Negation
in Martinican (creole, Martinique)

Minella DUZEROL

Séminaire DTT – Atelier morphosyntaxe

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Outline

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1. Martinican

Martinican

➢ Regional language of France

    - Martinique, Lesser Antilles

    - Creole language

    - Main lexifier: French

    - 600.000 speakers (APiCS)

    - SVO language
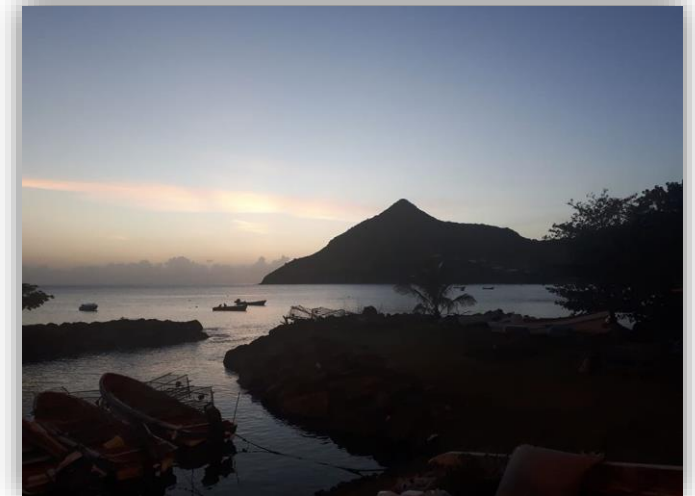
Predication (1/3)

➢ TAM variation encoding

> (TAM marker) + P

➢ TAM markers

Imperfective (stative predicates)	No marker
Perfective (dynamic predicates)	No marker
Imperfective (dynamic predicates)	*ka*
Past	*té*
Future	*ké*
Conditional	*té ké*

Predication (2/3)

➢ No TAM markers (Colot et Ludwig 2013)

- Dynamic predicates: perfective interpretation

(1) a. *man*   *té*   *ka*   *vwéyé*   *anlo*

    1SG   PST   IPFV   send   lots.of

    baay   *anlè*

    thing   in.the.air

   'I used to throw lots of things in the air'

   TON Descrip   017

b. *man*   *vwéyé*   *anlo*   *baay*   *anlè*

    1SG   send   many   thing   in.the.air

   'I threw lots of things in the air'

No TAM
marker

Predication (3/3)

➢ No TAM markers (Colot et Ludwig 2013)

- Stative predicates: imperfective interpretation

(2) a. *épi*   *nou*   *té*   *ni*

    and   1PL   PST   have

    an   *stok* *tuil*

    DET.INDF.SG stock tile

    'and we had a stock of tiles'

    TON Descrip   046

b. *nou*   *ni*   *an*   *stok* *tuil*

    1PL   have DET.INDF.SG stock tile

    'we have a stock of tiles'

No TAM marker →

What can function as a predicate ? (1/2)

Verbs

(3) *man   té   ka   **vwéyé**   anlo*

     1SG   PST   IPFV   send   lots.of

     baay   anlè

     thing   in.the.air

     'I used to throw lots of things in the air'

     TON Descrip   017

Nouns

(4) *man   té   **tibolonm***

     1SG   PST   child

     'I was a child'

     TON Descrip   020

What can function as a predicate ? (2/2)

Adverbs

(5) *sé*   *kilti*   *nou*   *ki*   ***la***

FOC   culture   1PL   REL   here

'lit. It is our culture which is here'

LUI Descrip_part1   021

Adjectives

(6)   *épi*   *sa*   ***bel***   *menm*

and   PR.DEM   beautiful   definitely

'and this is definitely amazing'

LUI Descrip_part1   040

2. Standard negation

Standard negation

'the (basic) way(s) a language has for negating declarative verbal main clauses'

(Miestamo 2016, 2)

➢ No syntactic changes

    - same word order

    - same TAM markers

➢ No difference between dynamic vs. stative predication

➢ 2 negative markers : *pa*, *pé*

Pa negative marker (1/2)

➢ Morphological status: standard negation marker

- Encodes the negative polarity of the predication

- Is preposed to (TAM) + P

- No TAM value

No TAM marker

(7) *men* ***pa***   *ni*   *kouw*

    But   **NEG** have class

    'but there is no class'

    (lit.'but has not class')

    Narr HAT   006

(8) *yo*   ***pa***   *jouré*

    3PL   **NEG**   swear

    'they did not swear'

    Narr MUR   040

Pa negative marker (2/2)

IPFV

(9) *yo* **pa** *ka* *wè*

3PL **NEG** IPFV see

'they do not see'

Narr AUG 079

IPFV in the PST

(10) *man* **pa** *té* *ka* *palé* *kréyol*

1SG **NEG** PST IPFV speak Creole

'I did not speak Creole'

Narr AUG 075

COND

(11) *man* **pa** *té* *ké* *fè-'y*

1SG **NEG** PST FUT do-3SG

'I would not do it'

