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Negative Concord and Valuation of Anti-Veridicity

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Abstract

Negative Concord and Valuation of Anti-Veridicity

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Negative Concord is a linguistic phenomenon which can be described as the appearance of multiple negatively marked elements conspiring within a single clause to yield only a single semantic negation. Examples of this phenomenon are widely attested in languages as diverse as French (Mathieu (2001)) and Japanese (Watanabe (2004)). An example of the phenomenon from a non-Standard English would be *Ain't no one going to the store* (= 'No one is going to the store').

Any explanation of this phenomenon must account for what can be called a problem in compositionality; how is it that despite multiple negative elements on the

surface, there is only a single negation present in the semantics? Early attempts to account for this problem led to speculation on the nature of negatively-marked noun phrases (often called n-words), with some (e.g. Zanuttini (1991)) taking the view that n-words are universal negative quantifiers which "absorb" into each other through a process of negative factorization. Others (e.g. Giannakidou (2000)) took the opposite view, believing n-words to be inherently non-negative, and taking n-words to be a special type of NPI. More recently (e.g. Zeijlstra (2004, 2008)), some accounts have attempted to deal with compositionality through Agree.

Using data from a non-Standard English which possesses Negative Concord, this thesis advances the idea that Negative Concord is the result of the valuation of indefinites placed under the scope of an anti-veridical (i.e. *negative*) operator. Furthermore, data from this dialect suggest that n-words and indefinite NPIs (e.g. *anything*) are more related than even previous accounts linking the two phenomena. In essence then, this thesis takes from the 'n-word as NPI' approach and the Agree approach, but in a way that is unique to either approach. This thesis then extends the analysis to Czech and Spanish, and in doing so extends the empirical coverage of Agree proposals and naturally accounts for a long-standing puzzle in Romance Negative Concord in which sentential negative markers show fickle behavior.

As this proposal unites n-words with indefinite NPIs, and asserts that differences the between forms are superficial and dependent upon (anti)veridical valuation, this thesis then explores the implications of this assertion by comparing n-words to indefinite nominal NPIs. By doing so, it is shown that standard assumptions about the supposed differences between n-words and nominal NPIs are actually superficial in nature and indicative of differences in the licensing domains rather than in the indefinites themselves, a welcome conclusion given the proposal.

Finally, this thesis examines Double Negation in a Negative Concord variety of English, and shows the effects of focus on n-words. In presenting an analysis of Double Negation in terms of Alternative Semantics (Rooth (1985, 1996)), it is shown how some focused n-words seemingly can add supplemental negation to a clause and give the appearance of Double Negation, when non-focused n-words cannot. The idea is that focused n-words do not create true instances of Double Negation, rather they are the

negation of the least member of a set of alternatives, or what is for all intents and purposes the empty set ø. This proposal couched in terms of Alternative Semantics allows us to sidestep a potential reverse problem of compositionality; that is, how is that focused n-words can add supplemental negation whereas non-focused n-words cannot? The take away is therefore a complete compositional analysis of Negative Concord constructions, which bears with it a favorable simplification in the lexicon by uniting n-words and indefinite NPIs, while managing to extend empirical coverage.

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1. Introduction

1.1 The phenomenon of Negative Concord

The phenomenon known as Negative Concord (NC) has received a good deal of attention in the literature since the early to mid-90's, starting largely with Zanuttini (1991) and Haegeman & Zanuttini (1996). Negative Concord itself is the appearance of multiple (seemingly) negative elements in a clause all conspiring to produce a single negation in the semantics.

(1) *ni-kto*   *(*ne*)*   zvonil   (Russian)

    N-body   NEG   called

    'No one called' (NOT 'no one didn't call')

       In (1), there is a negatively marked nominal (which I will refer to as *n-words*) *nikto* 'nobody' to go along with the sentential negation marker (SNM) *ne*. However, these two negative elements still only produce a single negation in the semantics. Constructions like these are in contrast with examples from Standard English, as seen in (2).

(2) *Nobody* did*n't* call (DN, 'Somebody called')   (Standard English)

In (2), both the negative element *nobody* and the SNM *–n't* contribute semantic negation leading to a Double Negative (DN) reading. This shows that Russian is an NC language, while Standard English is not.

       The characteristic problem in coming up with an analysis for NC constructions as seen in (1) is the "Compositionality Problem", as stated in (3).

(3) Compositionality Problem:

How is it that multiple (seemingly) negative elements produce only a single negation in the semantics?

To this point, there have been several analyses of NC offered, from varying points of view. Zeijlstra (2004, 2008), Haegeman & Lohndal (2010), and others attempt to explain the phenomenon in syntactic terms, while De Swart & Sag (2002), among others, offer examples of a more semantic analysis. Furthermore, while many proposals have attacked the problem cross-linguistically, others have attempted only to account for NC as it appears in certain languages (such as Khanjian (2010) for West Armenian and Alonso-Ovalle & Guerzoni (2004) for Spanish and Italian).

1.2 Cross-linguistic variation in Negative Concord

A good reason for the large number of differing opinions on NC is the fact that cross-linguistically, languages show a good amount of variation with how they exhibit NC. One manner in which languages differ with regard to NC is whether or not they allow n-words in subject position.

(4) amwu-to an   o-ass-ta   (Korean)
    N.body   NEG   come.past.decl
    "Nobody came"

(5) *Daß koa Texana nit groß is, woaß ajeda   (Bavarian)[1]
     that no   Texan   not tall   is, knows everybody
    "Everybody knows that no Texan is tall"

---

[1] Bavarian examples from Brugger & Poletto (1995); see Appendix for full list of example citations.

As seen in (4), languages like Korean have no problem admitting n-words in subject position, while languages like Bavarian do not allow such constructions. Another source of variation is the distribution of SNMs. While any negated sentence without an n-word will of course require an SNM to morpho-phonologically realize negation, the situation changes when other negative elements (i.e. n-words) are present.

(6) na-neun   amwukes-to   *(an)   meok-ess-ta   (Korean)
    I.Top   N.thing   NEG   eat.past.decl
    "I didn't eat anything"

(7) …daß da Hons koa Buach (nit)   glesn hot   (Bavarian)
      that the H.   no   book NEG read   has
      "that H. did not read any book"

(8) Personne   n'a (*pas) rien   fait   (French)
    N.body   has NEG   N.thing done
    "Nobody has done anything"

In (6), we see that Korean can never drop its SNM, even in the presence of other negative morphology. Bavarian in (7) can optionally drop its SNM if an n-word is present. (8) shows that French is an example of an NC language which actually forbids the insertion of an SNM if n-words are present.

In (4)-(8), we therefore see NC languages differing along two lines, (i) the (in)admittance of n-words in subject position, and (ii) the prevalence of SNMs in the face of other negative morphology.

1.3 Aims of thesis

The amount of cross-linguistic variation seen for this phenomenon suggests that the problem is morpho-syntactic in nature, and as such this thesis seeks to offer a proposal

that explains NC in those terms. Now, at the very least any proposal must handle the Compositionality Problem as described in (3). Ideally however, a proposal will also account for the diversity of NC as seen in examples (4)-(8) as a result of the proposal itself. Such are the preliminary goals I set out for the proposal to follow.

In chapter 2, I present a brief overview of some of the most influential proposals attempting to account for NC, and examine some of the problems they have. At the end, I lay out a set of weaknesses which I hope to account for with my proposal.

In chapter 3, I begin by showing how an English of the Southern United States (ESUS), the dialect spoken by the author of this thesis, differs with Standard English (SE) with regard to negation. As is commonly known, SE is not an NC language, while ESUS is.

(9)a. I didn't see nothing (=I saw SOMETHING)   (SE)

   b. I ain't see nothing (=I didn't see anything)   (ESUS)

I then offer my proposal, adapting Chomskyan ((1995), (2000), (2001)) Agree and feature valuation (Pesetsky & Torrego (2007)) to show that NC is the result of indefinites being valued negative by a c-commanding anti-veridical (i.e. negative) operator. In doing so, I show that n-words are simply the negative valuation of an indefinite, and that the surface difference between n-words and nominal NPIs is dependent on the presence/lack of an anti-veridical operator. Data on the distribution of n-words vs. NPIs in ESUS is shown as evidence of this.

In chapter 4, I offer evidence for my proposal and extend it to other languages, showing the importance of the placement of NegP with regard to NC. Scope data from Czech will support my account of NC as opposed to some other Agree-based approaches. Also in chapter 4, I show how my account provides a natural explanation to a commonly studied puzzle in Romance languages, as seen in (10).

(10)a. Nadie (*no) vino   (Spanish)

   b. *(No) vino   nadie

    Neg came N-one

   "No one came"

In (10)a, the SNM *no* barred, while in (10)b it is necessary. In (10)a *nadie* seems to contribute negation while in (10)b it is seemingly acting like a polarity item.

    Chapter 5 explores the implications of my proposal, and seeks to anticipate some potential objections. It further explores the assertion that n-words and (nominal) NPIs are at their heart the same indefinites, and that any apparent differences between the two are actually the result of differences in their respective licensing conditions rather than in the nominals themselves.

    Chapter 6 deals with DN in ESUS, and accounts for what might be considered a "reverse Compositionality Problem". I note that there are two ways to realize DN; one is the insertion of a second SNM into the clause, and the other is placing exhaustive focus on an n-word, which I propose is not actually DN. Finally, chapter 7 concludes the thesis.

2. Previous Accounts of Negative Concord

As mentioned above, there are several discrepant accounts for dealing with NC. These proposals exist mainly along two lines, those taking n-words to be inherently negative, and those taking them to be inherently non-negative. The most influential of the proposals assuming negative n-words is the account of NC as Negative Absorption (Zanuttini (1991), Haegeman (1995), Haegeman & Zanuttini (1996); De Swart & Sag (2002) rework the proposal in different terms). This type of proposal will be examined in section 2.1.

The two most salient proposals of tackling NC with n-words as non-negative elements are the 'n-words as special NPIs' approach (Laka (1990), Ladusaw (1992), Giannakidou (1997, 2000, 2006), Choi (2011, 2012)), and the 'NC as Agree' approach (Zeijlstra (2004, 2008), Haegeman & Lohndal (2010)). These two approaches will be analyzed in sections 2.2 and 2.3 respectively.

It is worth noting that certain accounts hold that n-words are ambiguous between negative and non-negative readings (Herburger (2001), Moscati (2006)), while yet other accounts deal with NC in different terms. For example, Alonso-Ovalle & Guerzoni (2004) claim that n-words provide a negative implicature and thus are only licensed in negative contexts, and Watanabe's (2004) proposal holds that NC is the result of focus agreement. I refer the reader to the source papers as I will not examine these proposals here.

2.1 Negative Concord as Negative Absorption

2.1.1 Basic proposal

Negative Absorption proposals treat n-words as negative quantifiers (Zanuttini (1991), Haegeman & Zanuttini (1991), Haegeman (1995)). The idea behind Negative Absorption is that these multiple semantically negative elements all "absorb" into each other and blend into a single semantic negation by a process of factorization, which has

it that one universal quantifier may bind multiple variables (Haegeman & Zanuttini (1996)). This is schematized as in (11), and works in practice as in (12).

(11) $\forall x\neg \; \forall y\neg \; (\forall z\neg) = [\forall_{x, \, y, \, (z)}]\neg$

(12) a. Je   n'ai   jamais rien   dit à   personne   (French)
     I   Neg.have never n.thing said to n.body
   "I have never said anything to anyone"
  b. [$\forall$x, y, t : x a thing, y a person, t a time], $\neg$[I said x to y at t]

     In order for this absorption process to take place, all n-words must move (at least) at LF to a spec position of the licensing negative head, so that the scopes of all the quantifiers are equal. This is called the Neg Criterion by Haegeman & Zanuttini (1991, and subsequent).

(13) The Neg Criterion
     a. Each Neg X^0 must be in a Spec-Head relation with a Negative operator
     b. Each Negative operator must be in a Spec-head relation with a Neg X^0.

Haegeman & Zanuttini note the similarity of multiple n-words being dependent on a single head to multiple Wh-dependencies, with Rizzi's (1991) wh-Criterion serving as a model for the Neg Criterion. They claim that the Neg Criterion is responsible for the fact that n-words with sentential scope in West Flemish must scramble out of vP in order for absorption to obtain.

(14)a. …da   Valère **niemand$_i$ nie t$_i$** kent   (West Flemish)

      that Valère n-body   not knows

      "that Valère doesn't know anybody"

  b. … da Valère **nie niemand** kent

     "that Valère doesn't know NOBODY" (=DN)

  c. [$_{CP}$ da [$_{TP}$ Valère [$_{NegP}$ **niemand$_i$ nie** [$_{VP}$ **t**$_i$ t$_{ii}$] ∅ $_{Neg'}$] kent$_{ii}$ $_{T'}$]] = (14)a → NC

  d. [$_{CP}$ da [$_{TP}$ Valère [$_{NegP}$ **nie** [$_{VP}$ **niemand** t$_i$] ∅ $_{Neg'}$] kent$_{ii}$ $_{T'}$]] = (14)b → DN

Since *nie* is left-peripheral to *v*P according to Haegeman & Zanuttini, then *niemand* must scramble out of its base position from within *v*P and adjoin to the dominating maximal projection to render an NC reading.

    However, based on data from West Flemish, Haegeman & Zanuttini conclude that there are restrictions on how this factorization process can unfold. It turns out that the types of n-words involved and their placement with respect to the negative marker *nie* have a bearing on what types of readings are possible; NC or DN.

