

Interactions of negative concord and TAM: Theoretical consequences

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Diachronies of negation (SALT 33)
Yale

Overview

The interaction of sentential negation and TAM

The standard negator

NC and TAM

NC in Egyptian Arabic and Berber

Egyptian Arabic

Berber

Consequences for theories of NC

A Nanosyntactic approach to NEG-TAM interactions

Outline

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- | | | | |
|-----|----|---|------|
| (1) | a. | He is not talking to her father. | PROG |
| | b. | He has not talked to her father. | PFV |
| | c. | He did not talk to her father. | PST |
| | d. | He would not talk to her father. | MOD |
| | e. | ... | |

Bengali

- ▶ Indo-Aryan language
- ▶ Bengal region of South Asia (Bangladesh, India)

(2) Ami amṭa kha- cch- i na
I.NOM mango.CLF eat PROG/PRS 1SG NEG
'I am not eating the mango.'

(3) Ami amṭa kheyē- ch- i
I.NOM mango.CLF eat.PFV PRS 1SG
'I have eaten the mango.'

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(4) Ami amṭa kha- i ni
I.NOM mango.CLF eat 1SG NEG
'I didn't eat the mango.'

(Ramchand 2004)

⇒ **AINT**: Allomorphy In sentential **N**egative markers conditioned by **TAM**

Bengali: Two types of allomorphy

- (5) Ami amṭa **kha-** cch- i na
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(Ramchand 2004)

Hypothesis: Typology

Type A	TAM	\Leftrightarrow	NEG
Type B	TAM	\Rightarrow	NEG
Type C	TAM	\Leftarrow	NEG
Type D	TAM		NEG

Small typological investigation

(cf. De Clercq 2020)

Abipón	Barasano	
Abkhaz	Baré	Cantonese
Achumawi	Carib	Cayuvava
Acoma	Basque	Chamorro
Ainu	Batak	Chechalis (Upper)
Alamblak	Bawn	Chinantec (Lealao)
Albanian	Beja	Chinook (Lower)
Amele	Bella Coola	Chorote
Andoke	Berber (Middle Atlas)	Chukchi
Apalaí	Biom	Chumash
Apurina	Boko	Comanche
Egyptian Arabic	Bororo	
Araona	Brahui	
Bukiyip	Armenian (Eastern)	
Asmat	Burara	
Awa Pit	Burmese	
Aymara	Burushaski	
Bafut	Canamarí	
Bagirmi	Candoshi	
Bambara	Canela-Krah	

Tentative first results

	TAM	NEG _{AINT}	
Type A	+	+	14
Type B	-	+	5
Type C	+	-	12
Type D	-	-	19

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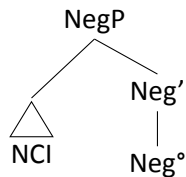
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Syntactic agreement approach

	OP	NEG	NCI
Strict NC	iNeg	uNeg	uNeg
Non-strict NC	(-)	iNeg	uNeg

- ▶ Zeijlstra (2004; 2008)
- ▶ NCIs are non-negative indefinites

NEG-criterion/ Spec-Head



- ▶ Haegeman & Zanuttini (1991); Zanuttini (1991); Haegeman (1995); Zanuttini (1997)
- ▶ NCIs = negative universal quantifiers;

Key points

- ▶ 1 position in syntax is responsible for
 - ▶ the realisation of sentential negation
 - ▶ the checking/licensing of NCIs

Concord in the sample: scant data

Type A, B, C languages (10/31)

	type	NC
Egyptian Arabic	B	non-strict
Berber	C	strict
Albanian	B	strict
Bambara	A	strict
Abkhaz	C	strict
E. Armanian	C	strict
Aymara	C	concord(?)
Bagirmi	C	concord(?)
Burmese	C	concord
Comanche	C	concord(?)

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Standard negation in Egyptian Arabic

- ▶ **ma-root-f** in past and present tense

- (8)
- a. katab
write.PST.3SG.M
'He wrote.'
 - b. **ma-katab-f**
NEG-write.PST.3SG.M-NEG
'He didn't write.'

