

Expletive (?) Negation*

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1. Prelude

Both the Genitive of Negation (GN) and *ni*-phrases in Russian can be licensed by clausemate negation. As is well known, GN is in partially overlapping distribution with the structural accusative and nominative (cf. e.g. Babby 1980; Bailyn 1995; Pesetsky 1982); *ni*-phrases are in complementary distribution with *nibud'*-indefinites (see Pereltsvaig 2000).

- (1a) Ivan ✓ničego/ *čto-nibud' ne znaet.
Ivan NI-what what-nibud' not know
Ivan doesn't know anything.
- (1b) Ivan *ničego/ ✓čto-nibud' znaet.
Ivan NI-what what-nibud' know
Ivan knows something.
- (1c) Fedâ ne skazal čto on ✓čto-nibud'/*ničego znaet ob ètom.
Fedja not said that the what-nibud' NI-what knows about that
Fedja didn't say that he knew anything about that.
- (2a) Ivan ne čitaet ✓žurnal/ ✓žurnala.
Ivan not reads journal_{ACC} journal_{GEN}
Ivan doesn't read the journal/a journal.
- (2b) Ivan čitaet ✓žurnal/ *žurnala.
Ivan reads journal_{ACC} journal_{GEN}
Ivan reads the journal/a journal.

* I would like to thank Željko Bošković, Lydia Grebenyova, Stephanie Harves, Luisa Martí, Ora Matushansky, Nobu Miyoshi, Barbara Partee, Natalja Rakhlin, Arthur Stepanov, and Tania Ionin for discussion, examples and support. I would also like to thank the audience of FASL 10 for stimulating discussion. I am solely responsible for all the errors in this paper. None of the above necessarily agree with the views expressed.

- (2c) Ivan ne skazal čto on čitaet ✓ žurnal/ *žurnala
 Ivan not said that he reads journal_{ACC} journal_{GEN}
Ivan didn't say that he reads the journal/a journal.

We will assume that GN is licensed only on underlying internal arguments which get structurally Case marked (for discussion Babby 1980; Bailyn 1995, 1997; Borschev and Partee 1998; Brown 1999a; Chvany 1975; Franks 1995; Mustajoki 1985; Mustajoki and Heino 1991; Neidle 1988; Partee and Borschev 2000, 2001; Pesetsky 1982 among others).

Despite the similarities, GN and *ni*-phrases are not licensed in exactly the same environments. Whereas negation in negated yes/no questions licenses GN it does not license *ni*-phrases ((3a) vs. (4a)). Similarly, negation in the complement of the verb 'fear' licenses GN but not *ni*-phrases ((3b) vs. (4b)). These asymmetries are the central focus of this paper.

- (3a) ✓Ne/*Ø kupil li Petr žurnala?
 not/Ø bought Q Petr journal_{GEN}
Did(n't) Petr buy any journal?
- (3b) ✓Â boûs' kak by Petr ne narušil eksperimenta.
 I fear how MOD Petr not ruined experiment_{GEN}
I fear Petr might ruin the experiment.
- (4a) *Ne/*Ø znaet li nikto iz vas, kak èto delaetsâ?
 not/Ø know Q NI-who of you how this is-done
 intended: *Do(n't) any of you know how to do this?*
- (4b) *Â boûs' kak by nikto ne opozdal.
 I fear how MOD NI-who not was-late
 intended: *I fear that somebody might be late.*

These facts have sometimes (Borovikoff 1997; Brown and Franks 1995, 1997; Brown 1999a, b; Harves 2000) been taken to indicate that a special kind of negation, 'expletive negation' (EN) is involved in cases like (3) and (4). EN is expletive in the sense that it is formally negation (allowing it to license GN) void of semantic content (hence the absence of *ni*-phrase licensing). The emerging theory has the following four components:

- (5i) a theory of the triggers for EN, which explains the contrast between (4) and (1a);
- (5ii) a theory of GN, which explains the contrast between (2a) and (2c);
- (5iii) a theory of *ni*-phrases, which explains the contrast between (1a) and (1c);
- (5iv) a theory which gives content to the notion of *expletive negation* as opposed to simply *negation* to explain the contrast between (4) and (3). For Brown and Franks 1995, 1997) EN is characterized by an inactive operator. For Brown 1999a, b) it is characterized by the absence of a negation feature.

