

Bipartite Negation in Nduindui: Underlying Structures and Movements*

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This paper presents novel data regarding bipartite negation *he tea* in Nduindui, and its interaction with other clausal elements. A syntactic analysis is proposed to account for the attested patterns, where it is argued that *he* is the head of NegP and *tea* is the head of PolP. The NegP is present between the TP and the vP, and the PolP is in the left periphery. The surface orders are derived through movement of CP to SpecPolP, which is motivated by an EPP feature present in Pol⁰. The paper also provides a syntactic account on why the standard declarative negation *he tea* cannot be used to negate imperatives, where another negator *hatu* must be used. It is suggested that this difference falls out from a syntactic difference between the *he tea* and *hatu*: while *he* and *tea* are heads, *hatu* is adverbial negation adjoined to VP.

1. Introduction

Nduindui is the exonym for a language spoken on the island of Ambae, Vanuatu (Ambae is also referred to as Aoba, Omba, and Leper's Island by older sources), of the Northern Vanuatuan linkage (Lynch, Ross, & Crowley, 2002). Nduindui is also the place name referring to a particular Western Ambae district shown in Figure 1; as well as the word for 'ant' in the language.

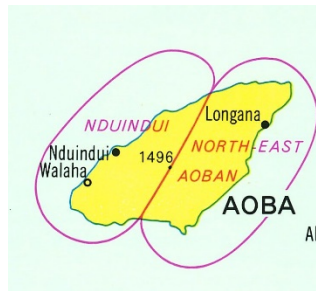


Figure 1: The island of Ambae, split into West and Eastern language regions labelled 'Nduindui' and 'North-East Aoban' respectively.

Wurm & Hattori (eds.). 1983. *Language Atlas of the Pacific Area*. Canberra: Australian National University.

Description of the language situation on Ambae has remained relatively sparse, and is described differently within different literature. Most commonly the island is split into two broad language

* The transcription style within this paper uses a standard Oceanic vowel inventory; [a, e, i, o, u]. One /r/ phoneme has been assumed, which is produced variably, but has been transcribed consistently as [r] for readability. The language's common systems of prenasalisation and labialisation have been transcribed as consonant sequences for the same reason. Standard IPA transcription of all other consonants has been followed. Special thanks must go to our consultant for sharing their language with us. We are grateful for their contributions and patience; all errors are our own.

¹ The contribution of the authors is equal, names are listed alphabetically.

‘regions’, as above, where often the lower west side (above called Nduindui) is labelled as the West-Ambae language and the larger north-east section is referred to as the Ambae language (see Tryon 1976, Hyslop 1998 & François et al. 2015). The language of the island of Ambae has received little documentation; Hyslop’s 1998 descriptive thesis of Lolovoli, a language/dialect spoken in the North-East Ambae region, provides the most recent description of any Ambae language, as well as the most detailed breakdown of that region’s dialects. Nduindui, or West Ambae, has received comparatively little description or discussion.²

The goal of this paper is to explore negation in Nduindui, drawing out empirical generalizations regarding negation and the clause structure in the language. Within the wide range of Vanuatuan languages, negation is a topic that has received a great deal of attention. Many of the more thoroughly described Vanuatuan languages, of a variety of linkages and sub-groupings, employ multiple forms of negation in contrastive distribution to one another, where the differentiating quality is tense, aspect, or mood (see Early 1994, Hovdhaugen & Mosel 1999, Budd 2010, & François, in prep.). Nduindui shares an interesting feature with many of its neighbours: consistently exhibiting discontinuous bipartite negation, where the two negators *he* and *tea* encircle verbal material. This paper presents novel data regarding negation in Nduindui and its interaction with other elements in the clause like tense and aspect. Empirical generalizations are formed from the attested patterns of negation, and a syntactic analysis is then put forward to best capture the empirical facts. More specifically, it is proposed that each of the two negators in the bipartite negation of the language is a head of a functional projection. One of the negators, *he*, is the head of NegP, which is present between TP and vP. The other negator *tea* is the head of PolP (Polarity Phrase) which is located higher in the clause structure, in the left periphery. The surface order of elements is derived by movement of CP to SpecPolP, a movement which is triggered by the EPP feature present in the PolP (similar to analysis proposed for Afrikaans negative concord in Oosthuizen 1998 and Biberauer 2006, 2007).

