓ I do not (\exists) see anybody (\exists).
 b. % I do not (\exists) see nobody (\exists).
 (ii) $[\forall\neg\neg\neg\neg(?\forall\neg\neg\neg\neg(??\forall\neg\neg))]$ \rightarrow DN:
 ✓ I do NOT (\forall) see nobody (\forall).

When several quantifiers \forall by default combine in logical use, all \forall c-commanded by another \forall are interpreted as \exists ; only the \forall one that c-commands all the other ones is interpreted as \forall . All lexical realizations of Universal feature are interpreted once in the highest quantificational position, leaving a minimal \exists interpretation to the quantifiers spelled-out in lowest positions, so that in structures like (662), the c-commanded ‘ \forall ’ N-words in (a-b) receive the same interpretation as \exists NPIs in (a’-b’):

- (662) $[\forall\neg\neg\exists(\neg\exists(\neg\exists))]$ \rightarrow NC:
 a. ✓ Personne (ne) fait jamais rien ici.
 Nobody (ne) does never nothing here.
 a.’ ✓ Personne (ne) fait quoi que ce soit quand que ce soit ici.
 Nobody (ne) does whatever whenever here.

- ‘For all persons, there exists no time X and no thing Y, such that Y is done at X here.’
 b. ✓ *Jamais personne (ne) fait rien ici.*
 Never nobody (*ne*) does nothing here.
 b.’ ✓ *Jamais qui que ce soit (ne) fait quoi que ce soit ici.*
 Never whoever (*ne*) does whatever here.
 → ‘At all time, there exist no person X and no thing Y, such that X does Y here.’

III.1.2. ‘LEXICAL’ CONTRASTS

III.1.2.1. Polarized prefixation

We have seen in II.3.1.2.8.1 that the various possible combinations of polarity-related features are reflected by the great range of ‘negative’ prefixes, and that this view might furnish a principled tool to express the morphological hierarchy that orders the WFRs in case of multiple prefixations, admitting that the universal syntactic hierarchy of polarity-related features is also in act within the morphological module:

- (663) a. ✓ *continuité* → ✓ **dis***continuité* → ✓ **indis***continuité*
 continuity → discontinuity → undiscontinuity
 b. ✓ *continuité* → ?? **in***continuité* → * **disin***continuité*
 continuity → uncontinuity → disuncontinuity

‘Positive’ prefixes also always appear in a fixed order: the fact that they apply to targeted grammatical categories could perhaps be derived from their featural hierarchy.

- (664) a. ✓ *acte*_N → ✓ **action**_N → ✓ **actionnable**_A → ✓ **actionnabilité**_N
 act → action → actionable → actionability
 b. ✓ *acte* → * **actité** → * **actitable** → * **actitablion**
 act → actity → actitable → actitablion

Anyway, the great richness of affixes has plausibly to be related to the great featural richness, including hierarchical considerations.

III.1.2.2. Morphological polarity

According to an analysis of Rizzi [p.c.], we have argued in II.3.1.2.8.1 that morphological negation lexically contained within nouns, adjectives, and verbs, combines with a {PP/ CP} containing a ‘negative’ operator, which is able to combine with NPIs:

- (665) (I) NOUNS:
 a. ✓ *La **mort** de **qui que ce soit** est toujours triste.*
 ‘The death of whoever is always sad.’
 b. * *La naissance de **qui que ce soit** est toujours belle.*
 The birth of whoever is ever beautiful.
 (II) ADJECTIVES:
 a. ✓ *Il est **insensé** de chercher **âme qui vive** dans ce désert.*
 It is senseless to search soul which live in this desert.
 b. * *Il est **sensé** de chercher **âme qui vive** dans ce désert.*
 It is sensible to search soul which live in this desert.
 (III) VERBS:
 a. ✓ *Pierre **nie** avoir dit **grand-chose**.*
 Peter denies to-have said great-thing.
 ‘Peter denies to have said anything.’
 b. * *Pierre **avoue** avoir dit **grand-chose**.*
 Peter confess to-have said great-thing.

- a. ✓ Pierre a **manqué** son train **de peu**.⁴⁷⁷
 Peter has missed his train of few.
 ‘Peter just missed the train.’
- b. * Pierre a attrapé son train de peu.
 Peter has caught his train of few.

The contrast in (i) can be analyzed in terms of Decreasing vs. Increasing (-Decreasing *qui que ce soit* needs to combine with a +Decreasing item as *mort*, but fails to combine with the +Increasing *naissance*); and the contrasts in (ii)-(iii) in terms of Absent vs. Existent (-Absence *âme qui vive* needs to combine with a +Absence item as *insensé* or *nier*, but fails to combine with the +Existent *sensé* and *avouer*). The {PP/ CP} functions as a polarity transmitter for the c-commanded NPI: in fact, in absence of such a {PP/ CP}, the sentences become ungrammatical:

- (666) a. * La mort prend qui que ce soit.
 The death takes whoever.
 b. * Insensée est âme qui vive.
 Senseless is soul which live.
 c. * Pierre nie grand-chose.
 Peter denies great-thing.

Though less patent, the same kind of ‘lexical’ contrast arises with PPIs. Some of them are -Increasing: if we provide the noun *fute* with the Increasing feature through an adjective like *neuf* in (ii), the polarity contrast in (i) disappears; with a Decreasing adjective like *vieux* in (iii), the contrast remains.

- (667) (I) WITHOUT ANY ADJECTIVE:
 a. ✓ Pierre porte un {fute/ pantalon} aujourd’hui.
 Peter wears a pant today.
 ‘Peter wears a pair of pants today.’
 b. ✓ Pierre (ne) porte pas de {* fute/ pantalon} aujourd’hui.
 Peter (ne) wears not of the pant today.
 ‘Peter doesn’t wear a pair of pants today.’
- (II) WITH AN INCREASING ADJECTIVE:
 a. ✓ Pierre porte un {pantalon/ fute} neuf aujourd’hui.
 Peter wears a pant new today.
 ‘Peter wears a new pair of pants today.’
 b. ✓ Pierre (ne) porte pas de {pantalon/ fute} neuf aujourd’hui.
 Peter (ne) wears not of the pant new today.
 ‘Peter doesn’t wear a new pair of pants today.’
- (III) WITH A DECREASING ADJECTIVE:
 a. ✓ Pierre porte un vieux {pantalon/ fute} aujourd’hui.
 Peter wears an old pant today.
 ‘Peter wears an old pair of pants today.’
 b. ✓ Pierre (ne) porte pas de vieux {pantalon/ * fute} aujourd’hui.
 Peter (ne) wears not of the old pant today.
 ‘Peter doesn’t wear an old pair of pants today.’

Other PPIs are fully Increasing, but sensible to other features:

- (668) (I) WITH AN INCREASING ADJECTIVE:
 a. ✓ Pierre (n’)a pas de nouvelle {* tire/ voiture}.
 Peter (ne) has not of-the new car.
 ‘Peter hasn’t a new car.’

⁴⁷⁷ A ‘negative’ coordination can provide the lacking ‘negative’ feature:
 (lxxxviii) ✓ Pierre a attrapé son train, **mais** de peu.
 Peter has caught his train, but of few.
 ‘Peter caught his train, but he just caught it.’

- b. ✓ Pierre (ne) donne jamais un long coup de {* bigophone/ téléphone} à Jean.
Peter (ne) gives never a long call of phone to John.
'Peter never gives John a long call.'
- (II) WITH A SPEAKER-ORIENTED ADJECTIVE:
- a. ✓ Pierre (n')a pas de {tire/ voiture} correcte.
Peter (ne) has not of-the car correct.
'Peter hasn't an acceptable car.'
- b. ✓ Pierre (ne) donne jamais un gentil coup de {bigophone/ téléphone} à Jean.
Peter (ne) gives never a nice call of phone to John.
'Peter never gives John a nice call.'

The selective sensibility of nominal PPIs to their adjectival environment within 'negative' sentences, but not within 'positive' ones, suggests that 'positive' sentences are plus-specified by default for 'positive' features, even in absence of a 'positive' morphology: it is consistent with the fact that a 'positive' morphology is crosslinguistically rarer than a 'negative' morphology—under this view, PPIs and NPIs show the same type of dependency, but only the latter obligatorily involve an overtly realized c-commander.

A general property of PPIs is to convey a more 'affective' content than their *verba propria* synonymous: when one chose in a lexical array *bigophone* rather than *téléphone*, the semantics is more emphatic, more 'positive', and more Speaker-oriented—even when used at the third person, PPIs implicate a 'positive' judgment from the speaker. 'Positive' contexts favor thus the use of PPIs, while 'negative' contexts impede it. They can nonetheless survive within 'negative' sentences if a 'positive' adjective combines with them, allowing them to project their 'positive' features without the default plus-specifications of a 'positive' context. In this light, grammaticality variations in the combination of nominal PPIs with various 'positive' adjectives indicate that 'positive' and 'negative' are not univocal notions: if it were so, no variation would be expected amongst adjectives of the same polarity.

III.1.2.2.1. *Insults & affectionate appellatives*

An apparent counterexample to the generalization that 'positive' contexts favor the use of PPIs, while 'negative' contexts impede it, is the case of tropological insults deflecting the semantics of 'positive' nouns for a 'negative' purpose:

- (669) a. ✓ Quel monsieur, celui-là!
What mister, that-that!
'What a fool, that guy!'
- b. ✓ Vous en êtes un autre!
You PART are an other!
'You're a poor fool!'

They behave like proper PPIS, incompatible with a 'negative' context:

- (670) a. * C(e n)'est pas un monsieur, celui-là!
That (ne) is not a mister, that-that!
- b. * Vous (n')en êtes pas un autre!
You (ne) PART are not an other!

The rhetorical figure in act is just irony, thanks to the use of the 'negative' presupposition activated by exclamation (see II.3.1.1.2.3): those words are PPIs used in 'positive' sentences with 'negative' semantics. The poor captain Haddock misinterprets an unknown gypsy word as such an insulting PPI:

- (671) ☺ "laisse-moi parler à ce **gadjo**... - Un **gadjo**?... Moi?... - C'est ainsi que nous appelons ceux qui ne

sont pas Tziganes...⁴⁷⁸

'Let me speak to that *gadjó*... - A *gadjó*?... I?... - This is the way we call those that are not Gypsies...'

Haddock's insults in general are comical because making use of **regular nouns used as ironical PPIs** mixed with true ironical PPIs:

(672) © "Brutes!... Flibustiers!... **Moules à gaufres!**... Ecraseurs!... **Autodidactes!**..."⁴⁷⁹
'Brutes!... Swindlers!... Waffle-irons!... Road-hogs!... Autodidacts!...'

Irony follows from the crossing of 'positive' specifications of Existence and 'negative' specifications of monotone properties: it consists in asserting the existence of a quality within an exclamation conveying a (Decreasing) 'negative' presupposition.⁴⁸⁰

(673)		EXISTENT	ABSENT	INCREASING	DECREASING
a. Regular use:		+	=	+	=
b. Ironical exclamation:		+	=	=	+
c. Negation:		=	+	=	+

Irony apart, and thus exclamation apart, insults behaves thus like affectionate appellatives:

(674) a. ✓ *Jeanne est un chou.*
Jane is a cabbage.
'Jane is a darling.'
b. * *Jeanne (n')est pas un chou.*
Jane (*ne*) is not a cabbage.

Irony can also arise under the scope of negation within an exclamation conveying a 'positive' presupposition: in this case, ironic negation is shifted from the presuppositional layer to the overt syntax.

(675) a. ✓ *Jeanne est un ange.*
Jane is an angel.
'Jane is a darling.'
b. ✓ *Jeanne (n')est pas un ange!*
Jane (*ne*) is not an angel.
'Jane is a damned nuisance.'

III.1.3. APPARENT VARIATIONS IN THE 'NEGATIVE' FORCE OF THE SM

Besides the expletive guises of *ne* reviewed in I.2.3.1, and the unmarked non-expletive use as a 'negative' SM, *ne* can be used in a non-expletive guise (it cannot be dropped) in non-negative sentences (*pas* cannot be inserted). Several idiomatic expressions involve such a non-expletive, non-negative *ne*:

(676) (i) *IL N'EST QU'À* 'IT IS ENOUGH TO':
✓ *Il *(n')est (* pas) qu'à relire ses classiques pour rajeunir.*
It *(*ne*) is (* not) that to read-again his classics to rejuvenate.
'It is enough to read one's classics again to feel younger.'
(ii) *N'AVOIR QUE FAIRE DE* 'TO HAVE NO USE FOR':
✓ *J*(e n)'ai (* pas) que faire de tes remarques désobligeantes!*
I *(*ne*) have (* not) that to-do of your remarks unpleasant!
'I've no use for your unpleasant remarks!'
(iii) *SI CE N'EST* 'IF IT WASN'T':
✓ *J(e n)'aime pas la pluie, si c*(e n)'est (* pas) pour arroser les salades.*

⁴⁷⁸ Georges Rémi (Hergé), *Les bijoux de la Castafiore*, Casterman, 1963, plate 4.

⁴⁷⁹ Georges Rémi (Hergé), *L'affaire Tournesol*, Casterman, 1956, plate 22.

⁴⁸⁰ See II.3.1.1.2.3 for the 'negative' presuppositional properties of exclamatory constructs.

I (*ne*) like not the rain, if it **(ne)* is (*** not) for hose the lettuces.
 ‘I doesn’t like the rain, if it wasn’t to hose the lettuces.’
 (IV) *DEPUIS QUE... NE* ‘SINCE (LAST TIME) ONE DONE (SOMETHING)’:
 ✓ Il s’est passé du temps depuis que je **(ne)* l’ai (*** pas) vu.
 It itself is passed of time since that I **(ne)* him have (*** not) seen.
 ‘Much time have gone by since last time I saw him.’

In formal ‘registers’, non-expletive, non-negative *ne* can combine with various force-elements occupying the ForceP of Rizzi [1997], as force-complementizers and Wh-operators:

- (677) (I) WITH EXCLAMATORY *QUE*:
 a. ✓ Que **(ne)* puis-je (*** pas) prendre le temps de vivre!
 What **(ne)* can I (*** not) take the time to live!
 → ‘I regret I cannot make time to enjoy life.’
 b. ✓ Que **(ne)* vient-il (*** pas) à la soirée!
 What **(ne)* comes he (*** not) at the party!
 → ‘It’s a shame that he didn’t come at the party.’
 (II) WITH INTERROGATIVE *QUE*:
 ✓ Que **(ne)* le disais-tu (*** pas) plus tôt?
 What **(ne)* it said you (*** not) more soon?
 → ‘I wonder why you didn’t say that before, and I regret it.’
 (III) WITH RHETORICAL INTERROGATIVE *QUI*:
 ✓ Qui **(ne)* prend (*** pas) le temps de vivre?
 Who **(ne)* takes (*** not) the time to live?
 ‘Who doesn’t make time to enjoy life?’

For economical purpose, we have possibly to define *ne* as a unique multi-purpose item, rather than to postulate several independent items, each corresponding to one of its guises. This desirable undertaking wouldn’t be facilitated by a unique ‘Negative’ feature: it would be difficult to relate the versatile behavior of the SM to a univocal conception of ‘negativity’—while a composite nature, made up of several polarity-related features, including presuppositional facts, renders it easy. The three main SM uses are the following:

(678)	EXPLETIVE	NON-EXPLETIVE
‘NEGATIVE’	*	{ <i>Ne/ ¬</i> }... { <i>pas/ plus/ jamais/ personne/ rien</i> }
NON-NEGATIVE	<i>craindre que... (ne)</i>	<i>Que *(ne)...</i> !

There is no expletive ‘negative’ *ne*: a dropped ‘negative’ *ne* is always syntactically realized as a silent ‘negative’ SM ‘¬’ (see I.1.2.2.1.1), or perhaps more generally as a silent SM virtually unspecified for polarity ‘÷’ (see I.2.3.1), which assigns scope to the ‘negativity’ of the N-words it c-commands. On the other hand, a non-negative *ne* can be either expletive, or non-expletive. When non-expletive, it cannot be dropped, maybe for recoverability requirements; when expletive, it can be dropped without audible effects, and is thus presumably unrealized at all levels of grammatical analysis:

- (679) a. ✓ Je crains que tu nel-l’aimes.
 b. ✓ Je crains que tul-l’aimes.
 I fear that you (ne) h-him love.
 ‘I fear you might love him.’

The simplest way to unify the three apparently distinct behaviors of *ne* summarized in (678) is to claim that *ne* receives its polarity from the polarity-related items it c-commands: it owns some common features that ensure the setting up of the relation (features of the same class in the sense of Rizzi [1999a]); and some specific features visible in isolation, as presuppositional value in its expletive guise. If *ne* were minus-specified for both Existent and Absent features, it would correctly predict its alternation between ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ readings depending on its clausemates; if it were plus-specified for Universal feature, it would correctly predict its

scope assignment properties independent from any polarity-related clausemate.

III.1.4. UNEXPECTED VARIATIONS IN THE COMBINATION WITH NPIS

Déprez [1999:423-n.31(i)] mentioned numerous contrasts in the combination of ‘negative’ elements with NPIS, unexpected under a uniform ‘Negative’ feature implementation:

- (680) a. Je n’ai pas vu un chat.
I NEG have not seen a cat.
‘I didn’t see anyone.’
a.’ * Personne n’a vu un chat.
No-one NEG has seen a cat.
b. Cet enfant n’est pas tenable.
This child NEG is not “keepable”.
‘This child is not bearable.’
b.’ ?? Personne n’est tenable.
No-one NEG is “keepable”.
c. Ce truc-là [n]est pas croyable.
That thing-that [NEG] is not believable.
‘That thing is not believable.’
c.’ * Rien n’est croyable.
Nothing NEG is believable.
d. J[e n]’ai pas un rond.
I [NEG] have not a red-cent.
‘I don’t have a red cent.’
d.’ ?? Personne n’a un rond.
No-one NEG has a red-cent.
e. Cette affaire-là n’a pas fait un pli.
That thing-that NEG has not made a wrinkle.
‘It was a sure thing.’
e.’ * Rien n’a fait un pli.
Nothing NEG has made a wrinkle.
f. J[e n]’ai pas compris du tout.
I [NEG] have not understood at all.
‘I didn’t understand at all.’
f.’ * Personne n’a compris du tout.
No-one NEG has understood at all.

Déprez [1999:423-n.31] took these facts as evidencing that “N-words *rien* and *personne* are not fully negative”. Under our ‘NegP’-splitting hypothesis, it just means that they own another featural set than *pas*, and that, more generally, every ‘negative’ or negation-related item owns a minimally different featural set, resulting in minimally different (im)possible combinations. Polarity adjectives in *-able* are in general minus-specified for Speaker-oriented feature, so that they request a Speaker-oriented c-commander like the modal ‘negative’ adverb *pas*:

- (681) ✓ Ce truc-là (n’)est {pas/ * plus/ * jamais} croyable.
That thing-that (*ne*) is {not/ * no-longer/ * never} believable.
‘That thing is not believable.’

NPI *un chat* is minus-specified for Whole feature, so that it requests a Whole c-commander like the modal ‘negative’ adverb *pas*:

- (682) ✓ {Aucun témoin/ Nul homme/ ?? Personne} (n’)a vu un chat au moment du crime.
{No witness/ No man/ ??Nobody} (*ne*) has not seen a cat at the moment of the murder.
‘Nobody saw anybody at the moment of the murder.’

Finally, the impossibility of (680)f’ follows from the fact that *du tout* can be stranded after

every legal overt movement of the quantificational item it depends to, but is unable to be generated alone in a position never occupied by it. A subject cannot thus be related to a post-verbal *du tout*, but can be locally as in (683)a; only an object can be related at a distance as in (683)b.

- (683) a. ✓ *Personne du tout* (n')a <personne> compris.
 Nobody at all (*ne*) has <nobody> understood.
 'Nobody at all did understand.'
 b. % *J(e n)'ai personne vu* <personne> du tout.
 I (*ne*) have nobody seen <nobody> at all.
 'I saw nobody at all.'

Splitting up the hypothetical 'Negative' and 'Positive' features in a large range of polarity-related features will provide an articulated tool to account for the various behaviors within the heterogeneous PIs class: the most sensitive PIs will have the greatest number of deficient polarity-related features; the less sensitive PIs, the smallest number.

III.2. 'COLLOCATIONS' & POLARITY COMPLEMENTARITY

III.2.1. REGULAR COLLOCATIONS

A 'collocation' is currently defined as the relation holding between words that are usually uttered together without forming a fixed expression, as the following, which can also appear in other contexts, but often and typically combine in this way:

- (684) a. ✓ *Remplir une fonction*.
 'To fulfill a function.'
 b. ✓ *Pratiquer un sport*.
 'To practice a sport.'

If the meaning of a word is nothing other than the result of the combination of hundreds (and perhaps thousands) of features, and if the (in)compatibilities between items is the visible consequence of the (in)compatibilities between their featural structure, we could try to derive the 'collocations' as a case of forced complementarity motivated by minus-specifications of other features than the polarity-related ones.

Suppose that in a given linguistic system, features evolve throughout time, appearing, disappearing, and changing. Productive features will have a productive use: for instance, verbs -Animate as 'to eat' requesting an Animate complement have a great choice of Animate items in the lexicon. On the other hand, when a given feature has become very rare in a given lexicon, the few items owning it are forced to co-occur, if they want survive. Throughout time, the progressive reduction of possible contexts of appearance could lead first to recurrent collocations, and then either to a fixed expression, or to frozen polarity. In fact, some PIs are the result of a selective residual collocation:

- (685) a. †† *Avec* {vergogne/ ambages}.
 With {shame/ circumlocutions}.
 b. ✓ *Sans* {vergogne/ ambages}.
 Without {shame/ circumlocutions}.
 '{Shamelessly/ Without beating around the bush}.'

In some cases, a polarized guise cohabits with an idiomatic expression of the opposite polarity:

- (686) (I) NPI-GUISE:

- a. †† En balançant.
With hesitating.
- b. ✓ Sans balancer.
Without to-hesitate.
'Without hesitation.'
- (II) IDIOMATIC 'POSITIVE' EXPRESSION:
- a. ✓ Entre les deux mon cœur balance.
Between the two my heart (* *ne*) hesitates * not.
'I'm torn between the two.'

This suggests that the assiduous frequentation of a unique featural provider may lead to featural deficiency, and be thus at the source of polarized behavior for some items: this is a diachronic font of polarity.⁴⁸¹

III.2.2. POLAR COLLOCATIONS

A collocational approach to polarity phenomena would be particularly desirable for PIs typically combining with a given featural provider. For instance, many PIs request the copular verb *être*, which seems to be the archetypal provider of Existent feature. The -Existent PPIs need overt existential c-command to be interpreted:

- (687) a. ✓ Pierre est venu **pour rien**.
Peter is came for nothing.
'Peter came in vain.'
- b. * **Pour rien**(,) Pierre est venu.
For nothing(,) Peter is came.
'In vain(,) Peter came.'

In the idiomatic expression *pour rien* 'in vain', the preposition too seems to play the role of a featural provider for the quantifier. Often, expressions of this type involve fixed prepositions, as the following containing two adverbs of opposite polarity which cannot swap their prepositions: this suggests that a given preposition, depending on its particular featural set, will specialize in a particular type of combination.

- (688) a. ✓ **Pour** toujours et à jamais.
For ever and to never.
- b. * A toujours et pour jamais.
To ever and for never.
'For ever and ever.'

The most polarity expressions involve a fixed determiner. A nominal PI which is -Definite and =Indefinite, -Singular and =Plural, will always combine with *le* (for a masculine one) and *la* (for a feminine one); a nominal PI which is -Plural and =Singular, =Definite and -Indefinite, will always combine with *des*:

- (689) a. ✓ C'est {*le/ * un*} **top**.
It is {the/ * a} top.
'It's the top.'
- b. ✓ Il reste {** les/ des*} **lustres** à attendre.
It remains {the-DEFINITE/ * the-INDEFINITE} lustrums to wait.
'It remains us ages to wait.'

This featural device may also be useful to account for the behavior of regular nouns: they are -Definite and -Indefinite, -Singular and -Plural, so that they can freely combine with any

⁴⁸¹ Synchronic productive fonts of PIs are reviewed in III.2.2.1.

determiner (a masculine one for -Masculine nouns; a feminine one for -Feminine nouns). Some regular nouns are -Masculine and -Feminine, so that they can alternatively appear with both genders, sometimes even in the same language level.⁴⁸²

- (690) (I) EXOCENTRIC COMPOUNDS:
 ✓ Un après-midi, une après-midi.
 An-M after-noon-M, an-F after-noon-F.
 ‘An afternoon.’
 (II) ABBREVIATED COMPOUNDS:⁴⁸³
 a. ✓ { * Un/Une } bouteille thermos, { un/ une } thermos.
 { * A-M/ A-F } bottle thermos, { a-M/ a-F } thermos.
 ‘A vacuum bottle.’
 b. { * Un/ Une } habitation à loyer modéré, { un/ une } HLM.
 { * A-M/ A-F } housing with rent moderate, { a-M/ a-F } HRM.
 ‘A housing project.’

Other gender variations in French are idiomatical, and arise in association with the following alternations:

- (691) (I) SINGULAR VS. PLURAL:
 a. ✓ Un bel **amour**, de belles **amours**.
 A nice-M love-M, of-the nice-F loves-F.
 ‘Nice love, nice loves.’
 b. ✓ Un **chiotte**, les **chiottes** publiques.
 A can-M, the public-F cans-F.
 ‘A can, public cans.’
 c. ✓ Un grand **délice**, de grandes **délices**.⁴⁸⁴
 A great-m delight-M, of-the great-F delights-F.
 ‘A great delight, great delights.’
 (II) POSTVERBAL VS. PREVERBAL ADJECTIVE:
 ✓ Des **gens** bons, † de bonnes **gens**.
 Of-the peoples-M good-M, of-the good-F peoples-F.
 ‘Good people.’
 (III) FREE VS. LEXICALIZED EPITHET:
 † **Une orge** savoureuse, ✓ **un orge** {perlé/ mondé}.
 A barley-F tasty-F, a barley-M {pearled-M/ hulled-M}.
 ‘Tasty barley, {pearl/ hulled} barley.’
 a. ✓ **Un légume**, petit ou gros, est un végétal, **une grosse légume** est un homme important.
 A-M vegetable-M, small-M or big-M, is a plant, a big-F vegetable-F is a man important.
 ‘A vegetable at the masculine, small or big, is a plant, a big vegetable at the feminine is a big shot.’
 (IV) SPECIALIZED MEANING:
 a. ✓ **La pourpre** est une matière colorante, **le pourpre** est une couleur.
 The-F purple-F is a substance coloring, the-M purple-M is a color.
 ‘The purple at the feminine is a coloring agent; the purple at the masculine is a color.’

⁴⁸² Bouvier [1999:III.1.3.f] noticed that the unmarked gender (-Masculine, =Feminine) is used in Standard French as a marker of exocentricity and of abridgedness, so that the use of feminine in those cases is slightly popular. The difference is nevertheless very subtle, and a word like *après-midi* may be used even by the same speaker without strong language ‘level’ variation.

⁴⁸³ Bouvier [1999:III.1.3.f] claimed that abbreviating a compound from its head leads to the same result as exocentric CRs, namely the attribution of unmarked gender (-Masculine, =Feminine in our terms).

⁴⁸⁴ Masculine and feminine may cohabit in a single NP like *un de mes délices* ‘one of my delights’. Inserting an adjective poses thus a problem that Thomas [1971:121] solves in using the unmarked form:

(lxxxix) ✓ “Un de mes plus grands délices était de canoter sur la Marne.”
 One-M of my more great-M delights-F was to row on the Marne.
 ‘One of my greater delights was to go rowing on the Marne.’

Italian has the same dilemma with words designating parts of the human body as *il braccio, le braccia* ‘the-M arm-M, the-F arms-F’. In the footsteps of Boccaccio, Bembo [1549:III.VI] solved it diversely than Thomas:

(xc) †† “L’uno delle braccia con tutta la spalla”.
 The one-M of-the-F arms-F with all the shoulder.
 ‘One of the arms with the whole shoulder.’

- b. ✓ **Les grandes orgues** d'une église, **les grands orgues** de France.
The great-F organs-F of a church, the great-M organs-M of France.
'The great organ of a church are at the feminine; the great organs of France are at the masculine.'
- c. ✓ **Un espace** est courant, **une espace** est du jargon typographique.
An-M space-M is common, an-F space-F is of-the jargon typographic.
'A space at the masculine is common; a space at the feminine is typographic jargon.'
- (V) LANGUAGE LEVEL:
- a. ✓ **Un sauna** est du français standard, **une sauna** est du français populaire.
A-M sauna-M is of-the French Standard, a-F sauna-F is of-the French popular.
'A sauna at the masculine is Standard French; a sauna at the feminine is popular French.'
- b. ✓ **Un haltère** est du français standard, **une haltère** est du français populaire.
A-M barbell-M is of-the French Standard, a-F barbell-F is of-the French popular.
'A barbell at the masculine is Standard French; a barbell at the feminine is popular French.'
- (VI) RHETORICAL USES:
- ✓ Au sens propre, la patate est **un légume**, au sens figuré, "Un caporal, c'est **une légume**".⁴⁸⁵
At-the sense literal, the potato is a-M vegetable-M, at-the sense figurative, a caporal, that is a-F vegetable-F.
'In the literal sense, potatoes are masculine vegetables; in the figurative sense, caporals are feminine vegetables.'
- (VII) JOCLAR USES:
- a. ✓ **Mes frères** sont courageux
My brothers-M are courageous-M.
'My brothers are brave.'
- b. ✓ "Et si mes **frères** se taisent, eh bien tant pis pour elles".⁴⁸⁶
And if my brothers-M themselves keep-silent, hey well too bad for them-F.
'Well if my brothers keep silent, too bad for them.'
- (VIII) CHILDREN LANGUAGE:⁴⁸⁷
- ✓ **Un {élastique/ squelette/ testicule/ ovule}** est du français adulte, **une {élastique/ squelette/ testicule/ ovule}** est du français enfantin.
A-M {rubber band/ skeleton/ testicle/ ovum}-M is of-the French Adult, a-F {rubber band/ skeleton/ testicle/ ovum}-F is of-the French Childish.
'A {rubber band/ skeleton/ testicle/ ovum} at the masculine is Adult French; a {rubber band/ skeleton/ testicle/ ovum} at the feminine is Children French.'
- (IX) DIACHRONIA:
- †† **Un alvéole** → ✓ **une alvéole**.
An-M alveolus-M, an-F alveolus-F.
'An alveolus.'

Interestingly, nouns with a particular meaning associated with a particular gender tend to behave, at different degrees, like PPIs: they express 'affectively' the existence.

- (692) a. ?? Ce (ne) sont pas de belles amours.
b. * Ce (ne) sont pas de grandes délices.
c. * Ce (ne) sont pas de bonnes gens.
There (ne) are not of-the {nice loves/ great delights/ good peoples}.
- d. * Ce (n')est pas de l'orge perlé.
This (ne) is not of-the barley pearled.
- e. * Le voisin de Pierre (n')est pas une grosse légume.
The neighbor of Peter (ne) is not a big vegetable.
- f. * ((II) (N'))Y'a pas de grandes orgues dans cette église.
(It) (Ne) LOC has not of-the great organs in this church.
- g. ?? Le typographe (n')a pas mis d'espaces fines dans ce texte.

⁴⁸⁵ Jacques Tardi, *Le noyé à deux têtes*, Casterman, 1985, p. 46.

⁴⁸⁶ Jacques Brel, *Les F...*, Barclay, 1977.

⁴⁸⁷ Children typically use at the feminine nouns ending with a schwa: this is an overgeneralization of the synchronically productive WFRs.

⁴⁸⁸ Even in some popular adult 'registers' of the slums, like that of Bérurier Noir, *Noir les horreurs*, Bondage, 1983:

(xci) "J'ai les testicules froides/ Et ma tête est une boîte".
I have the testicles cold-F/ And my head is a box.
'My testicles are cold, and my head is a box.'

The typographer (*ne*) has not put of-the spaces fine in this text.

The variations in polarity degree follow from the number of complementary pairs with a unique minus-specified feature. Under a collocational approach to polarity, each featural deficiency should correspond to one archetypal provider, so that some polarity expressions appear for instance either with a fixed determiner, a fixed preposition, or with a fixed verb, and other ones with more than one fixed element. The following table gathers the most common ones amongst those featural providers:

(693) (I) FIXED DETERMINER OR POSSESSIVE:

a. **Le** {dindon de la farce/ feu (au lac)/ nerf de la guerre/ sel de la terre/ sou}.

The-M {turkey of the farce/ fire (to-the lake)/ nerve of the war/ salt of the earth/ cent}.

‘{Fall guy/ Panic/ Sinews of war/ Salt of the earth/ Red cent}.’

a.’ **La** {bourre/ cosse/ manche/ même chose qu’hier/ monnaie de singe/ peau}.

The-F {stuffing/ pod/ sleeve/ same thing than yesterday/ money of monkey/ skin}.

‘{Delay/ Lazy mood/ Begging/ Things bad for the health/ Empty promises/ Nothing}.’

a.’’ **Les** {bouts/ foies/ nerfs}.

The-PL {ends/ livers/ nerves}.

‘{Departure/ Fear/ Annoyance}.’

b. **Mon** {neveu/ vieux}.

My {nephew/ old}.

‘{Yes indeed/ Old friend}.’

b.’ **Ton/ Son** {cinéma/ cirque/ manège}.

{Your/ {His/ Her}} {cinema/ circus/ carousel}.

‘A great act.’

b.’’ **Son** {beurre/ fade/ pied}.

His {butter/ gift/ foot}.

‘{Packet/ Pleasure/ Pleasure}.’

c. **Un** {brin/ grain/ jour/ peu/ radis/ rien/ rotin}.

A-M {blade/ grain/ day/ little/ radish/ nothing/ rattan}.

‘{Touch/ Touch/ Day/ Bit/ Red cent/ Hint/ Red cent}.’

c.’ **Une** {âme/ couille/ rame/ tune}.

A-F {soul/ ball/ row/ five-francs}.

‘{Nobody/ Error/ Stroke/ Red cent}.’

(II) FIXED PREPOSITION OR COMPLEMENTIZER:

a. **A** {la colle/ la coule/ la longue/ la manque/ la mie de pain/ l’eau}.

To {the glue/ the waves/ the length/ the lack/ the soft part of bread/ the water}.

‘{Living together/ Knowing the ropes/ In the end/ Crummy/ Crummy/ Done for}.’

b. **Comme** {dans du beurre/ une pie/ un pied/ devant/ le reste/ une savate}.

As {in of-the butter/ a magpie/ a foot/ before/ the rest/ a slipper}.

‘{Easily/ Chatterbox/ Lousy player/ Like before/ To go by/ Clumsy idiot}.’

c. **Dans** {de beaux draps/ du beurre}.

In {of-the nice sheets/ of-the butter}.

‘{In a mess/ Easily}.’

d. **Par** {acquit de conscience/ la racine/ précaution}.

By {receipt of consciousness/ the root/ precaution}.

‘{To set one’s mind at rest/ To be dead/ As a precaution}.’

e. **Pour** {approbation/ la forme/ une bille}.

For {approval/ the form/ a marble}.

‘{For approval/ As a matter of form/ For a fool}.’

f. **Que** {couic/ dalle/ diable}.

What {squeak/ paving stone/ devil}.

‘{A darn thing/ A damn thing/ Dash it}.’

g. **Sans** {ambages/ balancer/ barguigner/ broncher/ façon/ moufeter/ vergogne}.

Without {circumlocutions/ hesitate/ hesitate/ stumble/ manner/ protesting/ shame}.

