

Negative Imperatives in Cuzco Quechua (CQ)Liliana Sánchez - (lsanchez@rutgers.edu) - SSILA 2016

Goals:

1. Establish the main morphosyntactic properties of negative imperatives in CQ.
2. Provide an outline of an Agree-based analysis of negative imperatives in CQ.

I. Negative imperatives in CQ

CQ distinguishes between two different negative heads in indicative (1) a, b. and imperative (2) a, b. sentences:

Negative Declarative

(1) a. **Mana**-m waqa-chka-**nki/nkichik**-chu.^{1,2}
 NEG-FOC.EVID cry-PROG-2.S/2PL-NEG.FOC
 “You do not cry.”

b. **Mana**-m papa-ta-chu
 NEG-FOC.EVID potato-NEG.FOC
 miku-chka-**nki/nkichik**.
 eat.PROG-2.S/2PL
 “You do not eat POTATOES.”

¹ -ni 1.S, -nchik 1.PL.INCL, -yku 1.PL.EX, -n 3.S, -nku 3.PL

² There is no subjunctive in CQ

Negative Imperative

(2) a. **Ama** waqa-**y/ykichik**-chu.²
 NEG cry-IMP.SG/PL-NEG.FOC
 “Do not cry.”

b. **Ama** papa-ta-chu miku-**y/ykichik**.
 NEG potato-NEG.FOC eat-IMP.SG/PL
 “Do not eat POTATOES.”

² No other inflectional forms.

Morphosyntactic properties of negative declaratives and imperatives in Cuzco Quechua

	Pre-verbal head negation	Inflection	Neg. concord/Focus -chu
Negative Declarative	Mana	1S, 1PL (incl, excl) 2S, 2PL 3S, 3PL	- Sentence level - Constituent level
Negative Imperative	Ama	2S, 2PL (or addressee sg, pl)	- Sentence level - Constituent level

Main properties of imperatives (Alcazar and Saltarelli 2014):

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. Subject is addressee of speech act. | ✓ |
| b. Unmarked for tense (Zanuttini 1996). | ✓ |
| c. Resistance to embedding. | ✓ |
| d. Lack of a finite phrase | ✓ |
| e. Resistance to negation. | ? |

(3) a. *Paykuna / *Qayna p'unchay hamu-y / ykichis!
 They / Yesterday / come-IMP.S / PL

“They / Yesterday come!”

b. *[Hamu-y-ta] willa-sqa-nku.
 Come-IMP-ACC tell-PST.REP-3.PL
 “They told us to come.”

c. Hamu-y-ta muna-ni.
 Come-IMP-ACC want-1.SG
 “I want to come (here).”

(4) *Mana-m / Ama hamu-y-chu.
 NEG-FOC.EV / NEG come-IMP.S-FOC
 “Do not come.”

What kind of negative imperatives are CQ negative imperatives?

II. The ban on “True Negative Imperatives”? (TNI)

(Rivero and Terzi 1995, Zanuttini 1996, 1997, Han 2001, Zeijlstra 2006)

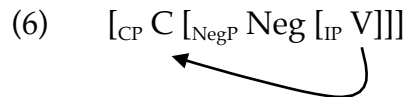
In Romance language imperatives a different verb form emerges under negation:

- (5) a. Le-e
Read
- b. No le-as Surrogate Imp
NEG read-SUBJ
“Don’t read”

Languages like Spanish and Italian impose a ban on TNI.

Previous accounts:

a. *V-to-C is blocked by Neg* (Rivero and Terzi 1995). In languages like Spanish and Modern Greek imperative verbs must raise to C⁰. Neg head blocks raising and a surrogate ✕ imperative verb form is needed:



b. *Head vs. adjuncts* (Zanuttini 1996)

- (6) *Non telefon-a! (Head negation)
NEG telephone-IMP.2.S
“Don’t call!”

- (7) Non telefon-are! Surrogate Imp
NEG telephone-NFIN
“Don’t call!”
(Zanuttini 1996: 188)
- (8) Parla nen! (Adjunct negation)
Talk-2.S NEG
Don’t talk! (Zanuttini 1996:189)

Head negation requires tense. Imperatives lack tense.

c. *A negative marker that can negate a clause by itself bans TNIs* (Zanuttini 1997). See (6) and (7) above vs. French:

- (9) N’ all-ez pas
Neg go-IMP.2 neg
“Don’t go”

In Italian, there are two homophonous Neg heads; one subcategorizes for indicative and the other for MoodP:

- (10) [NegP non-1 [MoodP ... [VP]]]

Imperative verbs in Italian are morphologically defective. They lack a [MOOD] feature and therefore they are banned under Neg.

b. *Imperative Op > Negative Op* (Han 2001, Zeijlstra 2006). In Romance languages there is V_{IMP}-to-Neg-to-C leaving the Op Imp in the scope of negation.

I will assume:

- (11) Op Imp > Neg Op

III. True Negative Imperatives in CQ

a. *There is no V-to-C in imperatives.* CQ is an SOV language with no evidence of V-movement (Sánchez 2010).

- (12) **Ama** papa-ta miku-y-chu.
 NEG potato-ACC eat-IMP.SG-NEG.FOC
 "Do not eat potatoes."

b. *Both Negs behave like heads.* *Ama* and *mana* block impressive and emotive suffixes on the verb / predicate:

- (13) a. **Mana* hina-chu-má. Khayna-má chay-qa
 NEG that-NEG-IMPR! That-IMPR that-TOP
 ka-n-pis.
 be-3.S-ADD

'It is not like that, it is like this'

- b. *Mana*-má hina-chu! Khayna-ma chay-qa
 NEG-IMPR that-NEG! That-IMPR that-TOP
 ka-n-pis.
 be-3.S-ADD

'It is not like that, it is like this'

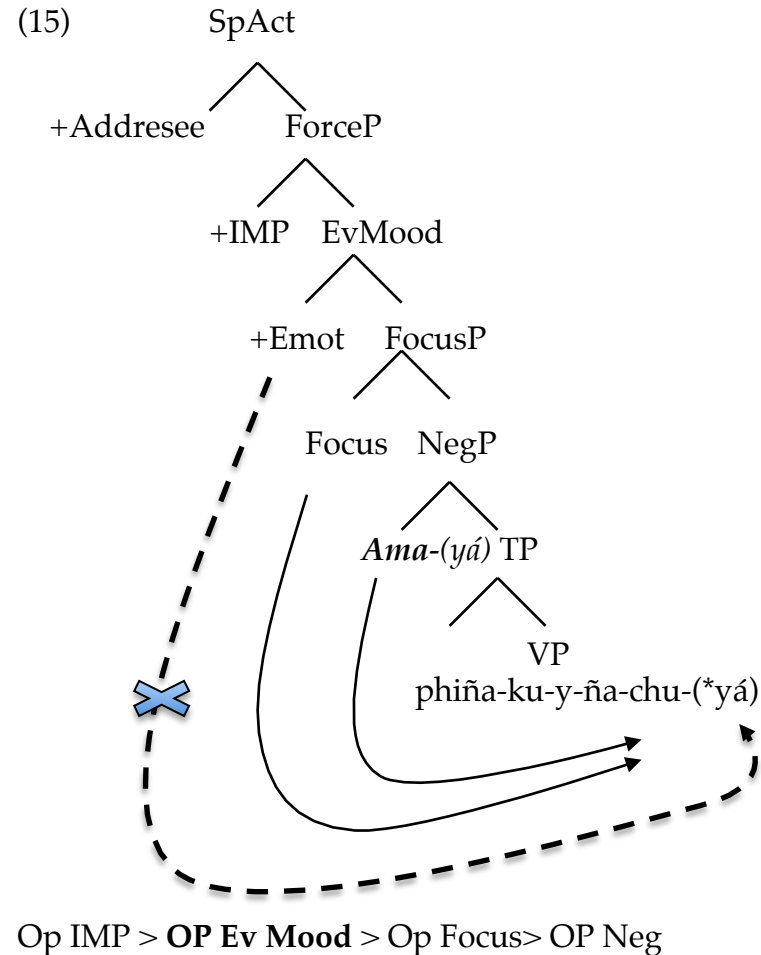
(Cusihuaman 1976/2001: 231-232)

- (14) a. **Ama* phiña-ku-y-ña-chu-yá
 NEG.IMP.ADDR upset-REFL-IMP-DIS-FOC-EM
 "Please do not get upset."