The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, the empirical patterns regarding negation and other elements of the clause are presented. Section 3 discusses the possible structural analysis for negation in the language. It is argued in Section 3.1 that a French style analysis of bipartite negation (following Pollock 1989) cannot be extended to capture the Nduindui facts, and our alternate proposal designed to capture the negation patterns attested in Nduindui is detailed Section 3.2. Section 4 discusses a different paradigm, namely imperatives, where it is observed that the standard negators *he tea* cannot be used as a strategy for negation. Instead, a different form of negation, *hatu*, is adopted to negate imperative constructions. We propose that while *he* and *tea* are heads, *hatu* is adverbial negation adjoined to VP. We adopt an affix-hopping analysis to explain why imperatives cannot be negated with *he tea*, but can be negated with *hatu*. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Empirical patterns: Standard Negation

Following Miestamo’s 2005 definition of ‘Standard Negation’ to mean a language’s basic or default strategy through which clausal negation of a declarative main verb is achieved, Nduindui’s standard negation strategy involves two discontinuous negative markers, both of which are

² Whether what we refer to as Nduindui here represents a single language, a dominant dialect, or one language within a continuum remains unclear. The endonym used by speakers of the language or dialect discussed within refers to a specific village within the broader Nduindui district; again the extent to which this refers to a specific dialect of Nduindui, or Nduindui as a whole is unclear.

obligatory. This is illustrated in (1) – (3). Nduindui is an SVO language, with tense and aspect marking appearing most often preverbally. The two discontinuous morphemes which make up the marking of negation encircle the entire VP, including any relevant object. In (1) and (2) the negative markers are seen to encircle just an intransitive verb. In contrast, in (3), the negative markers can be seen to encircle the verb and the object.

- (1) aia u he maturu tea
 3SG AGR NEG sleep NEG
 ‘He is not sleeping.’
- (2) a taŋaloi he kankani tea
 DET man NEG RED.eat NEG
 ‘The man is not eating/The man did not eat.’
- (3) a taŋaloi he kani na mango tea
 DET man NEG eat DET mango NEG
 ‘The man didn’t eat/isn’t eating the mango.’

That is, under the standard assumption that the verb and object together forms a constituent, the verb phrase (VP), standard negation in Nduindui is seen to encircle the entire verb phrase. Both the negative markers involved in this process, the preverbal *he* and the post-VP *tea*, are obligatory. The omission of either one is judged ungrammatical by the speaker in judgment tasks.³ This is illustrated in (4) – (8), where the negated clause in (5) is ungrammatical if either one of the negative markers is omitted, as shown in (6) and (7), and is also ungrammatical if only the verb rather than entire verb phrase is negated, as shown in (8).

- (4) John tai na kambu
 J cut DET fire
 ‘John cut the firewood’
- (5) John he tai na kambu tea
 J NEG cut DET fire NEG
 ‘John didn’t cut the firewood’
- (6) * John he tai na kambu
 J NEG cut DET fire
- (7) * John tai na kambu tea
 J cut DET fire NEG
- (8) * John he tai tea na kambu
 J NEG cut NEG DET fire

When seen in conjunction with tense and aspect marking, the structural nature and position of these negative markers becomes even more clear. As previous translations provided for (2) and (3) suggest, the interpretation of tense in Nduindui discourse is often reliant on more than overt marking. Structures with no overt tense marking may be interpreted as occurring in the present, or the past. Overt tense marking is however present in the language, and can be used to refer to specific past and future tenses. Aspect marking is also present in the progressive marker, *tuku*. We will now examine the relative order of these overt tense and aspect markers with respect to the negation items. Preverbal future tense marking is seen to remain pre-negation—outside the scope

³ The speaker has produced such occurrences in fast speech, but judges those utterances as speech error in retrospect.

of the negative markers encircling the VP, as in (9) and (10). In contrast, the aspect marker in (11), appears to be part of the VP, positioned within the two encircling negative markers.

- (9) aia ne he ϕ aluk na mbuk tea
 3SG FUT NEG read DET book NEG
 ‘She will not read the book.’
- (10) aia ϕ ai ne he ϕ aluk na mbuk tea
 3SG FUT FUT NEG read DET book NEG
 ‘She will not read the book.’⁴
- (11) aia he tuku kaukau tea
 3SG NEG PROG RED.fishing NEG
 ‘She doesn’t go fishing.’

Several generalisations can thus be made from our data so far. First, the two discontinuous negative markers *he* and *tea* encircle the entire VP. Second, both markers are obligatory. Third, this negative marking encircles pre-verbal aspect markers along with the rest of the VP, while preverbal tense marking remains outside. Following these generalisations about the structure of Nduindui standard negation, the abstracted word order in (12) can therefore be understood as the basic structure of the Nduindui sentence:

- (12) Subject Tense Neg Aspect Verb Object Neg

Given these generalisations, the issue becomes how we can structurally represent the negation occurring in the language, while accounting for the surface ordering in (12). This is what we take up in the next section.