‘{Without {beating around the bush/ hesitation/ shilly-shallying/ turning a hair/ fuss/ protesting}/ shamelessly}.’

h. **Sur** {ce ton/ des œufs/ facture/ les nerfs/ toute la ligne}.

On {this tone/ of-the eggs/ invoice/ the nerves/ on all the line}.

‘{Like that/ Cautiously/ For sure/ All keyed up/ From start to finish}.’

(III) FIXED VERB:

- a. **Avoir** {beau faire/ du chien/ du ressort/ eu chaud/ les foies}.
To-have {nice make/ of-the dog/ of-the spring/ had hot/ the livers}.
'{Whatever you do/ To be attractive/ To have spirit/ To have had a lucky escape/ To be scared to death}.'
- a.' (N')**Avoir pas** {baldi⁴⁸⁹/ cent balles/ inventé la poudre/ inventé le fil à couper le beurre/ un sou en poche/ un sou vaillant}.
(Ne) to-have not {francs-ten/ hundred francs/ invented the powder/ invented the wire to cut the butter/ a cent in task/ a cent which-is-worth}.
'To {not have a red cent/ not have a red cent/ be no bright spark/ be no bright spark/ not have a red cent/ not have a red cent}.'
- b. **Envoyer** {balader/ chier/ coucher/ dinguer/ paître/ promener/ valser}.
To send {walking/ shitting/ putting-to-bed/ fooling/ grazing/ walking/ waltzing}.
'To send {packing/ packing/ packing/ flying/ packing/ packing/ flying}.'
- c. **Etre** {cave/ chocolat/ confiture/ cuit/ ficelle/ fou/ lourd/ servi}.
To be {hollow/ chocolate/ jam/ cooked/ string/ mad/ heavy/ served}.
'To be {stupid/ foiled/ foiled/ done for/ wily/ mad/ boring/ satisfied}.'
- c.' C'**est** {drôle/ gai/ le bouquet/ marrant/ moins cinq}!
This is {funny/ cheerful/ the bunch/ funny/ minus five}!
'{That's strange/ That's great/ That takes the cake/ That's strange/ It was a close shave}!'
- c.'' C(e n)'**est pas** {le diable/ l'erche/ malin/ sorcier}!
This (ne) is not {the devil/ much/ smart/ sorcerer}!
'It's {not that bad/ not much/ not so difficult/ dead easy}!'
- d. **Faire** {avec/ chou blanc/ le mort/ le singe/ la sourde oreille/ ses choux gras/ son beurre/ un malheur}.
To do {with/ cabbage white/ the dead/ the monkey/ the deaf ear/ their cabbages fatty/ his butter/ a misfortune}.
'To {put up with/ draw a blank/ sham death/ monkey about/ turn a deaf ear/ capitalize/ make a packet/ make a great hit}.'
- e. **Laisser** {béton⁴⁹⁰/ en rade/ faire/ pisser (le chien)}.
To-let {concrete/ in harbor/ make/ piss (the dog)}.
'To {forget it/ leave in the lurch/ never mind/ let get on with it}.'
- f. (Ne) Pas **pouvoir** {avalier/ blairer/ boire/ digérer/ encadrer/ encaisser/ piffer/ puer/ sacquer}.
(Ne) Not can {swallow-down/ smell/ drink/ digest/ frame/ collect/ smell/ stink/ kick-out}.
'To be unable to put up with.'
- f.' Le premier venu **peut** faire ça.
The first come can make this.
'Anybody can do that.'
- g. **Prendre** {la clé des champs/ la mouche/ pour une bille/ son fade/ son pied}.
To take {the key of the fields/ the fly/ for a marble/ {his/ her} gift/ {his/ her} foot}.
'To {run off/ get huffy/ consider as a fool/ get one's kicks/ get one's kicks}.'
- (IV) FIXED CLITIC(S):
- a. **En** {avoir/ avoir après/ avoir le cœur net/ mettre un coup/ pincer pour/ vouloir}.
PART {have/ have after/ have the heart clean/ put a knock/ pinch for/ want}.
'To {have balls/ be mad at somebody/ be clear in one's own mind/ to pull out all the stops/ be mad about/ want to win}.'
- a.' (N')**En** {pas finir/ plus pouvoir/ pouvoir rien}.
(Ne) PART {not end/ no-longer can/ can nothing}.
'To {take ages/ cannot bear anymore/ cannot help}.'
- b. {L}'avoir échappée belle/ **La** boucler/ **La** trouver mauvaise}.
It-F-SG {have avoided nice/ close/ find bad}.
'To {have had a close shave/ shut one's trap/ think it's a rotten trick}.'
- b.' **Les** {casser/ mettre}.
The-M-PL {break/ put}.
'To {be a pain in the neck/ clear off}.'
- c. **Se faire** {avoir/ baiser/ enculer/ mettre/ refaire}.
Oneself make {having/ screwing/ fucking/ putting/ again-making}.
'To let oneself be taken in.'
- c.' **Se faire** {la belle/ la paire}.

⁴⁸⁹ Back slang of *dix balles* 'ten francs' with schwa-drop and written respelling:

(xcii) Dix ball's → ball's-dix → baldi.

Ten francs → francs ten → franc ten.

⁴⁹⁰ Back slang of *tomber* 'to fall', with jocular respelling motivated by a pun with an homonymous:

(xciii) Tomber → bertom → béton.

To-fall → fall-to → concrete.

- Oneself make {the beautiful/ the pair}.
 ‘To {go over the wall/ clear off}.’
 c.” **Se** prendre {un gadin/ un pied géant}.
 Oneself take {a cropper/ a foot gigantic}.
 ‘To {come a cropper/ get one’s kicks}.’
 d. {**Se l’acrocher/ Se la couler douce/ Se la jouer A/ Se les geler**}.
 Oneself {the-F-SG {hang/ run sweet/ play A}/ the-M-PL freeze}.
 ‘To {kiss it goodbye/ have an easy time of it/ play it so-and-so/ be damned freezing}.’
 d.’ **S’en** {faire/ foutre/ remettre au vent/ tenir là}.
 Oneself PART {do/ do/ commit to-the wind/ hold there}.
 ‘To {worry/ not worry/ commit one’s fate to the wind/ leave it at that}.’
 e. **Y’avoir** {anguille sous roche/ du pain sur la planche/ pas de lézard}.
 LOC to-have {eel under rock/ of-the bread on the board/ not of lizard}.
 ‘To {be something in the wind/ have a lot to do/ be no problem}.’
 e.’ (N’)Y {plus paraître/ voir que du feu/ rien faire}.
 (Ne) LOC {no-longer appear/ see only of-the fire/ nothing to-do}.
 ‘To {be no trace of it/ be in the dark about something/ be ineffective}.’
 (V) FIXED ADJECTIVE:
 a. {De **beaux** draps/ De **belle** façon/ **Belle** lurette}.
 {Of nice sheets/ Of nice way/ Nice little-our}.
 ‘{In a mess/ Sadly/ Ages}.’
 b. De {**bon** {cœur/ matin/ pied}/ **bonne** {grâce/ heure/ volonté}}.
 Of good {heart/ morning/ foot/ grace/ our/ wish}.
 ‘{Willingly/ Early in the morning/ Heartily/ With good grace/ Early/ With goodwill}.’
 c. {Au **grand** dam/ De **grand** matin/ **Grand**-besoin/ Pas **grand**-choix/ Pas **grand**-chose/ Pas **grande** envie/ Pas **grande** importance/ **Grand**-faim/ **Grand**-intérêt/ Pas **grand**-monde/ A **grand**-peine/ **Grand**-péril/ **Grand**-peur/ Pas **grand**-risque/ **Grand**-soif/ **Grand**-temps}.
 {To-the great displeasure/ Of great morning/ Great need/ Not great choice/ Not great thing/ Not great desire/ Not great importance/ Great hunger/ Great advantage/ Not great people/ To great difficulty/ Great risk/ Great fear/ Not great risk/ Great thirst/ Great time}.
 ‘{With great displeasure/ Early in the morning/ Very needing/ Not a great choice/ Not a lot of things/ Not a great desire/ Not a great importance/ Very hungry/ With great advantage/ Not a lot of people/ Difficultly/ A great risk/ Great fear/ Not a great risk/ Very thirsty/ High time}.’
 d. La **même** {chose/ chose qu’hier/ histoire}.
 The same {thing/ thing than yesterday/ story}.
 ‘{The same thing/ Things bad for the health/ The same old story}.’
 e. {Aux **petits** {oignons/ soins}/ Ces **petits** riens/ (Ne) Pas lever le **petit** doigt}.
 {To-the little {onions/ cares}/ Those little nothings/ (Ne) Not lift the little finger}.
 ‘{First-rate/ Hand and foot/ Those little things/ To not lift a finger to help somebody}.’
 (VI) FIXED ADVERB:
 a. **Pas** {bésef/ grand-choix/ grand-chose/ grande envie/ grande importance/ grand-monde/ grand-risque/ lérche/ lourd}.
 Not {much/ great choice/ great thing/ great desire/ great importance/ great people/ great risk/ much/ heavy}.
 ‘Not {much/ a great choice/ a lot of things/ a great desire/ a great importance/ a lot of people/ a great risk/ much/ much}.’
 b. {(N’)En **plus** pouvoir/ Non **plus**/ (N’)Y **plus** paraître}.
 {(Ne) PART no-longer can/ No no-longer/ (Ne) LOC no-longer appear}.
 ‘{Cannot bear anymore/ Neither/ To be no trace of it}.’
 c. {A **tout(e)** berzingue/ A **toute** vapeur/ Du **tout**/ **Tout** à fait/ **Tout** court/ **Tout-tout**/ Sur **toute** la ligne}.
 {To whole speed/ To whole steam/ To-the all/ Whole at fact/ All short/ All-all/ On whole the line}.
 ‘{At full speed/ At full speed/ At all/ Absolutely/ Nothing more and nothing less/ Not everything/ Flat-out}.’

Much of these archetypal featural providers correspond to the contexts able to combine with the various PIs reviewed by Giannakidou [1998:169(table 5)], quoted in (236) and repeated here with those correspondences (≈):

- (694) Negation ≈ {**pas** (VI.a)/ **plus** (VI.b)}, *Before*-clauses, *Without*-clauses ≈ **sans** (II.g), Polar/ constituent questions, Conditionals, Restriction of \forall ≈ **que** (II.f), *Too*-clauses, S-comparatives, Superlatives ≈ {**grand** (V.c)/ **petit** (V.e)/ **tout** (VI.c)}, Future particle/ will, Strong intensional verbs ≈ **pouvoir** (III.f), Imperatives, Exclamatives [sic] ≈ **que** (II.f), Habituals, Disjunctions, *Isos/ perhaps* ≈ {**être** (III.c)/ **pouvoir** (III.f)},

Downward entailing DPs ≈ {*que* (II.f)/ *petit* (V.e)}, Negative verbs (objects of), Generics ≈ {*avoir* (III.a)/ *être* (III.c)}, NP-comparatives ≈ {*comme* (II.b)/ *même* (V.d)}, *Monon/ only* ≈ *que* (II.f), ‘Negative’ factives.

Other ones, which don’t have immediate correspondence in the listing above, convey speaker-oriented properties close to that of the strong intentional verbs: this is the case of definite determiners (I.a), possessives (I.b), *pour* (II.e), *sans* (II.g), modals and like-modals in (III), and adjectives in (V). The case of clitics in (IV) is less evident; nevertheless, clitics occupying high functional heads, around the speaker-oriented area of the sentential architecture, they have to convey relevant features for polarity phenomena.

PIs are more or less confined within a unique collocation, depending on their number of minus-specifications. The following examples involving vegetable metaphors illustrate the arbitrariness of featural lexicalization:

(695) (I) PARTS OF BODY:

a. ✓ {Ma/ Ta/ Sa/ Notre/ Votre/ Leur/ * La} pomme.
{My/ Your/ {His/ Her}/ Our/ Your/ Their/ * The} apple.
‘The head.’

b. ✓ {Ma/ * Ta/ Sa/ Notre/ * Votre/ Leur/ La} poire.
{My/ * Your/ {His/ Her}/ Our/ * Your/ Their/ The} pear.
‘The head.’

(II) AFFECTIONATE APPELLATIVES:

✓ {Mon/ * Ton/ Son/ * Notre/ * Votre/ * Leur/ Le} chou.
{My/ * Your/ {His/ Her}/ * Our/ * Your/ * Their/ The} cabbage.
‘{My/ {His/ Her}/ The} honey.’

Anyway, the existence of archetypal polarity providers, in showing that a given featural deficiency is typically supplied by a given item, could shed new light on collocations in general. On the other hand, for the present purpose, this fact indirectly confirms the hope of reducing idiomaticity to featural deficiency: polar collocations are a salient effect of the complementarity principles at the basis of the linguistic dynamic.

III.2.2.1. Productive fonts of polarity behavior

If idiomaticity is featurally measurable, it is expected to find morphological rules more or less specialized in generating idiomatic items. In fact, some linguistic devices are productive fonts of PIs:

(696) (I) COMPOUNDING RULES:

- CR I.C.1 of Bouvier [1999]: *les petits miquets* (PPI) ‘the comics’.
- CR I.E of Bouvier [1999]: *bon chic bon genre* (PPI) ‘preppy’.
- CR I.F of Bouvier [1999]: *fou-fou* (PPI) ‘slightly mad’; *joli-joli* (NPI) ‘(not) nice’.
- CR II.A.1 of Bouvier [1999]: *un ne-m’oubliez-pas* (PPI) ‘a forget-me-not’.

(II) SUFFIXES:

- Speaker-oriented suffixes: *des racontars* (PPI) ‘fibs’.
- Diminutives: *longuet* (PPI) ‘a bit long’.
- Participles: *une beuglante* (PPI) ‘a protestation’; *ragoûtant* (NPI) ‘(not) appetizing’.

(III) ABBREVIATIONS:

- Morphemic abbreviation: *un crème* (PPI) ‘coffee with milk’.
- Non-morphemic abbreviation: *sensass* (PPI) ‘sensational’.
- Distorting abbreviation: *un mataf* (PPI) ‘a sailor’.

(IV) RHETORICAL FIGURES:

- Metathesis: *friod* (< *froid*) (PPI) ‘cold’.
- Periphrasis: *un va-t-en-guerre* (PPI) ‘a warmonger’.
- Metonymy: *un trompette* (PPI) ‘a trumpeter’.

(V) SLANGS:

- Verlan: *un keubla* (< *black*) (PPI) ‘a black man’; *baldi* (< *dix balles*) (NPI) ‘(not) a red cent’.

- b. Langue verte: *une mandale* (PPI) ‘a slap’.
- c. Jargons: *un pigiste* (PPI) ‘a freelance journalist’.
- d. Colloquialisms: *la caboche* (PPI) ‘the head’.
- (VI) FOREIGN WORDS:
 - a. Arabic: *un chouia* (PPI) ‘a smidgin’.
 - b. English: *le boss* (PPI) ‘the boss’.
 - c. German: *heimatlos* (PPI) ‘stateless’.
 - d. Italian: *un sbire* (PPI) ‘a henchman’.
 - e. Latin: *le vulgum pecus* (PPI) ‘the hoi polloi’.
 - f. Russian: *une datcha* (PPI) ‘a dacha’.

III.2.2.1.1. Compounding rules

Some CRs typically create PIs. This fact has to be related to the observation of Bouvier [1999:II.III.4] that compounds are always tropes turned into catachresis by the CR entailing lexicalization—the motivation for the CR being the lack of *verbum proprium* expressing a given concept. Rhetorical figures being one of the linguistic devices to create PIs (see III.2.2.1.4), it is expected that compounds, which are a proper subset of rhetorical figures, are also able to create PIs.

III.2.2.1.1.1. CR I.C.1

Much compounds of the attributive CR I.C.1 of Bouvier [1999] are not PIs, because at the state of catachresis since a long time, as *printemps* ‘spring’ or *grand-père* ‘grandfather’. Some of them, either recent as *petits miquets* ‘the comics’, or typically expressing a polar semantics as *faux-frère* ‘false friend’, are nonetheless PIs, either ‘positive’ in (i), or ‘negative’ in (ii):

- (697) (i) PPI:
- a. ✓ Genève fut un {lieu important/ **haut lieu**} de la linguistique.
Geneva was a {place important/ high place} of the linguistics.
 - b. ✓ Genève (ne) fut pas un {lieu important/ * **haut lieu**} de la linguistique.
Geneva (ne) was not a {place important/ * high place} of the linguistics.
‘Geneva {was/ wasn’t} a Mecca for linguistics.’
- (ii) NPI:
- a. ✓ (II) Y’avait {beaucoup de monde/ * **grand-monde**} au cours de linguistique.
(There) LOC had {much of people/ * great-people} at-the course of linguistics.
 - b. ✓ ((II) (N’))Y’avait pas {beaucoup de monde/ **grand-monde**} au cours de linguistique.
((There) (Ne)) LOC had not {much of people/ great-people} at-the course of linguistics.
‘There {was/ wasn’t} a lot of people at the linguistic course.’

III.2.2.1.1.2. CR I.E

Much compounds of the coordinating CR I.E of Bouvier [1999] are not PIs, particularly the series of compounded nationality adjectives as *franco-suisse* ‘Franco-Swiss’. This category may nevertheless be productively used to coin PPIs:

- (698) a. ✓ Prends {la chose/ le **machin-chose**} qui est sur le meuble.
Take {the thing/ the thingamajig} which is on the piece-of-furniture.
- b. ✓ (Ne) Prends pas {la chose/ * le **machin-chose**} qui est sur le meuble.
Take {the thing/ * the thingamajig} which is on the piece-of-furniture.
‘{Take/ Don’t take} the thing which is on the piece of furniture.’
- a.’ ☺ ‘Marina del Rey et son **edgarpoétique** ‘Fisherman’s village’ ...’⁴⁹¹
‘Marina del Rey and his edgarpoetic ‘Fisherman’s village’ ...’
- b.’ * Ce village de pêcheurs (n’)est pas **edgarpoétique**.
This village of fishermen (ne) is not edgarpoetic.

⁴⁹¹ Dominique David, *Hollywood!*, Dupuis, 1993, p. 87.

III.2.2.1.1.3. CR I.F

Almost all compounds of the reduplicating CR I.F.1 of Bouvier [1999] are PIs (and it's difficult to coin with this CR a word that wouldn't be a PI), either 'positive' in (i), or 'negative' in (ii):

(699) (i) PPI:

- a. ✓ Pierre et Jeanne se font continuellement la {guerre/ **guéguerre**}.
Peter and Jane to-them make constantly the {war/ wawar}.
- b. ✓ Pierre et Jeanne (ne) se font pas continuellement la {guerre/ * **guéguerre**}.
Peter and Jane (ne) to-them make not constantly the {war/ wawar}.

'Peter and Jane are(n't) constantly battling one with each other.'

(ii) NPI:

- a. ✓ L'intérieur de son âme est {joli/ * **joli-joli**}.
The inside of his soul is {pretty/ * pretty-pretty}.
- b. ✓ L'intérieur de son âme (n')est pas {joli/ **joli-joli**}.
The inside of his soul (ne) is not {pretty/ pretty-pretty}.

'His soul is(n't) nice inside.'

III.2.2.1.1.4. CR II.A.1

Almost all compounds of the complementing CR II.A.1 of Bouvier [1999] are PPIs: it's expected, since they are the lexicalization of IPs and CPs, so that they lexically contain the height where polarity acts.

(700) a. ✓ Je t'ai fait un bouquet de {myosotis/ **ne-m'oubliez-pas**}.

I to-you have made a bunch of forget-me-not.

b. ✓ Je (ne) t'ai pas fait un bouquet de {myosotis/ * **ne-m'oubliez-pas**}.

I (ne) to-you have not made a bunch of forget-me-not.

'I did(n't) make you a bunch of forget-me-not.'

a. ✓ "Non seulement je développe **je-ne-sais-quelle** allergie à **je-ne-sais-quoi**, mais en plus, il faut que je subisse les sarcasmes de tous ces trépanés à l'école."⁴⁹²

Not only I develop I-don't-know-what allergy to I-don't-know-what, but in addition, it is-necessary that I suffer the sarcasms of all those trephined-guys at the school.

'Not only do I develop I-don't-know-what allergy to I-don't-know-what, but I have to suffer the sarcasms of all those brainless at the school too.'

b. * Je (ne) développe pas **je-ne-sais-quelle** allergie à **je-ne-sais-quoi**.

I (ne) develop not I-don't-know-what allergy to I-don't-know-what.

This category is productively used for jocular expressive purpose:

(701) a. ☹ "Hélas, l'Amérique, pays de Cocagne, est aussi la terre d'élection des puritains, des alcooliques, et de l'**enfoncez-vous-bien-ça-dans-la-tête**."⁴⁹³

Unfortunately, the America, land of plenty, is also the land of choice of-the puritans, of-the alcoholics, and of-the put-you-good-this-into-the-head.

'Unfortunately, America, land of plenty, is also a country much favored by the puritans, the alcoholics, and the put-this-deep-into-your-head.'

b. ☹ "Du genre **Nous-avons-les-moyens-de-vous-faire-parler**."⁴⁹⁴

Of-the style We-have-the-means-to-you-make-talk.

'Something along those lines: we-have-the-means-of-pressure-to-make-you-talk.'

III.2.2.1.2. Suffixes

No prefix seems able to coin PIs. It's quite expected under the morphological RHR of Williams [1981:249]: in the same way "Prefixes cannot be assigned to lexical [=

⁴⁹² Philippe Dupuy & Charles Berberian, *Henriette tome 3 - Trop potes*, Humanoïdes Associés, 2001, p. 10.

⁴⁹³ Boris Vian, *J'irai cracher sur vos tombes*, Christian Bourgois (10/18), 1973, p. 11.

⁴⁹⁴ Marcel Gotlib, quoted in André Franquin, *L'intégrale de «QRN sur Bretzelburg»*, Dupuis, 1987, p. 32.

grammatical] categories because they never occupy head position, and thus the language learner will never have any grounds for assigning them to a particular category”, they cannot any longer be responsible for polarity phenomena—even if prefixed words may be PIs for independent reasons.

On the other hand, being syntactic heads, suffixes play an important role in polarity phenomena. As already observed for English by Chomsky [1970:212⁴⁹⁵], deverbal suffix {-able/ -ible}, signifying ‘which can be V’, often appears within idiomatic items. In fact, the most adjectives ending in {-able/ -ible} are PIs, and this suffix may even be used productively:

- (702) © “Ha ha ha c’est **hahactable**”.⁴⁹⁶
 Ha ha ha it is hahactable.
 ‘Ha-ha, it’s delectable.’

Various suffixes are specialized, at various degrees, in coining PIs, like speaker-oriented suffixes, diminutives, and participles.⁴⁹⁷

III.2.2.1.2.1. Speaker-oriented suffixes

There is a contrast between two suffixes creating deverbal nouns expressing the fact to do the verbal action: *-ation* is objective, and *-atif* subjective; in some cases, only the former can be freely used under ‘negative’ c-command:

- (703) a. ✓ Jeanne a déclaré une guerre avec {préparation/ **préparatifs**}.
 b. ✓ Jeanne a déclaré une guerre sans {préparation/ * préparatifs}.
 Jane has declared a war {with/ without} preparation.
 ‘Jane declared war {with/ without} preparation.’

A large panel of colloquial and slang suffixes expressing speaker-oriented properties systematically coins PPIs. Amongst them, *-os* is very productive nowadays to create nouns, adjectives, and adverbs:

- (704) (I) NOUNS:
 a. ✓ Pierre a pris le {matériel/ **matos**}.
 b. ✓ Pierre (n’)a pas pris le {matériel/ * matos}.
 Peter {has/ (ne) has not} taken the equipment.
 ‘Peter {took/ didn’t took} the equipment.’
 a.’ ✓ Pierre aime le {camembert/ **calendos**}.
 b.’ ✓ Pierre (n’)aime pas le {camembert/ * calendos}.
 Peter {likes/ (ne) likes not} the Camembert.
 ‘Peter {likes/ doesn’t like} Camembert.’
 (II) ADJECTIVES:
 a. ✓ C’est {chouette/ **chouettos**} d’être venu!
 This is nice to be come.
 ‘This was nice to you to come.’
 b. ✓ C(e n)’est pas {chouette/ * **chouettos**} d’être parti sans rien dire!
 This (ne) is not nice to be left without nothing say!
 ‘This wasn’t nice to left without saying anything.’
 (III) ADVERBS:
 a. ✓ Pierre est passé {rapidement/ **rapidos**} à la bibliothèque.
 b. ✓ Pierre (n’)est pas passé {rapidement/ * rapidos} à la bibliothèque.
 Peter {is/ (ne) is not} passed quickly at the library.

⁴⁹⁵ “Thus, *readable* is much more sharply restricted in meaning than *able to be read*. In a wide range of other cases the meaning is restricted or based on a very different sub-regularity”.

⁴⁹⁶ Nikita Mandryka, *Le type au reuri*, Albin Michel, 1987, plate 1.

⁴⁹⁷ See Morvan [1993] for a review of the main suffixes of French.

'Peter {call in/ didn't call in} quickly at the library.'

Other ones have stopped producing new words, but have left a still alive inheritance:

(705) (i) *-ASSE*:

- a. ✓ (II) Y'a {des cailloux/ de la **caillasse**} sur cette route.
 b. ✓ ((II) (N'))Y'a pas de {cailloux/ * caillasse} sur cette route.
 {(There) LOC has of the/ ((There) (Ne)) LOC has not of} the stones on this road.
 'There {are/ aren't} stones on this road.'
 a.' ✓ (II) Y'a {des papiers/ de la **paperasse**} sur ce bureau.
 b.' ✓ ((II) (N'))Y'a pas de {papiers/ * paperasse} sur ce bureau.
 {(There) LOC has of the/ ((There) (Ne)) LOC has not of} papers on this desk.
 'There {are/ aren't} papers on this desk.'

(ii) *-AR(D)*:

- a. ✓ Ce professeur est {cool/ **bonnard**}.
 b. ✓ Ce professeur (n')est pas {cool/ * bonnard}.
 This professor {is/ (ne) is not} cool.
 'This professor {is/ isn't} cool.'
 a.' ✓ Ce sont des {histoires/ **racontars**}.
 b.' ✓ Ce (ne) sont pas des {histoires/ * racontars}.
 These {are/ (ne) are not} of-the fibs.
 'These {are/ are not} fibs.'

(iii) *-ICHE*:

- a. ✓ Pierre a une {barbe/ **barbiche**}.
 b. ✓ Pierre (n')a pas de {barbe/ * barbiche}.
 Peter {has a/ (ne) has not of} beard.
 'Peter {has a/ has no} beard.'
 a.' ✓ T'es {fort/ **fortiche**}.
 b.' ✓ T(u n)'es pas {fort/ * fortiche}.
 You {are/ (ne) are not} gifted.
 'You {are/ are not} gifted.'

(iv) *-(l)OT*:

- a. ✓ (II) Y'a du {rab/ **rabiot**} de dessert.
 b. ✓ ((II) (N'))Y'a pas de {rab/ * rabiot} de dessert.
 {(There) LOC has of-the/ ((There) (Ne)) LOC has not of} extra of dessert.
 'There {is/ isn't} some dessert left over.'
 a.' ✓ T'es tout {pâle/ **pâlot**}.
 b.' ✓ T(u n)'es plus {pâle/ * pâlot}.
 You {are all/ (ne) are no-longer} pale.
 'You are {very/ no more} pale.'

Expressive suffixes seem always polarized; sometimes they become productive, like *-o* in (i), issued from the abbreviated form of words like *aristo(crate)* 'aristocrat'.

(706) (i) *-O*:

- a. ✓ Jeanne est {dingue/ **dingo**}.
 b. ✓ Jeanne (n')est pas {dingue/ * dingo}.
 Jane {is/ (ne) is not} nuts.
 'Jane {is/ isn't} nuts.'
 a.' ✓ Pierre adore les {nègres/ **négrs**}.⁴⁹⁸
 b.' ✓ Pierre (n')adore pas les {nègres/ * négros}.
 Peter {adores/ (ne) adores not} the black-men.
 'Peter {adores/ doesn't adore} the black men.'

⁴⁹⁸ The base-word *nègre* has become pejorative, but the suffixed form *négro* is a PPI typically used in an affectionate way, as does (the black man) Marco Prince in the spoken introduction to the song *Niggalize it*, recorded live at the "Eurockéennes de Belfort 1997" (album *Vivants*, Sony, 1997):

(xciv) ✓ "Est-ce qu'y'a des **négrs** dans la place, ce soir?... Ah le message est pas encore passé, attends!
 On a tous en nous, enfoui quelque part, un **négro** qui sommeille, okay?"
 'Are they black men in the audience, tonight?... You not yet got the message, hear it again! We all have in us, buried somewhere, a dozing black man, okay?'

(II) -A:

a. ✓ Pierre fait toujours une {réservation/ **ré**sa} pour ses vacances.

b. ✓ Pierre (ne) fait jamais de {réservation/ * résa} pour ses vacances.

Peter {makes always a/ (ne) makes never of} booking for his vacation.

‘Peter {always/ never} makes a booking for his vacation.’

a.’ ✓ Pierre met toujours un {préservatif/ **pr**ésa}.

b.’ ✓ Pierre (ne) met jamais de {préservatif/ * présa}.

Peter {wears always a/ (ne) wears never of} condom.

‘Peter {always/ never} use a condom.’

(III) -DU:

a. ✓ Jeanne a été au {chômage/ **ch**ômedu}.

b. ✓ Jeanne (n’)a pas été au {chômage/ * chômedu}.

Jane {has been/ (ne) has not been} at-the unemployment.

‘Jane was on unemployment.’

(IV) -DE:

a. ✓ Pierre lui a donné un coup de pied dans le {figne/ **fig**nedé}.⁴⁹⁹

b. * Pierre ne lui a pas donné de coup de pied dans le {figne/ fignedé}.

Peter {to-him has/ (ne) to-him has not} given {a/ of} kick in the asshole.

‘Peter gave him a kick in the ass.’

III.2.2.1.2.2. Diminutives

Diminutives are a highly productive subcase of speaker-oriented suffixes: they makes a paradoxical use of Decreasing feature to lay ‘affective’ emphasis on existence, consistent with the ‘positive’ use of Decreasing adjectives as *little* in “You’ll have a little drink, won’t you?”. Their incompatibility with negation, which may appear surprising since both are -Decreasing, follows from opposite specification of {Existence/ Absence}, so that the projection of Bottom-QP, satisfying one of the two features, would let the other one dissatisfied.

(707)		EXISTENT	ABSENT	INCREASING	DECREASING
	a. Diminutives:	-	=	=	-
	b. Negation:	=	-	=	-

In fact, the most nouns and adjectives suffixed with a diminutive cannot generally appear under ‘negative’ c-command:

(708) (I) NOUNS:

a. ✓ Pierre a besoin d’une {calculatrice/ **calcul**ette} pour faire six fois sept.

b. ✓ Pierre (n’)a pas besoin d’une {calculatrice/ * calculette} pour faire six fois sept.

Peter {has/ (ne) has no} need of a calculator to make six times seven.

‘Peter {needs/ doesn’t need} a calculator to do six times seven.’

a.’ ✓ Jeanne a eu de nombreuses {amours/ **amou**rettes}.

b.’ ✓ Jeanne (n’)a jamais eu d’ {amours/ * amourettes}.

Jane {has had of numerous/ (ne) has never had of} loves.

‘Jane {has had numerous/ has never had} love stories.’

a.’’ ✓ Pierre aime bien ses {frères et sœurs/ **fr**érots et **sœu**rettes}.

b.’’ ✓ Pierre (n’)aime pas ses {frères et sœurs/ * frérots et sœurettes}.

Peter {likes good/ (ne) likes not} his brothers and sisters.

‘Peter {really likes/ doesn’t like} his brothers and sisters.’

(II) ADJECTIVES:

a. ✓ Ce cours est bien {long/ **long**uet}.

b. ✓ Ce cours (n’)est pas {long/ * longuet}.

This course {is good/ (ne) is not} long.

‘This course {is really/ isn’t} lengthy.’

a.’ ✓ Cette salle de classe est {propre/ **prop**rette}.

⁴⁹⁹ The complete derivation, through successive suffixations and abbreviations, is presumably the following:

(xcv) Troufignon → troufignard → fignard → figne → fignedé.

Hole-fine → hole-fine-ard → fine-ard → fine → fine-dé.

‘Asshole.’

- b. ✓ Cette salle de classe (n')est pas {propre/ * proprette}.
This room of class {is/ (ne) is not} clean.
'This classroom {is/ isn't} clean.'
- a. ✓ Pierre est {jeune/ **jeunet**}!
b. ✓ Pierre (n')est pas {jeune/ * jaunet}!
Peter {is/ (ne) is not} young!
'Peter {is/ isn't} too young.'

III.2.2.1.2.3. Participles

The suffix of present participle, {-ant/ -ante/ -ants/ -antes} '-ing', creates deverbal adjectives and nouns that are often PIs, 'positive' in (i) or 'negative' in (ii):

- (709) (i) PPIs:
- a. ✓ Pierre a poussé une **beuglante**.
Peter has yelled a protestation.
'Peter kicked up a stink.'
- b. ✓ "Paraît qu'il a eu une **illuminante**".⁵⁰⁰
Seems that he has had an illumination.
'It seems that he had a flash of inspiration.'
- c. ☺ "Il fait tourner l'lait à nos **meuglantes**!"⁵⁰¹
It makes turn the milk to our mooings.
'The milk of our cows is gone sour because of him.'
- (i) NPIS:
- a. ✓ Ce guichetier (n')est pas **baisant**.
This counter-clerk (ne) is not amiable.
'This counter clerk isn't kind at all.'
- b. ✓ C(e n')est pas **ragoûtant**.
It (ne) is not appetizing.
'It's not appetizing.'
- c. ✓ Jeanne (n')a plus un **sou vaillant**.
Jane (ne) has no-longer a cent being-worth.
'Jane hasn't a red cent anymore.'

The various suffixes of past participle are sometimes at the source of a 'positive' polarized use of the adjectival (or nominal) lexicalized form: the achievement semantics conveyed by past participle suffixes is just a 'positive' aspect — NPI participles are quite rare.

- (710) (i) FIRST CONJUGATION (VERBS ENDING IN -ER):
- a. ✓ Jeanne est **timbrée**.
Jane is stamped.
'Jane is cracked.'
- b. ✓ "il faut que je subisse les sarcasmes de tous ces **trépanés** à l'école."⁵⁰²
It is-necessary that I suffer the sarcasms of all those trephined-guys at the school.
'I have to suffer the sarcasms of all those brainless at the school.'
- (ii) SECOND CONJUGATION (VERBS ENDING IN -IR):
- a. ✓ {Monsieur est **servi**/ Madame est **servie**}!
{Mister/ Madam} is served!
'You have got what you wanted.'
- b. ✓ C'est **garanti** sur facture.
It's guaranteed on invoice.
'It's for sure.'
- (iii) THIRD CONJUGATION (IRREGULAR VERBS):
- a. ✓ Nous sommes **perdus**.
We are lost.
'We're done for.'
- b. ✓ Nous sommes **cuits**.

⁵⁰⁰ Nikita Mandryka, *Le type au reuri*, Albin Michel, 1987, plate 21.

⁵⁰¹ Nikita Mandryka, *Le type au reuri*, Albin Michel, 1987, plate 19.

⁵⁰² Philippe Dupuy & Charles Berberian, *Henriette tome 3 - Trop potes*, Humanoïdes Associés, 2001, p. 10.

We are cooked.
‘We’re done for.’