(15)a. …da   Valère **geen boeken** nie gelezen eet   (DN)

      that Valère no   book   not read   has

    "that there are no books such that Valère hasn't read them"

  b. … da Valère doar **nie meer** nie geweest eet   (DN)

     that Valère there no more not been has

    "that Valère did not remain absent from that place more often"

These sentences provide only DN readings, and are therefore in direct opposition to (14)a, in which the n-word is also left adjacent to *nie* and yet which provides an NC reading.

    To account for this, Haegeman & Zanuttini claim that there are different types of n-words in West Flemish; bare NQs (such as *niemand* 'nobody'), *Geen*-NPs (such as *geen boeken* 'no books'), and *nie-Q*s (such as *nie meer* 'no more', *nie dikkerst* 'not often'

etc.) Furthermore, each of these types of n-words interacts differently with SNM *nie* due to their distinct feature makeups, which are laid out in the following example.

(16) Bare NQs   → [Q] + [Neg] directly on head

    Geen-NPs → [Q] on head, [Neg] in specifier

    Nie-Qs   → [Q] on head, [Neg] in specifier

    Nie   → [Neg] on head

Haegeman & Zanuttini (1996) claim that there is a head-matching requirement on factorization, such that at least one feature on the heads of the phrases must match as they adjoin in order for there to be absorption[2]. If there is no matching feature then there can be no factorization and DN readings obtain. This accounts for the distribution of NC and DN readings.

      As Bare NQs possess both [Q] and [Neg] features, they are able to factorize with other Bare NQs, *Geen*-NPs, *nie*-Qs, or with *nie* and still produce NC readings.

(17) a. K'(en)-een *nooit niets* gezien   (NC, Bare NQ *niets* + Bare NQ *nooit*)

     I (*en*)-have never nothing seen

     'I have never seen anything.'

  b. K'(en)-een *nooit geenen tyd.*   (NC, Bare NQ *nooit* + *Geen*-NP *geenen tyd*)

      I (*en*)-have never no time

     'I never have any time.'

  c. T'(en)-eet doa   *niemand nie dikkerst* geweest. (NC, Bare NQ *niemand* + *nie*-Q

     it (*en*)-has there no one   not long   been   *nie dikkerst*)

    'No one has been there for a long time/often.'

  d. K'(en)-een *niets nie* gezien   (NC, Bare NQ *niets* + *nie*)

     I (*en*)-have nothing not seen

     'I have not seen anything.'

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[2] See Haegeman & Lohndal (2010) for a reworking of this proposal in Minimalist terms, and for a good deal of discussion on why this factorization process (or Agree, in updated terminology) must be step-wise in nature.

As *Geen*-NPs have only a [Q] feature on their head, they can factorize with Bare NQs ((17)b), other *Geen*-NPs, and *nie*-Qs. With bare *nie* however, they cannot factorize and therefore cannot render NC readings.

(18)a. Valère (en)-wilt   an *geen mens geen geld*   geven   (NC, *Geen mens +*
        Valère *en* wants   to no   person no   money give   *geen geld*)
        "Valère doesn't want to give any money to anyone"

    b. dan ze   va nie vele geen boeken ketent   zyn   (NC, *geen boeken +*
        that they of not many no   books   contented are   *nie vele*)
      'that they are not pleased with many books'

    c. da   Valère over   geneenen student nie geklaapt eet   (*NC, *geenen*
        that Valère about no   student not talked   has   *student + nie*)
      Ungrammatical, no translation offered

Nie-Qs, which have only [Q] features on their head, are able to factorize with Bare NQs ((17)c), *Geen*-NPs ((18)b), and other *Nie*-Qs in order to induce NC readings. With SNM *nie* however, factorization is impossible, and therefore, so are NC readings.

(19)a. da Valère   doa   niet dikkerst nie meer gewerkt eet   (NC, *niet dikkerst +*
        that Valère there not often   not more worked has   *nie meer*)
      'that Valère has not often worked there any more'

   b. *da Valère doa niet dikkerst nie gewerkt eet   (*NC, *niet dikkerst +*
        that Valère there not often not worked has   *nie*)
      DN: 'that Valère has not often NOT worked there'

To summarize, the factorization process described in (11) is stepwise, and the availability of NC readings is dependent upon the types of n-words which are involved in the process. Furthermore, it is necessary for n-words to scramble (at least at LF, but at s-structure in West Flemish) and adjoin to the licensing Neg phrase per the Neg Criterion.

To name just one of the advantages of this analysis (and any analysis maintaining n-words' inherent negative value) is that it maintains n-words' negative force for when n-words are interpreted in isolation as negative.

(20) Q: Chi hai visto? (Italian)

     "Who did you see?"

   A: Nessuno

    "No one"

And to go back to the compositionality problem which occurs when multiple negative elements are present, this is dealt with by the factorization process as seen in (11) in which multiple negative elements are absorbed into a single negation.

2.1.2 Issues with the Negative Absorption account

The issues with this sort of account are principally theoretical rather than empirical. Specifically, Negative Absorption, or any mechanism like it, isn't really an explanation of the phenomenon in question. One could simply restate the Compositionality Problem as "How is it that multiple negative elements are 'absorbed/factorized' into a single semantic negation?" Incorporating a mechanism like Negative Absorption is a complication of the system in that it is not otherwise independently motivated[3] (see De

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[3] One could try to place Negative Absorption under the umbrella of Wh absorption and thereby claim the mechanism is otherwise motivated, though see Giannakidou (1998) and Acquaviva (1997) for discussion on why the two cannot be thought of as the same. A quick example can be seen in (i) and (ii), in which we see *Wh* dependencies in Greek being licensable across clause boundaries while negative dependencies are not.

(i) Pjon$_i$ ipe   Pavlos   [oti   idhe t$_i$] $\rightarrow$ Wh-dependency licensed across clause boundary
    Who said.3sg   Paul   that saw.sg
    "Who did Paul say that he saw?"
(ii) *O   Pavlos dhen ipe   [oti idhe   KANENAN] $\rightarrow$ Neg dependency not licensed
    The Paul   not   said.3sg that saw.3sg n-person   across clause boundary
    "Paul didn't say that he saw anybody"

Swart & Sag (2002) and Giannakidou (2006) for further criticisms along these lines). In the spirit of Minimalism, it is favorable to seek out simplifying theories when possible.

A further issue is pointed out by Zeijlstra (2008), who claims that the Negative Absorption analysis and analyses like it lack explanatory power as to the typological distinctions that exist between NC languages. Ideally, an account of NC in terms of its semantics should also have a good deal to say about its syntactic behavior, a point on which Negative Absorption falls flat. For instance, an absorption mechanism as described in (11) does account for the Compositionality Problem, but it says nothing about the allowance or disallowance of SNMs in the presence of n-words, and furthermore it has no predictions one way or the other with regard to whether or not n-words will be licit in subject position. With this lack of explanatory adequacy in addition to the *ad hoc* character of Neg absorption being specific only to NC and otherwise unattested, this proposal could be seen as an instance of kicking the can down the road (See Giannakidou (2006) for a more comprehensive review).

One final note (which isn't really a criticism of the proposal itself), is that all of the data claiming that absorption (or Agree in the Haegeman & Lohndal (2010) update) unfolds in a stepwise fashion is from West Flemish. The scope of the proposal in that sense is therefore limited, at least for the time being until the idea is pursued for other NC languages as well.

2.2 N-words as special NPIs

2.2.1 Basic proposal

Unlike Negative Absorption, proposals in which n-words are special NPIs assume that n-words are inherently non-negative entities. The immediate advantage to such proposals is that they provide an answer to the Compositionality Problem and do not invoke any new mechanisms. Rather, in familiar form with typical NPIs (e.g. English's *any*), the one semantic negation we find in NC constructions comes from the licensor, in most cases an SNM.

(21)a. Gianni *(non) ha   telefonato a *nessuno*   (Italian)

   Gianni   NEG has called   to n.body

   "Gianni hasn't called anybody"

  b. Gianni has*(n't) called anybody

   Such similarities give the appearance that the n-word *nessuno* and the NPI *anybody* are closely related. Because of these similarities, scholars like Laka (1990) lump NC in with NPIs, while noting certain differences between the two otherwise similar phenomena.

   One primary difference noted between the two is licensing domains. In Greek for example, n-words are not licensed at a distance, but only locally or across "transparent" subjunctive clause boundaries. This is in contrast with regular NPIs, which are freely licensable at a distance. In the examples below, *oti* and *pu* are both indicative, while *na* is subjunctive. Note that only across *na* are n-words licensed.

(22)[4]a. O Pavlos dhen ipe   [oti idhe   kanenan/*KANENAN]   (Greek)

   The Paul   not   said.3sg that saw.3sg any-person/n-person

   "Paul didn't say he saw anybody"

  b. *Dhen lipame   [pu pligosa kanenan/KANENAN]

    not   be-sorry.1sg that hurt.1sg any-person/n-person

   "I don't regret that I hurt anybody"

  c. O   Pavlos dhen theli   [na dhi   KANENAN]

    the Paul   not want.3sg subj see.3sg n-person

   "Paul doesn't want to see anybody"

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[4] Following Giannakidou's conventions, NPIs are typed in lowercase letters, while n-words are typed in capital letters. This is necessary because in Greek, n-words are the same words as their NPI counterparts, only pronounced with stress (Giannakidou (1998)). Therefore, "NPIs" like *kanenan* will be glossed as *any-person* while "n-words" like *KANENAN* will be glossed as *n-person*.

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Farkas & Giannakidou (1996) and Reinhart (1997) further note that universal quantifiers exhibit the exact same clause-bounded behavior as n-words.

(23)[5]a. Kapjos kathijitis frondise   **kathe** fititi   s'afti ti   lista$_i$ [na **t**$_i$ vri dhulja]
          some   professor made-sure.3sg every student in thisthe   list   subj find.3sg job
          'Some professor made sure that every student in this list will find a job.'
      b. ∃ > ∀
      c. ∀> ∃

(24)a. Kapjos fititis   lipithike   [pu **kathe** kathijitis tis sxolis   apolithike]
          Some   student was-sorry.3sg that every professor the department got-fired.3sg
          'Some student regrets that every professor in the department got fired.'
      b. ∃ > ∀
      c. *∀> ∃

In (23), the universal quantifier *kathe* can scope over an indefinite from the matrix clause only if it is found in a subjunctive complement. In (24) however, such a reading is not possible. This has lead scholars like Giannakidou (2006) to conclude that the principle difference between n-words and regular NPIs is that n-words are universal quantifiers while NPIs are existential.

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[5] In (23)a, it seems to be taken for granted by Farkas & Giannakidou that the universal quantifier phrase introduced by *kathe* is interpreted in its original, unmoved position from below *na* in the embedded clause. However, this is not established, and it could very well be that the possibility of a ∀ > ∃ reading is only possible because the nominal phrase introduced by *kathe* raises into object position of the matrix clause. Examples of a similar construction in which *kathe* phrases do not raise into the matrix clause cannot show the ∀ > ∃ reading.

(i)a. Kapjos kathijitis frondise   I   gramateas [na   dosi tis etisis   se **kathe fititi**]
      Some   professor made-sure.3sg the secretary   subj. gives the applications to every student
      "Some professor made sure that the secretary gave the applications to every student"
    b. ∃ > ∀
    c. *∀ > ∃

Further discussion of the relevance of this is discussed in 2.2.2.

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Further evidence along these lines is presented by Choi (2011), who claims that *amwu*-N-*to* type n-words are in fact universal NPIs, in contrast with typical bare wh-word NPIs, which are existential. To demonstrate this, Choi employs the adverbial expressions *kyelkho* 'absolutely' and *celtaylo* 'absolutely', which always outscope negation.

(25) John-un   {kyelkho/celtaylo} Mary-lul   mannaci an hayssta   (Korean)
     John-TOP absolutely   Mary-ACC meet   not did
   a. "It is absolutely the case that John did not meet Mary."
   b. #"It is not absolutely the case that John met Mary."

Choi insinuates that since these adverbial expressions exist outside the scope of negation, then the subject position must also outscope negation[6]. We therefore expect only universal quantifiers to exist above *kyelkho*/*celtaylo* in order to give the proper ∀¬ reading rather than the illicit ∃¬ reading. Crucially, only *amwu*-N-*to* type n-words can exist in the subject position, while bare wh-type NPIs cannot.

(26)a. Amwuto {kyelkho/celtaylo} Mary-lul   mannaci an   hayssta
       Anyone absolutely   Mary-ACC meet   NOT did
     "No one is such that it is absolutely the case that he met Mary"
   b. ?*Nwu-ka   {kyelkho/celtaylo} Mary-lul   mannaci an   hayssta
       who-NOM absolutely   Mary-ACC meet   NOT did
      "No one is such that it is absolutely the case that he met Mary"

Thus, n-words (like Korean's *amwuto*) are argued to be universal quantifiers, in a separate class than typical existential NPIs.

---

[6] This is a rather dubious insinuation, and is further unsubstantiated in Choi (2011).

2.2.2 Issues with NPI analysis

While this approach lacks some of the theoretical drawbacks of the Negative Absorption approach, it still lacks a disciplined method of predicting distributions. For instance, if n-words are special NPIs, it is unexpected that they should appear in positions in which regular NPIs cannot. This is however, exactly what we find with n-words like Czech's *nikdo* 'nobody'. *Nikdo* can appear both above and below its licensing negation.

(27)a. Nikdo   nevola   (Czech)

    N-body NEG.calls

   "Nobody calls"

  b. Milan nevidi   nikoho

    Milan NEG.sees n-body

   "Milan doesn't see anybody"

In (27), n-words are freely licensed in subject position, above sentential negation, and object position, below sentential negation. NPIs on the other hand, are not permitted above their licensor, only below.

