

# Negation and Negative Concord

The view from Creoles

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# Negation and Negative Concord

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## Volume 55

Negation and Negative Concord. The view from Creoles  
Edited by Viviane Déprez and Fabiola Henri

# Negation and Negative Concord

The view from Creoles

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This volume grew out of a common interest for the expression of negation and its relevance to the phenomenon of Negative Concord in Creole languages. We would first like to express our appreciation to the contributors of the volume for agreeing to be part of this project, which we believe will contribute greatly to the field of creolistics. The completion of this project has not been without its setbacks but our collaborators have shown remarkable patience and cooperation in revising their chapters and reviewing papers for this collection. We are also particularly grateful to the external reviewers for their work and suggestions on the chapters of this book. We would finally like to thank the editors of the Contact Language Library for their supportive collaboration.





# Abbreviations and symbols

<...>	code-switched segment	IPFV	imperfective
-	Morpheme boundary	IRR	irrealis
=	Clitic morpheme boundary	LF	long form
1	first person	LOC	locative
2	second person	MOD	modal
3	third person	NEG	negative
ADD	additive	NFN	non-finite
AEC	Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creole	NCI	negative concord item
ALL	allative	NEG-LIC	negative polarity licenser
ANT	anterior	NOM	nominal
ASP	aspect	NONCL	non-clitic
AUX	auxiliary	NP	noun phrase
BE	identity-equative copula	NPI	negative polarity item
BE.LOC	existential-locative copula	OBJ	obj case
CL	clitic	OBL	oblique
COMP	complementizer	PAL	Palenquero
COND	conditional	PERF	perfective
COP	copula	PL	plural
CNG	constituent negation	PLACE	place name
DAT	dative	POSS	possessive
DEF	definite	POT	potential mood particle
DEM	demonstrative	PREP	preposition
DIST	distal	PRF	perfect
DUAL	dual number	PROG	progressive
EMP	emphatic particle	PROSP	prospective
ENG	English	PRS	present
FIN	finite	PRX	proximate
FOC	focus	PST	past tense
FUT	future	PTCP	participle
GC	Guadeloupean Creole	PTL	particle
HAB	habitual	QUOT	quotative
INCOMPL	incompletive	RED	reduplicant
INDF	indefinite	REL	relative pronoun
INDP	independent person particle	SBJ	subject case
INTJ	interjection	SBJV	subjunctive
		SF	short form
		SG	singular

SIM	similative	STF	strong form
SP	sentence particle	SUB	subordinator
SPAN	Spanish	TMA (or TAM)	tense mood aspect marker
SPF	specific	TNS	tense
ST	Santiago (Cape Verde)	WF	weak form

## INTRODUCTION

# Negation and negative concord

## The view from Creoles

Viviane Déprez and Fabiola Henri

This volume presents a collection of articles on a variety of Creole languages – French lexified creoles, English lexified creoles, Portuguese lexified creoles, among others – investigating one single empirical and theoretical issue in depth, namely the nature of negation and negative dependencies and negative concord in the respective Creole languages.

Negation and negative dependencies are constructions that are both unique to human languages and common to all. No known animal communication systems offer anything comparable to truth reversing propositional negation, and no human languages fail to have a dedicated expression for this fundamental communicative act. Yet at the same time the diversity of the possible linguistic manifestations of negation as well as of the syntactic and lexical dependencies it governs in the different languages of the world is literally baffling. In this sense, negation certainly offers a unique and privileged window to some of the deepest properties of the human language faculty. The extent of its possible linguistic meaning and of its possible linguistic diversity has fascinated philosophers, semanticists and syntacticians alike for generations. Moreover, because it seemingly defies logic, negative concord, a linguistic construct in which multiple negatives lead a single negative interpretation, unlike mathematical logic, has generated an enormous body of work from a variety of perspectives in syntax, semantics, and comparative as well as historical linguistics. Although empirical and theoretical comparative studies of Romance and Germanic languages abound, and consideration of Slavic and Asian languages are not infrequent, quite surprisingly there are at this point no volumes or collections that particularly focus on a comparison among Creole languages. And yet negative concord, it has been claimed, could be a characteristic feature of all known Creole languages (Bickerton 1981). It is hence particularly striking that these languages are quite generally ignored in current theoretical works on negative concord such as for instance Haegeman & Zanuttini (1996), Zeijlstra (2004), De Swart (2010), to mention but some of the recent ones. Such a general ignorance would be shocking if it were deliberate. But it appears to have a rather clear and

simple motivation: the lack of easily available pertinent data. To be sure, the properties of negation and negative concord have been described in some details for some creoles as in Déprez (1997, 1999, 2000, 2011, 2017), Degraff (1993), Déprez and Martineau (2004), Hagemeyer (2003, 2008, 2009), Syea (2013, 2017) or Henri (2008), but there is comparatively little literature on this topic for these languages and furthermore, the available data is spread here and there in not always readily accessible venues. Consequently, the first and foremost goal of this book is to assemble a number of detailed comparative study of negative concord in a variety of Creole languages that will allow for both an empirical and a theoretical comparison and make the properties of negative concord in these languages sufficiently visible to warrant their consideration in future theoretical studies on the topic.

But beyond this central goal, there are also specific questions that such a volume aims at addressing. Some of these questions concern the putative particular status of Creole languages in linguistics. Others concern theoretical issues that arise in Creole and non-Creole languages alike. Without any attempt at exhaustiveness, a few are spelled out below.

There have been many controversies in the literature for or against the view that there exists what has come to be known as a ‘Creole specificity’. A detailed comparative study of negative concord in several creole languages can help settle this issue. Although it is well known that many non-Creole languages also manifest negative concord, and so that, as such, negative concord is far from being a ‘Creole specific’ feature, questions potentially remain as to whether negative concord in Creole languages could present specific properties. For instance, in the creoles so far described, negative concord is quite generally of the Strict Negative Concord type, meaning that the presence of sentential negation is generally systematically required for all negative dependencies. But are there creole languages, or creole varieties that do not manifest this restriction? That is, are there creole languages or varieties that can manifest concord between negative expressions directly as in French *personne n’a rien dit* or some dialects of English (*no one said nothing*)? Conversely, are there creole negative expressions that only need the co-presence of negation optionally? If empirically Strict negative Concord comes out to be quite general within and across Creole languages, are there common properties that Creole languages share among one another – and with non-Creole languages or not – that could explain this generality? Could Strict Negative Concord be considered an unmarked type in comparison to non-Strict Negative Concord and if so, on what basis? Are there any consequences for the notion of ‘Creole Specificity’ or for the common view that Creoles are, in a particular sense, ‘emergent’ languages?

The presence of negative concord vs. its absence cross-linguistically is not uncommonly framed as a (macro)parameter (See Haegeman & Zanuttini (1996), Zeijlstra (2004) and following, De Swart 2010). If this view is correct, expectations

are that with respect to negative dependencies, languages should manifest a notable uniformity (Déprez 2011). Yet some languages generally deemed to be negative concord languages, such as French or Greek for instance, present a surprising amount of internal lexical diversity among negative expressions, with sometimes-dramatic effects on the possibility of concord readings. Is a comparable lexical diversity also in evidence in Creole languages that clearly manifest negative concord or, on the contrary, do Creole languages manifest comparatively less diversity than their lexifier languages? An answer to such a question could have a considerable impact on parametric approaches to negative concord variation.

Many negative concord languages have been shown to also allow double negation readings, in which in conformity with mathematical logic, the co-presence of two negatives actually leads a positive interpretation. As the availability of double negation readings has had a considerable impact on semantic approaches to negative concord, the question of whether double negation readings are available in various Creole languages is of considerable importance. Furthermore, a study of the conditions that allow such readings and a comparison between Creole and non-creole languages such as their lexifier would also greatly enrich theoretical approaches to negative concord.

## Chapters in the book

This book is organized into four main parts classified according to their contributing lexifiers:

### 1. French related creoles

This part includes chapters focusing on negation and negative concord in French related creoles, two of which are spoken in the Caribbean, Haitian (Déprez) and Guadeloupean (Schang and Petitjean), and one spoken in the Indian Ocean, namely, Mauritian (Henri).

In examining novel data on negation and negative concord, drawn from native speaker judgments, the internet and corpus data, **Déprez** seeks to raise the question of what, if anything, should be considered as negative expressions in Haitian. She defends the view that negative concord items in Haitian typically pattern like NPIs (Déprez 1999), namely indefinite expressions that are non-negative, with the property that they can also be licensed by negation under reconstruction (Déprez 2017). Déprez shows that Haitian *pa* is indeed fully negative both as a constituent negation marker and as a sentential marker (DeGraff 2003) and more generally, that

negation is always semantically interpreted in Strict NC languages. Finally, Déprez demonstrates that the properties of expletive negation, studied here for the first time, do not question the full negative force of the negative marker *pa*.

**Schang** and **Petitjean** provide an in-depth description of negation and negative concord in Guadeloupean, a French-based creole. Similar to Mauritian, Guadeloupean exhibits for the most preverbal negation except with certain verbs. The negative marker is analyzed as a particle, gradually integrating the inflectional system given its morpho-phonological properties. It is typically required in concord readings. The data seen in this creole confirms the diversity of concord expressions noted by Déprez (2012 & 2017) across Francophone dialects and creoles. The adverb *janme* ‘never’ is interesting in this respect. Its clitic form *jen* ‘never’ can never appear without sentential negation, its emphatic form *JANME* is inherently negative and always appears without negation and its regular form can behave like a NPI, displaying both negative and positive readings depending on the context. The data clearly contradicts the idea of a creole prototype with strict negative concord à la *Bickerton*. Guadeloupean clearly exemplifies a system with morphosyntactic expressions offering a wide range of interpretations, from concord, strict and non-strict, to double negation readings.

**Henri**’s research covers data from Mauritian, a French-based creole of the Indian Ocean. Mauritian is a strict concord language but exhibits negative-spread and double negation readings in some contexts. The preverbal position of negation argued to derive from the position of negation with finite and non-finite forms. Postverbal negation in Mauritian prohibits NCIs in subject position or NCI licensing in the lower clause with postverbal *pa*. Henri analyses concord in Mauritian within a polyadic framework implemented within a constraint-based model. NCIs are analyzed as negative quantifiers which either yield negation by themselves in the absence of sentential negation or double negation in combination with sentential negation and whose quantificational value is absorbed in negative concord readings.

## 2. Portuguese related creoles

In this second part, research on Portuguese-based creoles is included, mainly spoken in Africa (Baptista and de Pina, Pratas and Kihm) but also from varieties spoken in India (Clements).

**Baptista** and **de Piña** examine negation in Santiago Capeverdean and offer a parametric account (Longobardi 2014) of the preverbal negative marker *ka* and its interaction with two NCIs, *ningen* ‘no one/anyone’ and *nada* ‘nothing/anything’. Unlike Portuguese, ST Capeverdean is a strict concord language, where NCIs are licensed with sentential negation both in preverbal and postverbal positions and

where they can never give rise to double negation as in French-based Creoles. ST Capeverdean presents a formal contrast between preverbal and postverbal NCIs, which calls for an ambiguous approach to the negative marker and to n-words, pre-verbal n-words are seen as negative quantifiers while post-verbal ones are NPIs. Since NCIs require the presence of negation, itself a negative quantifier, negative absorption of the operator allows for a concord reading with preverbal negation.

Pratas discusses the expression of negation and negative concord in the Santiago variety of Capeverdean. She shows that this Portuguese-based Creole is a strict Negative Concord language with NCIs like *ningen* ‘no.one’ and *nada* ‘nothing’ requiring the presence of sentential negation, be they in preverbal or postverbal position. Pratas analyses Santiago Capeverdean NCIs as universal quantifiers for the similarities they exhibit with NPIs, usually underspecified for negative features. Finally, the author briefly addresses two adverbs *tioxi* and *nunka* that are weak NPIs rather than quantifiers.

Clements’ chapter deals with negation in Korlai, an Indo-Portuguese creole. Negation in Korlai is periphrastically expressed by the negative particle *nu* in combination with the appropriate shape of the verb lexeme, and with often an additional particle similarly constrained. More interestingly, negative pronouns such as *nad* ‘nothing’, *ningē* ‘no one’, or *neū* ‘none’ exhibit a particular behavior in being able to refer to only count NPs except as complement to the preposition *sēy* ‘without’. N-words are as in other strict concord languages constrained to appear with the negative particle *nu* except as an elliptical answer to a question. Since Marathi, the adstratic contributor to Korlai, does not exhibit negative concord, Clements argues that it might be a development from the lexifier.

After showing that unlike Portuguese, Guinea-Bissau Kriyol is a Strict Negative Concord language, Kihm asks the question as to how this feature could have emerged in the language, given that Portuguese is a partial NC language and that Mandinka, Manjaku, and Wolof, the languages that Kriyol are most in contact with, are anti-NC language with only generic bare nouns in negative constructions. He proposes the interesting conjecture that Strict Negative Concord may be an internal change from the partial NC of Portuguese due to a change in the syntactic nature of the negation marker.

### 3. English related creoles

This third part is dedicated to English-based Creoles or nonstandard varieties spoken in different regions, from the Americas for Vincentian (Prescod) to Africa (Yakpo) and East Asia (Cao & Bao). Negative Concord is subject to a fair amount of cross-linguistic variation across English-based creoles and non-standard English varieties.



**Yakpo's** contribution details negation in Pichi, the Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creole spoken on the island of Bioko (Equatorial Guinea). Pichi negation patterns align closely with areal negation patterns found across a broad swath of West Africa, making it hard to warrant Pichi negation as a manifestation of a 'creole' linguistic type. Like other languages of the region, Pichi employs asymmetric negation strategies, with particular morphosyntactic constraints. Negative concord is strict and grammatically determined with the two negative indefinite pronouns that Pichi has. It is conventionalized, though probably not strict, with negative phrases featuring generic nouns that fulfill the functions of negative indefinite pronouns. Yakpo concludes that Pichi negation patterns are typically areal in character and manifest very little if anything that would support a creole linguistic type.

**Prescod** examines the distribution of a selection of negative dependent indefinites in Atlantic Creoles, with a particular focus in Vincentian, and their syntactic behavior in the presence of sentential negation. She argues that the syntactic behavior of indefinites, and hence negative concord, can be partially accounted for under Jespersen's negative-first principle. The author suggests for the negative-first principle to be expanded to embrace an analysis supporting two constraints: (1) one NCI per clause (2) NCIs can only scope over the clause if they are in an immediate post-verbal position.

**Bao and Cao's** chapter explores negation in Singapore English, which is argued to be largely inheritance from English. Bao and Cao show that negation in Singapore English, although initially deriving from English, has largely been influenced by Chinese, particularly with respect to its interaction with aspect or quantification. More importantly, against Bickertonian expectations, Singapore English is shown to not exhibit negative concord. Multiple negative words in the same clause yield multiple semantic negation, or double negation. In addition, they show that negative words inherited from English or polarity items have grammaticalized to express aspectual distinctions.

#### 4. Other lexifier

**Schwegler's** chapter on Palenquero, a Spanish-based creole, is focused on Negation, which features three different configurations in the language, preverbal negation, sentence final negation and a configuration where sentential negation appears both preverbally and sentence finally, a behavior which is also seen in Brazilian Portuguese. The choice of one structure over the other is according to the author constrained by discourse-pragmatic factors. The use of sentence final negation for instance crucially requires a presuppositional trigger in the prior discourse.

Slomanson's chapter contrasts Sri Lankan Malay with Sri Lankan Portuguese and show that these two contact languages sharply contrast with each other when it comes to the expression of Tense and Aspect, as well as the distribution of negation. Whereas Sri Lankan Portuguese exhibits negative concord, Sri Lankan Malay, productively marks negative polarity but shows no concord.

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PART I

# French related Creoles



# Sentential negation and negative words in Guadeloupean Creole

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This paper deals with negation in Guadeloupean Creole. We present the diversity of uses of negation in GC and detail the constraints on negative concord. We show that the different n-words exhibit a non-homogeneous behavior. Our analyses are couched in the Tree-Adjoining Grammar framework.

**Keywords:** Guadeloupean Creole, negative concord, Tree-Adjoining Grammar, XMG metagrammar

## 1. Introduction

It seems that while many creolists have focused on sentential negation (especially because many Creoles apparently have a strict negative concord) from a comparative or typological perspective, little has been said about the properties of the various negative markers (N-words) of Creole languages and of Guadeloupean Creole (henceforth GC) in particular. However, this is of major importance for the assessment of the validity of the Jespersen Cycle hypothesis (JCH). It is commonly admitted, after Jespersen (1917) that the languages have a tendency to conform to a cycle of evolution, starting from a negative preverbal marker, followed by reinforcement with a postverbal marker, and finally ending with a postverbal marker only. This cycle, which seems to be illustrated by French (but see Larrivé & Ingham (2011) and Larrivé (2009)) is supposed to close the loop with French-based Creoles like GC.

This hypothesis is seductive and seems to work as far as the sentential marker only is concerned and as long as we don't look too carefully into the data, as we shall see below.

The complexity of the uses of n-words in Creole languages is rarely examined and typological studies on a large scale may provide a partial view of the diversity and richness of the attested forms of negation patterns. Colot & Ludwig (2013) for

instance claim that the GC has a preverbal standard negation. While this is true for most of the cases, some verbs allow for a different order (e.g. *vlé* “to want”, *pé* “to be able to”). To take but another example, it has been said since Bickerton (1981) that Creole languages instantiate the least marked option allowed by UG, i.e. they are Strict Negative Concord languages. Once more, while Negative Concord seems to be a characteristic feature of GC, we will see that in certain contexts, n-words can appear without sentential negation. Moreover, like their French counterparts, *janmè* “never” and *anyen* “nothing” show different behaviors, as will be explained in the next sections.

We then call for a precise and detailed approach of this phenomenon. As we shall see, a lexicalist approach to syntax, couched here within the Tree Adjoining Grammar framework, adequately captures the different behavior of the n-words. Of particular interest is the fact that TAG strictly defines the (syntactic) domain of lexical items, something which will be useful to adequately describe the behavior of the sentential negation and negative words.

Throughout the text, we will use the term n-word for words with the following properties:

“N-word: An expression  $\alpha$  is an n-word iff:

- $\alpha$  can provide a negative fragment answer; and
- $\alpha$  can be used in structures containing sentential negation or another  $\alpha$ -expression yielding a reading equivalent to one logical negation.”

(from Giannakidou (2006))

The main descriptive work on Guadeloupean Creole is undoubtedly from Bernabé (1983). While we draw many examples from this book, we rely mainly on the data found in the GC transcribed dialogs in Glaude (2013) and on native speakers’ intuition (in the elicitation phase of the inquiry). Of course, when tackling such a complex topic like negation, one finds a great range of variation in the speakers’ production and judgment. That is inescapably the case here and we will try to make it explicit.

The goal of this work is to provide an explicit (and parsable) grammar of negation in GC with a large coverage. Our description spans over many (socio)lects and doesn’t precisely reflect one particular I-Language. Once again, we will try to inform the reader of the variation range when possible.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 describes the various uses of the sentential negation and n-words without giving a formal account of the data. It briefly gives the reader an overview of the diagnostic allowing us to typologically classify n-words based on Giannakidou (2002, 2006) and Déprez (1999). We then present Tree-Adjoining Grammar and XMG (Crabbé et al. 2013) in Section 3 before providing the reader a formal account of the main n-words and sentential negation in Section 4.

## 2. Description and distribution of GC n-words

### 2.1 Preverbal *pa* as sentential negation

The marker of sentential negation (SN) in GC is *pa*. It combines with Tense and Aspect markers (TMA) of the verb or any other predicative constituent (1b).

- (1) a. *Jan pa té ka manjé*  
 Jean NEG PST IPFV eat  
 'Jean has not eaten'  
 b. *Jan pa lékol.*  
 Jean NEG school  
 'Jean is not at school.'

The marker *pa* enters in the category of clitic preverbal markers (see Schang, 2013 for a study of the preverbal markers in GC):

- It is strictly linearized in the sequence of the preverbal markers, where the ranking is: NEG > TENSE > PROSPECTIVE > IPFV > V.
- Its phonological form is modified by the adjacency of the prospective marker and temporal adverb (*pa + anko* > *pòkò*):

- (2) a. *Jan poko manjé*  
 Jean NEG.yet eat  
 'Jean has not eaten yet'  
 b. *Jan péké manjé*  
 Jean NEG.PROSP eat  
 'Jean will not eat'  
 c. *ou pé pé vin*  
 2PL NEG.PROSP can come  
 'You won't be able to come'

*Poko* is the contracted form occurring when *pa* and *anko* are adjacent, but when separated by the anterior *té*, *anko* is not contracted and no clear sandhi is attested.<sup>1</sup>

- (3) *Jan pa té anko manjé*  
 Jean NEG PST yet eat  
 'Jean had not eaten yet'

The sentential marker *pa* is used both with verbal and non-verbal sentences, where in the latter case, it appears sometimes (according to some but not all consultants) also as *apa*, as in:

1. Except the normal contact between vowels in speech production.



- (4) *Jan (a)pa metsen*  
 Jean NEG physician  
 ‘Jean is not a doctor’

### 2.1.1.1 Other uses of *pa* and related words

The marker *pa* is also used as a constituent negation (as a variant of *pon*), with a scope reduced to an adverb or a NP, as shown in the following examples:

- (5) *pa on sèl*  
 NEG one only  
 ‘not even one’ (as an answer to: ‘how many friends came to your party?’)

This example and the following are a variant of *pon sèl* (see below the section on *pon N*). Of course, it is difficult to have a precise idea of the structure of answer since they are known to be elliptical structure. But in this case, the fact that *pa on N* is considered similar as *pon N* indicates that it is possibly a constituent negation. Note that *pa on* is probably both more emphatic and more Frenchified.

- (6) a. *pa on (sèl) zanmi!*  
 NEG one (single) friend  
 ‘Not a single friend!’  
 b. *Jan pa vréman kontan*  
 Jean NEG really happy  
 ‘Jean is not really happy’  
 (scope on ‘really’)  
 c. *Jan vréman pa kontan*  
 Jean really NEG happy  
 ‘Jean is really unhappy’  
 d. *Jan pa sèlman metsen, mé i mizisyen*  
 Jean NEG only physician but 3SG musician  
 ‘Jean is not only a physician, but also a musician’

These uses of *pa* do not pertain to the same sociolect. For instance, while (6.a) and (6.b) are perfect fragment answers, the sequence *pa vréman* is considered as a highly Frenchified answer (or even as the very French *pas vraiment*).

As for the ‘not only’ sentences like (6.e), another construction exists which makes use of *non* (similar to the French *non seulement*):

- (7) *non sèlman i metsen, mè i mizisyen osi.*  
 NEG only 3SG physician but 3SG musician too  
 ‘Not only is he a physician, he’s also a musician’

We consider *pa* as a functional syntactic particle, which is homonymous to *pa* “step”. While these two words are etymologically related via their French etymon, we think they are unrelated in GC.

Unlike French, GC doesn’t have *ne...plus* “not anymore”, but combines *pa* and *anko* to get the same meaning.

- (8) *nou pa bizwen sa anko*  
 1PL NEG need that again  
 ‘We don’t need it anymore’.

Contrastively, *plus* has been retained in GC in expressions like *mwen non plis* “me neither” where it combines with the negative *non*.

Interestingly, the French *point* “any, no” (as in *Il n’y a point de temps à perdre* “There is no time to lose”, but unused in colloquial French) has been kept in GC, as in:

- (9) *an pa vlé pwen lajan pou bisiklèt lasa*  
 1 SG NEG want no money for bicycle DEM  
 ‘I don’t want any money for this bicycle’ (meaning: “I don’t want to sell it”)  
 (from Tourneux & Barbotin 2009: 335)

This shows a great richness in the variety of negative markers hence contrasting with the alleged “simplicity” of creole languages. Note that the use of *pwen* seems more common in GC than in French<sup>2</sup> and that *pwen* is a n-word requiring sentential negation.

## 2.2 *Janmè*

The lexeme JANMÈ ‘never’ (from French *jamais*) is an n-word with two different phonological forms: *janmè* occurs in various positions while *jen*, its reduced form can only appear in clitic unstressed position, namely in the TMA cluster: NEG > PAST > jen...

- (10) a. *an pa jen ay Pari*  
 1SG NEG never go Paris  
 ‘I’ve never been to Paris’  
 b. *tou sé moun la-sa yo pa jen moli*  
 all PL person DEF-DEM 3PL NEG never give-up  
 ‘All these guys, they never gave up’

---

2. *Point* as a negative marker is barely known to the French students we are teaching to.

In these examples, *pa...jen* triggers a simple negative reading (negative concord).

*Janmè* is a possible fragment answer, usually without *pa*, but Bernabé (1983) claims that they can co-occur (*janmè pa!* ‘Never!’ with emphasis, and it keeps a negative concord reading), an example which is firmly rejected by our consultants. As an emphatic form, my consultants propose the reiterated form *janmè janmè!* ‘no way!’.

Bernabé (1983) also notes that *janmè*<sup>3</sup> appears in certain contexts without sentential negation, as in:

- (11) *es ou janmen tann di nou kayé?*  
 WH 2SG ever hear say 1PL capitulate  
 ‘Have you ever heard saying that we capitulated?’

This example is considered by our consultants as a literary form which they never use (but can understand). But surprisingly, *janmè* is also attested in the corpus without the sentential negation, as in:

- (12) a. *ki moun ki té janmè pansé ké i té rivé lè*  
 WH person that PST never think that 3SG PST arrive when  
*i rivé?*  
 3SG arrive  
 ‘Who has ever thought that he would be elected when he has been elected?’  
 b. *si janmè Jan ka vini, an ka rété*  
 if ever Jean IPFV come 1SG.IPFV stay  
 ‘If Jean is coming, I’ll stay.’  
 c. *nou JANMÈ/\*jen fé on vyann san asézonman*  
 1PL never do a meat without seasoning  
 ‘We never cook a meat without seasoning.’

(12a) and (12b) don’t trigger a negative meaning, but (12c) does. This means that *janmè* is not inherently negative (as a fragment answer, *JANMÈ* is the correct form, as it is a stressed form).

When *janmè* appears alone, the clitic form is rejected. The following pair (13) illustrates the fact that the clitic form *jen* cannot appear without *pa*.

- (13) a. *Jan, i pa jen ka di bonjou.*  
 Jean 3SG NEG never IPFV say hello  
 ‘Jean, he never says hello.’  
 b. *Jan, i JANMÈ ka di bonjou*  
 Jean 3SG never IPFV say hello  
 ‘Jean, he NEVER says hello.’

---

3. He writes *janmen*.

- c. \**Jan, i jen/JEN ka di bonjou.*  
Intended: 'Jean, he never says hello.'
- d. \**si jen Jan ka vini....*  
Intended: 'If Jean ever comes...'
- e. \**i JANMÈ ka di anyen.*  
Intended: 'He never says anything.'

However, JANMÈ is not licensing any n-word and the presence of *pa* is needed to do so.

JANMÈ is thus a word with a very complicated behavior: it is inherently negative when stressed (12c & 13b), can be 'non negative' in non-veridical contexts (12a & 12b), needs to be licensed by the SN in most of the cases and has a reduced form when inserted in TMA series and non-stressed. As we shall see, this behavior is different from the other n-words we will describe below.

### 2.3 *Anyen*

*Anyen* 'nothing' or its reduced form *yen* is an n-word appearing in argumental position.

- (14) *yo poko konfirmé nou ayen*  
3PL not-yet confirm 1PL nothing  
'They didn't confirm anything to us.'

*Anyen* is available as a negative fragment answer:

- (15) *ka ou ka di? Anyen.*  
WH 2PS IPFV say nothing  
'What are you saying? Nothing'

It is licensed by the negative marker *pa*, triggering a concord reading:

- (16) *Sé jèn la, bon, kom yo pa ka fè*  
PL young DEF well since 3PL NEG IPFV do  
*anyen fo yo trouvé on biten pou yo fè*  
nothing must 3PL find a thing to 3PL do  
'These young guys, well, since they do nothing, they have to find something to do.'

But it can appear in locutions without being licensed by *pa*.

- (17) a. *san anyen, ou pa fè anyen*  
without nothing 2SG NEG do nothing  
'With nothing, you can't do anything.'

- b. *i vini pou anyen*  
 3SG come for nothing  
 ‘He came for nothing’

*San anyen* and *pou anyen* are similar in the form and in meaning to *sans rien* and *pour rien* in French. In these French locutions, *rien* has a nominal status. In French, *rien* can be used as a noun meaning ‘thing’ (as in *un petit rien* ‘a little thing’), see (Déprez & Martineau (2004)). But unlike its French counterpart, *anyen* doesn’t mean “thing”. *San* can be considered a licensor in (17a), but as (17b) shows, *pou* cannot have this status. We can hypothesize that *san anyen* and *pou anyen* are direct borrowings from French and that these locutions are not analyzable in GC.

Another form exists with a meaning similar to *anyen*, which appears in idiomatic expressions:

- (18) *ka i fê? an hak*<sup>4</sup>  
 WH 3SG do nothing  
 ‘What’s he doin’? Zilch.’

In their dictionary, Tourneux and Barbotin (2009) indicate the following examples:

- (19) a. *pa ni hak*  
 NEG have nothing  
 ‘There is nothing’  
 b. *hak pa fêt*  
 nothing NEG done  
 ‘Nothing happened’

*Hak* has its own intensifier, namely *zikak*. *Hak zikak* means ‘nothing at all’. My older consultant knows this expression but indicates that, for him, it is mainly used in Pointe-à-Pitre, and rarely used in Deshaies where he grew up.

#### 2.4 *Pon N*

*Pon N* is the marker for the NP negation (“no N”). It is available in a multiple negation context:

- (20) *Pon moun pa jen ka manjé anyen.*  
 no person NEG never IPFV eat nothing  
 ‘Nobody never eats nothing’ (meaning favoured: ‘It is false that somebody eats something’).

---

4. Or *ahak* or *hak* depending on the dictionary consulted.

However, *pon* has a restricted use with respect to definiteness (or quantification):

- (21) a. <sup>\*/?</sup>*pon moun pa jen ka manjé pwason.*  
 no person NEG never IPFV eat fish  
 ‘Nobody ever eats fish’  
 b. *yo pa jen ka manjé pwason*  
 3 PL NEG never IPFV eat fish

In (21) the referential (indefinite) pronoun *yo* ‘they’ is largely preferred and it provides a perfect sentence with the intended meaning (21b).

When in subject position, the sentential negation is mandatory, with a concord reading:

- (22) a. *pon moun pa vini.*  
 no person NEG come  
 ‘Nobody came.’  
 b. *pon moun pa kriyé mwen?*  
 no person NEG call me  
 ‘Nobody called me?’  
 c. *ki moun ki vwè-w? Pon moun.*  
 WH person that see you no person  
 ‘Who saw you? Nobody.’

And *pon* is also available with a pronoun and can be followed by a Preposition:

- (23) a. *pon yon. (\*pon)*  
 no one  
 ‘No one.’  
 b. *Pon di sa*  
 No of this  
 ‘None of this.’

*Pon N*, (and *anyen*) can only appear in non-argumental position only if the SN is present locally:

- (24) a. *Jan \*(pa) manjé adan pon rèstoran*  
 Jean NEG eat in no restaurant  
 ‘Jean didn’t eat at a restaurant.’

*Pon* can also appear in a preverbal position, meaning “at all” and having scope on the V.

- (25) A: *i di mwen i vin an kaz aw*  
 3SG say 1SG 3SG come to house your  
 ‘He told me he came to your house.’

- B: *I pa pon vin!*  
 3SG NEG at\_all come  
 ‘He didn’t come (at all)!’

Our consultants claim that it is used as a form of denial, as the preceding dialog shows. However, it is difficult to identify the structure of this construction since it looks limited to the construction with the bare verb (past), as the following examples show:

- (26) a. \**I pa té pon vin* / \**i pa pon té vin* (with the Anterior marker)  
 b. \**I pa vlé pon vin*/\**I pa pon vlé vin* (intended meaning “he doesn’t want to come at all”)  
 c. \**I pa pé pon vin* (intended meaning “he can’t come at all”)

### 3. Negative concord and locality

Various hypotheses have been proposed to account for NC. There is no room here to sum up the numerous propositions, hence we suggest the reader to refer to Giannakidou (2006) and to the presentation of this volume. In this section, we review some properties of the GC n-words that can be used as a diagnostic to identify existential n-word and universal n-words (see Giannakidou (2006: § 5.3)).

As for the long-distance licensing, we can observe that, contrary to what has been attested in other Ccreoles (Haitian for instance), our consultants reject it, as shown below:

- (27) *Marie pa di ké ou \*(pa) vlé ban mwen anyen.*  
 Marie NEG say that 2SG NEG want give me nothing  
 ‘Marie didn’t say that you don’t want to give me anything’

However, at least two verbs behave differently: *pé* “to be able to” and *vlé* “to want” (see also in Section 2.4). First, these verbs may precede the negative marker; second, they can be clefted<sup>5</sup> with negation (disallowed with standard verbs) and third, they allow for the licensing of n-words in their VP complement. We provide here some examples with *vlé* but the same holds for *pé*.

- (28) a. *Jan vlé pa.*  
 Jean want NEG  
 ‘Jean doesn’t want (it).’

---

5. More precisely, a predicate-cleft structure, see Glaude & Hertz (2012: 79) for the analysis of the corresponding structure in Haitian.

- b. *Sé vlé pa, i vlé pa!*  
 Cop want NEG 3SG want NEG  
 ‘He really doesn’t want.’
- c. *Jan pa vlé manjé pon bokit*  
 Jean NEG want eat no bokit  
 ‘Jean doesn’t want to eat any bokit.’
- d. \**Jan pa vlé Marie manjé pon bokit*  
 Jean NEG want Marie eat no bokit  
 Intended: ‘John doesn’t want Mary to eat no bokit’

We claim that Example (28c) is a monoclausal sentence. (28d) shows that when *vlé* and *manjé* don’t share the same subject, *pon* isn’t licensed as an argument of *manjé* if *pa* isn’t present locally. We shall return to a formal account of this structure in Section 5.

## 4. The framework

### 4.1 A quick introduction to tree-adjoining grammar

In this section, we briefly present Tree-Adjoining Grammar. We concentrate on the properties that will be useful to understand the formal analysis we provide in the next sections.<sup>6</sup>

The basic elements of a TAG grammar are elementary trees that combine to form sentences. Elementary trees encode information about the co-occurrence restrictions on words. Each elementary tree represents the relationship between a predicate and its arguments. We associate a set of elementary trees (called a *tree family*) to a predicate to describe the various grammatical uses of this predicate. A tree family is a set of trees related by some syntactic transformations and the semantic interpretation of the arguments across the trees of the same family remains constant.

Amongst the elementary trees, two categories are to be distinguished. *Initial trees* represent minimal linguistic structures that contain no recursion. *Auxiliary trees* represent constituents that are adjuncts to the initial trees.

The syntactic trees are combined by only two licit operations: *substitution* or *adjoining* (the term *adjunction* is also used).

---

6. See Joshi & Schabes (1997) for a precise description of the mathematical properties of TAG and (XTAG, 2001) for a TAG grammar of English.



Formally:

Substitution takes only place on non-terminal nodes of the frontier of a tree. [...] By convention, the nodes on which substitution is allowed are marked by a down arrow ( $\downarrow$ ). When substitution occurs on a node  $n$ , the node is replaced by the tree to be substituted. When a node is marked for substitution, only trees derived from initial trees can be substituted for it.

[...]

Adjoining builds a new tree from an auxiliary tree  $\beta$  and a tree  $\alpha$  ( $\alpha$  is any tree, initial, auxiliary or derived). Let  $\alpha$  be a tree containing a non-substitution node  $n$  labeled by  $X$  and let  $\beta$  be an auxiliary tree whose root node is also labeled by  $X$ . The resulting tree  $\gamma$ , obtained by adjoining  $\beta$  to  $\alpha$  at node  $n$  is built as follow:

- the sub-tree of  $\alpha$  dominated by  $n$ , call it  $t$ , is excised, leaving a copy of  $n$  behind.
  - the auxiliary tree  $\beta$  is attached at the copy of  $n$  and its root node is identified with the copy of  $n$ .
  - the sub-tree  $t$  is attached to the foot node of  $\beta$  and the root node of  $t$  (i.e.  $n$ ) is identified with the foot node of  $\beta$ .
- (Joshi & Schabes, 1997: 4)

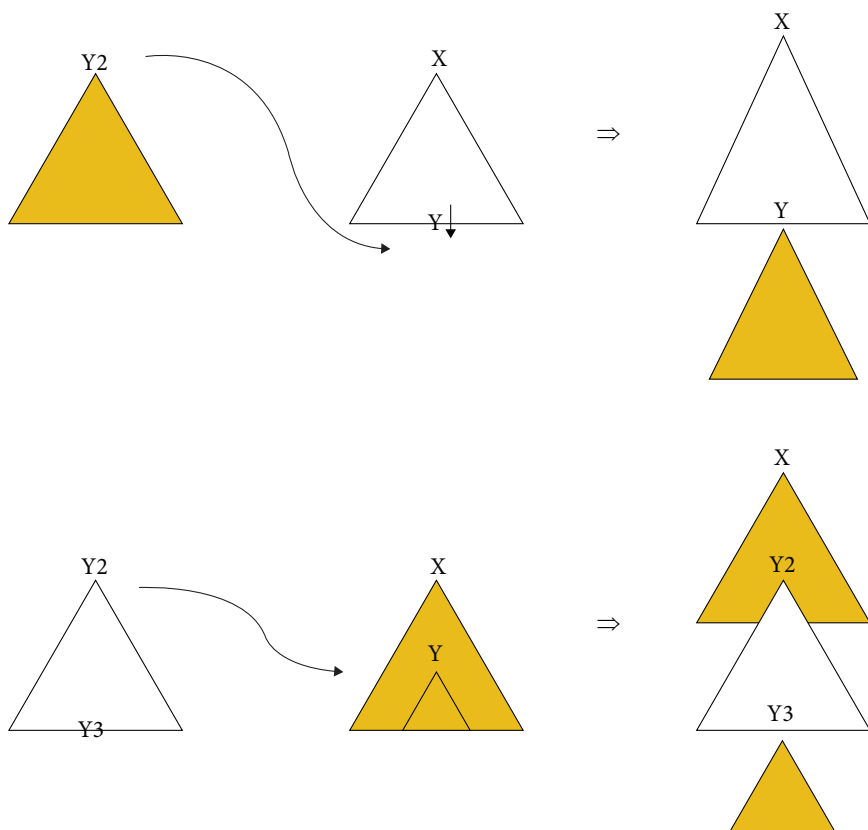


Figure 1. Substitution (top) and adjoining (bottom) in TAG.

To give a real example of substitution, let's take the sentence *John sleeps*. This sentence is composed of two elementary trees anchored by *John* and *sleeps* which combine via substitution (Figure 2).

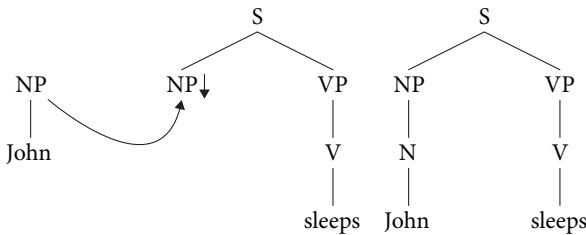


Figure 2. Derivation of *John sleeps*

In the case of *John often sleeps*, the adverb (as a modifier) is combined with the same trees via adjoining (\* marks the adjoining node):

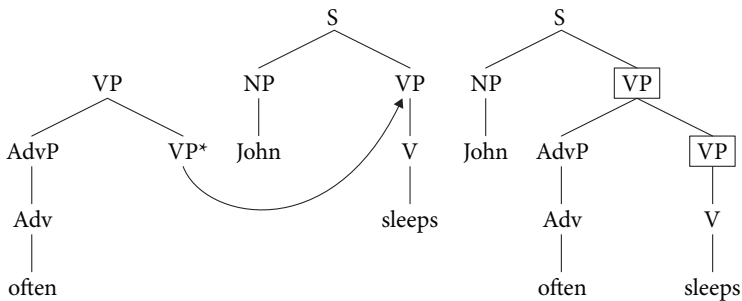


Figure 3. Derivation of *John often sleeps*

TAG clearly separates the combination of elementary trees from the building of elementary trees<sup>7</sup> (see the metagrammar in the next section).

To build the elementary trees of the GC grammar, we make use of the following linguistic principles (see Abeillé (2002) for a presentation of the first four principles):

7. Building elementary trees is similar (roughly speaking) to internal merge, while combining trees is similar to external merge when we talk about substitution.

*Lexical Anchoring*: An elementary tree must have (at least) one non-empty lexical head.

*Predicate-Argument Co-occurrence*: A predicate elementary tree must have a node for each of its arguments.

*Semantic Anchoring*: A syntactic elementary tree must correspond to a (non-empty) semantic element.

*Compositionality Principle*: An elementary tree corresponds to one and only one semantic unit.

*Conditions on Elementary Tree Minimality* (from Frank (2002)): The syntactic heads in an elementary tree and their projections must form an extended projection of a single lexical head.

The CETM implies that, as we will see later, functional elements are part of the elementary tree of the lexical item that licenses them.

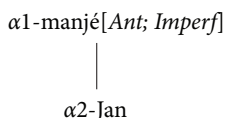
### *Metagrammars and XMG*

XMG (eXtensible Meta-Grammar)<sup>8</sup> is a declarative language for specifying tree-based grammars at a meta-level (Crabbé et al. (2013), Petitjean et al. (2016)). It is made to capture generalizations on a grammar by defining tree fragments (Classes) that can combine via unification (conjunctive / disjunctive combinations of fragments). The classes can be reused in distinct contexts.

A core grammar is described by fragments of elementary trees and these fragments combine to form the expanded grammar that is made of elementary trees. To illustrate this, let's take the GC sentence (29):

- (29) *Jan té ka manjé*  
 Jean PST IPFV eat  
 'Jean was eating.'

Two elementary trees combine together in this example. The first one is anchored by *Jean* and is a N. The second one is a complex one, since in accordance with the CETM, the elementary tree anchored by the V bears also the TMA markers. In the derivation tree, we obtain:



**Figure 4.** Derivation tree of *Jan té ka manjé*

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8. <http://xmg.phil.hhu.de/>

And the elementary tree corresponding to *N té ka manjé* is in Figure 5.

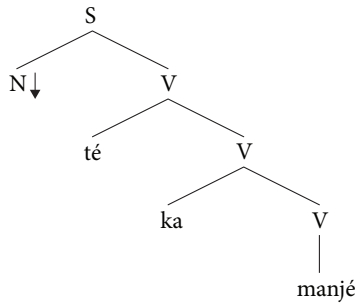


Figure 5. Elementary tree of *N té ka manjé*

This elementary tree is composed of fragments (Figure 6) that combine together.

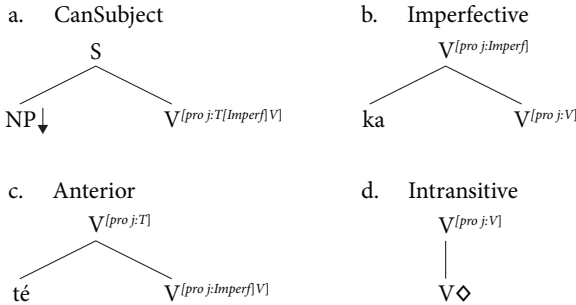


Figure 6. Tree fragments (classes) of the metagrammar

(Figure 5) is thus the conjunction of tree fragments and it can be formalized as follows:

$$\text{TensImperfV} = \{\text{CanSubject} \wedge \text{Intransitive} \wedge \text{Imperf} \wedge \text{Tensed}\}$$

Where (a) is the fragment of the canonical subject (unmoved subject), (b) the fragment of Imperfective, (c) of Anterior Tense and (d) is the fragment for the lexical verb (the diamond stands for every lexical item compatible at this node).

We will use this mechanism to describe the different negative words of GC in the next section.

## 4.2 Formal account of the GC negation

### 4.2.1 Sentential negation

The SN appears as a clitic-like marker in the series of preverbal marker.

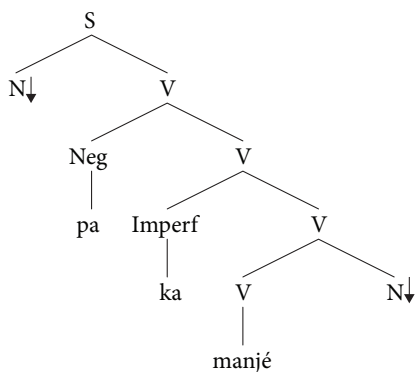


Figure 7. Elementary tree of *N pa ka manjé*

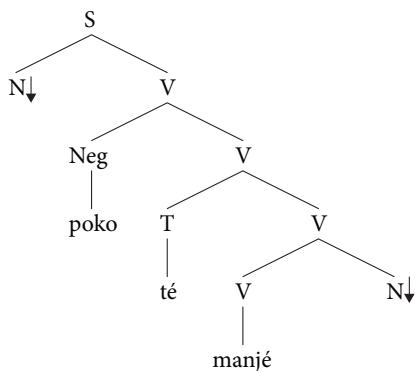


Figure 8. Elementary tree of *N poko té manjé*

Following Schang (2013), we merge the TMA markers and the SN into the elementary tree of the verbs (or more generally of the predication<sup>9</sup>). The constraints apply locally in the elementary tree construction phase, and not via adjunction (i.e. when combining the elementary trees in syntax).

This analysis conforms to the CETM principle (Section 4). *pa* and the TMAs form tree fragments that combine in a strict order.

9. GC allows non-verbal predication with many N and Adj.

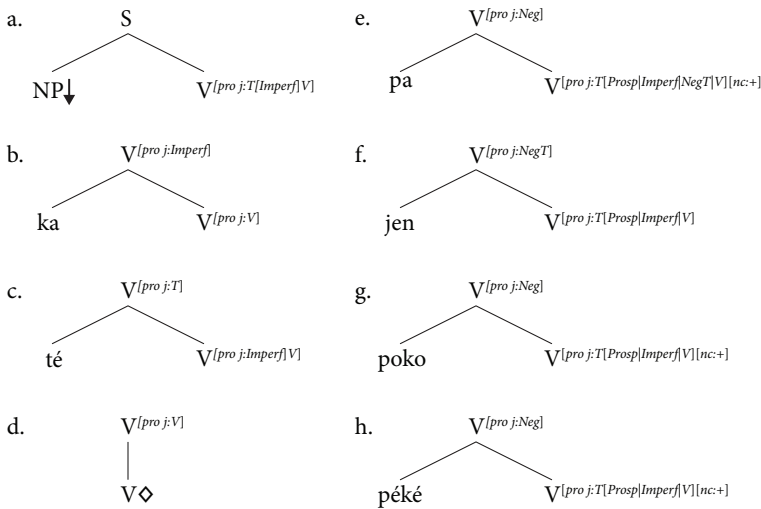


Figure 9. Tree fragments of TMA and negation

The fusion of *pa* and other markers in *poko* and *péké* (or *pé*) leads to different trees. The combination of *poko* with all the TMAs is possible for every V.

The same mechanism holds for *péké* (and its short form *pé*). Note that the adjunction on *anko* “still” into the preverbal markers remains possible, provided the adjunction site has the [proj=V] feature.

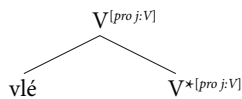


Figure 10. Elementary tree of *vlé*

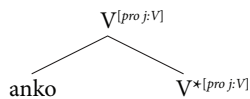


Figure 11. Elementary tree of *anko*

The tree fragments for *pa*, *poko*, *péké*, *jen* and some TMAs are detailed in Figure 9. The [proj=x] feature is used to constrain the way the fragments combine. In order to constrain the negative NPs to merge into a tree containing the SN (in its different forms) i.e. to have a negative concord, we put a constraint on the substitution nodes of elementary tree containing the SN. This allows us to avoid sentences like:

- (30) \**Jan vwè pon moun*  
 Jean see no person  
 Intended: ‘Jean doesn’t see anybody’

Figure 12 shows that the substitution nodes are decorated with a feature [nc: +] which means that negative concord is allowed. Substitution of *pon N* or *anyen* for instance is impossible on a node with [nc: –]. Non negative NPs are not marked with this nc feature<sup>10</sup> which allows freely for unification.

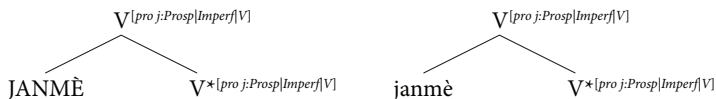
Let’s return briefly to the contrast between (28c) and (28d). We claim that modal verbs like *vlé* and *pé* are adjoined to the main verb and anchor an auxiliary tree (Figure 11). This captures the fact that they don’t select for a subject and that they are transparent for the nc feature.

#### 4.2.2 Janmè, *jen* and *janmè*

As we have shown in Section 2.3., *janmè* has a clitic form *jen* which can only appear in the TMA cluster. Similarly to *pa/poko/péké*, we treat *jen* as a functional projection into an elementary tree (see Figure 9). This easily captures the fact that *jen* always co-occurs with the sentential negation.

When bearing the stress, and appearing into the TMA cluster, *JANMÈ* is inserted via adjunction. In this case, the adjunction is free to occur on non-negative elementary trees (i.e. without *pa*). We then distinguish between three “never”: the clitic-like *jen*, the stressed *JANMÈ* and the free word *janmè* and claim that they are merged via two different operations: merged into a predicative elementary tree (*jen*) or adjoined in syntax. However *JANMÈ* (the stressed form) and *janmè* have a distinct behaviour:

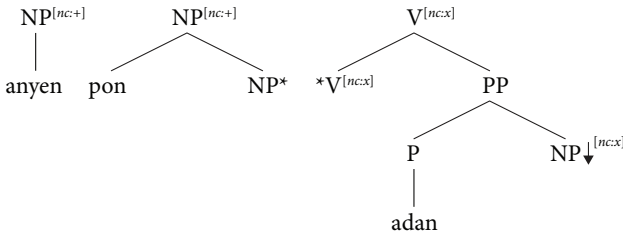
- *JANMÈ* is pragmatically negative and doesn’t bear any nc feature since it cannot license negative concord.
- *Janmè* is not negative in itself and can be interpreted positively (12a) or negatively (as a full form of *jen*).



10. Note that the nc feature is a constraint on a node and does not mean that it is an uninterpretable feature to be checked (unlike in the MP framework).

### 4.2.3 Anyen and pon N

Accordingly, *anyen* (and similarly *an hak*) heads a NP with the feature [nc: +] and the negative quantifier *pon* (and similarly *pa* when negating a constituent, see Section 2.5) is adjoined to an N and contributes the feature [nc: +].



When in non-argumental position (31), *pon N* and *anyen* transmit their nc feature to the preposition. This blocks the adjunction to a VP that doesn't bear a [nc:+ feature].

- (31) Jan pa manjé adan pon restoran  
 Jean NEG eat in no restaurant  
 'Jean didn't eat at any restaurant'

Thus, the elementary trees of the preposition need to percolate the nc feature up to the adjoining node (\*).

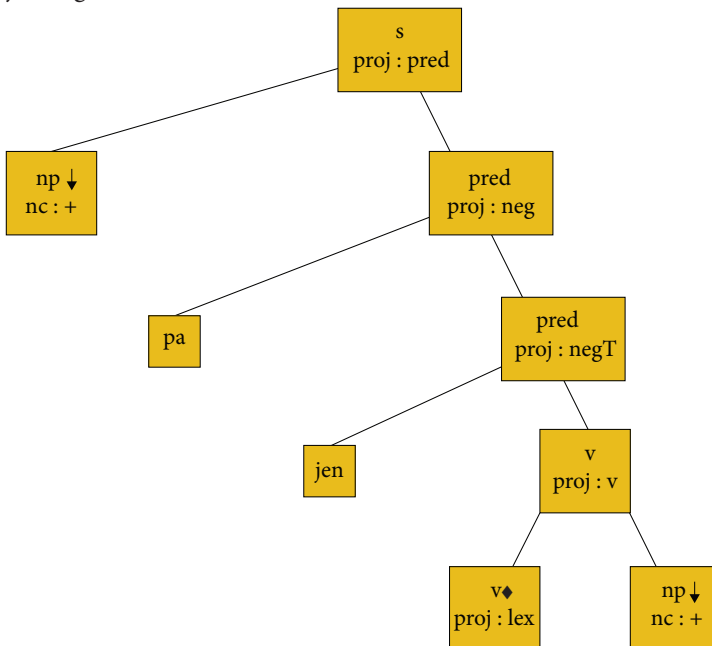


Figure 12. A valid combination of TMA and negation fragments.



## 5. Conclusion

This paper has proposed a detailed account of negation in Guadeloupean Creole (GC). First, we have presented the richness of GC negation and detailed the various uses and constraints on negative concord. We have shown that the data appear to be complex since the different n-words don't have a homogeneous behavior and that GC is different from other **French**-based Creoles with regards to long-distance movement. Second, we have provided the reader a formal account of negation couched in the Tree-Adjoining Grammar and using the concept of metagrammar.

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# What is negative in Haitian Creole? Negative Concord Items, sentential, constituent and expletive negation

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Negative sentences in Creole languages, provocatively claimed to be the world 'simplest languages' (Mc Whorter 2001), commonly present a puzzling multiplicity of redundant negative expressions with a single negative interpretation that appear to systematically violate logical compositionality. An intriguing solution to this puzzle proposes that, contrary to appearances, negation is entirely abstract in Creoles, i.e. solely represented by a phonologically null operator dubbed NEG (Homer 2013; Zeijlstra 2004 and following) and has, de facto, no actual direct morpho-phonological exponent. On this view, not only expressions like *pèsonn* 'nobody' or *anyen* 'nothing' are not negative, but neither is the morpheme *pa*. Revisiting Haitian Creole negative dependencies on the basis of novel data drawn from a corpus of Haitian writings and internet data, this paper critically reviews this approach, showing that it makes a number of incorrect predictions, both with respect to the distribution of Negative Concord items (NCIs) as well as with the morpheme *pa*, especially on its so called 'expletive negation' use, which is investigated here for the first time. The paper argues for a less radical solution that brings Haitian negative dependencies in line with other classic NPI dependencies, claiming that Haitian NCIs are in fact strong NPIs that can be licensed by sentential negation under reconstruction. The puzzle, hence, receives a different solution, keeping with the idea that NCI are non-negative expressions, but also with the more concrete view that *pa* is the core negation morpheme in Haitian.

**Keywords:** Negative Concord Item, expletive negation, constituent negation, Negative Polarity Items

## 1. Introduction

Negative sentences in Creole languages commonly present a puzzling redundant multiplicity of negative expressions with a single negative interpretation. This observation is what prompted Bickerton (1981) to suggest that negative concord is

arguably one of the hallmark features of Creole languages, i.e., a feature, which, if not unique to this language group, is nevertheless found in most of them, perhaps all. Yet the single negative interpretation of multiple negative expressions also represents one of the most vexing challenges to the principle of semantic compositionality, according to which the meaning of complex expressions derives from that of their component parts. For creole languages that have been provocatively considered ‘the simplest languages in the world’ (Mc Whorter 2001), as well as argued to be potential ‘protolanguages’ that could provide a window on earlier steps in the evolution of the human language faculty, (Bickerton 2010) this common departure from semantic compositionality is particularly puzzling. Why, indeed, should Creole languages favor negative constructions that systematically violate logical compositionality with such frequency? An intriguing solution to this puzzle has been proposed in a recent study of Haitian Creole negative constructions (Homer 2013): its core claim is that, contrary to appearances, negation is only abstract in Haitian Creole, i.e. solely represented by a phonologically null semantic operator dubbed NEG (Zejlstra 2004 and following) and has, *de facto*, no actual direct morpho-phonological exponent. In such a view, Haitian Creole, and by extension all the other (Creole) languages that present comparable negative dependencies, would feature no multiple negative constructions, and hence no breach of compositionality, simply because they would feature no semantically interpreted overt negative expressions at all. Note, however, that such a radical solution, if potentially useful for the compositionality problem, imparts in turns another serious syntactic anomaly to Creoles, as it clearly flies in the face of a solid cross-linguistic generalization according to which negative sentences are, quite universally, the overtly marked half of the propositional affirmation/negation pair. However, other less radical solutions to the compositionality puzzle have been proposed. For Déprez (1997, 1999, 2004, 2011, 2017), for instance, Haitian Creole has a single morphological exponent of semantic negation, the sentential negation marker *pa*, while other expressions, though appearing semantically negative in some contexts, were argued to hold no intrinsic semantic negative force. Underlying both these radical and more moderate proposals lies a common question: what expressions, if any, are in fact ‘negative’ in Creole, and perhaps more generally, what does it mean for an expression to be or fail to be ‘negative’? These are the questions that this paper aims to address, more specifically here for Haitian Creole, while proposing to revisit, empirically and theoretically, the properties of its negative constructions.

The paper is structured as follows. It begins by critically reviewing Homer’s theoretical and empirical arguments for his radical solution and then proposes to re-examine the Haitian negative constructions in light of a wealth of novel creole data drawn in large part from a systematic study of negative and negation-dependent expressions in two distinct Haitian Creole texts, the Creole version of Antoine de

St Exupery's famous story of the Little Prince adapted by Gary Viktor, on the one hand, and the Haitian novel *Sezon Sechres* by Emanuel Vedrine, on the other hand. Additionally, I relied on supplemental internet text data and on the judgments of native consultants to verify and complement these corpus data. With Homer (2013), I argue that Haitian Creole NC-items like *pèsonn*, *anyen* (henceforth NCI)<sup>1</sup> are indeed non-negative dependent indefinites on a par with the negative polarity items of other languages, as was previously proposed in (Déprez 1997, 1999, 2000, 2004, 2012), and I provide solid novel additional empirical evidence in support of this conclusion. But Homer's proposal that the Haitian sentential negation marker *pa* is also a non-negative NC-item (NCI) on a par with the other Haitian Creole ones, or on a par with the French negation marker '*pas*' according to Homer & T. Thommen's (2013) recent analysis, is refuted, as it is shown to raise more empirical problems than it solves, including for compositionality. I maintain, in line with my previous work, and with Degraff (1993), that *pa* is indeed the core syntactic and semantic negation of Haitian Creole. I further show that positing an abstract NEG operator in its stead following much work by Zeijlstra (2004) and following, both requires unmotivated stipulations to account for the core properties of Haitian Creole negative dependencies and leaves important distinctions between Haitian Creole and French negative concord unexplained, while further making incorrect semantic predictions. The paper also empirically substantiates, contra Homer's claim, that constituent negation is not absent from Haitian Creole and that constructions in which *pa* appears to fail to convey semantic negation, are better viewed as instances of restrictive 'expletive negation' argued here to signal the speaker's lack of commitment to the truth value of the proposition it ranges over. In these 'expletive negation' constructions, whose properties are analyzed here for the first time, *pa* acts as a mood marker that signals an evaluative subjunctive with negative anticipation, a possibility noted elsewhere with the negative maker of languages that do not feature a rich inflectional tense morphology, like Korean (S. Yoon 2011, 2013). The discussion concludes with a brief comparative tour of the properties of negative constructions in other French based creoles, and replaces the type of negative concord they exemplify within a renewed theoretical landscape for negative dependencies and negative concord. In so doing, this work strives to underscore some of the lessons from Creoles that any empirically adequate theoretical discussion of negative concord cannot afford to ignore.

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1. This paper makes use of the term Negative Concord Items (NCI) (Watanabe 2004), in lieu of the more frequently used expression n-word, in a deliberate effort to avoid the unintended cultural connotations of Laka's (1990) original terminology pointed out to us by US colleagues.

## 1.1 Abstract negation and negative concord

Homer's (2013) study of Haitian creole negative dependencies, entitled 'On the non-existence of negative quantifiers: the case of Haitian Creole' is embedded in a larger project, aimed at demonstrating that negative quantifiers are generally non-existent in the world's languages. Leaving this larger issue aside for now, I focus here on Homer's analysis of Haitian Creole specifically, his claims that in this language, Negative Concord Items (NCIs) like *pèsonn*, *anyen* and *jamn*, which are directly inherited from the French lexifier, are non-negative indefinite expressions, similar to Negative Polarity Items (NPI) like *anyone*, *anything*, or *ever* in English or *qui que ce soit*, *quoi que ce soit* in French, but with the added requirement that they must satisfy the syntactic Negative Rule stated below:

### Negative Rule:

- (1) No clause can contain NEG, the silent sentential negation, if it contains no NCI in the scope of NEG.

Unpacking this double negation formulation, we see that Homer's Negative Rule states the condition under which an abstract NEG is ruled out; namely, in all sentences that feature no NC-item. What this Negative Rule does not specify, however, are the conditions under which an abstract NEG itself is in fact allowed. But since Homer proposes no other restrictions to the appearance of NEG than the mere presence of an NCI, it must be concluded that whenever an NCI occurs in a sentence, merging of an abstract NEG is allowed and presumably automatic. Below I argue that, when scrutinized in detail, this proposal, motivated to explain the negative meaning of HC NCI in fragment answers, either makes wrong predictions with respect to the distribution or interpretation of Haitian NCI, or must be so severely constrained that it turns out to be essentially gutted from its independent meaningful effects.

Homer goes on to further claim that *pa*, the sentential marker of negation in Haitian Creole, is also a non-negative NCI, on a par with expressions like *pèsonn*. On this view, although *pa* is not itself a negative expression, Haitian Creole sentences containing this marker are nonetheless predicted to be negative, because the presence of *pa*, like that of other NCIs, suffices to trigger the merging of the abstract NEG operator, as per the Negative Rule above. From this conjecture, Homer concludes that Haitian Creole, in fact, manifests no overt expression of negation, and consequently no real instance of negative concord, since this construction presupposes the co-presence of several intrinsically negative expressions that semantically reduce to a single one, in violation of the principle of compositionality.

Through its use of an abstract negative operator NEG, Homer's proposal strongly resembles the formal approach to Negative Concord elaborated in Zeijlstra

(2004) and following. For Zeijlstra, negative concord is essentially a form of syntactic agreement and in this sense, no more semantically meaningful than agreement between a subject and a verb. Here it is agreement (formalized under (Chomsky 1995) AGREE operation<sup>2</sup>) between a single negative operator NEG (which can be phonetically covert or overt) bearing an interpretable negation feature [iNeg] and one or more elements that carry an un-interpretable negative feature ([uNEG]). But Zeijlstra (2004, 2008), in contrast with Homer (2013), further argues for the existence of a macro-parameter that distinguishes negative concord languages (NC) that have a formal negative feature from double negative languages in which negative features do not have a formal status, but are always directly semantically interpreted. This macro-parameter is formalized as follows:

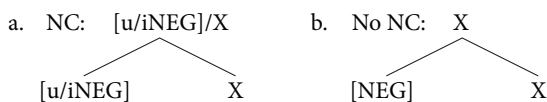


Figure 1. Parameter of NC vs DN languages (Biberauer & Zeijlstra 2012)

To further distinguish among varieties of NC languages, such as Strict NC languages, in which a sentential negative marker is required to co-occur with NCIs in all syntactic positions, from Non-Strict or Asymmetric NC languages, in which the negative marker is only required with post-verbal NCIs (Giannakidou 1998), Zeijlstra assumes that like NCIs, sentential negative markers can also vary in being either semantically negative (i.e., [iNeg]) in Non-Strict NC languages, or semantically non-negative (i.e., [uNeg]) in Strict NC languages. This yields the typology of languages reproduced here in Table 1 (Biberauer et al. 2012).

Table 1. Biberauer and Zeijlstra’s (2012) Typology of NC & DN languages

	NCI semantically negative	NCI semantically non-negative
Negative markers semantically negative	DN languages: <i>Dutch, German, Swedish</i>	Non-strict NC languages: <i>Spanish, Italian, Portuguese</i>
Negative markers semantically non-negative	<i>Afrikaans</i>	Strict NC languages: <i>Czech, Serbo-Croatian, Greek, Afrikaans B</i>

Note that in Zeijlstra’s model too, Strict Negative Concord languages, to which Haitian Creole is taken to belong, have no overt semantic expression of negation,

2. Zeijlstra (2012) argues for a technically distinct form of AGREE operation, which he characterizes as upward AGREE. For a detailed discussion of his formulation see Zeijlstra (2013) and for a strong criticism of it, see (Preminger 2013).



since they feature both NCIs and negative markers that are semantically non-negative. Yet although both Zeijlstra and Homer agree that languages can fail to manifest overt semantically interpreted negation – a conclusion which, as noted above, is at odd with the typologically solid observation that negation is always the marked member of the pair assertion/negation – they differ on the conclusions they draw regarding the cross-linguistic status of negative concord. For Zeijlstra, a language with no overt semantically interpreted negation is by excellence a Negative Concord language, since all morphological negations are ‘formal’, i.e. purely syntactic but with no semantic content. For Homer, in contrast, they exemplify languages where there is no Negative Concord. That is, in a sense, Homer’s conclusion serves to question the existence of Negative concord altogether, not as a phenomenon, but as a syntax/semantic relation. It is thus no surprise that Homer (2013) further extends similar conclusions to other languages previously argued to manifest negative concord, and in particular to French. In joint work, Homer, V. and T. Thommen (2013) similarly argue that French ‘*pas*’ is an non-negative NCI, as are the French NCI *personne*, and *rien*, since after all they all share a nominal origin, thus reaching the conclusion that “European French has only one negation ... , which is silent NEG”. On this view, French and Haitian Creole are largely similar, save for one aspect; according to Homer, Haitian Creole lacks constituent negation while French features it. This, in Homer’s view, is what explains that, in French but not Haitian Creole, NCI sequences can have double negation readings. How constituent negation comes to be associated with non-negative NCI in French, however, remains mysterious, as it is left unexplained.

The following sections provide a detailed empirical survey of the properties of NCI in Haitian Creole, against the comparative background of those of French and of its NPI expressions. I then turn to a comparative review of the properties of the sentential negation markers in both languages. Previewing my conclusions, I will agree with Homer that NCI in HC are NPI-like indefinites and non-negative, as previously proposed in Déprez (1997, 1999, 2000, 2004 and 2011). However, I will disagree with Homer that French and HC NCIs, and negation markers, are alike; I have argued elsewhere that French NCI, in contrast to the HC ones are negative expressions and have properties akin to those of degree expressions of zero cardinality (Déprez 1997, 2000, 2011; Alrenga & Kennedy 2013), a hypothesis, recently confirmed with experimental work on the interpretation of NCI sequences (Déprez 2014, forthcoming). Without dwelling on the case of French, which lies outside the scope of the present paper, what is shown here is that French and HC negative concord can simply not receive the same analysis without failing to account for the core contrastive characteristics they display.

## 1.2 Properties of Haitian Creole NCI

Table 2 summarizes the properties of Haitian NCI previously distinguished in Déprez (1999) as compared to those of the French NPI and NCI. Property 1 involves classical NPI licensing contexts (yes-no questions, conditionals, adversative predicates, only, without) in which, characteristically, Haitian NCI can be found without the co-presence of an overt negation marker and have a positive polar interpretation. Although Haitian NCI can appear felicitously in yes-no questions as in (1), they reportedly can do so only in some dialects.<sup>3</sup>

Déprez (1999) provided the following examples from her informants:

Table 2.

Properties	Haitian NCI	French NPI	French NCI
1. NPI contexts	Some	Yes	No
2. Compatibility with <i>Sneg</i>	Yes	Yes	No
3. Subject position	Yes	No	Yes
4. Locality	No	No	Yes
5. Double negation readings	No	No	Yes
6. Modification (almost/absolutely)	Yes/No	No	Yes
7. Negative value (Fragment Answer)	Yes	No	Yes

- (1) a. *Èske okenn moun rele m*  
 QU any person call 1SG  
 ‘Did anyone call me?’  
 b. *M ap mande si okenn moun ap vini?*  
 1SG PROG ask if any person FUT come  
 ‘I am asking whether anyone will come.’

The following additional comparable examples were retrieved from Haitian texts on the Internet and checked with our current native speaker informants:

- (2) a. *Eske Jezikri te janm fè tèt li pase pou Bondye?*  
 QU Jesus-Christ PST ever do head 3SG pass for God  
 ‘Did Jesus Christ ever made himself pass for God?’

<http://www.gotquestions.org/Kreyol-Ayisyen> (21 August 2014)

3. Such constructions are reported as ungrammatical in Degraff (1993), in contrast with the examples here retrieved from the internet as well as from the intuitions of our native informants.

- b. Èske w **janm** peye pou fè sèks oswa w twoke sèks pou  
 QU 2SG ever pay for do sex or 2SG exchange sex for  
*d wòg, manje, rad?*  
 drug, food, clothes  
 ‘Did you ever pay to have sex or exchange sex for drugs, food, clothes?’  
 Hepatitis Risk questionnaire, State of New York
- c. Eske **pèsonn** konnen kouman pou’m mete aksan nan let yo?  
 QU person know how must’1SG put accent on letter PL  
 Does anyone know how I can put accent on the letters?  
<https://groups.yahoo.com/group/kreyol/message/2080>
- d. Eske **okenn moun** konnen si yo ap jwe mizik ki sou cd  
 QU any person know if they PRS play music that on cd  
*Shabba yo?*  
 Shabba PL  
 ‘Does anybody know if they are playing the music that is on the Shabba cds?’  
<http://kompamagazine.com/kmboard/viewtopic.php?p=506535&sid>

Haitian NCIs are also felicitously found in the prosthesis of conditional sentences, as the following Internet examples attest:

- (3) a. *Si ou te **janm** gen yon reyaksyon alèjik*  
 If 2SG PST ever get a reaction allergic  
*Vaccine information statement, Michigan State gov. Haitian Creole*  
 ‘If you ever had an allergic reaction’
- b. *Nou ankouraje-ou anpil pou ou rele-nou si ou gen*  
 1PL encourage 2SG much to 2SG call 1PL if 2SG  
*okenn kekasyon.*  
 have any question  
 ‘We encourage you a lot to call us if you have any question.’  
[http://www.doe.mass.edu/sped/iep/forms/haitiankreyol/hk\\_n2.pdf](http://www.doe.mass.edu/sped/iep/forms/haitiankreyol/hk_n2.pdf)

However, there may also be differences between NCIs or dialects in such contexts, as the following infelicitous example with *pèsonn* from Degraff (1993) indicates:

- (4) \**Si ou tuye **pèsonn**, ou pral nan prison* (DeGraff 1993)  
 if 2SG kill person, 2SG will-go in prison  
 ‘If you kill anyone you will go to prison.’

Haitian NCI can further occur without negation in the complement of some ad-versative verbal predicates:

- (5) a. *NYCHA refize admèt okenn move zak,*  
 NYCHA refused admit any bad act  
 ‘NYCHA refused to acknowledge any wrongdoing’.
- b. *Yo refize asepte okenn moun vin delivre yo.*  
 3PL refuse accept any person come deliver 3PL  
 ‘They refuse to accept that anyone will come deliver them.’  
<http://biblehub.com/hcb/hebrews/11.htm>

Moreover, Haitian NCI can sometimes occur in the complement of focus particles like *sel* the Haitian equivalent of *only*, although this seems quite rare:

- (6) *Sel desen ou te janm eseye fe* (Ti Prens lan, p 11)  
 Only drawing 2SG PST ever try do  
 ‘The only drawing you had ever tried to do’.

Finally, Haitian NCIs are commonly found without negation in the (sentential) complement of the conjunction *san* (without):

- (7) a. *Se konsa mwen te viv pou kont mwen, san pèsonn pou*  
 It’s how 1SG PST live for count 1SG, without anyone to  
*m pale vreman* (Ti Prens lan p 11)  
 1SG speak really  
 ‘This is how I lived by myself without anyone for me to speak to me really’
- b. *M’ap mache kagou, san pèsonn pou konsole m’*  
 1SG PROG walk haggard, without anyone to console 1SG  
 ‘I am walking haggard without anyone to console me’  
 Jòb 30: 28 Haitian Creole Version (HCV)

In these standard NPI licensing contexts, Haitian NCIs behave in similarity with French NPIs like *qui que ce soit*, and unlike the French NCIs *personne, rien*, which in comparable contexts have a rather clear negative meaning,<sup>4</sup> except for (7) to which I return. There are, however, other NPI licensing contexts in which Haitian NCIs are infelicitous. These include, the complement of comparatives clauses, the downward entailing argument of universal quantifiers or of downward entailing quantifiers. Note, however, that the fact that Haitian NCIs are not licensed in these contexts,

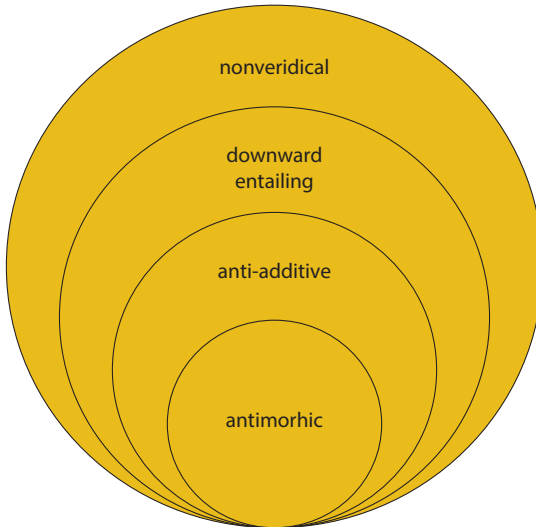
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4. In an elevated literary or written style, mostly in conjunction with subjunctive, some French NCIs, especially *jamais* can have non-negative readings.

*Le seul dessin que vous ayez jamais essayé de faire.*  
 ‘The only drawing that you ever tried to do.’

See Déprez (2012) for a discussion.

does not rob them of their NPI-like status. As Hoeksema (2012) has amply demonstrated, there is quite a lot of cross-linguistic variation in the type of contexts that license NPIs in different languages and even within a particular one. The following graph, reproduced from Hoeksema (2012) summarizes this cross-linguistic variation and suggests that types of licensing contexts are hierarchically and inclusively ranked from the most to the least permissive ones:



**Figure 2.** Extended Zwarts hierarchy (Hoeksema 2012)

As discussed above, variation is also evident with Haitian NCIs, across dialects (*cf.* Fn 4), as well as among NCIs types, if as the above examples (4) suggest, *pèsonn* differs from the other NCIs and in particular from *janm* with respect to its licensing contexts. (See Déprez 2012, and Déprez 2017, for similar remarks on Martinique Creole, Mauritian Creole and French).

In regards to Homer's proposal, it is of relevance to note here, that in the above contexts, Haitian NCIs can neither be assumed to require an abstract NEG nor even to license one. The merging of an abstract NEG indeed would wrongly predict that Haitian NCIs should have a negative meaning here, just as their French counterparts do. A narrow comparison between (8a) and (8b), with (2c) and (3b) above, make it evident that the meaning of the French sentences clearly differ from that of the Haitian ones. This is perhaps most evident with (8b) as compared to (3b), which is pragmatically absurd in French, as it simply makes no sense to encourage people to call, if they have no question to ask.

- (8) a. *#Est-ce que personne ne sait comment mettre un accent sur ces lettres?*  
 'Is it the case that no-one know how to put an accent on these letters?'
- b. *#Nous vous encourageons à nous appeler si vous n'avez aucune question.*  
 'We encourage you to call us if you have no question.'

What these examples demonstrate is that the merging of an abstract NEG in HC, if ever needed, has to be constrained to occur only as a last resort, that is, crucially, only when NCIs are not *otherwise* licensed. NEG, indeed, cannot be assumed to merge automatically whenever an NCI is present in HC, as Homer's Negative rule in (1) would allow, lest a wrong (negative) meaning for the sentence types in (1–7) is predicted. Recall indeed that, in fragment answers, the presence of NEG is postulated to derive a negative meaning for Haitian NCIs. It hence follows that the semantic composition of NEG + NCI always derives a negative meaning. Consequently, as formulated above, Homer's Negative Rule clearly over-generates, predicting a possible negative meaning for Haitian NCIs in sentences like (1–7) where they in fact have a positive one. Thus Homer's Negative Rule must clearly be constrained. Yet how this could be achieved, remains at present, unclear. Observe indeed that even a last resort restriction application of Homer's Negative rule would fail to sufficiently restrain the presence of his abstract NEG. To see this, let's consider comparative contexts. Although these are standard contexts known to license (English) NPIs, they fail here to felicitously allow Haitian NCIs, even under a negative reading:

- (9) *\*Bouki pi wo pase pèsonn* Degraff (1993)  
 Bouki more big past anyone  
 Bouki is larger than anyone.

