

SYNTACTIC CHANGE IN PROGRESS: INSIGHTS FROM THE CASE OF *ANGORE**

THERESA BIBERAUER & ROBERTA D’ALESSANDRO
University of Cambridge/Stellenbosch University & Leiden University
(mtb23@cam.ac.uk & r.dalessandro@hum.leidenuniv.nl)

1. INTRODUCTION

FOCUS

- a lexical peculiarity in Abruzzese: the behaviour of *angore*
- motivation: *angore* offers
 - (a) a telling SYNCHRONIC INSIGHT into the structural make-up of feature bundles; and
 - (b) an equally telling DIACHRONIC INSIGHT: the possibility of teasing apart components of the process in terms of which an element becomes “more negative” (cf. Jäger 2008 for recent overview discussion).

TALK STRUCTURE

- Section 2: The empirical facts
- Section 3: The proposed analysis and its theoretical implications
- Section 4: Concluding summary

2. THE EMPIRICAL FACTS

2.1. ANCORA IN STANDARD ITALIAN

- 3 postverbal uses of *ancora* in StIt:

- (1) a. *Parlo ancora italiano* [still]
I-speak still Italian
“I still speak Italian”
- b. *Non vedo ancora Maria* [not...yet]
not I-see yet Maria
“I don’t see Maria yet”
- c. *Tornerò ancora a Roma* [again]
I-will-come again to Rome
“I will come to Rome again”

- *Ancora* can also appear in focused positions [from Cinque 1999:30]:

* We thank the following for their comments, suggestions and help with data: Michela Cennamo, Sonia Cyrino, Eftychia Eftychiou, Petros Karatsareas, Neil Myler, Cecilia Poletto, Salvador Pons Borderia, Eva Remberger and Christina Tortora. Particular thanks to Neil Myler for alerting us to the existence of languages featuring superficially identical “still” and “(not) yet” adverbials.

- (2) a. *Gianni manda (**ancora**) biglietti di auguri (***ancora**) agli amici*
 Gianni sends still greeting cards still to-the friends
 “Gianni STILL sends postcards to his friends” [still]
- a'. *Gianni (**ancora**) manda biglietti di auguri (***ancora**) agli amici*
 Gianni still sends greeting cards still to-the friends
 “Gianni STILL sends postcards to his friends” [still]
- b. *Gianni non ha (**ancora**) ricevuto biglietti d’auguri (**ancora**)*
 Gianni not has yet received greeting cards yet
da nessuno
 from nobody
 “Gianni hasn’t YET received postcards from anyone” [not yet]
- c. *Visiterà (**ancora**) Maria a Roma (**ancora**) due volte*
 (S)he-will visit again Maria in Roma again two times
 “She will AGAIN visit Maria in Rome, two times” [again]

THUS

- *Ancora* in Standard Italian neutrally surfaces postverbally
- When focused, it may also surface preverbally or clause-finally

2.2. ANGORE IN ABRUZZESE

- The adverb *angore* indicates both that an action is still taking place (3a) and, paradoxically, also that it has not yet done so (3b):

(3) a. *Magne **angore***
 eats still
 “(S)he still eats/she is still eating”

b. *Angore **magne***
 still/yet eats
 “(S)he hasn’t eaten yet”

- The same is true in the past tense:

(4) a. *Me tene’ **‘ngore** fame*
 to-me held-IMPERF. still hunger
 “I was still hungry”

b. ***Angore** me tene’ fame*
 yet to-me held- IMPERF. hunger
 “I wasn’t hungry yet”

Angore’s distribution is puzzling in various ways.

- (a) its meaning varies depending on its position:

- postverbal *angore* – “still” (cf. *ancora* in (1a))
- preverbal *angore* – “not yet” (cf. *ancora* in (1b))
- postverbal *angore* – “again” (cf. *ancora* in (1c)) [Given that the use of *angore* meaning “again” is quite marginal, we will leave it aside for this talk]

(b) it is consistently incompatible with perfective aspect, regardless of its position:

(5) ***(Angore)** a *magnate* **(angore)**
still/yet has eaten still

- THE USUAL PATTERN: *Yet*-adverbials contrast with *still* adverbials in selecting bounded events, thus being incompatible with imperfective aspect (cf. Iatridou et al. 2001, Verkuyl et al. 2005, van Geenhoven 2005)
- THE ABRUZZESE PATTERN: The *yet*-adverbial is BARRED from the aspectual context usually associated with *yet*-adverbials (5).

QUESTIONS ARISING

QUESTION 1: What is the significance of the positional difference between the two *angores*?

QUESTION 2: Why does preverbal *angore* fail to exhibit the usual aspectual restriction on *yet*-adverbials?