(28)a. *Anybody doesn't call

   b. Milan doesn't see anybody

It could be the argued that these two examples act this way due to the universal-existential distinction in which only universals (e.g. n-words like *nikdo*) can outscope negation (though see section 4.1 for evidence that negation actually outscopes subject position in Czech), while existentials (e.g. NPIs like English's *anybody*) must appear below negation. However, when we dig deeper we note that while NPIs are reliant upon overt negation for licensing, such is not the case with Italian n-word *nessuno*. In (29), no SNM is necessary.

(29) Nessuno ha telefonato   (Italian)
    N-body   has called
    "Nobody called"

    Additionally, Déprez & Martineau (2004) note as a criticism of this approach (one among several) that in Standard French, n-words behave quite differently than NPIs in that they are under no circumstances compatible with an SNM. More precisely, a DN reading is brought about when n-words co-occur with the French SNM *pas*. This behavior is entirely unexpected if n-words are NPIs since NPIs should be perfectly content to appear below negation. (See Mathieu (2001) for a list of further arguments against French n-words as NPIs.)

(30) Il   n'a   pas rencontré personne   (French)
    He neg.have NEG met   n.body
    "He did not meet NO ONE" (only acceptable as DN)

    Another problem was the one laid out in footnote 5, in which it was shown that the assumption that n-words and universal quantifiers share the same clause-bound behavior is not entirely accurate in that universal quantifiers are not permitted to scope above subjunctive clauses introduced by *na* when in the embedded object position. N-words on the other hand are freely licensed across *na* clauses even from the embedded object position.

(31)a. Kapjos kathijitis frondise   I gramateas [na   dosi tis etisis   se
      Some   professor made-sure.3sg the secretary subj. gives the applications to
     kathe fititi]
     every student
    "Some professor made sure that the secretary gave the applications to every
    student"
    b. $\exists > \forall$
    c. *$\forall > \exists$ (Greek)

17

(32) O   Pavlos dhen theli   [na   dhi   KANENAN]

    the Paul   not   want.3sg subj see.3sg   n-person

    "Paul doesn't want to see anybody"

It is therefore not proper to assert that n-words are universal based on data that claims they have the same clause-bound behavior, as this is empirically not the case in the Greek examples. And the Korean examples offered above in (26) as well are based upon the unsubstantiated assumption that the subject position is outside the scope of negation, making any conclusions drawn on that data dubious.

In conclusion, I believe that this proposal is on the right track in attempting to unite n-words and NPIs, however treating n-words as universal quantifiers and regular NPIs as existential quantifiers doesn't address all the questions, while at the same time is not sufficiently motivated empirically.

2.3 An Agree-based approach to Negative Concord

2.3.1 Background

This section will focus mainly on Zeijlstra (2004, 2008) to represent Agree-based approaches to NC. In Zeijlstra (2004, 2008), it is claimed that n-words are semantically non-negative indefinites which bear a [uNeg] feature. This immediately accounts for the compositionality problem. In typical Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001) fashion, these [uNeg] features must Agree with an [iNeg] feature in order to delete. According to the proposal, the presence of this feature forces the Merge of NegP with an [iNeg] bearing Op¬ in the spec of that NegP.

Using certain diagnostics, Zeijlstra (2008) attempts to tease apart the different types of SNM which appear in different languages. It is Zeijlstra's contention that languages whose sentential negation has XP status are unable to participate in Agree due to a lack of formal features on the head, and therefore are non-NC languages. Languages whose SNMs are X^0s on the other hand, are able to have their SNMs participate in

Agree relations, and therefore are given over to NC (though not necessarily, as Zeijlstra claims that some languages lack n-words).

The Agree system Zeijlstra incorporates is that of a 'reverse' Agree, such that goals c-command probes, which have to probe upwards. Zeijlstra claims it is [uNeg] features which act as probes, and the mechanism is multiple in nature (as seen in Hiraiwa (2001, 2005)). Zeijlstra follows Giannakidou (2000) in claiming that typological differences are split between strict and non-strict NC.

The difference between the two is that in strict NC languages, there is an [iNeg]-bearing operator just above the highest n-word/SNM (which Merges as a result of a [uNeg] feature being introduced). This means that the actual bearer of semantic negation is covert, and any negatively marked elements (n-word or SNM) bear a [uNeg] feature and are dependent upon Agreeing with this c-commanding covert operator (see (37) for an explicit example of this derivation). In non-strict languages, it is the SNM itself which bears [iNeg], meaning that all n-words must be c-commanded by the SNM. This creates an asymmetry in which n-words cannot appear in subject position above the SNM, an asymmetry as seen in (33) (see (38) for an explicit example of this derivation).

(33)a. *Nadie   no   vino   (Spanish)
         N.body NEG   came
   b.   No   vino   nadie
         Neg   came N.body
        "No one came"

Agree takes place as in (34) under this system.

(34)a. [$_{NegP}$ OP ¬[iNeg] [$_{vP}$ [B uNeg] [$_{vP}$ [C uNeg] [$_{vP}$ [D uNeg]]]] → Match
   b. [$_{NegP}$ OP ¬[iNeg] [$_{vP}$ [B uNeg] [$_{vP}$ [C uNeg] [$_{vP}$ [D uNeg]]]] → Multiple Agree
   c. [$_{NegP}$ OP ¬[iNeg] [$_{vP}$ [B ~~uNeg~~] [$_{vP}$ [C ~~uNeg~~] [$_{vP}$ [D ~~uNeg~~]]]]

Another distinction in NC language typology mentioned by Zeijlstra is the Proper vs. Non-proper NC distinction (cf. Giannakidou (2000)). Proper NC languages require that there be some pre-verbal negative marker to outscope *v*P, in order for the entire proposition to be negative. Because there is a scope marker above *v*P, then n-words are licit *v*P-internally. In non-proper NC languages, it is required that all quantifiers independently move out of *v*P, for the same reason of asserting scopal dominance (cf. the Neg Criterion from section 2.1.1, and the General Constraint on Negative Morphology from section 4.2). Italian is an example of a proper NC language, requiring the insertion of an SNM if all n-words are *v*P-internal, and West Flemish is an example of a non-proper NC language, with all n-words scrambling above *v*P (cf. (14)).

(35) Gianni *(non) telefona a   nessuno   (Italian)

        Gianni   NEG calls   to n-body

         'Gianni doesn't call anybody'

(36) …da   Valère niemand (nie) kent   (West Flemish)

        …that Valère n-body   NEG knows

        '…that Valère doesn't know anybody'

Zeijlstra notes that the ability of the SNM in West Flemish to drop is due to the fact that all the n-words scramble above *v*P to assert scope, so the insertion of an additional scopal marker *nie* becomes optional.

2.3.2 Application

An example of the application of Zeijlstra's proposal for strict NC languages like Czech is as follows in (37).

(37)a. Dnes   nikdo   nevola   (Czech)

    Today n.body   NEG.calls

   "Today nobody is calling"

   b. [$_{NegP}$ OP¬ $_{[iNeg]}$ [$_{TP}$ nikdo $_{[uNeg]}$ nevola $_{[uNeg]}$]]

Note that the n-word *nikdo* 'nobody' appears in subject position above the SNM *ne* attached to the verb. This is licit because a null negative operator Merges arbitrarily above the highest n-word for strict NC languages.

    As for non-strict NC languages, the [iNeg] feature is borne by the SNM itself.

(38)a. Gianni non   telefona a   nessuno   (Italian)

   Gianni NEG calls   to n.body

  "Gianni doesn't call anybody"

   b. [$_{TP}$ Gianni [$_{NegP}$ non $_{[iNeg]}$ telefona [$_{vP}$ a nessuno $_{[uNeg]}$]]]

Because the [iNeg] feature is on the SNM, no n-word may appear above it, since the n-word would be unable to find a goal above itself and delete its [uNeg] feature.

(39)a. *Ieri   nessuno non ha   telefonato a nessuno

   Yesterday n.body   NEG has called   to n.body

  "Yesterday nobody called anybody"

   b. [$_{CP}$ Ieri   nessuno$_{[uNeg]}$ [$_{NegP}$ non$_{[iNeg]}$ ha telefonato a nessuno

             ⟵——✕——⌐

    N-words may however appear in subject position without an SNM, in which case Zeijlstra posits that non-strict NC languages behave like strict NC languages; i.e. a null negative operator which bears [iNeg] is Merged above the highest n-word, allowing the subject n-word to delete its [uNeg] feature.

(40)a. Ieri   nessuno ha telefonato a nessuno

      Yesterday n.body   has called   to n.body

    "Yesteryday nobody called anybody"

   b. [Ieri Op¬ [iNeg] [TP nessuno [uNeg] ha telefonato a nessuno [uNeg]]]

2.3.3 Issues with Zeijlstra's proposal

Zeijlstra's proposal raises both empirical and theoretical issues. The empirical issues
have been discussed in detail in Haegeman & Lohndal (2010), and deal mostly with
Zeijlstra's application of Multiple Agree. I will not review these here. Apart from the
criticisms in H&L, there are however other issues which I will discuss.

     The first of these is the stipulatory nature of the position of negation as
immediately c-commanding the highest n-word in strict NC languages. This claim poses
two immediate problems. The first is that it has no respect for any hierarchy of
projections. For instance in colloquial Standard French[7] there at least four places in
which an [iNeg] feature may Merge.

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[7] Though French is not typically mentioned among strict-NC languages, it is by Zeijlstra's own
definition strict in that it is obvious that the SNM *pas* is not contributing [iNeg], as it is not even
present in instances of NC.

(41)a. Je l'ai donné à OP$_{[iNeg]}$ personne$_{[uNeg]}$ (Above IO)

    I it.have given to N.body

    "I didn't give it to anybody"

  b. J'ai vu OP$_{[iNeg]}$ personne$_{[uNeg]}$ hier soir (Above DO)

    I.have seen N.body yesterday night

    "I didn't see anybody last night"

  c. J'ai pas$_{[iNeg]}$ vu ce film (on SNM)

    I.have NEG seen that movie

    "I haven't seen that movie"

  d. OP$_{[iNeg]}$ Personne$_{[uNeg]}$ n'a rien$_{[uNeg]}$ fait toute la journée (Above Subj)

    N.body neg.has nothing done all the day

    "Nobody has done anything all day"

The second is that when generating a sentence like (41)d, in which there are multiple n-words, it is unclear how the speaker will know where to place the negative operator without creating a look-ahead problem[8]. If we assume that a [uNeg] feature forces the immediate Merge of an [iNeg]-bearing operator, then that means the operator will originally Merge above *rien* 'nothing' in the DO position, before again having to re-Merge above *personne* 'nobody' in subject position. There are two ways this could take place: external Merge or internal Merge. It could be argued that a negative operator raises its way through the specifier of each n-word (internal Merge). However, if this were the case, then that would assume that the [uNeg] feature on *personne* was probing in a downward fashion for [iNeg], something which this reverse Agree proposal does not allow[9]. If it were external Merge then that would entail a second [iNeg] feature, which would bring us back to the Compositionality Problem. Stated another way, it is unclear how such derivations Converge under this proposal.

---

[8] As Zeijlstra is not explicit in how such derivations take place, the author is extrapolating and speculating on the following point.
[9] Furthermore, a derivation such as this would entail one phrase probing out another phrase, which is an atypical situation. In most Agree systems, it is typically heads probing phrases or phrases probing heads.

Negative Concord and Valuation of Anti-Veridicity

A further issue to consider is Zeijlstra's reliance upon the strict vs. non-strict typological distinction. The distinction is dubious in that some languages seem to behave as both. Recall that strict-NC languages are characterized by an SNM with [uNeg], and a null operator c-commanding the highest n-word, while in non-strict NC languages it is the SNM itself which bears [iNeg]. This has the prediction that non-strict NC languages should not allow n-words in subject position above the canonical placement of SNMs, because they would be unable to check their [uNeg] features. However, Italian does allow n-words in subject position, if unaccompanied by an SNM.

(42)a. Gianni non telefona a nessuno   (Italian)
         Gianni NEG calls   to n.body
       "Gianni doesn't call anybody"
     b. [$_{TP}$ Gianni [$_{NegP}$ non $_{[iNeg]}$ telefona [$_{vP}$ a nessuno $_{[uNeg]}$]]]

(43)a. Ieri   nessuno ha telefonato a nessuno
         Yesterday n.body   has called   to n.body
       "Yesteryday nobody called anybody"
     b. [Ieri Op¬ $_{[iNeg]}$ [$_{TP}$ nessuno $_{[uNeg]}$ ha telefonato a nessuno $_{[uNeg]}$]]

Zeijlstra gets around this problem by assuming that in (42), *non* bears [iNeg] while in (43) a negative operator does (see (38-40 above). But if some languages ride the fence, then perhaps a strict binary distinction should be reshaped, or at least drawn along other lines (see also Khanjian (2010) for an argument that West Armenian behaves neither as a prototypical strict NC language nor as a prototypical non-strict NC language.)

       A final issue I will address is that the Agree mechanism as used by Zeijlstra is rather "undisciplined" in that it allows both heads and phrases to act as probes. Agree as originally defined (Chomsky (1995)) has it that only heads probe for phrases, and in downward fashion. Reverse Agree therefore implies that phrases should probe upward for heads. However, in (37) of this thesis (Zeijlstra (2008)'s 62 and 64), Zeijlstra has it that both the verbal element (presumably a head) *nevola* and the phrase *nikdo* act as probes.

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2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I hope to have provided a brief glimpse into three of the most salient prior attempts to capture NC. In doing so, I tried to highlight certain problems which I will address and hope to account for with my proposal. I summarize and enumerate the goals for my proposal in (44).