Yet how this failure could be predicted on Homer's Negative rule is unclear. Indeed, even if his Negative Rule could be restricted to Merge an abstract NEG only as a last resort, i.e. only when NCIs are not *otherwise* licensed, its presence should be triggered in (9) to come to rescue the NCI. But here again, merging NEG wrongly predicts that (9) should be able to have a compositional (NEG + NCI) negative reading, contrary to facts. (9) is simply rejected. Note in contrast, that simply taking Haitian NCIs to be restricted NPIs, i.e. non-negative indefinites licensed in anti-additive contexts, is sufficient to correctly account for the data in (1–11) without distributional overgeneralization or incorrect semantic predictions. In short, in standard NPI contexts, the merging of an abstract NEG triggered by the presence

of a Haitian NCI is both superfluous and unwanted, as it compositionally derives a negative meaning that these sentences do not have. But for Homer or Zeijlstra's theory to avoid making such erroneous semantic predictions, either the merging of NEG would have to be blocked from non-negative NPI contexts, with the consequence that this would largely reduce the effect of NEG to fragment answers, or the compositional semantic import of NEG would have to be sometimes negative and sometimes not, an inconsistent assumption for an element whose only hypothesized contribution is semantic negation.

Like all NPIs, Haitian NCIs can of course also be licensed in the direct c-command domain of a sentential negation marker, *pa*. Below are some illustrative examples from our textual corpora:

- (10) a. *Li pa t janm santi yon fle. Li pa t janm gade*  
 3SG not PST ever smell a flower. 3SG not PST ever  
*yon 'zetwal.*  
 see a star  
 'He never smelled a flower. He never looked at a star.'
- b. *Li pa t janm renmen pèsonn. Li pa t janm fe lòt*  
 3SG not PST ever love anyone. 3SG not PST ever make  
*bagay apa adisyon.* (Ti Prens Lan, p 28)  
 other thing apart addition  
 'He never loved anyone. He never did any other thing than additions.'

But in contrast to English or French NPIs, Haitian NCIs, are also fully licensed by the co-presence of the negation (*pa*), when they occur in a pre-verbal subject position (11), as is typical in so-called strict NC languages.

- (11) a. *men pèsonn pa t kwe li akoz rad li te mete*  
 but anyone not PST believe 3SG because clothes 3SG PST put  
*sou li yo* (Ti Prens Lan, p 18)  
 on 3SG PL  
 'but no one believed him because of the clothes he wore'.
- b. *Anyen pa ka jan w ta vle li lan, rena afe ak*  
 Anything not can way 2 COND want 3 the, fox make with  
*yon soupi.* (Ti Prens Lan, p 64)  
 a sigh  
 'Nothing can be the way you want it, the fox said with a sigh'.
- c. \**Qui que ce soit ne viendra pas.*  
 Anyone will not come.

Although failure to be licensed in pre-verbal position has long been regarded as a kind of cross-linguistic definitional-criterion of NPI-hood, this phenomenon has now been shown to lack cross-linguistic generality (Hoeksema 2012). There are

clearly languages such as Hindi or Turkish, for which this failure is not observed for expressions solidly argued to be NPIs (Lahiri 1998). Furthermore, since pre-verbal subjects are derived from vP internal positions in current syntactic transformational models, c-command by a negation marker merged above T, – which HC *pa* must be, since it generally precedes all TMA markers (cf. Degraff 1993), – clearly obtains in all but the very last position occupied by the NCI as shown in (12).

- (12) [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> pèsonn] [<sub>T</sub><sup>o</sup> pa [<sub>vP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> pèsonn] [<sub>vP</sub> we [<sub>DP</sub> li]]]]]]]  
 nobody NEG nobody see him

Henceforth, there are now serious reasons to doubt that the ban on pre-verbal NPIs is a characterizing feature of NPI-hood and that it could derive from a negation c-command failure. Plausible alternatives consider the subject NPI ban as directly linked to the internal syntactic nature of these elements (Cf. Déprez 2000 for the proposal that NPIs contain a null determiner) or to their failure to topicalize (Hoeksema 2012). Alternatively, it could be assumed following Chierchia (2006) that NPIs bear a [+ sigma] feature that needs to be checked. Infelicitous pre-verbal NPIs would have a strong [+ sigma] feature that requires checking in the syntax. Felicitous pre-verbal NPIs, in contrast, would have a *weak* [+ sigma] feature that allows checking at LF, i.e. through a lower vP-internal (reconstructed) copy, which is c-commanded by negation. Although developing the details of this suggested analyses goes beyond the scope of the present paper (see Déprez 2017), of importance to the present debate is the fact that Homer likewise considers Haitian NCIs to have an NPI-like status, although he offers no suggestion as to how they should be licensed in pre-verbal positions. More generally, the pre-verbal licensing of Haitian NCIs, if a problem, is one for both an abstract NEG and a more conservative NPI approach, which neither favors, nor condemns either analysis.

A rapid numerical overview of the *Ti Prens Lan* corpus, clearly suggests that licensing by the negation *pa* is by far the most common licensing mode for Haitian NCIs. The Table 3 below summarizes the number of occurrence of each NCI in this text with and without *pa*.

Table 3.

NCI type	With <i>pa</i>	Other licensors
pèsonn	12	1
anyen	43	3
jamn	39	1

Clearly contexts of co-occurrence of NCIs with *pa* form the greatest majority of the cases of NCI licensing in HC. Thus outside of the fairly rare NPI contexts discussed above, Haitian NCIs always require the overt co-presence of *pa*. In this regard,



Haitian Creole functions as a prime example of Strict NC language, in which the presence of a sentential negative marker is obligatory in all positions with the NCIs that are not otherwise licensed. As further shown in (14), NCIs can themselves not act as licensers for other NCIs. That is, so-called negative spread is precluded in HC:

- (14) a. \**Pèsonn ap manje anyen*  
 Anyone PROG eat anything  
 ‘Anyone is eating anything’.
- b. \**Pèsonn vini*  
 Anyone come
- c. \**M we anyen*  
 1SP see anything

Taking Haitian NCIs to be a type of non-negative NPI expression, as argued here, suffices to straightforwardly predict the ungrammaticality of (14). On this view, the Haitian NCI simply fails to be licensed in (14). But, in contrast, note that neither the required presence of *pa* in (14b.c) nor the ungrammaticality of (14a) are predicted on the Homer/Zeijlstra abstract NEG account. Since according to the Negative Rule, the mere presence of an NCI suffices to allow the presence of an abstract NEG, which in turn suffices to license the NCI, Haitian NCIs should be licensed by this abstract NEG in all the examples in (14). This rather glaring problem for this type of account is acknowledged by both Biberauer & Zeijlstra (2012) and Homer (2013), but, surprisingly, remains largely un-discussed, and still with no solution. I reproduce below the only response I have so far found in Zeijlstra’s writings addressing this serious empirical problem: the comment responds to the same question raised by a reviewer for the comparable cases of the obligatory negation with NCIs in Czech:

A reviewer raises the question of why *ne* (the Czech sentential marker (author addition) should be obligatorily present, **as removing it would not affect the Agree relation between the [iNEG]-bearing abstract operator and the overtly realized [uNEG]-bearing n-words** (author emphasis). This question, however, relates not to a property of (Strict) NC specifically, but to the more general problem of morphosyntactic agreement: why is it that particular elements, not only negative, but also person, number or gender markers – whether inflectional morphemes or independent elements – may not be omitted, despite the fact that they simply realize uninterpretable features? We here clearly face a much more general problem that cannot be fully addressed within the confines of the present paper.

(Biberauer & Zeijlstra 2012, footnote 8, p 351)

While as this footnote makes clear, Biberauer and Zeijlstra (2012) choose to leave the problem unresolved, thereby de facto removing from the predictions of their abstract NEG/AGREE approach any account of the co-distribution of sentential

negation for Strict Negative Concord languages that harbor u-Neg NCIs and hence can trigger the presence of an abstract NEG, Homer in contrast, noting the problem for Haitian specifically, ventures a tentative solution in terms of locality that he formulates as follows:

- (15) “In HC, the negative rule must be satisfied *very locally*, and *pa* is the closest possible NCI to NEG.”

Putting aside for now a needed formulation of what *very locally* and ‘*closest to NEG*’ could mean in this context, which Homer does not provide, let us note that the condition in (15) in effect stipulates that *pa* is de facto different from all the other Haitian NCIs, in being the only element that can satisfy the locality constraint on the Negative Rule, and consequently, the Negative Rule itself. Note that what this stipulated condition entails, concretely, is that *pa* is the only HC element to directly link to the abstract NEG operator, and hence to semantic negation.<sup>5</sup> Although this result certainly seems to be correct, it raises the question of what advantage positing a *pa* that triggers an abstract NEG which it must locally license can capture, over the a priori far simpler view of considering *pa* as de-facto the semantic negation of HC which can take scope over the whole proposition.

Let us further note here that Haitian NCIs clearly differ from French ones in their relation to sentential negation. While we have seen that the former obligatorily require the presence of *pa* if they do not occur in one of the licensing contexts listed in Table 1., French NCIs in contrast, systematically avoid co-occurring with the negation *pas*. Furthermore, when co-occurrence does in fact occur, it unambiguously leads to a double negation reading in the contemporary standard dialect.

- (16) a. *Il (n’) a invité personne.*  
 ‘He invited no one.’  
 b. *Il (n’) a pas invité personne*  
 ‘He did not invite no one’ = He invited someone.

In contrast, such double negation readings are reportedly systematically unavailable for Haitian Creole NCI sequences, a fact our informants confirmed,<sup>6</sup> just as

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5. Exactly what condition (15) achieves is unclear. Indeed, if *pa* is present then the condition dictates that it will be the only element to satisfy the Negative Rule. But if *pa* is absent, then it must still be the case that an NCI can satisfy the Negation Rule. Hence the problem raised by the sentences in (14) is not really solved. Note indeed that NCIs must be able to satisfy the Negative Rule since they must do so in fragment answers, which are the contexts that motivated postulating an abstract NEG in the first place.

6. I here acknowledge and thank the following native speakers for their help with the data: Marla Durant, Johnny Laforest, Jude Lafleur, and Duhamel Mondesir.

they are with NPI expressions. This contrast is clearly illustrated by the following similarities and distinctions.

- (17) a. *Jan pa done pèsonn anyen.* Single Negation (SN)  
 John not give anyone anything  
 ‘John didn’t give anyone anything.’ (#So everyone got something)
- b. *Jean n’a pas rien donné à personne*<sup>7</sup> DN obligatory  
 John didn’t give nothing to no one  
 (so everyone got something)
- c. *Jean n’a rien donné à personne* SN/DN ambiguous  
 (i) John did not give anything to anyone SN only  
 (ii) John gives nothing to no one (= everyone gets something)
- d. *Jean ne donne pas quoi que ce soit à qui que ce soit* SN only  
 John does not give anything to anyone.

In this regard, HC NCIs are clearly seen to pattern with French NPIs and strongly unlike French NCIs; the former two are unable to trigger double negation, while the later easily can.

Yet another characteristic shared between Haitian NCIs and French NPIs concerns their locality properties. While in French the relation between *ne* and an NCI needs to be strictly local, as shown below (see also Déprez 1999 for a complete comparison), the relation between a licensing negation *pa* and the dependent Haitian NCI can span a longer distance and cross clausal boundaries. In this again, Haitian NCIs resemble French NPI expressions, which likewise, can be licensed at distance by a c-commanding negation *pas*. Yet this distinction in locality between Haitian and French NCIs, remains unaccounted for by Homer since his proposed abstract NEG approach extends to both languages. The examples in (18) raise yet a further problem for the abstract NEG account. Consider (18b) for instance: strictly speaking, the abstract NEG account predicts that (18b) should allow a double negative reading. Indeed given that *pa* and *anyen* occur in distinct clauses, the Neg Rule should license one NEG for each clause, the composition of which would then lead to a double negation reading. Yet such readings are impossible for all the examples in (18). The Haitian examples were found in our *Ti Prens lan* corpus. Observe that comparable examples featuring a relation between *ne* and a French NCI in (18a’) fail, while, in contrast, the same distance between French *pas* and a French NPI (18a’’) is fine.

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7. A reviewer finds this sentence hard to understand and would prefer *Jean n’a pas rien donné a qui que ce soit*. For us and a few other native speakers I consulted, the meaning of the sentence can be paraphrased as follows: It is not the case that he gave nothing to no one, i.e. = he gave something to all/each.

- (18) a. *Mwen pa t aprann desinen anyen* (Ti Prens Lan, p11)  
 1SG not PST learn draw anything  
 a'. \**Je n'ai appris à rien dessiner*  
 a''. *Je n'ai pas appris à dessiner quoi que ce soit*  
 'I did not learn to draw anything'
- b. *Moun yo pa gen tan pou yo konn anyen.* (Ti Prens Lan: 64)  
 People 3PL not have time  
 b'. \**Les gens n'ont le temps de rien connaître*  
 b''. *Les gens n'ont pas le temps de connaître quoi que ce soit*  
 'People don't have the time to know anything'
- c. *Kounye a, mwen pa t vle pran chans mande li anyen*  
 Now, 1SG not PST want take luck ask 3SG anything  
 c'. \**A cet instant, je ne voulais prendre le risque de rien lui demander* (Ti Prens Lan: 70)  
 c''. *A cet instant, je ne voulais pas prendre le risque de lui demander quoique ce soit*<sup>8</sup>  
 'At that point, I didn't want to take the chance to ask him anything'.

The above examples thus provide additional evidence that Haitian NCIs pattern like NPI expressions in their core properties,<sup>9</sup> namely their dependence on the overt

8. A reviewer pointed out that he allows a long distance *rien* that has the same meaning as *quoi que ce soit* in (b') and (c'). So for him (i) can have the same meaning as (18b''). This resembles what happens in Quebec French. I do not get this meaning, even though the pragmatic of the sentence certainly favors it, as the meaning in which *rien* is understood negatively, which I get, is absurd, corresponding to (i) c.

- i. *Les gens n'ont pas le temps de rien connaître*  
 People don't have the time to know anything  
 People don't have the time to know nothing

9. Homer argues that a further phenomenon likening Haitian NCIs to NPIs concerns intervention effects. As he notes, intervening adverbs create infelicity in contexts in which NCIs would otherwise be licensed.

\*LF: PA... TOUJOU... NCI

- (35) \**Li pa toujou konprann anyen*  
 He does not always understand anything

However, as I find that comparable intervention effects also occur with French NCIs and expressions that are not NPI like, as shown in (i), I do not consider that this particular argument carries strong weight, as the infelicity must have a distinct sources.

- i. ???*Personne (ne) comprend toujours rien/quelquechose*  
 \*\*Nobody always understands nothing/something  
 ok Nobody still understand nothing.

presence of negation (or an adequate licenser) and the distance at which they can be licensed.

Despite these important similarities, there nevertheless remain a few differences. Thus, contrasting with NPIs, which as noted by Zanutini (1991) fail to support modification by adverbs such as *absolutely* or *almost*, Haitian NCIs appear to fully support it, as (19) shows.

- (19) a. absoliman *pèsonn pa te kapab jwenn fòt ak li*  
 absolutely anyone not PST capable find fault with it  
<http://game-game.do/ht/46465/>  
 ‘absolutely no one is able to find any fault with it’.
- b. *Pa gen absoliman anyen nan mond sa a*  
 Not have absolutely anything in world DEM DEF  
<https://www.lds.org/general-conference/2012/10/see-others-as-they-may-become?lang=isl&clang=hat>  
 ‘There is absolutely nothing in this world.’

However, as argued by Giannakidou (1998) and Déprez (1997), this kind of modification possibility provides little evidence against the status of NCIs as NPIs for at least two reasons. First, there are speakers who accept such modifications with clear NPIs, and second this kind of modification is clearly not limited to negative quantifiers, but is more widely available with degree or scalar expressions such as for instance numerals (Déprez 1997, 2000)

- (20) a. *Une telle attitude reflète absolument zéro tolérance.*  
 Such an attitude reflects absolutely zero tolerance
- b. *Il y avait presque trois cents personnes à cette réunion*  
 ‘There were almost three hundred people at this meeting’

Thus, ultimately, it can be said that the core characteristic that distinguishes Haitian NCIs from NPIs, apart from being licensed in subject position, concerns their negative value in fragment answers, here illustrated by an example from Ti Prens lan in (21):

- (21) *Sa mwen fe avèk yo?* (Ti Prens lan, p 43)  
 ‘What I do with them?’  
 – *Wi.* -Yes  
 – *Anyen... Se pa m yo ye.*  
 – Nothing. They are mine (about stars)

In this respect, Haitian NCIs pattern like the French ones, and in contrast to English or French NPIs.

- (22) *Qui a téléphoné? Personne/ \* qui que ce soit*  
 ‘Who called? Nobody/\* anybody’

For Homer (2013) following Zeijlstra (2004 & following), it is this kind of data that justifies positing an abstract negation operator to account for the added negative meaning that NCIs do not otherwise carry on their own. Homer’s analysis essentially replicates Laka (1990) early proposal, but extends the importance and use of an abstract negative operator well beyond these elliptical structures. Along with Laka’s (1990) original proposal, as well as Merchant’s more recent version (see also Giannakidou 1998), I agree that fragment answers do not provide evidence that support positing an intrinsic negative value for NCIs. I likewise take Haitian NCIs in such constructions to be indeed licensed by an abstract negative operator. I submit however, that this abstract negative operator is nothing but the elided counterpart of the overt negative operator *pa* in HC. That is, in this sense, NEG is no more abstract or generalizable than say a modal operator (*peux*=can) that would be the covert counterpart of an elided one in a context such as in ‘*je peux faire cela et toi tu ~~peux faire cela aussi~~*’, (I can do that and you ~~can do that~~ too). This proposal has the immediate advantage of limiting the possible occurrence of this abstract (elided) negation operator to just and only the pertinent elliptical contexts. Hence, I maintain, the presence of an abstract *pa* is never triggered by the presence of an NCI in a sentence. Haitian NCIs, I argue are like NPI expressions that always require an adequate licenser; they never are as Ladusaw (1992) puts it “self-licensing” elements. In fragment answers, following Merchant (2001), I take them to be fronted and to be licensed by an abstract NEG that is the elided counterpart of *pa*. Hence on this view, the structure of a fragment answer is as in (23c) where the crossed out *pèsonn* is a copy of the overtly displaced one (i.e. the fragment answer) that is licensed under c-command in the vP position by the elided negation *pa*.

- (23) *Kimoun ou te we? [Pèsonn [~~m pa te we pèsonn~~]]*  
 ‘Who did you see? Nobody’ [I NOT past see nobody]

The question that has always been asked with respect to such an account is the following. Since NPIs share with NCIs a similar licensing requirement, why is it that an abstract negation should fail to license them as fragment answers? There are at least two possible avenues to pursue in answering this classic question. First, it could be argued that an abstract NEG can in fact occur in such cases too, but that NPIs cannot felicitously occur in the displaced edge position that fragment answers require, perhaps for the same reason that they fail to occur in pre-verbal subject positions, i.e. either through some intrinsic defectiveness or through a failure to reconstruct under negation. Alternatively, it could be argued that it is precisely

because NPIs generally have a wider set of possible licensors than negation that an abstract negation fails to be automatically entailed by the relevant elided fragment. I will leave the choice between these alternatives open, noting however, that assuming the existence of an elided counterpart to an overt negative operator in no way entails that such a covert negative operator needs to or can be generalized outside elided contexts. What is entailed here is the need to let go of too strict a version of the so called *semantic isomorphism principle*, thought to govern ellipsis to allow, at least in restricted cases, for semantic operators to be recoverable from the presence of an element that depends on them, even if these are not explicitly expressed in the linguistic antecedent. To be sure, such an assumption needs to be verified beyond the particular case of negation under discussion. But such verification requires a more thorough study of fragment answers than those conducted so far. Such a study clearly lies beyond the goals of the present work. But encouraging possibilities are found in Andrew Weir (2014), in which it is argued that fragments without linguistic antecedents, could be accounted for by imposing a constraint on clausal ellipsis demanding congruence between the Question Under Discussion and the elided clause, rather than strict semantic isomorphism.

To sum up, in this section I have reviewed the properties of Haitian NCIs as compared to those of French NPIs and NCIs. I have argued that Haitian NCIs share their core properties with NPIs, in the sense that they are negative indefinites with no negative force of their own that need to be licensed in anti-additive contexts. I have further argued that their occurrence in fragment answers with an apparent negative meaning is compatible with this view. NCIs are licensed by an abstract negative operator in this context, but in our view, this abstract negative operator is the elided counterpart of the overt negative maker *pa* and only occurs in elided contexts in similarity with other elided silent copies.

This section has further shown that positing an abstract NEG that is systematically licensed in the presence of NCIs or *pa* creates serious problems; first, it wrongly predicts that Haitian NCIs could have a negative meaning in standard NPI licensing contexts. Second it either fails to account for the required presence of an overt *pa* with NCIs in declarative contexts and for the absence of negative spread in HC, or it requires so stringent and stipulative a constraint to limit NEG triggering (i.e. strict locality (undefined) to overt *pa*) that it is hard to see what advantage positing an abstract NEG could have over simply acknowledging *pa* as the only true semantic negation markers of HC. Third Homer's abstract NEG proposal fails to account for the differing locality restrictions on French vs. Haitian NCIs, and wrongly predicts that when an NCI and *pa* are separated by a clause boundary, a double negative reading should be possible. Since both the first and the third problem make wrong compositional meaning predictions, I conclude that any advantage that an abstract NEG account could have in avoiding the compositional violation of negative concord seems hard to uphold.

In the following section, I turn to the properties of the Haitian sentential marker *pa* itself and consider two further empirical arguments that Homer advances in support of his proposal.

## 2. Properties of the Haitian Creole sentential marker ‘pa’

We have seen above that there are a number of striking differences between Haitian Creole and French concerning the co-occurrence between NC-items and sentential negation. In particular, while Haitian Creole NCIs require the co-presence of sentential negation in declarative constructions, in both pre-verbal and post-verbal positions (i.e. when NCIs are not otherwise licensed in restricted NPI contexts) to lead a well formed unambiguous NC reading, the co-occurrence of French NCIs with overt negation is either avoided or leads to systematic double negation readings. Recall, however, that for Homer et al. (2013) NCIs, in both French and HC, as well as their respective sentential negative markers *pas* and *pa* are assumed to be non-negative NCIs. How then can the distinctions between French and Haitian be accounted for on such a view? Homer harnesses two additional empirical arguments concerning the nature of the HC negation marker *pa* in support of his abstract NEG approach. First, he argues that, contrary to French, Haitian Creole does not allow constituent negation. Second, he provides evidence that Haitian *pa* can sometimes fail to be interpreted negatively, raising the question of the possible existence of expletive negation in HC. In this section, I review both of these empirical arguments and show, that on closer inspection, they do not provide support for Homer’s claim that *pa* in HC can be analyzed as a non-negative morpheme.

### 2.1 Constituent negation in HC

For Homer, a key difference between French and Haitian Creole concerns the supposed presence in French and absence in HC of constituent negation. From this, the non-availability of DN readings in HC as compared to French is assumed to follow directly. This distinction and the consequences it is supposed to have on the two languages are summed up in Table 4:

**Table 4.** Key differences in the Haitian vs. French negative systems according to Homer (2013)

	HC	EF
Height of <i>pa/pas</i>	Above T	Below T
Obligatory <i>pa/pas</i> in full clauses	Yes	No
Constituent negations	No	Yes
Availability of DN readings	No	Yes



As an empirical basis for his claim that HC lacks constituent negation, Homer relies on the ungrammaticality of the following example from Degraff (1993):

- (24) \**Men yon moun pa sot!* (Degraff 1993, p 74)  
 Here a man not stupid  
 ‘There goes a man who is not stupid!’

Degraff takes (24) to provide evidence for the grammatical status of the Haitian negation as a head, since adjunction to an adjectival projection appears to be precluded. French *pas* in contrast, having an adverbial status, is taken to fully permit a comparable adjunction:

- (25) *Voici un homme pas bête!* (Degraff 1993, p 74)  
 ‘Here is a man not stupid.’

Homer, however, further takes (24) as evidence that constituent negation is impossible in HC. Some other potential examples of constituent negation, cited by Degraff and pointed out by Yves Dejan, where *pa* appears to be, at least, optionally part of a complement noun phrase, do not fully accord with Homer’s claim. They are reproduced in (26):

- (26) *Mwen pa wè (pa) youn gren moun* (Degraff fnt 20 p 74)  
 1SG not see (not) a grain person  
 ‘I did not see not a single person’ = I did not see anybody

Our informants further offered some examples of possible constituent negation, structurally comparable to the one provided by Degraff.

- (27) *Jina se yon madanm pa eklere*  
*Jina is a woman not enlightened*  
 ‘Jina is a woman not aware of current things, not ‘in.’

Exactly what the difference is between this possible example and Degraff’s ungrammatical one is not entirely clear. Possibly, this could relate to the more verbal nature of the predicate in (27). Our textual corpus also offered some examples in which *pa* clearly does not range over a full sentence but only over particular constituents. These are reproduced below:

- (28) *Sou planet Ti Prens lan, te toujou gen fle tou senp, pa*  
 On planet little Prince DEF, PST always have flower all simple not  
*konplike avek yon sel ran petal* (Ti Prins Lan, p 29)  
 complicated with one only row petal  
 ‘On the little Prince’s planet, there always were very simple flowers, **not complicated**, with only one row of petals.’

In this example, [*pa konplike*], also a deverbal modifier, is taken to be essentially synonymous with *tou senp*, and the sentence is positive. This is thus a clear example of constituent negation in HC. Other examples include:

- (29) a. Se sou zak li yo, **pa sou pawol li**, pou m te jije l.  
 It's on act 3SG PL not on words 3SG for me PST judge 3SG  
 'It is on her acts not on her words that I should have judged her.'  
 (Ti Prins Lan, p 31)
- b. *Mwen te tonbe pa lwen la a.*  
 I fell not far from there.'  
 (Ti Prins Lan, p 75)

In each of these examples, since the sentence is positive, negation can simply not be assumed to have sentential scope. Given the existence of such examples, Homer's claim about the absence of constituent negation in Haitian Creole cannot be sustained in our data, even if the use of constituent negation may be more restricted in Haitian Creole than in French. The latter is hardly surprising if, as Degraff (1993) convincingly argued, *pa* is indeed a head in HC and does not have an adverbial nature (see also Déprez & Vinet 1997). From this, however, it cannot be concluded that HC must lack constituent negation altogether. Consequently, the distinction drawn by Homer in Table (3) above does not appear to be empirically supported, leaving the important distinctions between French and HC regarding the possibility of double negation unaccounted for in his abstract NEG model. The lack of double negation reading in HC is in contrast predicted, if as argued here, HC NCIs are non-negative on a part with classic NPIs. As is well known indeed, no sequence of NPI in co-occurrence with a licensing negation ever leads to double negation readings, even when embedded in a contradiction context, which Puskàs (2012) argues to favor double negation readings. I hence conclude, that an approach in which the only semantically negative element is taken to be an abstract NEG fails to account both for the existence of constituent negation in HC, and for the differences between French and NC concerning the co-occurrence between the sentential negation marker and an NCI. In contrast, an approach that takes *pa* to be a functional head in the sentence structure, heading a NegP phrase, that carries the semantic of the negation operator (Degraff 1993; Déprez 1997 and Déprez & Vinet 1997)) and that takes HC NCIs to be non-negative expressions (Déprez (1997, 1999, 2000), suffices to account for the distinctions between the two languages and the properties of HC negative dependencies so far reviewed. In our view, what centrally distinguishes negative concord in French and HC concerns the nature of their respective NCIs. For French, Déprez (2000, 2012, Déprez & Yeaton (forthcoming)) argues that NCIs are negative quantifiers, or more specifically numeral quantifiers with cardinality 'zero' (see Déprez 1997

and following).<sup>10</sup> In Haitian Creole in contrast, NCIs are non-negative NPI-like expressions. This, I argued, is what explains why the former can lead to double negation readings while the latter expectedly fails to do so.

Concerning the syntactic nature of the sentential marker, there are clear arguments that *pa* in Haitian Creole must indeed be considered a syntactic head, and not an adverb, in contrast to French *pas*. Here I simply list a few of these arguments, without further discussion, referring to Degraff (1993) for further discussion. HC *pa* has a fixed position in the sentential structure, as it must always precede both TMA markers and verbs. It further manifests properties that are typical of a clitic as it can undergo sandhi phenomenon with following TMA or adverbial markers and it fails to allow coordination. Finally, note that *pa* cannot serve as an answer to a question, so that *non* must be used instead.

- (30) a. *Jan p-ap / p-oko ap domi*  
 Jan not-PROG/ yet PROG sleep  
 Jan is not yet sleeping
- b. \**Jan pa ou poko ap domi*
- c. *Esk ou vini? \*pa/ non.*  
 Q 2 come? Not/ No  
 Are you coming? No.

The above properties are all typical properties of negative heads, confirming the syntactic head status of HC *pa*.<sup>11</sup> Yet, that the syntactic nature of negation is not a factor that determines whether or not a language allows its co-occurrence with NCIs was argued in Déprez (2000). One particularly telling empirical argument demonstrating this generalization is provided by the comparison of standard French to Quebecois French. While in the latter, the combination of *pas* and an NCI can lead to a negative concord reading, this is mostly impossible in the former with direct NCI arguments.<sup>12</sup>

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10. Recently Alrenga and Kennedy (2013), made the rather similar claim that *no* in *no student* is a cardinal degree predicate in English. This is exactly in the spirit of my earlier proposal, and well-grounded within a semantic approach to cardinal predicates.

11. But note that the inability to serve as an answer to a question is also true of the French *pas* despite the presumed distinction in syntactic nature.

*Tu viens ? \*Pas/ ok Non.*

12. See Déprez 2014, Déprez & Yeaton (forthcoming) for supporting experimental evidence on standard French.

- (31) *Il a pas invité personne*  
 ‘He has not invited anyone.’ Quebec French  
 ‘He has not invited no-one.’ Standard French

Despite the contrastive interpretation of *pas*-NCI sequences here, there is no evidence that *pas* in SF and in QF differ in their syntactic or semantics properties. As Déprez (2000) argues, on the other hand, NC-items appear to have some distinct properties in SF and in QF. This suggests that the contrastive co-occurrence restriction between sentential negation and NCIs in French and Haitian Creole is likely not due to the differing syntactic status of their sentential negative marker, head vs. adverbial, but rather to the distinct properties of their NCIs.

## 2.2 Expletive negation in HC

In support of his proposed treatment of HC ‘*pa*’ as a non-negative element, Homer provides an example in which ‘*pa*’ apparently fails to have negative force.

- (32) *Li pati san li pa di orewa*  
 3SG leave without 3s no say goodbye  
 ‘He left without saying goodbye’ (\*without not saying goodbye)

Similar examples were first noted, in P. Pompilus (1976: 181):

- (32’) *m soti san l(i) pa wè*  
 1SG went-out without 3s not see  
 ‘I left without him noticing’

In (32) and (32’), as the conjunction *san* is already negative *pa* adds no distinct negative meaning and thus appears to be interpreted as an instance of so called ‘expletive negation’. Recall from Section 1.3 Example (7) that complements of the conjunction *san* are contexts that can directly license Haitian NCIs as in (33), confirming *san*’s negative semantics:

- (33) *m chita nan kay la pafwa san fè anyen*  
 1SG stay in house the sometimes without do anything  
 ‘I stay in the house sometimes without doing anything’ Sezon Sechress;121

Drawing on this similarity, Homer suggests that ‘*pa*’, in (32), is licensed on a par with NCIs like *anyen* in (33). Examples like (32), are hence offered as evidence that *pa* should be analyzed as non-negative element on a par with the HC NCIs.

As it turns out, examples of this kind are quite common in the two texts of our corpus. I reproduce here a sample of those found.

- (34) a. *san n pa bliye wa nan peyi Afrik yo*  
 without 1PL not forget king in country Afrika PL  
 ‘without us forgetting the kings in African countries’.
- b. *San mwen pa prese, mwen fe bokit lan desann nan*  
 without 1SG not hurry 1s make bucket the descend in  
*pi a.*  
 well the  
 ‘Without hurrying, I made the bucket go down into the well.’
- c. *Yon moun ki vin Ayisyen, san li pa te fèt*  
 one person that come Haitian without 3SG not PST made  
*Ayisyen, gen dwa vote*  
 Haitian has right vote  
 ‘A person that becomes Haitian, without being born Haitian, has the right to vote’ (Wikipedia translation of the constitution in HC by Pòl Dejean)

This section discusses the properties of Haitian expletive negation constructions explored here for the first time. I show that unlike the NC-item *pèsonn* or *anyen*, expletive *pa* has a far more restricted distribution. Far from supporting an analysis of *pa* as a non-negative NCI, HC expletive *pa* I argue is best analyzed as an instance of evaluative negation, a cross-linguistically possible, though distinct, function of regular negation following Yoon (2011). On this view, although the distribution and meaning of evaluative *pa* is clearly distinct from that of the regular sentential negation, its function is one that regular negation particles commonly display in other languages. Taking *pa* as a non-negative expression instead, fails to account for the distributional constraints that regulate the expletive construction. Furthermore, since comparable constraints also apply to expletive negative constructions in other languages, these turn out to question the theoretical wisdom of positing the existence of non-negative negation markers in any language.

I begin with the important empirical observation that in all of the examples in (34), the sentential complement of *san* must contain an overt subject. This overt subject, often a pronoun, can be co-referent with the subject of the main clause or be independent. Interestingly, in this type of sentential complements, it is only when this subject is present that an expletive *pa* can and in fact must occur.

Recall indeed from (7) and (33) above that the conjunction *san* can also license clausal complements that do not feature expletive *pa*. Below is such an example from our textual corpus.

- (34') *Yo konn fè yon senmenn san manje* (Sezon p 144)  
 3PL know make a week without eating  
 ‘They know how to spend one week without eating.’

But, this option, it turns out, is only possible when these sentential complements also fail to feature an overt subject. The contrasts in (35), verified with our native speaker consultants, clearly confirm the strict necessary co-distribution observed between expletive *pa* and overt subjects.

- (35) *Li pati san li pa manje*  
 3SG left without 3SG not eat  
 \**Li pati san pa manje*  
 3SG left without not eat  
 \**Li pati san li manje*  
 3SG left without 3SG eat  
*Li pati san manje*  
 3SG left without eat  
 'He left without eating.'

Observationally, in sentential complements of the conjunction *san*, an expletive *pa* cannot be licensed if there is no overt subject, and vice versa; when an overt subject is present, expletive *pa* is obligatorily. How should this strict co-distributional restriction be accounted for?

Before turning to a possible solution, let us first note that simply claiming that expletive *pa* is licensed in the complement of *san* will not do: expletive *pa* can, and in fact must, be missing if there is no overt subject. Clearly then, the presence of expletive *pa* cannot be regarded as a merely 'triggered' by the conjunction *san*. Neither can expletive *pa* be simply considered as an NPI or NCI licensed in the c-command domain of *san*. I submit here that the occurrence of expletive *pa*, and hence, its licensing restrictions, must directly be linked to the [+/- finite] status of the complement of *san*. Let us now see how this generalization comes about. Following Deprez (1994), Haitian Creole is a non-pro drop language requiring the presence of an overt subject in [+finite] sentences. Correlatively, in HC null or unexpressed subjects are only licensed in [-finite] clauses. In short, granting the non-pro-drop status of Haitian Creole, the presence of an overt subject can be taken to signal the finiteness of a clause. The obligatory co-distribution observed above between an overt subject and expletive *pa* can then be reformulated as follows:

- When the complement of *san* is [+ finite], an expletive *pa* must occur.
- When the complement of *san* is [- finite], expletive *pa* is impossible.

This makes clear that the presence of the HC expletive *pa* is not merely conditioned by the presence of a licenser like *san*. Two further observations are important, one concerning the distribution of NCIs in similar contexts, as compared to that of the

expletive *pa*, the other concerning interesting parallels, so far largely un-noticed, between the negative expletive constructions of French and those of Haitian.<sup>13</sup>

In regards to the first observation, note that, as opposed to expletive *pa*, NCIs like ‘*anyen*’ are not subject to comparable tense restrictions on their distribution, in the context of *san* or elsewhere. As (36) illustrates, HC NCIs are possible in both the [+finite] and the [–finite] complements of *san* and they never are obligatory:

- (36) *Jan pati san manje anyen/ san we pèsonn*  
 John left without eat anything / without see anybody  
 ‘John left without eating anything/without seeing anyone’.  
*Jan pati san li pa manje anyen/san li pa we pèsonn.*  
 ‘John left without (him) eating anything/ seeing anyone.’

This shows that unlike expletive *pa*, HC NCIs are directly licensed by the presence of the conjunction *san*, irrespectively of the finite or non-finite status of its complement clause. Consequently, although expletive *pa* in (32) seemingly behaves like an NCIs, as Homer claimed, a closer inspection of its distributional restrictions clearly demonstrates that the parallelism is misguided. Even more strongly, observe in (37) that in [–finite] complements of *san*, *pa* is in fact excluded even in the co-presence of an NCI, which otherwise usually requires it.

- (37) *m chita nan kay la pafwa san (\*pa) fè anyen* Sézon  
 1SG stay in house the sometimes without (\*not) do anything  
 ‘I stay in the house sometimes without doing anything’

In contrast, as (38) shows two NCIs can perfectly co-occur in [–finite] complements of *san*,

- (38) *li pati san di pesònn anyen*  
 3SG left without say anyone anything  
 ‘he left without telling anyone anything’.

This again unequivocally demonstrates that the observed tensed restrictions only apply to the expletive *pa*, not to NCIs. Hence any approach that posits a strict parallelism in the licensing of expletive *pa* and that of NCIs, as Homer’s abstract NEG approach does, is unable to handle these data.

Second, turning to cross-linguistic observations about negative expletive constructions, I observe here that in French expletive negation exhibits essentially identical restrictions. As has been previously noted, complements of *sans* (without)

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13. How such observations extend to expletive negation constructions in other languages is investigated in a forthcoming paper.

conjunction in French (*sans*) license the use of expletive negation in the form of the negative morpheme *ne* as in (39):

- (39) a. *Il est parti en claquant la porte sans que je ne puisse l'arrêter.*  
 'He left slamming the door without I NE could stop him'.  
 'He slammed the door and left without me being able to stop him'
- b. *Ils sont venus à la soirée sans qu'on ne les ait invités.*  
 '3PL came to the evening without one NE 3PL invite PST'.  
 'They come to the evening without being invited'.

According to the French Academy, expletive *ne* should only be used in *sans* (without) complements if the main clause is negative; but this rather normative rule is often ignored. In this and other contexts, the presence of expletive *ne* appears to be optional. What is strikingly true, however, but, to my knowledge, has largely escaped notice, is the fact that the possible presence of an expletive *ne* in French, is likewise restricted by the finiteness of the clause. Strikingly, a non-finite clausal complement of *sans* strongly excludes an expletive *ne*:

- (40) *Il est parti sans (\*ne) vous avoir prévenu.*  
 'He left without (\*ne) warning you.'

This novel observation is surprising in view of the common assumption that *ne* is quite generally optional in contemporary French, and thought to be disappearing. Yet in these infinitival contexts, the ban on expletive *ne* is strong for native speakers and even extends to cases in which *ne* is otherwise formally required, i.e. cases when French NCI are present in the sentence.

- (41) *Il est parti sans (\*ne) rien manger.*  
 'He left without NE eating anything'  
*Elle ne peut pas rester sans (\*ne) rien faire, ni sans (\*ne) voir personne.*  
 'She cannot stay without NE doing anything, without NE seeing anyone'.

Note incidentally, that since *ne* is otherwise fully acceptable in infinitive clauses as shown in (42) below, it is clearly only in the infinitive complement of the negative conjunction *sans* that *ne* is so strongly excluded.

- (42) *J'essaye de ne rien oublier*  
 'I am trying to NE forget nothing'

Interestingly, furthermore, this tense restriction extends to other contexts in which an expletive *ne* occurs. So, for instance, we see that the same constraint applies in the context of an *avant* (before) preposition or of a negative predicate, both contexts in which expletive negation is regularly licensed.



- (43) a. *Avant que tu ne comprennes ce probleme, il faut que je résume la situation* [+ finite]  
 ‘Before that you NE understand this problem, it needs that I sum up the situation.’  
 ‘Before you understand this problem, I need to sum up the situation’
- a'. *Avant de \*ne comprendre ce probleme, il faut résumer la situation* [–finite]  
 ‘Before to NE understand this problem, it needs to sum up the situation.’  
 ‘Before understanding this problem, the situation must be summed up.’
- b. *Je crains que tu n’arrives trop tard.* [+ finite]  
 ‘I fear that you NE arrive too LATE.’  
 ‘I fear that you arrive too late.’
- b'. *Je crains de \*n’arriver trop tard* [–finite]  
 ‘I fear to NE arrive too late.’  
 ‘I fear arriving too late.’

Clearly the restrictions observed here for French narrowly parallel those noted above on the occurrence of the expletive *pa* in Haitian Creole. The HC spurious *pa* is banned from infinitival complements of *san*, just as expletive *ne* is in French. In HC, as in French, the ban remains verified even in the presence of NCIs which otherwise requires the co-occurrence of *pa*.

In sum, here the Haitian expletive *pa* clearly functions like the French negator ‘*ne*’, not just semantically, but also in the syntactic constraints both obey. These similarities suggest that in both languages, these constructions exemplify a particular use of negation, recently dubbed evaluative negation (Yoon (2011)). The difference between French and Haitian is as follows: while French has two distinct forms for negation, an expletive/evaluative form *ne* and a fully negative form *pas*, Haitian Creole in contrast, uses the same form for both the evaluative and semantically interpreted negation.<sup>14</sup> So the idea, here, is that HC has in fact two distinct negative morphemes, one which is fully semantically negative, and the other which I will analyze as a non-factive, subjunctive-like notional mood marker. The two *pa* may be homophonous but they clearly have a distinct distribution.

Note, furthermore, that the HC negation homophony situation is far from being exceptional. There are in fact many languages in which so-called expletive/evaluative negation uses the same morpheme as regular negation. This, for instance, is true for Italian or Catalan as shown by the expletive negation examples in (44). (Espinal 2000 cited in Yoon 2011)

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14. Another difference concerns the type of contexts in which the expletive negation is licensed. French allows many more contexts than HC, an issue left for another paper.

- (44) a. *Tenia por que no escolissin un nou director* (Catalan)  
 ‘I was afraid that not elected a new director’.  
 ‘I was afraid that a new director would be elected’.
- b. *Lo fermerai prima che non faccia qualche sciocchezza* (Italian)  
 ‘Him stop before that not does something silly’.  
 ‘You will stop him before he does anything silly’.

Afrikaans was also shown to have two homophonous distinct negative morphemes by (Biberauer 2012), one argued to be fully negative and the other, expletive. As Yoon (2013) shows such homophonous negations are also found in languages like Japanese and Korean.

Based on the distribution and interpretation of expletive negation in these last two languages, Yoon (2011) proposes that ‘EN (Evaluative/Expletive negation) represents another legitimate function of negation in natural language, one in which a negative morpheme is used for the purpose of circumventing a speaker’s commitment to a truthful statement, combined with an attitude. (Yoon 2011, pp.: ix). Yoon argues that while negating a proposition is the primary function of negation, there is a secondary option where negation has the effect of ‘juxtaposing the negative proposition with all the other possible scenarios in the epistemic state of a subject.’ (Yoon 2013: 150). She analyzes this form of negation as a non-factive epistemic mood marker’, akin to a subjunctive marker, used to signal the subject’s lack of commitment to the truth of the proposition. In Yoon’s own words ‘what the occurrences of subjunctive mood and Evaluative Negation have in common is that they denote the epistemic/buletic subject’s attitude in terms of uncertainty, undesirability, etc. toward the content of the proposition. In other words, one uses EN in order not to commit to the truth of the proposition.’ p. 143. Yoon further argues that Evaluative Negation (EN) is a form of a ‘notional mood’, which can ‘play a role in every language, even in those having a relatively impoverished system of grammatical moods’. For her, ‘the role of EN is crucial in languages in which there is no other tool, such as for instance mood morphology on the verb, to do the job.’ p. 144.

In sum, Yoon argues that far from being un-interpreted or expletive in the sense of meaningless or un-interpretable, what has been traditionally dubbed ‘expletive negation’ is in fact a mood marker that conveys a particular interpretation, namely suspend commitment to the truth of the proposition in which it is used. She provides a detailed formal semantic analysis of this phenomenon (see Yoon 2013) that essentially amounts to claiming that EN in Korean and Japanese in addition to a modal subjunctive meaning encodes a presupposition of *unlikelyhood* or *undesirability*.

Returning now to our Haitian constructions, recall that as I specifically noted, HC expletive *pa* is only possible if the sentential complement of *san* is [+finite] as

indicated by the obligatory co-presence with an overt subject. This peculiar distributional restriction naturally follows if as I propose HC expletive *pa* is in fact an a-veridical mood marker, akin to subjunctive, that morphologically marks the speaker's lack of commitment to the truth of a proposition. Because HC lacks a subjunctive marker, expletive *pa*, associated with the finiteness of the clause, here serves the role of a mood marker. On this view, then, the complement of a *san* conjunction in HC, which contains an expletive *pa*, can be understood as conveying the presupposition that the truth of the proposition is unlikely or undesirable from the speaker's point of view. Consider in this regard the following example.

- (45) *Jan pati san li pa manje*  
'John left without him eating'

The proposition can be understood as conveying the presupposition that the denial of John's eating is here undesirable in the context of his departure. This accords with the intuition of the native speakers I consulted. As is well known, in all the languages in which it is encoded by specific verbal morphemes, subjunctive only surfaces in sentences that are characterized as finite. In Haitian Creole, the finite status of a sentence is not always clearly encoded on the verb since there are in any event, no verbal endings. In the absence of particular TMA markers, it is then the presence of an overt subject that flags the finite status of a proposition. The assumption that HC expletive *pa* is akin to a subjunctive mood marker explains, on the one hand, why the co-presence of an overt subject is always required and, on the other hand, why HC expletive *pa* is excluded from non-finite clauses. Note furthermore that since neither restriction applies to negation in other contexts,<sup>15</sup> these distributional restrictions serve to syntactically flag this type of negation as distinct from the regular negation in the language. Recall furthermore, that the impossible co-occurrence of *pa* with NCIs in the infinitival complements of *san* further demonstrates that *pa* in these contexts must be distributionally distinguished from regular sentential negation.

To conclude, in this section I have reviewed two further arguments Homer harnesses in support of his analysis of Haitian Creole *pa* as a non-negative marker. A first argument concerned the existence of constituent negation in French but not in Haitian Creole. I have provided new data showing that Haitian Creole, in fact, allows constituent negation, albeit perhaps with more restrictions than French. As a second argument concerned the existence of constructions that sport

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15. That negation is possible in other infinitival contexts is shown by examples like (i):

- i. *Jan bezwen pa manje vjann.*

In (i) we see that the negation follows the modal verb and thus scoping only on the embedded infinitival verb.

a non-negatively interpreted *pa*. While the existence of such constructions was amply confirmed in our data, I showed that this expletive *pa* is subject to stringent distributional restrictions that apply neither to regular sentence negation nor to NCIs in HC. Specifically, unlike the regular propositional negation, HC expletive negation must occur in a finite proposition and is excluded from infinitival ones. I have consequently proposed to analyze expletive *pa* as a notional epistemic mood marker, which flags the speaker's suspension of commitment to the truth-value of the sentence along with a presupposition of non-desirability, both hallmark features of what Yoon (2011, 2013) dubbed *evaluative negation*. This shows that, although HC expletive *pa* must be distinguished from sentential negation, its expletive status provides no argument to support Homer's proposal that HC regular *pa* is a non-negative morpheme.

### 3. Concluding remarks

After reviewing the properties of HC NCIs and providing novel empirical data on their distribution, the chapter has argued that the negative constructions of Haitian Creole feature non-negative NCIs whose core properties are those of specialized indefinite terms, or strong NPIs. These expressions must be licensed by a negative operator or occur in characteristic contexts of the anti-additive type. Specifically, I have provided empirical and theoretical arguments that the negative marker *pa* in HC is semantically negative and that an adequate account of its distribution and relation to NCIs must do away with the postulation of an abstract NEG operator. When *pa* appears to be non-negative in the sense that it does not reverse the truth value of the proposition over which it takes scope, its distribution is strikingly and characteristically distinct from that of sentential negation, as it is confined to the finite complements of the anti-additive preposition *san*. I proposed to analyze this form of negation as an epistemic mood marker that embodies evaluative negation. As such, this morpheme represents a subjunctive-like mood marker homophonous, distinct, and yet compatible with regular negation. These properties provide no evidence to support Homer's proposal that the Haitian Creole negative morpheme *pa* is a non-negative NCI on a par with the other NCIs of the language like *pèsonn* and *anyen*. As the paper has shown, the view that *pa* and HC NCIs are licensed by a null NEG operator, besides lacking empirical support, turns out to raise more problems than it solves. The paper hence advocates a more conservative approach that takes the morpheme *pa* to embody propositional negation in HC and to act as the licenser for Haitian negative dependencies. On this view, HC negative dependencies are a species of NPI dependencies whose dependent terms are strong NPIs that can be licensed by anti-additive operator and negation even under reconstruction.

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# A lexicalist account of negation and negative concord in Mauritian

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This paper provides a descriptive and theoretical account of negation and negative concord in Mauritian within a constraint-based framework. It is argued that sentential negation is canonically preverbal but appears postverbally with neg-raising verbs, and that only the former participates in negative concord. Mauritian is moreover identified as a strict concord language notwithstanding the particular behavior of the NCI *zame*, which can appear without *pa* in preverbal positions. The idiosyncrasies of both NCIs and sentential negation in Mauritian are formalized by exploiting a lexicalist account within the SBCG framework.

**Keywords:** polyadic quantification, microvariation, clitics, pre- and postverbal negation, constraint-based grammar

## 1. Introduction

Languages differ crosslinguistically based on whether negative concord items (henceforth NCI),<sup>1</sup> such as ‘nobody’ or ‘never’, license themselves or are constrained to appear with propositional negation. Languages exhibiting the latter behavior are labeled negative concord languages with a distinction between strict concord and non-strict concord languages (Giannakidou 2002). In this paper, I examine the structural properties of negative concord in Mauritian, a French-based creole spoken in the Indian Ocean. Mauritian shows a preverbal negative marker *pa* that actively participates in concord structures, as illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. *Personn pa’nn trov John.*  
no\_one NEG’PRF see.SF John  
‘No one saw John.’

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1. Following other scholars, I here use the term Negative Concord Item (NCI) rather than Negative word (N-word) to avoid the pejorative term the latter abbreviation might suggest.



- b. *Zan pa'nn trov personn.*  
 John NEG'PRF see.SF no\_one  
 'John hasn't seen/didn't see anyone.'

The sentences in (1) both contain an obligatory preverbal negation appearing with a NCI either in subject (1a) or object position (1b) – a behavior which classifies Mauritian as a strict concord. These structures are not inherited from the lexifier since the presence of *pas* in French triggers double negation (2).<sup>2</sup>

- (2) *Personne n'a pas vu Jean.*  
 no\_one NE'AUX NEG see.PPART John  
 'Lit. No one didn't saw John.' = Everyone saw John.

Indeed, the double negation reading is expected according to first-order logic where two negations cancel each other. While double negation readings are also available in the creole under examination, the concord reading is usually the default. Consider for instance Example (3), which is ambiguous between a negative concord reading and a double negation in the appropriate context (cf. § 4.2).

- (3) *Personn pa konn nanye isi.*  
 no\_one NEG know.SF nothing here  
 'No one knows anything here.' (NC)  
 'Everybody knows something here.' (DN)

As de Swart (1999) argues, in languages where negative concord is available, there is a preference for the concord reading over double negation. In addition, the vast literature on the subject shows that negative concord is not restricted to creole languages, contradicting Bickerton (1981)'s claim that the phenomenon identify the latter languages as a prototype<sup>3</sup> or as an instance of linguistic simplicity or transparency.<sup>4</sup> In fact, it has even been argued that negative concord features an instance of opacity (Leufkens 203: 338) given the one-to-many relation between form and meaning.

Negative concord structures are indeed conceptually complex constructions that violate the principles of semantic composition since they express a single logical negation but yet contain multiple occurrences of negative words as illustrated in the Mauritian examples above. To account for the particular properties of negative concord, NCIs have been analyzed as negative quantifiers (May 1989; Keenan

2. Concord structures are also productive in the history of French and in some French varieties (Déprez & Martineau 1998; de Swart 1999), as well as in other romance languages (Zanuttini 1991; Fălăuş 2007, among others.)

3. In fact not all creoles/pidgins exhibit negative concord (cf. this volume).

4. See the introductory chapter for a detailed discussion.

1992; de Swart 1999; de Swart & Sag 2002, among others), indefinites (Laka 1990; Déprez 1997 et subseq. For Haitian and Martiniquais) or as universal quantifiers (Giannakidou 2000). These are involved in basically two types of approaches to negative concord, which de Swart (1999) characterizes as the *local* and *global* approach. Essentially, the local approach allows for NCIs to be analyzed as existential quantifiers similar to negative polarity items or NPIs (For e.g., Laka 1990; Ladusaw 1992; Déprez 1997 et subseq.). Since NPIs are usually licensed by propositional negation in non-questioning declaratives, it is argued that an implicit negative operator is at play in concord structures (Laka 1990). The analysis preserves strict compositionality by reinterpreting the co-occurring NCIs to obtain a single negation. A first problem that this proposal encounters relates to the appearance of NCIs in fragment answers without a negative operator, as illustrated in Mauritian (4a).

- (4) a. Speaker A *Kisannla ki'nn vini?*  
 Who that'PRF come.LF  
 'Who came?'  
 Speaker B *Personn.*  
 'No one.'  
 b. Speaker B' No one/\*Anyone.

Ladusaw (1992) proposes that while NCIs are subtypes of NPIs, they differ from NPIs in that they can license themselves in contexts like (4a), which explains why, in English, negative NPs like 'no one' or 'nobody' are allowed as fragment answers but NPIs like 'anyone' are barred in such contexts (4b). A second issue is that given this approach, only concord readings are possible leaving double negations unaccounted for in contexts in which they are allowed (Corblin 1996).

In the global approach, NCIs are analyzed as negative indefinites allowing the negative property of the quantifiers to be retained (May 1989; Zanuttini 1991; Haegeman & Zanuttini 1996; de Swart & Sag 2002, among others). In the analysis proposed by de Swart and Sag 2002, the single negation reading of concord structures is obtained via absorption of a sequence of NCIs, basically anti-additive quantifiers, that give rise to a resumptive polyadic quantifier.<sup>5, 6</sup> Polyadic quantifiers constitute an extension of the original Generalized Quantifier Theory developed by Barwise and Cooper (1981). They are handy in dealing with predicates taking more than a single argument, such as transitive or ditransitive verbs. NP arguments of these types of predicates get the denotation of a complex quantifier mapping an *n*-ary (where *n* is greater than 1) relation expressed by the predicate onto a truth-value as in (5).

5. Or in Montague style, where P is a variable over n-place predicates, the negative polyadic quantifier is  $\lambda P \neg \exists x_1 \dots \exists x_n [P(x_1, \dots, x_n)]$ .

6. See also May (1989).

- (5) *John gave Mary some book*  
 (JOHN, MARY, SOME<sup>BOOK</sup>)(GIVE)

This analysis yields interesting consequences for constructions that would have ambiguous readings between a concord and a double negative reading. According to de Swart, concord languages show a preference for resumption in interpreting multiple negative quantifiers as opposed to non-concord languages, which prefer iteration. But she predicts, given the evolution of at least French, that both possibilities should be available (de Swart 1999: 8).<sup>7</sup> Formally, the double negation reading in (3) would be obtained by iteration of monadic quantifiers, where NCIs are in a scopal relation.

Drawing from earlier insights on negation and negative concord in Romance (Kim & Sag 1995; Abeillé & Godard 1997; de Swart 1999; de Swart & Sag 2002; Kim & Sag 2002, among others), I propose a lexicalist surface-based analysis of negation and negative concord in Mauritian. I mainly follow de Swart (1999) and de Swart and Sag (2002) in assuming a polyadic account to negative concord in Mauritian; one in which a syntactic structure involving polyadic quantification is interpreted either as expressing a single logical negation through resumption or as iteration of negative quantifiers to yield double negation.

## 2. Propositional negation in Mauritian

In Mauritian, propositional negation is typically expressed with the negative marker *pa* (6a), which has a morphological variant *napa* inherited from the French discontinuous morphemes *ne...pas* ‘not’ (Baker 1972) – a form that is gradually being lost in contemporary Mauritian. *Nepli*, also inherited from French *ne...plus* ‘no more’, constitutes another negative operator that reverses the polarity of a proposition (6b). In this paper, I mostly focus on *pa* and its interaction with other negative expressions in the language.

- (6) a. *Mo pa manze.*  
 I NEG eat.LF  
 ‘I don’t eat.’  
 b. *Zan nepli dormi.*  
 John no-more sleep.LF  
 ‘John doesn’t sleep any longer.’

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7. De Swart (1999: 8) argues that this type of analysis reflects the diachronic evolution of French negation, which started out as negative quantifiers via negative polarity items to finally weaken and become negative concord items (See also Gaatone 1971 and Horn 2001 among others).

## 2.1 Clitic properties of Mauritian negation

In Mauritian, the negative marker *pa* canonically appears preverbally and obligatorily precedes TAMs when present in the structure.

- (7) *Mo pa ti pe manze.*  
 1SG.WF NEG PST PROG eat.LF  
 ‘I wasn’t eating.’

The constraint requires that negation and TAM markers appear in a particular linear order, informally depicted in the example below (Henri 2010; Henri & Kihm 2015).

- (8) NEG < TENSE < ASP < MOOD < V

*Pa* presents, from a typological point of view, a typical instance of a simple clitic. As seen in (9), the Mauritian negative marker exhibits attachment with a phonological host adjacent to it, whether the lexical verb (9a), (9b), TAM markers (9c), (9d) or adverbs that may intervene between the markers and the lexical verb (9e), (9f). Notice also that in both (9a) and (9b), vowel elision triggers lengthening of the following vowel.

- (9) a. *Zordi p=ena lekol.*  
 today NEG = have.SF school  
 ‘There’s no school today.’  
 b. *P=amenn sa kot mwa!*  
 NEG’bring.SF DEM LOC 1SG.STF  
 ‘Don’t bring this at my place.’  
 c. *Zan pa tj=al lekol.*  
 John NEG PST = go.SF school  
 ‘John didn’t go to school.’  
 d. *Zan pa=v=al lekol.*  
 John NEG=IND.IRR = go.SF school  
 ‘John won’t go to school.’  
 e. *Mari p=ankor dormi.*  
 Mary NEG=yet sleep.LF  
 ‘Mary hasn’t slept yet.’  
 f. *Mari pa tj=ankor pe dormi.*  
 Mary NEG PST=yet PROG sleep.LF  
 ‘Mary was not sleeping yet.’

Sentential negation in Mauritian is a proclitic that leans on a host, whose category is restricted to the syntactic categories identified above. In that sense, it is ‘promiscuous’, to use Zwicky (1987)’s term, with respect to its hosts. The fusion of negation to

its host in (9) entails vowel elision in the host, but we also find other types of sandhi effects. For example, the quality of the vowel in *pa* may change as a concomitant of elision of the host's initial vowel; thus, in some varieties, elision of the initial vowel of the perfect marker *inn* is accompanied by a vowel change (10a), while in other varieties this change is absent (10b).

- (10) a. *Mari pe=nn vini.*  
 Mary NEG=PRF come.LF  
 'Mary didn't come.'  
 b. *Mari pa=nn vini.*  
 Mary NEG=PRF come.LF  
 'Mary didn't come.'

The selectivity of the host is shown by the fact that sandhi does not always apply. Consider for instance the examples in (11), where *pa* precedes a vowel-initial word but no elision takes place. In these copular constructions, sentential negation may be followed by vowel initial NPs, APs or PPs but cliticization is forbidden.

- (11) a. *Mo pa ≠ enn bon etidian.*  
 1SG.WF NEG IND good student  
 'I'm not a good student.'  
 b. *Zan pa ≠ anba laboutik.*  
 John NEG under store  
 'Lit. John isn't under the store.'  
 = 'John isn't on the store's patio.'  
 c. *Zan pa ≠ intelizan.*  
 John NEG intelligent  
 'John isn't intelligent.'

This behavior points toward the inflectional status of clitics,<sup>8</sup> which show affixal behavior with respect to host selection, both in terms of shape and category. But, as previously noted (9), adverbials may intervene between the lexical verb and negation and other TAM markers. This non-adjacency to the head verb might constitute a counter argument to the inflectional status of clitics next to the possibility for both TAM markers and negation to scope over asyndetic coordination of lexical verbs (12a). However, with coordination of VPs, speakers usually have a preference for repeating negation on both conjuncts (12b) except when the negative conjunct *ni* 'neither' is present, which itself is negative (12c).

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8. Following Henri and Kihm (2015) TAM markers and negation are analyzed within the domain of inflection expressed as periphrases ordered in syntax rather than purely syntactic constructions.

- (12) a. *Nou tou pa ti pe asize manze bwar kot*  
 1PL all NEG PST PROG sit.LF eat.LF drink.LF PREP  
*mo nani.*  
 1SG.POSS grandmother  
 ‘We all weren’t sitting eating and drinking at my grandmother’s.’
- b. *P=ena okenn gardien, pa netwaye ek pa*  
 NEG’have.SF no janitor, NEG clean.LF and NEG  
*antretenir ditou.*  
 maintained at\_all  
 ‘There are no janitors, they neither clean nor maintain at all.’
- c. (...) *zot pa mazistra ni travay dan lakour pou donn*  
 (...) 2PL NEG magistrate nor work.SF PREP court PREP give.SF  
*zot zizma.*  
 2PL.POSS judgment  
 ‘(...) you are not judges nor do you work in court to give a judgment.’

## 2.2 *Pa* and *nepli* as a negative quantifiers

As previously noted, sentential negation in Mauritian shares its distribution with the negative adverb *nepli* ‘no more/anymore’ (13a). The constraint is shown by the fact that *pa* and *nepli* can never appear together (13b).

- (13) a. *Zan nepli/pa pou dormi.*  
 John no-more/NEG DEF.IRR sleep.LF  
 ‘John won’t sleep (anymore).’
- b. \**Zan pa nepli/pa nepli dormi.*  
 John NEG no-longer/no-longer NEG sleep.LF  
 ‘Int. John doesn’t sleep any longer.’

*Pa* and *nepli* are also similar in nature with respect to their negative and quantificational status and their ability to license other NCIs (14a). Like *pa*, it precedes TAM markers (14b), but unlike *pa*, *nepli* does not undergo cliticization (14c).

- (14) a. *Personn nepli vini.*  
 no-one no-more come.LF  
 ‘No one ever comes.’
- b. *Zan ti nepli kone ki pou fer.*  
 John PST no-more know.LF that IRR.DEF do.LF  
 ‘John didn’t know what to do anymore.’
- c. *Zan nepli imit/\*nepl’imit twa.*  
 John no-more imitate.SF 2SG.STF  
 ‘John doesn’t imitate you anymore.’

That *pa* and *nepli* should be analyzed as negative quantifiers is evidenced by their behavior when co-occurring with another negative quantifier like *san* ‘without’. Multiple negative quantifiers in a single clause indeed give rise to double negation reading (15a), (15b).

- (15) a. *Zan pa pw=al laba san mwa.*  
 John NEG IRR.DEF=GO.SF there without 1SG.STF  
 ‘John won’t go without me.’ = John will only go with me.
- b. *Mo nepli al laba san li.*  
 1SG.WF no-more go.SF there without 3SG.  
 ‘I no longer go there without him.’ = I only go with him.

While *san* is also a negative quantifier in negating the constituent it heads, it differs from both *pa* and *nepli* in that it is constrained to constituent negation rather than sentential negation. Essentially, *san* licenses a complement NCI as in (16a) but not a negative argument of the matrix verb (16b).

- (16) a. *Zan pw=al laba san personn.*  
 John IRR.DEF=GO.SF there without 1SG.STF  
 ‘John will go without anyone.’
- b. *Personn \*(pa) pw=al san mwa.*  
 no\_one NEG IRR.DEF=GO.SF without 1SG.STF  
 ‘No one will go without me.’  
 =Everyone will go with me OR At least someone will go with me.

In (16b), *san* cannot license the NCI *personn* explaining the appearance of sentential negation on the matrix verb.

### 2.3 Jespersen’s cycle?

The expression of negation in creole languages is assumed to have undergone the full Jespersen cycle – a process where a negative operator weakens to a proclitic position and is further reinforced by negative indefinites, ultimately replacing the proclitic as the marker of negation (Horn 2001).

- (17) a. *Jeo ne dis* (Old French)  
 1SG NEG say.1SG.PRS
- b. *Je ne dis pas* (Standard French)  
 1SG NE say.1SG.PRS NEG
- c. *Je dis pas* (Colloquial French)  
 1SG say.1SG.PRS NEG
- d. *Mo pa dir* (Mauritian)  
 1SG NEG say.LF  
 ‘I don’t say’

In keeping with Jespersen's hypothesis, the contrast in distribution shown by the distribution of *pa* in Mauritian (17d) compared to Standard French (14b) would result from a cycle of weakening, reinforcement and disappearance of the negative marker. Hence in (17) above, the preverbal marker *ne* is weakened in Modern French and necessitates reinforcement by a postverbal indefinite, which further weakens its semantic content. But *ne* is *de facto* almost always dropped in colloquial French (17c), allowing French *pas* to appear by itself as the sole negative marker.<sup>9</sup> The optionality of *ne* in colloquial French results in its virtual disappearance in the French creoles, leaving only vestigial traces as seen in the form *napa* or in the negative quantifier *nepli* from French *ne plus* 'no more'. According to Bréal (1900), it is by association with the preverbal negative marker that postverbal indefinites become themselves negative. Given this scenario, it is expected for creoles to have completed the cycle in using only one negative marker for negation rather than a discontinuous expression similar to Standard French.<sup>10</sup>

The type of change seen in Mauritian arguably follows from Jespersen's cycle in one respect: morphological weakening of the negative marker, since *pa* has undergone the cline of morphological grammaticalization. As shown above, it exhibits sandhi effects such as assimilation or elision in cliticizing to a vowel-initial host in contrast with French *pas*. Furthermore, unlike French, where *ne* has undergone semantic bleaching in almost all environments given its optionality in appearing with *pas*, Mauritian *pa* is mandatory and is interpreted as negative in and outside of concord structures.<sup>11</sup> Crucially, the contrast in distribution, with *pa* in preverbal position in Mauritian, as in other the French creoles, as opposed to French, seems to be a generalization of the distribution of French *pas* with non-finite verb forms.<sup>12</sup>

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9. Godard (2004: 355) distinguishes between three different types of *ne* marking: (1) dependency *ne*, which usually appears with *pas*, (2) negative *ne* and (3) expletive *ne*. They are distinct with respect to their syntactic and semantic constraints and contribution. The negative *ne* is said to occur in fixed or idiomatic forms in French while the expletive *ne* seems to occur with a particular semantic class of verbs in French. But since negative *ne* does not itself contribute to negation in French, its disappearance in the French creoles is expected.

10. Mosegaard-Hansen and Visconti (2014) claim that the development of negation in Louisiana Creole closes the cycle in exhibiting preverbal negation.

11. In this respect Mauritian is more like Romanian than its lexifier French. Déprez and Martineau (2004) observe that this restriction is also found in French dialects like Québécois French or even in older stages of French as in Middle French, and conclude that those variations are inconsistent with traditional views of Jespersen's account where negative concord is governed by sentential negation (See also Larrivée & Ingram 2012).

12. Mauritian inherited mostly its verb forms from syncretic infinitive or past participles (Bonami, Henri and Luis, 2011), which feature negation preverbally.



- (18) a. *Je n'ai pas mangé.*  
 ISG NE'AUX.ISG NEG eat.PPART  
 'I haven't eaten'
- b. *Je veux ne pas manger.*  
 ISG want NE NEG eat.INF  
 'I want to not eat.'

In fact, some vestige of postverbal position of *pa* is seen in Mauritian with a particular class of epistemic verbs like *krwar* 'believe', *espere* 'hope', *panse* 'think', *expek* 'expect' and *ve* 'want' (19a).

- (19) a. *Nou pans=pa (ki) Zan pou vini.*  
 IPL think.SF=NEG (that) John IRR.DEF come.LF  
 'We don't think that John will come.'
- b. *Nou pa panse (ki) Zan pou vini.*  
 IPL NEG think.LF (that) John IRR.DEF come.LF  
 'We don't think that John will come.'
- c. *Mo pa ti panse (ki) Zan pou vini.*  
 ISG.WF NEG PST think.LF (that) John IRR.DEF come.LF  
 'I didn't think that John would come.'
- d. \**Mo ti pans=pa (ki) Zan pou vini.*  
 Intended. 'I didn't think that John would come.'
- e. *Mo pa pans mo mama.*  
 ISG.WF NEG think.SF ISG.POSS mother  
 'I don't think about my mother.'
- f. \**Mo pans-pa mo mama.*  
 ISG.WF think.SF-NEG ISG.POSS mother

Postverbal negation triggers the SF of the verb even in the presence of a clausal complement. Compare for instance (19a) with (19b), where the verb appears in its long form preceding a clausal complement (Henri 2010). In the presence of TAM markers, negation is attracted to a preverbal position triggering the verb's long form (19c), (19d),<sup>13</sup> a behavior also seen in Louisiana Creole. Finally note also that postverbal *pa* is not possible with a non-clausal complement (19f).

13. Henri and Déprez (2014) show that these structures instantiate a kind of NEG raising. (19a) above is equivalent in meaning with (1), which are equivalent in meaning.

- (1) *Nou panse (ki) Zan pa pou vini.*  
 IPL think.LF (that) John NEG DEF.IRR come.LF  
 'I think that John won't come.'

### 3. NCIs in Mauritian

#### 3.1 Negative concord in Mauritian

NCIs, more frequently termed N-words after Laka (1990), are expressions with peculiar syntactic properties. On the one hand, they participate in negative concord constructions, appearing with other NCIs and are obligatorily licensed by propositional negation and yet yielding a single logical negation (1). On the other, they appear in fragment answers without being licensed by sentential negation as exemplified in (4a) above.<sup>14</sup> Three different analyses have been proposed to account for the aforementioned properties. NCIs have been argued to exhibit properties of negative quantifiers (Zanuttini 1991; Haegeman & Zanuttini 1996; de Swart 1999; de Swart & Sag 2002), indefinites (Laka 1990; Ladusaw 1992; Richter & Sailer 1998; Rowlett 1998) or universal quantifiers (Giannakidou 2000). The properties explored will support an analysis of Mauritian NCIs as negative quantifiers.

Mauritian NCIs are of French inheritance. They are *zame* ‘never’,<sup>15</sup> *personn* ‘no-body/ no one’, *okenn* ‘no/any’, *ditu* ‘at all’ and *nanye* ‘nothing’ and require clausemate sentential negation in order to be licensed (See also Syea 2013). The distribution of Mauritian NCIs identifies the language as a strict concord language since propositional negation must be present whether the NCI is in preverbal or subject position (1a), postverbal or object position (20b) and in adjunct position (20c). In (20c) the NCI *personn* is a complement to the preposition *pou* but the PP [*pou personn*] is an adjunct to the verb *kone* ‘to know’ as shown by the long verb form selected.<sup>16</sup>

- (20) a. *Nanye \*(pa) marse.*  
 nothing NEG work.SF  
 ‘Nothing works.’
- b. *Mo \*(pa) konn ditu.*  
 1SG.WF NEG know.SF at-all  
 ‘I don’t know at all.’
- c. *Mo \*(pa) ti danse pou personn.*  
 1SG.WF NEG PST dance.LF PREP nobody  
 ‘I didn’t dance for anyone.’

14. The licensing of NCIs in fragments is dependent on one’s approach to ellipsis. As an elliptical expression with the ability to recover the missing negative licenser, NCIs as fragments would be licensed.

15. Syea (2013) does not mention *zame* ‘never’ in his analysis of negative concord.

16. Some constituents including the PP [*pou personn*] construed as adjuncts can be integrated as complements and trigger the SF (Hassamal et al., 2017).

Finally, next to *pa*, *nepli* ‘no more’ can function as a licenser as exemplified in the constructions (21).

- (21) a. *\*(Nepli) ariv nanye.*  
 no-more happen.SF nothing  
 ‘Nothing ever happen anymore.’  
 b. *Mo \*(nepli) trov personn.*  
 1SG.WF no-more see.SF nobody  
 ‘I don’t see anyone anymore.’

In terms of locality constraints, Mauritian seemingly allows NCIs to be licensed in long-distance dependencies with a few verbs. Crucially, I analyze CPs as clause boundaries (22d)–(22e) as opposed to infinitives, which are phrasal rather than clausal categories. Like other phrasal complements, VP<sup>17</sup> complements trigger short forms of verbs and allow their NCI arguments to be licensed by sentential negation appearing on the main verb (22a)–(22c).

- (22) a. *Zan pa konn [aste nanye].*  
 John NEG know.SF buy.SF nothing  
 ‘John doesn’t know how to buy anything.’  
 b. *Mo pa pans [pou dir personn nanye].*  
 1SG.WF NEG think.SF COMP say.SF nobody nothing  
 ‘I don’t think of saying anything to anyone.’

17. Infinitival propositions are usually analyzed in the generative-transformational tradition as clauses. However, clauses in Mauritian trigger the verb’s long form (2) compared to phrasal arguments, which calls for the short form except in Verum Focus contexts (Henri 2010). Given this behavior, complements in (3) are more phrasal in nature than clausal (*Contra* Syea 1992; Syea 2013).

- (2) a. *Mopanse [ki li pou vini]<sub>CP</sub>*  
 1SG.WF think.LF that 3SG IRR.DEF come.LF  
 ‘I think that he will come.’  
 b. *To kone [si/kouma li pou vini]<sub>CP</sub>?*  
 2SG.WF know.LF if 3SG IRR.DEF come.LF  
 ‘Do you know if/how he’ll come?’  
 (3) a. *Mo pans/konn [mo gramer]<sub>NP</sub>*  
 1SG.WF think.SF/ know.SF 3SG.POSS grand-mother  
 ‘I think about/know my grand-mother.’  
 b. *Mo pans [(pou) vini]<sub>VP</sub>*  
 1SG.WF think.SF COMP come.LF  
 ‘Lit. I think about coming.’

A VP analysis of infinitives is in fact commonplace in constraint-based approaches like LFG (e.g., Bresnan 1982; Bresnan & Mchombo 1995) or HPSG (e.g., P&S 1991, 1994 and Sag et al. 2003).

- c. *Mo pa esper [trouv personn] sa zour-la.*  
 1SG.WF NEG hope.SF see.SF nobody DEM day-SF  
 ‘I don’t hope to see anyone that day.’

Witness however, the grammaticality of the sentences in (23) with NCIs appearing in the downward clause licensed by propositional on the matrix verb *le* or *anvi* ‘want’ compared to other verbs selecting clausal complements like *krwar* ‘believe’ or *espere* ‘hope’ (24).

