

Sentential negation in Hungarian

Genoveva Puskás

The expression of sentential negation has been the object of a number of recent studies (Moritz 1989, Pollock 1989, Laka 1990, Ouhalla 1990, Haegeman & Zanutini 1991, Zanutini 1991). According to Haegeman & Zanutini (1991), the distribution and interpretation of negative constituents is subject to the NEG criterion, a well-formedness condition which applies universally at LF, but may apply at S-Structure in some languages. The present paper starts from the observation that the distribution of negative elements in Hungarian is highly constrained, in contrast with non-negative constituents. I will argue that the movement of negative elements is accounted for by the NEG criterion and that in Hungarian too, the NEG criterion applies at S-Structure.

The paper is organised as follows: Section 1 gives an overall description of sentential negation in Hungarian. In section 2, I give a short description of the functional projection NegP and of its position within the structure of the negative sentences (2.1); it is followed by a discussion of the NEG criterion (2.2) and the levels at which it applies (2.3). Section 3 briefly discusses the structure of the sentence in Hungarian. This structure contains a projection FP whose head F hosts the verb and carries the feature + focus. Section 4 looks at sentential negation in Hungarian. Hungarian has an obligatory negative marker which is the head of NegP and can combine with optional negative operators which may sit in two different positions, either spec NegP or spec FP (4.1). The movement of the operators exclusively to these positions is due to the NEG criterion (4.2). Section 5 discusses the phenomenon of Negative Concord (5.1) and its manifestations in Hungarian (5.2). We shall see that the movement of negative operators is also strictly linked to Negative Concord. In contrast, section 6 deals with cases of double negation. It is shown that DN readings can only be obtained under the assumption that there is no movement of the negative constituents. Section 7 summarises the paper.*

* This work was supported by the Fonds National Suisse de la Recherche Scientifique, grant n° 11-33542-92. I would like to thank Liliane Haegeman for her supportive and encouraging help. Thanks are also due to Katalin E. Kiss for her valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper, to Corinne Grange, Teresa Guasti, Luigi Rizzi, Manuela Schönerberger and all the participants in the Séminaire Interdépartemental de Recherche en Linguistique of the University of Geneva.

1. Hungarian.

1.1. Bare sentential negation.

It is generally assumed that Hungarian has relatively free word order. The distribution of the NPs in examples (1) and (2) show that the arguments can freely precede or follow the verb:

- (1) a. János Pétert látta
John-NOM Peter-ACC see-PAS-3s
'John saw Peter'
b. Pétert látta János
c. János látta Pétert
- (2) a. János Péterrel beszélt a könyvről
John-NOM Peter-INSTR speak-PAS-3s his-book-DELAT
'John spoke to Peter about his book'
b. a könyvről János Péterrel beszélt
c. Péterrel beszélt János a könyvről

In (1), the subject *János* and the object *Péter* can appear on both sides of the verb *látta*. Similarly in (2), the arguments *János*, *Péterrel* and *a könyvről* appear freely to the right or to the left of the inflected verb *beszél*. The different orders yield different interpretations, but they are all perfectly grammatical.¹ On the other hand, there are important constraints on the distribution of negative constituents in Hungarian:

- (3) a. nem láttam Jánost
NEG see-PAS-1s John-ACC
'I didn't see John'
b. Jánost nem láttam
c. *nem Jánost láttam
- (4) a. Péter nem beszélt Jánossal
Peter-NOM NEG speak-PAS-3s John-INSTR
'Peter didn't speak with John'
b. Péter Jánossal nem beszélt
c. nem beszélt Péter Jánossal
d. *Péter nem Jánossal beszélt

¹ In (1b,c) the constituent which precedes the verb can be interpreted as either *focus* or *topic*. In the first case, it carries a stress and can be glossed as 'it is XP who...'. In the second case, that is, if the constituent occupies the position identified as *topic*, it is not stressed and is interpreted more or less as 'as for XP, ...'. Both positions, which precede the verb, are optional. However, whereas the *topic* position can contain an unlimited number of constituents, the *focus* position can contain at most one constituent. Thus, in (1a), both *János* and *Péterrel* can occupy the *topic* position, in which case *focus* is empty; in this case, the gloss would be 'John saw Peter' (i.e. we know who John is, we have already talked about him, and about Peter as well). Or *János* can occupy the *topic* position and *Péterrel* the *focus* position. In this case, the gloss would rather be 'It is Peter that John saw'.

The data in (3) and (4) show that Hungarian sentential negation is expressed by means of a negative marker *nem*, which always occupies the position to the immediate left of the finite verb.² No lexical element can separate them: in (3c) and (4d) *nem* cannot express sentential negation.³ So in negative sentences, the order is always *nem+V*.

1.2. Negative constituents.

The data in (5) and (6) below suggest that negative constituents behave like non-negative ones and can occur on either side of the verb:

- (5) a. *nem evett semmit*
NEG eat-PAS-3s nothing-ACC
'he/she didn't eat anything'
b. *semmit nem evett*
- (6) a. *nem jött senki*
NEG come-PAS-3s nobody-NOM
'nobody came'
b. *senki nem jött*
- (7) a. *nem evett János semmit*
NEG eat-PAS-3s John-NOM nothing-ACC
'John didn't eat anything'
b. *János semmit nem evett*
- (8) a. *nem beszélt Péterrel senki*
NEG speak-PAS-3s Peter-INSTR nobody-NOM
'nobody spoke with Peter'
b. *Péterrel senki nem beszélt*

The negative phrases occupy a position either to the right of the verb as in (5a, 6a, 7a and 8a) or to its left (5b, 6b, 7b, 8b). However, despite this apparent freedom, they are subject to certain constraints: as shown in (9) below, negative constituents in the preverbal position must be left-adjacent to *nem*:

- (9) a. **semmit János nem evett*
b. **senki Péterrel nem beszélt*

² In sentences with auxiliary + infinitive verb, the negative marker is adjacent to the auxiliary:

- (i) *nem fog enni*
neg aux-3s eat-infin
'he/she will not eat'

(ii) *enni nem fog*

In this paper, I will only consider clauses with finite verbs.

³ In (i), *nem* is a constituent negation:

- (i) *nem Jánost láttam*
'it is not John that I saw'

The scope of *nem* does not bear on the whole sentence, but only on the constituent it precedes, *Jánost*.

Moreover, the negative constituents never occur without the negative marker *nen*:

- (10) a. *evett semmit
 eat-PAS-3s nothing-ACC
 b. *semmit evett
 c. *jött senki
 come-PAS-3s nobody-NOM
 d. *senki jött

In order to give an account of these facts, I will first look at the existing analyses of negation within the generative framework.

2. *NegP*.

Most analyses of negation postulate an independent *NegP*, that is, a projection of a head *Neg⁰* in the domain of IP (Pollock 1989, Zanuttini 1989, Belletti 1990 for Italian, Ouhalla 1990 for Berber and Turkish, Haegeman 1991a for West Flemish, Kenesei 1992 for Finnish and Hungarian).

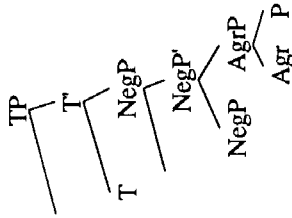
There is no clear agreement as to the position of *NegP* and various proposals have been put forward. Possibly, its position in the structure may vary cross-linguistically.⁴

2.1 *The position of NegP*.

In seminal work on the internal structure of IP and the position of adverbials with respect to the verb, Pollock (1989) argues that negative sentences include an independent projection *NegP* headed by *Neg⁰*. Thus, the structure of IP in a negative sentence is as follows:

⁴ See for example Ouhalla (1990) where it is argued that the difference between Turkish and Berber word order with respect to the position of negative elements is due to the relative positions of *NegP* and TP, i.e. *NegP* either dominating or dominated by TP.

(11)



Pollock claims that in French, *ne* is the head of *NegP* and *pas* sits in the specifier position of this projection:

- (12) Jean n'aime pas Marie
 'John doesn't like Mary'

In (12), *ne* is a clitic and "must, like other clitics, move to (some) Tense (position)" (Pollock 1989:414); and *pas*, in the specifier position of *NegP*, appears to the right of the verb which has moved to T⁰. Hence the order *ne V pas*.⁵

Belletti (1990) observes that "it must be the case that words which result from a syntactic movement are morphologically well-formed words. V-movement can be no exception to this general requirement" (Belletti 1990:27). So, as affixation of the tense and agreement morphemes is the result of a head-to-head movement constrained by the ECP, she argues that "the affix which is closer to the root must be the one which has attached first and so on" (1990:27).

