The Negative Marker in Romanian Negative Concord

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Background

Romanian Negative Concord (NC)

(1) **Niciun** student *nu*   a   citit **nicio** carte.

     no   student NM has read no   book

     "No student read any book."

Previous conclusions (Göttingen CoGETI)

- "niciun student"= $\text{NO}_x^{student(x)}$

- NC of (1):
$resumption(\text{NO}_x^{student(x)}, \text{NO}_y^{book(y)})= \text{NO}_{\{x,y\}}^{\{student,book\}}$

What about the negative marker (NM)?

Overview

1. The syntax of the NM
   - Ambiguous *nu*
   - NM licenses n-words
   - NM = a prefix in the verbal complex (NM-lexical rule)

2. The semantics of the NM
   - NM bears semantic negation (NM-lexical rule)
   - NM $\neq$ semantic licenser of n-words

3. Syntactic licensing of n-words

4. Conclusions

Barbu (2004): modifier nu_1 vs. affix nu_2

- nu_1
  - modifies: NPs, PPs, CPs etc (flexibility)
  - substituted by adverbs like: **nicidecum** ("not at all"), **în niciun caz** ("by no means")
  - does not license NC

- nu_2
  - only within the verbal complex
  - complementary distribution with affix *ne-*
  - licenses NC

NC licensing

(2) Ştiu   asta **nu$_1$/ nicidecum** [de la Ion/   *****niciun** student], ci   din
know this not/ not at all   from   John/ no   student, but from

ziar.
newspaper

"I know this not from John, but from newspapers."

(3) a. **Nu$_2$** ştie   **nimeni** de asta.
NM knows nobody of this

"Nobody knows about this."

b. a **nu$_2$** şti   **nimic**/   **ne**ştiind   **nimic**/   **ne**ştiut   de **nimeni**
to not know nothing/ un-knowing nothing/ unknown by nobody

nu₂- fixed position

- **nu**$_2$ must be preceded by the subjunctive particle *să* and the infinitive particle *a*

(4) Ţi-am   cerut [*să*   **nu**$_2$ spui nimic].

  you-have asked Subj. NM say nothing

  "I asked you not to tell anything."

(5) Ţi-am   cerut **nu**$_1$ [*să*   spui minciuni/ *nimic],   ci

  you-have asked not Subj. say lies/   *nothing, but

  să   spui adevărul.

  Subj say truth

  "I asked you not to tell lies, but to tell the truth."

Pro-form possibility

(6) Ion să   plece, însă Maria [să   **nu**$_2$ plece].

John Subj. leave, but   Maria Subj. NM leave

"John should leave, but Maria shouldn't leave."

- **nu**$_1$: $\checkmark$

(7) Ion   să   plece, însă Maria [**nu**$_1$/ **nicidecum**].

John Subj. leave but   Maria not/   not at all

"John should leave, but Maria should not."

- **nu**$_2$: impossibility to omit the verbal host

(8) *Ion să   plece, însă Maria [să   **nu**$_2$].

John Subj. leave, but   Maria Subj. NM

Scope over coordination

- **nu**$_1$: $\checkmark$

  (9) Am   cumpărat **nu**$_1$ romane si   poezii, ci   eseistică.
         have bought   not novels   and poems, but essays

  "I bought not novels and poems, but essays."

- **nu**$_2$: *

  (10) a. *Ion **nu**$_2$ a   mîncat şi   a   băut nimic.
               John NM has eaten   and has drunk nothing

      "John hasn't eaten and drunk anything."

  b. Ion   **nu**$_2$ a   mîncat şi   **nu**$_2$ a   băut nimic.
         John NM has eaten   and NM has drunk nothing

NM-lexical rule (1)

- **nu$_1$** = lexical status- modifier
- **nu$_2$** = NM in NC (affix on the verb)

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
word \\
\text{PHON} \quad \boxed{X} \\
\text{SS| LOC| CAT} \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & \begin{bmatrix} verb \\ \text{VFORM } fin \vee inf \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{MRKING } unmarked \\ \text{NEG} \quad - \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PHON} \quad \text{Neg}(\boxed{X}) \\
\text{SS | LOC| CAT} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{NEG } + \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

where $\text{Neg}(\boxed{X}) = \left\langle \mathbf{nu} \right\rangle \oplus \boxed{X}$ in case $\boxed{X} = \left\langle (\neg\mathbf{a})|\ list \right\rangle \vee \left\langle \neg\mathbf{o} \right\rangle$,

and $\text{Neg}(\boxed{X}) = \left(\left\langle \mathbf{n} \right\rangle \oplus \boxed{X} \right) \vee \left(\left\langle \mathbf{nu} \right\rangle \oplus \boxed{X} \right)$ in case $\boxed{X} = \left\langle \mathbf{a}|\ list \right\rangle \vee \left\langle \mathbf{o} \right\rangle$.

