

Negative developments in Afrikaans and Brazilian Portuguese *

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1. Introduction

(1) Jespersen's Cycle (JC) (cf. Jespersen 1917):

I. NEG₁ ... II. NEG₁ ... (NEG₂) III. NEG₁ ... NEG₂ IV. NEG₃

Stage I: single negator (NEG₁)

Stage II: optional reinforcing negator (NEG₂)

Stage III: obligatory accompanying negator (Negative Concord system)

Stage IV: single negator, where this negator is the originally reinforcing NEG₂ which has undergone reanalysis, delivering NEG₃

- Well-known Western European case studies:

(2)	a.	French:	<i>ne ... pas</i>	→	<i>(ne) ... pas</i>	→	<i>pas</i>	
			Std French				Colloquial French	
	b.	English:	<i>ne ... (noht)</i>	→	<i>(ne) ... no(h)t</i>	→	<i>not</i>	
			Old English				Modern English	
	c.	German:	<i>ni/ne ... (nieht)</i>	→	<i>(en/ne) ... ni(h)t</i>	→	<i>nicht</i>	
			Old High German				Modern German	
	d.	Dutch:	<i>en/en ... (niet)</i>	→	<i>(en/ne) ... niet</i>	→	<i>niet</i>	
			Old Dutch				Modern Dutch	

- The focus of this paper: negative developments in 2 understudied Negative Concord (NC) languages with Western European connections, Afrikaans and Brazilian Portuguese (BP)

A. Afrikaans

- (3) a. *Hy het **nie**₁ die huis gekoop **nie**₂*
he has not the house bought NEG
“He hasn't bought the house”
- b. *Sy het **niemand** vergeet **nie**₂*
she has no-one forgotten NEG
“She hasn't forgotten anyone”

*nie*₁ = NEG₁ (cf. Dutch *niet* in (2d)); *nie*₂ = NEG₂

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- b. *Ek is **nie₁**ryk **nie₂*** [Afrikaans]
 I is not rich NEG
 “I am not rich” (≠ “I am not not rich”)
 → *nie₁* appears to occupy the same position as its Dutch cognate, *niet*

Properties distinguishing *nie₁* and *nie₂* (cf. Biberauer 2008a, b)

A. Omissibility

- (8) a. *Hy kom **nie₁** in **nie₂***
 he come not in not
 “He doesn’t come in/He isn’t coming in”
- b. **Hy kom in **nie₂***
 he come in not
- (9) a. *Hy kom **nie₁** in*
 he come not in
 “He doesn’t come in/He isn’t coming in”
- b. *‘Phelps **nie** vervolg oor daggarokery’* [Beeld – 20/02/2009]
 Phelps not prosecuted over cannabis-smoking
 “Phelps not prosecuted over cannabis smoking”

B. Modifiability

- (10) a. *Jy let **glad/ hoegenaamd/absoluut** **nie₁** op **nie₂***
 you attend altogether/at-all/ absolutely not up NEG
 “You aren’t remotely paying attention”
- b. **Jy let **nie₁** op **glad/hoegenaamd/absoluut** **nie₂***

C. Reinforcement

- (11) a. *Ons is **nie₁** beïndruk **nie₂***
 us is not impressed not
 “We are not impressed”
- b. *Ons is **geensins** beïndruk **nie₂***
 us is not-remotely impressed not
 “We are not remotely impressed”
- c. **Ons is **nie₁** beïndruk **geensins***

D. Stressability

- (12) a. *Ek weet **NOOIT/NIE₁** wat hy doen **nie₂***
 I know never not what he do NEG
 “I NEVER know what he’s doing/I DON’T know what he’s doing/he does”

- b. **Ek weet nooit/nie₁ wat hy doen NIE₂*

The differences between the two *nies* are summarised in Table 1:

Table 1: Summary comparison of the properties of *nie₁* and *nie₂* in Afrikaans

Property	<i>nie₁</i>	<i>nie₂</i>
1. Omission → ungrammaticality	YES	NO
2. Modifiability	YES	NO
3. Substitution by emphatic negator	YES	NO
4. Stressability	YES	NO

Thus:

- *nie₁* and the position associated with the “real” negator can be strengthened in various ways, whereas *nie₂* cannot.
→ in JC terms, this is particularly significant as it unambiguously indicates:
 - (i) that the “real” negator in Afrikaans, i.e. *nie₁*/NEG₁ in (1), is not a weak element; and
 - (ii) that the concord element, i.e. *nie₂*/NEG₂ in (1), is weak (cf. i.a. Cardinaletti & Starke 1999 for discussion of strong vs weak elements).
- There are circumstances under which *nie₁* can be reduced – cf. (13). Crucially, however, *nie₁* reduction never renders it phonologically weaker than *nie₂*:

- (13) *Hy iss-ie moeg-ie/*nie/*NIE*
 he is- not tired- NEG
 “He isn’t tired”

- (14) “The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is *first weakened* [our emphasis – TB/SC], then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and 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)

- Afrikaans isn’t inert in the context of JC, though – 2 developments are underway in standard spoken Afrikaans (Biberauer 2009):

- (a) expansion of the contexts in which *nie₂* surfaces
- (b) *nie₁* replacement possibilities

2.2 Expansion of *nie₂* contexts

- Non-clausal *nie₂* in standard Afrikaans and spoken standard Afrikaans (Biberauer & Zeijlstra (2009)’s *Afrikaans A*):

- (15) a. *Nie₁ die GELD nie₂, maar die TYD pla hom*
 not the money NEG but the time worry him
 “Not the MONEY, but the TIME worries him”

- b. *Moeder Natuur het vir **nie**₁ minder **nie**₂ as drie beskermende*
 Mother Nature has for not less NEG than three protective
lae gesorg
 layers cared
 “Mother Nature provided no less than three protective layers”
 (cf. Donaldson 1993: 410)
 i.e. negatively focused constituents

(16) A: *Wie het my boek gesien?*
 who have my book seen
 “Who has seen my book?”