Descrip BEL 062

FUT

(12) *nou* *di* *jounen-an* *i*

1PL say day-DET.DEF 3SG

pa *kay* *bel*

NEG FUT beautiful

'we said: "the day, it will not

be beautiful"'

Narr MUR 035

Pa negative with *pé* 'can' (1/3)

No TAM marker (IPFV interpretation)

Pa is postposed <u>to *pé*</u>
(11 occurrences out of 12)

(13) a. *nou*   *pé*   ***pa***   *fè*   *dé*   *bizutaj*

1PL   can   **NEG**   do   DET.INDF.PL   hazing

'lit. we can not do hazings'

Narr HAT   061

b. **nou*   ***pa***   *pé*   *fè*   *dé*   *bizutaj*

1PL   **NEG**   can   do   DET.INDF.PL   hazing

Pa negative with *pé* 'can' (2/3)

No TAM marker (IPFV interpretation)

1 exception : *pa + forséman + pé*

Because of
- the code-mixed context ?
- the modifier *forséman* ?

(14) *paskø*   *organizasion-an*   *ét-ant*
     SUB.CAUS   organisation-DET.DEF be-PTCP.PRS

     divini   *de*   *plus*
     devenir   PREP   more

     en   *plus*   *honéreuse*
     PREP   more   expensive

     yo   ***pa***   *forséman*
     3PL   **NEG**   necessarily

     pé   *fè*   *sa*
     can   do   PR.DEM

'because of the organization being more and more expensive, they are not necessarily able to do that'
Descrip BEL   047

Pa negative with *pé* 'can' (3/3)

With TAM markers

⬇

Pa is preposed
to the (TAM) + P

(15) a.

nou	*pa/ pé*	*té/ ké/ té ké*	*pé*
1PL	NEG	PST/ FUT/ PST	can

fè	*dé*	*bizutaj*
DET.INDF.PL	hazing	DET.INDF.PL

'we were/ will / would not be able to do hazing'

Narr HAT   061

b.

*nou	*té/ ké/ té ké*	*pé*	*pa/ pé*
1PL	PST/ FUT/ PST	can	NEG

fè	*dé*	*bizutaj*
DET.INDF.PL	hazing	DET.INDF.PL

Pé negative marker (1/2)

➢ Occurs only in my elicitated data

! : in spontaneous speech, only one occurrence of the negation of a predicate in future tense

➢ Encodes the negative polarity of the predication before *ké* 'FUT' or *té ké* 'COND'

➢ *Pé* morphological status: 3 analyses

    1) morphological variation of the standard negation marker *pa* in contextual distribution

    2) prospective negative marker

        Counter-argument : *pa kay*

    3) vowel harmony triggered by specific morphemes

        Counter-argument : *pa té*

Pé negative marker (2/2)

➤ *Pé* is preposed to the TAM markers : *ké* 'FUT' or *té ké* 'COND'

(16) a. *chien-an*   ***pé***   *ké*

    dog-DET.DEF   **NEG**   FUT

    bwè   *dlo-a*

    drink   water-DET.DEF

    'the dog won't drink the water'

     Elic CLE

   b. *?chien-an*   ***pé***   *té*

    dog-DET.DEF   **NEG**   PST

    ké   *bwè*   *dlo-a*

    FUT   drink   water-DET.DEF

    'the dog would not drink the water'

c. *chien-an*   ***pa***   *té*

    dog-DET.DEF   **NEG**   PST

    bwè   *dlo-a*

    drink   water-DET.DEF

    'the dog did not drink the water'

    Elic CLE

d. **chien-an*   ***pé***   *té*

    dog-DET.DEF   **NEG**   PST

    bwè   *dlo-a*

    drink   water-DET.DEF

Negation in I/MCs is similar to negation in NICs

IC

(17) *men* **pa** *ni* *kouw*

but **NEG** have class

'but there is no class'

Narr HAT 006

NIC

(18) *men* *pou* *sa* *[ki*

but for PR.DEM REL

pa *té* *ni* *laradio]*

NEG PST have radio

sé *lè* *van-an* *rivé*

FOC SUB.TEMP wind-DET.DEF arrive

anlè *yo* *yo* *sav*

on 3PL 3PL know

'but for those who did not have the radio, it is when the wind blew on them that they know' (lit. 'but for those who did not have the radio, it is when the wind came on them that they know'

TON Descrip 014

Another position of *pa* negative marker

(19) *pa*   *té*   *rété*   [***pa***   *an*   *fey*]

NEG   PST   stay   **NEG**   one   leaf

 'there was not even a single leaf left' (lit. 'there was not

left not a single leaf')

Descri OTA 1   073

3. *Not yet* constructions

'*Not yet*'

➢ 'Phasal polarity' (Van Baar 1997 in Van der Auwera, submitted)

➢ 'Non-realized expectations' (Veselinova 2017, 10)

'Not yet tenses'

(20) **te**-tu-**nna**-genda

NEG-we-**NOT.YET**-go

lit. 'we have not yet gone'

Luganda, Niger-Congo (Comrie 1985,54)