- b. *Ama*-yá phiña-ku-y-ña-chu.
 NEG.-IMP.ADDR-EM upset-REFL-IMP-DIS-FOC
 "Please do not get upset."

Emotive suffixes -má, -yá (Cusihumán 1971/1996) are the spell out of a left peripheral Evaluative Mood head (Cinque 1999) located between Speech Act and Force P

shows that in order to avoid the blocking effects of negation these suffixes must be spelled out on the Neg head in both cases (Sanchez 2010) as shown for *ama* in (14) a and b.



Neg blocks agree between Ev Mood and a lower constituent.

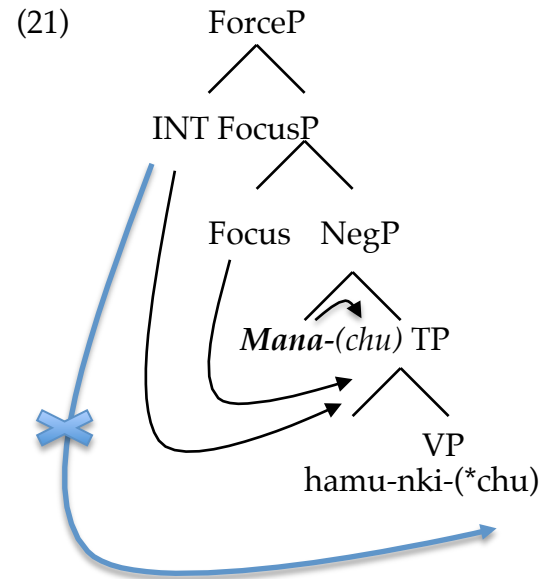
Negation has blocking effects for agree between heads above Focus and constituents below NegP.

(i) Syncretic morphemes

–*chu* is syncretic and can be multiply specified for focus, interrogative in yes/no questions and negative concord.

- (16) Hamu-nki.
Come-2.SG
"You come/you are coming."
- (17) Hamu-nki-*chu*
Come-2.S-INT.FOC
"Are you coming?"
- (18) Mana hamu-nki-*chu*
NEG.DECL come-2.SG-NEG.FOC
"You are not coming"
- (19) *Mana hamu-nki-chu
NEG.INT come-2.SG-INT.NEG.FOC
"Are you not coming?"
- (20) Mana-chu hamu-nki
NEG.INT-FOC come-2.SG
"Are you not coming"

(ii) Declarative is the default value in Force P.



Negation blocks Agree between heads above Focus P such as Force P or Evaluative Mood P and constituents below Neg P (Sánchez 2010).

This provides support for the fact that both *mana* and *ama* behave similarly with respect to their properties as Neg heads.

c. Neither *mana* nor *ama* can negate a clause without –*chu*.

- (22) *Ama hamu-y!
NEG.ADD.IMP come-IMP
"Don't come"

- (23) *Mana-m hamu-nki.
 NEG-FOC.EVID come-2.SG
 "You don't come."

Accounts *a-c* for the ban on TNI have focused on surrogate verb forms in verb raising languages:

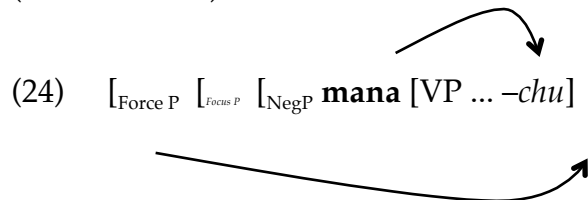
- a. V-to-C is blocked by Neg in languages that ban TNI.*
- b. Only adjunct Neg license TNIs.*
- c. A negative marker that can negate a clause by itself bans TNI*³

In CQ: there is not V-to-C movement, Neg words cannot negate a clause by themselves but both Neg words (*ama* and *mana*) are heads and should therefore not be able to license TNIs.