Negative sentences in Italian contain a negative marker *non* and various optional negative adverbs (Belletti 1990:29):

- (13) Gianni non parla (più)
 'John does not speak (anymore)'

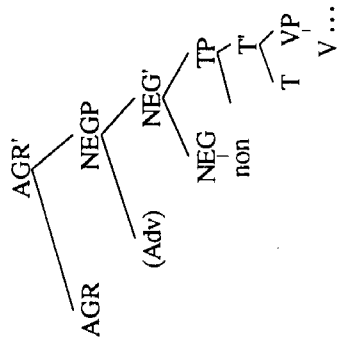
Belletti argues that *non* is the head of *NegP* and that negative adverbs are specifiers of *NegP*. Negative sentences have the underlying structure in (14) below, with *NegP* between the two inflectional heads, as suggested by Pollock:

⁵ Observe that English patterns differently:

- (i) *John left not
 (ii) John has not left

Pollock (1989) offers two analyses: *not* can either be the head of *NegP* or it can sit in spec *NegP*. If *not* is in *Neg⁰*, *not* does not block the movement of *has* to T⁰. In (ii), the alternative is that *not* occupies spec *NegP*, and *Neg⁰* is lexically void. This argument is also developed in Moritz (1989).

(14)



To obtain the order *non*+V in (13) above, Belletti argues that *non* cliticises onto the verb which has moved to Agr⁰. Belletti shows that the same derivation holds for French: *ne* cliticises onto the verb which has moved to Agr⁰. However, in French, spec NegP is obligatorily filled by *pas*:

(15) Jean n'aime *(pas) Marie
'John doesn't like Mary'

I will assume that negative sentences contain a NegP and I will adopt Belletti's proposal on the relative order of the projections within IP.

2.2. The NEG criterion.

It has for long been observed that the behaviour of negative elements may be related to that of WH elements (cf Klima 1964, Lasnik 1972). As noted in Haegeman (to appear), these two types of elements have the property of licensing polarity items, triggering subject-auxiliary inversion and triggering inner-island effects. Rizzi (1991) interprets these phenomena as effects of the LF property of these operators: their scope position is an A' specifier position.

Typically, the WH quantifiers' scope position is spec CP. Rizzi (1991), based on May (1985), proposes that WH constituents are subject to a well-formedness condition, the WH criterion. This condition applies universally at LF, but may apply as early as S-Structure:

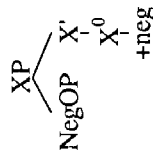
- (16) WH criterion:
- Each WH operator must be in a Spec-Head relation with a +WH X⁰
 - Each +WH X⁰ must be in a Spec-Head relation with a WH operator

The criterion is based on a functional definition of 'operator': an operator is an XP in a scope position, where scope position is a "left

peripheral A' position (either a spec or an adjoined position). This excludes right-peripheral positions and the base-generated position of VP adverbials" (Rizzi 1991:11). Interrogative sentences are endowed with a +WH feature which, Rizzi argues, is located on I⁰ in main clauses and on C⁰ in subordinate clauses.⁶ WH phrases also carry a +WH feature; and the matching of the two features is expressed through the WH criterion in (16). The criterion applies at S-Structure in languages which have overt WH movement (English, French). In languages which show no overt WH movement, such as Chinese, Japanese, etc, the criterion is assumed to apply at LF.

Rizzi (1991) postulates that all affective elements are subject to a licensing condition expressed in terms of spec-head agreement between a head carrying the relevant feature and a constituent (operator) marked with the corresponding feature. Thus, at LF, the negative operator should appear as in (17):

(17)



Haegeman & Zanuttini (1991) formulate this requirement as in the NEG Criterion:

- (18) NEG Criterion
- a NEG operator must be in a Spec-Head relation with an X⁰ +NEG.
 - b. an X⁰ +NEG must be in a Spec-Head relation with a NEG operator.

where the following definitions hold:

- (19) a. NEG operator: a negative phrase in a scope position;
b. Scope position: left peripheral A' position (spec XP) or (XP, YP).
[from Haegeman to appear]

In fact, Haegeman (1991b) reformulates (16) and (18) above as the AFFECT criterion:

- (20) AFFECT criterion
- a. an (AFFECTIVE) operator must be in a spec-head configuration with an (AFFECTIVE) X⁰
 - b. an (AFFECTIVE) X⁰ must be in a spec-head configuration with an (AFFECTIVE) operator.

⁶ A +WH C⁰ is the result of the selection of a +WH subordinate clause by the main verb. Thus a verb like *wonder* selects a +WH C⁰ whereas *think* selects a -WH C⁰.

The level of application of the AFFECT criterion is again assumed to be LF, but some languages may require application at S-Structure already. In this approach, the NEG criterion itself is an instantiation of the generalised AFFECT criterion. Haegeman (to appear) proposes that the NEG criterion applies at S-Structure in West Flemish.

2.3. The level of application of the NEG criterion.

2.3.1. West Flemish.

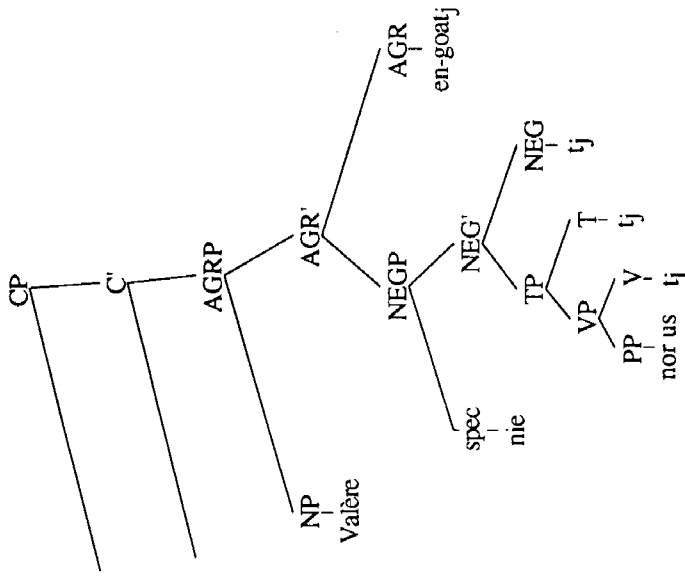
In West Flemish, sentential negation in finite clauses can be expressed in different ways:

- (21) da Valère woarschijnlijk nie nor us (en-)goat
'that Valère probably does not go home'
[Haegeman (to appear:ch.2,13)]

The negative marker *nie* may optionally be reinforced by *en*. Haegeman (to appear) argues that *en-* is the head of NegP and cliticises onto the finite verb, with which it forms a complex head, and is carried along when the verb moves to C. *Nie* does not move: Haegeman assumes that it occupies the specifier of NegP, like French *pas*.

Thus, West Flemish negative sentences have the following structure (from Haegeman to appear:ch.2,14):

(22)



Given that *en-* is the head of NegP, Haegeman argues that *nie* cannot be a head, as such a claim would lead her to adopt a structure with two NegPs. In sentences where *en* does not reinforce *nie*, Haegeman assumes that Neg⁰ is non-overt.

In the case of bare sentential negation, expressed by *nie*, the criterion is met at S-Structure: *nie* appears in a spec-head relation with Neg⁰. Haegeman shows that indeed, the NEG criterion must be satisfied at S-Structure. Consider the following examples (from Haegeman to appear:chapter 2):

- (23) a da ze *nie* (ketent van eur werk) *en-was*
that she not contented of her work *en-was*
'that she was not pleased with her work'
b. da ze (me *nieks*) ketent *en-was*
that she with nothing contented *en-was*
'that she was not pleased with anything'
c. *da ze (ketent *me nieks*) *en-was*
that she pleased with nothing *en-was*
d. *da ze ketent *en-was* (me *nieks*)
that she pleased *en-was* with nothing

- (24) a. *z en-was me nieks ketent*
 she en-was with nothing contented
 'she was not pleased with anything'
- b. *me nieks en-was ze ketent*
 with nothing en-was she pleased
 'she was not pleased with anything'

We have seen above that *en* is the head of NegP and that *nie* occupies spec NegP. Observe that the non-negative complement of *ketent* appears to its right in (23a). However, the negative complement of *ketent*, the PP *me nieks* ('with nothing') appears to the left of the adjective: it has apparently scrambled to the left from its base position. Haegeman (to appear) proposes that this obligatory movement is due to the NEG criterion: in (23b), *me nieks* occupies spec NegP. (23c,d) are ruled out because both sentences violate the NEG criterion: in (23c), *me nieks* does not scramble out of its base position and in (23d), it is extraposed and thus does not occupy the position allowing a spec-head relation with *en*. (24) illustrates cases of root clauses where the verb moves to C⁰, with the negative marker *en* cliticised onto it. In (24b), the negative constituent *me nieks* sits in spec CP, satisfying the NEG criterion in this position. In (24a), Haegeman argues, it has scrambled to the left of *ketent*, i.e. into spec NegP. The fact that in this case, the negative operator apparently moves to spec NegP (rather than to spec CP) shows that the spec-head relation required by the NEG criterion can be satisfied with the trace of *en* in Neg⁰. Consider now the following examples:

- (25) a. *nieks en-peinzen-k da Valère kent*
 b. **nieks peinzen-k da Valère en-kent*

In (25a), *nieks* ('nothing') starts in the lower clause and moves to spec CP, satisfying the spec-head requirement. In (25b), *nieks* violates this spec-head requirement: *en* sits in the lower clause. (25b) shows that a derivation in which *nieks* would move through the lower spec NegP where it could meet the NEG criterion is also excluded.