A priori it is not obvious that (5ii) and (5iii) must be different, but, as sections 3 and 4 of this paper will show, they are very different. A priori it is not obvious either that two parts of the theory need to be concerned with EN. The absence of (5iv) is the null assumption.

The goal of this paper is to demonstrate that (5i)-(5iii) are sufficient to explain the contrast between (4) and (3). Subtheory (5iv) is not needed. In other words, EN is a descriptive term. It can and should be eliminated from the theory. I will continue to use EN throughout as a descriptive term.

The resulting theory is similar in spirit to the analysis proposed in Brown and Franks (1995), though quite different in execution. I will follow Progovac (1994) and claim that different complementizers are responsible for producing the observed patterns.

The structure of the paper is as follows. I will discuss the needed subtheories in the order given above. Section 2 deals with the triggers of EN. It is shown that a theory which assumes negation in EN contexts to be real, but very high in the tree, is not only compatible with the data, but superior to a theory which posits a special kind of negation.

Section 3 deals with the syntax of GN. It is demonstrated that GN is licensed on-line and that the distribution of GN follows from Relativized Minimality.

In section 4 the syntax of *ni*-phrases is discussed. It is shown that *ni*-phrases are licensed at LF, that they are universal quantifiers and positive polarity items (PPIs), and that the locality effects observed with *ni*-phrases follow from general restrictions on QR (clausemateness).

Section 5 shows how the differences between GN and licensing of *ni*-phrases, illustrated above in (4) and (3), follow from these assumptions. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. EN triggers and their properties

Following Espinal (1992), who discusses mainly Romance languages, I will assume that EN-triggering is a property associated with C crosslinguistically (C_{EN}) – cf. also Progovac (1994). Compare (4b) and (6), which form a minimal pair. The difference lies in the complementizer: *kak by* vs. *čto*. This indicates that in Russian, like in Romance, the complementizer is usually involved in EN.

- (6) ✓ \hat{A} boûs' čto nikto ne opozdal.
 I fear that NI-who not was-late.
I am afraid that nobody was late.

The complementizer seems to license EN. Suppose that licensing requires a local relation between the licensor and the licensee. Then, it is reasonable to assume that negation must be in a local relation with C_{EN} in EN contexts. Since the complementizer is the highest head of the clause, this puts negation exceptionally high in the tree in EN contexts. We will explore the possibility that EN is semantically real negation positioned unusually high in the tree. Usually, fronted negation in Russian can reconstruct. Reconstruction is blocked in EN contexts, i.e. the local relation between C_{EN} and negation must obtain at LF. This is a (or possibly the only) special property C_{EN} .

We will now turn to some constructions where EN has been claimed to be involved. I will show that the present analysis is fully compatible with the data and that the analysis can in fact gain from the assumption that EN is normal, semantically active negation that is positioned very high in the tree. Given that the

notion of a semantically void negation (EN) has little intuitive appeal, this is a desirable move.

2.1 Questions and negation

One of the contexts where EN occurs is in questions. Brown (1999a, b) claims that contracted negation in English questions is EN on a par with Russian ((3a) and (4a)).

There is no straightforward semantic argument to show that negation is void of semantics in questions. For example, a polar-question according to Hamblin (1973) denotes a set of two propositions: $[[Q]=\{p, \text{NOT } p\}$. A negated polar-question denotes the same set. The assumption that negation in questions is expletive does not explain why it can license NPIs that are not otherwise licensed in questions.

The assumption that negation is real, but very high in the tree, on the other hand explains immediately why subject NPIs are grammatical in negated *wh*-questions. On a real question reading subject NPIs are ungrammatical in positive *wh*-questions. Subject NPIs are also ungrammatical in negative declaratives, presumably, because the subject is not in the scope of negation (for discussion cf. Horn 1972; Lahiri 1998; Linebarger 1980 among many others). However, in negated *wh*-questions, subject NPIs are licensed, which is explained if negation is particularly high in these cases and if it is real negation. (Examples (7) and (8) are discussed by Han and Siegel 1996.)