(44) i. Account for the compositionality problem with independently motivated
     mechanisms
  ii. Account for the typological differences between NC languages in a manner that
     is a direct result of the proposal itself
  iii. Account for the differences in distribution between n-words and indefinite NPIs
  iv. Avoid the theoretical problems of Zeijlstra discussed in section 2.3.3.

3. Analysis of Negative Concord in an English of the Southern US

3.1 Negative elements and NC in ESUS

ESUS is a variety of American English spoken (at least) in Florida, which exhibits NC behavior. The term ESUS does not exist in any sociolinguistic resources, and was coined by the author to loosely define a continuum of dialects of English characterized by certain 'southernisms' and Negative Concord. The data used from ESUS in this thesis is from the author himself, and has been agreed upon (with minor variation) to a large extent by a group of ten of the author's peers, all growing up in the Tampa Bay area as members of the lower-middle class and born between 1983 and 1989.

As stated, ESUS is an NC dialect of English. This means that contrary to Standard English, words such as *no one*, *nobody*, *no* + NP, *nothing*, *no more*, *never*, and others, are licit under negation without contributing extra negation to the semantics. Some examples are as follows.

(45)a. Ain't *no one* eat *nothing* (=No one ate anything)   (ESUS)

    b. No one ate nothing (=Somebody DID eat something)   (SE)

(46)a. Tom ain't talk to *nobody* (=Tom didn't talk to anybody)   (ESUS)

    b. Tom didn't talk to nobody (Tom talked to SOMEBODY)   (SE)

(47)a. I don't eat there *no more* (=I don't eat there anymore)   (ESUS)

    b. *I don't eat there no more   (SE)

It is possible for ESUS to express DN, and this is done by either (i) adding a second SNM in the form of *not*, or (ii) putting exhaustive focus on an n-word (DN in ESUS will be the focus of chapter 6, in which I claim focus-induced DN isn't actually Double Negation).

(48)a. ?Ain't no one *not* go to the store (=There is no one who didn't go to the store)

(ESUS)

   b. He ain't talk to NOBODY (=He did talk to SOMEBODY)

      The SNM in ESUS is the marker *–n't*, which is realized in T^0 attached to a modal/auxiliary. This is typified by *ain't*[10], but can appear attached to other auxiliaries as well.

(49) I ai*n't* seen that movie yet (=I haven't seen that movie yet)

(50) Ca*n't* no one beat the Thunder when KD gets hot (=Nobody can beat the Thunder

                       when KD gets hot)

Sentences containing *–n't* always render NC, and cannot license *any*-type indefinites, such as *anything* or *anybody*.

(51)?*Jennifer ain't call anybody (=Jennifer didn't call anybody)

Without the SNM *–n't*, NC is marginal[11].

(52) ?*No one said nothing to me (=No one said anything to me)

---

[10] ESUS allows *ain't* to replace any form of *be* in the present tense, any form of perfective *have* in the present tense, and depending on speaker, support *do* in past tense.

(i)a. I am not going → I ain't going
   b. You are not up to the challenge → You ain't up to the challenge
   c. He is not eating right now → He ain't eating right now

(ii)a. I have never been there → I ain't never been there
   b. He has not taken a shower yet → He ain't taken a shower yet

(iii)a. I didn't do anything → I ain't do nothing

[11] There is significant speaker variation with forms such as these. However, the proposal to come happily accounts for these data as well, specifically by altering the language-specific placement of negation and how the insertion of SNMs is dealt with. Such forms are typologically attested in other languages.

(53) *No one went nowhere last night (=??No one went anywhere last night)

As for allowing n-words in subject position, this is also disallowed.

(54) ?*No one ain't going to the store today (=??No one is going to the store today)

However, if a subject n-word remains in-situ, below the SNM in T^0, then the sentence become licit.

(55) (There) Ain't no one going to the store today (=No one is going to the store today)

The reader will recall from data (4)-(8) that NC languages can differ with the allowance/disallowance of subject n-words, and also with how SNMs are treated. The data offered here in section 3.1 show that ESUS has mandatory SNM insertion while disallowing subject n-words (unless they remain in-situ below T).

3.2 Proposal

In order to achieve my objective of accounting for NC cross-linguistically, it is necessary that I make explicit certain assumptions. As for the syntax of negation itself, I follow Laka (1990) in assuming that there are two places from which it may project. One such place is in the middle field below TP, and the second place is in the left periphery, above TP. Let's call the first type 'Low Negation', and the second type 'High Negation'. A schematic of each is seen in (56).

(56) Low Negation   High Negation

a.   b.

```
        TP                              NegP
       /  \                            /    \
     NegP                             TP
     /  \                            /  \
        VP                              VP
```
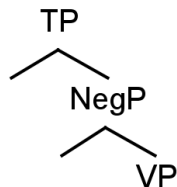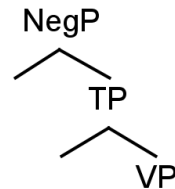
The form of Agree I adopt is a "reverse" Agree. While not standard, the reverse Agree analysis is a natural one when multiple syntactic elements are dependent upon a single, c-commanding head, as would be the case with multiple n-words being dependent on a single negative operator (for other proposals of reverse Agree systems, see Baker (2008), Bjorkman (2011), Zeijlstra (2012); cf. Preminger (2013) for a view that holds reverse Agree as untenable). Agree can be said to proceed as follows (Wurmbrand (2012:154)):

(57) A feature F: __ on a head α is valued by a feature F: val on β, iff

       i. β asymmetrically c-commands α AND

       ii. There is no γ, γ distinct from β, with a valued interpretable feature F such that γ c-commands α and is c-commanded by β

I take the [iNeg:Neg] feature, that is a valued interpretable feature, to be housed in a sub-TP NegP in ESUS. This means it is a low negation language as per (56). Scope data from (58) show the interpretation of negation to be below the subject (while this may seem obvious, we will see in section 4.1 that Czech offers only the opposite scope reading.)
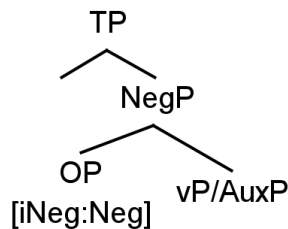
(58) Most of them ain't eat nothing   (ESUS)

    *¬ > most: "There isn't anything that most of them ate."

    most > ¬: "Most of them didn't eat anything.

This renders ESUS as having the following structure (see 61-63 for concrete examples).

(59)

```
              TP
             /\
            /  \
          NegP
         /\
        /  \
      OP      vP/AuxP
   [iNeg:Neg]
```

As for the nature of n-words, I claim that they are semantically non-negative indefinites which Merge unvalued (i.e. [indef:__]), and Agree (Chomsky (1995), (2000), (2001)) with the closest anti-veridical (or *negative*) feature.[12]

(60)[$_{TP}$ I [$_{T'}$ ain't [$_{NegP}$ Op$_{a\text{-veridical}}$ [$_{vP}$ see *x-one*]]]]   x-one → no one

---

[12] In fact, indefinites in general seem to show a strong sensitivity to veridicality-like features (cf. Biberauer & Roberts (2011) for original insight
.

(i)a. [$_{CP}$ OP$_{veridical}$ [$_{TP}$ I saw *x-one*]]   x-one → someone
   b. [$_{CP}$ if$_{non\text{-veridical}}$ [$_{TP}$ you see *x-one*]]   x-one → anyone
   c. [$_{TP}$ I $_{T'}$ ain't$_{anti\text{-veridical}}$ [$_{vP}$ see *x-one*]]   x-one → no one

But issues of veridicity and PPIs such as *someone* go beyond the scope of this thesis, which is principally concerned with Negative Concord, and to a lesser extent with n-words and their relation to nominal NPIs.

NC is therefore a natural reflex of indefinites being placed under the scope of a negative operator, meaning the phenomenon can be thought of as valuation rather than licensing. Doing away with licensing is a theoretical simplification of the system, and is therefore desirable.[13]

Negative Concord is the result of unvalued indefinites probing upwards in search of valuation as described in (57), and getting that valuation from the negative operator housed in Neg^0.

(61)a. Tom ain't give nothing to nobody (=Tom didn't give anything to anybody)
(ESUS)

b[14].
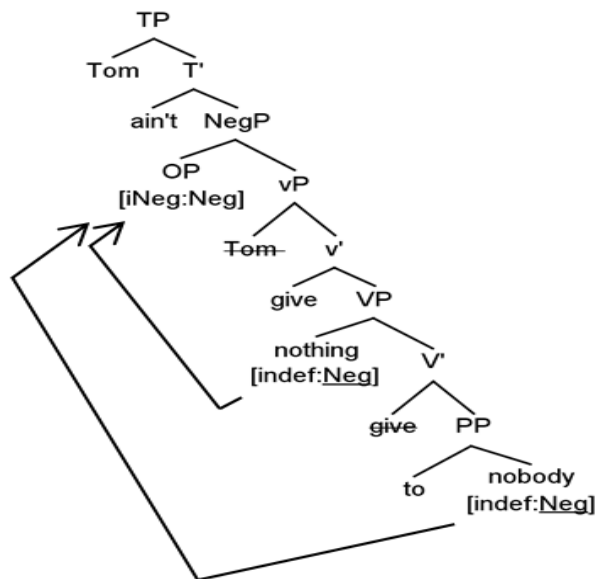
The position of negation below TP in this language makes the prediction that negative indefinites (n-words) should be disallowed in the usual subject position of [spec, TP], as there would be no available goal in the probe's search space to value the indefinite as negative. This prediction is borne out.

---

[13] Though I will continue to use the term *licensing* as a convenience.

[14] The valuations of *nothing* and *nobody* are underlined and appear as Neg. This has the meaning that they are originally unvalued, i.e. *x-thing* and *x-body* respectively, but are valued within the course of the derivation.

(62)a. *?No one ain't eat nothing (= No one ate anything)

b.

TP
No one T'
[indef:__]
ain't NegP
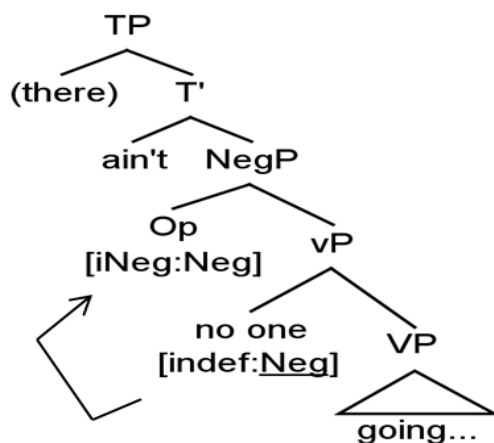Op vP
[iNeg:Neg]
eat nothing
[indef:Neg]
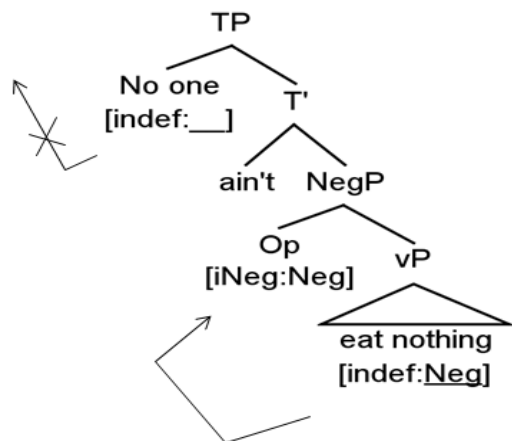
ESUS does allow negative indefinite subjects however, if they remain in-situ in [spec,*v*P], below the negative operator[15].

(63)a. (There) ain't no one going to school today (= There is no one going to school today)

b.

TP
(there) T'
ain't NegP
Op vP
[iNeg:Neg]
no one VP
[indef:Neg]
going…

---

[15] It should be noted that since the expletive *there* is (63) is optional, the EPP feature on T is able to be satisfied by covert expletives.

Presumably, if ESUS had high negation, then negative indefinites would be permitted in typical subject position and the scope data in (58) would be different. This is indeed what we see in languages like Czech, as will be in seen in chapter 4.

3.3 Distribution of n-words vs. any-type indefinites

In the proposal above we saw that indefinites were sensitive to anti-veridicity, which resulted in valuation as n-words. Following De Swart (2010: section 1.3.2) – and as insinuated in footnote 12 – indefinites also seem to be sensitive to non-veridicity as well, with non-veridicity being a sufficient (though not necessary) condition for the licensing of NPIs (such as *any*-type indefinites[16]).

(64) [$_{CP}$ if$_{non\text{-}veridical}$ [$_{TP}$ you see *x-one*]]   x-one $\rightarrow$ anyone

In (64), the non-veridical feature on *if* "licenses" the NPI and values the indefinite as *anyone*. That is, I claim that n-words and NPIs are both the result of valuation of an indefinite, with the difference being that n-words require a c-commanding anti-veridical feature (like the one on a negative operator), while NPIs require (at least) a c-commanding non-veridical feature, that is also crucially NOT anti-veridical – lest the indefinite be valued as an n-word and not an NPI. This leaves us with a constraint that enables us to predict the distribution between n-words and NPIs in a principled manner.

(65) Constraint on valuation of n-words vs. NPIs

 a. N-words are the result of indefinites being valued by a c-commanding anti-veridical feature, with no intervening feature that would value them otherwise, such as non-veridicity.

---

[16] The term *any-type indefinite* or *nominal* indefinite will henceforth be used interchangeably with *NPI*, leaving aside the issue of non-nominal NPIs such as *at all* in sentences like e.g. *I didn't like the film at all*.

b. NPIs are the result of indefinites being valued by a c-commanding NPI licensing feature (such as non-veridicity), with no intervening feature that would value them otherwise, such as anti-veridicity

Now, recall that one of the weaknesses of the "n-word as NPI" approach was that the distributions of n-words and NPIs were so different, with no principled way of predicting these distributions. For example, there is an apparent difference in boundedness conditions between n-words and *any*-type indefinites, in which n-words are seemingly clause-bounded while this apparently isn't true of their NPI counterparts.