Thus, it seems that traces of operators cannot satisfy the NEG criterion in West Flemish: it is the operator itself which must sit in the relevant specifier. For discussion, see Haegeman (to appear: chapter 4).

The discussion of the data above shows that the NEG criterion applies at S-Structure in West Flemish and that the criterion can be met with the trace of the head (Neg⁰), but that traces of negative operators in spec NegP do not count to satisfy the criterion.

2.3.2. Italian and French.

Consider the following pair of sentences:

- (26) a. *a nessuno credo che abbia telefonato*
 to nobody I think that he has phoned
- b. *à aucun étudiant je crois qu'il n'aie dit cela*
 to no student I think that he said that

These examples illustrate long movement of negative constituents. Two analyses come to mind. Following Rizzi's (1991) discussion of the WH criterion, one might propose that the level of application of the NEG criterion is subject to parametric variation and that it applies as late as LF in Italian and French (see Moritz & Valois 1992). Alternatively (Haegeman to appear: chapter 4), the NEG criterion (and in fact the WH criterion) universally applies at S-structure. The latter analysis would imply that the NEG criterion is satisfied by an operator chain in (26).

Italian bare sentential negation contrasts with West Flemish as described in section 2.3.2 above:

- (27) *Gianni non telefona a sua madre*
 'John doesn't telephone to his mother'

In Italian, *non* is a head (see section 2.1). In (27), it satisfies the criterion if we assume that spec NegP contains a zero operator which is in the required spec-head relation with the trace of *non* in Neg⁰. Evidence for postulating a zero operator is given by the data in (28) from Rizzi (1990a):

- (28) a. *perché credi che Gianni sia partito?*
 'why do you think that Gianni has left?'
- b. *perché non credi che Gianni sia partito?*
 'why don't you think that Gianni has left?'

(28a) is ambiguous. *Perché* can question either the matrix clause or the subordinate clause. This is not the case for (28b): *perché* can only be related to the matrix clause. Rizzi argues that the null operator which is the specifier of *non* blocks the antecedent government relation between *perché* and its possible trace in the subordinate clause.

3. The Structure of the Clause in Hungarian.

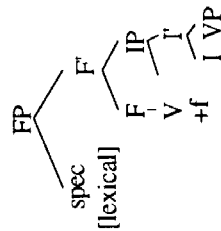
It is by now widely accepted that Hungarian, which used to be considered a non-configurational language, has - at least - a partially

configurational structure. The literature on Hungarian discusses at length various characteristics of the language which are symptomatic of structurally fixed positions.

3.1. FP.

The structural Focus position has been extensively discussed and analysed (see Kiss 1987, Horváth 1986, 1991, Brody 1990, Marác 1989 for detailed analyses). I will adopt the approach developed in a previous paper (Puskás 1992) in which it is argued that the finite verb moves to F⁰, the head of a functional projection FP, which has the feature +FOCUS.⁷ The verb in F⁰ gets the feature +FOCUS. If no lexical element fills the specifier of FP, the feature +FOCUS is realised as a stress on the verb. If spec FP hosts a lexical element, the verb assigns the feature +FOCUS to it through spec-head agreement; the feature is then realised as a primary stress on the lexical element in spec FP, i.e. the constituent which immediately precedes the verb.⁸ So a sentence containing a focused element has a structure as in (29) below (see also Brody 1990 for a similar analysis):

(29)



3.2. IP.

It has sometimes been argued that Hungarian sentences lack functional projections of the type IP (Kiss 1987), and that inflectional morphemes might be base-generated on the verb (Brody 1990). Following current developments in the generative tradition, I assume

⁷ The question whether all Hungarian sentences contain an FP is open. It has been proposed by Kálmán *et al.* (1989) that there are also 'neutral' sentences, as opposed to focused ones.
⁸ Two possibilities arise when the sentence contains no preposed constituent: either spec FP is not projected at all, or spec FP contains a zero operator which, in a by now familiar way, sits in a spec-head relation with the head carrying the +focus feature. One would then be tempted to extend the AFFECT criterion mentioned above to a focus criterion. See Brody (1990) for a partial proposal along these lines. See also Ouhalla (this volume).

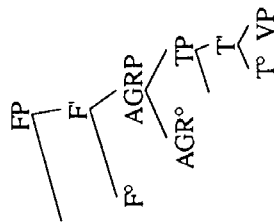
that Hungarian has a full IP node. The very rich agreement morphology on the verb suggests that there are several distinct heads within IP, namely at least Agr and T.⁹ Following Belletti (1990), I will rely on the morphological structure of the verb to determine the order of the different projections within IP:

- (30) a. beszél - t - em
 speak - past - 1s
 'I spoke'
 b. beszél - t
 'he/she spoke'

The root *beszél* is subcategorised for by the tense morpheme *-t*. This complex form *beszél-t* is in turn subcategorised for by the agreement morpheme *-em* in (30a).

In (30b), although the agreement morpheme does not show overtly, I will assume that the 0 form of the 3rd person singular morpheme also subcategorises for V+T. So the structure of Hungarian sentences will take the following form:¹⁰

(31)



I will also assume that negative sentences contain a NegP, which is lower than AgrP. The exact position of NegP within IP being irrelevant

⁹ In fact, Hungarian verbs also carry a morpheme for definite/indefinite direct objects:

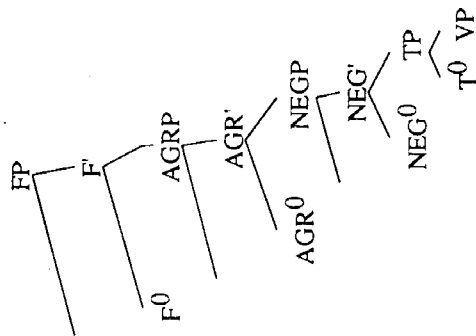
- (i) valamit látott.
 something-acc. see-pas-3s-indef.obj
 the saw something'
 (ii) János látta.
 John-acc. see-pas-3s-def.obj
 the saw John'

This suggests that there is also an Agr-O projection.

The question arises whether these functional heads do host morphological items of the verb and trigger V-movement. Chomsky (1992) proposes that V is base-generated with its inflectional morphology and that the functional heads are the abstract feature matrices to which the verb moves for the licensing of the morphemes. Such an approach still assumes a representation in which these abstract features are carried by separate functional heads.
¹⁰ The exact configuration of the VP itself has still to be studied. As a lot of movement seems to take place, it is difficult to determine what the base order is and what is actually inside VP.

for the discussion, I will assume that a negative sentence has the structure as in (32) below

(32)



4. Sentential Negation in Hungarian and the NEG criterion.

We have seen above (section 1) that in Hungarian, sentential negation is always expressed by means of the negative marker *nem*. For the reader's convenience, some of the relevant data is repeated here:

(33) a. *nem látam János*
NEG see-PAS-3s John-ACC
'I didn't see John'

b. *János nem látam*

c. **nem János látam*

(34) a. *nem evett semmit*

NEG eat-PAS-3s nothing-ACC
'he/she didn't eat anything'

b. *semmit nem evett*

(35) a. **evett semmit*

b. **semmit evett*

c. **senki jött*

nobody-NOM come-PAS-3s

Although word order is relatively free in Hungarian (in (33a), (33b)) the NP *János* can appear on either side of the verb, the negative marker *nem* is always left-adjacent to the verb (33c). *Nem* can be the only negative element in the sentence (33), or it can be part of a bipartite negation, co-occurring with a negative constituent like *semmit* ('nothing') as in (34). But it can never be omitted, even when the second element of the bi-partite negation is present (35).

