Trying to make sense of some negative markers, eventually

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Work in progress, first stab. NYU Semantics Group

0. So many negations! – Semantico-pragmatico backdrop

- Zanuttini 1997, *Negation and Clausal Structure … Romance* (French set aside)

Neg-1	ad-join	TP-1	NegP-2	TP-2	NegP-3	Asp Perf	Asp Imp	NegP-4
Ital. <u>non</u>	clitic negs	main V or aux	Ital. <u>mica</u>, Pied. <u>pa</u>	already	Pied. <u>nen</u>	no more	always	Milan. <u>no</u>
strong	weak		<u>mica</u> weak <u>pa</u> strong		strong			strong
			presuppo-sitional					

> Strong = can negate the clause on its own; Weak = cannot negate the clause on its own
>
> Z says presuppositional reading depends on both lexical item and position. <u>Pa</u> is prsp when in NegP2, but can also be lower and non-prsp. Doesn't say if pre-V <u>mica</u> is also prsp.

- Schwenter 2005, *Fine-tuning Jespersen's cycle*. Horn Festschrift.
  re: Ital. <u>mica</u>, Catalan <u>pas</u> [weak], and BP pre-V <u>naõ</u> (accompanying post-V <u>naõ</u>)

> "Presuppositional" is the wrong label: shared beliefs in common ground do not suffice. Discourse-old and salient proposition is required ("activated proposition", Dryer 1996).

> | You liked the show? | You didn't like it? |
> |---|---|
> | (No,) I didn't like it. (OK mica, pas) | (No,) I didn't like it. (OK mica, pas) |
> | I didn't attend.   (*mica, *pas) | I didn't attend.   (*mica, *pas) |

> Given Schwenter, NegP-2 should be able to precede PPIs (cf. Szabolcsi 2004: 2.1); <u>già</u> `already' is a PPI. But if PPI-hood of <u>già</u> is not the relevant factor, perhaps see Ramchand.

- French <u>pas</u> can precede <u>déjà</u>, but under more restricted conditions than <u>mica/pa/pas</u> (data thanks to Vincent Chanethom)
  John is nowhere to be found. Speaker A thinks that maybe John left before them. Speaker B reveals that John was not even there to begin with.
  - A: Il est déjà parti.
  - B: Non, il est pas déjà parti. Il était même pas ici.

- Farkas et al. *Polarity particles & negative quantifiers.* SuB 2011.

Farkas, Brasoveanu, Roelofsen 2011		/	Hintikka 2002; AS
	Susan failed.	Susan didn't pass.	Susan didn't pass.
[agree, affirmative]	Yes, she did. * No, she did.		
[agree, negative]		No, she didn't. ?Yes, she didn't.	Nobody did. ?Everybody didn't.
[disagree, affirm.]		Yes, she DID. No, she DID.	**But** she DID. **De** (igen,) átment. / Igenis átment. Nem *(igaz), átment.
[disagree, negative]	No, she didn't. * Yes, she didn't.		

Do Ital. mica, Cat. pas correspond to polarity particles in FBR? Given Schwenter, not really. Mica, pas occur when the proposition is negative and reacts to a discourse-old and salient proposition, affirmative or negative; agreement/disagreement seems a by-product.

- Hintikka 2002, *Negation in logic and in natural language*, L&P

"In game-theoretical semantics, perfectly classical rules yield a strong negation [=**contrary negation**] that violates tertium non datur [= $p \lor \neg p$] when informational independence is allowed. **Contradictory negation** can be introduced only by a metalogical stipulation, not by game rules. Accordingly, it may occur [...] only sentence-initially. The resulting logic [...] explains [...] e.g., why contradictory negation is a barrier to [pronominal anaphora]. In natural language, contradictory negation sometimes occurs nevertheless within the scope of a quantifier. Such sentences require a secondary interpretation resembling the so-called substitutional interpretation of quantifiers [...]" See ?Everybody didn't in the table.