The semantics of the NM

- sentential negation

(11) a. Studenţii **nu** au citit romanul.
students-the NM have read novel-the
"The students haven't read the novel."

   b. Să **nu** pleci acum!
Subj. NM leave now
"Don't you leave now!"

- obligatory in NC

(12) **Niciun** student *(**nu**) a citit romanul.
no student NM has read novel-the
"No student read the novel."

The role of the NM in NC (1)

1. semantic licenser of n-words?

2. syntactic licenser?

1. semantic licenser= anti-additive (cf. Ladusaw (1992))

(13) A function F is *anti-additive* iff $F(X \ or \ Y) = F(X) \ and \ F(Y)$.

- NM is not anti-additive in NC:

(14) a. Ion **nu** a citit **niciun** roman *sau* **niciun** articol.
      John NM has read no   novel or   no   article

   "John read no novel or no article."

    b. $\neq$ Ion **nu** a citit **niciun** roman *şi* Ion **nu** a citit
         John NM has read no   book   and John NM has read
     niciun articol.
     no   article

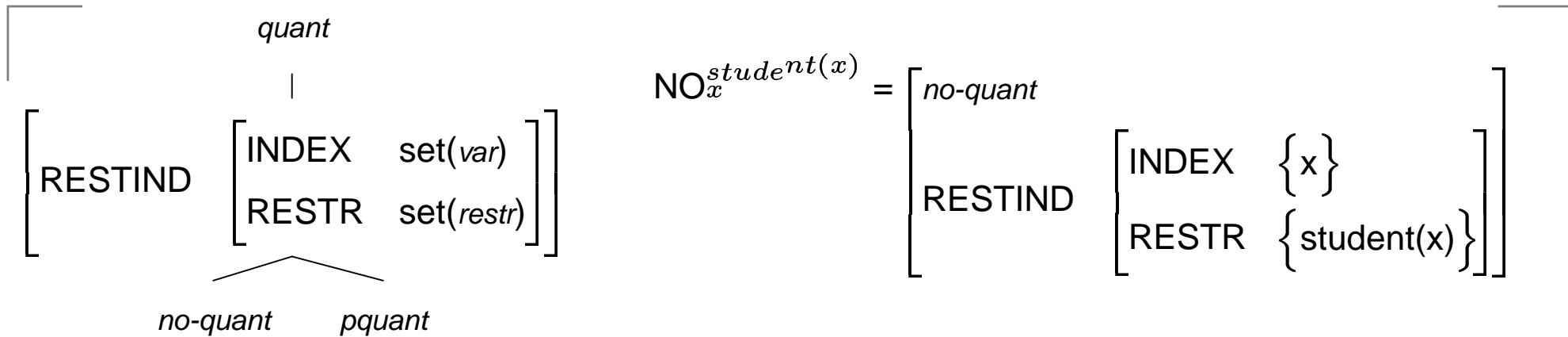# The role of the NM in NC (2)

- Considering (11): NM is semantically negative

- "nu"= $NO_{\emptyset}^{\emptyset}$ - takes truth values to truth values
(de Swart and Sag (2002))

- Conveys negation in (11): $NO_{\emptyset}^{\emptyset}$ added in the NM-lexical rule

- Quantification in HPSG - (Przepiórkowski (1998)):
NEW-QS: lexically contributed quantifiers
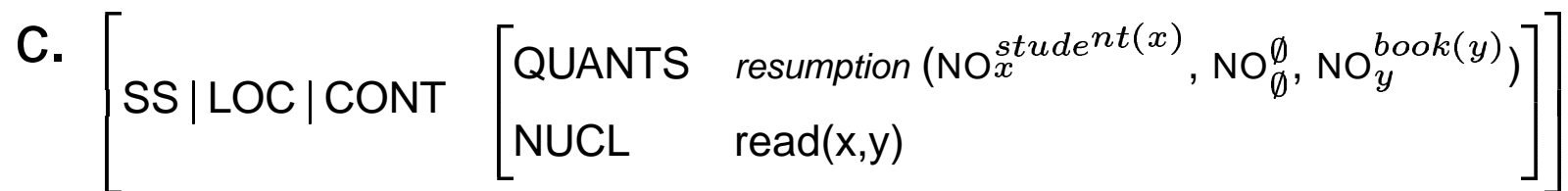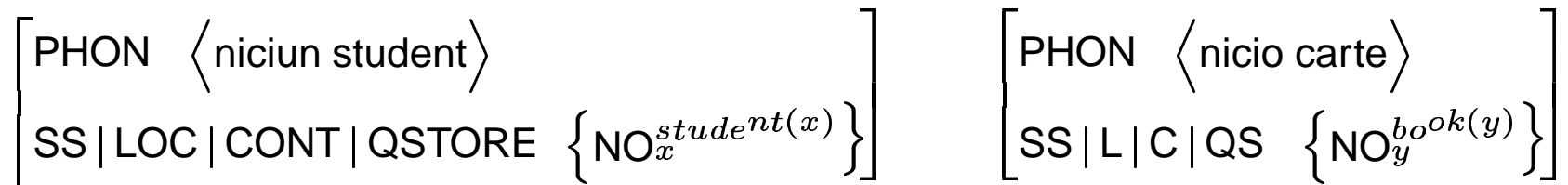
NM-lexical rule (final)

