Negative Concord (Not) As a Form of AGREE in West Slavic

Nikola Moore

University of Cambridge, University of Pennsylvania

ndatkova@sas.upenn.edu | nd546@cam.ac.uk | no-moore.com (the hyphen is necessary)
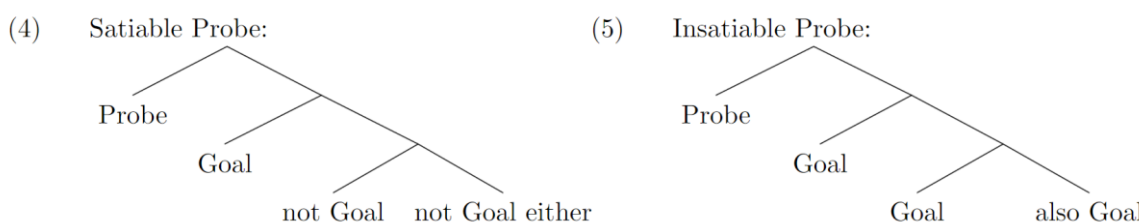
READ MORE

Background

Negative Concord (NC): multiple negative elements = one semantic negation. In West Slavic, NC consists of a negative verbal prefix *ne-* (Slovak, Czech) or preposition *nie* (Polish) + one or more quantifiers marked by the prefix *ni-*.

(1) Marek **ne**-vie   **ni**-č/*niečo   o   **ni**-kom/*niekom.
     Marek **NEG**-know.3SG **n-**thing.ACC/*something.ACC about **n-**person.LOC/*someone.LOC
     'Marek doesn't know anything/*something about anybody/*somebody.' (*Slovak*)

Double Negation (DN): multiple negative elements = multiple semantic negations. Observation: that both NC and DN are present in WS implies that the domain of NC must be limited.

(2) Zoja **ni**-kogo   **nie** widziała.
     Zoja **n-**person.ACC **NEG** see.PAST.FEM
     'Zoja didn't see anybody.' (*Polish*)

(3) Marek **ne**-ví,   že zítra **ni**-kdo **ne**-příde.
     Marek **NEG**-know.3SG C tomorrow **n-**person **NEG**-come.3SG.FUT
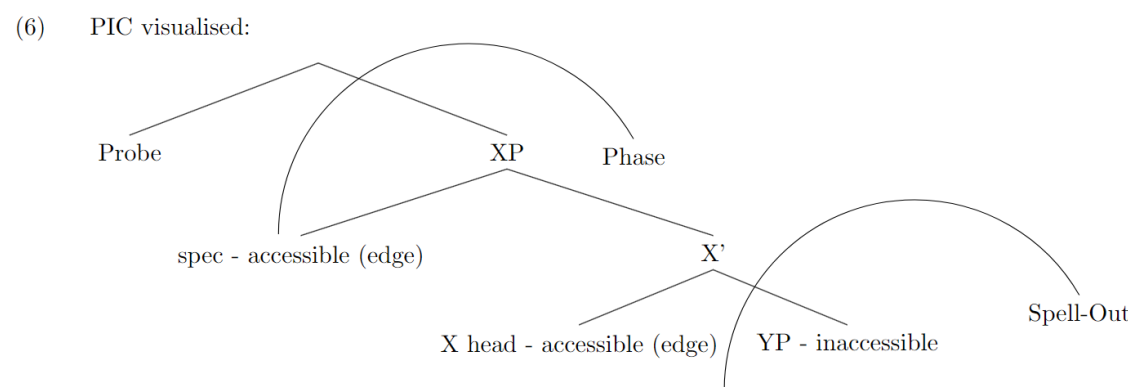   'Marek doesn't know that nobody will come tomorrow.' (*Czech*)

AGREE: an operation between a Probe and a Goal with matching features, where Goal must be located in the Probe's domain (defined by locality constraints). The negative Probe in WS is thought to be an insatiable Probe (Deal, 2022).

(4) Satiable Probe: (5) Insatiable Probe:

Selected References: CHOMSKY, N., *Derivation by Phase* (2001). DEAL, A. R., *Negative Concord as Downward Agree* (2022). HUANG, C.-T. J., *Logical Relations in Chinese and the Theory of Grammar* (1982). COLLINS, C., and POSTAL, P. M., *Classical Neg-Raising: An Essay on the Syntax of Negation* (2014).

CLAIM 1: NC is not subject to the same locality constraints as AGREE.

Phase Impenetrability Condition: The Domain of a head X of a phase XP is not accessible to operations outside XP; only X and its edge are accessible (Chomsky, 2001).

