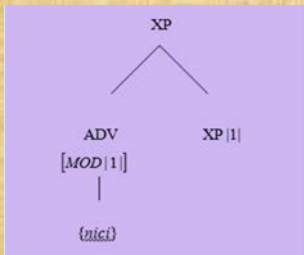# Particularities of Romanian as a Negative Concord Language
The Idiosyncratic Behaviour of *Nici* and an HPSG Account of Long Dinstance NC

Monica-Mihaela Rizea
COST Action IC1207, PARSEME WG1

OUTLINE

- ❑ **Short typological characterization of Romanian with respect to NC**
  - ❑ **Structures with preverbal n-words in obligatory, optional and no-NC languages**
  - ❑ **Structures with multiple n-words in obligatory, optional and no-NC languages.**
  - ❑ **DN readings in Romanian**
- ❑ **The case of the Romanian n-word *nici***
  - ❑ **Data**
  - ❑ **HPSG analysis**
- ❑ **Conclusions**
- ❑ **Bibliography**
- ❑ **Q&A**

1. Short typological characterization of Romanian with respect to NC

- Romanian is a **strict** or **obligatory NC** language (see Giannakidou 2006; Richter & Sailer 2006a) like Polish and other Slavic languages, but also Greek, Hungarian, and Japanese where *the presence of an n-word in a sentence always requires the co-occurrence of the **NM** on the verb, regardless of the syntactic position of the n-word and only a single negation (**SN**) reading is possible.*
- **DN** structures are possible in Romanian (under certain conditions).

NM = preverbal negative particle

1.1. Structures with preverbal n-words in obligatory, optional and no-NC languages

- **Obligatory NC languages**

Romanian

(1) *Ion **niciodată** *(nu) conduce.*   ***SN*** – obligatory NM

    John never NM drives

    'John never drives.'

- **Optional NC languages**

Italian

(2) ***Nessuno (*non)** ha visto Mario.*   **SN –** NM is excluded

    nobody NM has seen Mario

    'Nobody saw Mario.'

- n-words in pre-verbal position are incompatible with an NM; however, they license NC with other n-words.

1.1. Structures with preverbal n-words in obligatory, optional and no-NC languages

The case of Catalan
(4*) A **ningu (no)** ha vist.*   **SN –** NM is optional
   PREP nobody NM has seen
   '(S)he saw nobody.' (Espinal, 2007)

NOTE: Generally, in the case of **optional NC languages**, structures with preverbal n-words and an NM are **marginally** possible and, instead of **NC**, a **DN** reading is obtained, especially when the n-word is stressed (see Tubau 2008: 224 and Giannakidou 2006: 23). This is not the case of Catalan. The appearance of an NM with preverbal n-words results in **NC.**

1.1. Structures with preverbal n-words in obligatory, optional and no-NC languages

• **No-NC languages**

German

(5) **Niemand** *kam.*   **SN**
   nobody came

(6) **Niemand** *kam* **nicht**.   **DN** – NM **nicht** is present
   nobody came not
   'Nobody didn't come.'

- n-words do not enter **NC** with a sentence negator or with other n-words.

Note: In German, preverbal clitic-like markers were lost and the NM **nicht** *evolved from an originally postverbal marker used to enforce negation.*

1.1. Structures with preverbal n-words in obligatory, optional and no-NC languages

- From all the Romance languages, **Catalan** seems to display a pattern more similar to **Romanian** since the co-occurence of the NM with a preverbal n-word is optionally permitted and its appearance does not trigger **DN** readings:

*(9) A **NINGU no** ha vist.   (**NC**) (Catalan)*
   PREP nobody NM has seen
   '(S)he saw nobody.'

*(10) **NIMIC nu** face.   (**NC**) (Romanian)*
    nothing NM does
    '(S)he does nothing.'

*(11) **NESSUNO non** viene. (**DN**) (Italian)*
    nobody NM comes
    'Everybody is coming.'

1.2. Structures with multiple n-words in obligatory, optional and no-NC languages

Romanian is the only Romance language that is not characterized by Negative Spread -den Besten (1986) (= **at least two n-words contribute a SN reading in the absence of a NM**).

- **Obligatory NC languages**

Romanian

(12) ***Nimeni *(nu)* a zis *niciodată nimic*.**   **NC** – obligatory NM
     nobody   NM said never nothing
     'Nobody said anything ever.'

- more n-words **cannot** enter NC **in the absence of a NM**.

- **Optional NC languages**

Italian

(13) ***Nessuno (*non)* ha letto *niente***   **NC** – NM is excluded
     nobody   NM   has read nothing
     'Nobody read anything.'

1.2. Structures with multiple n-words in obligatory, optional and no-NC languages

- **Optional NC languages**

With the exception of Catalan, whenever an NM is inserted in optional NC languages, a DN reading is obtained.

Catalan

(14) ***Cap estudiant (no) va dir res.***　　　**NC** – NM is optional

　　　no student NM go say nothing

　　　'No student said anything.'

