

BOOK REVIEW

Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen & Jacqueline Visconti (eds.). (2014) *The Diachrony of Negation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 258 pp.

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The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word.

(Jespersen 1917: 4)

The present volume focuses on the diachronic evolution of negative expression in various languages. Jespersen's studies on negation are still central to current research on negation, as we can see in van Gelderen (2009), van Gelderen (2011),¹ Larrivière & Ingham (2011), and Willis, Lucas & Breitbarth (2013).² We can observe in these books a first attempt at dealing with languages outside the comfort zone of the European sphere. Thus, the number and variety of languages studied is the "first important element of relative novelty" (Visconti & Hansen: 3) of the present book. In this volume, we have: 103 non-European languages belonging to four "macro-areas," namely Africa, Southeast Asia and Oceania, North America and South America (Chapter 2); 410 Austronesian languages (Chapter 3); Quechua and all its varieties (Chapter 4); Taiwanese Southern Min as well as Standard Modern Chinese, aka Mandarin (Chapter 5); Berber languages (Chapter 6); and French (Chapters 7–9).

Even though in recent years negation has been a popular topic of choice for many linguists – proof of that being the vast body of literature treating negation and related phenomena³ – negation remains a "resilient subject" (Hansen & Visconti 2014: 1). The difficulty resides in cross-linguistic corroboration of data

1. Van Gelderen (2011), mentioned several times, is a worthy predecessor of this volume. In her book, negative cycles are analyzed in different non-IE linguistic branches such as Uralic, Sino-Tibetan or Athabaskan.

2. We can see in Willis, Lucas & Breitbarth (2013) a treatment of negation in Arabic and Afro-Asiatic, as well as in Mordvin languages. Nevertheless, of course, the main achievement of Willis et al. (2013) is the systematic analysis of negation from a diachronic perspective.

3. For a basic description of the negative phenomena, cf. Klima (1964) and Payne (1985).

that have been obtained based only on the study of European languages, especially French, with world languages. So far, there is a solid knowledge of how negation operates in several languages of Europe, but understanding of how, for example, negative cycles (Quantifier, Jespersen and Croft's cycles), NegFirst, or even negative concord would apply to other languages which are typologically and linguistically different from (Indo-) European standards remains "elusive" (Visconti & Hansen 2014: 1). Neglect of other linguistic families has until recent years made reaching a more universal typological model for negation impossible.

The Jespersen Cycle – or Cycles, as proposed by van der Auwera (2009) – is still the center of all thoughts when dealing with negation. However, over the years, various aspects of the original formulation have been subject to criticism. The evolution of French clause negation – from Classical Latin to French Creole – has been taken as a model with which all other negative systems have been contrasted. Therefore, one of the main objectives of this volume is to corroborate in other world languages what has been said about standard negation and quantifier negation in relation to the languages of Europe.

This volume is basically divided into two parts. In an introductory chapter, the editors give a sense of uniformity to this volume by providing specific key terminology needed to understand how this book presents its contributions. This is followed by Chapters 2 to 6, which deal with different negative phenomena⁴ within non-European languages stretching from Australia to North America and from South America to China. After this, we have a French section, where negative indefinites and negative concord are treated in different periods of the history of the French language and in different levels of speech such as vernacular and other more normative varieties.

In Chapter 2, Lauren Van Alsenoy & Johan van der Auwera assess how double clausal negation and negative concord interrelate. For their analysis, they choose a corpus of 103 non-European languages from diverse linguistic families including Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Austro-Asiatic, Austronesian, and others. This chapter mainly argues against two assumptions: one made by de Swart (2010), that negative concord (NC) could be a necessary condition for double negation (DN); and the other, made by Zeijlstra (2004), that negative concord is a necessary condition for preverbal negation (PreVN).⁵ The authors state first that,

4. Negative phenomena such as negative concord, double negation, the Jespersen Cycle, the quantifier cycle, preverbal and post-verbal negators, standard negation, non-standard negation, sentential negation, etc.