(6) PIC visualised:

(7) Zoja [PP s   **ni**-kým/*někým]   **ne**-vychází.
     Zoja [PP with **n-**person.INS/*somebody.INS] **NEG-**get.along.3SG
     'Zoja doesn't get along with anyone/*someone.' (*Czech*)

(8) Zoja   **ne**-spa-la   [PP počas **ni**-ktor-ej/*niektor-ej   prezentáci-e].
     Zoja.NOM **NEG**-sleep-PAST.FEM [PP during **n-**some-GEN/*some-GEN presentation-GEN]
     'Zoja didn't sleep during any/*some of the presentations.' (*Slovak*)

(9) Marek   **ne**-opáci-l   [DP kúsok [DP **ni**-jak-ého/*nejak-ého   syr-a]].
     Marek.NOM **NEG**-taste-PAST.MASC [DP bit.ACC [DP **n-**some-GEN/*some-GEN cheese-GEN]]
     'Marek didn't try a piece of any/*some cheese.' (*Slovak*)

(10) Zoja   **nie** widzia-ła   [DP prezent-u   [PP dla **ni**-kogo/*kogoś]].
     Zoja.NOM **NEG** see-PAST.FEM [DP present-GEN [PP for **n-**person.GEN/*somebody.GEN]]
     'Zoja didn't see a present for anybody/*somebody.' (*Polish*)

Condition on Extraction Domains: A phrase A may be extracted out of (accessed in) domain B only if B is properly governed (Huang, 1982).

(11) CED visualised:

(12) [subj **Ni**-čí/-koho/   *nie-čí/*-koho   otec   **ne**-pil   víno.
     [subj **n-**POSS/-person.GEN/ *somebody-POSS/*-GEN father] **NEG-**drink.3SG.PAST wine.ACC
     'Nobody's father drank wine.' (*Slovak*)

(13) ?[subj Vystopovať **ni**-koho/*niekoho   dnes **nie** je   jednoduché.
     [subj track.down.INF **n-**person.ACC/*somebody.ACC] today **NEG** be.3SG easy.3SG
     'Tracking anyone/*someone down is not easy these days.' (*Slovak*)

CLAIM 2: The only reliable domain of NC is CP.

(14) Zoja **ne**-povedala   [CP že **ni**-č   **ne**-kúpi].
     Zoja **NEG**-say.PAST.FEM [CP C **n-**thing.ACC neg-buy.FUT.3SG]
     'Zoja didn't say that she wouldn't buy anything.' (*Slovak*)

(15) **Ni**-c,   [CP co   se **ne**-vydařilo,]   **ne**-bylo   tak důležité.
     n-thing [CP what SE **NEG-**work.out.NEUT.PAST] **NEG-**be.NEUT.PAST so important.NEUT
     'Nothing that didn't work out was that important.' (*Czech*)

CLAIM 3: For CP to constitute a domain, CP must be finite.

(16) a. Zoja   **ne**-chce   [CP **ni**-komu/*někomu   pomoct].
        Zoja.NOM **NEG**-want.3SG [CP **n-**person.DAT/*somebody.DAT help.INF]
        'Zoja doesn't want to come to help anyone/*someone.'

     b. Zoja   **ne**-chce   [CP aby **ni**-komu   **ne**-pomohla].
        Zoja.NOM **NEG**-want.3SG [CP C   **n-**person.DAT **NEG-**help.SG.PAST]
        'Zoja doesn't want that she help no one.' (*Czech*)

CLAIM 4: The domain is applicable to licensing as well as movement.

Moving the Probe (see Collins & Postal, 2014):

(17) a. [CP Myslím,   [CP že Marek   *(**ne**-)vie   [NPI *a-ni*   *hovno*]].
        [CP think.1SG [CP C Marek.NOM *(**NEG-**)know.3SG [NPI *either-n shit*.ACC]]]
        'I think Marek doesn't know *jackshit*.'

     b. *[CP **Ne**-myslím,   [CP že Marek   vie   [NPI *a-ni*   *hovno*]].
        [CP **NEG-**think.1SG [CP C Marek.NOM know.3SG [NPI *either-n shit*.ACC]]]
        'I don't think Marek knows *jackshit*.'

     c. [CP **Ne**-myslím,   [CP že Marek   **ne**-vie   [NPI *a-ni*   *hovno*]].
        [CP **NEG-**think.1SG [CP C Marek.NOM **NEG-**know.3SG [NPI *either-n shit*.ACC]]]
        'I don't think Marek doesn't know *jackshit*.' (*Slovak*)

Moving Goals:

(18) a. Koho   Marek hovoril,   [CP že zajtra   (**ne-**)stretne   _____]?
        who.ACC Marek say.SG.PAST [CP C tomorrow (**NEG-**)meet.3SG.FUT _____]
        'Who did Marek say that Marek he'd meet tomorrow?'

     b. Zoju   Marek hovoril,   [CP že zajtra   (**ne-**)stretne   _____]?
        Zoja.ACC Marek say.SG.PAST [CP C tomorrow (**NEG-**)meet.3SG.FUT _____]
        'Was it Zoja that Marek said he'd meet tomorrow?'

     c. ***Ni**-koho   Marek hovoril,   [CP že zajtra   **ne**-stretne   _____]?
        n-person.ACC Marek say.SG.PAST [CP C tomorrow **NEG-**meet.3SG.FUT _____]
        'Was it nobody that Marek said he'd meet tomorrow?' (*Slovak*)