- **No-NC languages**

German

(15) ***Niemand sprach mit niemandem.***　　　**DN**

　　　nobody talked with nobody

　　　'Nobody talked to nobody.'

1.2. Structures with multiple n-words in obligatory, optional and no-NC languages

Exceptional behaviour of the Romanian n-word *nici*

- *Nici* is a preposed modifier that negatively focalizes the element on its right. In Romanian, more than one n-word can occur in the same clause and yield a SN reading in the presence of the obligatory NM; however, when **nici** is negating the main verb, postverbal **n-words** are no longer licensed (but only **NPIs**):

(16) *Nimeni *(nu) va pleca niciodată.*
nobody NM will leave never
'Nobody will ever leave'.

(17) *Nici *(nu) va pleca *niciodată/vreodată.*
not.even NM will leave never/ever
(in fact//contrary to the expectations) '(S)he will not even leave (ever)'.

1.2. Structures with multiple n-words in obligatory, optional and no-NC languages
Exceptional behaviour of the Romanian n-word *nici*

When the negative verb is in the focus of *nici*, the NM does not license other n-words.

(17) ***Nici *(NU)*** *va pleca* ***niciodată**/*vreodată.*
    not.even NM will leave never/ever
    (in fact//contrary to the expectations) '(S)he will not even leave (ever)'.

Pragmatic explanation:
Nici imposes a special emphasis on the negated verb.
The NM bears the semantic role of **denial** which makes it responsible for licensing **NPIs** like vreodată ('ever'), and not **n-words.**

1.2. Structures with multiple n-words in obligatory, optional and no-NC languages

Exceptional behaviour of the Romanian n-word *nici*

A similar analysis for the licensing conditions of *vreun* ('any') has been proposed by Iordăchioaia 2007. **The NM *nu* does not license n-words in denial contexts.**

(18) **NU** cunosc ***niciun** / **vreun** medicament care să-l ajute.
     NM know no / any medicine that SJ-him help
     'I don't know of any medicine that can help him.'

The NM bears a special emphasis that results in an ungrammatical sentence with an n-word.

1.2. Structures with multiple n-words in obligatory, optional and no-NC languages

Exceptional behaviour of the Romanian n-word *nici*

When the negative verb is in the focus of *nici*, the NM does not license other n-words.

The same behaviour manifests over subjunctive clauses as well (19) and it also affects other types of NPIs (20):

*(19)***Nici** **(NU) s-a deranjat să plece *niciodată/vreodată.*
   not.even NM bothered SJ leave never /ever
   (in fact//contrary to the expectations) '(S)he didn't even bother to leave (ever).'

*(20)***Nici** **(N)-a plecat *nimeni/cineva.*
   not.even NM left nobody/someone
   (in fact//contrary to the expectations) 'Nobody left'.

1.3. DN readings in Romanian

Although Romanian is a strict NC language, DN readings are also possible.

- Optional NC languages (marginally) express DN by lexical mechanisms, whenever a sentential negator appears in contexts that generally do not require its presence: following a preverbal n-word, or accompanying two n-words that appear in the same clause.

- Strict NC languages like Romanian or Hungarian also allow DN readings (under certain conditions).

1.3. DN readings in Romanian

- Leaving aside **DN** readings in strict NC languages as result of marked intonation or in fragmentary answers (for details, see Iordăchioaia 2010, Iordăchioaia and Richter 2015 – Romanian, Puskas 2006 - Hungarian) there are also other types of contexts that trigger DN (**I will only focus on DN readings derived from NC structures and from independent structures**):

A. (n-word) nu – să – nu (n-word)   (DN across cl. boundaries)
B. (n-word) nu – că – nu (n-word)   (DN across cl. boundaries)
C. nu – fără (- a) (n-word)   (DN within a sg. cl.)
D. nu – fără – să (n-word)   (DN across cl. boundaries)
E. n-word – negated participle/adj. (DN within a sg. cl.)
Independent structures = preposed n-word non-finite structures that contribute SN in the absence of an NM.

1.3. DN readings in Romanian

DN readings derived from NC structures

- In Romanian, n-words can enter **NC** with an NM across clausal boundaries (although a **'that'** complementizer usually blocks **NC**).

- In (21) and (22) NC can manifest across CPs introduced by 'să' irrespective of the semantics of the matrix verb – whether it is a Neg. Raising verb (see Sailer, 2006b: 376) or not - since the subjunctive is not a barrier for NC in Romanian:

NOTE: Subjunctive phrases are analysed as CPs since, in Romanian, 'să' is both a subjunctive marker and a clause connector.

1.3. DN readings in Romanian

DN readings derived from NC structures

(21) *Ion **nu** i-a cerut Mariei* $_{CP}$*[să citească **nicio** carte].* **NC**
   John NM CL.has asked Mary SJ read no book
   'John didn't ask Mary to read any book.'
   (Iordăchioaia 2010)

(22) *Ion **nu** a vrut* $_{CP}$*[să spună **nimic**].* **NC**
   John NM has wanted SJ tell nothing
   'John didn't want to say anything.'