- A possible perspective on the Abruzzese situation: The *yet*-adverbial meaning “not yet” is an innovative *angore* (*angore*₂), which still occurs in the aspectual environment associated with the form from which it developed, the *still*-adverbial *angore* (*angore*₁).

(6) HYPOTHESIS: *angore*₂ is historically related to *angore*₁

3. THE PROPOSED ANALYSIS

3.1. ON THE TWO ANGORES

- Four possibilities
- (a) there are 2 accidentally homophonous *angores* in the lexicon
- (b) there is only 1 underspecified *angore* in the lexicon, which can be merged in different clausal domains (cf. Cinque 1999: 8-10, 106)
- (c) *angore*₂ has derived from *non angore*
- (d) there are 2 *angores* in the lexicon, with *angore*₂ representing a reanalyzed form of *angore*₁

- Evaluating the four possibilities

(a) there are 2 accidentally homophonous *angores* in the lexicon

- unexciting: a mere “translation” of the observed facts, with no predictive force
- no account of the aspectual idiosyncrasy exhibited by *angore*₂
- PLUS: data from a range of languages suggest that the phonological identity of adverbs meaning “still” and “(not) yet” should not be regarded as accidental:

(6) a. *Ê sa mina pikina? Efan, antawo* [Santomé]
 she be girl small yes still
 “Is she still a virgin/young girl? Yes, she still is.”

b. *So nen na bi antawo fa*
 then they not come still NEG
 “Then they haven’t come yet” (Hagemeyer 2007: 258-9)

(7) Q: *Has preparado la cena?* [Andean Spanish]¹
 have prepared the dinner
 “Have you made dinner?”

A: ***Todavía***
 still
 “Not yet”

(8) a. ***(Akoma) troi (akoma)*** [Std Modern Greek]
 still eat-3SG.PROG still
 “(S)he is still eating”

b. ***Akoma na fai***
 still C-subj eat-3SG.PROG
 “(S)he hasn’t eaten yet”

(9) A: *Efages?* [Cypriot Greek]
 eat.2SG.PERF
 “Have you eaten?”

B: ***Akoma***
 still
 “I haven’t eaten yet”

Cf. also Brazilian Portuguese *ainda* (“still/yet”)

¹ Thanks to Neil Myler for drawing our attention to this phenomenon in Cajamarca Spanish. Pons Bordería (2004) ascribes the same pattern to Andean Spanish more generally.

(b) there is only 1 underspecified *angore* in the lexicon, which can be merged in different clausal domains (cf. Cinque 1999: 8-10, 106)

(10) ...[*quickly* Asp_{Celerative} (I)] [*already* T_{Anterior}] [*no longer* Asp_{Terminative}] [*still* Asp_{Continuative}] [*always* Asp_{Perfect(?)}] ...

- what features would this underspecified item actually have? “still” and “not yet” belong to different classes of adverbs and do not obviously share semantic features, other than [Asp], which, as (10) shows, is a feature/property common to many other adverbials in the lower vP domain.
- as before, no account of the aspectual idiosyncrasy exhibited by *angore*₂

(c) *angore*₂ has derived from *non angore*

- there is no *non angore* form in this dialect nor in any of the neighbouring dialects [non conclusive counterevidence], but:
- as before, no account of the aspectual idiosyncrasy exhibited by *angore*₂

(d) there are 2 *angores* in the lexicon, with *angore*₂ representing a reanalyzed form of *angore*₁

- since *angore*₁ exhibits precisely the aspectual restriction shown by *angore*₂, this is at least a promising avenue ...

3.2. PURSUING A REANALYSIS ANALYSIS

- What type of reanalysis is this? Can we think in terms of grammaticalisation?
- 2 properties of grammaticalisation:
 - grammaticalisation generally involves formal and semantic BLEACHING (cf. i.a. Hopper & Traugott 2003)
 - in generative terms, grammaticalisation can be viewed as UPWARDS REANALYSIS (cf. Roberts & Roussou 2003, van Gelderen 2004)²
- 2 (apparent) problems with the case at hand:
 - There doesn't seem to be any obvious sense in which “no longer” is bleached in relation to “still”

² Grammaticalisation is also frequently said to be unidirectional (cf. i.a. Haspelmath 1999), but it is worth noting (a) the empirical fact that cases of degrammaticalization are attested (cf. i.a. Janda 2001), and (b) the theoretically relevant fact that all cases of grammaticalisation do not necessarily have to involve upwards reanalysis – adjuncts which become grammaticalised and thus more integrated with the clausal spine may, for example, be reanalysed downwards (cf. Biberauer & Cyrino 2009, and also various cases discussed as instances of van Gelderen's *Head Preference Principle*); the formal processes given rise to grammaticalised elements therefore do not need to be unidirectional (cf. also Campbell 2001).