- Ramchand 2001, *Two types of negation in Bengali*. Draft for Dayal&Mahajan, eds.
  [some of the formal part fishy, but facts interesting]
  "na is a pure negation marker, and ni is specified for both tense and aspect features ([+past] and [+telic] respectively). In the case of na, negation occurs with explicit tense marking, and the time variable *t* associated with the construction is subject to existential closure and discourse anaphora. The na negation directly negates the existence of an event of a particular type. With the negation marker ni, on the other hand, the negation operator directly binds the time variable and no discourse anaphora is possible. "

- *Jespersen's cycle* (next page) – what keeps it going?

  Jespersen thought, the phonological weakening of negative markers ...
  Schwenter thinks, the need to identify reaction to discourse-old & salient propositions...
  Kiparsky & Condoravdi 2006 think, the need for expressive (scalar) negation, and the weakening of the expressive force of an overused minimizer...

1. Not all negative markers are negations. Some phonetically null things are negations!

- **Jespersen's cycle**, simple version, French (also English, Swedish, Greek, etc.)

    Stage I: "ne" is the sole expressor of negation:
    >Jeo ne   dis.   *(Old French)*
    >I   NEG say

    Stage II: "ne" weakens, reinforcer "pas" (minimizer) is added; both are obligatory:
    >Je ne   dis pas.   *(modern standard French)*
    >I   NEG say NEG

    Stage III: "ne" becomes optional or is lost, "pas" is the sole expressor of negation:
    >Je dis pas.   *(modern colloquial French)*
    >I   say NEG

- Dryer 2008, *Order of Negative Morpheme and Verb* (WALS Online Ch. 143)
    (double negation = WALS term for two negative markers that are not obligatorily adjacent affixes, in sentences understood to be negated just once. I replace it w/ **bipartite negation**.)

    "Languages with obligatory bipartite negation ... make up approximately 9% of the languages in the sample, while those with optional bipartite negation ... make up about 6% of the sample ... Languages with bipartite negation (either obligatory or optional) are notable for their low frequency in Eurasia."   [They are overwhelmingly concentrated in Sub-Saharan Africa, Papua New Guinea, and thereabouts. -- AS, looking at the WALS map]

- From Ladusaw to Zeijlstra, reasonable people have been proposing that in **negative concord** languages most or all of the negative markers and n-words do not express semantic negation. Instead, $\neg$ is carried by a **phonetically null operator**.

    Nikto   nichego ne videl.   (Russian; all n-elements obligatory, not one expresses $\neg$)
    nobody nothing not saw   `Nobody saw anything'

2. Zeijlstra 2004, *Sentential Negation and Negative Concord*; & *subseq. on LingBuzz*
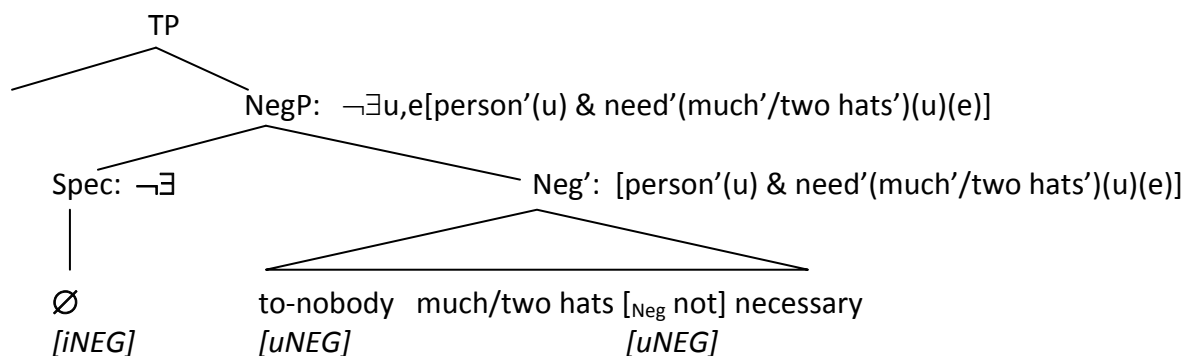
- **Negative concord (<u>NC</u>) languages** have a NegP projection in syntax,
        non-NC languages don't (e.g. SAE <u>not </u>and <u>nobody</u> are just semantically negative).
    NC is syntactic agreement between a single element with [iNEG] (interpretable negation
            feature) and one or more elements with [uNEG] (uninterpretable negation feature).
            Seemingly negative quantifiers in NC-languages are variables with [uNEG].
    Strict NC languages (Slavic, Modern Greek, Hungarian, etc.) are ones where
            the negative marker itself is an [uNEG] head, and all the overt [uNEG] elements are
            licensed/bound by a null [iNEG] negative existential quantifier, $\emptyset$.
    In non-strict NC languages (Italian, substandard English, etc.)
            the negative marker, when present, is [iNEG];
            in its absence a null [iNEG] negative existential quantifier licenses n-words.

