Negation and Negative Polarity items in Berber

0.   Introduction

The main goals of this paper are: a) To provide an analysis of sentential negation that captures the variation in the strategies used to express across Berber dialects, b) To provide evidence that the Negation head *ur (Neg1)* is generated as a head of NegP higher than TP and that *sha (Neg2)* is adjoined to VP, therefore *sha-ur* is a derived order as opposed to French Pas-ne which was argued to be a basic order, c) To show that *Sha (Neg2)* is licensed via Spec-Head only and so are higher NPI adverbs like *never.* NPI's like *no one* and *nothing* are licensed via c-command, d) To argue that NPI licensing is done under strict locality conditions.

This paper offers an analysis that captures the micro-variation in the strategies used to express negation across Berber dialects. I argue that the "optional" negation markers *sha* (Tamazight)/ *ara* (Taqbaylit)/ *kra* (Tarifit) should not be ignored in any syntactic analysis of Berber negation and show that they have serious implications concerning the structure of this language.

There are two types of dialects with regard to how negation is expressed. Type 1 uses one negation marker and these dialects are Tachelhit and Touareg (see section 1). Type 2 uses negation markers Neg1 and Neg2 and there two subgroups within this type. In the first group which includes Tarifit, Taqbaylit, and Chaoui Neg one is always preverbal and Neg2 is always post-verbal. In the second group, which consist only of one dialect namely Tamazight, Neg1 behaves in the same way as in the other dialects but Neg2 behaves differently in the sense that it can either be post-verbal or pre-verbal.

> Type1:   One Neg
> Type2:   Two Negs : Type2a. (Neg1...Verb (Neg2))
>   Type2b. ((Neg2)-Neg1...Verb (Neg2))

Tamazight has two different strategies to express sentential negation. Sentential negation is expressed by means of a pre-verbal negative marker.

(1)   ur iddi   wrba gher-skeela
          neg 3s.went   boy   to-school
          'The kid didn't go to school'

(2)   ur iswi   wmush lhlib
        neg 3s-drink cat   milk
        'The cat didn't drink milk'

In this dialect sentential negation is also expressed by means of two negative markers.

(3)   ur ughax   sha lkthaab
        neg1 1s-bought-1s neg2   book
        'I did not buy the book'

Taqbaylit, Chaoui and Tarifit behave like Tamazight as illustrated in (4-6).

(4)   ur kcimegh   ara   (Taqbaylit)
        neg1 enter.past.1s neg2
        'I didn't enter'   Nait-Zerrad (1994: 32)

(5)   ud   yusi-ca   (Chaoui)
        neg1 come.3sm-neg2
        'He didn't come'   Nait-Zerrad (1994: 34)

(6)   ur   izri shi imams   (Tarifit)
        neg1 see.past.3s neg2 mother-his
        'He didn't see his mother'

The negation *ur* element cannot occur post-verbally as shown in (7) and (8).

(7)   * thdda   ur   yemma   gher souq   (Tamazight)
        go.past.3sf neg   mother-my to market
        'My mother didn't go to the market'

(8)   *thdda   shaur   yemma   gher souq   (Tamazight)
        go.past.1sf   neg2-neg1   mother-my to market

    Let us look at each Negation element at a time. We will start with the pre-verbal
negation i.e.Neg and how it is distributed across the Berber dialects and then look at the
second negation i.e. Neg2.

1.   First negation elements
In all the Berber dialects the first negation element is obligatory and must be preverbal as
shown in (9-12).

(9)   ur   th- lix (*ur) assa   (Tamazight)
        neg   see.past.1s (*neg) day-this
        'I haven't seen him today'

(10)   ur i?lim (*ur)   (Taqbaylit)
       neg know.past.3s (*neg)
       'He didn't know'

(11)   ur isha (*ur) imkli wehdu   (Tashelhit)
       neg eat.past.3s (*neg) lunch alone
       'He didn't have lunch alone'

(12)   war inwi   (*war)   sha   (Tarifit)
       neg think.past.3s(*neg) neg
       'He didn't think'

In each of these examples, putting Neg1 in a post-verbal position causes ungrammaticality. Let us see how Neg2 behaves across these dialects.

2.   Second negation elements

When it comes to the second negation element, these dialects show some variation. In Touareg, as reported in Nait-Zerrad (1994), as well as in Tashelhit, it is nonexistent (13, 14). In Tamzight, Taqbaylite and Tarifit, it is used optionally has to appear after the verb as shown in (15), (16) and (17).