(23) ***Nu** cred* $_{CP}$*[că a citit **nimeni** aceste articole].* **NC**
   NM believe that has read nobody these articles
   'I don't believe anybody read these articles.'
   (exceptionally, with NR predicates and 'that' clauses)

1.3. DN readings in Romanian

DN readings derived from NC structures

Usually, n-words cannot enter NC with a NM across a 'that' complementizer.

(24) *Ion **nu** a zis $_{CP}$[că a citit **nicio** carte].
     John NM has said that has read no book
     'John didn't say he read any book.'
     (Iordăchioaia & Richter 2015)

1.3. DN readings in Romanian

DN readings derived from NC structures

- In the case of NC across subjunctive and 'that' clauses, whenever we insert an NM in the embedded clause, a DN reading is obtained:

A. (n-word) nu – să – nu (n-word)
   (DN across clausal boundaries)

(25) *Ion **nu** i-a cerut Mariei $_{CP}$[**să** **nu** citească **nicio** carte].*
   John NM CL.has asked Mary SJ NM read no book
   'John didn't ask Mary not to read any book.'

(26) *Ion **nu** a vrut $_{CP}$[**să** **nu** spună **nimic**].*
   John NM has wanted SJ NM tell nothing
   'John didn't want not to say anything.'

1.3. DN readings in Romanian

DN readings derived from NC structures

B. (n-word) nu – că – nu (n-word)
(DN across clausal boundaries)

(27) ***Nu*** *cred* $_{CP}$*[că **nu** a citit **nimeni** aceste articole].*
NM believe that NM has read nobody these articles
'I don't believe nobody read these articles.'

- in Romanian, DN readings can also be derived by inserting a
NM into an originally NC structure (the same mechanism derived
DN structures in the case of optional NC languages, but at single
clause level).

1.3. DN readings in Romanian

DN readings derived from NC structures

- **In Romanian (as in other NC languages), the negative preposition *fără* ('without') behaves as an NM:**

(28) *A plecat **fără** $_{NP}$[**niciun** cuvânt]/$_{VP}$[a spune **niciun** cuvânt].***NC**
   has left WITHOUT no word/to say no word
   '(S)he left without a word/saying a word.'

(29) *A lucrat **fără** $_{CP}$[să ceară ajutorul **nimănui**].*   **NC**
   has worked WITHOUT SJ ask help nobody's
   '(S)he worked without asking for anybody's help.'

1.3. DN readings in Romanian

DN readings derived from NC structures

- **Whenever a NM *nu* 'not' is inserted on the matrix verb, a DN reading is obtained:**

C. nu – fără (- a) (n-word)
   (DN within a single clause)

(30) ***Nu*** *a plecat **fără** $_{NP}$[**niciun** cuvânt]/ $_{VP}$[a spune **niciun** cuvânt].*
   NM has left WITHOUT no word/to say no word
   '(S)he did not leave without a word/saying a word.'

1.3. DN readings in Romanian

DN readings derived from NC structures

D. nu – fără – să (n-word)
   (DN across clausal boundaries)

(31) **Nu** a lucrat **fără** $_{CP}$[să ceară ajutorul **nimănui**].
     NM has worked WITHOUT SJ ask help nobody's
     '(S)he did not work without asking for anybody's help.'

1.3. DN readings in Romanian

DN readings derived from independent structures

- In Romanian, structures with a preposed n-word and participle/adjective (cases of constituent(/lexical) negation) can express SN independently of a NM (as in optionally NC languages):

  (32) *articol **niciodată** citat*   **SN**
       article never cited
  (33) *întrebare **deloc** relevantă*   **SN**
       question not at.all relevant

1.3. DN readings in Romanian

DN readings derived from independent structures

**E. n-word – negated participle/adjective
(DN within a single clause)**

(34) *articol **niciodată** necitat*
       article never uncited
       'cited article'

(35) *întrebare **deloc** nerelevantă*
       question not at.all irelevant
       'relevant question'

1.3. DN readings in Romanian

Exceptional behaviour of the Romanian n-word *nici*

- Even if **nici + NP/PP/ADJP/ADVP/(nonfinite)VP** *might* seem a case of constituent (/lexical) negation, it does not behave like one in what concerns DN vs. NC readings.
- In the case of constituent negation (i.e. cases when a constituent that is not the predicate is negated) the sentence as a whole is affirmative (36). Moreover, whenever a NM is inserted, a DN reading is obtained (37):

NOTE: In Romanian, *nu* '**not**' can also act as constituent (not only sentence) negation:

(36) ***Nu** Petru a plecat.*   **positive sentence**
     Not Peter has left.
     'It is not Peter who left.'

1.3. DN readings in Romanian

Exceptional behaviour of the Romanian n-word *nici*

(37) ***Nu** Petru nu a plecat*.   **DN**
    Not Peter NM left.
    'It is not Peter who did not leave.'

