Negation for Every Verb in Uyghur[*]

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1 Introduction

The original motivation for this paper is to explain the possibility of negating multiple verbs–apparently within a single clause–in the Turkic language Uyghur. As exemplified in (1), negating two verbs in one construction results in double negation. Here the verb *tur* is semantically bleached so that it no longer means 'to stand', but instead expresses that the action of coming to the speaker's house recurs habitually.

(1)   Tursun biz-ning öy-ga   kel-**ma**-(i)p   tur-**ma**-i-du
        NAME 1PL-GEN home-DAT come-**NEG**-(I)P stand-**NEG**-NPST-3
        "Tursun will not stop coming to our house."

Examples like (1) raise questions about whether the two negated verbs appear within the same clause. This paper explains the availability of multiple negated verbs to appear in one clause by demonstrating that the Uyghur post-verbal negator *-ma* may in fact appear at three different points within a clause: selecting *v*P, VoiceP or AuxP as its complement. What the three possible positions of negation have in common is that in each position the negator is able to select what may be considered a verbal category as its complement.

This paper is organized as follows: section 2 briefly introduces the Uyghur language and bleached V2 constructions which will be discussed throughout the paper. Section 3 introduces NCI licensing and scope relations with agent-oriented adverbs and focused objects as diagnostics of the structural position of a negative marker. In section 4, I apply these diagnostics to motivate three distinct positions where the Uyghur negation marker *-ma* can merge. Section 5 concludes.

2 Background on Uyghur Language and Bleached V2 Constructions

Uyghur is an Altaic language of the Karluk sub-branch of the Turkic language family. It is spoken by around ten million people primarily in China's Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, as well as pockets of diaspora elsewhere in the world.

Like other Altaic languages, Uyghur is an agglutinative language with (subject)-object-verb word order, the overt subject being optional. The verbal negator *-ma* always follows the verb stem and precedes all finite inflection morphemes (tense and person) in linear order.

(2)   Tursun tamaq ye-**ma**-di-0
      NAME food   eat-**NEG**-PST-3
      "Tursun didn't eat food."

Also in common with other Altaic languages, Uyghur has a rich and inadequately understood variety of multi-verb constructions. The general pattern is that only the final verb in surface order hosts finite inflection, while all non-final verbs take a suffix, most commonly *-(i)p*, that stands in lieu of finite inflection. I will refer to the final verb as 'V2' and non-final verbs as 'V1' herein. In (3), *-(i)p* follows V1 *kel* 'to come', and precedes V2 *tur* 'to stay, stand'.

(3)   Méhman-lar ete   kel-(i)p   öy-imiz-da   tur-i-du
      Guest-PL   tomorrow come-(I)P home-1PL-LOC stay-NPST-3
      "The guests are coming and staying at our house tomorrow."

In (3), both V1 and V2 contributed their own predicates to the construction. However, this paper focuses on a particular subtype of this construction in which V2 is semantically bleached of its lexical meaning and instead contributes grammatical information about how the action denoted by V1 was performed. In (4), for example, V2 *tur* no longer means 'to stand' or 'stay', but instead expresses that the action of writing denoted by V1 *yaz* keeps happening on a regular basis.

(4)   Tursun öy-i-ga   pat-pat xet   yaz-(i)p   tur-y-du
      NAME home-3SG.POSS-DAT often   letter write-(i)p stand-NPST-3
      "Tursun often writes letters home." (Tuohuti 2012: 360)

To my knowledge, twenty-two verbs have been proposed to be capable of such semantic bleaching as V2s (Ibrahim 1995, Tömür 2003, Bridges 2008). Table 1 gives a non-exhaustive list of some common examples. I call these verbs 'bleached V2s' and the constructions in which they appear 'bleached V2 constructions'.

A closer examination of bleached V2 constructions reveals that there are two broad types of bleached V2s. First, some bleached V2s (including *baq*, *chiq* and *qoy*) from table 1 require their subject to be agentive. (5a) shows that *qoy*, for example, can appear in predicates with an agentive subject, but (5b) shows that it cannot appear in predicates lacking an agent.

(5)   a. Tursun roman yaz-(i)p   qoy-di-0
          NAME novel write-(I)P put-PST-3
          "Tursun wrote up a novel."