- **Strict NC, after Zeijlstra**; Russian thanks to Sonia Kasyanenko

  Both n-words (`nobody') and vanilla indefinites (`much', `two hats')  preceding <u>ne</u> are included in the scope of ¬ , and vanilla indefinites can intervene between n-words and <u>ne</u>. (Items like <u>tam</u> `there' can also intervene, not shown.)

  Mne   mnogo / dvux shljap   ne nuzhno.
  to-me   much   / two hats-gen   not necessary
  `I don't need much; I don't need two hats'

  Nikomu   mnogo / dvux shljap   ne nuzhno.
  to-nobody much   / two hats-gen   not necessary
  `Nobody needs much; Nobody needs two hats'

  TP
  └── NegP: ¬∃u,e[person'(u) & need'(much'/two hats')(u)(e)]
      ├── Spec: ¬∃
      │   │
      │   ∅
      │   *[iNEG]*
      └── Neg': [person'(u) & need'(much'/two hats')(u)(e)]
              to-nobody   much/two hats [_Neg not] necessary
              [uNEG]   *[uNEG]*

- **Non-strict NC, directly from Zeijlstra 2008, 2009;** Italian; caveat re: French <u>pas</u>

  (i) Gianni   **non**   ha telefonato   a nessuno.
       g   ¬∃   λy[phone'(x)(y)(e)]   λP[person'(u) & P(u)]
                                                  [iNEG]   *[uNEG]*

  (ii) ieri   ∅   nessuno   ha telefonato   a nessuno.
       y'day   ¬∃   λP[person'(u) & P(u)]   λy[phone'(x)(y)(e)]   λP[person'(u) & P(u)]
               [iNEG]   *[uNEG]*   *[uNEG]*

  (iii) Molto **non** ha mangiato Gianni.
       #   ¬ > ∃ `Gianni didn't eat much'
       √   ∃ > ¬ `There's much that Gianni didn't eat'

  (iv) ∅   Jean   (ne)   mange   **pas**   rien.   `Jean doesn't eat nothing'
       ¬∃   j   NPI   eats   ¬   u   = `Jean eats something'
       [iNEG]   *[uNEG]*

  Nota bene: Z says (<u>ne</u>) is a semantically licensed NPI, but not what its actual content is.

3. Bipartite negation, syntax, one version
3.1 Bipartite negation in Nweh (Nkemnji 1995)

Two NegPs. Lower Neg1 head = **te**, preverbal between Tense and Asp; higher Neg2 head = **bó**

Nweh is generally head initial, but Neg2 is clause-final. Why?
  ⇒ NegP1 heavy-pied-pipes NegP1 to Spec, NegP2.