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
word \\
\text{PHON} \quad \boxed{X} \\
\text{SS|LOC} \begin{bmatrix}
\text{CAT} \begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD} \begin{bmatrix} verb \\ \text{VFORM } fin \vee inf \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{MRKING } unmarked \\
\text{NEG} \quad -
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CONT| QSTORE} \quad \boxed{S}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PHON} \quad \text{Neg}(\boxed{X}) \\
\text{SS | LOC} \begin{bmatrix}
\text{CAT} \begin{bmatrix} \text{NEG } + \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CONT| QSTORE} \quad \boxed{S} \uplus \boxed{1}
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{WHQS} \quad \boxed{1} \left\{ \begin{bmatrix}
\boldsymbol{n}\text{-}quant \\
\text{RESTIND} \begin{bmatrix} \text{INDEX } \{\} \\ \text{RESTR } \{\} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix} \right\}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

The role of the NM in NC (3)

$$
\left[\text{RESTIND}\ \begin{array}{c} quant \\ | \\ \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{INDEX} & \text{set}(var) \\ \text{RESTR} & \text{set}(restr) \end{array}\right] \\ \overbrace{} \\ no\text{-}quant \qquad pquant \end{array}\right]
\qquad
\text{NO}_x^{student(x)} = \left[\begin{array}{l} no\text{-}quant \\[2ex] \text{RESTIND}\ \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{INDEX} & \{x\} \\ \text{RESTR} & \{student(x)\} \end{array}\right] \end{array}\right]
$$

(16) a. **Niciun** student **nu** a   citit **nicio** carte.

no   student NM has read no   book

'No student read any book.'

b.

$$
\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{PHON} & \langle niciun\ student \rangle \\ \text{SS}\,|\,\text{LOC}\,|\,\text{CONT}\,|\,\text{QSTORE} & \{\text{NO}_x^{student(x)}\} \end{array}\right]
\qquad
\left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{PHON} & \langle nicio\ carte \rangle \\ \text{SS}\,|\,\text{L}\,|\,\text{C}\,|\,\text{QS} & \{\text{NO}_y^{book(y)}\} \end{array}\right]
$$

c.

$$
\left[\text{SS}\,|\,\text{LOC}\,|\,\text{CONT}\ \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{QUANTS} & resumption\,(\text{NO}_x^{student(x)},\ \text{NO}_\emptyset^\emptyset,\ \text{NO}_y^{book(y)}) \\ \text{NUCL} & read(x,y) \end{array}\right]\right]
$$

The role of the NM in NC: syntactic

- N-words are negative (two of them -> double negation)

- No double negation between NM and an n-word

- No semantic licensing role in NC

- Cf. (12): syntactic licensing of NC

(17) NC-Constraint

$$\begin{bmatrix} word \\ SS|LOC|CONT|QUANTS & \langle ..., no\text{-}quant, ... \rangle \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} SS|LOC|CAT|HEAD & \begin{bmatrix} NEG & + \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

The role of the NM in NC: syntactic

- The scope of n-words: similar conditions to other quantifiers

- NM decides the scope of the n-word: e.g. subjunctive clauses

(18) a. **Nu** ţi-a cerut să aduci **nimic**.

NM you-has asked Subj bring nothing

"She didn't ask you to bring anything."

b. Ţi-a cerut să **nu** aduci **nimic**.

you-has asked Subj. NM bring nothing

"She asked you [to bring nothing]."

Conclusions

- NM behaves like a prefix which contributes negation (NM-lexical rule)

- it can be accommodated with n-words within resumption

- it syntactically licenses NC (NC-constraint)

- it decides the scope of the n-word

References

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