

ON LICENSING OF NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEMS IN EGYPTIAN ARABIC

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Goals

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- **First**, provide a descriptive account of the distribution of two Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) in Egyptian Arabic (EA): *ʔayy* and *walaa*.
- **Second**, compare two approaches to the licensing conditions for these two NPIs, concluding that an approach to NPI-licensing in terms of nonveridicality fares better than a monotonicity-based approach in accounting for the EA facts.

Negative Polarity Items in Egyptian Arabic

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- NPIs refer to lexical items that have restricted distribution in a language because their occurrence is tied to the presence of a “licenser” in the structure, typically one with negative or negative-like properties, hence the name NPIs (Klima 1964; Baker 1970).
- In this presentation, I discuss the behavior of two NPIs in EA: *ʔayy* (=any) and *walaa* (the polarity-sensitive item typically used in negative concord contexts).

ʔayy (=any)

أي

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- *ʔayy* functions as a determiner that combines with indefinite nouns as in the examples below:

1. *ʔayy waaʔhid* / *ʔayy ʔad* “anyone”
ʔayy ʔaagah “anything”
ʔayy ʔitta “any place”
ʔayy raagil “any man”
ʔayy kitaab “any book”

?ayy (=any)

أي

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- 2a. ?anaa maa-šuf-t-i-š ?ayy had
I NEG-SAW-1 SG-EV-NEG any one
'I didn't see anybody.'

أنا ما شفتش أي حد.

- b. *?anaa šuf-t ?ayy had
I saw-1 SG any one

*أنا شفت أي حد.

□ Similarly, *walaa* combines with indefinite nouns:

- | | | |
|----|--|------------|
| 3. | <i>walaa waaḥid</i> / <i>walaa ḥad</i> | “no one” |
| | <i>walaa ḥaagah</i> | “nothing” |
| | <i>walaa ḥittah</i> | “no place” |
| | <i>walaa raagil</i> | “no man” |
| | <i>walaa kitaab</i> | “no book” |

4a. ʔanaa maa-šuf-t-i-š walaa waahid

I NEG-saw-1 SG-EV-NEG no one

‘I didn’t see anybody.’

أنا ما شفتش ولا واحد.

b. *ʔanaa šuf-t walaa waahid

I saw-1 SG no one

*أنا شفت ولا واحد.

Road Map

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- In the first half of the presentation, I provide a descriptive account of the grammatical distribution of *ʔayy* and *walaa*.
- In the second half of the presentation, I compare two different analyses of NPI-licensing to determine which analysis is more adequate in accounting for the distribution *ʔayy* and *walaa*.

The distribution of *ʔayy* and *walaa* in EA

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- There are two types of grammatical contexts to consider with regard to the distribution of the NPIs *ʔayy* and *walaa*:
 - 5a. Contexts in which both *ʔayy* and *walaa* occur, and
 - b. Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, may occur.

Contexts where both *ʔayy* and *walaa* occur: Clausemate Sentential Negation

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6a. maa-šuf-t-i-š **ʔayy/walaa** waahid

NEG-saw-1 SG-EV-NEG any/no one

‘I didn’t see anybody.’

ما شفتش أي/ولا واحد.

b. maa-šuf-t-i-š **ʔayy/walaa** haagah

NEG-saw-1 SG-EV-NEG any/no thing

‘I didn’t see anything.’

ما شفتش أي/ولا حاجة.

Contexts where both *ʔayy* and *walaa* occur: *min-ʕeir* (=without) clauses

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7. ʔalii mišii min-ʕeir maa
Ali left.3sSGM without COMP
yi-tkallim maʔa **ʔayy/walaa** waahid
IPFV-talk.3SGM with any/no one
'Ali left without talking to anyone.'

علي مشي من غير ما يتكلم مع أي/ولا واحد.

Contexts where both *ʔayy* and *walaa* occur: *min-ʕeir* (=without) clauses

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8. Mona laff-it kitiir fii-ʔil-mool

Mona shopped.3SGF much in-the-mall

min-ʕeir maa ti-štirii **ʔayy/walaa** ḥaagah

without COMP IPFV-buy.3SGF any/no thing

‘Mona shopped around at the mall for a long time
without buying anything.’