III.2.2.1.3. Abbreviations

At the beginning, every abbreviated word behaves as a PI: one abridges a word to express ‘affectively’ either its existence, or its absence. That abbreviation is motivated on ‘affective’ and expressive grounds, not for economical purpose, is shown by various subcases where the abbreviation has the same number of syllables as the non-abbreviated form (after deletion of unpronounced schwas):

- (711) (I) ABBREVIATION COMBINED WITH REDUPLICATION:
 a. ✓ Une deux-chevaux → une deuche → une **deudeuche**.
 A two horsepower → a two-horse → a two-two-horse.
 ‘A 2 horsepower Citroen.’
 b. ✓ Grand-père → **pépé**.
 Grandfather → fafa.
 ‘Grandfather.’
 (II) DISTORTING ABBREVIATION:
 a. ✓ Un matelot → un **mataf**.
 ‘A sailor.’
 b. ✓ Le chômage → le **chômeu**.
 ‘The unemployment.’

In other cases, there is a real ‘gain’ of syllables, but the abridged form explicitly substitutes a part of the base-form with an ‘affective’ word through (inorganic) paronomasia:

- (712) † Une surprise-partie → une **surpatte**.
 A surprise party → a surpaw.
 ‘A party.’

Sometimes, the abbreviation ends up replacing the entire word: in this case, it loses its ‘affective’ content, and the consequent polarity. If the base-word is lengthy, its replacing abridged form may be abridged again:

- (713) a. †† Jeanne {va/ (ne) va pas} au **cinématographe** le samedi.
 b. ✓ Jeanne {va/ (ne) va pas} au **cinéma** le samedi.
 c. ✓ Jeanne (* ne) va * pas au **ciné** le samedi.
 Jane {goes/ (ne) goes not} to-the {††cinématograph/ cinema/ cine} the Saturday.
 ‘Jane {uses to go/ doesn’t use to go} to the movies on Saturday.’

Excepted cases where an abbreviation has replaced the base-word, an abridged form behaves as a PI. Being motivated on expressive grounds and essentially for emphatic purpose, the most abbreviations behave like PPIs, even the abbreviated verbal forms:

- (714) a. ✓ “‘Tendez-moi!’”⁵⁰³
 ‘Wait me!
 ‘Await me!’
 b. * ‘Tendez-moi pas!
 ‘Wait me not!
 a. ✓ “‘{’Scusez-moi⁵⁰⁴/ ‘Xcusez ma curiosité⁵⁰⁵}”!
 {‘Scuse me/ ‘Xcuse my curiosity}!
 ‘Excuse {me/ my inquisitiveness}!’
 b. * {‘Scusez-moi pas/ ‘Xcusez pas ma curiosité}!

⁵⁰³ Pierre Séron, *Tchakakahn*, Dupuis, 1995, plate 36.

⁵⁰⁴ Pierre Séron, *Melting-pot*, Dupuis, 1996, plate 77.

⁵⁰⁵ André Benniest (Benn), *Elmer et moi, T.2 Les règles du jeu*, Glénat, 1990, plate 13.

{'Scuse me not/ 'Xcuse not my curiosity}!

There exist nevertheless some NPIs:

- (715) a. ✓ Sans déconner → ✓ sans **déc**.
 'Without joking.'
 b. ✓ En déconnant → * en **déc**.
 In joking.

This holds for all types of abbreviation, morphemic, non-morphemic, or distorting.

III.2.2.1.3.1. Morphemic abbreviation

Many compounds have a lexicalized abbreviation taking out an entire word: common words as *les frites* 'fries', *le hard* 'the hard rock', *un composé* 'a compound', are actually abbreviated compounds having replaced the base-form. Abbreviated forms not having replaced the base-form behave like PPIs:

- (716) a. ✓ Pierre boit un {café crème/ **crème**}.
 b. ✓ Pierre (ne) boit pas de {café crème/ * crème}.
 Peter {drinks a/ (ne) drinks not of} {coffee milk/ milk}.
 'Peter {drinks/ doesn't drink} a coffee with milk.'
 a.' ✓ "Devant un grand **queue**, on l'installe".⁵⁰⁶
 In-front-of a great tail, on him puts-in.
 'One puts him in in front of a grand piano.'
 b.' ✓ On (ne) l'installe pas devant un grand {piano à queue/ * queue}.
 One (ne) him puts-in not in-front-of a great {piano with tail/ * tail}.
 'One doesn't put him in in front of a grand piano.'

III.2.2.1.3.2. Non-morphemic abbreviation

Abbreviation being motivated on 'affective' and expressive grounds, it often applies regardless of the morpheme boundaries, within a simple word as good as across the internal word boundaries of a compound:

- (717) (I) SIMPLE WORDS:
 a. Sensationnel → sensass.
 'Sensational.'
 b. Examen → exam.
 'Examination.'
 c. Faculté → Fac.
 'University.'
 d. Appartement → apparte.
 'Apartment.'
 e. (A *n* heures du) matin → (à *n* heures du) mat.
 '(At *n* o'clock in the) morning.'
 f. Capitaine → pitaine.
 'Captain.'
 (II) COMPOUNDS:
 a. ✓ Après-midi → aprème.
 'Afternoon.'
 b. ✓ Petit-déjeuner → p'tit dèj'.
 'Breakfast.'
 c. ✓ Deux-chevaux → deuche.
 'Two horsepower Citroen.'
 d. ✓ Beau-frère → beauf.

⁵⁰⁶ Claude Nougaro, *L'aspirateur*, Barclay, 1978.

- ‘Brother-in-law → Narrow-minded Frenchman.’
 e. ✓ Trou du cul → trouduc.
 ‘Asshole.’
 f. ✓ Prisunic → Prisu.
 ‘French general store.’

The most non-morphemic abbreviations behave like PPIs:

- (718) a. * Ce cours (n’)est pas **sensass**.
 This course (*ne*) is not sensational.
 b. * Jeanne (n’)aime pas l’**aprême**.
 Jane (*ne*) likes not the afternoon.
 c. * Pierre (n’)est pas un **beauf**.
 Peter (*ne*) is not a narrow-minded-Frenchman.
 d. * Pierre (n’)a pas de **deuche**.
 Peter (*ne*) has not of two-horsepower-Citroen.
 e. * ((Il) (N’))Y’a pas de **Fac** à Annecy.
 ((There) (*Ne*)) LOC has not of University at Annecy.

Again, the polarized behavior of (non-morphemic) abbreviations emphasizes the ‘affective’ and expressive motivation for abbreviating words.

III.2.2.1.3.3. Distorting abbreviation

Some distorting abbreviations are lexicalized: most of them behave as PPIs.

- (719) a. ✓ C’est {madame/ **mâme**} Untel qui arrive.
 b. ✓ C(e n)’est pas {madame/ * mâme} Untel qui arrive.
 This {is/ (*ne*) is not} madam So-and-so which comes.
 ‘This {is/ isn’t} madam so-and-so that is coming.’
 a.’ ✓ Pierre s’est embarqué comme {matelot/ **mataf**}.
 b.’ ✓ Pierre (*ne*) s’est pas embarqué comme {matelot/ * mataf}.
 Peter {himself is/ (*ne*) himself is not} sailed as sailor.
 ‘Peter {sailed/ didn’t sail} as a sailor.’
 a.’’ ✓ Jeanne organise souvent des {surprises-parties/ **surpattes**}.
 b.’’ ✓ Jeanne (n’)organise jamais de {surprises-parties/ * surpattes}.
 Jane {organizes often of-the/ (*ne*) organizes never of} surprise parties.
 ‘Jane {often/ never} organizes parties.’

The expressiveness leading to the phono-morphological alteration lays in fact emphasis on the existence, so that a ‘positive’ context is required by those distorted abbreviations.

III.2.2.1.4. Rhetorical figures

It’s a strong inherent property of rhetorical figures to express ‘positive’ speaker-oriented properties, and thus to create PPIs. Even technical figures as the metathesis do so:

- (720) a. ✓ Il fait {froid/ **friod**}.
 It makes cold.
 ‘It’s cold.’
 b. ✓ Il (*ne*) fait pas {froid/ * friod}.
 It (*ne*) makes not cold.
 ‘It’s not cold.’

As in the case of foreign words fully assimilated, tropes having achieved to replace a *verbum proprium*, namely catachresis, lose their fixed polarity:

- (721) a. ✓ Cette table a des **pieds**.

This table has of-the legs.
 ‘This table has legs.’
 b. ✓ Cette table (n’)a pas de **pieds**.
 This table (*ne*) has not of legs.
 ‘This table has no legs.’

At the beginning, every trope of the ten types reviewed by Lausberg [1949:§§168-236] is a PPI:

(722) (I) METALEPSIS:

a. ✓ Pierre est un garçon {étrange/ **space**}.
 b. ✓ Pierre (n’)est pas un garçon {étrange/ * space}.
 Peter {is/ (*ne*) is not} a boy {strange/ space⁵⁰⁷}.
 ‘Peter {is/ isn’t} a strange boy.’

(II) PERIPHRAISIS:

a. ✓ Jeanne est une {provocatrice/ **va-t-en-guerre**}.
 b. ✓ Jeanne (n’)est pas une {provocatrice/ * va-t-en-guerre}.
 Jane {is/ (*ne*) is not} a fighting-woman.
 ‘Jane {is/ isn’t} a fighting woman.’

(III) SYNECDOQUE:

(III’) SYNECDOQUE A MAIORE AD MINUS:

a. ✓ Pierre a {un chat/ une **bête**} sympathique.
 b. ✓ Pierre (n’)a pas {un chat/ * une bête} sympathique.
 Peter {has/ (*ne*) has not} {a cat/ an animal} agreeable.
 ‘Peter {has/ hasn’t} an agreeable cat.’

(III’’) SYNECDOQUE A MINORE AD MAIUS:

a. ✓ Pierre est {joueur de tambour/ **tambour**} dans une fanfare.
 b. ✓ Pierre (n’)est pas {joueur de tambour/ * tambour} dans une fanfare.
 Peter {is/ (*ne*) is not} (player of) drum in a brass band.
 ‘Peter {plays/ doesn’t play} drum in a brass band.’

(IV) ANTONOMASIA:

(IV’) BASIC ANTONOMASIA:

a. ✓ Pierre aime {Johnny/ l’**idole des jeunes**}.
 b. ✓ Pierre (n’)aime pas {Johnny/ * l’idole des jeunes}.
 Peter {likes/ (*ne*) likes not} {Johnny/ the idol of the teenagers}.
 ‘Peter {likes/ doesn’t like} Johnny Hallyday.’

(IV’’) VOSSIANIC ANTONOMASIA:

a. ✓ Pierre a un {appareil photo/ **kodak**}.
 b. ✓ Pierre (n’)a pas {d’appareil photo/ * de kodak}.
 Peter {has a/ (*ne*) has not of} camera.
 ‘Peter {has/ hasn’t} a camera.’

a.’ ✓ “Elles rigolaient bien les quatre visiteuses de Lola à m’entendre ainsi me confesser à grands éclats et faire mon petit **Jean-Jacques** devant elles”.⁵⁰⁸

They laughed good the four visitors-F of Lola to me hear so me confess with great commotion and to-make my little guilty in front of them.

‘The for visitors of Lola had a good laugh about myself confessing with great commotion and beating my breast in front of them.’

b.’ ✓ Je (ne) faisais pas mon petit {coupable/ * jean-jacques}.

I (*ne*) did not my little guilty.

‘I wasn’t beating my breast.’

a.’’ ✓ Jeanne est {l’amante/ la **dulcinée**} de Pierre.

b.’’ ✓ Jeanne (n’)est pas {l’amante/ * la dulcinée} de Pierre.

Jane {is/ (*ne*) is not} the {mistress/ ladylove} of Peter.

‘Jane {is/ isn’t} the mistress of Peter.’

(V) EMPHASIS:

a. ✓ Pierre est un {homme courageux/ **homme**}.

b. ✓ Pierre (n’)est pas un {homme courageux/ * homme}.

⁵⁰⁷ This is the English word improperly used as a synonymous of ‘strange’ in French: it’s just a type of metalepsis.

⁵⁰⁸ Louis-Ferdinand Céline, *Voyage au bout de la nuit*, illustrated by Jacques Tardi, Futuropolis-Gallimard, 1988, p. 168.

Peter {is/ (ne) is not a (courageous) man.

‘Peter {is/ isn’t} a true man.’

(VI) LITOTES:

a. ✓ Ce livre est {très bien/ **pas mal du tout**}.

b. ✓ Ce livre (n’)est pas {très bien/ * pas mal du tout}.

This book {is/ (ne) is not} very interesting.

‘This book {is/ isn’t} very interesting.’

(VII) HYPERBOLE:

a. ✓ Jeanne a un {cœur inaccessible/ **cœur de pierre**}.

b. ✓ Jeanne (n’)a pas un {cœur inaccessible/ * cœur de pierre}.

Jane {has/ (ne) has not} a {heart impervious/ heart of stone}.

‘Jane {has/ hasn’t} an impervious heart.’

(VIII) METONYMY:

a. ✓ Pierre a un {pistolet/ **feu**}.

b. ✓ Pierre (n’)a pas de {pistolet/ * feu}.

Peter {has a/ (ne) has not of} gun.

‘Peter {have/ didn’t have} a gun.’

(IX) METAPHOR:

a. ✓ Pierre est {un gros musclé/ une **armoire à glace**}.

b. ✓ Pierre (n’)est pas {un gros musclé/ * une armoire à glace}.

Peter {is/ (ne) is not} a {well built/ wardrobe with mirror}.

‘Peter {is/ isn’t} a great hulking brute.’

(X) IRONY:

a. ✓ On est {foutus/ **beaux**}.

b. ✓ On (n’)est pas {foutus/ * beaux}.

We {are/ (ne) are not} {over/ nice}.

‘We’ve had it.’

III.2.2.1.5. Slangs

Words of slangs of all kind are generally unable to appear under the scope of negation: they are typically coined to express in a ‘positive’ manner the existence of some concepts neutrally expressed by standard words—they are generally -Existent items calling for an Existent context.

III.2.2.1.5.1. Verlan & Javanese

French Verlan is a popular backslang inverting either the syllables of a disyllabic word (and marginally the phonological constituents of a monosyllabic word), or the order of two adjacent monosyllabic words: it just takes its name from *l’envers* ‘the reverse’, whose inversion gives *vers-l’en*, and then *verlan* with graphic respelling. Ending-schwas (written or not) are realized as [œ], written *eu*; often the result is abbreviated by the use, making the new word quite unrecognizable for uninitiated. In the following examples, boldface denotes the attested forms—several forms of a single word may be simultaneously in use:

(723) (I) WORD-INTERNAL VERLAN:

a. ✓ Femme → **meufa** → **meuf**.

‘Woman.’

b. ✓ Mec → **keumé** → **keum**.

‘Guy.’

c. ✓ Moi → **oim**.

‘Me.’

d. ✓ Chier → **yéche**.

‘To bore.’

e. ✓ Enervé → vé-éner → **vénère**.

‘Annoyed.’

f. ✓ Frère → **reuféré** → **reuf**.

‘Brother.’

g. ✓ Shit → teushi → **teush**.

- ‘Hashish.’
 h. ✓ Métro → **tromé** → **trôm**.
 ‘Subway.’
 (II) CROSSING-WORDS VERLAN:
 a. ✓ Ce soir → **soirceu**.
 ‘Tonight.’
 b. ✓ Vas-y → **zyva**.
 ‘Let’s go.’
 c. ✓ Dix balles → **baldi**.
 ‘(Not) a red cent.’
 d. ✓ Que dalle → **dalqueu**.
 ‘Nothing at all.’

The inversion rule is made potentially recursive by phonological alterations (boldface denotes the attested forms):

- (724) (i) WITH THE SAME MEANING:
 a. ✓ Arabe → beuara → **beur** → **rebeu**.
 ‘Arabic.’
 b. ✓ Comme ça → **commac** → mmac-co → **smaco**.
 ‘This way.’
 (ii) WITH A NEW MEANING:
 b. ✓ Vas-y → **zyva** → **zyav**.
 ‘Let’s go → let’s go → guy.’

Crucially, Verlan speakers don’t invert every word or phrase: they choose in the sentence the words on which they want to lead ‘positive’ or ‘negative’ emphasis, and invert only those ones. Consequently, Verlan words either are PPIs as in (i), or NPIs as in (ii):

- (725) (i) PPIs:
 a. ✓ Laisse-la {tomber/ **béton**}!
 b. ✓ (Ne) La laisse pas {tomber/ * béton} (elle est si fragile)!
 {Let him/ (Ne) Her let not} drop.
 ‘{Drop/ Don’t drop} her.’
 a.’ ✓ Pierre est {jobard/ **barjo**}.
 b.’ ✓ Pierre (n’)est pas {jobard/ * barjo}.
 Peter {is/ (ne) is not} nuts.
 ‘Peter {is/ isn’t} nuts.’
 (ii) NPIs:
 a. ✓ J’ai {dix balles/ * baldi} sur moi.
 b. ✓ J(e n’)ai pas {dix balles/ **baldi**} sur moi.
 I {have/ (ne) have not} ten francs on me.
 ‘I {have/ haven’t} {ten francs/ a red cent} on me.’

Some Verlan words have been assimilated by spoken Standard French: in this case, when the assimilation process is completed, they lose their polarity to acquire regular specifications:

- (726) a. ✓ Jeanne a une **meuf**.
 b. ✓ Jeanne (n’)a **pas de meuf**.
 Jane {has a/ (ne) has not of} woman.
 ‘Jane {has/ hasn’t} a girlfriend.’

So-called *Javanais* ‘Javanese’ was a popular backslang inserting the epenthetic syllable *-av-* between all tonic syllables of some chosen words of the sentence. Definitively Replaced by the Verlan during the early eighties, it has left in inheritance some words having become part of common spoken French; such words are not used in ‘negative’ contexts:

- (727) (I) GROS → GRAVOS⁵⁰⁹ ‘FAT’:
 a. ✓ Il est {gros/ **gravos**}.
 b. ✓ Il (n’)est pas {gros/ * gravos}.
 He {is/ (ne) is not} fat.
 ‘He {is/ isn’t} fat.’
 (II) PUTE → PAVUTE ‘WHORE’:
 a. ✓ C’est une {pute/ **pavute**}.
 b. ✓ C(e n’)est pas une {pute/ * pavute}.
 She {is/ (ne) is not} a whore.
 ‘She {is/ isn’t} a whore.’

III.2.2.1.5.2. Langue verte

As Verlan does, the Langue Verte replaces some words of the sentence by slang words: just the words on which the speakers want to lay ‘affective’ or expressive emphasis. The most slang words are thus PPIs:

- (728) a. ✓ “Y m’a filé une beigne, j’y ai filé une **mandale**”.⁵¹⁰
 He to-me has given a biff, I to-him have given a slap.
 ‘He gave me a biff, I gave him a slap.’
 b. ✓ Je (ne) lui ai pas donné de {gifle/ * mandale}.
 I (ne) to-him have not given of slap.
 ‘I give him no slap.’
 a.’ ✓ “Et puis j’y balancerai ma godasse dans le **figné**”.⁵¹¹
 And then I to-him would-put my shoe in the asshole.
 ‘Then I will give him a kick in the ass with my shoe.’
 b.’ ✓ Je (ne) lui donnerai pas de coup de pied {au cul/ * dans le figné}.
 I (ne) to-him will-give not of kick of foot in-the ass.
 ‘I won’t give him a kick in the ass.’

NPIs are rare in the Langue Verte:

- (729) a. ✓ (Il) Y’en a {beaucoup/ * l’erche}.
 b. ✓ ((Il) (N’))Y’en a pas {beaucoup/ **l’erche**}.
 {(There) LOC PART has/ ((There) (Ne)) LOC PART has not} much.
 ‘This {is/ isn’t} much.’

At the beginning, *que dalle* ‘nothing’ was an NPI; nowadays, it has become an ironical PPI, and don’t tolerate anymore the ‘negative’ SM:

- (730) a. †† J(e n)’ai que dalle.
 b. ✓ J’(* n’)ai que dalle.
 I (* ne) have only paving-stone.
 ‘I’ve nothing at all.’

III.2.2.1.5.3. Jargons

Technical terms of various jargons (political, professional, and so on) are often intended to express the existence, in a particular context, of a given concept, so that many of them are difficultly compatible with the Absence feature conveyed by negation.

- (731) a. ✓ “Washington ordonne le ‘**black-out**’ total, par crainte de complications politiques!...”⁵¹²

⁵⁰⁹ The same graphic form may represent the base-word *grave* ‘which has the pits’ plus the colloquial suffix *-os* (see (704)(ii)), but the pronunciation makes the difference: *gravos* without pronounced *-s* means ‘fat’; *gravos* with a pronounced *-s* means ‘which has the pits’.

⁵¹⁰ Renaud Séchan, *Laisse béton*, Polydor, 1977.

⁵¹¹ Edith Piaf, *Il n’est pas distingué* (P. Maye & M. Hély), Phonogram, 1936.

⁵¹² Victor Hubinon, *Le mystère des avions fantômes*, Dupuis, 1966, plate 20 B.

- Washington orders the black-out total, by fear of-the complications political!...
- ‘Washington orders a total black-out, for fear of political complications!’
- b. ✓ Washington (n’)ordonne pas le {silence/ * black-out} total, sans crainte de complications politiques.
Washington (*ne*) orders not the {silence/ * black-out} total, without fear of-the complications political.
‘Washington doesn’t order a total black-out, fearless of political complications.’
- a.’ ✓ (II) Y’a un {cargo à trois cylindres/ **neuf nœuds à trois pattes**} en rade.
b.’ ✓ (II) (N’))Y’a pas de {cargo à trois cylindres/ * neuf nœuds à trois pattes} en rade.
{(There) LOC has a/ ((There) (*Ne*)) LOC has no} three-cylinder cargo boat in harbor.
‘There is {a/ no} three-cylinder cargo boat in harbor.’
- a.’ ✓ Pierre est {journaliste/ **pigiste**} au Monde.
b.’ ✓ Pierre (n’)est pas {journaliste/ * pigiste} au Monde.
Peter {is/ (*ne*) is not} {journalist/ freelance journalist} at-the Monde.
‘Peter {is/ isn’t} (freelance) journalist at Le Monde.’

III.2.2.1.5.4. Colloquialisms

Colloquialisms function like Verlan words; they are either PPIs as in (i), or NPIs as in (ii):

- (732) (i) PPIs:
- a. ✓ Jeanne est {fatiguée/ **naze**}.
b. ✓ Jeanne (n’)est pas {fatiguée/ * naze}.
Jane {is/ (*ne*) is not} tired.
‘Jane {is/ isn’t} tired.’
- a.’ ✓ Jeanne est {têtue/ **cabocharde**}.
b.’ ✓ Jeanne (n’)est pas {têtue/ * cabocharde}.
Jane {is/ (*ne*) is not} stubborn.
‘Jane {is/ isn’t} stubborn.’
- (ii) NPIs:
- a. ✓ Jeanne est {contente/ * jouasse}.
b. ✓ Jeanne (n’)est pas {contente/ **jouasse**}.
Jane {is/ (*ne*) is not} happy.
‘Jane {is/ isn’t} happy.’
- a.’ ✓ (II) Y’en a {beaucoup/ * bésef}.
b.’ ✓ ((II) (N’))Y’en a pas {beaucoup/ **bésef**}.
{(There) LOC PART has/ ((There) (*Ne*)) LOC PART has not} much.
‘This {is/ isn’t} much.’

III.2.2.1.6. Foreign words

Foreign words of all kinds are generally unable to appear under the scope of negation, being borrowed either to express a concept not yet included within the usual universe of discourse of a given culture as in (i), or to express with more ‘affectivity’ a concept already grammaticalized with an hackneyed word as in (ii):

- (733) (i) SUPPLYING THE LACK OF *VERBUM PROPRIUM*:
- a. ✓ Pierre est un **has been** du cinéma.
b. * Pierre (n’)est pas un has been du cinéma.
Peter {is/ (*ne*) is not} a has-been of-the cinema.
‘Peter {is/ isn’t} a has-been in the cinema.’
- a.’ ✓ Jeanne a le **spleen**.
b.’ * Jeanne (n’)a pas le **spleen**.
Jane {has/ (*ne*) has not} the spleen.
‘Jane {has/ hasn’t} the spleen.’
- (ii) SUPPLYING AN HACKNEYED WORD:
- a. ✓ Jeanne est toujours {pétée/ **stone**⁵¹³ **shootée**}.
b. ✓ Jeanne (n’)est jamais {pétée/ * stone/ * shootée}.

⁵¹³ This word became widespread in France in 1979 through the hit-song *Le monde est stone* from the *Starmania* rock-opera written by Michel Berger and Luc Plamondon; it was probably already widespread in Quebec since a while.

- Jane {is always/ (ne) is never} stoned.
 ‘Jane is {always/ never} stoned.’
 a.’ ✓ Pierre a envie d’un {peu/ **chouia**} de dessert.
 b.’ ✓ Pierre (n’)a même plus envie d’un {peu/ * **chouia**} de dessert.
 Peter {has/ (ne) has even no-longer} desire of a bit of dessert.
 ‘Peter {wants/ no longer even wants} to eat a bit of dessert.’
 a.’ ✓ “Son **pater** lui prête sa caisse.”⁵¹⁴
 b.’ ✓ Son {père/ * **pater**} (ne) lui prête pas sa caisse.
 His father {to-her lends/ (ne) to-her lends not} his car.
 ‘His father {lends/ doesn’t lend} her his car.’

As in the case of catachresized tropes, foreign words fully assimilated, having become naturalized *verba propria*, acquire the specifications of regular words. This is the case of many words assimilated since a long time as *pizza*, *piano*, *hasard*, *cacahuète*, *chocolat*, *thé*... Pierre Aroneanu wrote a novel⁵¹⁵ gathering a lot of common words (regular ones and PIs) borrowed by French to Arabic, Turkish and Persian Turkish, African languages, Hebrew, Malagasy, Chinese, Hindi, Sanskrit, Bengali, Indonesian, Malaysian, Tibetan, Polynesian, and Amerindian languages; each borrowed word is stamped in a different color corresponding to a given language.

In this area, the last straw is to coin a pseudo-foreign word with jocular sounds: such words are always PIs, and typically appear in combination with polarity providers as auxiliaries, prepositions and determiners, interrogative inversion, and graduating structures.

- (734) a. ☺ “Le **glutmich** du **carbiquet** présente des symptômes de dépression à fluctuations antihistaminiques et paradoxales!... C’est sûrement dû au **galvanisateur** du **patchbull** de la réserve de **zizanium**!...// Ça y est!... J’ai trouvé!... C’est une protubérance hernieuse à tendance excentrique dans le flexible du malaxeur de **youplalat**!...”⁵¹⁶
 The glutmich of-the carbicket presents of-the symptoms of depression to fluctuations antihistaminic and paradoxical!... It is surely due to-the galvanizator of-the patchbull of the reserve of zizanium!...// It LOC is!... I have found!... This is a protuberance herniary to tendency eccentric in the flexible of-the mixer of huplala!...
 ‘The glutmich of the carbicket presents the symptoms of a depression with antihistaminic and paradoxical fluctuations! It’s certainly due to the galvanizator of the zizanium reserve’s patchbull!// Here I am! This is a herniary protuberance with eccentric tendency in the flexible of the huplala mixer!’
 b. ☺ “J’ai une idée **furimineuse**: stockez-moi un radis que je moyeuterai comme appât pour les **slictueux** kidnappeurs de légumes!...”⁵¹⁷
 I have an idea furiminous: stock me a radish that I will-hub as bait for the slictuous kidnappers of vegetables!...
 ‘I have a furiminous idea: stock for me a radish that I will hub as bait for the slictuous vegetable abductors!’
 c. ☺ “Que **bidulez**-vous avec tant de **froumiave**?”⁵¹⁸
 What thingamajig-you with so-much of froomiave?
 ‘What the hell are you doing with so much froomiave?’
 d. ☺ “Qu’est-ce que c’est que ce petit **légumistique** outillage? - Oh?! Ça, c’est le **légumistiquoire** à gros

⁵¹⁴ Jean-Claude Denis, *Entre deux feux*, Casterman, 1981, plate 8.

⁵¹⁵ Pierre Aroneanu, *L’amiral des mots*, illustrated by Laurent Berman, Paris, Alternatives, 1996. The back cover says:

(xcvi) “A tous ceux qui, au nom d’une écologie raciale, parlent de ‘nettoyer’ leur environnement, je dédie ce conte. Ils apprendront ainsi que, comme Monsieur Jourdain parlait en prose sans le savoir, ils parlent arabe, hébreu, hindi, malais, algonquin, nahuatl et même chinois, sans le vouloir.”
 ‘For all those wanting to ‘clean’ their environment in the name of a racial ecology, I dedicate this tale to. It will then come to their knowledge that as Monsieur Jourdain was speaking in prose without realizing, they speak Arabic, Hebrew, Hindi, Malaysian, Algonquin, Nahuatl and even Greek [literally: Chinese], without wanting.’

⁵¹⁶ Victor Hubinon, *Pilote d’espace*, Spirou n° 2000, 1976, plate 1 A, now in *Missions “Top secret”*, Dupuis, 1987, p. 188.

⁵¹⁷ Nikita Mandryka, *Le concombre contre le grand patateuseur*, Dargaud, 1983, plate 14 A.

⁵¹⁸ Nikita Mandryka, *Le type au reuri*, Albin Michel, 1987, plate 1.

Spip, et il n'est pas petit!/- Hihihhi! - Hahahaha!/ ...Et ce mignon croquignolet **trugludu**, c'est à qui?? - C'est à Spirella, mangeuse d'écureuils!"⁵¹⁹
 What is it that it is that this small vegetablistic equipment? - Oh?/ That, this is the vegetablisticory to fat Spip, and it *ne* is not small!/- Ha-ha! - Ha-ha!/ ...And this sweet cute traglada, that is to whom?? - This is to Spirella, eater of squirrels!
 'What's this small vegetablistic equipment? - Oh, this is the vegetablisticory of fat Spip, and it is not small! - Ha-ha! - Ha-ha!... And this sweet cute traglada, to whom is it? - It belongs to Spirella, eater of squirrels!'

English is not outdone by French: the Alice's Wonderland is nothing other than the paradise of PIs.

III.3. DATABASE OF SOME FRENCH PIS

This subsection presents a database of a representative sample of French PIs,⁵²⁰ stamped in alphabetical order inside the alphabetical listing of the grammatical categories reviewed in (238). Their featural specifications are illustrated with twelve chosen complementary pairs of polarity-related features, using the three-positions switches proposed in II.1.2-II.1.3:

- (735) (i) = denotes the absence of the feature within the subcategorization frame.
 (ii) - denotes incomplete specification of the feature.
 (iii) + denotes full specification of the feature.

The general principle of complementarity is the following, illustrated with a hypothetic global 'Polarity' feature:

- (736) (i) A =Polarity item is not concerned by polarity: its occurrence is not conditioned by the 'Polarity' specifications of its lexical array.
 (ii) A -Polarity item needs to combine with another occurrence of 'Polarity' feature, in order to complete the partial specification unable to project alone.
 (iii) A +Polarity item expresses full polarity on its own, and modifies thus the polarity of the sentence it appears within.

The tentative set of criteria in I.1 constitutes the specific switching instructions.

⁵¹⁹ Richard Peyzaret (F'murr), *Spirella mangeuse d'écureuils*, Khani, 1988, plate 11.

⁵²⁰ Our database also includes regular determiners *le, la, les* (definite), and *un, une, des* (indefinite), and some not polarized complementizers and prepositions, to allow processing their (im)possible combinations with PIs.