- B. *Niemand **nie**₂*
 no-one NEG
 “No-one”
 i.e. fragment answers

- Non-clausal *nie*₂ in modern spoken Afrikaans (Biberauer & Zeijlstra’s *Afrikaans B*): emphatic structures

(17) a. *Ek is [**nooit (nie)**] moeg **nie***
 I am never NEG tired NEG
 “I am NEVER tired”

- b. *Sy het [**nêrens (nie)**] tuis gevoel **nie***
 she have nowhere NEG home felt NEG
 “There was NOWHERE she felt at home”, i.e. She didn’t feel at home anywhere”

- c. *Hy is [**nie**₁ vir ‘n oomblik **nie**₂] tevrede daarmee **nie***
 he is not for a moment NEG satisfied there-with NEG
 “He is not remotely happy with that”

[where [] indicates the fact that the elements in question are part of a single prosodic phrase]

(18) a. *Die koerantartikel kan **nie** betroubaar geag word **nie** om*
 the newspaper-article can not reliable regarded become NEG C-INF
*as addisionele data te dien **nie***
 as additional data to serve NEG
 “The newspaper can’t be viewed as a reliable source of additional data”

- b. *Ek het **nie** beseft **nie** julle is nog by mekaar **nie***
 I have not realised NEG you-PL are still by each-other NEG
 “I hadn’t realised that you were still together”

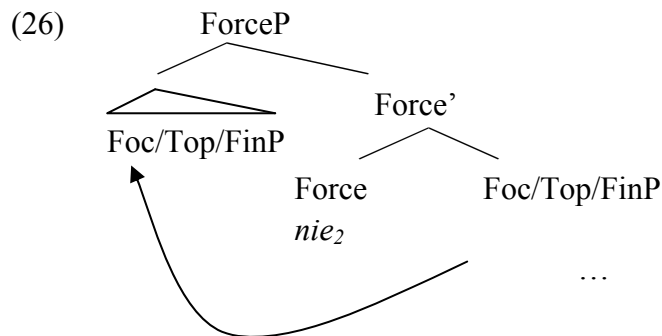
[*Onder draai die duiwel rond*, episode 9]

- The “extra” *nie* is clearly *nie*₂ and not *nie*₁ as:
 - it’s an optional element, i.e. omissible (cf. A and (8/9) above)
 - it’s not modifiable (cf. B above and (19a) below)
 - it can’t be substituted by an emphatic form (cf. C above and (19b) below)

- (22) a. *Het kan niet waar zijn, nee!*
 it can not true be no
 It can't be true, no!" (Roberge 2000:147)
- b. *Jij komt niet mee, ne?*
 you come not with hey
 "You aren't coming, hey/right?" [expectation = negative answer]
 [See conclusion for a further observation on this]
- o Leaving aside origins, there are various indicators that *nie*₂ is "high" – e.g. (i) impossibility of embedded negation in "reduced" complements of restructuring predicates, (ii) survival under sluicing, (iii) non-occurrence in headlines (cf. (23))(cf. see Biberauer 2008a,b for further discussion)
- (23) a. *Een uit elke drie loer lewensmaat se SMS'e af*
 one out every three peep life-partner GEN SMSes down
 "One in three spy on partner's text-messages"
 (Die Burger 2008-09-29)
- b. *Wie anders het Lotz vermoor, wil regter weet*
 who else have Lotz murdered want judge know
 "Who else murdered Lotz, judge asks" (Beeld 2007-11-02)
- i.e. 2 clear V2 structures (V-in-C), but contrast (9b) above.
- (24) a. *Ek het nie₁ gister van haar gehoor nie₂*
 I have not yesterday from her heard NEG
 "I didn't hear from her yesterday"
- b. *Gister het ek nie₁ van haar gehoor nie₂*
 yesterday have I not from her heard NEG
 "Yesterday I didn't hear from her"
- c. *Van haar het ek nie₁ gister gehoor nie₂*
 from here have I not yesterday heard NEG
 "From here, I didn't hear yesterday"
- d. *Wanneer het jy nie₁ van haar gehoor nie₂?*
 when have you not from her heard NEG
 "When didn't you hear from her?"
- e. *... dat ek nie₁ gister van haar gehoor het nie₂*
 that I not yesterday from her heard have NEG
 "... that I didn't hear from her yesterday"
- (25) a. [_{ForceP} [_{FinP} Subj Vf [_{TP} ...]] *nie₂*] -- neutral subject-initial V2 clause
 b. [_{ForceP} [_{TopP} Adv/Obj Vf [_{TP} ...]] *nie₂*] -- topic-initial V2 clause

- c. [ForceP [FocP Wh Vf [TP ...]] *nie*₂] -- *wh*-initial V2 clause
 d. [ForceP [FinP *dat* Vf [TP ...]] *nie*₂] -- *dat*-initial V2 clause

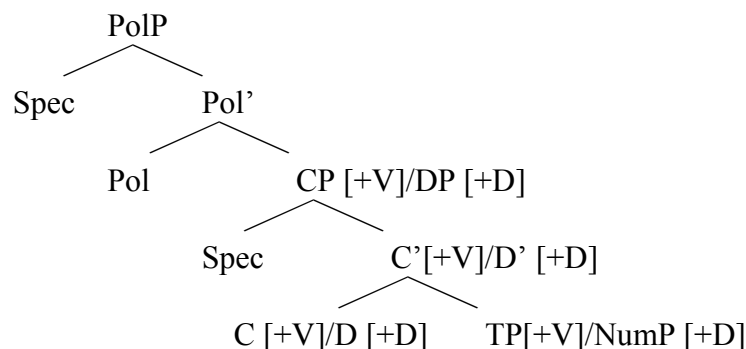
If this is correct, main-clause negated structures in Afrikaans therefore have (something like) the partial structure in (26):



Core point: Afrikaans *nie*₂ is structurally very high, whereas elements that have undergone the Stage III – Stage IV change are much lower (in a different phase)

- Additionally, *nie*₂ in the modern spoken language is a syntactically and semantically bleached element:
 - semantic bleaching: it may occur in various non-negative contexts (cf. Oosthuizen 1998, Biberauer 2007, 2008a,b):
- (27) a. *Hy vertrek sonder dat ek agterkom (nie)*
 he leaves without that I realise NEG
 “He leaves without me realising it”
- b. *Hy kon nouliks staan (nie)*
 he could barely stand NEG
 “He could barely stand
- syntactic bleaching: besides being an obligatory C-peripheral element in the clausal domain, it has also become an optional peripheral element in negated and negative DPs ((12a), (15a) and (16b) above), negated PPs ((17c), negated and negative APs ((15b) and (17a,b)) and negated vPs ((18a,b)) (cf. Biberauer 2008b). It is therefore **categorially deficient** (which is important from a FOFC perspective – cf. Appendix, and Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts 2007 et seq.)

(28) *nie*₂'s syntactic deficiency



i.e. Pol = a categorially deficient head which projects categorially inert structure; it isn't part of the projecting clausal, nominal or other "spine" (cf. i.a. Grimshaw 1991, Brody 1998, Neeleman & van de Koot (2002) on this approach to projection. Contrast West Flemish *en*, which is specified [+fin] and therefore appears to form part of the main clausal projection – cf. Breitbarth & Haegeman 2008)

Core point: *nie*₂ is both syntactically and semantically bleached, i.e. highly grammaticalised.

