Non-intrinsically negative (scalar) negation in Gallo
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As extensively known, previous investigation on n-words (negative words) across Romance languages has been broadly discussed and analyzed (cf. Corblin & al. 2004). However, one challenge that prevails is whether they are inherently negative expressions (Zanuttini 1991, Déprez 2003, Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991, de Swart 2002) or Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) – namely, indefinites licensed under the scope of negation (Laka 1990, Giannakidou 1997).

This study presents evidence which will contribute to the literature of n-words in Romance languages. To accomplish so, we examined and analyzed primary fieldwork from Gallo on negation, mainly the distribution of sentential negation (pas) + aqoun (no one) in Gallo. Gallo is an endangered regional language of the Oïl family (like French), spoken in Upper Brittany, extending over Côtes-d’Armor, Ile-et-Vilaine, Morbihan and Northern Loire-Atlantique. I base the discussion here on the SYMILA project (Syntactic Micro-variation in Romance languages of France), Deriano (2005) and Robin (2010).

We adopted the view in which Gallo’s counterpart n-word ‘aucun’ (no one) in French is not its cognate ‘aqoun’ but rather ‘pas aqoun’. I demonstrate the presence of two patterns. For Pattern I, ‘pas’ occurring with an n-word is not only marking morphological negation, but it also provides the scalarity feature found in minimizers and NPIs. Pattern II looks, however, to perform as French, i.e. that is aqoun possess a scalarity and a negative feature.

**Pattern I**

(1) \[ Y \ a \ pas \ aqoun \ bonome \ de \ fort \ come \ li. \quad \text{(Robin 2010)} \]

There have not (no)one man of strong as he.

‘No one is as strong as he is.’

**Pattern II**

(2) \[ \text{Aqoun garçâille ne joue dans la pièce.} \quad \text{(Robin 2010)} \]

(no)one children NE play in the room

‘No children play in the room.’

Our primary aim is to explore the internal nature of pas aqoun using the approaches where Polarity Items (PIs) have a strong scalar feature [+r] (Chierchia (2013), Espinal (2014)). Diachronically French pas (‘not’) was associated with motion verbs, showing minimal or no motion (Rooryck 2017). Thus, French pas started as a minimizer who shifted from the noun meaning ‘step’ to a functional operator ‘not’ (Garzonio&Poletto 2008). I defend the idea that Gallo pas still has minimizer properties. Namely, it has a scalarity feature who triggers scalar alternatives over the plain indefinite aqoun and activating obligatorily its domain alternatives and creating a domain widening. The first compelling evidence to support pas as non-intrinsically negative comes from its presence in the scope of the antimorphic operator ‘without’ who checks out the [uNeg] feature of pas aqoun giving rise to a Negative Concord reading (i.e., when multiple negative expressions semantically express a single negation). The second evidence that reinforces the scalarity property of pas comes from its presence in non-veridical contexts such as yes/no questions.

(3) \[ \text{Marie coupe des grains sans pas aqoun à l’êide.} \quad \text{(Becerra-Zita 2017)} \]

Mary cut some grains without not (no)one to her.help

‘Mary harvests without anyone’s help.’

(4) \[ Y’a \ pas \ persone ? \quad \text{(Becerra-Zita 2017)} \]

There has not (no)person

‘Is anyone/someone there?’

These results support a non-intrinsically negative (scalar) pas that, when combined with a plain indefinite, it
forces domain widening which needs the proper negative operator to license its non-interpretable negative feature. The empirical findings in this study extend our knowledge of negation as it provides additional evidence regarding NPIs composition and licensing.

SELECTED REFERENCES: