

# The case of Rita

Incipient expressive negation in Catalan and Spanish proper nouns?

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# **Introduction**

# Overview

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A proper noun, RITA, appears to function similarly to *negative indefinites* ( $\approx$  nobody)

- (1) a. Això s'ho creurà Rita.  
this CL.REFL=CL.DO= believe.FUT.3SG EPI

[Catalan]

'Nobody is going to believe this / There's no way I'm going to believe this' (lit. 'Rita is going to believe this').

- b. Esto se lo va a creer Rita.  
this CL.REFL= CL.DO= go.3SG to believe.INF EPI

[Spanish]

'Nobody is going to believe this / There's no way I'm going to believe this' (lit. 'Rita is going to believe this').

- c. Si segueixen així, (no) aprovarà Rita.  
if continue.3PL like.this not pass.FUT.3SG EPI

[Catalan]

'If they continue like this, nobody will pass (the exam) / they won't pass the exam.'

- Undescribed case of apparent **expressive negative indefinites** (Catalan and Spanish), henceforth **Expressive Pseudo (Negative) Indefinites**, or EPis.

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## Today

- **Descriptive/empirical effort:** syntactic distribution of the proper noun *RITA* as (apparent) EPI and its inter-speaker variation, with particular focus on Catalan.
- ↪ Impressionistic observations suggest *RITA* may interact with negation/antiveridicality in *some* speakers.
- Native speaker consultation (Catalan and Spanish), supplemented by a **grammaticality judgement survey** among 1,344 Catalan speakers, of which 460 use the expression (ongoing).

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- Native speaker consultation (Catalan and Spanish), supplemented by a **grammaticality judgement survey** among 1,344 Catalan speakers, of which 460 use the expression (ongoing).
  1. Sentential negation
  2. Negative spread
  3. *Absolutely*-modification
  4. Neg-raising predicates
  5. Negative fragments
  6. *Without*-clauses
  7. Other restrictions: focalisation, argument structure.

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- **Descriptive/empirical effort:** syntactic distribution of the proper noun *RITA* as (apparent) EPI and its inter-speaker variation, with particular focus on Catalan.
- Native speaker consultation (Catalan and Spanish), supplemented by a **grammaticality judgement survey** among 1,344 Catalan speakers, of which 460 use the expression (ongoing). Stimuli were audio recordings.
- The upshot: A change-in-progress?
  - **RITA** patterns as a **syntactic class of its own**, sharing only some of the traits of existing categories, such as Negative Concord Items, Polarity Items and squatitives.
  - Significant **inter-speaker variation**: different patterns of syntactic distribution across (minimally) 3 consequential groups of speakers.
  - **Comparison** of *RITA* to other **EPIs** in these languages.
  - **Implications** for a syntactic typology of polarity/negative items and diachronic sources of related elements.

# The plan today

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## 1. Introduction

## 2. Describing Rita: The Data

- 2.1 The phenomenon: general observations
- 2.2 Rita vs other negative and polarity items
  - Rita and NCIs
  - Rita and (weak) PIs
  - Rita and squatitives
- 2.3 Group 4 in more depth
- 2.4 RITA – a summary

## 3. EPIs beyond RITA

## 4. Discussion and implications

- 4.1 Formal implications
- 4.2 Diachronic implications and comparative data

## 5. Conclusion

## 6. References

## **Describing Rita: The Data**

## The phenomenon: general observations

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A proper noun, *RITA*, appears to function similarly to *negative indefinites* ( $\approx$  *nobody*<sup>1</sup>)

- (2) a. Això s'ho                  *creurà*                  **Rita.**  
this CL.REFL=CL.DO= believe.FUT.3SG EPI

[Catalan]

'Nobody is going to believe this / There's no way I'm going to believe this' (lit. 'Rita is going to believe this').

- b. *Esto se lo va a creer Rita.*  
this CL.REFL= CL.DO= go.3SG to believe.INF EPI

[Spanish]

'Nobody is going to believe this / There's no way I'm going to believe this' (lit. 'Rita is going to believe this').

- c. *Si segueixen així, (no) aprovarà Rita.*  
if continue.3PL like.this not pass.FUT.3SG EPI

[Catalan]

'If they continue like this, nobody will pass (the exam) / they won't pass the exam.' (lit. 'Rita is going to pass the exam')

→ **Expressive** and **epistemic**, encoding **speaker attitude**: negative attitude/judgement towards the likelihood of what is conveyed in the proposition or towards past events.

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<sup>1</sup>Simplifying grossly! To be refined now.

## The phenomenon: general observations

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- Part of a possibly broader phenomenon: limited set of proper nouns and person-referring DPs can behave (at least superficially) similarly.

(3) a. *Pues vendrá el Papa de Roma a arreglar las cosas.* [Spanish]  
well come.FUT.3SG the Pope of Rome to fix.INF  
the things

'Well, nobody is going to come to fix this / I'm not coming to fix this.'<sup>2</sup>

b. *Això (no) ho farà (ni) Déu.* [Catalan]  
this not CL.DO= do.FUT.3SG not.even God

'No one is going to do this.'

c. *Perdona'm, però les redaccions te les farà ta mare.*  
forgive.IMP=CL.DO but the essays CL.IO= CL.DO= do.FUT.3SG your mother

'Sorry, but I'm not doing these essays / no one is doing these essays.'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup><https://x.com/LauritaRMadrid/status/185108997504909313?s=20>.

<sup>3</sup><https://x.com/AnaFerrerS/status/521411305102929920?s=20>.

## The phenomenon: general observations

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- Some signs of grammaticalisation and pragmaticalisation:
  1. **Grammaticalisation**: apparent rise in negative/quantificational and more pronominal interpretations.
    - **Bleaching**: original function as proper nouns/DPs is lost, including reference to a specific individual.
    - **Decategorialisation**: loss of syntactic attributes associated with more lexical categories → loss of personal article *la* before *RITA* in Catalan (otherwise compulsory with proper nouns)<sup>4</sup>.
  2. **Pragmaticalisation** (Diewald, 2011): propositional meaning > metacommunicative, discourse interactional meaning.
    - **Novel encoding of negative speaker attitude** → (inter)subjectification (Traugott, 1989).
- Overall, **proper noun** seemingly undergoing *some change*. Its study may be **instructive** in at least three ways:
  - Placement of EPIs in a syntactic typology of negative/polarity items.
  - Development of expressive language (see relevant data in, i.a., Speas and Tenny, 2003; Gutzmann, 2015; Wiltschko and Heim, 2016; Trotzke, 2017; Wiltschko, 2014, 2021).
  - Possible sources of negation/polarity-related items.

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**Next up:** Comparing *RITA*'s distribution with existing syntactic categories

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### N-words (or Negative Concord Items)

(Giannakidou and Zeijlstra, 2017: 7)

N-words (or Negative Concord Items): an expression  $\alpha$  is an n-word iff:

- $\alpha$  can be used in structures that contain sentential negation or another  $\alpha$ -expression, yielding a reading equivalent to one logical negation; and
- $\alpha$  can provide a negative fragment answer (i.e., without the overt presence of negation).

### Veridicality and non-veridicality

- A propositional operator  $F$  is **veridical** iff  $Fp$  entails  $p$ :  $Fp \Rightarrow p$ ; otherwise,  $F$  is **nonveridical**.
- A nonveridical operator  $F$  is **antiveridical** iff  $Fp$  entails *not*  $p$ :  $Fp \Rightarrow \neg p$ .

- **Upcoming:** RITA's behaviour in *antiveridical* contexts, compared to NCIs in Catalan and Spanish.
- I identify (minimally) **five points of difference** between RITA and NCIs, but also important **convergences**.

- **First set of survey/consultation data** – idiosyncratic syntactic behaviour of RITA:
  1. Sentential negation
  2. Argument structure
  3. Focalisation
  4. *Absolutely*-modification

## Rita and NCIs: sentential negation

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- Catalan and Spanish as Non-strict Negative Concord languages.

- (4) a. \*(**No**) *vino nadie.* [negative doubling; Spanish]  
not come.PST.3SG n-body  
  
'Nobody came.'
- b. **Nadie** (\***no**) *vino.* [no negation with pre-verbal NCIs]  
n-body not come.PST.3SG  
  
'Nobody came.'
- c. **Ningú** (**no**) *menja.* [optional negation with pre-verbal NCIs; Catalan]  
n-body not eat.3SG  
  
'Nobody eats.'

## Rita and NCIs: sentential negation

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👎 First point of divergence: RITA is most commonly used **without sentential negation**, even if postverbal, or negation + NCI *ni*.

- (5) a. *N'estic farta. El farà Rita aquest projecte.* [Catalan]  
CL.REFL=be.1SG fed.up CL.DO= do.FUT.3SG EPI this  
project  
project
- 'I'm fed up. I'm not doing this project / there's no way I'm finishing this project.'
- b. *Los perros de los vecinos solo hacían que ladrar esta noche. Evidentemente, (no) ha dormido (ni) Rita* [Spanish]  
the dogs of the neighbours only do.IMPF.3SG that  
talk. INF this night obviously not AUX.HAVE.3SG sleep.PTCP not.even EPI
- 'The neighbours' dogs were barking constantly last night. Obviously, we couldn't sleep at all.'