- (23) a. *Mo pa le/anvi (ki) li koz ar personn.*  
 1SG.WF NEG want.LF (that) 3SG speak.SF PREP no\_one  
 ‘I don’t want him to speak to anyone.’  
 b. *Mo pa le/anvi (ki) li get personn.*  
 1SG.WF NEG want.LF (that) 3SG look\_at.SF no\_one  
 ‘I don’t want him to look at anyone.’  
 c. *Mo pa le/anvi (ki) personn koz ar li.*  
 1SG.WF NEG want.LF (that) no\_one speak.SF PREP 3SG  
 ‘I don’t want anyone to speak to him.’
- (24) a. \**Mo pa espere [(ki) personn pou vini].*  
 1SG.WF NEG hope.LF that nobody DEF.IRR come.LF  
 ‘Intended: I hope to not see anyone that day.’  
 b. \**Mo pa krwar [(ki) Zan konn aste nanye].*  
 1SG.WF NEG think.LF (that) John know.SF buy.SF nothing  
 Intended: ‘I don’t think that John knows how to buy anything.’

Given the discrepancy, one might argue that *le* or *anvi* exhibit properties that are distinct from other verbs selecting a clausal complement. With their modal interpretation, we might want to argue that it is their modal property that allows NCIs to be non-locally licensed. However, other Mauritian modals verbs like *bizin* ‘must’ license NCIs in their VP complements (25a) but not in a clausal complement (25b).

- (25) a. *Zan pa kapav/bizin konn personn.*  
 John NEG can/need know.SF no\_one  
 ‘John cannot/needn’t know anyone.’  
 b. \**Zan pa bizin ki li konn nanye.*  
 John NEG need that know.SF nothing  
 ‘Int. John needn’t know anything.’

Or perhaps, *le* and *anvi* are special. Their French counterparts, or more precisely the *vouloir-verbs* to use Godard (2004)’s terminology, have after all similar properties in licensing non-local dependencies. While she postpones further study of the phenomenon to future work, she indicates that this constraint might be semantically linked. This could be a French inheritance, notwithstanding the difference in marking, where in the latter language, the negative marker is *ne* but in Mauritian, *pa*.

In any case, the constraint requiring NCIs to appear with a negative licenser suggests that NCIs are not inherently negative. However, as noted earlier, NCIs are licensed without negation in negative fragment answers (26B) as opposed to full answers (26B').

- (26) Speaker A *Ki to'nm manze?*  
 what 2SG.WF'PRF eat.LF?  
 'What did you eat?'  
 Speaker B *Nanye*  
 Nothing  
 Speaker B' *Mo pa'nm manz nanye.*  
 1SG NEG'PRF eat.LF nothing  
 'I didn't eat anything.'

It is worth noting that there is no negation in the question in (26). With a negative question as in (27A), the interpretation of the fragment answer might receive an ambiguous interpretation (27B), a behavior also noted in Romanian (Fălăuş & Nicolae 2016).

- (27) Speaker A *Kisannla pa pou vini?*  
 who NEG IRR.DEF come.LF?  
 'Who won't come?'  
 Speaker B *Personn*  
 No one.  
 (No one will come OR Everyone will come)

Negative interpretation in the absence of propositional negation is likewise available with the NCI *zame* 'never', strictly, in preverbal position – a behavior, which parallels constraints on NCIs in non-strict languages like Spanish or Italian (Zanuttini 1991; Giannakidou 2000, among others). Some instances of this tendency are argued to be of French influence but (28) are typical examples of basilectal Mauritian. If *zame* were analyzed as inherently non-negative, the negative interpretation of (28a) in the absence of negation would remain unaccounted for.

- (28) a. *Traka zame (pa) fini!*  
 worry never NEG finish.LF  
 Worries are never over!  
 b. *Zame traka (pa) fini!*  
 never worry NEG finish.LF  
 Worries are never over!  
 c. *Traka \*(pa) fini zame.*  
 worry NEG finish.LF never  
 Worries are never over!

The requirement for sentential negation in licensing NCIs also falls short in other cases like (29). Example (29) features the NCI *nanye* appearing by itself as the complement of the preposition *pou* ‘for’.<sup>18</sup>

- (29) a. *Li'nn al lekol pou nanye.*  
 3SG'PRF go.SF school for nothing  
 ‘He went to school for nothing.’  
 b. *Pou nanye koz ar twa.*  
 for nothing talk.SF with 2SG.STF  
 ‘It’s useless talking to you.’

In fact, the combination of the prepositional phrase *pou nanye* with *pa* (30) gives rise to a double negation reading, which shows that it has an inherent negative quantificational meaning.

- (30) *Pa pou nanye sa!*  
 NEG nothing DEM  
 ‘It isn’t for nothing.’ [DN only]

### 3.2 Double negation

Double negation readings are also available and are pragmatically constrained. In some contexts, double negation is very often the only one available. Compare (31a), where only a double negation reading is available, to (31b) which can only be read as a concord structure.

- (31) a. *Pa nanyen sa.*  
 NEG nothing DEM  
 ‘This isn’t anything.’ [DN only]  
 b. *Pa nanyen mem?*  
 NEG nothing still  
 ‘Still nothing?’ [NC only]

It seems that in (31a) it is the collocation with the deictic demonstrative *sa* that triggers the double negation reading. Pragmatically speaking, *sa* in (31a) identifies a specific entity or event, whether in the immediate context or in discourse, and hence the existence of that entity or event, which obviously is something rather than

18. Similar constructions are found both in French and in other French-based creoles (see for e.g. Schang & Petitjean this volume). They are as in French lexicalized or frozen expressions.

nothing.<sup>19</sup> In addition, Fălăuș (2007: 78) claims that, at least in Romanian, the use of more than one NCI in a structure is what triggers an ambiguous reading between double negation and negative concord. This is not systematic in Mauritian but we do find cases like (3), repeated here for ease of reading in (32), which is ambiguous between a concord and a double negation reading. The second interpretation would be felicitous in a context where the speaker is trying to identify a snitch within a group denying some accusations. Double negation readings are according to Horn (2001) pragmatically marked and are constructions often used as counter propositional.

- (32) *Personn pa konn nanye isi.*  
 nobody NEG know.SF nothing here.  
 ‘Nobody knows anything here.’ [NC]  
 ‘Everybody knows something here.’ [DN]

Analyzing NCIs as negative quantifiers has been used to account for languages where double negation is the norm rather than the exception (de Swart & Sag 2002). But although the situation is reversed in the Mauritian case, it is crucial that both negative concord and double negations, where available, be accounted for.

A summary of the reviewed distribution of NCIs is provided in Table 1, with on the one hand NCIs licensed without sentential negation, and on the other with, as dependent of sentential negation, this irrespective of whether the licensing element is *pa*, *nepli* or any other element contributing to sentential negation.

**Table 1.** Summary of distribution of Mauritian NCIs

	NCI by itself	NCI licensed by <i>pa</i>
<i>Pa</i> ‘not’	<i>Mo pa pou dormi.</i>	*
<i>Nepli</i> ‘no longer’	<i>Mo nepli pou dormi.</i>	*
<i>Zame</i> ‘never’	Preverbal only: <i>Zame li vini.</i>	<i>Mo pa pou dormi zame.</i>
<i>Personn</i> ‘nobody’	In fragment answers only.	<i>Personn pa’nn vini.</i> <i>Mo pa konn personn.</i>
<i>Ditou</i> ‘at all’	In fragment answers only.	<i>Mo pa pou dormi ditou.</i>
<i>Nanye</i> ‘nothing’	In fragment answers and as argument of the preposition <i>pou</i> : <i>Li’nn vinn pou nanye</i>	<i>Nanye pa’nn pase.</i> <i>Mo pa konn nanye.</i>
<i>Okenn</i> ‘no’	In fragment answers only.	<i>Okenn etidian pa’nn vini.</i> <i>Mo pa konn okenn etidian</i>

19. Déprez (1997) also notes that there are peculiar syntactic and semantic constraints that apply in constructions involving negative indefinites causing a variety of structures and interpretations. This observation has led Déprez to propose a micro-parametric account of negative concord structures, where different combinations or constructions might lead to unexpected behaviors and readings (See also Déprez this volume).

### 3.3 NCIs as negative quantifiers

Mauritian evidently does not support an analysis of its NCIs as negative polarity items or NPIs (See also Syea 2013). As a strict concord language, Mauritian does not allow the use of NCIs without an appropriate licensor, except for the case of *zame* ‘never’ previously noted. This means that they can never be interpreted as positive as is the case with the English polar interrogative in (30), where the NPI *any* is licensed by Q.

(33) Do you have any of these?

According to Giannakidou (2006), such existential readings are also licensed in Spanish or Italian but like Romanian (Fălăuş 2007), Mauritian NCIs can never get an existential interpretation in these contexts. Mauritian NCIs are in fact ungrammatical in polar questions (34a), (34b), in conditionals (34c) and in comparatives (34d).

- (34) a. *Eski to ena kik/\*okenn lide kot li ete?*  
 QU 2SG.WF have.SF any/no idea where 3SG COPLF  
 ‘Do you have any idea where he/she is?’
- b. *Kikenn/\*Personn inn vini?*  
 someone/nobody PRF come.LF  
 ‘Did someone come?’
- c. *Si ou touy kikenn/\*personn, ou al dan prizon.*  
 if 2SG.FOR kill.SF anybody/nobody, 2SG.FOR go.SF in jail  
 ‘If you kill anybody, you go to jail.’
- d. *Li koz manti plis ki ninpor kisannla/\*personn.*  
 3SG talk.SF lie more than anybody/nobody  
 ‘He lies more than anybody.’

Giannakidou (2006: 42) provides 7 diagnostic properties for identifying NCIs:

- a. A preverbal NCI has a negative meaning and never co-occurs with sentential negation.
- b. NCIs exhibit negative spread in having the ability to license each other.
- c. NCIs can only be licensed by local propositional negation.
- d. When used as topics, NCIs may be coindexed with a (clitic) pronoun.
- e. NCIs can be modified by the adverbs ‘almost/absolutely’.
- f. NCIs cannot bind donkey pronouns.
- g. NCIs do not usually qualify as predicate nominals.

We have already seen that Mauritian NCIs satisfy condition (c), *modulo* contexts where negative words are licensed without propositional negation. Only *pa* ‘no’, *nepli* ‘no more’ and *san* ‘without’ are legitimate operators. Inherently negative verbs



do not license Mauritian NCIs (35a)–(35b). This contrasts with NPIs, which can be licensed by verbs of *doubt* in English (35c).

- (35) a. *Mo \*(pa/nepli) dout personn.*  
 ISG NEG/NO more doubt.SF no one  
 ‘I don’t/no longer doubt anyone.’  
 b. *Mo doute ki personn \*(pa) pou kone.*  
 ISG doubt.LF that no one NEG IRR.DEF know.LF  
 ‘I doubt that no one will know.’  
 c. I doubt that any student left.

They satisfy condition (d) in allowing modification by *preske* ‘almost’.

- (36) a. *Preske personn pa’nn vini.*  
 almost nobody NEG’PRF come.LF  
 ‘Almost nobody came.’  
 b. *Mo pa’nn manz preske nanye.*  
 ISG.WF NEG’PRF eat.SF almost nothing  
 ‘I didn’t eat almost anything.’  
 c. *Zan pa vinn preske zame.*  
 John NEG come.SF almost never  
 ‘John almost never comes.’

Mauritian NCIs also satisfy both condition (f) and (g) as they cannot be an antecedent to an anaphoric expression (37)<sup>20</sup> and are ungrammatical as predicate nominals (38).

- (37) *\*Bann dimounn ki pa’nn gagn [okenn tiket<sub>i</sub> bizin vinn*  
 PL person that NEG’PRF no ticket must come.SF take.SF  
*pran li/zot<sub>i</sub> lor gise.*  
 3SG PREP ticket window  
 ‘Intended: People who have not received their ticket(s) have to pick it/them at the ticket window.’

20. Richter and Sailer (1999) note that NCIs can bind donkey pronouns in contexts where universal quantifiers are disallowed.

- (4) a. *Swa pena [okenn twalet]<sub>i</sub> isi, swa zot inn ranz li<sub>i</sub>*  
 either NEG = have.SF no toilet here, or 3PL PRF build.sf 3SG  
*dan enn landrwa bizar*  
 PREP IND place strange  
 ‘Either there’s no restroom here or they built it in a strange place.’  
 b. *\*Swa [okenn zanfan]<sub>i</sub> pa la, swa li<sub>i</sub> extra trankil.*  
 either no child NEG here or 3SG extra quiet

This would suggest that they are existential quantifiers.

- (38) \**Li pa okenn dokter.*  
 3SG NEG no doctor  
 ‘Intended: He is not any doctor.’

Now, as noted above, except for *zame* ‘never’, Mauritian NCIs require propositional negation regardless of its function or its position within the structure, contradicting (a). Mauritian also does not either exhibit what Giannakidou (2006) calls *negative spread* (Condition (b)), which means that Mauritian NCIs cannot license each other, irrespective of the context (39).

- (39) a. \**Personn konn nanye.*  
 nobody know.SF nothing  
 ‘Intended: No one knows anything.’  
 b. \**Zame li konpran nanye.*  
 never 3SG understand.SF nothing  
 ‘Intended: He never understands anything.’  
 c. \**Okenn boug zame kalifie inn vinn profeser.*  
 no man ever never qualify.LF PRF become.SF professor  
 ‘Intended: No man never qualified has become professor.’

Mauritian NCIs also qualify as universal quantifiers. Their quantificational status is shown by their inability to vary between an existential and a generic reading (40a) vs (40b) or their scope restriction with respect to sentential negation (41).

- (40) a. *Enn zanfan souvan kriye.* (Existential and generic reading)  
 IND child often shout.LF  
 ‘A child often shouts.’  
 b. *Okenn zanfan souvan pa kriye.* (‘Zero’ reading)  
 no child often NEG shout.LF  
 ‘No child often shouts.’
- (41) a. *Zan pa’nn lir enn liv.*  
 John NEG’PRF read.SF IND book  
 ‘John didn’t read a book.’  
 →  $\exists x$  (liv (x),  $\neg$ lir(Zan, x)). (Narrow scope)  
 →  $\neg\exists x$  (liv (x), lir(Zan, x)). (Wide scope)
- b. *Zan pa’nn lir okenn liv.*  
 John NEG’PRF read.SF no book  
 ‘John didn’t read any book.’  
 →  $\neg\exists x$  (liv (x), lir(Zan, x)). (Wide scope)<sup>21</sup>

21. One reviewer suggests that the narrow-scope interpretation might be excluded because the licenser doesn’t c-command the NCI in the narrow scope representation; the idea being that licensing might be sensitive to Logical Form. This is also noted in Giannakidou (2000) who argues

Finally, as expected from universal quantifiers, Mauritian NCIs introduce a presupposition of existence (42).

- (42) *Personn pa konn nanye.*  
 nobody NEG know.SF nothing  
 ‘Nobody knows anything.’  
 → presupposes the existence of someone.

#### 4. A polyadic approach to Mauritian negative concord within HPSG

In this section, I develop a polyadic approach to Mauritian NCIs, in line with de Swart & Sag (2002)’s for Romance languages, based on two major proprieties highlighted above, namely:

- a. Mauritian NCIs are licensed by propositional negation with a concord reading.
- b. Double negations are licensed in different contexts, in particular, in the presence of more than one NCI.

A sequence of NCIs is ambiguously interpreted as an instance of double negation through iteration of the monadic quantifier or as a polyadic quantifier that quantifies over n-tuples in the case of the concord reading. In the Mauritian case, the concord reading is the default reading while double negatives described above, are licensed in a felicitous context. For the purpose of this paper, only a fragment grammar with the crucial ingredients for negation and negative concord will be provided but the principles on which this model is based are straightforwardly generalizable to all NCIs in Mauritian.

##### 4.1 The syntax of propositional negation

First, there is evidence for a flat structure for the VP in Mauritian, including propositional negation. *Pa* differs from other adverbs in exhibiting a strict ordering with respect to TAM marking (43a) and other adverbs like *ankor* ‘still/again’ (43b).

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that although NPIs need negation to be licensed, they require the escape-of-scope-condition. And indeed, the narrow scope reading is not available. However, recall that clauses are boundaries for negative concord in Mauritian. A purely semantic account of licensing conditions would difficultly explain the locality constraints. Syntactically, a NCI need not be strictly c-commanded to be licensed since as previously illustrated they can appear both in subject and in object positions unlike NPIs which always need to be in the scope of the licenser.

- (43) a. *Pa ti kapav manz poul.*  
 NEG PST can eat.SF chicken  
 ‘We were not able to eat chicken.’  
 b. *Pankor kapav manz poul.*  
 NEG’still can eat.SF chicken  
 ‘We still can’t eat chicken.’

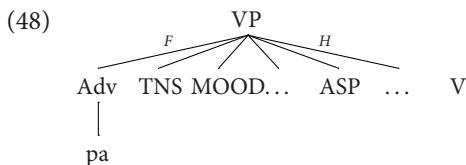
Contrast also the distributional properties of *pa* ‘not’ and *ankor* ‘still’: while *ankor* is grammatical in different positions (44a), *pa* is constrained to a strict position (44b), except with modals where *pa* can appear in two different positions with different scopal relations (45).

- (44) a. *(Ankor) kapav (ankor) manz (ankor) poul (ankor).*  
 (still) can (still) eat.SF (still) chicken (still)  
 ‘(Still) I can (still) eat (still) chicken (still).’  
 b. *Pa kapav (\*pa) manz (\*pa) poul (\*pa).*  
 (not) can (not) eat.SF (not) chicken (not)  
 ‘I cannot eat chicken.’  
 (45) a. *Kapav pa manz poul.*  
 can NEG eat.SF chicken  
 ‘We can not eat chicken.’  
 b. *Pa kapav manz poul.*  
 NEG can eat.SF chicken  
 ‘We cannot eat chicken.’

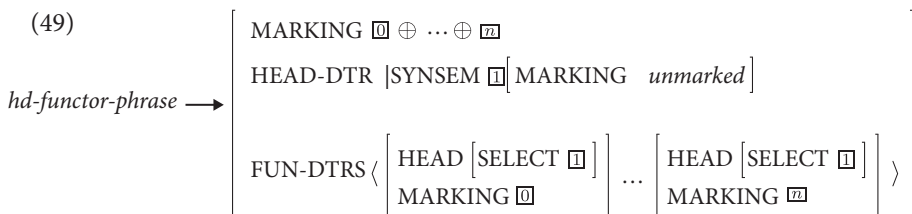
We have also observed in preceding sections that *pa*, TAM markers attach to a host, which can either be a verb, other TAM markers and adverbs, but also modifies other matrix predicates (Henri & Abeillé 2007; Henri 2010; Henri & Laurens 2011). When *pa* attaches to adverbs or modals verbs, it forms a constituent with the latter (46). And unlike the negative adverb *non* ‘no’, *pa* never appears alone in fragment answers (47B).

- (46) a. *Manz poul, pa kapav.*  
 eat.SF chicken, NEG can  
 ‘Eat chicken, (I) cannot.’  
 b. *\*Kapav manz poul, pa*  
 can eat.SF chicken, NEG  
 (47) SPEAKER A *Zan pou vini?* (‘Will John come?’)  
 SPEAKER B *pa\*(=krwar)/\*(pans=)pa/non*  
 NEG = believe.LF/think.SF=NEG  
 ‘Don’t believe so/Don’t think so.’

Given these properties, negation is analyzed on a par with TAM markers. Like TAM markers, negation appears on the left of the main verb or predicate. I adopt a flat<sup>22</sup> configuration in (48) which recognizes that negation and TAM markers form a constituent with the predicate or main verb.



Following Henri (2010), TAM and adjuncts are analyzed as functors, a cover term for pre-head modifiers, markers and specifiers (Pollard & Sag 1994; Allegranza 1998; Van Eynde 1998, 2006, among others).<sup>23</sup> The functor analysis has the advantage of providing a convenient account of the VP internal morphosyntactic constraints and linearization previously described. The proposal offered here slightly departs from the traditional binary structure for functors<sup>24</sup> in order to accommodate the Mauritian VP structure but otherwise preserve the general properties of the category and together with the principles governing their combination with their heads. Hence, as is customary, functors select their head sister<sup>25</sup> and mark it appropriately as defined in the phrase type *hd-functor-phrase* (49).



22. A structure is one containing more than one non-head.

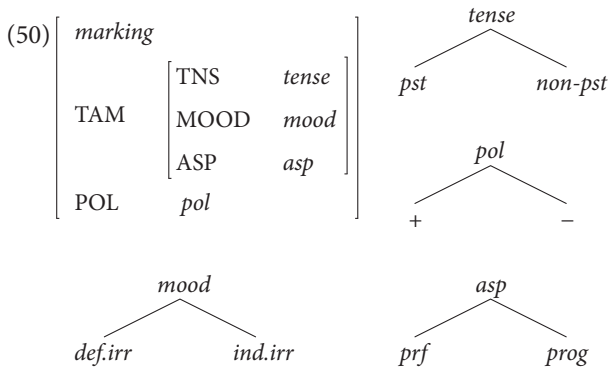
23. For an alternative analysis of TAM markers in Mauritian as inflectional periphrasis see Henri & Kihm (2015).

24. In the traditional account of *head-functor-phrase*, only one non-head is illustrated although Van Eynde (1998) assumes that the structure can contain more than one non-head daughter.

25. This can be of varying categories like a verb, an adverb or a TAM marker. Like TAM markers, *pa* can modify non-verbal predicates although it does not cliticize to the latter as shown in § 3.1. (See also Henri & Abeillé 2007; Henri 2010).

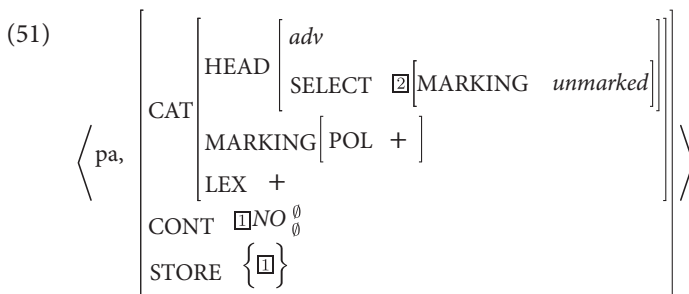
- (5) a. *Zan pa malad/enn profeser.*  
 John NEG sick/IND teacher  
 'John isn't sick/a teacher.'
- b. *Zan ti malad/enn profeser.*  
 John PST sick/IND teacher  
 'John wasn't sick/a teacher.'

Since a structure may contain a series of TAM, preverbal modifiers including sentential negation, the nonhead daughters contain a list of functors (Van Eynde 1998). The SELECTOR PRINCIPLE, applicable to the locally-headed *head-functor phrase*, constrains the SELECT feature to have a value  $\square$  that is identical to the SYNSEM value head daughter to the effect of imposing restrictions on both syntactic and semantic properties of the head (Van Eynde 2006: 165). In addition, the MARKING PRINCIPLE requires the MARKING feature of the functor daughters to be transferred to the mother (Pollard & Sag 1994; Van Eynde 2006). MARKING values are further associated with other features like for instance, TAM and POLARITY that includes values specified in (50).



Hence, the contrast between a TAM marker and an adverb like *pa* pertains to their marking value notwithstanding their semantic contribution. The rigid order of co-occurring functors involving TAM and negation follows a linear precedence constraint corresponding to (8) above. I defer consideration of matters regarding the sandhi effects on cliticization to future research.

Focusing now on sentential negation, the lexical entry for the negative adverb *pa* receives a representation as in (51). Both *pa* and *nepli* syntactically marks the head it selects as POL + and are of type *neg* unlike NCIs which are specified as *nci* (See below). They further semantically participate in the formation of polyadic quantification, which means that sentential negation is a propositional operator rather than a variable binding operator.



Mauritian sentential negation, unlike that of French, is treated as a type  $\langle 0 \rangle$  quantifier that participates in the formation of polyadic quantification. That is, sentential negation is analyzed as a function that maps propositional entities – zero-place predicates – onto truth-values since they are non-variable binding (de Swart 2010). Finally note that the lexical entry for modifier *pa* specifies a feature  $LEX +^{26}$  in preverbal position. This follows Hassamal and Abeillé (2014: 276)'s proposal where adverbs allowed to either precede or follow the verb are underspecified for the feature  $LEX$ . This means that when *pa* is in postverbal position, it is specified as  $LEX -$ . Thus postverbal negation is analyzed as a complement, as proposed for English and French (Abeillé & Godard 1997; Kim & Sag 2002). The argument is supported by the fact that postverbal *pa* is restricted to appear with a small class of verb and triggers the short form, similar to phrasal complements. Following Henri (2010), Mauritian verbs are lexically constrained to appear in their short form with phrasal complements, except in Verum Focus constructions where the long form shows up with similar complements (52).

$$(52) \left[ \text{HEAD} \left[ \text{VFORM } \textit{short} \right] \right] \Rightarrow \left[ \text{VAL} \left[ \text{COMPS } \textit{nelist} \right] \right]$$

Clausal complements are analyzed as extraposed and do not appear on the  $COMPS$  list since they trigger the long form. To account for postverbal *pa* appearing with epistemic verbs like *panse* 'think' or *espere* 'hope, a lexical rule à la Kim & Sag (2000) is proposed for these particular verbs to optionally add the negative adverb to their  $COMPS$  list. Since only *pa* is allowed in such constructions, the added complement specifies a lexical identity. Finally, notice also that postposed *pa* allows no negative word in subject position, at least in Mauritian.

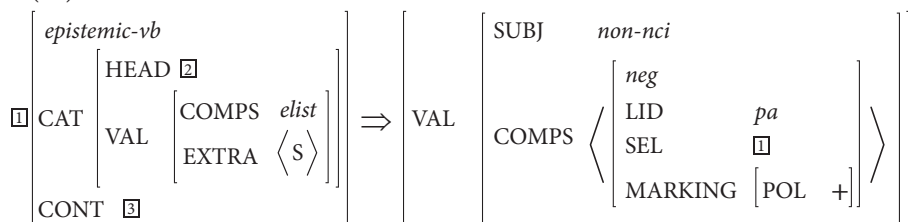
- (53) a. \**Personn pans=pa (ki) Zan pou vini.*  
 nobody think.SF=NEG that John IND.IRR come.LF  
 'Int. Nobody thinks that John will come.'
- b. \**Okenn zanfan pans=pa (ki) Zan pou vini.*  
 no child think.SF=NEG that John IND.IRR come.LF  
 'No child thinks that John will come.'

A constraint requiring epistemic verbs with sentential negation as complement to not select a NCI as subject can be implemented in a straightforward manner.

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26. See Arnold and Sadler (1994) for the distribution of English adjectives and Abeillé & Godard (2003) for those in French.

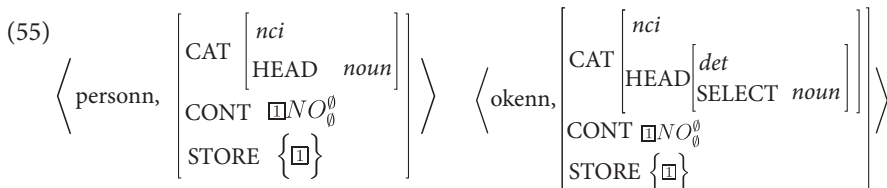
(54)



## 4.2 Negative concord

As previously noted, the negative concord analysis of Mauritian that is proposed here follows that elaborated in de Swart & Sag (2002). It sharply contrasts with that offered by Syea (2013) on similar data in Mauritian. Syea (2013) analyzes constructions involving NCIs as a case of syntactic agreement. The idea here is that NCIs have an uninterpretable feature [UNEG] that needs to be *checked*, as many times as needed in case of multiple NCIs in a clause, by an operator bearing the appropriate feature [INEG]. In order to override the locality of the AGREE feature to account for cases where the NCI appear as in so-called small clauses or complements of raising and control verbs, which are categorized as clauses, Syea (2013: 170) argues that AGREE should only be applicable across light *v*Ps since verbs selecting small clauses and containing NCIs are defective allowing for concord and bonding to take place. They are analyzed as special types of clauses that license NCIs across clauses in restructuring constructions. However, the agreement analysis fails to account for at least three facts pointed out in the preceding discussion. First, NCIs can appear in isolation as answers to questions.<sup>27</sup> Second, at least *zame* can appear without being licensed by sentential negation in its clause. And finally, the licensing of double negation in the right context is also left unaccounted for.

Based on our previous observations, I analyze Mauritian NCIs as inherently negative. The lexical entries for *personn* and *okenn* are posited in (55).



27. The agreement account could circumvent the issue by evoking an analysis of ellipsis where the [INEG] feature can be recovered from discourse, and hence allowing for licensing to occur.



A general rule, comparable to Crysmann & Branco (1999)'s is stipulated to ensure that NCIs are licensed by sentential negation in the local domain, leaving aside the subclass of *vouloir*-verbs *le/anvi*. The rule in (56) introduces the feature *DOM*, which identifies the clause domain. It requires that for any NCI, a negative licenser need to be part of the same domain list. NCIs present in clausal complements have a linear structure that remains opaque to the domain list of the mother by the mechanism of complex domain formation.

$$(56) \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{DOM} \quad \langle \dots, [\text{CONT } nci], \dots \rangle \\ \text{SYN|CAT} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \text{verb} \\ \text{SUBJ} \quad \langle \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[ \text{DOM} \quad \langle \dots, \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{MARKING} \quad \text{POL } + \\ \text{CONT} \quad \text{neg} \end{array} \right], \dots \rangle \right]$$

Considering now the NCI *zame*, which we argued exhibited a peculiar behavior, a more general lexical rule along the lines proposed for some postverbal adjuncts (Hassamal & Abeillé 2014; Hassamal et al. 2017; Hassamal 2017). Like adverbials that can be integrated as complements, *zame* is underspecified for the feature *LEX* since it can appear both in preverbal and postverbal position. In preverbal position, it is specified as *LEX +* and is analyzed as a functor. On the other hand, in postverbal position, it is integrated as a complement and is added to the *COMPS* list of the head verb (58).

$$(57) \quad \left\langle \text{zame} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} nci \\ \text{HEAD} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{adv} \\ \text{SELECT} \quad \text{verb} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CONT} \quad \boxed{\text{NO}}_0^0 \\ \text{STORE} \quad \{ \boxed{\phantom{x}} \} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle$$

$$(58) \quad \boxed{\phantom{x}} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \text{verb} \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \boxed{\phantom{x}} \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow \left[ \text{COMPS} \quad \left\langle \boxed{\phantom{x}} \oplus \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{int-adv} \\ \text{SEL} \quad \boxed{\phantom{x}} \\ \text{LEX} \quad - \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \right]$$

Hence like Mauritian *pa*, the adverb *zame* is underspecified can be a complement or an adjunct to the verb, unlike the NCI *ditou* which is specified *LEX-* and only appears in postverbal position. When integrated as a complement, it triggers the verb's short form (Hassamal et al. 2017; Hassamal 2017). This is also true for the NCI *ditou*, which is constrained to appear in postverbal position.

- (59) *Li pa vinn zame/ditou.*  
 3SG NEG come.SF never/at all  
 ‘He never comes.’/‘He doesn’t come at all.’

A lexical rule, similar to that posited for postverbal *pa* above adds *zame* to the comps list of the verb and would account for the verb short form preceding complement *zame*. Recall also that *zame* may appear without propositional negation in preverbal position. In addition to the locality constraint in (56), a linear precedence constraint that stipulates that the NCI *zame* must be preceded by negation.<sup>28</sup>

$$(60) \left[ \text{CONT } \textit{neg} \right] \prec \left[ \text{CONT } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{nci} \\ \textit{LID } \textit{zame} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

At the semantic level, NCIs are analyzed as anti-additive expressions as defined in (58).

$$(61) \text{ A function is anti-additive iff } f(X \cup Y) \Leftrightarrow f(x) \cap f(y)$$

As de Swart (2010) *f* as a type  $\langle 0 \rangle$  quantifier allows for the extension of resumption of different types of quantifiers as depicted in (62).

- (62) Resumption of a sequence of *k* type  $\langle 1, 1 \rangle$  quantifiers *Q* and *l* type  $\langle 0 \rangle$  quantifiers *Q'* leads to the construction of a resumptive quantifier *Q''* of type  $\langle 1^k, k \rangle$ , such that:

$$Q''_{E} A_1 \dots A_k(R) = Q_{E_k} A_1 \times A_2 \times \dots \times A_k(R)$$

Where  $A_1 \dots A_k$  are subsets of the universe of discourse *E*, and  $A_1 \times A_2 \times \dots \times A_k$  and *R* are subsets of  $E^k$  (de Swart, 2010: 49)

The resumptive quantifier *Q''* is defined for anti-additive NCIs like *personn*, *okenn*, *nanye* and the like. A zero-additive operator, *pa* subsumes anti-additive quantifiers allowing for its participation in *Q''* but it does not contribute anything to the polyadic quantifier in the negative concord context. Hence, a sentence like (63a), is analyzed using the definition in (61). The concord reading (63c) is obtained through quantification over pairs as *k*-ary resumption of an anti-additive quantifier (63b).

- (63) a. *Personn pa konn nanye.*  
 nobody NEG know.SF nothing  
 ‘Nobody knows anything.’  
 b.  $NO_{E_2}^{HUM \times THING}(\textit{know})$   
 c.  $\neg \exists x \exists y \textit{know}(x, y)$

28. Based on Crysmann & Branco (1999)’s constraint for Portuguese.

In the presence of propositional negation only or in case of double negation, the semantic contribution of the negative marker is not absorbed. This is formally implemented within a slightly modified account of lexical retrieval to quantification that accommodates resumption of quantifiers (de Swart & Sag 2002: 393).

(64) Retrieve:

Given a set of generalized quantifiers  $\Sigma$  and a partition of  $\Sigma$  into two sets  $\Sigma_1$  and  $\Sigma_2$ , where  $\Sigma_2$  is either empty or else  $\Sigma_2 = \{ NO_{\sigma_1}^{R1}, \dots, NO_{\sigma_n}^{Rn} \}$ ,  
 then  $retrieve(\Sigma) =_{\text{def}} \text{iteration}(\Sigma_1 \cup \text{Res}(\Sigma_2))$  (de Swart & Sag 2002: 394)

Quantifiers of type  $\langle 1, 1 \rangle$  undergo resumption and hence bind a singleton set of variables. This binding relation is used to constrain a word's QUANTS value, provided its content is propositional (65).<sup>29</sup>

$$(65) \quad \text{soa-}wd \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ARG-ST} \quad \langle [\text{STORE } \Sigma_1] \dots [\text{STORE } \Sigma_n] \rangle \\ \text{LEX-QUANTS } \Sigma_0 \\ \text{CONT} \quad [\text{QUANTS } \text{retrieve}((\Sigma_0 \cup \dots \cup \Sigma_n) - \Sigma)] \\ \text{STORE} \quad \Sigma \end{array} \right]$$

A resolved sentence like that in (63) receives the semantic description in (66a) in the case of a concord reading and (66b) for a double negation reading.

$$(66) \quad \text{a.} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PHON} \quad \langle \text{personn pa konn nanye} \rangle \\ \text{MARKING} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{POL} \quad + \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SUBJ} \quad \langle \rangle \\ \text{VAL} \quad \langle \rangle \\ \text{CONT} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{QUANTS} \quad \langle NO_{x,y}^{\text{person}(x), \text{thing}(y)} \rangle \\ \text{NUCL} \quad \text{know}(x,y) \end{array} \right] \\ \text{STORE} \quad \{ \} \end{array} \right]$$

29. See de Swart & Sag (2002) for a detailed discussion.

b.	PHON     ⟨ personn pa konn nanye ⟩
	MARKING   [ POL   + ]
	SUBJ       ⟨    ⟩
	VAL        ⟨    ⟩
	CONT       [ QUANTS ⟨ NO <sub>x</sub> <sup>person(x)</sup> , NO <sub>y</sub> <sup>thing(y)</sup> ⟩ ]
	NUCL <i>know(x,y)</i>
	STORE     { }
	CTXT <i>metalinguistic</i>

While the concord reading is the default, a double negation reading for (66b) is licensed in the right pragmatic context. Hence (63) allows for a double negation reading where ‘no one is such that they know nothing’ obtained through iteration of two anti-additive quantifiers.

## 5. Conclusion

I have proposed, in this paper, a descriptive and theoretical take on negative concord in Mauritian, a French based creole. Unlike French, Mauritian is a strict concord language in that sentential negation is needed in almost all contexts in the licensing of NCIs. I have proposed an analysis of *pa*, *zame* and *nepli* as adverbs rather than functional heads. I have shown that adverbs like *pa* ‘not’ or *zame* ‘never’ are functors when analyzed as adjuncts selecting a predicative head but that in postverbal position they are integrated as complements via a lexical rule and thus trigger the verb’s short form.

Our analysis inspired from de Swart & Sag (2002), has the advantage of allowing both a negative concord and a double negation reading usually in the presence of several NCIs. It also allows NCIs to receive a negative interpretation even in the absence of sentential negation in fragment answers or other specific contexts as with *zame* ‘never’. I have further shown, contrary to expectations, that double negation is available in creoles in the appropriate contexts, and is in some instances the only available interpretation. The negative concord reading and the double negation reading use a similar rule which in the first case is obtained under resumption of the quantifiers and in the second as iteration of these quantifiers.

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PART II

## English related Creoles





# Negation in Pichi (Equatorial Guinea)

## The case for areal convergence

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This chapter provides a detailed overview of negation in Pichi, the English-lexifier Creole spoken by the people of the island of Bioko (Equatorial Guinea). Pichi negation patterns align closely with areal negation patterns found across a broad swath of West Africa. Like the vast majority of genealogically diverse languages of the region, Pichi employs asymmetric negation strategies. These involve the use of subjunctive mood for the negation of imperatives, the use of suppletive portmanteau forms that combine negative polarity and aspect, and the use of an identity-equation copula that incorporates negative polarity, temporal-aspectual values, person deixis and pragmatic functions, and whose distribution is determined by complex syntactic rules. Negative concord is pragmatically determined, hence non-strict with common nouns, where it renders emphatic meanings. Negative concord is grammatically determined and strict with negative indefinite pronouns and with negative phrases fulfilling the functions of negative indefinite pronouns. I conclude that Pichi negation patterns are typically areal in character and cannot be seen to reflect a “Creole” linguistic type.

**Keywords:** West Africa, Creole, linguistic area, negation, negative concord, indefinites, copula

### 1. Introduction

In this chapter, I provide a detailed overview of negation in Pichi, thus giving a first comprehensive overview of negation as a functional area, not only for Pichi but also for a West African English-lexifier Creole in general. In accordance with the objectives of this volume, I dedicate some attention to negative concord, and try to single out typologically relevant characteristics of this type of negation, thereby placing negative concord and the other negation strategies found in Pichi within the broader context of Creole “specificity”. I argue that Pichi patterns of negation show a significant convergence with areal patterns of negation in West African languages. The findings of this chapter confirm the areal-typological affinities of Pichi and the

other English-lexifier Creoles of West Africa that I have described with respect to other functional domains (see Yakpo 2012a, 2012b, 2017). I conclude that Pichi negation does not reflect phylogenetic traits of an assumed Creole prototype and is instead firmly rooted in the areal typology of West Africa.

Pichi is an Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creole (Faraclas 2004; Yakpo 2012b) spoken by upwards of 100, 000 people at various levels of nativization and in a variety of multilingual and multilectal constellations in and outside their homes (Yakpo 2013). Pichi is a direct offshoot of 19th century Krio, spoken in Sierra Leone and has close historical and genetic ties with the other English-lexifier contact languages of the region, i.e. Nigerian Pidgin, Cameroon Pidgin and Ghanaian Pidgin English (Yakpo 2009: 3–5 for the socio-historical details on the links between Krio and Pichi).

The analyses in this chapter are based on a corpus of primary data consisting of 46,060 words of dialogues, narratives, procedural texts and elicitations that I collected during three field trips to Bioko between 2003 and 2007. A comprehensive grammatical description of Pichi is provided in Yakpo 2009 (in English) and Yakpo 2010 (in Spanish). All examples in this chapter that bear no reference are from my field data. More information on the corpus and my linguistic collaborators in Equatorial Guinea can be found in Yakpo 2009: 21–25.

The structure of this chapter is as follows: In Section 2, I provide a summary of formal and typological characteristics of negation in Pichi. In Sections 3 and 4, I turn to standard verb negation and copula negation respectively. In Section 5, I explore and discuss negative concord. Section 6 examines the question of Creole specificity of Pichi negation on the basis of the findings presented earlier on. Section 7 concludes this chapter.

## 2. Formal and typological aspects of negation in Pichi

Pichi negation is characterized by a number of typological properties that align it closely with negation patterns found across a broad geographical swath of genealogically diverse languages in a linguistic area that I have defined elsewhere as “West Africa” (Yakpo 2012a: 270), which largely corresponds with the “Macro-Sudan Belt” (Güldemann 2008). These typological properties are the following:

- Asymmetric negation (use of special negators and/or negation patterns) of specific TMA categories (e.g. Jungraithmayr 1988).
- Asymmetric copular negation (Cyffer, Ebermann & Ziegelmeyer 2009).
- Interaction between negation and focus (e.g. Wolff 2007).
- Negative concord (Cyffer, Ebermann & Ziegelmeyer 2009).
- Absence or scarcity of dedicated negative indefinite pronouns (Cyffer, Ebermann & Ziegelmeyer 2009; Van Alsenoy 2014).

In the following sections, I will address these typological characteristics one-by-one. Due to space limitations, I will not be able to engage in an extensive comparative analysis of Pichi negation with the corresponding West African structures. I will, however, refer to the relevant literature where necessary.

Table 1 presents the form inventory and negation patterns of Pichi. It covers different types of verb negation (1); copula negation (2); the negation of nominal and other constituents including the use of negative indefinite pronouns (3), and (4) focus-related and other pragmatically oriented negation structures. The English etymologies of individual forms are provided in parentheses where available, e.g. the negative perfect aspect particles *néa* and *nóba* in (1b) are etymologically related to the English adverb ‘never’. More details with reference to the sub-types (in letters) of each of these three types (in numbers) are treated in the sections that follow:

**Table 1.** Negation in Pichi: Forms and patterns

Negation type	Form/pattern	
<b>(1) Verb negation</b>		
a. Standard negation	<i>nó</i> (< ‘no’)	(4)
b. Negative perfect aspect	<i>néa/nóba</i> (< ‘never’)	(9)
c. Negative imperatives, cohortatives and jussives	<i>mék</i> — <i>nó</i> (< ‘make — no’)	(12)–(14)
<b>(2) Copula negation</b>		
a. Locative/existential copula negation	<i>nó dé</i> ‘NEG BE.LOC’ = ‘not be somewhere’	(18), (19)
b. Identity/equative copula negation	<i>nóto</i> ‘NEG.FOC’ (< ‘not’) = ‘not be somebody/something’	(23)–(26)
c. Identity/equative copula negation	<i>nó</i> – TMA – <i>bí</i> (< ‘be’) = ‘not be somebody/something’	(28), (29)
<b>(3) Nominal and constituent negation</b>		
a. Nominal negation	<i>nó</i> ‘NEG’	(33), (34)
b. Constituent negation	<i>nóto</i> ‘NEG.FOC’	(24)
c. Negative indefinite pronouns	<i>nátin</i> (< ‘nothing’), <i>nó-bódi</i> (‘nobody’)	(35)–(39)
<b>(4) Pragmatically oriented negation structures</b>		
a. Negative focus	<i>nóto</i> ( <i>se</i> ) ‘NEG.FOC (QUOT)’ = ‘it is not (that)’	(24)
b. Disagreement	<i>nó</i>	(1)
c. Question tag/channel check	<i>nó/nó</i>	(2)

Table 1 above shows that Pichi makes use of five different forms that fulfill negation functions, not counting variants separated by a slash. These are *nó/nó*, *néa/nóba*, *nóto*, *nátin*, and *nó-bódi*. Additionally, complex rules govern the distribution of negation in the copula system, which features altogether four copula forms (*na*,

*nóto, dé, bí*) as well as additional morphosyntactic idiosyncrasies. The table also reflects some of the typological specificities of Pichi negation referred to in the bullet points further above. We find asymmetric negation patterns with standard negation, i.e. a defective negation paradigm for perfect aspect (1b), as well as the use of subjunctive clauses for the negation of directives (1c).

Equally, we find a two-way distinction in the negation of copulas: while the locative-existential copula is negated via standard negation (2a), the formation of negative identity/equative clauses involves the use of two suppletive forms (2b)–(c), we therefore have another defective paradigm. Likewise, Pichi only has two forms that qualify as negative indefinite pronouns (3c). Further, Pichi makes use of negative concord by the simultaneous use of verbal (1) and nominal negation (3). Finally, Pichi employs a negative focus particle (4a), which overlaps formally and functionally with the negative identity copula (2b), and is employed in constituent negation as well (3b).

I treat these characteristics of Pichi negation in more detail in the following sections. I first turn to verb negation.

### 3. Verb negation: Regular and suppletive forms and patterns

In the following, I employ the term “standard negation” (Miestamo 2005) for the negation of declarative clauses. Standard negation revolves around the general negator *nó* ‘NEG’, which functions as a negative particle in verb negation (1a) in Table 1. The general negator is employed for the negation of all TMA categories save perfect tense-aspect and in directives, and therefore has the widest distribution of all negation devices. The general negator (in its phonological variants *nó* and *nó*) also serves as an interjection. In sentence-initial position *nó* ‘no’ serves as the central disagreement particle of Pichi and in sentence-final position it serves as a question tag and channel-checking particle:

- (1) *Nó, a nó nó dán gyál.*<sup>1</sup>  
 NEG 1SG.SBJ NEG know DIST girl  
 ‘No, I don’t know that girl.’

1. Regarding the transcription of Pichi examples: I employ an orthography based on Krio (see e.g. Coomber 1992), used for the first time in Yakpo 2009. The grapheme /e/ renders the open-mid front vowel [e] and /ɔ/ renders the open-mid back vowel [ɔ]. The prosodic system of Pichi has two phonemic tones, high and low. All high-toned syllables bear an acute accent and low-toned syllables are left unmarked, e.g. *wét* [wét] ‘wait’ vs. *wet* [wèt] ‘with’. Spanish words in Pichi examples are written according to Spanish orthographic conventions.

- (2) *Náw yu fit dring=an nó?*  
 now 2SG can drink = 3SG.OBJ right  
 ‘Now, you’re able to drink it, right?’

Declarative clauses acquire negative polarity when the general negator, the particle *nó* intervenes between the personal pronoun and a following TMA particle or the verb. The position of the negator is canonical. The imperfective-marked verb *gí* ‘give’ in (3) is negated in (4):

- (3) *Den de gí dén skúl f training centre.*  
 3PL IPFV give 3PL.INDP school PREP training center  
 ‘They give them classes at a training center.’
- (4) *Den nó de gí dén skúl.*  
 3PL NEG IPFV give 3PL.INDP school  
 ‘They don’t give them classes.’

Sentence (5) contains both an affirmative and a negative clause in the potential mood. Examples (6) and (7) present an affirmative and a negative clause with past tense marking. We see that verbal negation is “symmetrical” (cf. Miestamo 2005: 72ff.) in these two Pichi mood and tense categories. The standard negator is simply added without any further adjustments to the clause (hence the term “additive” for this kind of negation by Jungrathmayr 1988):

- (5) *E nó go slíp tidé, yu go sí.*  
 3SG.SBJ NEG POT sleep today 2SG POT see  
 ‘He won’t sleep today, you’ll see.’
- (6) *E bin go na jél.*  
 3SG.SBJ PST go LOC jail  
 ‘He went to jail.’
- (7) *A nó bin fit ték motó.*  
 1SG.SBJ NEG PST can take car  
 ‘I wasn’t able to take a car.’

The negation of the perfect aspect is not achieved by the addition of the general negator *nó* (cf. (1b) in Table 1). Instead, negation in these environments is “asymmetrical” (Miestamo 2005) or “substitutive” (Jungrathmayr 1988). Negation relies on the use of a morphologically distinct element that incorporates negative polarity as well as the relevant grammatical category. The negative perfect particles *néa* and *nóba* are functionally identical free variants that substitute for the affirmative perfect particle *dón* ‘PRF’.

- (8) *Yu dɔ́n bɔ́n fɔ́ pikín.*  
 2SG PRF engender four child  
 ‘You have engendered four children.’
- (9) *E néa bɔ́n pikín.*  
 3SG.SBJ NEG.PRF engender child  
 ‘She hasn’t given birth to a child (yet).’

Asymmetric negation of tense-aspect-mood categories involving the use of portmanteau forms like *néa/nóba* is extensively documented for genealogically diverse languages belonging to all West African linguistic groupings including Benue-Congo (Ndimele 2009), Mande (Creissels 1997: 3; Kastenholtz 2002: 96), Gur (Winkelmann & Miede 2009: 173–174), Berber (Mettouchi 2009: 293–303), Atlantic (Robert 1990), Saharan (Cyffer 2009: 73–75; Zima 2009: 99), and Chadic (Zima 2009: 99). West African languages naturally vary in the extent to which asymmetric negation occurs and how it is realized. There is nevertheless a tendency among many West African languages for perfect(ive) aspect and related senses to make use of asymmetric negation. The particular susceptibility of perfect(ive) senses to suppletive negation appears to be motivated by the semantic incompatibility of boundedness or completeness of an event and the negation of its occurrence (cf. e.g. Vydrine 2009: 256, for suppletive negative perfects in Southern Mande).

Asymmetric negation is also a hallmark of prohibitives (negative imperatives). These can be formed in two ways in Pichi. One involves standard negation – the general negator *nó* is placed before the verb, compare the imperative in (10) with the prohibitive in (11):

- (10) *Pás na mákit mɔ́!*  
 pass LOC market again  
 ‘Pass by the market again!’
- (11) *Nó tók, a bég!*  
 NEG talk 1SG.SBJ beg  
 ‘Please don’t talk!’

A prohibition can alternatively be expressed asymmetrically via a negative subjunctive clause. The subjunctive complementizer *mék* ‘SBJV’ appears in the complementizer position on the left edge of the clause, while the verb is simultaneously negated via the general negator *nó*. Subjunctive clauses are more finite clause types than imperatives, and so the use of the 2nd person pronoun is obligatory:

- (12) *Mék yu nó pás na mákit mɔ́!*  
 SBJV 2SG NEG pass LOC market again  
 ‘Don’t pass by the market again!’

The use of negative subjunctive clauses is obligatory when directives in persons other than 2SG (imperatives) are negated. These categories are usually referred to with the labels of negative (1st and 3rd person) jussive (13) and negative (1st person plural) cohortative (14):

- (13) *Mék e nó fɔdɔn na grɔn ó!*  
 SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG fall LOC ground SP  
 ‘Don’t let it fall on the ground!’ or ‘Lest it fall on the ground!’
- (14) *Mék wi nó léf=an dé!*  
 SBJV 1PL NEG leave = 3SG.OBJ there  
 ‘Let’s not leave it there!’

The use of the subjunctive complementizer is however also obligatory in jussives and cohortatives with positive polarity, compare the following 3SG jussive. Therefore only the negation of (2SG/PL) imperatives is, strictly speaking, asymmetrical:

- (15) *Tín fɔ fɔs tén mék e dé!*  
 thing PREP first time SBJV 3SG.SBJ BE.LOC  
 ‘Let things of the past remain!’

The use of a negative subjunctive clause is also obligatory in affirmative and negative embedded imperatives such as (16):

- (16) *A tél=an sé mék e nó pás na mákit m.*  
 1SG tell = 3SG.OBJ QUOT SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG pass LOC market again  
 ‘I told him not to pass by the market again.’

Asymmetric negation of direct and indirect imperatives involving non-indicative mood is widely documented in genealogically diverse West African languages and the formal and functional parallels with Pichi are striking: West African languages with suppletive patterns of prohibitive and/or negative jussive formation generally make use of non-indicative moods in these constructions. These non-indicative moods are very often instantiated in modal complementizers instead of, or in addition to, mood marking in the predicate by particles or affixes (e.g. Kanuri, Cyffer 1974: 99; Pular, Diallo 2000; Ewe, Ameka 2008: 152–153; Hausa, Ziegelmeyer 2009: 10–12). I have shown elsewhere that such uses of subjunctive mood in Pichi and other Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles, as well as in a cross-section of genetically diverse West African languages, are part of a larger functional domain, in which non-indicative mood, instantiated in modal complementizers, is a concomitant of deonticity (Yakpo 2012b, 2017).



#### 4. Copula negation: A functional overlap with pragmatic structures

In this section, I will show that the copular system of Pichi is typified by the interplay of pragmatics and morphosyntax. Moreover, complex distributional rules determine how the negation of identity-equation and location-existence is formally expressed with the help of altogether four copular forms.

The copula system of Pichi features a two-way functional distinction between the expression of identity-equation on the one hand, and location-existence on the other. I should point out to the creolist reader that Pichi employs overt copulas in all relevant contexts, there are therefore no “null” copulas. The element *dé* ‘BE.LOC’ serves as the locative-existential copula and shows no suppletion. Negation of this copula is symmetrical, as shown in the following two examples:

- (17) *Den dé insay dán motó.*  
 3PL BE.LOC inside DIST car  
 ‘They are inside that car.’
- (18) *Den nó dé na hós.*  
 3PL NEG BE.LOC LOC house  
 ‘They are not at home.’

Pichi only has a handful of adjectives, which all appear as complements to the locative-existential copula *dé* when used predicatively (Yakpo 2009: 319–322). The negation of predicational copular clauses is symmetrical as well:

- (19) a. *A dé fáyn.*  
 1SG.SBJ BE.LOC fine  
 ‘I’m fine.’
- b. *A nó dé fáyn.*  
 1SG.SBJ NEG BE.LOC fine  
 ‘I’m not fine.’

The expression of identity-equation is governed by more complex rules and taken care of by altogether three suppletive copular forms in complementary distribution, namely *na* ‘FOC’, *nóto* ‘NEG.FOC’ and *bí* ‘BE’. The alternation between these forms is determined by polarity as well as restrictions in the use of TMA marking and person deixis. Examples (20) and (21) present an affirmative and a negative identity clause respectively. The negative clause in (21) features the suppletive form *nóto*.

- (20) *In papá na guineano.*  
 3SG.POSS father FOC Equatoguinean  
 ‘Her father is Equatoguinean.’

- (21) *In papá nóto guineano.*  
 3SG.POSS father NEG.FOC Equatoguinean  
 ‘Her father is not Equatoguinean.’

Both *na* and *nóto* are also employed to signal presentational (*na*) and contrastive (*na* and *nóto*) focus in constructions like (22a) and (23a), and in descriptively identificational clauses (Declerck 1988) like (22b) and (23b). As can be seen in the respective (b) examples, the negative asymmetry observed in (20) and (21) above is also found in such pragmatic structures.

- (22) a. *Na kasára.*  
 FOC cassava  
 ‘It’s/that’s (a) cassava.’  
 b. *Na kasára díts.*  
 FOC cassava PROX  
 ‘This is (a) cassava.’
- (23) a. *Nóto mi motó.*  
 NEG.FOC 1SG.POSS car  
 ‘It’s/that’s not my car.’  
 b. *Nóto mi motó dát.*  
 NEG.FOC 1SG.POSS car DIST  
 ‘That’s not my car.’

Both *na* and *nóto* are also used as focus particles in cleft constructions like (24), including verb-doubling constructions (Yakpo 2009: 297–299; Yakpo 2012a: 254).

- (24) *Nóto íl húman fit máred.*  
 NEG.FOC all woman can marry  
 ‘Not all women can get married.’

The chiefly pragmatic function of *na/nóto* transpires in the fact that in identity clauses like (22a) and (23a), the identified referent is in focus by default (indicated by the alternative translations separated by a slash). When identity between a referent other than 3rd person and another noun phrase is expressed, the non-verbal and deeply pragmatic nature of the copula-like element in sentences like (20) and (21) above is revealed. Since *na/nóto* are not copula “verbs”, the subject pronoun cannot come from the dependent series of the pronominal paradigm, which is reserved for verbal predicates, cf. (25). Instead, an independent (emphatic) pronoun must be used, as in (26).

- (25) \*A *na/nóto guineano*  
 1SG.SBJ FOC/NEG.FOC Equatoguinean  
 Intended reading: ‘I am (not) Equatoguinean.’

- (26) *Mí na/nóto guineano*  
 1SG.INDP FOC/NEG.FOC Equatoguinean  
 ‘I am (not) Equatoguinean.’

Therefore identity-equative clauses are best seen as grammaticalized topic-comment structures, in which the topical subject is followed by an entity under focus by *na/nóto*. The particularities of person deixis in these constructions show that the elements *na* and *nóto* retain their pragmatic, identificational and focus-marking functions even in such “copular” clauses. A translation of (26) that takes the functional linkage between copular expression and focus into account could be phrased something like ‘As for me, that’s (not) Equatoguinean.’

A further layer of complexity unfolds when we turn to TMA marking. Presentational and identificational clauses featuring *na/nóto*, like (22) and (23) have a default “present tense”, or better, imperfective reading, given that Pichi is an aspect-prominent language. This semantic characteristic has a structural correlate in Pichi, leading to further suppletion: Both *na/nóto* may not co-occur with any overt TMA particles, or appear in any other context characterized by a higher degree of verbiness than in the “copular” clauses seen so far (see Yakpo 2009: 306–308 for more details). Hence also the inability of *na/nóto* to occur in contexts of reduced finiteness such as the following imperative clause:

- (27) \**Na béte dǎkta!*  
 FOC very.good doctor  
 Intended reading: ‘Be a very good doctor!’

This means that the expression of negative identity-equation in tenses, aspects, and moods other than present/imperfective can only be achieved by making use of another suppletive form, namely the copular verb *bí* ‘BE’. Compare the equative clause in (28), which features the potential mood particle *go* and thus requires the use of the copula *bí*, in an affirmative (a) and a negative clause (b). Note that the copular *bí* takes personal pronouns of the dependent series like the locative-existential copula (cf. (19)) and any other Pichi verb (cf. e.g. (16)):

- (28) a. *A go bí di jefe.*  
 1SG.SBJ POT BE DEF boss  
 ‘I’ll be the boss.’  
 b. *A nó go bí di jefe.*  
 1SG.SBJ NEG POT BE DEF boss  
 ‘I won’t be the boss.’

*Na/nóto* and *bí* are in strict complementary distribution. Hence *bí* may conversely not occur in clauses that do not feature overt TMA particles, whether negative or affirmative. Compare (26) above and (29) below:

- (29) \*A        *nó bí guineano.*  
 1SG.SBJ NEG BE Equatoguinean  
 ‘I am not Equatoguinean.’

The following table provides an overview of the properties of the Pichi copula system covered above:

**Table 2.** Morphosyntactic properties of Pichi copulas

Property	Identity & Equation			Location & Existence
	<i>na</i> ‘FOC’	<i>nóto</i> ‘NEG.FOC’	<i>bí</i> ‘BE’	<i>dé</i> ‘BE.LOC’
Can co-occur with TMA particles?	No	No	Yes	Yes
Suppletion?	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Can co-occur with dependent personal pronoun?	No	No	Yes	Yes
Can occur in non-finite clauses?	No	No	Yes	Yes

To summarize, the expression of identity-equation is characterized by several asymmetries. It is characterized by suppletion, with a defective copular paradigm featuring an affirmative and a negative copula (*na* vs. *nóto*), an additional form specialized to use with overt TMA marking (*bí*), and corresponding irregularities in the expression of person deixis.

Copular systems with formal two-way distinctions (mostly identity-equation vs. location-existence), are so ubiquitous throughout West Africa and other parts of Africa, that their existence may be seen as a pervasive genetic and areal property on the African continent. Such distinctions are found, for example, in distant Niger-Congo branches and non-related African linguistic groupings such as Kwa (e.g. Ewe, see Westermann 1954: 91–92), Berber (Mettouchi 2009: 288–290), Mande (Vydrine 2009: 252, 256) and Chadic (see Frajzyngier, Krech & Mirzayan 2002 for an overview). The copular systems of many of these languages are also characterized by separate negation patterns for copular and standard verbal negation, by defective TMA-conditioned copular paradigms and polarity-conditioned suppletion (see e.g. Winkelmann & Mieke 2009: 169 for Gur), including the use of independent person forms in combination with certain types of copular negation (see e.g. Vydrine 2009: 224–225 for Mande). In virtually all languages with

two-way copular distinctions, there are functional and formal linkages between the expression of identity-equation and focus, as in Pichi. In many cases, the functional overlap between pragmatics and grammar and the distributional idiosyncrasies of identity-equation copulas point to a grammaticalization chain from focus particle to copula, again as in Pichi (e.g. McWhorter 1992). In the following section, I explore further aspects of the linkage between pragmatics and grammar in Pichi when turning to nominal negation and negative concord.

## 5. Negative concord: Lexifier and substrate convergence?

Pichi speakers make use of negative concord. Verbal and constituent negation co-occur in clauses with negative polarity. Negative concord is pragmatically determined, hence non-strict with common nouns, where it renders emphatic meanings. Negative concord is, however, grammatically determined, and strict, with the two negative indefinite pronouns that Pichi has, as well as with negative phrases fulfilling the functions of negative indefinite pronouns. Negative concord appears not to be as strong an areal property as the others discussed in the preceding sections. I therefore suggest that non-standard varieties of British Isles English might also have contributed significantly to the consolidation of negative concord in the proto-language of Pichi.

As shown in Table 1 (see 3a), the general negator not only functions as a verb negator. It may also be employed as an NP negator in the prenominal position. Pragmatically neutral subject NPs are not normally preceded by the general negator *nó* 'NEG' in negative clauses. The following example is a negative existential clause, in which the subject *chóp* 'food' is not preceded by the negator *nó*:

- (30) *Yu gó fɔ mákit, chóp nó dé.*  
 2SG go PREP market food NEG BE.LOC  
 '(if) you go to the market, there's no food (to buy).'

Subject NPs may be preceded by *nó* for emphasis. Such negative clauses featuring subject negative concord have a single negation reading. Emphatic negative concord adds a negative quantificational meaning to the NP, as shown in the translation 'not a single car':

- (31) *Nó motó nó dé wé e smát lek mi yón*  
 NEG car NEG BE.LOC SUB 3SG.SBJ be.fast like 1SG.POSS own  
 'There is not a single car that's as fast as mine.'

Object NPs also only feature negative concord when emphasis is intended. Compare the non-emphatic negative clause in (32) with the emphatic clause (33), which features verb negation *and* nominal negation:

- (32) A        *nó kúk bif tidé.*  
 1SG.SBJ NEG cook meat today  
 ‘I didn’t cook meat today.’
- (33) *Ín go cháp=an, e nó gét nó problema.*  
 3SG.INDP POT eat = 3SG.OBJ 3SG.SBJ NEG get NEG problem  
 ‘He [EMP] will eat it, he has no problem whatsoever [with this kind of food].’

NPs preceded by *nó* in negative clauses can receive an even higher degree of emphasis if the negative quantifier *nó* is followed by the cardinal numeral and indefinite determiner *wán*, as in (34) with the object *wód* ‘word’:

- (34) E        *nó tók nó wán wód.*  
 3SG.SBJ NEG talk NEG one word  
 ‘She didn’t’ say a single word / anything at all.’

While negative concord is exploited for pragmatic purposes with lexical nouns, negative concord is strict, and grammatically conditioned with the two negative indefinite pronouns that Pichi has. Negative concord is also strict with negative phrases fulfilling the function of negative indefinite pronouns.

Pichi has a single item that can unequivocally be qualified as a polarity sensitive, monomorphemic negative indefinite pronoun, namely *nátin* ‘nothing’. Additionally the expression *nó-bódi* ‘NEG-body’ = ‘nobody’ may also be seen as a negative indefinite pronoun (see below for details).

The negative indefinite pronoun *nátin* must be used with support from verb negation in verbal clauses. Its use in any syntactic function, as a subject or object, therefore invariably involves the use of negative concord. Compare (35) and (36):

- (35) *Mí nó go tél=an \*(nó) nátin.*  
 1SG.INDP NEG POT tell = 3SG.OBJ NEG nothing  
 ‘I [EMP] wouldn’t tell him anything.’
- (36) *\*(Nó) nátin nó go chénch=an.*  
 NEG nothing NEG POT change = 3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Nothing is going to change her.’

In the same vein, the co-occurrence of the negative quantifier *nó* and the negative indefinite pronoun without the simultaneous use of verbal negation is ungrammatical:

- (37) *Nó nátin \*(nó) dé dé.*  
 NEG nothing NEG BE.LOC there  
 ‘Nothing is there.’

The second negative indefinite pronoun besides *nátin* is *nó-bódi*. Even though *nó-bódi* is segmentable (NEG-*bódi* ‘no-body’), the noun *bódi* ‘body’ is rare in Pichi, the common term for ‘body’ being *skín*. The fully transparent and regularly formed negative indefinite phrases *nó mán* ‘NEG man’ and *nó pòsin* ‘NEG person’ are common alternatives to *nó-bódi*. Strict negative concord also applies to the negative indefinite pronoun *nó-bódi* ‘nobody’ (38), in the same ways as it does to *nátin* above:

- (38) *Nó-bódi \*(nó) de wáka na strít.*  
 no-body NEG IPFV walk LOC street  
 ‘Nobody is walking in the streets.’

- (39) *A \*(nó) sí nó-bódi na strít.*  
 1SG.SBJ NEG see NEG-body LOC street

Intended reading: ‘I didn’t see anybody out in the streets.’

Negative indefinite concepts other than ‘nobody’ and ‘nothing’ are expressed via fully segmentable syntactic phrases featuring the negative quantifier *nó* ‘NEG’ and a following generic noun (e.g. *nó pòsin* ‘NEG person’ = ‘nobody’, *nó sáy* ‘NEG side’ = ‘nowhere’). Such negative indefinite phrases also receive support from verb negation:

- (40) *A nó sí nó mán na bú.*  
 1SG.SBJ NEG see NEG man LOC forest  
 ‘I didn’t see any anybody in the forest.’

Pichi shows an areal fit with respect to some of the characteristics described in this section and less so with others. Generic nouns appear as the most common bases for the formation of (negative) indefinite pronouns or their functional equivalents (i.e. phrasal expressions) in a cross-linguistic sample of African languages by Haspelmath (1997, 2013). Additionally, the vast majority (76%) of African languages in a cross-linguistic sample by Alsenoy (2014: 213–14) uses the same generic noun base form for indefinite and negative indefinite expressions. There is no evidence, however, for a strong areal preference for negative concord in the same sample. Van Alsenoy’s sample (2014: 88) shows a lower percentage of negative concord languages (21%) in Africa, compared to other regions (e.g. 53% in Eurasia). However, Van Alsenoy’s sample is relatively small while containing a large number of languages from Eastern and Southern Africa (e.g. Khoisan, Nilotic and Semitic languages). Information on negative concord is difficult to cull from existing grammars.

However, one large West African language for which the evidence for negative concord is conclusive is Ewe of the Gbe cluster (Agbedor 1995), which is known to have been an important historical substrate to the Surinamese Creoles (see Smith 2002; Migge 2003; Muysken & Smith 2015), a branch of the Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles that shares historical links with Pichi via Krio (Smith 2015). Another large linguistic grouping in West Africa in which individual languages feature negative concord is Mande (Vydrine 2009: 248 Examples 60–61). More detailed studies might reveal that negative concord is present in additional historical substrate languages of the West African littoral zone.

The lack of a clear areal bias in favor of negative concord in samples of West African languages in the existing literature may actually support the case for convergent influence in the consolidation of negative concord in (the ancestor language of) Pichi. Negative concord is “*for practically all non-standard dialects of Great Britain today, [...] at least possible, though not obligatory any more*” (emphasis mine) (Anderwald 2002: 115). As a matter of fact, standard English appears to be the only British dialect that does not allow negative concord (Anderwald 2002: 115). We can therefore assume with some confidence that negative concord was even more prevalent in colonial era Englishes than now. From what is known about the formative period of the Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles the non-standard pattern of negation would have provided an input into the emerging Creoles rather than the standard dialect, which would have been far less prominent in the colonies (Smith 2015: 82).

## 6. Is there something specifically ‘Creole’ about Pichi negation?

The hypothesis of Creole specificity is based on the understanding that a typological class of “Creole language” is identifiable on structural grounds. It claims that the contact scenario that produced the ancestor of a language like Pichi was favorable to the emergence of structural properties that owe more to universal-cognitive factors than to genetic inheritance from the lexifier and substrate languages (e.g. Whinnom 1971; Bickerton 1984; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; McWhorter 2001; Bakker et al. 2011).

The facts about Pichi present enough evidence for one to answer the question posed in the title of this subsection with a firm “no”. Firstly, Pichi negation involves the use of typologically noteworthy structures not found in the lexifier English, nor in the superstrate Spanish. Secondly, these structures are also found, in countless variations of the same theme, in genealogically diverse languages and linguistic groupings throughout much of West Africa. Pichi negation is therefore firmly rooted in the areal typology of West Africa. A third aspect is also relevant



in this context. Pichi negation shows a formal diversity that cannot easily be reconciled with the notion that Creole structures are generally simpler than those of their lexifiers or substrates due to the prominent role played by L2 acquisition mechanisms. I have identified areal properties of negation found in Pichi that are unknown in English:

- Asymmetric negative paradigms, involving the use of suppletive portmanteau forms that incorporate a TMA category and negative polarity;
- The use of an asymmetric negative paradigm for imperative involving a modal complementizer and the use of the same negative paradigm in the dependent clauses of deontic modality-inducing main verbs of the WANT type;
- Defective copular paradigms, conditioned by the presence of specific TMA categories, finiteness and negative polarity. These paradigms also involve the use of negative-polarity and person-incorporating suppletive portmanteau forms.

Even so, a cognitive “universal” that may be seen to manifest itself in Pichi negation is leveling. This process has been seen as important for driving the selection of features for Creoles from typologically similar but diverse substrates (for the notion of “(dialect) leveling” applied to Creole emergence, see Mühlhäusler 1980; Mufwene 1990; Harris 1991; Siegel 1997, 1998, 2008; Lang 2011; Munro 2011). Leveling and convergence of substrate properties would have played a role during three historical stages of the development of Pichi. The leveling of African substrate properties would have been operative during the emergence of the Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creole proto-language (in the early 17th century Caribbean according to some sources; see Smith 2015 for an overview). Leveling and convergence of African adstrate properties would have played an important role during the consolidation of Early Krio (see e.g. Hancock 1971; Huber 2000) and the ethnogenesis of the Krio people in Freetown, Sierra Leone, during the first of half of the 19th century (cf. Wyse 1989). After the implantation of Krio in present-day Equatorial Guinea in 1827, adstrate leveling would have also accompanied its further development there and the ethnogenesis of the Fernandino people of Bioko (cf. Lynn 1984; Martín del Molino 1993). In this vein, leveling and convergence would have played a role with respect to the following properties of Pichi negation:

- The absence in Pichi of complex asymmetric verb negation paradigms covering *several* TMA categories as found in some potential West African substrate and adstrate languages of Krio/Pichi (e.g. Igbo, see Ndimele 2009; for the Gur languages, see Winkelmann & Mieke 2009: 173; see Fabunmi 2013: 2, for standard Yoruba) and the limitation to the areally most common suppletive negative TMA paradigms in Pichi (i.e. perfect aspect and imperative mood) found in equally many substrate languages (e.g. Wolof, see Robert 1990: 173–175; Ewe, see Duthie 1996: 88–89; for Akan, see Christaller 1875: 60–64)

- The favoring of a single verb negating particle *nó* in Pichi instead of discontinuous “double negators”. The latter are widely found throughout West Africa (see Beyer 2009, for an overview), but so are single negators (e.g. in large substrate languages/clusters like Yoruba, Igbo, Akan, Wolof; see references in preceding paragraphs);
- The occurrence of negative concord, as in non-standard Englishes and in some but not all potential African substrate and adstrate languages (see Section 5 above).

In sum, Pichi negation patterns represent a common denominator of substrate and adstrate patterns found in the linguistic area of West Africa, with a small infusion of English lexifier properties.

## 7. Conclusion

I have argued in the preceding sections that Pichi negation patterns show convergence with West African areal ones in all domains. The areal fit of Pichi manifests itself in the use of negative portmanteau forms that combine negative polarity and a specific aspect category (i.e. perfect aspect), as well as the use of special constructions (i.e. the use of subjunctive for the negation of imperatives and jussives). I have shown the existence of further negative asymmetries in the copular system, where several elements expressing identity-equation are in complementary distribution with each other, one of which is once more an inherently negative portmanteau form. Further, I have shown the existence of non-strict (optional and pragmatically-determined) and strict (obligatory and grammatically-determined) negative concord in Pichi. The case for substrate models may not be as strong with negative concord as with the other domains mentioned above because it appears less prevalent as an areal pattern according to the only comparative typological study to date. However, the data base for the study is narrow for West Africa and given the occurrence of negative concord in an important historical substrate like Ewe of the Gbe language cluster, we might expect to find negative concord in many more West African languages. But then the case is strong anyway for mutual reinforcement and convergence in Pichi of non-standard English, and African substrate and adstrate patterns of negative concord. That said, none of the Pichi structures I have described in this chapter is unusual or unattested in West Africa. In fact, if the lexifier of Pichi were a West African language rather than English, Pichi negation structures would be inconspicuous in the context of the areal typology of the region.

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# Licensing negation and negative concord in Atlantic Creoles

## The case of Vincentian

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This chapter examines the distribution of a selection of negative dependent indefinites in Atlantic Creoles in general and Vincentian in particular and their syntactic behavior in the presence of sentential negation. It is posited here that the syntactic behavior of indefinites can be partially accounted for under the negative-first principle (Jespersen 1917: 5; Horn 1989: 73). The negative concord phenomenon is also governed by the same principle. With specific reference to Vincentian, it is shown, however, that the negative-first principle needs to be expanded to embrace an analysis supporting two underlying principles. Firstly, there should be one negative concord item (*NCI*) per clause and secondly, an *NCI* like *nobadi* ‘nobody’ can only have scope over the clause if it is in a prominent syntactic position within the verb phrase, *i.e.* immediately following the verb.

**Keywords:** Vincentian Creole, *NCIs*, negative-first principle, syntactic prominence, negative concord

### 1. Introduction

Speakers of natural languages generally tend to put negative words as early as possible in the clause, driven by the need to leave no doubt in the listener’s mind as to the speaker’s intention. Jespersen formulates it this way:

...there is a natural tendency, also for the sake of clearness, to place the negative first, or at any rate as soon as possible, very often immediately before the particular word to be negated (generally the verb...). (Jespersen 1917: 5)



Horn (1989: 239 *passim*) reformulates it as the *neg-first* principle. Most Creoles and Pidgins tend to adhere to this principle, irrespective of the structural characteristics of their contributing languages (Haspelmath & the APiCS Consortium 2013: 402).<sup>1</sup> Standard Dutch (1a)<sup>2</sup> has postverbal negation in main clauses where the finite verb moves up to the second position in the sentence (also known as the V2 principle, (*cf.* van der Auwera 2005, among others), but preverbal negation was attested in Negerhollands Creole Dutch (1b). Standard French has the preverbal negative particle *ne* and post auxiliary foreclusives like *pas* or *personne* (2a), whereas, the Haitian Creole negator precedes the main verb as well as tense, modal and aspect (TMA) markers (2b) (compare with (2c), and (2d)). The Standard English negative particle appears in the post auxiliary position (3a). Standard English also relies heavily on *do*-support as a last resort device to ensure grammaticality in simple or non-perfective aspect (3b).

- (1) a. *Ik weet niet.* (Standard Dutch)  
 1SG know NEG  
 b. *Mie no weet.*  
 1SG NEG know  
 ‘I don’t know.’ (Negerhollands, Diggelen 1978: 71 in Holm 1988: 171)
- (2) a. *Il n’est pas venu.* (Standard French)  
 3SG ne.AUX NEG come  
 b. *Li pa vini.* (Haitian Creole, Déprez 1995: 384)  
 3SG NEG come  
 c. *\*Li vini pa.*  
 3SG come NEG  
 ‘He didn’t come.’  
 d. *Jan pa t- av- ale nan mache*  
 Jan NEG ANT IRR go in market  
 ‘Jan would not have gone to the market’  
 (Haitian Creole, DeGraff 1993: 65)
- (3) a. I have **not** seen John yet.  
 b. I did **not** see John yesterday.