- If *angore₂* derives from *angore₁*, this could be seen as a case of upwards reanalysis. BUT: if *angore₂* has been reanalyzed as an Asp_{Terminative} element, why is it incompatible with perfective aspect (cf. (5))?

3.2.1. THE BLEACHING QUESTION

- There is one sense in which *angore₂* can be said to bear reduced feature content compared to *angore₁*: if we look at these elements as different types of **polarity items**

PROPOSAL: *angore₁* is a positive polarity item (PPI)

- The standard view of PPIs: elements which may not ordinarily occur in the scope of negation

- (11) a. **I don't/didn't see something*
 b. A: *Did you see something?*
 B: *I didn't see **SOMETHING**; I saw the entire crime taking place!*
 (cf. Horn 1989 on the “special” nature of denials)

- The same in Abruzzese:

- (12) a. **Ni vvede caccose*
 b. A: *Si viste caccose?*
 B: *Ni je ca so viste CACCHE cose (?CACcose): so viste TUTTE cose*

- *Angore₁* can also be seen to be a PPI:

- (13) a. *Mi te' 'ngore fame*
 to-me holds still hunger
 “I’m still hungry”
- b. **Ni mme te' fame angore*
 not to-meholds hunger still
 “I am not still hungry”³
- c. *Ni mme te' fame cchiù*
 not to-me holds hunger more
 “I am not hungry anymore” = “I am not still hungry”

3.2.1.1. THE ANALYSIS OF PPIs

- The standard view:
- PPIs **may not** occur in the scope of negation (except in denials) – “a boring prohibition”

³ Ok with the meaning “I am not hungry yet”, but sounding very “Italianized”

- NPIs **must** occur in the scope of negation or some other licensing operator – a licensing statement:

- (14) a. **He sees **anything***
b. *He doesn't see **anything*** (licensor = negative operator)
c. *Has he seen **anything**?* (licensor = interrogative operator)

→ NPIs have FEATURES REQUIRING LICENSING, whereas PPIs don't

- NPIs can be of varying kinds, with stricter and less strict licensing requirements (cf. i.a. van der Wouden 1994 for detailed discussion).
- Szabolcsi (2004) (cf. also van der Wouden 1994 and subsequent work by Postal): the relation between PPIs and NPIs is rather different to what is usually assumed:
- PPIs can be shown to be of different types, which parallel the types of NPIs
- The parallels between PPIs and NPIs can be more usefully understood once we rethink the prohibition vs licensing view on the relationship between PPIs and NPIs.
- PPIs aren't banned from occurring in negative contexts; they are permitted under the scope of negation and, more generally, anti-additive operators, under certain circumstances:

- (15) a. *I *(don't) think that John didn't call **someone***
✓ not > not > some
- b. *No one/ *Someone thinks that John didn't call **someone***
✓ no one > not > some
- c. *I am surprised/ *pleased that John didn't call **someone***
✓ surprise > not > some
- d. *I regret/know that John didn't call **someone***
✓ regret > not > some

→ sentential negation, *no-one* and adversative predicates, *inter alia*, license PPIs when they occur in combination with a lower negator which outscopes the PPI (cf. Jespersen 1917 for the original observations)

- Szabolcsi's conclusion on the licensing domain of PPIs:

- (16) PPIs cannot occur in the immediate scope of a clausemate antiadditive operator AA-Op, *unless* [AA-Op > PPI] itself is in an NPI licensing context.

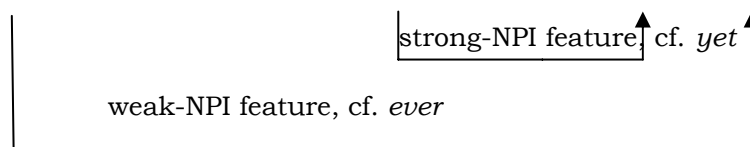
- PPIs in fact have even stricter licensing conditions than NPIs as they are, in effect, "double NPIs":

- (17) a. PPIs have 2 NPI-features: a strong (*yet*-type) feature and a weak (*ever*-type) feature.
 b. A strong licenser activates both, but licenses only one

Thus: PPIs aren't in fact "allergic" to antiadditive operators (AA-Op) like sentential negation; the problem is that the presence of AA-Op necessitates the presence of a further (weak) licenser.