## Rita and NCIs: sentential negation

- RITA is gradually sanctioning sentential negation in some speakers.

- (6) a. **No** s'aixecarà **Rita** demà.  
not CL.REFL=wake.up.FUT.3SG EPI tomorrow  
  
'There's no way we're waking up (on time) tomorrow.'

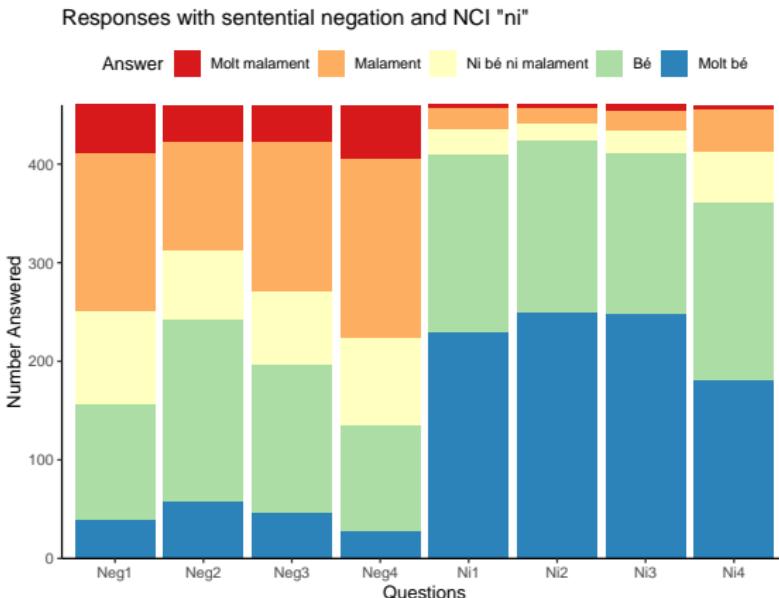
b. **No** vindrà **Rita** al gimnàs!  
not come.FUT.3SG EPI to.the gym  
  
'Nobody is going to come to the gym / I'm not coming to the gym!'

c. **Lo** de la multa **no** se **lo** **cree**  
the of the fine not CL.REFL= CL.DO= believe.INF  
  
**Rita la Cantaora.**  
EPI  
  
As for the fine, nobody is believing this / I'm not going to believe this.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup><https://x.com/AgoneyCarmel/status/1326535312193937409?s=20>.

## Rita and NCIs: sentential negation

- Highly statistically significant difference between acceptability of clauses with sentential negation vs *ni*-accompanied RITA ( $W = 26386, p < .0001$ ). **However**, significant proportion of speakers judged the former as "Good" or "Very good".



## Rita and NCIs: positional restrictions and focalisation

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- ~ Negation *can* (but need not) precede postverbal *RITA* for some speakers; for others, it is entirely ungrammatical. NCIs, in contrast, *require* negation when postverbal.
- ☛ **Second point of divergence: positional restrictions** on *RITA* which do not apply to Catalan/Spanish NCIs.
  - Preference for *RITA* as *subject*, specifically **postverbal subject**. If **preverbal**, it must be **focalised** and receive **emphatic prosody**.

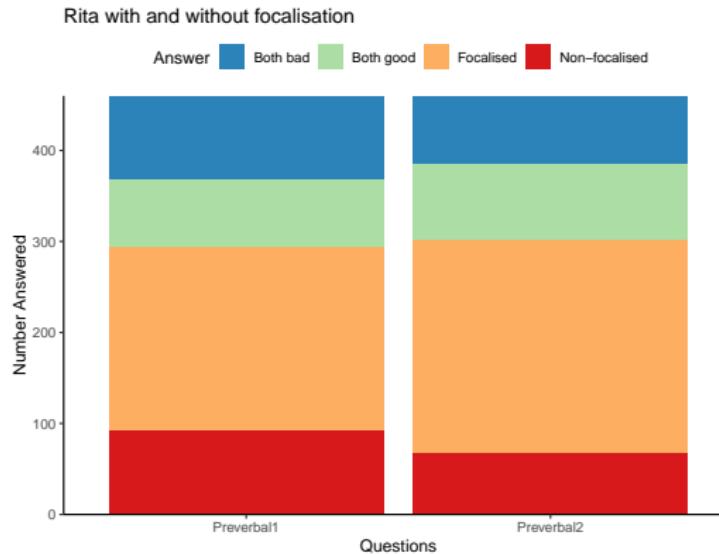
- (7) a. \*?**Rita** trobarà feina aquí. [Catalan]  
EPI find.FUT.3SG work here  
(intended) 'Nobody will find a job here' (alternative reading: 'Rita will find a job here.'<sup>6</sup>)
- b. **RITA** trobarà feina aquí  
EPI find.FUT.3SG work here  
'NOBODY will find a job here / There's no way I'll find a job here' OR 'RITA will find job here (not someone else)'.

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<sup>6</sup> Although odd and only marginally acceptable because of the lack of personal article.

## Rita and NCIs: sentential negation

- Significantly higher proportion of acceptability of *RITA* when focalised pre-verbally ( $\chi^2(1) = 5.8359, p = .016$ ).



- **Postverbal** subjects known to display **focal properties** in Cat./Sp. (i.a., Belletti, 2004; Ortega-Santos, 2008; Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria, 2008; Forcadell, 2013) → **preverbal RITA appears to have kept this requirement**, unlike canonical preverbal (topical) subjects in these languages.

## Rita and NCIs: argument structure and *ni*

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⚠ **Third point of divergence:** argument structure preferences on RITA (dependent on the presence of NCI *ni*) which do not apply to Catalan/Spanish NCIs.

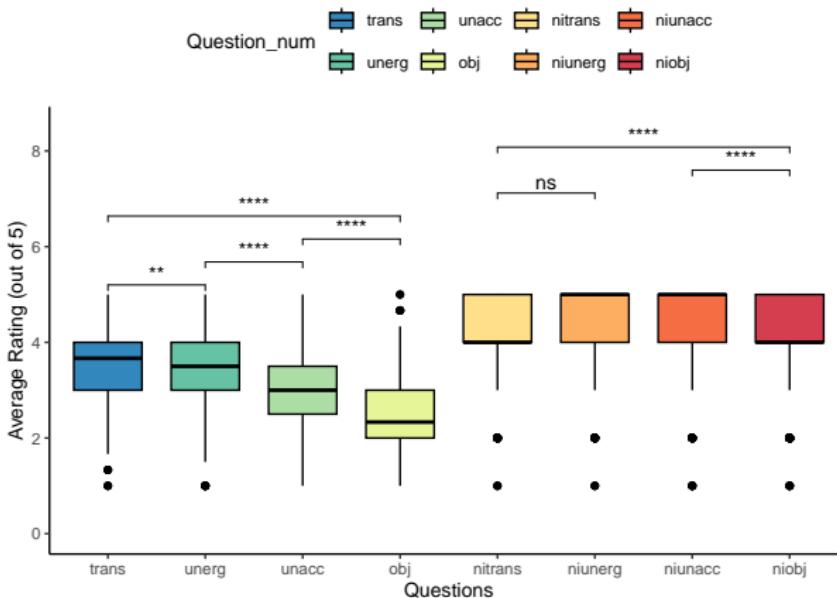
- Postverbally and without *ni/no*: transitive and unergative frames preferred, compared to unaccusatives. RITA dispreferred as *object*.
- With *ni*: differences disappear; all contexts rated as "Good" or "Very good".

- (8) a. *El farà Rita aquest examen.* [Catalan]  
CL.DO= do.3SG.FUT EPI this exam  
  
'There's no way we're/I'm doing this exam.'
- b. *L'aire condicionat no va. Treballarà Rita.*  
the-air coinditioning not work.3SG work.3SG.FUT EPI  
  
'The air-con isn't working. I'm not working today!/There's no way we can work today!'
- c. *Mira qué cola de coches. Llegarán Rita a tiempo!* [Spanish]  
look what queue of cars arrive.3SG.FUT EPI on time  
  
'Look at the car queue! No way we're arriving on time.'
- d. ?? *Llamaré (a) Rita, no estoy de humor!*  
call.1SG.FUT DOM EPI not be.1SG in mood  
  
'I'm not going to call anyone/them/him, I'm not in a good mood!'

# Rita and NCIs: argument structure and *ni*

- Statistically highly significant differences between argument structure frames, and differences between exclusion/inclusion of NCI *ni*.

Responses with verbs with different argument structure with/without NCI *ni*



## Rita and NCIs: argument structure and *ni*

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- Statistically highly significant differences between argument structure frames, and differences between exclusion/inclusion of NCI *ni*.

**Table 1:** Pairwise comparisons using Kruskal-Wallis test

	trans	unerg	unacc	obj	nitrans	niunerg	niunacc
<b>unerg</b>	0.0028	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>unacc</b>	< .0001	< .0001	-	-	-	-	-
<b>obj</b>	< .0001	< .0001	< .001	-	-	-	-
<b>nitrans</b>	< .0001	< .0001	< .0001	< .0001	-	-	-
<b>niunerg</b>	< .0001	< .0001	< .0001	< .0001	0.1178	-	-
<b>niunacc</b>	< .0001	< .0001	< .0001	< .0001	0.2890	0.6358	-
<b>niobj</b>	< .0001	< .0001	< .0001	< .0001	< .0001	< .0001	< .0001

## Rita and NCIs: *absolutely*-modification

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👎 **Fourth point of divergence:** NCIs in various Romance languages permit ***absolutely/almost*** **modifiers** under negation (see Quer, 1993, Giannakidou, 2000). This does not carry over to RITA, with or without sentential negation.