(66)a. Ain't no one say [that you were *anywhere* near the accident last night] (ESUS)

b. *Ain't no one say [that you were *nowhere* near the accident last night]

Since I am claiming that both n-words and *any*-type indefinites are a result of the same process, i.e. indefinite valuation by a feature of non/anti-veridicity, I must account for this apparent difference in distribution. And this in fact can be explained by showing that, despite appearances, there is no difference in boundedness conditions, with both *anywhere* and *nowhere* type indefinites actually being clause-bounded.

I propose that (66)a is grammatical because NEG + *say* – which is non-factive – selects for a complementizer *that* which bears a non-veridical feature. We can tell that a non-veridical feature is present on *that* because the embedded clause has no implicature one way or the other as to the veracity of the statement. i.e. Just because nobody said you were anywhere near the accident, does not imply that you were not in fact near the accident, it just means nobody said it. The point can be made even clearer when we realize that *that* can readily be replaced with *whether*, a prototypical indicator of non-veridicity, while still maintaining the same meaning.
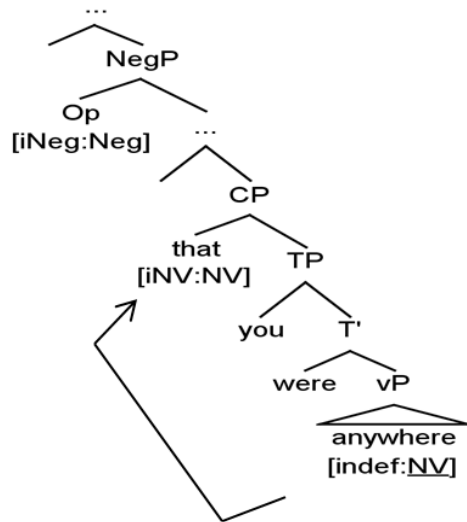
(66)a' Ain't no one say [**whether** you were *anywhere* near the accident last night][17]

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[17] The grammaticality of this sentence is perhaps a bit degraded, as it seems to impose a register clash using *whether* with NC. However, that *that* can be re-interpreted as *whether* is without question.

As non-veridical features select for *any*-type indefinites as opposed to n-words (see (65)), (66)a is grammatical (non-veridical features are schematized as [iNV:NV]).
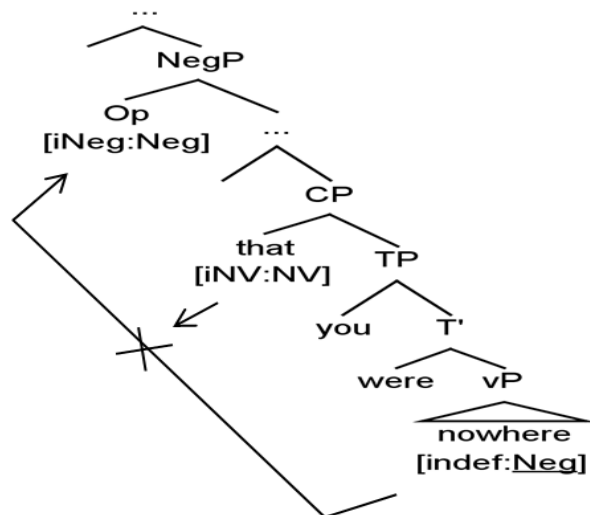
(67)[…that you were anywhere near the accident last night]

```
            ...
          /\
         NegP
        /  \
      Op    ...
  [iNeg:Neg] \
              CP
             /  \
          that    TP
        [iNV:NV]  /\
               you   T'
                    /  \
                 were    vP
                       /‾‾‾\
                      anywhere
                      [indef:NV]
```

The explanation for (66)b's ungrammaticality therefore follows naturally, because it would be a mismatch between the closest valuing feature and the indefinite's value. In other words, the non-veridical feature is intervening between the indefinite probe and the negative goal in the matrix clause, meaning the indefinite cannot be valued negative and an n-word cannot appear.

(68) *[…that you were nowhere near the accident last night]

```
              ...
          ╱        ╲
         NegP
      ╱      ╲
    Op         ...
 [iNeg:Neg]   ╱  ╲
             CP
           ╱    ╲
        that      TP
      [iNV:NV]   ╱  ╲
              you    T'
                   ╱   ╲
                 were    vP
                      ╱      ╲
                    nowhere
                  [indef:Neg]
```

Therefore, both n-words and *any*-type indefinites share the same clause-bounded characteristic, which is due to the fact that they take on the value of the closest feature of veridicity, which will be present on any C (except apparently subjunctive complementizers, as is seen in Greek below). So while *any*-types give the appearance of being licensed at a distance, there is in fact an intervening non-veridical feature in the embedded C which cuts it off from taking on the value of the embedded negation. This commonality in licensing domains is exactly what one would expect if n-words and NPIs were derived from the same mechanism, as I claim.

This makes the interesting prediction that if there were no C to block negative valuation, then n-words would be licensable across a clause boundary. This is indeed the case, as n-words are licit across defective T's.

(69) I don't want [$_{TP}$ to go *nowhere*][18]
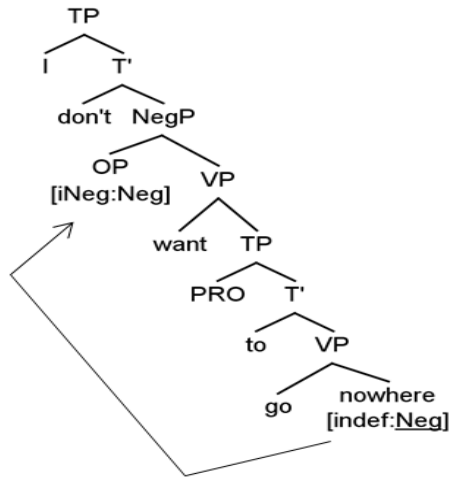
This explanation is also in perfect accord with the Greek data in (22), repeated as (70)-(72). In (70) we see an example of a non-factive (non-veridical) complementizer *oti* licensing only a non-veridical NPI (like ESUS's *any*-type indefinites) and blocking n-word valuation (70b).

(70)a. O   Pavlos dhen ipe   [oti idhe   kanenan/*KANENAN]   (Greek)
        The Paul   not   said.3sg that saw.3sg n-person
        "Paul didn't say he saw anybody"
   b. … dhen$_{[iNeg:Neg]}$ … oti$_{[iNV:NV]}$ … KANENAN$_{[indef:\underline{Neg}]}$
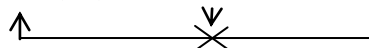
In (71) we see a factive (veridical) complementizer allowing neither the non-veridical *any*-type *kanenan* nor the n-word *KANENAN*, as the complementizer blocks valuation of non/anti-veridical indefinites.

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[18] This sentence is crucially pronounced as *I don't **wanna** go nowhere*. *Want* and *to* are separate in the example to delineate the clause boundary.
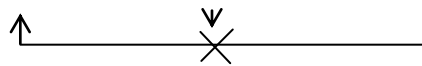
(71)a. *Dhen lipame   [pu   pligosa   kanenan/KANENAN]

     not   be-sorry.1sg that hurt.1sg n-person

   "I don't regret that I hurt anybody"

  b. … dhen$_{[iNeg:Neg]}$ ... pu$_{[iVer:Ver]}$ … kanenan/KANENAN
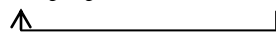

In (72) we see that *na* is invisible to n-word licensing, which is not surprising as subjunctive complementizers are commonly understood to lack features of veridicity and thus there is no intervener.

(72)a. O   Pavlos dhen theli   [na   dhi   KANENAN]

     the Paul   not   want.3sg subj see.3sg n-person

   "Paul doesn't want to see anybody"

  b. … dhen$_{[iNeg:Neg]}$ … na … KANENAN$_{[indef:Neg]}$

    One final piece of evidence for the clause-internal "licensing" of *any* comes from sentences like the following, in which the verb *deny* is unable to license an NPI on its own, but selects for a non-veridical complementizer which *is* able to license an NPI.

(73)a. *I denied anything[19]

   b. I denied that I had said anything

    This account is similar in nature to the proposal of de Cuba (2011) which accounts for the licensing of NPIs in embedded clauses by an extra operator in the

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[19] The author believes the inability of non-factive verbs like *deny* to directly license NPIs lies with the idea that features of (non)veridicity (which are typical NPI licensors) are restricted to functional categories, as they are discourse-oriented. Modals also appear to fall under this category.

(i) Anyone can ride the train for free from 12pm to 2pm

This is unsurprising once we recall that modals introduce possible worlds, and thus are prime examples of non-veridicity. The reader will note that the modal scopes over the subject in (i), i.e. $\Diamond \forall x$ rather than $\exists x \Diamond$, allowing for valuation of the indefinite as *anyone*; cf. (60)b.

embedded left periphery selected only by non-factive verbs in the matrix clause (see (74)a). According to de Cuba, factive verbs do not select for this NPI-licensing operator in embedded clauses, and thus sentences like (74)b are not licit.

(74)a. I don't believe [OP that John lifted *a finger*]

  b. #I don't regret [that John lifted *a finger*][20]

  Under this analysis, it is the extra OP in the left periphery of the embedded clause which licenses NPIs rather than just negation itself. For example, NEG + *believe* would select for this NPI-licensing OP since it is a non-factive verb, while NEG + *regret*, being factive, would not.

De Cuba assumes an operator, whereas I happen to follow Laka (1990) and take the stance that the licenser of the NPI is directly on the complementizer since certain languages possess lexical complementizers which express (non)veridicity, like *whether* in English (see (66)a'). While I happen to take the stance that lexical items themselves are capable of possessing the necessary features without the need of a separate operator, nothing crucial depends on this one way or the other.

3.4 Dummy negation

It is of course the fact that not all negative sentences in ESUS contain an n-word to morpho-phonologically realize the negation of the null negative operator. An example without such an indefinite is seen as in (75).

(75) Tommy ain't going to school today (=Tommy isn't going to school today)
    (ESUS)

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[20] It is natural to assume that ungrammaticality here is the result of the fact that factive verbs select for veridical complementizers. This stands to reason as since it is factive, it selects for a feature that assigns a truth value of 1 to the proposition; i.e. is veridical. Compare against (65).

I propose that the null negative operator realizes itself as the SNM *–n't* to protect against going unrealized phonologically. That is, SNMs like *–n't* are the product of late insertion to make sure that the operator has a chance to "discharge" its valuation and cue the listener into the fact that an utterance is negative.

Now, this phonological realization of the negative operator as the SNM is obligatory in ESUS, regardless of whether or not there are n-words present, but recall that some languages do not require SNMs if other negative morphology is available.

(76) da   Valère   niemand (niet) kent   (West Flemish)

     that Valère   n.body   (not) knows

     "that Valère doesn't know anyone"

This cross-linguistic variation with how languages deal with the insertion of SNMs, and the fact that SNMs are often morphologically attached to verbs, strongly suggests that SNMs are morpho-phonological in nature and the product of late insertion. As such, the variation seen in (6)-(8) is dependent upon how each language's negation chooses to discharge its valuation; whether obligatorily, optionally, or only as a last resort. I follow Giannakidou (2000) and Zeijlstra (2008) in assuming that the obligatory use of SNMs ensures that negation has a scope marker over the propositional predication (i.e. *v*P), thus allowing negative morphology (i.e. n-words) to appear *v*P-internal (e.g. as in ESUS). In order for use of SNMs to be optional (e.g. West Flemish) or forbidden (e.g. with pre-verbal n-words in Romance), there must already be at least one instance of negative morphology outscoping *v*P (see section 4.2 for an explicit definition of a constraint along these lines).

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I hope to have shown that NC is the result of upward probing indefinites in search of valuation, which get that valuation from the actual bearers of semantic negation, negative operators housed in Neg^0. In addition, non-veridical features on

embedded complementizers are capable of giving the appearance of NPIs being licensed at a distance, but in fact NPIs share the same clause-bounded distribution as n-words. This gives us a principled account of where n-words fit into the grand scheme of things with regard to NPIs.

As for SNMs, these are the result of late insertion and are (i) a "last resort" against a negative operator's going unrealized, and (ii) markers of negation's explicit scope over propositions. If NC really is the negative valuation of indefinites, it is not surprising that SNMs are derived separately from NC, as SNMs are of a different syntactic category than indefinites.

4. Extension to and Evidence from Other Languages

4.1 Czech – high negation NC language

Having seen how my proposal accounts for ESUS, it is now prudent to examine other typologically different languages. Recall that, according to Zeijlstra (2004, 2008), Czech is a strict NC language. What that means is that the SNM bears [uNeg] and semantic negation is Merged directly above the highest n-word. This works as in (37), repeated here as (77).

(77)a. Dnes   nikdo   nevola   (Czech)
     Today n.body   NEG.calls
   "Today nobody is calling"
    b. [$_{NegP}$ OP¬ $_{[iNeg]}$ [$_{TP}$ nikdo $_{[uNeg]}$ nevola $_{[uNeg]}$]]

      This approach accounts for Czech's allowance of n-words in subject position, since the negation would arbitrarily Merge higher than the subject, in effect licensing it. However, as I mentioned earlier, not only is this account stipulative and irreverent towards any hierarchy of functional projections, it is also empirically insufficient to account for all the data. Examine the following scope data.