منى لفت كثير في المول من غير ما تشتري أي/ولا حاجة.

Contexts where both *ʔayy* and *walaa* occur: *ʔabl* (=before) clauses

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9. ʔabuu-haa maat ʔabl maa yi-šooʔ
father-her died.3SGM before COMP see.3SGM
ʔayy/walaa waahid min ʔaħfaad-u-h
any/no one from grandchildren-EV-his
‘Her father died without seeing any of his
grandchildren.’

أبوها مات قبل ما يشوف أي/ولا واحد من أحفاده.

Contexts where both *ṣayy* and *walaa* occur: *ṣabl* (=before) clauses

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10. Mona laff-it kitiir fii-ʔil-mool

Mona shopped.3SGF much in-the-mall

ʔabl mac ti-štirii ʔayy/***walaa** ḥaagah

before COMP IPFV-buy.3SGF any/no thing

‘Mona shopped around at the mall for a long time before buying anything.’

منى لفت كثير فى المول قبل ما تشتري أي*/ولا حاجة.

So,

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- *ʔayy* and *walaa* may occur interchangeably in the contexts of
 - (i) clausemate sentential negation,
 - (ii) *without*-clauses, and
 - (iii) some *before*-clauses.

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs:

Distant Negation

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11. Aḥmad maa-ʔaal-š ʔin Mona

Ahmad NEG-said.3SGM-NEG COMP Mona

fihm-it **ʔayy/*walaa** ḥaagah

understood-3SGF any/no thing

‘Ahmad didn’t say that Mona understood anything.’

أحمد ما قالش إن منى فهمت أي/ولا حاجة.

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs: *Polar Questions (non-rhetorical)*

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12a. ʔinta šuf-t **ʔayy/*walaa** waahid?

you saw-2SGM any/no one

‘Did you see anybody?’

إنت شفت أي/ولا واحد؟

b. ʔinta akal-t **ʔayy/*walaa** haagah?

you ate-2SGM any/no thing

‘Did you eat anything?’

إنت أكلت أي/ولا حاجة؟

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs: *Polar Questions (rhetorical)*

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13. Huwwa Aḥmad ʕumr-uh ʔaraa

Q Ahmad ever-his read.3SGM

ʔayy/*walaa kitaab?

any/no book

‘Did Ahmad ever read a book?’

هوا أحمد عمره قرا أي/ولا كتاب؟

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs: *Wh-questions (non-rhetorical)*

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14. miin fii-kum yi-ʔraf **ʔayy/*walaa**

who in-you IPFV-know.3SGM any/no

ḥaagah ʔan ʔil-lingwistiks?

thing about the-linguistics

‘Who among you knows anything about
linguistics?’

مين فيكم يعرف أي/ولا حاجة عن اللينجويستكس؟

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs: *Wh-questions (rhetorical)*

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15. huwwa min ʔimtaa Aḥmad

Q from when Ahmad

bi-yi-fham **ʔayy/*walaa**

ASP-IPFV-understand.3SGM any/no

ḥaagah fii ʔil-ʔiqtiSaad?

thing in the-economics

‘Since when does Ahmad understand anything
about economics?’

هوا من امتى أحمد يفهم أي/ولا حاجة في الاقتصاد؟

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs:
The protasis of a conditional (non-counterfactual)

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16. law šuft **ʔayy/*walaa** ḥaagah
if saw.2SGM any/no thing
ballaʕ ʔil-boliis
tell.IMP the-police

‘If you see anything, call the police!’

لو شفت أي/ولا حاجة بلغ البوليس.

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs: The protasis of a conditional (counterfactual)

22

17. law kunt šuft **ʔayy/*walaa** ḥaagah

if was.1SG saw.1SG any/no thing

kunt ballaʕ-t ʔil-boliis

was.1SG tell.IMP-1SG the-police

‘If I had seen anything, I would have called the
police.’

لو كنت شفت أي/ولا حاجة كنت بلغت البوليس.

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs: *As-if* clauses

23

18. ʔinta bi-ti-tkallim wi-kaʔina-k
you ASP-IPFV-talk.2SGM and-as-you
faahim **ʔayy/*walaa** haagah
understanding.PTCP any/no thing
fii ʔil-lingwistiks
in the-linguistics
'You talk as if you understand anything in
linguistics.'