2.3 *Nie*₁ replacement

- It is possible to reinforce the "real" negator in various ways in addition to those mentioned in Section 2.1 above.
- 2 recently innovated lexical possibilities in modern spoken Afrikaans (cf. Biberauer 2009)

Option I: replacement by *g'n* ("no")

- the historic source of *g'n*:

(29) a. *Ek het geen geld nie*
 I have no money NEG
 "I have no money; I don't have any money"

b. *Ek het geen stokperdjies, geen meisies, geen niks nie*
 I have no hobbies no girlfriends no nothing NEG
 "I have no hobbies, no girlfriends, nothing" (*Die Burger* 1998-05-11)

geen > *g'n*

(30) A: *Kom nou, my vriend!*
 come now my friend
 "Come now, my friend!"

B: *Ek is G'N jou vriend nie!*
 I is NO your friend NEG
 "I am NOT your friend"
 [SA = *Ek is NIE*₁ *jou vriend nie!*]

(31) A: *Jan skryf regtig goeie stories*
 Jan write really good stories
 “Jan writes really good stories

B: *Hy skryf G’N goeie stories nie₂!*
 he write NO good stories NEG
 “He does NOT write good stories!”
 [SA = *Hy skryf NIE₁ goeie stories nie₂!*]¹

(32) A: *Ek sukkel, want dis moeilik*
 I struggle because it’s difficult
 “I’m struggling because it’s difficult”

B: *Dit is G’N/g’n so moeilik nie₂*
 it is NO/no so difficult NEG
 “It’s not so difficult at all!”

- *G’n* also serves metalinguistically:

(33) *Dit is G’N/g’n wonderlik nie₂; dis FANTASTIES!*
 it is NO/ no wonderful NEG; it’s fantastic
 “It’s NOT wonderful; it’s FANTASTIC!”

- *g’n* substitutes for *nie₁* in what we can broadly think of as presuppositional negation contexts (but cf. Schwenter 2005 for more fine-grained discussion).
- In Horn’s (1989: 270) terms, *g’n* expresses *contrary (scalar) negation*.
- Emphasised *G’N* is prosodically marked off from the rest of the structure, i.e. it forms its own prosodic phrase.

Option II: replacement by *niks* (“nothing”)

(34) a. *Sy is niks tevrede nie₂*
 she is nothing satisfied NEG
 “She isn’t remotely satisfied”, i.e. she isn’t satisfied at all

b. *Ons doen niks sulke dinge nie*
 us do nothing such things NEG
 “We don’t do any of those sorts of things”
 [≠ *Ons doen niks nie₂* – *niks* isn’t an object here]

- *Niks*-replacement serves a different function to *g’n* replacement: in Horn’s (*ibid.*) terms, it expresses *contradictory (polar) negation*

¹ The fact that B’s answer in (31) is not equivalent to *Hy skryf geen goeie stories nie₂*, i.e. the full negative quantifier-containing form, which means “He writes no good stories (only bad ones)” once again underlines the synchronic distinction between this full negative quantifier form and grammaticalised *g’n*. Strikingly, though, *g’n* must be stressed in structures where it occurs alongside an object (cf. (30) and (31)), a requirement which doesn’t hold elsewhere (cf. (32) and (33)).

Option III: replacement by *g'n niks*

- (35) a. *Sy is G'N/g'n niks tevrede nie₂*
 she is NO/ no nothing satisfied NEG
 “She isn’t remotely satisfied”, i.e. she isn’t satisfied at all
- b. *Ons doen G'N/g'n niks sulke dinge nie*
 us do NO/no nothing such things NEG
 “We don’t do any of those sorts of things”

- Leaving aside prosodic considerations, these structures are string-wise ambiguous between a scalar reading (“She’s NOT not satisfied”) and a polar reading (“She’s not at all satisfied”). Prosodically, the difference is signalled by the fact that *g'n* in the scalar case must be *G'N* (i.e. an element constituting its own prosodic phrase) where polar *g'n* is part of the same prosodic phrase as *niks*.
- The fact that Afrikaans has drawn on elements meaning “no” and “nothing” to replace *nie₁* is significant: “nothing” was also the source for the English, German and Dutch “real” negator (cf. Section 1 above) and it has been argued to be one of the 4 major etymological sources for negation elements (“real” or reinforcing):

- (36) a. [NegP1 non [TP1 V⁺_{Agr} [NegP2 mica [TP2 [AdvP already] [NegP3 niente
 [Asp perf. V_{past/part} [Asp gen/progr [AdvP always] [NegP4 NO]]]]]]]]]
 (cf. Zanuttini 1997)
- b. [NEGP [Focus/Operator NO [ScalarP non [MinQ mica [QP niente [ExistentialP]]
 (cf. Poletto 2008)

- Thus:
 - Afrikaans has replaced *nie₁* with another element merged “low” in the clausal hierarchy: *niks* very clearly parallels Zanuttini’s NegP₃-head, *niente* (cf. (36a))
 - Interestingly, the Afrikaans developments suggest support for Poletto’s (2008) proposal that NegP itself – or the DP-structure of the negation element itself – consists of structural layers which parallels that found in the clause (cf. (36b)): *niks* is the maximally unmarked quantifier (QP), which may then be reinforced by the minimizer *g'n* (MinQ), giving *g'n niks*.

Option IV: replacement plus phrase-final *nie₂*

- Both replacement options may be reinforced by *nie₂*:

- (37) a. *Dit is g'n nie₂ so moeilik nie₂!*
 it is no NEG so difficult NEG
 “It’s NOT so difficult at all”
- b. *Sy is niks nie₂ tevrede nie₂*
 she is nothing NEG satisfied NEG
 “She isn’t REMOTELY satisfied”

- The combination of *g'n* and *niks* (both under the scalar and polar readings) may also be reinforced by *nie₂*:

- (38) a. *Dit is G’N [niks nie₂] so moeilik nie₂*
 it is NO nothing NEG so difficult NEG
 “It’s NOT not so difficult”, i.e. it IS difficult
- b. *Dit is [g’n niks nie₂] so moeilik nie₂*
 it is no nothing NEG so difficult NEG
 “It’s NOT so difficult”

2.4. Conclusion on the negative developments taking place in modern spoken Afrikaans

- Afrikaans isn’t inert in the JC context
- BUT it isn’t undergoing the change from Stage III to Stage IV
- 2 JC-like developments are identifiable:
 - (a) an “internal”/non-clausal cycle in which *nie₂* is becoming a generalised concord element, i.e. one which isn’t limited to the domain of sentential negation
 - (b) a “short cycle” (cf. Van der Auwera & Neuckermans 2004)
- Why isn’t Afrikaans proceeding to Stage IV?

Proposal: *Nie₂* has grammaticalised beyond the Cycle (Biberauer 2009): it is structurally too high and syntactically and semantically too bleached to serve as “real” sentential negator.