  (1) Unmarked, bó-final order: *Subject Agr Tense [te Asp **Verb** Dependents] bó*

Subject

Agr

Tense

NegP2

Spéc,Neg2   NegP1

Neg2
bó

Neg1   Asp
te

\<subj\>

v
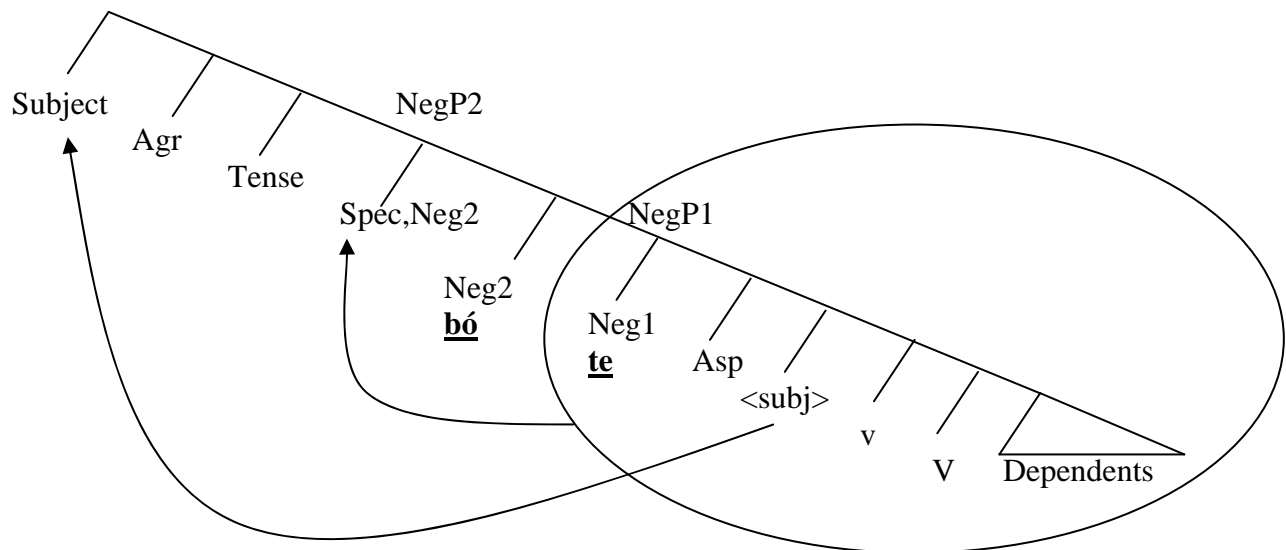
V   Dependents

  (2)   Alternative, Verb-final order: *Subject Agr Tense [te __ Dependents] **Verb***
        ⇒ bó may be absent from the numeration; then V moves to Neg2