CQ, negative imperatives require a different NEG head but all imperatives have the same verb morphology. Why?

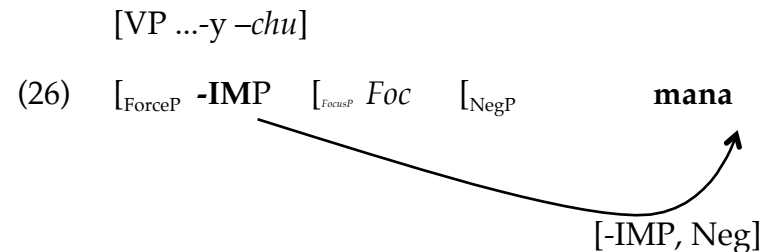
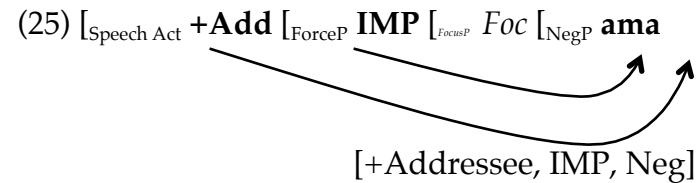
IV. Current proposal

Sánchez (2010) proposed that *-chu* is the syncretic spell out of an agree relation between the Neg (*mana*) and Focus heads and the projection in the scope of negation (Sánchez 2010).



In imperatives Agree between a different lexical head for Neg (*ama*) and the constituent in the scope of negation is also spelled out as *-chu*.

Ama is itself a syncretic morpheme: the spell out of Neg features in NegP, +Imperative in Force P, and [+Addressee] in Speech Act.⁴ *Mana* is the spell out of [-Imperative] in Force P and Neg.



- (27) Speech Act > Evaluative Mood > Force P > Focus P > Negative P > TP > Verb P

³ While Ancient Greek has two negation heads, their distribution is not declarative vs. imperative (see Rivero and Terzi 1995).

⁴ For an alternative analysis of Imperatives as involving Jussive Phrase see (Zanutini, Pak and Portner 2012).

V. Restriction on *mana*

Support for this proposal comes from the fact while both negative words are heads, they differ crucially with respect to their ability to free choice *any* in some contexts. CQ has some indefinite roots that appear as *wh*-words or as polarity items:

Wh- questions

- (28) Ima-ta-m muna-nki?
 INDEF-ACC-FOC want-2.S
 “What do you want.”

Free choice any

- (29) Ima-ta-pas rura-ni.
 INDEF-ACC-ADD do-PST.ATT.1.S
 “I do anything.”
- (30) Ima-ta-pas apamu-y.
 INDEF-ACC-ADD bring-IMP
 “Bring anything.”

Episodic contexts

- (31) *Imata-pas mikhu-rqa-ni.
 INDEF-ACC-ADD bring-IMP
 “I ate *anything/something.”

Chierchia (2004, 2006): FC *any* is infelicitous in this context because the widening of the domain of relevant members of the set is non-informative.

Restriction on *mana* in episodic context:

- (32) Mana-m ima-ta-pas
 NEG.DECL-FOC.EVID INDEF-ACC-ADD
 ranti-rqa-ni-chu.
 buy-PST.ATT.1.S-FOC
 “I did not buy anything.”
 (√NPI, *free choice interpretation)

- (33) Ama ima-ta-pas apamu-y-chu.
 NEG.IMP.ADDR INDEF-ACC-ADD bring-IMP-FOC
 “Don’t bring anything.”
 (√NPI, √ free choice interpretation)

	Free choice	NPI
Mana (+NEG, -IMP / +DECL)	-	+
Ama (+NEG, IMP, +ADDR)	+	+

If *imatapas* is in the scope of *mana* [NEG, -IMP/DECL] in an episodic context it cannot receive a free choice interpretation, however if it is in the scope of *ama* [+Addressee, +IMP, NEG] it can receive either a Free Choice interpretation licensed by IMP in Force or the NPI interpretation licensed by NEG.