إنت بتتكلم وكأنك فاهم أي حاجة/ولا حاجة في اللينجويستكس.

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs: The restriction of a universal quantifier

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19. kul waaḥid ʔand-u-h **ʔayy/*walaa**

every one at-EV-him any/no

suʔaal yi-kallim-ni baʔd

question IPFV-talk.3SGM-me after

ʔil-muḥaaDrah

the-lecture

‘Everyone who has a question should talk to me
after the lecture.’

كل واحد عنده أي سؤال / *ولا سؤال يكلمني بعد المحاضرة.

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs: The nuclear scope of *ʔulayyiliin* (=few)

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20. naas ʔulayyil-iin fii ʔil-ʕarb
people few-PL in the-West
bi-yi-ʔraf-uu **ʔayy/*walaa** ʔaagah
ASP-IPFV-know-3PL any/no thing
ʔan ʔil-islam
about the-Islam
'Few people in the West know anything about
Islam.'

ناس قليلين في الغرب بيعرفوا أي حاجة/*ولا حاجة عن الإسلام.

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs: Comparative *too*-clauses

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21. Aḥmad ʔaDʕaf min ʔinn-u-h
Ahmad weaker than COMP-EV-him
yi-ʔuul **ʔayy/*walaa** ḥaagah
IPFV-say.3SGM any/no thing
li-l-mudiir
to-the-manager
'Ahmad is too weak to say anything to the
manager.'

أحمد أضعف من إنه يقول أي حاجة/*ولا حاجة للمدير.

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs: Direct object of adversative predicates

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22. Aḥmad ʔankar

ʔayy/*walaa

Ahmad denied.3SG any/no

ʔilaaqah lii-h bi-l-mawduuʔ

relation to-him with-the-subject

‘Ahmad denied having anything to do with this
issue.’

أحمد أنكر أي علاقة/*ولا علاقة له بالموضوع.

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs: Embedded clause of adversative predicates

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23. ʔašukk ʔin Aḥmad bi-yi-tkallim
doubt.1SG COMP Ahmad ASP-IPFV-talk.2SGM
maʔa **ʔayy/*walaa** bint fii ʔil-gaamʔah
with any/no girl in the-university
‘I doubt that Ahmad talks to any girl at the
university.’

أشك إن أحمد بيتكلم مع أي بنت/ولا بنت في الجامعة.

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs: Free choice contexts (Generics)

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24. ʔil-ḥukoomaat ʔil-ʕarabiyyah

the-governments the-Arab

bi-ti-Daayiʔ **ʔayy/*walaa** Saḥafii

ASP-IPFV-harass.3SGF any/no journalist

ya-ntaqid-haa

IPFV-criticize.3SGM-them

‘Arab governments harass any journalist that
criticizes them.’

الحكومات العربية بتضايق أي صحفي/ولا صحفي ينتقدها.

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs: Free choice contexts (Future)

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25. ʔanaa ha-dawwar ʔalaa **ʔayy/*walaa**

I FUT-look.1SG for any/no

waahid yi-saaʔid-nii

one IPFV-help.3SGM-me

‘I will look for anyone to help me.’

أنا هادور على أي واحد/ولا واحد يساعدني.

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs: Free choice contexts (Modals)

31

26. mumkin ni-tʔaabil fii **ʔayy/*walaa**

possible IPFV-meet.1 PL at any/no

waʔt bukraḥ

time tomorrow

‘We may meet any time tomorrow.’

ممکن نتقابل في أي/ولا وقت بكره.

27. laazim ti-šuuḥ **ʔayy/*walaa** doktoor

must.PTCP IPFV-see.1 PL any/no doctor

‘You must see a doctor.’

لازم تشوف أي دكتور/ولا دكتور.

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs:

Free choice contexts (complement of intensional verbs)

32

28. ʔatmannaa ʔinn-a-k ti-saafir

IPFV.hope.1SG COMP-EV-YOU IPFV-travel.3SGM

li-ʔayy/*li-walaa balad ʔarabii

to-any/to-no country Arab

‘I hope you would travel to any Arab country.’

اتمنى إنك تسافر لأي بلد/لولا بلد عربي.