(78)a. Milan moc   nejedl
    Milan much Neg.eat.Perf
   ¬ > much: 'Milan hasn't eaten much'
   *much > ¬: 'There is much that Milan didn't eat'

      Here, the highest n-word according to Zeijlstra is the SNM. This means the representation should be as follows per his proposal:

(78)b. [$_{TP}$ Milan [$_{vP}$ much [$_{NegP}$ OP¬$_{[iNeg]}$ Neg.eat.Perf$_{[uNeg]}$]]]

Under such a proposal, the scope data should be contrary to the facts in (78)a.

However, the scope data in (78)a follow naturally if we remind ourselves of Laka's generalization that negation may be high or low depending on language. That is, Czech seems to possess a structure with high negation as seen in (56)b, repeated here.

(56)b.

NegP
／＼
    TP
   ／＼
     VP
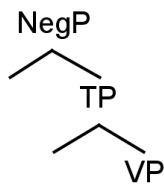
In addition to accounting for the scope data we see, under my proposal high negation in Czech would also suggest that n-words should be licit in subject position. This is exactly what we find.

(79)a. Dnes nikdo   nevola

    Today N.body Neg.calls

   "Today nobody is calling"

    b. [$_{CP}$ Today [$_{NegP}$ Op$_{[iNeg:Neg]}$ [$_{TP}$ n.body$_{[uNeg:Neg]}$ Neg.calls]]]

With high negation now established, my proposal extends naturally, with n-words probing upwards and finding negative valuation even from subject position.
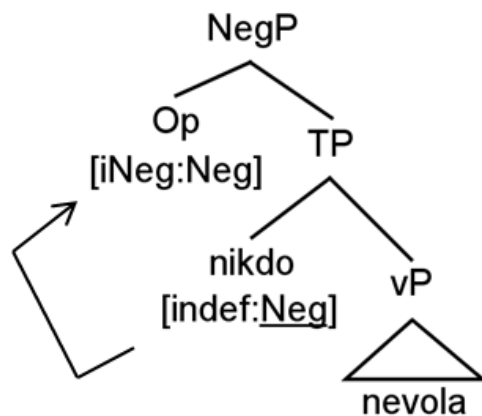
43

Negative Concord and Valuation of Anti-Veridicity

(80)a. Nikdo nevola

   N.body Neg.calls

  "Nobody calls"

 b.

        As for how Czech deals with the insertion of SNMs, they are mandatory in
Czech, similar to ESUS.

(80)c. Nikdo   *(ne)vola

   N.body (Neg).calls

  "Nobody calls"

        When compared to Zeijlstra's strict NC approach, this account is not only non-
stipulative in that it has a rigid position for negation in Czech, it also has a wider breadth
of explanatory accuracy with regard to scope data.

4.2 A common puzzle from Negative Concord in Romance

A common puzzle which has received much attention in the literature (Zanuttini (1991),
Alonso-Ovalle & Guerzoni (2004), Giannakidou (2006), among others)) is found in
examples like the following from Spanish.

(81)a. Nadie (*no) comió   (Spanish)

   b. *(No) comió nadie

     Neg N-one ate

     "No one ate"

The puzzle is that *nadie* 'no one' seems to be able to instantiate negation itself in (81)a while in (81)b it is acting like a polarity item, necessitating the presence of the SNM *no*.

     I propose that this puzzle can be explained by my proposal if we assume that Spanish has high negation and an XP-V-S-O word order, as argued for by Zubizaretta (1998) (see also Haegeman & Zanuttini (1996) and Zanuttini (1997) for argument that Spanish negation exists above T^0). The idea behind the word order is that the verb, which has raised to T, bears verbal agreement which has the categorical status of pronouns in non-pro-drop languages (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998)). This allows V raising to T to check the EPP feature of T, therefore not necessitating nominal movement to [spec, TP]. The XP to the left of the raised verb represents possible phrases existing in the left periphery (Rizzi (1997)), with possibly multiple topics or a lone exhaustive focus immediately preceding the verb[21]. Thus, preverbal subjects have A' status (Ordonez (1997), Uribe-Etxebarria (2013)).

     Now, it is a well-known fact that pre-verbal n-words in Spanish and most Romance languages are contrastively focused (Franco & Landa (2006)). In an example like (81)a then, I propose that the n-word undergoes A'-movement (associated with the

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[21] Zubizaretta (1998) argues for this by saying that focus is syncretic with T, and therefore must be adjacent to the verb in T. She offers the following (her (6)a, b and (7)a, b from Chapter 3) to show that focused elements must be verb-adjacent, and topics therefore must precede them. See her paper for more discussion on focus-topic orderings.

(i)a. *Las ESPINACAS, Pedro trajo   (y   no las papas) .
    the spinach   Pedro brought (and not the potatoes)
  b. *Con MARiA, Pedro hablo (y   no con Marta).
    with Maria   Pedro spoke (and not with Marta)
(ii)a. (Estoy segura que) Pedro, las ESPINACAS trajo   (y   no las papas)
     ((I)am sure   that) Pedro the spinach   brought (and not the potatoes)
  b. (Estoy segura que) Pedro, con MARiA   hablo   (y   no con Marta)
     ((I)am sure   that) Pedro with Marfa   spoke (and not with Marta)

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focus feature) immediately to the left of the finite verb, in order to check its focus feature, and at the same time receiving negative valuation.

(82) Nadie comió = No one ate
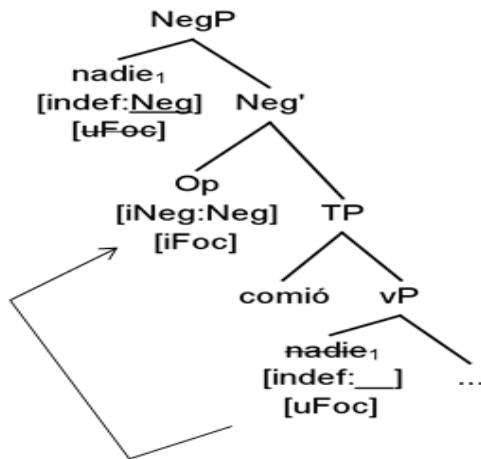
    In cases where no such focus feature exists on NegP[22], the indefinite remains in-situ in its post-verbal position and is valued at a distance.

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[22] If one were to follow Franco & Landa (2006) and Frascarelli (2000) exactly, the negative feature would be associated with the focus projection rather than the other way around. However, given the topic of this thesis I must admit some bias. Ultimately however, it is not important where the Neg feature actually lives, as both are above T and therefore both compatible with my proposal.

(83) No comió nadie = No one ate
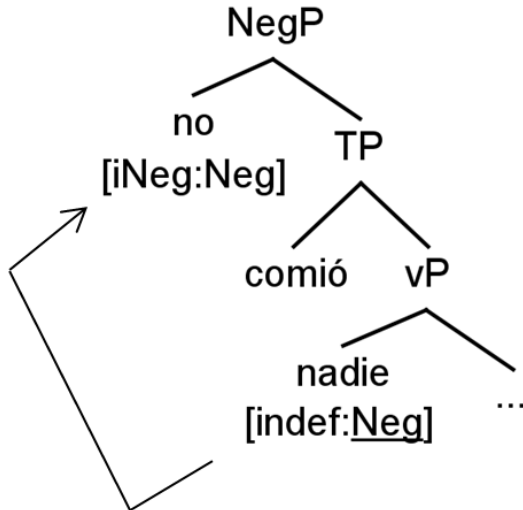
     I posit that the reason an SNM must be inserted in sentences like (83) but not in (82) is that the negative operator needs to assert its scopal dominance over the inflected verb. If there is already negative morphology in the spec of NegP as in (82), then the SNM becomes redundant (cf. Haegeman & Zanuttini (1996))[23]. This leads us to a general constraint for NC languages on what can be the lowest possible placement of negative morphology (i.e. discharge of an operator's negative valuation).

(84). General Constraint on Negative Morphology in NC

     A negative operator must discharge its valuation at least once above *v*P, so as to assert its scopal dominance over the clause[24]

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[23] Though some dialects of Spanish, particularly spoken in the Basque Country, do allow SNMs with pre-verbal n-words. Such variance even between close dialects shows the fickleness of the SNM parameter, further suggesting its nature is morpho-phonological.

[24] See Godard (2004) for an analysis which takes the French negative particle *ne* to be an example of a negative scopal marker. The widespread disappearance of *ne* from Colloquial French indicates a violation of this General Constraint and also that it is very late in the Jespersen Cycle (Jespersen (1917)); i.e. is close to losing NC status. As such, there seems to be a close correlation with mandatory negative morphology in the C-T domain and Negative Concord.

The overt movement of pre-verbal n-words to a high NegP also accounts for a separate small puzzle first brought up in Laka (1990).

(85)a. Maria frecuentemente   canta en la   ducha
          Mary often   sings in the   shower
     b. *Nadie   frecuentemente   canta en la   ducha
          Nobody often   sings in the shower
     c. Nadie   canta frecuentemente   en la   ducha
          Nobody sings   often   in the shower

Going back to Zubizaretta's (1998) claim that multiple topics can exist to the left of V, we can analyze (85)a by saying that both *Maria* and the adverb *frecuentemente* moved to left periphery topic positions. If, however, *nadie* is in NegP directly above TP, then there should be no position for anything to intervene between it and the finite verb in T, as seen in (85)b. The adverb *frecuentemente* must therefore appear post-verbally, as seen in (85)c.

4.3 Conclusion

The typological differences discussed and exemplified in (4)-(8) showed that NC languages appear to vary along two parameters: location of negation (high vs. low) and the extent of use of dummy negation (i.e. the exponence of the Neg feature, whether it be mandatory, optional, or "only if necessary"). The proposal I laid out in chapter 3 originally for ESUS, has proven to be extendable to other languages as well, and is able to capture this cross-linguistic variation.

In extending the proposal to other languages, I have captured scope data from Czech which was impossible under previous Agree-based strict NC proposals, while also reducing the places of possible Merge for negation to one, thus avoiding stipulation. I was also able to naturally capture a common puzzle from Romance NC, by assuming an XP-V-S-O word order and high negation for Spanish. In the course of doing all this, I

have defined a general constraint (84) which seems to hold in NC languages, in which negative valuation must be discharged above *v*P. Languages abide by this constraint by either the obligatory insertion of an SNM (as in ESUS), or the scrambling of negative elements out of *v*P (as in West Flemish (14) or preverbal n-words in Spanish (81)a). How this constraint is satisfied by different languages corresponds roughly to the proper vs. non-proper NC distinction as mentioned above.

Revisiting the four goals described in section 2.4, we have (i) accounted for the compositionality problem with the individually motivated mechanisms of Agree/Valuation, (ii) offered a proposal which accounts for the typological differences seen across languages as a result of the proposal itself, (iii) accounted for the difference in distribution between n-words and *any*-type indefinites (which turns out to be a non-difference), and (iv) avoided certain theoretical pitfalls by using a rigid hierarchy of functional projections and a disciplined system of Agree.

5. Implications

The keen observer will note that my proposal has some rather large implications for how we look at n-words with respect to indefinite NPIs. It asserts that there is no true difference between n-words and nominal NPIs, but that any difference between the two is actually a difference in their licensing domains and the environments in which they appear.

To test whether this is a step in the right direction, it is prudent to first examine some noted differences between (indefinite) NPIs and n-words (the following is a partial list take from Kang & Tieu (2013); originally assembled from Watanabe (2004), Sano et al. (2009), among others).

(86)	NPI	NCI
a. Ability to be modified by expressions like *almost*	No	Yes
b. Ability to be used as an elliptical answer	No	Yes
c. Ability to appear in non-negative contexts	Yes	No
d. Ability to be licensed by a higher clause negation	Yes	No

My proposal, since it implies no differences between indefinites of the same kind (e.g. *anyone*, *no one*[25]), must show the differences in (86) to be either (i) superficial and misleading, or (ii) emergent from the underlying properties of non-veridicity vs. anti-veridicity which underlie the licensing between, say, *anyone* and *no one* in ESUS.

(86)c is immediately predicted and accounted for by my proposal. N-words by definition are valued with a Neg feature, so if this feature is absent they are predicted to not appear (though this is not the whole picture, see section 5.2 on the underspecificity of valuation for n-words in non-negative contexts). Furthermore, NPIs are typically licensed in any context that is not veridical, so appearance in non-negative contexts such

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[25] Note crucially that I am referring to n-word *no one* from ESUS, which I am treating as an indefinite that has been valued negative and participates in NC. I am absolutely *not* referring to *no one* as the generalized negative quantifier from Standard English which cannot participate in NC.

as questions is also expected. (86)d has also been accounted for, as we saw in section 3.3 that this is a misleading observation, and NPIs, like n-words, are actually licensed only clause internally (with the noted exception of transparent clauses like defective T's and subjunctive C's).

As this is the case, we have only (86)a and (86)b left to handle. Section 5.1 deals with (86)a and tries to show the difference with respect to the "Almost Test" to be superficial, and the result of *almost*'s semantic incompatibility with certain veridical and non-veridical existentials. Section 5.2 deals with the underspecificity of valuation for certain indefinites, and offers an explanation as to why only certain ones are available for elliptical answers. Section 5.3 closes the chapter.

5.1 Indefinite NPIs vs. N-words and the "Almost Test": Penka (2006)

The ability to be modified by *almost* has been taken to indicate the universality of quantifiers, while the inability has been taken as a sign of existentiality (Dahl (1970), Horn (1976)). As such, tests with *almost* have been used as a diagnostic to argue that "regular indefinite NPIs" are existential while n-words are universal (Zanuttini (1991)).