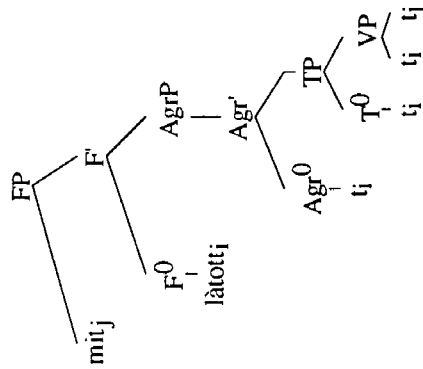
4.1. The position of *nem*.

At first sight, the adjacency between *nem* and the verb could suggest that this negative marker is a negative XP like *nie* in West Flemish or *pas* in French, and that it occupies spec FP. However, the distribution of *nem* with respect to the other elements which do occur in spec FP suggests that this is not the adequate analysis.

In Puskás (1992), it has been shown that WH phrases typically occupy spec FP at S-Structure, where they receive focus and satisfy the WH criterion. Thus (36) has the structure in (37):

(36) *mit látott János?*
what-ACC see-PAS-3s John
'what did John see?'

(37)



As a sentential negation marker, *nem* can co-occur with lexical phrases in spec FP (the diacritic " signals the focus position):

(38) a. *"mit nem mondsz?"*
what-ACC NEG say-PRES-2s
'what don't you say?'

- b. "kivel nem beszélél ?
 who-INSTR NEG speak-PAS-2s
 'who didn't you speak to?'

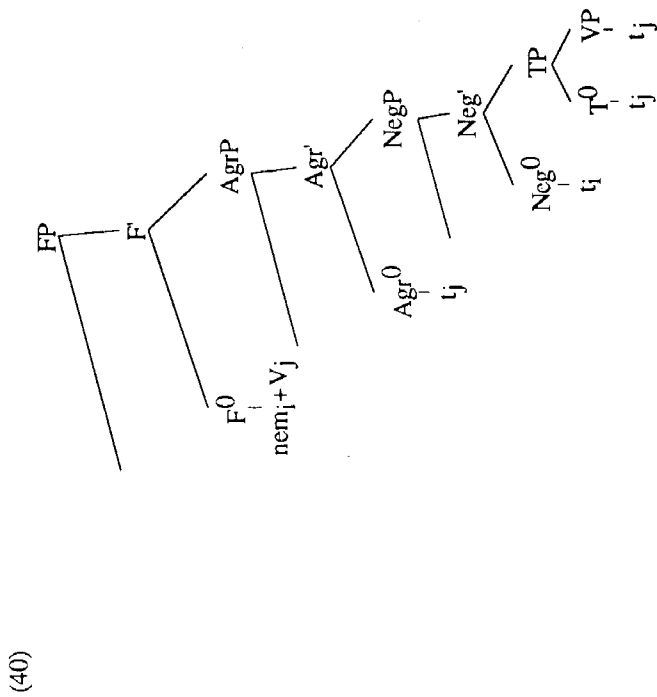
- (39) "Pétert nem látam
 Peter-ACC NEG see-PAS-1s
 'it is Peter I didn't see'

In (38), the WH phrases *mit* and *kivel* occupy spec FP, to the left of the verb, and they receive the stress associated with the feature +FOCUS (see section 3.1). In (39), *Pétert* occupies spec FP and receives focus, or primary stress. As *nem* co-occurs with lexical elements which fill spec FP, I will conclude that *nem* itself does not occupy this position.

The sentences above also show that *nem* appears between the constituents in spec FP and the verb in F⁰.

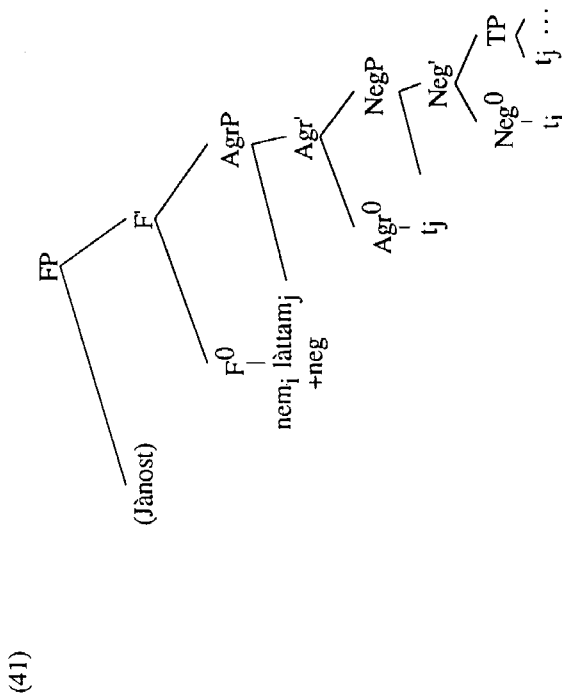
When it expresses sentential negation, *nem* cannot be separated from the verb by any lexical element (see 33c). I will propose that *nem* is a head which cliticises onto the verb.

I will also propose that it is the head of NegP and carries the feature +NEG, which it transmits to the complex head it forms with the verb at S-Structure:



In order to solve the problems raised for the government of the

traces by the movement of *nem*, I will adopt the analysis proposed in Moritz (1989) and developed in Belletti (1990).¹¹ *Nem* cliticises onto the verb which is in F⁰ and which carries the agreement and tense morphemes. The complex head under F⁰ carries both indices *i* and *j*. Thus the traces *i* and *j* are properly governed and the movement yields a well-formed representation. Given this framework, sentence (33b) can be assigned the following S-Structure:



As for (33a), the complex *nem*+verb occupies F⁰, and spec FP is empty. As the feature +FOCUS is not assigned to spec FP, it is carried by *nem*+V and is realised at PF as a stress. The position of *János* is not clear: it can either be inside VP, in its base position, or somewhere higher, as in spec AgrP (see note 10).

4.2. The NEG criterion.

Let us look at examples (34a,b), repeated here as (42a,b):

¹¹ Moritz (1989) looks at the problem of the order of negative elements in French and English. In order to get the sequence *ne V pas* in French, he suggests that Neg⁰, which carries a feature +neg, incorporates into Agr⁰. Although the derivation itself violates the head-movement constraint, since the verb, on its way to Agr', passes the intervening head Neg⁰, the result is nevertheless representationally well-formed. Belletti (1990) develops this idea and argues that as *non* (or French *ne*) cliticises onto the verb, the chain <non,ti> and the chain <v,tj> share the same head, namely Agr'. As Agr carries both indices *i* and *j*, the relation of antecedent government holds non-distinctly for both empty categories *ti* and *tj*. Thus, all empty categories are properly governed and there is no ECP violation.

- (42) a. *nem evett semmit*
NEG eat-PAS-3s nothing-ACC
'he/she didn't eat anything'
b. *semmit nem evett*

The pair suggests that the movement of negative constituents is optional. However, this optional movement is subject to some constraint: the negative constituent has only one landing site to the left of the verb, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (9a) repeated here as (43):

- (43) **semmit János nem evett*
nothing-ACC John-NOM NEG eat-PAS-3s

Consider also the following:

- (44) a. **ki semmit nem látott?*
who-NOM nothing-ACC NEG see-PAS-3s
b. **semmit ki nem látott?*
c. *ki nem látott semmit?*
who-NOM NEG see-PAS-3s nothing-ACC
'who didn't see anything?'

As was seen in section 4.1 above, WH phrases always appear in spec FP. The ungrammaticality of examples (44a,b) can be accounted for if we assume that *ki* and *semmit* compete for the same position. So the (optional) movement of negative phrases to a pre-verbal position is, in fact, movement to spec FP.

In the examples discussed here, the NEG criterion is satisfied at S-Structure: the spec-head relation between a negative head and a negative operator is met within the projection of F⁰.

However, this is not sufficient evidence that the NEG criterion applies at S-Structure. In French, for instance, *pas* in spec NegP would be in the appropriate spec-head relation with Neg⁰, and yet it could be argued that the NEG criterion applies at LF (see discussion in section 2.3.2).

In (42a), the negative constituent *semmit* appears post-verbally, in a position lower than F⁰. Various possibilities come to mind. On the one hand, it might be argued that the NEG criterion applies at LF.

This means that there is no S-Structure constraint on the distribution of negative constituents subject to the NEG criterion. In this case, the movement in (42b) would not be due to the application of the NEG criterion but rather to some focus requirement: when negative constituents move, they move only to a position where they can get focus. The fact that the NEG criterion is met at S-Structure is then irrelevant. On the other hand, we can assume that the NEG criterion does apply at S-Structure.

In this case, post-verbal negative constituents occupy their base position, that is, an A position and do not qualify as operators (see 19): hence, they are not subject to the NEG criterion.

The negative head *nem* can satisfy the NEG criterion in a spec-head relation with a non-overt operator. This strategy will be independently adopted for sentences with bare negation (see discussion below).