(39) Prediction: Languages which draw on an element from a high structural domain as their concord element will not undergo the Stage III to Stage IV change.

3. **Negative developments in Brazilian Portuguese**

3.1. The background

- Superficially, northern varieties of BP looks like a system which may falsify (39): in addition to permitting optional reinforcement of the sentential negator, as illustrated in (5a) above (repeated as (40a,b) here), it also permits structures featuring just a clause-final *não* (cf. Schwegler 1991, Martins 1997, Alkmim 1999, Camargos 2002, Fonseca 2004, Schwenter 2005, Cavalcante 2007):

- (40) a. *Ele não₁ comprou a casa*
 He not bought the house
 “He has not bought the house”
- b. *Ele não₁ comprou a casa não₂*
 He not bought the house NEG
 “He has not bought the house”
- c. *Ele comprou a casa não*
 he bought the house NEG
 “He has not bought the house”

- *Não₂* in (40b,c) is different from *não₁* since it is phonologically autonomous while *não₁* can surface as a clitic, *num* (cf. Cavalcante 2007, contra Martins 1997 and Fonseca 2004):

(41) *Ele num comprou a casa (nã_o₂/*num)*
 he not.CL bought the house NEG
 “He has not bought the house”

- *Nã_o₂* thus contrasts with *nie₂* in that the latter is evidently a weak element compared to the “real” negator, whereas this is not true in BP:
 - *Nie₁* = stronger than *nie₂*, even when it’s reduced (cf. (13) above)
 - *Nã_o₂* is stronger than *nã_o₁* as only *nã_o₁* can be reduced (cf. (41))
- Taken together, the facts in (40-41) suggest that (39) may be on the wrong track: it may not so much be the **structural height** of the concord element that matters as its **phonological properties** (cf. Jespersen’s original proposal – (14))
- BUT the data need to be considered more carefully

3.2 A closer look at final BP negation

- *Nã_o₂* necessarily contributes a particular interpretive effect when it occurs:
 - it cannot surface in simple, unmarked declaratives – this is the domain of *nã_o₁* (42) (cf. Schwenter 2005, Cavalcante 2007).

(42) a. *A Maria nã_o₁/num vai no teatro* [= simple declarative]
 the Mary not not.CL go in-the theater
 “Mary is not going to the theatre”

b. %*A Maria nã_o₁/num vai no teatro nã_o₂* [≠ simple declarative]

c. %*A Maria vai no teatro nã_o₂* [≠ simple declarative]

- crucially, the “extra” interpretation added by *nã_o₂* is different, depending on whether *nã_o₂* co-occurs with *nã_o₁* ((42b)) or whether it surfaces on its own ((42c))
 - in (42b)-type structures, *nã_o₂* serves a **reinforcing function**, parallel to that expressed by “extra” *nie₂* in Afrikaans (cf. also Dahl 2001, Kiparsky & Condoravdi 2006 and, more generally, Chomsky 2001: 37 on the so-called *Fox-Reinhart intuition about optionality*)

(43) *O João convidou a Maria para a festa, mas ela disse que ela num/*
 the João invited the Maria to the party but she said that she not.CL
nã_o₁ vai nã_o₂
 not go NEG

“John invited Mary to the party, but she said she is NOT going”

→ this reinforcing interpretation is not available when *nã_o₂* surfaces independently of the “real” negator

- in (42c)-type structures, *nã_o₂* necessarily negates a presupposition (44):

(44) Q: *Ah, você nã_o₁/num vai no teatro (nã_o₂)?*
 ah you not/ not.CL go in-the theatre NEG
 “Ah, aren’t you going to the theatre (after all)?”
 (= I expected you to go to the theatre)

A: *Não, eu num/ não₁ vou. Já vi a peça*
no, I not.CL/ not go already saw the play

A': *Não, eu num/não₁ vou não₂. Já vi a peça*

A'': *Eu num/não₁ vou não₂. Já vi a peça*

A''': *Não, vou não₂. Já vi a peça*

A''': *Vou não₂. Já vi a peça.*

“No (I’m not going). I have already seen that play”

→ *não₂* here thus expresses a specific type of negation, just like *g’n* (cf. section 2.3 above)

- The negation expressed by *não₂* is in many ways similar to that expressed by the anaphoric negator, *não*, which is homophonous with the final negation element:

(45) Q: *Você vai no cinema?*
you go in-the cinema
“Are you going to the cinema?”

A: *Não.*
no
“No” (= No, I am not going to the cinema)

- *Não₂* also differs from *não₁* in not being available in *wh*-interrogatives (cf. Cavalcante 2007):

(46) a. *O que ele num/ não₁ fez?*
what he not.CL/not did
“What didn’t he do?”

b. **O que ele num/não₁ fez não₂?*

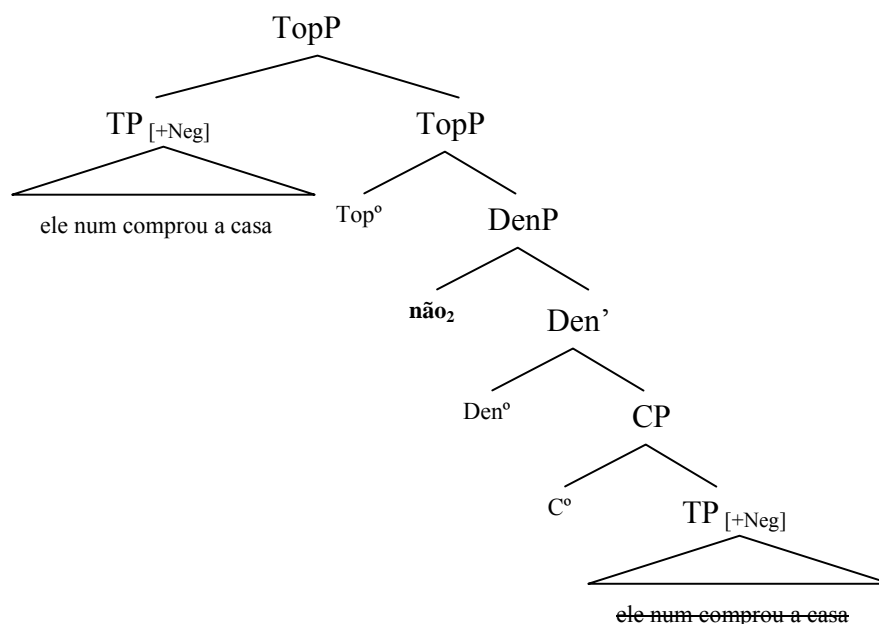
c. **O que ele fez não₂?*

- Picking up on the discourse restrictions to which *não₂* is subject (particularly (44) and the complications observed in *wh*-interrogatives (46), Cavalcante (2007) proposes that *não₂* in BP is in the specifier position of a specific functional category which is responsible for coding discourse information referring to the confirmation or negation of presuppositions: his **DenP (Denial Phrase)**, which, according to him, only occurs in matrix structures (cf. i.a. Horn 1989 on the “special syntax” associated with denials).