- In the case of the negative modifier *nici,* the absence of the NM on the verb results in the ungrammaticality of the sentence; the NM is compulsory and the reading is NC:

(38) **Nici** Petru ***(nu)** a plecat.   **NC** – obligatory NM
   neither Peter NM left
   'Peter did not leave either.'

1.3. DN readings in Romanian

Exceptional behaviour of the Romanian n-word *nici*

Nici 'neither' resembles constituent negation *nu* 'not' since it does not modify other n-words (but NPIs):

(39) *A cumpărat **nu *nimic/orice**, a cumpărat un tablou.*
     has bought not nothing/anything has bought a painting
     *'It was a painting that s(he) bought, not *nothing/anything.'*

(40) ***N-**a cumpărat **nici *nimic/orice**, a cumpărat un tablou.*
     NM has bought neither nothing/anything has bought a painting
     *?'It was a painting that s(he) bought, not *nothing/anything either.'*

For a similar test regarding the behaviour of constituent negation in another strict negative concord language (Russian) see N. Fitzgibbons 2008: 54-55.

1.3. DN readings in Romanian

Exceptional behaviour of the Romanian n-word *nici*

- In Romanian, structures with ***fără* + n-word** display **NC** or **DN** when the NM ***nu*** is inserted (case **C**).

(41) *A plecat **fără** $_{NP}$[**niciun** cuvânt].*   **SN**
   has left WITHOUT no word
   '(S)he left without a word.'

(42) ***Nu** a plecat **fără** $_{NP}$[**niciun** cuvânt].*   **DN**
   NM has left WITHOUT no word
   '(S)he didn't leave without a word.'

1.3. DN readings in Romanian

Exceptional behaviour of the Romanian n-word *nici*

- ***Nici*** imposes the presence of the **NM** on the verb for the sentence to be grammatical; *when this happens, **nu** 'not' determines a **DN** reading with the negative preposition **fără** 'without':*

(43) **A plecat **nici fără** cheie.*
  left neither WITHOUT key

(44) **(**N**)-a plecat **nici fără** cheie.* **DN**
  NM has left neither WITHOUT key
  '(S)he didn't leave without the key either.'

NOTE: Such examples point out that ***nici*** can introduce a dependency (i.e. a requirement for an NM) even if the meaning of the whole structure is DN; however, the HPSG analysis will show that the dependency introduced by *nici* in (44) remains uncancelled, which explains the DN reading.

2. The case of the Romanian n-word *nici*

- In contrast with other Romanian n-words, the negative modifier **nici** has no quantificational content (and this will also affect the HPSG analysis of the negative concord dependency). It negatively focalizes the element on its right.

- Similarly to Przepiórkowski (1997), we analyse the NC dependency introduced by *nici* as an unbounded dependency construction (UDC). This construction will be accounted for lexically, through a set of constraints akin to the *Lexical Amalgamation of SLASH* or *SLASH Inheritance Constraint*.
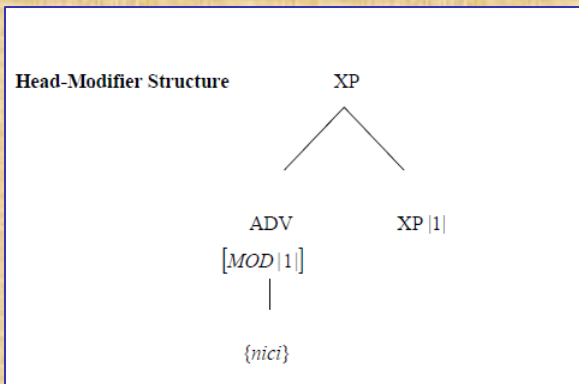
2. The case of the Romanian n-word *nici*

- In Romanian (as in Polish), NC can manifest across an arbitrary number of phrasal boundaries (although, in certain conditions, clausal boundaries can create islands).

- In (45) the NC dependency introduced by **nici** can manifest across three phrasal boundaries (until it is licensed (or cancelled) by the finite negative main verb):

(45) *Ion nu dorea $_{CP}$ [să se gândească $_{PP}$ [nici $_{PP}$ [la*
      John NM wish   SJ CL think   neither at
      $_{NP}$[perspectiva plecării]]]].
         the perspective of leaving
      'John didn't want to think about the perspective of (his) leaving either.

NOTE: 'să' is both a subjunctive marker and a clause connector.