However, the distribution of post-verbal negative constituents suggests that the elements do not stay in their base position. This will provide evidence for the fact that the Neg Criterion applies at S-Structure already. Consider the following examples:

- (45) a. *nem beszélt János Péterrel a könyvéről*
NEG speak-PAS-3s John-NOM Peter-INSTR book-POSS-DELAT
'John didn't speak with Peter about his book'
b. **nem beszélt János Péterrel semmiről*
NEG speak-PAS-3s John-NOM Peter-INSTR nothing-DELAT
c. *nem beszélt János senkivel a könyvéről*
NEG speak-PAS-3s John-NOM nobody-INSTR book-POSS-DELAT
'John didn't speak with anybody about his book'
- (46) a. *nem beszélt János a könyvéről Péterrel*
NEG speak-PAS-3s John-NOM book-POSS-DELAT Peter-INSTR
'John didn't speak about his book with Peter'
b. **nem beszélt János a könyvéről senkivel*
NEG speak-PAS-3s John-NOM book-POSS-DELAT nobody-INSTR
c. *nem beszélt János semmiről Péterrel*
NEG speak-PAS-3s John-NOM nothing-DELAT Peter-INSTR
'John didn't speak about anything with Peter'

Regardless of the structure of VP, negative constituents are subject to constraints which do not hold for non-negative constituents. (45c) and (46c) show that only one constituent can separate the negative constituent and the inflected verb: I assume that this constituent occupies spec AgrP and that the adjacent negative constituent has scrambled out of VP. Following Haegeman's discussion of the obligatory scrambling of negative constituents in West Flemish, I propose that in (45c) and (46c), *senkivel* and *semmiről* have moved to spec NegP. Analogously, I propose that in (42) *semmit* has left its base position and occupies spec NegP. In these examples, the NEG criterion is met within the projection of Neg⁰, between the phrase which occupies spec NegP and the trace of *nem* in Neg⁰. The obligatory movement of negative phrases into spec NegP argues for the fact that the NEG criterion applies at S-Structure.

Let us come back to (34b), repeated as (47), and compare it with the ungrammatical (9a), repeated here as (48).

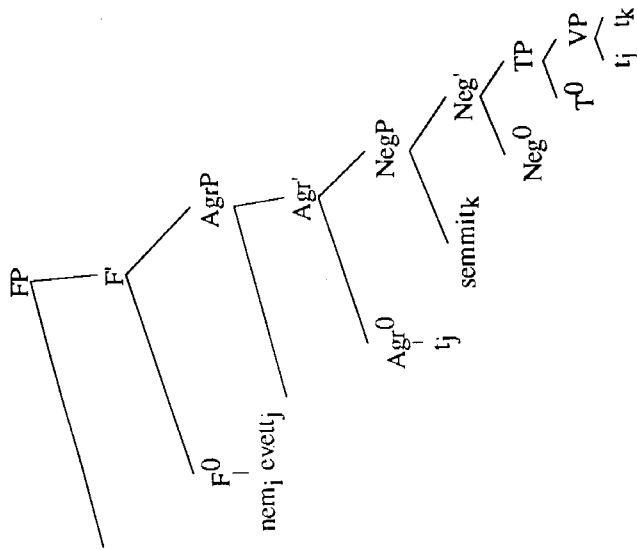
(47) *semmit nem evett*
 nothing-ACC NEG eat-PAS-3s
 'he/she didn't eat anything'

(48) **semmit János nem evett*
 nothing-ACC John-NOM NEG eat-PAS-3s

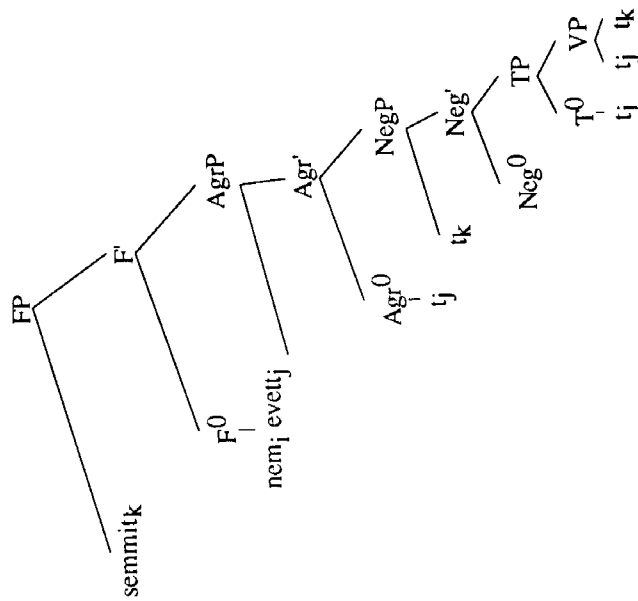
In the light of the above discussion, one would be tempted to say that in (47), the NEG criterion is satisfied at the level of NegP, i.e. between the trace of *nem* and the trace of *semmit*.¹² However, this strategy would not explain why examples like (48) are ruled out: once the NEG criterion is satisfied, one would expect negative elements to be able to appear in, say, the topic position, like non-negative constituents. As (48) is ungrammatical, I will conclude that the NEG criterion cannot be satisfied by the trace of the operator; it is only met if the head -or trace of the head- is in the required spec-head relation with the operator itself. Observe that this conclusion supports the one reached by Haegeman (to appear) for West Flemish.

With respect to the satisfaction of the NEG criterion at S-Structure, Hungarian has a double strategy, which allows the NEG criterion to apply either at the head of the chain formed by *nem* and its trace, or at the foot of this chain, i.e. either in FP or in NegP. Thus, in (42a), the NEG criterion is met in FP. The S-Structure representations for (42a) and (42b) will then be as in (49a) and (49b) below:

(49) a.



(49) b.



¹² We will have to say that on its way up to spec FP, the operator obligatorily moves through spec NegP. Otherwise, the latter will block the antecedent-government relation in terms of Relativised Minimality. See also the discussion below on negative concord.

Let us return to the examples in (3), in which sentential negation is expressed by the bare *nem*. The examples are repeated here as (50):

- (50) a. *nem látam János*
 NEG see-PAS1 John-ACC
 'I didn't see John'
 b. *János nem látam*
 c. **nem János látam*

If the NEG criterion applies at S-Structure, we are led to postulating a non-overt operator in (50a) and (50b). Arguments for postulating a non-overt negative operator can be derived from the inner-island effects exhibited in (51) below:

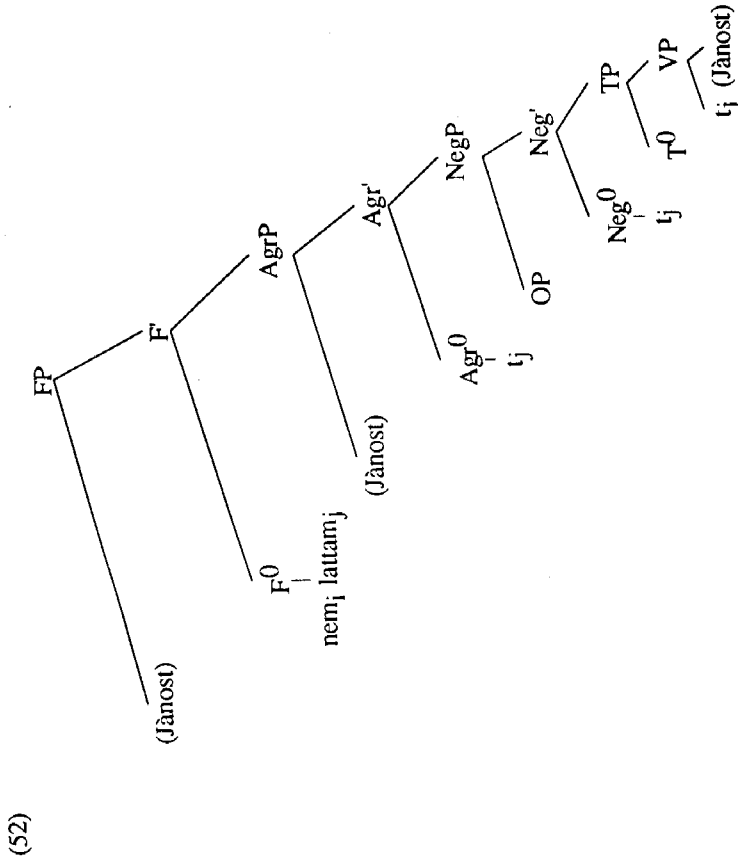
- (51) a. *miért gondolod hogy sirt Réka?*
 why think-PRES-2s that cry-PAS-3s Réka-NOM
 'why do you think that Réka cried?'
 b. *miért nem gondolod hogy sirt Réka?*
 why NEG think-PRES-2s that cry-PAS-3s Réka-NOM
 'why don't you think that Réka cried?'