Why is Free Choice possible with *ama* but not with *mana*?

Declarative episodic contexts have in T a +v [veridicality operator] (Giannakidou 2001).

“A propositional operator [Op p] is veridical iff the truth of Op p in c [context that contains a set M of Models relative to an individual x] requires that p be true in some individual x’s epistemic model ME (x) in c. If the truth of Op p in c does not require that p be true in some such model in c Op is nonveridical.” (Giannakidou 2001: 671).

In affirmative and negative episodic contexts, the veridicality operator requires that the proposition be true in some individual's epistemic model.

Unlike *mana*, *ama* (or IMP, NEG) does not select Tense with a [+v] operator (Giannakidou 2001) that it negates, namely, it does not require the proposition in the scope of NEG to be true in some epistemic model in c.

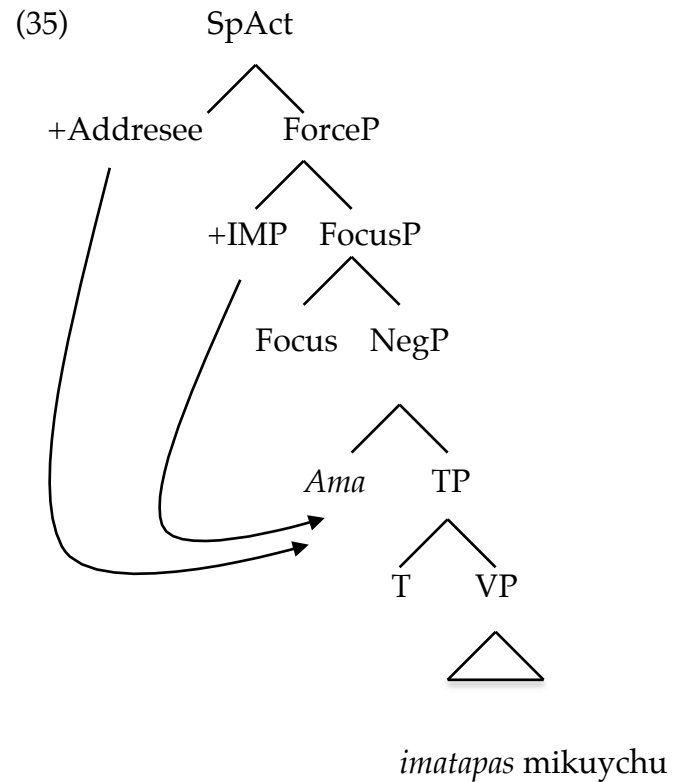
Imperatives do not refer to a single episode:

(34) Ama miku-y-chu
 NEG.AD.IMP eat-IMP-NEG.FOC
 "Do not eat."