[In Szabolcsi's words: "PPIs do not detest antiadditives; they have a latent craving for antiadditives. The appearance that they detest them is due to the fact that the satisfaction of this craving activates another, which needs to be satisfied independently"]

- (18) weak-NPI licenser[strong-NPI licenser ... PPI {uNeg, uNeg}]



Simplification: we represent the 2 NPI features as (unvalued/ uninterpretable) negative features (uNeg; cf. also Postal 2000)

3.2.1.2. THE ANALYSIS OF ABRUZZESE *ANGORE*

Angore₁

- *angore₁* is a PPI, i.e. its feature matrix includes the specification [uNeg, uNeg]
- The 2 uNecs are in a hierarchical relationship with each other, i.e. the feature bundle making up *angore₁* is **structured** (cf. i.a. Harley & Ritter 2004, Müller 2009).
- This relationship mirrors the structure of the clause(s) in which they are licensed (cf. work on clausal-nominal parallels generally and Poletto 2008 for the specific proposal that the internal structure of n-words parallels that of NegPs found in the clausal domain; cf. also work on feature geometry in other domains⁴)
- Consider the problem with *angore₁* surfacing in the context of just a single NPI licenser in terms of Szabolcsi's analysis:

- *Angore₁* in the scope of sentential negation:

- (18) **Ni mme te' fame angore*
 not to-me holds hunger still
 "I am not still hungry"

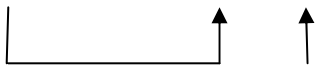
⁴ Not all feature-based proposals assume that non-clausal elements exhibit a structure that parallels that found along the clausal spine; Müller 2009, for example, adopts the view that feature bundles are structured in such a way that the computational system can approach them like a push-down automaton, working top-down. This implies that the features to be probed first by a clausal head will be "highest" in the non-clausal element's feature bundle, with subsequently probed features (which may be responsible for keeping an element active in the sense of Chomsky 2001) being lower down.

- *Angore*₁ in *yes/no* questions:

(19) **A accattate angore lu bijette?*
has bought still the ticket?
“Has he bought a ticket still?”

- The problem in both cases, in formal terms:

(20) [CP (...) iNeg ... [AdvP uNeg **uNeg**]]⁵



unvalued/unchecked feature

- *Angore*₁ is, however, licensed when 2 licensors are present:

(21) *Nin crede ca ni magne angore*
not believe that not eats still
“I don’t believe that he still isn’t eating”

*Angore*₂

- *Angore*₂ seems to behave like a genuinely negative element, rather than a PPI or an NPI.

- *Angore*₂ is ok in out-of-the-blue contexts without negation:

(22) *Zi steve a ‘mbauri’: jeve tarde e l’amicizja se*
REFL stayed to worry it-was late and the-friendship his

angore *arijeve*
yet went-back
“He was getting worried: it was late and his friend hadn’t arrived yet”

BUT: it isn’t possible in fragment answers:

(23) Q: *Si preparate a mmagna’?*
are prepared to eat
“Have you prepared the dinner?”

A1: ***Angore**

A2: **Angore** *prepare a mmagna’*

yet prepare to eat
“I haven’t done it yet”

- Contrast Andean Spanish and Cypriot Greek (9) above (data courtesy of Neil Myler and Petros Karatsereas):

⁵ Cf. Biberauer & Roberts (2009) for discussion of the probe-goal status of c-commanding licensing elements in the specific context of Negative Concord; the proposals made there carry over to the present case.

(24) Q: *Has preparado la cena?*
have-2SG prepared the dinner
“Have you prepared the dinner?”

A1: *Todavía*
still
“Not yet”

A2: *Todavía *(no) lo he heche (todavía)*
still not it have.1SG done still
“I still haven’t done it”

Thus: *todavía* behaves very similarly to n-words (cf. Giannakidou 2000), being able to surface independently in fragment answers, but requiring an overt licenser (*no* in (24) A2) when it surfaces in clausal structures. It may be viewed as an NPI (though see Herburger 2001 for overview discussion of the debate surrounding the nature of n-words).

Angore₂, by contrast, exhibits exactly the opposite behaviour (cf. (23)).

Interim conclusion: Leaving aside the fragment answer data (see section X below), *angore₂* appears to be an element which independently bears negative meaning. It is neither a PPI nor an NPI requiring special licensing.

→ How can this be thought of as involving bleaching/loss of (a) feature(s)?

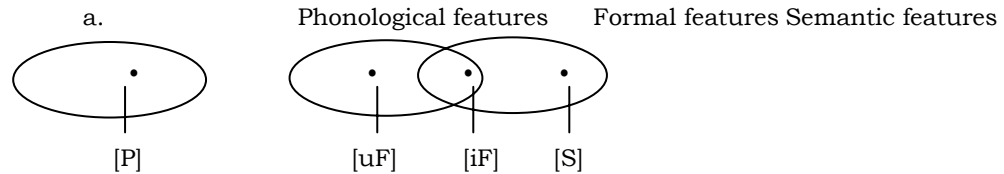
- If *angore₂* were an NPI, it could be a bleached version of *angore₁*: whereas *angore₁* is a PPI bearing [uNeg uNeg] *angore₂* is an NPI bearing only [uNeg]
- This would entail that, in licensing terms, *angore* has become a “simpler” item, losing 1 unvalued/uninterpretable feature

BUT: *angore₂* seems to be an element bearing a valued/interpretable negative feature (22-23); can we still think in terms of feature-loss?