In (51a), *miért* ('why') can be construed either with the matrix clause or with the subordinate clause. (51b), on the other hand, is unambiguous: only the interpretation with the higher clause is available. Following Rizzi (1990a), this is due to the fact that there is a null operator which blocks the antecedent-government relation between *miért* and a trace in the lower clause (see section 2.3.2).

In terms of the Relativized Minimality framework (Rizzi 1990a), the absence of long construal in (51b) is due to the effect of an intervening A' specifier which prevents antecedent government between the adjunct and its trace: here, the A' specifier is the null negative operator in spec NegP.

Therefore, I propose that sentences with a bare negative marker contain a non-overt negative operator. Since spec FP can either be empty (50a) or filled with lexical material (50b) it is difficult to say whether the criterion is met at the head of the negative chain, i.e. in FP or at the foot, i.e. in NegP.

For economy reasons, one might assume that the zero operator is base generated in spec NegP and that since it has no reason to move, it doesn't. The structure given in (41) can thus be extended as follows:



Let us look at the examples in (10), repeated as (53) for the reader's convenience:

- (53) a. **evett semmit*
 eat-PAS-3s nothing-ACC
 b. **semmit evett*
 c. **jött senki*
 come-PAS-3s nobody-NOM
 d. **senki jött*

The ungrammaticality of the examples in (53) can be explained if we assume that the NEG criterion applies at S-Structure in Hungarian. In these examples, it is not the position of *semmit* as such which causes the ungrammaticality: it has been shown above (examples 42a,b) that negative constituents appear either in spec NegP, i.e. in a position to the right of the verb, or in spec FP, that is, to the immediate left of the finite verb. The conclusion is that what rules these sentences out is the fact that they violate the NEG criterion: the negative operator does not enter in a spec-head relation with a negative head.

Compare (53) with (54):

- (54) a. It. nessuno (*non) è venuto
'Nobody came'
b. WF. ...da Valère niemand (en-)kent
'that Valère does not know anyone.'

(54a) above shows that in Italian, the negative head *non* cannot co-occur with *nessuno* in the subject position. Similarly, West Flemish has the option of omitting the negative head *en* (54b). Haegeman (to appear) argues that in these languages, a zero negative head satisfies the spec-head requirement stipulated by the NEG criterion. As shown by the ungrammaticality of (53), such an option is not available in Hungarian.

5. Negative Concord.

5.1. Multiple negation and Negative Concord.

Zanutini (1989) gives a detailed comparative study of negation in Romance languages. The author observes that Romance languages, as opposed to standard English, for example, display Negative Concord (NC): several negative constituents in the same clause enter into a relation of NC. This means that in these languages, the various negative elements which appear in a negative sentence are interpreted as contributing to a unique negative meaning in the sentence. These facts contrast with those of standard English, for example, where each negative element comes with its own negative force:

(55) John didn't see nothing

Haegeman & Zanutini (1990, 1991) observe that this phenomenon of NC is also present in a Germanic language, West Flemish. Here are the data (from Haegeman & Zanutini 1991:235):

- (56) a. da Valère niemand nie (en-)kent
that Valère nobody not en- knows
'that Valère does not know anybody'
b. da Valère nie niemand (en-)kent
'that Valère doesn't know nobody' (DN)

In (56a), the negative phrase *niemand* enters into a negative concord relation with *nie*. Haegeman & Zanutini argue that the NC reading is obtained via a process of absorption similar to WH absorption at LF: all the negative constituents which enter into a spec-head relation with the

negative head are co-indexed with it, they share the same index. (56b), which contains the same negative phrases as (56a), cannot have a NC reading. Here, *niemand* appears to the right of *nie*. It has been said above (section 2.3.1) that *nie* occupies spec NegP.

So Haegeman & Zanutini propose that in (56b), *niemand* occupies its base position in VP.

The correlation between this fact and the double negation reading leads them to conclude that in order to enter into a NC relation with *nie*, a negative constituent must scramble out of its base position. In fact, all negative constituents which take sentential scope (hence their unique negative force) must be scrambled out of VP. Haegeman (to appear) proposes that the obligatory scrambling of negative constituents in West Flemish follows from the fact that the NEG criterion applies at S-Structure and that the functional definition of negative operators is not available.

All negative constituents move to reach a specifier-head relation with Neg⁰. Haegeman also proposes that spec-head relations are one-to-one relations: thus Neg⁰ can only have one specifier. NC, that is the absorption of multiple negative operators will allow for multiple constituents to reach the same spec-head relation with Neg⁰. Haegeman & Zanutini (1991) assume, on the basis of the NEG criterion, that the negative constituents' landing site is spec NegP or an adjoined position.

5.2. Negative Concord in Hungarian.

Like the group of Romance languages studied in Zanutini (1989) and like West Flemish, Hungarian exhibits NC. I will adopt here the distinction made in Haegeman (to appear) between two types of relations involving negative constituents: on the one hand, the relation between the negative head (*nem* in Hungarian) and the other negative constituents is one of a head and a maximal projection.

On the other hand, the relation between several negative constituents is a relation between maximal projections which enter into a NC. Cases of sentential negation as described in section 4 above will not be considered as illustrations of NC, since they involve a relation between *nem*, the head of NegP, and a negative constituent.

Consider the following data:

- (57) a. senkivel semmiről nem beszélt János
nobody-INSTR nothing-DELAT NEG speak-PAS-3s John-NOM
'John didn't speak with anybody about anything'
b. János senkivel semmiről nem beszélt
c. *senkivel János semmiről nem beszélt
d. Péterrel János semmiről nem beszélt
'John didn't speak about anything with Peter'

- (58) a. János nem beszélt senkivel semmiről
 'John didn't speak to anybody about anything'
 b. nem beszélt János senkivel semmiről
 c. *nem beszélt senkivel János semmiről
 d. nem beszélt senkivel János a könyvéről
 'John didn't speak to anybody about his book'

(59) semmiről nem beszélt János senkivel

5.2.1. Pre-verbal position.

It was established in section 4 above that when a negative constituent appears pre-verbally, it moves into spec FP. Movement to a position higher than Spec FP is impossible (see 9a). The data above show that there can be more than one negative constituent in a negative sentence. In (57), the two negative constituents *senkivel* and *semmiről* both appear pre-verbally.

As attested by (57b), both elements appear verb-adjacently with the subject *János* either in a post-verbal position (57a) or preceding them (57b). However, the two constituents cannot be separated by a non-negative element (57c). In (57d), *Péterrel*, a non-negative instrumental constituent, can occur to the left of *János*. The data above suggest that there is an adjacency requirement specifically on negative constituents: they form one unit and they all receive focus.

I would like to propose that in (57a), *senkivel* and *semmiről* both have a spec-head relation with *nem* in the FP domain.¹³ This adjacency can be interpreted as the result of the application of the NEG criterion at S-Structure: (57c) is excluded because *senkivel*, a negative operator, does not enter into the required spec-head configuration with *nem*.

In (57a), the two negative operators enter into a NC and the adjacency requirement guarantees that at LF, they have the same index and are correctly interpreted as a unique negation.

¹³ The question whether the second negative constituent adjoins to FP or to spec FP is open. In Puskás (1992), I had argued that multiple WH movement involves adjunction of the WH phrases to FP. If it is really the case, one would expect the negative operators to behave alike in multiple negation. Besides, adjunction to NegP would then probably follow the same pattern. On the other hand, examples like (i) and (ii) below point towards another possibility:

- (i) Nem beszélt soha senkivel semmiről.
 neg speak-pas-3s never nobody-instr nothing-deliat
 'He never spoke to anyone about anything.'
 (ii) *Nem beszélt senkivel semmiről soha.

Here the negative adverb *soha* ('never') can precede the negative constituents but not follow them. I assume that it has moved to adjoin to NegP in (i). The fact that (ii) is ruled out would then rather suggest that the negative constituents are both in spec NegP and not adjoined to NegP. This remains to be investigated further.

5.2.2. Post-verbal position.

As in negative sentences with one negative constituent, multiple negation can also occur post-verbally. Movement to spec FP is also optional in sentences with multiple negative constituents.

It was argued above (section 4) that a negative element in post-verbal position appears in spec NegP at S-Structure, satisfying the NEG criterion at this level. In (58a,b) the negative constituents *senkivel* and *semmiről* are adjacent in this post-verbal position. It is a priori difficult to decide whether the second one, namely *semmiről*, sits in its base position or not.