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs: Free choice contexts (Habituals)

33

29. dayman ʔabl ʔil-noom ba-ħib

always before the-sleep ASP.IPFV-like.1 SG

ʔa-tfarrag ʔalaa **ʔayy/*walaa**

IPFV-watch.1 SG on any/no

barnaamig fii ʔil-tilifizyoon

program in the-television

‘I always like to watch any program on TV before I
go to bed.’

دائما قبل النوم بحب اتفرج على أي برنامج/ولا برنامج في التلفزيون.

Contexts where *ʔayy*, but not *walaa*, occurs: Imperatives

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30. ʔanni-l-naa ʔayy/*walaa ʔuʔniyyah

sing.IMP-to-us any/no song

yaa Waḥiid!

VOC Waḥiid

‘Waḥiid, sing us any song!’

غني لنا أي أغنية/ولا أغنية يا وحيد.

Grammatical context	An <i>ʔayy</i>-phrase	A <i>walaa</i>-phrase
Clausemate Negation	Yes	Yes
<i>Without</i> -clauses	Yes	Yes
<i>Before</i> -clauses	Yes	Yes
Distant Negation	Yes	No
Polar questions (rhetorical or non-rhetorical)	Yes	No
Wh-questions (rhetorical or non-rhetorical)	Yes	No
Protasis of conditionals (counterfactual or non-counterfactual)	Yes	No
<i>As-if</i> clauses	Yes	No
The restriction of \forall	Yes	No
The nuclear scope of <i>ʔulayyiliin</i> (=few) and <i>ʔulayyiliin giddan</i> (=very few)	Yes	No
Comparatives <i>too</i> -clauses	Yes	No
As direct objects or in the complement clause of adversative predicates	Yes	No
Generics	Yes	No
Future	Yes	No
Modals	Yes	No
In the complement clause of intensional verbs	Yes	No
Habituals	Yes	No
Imperatives	Yes	No

35 **Table 1. Contrastive distribution of *ʔayy* and *walaa* in EA**

Two questions:

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- 31 a. First, what grammatical property licenses the occurrence of *ʔayy* and *walaa* in the contexts in Table 1? Let's call that ***the licensing question***.
- b. Second, why does *ʔayy* have a wider distribution than *walaa* in EA? Let's call that ***the contrastive distribution question***.

Two approaches to questions (31a,b):

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- The monotonicity-based approach
(Ladusaw 1979)
- The veridicality-based approach
(Giannakidou 1997, 1998, 2009)

The monotonicity-based approach (MBA) to NPI-licensing

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32. δ is a trigger for NPIs if and only if δ is **downward-entailing**. (Ladusaw 1979:113)

where downward entailment is defined as follows:

33. A function f is *downward-entailing* iff for arbitrary elements X, Y it holds that: $X \subseteq Y \rightarrow f(Y) \subseteq f(X)$.

- Downward-entailing (DE) functions are order reversing and allow inferences from sets to subsets.

DE operators: Negation, *few*, and *seldom*

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34. Ahmad does not own a house.
 $\| \text{a big house} \| \subseteq \| \text{house} \|\$
 \therefore Ahmad does not own a big house.
35. Few Arabs eat vegetables.
 $\| \text{spinach} \| \subseteq \| \text{vegetable} \|\$
 \therefore Few Arabs eat spinach.
36. Arabs seldom eat vegetables.
 $\| \text{spinach} \| \subseteq \| \text{vegetable} \|\$
 \therefore Arabs seldom eat spinach.

DE operators license *any* in English

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- 37a. Ahmad did not understand anything.
- b. Few students understood anything.
- c. These students seldom understand anything.

Non-DE operators: Affirmation, *many*, and *often*

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38. Ahmad owns a house.
 $\| \text{a big house} \| \subseteq \| \text{house} \|$
 \neq Ahmad owns a big house.
39. Many Arabs eat vegetables.
 $\| \text{spinach} \| \subseteq \| \text{vegetable} \|$
 \neq Many Arabs eat spinach.
40. Arabs often eat vegetables.
 $\| \text{spinach} \| \subseteq \| \text{vegetable} \|$
 \neq Arabs often eat spinach.

