

Contents

Acknowledgment — IX

Part I: Aims and background

- 1 Introduction — 3**
- 2 Theoretical background: Nanosyntax — 9**
 - 2.1 Introduction — 9
 - 2.2 Syncretisms — 10
 - 2.3 Lexicalisation or spellout — 15
 - 2.4 Deriving *ABA — 26
 - 2.5 Conclusion — 27

Part II: The internal structure of negative markers

- 3 Classification of negative markers — 31**
 - Introduction — 31
 - 3.1 Preparing the classification — 32
 - 3.2 Property 1: Stacking — 33
 - 3.3 Property 2: Scope position — 35
 - 3.3.1 T^{NEG}-markers — 39
 - 3.3.2 Foc^{NEG}-marker — 43
 - 3.3.3 Class^{NEG}-markers — 48
 - 3.3.4 Q^{NEG}-markers — 50
 - 3.4 Property 3: Contradiction and contrariety — 54
 - 3.5 Property 4: Function — 57
 - 3.6 Conclusion — 59
- 4 The crosslinguistic morphosyntax of negative markers — 61**
 - 4.1 Some notes on the methodology — 61
 - 4.2 Crosslinguistic sample — 65
 - 4.2.1 Pattern 1 — 65
 - 4.2.1.1 Greek — 65
 - 4.2.1.2 Le bon usage French — 70
 - 4.2.1.3 Korean — 77
 - 4.2.1.4 Other language — 86

4.2.2	Pattern 2 —	86
4.2.2.1	Japanese —	86
4.2.2.2	Colloquial French —	90
4.2.2.3	Turkish —	91
4.2.2.4	Other languages —	95
4.2.3	Pattern 3 —	98
4.2.3.1	Mandarin Chinese —	98
4.2.3.2	Modern Standard Arabic —	102
4.2.3.3	Persian —	105
4.2.3.4	Malayalam —	108
4.2.4	Pattern 4 —	113
4.2.4.1	Khwe —	113
4.2.5	Pattern 5 —	116
4.2.5.1	Moroccan Arabic —	116
4.2.6	Pattern 6 —	118
4.2.6.1	Hungarian —	118
4.2.6.2	Hebrew —	123
4.2.6.3	Dutch —	127
4.2.7	Pattern 7 —	129
4.2.7.1	Czech —	129
4.2.7.2	Hixkaryana —	132
4.2.7.3	Other languages —	135
4.3	Summary and discussion —	136
5	The internal syntax of a negative marker —	143
5.1	The negation sequence —	143
5.2	Decomposition —	145
5.3	Containment —	150
5.4	Spellout —	152
5.5	Conclusion —	155

Part III: Negative markers and their clausal syntax in English and French

6	The external syntax of negative markers in English —	159
6.1	Introduction —	159
6.2	Insertion of negative PRE-markers —	164
6.3	Unproductive affixal negation —	173
6.3.1	Pointers —	173

6.3.2	Spellout of unproductive Q ^{NEG} -markers —	174
6.4	Insertion of negative suffixal markers —	178
6.4.1	-less —	178
6.4.2	<i>n't</i> —	181
6.5	Conclusion —	191
7	Diachronic change in French —	192
7.1	Introduction —	192
7.2	Bipartite negation —	192
7.2.1	Asymmetry and formal analyses —	192
7.2.2	BUF analysis —	195
7.3	Colloquial French —	199
7.4	Two additional notes —	200
7.4.1	A note on grammaticalisation and negative arguments —	200
7.4.2	A note on Afrikaans —	200
7.5	Conclusion —	202

Part IV: Remaining issues

8	Other syntactic perspectives on negation —	205
8.1	Introduction —	205
8.2	Multiple NegPs —	205
8.3	Conclusion —	215
9	Semantics —	216
9.1	Introduction —	216
9.2	Setting the scene —	217
9.3	Extents —	219
9.4	Context-dependence —	221
9.5	Deriving contrariety from extent inclusion —	222
9.6	Syntax —	224
9.7	<i>Un</i> -marked antonyms —	227
9.8	Conclusion —	229
10	Conclusion —	230

Bibliography — 233

Index — 249