However, (58c) shows that the adjacency requirement observed for the pre-verbal negative elements holds in these cases as well.

The fact that in (58d) a *könyvéről*, a non-negative delative NP, can follow *János* attests that there is no constraint either on the number or on the order of constituents allowed to appear post-verbally. (58c) is ruled out because it violates the adjacency requirement between the negative constituents. We are led to the conclusion that the negative constituents move to spec NegP and to an adjoined position (see note 13). The S-Structure representation of (58a) is as in (60) below:

5.2.3. The double strategy.

We have seen that in Hungarian, the NEG criterion is satisfied at S-Structure either at the top or at the bottom of the chain formed by the negative head *nem* and its trace. We have also seen that multiple negation requires adjacency of the negative constituents and is also subject to the NEG criterion. Consider now the example given in (59) and repeated here as (61):

- (61) *semmiről nem beszélt János senkivel*
nothing-DELAT NEG speak-PAS-3s John-NOM nobody-INSTR
'John didn't speak about anything with anybody'

In section 5.2.2, I showed that negative elements which have sentential scope obligatorily move out of their base position.

I will then assume that in (61), *semmiről* occupies spec FP and *senkivel* spec NegP. The two negative operators satisfy the NEG criterion simultaneously at both ends of the chain < *nem*; *t* >.

The fact that the NEG criterion can be satisfied in two different positions is not surprising: in Hungarian, negative constituents can freely appear either in spec NegP or in Spec FP.

In this case, the two positions are cumulative: as long as the movement to spec FP is optional for negative constituents, the lower option (namely spec NegP) has to be always available. What is perhaps more surprising, though, is the resulting NC reading: in Hungarian, the process of LF absorption seems to work on an extended domain.

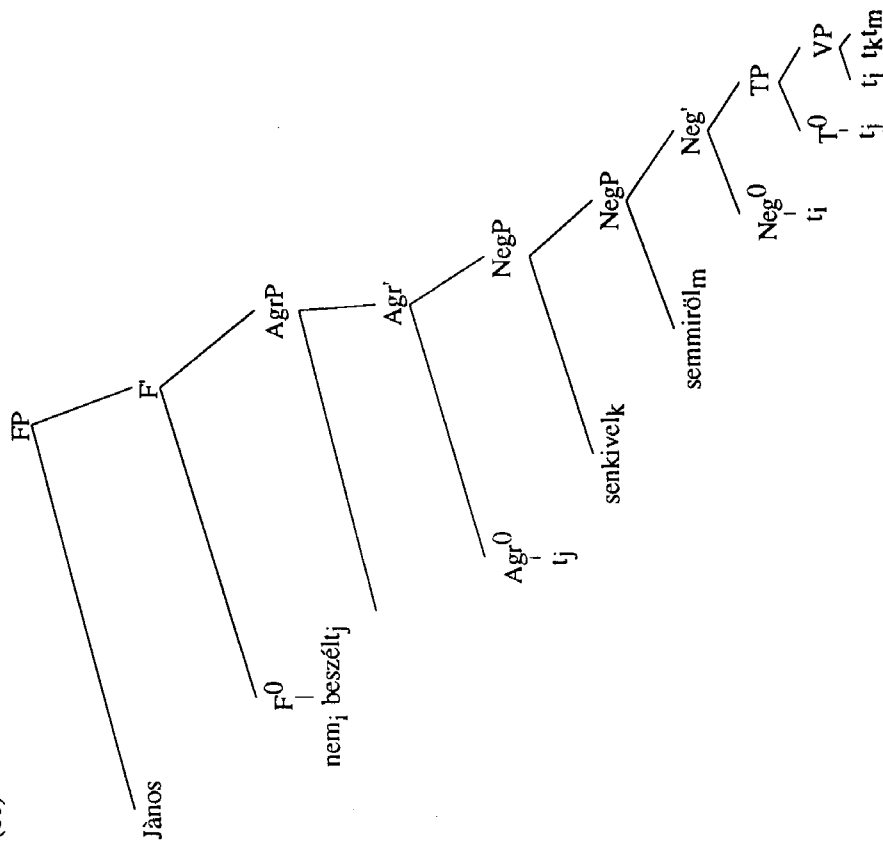
However, if we assume that LF absorption is a process of interpretation of indices, we can easily see how this works. *Nem* and its trace form a chain, in the sense that they are co-indexed and can be both the locus of application of the NEG criterion.

The process of indexation of negative constituents is maybe not so clear. Do the negative constituents get 'recognised' as part of a NC because they share the same position or because they enter somehow into a spec-head relation with the relevant head?

Let us assume that the fact that they move - at S-Structure or LF - to one position is what guarantees their recognition as belonging to the same negative unit, i.e. their co-indexation. I will then propose that when two negative phrases occur in different positions, the NC reading is possible because the movement of the highest one into spec FP - which is an optional move - transits by spec NegP.

Thus the negative unit, as one could say, is present at some point (in the form of a trace co-indexed with the actual element in spec FP) in an adjacent group. The co-indexation process can be done on this basis (it is difficult to decide whether it is one position or the chain which

(60)



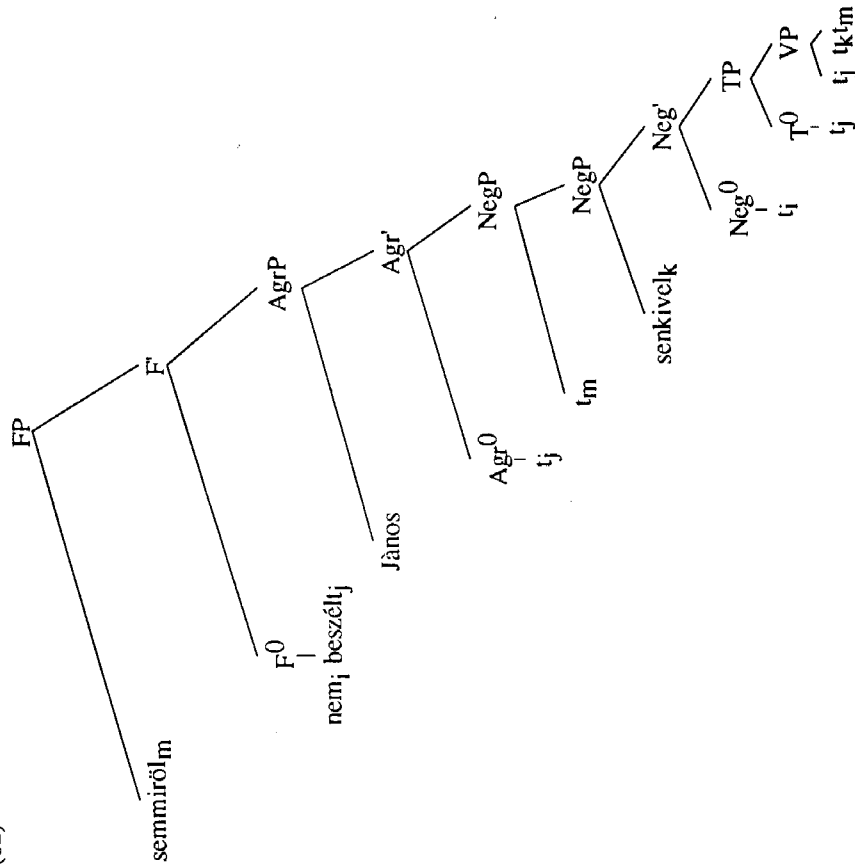
In (60) above, *senkivel* and *semmiről* move to spec NegP and to an adjoined position: the negative operators satisfy the NEG criterion at the foot of the chain < *nem*, *t* >.

The negative operators in spec NegP share the same index at LF and enter in a NC relation. The ungrammaticality of (58c) shows that in order to be interpreted as sentential negation, i.e. to get sentential scope, all negative constituents must move out of VP.

And because of the NEG criterion, they have to move to the domain of NegP. So the correlation between scrambled negative phrases and NC reading observed by Haegeman & Zanuttini for West Flemish seems to hold for Hungarian. The scope domain of negative elements can be identical only if they are scrambled out of the VP.

counts).¹⁴ I will propose the analysis in (62) for the sentence in (61):

(62)



So in order to enter a NC, negative constituents have to move at least to spec NegP, the subsequent movement to a higher position being here subject to pragmatic considerations.

6. Double Negation.

Up to now, I have only considered cases of multiple negation with a NC reading. Consider the following pair (E.Kiss, p.c.):

¹⁴ Haegeman (p.c.) suggests another alternative: since the negative elements in the domain of FP and those in the domain of NegP all have a spec-head relation with the chain headed by *nem*, it can be argued, following the one-to-one specifier-chain relation proposed in Haegeman (to appear), that all negative constituents have to undergo absorption along the chain in order to function as one specifier.