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1. The principle is widely observed in many of the languages featured in the *World Atlas of Language Structures* online database (Dryer 2013: Chapter 143A).

2. Bold characters have been used throughout the chapter to highlight sentential negation and the indefinites under investigation.

The syntactic pattern of negation in English has no parallel structure in the English-based Creoles, as the remainder of this chapter will show. The negative particle (*neg*) generally occupies the preverbal position in the Creoles. With respect to the position of *neg* in utterances with TMA markers, two distinct categories can be established: *neg* + TMA and TMA + *neg* orderings. The examples discussed in Section 3 will illustrate this.

In the *Atlas and Survey of Pidgin and Creole Languages* (APiCS) handbook, the *neg* + TMA pattern is reported for 57 of the 76 languages investigated (Michaelis et al. 2013: 402). Sentential negation further affects the distribution of indefinite pronouns in the Pidgins and Creoles. The APiCS handbook also accounts for 59 such languages combining preverbal sentential negation with negative indefinite pronouns (Michaelis et al. 2013: 406). The phenomenon is exclusive neither to Pidgins and Creoles nor to nonstandard varieties, for that matter. In fact, the *World Atlas of Language Structures* on-line database (Haspelmath 2013) reports that of the 206 languages investigated for the feature, 170 of them combine negative indefinites with sentential negation in the same clause. In the literature, this phenomenon is referred to as negative concord (NC), *i.e.* where *neg* licenses other negative expressions (*Negative Concord Items*, following Watanabe 2004), yet yielding a single negative interpretation. This has been observed in Greek (Giannakidou 2000, among others), Romance languages (Zanuttini 1991 etc.), and, as illustrated in (4) below, in Black English Vernacular (African American English) (Labov 1972; Howe & Walker 2000).

- (4) *Down here nobody don't know about no club.* (Labov 1972: 773)  
 'Down here, nobody knows about any club.'

With respect to Creoles, Bickerton (1981) would have it that negative concord is one of the prototypical features of Creoles: the instantiation, as it were, of the least marked option that Universal Grammar allows speakers to rely on. Section 2 of the chapter will provide some empirical facts about sentential negation in English-based varieties. Section 3 will compare the behavior of indefinites in the presence of sentential negation in Atlantic Creoles before providing summary tables of the results obtained from this comparison. Section 4 will highlight the shortfalls of some existing approaches to negative concord and propose a rough sketch of an analysis for negative concord in Vincentian Creole that supports the *neg-first* principle, the one negative per clause constraint and the negative scope principle. The observations made in that section will help to shed light on some tricky issues.

## 2. Sentential negation

This section focuses primarily on the ordering of sentential negation in English and English-based Atlantic Creoles and the distribution of indefinites in the Creoles in general, with specific emphasis on Vincentian Creole. A comparison with negation in different English-based varieties and how they differ from Standard English<sup>3</sup> is a good starting point. The analysis also accounts for the syntactic distribution of Vincentian *neva* 'never', which does not co-occur with the negative operator *na* 'not'.

### 2.1 Sentential negation in English

In present-day English, functional verbs, *i.e.* aspectual auxiliaries *be* and *have* and modal auxiliaries, undergo overt movement to I (category of inflection) but lexical verbs remain *in situ* (Pollock 1989: 367; Haegeman & Guéron 1999: 3). If lexical verbs remain *in situ* it implies that the agreement features with respect to person, number and tense will remain unchecked should there be syntactic transformations required to express negation, or interrogation for that matter. As it turns out, the negative marker *not*<sup>4</sup> blocks finite inflection from lowering<sup>5</sup> to the verb that follows it, making *do*-support obligatory, as illustrated in (5b). In other words, *do* is inserted as a last resort device to provide a grammatical sentence (Chomsky 1995). The structural configurations of deep structure (DS) and surface structure (SS) are presented in (5a) and (5b).

(5a) DS<sub>[<sub>IP</sub> Sue<sub>[<sub>I'</sub> [<sub>I°</sub>] [<sub>NegP</sub> [<sub>Neg°</sub> not]<sub>[<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V°</sub> believe [<sub>IP</sub> [<sub>I'</sub> s 3 s PRES]him]]]]]]]]</sub></sub></sub>

(5b) SS<sub>[<sub>IP</sub> Sue<sub>[<sub>I'</sub> does<sub>ij</sub> [<sub>I°</sub>] [<sub>NegP</sub> [<sub>Neg°</sub> not<sub>ijj</sub>] [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V°</sub> believe<sub>[<sub>IP</sub> [<sub>I'</sub> <sub>ti</sub>]him]]]]]]]]</sub></sub></sub>

In these syntactic configurations, *not* is associated with NegP, a projection with its own syntactic head (Haegeman & Guéron 1999: 317). A different analysis is, however, proposed by Baker (1991), for whom *not* is a preverbal adverb (6a) to the left of which finite auxiliaries and modals move. In (6b) *not* remains a part of the VP. The corresponding syntactic configurations represent the deep structure (6a) and surface structure (6b) of the VP (adapted from Baker, 1991: 392–93).

3. This comparison with Standard English is not based on the assumption that the Atlantic English-based Creoles derived directly from Standard English but rather on the observation that these varieties share some linguistic features (particularly with respect to the lexicon) as a result of language contact during colonization.

4. As Radford (1997: 232) puts it, *neg* is not the kind of head that can have a subject. It therefore cannot carry subject features (*i.e.* person, number or case features).

5. According to Haegeman and Guéron (1999: 316), lowering processes raise problems because they leave traces that are not c-commanded by their antecedents.

(6a) DS [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V'</sub> [<sub>Adv</sub> not [<sub>V'</sub> has [<sub>V'</sub> been [<sub>V<sup>o</sup></sub> listening ...]]]]]]]

(6b) SS [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V'</sub> has <sub>i</sub> [<sub>Adv</sub> not [<sub>V'</sub> <sub>ti</sub> [<sub>V'</sub> been [<sub>V<sup>o</sup></sub> listening ...]]]]]]]

This analysis also accounts for the insertion of *do*-support for stranded Tns (tense) (Baker 1991: 418) in the case of lexical verbs (7). Furthermore, in Baker's analysis, like *not*, sentence medial adverbs (like *often* and *never*)<sup>6</sup> are generated as modifiers within the VP and finite verbs move across them if *not* is present. This is also illustrated in (7) adapted from Baker (1991: 417).

(7) SS [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V'</sub> does <sub>i</sub> [<sub>Adv</sub> not [<sub>Adv</sub> often [<sub>V'</sub> <sub>ti</sub> [<sub>V<sup>o</sup></sub> believe ...]]]]]]]

Baker's analysis posits that the movement induced by *not* is not necessarily to be understood as movement across Neg to Tns as is postulated in the principles and parameters theory (Chomsky 1995). In English where, according to Baker inflexion lowers to attach to verbs (Baker 1991: 428), transformations required to express negation move a finite verb to the left of *not* (Baker: 1991: 390). This aspect is key in the analysis of negation in Atlantic Creoles since an essential difference between English and the English-based Creoles relates to the absence of *do*-support in the Creoles. In fact, there are no agreement features to check, thus auxiliary or modal movement is unattested.

## 2.2 Sentential negation in the English-based Creoles

This section is mainly concerned with the 'classic' negator realized as *no* or *na* in most varieties of English-based Creoles (Nigerian, Jamaican, Tobagonian, Sranan, Ghanaian, Belizean, Guyanese, Vincentian) but as *á* in Ndyuka (spoken in Surinam and French Guiana). The examples below provide information about the syntactic distribution of negation in the English-based Creoles. In all these examples, the marker of sentential negation appears immediately to the left of the verb phrase (VP), which can be a bare lexical verb as in (8) to (10), headed by a tense/ aspect marker as in (11) to (13), or by a mood marker as in (14) to (16).<sup>7</sup> We can compare these examples with the deep structure in (6a) above.

6. Baker (1991: 398) distinguishes between adverbs like *not*, *never*, *often*, etc, which appear before finite verbs, and manner adverbs like *quickly*, *skilfully*, etc, which tend to precede lexical and stative verbs.

7. Left aside are the various functions of *ain't* and its variants, which are perceived as mesolectal in most Caribbean varieties and as the 'classic' negator and negative focus marker in Trinidadian English Creole (i) and Gullah (ii).

(i) *De gyal eh crying.* (Trinidad English Creole, Mühleisen 2013: 66)

'The girl isn't crying.

(ii) *She ain tell um.* (Gullah, Mufwene 2008: 563)

'She did not tell him/She has not told him.'

- (8) *A no bay nyam.* (Nigerian Pidgin, Faraclas 1996: 89)  
 1SG NEG buy yam  
 'I didn't buy yams.'
- (9) *Jan no waan go.* (Jamaican Creole, Bailey 1966: 55)  
 John NEG want go  
 'John does not want to go.'
- (10) *Mi no know who i be.* (Tobagonian Creole, James 2002: 156)  
 1SG NEG know who 3SG be  
 'I don't know who he is.'
- (11) *Efu mi no ben wroko mi no nyan.* (Sranan, Winford 2000: 108)  
 if 1SG NEG PST work 1SG NEG eat  
 'If I didn't work, I didn't eat.'
- (12) *Jù no gò fit opin maf tɔk.*  
 2SG NEG IRR fit open mouth talk  
 'You would not be able to open your mouth and talk.'  
 (Ghanaian Pidgin English, Huber 1999: 216)
- (13) *A nɔ go grap kam pas i go fɔs.*  
 1SG NEG FUT get up come past 3SG FUT first  
 'I shall not come until he goes.'  
 (Krio, Fyle & Jones 1980: 40)
- (14) *bot na mos gu de yuu waan.*  
 but NEG must go there 2SG one  
 'but you mustn't go there by yourself.' (Guyanese Creole, Rickford 1987: 148)
- (15) *A no kuda andastan ho: sombadi iyas ha:d.*  
 1SG NEG could understand how somebody ears hard  
 'I couldn't understand how somebody's ears were hard.'  
 (Belizean Creole, Greene 1999: 68)
- (16) *I á mu kon.* (Ndyuka, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 51)  
 2SG NEG must come  
 'You mustn't come.'

The syntactic distribution of the negative particle can be accounted for within the framework outlined in Baker (1991) for the English VP. In the deep structures for Vincentian and Atlantic Creoles, negation is attached to the VP and also precedes TMA markers. As it stands, the Creole negator is analyzable as a VP adjunct or adverb; there is no need for *do*-support. It follows, then, that the deep structure of the negated VP in the Creoles will have the same architecture as the surface structure for the simple reason that Creole verbs do not move up to I. For there to be movement to I, there must be some agreement features to check. Creole verbs are not sensitive to subject-verb inversion: verbs always remain *in situ*.

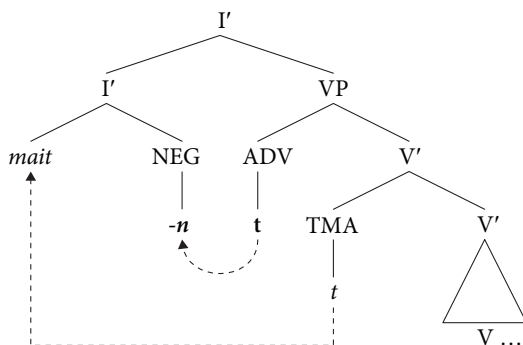
This also goes for most TMA markers, which form part of the VP. In the Creoles, they tend to remain *in situ*, quite like the verbs they are associated with. Example (17) illustrates.

- (17) *Yu no ben man taki leki fa den yungu sma now.*  
 You NEG PST MOD talk like how DET(PL) young person now  
 ‘You couldn’t talk [to an adult] the way young people [do] now.’

(Sranan, Winford & Migge 2008: 700)

However, it would appear that modal-sensitive markers that are phonological reflexes of *would*, *could*, *might*, *should* and *must* have a tendency to move across *not*. Examples (18a) and (18b) illustrate the case of Vincentian *mait*, the phonological reflex of English ‘might’.

- (18) a.



- b. *Shi maitn a iit aal i fud.*  
 3SG might.NEG have eat all the food  
 ‘She might not have eaten all the food.’

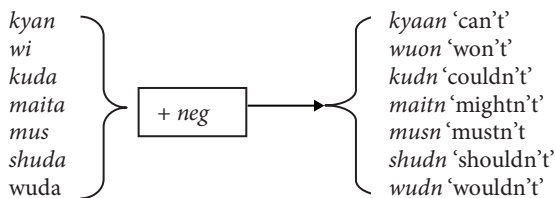
The reason for this syntactic configuration is twofold. For one thing, Vincentian *mait* and Jamaican *wuda* ‘would’, *shuda* ‘should’, etc., are mesolectal modal-sensitive markers that are phonologically and semantically related to their superstrate cognates. By contrast, modals that are perceptibly less similar to the English markers, such as Ndyuka *mu* ‘must’ illustrated in (16) above, tend not to move up, even though they are related to English particles that perform different roles in the Creoles.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, these reflexes serve as morpho-phonological support for *-n*, an

8. For instance, while it can be stated that the Ndjuka modal marker *mu* (16) reminds us of the English modal ‘must’, the Sranan past marker *ben* (11), is not a marker of tense although it may remind us of the English participle auxiliary ‘been’. Likewise, the Krio future marker *go* (13) functions not as a tense marker in English but as a lexical verb ‘go’.

allomorph of negation, inherited from dialectal English.<sup>9</sup> Thus, in the basilectal varieties, we may have the ordering *na wuda* + verb but *wuda na* + verb is unattested, at least in Vincentian. Instead the pattern *wudn* + verb is common, as illustrated in (18a) for ‘might not’. Example (19a) shows the distribution of negative modals. Examples (19b) and (19c), adapted from Bailey (1968) further illustrate the word order for *kuda* and *kudn*. These Creole features are in stark contrast with auxiliary and modal features for English.

(19) Jamaican Creole (adapted from Bailey 1966: 14)

a.



b. *Babi kou kuda haadli iit.* (Bailey 1968: 234)

Bobby cow could hardly eat  
 ‘Bobby’s cow could barely be eaten.’

c. *Mi kudn lib iina dat-de rata kyaasl.* (Bailey 1968: 202)

1SG could.NEG live in DEM-DIST rat castle  
 ‘I could not live in that rat castle.’

One observation ought to be made about the morpheme *neva* ‘never’, or any variant of it, generally referred to as the anterior marker in negative environments in the Creoles. Example (20) from Miskito Coast Creole illustrates its canonical (preverbal) distribution in Creoles. Whereas that Creole uses *neva* for past contexts, other varieties use it in habitual contexts following *doz/duhz* (21). However, it can further be observed that the semantic value of Standard English *never* has also been transferred to some of the Creoles (cf. Vincentian in Example 21). In such cases, *neva* is to be interpreted as ‘not ever’ following Klima (1964).<sup>10</sup> It does not allow additional external negation as is illustrated in Example (22).

(20) *A did tayad an neva kom.*

1SG PST tired and ANT.NEG come

‘I was tired and *didn’t* come.’

(Miskito Coast Creole, Holm 1988: 172)

9. Another piece of empirical evidence that post-TMA negation is a mesolectal feature is that in mesolectal negative structures, both the anterior past (*did*) and habitual markers (*duhz*, etc.) attract the clitic *-n* rather than the independent preposed negation particle *na*.

10. For Klima (1964: 247) English *never* and *not* are grammatically similar, since *never* results from the incorporation of *neg* in an indefinite+time in the same clause.

- (21) *Yu duhz neva no.* (Vincentian Creole)  
 2SG HAB never know  
 ‘You never know.’
- (22) *A neva si dat ples de: bifo.*  
 1SG ANT.NEG see that place there before  
 ‘I have never *seen* that place.’ (Belizean Creole, Greene 1999: 87)

A question we can ask, however, is whether or not Vincentian *neva* exhibits the same distribution as the regular negation particle *na*. As the examples for Vincentian Creole show in (23), *na* precedes TMA markers or auxiliaries while *neva* follows them (23a) and (23b). Example (23c) further indicates that *na* precludes *neva* in Vincentian.

- (23) a. *Hi go neva help mi.*  
 3SG FUT never help 1SG  
 ‘He will never help me.’
- b. *Hi duhz neva help nobadi.*  
 3SG HAB never help nobody  
 ‘He never helps anybody.’
- c. *Da kod neva bi tru.*  
 \**Da na kod neva bi tru.*  
 that NEG could never be true.  
 ‘That could never be true.’

The following section examines the distribution of *n*-words<sup>11</sup> in sentences that bear sentential negative. The discussion will focus on the extent to which English-based Atlantic Creoles participate in negative concord.

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11. Note that, in Vincentian, these same elements are used in response to *yes-no* questions (iii). They also stand alone as fragment answers (iv).

- (iii) A. *Yo si enibadi?*  
 2SG see anybody  
 ‘Did you see anybody?’
- B. *Na, nobadi.*  
 no, n-body.  
 ‘No, nobody.’
- (iv) A. *we du shi?*  
 what do 3SG  
 ‘What’s wrong with her?’
- B. *Nuhtnu.*  
 n-thing  
 ‘Nothing.’



### 3. Negative concord

In the literature, there are several accounts of the diversity of negative concord observed cross-linguistically, linked mainly to the multiplicity of semantic properties *NCIs* can have in different languages. It is generally agreed that negative concord is the occurrence of multiple negative elements in the same clause but interpreted as a single instance of negation (Zanuttini, 1991: 9). However, the approaches differ in the semantic treatment of what actually constitutes negative elements and what constitutes negative polarity items. In this respect, some major works are Haspelmath's (1997) semantic maps for indefinite pronoun functions designed in a cross linguistic perspective, the discussions developed in Laka (1990), Zanuttini's (1991) study of syntactic negation in Romance languages and Giannakidou's (2000) work on negative concord. Other differences relate to the distribution of negative items and ways of determining their negative scope in utterances. Negative concord may be triggered by different types of constituents cross-linguistically. For instance, the monotone decreasing element *hardly* is incapable of licensing negative indefinites in English whereas in Cockney, it appears to trigger negative concord (24a). This is not the case in Vincentian (24b), which exhibits a structure parallel to that of English.

- (24) a. *There was hardly no money not hardly no bread.*  
           (Cockney, Seuren 1991 in van der Wouden & Zwarts 1992: 317)
- b. *Shi duhz haadli help suhmbadi / enibadi.*  
    3SG HAB hardly help somebody/anybody  
    'She hardly helps people / anyone.'

At this point in the discussion, very little will be stated about theories of negative concord to allow for an in-depth analysis of one category of *NCIs*, namely, negative indefinite pronouns. Let us, in Sections 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3, closely examine to what degree the English-based Atlantic Creoles participate in negative concord. Section 4 will deal specifically with characterizing Vincentian as a negative concord variety.

#### 3.1 Negative concord in the West African varieties

In Ghanaian Pidgin English (GPE), two patterns can be observed with respect to the distribution of indefinites and sentential negation: one where the variety exhibits negative concord as exemplified in (25) and (26), and another where it tends to use polarity sensitive indefinites parallel to those used in English (27).

Ghanaian Pidgin English (Huber 1999)

- (25) *Jù no gò tek natin nak àm.*  
 2SG NEG FUT take nothing knock 3SG  
 ‘You would not hit it with anything.’
- (26) *Natin no dè wɔri ɛs dat taim.*  
 nothing NEG HAB worry 1PL that time  
 ‘Nothing worried us that time.’
- (27) *Dè no kam giv eniting.*  
 3PL NEG come give anything  
 ‘They did not come and give (us) anything.’

By contrast, Faraclas (1996) reports that in Nigerian Pidgin (NP) two multiple negative occurrences in the same clause cancel out each other rather than leading to the single negation typical of negative concord, as shown in (28) from Faraclas (1996: 92). NP therefore resorts to polarity sensitive indefinites in environments that should lend a single negative interpretation, as in (29) (Faraclas 1996: 176).

Nigerian Pidgin (Faraclas 1996)

- (28) *No eni pesin (we) no gò bay nyam.*  
 NEG any person (COMP) NEG IRR buy yam  
 ‘No person of any sort will not buy yams.’
- (29) *A kom aks yù wɛ (yù) no sàbi eniting.*  
 1SG come ask 2SG REL (2SG) NEG know anything  
 ‘I ended up asking you who don’t know anything.’

Nonetheless, it would appear that NP tolerates negative concord, as Hancock’s (1987) NP example in (30) suggests.

- (30) *Nɔtin no de hapen.* (Hancock 1987: 286)  
 nothing NEG INCOMPL happen  
 ‘Nothing’s happening.’

Other West African varieties of English that participate in negative concord are Sierra Leone Krio, and Pichi, an offshoot of Krio, which is spoken in Equatorial Guinea (Yakpo 2009: xii). While Krio exhibits classic negative concord patterns like the one in (31), it also possesses structures similar to those in Ghanaian Pidgin English, where polarity sensitive indefinites may alternate with negative indefinites, as in (32). Yakpo (2009) reports that negative indefinite pronouns systematically co-exist with sentential negation (33). In addition, sentential negation, constituent negation and a negative indefinite pronoun may accumulate in the same utterance (34).

- Krio
- (31) *I so selfish i nɔ go blo dɔti na in kɔmpin yaj*  
 3SG so selfish 3SG NEG FUT blow dirty LOC 3POSS company eye  
*fɔ natin.* (Fyle & Jones 1980: 40)  
 for nothing  
 ‘He is so selfish that he wouldn’t help anyone for anything.’
- (32) a. *Noto enitin, na we a kam mek yu si fɔ kɔs mi.*  
 NEG anything FOC COMP 1SG come make 2SG see for curse 1SG  
 (Fyle & Jones 1980: 259)  
 b. *Noto natin, na we a kam mek yu si fɔ kɔs mi.*  
 NEG nothing COP COMP 1SG come make 2SG see for curse 1SG  
 ‘It is nothing, it is because I came that you see me to abuse.’
- Pichi
- (33) *Dèn no dè gi no natin.* (Yakpo 2009: 255)  
 3PL NEG IPFV give NEG nothing  
 ‘They don’t give anything.’
- (34) *No pɔsin no si nɔbɔdi de.* (Yakpo p.c. 2008)  
 NEG person NEG see nobody there  
 ‘No one saw anybody there.’

### 3.2 Negative concord in the South American varieties

Negative concord is said to be optional in Ndyuka and Sranan, yet in these languages two occurrences of negation do not cancel out each other in most cases. Huttar & Huttar (1994: 253) claim that in Ndyuka, sentences with *NCIs* are more emphatic than sentences that bear only sentential negation. An expression denoting ‘nobody’ can be formed by using the bare semantic elements *sama / sma* ‘person’ negated by the negative particle *no/ná* ‘neg’ combined with *wan* ‘wan’ (compare (35) and (36) below). Such expressions do not require doubling by sentential negation when in subject position but doubling can occur when they are in object position.

- (35) *No wan sma wani wroko nanga a man dati.*  
 NEG one person want work with the man that  
 ‘No one wants to work with that man.’ (Sranan, Wilner 2003: 77)
- (36) *A suku suku a á si ná wan sama.*  
 3SG look-for look-for 3SG NEG see NEG one person  
 ‘He kept looking and looking he didn’t see a single person.’  
 (Ndyuka, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 235)

A similar expression can be formed using the ontological morpheme denoting ‘thing’ represented by *sani*. Here, we note a slight semantic mismatch between both varieties. In Sranan, this term by itself is not inherently negative: it is at times

glossed as ‘something’ (37). However, *sani* can be negated using *na wan* to mean ‘nothing’ (38).

(37) *Meki mi taigi yu wan sani.* (Sranan, Wilner 2003: 81)

make 1SG tell 2SG one thing  
‘Let me tell you something.’

(38) *Fosi Monde né wan sani be pasa.*

before Monday NEG one thing PST happen  
‘Nothing happened before Monday.’ (Ndyuka, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 191)

Ndyuka *sani*, in contrast, may alone denote a negative reading when it is the subject of a negative clause (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 463) as shown in Example (39).

(39) *Noti/Sani á de fu taki moo enke...*

nothing/thing NEG COP for say more like  
‘There’s nothing more to say besides...’ (Ndyuka, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 464)

Hence, it seems reasonable to assume that *sani* is not a full-fledged pronoun. It behaves like any nominal constituent that can appear as a bare noun phrase with an indefinite reading (*cf.* Huttar & Huttar 1994: 465). In the Sranan Example (40) ‘thing’ has a generic reading and appears to take scope above negation.

(40) *...sani no o waka bun nanga en.* (Sranan, Wilner 2003: 10)

thing NEG FUT walk (go) good with 3SG  
‘... things are not going to go well for her.’

In both varieties, the full-fledged negative pronoun is *noti*, equivalent to ‘nothing’, and this expression, in contrast, co-occurs with a doubling sentential negation irrespective of its syntactic position. Examples (41) and (42) are from Sranan.

(41) a. *Mi no du yu noti.* (Sranan, Wilner 2003: 109)

1SG NEG do 2SG nothing  
‘I didn’t do you anything.’

b. *Da den sikoutu á du noti anga a guduman*

so the.PL police NEG do nothing with the rich-man  
‘So the police didn’t do anything at all to the rich man.’

(Ndyuka, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 260)

(42) a. *Noti no psa nanga mi.* (Sranan, Wilner 2003: 89)

nothing NEG happen with 1SG  
‘Nothing’s happened to me.’

b. *Noti á de fu taki moo.* (Ndyuka, Huttar & Huttar 1994: 260)

NEG NEG COP for say more  
‘There is nothing else to say.’

### 3.3 Negative concord in the Caribbean varieties

Negative concord is the rule in the Caribbean varieties. Like in African American Englishes (as treated by Labov, 1972), in these Creoles negation doubling is usually required with all the indeterminates appearing in a clause. Labov's seminal work on Black English Vernacular (BEV) shows that subject indefinites like *any* attract negation from elsewhere in the sentence (Labov, 1972: 775). In Standard English, negative attraction only applies to the first indefinite in the utterance, as can be observed in (43a) and (43b), whereas in BEV and other dialects of English that are considered nonstandard, there is an overt accumulation of negative indefinites whose accumulation entails a single negative reading (44) instead of canceling out each other, as in English.

- (43) a. *That isn't anything new.* (Labov 1972: 782)  
 b. *That's nothing new.* (Labov 1972: 782)
- (44) *It ain't no cat can't get in no coop.*  
 it AUX.NEG NEG INDEF cat can.NEG get in NEG INDEF COOP  
 'There isn't any cat that can get in any (pigeon) coop.' (Labov 1972: 773)

Examples (45) to (47) illustrate instances of negative concord in the Caribbean Creoles which bear a number of similarities with BEV structures. In Jamaican Creole and Belizean Creole, 'never' can mark sentential negation (*cf.* also Examples (20) and (22) for Miskito Coast Creole and Belizean).<sup>12</sup>

- (45) *Non a di pikni-dem neba si notn.*  
 none of the child.PL ANT.NEG see nothing  
 'None of the children saw anything.' (Jamaican Creole, Bailey 1966: 92)
- (46) *Nobadi na tel nobadi nuhtnu.* (Vincentian Creole)  
 nobody NEG tell nobody nothing  
 'Nobody told anybody anything.'
- (47) *Şirli neva si nobadi nowe.*  
 Shirley ANT.NEG see nobody nowhere  
 'Shirley never saw anybody anywhere.' (Belizean Creole, Greene 1999: 87)

### 3.4 Summary of findings for the Atlantic creoles

The English translations provided for the preceding Creole examples show that there is a marked contrast between the functions of indefinite pronouns across the systems. Table 1 summarizes these functions. Although all the data presented in

12. This is quite unlike Vincentian where *neva* behaves like a regular indefinite.

the table have not been discussed in the sections leading up to this point, they have been included in the summary to provide a complete paradigm.

Table 1. Atlantic Creole indefinite pronouns

Indefiniteness marker	Ontological category	Varieties		
		Caribbean	South American	West African
some	person	+	+	+
no		+	–	+
any		+	–	+/–
some	thing	+	+	+
no		+	+	+
any		+	–	+/–

Key

+ this feature is attested

– this feature is absent

+/– this feature is attested in some varieties but absent in others

The Caribbean varieties present a complete paradigm of indefinites, whose uses are pervasive. These are indefinites that are morphologically similar to those of many varieties of standard and nonstandard Englishes. It should be noted, nonetheless, that indefinites in the *any* series are not necessarily typical polarity sensitive items in basilectal Caribbean varieties since they are mainly reserved for free choice contexts.<sup>13</sup>

The South American varieties display even more originality to the extent that question words also function as indefinite pronouns in the categories of ‘person’ and ‘thing’. Thus, the equivalents for ‘who’ *sama/sma*<sup>14</sup> and ‘what’ *san*<sup>15</sup> refer to both the question words and the positive indefinite pronouns. There is no independent indefinite pronoun for ‘nobody’. On the other hand, the negative indefinite for

13. The free choice function of *any* is generally attributed to contexts where it implies a freedom of choice (cf. Vendler 1967 and Ladusaw 1979). Example (iii) from Vincentian illustrates this.

(v) *De so despareit an lai dat de go do eniting fo lak mi uhp.*  
 3PL so desperate and lie that 3PL FUT do indf+thing for lock 1SG up  
 ‘They are so desperate and dishonest that they will do **whatever it takes** to have me imprisoned.’

14. Compare Examples (17), (35) and (36) with the following example from Ndyuka.

(vi) *Sama pasa na den sama mindii*  
 who pass LOC the.PL person middle  
 ‘Who passed among those people?’ (Huttar & Huttar 1994: 432)

15. Compare Examples (37), (38) and (40) with the following example from Sranan.

(vii) *San yu e kon du dyaso.*  
 what 2SG PST come do here  
 ‘What have you come here for?’ (Wilner 2003: 106)

'thing' *noti* (Examples (41) and (42) above) can be analyzed as an independent indefinite. The *any* indefinites are not attested in these varieties.

Three of the West African varieties investigated (GPE, NP and Krio) also have a complete paradigm of indefinites that combine a marker of indefiniteness with a morpheme indicating *body* and *thing*. By contrast, in Pichi, the *any* indefinites are not attested in negative contexts, although the variety does have an *eni* marker in positive contexts. In fact, Pichi *eni* is used as the universal determiner 'every' as in *à sàbí eni tin* 'I know everything' (Kofi Yakpo, p.c. 2008). In NP, there is a tendency to use the bare ontological term 'person' alongside 'body' to produce the combination *no eni pèsin* (cf. Example (28) for NP). In GPE and NP, the *any* series indefinites are used in environments similar to although not entirely overlapping those in which the English *any*-series indefinites are used, given Haspelmath's 1997 semantic map for the core functions performed by *any* indefinites in English: free choice (*Anybody can solve this simple question*), and negative polarity contexts such as polar questions (*Did anybody tell you about it*), conditionals (*if you see anything, tell me immediately*), comparatives (*In Freiburg the weather is nicer than anywhere in Germany*) and indirect negation (*I don't think that anybody knows the answer*) (Haspelmath 1997: 2, *passim*).

In all the Atlantic Creoles examined, sentential negation occurs before the main verb and preferably before the TMA markers, except in the case of modal sensitive markers which were inherited from English and which could support post-clitic *-n*. However, the Creoles differ in the way (negative) indefinites are distributed. In this respect, there are aspects that justify clustering the Creole varieties into geographic groupings. Table 2 illustrates these tendencies.

Table 2. The syntactic ordering of sentential negation (SN)

Syntactic ordering	Varieties		
	Caribbean	South American	African
SN+ verb	+	+	+
SN + TMA + verb	+	+	+/-*
modal + - <i>n</i> + verb	+	-	-
SN + <i>NCI</i>	+	+/-	+/-
SN + negative polarity item	+**	-	+/-
<i>NCI</i> + SN + <i>NCI</i>	+	+/-	+/-
<i>NCI</i> + SN	+/-	+/-	+/-

Key

+ this feature is the rule

- this feature is absent

+/- this is not the rule but the feature is attested

\* Faraclas (1996) reports that there are NP examples that indicate a tendency to place sentential negation following preverbal markers like 'go'.

\*\* In mesolectal varieties.

The Caribbean varieties systematically exhibit negative concord. The South American varieties do not systematically opt for negative concord. Indeed, Examples (35) and (39) for Sranan and Ndyuka show that when *no/na wan* ‘no’ is in subject position it does not trigger sentential negation, but that *noti* ‘nothing’ as a subject co-occurs with sentential negation. The South American varieties pose a major challenge with regard to the semantic nature of the constituents that appear in utterances bearing sentential negation. Whereas in the Caribbean varieties there is a complete functional list of *NCIs*, the South American varieties do not have independent morphemes that can be interpreted as negative indefinite pronouns *per se*.

The West African case is less clear-cut. At first glance, it would appear that these varieties allow sentential negation with negative indefinites. This is indeed so in Pichi, Krio and GPE. However, like NP, Krio and GPE also allow for sentential negation to co-occur with polarity sensitive items of the *any*-series, just like in English. In the data presented here for the West African varieties, the distribution of indefinite pronouns in negative clauses reflects differences from one area to another. The ecology of the three varieties studied differ somewhat: Pichi has not coexisted with English for over 150 years (Yakpo 2009: 2). This is quite unlike the Ghanaian, Nigerian and Sierra Leonean contexts, where English is the language of administration. The varieties in contact are therefore likely to influence each other. That being said, this may not fully explain the phenomenon, since negative concord is the rule in the Caribbean where what can be called Standard Caribbean English has been the language of administration for over 200 years in most cases. The differences observed in the West African varieties would require further empirical investigation.

#### 4. Types of negative concord

To account for the syntactic distribution of negative indefinites cross-linguistically, we can begin by comparing what happens in non-strict negative concord languages like Catalan and Italian and in a strict one like Greek. Italian is termed a non-strict negative concord language (Giannakidou 2006) by virtue of the fact that sentential negation is at times not obligatory in utterances that bear *NCIs*.

More specifically, in Italian (48) and in most Romance languages, preverbal *NCIs* do not trigger sentential negation (48a). In such a syntactic environment, Italian is said to allow the spread of negation, à la den Besten (1986), where the negative feature spreads across indefinites in its scope. However, postverbal *NCIs* always require sentential negation (48b) unless there is another *NCI* in subject position. Therefore, whereas (48c) is acceptable, (48d) is not, due to the presence of *non*.



- (48) Italian (adapted from Zanuttini 1991)
- a. *Nessuno ha visto Mario.*  
n-person have.3SG seen Mario  
'Nobody saw Mario.'
  - b. *Mario non ha visto nessuno.*  
Mario NEG have.3SG seen n-person  
'Mario did not see anybody.'
  - c. *Nessuno ha letto niente.*  
n-person have.3SG read n-thing  
'Nobody read anything.'
  - d. \**A nessuno non Gianni dice niente.*  
to n-person NEG Gianni say.3SG n-thing  
'Gianni said nothing to nobody.'

The subject-object asymmetry observed in the licensing of Italian *NCIs* is accounted for by the fact that *NCIs* in object position must be licensed by a *c*-commanding negative expression such as sentential negation or another *NCI* appearing in subject position. On the other hand, Italian *NCIs* appearing in subject position appear to be inherently negative and therefore do not require other negative expressions.

Conversely, Greek is termed a strict negative concord language (Giannakidou 2006). Details on the semantic constraints aside, Giannakidou (*ibid.*) shows that sentential negation always co-occurs with negative words (49), irrespective of their syntactic position essentially because Greek *NCIs* are universal quantifiers which do not have inherent negation, and which take scope over negation. Upper case characters indicate emphasis, a condition which is essential for the well-formedness of the examples and the correct negative interpretation of *NCIs*.

- (49) Greek (adapted from Giannakidou 2006)
- a. *O Petros dhen idhe TIPOTA.*  
the Peter NEG saw.3SG n-thing  
'Peter didn't see anything.'
  - b. *KANENAS dhen ipe POTE TIPOTA se KANENAN.*  
n-person NEG said.3SG n-ever n-thing to n-person  
'Nobody ever said anything to anybody.'

Like other Romance languages, Catalan postverbal *NCIs* obligatorily trigger sentential negation in the absence of preverbal *NCIs* (50a). However, unlike Italian and other Romance languages, Catalan allows for a preverbal *NCI* with optional sentential negation expressed by *no* in preverbal position (50b). In this sense, Catalan is characterized as a language that optionally allows negative spread. In Examples (50c) and (50d), negative concord results from the co-occurrence of several *NCIs*. Based on a comparison of the distribution of *NCIs* across Romance languages, Giannakidou (2006) concludes that the semantic content of *NCIs* across that language family is not uniform.

- (50) Catalan (adapted from Espinal 2000: 559)
- a. *No ha vist ningú*  
not has seen nobody  
'(S)he has not seen anybody' (*not... nobody*).
  - b. *A ningú (no) ha vist*  
to nobody (not) has seen  
'(S)he has seen nobody' (*nobody not*).
  - c. *Ningú (no) ha vist res*  
nobody (not) has seen nothing  
'Nobody has seen anything' (*nobody not. nothing*).
  - d. *Mai (no) he vist ningú com ell* (Martin 2008: 2)  
never (not) I.have seen nobody like him.NOM  
'I have never seen anybody like him'

#### 4.1 Evidence from Vincentian creole


To simplify the account, the remainder of the discussion in this section will be limited to Vincentian, a variety that systematically participates in negative concord. Postverbal *NCIs* systematically trigger sentential negation (51a). As we have seen in negative concord languages like Catalan, in Vincentian, sentential negation is optional when the *NCI* occurs preverbally (51b). Sentential negation most commonly occurs in this environment in basilectal speech but in all Vincentian varieties, postverbal *NCIs* are only licensed with sentential negation (51c) and (51d). So, unlike Italian (48c) and Catalan (50c), in Vincentian a subject *NCI* cannot licence a postverbal one. *N*-words appearing postverbally in that language require the presence of sentential negation (51c) and (51d).

- (51) Vincentian Creole
- a. *Mi na si nobadi.*  
1SG NEG see nobody  
'I didn't see anybody.'
  - b. *Nobadi (na) si mi.*  
nobody NEG see 1SG  
'Nobody saw me.'
  - c. *Nobadi na si nobadi.*  
n-person NEG see nobody  
'Nobody saw anybody.'
  - d. *Nobadi na tel nobadi nuhtnu.*  
nobody NEG tell nobody nothing  
'Nobody told anybody anything.'

Within the framework outlined by Giannakidou (2006) it seems plausible to classify languages that behave like Vincentian as non-strict negative concord languages,

since *NCIs* that appear preverbally need not be licensed by the negative particle. However, we may want to set these languages apart from the Romance languages that behave like Italian in which any *NCI* appearing preverbally can license a postverbal *NCI*. Vincentian is also distinct from Catalan which optionally allows for sentential negation with preverbal indefinites when postverbal indefinites are present. It would therefore be feasible to create, for these Creoles, a sub-category of non-strict negative concord languages.<sup>16</sup> Informally, they could be sub-classified as negative concord languages that require sentential negation when *NCIs* appear postverbally, even in environments that also exhibit preverbal *NCIs*. Table 3 attempts to capture these comparative features using, as its baseline, Giannakidou's comparative table of *NCI* distribution in negative concord languages (Giannakidou 2006).

Table 3. The distribution of *NCIs* in negative concord languages

Language	Preverbal <i>NCI</i> + SN	Preverbal <i>NCI</i> +SN + Postverbal <i>NCI</i>	SN+ Postverbal <i>NCI</i>	Negative spread	MORE	STRICT
Greek	+	+	+	–		NEGATIVE
Vincentian	+	+	+	+–		
Catalan	+	+–	+	+–		
Italian	+	–	+	+		

In extension to Giannakidou's observation, we observe a continuum between Greek and Vincentian in which postverbal *NCIs* systematically trigger sentential negation; between Vincentian and Catalan where sentential negation is optional in the same environment; and between Catalan and Italian since the latter never allows sentential negation with postverbal *NCIs*.

## 4.2 Complementary observations

In all the varieties of negative concord languages investigated, negation cannot be expressed within the verb phrase by way of a sole negative element, (*cf.* Zanuttini 1991: 153). In Zanuttini's theory, the existence of one *NCI* in the sentence is not enough to express negation. This leads Ladusaw (1992) to posit that although the indefinites studied thus far are interpreted as negative expressions, "it is not necessary that any visible formative of S-structure actually express negation" (Ladusaw 1992: 252). A similar argument is pursued in Déprez (1995: 408) where it is shown

16. *Cf.* van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy (2016) for whom non-strict negative concord languages do not form a uniform category owing to the amount of variation observed in the languages participating in the phenomenon.

that evidence in favor of considering Haitian Creole *NCIs* as inherently negative is lacking, since, among other things, they do not license each other.

Following Ladusaw (1992), it is posited here that theories offering a syntax-semantic interface may help to provide us with answers to questions surrounding the interpretation of *NCIs* in negative concord languages like Vincentian. The underlying postulate which serves as a starting point is that *NCIs* like Vincentian *nobadi* and *nuhtnu* (or *nuhting*) are lexically underspecified. As such, instead of depending on negative contexts for their interpretation, they should be viewed as ambiguous between negative and nonnegative. According to Ladusaw (1992: 241) the lexical interpretation of these indefinites is context-free to the extent that they are types rather than tokens – they inherit meaning without referring to the contexts in which they are embedded.

If we follow Ladusaw's line of reasoning then, as indefinites, *nobadi* and *nuhtnu* (or *nuhting*) have no intrinsic quantificational or referential force, à la Heim (1982), and they need to be roofed by an operator expressing negation that binds them or triggers their anchoring (Ladusaw 1992: 245). What this implies is that the operator must be in a position that *c*-commands indefinites. When *c*-commanded by negation, the indefinite is interpreted as nonnegative given that there is space for only one real negative in the proposition. The theory posits that this inherently negative feature is introduced at the clause level by [neg].<sup>17</sup> It may be that the [neg] feature is passed on to a node at which indefinites become "semantically potent" (Ladusaw 1992: 255). There is only one such node in negative concord languages and verb phrase internal indefinites<sup>18</sup> are incapable of passing on the feature, owing to their syntactic position. An explicit, independent negative marker must surface to express negativity. In Examples (48a); (49a), (50a) and (51a) for Italian, Greek, Catalan and Vincentian respectively, this takes the form of sentential negation.

Although Zanuttini's (1991) syntactic account differs in the semantic interpretation it offers for regarding indefinites as inherently negative quantifiers, her account is in consonance with Ladusaw's (1992). More specifically, the account stipulates that the *NCIs* must be in an overt *c*-command relation with tense and agreement. While in Romance dialects clause initial indefinites satisfy the condition, verb phrase-internal indefinites require the overt manifestation of negation to be licensed.

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17. Note that in Ladusaw's theory, the entire sentence is configured as NegP since it is assumed to be the main operator expressed (1992: 257). In the syntactic considerations espoused in Section 2, the negative feature is a projection of the VP node, more specifically an adverbial adjunct projecting out of the VP.

18. It follows then that the term *n*-words is something of a misnomer and that a more appropriate label would be indefinites that should be viewed as strong negative polarity items.

There is no reason to call Zanuttini's (1991) syntactic account into question, at least where Vincentian is concerned, since it applies neatly to occurrences such as (51a), (51c) and (51d). However, the question we are left with then is why is there, in this variety, a need for optional *na* in occurrence (51b) in the presence of clause initial indefinites?

Following Ladusaw (1992) then, as indefinites, variables like *nobadi* and *nuhtnu* (or *nuhting*), contribute lexical meaning and their negative readings are acquired by a roofing operator of the negative or, better yet, the antimorphic<sup>19</sup> type such as *na* 'not' and *taal* 'at all'. So, in Vincentian, Example (51a) is taken care of. But, while indefinites occurring as arguments within the verb phrase are neatly resolved, indefinites functioning as subjects outside the verb phrase are left unaccounted for. What are the properties of subject indefinites that set them apart from variables functioning as objects? This may have something to do with the inherent quantificational force indefinites possess. On this view, we appeal to Déprez's (1995) account which demonstrates that French indefinites are best classified as variables that mean "zero+ontological category". As such, they are underspecified for quantificational force. In her comparison of Haitian Creole and its superstrate French, Déprez demonstrates how indefinites like *personne* 'no-one' are interpretable as 'zero-person', thus intrinsically bearing quantificational force, as against Haitian Creole *pèsonn* 'no one' which lacks quantificational force. In both varieties, these *NCIs* are weak terms which can render strong or weak readings, but do not in the least bear inherent negative meaning. Although they are not committed to negative interpretation, Haitian indefinites require external binding. Furthermore, owing to their essential morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics, Haitian *NCIs* combined with *pas* participate in negative concord, whereas French *pas* creates a double negative meaning with *NCIs*. Déprez's morphologically driven approach will not be pursued here for fear of not doing justice to the level of sophistication it possesses but also for fear of falling outside the scope of this chapter.

Following Ladusaw's (1992) line of reasoning, in Vincentian, we seem to be dealing with indefinites that are underspecified for negation. To corroborate this claim, let us examine the distribution of these indefinites with *taal* 'at all'. The morpheme *taal* bears close resemblance to English *at all* as Examples (52a) and (52b) show. But this is where the parallel ends. As the data in (53a) allow us to conclude, *taal* is felicitous only in sentence final position. We also observe that

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19. In the domain of negation, antimorphic operators are also referred to as the strongest forms of negation, like English *not* and Dutch *allerminst*, which are related to the distribution of polarity items. Van Wouden & Zwarts (1992: 330) define the property as follows:

**Definition:** An anti-additive functor *f* is antimorphic iff  
 $f(X \text{ and } Y) \leftrightarrow f(X) \text{ or } f(Y)$ .

sentential negation is the operator that licences *taal*, so that without *na* (53b) is not grammatical. On the other hand, if we contrast (53a) with (53c), we notice that if *taal* is realized as *ataal*, a form which is more transparent with respect to ‘at all’, it is acceptable following a preverbal *NCI*. The *NCIs* in (53d) are governed by the general rule for postverbal *NCIs*, *i.e.* postverbal indefinites obligatorily trigger sentential negation. Therefore, the canonical structure of negation described in Section 2 remains intact, so that, in the event of an accumulation of *NCIs*, the presence of *taal* does not affect the distribution established in Section 3.

- (52) a. *I na se nuhtnu taal.*  
 3SG NEG say nothing (a)t.all  
 ‘He said nothing at all.’
- b. *I na se nuhtnu ataal.*  
 3SG NEG say nothing at.all  
 ‘He didn’t say anything at all.’
- (53) a. \**Nuhtnu taal hapnu.*  
 nothing (a)t.all happen  
 ‘Nothing at all happened.’
- b. *Nuhtnu na hapnu taal.*  
 nothing NEG happen (a)t.all  
 ?‘Nothing happened at all.’
- c. *Nuhtnu ataal (na) hapnu.*  
 nothing at.ALL NEG happen  
 ‘Nothing at all happened.’
- d. *Nobadi na se nuhtnu ataal.*  
 nobody NEG say nothing at.ALL  
 ‘Nobody said anything at all.’

The distribution of an indefinite co-occurring with *taal* suggests that we are dealing with an item that can be interpreted as a negative element providing that an overt negative expressor (here sentential negation) is located in a prominent position of the proposition. The prominent position is by no means the subject or sentence initial position. If subject *nuhtnu* were indeed an expressor of negation, it would be able to support *taal* on its own. Example (53a) shows that this is impossible. *Taal* is capable of intensifying only a negative which has scope over it as in (52b) and (53b). This lends support to the claim that, in Vincentian, the phenomenon of negative concord results from a two-fold effect: firstly, due to the fact that the language adheres to the *neg-first* principle and secondly, because the prominent negative element is capable of scoping over the clause.

But why does *taal* not stand with preverbal indefinites, as is? In actual fact, *taal* is interpretable, not as an intensifier of indefinites or negation *per se* but rather of

sentential negation. In Examples (52a) and (53b) *taal* does not intensify the indefinite in postverbal position. Instead, it intensifies the negative reading of the clause, ultimately established by the presence of the negation particle *na*. *Taal* being a mere intensifier, we have but one negative element in the clause, in the form of *na*. This lends further support to the claim that the one negative per clause constraint must work hand in hand with the *neg-first* principle to yield negative concord in Vincentian. It must be noted that in (53d), the omission of sentential negation is forbidden for reasons addressed in Section 3. The principles governing Vincentian negation and indefinites could therefore be informally stated as follows:

On their own, indefinites of the negative sort are underspecified for negative meaning. In subject position, they take on a default negative sense but postverbal NCIs impose focus on the VP and require negation in a prominent syntactic position within that VP. As a result, negation must appear as early as possible in the sentence, immediately preceding the main verb and TMA markers.

Subsequently, an attempt can be made at establishing the possibility of modifying both subject and object indefinites using *ataal*, in environments where the object indefinite is interpretable as negative polarity *anything*. This is illustrated in Examples (54a) to (54b).

- (54) a. *Eniting ataal go do.*  
 anything at.all FUT do
- b. \**Eniting taal go do.*  
 anything (a)t.ALL FUT do  
 ‘Anything at all will do.’
- c. *De go do eniting ataal fo lak mi uhp.*  
 3PL FUT do anything at.ALL for lock 1SG up
- d. \**De go do eniting taal fo lak mi uhp.*  
 3PL FUT do anything (a)t.ALL for lock 1SG up  
 ‘They will do anything at all to have me imprisoned.’

It is not surprising therefore that *ataal*, rather than *taal*, is used with free choice indefinites in Vincentian. Horn (2000: 89) notes that the English postnominal modifier *at all* can modify both free choice and negative polarity *any*. This is no scoop. In fact, the claim can be made, although it seems out of place to do so here, that English *at all* is semantically underspecified, thus making it capable of modifying nominals, “no money at all”, and entire clauses, “he didn’t come at all”. The essential finding, then, is that *taal*’s inability to modify indefinites is not conditioned by its syntactic distribution but by its semantic essence – it is semantically impotent with constituents that do not have inherent negation.

## 5. Conclusions

The chapter investigated the distribution of indefinites in Atlantic English-based Creoles before concentrating specifically on Vincentian. It has been shown that the syntactic ordering of sentential negation and indefinites can be accounted for under the negative-first principle (Jespersen 1917: 5; Horn 1989: 73). To be well-formed, Vincentian clauses with *NCIs* must satisfy the condition stipulated in the *neg-first* principle.

This approach made it possible to explain why Vincentian does not fit neatly into the strict / non-strict dichotomy of negative concord languages. It was shown that VP internal and VP external *NCIs* are subject to different syntactic constraints. Preverbal *NCIs* do not require sentential negation to be interpreted as a single negation, and in the event that sentential negation co-exists with these *NCIs* in that syntactic position, they do not yield a double negative reading. Conversely, *NCIs* in object argument position are only licensed by sentential negation, in which case, they also receive a single semantic negative interpretation.

While the *neg-first* principle accounted for these phenomena, it was argued that in addition to adhering to this principle, two other constraints govern negation and negative concord in Vincentian. More specifically, one negative per clause is allowed, such that the interpretation of indefinites that appear in subject position is underspecified for negation and optionally requires sentential negation to dispel doubts about the purport of the message. Object indefinites, on the other hand, are not in prominent positions and therefore trigger sentential negation, since they are not in a position to have negative scope. Negation must be expressed as soon as possible in the VP to license postverbal indefinites. Because subject indefinites do not have negative scope over the VP, sentential negation is required.

The analysis is obviously only a rough sketch that requires more examination and with it more formalization. Nonetheless, it provides an angle of investigation which has not yet been expounded although it embraces some previous theoretical proposals and provides an account which enhances our understanding of the expression of negation and the phenomenon of negative concord in English-based creoles in general and, notably, in Vincentian.

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# Negation in Singapore English

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Singapore English is a new variety of English that has developed unique grammatical characteristics due to contact with the heritage languages of Singapore, especially Chinese. In this paper, we document the morphosyntax of negation in Singapore English, using data culled from available databases, including the Singaporean component of the International Corpus of English. There is little doubt that the negation system is inherited from English, but there is strong Chinese influence in the interaction between negation and aspect, and between negation and quantification. Other features of negation will also be described, including the novel use of *no* and *no need*, also due to Chinese influence.

**Keywords:** negation, quantification, polarity-sensitive items, multiple negations, convergence

## 1. Introduction

Singapore English is a new variety of English spoken in Singapore, now a modern metropolis of some five million people. For the 150 years between 1819 and 1965, Singapore was part of the Straits Settlements, along with Malacca and Penang along the Strait of Malacca. Although it was a British crown colony, Singapore was largely settled by immigrants from the Indonesian archipelago, southern China, and southern India. The few British ‘settlers’ in the Straits Settlements formed a small group of rotating government officials and itinerant merchants, who were truly transient sojourners (Turnbull 1977). By 1900s, the Chinese constituted about 73% of Singapore’s resident population, Malays 13%, and Indians 9%, and people from other places, including Britain, made up the balance (Pan 1998; Bao 2015). This population mix has been constant throughout the twentieth century.

These people brought their languages to Singapore: Malay, including Bazaar and Baba Malay from the vicinity, Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese and other dialects from China, and Tamil, and other languages, from India. Baba Malay, a Malay-based creole, is the mother tongue of a small community native to Malacca and Penang,

and Bazaar Malay is the Malay-based pidgin that served as the lingua franca of the region (Aye 2005; Rekha 2008; Ansaldo 2009). Singapore's linguistic heritage includes the following major languages or dialects (Bao 2015; the percentage figures of the Chinese dialects are cited from *Singapore Census of Population 1957*):

- (1) Major heritage languages of Singapore
  - a. English, scholastic, vernacular, pidginized
  - b. Chinese dialects, excluding Mandarin
    - i. Hokkien, 40.6% (Origin: Fujian)
    - ii. Teochew, 22.5% (Origin: Guangdong)
    - iii. Cantonese, 18.9% (Origin: Guangdong)
    - iv. Hainanese, 7.2% (Origin: Hainan)
    - v. Hakka, 6.7% (Origin: Guangdong)
    - vi. Foochow, 1.5% (Origin: Fujian)
    - vii. All other dialects, 2.6% (Origin: Various)
  - c. Mandarin
  - d. Malay, scholastic, vernacular, Bazaar Malay, Baba Malay
  - e. Tamil, and other languages of India

Mandarin is not a major heritage dialect of Singapore and in 1957 the few native speakers were among the 2.6% of the Chinese community. Nevertheless, its place in the contact ecology of Singapore is beyond doubt. Through education, the Chinese community became diglossic, with Mandarin as the High variety and the so-called Chinese dialects as Low varieties. This resembles the type of English diglossia that we see in Singapore today, with scholastic English and Singapore English performing the usual complementary functions (Gupta 1991, 1994). The Mandarin-dialect diglossia is under strain, however. As a result of the annual *Speak Mandarin Campaign* ([www.mandarin.org.sg](http://www.mandarin.org.sg)) that started in 1978, Mandarin has become the dominant home language of the Chinese community at the expense of the major dialects of Hokkien, Teochew and Cantonese. In 1980, the dialects were spoken in 78.8% of Chinese homes, and only 9.9% spoke Mandarin. By 2010, the share of the dialects stood at 19.2%, and that of Mandarin went up to 47.7% (*The Singapore Census of Population 1980 and 2010*). A third of the Chinese households speak English as the home language. So in the space of one generation, the Chinese community has nearly completed a double language shift: from Chinese to English and from dialects to Mandarin.

The heritage languages listed in (1) have been part of the sociolinguistic history of Singapore since the very beginning. Moreover, their socio-political relationship remains constant as well, with English being the dominant language, politically, economically and socially, in the Singaporean society. After independence, the

government designated four official languages, English, Chinese (Mandarin), Malay and Tamil, with Malay having the additional title of national language and English the additional title of working language. This pragmatic language policy reflects Singapore's origin as a country of immigrants. Given the fact that the Chinese make up more than 70% of the resident population for more than one hundred years, it is inevitable that Chinese has impacted the most on the grammar of Singapore English.

The scholarly interest in Singapore English started in earnest in the 1970s, with the publication of works such as Platt (1975), Tay (1979), Platt and Weber (1980), and Platt, Weber and Ho (1983). Chinese influence on Singapore English has not escaped the attention of these scholars. Most so-called basilectal features discussed in these works can still be heard in Singapore today. Five such features are shown in (2).

- (2) a. *Is it* as a question tag  
 You're teaching us today, *is it*? (Tay 1979: 104)
- b. Serial verb  
 He no *bring come*. (Tay 1979: 104)  
 'He did/does/will not bring (it).'
- c. Copula deletion  
 His teaching not so good. (Tay 1979: 104)
- d. Existential *got*  
 Here *got* so many American teachers. (Tay 1979: 105)  
 'There are so many American teachers here.'
- e. Topicalization  
*My family*, everybody is educated in English.  
 (Platt, Weber and Ho 1983: 47)

These features have all been analyzed in the extensive and still growing literature on Singapore English; for a general overview of the contact vernacular, see Lim (2014), Low & Brown (2004), Deterding (2007), and Leimgruber (2013).

The two sentences in (2b), (2c) exemplify negation, which is the focus of this paper.

## 2. Negation: An overview

As one would expect, Singapore English inherits the negation system of English.<sup>1</sup> This is true to a large extent. The two general negators, *not* and *no*, are used in the same way in Singapore English as in English. Some relevant data are shown below<sup>2</sup>:

- (3) a. James did *not* train hard enough.  
 b. Why you all *not* take the two tables that were outside just now.  
 c. Then you need *not* repeat the word hot. Okay.  
 d. Try *not* to use dictionary.  
 e. This is *not* difficult.

These are normal uses of *not*, with clausal negation. Note that in addition to copula deletion (2c), occasionally one encounters negative sentences in which *not* directly negates the verb, without *do* support, as in (3b).

As in English, clausal negation is also expressed by *no*, and by words containing *no*, mainly *no one*, *nothing* and *nobody*:

- (4) a. There's *no* English tomorrow.  
 b. We're fortunate that [*no one* has been seriously injured].  
 c. Then he becomes superman, [*nobody* can recognise him].  
 d. There is *nothing* to worry about.  
 e. But I *no* partner.  
 'But I have no partner./\*But I am not a partner.'

The data in (2b), (2c), (3) and (4) all sport clausal negation. Two points on *no* are worth noting. First, the use of *no* in (2b) differs from that in (4a)–(4d). In (2b), *no* directly negates a verb (*bring*), and carries various aspectual meanings, as indicated by the gloss. This use of *no* has become rather uncommon since Tay (1979) reported it. SCoRE yields only one such token:

- (5) (handing out test scripts) Who is this person? *No* write name.  
 'Who is this person? Did not write the name.'

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1. In this paper, the term 'Singapore English' refers to the vernacular commonly heard in daily interaction and represented in the corpora ICE-SIN and SCoRE (see footnote 2). The term 'English' is used in two senses. In the broad sense, it refers to the English language generally, without geographic designation. In the narrow sense, it refers to standard native English. Context of use is able to disambiguate the two senses.

2. Unless otherwise noted, the Singapore English data are cited from the English lesson portion of SCoRE (Singapore Corpus of Research on English), which is a corpus containing naturally-occurring classroom discourse in Singaporean primary and secondary schools (Hong 2009). It has a total of 1.2 million words. The data will be glossed when the meanings are obscure.

Second, in (4e) *no* co-occurs with a noun and negates possession, not attribution, even though Singapore English allows the copula *be* to be deleted (*I a partner* ‘I am a partner’; see (2c)), but not *have* (*\*I a partner* ‘I have a partner’). Unlike the case exemplified in (2b), this use is rather productive. A few more specimens follow:

- (6) a. The whole story *no* mention of the boy climbing up the tree and staying up there?  
 b. My green pen *no* ink lah.  
 c. Those of you *no* book, doesn’t mean that you sit down there and stare into blank space.  
 ‘For those of you who have no book, it doesn’t mean that you sit down there and stare into blank space.’  
 d. He *no* friends.  
 ‘He has *no* friends.’

In all these cases, *no* negates possession or existence. Obviously, such negation forms are not found in English. The fact that *no* co-occurs with a noun, in accordance with English usage, mitigates to some extent the basilectal stigma of these forms.

In this connection, the phrase *no need* deserves attention. In Singapore English, it has acquired the ability to function as a negator in its own right, and competes with *don’t need*. Consider the data in (7), which exemplify the full range of uses of *no need*.

- (7) a. Student Miss Siti, must put our bag outside?  
 Teacher *No need*.  
 b. Just say it; there is *no need* to laugh.  
 c. I *no need* to take your money.  
 ‘I don’t need to take your money (Lit. There is no need for me to take your money)’  
 d. This one *no need* help.  
 ‘This (student) does not need help.’

In Singapore English, *no need* is a common expression of polite decline, as the exchange in (7a) shows. *Prima facie*, *need* is a noun in (7a), (7b), but appears, together with *no*, to function as a verb in (7c), (7d). In all these cases *no* negates the possession or existence of need. The analysis of *no need* in (7c), (7d) is not straightforward. It is possible to analyze *need* as a verb and *no* as a verbal negator, along the line of (2b). It is equally plausible to regard *no need* as a verb converted from the nominal *no need*. Whatever the analysis, the uses of *no need* exemplified in (7) are rather productive, as shown in Table 1.



**Table 1.** The frequencies of *no need* in typical contexts. The percentage figures do not add up to 100 due to rounding.

	Count	Percent	Example
bare:	106	36.1	(7a)
<i>no need to V</i> :	104	35.4	(7c)
with subject or object:	65	22.1	(7d)
with <i>there</i> :	19	6.5	(7b)
Total:	294		

SCoRE yields a total of 138 tokens of *don't/didn't need to V*, attesting to the productivity of *no need* with 104 tokens. The two forms are equal competitors, expressing exactly the same negation:

- (8) a. *Don't you need* your textbook?  
 b. You *don't need* to write here.  
 c. You *no need* so many words.  
 d. You *no need* to write down in complete sentences.

In English, (8a), (8b) are grammatical; (8c), (8d) are not. In Singapore English, they are all attested in daily interaction, and judged acceptable on the basis of native-speaker intuition.

Besides *no*, the negator *never* has also developed some novel properties. Consider the three cases in (9).

- (9) a. If you don't try [you'll *never* know whether it works for you].  
 b. Teacher you *never* tell me.  
 'Teacher you did not tell me.'  
 c. I *never* heard a sound.  
 'I did not hear a sound.'

The sentence in (9a) is perfectly grammatical in English, with *never* sporting the usual clausal negation. The data in (9b), (9c) are marginal in English, with *never* carrying the perfective meaning, in addition to negation, as indicated in the glosses. As has been noted in the literature, *never* in Singapore English is the exponent of Chinese *méi (yǒu)* 'not have', which negates the perfective and experiential aspectual categories in Chinese. The Chinese counterparts to (9b), (9c) are shown below:

- (10) a. Lǎoshī, nǐ méi gàosù wǒ.  
 teacher 2SG NEG tell 1SG  
 'Teacher, you did/have not told me.'  
 b. Xīngqī sì wǒ méi lái xuéxiào. Wǒ méi ná dào.  
 week four 1SG NEG come school 1SG NEG get.  
 'Thursday I did not come to the school. I did not get.'

So Singapore English now has two general negators *not* and *never*, each with its distinct aspectual meanings. The following minimal pairs illustrate the division of labor (Bao 2005):

- (11) a. John *don't* eat durian.  
           'John does not eat durians'  
       b. John *never* eat durian.  
           'John didn't eat the durian'  
       c. Why you *don't* believe me?  
           'Why don't you believe me?'  
       d. Why you *never* believe me?  
           'Why didn't you believe me?'

Unlike *not* without *do* support, *never* is rather productive in Singapore English. Table 2 displays the use of *never* in the morphosyntactic frames exemplified in (9).

**Table 2.** The use of *never* in SCoRE.

with verb in base form	348
with auxiliary verb	69
with inflected verb	41
others	365
Total	823

The *others* category includes formulaic expressions such as *never mind*. It is clear that *never* co-occurs with a verb in its base form. This is different from *not*, which generally requires *do* support if the clause does not have an auxiliary verb.<sup>3</sup> The novel, perfective function of *never* can be attributed to the changes that have taken place in the aspectual system of Singapore English; see Bao (2005) for a complete analysis of the restructured aspectual system. The robust use of *never* is due to the fact that it is the exponent of the Chinese perfective negator *méi* (*yǒu*) 'not have'.

The changes in the aspectual system also cause some polarity items to lose their polarity orientation, as we shall see presently. Polarity-sensitive items have

3. Negation without *do* support is attested; see (3b). But such uses are comparatively rare. Of the 5588 tokens of *not* in SCoRE, only 130 tokens have *not* negating directly an adjective or a verb. The 130 tokens are made up of 49 tokens of *not* A, 67 tokens of *not* V, and 14 tokens of *not* V-*ing*. These cases are exemplified below:

- i. *not* V: Your timing and all *not* match.
- ii. *not* A: I *not* slow ah.
- iii. *not* V-*ing*: you all *not* listening properly, you know.

(ii) and (iii) are analyzed as examples of copula deletion. In Singapore English, *not* has not changed as much as *never*.

maintained their usage patterns in Singapore English, as shown in (12). The data exemplify the positively-oriented polarity items (PPIs) *some*, *something* and *too*, and the negative-oriented polarity item (NPI) *either*:

- (12) a. Horror movies, correct. To have *some* blood, *some* disfigured faces. Where else?  
 b. He can starting shouting, right? Say or shout *something*.  
 c. Take out your activity book, *too*.  
 d. The audience did not notice anything *either*.

Of course, the usual NPIs, the *any* words, are found in Singapore English as well, and used in the same contexts. Relevant examples follow:

- (13) a. Today, we're not going to do *any* writing.  
 b. You're not going *anywhere*.  
 c. I was not told of *anything*.  
 d. She was not sick *anymore*.

Not all polarity-sensitive words retain their polarity orientation. The peculiar behavior in Singapore English of two polarity-sensitive words, *already* and *ever*, deserves attention. In English, *already* is a PPI, and *ever* an NPI (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 822). This is largely true of Singapore English, as shown in (14).

- (14) a. Switch on. It's on *already*.  
 b. They finish their work *already*.  
 c. You all didn't notice this *ever* right?  
 d. Can it *ever* be effective?

But the two words can appear in new contexts: *already* in negative contexts and *ever* in positive ones. Consider the data in (15):

- (15) a. I didn't want to read *already*.  
 b. Long time never skate *already*.  
 'I have) not skated for a long time.'  
 c. I don't know whether you *ever* read about him.  
 'I don't know whether you have read/\*read about him.'  
 d. I *ever* seen half a star.  
 'I have seen half a star.'

The data in (14) and (15) show that *already* and *ever* are no longer sensitive to the polarity to which they are sensitive in English. The loss of the polarity sensitivity exhibited in the data is a direct result of the grammatical changes Singapore English has undergone under the influence of Chinese: *already* and *ever* are now the exponents of Chinese aspectual categories, *already* for *le* and *ever* for *guo* (Kwan-Terry

1989; Bao 2005). As (15c), (15d) suggest, *guo/ever* emphasizes the experience of a completed event or a changed state; in this sense it is perfective. *Already/le* has two aspectual meanings, the perfective and the inchoative. As aspectual markers they are no longer sensitive to positive or negative contexts. More specimens of *already* and *ever* follow.

(16) Perfective

- a. We all talk finish *already*.  
'We all talked.'
- b. I write all wrong *already*.  
'I wrote all wrong.'

Inchoative

- c. I very tired *already*.  
'I am/\*was very tired.'
- d. Because I scream at them all scared *already*.  
'Because I screamed at them, all (were) scared.'

Experiential

- e. I *ever* heard of this word but I don't know the meaning.
- f. The wall *ever* white. (Bao 2005: 243)  
'The wall was once white.'

Since it expresses the aspectual meaning of inchoativity, *already* is often used with words like *start* and *be going to*, as shown below:

- (17)
- a. This is a bit too long, must *start* a new one *already*.
  - b. That means you all, you all can *start* on the questions *already*.
  - c. I'm *going to* end *already*.
  - d. I *am not going to* shout *already*.

In Singapore English, *already* and *ever* are no longer polarity items. A full treatment of the aspectual meanings of *already/ever* that cause the loss of polarity properties will not be offered here; interested readers can consult Kwan-Terry (1989), Ho & Wong (2001), and Bao (2005), and references cited therein.

### 3. Multiple negation and negative concord

Like English, Singapore English exhibits multiple negation within a single clause. Although it is not commonly heard in Singapore, it is nevertheless attested in the classroom interactions recorded in SCoRE. In the data below, each clause contains two negative words:

- (18) a. (Encouraging student participation) All of you *cannot don't* want, you know.  
 'All of you are not permitted to not want (...), you know.'  
 b. Must say something. *Cannot not* say anything.  
 c. You *cannot* have *nothing* to say.  
 i. (double negation) 'You are not permitted to say nothing.'  
 ii. (\*single negation) 'You are not permitted to say anything.'  
 d. Please *don't* tell me *nothing*.  
 i. (double negation) 'Please tell me something.'  
 ii. (\*single negation) 'Please don't tell me anything.'

In Singapore English the modal verb *can* can occur with the auxiliary *don't* (*Can don't write in pen?* 'Can I not write in pen?'), so it is not surprising that *cannot* is used in the same context in (18a). Semantically, each example in (18) contains two negative words with two negations. So, in (18a) *cannot* negates [don't want...] and yields an affirmative warning that students participate in classroom discussion. In (18b), which is perfectly acceptable in English (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 805), *cannot* negates [not say anything], yielding the same meaning as the previous utterance.<sup>4</sup> Both (18c), (18d) have the (i) reading, with two separate negations. From a cross-linguistic perspective the data in (18c), (18d) are potentially ambiguous, with reading (i) derived from two independent negations and reading (ii) from a single negation. The latter readings, which are examples of negative concord, are not the intended meanings of (18c), (18d). This is clear from the contexts in which they are embedded:

- (19) a. You must have something to say. *You cannot have nothing* to say.  
 b. Matthews, what did you do this weekend? *Please don't tell me nothing*.

In Standard English, sentences with two negators do not cancel out each other completely, nor do they express single negation (Huddleston & Pullum 2002; Horn 2010a). This is the case in Singapore English as well.

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4. Leong (2013) conducted a survey among Singaporeans on acceptability judgment of negative forms. Two are shown below:

- i. Remark: No matter what I do he don't like me la.  
 Response: He *never don't* like you la.  
 Structure: he [never [don't like you la]]  
 ii. Remark: You don't want I eat already ah.  
 'If you don't want, I will eat.'  
 Response: I *never don't* want.  
 Structure: I [*never* [don't want]]

The responses shown in (i) and (ii), with *never*, are preferred to other negators (*don't*, *didn't*, etc.). These are not cases of negative concord. The two negators mark separate negations, behaving like *cannot not* in (16b).

However, negative concord is a widespread linguistic phenomenon in the world's languages, including nonstandard dialects of English and contact languages such as pidgins and creoles (Besten 1986; Deprez 1999; Giannakidou 2000; Schneider 2000; Smith 2001; Huddleston & Pullum 2002; Nevalainen 2006; and Horn 2010a). Some examples are displayed in (20):

- (20) a. Non-standard He *didn't* say *nothin*.  
'He did not say anything.'  
(Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 846)
- b. AAVE It *ain't* no cat *can't* get in *no* coop.  
'There isn't any cat that can get into any (pigeon) coop.'  
(Labov 1972: 773)
- c. Guyanan Well, mii *na* taak *notn*. (Schneider 2000: 220)  
'Well, I didn't say anything.'
- d. Haitian French M *pa* te wè *pèson/anyen*. (Deprez 1999: 377)  
'I have't seen anyone or anything.'
- e. Afrikaans Ons gooi *niks* weg *nie*. (Besten 1986: 202)  
We throw nothing away not

The data in (20) exemplify typical cases of negative concord (Besten 1986; Giannakidou 2000). It is worth noting that (18c), (18d) are form-identical to the negative-concord data in (20), yet they do not support single-negation reading (ii).

While negative concord is a widespread phenomenon in pidgins and creoles, it is not attested in Singapore English. Indian English, another well-known and well-studied New English, does not have negative concord either, at least not as a productive construction (Schneider 2000). In SCoRE, we found only one example, shown below, that appears to express single negation with two negative words<sup>5</sup>:

- (21) If you have too much schoolwork and you *don't* have *not* enough time with your family members. ... Do you wish to have changes in your lifestyle?

This is not a typical example of negative concord. Moreover, the native speakers we have consulted categorically reject it as unacceptable, while readily accepting the double-negation interpretation of (18). From the perspective of contact, the lack of negative concord in Singapore English is not surprising. Neither Standard English nor Chinese, the main contributing languages in the Singaporean contact ecology, has negative concord.

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5. We do not consider the case below, which is also attested in SCoRE, as a relevant example:

Why *don't* you just *not* turn your head and look at his book.

*Why don't you...* is a fixed expression used in imperatives.

#### 4. Negation and quantification

Negative words interact with quantifiers. In English, the relative scope of negation and quantification largely follows the surface order of the negator and the quantified expression. This is illustrated below (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 795):

- (22) a. He *hasn't* got *many* friends (negative has scope over quantifier)  
 'It is not the case that he has many friends.'  
 b. *Many* people *didn't* attend the meetings.  
 (quantifier has scope overnegative)  
 'There were many people who did not attend the meetings.'

It is, of course, possible to reverse the surface order, leading to scope ambiguity. The two examples in (23), cited from Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 795), are inherently ambiguous (N-Q, negative over quantifier; Q-N, quantifier over negative):

- (23) a. I *didn't* agree with *many* of the points he made.  
 i. (N-Q) 'It is not the case that I agreed with many of the points he made.'  
 ii. (Q-N) 'There are many points he made that I didn't agree with.'  
 b. *Everybody* *didn't* support the proposal.  
 i. (N-Q) 'It is not the case that everybody supported the proposal.'  
 ii. (Q-N) 'Nobody supported the proposal.'

Although linear order does not rigidly determine relative scope in English, there is a strong preference for relative scope to match linear order (Huddleston & Pullum 2002; Tottie & Neukom-Hermann 2010).

This preference is even more evident in the data we have collected from SCoRE, the classroom discourse database. Since the difference in relative scope between universal quantification and negation is more pronounced, we focus on the co-occurrence of negative words and universal quantifiers within the same clause or clause fragments. A few specimens are displayed below:

- (24) Wide-scope negation  
 a. You should *not* copy *everything*.  
 b. *Not everyone* buys pirated CDs.  
 c. You are *not* suppose to have *all* those things in your hand.  
 d. But *not all* poems will rhyme ah.  
 Wide-scope quantification  
 e. *Everybody* *don't* know who set up OHP.  
 'Nobody knows who sets up OHP.'  
 f. *Everything* also *no* need.  
 'Don't need anything.'

- g. (loading web pages) *All cannot* open.  
 ‘None can be loaded.’
- h. Commas *all not* there, how come your corrections not done?  
 ‘None of the commas is there. How come your corrections are not done?’

The scopal interpretation in (24) follows the linear order of negation and quantification. In (24f), we see one example of *also* being used together with universal quantifiers to reinforce universal quantification; see Bao (2015). Here it does not have the additive meaning. The sentences in (24a)–(24d) are perfectly grammatical in Standard English, while those in (24e)–(24h) are not to varying extent, reflecting the grammatical restructuring that Singapore English has undergone. Note that it is possible to analyze (24f), (24g) as instances of topicalization, with *everything* and *all* moved out of their respective object positions (...*no need everything*, ...*cannot open all*). Fronting is a common strategy to ensure wide scope interpretation of the fronted expression. Here are two more examples:

- (25) a. *All* these things you *don't* read.  
 (Q-N) ‘You don’t read any of these things.’
- a'. You *don't* read *all* these things.
- i. (N-Q) ‘You read some of these things, not all.’
- ii. (Q-N) ‘You don’t read any of these things.’
- b. (choosing between objects and money) I *all don't* want. I want money.  
 (Q-N) ‘I don’t want any. I want money.’
- b'. I don’t want *all*. I want money.
- i. (N-Q) ‘I want some. I want money.’
- ii. (Q-N) ‘I don’t want any. I want money.’