- (9) a. *No he vist absolutament/quasi ningú.* [Catalan]  
not AUX.HAVE.1SG see.PTCP absolutely/almost no-one

'I have seen absolutely/almost no-one.'

- b. *No he visto absolutamente/casi nadie.* [Spanish]  
not AUX.HAVE.1SG see.PTCP absolutely/almost no-one

'I have seen absolutely/almost no-one.'

- (10) a. \*(*No*) *he vist absolutament/quasi Rita.* [Catalan]  
not AUX.HAVE.1SG see.PTCP absolutely/almost EPI

(intended) ≈ 'I have seen absolutely/almost no-one.'

- b. \*(*No*) *he visto absolutamente/casi Rita.* [Spanish]  
not AUX.HAVE.1SG see.PTCP absolutely/almost EPI

(intended) ≈ 'I have seen absolutely/almost no-one.'

## Rita and NCIs: expressivity and epistemicity

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- 👉 **Fifth point of divergence:** RITA is **expressive** in nature, conveying **negative speaker attitude** towards an event or action. Canonical NCIs (and other types of negative indefinites more broadly, such as NPIs or negative quantifiers), can be uttered in discourse-neutral contexts.
- **Other restrictions:** possible **tense/aspectual restrictions** (pending further study)

- (11) a. ✓ A aquest ritme, aprovarà Rita l'examen. [Catalan]  
at this rate pass.FUT.3SG EPI the-exam  
  
'At this rate, no one is going to pass the exam.'
- b. ✓ A aquest ritme, aprova Rita l'examen. [Catalan]  
at this rate pass.3SG EPI the-exam  
  
'At this rate, no one is going to pass the exam.'
- c. ? Va aprovar Rita l'examen! [Catalan]  
go.AUX.3SG pass.INF EPI the-exam  
  
'(Of course) no one passed the exam!'

## Rita and NCIs: expressivity and epistemicity

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- Overall:
  1. Behaviour with sentential negation (notwithstanding inter-speaker variation)
  2. Positional restrictions and focalisation
  3. Argument structure restrictions
  4. (Possibly) tense/aspectual restrictions
  5. *Absolutely*-modification
  6. Expressivity and epistemicity

→ In these respects, *RITA* ≠ *NCIs*.
- Next: points of convergence in antiveridical contexts, namely neg-raising predicates, negative spread, negative fragment answers and *without*-clauses.

- **Second set of survey data** – antiveridical contexts:
  1. Sentential negation
  2. Negative spread
  3. Neg-raising predicates
  4. Negative fragments
  5. *Without*-clauses

## Rita and NCIs: neg-raising predicates

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- NPI-licensing properties of neg-raising predicates (*think, believe, suppose*, etc.)

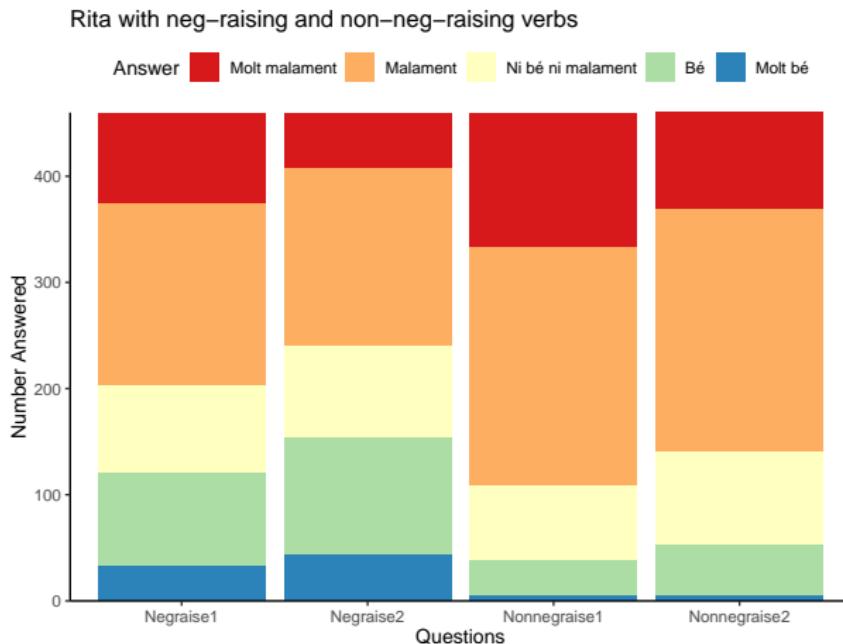
- (12) a. I **don't** think he lifted **a finger** to help. [neg-raising predicate]  
b. \*I **don't** mean that he lifted **a finger** to help. [non-neg-raising predicate]

👉 **First point of convergence:** grammaticality of RITA with **neg-raising predicates** (13a) vis-à-vis predicates that do not involve neg-raising (13b).

- (13) a. No crec que vingui **Rita.** [neg-raising; Catalan]  
not think.1SG that come.SUBJ.3SG EPI  
  
‘I don’t think (absolutely) anyone will come / I think (absolutely) no one will come.’
- b. \*No dic que va **venir Rita.**  
not say.1SG that come.SUBJ.IMPF.3SG EPI  
  
‘(intended) I am not saying that anyone/no-one came.’

## Rita and NCIs: neg-raising predicates

- Highly statistically significant difference between acceptability of RITA with neg-raising verbs vs non-neg-raising ones ( $W = 73484, p < .0001$ ).



## Rita and NCIs: negative spread

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- In non-strict Negative Concord languages, a pre-verbal n-word can sanction a postverbal one, without requiring sentential negation, Sp. **Nadie** comió **nada** 'Nobody ate anything' (lit. 'nobody ate nothing').
- thumb up icon **Second point of convergence:** pre-verbal (focalised) **RITA** turns out, again, grammatical in **negative spread** contexts for varieties of Catalan (NB: Spanish judgements).

- (14) a. A aquest ritme, **RITA** aprovarà [negative spread; Catalan]  
at this rate EPI pass.FUT.3SG

**cap** examen.  
no exam

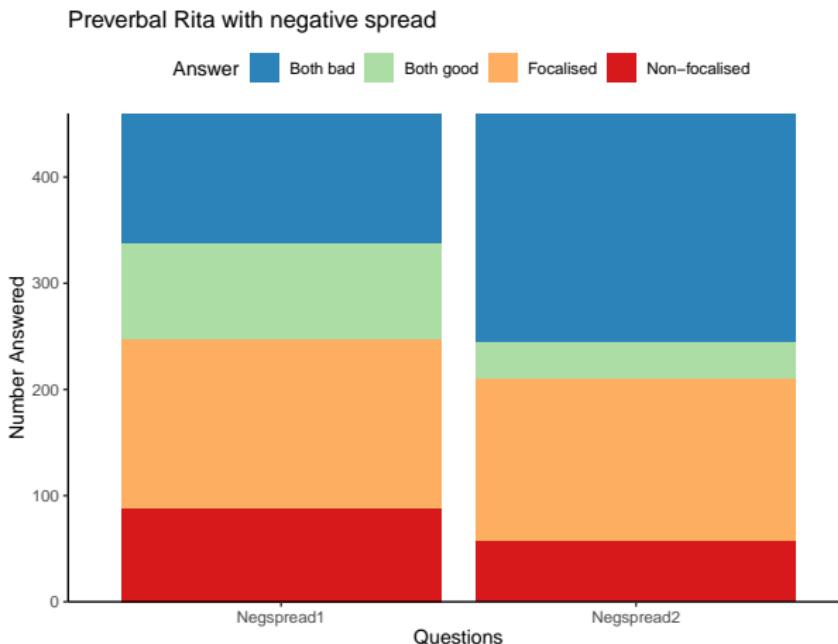
'At this rate, nobody will pass any exams / there's no way anyone is passing any exams.'

- b. ??*Esto huele fatal.* **RITA** se va a comer [Spanish]  
this smell.3SG terrible EPI CL.REFL= go.3SG to eat.INF  
**nada.**  
nothing

'This smells terrible. There's no way we're eating any of this.'

## Rita and NCIs: negative spread

- Participants generally prefer focalisation (32%), 15.6% the non-focalised version. Rest like neither (34.9%) or both (12.9%).



## Rita and NCIs: negative spread

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- How can we tell the previous examples involve genuine negative spread?  
→ Contrast between *RITA* and *other proper nouns* in Catalan (e.g., *Joan*).

- (15) A *aquest ritme, en Joan* \*(no) aprovarà *cap* examen. [Catalan]  
at this rate the John not pass.FUT.3SG no exam  
'At this rate, John won't pass any exams.'

- **Potential discrepancy** in the formal make-up of *RITA* vis-à-vis other proper nouns in Cat.  
→ Whatever formal properties *RITA* is acquiring (e.g., some inherent negative force or negation-related features), they are 'enough' to sanction structures with apparent negative spread.

## Rita and NCIs: negative fragment answers

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- Catalan/Spanish NCIs, which can serve as **negative fragments**, e.g., Cat. *Qui s'ha menjat el pastís? Ningú* 'Who ate the cake? Nobody'. (Weak) NPIs, on the other hand, cannot, cf. English *Who did you talk to? \*Anybody.*

👉 **Third point of convergence:** RITA patterns like NCIs here.

- (16) a. A: *Qui vindrà a córrer?* [isolated answer; Catalan]  
who come.FUT.3SG to run.INF  
  
'Who is going running (with me)?'
- b. B: *Rita! (Amb aquesta calor...).*  
EPI with this heat  
  
'Nobody! / I'm not coming! (given this heat...)'

## Rita and NCIs: *without*-clauses

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- **Without-clauses** as another antiveridical context that licenses NCIs:

- (17) a. *El partit es va acabar sense que els equips concedissin **cap** gol.* [Catalan]  
the match CL.REFL= AUX.PST.3SG finish.IMPV.3SG without that  
the teams concede.SUBJ.IMPF.3PL no goal  
'The match ended without the teams conceding any goal.'
- b. *Intenta levantarte sin despertar a **nadie**, por favor.* [Spanish]  
try.IMP get.up.INF=CL.REFL without wake.upINF  
DOM no-one please  
'Try to get up without waking up anyone, please.'

## Rita and NCIs: *without*-clauses

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► **Fourth point of convergence (maybe):** Judgements hard to obtain, but **potentially grammatical given appropriate context.**

- (18) a. A: *A en Joan el devia veure marxar* [Catalan]  
DOM the John CL.DO= should.IMPF.3SG see.INF leave.INF

*tothom, no?*  
everyone no

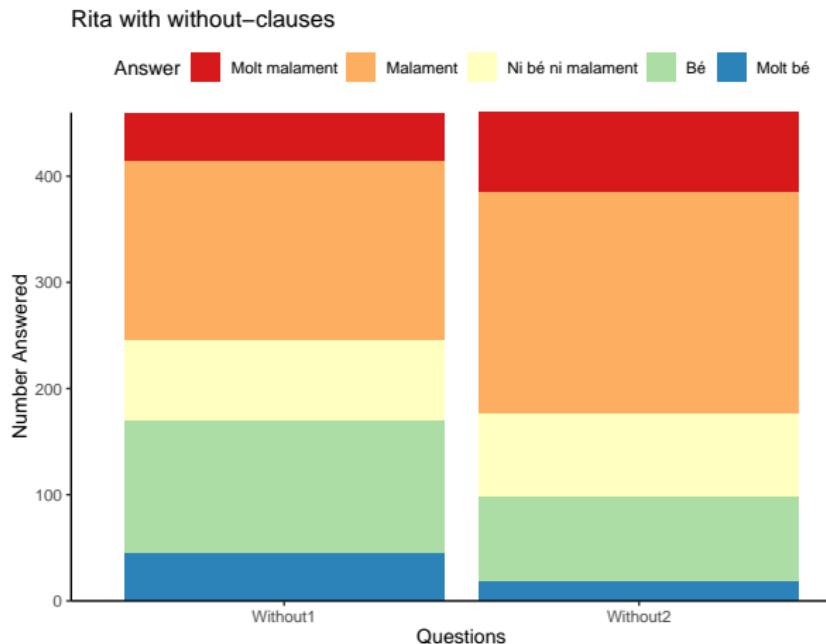
'Everyone must have seen John leave, right?'

- b. B: *Què va! El tio va marxar sense que se n'adonés Rita!*  
INTJ the guy AUX.PST.3SG leave.INF without that CL.REFL=  
CL.PART=notice.SUBJ.IMPF.3SG EPI

'Not at all! The guy (somehow) left without anyone/a single person noticing!'

## Rita and NCIs: *without*-clauses

- 169 and 98 participants rated the two examples as 4-5 across the two questions. Around 50% of the 460 did not accept them.



## A change-in-progress?

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- K-means clustering: finding coherent participant profiles<sup>7</sup>.

Group	Affirmative	Negation	Ni	Neg-raising	Without-clauses	N
1	3.258065	1.956452	4.154839	1.693548	1.764516	155
2	4.065476	3.202381	4.328869	2.633929	2.681548	168
3	2.660000	3.395000	3.910000	3.740000	3.320000	50
4	4.402299	4.063218	4.678161	4.074713	3.959770	87

**Table 2:** Four clusterings of participants obtained based on their ratings

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<sup>7</sup>Appropriate number of clusters determined with the aid of `fviz_nbclust()`. `set.seed()` of 123 adopted.

<sup>8</sup>Plausibly includes those speakers that only sanction RITA if it has the accompanying personal article. The survey did not address this variant of the expression (due to unawareness of its existence on my part).

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3	2.660000	3.395000	3.910000	3.740000	3.320000	50
4	4.402299	4.063218	4.678161	4.074713	3.959770	87

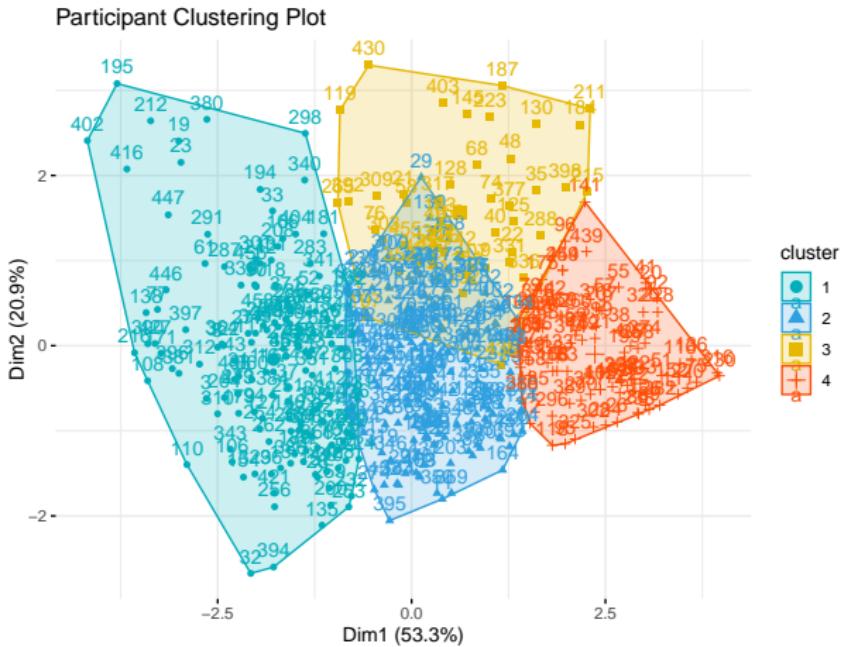
**Table 2:** Four clusterings of participants obtained based on their ratings

- **Group 1** → RITA OK only with NCI *ni* (34%).
- **Group 2** → RITA OK in affirmative and with NCI *ni* only (37%).
- **Group 3** → RITA bad-ish everywhere (11%)<sup>8</sup>.
- ! **Group 4** → RITA OK (mostly) everywhere (incl. some/all antiveridical contexts) (19%).

<sup>7</sup>Appropriate number of clusters determined with the aid of `fviz_nbclust()`. `set.seed()` of 123 adopted.

<sup>8</sup>Plausibly includes those speakers that only sanction RITA if it has the accompanying personal article. The survey did not address this variant of the expression (due to unawareness of its existence on my part).

## A change-in-progress?



- Significant proportion of speakers allowing either *RITA* with *all* antiveridical contexts explored (negation, neg-raising, negative spread, without-clauses); or with *some* of them.
  - Assuming *RITA* with negation is diachronically more recent → gradual grammaticalisation for *RITA* → **a change-in-progress?**

## Rita and NCIs: a recap

---

- RITA matches the distribution of NCIs to a significant extent, due to its compatibility with antiveridical contexts:
    1. Sentential negation (for some speakers)
    2. Neg-raising predicates
    3. Negative spread (in Catalan, at least)
    4. Negative fragments
    5. *Without*-clauses (maybe)
  - Only *partial* match.
    1. Inter-speaker variation w.r.t. antiveridicality.
    2. Pre-verbal focalisation requirement.
    3. Argument structure restrictions
    4. Incompatibility with *absolutely*-modification.
    5. Expressivity, speaker-attitude orientation.
- RITA is not an NCI, but may be undergoing some formal change in several speakers, gradually causing points of convergence with NCIs.

## Rita and (weak) PIs: non-veridical contexts

---

- A broad definition of Polarity Items (encompassing strong and weak) is given below (Giannakidou, 2001: 669).

### Polarity Items

A linguistic expression  $\alpha$  is a *polarity item* iff:

- The distribution of  $\alpha$  is limited by sensitivity to some semantic property  $\beta$  of the context of appearance; and
- $\beta$  is (non)veridicality, or a subproperty thereof:  $\beta \in \{\text{veridicality, nonveridicality, antiveridicality, modality, intensionality, extensionality, episodicity, downward entailingness}\}$ .

- **Next:** RITA also does not fit the typology of **weak PIs**.

## Rita and (weak) PIs: non-veridical contexts

---

- PIs licensed in non-veridical contexts: this includes questions, conditionals, imperatives, habituals, etc.