3. Structural Analysis

3.1. Bipartite negation as a single NegP

Perhaps the most frequently discussed analysis of bipartite negation can be found in Pollock 1989 for French (also see Rowlett 1993 & 1998, Belletti 1990, Ouhalla 1990), and it is worth considering if their analyses can be extended to account for the patterns exhibited by the bipartite negation in Nduindui. The core idea in these analyses of French negation is that despite the presence of two (surface) negative items, there is only one projection (a NegP) hosting both. The facts of French which motivate this analysis remain however, markedly different from Nduindui, and we argue that attempting to extend such an analysis to Nduindui results in several issues. We discuss this below, starting with the premise for the analysis of French negation.

⁴ The presence of multiple future tense markers provides a more distal future reading. The two future tense markers present in Nduindui, *ϕ ai* and *neri* (and its shortened form *ne*), appear both alongside one another and separately from one another in our data. The extent to which the two markers are different, and the specific semantics of the future tense reading provided by each one, and by their combination, has been beyond the scope of our investigation, but remains a potential future avenue to further understanding the behaviour of TAM markers in the language. The most distal future tense available involves both preverbal future tense markers, and a post-verbal lexical item *he tea randuŋa*, literally meaning ‘not yet’. Structures involving post-verbal *he tea randuŋa* are also used in past tense negative contexts, where they are often preferred over the standard post-verbal past tense marker *mba*.

An analysis of French negation with one NegP, which is hosting both *ne* and *pas*, aims to capture the empirical facts of French negation as well as the structural relationship between the two negative items. In Modern (spoken) French, the negative particle *ne* is not obligatory, and is often ‘dropped’ from the expression of negation in finite clauses:

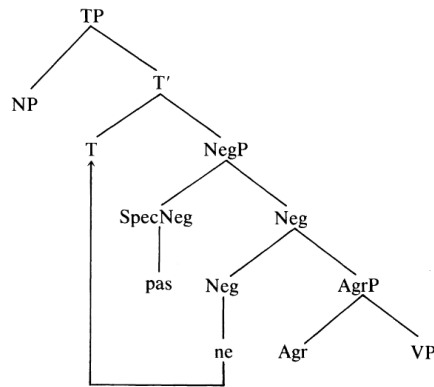
(13)

- a. Jean *ne* voit *pas* Marie
 John NEG see NEG Mary
 ‘John doesn’t see Mary.’
- b. Jean voit *pas* Marie
 John see NEG Mary
 ‘John doesn’t see Mary.’
- c. *Jean *ne* voit Marie
 John NEG see Mary

(French, Bell, 2004)

The negative marker *pas* can therefore be used to express negation by itself, as in (13b). In contrast, deletion of *pas*, and the sole use of *ne* to express negation is ungrammatical, as in (13c). In a standard analysis of French clausal structure, *ne* is understood as occurring in the head of the NegP, while *pas* appears in the specifier position.

(14)



(French; Pollock, 1989)

Per the NEG Criterion (Haegeman & Zanuttini, 1991 & Haegeman, 1995), the two negation items are in a licensing relationship with one another:

(15) The Neg Criterion

- a. A NEG-operator must be in a Spec-head configuration with an X°
- b. An X° [NEG] must be in a Spec-head configuration with a NEG operator.

In short, the Neg° *ne* requires an (overt) negative Operator present in order to express standard verbal negation. This need is satisfied by the negative operator in the specifier position, *pas*, which in turn does not require an overt Neg° to be present, thus allowing *pas* to be used as sole negator in Modern French. This argument, with parametric variations and clausal differences has been used in analysis of a variety of other languages with multiple negative markers, such as West Flemish (Haegeman & Zanuttini, 1991), German and Dutch (Haegeman, 1995), varieties of Arabic

(Ouhalla, 2002), and at varying times Afrikaans (Haegeman 1995, cf. Oosthuizen 1998 & Bell 2004). It could be assumed, therefore, that the pre-existing foundation of these arguments, namely the single projection hosting two negative markers, could be used as well in an analysis of Nduindui.

One major empirical difference between the bipartite negation in Nduindui and French is that in Nduindui, both negative markers are always obligatory. The foundational issue in attempting to extend a French style analysis to Nduindui is immediately clear. Unlike in languages like French, there is no empirical evidence in Nduindui that one of the two negative markers is ‘dominant’ in any capacity, can negate by itself without the other, and could therefore be posited as the negative operator, the head of the NegP, or both. An analysis with one phrase hosting both of the negative markers must assume a structural difference between the negative marker in the specNegP position and the marker in the Neg^o. An expansion of such an analysis to the extent of the Neg-Criterion furthers this assumption of a structural relationship between the two negative markers, whereby one requires feature checking from the other, which is an operator. Again, in the Nduindui data, no distributional evidence would support either of these arguments as a way to understand the structure of the language’s negation, as both *he* and *tea* are obligatory. The two Nduindui markers of negation both resemble French *ne* in that they each require the presence of another negative item in order to achieve negation.