(87)a. Non ha detto quasi niente   (Italian)

 not has said almost nothing

 "He said almost nothing"

 b. *Non ha detto quasi alcunché

 Not has said almost anything

 "He hasn't said almost anything

In (87)a, the n-word *niente* is acceptable with *almost*, while in (87)b the regular indefinite NPI is unacceptable, thus leaving Zanuttini to affirm that the prior is universal and the latter existential.

This apparent difference in existentiality/universality between indefinites is unpredicted in my proposal, and therefore is problematic. It is therefore my intention to show that the difference is superficial and in actuality non-existent.

Following Penka (2006), the *almost* test is inadmissible as a test for existentiality vs. universality. According to Penka ((2006) and references therein), *almost* introduces scalar alternatives which are expressible on a Horn scale (Horn (1976)), i.e. a scale ordered by an entailment relation in which any element on the scale immediately entails any element ranked lower. *Almost* further introduces a restrictor variable requiring that the relevant alternatives on the scale be "close by" the explicitly mentioned figure on the scale. Penka offers the following for a formal definition of *almost*, in which the restrictor variable is represented by $\approx$.

(88) $[[\textbf{almost}\approx]] = \lambda w.\lambda p{<}s,t{>}. \; \neg\, p(w) \; \& \; \exists q \, [\, q \approx p \, \& \, q(w)]$

The first conjunction in (88) ensures that the alternative is lower than the mentioned *p*. Thus, *almost* in layman's terms reduces to, "close to *p*, but not quite *p*."

As for the Horn scale upon which *almost* presents its alternatives, quantifiers form a scale of order by entailment:

(89) |-----some$\leftarrow$----several$\leftarrow$----many$\leftarrow$----half$\leftarrow$----most$\leftarrow$----all-----|

This can be understood as if all, then most. If most, then half, etc.

However, Penka argues that due to the restrictor variable of *almost*, it is required that the explicitly mentioned amount (i.e. *p* in (88)) be a specified amount, since the listener must know what "close by" means. Therefore, *almost* is compatible with quantifiers which express only exactly specified amounts.

(90)a. *Almost some/several/many/most of us fear spiders

b. Almost half/all of us fear spiders

Because *half* and *all* are exact amounts, they are licit with *almost*. The ability to be modified with *almost* in these cases has nothing to do with the existential vs. universal distinction, rather an inexact vs. exact distinction.

Furthermore, the inability of existentials to be modified by *almost* has to do with the fact that existentials constitute the bottom of the quantifier scale. There is thus no lower value for which a scalar alternative to the proposition can be true. We can see that this is the case because in rare cases in which existentials do possess lower alternatives, they become licit with *almost*.

(91)a. I slept for *almost* an hour

  b. You gain *almost* an inch after a good night's sleep

  c. King penguins are *almost* a meter high

Existentials with such "dense scales" offer alternatives below the existential (e.g. 45 minutes, or fractions of an inch or meter). Again, the (non)existentiality of a quantifier proves to NOT be the determining factor of grammaticality, thus weakening the usefulness of the Almost Test.

The reason n-words seem to be so much more licit with *almost* is because they necessarily fall under the scope of negation, and under negation the entailments of the Horn scale reverse.

(92) |-----some----$\rightarrow$several----$\rightarrow$many----$\rightarrow$half----$\rightarrow$most----$\rightarrow$all-----|

This can be understood as if not some, then not several, and if not several then not many, etc.

Because of this reversal, in negative contexts there are possible values on the scale which are lower than existentials for which a proposition might hold true. As such, the fact that n-words can be modified by *almost* does not preclude them from being existentials.

As we have now seen, the Almost Test is not useful for determining existentiality vs. universality. Moving away from Penka's paper now, I claim that the

reason NPIs are unacceptable with *almost* and n-words are acceptable falls out from the difference between non-veridicity and anti-veridicity.

Take the n-word *nadie* 'no one' in Spanish. It is perfectly acceptable in both non-veridical and anti-veridical contexts. However, it is acceptable with *almost* only in anti-veridical contexts (see Laka (1990) for a similar observation). This shows that performance on the Almost Test relies on underlying (non/anti)veridicity rather than any supposed difference in indefinites themselves.

(93)a. Nadie   ha   llamado →anti-veridical *nadie*   **OKAY**   (Spanish)

    N.body has called

    "Nobody called"

  b. Nadie   ha   llamado? → non-veridical *nadie*   **OKAY**

    Anybody has called

    "Did anybody call?"

(94)a. Casi   nadie   ha   llamado →anti-veridical *nadie* + almost   **OKAY**

    Almost n.body has called

    "Almost nobody called"

  b. ?*Casi   nadie   ha llamado? → non-veridical *nadie* + almost   **NOT OKAY**

    Almost anybody has called

    "Did almost anyone call"

I suspect the reason non-veridical indefinite existentials are uncooperative with *almost* is likely because they leave open the possibility of a non-negative indefinite existential being associated with *almost*, and as we saw above, existentials are not compatible with *almost* because there is no lower alternative available for which a proposition may hold.

5.2 Underspecificity and the availability of indefinites as elliptical answers

It is commonly mentioned in the literature that n-words, but not NPIs, can perform as elliptical answers (Zanuttini (1991), among many subsequent papers). Let's compare the Italian n-word *nessuno* with Standard English's NPI *anyone*.

(95)Q: Chi hai visto?   (Italian)

　　 "Who did you see?"

　 A: Nessuno

　　 "No one"

(96)Q: Who did you see?

　 A: *Anyone

　　　To account for this difference, I make a proposal of underspecificity for words like *nessuno* and *anyone*. Notice that the distributions of both *nessuno* and Standard English's *anyone* are identical with regard to non/anti-veridicity.

(97)a. Ha   telefonato   *nessuno*? → non-veridical   **OKAY**

　　　Has called   anybody

　　 "Did anybody call?"

　 b. Non   ho   trovato   *nessuno* → anti-veridical   **OKAY**

　　 Neg   have.1.sg   found   n.body

　　 "I haven't found anybody"

(98)a. Did anyone call? → non-veridical   **OKAY**

　 b. I didn't find anybody → anti-veridical   **OKAY**

Both indefinites share the same underspecified distribution, but why is it that only one can serve as an elliptical answer?

55

Negative Concord and Valuation of Anti-Veridicity

I claim that the negative morphology on *nessuno* shows that it is by nature an anti-veridically (i.e. negatively) valued indefinite. Because it is negatively valued, it can serve as a negative answer to a question, and is thus licit as an elliptical answer. *Nessuno*'s appearance in non-veridical contexts simply shows that it is underspecified to serve also as a non-veridical indefinite. That is to say, Italian simply has no distinct non-veridical valuation for this particular indefinite. *Anyone* on the other hand lacks negative morphology, showing that it is by nature a non-veridically valued indefinite. Because non-veridicity asserts a truth value of neither 1 nor 0, it is uninterpretable as an answer to a question, and thus cannot serve as a fragment answer. Its appearance in anti-veridical contexts shows simply that Standard English is underspecified with regard to anti-veridical valuation. ESUS is provided for comparison as a language which is not underspecified.

(99)

	Italian	Standard English	ESUS
Ver	qualcuno	someone	someone
Non-Ver		anyone	anyone
Anti-Ver	nessuno		no one

Otherwise stated, the negative morphology on *nessuno* is indicative of its *default association with a negative feature*, and therefore is acceptable as a negative answer in elliptical phrases. *Anyone* however, is by default associated with a non-veridical feature. As non-veridicity asserts neither positive nor negative, it cannot be an elliptical answer to a question.
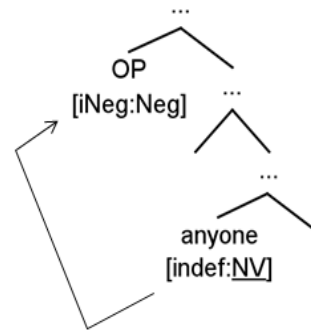
Therefore, due to underspecification Italian non-veridical features value certain indefinites negative, while in Standard English anti-veridical features value indefinites non-veridically.

(100) Value underspecification
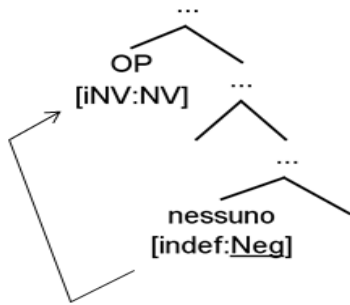
a. Italian   b. Standard English

       This may seem stipulative, but that the two indefinites have underspecified distributions is a fact; and it should not be surprising that the indefinite with negative morphology is associated by default with a negative feature, while the indefinite with ambiguous morphology is associated with a non-veridical feature.

       If this idea of default association in cases of underspecification is on the right track, then we again find no difference between n-word indefinites and NPI indefinites *per se*, just whether their default value is anti-veridical or not. As such, (86)b would not emblematic of an inherent difference in quality of the different indefinites, just the differing valuations available.

       This has the glaring implication that much of the difference between NC languages (like Italian) and non-NC languages (like Standard English) may be in part reducible to the availability/lack of availability of negative morphology for indefinites[26]. Many issues are left to explore on this front, however they go beyond the scope of this thesis.

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[26] Of course, the availability of true negative quantifiers such as Standard English's *nothing*, which contributes its own negation, would also be a factor.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have hoped to show that some of the possible objections which may arise to my proposal can be accounted for if we dig past the surface. A specific example was showing how NPIs and n-words are not at their heart different types of indefinites, rather certain (maybe all) differences actually stem from their licensing environments themselves. This is certainly a desirable outcome from a minimalist perspective. The differences described in (86) are however not exhaustive, and there remains more work ahead on this matter.

6. Double Negation in ESUS

Though ESUS is an NC language, there are ways of bringing about DN readings. The first of these is discussed in section 6.1, and involves the insertion of an additional SNM. The second method is discussed throughout the rest of chapter 6, and is brought about by placing focus on an n-word. This appears to introduce a "reverse Compositionality Problem", however I propose a way around this by claiming that such constructions are not really double negation.

6.1 Insertion of addition [iNeg]-bearing elements

One way to bring about DN readings in ESUS is with the insertion of *not*, an extra SNM that would not be present in regular instances of NC.

(101) Ain't no one *not* see nothing (=No one didn't see anything; i.e. DN)   (ESUS)

Schematically, we can represent this as follows:

(101)' [$_{TP}$ ain't [$_{NegP}$ Op$_{[iNeg:Neg]}$ [$_{vP}$ no one$_{[indef:\underline{Neg}]}$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{NegP}$ NOT$_{[iNeg]}$ eat nothing$_{[indef:\underline{Neg}]}$]]]]]

  In addition to the usual NC-inducing operator below TP, an adverbial *not* is inserted and adds a second [iNeg] feature. Compositionally, this renders $\neg\,\neg\,p$, a true instance of double negation. This explanation is uncontroversial and perfectly at ease in my proposal.
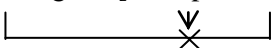
6.2 Focus of n-words and Double Negation

Biberauer & Roberts (2011) (henceforth B&R) point out that focusing an n-word creates a "focus shell" which incurs DN readings where otherwise NC readings would exist.

(102) He didn't greet NO-ONE (=He greeted someone)

If this is the case, and sentences like (102) are genuinely DN, then this introduces a challenge to my proposal in the form of what might be called the "reverse Compositionality Problem", which could be roughly stated as: "How is it that n-words are now able to contribute semantic negation when in regular NC clauses they cannot"?

B&R assume that an intervening focus operator intervenes between *no one* and the other negative elements, blocking Agree. Therefore, the negation on *no one* must be a separate negation. They roughly schematize it as follows.

(102)' He didn't greet [$_{FocP}$ Op [NO-ONE]] (= He greeted someone) DN

However, it is not always the case that focus of an n-word creates a "focus shell", because it doesn't always bring about DN readings. Consider the question and answer in (103).

(103) A: He ain't even get a phone call for his birthday? (=He didn't even get a phone

call…)

B: (nope), He ain't get *nothing*[27] (=He didn't get anything) NC

Here, focus on *nothing* – realized as a prosodic pitch accent in the words of Kiss (1998)) in (103)B does not bring about DN, but retains its typical n-word meaning in NC. So in

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[27] The focus in (102) is denoted by capital letters, while the focus in (103) is denoted by italics. This is not by accident, as we will see in section 6.3 that they are in fact different forms of focus.

order to understand how focus interacts with DN in ESUS, one must ask the question: what separates (102) and (103)?

6.3 Identificational focus vs. information focus (Kiss (1998))

Per Kiss (1998), there are two types of focus available in languages. The first type is identificational focus (or exhaustive focus). It can be defined in the words Kiss:

(104) The function of identificational focus: An identificational focus represents a subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold; it is identified as the exhaustive subset of this set for which the predicate phrase actually holds. (Kiss's (1)).

Furthermore, identificational focus requires syntactic movement, and a diagnostic is whether or not it can be re-interpreted as a cleft construction. The second type of focus is information focus. It can be defined as follows.

(105) "If a sentence part conveys new, non-presupposed information marked by one or more pitch accents – without expressing exhaustive identification performed on a set of contextually or situationally given entities, it is not an identificational focus but a mere   information focus. Information focus is not associated with movement."

I propose that the key difference between (102) and (103) is the difference in type of focus, which B&R (2011) fail to take into account. (102) crucially can be re-interpreted as a cleft construction, and is therefore identificational focus per Kiss's definition. (103) on the other hand cannot be re-interpreted as a cleft construction, and therefore would be information focus.

(102)' He didn't greet NO-ONE = It's not NO-ONE that he greeted[28]

(103)B' He ain't get *nothing* ≠ It's not *nothing* that he got

      It must be noted that the phonological realizations of the two types of stress are different as well (as is implied by one being marked by capital letters and the other by italics; see footnote 27). The focus in (102) is marked by a slow and drawn out reading of the word, while in (103) it is marked by a quick and falling pitch accent.