Cavalcante’s structure for (40b) is given in (47b):

(47) a. *Ele num comprou a casa não₂*

b.



- *não₂* is predicted to only be available in denial structures (matrix clauses)
- *não₂* is predicted to be incompatible with *wh*-interrogatives because *wh*-elements are [+focus] (cf. i.a. Rizzi 1997, 2001), while DenP necessarily selects previously stated (presupposed) information, which must then, on Cavalcante’s analysis, undergo topicalisation to Spec-TopP (cf. also Neeleman & van de Koot 2008 for a “discourse templatic” approach to topic and focus)

Crucially, if Cavalcante (2007) is correct, (39) cannot hold: a high concord element **can** undergo a Stage III – Stage IV change, becoming the “real” negator.

BUT:

- Leaving aside various technical issues, Cavalcante’s proposal runs into difficulties in that it leads us to expect that the restrictions that hold of *não₂* when it surfaces in conjunction with *não₁* will be the same as those on *não₂* when it surfaces on its own.

AND: this is not true (cf. section 3.3)

Our proposal: There are 2 distinct elements, both spelled out as *não* that can surface clause-finally in BP.

- A *não* which always co-occurs with *não₁*; henceforth: *não₂*
- A *não* which always surfaces on its own; henceforth: *não₃*

3.3 A closer look at clause-final *não*

A. *Não₂* is not limited to presuppositional (denial) contexts in the way that *não₃* is:

- (48) Q: *Por que você está desesperada? O que aconteceu?*
 why you are desperate what happened
 “Why are you desperate? What’s happened?”

- a. A: *Eu num/não₁ tô achando minha gatinha (não₂)*
 I not.CL/not am finding my pussycat NEG
 “I cannot find my pussycat”
- b. A: **Tô achando minha gatinha não₃*

B. *Não₂* can occur in both matrix and embedded clauses (49a), as opposed to *não₃* which is limited to matrix clauses (49b):

- (49) a. *Ele disse que ele num/ não₁ comprou a casa não₂*
 he said that he not.CL/not bought the house NEG
 “He said that he hasn’t bought a house”
- b. **Ele disse que ele comprou a casa não₃*

C. *Não₂* is possible in simple *yes/no* interrogatives (50a), whereas *não₃* is not (50b) – its presence is only licensed in questions entailing a presupposition (50c):

- (50) a. *Você num/ não₁ comprou a casa não₂?* [simple *yes/no* Q]
 you not.CL/not bought the house NEG
 “Haven’t you bought the house?”
- b. *%Você comprou a casa não₃?* [simple *yes/no* Q]
- c. *Você comprou a casa não₃?* [presuppositional *yes/no* Q]
 i.e. “You DIDN’T buy the house?! (I thought you had!)”

Furthermore, only *não₂* is available in polite questions involving negation:

- (51) a. *Você não/ num quer tomar um cafezinho (não₂)?*
 you not not.CL want take a café.DIM NEG
 “Wouldn’t you like to have some coffee?”
- b. **Você quer tomar um cafezinho não₃?*

D. *Não₃*, unlike *não₂*, is incompatible with NPI idioms:

- (52) Q: *O João é rico!*
 the John is rich
 “John is rich!”
- A’: *O que? ele num/ não₁ tem um tostão furado!*
 what he not.CL/not has a cent with-a-hole
- A’’: *O que? ele num/não₁ tem um tostão furado não₂!*
- A’’’: **O que? ele tem um tostão furado não₃!*
 “What?? He doesn’t have a red cent!”

- If an NPI idiom is used with *não₃*, the idiomatic meaning is lost; only the literal meaning is possible:

- (53) *Ele tem um tostão furado não₃; ele tem um inteiro!*
 he has a cent with-a-hole NEG he has one whole
 “He doesn’t have a red cent; he has a BLUE one” (i.e. literal meaning)

- Discrepancies A-D are problematic for Cavalcante’s account and, we argue, for any account that fails to distinguish $n\tilde{a}o_2$ and $n\tilde{a}o_3$.

Our proposals:

- A. While $n\tilde{a}o_2$ may be similar to nie_2 in being a high polarity-related element, $n\tilde{a}o_3$ is a different element, one which is not fully integrated into the clause structure.
 B. $N\tilde{a}o_3$ did not develop from $n\tilde{a}o_2$.

4. Afrikaans and BP final negation elements: a systematic comparison

4.1 Nie_2 and $n\tilde{a}o_2$

- These elements have similar properties:

- A. Omissibility: unlike the “real” negator, $n\tilde{a}o_2$ can be omitted without the loss of negative meaning; cf. Afrikaans (9)

(54) a. *João **nã**₁ comprou a casa **nã**₂*
 João not bought the house NEG
 “John did not buy the house”

b. *João **nã**₁ comprou a casa*
 João not bought the house
 “John did not buy the house”

- B. Modifiability: unlike the “real” negator, $n\tilde{a}o_2$ cannot be modified to reinforce its meaning; cf. Afrikaans (10)

(55) a. *Você **absolutamente** **nã**₁ está prestando atenção **nã**₂*
 you.PL absolutely not is paying attention NEG
 “You aren’t remotely paying attention”

b. **Você **nã**₁ está prestando atenção **absolutamente** **nã**₂*

- C. Stressability: unlike the “real” negator, $n\tilde{a}o_2$ cannot be stressed for emphasis (this is despite its prosodic strength – cf. (41) above); cf. Afrikaans (12)

(56) a. *Eu **NUNCA/NÃ**₁ sei o que ele está fazendo **nã**₂*
 I never not know what he is doing NEG
 “I NEVER know what he is doing/ I DON’T know what he is doing”

b. **Eu nunca/**nã**₁ sei o que ele está fazendo **NÃ**₂*

- D. Meaning contribution where it occurs optionally: unlike nie_2 , $n\tilde{a}o_2$ is always optional in the clausal context; like nie_2 when this element surfaces optionally (in non-clausal contexts), it necessarily contributes an emphatic interpretation of some sort (polarity emphasis, presupposition reinforcement, etc.)