- (19) a. *Si tienes cualquier problema, por favor llámame.* [conditional; Catalan]  
if have.2SG any issue for favour  
call.IMP=CL.IO  
  
'If you have any issues, please call me.'
- b. *Que vol res?* [interrogative]  
Q wants anything  
  
'Does s/he want anything?'
- c. *Ho va veure abans que ningú ho veié.* [before]<sup>10</sup>  
it AUX saw before that anybody it see.SUBJ.3SG  
  
'S/he saw it before anybody did.'

(Tubau et al., 2023: 12)

---

<sup>10</sup> NB: *before*-clauses have also been analysed as antiveridical, so the example above can be contested. I simply copy Tubau et al. (2023)'s exposition here.

## Rita and (weak) PIs: non-veridical contexts

---

⚠ Key point of divergence: RITA ungrammatical in non-veridical contexts.

- (20) a. \*Si truca **Rita**, avisa'm. [conditional; Catalan]  
if call.3SG EPI warn.IMP=CL.DO  
  
(intended) 'If anyone/nobody calls, let me know.'
- b. \*Que vindrà **Rita**? [interrogative]  
that.INT want.3SG EPI  
  
(intended) 'Is anyone/nobody coming?'
- c. \*Lo vio antes que se diera [before; Spanish]  
CL.DO= see.PST.3SG before that CL.REFL= give.IMPF.SUBJ.3SG  
  
cuenta **Rita**.  
count EPI  
  
(intended) 'S/he saw it before anybody realised.'

→ The above then disqualifies RITA as a weak PI.

## Rita and squatitives: also not a match

---

- **Squatitives** (Horn, 2001): English expressions of scatological origin (*jack shit*, *(diddly) squat*, *fuck-all*, etc.).

- (21) a. I didn't sleep **squat** last night.  
b. There have been a couple of veterans who have done **squat** since they've been here.

(Horn, 2001: 186)

- Labelled '**quasi-NPIs**' in Horn (2001), behaving both like **NPIs** in (21a) (e.g., English *anything*), and like **negative quantifiers** (e.g., English *nothing*) in (21b), bringing their own negative force.

## Rita and squatitives: also not a match

---

- ✓ Licensed in **antiveridical** contexts (sentential negation, neg-raising, etc.).

- (22) a. He doesn't know **jackshit/fuck all.** [sentential negation]  
b. He knows **jackshit/fuck all.**

- (23) a. I don't think he brought **jackshit.** [neg-raising predicate]  
b. \*I didn't say he brought **jackshit.** [non-neg-raising predicate]

- (24) **Nobody** said **fuck all.** [negative spread]

(Thoms et al., 2017)

- ✗ In **non-veridical** contexts, *only the negative quantifier reading* can be obtained, the NPI-reading is lost.

- (25) a. \*Did he say fuck all?  
b. \*The last person to say fuck all was John.

(All fine on NQ reading)

## Rita and squatitives: also not a match

---

- Partial overlap with *RITA*:

1. They are also licensed in antiveridical contexts, like *RITA*.
2. Janus-nature of squatitives (with/without negation) only partly true for some Cat./Sp. speakers.
3. Squatitives can get NQ-reading in non-veridical contexts, but not NPI-reading. *RITA* cannot get either.
4. Squatitives are *not* person-referring, whilst *RITA* necessarily refer to a person/human collective.
5. *RITA* disallows *absolutely*-modification.
6. Little focalisation/positional constraints with squatitives (even if usually postverbal).

→ ***RITA* does not behave like squatitives either.**

## Rita and squatitives: also not a match

---

- (26) a. He knows absolutely **fuck all** about this.  
b. He kens absolutely **nihil** aboot this.

[*absolutely* modification]

(Thoms et al., 2017)

- (27) I published this a year ago and **fuck all** has  
been done<sup>11</sup>

[pre-verbal squatitives]

- Vulgar indefinite DPs in Cat./Sp. parallel squatitives (e.g., *una merda/una mierda*), though they remain relatively understudied (see §23.5 in Tubau, 2020).

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<sup>11</sup>[https://x.com/Vltra\\_MK/status/1653762970072272899?s=20](https://x.com/Vltra_MK/status/1653762970072272899?s=20).

→ **The syntactic picture thus far**

1. Two distinct behaviours: with vs without NCI *ni*.
2. Pre-verbal focalisation + speaker-attitude orientation → interaction with discourse [F].
3. Argument structure restrictions → general *preference* for RITA as external argument.
4. Compatibility of antiveridicality in Group 4.
5. Overlap with NCIs, distribution not like squatitives or weak PIs.

→ **Significance of Group 4 – Zooming in:**

- Most permissive w.r.t. antiveridicality → suggests ongoing grammaticalisation towards NCI-like properties.
- **And also distinct w.r.t. argument structure and focalisation**

## RITA – Group 4 in more depth. Recall

- K-means clustering: finding coherent participant profiles<sup>12</sup>.

Group	Affirmative	Negation	Ni	Neg-raising	Without-clauses	N
1	3.258065	1.956452	4.154839	1.693548	1.764516	155
2	4.065476	3.202381	4.328869	2.633929	2.681548	168
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**Table 3:** Four clusterings of participants obtained based on their ratings

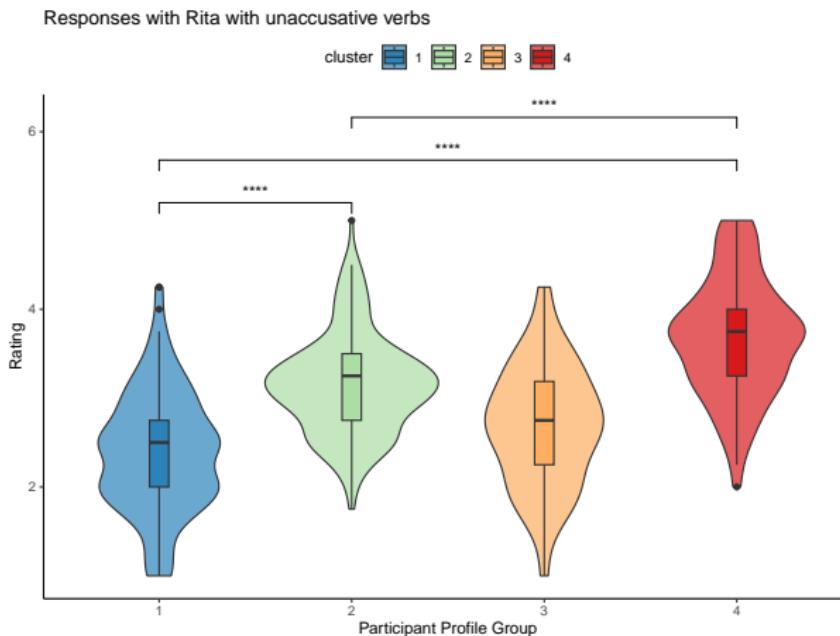
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<sup>12</sup>Appropriate number of clusters determined with the aid of `fviz_nbclust()`. `set.seed()` of 123 adopted.

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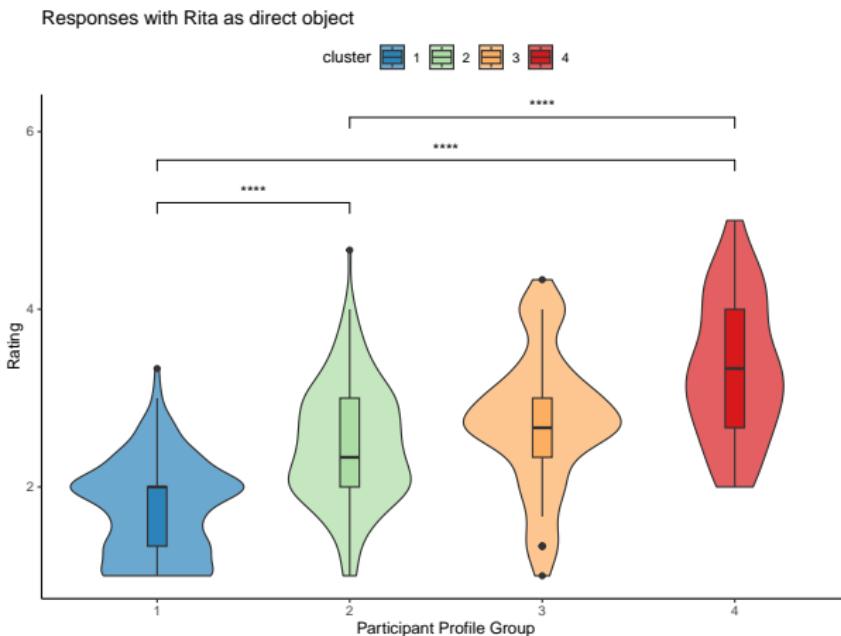
## RITA – Group 4 in more depth