If we were still to use a single NegP analysis to try and represent the Nduindui negative, a variety of issues are present for each possibility. In Nduindui the entire VP appears between the two negative markers. In the French analysis, movement of the verb to the head position of the NegP allows for the correct surface ordering of *ne V pas O*. In order to correctly predict the *he V O tea* ordering of Nduindui, phrasal movement of the entire VP to the specifier of the NegP must be argued, rather than head movement. This changes the proposed position of each negative item. In order to produce the correct surface order, there are only two possible structures which can be argued for.

First, we could argue that the surface ordering of *he* and *tea* also reflects their underlying order in relation to one another (i.e. *he* appearing to the left of *tea*), and that *he* is therefore in the SpecNegP position, while *tea* is base generated in the Neg^o position. Because the entire VP appears between the two negative markers, we must then propose phrasal movement of the VP to the specifier of the NegP. Like in the French analysis of *ne*, we must then argue that *he* has some sort of prefix or clitic quality which motivates a non-standard movement and adjoining of the VP to occur post *he*. This would be a non-empirically motivated assumption in Nduindui.

The second possibility would involve *he* being base generated in the Neg^o position, while *tea* appears in the specifier. Phrasal movement of the VP into that specifier would create a VO *tea he* ordering. This would then require movement of the marker in the head position, as in French, in order for *he* to appear preverbally. However, in Nduindui no empirical evidence appears to motivate such a movement. In the French analysis, verb movement into the left periphery is obligatory in finite clauses, in order for verbs to receive tense. Recall that the verb movement into the Negative Phrase in French was head movement, obligatorily taking place as the verb moves past the NegP to an IP/TP in order to receive tense. It is for this reason that the two negative items in French do appear adjacent to one other preverbally in infinitive verbal clauses; no requirement for tense motivates the movement of the verb into the NegP as it moves left. In Nduindui, there is no such tense requirement, and nothing motivating a further movement out of the Negative Phrase

into the left periphery for verbs (of any kind) to receive tense or aspect.⁵ The first stage of this analysis would therefore predict the incorrect surface word order, while the second stage would require a movement for which we find no well-founded motivation.

It is for these reasons that we argue an analysis involving a single projection hosting both negative markers cannot effectively explain the Nduindui data; and instead propose that the negative markers *he* and *tea* appear in two different projections.

3.2. Structural Analysis: Two projections

Having argued above that a French-style analysis of bipartite negation is not desirable to extend to Nduindui, in this section we argue that the two negators *he* and *tea* are hosted in two different functional projections. In essence, this proposal is similar to accounts that have been proposed for Negative Concord in Afrikaans (Oosthuizen 1998; Biberauer 2006, 2007). There are two negators in Afrikaans, and both of them are used together to express one semantic negation. Interestingly, the two negators bear the same phonological form: *nie*. An example of a negated sentence in Afrikaans is given in (16) below, where the two negators have been marked as *nie1* and *nie2* for ease of exposition.

- (16) ek ken nie1 dardie man nie2
 1SG know not that man not
 ‘I don’t know that man.’ (data adapted from Biberauer, 2007)

Oosthuizen (1998) and Biberauer (2006, 2007) argue that *nie1* is the true negator, and is the head of NegP. The other negator, *nie2*, is argued to be a Polarity item and is suggested to be the head of the Polarity Phrase in the left periphery of the clausal structure. Furthermore, it is argued in Biberauer 2007 (following Kandybowicz, 2006) that the PolP is associated with an EPP feature which induces clausal pied-piping, allowing an entire CP to move to SpecPolP. This movement is what derives the correct surface order of the negating elements in Afrikaans. A sample derivation is illustrated below for the negated sentence in (17):

- (17) ek kan sien [dat jy nie1 verstaan nie2]
 1SG can see that 2SG not understand not
 ‘I can see that you don’t understand.’ (data adapted from Biberauer, 2007)

The underlying form (the D-structure) of the relevant embedded clause in (17) is given in (18) below, following Oosthuizen’s 1998 proposal that *nie1* is head of NegP, while *nie2* is the head of PolP.