Semantic and formal features and grammaticalization

- Zeijlstra (2008):
 - 3 different sets of features can be distinguished:
 - (a) the set of phonological features
 - (b) the set of semantic features
 - (c) the set of formal features
 - Of these, (b) and (c) intersect, as illustrated below:

(25)



[where [iF] = an interpretable formal feature and [uF] = an uninterpretable formal feature]

- Zeijlstra's assumption: Genuinely (semantically) negative elements are elements bearing either [iF] or [S]

Thus:

- *Angore*₂ lacks unvalued/uninterpretable features entirely
→ *angore*₂ can be thought of as having lost both of the negative features
- Andean Spanish (24) may be at an intermediate stage of a similar process of feature loss.

(26) PROPOSAL: FEATURE LOSS AND "NEGATIVIZATION" PROCESS

PPI [[uNeg uNeg] ⇒ NPI [uNeg] ⇒ Negative element [iNeg/SNeg]

(cf. Jäger 2008 for a different take on what this process involves)

- Is this *grammaticalization*?
- Roberts & Roussou (2003): grammaticalization involves feature loss ☑
- Elements undergoing grammaticalization become more functional:
 - o It's not clear that the reduction in unvalued/uninterpretable features has made *angore*₂ in any sense "more functional"; it arguably probes for fewer features, for example (cf. Chomsky 2001 *et seq.*).
 - o The "negativisation" of *angore*₁ is different from that which we observe in Jespersen's Cycle contexts, where a formerly non-negative, often lexical⁶, element is reanalyzed (grammaticalised) as an NPI-like negative marker, which may ultimately become independently negative: *angore*₁ and *angore*₂ are equally (non-)lexical.

CONCLUSION: *angore*₂ is best thought of as an element which has undergone upwards reanalysis, without grammaticalisation.

THE NEXT QUESTION: How could PPI *angore*₁ become independently negative *angore*₂?

⁶ Reinforcing elements may be drawn from a range of sources, not just the VP/vP-related type familiar from Western European languages (cf. Poletto 2008, van der Auwera 2009, deVos & van der Auwera 2009 and Biberauer 2009 for recent discussion).

3.2.1.3. “NEGATIVIZING” *ANGORE*₁

- Proposal: *angore*₂ has its origins in an emphatic use of *angore*₁, which subsequently became bleached of its emphatic connotations, with the result that it could take over from *non angore* (“not yet”), which became obsolete.

- **Step I**: emphatic preverbal *angore*₁ – [_{FocP} [_{AdvP} *angore*₁]]

(27) EXAMPLE SHOWING *ANGORE*₁ IN FOCUS POSITIONS (SO THAT'S SIMILAR TO (2A) ABOVE, EXCEPT THAT I'M HOPING *ANGORE*₁ CAN ALSO SURFACE PREVERBALLY AND MEAN “STILL (EMPHATIC)”. IF THAT'S NOT THE CASE, WE'RE A BIT STUCK ...

- As an emphatic element, *angore*₁ may be thought of as contained within a FocusP, i.e. “sealed off” from the rest of the clause – cf. the behaviour of focused elements in Negative Concord (NC) contexts (cf. i.a. Haegeman 1995, Corblin 1996, Błaszczak & Gärtner 2005, Rooryck 2008, Biberauer 2009, Biberauer & Zeijlstra 2009a,b):

(28) a. ***Niemand*** *gee my niks* *nie*₂ [non-standard Afrikaans]
no-one give me nothing NEG
“No-one gives me anything” – NC reading; no special intonation required

b. ***Niemand*** *gee my NIKS* *nie*₂
no-one give me nothing NEG
“No-one gives me nothing” – DN reading; special intonation required

c. ***Niemand*** *gee my BOEKE* *nie*₂
no-one give me books NEG
“No-one gives me books (specifically)” – specific reading = non *in situ*; specific intonation required (cf. Diesing 1992)

(29) a. ***I ain't done nothin'*** [NC variety of English]
“I haven't done anything” – NC reading

b. ***I AIN'T done nothin'***
“I HAVEN'T done nothing”, i.e. there is something I've done
– DN reading; special intonation required

(30) a. *I don't have money for a bean* [Standard English]
“I don't have money for anything/I'm skint”
– idiomatic reading; no special intonation required

b. *I DON'T/do NOT have money for a bean*
“Contrary to what you've just said, I do NOT have
– only literal interpretation (denial); special intonation required

Generalisation: In all of the above cases, focus intonation – which can be seen as the prosodic reflex of the projection of an outer FocP layer – makes it impossible for the focused element to interact with other clausal elements in the usual way.