- (7) ✓ Who solved any of the problems?
- (8) * Which problem did anybody solve?
(✓ on the irrelevant rhetorical reading)
- (9) * Anybody didn't solve the problem.
- (10) ✓ Which problem didn't anybody solve?

Given that negation in questions is real, but very high in the tree, the paradoxical interaction of modals with negation in questions observed by Horn (1972) follows. The interesting fact is that *must* in declaratives scopes above negation, but in negated polar questions it scopes below negation. On the theory advocated

here, negation must be in a local relation with C_{EN} at LF, the scope facts follow as a consequence.

- (11) John mustn't read this book. ✓ $\text{must} > \neg$ * $\neg > \text{must}$
 (12) John can't read this book. * $\text{can} > \neg$ ✓ $\neg > \text{can}$
 (13) Mustn't John read this book? * $\text{must} > \neg$ ✓ $\neg > \text{must}$
 (14) Can't John read this book? * $\text{can} > \neg$ ✓ $\neg > \text{can}$

The assumption that negation is real in questions then seems well founded (cf. Han and Romero 2001 for an independent argument that negation is real in questions, Büring and Gunlogsen 2000 for discussion of negation in polar questions, and Abels 2000 for a rebuttal of Brown's argument involving English *until*. Abels 2000 develops the idea that *until* might not be an NPI at all. This possibility is raised in passing by Linebarger (1980:4 ft. 4).¹)

2.2 *ne ... i* (Borovikoff 1997)

Borovikoff 1997) claims that negation in *ne...i* contexts is expletive negation. The claim is based on the fact that *ni*-words are not licensed in this environment.

- (15) (Borovikoff 1997:80 ex. 31)
 On ne pisał pis'mo /čego-to /*ničego i minuty.
 he not wrote letter something *nothing even minute
He didn't write a letter/something/nothing even for a minute.
- (16) (Borovikoff 1997:72 ex. 12)
 Ā ne hoču čitat' i odnoj stat'i
 I not want read even one article_{GEN}
I don't want to read even one article.

Clearly, negation is semantically present in both examples. I suggest that the fact that example (15) with *ničego* is unacceptable stem from the fact that 'writing for a while' presupposes the

¹ A possible strategy for dealing with cases discussed in Espinal (1992) where negation is optionally present is to show that the relevant CP is a disguised indirect question where the presence or absence of negation doesn't make a truth-conditional difference.

existence of an object written. The existence of this object is denied in the relevant example, which leads to a presupposition failure. This makes the example ungrammatical.

2.3 *poka... ne* (Brown 1999a)

Another environment which is analyzed as an EN environment by Brown (1999a) is the *poka ... ne* – ‘until’ construction.

(17) ✓^Â ždu ego poka on ne pročitaet knig.
 I wait you until you not read books
I wait for you until you will have finished the book.

(18) *^Â ždu te^{bâ} poka ty ničego ne pročital.
 I wait you until you NI-what not read

Negation can be construed as real if we give *poka* the semantics of *while*: I will wait for you while you have not finished the book yet. No argument is given by Brown why *poka* should not be construed in this way.

2.4 *kak by* and *čtoby*

A particularly interesting context in which EN occurs is under the verb *boit'sâ* – ‘fear’ when it takes the complementizers *kak by* or *čtoby*.² When this verb takes these complementizers the complement appears morphologically in the past tense, basically a form of subjunctive. *Boit'sâ* can also appear with the complementizer *čto*; in this case the complement is in the indicative and negation behaves like standard negation (3b).

(4b) *^Â boûs' kak/čto by nikto ne opozdal.
 I fear how/that MOD NI-who not was-late

(3b) ✓^Â boûs' kak/čto by Petr ne narušil eksperimenta.
 I fear how/that MOD Petr not ruined experiment_{GEN}
I fear Petr might ruin the experiment.