(13)   ur tdda tfruxt s tgmmi   (Tashelhit)
       neg go-Perf-3sf to house
       'The girl did not go home'

(14)   wer tusa tabarart ehan   (Touareg)
       neg go-Perf-3sf   to-house
       'The girl did not go home'

                                                       (from Rabhi (1996: 23))
(15)   ur ssex (sha)   (Tamazight)
       neg drink-Perf.1s (neg)
       'I don't drink'

(16)   ur kshimegh (ara)   (Taqbaylit)
       neg entered.past.1s (neg)
       'I didn't enter'

(17)   u-sn twshi (sha) arbii   (Tarifit)
       neg-them give.Past.3s (neg) grass
       'She didn't give them grass'

    Unlike in Taqbaylite and Tarfit, in Tamazight the second negation element appears pre-verbally as shown in 18 below:

(18)   shaur dix gher-s   (Tamazight)
         neg-neg go.past.1s to-him
         'I didn't go to him/ I didn't visit him'

The distribution of Neg1 and Neg2 across Berber dialects is summarized in (19).

(19)   Summary

Tashlhit/Touareg	Takbalit,Tarifit,Chaoui	Tamazight
ur...verb	**ur**...verb(**sha**)	**ur**...verb(**sha**)
		(**sha**)**ur**...verb(**sha**)

3.   *"Ur"* (Neg1) and other negative polarity items (NPI)

Ur (Neg1) co-occurs with NPI's like nothing (20) and no one (21). *Walu* 'nothing' in (20a), which is the direct object, appears after the verb and can also be topicalized hence precede both *ur* and the verb as in (20b). The same thing can be said about *agidge* 'no one' which is a preverbal subject in (21a) and topicalized in (21b).

(20).   a.   *ur* as-wshi.x walu   (Tamazight)
                neg   him-give.Per.3s nothing
                'I didn't give him anything'

        b.   walu ur-as-wshix
               nothing Neg1-him-gave
               'I gave him nothing'

(21).   a.   ur iddi   agidge gher skuella
               neg go.Perf.3s no one school
               'Nobody went to school'

        b.   agidge ur iddin gher skuella
               neg go.Perf.3s no one school
               'Nobody went to school'

I will argue below that these NPI's are licensed in their basic position via c-command, a standard licensing configuration. This becomes clear when we look at their interaction with the second negation elements Neg2. Before we do that let us look at the negative adverbs.

    urgin 'never' type of NPI's can only occur in a position preceding both Neg1 and the verb as in (22).

(22)   *urgin* ur dix gher Frans
                never go.Per.1s to France
                'I've never been to France'

(23)   ursar ur t-ughex
              never neg it-buy.Per.1s
              'I will never buy it'

Examples (24) and (25) below show that the negative adverbs *urdgin* and *usar* cannot occur in a post-verbal position:

(24)   *ur dix   urdgin gher frans
              neg go.Perf.1s   never to   France
              'I've never been to France/I never went to France'

(25)   *ur t-ughex usar
              neg it-buy.Pef.1s never
              'I will never buy it'

Given these examples, I argue that these adverbs are not licensed via c-command but via Spec-head relation with the negative head *ur* by being externally merged in that position. I will come back to this point indetail in section 5 but first let us sketch the analysis I will use in this paper.

4.   Analysis

I follow the standard assumption that Neg heads its own maximal projection NegP. This assumption has been made for English and Romance (Pollock 1989, Chomsky (1989), Laka (1990), Zanuttini (1991) and for Berber (Ouhalla 1990, 1991), (Ouali 1999, 2003)).
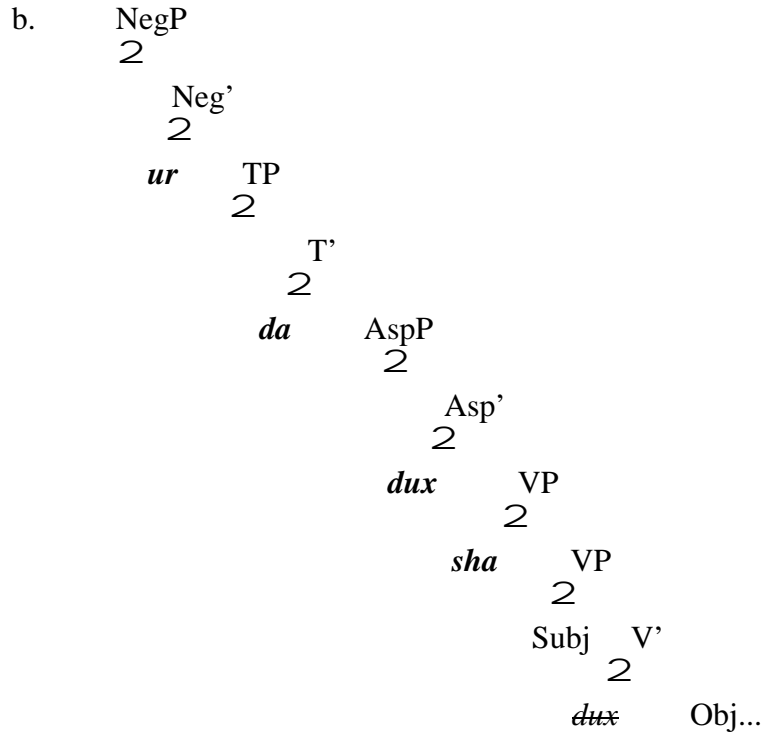
(26).   a.   b.
               NegP   NegP
               ⌅   ⌅
          pas   Neg'   Sha   Neg'
                   ⌅   ⌅
               ne   ...   ur