5. Double negation (DB) consists on two clausal negators (Fr. *Je ne le vois pas*). Negative concord (NC) also consists on two clausal negation markers, but one of them at least must be marked on a pronoun or an adverb of time, place, or manner (Span. *Yo no veo a nadie*).

evidently, there is some kind of relationship between NC and DN, since both possess two negative markers. The only difference is that, in the case of NC, at least one negation is marked on a pronoun or on an adverb. De Swart presupposes strict NC⁶ as a necessary condition along the lines of French (de Swart 2010: 184). She also claims DN is a rare phenomenon, whereas NC is widespread. For his part, Zeijlstra affirms that, since DN is discontinuous and embracing, NC is a necessary condition for PreVN (Zeijlstra 2004: 146). Regarding the results of the test of whether NC is a prerequisite for DN, the authors conclude Swart's assumption to be wrong, after finding out that there are 16 languages that have DN but no NC. Regarding Zeijlstra's hypothesis, they also come to the conclusion that it is wrong, considering that there are at least 65 languages (more than half of the language sample) that possess preverbal negation without attesting negative concord. Thus, the authors conclude that NC, on the one hand, and DN and PreVN, on the other hand, are independent phenomena. Additionally, after their analysis of Karok (Hokan) and Ewe (Niger-Congo) languages, which have NC and DN, and other seven languages with NC but no DN, they further support the idea that DN may be more frequent than NC and conclude that the strategy of expressing clausal negation with only negative pronouns or adverbs is not only typical for Europe, but also for the Americas.

In Chapter 3, Frens Vossen & Johan van der Auwera present the data from their analysis of the so-called Jespersen Cycle using a sample of 409 Austronesian languages. As stated before, this negative cycle has been extensively reviewed by current research on negation, has been subject to criticism, and has been reformulated. The authors propose a non-linear development of negation and support the contemporaneity of three stages as seen in Italian or French. They agree with the association of NEG1 and NEG2 with preverbal and postverbal positions and with the NEG FIRST principle.⁷ They also evaluate the possibility of multiple negation with up to three or more markers, as seen in the Belgian Brabant dialect of Aarschot or in Lewo (Oceanic). The objective of this paper is to assess to what extent Austronesian doubling is compatible with a Jespersen Cycle scenario. After presenting their extensive corpus of languages that stretch from Madagascar to Rapanui and from Hawai'i to New Zealand, they check how many languages attest double negation: 81 languages present double negation, four triple negation

6. In a strict negative-concord language, ordinary full clauses containing an *n*-word always contain the sentential negator too, irrespective of the relative position of the two items (Willis et al. 2013: 33)

7. The speakers "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). This contrasts with the FocusLast principle (de Swart 2010: 95).

and one quadruple negation. The authors also study whether in these languages the doubling is obligatory (56 languages) or optional (25 languages), and they forward this data input into the mapping of double negation through the entire Austronesian geographical zone. Thus, they reach a primary conclusion: that double negation is not rare and, more concretely, that double negation is typical for Oceanic (Melanesian) languages. Word order is dealt with as well. NegFirst is confirmed in Austronesian, as 301 out of 328 languages do comply with this principle. Also, the data seem to support the tendency of one negative marker to precede the verb and the other one to follow it, the preverbal one being the older, although this is not always the case. The authors also assess whether a negative etymon (NEG) may show up in one language as both the sole preverbal negator and as the preverbal negator of a doubling pattern. The authors assert that when an etymon appears both in a simple construction in one language and in doubling construction in another one, it is more likely to appear as a preverbal doubler than as a post-verbal one. This expectation is borne out. Of the 13 potential etyma that do double duty, nine remain preverbal in the doubling construction. It is also observed that an etymon that is single and post-verbal is quite often preverbal in a doubling pattern. Thus, the data seem to support a simple Jespersen Cycle scenario. The problem resides in the fact that there is no way to know at which stage in the cycle each negative etymon is. In section 9, Vossen & van der Auwera explore how negative forms express emphasis, which is pointed out as the reason for double negation. Semantically speaking, the original meaning of the emphatic marker bleaches, and it becomes a negative marker. In some languages, we can see that the emphatic marker can be preverbal and, even in some cases, the emphatic nuance is retained in the new negator. The data from the Austronesian languages support the idea that emphasis plays an important role in the Jespersen Cycle. Even more, the authors believe this is often the *raison d'être* of the additional, typically post-verbal marker. Moreover, the origin of the second negator is discussed. It is usually the case that non-negative minimizing expressions provide the input for a negative cycle. The origin of the minimizer as seen in French is also found in Austronesian. This element usually possesses a partitive meaning. Finally, triple and quadruple negation are discussed. There are four languages that show triple negation: Natügu (Solomon Islands), Nese (Malakula Island), Rapanui (Easter Island), and Lewo (Epi Island), which can show a multiple exponence of up to four negators.