The sentences in (25a'), (25b') are constructed from those in (25a), (25b). In English, (25a'), (25b') are ambiguous, as indicated by the glosses. In Singapore English, while potentially ambiguous, the preferred scopal reading follows the surface order of *don't* and *all*. The data in (25a), (25b) are derived from (25a'), (25b') through fronting, and are unambiguous.<sup>6</sup> Fronting, or lack of it, is a grammatical device often used to ensure the right scopal interpretation. This is evident in the following exchange between two students about an incident at a subway station where someone stepped on Speaker B's toe:

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6. We are not concerned with the position of *all* in the first sentence in (23b). According to one possible analysis, the sentence is assigned the following structure:

$$[I_1 \text{ [all}_i \text{ [}t_i \text{ don't want } t_j\text{]}]]$$

In other words, both *I* and *all* are topics, originating in the positions in the comment clause marked by  $t_i$  and  $t_j$ ; see Bao (2001).



- (26) Speaker A    Everyday sit taxi got people step ah?  
                          ‘Everyday (you) take taxi; there were people who stepped on your toe?’
- Speaker B    No ah, I *never* sit taxi *everyday* ah./ \*No ah, *everyday* I *never* sit taxi ah.  
                                  ‘No ah, I don’t take taxi everyday ah.’

In Speaker B’s response, *never* has scope over *everyday*. Fronting *everyday* would produce an infelicitous response, according to native-speaker judgment.

The preference for surface linear order is borne out by corpus data. From the 1.2-million word SCoRE corpus of English lessons, we collected a total of 17,655 negative tokens. Among them, 172 tokens contain both a negator and a universal quantifier (*all* and *every*, including words containing *every*), some of which we have seen in (24) and (25). The frequency data are shown in Table 3.<sup>7</sup>

**Table 3.** Frequencies of negation and universal quantification within the same clause or clause fragment in SCoRE. *Others* include *didn’t*, *can’t*, *nothing*, *nobody*, *couldn’t*, and *mustn’t*.

	All tokens	With <i>all</i>	With <i>every</i>
<i>not</i>	5,588	49	23
<i>no</i>	5,151	2	4
<i>don’t</i>	3,912	34	21
<i>cannot</i>	897	10	9
<i>never</i>	823	5	1
Others	1,284	10	4
Total	17,655	110	62

Of the 172 tokens with negation and universal quantification, the linear order between the two is not evenly distributed. Table 4 displays the usage data of the 172 tokens.

7. Table 3 excludes 91 tokens of *we/they/you all*. These forms take wide scope regardless of the surface positions they are in:

- i. I *didn’t* teach *you all* to be like that.  
       ‘I did not teach any of you to be like that.’
- ii. *They all don’t* want the script already.  
       ‘None of them wants the script.’

Obviously, *all* forces universal quantification to take scope over negation. It does not behave like this in other contexts.

**Table 4.** Frequencies of negator-quantifier (N-Q) and quantifier-negator (Q-N) among the 172 tokens.

	N-Q	Q-N
<i>all</i>	81	29
<i>every</i>	54	8
Total	135	37

Negators precede universal quantifiers by a large margin, especially *every* words. To the extent that scopal interpretation can be determined from the immediate context, the relative scope follows the surface order between quantifier and negator, as we have seen. Here are a few more examples with enough contexts for scopal interpretation.

(27) Wide-scope negation

- a. I *didn't* write them *all* down. I am using it as an example.
- b. I *didn't* give *all* the answers. I just gave some.
- c. So you *don't* go there *everyday*, you go maybe once in a month or so.
- d. You do *not* continue *everything* in one paragraph. Okay? You have different line for different dialogue.

Wide-scope quantification

- e. What do you mean nobody comes in? *All* the three days, *nobody* comes in?
- f. Luckily *all* of you *never* go other countries and you can say, where's, is your country as big as China?
- g. (on learning spelling) *Every* term I *don't* learn.
- h. *Every* time *no* date.

A quick survey of the 172 tokens indicates that the order of the negator and quantifier determines their relative scope.<sup>8</sup> This is not an unusual result, given the fact that linear order determines scopal interpretation in Chinese, and yields the dominant reading in English (Tottie and Neukom-Hermann 2010).

8. This assertion is based on the most likely reading of the tokens, many of which lack the kind of contextual information we see in (25). We did not consider the effect of prosody on scopal interpretation, which will, of course, change the default interpretation of scope-bearing expressions.

## 5. Concluding remarks

In the preceding pages we have discussed some of the salient features of negation in Singapore English. The negation system is largely inherited from English. The main negators, *not* and *no*, behave in the same way as they do in English, with modifications that can be attributed to influence from Chinese. Other negation-related properties of English are also observed in Singapore English, such as the polarity-sensitive items, and approximate negators such as *few* and *little*. Some negators have developed novel meanings. They are summarized below:

- (28) a. *not*
- i. Fairly productive use of *not* without *be*, resulting from copular deletion
  - ii. Occasional use of *not* without *do* support
- b. *no*
- i. Non-productive use as verbal negator (*no* V)
  - ii. Fairly productive use as nominal negator (*no* N) with the meaning of 'not have'
  - iii. *No need* as an evolving negator
- c. *never*
- i. Negator with perfective meaning, in opposition to *not*
  - ii. Robust use as general negator with verb in base form
- d. Polarity
- Already* and *ever* lose polarity orientation, resulting from the new aspectual functions they acquire.
- e. Multiple negation
- Multiple negators in the same clause yield multiple negations; no negative concord.
- f. Relative scope
- Relative scope matches liner order.

As we have shown, Chinese influence in the negation system of Singapore English is not categorical, with the negators losing their English-derived morphosyntactic and semantic properties. Rather, the influence is gradual, nudging the English negators to converge with their Chinese counterparts.

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PART III

## Portuguese related Creoles



# Negation in Cape Verdean Creole

## A parametric account

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This paper focuses on the behavior of Negation of the Cape Verdean Creole (CVC) variety spoken in Santiago (ST), using Longobardi's (2014) theoretical framework. We examine simple negation, as well as the semantic and distributional properties of N-words. Following Longobardi's framework, we offer a parametric analysis of Negation in ST, accounting for the behavior of the negative morpheme *ka* and the syntax and semantics of N-words such as *ningen* "no one/anyone" and *nada* "nothing/anything". Analyzing the behavior of Negation using Longobardi's theoretical framework allows us to fine-tune his proposal in order to account for the data at hand: we propose that the typology of Neg and N-words in CVC points to a conceptually balanced system whereby the negator *ka* can be [+NOT] or [-NOT] and the N-words can be [+NOT] or [-NOT] or [+ANY] or [-ANY]. To complete this typology in which N-words can be ambiguous between [+NOT, -ANY] and [-ANY, +NOT], we show that non N-words like *algen* 'someone' can be ambiguous between a negative operator and a non-negative item, giving rise to readings that are ambiguous between "anyone/no one" and "someone". We argue that such lexical items may carry the features [-NOT, -ANY] or [-NOT, +ANY].

**Keywords:** negation, N-words, parameter, Cape Verdean Creole

### 1. Introduction

Cape Verdean Creole (henceforth CVC) is spoken in the Cape Verde islands, an archipelago situated about 400 miles off the coast of Senegal in the Atlantic Ocean. It is composed of nine inhabited islands traditionally divided between the Sotavento (leeward) and Barlavento (windward) islands. These islands were settled at different points in time in the history of the archipelago and involved different populations. As a result, geographic lects exist not only between the varieties of CVC spoken in the Barlavento and Sotavento islands but within each of the two island clusters as



well. The characteristics distinguishing Barlavento varieties from their Sotavento counterparts include phonetic, morpho-syntactic, lexical and discourse features. This situation of acute linguistic variation is enhanced by the fact that CVC continues to exist in a complex political and social relationship to Portuguese, in spite of the independence from Portugal in 1975.

In this paper, we restrict ourselves to the examination of Negation in the variety spoken in Santiago (ST) while acknowledging that Negation may behave differently in other varieties of the language, like the São Vicente variety spoken in Barlavento. By Negation, we refer to the broader sense of the term, as our study includes negators (negative morphemes), and N-words, involved in negative concord and double negation.

This paper is organized as follows: In the next section, we introduce the tenets of the theoretical framework (Longobardi 2014) we will use to examine Negation in ST. In the third part, we focus on simple negation, as well as the semantic and distributional properties of N-words. Following Longobardi's framework, we offer a parametric analysis of Negation in ST, accounting for the behavior of the negative morpheme *ka* and the syntax and semantics of N-words such as *ningen* "no one/anyone" and *nada* "nothing/anything". Analyzing the behavior of Negation using Longobardi's theoretical framework will highlight the strengths and shortcomings of his theory while allowing for a fine-tuning of his proposal in order to account for the data at hand. Finally, in the conclusion, we present our key findings and areas for further research.

## 2. Theoretical framework: Longobardi (2014)

In an attempt to account for the behavior of simple negation and of N-words in the variety of CVC spoken in Santiago, we use the theoretical framework of Longobardi (2014). While we adopt some of his basic assumptions, we will show that we need to postulate further parametric schemata in order to account for the data under study; as discussed below, this has further typological implications for languages in general and for Creoles in particular.

The focus of this section is to introduce the theoretical tenets that are instrumental to the analysis of the CVC data we offer in Section 3. Longobardi (2014) offers a comprehensive account of parametric minimalism in Romance negation by proposing three distinct parameters. The first is based on whether a given language displays a pre-inflectional (before the verb) or post-inflectional (after the verb) simple negation; the second parameter teases apart three types of negative morphemes: negative morphemes that have substantive meaning, which allows them to behave as real negative operators; in contrast there are negative morphemes

that behave as expletives and in the third type, one finds negative morphemes that can be ambiguous between the two (able to behave as a substantive or expletive negator). In contrast to the first two parameters that focus on the negative morpheme, the third parameter concerns negative phrases and whether they can be ambiguous between a negative operator and a negative polarity item (requiring to be paired with an overt negator). This third parameter brings to light a diasystem predicting the behavior of N-words based on whether a given language has pre-Infl or post-Infl negation. We consider in this paper these three parameters and bring to light the strengths and shortcomings of Longobardi's theory in accounting for a few empirical facts in CVC; in so doing, we examine the locality constraints and c-command relations regulating the behavior of Negation in the ST variety of CVC. In addition, we elaborate and refine the parametric schemata instantiated in this particular language.

(1), (2) and (3) below summarize Longobardi's three core dimensions of parametrization (Longobardi 2014: 223):

- (1) The first dimension concerns whether the morpheme is understood as a simple propositional negative connective (like Modern English *not*) and whether it superficially occurs pre or post Infl, meaning whether it precedes or follows finite auxiliaries or verbs.
- (2) The second dimension addresses whether sentential negative morphemes are indeed normally interpreted as actual propositional connectives as in Italian *non*, or just function as mere scope markers for other negative items (as with French *ne*) or are potentially ambiguous between the two (Catalan *no*). The distinction can be understood in terms of a feature "independent negative operator (henceforth [+/-NOT])".
- (3) The third dimension is about how negative phrases binding quantificational variables, like Spanish *nadie*, *nada* and *nunca* (N-words in Laka's terms) are lexically specified with respect to two features: [+ANY] and [+NOT]. [+ANY] characterizes negative polarity items (Linebarger, 1980) whereas [+NOT] characterizes "independent negative quantifiers" (Español-Echevarría's 1994).  
(Longobardi 2014: 223)<sup>1</sup>

In addition to these three parameters, there are two main rules in Longobardi's framework that our analysis of negation in CVC hinges upon: the NOT rule and the ANY rule.

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1. One should add that the complementary nature of these three tenets, including the ramifications of the pre versus post-Infl position of negation as well as the double specification of Romance N-words as both NPIs and NQs have been examined at length by scholars such as Zanuttini (1996, 1997, 2001) and Español-Echevarría (1994) respectively.

## (4) NOT rule:

An item is lexically specified [+NOT] if and only if it may be used as a bearer of negative meaning by itself, e.g. as a negative answer to a question (or other absolute instances) or as the only negative operator of a negative sentence.

(Longobardi 2014: 224)

The prediction of such rule is that double negation will obtain when a lexically specified [+NOT] unit is in the presence of another [+NOT] item (Longobardi 2014: 224). Note that the [+NOT] rule supports Longobardi's prediction that given that expressions like *nessuno* 'nobody' in languages like Italian are [+NOT] and that its pre-Infl sentential negative morpheme *non* is also [+NOT], then *nessuno* may appear in a pre-Infl position without *non* (as shown in (6a) below). In contrast, French *ne* is [-NOT],<sup>2</sup> and must therefore occur with [+NOT] *pas*, in order to participate to negative concord and express negation.

Based on the requirements delineated by the NOT rule, N-words such as *nessuno* in Italian (5a) and negative particles like *pas* in French (5b) can occur in isolation, as the answer to a question but can also be the only negative operator of a negative sentence (6a, b):

- |        |  |                                 |
|--------|--|---------------------------------|
| (5) a. | <i>Chi è venuto? Nessuno.</i>            | Italian (Longobardi 2014: 224)  |
|        | 'Who came? Nobody.'                      |                                 |
| b.     | <i>Combien as-tu mangé? Pas beaucoup</i> | French (Longobardi 2014: 225)   |
|        | 'How much did you eat?' Not much.        |                                 |
| (6) a. | <i>Nessuno é venuto.</i>                 | Italian (Longobardi, 2014: 229) |
|        | 'Nobody came.'                           |                                 |
| b.     | <i>Il (n') est pas venu.</i>             | French (Longobardi, 2014: 229)  |
|        | 'He did not come.'                       |                                 |

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2. Note that the [NOT] rule makes the correct prediction that in languages like French, the negative particle *ne* is [-NOT] and *pas* [+NOT], yielding the correct negative interpretation (negative concord), in sentences like (ia). In contrast, when occurring on its own *ne* is only able to convey a positive though restrictive reading, due to its [-NOT] feature, as shown in (ib):

- |        |                                     |
|--------|-------------------------------------|
| (i) a. | <i>Je ne vois pas Jean.</i>         |
|        | I ne see NOT Jean                   |
|        | 'I don't see Jean.'                 |
| b.     | <i>Je ne vois Jean que le lundi</i> |
|        | I ne see Jean only the Monday       |
|        | 'I see Jean only on Mondays.'       |

The sentence in (5b) clearly shows that the feature [+NOT] affects sentential particles like French *pas* and can co-occur with restricted variables. In contrast, Negative Polarity items bear the feature [+ANY] and are subject to the immediate scope constraint and need to be in the scope of a negative item. Linebarger's (1980) immediate scope constraint goes as in (7):

- (7) A [+ANY] existential operator must be in the immediate scope of a negative operator. (Linebarger (1980), in Longobardi 2014: 225)

The observation that NPIs are typically licensed in the immediate scope of a c-commanding independent negative operator has led Longobardi to formulate the ANY rule.

- (8) ANY rule:  
The lexical head of a phrase is assigned [+ANY] if and only if that phrase is interpreted as an existentially bound variable in the immediate scope of a distinct negative (non-veridical) operator and nowhere else.  
(Longobardi 2014: 226)

This definition entails that propositional negators such as Italian *non*, French *pas* or English *not* cannot be [+ANY] because they are not variables. By virtue of the full interpretation principle, the following Italian sentence can only yield a "double negation" type of interpretation, as shown in (9):

- (9) *Nessuno non è venuto.* Italian (Longobardi 2014: 226)  
'Nobody did not come.'

Hence, quantificational non-negative variables including quantifiers such as some [-body, -thing] carry the negative value for both the NOT and the ANY rules, yielding [-NOT, -ANY]. Lexical items like no(-body, -thing) carry the values [+NOT, -ANY] and any(-body; thing) are [-NOT, +ANY].

These observations result in the following typological generalizations for the interpretations of N-words:

- (10) somebody [-NOT, -ANY]  
nobody [+NOT, -ANY]  
anybody [-NOT, +ANY]

In Italian, *nessuno* "nobody" and *niente* "nothing" are specified for both [+NOT] and [+ANY]. For instance, as shown in (11), pre-Inf *nessuno* is translatable as "no one" and post-Inf *nessuno* as "anybody".

- (11) a. *Niente può impressionare nessuno, qui.* Italian (Longobardi, 2014: 227)  
 ‘Nothing can impress anybody here.’  
 b. *Nessuno dirà niente.*  
 ‘Nobody will say anything.’

Based on the possible interpretation of *nessuno* as meaning either ‘anybody’ or ‘nobody’, Longobardi formulates the proposal that such N-words are ambiguous between *anybody* [–NOT, +ANY] and *nobody* [+NOT, –ANY]. He notes, however, that the disjunctive reading of *nessuno* is not random (disjunctive means that it can occur independently, disjointly from an overt negator (*non* in this case)). When it occurs in a post-Infl position, it is ungrammatical (12a) unless the overt simple propositional negation occurs in a pre-Infl position (12b):

- (12) a. \**Ho visto nessuno.*  
 I have seen nobody (Longobardi 2014: 228)  
 b. *Non ho visto nessuno.*  
 NEG I have seen anybody  
 ‘I saw nobody.’

This state of affairs led Longobardi to formulate the following topological mapping hypothesis:

- (13) Fundamental asymmetry hypothesis  
 The [+NOT] value can always be interpreted (semantically activated) in pre-Infl position of the sentence over which it is meant to have scope in all Romance languages. In post-infl position (of the sentence over which it has scope), it is interpreted only if the simple propositional negation of the languages is itself post-Infl. (Longobardi (2014: 228)

In other words, the [+NOT] value of *nessuno* in (12a) is not activated in the post-infl position in which it occurs in that sentence because the Italian propositional negation *non* is pre-Infl, not post-Infl in that language. However, when *nessuno* occurs in pre-Infl position, its [+NOT] feature can be interpreted.

The interesting prediction is that two N-words occurring in pre-Infl position in a pre-Infl language would yield double negation.

- (14) *A nessuno niente fa paura.*  
 to nobody nothing makes fear  
 ‘Nobody fears nothing.’ (Longobardi, 2014: 228)

The double negation in (14) equates to saying that everyone is afraid of something.

Longobardi’s insights point to the existence of a diasystem in Romance Negation in which having a post-Infl sentential negation implies that post-Infl N-words are

not required to occur with negation. The fundamental asymmetry hypothesis delineated in (13) makes the correct prediction that if an N-word occurring in a pre-Infl position is [+NOT], then it need not occur with an overt negation marker.

The Italian example in (15) below is possible because the propositional negator is pre-Infl in Italian, as a result, an N-word with a [+NOT] feature may also occur in pre-Infl position. In contrast, the sentence in (16) is ungrammatical because the N-word occurs in post-Infl position where no [+NOT] feature is available in the language. The sentence in (16) can be rescued when a [+NOT] feature is introduced in a pre-Infl position via *non*, as shown in (17).

- (15) *Nessuno è venuto.* (Longobardi 2014: 229)  
 ‘Nobody came.’
- (16) \**È venuto nessuno.* (Longobardi 2014: 229)  
 ‘Came nobody.’
- (17) *Non è venuto nessuno.* (Longobardi 2014: 226)  
 ‘NEG came nobody.’

In this section, we introduced Longobardi’s (2014) framework upon which our own analysis of the CVC data will be grounded. We show in the next section that while his three core parameters and the NOT rule and ANY rule account for some of the CVC data, the proposed diasystem<sup>3</sup> in Romance Negation falls short of accounting for the behavior of Negation in CVC. We will need to modify the fundamental asymmetry hypothesis delineated in (13) (which makes the prediction that if an N-word occurring in a pre-Infl position is [+NOT], then it need not occur with an overt negation marker) in order to account for the CVC data. In so doing, we show that CVC does not quite behave like Romance languages such as Italian, nor like Romanian,<sup>4</sup> therefore refining the typological generalizations offered in Longobardi’s valuable framework.

In the next section, we offer a parametric account of Negation in CVC, refining some of Longobardi’s tenets.

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3. According to this diasystem, having a pre-Infl sentential negation implies that pre-Infl N-words are not required to occur with an overt negation; we show that this prediction does not carry through in our analysis of CVC.

4. We see below that Romanian is one of the Romance languages that Longobardi’s analysis would predict behaves the same way as CVC, contrary to fact.

### 3. A parametric account of negation in CVC

In this section, we examine negative particles and N-words in CVC and propose an analysis accounting for their behavior.

#### 3.1 The negative marker in ST

In ST, the negator *ka* precedes not only the main verb, as shown in (18), but also the sequence of TMA markers. As shown in (19) and (20), *ka* must always be preverbal and never allows Tense, Mood and Aspect markers to precede it, as seen in (19b) with *ta* (habitual), and in (20b), with the combination *sta ta* (present progressive).

- (18) a. *Ano nu ka fronta-l.* (RS-ST)  
 NonCL3PL CL3PL NEG insult-him  
 ‘We did not insult him.’  
 b. \**Ano nu fronta-l ka.*  
 NonCL3PL CL3PL insult-him NEG
- (19) a. *Rabeladu ka ta briga.* (RS-ST)  
 Rabeladu NEG TMA fight  
 ‘The Rabeladu do not fight.’  
 b. \**Rabeladu ta ka briga.*  
 Rabeladu TMA NEG fight
- (20) a. *Azagua ka sta ta da-ba.* (RS-ST)  
 rainy period NEG TMA TMA give-ANT  
 ‘The rainy period was not yielding much.’  
 b. \**Azagua sta ta ka da-ba.* (RS-ST)  
 rainy period TMA TMA NEG give-ANT

Based on Longobardi’s framework, the Cape Verdean negator *ka* is clearly pre-Infl in that it precedes the main verb and auxiliaries (identified as TMA markers in this case).<sup>5</sup>

5. Copula predicates such as (i) below may cast doubt about the pre-Infl status of *ka*, as *e* is interpretable as the copula ‘be’, making *ka* appear in a post-Infl position. However, as discussed in Ichinose (1993) and Baptista (1999), *e* can be argued to be a pronominal and as such, *ka* is not post-Infl but simply appears in a verbless clause.

- (i) *João e ka nha vizinhu.*  
 João e NOT my neighbor  
 ‘João is not my neighbor.’

In terms of the parametric schemata offered in (1) and (2), CVC simple propositional negative is pre-Infl and is also interpretable as [+NOT]<sup>6</sup> (see the NOT rule laid out in (4) above); it is an actual propositional connective (equivalent to English *not*) and in regular sentences where *no variables*<sup>7</sup> are involved, *ka* does not function as a mere scope marker of other negative particles (like French *ne*). Further evidence that *ka* is interpretable as a [+NOT] independent negative operator is its ability to occur in isolation, as a response to a question, as in (21):

(21) Speaker A. *Bu kre un bokadinhu di vinhu?*

CL2SG want a little of wine

‘Would you like a little bit of wine.’

Speaker B. *Sin, ma ka txeu.*

yes but not much

‘Yes, but not much.’

Now that the pre-Infl position and the semantic features of the negative morpheme *ka* have been empirically grounded, we turn to the behavior of N-words in CVC. We examine how they interact with *ka* and in what environments they affect [+NOT] value.

### 3.2 On the behavior of N-words in CVC

#### 3.2.1 *Post-Infl vs. pre-Infl N-words*

As discussed in the previous section, as a Romance (Portuguese-based) Creole, CVC behaves like other Romance languages such as Italian in having a pre-Infl propositional negator that is [+NOT]. However, we show in this section that its N-words do not uniformly align with those of most Romance languages; it depends on whether the N-word occurs in a post-Infl or pre-Infl position.

Let us first consider the behavior of N-words in post-Infl position. As shown in (22), the N-word *ningen* cannot appear in post-Infl position without the overt negator *ka*. In this respect, Longobardi’s diasystem and the fundamental asymmetry hypothesis correctly predict that given that CVC is a pre-Infl language, N-words

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6. However, we revisit this issue in Section 3.2.2 and will propose that *ka* can also be [–NOT] and act as a scope marker in some constructions involving N-words. We present the relevant data and expand on the possible values of *ka* in Section 3.2.2.

7. We propose in Section 3.2.2 that *ka* can function as a scope marker, not to other negative particles like French *ne* is to *pas* (as in *Je ne vois pas Jean* ‘I do not see Jean’) but instead to N-words like CVC *ningen* ‘nobody’ and *nada* ‘nothing’.



occurring in a post-Infl position and interpretable as [+ANY] require the presence of an overt connective [+NOT] negator, yielding a negative concord reading:

- (22) a. *N ka odja ningen.* (CVC)  
 I SG NEG see no one  
 ‘I didn’t see anyone.’  
 b. \**N odja ningen.*  
 I SG see no one

There is a fairly straightforward way of accounting for how negative concord takes place in (22). Recall Linebarger’s Immediate Scope Constraint mentioned in (7) according to which a [+ANY] existential operator must be in the immediate scope of a negative operator (Longobardi 2014: 225). This correlates with the fact that an NPI like *ningen* in (22) is licensed in the immediate scope of the c-commanding independent negative operator *ka*. This falls within the purview of the ANY rule (already mentioned in (8) above) according to which the head of a phrase is assigned [+ANY] if and only if that phrase is interpreted as an existentially bound variable in the immediate scope of a distinct negative operator and nowhere else (Longobardi 2014: 226). Based on this rule, it is reasonable to assume that *ka* is endowed with a [+NOT] feature in (22) and *ningen* with a [–NOT, +ANY] feature. As a variable, it is bound in the immediate scope of the negative operator *ka*, resulting in the negative concord reading.

While CVC post-Infl N-words align with those of most other Romance languages, the behavior of its pre-Infl N-words is quite distinct. Consider the data in (23):

- (23) a. \**Ningen ben.* (CVC)  
 No one come  
 b. *Ningen ka ben.*  
 No one NEG come  
 ‘No one came.’

An interesting point displayed by the data in (23) is that a pre-Infl N-word is ungrammatical if it occurs on its own, as shown in (23a). It must appear with the overt pre-Infl negator *ka*, as in (23b). According to the fundamental asymmetry hypothesis, the pre-Infl position of *ka* and its function as a propositional negative would lead us to predict that its [+NOT] value would be semantically activated and therefore allow an N-word like *ningen* ‘no one’ to occur pre-Infl in the absence of the overt negator. Such prediction is obviously not borne out in CVC.

In sum, while CVC aligns with Romance languages like Italian in only allowing post-Infl N-words to co-occur with overt negators, it departs from the way most pre-Infl N-words in Romance languages behave in that a pre-Infl N-word cannot

occur without an overt negator, although its [+NOT] feature should be interpretable in that position. We return to this point in Section 3.2.2.

A clear-cut generalization emerging is that an N-word can be ambiguous between the *no one* interpretation, which is available when it appears in a pre-Infl position (23b) and the *anyone* interpretation when it occurs post-Infl (22a). Note, however that with a certain class of verbs, including unaccusatives, subject-verb inversion triggers the occurrence of an N-word in post-Infl position, but with the *no one* interpretation, as in (24).

- (24) a. *Ka ben ningen.*  
           NEG come no one  
           ‘No one came.’  
       b. \**Ben ningen.*  
           come no one

To summarize, several tentative generalizations can be drawn from the observations made so far:

- The negator *ka* can be [+NOT] and is pre-Infl (examples (18) through (21)).
- In CVC, N-words cannot appear without the negative particle whether they occur in a pre-Infl (23b) or in a post-Infl position (22a), showing that the sentential scope of an N-word can only be interpreted off an independent negative particle.<sup>8</sup>
- The N-word carries the feature [+NOT] (as it is interpretable as *no one*) in a pre-Infl position but only when it co-occurs with the overt negator (23). In a post-Infl position, the N-word carries the [–NOT, +ANY] feature (22), unless subject-verb inversion is involved (24).
- CVC does not uphold the predictions made by Longobardi’s (2014) fundamental asymmetry hypothesis in (13): The negator itself is pre-Infl but its [+NOT] value does not license an isolated N-word in that position without the negator being overt.

A legitimate question arises from these generalizations: If CVC N-words are [–NOT, +ANY] in post-Infl position and the negative particle *ka* is [+NOT], as seen in example (22), the principle of Full Interpretation would predict that for pre-Infl N-words, [+NOT] on the N-word and [+NOT] on the negator *ka* would yield double negation, which is not the case as seen in (23). We turn our attention to the peculiar behavior of pre-Infl N-words in the following section.

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8. This is in sharp contrast to Portuguese, the lexifier of CVC, where pre-Infl N-words may occur with no negative particle, as in *ninguém veio* ‘no one came’.

### 3.2.2 A focus on pre-Infl N-words

As discussed in the previous section, CVC post-Infl N-words behave according to the predictions that the fundamental asymmetry hypothesis makes but the behavior of its pre-Infl N-words undermines such predictions and departs from that of most Romance languages; it is important to note, however, that CVC is not alone in displaying such features and aligns with a small minority of Romance languages like Romanian. Consider the Romanian data in (25):

- (25) *Nimeni nu a venit.* (Longobardi 2014: 230)  
 nobody NEG come  
 ‘No one came.’

Like CVC, Romanian also requires a pre-Infl negative particle and does not involve double negation. Longobardi (2014: 230) recognizes that Romanian, (and by extension CVC in the case under study), undermines the previous clear distinction between pre-Infl and post-Infl negation. Consequently, Longobardi generates the following theorem for this subset of languages, emphasizing the obligatoriness of the negative morpheme:

- (26) The sentential scope of an N-word must always be readable off an overt separate negative morpheme (whether the latter is identical with the simple clausal negation or not). Longobardi (2014: 230)

The question that the theorem in (26) raises is two-fold: Does Longobardi’s theorem apply to both pre-Infl and post-Infl N-words for the class of languages that Romanian and CVC belong to? What is the value of the separate negative morpheme? Given its obligatoriness, it would be reasonable to assume that such a value is [+NOT].

As pre-Infl languages that atypically require the use of the overt negative marker (compared to the majority of pre-Infl Romance languages), one could easily conclude that CVC and Romanian fall into the same subclass and as a result, should be expected to behave uniformly with respect to their N-words, whether they occur in pre-Infl position or post-Infl position. While their pre-Infl N-words align with each other in not entailing a double negation reading, as already seen in CVC (23b) and Romanian (25), their post-Infl N-words behave quite distinctly from each other. According to Longobardi (2014: 233), the Romanian negative particle *nu* is ambiguous between [+NOT] and [-NOT]; as such, the following Romanian example in (27) is ambiguous between a double negation and a negative concord type of reading. In the double negation reading, the negator *nu* ‘not’, carries a [+NOT] value and licenses the N-word *nimic* ‘nothing’ while simultaneously functioning as a negator for *nimeni* ‘nobody’. The same sentence can get a negative concord reading

in which *nu* carries the [-NOT] value and only functions as a scope marker letting the N-word *nimeni* ‘nobody’ license *nimic*, ‘anything’.

- (27) *Nimeni nu a facut nimic.* (Romanian, in Longobardi, 2014: 233)  
 nobody NEG did anything → Negative concord reading  
 Nobody NEG did nothing → Double negation reading

Given that both Romanian and CVC behave in similar ways as pre-Infl languages requiring the use of an overt negative marker, one would predict that CVC would behave similarly in yielding an ambiguous reading in the CVC equivalent to (27). This prediction is not borne out, as seen in (28) below, in which only the negative concord reading is available.

- (28) *Ningen ka faze nada.* (CVC)  
 nobody NEG did anything → Negative concord reading.  
 \*Nobody NEG did nothing → Double negation reading<sup>9</sup>

This means that although CVC can be lumped in the same category as Romanian in requiring its N-words to be read off an overt particle, the resulting interpretations are not identical in the two languages.

The behavior of Romanian *nu* leads us to conclude that this negator can behave like French [-NOT] *ne* (a mere scope marker) and French [+NOT] *pas*, the basic sentential negator. This dual nature accounts for the ambiguity of the readings witnessed in (27). One could then reasonably assume that the crucial distinction between CVC and Romanian lies in the nature of the negator itself. Could Romanian *nu* be [+NOT] or [-NOT] and CVC *ka* only [+NOT]? We propose below that it is not the case and argue that *ka* can also be [+NOT] or [-NOT]: it is always [+NOT] with sentences involving no variables; however, in sentences in which variables are present, the crucial difference (from Romanian *nu*) is that the value of *ka* depends on whether or not it c-commands the N-word. We propose that in (29) below, *ka* is [-NOT], as the preceding N-word carries the [+NOT] value; in this case, *ka* does not c-command the N-word.

- (29) *Ningen ka odja Maria.*  
 No one NEG see Maria  
 ‘No one saw Maria.’

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9. We should point out that the ambiguous reading of the sentence in (28) does not obtain for all speakers. For native speakers of Romanian like Ariana Bancu (personal communication), only the negative concord reading emerges.

In contrast, in (30), the negator *ka* c-commanding the N-word is endowed with [+NOT] whereas the N-word is [-NOT, +ANY], yielding the negative concord reading. *Ka* c-commands the N-word.

- (30) *João ka odja ningen.*  
 João NEG see no one  
 ‘João didn’t see anyone.’

Another crucial piece of data worth analyzing involves two N-words, one in subject position and the other in object position. What are the values of *ka* and of the N-words in sentences like (31)?

- (31) *Ningen ka odja nada.*  
 no one NEG see nothing  
 ‘No one didn’t see anything’ [literal translation: “nobody did not see nothing.”]

Given that the reading of (31) yields negative concord, one may assume that *ningen* carries the value [+NOT], *ka* [-NOT] and *nada* [-NOT, +ANY]. Assuming that the interpretation of N-words such as *ningen* depends on its featural composition under the Full Interpretation Principle, we concur with Longobardi (Longobardi 2014: 236) that in the event that [+NOT] cannot be interpreted in the local environment, it establishes a chain forming a single interpretative object with a c-commanding interpretable [+NOT] item; the two positions of the chain therefore function as a single negative operator scoping over [+ANY]. Following this, we stipulate that the [+NOT] feature on *ningen* and the [-NOT] feature on *ka* form a chain representing a single c-commanding negative operator scoping over the [+ANY] feature of *nada*, resulting in the negative concord reading.

In sum, the syntactic behavior of CVC *ka* in being [+NOT] or [-NOT] for *distinct* sentences differentiates it from Romanian *nu* that is ambiguous between the double negation reading and the negative concord reading for the *same* sentence. The dual nature of *nu* and the resulting ambiguity lie in its semantics whereas the two possible values of *ka* as [+NOT] or [-NOT] lie in its syntax (c-commanding relation to N-words).

This has obvious implications for Longobardi’s diasystem, the fundamental asymmetry hypothesis and the typological classification of languages like Romanian and CVC. These two languages behave similarly in some respects but differ in others, which does not warrant lumping them together into the same subclass of languages.

We summarize in the next section the distinct values of CVC NEG [+/-NOT] and N-words [+/-NOT; +/-ANY], by resorting to a typological classification of both.

### 3.2.3 On the typology of NEG and N-words in CVC and beyond

This section summarizes the possible values that can be assigned to the negator *ka* and to CVC N-words.

Starting with the single negator *ka*, in simple negative sentences involving no variables, *ka* carries the [+NOT] value, as seen in (32):

- (32) *João ka bai kaza.*  
 João [+NOT] go home  
 ‘João did not go home.’

The example in (33) below shows that in the absence of a pre-Infl variable, the c-commanding *ka* is [+NOT] whereas the post-Infl variable *ningen* is [-NOT, +ANY], yielding the negative concord reading:

- (33) *João ka odja ningen.*  
 João [+NOT] see anyone [-NOT, +ANY]  
 ‘João did not see anyone.’

In (34), the value of the N-word is [+NOT, -ANY] while *ka* is [-NOT], ensuring the negative concord reading.

- (34) *Ningen ka ben.*  
 no one [+NOT, -ANY] [-NOT] come  
 ‘No one came.’

As witnessed in (33) and (34), negative concord obtains, as long as there is only one [+NOT] item in the sentence, may that item be the negator (in (33)) or the N-word (in (34)).

Finally, we considered cases of sentences involving two N-words, as in (35) below. As already discussed, in the event that [+NOT] on the negator cannot be interpreted in the local environment (turning the value of *ka* into [-NOT]), it establishes a chain forming a single interpretative object with a c-commanding interpretable [+NOT] item (the N-word); the two positions of the chain therefore function as a single negative operator scoping over [+ANY].

- (35) *Ningen ka odja nada.*  
 no one [+NOT-ANY] [-NOT] see anything [-NOT, +ANY]  
 ‘No one didn’t see anything.’

Table 1 draws a typology of NEG and N-words in CVC, based on the values they can receive in the data examined thus far.

Table 1. Typology of NEG and N-words in CVC

<i>Ka</i>	+NOT or -NOT
pre-Infl N-word	+NOT, -ANY
post-Infl N-word	-NOT, +ANY

The typology of Neg and N-words illustrated in Table 1 points to a conceptually balanced system in CVC whereby the negator can be [+NOT] or [-NOT] and the N-words can be [+NOT] or [-NOT] or [+ANY] or [-ANY]. As N-words can be ambiguous between [+NOT, -ANY] and [-ANY, +NOT], one may wonder whether non N-words can display a similar type of ambiguity (Longobardi 2014: 237). In other words, can a non N-word be ambiguous between a negative operator and a non-negative item, giving rise to readings that are ambiguous between “anyone/no one” and “someone”. We propose below that lexical items such as *algen* in CVC may present such a case, as it may carry the features [-NOT, -ANY] or [-NOT, +ANY], as in (36) and (37), respectively:

- (36) *Algen dja roba kel omi.* [-NOT, -ANY]  
 someone COMPL robbed that man  
 ‘Someone robbed that man.’
- (37) a. *N ka ta konta algen mas di ke si.* [-NOT, +ANY]  
 1SG NEG TMA tell someone more of than this  
 ‘I won’t tell anyone more than this.’  
 b. *Ka ten algen ki ka konxe Mario.* [-NOT, +ANY]  
 NEG have someone that NEG know Mario  
 ‘There is not anyone who does not know Mario.’

This shows that the language is endowed both with N-words like *ningen* and *nada* that are ambiguous between [+NOT/-NOT] and [+ANY/-ANY] and with non-negative items like *algen* that are ambiguous between [-ANY] and [+ANY], thus acting as a negative polarity item, and adding one more entry to the typology of negative items in CVC. This is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Typology of negative lexical items in CVC

<i>Ka</i>	+NOT or -NOT
pre-Infl N-word	+NOT, -ANY
post-Infl N-word	-NOT, +ANY
non N-word	-NOT, -ANY
	-NOT, +ANY

Having explored the different configurations in which negative concord readings obtain, for the sake of providing the full picture, we now briefly turn to double negation in the final section.

### 3.2.4 *Double negation in CVC*

This brief section introduces the constructions that unambiguously convey double negation. They involve clefted sentences, as illustrated in (38) and (39):

(38) *E ka nada ki João kunpra na merkadu.*  
 is NEG nothing that João buy at market  
 ‘It is not nothing that João bought at the market.’

(39) *E ka ningen ki Maria odja na merkadu.*  
 is NEG no one that Maria see at market  
 ‘It is not no one that Maria saw at the market.’

Our analysis of such data is that in clefted, complex constructions, the [+NOT] value is retained by the c-commanding *ka* and clashes with the [+NOT] value of the N-word, resulting in the double negation reading. *Ka*'s preservation of the [+NOT] feature may be due to its focused, highlighted position in the clefted clause. We reserve this issue for further research.

## 4. Conclusion

This paper provided a parametric account of Negation in CVC, including both its negator and N-words. We first introduced Longobardi's (2014) framework and showed that while his three core parameters and the NOT rule and ANY rule account for some of the CVC data, the diasystem he proposes for Romance Negation falls short of accounting for the behavior of Negation in CVC. We examined the fundamental asymmetry hypothesis which predicts that if an N-word occurring in a pre-InfI position is [+NOT], then it need not occur with an overt negation marker, and showed that the hypothesis did not account for the CVC data. In so doing, we showed that CVC does not quite behave like Romance languages such as Italian, nor like Romanian, as the negator *nu* is ambiguously [+NOT] or [-NOT], resulting in double negation or negative concord readings for the accompanying N-words. We therefore refined the typological generalizations offered in Longobardi's insightful framework and proposed that the key difference between Romanian and CVC is that in CVC, the [+NOT] or [-NOT] value of *ka* depends on whether or not it c-commands the N-word.



Finally, we elaborated on the typology of Neg and N-words in CVC, pointing to a conceptually balanced system whereby the negator *ka* can be [+NOT] or [-NOT] and the N-words can be [+NOT] or [-NOT] or [+ANY] or [-ANY]. To complete this typology in which N-words can be ambiguous between [+NOT, -ANY] and [-ANY, +NOT], we showed that non N-words like *algen* ‘someone’ can be ambiguous between a negative operator and a non-negative item, giving rise to readings that are ambiguous between “anyone/no one” and “someone”. We proposed that such lexical items may carry the features [-NOT, -ANY] or [-NOT, +ANY]. We finally briefly explored double negation that strictly involves cleft-sentences and we argue that the focused, highlighted position of the negator forces it to retain the [+NOT] value which ultimately clashes with the [-NOT] value of the N-word, resulting in double negation.

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# Elements of denial in Capeverdean

## The negator *ka* and the properties of *n*-words

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This paper aims at showing that Capeverdean, a Portuguese-based Creole, is a strict Negative Concord language. In fact, *n*-words (Laka 1990) like *ningen* ‘no.one’ and *nada* ‘nothing’ always co-occur with sentential negation, be they in preverbal or postverbal position. This means that they are prohibited in all non-negative clauses, including modal contexts. Syntactically, they show a behavior typical of weak Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) as described in Martins (2000). Following Giannakidou (2002), I propose that, semantically, these *n*-words are universal quantifiers with no intrinsic negative meaning. Finally, I briefly address the adverbs *tioxi* and *nunka*, which roughly mean ‘never’: the former is also a weak NPI but not a quantifier, the latter may be ambiguous between a strong and a weak NPI, and seems a quantifier.

**Keywords:** Capeverdean, sentential negation, Negative Concord, *n*-words, universal quantifiers

### 1. Introduction

In the Santiago variety of Capeverdean,<sup>1</sup> a Portuguese-based Creole language, sentential negation is expressed by the word *ka*, as illustrated in (1) (Pratas 2012b):

- (1) *E ka ta furta.*  
3SG NEG TMA steal  
‘He does not steal.’

The word *ka* generally occurs in a preverbal position, just as in (1). The verb here is *furta* ‘steal’, but this order occurs with all the other verbs, the only exception

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1. For the rest of the paper, I will refer simply to Capeverdean, but the only variety under analysis here is the one spoken in the Santiago Island.

being the present copula *e* ‘be.INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL’,<sup>2</sup> with which the negative marker appears post-verbally.<sup>3</sup> See this occurrence in (2) (Pratas 2012b):

- (2) *El e ka malkriadu.*  
 3SG be.INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL NEG rude  
 ‘He is not rude.’

Note that in (1) we have a different *e*, the subject clitic for the third person singular. These homophonous words never co-occur: as we see in (2), in the presence of the copula *e* the third person singular pronoun is not a clitic, but rather a free pronominal form.<sup>4</sup> In this context, a clitic is ruled out:

- (3) \**E e ka malkriadu.*  
 3SG be.INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL NEG rude

Interestingly, the word order in (2) does never occur when this copula is in the past: *era* ‘be.PST’, a suppletive form taken from Portuguese. Moreover, in negative sentences the present copula *e* can be null. In (4), we have a set of examples that captures these facts regarding this copula and the sentential negation (Pratas 2007: 125). In (4a), with the past *era* ‘be.PST’, we see that the word order is the same as with all the other verbs. The example in (4b) shows that this copula ‘be’ may be null in negative contexts and, when it is, the only temporal reading available is present. In (4c), we see that the copula cannot be null in non-negative clauses.

- (4) a. *Wosvaldu ka era riku. / \*Wosvaldu era ka riku.*  
 Wosvaldu NEG be.PST rich / Wosvaldu be.PST NEG rich  
 ‘Wosvaldu was not rich.’  
 b. *Wosvaldu ka riku.*  
 Wosvaldu NEG rich  
 ‘Wosvaldu is not rich.’ / \*‘Wosvaldu was not rich.’  
 c. \**Wosvaldu riku.*  
 Wosvaldu rich

2. There is another present copula in the language: *sta* ‘be.STAGE-LEVEL’. For simplicity, however, *e* is from now on only indicated as ‘be’.

3. I refer the interested reader to Baptista (2002: 104 fn 15) for different judgements in other varieties.

4. In Capeverdean, there are three types of personal pronouns: emphatic forms, free forms and clitics. The clitics are the most commonly used. The emphatic forms are generally used in clitic doubling contexts (see the second clause of the coordinate structure in (5)), and the free forms are obligatory in cases where there is some specific local restriction, e.g. the copula *e* requires a free pronoun in the subject position, and the temporal verbal suffix *-ba* requires a free pronoun in the object position.

The proposal in Pratas (2007: 123–124) for the syntactic status of *ka* is that it is a head. It is also assumed in the present paper that *ka* shows a typical head behavior, regarding namely the impossibility of being focalized (5) or occurring isolated (6). In both cases we must use the adverb *nau* ‘no’:

- (5) *N gosta txeu di katxupa, mas abo, bu nau / \*ka.*  
 1SG like much of katxupa but 2SG, 2SG ADV / NEG  
 ‘I like katxupa a lot, but you, you don’t.’
- (6) Question: *Bu ta ben ku mi?*  
 2SG TMA come with 1SG?  
 ‘Do you come /are you coming with me?’
- Answer: *Nau. / \*Ka.*  
 ADV / NEG  
 ‘No.’

The DP’s *ningen* ‘no.one’ and *nada* ‘nothing’, which from now on I will simply mention as *n*-words in the sense of Laka (1990), always co-occur with this sentential negator *ka*, be they in preverbal or postverbal position. Note that this co-occurrence of *ningen* ‘no.one’ or *nada* ‘nothing’ with *ka* preserves the negative value of the sentence. See the example in (7), with *ningen* ‘no.one’ in the subject position (Pratas 2007: 124):

- (7) *Ningen \*(ka) gosta di mi.*  
 no.one NEG like of 1SG  
 ‘No one likes me.’

In other words, Capeverdean exhibits strict Negative Concord (NC). Contrast this with the correspondent sentence in Portuguese, the European lexifier of this Creole language, which displays non-strict Negative Concord<sup>5</sup> – only *n*-words in postverbal position co-occur with the sentential negator *não*:

- (8) a. *Ninguém \*(não) gosta de mim.*  
 no.one NEG like of me  
 ‘No one likes me.’
- b. *Eu \*(não) vi ninguém.*  
 1SG NEG see.1SG.PST no.one  
 ‘I didn’t see anybody.’

The facts just described raise some very interesting questions about these Capeverdean words. Namely:

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5. For a discussion of different approaches to strict and non-strict Negative Concord, see Tubau (2008).

- (9) a. What is the semantic status of the DP's *ningen* 'no.one' and *nada* 'nothing'? I have affirmed above that I am calling them *n*-words in the sense of Laka (1990). But does their morphology – which in fact includes the initial 'n' – mean that they have an intrinsic negative meaning?
- b. Moreover: are they indefinites or quantifiers?

Furthermore, these facts also raise interesting questions about the expression of negation in the language. Namely:

- (10) a. How is logical negation obtained for the sentence in (7)? In other words, what is the syntactic configuration that accommodates both the sentential negator *ka* and the word *ningen*, maintaining the meaning of one logical negation only?
- b. What about adverbs like *nunka* or *tioxi*? Roughly, they both mean 'never', but does their distribution regarding sentential negation obey the same constraints as *ningen* or *nada*?

The present paper addresses the questions in (9) and (10), providing a proposal based on generative approaches for other languages (Zanuttini 1991, 1994; Martins 2000; Giannakidou 2000, 2002, among others). In so doing, it will also bring a substantial contribution to a better understanding of the mechanisms for expressing negation in natural language.

Regarding the questions in (9), I will argue that the *n*-words *ningen* 'no.one' and *nada* 'nothing' are universal quantifiers with no inherent negative meaning, just as Giannakidou (2002) has proposed for Greek and Romanian, also strict NC languages. Their semantic properties as quantifiers, and their inherent operator status, are associated with the fact that they can bind a specific kind of variable (Costa & Pratas 2013).

This characterization as quantifiers, however, does not provide a satisfactory answer to the questions in (10). Thus, regarding the relation of these *n*-words with sentential negation (SN), I will follow the feature system in Martins (2000) and propose that they are weak Negative Polarity Items (NPIs). They enter into an agreement relation with PolP (Zanuttini 1991), which is responsible for the polarity value of the sentence. Thus, these *n*-words plus *ka* are part of the same logical negation.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In Section 2, I show that these Capeverdean *n*-words cannot occur in non-negative contexts, and I discuss their status regarding the structure of negative clauses. In Section 3, I propose that these *n*-words are universal quantifiers. In Section 4, I briefly discuss the adverbs *nunka* and *tioxi*, which roughly mean 'never'. Finally, Section 5 presents some concluding remarks and identifies some points for future research.

## 2. Capeverdean *n*-words are weak NPIs

In strictly descriptive terms, we can say that in Capeverdean there is Negative Concord (NC), an expression that, as Giannakidou (2000: 457–458) points out, refers to the facts previously known as *double attraction* (Jespersen 1917), *negative attraction rule* (Labov 1972) or *neg-incorporation* (Klima 1964). Moreover, NC in the language is strict: as opposed to languages with non-strict NC, Capeverdean *n*-words *ningen* ‘no.one’ and *nada* ‘nothing’ always co-occur with the sentential negator *ka*, even when they are in a preverbal position. Consider the sentence in (7), here repeated in (11a). In (11b) we have an example with *nada* ‘nothing’, adapted from Pina (2006: 139):

- (11) a. *Ningen ka gosta di mi.*  
 no.one NEG like of 1SG  
 ‘No one likes me.’  
 b. *Nada ka txiga.*  
 nothing NEG arrive  
 ‘Nothing has arrived.’

At first sight, one could consider that there are two negations in each of these sentences, which contradicts their actual interpretation: we know that each of them conveys only one logical negation. Nevertheless, as Giannakidou (2000) puts it, this type of structure only poses a problem for compositionality – according to which the meaning of a sentence is built from the meaning of its words – if we take *n*-words to be inherently negative. If we do, the problem for compositionality is the following: since we do have two negative imports in the clause (the negative operator that provides sentential negation and the *n*-word), how come that they do not cancel each other, resulting in an affirmative clause?

The main goal of this section is to demonstrate that Capeverdean *n*-words *ningen* ‘no.one’ and *nada* ‘nothing’ show a behavior typical of weak NPIs (Martins 2000). In Subsection 2.1, I describe their distribution in greater detail, showing that they cannot occur in non-negative contexts,<sup>6</sup> and I present an account for the structure of the negative sentences in which they participate. In Subsection 2.2, I argue that they do not have an intrinsic negative meaning: following Giannakidou (2002), I take issue with the conclusions usually pointed out by other authors based on fragment answers.

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6. This is opposed to other modern Romance languages, where *n*-words such as ‘no.one’ and ‘nothing’ may appear in modal contexts of the same type as the ones illustrated here, in subsection 2.1. For more details about this, see Martins (2000).

## 2.1 The distribution of *ningen* ‘no.one’ and *nada* ‘nothing’

Both *ningen* ‘no.one’ and *nada* ‘nothing’ are barred from non-negative sentences. More specifically, they are not allowed in modal contexts: interrogatives (12), under the scope of words conveying prohibition (13) or doubt (14), or under the scope of modal verbs (15) :

- (12) \**Bu odja ningen?*  
 2SG see no.one  
 Intended meaning: ‘Have you seen anyone?’
- (13) \**Xefi proibi pa ningen sai di skritorio.*  
 boss forbid for no.one leave of office  
 Intended meaning: ‘The boss has forbidden that anyone leaves the office.’
- (14) \**N ka ta seta ma bu ta oferese-m nada.*  
 1SG NEG TMA accept COMP 2SG TMA offer-1SG nothing  
 Intended meaning: ‘I do not believe that you don’t offer me anything.’
- (15) \**N ka ta fla segredu ki pode ofende ningen.*  
 1SG NEG TMA tell secret REL may offend no.one  
 Intended meaning: ‘I don’t tell secrets that may offend anyone.’

These distributional properties are similar to the ones described in Martins (2000) for two modern Romance languages: Romanian and Venetian. In this paper I adopt for Capeverdean her proposal to account for those languages, although, for reasons of space, I will not be making comparisons to other Romance varieties.<sup>7</sup>

Following Rooryck’s (1994) application of the phonological notion of underspecification to syntactic features, Martins (2000) assumes that features are associated with one of three possible values: specified (+), non-variable underspecified (0) and variable underspecified ( $\alpha$ ). This means that “an element with a [0 neg-feature], for example, is simply unable to enter any operation related to the expression of a negative meaning” (Martins 2000: 9). As for elements with features whose value is variable underspecified, they “can enter operations leading to the filling in of their former underspecified value – a feature-filling ‘agreement’ relation converts [ $\alpha$  F] to [+ F].” Now, dealing with the specific features under analysis – polarity features –, she follows Laka (1990) and Zanuttini (1994, 1997), among others, in assuming that “the structure of the clause includes a functional projection, say PolP, where polarity features are located” (Martins 2000: 10). She “[takes] Pol to always contain

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7. For the details of these other languages, and also for a diachronic analysis that includes the properties of Old Romance and the linguistic changes occurred regarding *n*-words, I refer the interested reader to Martins (2000).

the same set of features: aff(irmation)-features, neg(ation)-features and mod(ality)-features – roughly corresponding to the grammatical encoding of the semantic notions of ‘veridicality’, ‘[anti]veridicality’ and ‘non-veridicality’ respectively (cf. Zwarts 1995; Giannakidou 1997 and Espinal 1998).<sup>8</sup>

Roughly, these features are schematized in (16):

(16) Polarity features:

- affirmative
- modal
- negative

Each of these features of Pol may exhibit a value that is:

- specified [+]
- or
- underspecified
  - non-variable [0]
  - or
  - variable [ $\alpha$ ]

Thus, for different interpretations, we have different values associated with each of the features of Pol. She gives this set of correspondences as an example (Martins 2000: 10):

- |  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| (17) Pol [+ aff, 0 neg, 0 mod]                   | John left         |
| Pol [0 aff, + neg, 0 mod]                        | John didn’t leave |
| Pol [0 aff, 0 neg, + mod (mod: ‘interrogative’)] | Did John leave?   |

With Zanuttini, she also assumes that there is variation across languages regarding the strength of the neg-features of Pol. In languages where the neg-features of Pol are strong (Spanish and Portuguese are examples for this), checking must take place before Spell Out; in this case, either the negation marker or another negative element must precede the verb. In languages where the neg-features of Pol are weak (like, say, French), checking takes place at LF; in this case no negative element preceding the verb is required.

Another important assumption for Martins’ (2000) system is that the distinction between strong and weak NPIs is a matter of specified *vs.*  $\alpha$ -underspecified neg-features. Strong NPIs are elements specified for neg-features – [+ neg]. Therefore, in the terms of Zanuttini (1994, 1997), if they are in the domain of Pol they can check a [+ neg] feature of this functional head before Spell Out (which,

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8. As explained in Giannakidou (2000: 468): “[roughly], an operator is non-veridical iff it does not entail the truth of the proposition it embeds”; and “[anti-veridical] operators are ‘negative’ in that they entail the falsity of the proposition they embed.”



as said above, is required in languages with strong neg-features). Weak NPIs have a variable underspecified value for neg-features – [ $\alpha$  neg]. Thus, even when they are the domain of Pol, they cannot check its strong neg-feature before Spell Out. Because of this, in languages with strong neg-features the presence of the overt negation marker is needed. Since  $\alpha$ -features are ‘transparent’, the preverbal weak NPI will have its neg-feature value ‘filled in’ (that is, it will turn into + neg) under an agreement configuration with the negation marker, and, thus, there is no clash between the neg-feature of the weak NPI and the strong neg-feature of Pol.

I will follow this proposal and argue that the structure of Capeverdean negative clauses depends on two properties: (a) just like what happens in Portuguese or Spanish, the neg-feature of Pol is strong; therefore, checking must take place before Spell Out, which means that a relevant negative element must precede the verb; (b) the *n*-words *ningen* ‘no.one’ and *nada* ‘nothing’ are weak NPIs; thus, they are [ $\alpha$  neg]; this means that, even when they are in the domain of Pol, they cannot check its strong neg-feature, and the presence of the overt negation marker, *ka*, is needed. The neg-feature value of these *n*-words, which is lexically underspecified, thus gets ‘filled in’ under an agreement configuration with the negation marker.

Under this system, the prohibition of *ningen* ‘no.one’ and *nada* ‘nothing’ in non-negative contexts nicely follows. These Capeverdean *n*-words have a non-variable underspecified value (0) both for aff-features and for mod-features. Summing up, just like what Martins (2000) has proposed for Romanian and Venetian, here is the representation of their values for the different polarity features:

- (18) Values for the polarity features of *ningen* ‘no.one’ and *nada* ‘nothing’  
[0 aff,  $\alpha$  neg, 0 mod]

One final note in this subsection is that, although this analysis explains the distribution of these *n*-words, it does not cover all their properties in Capeverdean. In Section 3, we will see that a further semantic characterization is needed, and I will explore the proposal in Giannakidou (2000, 2002) regarding the possibility that they are universal quantifiers. Note that, just like this author argues for Greek and other strict NC languages, they are *not* negative quantifiers (in the terms proposed in Zanuttini 1991; Haegeman & Zanuttini 1991): in fact, they do not have an intrinsic negative meaning. This might have become clear in this subsection – being [ $\alpha$  neg], they cannot check the strong neg-feature of Pol before Spell Out. But there is always the traditional argument that, if they can provide negative fragment answers, they must have a negative import (see Pina 2006). Again, I will follow Giannakidou (2002) and contradict this traditional line of reasoning. This is the subject of the next subsection.

## 2.2 Capeverdean *n*-words do not have an intrinsic negative meaning

Recall the following reasoning from a previous section: as Giannakidou (2000) puts it, the type of structures exemplified in (7) only poses a problem for compositionality if we take *n*-words to be inherently negative. Therefore, and as we have seen in the previous section, in Capeverdean this problem does not exist. The empirical facts described above show that the *n*-words under analysis do not have a specified value for negative features (contra Pina 2006, who, without any detailed consideration of feature values, affirms that they are like the Portuguese strong NPIs, following Matos 2003). Moreover, the argument that takes negative fragment answers as evidence for the negative nature of these words is easily contradicted when we assume that these fragment answers are a result of ellipsis. Take the following example, adapted from Pina (2006: 140):

- (19) Q. *Kenha ki txiga?*  
 who that arrive  
 ‘Who did arrive?’  
 A. *Ningen.*  
 no.one  
 ‘No one.’

If we assumed that the answer is exclusively constituted by the *n*-word, a straightforward conclusion would be that it has an intrinsic negative meaning. But let us consider what Giannakidou (2002: 27) says that “counts as a fragment answer:

- (20) Fragment answer:  
 An answer  $\alpha$  to a wh-question Q is a fragment answer iff:  
 a.  $\alpha$  corresponds in form to the wh-XP constituent in Q; and  
 b.  $\alpha$  is interpreted as a proposition.

It follows from (a) and (b) jointly that a fragment answer is an elliptical structure, since  $\alpha$  is a non-sentential constituent which nevertheless receives the interpretation of a sentence.”

Thus, the true meaning of the answer in (19) is as follows:

- (21) *Ningen [ka-txiga].*<sup>9</sup>  
 no.one NEG arrive  
 ‘No one has arrived.’

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9. A reviewer pointed out that this explanation fails to account for the fact that a fragment answer with *algun djenti* ‘someone’ is ungrammatical in Capeverdean. Note, however, that the restrictions imposed on positive polarity items with an existential import may be different from the ones affecting the NPIs under analysis here. Hence, I consider that this is not even a valid argument against the ellipsis proposal illustrated in (21). Moreover, according to my consultants, the full clause *Algun djenti txiga* is odd as a non-fragment answer to that question.

The proposal here is, therefore, that the participation of these *n*-words in fragment answers must also be licensed by sentential negation *ka*, under which their [ $\alpha$  neg] feature gets ‘filled in’. Although a part of the clause is not pronounced, it is active in its syntactic effects and interpretation, as is typical of ellipsis configurations. This perfectly contradicts the use of fragment answers as evidence that Capeverdean *n*-words have an intrinsic negative meaning.

In the next section I argue that these *n*-words are universal quantifiers.

### 3. Capeverdean *n*-words are universal quantifiers

As noted above, although this analysis explains the distribution of these *n*-words, it does not cover all their properties in Capeverdean. As we will see in greater detail in subsection 3.2, they must indeed have a quantifier status, since in certain contexts they function as operators, able to bind a specific kind of variable. Before discussing this, however, in subsection 3.1 I show that they obey some of the relevant diagnostics proposed in Giannakidou (2002).

#### 3.1 Capeverdean *n*-words are licensed locally and may be modified by *almost*

According to Giannakidou (2002), one can tell the difference between universal *n*-words and existential *n*-words through some relevant diagnostics.

##### (22) Diagnostics for **universal *n*-words**

[slightly adapted from Giannakidou 2002: 42]

A universal *n*-word has the following properties:

- (a) It is licensed only by local negation; long-distance licensing may be allowed only through an infinitival or subjunctive clause.
- (b) It expresses existential commitment, i.e. we tend to interpret it with a non-empty restriction.
- (c) It can be used as topic in topicalization structures. In these cases it may be coindexed with a clitic pronoun (or, in other languages, a free pronoun).
- (d) It can be modified by words corresponding to *almost/absolutely*.
- (e) It cannot bind donkey pronouns [at another point, Giannakidou acknowledges that this “may actually not be one of the most reliable diagnostics”].
- (f) It cannot be used as a predicate nominal.

Here I present empirical evidence for the diagnostics in (22a) and (22d), which point to a contrast between universal *n*-words and existential *n*-words – the latter are long-distance licensed in complement clauses and cannot be modified by adverbs corresponding to *almost/absolutely*. The other tests will be used in future works about other Capeverdean *n*-words, when other lexical items, with different

properties from the ones under analysis here, will be studied. This will be the case of the modifier *ninhun*, roughly corresponding to the Greek *kanena*, as in *kanena vivlio*, meaning ‘no book’.

Resuming the analysis of the DPs *ningen* and *nada*, we have the following examples regarding their local licensing: (23) shows that they are not licensed across the complementizer *ma* ‘that’;<sup>10</sup> (24) shows their possible long-distance licensing through an infinitival clause:

- (23) \**Maria ka fla m-e odja ningen.*  
 Maria NEG say COMP-3SG see no.one  
 Intended meaning: ‘Maria didn’t say she hasn’t seen anybody.’<sup>11</sup>
- (24) *Maria ka kre odja ningen.*  
 Maria NEG want see no.one  
 Intended meaning: ‘Maria doesn’t want to see anybody.’

As for the modification by degree adverbs, such as the ones equivalent to ‘almost’, again, Capeverdean data show that *n*-words behave like universal quantifiers. See this in the examples in (25) :

- (25) a. *Kuasi ningen ka ben festa.*  
 almost no.one NEG come party  
 ‘Almost nobody has come to the party.’
- b. *E ka kume kuasi nada.*  
 3SG NEG eat almost nothing  
 ‘He has eaten almost nothing.’

In the next subsection, I provide some further independent evidence in favor of the quantifier nature of Capeverdean *n*-words like *ningen* ‘no.one’.

### 3.2 Capeverdean *ningen* has an inherent operator status

An independent motivation for the idea that the Capeverdean *n*-word *ningen* ‘no. one’ is a quantifier is that it reveals an inherent operator status regarding the possibility of licensing a null embedded subject as a bound variable, in very specific contexts.<sup>12</sup> The argumentation goes as follows.

10. Note that, at least in this respect, NC in Capeverdean is different from NC in Hatian Creole; in the latter, NC is unbounded (see Déprez 1999 for the details of this).

11. A double negation reading is not accepted either.

12. This subsection assumes the intuition that the same holds for *nada* ‘nothing’, although only for *ningen* tests are presented here.

There are no overt expletive subjects, as we see in (26), but referential subjects in root clauses cannot be null, which is here illustrated in (27) (examples from Pratas 2007; Costa & Pratas 2013):

- (26) *Sata txobe na Lisboa.*  
 PROG rain in Lisbon  
 ‘It’s raining in Lisbon.’
- (27) \*(N) *Sta duenti.*<sup>13</sup>  
 1SG be.STAGE-LEVEL sick  
 ‘I am sick.’

However, the language allows for one specific type of embedded null subjects, in sentences like the one in (28):

- (28) *Ningen<sub>i</sub> / Tudu algen<sub>i</sub> ka atxa livru ki ø<sub>i</sub> perdeba.*  
 no.one every person NEG find book REL lose:TMA

Note that the embedded null subject is co-indexed with the *n*-word *ningen* ‘no.one’ or with *tudu algen* ‘everybody’, and in Costa & Pratas (2013) it has been argued that it is licensed as a bound variable, such as was proposed in Modesto (2000) for Brazilian Portuguese. This way, it is predicted that it can occur in islands, a prediction that is borne out in Capeverdean, as shown in (28), in which the null subject is inside a relative clause. Thus, Costa and Pratas (2013) argue that *pro* is in fact available in Capeverdean, but is restricted to contexts in which it establishes a relation with a *c*-commanding operator.

Crucially, we verify that the same type of null embedded subjects is also available with *wh*-antecedents. As was extensively argued in Nicolis (2005), extraction out of an embedded subject position past an overt complementizer is fully grammatical in Capeverdean. See this in (29), from Costa & Pratas (2013: 10):

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13. Baptista (2002) includes two other cases in which, according to her, root null subjects are possible in Capeverdean: with stage-level predicates and with copular predicates, such as in (i) and (ii), respectively:

- (i) *(Bu) sta livri.*  
 you are free
- (ii) *(El) e nha pai.*  
 he is my father

Pratas (2002, 2007) disputes that these cases are proof of the *pro*-drop status of the language:

(i) is not productive at all, based on corpus studies and judgments of native speakers who strongly reject null subjects in these contexts; and, as for (ii), the version without an overt subject looks like a presentational sentence, involving an expletive subject, as in the French counterpart *C’est mon père* ‘This is my father’. In this type of context, what we have is a null expletive, which is grammatical in Capeverdean.

- (29) *Kenha ki bu ta pensa ma kunpra livru?*  
 Who that 2SG TMA think COMP buy book  
 ‘Who do you think has bought the book?’

In complex sentences in which the subject of the matrix clause is a non-quantified DP, the embedded *pro* is ruled out. In this respect, Capeverdean is a non-consistent null subject language (cf. Holmberg 2005) that differs from Brazilian Portuguese, in which the antecedent may be a non-quantified DP, as in (30) (Modesto 2000).

- (30) Brazilian Portuguese  
*O Pedro<sub>1</sub> disse que  $\emptyset$ <sub>1/\*2</sub> ganhou na loto.<sup>14</sup>*  
 the Pedro say.3SG.PST COMP won in.the lotto  
 ‘Pedro said that he won the lotto.’

Contrast this with Capeverdean, where the same sentence needs the embedded clitic:

- (31) a. \**Pedru fla ma  $\emptyset$  ganha na lotu.*  
 Pedru say COMP win at lotto  
 b. *Pedru fla m-e ganha na lotu.*  
 Pedru say COMP-3SG win at lotto  
 ‘Pedro has said that he has won the lotto.’

Importantly, Modesto (2000) argues that all subjects in Brazilian Portuguese occupy an A-bar position from which they are able to bind a variable. This is a topic position in the left periphery of the clause, which attracts DPs, in particular the subject DP. Thus, Costa and Pratas (2013) defend that the crucial difference between the two languages lies in the nature of the null subject antecedents. In Capeverdean, in contrast to Brazilian Portuguese, we have seen that only *wh*-antecedents (which occupy an A-bar position) or expressions like *ningen* ‘no.one’ or *tudu algen* ‘everyone’ can serve as binders for the null element in the embedded subject position. Assuming that the Capeverdean matrix subject is in Spec, TP (Pratas 2002, 2007), which has A-properties, the fact that these subjects can serve as operators will then depend on its inherent status. If the DP is quantified, it has an inherent operator status and, as such, it can bind a variable – this is the case of the expressions under analysis. A DP like *Pedru*, however, does not have this inherent operator status, and, thus, the fact that it cannot play this role is hardly surprising.

In this section, I have proposed that Capeverdean *n*-words are universal quantifiers. They obey relevant diagnostics pointed out in Giannakidou (2002) and,

14. In European Portuguese, the embedded null subject can be co-indexed with the matrix subject or not – in the latter case, it refers to someone else. In Brazilian Portuguese, only the first meaning is available.

furthermore, they obviously have an inherent operator status, typical of quantifiers: as subjects, they are in an A-position – Spec, TP – and yet they are able to bind a variable, the specific embedded null subject in some configurations.

Finally, in the next section I will briefly approach the adverbs *nunka* and *tioxi*, both roughly meaning ‘never’.

#### 4. The status of the adverbs *nunka* and *tioxi*

The words *nunka* and *tioxi* have been left out of the previous discussion because there is a point that deserves a separate treatment. The point is that, whereas *tioxi* can only occur in sentences with a Perfect interpretation,<sup>15</sup> *nunka* is ambiguous between this same reading and another one that is compatible with Habitual temporal interpretations. Furthermore, it is very interesting that both *tioxi*, always with the Perfect (be it present or past), and *nunka* in Habitual sentences necessarily co-occur with the sentential negator *ka*, whereas *nunka* in Perfect sentences (thus, with a meaning corresponding to *tioxi*) may occur without *ka*. I have organized this distribution in Table 1:

**Table 1.** Aspectual compatibilities of the adverbs *tioxi* and *nunka*

	Perfect sentences	Habitual sentences
<i>nunka</i>	Ok – <i>ka</i> optional	Ok – <i>ka</i> obligatory
<i>tioxi</i>	Ok – <i>ka</i> obligatory	*

And the following are some illustrative examples:

(32) Perfect interpretation:

- a. *Nunka N (ka) kume karne.* [ka is optional]  
 never 1SG NEG eat meat  
 ‘I have never eaten meat.’
- b. *Tioxi N \*(ka) kume karne.* [ka is obligatory]<sup>16</sup>  
 never 1SG NEG eat meat  
 ‘I have never eaten meat.’

15. For the analysis of allegedly bare verbs that are in fact marked by a zero morpheme which conveys a Perfect reading, see Pratas (2010, 2012a, 2014).

16. For the sake of clarity, I also include here an example of *tioxi* in a Past Perfect sentence:

- (i) *Tioxi e ka odjaba pekador ku si odju!* (Brüser & Santos 2002)  
 never 3SG NEG see:TMA sinner PREP his eye  
 ‘Until then, he had not seen a sinner with his own eyes.’

## (33) Habitual

- a. *Na sesta-fera santa, nunka N \*(ka) ta kume karne.*  
 PREP Friday holy, never 1SG NEG TMA eat meat  
 ‘On Holy Fridays, I never eat meat.’
- b. *\*Na sesta-fera santa, tioxi N ka ta kume karne.*  
 PREP Friday holy, never 1SG NEG TMA eat meat

Note that for a sentence like (33a), *tioxi* is indeed forbidden (cf. (33b)). These facts raise one observation – about *tioxi* – that is perhaps trivial, and another one – about *nunka* – that seems more complex, and is certainly more interesting.

The first observation is that it is not problematic at all to assume that *tioxi* derives from the Portuguese expression *até hoje* ‘until today’, which accounts for its temporal/aspectual restrictions. By means of reanalysis and grammaticalization – processes involved in language change and, thus, also in the formation of Creoles –, it has not only extended its meaning to ‘until then’ (see example in fn 17), but also acquired the properties of a *n*-word (note that the Portuguese adverbial expression *até hoje* is not a *n*-expression), behaving exactly like the DPs *ningen* ‘no.one’ and *nada* ‘nothing’ (see Section 2). This means that it is also a weak NPI with the correspondent values for the different polarity features:

- (34) Values for the polarity features of *tioxi*  
 [0 aff, α neg, 0 mod]

However, it does not obey the diagnostics for universal *n*-words, namely it does not allow the modification by *almost*. Thus, I propose that, differently from *ningen* ‘no.one’ and *nada* ‘nothing’, it is not a universal quantifier.

The other observation, this turn about *nunka*, is that, in Perfect sentences, it seems to be ambiguous between, on the one hand, a weak NPI, with the same set of values as *ningen*, *nada* and *tioxi*, and, on the other hand, a strong NPI, thus specified for negative features. In the latter case, it would be able to check the strong negative features of Pol before Spell Out, dispensing with the sentential negation. This proposed ambiguity is summarized in (35) :

- (35) a. Values for the polarity features of *nunka*  
 in Habitual constructions  
 [0 aff, α neg, 0 mod]
- b. Values for the polarity features of *nunka*  
 in Perfect constructions  
 [0 aff, α neg, 0 mod]  
 or [0 aff, + neg, 0 mod]<sup>17</sup>

17. Given this ambiguous status of *nunka* (which may be related to a diachronic change of the lexical item imported from Portuguese), it has also been suggested to me by Ana Maria Martins



Crucially, when we have sentences with both *nunka* and *ningen* in a preverbal position, *ka* is needed again. Observe (36):

- (36) *Nunka ningen \*(ka) purgunta-m kel-li.*  
 never no.one NEG ask-1SG DEM-here  
 ‘No one has ever asked me this.’

This is easily explained by the fact that, even if this *nunka* is the strong NPI version, it is not in the domain of Pol, since *ningen* is closer to the sentential negation. Given the previously discussed properties of *ningen*, it is predictable that *ka* is required here.

Lastly, note that, when it occurs obligatorily with *ka*, *nunka* may be modified by *kuasi* ‘almost’, which favours its analysis as a universal quantifier. This is here exemplified with a Habitual sentence:

- (37) *Kuasi nunca N ka ta odja tilibison.*  
 almost never 1SG NEG TMA watch television  
 ‘I almost never watch tv.’

I propose that there are temporal/aspectual restrictions at stake here that need further investigation, soon to be included in other papers on more specifically aspect-centered topics.

In this section, I have addressed the adverbs *tioxi* and *nunka*, which roughly mean ‘never’. We have seen that *tioxi* is only compatible with a Perfect temporal interpretation and, like *ningen* and *nada*, is a weak NPI, which must co-occur with *ka*. As for *nunka*, however, it may occur in sentences with a Habitual reading but also in sentences with a Perfect reading. The full aspectual and modal implications of this distribution will be more extensively addressed in future works.

## 5. Final remarks

I have discussed in this paper the expression of negation in Capeverdean. More explicitly, I hope to have shown that this Portuguese-based Creole is a strict Negative Concord language: *n*-words (Laka 1990) like *ningen* ‘no.one’ and *nada* ‘nothing’

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that the weak version of *nunka* could show a variable underspecified value for both the negative and the modal features ([0 aff, α neg, α mod]). In this case, each of the α’s would be turned into + in the relevant context. This would imply that they had a different distribution: *nunka ka* – negative clause; *nunka* – modal clause. We already know that the latter does not occur in habituals, which could be taken as one type of modal context. But I suspect this might hold in others, such as questions and conditionals. They will be analysed in future studies.

always co-occur with sentential negation, be they in preverbal or postverbal position. This means that they are prohibited not only in affirmatives, but also in modal contexts, therefore showing a behavior typical of weak Negative Polarity Items (NPIs), whose negative features have a variable underspecified value (Martins 2000). This has been the topic in Section 2.

Furthermore, I hope to have demonstrated, following Giannakidou's (2002) for Greek *n*-words (Greek is also a strict NC language), that these Capeverdean *n*-words are universal quantifiers with no intrinsic negative meaning. This has been the topic in Section 3.