⁵ There is also a further empirical contrast: in French *ne* and *pas* do appear directly adjacent to one another in some contexts, such as in infinitive clauses. This supports an analysis of the two items as structurally adjacent to one another. In the Nduindui data, *he* and *tea* appear directly adjacent to one another in only two other contexts. The first is equational clauses: ‘*John he tea tǎǎloi na kaukau*’ (John is not a fisherman). Nduindui has no (phonologically overt) copula verb; this sort of structure can easily be structurally analysed as containing a covert VP still present within the clause structure, and thus intervening between *he* and *tea*. The second context is the language’s negative answer word, *hetea* which means ‘no’. The syntactic structure of answer words such as ‘No’ has been argued to still be sentential; *hetea* still has clausal structure despite its surface phonological appearance as one ‘word’ (see Holmberg, 2015). All apparent instances of *he* and *tea* appearing adjacent on the surface can therefore be understood to still contain intervening clausal structure.

- (18) [_{PolP} *nie2* [_{CP} *dat* [_{TP} *jy* [_{NegP} *nie1* [_{VP} *verstaan*]]]]]

The Pol head has EPP-features that drives the movement of the entire CP to the SpecPolP. This generates the surface order of the sentence in (17), and is illustrated in (19) below.

- (19) [_{PolP} [_{CP} *dat* [_{TP} *jy* [_{NegP} *nie1* [_{VP} *verstaan*]]]] *nie2* [*t*]]
-

It is worth noting that Biberauer 2007 differs from the above Afrikaans derivation (as per Oosthuizen 1998) in one aspect, namely that she replaces the lower negation in NegP with an AdvP adjoined to VP. That is, she analyses *nie1* not as the head of NegP, but as an adverbial. One of the crucial arguments that she puts forward to argue that *nie1* is an adjunct adverbial is that this could be optional. While extending an Afrikaans-style analysis to Nduindui, one thus needs to decide if the lower negation is the head of a NegP or an adverbial adjunct. We argue that for Nduindui, an adverbial analysis for the negation is not desirable as it leads to the expectation that the adjunct negator will be optional, which is contra the empirical facts seen in Section 2.2, where both the negators *he* and *tea* are shown to be obligatory. We instead argue that the lower negation is the head of NegP in Nduindui. The details of our proposal are discussed below.

Recall that there are two negators in Nduindui, *he* and *tea*, and that both need to be obligatorily present to negate a declarative sentence. We propose that *tea* is the head of PolP, and *he* is the head of NegP. Taking into account that *he* and *tea* encircle aspect markers, but the tense markers (when present) are outside of the negators, we suggest that TP is higher than the NegP and the NegP is higher than AspectP. The PolP is higher in the structure, in the left periphery. The full hierarchy of functional projections is given in (20):

- (20) PolP > CP > TP > NegP > AspP > vP > VP

We retain the EPP feature associated with the PolP that induces clausal pied-piping, as posited by Biberauer 2007, which results in movement of the CP to SpecPolP. This is illustrated in the derivation (23) below, for the example previously given in (9), repeated below as (21):

- (21) aia ne he ϕ aluk na mbuk tea
 3SG FUT NEG read DET book NEG
 “She will not read the book.”

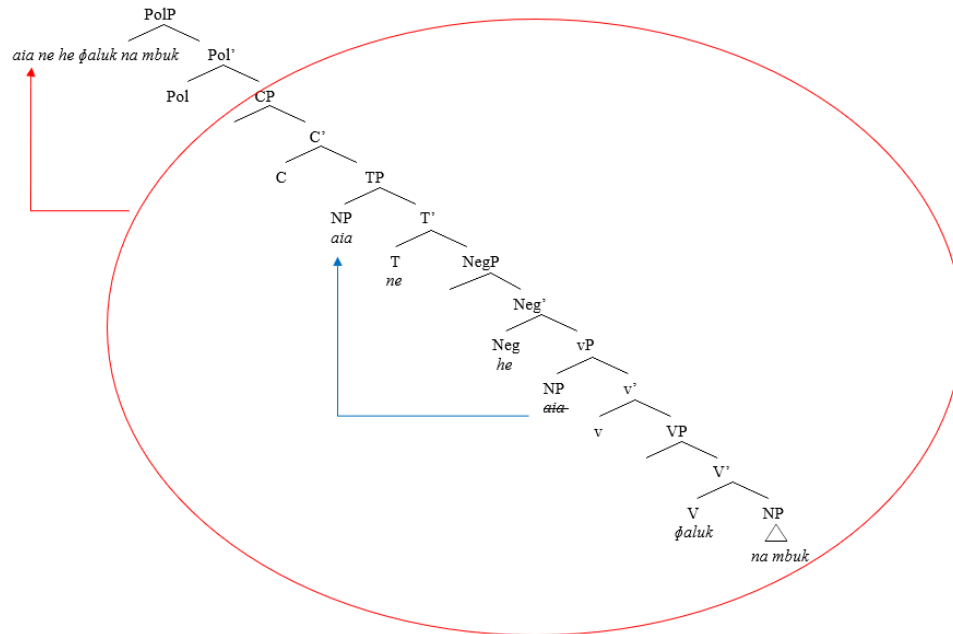
The underlying structure of the elements in (21) is given in (22).