- Group 4 most permissive w.r.t. argument structural contexts



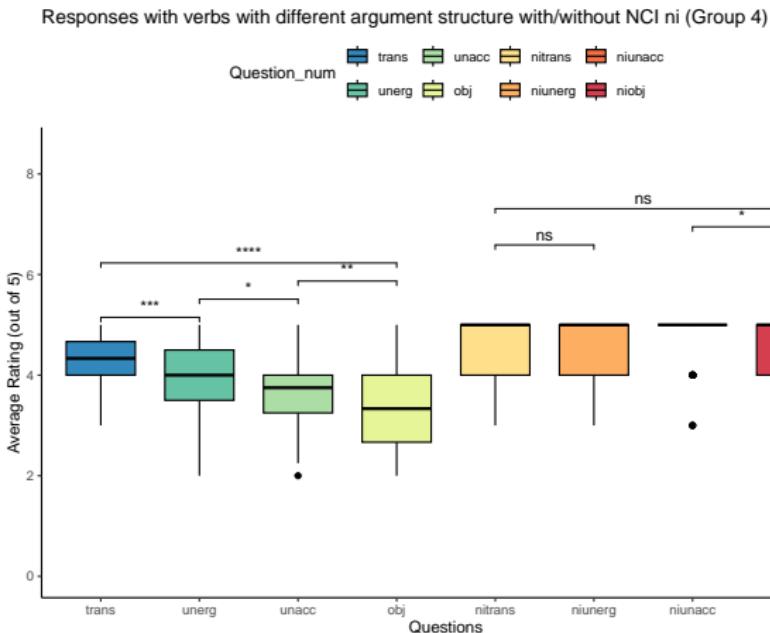
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# RITA – Group 4 in more depth

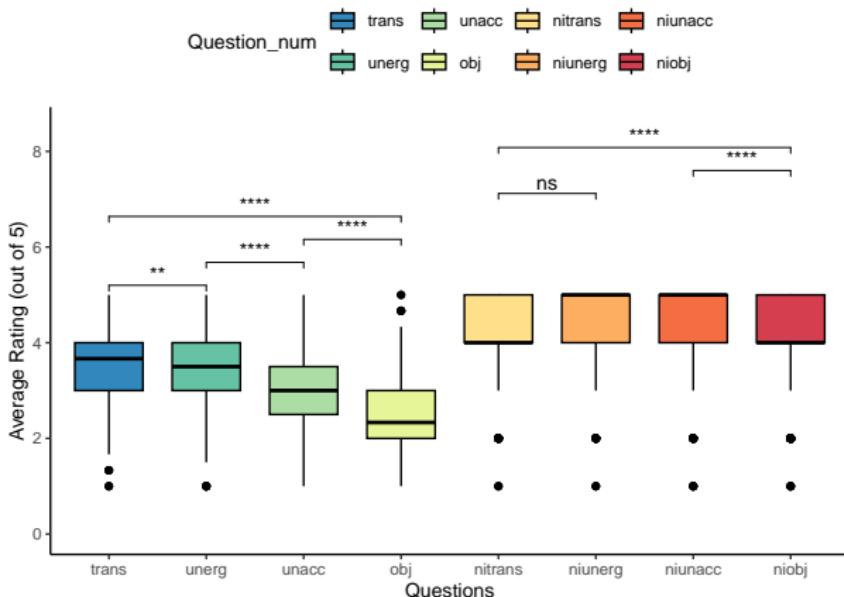
- Group 4 most permissive w.r.t. argument structural contexts



## RITA – Group 4 in more depth

- Group 4 most permissive w.r.t. argument structural contexts – compare ALL groups

Responses with verbs with different argument structure with/without NCI ni



## RITA – Group 4 in more depth

- Groups 2 and 4 most clearly exhibit focalisation restriction, compared to Group 1 ( $p < .001$ )

→ However, Group 4 presents higher acceptance of *non-focalised* pre-verbal RITA ( $p = .03$ ).

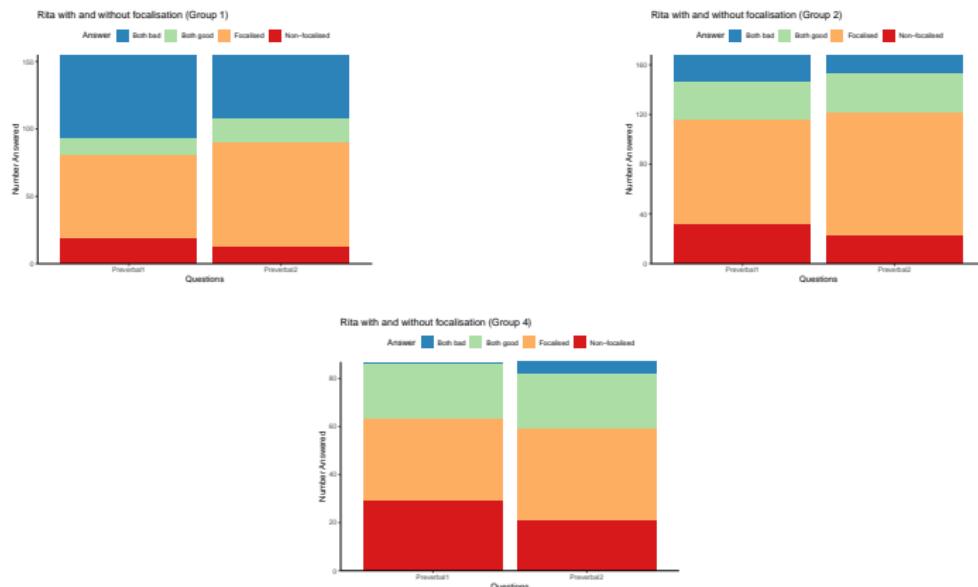
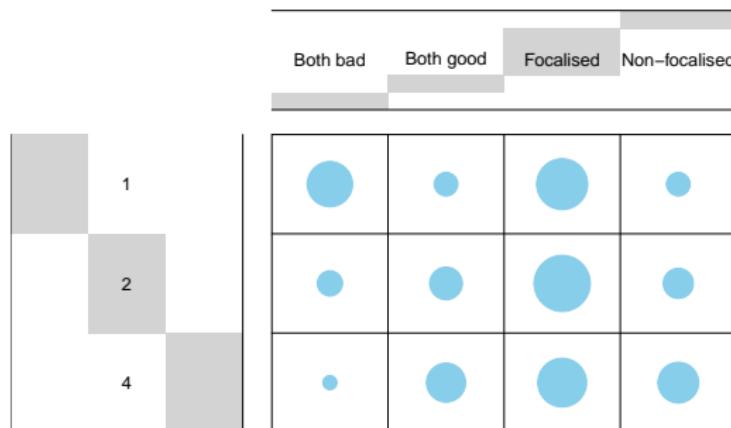


Figure 1: Focalisation with RITA across Groups 1, 2 and 4

## RITA – Group 4 in more depth

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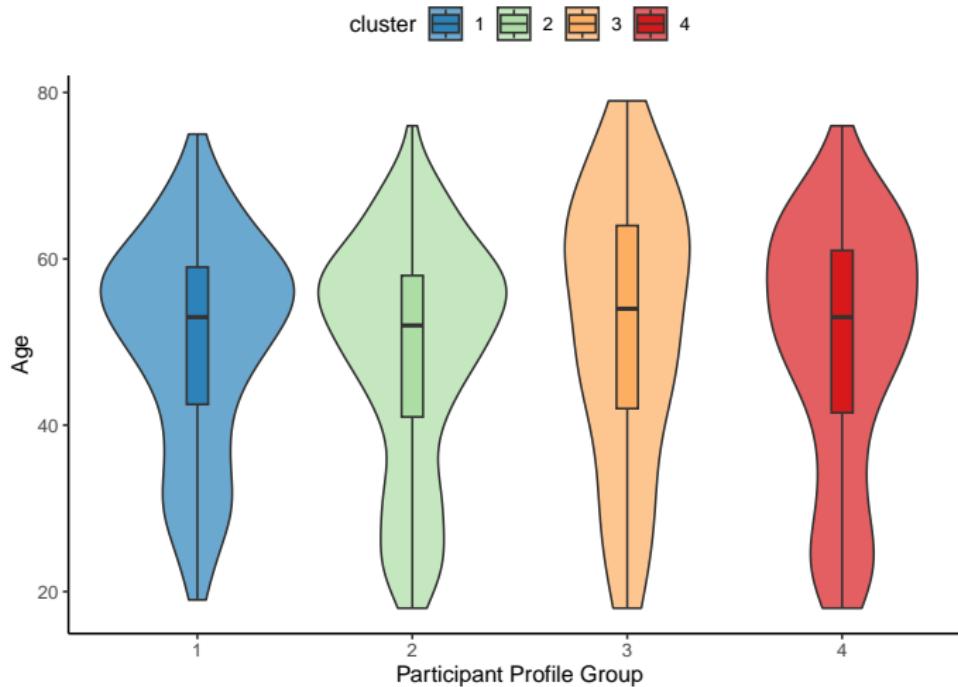
Focalisation with pre-verbal Rita by Group



## Inter-speaker variation not age-conditioned

- **Sociolinguistic profile:** No significant differences in age across cluster groups.

Responses with verbs with different argument structure with/without NCI ni



## Geographical distribution of Group 4

- **Sociolinguistic profile:** Group 4 scattered around regions in Catalonia (apparent gap in northwestern Catalonia is due to sparcity of participants from that area).



## RITA – a summary of the data

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**Table 4:** Comparison of the behaviour of NCIs, Pls, squatitives and RITA

	NCIs	Pls	Squatitives	RITA
Licensing via antiveridical operators	✓	✓	✓	Some
Licensing via non-veridical operators	✗	✓	✗	✗
Pre-verbal focalisation requirement	✗	✗	✗	✓
Argument structural restrictions	✗	✗	✗	✓
Embeddability	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>Absolutely</i> -modification	✓	✓	✓	✗
Expressivity	✗	✗	✓	✓
Speaker-attitude orientation	✗	✗	✗	✓

→ RITA – a **syntactic class of its own**, but whose patterning is nonetheless **constrained** and **systematic** (notwithstanding substantial inter-speaker variation).