Table 1: Selected Bleached V2s

Bleached V2	Lexical meaning	Bleached function
baq	raise	conative, to try
chiq	ascend	thorough completion of action
qoy	put	completion with salient result, careless performance
ket	leave	complete change of state, inchoative
qal	remain	unexpected change of state, inchoative, continued performance
tur	stand, stay	iteration

    b. * Qar   yagh-(i)p qoy-di-0
         Snow fall-(I)P put-PST-3
        Intended: "The snow fell up."

A second group of bleached V2s (including *tur*, *qal* and *ket*) do not require an agentive subject. That is, they allow both agentive and non-agentive subjects, as shown for *tur* in (6a) and (6b), respectively.

(6)   a. Tursun roman yaz-(i)p   tur-di-0
          NAME novel write-(I)P stand-PST-3
          "Tursun kept writing novels."

        b. Qar   yagh-(i)p tur-di-0
          Snow fall-(I)P   stand-PST-3
          "It kept snowing."

These two groups pattern in a number of other ways. Most significantly, those bleached V2s that require an agentive subject can be passivized and causativized. Notice that the passive suffix *-il* and causative suffix *-dur* respectively follow bleached V2 *qoy* in (7) and (8).

(7) Roman yaz-(i)p   qoy-il-di-0
     Novel   write-(I)P put-PASS-PST-3
     "A novel was written up."

(8) U   mejlisxana-ni   teyyarla-(i)p qoy-dur-di-0
     3SG meeting.room-ACC prepare-(I)P put-CAUS-PST-3
     "(S)he had (someone) prepare the conference room."

Bleached V2s that allow both agentive and non-agentive subjects, on the other hand, cannot host passive or causative morphology. Thus (9) and (10), in which the passive suffix and causative suffix respectively follow bleached V2 *tur*, are both ungrammatical.[1]

(9) * Roman yaz-(i)p   tur-il-i-du
       Novel   write-(I)P stand-PASS-NPST-3
      Intended: "Novels keep being written."

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[1] Native speakers say the most available reading of (10) is one in which the subject of the sentence made someone stand; in other words, it is only acceptable for the causative suffix to follow this verb if it is not semantically bleached.
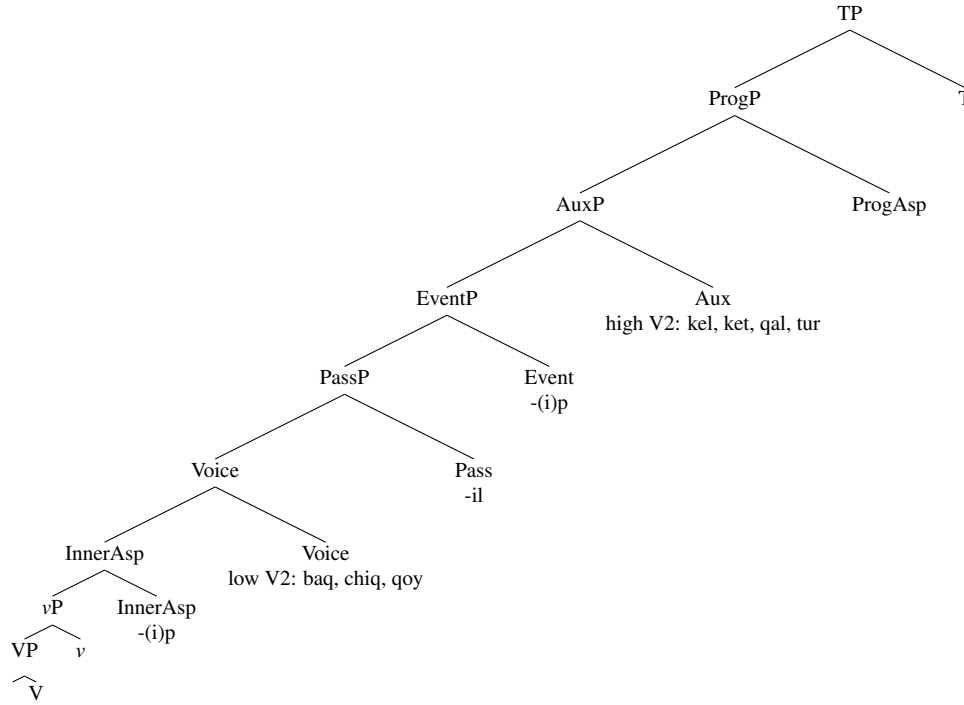
(10)   * U   mejlisxana-ni   teyyarla-(i)p tur-guz-di-0
         3SG meeting.room-ACC prepare-(I)P stand-CAUS-PST-3
         Intended: "(S)he had someone keep preparing the conference room."

