

## Wh and NEG in clauses and nominals

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Both *wh*-phrases and negative phrases are usually taken to bear features—[+*wh*] and [+NEG], respectively—, which need to be licensed by specifier-head agreement (*wh*-Criterion, NEG-Criterion; cf. Rizzi 1996, Haegeman & Zanuttini 1991). Languages vary as to the point in the derivation at which licensing of [+*wh*] and [+NEG] takes place. For instance, *wh*-phrases and negative phrases may occur *in situ* (i.e., to the right of the main verb) in French whereas both types of phrases must undergo overt movement in Danish (and German). In English, in contrast, licensing of [+*wh*] but not licensing of [+NEG] takes place in overt syntax.

- (1) a. Tu as rencontré **qui**? [Fr]  
b. Je n'ai rencontré **personne**.
- (2) a. **Who** have you met  $t_{wh}$ ? [En]  
b. I have met **nobody**.
- (3) a. **Hvem** har du mødt  $t_{wh}$ ? [Da]  
b. Jeg har **ingen** mødt  $t_{NEG}$ .

Moreover, there are asymmetries as to the distribution of *wh*-phrases and negative phrases that are more deeply embedded within DP. For instance, in Danish a *wh*-phrase can be extracted out of a DP, stranding a preposition, whereas this is not possible for a negative phrase. The negative phrase may only occur as preposed genitive (if possible at all), an option that is also available for the *wh*-phrases.

- (4) a. **Hvilket barn** har du mødt [faren til  $t_{wh}$ ]? [Da]  
*which child have you met father-the of*  
b. \*Jeg har **ingen børn** mødt [faren til  $t_{NEG}$ ].  
*I have no children met father-the of*
- (5) a. **Hvilket barns far** mødte du  $t_{wh}$ ? [Da]  
*which child's father met you*  
b. Jeg mødte **intet barns far**.  
*I met no child's father*

In French, a DP with embedded negative phrase may appear in object position but not in subject position.

- (6) a. Je n'ai rencontré **le père de personne**. [Fr]  
*I NEG have met the father of nobody*  
b. \***Le père de personne** n'est arrivé.  
*the father of nobody NEG is arrived*

These and other asymmetries will be accounted for by differences as to the point in the derivation at which licensing takes place (overt vs. covert movement) and the kind of material which can undergo pied-piping.

## References

- Rizzi, Luigi. 1996. Residual Verb Second and the Wh Criterion. In *Parameters and Functional Heads*, Adriana Belletti & Luigi Rizzi (eds.), 63-90. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haegeman, Liliane & Zanuttini, Rafaella. 1991. Negative Heads and the NEG-Criterion. *The Linguistic Review* 8, 233–251.