

On *angora* in Abruzzese

In Abruzzese, the adverb *angora* is ambiguous between “still” and “not...yet”. Differently from what happens in other Italo-Romance languages, the ambiguity between the two readings is not resolved by the presence of the negation and by the use of the perfective, but just by the position of *angora* (cfr. D’Alessandro and Biberauer 2009, Cuonzo 2019). When the adverb follows the verb, it means “still” as in (1), while, when it precedes the verb, it means “not yet” as in (2).

(1) *Marijə ci va angorə.*

Mary CL.loc goes still

“Mary still goes there.”

(2) *Marijə angorə ci va.* NO PERF, NO NEG

Mary not-yet CL.loc goes

“Mary has not gone there yet.”

In this talk, I will only be concerned with preverbal *angora*, arguing that it is a negative adverb lying in NegP₁ (cfr. Zanuttini 1997) and not in the CP (*pave* Garzonio and Poletto 2013, 2017).

The phenomenon exemplified in (1-2) was first analysed by D’Alessandro and Biberauer (2009) who argue that preverbal *angora* “not...yet” is derived from a focussed postverbal *angora* “still” which then got reanalysed as a negative element. However, D’Alessandro and Biberauer (2009) do not specify where preverbal *angora* “not...yet” is found synchronically. On the other hand, Garzonio and Poletto (2013; 2017) analyse preverbal *angora* “not...yet” in Abruzzese on a par with other low adverbs such as *già* “already” and *sempre* “always” that can occur before the verb in Marchegiano and Abruzzese and could do the same in Early Modern Italian (at a stage when, however, Italian was no more a V2 language). In order to account for these cases, Garzonio and Poletto (2013; 2017) argue that these adverbs are found in the focus field within the CP. More specifically, noting that in the majority of occurrences of preverbal *angora* “not...yet” in the ASIIt database are found in questions, Garzonio and Poletto (2017: 28) argue that *angora* is in IntP. However, as argued in Cuonzo (2019) this might simply be an accident of the data recorded in ASIIt. Indeed, in Abruzzese *angora* needs to occur preverbally in order to get the “not... yet” interpretation (regardless of whether it is in a question or not). Moreover, according to Rizzi (2001), the specifier of IntP is the position is usually reserved for the *wh*-word *perché* “why”. However, contrarily to the prediction made by Garzonio and Poletto’s (2017: 28) analysis, *angora* and *perché* (the Abruzzese for *perché* “why”) can co-occur in the same sentence, as shown by (3).

(3) *Pecché angorə ci perlə?*

why not-yet CL speak.2SING

“Where haven’t you spoken yet with her/him/them?”

The data in (3) clearly show that preverbal *angora* cannot be in SpecIntP, however I argue more generally that it is not in the CP (*pave* Garzonio and Poletto 2013, 2017). Indeed, it is not only preceded by subjects, but also by higher adverbs such as *forsə* “maybe” which have been argued to be in the higher part of the IP (cfr. Cinque 1999).

(4) *Forsə Marijə angorə arivé.*

maybe Mary not-yet comes-back

“Maybe Mary has not come back yet.”

Even though both *forsə* “maybe” and the subject might be in the Left Periphery in a sentence like (4), further evidence that preverbal *angora* is not in the CP comes from the fact that it can negate the whole sentence without any other overt negation, as clear from (2). Indeed, preverbal *angora* can even license NPIs, just like the regular negation.

(5) *Marijə *(nən) magna niendə.*
 Mary not-yet eats nothing
 “Mary has not eaten anything yet.”

(6) *Marijə *(angorə) magna niendə.*
 Mary not-yet eats nothing
 “Mary has not eaten anything yet.”

The fact that preverbal *angorə* is actually the negation in sentences like (7) and not some kind of phonologically null negation is confirmed by the fact that it linearly *manghə* (Italian *neanche* “not...even”), while precisely the opposite order is predicted by the hierarchy postulated in Cinque (1999).¹

(7) *Marijə angorə manghə cə va.*
 Mary not-yet even CL.LOC goes
 “Mary has not even gone there yet.”