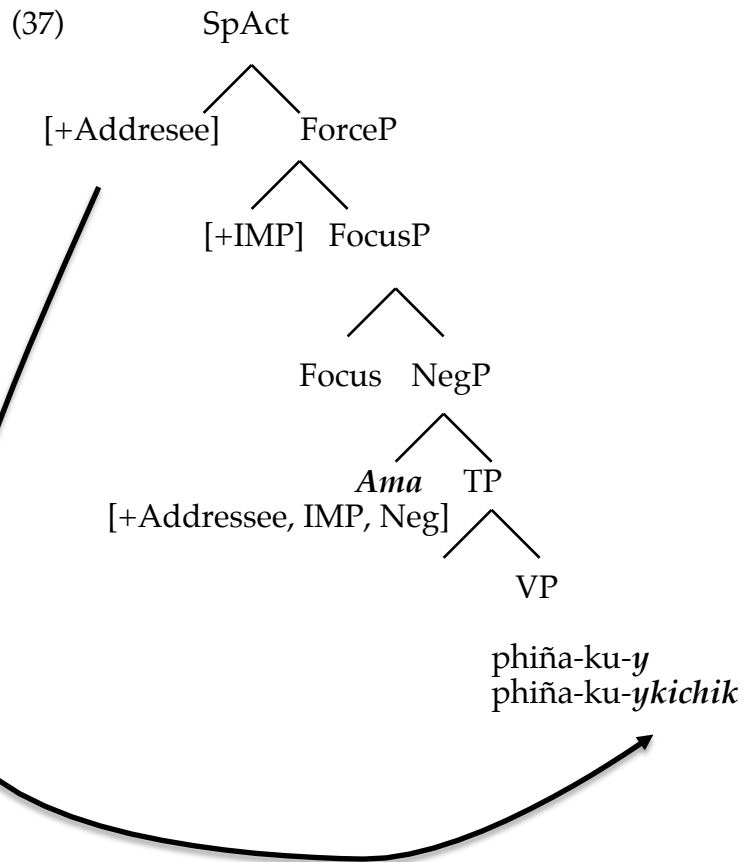
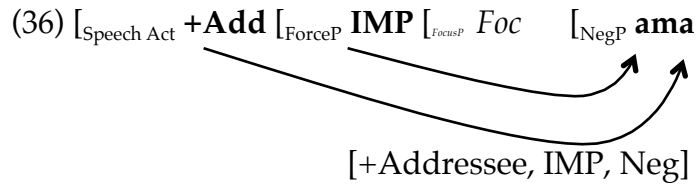
(34) cannot be interpreted as:
 "Do not engage in a unique/single episode of eating"

Imperatives do not involve a [+v feature] in T (Sánchez 2010). *Ama* does not select T with a [+v] veridicality operator. This allows both an NPI and a FC interpretation of *ima*.

Indefinite *ima* in the scope of IMP, NEG can be interpreted as an NPI or as FC *any*.



VI. *Speech Act: Ama and imperative morphology*



VII. *Concluding remarks*

1. CQ has negative heads but does not obey the ban on TNIs. Imperative verb inflection under the Neg head does not differ from affirmative imperatives.
2. Differences between the Neg heads *mana* and *ama* stem from differences in the spell out of Force (and Speech Act).
3. In CQ, Force head [+IMP] selects a defective TP projection.
4. Affirmative and negative imperatives in CQ show agreement with Speech Act features on the verb.

References

- Alcázar, A., & Saltarelli, M. 2014. *The Syntax of Imperatives* Cambridge University Press.
- Chierchia, Gennaro. 2006. Broaden your views: Implicatures of domain widening and the 'logicality' of language. *Linguistic Inquiry* 3(4): 535-590.
- Chierchia, Gennaro. 2004. Scalar implicatures, polarity phenomena and the syntax/pragmatics interface. In *Structures and Beyond. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Vol. 3*, Adriana Belletti (ed.), 39-103. Oxford: OUP.
- Cusihuaman, Antonio. 1976/2001. *Gramática Quechua. Cuzco-Collao*. Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos Bartolome de las Casas.
- Collberg, S. and G. Hakansson(1999) Prohibition: negative imperatives and the parametric typology of negation. Lund University, Dept. of Linguistics Working Papers 47, 25-37
- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 2001. The meaning of free choice. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 24: 659-735.
- Han, C. H., & Lee, C. 2007. On negative imperatives in Korean. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 38(2), 373-395.
- Rivero, M. L., & Terzi, A. 1995. Imperatives, V-movement and logical mood. *Journal of linguistics*, 31(02), 301-332.
- Sánchez, L. 2010. *The morphology and syntax of topic and focus: Minimalist inquiries in the Quechua periphery* (Vol. 169). John Benjamins Publishing.
- Zanuttini, R. 1996. 'On the relevance of tense for sentential negation'. In A. Belletti & L. Rizzi (eds.), *Parameters and functional heads: essays in comparative syntax*, 181-207. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Zanuttini, R. 1997. *Negation and clausal structure*. Oxford University Press.
- Zanuttini, R., Pak, M., & Portner, P. (2012). A syntactic analysis of interpretive restrictions on imperative, promissive, and exhortative subjects. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 30(4), 1231-1274.
- Zeijlstra, H. 2006. The ban on true negative imperatives. *Empirical issues in syntax and semantics*, 6, 405-424.