      While the semantics of (102) (i.e. how identificational focus on n-words interacts with NC/DN) is to be examined in the next section, (103) can be said to merit the prosodic pitch accent (information focus) as it is the *denial* of a presupposition originating outside the sentence (see van der Sandt (1991) and van der Sandt & Meier (2003) for discussion on the link between denial and assertion/new information). The speech act of this denial of a presupposition is the necessitating factor of the information focus described by Kiss (105).

      Examine (103) again, this time with the presupposition made explicit.

(103)'A: He ain't even get a phone call for his birthday? (=He didn't even get a phone
                                              call…)
    PRESUPPOSITION = Surely he would have at least gotten a phone call.
    B: (nope), He ain't get *nothing* (=He didn't get anything)

      Now, per van der Sandt (2003), denials are to be separated from negation in that only the latter introduces an operator into the semantics, whereas the former exists only in the pragmatics. Denials can be shown to exist apart from negation in that one can deny a negative assertion with no semantic negation whatsoever.

(106) Assertion: Jam is not better than jelly.
    Denial: Jam *is* better than jelly!

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[28] Though this sentence itself is not perfectly grammatical, the interpretation is correct.

Since the focus associated with denials contributes no negative operator to a sentence, it is expected to see cases like (103)B maintain their NC status and not bringing about DN. Therefore, focus itself cannot be said to bring about DN readings. However, one must still account for the DN readings attained in sentences like (102), examples which I claim are instances of identificational focus and which do seem to bring about DN readings.

6.4 Informational focus doesn't bring about DN *per se*

As mentioned above, instances of sentences like (102) in which n-words appear to be adding a second negation poses a reverse Compositionality Problem. In this section, I propose a semantics which accounts for readings like (102), yet which assumes no extra negation.

Recall that identificational focus is analyzed as the exhaustive subset of things which hold for the predicate. We can formalize this in terms of alternative semantics (Rooth (1985, 1996)) as follows[29].

(107) When φ is a syntactic phrase and C is a syntactically covert semantic variable, then "$\varphi_{[F]}$ C" introduces the presupposition that C is a subset of $[[\varphi]]^f$ (the salient list of alternatives) containing $[[\varphi]]^o$ (the ordinary denotation of φ) and at least one other element.

Furthermore, there is a distinct and crucial difference in how the proposition applies to the focused element (i.e. $[[\varphi]]^o$) as opposed to the alternatives offered (i.e. $[[\varphi]]^f$). Also, and very importantly, the proposition is held as holding only for $[[\varphi]]^o$, to the exclusion of every other member in the set of $[[\varphi]]^o$.

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[29] For simplification, this thesis will treat φ only as the phrase being focused rather than the entire proposition, unlike Rooth's original proposal. This change is purely cosmetic and does not change anything with regard to my proposal.

This means that focusing (that is, identificationally focusing) some element provides a pragmatically salient list of alternatives which must minimally include one member other than the member being focused, and stresses the application of the predicate to that focused member to the exclusion of all other alternatives in the list. A simple example is as follows:

(108)a. I THINK $_{(F)}$ she has a chance

b.[$_s$ think $_{F(\{think\}, \{know\},etc. C)}$ [$_s \lambda e_1$ [$_s$ I e_1 she has a chance]]]

Focusing *think* has the semantic effect of introducing alternatives like *know*, and stressing *think*'s appropriateness over *know* and whatever other alternatives may be viable.

Rooth goes on to say that when focus appears together with negation, it has the following effect (paraphrased from (Rooth (1996)).

(109) When appearing with a focused element φ, *not* (or ¬ in general) yields the assertion that the proposition containing $[[φ]]^o$ is false, and the further assertion or presupposition that some proposition containing an alternative from $[[φ]]^f$ is true.

Now, when an n-word is focused, the set of alternatives, $[[φ]]^f$, is provided by the context of the situation, but one must ask what the ordinary denotation $[[φ]]^o$ of a focused n-word is. As I am taking n-words to be indefinites within the scope of a negative operator, i.e. ¬∃, a natural denotation for a focused n-word would be ø, or the empty set.[30]

If we assume the intuitive meaning of focused n-words to be empty sets, then we can reinterpret (102) as (110) and derive its seeming DN reading, with the variables {b= Bill, d = Donald, t = Tom} being the salient set of alternatives.

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[30] More appropriately, this would be the least member of the set of alternatives. I will use the term *empty set* only as a convenience.

(110)a. He didn't greet NO-ONE

b. [$_s$ No one $_{F(\{ø, \{b\}, \{d\}, \{t\}, \{b, d\}, \{d,t\}...\} C)}$ [$_s \lambda e_1$ [$_s$ he didn't greet e_1]]]

With the focus on the empty set and the associated negation, then by (109) *he* could not have met the empty set of no people, but must have met Bill, Donald, Tom, or some mixed set thereof.

This is not semantically a real instance of double negation, rather it is the assertion of an alternative to the empty set, i.e. ¬ ø (not the empty set) rather than ¬ ¬ (not *not*). The distinction between ¬ø and ¬¬ may not be truth-conditionally relevant, but such an analysis is desirable in that it assumes no extra negation on n-words. This allows the analysis of DN to fall in perfect harmony with the analysis of NC offered in chapters 3 and 4.

The semantics proposed in this chapter therefore account for DN in ESUS in a manner that is congruent with the NC analysis above. It further shows how focus interacts with n-words, sometimes denying assertions (e.g. (103)B), while other times providing seeming DN readings (e.g. (102)). Furthermore, in accounting for sentences like (102), this proposal has avoided resorting to ambiguous readings for n-words in which sometimes they're negative and other times they're not. The only true method of double negation is the insertion of addition [iNeg]-bearing elements like SNMs.

7. Conclusion

In this thesis, I have briefly reviewed other proposals for Negative Concord in the literature, while taking note of certain criticisms which might be improved upon. With these issues in mind, I have provided another analysis of NC, arguing that the phenomenon is the result of Agree, with negatively marked nominals being valued by a negative operator, and SNMs being the phonological realization of that negative operator put in by late insertion. And while the phenomenon exhibits itself in diverse ways cross-linguistically, I have shown how this outward behavior can be unified under a single proposal if we allow for parametric variation along two lines: the placement of negation and the prevalence of SNM insertion in the presence of other negative morphology on nominals.

Though there remain many avenues left to explore, this thesis brings with it the implication that Negative Concord may be part of a larger system of feature agreement in which PPIs, NPIs, and n-words are all products of the same process and depend largely (if not entirely) on (non/anti)-veridicity.

Finally, in this thesis I present a proposal for double negation in NC languages that respects the idea that n-words are inherently non-negative entities. Furthermore, I argue that true double negation comes about only with the insertion of multiple SNMs.

Appendix: citations from examples

Examples from body of text

1. Moscati (2006)
2. Author's own example (henceforth AOE)
3. AOE
4. Woojin Chung (p.c.)
5. Brugger & Poletto (1995)
6. Woojin Chung (p.c.)
7. Brugger & Poletto (1995)
8. Robin Sola (p.c.)
9. AOE
10. Zeijlstra (2004)
11. Haegeman & Zanutinni (1991)
12. Robin Sola (p.c.)
13. Haegeman & Zanutinni (1991)
14. Adapted from Haegeman & Zanutinni (1991)
15. Adapted from Haegeman & Zanutinni (1996) and Haegeman & Lohndal (2010)
16. " "
17. " "
18. " "
19. " "
20. Moscati (2006)
21. Zeijlstra (2008)
22. Adapted from Giannakidou (1998 & 2006)
23. Giannakidou (2006)
24. " "
25. Choi (2011)
26. " "
27. Zeijlstra (2008)

28. AOE

29. Moscati (2006)

30. Déprez & Martineau (2004)

31. Giannakidou (1998)

32. Giannakidou (2006)

33. Angel Aquino (p.c.)

34. Haegeman & Lohndal (2010), adapted from Zeijlstra (2008)

35. Zeijlstra (2008)

36. Haegeman & Lohndal (2010)

37. Zeijlstra (2008)

38. " "

39. " "

40. " "

41. AOE (Robin Sola p.c.)

42. Zeijlstra (2008)

43. Zeijlstra (2008)

44. AOE

45. " "

46. " "

47. " "

48. " "

49. " "

50. " "

51. " "

52. " "

53. " "

54. " "

55. " "

56. Adapted from Laka (1990)

57. Wurmbrand (2012)

58. AOE

59. " "

60. " "

61. " "

62. " "

63. " "

64. " "

65. " "

66. " "

67. " "

68. " "

69. " "

70. Adapted from Giannakidou (1998 & 2006)

71. " "

72. " "

73. AOE

74. de Cuba (2011)

75. AOE

76. Haegeman & Lohndal (2010)

77. Zeijlstra (2008)

78. Adapted from Zeijlstra (2008)

79. " "

80. " "

81. AOE (Angel Aquino p.c.)

82. AOE

83. " "

84. " "

85. Laka (1990)

86. Kang & Tieu (2013)

87. Zanutinni (1991)

88. Penka (2006)

89. " "

90. " "

91. AOE & Penka (2006)

92. Penka (2006)

93. AOE (Angel Aquino p.c.)

94. " "

95. Moscati (2006)

96. AOE

97. Matos (1999) & Parry (2013)

98. AOE

99. " "

100. " "

101. " "

102. Adapted from Biberauer & Roberts (2011)

103. AOE

104. Kiss (1998)

105. " "

106. AOE

107. Adapted from Rooth (1996)

108. " "

109. " "

110. AOE

Examples from footnotes

Footnote 3:   (i). Adapted from Giannakidou (1998)
                    (ii). Adapted from Giannakidou (2006)

Footnote 5:   (i) Adapted from Giannakidou (1998)

Footnote 10:   (i-iii) AOE

Footnote 19:   (i) AOE

Footnote 21: Zubizaretta (1998)

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국문초록

부정 일치와 반진실성의 자질 명세

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부정 조응(Negative Concord)은 한 절에서 여러 개의 부정 형태소를 가지는 요소들이 공모하여 의미상 하나만의 부정을 나타내는 현상이다. 본 논문은 미국 남부에서 쓰이는 하나의 방언(ESUS)을 비롯하여 세계의 다양한 언어에 나타나는 이 현상을 조사한다.

이 현상을 다루는 모든 제안은 최소한 여러 개의 부정 형태소가 어떻게 의미에서 하나만의 부정을 나타내는지를 설명해야 한다. 이 문제는 구성 문제(Compositionality Problem)라고 불린다. 현재까지 이 문제를 설명하려는 수 많은 제안이 나왔다. 이 제안들은 크게 보면 학설을 세 개로 나눌 수 있다: 하나는 n-word(부정 형태소를 가지는 명사)가 원래 부정 가치를 가진다는 학설이며 (e.g. Zanuttini (1991)), 또 하나는 n-word 가 NPI 종류 중 하나라고 보는 학설이다 (e.g. Giannakidou (2000)). 세 번째 학설은 부정 조응이 Agree (Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001))에 의한 현상이라고 본다 (e.g. Zeijlstra (2004, 2008)). 본 논문은 이 세 가지 학설의 관점을 고려하고 각각의 단점을 제시한 다음에 새로운 제안을 제시하면서 문제점을 개선하고자 한다.

표준 영어와 달리 부정 조응을 나타내는 영어의 한 방언(ESUS)의 데이터를 바탕으로, 본 논문은 해당 현상을 설명하기 위해 비한정사(indefinite)가 부정 연산자(negative operator)의 c-command 영역에서는 Agree 를 통해서 반진실성의 가치를 받는다고 주장한다. 또한 이 방언의 데이터에서 n-word 와 NPI 의 관계가 과거 제안보다도 더 깊은 것을 보이고자 한다. 그 다음에 본 논문은 이 제안을 가지고 다른 언어의 데이터도 더 잘 설명할 수 있음을 보일 것이다. 이럼으로써 Romance 어의 부정 조응에서 자주 다뤄지는 하나의 퍼즐을 잘 설명할 수 있다.

본 제안의 주장 중 하나는 n-word 가 NPI 와 아주 깊은 유사성을 가진다는 것이므로 기존 문헌에서의 둘이 서로 다르다는 주장들을 반박해야 한다. 따라서 겉보기에서는 둘이 서로 다르다고 보일 수 있음에도 불구하고, 한층 더 깊이 살펴보면 이 모든 다른 점이 서로 나타나는 환경이 다르기 때문에 생기는 것이라고 증명하려고 한다.

마지막으로 본 논문은 ESUS 의 이중 부정을 조사한다. 이중 부정이 나타날 수 있는 구조는 두 가지가 있다: 하나는 추가적 문장부정표지(sentential negative marker, e.g. *not*)의 삽입에 의해 진행되며, 또 하나는 n-word 가 focus 되는 것으로 인한 것이다. 하지만 Rooth (1985, 1996)의 Alternative Semantics 를 통해 보면 focus 를 받는 n-word 는 실제로 이중 부정을 일으키지 않고, 단지 어떤 집합의 최소한의 요소(쉽게 말해서 "공집합")에 대해 부정을 일으키는 것이다. 이러한 제안으로 본 논문은 n-word 가 어떤 때는 부정 가치를 가지며, 또 다른 때는 부정 가치를 가지지 않는다는 중의성이 있다고 주장할 필요가 없다.

결론으로서 본 논문은 ESUS 의 데이터를 비롯하여 세계의 많은 언어에 나타나는 부정 조응을 설명할 수 있을 뿐더러, 과거 제안의 몇 가지 문제점을 개선하고 해당 현상에 대한 구성적인 분석(compositional analysis)을 제시한다.