Non-DE operators do not license *any* in English

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- 41 a. *Ahmad understood anything.
- b. *Many students understood anything.
- c. *These students often understand anything.

But why do some NPIs have a wider distribution than others?

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- Because not all DE functions are created equal.
- Zwarts (1995, 1996) and van der Wouden (1997) propose a more fine-grained system of downward entailment, where three types of DE functions are identified:

monotone decreasing (e.g., *few*, *seldom*);

anti-additive (e.g., *nobody*, *no student*); and

antimorphic (e.g., sentential negation, *without*).

So, how does the MBA explain the distribution of *ʔayy* and *walaa* in EA?

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- Under the MBA, we have the following answers to the licensing and contrastive distribution questions in (31a,b):
 - 42a. Both *ʔayy* and *walaa* occur in contexts that include a DE operator.
 - b. *ʔayy* is licensed in the context of a monotone decreasing operator, whereas *walaa* is licensed in the context of an antimorphic operator.

Problems for the MBA analysis:

Not general enough

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- Do all the grammatical contexts in Table 1 contain a DE operator?
- Some of them indeed do: negation, *without*, *before*, restrictor of \forall , nuclear scope of *ʔulayyiliin*.
- But some are not as clearly DE: questions, the protasis of conditionals, comparatives, and imperatives.
- And some are typically characterized as nonmonotone: generics, future, and modals.
- Downward entailment thus does not seem to be a general enough notion to account for all contexts of NPI licensing (Giannakidou 1998, 2009).

Problems for the MBA analysis:

Antimorphicity is too restrictive for EA

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- Recall the behavior of *walaa* in *before*-contexts: sometimes it is allowed, and sometimes not (cf. 9-10).
- If *before* were antimorphic, then we would predict *walaa* to occur in all *before*-clauses, contrary to fact.
- If *before* were anti-additive, then we would predict that other anti-additive operators such as adversative predicates would license *walaa*, again contrary to fact (cf. 22-23).

Summary 1

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- DE is not a general enough notion to account for all contexts of NPI licensing in EA, nor is it able to account for the contrast in distribution between *ʔayy* and *walaa* in the language, particularly in *before*-contexts.

The veridicality-based approach (VBA) to NPI-licensing

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- Giannakidou (1997, 1998, 2009), developing ideas in Zwarts (1995), argues for an analysis of NPI-licensing in terms of the semantic notion of (non)veridicality.
- The **veridicality** of a proposition has to do with certainty and an individual's commitment to the truth of a proposition.
- **Nonveridicality** characterizes those contexts where no such commitment is made.
- Nonveridical contexts in which a commitment is made to the falsity of a proposition are said to be **antiveridical**.

The VBA: Formal definitions

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- 43a. A propositional operator F is veridical iff Fp entails or presupposes that p is true in some individual's epistemic model $M_E(x)$; otherwise F is nonveridical.
- b. A nonveridical operator F is antiveridical iff Fp entails that *not* p in some individual's epistemic model: $Fp \rightarrow \neg p$ in some $M_E(x)$.

The VBA: Examples

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□ “Yesterday” is a veridical operator:

44. John left yesterday. →
[John left] is true.

□ “Perhaps” is a nonveridical operator:

45. Perhaps John left. →
[John left] may not be true.

□ Negation is an antiveridical operator:

46. John didn’t leave. →
[John left] is false.

So, what's the answer to the licensing question under the VBA?

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- Giannakidou argues that the grammatical contexts in Table 1 are all nonveridical, and, therefore, concludes that NPIs are licensed only when in the scope of a nonveridical operator.
- For example, interrogatives and imperatives are argued not to have truth values, and in that sense are nonveridical.

So, what's the answer to the licensing question under the VBA?

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- The protasis of a noncounterfactual conditional is also nonveridical, since, in some intuitive sense, it may or may not be met.
- The same applies to future events, and those introduced by modals.
- The restriction of a universal quantifier is also nonveridical; “*every student who has any question,*” does not entail that “*every student has a question.*” In fact, it is compatible with a context in which no student has any question.

So, what's the answer to the contrastive distribution question under the VBA?

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47. *ʔayy* is licensed in nonveridical contexts.
whereas *walaa* is licensed in antiveridical contexts.