'The meaning of this tense is that a certain situation (in the example given , our going) did not hold in the past and does not hold in the present , i . e . that it still is the case that a certain situation does not hold' (Comrie 1985, 54)

Not yet constructions

➢ In Martinican: grammaticalization of the value *not yet*

➢*Poko ~ pòkò*

    - does not belong to the TAM markers paradigm

    - **specific negative marker**

    - specific semantic TAM value : *not yet*

    - preposed to (TAM) + P

    - 2 phonetic realizations in free variation in my corpus: [poko] ~ [pɔkɔ]

Poko negative marker (1/3)

➢ TAM values combining with *poko* in my corpus

    - Tense : always semantically with the past tense

    - Aspect : sometimes with the imperfective marker

Poko negative marker (2/3)

PST

IPFV in the PST

(21) *man*   ***pòkò***   *té*   *ni*   *ventan*

      1SG **NOT.YET** PST have twenty.years

      'lit. I was not 20 years yet'

      FLU Narr   083

(22) *lapli*   ***poko***   *té*   *ka*   *tonbé*

      rain   **NOT.YET** PST IPFV fall

      'the rain was not falling yet'

      TON Descrip   023

Poko negative marker (3/3)

➢ Morphological status : 'not yet gram' (Veselinova 2017, 10)

i.   clear distinction from the standard negative marker *pa*

ii.   mandatory use 'for the expression of non-realized expectations for either actions or states'

iii.   invariable morpheme

iv.   « complementary distribution with other grams » : *poko* replaces the standard negative marker

4. Negative lexicalization : the case of *pa … ankò*

Negative lexicalizations

'Lexical meanings may combine with negation to form lexically idiosyncratic negatives'

(Miestamo 2016, 5)

'Not anymore'

The predication does not hold at *t* but was true before *t* (Krifka 2000, 2)

➤ In Martinican: *pa* (standard negative marker) combine with *ankò*

$$pa + (TAM) + P + ank\grave{o}$$

(23) *donk   atjelman   man **pa**   ka   suiv*

    so   nowadays 1SG **NEG…** IPFV follow

    *touw-la   **ankò***

    race-DET.DEF **…again**

    'so nowadays I do not watch the race anymore'

    Descrip BEL   051

pa … ankò 'not anymore' vs. *ankò*

➢ *ankò* occurs in isolation with clearly distinct meanings

(24) *an*   *lot*   *fwa*   ***ankò***,   *alò*   ← Repetition

DET.INDF.SG   other   time   **again**   so

taa   ***ankò***   *pli*   *bel*   ← Intensification

PR.DEM   **again**   more   amazing

'another time again, so this one is all the more amazing'

Narr AUG   097

5. Negative indefinites and negative concord :
the case of *ayen* and *pèsonn*

Ayen 'nothing' and *pèsonn* 'nobody'

➢Negative indefinites (Creissels 2006, 2:155)

- Used in negative constructions containing an existential quantification

- Express by themselves a negative value

(25) *yo* ***pa*** *jennen* ***pèsonn***

3PL **NEG** bother **nobody**

'they bothered nobody' (lit. 'they did not bother nobody')

Narr MUR 042

(26) - *Ki* *moun* *ki* *vini* *isia* ?

Q person REL come here

'Who came here?'

- ***Pèsonn***.

nobody

'Nobody.'

Negative concord

'a semantically single negation is expressed both by a clause level negator and by a negative adverb, pronoun or determiner' (Van der Auwera et Van Alsenoy 2016, 2)

(27) *I   can-**'t**   get **no**   satisfaction*

1SG can-NEG get NEG.DET.INDF.SG satisfaction

Non-standard English

(Van der Auwera et Van Alsenoy 2016, 2)

Negative concord with *pèsonn*

In my corpus *pèsonn* triggers systematically negative concord

➢ A semantically single negation : 'nobody'

➢ A double negation

- A negative marker (syntax)

- A negative pronoun : *pèsonn*

(28) *yo*   ***pa***   *jennen*   ***pèsonn***
3PL   **NEG**   bother   **nobody**
'they bothered nobody' (lit. 'they did not bother nobody')
Narr MUR   042

(29) *nou*   ***pa***   *ni*   ***pèsonn***
1PL   **NEG**   have   **nobody**
'we have nobody' (lit. 'we have not nobody')
Descri OTA 1   091

Negative concord and variation

Elicitations

➢ All speakers production negative concord constructions

➢ Some speakers judge negative concord not to be mandatory

Mèsi anpil !

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Negative concord with *ayen*

In my corpus *ayen* triggers systematically negative concord

➢A semantically single negation : 'nothing'

➢A double negation

- A negative marker (syntax)

- A negative pronoun : *ayen*

(30) *i*   ***pa***   *kité*   ***ayen***   *ba*   *nou*

3SG   **NEG**   leave   **nothing**   for   3SG

'it left nothing for us' (lit. 'it did not leave nothing for us')

Descri OTA 1   131

(31) *enben*   ***pa***   *té*   *ni*   ***ayen***

well   **NEG**   PST   have   **nothing**

'well there was nothing' (lit. 'well there was not nothing')

TON Descrip   053