- Consider the non-standard Afrikaans negation case (from Biberauer & Zeijlstra 2009b):⁷

(31) An NC vs denial (DN) pair:

a. $Op_{-[iNEG]}$ *Niemand*_[uNEG] gee my *niks*_[uNEG] *nie*_[uNEG]
n-one give me n-thing NEG

I

“No-one gives me anything” - NC reading; the absence of focus intonation signals the fact that all elements in the sentence fall within the domain of the sentential negation operator → 1 negation

b. $Op_{-[iNEG]}$ *Niemand*_[uNEG] gee my [_{FOCUS} $Op_{-[iNEG]}$ *NIKS*_[uNEG]] *nie*_[uNEG]
n-one give me n-thing NEG

I

II

“No-one gives me nothing” – DN reading; focus intonation signals the existence of a distinct sub-clausal domain – in this case, one requiring an independent negative licenser (cf. Biberauer & Zeijlstra 2009b), which therefore contributes its own negation → 2 negations

- Where *angore*₁ undergoes movement into a focus position, it is, like the focused elements above, “sealed off” from the rest of the clause. Thus it cannot be affected by the presence/absence of external licensers.⁸
- **Step II:** Being “sealed off” from the rest of the clause, the “dormant” uNeg features associated with *angore*₁ can never be activated.
→ loss of PPI-defining uNeg features
- **Step III:** bleached preverbal *angore*₁.
This step entails the loss of the FocP layer associated with preverbal *angore*, thereby effectively creating a new lexical item, *angore*₂, which differs from its source in lacking uNeg features - [_{FocP} [_{AdvP} *angore*₁]] → [_{AdvP} *angore*₂].
NB: It also differs from its source in not being phonologically reducible. Here we therefore have a case of reanalysis which has not been accompanied by phonological reduction (another oft-cited property of grammaticalisation).
- **BUT:** where does *angore*₂’s independent negative specification ([iNeg]) come from?

⁷ Note that non-standard Afrikaans is a strict NC language (cf. Giannakidou 2000), in which n-words (*niemand*, *niks*, etc.) may therefore be thought of as NPIs, i.e. uNeg-bearing elements which require licensing by a higher operator (cf. the discussion in section 3.2.1.2 above).

⁸ This same consideration may also account for the general acceptability of PPIs in denials – cf. (11) above.

RIGHT, AND THIS IS WHERE THE SPECULATION ABOUT THE LOSS OF NON ANGORE COMES IN.

WHAT NEEDS TO BE ADDED, IF THIS IS PLAUSIBLE:

(1) GIVE EXAMPLE OF NON ANGORE STRUCTURE AND PREVERBAL ANGORE MEANING “EMPHATIC STILL” SIDE BY SIDE TO REMIND PEOPLE THAT THEY INVOLVE AN ANGORE IN A VERY SIMILAR POSITION

(2) STH ABOUT A CHANGE IN THE ABRUZZESE NEGATION SYSTEM (IS IT DIFFERENT TO STD ITALIAN IN ANY WAY?) AND/OR STH ABOUT THE MORE GENERALLY AVAILABLE POSSIBILITY IN ABRUZZESE OF DROPPING *NON/NI* (OR WHATEVER THE FORM IS) IN NEGATIVE CONTEXTS AND STILL GETTING A NEGATIVE MEANING. WHAT WE NEED IS SOME KIND OF STORY AS TO WHY *NI* WOULD HAVE BEEN DROPPED

(3) FINAL STATEMENT: PREVERBAL, NO LONGER EMPHATIC ANGORE2 REPLACED NON ANGORE, EVEN THOUGH IT'S NOT DIRECTLY DERIVED FROM IT.

3.2.1.4. CONCLUSION

AND THEN THE SECTION SHOULD END WITH A SUMMARY OF WHAT WE'RE CLAIMING ABOUT THE ANGORE1 > ANGORE2 CHANGE.

THIS IS WHAT WE HAD BEFORE, BUT THAT'S ONLY PART OF THE STORY:

CONCLUSION ON THE DISTRIBUTIONAL BEHAVIOUR OF ANGORE₂ VIS-À-VIS ANGORE₁:
it follows from reanalysis of its featural content, specifically, the reanalysis of polarity-sensitive features as semantically negative elements.

3.2.2. THE ASPECTUAL QUESTION

- Why should *angore₂* still exhibit the aspectual restrictions associated with *angore₁*?
- Proposal: The internal properties of an element (here: an adverbial clausal satellite) may change before the externally (selection) oriented ones relating it to the “spine” with which it connects (cf. also the distinction Pesetsky & Torrego 2006, Rizzi 2008, Adger & Svenonius 2009 and Cecchetto & Donati 2009 all, for very different reasons, draw between External and Internal Search, Selection and Agree respectively).
- The *angore* case:
 - Features internal to *angore* which previously made it active (in the sense of Chomsky's Activity Condition) have undergone change: uNeg features have now become iNeg (valued) features.