(6) ✓^Â boûs' čto nikto ne opozdal.

² Apparently not all dialects allow both options. I will discuss mainly *čtoby* in the text. A thorough discussion of *kak by* will have to await a different occasion.

I fear that NI-who not was-late.
I am afraid that nobody was late.

Negation is clearly not devoid of meaning in these context. Note that the complementizer *čtoby* is used in the overwhelming majority of cases with verbs of wishing or commanding and to introduce unselected purpose clauses. It is plausible then to say that the complementizer itself has a semantic contribution to make (unlike the complementizer *čto* – ‘that’ which is neutral): It can be seen to express a predicate like ‘want’. We can express this, by endowing *čtoby* with an abstract argument, which is controlled by the subject of the clause in which the *čtoby*-clause is embedded. The controller has the property that it wishes the content of the *čtoby* clause to be true (modulo matrix negation). It is this component of the meaning of *čtoby* that is negated in EN contexts, i.e. with the verb ‘to fear’. The controller here does *not* wish the content to come true. This assumption immediately explains why negation is obligatorily present, since otherwise there would be a clash between the meaning of the verb *boit’sâ* – ‘fear’ and the meaning of the embedded clause plus complementizer. Similar remarks apply to *kak by*.³

We can conclude from the discussion in the previous subsections that negation in EN contexts is very high in the tree, that the arguments to show that EN is semantically void are not convincing, and that the analysis can in fact benefit from the analysis of EN as real negation, for example in the case of NPI licensing in questions in English or in explaining why negation is obligatory in the context of *boit’sâ kak by/čtoby*.

³ In this context it might be interesting to recall that according to Espinal (1992) the occurrence of EN under verbs of fear or doubt is quite common. This might be tied to the inherent semantics of the subjunctive employed in the complements of these verbs.

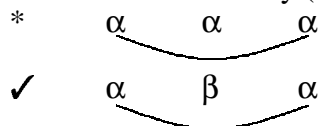
A proper compositional analysis of these facts must wait for a later occasion.

Note that advocates of the EN hypothesis have to invoke a selectional requirement here. Such a selectional requirement is, of course, able to capture the facts, but it fails to explain why negation is present here obligatorily and why it appears to be expletive. The present approach explains both.

Following work by Franks (1995) and Neidle (1988), I will assume the following generalization concerning the locality of licensing. GN is licensed with clausemate negation (22); it is licensed in the complement of subject control verbs (23) and (24); it is not licensed long distance in finite clauses (25) and not in the complements of object control verbs (26).

To account for this, I will assume a version of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990) which says that an item of class α can be related to another element of the same class, only if no item of that same class α is intervening.⁴

(21) Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990, Chomsky 1995):



GN interacts with structural Case assignment. This can be seen in the accusative-genitive alternation in example (2a), but also in the nominative-genitive alternations observed in corresponding passive sentences. This alternation suggests that GN is structural Case.

Following Brown and Franks (1995) I assume that negation does not directly license GN. Rather, I will assume that negation licenses a special kind of v (or Agr) if locality is respected. v is responsible for structural Case assignment to the underlying direct object. There are two kinds of v , v_{Acc} and v_{GN} .⁵

For concreteness let's assume that v_{GN} has an uninterpretable [neg] feature which needs to be checked under AGREE (Chomsky 1999, 2000) with negation.^{6, 7} Structural Case assigners (v_{GN} , v_{ACC} , T_{NOM}) are interveners for the licensing of v_{GN} .

⁴ Intervention is, of course, understood as c-command. Starke (2001) gives lucid and enlightening discussion of the logic underlying Relativized Minimality.

⁵ Crucially, I will assume that there is no corresponding alternation between a tense head T_{NOM} and T_{GEN} .

⁶ Alternatively we can view the relevant syntactic relation as selection if selection can be at a distance as argued in Collins 1999.