In Chapter 4, Edith Pineda-Bernuy treats Quechua standard negation and its relation to the Jespersen Cycle, concretely focusing on the diachronic evolution of the attested negative forms in each of the varieties of Quechua. A dialectal distribution of the Quechua language is provided: the author identifies Peripheral Quechua (Ecuador and Argentina), Northern Quechua, Southern Quechua, and Central Quechua (the last three in Peru). In Quechua, sentential negation is bound

to polar interrogative sentences with the common link of the non-factual suffix *-chu*. This feature is probably related to the fact that interrogation and negation belong to the realm of the non-factual. Expressions of negation vary across Quechua dialects. The reconstruction of the Quechua negation pattern is based on the presence of either *mana* or *-chu*. The author summarizes the standard and non-standard negation patterns found in the different Quechua dialects: Peripheral Quechua *mana*, Northern and Southern dialects *mana-(m)...-chu*, and Central Quechua *-tsu / -su / -chu* or *mana...-chu*. Standard uses of negation, as well as the non-standard negative uses in the four varieties, are extensively discussed. After concluding that in the Quechua language family there are three main standard negation patterns – type I *mana* (single negation), type II *mana-(m)...chu* (bipartite negation), and type III *-tsu* (single negation) – the author states that the direction of the changes in negation must have been as follows: *mana* (stage 1) > *mana...-chu* (stage 2) > *-chu* > *-tsu* > *-su* (stage 3). This is based on four reasons: (1) *mana* is the main marker of syntactic, lexical and even morphological negation in the Quechua language family; (2) gradual introduction of *-chu* can still be observed in the data; (3) Central Quechua shows all of the negation pattern types; (4) the negative meaning of suffix *-chu* is only found in some specific areas. There is evidence that the suffix *-chu* acquired negative meaning in the context of double marking with *mana*. So, counter to van Gelderen (2011), Pineda-Bernuy believes the clitic *-chu* was an addition to the existent negative marker *mana*. She proposes a five-stage cycle: (1) **ma*; (2) *ma + na* particle (irrealis) *mana*; (3) *mana...-chu*; (4) (*mana-m*)...*-chu*; (5) *-chu*. Finally, the author studies the sources of negation renewal in Quechua. She states that everything indicates that Quechua negation marking has been linked to irrealis over time. As a conclusion, *mana* seems to be the starting point of standard negation, to which the non-factual clitic *-chu* was introduced; it was not due to semantic or formal weakening, since the clitic was not originally a strengthener, but due to attraction by the original negative marker *mana*. At a later stage, the clitic *-chu* became a negative marker sufficient to indicate neutral negation. An interesting idea is the fact that the dialects that use *mana* only are peripheral ones. Because of their wide separation and similar patterns, it is plausible that they represent the original situation. Cross-linguistically, this correlates with the principle that asserts that peripheral linguistic regions tend to be more conservative than central ones, which are keener to evolve.⁸

In Chapter 5, Hui-Ling Yang studies from a historical perspective Taiwanese Southern Min NEG₂, namely the post-verbal negative marker *bo*. According to the author, descriptions of the Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM) negative structure

8. This concept has been applied to the dialectalization of the Indo-European languages, concretely in their phonological and morphosyntactic features.