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

- ***Nici*** is a preposed adjunct which combines with a number of phrases that it modifies semantically. In HPSG terms, this is accounted for by identifying the MOD value of the adjunct with the SYNSEM of the head daughter:
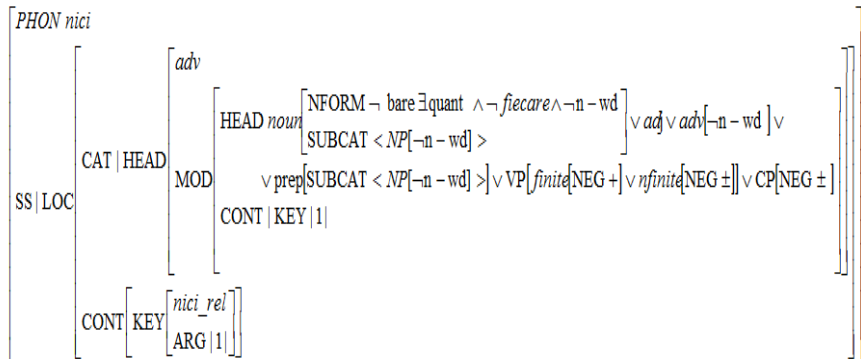
Head-Modifier Structure

```
                                    XP
                                   /  \
                                  /    \
                                 /      \
                    ADV                  XP |1|
                   [MOD |1|]
                      |
                    {nici}
```

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

AVM 1

head-adjunct-phrase $\Rightarrow$

$$\begin{bmatrix} HEAD-DTR\ [SYNSEM\,|\,1\,|] \\ ADJUNCT-DTR\ <[HEAD\,|\,MOD{:}|\,1\,|]> \end{bmatrix}$$

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

AVM 2

$$\begin{bmatrix} PHON\ nici \\ SS\,|\,LOC \begin{bmatrix} CAT\,|\,HEAD \begin{bmatrix} adv \\ MOD \begin{bmatrix} HEAD\ noun \begin{bmatrix} NFORM\ \neg\ bare\ \exists quant\ \wedge \neg fiecare \wedge \neg n-wd \\ SUBCAT < NP[\neg n-wd] > \end{bmatrix} \vee adj \vee adv[\neg n-wd] \vee \\ \vee prep\big[SUBCAT < NP[\neg n-wd] >\big] \vee VP\big[finite[NEG\,+] \vee nfinite[NEG\,\pm]\big] \vee CP[NEG\,\pm] \\ CONT\,|\,KEY\,|\,1\,| \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ CONT\begin{bmatrix} KEY \begin{bmatrix} nici\_rel \\ ARG\,|\,1\,| \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

Restrictions:

- **Nici** does **not** modify other **n-words** (i.e. **negative quantifiers**)
- **Nici** does **not** modify **bare existential quantifiers** like **vreodată** (ever), **vreunul, vreuna, vreun, vreo (**the any series**), cineva** (somebody), **ceva** (something) or the universal quantifier **fiecare** (every), **yet it modifies their non-bare counterparts**.
- **Nici** modifies **bare/non-bare universal quantifiers** like **oricine** (anybody), **orice** (anything), **etc. and toți** (all).
- **Nici does not modify the NP object of a preposition.**
- **Nici does not modify positive finite verbs (i.e. verbs not accompanied by a NM).**

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

(46)*_N-a venit **nici** PP[fără **nimic**]._
NM has come **neither** without **nothing**
'(S)he didn't come without anything either.'

(47)*_Nu vine **nici** NP[**niciun** prieten]._
NM come **neither no** friend
? 'No friend came either.'

(48) **Nici** VP[nu voi pleca].
neither NM will leave
'(I) will not leave either.'

(49)***_Nu voi **nici** pleca._
NM will **neither** leave
'(I) will not leave either.'

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

(50)*N-a văzut nici pe **cineva**.
      NM saw neither someone.
   ?'(S)he didn't see someone either.'

(51) *N-a văzut nici pe **cineva interesant**.
      NM saw neither someone interesting.
   '(S)he didn't see someone interesting either.'

(52) ***(Nu)** va pleca **nici** azi.
       NM will leave neither today
      '(S)he will not leave today either.'

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

Lexical Approach to Negative-Concord Dependency (NCD)

I. Introducing the NCD

AVM 3

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
word \\
PHON < nici > \\
SYNSEM \begin{bmatrix} LOC \mid CAT \mid HEAD : MOD \\ NLOCAL \ [\text{NC } nelist] \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

Lexical Approach to Negative-Concord Dependency (NCD)

In **AVM 4, NC Amalgamation Constraint** ensures that the NC dependency introduced by the negative modifier is inherited by the head daughter:

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

II. Percolation

Negative-Concord Amalgamation Constraint

AVM 4

word\verb $\left[\textit{finite} \right] \Rightarrow$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{NLOCAL} \left[\text{NC} \langle 1 | \rangle \right] \\ \text{DEPS} \mid \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{NLOCAL} \left[\text{NC} \langle 1 | \rangle \right] \end{bmatrix}$$

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

Lexical Approach to Negative-Concord Dependency (NCD)

In **AVM 5, NC Inheritance Constraint** ensures that, in a headed phrase, the NC dependency is transmitted from the head daughter to its maximal projection:

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

Lexical Approach to Negative-Concord Dependency (NCD)