Finally, in Section 4, I have addressed the adverbs *tioxi* and *nunka*, which roughly mean 'never', and argued that, whereas the former is also a weak NPI but does not seem to be a quantifier, the latter shows an ambiguous behavior regarding sentential negation and seems to be a universal quantifier.

At this point, one question emerges about the discussion on covert Quantifier Raising (QR) in order to account for the scope of these quantifiers. I will not enter into these details here, but one promising view is the one advanced in Champollion (2011), according to which the event variable is bound inside the verbal denotation, rather than at sentence level by existential closure, thus allowing quantifiers to be interpreted *in situ*; this line of reasoning is soon to be explored regarding these Capeverdean quantifiers.

There are also at least three topics related to facts discussed here that have been left out of this paper: (a) the behavior of the anti-veridical *sen* 'without', which introduces DPs or non-finite clauses (thus, it seems to me that it does not make sense to locate it in C, as has been proposed in Pina 2006), and (b) the behavior/properties of modifiers such as *ninhun*, as in *ninhun livru* 'no book'; (c) the semantic properties of the word *algen*, which in some cases seems to behave as Positive Polarity Item but in other cases needs the modifier *algun* – which gives a configuration of the type 'some someone'. These topics, too, will be investigated in the future.

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## List of abbreviations

1SG/1PL	1st person singular/plural
ADV	adverb
COMP	complementizer
DEM	demonstrative
NEG	sentential negator
PROG	progressive
PST	past
PREP	preposition
REL	relative pronoun
TMA	temporal morpheme

This general classification is due to the complex modal and aspectual function of these morphemes; see Pratas 2018.

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# Negation in Korlai Indo-Portuguese

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Korlai displays patterns in negation largely similar to those found in Marathi, the adstrate language. An example of this is the apparent calque of the Marathi negative construction with ‘want’, where Korlai *ni ke* ‘don’t/doesn’t want’ (negator *ni* with a reduced form of *keré* ‘want’) corresponds to Marathi *nako*, a lexicalized form translated as ‘don’t/doesn’t want’. Based on socio-historical evidence, it is argued that these patterns likely developed early on in the history of Korlai. There are some innovations in Korlai, as well, not found in its adstrate language: it has a future negation marker in *pa* (*eló nu pa andá kadz* ‘they won’t go home’), it exhibits an unexpected order of the negative element *nu* with the deontic particle *mafi* ‘must/should’ (*eló mafi nu andá* ‘they must/should not go’), and its negative pronouns (*nad* ‘nothing’, *ningē* ‘nobody’, *neū* ‘none’) are sensitive to definiteness. These more recent developments suggest that Korlai, while sharing negation patterns with Marathi, has evolved independently of its adstrate language.

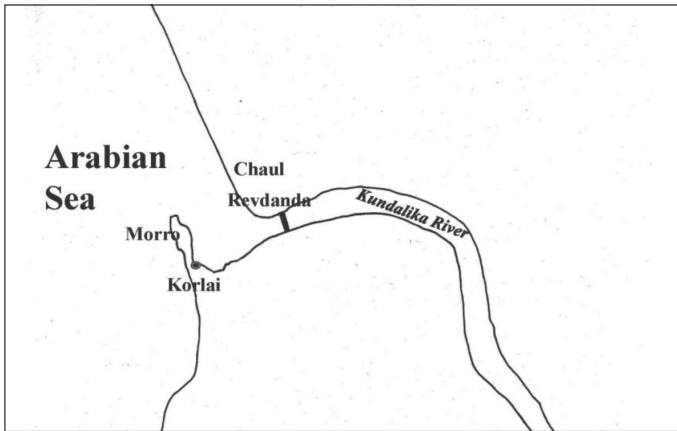
**Keywords:** Korlai, negative concord, negation marker ordering, negation under definiteness

## 1. The formation of the Korlai village and language

In this chapter, a general description of negation in Korlai Indo-Portuguese (henceforth Korlai) is presented, but before going into the description, it will be useful to give an account of the manner in which Korlai most likely formed.

The Portuguese arrived in the Chaul/Korlai area for the first time in 1505 (Fernandes 1926: 66) at a time when Chaul was still a main locus of commerce, which interested the Portuguese, who initially traveled to India precisely to engage in trade (Kulkarni 1989: 167). The first fortification built by the Portuguese in the area was completed in Chaul in 1524, the other main construction, the *Morro de Chaul* ‘Chaul Hill’, was completed around 1594 (see Map 1).

By this time, it was clear that they planned on maintaining a continuous presence in South Asia.



Map 1. The Korlai-Chaul area

Sometime thereafter, Our Lady of the Sea church was built at the base of the *Morro*, in the valley named *Corle* (Andrade 1945: 9). The small community that subsequently formed in the vicinity of the church over time took on the name of the valley, the village of Korlai today.

The 1600s brought the gradual decline of Chaul as a port of trade, due in part to the siltation of the Kundalika River. In 1740 the Marathas conquered the area, forcing the Portuguese out of Chaul. The Portuguese, along with the native Christians who could afford it, abandoned the area for Goa, leaving behind the lower caste Indian Christians, and some clergy. Records indicate that by 1751 the church at the foot of the *Morro* had been moved to a new place about a kilometer away from its original location (Humbert 1964: 31). The current village of upper Korlai established itself around the new church, christened Our Lady of Mount Carmel.

As will be discussed below, there is indirect evidence suggesting that Korlai formed within one to three generations and that it was a full-fledged language by the time the original Korlai village took shape after 1593, but the question of the ecology of the area is important to describe in order to better understand the situation in which Korlai most likely formed.

Even though the initial policy of the Portuguese in India was only to send annual expeditions to India from Portugal for trading purposes, as early as 1505 there were some indications that the Portuguese had adopted a new policy of settling in India permanently (*Maharashtra State Gazetteer* 75). During the 16th century 2,000 to 4,000 Portuguese men sailed overseas yearly, the majority of which were 'able-bodied and unmarried young men, bound for Golden Goa and further east, relatively few of whom ever returned to Europe' (Boxer 1975: 67). These men were for the most part from the lower classes of Portuguese society (Boxer 1963: 62). The emigration of Portuguese women to Asia was exceedingly rare compared with

that of the men. The Portuguese crown is said to have discouraged their women from going out to the colonies (Boxer 1975: 64–65). The few women who did travel to India with the Portuguese were either Arabic women taken from Kilwa (present-day southeast Tanzania) to Cannanore and Cochin at the beginning of the Portuguese colonization of India (Germano da Silva Correia 1948: 227–240)<sup>1</sup>, or they were Portuguese women who stayed in Goa or moved to the Province of the North, which consisted of the coastal area between Chaul and Daman (Boxer 1975: 67; see Map 2).



**Map 2.** Places where the Portuguese established settlements

1. Germano da Silva Correia (1948: 225–266) states that the colonization of south India took place in part through the marriages between Portuguese men and Arabic women from Kilwa on the east coast of Africa. Specifically, in 1502 as Vasco da Gama led an expedition to India and had made a stop in Kilwa, he was approached by well over 100 Arabic women, with their daughters, who begged to be taken to India. Germano da Silva Correia reports that after Vasco da Gama had carried out inquiries about the situation of these women, he accommodated 40 women and their daughters in his own ship and took them to India and had them settled in Cannanor (present-day Kannur) and Cochin where they became Christians and married Portuguese soldiers (1948: 227). Although Germano da Silva Correia mentions that the women wanted to leave because they felt mistreated, he does not touch upon how they could have escaped their compound, which would have been extremely difficult, as well as dangerous.



The circled area marks places where northern Indo-Portuguese Creoles were/are found.

Apart from the Crown's policy, one main reason for the paucity of Portuguese women was 'the fact that so many Portuguese men, including the *soldados* (as the unmarried men were called for centuries owing to their liability to military service), preferred to live with a harem of slave girls rather than to marry, at any rate in their younger and more virile days' (Boxer 1975: 68). Many of the Portuguese who practiced polygamy in this form became *casados*, that is, men who had gone to Asia in service of the Crown and the Church, and after reaching India married native women and were then allowed to leave the royal service and settle down as citizens or traders (Boxer 1963: 58 and 1975: 68, note 3). But the Portuguese *casados* also had concubines and often owned slaves as well, both men and women, to carry out farm and other types of work (cf. Boxer 1963: 61–62). I assume that these individuals would have had significantly less than full and direct access to Portuguese due to the caste-based divisions prevalent in the region at that time.

From very early on there is evidence of Indo-Portuguese offspring in India. In a 1516 letter, Fernão da Veiga, the judge in charge of the orphans in Goa, reported to the King of Portugal that '70 orphans, children of Portuguese, that were in this city were living from alms, and [the King] should provide money for them.' It is reasonable to assume that this type of situation existed at that time, not only in Goa, but also in Chaul and other Portuguese settlements of comparable size.

Many of the *soldados* and *casados* took it upon themselves to make Christians out of their slaves and their offspring, as detailed in a report by a Jesuit missionary in 1550 (in Boxer 1963: 59–60).

Although the conversion of Indo-Portuguese offspring as well as native Indians into the Catholic faith meant that a new element of that society was beginning to emerge, it took place within the strongly-entrenched and rigid caste system of India, which the Portuguese in vain tried to abolish (Boxer 1963: 75).

To date, the first mention found of the population at Chaul during the 16th century comes from a letter to the King of Portugal, dated 1535 and saying 'here there are about 70 or 80 married and hard-working [honrados] inhabitants [moradores] very ready to be of service to you' (Mendes 1989: 43). Evidently, the community grew quickly: In a letter dated 1548 from the Portuguese king D. João III to the Chaul officials it is stated that Chaul had 400 inhabitants and an official for orphan matters, a fact which lends support to the assumption that Chaul, like Goa, had Indo-Portuguese orphans from very early on (Mendes 1989: 43). By 1572, the population had doubled, with slaves and native Christians being added to the count: '... the Portuguese in Chaul not being more than eight hundred with some slaves and Christians of the land' (Mendes 1989: 43).

It is reasonable to assume that when the Portuguese arrived in Chaul in 1505 they found a majority of the population were Marathi-speaking Hindus, although the area was under the rule of Muslim lords. It was largely the lower-caste Hindus that the Portuguese enslaved and with whom they mixed (cf. Boxer 1963: 59–61). The first Portuguese to arrive in Chaul were soldiers for the most part, and of the socially lower classes (Boxer 1963: 62–63). These men spoke their own dialect of Portuguese and had possibly been exposed to some forms of restructured Portuguese, such as L2 varieties spoken by foreigners they may have interacted with (e.g. with Africans in urban areas such as Lisbon) and fellow Portuguese speakers who could have served as models for the production of foreigner talk (cf. Clements 2009: Ch. 3; 1992). When communicating with non-Portuguese-speaking people, these Portuguese most likely used any and all means available to them to make themselves understood, as did their interlocutors.

What we have, then, is a two-language contact situation in the Korlai-Chaul area with Portuguese as the target language. More precisely, the target for the newly enslaved and newly-converted Indian Christians was the language the soldiers spoke—most likely a mixture of natively-spoken Portuguese and different varieties of restructured Portuguese, including foreigner talk. Because of the aforementioned caste barriers, the access to Portuguese on the part of these Indian slaves, concubines, and their offspring was arguably only partial. Thus, thrown into a new living situation and presented with incomplete input from a new language, which they were obliged to somehow learn (part of the conversion process), the Indians naturally tried to communicate, making guesses about what their Portuguese interlocutors would understand.

For their part, the Portuguese arguably altered their speech to the extent that promoted the greatest likelihood of communication, using models that they had already been exposed to or restructuring their speech, as alluded to above. The positively perceived instances of communication, that is, those that promoted intelligibility, were taken as successful by the speakers. The grammar of the emerging L2 variety, then, would have initially been a direct reflection of the shared successes (partial as well as complete) in communication experienced between the colonial-language speakers and the recent converts shifting languages in the formation of a new social identity. Instances of partial success would have yielded lexical items with altered meanings, due to substrate influence. An example of this is Korlai *pe* ‘leg/foot’ and *māw* ‘hand/arm’, corresponding to Marathi *pay* ‘leg/foot’ and *hat* ‘hand/arm’, where in Portuguese we find *mão* ‘hand’ and *pé* ‘foot’.

I suggest that nativization occurred when the offspring of these Indian Christians began learning as a first language the variety of Portuguese spoken by one or more parents or guardians. This process most likely happened with input from various adult L2 varieties, and possibly in situations in which children spoke

among themselves—recall that there were Indo-Portuguese offspring in Chaul from very early on—in which case it is reasonable to speak of abrupt rather than gradual nativization (cf. Thomason and Kaufman 1988: Chapter 6). In other words, I suggest that there was a pidgin developing between the newly converted Indian Christians and Portuguese soldiers, which Indo-Portuguese offspring were exposed to, and they picked up this emerging linguistic system, imposing structure and/or grammar on it where necessary and thereby converting it into a full-fledged Creole. With this new primary language connected to their new religious customs, I assume that these new Christians were also instrumental in the development of a new cultural and social identity.

What is crucial to understand in this development is that once the lower-caste Hindus converted to Catholicism, they became *doubly* limited in their social contact with others, not only by the strict constraints on social interaction placed on them by their caste, but by religious constraints that isolated them from their Hindu and Muslim peers. It is not that the Indian Christians did not interact with Christians of other castes (e.g. *Reinols*, or *Mestiços*) or people of other religions; rather, the range of interaction was considerably narrow. In particular, where before they did not marry outside of their group because of caste restrictions, after conversion they no longer married even Hindus of equal caste because of their new religion.

I have just outlined one feasible scenario for the formation of Korlai. I have argued that the formation of Korlai took place in one to three generations, as just mentioned, which implies that that this new variety could have been spoken as early on as 1530 as the pidginizing variety at least by the lower-caste native Indian Christians, and as a first language by the Indo-Portuguese offspring. I have also argued that, because of their caste and religion, the emerging lower-caste Indian Christian community who came to speak the Creole were relatively isolated from other Christian castes and from the Hindus and Muslims of the area in that there was virtually no intermarriage between the lower-caste Christians and members of the other groups. In my argumentation, I assume, reasonably, that many of the lower-caste Indian Christians were farmers by caste, but tenant farmers in practice, both before and after their conversion. This assumption would account for why, until quite recently, virtually all the Korlai inhabitants were farmers.

## 2. Negation in Korlai

The motivation for the background information in Section 1 is to suggest that the basic Korlai negation patterns probably were in place from very early on, although there is evidence of grammaticalization in the negative future construction which would have happened over time.

Given that negation in Korlai is closely linked to certain functional elements, their placement will be described first. These functional elements, all preverbal, are: the present-tense markers *tə*, *tɛ* (< Ptg. *tem* ‘has’, *têm* ‘3PL.PRS.have’), the past tense marker *ti*, (< Ptg. *tinha* ‘1, 3SG.had’), the future markers *lə* (< Ptg. *logo* ‘right away, soon’) and *pa* (< Ptg. *pode* ‘can-3SG’ ‘FUT-NEG’), the present-perspective recent future marker *təd* (< Ptg. *tem de*, *têm de* ‘has/have.3SG/PL+COMP’), the past-perspective recent future marker *tid* (< Ptg. *tinha de* ‘had-3SG+COMP’, *tinham de* ‘had-3PL+COMP’), the probability/hypothetical markers *ater* (< Ptg. *ha de ter* ‘has+COMP+have’) and *ay* (< Ptg. *havia* ‘have-1, 3SG.AUX’), and the deontic marker *mafi* (< Ptg. *mister* ‘necessary’).<sup>2</sup>

Illustrative examples of these functional elements are shown in (1) below.

- (1) a. *akə nigri tə fʎega musedsu.*  
that girl PRS arrive morning-in.  
‘That girl usually arrives in the morning.’
- b. *akə nigri ti vid.*  
that girl had come  
‘That girl had come.’
- c. *akə nigri {lə/təd/tid} vi amya.*  
that girl {will / is/was going to} come tomorrow  
‘That girl {will/is/was going to} arrive tomorrow.’
- d. *akə nigri ater vin.*  
that girl probability come  
‘That girl is probably coming.’
- e. *akə nigri {ater/ay} vid ʎnt.*  
that girl would-have come yesterday  
‘That girl would have come yesterday.’
- f. *akə nigri (ja) fʎego ʎnt.*  
that girl PAST arrived yesterday  
‘That girl arrived yesterday.’
- g. *Use kadz aɔr mɛ mafi anda!*  
2SG.FORM house now EMPH must go  
‘You must go home right now!’

2. There is a postposed marker in Korlai, *su*, used in a calque of a Marathi modal construction. Marathi is the adstrate language.

- (i) a. *Pedru oɕ akə sirwis hedze su tɛ.*  
Pedru today that work do COMP COP.PRS  
‘Pedru {intends/is supposed} to do that work today.’
- b. *Pedru adz to kam karay-tsə ahe.*  
Pedru today that work do-COMP COP.PRS  
‘Pedru {intends/is supposed} do that work today.’

With regard to the ordering of functional elements relative to the verb, then, Korlai is more in line with Portuguese, whose corresponding tense-mood-aspect (TMA) markers precede the verb to which they are attached. By contrast, the corresponding elements in Marathi follow the verb. Two illustrative examples, compound forms, are given in (2).

- (2) a. *T-i mulg-i al-i ahe.*  
 that-FEM girl-FEM come-FEM COP.PRS  
 ‘That girl has come.’  
 b. *T-i mulg-i yet ahe.*  
 that-FEM girl-FEM come.PRS COP.PRS  
 ‘That girl is coming.’

It is noteworthy that in Marathi the auxiliary is not obligatory to express progressive aspect. That is, the sentence in (3), corresponding to (2b), can have a habitual or a progressive reading, depending on the context.

- (3) *T-i mulg-i yet-e.*  
 that-FEM girl-FEM come-FEM  
 ‘That girl comes/is coming.’

However, the sentence in (4), corresponding to (2a), is a simple past form. The compound form in (2a) is interpreted as proximate past/present perfect (see Pandharpande 1997: 410–12).

- (4) *T-i mulg-i al-i.*  
 that-FEM girl-FEM come-FEM  
 ‘That girl came.’

The Korlai negation patterns are shown in Table 1 below.

In Table 1, several things are of note. First, under negation the distinction between the present/past habitual and the present/past intentional is neutralized. Second, with one exception the pattern is always NEG-AUX-V. The exception is *mafi katá* (form n. in Table 1), which seems to be a combination of *mafi* ‘should, must’ plus the negative imperative form *nu kata* ‘don’t sing’ (form e. in Table 1). Third, the Korlai forms *pa(d)* (< Ptg. *pode* ‘3SG can’) and *pri* (< Ptg. *poderia* ‘1, 3SG would be able’) have grammaticalized in Korlai into the negative future markers *pa(d)* and *pri*. This seems to be an independent development in Korlai given that in the negative future construction in Marathi is entirely regular, negated as expected with *nahi*, as in *mi kəril/kərnar nahi* [1SG.NOM do-FUT NEG-COP.PRS] ‘I will not do [it]’. Fourth, the Korlai verb *keré* ‘want, need’ (with past *kri* ‘wanted’) is negated, not with the expected *nu*, but rather with the particle *ni*

Table 1. Negation patterns in Korlai (adapted from Clements 1996: 175–76)

	Affirmative form	Function	Pattern	Negative form
a.	katán	PRST PROG	NEG-AUX-V	nu te katán
b.	tə katá	PRST HAB	NEG-AUX-V	nu tə kata
c.	təd kata	PRST INTENT	NEG-AUX-V	nu tə kata
d.	katád	PRST PRF	NEG-AUX-V	nu te katád
e.	katá!	IMP	NEG-AUX-V	nu kata
f.	kató	PAST	NEG-AUX-V	nu kató
g.	ti katá	PAST HAB	NEG-AUX-V	nu ti katá
h.	tid kata	PAST INTENT	NEG-AUX-V	nu ti katá
i.	ti katán	PAST PROG	NEG-AUX-V	nu ti katán
j.	ti kata	PAST PRF	NEG-AUX-V	ti katá
k.	lə katá	FUT/COND	NEG-AUX-V	nu pa(d) kata
l.	ter katá	EPISTEMIC (probability)	NEG-AUX-V	nu pri kata
m.	ay/ater katá	PROBAB/HYPOTHE	NEG-AUX-V	nu ater kata
n.	mafi kata	DEONTIC	AUX-NEG-V	mafi nu kata (i.e. 'should/must')

(< Ptg. *nem* 'neither'), as shown in (5), arguably modeled on the Marathi construction, shown in (6).

- (5) a. *Pel ag keré/kri.*  
 3SG.OBJ water want/wanted  
 'S/he wants/wanted water.'
- b. *Pel ag nike/nikri.*  
 3SG.OBJ water NEG-want/NEG-wanted  
 'S/he doesn't want/didn't want water.'
- (6) a. *Tyala pañi pahije.*  
 3SG.MASC.OBJ water want  
 'He wants water.'
- b. *Tyala pañi nako.*  
 3SG.MASC.OBJ water NEG.IMPERATIVE  
 'S/he doesn't want water.'

That is, the Marathi negative imperative particle *nako* is used as an alone-standing element to negate 'want' (for details, see Berntsen and Nimbkar 1982: 122–129, 134–140).

Of note, as well, is that negative concord is not found in Marathi, and although in early Portuguese it may have existed (Polášek 2010), by the 14th century negative concord in Portuguese was variable (Martins 1997). In Korlai, negative concord is

obligatory. Thus, the sentences in (7a, b) are ungrammatical without double negation, as shown by the sentences with single negation given in (7c, d).

- (7) a. *ningē nu jave.*  
 no one NEG came  
 ‘No one came.’  
 b. *nu jave ningē.*  
 NEG came no-one  
 c. \**ningē jave.*  
 d. \**jave ningē.*

Finally, Korlai negative pronouns such as *nad* ‘nothing’, *ningē* ‘no one’, and *neŭ* ‘none’ can negate NPs in elliptical responses (R) to questions (Q), shown in (8–10).

- (8) Q: *Anil ankodz tedzid?*  
 Anil something brought-PRF  
 ‘Has Anil brought anything?’  
 R: *Nad.*  
 ‘Nothing.’
- (9) Q: *Yave angē?*  
 came someone  
 ‘Did someone come?’  
 R: *Ningē.*  
 No one.
- (10) Q: *Kadz su tras, kānt alb tε?*  
 house GEN behind how.much/many tree be-PRS  
 ‘Behind the house, how many trees are there?’  
 R: *Neŭ*  
 None.

None of these negative pronouns, however, can be used to refer to non-count NPs (including bare plurals) according to my informant. That is, to answer the questions in (11a), (12a), (13a), the answers cannot be those in (11b), (12b), (13b), but rather must be those in (11c), (12c), (13c).

- (11) a. *Ag tε?*  
 water be-PRS  
 ‘Is there (any) water?’  
 b. \**Nad.*  
 ‘Nothing.’  
 c. *Nu tε.*  
 NEG be-PRS  
 ‘There isn’t any.’

- (12) a. *Kadz su tras, alb tɛ?*  
 house GEN behind tree be-PRS  
 ‘Behind the house, are there (any) trees?’  
 b. \**Neũ.*  
 none.  
 c. *Nu tɛ.*  
 NEG be-PRS  
 ‘There aren’t any.’
- (13) a. *jēt tɛ?*  
 people be-PRS  
 ‘Are there any people?’  
 b. \**Ningē.*  
 no one  
 c. *Nu tɛ.*  
 NEG be-PRS  
 ‘There aren’t any.’

In this way, the negative pronouns *nad*, *neũ*, and *ningē* behave in a similar way. However, according to my informant, they behave differently in NPs governed by a preposition that entails negation, such as *sēy* ‘without’. For example, with the relevant NP (inanimate) *nad* is acceptable, as shown in (14).

- (14) Q: *Anil ku rhop yave?*  
 Anil with clothes came  
 ‘Did Anil come with any clothes?’  
 R: *Sēy nad yave.*  
 without nothing came  
 ‘(he) came with nothing.’

However, the same is not true for *ningē* or *neũ*: my informant did not accept either of these negators after *sēy* [see (15-R1), (16-R1)], but did accept the expression with *somem* ‘alone’, shown in (15-R2), (16-R2).

- (15) Q: *Anil pai su kosid yave?*  
 Anil father GEN with came  
 ‘Did Anil come with his dad?’  
 R1: \**Sēy ningē yave.*  
 without no one came  
 ‘(he) came with nothing.’  
 R2: *Somem yave.*  
 alone came  
 ‘He came alone.’



- (16) Q: *Anil mət amig su kosid yave?*  
 Anil much/many friend GEN with came  
 ‘Did Anil come with many friends?’
- R1: \**Sēy neŭ yave.*  
 without none came  
 ‘(he) came with none.’
- R2: *Somem yave.*  
 alone came  
 ‘He came alone.’

Thus, in some cases the negative pronouns *nad*, *ninge*, and *neŭ* behave similarly, in other cases their respective behavior differs.

### 3. Concluding remarks

In this brief description of negation in Korlai, some aspects of the behavior of negation can arguably be accounted for by independent developments in Korlai after it became established as a language. Most notably, the use of the particles *pa* (< Ptg. *pode* ‘3SG can’) and *pri* (< Ptg. *poderia* ‘1, 3SG would be able’) as functional elements combining with the negator *nu*, shown in (17).

- (17) a. *Teru nu pa(d) anda.*  
 Teru NEG FUT.NEG go  
 ‘Teru will not go.’
- b. *Teru nu pri anda.*  
 Teru NEG PST.FUT.NEG go  
 ‘Teru would not go.’

The deontic element *mafi* ‘must’ seems to attach to a negative imperative predicate, the consequence of which is that *mafi* precedes the negator, as in (18).

- (18) *Teru mafi nu anda.*  
 Teru DEONTIC NEG go  
 ‘Teru must/should not go.’

This construction is arguably also a development that took place over time, after Korlai had become established and independently of any structural influence from Marathi.

By contrast, it seems to me that the idiosyncratic negative construction *ni ke* ‘don’t want’ and *ni kri* ‘didn’t want’ represents a calque of the Marathi model *nako* (NEG ‘want’, among other things). Similarly, the Portuguese forms *tem* ‘3SG has’ *têm*

'they have' could easily have been selected as the copula already in the first generation of Korlai speakers. As Clements (2014) argues, the candidates to be selected as a copula in this emerging Creole, based on perceptual salience and frequency of occurrence, were Portuguese *é* 'is' *são* '3PL are'. However, in Marathi there is no distinction lexically between 'have' and 'be' and the most frequently used 'have' forms were arguably *tem* '3SG has' *têṁ* 'they have', which both consist of a voiceless stop and a nasalized vowel, phonetically the most salient candidate for Marathi L1 speakers targeting the varieties of Portuguese available to them. For the same reason, the forms *tem-têṁ* were ultimately selected to form compound tenses, as well, because in Marathi the copula and the auxiliary forms are from one and the same verb.

If it is true that the negative construction *nu + tə/te/ti/teḍ/tid* formed early on, it is no less plausible that negative concord was present early on in Korlai, due to its presence in the varieties of Portuguese shifting speakers were exposed to in the first half of the 16th century in the Chaul/Korlai area. Recall that at this time negative concord was part of the Portuguese negation constructions (Martins 1997, Poláček 2010).

Lastly, it has been shown that the negative pronouns *nad*, *ninge*, and *neũ* display analogous behavior when replacing count vs. non-count terms, but different behavior after *sēy* 'without'. It is at present not possible to know whether this behavior was an early development and comparable to the Portuguese of the time or whether it reflects possible Marathi influence given that to my knowledge there are at present no relevant studies on this topic dealing with 16th-century Portuguese or Marathi. This remains a topic, then, for future research.

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# Negation and negative concord in Guinea-Bissau Kriyol (in comparison with Portuguese, substrate-adstrate languages and other Portuguese Creoles)

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Unlike its Portuguese source, Guinea-Bissau Kriyol is a strict negative concord (NC) language, meaning that everything that can be negative in a negative sentence must be negative: cf. *Ningin ka bindi nada* {nobody NEG sell nothing} ‘Nobody sold anything’. Portuguese, in contrast, is a partial NC language: NC only obtains if no negative word precedes the negator: cf. *O João não vendeu nada* {the John NEG sold nothing} ‘John didn’t sell anything’ vs. *Ninguém vendeu nada* {nobody sold nothing} ‘Nobody sold anything’.

The present article attempts to account for this difference. First, it shows it cannot be directly ascribed to the influence of the languages Kriyol is mostly in contact with (Mandinka, Manjaku, Wolof) as they have anti-NC grammars in which generic nouns meaning ‘person’ or ‘thing’ are used in negative contexts with the meaning of negative polarity items such as *anybody* and *anything*. The transition from partial to strict NC is therefore likely to be an internal process, the main cause of which is identified as a change in the lexical category of the negator. Whereas Portuguese *não* is an adverb, Kriyol *ka* is a polarity marker belonging to the verbal complex along with TMA markers. (This is where contact languages may have interfered.) Formalizing the data in a linear syntax framework allows one to show how such a lexical difference will result in the observed syntactic difference, as well as to propose a few tentative generalizations about the possible occurrence of partial NC as a type, next to the more widespread strict NC (Kriyol), no-NC (Standard English), and anti-NC (Mandinka).

**Keywords:** Portuguese, Portuguese-based Creoles, negative concord, construction, linear syntax

## 1. Introduction

Guinea-Bissau Kriyol (henceforth Kriyol) is a Portuguese-based creole that arose at the beginning of the seventeenth century, probably from a Portuguese pidgin that had been in use as a trade language in the Senegambian area since at least the middle of the sixteenth century. This pidgin is likely to have been similar to the Portuguese Basic Variety spoken by African slaves in Portugal at the same period, (re)transported to Africa *via* interpreters aboard Portuguese ships (Kihm & Rougé 2013). In Guinea-Bissau, Kriyol is both a native language and a lingua franca. In Casamance, across the Senegalese border, a slightly distinct dialect is the native language of a Christian community.

Given its origin and history, one may expect Kriyol to show features related to at least five sources: (i) Middle Portuguese, i.e. fifteenth-sixteenth century European Portuguese; (ii) *Língua de Preto* ('Black speech'), i.e. the Basic Variety mentioned above, of which we have a literary corpus and which may be taken to more or less faithfully represent the pre-creole pidgin (Kihm & Rougé 2013); (iii) the local languages that were the substratal L1's of the first creole speakers and continued to be in contact with Kriyol, geographically as well as mentally – since all Kriyol speakers, native or not, are bilingual and know at least one of these languages; (iv) Modern Portuguese, in constant contact with Kriyol since the end of the nineteenth century (when colonization started in earnest) and still the official language of the country; (v) features emerging from Kriyol's own evolution.

In the present study I examine to what extent this expectation is fulfilled in the domain of negation and negative concord (NC). The paper comprises two parts. In Part I I propose a description of these phenomena in the languages involved. Since Middle and Modern Portuguese do not differ significantly in this area, I will conflate them under the name '(European) Portuguese', pointing out such discrepancies as may appear. I will do the same with *Língua de Preto*, as it does not seem to deviate much from (Middle) Portuguese as far as negative expressions are concerned – although we cannot be sure, since we only know it from a small and finite corpus. Finally, for the local languages I am dependent on the availability of sufficiently detailed grammars. Such grammars only exist for Mandinka (Creissels & Sambou 2013), Manjaku (Buis 1990), and Wolof (Sauvageot 1965; Njie 1982). Fortunately the first two indubitably belong to Kriyol's substrate-adstrate, and their negation systems are representative of what appears to be a general pattern in the area, being remarkably alike and at the same time remarkably unlike the Portuguese system. Wolof's participation in the substrate-adstrate is less certain, although by no means excluded, but as its way of handling negation is also similar to that of Mandinka and Manjaku I took it in nevertheless.

As for Kriyol, attempting an exhaustive description would be much complicated by the variability of the language, as it is more and more subject to Portuguese

influence. I will therefore keep to the basilectal variety I described in Kihm (1994), of which most Guinean speakers – native or second-language, a distinction that is often moot – still have the competence, although they can use ‘lighter’ registers as well.

In Part II I try to understand how Kriyol (delimited as above) mirrors or differs from its linguistic environment (lexifier and substrate-adstrate) in the hope it will give us an inkling of how its system arose. My aim is obviously not to account for the phenomena of (indefinite) negation and NC *per se*. Various semantic and syntactic theories have been proposed, for a review of which I address the reader to Corblin & Tovena (2010). Also see de Swart & Sag (2002) for a lexicalist approach in the HPSG framework, and Déprez (1999) for a transformational account centred on creole languages (especially French-based). Haspelmath (1997), especially Chapter 8, is a thorough typological overview and analysis of the issue.

What I will do is adopt Borsley’s (2006) linear approach to NC (also see Kathol 2000), which seems to me to be quite compatible with the ‘principled account’ of Corblin & Tovena (2010), as well as with de Swart & Sag’s (2002) resumption view of NC. To repeat, the goal is not to reach a final explanation – a word the meaning of which isn’t clear to me in any event – but to provide a descriptively adequate unified formalized account that makes the various systems effectively comparable.

In the following I use ‘negative concord’ (NC) in an atheoretic way to refer to ‘cases where multiple occurrences of phonologically negative constituents express a single negation’ (de Swart & Sag 2002:373).

## Part I. Description

### 2. Negation and NC in Kriyol

The negator in Kriyol is a clitic morph *ka* appearing on the left edge of the predicate (Kihm 1994). See (1)–(3):

- (1) *Djon ka bindi si baka.*  
Dj. NEG sell his cow  
Djon didn’t sell his cow.
- (2) *Djon ka na bindi si baka.*  
Dj. NEG PROG sell his cow  
Djon won’t sell his cow.
- (3) *Djon i ka bindidur di baka.*  
Dj. 3SG.SBJ/COP NEG seller of cow  
Djon is not a cow-seller.

In (1), *ka* precedes the bare verb, whereas it precedes the aspectuality marker in (2). The ordering NEG < (ASPECTUALITY) < V (< to be understood as ‘immediately precedes’) is strict. I mention two possible glosses for *i* in (3) (see Kihm 1994; Baptista et al. 2007). If the copula analysis is retained, *ka*’s position is exceptional. In either case, however, the noun phrase to the right is predicational and *ka* immediately precedes it. Adjunct predicates are also possible: cf. *Djon i ka ku si baka* ‘Djon isn’t with his cow’.

Being strictly dedicated to predicate negation *ka* is distinct from the lexical negation *nau* ‘no’ – unlike Portuguese which uses *não* for both functions (see below). Although a likely Portuguese etymon is easily found, namely *nunca* ‘never’, its history is bound to be complex. It was no usual change indeed that which retained the unstressed syllable /ka/ instead of the stressed one /nun/. Moreover, Portuguese *nunca* also survived in Kriyol (*nunka*) with its original meaning. *Ka*’s final retention as the predicate negator must therefore have required special circumstances, quite possibly involving convergence with substrate-adstrate languages in which the predicate negation includes a /ka/ syllable (see below).

In (1) and (2) the two arguments are referring expressions. What if one or the two of them are negative indefinite pronouns (N-words)? What happens then is illustrated below:

- (4) *Ningin ka bindi si baka.*  
 nobody NEG sell.PFV his cow  
 Nobody sold their cow.
- (5) *Djon ka bindi nada.*  
 Dj. NEG sell nothing  
 Djon sold nothing.
- (6) *Ningin ka bindi nada.*  
 nobody NEG sell nothing  
 Nobody sold anything.

Kriyol thus appears to be a strict NC language like Romanian (Falauş 2007), such that the presence of one N-word in the clause commands negativity of whatever is susceptible of associating with negation in the same clause, namely the verb and indefinite pronouns.

That the triggering N-word need not be in canonical argument position is shown in (7) where the negative direct object is topicalized:<sup>1</sup>

1. This example is from an anonymous comic book titled *Mingom Bicu, Graxadur N’pustur* ‘Mingom Big Navel, Fake Shoeshine Boy’. I standardize the spelling in this and all other extracts from Kriyol literature.

- (7) *Nin un sinku patakon bu ka tene pa paga multa.*  
 not.EVEN one five penny 2SG.SBJ NEG have COMP pay fine  
 Not even a five penny piece have you got to pay the fine.

Nor does the N-word need be an argument, as shown in (8) where a negative temporal adjunct triggers negative concord:

- (8) *Nunka mas e ka na fasi-l.*  
 never more 3PL.SBJ NEG PROG do 3SG.OBJ  
 Never will they do it again.

As usual, NC is not limited to a sequence of two N-words. See (9):

- (9) *Nunka Djon ka ta fala ningin nada.*  
 Never Djon NEG IPFV say nobody nothing  
 Djon never says anybody anything.

Expletive negation, a typical feature of NC languages, is also present in Kriyol as evidenced by (10), which definitely does not mean that the speaker is afraid of the father not noticing:<sup>2</sup>

- (10) *N medi propi pa ka bu pape nota.*  
 1SG.SBJ fear indeed COMP NEG 2SG.POSS father notice  
 I do fear that your father might notice it.

Another instance of expletive negation triggered by the negative preposition-complementizer *sin* ‘without’ is (11):

- (11) *sin bu ka misti*  
 without 2SG.SBJ NEG want  
 without your wishing it

Example (10) also illustrates the position of the negator immediately following the complementizer *pa*, selected by factive or psych-verbs (see Kihm 1994: 188–190). The same ‘attraction’ is observed when *pa* means ‘so that, in order to’. See (12) where negation is not expletive (Kihm 1994: 43):

- (12) *I na disfarsa pa ka i sibi.*  
 3SG.SBJ PROG pretend for NEG 3SG.SBJ know  
 She is pretending in order for him not to know.

Analysing the sequence *pa ka* as one negative complementizer /paka/ ‘that.not’ or ‘so.that.not’ looks like a reasonable solution.

2. From a comic book by Humberto Gonçalves, *Tchor Mama*, p. 17.



In imperative-injunctive sentences, *ka* is initial as in (13) and the more complex (14):<sup>3</sup>

(13) *Ka ningin kuri!*

NEG nobody run

Let nobody run!

(14) *Ma ka ningin ka fika i disa si sintidu ngana-*

but NEG nobody NEG stay 3SG.SBJ leave 3SG.POSS mind deceive

l kuma

3SG.OBJ that

But let nobody allow their mind to deceive them (into believing) that...

In (14) the second *ka* may be considered expletive, as it clearly is an optional resumption of the first one, which has scope over the verb in any event.

Finally, Kriyol also accepts that non-negative indefinite pronouns in a negative context be interpreted as the corresponding N-words:<sup>4</sup>

(15) *Tamburis kala yem, bu ta pensa nos algin ka*

drums be.silent IDEO 2SG.SBJ IPFV think as.if somebody NEG

*sta. la.*

be there

The drums went silent all of a sudden, you would've believed nobody was there.

It is clear from the context of (15) that *algin* cannot be interpreted as a non-negative indefinite – which it is in, e.g., *N odja algin* ‘I saw somebody’ or even *N odja un algin* ‘A saw a person’, where *algin* is a noun – but as part of the negative indefinite [NOT.SOMEbody] = ‘nobody’. Native speakers will also accept *N ka odja algin* as synonymous with *N ka odja ningin* to mean ‘I didn’t see anybody’, and will rather have recourse to a ‘there-is’ construction to convey the more complex message that there is someone I didn’t see (*Ten (un) algin ku N ka odja*) (data from Jean-Louis Rougé’s recent fieldwork).

Such use of indefinites in a negative context might be an areal feature (see below § 4). Note however that such constructions appear to be rare compared to the more usual *ningin ka sta la* ‘nobody is (not) there’ and *N ka odja ningin*. Moreover *algin* ‘somebody’ turns out to be the only non-negative indefinite pronoun in the language – although, as just mentioned, it can also be treated as a noun meaning

3. Fernando Júlio, 3 *Nkurbados*, *Dokumentu Maxmu* ‘The Three Hopeless Ones, Maximum Document’, p. 2.

4. Fernando Júlio, 3 *Nkurbados*, *Garande konkursu di kadju, sangue bedju* ‘The Three Hopeless Ones, The Great Cashoo Wine Competition, Old Blood’, p. 38.

‘person’. The positive counterpart of *nada* ‘nothing’ is *un kusa* ‘a thing’, which is an indefinite, non-specific NP. Consequently, *N ka odja un kusa* ‘I didn’t see a thing’ is more easily understood as almost synonymous with ‘I saw nothing’ (*N ka odja nada*) than as meaning I didn’t see a certain thing – again more commonly expressed as *Ten un kusa ku N ka odja* ‘There is a thing/something I didn’t see’. The negative indefinite temporal adverb *nunka* ‘never’ has no exact non-negative equivalent, since *un bias* ‘a time, sometime’ and *sempri* ‘always’ are not its opposites (‘not always’ not meaning ‘never’). There are no locative and manner indefinite adverbs similar to the English pairs *somewhere/nowhere/anywhere* and *somehow/nohow/anyhow*.

Negative polarity items (NPI’s) of the *any* type are unknown in Kriyol. Perhaps this is related to the fact just pointed out that non-negative indefinites (and common nouns) such as *algin* and *un kusa* are not barred from negative contexts, where they are interpreted as NPI’s would be. Moreover, as we shall see in the next section, NPI’s are only weakly grammaticalized in Portuguese (as compared with, say, English) and therefore unlikely to survive radical restructuring.

Finally the virtual double negative reading of (6) – ‘it is not the case that nobody sold nothing’, i.e. ‘somebody sold something’ (Corblin 1996) – appears impossible to elicit. (Thanks are due again to Jean-Louis Rougé for checking this with several informants.)

### 3. Negation and NC in (European) Portuguese

Consider the Portuguese counterparts of (4)–(6):

- (16) *Ninguém vendeu a sua vaca.*  
 nobody sold the their cow  
 Nobody sold their cow.
- (17) *O João não vendeu nada.*  
 the J. not sold nothing  
 João sold nothing.
- (18) *Ninguém (nunca) vendeu nada.*  
 nobody (never) sold nothing  
 Nobody (ever) sold anything.

These examples illustrate two well-known facts: (a) that Portuguese is an NC language; (b) that it is not an all-out NC language like Romanian because of the constraint according to which the negator *não* is excluded if one or more N-noun(s) precede the verb ([16] and [18]), but required when all N-nouns follow the verb

(cf. *O João não vendeu nada a ninguém* ‘João sold nothing to nobody’) (Matos 2003). That it is not a matter of being a subject or an object, but indeed a linear matter, is shown by such sentences as *Não chegou ninguém* ‘Nobody came’ where preverbal negation obligatorily cooccurs with the ‘inverted’ subject (see Borsley 2006; Branco & Crysmann 2001). In (19) below (Matos 2003:777) it is initial *nunca* ‘never’ that prevents *não* from appearing:

- (19) *Nunca as crianças viram esse filme.*  
 never the children saw this film  
 Never did the children see this film.

The domain of NC encompasses complement clauses as shown by (20) (Matos 2003: 791)

- (20) *Não quero que o Pedro veja ninguém.*  
 not I.WANT that the P. see nobody  
 I don’t want Pedro to see anybody.

The same is true of Kriyol: cf. *N ka misti pa Pedru odja ningin* {I not want that P. see nobody} ‘I don’t want Pedro to see anybody’.

As mentioned in the foregoing section, the N-words in (17), (18), and (20) could be replaced *salva veritate* with NPI’s: cf. *Ninguém vendeu o que quer que fosse, Não quero que o Pedro veja quem quer que seja*. Obviously these collocations, literally translated as ‘what/who(ever) (you) want that (it) be/were’, are far from being lexicalized to the degree their English equivalent *anybody* and *anything* are, and they are much more scarcely used. They have no descendant in any Portuguese Creole.

Unlike Kriyol *ka, não* does not uniquely negate predicates, but it can be attached to NP’s as in *o não cumprimento das normas* ‘the non-fulfilment of the norms’ or in (21) (Matos 2003: 778)

- (21) *A Ana e não o Pedro fez uma viagem à Grécia.*  
 The Ana and not the Pedro made a trip to.THE Greece  
 Ana and not Pedro made a trip to Greece.

In Kriyol this would have to be paraphrased as, among other possibilities, ‘It wasn’t Pedro who..., it was Ana’. Likewise for (22) (Matos 2003: 778) which, although involving V ellipsis, would have to be constructed otherwise in Kriyol:

- (22) *Ele foi ao teatro e não ao cinema.*  
 he was to.THE theatre and not to.THE cinema  
 He went to the theatre, not to the cinema.

Also to the difference of Kriyol (and Old Portuguese), Portuguese does not allow for expletive negation, except in exclamative sentences such as *O disparate que eu não ia fazer!* {the foolish.thing that I not went do} ‘What a foolish thing I was going to do!’, where the negator’s expletiveness is evidenced by the fact that a felicitous continuation is *e tu também* ‘and you too’, not *\*e tu também não* ‘and you either’ (Matos 2003:785). See (23) on the other hand (Matos 2003: 778–779) and compare it to (10):

- (23) *Ele saiu de casa sem a Ana (\*não) ter*  
 he went.OUT from house without the Ana (\*not) have  
*reparado nisso.*  
 noticed in.this  
 He left the house without Ana having noticed.

All this strongly suggests that Kriyol *ka* as a dedicated predicate negator is entirely a creation of the creolization process – an assumption reinforced by observing that, as already pointed out, *Língua de Preto* (what we know of it) does not differ significantly from (Middle) Portuguese, in particular as far as NC is concerned (Kihm & Rougé 2013). All we detect, especially in later texts, is a tendency to use *nunca* ‘never’ as a simple negator apparently devoid of temporal content. Witness the following extract from the anonymous *Auto de D. Fernando* (1541) (Tinhorão 1988: 283):

- (24) *a mim nunca negro novo / vosso nunca conhece*  
 1SG never/not Black young 2SG never/not know  
 I am not a young Black, you don’t know (me)

This *nunca* may indeed be seen as the forerunner of Kriyol *ka*. Yet its syntax is exactly that of Portuguese *nunca*. (Kriyol would have *Nunka bu ka kungsi-N* {never you not know-me} effectively meaning ‘You never know me’.)

Using N-words as indefinites as in French *Croyez-vous que personne ait jamais dit cela?* ‘Do you think that anybody [lit. ‘nobody’] ever [lit. never] said that?’ is quite restricted in Modern Portuguese, being actually limited to comparative sentences such as the following (Corblin & Tovená 2010: 278):

- (25) *Ele fala melhor do que ninguém.*  
 he speaks better of.THE than nobody  
 He speaks better than anybody.

Middle Portuguese was more permissive and freely accepted things like *Quem se contentou nunca com o primeiro desejo?* {who self contented never with the first desire} ‘Who ever contented himself with the first desire?’ (Said Ali 1971: 201; Corblin

& Tovina 2010: 277).<sup>5</sup> Yet there is no trace of such uses in *Língua de Preto* – which may of course be due to the smallness of the corpus – and Kriyol (at least its least decreolized varieties) does not allow even (25), the most natural rendition of which probably is *I ma tudu ta papia diritu* {he more.than all IPFV speak well} ‘He speaks better than everybody’.

#### 4. Negation and NC in in Mandinka, Manjaku, and Wolof

Let us begin with Mandinka, for which we can now avail ourselves of the recent and excellent description by Creissels & Sambou (2013).<sup>6</sup> Mandinka, a Niger-Congo Mande language, is the Manding variety spoken in Gambia, Senegalese Casamance, and part of Guinea-Bissau (Creissels & Sambou 2013: 5–8). It therefore has been in contact with Kriyol at all stages of the latter’s evolution for several centuries, as witnessed by the number of Mandinka lexical borrowings into Kriyol (Rougé 1999, 2004).

There is no dedicated negator similar to Kriyol *ka* or Portuguese *não* in Mandinka, but portmanteau markers amalgamating negative polarity and aspectuality-mood. For example, the positive accomplished (perfective) marker is preverbal *yé* if the predicate is transitive, suffixed *-tá* if intransitive. See (26)–(27) (Creissels & Sambou 2013: 62).<sup>7</sup>

(26) *Sul-óo ye yír-óo sele.*  
 monkey-DEF PFV tree-DEF climb  
 The monkey climbed the tree.

(27) *Sul-óo sele-ta yír-óo sánto.*  
 monkey-DEF climb-PFV tree-DEF top  
 The monkey climbed to the top of the tree.

The negative counterparts are *mán* (high tone) in transitive contexts and *mân* (high tone and downstep) in intransitive contexts. (Before a low tone the downstep is not realized, so the two contexts are no longer distinguished by the marker.) See (28) and (29) (Creissels & Sambou 2013: 63):

5. An anonymous reviewer points out that apparently similar sentences such as *Quem nunca errou ?* are perfectly acceptable in Modern Portuguese. The difference, however, is that *nunca* is fully negative and the sentence means ‘Who never erred ?’

6. Rowlands (1959) is also a reliable source, although by far not so complete as Creissels & Sambou.

7. The canonical word order in Mandinka is S(AUX)(O)V(ADJUNCT).

- (28) *Jam-móo-lu mán tiy-óo soo.*  
 here-people-DEF-PL PFV.NEG peanut-DEF dig.out  
 The local people did not dig out the peanuts.
- (29) *Tiy-óo mán soo.*  
 peanut-DEF PFV.NEG dig-up  
 The peanuts haven't been dug out.

Similarly, there is a positive unaccomplished (imperfective) preverbal marker *ká* with a negative counterpart *búka*; and a positive subjunctive preverbal marker *yé* with a negative counterpart *kána*.<sup>8</sup>

The other remarkable feature of Mandinka is the absence of N-words or negative polarity items (NPI's) such as English *anybody* or (more convincingly) Portuguese *quem quer que seja* (see above). To express 'nobody' and 'nothing' the language makes use of the generic nouns *moo* 'person' and *fén* 'thing' associated with verbal negation, as shown in (30) and (31) (Creissels & Sambou 2013:177; and see Haspelmath 1997: 52–57 for a review of generic nouns used as indefinite pronouns):

- (30) *Moo mán kúma.*  
 person PFV.NEG speak  
 Nobody spoke.
- (31) *A mán fén san.*  
 3SG PFV.NEG thing buy  
 S/he bought nothing.

Despite its position within the predicate, the negator must have wide scope in such a way that (30) and (31) respectively mean it is not the case that a person spoke ( $\neg \exists x \text{ person}(x) \wedge \text{spoke}(x)$ ) and it is not the case that there is a thing such that s/he bought it ( $\neg \exists x \text{ thing}(x) \wedge \text{person}(y) \wedge \text{bought}(y, x)$ ). 'A person not' thus turns out equivalent to the negative generalized quantifier **no person** (Barwise & Cooper 1981) – precisely the impossible reading of English *A person didn't speak*, where the negation can only have narrow scope over the predicate. Likewise in (31), where 'not a thing' means 'nothing', whereas the literal English translation 'S/he didn't buy a thing' would be ambiguous between the readings that s/he didn't buy anything or that s/he didn't buy a certain thing.

That *moo* and *fén* are indefinite is indicated by their bareness (Creissels & Sambou 2013:178). Their being ordinary NP's, on the other hand, coupled with negation's wide scope entails that every indefinite NP in a clause including the

8. Notice the /ka/ syllable of these markers which, although not expressing negativity by itself, may have influenced the evolution from *nunca* to *ka* as suggested above.

negation (actually a negative TMA morph) will be treated as a negative generalized quantifier. This is shown in the following examples (Creissels & Sambou 2013: 408):

- (32) *Kee máŋ kó-d-òo díi mus-óo la.*  
 Man PFV.NEG money-DEF give woman-DEF OBL  
 No man gave the money to the woman.
- (33) *Kew-ó máŋ kó-d-òo díi musu la.*  
 Man-DEF PFV.NEG money-DEF give woman OBL  
 The man didn't give the money to any woman.
- (34) *Kee máŋ kódi díi musu la.*  
 Man PFV.NEG money give woman OBL  
 No man gave (any) money to any woman.
- (35) *Kew-ó máŋ kó-d-òo díi mus-óo la.*  
 Man-DEF PFV.NEG money-DEF give woman-DEF OBL  
 The man didn't give the money to the woman.

In (32) and (33) the aspectualized negation *máŋ* scopes the only indefinite in the clause, i.e. respectively *kee* 'man' interpreted as **no man** and *musu* 'woman' interpreted as **no woman**; in (34) it scopes all three indefinites; and in (35), where all the arguments are definite, it scopes the predicate, denying the eventuality 'give the money to the woman'.

There shouldn't be any doubt, therefore, about the absence of N-words in Mandinka. It is only by virtue of their maximally generic meaning that *moo* and *féŋ* in the scope of negation are able to refer to the empty sets of humans and inanimate entities respectively. (Notice the apparently common absence of a negative generalized quantifier for non-human animates, for which neither *nobody* nor *nothing* are appropriate.)

I also claimed that NPI's do not exist in the language either. Yet, examples such as the following (Creissels & Sambou 2013:191) might lead one to conclude I was wrong:

- (36) *Í níŋ moo wó moo kána kúw-ó kacao.*  
 2SG with person FC person SUBJ.NEG issue-DEF discuss  
 You mustn't discuss the issue with anybody.
- (37) *A búka féŋ wô féŋ ke.*  
 3SG IPFV.NEG thing FC thing do  
 S/he doesn't do anything.

The complex expressions *moo wó moo* and *féŋ wô féŋ* indeed look like NPI's in these sentences. However, they are just particular instances of a [N wô N] pattern where *wô* (*wó* before low tone) is what Creissels & Sambou (2013:189) call a 'free-choice

indefinite' (*indéfini de libre choix*) meaning 'any N whatever' (*n'importe quel N*), hence my gloss as FC: cf. *musu wó musu* 'any woman' (on 'free choice items' see Vendler 1967; Kratzer 2005). As such *moo wó moo* and similar expressions lack two defining characteristics of NPI's in the usual meaning given to the term (but the issue of the relation between NPI's and free choice items is a debated one – see Horn 2005 for a discussion highly relevant to the Mandinka evidence). First, they need not be in the scope of some intrinsically negative element in the clause. Compare (38) below (Creissels & Sambou 2013:191) with the ungrammatical \*'Anybody didn't know their father':

- (38) *Moo wó moo máŋ a faamâa dindím-mâa lón.*  
 person FC person ACC.NEG 3SG father-DEF child-PRD2 know  
 Nobody knew their father as a child.

Notice that, unlike in (30) and (31) involving indefinites, the negator in (38) must have narrow scope since *moo wó moo* obviously translates as  $[\forall x \text{ person}(x)]: [\forall x \text{ person}(x) \wedge \neg(x \text{ knew } x\text{'s father})]$ .

Moreover, *moo wó moo* freely appears in non-negative clauses, as in (39) (Creissels & Sambou 2013:189):

- (39) *Moo wó moo ñán-ta dookúw-o ké-la.*  
 person FC person must-PFV work-DEF do-INF  
 Everybody/Anybody must work.

On the other hand,  $[N \text{ wó } N]$  expressions in which  $N$ 's meaning is more specific than *moo* and *féŋ* may be in the scope of the negator. See (40), which does not mean that no day is a Friday, but that it is not the case that every day is a Friday  $[\neg \forall x \text{ day}(x) \wedge (x \in \text{Friday})]$ :

- (40) *Lúŋ wó lúŋ mâŋ ké júm-óo ti.*  
 day FC day PFV.NEG COP Friday-DEF OBL  
 Not every day is a Friday.

An interesting property of *féŋ wó féŋ* 'anything' is that it can be adjoined to any NP, including human-denoting NP's, to produce a meaning very similar to that of German *irgendein* as analysed by Kratzer (2005): cf. *a faadín-o féŋ wó féŋ* {3SG half-brother thing FC thing} 'any one of his half-brothers' (Creissels & Sambou 2013: 192).

There is little doubt, therefore, that  $[N \text{ wó } N]$  expressions are either free-choice indefinites or universally quantified expressions rather than NPI's – assuming the distinction to be real to begin with. In fact, what comes closest to NPI's in Mandinka are the two items *dóowódo* 'any' and *néné* 'ever'. The former consists in



the lexicalized combination of *dóo* ‘a certain’ – cf. *jat-òo dóo* {lion-DEF a.certain} ‘a certain lion’ (Creissels & Sambou 2013: 198) – and free choice *wô*.<sup>9</sup> It only appears in negative contexts (Creissels & Sambou 2013: 201):

- (41) *Í máŋ wo dóowódoó ké.*  
 2SG PFV.NEG that any do  
 You didn’t do any of it.

*Néné*, on the other hand, much like English *ever*, is used in negative and interrogative contexts (Creissels & Sambou 2013: 409–410):

- (42) *Kěe bori-tòo néné máŋ a siŋ-ó dafat-òo jé.*  
 man run-GER ever PFV.NEG 3SG foot-DEF sole-DEF see  
 No running man ever saw the sole of his feet.
- (43) *Í néné yé jinn-òo jé le bãŋ?*  
 2SG ever PFV genie-DEF see FOC Q  
 Did you ever see a genie?

Yet, it might well be that *néné* is another free-choice indefinite meaning ‘at some time’ as in (44) (Creissels & Sambou 2013: 410):

- (44) *Musu dóo le néné soto-ta.*  
 woman a.certain FOC ever have-PFV  
 Once upon a time, there was a woman.

This value is only manifest in formulaic, tale-initial sentences such as (44), however.

On a number of counts Mandinka therefore appears rather similar to Kriyol, with admittedly the major difference that N-words are radically absent in the former, whereas using non-negative indefinites in lieu of N-words is only a possibility in Kriyol, albeit a possibility that may have been furthered by contact with Mandinka.

I will be more cursory about Manjaku and Wolof, if only because the available descriptions such as Buis (1990) for Manjaku, Sauvageot (1965) and Njie (1982) for Wolof, show them to be very similar to Mandinka in the domain of negation despite the genetic and typological gaps (Manjaku and Wolof are Niger-Congo Atlantic languages, closely related genetically in principle, but nonetheless fairly different from each other, and both quite different from Mandinka). I give below a few examples that speak for themselves (Buis 1990: 30; Sauvageot 1965: 93, 230; Njie 1982: 150):

9. The example demonstrates that DEF is no more than a convenient gloss. See Creissels & Sambou (2013: 172ff.) for a discussion of determinacy in Mandinka.

- (45) *Nji kaa-ts ko.* Manjaku  
 1SG have-PFV.NEG thing  
 I haven't got anything.
- (46) *Ñan mee-ts tsuko.* Manjaku  
 person know-PFV.NEG place  
 Nobody knows the place.
- (47) *Fekk-na Saddigan kenn du ko jis.* Wolof  
 happen-PFV.3SG S. somebody IPFV.NEG 3SG.OBJ see  
 It happened that nobody saw Saddigan.
- (48) *Boroom dara du yaq alalam...* Wolof  
 owner something IPFV.NEG spoil good.POSS3SG  
 Who owns something does not spoil his good...
- (49) *May-u-loo ko dara.* Wolof  
 give-NEG-2SG.PFV 3SG.OBJ something  
 You didn't give her/him/it anything.

Unlike Mandinka *moo* and Manjaku *ñan*, Wolof *kenn*, which I gloss as 'somebody', is not a common noun meaning 'person' (the word for which is *nit*), but it can be broken down into a stem /-enn/ meaning 'one' and the noun class prefix for humans /k-/. Since noun class prefixes are no longer functional in Modern Wolof, but either dropped off or fused with the stem, however, *kenn* may be considered a synchronically unanalysable lexeme – much like its English equivalents 'somebody' and 'nobody' by the way. But for this morphological peculiarity, *kenn* behaves exactly like Mandinka *moo* and Manjaku *ñan* as far as NC is concerned. It appears freely in positive clauses: cf. *kenn ñew na* {somebody come PFV.3SG} 'somebody came' (Sauvageot 1965: 93). Likewise *dara*, although behaving like Mandinka *féñ* and Manjaku *ko*, is distinct from the common noun *kěj* meaning 'thing': unlike the latter it does not belong to a noun class – cf. *kěj k-i* {thing CLK.SG-DEF} 'the thing' vs. *kěj y-i* {thing CL.PL-DEF} 'the things' – which is why I gloss it as the indefinite 'something'. Also notice Example (48) showing that *dara* is inaccessible to negation when embedded into an NP like *boroom dara* 'owner of something' – the familiar NP islandhood.

## Part II. Formalizing and comparing data

What Part I shows, I believe, is that Kriyol owns little to the substrate-adstrate languages in matters of negative expression. Actually, these languages may rightly be considered radical anti-NC languages, which Kriyol is not despite its presenting a few symptoms of this posture, to which I will return in § 6. The obvious comparison

is therefore with Portuguese. To what extent does the Kriyol system constitute a restructuring of the Portuguese system, and to what extent is it an emerging new system in semantic and morphosyntactic terms? This is what I will now examine in the rest of this study.

As mentioned above, I adopt Corblin & Tovená's (2010) semantic construal of NC structures. First, I assume that items such as *ninguém* 'nobody' and *nada* 'nothing' in Portuguese (and their equivalents in other Romance languages, granting some added complexity for French) are fully negative items (N-words) as shown by their possible lone occurrence in elliptical sentences, the best test according to Haspelmath (1997: 194ff.):<sup>10</sup> cf. *Ninguém!* 'Nobody' as an answer to *Quem chamou?* 'Who called?'. According to Corblin & Tovená's Principle 1, they "incorporate negation" as "a way of marking linguistically that the variable of an obligatory argument must be interpreted in the domain of the verbal negation" (Corblin & Tovená 2010: 303; also see Matos 1999). In other words, *nada* in *O Pedro não comeu nada* 'Pedro didn't eat anything' or 'Pedro ate nothing' refers to the empty set of the things Pedro could have eaten (the verb's obligatory argument) and the sentence asserts that no eating eventuality took place as far as Pedro is concerned.<sup>11</sup>

Also recall that N-words in Modern Portuguese cannot be used with a non-negative meaning except in comparative sentences (see [25]). In this way, Modern Portuguese can be said to abide by Haspelmath's (1997: 198) tendential generalization that "The fewer additional functions a direct-negation indefinite is used in, the more likely it is that it may be used elliptically with a negative interpretation", that is to say the likelier it is that it can be considered inherently negative.

Then there is Principle 2 that states that "Within the domain of the verbal predicate and its arguments, normally only a single negation can be calculated" (Corblin & Tovená 2010: 306; also see Corblin 1996). The adverb 'normally' implies that a second negation may be added to the domain, but such an addition is then enough to reach maximal tractable complexity. Examples are French *Personne n'aime personne* or English 'Nobody loves nobody'. As is well-known, two readings are possible for such sequences: the single negation reading ("resumptive" in de Swart & Sag's 2002 terms) that describes a loveless world ('Nobody loves nobody'

10. Also see Payne (1985: 236–238).

11. Haspelmath (1997: 194) argues that "I heard an empty set (of sounds)" doesn't mean the same as 'I heard nothing', as it implies there was some hearing taking place. I fail to see the point if *nothing* and {empty set} are considered strictly synonymous, the latter no more than the logical translation of the former. The issue, I think, has rather to do with the discourse-contextuality of N-words and therefore the definition of the empty set. If, looking for something and having opened a drawer, I say 'There is nothing in this drawer', I usually don't mean there is literally nothing, but rather that what I'm looking for isn't there.

then being an emphatic version of ‘Nobody loves anybody’ and *Personne n’aime personne* synonymous with *Personne n’aime qui que ce soit*); and the double negation reading according to which it is not the case that nobody loves anybody (everybody loves at least somebody). Remarkably, this second reading is harder to get than the first, it requires special prosodic clues such as heavy stress on the first occurrence of *personne* or ‘nobody’, and there are languages whose native speakers stubbornly refuse to see it. In Portuguese particularly the only recoverable meaning of *Ninguém gosta de ninguém* seems to be that there is no love in the universe under discussion.<sup>12</sup> As noted above, Kriyol speakers respond in the same way to *Ningin ka ta gosta di ningin*.

Finally Corblin & Tovena (2010: 308) assume a third principle, more restricted than the former two, but general in the Romance languages to the exception of colloquial French and Occitan: “a clause with a negated verb ... must contain a preverbal negation (the negative marker or an N-word)”.

Now this principle dovetails nicely with Borsley’s (2006) linear approach to NC, which I also endorse. As convincingly argued by him (also see Branco & Crysman 2001; de Swart & Sag 2002), hierarchical constituency does nothing to account for NC facts, whereas an approach founded on linear ordering at least allows us to state precise constraints for the (non-)cooccurrence of N-words and the negator. Borsley’s approach is based on Kathol’s (2000) ‘linear syntax’, that conceives of clauses as concatenations of ‘topological fields’, each field or domain defined by its location with respect to the other domains and characterized by the categories of items it may include. For instance, verb-final clauses in German consist in four domains as shown below (Kathol 2000: 98):<sup>13</sup>

C	X	VK	Y
<i>linke Satzklammer</i> (left sentence bracket)	<i>Mittelfeld</i> (middle field)	<i>rechte Satzklammer</i> (right sentence bracket)	<i>Nachfeld</i> (after-field)
<i>daß</i> that	<i>Lisa die Blume</i> Lisa the flower	<i>gießen würde</i> water would	<i>morgen abend</i> tomorrow night

The C domain is where complementizers (but also Q-expressions and relativized NP’s such as *dessen Blume* ‘whose flower’) occur. VK means *Verbalkomplex* ‘verbal complex’ (VC) and contains the finite verb. The *Mittelfeld* is for the arguments of the verb, and the *Nachfeld* for adjuncts that can be extraposed beyond the verbal complex. Not all fields need be filled. For instance, in *Wer kommt?* ‘Who is coming?’, the

12. I am grateful to Carla Soares-Jessel for discussing the matter with me.

13. The grammatical English clause is of course ‘that Lisa would water the flower tomorrow night’.

Q-word *wer* occupies the C field, and the finite verb *kommt* the VC. The *Mittelfeld* is then empty as is the *Nachfeld*.

In his 2006 paper Borsley adapts Kathol's framework to the syntax of negation in Italian, Swedish, and Welsh. I follow in his steps in transposing his analyses to Portuguese and Kriyol. This will put us in a position to compare the two languages in a precise way for the different constraints they exhibit.

## 5. A linear approach to NC in Portuguese and Kriyol

According to Borsley (2006) three domains suffice for the Romance language he considers, namely Italian: preverbal, verbal, and post-verbal. Portuguese, it seems to me, requires a bit more. On the one hand, we need a C domain as in German in order to account for the fact that a whole set of clause-initial items triggers proclisis of object clitic pronouns, whereas enclisis is the rule in European Portuguese in non-negative clauses that do not begin with one of these items. At first blush the set looks quite heterogeneous: complementizers, Q-words; N-words; disjunctive conjunction (*ou... ou* 'either... or'); indefinite determiners and pronouns such as *algum* 'some', *alguém* 'somebody', *tudo* 'all', *cada* 'each', *muito* 'much', *pouco* 'few, little', etc.; adverbs like *já* 'already, now', *ainda* 'still', *sempre* 'always', *só* 'only', *também* 'too', *talvez* 'perhaps', etc.; fronted deictic adverbs or pronouns and various complements (e.g. *Aqui se assinou a paz* 'Here the peace was signed', *Isso te dissemos todos* 'We all told you this', *Uma coisa te direi* 'I'll tell you one thing' – Teyssier 1976:88–92; Brito et al. 2003: 853–857).<sup>14</sup>

As can easily be seen, the proclisis-triggering and negator-excluding sets intersect at the level of N-words, but also of various indefinite determiners such as *pouco* or *cada* (Branco & Crysmann 2001). Branco & Crysmann (2001) identify the common property of these items as being downward monotonicity, whereby an operator is said to be downward monotone when the truth of its application to a given argument entails the truth of its application to all subsets of the argument:  $f(A)(B) \wedge B' \subseteq B \rightarrow f(A')(B')$  (de Swart 2010: 15; Branco & Crysmann 2001).<sup>15</sup> Owing to their anti-additivity property, N-words are a subset of downward monotonic operators (de Swart & Sag 2002).<sup>16</sup>

14. Compare for instance *Uma coisa te direi* with *Direi-te uma coisa*.

15. For instance, 'Few cats eat fruit' implies that 'Few cats eat bananas' (right downward monotonicity); 'All cats eat meat' implies that 'Siamese cats eat meat' (left downward monotonicity).

16. An operator is anti-additive if  $f(A) \wedge f(B) \Leftrightarrow f(A \vee B)$  (de Swart 2010:16; de Swart & Sag 2002: 285).

All this justifies our assuming an initial C domain to accommodate both proclisis-triggers and N-words. Another possible reason why the topology of Portuguese clauses is more complex than that Borsley assumes for Italian has to do with the negator *não* itself, as we shall see presently.

I therefore assume the following topological representation for clauses such as *O João não vendeu nada* or *O João não vendeu a sua casa* ‘João didn’t sell anything / his house’ and *Ninguém vendeu nada* or *Ninguém vendeu a sua casa* ‘Nobody sold anything / their house’:

Table 1. Portuguese topological domains for negative clauses

C	Initial	PreV	VC	Final
	<i>o João</i>	<i>não</i>	<i>vendeu</i>	<i>nada / a sua casa</i>
<i>ninguém</i>			<i>vendeu</i>	<i>nada / a sua casa</i>

Recall now Corblin & Tovina (2010:308) Principle 3: “a clause with a negated verb (...) must contain a preverbal negation (the negative marker or an N-word)”.<sup>17</sup> The disjunction ‘negative marker or N-word’ straightforwardly accounts for the topological configuration: no N-word in C makes the negator *não* obligatory in PreV; one or more N-words in C (cf. *Ninguém nunca vendeu...* ‘Nobody ever sold...’) excludes *não* from PreV. This can be formalized as a constraint such as (50) (see Borsley 2006: 79):

$$(50) \text{ negative-clause} \rightarrow [[\text{NEG} +] \text{ in } C \vee \text{PreV}]$$

As for the occurrence of resumptive N-words in the Final domain, it is taken care of by the one-negation-per-clause principle of Corblin & Tovina (2010), plus the language-particular constraint that indefinites in a negative context (set up in C or PreV) must concord in polarity with the first negative item in the clausal domain (negative absorption). As we saw this constraint is not active in Mandinka, Manjaku, and Wolof.

Now the natural question to raise is whether we can find some rationale for constraint (50) which we know was not always active in Portuguese (see below).

As hinted above, the lexical category of *não* may be (part of) the explanation we are looking for. Given its distribution, *não*’s most likely analysis is as a negative adverb, whose PreV position is the same as that of ‘modal’ adverbs such as *cuidadosamente* ‘carefully’ in *O Luís cuidadosamente leu o poema* ‘Luis carefully read the poem’ (Brito 2003: 422). This makes *não* a member of the same category as *nunca* ‘never’, *em nenhuma parte* ‘nowhere’, *de modo algum* ‘in no way’, etc. In

17. ‘Marker’ is not to be given a technical meaning here.

semantic terms, *não VP* refers to the empty set for the eventuality denoted by VP in the same way as *ninguém* refers to the empty set for humans, *nenhum NP* to the empty set for anything NP refers to, and so forth – with the important difference that the latter two are generalized quantifiers with a reference, whereas the negator is not a quantifier and its meaning is just ‘negative polarity’. What (50) precludes, therefore, may be the simultaneous occurrence of negative adverbs in C and PreV, perhaps because this cooccurrence is felt to be redundant as the negator adds no content (obviously not the case of *ninguém nunca...* ‘nobody ever...’, where there is no redundancy).

‘Felt’ may indeed be adequate term for what is going on, since we know that Old Portuguese was not so particular about stringing N-words and the negator, and such freeness may even have lasted until Middle Portuguese. As Said Ali (1971: 199) writes: “*Diferentemente de nós, e de acórdo com a linguagem vulgar, os escritores antigos, e ainda alguma vez os quinhentistas, empregavam sem restrições a negação dupla, e até tríplice, com efeito reforçativo*” [“Unlike us and in accordance with vulgar language, the old writers, and sometimes also the 16th century ones, used double and even triple negation without restriction, to reinforcing effect”]. He illustrates with an example from the *Chronica do Conde D. Pedro de Menezes* by Gomes Eanes de Zurara (1463): *Nenhum nom lhe soube dizer* {nobody not to.him knew tell} ‘Nobody knew how to tell him’. Whereas this sentence should be *Nenhum lhe soube dizer* in Modern Portuguese, it translates almost directly into Kriyol: *Ningin ka sibi suma i na fala-l* {nobody not knew how he FUT tell him}. (On ‘pleonastic’ negation in Old Portuguese, also see Huber 2006: 260–261; and see Polášek 2010 on the evolution of the Portuguese negation.)

That *não* was not (regularly) considered *de trop* in the context of a preceding N-word in Old and Middle Portuguese may suggest that, at those stages of the language, it was not a negative adverb, but rather a proclitic verbal particle or marker in the technical sense of Sag (2012:86), that is a functor selecting a lexical head. Its location was therefore not in the PreV domain, but right in the VC domain as the exponent of [POL *neg*], this attribute itself part of the morphosyntactic feature set associated with the verb. Old and Middle Portuguese *nom* (/nõ/) was thus analogous to affixal negators such as Wolof /u/ in *xam-u-ma* {know-NEG-PFV.1SG} ‘I don’t know’ or Czech /ne/ in *nevím* ‘I don’t know’.<sup>18</sup> Not being a lexical item with a category, it would have been impervious to the effect of (50).

Of course the preceding analysis to a large extent constitutes a recasting of Jespersen’s (1917) Negative First Principle that “There is a tendency to put the negative element as early as possible in an utterance” (quoted in Haspelmath 1997: 206). What I have been trying to do, however, is to put some formalized content into the

18. I am assuming a Paradigm Function Morphology approach to exponence (Stump 2001).

formula ‘as early as possible’: ‘early’ means the C or the Initial domain. Given this, we must at the very least modulate Haspelmath’s (1997: 212) diachronic explanation according to which the Classical Latin pattern V N-word (similar to Standard English) “was replaced by the NV-NI pattern [i.e. cooccurrence of negator and N-word] first in the case of postverbal indefinites, which violate... the Negative First Principle”. There would therefore have been a one-step change from Classical Latin to Modern Portuguese. In fact, we see Old Portuguese going straight away to NC (at least variably) so we have to assume it was Middle Portuguese that retreated to what Haspelmath takes to be the earliest pattern – in a process of learned partial relatinization?

However that may be, the putative analysis for Old Portuguese is certainly the right one for Kriyol, assuming the following topology for sentences such as *Djon ka na bindi nada / si baka* ‘Djon won’t sell anything / his cow’ and *Ningin ka na bindi nada / si baka* ‘Nobody will sell anything / their cow’:

**Table 2.** Kriyol topological domains for assertive-interrogative-negative-clauses

C	Initial	VC	Final
	<i>Djon</i>	<i>ka na bindi</i>	<i>nada / si baka</i>
	<i>ningin</i>	<i>ka na bindi</i>	<i>nada / si baka</i>

The main difference between Portuguese and Kriyol is that the latter offers no evidence for a PreV domain or for the utility of always enclosing preverbal negative indefinites in the C domain. Note that adjunct negative indefinites normally appear either before the subject – then presumably in the C domain – or in Final: cf. *Nunka ningin ka na bindi nada* or *Ningin ka na bindi nada nunka* ‘Nobody will ever sell anything’.