V *bo* DP have been excluded from previous literature. The real interest of this pattern comes from the two distinct semantic values, episodic and generic, that post-verbal *bo* is able to provide to a sentence; this is in contrast with its – likewise possible – preverbal position, which runs parallel to that of Mandarin negative particle *mei*, a particle which only allows a preverbal word order.⁹ An interesting feature of post-verbal *bo* is its difference of scope compared to preverbal *bo*. Yang reflects on the possibility that post-V negation is a historical remnant of the syntactic organization of the original serial verb constructions (SVCs). Therefore, the diachrony of Chinese negation, specifically the historical development of particle *mei*, is dealt with in order to trace a possible grammaticalization path for Southern Min (SM) *bo*. It seems that Mandarin *mei*, at a certain point, must have been post-verbal as TSM *bo*. Both SMC *mei* and TSM *bo* continued to evolve into preverbal negation: two serial verbs with a negative scoping over the second verb: $V_1 + \text{NEG} + V_2 >$ fronting of the negative $\text{NEG}-V_1 - V_2 (= [\text{R}] \text{ resultative})$. This evolution takes post-verbal negation to be the middle state between serial verb constructions and resultative verb compounds (RVCs), as seen in the case of *bo*. In this way, Yang postulates TSM *bo* could mirror this syntactic pattern of negation ($\text{SVC} > \text{RVC}$): $V_1 + \text{bo} + V_2$ (original post-V negation) $> V_1 + \text{bo}-V_2 (= \text{R})$ (post-V negation with resultative function = post-V TSM *bo*) $> \text{bo} + \text{V}-\text{R}$ (pre-V negation). The episodic vs. generic distinction in the TSM V *bo* DP construction, an inner aspect, and a higher head are suggested. This, together with the shift of SVCs to RVCs, points to the aspectual reading in SM *bo*. V_2 negation is productive in TSM, $V_1 + [\text{NEG} + [V_2 + \text{DP}]]$, in opposition to what we observe in MSC, $V_1 + [\text{NEG} + V_2] > \text{NEG} + \text{V} - \text{R}$.¹⁰

In Chapter 6, Vermondo Brugnatelli deals with Berber negation. Berber negation is rich and complex, and it has some noteworthy features, such as a tendency towards redundant marking of negation (use of negative circumfixes around the verb: $\text{NEG}_1 \text{ V } \text{NEG}_2$) and the use of special “negative verb stems”. This chapter presents a diachronic description of Berber negation and of the involvement of the Jespersen Cycle in this evolution.¹¹ There are many different negative particles

9. Mandarin *mei* cannot be used post-verbally, even though historically a post-verbal original use has been accounted for, despite of its current ungrammaticality in Modern Standard Chinese (MSC).

10. Nonetheless, the author warns that the negative system is far more complex, since not all negative markers can participate as a V_2 negation.

11. The author provides the interesting reference of an earlier work on Berber negation from a cross-linguistic perspective: Brugnatelli, Vermondo. 2006. La négation berbère dans le contexte chamito-sémitique. In *Les langues chamito-sémitiques (afro-asiatiques)*, Vol. 2 [Faits de Langue 27], Atoine Lonnet & Amina Mettouchi (eds), 65–72. Paris: Ophrys.