The generalization concerning the distribution of GN given above now follows from Relativized Minimality. Example (22) shows how GN is licensed on clausemate negation, (23) and (24) show the same for subject control verbs^{8, 9}. Example (25) with a finite embedded clause and (26) with an object control verb are ruled out under current assumptions because in both cases a structural Case assigner intervenes.^{10, 11}

⁷ The present account is compatible with the view that adjuncts can host GN as defended in Borovikoff 1997 against Franks and Dziwirek 1993.

⁸ The assumption underlying (23) is that PRO does not receive structural case or is absent (see Babby 1998; Chierchia 1984; Comrie 1974; Kazenin 2000; Laurençot 1997).

⁹ The assumption underlying (24) is that Dative is not structural (cf. Fowler 1996 where it is shown that dative never enters into active/passive alternations).

¹⁰ For more discussion of the locality of GN cf. Abels 2001. Miyoshi (this volume) and Harves (this volume) pursue theories of the locality of GN that do not rely on Relativized Minimality, but are based on a phase based approach to cyclic computation.

¹¹ The following example is problematic for the approach advocated here.

- (i) (Brown and Franks 1997:146)
- | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|-----|-----------|--------------------|----------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| ✓ | Â | ne | zastavlâu | ego | rešat' | takih | zadač. |
| | I | NEG | force | him _{ACC} | to-solve | such _{GN} | problems _{SGN} |
- I don't force him to solve such problems.*

The complement of *zastavljat'* is particularly transparent for a number of processes not only GN licensing (cf. Kazenin 2000 from which (ii) is taken). Unexpected long distance agreement of *odin* with the accusative object in the matrix clause is also possible with *zastavljat'*. The two facts would appear to be related.

- (ii)
- | | | | | | | |
|---|---|----------|-------|-------|-------|---|
| ✓ | Â | zastavil | Ivana | pojti | tuda | odnogo/ ??odnomu. |
| | I | forced | Ivan | go | there | alone _{Acc} / alone _{DAT} |
- I forced him to go there alone.*
- (iii)
- | | | | | | | |
|---|---|-----------|-------|-------|-------|---|
| ✓ | Â | ugovoril | Petra | pojti | tuda | ?odnogo/ ✓odnomu |
| | I | persuaded | Peter | go | there | alone _{Acc} / alone _{Dat} |
- I persuaded Peter to go there alone.*

- (22=2a) ✓Ivan ne [VP v_{GN} [VP čitaet žurnala]]
 Ivan not reads journal_{GEN}
Ivan doesn't read the journal/a journal.
- (23) ✓Nataša ne v_[-CASE] hotela v_{GN} čitat' knjig
 Nataša not wanted read-_{INF} books_{GN.PL}
Natasha didn't want to read any books.
- (24) ✓Ā ne poobešala Nataše v_{GN} čitat' knjig
 I NEG promised N_{dat} to-read book_{GN.PL}
I didn't promise Natasha to read any books.
- (25=2c) *Ivan ne v skazal čto [TP on T_{NOM} v_{GN} čitaet žurnala]
 Ivan not said that he reads journal_{GEN}
Ivan didn't say that he reads the journal/a journal.
- (26) *Āne v_{ACC} ugovorila Natašu v_{GN} čitat' knjig
 I not persuaded N_{ACC} to-read books_{GN}

Two important conclusions emerge from the discussion so far. GN is licensed on-line, not at LF. The locality of GN follows from Relativized Minimality.

4. *ni*-phrases

4.1 *Timing*

We will assume that *ni*-phrases are morphologically licensed in the specifier position of a particular projection XP (PoIP, ΣP, or NegP — terminology is irrelevant) if that projection hosts negation (cf. also Harves 1998, Brown 1999a among others). On this view *ni* has two functions: formally it requires the phrase it is attached to, to enter into a Spec-Head relation with negation; semantically, *ni*

introduces quantificational force.¹² The formal requirement is similar to Case checking under Spec-Head agreement.