Table 2: Summary comparison of the properties of nie_1 and $n\tilde{a}o_2$ in Afrikaans and BP

Property	<i>Nie</i> ₂	<i>não</i> ₂
1. Omission → ungrammaticality/change of meaning	NO	NO
2. Modifiability	NO	NO
3. Stressability	NO	NO
4. Additional meaning: polarity/presupposition reinforcement	YES	YES

→ *nie*₂ and *não*₂ exhibit identical behaviour, systematically differing from the “real” negator

4.2 *Não*₂ vs *não*₃

- Contrast the behaviour of *não*₂ and *não*₃:

A. Omissibility: unlike *nie*₂ and *não*₂, *não*₃ can't be omitted (like *nie*₁ and *não*₁):

- (57) a. *João não*₁ *comprou a casa não*₂
 João not bought the house NEG
 “John did not buy the house”
 b. *João não*₁ *comprou a casa*
 c. *João comprou a casa não*₃
 d. **João comprou a casa* (in the sense “John did not buy the house”)

B. Modifiability: like *nie*₂ and *não*₂, *não*₃ can't be modified (unlike *nie*₁ and *não*₁)

- (58) a. *Você absolutamente não*₁ *está prestando atenção não*₂
 you absolutely not is paying attention NEG
 “You aren't remotely paying attention”
 b. **Você não*₁ *está prestando atenção absolutamente não*₂
 c. **Você está prestando atenção absolutamente não*₃

C. Stressability: like *nie*₂ and *não*₂, *não*₃ can't be stressed (unlike *nie*₁ and *não*₁)

- (59) a. *Eu NUNCA/NÃO*₁ *sei o que ele está fazendo não*₂
 I never not know what he is doing NEG
 “I NEVER know what he is doing/ I DON'T know what he is doing”
 b. **Eu nunca/não*₁ *sei o que ele está fazendo NÃO*₂
 c. **Eu sei o que ele está fazendo NÃO*₃

D. Meaning contribution: like *nie*₂ and *não*₂, *não*₃ contributes “extra” meaning (presupposition reinforcement); unlike *nie*₂ and *não*₂, it does so in the absence of a further “real” negator.

Table 3: Summary comparison of the properties of *não*₂ and *não*₃ in BP

Property	<i>não</i> ₂	<i>não</i> ₃
1. Omission → ungrammaticality/change in meaning	NO	YES
2. Modifiability	NO	NO
3. Stressability	NO	NO
4. Additional meaning: presupposition reinforcement	YES	NO

→ $n\tilde{a}o_2$ and $n\tilde{a}o_3$ don't exhibit identical behaviour; in terms of omissibility, $n\tilde{a}o_3$ exhibits behaviour very similar to the “real” negator, although $n\tilde{a}o_3$ clearly doesn't serve in the same range of negation contexts as this negator.

- Cavalcante (2007) proposes $n\tilde{a}o_2$ and $n\tilde{a}o_3$ are similar to the pro-sentence (*pro-frase*) $n\tilde{a}o$ (i.e. the anaphoric negator) since these elements, like anaphoric $n\tilde{a}o$, also have the function of contradicting a presupposition inferable from the discourse (60a,b):

- (60) Q: *Ah, estou vendo, você comprou a casa*
 ah am seeing you.PL bought the house
 “Ah, I see you bought the house, after all”
- a. A: *Não, eu não₁ comprei a casa não₂!*
 no I not bought the house NEG
 “No, I didn't buy the house after all”
- b. A: *Não, comprei a casa não₃!*
 no bought.1SG the house NEG
 “No, I didn't buy the house after all”

- It is, however, only $n\tilde{a}o_3$ that is restricted to matrix clauses in the way anaphoric negators more generally are as a consequence of their occupying CP-structure not projected in embedded clauses (cf. i.a. Poletto 2008). Why would $n\tilde{a}o_2$ not be restricted in this way?
- Our proposal: $n\tilde{a}o_2$ and $n\tilde{a}o_3$ in fact derive from different sources:
 - $n\tilde{a}o_2$ is a genuine concord element, lexicalising a Pol-head in a way similar to that Afrikaans nie_2 does, i.e. it's fully integrated with the clausal spine (cf. Laka 1994)
 - $n\tilde{a}o_3$ is not a concord element; it's related to the anaphoric negator, which isn't fully integrated with the clausal spine (cf. Zanuttini's (1997) NO)

4.3 On the nature and origins of $n\tilde{a}o_3$ in BP

Key claim: $N\tilde{a}o_3$ is synchronically a non-integrated element with its origins in the anaphoric negator, $n\tilde{a}o$.

- The idiom facts (cf. (51, 52)) follow directly if $n\tilde{a}o_3$ is an anaphoric negator since these elements cannot license NPIs:
- (61) a. **No, I drink anything/a drop*
 b. *No, I don't drink anything/ a drop*
- (62) a. **Nee, ek het enige boeke/'n bloue duit nie₂*
 no I have any books/ a blue ducat NEG
- b. *Nee, ek het nie₁ enige boeke/'n bloue duit nie₂*
 no I have not any books a blue ducat NEG
 “No, I don't have any books/a red cent”

- More generally, negative elements which aren't normally integrated in the sentence exhibit the same sort of behaviour. Consider, scalar *g'n* in Afrikaans (cf. section 2.3 above) when it is emphasized, constituting its own prosodic phrase (*G'N*):

(63) *Ek het G'N 'n bloue duit nie₂ (Ek het 'n GROENE!)*
 I have NO a blue ducat NEG I have a GREEN
 "I DON'T have a red cent; I have a GREEN one!"

[But: *Ek het G'N nie₁ 'n bloue duit nie₂; ek het HORDES geld!*
 I have NO not a blue ducat NEG; I have heaps money
 "I DON'T not have a red cent; I have HEAPS of money!"

where *nie₁* licenses the NPI idiom in the usual manner]

This case is parallel to:

(64) a. *I don't have money for a bean* (i.e. I don't have money for anything)
 b. *I DON'T/do NOT have money for a bean* (only literal interpretation)

- *G'N*'s failure to license NPIs like *bloue duit* seems to follow from the more generally observed fact that focused elements are removed from their usual scopal domain – cf. also cases like:

(65) a. *I ain't done nothin'* [NC variety of English]
 "I haven't done anything"

b. *I AIN'T done nothin'*
 "I HAVEN'T done nothing", i.e. there is something I've done

(66) a. *Niemand gee niks nie₂* [Afrikaans B]
 no-one gives nothing NEG
 "No-one gives anything"

b. *Niemand gee NIKS nie₂*
 no-one gives NOTHING NEG
 "There's no-one who gives NOTHING"

(67) A: *No-one likes John*
 B: *JOHN likes John*

(Focus seems to permit subject DP *John* not to bind object DP *John* in the usual manner; thereby voiding the expected Principle C violation)

[Parenthetical elements exhibit similar types of non-integrated behaviour (cf. Zwart 2006). Similarly, Nunes (2004) proposes Copy+Move (and Sideward Movement) operations, which combine elements coming from distinct derivations into one single syntactic object.]