There are thus two groups of bleached V2s. The first group require the subject to be agentive, and can host passive and causative morphology. I call this group 'low V2s' because I posit they occur in a lower structural position than the locus of passive voice and the highest position in which causative morphology can be merged. The second group poses no requirement on the subject, and cannot host passive or causative morphology. I call this group 'high V2s' because I posit that they occur in a higher structural position than where passive or causative morphology can be merged. The generalizations discussed in this section are summarized in table 2.

Agentive subject	Voice suffixing?	Bleached V2	Bleached function
required	✓ ('low V2')	baq	conative, to try
		chiq	thorough completion of action
		qoy	completion, careless performance
optional	X ('high V2')	ket	complete change of state, inchoative
		qal	unexpected change of state, inchoative
		tur	iteration

Based on the above generalizations, I posit that bleached V2s occupy one of two different functional heads within the same clause, along similar lines to Cinque's (2003) analysis of Romance restructuring verbs and Fukuda's (2012) analysis of Japanese aspectual verbs. I analyze low V2s as Voice heads, selecting the external argument (Kratzer 1996, Harley 2013) and merging below the passive morpheme when it is present. I analyze high V2s as Aux(iliary) heads, merging in a structurally superior position to where the external argument and any passive or causative morphemes are merged. Placing V2s in one of two distinct positions will require that the *-(i)p* suffix also appears in one of two different syntactic positions. I claim that *-(i)p* realizes an InnerAsp(ect) head between vP and Voice when preceding a low V2, and an Event head selecting VoiceP in its complement when preceding a high V2. *-(i)p* overtly realizes one of these positions in order to satisfy a morphological requirement of V1 when V1 is blocked from movement to T by V2 under Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990). The clausal spine according to this analysis is shown in (11).

(11)

```
                                                        TP
                                                       /  \
                                                   ProgP    T
                                                   /    \
                                               AuxP      ProgAsp
                                               /   \
                                          EventP    Aux
                                          /    \    high V2: kel, ket, qal, tur
                                      PassP     Event
                                      /   \     -(i)p
                                  Voice    Pass
                                  /   \    -il
                           InnerAsp    Voice
                            /   \      low V2: baq, chiq, qoy
                          vP     InnerAsp
                         /  \    -(i)p
                       VP    v
                       |
                       V
```

For details of this analysis, see Sugar (to appear, forthcoming). The rest of this paper will make reference to the structure shown in (11) when discussing the structural positions of negation. First, I provide three diagnostics for the position of negation.

3   Diagnostics for Position of Negation

3.1   NCI Licensing

In Uyghur, the prefix *héch-* can attach to wh-pronouns or a handful of common nouns to form a negative concord item (NCI). The most defining characteristic of NCIs is that they must cooccur with negation, and the combination of the NCI and a negation marker results in a single negative meaning (i.e. negative concord), as shown in (12).

(12)   Héchnéme ye*(-**ma**)-di-m
       Nothing   eat*(-**NEG**)-PST-1SG
       "I didn't eat anything."

For the purposes of this paper, I adopt a modified version of Zeijlstra's (2004) analysis of negative concord. NCIs require the presence of negation because they bear an uninterpretable Neg feature ([uNeg]). Zeijlstra (2004) claims that in some languages, negation markers also bear [uNeg] and must Agree with a covert operator that introduces the interpretable Neg feature ([iNeg]). However, I claim that in Uyghur, the negation marker itself carries [iNeg]. This analysis allows a straightforward account of how negating two verbs yields a double negative (positive) reading in sentences like (1). I will also provide extensive evidence in the next section that negation takes scope from its surface position, meaning that negative markers are semantically negative.

I thus proceed on the assumption that negative is a [uNeg] feature agreeing with (or raising to, along the lines of Collins and Postal 2014) a c-commanding [iNeg] feature, and use the ability to license an NCI with [uNeg] as a diagnostic of the position of negation.