Egyptian Arabic: Type B

- ▶ *mif* in future tense.

(9) Howa *mif* hayroh el welayat el motaheda
he neg fut.go the states the united
He will not go to the united states.

Bengali	TAM	↔	NEG
Egyptian Arabic	TAM	⇒	NEG
?	TAM	←	NEG
English	TAM		NEG

NC in Egyptian Arabic

▶ non-strict

- (10) a. **ma-šuf-t-i-j** **walaa waaħid.**
neg-saw-1sg-ev-neg no one
'I didn't see anyone.'
- b. **walaa waaħid** gih.
no one came.3sgm
'Nobody came.' (Ouali & Soltan 2014: 162)

NC in Egyptian Arabic

- (11) Howa **mif** hayroh el welayat el motaheda
he neg fut.go the states the united
He will not go to the United States.'

NC in Egyptian Arabic

- (11) Howa **mif** hayroh el welayat el motaheda
he neg fut.go the states the united
'He will not go to the United States.'
- (12) Howa **mif** hayezem **walaa waaħid**.
he neg fut.invite no one
'He will not invite anybody.'
- (13) **Walaa waaħid** hayroh el welayat el motaheda.
no one fut.go the states the united
'Nobody will go to the United States.'

(p.c. Dia Awaad and Amgad Farrag)

Intermediate summary Egyptian Arabic (Type B)

- ▶ *mif*, the future negative allomorph, can disappear with preverbal NCIs
- ▶ no compensatory changes on the verb required
- ▶ NCIs are not conditioned by TAM like the standard negator is

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Berber

- ▶ continuum of dialects/languages, some not mutually intelligible
- ▶ spoken in Morocco, Mauritania, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and the Oasis of Siwa in Egypt.
- ▶ This talk: focus on Quebliyeen Tamazight Berber (QTB), a Zemmour dialect which belongs to the Tamazight group (Middle Atlas Mountains in Central Morocco)
- ▶ main source: Ouali (2012: chap8)

Tamazight: standard negation

- ▶ biparte negation: preverbal *ur* and postverbal *sha*

(14) **ur** swix **(sha)**
Neg1 drink-pfv.1s (Neg2)
'I didn't drink.'

Type C language

- (15) a. Idda ʕli.
leave.PFV.3.SG.M Ali
Ali left.'
- b. ur iddi
NEG leave.PFV.3.SG.M
'He didn't leave.'

(Ouali 2012: 160-161)

Bengali	TAM	↔	NEG
Egyptian Arabic	TAM	⇒	NEG
Berber	TAM	⇐	NEG
English	TAM		NEG

NC in Berber

- ▶ Strict negative concord
- ▶ Prediction: *ur* has to be present, TAM-change remains the same

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- ▶ Strict negative concord
- ▶ Prediction: *ur* has to be present, TAM-change remains the same

- (16) a. *ur iddi agid3*
NEG leave.PFV.3.SG.M no.one
'No one left.'
- b. *agid3 ur iddin γarskeela*
no.one NEG go.PFV.PART to.school.
'Nobody went to school.'

(Ouali 2012: 162-164)

Proposed NCIs

- ▶ negative marker *ur* can disappear
- ▶ if so, negative perfective form disappears; regular perfective form is used
- ▶ interpretation is still negative

(17) **agid3** (ag) iddan / *iddin
no-one COMP leave.PFV.PART / *leave.PFV.PART
'Nobody left.'

Intermediate summary Tamazight (Type C)

- ▶ the strict NC pattern does not show any change in the interaction between TAM and negation
- ▶ preposed NCIs can occur without the standard negator
- ▶ absence of the standard negator coincides with absence of negative TAM-allomorphy

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Empirical contribution

- ▶ NCIs are not conditioned by TAM like standard negators can be (support from Egyptian Arabic)

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- ▶ NCIs do not seem to activate the same position(s) for negation that are activated by the standard negative marker.