Negative-Concord Inheritance Constraint

AVM 5

headed-phrase $\Rightarrow$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{NLOCAL} \begin{bmatrix} \text{NC} \langle 1 \vert \rangle \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{HEAD} - \text{DTR} \mid \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{NLOCAL} \begin{bmatrix} \text{NC} \langle 1 \vert \rangle \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

Lexical Approach to Negative-Concord Dependency (NCD)

In **AVM 6, NC Cancellation Constraint** ensures that the NC dependency is satisfied by the NEG + verbal form (however, in the case of the passive participles, an extra linearization constraint is necessary – see condition **d.** for elements that cancel the NC dependency):

III. Cancellation

Negative-Concord Cancellation Constraint

AVM 6

$$\text{verb}\begin{bmatrix} \text{NEG} + \\ \text{ARG} - \text{ST}...\text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{NLOCAL} \begin{bmatrix} \text{NC } nelist \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{NLOCAL} \begin{bmatrix} \text{NC } elist \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\text{verb}\begin{bmatrix} \text{VFORM } pass.part \\ NEG + \\ \text{ARG} - \text{ST}...\text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{NLOCAL} \begin{bmatrix} \text{NC } nelist \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYNSEM} \mid \text{NLOCAL} \begin{bmatrix} \text{NC } elist \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \wedge$$

$$\wedge \text{ verb} < \text{nici} \begin{bmatrix} \text{MOD PP} \end{bmatrix}$$

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

Lexical Approach to Negative-Concord Dependency (NCD)

In **AVM6**, the following elements satisfy (cancel) the NC dependency:

a. Finite NEG+ verbs (including subjunctive NEG + verbs):

(53) ***N-a venit*** *nici Ion.*
 NM has come neither John
 'John didn't come either.'

(54) *Ion spera* ***să nu vină*** *nici Maria.*
 John hoped SJ NM come neither Maria
 'John hoped Maria not to come either.'

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

Lexical Approach to Negative-Concord Dependency (NCD)

In **AVM6**, the following elements satisfy (cancel) the NC dependency:

b. NEG+ infinitives when the preceding negative marker is *fără*

(55) *A plecat **fără a lua** nici cheia.*
        has left without to take neither key.the
        '(S)he left without taking the key either.'

c. NEG+ gerunds (the negative marker is the prefix ne-)

(56) ***(Ne)fiind** nici ajutat, omul era nefericit.*
        NM.being neither helped man.the was unhappy
        'The man was unhappy since he was not helped either.'

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

Lexical Approach to Negative-Concord Dependency (NCD)

In **AVM6**, the following elements satisfy (cancel) the NC dependency:

d. NEG+ passive participles in the absence of the auxiliary verb, when the modified constituent follows the participial VP:

(57) *Se gândea la o problemă *(ne)rezolvată nici de tine.*
RF was.thinking PREP a problem NM.solved neither by you
'(S)he was thinking about a problem that could not be solved by you either.'

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

Lexical Approach to Negative-Concord Dependency (NCD)

IV. Islands

Negative-Concord Island Constraint

$$\text{head-marker-phrase}\left[\text{HEAD }_{verb}\begin{bmatrix}\text{VFORM finite}\\\text{NEG -}\end{bmatrix}\text{MARKING }_{cptzr}[\text{FORM CPTZR}\neg\text{să}]\right]$$

$$\Rightarrow [...\text{NLOCAL}[\text{NC}_{\langle\ \rangle}]]$$

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

Lexical Approach to Negative-Concord Dependency (NCD)

- According to NC Island Constraint, a **head-marker-phrase** headed by a finite NEG- verb, with the exception of clauses introduced by the complementizer **să**, does not allow percolation of the NC dependency outside the CP domain.

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

Lexical Approach to Negative-Concord Dependency (NCD)

- ***Nici*** can enter NC with an NM across a subjunctive clause boundary (i.e. clauses introduced by **'să'**) irrespective of the semantics of the matrix verb (whether it is a Neg Raising verb - see Sailer, 2006b: 376 - or not) since the subjunctive is not a barrier for NC in Romanian:

(58) *Nu a încercat $_{CP}$ [să-și viziteze nici prietenii].*
NM try SJ CL to visit neither friends.the
'(S)he didn't try to visit his/her friends either.'

(59) *Nu a vrut $_{CP}$ [să vină nici azi].*
NM has wanted SJ come neither today
'(S)he didn't want to come today either.'

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

Lexical Approach to Negative-Concord Dependency (NCD)

- However, NC cannot usually manifest across a 'that' complementizer (for a similar analysis on other Romanian n-words, see Iordăchioaia & Richter 2015):

(60) *Nu a zis _{CP}[că va veni nici Ion].
  NM has said that will come neither John

- Exceptionally, NC can be licensed in the context of a 'that' complementizer when there is a NR matrix verb:

(61) Nu cred _{CP}[că va veni nici azi].
  NM believe that will come neither today
  '(I) don't believe that he/she will come today either.'