- We have already shown that clausemate sentential negation is antiveridical. How about *without* and *before*?

p without q

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- *Without* is veridical with regard to its *p* argument, but antiveridical with respect to its *q* argument:

48. John left without talking to Mary. →

[John left] is true.

[John talked to Mary] is false.

- Prediction: *walaa* may always occur in the *q* argument of *without*, which is indeed the case (cf. the examples in (7-8)).

p before q

55

- *Before* is veridical with respect to its *p* argument, but its veridicality status with respect to the *q* argument is context-sensitive.
- In some contexts, *before* is nonveridical with respect to the *q* argument, as in (51):

49. John resigned before talking to his boss. →
[John resigned] is true.
[John talked to his boss] may not be true.

p before q

56

- In other contexts, the *q* argument of *before* can indeed be antiveridical:

50. John died before seeing his grandchildren. →

[John died] is true.

[John saw his grandchildren] is false.

- Prediction: *walaa* will occur in the *q* argument of *before*, but only when it is antiveridical, which is indeed the case (cf. the examples in (9-10), repeated on the next two slides).

Now, reconsider the EA facts:

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51. ʔabuu-haa maat ʔabl maa yi-šooʔ
father-her died.3SGM before COMP see.3SGM
ʔayy/walaa waahid min ʔaħfaad-u-h
any/no one from grandchildren-EV-his
‘Her father died without seeing any of his
grandchildren.’

أبوها مات قبل ما يشوف أي/ولا واحد من أحفاده.

Now, reconsider the EA facts:

58

52. Mona laff-it kitiir fii-ʔil-mool

Mona shopped.3SGF much in-the-mall

ʔabl maa ti-štirii ʔayy/*walaa ḥaagah

before COMP IPFV-buy.3SGF any/no thing

‘Mona shopped around at the mall for a long time
before buying anything.’

منى لفت كثير في المول قبل ما تشتري أي/ولا حاجة.

Summary 2

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- The VBA fares better than the MBA in its account for the occurrence of *ʔayy* and *walaa* in EA as well as the contrast in distribution between them.
- As it turns out, the VBA also has further empirical consequences for licensing of *ʔayy* (or lack thereof) in other grammatical contexts. I discuss one such case next.

Licensing *ʔayy* with propositional attitude predicates (PAPs) of the directive type

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- PAPs of the directive-type such as *ʕaayiz* (=want), *ʕaayif* (=suggest, be of the opinion of), and *ʔaSarr* (=insist), allow the occurrence of *ʔayy* in their complement domains, where the embedded verb typically appears in the imperfective.

ʕaayiz (=want)

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53. ʕanaa ʕaayiz-ik ti-tʕarraaf-ii
I want.PTCP-EV-you.SGF IPFV-meet-3SGF
ʕalaa ʕayy mumassil
on any actor
'I would like you to meet any actor.'

أنا عايزك تتعرفي على أي ممثل.

šaayif (=suggest, be of the opinion of)

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54. ʔanaa šaayif ʔinn-ik
I see.PTCP.SGM COMP-you.SGF
ti-tʔarraaf-ii ʔalaa ʔayy mumassil
IPFV-meet-3SGF on any actor
'I suggest that you meet any actor.'

أنا شايف إنك تتعرفي على أي ممثل.

ʔaSarr (=insist)

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55. Aḥmad ʔaSarr ʔinn-i-naa
Ahmad insisted.3SGM COMP-EV-we
ni-daxxal ʔayy Taalib
IPFV-let.in.1 PL any student
ʔil-muḥaaDrah
the-lecture

‘Ahmad insisted that we let in any student to the lecture.’

أحمد أصر إننا ندخل أي طالب المحاضرة.

Non-licensing of *ʔayy* with epistemic and factive predicates

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- By contrast, PAPs of the epistemic and factive type such as *Zann* (=believe), *ʕaarif* (=know), and *ħilim* (=dream), which allow the verb to appear in the perfective form, typically do not license *ʔayy* in their complement domains.

Zann (believe)

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56. *ʔaZunn ʔinn Mona ʔitʔarraḥ-it
believe.1SG COMP Mona met-3SGF
ʔalaa ʔayy mumassil
on any actor

‘*I believe that Mona met any actor.’