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	Pl	Sg
<i>Anormal, anormale, anormaux, anormales.</i> ‘Abnormal.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-
<i>Anticonstitutionnel(le), anticonstitutionnel(le)s.</i> ‘Unconstitutional.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-
<i>Antidémocratique, antidémocratiques.</i> ‘Antidemocratic.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-
<i>Antipathique, antipathiques.</i> ‘Disagreeable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-
<i>Apolitique, apolitiques.</i> ‘Apolitical.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-
<i>Asyndétique, asyndétiques.</i> ‘Asyndetic.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-
<i>Autre (D’).</i> ‘Else.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Autre, autres (D’).</i> ‘Further.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Avancé, avancée, avancés, avancées (Etre).</i> ‘To await.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Baba, babas.</i> ‘Flabbergasted.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Baisant, baisante, baisants, baisantes.</i> ‘Not friendly at all.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Baisant, baisante, baisants, baisantes.</i> ‘Thrilling.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Bandant, bandante, bandants, bandantes.</i> ‘Thrilling.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Barjo, barjos.</i> ‘Fool.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Bellot, bellotte, bellots, bellotes.</i> ‘Pretty.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Braque, braques.</i> ‘Mad.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Cabochard, cabocharde, cabochards, cabochardes.</i> ‘Pigheaded.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Catholique, catholiques.</i> ‘Not very kosher.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Causant, causante, causants, causantes.</i> ‘Not chatty.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Cave, caves.</i> ‘Stupid.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Cher, chère, chers, chères.</i> ‘Dear.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Chic, chics.</i> ‘Nice.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Chicos, chicos.</i> ‘Great.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Chouettos, chouettos.</i> ‘Great.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Classable, classables.</i> ‘Not classifiable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	-	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Combientième, combientièmes.</i> ‘How many is that.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Commensurable, commensurables.</i> ‘Not measurable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Connaissable, connaissables.</i> ‘Not knowable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Coolos, coolos.</i> ‘Great.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Court (Tout).</i> ‘Period.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Court, courte, courts, courtes.</i> ‘Narrow.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Craignos, craignos.</i> ‘Shady.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Crevable, crevables.</i> ‘Not burstable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Croyable, croyables.</i> ‘Not credible.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Cuit, cuite, cuits, cuites.</i> ‘Over.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Curable, curables.</i> ‘Not curable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	Pl	Sg
<i>Débilos, débilos.</i> ‘Stupid.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Décidable, décidables.</i> ‘Not decidable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Défectible, défectibles.</i> ‘Not failing.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Déplorable, déplorables.</i> ‘Deplorable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Déroutant, déroutante, déroutants, déroutantes.</i> ‘Disconcerting.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Descriptible, descriptibles.</i> ‘Not describable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Destructible, destructibles.</i> ‘Not destructible.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Disable, disables.</i> ‘Not speakable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Dissociable, dissociables.</i> ‘Not dissociable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Donné (C’est).</i> ‘For free.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Drôle (C’est).</i> ‘Strange.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Ebranlable, ébranlables.</i> ‘Not shakable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Egalable, égalables.</i> ‘Not comparable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Eluctable, éluctables.</i> ‘Not avoidable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Embrouillé, embrouillée, embrouillés, embrouillées.</i> ‘Confused.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Évitable, évitables.</i> ‘Not avoidable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	-	-	-	=	-	-
<i>Explicable, explicables.</i> ‘Explainable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Fiérot, fiérote, fiérots, fiérottes.</i> ‘Cocky.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Folichon, folichonne, folichons, folichonnes.</i> ‘Not pleasant.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Fort de café (C’est).</i> ‘A bit too far.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Fort, forte, forts, fortes.</i> ‘gifted.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Fortiche, fortiches.</i> ‘Terrific.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Fou (C’est).</i> ‘Incredible.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Friod (Il fait).</i> ‘Cold.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Gagné (C’est).</i> ‘Alright.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Gai (C’est).</i> ‘Funny.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Garanti(e) sur facture, garanti(e)s sur facture.</i> ‘For sure.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Gratos, gratos.</i> ‘Free.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Grave, graves.</i> ‘Which is the pits.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Gravos, gravos.</i> ‘Fat/ Which is the pits.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Groggy (Etre).</i> ‘Washed out.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Impossible, impossibles.</i> ‘Impossible.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-
<i>Incalculable, incalculables.</i> ‘Incalculable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-
<i>Incroyable, incroyables.</i> ‘Unbelievable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-
<i>Infini, infinie, infinis, infinies.</i> ‘Infinite.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-
<i>Innombrable, innombrables.</i> ‘Countless.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	Pl	Sg
<i>Inqualifiable, inqualifiables.</i> ‘Unspeakable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-
<i>Interloqué, interloqués, interloquée, interloqués.</i> ‘Taken aback.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Irrésistible, irrésistibles.</i> ‘Irresistible.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-
<i>Joli-joli/ Jojo.</i> ‘Not pretty sight.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Jouasse, jouasses.</i> ‘Not happy.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Kif-kif.</i> ‘All the same.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Lamentable, lamentables.</i> ‘Awful.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Léger(C’est).</i> ‘Flimsy.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Loin (Etre) (de).</i> ‘Far from.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Longuet, languette, languets, languettes.</i> ‘A bit on the long side.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Loti, lotie, lotis, loties (Bien/ Mal).</i> ‘(Well/ Badly) off.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Louf, loufs.</i> ‘Mad.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Louftingue, louftingues.</i> ‘Mad.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Lourd, lourde, lourds, lourdes (Etre).</i> ‘Unsubtle.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Madré, madrée, madrés, madrées.</i> ‘Wily.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Marrant, marrante, marrants, marrantes.</i> ‘Funny.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Marre (C’est/ En avoir).</i> ‘Fed up.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Méchant, méchante, méchants, méchantes.</i> ‘Bloody great.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Mécompréhensible, mécompréhensibles.</i> ‘Misunderstandable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Méconduit, méconduite, méconduits, méconduites.</i> ‘Misguided.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Meilleur, meilleure, meilleurs, meilleures.</i> ‘Better.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Mésinterprété(e), mésinterprété(e)s.</i> ‘Misinterpreted.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Mimi (Etre).</i> ‘Cute.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Miraud, miraute, mirauds, miraudes.</i> ‘Short-sighted.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Moindre, moindre (Le).</i> ‘Not the slightest.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	-
<i>Montrable, montrables.</i> ‘Not presentable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Mouillant, mouillante, mouillants, mouillantes.</i> ‘Exciting.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Multiple, multiple, multiples, multiples.</i> ‘Multiple.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Naze, naze, nazes, nazes.</i> ‘Bust.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Nombreux, nombreuse, nombreux, nombreuses.</i> ‘Numerous.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Non-croyant(e), non-croyant(e)s.</i> ‘Non-believer.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-
<i>Non-figuratif, figurative, figuratifs, figuratives.</i> ‘Non-representational.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-
<i>Nunuche, nunuches (Etre).</i> ‘Silly.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-
<i>Pensable, pensable, pensables, pensables.</i> ‘Not conceivable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Perdu, perdue, perdus, perdues.</i> ‘Done for.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	Pl	Sg
<i>Piquant, piquante, piquants, piquantes.</i> ‘Piquant.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Piqué(e) des vers, piqué(e)s des vers.</i> ‘Not decent.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Plus petit, plus petite (Le).</i> ‘Not the smallest.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	-
<i>Premier, première, premiers, premières.</i> ‘First.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Près (Etre) (de)</i> ‘Close to.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Pur (Du), Pure (De la).</i> ‘Which is pure.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Quelconque, quelconques.</i> ‘Some-or-other.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Ragoûtant, ragoûtante, ragoûtants, ragoûtantes.</i> ‘Not exciting.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Raide (C’est).</i> ‘Daring.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Réductible, réductible, réductibles, réductibles.</i> ‘Not reducible.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Refait, refaite, refaits, refaites (Etre).</i> ‘Taken in.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Renversant, renversante, renversants, renversantes.</i> ‘Amazing.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Rigolo (C’est).</i> ‘Funny.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Ripou, ripoux.</i> ‘Crooked.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Sacré, sacrée, sacrés, sacrées.</i> ‘Terrible.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Satané, satanée, satanés, satanées.</i> ‘Wretched.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Satiable, satiables.</i> ‘Not satiable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Sensass, sensass.</i> ‘Great.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Sérieux, sérieuse, sérieux, sérieuses.</i> ‘Sizeable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Servi, servie, servis, servies.</i> ‘Satisfied.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Seul, seule, seuls, seules.</i> ‘Only’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-
<i>Seul, seule.</i> ‘A single.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	-
<i>Sombre, sombres.</i> ‘Sordid.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Sortable, sortables.</i> ‘Not presentable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Soufflant, soufflante, soufflants, soufflantes.</i> ‘Amazing.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Terminable, terminables.</i> ‘Not terminable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Timbré, timbrée, timbrés, timbrées.</i> ‘Mad.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Tordant, tordante, tordants, tordantes.</i> ‘Hilarious.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Tout, toute, tous, toutes.</i> ‘Whole.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Tout-fou, tout-fous.</i> ‘Overexcited.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Vache, vaches.</i> ‘Rotten.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Viable, viable, viables, viables.</i> ‘Not viable.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Zarbe, zarbes/ Zarbi, zarbis.</i> ‘Strange.’	A	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Anormalement.</i> ‘Abnormally.’	Adv	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=
<i>Anticonstitutionnellement.</i> ‘Unconstitutionally.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=
<i>Antidémocratiquement.</i> ‘Antidemocratically.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	Pl	Sg
<i>Antipathiquement.</i> ‘Disagreeably.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=
<i>Apolitiquement.</i> ‘Apolitically.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=
<i>Asyndétiquement.</i> ‘Asyndetically.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=
<i>Aucunement.</i> ‘In no way.’	Adv	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=
<i>Aussi.</i> ‘As.’	Adv	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Autant.</i> ‘As much as.’	Adv	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Bien.</i> ‘Indeed.’	Adv	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Bougrement.</i> ‘Wildly.’	Adv	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Brièvement.</i> ‘Briefly.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Caractéristiquement.</i> ‘Characteristically.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Complètement.</i> ‘Completely.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Dare-dare.</i> ‘Quickly.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Déconcertamment.</i> ‘Disconcertingly.’	Adv	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=
<i>Dépressionnairement.</i> ‘Depressionally.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=
<i>Déréglementairement.</i> ‘Unstatutorily.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=
<i>Diablement.</i> ‘Darned.’	Adv	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Fichtre/ Fichtrement.</i> ‘Dashed.’	Adv	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Follement.</i> ‘Wildly.’	Adv	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Franchement.</i> ‘Frankly.’	Adv	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Gauloisement.</i> ‘Bawdily.’	Adv	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Guère.</i> ‘Not a lot.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=
<i>Habituellement.</i> ‘Usually.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Heureusement.</i> ‘Fortunately.’	Adv	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Inconstitutionnellement.</i> ‘Unconstitutionally.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=
<i>Incroyablement.</i> ‘Unbelievably.’	Adv	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=
<i>Inévitablement.</i> ‘Inevitably.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=
<i>Infidèlement.</i> ‘Unfaithfully.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=
<i>Jamais.</i> ‘Never.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Jamais-jamais.</i> ‘Never at all.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Longtemps.</i> ‘A long time.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Mécompréhensiblement.</i> ‘Misunderstandably.’	Adv	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=
<i>Mésamoureusement.</i> ‘Misamorously.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=
<i>Mésélegamment.</i> ‘Miselegantly.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=
<i>Mordicus.</i> ‘Obstinately.’	Adv	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Nécessairement.</i> ‘Necessarily.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Non plus.</i> ‘Neither.’	Adv	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=

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<i>Nullement.</i> ‘Not in the least.’	Adv	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=
<i>Parfaitement.</i> ‘Perfectly.’	Adv	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Presque.</i> ‘Almost.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Probablement.</i> ‘Probably.’	Adv	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Rapidos.</i> ‘Quickly.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Réellement.</i> ‘Really.’	Adv	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Sauvagement.</i> ‘Wildly.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Seulement.</i> ‘Only.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=
<i>Si.</i> ‘So.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Souvent.</i> ‘Often.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Tant.</i> ‘So.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Tellement.</i> ‘So much.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Terriblement.</i> ‘Terribly.’	Adv	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Tranquillos.</i> ‘Peacefully.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Très.</i> ‘Very.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Uniquement.</i> ‘Exclusively.’	Adv	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=
<i>Voir.</i> ‘Just.’	Adv	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Vraiment.</i> ‘Really.’	Adv	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>A.</i> ‘To.’	C	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>Avant (de).</i> ‘Before.’	C	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	+	=	=	=
<i>Bien sûr (que).</i> ‘Sure.’	C	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>De.</i> ‘To.’	C	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>Dieu (que).</i> ‘What.’	C	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=
<i>En.</i> ‘In.’	C	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>Et.</i> ‘And.’	C	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>Mais.</i> ‘But.’	C	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	-	=	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>N'est-ce pas (que).</i> ‘Is(n't) it.’	C	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>Ni.</i> ‘Nor.’	C	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>Ou.</i> ‘Or.’	C	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	-	=	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>Pour sûr (que).</i> ‘For sure.’	C	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>Pour.</i> ‘For.’	C	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>Que.</i> ‘That.’	C	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>Sans.</i> ‘Without.’	C	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	-	=	=
<i>Sinon.</i> ‘If not.’	C	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>Sûr (que).</i> ‘Sure.’	C	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>Allez.</i> ‘Come on.’	CP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=

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<i>Allons.</i> ‘Come on.’	CP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Après la pluie le beau temps.</i> ‘Everything’s fine again.’	CP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>C(e n)’est pas la politesse qui l’étouffe.</i> ‘Politeness is not his strong suit.’	CP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>C(e n)’est pas le culot qu’il lui manque.</i> ‘He’s got a nerve.’	CP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>C’est au pied du mur qu’on voit le maçon.</i> ‘Promises have no value.’	CP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>C’est en forgeant qu’on devient forgeron.</i> ‘Practice makes perfect.’	CP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Ouste.</i> ‘Buzz off.’	CP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Tintin.</i> ‘No way.’	CP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Voyons.</i> ‘Come on.’	CP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Zut.</i> ‘Damn.’	CP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Aucun, aucune, aucuns, aucunes.</i> ‘No one.’	D	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	+	=	=	-	-	=	+	+	=	-	-
<i>Chaque, chaque.</i> ‘Each.’	D	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Je-ne-sais-quel.</i> ‘I don’t know what.’	D	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Le, la, les.</i> ‘The.’	D	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>N’importe quel ... que ce soit.</i> ‘Any ... it would be.’	D	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>N’importe quel.</i> ‘Any N.’	D	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Nul, nulle, nuls, nulles.</i> ‘No one.’	D	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	+	=	=	-	-	=	+	+	=	=	-
<i>On-ne-sait-quel.</i> ‘We don’t know what.’	D	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Personne.</i> ‘Nobody.’	D	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	+	=	=	-
<i>Quelqu’un, quelqu’une, quelques-uns, quelques-unes.</i> ‘Somebody.’	D	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Quelque chose.</i> ‘Something.’	D	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Quelque, quelques.</i> ‘Some.’	D	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Tout, toute.</i> ‘All.’	D	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Un, une, des.</i> ‘A, DET-INDEF-PL.’	D	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Ça (ne) mange pas de foin.</i> ‘It is economical.’	IP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Ça chauffe.</i> ‘Things are livening up.’	IP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Ça passe.</i> ‘It’s just enough.’	IP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Ça passera comme le reste.</i> ‘Time makes everything over.’	IP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Ce qui est fait (n)’est plus à faire.</i> ‘What is done is done.’	IP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Chauffe Marcel.</i> ‘Let’s things livening up.’	IP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>En veux-tu en voilà.</i> ‘One thing after another.’	IP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Je veux mon neveu.</i> ‘I want, and how.’	IP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>L’appétit vient en mangeant.</i> ‘Appetite comes with eating.’	IP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>L’argent (n’)a pas d’odeur.</i> ‘Money has no smell.’	IP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=

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<i>L'argent (ne) fait pas le bonheur.</i> 'Money can't buy happiness.'	IP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>L'argent va à l'argent.</i> 'Money attracts money.'	IP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>L'habit (ne) fait pas le moine.</i> 'Appearances are deceptive.'	IP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Le fond de l'air est frais.</i> 'There's a nip in the air.'	IP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>N'en jetez plus.</i> 'Cut it out.'	IP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Pierre qui roule (n')amasse pas mousse.</i> 'Rolling stone gathers no moss.'	IP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Age du capitaine.</i> 'Ridiculous problems.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Ambages (Sans).</i> 'Without beating around the bush.'	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	=
<i>Ame qui vive.</i> 'Not a soul.'	N	=	=	-	-	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	=	=	-	-	=	=	-
<i>Ame.</i> 'Not a soul.'	N	=	=	-	-	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Amour (de), amours (de).</i> 'A lovely.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	+	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Ane (bâté), ânes (bâtés).</i> 'Stupid ass.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Anguille sous roche (Il y a).</i> 'Something in the wind.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Animal.</i> 'Silly devil.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Années.</i> 'Ages.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	+	=	+	=	=	-	+	=	+	=	-	=
<i>Araignée dans le plafond.</i> 'A screw loose.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Artiche.</i> 'Money.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Baldi.</i> 'Not a red cent.'	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Bande (de).</i> 'Bunch of.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	+	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	-	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Baraka.</i> 'Luck.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Beaux draps (Etre dans de).</i> 'In a mess.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	=	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Belle (Se faire la).</i> 'To go over the wall.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Belle lurette.</i> 'Ages.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	=	-
<i>Bercail.</i> 'Home sweet home.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Berzingue (A tout(e)).</i> 'At full speed.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	-	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Beuglante.</i> 'Protestation.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Beurre (Faire son).</i> 'To make a packet.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Beurre (Pour du).</i> 'In vain.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Bigophone (Coup de).</i> 'Ring.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	-	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Biquet, biquette, biquets, biquettes.</i> 'Honey.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Blanque (Tirer/ Trouver).</i> 'To fail.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Bobard, bobards.</i> 'Fib.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Bonne heure (De).</i> 'Early.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Bougre (de).</i> 'Confounded.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	+	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Bouquet (C'est le).</i> 'To take the cake.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	Pl	Sg
<i>Bourre</i> (<i>Etre à la</i>). ‘Pushed for time.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	-	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Brin</i> . ‘A grain.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	+	=	+	=	=	-	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Brique, briques</i> (<i>Une/ Deux/ Dix</i>). ‘Money.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Bronze</i> (<i>C’est du</i>). ‘Temporary.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	=	=	-	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Brute épaisse, brutes épaisses</i> . ‘Great hulking brute.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Bulle, bulles</i> . ‘Error.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Caboche, caboches</i> . ‘Mug.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Caisse</i> . ‘Car.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Cambuse, cambuses</i> . ‘Kitchen.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Carne, carnes</i> . ‘Swine.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Cata</i> . ‘Great problem.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Cent balles</i> . ‘A little money.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=
<i>Centime</i> . ‘Not a red cent.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Cesse</i> . ‘Stop.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Ceusses</i> . ‘Those which.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	-	=
<i>Charabia</i> . ‘Gibberish.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	+	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Chat</i> . ‘Nobody.’	N	=	=	-	-	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Chien</i> (<i>Avoir du</i>). ‘Sex-appeal.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Chien de ma/ ta/ sa chienne</i> . ‘Revenge.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Chienne</i> (<i>de</i>). ‘Dog’s.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	-	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Chocolat</i> (<i>Etre</i>). ‘Foiled.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Chômeu</i> . ‘Unemployment.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Chou blanc</i> (<i>Faire</i>). ‘To draw a blank.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Chou, choute, chous, choutes</i> . ‘Honey.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	+	=	-	=	-	-
<i>Chouia</i> . ‘A bit.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Choux gras</i> (<i>Faire ses</i>). ‘To capitalize.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Cinéma</i> . ‘Great act.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Cinq sec(s)</i> . ‘Quickly.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	=
<i>Cirque</i> . ‘Great act.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Clopinettes</i> . ‘Nothing.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	=
<i>Cloque</i> (<i>En</i>). ‘Pregnant.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Clous</i> . ‘Nothing.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	+	+	=	-	=
<i>Cochoncetés</i> . ‘Filth.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	-	=
<i>Cœur net</i> (<i>En avoir le</i>). ‘Clear in his own mind.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Colle</i> (<i>A la</i>). ‘Living together.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Comprenette</i> . ‘Uptake.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	-

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	Pl	Sg
<i>Confiture (Etre)</i> . ‘Foiled.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Cosse</i> . ‘Lazy mood.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Couille</i> . ‘An error.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Couilles (Avoir des)</i> . ‘To have balls.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	-	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	=
<i>Coule (A la)</i> . ‘Knowing the ropes.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Courrier de ministre</i> . ‘Much mail.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Crainte (que) (ne)</i> . ‘Fear.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	-
<i>Cran (A)</i> . ‘Very edgy.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Craque, craques</i> . ‘Lie.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Crotte de bique</i> . ‘Blast it.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Cure</i> . ‘Interest.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Dalle (Avoir la)</i> . ‘To be famished.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Deux balles (A)</i> . ‘Dirt cheap.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	=
<i>Diable (Ce n’est pas le)</i> . ‘Not that bad.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Diable (Que)</i> . ‘Dash it.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Diable (Que)</i> . ‘What the hell.’	N	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Dindon de la farce (Etre le)</i> . ‘The fall guy.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Dollar</i> . ‘Not a red cent.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Douce (En)</i> . ‘On the quiet.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	+	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Eau (Etre à l’)</i> . ‘Done for.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	-	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Encombre (Sans)</i> . ‘Without mishap.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Espèce (de)</i> . ‘Bloody.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	+	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	-	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Espèces sonnantes et trébuchantes</i> . ‘Cash money.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	=
<i>Façon (D’aucune/ En aucune)</i> . ‘In no way.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	=
<i>Fade (Quel/ Prendre son)</i> . ‘To get one’s kicks.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Faim de loup</i> . ‘Famished.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Fait (En) (de)</i> . ‘As for being.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Fait (Tout à)</i> . ‘Quite.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	-	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Faux-bond (Faire)</i> . ‘To let down.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Faux-cul</i> . ‘Two-faced bastard.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Feu ((N’)Y voir que du)</i> . ‘Not to catch on.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Feu (Le) (au lac)</i> . ‘No panic.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	+	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Ficelle (Etre)</i> . ‘Wily.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Fignedé</i> . ‘Asshole.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Fin des haricots (C’est la)</i> . ‘To be the last straw.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	=	+	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=
<i>Fiston</i> . ‘Sonny.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	+	=	+	=	=	-

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	Pl	Sg
<i>Flan (C'est du)</i> . 'A load of hooley.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	=	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Flûte</i> . 'Damn.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Foies (Avoir les)</i> . 'Scared to death.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	-	=
<i>Fois (Une)</i> . 'Once.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Frais (En être pour ses)</i> . 'To pay for one's mistakes.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Frais de la princesse</i> . 'Taxpayer's expense.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	-	=
<i>Frérot, frères</i> . 'Little brother.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Fute, futes</i> . 'Pants.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Gadin, gadins</i> . 'Cropper.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Galère</i> . 'Difficulty.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Garde (N'avoir)</i> . 'No care.'	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Garde (Prendre)</i> . 'Care.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Gâteau (C'est du)</i> . 'It's easy.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	=	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Gauloiserie, gauloiseries</i> . 'Bawdy story.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Gens</i> . 'People.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	-	-	=	+	=	-	=	-
<i>Gogo, gogos</i> . 'Sucker.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Gomme (A la)</i> . 'Crummy.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Goutte</i> . 'Not.'	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Graille</i> . 'Food.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Grain</i> . 'A touch.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Gramme</i> . 'Not a gram.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Grand dam</i> . 'Great displeasure.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	-	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Grand matin (De)</i> . 'Early in the morning.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Grand merci</i> . 'Many thanks.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Grand-besoin</i> . 'Very needing.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Grand-choix</i> . 'Not a great choice.'	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	-
<i>Grand-chose</i> . 'Not a lot of things.'	N	=	=	-	-	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Grande envie</i> . 'Not a great desire.'	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	-
<i>Grande importance</i> . 'Not a great importance.'	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	-
<i>Grand-faim</i> . 'Very hungry.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Grand-intérêt</i> . 'A great advantage.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Grand-monde</i> . 'Not a lot of people.'	N	=	=	-	-	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Grand-peine (A)</i> . 'Difficultly.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Grand-péril</i> . 'A great risk.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Grand-peur</i> . 'Great fear.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Grand-risque</i> . 'Not a great risk.'	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	-

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	Pl	Sg
<i>Grand-soif</i> . 'Very thirsty.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Grand-temps</i> . 'High time.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Gratte, grattes</i> . 'Guitar.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Gros nains</i> . 'Silly people.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-	+	=	+	=	-	=
<i>Gros-Jean comme devant (Etre)</i> . 'Back where one started.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Gueulante</i> . 'Protestation.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Gueule du loup (Dans)</i> . 'Into the lion's jaws.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Gugusse, gugusses</i> . 'Twit.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Guibolles</i> . 'Legs.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	-	=
<i>Hic</i> . 'Problem.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Histoire de fous, histoires de fous</i> . 'Absolutely crazy things.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Iota</i> . 'Not a grain.'	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Journée (De la)</i> . 'Not during the whole day.'	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Joyeux drille/ luron, joyeux drilles/ lurons</i> . 'Jolly fellow.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Keus (Dix/ Vingt/ Trente/ ...)</i> . '(Ten/ Twenty/ Thirty/ ...) times ten francs.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	=
<i>Kopeck</i> . 'Not a red cent.'	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>La mer à boire (C(e n)'est pas)</i> . 'It's no big deal.'	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Lézard, lézards</i> . 'No problem.'	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Ligne (Sur toute la)</i> . 'Flat-out.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Long feu (Faire)</i> . 'Not to last long.'	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Longue (A la)</i> . 'In the end.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	-	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Lustres</i> . 'Ages.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	-	=	-	=	-	=
<i>Machin-chose, machins-choses</i> . 'Thingamabob.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Machin-chouette, machins-chouettes</i> . 'Thingamabob.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Machin-truc, machins-trucs</i> . 'Thingamabob.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Malheur (Faire un)</i> . 'To make a great hit.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Malheureux, malheureuse, malheureux</i> . 'The poor (wo)man.'	N	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Manche (Faire la)</i> . 'Begging.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Manège</i> . 'Great act.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Manque (A la)</i> . 'Crummy.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Marbre (Etre du)</i> . 'Temporary.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Masses (Des)</i> . 'Not an awful lot.'	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	=	=	-	+	=	-	=
<i>Même chose qu'hier</i> . 'Things bad for the health.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Micmac</i> . 'Mix-up.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Mie de pain (A la)</i> . 'Crummy.'	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	Pl	Sg
<i>Mie</i> . ‘Not.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Miette</i> . ‘Not.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Mille (Mettre dans le)</i> . ‘To be bang on target.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Millimètre</i> . ‘Not a millimeter.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Mince affaire</i> . ‘Not an easy thing.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Moins cinq (Etre)</i> . ‘To have been a close shave.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	-	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Moins du monde</i> . ‘Not the least bit.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Monnaie de singe</i> . ‘Empty promises.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Mort (Faire le)</i> . ‘To sham death.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Mot</i> . ‘Not a word.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Navet</i> . ‘Load of trash.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Nerf de la guerre</i> . ‘Sinews of war.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Neuf nœuds à trois pattes</i> . ‘Three-cylinder cargo boat.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Noix (A la)</i> . ‘Crummy.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Non-lieu</i> . ‘Dismissal of a charge.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Non-sens</i> . ‘Nonsense.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Non-usage</i> . ‘Non-use.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Nougat (C’est/ Ce n’est pas du)</i> . ‘It’s/ It’s not easy.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	-	=	-	-	=	-	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Nouvelle vague</i> . ‘New wave.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Nuit (De la)</i> . ‘Not during the whole night.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Oignons (Aux petits)</i> . ‘First rate.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	-	=
<i>Oiseau en sucre, oiseaux en sucre</i> . ‘Honey.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Once</i> . ‘Not an ounce.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Paire (Se faire la)</i> . ‘To clear off.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Papelard, papelards</i> . ‘Paper.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Pavute, pavutes</i> . ‘Whore.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Peau de balle</i> . ‘Nothing at all.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Peau de zébi</i> . ‘Nothing at all.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Peau des fesses</i> . ‘Very expensive.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Peau</i> . ‘Nothing at all.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Pépin, pépins</i> . ‘Umbrella.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Péquenaud, péquenaude, péquenauds, péquenaudes</i> . ‘A fool.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Péquin</i> . ‘A man.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Père peinard/ tranquille</i> . ‘Genial fellow.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Péril en la demeure</i> . ‘No real danger.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Perlouse, perlouses</i> . ‘Fart.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	-

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	Pl	Sg
<i>Peso</i> . ‘Not a red cent.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Pet (Faire le)</i> . ‘To be waiting.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Pet</i> . ‘Not a grain.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Peu</i> . ‘A bit.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Peu</i> . ‘A lot.’	N	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Peur (que) (ne)</i> . ‘Fear.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	=	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Piaf, piafs</i> . ‘Sparrow.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Pied de grue (Faire le)</i> . ‘To stand about waiting.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Pipeau (Du)</i> . ‘Load of trash.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Pipi de chat/ de minet/ d’oiseau</i> . ‘Load of trash.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Pire, pires</i> . ‘The worst.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	-	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Plein tube, pleins tubes (A)</i> . ‘At full speed.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Pli (Faire un)</i> . ‘No doubt about.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Plombes (Des)</i> . ‘A long time.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	+	=	+	=	-	=
<i>Poil</i> . ‘Not a grain.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Pot-aux-roses</i> . ‘To find out what’s been going on.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Poteau, poteaux</i> . ‘Friend.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Pouffiasse, pouffiasses</i> . ‘Tart.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Poulaga, poulagas</i> . ‘Cop.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Poussières (Et des)</i> . ‘Just over.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	=
<i>Précaution (Avec/ Par)</i> . ‘With/ As a precaution.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Premier venu, première venue</i> . ‘Anybody.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Préparatifs</i> . ‘Preparations.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Provisoire qui dure (C’est du)</i> . ‘Persistent temporary arrangement.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	-	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=
<i>Quatre hommes et un caporal</i> . ‘Much.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=
<i>Quatre sous/ Quat’ sous (A/ De)</i> . ‘Threepenny’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	=
<i>Quidam, quidams</i> . ‘Fellow.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Racontars</i> . ‘Fibs.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	=
<i>Radis</i> . ‘Not a red cent.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Ragougnasse, ragougnasses</i> . ‘Pigswill.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Rame</i> . ‘Not a stroke.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	-	-	-	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Rasoir (Etre)</i> . ‘To be a bore.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Ressort (Du)</i> . ‘Spirit.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Rien</i> . ‘A hint.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	+	=	+	=	=	-	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Rond</i> . ‘Not a red cent.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Rotin</i> . ‘Not a red cent.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	Pl	Sg
<i>Sacs (Dix/ Vingt/ Trente/ ...)</i> . ‘(Ten/ Twenty/ Thirty/ ...) times ten francs.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	-	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	=
<i>Savate (Comme une)</i> . ‘Clumsy idiot.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Sbire, sbires</i> . ‘Henchman.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Sel de la terre</i> . ‘Salt of the earth.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Søurette, søurettes</i> . ‘Little sister.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Soins (Aux petits)</i> . ‘Hand and foot.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	-	=
<i>Sorcier (Etre)</i> . ‘Dead easy.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Sou (Pour un)</i> . ‘Not at all.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Sou en poche</i> . ‘Not a red cent.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Sou vaillant</i> . ‘Not a red cent.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Sou</i> . ‘Not a red cent.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Soufflant, soufflants</i> . ‘Gun.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Sourde oreille</i> . ‘Deaf ear.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Sous (Pour deux)</i> . ‘Not at all.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	-	=
<i>Spaghhouse, spaghouses</i> . ‘Spaghetti.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Système D</i> . ‘Resourcefulness.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Tantinet</i> . ‘Slightly.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	-	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Tarte (Ce n’est pas de la)</i> . ‘It’s not easy.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Tire</i> . ‘Car.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Totale (La)</i> . ‘The last straw.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Toupet</i> . ‘Nerve.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Tout (Du)</i> . ‘Not at all.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Toutim (Et le)</i> . ‘The whole caboodle.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Tremblement (Et tout le)</i> . ‘The whole caboodle.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	-
<i>Trente-six chandelles (Voir)</i> . ‘To see stars.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	-	=
<i>Tune</i> . ‘Not a red cent.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Vache, vaches</i> . ‘Nasty.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Vapeur (A toute)</i> . ‘At full speed.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	-	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Vergogne (Sans)</i> . ‘Shamelessly.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Vie (Jamais de la/ ma)</i> . ‘Never at all.’	N	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Vieux (Mon), vieille (Ma)</i> . ‘Old boy.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Vioque, vioques</i> . ‘Old timer.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>Zèbre, zèbres</i> . ‘Guy.’	N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	+	-	-
<i>A</i> . ‘With.’	P	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>Avec</i> . ‘With.’	P	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	Pl	Sg
<i>De</i> 'Of.'	P	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	-	-	=	+	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>En</i> . 'In.'	P	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	+	=	=	+	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>Pour</i> . 'For.'	P	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	-	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	=
<i>Que</i> (<i>Ne/¬</i>). 'Only.'	P	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	-	-	=	=
<i>Sans</i> . 'Without.'	P	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	-	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	-	-	=	=
<i>Bibi</i> . 'Me.'	Pro	-	-	=	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-
<i>Chacun, chacune</i> . 'Each one.'	Pro	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-
<i>Lui-même, elle-même, eux-mêmes, elles-mêmes</i> . 'Himself, herself, themselves.'	Pro	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-
<i>Mécolle</i> . 'Me.'	Pro	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-
<i>Mézigue</i> . 'Me.'	Pro	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-
<i>Moi-même/ Nous-même, nous-mêmes</i> . 'Myself/ Ourselves, ourselves.'	Pro	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-
<i>Sécolle</i> . 'Him.'	Pro	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-
<i>Sézigue</i> . 'Him.'	Pro	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-
<i>Técolle</i> . 'You.'	Pro	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-
<i>Tézigue</i> . 'You.'	Pro	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-
<i>Toi-même/ Vous-même, vous-mêmes</i> . 'Yourself/ Thyselves, yourselves.'	Pro	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-
<i>Untel, unetelle</i> . 'So-and-so.'	Pro	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-
<i>Autre (D)</i> . 'More.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Beaucoup (de)</i> . 'A lot of.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	+	=	+	+	=	=	+	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=
<i>Beaucoup (De)</i> . 'By a long way.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	+	+	=	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Bésef</i> . 'Not much.'	Q	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	-	-	+	=	=	=	=	-	-	=	=	=
<i>Combien (de)</i> . 'How many.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	+	=	+	-	=	=	+	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Couic (Que)</i> . 'Nothing at all.'	Q	=	=	-	-	=	-	=	-	=	+	=	-	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Dalle (Que)</i> . 'Nothing at all.'	Q	=	=	-	-	=	-	=	-	=	+	=	-	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Deux, trois, quatre...</i> 'Two, three, four...'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=
<i>Lerche</i> . 'Not much.'	Q	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	-	-	+	=	=	=	=	-	-	=	=	=
<i>Loin (De)</i> . 'By far.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	+	+	=	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Lourd</i> . 'Not much.'	Q	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	-	-	+	=	=	=	=	-	-	=	=	-
<i>Moins (de)</i> . 'Minus than.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	+	=	+	+	=	=	+	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	=
<i>Moins (Du, De la, Des, Des)</i> . 'A less.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	+	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	=
<i>Moins (que)</i> . 'Minus than.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	=
<i>N'importe comment que ce soit</i> . 'Anyhow it would be.'	Q	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>N'importe comment</i> . 'Anyhow.'	Q	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>N'importe lequel que ce soit</i> . 'Anyone of them it would be.'	Q	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	Pl	Sg
<i>N'importe lequel.</i> 'Anyone of.'	Q	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>N'importe où que ce soit.</i> 'Anywhere it would be.'	Q	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>N'importe où.</i> 'Anywhere.'	Q	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>N'importe quand que ce soit.</i> 'Anytime it would be.'	Q	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>N'importe quand.</i> 'Anytime.'	Q	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>N'importe qui que ce soit.</i> 'Anybody it would be.'	Q	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>N'importe qui.</i> 'Anybody.'	Q	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>N'importe quoi que ce soit.</i> 'Anything it would be.'	Q	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>N'importe quoi.</i> 'Anything.'	Q	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Nibergue/ Nib.</i> 'Nothing.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	=	+	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Nul autre, nulle autre.</i> 'No other.'	Q	=	=	-	-	-	-	+	=	+	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Nulle part.</i> 'Nowhere.'	Q	=	=	-	-	-	-	+	=	+	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Où que ce soit.</i> 'Wherever.'	Q	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Pas/ Pô.</i> 'Not.'	Q	=	=	-	-	-	-	+	=	+	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=
<i>Personne (Trois fois).</i> 'Few people.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	+	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Peu (de)</i> 'Few.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	+	=	+	+	=	=	+	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	=
<i>Peu (De).</i> 'Just.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	+	+	=	=	-	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	=
<i>Plus (de).</i> 'More than.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	+	=	+	+	=	=	+	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Plus (Du, De la, Des, Des).</i> 'A most.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	+	+	=	=	-	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Plus (que).</i> 'More than.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=
<i>Plus/ Pu.</i> 'No longer.'	Q	=	=	-	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=
<i>Point.</i> 'Not.'	Q	=	=	-	-	-	-	+	=	+	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	=
<i>Quand que ce soit.</i> 'Whenever.'	Q	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Quel, quelle, quels, quelles.</i> 'What.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	-	-	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Qui que ce soit.</i> 'Whoever.'	Q	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Quiconque.</i> 'Whoever.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Quoi que ce soit.</i> 'Whatever.'	Q	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Rien (Deux fois).</i> 'Not a lot of damage.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	+	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Rien (Pour).</i> 'In vain.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	=
<i>Rien (Trois fois).</i> 'Not a lot of things.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	+	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Rien.</i> 'Nothing.'	Q	=	=	-	-	-	-	+	=	+	=	=	+	+	=	=	=	=	+	+	=	=	-
<i>Tous, toutes.</i> 'All.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	=	+	=	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=
<i>Tout-tout.</i> 'Not everything.'	Q	-	-	=	-	-	-	+	=	=	-	+	=	+	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	=	-
<i>Treize à la douzaine.</i> 'Very much.'	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=
<i>Trente-six mille.</i> 'Not a thousand and one.'	Q	=	=	-	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	=
<i>Trente-six.</i> 'Not many.'	Q	=	=	-	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	=	-	+	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	=