There are a number of arguments for Neg as head of NegP. First it has been shown that Neg interacts with the verb by Blocking V movement to T in English (Pollock 1989, Chomsky 1995). Second, it has been shown that Neg interacts with Tense and Agreement: Neg inflects for tense in Standard Arabic (Fassi Fehri 1991) and for Agreement in Finish. Third, it has been argued that Neg blocks clitic movement or the so-called clitic climbing in Italian (Kayne 1989), and in Berber Neg is one the different head elements that can host object pronominal clitics (Ouhalla 1988, Ouali 1999, 2003a, 2003b).

        Pollock (1989), has proposed that French *ne* originates in a functional projection lower than Infl and then raises and adjoins to a higher functional head whereas Laka (1990) and Zanuttini (1990,1991), among others, have proposed that the preverbal negative markers of Italian and Spanish are the head of a functional projection higher than Infl. I will adopt the latter view and assume following Ouhalla (1991) that Neg in

Berber is higher than IP/TP. I will also assume that *sha* Neg2 is adjoined to VP as illustrated in (28b) and later on moves to Spec-Neg, at LF presumably.

(28). a.   **ur**-da-dux   **sha**
         Neg1-Aux- go.1ps   Neg2
         'He will not go'

b.   NegP

       Neg'

     ur   TP

         T'

       da   AspP

           Asp'

         dux   VP

           sha   VP

             Subj   V'

               ~~*dux*~~   Obj...

Given these assumptions, it follows that in Berber *sha-ur* (Neg2-Neg1) is a derived order unlike in French where it assumed that pas-ne (Neg2-Neg1) is the basic order (26a above). This leads us to the following cross linguistic comparison in (29) which basically shows that some Berber dialects namely Touareg and Thashelhit behave like some Romance languages namely Italian in having one Neg marker which is preverbal (29a). Others are like French in having 2 Neg markers and these are Tarifit, Taqbaylit, Chaoui and Tamazight (29d). Also, it is known that in colloquial French *ne* Neg1 can be dropped but *pas* Neg2 cannot (29b). Tamazight is the mirror image of French where *sha* Neg2 (pas-counter part) can be dropped whereas *ur*, the Neg head, cannot (29c). And finally Tamazight seems to be the only dialect where Neg2 can precede Neg1 (29e).

(29)   Cross-linguistic comparison**:**
      a.   ***Non*** mangia   Neg + Finite V   Italian, Touareg & Tashelhit
      b.   Il (**ne**) mange *(**pas**) (Neg) + Finte V + *(Neg)   French
      c.   A mengia **nen**   Finite V + Neg   Piedmontese
                                (The examples are from Haegeman and Zanuttini 1999)
      d.   **ur** la ytet (**sha**)   *(Neg1) + Finite V + (Neg2) Tarifit, Taqbaylit,
             'He doesn't eat'   Chaoui & Tamazight
      e.   **sha ur** la ytet   (Neg2) + *(Neg1) + Finite V   Tamazight
             'He doesn't eat'

5.   **Negative Polarity Items**
In section 2 I claimed that NPI's like *agidge* '*no one*' in (30) are licensed in situ by virtue of being C-Commanded by Neg. In (31) agidge is licensed prior to undergoing topicalization.

(30)   ur iddi agidge   (Tamazight)
        neg go-Perf-3s
        'No one left'

(31)   agidge ur iddi-**n**
        no one neg go-Perf-**NEU**
        'No one left'

The evidence for agidge being topicalized comes from the agreement morphology on the verb. Any subject A'-extraction in Berber triggers what is called Anti-Agreement-Effect, which is a neutral form of agreement (31) (see Ouhalla 1993). This shows that this NPI is not in Spec-Neg but presumably in Spec-CP. However one might argue that it has moved through Spec-NegP on the way to Spec-CP or even stayed in Spec-NegP since this is also an A-bar position. The evidence for the in-situ licensing of these NPI's is that they can co-occur with *sha*, which can move to Spec-NegP overtly as seen in (32). *Agidge* 'no one' as shown in (33) can not be extracted regardless if *sha* stays in situ or precedes Neg1 *ur,* an extraction that is possible if *sha* is not present in the sentence as illustrated in (21a-b) above.