- (22) [_{PolP} *tea* [_{CP} [_{TP} *ne* [_{NegP} *he* [_{vP} *aia* [_{VP} ϕ aluk na mbuk]]]]]]]

From the D-structure in (22), there are two movements that take place leading to the correct surface order. First, under the standard assumption of the vP-internal subject hypothesis (Koopman & Sportiche, 1991), the subject is generated in SpecvP, but it moves to SpecTP to receive Nominative

Case. Secondly, the EPP associated with PolP forces the movement of the CP to SpecPolP. These movements generate the S-structure with the correct word order as illustrated in (23):

(23)



As well as generating the correct word-order, such an analysis also easily captures the empirical fact that *he* and *tea* encircle the verb and object together. The EPP feature on PolP that forces clausal pied-piping is also preceded in Afrikaans. We therefore argue that our analysis is the best way to capture the bipartite negation in Nduindui as it quite straightforwardly captures all the empirical patterns attested in the language.⁶

Now that we have discussed the syntax of negation in declarative sentences using the two negators *he* and *tea*, we move on to the syntax of negation in a different paradigm, namely in imperatives, where *he tea* cannot be used as a negation strategy. We address the question of why *he tea* cannot be used to negate imperatives in the next section, and discuss the syntax of negation in imperatives.

4. Negation in imperatives

Nduindui exhibits a ban on ‘true negative imperatives’, meaning that imperative structures cannot be negated using the standard negation strategy described in section 2. As shown in (24), imperative structures in the language often consist of a bare verb, though subject agreement

⁶ It is perhaps pertinent to note that some negative markers are also argued to be negative operators, which carry an interpretable [INEG] feature (see Zeltstra 2006 & 2008, among others). One thus may wonder if either of *he* or *tea* is a negative operator. If only one of them is an operator, it bears an expectation that the other should be optional as seen from the cross-linguistic examples in Zeltstra 2008, which is contra empirical facts in Nduindui. We suggest that neither *he* nor *tea* is a neg-operator, and if there must be one operator, it must be a phonologically null one. The exact syntactic position of this null-operator and its relation to *he* and *tea*, however, remains outside the scope of the current paper.

markers are also optionally included. As canonical imperatives are typically understood to be commands with second person addressees (see Palmer 2001, Zanuttini 2008, & Aikhenvald 2010), the tendency for languages to exhibit null subjects in imperative structures, or for subject marking to be optional is therefore often argued as an implicit part of the nature of imperatives. The lack of overt subject pronouns, and the optionality of subject markers in Nduindui imperatives is therefore expected. The crucial point for this section is that when attempting to negate imperative structures, the use of the standard negators *he* and *tea* is ungrammatical, as shown in (25):

- (24) kankani
RED.eat⁷
'Eat!'
- (25) * he kankani tea
NEG RED.eat NEG
Intd.: 'Don't eat!'

Use of this standard negation strategy consistently results in either ungrammaticality judgments, assumptions that the sentence is intended to be read as declarative, or certain negative interrogative readings.⁸ Standard negation is therefore completely incompatible with the imperative mood in Nduindui. Instead, a different form of negation, *hatu*, is used preverbally to negate imperative structures, as in (26). As with non-negated imperatives, negative imperatives which appear with *hatu* can consist of just the relevant verb, but often surface as well with the subject agreement marker. This is indicated via the bracketed optional material in (26):

- (26) (ko) hatu kankani
(2SG.AGR) NEG RED.eat
'Don't eat!'

4.1. TNI Ban and Repair Strategies

Nduindui thus exhibits a common cross linguistic phenomenon: a ban on True Negative Imperatives (TNI, Zanuttini 1994). The TNI ban refers to the tendency for languages to disallow the use of their standard negation strategy with their standard imperative structure. This is a well-established phenomenon in many languages, and is illustrated in Spanish (27) and Greek (28) below:

- (27) a. ¡lee!
read.2SG.IMP
'Read!'
- b. *¡no lee!
NEG read.2SG.IMP

⁷ As previously seen in examples (2) and (3), verbal reduplication indicates transitivity. The reduplicated form *kankani* is used here as the intransitive; the addition of an object to the structure, as with *na mango* in (3), results in a non-reduplicated form being used. This is a consistent feature of Nduindui regardless of negation or aspectual context.