That is, in order to be licensed, *ni*-phrases must be just outside the scope of negation! They are PPI (contra Progovac 1994, Brown 1999a, Pereltsvaig 2000 among others). Russian *ni*-phrases thus contrast crucially with English *any*, which must be analyzed as an existential quantifier (Carlson 1981). I will treat *ni*-phrases as universal quantifiers.¹³

The question is when *ni*-phrases are licensed in the derivation. The simple answer is that they are licensed at LF. This follows from examples (27) and (28), which indicate that no operator can scope between negation and the *ni*-phrase. Thus, the *ni*-phrase in (27) must scope above the intentional operator *zapretit'*, and in

¹² As I will argue below *ni*-phrases are universals. The *wh*-morphemes they typically attach to are existentials. We can make sense of this, if the *wh*-words that *ni* attaches to are treated as Heimian (Heim 1982) indefinites introducing a variable which is then bound and quantified over by *ni*.

¹³ This choice is largely aesthetic. As we will show in a moment, *ni*-phrases have to occur scopewise in the immediate vicinity of negation whether they are interpreted as universals or as existentials. A theory which treats *ni*-phrases as existentials is equivalent, except that scope no longer maps neatly onto c-command in terms of first branching node ([Epstein, 1999 #1205; Epstein, 1998 #1206]). If we complicate the definition of syntactic scope to be roughly equivalent to m-command, then the present theory is compatible with treating *ni*-phrases as existentials.

The generalization concerning the distribution of *ni*-phrases reached here is, of course, reminiscent of Linebarger's (1980) Immediate Scope Constraint on NPI.

Ni-phrases can occur in existential sentences even though universals, along with other strong quantifiers, are usually barred in these contexts (Roumyana Pancheva, p.c.; Blaszcak 2001). The same argument has been used to establish that English *any* is an existential (cf. Horn 1972; Ladusaw 1980 among others). Linebarger, reviewing this argument, doesn't consider it particularly strong since it is an argument that comes only from distribution. But the effect that yields the distribution, the indefiniteness effect, remains ill-understood and still awaits an explanation.

Blaszczak (2001) adduces further arguments to establish that the Polish equivalents of *ni*-phrases are existentials. The arguments are too involved to be addressed in this footnote.

(28) below it (cf. Babyonyshev, Ganger, Pesetsky and Wexler 2001 for a related point).¹⁴

- (27) \hat{A} ničego ne zapretil emu čitat'.
 I NI-what not forbade him read.
 ✓ *There is nothing that I forbade him to read.*
 = *For every x, it is not the case that I forbade him to read x.*
 * *I didn't forbid his reading everything.*
 (* *I didn't forbid his reading something.*)¹⁵
- (28) \hat{A} zapretil emu ničego ne čitat'.
 I forbade him NI-what not read
 ✓ *I forbade him not to read anything*
 = *I forbade that the following be true: for all things x, he doesn't read x.*
 * *For all things x, I forbade him not to read x.*
 (* *There is a thing x such that I forbade him not to read x.*)

We conclude that *ni*-phrases must undergo (overt or covert) phrasal movement to Spec XP. Feature movement or AGREE would not give the desired result, since they are semantically vacuous (cf. Dikken 1995). Furthermore, *ni*-phrases are universal quantifiers and PPI. They are morphologically licensed at LF, where they occur in a Spec/Head relation with negation.

4.2 Locality

Locality for NI-phrases can now be unified with the well-known observation that universal quantifiers generally do not scope outside their minimal finite clause (cf. example (1c) and (27)). In particular, universal quantifiers do not move into the CP domain. Otherwise CP could be used as an escape hatch for successive cyclic movement.

¹⁴ This is clearly an LF condition, since *ni*-phrases with lexical heads can remain in situ at SpellOut (as Ora Matushansky, p.c. points out).

¹⁵ The readings in parenthesis are expected if we treat *ni*-phrases as existentials and allow other operators to scope between negation and the *ni*-phrase.

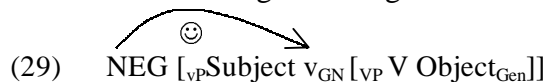
Two important conclusions emerge from the brief discussion in these two sections: *ni*-phrases are licensed at LF; the locality conditions on their licensing and construal follows the clause-mateness condition observed with other standard of QR.

