Interactions of negative concord and TAM:
Theoretical consequences

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1. Proposal in a nutshell. It has been proposed in the literature that Negative Concord Item(s) (NCIs) move to a particular position NegP (Haegeman 1996, Zanuttini 1997) or to an abstract negative operator (Zeijlstra 2004) that also licenses the standard negative marker (SNM). Given this assumption, one would expect that if a language shows interactions between TAM and its SNM, the interactions would also be visible with NCI. This paper explores this question in detail, focusing on Italian, Berber and Egyptian Arabic. The investigation shows that NCIs and SNMs behave differently when it comes to the interactions with the TAM-domain: either NCIs show no interaction with TAM at all (Berber, Egyptian Arabic) or they show a different interaction from the SNM (Italian). On the basis of this, I conclude that theoretical accounts that make use of the same mechanism to capture the sentential negativity of NCIs and standard negators, are in need of revision.

2. Background. There are four different ways in which TAM-morphology and SNMs may interact, summarised in (1). A first possible situation is one in which TAM conditions the SNM and the SNM conditions TAM (Type A). This is the situation in Bengali (Ramchand 2004, De Clercq 2020a). Type B is one where TAM-morphology conditions the SNM (Horn 2001, Dahl 1979, De Clercq 2020b). This is the case in Alamblak (2), which has *fiñji* as a SNM in past and present, but the suppletive marker *afë* in the context of the future tense (Bruce 1984).

(1)	**Type A**	TAM	$\Leftrightarrow$	SNM	Bengali	(2)	**afë**	noh-	rhw-	a-	t-	r
	Type B	TAM	$\Rightarrow$	SNM	Alamblak		NEG.FUT	die	FUT	PRESUPP	IRR	3SG.M
	Type C	TAM	$\Leftarrow$	SNM	Abkhaz		'He will not die'					
	Type D	TAM		SNM	English							

Type C concerns languages where the presence of the SNM changes the way TAM-morphology is expressed on the verbal predicate (Miestamo 2005). This is for instance the case in Abkhaz (Hewitt 1979), where the SNM *-m* has an impact on how the different tenses and aspects are morphologically expressed. A last logical option is one in which neither TAM nor SNM seem to interact morphologically, as is for instance the case in Dutch or (standard) English (Type D).

While the typological hypothesis in (1) has been checked for 50 languages as far as the interaction between SNM and TAM is concerned (De Clercq 2020a), it has not been investigated yet whether the same types of interactions can be observed for NCIs in languages that have negative concord.

3. The evidence. From the 27 languages of Types A/B/C of De Clercq's (2020b) 50 language sample, 13 languages seem to have Negative Concord (NC) (3). Most languages are strict negative concord languages, which means that the standard negator is always present when a NCI is used, making these languages unfit to investigate the research question at hand. Only one language in the sample has a non-strict negative concord pattern, Egyptian Arabic, and one language, Berber, displays a special pattern that allows us to investigate our research question. We top up the sample with Italian, a non-strict negative concord language with TAM-change under the standard negator in the imperative. A detailed discussion of the data in these three languages will be shown to support the claim that NCIs and SNMs behave differently when it comes to the interactions with the TAM-domain.

(3)	type	NC
Egyptian Arabic	B	non-strict
Berber	C	strict
Albanian	B	strict
Bambara	A	strict
Abkhaz	C	strict
E. Armanian	C	strict
Bagirmi	C	concord(?)
Burmese	C	concord
Comanche	C	concord(?)
Bafut	A	no NC
Brahui	A	no NC
Cantonese	A	no NC
Chukchi	A	no NC

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