3.2   Scope of Agent-oriented Adverbs

Agent-oriented adverbs (like *qesten* 'intentionally' in (13)) always appear between the subject (if overt) and verb in Uyghur. They are preceded by specific, overtly marked objects and followed by non-specific, unmarked objects.

(13)   a. Xemit chay-*(ni) qesten   ich-di-0
           NAME tea-ACC   intentionally drink-PST-3
           "Xemit intentionally drank the tea."

       b. Xemit qesten chay(*-ni) ich-di-0
           NAME qesten tea(*-ACC) drink-PST-3
           "Xemit intentionally drank tea." (adapted from Major and Yakup 2015)

Here I follow Cinque (1999) in assuming that agent-oriented adverbials to appear in the specifier of a functional projection between Tense and Voice.

(14)

```
                              TP
                             /  \
                        EventP    T
                       /    \
                     FP      Event
                    /  \
              qesten    \
                    VoiceP  F
```

This assumption sets up a prediction that will be tested in the next section: a negative morpheme c-commanding the adverb will scope over it, while a negative morpheme c-commanded by the adverb will scope under it.
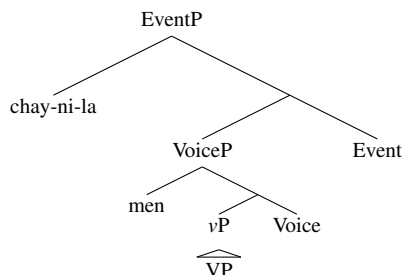
3.3   Scope of Focused Objects

The suffix *-la*, optionally in combination with the adjunct *peqet* 'only', applies the meaning of 'only' to a focused element.

(15)   Men (peqet) chay-ni-la   ich-i-men
       1SG (only) tea-ACC-FOC drink-NPST-1SG
       "I only drink tea (not other things)."

I will assume that *-la* attaches to the specific object in its derived position in Spec, EventP (see Sugar (forthcoming) for more discussion).

(16)

```
                            EventP
                           /      \
                   chay-ni-la      \
                              VoiceP      Event
                             /     \
                          men       \
                                   vP   Voice
                                    △
                                    VP
```

When *-la* attaches to the specific object and a single lexical verb is negated, there is scope ambiguity between the object and negation. This scope ambiguity could in principle be due to either the object or negation taking scope at different positions.

(17) Men (peqet) chay-ni-la   ich-**ma**-i-men
      1SG (only) tea-ACC-FOC drink-**NEG**-NPST-1SG
      "I dont only drink tea (I also drink other things)." (NEG > FOC)
      "I only dont drink tea (I drink everything else)." (FOC > NEG)