in Berber: some display evident common features most probably derived from a common original form, while others are clearly innovations. Preverbal negation takes many forms: *wər/ur*, *wəl/ul*, *wə/u*, *wəd/ud*, et cetera, which can be considered cognates; and *yul*, *lā abû*, et cetera, which are preverbal negators that do not require NEG₂. The most widespread form is *wər/ur*, whose beginning sound *we-/u-* has been suggested to be the basis of the negative particle. The post-verbal particle of negation presents greater differences than those existing in the prefixed negator. Some dialects might have developed particles from contact with Arabic (borrowing), but this is not always the case: the lexical proto-form **k'ära – (h)ära(t)* 'thing' can be traced back and is the most widely used particle for NEG₂. Berber NEG₂ forms are divergent: *kra/kra/cra*, *ara*, *ka/ka/ca* or *k/k/c*. One of the most striking features of Berber negation, the frequent usage of circumfixes, points to its relationship with the so-called Jespersen Cycle, which traditionally comprises three main stages. Even though the origin of discontinuous morphemes has been assigned in Berber to linguistic interference from Arabic, the author believes that while the influence of Arabic can be seen as a stimulus to preserve NEG₂, it was not the real origin for NEG₂. The author points to the possibility of an early stage characterized by a twofold negator across the whole Berber area, which is supported, according to Brugnatelli, by the wide diffusion of negative stems in each of the verbal systems. With regards to negative verbal forms, negative stems are seldom used without the presence of other negators. This could be connected with the hypothesis that Berber achieved Stage II of Jespersen Cycle in very ancient times, earlier than any contact with Arabic. In this way, NEG₂ forms could be innovated forms that replaced or were added to earlier morphemes. Brugnatelli reaches several important conclusions: (1) Berber possesses two concatenative negators (NEG₁, NEG₂) and one non-concatenative one (negative stems), which make a triple negation status possible for Berber; (2) the phonetic modifications triggered by a post-verbal negator should be viewed as a new source of (non-affixal) negators; and (3) all possible stages of the 'cycle' may be found: i.e., I) NEG₁ V II) NEG₁ V NEG₂ III) V NEG₂.

The last part of this volume mainly deals with negative quantifiers (Chapters 7–8) and negative doubling (Chapter 9) in French. It provides new insights about how we should address these two phenomena, making use of brand-new data. The sources are varied: Hansen, in Chapter 7, uses the *Base de français médiéval* (BFM) and the *Dictionnaire du moyen français* (DMF) for her study of temporal/aspectual n-words such as *plus* and *mais*; Ingham & Kallel make use of private letter collections for their description of the diachronic change of French negative indefinites *quelque* and *aucun*; Larrivée, for his part, utilizes the *Corpus de référence du français parlé* (Corpaix) and the *Corpus de français parlé au Québec* (CFPQ) for a vernacular data analysis of negative doubling. Even though these

topics have been extensively treated before, the main objective of these three papers is to supply up-to-date evidence of the diachronic evolution of these two phenomena in the French language.

In Chapter 7, Hansen studies the evolution in Medieval French of two temporal/aspectual *n*-words of adverbial origin, i.e. *mais* (< Lat. *magis*) and *plus* (< Lat. *plus*). She deals with the grammaticalization of these negative indefinites with regards to two theoretical issues: on the one hand, whether the evolution of indefinite quantifiers is unidirectional from positive through affective and then to negative uses, as claimed by Haspelmath (1997); and, on the other, whether the evolution of *n*-words, items that are used for purposes of quantification in both negative and negative polarity contexts, runs parallel to that of Jespersen Cycle with a cyclical development of its own, i.e. a “quantifier cycle.” Agreeing with Jäger (2010), who supports a “random walk” model for the development of indefinites, Hansen claims that in the quantifier domain the developments are not unidirectional, weakening the idea of a quantifier cycle in French.¹² Since most *n*-words derived from items that originally had polarity-neutral meanings, the author wonders whether it is possible to propose a quantifier cycle that would parallel Jespersen’s and agree with Haspelmath’s unidirectionality. Via grammaticalization, non-negative indefinites would become negative indefinites such as *rien*, which would accurately represent the evolution of other nominal *n*-words, such as *aucun* and *personne*. However, the evolution of *jamais* does not support the quantifier cycle theory or the unidirectional grammaticalization of quantifiers from positive to negative as proposed by Haspelmath. This fact calls for the revision of the evolution of *plus* and *mais*, which are adverbial in nature, just like *jamais*. In weak negative polarity contexts, Medieval French *mais* and *plus* have continuative meaning ‘still’. Both *mais* and *plus* are also sporadically found in positive contexts as well. Hansen renders both a chronological distribution (from the 11th until the end of the 16th century) and a contextual distribution (negative, affective, and polarity neutral) of both items. The data presented seem to point to the polysemous nature of these two markers as a plausible explanation for the disappearance of *mais*, rather than *plus*, as an *n*-word: according to the author it seems reasonable to propose that the temporal/aspectual uses of *mais/plus* must have developed originally in contexts of negative polarity. Now the question is whether these uses developed first in weak negative-polarity contexts and from there to contexts of strong negative polarity or the other way around, like *jamais*; this would falsify Haspelmath’s unidirectionality for indefinites. The author resorts to an alternative