2.1. HPSG analysis of *nici*

Lexical Approach to Negative-Concord Dependency (NCD)

In (61) the Negative Concord Island Constraint is not followed since, as the demonstration in Sailer 2006b shows, the semantic characterization of the embedded verb is actually NEG +.

I.

$$
\begin{bmatrix} \text{CONT} & |\text{KEY} & |4| \\ \text{NONLOC} & [\text{NC} \langle\ \rangle] \end{bmatrix}
$$

S

Nici Ion nu pleacă.

$$
\begin{bmatrix} \text{CONT} & |\text{KEY} & |2| \\ \text{NONLOC} & [\text{NC} \langle\ |2|\rangle] \end{bmatrix}
$$

NP

Nici Ion

V

nu pleacă

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{verb} \\ \text{VFORM} & \text{finite} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{VAL} & [\text{SUBJ} <|3 \triangleright] \\
\text{ARG} - \text{ST} <|3|> \\
\text{CONT} & |\text{KEY} & |4|[\text{NEG} +] \\
\text{NONLOC} & [\text{NC} \langle\ \rangle]
\end{bmatrix}
$$

AdvP

N

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
HEAD & \begin{bmatrix} \text{adv} \\ \text{MOD} & [\text{HEAD} & \text{noun}] \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CONT} & |\text{KEY} & |2| \begin{bmatrix} \text{ARG} & |1| \\ \text{nici\_rel} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{NONLOC} & [\text{NC} \langle\ |2|\rangle]
\end{bmatrix}
$$

$\Rightarrow$

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{HEAD} & \text{noun} \\
\text{CONT} & |1| \\
\text{NONLOC} & [\text{NC} \langle\ |2|\rangle]
\end{bmatrix}
$$

nici

Ion

(62) ***Nici Ion** *(nu) pleacă.*
neitherJohn NM leaves
'John does not leave either.'

In scheme **I.** the negative modifier ***nici*** introduces the NC dependency, which is transmitted to the head daughter ***Ion*** **(NC Amalgamation Constraint)**. Then, the **NC Inheritance Constraint** applies and the dependency is passed higher up the tree, from the head daughter to its maximal projection (***Nici Ion***). Finally, **NC Cancellation Constraint** applies since the finite verb is NEG+; the result is a finite clause with an empty NC value (i.e. there is no undischarged NC requirement).
Another principle applied in **I.** is the **Semantics Principle** ensuring that (in a headed phrase) the CONTENT value is projected to the mother node.

S

*Nici Ion pleacă.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{CONT} & | \text{KEY} & |4| \\ \text{NONLOC} & [\text{NC} \langle |2| \rangle] \end{bmatrix}$$

NP

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{CONT} & | \text{KEY} & |2| \\ \text{NONLOC} & [\text{NC} \langle |2| \rangle] \end{bmatrix}$$

Nici Ion

V

pleacă

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{verb} \\ \text{VFORM} & \text{finite} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{VAL} & [\text{SUBJ} < |3| >] \\ \text{ARG} - \text{ST} < |3| > \\ \text{CONT} & | \text{KEY} & |4| [\text{NEG} -] \\ \text{NONLOC} & [\text{NC} \langle |2| \rangle] \end{bmatrix}$$

AdvP

N

$$\begin{bmatrix} HEAD & \begin{bmatrix} \text{adv} \\ \text{MOD} & [\text{HEAD} & \text{noun}] \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CONT} & | \text{KEY} & |2| \begin{bmatrix} \text{ARG} & |1| \\ \text{nici\_rel} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{NONLOC} & [\text{NC} \langle |2| \rangle] \end{bmatrix} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & \text{noun} \\ \text{CONT} & |1| \\ \text{NONLOC} & [\text{NC} \langle |2| \rangle] \end{bmatrix}$$

nici

Ion

HPSG analysis of *nici - EXAMPLES*

In scheme **II.** the NC dependency inherited by the NP (*Nici Ion*) cannot find a licenser (since the finite verb is [NEG-]); therefore, it is percolated to the maximal projection S. The result is an unsatisfied NC dependency, which explains why the example **Nici Ion pleacă (Neither John leaves).* is ungrammatical.

(63) **(Nu) era _{VP}[**nici** necitat PP[de critici]].*   **DN**
     NM was neither uncited by critics.the
     'He was not uncited by the critics either.'

In example (63) the negative auxiliary *nu era ('was not')* has a VP argument *nici necitat (de critici).* The adverbial modifier *nici* introduces the NC dependency, which is transmitted to the negated passive participle *necitat* (de critici) - **NC Amalgamation**.
The NC dependency is then passed up to the maximal projection (VP – *nici necitat (de critici)*) – **NC Inheritance.**

HPSG analysis of *nici - EXAMPLES*

It can be noticed that the negated passive participle does not satisfy the dependency (**NC Cancellation Constraint** does not apply), but allows it to percolate until it finds a licenser – the finite VP which is also NEG +. Both the nonfinite (*necitat 'uncited'*) and the finite VP (*nu era 'was not'*) are NEG+, which determines the double-negation reading on the matrix clause.