⁸ For instance: when we produced '*ko he kani ia tea*' (literally 'you not eat it not') our consultant assumed it had the reading of 'Didn't you eat it?' rather than an attempted negative command (i.e. 'Don't you eat it!'). Without the presence of the second person agreement marker *ko*, this structure was read as an incomplete negative declarative incorrectly missing the subject, and completely ungrammatical as an attempted imperative.

- Intd.: Don't read!'

c. ¡no leas!

 NEG read.2SG.SUBJ

 'Don't read!'

(Spanish; Zeijlstra, 2004)

(28) a. diavese!

 read.IMP

 'Read!'

 b. *den/mi diavese!

 NEG read.IMP

 Intd.: 'Don't read!'

 c. na mi diavazis!

 SUBJ NEG read.SUBJ

 'Don't read!'

(Greek; Bošković, 2004)

In Spanish, as in (27b), use of the negative with the imperative verb form is ungrammatical. Instead, a negative 'command' is formed using the subjunctive as a replacement verb form in (27c). The same is true in Greek, where in (28b) the use of either of the language's negative markers with the imperative verb form is ungrammatical, and instead in (28c) the subjunctive marker and subjunctive verb form must be used instead. These forms are interpreted as an imperative, but are not 'true' imperatives structurally. In both Spanish and Greek, these alternative strategies to negate an imperative are called "surrogate imperatives" where an alternate verb-form is used (Rivero 1994, Zanuttini 1994, & Zeijlstra 2004). Such alternative strategies are usually seen as repair strategies to circumvent the ban on true negative imperatives. An alternate repair strategy exhibited in other languages involves the use of a different form of negation, rather than a different verbal form. This use of "surrogate negation" as a repair strategy is seen in Hungarian (Zeijlstra, 2004), Korean (Han & Lee, 2007), and Coorgi (Bogomolets & Syed, 2022). That is, the TNI ban is repaired with a variety of language specific mechanisms, and 'Surrogate Imperative' and 'Surrogate Negation' are two types of these mechanisms.

There are however languages which do not exhibit the TNI ban, and can use standard negation to negate an imperative without needing a repair strategy (e.g. Modern Dutch, Polish, Icelandic). This is illustrated in Modern Dutch in (29) and (30), where the standard negation for Dutch declaratives, *niet*, is used to negate the imperative while the verb retains the imperative morphology.

- (29) lees het

 read.IMP it

 'Read it!'

(30) lees het niet

 read.IMP it NEG

 'Don't read it!'

(Dutch; Bogomolets & Syed, 2022)

Zanuttini (1997) and Zeijlstra (2004) draw generalizations regarding which languages will have a ban on TNIs. Zanuttini 1997 provides the generalisation in (31) for Romance:

- (31) In Romance, pre-verbal negative markers that can negate a clause by themselves do not co-occur with true imperatives; post verbal negative markers do. (Zanuttini, 1997; p 112.)

Expanding on Zanuttini's work on Romance negation, Zeijlstra 2004 posits that this phenomenon is not solely the result of ordering, and that rather it can be understood through the syntactic status of negative markers, namely that some are heads while others are not:

- (32) Only languages with a negative marker base generated in Neg^0 ban true negative imperatives. (Zeijlstra, 2004; p 165.)

Note that this generalisation does not imply bidirectionality: only a subset of languages with Neg^0 negation markers ban negative imperatives, not all, but no languages without Neg^0 negation have the TNI ban. The analysis that follows from this differentiation between types of negation cross-linguistically (head and non-head) is what is crucial in order to account for the ban on true negative imperatives. Bogomolets & Syed 2022 argue that one can make a corollary from Zeijlstra's generalisation above: if a language is seen to exhibit a ban on True Negative Imperatives, then the standard negation in that language can be understood to be head negation. Given that the standard form of negation in Nduindui cannot appear with the imperative, this further supports our analysis that the negative marker *he* is a Neg^0 . We argue that the surrogate negation form, *hatu*, which is used to negate imperatives in the language is not a head, but rather an adjunct adjoined to VP. Section 5.2 discusses the syntactic difference between head and adjunct negation which leads to this difference in imperative negation.