In the next section, I will show that when the position of negation is controlled for, the ambiguity disappears to a large extent.
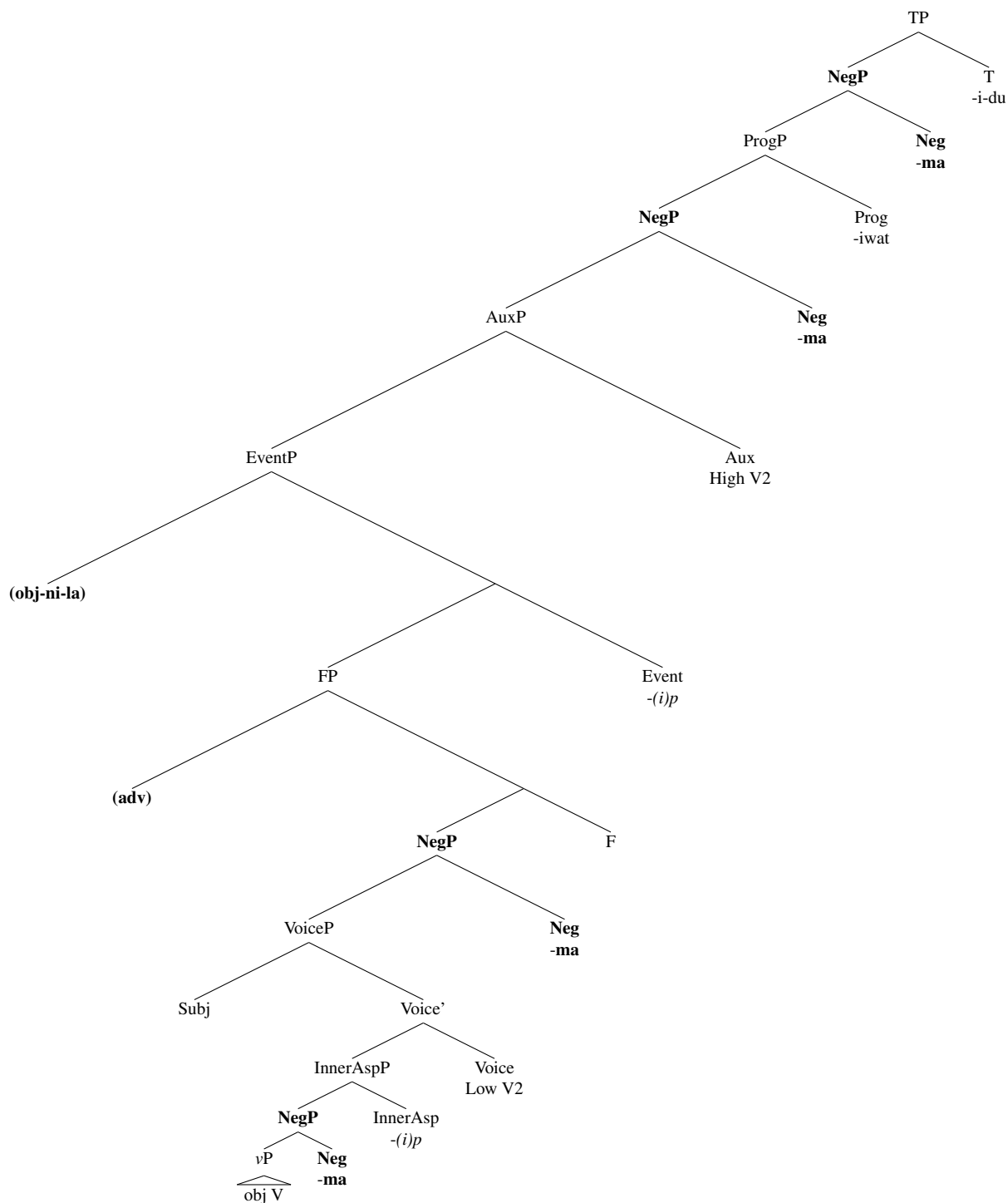
4   Three Positions of Negation in Uyghur

This section uses the above diagnostics to motivate Three possible merge positions of negation. These positions of negation, along with the base positions of subjects and objects and positions of agent-oriented adverbials and focused objects, are schematized in (18). The results I will discuss in each position are summarized in table 2. In the interest of brevity, this paper does not discuss an additional position of negation selecting ProgP as its complement. The reader is referred to Sugar (forthcoming) for discussion of negation in this fourth position.

Complement	NCI object licensing	NCI subject licensing	Scope re adverb	Scope re focus
*v*P	✓	X	under	under
VoiceP	✓	✓	under/over	under/over
AuxP	✓	✓	over	over

Table 2: Properties of Four Verbal Negation Positions

(18)

```
                                              TP
                                          ／      ＼
                                      NegP          T
                                   ／      ＼       -i-du
                              ProgP          Neg
                           ／      ＼         -ma
                       NegP          Prog
                    ／      ＼        -iwat
                AuxP          Neg
             ／      ＼        -ma
         EventP          Aux
       ／      ＼         High V2
 (obj-ni-la)     ＼
              ／        ＼
            FP            Event
         ／    ＼          -(i)p
     (adv)       ＼
              ／      ＼
           NegP          F
         ／    ＼
     VoiceP      Neg
    ／    ＼      -ma
 Subj     Voice'
        ／      ＼
   InnerAspP      Voice
   ／    ＼        Low V2
 NegP     InnerAsp
 ／ ＼      -(i)p
vP   Neg
obj V -ma
```

4.1   Negation Selecting *v*P

In section 2, I analyzed 'low bleached V2s' like *qoy* in (5) as overt Voice heads, which block lexical V1 and the verbalizing *v* head from moving any higher than a functional projection between Voice

and *v* where *-(i)p* is merged. Curiously, it is possible to negate V1 in the presence of a low V2. According to my analysis, negation in such cases must be selecting *v*P as its complement.