(64) *Ion nu spera _{CP} [să vină **nici** Maria].*
John NM was.hoping SJ come neither Mary
'Ion didn't hope Maria to come either.'

In example (64) the finite VP takes a CP as argument, which contains a positive subjunctive VP *să vină ('to come')* and also the NP *nici Maria ('neither Mary')*. By **NC Amalgamation** and **NC Inheritance** constraints, the NC dependency is transmitted to the head daughter *Maria* and then to the maximal projection *nici Maria ('neither Mary')*, but it is not cancelled by the subjunctive verb (which is NEG-).

HPSG analysis of *nici - EXAMPLES*

NC Island Constraint does not apply since the lower verb is subjunctive (i.e. the embedded clause is introduced by 'să'); therefore, the NC dependency is transmitted further, until it is discharged by the NEG+ main verb.

(65) *Nu a zis $_{CP}$[că va veni nici Ion].
   NM has said that will come neither John

The mechanism is similar in (65), excepting the fact that NC percolation is blocked by the CP (**NC Island Constraint** applies in this case). Since the lower verb *va veni* is NEG-, the result is that the NC dependency remains unsatisfied (65 is correctly predicted as ungrammatical).

Conclusions

- Romanian differs from the other Romance languages since it displays obligatory NC in finite sentences; however, even if it is a strict NC language, it also allows DN structures (under certain conditions).
- The n-word *nici* shows a number of idiosyncrasies when compared with the rest of the Romanian n-words both with respect to NC and DN.
- In NC structures, *nici* introduces a long distance dependency that can manifest across multiple phrasal (even clausal) boundaries.

Bibliography

- Abeillé, Anne and Danièle Godard (1997), The syntax of French negative adverbs, *in* D.Forget, P.Hirschbuhler, F.Martineau and M.-L.Rivero, eds, 'Negation and Polarity: Syntax and Semantics', John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 1–17.

- Alexiadou, Artemis, Tibor Kiss and Gereon Müller (2012), Local Modelling of Non-Local Dependencies in Syntax: An Introduction. In Alexiadou, Artemis, Tibor Kiss & Gereon Müller (eds.) Berlin: De Gruyter.

- Bernini, Giuliano and Paolo Ramat (1996), Negative Sentences in the Languages of Europe: A Typological Approach (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 16.) Berlin: De Gruyter

- Bouma, Gosse, Robert Malouf and Ivan A. Sag (2001), 'Satisfying constraints on extraction and adjunction', Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 19.1, 1–65.

Bibliography

- Depréz, Viviane (1997), A non-unified analysis of negative concord, *in* D.Forget et al. (eds), 'Negation and Polarity: Syntax and Semantics', John Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp.53–74.

- Espinal, Maria Teresa and Pilar Prieto (2011), Intonational encoding of double negation in Catalan, *Journal of Pragmatics* 43, 2392–2410.

- Giannakidou, Anastasia (2006), N-words and negative concord, in 'Linguistics Companion', Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 327–391.

- Ionescu, Emil (1999), A quantification-based approach to negative concord in Romanian, *in* G.Kruijff and R.Oehrle, eds, 'Proceedings of Formal Grammar 1999', Utrecht, pp. 25–35.

- Iordăchioaia, Gianina (2007), A Case of Negative Polarity in Romanian, Revue Roumaine de Linguistique, LII, 1-2, București, p. 195-209.

Bibliography

- Iordăchioaia, Gianina (2010), Negative concord with negative quantifiers: a polyadic quantifier approach to Romanian negative concord. PhD diss., University of Tübingen. http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:21-opus-48224.

- Iordăchioaia, Gianina and Frank Richter (2015), Negative Concord with polyadic quantifiers. The case of Romanian, Natural Language and Linguistic Theory, 33 (2): 607-658.

- Przepiórkowski, Adam, and Anna Kupść (1997), Negative concord in Polish. Technical report, Institute of Computer Science, Polish Academy of Sciences.

- Przepiórkowski, Adam, and Anna Kupść (1999), Eventuality negation and negative concord in Polish and Italian. In *Slavic in HPSG*, eds. Robert Borsley and Adam Przepiórkowski, 211–246. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Bibliography

- Richter, Frank și Manfred Sailer (2006), Modeling typological markedness in semantics: The case of negative concord, *Proceedings of the HPSG06 Conference*, Varna, CSLI Publications, 305–325.

- Sailer, Manfred (2003), Combinatorial Semantics and Idiomatic Expressions in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Vol. 161, Arbeitspapiere des SFB 340, Universität Stuttgart and Universität Tübingen.

- Sailer, Manfred (2006), Neg-raising in an underspecified semantics framework, in O.Bonami and P.Cabredo Hofherr eds., 'Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics 6', Paris, pp. 375–403.

- Tubau, Susagna (2008), Negative concord in English and Romance: Syntax-Morphology interface conditions on the expression of negation, LOT Publications, Utrecht.

Thank you!