

# 1.

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## ***Negative concord in Serbo-Croat APs***

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Sproat and Shih (1990) and Larson (2000), among others, propose analyses in which Adjective phrases (AP's) are derived as relative clauses. I will present data from Serbo-Croat (S-C) supporting this view.

S-C is a negative concord language. I will borrow the term n-words for the items showing negative concord from Laka (1990), and take the definition for n-words from Giannakidou (in press), that an expression is an n-word iff it can be used in structures containing sentential negation or another n-word yielding a reading equivalent to one of logical negation and if it can provide a negative fragment answer.

As illustrated in (1), n-words which give universally quantified fragment negation can be used in S-C **only** if the finite verb in the clause is negated (a requirement of the negative concord).

- (1) a. Niko        nikoga                nikad        nigde        \*(ne)        zove.  
         NEG.who NEG.who.ACC        NEG.when    NEG.where    not        invite  
         No one invites anyone anywhere ever.
- b. A: Ko vidi Jovana?                B: Niko.  
              Who does see Jovan?                No one.  
         A: Kad Jovan dolazi?                B: Nikad.  
              When does Jovan come?                Never.

The n-word 'nimalo' *not at all* (lit. not-even-little) is another negative universal quantifier, and modifies mass nouns, (bare) plurals and adjectives.

- (2) a. Jovan    \*(ne)    pokazuje    nimalo                milosti.  
         Jovan    not        shows        not-at-all                mercy.GEN  
         Jovan doesn't show any mercy.
- b. Jovan    \*(ne)    izgleda    nimalo                naivan / naivno.  
         Jovan    not        looks        not-at-all                naive.MASC / naive.NEUTR  
         Jovan doesn't seem to be naive at all.
- c. A: Koliko rakije ima Jovan?                B: Nimalo.  
              How much brandy has Jovan?                No (brandy) at all.

Interestingly, however, 'nimalo' *can* appear in sentences that have no negated verb, on condition that it modifies an adjective. The same n-word yields ungrammaticality when it modifies a property realized by a mass or plural noun as shown in (3).

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- (3) a. Jovan je dobio nimalo naivno pitanje o rekurziji.  
 Jovan AUX gotten not-at-all naive question about recursion  
 Jovan got the not-naive-at-all question about recursion.
- b. Nimalo naivno pitanje o rekurziji je sasvim zbunilo Jovana.  
 not-at-all naive question about recursion AUX completely confused Jovan  
 The not-naive-at-all question about recursion totally confused Jovan.

This is expected if AP's are derived as relative clauses (potentially reduced and/or preposed, depending on one's favorite analysis) in which the n-word is in a proper environment with a negated verb. On this view, the facts involving noun modification in (2) are unsurprising: while the sentences with 'nimalo' in AP's in (3) can be rephrased as in (4), no such rephrasing is possible for the examples in (2).

- (4) a. Jovan je dobio pitanje o rekurziji, koje nije nimalo naivno.  
 Jovan AUX gotten question<sub>i</sub> about recursion which<sub>i</sub> not is not-at-all naive  
 Jovan got the question about recursion, which isn't naive at all.
- b. Pitanje o rekurziji, koje nije nimalo naivno,  
 question<sub>i</sub> about recursion which<sub>i</sub> not is not-at-all naive  
 je sasvim zbunilo Jovana.  
 AUX completely confused Jovan  
 The question about recursion, which isn't naive at all, totally confused  
 Jovan.

Notice that in participial reduced relatives as well, n-words can appear without the overt presence of negation:

- (5) a. To su bile ničim izazvane sankcije.  
 that AUX been nothing.INST provoked sanctions.  
 Those were fully unprovoked sanctions. (lit. by nothing provoked)
- cf. b. Sankcije \*(ni-)su bile ničim izazvane.  
 sanctions NEG-AUX been nothing.INST provoked.  
 The sanctions were not provoked by anything.

## References

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