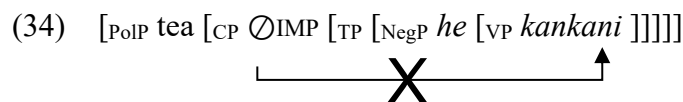
4.2. Structure of Imperatives, the TNI ban, and Affix Hopping

The analytical foundation of our understanding of imperatives adopted within follows the account of affix hopping developed by Miyoshi 2002, and further extended by Bošković (2004 & 2013). The affix hopping analysis has been expanded to include multiple languages and phenomena other than imperatives, including English's ban on negative finite verbs and subsequent do-support. The core of an Affix-Hopping analysis consists of two proposals: (i) imperatives come with a phonologically null morpheme in the left-periphery (for Miyoshi, in the C^0), and (ii) the phonologically null imperative head has a [+affix] property. The imperative affix needs to merge with V in PF under adjacency, and failure of this merge will result in the violation of the Stranded Affix Filter (Lasnik 1981, 1999). That is, Affix-Hopping is a morphophonological operation that involves merger between an affix and its host in PF under adjacency. Such a merger is blocked when the PF adjacency requirement is violated, i.e., if there is any intervening phonologically pronounced head. However, adjacency is not violated by intervening phonologically pronounced adjuncts or intervening phonologically null traces/pro (see Bobaljik 2002 for details).

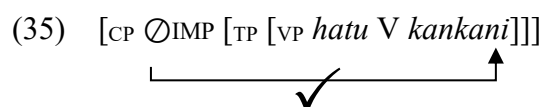
In the case of Nduindui negation, as *he* is a phonologically pronounced head of NegP, an affix hopping analysis easily provides an explanation as to why the standard negation strategy cannot be used with imperative structures. This is illustrated below. In (33), the non-negated imperative exhibits successful affix hopping between the V and the null IMP morpheme, as there is no intervening phonologically pronounced head:

- (33) $[_{CP} \emptyset_{IMP} [_{TP} [_{VP} \text{ kankani }]]]$
-

When negation of this structure is attempted using the standard strategy (*he tea*), affix hopping fails, and the merge of V and the null IMP head cannot occur at PF, because there is an intervening phonologically pronounced head present in the NegP. This results in violation of the Stranded Affix Filter and is thus ungrammatical. This is demonstrated in (34):



In contrast, non-head adjunct elements do not block affix hopping, as they do not violate adjacency (Bobaljik 1994, 2002). Under this analysis, phrasal negation adjoined directly to the VP can therefore co-occur with imperatives. It is for this reason that we conclude that the surrogate negator in Nduindui, *hatu*, appears in this position in the syntactic structure, and that affix hopping successfully takes place, as in (35):⁹



A standard affix hopping analysis of imperative structures thus allows us to account for the TNI ban present in Nduindui, and provides a structural explanation for the surrogate negative imperative that occurs instead. This phenomenon, and the Affix-Hopping account, also provides support for our analysis that in Nduindui the preverbal negative marker is a head.

5. Conclusion

The empirical contributions of this paper are attested patterns and generalizations regarding negation and its interaction with other clausal elements drawn from novel data from Nduindui. It is shown that declarative sentences are negated via bipartite negation, and that both the entire verb and object constituent is encircled between these negators *he* and *tea*. It is also shown that these standard declarative negators, however, cannot be used to negate imperatives and a different negator *hatu* is used.¹⁰ The theoretical contribution of the paper is twofold. First, a syntactic analysis is proposed to capture the negation in declaratives, where it is proposed that *he* is the head of NegP and *tea* is the head of PolP. Second, the paper provides an account why *he tea* cannot negate imperatives, and why *hatu* can. More specifically, we have argued that *hatu* is adjunct negation, and not a head. Adopting an affix-hopping analysis, we have suggested that the Imperative head needs to PF-merge with the V, and such a merger is blocked if there is a phonologically pronounced head present between the Imperative head and the V-head. Thus, *he tea* cannot be used to negate imperatives as the head of NegP, *he*, intervenes with this merger. As a form of adjunct negation, *hatu* does not block the required merger, and thus we have argued that the use of *hatu* is a repair strategy used to negate imperative structures.

⁹ Note that our proposal is that *hatu* is adjunct negation, but we are not necessarily committed to the exact location of adjunction. We have suggested that *hatu* adjoins to VP because this is what has been proposed for other adjunct negations (e.g. ‘never’ in English) but any other adjunction site will also be compatible with our analysis.

¹⁰ In the related North-East Ambae dialect, Lolovoli, the negative item *hate* is described in Hyslop 1998 as the non-verbal negator as well as the negative pro-sentence. Therefore, despite the fact no other instance of *hatu* is present in our Nduindui data, a diachronic origin of the marker is indicated by such a similar form appearing in a closely related language/dialect.

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