Moreover, preverbal *angorə* “not... yet” allows for adverb interpolation (cfr. Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005), just like the regular negation *nən*.

(8) *Marijə nən cə manghə va a la scolə.*
 Mary not CL.loc even goes to the school
 “Mary does not even go to school.”

(9) *I, nghə Marije, angorə cə manghə parlə.*
 I, with Mary, not-yet CL.loc even speak
 “I have not even spoken with Mary yet.”

(Cuonzo 2019: 14)

It is therefore plausible to think that *angorə* lies in NegP₁, which, according to Zanuttini (1997), is the highest negation position in the IP preceding lower negations like *neanche* and the only one that is able to negate sentences on its own. Therefore, the data presented here therefore support D’Alessandro and Biberauer’s (2009) claim that *angorə* is actually a negative element endowed with an interpretable negative feature [\bar{u} Neg].

More specifically, I argue that *angorə* is generated in its base position (the specifier of T_{Anterior} in Cinque’s (1999) analysis), but then moves to NegP₁ to check its negative features and discharge its role as main negation of the sentence. At a first sight, this may seem a violation of Relativised Minimality (Rizzi 1990) since *angorə* crosses *manghə* on its path towards NegP₁, as visible from (10).

(10) [_{NegP1}... [_{NegP2} *michə* / *manghə* [... [_{T(Anterior)} *angorə* ...

(adapted from Cinque 1999: 106 and 121)

However, in Abruzzese the feature specification of *manghə* is different from that of *angorə*: the former is an NPI with a [\bar{u} Neg] that needs to be licensed by the main sentential negation, while the latter is itself a negation with an [\bar{u} Neg] that needs no licensing (cfr. Postal 2000a, b, Szabolsci 2004). Therefore, the order *angorə* > *manghə*, despite being the opposite of the one attested in other Italo-Romance languages (and postulated by Cinque 1999), is possible precisely because Abruzzese *angorə* is a negation proper and not just an NPI (differently from other Italo-Romance languages).

Although Garzonio and Poletto’s (2013, 2017) account of low adverbs surfacing high might be on the right track for other Italo-Romance varieties and even for other adverbs in Abruzzese, this analysis cannot be extended to *angorə*. Indeed, if we take seriously its negative characterisation, we easily realise it

¹ According to Cinque (1999: 11) *neanche* “not even” occupies the same structural position as the counterfactual negation *mica*, while *ancora* “not...yet” occurs in the same position as *già* “already”.

is firmly in the IP and more specifically in NegP₁, the only position in which it can discharge its role as main sentential negation.

References

- Biberauer, T., and Roberta D'A. 2009. "Syntactic Change in Progress: Insights from the Case of *angorè*". Lecture, LAGB 50, Edinburgh, and CIDS 4, Cambridge.
- Cuonzo, C. (2019). On the syntax of the negative adverb *angorə* in Abruzzese, *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa/Research in Generative Grammar*.
- Cinque, G. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Garzonio, J., and C. Poletto. 2013. "Sulla posizione degli avverbi nella struttura frasale in alcune varietà delle Marche." *Quaderni di lavoro ASI* 15: 23-43.
- Garzonio, J., and C. Poletto. 2017. "When low adverbs are high. On adverb movement in Abruzzese." *Quaderni di lavoro ASI* 17: 19-34.
- Ledgeway, A. & A. Lombardi. 2005. Verb movement, adverbs and clitic positions in romance. *Probus* 17. 79-113.
- Postal, Paul M. (2000a), The Ohio lectures on *squat*. Ms., New York University.
- Postal, Paul M. (2000b), A remark on English double negatives. In Laporte, Eric, Christian Leclère, Mireille Piot & Max Silberstein (eds.). *Syntaxe, Lexique et Lexique-Grammaire*, Volume dedicated to Maurice Gross. *Linguisticae Investigationes Supplementa* 24. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Rizzi, L. (1990). *Relativized Minimality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Szabolcsi, A. (2004). Positive polarity – negative polarity. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 22: 409-452.
- Zanuttini, R. 1997. *Negation and Clausal Structure: A Comparative Study of Romance Languages*. New York: Oxford University Press.