- The behaviour of anaphoric negators in BP – which differs strikingly from that in EP – strongly suggests anaphoric *não* as the source for *não₃*

On anaphoric elements in BP

- De Oliveira (2000): data from 20th century corpora on BP feature two kinds of short answer for *yes/no* questions, depending whether the question has narrow or wide scope.
 - For short answers with **narrow scope**, BP only allows the copula *é/foi* (“is, was”) for positive answers or *não* (no”) for negative answers:

Positive answers:

- (68) Q: *Você leu este livro (em vez daquele)?*
you read this book instead of that
“Did you read this book (as opposed to that one)?”
A: *É.*
is
“Yes.”

Negative answers:

- (69) Q: *Você leu este livro (em vez daquele)?*
you read this book instead of that
“Did you read this book (as opposed to that one)?”
A: *Não.*
no
“No.”

- Where the *yes/no* question has **wide scope**, the only possibilities are:
 - (i) repetition of the verb only for positive answers (as in Latin, cf. i.a. de Oliveira 2000, Battlori & Hernandez 2008) or repetition of the verb + *sim* (70c)
 - (ii) use of *não* for the negative, or **in the northern varieties, repetition of the verb+não** (cf. (71b)).

Positive answers:

- (70) Q: *Você tem muitas dívidas?*
you have many debts
“Do you have many debts?”
A: a. *Tenho.*
have.1SG
‘Yes’
b. **Tenho muitas dívidas*
have many debts
“I have many debts”
c. *Tenho, sim*
have.1SG
“I do, indeed.”

Negative answers:

- (71) Q: *Você tem muitas dívidas?*
you have many debts
“Do you have many debts?”
A: a. *Não.*
no – “No.”

- b. *Tenho não*
 have.1SG not
 “I do not”

Our proposal: *não*₃ originates from short answers like (71b), which parallel those available in the positive context (cf. (70c)). The structures in (71b) aren't available in Standard BP and, as such, can't be the source for *não*₂.

- Crucially, *não*₃ is not a **pro-sentence negation element** (Battlori & Hernanz (2008) and references cited therein), which exhibits very different properties and appears to have played a role in the rise of *não*₂

4.4 On the nature and origins of *não*₂ in BP

Key claim: *Não*₂ is synchronically a fully integrated element with its origins in the pro-sentence negator, *não*.

- Pro-sentence *sim* and *não* in standard BP:

- (72) *João vai comprar a casa?*
 João go buy.INF the house
 “Is João going to buy the house?”
 a. *Acho que sim*
 think that yes
 “I think so.”
 b. *Acho que não*
 I-think that no
 “I think not.”/ “I think he isn't.”

- This type of pro-sentence is also available in other Romance languages ((73); and see Laka's 1994 SigmaP); but not in Germanic (74):

- (73) a. *Acho que sim/não*₂ [Standard BP]
 I-think that yes/ no
 “I think so/not”
 b. *Creo que sí/ no* [Spanish]
 I-believe that yes/no
 “I believe so/not”
 c. *Penso di sì/ non* [Italian]
 I-think of yes no
 “I think so/not”
- (74) a. **Ich glaube dass/von nein* [German]
 I believe that of no
 b. **Ik denk dat/ van nee* [Dutch, H. Zeijlstra p.c.]
 I think that of no

c. **Ek dink dat/ van nie*
I think that of no

[Afrikaans]

- How this relates to $n\tilde{a}o_2$:
 - structures containing this “extra” element necessarily involve polarity emphasis (natural in emphatic negation and presuppositional contexts)
 - neutral structures feature a Pol-head – at the top of the TP-domain (cf. (75) and i.a. Laka 1994, Batllori & Hernandez 2008²) – that simply Agrees with the negative contained in the clause (in its c-command domain); this Pol-head is spelled out as zero; the same is true for affirmatives
 - non-neutral structures feature a Pol-head that both Agrees with the negative contained in the clause and triggers movement of its complement to its specifier (cf. Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts 2007, 2009; cf. Batllori & Hernanz 2008 for similar proposals in the Catalan context)

(75) ForceP > TopicP > FocP > FinP > **PolP** > TP

(76) Q: *O João comprou a casa?*
the John bought the house
“Has John bought the house?”

A: a. *Ele disse que [PolP $n\tilde{a}o_2$]*
he said that no
“He said he didn’t”

b. Simple negative:
Ele disse que [PolP [TP num/ $n\tilde{a}o_1$ comprou]]
he said that not.CL not bought
“He said he didn’t”

c. Emphatic negative:
Ele disse que [PolP [TP num/ $n\tilde{a}o_1$ comprou] $n\tilde{a}o_2$ <TP>]
he said that not.CL not bought NEG
“He said he did not”

- The idiom facts (51-52) are readily accounted for under this proposal:

(77) *Acho que [PolP [TP ela num tem um tostão furado] $n\tilde{a}o_2$ <TP>]*
I-think that she not.CL has a cent with-a-hole NEG
“I think that she doesn’t have a red cent”

4.5 Conclusions regarding the nature of $n\tilde{a}o_2$ and $n\tilde{a}o_3$ in BP

- The two $n\tilde{a}os$ that may surface clause-finally in BP are distinct lexical elements, with distinct origins, which are consequently merged in distinct syntactic positions.

² Laka (1994) raises the possibility of parametric variation in respect of the placement of PolP, suggesting that it may surface within the IP- or CP-domains. Strikingly, if Biberauer (2008c) is correct, PolP appears to be available as the highest head in a range of structures (IP, CP, vP, PP, DP, AP, etc.).

- The northern BP (5b)-type structures do not derive from the optional (5a)-type BP structures.
- The prediction in (39) is not, despite initial appearances, falsified by BP.

5. Conclusion and further questions

- Although Afrikaans and BP at first sight seem to have very similar negation systems, they are developing in quite different ways.
- Neither are progressing through JC in the way one might traditionally expect, i.e. NEG₂ isn't becoming a new "real" negator (NEG₃) in (dialects of) either language.
- Biberauer's (2009) Afrikaans-based prediction (39) that languages which draw on "high" elements to serve as reinforcing concord elements will not see these elements being reanalyzed as "real" (simple) negators is not falsified by BP.
- What the study of the Afrikaans and BP facts highlight:
 - the importance of going beyond a **linear** interpretation of JC in order to obtain a finer-grained understanding of this Cycle and the factors that play a role in it; hierarchical considerations appear to be very relevant, despite the fact that they are not traditionally considered.
 - the importance of recognizing the fact that languages employ non-JC-related reinforcement strategies and that negative developments in this domain may draw on superficially very similar lexical resources to those involved in JC, with the result that it is not necessarily always so easy to distinguish the two (cf. the case of BP).
- Some future questions:
 - The precise origins of *nie*₂ in Afrikaans: closer study of BP shows that the two options suggested by Roberge (2000) – cf. (22a,b) – are not equivalent: *ne* in (a) might be similar to the element that gave rise to *nã*₂ whereas *nee* suggests an anaphoric negator for *nie*₂, which might lead us to expect more parallelisms with *nã*₃
 - The precise origins of *nã*₂ in BP – could this be the tag element *ne*? (cf. also Afrikaans)
 - The precise position occupied by *nã*₃ and how it, and anaphoric elements more generally, are integrated into clause structure. Since they necessarily surface peripherally, proposals like those of Nunes (2004) and Zwart (2006, 2009) seem promising.
 - Beyond Afrikaans and BP:
 - Other languages with final or initial negators that seem to have developed out of initial concord elements?