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	Pl	Sg
<i>Un, une.</i> ‘One.’	Q	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	+	=	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Zéro.</i> ‘Zero.’	Q	-	=	-	-	-	-	+	=	=	+	=	+	+	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	=
÷. ‘Null scope marker.’	SM	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Ne/ ¬.</i> ‘N’t.’	SM	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Non/ Nada/ Nan/ Naon/ Nenni/ Niet.</i> ‘No.’	SM	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Oui/ Ouais/ Ouaip/ Ouaijs/ Ouiche/ Oui-da.</i> ‘Yes.’	SM	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Si.</i> ‘Indeed I am.’	SM	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
<i>Avaler (Pouvoir).</i> ‘Not to put up with.’	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Baiser.</i> ‘Not to understand.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Balancer (Sans).</i> ‘Without hesitating.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Baliser.</i> ‘To have the jitters.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Barguigner (Sans).</i> ‘Without hesitating.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Becter.</i> ‘To eat.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Béton (Laisse).</i> ‘Forget it.’	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Blairer (Pouvoir).</i> ‘Not to put up with.’	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Boire (Pouvoir).</i> ‘Not to put up with.’	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Boumer.</i> ‘To go everything fine.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Branler.</i> ‘Not to do.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Broncher.</i> ‘Without turning a hair.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Calter.</i> ‘To run off.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Carburer.</i> ‘To work flat out.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Casser (Se).</i> ‘To leave.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Chaloir.</i> ‘Not to matter.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Chanter (Qu’est-ce que tu/ vous me).</i> ‘To talk nonsense.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Chier (En).</i> ‘To have difficulties.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Cirer (En avoir à).</i> ‘Not to give a damn.’	V	=	=	-	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Clamser.</i> ‘To die.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Courir (Pouvoir (toujours)).</i> ‘Not to have a prayer.’	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	=	-	-
<i>Craindre (que) (ne).</i> ‘To fear about.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Cuver.</i> ‘To sleep it off.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Défaire.</i> ‘To undo.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Déréglementer.</i> ‘To deregulate.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Destroyer.</i> ‘To destroy.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Détruire.</i> ‘To destroy.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Digérer (Pouvoir).</i> ‘Not to put up with.’	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Dinguer (Envoyer).</i> ‘To send flying.’	V	=	=	-	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	Pl	Sg
<i>Douter (que) (ne)</i> . 'To doubt.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Emmerder</i> . 'To bother.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Empapaouter</i> . 'To screw.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Empêcher (de) (en rond)</i> . 'To make trouble.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Empêcher (que) (ne)</i> . 'To prevent.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Encadrer (Pouvoir)</i> . 'Not to put up with.'	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Encaisser (Pouvoir)</i> . 'Not to put up with.'	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Enquiquiner</i> . 'To bother.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Entraver</i> . 'Not to understand.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Éviter (que) (ne)</i> . 'To avoid.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	-	-	=	=	=	=	-	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Faillir</i> . 'To be very near to.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	=	=	-
<i>Faire (Laisser)</i> . 'To never mind.'	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Falloir</i> . 'To have to.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	+	=	=	-
<i>Gendarmer (Se)</i> . 'To lose one's temper.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Gnougnauffier</i> . 'To screw.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Grainer</i> . 'To eat.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Grenouiller</i> . 'To be involved in shady dealings.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Immuniser</i> . 'To immunize.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Inactiver</i> . 'To inactivate.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Indifférer</i> . 'To be made quite indifferent.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Manquer</i> . 'To be very near to.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	=	-	-
<i>Maquer</i> . 'To live together.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Mécomprendre</i> . 'To misunderstand.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Merder</i> . 'To cock up.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Mésaimer</i> . 'To mislove.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Mésuser</i> . 'To misuse.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	-	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Moufeter/ Moufter</i> . 'Not to protest.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Paraître (Y)</i> . 'To be no trace left.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Parler</i> . 'To joke.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Piffer (Pouvoir)</i> . 'Not to put up with.'	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Piper</i> . 'Not to talk.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Pisser (Laisser)</i> . 'To let get on with it.'	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Puer (Pouvoir)</i> . 'Not to put up with.'	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Rappliquer</i> . 'To come.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Repasser (Pouvoir)</i> . 'Not to have a prayer.'	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Rimer ((Ne)) (à rien)</i> . 'Not to make sense.'	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	Pl	Sg
<i>Sacquer (Pouvoir)</i> . ‘Not to put up with.’	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Se farcir (Pouvoir)</i> . ‘Not to put up with.’	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Sentir (Pouvoir)</i> . ‘Not to put up with.’	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Souffrir (Pouvoir)</i> . ‘Not to put up with.’	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Valser (Envoyer)</i> . ‘To send flying.’	V	=	=	-	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Vasouiller</i> . ‘To flounder.’	V	=	=	-	-	-	-	-	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Voir (Pouvoir)</i> . ‘Not to put up with.’	V	=	=	=	-	=	-	=	-	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Aller se faire cuire un œuf</i> . ‘To go and take a running jump.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Allonger l’oseille</i> . ‘To pay.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Asseoir dessus (S’)</i> . ‘To couldn’t give a damn about.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Avoir (Y)</i>	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-
<i>Avoir vu d’autres (En)</i> . ‘To affect indifference.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Baigner dans l’huile</i> . ‘It couldn’t be better.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Beau faire (Avoir)</i> . ‘To make vain efforts.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Brûler les étapes</i> . ‘To shoot ahead.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Brûler les planches</i> . ‘To give a spirited performance.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Ça saute (Falloir que)</i> . ‘To be quick about.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Casser (Ne rien)</i> . ‘Nothing to write home about.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Casser des briques</i> . ‘Nothing to write home about.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Casser le cul/ la tête/ la nénette (Se)</i> . ‘To be racking his brains.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	-	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Casser les pieds</i> . ‘To annoy.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Casser sa pipe</i> . ‘To kick the bucket.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Casser trois pattes à un canard</i> . ‘Nothing to write home about.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Clouer le bec</i> . ‘To shut somebody up.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Courir sur l’haricot</i> . ‘To annoy.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Déménager à la cloche de bois</i> . ‘To sneak off in the middle of the night.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Disparaître de la circulation</i> . ‘To drop out of circulation.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Entrer comme dans du beurre</i> . ‘To go like knife through butter.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Eu chaud (Avoir)</i> . ‘To have had a lucky escape.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	=	-	-
<i>Faire avec</i> . ‘not to put up with.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Faire d’une pierre deux coups</i> . ‘To kill two birds with one stone.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Filer à l’anglaise</i> . ‘To take French leave.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Foutre une (En)</i> . ‘Not to do a damn thing.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Graisser l’oignon</i> . ‘To make a fellatio.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Graisser la patte</i> . ‘To grease somebody’s palm.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	Scl	Pnt	PI	Sg
<i>Inventé la poudre (Avoir).</i> ‘To be no bright spark.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Inventé le fil à couper le beurre (Avoir).</i> ‘To be no bright spark.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>L’échapper belle.</i> ‘To have had a close shave.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	=	-	-
<i>La boucler.</i> ‘To shut one’s trap.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>La trouver mauvaise.</i> ‘To think it’s a rotten trick.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Laisser en rade.</i> ‘To leave in the lurch.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Laver la tête.</i> ‘To give a dressing down.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Laver les mains (S’en).</i> ‘To wash one’s hand of it.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Lécher le cul.</i> ‘To kiss the ass.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Les mettre.</i> ‘To clear off.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Lever le petit doigt.</i> ‘Not to lift a finger to help somebody.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Mâcher ses mots.</i> ‘Not to mince one’s words.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Manger les pissenlits par la racine.</i> ‘To die.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Mettre en boule (Se).</i> ‘To fly off the handle.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Mettre la main au cul.</i> ‘To grope the behind.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Mettre la main au feu.</i> ‘To stake one’s life on it.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Mettre les bouts.</i> ‘To clear off.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Passer à l’as/ la trappe.</i> ‘To go down the drain.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	-	=	-	-
<i>Peigner la girafe.</i> ‘To do pointless tasks.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Penser moins (En).</i> ‘To keep one’s opinion for oneself.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Piper mot.</i> ‘Not to breathe a word.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Plein la gueule pour pas un rond (S’en prendre).</i> ‘To be the fall guy.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Poser un lapin.</i> ‘To stand somebody up.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Pousser une (En).</i> ‘To protest.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Pouvoir mais/ rien (En).</i> ‘To be innocent.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Pouvoir plus ((N’)En).</i> ‘To be exhausted.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Pouvoir voir en peinture.</i> ‘Not to put up with.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	-	+	=	-	-
<i>Prendre les devants.</i> ‘To make the first move.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Protéger ses arrières.</i> ‘To protect one’s rears.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Rabattre le caquet.</i> ‘To pull somebody down a peg or two.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Ranger des voitures (Se).</i> ‘To settle down.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>River le clou.</i> ‘To pull somebody down a peg or two.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Rouler les mécaniques.</i> ‘To show off.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Rouler un patin.</i> ‘To give a French kiss.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>T’assure (Je)/ Vous assure (Je).</i> ‘Really.’	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	=	-

Item	Cat	Giv	Prs	Spc	Gen	Ref	Id	For	Fin	"	Ind	Ex	Ab	Wh	Prt	Def	Ind	Inc	Dec	ScI	Pnt	PI	Sg
<i>Taper sur les nerfs.</i> 'To get on the nerves.'	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Toucher du bois.</i> 'Knock on wood.'	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Traîner dans la boue.</i> 'To drag somebody's name through the mud.'	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-
<i>Voler bas.</i> 'To be pretty low-level.'	VP	=	-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	=	=	=	=	+	=	+	=	-	-

III.4. TENTATIVE SET OF SWITCHING CRITERIA

Throughout this dissertation, we have argued for a polarity split, including a ‘positive’ split parallel to the ‘negative’ split documented in III.1. Implementing this general polarity split should be made possible through the featural architecture of the sentence examined in II.3.1: what we need now is a range of criteria allowing switching the features of our PIs sample.

III.4.1. SUPP

III.4.1.1. Categories concerned by SupP

The features of SupP concern all categories, excepting adjectives (which are dependent on a noun), and verbs (which delegate this property to functional items of their extended projection, like adverbs and clitics⁵²¹). Regular items are {-Given, -Presuppositional}, PIs needing a presuppositional operator are {=Given, -Presuppositional}, and anti-presuppositional adverbs as *réellement* ‘really’ are {+Given, =Presuppositional}.

(737) CATEGORIES CONCERNED BY SUPP:

- a. A =
- b. Adv ±
- c. C ±
- d. CP ±
- e. D ±
- f. IP ±
- g. N ±
- h. P ±
- i. Pro ±
- j. Q ±
- k. SM ±
- l. V =
- m. VP ±

III.4.1.2. Given vs. Presuppositional

The SupP specifications make the difference between definite and indefinite determiners. In fact, both can be either Specific, or Generic:

(738)	SPECIFIC	GENERIC
DEFINITE	The mailman is pretty.	The mailman comes at ten o’clock.
INDEFINITE	I know a pretty mailman.	A mailman doesn’t fear neither rain nor sun.

A context forcing Specific reading of both Definite determiners in (a) and Indefinite determiners in (b) is the focalization:

- (739) a. ✓ *Jeanne est LA femme de la situation.*
Jane is THE woman of the situation.
‘She’s the right woman for the job.’
- b. ✓ *Pierre voit UNE solution à ce problème.*
Peter sees ONE solution to this problem.
‘Peter knows a right solution for this problem.’

⁵²¹ Verbal PIs involving idiomatic clitics typically request a context conveying some presupposition:

(xcvii) ✓ “(Le chemin fut long_i.)” [_{SupP} OP_i [_{IP} On **en**_i **voit** enfin **le bout**]]!
 (“The way was long.”) One PART see finally the end!
 (“The tunnel was long.) One finally see the light at the end of the tunnel!?”

Definite determiner is {=Given, -Presuppositional}: a presuppositional operator is requested to interpret such sentences as “The mailman is pretty” and “The mailman comes at ten o’clock”. On the other hand, indefinite determiner is {-Given, =Presuppositional}: in “I know a pretty mailman”, the speaker just hides a potential presupposed identity; in “A mailman doesn’t fear neither rain nor sun”, no potential identity is conceivable. The lack of Presuppositional feature in the indefinite determiner seems at the source of the following contrast, taken from Tovená [1996:166(5.149)-(5.148)]: the FC (‘positive’ and presuppositional) reading of the determiner in the (b) sentences is available with ‘any’ and ‘ten’, but not with ‘a’; the author doesn’t notice that it is crucially also available with ‘the’.

- (740) (I) WITH *A*:
 He didn’t sell a share because the stock market collapsed.
 a. ✓ He didn’t sell shares and this because the stock market collapsed.
 b. * He sold shares, none of these because of the stock market collapse.
- (II) WITH *ANY*:
 He didn’t sell any share because the stock market collapsed.
 a. ✓ He didn’t sell shares and this because the stock market collapsed.
 b. ✓ He sold shares, none of these because of the stock market collapse.
- (III) WITH A BARE NUMERAL:
 He didn’t sell ten shares because the stock market collapsed.
 a. ✓ He didn’t sell shares and this because the stock market collapsed.
 b. ✓ He sold ten shares, none of these because of the stock market collapse.
- [(IV) WITH *THE*:]
 [He didn’t sell the share because the stock market collapsed.]
 [a. ✓ He didn’t sell the share and this because the stock market collapsed.]
 [b. ✓ He sold the share, but not because of the stock market collapse.]

Lexicalized IPs and CPs are {=Given, -Presuppositional}: they recall an event which is part of the common encyclopedic knowledge, but request in the previous context some element to which they should refer to through a Presuppositional operator.

- (741) (I) POLARITY IPs:
 a. ✓ “(Il se passe quelque chose_i.)” [SupP OP_i [IP **C’est la fin des haricots**]]!
 “Something happens_i.” [SupP OP_i [IP That’s the last straw]]!
 b. ✓ “(Il se passe quelque chose_i.)” [SupP OP_i [IP **C(e n)’est pas la mer à boire**]]!
 “Something happens_i.” [SupP OP_i [IP It’s no big deal]]!
 c. ✓ “(Il se passe quelque chose_i.)” [SupP OP_i [IP **L’argent va à l’argent**]].
 “Something happens_i.” [SupP OP_i [IP Money attracts money]].
 d. ✓ “(Il se passe quelque chose_i.)” [SupP OP_i [IP **Temps pommelé et femme fardée n’ont point de durée**]].
 “Something happens_i.” [SupP OP_i [IP Women wearing too much make up last for few time]].
 e. ✓ “(Il se passe quelque chose_i.)” [SupP OP_i [IP **L’appétit vient en mangeant**]].
 “Something happens_i.” [SupP OP_i [IP Appetite comes with eating]].
 f. ✓ “(Il se passe quelque chose_i.)” [SupP OP_i [IP **Pierre qui roule n’amasse pas mousse**]].
 “Something happens_i.” [SupP OP_i [IP A rolling stone gathers no moss]].
- (II) POLARITY CPs:
 a. ✓ “(Il se passe quelque chose_i.)” [SupP OP_i [CP **C’est en forgeant qu’on devient forgeron**]].
 “Something happens_i.” [SupP OP_i [CP Practice makes perfect]].
 b. ✓ “(Il se passe quelque chose_i.)” [SupP OP_i [CP **C(e n)’est pas la politesse qui l’étouffe**]].
 “Something happens_i.” [SupP OP_i [CP Politeness is not his strong suit]].
 c. ✓ “(Il se passe quelque chose_i.)” [SupP OP_i [CP **Après la pluie le beau temps**]].
 “Something happens_i.” [SupP OP_i [CP Everything’s fine again]].

When the lexicalized category is smallest than IP, the presuppositional operator may be replaced by an item with overt realization. The Presuppositional feature can be provided by a Presuppositional determiner in (a), or a Presuppositional deictic pronoun in (b) (vs. the ungrammaticality of a Given determiner or deictic pronoun):

- (742) a. ✓ {Le/ * Un} concierge **peigne la girafe**.

- {The/ * A} caretaker combs the giraffe.
 ‘The caretaker does pointless tasks.’
 b. ✓ {Ça/ * Ceci} **vole bas**.
 {That/ * This} flies low.
 ‘This is pretty low-level.’

As seen in II.3.1.1.1.3, the Presuppositional feature can be provided by the presentational auxiliary in combination with its idiomatical clitic in the presentational structure lexicalized in French by *y’avoir* ‘to be there’:

- (743) (I) PRESENTATIONAL NPIS:
 a. ✓ ((II) (N’))Y’a **pas!**
 ((There) (*Ne*)) LOC has not!
 ‘There’s no denying!’
 b. * (II) Y’a!
 (There) LOC has!
 a.’ ✓ ((II) (N’))Y’a **le feu (au lac)!**
 ((There) (*Ne*)) LOC has not the fire (to-the lake)!
 ‘There’s no panic!’
 b.’ * (II) Y’a le feu (au lac)!
 (There) LOC has the fire (to-the lake)!
 (II) PRESENTATIONAL PPIs:
 a. * {Qu’est-ce qu’((il) (n’))y’a pas/ ((II) (N’))Y’a pas quoi}?
 {What is it that ((it) (*ne*)) LOC has not/ ((There) (*Ne*)) LOC has not why}?
 b. ✓ {**Qu’est-ce** qu’(il) y’a/ (II) Y’a **quoi**}?
 {What is it that (it) LOC has/ ((There) LOC has why)?
 ‘What happens?’
 a.’ * ((II) (N’))Y’a pas anguille sous roche.
 ((There) (*ne*)) LOC has not eel under rock.
 b.’ ✓ (II) Y’a **anguille sous roche**.
 (There) LOC has eel under rock.
 ‘There’s something in the wind.’

The presuppositional value of *y’avoir*, vs. the unmarked value of its synonymous *se passer* ‘to happen’, is made visible by its incompatibility with Given adverb like *réellement* ‘really’, which is {+Given, =Presuppositional}:

- (744) a. ✓ Qu’est-ce {qui/ qu’il} **se passe réellement?**
 What is it {which/ that it} itself happens really?
 ‘What really happens?’
 b. * Qu’est-ce qu’(il) y’a **réellement?**
 What is it that (it) LOC has really?

Amongst ‘negative’ adverbs, *pas* ‘not’ is {-Given, -Presuppositional} and adequate in every context, as shown in (a); on the other hand, *aucunement* and *nullement* ‘in no way’ are {=Given, -Presuppositional} and only adequate in presence of a presupposition, as shown in (b):

- (745) a. ✓ Vous ne me dérangez **pas**.
 You *ne* me disturb not.
 → ✓ ‘{It’s just not the case that you disturb me/ I mean you meant you did disturb me}.’
 b. ✓ Vous ne me dérangez {**aucunement/ nullement**}.
 You *ne* me disturb in-no-way.
 → ‘{* It’s just not the case that you disturb me/ ✓I mean you meant you did disturb me}.’

All SMs are {=Given, -Presuppositional}. The Presuppositional value of the basic SM *ne* becomes quite clear in its expletive guise, as seen in II.3.1.1.1.1. The ‘positive’ adverbial SMs used to answer a question are sensible to the polarity of the presupposition: *oui* is a PPI combining with ‘positive’ presuppositions; *si* is an NPI combining with ‘negative’

presuppositions.⁵²²

- (746) (I) 'POSITIVE' PRESUPPOSITION:
 a. ✓ Tu viens? - {**Oui/ Non**}!
 You come? - {Yes/ No}!
 'Are you coming? - {Yes (I am)/ No (I am not)}!'
 b. ✓ Tu (ne) viens pas? - {* **Oui/ Non**}!
 You (ne) come not? - {* Yes/ No}!
 'Aren't you coming? - {* Yes (I am)/ No (I am not)}!'
 (II) 'NEGATIVE' PRESUPPOSITION:
 a. ✓ Tu viens? - {* **Si/ Non**}!
 You come? - {* Yes-indeed/ No}!
 'Are you coming? - {* Indeed (I am)/ No (I am not)}!'
 b. ✓ Tu (ne) viens pas? - {**Si/ Non**}!
 You (ne) come not? - {Yes-indeed/ No}!
 'Aren't you coming? - {Indeed I am/ No (I am not)}!'

The possibility to set up a referent in the universe of discourse depends on the specifications of SupP. 'Positive' arguments are {-Given, -Presuppositional}; they project SupP through Given feature when they introduce a referent in the universe of discourse as in the (a) sentence. No 'negative' argument can be Given or Presuppositional, the lack of everything being unable to convey any presupposition; 'negative' arguments as in the (b) sentence fail thus to set up a referent in the universe of discourse.

- (747) a. ✓ Cet aubergiste a **quelque chose**_i à manger. Quand je suis arrivé, il l_i'a posé sur la table.
 This innkeeper has something_i to eat. When I am arrived, he it_i has put on the table.
 'This innkeeper has something to eat. When I arrived, he put it on the table.'
 b. * Cet aubergiste (n')a **rien**_i à manger. Quand je suis arrivé, il l_i'a renversé par terre.
 This innkeeper (ne) has nothing_i to eat. When I am arrived, he it_i has knocked-over on floor.

When a 'negative' argument is interpreted as Presuppositional, a Presuppositional SM has to intervene; this explains the Italian semantic contrast between preverbal and postverbal *nessuno* 'nobody':

- (748) a. ✓ **Nessuno** è venuto.
 Nobody is come.
 'Nobody came (* contrary to your expectation).'
 b. ✓ **Non** è venuto **nessuno**.
 Not is come nobody.
 'There didn't come anybody (✓ contrary to your expectation).'

Items as *le malheureux* 'the poor man' are PPIs {=Given, -Presuppositional}, which need a Presuppositional operator and can thus only appear in root position.⁵²³

- (749) a. ✓ **Le malheureux** (n')a pas pu éviter la voiture.
 The poor man (ne) has not been-able to-avoid the car.
 'The poor man failed to avoid the car.'
 b. * La voiture (n')a pas pu éviter le malheureux.
 The car (ne) has not been-able to-avoid the poor man.

III.4.2. IDP

⁵²² The lack of 'negative' counterpart of *si* follows from the impossibility to cancel a 'negative' presupposition in logical use; see discussion in II.2.2.1.1;(278)-(279).

⁵²³ Perhaps such items need to reach SupP by covert movement; in this case, the subject regular argument would lead to a RME with the object PPI argument, due to argumental features.

III.4.2.1. Categories concerned by IdP

The identification device concerns the argumental categories, namely nouns, pronouns, and quantifiers, plus the verbs, which are implied in the argumental computation. Regular items are {-Specific, -Generic}, so that they will support every combination; some PIs are {=Specific, -Generic}, so that they can only appear in non-specific sentences.

(750) CATEGORIES CONCERNED BY IDP:

- a. A =
- b. Adv =
- c. C =
- d. CP =
- e. D =
- f. IP =
- g. N ±
- h. P =
- i. Pro ±
- j. Q ±
- k. SM =
- l. V ±
- m. VP =

III.4.2.2. Specific vs. Generic

PIs minus-specified for Generic feature like *qui que ce soit* ‘whoever’ cannot combine with a person-specific pronoun as in (i), but only with a Generic pronoun as in (ii); PIs {-Specific, -Generic} like *âme qui vive* ‘soul which live’ don’t display such a restriction:

(751) (I) WITH A PERSON-SPECIFIC PRONOUN:

- a. ✓ **Je** (ne) vois pas {âme qui vive/ * qui que ce soit}.
 - b. ✓ **Tu** (ne) vois pas {âme qui vive/ * qui que ce soit}.
 - c. ✓ **{Il/ Elle}** (ne) voit pas {âme qui vive/ * qui que ce soit}.
 - d. ✓ **Nous** (ne) voyons pas qui {âme qui vive/ * qui que ce soit}.
 - e. ✓ **Vous** (ne) voyez pas {âme qui vive/ * qui que ce soit}.
 - f. ✓ **{Ils/ Elles}** (ne) voient pas {âme qui vive/ * qui que ce soit}.
- {I/ You/ {He/ She}/ We/ You/ They} (ne) see(s) not {soul which live/ * whoever}.
- ‘{I/ You/ {He/ She}/ We/ You/ They} do(es)n’t see anybody.’

(II) WITH A GENERIC PRONOUN:

- a. ✓ **On** (ne) voit pas {âme qui vive/ qui que ce soit}.
- One (ne) sees not whoever.
- ‘One doesn’t see anybody.’
- b. ✓ **Il** (n’)est pas vu {âme qui vive/ qui que ce soit}.
- It (ne) is not seen whoever.
- ‘There isn’t seen anybody.’
- c. ✓ **((II) (N’))Y’a** pas {âme qui vive/ qui que ce soit}.
- There ne LOC has not {soul which live/ whoever}.
- ‘There isn’t anybody.’

The asymmetry disappears in presence of a modal in (a), an aspectual periphrasis in (b) or a temporal auxiliary in (c):

- (752) a. ✓ **{Il/ On}** (ne) **veut** pas voir {âme qui vive/ qui que ce soit}.
- {He/ One} (ne) want not see {soul which live/ whoever}.
- ‘{He/ One} won’t see anybody.’
- b. ✓ **{Il/ On}** (n’)est pas **en train de** voir {âme qui vive/ qui que ce soit}.
- {He/ One} (ne) is not in train of see {soul which live/ whoever}.
- ‘{He/ One} is not seeing anybody.’
- c. ✓ **{Il/ On}** (n’)a pas vu {âme qui vive/ qui que ce soit}.
- {He/ One} (ne) has not seen {soul which live/ whoever}.

{He/ One} didn't see anybody.'

In fact, while regular verbs on the one hand are {-Specific, -Generic}, and interpreted specifically by default (when no particular morphology induces genericity), on the other hand modals, temporal periphrasis and temporal auxiliaries often force a generic reading. This property becomes quite clear with the {=Specific, -Generic} verbal PIs requesting a modal;⁵²⁴ additionally, they display a fixed polarity, depending on lowest features as Existent vs. Absent:

(753) (I) 'POSITIVE' POLARITY:

a. * Ça saute!

It explodes!

b. ✓ (II) **Faut que ça saute!**

It is-necessary that it explodes!

'Be quick about it!'

c. * {(II) (Ne)} Faut pas que ça saute/ (II) Faut que ça (ne) saute pas!

{(It) (Ne)} is-necessary not that it explodes/ (It) Is-necessary that it (ne) explodes not!

a.' * Pierre {béton/ fait/ pisse}.

Peter {concrete/ makes/ pisses}.

b.' ✓ Pierre **laisse** {béton/ faire/ pisser}.

Peter lets {concrete/ make/ piss}.

'Peter {forgets it/ never minds/ lets get on with it}.'

c.' * Pierre (ne) laisse pas {béton/ faire/ pisser}.

Peter (ne) lets not {concrete/ make/ piss}.

a.'' * {Repasse/ Cours}!

{Go back/ Run}!

b.'' ✓ Tu **peux** {repasser/ (toujours) courir}!

You can {go-back/ (ever) run}!

'You don't have a prayer!'

c.'' * Tu (ne) peux {pas repasser/ (jamais) courir}!

You (ne) can {not go-back/ (never) run}!

(II) 'NEGATIVE' POLARITY:

a. * (Ne) Pousse pas!

(Ne) Push not!

b. * (II) Faut pousser!

It is-necessary to-push!

c. ✓ ((II) (Ne)) **Faut pas pousser!**

It (ne) is-necessary not to-push!

'That's overdoing it a bit!'

a.' * Pierre (n(e)) {avale/ blaire/ boit/ digère/ encadre/ encaisse/ piffe/ pue/ sacque/ se farcit/ sent/ souffre/ voit} pas Jeanne.

Peter (ne) {swallows-down/ smells/ drinks/ digests/ frames/ collects/ smells/ stinks/ kicks-out/ himself stuffs/ smells/ suffers/ sees} not Jane.

b.' * Pierre peut {avalier/ blairer/ boire/ digérer/ encadrer/ encaisser/ piffer/ puer/ sacquer/ se farcir/ sentir/ souffrir/ voir} Jeanne.

Peter can {swallow-down/ smell/ drink/ digest/ frame/ collect/ smell/ stink/ kick-out/ himself stuff/ smell/ suffer/ see} Jane.

c.' ✓ Pierre (ne) **peut**⁵²⁵ **pas** {avalier/ blairer/ boire/ digérer/ encadrer/ encaisser/ piffer/ puer/ sacquer/ se farcir/ sentir/ souffrir/ voir} Jeanne.

Peter (ne) can not {swallow-down/ smell/ drink/ digest/ frame/ collect/ smell/ stink/ kick-out/ himself stuff/ smell/ suffer/ see} Jane.

'Peter cannot put up with Jane.'

In absence of such a modal inducing genericity, what lacks to lead to the idiomatic reading is just the specificity of the event (one time and now) in the (a) sentences, vs. its genericity (anytime) in the (b) sentences:

⁵²⁴ The collocational choice for a modal or another is motivated by modal-related features.

⁵²⁵ All those verbs typically combine with *pouvoir* 'can', but may marginally combine with near-synonymous like *arriver* 'to manage', *parvenir* 'to manage', *réussir* 'to succeed', {%/†} *savoir* 'can'.

- (754) a. * Pierre pisse.
Peter pisses (one time and now).
b. ✓ Pierre **laisse pisser**.
Peter let piss.
'Peter let get on with it (anytime).'
- a.' * Pierre (ne) blaire pas Jeanne.
Peter (ne) noses not Jane (one time and now).
b.' ✓ Pierre (ne) **peut pas blairer** Jeanne.
Peter (ne) can not nose Jane.
'Peter cannot put up with Jane (anytime).'

In some cases, for instance with the pronominal PPI *bibi* 'me', a quantificational adverb may force either a Specific reading of the verb for *aujourd'hui* 'today' in (a), or a Generic one for *toujours* 'always' in (b), in absence of a specific verbal morphology:

- (755) a. * **Aujourd'hui**, c'est bibi qui s'y colle.
Today, it's me which himself LOC sticks.
b. ✓ C'est **toujours bibi** qui s'y colle.
It's always me which himself LOC sticks.
'Those tasks are always for me.'

This is consistent with the presence of *toujours* 'always' in many polarity VPs, as for instance in (753)(i)b': this adverb favors a Generic interpretation through Continuative aspect.

III.4.3. REFP

III.4.3.1. Categories concerned by RefP

The categories concerned by referential properties are those that are potentially argumental, namely nouns, pronouns, and quantifiers, plus the verbs, which are implied in the argumental computation.

- (756) CATEGORIES CONCERNED BY REFP:
- | | |
|--------|---|
| a. A | = |
| b. Adv | = |
| c. C | = |
| d. CP | = |
| e. D | = |
| f. IP | = |
| g. N | ± |
| h. P | = |
| i. Pro | ± |
| j. Q | ± |
| k. SM | = |
| l. V | ± |
| m. VP | = |

III.4.3.2. Referential vs. Idiomatic

As seen in II.3.1.1.1.3.1, while the regular items in (i), which are {-Referential, -Idiomatic}, support (marginal) pronominal doubling, the {=Referential, -Idiomatic} PIs in (ii) do not:

- (757) (i) {-REFERENTIAL, -IDIOMATIC} PIs:
a. ☺ **Tout le monde** il est beau, tout le monde il est gentil.
All the people he is pretty, all the people he is nice.
'Everybody's pretty, everybody's nice.'
- b. ☺ **Personne** il m'aide à m'en sortir.

- Nobody he me helps to myself LOC escape.
 ‘Nobody helps me to cope.’
 c. † “**Personne** ne t’a-t-il jamais offert son amitié?”⁵²⁶
 Nobody *ne* to-you has-*t*-he never given his friendship?
 ‘Didn’t anybody ever give you his friendship?’
 (II) {=REFERENTIAL, -IDIOMATIC} PIS:
 a. * Pas **grand-monde** il (n’)est content.
 Not great-people he (*ne*) is happy.
 b. * Pas **âme qui vive** elle (n’)est venue.
 Not soul which live she (*ne*) is came.
 c. * Pas **tout-tout** il (n’)est clair.
 Not all-all he (*ne*) is clear.

Pronominal reprise gives consistent results: it is compatible with the regular items in (a), but incompatible with the {=Referential, -Idiomatic} PIs in (b).

- (758) a. ✓ “Quel maladroit, cet aubergiste! Non seulement il n’a **rien**, à manger, mais il faut encore qu’il le renverse par terre!”⁵²⁷
 b. * Quel maladroit, cet aubergiste! Non seulement il (n’)a **que dalle**, à manger, mais il faut encore qu’il le renverse par terre!
 What butterfingers, this innkeeper! Not only he (*ne*) has {nothing/ * only flagstone;} to eat, but it is-necessary still that he it; knocks-over on floor!
 ‘What a butterfingers, this innkeeper! Not only doesn’t he have anything to eat, but he even has to knock it over on the floor!’
 a.’ ✓ “C’est seulement quand on n’a besoin de **rien**, qu’il faut {le; lui/ vous le;} demander.”⁵²⁸
 b.’ * C’est seulement quand on (n’)a pas besoin de **quoi que ce soit**, qu’il faut le; lui demander.
 It’s only when one (*ne*) has (not) need of (nothing/ whatever;)} than it is-necessary {it; to-him/ to-you it;} to-ask.
 ‘It’s only when one doesn’t need anything than one must ask it to him.’
 a.’ ✓ “Que **personne**, ne bouge ou il, sera réduit à la taille de son chef!”⁵²⁹
 b.’ * Que pas **âme qui vive**, (*ne*) bouge ou elle, sera réduite à la taille de son chef!”
 That {nobody/ not soul which live;} (*ne*) moves or {he/ she;} will-be reduced to the height of his boss!
 ‘Nobody move, or he will be reduced to the height of his boss!’

Possibly related to referentiality is the (im)possibility to cleave PIs in metalinguistic focuses:

- (759) (I) {-REFERENTIAL, -IDIOMATIC} PIS:
 a. ✓ C’est PERSONNE que j’ai vu, pas quelqu’un!
 It’s NOBODY that I have seen, not somebody!
 ‘I saw NOBODY, not somebody!’
 b. ✓ C’est QUI QUE CE SOIT que j(e n)’ai pas vu, pas quelqu’un!
 It’s WHOEVER that I (*ne*) have not seen, not somebody!
 ‘I didn’t see ANYBODY, not somebody!’
 c. ✓ C’est RIEN que j’ai fait, pas quelque chose!
 It’s NOTHING that I have done, not something!
 ‘I done NOTHING, not something!’
 (II) {=REFERENTIAL, -IDIOMATIC} PIS:
 a. * C’est {AME QUI VIVE/ UNE AME} que j(e n)’ai pas vue, pas quelqu’un!
 It’s {SOUL WHICH LIVE/ A SOUL} that I (*ne*) have not seen, not somebody!
 b. * C’est GRAND-MONDE que j(e n)’ai pas vu, pas quelqu’un!
 It’s GREAT-PEOPLE that I (*ne*) have not seen, not somebody!
 c. * C’est QUE DALLE que j’ai fait, pas quelque chose!
 It’s ONLY PAVING-STONE that I have done, not something!

Verbal PIs needing an auxiliary or a modal are {=Referential, -Idiomatic}; they obligatorily

⁵²⁶ Guy Mouminoux (Dimitri), *L’hymne à la forêt*, Glénat, 1994, plate 18.

⁵²⁷ Pierre Culliford (Peyo), *L’anneau des Castellac*, Dupuis, 1962, plate 4.

⁵²⁸ Maurice Tillieux, *La voiture immergée*, Dupuis, 1960, plate {5/ 37}.

⁵²⁹ Pierre Séron, *Le pickpocket*, Dupuis, 1985, plate 42.

combine with the -Idiomatic specification of an auxiliary in (i) or a modal in (ii),⁵³⁰ perhaps owing to another deficiency within the articulated ‘Verbal feature’:

- (760) (i) WITH AN AUXILIARY:
 En avoir {quelque chose/ rien} à **cirer**.
 PART to-have {something/ nothing} to polish.
 ‘Not to give a damn.’
 (ii) WITH A MODAL:
 a. Envoyer {**balader/ chier/ coucher/ dinguer/ paître/ promener/ valser**}.
 To send {walking/ shitting/ putting-to-bed/ fooling/ grazing/ walking/ waltzing}.
 ‘To send {packing/ packing/ packing/ flying/ packing/ packing/ flying}.’
 b. Laisser {**béton**⁵³¹/ **faire/ pisser**}.
 To-let {concrete/ make/ piss}.
 ‘To {forget it/ never mind/ let get on with it}.’
 c. (Ne) Pas pouvoir {**avaler/ blairer/ boire/ digérer/ encadrer/ encaisser/ piffer/ puer/ sacquer**}.
 (Ne) Not can {swallow-down/ smell/ drink/ digest/ frame/ collect/ smell/ stink/ kick-out}.
 ‘To be unable to put up with.’