12. French is a negative concord (NC) language, even though it does not consist in the combination of *n*-words with the standard clause negator *pas*, but rather with the preverbal negative marker *ne*.

Old French database, which shows that the uses of negative polarity items (NPI) did not occur diachronically prior to the use of the marker *plus* in strong negative polarity contexts. This supports the idea that the strong negative use is central and that the affective uses are likely to be derived. In the same way, the two temporal n-words fail to support Haspelmath's unidirectionality hypothesis; rather, they show that, at least in the domain of negative polarity contexts, indefinites can develop in different directions, both from NPIs into negative and vice versa. There must seemingly be an essential difference between adverbial items and nominal items, which appear to conform to the quantifier cycle. Thus, it is clear that the same linguistic item can have different statuses: on the one hand, *plus* has an adverbial function, forming a subgroup together with *jamais* and *nulle part* and contrasting with the nominal subgroup consisting of *personne*, *rien*, and *aucun*; and on the other, it has an aspectual meaning, contrasting with the purely temporal marker *jamais*. This study proves that functional paradigms are not essentially linguistic entities, but rather pragmatic ones,.

In Chapter 8, Richard Ingham & Amel Kallel analyze the diachronic change of non-nominal French indefinites *aucun* and *quelque* between Middle French and Classical French. The data come from private correspondence¹³ between the late 15th century and early 18th century (1450-1715). Using Haspelmath's semantic map of indefinites (Haspelmath 1997: 236) they show the re-categorization of *quelque* as an ordinary positive indefinite, this process being related to a major change in the use of the all-purpose indefinite *aucun*, which eventually became a n-item in Modern French. In Old French, these indefinites were not n-items and, therefore, there was no NC.¹⁴ The object of this chapter is to assess how the *personne* series (*rien*, *aucun* and *personne*) of indefinites came to take a negative semantic value, causing French to become a NC language. Following Haspelmath's semantic-functional map of indefinite pronouns,¹⁵ Ingham in an earlier paper had proposed the following evolution for *aucun*: 1–3 (non-negative) > 4, 5, 6 and 8 (non-assertive) [Old French] > 7 (negative) [14th century]. Related to this issue is the question of whether *quelque* came to occupy semantic spaces left empty by the retreat of *aucun*, or whether *aucun* was pushed out of such spaces by the intrusion of *quelque*. The data (*nul*, *aucun* and *quelque*) being distributed according to the categorization of the contexts (negative, non-assertive and positive contexts),

13. Correspondence is the written genre nearest to informal spoken language and is an invaluable source for diachronic research.

14. It seems that the authors assume the validity of the unidirectionality of the evolution of indefinites proposed by Haspelmath (1997).