To conform to usual orthography I write the negator *ka* and the progressive-future marker *na* as two words. Yet there is prosodic evidence that they should be treated as one phonological word /'kana/, perhaps a negative aspectuality marker as in Mandinka, thereby further supporting *ka*’s inclusion in VC. Note moreover that nothing may intervene between *ka* and the verb or between *ka* and the TMA marker which cannot itself be separated from the verb. There is every reason therefore to analyse *ka* as an inflectional proclitic expressing [POL neg]. Given this, the Kriyol counterpart of (50) is (51):

$$(51) \text{ assertive-interrogative-negative-clause} \rightarrow [[\text{NEG} +] \text{ in } (\text{I}) \wedge \text{VC} \wedge (\text{F})]$$

According to (51) [NEG +] must be expressed in assertive or interrogative negative clauses in all domains where it can be expressed, that is VC and Initial and/or Final if they contain indefinites susceptible of absorbing negation. In other words, the only domain where negation must always be expressed in negative clauses is



VC. The topology of imperative-injunctive or *pa*-embedded clauses such as *pa ka Djon bindi nada / si baka* ‘for Djon not to sell anything / his cow’, *Ka ningin bindi nada / si baka* ‘Let nobody sell anything / their cow’, and *Ka bu bindi nada / bu baka!* ‘Don’t sell anything / your cow!’ is different, however, since the negator then appears in C:

**Table 3.** Kriyol topological domains for imperative-injunctive-negative-clauses

C	Initial	VC	Final
<i>pa ka</i>	<i>Djon</i>	<i>bindi</i>	<i>nada / si baka</i>
<i>ka</i>		<i>bindi</i>	<i>nada / si baka</i>
<i>ka</i>	<i>ningin</i>	<i>bu bindi</i>	<i>nada / bu baka</i>

Hence (52):

$$(52) \text{ imperative-injunctive-pa-clause} \rightarrow [[\text{NEG} +] \text{ in } C \wedge (I) \wedge (F)]$$

Example (14) (*Ma ka ningin ka fika* {but NEG nobody NEG stay}) seems to indicate that the negator may also occur expletively in VC, but the data are unclear on this point, so I do not include VC in (52).

Except for these complications – which probably came about much later in the history of Kriyol – the change from Middle Portuguese (at least the variety that still accepted {N-word < negator < V}) to early Kriyol would then have been minimal, merely involving lexical replacement of *não* by semantically bleached *nunca* (see [24]), then reduced to *ka*.

The hitch is that we find no evidence in the *Língua de Preto* texts that {N-word < negator < V} was part of the input African slaves landed in Portugal were exposed to. Absence of evidence in this case may even be (weak) evidence of absence: if such sequences were already in the process of being stigmatized in the sixteenth century, the playwrights who provide us with our corpus (Gil Vicente, Chiado, etc.) would have been tempted to put them in the mouths of their Black characters, whose ‘bad’ Portuguese they made fun of. On the other hand, the very same playwrights occasionally used these sequences as if they belonged to everyday speech. Polášek (2010: 5) quotes this line from Gil Vicente’s *O Velho da Horta* (‘The Old Man of the Orchard’): *Nenhum velho não tem siso natural* {no old.man not has sense natural} ‘No old man has common sense’. Why then not have Black characters use them as well? Probably the answer is that there is no answer. The *Língua de Preto* corpus is small, many constructions are not represented in it, and the authors were far from consistent (see Kihm & Rougé 2013).

Whatever precisely happened during the pidginization and restructuring of Early Modern Portuguese, however, it is significant that all Portuguese Creoles, no

matter how they express negation, are strict NC languages. Consider for instance (53)–(55) from Principense as described by Maurer (2009: 139):<sup>19</sup>

- (53) *Ami n têndê ningê nhon na nixi ki gita fã ô.*  
 1SG 1SG hear person none in here REL shout NEG VAL  
 I didn't hear anybody shouting here.
- (54) *Kumin nhon tê ikôkô fa.*  
 Place none have coconut NEG  
 There isn't coconut anywhere.
- (55) *Nunka n fêê kusê fa.*  
 Never 1SG do this NEG  
 I never did this.

They show one of the most characteristic features of the language, namely the sentence-final negator *fa*, of uncertain origin, having scope over the first predicate in the sequence, here *têndê* 'hear', not *gita* 'shout' despite its being closer, *tê* 'have', and *fêê* 'do'. As in Kriyol non-adjunct indefinites in Principense are common nouns, so that *ningê* (from Portuguese *ninguém*) means 'person' or 'somebody', *kumin* means 'place', and *kwa* (Portuguese *coisa*) means 'thing' or 'something'. The negative counterparts are more transparent than in Kriyol, however, as shown by *ningê nhon* 'nobody' and *kumin nhon* 'nowhere' (likewise *ko nhon* 'nothing') where *nhon* presumably comes from Portuguese *nenhum* 'no(ne)'.

The point now is that, despite the eccentric location of the negator, (53)–(55) express a single negation and cannot be understood as 'I didn't hear nobody', 'nowhere are there no coconuts', and 'never did I not do this' have to be in Standard English, i.e. with a double negation. This suggests the following topology illustrated with examples (53)–(55) and more succinctly stated in constraint (56):

**Table 4.** Principense topological domains for  $\neg$ *pa*-negative-clauses

C	Initial	VC	Final	Postfinal
	<i>ami</i>	<i>n têndê</i>	<i>ningê nhon... gita</i>	<i>fa ô</i>
	<i>kumin nhon</i>	<i>tê</i>	<i>ikôkô</i>	<i>fa</i>
<i>nunka</i>		<i>n fêê</i>	<i>kusê</i>	<i>fa</i>

19. A note on transcription: <ê> = /e/, <e> = /ɛ/, <ô> = /o/, <o> = /ɔ/, <x> = /ʃ/, <nh> = /ɲ/. Underlined vowels can be deleted before another vowel: <fã ô> = /fo/. See Maurer (2009: 169–170) for the validator *ô*, the main function of which is to assert the (assumed) truth of the proposition expressed by the sentence.

(56)  $\neg pa\text{-negative-clause} \rightarrow [[\text{NEG } +] \text{ in } (\text{C}) \wedge (\text{I}) \wedge (\text{F}) \wedge \text{PF}]$

I assume a Postfinal domain PF hosting clausal particles such as the negator, the validator *ô*, and others. In negative clauses not embedded under the complementizer *pa* (hence the  $\neg pa$  specification in [56]), [NEG +] is obligatorily expressed in Postfinal; it is also expressed in C, Initial, and Final should they include indefinites.

Negative clauses embedded under *pa* show a different syntax as illustrated by (57) (Maurer 2009: 138):

(57) *Mene bê kukunu kôndê pa uwê jingantxi na vê li.*  
 Mene also crouch hide COMP eye ogre NEG see 3SG  
 Mene crouched and hid for the ogre's eye not to see him.

Here, negation is expressed by preverbal *na*, obviously from Portuguese *não*, and *fa* is excluded. Table 5 and constraint (58) account for it:

Table 5. Principense topological domains for *pa*-negative-clauses

C	Initial	VC	Final
<i>pa</i>	<i>uwê jingantxi</i> <i>ningê nhon</i>	<i>na vê</i>	<i>li</i> <i>ko nhon</i>

(58)  $pa\text{-negative-clause} \rightarrow [[\text{NEG } +] \text{ in } (\text{I}) \wedge \text{VC} \wedge (\text{F})]$

As in Kriyol, indefinites in negative contexts can be understood with negative force, as in the following example (Maurer 2009: 145):

(59) *Ningê sa vêvê na te ãa xi awa fa.*  
 Person IPFV live in country INDF without water NEG  
 Nobody lives in a country without water.

Note this sentence could just as well be translated as ‘A person doesn’t live...’, giving the indefinite article generic force in relation to the so-called ‘characterizing’ type of the sentence (Krifka et al. 1995: 98–102). The dual nature of Principense *ningê* and Kriyol *algin* (and Mandinka *moo* as well), as a common noun and an indefinite, is certainly crucial to account for this state of affairs.

Principense diverges from the other Gulf of Guinea Portuguese Creoles in having one negator per clause, clause final *fa* or preverbal *na*, whereas the other languages use a discontinuous negator made up of preverbal *na* and clause final *fa*, *wa*, or *f* in Santomense, Angolar, and Fa d’Ambô respectively (Hagemeyer 2013; Maurer 2013; Post 2013). This does not change anything as far as their strict NC character is concerned.

The following Korlai and Papiá Kristang examples (Clements 2013: 105; Baxter 1988: 55) should be enough to show that Indo-Portuguese and its Asian offshoots aligns with the West African Creoles on the same count:

- (60) *Ningē itin nu-te vid.* Korlai  
 Nobody yet NEG-PRS come.PTCP  
 Nobody has come yet.
- (61) *Teru itin nu-te olyad nad.* Korlai  
 Teru yet NEG-PRS see.PTCP nothing  
 Teru has not seen anything yet.
- (62) *Nggéng ígka olá nada* Papiá Kristang  
 Nobody NEG see nothing  
 Nobody saw anything.

## 6. Conclusion: Furthering the comparison

We found two crucial differences between Portuguese and Kriyol. Firstly, the negator is an adverbial (*não*) in Portuguese, while it is an inflectional clitic (*ka*) in Kriyol. This difference suffices to account for the partial NC character of Portuguese as contrasted with Kriyol strictness. In Portuguese two negative items are not allowed to cooccur in the pre-VC domains, hence the ungrammaticality of [N-word<sup>+</sup>... *não* VC...] involving one or more N-words in the C domain and *não* in PreV. In Kriyol, in contrast, such a redundant concurrence cannot occur, since *ka* is inside VC and can be analysed as the exponent of the negative polarity feature associated with the verb – an analysis that probably carries over to preverbal *na* in Angolar, Fa d’Ambô, and Santomense, as well as to Korlai *nu* and Papiá Kristang *ígka* (from Portuguese *nunca* like Kriyol *ka* – Baxter 1988: 138). As for *fã*, its eccentric, clause-final location saves it from interfering with any internal N-word. In all cases, the relations are strictly linear, no hierarchical structure is involved.

The second difference may be more limited. It has to do with the fact that Kriyol *algin* is both an indefinite pronoun translatable as ‘somebody’ and a common noun as in *un algin* ‘a person’, *kil utru algin* ‘that other person’, etc., whereas Portuguese *alguém* is only pronominal and cannot be directly determined.<sup>20</sup> Hence the possibility of *Algin ka sta la* synonymous with *Ningin ka sta la*, both meaning ‘Nobody is there’, where bare *algin* must be understood generically as ‘any person’, similarly

20. Except in D-linked contexts: e.g. *Encontrei alguém ontem. Este alguém disse-me...* ‘I met somebody yesterday. This somebody told me...’. \**Um alguém* is out in any case (Carla Soares-Jessel p.c.).

to bare *libru* in *Libru ka ten na mesa* ‘There aren’t any books on the table’; and also the possibility of *N ka odja algin*, meaning the same as *N ka odja ningin*, namely ‘I didn’t see any person’ or ‘I saw nobody’. In Portuguese, in contrast, perhaps owing to its exclusive pronominality, *alguém* either absorbs negation, hence *ninguém*, or it keeps its positive content so *Alguém não está* and *Não encontrei alguém* can only be interpreted as ‘Somebody isn’t there’ and ‘I didn’t meet somebody’ (and require appropriate contexts to be fully acceptable).

Things are not so clear-cut with the non-human argumental indefinite, since it does not show such a neat pair as *algin / ningin*. As mentioned, the positive counterpart of *nada* ‘nothing’ is *un kusa* ‘a thing’, clearly an indefinite NP apt to be interpreted specifically as ‘a certain thing’ or non-specifically as ‘some thing or other’. Consequently, whereas *N ka odja un kusa* is easily understood as synonymous with *N ka odja nada* ‘I didn’t see anything’ or ‘I saw nothing’, *Un kusa ka sta la* doesn’t seem to be a licit alternative to *Nada ka sta la* to mean ‘Nothing is there’, as subjecthood will force specificity on *un* ‘a’ – and *kusa*, unlike *algin*, cannot be used bare in such contexts.

That contact with Mandinka and other anti-NC substrate-adstrate languages was a decisive factor in the evolution of Kriyol *algin* and (more partially) *kusa* is certainly a possibility. Note however that the same change from pronominal to common noun affected Principense *ningê* as well (see [59]), and I do not know to what extent the mostly Edoid substrate of the language (Hagemeijer 2011) may be held responsible for it. More research is in order, not only at this particular level, but also about the general issue of the relation of indefinite pronouns to maximally generic common nouns such as ‘person’ and ‘thing’ (for which, as already mentioned, the best reference remains Haspelmath 1997).

That is to say it is much too early to venture sweeping generalizations in this area. I will nevertheless risk a tentative, not too sweeping one, suggested by the linear approach. As we saw, there seems to be a correlation between the adverbial category of the Modern Portuguese negator *não* and the partial NC type of the language, as well as a corresponding correlation between the inflectional character of the Kriyol negator *ka* and strict NC-hood. Given this, one is tempted to risk the following modest general implication, namely that no language where the negator is part of the verb’s inflection can belong to the partial NC type, but it will belong either to the strict NC type, or to the anti-NC type of Mandinka, or to the no-NC type of Standard English.

The implication, if it holds, does not seem to be reversible, as suggested by comparing Standard German with colloquial registers and Yiddish. In all three the negator *nicht/nit* is rather clearly adverbial. Yet, Standard German is like Standard English a robust no-NC language: cf. *Niemand ist (\*nicht) gekommen* ‘Nobody came’, *Niemand hat ein/\*kein Buch gekauft* ‘Nobody bought a(ny) book’. Colloquial

German tends to integrate the partial-NC type: whereas \**Niemand ist nicht gekommen* remains out (except in the irrelevant double negative interpretation), *Niemand hat kein Buch gekauft* to mean that nobody bought any book is usual. Yiddish, on the other hand, perhaps owing to contact with Slavic, is strictly NC: cf. *Keyner iz \*(nit) gekumen* ‘Nobody came’, *Keyner hot nit gekoyft keyn bukh* ‘Nobody bought any book’ (compare Afro-American Vernacular English *Nobody ain’t buy no book*). Note however that, unlike Portuguese *não*, *nicht/nit* follows the finite verb, so it and a subject N-word never occur on the same side. In linear terms, this might mean that the N-word and the negator are less likely to be felt to be interfering. In Principense as well the negator *fa* is adverbial, but its clause-final location isolates it from any preverbal domain as already pointed out.

So perhaps we would be well-advised to hedge our tentative implication in the following way: No language where the negator is part of the verb’s inflection or is adverbial, but is not linearly adjacent to the domain where subject N-words may appear, can belong to the partial NC type.

I am not sure at what level this implication could be relevant, if at all. It has at least the advantage to make the partial NC type of Modern Portuguese clearly appear as the marked case given the special conditions a language must satisfy in order to belong to it: not only must the negator be adverbial, but it must stand on the left of the finite verb if the language is SVO. Since in all the creole languages I am aware of the negator is either inflectional and preverbal (see Arabic Creoles *ma V*, English Creoles *no V*, French Creoles *pa V*, Portuguese Creoles *ka* or *na/nu V*) or adverbial but eccentric (e.g. Berbice Dutch *ka*, Principense *fa*), it almost comes as no surprise that they all belong to the strict NC type, whatever their lexifier’s type may be, with occasional inroads into the anti-NC type under pressure of the linguistic environment.<sup>21</sup>

What is mildly surprising under such conditions is that no creole language seems to belong to the no-NC type of Standard English or German. This may be due to the fact that, in order for this type to be functional, a language must avail itself of an array of NPI’s such as *anybody* or use positive indefinites of the *something* series with a nonspecific or free-choice meaning as in Standard German *Ich habe niemandem (irgend) etwas gesagt* ‘I didn’t say anything (lit. ‘something’) to anybody’ (Haspelmath 1997: 246). Those are complex semantic operations that are not likely to survive unguided second language acquisition (assuming it to be the basic process for creole emergence). Strict NC definitely looks more natural, whatever that means precisely (see, for instance, Corblin & Tovena 2010: 307). Another task for future research will be to corroborate or disprove this impression.

21. Spanish Creoles would require a dedicated paper. I therefore leave them aside for the present.

## Acknowledgments

Since this paper was written, an in-depth grammatical description of Ganja Balanta became available (Creissels & Biaye 2015). Including the (quite complex) data of Ganja Balanta to the study wouldn't have modified the conclusions, however.

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PART IV

## Other lexifier



# Negation in Palenquero

## Syntax, pragmatics, and change in progress

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This study offers an up-to-date (synchronic) overview of Palenquero predicate negation, and seeks to explain how and why it has recently begun to undergo change, especially among the younger generations. Earlier descriptions (e.g., Dieck 2000, 2002, Schwegler 1991a, 1996a) revealed that Palenquero features a complex variable system in which the negative marker *nu* 'not' can be placed either before or after the verb, or both (embracing negation), as in: (1) *nu* + VERB, (2) *nu* + VERB + *nu*, and (3) VERB + *nu*. Scholars have been in general agreement that all three strategies express the same propositional content, but there has been dispute as to underlying causes for the variable selection between these strategies. Sections 1 and 2 of this article provide a fresh look at the issue, and defend the hypothesis (pace Schwegler 1991a but contra Dieck 2000, 2002) that subtle contextually-derived conditions rather than morphosyntactic considerations best explain the selection and felicity of a given negation strategy. This discussion in turn will help explain certain aspects of negative concord, including the behavior of Spanish-derived negative polarity items like Pal. *nunka* 'never', *tampoko* '(n)either', and so forth.

**Keywords:** language attitudes, language change, Jespersen cycle, negation, negative concord, Palenque, Palenquero, polarity, pragmatics, presuppositions

### 1. Introduction

The lexically Spanish-based Creole of El Palenque de San Basilio has been spoken in a situation of intense Creole/Spanish bilingualism for several centuries (Friedemann & Patiño Rosselli 1983; Moñino 2003, 2012; Morton 2005; Maglia & Schwegler 2012; Schwegler & Morton 2003; Schwegler 2011a; Schwegler, Kirschen & Maglia 2017). Especially in light of the formerly frequent and rapid code-switching between dominant Spanish and historically stigmatized Palenquero, it should not surprise that, in terms of surface *forms* (see Examples (1)–(5) below), the Creole negation

structures exhibit little, if anything, that departs from canonical (or even dialectal) Ibero-Romance strategies. Negation particles like *no* ‘no’ in (2) and negative polarity items in (1)–(5) are thus either straightforward takeovers from Spanish, or simple phonetic adaptations to the Creole’s general articulatory patterns (cp. Pal. *nu ... naa* ‘nothing’ < Span. *no ... nada* in [2] or Pal. *ni ... ni* ‘neither ... nor’ and Pal. *nunka* ‘never’ in [3] and [4], respectively, where the elements in question are homophonous with their Spanish counterparts). Expressed differently, despite Palenque’s unmistakable sub-Saharan linguistic and cultural heritage (Schwegler 1996b, 2006, 2007, 2011a, 2012, 2016a), there is nothing outwardly “African” or “exotic” about Palenquero words employed to express negation.

The foregoing is especially true, for instance, of items that, in Spanish as well as in Creole, require negative concord, as in Span. *no dije nada* ‘I said nothing/I didn’t say anything’, where the preverbal negation particle *no* (or Pal. *nu*) licenses the negative polarity item *na(d)a* ‘nothing’ (cp. Examples (1a)–(1b) and (2a)–(2b), where the “b” examples without the negative polarity items are flagged as ungrammatical). Examples (3)–(5) illustrate the Palenquero use of additional negative polarity items whose formal derivation from Spanish is readily apparent (literal Spanish translations are given for ease of comparison). Unless otherwise noted, all examples in this study are from my extensive fieldnotes and/or recordings gathered between 1985 and 2015 (for additional examples and further pertinent references, visit the “Palenquero structure dataset” of the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures Online [APICS-ONLINE]*, Schwegler 2013b).

Canonical Spanish:

- (1) a. *No dijeron nada.*  
       \*b. -- *dijeron nada*  
           NEG said-PRS.3PL nothing  
       ‘They said nothing / They did not say anything.’

Palenquero:

- (2) a. *Ané nu a ablá naa.*  
       \*b. *Ané -- a ablá naa.*  
           PRS.3PL NEG TMA say nothing  
       ‘Ellos/Ellas no hablaron/dijeron nada.’  
       ‘They did not say anything.’
- (3) *Nu a fattá yo. ni ele ni*  
       NEG TMA miss neither PRS.3S nor I  
       ‘No faltaron ni él/ella ni yo (en el encuentro).’  
       ‘Neither (s)he nor I were absent (from the meeting).’

- (4) *É belá Katalina nu kelé-ba salí nunka.*  
 es verdad Catalina NEG want-PAST leave never  
 ‘Es verdad, Catalina no quería salir **nunca** (de su hogar).’  
 ‘It’s true, Catalina never wanted to leave (her home).’
- (5) *Ele nu a enkontrá ni uno.*  
 PRS.3S NEG PAST find not even one  
 ‘(S)he did not even find (a single) one.’  
 ‘Él/ella no encontró **ni** uno.’

I should note, however, that while negative concord is generally maintained with negative polarity items like Pal. *narie* ‘nobody’, *nunka* ‘never’, *tampoko* ‘neither’, *na(a)* ‘nothing’ or *ni ... ni* ‘neither ... nor’ so that these are accompanied by *nu* (as in 1–5 above), exceptions to the rule are not uncommon. Witness, for instance, Example (6) from Schwegler & Green (2007: 286) and Example (7), where the predicate negative license *nu* has been omitted. To date, this variation in Palenquero negative concord has never been examined in any detail, and its usage seems (a) unrelated to sentence modality (e.g., it is common in declaratives as well as in interrogatives), and (b) sufficiently complicated to warrant a study in itself.

- (6) *¿Bo - a konosé babbú tampoko?*  
 you NEG-LIC TMA know fish neither  
 ‘Don’t you know the *barbul* (= type of fish) either?’
- (7) *¿Bo -- a miná ele tampoko agüé?*  
 PRS.2S NEG-LIC TMA see him/her neither today  
 Haven’t you see him/her today either?

In addition to such patently Spanish-like forms and negative polarity constructions, Palenquero Creole does, however, employ a set of morphosyntactic negation patterns that sharply set themselves apart from those of the Spanish lexifier. As Lipski (MS [2000]) astutely remarks, negation in Spanish exhibits “relatively little variation over the Spanish-speaking world” (the same is true of the remaining Ibero-Romance languages, and especially the Peninsular dialects, where the predicate negation particle *no* ‘not’ is uniformly preverbal, as in *no me convence* ‘it doesn’t convince me’). As shown in Lipski (MS [2000], 2005: 258–260, Schwegler 1991a and especially 1996a), the only significant exception to this general pan-Ibero-Romance rule is found in New World varieties (e.g. Brazilian Portuguese, Dominican and Chocó Spanish, etc.) where the transatlantic slave trade has had a major impact. Palenque (but not its surrounding area, i.e., Cartagena and its hinterland) forms part of these geographically non-contiguous areas. In all of them, the canonical (or standard) preverbal negation (NEG<sub>1</sub>) coexists with the embracing negation pattern (NEG<sub>2</sub>). In some (Palenque included) a third, strictly post-verbal configuration (NEG<sub>3</sub>) is also common (Figure 1). It is to these variable tripartite negation

strategies that we shall turn our attention in Section 2, keeping in mind that, from a cross-linguistic *pan-Creole* perspective, this kind of morphosyntactic configuration and its accompanying variations are unusual.<sup>1</sup>

Description	Morphosyntax	Label
1. Strictly preverbal negation	<i>nu</i> + V + (...)	NEG <sub>1</sub>
2. Embracing negation	<i>nu</i> + V + (...) <i>nu</i>	NEG <sub>2</sub>
3. Postverbal (clause- or sentence- final negation):	V + (...) <i>nu</i>	NEG <sub>3</sub>

Figure 1. Basic configuration of the tripartite negation strategies.

*Postverbal nu is normally clause or sentence final. As such, it differs from the better-known variable negation patterns of French, where the negator pas in ne + VERB + pas (canonical) or VERB + pas (non-canonical) is frequently not sentence final (cp. je ne suis PAS du tout malade ‘I am not ill at all’).*

*For details about the intonational contours of nu, see Hualde & Schwegler (2008) and Lipski (2010). For the intonation of declarative sentences in Palenquero, see Correa (2012, 2017).*

## 2. Palenquero predicate negation

### 2.1 Early analyses and the relevance of pragmatic factors

The tripartite negation strategies illustrated in (8)–(10) already caught the attention of early exploratory investigations into Palenquero.

- |      |   |                                     |
|------|---|-------------------------------------|
| (8)  | <i>Ese ma mahaná nu kelé-ba miní.</i><br>this PL youngsters NEG <sub>1</sub> want-TMA come<br>‘These youngsters didn’t want to come (along).’ | PRE-<br>VERBAL<br>NEG <sub>1</sub>  |
| (9)  | <i>¿Ke!?, ¿Raú nu ten barika nu?</i><br>what Raúl NEG <sub>2</sub> have belly NEG <sub>2</sub><br>‘What?! Raul doesn’t have a (big) belly?’   | EMBRACING<br>NEG <sub>2</sub>       |
| (10) | <i>¿Bo kelé akompañá-lo nu?</i><br>PRS.2S want accompany-him/her NEG <sub>3</sub><br>‘Don’t you want to accompany him/her?’                   | POST-<br>VERBAL<br>NEG <sub>3</sub> |

1. I should note here that clause-final (or sentence-final) negation is not uncommon cross-linguistically, and is particularly frequent in South America’s indigenous languages, and also in sub-Saharan Africa and on New Guinea (for South America. Within Europe, clause-final negation is also found in Belgian Brabant Dutch, where it is not unlike Afrikaans and even Swedish, as already noticed by Jespersen (1917). For pertinent references to studies on these languages, see Schwegler (2018).

Megenney (1986), whose fieldwork in Palenque dates back to the early 1970s, cited examples of NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub>, but made no mention of a strictly preverbal pattern (NEG<sub>1</sub>). He uncritically accepted Lewis' claim that "nu normally occurs in absolute sentence-final position" (1970: 152), and pointed out correctly that in Palenquero the predicate negator *nu* is at times realized phonetically as *no*.

Roughly at the same time, Bickerton and Escalante (1970) also highlighted the peculiar postverbal placement of the Palenquero predicate negative particle *nu*, reporting that its "position is invariable, though in emphatic negatives it may be preposed as well: ¡*NU* *ablá má NU!* 'don't say any more!'" (1970: 259). Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli's *Lengua y sociedad en el Palenque de San Basilio* (1983) improved on earlier publications in offering not only a more extensive treatment of Palenquero negation (pp. 170–172) but also a fairly extensive corpus of data (pp. 195–284). In light of their considerable familiarity with Palenque's *Lengua* (Creole) and culture, the same authors somewhat surprisingly repeated Bickerton & Escalante's earlier observations regarding the basic syntax of the predicate negator *nu* ("the morpheme *nu* is normally placed in sentence-final position"; my transl.) in spite of ample evidence to the contrary in their own appended corpus.

My 1991 study was the first publication dedicated exclusively to Palenquero negation (see also the companion article Schwegler 1996a). In it I explicitly rejected the conventional view – one that Holm's influential *Pidgin and Creole Languages* (1989: 311) had also implicitly accepted – that the strictly preverbal pattern (*nu* + VERB) is the result of interference from Spanish and therefore extraneous to Palenquero grammar proper. Basing myself on Friedemann & Patiño Rosselli's and especially my own extensive corpus (collected in situ between 1985 and 1990), in that 1991 article I sought to show that discourse-pragmatic factors rather than contamination from Spanish best explain Palenqueros' selection among the three possible patterns of pre-, embracing, and post-verbal negation. I also noted that while all three strategies can occur in declarative, interrogative, or imperative sentences, discontinuous (embracing) and postverbal negation show a much greater frequency. I argued, furthermore, that in my view – one that I will continue to champion in this study – NEG<sub>2</sub> as well as NEG<sub>3</sub> are employed whenever Palenqueros wish to contradict statements or assumptions explicit or implicit in the preceding discourse, as is the case in (11)–(12) below. As explained in Schwegler (1991a: 180), this is so because in Palenquero

postverbal negation rejects the set of propositions (knowledge, old information) which the speaker assumes the hearer believes true at the time of utterance and which are relevant in the context of the current discourse. By selecting postverbal over strictly preverbal *nu*, speakers assign the focus of their utterance not to the "negative" assertion of their statement but rather to the rejection of the pragmatic presupposition (in English, such pragmatic differences are often coded lexically, as



in *I don't have any money* vs. *I [EMPHATIC] really don't have any money*). Because NEG<sub>1</sub> is used for simple negative predications and NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub> are reserved specifically to contradict or oppose corresponding affirmatives, these “oppositions” or “contradictions” are often felt to be emphatic.

It follows from the foregoing that even though pre-, embracing, and post-verbal negation structures can occur in all sentence modalities, they are not interchangeable, and, as in shown in Schwegler (2016b), the selection between NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub> is ultimately related to differential TRUTH (VERITAS) settings (for the sake of clarity, let me reiterate here that NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub> both respond to and reject prior assumptions to the contrary).

Thus, in (11), the interlocutor could have chosen a strictly preverbal pattern, but did not do so because, in addition to the “basic” statement “they [= fellow Palenqueros living in the city of Barranquilla] didn't return to Palenque often”, he also wished to pragmatically reject the underlying assumption (embedded in previous discourse) that “one would think that they really would or should have visited Palenque (more) often.”

- (11) *E, ané asé-ba miní mucho nu.*  
 eh PRS.3S TMA come much NEG<sub>3</sub>  
 ‘Eh, they<sup>2</sup> didn't return [to Palenque] often (even though they were supposed to do so as native Palenqueros).’

Similarly, in (12), the interlocutor chose a postverbal (NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub>) rather than preverbal pattern because the circumstances implicit in the moment of speech dictated that he was presumed to have money in his wallet while about to pay for a drink at the local bar (the speaker in question had just invited his accompanying friends to a join him for a beer, and he uttered the sentence – with a smirk on his face – upon realizing that his wallet was empty):

- (12) *uh, ¡miná! ¡I nu polé pagá nu*  
 uh look PRS.1S NEG<sub>2</sub> can pay NEG<sub>2</sub>  
*pogke –¡miná!– i tené plata nu!*  
 because look PRS.1S have money NEG<sub>3</sub>  
 ‘Uh, look! I can't pay (= I can't treat you to a beer) because – look! – I don't have any money (in my [contrary to what you and I might have thought at first])!’

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2. *Ané* ‘they’ here refers to Palenqueros who in the 1980s had emigrated to Caracas in search of better job opportunities. Following the dictum “once a Palenquero always a Palenquero”, locals are traditionally expected to return to their native village from time to time (especially during Christmas, and other major holidays or festivities).

Across languages, in natural, free-flowing dialog, the vast majority of negative statements constitute opposition or rejection of the truth value of a corresponding affirmative. As argued in Schwegler (1991a: 184), languages that exploit such pragmatic differentiation via the kinds of morphosyntactic means found in Palenquero exhibit a much greater frequency of postverbal negation, especially when they are not subjected to normative pressures that support the use of NEG<sub>1</sub> (as is the case in Brazilian Portuguese, for instance). This same observation also explains, in my view, why the earlier-cited negative polarity items like *narie* ‘nobody’, *nunka* ‘never’, *tampoko* ‘neither’, *na(a)* ‘nothing’ and so forth are overwhelmingly licensed by post- rather than pre-verbal *nu*. In terms of relative frequency of use, the postverbal constructions in (13b) and (13c) are thus far more prominent than the strictly preverbal, pragmatically unmarked (or neutral) pattern in (13a).

- (13) a. *Suto nu a sindí naa.*  
 b. *Suto nu a sindí naa nu.*  
 c. *Suto -- a sindí naa nu.*  
 PRS.1PL NEG TMA feel nothing NEG  
 ‘We didn’t feel anything.’

Similar reasoning applies to Examples (14a) and (14b), where *tampoko* ‘neither’ and *nunka* ‘never’ are accompanied by sentence-final *nu*. Palenquero allows a licensing negator even when the negative polarity item precedes, rather than follows, the verb (14a). To illustrate this point more fully, a literal (approximate) Spanish translation follows the Palenquero example in (14a) and (14b). Note also that in code-switched examples, negative concord with the polarity item (*ninguno* ‘no one, none’) is at times also maintained (code-switched segments in Spanish are shown between <...>):

- (14) a. *Suto tampoko kelé-ba asé-lo-ba nu.*  
 PRS.1PL neither want-TMA do-it-TMA NEG  
 Span. ‘Nosotros **tampoco** queríamos hacerlo.’  
 Eng. ‘We didn’t want to do it either.’  
 b. *I sabé lo ke Etefanía sindí nunka nu.*<sup>3</sup>  
 PRS.1PL know what Stephany feel never NEG  
 Span. ‘**Nunca** supe lo que sintió Estafanía.’  
 Eng. ‘I never found out what Stephany felt.’

3. Source: *Memorias palenqueras y raizales* (2011: 18–19). The Spanish translation is from the same source. Note that in the original, the final negator is spelt “un”, clearly a typographic error for “nu”. Translated from Spanish to Palenquero by Bernardino Pérez Miranda.

- c. *¿Ande hué ese ma nieto mi tá?*  
 where FOCALIZER these PL nephew my be  
*Ninguno de ané <no me kontetta>*  
 none of them NEG me answer  
 Span. '¿Dónde estarán estos nietos míos?  
*Ninguno* de ellos me contesta.'  
 Eng. 'Where are these nephews of mine?  
 None of them is answering me.'

To properly contextualize Palenquero negation within Palenque's bilingual context, an additional point needs to be made. I have mentioned above that Palenquero postverbal negation departs from the canonical (always preverbal) pattern of Spanish negation. To the surprise of investigators (myself included), in spite of Palenque's century-long bilingualism and intense code-switching, the grammars of Spanish and Palenquero have influenced each other far less than might be expected. As shown in detail in Schwegler & Morton (2003), the most remarkable property of Palenquero speech is by far its prolonged *resistance* to change in the direction of the other language, and the continued insistence by its speakers on the neat separation of codes. Interestingly, predicate negation is somewhat of an exception to this canon in that the Spanish spoken in Palenque occasionally exhibits embracing negations such as *no hablo inglés(s) no* 'I don't speak English', to the complete exclusion of strictly postverbal negations of the type \**hablo inglés no*. Today, as probably throughout most, if not all, of the 20th century, regional Spanish (which includes Cartagenero Spanish) makes virtually no use of such double negatives, and it seems abundantly clear that, in the case of Palenque, the influence exerted by co-existing NEG<sub>2</sub> structures emanates from the Creole into Spanish. By the same token it is also true that the intrusion of NEG<sub>2</sub> from the Creole into Palenquero Spanish is more common among bilinguals, which in and of itself is a good indication of the directionality of the feature at hand.

## 2.2 A dissenting voice: Alternative thoughts on the analysis of Palenquero predicate negation

Basing herself on fieldwork carried out in the early 1990s, Dieck's book-length study on Palenquero negation (*La negación en palenquero: Análisis sincrónico, estudio comparativo y consecuencias teóricas*, published in 2000) – a revised version of her University of Hamburg dissertation – critically reviews existing theories about the grammar of Palenquero negation, and offers alternative analyses, summed up conveniently in Dieck (2002).

Dieck (2002: 154) agrees with my earlier claims (Schwegler 1991a) that all three basic Palenquero negation strategies (i.e., NEG<sub>1</sub>, NEG<sub>2</sub>, NEG<sub>3</sub>) are, in fact, an intricate

part of Creole grammar, with NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub> being by far the most frequent. She also concurs that, except in instances of code-switching to Spanish, preverbal *nu* (NEG<sub>1</sub>) is not simply an extraneous element occasionally introduced into Palenquero due to superstratal borrowing (on this point, see for instance Dieck [2000: 73], where NEG<sub>1</sub> constructions form an integral part of non-codeswitched Palenquero utterances). Since Dieck's reaffirmation of my initial assessment in 1991, this joint view has stood the test of time, so much so that specialists of Palenquero now seem to consider the matter resolved. Although Dieck does not state so explicitly, she also seems to be in complete agreement with my view that there is no propositional meaning distinction between NEG<sub>1</sub>, NEG<sub>2</sub>, and NEG<sub>3</sub>: all three strategies express the same semantic content. This too has been uncontested, and we will thus consider it factually accurate.

Significantly, Dieck does, however, depart from my analysis in that she explicitly opposes the claim that the selection of a given negation strategy (i.e., NEG<sub>1</sub>, NEG<sub>2</sub>, NEG<sub>3</sub>) is triggered by discourse-pragmatic factors such as "contradiction to earlier statements or assumptions", as outlined above in Section 2.1. She also rejects my assertion that NEG<sub>1</sub> is employed for pragmatically unmarked matter-of-fact statements. Rather, Dieck (2002: 160–162; see also 2000: 69, 163) argues that strictly preverbal negation structures are generally (or mostly) prompted by structural or sentence-type considerations. In her view, certain morphosyntactic constructions (e.g. the use of relativizer *lo ke* 'that (which), who(m)' or the presence of rhetorical questions, asked in order to make a point rather than to elicit an answer, trigger the selection of pre- vs. postverbal negation in Palenquero. In Dieck's alternative analysis, based in part on versions of generative grammar, the canonical position of Palenquero negation is post-sentential, and especially in subordinates, is said to be activated by morphosyntax in order to delimit the scope of negation (see also Dieck 2000: 11).<sup>4</sup>

### 2.3 Further dissent and additional thoughts about the pragmatics of negation

Dieck's alternative proposal to my pragmatics-centered explanation is an extensive and thought-provoking contribution, and as such merits serious further consideration. Upon its publication, it was met with some criticism – on my part, and by

#### 4. Witness, for instance, this assertion by Dieck:

Parecen existir entonces, además del contexto semántico, criterios de tipo morfosintáctico que determinan la interpretación de las oraciones complejas donde aparece una negación. En conclusión, el análisis del alcance de la negación en palenquero muestra que la negación preverbal es probablemente una marca morfosintáctica para limitar el alcance de la negación en las cláusulas encabezadas por introductores transparentes. (2002: 165–166)

others (e.g., Porras [MS], Diem-Ferrera 2004; see also Martínez González 2001) who reviewed her work. I must be quick to point out, however, that the controversy that has arisen surrounding the question of what ultimately motivates the selection of Palenquero negation strategies remains largely unresolved and awaits further debate, in no small measure because scholars (myself included) have been slow to revisit to question.

Limitations of space prevent me here from detailing the numerous reservations I harbor about Dieck's reanalysis. I will thus address only a few of these concerns. First, I share Diem-Ferrera's uneasiness (voiced in her review of Dieck 2000) that "the number of just five speakers and less than a total of 5 hours of recordings seems too low, as the data thus obtained may be insufficiently varied to warrant far-reaching theoretical claims" (2004: 188). I also concur with Porras' assessment (MS) that Dieck's discussion on diglossia and especially her transcription of code-switched segments are neither satisfactory nor convincing. Also, Dieck (2000, 2002) sometimes misidentifies (or simply fails to flag) code-switches to Spanish,<sup>5</sup> thereby naturally invalidating any attempt at a thorough evaluation of facts (similar oversights are found in Friedemann & Patiño's otherwise admirable 1983 book on Palenquero). In some instances, Dieck's Palenquero translators supplied correct transcriptions, but the author then interpreted and/or segmented some of these utterances in an erroneous manner, thereby mistypologizing the negation structures she sought to study.<sup>6</sup>

The foregoing remarks about Dieck's transcriptions lead me to a more general observation about the collection, transcription, and analysis of Palenquero corpora, and one that future researchers ought to heed if their conclusions are

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5. See, for instance, her example (89) in Dieck (2000: 61), where she qualifies *no* as a Spanish code-switch even though, by her own admission, the remainder of the sentence corresponds entirely to Palenquero morphosyntax (contrary to what she claims on page 61, *pelía* 'to fight, argue' [*<* Span. *pelear*] is a regular Palenquero word, and not a Spanish substitute (or code-switch) for Pal. *trompiá* 'to fight'.

6. This is the case, for instance, with Example (20) in Dieck (2000: 43), which is falsely identified as an instance of embracing negation, when in reality it contains two consecutive instances of NEG<sub>3</sub>, as shown in my modified transcription in (20') below (forward slashes have been added to indicate clause boundaries). Here, *kumo agua* is a false start, whence the intended initial segment of the utterance was *kumo a-ta yobé nu* 'since it isn't raining, ...'.

(20) *kumo agua á tá yobé- nu tá yobé nu, sino e puro só, á sé mori ma- eso aló.*  
 'como esté lloviendo- no esté lloviendo, sino que hace/ esté haciendo esté haciendo puro sol, se muere- ese arroz' [sic]

(20') *kumo agua ... - [kumo] á tá yobé nu, / ... tá yobé nu, / sino e puro só, á sé mori ma- eso aló.*  
 'since water [= rain isn't falling] ... - [since] it isn't raining, ... [since] it isn't raining and there is only sunshine, the rice is dying.

to be truly convincing: from the data currently available, it is already abundantly clear that predicate negation is an unusually complex component of Palenquero grammar. For a deeper understanding of these fine-grained nuances, investigators should first acquire extensive familiarity with both local languages (they are *not* mutually intelligible), and gain ample active and passive knowledge of the Creole, thus minimizing their customarily heavy dependency on local Palenquero field-work assistants. To date, no Palenquero has been trained formally in linguistics, and despite the best intentions of Palenquero assistants, their transcriptions tend to be fraught with inaccuracies that can only be rectified by professional linguists deeply familiar with local speech. In this regard, Dieck's corpus (transcribed in their entirety by Palenquero informants; see Dieck 2000: 149) is, by and large, more trustworthy than that of earlier publications. But while her work has the merit of considerably amplifying the available corpus of Palenquero negation, it still suffers from occasional shortcomings in transcription that deeper familiarity with the Creole could have helped avoid.

Beyond mere issues with transcription, there is an additional difficulty inherent to investigations into negation structures that may (or may not) be pragmatically motivated by assumptions explicit or implicit in the preceding discourse. To the best of my knowledge, at present linguists have no objective tools at their disposal to determine exactly what a speaker's tacit assumptions are at any given moment in the discourse. While it is true (if my hypothesis about Palenquero negation is correct) that a given structure (e.g., preverbal negation) does *overtly* signal whether an assumption "to the contrary" was in fact held just prior to the actual enunciation, in real (and recorded) speech there is often no telling why the speaker held a given backgrounded attitude towards an upcoming proposition. It is thus correct to say that speakers – consciously or subconsciously – always know what their underlying assumptions are, but their interlocutors may be unaware of them. Since, according to my analysis of Palenquero predicate negation, postverbal *nu* by definition is what Reese would call "an epistemic modal operator that embeds a 'meta-conversational' modal statement, i.e., a modal statement that refers to the conversation goals of the discourse participants rather than to the state of the world" (2006: 334), the use of postverbal *nu* (be that NEG<sub>2</sub> or NEG<sub>3</sub>) is only motivated as a meta-conversational move if, in the speaker's mind, an epistemic conflict needs to be resolved or, in the least, put in proper focus.

For linguists bent on analyzing Palenquero negation structures, this above-mentioned difficulty of "getting into speakers' heads"<sup>7</sup> can readily lead to differences in opinion about what (if any) presuppositions, background attitudes,

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7. On this point, see also Dieck: "Además, en la mayoría de los casos es muy difícil decidir a qué tipo pragmático pertenecen las oraciones negativas" (2000: 70).

and/or metalinguistic assumptions are present at a given moment in discourse. Let me dwell on just one example to illustrate this point. As mentioned above, Dieck believes that rhetorical questions intrinsically trigger preverbal negation. To bolster her claim, she (Dieck 2002: 160–161) lists six examples taken from her corpus, among them (47), repeated here as (15), to which she adds the informant’s follow-up statement (also reproduced below; the English translation and glosses are mine):

- (15) *ja! ¿I nu ten ke komblá pa bé?*  
 ah and NEG<sub>1</sub> have to buy in order to see  
 Span. ‘¡Ah! ¿y no tienes que comprar [lotería] para ver [si te la ganas]?’  
 Eng. ‘Ah! And does one not have to buy [lottery tickets] in order to see [whether one can (actually) win]?’

Follow-up statement:

- Bo á ten ke komblá pa bé.*  
 PRS.2S TMA have to buy to see  
 Span. ‘Tienes que comprar para ver.’  
 Eng. ‘One has to buy [one] to see [whether one can win].’

My interpretation of “the facts” surrounding examples like (15) differs from Dieck’s in that I do not view this negated interrogative as a rhetorical question at all. Rather, in my view – and the clarifying follow-up statement along with the use of a preverbal instead of postverbal negator in my opinion confirms this – the speaker’s intent is to inquire in a straightforward manner (i.e. without incredulity) whether one indeed does not have to purchase a lottery ticket to win, thereby conveying, in a matter-of-fact-way that, in this case, the purchase of a ticket was not necessary. Had the speaker expressed the same sentence with the additional interrogative tag “¿belá?” (‘true/right?’), as in hypothetical (16) below, his underlying assumption about the factual, uncontested truth of the proposition would have been made more explicit. However, he may not have felt the need for a reconfirmation (via “true/right?”) precisely *because preverbal nu already performs that same function as the tag “belá”*.

- (16) *ja! ¿I nu ten ke komblá pa bé?, belá?*  
 ah I NEG<sub>1</sub> have to buy to see true?  
 ‘Ah! And does one not have to buy [lottery tickets] in order to see [whether one can (actually) win], right?’

We can thus agree with Romero & Han’s (2004) analysis of negative interrogatives in that such constructions contain an implicit operator VERUM (‘truth’) “whose use implicates a backgrounded speaker attitude ...” (Reese 2006: 333). In my

interpretation of Example (15) above, the speaker's background attitude is that one can indeed win the lottery without the purchase of a ticket, however strange that may seem. His follow-up statement "[ah] one has to buy [one] to win" then rectifies this assumption, thereby making explicit that he has now shifted his background stance.

Rhetorical questions in the affirmative are often intended as a challenge, with the implication that such questions are difficult or impossible to answer (cp. "Uh, you smell! Do you *ever* bathe?"). Although framed as a question, such formulations typically function as negative assertions (i.e., "You never bathe!"). Rhetorical questions framed in the negative (cp. "Don't you ever bathe?") have a similar effect, as they also function as negative assertions (i.e., "you NEVER bathe"). Regardless, all such constructions have in common that they are accompanied by the speaker's presupposition that the opposite truth value (Romero & Han's VERUM) obtains. Within Palenquero grammar, this has fundamental consequences, as such rhetorical devices must obligatorily be framed with post- rather than preverbal negations, thus overtly signaling the truth value of speaker's background assumptions. Rhetorical expressions such as "Don't you ever bathe?" can thus only be expressed by (17b) and (17c) but not by (17a).<sup>8</sup>

- (17) a. \*¿Bo nu asé labá nunka?  
 b. ¿Bo nu asé labá nunka nu?  
 c. ¿Bo asé labá nunka nu?  
 PRS.2S NEG TMA wash never NEG  
 'Don't you ever wash/bathe?'

Dieck's insistence that the nature or presence of certain morphosyntactic constructions rather than pragmatic factors trigger specific negation patterns (i.e. preverbal vs. postverbal) in Palenquero is, in my view, also infelicitous in regards to the role of the Palenquero relativizer *lo ke*, commonly used according to Dieck (2002: 159) to introduce "oraciones relativas especificativas o adjetivas", as in (18a)–(18b) (Examples (36) and (38) in Dieck 2002: 159).<sup>9</sup>

8. Care should be taken, however, not to altogether rule out the viability of sentences such as (17a). If the speaker's intent is to simply inquire (in a sincere manner, without presupposing the opposite) whether the addressee ever bathes, then *¿bo nu asé labá nunka?* 'do you never wash yourself?' is indeed appropriately formulated. In this as in similar cases, the topic introduced is *new* rather than *old*.

9. Although seemingly derived from Spanish *lo que*, Pal. *lo ke* does not always function like its Spanish counterpart, and may, in fact, rather be a reflex of relexified (Afro-)Portuguese *o que* (on the supposed relexification of earlier Palenquero, see Schwegler 2014: 410–411, and references therein). For an alternative account of the origins of Pal. *lo ke*, see Lipski (2015).



- (18) a. *¿ese jué Tre Ekina lo ke bo á modtrá mí?*  
 this was Tres Esquinas that which PRS.2S TMA show me  
 Span. ‘¿Ése es el Tres Esquinas [marca de ron] que me mostraste?’  
 Eng. ‘Was this the Tres Esquinas (brand of rum) that you showed me?’  
 (my translation)
- b. *Ombe, Chan, ese monasita lo ke nu*  
 man Chan that girl REL NEG<sub>1</sub>  
*kelé ná ku suto ...*  
 want nothing with we ...  
 Eng. ‘Gee, Chan [Sebastian], that girl that didn’t want (to have) any-  
 thing (to do) with us ...’ (my translation)  
 Span. ‘Hombre, Chan [Sebastián], esa muchacha que no quería nada  
 con nosotros ...’

Of the eight negative adjectival relative clauses introduced by *lo ke* in Dieck’s corpus, six exhibit preverbal negation (as in [18b]). By Dieck’s own admission, two diverge from this pattern in that they show a postverbal negator *nu*. Similar “divergent” cases with postverbal placement are found in Megenney (1986: 163) and Schwegler (1991a: 179). An additional example is (19), from my fieldwork:

- (19) *Pelo ané, ... lo ke nu kelé- ba miní*  
 but they REL NEG want TMA come  
 ‘But they (= those) who didn’t want to come  
*ku suto nu, naa má a kelá aí memo.*  
 with us NEG<sub>1</sub> simply TMA> stay there  
 with us, they simply stayed there.’

Contrary to what Dieck states (2002: 160: “... las realizaciones de este tipo de estructura son escasas ...”), *lo ke* constructions are actually quite common in Palenquero (for additional examples see Lipski 2015, where *lo ke* is variably flanked by pre- as well as postverbal *nu*). She is, however, correct in pointing out that in the majority of cases they are negated with pre- rather than postverbal negation. This naturally raises the question as to what motivates the observed preference for a preverbal morphosyntax. The explanation is straightforward: relative clauses of this type overwhelmingly introduce (or reconfirm) new and undisputed information, as is the case in (18b) above, for instance, where the speaker factually asserts – without any assumption to the contrary – that he was speaking of the girl that “didn’t want to have anything to do” with boys in question. Statements introduced by *lo ke* are often presentational in nature, as is the case in (20) below, cited in Dieck (2002: 159) as Example (39). Because presentational information is almost always new, speakers assume that addressees do not yet hold backgrounded attitudes

towards the proposition about to be made. If my pragmatically-based hypothesis about Palenquero negation is correct, it follows that presentational constructions introduced by *lo ke* – presumed to be “factual” and devoid of meta-conversational attitudes “to the contrary”, as we have just seen – are “naturally” expressed with preverbal rather than postverbal negation. This is, in fact, the case, as (20) and Dieck’s data make clear.

- (20) *Bo lo ke nu sabé, bo lo ke nu ten plata, ...*  
 PRS.2S who NEG<sub>1</sub> know PRS.2S who NEG<sub>1</sub> have money  
 Span. ‘Tú que no sabes, tú que no tienes plata, ...’  
 Eng. ‘You who don’t know, you who don’t have money, ...’

(Dieck 2002: 159, my translation)

I am not claiming, of course, that relative clauses with *lo ke* cannot embed (by way of postverbal negation) presuppositions to the contrary. Example (21) is one such case where an attitudinal “negative” implication is unambiguously present, expressed by way of a NEG<sub>3</sub> construction.<sup>10</sup> My accompanying non-literal English translation with “really” serves to highlight the implied backgrounded speaker attitude.

- (21) *Moná lo ke a miní nu, a apalesé.*  
 boy that TMA come NEG<sub>3</sub> TMA appear  
 ‘The boy that didn’t come (even though he was really presumed to have come), has (now) appeared.’

Cavalcante (2008), in a brief but stimulating conference paper, revisits sentential negation in Palenquero from a minimalist generative perspective by comparing it to São Tomense Creole and Brazilian Portuguese (see also Cavalcante 2009 and 2010). The goal of his contribution is to propose a set of unified rules to account for the varied uses of pre- vs. postverbal negation (NEG<sub>1,2,3</sub>). Although stimulating in several respects, the study is of limited value because it uncritically embraces the findings of Dieck (2000) – its only cited source for Palenquero. In doing so, generalizations are made about primary data that are simply not borne out by recorded evidence. Among these is the erroneous statement, for instance, that some

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10. I say “unambiguously present” in part because I was a participant in the conversation in which the phrase was uttered, and thus had ample opportunity to witness how the overall discourse context had clarified that the boy in question really should have come (to help out with a communal job), but didn’t. Regrettably, in this example, as in all others that eventually are transcribed rather than observed in real time, it is virtually impossible to convey the full range of complex background assumptions that together set the implicit TRUTH operator and, thereby, the backgrounded speaker attitude.

morphosyntactic constructions predictably exclude postverbal NEG<sub>3</sub>.<sup>11</sup> As I have repeatedly stated in this paper, and as Lipski (who has extensive first-hand experience with fieldwork in Palenque) has confirmed, the negator *nu* “can occur at the end of any type of phrase irrespective of the internal syntactic configuration of the phrase” (2010: 124). And as I have argued in this paper, the same is true for preverbal *nu*.

#### 2.4 Suggestions for further study of Palenquero negation

In light of the fact that the selection in Palenquero of predicate negation strategies seems to be determined by psycholinguistic considerations (metalinguistic background information, realignment of truth values, etc.), future forays into Palenqueros’ variable negation would undoubtedly benefit from carefully designed psycholinguistic tasks. Opportunely, prominent psycholinguists from the University of Pennsylvania have recently begun to show serious interest in Palenque’s *Lengua* (Creole). Dussias et al. (2016), for instance, is a new study on how psycholinguistic experiments based on cued-language switching tasks can inform us whether Spanish is encroaching on Palenquero to a point that it is causing (partial) decreolization. Lipski (2013) too has as of late begun to explore psycholinguistics as a tool to better understand the boundaries between Spanish and Palenquero (see also Lipski 2014).

Leaning on seminal findings by Romero & Han (2004), Reese (2006), Boucher (2012), Boucher & Rydell (2012) and other philosophers of language who have contributed to the use and meaning of negative polar constructions, psycholinguists could for instance design a set of combined visual and linguistic tasks that could predictably influence explicit and implicit attitudes in Palenquero speakers. For instance, a picture (on a laptop, or in printed form) of a real life situation could be followed by questions containing speech elements like *really*, *actually*, *in fact*, etc. that prime interlocutors’ background assumptions (or their reactions to them). Informants’ answers, and their selection rate of pre- vs. post-verbal negation, would then help scholars determine what (if any) correlation exists between psycholinguistic disposition and morphosyntactic choices in the domain of predicate negation.

Regardless of what approaches are ultimately chosen to further delve into Palenquero negation, researchers will have to be prudent to resist simplistic assumptions about the effects that background information can have on negation

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11. “NEG final é impossível de ocorrer em alguns contextos encaixados, sendo ou totalmente excluído ou exigindo a co-ocorrência com o NEG pré-verbal” (2006: 4).

structures. One must not suppose, for instance, that speakers who hold certain background information to be mistaken (and, therefore, in need of realignment) will inescapably seek to reform their interlocutor(s) by selecting appropriate morpho-syntactic or other devices (in the case of Palenquero mostly NEG<sub>2</sub> and/or NEG<sub>3</sub>). Speakers may, instead, decide to simply “inform” rather “reform”, thereby making no explicit allusion to backgrounded assumptions. Speakers do so, at times, because they may sense, for instance, that a “reforming” locution might be overly offensive, or strategically undesirable. Two important conclusions follow from my foregoing observations: (1) according to my pragmatically based hypothesis, it is thus true that in Palenquero, NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub> negation always seek to influence people’s thoughts, feelings, and behaviors, while preverbal negation does not. However, (2) it is equally true that the use of preverbal negation is *not* always an outward sign that the speaker is unaware of interlocutors’ contrary truth assumptions. From this it follows that Palenquero, with its flexible positioning of predicate negators, provides speakers with a subtle yet effective means through which potentially false information can be examined, and, ultimately, negotiated.

### 3. Palenque in the new millennium: Ongoing language change and complicating factors for future studies of Palenquero negation

As this section hopes to explain, rapid sociolinguistic changes whose roots go back to the beginning of this millennium now considerably complicate the tasks of researchers interested in Palenquero negation, especially for those wishing to elicit data from younger generations. The goal of this section is to explain why that is so, and what implications this may have for scholars’ understanding of the synchronic and diachronic dimensions of *Lengua*.

As explained in Schwegler (2011b) and as noted by virtually all earlier publications on Palenque, the local Creole – and along with it, all deeply-rooted “African” cultural practices associated with – historically suffered from heavy stigmatization and ridicule by the surrounding population (Cartagena de Indias and vicinity). During those earlier times and up to the end of the 20th century, young and old essentially spoke the same type of Palenquero, thus sharing a grammar that, in sharp contrast with many other Caribbean Creoles, exhibited virtually no lectal variations (basilect, mesolect, acrolect) (Schwegler 2001; Dussias et al. 2016).

As reported in Lipski (2012), Moñino (2003), Schwegler & Morton (2003: 99–100), and Schwegler (2011a: 454–455; 2013a), in the course of the past two decades or so, the once heavily stigmatized Palenque has undergone two unexpected and rather profound transformations. First, younger generations, who formerly shunned

the local Creole, began to embrace it wholeheartedly as a symbol of ethnic pride, thereby contributing significantly to a movement that has led to a community-wide acceptance of *Lengua*.<sup>12</sup> Secondly, thanks in part to Palenque's newfound notoriety and its recasting into the ethnolinguistic epicenter of the Afro-Hispanic world (Schwegler 2011b), exclusively local features (e.g. words and other cultural manifestations of patently African origin) have acquired especially high status, and, as a consequence, far greater relative frequency.

Today, the revitalization of the Palenquero language is part of a communitywide effort, emanating most strongly from locally-born teachers and middle-aged community leaders. As mentioned by Lipski, and as observed most recently by myself in April of 2015, these local efforts “appear to be producing tangible results, as witnessed by the fact that all school children now receive several years’ instruction in the Palenquero language” (Lipski 2013: 26).

Palenqueros’ ethnolinguistic enthusiasm at times has led to the more or less artificial restoration of what they consider “pure(r)” and/or more traditional forms of Palenquero Creole (Lipski 2013). For instance, the subject pronoun Pal. *enú* ‘you (pl.)’ (< Kikongo *énu*), formerly a moribund form supplanted almost entirely by Spanish-derived *utere* ‘you (pl.)’, has been resuscitated by local educators (several of which had read my 2002 article where I established the African provenance of the word), so much so that didactic *Lengua* materials currently in vogue in Palenque’s schools feature *enú* rather than *utere* as the standard Creole form for second person plural.<sup>13</sup>

The mechanisms by which Palenqueros decide what supposedly is (and is not) autochthonous to their language and culture are fairly complex and cannot be examined in detail here (but see Lipski 2016). Suffice it to say, however, that lexical items and grammatical structures not found in adstratal Spanish are generally judged to be more “local”, more “pure”, and, therefore, preferable to alternative modes of expression.

The rapidity with which attitudes towards the Palenquero language have changed, and the heightened pace with which locals have come to embrace “all things local” have thus jointly created a situation in which young and old generations no longer speak exactly alike (emergence of lectal differences). Importantly,

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12. As Lipski aptly notes in a recent contribution, “[t]he current vitality of the Palenquero ethno-education program and the enthusiasm with which many young people attempt to speak Palenquero is particularly striking in view of numerous predictions that the Palenquero language was on the verge of disappearance” (2013: 24).

13. See, for instance, *Transformemos. [...] Palenque habla y escribe palenquero. Fortalecimiento de la cultura y lengua palenquera mediante su inclusión en la cultura escrita* (2011: 46), where *enú* is explicitly promoted as a Bantu-derived lexeme.

while the enthusiasm for *Lengua* among the young is considerable, their active knowledge of it is at times fairly limited. Descendants of what Lipski aptly calls the “lost generation” (2013: 26), these heritage speakers have come to rely rather heavily on language input obtained in school (“etno-educación”), precisely the place where the aforementioned preference for “all things local” is upheld most dogmatically today.

Keeping in mind this penchant for purism and “the truly local”, it is not difficult to understand why today’s *Lengua* teachers, and their pupils in general, would give preferential treatment to strictly postverbal NEG<sub>3</sub>: unlike its NEG<sub>1</sub> counterpart, NEG<sub>3</sub> is never found in Spanish, whence postverbal *nu* “naturally” seems genuinely more “pure Creole” and thus better-suited to symbolically convey Palenque’s unique ethnolinguistic pride and identity. Not surprisingly, current pedagogical materials (recently funded by government and other sources but produced by Palenqueros themselves) are used to reinforce this dogma: non-Spanish-like (*nu*) + VERB + *nu* is presented as the sole native canonical negation pattern, to the detriment of Spanish-like *nu* + VERB. For instance, in the manual *Transformemos. Son ri tambó / Son de tambores* (2014 [?]: 69–70), one finds a two-page introductory lesson on negation where preverbal NEG<sub>1</sub> is explicitly labeled as an intrusion from Spanish: “[...] due to the influence from Spanish [...], sometimes the Palenquero negator is placed before the verb” (p. 69, my translation). Complemented by over a dozen sample Creole sentences, the rules for negation in said grammar book are laid out (in Creole) as shown in Figure 2, all of which prescribe NEG<sub>2</sub> and especially NEG<sub>3</sub> as the sole appropriate verbal negation in the Creole, to the exclusion of NEG<sub>1</sub>.<sup>14</sup>

Younger Palenqueros’ pedagogically reinforced psycholinguistic partitioning of Spanish and Palenquero has begun to affect the ways in which they now speak *Lengua*. While no reliable data or studies are currently available to assess the overall impact of these new prescriptive trends on everyday local language (but see Lipski 2013 for a first serious attempt at such description), my *in situ* observations have confirmed already that, as regards predicate negation, some pupils increasingly shun preverbal *nu* constructions, particularly in circumstances where speaking “good Palenquero” is highly valued. These circumstances include staged

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14. All English translations are mine. Readers familiar with Palenquero will note that the rules given are “amateurish” at best, punctuation marks often missing (note, for instance, the absence of exclamation marks in examples with negative commands), and translations at times misleading (e.g., the second example, *bo á sé kandá nú* does not mean “Tú no sabes cantar” but rather denotes “Tú no sueles cantar” (*ásé*, here spelt *á sé*, is a common habitual marker in Palenquero). Also, the grammatical explanation is rather confusing, but usually remediated in the classroom where Palenquero teachers routinely make up for such shortcomings with their unbound enthusiasm for *Lengua*. As a result, these observed “formal” issues are of minor consequences within the *Programa de etno-educación*.

<i>Andi lengua ri Palenge kuandi bo a kelé negá aggun kusa, bo ten ke aselo asina, kuandi flase ke kabá, i tambié jende se a[s]elo repué ri bebbo ke ta indiká assió. Asina:</i>	'In the Palenquero language, when one wishes to negate something, one must do so as follows: place [the negator <i>nu</i> ] in sentence-final position; one may also put it after a verb when it indicates an action. Thus:'
<i>Suto ten sena nú.</i> Nosotros no tenemos cena.	'We have nothing to eat for dinner.'
<i>Bo á sé kandá nú.</i> Tú no sabes cantar.	'You don't (normally) sing.'
(two additional NEG <sub>3</sub> examples follow; added to these are then several NEG <sub>2</sub> constructions, also said to be canonical Palenquero).	
<i>Nu kumé ese pekao nú.</i> No comas ese pescado.	'Don't eat that fish!'
<i>Nu kandeno nu.</i> No canten.	'Don't sing!'

**Figure 2.** Negation rules and sample negative sentences as presented in *Transformemos*, a government-sponsored bilingual Palenquero/Spanish school book currently in use in the community. (Partial reproduction)

demonstrations of *Lengua* in school lessons on *etno-educación*, where students are routinely asked, for instance, to perform storytelling in Creole. Attempts to speak “good and maximally pure Creole” also readily extend beyond the classroom. For example, in interactions with “academic tourists” who are eager to hear samples of spoken *Lengua*, youngsters happily offer tidbits of spoken Creole, especially if it is for (modest) pay and/or a cool drink or two at the Central Plaza. Listening in on one such verbal demonstration, I counted over 25 instances of postverbal *nu* during a 10–15 minute stretch, to the complete exclusion of preverbal structures.<sup>15</sup> Among these were utterances like (22), which in traditional Palenquero may well have been expressed with *nu* + VERB, as the discourse context was such that it favored pre- rather than postverbal negation.

- (22) *En kasa, suto asé ablá en lengua nu.*  
in home PRS.1PL TMA talk in Lengua NEG  
'At home, we don't speak (in) Lengua.'

15. I should note, also, that the two Palenquero youngsters who offered this staged dialogue spoke creole with considerable fluency and yet were clearly heritage speakers with less than complete command of *Lengua*. Naturally, academic tourists to Palenque fail to realize that the *Lengua* they thus hear is not an entirely genuine sample of traditional local speech.

By the same token, youngsters' concern for "good" or "pure" *Lengua* also appears to have impacted their use of negative concord with polarity items. As shown in Examples (23) to (25), in the speech of Palenquero youth I interviewed in 2015, *narie* 'nobody, no one', *tampoko* '(n)either' and similar polarity items consistently paired up with postverbal *nu* even when discourse contexts would have allowed their omission in traditional Creole (see Section 1 above).

- (23) *No, narie akolá ri eso nu.*  
 no nobody remember of this NEG  
 'No, nobody remembers this.'
- (24) *¡Klaro! Ele tampoko tan sabé-lo nu.*  
 claro s/he neither FUT know-it NEG  
 'Of course! S/he isn't going to know it either.'
- (25) *Ese ma turita, ané asé ablá inglés*  
 this PL tourist PRS.3PL TMA speak English  
*náa má. Asina fue. No, ané ablá kateyano nu.*  
 only thus be no PRS.3PL speak Spanish NEG  
 'These tourists, they only (know how to) speak English. That's the way it is. No, they (really) don't (know how to) speak Spanish.'

In this generational process of a shift from older to newer models and modes of expression, Palenqueros wittingly or unwittingly relinquish subtle discourse-pragmatic features that must now be supplanted through other means (e.g. varied intonational contours that place special stress and/or emphasis on *nu*). As we have just witnessed above, this is seemingly the case with predicate negation structures, whose variable morphosyntax (NEG<sub>1,2,3</sub>) traditionally has allowed speakers to signal attitudinal presuppositions through the selection of pre- vs. post-verbal negation. Naturally, such a subtle and complex variation is a deep feature of language – one that Palenquero teachers and their cohorts who have expert fluency in both local languages cannot always control consciously. It is this often subconscious application of deep-seated grammatical and pragmatic rules that helps explain why even the stoutest defenders of "pure *Lengua*" do not always practice what they preach (or teach), thereby continuing to use – as they have always done – all three traditional negation strategies. Compelling examples thereof are found in the very texts that teachers have composed for their *Lengua* courses. For instance, on page 92 of the earlier-cited manual *Transformemos*, one finds a 300-word Creole text (authored by Palenquero educators) with as many as three preverbal rather than postverbal utterances (e.g., *pa ma ojo ele NŪ etropiá ...* 'so as not to damage his/her eyes ...'). In contrast, the same page exhibits only a single case of prescribed and supposedly canonical VERB + *nu*.



Other allegedly “pure” educational Palenquero materials similarly betray the true and varied nature of predicate negation in customary *Lengua* – the vernacular that these same educators acquired some forty to fifty years ago from their parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other fellow community members. As a result, manifestations of NEG<sub>1</sub>, NEG<sub>2</sub>, NEG<sub>3</sub> abound, for instance, in *Seina i pabí. Katiya ri Lengua ri Palenge* (2011), a sixty-page collection of local stories and didactic exercises composed by a group of *Lengua* aficionados from Palenque (for an example of NEG<sub>1</sub>, see for instance p. 39: ... *kumo ma prieto nú keleba ta jutao* ‘since the Black people didn’t want to be taken [?]’; my emphasis and translation). Similar observations are valid for Pérez Miranda’s *Chitieno lengua ku ma kuendo* (*Hablemos lengua a través del cuento*) where grammatical vignettes (e.g., 2011: 35) explain that the negative particle *nu* (i.e., NEG<sub>3</sub>) is generally placed at the end of the sentence, but that in command forms the embracing negation is used (NEG<sub>2</sub>). The Palenquero texts in this storybook consistently follow this canon, so much so that not a single case of NEG<sub>1</sub> occurs in the 95-page compendium, written by Palenque’s most prominent instructor of *Lengua* (i.e., Bernardino Pérez Miranda, the local Coordinator of the “Programa de Protección a la Diversidad Etnolingüística del Ministerio de Cultura”).

In partial summary: as regards predicate negation, among contemporary Palenquero educators and their cohorts, one thus finds a considerable discrepancy between their perception of Creole grammar and their own actual usage of it. Regardless, the fact that local teachers have adopted fairly rigid prescriptionist attitudes vis-à-vis their *Lengua* is already beginning to have an impact on actual language usage among their students. The extent to which such incipient changes will fossilize over time and perhaps eventually spread through the rest of the community remains to be seen.

### 3.1 What it all means for future studies of Palenquero negation

I have suggested in Section 2.4 that future psycholinguistic *in situ* experiments might significantly advance our understanding of how Palenquero predicate negation has traditionally functioned. In light of Palenque’s ongoing intergenerational language dynamics, it goes without saying that, to be truly convincing, future psycholinguistic inquiries into *Lengua* negation will need to differentiate carefully between old(er) and new(er) forms of speech.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, in designing verbal tasks with Palenquero

16. To repeat, these intergenerational dynamics include:

- a. attitudinal changes (e.g. growing acceptance of prescriptivism),
- b. morphosyntactic innovations (e.g., the targeted riddance of NEG<sub>1</sub> constructions), and the
- c. substitution of pragmatically-based discourse functions (e.g., contradiction of statements or assumptions explicit or implicit in the preceding discourse, as traditionally expressed by pre- vs. postverbal negation).

informants, extra care will have to be taken to create test environments that are maximally conducive to informal, relaxed, colloquial, and uninhibited speech. This is so because past experience has revealed that formal or “coerced” types of settings tend to inhibit or altogether block the subtle triggers that, in natural and free-flowing *Lengua*, lead speakers of traditional Palenquero to choose one of the three available negation strategies (NEG<sub>1,2,3</sub>). Especially in a community like Palenque where the written word until recently played a very minor role in everyday life (prior to 2000, the Creole was rarely written and almost never seen in print, publicly or privately) carrying out the proposed psycholinguistic experiments presents an unusually challenging task, one that might best be achieved through collaborative efforts by linguists with diverse theoretical backgrounds and training.

#### 4. Summary and discussion

This study has examined the synchrony of Palenquero negation, especially as it pertains to predicate negation. As shown in Section 1, in terms of negation *forms*, the Creole hardly departs from adstratal Spanish, as all of its negation particles (including *no* ‘no, not’, *nu* ‘not’, *nunka* ‘never’, *ná(a)* ‘nothing’) are straightforward derivations from Spanish. As regards negative concord, the behavior of negative polarity items (e.g., *ni ... ni* ‘either ... or’) has here been shown to essentially match that of the Spanish lexifier, except that the predicate negative license *nu* is occasionally omitted (in Spanish, such omission is ungrammatical).

As we have had occasion to witness in “2. Palenquero predicate negation”, while the forms of Palenquero negators are simple from a Spanish perspective, their morphosyntax and especially their pragmatically motivated functions are not. In traditional Palenquero, three distinct negation patterns are used: strictly preverbal *nu* (NEG<sub>1</sub>), embracing *nu ... nu* (NEG<sub>2</sub>), and strictly postverbal *nu* (NEG<sub>1</sub>). As noted in Section 1, only NEG<sub>1</sub> is found in canonical Spanish and/or in the coastal Caribbean Spanish dialect of the Cartagenera region (where Palenque is located). Palenquero Spanish exhibits this same preverbal negation, but it does so in a much more limited fashion, as it (a) can only occur with the embracing pattern (NEG<sub>2</sub>) and never with (NEG<sub>3</sub>), and (b) is used only sporadically (low relative frequency). For these reasons it is best to consider occasional NEG<sub>2</sub> in the Spanish of Palenque as an intrusion from the Creole.

As explained in Section 2, earlier scholars were of the opinion that preverbal *nu* (NEG<sub>1</sub>) in Palenquero results from interference with Spanish. In a 1991 study, I proposed that this analysis was mistaken, and that all three strategies form part and parcel of Palenquero’s grammar. In a book-length study, Dieck (2000) concurred with my analysis, a view that has since stood the test of time.

Far more contentious has been the question of what causal factors intervene in the selection of negation of NEG<sub>1</sub>, NEG<sub>2</sub>, and NEG<sub>3</sub>. In 1991, I proposed that discourse-pragmatic factors such as “contradiction to earlier statements or assumptions” are fundamental in this regard. Dieck (2000 and 2002) subsequently dissented, arguing that certain morphosyntactic configurations (e.g., the relativizing construction *lo ke* ‘that [which]’) are the main trigger for pre- vs. post-verbal negation. In Section 2.3 “Further dissent and additional thoughts about the pragmatics of negation”, I have critically reviewed Dieck’s hypothesis. Beyond raising some concerns about the size of her corpus and overall familiarity with the Creole, I voiced several misgivings about how she interpreted “the facts” surrounding the primary data. For instance, my view differs substantially from hers in that presumably rhetorical questions she examined (see Examples (13)–(14) above) have substantially different presuppositions than she claimed. And contrary to what Dieck states (2002: 160), *lo ke* constructions are not only quite common in Palenquero, but in actuality are accompanied by all three negation structures, so much so that the construction in question cannot sensibly be viewed as a (more or less) predictable causal trigger for pre- vs. postverbal negation.

While these disagreements point up mild controversy, scholars of Palenquero would, however, all agree that *Lengua*’s negation strategies need to be examined in greater depth before any firm conclusions can be drawn. As noted, on this point we can be optimistic: the fresh arrival to Palenque of a group of prominent psycholinguists (cp. Dussias et al.) promises to open up new avenues of research. I have suggested, for instance, that a picture database compiled to create experimental stimuli may yield novel insights into the underlying grammar of Palenquero negation.

One important finding presented in Section 2.3 is that recently, Palenque has been undergoing rapid sociolinguistic changes that significantly affect not only the ways in which younger generations acquire the Creole (mostly in school, away from the traditional home setting), but also the manner in which negation strategies are now framed prescriptively within the community. As we have seen, local educators (and the textbooks they use) vigorously defend the purist view that preverbal negation is the result of Spanish interference, and is thus best avoided. As a result, NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub> have recently come to be interpreted as the only canonical “native” pattern, thereby significantly distorting the facts of Palenquero language (including those that shape the grammars of the very *Lengua* teachers who adopt such a purist stance).

As we have seen, Palenque’s heritage speakers have begun to embrace their teachers’ lessons, so much so that some pupils now seem to altogether exclude preverbal negation from their Creole. In the linguistic consciousness of young and middle-aged Palenqueros, postverbal *nu* now inherently has a more authentic flavor

than its strictly preverbal counterpart, and to them this pattern seems best suited to symbolically convey local ethnolinguistic pride and Afro-Colombian identity. For these same speakers, the reduction of the original tripartite negation to a bipartite strategy in which postverbal *nu* is a regular and predictable component (be that with NEG<sub>2</sub> or NEG<sub>3</sub>) may also have another advantage, one that may ultimately become the driving force behind its universal acceptance into the Creole: it substantially reduces the acquisitional complexity of predicate negation, as it removes or sidesteps subtle presuppositional nuances that, in my view, have traditionally been the cornerstone of NEG<sub>1</sub> vs. NEG<sub>2,3</sub>.

#### 4.1 Lessons to be learned from beyond Palenque

Regardless of how *Lengua* will eventually evolve, in studying the new and the next in Palenquero negation strategies, scholars will do well to place *Lengua* within a larger cross-linguistic perspective. This I say, in part, because other languages (e.g., Dominican Spanish, São Tomé Creole, and especially Brazilian Portuguese) have been shown to exhibit morphosyntactic as well as pragmatic variations between negatives that closely match those of Palenquero (Cavalcante 2008, 2009, 2010; Johnson & Schwenter 2017; Schwegler 1991a, 1996a; Schwenter 2002, 2016; Hagemeyer 2003, 2007, 2008, 2009). Schwenter (2002, 2016) and Johnson & Schwenter's (in press) expert study of canonical and non-canonical negation structures of Brazilian Portuguese uncovers subtle contextually-derived conditions that explain the selection and diverse functions of pre- vs. postverbal negation. As the remaining paragraphs of this article will reveal, these contributions confirm my original claim (first proposed in 1991, reiterated in 1996, and upheld once again in this article), that –contra Dieck (2000, 2002) – the felicity of postverbal negatives fundamentally depends on the information-structural value of the proposition being negated.