Subject

Agr

Tense

NegP2

Spéc,Neg2   NegP1

Neg2
Verb   Neg1   Asp
              te

\<subj\>

v

\<verb\> V   Dependents
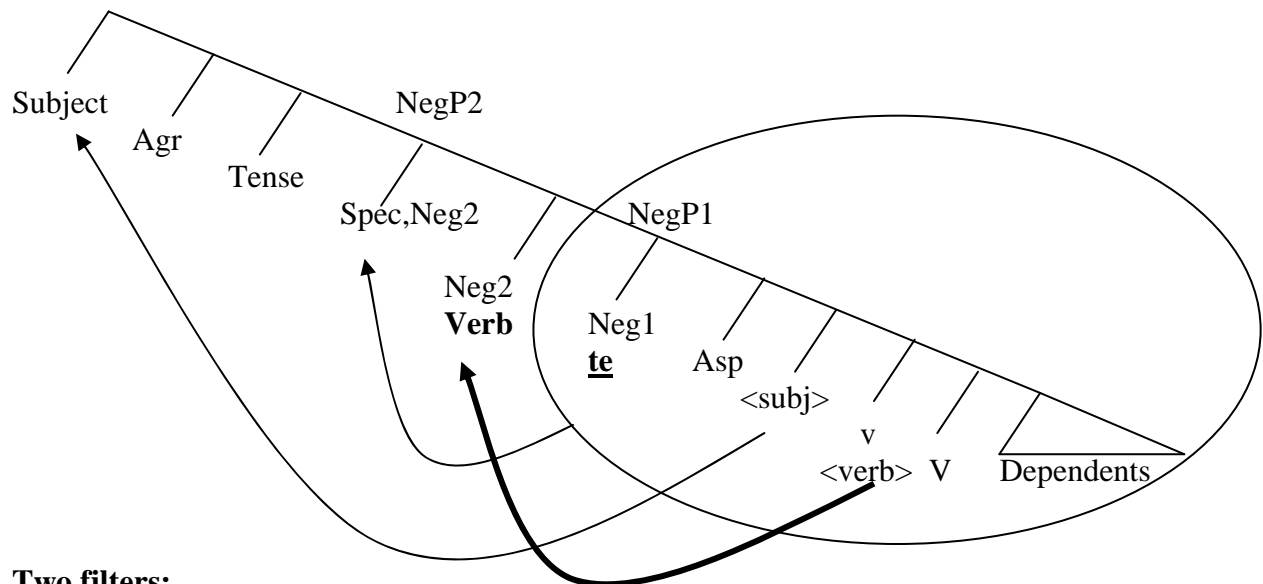
Two filters:
* Neg1 V Neg2   V must move to Neg2, if it's alone in VP (☐ V-final order, no bó)
* Neg1 Asp ...V   V cannot move to Neg2, if preceded by Asp (* V-final order, no bó)

3.2 Bipartite negation in Northern Hausa and French (Bell 2004)

Bell 2004 analyzes a number of languages along the lines of Nkemnji, and adds an interesting new parameter. In some languages, e.g. **Northern Hausa**, the higher Neg2 is not clause-final but immediately post-verbal.

⇒ Dependents of V evacuate before NegP1 moves to Spec, NegP2.

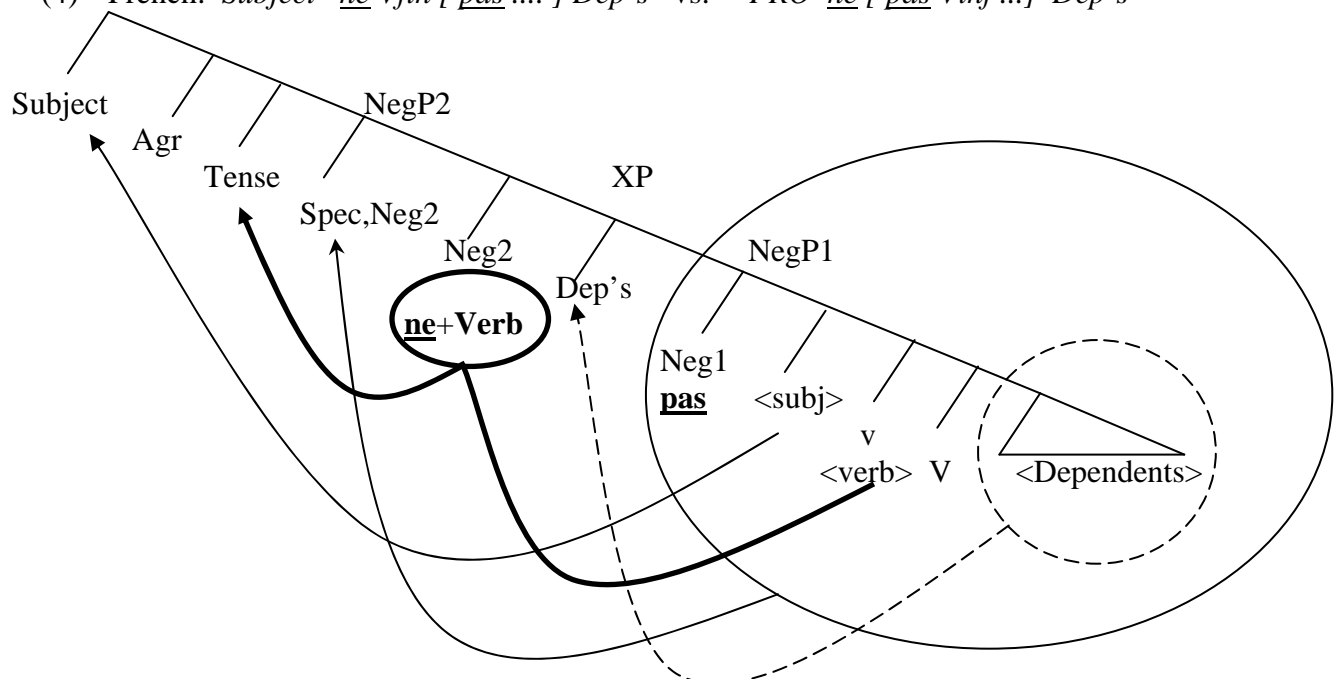Now the remnant NegP1 that moves to Spec, NegP2 contains just Neg1 V.