15. Semantically-defined contexts of indefinites (Haspelmath 1997: 236) are shown in Figure 1.

in period I (1450–1499), *aucun* is the most commonly used indefinite in all three contexts. In period II (1530–1575), *aucun* already shows a huge drop in positive contexts (76% > 13%) in favor of *quelque* (24% > 87%), while it gains negative associations. *Nul* still operates within non-assertive and negative contexts. In period III (1650–1715), *quelque* already is the preferred indefinite in both positive and non-assertive contexts, with 100% and 75% respectively. *Auncun*, almost as often as *nul*, is predominantly present in negative contexts. In positive contexts *aucun* slumped to under 15% in the mid-16th century and to nothing in the later 17th century. Thus, there seems to be a sudden shift in the use of indefinites around the later 15th century and the 16th century. Thus, it seems that the distribution of *aucun* and of the rest of French indefinites was gradually re-drawn within the semantic map. In this way, 1 and 2 *aucun* peripheral functions were eliminated. A negative feature would have first started to be attributed to *aucun* among some speakers, at least; later on, it would have become self-reinforcing moving into the 17th century, in which over 90% of its occurrences were negative. The principal factor in the change appears to be the intrusion of *quelque* into the system of the indefinites, challenging the coherence of the semantic space occupied by *aucun*. This semantic change provoked a semantic reorganization, which the authors believe to have preceded the syntactic recategorization. Moreover, the results from the data analysis support the validity of Haspelmath's approach to the functions of indefinites from a diachronic point of view.

In the final chapter of this volume, Pierre Larrivée shows a novel approach in studying a vernacular corpus for his analysis of the evolution of French negative doubling – i.e., the co-occurrence of a clausal negator with an n-word.¹⁶ The author evaluates whether Labov's idea that the vernacular is the most stable, systematic variety of a language is true.¹⁷ Consequently, Larrivée assesses the co-occurrence of a main clausal negator, *pas*, with an n-word, such as *aucun*, *rien* and *jamais*, by looking at New (Quebec) and Old (European) World French varieties.¹⁸ Data are provided regarding the number of occurrences of negative doubling in contemporary vernacular Quebec French, taking not only *pas* as main negator, but also *plus* 'no longer'. The n-words considered here are *aucun*, *personne*, *rien*,

16. Here the reader should be careful about the terminology. In this chapter, negative doubling is not double negation. Rather, negative doubling means negative concord where a negative indefinite co-occurs with a clausal negator.

17. A real handicap is the fact that the vernacular- defined as the spontaneous, non-monitored variety of a language, as opposed to a normative tradition- usually is the least accessible variety.

18. The author affirms that the corpora of vernacular French are surprisingly few and far between. Another predicament is that the early corpora of vernacular French are not easily accessible to researchers.

jamais and *nulle part*. As expected, negative doubling is well attested in vernacular Quebec French. To discover what happens in the normative French of France, the author uses 20th-century material: it seems that here, too, negative doubling is well attested. The data also establish the existence of negative doubling in vernacular Paris French. Doubling with *pas* and with *plus* occurs at very similar rates in Old and New World varieties. However, in both cases *plus* allows doubling at a much higher rate than *pas*. The author, in this way, comes to some interesting conclusions: (1) negative doubling with *pas* exists in vernacular France and Quebec French, though it is ten times more frequent in Quebec French than in the French of France; (2) negative doubling with *plus* is attested in both varieties; and (3) *plus* rates are higher than those shown by *pas*. Material from previous varieties further supports these assumptions that assert the historical existence of negative doubling. Thus, the data analyzed in this paper provide support for Labov's hypothesis regarding the stability of vernacular by attesting the stability of *pas* (and *point*) doubling from the Middle French Period increasing into Quebec French. The *plus* doubling is also relatively stable, and its evident rise is most likely caused by the disappearance of other similar negative items with a temporal dimension such as *onc* and *mais*. Finally, Larrivée explains that the picture sketched in this paper is idealized due to the dearth of vernacular data. Thus, he calls for making a corpus of historical vernacular sources available.