(XX) [uNeg ...] → [iNeg]
Active element Non-active element⁹
→ [uNeg] and [iNeg] are features involved in Agree relations: they act as probe and goal in the “traditional” minimalist sense (cf. Chomsky

⁹ We leave aside here the fact that *angore₂* may nevertheless be an active element by virtue of being associated with another unvalued feature.

2001 *et seq.*). Crucially, they do not project as part of the main clausal spine; these are exclusively “satellitic” features.

- Directly clausal “spine”-related features have not undergone change: in respect of its aspectual specification – [Asp: imperf.], where Asp is clearly a verbal feature, which therefore interacts directly with the clausal spine – *angore*₂ still exhibits the restriction to non-telic aspects associated with its source. Since these features were also “sealed off”, it is not surprising that they did not undergo change prior to Step III above; although future change cannot be ruled out, suggesting that the aspectual specification of *angore*₂ may still change in future.
- To the extent that adverbs can be thought of as Selecting their complements (cf. i.a. Cinque 1999 and Starke 2001 for proposals in terms of which a view of this type seems plausible), we can therefore distinguish the features that have changed as (Internal) Agree features vs those that have stayed the same, which are External Agree (Select) features.
- This points to further evidence for postulating structured feature bundles which distinguish Select- and Agree-based features (cf. also Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts 2009 for the importance of this distinction in the domain of linearization).
- A final puzzle: why is *angore*₂ impossible in fragment answers (cf. (23))?
- From the perspective of its internal (Agree-related) features, it should be able to stand alone.
- Its externally oriented (Select) features are problematic, though: if Merchant (2001) and others are correct that fragment answers require **ellipsis of structure identical to that in the preceding question**, it is clear that *angore*₂ should not be able to surface independently as it will never be the non-deleted residue of a prior “yet”-oriented and therefore perfective-containing interrogative. This, then, is the difference between Abruzzese *angore*₂ and Andean Spanish *todavía*:

(XX) Q: *Si preparate a mmagna’?* ← structure associated with question = perf.
are prepared to eat
“Have you prepared the dinner?”



A1: ***Angore** [_E ~~*si preparate a mmagna’*~~]

A2: **Angore** *prepare a mmagna’* ← structure associated with *angore*₂ = imperf.
yet prepare to eat
“I haven’t done it yet”

(XX) Q: *Has preparado la cena?*
have-2SG prepared the dinner
“Have you prepared the dinner?”

A1: *Todavía* [_E ~~*he preparado la cena*~~]
still
“Not yet”

4. CONCLUSION

- *Angore* in Abruzzese means “still” when postverbal and “not yet” when preverbal.
- *Angore*₁ (postverbal) is a PPI
- *Angore*₂ (preverbal) is an independently negative element
- *Angore*₂ has derived from *angore*₁ through a process of ‘negativization’, consisting in the loss of unvalued negative features associated with Internal Agree relations. Its externally oriented Select features (including its imperfective Aspect specification) have remained the same.
- In some respects, this reanalysis resembles what we see in grammaticalisation.
- The case of Abruzzese *angore* underscores the plausibility of postulating a synchronic distinction between Agree- and Select-oriented features and also highlights its potential importance in understanding diachronic changes (in this case, one which may still be in progress).
- The fact that change may affect Agree- and Select-related features independently may point to a possible route via which to understand the oft-noted fact that change is gradual rather than abrupt in formal terms (cf. i.a. Kroch 1989, Harris & Campbell 1995, Roberts 2007).

References

- Adger, D. & P. Svenonius. *Features in Minimalist Syntax*. Unpublished ms: QMUL & CASTL.
[Available on-line at: <http://ling.auf.net/lingBuzz/000825>]
- van der Auwera, J. (2009). The Jespersen Cycles. In: E. van Gelderen (ed.). *Linguistic Cycles*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 35-71
- Biberauer, T. (2009). Jespersen off course? The case of contemporary Afrikaans negation. In: E. Van Gelderen (ed.) *Cyclical Change*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Biberauer, T. & S. Cyrino (2009). Negative developments in Afrikaans and Brazilian Portuguese. Paper presented at CGG19 (Vitoria).
- Biberauer, T., A. Holmberg & I. Roberts (2009). A hierarchical universal and its consequences. Talk presented at GLOW 32 (Nantes).
- Biberauer, T. & I. Roberts (2009). Comments on Jäger “*Anything is nothing is something*”: On the diachrony of polarity types of indefinites. To appear in *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* (special edition).
- Biberauer, T. & H. Zeijlstra (2009a). Negative Concord in Afrikaans: filling the typological gap. To appear in: S. Lima, J. Mullin & B. Smith (eds.). *Proceedings of NELS 39*. [Also available on LingBuzz: <http://ling.auf.net/lingBuzz/000830>]