(3) Northern Hausa Order: *Subject Tense Neg1 Verb Neg2 Dependents*
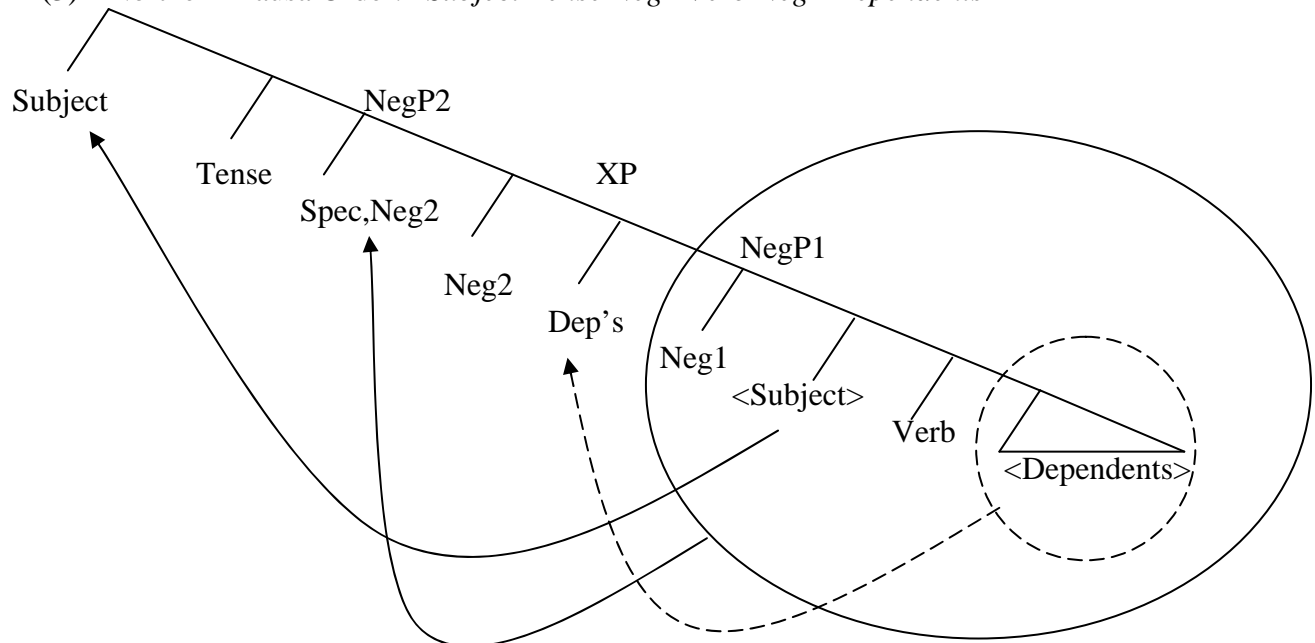
Bell observes that **French** can be analyzed along the same lines as Northern Hausa.