The evidence examined in Schwenter (2002, 2016) and Johnson & Schwenter (2017) demonstrates, for instance, that in Brazilian Portuguese (26 below), much like in Palenquero, postverbal rather than preverbal negatives are “employed to negate propositions that the speaker believes are accessible in or can be plausibly inferred from the current discourse context” (Schwenter 2002: 262). These same studies on Brazilian Portuguese also confirm, again in perfect harmony with what has consistently been observed in Palenque, that NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub> constructions like (26b) or (26c) always require a presuppositional “trigger” element in the prior discourse (examples and translations are from Schwenter 2016; see Schwegler 2018 for additional references to studies on non-canonical Brazilian Portuguese negation).

- (26) a. *Não vai muito para a universidade.* (NEG<sub>1</sub>)  
 b. *Não vai muito para a universidade não.* (NEG<sub>2</sub>)  
 c. – *Vai muito para a universidade não.* (NEG<sub>3</sub>)  
 ‘She doesn’t go much to the university.’

Schwenter’s analysis goes beyond mine, however, in that it shows that for postverbal negation to become licensed in Brazilian Portuguese, “the contextually-derived proposition does not have to be *believed*, but only *activated*” (2002: 255, emphasis in original). I now hold the view that this same rule also applies to Palenquero, and that therefore postverbal NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub> in *Lengua* are not restricted to denying propositions derivable from pragmatic presuppositions. Regardless, here, as in Brazilian Portuguese, NEG<sub>1</sub> “can be used in ‘out of the blue contexts’ (to the extent that such contexts are possible) or in contexts where the negative sentence or utterance is being presented specifically as new information in the discourse” (Johnson & Schwenter 2017). This explains why, in the hypothetical context of the Brazilian and Palenquero examples in (27) and (28), respectively, a postverbal NEG is infelicitous, i.e., an impossible discourse option.<sup>17</sup>

- (27) *Tenho uma novidade para você:* \**Amanhã vai chover não.* BP  
 ‘I have news for you: Tomorrow it will not rain.’
- (28) *I tené un noberá pa uté:* \**Maana tan yobé nu.* Pal.  
 ‘I have news for you: Tomorrow it will not rain.’

As Johnson & Schwenter astutely observe, as long as the Brazilian Example (27) – and in my view also its Palenquero counterpart in (28) – “is understood as conveying new information that is not topically linked to the prior discourse, only NEG<sub>1</sub> is possible. What is more, the preverbal *não* cannot be elided, and a postverbal *não*, whether accompanied (NEG<sub>2</sub>) or not (NEG<sub>3</sub>) by the preverbal *não* is not a felicitous option” (in press).

Johnson & Schwenter’s study has further relevance for future inquiries into Palenquero negation in that it usefully clarifies the licensing conditions for NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub>. The authors show that, most importantly, the proposition being negated must be activated in the prior context. As discussed in the preceding sections of this article, I had hitherto clung to the notion that presuppositions or prior belief in the truth of a proposition are the principal trigger for postverbal negation (NEG<sub>2</sub> and/or NEG<sub>3</sub>). In natural discourse, presuppositions or prior belief in the truth of

17. Example (27) is from Johnson & Schwenter (2017), slightly adapted here to improve its interpretation. If the response were couched in an embracing negation, it would be similarly infelicitous (cp. \**Amanhã não vai chover não*). The context only licenses a preverbal construction (i.e., *Amanhã não vai chover*).

“x” always refer to propositions that are activated (explicitly or implicitly so) in the prior context, whence Johnson’s & Schwenter’s and my own view do not differ in a fundamental manner. I submit, however, that activation of a proposition has relevance for the use of postverbal negation (see, for instance, Examples (9a) and (9b) in Johnson & Schwenter 2017). Schwegler (2016b) closely studies this issue for Palenquero, and offers explanations for the selection of NEG<sub>2</sub> vs. NEG<sub>3</sub>.

Contrastive and mutually beneficial analyses between Palenquero and other languages (e.g., Brazilian Portuguese) with virtually analogous negation patterns also point up other interesting questions that future studies will want to address. It is not clear, for instance, why in Brazilian Portuguese the relative frequency of NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub> is much lower than that of NEG<sub>1</sub> (the ratio is about 25% to 75% according to Johnson & Schwenter 2017), while roughly the opposite holds for Palenquero among traditional speakers.<sup>18</sup> One possible explanation may be that, as suggested earlier, strong normative pressures from standard (written and spoken) Brazilian Portuguese may thwart the greater use of NEG<sub>2</sub> and NEG<sub>3</sub>. Another explanation may be that Palenquero and Brazilian Portuguese are both undergoing Jespersen’s negation cycle (van der Auwera 2009, 2016, van der Auwera et al. 2017, Jespersen 1917, Dahl 1979, Schwegler 1990: 158, 170–171), but that Palenquero is simply a step or two ahead of Brazilian Portuguese within that cycle. Sessarego’s (2017) recent exploration into Chocó Spanish (Colombia) NEG<sub>2</sub> patterns – which closely mirror those found in Palenquero, Dominican Spanish, and Brazilian Portuguese – favors this cyclical Jespersonian account, claiming that the embracing negation structures in question have their ultimate roots in Peninsular Spanish or Portuguese. The evidence (taken from 16th–19th-century historical sources) that he adduces is tantalizing, but as my response (Schwegler 2018) to his study seeks to show, the case is far from closed. In my view, Palenquero negation is more likely to have originated in Kikongo (western Bantu, H10 in Guthrie 1967–1971, vol. 3: 14), which had a wide diffusion in many parts of colonial Black Latin America, and may have influenced the evolution of Palenquero and/or Brazilian morphosyntax considerably more than has been suspected heretofore.

18. Of course, the discourse context is a primary determinant of overall NEG distribution in any discourse, but by and large the observation made is most likely accurate, as exemplified in Dieck (2000: 44), where one of the informants – a speaker of “traditional Palenquero” – shows the following relative frequency distribution (rounded figures to the nearest half percent) in a 70-minute recording with a total of 82 clausal negations:

NEG <sub>1</sub>	=	18 occurrences	=	22.00%
NEG <sub>2</sub>	=	2 occurrences	=	2.50%
NEG <sub>3</sub>	=	62 occurrences	=	75.50%
TOTAL	=	82 occurrences	=	100.00%

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# Cross-linguistic negation contrasts in co-convergent contact languages

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Sri Lankan contact Malay (SLM) and Portuguese (SLP) share sprachbund-discordant features, including pre-verbal functional markers for TMA and negation. Yet their negation strategies also differ. In SLM, negation morphology is a diagnostic for the finiteness status of verbs. SLP verbs are contrastively negated, based on aspectual (not tense/finiteness) contrasts, and participles in adjunct clauses have distinctive non-finite negation. SLM marks finiteness status on matrix auxiliaries in a biclausal periphrastic construction. In the SLP construction, auxiliary and participle cannot be independently negated and the auxiliary cannot be separated from the verbal complex, arguing against biclausal status. SLM marks negative polarity in quantified nominal constituents, but has no negative concord, whereas SLP has negative concord, but relatively little negative polarity marking.

**Keywords:** negation, Sri Lankan Malay, Sri Lankan Portuguese, negative concord, negative polarity, finiteness, periphrastic perfect, constituent negation, biclausality, FinP

## 1. Introduction

Functional features instantiated in contrastive negation morphology can illuminate syntactic differences between two minimally contrasting Dravidian-influenced contact languages, differences that would be more difficult to see without that negation morphology as a reliable diagnostic for the relevant contrast, in this case finiteness contrasts between clauses. The languages in question are the contact varieties of Malay (SLM) and Portuguese (SLP) that developed in Sri Lanka over several centuries, and that continue to be spoken there by small populations.<sup>1,2</sup>

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1. For sociolinguistic and grammatical overviews, see Slomanson (2013b) and Smith (2013). The most extensive descriptive treatment of a variety of SLM, in this case the highland (“upcountry”) variety, is Nordhoff (2009).

2. Much of what I know about Sri Lankan Malay is due to the tremendous kindness, patience, and hospitality of the people of Kirinda, a predominantly Sri Lankan Malay-speaking village in

In some respects, the two contact languages have come to resemble each other (co-convergence) more than they resemble the two major spoken languages of the country, colloquial Sinhala and Tamil. Both of the contact languages (SLM and SLP) have developed bound tense and infinitival morphology, a feature of the Sri Lankan sprachbund, yet this morphology in the contact languages is invariably pre-verbal, in contrast with the distribution found in Sinhala and Tamil. All markers of negation are also pre-verbal (or pre-auxiliary) in the contact languages. Clausal asymmetry is demonstrated not just by the presence of infinitival complement clauses, but also by participial adjunct clauses, whose discourse pragmatics patterns with what we find in the Sri Lankan sprachbund generally, including the framing of sequential event structure. While tense-marking, participles and infinitives are not surprising in a variety of Portuguese, albeit a radical contact variety, they are clearly a contact innovation in SLM, as a variety of Malay. Their pragmatic parallels point to convergence on a common Sri Lankan model. Yet if these are the closest of Sri Lankan languages, at least in terms of their linear instantiation of functional morphology (pre-verbal), and their status as Sri Lankan languages is clear from their complement-head orders elsewhere (unmarked OV orders, PP, and frequent left-embedding of clausal complements), and post-nominal case clitics in DP, their morphosyntax is nevertheless not identical. This is evident both from the shape of negation and from the relationship of negation to the finite and non-finite status of verbs. Functional contrasts between the available negation markers and how they associate with different types of participle differ in the two languages, as does a verb movement contrast, in which the finite SLM verb raises over aspect and functional markers in that language never stack in pre-verbal position.

SLM and SLP, complexified contact languages,<sup>3</sup> are spoken by bilinguals, as they have been throughout their existence. The canonical limited access approach

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coastal southeastern Sri Lanka. I am particularly grateful and indebted to Mohamed Thawfeek Mohamed Rihan and to Rimzana Shazin. Much of what I have learned about Sri Lankan Portuguese, I owe to the Portuguese Burgher people of Palayuttu and Trincomalee, and in particular to the late Oliver Johnson. I am extremely grateful to these good friends and am solely responsible for any inadvertent errors in describing their native languages.

3. Under an approach of the kind adopted in this paper to functional morphology, whether or not that morphology can be associated with a phonological word is not actually a well-justified metric for grammatical complexity, since what counts as complexity is an artefact of phonological properties that cannot themselves be evaluated with respect to some concept of complexity. Phonological weakening may yield cliticization and subsequently affixation. Unless the term complexity refers narrowly to the amount of overt morphology in a phonological word, the value of the term is questionable if the same functional contrasts are spelled out with free-standing morphemes that may prevent the lexical verb from raising. Viewed in that way, a contact language such as Haitian is no less “complex” than its lexical source language, French. (As we shall

to radical change in incipient contact languages, based on limited target language exposure and a break in intergenerational transmission, does not apply, given the historical and sociocultural context.<sup>4</sup> What also cannot be said to apply straightforwardly is the view that frequency of exposure to demographically and socially dominant syntactic and morphosyntactic configurations, by virtue of that frequency of exposure alone, necessarily leads to the adoption of those configurations. It is otherwise not at all clear why these historically young grammars would resist suffixation (as opposed to prefixation or pre-verbal cliticization) of functional morphology. This is particularly striking, given the primary influence of varieties of Tamil on both languages (Slomanson 2011, 2013a), since Tamil agglutinatively suffixes all functional material, including negation, and the type of agglutination found in both languages is highly reminiscent of Tamil (1).

- (1) TAMIL  
*Miflal paattu elidi-kitt-iru-kk-raan.*  
 Miflal song write-ASP-AUX-TNS-AGR  
 ‘Miflal is (in the process of) writing a song.’

SLM and SLP verbs resemble each other in their sprachbund-discordant resistance to the stacking of the phonologically dependent functional markers that we find in pre-verbal position, although this resistance is greater in SLM. This means that in practice, tense, modality, aspect, and negation markers cannot stack pre-verbally in the relatively unconstrained way that they stack post-verbally in Tamil, a fact that Slomanson (2008) attributed to verb movement, minimal in SLM, with the finite verb raising over a bound aspect marker. In this particular respect, the extent of verb movement based on suffixation, SLM is intermediate between Tamil and SLP.

The inventory of negation elements in the contact languages is more functionally diversified than what we find in the co-territorial languages, or in the lexifier languages for SLM and SLP, colloquial Malay varieties and Portuguese. At least in SLM, this can be viewed as a compensatory strategy to resolve an ambiguity. Negation and tense morphology cannot co-occur in Tamil and other major Dravidian languages, and this constraint (not present in the Indo-Aryan Sinhala language of Sri Lanka’s majority population) has been circumvented in various creative ways in Dravidian languages and in Dravidian-based contact languages

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see, if “complexity” referred to the extent of syntactic movement, based for example on feature strength, then SLM would be more complex than SLP. If it refers to morphological complexity as it pertains to verbs (rather than nominal constituents), this presupposes the absence of separability in complex verbal constructions, and SLP is then more complex than SLM.

4. For detailed discussion of this context with respect to SLM, and of a controversy in recent literature on these matters, see Slomanson 2013a.

(Slomanson 2009, 2011). In SLM, this circumvention is primarily accomplished through the contrastive marking of finiteness status in the phonological shape of negation markers, using Malay etyma.

Differences between negation markers in the two contact languages permit us to identify the syntactic differences between their semantically parallel perfect constructions. The SLM construction can be shown to be biclausal and the SLP construction monoclausal, since although the relevant construction is periphrastic in both languages, based on the presence of an auxiliary in the perfect construction, the tense and finiteness features are shared across the construction in SLP, whereas this is never the case in the analogous SLM construction. The periphrastic SLP construction consists of a morphologically complex lexical verb and auxiliary that cannot be separated from the verbal complex. In SLM, by contrast, the auxiliary is separable and occurs in its own clause, though this will not be obvious to most casual observers, since the construction is most frequently expressed continuously (2).

- (2) a. SRI LANKAN MALAY  
*Miflal Kulumbu-nang a(bi)s-pi ada.*  
 Miflal Colombo-ALL ASP-go AUX  
 'Miflal has gone to Colombo.'
- b. SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE  
*Miflal Kulumbu-pa j(ə)-andaa teem.*  
 Miflal Colombo-ALL PST-go AUX  
 'Miflal has gone to Colombo.'

The focus of Section 2 is the morphosyntactic organization of affirmative and negated non-periphrastic verb forms, including tense-marked and negated finite verbs, as well as non-finite participles and infinitives with and without negation in SLM and SLP. This will show that the cross-linguistic contrasts that we find can be accounted for by a minimal verb movement contrast in which the verb raises over aspect in finite contexts. At the same time, (finite) negation raises independently in SLM, and the SLP verb does not raise at all. The focus of Section 3 is the periphrastic perfect construction, within which negation marks the finiteness contrastively in SLM, but not in SLP. The focus of Section 4 is the role of the finiteness contrast in negation as a strategy for rendering the Lankan clausal asymmetry visible under negation. The asymmetry, involving the use of a sequence of conjunctive participles temporally subordinated to a tense-marked main verb, is an areal device for referring to sequences of related events. The focus of Section 5 is the contrasting patterns of negative polarity, which is productive in SLM, and negative concord, which is characteristic of SLP.

## 2. The non-periphrastic verb forms and negation

Temporal elements in the original Malay vernaculars brought to Sri Lanka were free-standing, optional, and mark aspect rather than tense (3). This example demonstrates the discontinuity of the aspect markers and the lexical verb, distributional evidence that the aspect marker is free-standing and essentially adverbial.

- (3) AMBONESE MALAY  
*Miflal ada kurang makang.*  
 Miflal ASP not enough eat  
 ‘Miflal is/was not eating enough.’

In affirmative contexts, tense in SLM is explicitly marked as a three-way contrast (past, present, and future), and occupies a different phonologically-dependent position from aspect in relation to lexical verbs, however the position of aspect obligatorily shifts from pre-verbal to post-verbal in finite clauses. This is a dependable diagnostic for the minimal verb movement consistently found in this language in its current form. In finite contexts in which there is a tense interpretation, tense and negation markers are in complementary distribution in SLM and SLP, as they are in Tamil and other Dravidian languages. So it is worth considering what the language-specific syntax of this system could be for SLM and SLP respectively.

Like infinitival complements, participial adjunct clauses are not finite, and this is reflected in their morphosyntax in SLM, although this is not necessarily reflected by the morphology in affirmative contexts in SLP, which makes use of actual tense markers (past *jə-*).<sup>5</sup> A finiteness contrast is reflected however in the phonological shape of elements that negate participles in SLP adjunct clauses, since these can be negated by the pre-verbal negator *seem*. In (4) and (5), we can see how the surface relationship of the SLM verb to aspect shifts when the verb is not finite, since the aspect marker in (4) becomes the participial marker in (5), for which the event onset time relative to the event referred to by the main verb is significant. (The interpretation can be “having finished writing a song”.)

- (4) SRI LANKAN MALAY  
*Miflal atu=nyanyi su-tulis-abis.*  
 Miflal INDEF=song PST-write-ASP  
 ‘Miflal finished writing the song.’

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5. Variably we also find the Portuguese participial suffix *-atu*.



- (5) SRI LANKAN MALAY  
*Miflal atu=nyanyi a(bi)s-tulis su-nyanyi.*  
 Miflal INDF=song ASP-write PST-sing  
 ‘Miflal sang, having written a song.’

SLM has innovated the allocation of explicit finite status to one negation element, *tara*, from the original Malay varieties and explicit non-finite status to another, *jang*. The original use of *jang* was restricted to negative imperatives. In the modern language, any participle or infinitive can be negated with *jang*, and any finite verb can be negated with *tara*. In (4), *tara* substitutes for *su* when the sentence is negated, since the tense marker and the finite negation marker cannot co-occur. In (5), if the participial adjunct is negated, this is accomplished by substituting *jang*, since the pre-verbal position does not permit bound functional markers to stack in pre-verbal position at all.

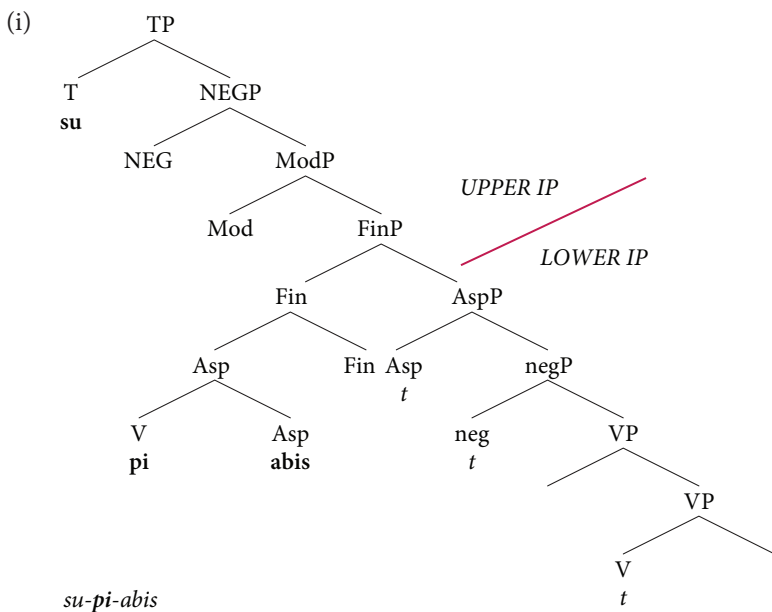
The following examples clearly demonstrate the verb movement contrast referred to earlier, in which SLP allows two bound pre-verbal functional markers with finite main verbs, demonstrating the absence of a syntactic motivation (i.e. feature strength) to raise and (left-)adjoin to an aspectual head, in contrast with what we find in SLM. In (6a), we see the grammatical equivalent of the SLM example in (4). In (6b), we see its SLP translation.

- (6) a. SRI LANKAN MALAY  
*Miflal Kulumbu nang su-pi-abis.*  
 Miflal Colombo ALL PST-go-ASP  
 ‘Miflal had finished going (traveling) to Colombo.’
- b. SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE  
*Miflal Kulumbu pa jə-ka-andaa.<sup>6</sup>*  
 Miflal Colombo to PST-ASP-go  
 ‘Miflal had finished going (traveling) to Colombo.’

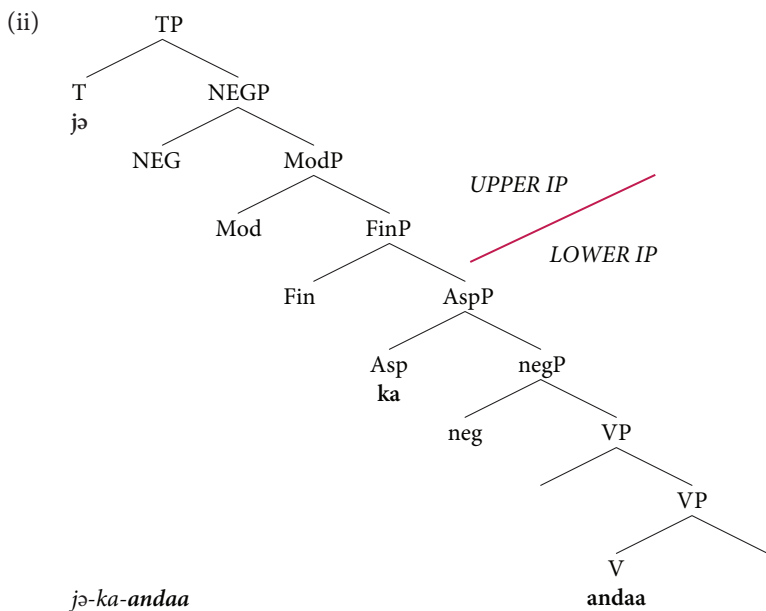
In both of these sentences containing a single inflected finite verb, there is a (past) tense marker and a (completive) aspect marker, however the distribution of the finite verb with respect to the bound functional markers differs. In the SLP construction, the functional markers can stack pre-verbally, whereas this is ungrammatical in SLM. The abstract order is nevertheless the same, reflecting the fact that aspect is closer to the verb than tense. The phrase structure of the SLM verb in (6a) is reflected in (i).

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6. In my field recordings, the past tense marker is always phonologically weakened, which is why I transcribed it here as *jə-*. In Smith (2013: 114), the transcription is *jaa-* however (i.e. without vowel reduction). This may be due to a dialect difference, since Smith collected his data in Batticaloa.



Assuming the same phrase structure, the analogous construction in SLP is as in (ii), also found in the sentence in (6b).



In (i) and (ii), the negation marker raises from NEG to T infinite contexts. In SLM, this would be *tara* or *tuma*. In SLP, the most frequently occurring negation marker. The phrase structure posited for the SLP verb in (ii) is the same as for SLM in (i), however the contrasting distribution of aspectual morphology in tense-marked contexts suggests that the finite tense-marked verb remains within the VP in SLP. This is a conservative option in a large number of Creoles, and SLP has been described as a Creole in Smith (1979) and a former Creole in Bakker (2006).<sup>7</sup> Though the SLP verb does not raise for finiteness, as does the SLM verb, given the optional availability of the Portuguese participial suffix (cf. footnote 6), the SLP verb *can* raise minimally for aspect. The negator in the lower *neg*<sup>0</sup> position adjoins to aspect and reflects aspectual contrasts that cannot co-occur independently with a negation marker. While the finite negation marker in SLM has a tense feature, visible in part from the fact that it is used to mark past tense contents on lexical verbs in the simplex construction, and the negation marker *tuma* non-past,<sup>8</sup> the negators used in SLP do not mark contrasts between tenses.

The constraint limiting pre-verbal affixation in both of these prefixing contact languages is compensated for by the semantics and feature composition of the pre-verbal negation markers in both languages. While pre-verbal function morphemes in these agglutinative languages cannot stack in an unconstrained way (which would simply entail the spell-out of the preceding functional heads, as is possible in a number of Atlantic Creoles), the missing features are associated instead with the negation markers. In SLM, this is primarily a matter of distinguishing between finite and non-finite verbs. If a verb is negated, of the potential functional elements in pre-verbal position, only the negation element will be spelled out and modality will not be. Finite negation, which appears to be phonologically dependent on the verb, is actually separate from it and undergoes raising to T.

The finite SLM verb itself raises no higher than the bottom of the upper part of the inflectional domain, which is in effect the finite part. FinP is the interface between the two subdomains. There are separate functional heads for finite negation (NEG<sup>0</sup>: *tara*, *tuma*), which is higher in the inflectional domain, and for non-finite

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7. According to Bakker (2000: 33), the language, now exclusively spoken in Tamil-majority areas on the east coast of the island, has undergone progressive “Tamilization”. We should note that this Tamilization, if that is the correct way to characterize the oral language’s diachronic development, has not gone so far as to confer the head movement processes found in Tamil, in which bound morphology is exclusively suffixing.

8. In affirmative contexts, there is a three-way tense contrast in SLM, but in negated contexts no explicit future marking is possible. *Tara* is the only available negator of the auxiliary, which yields the tonic form *tará*, a contraction of *tara* and *ada*. *Tara* is also frequently used in non-past contexts to negate adjectival predicates that have not yet been conventionalized as adjective to verb converted forms.

negation (neg<sup>0</sup>: *jang*), which is lower in the inflectional domain. This reflects a surface distributional contrast. Finite negation always appears to the left of the verb when aspect appears to the right of the verb. The verb left-adjoins to aspect in finite contexts, and subsequently to finiteness. The two forms of negation are not variants of each other, and their phonological shapes are completely dissimilar.<sup>9</sup> The non-finite negation marker *jang* (neg<sup>0</sup>) is lower than finite *tara* (NEG<sup>0</sup>), because it only takes a non-finite verb as its complement, and such a verb will not raise from its base position. The finite verb will also never take *tara* as a suffix because such a verb will not raise beyond Fin<sup>0</sup>.

In SLP, as in SLM, markers of tense and aspect morphemes can freely co-occur in finite clauses, and negation markers are unable to co-occur with markers not just of tense, but also of modality, on open-class lexical verbs. Abstractly, the order of functional heads can be said to be the same, however SLP aspect markers can occur adjacent to the verb in finite clauses in the otherwise restricted pre-verbal functional domain. This suggests a different relationship to tense and finiteness in the SLP verb, and indicates that the SLP verb does not leave the VP. In fact, the only part of the verbal complex that always appears to the right of the SLP verb is the auxiliary, which is *teem* in its present tense form and *tinda* in its past tense form.

In SLP, *nukə-* is a frequently occurring pre-verbal negation marker that is neutral with respect to temporal reference, although it cannot co-occur with tense markers (the Dravidian constraint), and it also cannot occur in contexts that can be construed as non-finite. It can negate a main verb and it can also negate the lexical participle in the periphrastic perfect construction.

- (7) a. SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE  
*Miflal nukə-vi.*  
 Miflal NEG-come  
 ‘Miflal did/does/will not come.’

9. A modality that is not an independent predicate cannot co-occur with negation in this functional complex. This suggests in this type of analysis that negation is higher than modality in the upper IP region, and that it adjoins to tense first, leaving a trace. Modality therefore cannot cyclically adjoin to tense in the presence of negation, without incurring a minimality violation, due to the presence of the trace of finite negation (NEG<sup>0</sup>). Free-standing modals can conversely occur as predicates and then be tense-marked however. In that case, they take infinitival complements. When modality does appear as a pre-verbal prefix in an affirmative context, it has a tense feature, but tense cannot be independently marked.

- Miflal atu nyanyi (\*si) bərə bilang.*  
 Miflal IND song (\*PST) MOD sing  
 ‘Miflal can/could sing a song today.’  
*Miflal pə oi kantiye (\*jə) poi kanta.*  
 Miflal DAT today song (\*PST) MOD sing  
 ‘Miflal can/could sing a song today.’

- (7) b. SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE  
*Miflal nukə-vi-teem.*  
 Miflal NEG-come-AUX  
 ‘Miflal has not come.’
- (7) c. SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE  
*Miflal vi num-teem.*  
 Miflal come NEG-AUX  
 ‘Miflal has not come.’

Other SLP negation markers include *naa(nda)-*, which marks negative modal features, including volition, *nikara-*, which is aspectual (habitual meaning), and *numis-*, which is a negative imperative marker. While there are certain contexts that require an infinitive in both of the languages, for example subject control contexts, such as ‘Miflal tried to write a song’, there is no grammatical strategy for actually negating infinitives in SLP.<sup>10</sup> The type of clause used to circumvent such a construction is generally future or irrealis, which is not surprising, since that type of meaning is frequently implicit in the interpretation of infinitives cross-linguistically. Participles can be negated with the prefix *seem-* however (from the Portuguese word for ‘without’). In SLM, by contrast, all participles, infinitives, and imperatives, that is, all non-finite verb forms, are negated with *jang*.

We have seen that the finite negation element associated with NEG<sup>0</sup> raises to T<sup>0</sup> independently of the (lexical) verb, and that the verb raises no higher than Fin<sup>0</sup>. The verb only raises over aspect in tense-marked contexts, which is why we should assume that the finite negation element is not an auxiliary verb, and the lexical verb is not an infinitive. This happens to contrast with negated verbal complexes in Tamil, in which the lexical verb has infinitival morphology. The Tamil negation element *ille* has for this reason standardly been analyzed as an auxiliary verb. The fact that negation can seemingly strand a lexical verb that it c-commands while picking up (or checking) features in higher functional positions that are associated with the interpretation of the actual (verbal) predicate is cross-linguistically attested. While the finite SLM negator raises to associate with tense in Finnish, the finite negator raises for phi features and is clearly separable from the verb, since other types of constituent can intervene. In negated Finnish clauses, the lexical verb is either unmarked (in present tense contexts), or depending on its tense interpretation, it can be realized as a (past) participle or as conditional. While in negative sentences, the Finnish verb does raise to tense (as the SLM verb in this analysis does raise to Fin<sup>0</sup>), the Finnish Neg raises independently to Agr<sup>0</sup>, which c-commands it. In neither case

10. This judgement is based on fieldwork that I conducted in the Portuguese Burgher community in Palayuttu, Trincomalee, eastern Sri Lanka in 2012 and 2015.

can the lexical verb be analyzed as an infinitive, and in this respect, SLM is closer to Finnish than to Tamil, in which the lexical verb retains its infinitival suffix in negative contexts. The syntactic relationship of negation to agreement in Finnish coincidentally resembles the syntactic relationship of negation to tense in SLM. Tense in Finnish is lower in the inflectional domain than the negation phrase is, in a position Comparable to the independent finiteness projection in SLM.<sup>11</sup> In the analysis in Mitchell (1991), the affirmative verb raises through Neg to Agr for its agreement affix. According to Mitchell (1991: 374),

If, however, Neg is filled with the negative auxiliary, the verb cannot move beyond T, and remains there; the negative auxiliary continues head movement to Agr, where it receives the agreement affixes, and under some conditions it may then move from Agr to Comp.

### 3. The periphrastic perfect construction and negation

The periphrastic perfect construction in (8) features both a lexical participle and an auxiliary matrix verb which takes tense and negation prefixes.<sup>12</sup> The participial clause is an IP adjunct and the auxiliary is the matrix verb.<sup>13</sup>

- (8) a. SRI LANKAN MALAY  
*Miflal atu=nyanyi a(bi)s-tulis su-ada.*  
 Miflal INDF=song ASP-write TNS-AUX  
 ‘Miflal has written a song.’
- (8) b. SRI LANKAN MALAY  
*Miflal atu=nyanyi a(bi)s-tulis tr-ada.*  
 Miflal INDF=song ASP-write NEG.FIN-AUX  
 ‘Miflal has not written a song.’

11. This analysis of Finnish verb syntax is found in Mitchell (1991) and (2006).

12. See also Slomanson (2008).

13. Negation of the lexical verb in periphrastic perfect constructions is not cross-linguistically unattested, being found also in languages as diverse as Lithuanian and Japanese (Arkadiiev 2015), as well as in Finnic languages (Slomanson 2016b), in which the lexical verb can be realized either as an independent participle or as a participle associated with a finite matrix auxiliary and the participle independently negated with abessive case. It follows from the status of the abessive case-marked lexical verb as nominal that it is not actually clausal however, unlike the structure containing the lexical participle in SLM. The significance of the phenomenon in this paper is that this is one of the few morphosyntactic contrasts between SLM and SLP, all of which are associated with the expression of negation.

Crucially for diagnosing biclausality, the negation prefix used is explicitly marked as finite, by virtue of its contrast in shape with the non-finite negation marker *jang*. It is normally the auxiliary that is marked in this way, so the negation marker is the same as the one prefixed to simplex lexical verbs, i.e. finite negator plus lexical verb. It is nevertheless possible in SLM, although unusual, to prefix a non-finite negation element to the lexical verb in the periphrastic perfect construction, in keeping with the status of the lexical verb as a participle within that construction. This is not possible in SLP. A participle can be negated with a non-finite negation marker, as in *seem-vi* ('without having come'), but that form will not become the lexical component in the periphrastic perfect construction.

Non-Sri Lankan varieties of Portuguese feature periphrastic verb constructions of roughly analogous type, however no non-Sri Lankan varieties of Malay at all do. Furthermore there is no obvious semantic accretion or advantage in the development of this construction, in a variety or varieties of Malay, since it does not replace a contrast that was previously unavailable in the original Malay varieties. It does compensate for the reanalysis of *su*, the Malay iative marker (meaning roughly 'already'), as a perfective marker in SLM. However it also follows from the need to observe sequential event ordering and then to displace a participle in order to focus it. The participle remains non-finite so that its non-primary status in the temporal hierarchy may be identified when it is in focus. The periphrastic construction adds a tense-markable and therefore finite matrix auxiliary. The pattern of a co-occurring with a matrix auxiliary, in just such a construction, is a sprachbund pattern. The resulting morphosyntax is not identical however.

To reiterate, the auxiliary *ada* in the perfect construction is negated with the finite element *tara* (or variants thereof), and never with the non-finite negation element *jang* (or variants thereof). We know that *tara* negates the auxiliary, rather than the lexical verb, because:

- (a) *tara* negates perfective lexical verbs, it is phonologically weak and invariably cliticizes to the left of the head that it negates. These facts yield frequent fused forms of the negated auxiliary in the periphrastic perfect construction:  
*tara ada* → *tarada* → *tará*
- (b) In that sense, *tara* interrupts the adjacency of the participle and the auxiliary, whereas negation appears at the end of the complex in Tamil, and the complex itself is not separable in that language.
- (c) In a context that would otherwise require the periphrastic construction, the non-finite participle can be focused in such a way that the participle is separated from the finite tense-marked negated auxiliary by a clause-final complementizer and comma intonation, as in (9).

- (9) SLM  
*Miflal atu=nyanyi abis-tulis kulung, tara-ada.*<sup>14</sup>  
 Miflal INDF=song ASP-write if FIN.NEG-AUX  
 ‘As for Miflal having written a song, he hasn’t.’

The periphrastic perfect construction is not semantically additive, but rather an elaboration of participial syntax that developed in order to accommodate the interaction of event hierarchization and focus. Identifying a semantic origin for the initial development of SLM infinitives, involving purposive and irrealis meanings, is relatively straightforward.

- (10) NA (NG) INFINITIVAL VP COMPLEMENT  
*Musba waghanam-yang mǎ-dapat (SRI LANKAN MALAY) si-liyat.*  
 Musba vehicle-ACC INF-get INF PST-see  
 ‘Musba tried to get the vehicle.’

The infinitival construction in SLM which takes the allative/dative marker *na(ng)* may have begun as a purposive adjunct, a function it has retained. The construction has been generalized to clausal complement contexts. A pre-verbal infinitival marker, of the form *mǎ-V*, also developed from the phonological weakening and (re) grammaticalization of the volitive/irrealis element *mau/mo*. I take this construction to have appeared subsequent to the instantiation of non-finite participial adjuncts, of the type we saw in (8) (*abis-tulis*). While the finiteness contrast arose as a way to displace and focus temporally non-primary clauses, the development of infinitival morphology and its corresponding negation with *jang* follows in part from the development of contrastive tense morphology. This enabled tensed verbs in SLM to take VP complements (i.e. INF-V TNS-try, meaning ‘try to V’), which although they lack the possibility of independent tense specification, are still amenable to irrealis interpretation.

The grammatical outcomes of language modeling and language restructuring, even in complexified contact languages, are in some respects a reduced set with respect to the model language. This follows from generalization based on a subset of model language configurations. In Tamil, there are actually different types of infinitival adjunct, with dative-marked verbs in adjunct clauses most likely to be purposive, whereas other types of infinitival adjunct, as well as infinitival complements have specifically (i.e. non-dative) infinitival morphology, as in (11).

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14. In rapid speech in the SLM-speaking village of Kirinda, with phonological reduction, this sentence would be *Miflal atu nyanyi e-tulis kulung, tará*.



## (11) EMBEDDED INFINITIVAL COMPLEMENT (TAMIL)

*Miflal-ukku [viTT-ukku poo-k-] oonum.*

Miflal-DAT house-to go-INF want

‘Miflal wants to go home.’

In SLM, the construction with *na* (a variant of *nang*) in (10) variably with and without the prefix *mə-*, is the only infinitival complementation strategy in SLM, and is negatable, as we have seen with *jang*. The trajectory from purposive to infinitive has been treated as a universal tendency, for example in Haspelmath (1989). The trajectory stands apart from but ultimately complements the scenario in which temporally subordinate adjunct clauses with the meaning “having done x” were responsible for the introduction of the finiteness contrast into the grammar of SLM (so that those same clauses could be dislocated and focused).

The fact that the SLM perfect construction consists of a non-finite participle and a finite auxiliary follows from the status of the participle as primary in the development of the contact language grammar. The contrast between tense-marked and participial forms enables temporally non-primary adjunct (i.e. participial) clauses to be focused by reordering event clauses. (Event clauses can be reordered the way nominal arguments can, in order to mark focus.) The participle can be adjoined to a finite auxiliary to yield the new perfect construction. The sequence of auxiliary and participle is characteristic of Portuguese generally, however in Sri Lankan Portuguese, although Portuguese-style participles are also still used (*daatu* in 12), the iamitive marker seems to be what is marking tense in the apparently periphrastic SLP perfect construction. The auxiliary is also explicitly tense-marked, at least in pluperfect constructions, as in (14), in which the lexical part of the complex verb and the auxiliary share their tense specification. In certain contexts, the present tense form of the verb (with *ta-*) can also function as a participle in this construction. The generalization is that the participle and the auxiliary always share a finiteness feature, whereas this is not at all the case in SLM.

## (12) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE

*Aka noos aka uusha kampani-pa daa-tu, aka jaa-faya dreetu.*

that 1PL that Usha company-DAT give-PTP that PST-make right

‘We gave that to the Usha company and repaired it.’ (Smith 2013) more literally:

‘We, (having) **given** that to the Usha company, repaired it.’

## (13) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE

*Eev jaa-lembraa isti mee prumeer vees boos jaa-vii*

1SG PST-think this FOC first time 2SG PST-come

*teem falaa-tu.*

AUX QUT-PTP

‘I thought that this is the first time you have come.’

(Smith 2013)

## (14) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE

*Eev kulumbu jaa-andaa tinya see, ...*

1SG Colombo PST-go PST.AUX CND

'If I had gone to Colombo, ...'

(Smith 2013)

So unlike in SLM, in SLP, there is no finiteness contrast between the two subparts of the perfect verbal complex, and there is also no separability, so that the two parts cannot be expressed in isolation. When the periphrastic perfect construction is negated in SLP, the speaker similarly can negate either the auxiliary or the participle, but unlike in SLM, there is no way to identify Finiteness status based on the phonological shape of the negator, which will generally be *nuka*.

#### 4. The finiteness contrast in negation increases the visibility of event structure contrasts

SLM went from being a language without a finiteness contrast to having explicitly non-finite participial clauses. What function could this and the finiteness contrast in general have that was not addressed in the same way in the development of SLP. SLP has tense and infinitival marking, but the tense morphology, as well as the infinitival marker *pa* (from Portuguese *para*) may pre-date any of the structural changes that Asian Portuguese varieties underwent in Sri Lanka.<sup>15</sup>

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15. The Dutch colonial administrators who replaced their Portuguese counterparts in the mid-seventeenth century also generally had an Asian contact variety of Portuguese as their native vernacular, coming as they did from Batavia (Jakarta), which was then Portuguese speaking. This may account for the language's relative grammatical conservatism in spite of the development of case morphology. The conservatism is found in the lack of verb movement, with participles not explicitly marked as non-finite, and it is conservatism, not with respect to European Portuguese, which was not likely to have been the target language, but with respect to an Asian Portuguese Creole variety or varieties. See den Besten (2000) for discussion of the fact that *pa* can mark indirect object status in a number of eastern Indonesian Malay varieties. It is now an object marker in SLP as well, in addition to being an infinitival marker. Looking at the dative-like origins of infinitives cross-linguistically, this path is not surprising.

Given that Portuguese was once a lingua franca of coastal Sri Lankan and coastal Java and other Indonesian islands, it is not unlikely that the two contact languages came in contact with each other in Sri Lanka and in Indonesia (and Malaysia). Aside from the syntactic parallels, there are other minor points of convergence, including a construction in which a verb (not a clause) takes as its prefix the complementizer *kama*, meaning 'if' or sometimes 'when'. This is apparently not borrowed, and is surprising in languages that otherwise have left-branching complementizers. (The more frequent words for 'if', *kulung* in Kirinda Malay and *see* in Trincomalee Portuguese, respectively, are always clause-final.)

As we have seen, the SLM finiteness contrast is reflected both in morphology and in syntax. Finiteness itself contributes little semantically to the SLM sentence. The function of the contrast is primarily pragmatic, contributing to the organizing of events into explicit temporal hierarchies that can be overridden in order to focus a temporally secondary event. This is demonstrated in (5).

- (15) SRI LANKAN MALAY  
 skul *na(ng) a(bi)s-pi, mulbar a(bi)s-blajar, Miflal*  
 school ALL ASP-go Tamil ASP-learn Miflal  
*atu=nyanyi su-tulis.*  
 INDF=song PST-write  
 ‘Having gone to school, and (then) learned Tamil, Miflal (subsequently) wrote a song (in it).’

A pragmatic motivation for the development of a finiteness/non-finiteness contrast in SLM can be identified in the fact that the discourse culture associated with the Sri Lankan sprachbund, as interpreted by speakers of SLM (some of whom were second language speakers), associates the sentential periphery with constituent focus, not just of nominal constituents, but of clauses (Slomanson 2016a, 2016b).

Returning to the example in (15), as (16a), note that the first two events are not literally in a temporal sequence (they overlap), although we should understand that going to school preceded Miflal’s learning Tamil.

- (16) a. SRI LANKAN MALAY  
 iskul=*na(ng) a(bi)s-pi, mulbar a(bi)s-blajar, Miflal*  
 school=ALL ASP-go Tamil ASP-learn Miflal  
*atu=nyanyi su-tulis.*  
 INDF = song PST-write  
 ‘Having gone to school, (and then) having learned Tamil, Miflal wrote a song (in it).’

The pragmatically-reordered sentence is in (16b):

- (16) b. SRI LANKAN MALAY  
 iskul=*na(ng) a(bi)s-pi, Miflal atu=nyanyi su-tulis*  
 school=ALL ASP-go Miflal INDF=song PST-write  
*mulbar a(bi)s-blajar*  
 Tamil ASP-learn  
 ‘Having gone to school, Miflal wrote a song, having learned Tamil.’

Notice that in negated contexts (17a), *abis-* is replaced by *jang-*, and *su-* is replaced by *tara-*.<sup>16</sup> Miflal's going to school was not completed prior to his learning Tamil.

- (17) a. SRI LANKAN MALAY  
 iskul=*na*(ng) *jang-pi*,                      *mulbar jang-blajar*,                      *Miflal*  
 school=ALL NEG.ASP.NFN-go Tamil NEG.ASP.NFN-learn Miflal  
*atu=nyanyi tara-tulis*.  
 INDF=song PST-write  
 'Not having gone to school, not having learned Tamil, Miflal did not write  
 a song (in it).'

The pragmatically-reordered sentence is in (17b):

- (17) b. SRI LANKAN MALAY  
 iskul=*na*(ng) *jang-pi*,                      *Miflal atu=nyanyi tara-tulis*  
 school=ALLNEG.ASP.NFN-go Miflal INDF=song NEG.PST-write  
*mulbar jang-blajar*  
 Tamil NEG.ASP.NFN-learn  
 'Not having gone to school, Miflal did not write a song, not having learned  
 Tamil.'

The sequence matters with respect to the onset of each event, but not its completion. It is the non-primary temporal status of the non-finite adjunct clauses that is most salient to speaker and listener, more so than their sequence with respect to each other. In the varieties of Malay originally brought to Sri Lanka, all the verbs in this sequence are likely to have been temporally unmarked. This means that an L1 Malay speaker in Sri Lanka in the process of accommodating Sri Lankan discourse conventions would have been forced to depend on prosody, and on the linear ordering of clauses, which would prevent their reordering for focus. This is in effect the situation in SLP, since there is no dependable way to distinguish between a tense-marked adjunct clause in SLP and a tense-marked main clause, since the structures (TNS-V) are syntactically ambiguous. This however does not hold for negated participles marked with *seem*. Ellipsis tests of the type that we saw demonstrated in (18), fail in SLP, as they do in Tamil.

- (18) SRI LANKAN MALAY  
*Miflal atu=nyanyi a(bi)s-tulis kulung, tara-ada*.  
 Miflal INDF=song ASP-write if FIN.NEG-AUX  
 'As for Miflal having written a song, he hasn't'

16. For some speakers, the negated participle requires = *na*, in order to distinguish it from the homophonous negative imperative form.

In Tamil, the periphrastic construction is simply a complex verb and can be analyzed as monoclausal in the way that serial verbs can, although with actual fusion of the constituent morphemes. This inseparability is described in Mohanan & Mohanan (2009: 360) with respect to the morphosyntax of similar complex verbal constructions in Malayalam as yielding “morphological periphrasis as opposed to syntactic periphrasis”. This characterization cannot be applied to the superficially analogous construction in SLM. Looking at the SLP and Tamil data, we find contrasts that can be attributed to the presence of absence of verb movement, however the complex itself is realized as a phonological word. In SLP, given pre-verbal tense and aspect, we do not find the robust verb movement within this complex that we find in Tamil, yet the functional morphology and the lexical verb spelled out in situ form a single functional complex in which tense features are shared as in Tamil and other Dravidian languages. Since only finite negation morphology (*n*-forms such as *nukə-* and *naa-*) can appear within the periphrastic complex, we know that tense features are shared. In SLM, by contrast, the lexical verb can be negated by the non-finite negation marker *jang-*, and this finiteness contrast with the auxiliary is the best diagnostic for the biclausality of the construction.

The origin of the pre-verbal infinitival marker *mə-* in SLM is both etymologically and functionally distinguished from its SLP counterpart *pa-* (Slomanson 2018).<sup>17</sup> Diachronically, SLM *me* is a type of modal marker, like Old English *to* in the corpus-based work in Los (2005). From that perspective, purposive meaning is a subset of irrealis meaning, marked in this way. The use both of *me* in SLM and of the *to-* infinitive in English appears, at this stage in the case of both languages, to be most strongly associated with complements of matrix verbs that lend themselves best to irrealis interpretation (Slomanson 2018).

## 5. Negative polarity and negative concord

SLM marks negative polarity productively and obligatorily in quantified nominal constituents, but has no negative concord, whereas SLP has negative concord, but negative polarity is only found with a small number of items. This brings SLP, with its apparent lack of syntactic verb movement in finite negation contexts, as well as its use of negative concord and relative lack of negative polarity marking, closer to the profile commonly associated with Creoles, and renders SLM in this respect intermediate in type between Tamil and somewhat more conventional contact languages such as SLP.

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17. The functional meaning of SLP *pa-* is the meaning associated with the SLM enclitic = *na(ng)*, derived from the homophonous dative/allative clitic that optionally co-occurs with preverbal *mə-* (i.e. *mə-V-na(ng)*).

Negative polarity in SLM is marked with an enclitic that attaches to a quantified NP. The enclitic is = *le*, which as described in Nordhoff (2009: 359–369), is also a coordinating clitic. The most frequent realization of this is DP = *le* DP = *le*. Where there is only one *le*-marked DP, the other one will be recoverable from discourse. Nordhoff refers to this as “a device on the level of information structure” and also describes a concessive function for = *le* in certain adverbial phrases. He also describes the enclitic = *ke* which has a similative function, with DP = *ke* meaning ‘like DP’. Both of these forms also function as negative polarity items, however Nordhoff treats similative = *ke* and negative polarity = *ke* as the same, presumably due to their homophony. Negative polarity = *ke* is a reduced form of = *beke*, with which it is interchangeable. This is one of a small number of closed class items in SLM that is borrowed, directly or indirectly, from varieties of Javanese, the other being the allative adposition cum dative case marker = *na(ng)*. Nordhoff also treats = *be* and = *ke* as interchangeable in negative polarity contexts, however = *be(ke)* has the additional feature of focus, the semantic contrast between the two being captured by ‘(i.e. not) any x’ and ‘(i.e. not) any x at all’.<sup>18</sup>

Each of the English sentences ‘I saw no one’, ‘I did not see anyone’, and non-standard ‘I did not see no one’ is translatable as in (19).

- (19) SRI LANKAN MALAY  
*Go atu=orang=ya=le tara-kutumung.*  
 1S INDF=person=ACC=NPI FIN.NEG-see

In negated contexts such as this, =*le* has the sole function of marking negative polarity on indefinite DPs. This marking is obligatory, as is the negation of the predicate. The scope of negation is the entire clause, and any *le*-marked nominal constituent is interpreted as a negative polarity item. There is no quantitative or partitive interpretation, which is the function of obligatory *atu* in (19).

Constituent negation, which uses distinctive negators in the SLM and SLP, is unusually flexible in SLM, in that it can be used freely with negative polarity items

18. According to Nordhoff (2009),

“Like = *le*, =*ke* can be used in negative contexts when combined with indefinite expressions or an interrogative pronoun. The use of *hatthuke* (this is *atu = ke* in my notation, PS) ‘none’ is shown in examples (385)–(386).

(385) *Gaathal su-kuurang kalu, suda hatthu=ke thraa.*  
 itching PST-few if thus IND-SIM NEG  
 ‘When the itching has diminished, none will be left.’

(386) *Snow White=nang=le Rose-Red=nang=le ini hatthu=ke thàrà-mirthi.*  
 Snow.white=DAT=ADD Rose.Red=DAT=ADD PRX IND-SIM NEG.PST-understand  
 ‘Snow White and Rose Red did not understand a thing.’

(20). In SLP, negative polarity is restricted to a limited number of items and is not freely and productively marked.

(20) SRI LANKAN MALAY

*Miflal si-kasi buk=atu bukang sapa=nang=beke kumbang gang*

Miflal PST-give book=IND CNG who=DAT=NPI.FOC flower PTL

\*‘Miflal gave, not a book to anyone at all, but flowers.’

If the flowers were not there, the predicate would nevertheless not be negated, in keeping with the lack of negative concord in SLM. The constituent negation suffices and there is no set of lexically negative items to participate in negative concord. The phrase *lai tará* (‘not yet’) appears to function as a lexical item that could in principle co-occur with the finite negator *tara*, however ordinarily *tará* cliticizes to the lexical verb in clauses containing *lai tará*, and there is no doubling of *tará*.

The phrase *un dia tan* in (21) is one example of a lexicalized negative polarity item (phrase) in SLP, however the sentence can also be expressed as in (22), in which we find a temporal negation marker where the default and negation marker *nukə-* would otherwise appear.<sup>19</sup>

(21) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE

*Mary un-dia-tan brimai aros nukə-kummə.*

Mary NPI red rice NEG-eat

‘Mary did/does/will not ever eat red rice.’

(22) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE

*Tewi tæmpu Mary brimai aros na-kummə.*

in future Mary red rice never-eat

‘Mary will never eat red rice.’

In (23), we see negative concord with constituent negation of the subject and the same negative polarity item as in (21), similarly within the scope of the negator of the predicate.

(23) SRI LANKAN PORTUGUESE

*Mary kum un-dia-tan brima aros nukə-kummə.*

Mary CNG NPI red rice NEG-eat

‘Not (even) Mary did/does/will not ever eat red rice.’

19. Smith (1979:210–211) writing on Batticaloa Portuguese, the other major dialect of SLP, includes an example sentence in which *tan* (as *tə:m*) appear to function productively as a marker of negative polarity (= any) however this requires the quantified constituent to be countable, as *dia* is in the lexicalized negative polarity phrase in (21) According to Smith *tə:m* is a straightforward calque of Tamil *4m*, and the entire construction is modeled on its Tamil analogue.

## 6. Conclusion

Considering the shared tendency of the two languages to favor the pre-verbal distribution of functional markers generally, the fact that tense and aspect markers can co-occur in pre-verbal position in SLP is a striking contrast with SLM, although in keeping with the influence of Tamil on the grammars of both contact languages, tense and negation can never co-occur as independent morpheme in either language. Given the ability of pre-verbal tense and aspect markers to stack in SLP, and given the global ban on pre-verbal functional stacking in SLM, attributable to verb movement, in at least this respect, SLP is more reminiscent of the canonical Creoles, as opposed to the minority of Creoles that also feature minimal verb movement. Consideration of the way negation works in the two languages, the focus of this paper, shows us an additional cluster of contrasts between the two languages.

The SLM perfect construction lends itself to a biclausal analysis, the strongest evidence for which is a finiteness contrast in the distribution and phonological shape of negation morphology. The morphosyntax of SLP more closely resembles that of Tamil in the lack of biclausality we find in the construction containing, as in SLM, a lexical verb and a semantically empty auxiliary. The anomalous biclausality of SLM is at least in part a function of the way the perfect construction is generated. That is via the adjunction of an explicitly non-finite participial clause to an explicitly finite auxiliary. The adjunct clause containing the lexical verb can only be negated by non-finite *jang*, independently of the (matrix) auxiliary clause that can only be negated by finite *tara* or *tuma*. In SLP, negation morphology does not highlight a hierarchical contrast between the two parts of the apparently periphrastic construction. Although the participles that we find in adjunct clauses are non-finite in form (the traditional Portuguese participle), neither the participle in the periphrastic construction nor its negated form is explicitly marked as non-finite, a fact which corresponds with the lack of separability, yielding a monoclausal construction.

The picture with respect to negative polarity and negative concord also shows us that in these respects the languages are dissimilar.

To summarize, this example of parallel convergence robustly affecting properties of contact language grammars, including properties of their negation systems, confirms that, contrary to a common conception of the outcomes of creolization and areal convergence, the resulting grammars are not replicas of each other, regardless of how dramatically they may resemble each other in certain respects.



## Abbreviations

ADD	additive
AGR	agreement
ALL	allative
ASP	aspect
AUX	auxiliary
DAT	dative
FIN	finite
FOC	focus
IND	indefinite
INF	infinitive
MOD	modality
NEG	negation
NFN	non-finite
PRX	proximate
PST	past
PTL	particle
PTP	participle
SIM	simultaneous
TNS	tense

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# Conclusions

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The papers presented in this volume offer a rich landscape of negation and negation dependent constructions across a variety of creole languages with different substrate and superstrate languages. Although evidently this landscape does not exhaust all the possible varieties of creole languages, it nevertheless offers what constitutes at present the most comprehensive detailed investigation of these constructions in creoles. The goal of this concluding section is to rapidly survey some of the central findings that the different chapters have contributed to this general landscape, returning to some of the broad questions we raised in the introduction, to take stock of the conclusions that could emerge from these findings, the new questions they may raise, as well as of the new research avenues they may inspire.

The first question asked in our introduction concerned the type of negative concord dependencies that are in evidence in the creole languages. Observing that in the creoles previously described, Strict Negative concord was the most common concord construction type found, we raised the question of whether this type should be considered a general or characteristic feature of creole language negative constructions. At the outset of the current investigation, it appears quite clear that Strict Negative Concord remains indeed the dominant system encountered among Romance-based creoles but perhaps not as much among non-Romance based varieties. It is exemplified in the 3 French based creoles here investigated, as well as in the Portuguese based creoles (Santiago) Capverdean, Kriyol, Korlai and Sri Lankan Portuguese. Although, the focus is on negation in Schwegler's work, few examples point to Negative Concord structures in Palenquero, where the negative particle appears with NCIs in both subject and object positions. Since Romance languages are usually concord languages, it is not unexpected to see such a feature be inherited and expanded in the creoles. Notably, however, while most lexifier languages such as Portuguese and Spanish exhibit non-strict negative concord, negative concord tends to be strict in the Creoles. Whether this evolution could be inherited from the substrate is discussed in Kihm's contribution where he sides for a language internal evolution rather than an external influence. But non-Romance based creoles or

varieties examined in this volume, show varying behaviors. English-based creoles exemplify those differences.

While some English-based creoles like Pichi still exhibit strict negative concord, this is very clearly not the only possibility. As described by Prescod, Vincentian creole appears to stand out as featuring a possible non-strict negative concord type, in which preverbal and post-verbal NCI are licensed differently, negation doubling being obligatory for post-verbal NCI, and either absent or only optional with pre-verbal ones. We return below in more details to other similar patterns. But perhaps most striking is the fact that, in at least one of the languages considered in this volume, namely Singapore English, there is simply no evidence of strict or in fact any type of negative concord constructions at all. Sentences that contain more than one putative negative expression in this language tend to be interpreted as double negation; that is, they appear to manifest a strictly compositional meaning in which each negative expression is fully interpreted, and, as such, simply do not appear to favor or even to allow the single negation reading that characterizes negative concord constructions. The data taken into account to advance this conclusion is based on careful and extensive corpus searches. Arguably perhaps, corpus data may not be the best type of data to consider to conclusively reject the possibility of concord readings by native speakers, since it does not, strictly speaking, probe possible interpretations. Yet actual interpretations can surely be observed by taking into account the context that particular negative sequences occur in, and applying the generally accepted view that communication entails context coherence. So the meticulous study conducted by Bao and Cao certainly provides convincing evidence that even if a concord interpretation could marginally turn out to be possible for some speakers in this language, it would not be the most commonly available one. Admittedly, Singapore English is disputably at the margin of what is standardly labeled a creole language, as it has no plantation background, no potential pidgin predecessor or violent history of emergence. Yet its potential non-creole status appears quite clearly to be an insufficient cause for its 'exceptional' behavior vis à vis negative concord. As has been widely observed, on the one hand, negative concord is also very frequent in the languages sometimes branded as 'new Englishes' or English varieties, to which Singlish undoubtedly belongs. The Electronic World Atlas of varieties of English <<http://ewave-atlas.org/>> places this feature at 77% of pervasiveness among its surveyed sample. Evidently, then, even in the English varieties that are not branded as creoles, negative concord appears to be a favored type of negative construction. On the other hand, it is also the case that many of the English based creoles license negative concord, and when they do so, preferably manifest a Strict Negative Concord type. In short, there appear to be little doubt that the exceptional nature of Singapore English is independent of the question of

whether or not it can be considered as a member of the class of creole languages. Interestingly as well, among the acknowledged English based creoles, one can find at least a few that also notably fail to manifest negative concord. Kortmann and Wolk (2012) list 14 English varieties that do not allow negative concord constructions, four among them identified as creoles. In the eWAVE sample, Ganaen Pidgin and Nigerian Pidgin as well as the Australian Roper River Creole are listed as lacking this feature. The upshot of this brief survey is that, be it for new Englishes or creoles, negative concord constructions appear to be the most common choice, and its absence, a notable and noteworthy exception.

The exception is noteworthy in a number of respects. On the one hand, Singapore English as well as the above noted creoles, provide important examples of possible ‘non-standard linguistic varieties’ that lack negative concord. As has been commonly noted, indeed, so called double negative languages, i.e. languages in which every putatively negative expression is in fact negatively interpreted, so that their negative constructions adhere to mathematical logic and a compositionality by which two negations cancel out to a positive meaning, tend quite generally to be standard Germanic language varieties, the most commonly provided examples being standard English, standard German and standard Dutch. The fact that there are attested language varieties in which the absence of negative concord cannot so easily be attributed to normative pressure is hence of significant importance. It suggests that normative pressure could not be the only source for an observed lack of negative concord, so that there can be factors other than conventional sociological ones that can come into play. In the case of Singapore English, the influence of Chinese, also a non-negative concord language, is convincingly argued by Bao and Cao to be a significant factor. On the other hand, the fact that the noted examples of creoles lacking negative concord, at least within the sample provided in APICs all relate to English is also rather striking. This strongly raises the question of whether comparable patterns, i.e. language varieties where (sequences of) negative expressions are preferably interpreted strictly compositionally so that doubling by sentential negation is avoided, could in fact be found elsewhere, that is, outside of varieties that are directly influenced by a Germanic or an English lexifier. Among the Romance based creole languages, to our knowledge, only Tayo could register as a possible candidate, although additional work is clearly needed to provide more solid confirmation. As described in Erhart’s (1993) description of Tayo, negative expressions like *Shame* (never), *rja* (nothing) or *person* (nobody), with the later two mainly used in ‘decreolized’ varieties, do not come with a doubling negation. Erhart (1993) cites examples of impersonal constructions containing *rja* that clearly do not feature a doubling negation and yet just as clearly are interpreted negatively, such as for instance (1):

- (1) a. *Me sa fe rja fo mete lot kom sa-la* p. 193  
 But this does nothing, must put other like that  
 ‘But it does not matter, you need to put the other like that.’
- b. *Na person.* p. 194  
 NEG-AUX anybody  
 ‘There is nobody.’
- c. *Finita, ta, ka ta vjej same ta mwaya kun, ta mwaya*  
 Ended that, when you old never you capable saw, you capable  
*trikote.* p. 195  
 knit  
 ‘It’s over, when you get old, you will never be able to saw again, only to knit.’

We see in all these examples that the negative expressions are not doubled by the sentential (*pa*) negation in contrast to what happens in other French based creoles. Yet whether two negative expressions such as *same* and *rya* could co-occur in a sentence and lead a single negative reading is unknown and would require further research. So, although Tayo may look like a possible example of a Romance-based creole that does not feature strict negative concord and possibly no negative concord at all, the existing empirical material remains inconclusive leaving the general question of whether they could be creole varieties that fail to feature negative concord outside of the range of Germanic lexifier ones open for further fruitful research. Undoubtedly, the lexifiers play a significant role in probabilistically determining whether related creoles would feature negative concord or not.

Besides, the exceptional character of Singapore English with respect to negative concord, and beyond the generalization that Strict negative concord appears indeed to be the most common type in the detailed studies that this book offers, it is noteworthy to underscore that the landscape of negative dependencies that emerges from the enquiries offered in this book reveals far more diversity than had been so far discussed in the literature. The broad tendencies of many investigations on creole languages has been to focus on pointing out the common traits that these languages may share but this emphasis has perhaps more often than not obscured the rich diversity that they can in fact display. This book, on the other hand, paints a valuable and complex picture of intricate diversity. Thus, as noted by Prescod (this volume), while negative doubling is required for post verbal NCI in Vincentian creole, this doubling is possible but not required for preverbal NCI. In this respect, Vincentian appears quite similar to Catalan in allowing but not enforcing strict negative concord. Although not discussed here in the chapter on Haitian, a comparable pattern has been observed by Déprez (2017b) for at least some speakers of a particular dialect of Haitian, namely the dialect from Gonaive in central Haiti. But interestingly, for these speakers, while optionality of negative

doubling is found with some NCI expressions, there are others that do not really allow it. That is, for the same speakers, negative doubling is optional with an NCI expression like *pyes moun*, as shown in (2a), but is not tolerated with an other very similar expression *okenn moun*, where it is rigidly required as shown in (2b)

- (2) a. *Pyes moun (pa) vini.*  
 no person (NEG) come  
 ‘No one came.’  
 b. *Okenn moun \*(pa) vini.*  
 no person \*(NEG) come  
 ‘No one came.’

For the speakers questioned, the dialect with optional doubling is felt to be more informal than the one in which it is enforced. As expressions like *Okenn moun* are part of the more formal variety of Haitian for these speakers, this may be what enforces negative doubling. Comparable differences among the particular NCIs of a given language are also observed in some of the other creoles discussed here, and, more particularly, in the French based creoles. Thus, in Mauritian creole as noted in Déprez (2017) on the basis of corpora data and as confirmed by Henri in this volume, the NCI *zame* manifests a preverbal/ postverbal asymmetry that resembles what is observed in non-strict negative languages. While preverbal *zame* can, and usually does, appear without negative doubling as in (3), postverbal *zame*, in contrast, is most commonly found with negation doubling. Preverbal *zame* can concurrently also be interpreted as negative on its own, as witnessed for example, by the fact that it can license so called negative spread, i.e. a construction where a first negative expression licenses a second one directly, thereby rendering negative doubling unnecessary, as illustrated here in (3). Here the interpretation remains that of a single negation, negative concord being still the preferred interpretation.

- (3) *Zame li finn kontan personn.*  
 never 3SG PERF love no\_one  
 ‘He has never loved anyone.’ (Zistwar ti Prens p. 11, In Déprez 2017)

As further noted in Déprez (2017, to appear), a complete parallel to what is described here for Mauritian creole can also be found in Seychelles Creole with the NCI expression *zamen* in preverbal position without doubling as shown in the following example (4).

- (4) *e zanmen son ansennyman in bezwen pran roten avek li.*  
 And never his teacher PREP need take stick with him  
 ‘And never had his teacher a need to be strict with him.’



Similar distinctions among the behavior of NCI expressions, and particularly *jamen* are also noted in Guadeloupe creole by Schang and Petitjean, and were noted in Déprez (2011) for Martinique creole.

Notably, distinctions among NCIs in the type of negative concord dependencies they govern, are not just found in creole languages. As shown by Burnett *et al.* (2015) for instance, they have also been observed in Montreal French, where NCI can variably co-occur with the sentential negation *pas* as the following table shows:

**Table 1.** Negative concord in *Montréal 84* by nword

Nword	Bare variant	Concord variant	Total	% Concord
nulle part	3	15	18	83%
personne	49	71	120	59%
ni...ni	37	13	50	26%
ien	800	137	937	15%
aucun	134	16	150	11%
jamais	1,113	11	1,124	1%
Total	2,136	263	2,399	11%

In this table, what is termed ‘concord variant’ refer to examples in which the doubling presence of the sentential negative morpheme was attested. A comparable variability in the doubling co-presence of sentential negation was also recently observed for Brazilian Portuguese (Agostini & Schwenter 2018). These authors conducted a conjoined corpus search of informal written exchanges on social media, doubled by judgment tasks of the acceptability of sentences without doubling. They concluded that there is an interesting correlation between frequency of use and obligatory doubling. This may also be what is reflected here in Haitian, where the obligatoriness of doubling is felt to go along with the formal character of the employed register. Clearly the cause and distribution of this variability, calls for further interesting investigation.

Taking stock, the renewed landscape of negative dependencies that the careful studies in this book has revealed manifests far more variety than what has been so far discussed. Surely strict negative concord still appears to be the main system of negative dependencies exemplified in the creole languages, but there nevertheless is much interesting variation in this regard. Some creoles can manifest non-strict negative concord or optional non-strict negative concord, either with all of their NCI or with a subset of them. Plausibly, then further inquiries of this nature may unearth yet a further gamut of mixed behavior, both across the creoles as well as within particular varieties. Consequently, what appears clear at the outset of this research is that negative dependencies do not present a homogeneous picture across and even within the creole languages. Not surprisingly, the diversity here uncovered

is clearly exemplified elsewhere. In this respect, negative dependencies are as diverse and rich in the creole languages as there have been found to be in non-creole languages, a conclusion, that comes as no surprise for all the scholars convinced that creole languages are first and foremost natural languages like any others. What, however, of the tendency to favor strict negative concord? As convincingly but cautiously suggested by Kihm in his contribution, it may well be that the tendency to favor this type of negative dependencies is linked to the nature and positioning of the negative morpheme in particular languages. As Kihm puts it:

“No language where the negator is part of the verb’s inflection or is adverbial, but not linearly adjacent to the domain where subject N-words may appear, can belong to the partial NC type.”

Notably, the formulation of this generalization here differs from the one offered in Zeijlstra (2004 and subseq.) where the possibility of negative concord to the ‘head’ nature of sentential negation, and strict negative concord related to the uninterpretable nature or non-negative status of the negative morpheme that appears to support it. The typology below (Table 2) reproduced from Biberauer & Zeijlstra (2012) illustrates this approach.

**Table 2.** Typology of negative markers in relation to negative concord

	N-words semantically negative	N-words semantically non-negative
Negative markers semantically negative	DN-languages: <i>Dutch, German, Swedish</i>	Non-strict NC languages: <i>Spanish, Italian, Portuguese</i>
Negative markers semantically non-negative	<i>Afrikaans A</i>	Strict NC languages: <i>Czech, Serbo-Croatian, Greek, Afrikaans B</i>

Yet although, Kihm’s proposal certainly seems to have support and be empirically more adequate than Zeijlstra’s, it nonetheless neither predicts nor appears to be compatible without provision with a diversity that is linked to the different NCI expressions as discussed above. Thus while clearly the nature of negation and its positioning appears to be a favouring factor on the type of negative concord allowed, expressing its influence in parametric terms as Zeijlstra proposes fails to allow for the language internal diversity revealed in the detailed investigations of this book, and elsewhere. The typology outlined in Table (2) appears too reductive to be able to account for the diversity observed, and resorting to micro-parametric variation as already advocated in Déprez & Martineau (2004) seems necessary, although further variability due to frequency of use and the formality of the register also need to be taken into account.

The section above discusses diversity that concerns the possible co-occurrence of sentential negation with NCI in different syntactic positions. But this is not the only diversity that has been revealed in the chapters of this volume. Further shades of diversity are also found in the type of contexts that can licence the NCIs. NCIs in some languages appear to only be licensed in contexts that contain anti-veridical operators, either sentential negation or the propositional conjunction *without*. This for instance appears to be the case of Mauritian NCIs as discussed by Henri (see also Déprez 2017). Other NCI, such as for instance those of Haitian, are licensed in larger types of contexts that include conditional sentences or yes-no interrogatives, among others. Table 3 below adapted from Déprez (2017) summarizes their differences.

**Table 3.** NPI contexts in Haitian and Mauritian

NPI Contexts	Haitian	Mauritian
Yes/no Q	Yes	No
Conditionals	Yes	No
Adversative Predicates	Yes	No
Before Clause	Yes	No
Only	Yes	No

Differences of this type, sometimes also discussed across the various creoles in the chapters, clearly call for further investigation and a careful inventory of possible context type is certainly a productive avenue of research. A relevant question that such research bears upon is whether or not comparable diversity in the type of licensing contexts can be observed for NCI as has so far been uncovered for NPI. A comparable diversity, with a comparable subset organization of the context types, would provide significant support for the view that takes NCI to generally be a subtype of NPI, but with potentially additional properties that can sufficiently distinguish them from the classic NPI of English, which have, perhaps erroneously, always been used as a standard type against which other negative dependent terms have been systematically measured. Based on the English model, NPI have often been characterized by the asymmetric distribution they display in this language, whereby, as is well known, post-verbal NPIs can be licensed by sentential negation, but NPI in subject or other preverbal positions fail to be. But such a generalization has been questioned, as there surely are languages such as for instance Hindi, in which what linguists have labeled NPI (for e.g. Lahiri 1998) can occur in position preceding a sentential negation and yet be licensed by it.

Yet another aspect of the diversity uncovered in the studies concerns locality conditions. Here again, it is worth comparing the facts in Mauritian creole and

Guadeloupean creole to those of Haitian. While in the former creoles, negation can only license a NCI if both are local to one another, i.e essentially part of the same clause, (although this may be a simplification), this is not a requirement in the latter creole. An interesting question that locality distinctions of this nature raise is whether or not there could be any correlation between the broader spectrum of operator that can license NCI and the broader locality conditions that are at play, as we see it be the case with the French based creoles oppositions. Further research on such topics would again be of great interest and also pertain to the question of whether negative concord dependencies should be analyzed as a type of polarity dependency or as a negative dependency of a different nature.

Finally, a last question that also pertains to this issue concerns apparent differences that may exist in the possible interpretation of NCI sequences. While as argued in Henri chapter on Mauritian creole, sequences of NCI can give rise to a double negation interpretation in at least some contexts in this creole, the possibility of such interpretations appears to be notably unavailable in most of the other creoles discussed here. Although many languages with strict negative concord have been said not to allow such readings, this is not the case in all, Romanian being an exemplar case in point, since it is also a characteristic strict negative concord language, but has clearly been argued to allow double negation readings of some of its NCI sequences (Falaus 2009). Since, as is rather well know, however, double negation readings are considered by many as particularly marked interpretations that are difficult to parse, especially when tested in absence of adequate pragmatic contexts, it is possible that the claim of their unavailability mostly reflect a preference limited by such considerations. Whether or not this is the case, is likely to be properly addressed only under carefully controlled experimental conditions targeting the possibility of such interpretation systematically (Déprez 2014). The importance of testing such readings adequately could prove again to be central to answering the question of whether or not concordance dependencies should be analyzed as a different type of negative dependencies, since it is rather clear that NPI dependencies never allow double negation readings in any contexts.

A final interesting potential difference among creoles that the chapters have revealed is the availability or not of what has been referred to in the literature as expletive negation. The possibility of this construction is exemplified in Haitian in the following example.

- (5) *Li rete yon moman san l pa bouje.* (Ti Prens lan)  
 3SG stay IND moment without 3SG NEG move  
 He remained a moment without him moving

Although comparable examples are not found in the other French based creoles (Déprez 2017 and this volume), it is available in Guinea Bissau Kriyol as noted in Kihm's chapter.

- (6) *N           medi propi pa ka bu pape nota.*  
 1SG.SUBJ fear indeed COMP NEG 2SG. POSS father notice  
 'I fear that your father will notice.'

Comparable examples are also found in Bislama and Kamtok as discussed in Déprez (2017 and references therein, this volume). What characterizes all these examples is the fact that negation in such cases does not have its regular truth reversal effect on the proposition in which it occurs. As a consequence, the propositions are interpreted non-negatively. The existence of expletive constructions has been noted in other negative concord languages, where they are often considered as part of a high register in the relevant languages. It hence of great interest to find that such constructions do occur in languages that either do not have a conventional written variety or only have a very recent one. The existence of such constructions in creole languages attests that they are part of common language constructions and not just present in high formal registers. In this respect, a better understanding of their distributional properties and of the factors that make them possible in languages would constitute a fruitful avenue of new research that would help understanding the variety of constructions that natural language negation makes possible.

In conclusion, the chapters in this book are invaluable in painting a renewed landscape of negative dependencies in the creole languages. In contrast to the very homogeneous picture that Bickerton's claim about the universality of negative concord dependencies in creole languages offered, the diversity revealed here replaces creole negative dependencies squarely within the general diverse setting found in the more general cross linguistic panorama and raises novel questions that will further reenergize detailed empirical research in this area as well as thorough theoretical questioning.

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While universally present in languages, negation is well-known to manifest a surprising cross-linguistic diversity of forms. In creole languages, however, negation and negative dependencies have been regarded as largely uniform. Creole languages as Bickerton claims in *Roots of Language*, generally exhibit negative concord, a construction popularly dubbed 'double negation', where several expressions, each negative on its own, come together with a logic-defying single negation interpretation. While this construction – problematic for compositionality if the meaning of sentences emerge from the meaning of their parts – has fostered much research, the fertile data terrain that creole languages offer for its understanding is rarely taken into account. Aiming at bridging this gap, this book offers a wealth of theoretically informed empirical investigations of negative relations in a wide variety of creole languages. Uncovering a far more complex negative landscape than previously assumed, the book reveals the challenging richness that a thorough comparative study of creoles delivers.

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