Negation in Martinican (creole, Martinique)

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Outline

1. Martinican
2. Standard Negation
3. *Not yet* constructions
4. Negative lexicalization: the case of *pa ... ankò*
5. Negative indefinites and negative concord: the case of *ayen* and *pèsonn*
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

<table>
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<th>TAM Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
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<td>Imperfective (stative)</td>
<td>No marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perfective (dynamic)</td>
<td>No marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imperfective (dynamic)</td>
<td>ka</td>
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<td>Past</td>
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<td>Future</td>
<td>ké</td>
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<td>Conditional</td>
<td>té ké</td>
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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 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'

b. nou ni an stok tuil
1PL have DET.INDF.SG stock tile
'we have a stock of tiles'
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'
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Nouns

(4) man té tibolonm
1SG PST child
'I was a child'
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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

(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)

(9) yo pa ka wè
3PL  NEG  IPFV  see
'they do not see'
Narr AUG  079

(10) man pa té ka palé kréyol
1SG  NEG  PST  IPFV  speak  Creole
'I did not speak Creole'
Narr AUG  075

(11) man pa té ké fè-'y
1SG  NEG  PST  FUT  do-3SG
'I would not do it'
Descrip BEL  062

(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 to pé
(11 occurrences out of 12)

(13) a. *nou  pa  pé  fè  dé  bizutaj
   1PL   NEG  can   DET.INDF.PL  hazing
   'lit. we cannot do hazings'

   Narr HAT   061

b. *nou  pa  pé  fè  dé  bizutaj
   1PL   NEG  can   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?

'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

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

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*

d. ***chien-an pé té***

   dog-DET.DEF NEG PST

   *bwè dlo-a*

   drink water-DET.DEF

   'the dog would not drink the water'

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'

   *Elic CLE*

c. **chien-an pa té**

   dog-DET.DEF NEG PST

   *bwè dlo-a*

   drink water-DET.DEF

   'the dog did not drink the water'
Negation in I/MCs is similar to negation in NICs

(17) men pa ni kouw
but NEG have class
'but there is no class'

Narr HAT 006

(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)

(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 $ankò$

\[
pa + (\text{TAM}) + P + ankò
\]

(23) \hspace{1cm} donk \hspace{1cm} atjelman \hspace{1cm} man \hspace{1cm} pa \hspace{1cm} ka \hspace{1cm} suiv
\hspace{1cm} so \hspace{1cm} nowadays 1SG \hspace{1cm} NEG… IPFV \hspace{1cm} follow
\hspace{1cm} touw-la \hspace{1cm} ankò
\hspace{1cm} race-DET.DEF \hspace{1cm} …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
DET.INDF.SG other time again so

 taa ankò pli bel
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 *ayan* 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 pèsson

In my corpus pèsson triggers systematically negative concord

➢ A semantically single negation: ‘nobody’

➢ A double negation
  • A negative marker (syntax)
  • A negative pronoun: pèsson

(28) yo pa jennen pèsson
    3PL NEG bother nobody

(29) nou pa ni pèsson
    1PL NEG have nobody

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

Descri OTA 1 091

Narr MUR 042
Negative concord and variation

Elicitations

- All speakers production negative concord constructions
- Some speakers judge negative concord not to be mandatory
Mèsi anpil !
Bibliography


Miestamo, Matti. 2016. « Questionnaire for describing the negation system of a language ».


Veselinova, Ljuba. 2017. « Expectations shaping grammar: searching for the link between tense aspect and negation ».
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)  

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i  pa  kité  ayen  ba  nou
3SG NEG leave nothing for 3SG
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'it left nothing for us' (lit. 'it did not leave nothing for us')

(31)  

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enben  pa  té  ni  ayen
well NEG PST have nothing
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'well there was nothing' (lit. 'well there was not nothing')

TON Descrip  053

Descri OTA 1  131