Neg1 = pas, Neg2 = ne.   French additionally has ne-to-T and Vfin-to-T, as in Pollock 1989.

(4) French: *Subject ne Vfin [pas ....] Dep's* vs.   *PRO ne [pas Vinf ...] Dep's*

4. Why two items for one negation?

We have seen many cases where at least one negative marker does *not* seem to have semantic impact. (Mica and polarity particles, section 0, not included in here.)

(a) Jespersen's Stages II, ne...pas, and III, (ne)... pas,
(b) Languages or sentences where an overt [uNEG] negative marker co-occurs with a null [iNEG] operator, Russian ∅ ... ne.
(c) WALS's optional/obligatory bipartite negation, e.g. Nweh te ... bó

Might those negative markers have more use than carrying [uNEG]? And if they do, what about structures that only have a ∅ [iNEG] operator, apparently unaccompanied by an overt [uNEG] or NPI "neg-marker", as in:

(d) Personne a vu personne, Nessuno ha visto nessuno   ?

5. One idea

Zeijlstra's "¬∃" may come in one lump, but may as well come in two parts, and "non-negative negative markers" are really existential event-closure operators.   Enter Bura adi.
(Disclaimer: Zimmermann does *not* relate adi... wa to bipartite negation.)

M. Zimmermann 2007, *Overt ∃-closure in Bura*. SALT.

Bura has a morpheme adi with the following properties:
(i) adi is obligatory in sentences where an eventive verb is negated, see below,
(ii) adi occurs optionally under yes/no question markers,
(iii) adi occurs in existential/cleft copula constructions, negated OR affirmative.

kubili/ mda	**adi**	(...)	ta	diva	**wa**	¬ >∃
Kubili/person	ADI	ASP	prepare	food	NEG	

`Food is not prepared by K/at all' = `There is no event of Kubili/a person making food'

Zimmermann argues that adi is existential closure, applied to an event variable under negation (a necessity), or to an argument variable as a last resort. Normally the eventive verb provides ∃ for its arguments, à la Carlson and McNally.

Zimmermann invokes Kratzer (1998, 2002) re: existential closure of the event variable being in/above the Aspect head. Kratzer, following C. Smith, says that viewpoint aspect (perfective/imperfective) marks a switch from events to reference times; among other things it existentially closes the event-variable. If $\tau(e)$ is the running-time of the P-event, and t an interval of times,

$$T[perfective] = \lambda P_{<s,t>} \, \lambda t_i \, \exists e \, [P(e) \; \& \; \tau(e) \subseteq t]$$

6. Who's who?

French		Nweh		Bura		Slavic à la Zeijlstra
(ne)	≈	bó	≈	wa	≈	∅ (for him, ¬∃; for me, ¬)
pas	≈	te	≈	adi	≈	ne

- The only thing that seems quite clear is that Bura wa is ¬ and adi is ∃.
- Structurally, Nweh bó is parallel to Bura wa, and te to adi.
- According to copious comments by Nkemnji, bó is parallels French (ne) and te, pas / personne. If so, then, (ne) is still "the negation" in French, and its optionality/absence means that it is acquiring the status of the Slavic null negation ∅. Pas has not taken over its role, contrary to intuitions. But this news should be no more shocking to the French than it must be for Russians to hear that *their* always-overt ne is not a negation at all...
- Or (pace Zeijlstra), Slavic ne+V is in fact high in the structure, and the sequence of n-words and indefinites preceding it is just preposed in one chunk, without scope consequences.

I am hoping that the study of Shupamem (Nchare 2011) will shed light on many of these mysteries. Shupamem has a variety of negation morphemes and strategies, NPIs/free choice items, and productive expletive negation. On which, more later...

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