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APPENDIX: The Final-Over-Final Constraint (FOFC)

For papers relating to research on this seemingly universal phrase-structure constraint, see <http://research.ncl.ac.uk/linearization/index.php>.

(1) The Final-Over-Final Constraint (FOFC)

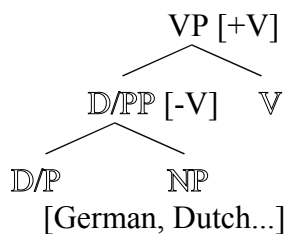
If α is a head-initial phrase and β is a **categorially identical** phrase immediately dominating α , then β must be head-initial. If α is a head-final phrase, and β is a **categorially identical** phrase immediately dominating α , then β can be head-initial or head-final.

(cf. Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts 2007/BHR)

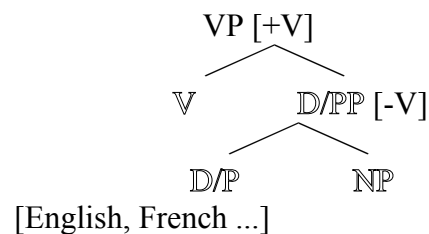
Thus:

- structures in which a verbal phrase dominates a nominal one are predicted to occur in all 4 possible permutations (harmonic initial/final and disharmonic initial-over-final and final-over-initial):

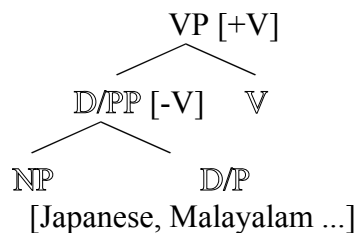
(2) a.



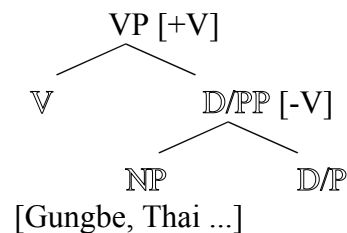
b.



c.

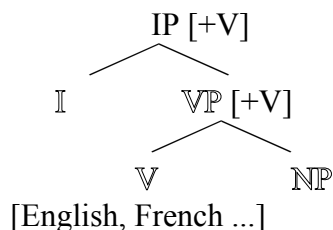


d.

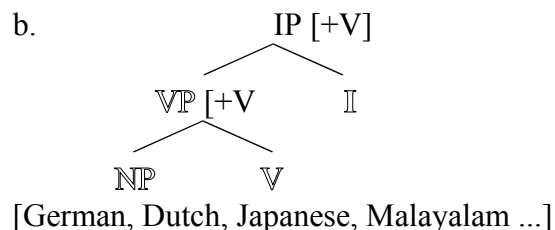


- structures in which the dominating and dominated categories are categorially the same are predicted to exhibit an asymmetry: while both harmonic options are available as before, only one of the disharmonic options is – initial-over-final is fine (cf. (3c)), but final-over-initial isn't (cf. (3d)):

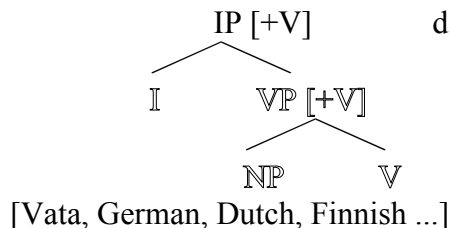
(3) a.



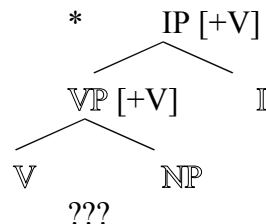
b.



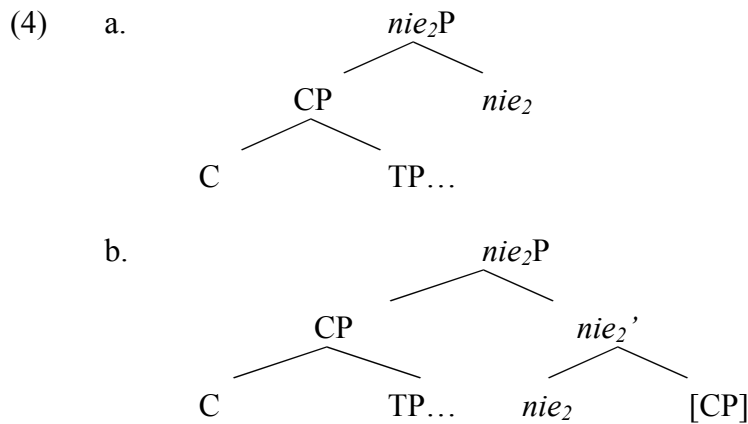
c.



d.



Why Afrikaans could be problematic from a FOFC perspective: they have a high concord-element-containing head-final phrase, which dominates head-initial structure:



[where CP is in Spec-*nie*₂P and [CP] indicates the copy of the moved CP]

Note that the final-over-initial ban holds regardless of the type of analysis proposed for these structure: FOFC rules out final-over-initial independently of whether the underlying structure involves a base-generated head-final phrase as in (4a) or a Kaynian movement-generated head-final phrase as in (4b).

BP would then be problematic for similar reasons: on the analysis proposed here, *nã*₂ would (superficially) violate FOFC in the same way as Afrikaans *nie*₂ (clause structure is uniformly initial in BP); *nã*₃, in turn, would violate FOFC by virtue of its being an even higher final element, dominating head-initial structure.

If these negation elements are (a) a-categorial and or (b) not properly integrated into the structure, as we argue for Afrikaans *nie*₂ and BP *nã*₂, and BP *nã*₃ respectively, these elements cease to be problematic from a FOFC perspective:

- a-categorial elements are categorially distinct from the phrases they dominate
- unintegrated elements don't dominate the initial structure in the manner barred by FOFC

From a FOFC perspective, then, we predict VO languages with a-categorial or unintegrated final negation elements to be attested. There are many SVO-Neg languages (cf. Dryer 2006 for recent discussion): what remains to be seen is whether the final Negs in all of these cases are either a-categorial or unintegrated.