- (63) a. "senki nem evett" 'semmit
nobody-NOM NEG eat-PAS-3s nothing-NEG
'nobody ate anything'
b. "senki nem evett semmit
'nobody ate nothing' (=DN)

Given the interpretations suggested to me by Katalin E. Kiss, (63a) is a case of NC similar to the ones described in the section above. It contrasts with (63b) only in the fact that in (63a), *semmit* seems to carry some kind of (secondary) stress. On the other hand, (63b), which lacks this stress on *semmit*, is interpreted as double negation.

In section 5 above, I discussed the fact that sentential negation and NC can only be obtained if the negative constituents are scrambled out of the VP. Under this assumption, (63a) can clearly be analysed as following this requirement: *semmit* does not sit in its base position, but has moved to spec NegP. In (63b), on the other hand, we do not get the NC reading. I will assume that in this case, the NC reading is not available precisely because *semmit* does not occupy spec NegP. If we take into account the fact that the NEG criterion applies at S-Structure in Hungarian, the conclusion is that *semmit* in (63b) has not moved at all, or occupies a non operator position. In (63b), *senki* satisfies the spec-head requirement in the domain of FP, as for *semmit*, it does not qualify as an operator. Thus, there is no violation of the NEG criterion. The double negation reading results from the fact that *semmit* does not move to spec NegP and cannot enter into a NC with *senki* in spec FP. Consider the following pair of sentences:

- (64) a. soha nem vett János semmit a fiának
never NEG buy-PAS-3s John-NOM nothing-ACC the son-POSS-DAT
'John never bought anything for his son'
b. soha nem vett János a fiának semmit
'John never bought nothing for his son'

Recall that in section 4.2 above, I showed that negative constituents scramble out of their base position and move to spec NegP, leaving room for only one constituent between the inflected verb and their own position. In (64b) above, two constituents appear between the verb and *semmit*: this yields a sentence in which, provided that there is absolutely no stress on *semmit*, only the double negation interpretation is available. I will again conclude that in (64b), *semmit* sits in its base position, in contrast with (64a), where it has moved to spec NegP, yielding a NC reading with *soha*. So the relation between NC and scrambling out of VP already observed in section 5 above is confirmed here: in order to enter into a NC, negative constituents have to move to the domain of NegP.

Compare with West Flemish (from Haegeman p.c.). In (65), *nooit* has

scrambled to satisfy the NEG criterion. However, *me nieks* has not moved to spec NegP: hence the double negation reading:

- (65) da Valère nooit ketent me nieks en is
that Valère never contented with nothing en is

The sentences in (63) and (64) raise an interesting issue: the (secondary) stress on *semmit* in (63a) seems to be determinant in the disambiguation of the sentence. Although the focus position, filled by the constituent *senki*, is realised as a primary stress, it seems that a second stress can be assigned post-verbally. However, it cannot be assigned to any position, since it is very likely that *semmit* sits in spec NegP. Besides, the same stress does not seem to appear on post-verbal non-negative constituents. The possibility of a second stress has been signalled by Brody (1990).¹⁵ However, Brody suggests that the focus assigned freely inside VP is of contrastive nature. The secondary stress I am describing is by no means contrastive. Besides, it is not VP internal: it rather seems to be assigned in functional projections outside VP. This question remains to be investigated.

7. Conclusion.

In this paper, I argued that the NEG criterion applies at S-Structure in Hungarian. In order to take scope over a clausal domain, negative constituents must move to enter into a specifier-head relation with a head carrying the NEG feature. F(ocus) and Neg⁰ are the relevant heads which host the feature NEG.

Negative Concord is a by-product of the NEG criterion. All negative constituents which take sentential scope must move to attain a spec-head relation with the negative head. Given the one-to-one requirement on spec-head relations, multiple A' specifiers have to undergo absorption, a process whereby multiple specifiers are amalgamated into one. In Hungarian, the absorption process applies along the chain created by the movement of the negative head: negative constituents in spec FP amalgamate with those in spec NegP. On the other hand, negative constituents which have not undergone movement to either spec FP or spec NegP cannot undergo absorption.

¹⁵ Brody gives the following examples (Brody 1990:212):

- (i) Nem JANOSSAL vittem le a SZEMÉTET (hanem...)
not JOHN-WITH took down the RUBBISH (but...)
I didn't take down the RUBBISH with JOHN (but...)
(ii) Nem JANOSSAL vittem LE a szeméteket (hanem...)
not JOHN-WITH took DOWN the rubbish (but...)
I didn't take DOWN the rubbish with JOHN (but...)

According to Brody, the second stress is due to "free +f assignment in VP" (p. 212).

Address of the Author:

Geneveva Puskás
Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Letters
University of Geneva
CH-1204
E-mail: puskas@uni2a.unige.ch

References

- Belletti, A. (1990), *Generalized Verb Movement*, Torino, Rosenberg & Sellier.
Brody, M. (1990), "Some remarks on the Focus field in Hungarian", UCLA Working Papers, 2:201-225
Chomsky, N. (1992), *A minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory*, ms, MIT.
Haegeman, L. (1991a), "Negative concord, negative heads", in D. Delfitto, ed., *Going Romance and Beyond. Fifth Symposium on Comparative Grammar*, OTS working papers, Utrecht, 45-82.
Haegeman, L. (1991b), "Negation in West Flemish and the Neg criterion", paper presented at NELS, Delaware 1991.
Haegeman, L. (to appear), *The Syntax of Negation*, ms, Université de Genève, to be published by C.U.P.
Haegeman, L. & R. Zanuttini (1991), "Negative heads and the Neg criterion", *The Linguistic Review* 8:233-251.
Horváth, J. (1986), *FOCUS in the Theory of Grammar and the Syntax of Hungarian*. Dordrecht, Foris.
Horváth, J. (1991), "Structural Focus, Structural Case and the notion of feature-assignment", ms, Tel-Aviv University.
Kálman, L. et al. (1986), "Hocus, focus and verb types in Hungarian infinitive constructions", in W. Abraham & S. de Meij eds., *Topic, Focus and Configurationality*, Amsterdam, Benjamins.
Kayne, R. (1984), *Connectedness and Binary Branching*, Dordrecht, Foris.
Kenesei, I. (1992), "Functional categories in Finno-Ugric", ms, University of Szeged.
Kiss, K. E. (1987), *Configurationality in Hungarian*, Dordrecht, Foris.
Klima, E. (1964), "Negation in English", in A.J. Fodor & J.J. Katz, eds., *The Structure of Language*, New York, Prentice Hall.

- Laka, I. (1990), *Negation in Syntax: on the Nature of Functional Categories and Projections*, PhD thesis, MIT.
- Lasnik, H. (1972), *Analyses of Negation in English*, Cambridge, MIT Press.
- Marăcz, L. (1990), *Asymmetries in Hungarian*, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.
- May, R. (1985), *Logical Form*, Cambridge, MIT Press.
- Moritz, L. (1989), *Aperçu de la syntaxe de la négation en français et en anglais*, Mémoire de licence, Université de Genève.
- Moritz, L. & D. Valois (1992), "French sentential negation and LF pied-piping", ms, UCLA.
- Ouhalla, J. (1990), "Sentential Negation, Relativised Minimality and the Aspectual Status of Auxiliaries", *The Linguistic Review* 7:183-231.
- Ouhalla, J. (1992), "Focus in Standard Arabic", ms, Queen Mary and Westfield College.
- Pollock, J.-Y. (1989), "Verb Movement, Universal Grammar and the Structure of IP", *Linguistic Inquiry* 20:265-424.
- Puskás, G. (1992), "The wh-criterion in Hungarian", *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 17:141-186.
- Rizzi, L. (1982), *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht, Foris.
- Rizzi, L. (1990a), *Relativized Minimality*, Cambridge, MIT Press.
- Rizzi, L. (1990b), "Speculations on Verb second", in J. Mascaró & M. Nespó, eds., *Grammar in Progress*. GLOW Essays for Henk van Riemsdijk, Dordrecht, Foris.
- Rizzi, L. (1991), "Residual Verb second and the wh-criterion", *Technical Reports in Formal and Computational Linguistics* 2, Université de Genève.
- Rizzi, L. & I. Roberts (1989), "Complex inversion in French", *Probus* 1:1-30.
- Zanuttini, R. (1989), "The structure of negative clauses in Romance", ms, University of Pennsylvania.
- Zanuttini, R. (1991), *Syntactic Properties of Sentential Negation: A Comparative Study of Romance Languages*, Doct. diss., University of Pennsylvania.