III.4.4. CP

III.4.4.1. Categories concerned by CP

Categories concerned by the CP-features are first complementizers and prepositions. In II.3.1.1.2.1, we have drawn a distinction between Force-complementizers and Fin-complementizers: the former in (i) are +Force, leave Fin unprojected within CP, and take a finite clause as their complement; the latter in (ii) are +Fin, project Fin within CP, and take a non-finite clause as their complement. Exclamatory complementizers in (iii) are -Force: either they combine with the Force of an exclamation to be uttered in isolation, or they combine with a Force-complementizer and a finite clause. Coordinations in (iv) are probably minus-specified for both Force and Fin: they are able to coordinate either finite, or non-finite clauses; the structural parallelism condition on coordinate structures discussed in II.3.1.1.2.6 guarantees that the double minus-specification is completed for the same feature within the two coordinated members.

- (761) (i) FORCE-COMPLEMENTIZERS: {+Force/ =Fin}:
Que.
 ‘That.’
 (ii) FIN-COMPLEMENTIZERS: {=Force/ +Fin}:
 a. **A**.
 ‘To.’
 b. **De**.
 ‘To.’
 c. **En**.
 ‘In.’
 d. **Pour**.
 ‘For.’
 e. **Sans**.
 ‘Without.’
 (iii) EXCLAMATORY COMPLEMENTIZERS: {-Force/ =Fin}:
 a. ✓ **Bien sûr** (que Pierre vient)!
 Well sure (that Peter comes)!
 b. ✓ **Pour sûr** (que Pierre vient)!
 For sure (that Peter comes)!
 c. ✓ **Sûr** (que Pierre vient)!

⁵³⁰ The collocational choice for a given auxiliary or modal is motivated by further features.

⁵³¹ Back slang of *tomber* ‘to fall’, with jocular respelling motivated by a pun with an homonymous:

(xcviii) Tomber → bertom → béton.
 To-fall → fall-to → concrete.

- Sure (that Peter comes!)
 ‘Off course Peter will come!’
 d. ✓ **Dieu** (que Pierre est beau!)
 God (that Peter is pretty!)
 ‘My God(, Peter is so pretty)!’
 e. ✓ **N’est-ce pas** (que Pierre est beau!)
 Ne is it not (that Peter is nice!)
 ‘(Peter is pretty,) Isn’t it?’
 (IV) COORDINATIONS: {-Force/ -Fin}:
 a. **Et**.
 ‘And.’
 b. **Mais**.
 ‘But.’
 c. **Ni**.
 ‘Nor.’
 d. **Ou**.
 ‘Or.’

A similar distinction can be drawn between Force-prepositions and Fin-prepositions. Independent Force-prepositions in (i) are +Force and take a nominal complement; combining Force-prepositions in (ii) are -Force, so that they may combine with a Force-complementizer to introduce a finite complement,⁵³² but can also take a nominal complement leaving then the Force feature unprojected (extended NP is not concerned by Force). Independent Fin-Prepositions in (iii) are +Fin and take a nominal complement; combining Fin-Prepositions in (iv) are -Fin, so that they need to combine with an independent Fin-preposition, namely *de*, to project the Fin feature.⁵³³

- (762) (I) INDEPENDENT FORCE-PREPOSITIONS: {+Force/ =Fin}:
 a. **Bonjour** (* que).
 ‘What a mess.’
 b. **Que** (* que).
 ‘Only.’
 (II) OPTIONALLY COMBINING FORCE-PREPOSITIONS: {-Force/ -Fin}:
 a. **Pour** (que).
 ‘For.’
 b. **Sans** (que).
 ‘Without.’
 (III) INDEPENDENT FIN-PREPOSITIONS: {=Force/ +Fin}:
 a. **A** (* de).
 ‘With.’
 b. **Avec** (* de).
 ‘With.’
 c. **De** (* de).
 ‘Of.’
 d. **En** (* de).
 ‘In.’
 (IV) COMBINING FIN-PREPOSITIONS: {=Force/ -Fin}:
 a. **Loin** *(de).
 ‘Far from.’
 b. **Près** *(de).
 ‘Close to.’

Nouns, quantifiers, and verbs, are also concerned by the CP features; other categories are not.

- (763) CATEGORIES CONCERNED BY CP:
 a. A =

⁵³² It’s the Complementizer guise of *pour* and *sans*, endowed as +Fin, that takes infinitives as its complement.

⁵³³ Under this view, prepositions are not only case-providers for nouns, but also ‘tense’-providers through finiteness.

b. Adv	=
c. C	±
d. CP	=
e. D	=
f. IP	=
g. N	±
h. P	±
i. Pro	=
j. Q	±
k. SM	=
l. V	±
m. VP	=

III.4.4.2. Force vs. Fin

Regular nouns are {-Force, -Fin}, and combine in various ways with verbs and prepositions. Some nouns appearing with a fixed preposition are not concerned by one of the two features of CP:

(764) (I) NOUNS C-COMMANDED BY A FORCE-PREPOSITION: {-Force, =Fin}:

✓ Que **diable!**

What devil!

‘Dash it!’

(II) NOUNS C-COMMANDING A FORCE-PREPOSITION: {+Force, =Fin}:

✓ Avoir **peur** que quelqu’un (ne) vienne.

To-have fear that someone (*ne*) come.

‘To fear about the coming of someone.’

(III) NOUNS C-COMMANDED BY A FIN-PREPOSITION: {=Force, -Fin}:

a. ✓ Sans **ambages**.

Without circumlocutions.

‘Without beating around the bush.’

b. ✓ {D’/ En} aucune **façon**.

{Of/ In} no way.

‘In no way.’

c. ✓ En **cloque**.

In blister.

‘Pregnant.’

d. ✓ A {cran/ la **bourre**/ la **colle**/ tout(e) **berzingue**}.

At {notch/ the delay/ the glue/ all speed}.

‘{Very edgy/ Pushed for time/ Living together/ At full speed}.’

(IV) NOUNS C-COMMANDING A FIN-PREPOSITION: {=Force, +Fin}:

a. ✓ Un **amour** de maison.

A love of house.

‘A lovely house.’

b. ✓ Une **bande** de farceurs.

A band of pranksters.

‘A bunch of pranksters.’

A -Fin noun can c-command a Fin preposition if it is c-commanded by a +Fin preposition:

(765) En [{=Force, +Fin}] **fait** [{=Force, -Fin}] de [{=Force, +Fin}].

In fact of.

‘In the way of.’

Regular quantifiers are {+Force, =Fin}, and combine in various ways with verbs and prepositions. Some quantifiers appearing with a fixed preposition are not concerned by one of the two features of CP:

(766) (I) Q C-COMMANDED BY A FORCE-PREPOSITION: {-Force, =Fin}:

Que {couic/ dalle}!

- That {squeak/ paving-stone}!
 ‘A {darn thing/ damn thing}.’
 (II) Q C-COMMANDING A FORCE-PREPOSITION: {+Force, =Fin}:
 {Moins/ Plus} **que**.⁵³⁴
 {Minus/ More} that.
 ‘{Minus/ More} than.’
 (III) Q C-COMMANDED BY A FIN-PREPOSITION: {=Force, -Fin}:
De {beaucoup/ loin/ peu}.
 Of {much/ long/ few}.
 ‘{By a long way/ By far/ Just}.’
 (IV) Q C-COMMANDING A FIN-PREPOSITION: {=Force, +Fin}:
 {Beaucoup/ Moins/ Peu/ Plus} **de**.
 {Much/ Minus/ Few/ More} of.
 ‘{Much/ Minus than/ Few/ More than}.’

Regular verbs are {-Force, -Fin}. Nonetheless, some verbs polarized with a fixed modal in (i), or with a fixed complementizer in (ii), are not concerned by one of the two features of CP:

- (767) (i) WITH FIXED MODAL: {-Force/ =Fin}:
 a. * Pierre (n’)encaisse pas Jeanne.
 Peter (*ne*) collects not Jane.
 b. ✓ Pierre (ne) **peut** pas encaisser Jeanne.
 Peter (*ne*) can not collect Jane.
 ‘Peter cannot put up with Jane.’
 (ii) WITH FIXED COMPLEMENTIZER: {=Force/ -Fin}:
 a. * Pierre (n’)a pas {balancé/ barguigné} pour partir.
 Peter (*ne*) has not {swung/ shilly-shallied} to leave.
 b. ✓ Pierre est parti **sans** {balancer/ barguigner}.
 Peter is left without {swing/ shilly-shally}.
 ‘Peter left without shilly-shallying.’

III.4.5. TOP-QP

III.4.5.1. Categories concerned by Top-QP

Categories concerned by Top-QP are first the high nominal categories, namely quantifiers and determiners, and additionally the quantificational adjectives, adverbs, and nouns; other categories are not concerned.

- (768) CATEGORIES CONCERNED BY TOP-QP:
- | | |
|--------|------------------------------------|
| a. A | ± [only the quantificational ones] |
| b. Adv | ± [only the quantificational ones] |
| c. C | = |
| d. CP | = |
| e. D | ± |
| f. IP | = |
| g. N | ± [only the quantificational ones] |
| h. P | = |
| i. Pro | = |
| j. Q | ± |
| k. SM | = |
| l. V | = |
| m. VP | = |

⁵³⁴ Independent grounds for lexicalizing separately {*moins/ plus*} *que* in (ii) and {*moins/ plus*} *de* in (iv) have been seen in II.3.1.1.3.1;(414)-(415): the former ones behave like EQPs, the latter ones like CQP, in the quantifier typology of Beghelli [1995].

III.4.5.2. Universal vs. Individual

Determiners are all specified for Top-QP features: either they denote Individual existence in (i), or Universal existence in (ii), and they are always plus-specified; needing to combine with nouns follows from the DP-features (see III.4.8), as good as the special behavior of *personne*, which is the sole determiner in complementary distribution with nouns. Singular \forall determiners result from the combination of -Singular specification with $+\forall$ specification.

- (769) (i) $\{=\forall, +\text{INDIVIDUAL}\}$:
 a. **Le, la, les.**
 ‘The.’
 b. **Un, une, des.**
 ‘A-M, a-F, PL-INDEF-DET.’
 c. **Je-ne-sais-quel.**
 ‘I don’t know what.’
 d. **On-ne-sait-quel.**
 ‘We don’t know what.’
 (ii) $\{+\forall, =\text{INDIVIDUAL}\}$:
 a. **Chaque, chaque.**
 ‘Each.’
 b. **{Aucun, aucune, aucuns, aucunes/ nul, nulle, nuls, nulles}.**
 ‘No one.’
 c. **Tout.**
 ‘All.’
 d. **Personne.**
 ‘Nobody.’

Quantifiers too are all specified for Top-QP features: either they are \forall in (i)-(ii), either Individual in (iii), or minus-specified for both values in (iv).

- (770) (i) FULLY \forall QUANTIFIERS ARE $\{+\forall, =\text{INDIVIDUAL}\}$:⁵³⁵
 a. \checkmark ($\% \text{Pas/ Plus}$) **{Rien/ Nibergue}**.
 ‘Nothing.’
 b. \checkmark Que **{couic/ dalle}**.
 ‘Nothing.’
 (ii) QUANTIFIERS NEEDING A \forall C-COMMANDER ARE $\{-\forall, =\text{INDIVIDUAL}\}$:
 a. \checkmark [*(Pas) **{bésef/ lerche/ lourd/ trente-six}**].
 ‘Not much.’
 b. \checkmark [*(Pas/ Plus)] **{où que ce soit/ qui que ce soit/ quoi que ce soit/ quand que ce soit}**.
 {Not/ No-longer} {wherever/ whoever/ whatever/ whenever}.
 ‘{In no place/ Nobody/ Nothing/ In no time} (anymore).’
 (iii) INDIVIDUAL QUANTIFIERS: $\{=\forall, +\text{INDIVIDUAL}\}$:
 a. **Deux, trois, quatre...**
 ‘Two, three, four...’
 b. **Beaucoup.**
 ‘A lot.’
 c. **Guère.**
 ‘Not much.’
 d. **{Peu/ Plus}**.
 ‘{Few/ More}.’
 e. **{N’importe qui/ Quiconque}**.
 {Ne doesn’t-matter who/ Whoever}.
 ‘Anybody.’
 (iv) QUANTIFIERS NEEDING A QUANTIFICATIONAL C-COMMANDER ARE $\{-\forall, -\text{INDIVIDUAL}\}$:
 {Quelque chose/ Rien} **d’autre**.
 {Something/ Nothing} of else.
 ‘{Something/ Nothing} else.’

⁵³⁵ As observed in II.2.2.1.2, $+\forall$ quantifiers receive an existential reading when c-commanded by another $+\forall$ item—only the highest occurrence of the \forall feature is interpretable.

As the French NPIs in (770)(ii), the Italian adverbial FC PI *mai* ‘ever’ appear to be {-Universal, =Individual}—in its ‘positive’ guise, it can survive within a relative headed by a \forall quantified antecedent, not by an \exists one, as shown by the following contrast taken from Chierchia [1997:437(4)]:

- (771) a. ✓ *Conosco ogni ragazzo che abbia mai sentito parlare di Chomsky.*
I-know every boy that have ever heard talk about Chomsky.
‘I know every boy that ever have heard about Chomsky.’
b. * *Conosco qualche ragazzo che abbia mai sentito parlare di Chomsky.*
I-know some boy that have ever heard talk about Chomsky.

Only few adjectives are quantificational:

- (772) (I) ADJECTIVES NEEDING A \forall C-COMMANDING ADVERB ARE {- \forall , =INDIVIDUAL}:
✓ *Tout court.*
All short.
‘Period.’
(II) COUNTING ADJECTIVES ARE {= \forall , +INDIVIDUAL}:
a. ✓ *Les nombreux hommes ici présents.*
The numerous men here present.
‘The many men here present.’
b. ✓ *Les premiers élèves.*
‘The first students.’
(III) THE UNIVERSAL ADJECTIVE IS {+ \forall , =INDIVIDUAL}:
✓ *Pour toute la vie.*
For whole the life.
‘For the whole life.’

Amongst the adverbs, only the quantificational ones are concerned by quantificational features: strict manner adverbs are {= \forall , =Individual}. Quantificational adverbs may be either + \forall in (i), or +Individual in (ii)—no minus-specification seems conceivable, in so that adverbs never show any obligation to combine with other items:

- (773) (i) {+ \forall , =INDIVIDUAL}:
a. **Toujours.**
‘Always.’
b. **Jamais.**
‘Never.’
c. {**Pas/ Point/ Plus**}.
‘{Not/ Not/ No-more}.’
(ii) {= \forall , +INDIVIDUAL}:
a. {**Aucunement/ Nullement**}.
‘In no way.’
b. {**Seulement/ Uniquement**}.
‘Only.’
c. {**Non pas/ Non plus**}.
‘{No not/ No no-more}.’
‘{Not/ Neither}.’

The few quantificational nouns are {-Universal, =Individual}, and need \forall c-command by the universal adjective *tout* ‘whole’ for frozen collocations in (i), and by a \forall quantifier or a quantificational adverb for productive combinations in (ii):

- (774) (I) FROZEN COLLOCATIONS:
a. ✓ {A *tout(e) berzingue/ Sur toute la ligne/ A toute vapeur*}.
‘{At whole speed/ On whole the line/ At whole steam}.’
‘{At full speed/ Flat-out/ At full speed}.’

- b. ✓ Et tout le **tremblement**.
And whole the trembling.
'The whole caboodle.'
- c. ✓ Tout à **fait**.
Whole at fact.
'Absolutely.'
- (II) PRODUCTIVE COMBINATIONS:
{Pas/ Plus/ Personne/ Rien} du **tout**.
'{Not/ No more/ Nobody/ Nothing} at all.'

III.4.6. BOTTOM-QP

III.4.6.1. Categories concerned by Bottom-QP

Excepting the frozen categories CP and IP, all items are concerned by the features of Bottom-QP: regular items are {-Presence, -Absence}, so that they can freely combine with 'positive' and 'negative' contexts; PIs express either Absence (NPIs), either Presence (PPIs), or alternatively both depending on the context (FC PIs).

(775) CATEGORIES CONCERNED BY BOTTOM-QP:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| a. A | ± |
| b. Adv | ± |
| c. C | ± |
| d. CP | = |
| e. D | ± |
| f. IP | = |
| g. N | ± |
| h. P | ± |
| i. Pro | ± |
| j. Q | ± |
| k. SM | ± |
| l. V | ± |
| m. VP | ± |

III.4.6.2. Existent vs. Absent

PPIs are {+Existent, =Absent}: they must project Existent feature, so that Bottom-QP is no longer available for the Absent feature of 'negative' items.

(776) (I) ADJECTIVES:

- a. ✓ C'est **chicos** d'être ici.
b. * C(e n')est pas **chicos** d'être ici.
{It is/ * It (*ne*) is not} great to be here.
'It's great to be here.'

(II) ADVERBS:

- a. ✓ Jeanne soutient **mordicus** être venue ici.
b. * Jeanne (*ne*) soutient pas **mordicus** être venue ici.
Jane {maintains/ *(*ne*) maintains not} stubbornly to-be come here.
'Jane stubbornly maintains she has already been here.'

(III) NOUNS:

- a. ✓ Ajoutez l'**âge du capitaine** au problème.
b. * (N')Ajoutez pas l'**âge du capitaine** au problème.
{Add/ *(*Ne*) Add not} the age of-the captain to-the problem.
'Add a whimsical variable to the sum.'

(IV) PREPOSITIONS:

- a. ✓ Jeanne est venue **en** chantant.
b. * Jeanne est venue **en** (*ne*) chantant pas.
Jane is come in {singing/ *(*ne*) singing not}.
'Jane came singing.'

(V) PRONOUNS:

- a. ✓ C'est **mécolle** qui s'y colle.
 b. * C(e n)'est pas mécolle qui s'y colle.
 It {is/ *(ne) is not} me that himself LOC stuck.
 'I've got myself stuck with this.'

(VI) QUANTIFIERS:

- a. ✓ **Quelqu'un** est arrivé.
 b. * Pas quelqu'un (n')est arrivé.
 {Somebody/ * Not somebody (ne)} is arrived.
 'Somebody arrived.'

(VII) VERBS:

- a. ✓ Pierre a {**failli/ manqué**} tomber.
 b. * Pierre (n')a pas {failli/ manqué} tomber.
 Peter {has/ (ne) has not} been-very-near-to fall.
 'Peter was very near to fall.'

(VIII) VPS:

- a. ✓ Les vacances sont **passées à l'as**.
 b. * Les vacances (ne) sont pas passées à l'as.
 The vacations {are/ (ne) are not} gone to the ace.
 'The vacation went down the drain.'

NPIs changing the polarity of the sentence on their own are {=Existent, +Absent}, so that regular items {-Existent, -Absent} c-commanded by them are forced to project Absent feature. For this reason, antonymous *un* {-Existent, -Absent} and *aucun* {=Existent, +Absent} becomes synonymous under the scope of *sans* in (ii)a, whereas *chaque*, which is {+Existent, =Absent} cannot be c-commanded by *sans* in (ii)b.

(777) (I) ADVERBS:

- {**Aucunement/ Jamais/ Nullement/ Pas/ Plus/ Point**}.
 'In no way/ Never/ Not in the least/ Not/ No longer/ Not.'

(II) COMPLEMENTIZERS:

- ✓ **Sans** travailler = (Ne) travaillant pas.
 Without to-work = (Ne) working not.
 'Without working = Not working.'

(III) PREPOSITIONS:

- a. ✓ **Sans un** = **Sans aucun**.⁵³⁶
 Without a = Without no.
 b. * Sans chaque.
 Without each.

PIs typically needing the verb *être* are {-Existent, =Absent}:

(778) (I) ADJECTIVES:

- a. ✓ {Ce mec est/ * Un mec} **groggy**.
 {This guy is/ * A guy} groggy.
 'This guy is washed out.'
 b. ✓ La voiture de monsieur est **avancée**.
 The car of mister is advanced.
 'Your carriage awaits, mister.'

(II) NOUNS:

- ✓ C'est le **bouquet**.
 It is the bunch.
 'It takes the cake.'

Many polarity expressions are built with *c'est* 'it's': they almost systematically require a given polarity to be correctly interpreted. The noun involved is {-Existent, =Absent} in the 'positive' case in (i), and {=Existent, -Absent} in the 'negative' case in (ii); in the latter case, the value of *être*, which is {-Existent, -Absent}, is fixed on the Absent value by the negation.

⁵³⁶ See also example (653) and the discussion in II.3.1.2.9.2.

- (779) (i) 'POSITIVE':
 a. ✓ C'est du flan!
 It's PARTITIVE-the custard tart!
 'It's a load of hooley!'
 b. * C(e n)'est pas du flan!
 It (*ne*) is not PARTITIVE-the custard tart!
 (ii) 'NEGATIVE':
 a. * C'est du bronze!
 It's PARTITIVE the bronze!
 b. ✓ C(e n)'est pas du bronze!
 It (*ne*) is not PARTITIVE the bronze!
 'It's provisional!'

The few attested exceptions are thus {-Existent, -Absent}, as in this canonical example:

- (780) a. ✓ C'est du nougat!
 It's PARTITIVE-the nougat.
 'It's easy.'
 b. ✓ C(e n)'est pas du nougat!
 It (*ne*) is not PARTITIVE-the nougat.
 'It isn't easy.'

Anyway, a fixed polarity is the unmarked case for the expressions built with *c'est*; particularly eloquent is the following pair involving two quasi-synonymous, *tarte* 'tart' and *gâteau* 'cake':

- (781) (i) 'POSITIVE':
 a. ✓ C'est du gâteau!
 It's PARTITIVE-the cake!
 'It's easy!'
 b. * C(e n)'est pas du gâteau!
 It (*ne*) is not PARTITIVE-the cake!
 (ii) 'NEGATIVE':
 a. * C'est de la tarte!
 It's PARTITIVE the tart.
 b. ✓ C(e n)'est pas de la tarte!
 It (*ne*) is not PARTITIVE the tart.
 'It isn't easy.'

Any French readers will accept (781)(i)b. That 'negative' guise, which was not attested in *Le petit Robert* [1967], has in fact been added in *Le nouveau petit Robert* [1993]. On the other hand, in all French dialects of Switzerland, *gâteau* is currently used to refer just as well to the cakes as to the tarts, and *tarte* has only figurative uses⁵³⁷—Swiss people has thus scarce intuitions on the preceding pairs. However, dialectal and idiolectal variation, as diachronic evolution, wouldn't have to cloud the validity of a given situation in a given place and time: for some subset of French speakers, which includes us, (781)(i) vs. (781)(ii) is a strong contrast. On the other hand, even if any French speakers do accept (781)(i)b, the ungrammaticality of (781)(ii)a seems more robust—in fact, no *Robert* attests this form, excepting a quotation of French writer Boris Vian in *Le nouveau petit Robert*, but crucially (782) shows a peculiarity with respect to (781)(ii)a, namely the presence of the degree-denoting adverb *vraiment* 'really'.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁷ In any dialects like Vaudois and Fribourgeois, the situation is furthermore complicated by the use of *tourte*, which in standard French refers to savory tarts, to refer to sweet round pies...

⁵³⁸ See examples (598) in 0 and (800) in III.4.9.2, and relative discussions.

- (782) ✓ “Pour fabriquer une bombe «A»/ Mes enfants croyez-moi/ C’est vraiment de la tarte”.⁵³⁹
 For to-make a bomb “A”/ My children believe-me/ It’s really PARTITIVE the tart.
 ‘To make an atomic bomb/ Believe me folks/ It’s very easy.’

Interrogative items in general are {-Existent, =Absent}: though suspending the existential content in expecting the answer, they cannot be negated.

- (783) (I) ADJECTIVES:
 a. ✓ Jeanne est arrivée **combientième**?
 b. * Jeanne (n’)est pas arrivée combientième?
 Jane {is/ *(ne) is not} arrived what-number?
 ‘Where did Jane come in?’
 (II) QUANTIFIERS:
 a. ✓ **Combien** de femmes font de la bédé?
 b. * Pas combien de femmes font de la bédé?
 (* Not) How-many of women make of the comics?
 ‘How many women make comics?’

PPIs, which are {-Existent, =Absent}, may appear in interrogative contexts if the presupposition is ‘positive’, hence a slight deviance if the polarity of the presupposition is not evident, and a strong deviance if the presupposition is ‘negative’. NPIs, which are {=Existent, -Absent}, don’t support interrogative contexts, and give semantically bad results to the ‘What is it-test’:

- (784) (I) REGULAR ITEMS {-EXISTENT, -ABSENT}:
 a. ✓ C(e n)’est pas du **plastique**, alors qu’est-ce que c’est?
 It (ne) is not of-the plastic, then what is it that it is?
 ‘It’s not plastic, and then what is it?’
 b. ✓ Est-ce que c’est du **plastique**?
 Is it that it is of-the plastic?
 ‘Is that plastic?’
 (II) PPIs {-EXISTENT, =ABSENT}:
 a. * Ce n’est pas du {**nanan/ gâteau**}, alors qu’est-ce que c’est?
 It (ne) is not of-the {cakewalk/ cake}, then what is it that it is?
 b. (?(?)) Est-ce que c’est du {**nanan/ gâteau**}?
 Is it that it is of-the {cakewalk/ cake}?
 ‘Is that cakewalk?’
 (III) NPIS {=EXISTENT, -ABSENT}:
 a. ☉# “C’est pas du **bronze**/ Alors qu’est-ce que c’est? [...] Je vous le demande?”⁵⁴⁰
 It is not of-the bronze, then what is it that it is? I to-you it ask?
 ‘It’s not bronze [→ it will not last forever], and then I ask you what is it?’
 b. # Est-ce que c’est {du **bronze**/ de la **tarte**}?
 Is it that it is of-the {bronze/ tart}?

PIs typically needing a negation are {=Existent, -Absent}:

- (785) (I) ADJECTIVES:
 ✓ Le mystère divin (n’)est *(pas) **connaissable**.
 The mystery divine (ne) is *(not) knowable.
 ‘The divine mystery is not knowable.’
 (II) NOUNS:
 a. ✓ ((II) (N’))Y’a *(pas) {**âme qui vive**/ une **âme**/ un **chat**}.
 ((There) (Ne)) Loc has *(not) {soul which live/ a soul/ a cat}.
 ‘There is nobody.’
 b. ✓ {Sans/ * Avec} **ambages**.
 {Without/ * With} circumlocutions.
 ‘Without beating around the bush.’

⁵³⁹ Boris Vian, *La java des bombes atomiques*, in *Textes & chansons*, Paris, Christian Bourgois.

⁵⁴⁰ Jacques Dutronc, *C’est pas du bronze* (Anne Segalen), Columbia, 1982.

(III) QUANTIFIERS:

✓ C'est *(pas) **lerche**.

This is *(not) much.

'This is few.'

(IV) SMS:

✓ Pierre **ne** vient *({pas/ plus/ jamais/ nullement}) ici.Peter *ne* comes *({not/ no longer/ never/ not in the least}) here.

'Peter doesn't come ({any longer/ anymore/ in any way}) here.'

(V) VERBS:

✓ Pierre (ne) peut *(pas) **piffer** Jeanne.Peter (*ne*) can *(not) sniff Jane.

'Peter cannot put up with Jane.'

(VI) VPS:

✓ Ça (ne) **casse** *(pas) **trois pattes à un canard**.It (*ne*) brokes *(not) three feet to a duck.

'There's nothing to write home about.'

FC PIs are {-Existent, -Absent} like regular items: their polarity depends on other features. Stranding quantificational adjective *d'autre* 'else' in (i) is a FC PI, and the *-que ce soit* series illustrated with *quand que ce soit* 'whenever' in (ii) is all made up of FC PIs:

(786) (I) STRANDING QUANTIFICATIONAL ADJECTIVE *D'AUTRE*:a. ✓ Quelqu'un **d'autre** (* n')est venu.Somebody of other (* *ne*) is come.

'Somebody else came.'

b. ✓ Personne **d'autre** (n')est venu.Nobody of other (*ne*) is come.

'Nobody else came.'

(II) THE *-QUE CE SOIT* SERIES:a. ✓ **Quand que ce soit** que tu viennes, tu seras bien accueilli.

Whenever that you come, you will-be good welcomed.

'You will be welcome whenever you come.'

b. ✓ Si tu (ne) viens pas **quand que ce soit** dans la semaine, tu perdras toute chance de rencontrer Pierre.If you (*ne*) comes not whenever in the week, you will-lose all chance to meet Peter.

'You will lose any chance to meet Peter if you don't come any time during this week.'

Verbs of fear, doubt and impediment discussed in II.3.1.1.2.5.1 for Classic Latin and (199)-(200) for French seem to be a particular subcase of FC PIs: a {-Existent, -Absent} specification renders them compatible with every polarity, and with the (presuppositional) expletive *ne*.

III.4.7. *PARTP*

III.4.7.1. Categories concerned by PartP

Only items pertaining to the extended NP are concerned by partitivity, namely prepositions, quantifiers, adjectives, and nouns—excepting determiners, that are requested by the nouns for independent combinations (completion of number and gender), and don't interfere with partitive combinations,⁵⁴¹ hence the need of a preposition to express the partitivity.

(787) CATEGORIES CONCERNED BY PARTP:

a. A ±

b. Adv =

c. C =

d. CP =

⁵⁴¹ Incompatibility between plural indefinite determiner and partitive preposition (*des* { * < *de des* / ✓ < *de les* }) follows from independent reason (the Whole feature at the plural has universal properties incompatible with indefiniteness like true \forall quantifiers, see (571)), as shown by the compatibility at the singular (✓ *d'un*).

e. D	=
f. IP	=
g. N	±
h. P	±
i. Pro	=
j. Q	±
k. SM	=
l. V	=
m. VP	=

III.4.7.2. Whole vs. Part

Qualifying adjectives are {-Whole, -Part}, so that they can qualify countable nouns in (i) as good as mass nouns in (ii):

- (788) (I) WITH A COUNTABLE NOUN ({-WHOLE, =PART}):
 ✓ Pierre a {une **bonne**/ d'**autre**} idée pour résoudre ce problème.
 Peter has {a good/ of other} idea to solve this problem.
 'Peter has {a good/ another} idea to solve this problem.'
 (II) WITH A MASS NOUN ({=WHOLE, -PART}):
 ✓ Pierre a {de la **bonne**/ d'**autre**} salade au frigo.
 Peter has {of the good/ of other} salad in-the fridge.
 'Peter has {good/ further} salad in the fridge.'

Quantificational adjectives are {-Whole, =Part}, and need to qualify a Whole item to project PartP:

- (789) a. ✓ {Quelqu'un/ Personne} **d'autre**.
 {Somebody/ Nobody} of other.
 'Somebody/ Nobody} else.'
 b. * Gens d'autre.
 People of other.
 a.' ✓ Pierre est arrivé **combien**tième?
 Peter is arrived what-number?
 'Where did Peter come in?'
 b.' * La masse est arrivée combien

While countable nouns are {+Whole, =Part}, and project PartP on their own, regular mass nouns are {-Whole, -Part}: in fact, all regular mass nouns have also a countable guise. The mass reading call thus for a Part c-commander, which is the partitive preposition *de*: under the scope of *de*, which forces the projection of Part feature, only the mass reading is available:

- (790) (I) MASS GUISE:
 ✓ Cette usine produit de la **farine**.
 This factory produces of-the flour.
 'This factory produces flour.'
 (II) COUNTABLE GUISE:
 ✓ Cette usine produit (* de) trois **farines** de qualité différente.
 This factory produces (* of) three flours of quality different.
 'This factory produces three flours of different quality.'

Mass nominal PIs lacking a countable guise are {=Whole, -Part}:

- (791) a. ✓ Jeanne est dans {de(s)/ * les} **beaux draps**.
Jane is in {of(-the)/ * the} nice sheets.
'Jane is in a mess.'
- b. ✓ Jeanne a {du/ * un} **chien**.
Jane has {of-the/ * the} dog.
'Jane has much sex-appeal.'

Regular prepositions compatible either with partitive, or with non-partitive complements in (i) are {-Whole, -Part}; prepositions incompatible with partitive in (ii) are {-Whole, =Part}; inherently partitive prepositions in (iii) are {=WHOLE, +PARTITIVE}.

- (792) (I) REGULAR PREPOSITIONS ARE {-WHOLE, -PARTITIVE}:
a. ✓ Mélangez cette préparation {à/ avec} (de) la farine.
Mix this preparation {to/ with} (of) the flour.
'Mix this preparation with (the) flour.'
- b. ✓ **Pour** obtenir (de) la farine, on moud le grain.
To obtain (of) the flour, one grinds the grain.
'To obtain (the) flour, one grinds the grain.'
- (II) PREPOSITIONS INCOMPATIBLE WITH PARTITIVE ARE {-WHOLE, =PARTITIVE}:
✓ **Bonjour** (* de) la salade!
Good morning (* of) the salad!
'What a mess, those stories!'
- (III) PARTITIVE PREPOSITIONS ARE {=WHOLE, +PARTITIVE}:
a. ✓ Jeanne veut **de** la farine.
Jane want of the flour.
'Jane want flour.'
- b. ✓ La fée a changé Jeanne **en** pierre.
The fairy has changed Jane in (* of the) stone.
'The fairy turned Jane into stone.'
- c. ✓ Jeanne est partie **sans** farine.⁵⁴²
Jane is gone without flour.
'Jane left without flour.'

Autonomous quantifiers incompatible with a partitive preposition in (i) are {+Whole, =Partitive}; amongst those combining with a partitive preposition, those needing partitive c-command in (ii) are {=Whole, -Partitive}, and those providing partitive c-command in (iii) are {=Whole, +Partitive}. Some quantifiers are homonymous in French, but crucially not in English: despite the homonymy, we have thus classified them several times in the database, with different specifications.

- (793) (I) AUTONOMOUS QUANTIFIERS ARE {+WHOLE, =PARTITIVE}:
a. ✓ Pierre aime (* de) **quelqu'un**.
Peter loves (* of) somebody.
'Peter loves somebody.'
- b. ✓ Pierre a (* de) **tout(-tout)** compris.
Peter has (* of) all(-all) understood.
'Peter understood all.'
- c. ✓ ((II) (N'))Y'en a pas (* de) {**beaucoup/ bésef/ lerche**}.
((There) (Ne)) LOC PART has not (* of) much.
'This isn't much.'
- (II) QUANTIFIERS C-COMMANDED BY *DE* ARE {=WHOLE, -PARTITIVE}:
a. ✓ Pierre a manqué son train de **peu**.
Peter has missed his train of few.
'Peter just missed the train.'
- b. ✓ Pierre est premier de **beaucoup**.
Peter is first of much.
'Peter is top by a long way.'

⁵⁴² Gross [1967:107] observed that *sans* obeys the same rules than *de* in partitive constructs, but attributed this fact to its 'negative' properties, rather than to inherent partitive properties.

(III) QUANTIFIERS C-COMMANDING *DE* ARE {=WHOLE, +PARTITIVE}:

✓ {**Peu/ Beaucoup**} de gens.

{Few/ Much} of people.

‘{Few/ A lot of} people.’

III.4.8. DP

III.4.8.1. Categories concerned by DP

Only nouns and determiners are concerned by the DP features.⁵⁴³ the other grammatical categories are {=Definite, =Indefinite}. Needing to combine with nouns follows from those features: determiners in general are minus-specified for one of the two DP-features, so that they need a noun to project DP; the special behavior of *personne*, which is the sole determiner in complementary distribution with nouns, follows from a +Indefinite feature.

Some nominal PIs have a deficient DP; the most idiomatical case is that of nominal PIs not tolerating any determiner:

(794) (I) ‘NEGATIVE’ NOUN:

a. ✓ Pierre (n’)a pas vu ({* l’/ * une}) **âme qui vive**.

Peter (*ne*) has not seen ({* the/ * a}) soul which live.

‘Peter didn’t see anybody.’

b. ✓ Jeanne ment sans ({* la/ * une}) **vergogne**.

Jane lies without ({* the/ * a}) shame.

