Negation for Every Verb in Uyghur

Summary This paper argues that a negative head may appear at four different points within a clause in Uyghur, all of which select a verbal complement. Negative concord occurs when a Negative Concord Item (NCI, Kuno 2007) is c-commanded by verbal negation before spellout.

Problems There is a limited number of Uyghur verbs which may be semantically bleached (V2) when they follow a lexical verb (V1) with the -(i)p suffix (tur has a continuous meaning rather than ‘stay’ in (1), Ibrahim 1995). Either verb in this construction may be negated (with negative suffix -may replacing -(i)p to negate V1, or -ma attaching to V2). Double negation is achieved when both V1 and V2 are negated (2).

(1) У 3sg kel-(i)p coming tur-(i)p stay-npst-3 “(S)he keeps coming.”
(2) У 3sg kel-may come neg tur-ma-i-du stay neg npst-3 “(S)he will definitely come.”

Tohti (2017) assumes that both negated verbs appear in the same clause, but does not motivate this analysis. Additionally, negation may either linearly precede or follow the progressive aspect marker, but this variability has never been explained.

(3) Kel-may-wat-i-du. Come neg prog neg npst-3 “(S)he isn’t coming.”
(4) Kel-wat-ma-i-du. Come prog neg neg npst-3 “(S)he isn’t coming.”

Proposal This paper expands upon analyses allowing multiple NegPs in languages like Korean (e.g. Hagstrom 1998) by claiming that a NegP can be merged above any verbal (inflecting) item in Uyghur: V, Voice/v, Aux, Progressive Aspect. The full clausal spine we assume is sketched in (5).

The position of negation within the clause can be checked by the ability to license an NCI on the assumption that NCI licensing is subject to Chomsky’s (2001) weak Phase Impenetrability Condition rather than a Clausemate Condition (Yamashita 2003).

Monoclauasality of bleached verb constructions NCIs require clausemate negation to be licensed.

(6) Ү hечнерсе ye-* (ma)-di-m. Nothing eat-* (NEG)-pst-1sg “I didn’t eat anything.”
(7) *Tursun [hечнерсе ye-di-0] de-ma-di-0 名字 [nothing eat-pst-3] say NEG pst-3 Intended: “Tursun didn’t say he ate anything.”

Negation of either V1 or V2 licenses an NCI object when V2 is bleached, suggesting that both verbs are in the same clause.

(8) Tursun hечнерсе ye-may tur-i-du NAME nothing eat-NEG stay-npst NAME nothing eat-(i)p stay-Neg-NPST “Tursun is still not eating anything.”
(9) Tursun hечнерсе ye-(i)p tur-ma-i-du “Tursun doesn’t keep eating anything.”

Neg selecting V There are two types of bleached V2s: those that can undergo a long passive but not select a passivized complement (low V2s, as in (8)), and those that can select a passivized complement but cannot undergo the long passive (high V2s, as in (9)). I follow Cinque (2003) and Fukuda (2012) in assuming that low V2s occupy a functional head dominated by the passive voice head, which I consider to be v. Under our analysis, a negative head can appear between a lexical V (V1) and v (V2). Since negation in this context will come from a head that c-commands the object’s but not the subject’s base position (spec, v), an object but not a subject NCI is licensed by negation of V1 followed by low V2.

(10) Ү 3sg hечнеме-ни yaz-may qoy-di-glu nothing ACC write-Neg put-pst-EMPH “(S)he didn’t write anything up.”

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(11) *Héchkim ders-ga kel-may qoy-di-ghu
Nobody class-DAT come-NEG put-PST-EMPH
Intended: “Nobody up and came to class.”

**Neg selecting Voice/v** We posit that high V2s occupy a high Auxiliary head between Voice and Progressive Aspect, and a Neg head may be merged below it in a head dominating Voice and v. When V1 is negated followed by a high V2, the Neg head is able to c-command both the object and subject, licensing both object and subject NCIs.

(12) U hêchneme-nil yaz-may tur-di-ghu
3SG nothing-ACC write-NEG stay-PST-EMPH
“(S)he kept not writing anything.”

(13) Héchkim ders-ga kel-ala-may tur-di-0-ghu
Nobody class-DAT come-ABL-NEG stay-PST-3-EMPH
“Nobody’s been making it to class.”

It is also possible for a low V2 and a high V2 to co-occur in a clause, and for the lower V2 to be negated, further demonstrating that negation is available in this medial position.

(14) U kitab-nil oqu-(i)p qoy-may tur-wat-i-du
3SG book-ACC read-(i)p put-NEG stay-PROG-NPST-3
“(S)he’s still not reading up the book.”

**Neg selecting Aux** Negation may appear between a high V2 and Progressive aspect, licensing both NCI objects and subjects.

(15) Héchkim kel-(i)p tur-may-wat-i-du.
Nobody come-(i)p stay-NEG-PROG-NPST-3
“Nobody is coming.”

(16) Héchnere ye-(i)p tur-may-wat-i-men.
Nothing eat-(i)p stay-NEG-PROG-NPST-3
“I’m not eating anything.”

**Neg selecting Prog** Recall that negation may also follow progressive aspect (4). Negation may appear in this position because the progressive marker is itself a grammaticalization of a bleached verb (Ibrahim 1995). Negation in this position licenses subject but not object NCIs. We hypothesize that the latter restriction is due to Prog being a phase head (Harwood 2015), with negation in a higher phase unable to license an NCI object (even in its derived position) in a lower phase.

(17) Héchkim kel-0-wat-ma-i-du
Nobody come-PROG-NEG-NPST-3
“Nobody is coming.”

(18) *Héchnere ye-0-wat-ma-i-men
Nothing eat-PROG-NEG-NPST-1SG
Intended: “I’m not eating anything.”