5. Deriving the effects of EN: The asymmetry between *ni*-phrases and GN

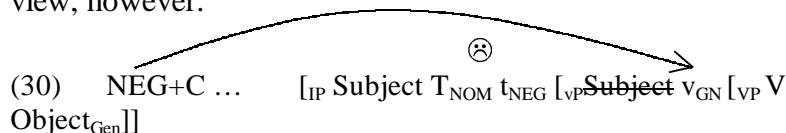
We are now in a position to derive the differences between GN-licensing and *ni*-phrase licensing. Let's look at the derivation for sentence (3a), repeated here for convenience.

- (3a) ✓Ne kupil li Petr žurnala?
 not bought Q Petr journal_{GEN}
 Didn't Peter buy any journal?

Example (29) represents a stage in the derivation at which both GN is licensed and Relativized Minimality is observed. On the view advocated here, that GN is licensed on-line, the existence of this derivational stage is enough to license GN.



There is, of course, a later point in the derivation at which Relativized Minimality is no longer observed. This derivational stage is exemplified in (30). This is irrelevant for the derivational view, however.



The assumption that GN is licensed on-line is enough to make sure that GN is licensed in EN contexts.

A totally different situation holds with respect to *ni*-phrases. We concluded above that *ni*-phrases are in a SpecHead relation with negation at LF and that their movement is clause bound. Let's interpret that to mean that they can never escape a tensed IP. Recall also that in section 2 we concluded that C_{EN} attracts negation and prevents it from reconstructing.

Now consider the derivation of an example involving EN. Even if there is a stage in the derivation roughly like (31), where the *ni*-phrase is in the relevant configuration with respect to negation, this configuration will be destroyed at LF (32).

- (31) [XP [NIP NI-...] NEG [...]]
 (32) NEG+C_{EN}... [XP [NIP NI-...] t_{NEG} [...]]

Negation must move to C_{EN} and cannot reconstruct. The *ni*-phrase cannot follow negation, since its movements are bounded by the finite IP. Hence *ni*-phrases are not licensed in EN environments.

The asymmetries between licensing of GN and *ni*-phrases follow from the locality and timing of the relevant licensing conditions.

The theories of locality and timing are needed independently (5ii and 5iii). The theory of triggering environments for EN is also needed independently (5i). Once these three subtheories have been stated with sufficient care and precision, there is no more need for a special theory giving content to the notion *expletive negation* (5iv).

6. Conclusion

In this paper we have investigated some asymmetries in the distribution of GN and *ni*-phrases in Russian. The paradigms have previously been discussed under the heading of *expletive negation*.

The notion that negation might be expletive, i.e. void of semantic content, is intuitively not appealing. A number of paradigms were discussed, which allegedly involve EN. It was shown that negation is by no means semantically empty in the relevant contexts. Crucially, it was demonstrated that negation is unusually high in the tree in EN contexts (10).

It has been shown that GN is licensed on-line (19) and that its locality conditions reduce to the normal locality for structural Case assignment (SpecHead) and to Relativized Minimality for the licensing of the actual morphological Case and the licensing of the Case assigner (v_{GN}) respectively (section 3.2).

It was demonstrated that *ni*-phrases are licensed in a SpecHead configuration with negation at LF (section 4.1) and that their movements are constrained by the usual constraints on QR, i.e. no finite IP can be crossed (section 4.2).

These are in and of themselves important results. They show that these elusive aspects of Russian syntax can be unified with well known properties of other languages. In this respect the locality results from sections 3.2 and 4.2 are particularly important.

In section 5 it was shown that the asymmetries in the distribution of GN and *ni*-phrases follows directly. This entails that the counterintuitive assumption according to which negation can be expletive, i.e. semantically empty, is not necessary for Russian.

A detailed study of all the environments in which EN occurs was, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this paper. I leave this task for further research. It also remains to be seen whether the results of this paper generalize to EN in other languages as discussed in Espinal 1992).

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