‘Jane lies shamelessly.’

(II) ‘POSITIVE’ NOUN:

a. ✓ Pierre a ({* la/ * une}) **grand-peine** à comprendre Jeanne.

Peter has ({* the/ * a}) great difficulty to understand Jane.

‘Peter has difficulty in understanding Jane.’

b. ✓ Ça fait ({* la/ * une}) **belle lurette** que Pierre (n’)a plus vu Jane.

This makes ({* the/ * a}) nice little-hour that Peter (*ne*) has no-longer seen Jane.

‘It’s ages since Peter saw Jane for the last time.’

Such PIs are {=Definite, =Indefinite}, and thus not concerned by the interactions with determiners. On the other hand, determiners cannot be happy with them: determiners being either -Definite, or -Indefinite, they need nouns concerned by DP features.

While regular nouns are {-Definite, -Indefinite}, so that they can freely combine with every determiner, many PIs are either {-Definite, =Indefinite}, or {=Definite, -Indefinite}.

(795) CATEGORIES CONCERNED BY DP:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| a. A | ± |
| b. Adv | = |
| c. C | = |
| d. CP | = |
| e. D | ± |
| f. IP | = |
| g. N | ± |
| h. P | = |
| i. Pro | ± |
| j. Q | ± |
| k. SM | = |
| l. V | ± |
| m. VP | ± |

⁵⁴³ Some adjectival NPIs as *le moindre*, *le plus petit*, ‘the slightest’, and adverbial NPIS as *le moins du monde* ‘not in the least’ could seem concerned by definiteness; nevertheless, their fixed determiner is that of the superlative construct, and has to be derived from the specifications of the features characterizing superlatives.

III.4.8.2. Definite vs. Indefinite

PIs {-Definite, =Indefinite} need to combine with a {-Definite, =Indefinite} determiner to project DP:

- (796) a. ✓ {Le/ * Un} **sel de la terre**.
 ‘The salt of the earth.’
 b. ✓ {Le/ * Un} **nerf de la guerre**.
 ‘The sinews of war.’
 c. ✓ {Le/ * Un} **dindon de la farce**.
 ‘The fall guy.’
 d. ✓ {L’/ * Un} **âge du capitaine**.
 ‘Ridiculous problems.’

PIs {=Definite, -Indefinite} need to combine with a {=Definite, -Indefinite} determiner to project DP:

- (797) a. ✓ { * L’/ Un} **amour** de maison.
 ‘A lovely house.’
 b. ✓ Etre { * l’/ un} **âne**.
 ‘To be a fool.’
 c. ✓ Dire { * le/ un} **bobard**.
 ‘To tell a lie.’
 d. ✓ Pierre a { * la/ une} **faim de loup**.
 ‘Peter is famished.’
 e. ✓ Jeanne s’est pris { * le/ un} **gadin**.
 ‘Jane fell flat on her face.’

III.4.9. TOP-DEGP

III.4.9.1. Categories concerned by Top-DegP

Items concerned by monotone⁵⁴⁴ properties are pointing either towards the top (they are the Increasing ones), or towards the bottom (they are the Decreasing ones). Only Scalar items, which project Bottom-DegP in its Scalar guise, are concerned by Top-DegP; the Punctual ones are not concerned by monotone properties). Categories able to express monotone properties are on the one hand adverbs, complementizers, verbs, and VPs; on the other hand the categories pertaining to the extended NP, namely prepositions, quantifiers, adjectives, determiners, and nouns.

(798) CATEGORIES CONCERNED BY TOP-DEGP:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| a. A | ± |
| b. Adv | ± |
| c. C | ± |
| d. CP | = |
| e. D | ± |
| f. IP | = |
| g. N | ± |
| h. P | ± |
| i. Pro | = |
| j. Q | ± |
| k. SM | = |
| l. V | ± |
| m. VP | ± |

⁵⁴⁴ This term, imported from the terminology of mathematics, denotes the characteristic of varying in a single direction.

III.4.9.2. Increasing vs. Decreasing

Semantically ‘negative’ items are {=Increasing, +Decreasing}: this allows them to combine with {=Increasing, -Decreasing} NPIs, as seen in (30), (627), and (665):

(799) (i) ADJECTIVES:

✓ Il est {**désagréable**/ * agréable} de fumer **quoi que ce soit** sous la pluie.

It’s {disagreeable/ * agreeable} to smoke whatever under the rain.

‘It’s disagreeable to smoke anything in the rain.’

(ii) ADVERBS:

✓ Il est {**incroyablement**/ * crédiblement} agréable d’embrasser **qui que ce soit**.

This is {incredibly/ credibly} agreeable to kiss whoever.

‘It’s incredibly agreeable to kiss whoever.’

(iii) NOUNS:

✓ {L’**impossibilité**/ * La possibilité} de rencontrer **qui que ce soit** plaît à Pierre.

The {impossibility/ * possibility} to meet whoever pleases to Peter.

‘The impossibility to meet anybody suits Peter.’

(iv) VERBS:

✓ Sa misanthropie {**déplaît**/ * plaît} à **qui que ce soit**.

Its misanthropy {displeases/ * pleases} to whoever.

‘Its misanthropy suits anybody.’

The ‘negative’ quantificational adjectives and adverbs are also {=Increasing, +Decreasing}, while the ‘positive’ ones are {+Increasing, =Decreasing}; non-quantificational qualifying adjectives and manner adverbs are {=Increasing, =Decreasing}. The degree-denoting adverbs in (c), ‘positive’ or ‘negative’, may thus combine with adjectival NPIs endowed as {-Increasing, -Decreasing}, as good as ‘negative’ adverbs in (b):

(800) a. * Ce problème est évitable.

This problem is avoidable.

b. ✓ Ce problème (n’)est {**pas/ plus/ jamais**} évitable.

This problem (*ne*) is {not/ no-longer/ never} avoidable.

‘One can {not/ no-longer/ never} avoid this problem.’

c. ✓ Ce problème est {**vraiment/ très/ facilement/ difficilement**} évitable.

This problem is {really/ very/ easily/ difficultly} avoidable.

‘One can {really/ really/ easily/ difficultly} avoid this problem.’

Regular complementizers are {-Increasing, -Decreasing}, so that they can introduce either Increasing, or Decreasing clauses. Some exclamatory complementizers with residual lexical content, which can only introduce ‘positive’ clauses (a possible negation has to be local), are instead {+Increasing, =Decreasing}:

(801) a. ✓ **Dieu** qu’il est beau!

b. ✓ **Dieu** qu’il (* n’)est pas beau!

God that he {is/ (* *ne*) is not} pretty!

‘What {pretty/ not pretty} he is!’

The different specifications of the determiners are made visible by their (in)tolerance with respect to a ‘negative’ c-commander—and, in case of tolerance, by the (in)variability of their polarity:

(802) (i) NOT TOLERATING ‘NEGATIVE’ C-COMMAND: {+INCREASING, =DECREASING}:

a. ✓ (* Pas) {**Je-ne-sais-quel/ On-ne-sait-quel/ N’importe quel ... que ce soit**}.

(* Not) {I *ne* know which/ One *ne* knows which/ *Ne* matters which ... that it is}.

‘{I don’t know what/ We don’t know what/ Any ... it would be}.’

b. ✓ (* Pas) {**Le/ La/ Les**}.

{(* Not) The}.

(II) TOLERATING ‘NEGATIVE’ C-COMMAND WITH POLARITY CHANGE: {-INCREASING, -DECREASING}:

a. ✓ (Pas) **N’importe quel**.

(Not) *Ne* matters which.

‘(Not) Any.’

b. ✓ (Pas) {**Un/ Une/ Des**}.

(Not) {A-M/ A-F/ PL-INDEF-DET}.

‘(Not) {A/ Ø}.’

c. ✓ {**Chaque/ Tout**} ... (pas).⁵⁴⁵

{Each/ Every} ... (not).

‘Not {each/ every}.’

(III) TOLERATING ‘NEGATIVE’ C-COMMAND WITHOUT POLARITY CHANGE: {=INCREASING, +DECREASING}:

a. ✓ (% Pas) {**Aucun/ Nul**}.

‘(% Not) No.’

b. ✓ (% Pas) **Personne**.

‘(% Not) Nobody.’

Nouns only appearing under the scope of a ‘negative’ preposition, and verbs only appearing under the scope of a ‘negative’ complementizer, are {=Increasing, -Decreasing}; in particular, the combination of {=Force, -Fin}, {=Presence, -Absence}, and {=Increasing, -Decreasing} specifications favors a collocation with *sans*:

(803) a. ✓ Sans {**ambages/ vergogne**}.

Without {circumlocutions/ shame}.

‘{Without beating around the bush/ Shamelessly}.’

b. ✓ Sans {**balancer/ barguigner**}.

Without to-hesitate.

‘Without {hesitation/ shilly-shallying}.’

Nouns not tolerating ‘negative’ c-command are {-Increasing, =Decreasing}; they can survive in a ‘negative’ sentence if an Increasing item locally completes their deficient specification:

(804) a. ✓ (II) Y’a des **gens** sur la pelouse.

(It) LOC has of-the people on the lawn.

‘There is people on the lawn.’

b. * ((II) (N’))Y’a pas de gens sur la pelouse.

((It) (Ne)) LOC has not of people on the lawn.

c. ✓ ((II) (N’))Y’a pas **beaucoup** de gens sur la pelouse.

((It) (Ne)) LOC has not a-lot of people on the lawn.

‘There is not many people on the lawn.’

Nouns requesting a c-commanding negation are {=Increasing, -Decreasing}: the type of negation requested depends on modal, aspectual and temporal features, among others.

(805) a. ✓ Jamais de {la/ ma} **vie**.

Never of {the/ my} life.

‘Never at all.’

b. ✓ Pas de la {**journée/ nuit**}.

Not of the {day/ night}.

‘Not during the whole {day/ night}.’

c. ✓ Pas {un **iota/ du tout**}.

Not {a iota/ of-the all}.

‘Not {a grain/ at all}.’

Affectionate appellatives in (i) and insults in (ii) are equally {+Increasing, =Decreasing}: one increases a quality, assumed as ‘good’ or ‘bad’ through a lexicalized presupposition; negation

⁵⁴⁵ In subject position, only inverse scope (c-command of the trace) is possible: see II.3.1.1.3.3 for an analysis in terms of RME.

being instead {=Increasing, +Decreasing}, it cannot scope on them: the projection of Top-DegP through Increasing feature just blocks the projection of the complementary Decreasing.

(806) (I) AFFECTIONATE APPELLATIVES:

a. ✓ Un **amour** de maison.

A love of house.

‘Home sweet home.’

b. ✓ Jeanne est un **chou**.

Jane is a cabbage.

‘Jane is kind.’

(II) INSULTS:

a. ✓ Une **saloperie** de gamin.

A crap of kid.

‘A naughty little kid.’

b. ✓ Jeanne est une **vache**.

Jane is a cow.

‘Jane is nasty.’

The featural equivalence between affectionate appellatives and insults favors their ironical interchanging use. As seen in III.1.2.2.1, ironical use of affectionate appellatives consists in asserting an Increasing ‘good’ quality within an exclamation conveying a ‘negative’ (and thus Decreasing) presupposition. The reverse is also possible: people yelling out insults in making love just assert an Increasing ‘bad’ quality within an exclamation conveying a ‘positive’ presupposition.

Regular prepositions are {-Increasing, -Decreasing}, so that they can introduce either Increasing, or Decreasing complements. ‘Positive’ prepositions in (i) are {+Increasing, =Decreasing}, and cannot stay under the scope of negation; ‘negative’ prepositions in (ii) are {=Increasing, +Decreasing}, and forces a ‘negative’ (Decreasing) reading of their complement, canceling thus the difference between {-Increasing, -Decreasing} ‘positive’ determiner *un*, and {=Increasing, +Decreasing} ‘negative’ determiner *aucun*.

(807) (I) ‘POSITIVE’ PREPOSITIONS ARE {+INCREASING, =DECREASING}:

✓ **Avec** {quelqu’un/ * personne}.

‘With {somebody/ * nobody}.’

(II) ‘NEGATIVE’ PREPOSITIONS ARE {=INCREASING, +DECREASING}:

a. ✓ **Sans un**. = ✓ **Sans aucun**.⁵⁴⁶

Without a. = Without no one.⁵⁴⁷

‘Without a.’

b. ✓ **Sans savoir**. = ✓ **Sans ignorer**.⁵⁴⁸

Without knowing. = Without ignoring.

‘Ignoring.’

The particular restrictive semantics of *que* ‘only’ could follow from the crossing of the {=Existence, -Absence} (completed by the -Absence SM) with the {+Increasing, =Decreasing} specifications: it asserts the absence of the most potential actors of an event, and at the same time puts forward the unique actor of the event through Increasing feature.

All quantifiers are polarized: no quantifier can alternatively appear in both ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ sentences (local negation on inflection apart)—this just suggests that having univocal monotone properties is a condition to pertain to the quantifier class. ‘Negative’

⁵⁴⁶ See II.3.1.2.9.2 for discussion and crosslinguistic comparison with Italian.

⁵⁴⁷ English gloss cannot render the effect observed in French, because ‘without’ has not the same featural set than *sans*: it has plausibly no Decreasing properties in the relevant sense, but denotes just Absence.

⁵⁴⁸ See discussion about examples (283)-(285).

quantifiers as *rien* ‘nothing’ are {=Increasing, +Decreasing}, express by themselves ‘negative’ polarity, and may combine with Decreasing adverbs in non-normalized ‘varieties’. Other quantifiers are either {=Increasing, -Decreasing} in (i) (they request then a ‘negative’ c-commander to project Top-DegP through Decreasing feature), or {+Increasing, =Decreasing} in (ii) (they project then Top-DegP through Increasing feature and cannot co-occur with ‘negative’ elements projecting Top-DegP through Decreasing feature).

(808) (i) NPI QUANTIFIERS ARE {=INCREASING, -DECREASING}:

- a. * Pierre est venu quand que ce soit.
 a.’ ✓ Pierre (n’)est pas venu **quand que ce soit**.
 Peter {is/ *(ne) is not} come whenever.
 ‘Peter never came anytime.’
 b. * (II) Y’a trente-six (mille) solutions.
 b.’ ✓ ((II) (N’))Y’a pas **trente-six (mille)** solutions.
 (There) {LOC has/ (Ne) LOC has not} thirty-six (thousands) solutions.
 ‘There are not many solutions.’

(ii) PPI QUANTIFIERS ARE {+INCREASING, =DECREASING}:

- a. ✓ Pierre a vu **quelqu’un**.
 a.’ * Pierre (n’)a pas vu quelqu’un.
 Peter {has/ *(ne) has not} seen somebody.
 ‘Peter saw somebody.’
 b. ✓ Pierre donnera ses vieux livres à **n’importe qui**.
 b.’ * Pierre donnera ses vieux livres pas à n’importe qui.⁵⁴⁹
 Peter will-give his old books (* not) to doesn’t-matter who.
 ‘Peter will give his old books to anyone.’

Regular verbs and VPs are {-Increasing, -Decreasing}, so that they can appear either in Increasing, or in Decreasing clauses. Verbs and VPs that are {=Increasing, -Decreasing} in (i) request ‘negative’ c-command in order to project Top-DegP through Decreasing feature; verbs and VPs that are {+Increasing, =Decreasing} in (ii) project Top-DegP through Increasing feature, and fail thus to appear within a ‘negative’ sentence, where Top-DegP is projected through Decreasing feature.

(809) (i) VERBS & VPS REQUESTING ‘NEGATIVE’ C-COMMAND ARE {=INCREASING, -DECREASING}:

- a. * Jeanne branle quelque chose.
 a.’ ✓ Jeanne (ne) **branle rien**.
 Jane {* shakes something/ (ne) shakes nothing}.
 ‘Jane doesn’t do a damn thing.’
 b. * Le dernier livre de Pierre casse trois pattes à un canard.
 b.’ ✓ Le dernier livre de Pierre **(ne) casse pas trois pattes à un canard**.
 The last book of Peter {* breaks/ (ne) breaks not} three feet to a duck.
 ‘Nothing to write home about Peter’s latest book.’

(ii) VERBS & VPS REJECTING ‘NEGATIVE’ C-COMMAND ARE {+INCREASING, =DECREASING}:

- a. ✓ Pierre **balise** pour ses exams.
 a.’ * Pierre (ne) balise pas pour ses exams.
 Peter {freaks-out/ *(ne) freaks-out not} for his exams.
 ‘Peter is freaking out about his exams.’
 b. ✓ Pierre **en a vu d’autres**.

⁵⁴⁹ Only a local negation scoping on inflection is possible:

- (xcix) ✓ Pierre [(ne) donnera pas] ses vieux livres à **n’importe qui**.
 Peter (ne) will-give not his old books to doesn’t-matter who.
 ‘Peter won’t give his old books to anyone.’

The following example gathers an occurrence within a ‘positive’ sentence, and an occurrence within the predicate of a locally negated verb (taken from Othon Aristidès (Fred), *L’histoire du conteur électrique*, Dargaud, 1995, plate 38):

- (c) ✓ “Tout le monde reçoit ces histoires, sauf moi! **N’importe qui**, sauf moi!... Il est vrai que je ne suis pas **n’importe qui**, mais quand même!”
 ‘Everyone gets those stories but me! Anyone but me! It’s true that I’m not just anyone, but honestly!’

- b.' * Pierre (n')en a pas vu d'autres.
 Peter {PART has/ *(ne) PART has not} seen of others.
 'Peter affects indifference.'

III.4.10. BOTTOM-DEGP

III.4.10.1. Categories concerned by Bottom-DegP

Items concerned by scalarity are on the one hand adverbs, complementizers, verbs, and VPs; on the other hand the categories pertaining to the extended NP, namely prepositions, quantifiers, adjectives, determiners, and nouns. Complementizers and prepositions in general can behave as scalarity providers, and are plausibly {-Scalar, -Punctual}; there also exist Scalar complementizers, like *avant* 'before', which are {+Scalar, =Punctual}.

(810) CATEGORIES CONCERNED BY BOTTOM-DEGP:

- a. A ±
- b. Adv ±
- c. C ±
- d. CP =
- e. D ±
- f. IP =
- g. N ±
- h. P ±
- i. Pro =
- j. Q ±
- k. SM =
- l. V ±
- m. VP ±

III.4.10.2. Scalar vs. Punctual

Items expressing scalar properties on their own are {+Scalar, =Punctual}; items expressing punctual properties on their own are {=Scalar, +Punctual}; items minus-specified for one of the two Bottom-DegP features calls for another occurrence of the deficient feature:

(811) (I) {-SCALAR} NEEDS {+SCALAR}:

- a. ✓ **{Pas/ Plus} du tout.**
 {Not/ No-longer} at all.
 ' {Not/ No longer} at all.'

- b. * **Jamais du tout.**
 Never at all.

(II) {-PUNCTUAL} NEEDS {+PUNCTUAL}:

- a. * **{Pas/ Plus} de la vie.**
 {Not/ No-longer} in the life.

- b. ✓ **Jamais de la vie.**
 Never in the life.
 'Never at all.'

A Scalar c-commander for some {-Scalar, =Punctual} items can be either an auxiliary in the (a) sentences (temporal scalarity), or a preposition in the (b) sentences (syntactic scalarity):

(812) (I) NOUNS:

- a. ✓ Jeanne {a fait/ * fait} **chou blanc.**
 Jane {has done/ * does} cabbage white.
 'Jane drew a blank.'

- a.' ✓ (II) Y'a **belle lurette** que je (ne) {l'ai pas vu/ * le vois pas}.
 (There) LOC is beautiful time that I (ne) {him have not seen/ * him see not}.
 'There is a long time that I didn't see him.'

- b. ✓ Jeanne {est lente à la **comprenette**/ * a la *comprenette lente*}.
Jane {is slow to the uptake/ * has the uptake slow}.
'Jane is slow on the uptake.'
- b.' ✓ Je (ne) le vois pas depuis **belle lurette**.
I (ne) him see not since beautiful time.
'I don't see him since a long time.'
- (II) QUANTIFIERS:
- a. ✓ Jeanne {(n')a pas mangé/ *(ne) mange pas} {**bésef/ lerche**} à midi.⁵⁵⁰
Jane {(ne) has not eaten/ *(ne) eats not} much at lunchtime.
'Jane didn't eat a lot at lunchtime.'
- b. ✓ Jeanne mange pour pas {**bésef/ lerche**} à midi.
Jane eats for not much at lunchtime.
'Jane eats for cheap at lunchtime.'
- (III) VERBS:
- a. ✓ {J'ai {**failli/ manqué**}/ * Je {faux/ manque}} tomber.
{I have {failed/ lacked}/ * I {fail/ lack}} to-fall.
'I almost fell.'
- b. ✓ {De/ * Ø} {**faillir/ manquer**} tomber peut être dangereux.
{Of/ * Ø} {fail/ lack} to-fall may be dangerous.
'To be very near to fall may be dangerous.'
- (IV) VPs:
- a. ✓ Je l' {ai **échappée**/ * échappe} **belle**.
I it-F {have escaped/ * escape} beautiful-F.
'I have had a close shave.'
- a.' ✓ Les vacances {sont passées/ * passent} {à l'as/ la trappe}
The vacations {are passed/ * pass} {to the ace/ to the trap-door}.
'The vacation went down the drain.'
- a.'' ✓ Pierre {a eu/ * a} **chaud**.
Peter {has had/ * has} warm.
'Peter has had a lucky escape.'
- b. ✓ {De/ * Ø} l' **échapper belle** peut faire trembler rétrospectivement.
{Of/ * Ø} it-F escape beautiful-F may make tremble retrospectively.
'To have a close shave may make someone tremble retrospectively.'
- b.' ✓ Que les vacances **passent** {à l'as/ la trappe} est dommage.
That the vacations pass {to the ace/ to the trap-door} is injury.
'It's a pity that the vacation goes down the drain.'

Only the auxiliary provides the relevant feature, which we claim to be Scalar, rather than Past: in fact, there is a sharp contrast between the SIMPLE PAST in the (a) sentences, vs. the COMPOUNDED PAST in the (b) sentences, in the following English example in (i) taken from Giannakidou [1998:150], as good as in its word for word French translation in (ii).

- (813) (i) ENGLISH:
a. * Who wrote to me in years?
b. ✓ Who **has** written to me **in years**?
- (ii) FRENCH:
a. * Qui ne m'écrit pas depuis des lustres?
b. ✓ Qui ne m'a pas écrit depuis **des lustres**?

The functional role played by the auxiliary becomes quite clear with PIs that are not tense-related, as *tout-tout* 'not everything': independently from the temporality, only the sentences containing an auxiliary in (i) are fine; sentences devoid of auxiliary in (ii) are not fine.

- (814) (i) COMPOUNDED TENSES:

⁵⁵⁰ Possible at the present indicative only with a Scalar verb:

- (ci) ✓ Jeanne (ne) **gagne** pas {**bésef/ lerche**}.
Jane (ne) earns not much.
'Jane doesn't earn much.'

- a. ✓ J(e n)'**ai pas tout-tout** compris.
I (*ne*) have not all-all understood.
'I have not understood everything.'
- b. ✓ J(e n)'**avais pas tout-tout** compris.
I (*ne*) had not all-all understood.
'I had not understood everything.'
- c. ✓ J(e n)'**aurais pas tout-tout** compris sans tes explications.
I (*ne*) would-have not all-all understood without your explanations.
'I would not have understood everything without your explanations.'
- d. ✓ J(e n)'**aurai pas tout-tout** compris avant la fin du monde.
I (*ne*) will-have not all-all understood before the end of the world.
'I will not have understood everything before the end of the world.'
- (II) SIMPLE TENSES:
- a. * Je (*ne*) **compris** pas tout-tout.
I (*ne*) understood-PAST-HISTORIC not all-all.
- b. * Je (*ne*) **comprenais** pas tout-tout.
I (*ne*) understood-IMPERFECT not all-all.
- c. * Je (*ne*) **comprendrais** pas tout-tout sans tes explications.
I (*ne*) would-understand not all-all without your explanations.
- d. * Je (*ne*) **comprendrai** pas tout-tout avant la fin du monde.
I (*ne*) will-understand not all-all before the end of the world.

The Scalar complementizer *avant* 'before' can only combine with \pm Scalar items in (i), not with =Scalar items in (ii)—being {-Increasing, -Decreasing}, it can combine either with Increasing, or with Decreasing items.

- (815) (i) WITH $\{\pm$ SCALAR, =PUNCTUAL} ITEMS:
a. ✓ "Il leur faudra trois heures avant de rencontrer **âme qui vive**".⁵⁵¹
b. ✓ Il leur faudra trois heures avant de rencontrer {**quelqu'un/ personne/ qui que ce soit**}.
It to-them will-be-necessary three ours before to meet {soul which live/ someone/ no-one/ whoever}.
'They will need three ours before they meet someone.'
- (ii) WITH $\{=$ SCALAR, \pm PUNCTUAL} ITEMS:
* Il leur faudra trois heures avant de rencontrer {**grand-monde/ une âme/ un chat**}.
It to-them will-be-necessary three ours before to meet {great-people/ a soul/ a cat}.

No adjectives or adverbs are known to request an auxiliary; this could be related to the fact that categorial reasons prevent them to combine with a c-commanding preposition: those categories are $\{+$ Scalar, =Punctual} owing to the restricted combination possibilities with Scalar providers. The same holds for determiners.

III.4.11. *CARDP*

III.4.11.1. Categories concerned by CardP

On the one hand, cardinal number *un* 'one' productively combines with many nominal PIs not having a plural form:

- (816) a. ✓ Jeanne (n')a plus un {centime/ dollar/ keus⁵⁵²/ peso/ radis/ rond/ rotin/ sac/ sou (vaillant)/ brique/ tune} en poche.
Jane (*ne*) has no-longer a red-cent in task.
'Jane has no more a red cent on her.'
- b. ✓ ((II) (N'))Y'a pas {un chat/ une âme} sur la pelouse.
((It) (*Ne*) LOC has not {a cat/ a soul} on the lawn.
'There is not anybody on the lawn'
- c. ✓ (II)Y'a un {†péquin/ ©quidam} sur la place.
(It) LOC has a man on the square.

⁵⁵¹ Joseph Gillain (Jijé), *Rendez-vous sur le Yukon*, Dupuis, 1963, plate 25.

⁵⁵² Verlan word from *sac* 'ten francs'.

- ‘There is somebody on the square’
 d. ✓ ((II) (N’))Y’a pas {un brin/ un gramme/ un iota/ un millimètre/ un pet/ un poil/ une once} de vent.
 ((It) (Ne) LOC has not a bit of wind.
 ‘There is not even a bit of wind.’
 e. ✓ Pierre (n’)a pas dit un mot à Jeanne.
 Peter (ne) has not said a word to Jane.
 ‘Peter didn’t said a single word to Jane.’
 f. ✓ Jeanne (n’)en fout pas une rame.
 Jane (ne) PART makes not a stroke.
 ‘Jane doesn’t do a stroke.’

On the other hand, a salient property of many polarity expressions is to be specified for number:

- (817) (I) SINGULAR PIS:
 a. ✓ La fille de Jeanne **perd la boule**.
 The daughter of Jane loses the bowl.
 ‘Jane’s daughter is going mad.’
 b. ✓ Les filles de Jeanne **perdent** {la boule/ * les boules}.
 The daughters of Jane lose {the bowl/ * the bowls}.
 ‘Jane’s daughters are going mad.’
 a.’ * ((II) (N’))Y’en a pas une masse.
 b.’ ✓ ((II) (N’))Y’en a pas des masses.
 ((It) (Ne)) LOC PART has not {* one/ PL-INDEF-DET} masse(s).
 ‘There is not an awful lot of this.’
 (II) PLURAL PIS:
 a. * Une balle.
 b. ✓ {Zéro/ Deux/ Trois} balles.
 ‘{Zero/ * One/ Two/ Three} francs.’

Finally, some idiomatic cardinals have a polar guise combining with negation:

- (818) a. ✓ Jeanne (n’)en fout pas une.
 Jane (ne) PART makes not one.
 ‘Jane doesn’t do a stroke.’
 b. ✓ ((II) (N’))Y’en a pas un qui te dirait pardon.
 ((It) (Ne) LOC PART has not one that to-you would-tell pardon.
 ‘No-one would apologize.’
 b. ✓ ((II) (N’))Y’en a pas deux comme Jeanne.
 ((It) (Ne) LOC PART has not two like Jane.
 ‘Jane is unique.’
 c. ✓ ((II) (N’))Y’a pas {trente-six/ cinquante/ cent/ mille/ trente-six mille/ cinquante mille/ cent mille}⁵⁵³
 solutions.
 ((It) (Ne) LOC has not {36/ 50/ 100/ 1’000/ 36’000/ 50’000/ 100’000} solutions.
 ‘There are not a lot of solutions.’

These three facts follow from a featural deficiency of CardP: while regular items concerned by cardinality are {-Plural, -Singular}, PIs displaying frozen number are either {-Plural, =Singular}, or {=Plural, -Singular}. Categories concerned by number are quantifiers, nouns (and pronouns), determiners, adjectives, verbs, and VPs. On the other hand, invariable items as adverbs, complementizers, prepositions, SMs, IPs, and CPs, are {=Plural, =Singular}.

- (819) CATEGORIES CONCERNED BY CARDP:
 a. A ±
 b. Adv =
 c. C =
 d. CP =
 e. D ±

⁵⁵³ Note the recursiveness in the scalarity of polarized cardinals idiomatically used to denote great quantities.

f. IP	=
g. N	±
h. P	=
i. Pro	±
j. Q	±
k. SM	=
l. V	±
m. VP	±

III.4.11.2. Plural vs. Singular

PIs {=Plural, -Singular} need to combine with a {=Plural, -Singular} item: polar adjectives in (i) will combine with complementary nouns, polar nouns in (ii) with complementary DPs (or no DP at all for the {=Definite, =Indefinite} ones like *mot* in (ii)c), polar subject quantifiers in (iii) with complementary predicates, and polar verbs in (iv) with complementary subjects.

(820) (I) ADJECTIVES:

a. ✓ {Le résultat est **garanti sur facture**/ * Les résultats sont garantis sur facture}.
 {The result is guaranteed on invoice/ * The results are guaranteed on invoice}.
 ‘It’s for sure.’

b. ✓ {Son comportement (n’)est pas **joli-joli**/ * Ses bêtises (ne) sont pas jolies-jolies}.
 {His behavior (*ne*) is not nice-nice-SG/ * Her silly-things (*ne*) are not nice-nice-PL}.
 ‘His behavior isn’t nice.’

c. ✓ {Quelqu’un/ * Quelques-uns} d’**autre**.
 {Someone/ * Some-ones} of else.
 ‘Someone else.’

(II) NOUNS:

a. ✓ Faire {**la sourde oreille**/ * les sourdes oreilles}.
 To-do {the deaf ear/ * the deaf ears}.
 ‘To do the deaf ear.’

b. ✓ Faire {**le mort**/ * les morts}.
 To-do {the dead man/ * the dead men}.
 ‘To sham death.’

c. ✓ (Ne) Pas dire {**mot**/ * mots}.
 (*Ne*) Not to-say {word/ * words}.
 ‘To keep silent.’

(III) QUANTIFIERS:

✓ **Quelque chose** {est arrivé/ * sont arrivés}.
 Something {is happened-SG/ * are happened-PL}.
 ‘Anything happened.’

(IV) VERBS:

a. ✓ {Il **faut**/ * Ils fallent} faire ça.
 {It is-necessary/ * They are-necessary} to-do that.
 ‘One must do that.’

b. † {Cette histoire (ne) me **chaut**/ * Ces histoires (ne) me chalent} guère.
 {This story (*ne*) to-me matters/ * Those stories (*ne*) to-me matter} not-a-lot.
 ‘I haven’t much care for this story.’

c. ✓ Pierre {**frit**/ * et Jeanne frient} des poissons.
 Peter {fries/ * and Jane fry} of-the fishes.
 ‘Peter fries fishes.’

PIs {-Plural, =Singular} need to combine with a {-Plural, =Singular} item: polar nouns in (ii) will combine with complementary DPs, and polar subject quantifiers in (iii) with complementary predicates; if they were, polar adjectives in (i) would combine with complementary nouns, and polar verbs in (iv) with complementary subjects.

(821) (I) ADJECTIVES:

[No French defective adjective combines only with plural nouns.]

(II) NOUNS:

a. ✓ Etre {* au petit soin/ aux **petits soins**}.

- To-be {* at-the-SG little care/ at-the-SG little cares}.
 ‘To wait on somebody hand and foot.’
- b. ✓ Sans {* ambage/ **ambages**}.
 Without {* circumlocution/ circumlocutions}.
 ‘Without beating around the bush.’
- c. ✓ {* Cette histoire est un raconter/ Ces histoires sont des **racontars**}.
 {* This story is a fib/ Those stories are of-the fib}.
 ‘The whole story is just fib!’
- d. ☺ Tant pis pour {* le ceusse qui (n’)est jamais content/ les **ceusses** qui (ne) sont jamais contents}.
 Too bad for {* the-SG this that (*ne*) is never satisfied/ the-PL those that (*ne*) are never satisfied}.
 ‘Too bad for those that are never satisfied.’
- (III) QUANTIFIERS:
 ✓ **Tous** {* est arrivé/ sont arrivés}.
 All {* is arrived-SG/ are arrived-PL}.
 ‘Everybody arrived.’
- (IV) VERBS:
 [No French defective verb combines only with plural subjects.]

III.4.12. FURTHER FEATURES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Further features that we have not taken into account in this dissertation would be necessary to achieve the complete featural characterization of PIs, for instance Gender and Person features for PIs displaying frozen gender and frozen person.⁵⁵⁴

- (822) (I) FROZEN GENDER:
 a. ✓ Se faire {* le beau/ la **belle**}.
 Oneself to-do the{-M/ -F} beautiful{-M/ -F}.
 ‘To go over the wall.’
- b. ✓ Faire {le **beau**/ * la belle}.
 To-do the{-M/ * -F} beautiful{-M/ * -F}.
 ‘To sit up and beg.’
- (II) FROZEN PERSON:
 a. ✓ {Je (ne) suis pas blond/ Nous (ne) sommes pas blonds}, **quelle envie!**
 {I (*ne*) am/ We (*ne*) are} not fair-haired, what desire!
 ‘{I am/ We are} not fair-haired, but {I/ We} would!’
- b. * {T(u n)’es pas blond/ Vous (n’)êtes pas blond(s)}, **quelle envie!**
 You (*ne*) are not fair-haired, what desire!
- c. * {Il (n’)est pas blond/ Ils (ne) sont pas blonds}, **quelle envie!**
 He (*ne*) is not fair-haired, what desire!
- a.’ ✓ A {mon/ ton/ notre/ votre} **sens**.
 ‘In {my/ your/ our/ your} opinion.’
- b.’ * A {son/ leur} **sens**.
 In {his/ their} opinion.

Some speaker-oriented feature making up the articulated ‘Intensional feature’ would be necessary to express the incompatibility of a restricted subclass of NPIs with intensional verbs:

- (823) (I) UNRESTRICTED NPIs:
 a. ✓ Pierre (n’)aime (% pas) voir **personne**.
 a.’ ✓ Pierre (n’)aime pas voir **qui que ce soit**.

⁵⁵⁴ Also relative Person; Ross [1970:234(43)-(44)-(45)] noticed, “As Perlmutter observed, *lurk* is a verb which one may predicate of others, but not of oneself”:

- (cii) a. ?* I am lurking in a culvert.
 b. ?* I lurked near your house last night.
 a.’ Max believes that I am lurking in a culvert [...].
 b.’ Pat and Mike testified that I lurked near your house last night.
 a.’ ?* Max_i believes that he_i’s lurking in a culvert [...].
 b.’ ?* [Pat and Mike]_{NPI} testified that they_i lurked near your house last night.