*أظن إن منى اتعرفت على أي ممثل.

ʕaarif (=know.ptcp)

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57. *ʕanaa ʕaarif ʕinn-ik
I know.PTCP.1SG COMP-you.SGF
ʕitʕarraḥ-tii ʕalaa ʕayy mumassil
met-3SGF on any actor
‘*I know that you met any actor.’

*أنا عارف إنك اتعرفتي على أي ممثل.

ħilim (=dream)

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58. *ʔanaa ħilim-t ʔinn-ik
I dreamed.1SG COMP-you.SGF
ʔitʔarraḥ-tii ʔalaa ʔayy mumassil
met-3SGF on any actor

‘*I dreamed that you met any actor.’

*أنا حلمت انك اتعرفتي على أي ممثل.

PAPs and (non)veridicality

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- Under the VBA, the contrast between both types of PAPs follows from (non)veridicality: Whereas the complements of directive PAPs are nonveridical, those of epistemic and factive PAPs are veridical.

PAPs and (non)veridicality:

Believe vs. want

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- 59a. $[[\text{Jacob believes that Sue loves Paul}]]_c = 1$ iff
 $\forall w [w \in M_E(\text{Jacob}) \rightarrow w \in \lambda w'. \text{Sue loves Paul in } w']$
- b. $[[\text{Jacob wants that Sue leave}]]_c = 1$ if
 $\exists w [w \in M_E(\text{Jacob}) \wedge w \in \lambda w'. \text{Sue leave in } w']$

A note on locality for *walaa*

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If antiveridicality is the licencing condition on *walaa*,
then why can't it be licensed long-distance?

11. Aħmad maa-ʔaal-š ʔin Mona
Ahmad NEG-said.3SGM-NEG COMP Mona
fihm-it ʔayy/*walaa ħaagah
understood-3SGF any/no thing
'Ahmad didn't say that Mona understood
anything.'

أحمد ما قالش إن منى فهمت أي/ولا حاجة.

A note on locality for *walaa*

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- The locality constraint on *walaa* licensing is not tied to the semantics of antiveridicality. Rather, locality of grammatical dependencies is better accounted for in syntactic terms.
- One possible explanation, suggested by Giannakidou (1998) for Modern Greek, is to assume, that *walaa*-phrases are quantifiers, hence undergo QR. Since QR is clause-bound, *walaa*'s licenser has to be clausemate.
- Another approach is to assume that *walaa* has a formal feature that requires licensing via a syntactic operation, say Agree (Chomsky 2001). Since Agree is subject to a locality condition (the so-called *Phase Impenetrability Condition*), the clausemateness condition follows.

Conclusions

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- The grammatical distribution of the two NPIs *ʔayy* and *walaa* in EA provides empirical evidence in support of the VBA account of NPI-licensing, and against the MBA analysis.
- For one thing, the MBA is unable to explain the difference in behavior between *ʔayy* and *walaa*, particularly with regard to the occurrence of *walaa* in *before*-clauses.
- More generally, the MBA fails to explain why *ʔayy* can still occur in non-downward-entailing contexts such as interrogatives or modals.

Conclusions

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- The VBA, by contrast, can readily explain the difference in behavior between *ʔayy* and *walaa* by imposing an antiveridicality restriction on the licensing of *walaa*, which also has the advantage of explaining the variable behavior of *walaa* in *before*-clauses.
- The VBA also offers a unified account for all contexts of *ʔayy* licensing, including free choice environments, by appealing to the notion of nonveridicality.
- Furthermore, the VBA is shown to account for the variable behavior of *ʔayy* with propositional attitude predicates.

Conclusions

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- I conclude that the VBA is empirically superior to the MBA when it comes to NPI licensing in EA.

Abbreviations in glosses

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- The following abbreviations are used in the glosses of the Egyptian Arabic data in the paper: 1, 2, 3 for first, second, and third person, respectively; SG = singular; PL = plural; DU = dual; M = masculine; F = feminine; NEG = negation marker; FUT = future; COMP = complementizer; IPFV = imperfective; PTCP = participial; Q = question-particle; IMP = imperative; VOC = vocative particle; EV = epenthetic vowel.

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THANK YOU!

شكرا لحسن استماعكم!