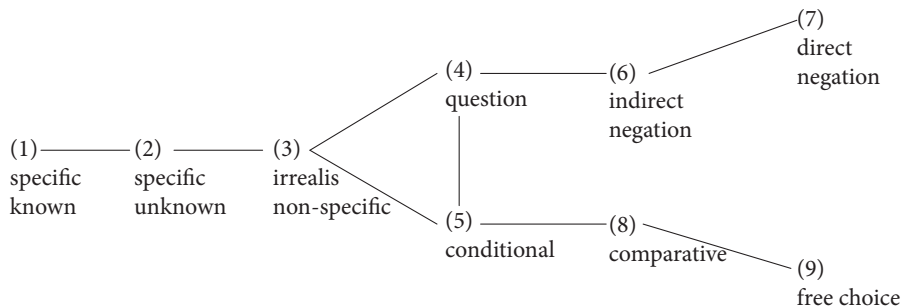


Figure 1. Semantically-defined contexts of indefinites (Haspelmath 1997: 236)

The Jespersen Cycle, negative concord and double negation are omnipresent in this volume. With only the exception of Chapter 5, in which Yang describes the origin of and the two possible semantic values expressed by postverbal *bo* in TSM, each chapter deals with these recurrent phenomena within different languages and from different perspectives. In Chapter 2, Van Alsenoy & van der Auwera study double negation and negative concord within 103 non-European languages of the world, providing evidence against Zeijlstra and Swart's proposals. In Chapter 3, Vossen & van der Auwera, in a more descriptive analysis, deal with Jespersen Cycles in 409 Austronesian languages, supporting multiple exponence

and a minimizer origin for the second post-verbal negator, whose raison d'être is emphasis. In Chapter 4, Pineda-Bernuy treats the cyclic evolution of Quechua negation, validating the assumption that it is not due to weakening, but, rather, due to emphasis. In Chapter 6, Brugnatelli studies Berber redundant negation by looking at negative stems and pre- and post-verbal markers before Arabic contact. In Chapter 7, Hansen analyzes *mais* and *plus* data within negative concord structures, resulting in the rejection of Haspelmath's unidirectionality and of the quantifier cycle. In Chapter 8, Ingham & Kallel examine *quelque* and *aucun*'s evolution, an investigation which comes to support Haspelmath's semantic mapping of indefinites; this points to a semantic reorganization of these indefinites, leading later on to a syntactic recategorization. In Chapter 9, Larrivée deals with negative doubling (NEG...n-word), demonstrating the stability of the vernacular varieties as proposed by Labov. Thus, it appears that the key points of this monograph are double marking of negation by emphasis, negative concord in its syntactic and morphological spheres, the analysis of new non-European languages, and the importance of the vernacular for diachronic studies.

It seems relevant to highlight that this volume is overall an excellent contribution to the studies of negation in two important aspects: first, it is a new study of negative phenomena from a diachronic approach; and, second, it provides within non-European languages corroboration of (or refutation of) the principles derived from negative phenomena in European languages, which can help attain a more universal perspective of negation. We would like to stress, nevertheless, that there is still much work to be done in this regard. In the Indo-European branch alone there are many non-European languages whose negation has not yet been analyzed diachronically. Moreover, we would like to make some remarks about the European-centric typological approaches when dealing with non-European languages. As stated by Haspelmath (2008), the dangers of forcing a typological structure of a language into another are very real, and yet this is often done by linguists. Therefore, we suggest that a framework-free grammatical analysis would be the best way to deal with languages that are intrinsically different from the languages of Europe. We have to be able to understand that every language has its own categories which most likely do not run parallel to the categories we are accustomed to finding in European languages. Thus, we should attempt to get rid of our previous constructs and treat every language on its own terms.

Finally, suffice it to say that this volume on the diachrony of negation is, without a doubt, a worthy member of Jespersen's club.

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