- **Resulting challenge:** how should we incorporate RITA (especially in more ‘advanced’ speakers) in a syntactic typology of negation/polarity items?
- However, reality **far from uniform:** ongoing work to tease apart profiles of speakers w.r.t. this expression.
- **How does this compare to other EPIs?**

## **EPIs beyond RITA**

## EPIs beyond RITA

---

- General behaviour of EPIs (negative indefinite-like with speaker attitude orientation)  
**observed in a wider range of DPs and proper nouns.**

EPI	Language(s)	Original denotation/translation
Rita (la Cantaora)	Cat./Sp.	19th century Spanish singer/artist
El Papa de Roma	Cat./Sp.	'The Pope of Rome', head of the worldwide Catholic Church
Déu, Dios	Cat./Sp.	'God'
La teva/te/ta mare, Tu madre	Cat./Sp.	'Your mother'
El teu pare, Tu padre	Cat./Sp.	'Your father'
El Tato	Cat./Sp.	19th century Spanish bullfighter (Antonio Sánchez 'el Tato')
Txapote	Spanish	Former member of the 'hard wing' of <i>Euskadi Ta Askatasuna</i> (ETA)
En Pere Vamba	Catalan	King of the Visigoths from 672 to 680
Josep el fuster	Catalan	Reference to St Joseph of Nazareth

**Table 5:** (Incomplete) list of EPIs in Catalan and Spanish

## EPIs beyond RITA

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**Table 5:** (Incomplete) list of EPIs in Catalan and Spanish

- I now show RITA is at a more advanced grammaticalisation stage (at least w.r.t. my variety/Group 4) than other EPIs.

# EPIs beyond RITA

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(28)

- a. *Eso lo hará tu padre, porque madre mía,* [Spanish]  
that CL.DO= do.FUT.3SG EPI because mother mine  
*una cosa es aconsejar y otra mandar*  
one thing is advise.INF and another order.INF

'I'm not going to do this, because, my goodness, one thing is giving advice, another is giving orders.'<sup>14</sup>

- b. *Que te vote Txapote<sup>17</sup>* / *Que la homenajea Txapote<sup>18</sup>*

'I'm not going to vote for you / No one should vote for her' and 'I'm not going to honour her / No one should honour her'.

- c. *Anirà a la festa en Pere Vamba!*

[Catalan]

'I'm not going to the party!/No one will go to the party'

(Nil Ramos, p.c.)

- d. *Demà vols anar a caminar a les 6*  
tomorrow want.2SG go.INF to walk.INF at the six  
*del matí? S'aixecarà Josep el fuster!*  
of.the morning CL.REFL=get.up.FUT.3SG EPI

[Catalan]

'You want to go on a walk at 6am tomorrow?! I'm not getting up that early!'

(Nil Ramos, p.c.)

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<sup>16</sup><https://x.com/trinuela/status/1421797719019040769?s=20>. Accessed 10 March 2024.

<sup>17</sup><https://www.laopiniondezamora.es/buzzeando/2024/02/21/viene-lema-viral-vote-txapote-89741907.html>. Accessed 10 March 2024.

<sup>18</sup>[https://x.com/AJoseTomas\\_/status/1764528566333546749?s=20](https://x.com/AJoseTomas_/status/1764528566333546749?s=20). Accessed 10 March 2024.

## EPIs beyond RITA

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- Like RITA, postverbal EPIs sanctioned, for many speakers, both with/without *ni* (examples repeated from earlier slides).

(29)

- a. *Pues vendrá el Papa de Roma a arreglar las cosas.* [Spanish]  
well come.FUT.3SG the Pope of Rome to fix.INF  
the things

'Well, nobody is going to come to fix this / I'm not coming to fix this.'<sup>19</sup>

- b. *Això (no) ho farà (ni) Déu.* [Catalan]  
this not CL.DO= do.FUT.3SG not.even God

'No one is going to do this.'

- c. *Perdona'm, però les redaccions te les farà ta mare.*  
forgive.IMP=CL.DO but the essays CL.IO= CL.DO= do.FUT.3SG your mother

'Sorry, but I'm not doing these essays / no one is doing these essays.'<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup><https://x.com/LauritaRMadrid/status/185108997504909313?s=20>. Accessed 2 March 2024.

<sup>20</sup><https://x.com/AnaFerrerS/status/521411305102929920?s=20>. Accessed 2 March 2024.

## EPIs beyond RITA

- Antiveridical contexts ungrammatical, unlike *RITA*.

- (30) a. \***No** lo va a comprar **tu madre.** [Spanish]  
           not CL.DO= go.3SG to buy.INF EPI  
           (intended) 'No one is going to buy this / I'm definitely not buying this.' Alternative readings: 'Your mother will not buy this.'

b. \***No** es saltarà classe **Déu!** [Catalan]  
           not CL.REFL= jump.3SG class EPI  
           (intended) 'No one is skipping class / I'm definitely not skipping class.' Alternative readings: 'God is not skipping class.'

- Sentential negation with nobody-type reading only available with NCI *ni* (like Group 1 with RITA).

(31) a. **No** lo va a comprar \*(*ni*) tu madre. [Spanish]  
not CL.DO= go.3SG to buy.INF not.even EPI

'No one is going to buy this / I'm definitely not buying this.' Literal readings: 'Not even your mother will buy this.'

b. **No** es saltarà classe \*(*ni*) Déu! [Catalan]  
not CL.REFL= jump.3SG class not.even EPI

'No one is skipping class / I'm definitely *not* skipping class.' Literal reading: 'Not even God is skipping class.'

- If sentential negation used without *ni*, we get **double negation readings**.

(32) a. A: *Tienes demasiados videojuegos, no te compres el nuevo FIFA. Guarda el dinero para otra cosa.* [Spanish]  
have.2SG too.many videogames not CL.IO=buy.SUBJ.2SG

the new FIFA save.IMP the money for other thing

'You have too many videogames, don't buy the new FIFA game. Save this money for something else.'

b. B: \**No lo va a comprar tu madre! Llevo tiempo esperándolo.*  
not CL.DO=go.3SG to buy.INF EPI bring.1SG time waiting=CL.DO

(intended) 'No one is going to buy this.' Alternative reading: 'I'm going to buy it anyway (regardless of what you are telling me)! I've been waiting for it for a long time' (double negation reading).

- If sentential negation used without *ni*, we get **double negation readings**.

(33) a. A: *Fes el favor d'anar a classe aquesta* [Catalan]  
make.IMP the favour to-go.INF to class this

*tarda, que tens examen divendres.*  
afternoon that.CONJ have.2SG exam Friday

'Please go to class this afternoon, you have an exam on Friday.'

b. B: \***No** es saltarà classe **Déu!** Jo ja no puc  
not CL.REFL= jump.3SG class EPI I already not can.1SG  
*més.*  
more

(intended) 'I'm definitely *not* skipping class.' Alternative reading: 'I'm skipping class for sure (regardless of what you are telling me), I've had enough' (double negation reading).

- Single negation readings is a feature specific to **RITA** for some speakers.
- The same holds for other antiveridical contexts (neg-raising, neg spread), where other EPIs are ungrammatical.
- Non-veridical contexts (questions, conditionals...) sharply ungrammatical.
- Only pattern alike in negative fragments (for some speakers consulted).

(34) a. A: *¿Quién piensa solucionar esto?* [fragment answer; Spanish]  
          who    think.3SG fix.INF    this

'Who is going to fix this?'

b. B: *¡Tu madre / el Papa de Roma / Dios!...*  
          EPI

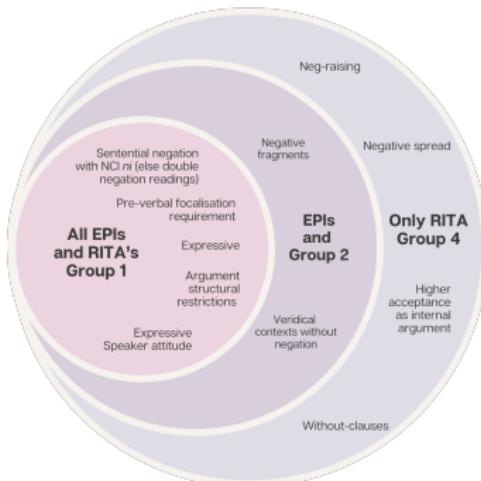
'No one! / I'm not going to do this', etc.

→ **RITA singled out**, in the present Cat./Sp. varieties, as an EPI potentially **further advanced** in the process of grammaticalisation and pragmaticalisation.

## **Discussion and implications**

# Towards some syntactic conclusions on EPIs

- Plausible **cline of grammaticalisation** across EPIs.
- **EPIs and Group 1/2 only:** negative reading as **pragmatic result**, e.g. implicature. Least grammaticalised.
- **In Group 4:** interaction with **polarity/negation**, possibly via grammaticalisation of relevant [F]s. Gradual broadening of syntactic, argumental structural distribution (unaccusatives, objects).
- **In all cases:** interaction with **left-peripheral [F]s** (focalisation, expressivity).