(32)   [ₙₑgₚ sha [ₙₑg ur [..   iddi [ᵥₚ   agidge
        Neg2   Neg1   went.3ps   no one
        'No one left'

(33)   *agidge (sha)   ur   iddin   (sha)
       No one (*Neg2) Neg1   went   (*Neg2)

(34)   sha-ur   3lix   walu
       Neg2-Neg1   see-Pef-1s   nothing
       'I didn't see anything'

(35)   walu ur 3lix (*sha)

nothing neg see-Perf-1s
'Nothing did I see.'

This, I believe is a strong evidence for Locality conditions on NPI movement. NPI's like agidge 'no one' and walu 'nothing' (34-35) can not be extracted across any other intervening negation phrase as illustrated in the structure in (36).

(36)

CP
  C'
    C   NegP
      (Sha)   Neg'
        ur   …
          VP
            (sha)   VP
              urdgin   V'
                …   …
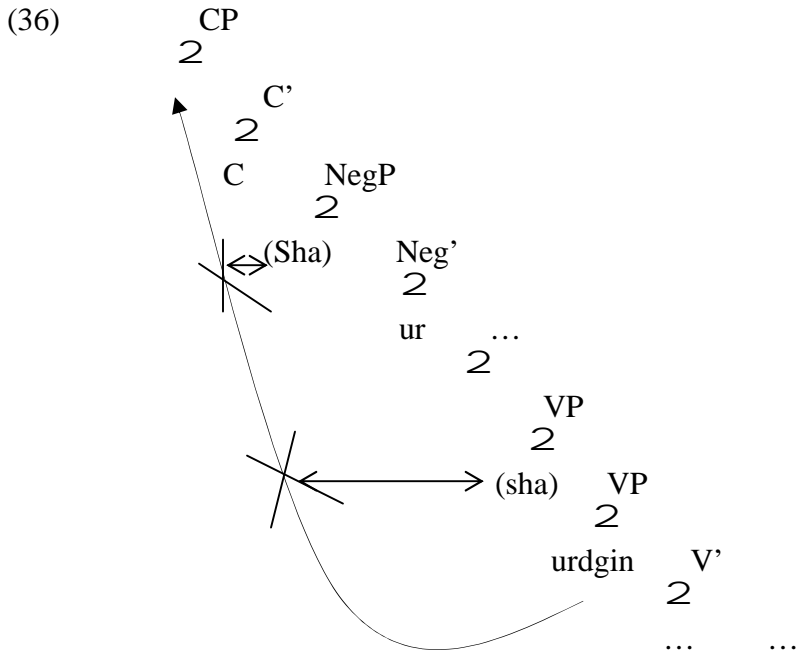
Adverbs like *Urdgin and Ursar "never"* on the other hand are licensed by being (externally) merged in Spec-Neg. The use of urdgin or ursar depends on whether the verb conveys past or present information. Urdgin is used only with verbs in the imperfective form as in (37) and ursar is used with verbs in the perfective form to convey the future as in (38). *Sha* (Neg2) cannot co-occur with these NPI adverbs as shown in these two previous examples (37-38).

(37)   urdgin (*sha) ur   dix   (*sha) gher frans
        never (*Neg2) Neg1 went-Perf-3s (Neg2)   to France
        'I have never been to France'

(38)   ursar (*sha) ur i-th3lith (*sha)
        never (*Neg2) Neg1 me see-Imp-3s (Neg2)
        'You will never see me'

This fact follows from the assumption made above about the position these adverbs occupy i.e. Spec-Neg. *Sha* can only be licensed via Spec-head with Neg^o, but if this position is occupied the licensing cannot take place and consequently the derivation crushes. This is illustrated in the structure in (39).

(39)   NegP
        2
    urdgin   Neg'
            2
      ur   ...
              2
              VP
            2
        sha   ...
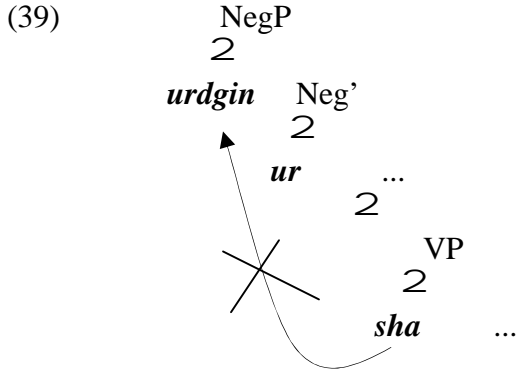
6.   Conclusion

In this paper I have shown that there are two types of Berber dialects, those with negative concord and those that use one negation element. By discussing the interaction of Neg2 *sha* with NPI's, I argued that NPI's which are arguments of the verb are licensed in situ by virtue of being c-commanded be Neg^o, whereas NPI adverbs like urdgin 'never' are licensed by Spec-head relation with Neg^o, by being merged in Spec-Neg. Licensing of both types of NPI's has to respect locality conditions.

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