(19)　Tursun roman yaz-**ma**-(i)p　　qoy-di-0
　　　　NAME　novel　write-**NEG**-(I)P put-PST-3
　　　　"Tursun didn't bother writing a novel."

A Neg head selecting *v*P c-commands the base position of the object, but not the subject. The structure in (18) thus correctly predicts that negation of V1 in the presence of a low V2 licenses an NCI object, but not an NCI subject.

(20)　U　héchnéme yaz-**ma**-(i)p　　qoy-di-ghu
　　　　3SG nothing　　write-**NEG**-(I)P put-PST-EMPH
　　　　"(S)he didn't write anything up."

(21)　* Héchkim ders-ga　　kel-**ma**-(i)p　　qoy-di-ghu
　　　　　Nobody　class-DAT come-**NEG**-(I)P put-PST-EMPH
　　　　Intended: "Nobody bothered coming to class."

Recall from section 3.2 that I analyze agent-oriented adverbials as appearing in the specifier of a functional head selecting VoiceP. Since this position c-commands the Neg head selecting *v*P, it is unsurprising that negation always takes scope under agent-oriented adverbials when it appears between V1 and a low V2 like *baq*.

(22)　U　qesten　　　kel-**ma**-(i)p　　baq-di-0
　　　　3SG intentionally come-**NEG**-(I)P raise-PST-3
　　　　"(S)he intentionally tried not to come." (intentionally > NEG) (*NEG > intentionally)

In section 3.3, I analyzed specific objects as occupying a derived position in the specifier of a mid-clausal EventP. This position also c-commands the position of negation selecting *v*P. The fact that negation between V1 and a low V2 obligatorily scopes under a focused specific object is thus predicted by my analysis.

(23)　Men (peqet) chay-ni-la　　ich-**ma**-(i)p　　baq-di-m
　　　　1SG (only)　tea-ACC-FOC drink-**NEG**-(I)P raise-PST-1SG
　　　　"I only tried to not drink tea." (FOC > NEG) (*NEG > FOC)

4.2　Negation Selecting VoiceP

I consider two constructions here in which negation may select VoiceP as a complement. The first construction is one in which a low V2, which I analyzed as an overt Voice head in section 2, is negated. The second construction is one in which V1 is negated and then followed by a high V2, which I analyze as an Aux head. As also mentioned in section 2, a high V2 blocks V1 from moving any higher than the Event head, where *-(i)p* is merged to satisfy its inflectional requirement.

(24)　a. Tursun roman yaz-(i)p　　baq-**ma**-di-0
　　　　　　NAME　novel　write-(I)P raise-**NEG**-PST-3
　　　　　　"Tursun never wrote a novel."

    b. Tursun roman yaz-**ma**-(i)p   tur-i-du
         NAME novel write-**NEG**-(I)P stand-NPST-3
         "Tursun is continuing not to write a novel."

Negation selecting VoiceP c-commands the base positions of both objects and subjects. It is thus unsurprising that both NCI objects and subjects are licensed by negation following a low V2 or preceding a high V2.

(25) U   héchnéme yaz-**ma**-(i)p   tur-di-ghu
      3SG nothing   write-**NEG**-(I)P stand-PST-EMPH
      "(S)he kept not writing anything."

(26) Héchkim ders-ga   kel-ala-**ma**-(i)p   tur-di-0-ghu
      Nobody class-DAT come-ABIL-**NEG**-(I)P stand-PST-3-EMPH
      "Nobody's been making it to class."

(27) U   héchnerse ye-(i)p baq-**ma**-di-0
      3SG nothing   eat-(I)P raise-**NEG**-PST-3
      "(S)he didn't eat (one bite of) anything."

(28) (Tamaq-lar-ni) héchkim ye-(i)p baq-**ma**-di-0
      (Dish-PL-ACC) nobody   eat-(I)P raise-**NEG**-PST-3
      "Nobody ate a bite (of any of the dishes)."

Negation selecting VoiceP does not c-command the spec, FP position where I assume agent-oriented adverbs merge. My analysis would thus seem to predict that negation selecting VoiceP must scope over the agent-oriented adverb. However, negation merged in this position may take scope either over or under the agent-oriented adverb (as shown in the translations of (29) and (30)).