Peter (*ne*) likes not see {nobody/ whoever}.

‘Peter doesn’t like to see anyone.’

b. ✓ Pierre (n’)aime (% pas) **rien** faire.

Peter (*ne*) loves (% not) nothing do.

‘Peter doesn’t like to do anything.’

(II) RESTRICTED ‘EXTENSIONAL’ PIS:

a. * Pierre (n’)aime pas voir {**âme qui vive/ grand-monde/ un chat/ une âme**}.

Peter (*ne*) likes not see {soul which live/ great-people/ a cat/ a soul}.

b. * Pierre (n’)aime (% pas) faire **que dalle**.

Peter (*ne*) loves (% not) do only paving-stone.

In fact, the incompatibility disappears if we substitute an extensional verb to the intensional one:

(824) (I) UNRESTRICTED NPIS:

a. ✓ Pierre (n’)a (% pas) vu **personne**.

a.’ ✓ Pierre (n’)a pas vu **qui que ce soit**.

Peter (*ne*) has not seen {nobody/ whoever}.

‘Peter didn’t see anyone.’

b. ✓ Pierre (n’)a (% pas) **rien** fait.

Peter (*ne*) has (% not) nothing done.

‘Peter didn’t do anything.’

(II) RESTRICTED ‘EXTENSIONAL’ PIS:

a. ✓ Pierre (n’)a pas vu {**âme qui vive/ grand-monde/ un chat/ une âme**}.

Peter (*ne*) has not seen {soul which live/ great-people/ a cat/ a soul}.

‘Peter didn’t see anyone.’

b. ✓ Pierre (n’)a (% pas) fait **que dalle**.

Peter (*ne*) has (% not) done only paving-stone.

‘Peter didn’t do a damn thing.’

More important, and more laborious, is the issue of how to characterize the grammatical categories: for the purpose of the present research, we have taken into account ten descriptive labels (adjectives, adverbs, complementizers, determiners, nouns, prepositions, pronouns, quantifiers, SMS, and verbs), essentially corresponding to distinct distributional and combinative behaviors. On the one hand, this number is too great to capture the similarities—for instance between adjectives and adverbs (many adjectives can be used adverbially),⁵⁵⁵ adverbs and quantifiers (many adverbs have quantificational properties), or

⁵⁵⁵ Amongst the adjectives used adverbially, some ones keep their agreemental properties in (i); other ones do not in (ii):

(ciii) (I) AGREEING ADVERBIAL USE:

a. ✓ L’eau est **bonne** chaude.

The water is good-F warm-F.

‘The water is agreeably warm.’

b. ✓ La fenêtre est **grande** ouverte.

The window is great-F opened-F.

‘The window is largely open.’

c. ✓ La collation est **toute** prête.

The snack is all-F ready-F.

‘The snack is all ready.’

(II) INVARIABLE ADVERBIAL USE:

a. ✓ L’eau est **fort**(*e) chaude.

The water is hard(*-F) warm-F.

‘The water is very warm.’

b. ✓ La collation est **fin**(*e) prête.

The snack is fine(*-F) ready-F.

‘The snack is quite ready.’

c. ✓ La voiture est **flambant**(*e) neuve.

The car is brand(* F) new-F.

‘The car is brand new.’

complementizers and prepositions (Fin-complementizers are homonymous with a proper subset of prepositions: *de-à* for French, and *di-a* for Italian; prepositions as *pour* can either introduce a nominal, or an infinitival complement, or combine with Force-complementizers to introduce finite embedded clauses). On the other hand, this number is clearly insufficient to express the full range of grammatical distributional patterns: complementizers are shared out amongst two distinct classes related to the (non-)finiteness of the embedded clause (Force- and Fin-complementizers); the adverb class contains several heterogeneous subclasses, as manner adverbs, quantificational adverbs, degree-denoting adverbs, modifiers of (extended) NPs.

The featural linguistics of the future should be able to solve this apparent paradox by replacing the descriptive labels of grammatical categories with rich featural sets conceived as powerful combinative tools. Chomsky [1965, 1970] made a first promising attempt with four basic features:

(825)		N	V
	a. Nouns:	+	-
	b. Verbs:	-	+
	c. Adjectives:	+	+
	d. Prepositions:	-	-

Chomsky said what the prepositions are not. The question is now: what are they? A reflection on the nature of the features underlying the grammatical categories could lead to crucial results for the featural linguistics, if we believe that the power of a combinative tool is the best way to capture at once the general similarities and the individual variations observed in linguistic facts. We hope to have demonstrated this regarding the behavior of PIs.

IV. ALL IN ALL

Numerous asymmetries are structural. Within the extended NP, the categorial status rules the syntactic distribution: determiners in (a) and quantifiers in (b), which are functional nominal categories, can survive in isolation as an answer; nouns in (c), which are lexical nominal categories, are unable to project on their own an extended NP, and cannot thus survive in isolation.

- (826) A: As-tu vu quelqu'un?
 'Did you see somebody?'
 a. B: ✓ (Non,) (* Pas) **Personne!**
 b. B: ✓ (Non,) (**Pas**) **{Du tout/ Qui que ce soit}!**
 c. B: ✓ (Non,) ***(Pas) {un chat/ une âme/ âme qui vive}!**
 (No,) (Not) {nobody/ at all/ whoever/ a cat/ a soul/ soul which live}!
 'Not anybody!'

In the syntax, distributional asymmetries first depend on the 'space' available around the 'negative' argument within its extended NP—quantificational items in (i)-(ii) only offer the negation an adjoined position (restricted to an \exists negation if the argument is \forall), which fails to relate with a SM (a SM can combine with the N-word itself, but not with an NPI); nominal items in (iii) offer instead the QP of their extended projection:

- (827) (i) QUANTIFICATIONAL NPIS:
 a. * {Pas/ Plus} **qui que ce soit (n')**est venu.
 {Not/ No-longer} whoever (*ne*) is came.
 b. ✓ {Pas/ Plus} **qui que ce soit (* n')**est venu.
 {Not/ No-longer} whoever (** ne*) is came.
 'Not anybody did come anymore.'
 (ii) QUANTIFICATIONAL N-WORDS:
 a. ✓ {* Pas/ **Plus**} **rien (ne)** se passe.
 {* Not/ No-longer} nothing (*ne*) itself happens.
 '{Nothing ever happens/ Nothing happens anymore}.'
 b. ✓ {* Pas/ **Plus**} **personne (n')**est venu.
 {* Not/ No-longer} nobody (*ne*) is came.
 '{Nobody ever came/ Nobody came anymore}.'
 (iii) NOMINAL NPIS:
 a. ✓ {**Pas/ Plus**} **âme qui vive (n')**est venue.
 b. ✓ {**Pas/ Plus**} **un chat (n')**est venu.
 {Not/ No-longer} {soul which live/ a cat} (*ne*) is came.
 'No one came (anymore).'
 c. ✓ {**Pas/ Plus**} **grand-monde (n')**est venu.
 {Not/ No-longer} a-lot-of-people (*ne*) is came.
 'Not a lot of people came (anymore).'

Additionally, the distributional asymmetries depend on the position of the 'negative' argument within the extended VP—in postverbal position, 'negative' c-command allows substandard $\neg\exists$ reading of $\forall\neg$ in (i)a and occurrence of a NPI in (i)b; in preverbal position, 'negative' c-command cannot obtain in (ii) if the negation follows the subject, but correctly obtains if the negation raises in an adjoined position as in (iii), excepting in (iii)a where two \forall cannot share a single projection; with a passive subject in (iv), the trace left by the subject in object position is sufficient to ensure 'negative' c-command; raising the negation in an adjoined position is possible only for the \exists NPI in (v)b, but ruled out again for the \forall N-word in (v)a:

- (828) (i) POSTVERBAL SUBJECT:
 a. % Il (n')est **pas** venu **personne**.
 b. ✓ Il (n')est **pas** venu **qui que ce soit**.

- There (*ne*) is not come {% nobody/ whoever}.
- ‘Nobody came.’
- (II) PREVERBAL SUBJECT PRECEDING NEGATION:
- a. * *Personne* (n’)est pas venu.
- b. * *Qui que ce soit* (n’)est pas venu.
- {Nobody/ Whoever} (*ne*) is not come.
- (III) PREVERBAL SUBJECT FOLLOWING NEGATION:
- a. * Pas *personne* (n’)est venu.
- b. ✓ **Pas qui que ce soit** (* n’)est venu.
- Not {* nobody/ whoever} (*ne*) is come.
- ‘Nobody came.’
- (IV) PASSIVE SUBJECT PRECEDING NEGATION:
- a. % **Personne** (n’)a pas été vu.
- b. ✓ **Qui que ce soit** (n’)a pas été vu.
- {% Nobody/ Whoever} (*ne*) has not been seen.
- ‘Anybody hasn’t been seen.’
- (V) PASSIVE SUBJECT FOLLOWING NEGATION:
- a. * Pas *personne* (n’)a été vu.
- b. ✓ **Pas qui que ce soit** (* n’)a été vu.
- Not {* nobody/ whoever} (*ne*) has been seen.
- ‘Nobody has been seen.’

Finally, some distributional asymmetries find explanatory adequacy in the featural analysis at every level. For instance, the three French archetypal negations gather differently along their categorial features on the one hand, and their (quantificational) lexical features on the other hand:

(829)		∃	∀	ADVERBIAL Q	QUANTIFICATIONAL ADV
	<i>Pas.</i>	=	x	x	=
	<i>Plus.</i>	x	=	x	=
	<i>Jamais.</i>	x	=	=	x

Regarding the possibility of topicalization, *pas* sides with *plus* against *jamais*:

- (830) ✓ {* *Pas*/ * *Plus*/ ***Jamais***} Pierre (***ne***) vient.
 {* *Not*/ * *No-longer*/ *Never*} Peter (*ne*) comes.
 ‘Never Peter comes.’

Regarding the possibility to occur in adjoined position within the QP of a quantificational N-word, *jamais* sides with *plus* against *pas*:

- (831) A: As-tu vu quelqu’un?
 ‘Did you see somebody?’
 B: ✓ (Non,) (* *Pas*/ *Plus*/ *Jamais*) ***Personne***!
 (No,) {* *Not*/ *No longer*/ *Never*} *Nobody*!
 ‘{Nobody anymore/ Never anybody}.’

If we consider the sentential structure as the projection of a (universal) hierarchy of features, in the spirit of Cinque [1999], then the behavior of every item is predictable from its featural specifications. The possible specifications of each polarity-related feature provide six slots, just the right number to characterize the six classes that are relevant in the area of polarity phenomena: unpolarized items, P-words, N-words, PPIs, NPIs, and FC PIs. The possible combinations are illustrated below with a hypothetical ‘PolP’:

(832) POSSIBLE COMBINATIONS ILLUSTRATED FOR AN HYPOTHETIC 'POLP':

	{'Negative'/'	'Positive'}
*	+	+
*	+	-
*	-	+
N-words.	+	=
P-words.	=	+
NPI.	-	=
PPI.	=	-
FC PIs.	-	-
Unpolarized items.	=	=

Our featural framework permits to define the PIs vs. the regular items in featural terms:

- (833) (i) PIs are those items endowed with a univocal specification of at least one polarity pair of features, and
(ii) Regular items (namely, those ones that are not PIs) are endowed with equivocal specification of all specified polarity pairs of features.
(iii) Univocal specifications are $\{=, \pm\}$ and $\{\pm, =\}$;
(iv) Equivocal specification is $\{-, -\}$ (and potentially $\{+, +\}$, $\{+, -\}$, $\{-, +\}$);
(v) Absence of any specification, namely $\{=, =\}$, is not relevant for the polar status.

Additionally, this view constitutes a potential tool to measure the degree of idiomaticity:

- (834) (i) Idiomaticity follows from univocal specifications of pairs of features (polarity-related or not), and
(ii) The degree of idiomaticity is directly proportional to the number of univocal specifications.

This is our featural account of polarity phenomena.

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V. APPENDICES

V.1. HOW TO PASSIVIZE FRENCH CAUSATIVES [SNIPPETS N° 2]

It has been assumed, since Burzio [1986], that French doesn't allow passivization across *faire*-causatives ((2)b), whereas Italian does ((2)a):

- (1) a. ✓ *Maria ha fatto fare una gonna.*
 b. ✓ *Marie a fait faire une jupe.*
 Mary has CAUS-M. made a skirt.
 'Mary had a skirt made.'
- (2) a. ✓ *Una gonna è stata fatta fare (da Maria).*
 A skirt is PASS-F. CAUS-F. made (by Mary).
 b. * *Une jupe a été fait(e) faire (par Marie).*
 A skirt is PASS-M. CAUS-M.(-F.) made (by Mary).
 'A skirt was caused to be made by Mary.'

But the impersonal passive of (1)b is perfect in French (3)b as in Italian (3)a (the unnaturalness of a demoted agent isn't surprising owing to the impersonal semantics):

- (3) a. ✓ *È stata fatta fare una gonna (? da Maria).*
 Pro-f. is PASS-F. CAUS-F. made a skirt (by Mary).
 b. ✓ *Il a été fait faire une jupe (? par Marie).*
 There is PASS-M. CAUS-M. made a skirt (by Mary).
 'A skirt was caused to be made.'

What seems crucial to the (un)grammaticality of passivized causatives in French is whether movement has taken place. Long passivization must transit through an intermediate specifier of agreement associated with the causative auxiliary: we assume that the French causative participle *fait* is morphologically defective, lacking all but a default form, whilst its Italian counterpart is provided with the full flexion.

Passives in Romance require past participle agreement, expressed in Italian on both the passive and the lexical participles, in French on the latter only:

- (4) a. * *Questa gonna è stato fatto da Gianna.*
 b. * *Cette jupe a été fait par Jeanne.*
 This skirt is PAST-M. made-M. by Jane.
 'This skirt was made by Jane.'
- (5) a. ✓ *Questa gonna è stata fatta da Gianna.*
 This skirt is PAST-F. made-F. by Jane.
 b. ✓ *Cette jupe a été faite par Jeanne.*
 This skirt is PAST-M. made-F. by Jane.
 'This skirt was made by Jane.'

Standard interpretation is that a raised subject must pass through the specifier of AgrPastPartP to enter into agreement configuration with the participle. In French, this passage is possible in long passives only when the features of the passivized DP match those of the default form of the participle, namely [-f., -pl.]:

- (6) a. ✓ *Un calzone è stato fatto fare.*
 b. ✓ *Un pantalon a été fait faire.*
 A pant is PASS-M. CAUS-M. made.
 'Pants were caused to be made.'

Thus the contrast between (2)b and (3)b follows from the defectiveness of French *faire* in its causative guise, which doesn't license feminine and plural DPs in its specifier. Failing to agree with the participle is the source of the ungrammaticality of (2)b. This problem doesn't arise if the object exhibits the morphologically unmarked set of features ((6)b) or if the target of the object is filled by an impersonal expletive ((3)b).

The fact that the availability of past participle agreement be a strong condition for the possibility of passivization across causatives can shed light on the derivation of the passive sentences, that is to say the raising of an object up to the subject position.

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V.2. SOME AUDIBLE EFFECTS OF A SILENT OPERATOR [SNIPPETS N° 4]

Negative clitic *ne* is almost never pronounced in colloquial French, but lack of spell-out doesn't imply lack of covert existence: sometimes a dropped *ne* exhibits syntactical effects at spell-out.

In a widespread colloquial use, a phonological rule optionally reduplicates the initial liquid consonant that constitutes, after the schwa-drop, the third person singular accusative clitic, when it stays between two vowels in overt syntax:

- (1) ✓ Jel-l'aime.
lh-him love.
'I love him.'

Crucially, this phonological rule isn't available in negative sentences:

- (2) * Jel-l'aime pas.
lh-him love not.
'I don't love him.'

We take this to mean that *ne*, though not pronounced, is syntactically present—it may be the phonologically null 'NEG-operator' proposed by Haegeman [1995] under the strong hypothesis that the NEG-criterion is always satisfied at s-structure. The correct representation of (2) would thus be something like (3), with a clitic negative Boolean operator blocking the reduplication rule:

- (3) * Jel-¬-l'aime pas.
lh-¬-him love not.

Consistently, the reduplication rule becomes available again when *ne* is phonologically realized, since it provides another vowel able to host the reduplicated consonant (though (4) is a rare form owing to the large extent of *ne*-drop in colloquial 'register'):

- (4) ✓ Je nel-l'aime pas.
I neh-him love not.
'I don't love him.'

The existence of '¬' could also account for the variations shown in clitic ordering between negative and non-negative sentences.

In the Southeast of France, regional order of singular argumental clitics is dative-accusative

(instead of standard order accusative-dative), as in (5)a; the former is plausibly derived from the latter by an incorporation rule, as proposed for Italian by Laenzlinger [1993:253-254]. Plural dative cannot incorporate in a non-negative sentence, as in (5)b:

- (5) a. % Je lui le donne.
I to-him it-M give.
'I give it to him.'
b. * Je leur le donne.
I to-them it-M give.
'I give it to them.'

The problem could be of phonological nature. At the singular, no problem arises with $[\lambda | \iota \lambda]$; on the other hand, * $[\lambda \downarrow \{ \lambda]$ contains a sequence $[\{ \lambda]$ which is ungrammatical as a syllabic coda in French. Now, the negative clitic forces a resyllabification, so that $[\{]$ becomes the coda of the first syllable, and $[\lambda]$ is included in the second one—either along with *ne* as $[\lambda \downarrow \{ \nu \leftrightarrow \lambda]$, or along with '¬' as $[\lambda \downarrow \{ \lambda \leftrightarrow]$:

- (6) % Je leur $\{ ne / \neg \}$ le donne pas.
I to-them $\{ ne / \neg \}$ it give not.
'I don't give it to them.'

The existence of '¬' could also account for the possibility of proclisis in negated imperatives as in (7)b (vs. its impossibility in non-negated imperatives as in (7)a), in a manner that remains to be understood:

- (7) a. * Le fais!
It do!
'Do it!'
b. ✓ ¬ Le fais pas!
¬ It do not!
'Don't do it!'

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V.3. DES TRAITS POUR LE TRAITEMENT DE LA POLARITÉ [RÉSUMÉ SOUTENANCE]

Le concept de POLARITE est emprunté de la terminologie des maths et de la physique, où il dénote l'«Etat d'un système dont deux points quelconques présentent des caractéristiques différentes (opposées ou distinctes)»⁵⁵⁶. En linguistique il s'applique à des mots réagissant aux contextes 'positifs' et 'négatifs':

- (835) a. ✓ Y'a des gens.
a.' * Y'a pas de gens.
b. * Y'a un chat.
b.' ✓ Y'a pas un chat.
c. ✓ Y'a du monde.
c.' ✓ Y'a pas de monde.

Ces comportements, si intuitifs qu'ils restent non commentés par les dictionnaires et les grammaires, dépendent de propriétés syntaxiques non-triviales. Par exemple, l'insertion d'un quantificateur monotone rend (835)a' grammatical, que la négation ait une portée locale en (a) ou globale en (b):

- (836) a. ✓ Y'a [[pas beaucoup] de gens]. (= Y'a quelques gens.)

⁵⁵⁶ *Le nouveau petit Robert*, édition 1995.

- b. ✓ Y'a [pas [beaucoup de gens]]. (= Ce n'est pas le cas qu'il y'a beaucoup de gens.)

On peut dire que 'gens' ou '(un) chat' sont des mots 'incomplets', qui nécessitent une complétion contextuelle: 'gens' doit être complété par un contexte positif, '(un) chat' par un un contexte négatif. Quant à 'monde', il a besoin soit d'un contexte positif en (a), soit d'un contexte négatif en (b), mais n'est pas non plus 'complet' par lui-même en (c):

- (837) a. ✓ Tout le monde est parti.
 b. ✓ Le monde (n')est pas encore parti.
 c. * Le monde est parti.

D'autres mots sont 'complets', exprimant intrinsèquement une polarité positive en (a), négative en (b), ou pas de polarité en (c):

- (838) a. ✓ Quelqu'un est vu en train de manger du chocolat.
 a.' ✓ Quelqu'un (n')est pas vu en train de manger du chocolat. (*mais ce quelqu'un le fait*)
 b. ✓ Personne (n')est vu par un aveugle.
 b.' ✓ Personne (n')est pas vu par Big Brother.
 c. ✓ Un homme est vu en train de manger du chocolat.
 c.' ✓ Un homme n'est pas vu en train de manger du chocolat. (*pas un homme ne le fait*)

Une propriété saillante des items sensibles à la polarité est d'être fortement idiomatiques. La grande majorité des mots informels ou argotiques ne tolèrent pas d'être sous la portée d'éléments négatifs, contrairement aux *verba propria* affectivement neutres qui leur sont synonymes.

- (839) a. ✓ Pierre porte un {pantalon/ fute} aujourd'hui (hier il portait un bermuda).
 b. ✓ Pierre (ne) porte pas de {pantalon/ * fute} aujourd'hui (il a mis un bermuda).

Quelques-uns, plus rares, requièrent au contraire un contexte négatif:

- (840) a. ✓ (Il) Y'en a {beaucoup/ * lerche}.
 b. ✓ ((Il) (N'))Y'en a pas {beaucoup/ lerche}.

Des items sensibles à la polarité sont attestés dans des langues typologiquement très différentes, et existent présumablement dans toutes les langues naturelles. En français, on en trouve dans toutes les catégories grammaticales (semi-)lexicales (adjectifs ['folichon'], adverbes ['dare-dare'], complémenteurs ['ou'], déterminants ['je-ne-sais-quel'], noms ['comprenette'], prépositions ['avec'], pronoms ['bibi'], quantificateurs ['quoi que ce soit'], verbes ['boumer'] et marqueurs de portée ['oui']), et dans quelques types de syntagmes (VP ['lever le petit doigt'], IP ['je veux mon neveu'], CP ['c'est en forgeant qu'on devient forgeron']). Des éléments plus abstraits tels que Mode, Aspect, Temps, peuvent aussi être polarisés, comme le trait aspectuel Terminatif des temps surcomposés qui les empêche d'être niés:

- (841) a. ✓ Il a eu chanté (deux soirs de suite).
 b. * Il (n')a {pas/ plus/ jamais} eu chanté (deux soirs de suite).

L'explication standard des dépendances de polarité à l'intérieur de la théorie du gouvernement et du liage (*government and binding theory*) était exprimée en termes de LEGITIMATION: la présence d'un élément en légitimait un autre. Cette approche rencontrait un problème empirique dans l'hétéroclicité des légitimateurs, qui n'incluent pas seulement des items morphologiquement 'négatifs', mais aussi des objets linguistiques fonctionnels tels que Mode, Aspect, Temps, l'interrogation, l'exclamation et les phrases présentationnelles [(il)

y'a']. Dans sa thèse, Lucía Tovena⁵⁵⁷ a fait remarquer qu'un problème théorique est la nature stipulaire du concept de légitimation: son implémentation requiert un dispositif de sous-catégorisation *ad hoc*; pareillement *ad hoc* se montre le concept de DECLENCHEMENT, un déclencheur étant simplement le corollaire d'un légitimateur.

Le cadre théorique de la linguistique des traits (*featural linguistics*)⁵⁵⁸ nous donne les outils pour formaliser syntaxiquement le comportement, par rapport aux contextes de polarité, des 6 types de mots présentés en (835)-(838). Au lieu de chercher des légitimateurs ou des déclencheurs, nous regardons les combinaisons des traits composant les mots comme un processus dynamique motivé par un besoin de complétion, dans l'esprit de la thèse de Eric Haeberli⁵⁵⁹. Cette vue est cohérente avec l'objet étudié, les langues naturelles, qui ne sont pas des systèmes restrictifs (hormis dans les usages normatifs), mais des systèmes dynamiques en perpétuelle évolution.

Notre postulat central est que la particularité des traits de polarité est de former des paires complémentaires, hiérarchiquement ordonnées par la Grammaire Universelle. Les deux membres d'une paire de traits de polarité partagent une seule projection, et ne peuvent donc apparaître dans la même phrase, ce qui fournit une explication syntaxique, plutôt que sémantique, de l'inexistence d'un item à la fois Croissant et Décroissant, par exemple. Dans ce cadre, nous voyons les phénomènes de polarité comme le résultat d'une interaction dynamique, structurellement motivée, entre le lexique et la syntaxe: dans la syntaxe, les paires de traits complémentaires sont organisées selon une hiérarchie fixe, qui a besoin des items pour être projetée; dans le lexique, chaque item est un FAISCEAU DE TRAITS spécifié pour chaque trait avec une valeur positive ({+}) ou négative ({-}), ou pas de valeur du tout (=):

- (842) (i) + (plus) dénote la spécification complète d'un trait.
 (ii) - (moins) dénote une spécification incomplète d'un trait.
 (iii) = (double-barré) dénote l'absence d'un trait dans un faisceau de traits.

Si l'on postule un trait Positif et un trait Négatif, '+' désignant les mots polairement 'complets', '-' les mots polairement 'incomplets', et '=' les mots non concernés par la polarité, on obtient 9 catégories, dont 3 sont rendues impossibles par une contradiction interne insoluble; il reste alors 6 catégories, correspondant exactement aux 6 types de mots présentés en (835)-(838):

⁵⁵⁷ Lucía M. TOVENA [1996], *Studies on polarity sensitivity*, doctoral dissertation, ms., University of Edinburgh.

⁵⁵⁸ Le système des traits a démontré sa validité dans l'explication de la variabilité de grammaticalité dans l'établissement de relations syntaxiques à distance (voir Rizzi [1990, 1998, 1999, 2000]), ainsi que dans l'investigation de la hiérarchie universelle des syntagmes (voir Cinque [1998, 1999]).

- Luigi RIZZI [1990], *Relativized minimality*, Cambridge, MIT Press.

- Luigi RIZZI [1998], *Relativized minimality effects*, ms.

- Luigi RIZZI [1999], *Some issues in the theory of locality*, hand-out from Siena, 11/27/99, revised version spring 2000.

- Luigi RIZZI [2000], *Reconstruction, weak island sensitivity, and agreement*, draft 02/15/00, revised 07/20/00, University of Siena.

- Guglielmo CINQUE [1998], *The interaction of passive, causative, and 'restructuring' in Romance*, Venice Working Papers in Linguistics n° 8.2.

- Guglielmo CINQUE [1999], *Adverbs and functional heads. A cross-linguistic perspective*, New York, Oxford University Press.

⁵⁵⁹ Eric HAEBERLI [1999], *Features, categories and the syntax of A-positions. Synchronic and diachronic variation in the Germanic languages*, doctoral dissertation, Université de Genève, synthétisé dans Eric HAEBERLI [2000], *Towards deriving the EPP and abstract case*, GG@G (Generative Grammar in Geneva) n° 1.

- (843) a. {=Négatif, =Positif}: Mots non concernés par la polarité ('homme').
 b. {=Négatif, -Positif}: Items de polarité positive (PPIs) ('gens').
 c. {=Négatif, +Positif}: Mots positifs (P-words) ('quelqu'un').
 d. {-Négatif, =Positif}: Items de polarité négative (NPIs) ('un chat').
 e. {-Négatif, -Positif}: Items de polarité libre (FC PIs) ('monde').
 f. {-Négatif, +Positif}: *
 g. {+Négatif, =Positif}: Mots négatifs (N-words) ('personne').
 h. {+Négatif, -Positif}: *
 i. {+Négatif, +Positif}: *

L'hypothèse de l'existence des traits 'Positif' et 'Négatif' pose un problème immédiat pour notre postulat des paires de traits de polarité: des éléments négatifs et positifs peuvent en effet apparaître dans la même phrase, et toujours dans un ordre syntaxique fixe, dont l'ordre morphologique dérivationnel est l'image-miroir⁵⁶⁰ — ces 'traits' ne peuvent donc former une paire dont un seul membre serait projetable dans une même phrase:

- (844) (I) SYNTAXE: ORDRE BASIQUE: 'POSITIF' > 'NEGATIF':
 a. ✓ **Oui non.**
 b. * Non oui.
 (II) MORPHOLOGIE DERIVATIONNELLE: ORDRE INVERSE PAR INCORPORATION: 'NEGATIF' > 'POSITIF':
 a. ✓ **Désenfournier** [< enfournier].
 b. * Endéfournier [< ✓ défournier].
 (III) MORPHOLOGIE COMPOSITIONNELLE: LEXICALISATION⁵⁶¹ DE L'ORDRE BASIQUE: 'POSITIF' > 'NEGATIF':
 a. ✓ **Sinon.**
 b. * Nonsi.

La motivation théorique de permettre la cooccurrence du 'positif' et du 'négatif' dans la même unité syntaxique, complétée par l'observation empirique que différents items de polarité sont variablement sensibles à différents aspects de la 'positivité' et de la 'négativité', nous fera postuler que 'Positif' et 'Négatif' ne sont pas des traits, mais des notions intuitives dépeignant globalement un ensemble organisé de traits donnant l'illusion d'une 'positivité' et d'une 'négativité' cohérentes au niveau syntaxique. Ces traits doivent d'une façon ou d'une autre inclure des oppositions telles que Absence contre Existence (un item 'négatif' ne peut être Existant), Singulier contre Pluriel (un item 'négatif' ne peut être Pluriel), Ponctuel contre Scalaire (un item 'négatif' ne peut être Scalaire), Décroissant contre Croissant (un item 'négatif' ne peut être Croissant).

Cette dernière opposition peut être utilisée pour illustrer le mécanisme de complémentarité: les mots convoyant des propriétés monotones pointent soit vers le haut (ils sont Croissants et ont une sémantique 'positive'), soit vers le bas d'une échelle de valeurs (ils sont Décroissants et ont une sémantique 'négative'). Le mot *fute* est incomplètement Croissant, d'où la disparition du contraste noté en (5)b quand il est complété par l'adjectif Croissant *neuf* en (845)(i), et sa subsistance en présence d'un adjectif Décroissant comme *vieux* en (845)(ii) ou simplement non-monotone comme *nouveau* en (845)(iii).

- (845) (I) AVEC UN ADJECTIF CROISSANT:
 a. ✓ Pierre porte un {pantalon/ fute} **neuf** aujourd'hui.
 b. ✓ Pierre (ne) porte pas de {pantalon/ fute} **neuf** aujourd'hui.
 (II) AVEC UN ADJECTIF DECROISSANT:
 a. ✓ Pierre porte un **vieux** {pantalon/ fute} aujourd'hui.
 b. ✓ Pierre (ne) porte pas de **vieux** {pantalon/ * fute} aujourd'hui.
 (III) AVEC UN ADJECTIF NON-MONOTONE:
 a. ✓ Pierre porte un **nouveau** {pantalon/ fute} aujourd'hui.

⁵⁶⁰ Voir Marc BAKER [1985], *The mirror principle and morphosyntactic explanation*, Linguistic Inquiry n° 3.

⁵⁶¹ Sur la lexicalisation compositionnelle, voir Yves-Ferdinand BOUVIER [1999], *Comment reconnaître & classifier les mots composés*, ms., Université de Genève.

- b. ✓ Pierre (ne) porte pas de **nouveau** {pantalon/ * fute} aujourd'hui.

Certains mots, comme 'monde', ont une version polarisée ('du monde' = un ensemble de personne) et une version non polarisée ('le monde' = la terre); chaque version est associée, dans le lexique, à un faisceau de traits différemment spécifiés. La lexicalisation de chaque version est une condition nécessaire pour que l'on puisse comprendre des exercices littéraires comme le suivant, où par l'artifice rhétorique d'un *zeugme compliqué sémantiquement*⁵⁶² les mots en gras doivent être compris simultanément dans leurs deux versions pour livrer tout leur (non-)sens:

- (846) «Et puis j'ai acheté du **fil blanc**/ Ainsi qu'des **salades** et du **flan**».⁵⁶³
 → C'est cousu de fil blanc. (= *une tromperie*)
 → C'est des salades. (= *des mensonges*)
 → C'est du flan. (= *de la blague*)

Un cadre théorique considérant que les paires de traits de polarité et leur hiérarchie sont encodées dans la Grammaire Universelle permet de définir en termes de traits les items de polarité par rapport aux mots non polarisés:

- (847) (i) Les items de polarité sont ceux qui sont encodés avec une spécification univoque pour au moins une paire de traits de polarité, et
 (ii) Les mots réguliers (à savoir ceux qui ne sont pas des items de polarité) sont ceux qui sont encodés avec une spécification équivoque pour toutes les paires de traits de polarité ayant une spécification.
 (iii) Les spécifications univoques sont {=, ±} et {±, =};
 (iv) La spécification équivoque est {-, -} (et potentiellement *{+, +}, *{+, -}, *{-, +});
 (v) L'absence de spécification, à savoir {=, =}, n'est pas pertinente dans la définition du statut de polarité.

Toutes les variations de comportement des items concernés par la polarité ne dépendent pas des traits de polarité: certaines sont structurelles, et dépendent donc des traits plus abstraits qui composent les catégories grammaticales.⁵⁶⁴ Par exemple, des catégories semi-fonctionnelles comme les déterminants en (a) ou les quantificateurs en (b) peuvent survivre en isolation dans un contexte de réponse, alors que les noms (catégorie purement lexicale) ne le peuvent en (c):

- (848) A: Est-ce que tu as vu quelqu'un?
 a. B: ✓ (Non,) (* Pas) **Personne!**
 b. B: ✓ (Non,) (**Pas**) **{Du tout/ Qui que ce soit}!**
 c. B: ✓ (Non,) *(**Pas**) **{un chat/ une âme/ âme qui vive}!**

Enfin, la décomposition en traits à tous les niveaux d'analyse permet d'expliquer adéquatement certaines asymétries distributionnelles complexes. Par exemple, selon le contexte syntaxique, les trois négations archétypales du français se séparent en deux groupes soit en raison de leurs traits catégoriels (quantificateur ou adverbe), soit en raison de leurs traits lexicaux (type de quantification), schématisés en (849):

⁵⁶² Selon la terminologie de Heinrich LAUSBERG, *Elementi di retorica*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1969, § 325.

⁵⁶³ Thomas Fersen, *Elisabeth*, Tôt ou tard, 1999.

⁵⁶⁴ Une décomposition basique des catégories grammaticales a été proposée par Noam CHOMSKY [1965, 1970].

- Noam CHOMSKY [1965], *Aspects of the theory of syntax*, Cambridge, MIT Press.

- Noam CHOMSKY [1970], *Remarks on nominalization*, in R. A. Jacobs & P. S. Rosenbaum eds., *Readings in English transformational grammar*, Waltham, Ginn & Company.

(849)	\exists	\forall	Q ADVERBIAL	ADV QUANTIFICATIONNEL
<i>Pas.</i>	=	x	x	=
<i>Plus.</i>	x	=	x	=
<i>Jamais.</i>	x	=	=	x

C'est le trait catégoriel Adverbe qui permet la topicalisation, la projection Top n'étant pas catégoriellement quantificationnelle: *pas* se comporte donc comme *plus*, contre *jamais*:

(850) ✓ { * Pas/ * Plus/ **Jamais** } Pierre (**ne**) vient.

En revanche, *jamais* se comporte comme *plus*, contre *pas*, concernant la possibilité d'occurrence en position d'adjonction dans la projection quantificationnelle d'un N-word (une projection quantificationnelle peut accueillir, par adjonction, plusieurs items existentiels, mais un seul item universel):

(851) A: Est-ce que tu as vu quelqu'un?
B: ✓ (Non,) (* Pas/ Plus/ Jamais) **Personne!**

La décomposition en faisceaux de traits non seulement des items, mais encore des catégories grammaticales, semble donc une direction prometteuse pour la recherche linguistique. Ce que nous avons postulé pour une partie des traits composant la notion complexe de polarité pourrait donc donner de bons résultats dans une application généralisée de l'analyse syntaxique en traits.

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