**Figure 2:** Euler diagram of EPIs' distribution across items and speaker groups

## Formal implications

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- **Formal implications:**
  - What syntactic or semanticopragmatic tools can explain EPIs' distribution and their restrictions?
  - In more 'advanced' speakers, how do we model *RITA*'s behaviour in antiveridical contexts (e.g., negative spread)?
  - [NEG] features (Zeijlstra, 2004; Deal, 2022), inherent negative force (Tubau et al., 2023)?
  - Do the properties of (some) EPIs derive from pragmatic inferences?

## Diachronic implications and comparative data

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- Recall (incomplete) list of EPIs

EPI	Language(s)	Original denotation/translation
Rita (la Cantaora)	Cat./Sp.	19th century Spanish singer/artist
El Papa de Roma	Cat./Sp.	'The Pope of Rome', head of the worldwide Catholic Church
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En Pere Vamba	Catalan	King of the Visigoths from 672 to 680
Josep el fuster	Catalan	Reference to St Joseph of Nazareth

**Table 6:** (Incomplete) list of EPIs in Catalan and Spanish

- Why these EPIs and not others? What's their diachronic pathway?

## Diachronic implications and comparative data

---

- **Proposal** → their '**power-related denotations**' helped conventionalisation of an **implicature** and **subjectification**. Two possibilities:
  - 'Omnipotent' reading: 'Only Rita/God (etc.) can do this' → 'Nobody will do this'.
  - 'Displacing responsibility' reading: 'Let someone else do this' → 'Nobody will do this'.
- Sufficiently high frequency of this implicature lead to **conventionalisation** and to **changes in categorial/featural make-up** (see, e.g., Gutzmann, 2015; Davis and Gutzmann, 2019); latter most clearly observed in Group 4.

## Who is Rita?

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- 19th century Spanish singer/artist
- Article in *La Razón* sheds some light on the origin behind the expression and the 'I'-centred nature of RITA

*The figure of Rita la Cantaora remained for posterity in Spanish popular culture, not so much for her work as a singer and dancer, but because of an expression that became a popular proverb. Apparently, **her passion for the work was such that she was willing to perform wherever she was asked**, regardless of the money she earned for performing, and even to perform additional shows, whether asked by the owner of a 'tablao' or the organizer of a private party. She was so famous that even her own colleagues recommended her services when they did not offer them enough money to perform themselves. In this way, **the expression que lo haga Rita la Cantaora 'let Rita la Cantaora do it'** was coined to refer to all those occasions in which one is not willing to perform an action<sup>21</sup>.*

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<sup>21</sup>My own translation from: [https://www.larazon.es/cultura/historia/quien-fue-rita-cantaora-que-mencionamos-cuando-trabajo-nos-gusta\\_2024012865b5fca3c3cb30000108c092.html](https://www.larazon.es/cultura/historia/quien-fue-rita-cantaora-que-mencionamos-cuando-trabajo-nos-gusta_2024012865b5fca3c3cb30000108c092.html). Accessed 2 March 2024.

# Diachronic implications and comparative data

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## Upshot:

- **Complexifies** the existing polarity/negation landscape.
    - Proposed pathway **deviates** from typical changes involved in the diachrony of negative indefinites, notably **Jespersen's Cycle**.
  - **Taboo words** are **well-studied** as sources of expressive (grammaticalised) forms of negation (see, i.a., Postma, 2001; Hoeksema and Napoli, 2008; Napoli and Hoeksema, 2009; Gutzmann, 2015; Sailor, 2017, 2020; Sailor, 2018; Erschler, 2023).
  - Common nouns, '**minimisers**' and other sources of negative indefinites **also well-studied** (Haspelmath, 2001).
- However, **little to no** literature on **proper nouns** and/or person-referring expressions (though cf. Collins and Postal, 2012; Song et al., 2023: on 'imposters' and non-canonical pronouns).

## Diachronic implications and comparative data

- **Crosslinguistically similar phenomena.**
    - Romanian *Dracul* 'the devil' and *Bulă* (stock character).

- (35) a. A: *Ai văzut cât de multe lungă*  
AUX.HAVE.2SG see.PTCP how of very long  
*e temă de la matematică?*  
the homework of the maths  
'Have you seen how long the homework for maths is?'

b. B: *Da, sunt 30 de probleme...*  
yes are 30 of problems  
'Yes, there are 30 problems...'

c. A: **Dracul** le va face.  
devil.the CL.DO= will.3SG do.INF  
'The devil will do them.'

(Sergiu Petrușca, p.c.)

## Diachronic implications and comparative data

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- Crosslinguistically similar phenomena.

- Romanian *Dracul* 'the devil' and *Bulă* (stock character).

- (36) a. A: *Bucătăria miroase îngrozitor. Cine duce gunoiul?*  
kitchen.the smell.3SG horrible who take.3SG garbage.the  
'The kitchen smells horrible. Who takes the garbage out?'
- b. B: ***Bulă*** *duce gunoiul...*  
*Bulă* take.3SG garbage.the  
'Bulă takes the garbage out...'
- c. A: *Aşa mă gândeam şi eu, Ionut este negligent ca de obicei.*  
then CL.REFL= think.IMPF.1SG and I Ionut is negligent as-usual  
'That's what I thought, Ionut is neglectful as usual.' (*Bulă* ≈ 'no one will do something', but both Speaker and Addressee have a specific 'silly' person in mind that they know won't do it (Ionut))

(Sergiu Petrușca, p.c.)

## Diachronic implications and comparative data

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- Crosslinguistically similar phenomena.

- Irish 'Demonic Negation' (*Dheamhan* 'demon') as semantic marker of sentential negation.

- (37) a. ***Dheamhan*** *duine a bhuaileann sé.* [DemNeg + XP; Irish]  
demon person that hits he  
'Not one person does he hit.'
- b. ***Dheamhan*** *a mbuaileann sé aon duine.* [Bare DemNeg]  
demon that hits he any person  
'Indeed, he doesn't hit anybody.'

(D'Antuono, 2024: 2)

## Diachronic implications and comparative data

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- Crosslinguistically similar phenomena.

- German *einen/den Teufel tun* 'do a/the devil'.

(38) *Ich werde einen/den Teufel tun, dir zu helfen.*  
I will.1SG a/the.ACC devil do.IMP you to help.IMP

[German]

'I'll be damned if I help you / I will certainly not help you.'

(Sailer, 2018: 402)

- **Crosslinguistically similar phenomena.**
  - Romanian *Dracul* 'the devil' and *Bulă* (stock character).
  - Irish 'Demonic Negation' (*Dheamhan* 'demon') as semantic marker of sentential negation.
  - German *einen/den Teufel tun* 'do a/the devil'.
- ↪ Note these also reuse 'powerful', often religious/spiritual entities, strengthening diachronic link proposed here.
- ↪ Only partly overlapping with *RITA*, but reason to think other languages may present phenomena relevant for EPIs.

# **Conclusion**

## Why Rita is Interesting: final comments

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- Novel case-study of **proper nouns** undergoing formal change and **acquiring negation/quantificational/pronominal characteristics** – termed here **EPIs**.
  - Survey data reveals minimally 3/4 groups of speaker profiles, plausibly at distinct ‘grammaticalisation’ stages.
  - Particular significance of Group 4.
  - Comparison with other EPIs indicates inter-item variation, esp. w.r.t. *RITA*.
- Outstanding Qs:
  - Syntactic model of *RITA*'s distribution, across and within groups.
  - EPIs placement in a syntactic typology of negation/polarity.
  - How does the distribution of Catalan *RITA* compare to Spanish *RITA*?
  - More in-depth comparison with crosslinguistically similar phenomena.

→ **Overall:**

- Linguistically peculiar phenomenon, worthy of further study.
- Expands our grasp of grammaticalisation/pragmaticalisation pathways of expressive material and open new research avenues on diachronic sources of polarity/negation items.

# Thank you!

Gràcies, gracias!

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## Who is Rita?

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- 19th century Spanish singer/artist
- Article in *La Razón* sheds some light on the origin behind the expression and the 'I'-centred nature of RITA

*The figure of Rita la Cantaora remained for posterity in Spanish popular culture, not so much for her work as a singer and dancer, but because of an expression that became a popular proverb. Apparently, **her passion for the work was such that she was willing to perform wherever she was asked**, regardless of the money she earned for performing, and even to perform additional shows, whether asked by the owner of a 'tablao' or the organizer of a private party. She was so famous that even her own colleagues recommended her services when they did not offer them enough money to perform themselves. In this way, **the expression que lo haga Rita la Cantaora 'let Rita la Cantaora do it'** was coined to refer to all those occasions in which one is not willing to perform an action<sup>22</sup>.*

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<sup>22</sup> My own translation from: [https://www.larazon.es/cultura/historia/quien-fue-rita-cantaora-que-mencionamos-cuando-trabajo-nos-gusta\\_2024012865b5fca3c3cb30000108c092.html](https://www.larazon.es/cultura/historia/quien-fue-rita-cantaora-que-mencionamos-cuando-trabajo-nos-gusta_2024012865b5fca3c3cb30000108c092.html). Accessed 2 March 2024.

# Who is Rita?

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