(29) U   qesten   kel-(i)p baq-**ma**-di-0
      3SG intentionally come-(I)P raise-**NEG**-PST-3
      "Intentionally, (s)he didn't come." (qesten > NEG)
      "It wasn't intentionally that (s)he came." (NEG > qesten)

(30) U   qesten   kel-**ma**-(i)p   tur-i-du
      3SG intentionally come-**NEG**-(I)P stand-NPST-3
      "(S)he is intentionally not coming." (qesten > NEG)
      "It's not intentionally that she keeps coming." (NEG > qesten)

A Neg projection selecting VoiceP is also unable to c-command the derived position of a specific object, which I proposed is Spec, EventP. The scope facts in relation to specific objects differ depending on the environment in which VoiceP is negated. Negation following a low V2 can scope either over or under the focused object (31), while Negation preceding a high V2 always scopes under the focused object (32).

(31) Men (peqet) chay-ni-la   ich-(i)p baq-**ma**-di-m
      1SG (only) tea-ACC-FOC drink-(I)P raise-**NEG**-PST-1SG
      "I only didn't try to drink tea." (FOC > NEG)
      "I didn't try to only drink tea." (NEG > FOC)

(32) Men (peqet) chay-ni-la   ich-**ma**-(i)p   tur-di-m
      1SG (only) tea-ACC-FOC drink-**NEG**-(I)P stand-PST-1SG
      "I kept only not drinking tea." (FOC > NEG) (*NEG > FOC)

Referring back to the structure given in (18), I believe the variability of scope in (29)-(31) may be due to head movement. In (29) and (31), the low V2 Voice head will presumably initiate head movement to T, carrying Neg along with it. The variable scope can thus be attributed to negation taking scope from its base position or a higher position reached through head movement. Recall from section 2 that when a high V2 is present, head movement of the lexical verb must stop at Event. Thus head movement in (30) moves the Neg head to a position c-commanding the adverb, resulting in scope ambiguity. However, the Event position still does not c-command the focused specific object; thus the only scope option for negation is below the object in (32).

4.3   Negation Selecting AuxP

It is possible for negation to follow a high V2. Negation in this position still precedes the progressive aspect suffix *-iwat*, as shown in (33). I thus propose that NegP may select AuxP as its complement.

(33) Kel-(i)p   tur-**ma**-iwat-i-du
      Come-(I)P stand-**NEG**-PROG-NPST-3
      "(S)he isn't continuing to come."

Since negation in this position c-commands the base positions of both subjects and objects, it licenses both NCI subjects and objects.

(34) U   héchnéme yaz-(i)p   tur-**ma**-iwat-i-du
      3SG nothing   write-(I)P stand-**NEG**-PROG-NPST-3
      (S)he isn't continuing to write anything."

(35) Héchkim yaz-(i)p   tur-**ma**-iwat-i-du
      Nobody   write-(I)P stand-**NEG**-PROG-NPST-3
      "Nobody is continuing to write."

Speakers who understand *tur* to be bleached in (36) consistently find that negation scopes over the agent-oriented adverb.

(36) U   qesten   kel-(i)p   tur-**ma**-iwat-i-du
      3SG intentionally come-(I)P stand-**NEG**-PROG-NPST-3
      "(S)he doesn't keep intentionally coming." (NEG > intentionally) (*intentionally > NEG)

Unsurprisingly, negation selecting AuxP must also take scope over the focused specific object.

(37) Men (peqet) chay-ni-la   ich-(i)p   tur-**ma**-iwat-i-men
      1SG (only) tea-ACC-FOC drink-(I)P stand-**NEG**-PROG-NPST-1SG
      "I don't keep only drinking tea." (NEG > FOC) (*FOC > NEG)

5 Conclusion

This paper has developed diagnostics for position of negation and used them as evidence for three distinct positions at which a NegP can merge in Uyghur. A NegP in each position will select some verbal category as its complement. This finding supports theories which allow negation to merge in any interpretable position in a clause (Collins and Postal 2014). At least in Uyghur, negator *-ma* is interpretable wherever its complement is a verbal category. The facts discussed here also lend further support to monoclausal analyses of bleached V2 constructions (Sugar 2017, to appear, forthcoming).

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