- Biberauer, T. & H. Zeijlstra (2009b). Negative changes: a parametric account of the diachrony of Afrikaans negation. Paper presented at DIGS 11 (Campinas).
- Błaszczak, J. & H-M. Gärtner (2005). Intonational phrasing, discontinuity, and the scope of negation. *Syntax* 8: 1-22.
- Campbell, L. (2001). What's wrong with grammaticalization? *Language Sciences* 23: 113-161.
- Cecchetto, C. & C. Donati (2009). On Labeling: Principle C and Head Movement. To appear in *Syntax*.
- Chomsky, N. (2001). Derivation by Phase. In: M. Kenstowicz (ed.). *Ken Hale. A Life in Language*. Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 1-52.
- Cinque, G. (1999). *Adverbs and Functional Heads. A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. New York: OUP.
- Comrie, B. (1985). *Tense*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Corblin, F. (1996). Multiple negation processing in natural language. *Theoria*: 214-260
- Dahl, Ö. (1985). *Tense and Aspect systems*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- DeVos, M. & J. van der Auwera (2009). *Jespersen Cycles in Bantu: double and triple negation*. Unpublished ms.: Royal Museum for Central Africa and University of Antwerp.
- Diesing M. (1992). *Indefinites*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- van Geenhoven, V. (2005). Atelicity, Pluractionality, and Adverbial Quantification. In: H. Verkuyl, H. de Swart & A. van Hout (eds.). *Perspectives on Aspect*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Van Gelderen, E. (2004). *Grammaticalization as economy*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Giannakidou, A. (2000). Negative ... concord? *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 18: 457-523.
- Haegeman, L. (1995). *The syntax of negation*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Hagemeijer, T. (2007). *Clause structure in Santome*. Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Lisbon.
- Harley, H. & E. Ritter. (2002). Person and Number: a feature-geometric analysis. *Language* 78: 482-526.
- Harris, A. & L. Campbell (1995). *Historical syntax in cross-linguistic perspective*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Haspelmath, M. (1999). Why is grammaticalization irreversible? *Linguistics* 37: 1043-1068.
- Herburger, E. (2001). The Negative Concord Puzzle Revisited. *Natural Language Semantics* 9: 289 - 333
- Hopper, P. & E. Traugott (2003). *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Iatridou, S., E. Anagnostopoulou & R. Izvorski (2001). Observations about the form and meaning of the perfect. In: M. Kenstowicz (ed.). *Ken Hale: a Life in Language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 189-238.
- Jäger, A. (2008). *History of German Negation*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Janda, R. (2001). Beyond "pathways" and "unidirectionality": On the discontinuity of language transmission and the counterability of grammaticalization. *Language Sciences* 23: 265-340.
- Jespersen, O. (1917). *Negation in English and other languages*. Copenhagen: Høst.

- Kroch, A. (1989). Reflexes of grammar in patterns of language change. *Language Variation and Change* 1:199–244
- Müller, G. (2009). On deriving CED effects from the PIC. To appear in *Linguistic Inquiry*.
- Pesetsky, D. & E. Torrego (2006). Probes, Goals and Syntactic Categories. To appear in *Proceedings of the 7th Annual Tokyo Conference on Psycholinguistics*.
- [Available on-line at:
http://web.mit.edu/linguistics/people/faculty/pesetsky/Probes_Goals_Pesetsky_Torrego.pdf]
- Poletto, C. (2008). *On Negation Splitting*. Paper presented at NORMS workshop (Oslo).
- Pons Bordería, S. (2004). *Todavía no* in Andean Spanish: negation, aspectuality and context. Handout: University of Valencia.
- Ramchand, G. (2008). *Verb meaning and the lexicon*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Roberts, I. (2007). *Diachronic Syntax*. Oxford: OUP.
- Roberts, I. & A. Roussou (2003). *Syntactic change. A minimalist approach to grammaticalization*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Rooryck, J. (2008). A compositional analysis of French negation. Unpublished ms: Leiden.
- Starke, M. (2001). *Move dissolves into Merge: a theory of locality*. Ph.D. dissertation: Geneva.
- Szabolcsi, A. (2004). Positive polarity – negative polarity. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 22: 409-452.
- Verkuyl, H. et al. (2005). *Perspectives on Aspect*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Van der Wouden, T. (1994). *Negative Contexts*. Ph.D. dissertation: Groningen.
- Van der Wouden, T. (1997). *Negative Contexts: Collocation, Polarity, and Multiple Negation*. London: Routledge.
- Zeijlstra, H. (2008). On the flexibility of formal features. In: T. Biberauer (ed.). *The limits of syntactic variation*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 143-173.