Empirical contribution

- ▶ NCIs are not conditioned by TAM like standard negators can be (support from Egyptian Arabic)
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- ▶ NCIs do not seem to activate the same position(s) for negation that are activated by the standard negative marker.

Consequences for theories of NC

- ▶ theories of NC that rely on the same position to license/check the standard negator and NCIs may be in need of revision
- ▶ theories that make use of additional position(s) for negation in syntax and/or a NCI-internal negation seem to fare better

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Berber

(18)

	NEG	T	ASP	VERB
a.			idda	
b.	ur		iddi	

⇒ Nanosyntax: Late Insertion, Phrasal Lexicalisation (Starke 2009; Caha 2009; Baunaz & Lander 2018)

(19)

	NCI	NEG	T	ASP	VERB
a.	agid3			idda	
b.	(agid3)	ur		iddi	

Two positions for *agid3*

(20)

a. **agid3** (ag)
no-one COMP
'Nobody left.'

iddan
go.PFV.PART

b. (ag) **agid3**
COMP no.one
'Nobody went to school.'

ur **iddin** yərskeela
NEG go.PFV.PART to.school.

Two positions for *agid3*

(20)

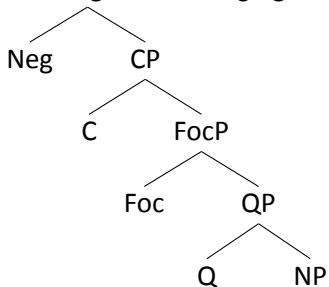
- a. **agid3** (ag) iddan
 no-one COMP go.PFV.PART
 'Nobody left.'
- b. (ag) **agid3** ur iddin yərskeela
 COMP no.one NEG go.PFV.PART to.school.
 'Nobody went to school.'

(21)

	NCI ₁	C	NCI ₂	NEG	T	ASP	VERB
a.	agid3	(ag)				idda	
b.		(ag)	(agid3)	ur		iddi	

Lexical structure of *agid3*

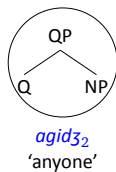
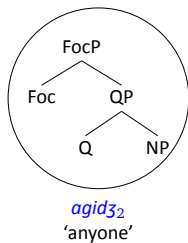
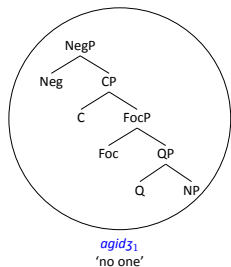
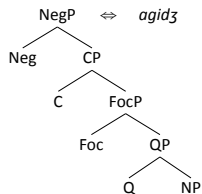
(22) NegP \Leftrightarrow *agid3* 'no one'



The Superset Principle

- (23) A lexically stored tree matches a syntactic node iff the lexically stored tree contains the syntactic node. (Starke 2009: 3)

One lexical item can realize different syntactic structures

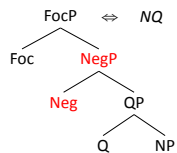
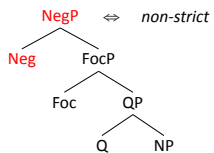
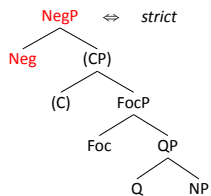


Internal structure of NCI determines distribution

(24)

	NEGP	CP	SUBJECT	NEGP	TP	ASP	VERB
a.	agid3					idda	
b.			(agid3)	ur		iddi	

General idea



Conclusion

- ▶ SN and TAM show a lot of interaction. We investigated whether a similar type of interaction can be observed between NCIs and TAM.
- ▶ Berber and Egyptian Arabic suggest that NCIs do not seem to interact with TAM in the same way as SN does.
- ▶ Theories of NC that rely on the same position to license/check the standard negator and NCIs may be in need of revision.
- ▶ We provided an account for the Berber data in terms of Nanosyntax.

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