

NEGATION, REFERENTIALITY AND BOUNDEDNESS IN BRETON
A CASE STUDY IN MARKEDNESS AND ASYMMETRY

by

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NEGATION, REFERENTIALITY AND BOUNDEDNESS

IN BRETON: A CASE STUDY IN MARKEDNESS

AND ASYMMETRY

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ABSTRACT

Negative sentences are considered to be marked vis-a-vis their positive counterparts. However, the markedness of sentence negation cannot be solely defined in terms of the presence or the absence of a polarity particle. Breton, a verb-second (V2) language, displays both negative and positive sentence particles. The markedness of sentence negation is realized rather by structural and semantic/pragmatic asymmetries. Structural asymmetries (chapter two) are associated with Breton V2. They relate to the notion of Predicate Domain, which must be bound. Whereas the negative particle binds the predicate domain, its positive counterparts do not. Hence preverbal noun phrases (NPs) serve to bind the predicate domain in affirmative but not in negative sentences. Two of the three preverbal positions available in affirmative sentences remain accessible in negative sentences. Semantic/pragmatic asymmetries (chapter three) pertaining to the V2 order relate to referentiality. In Breton, referential NPs can bind the predicate domain and appear preverbally while non-referential NPs marked by the preposition *ag* 'of' cannot. Potential binders for the predicate domain depend also on auxiliary selection. The auxiliary 'to be' associated with states shows, in the present tense, four forms demanding subject or non-subject binders. They are sensitive to the position and definiteness of their subjects and two of them do not occur in negative sentences. The auxiliary 'to have', associated with events, demands a referential subject and has no preferred binders. However, this auxiliary is used with eventive readings of state predicates obtained only with referential subjects. In negative sentences (chapter four), semantic asymmetries relate to aspect -- event predicates are interpreted as stative--, and to the irrealis modality -- indefinite NPs are interpreted as non-referential under the scope of negation. In Breton, this rule applies to the universal quantifier with a wide scope reading and the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading, being replaced in negative sentences by negative polarity items. Non-referential NPs marked by *ag*, which represent undefined subsets of entities, must occur in postverbal

position. Pragmatic asymmetries relate to the distinction presupposition versus assertion, and to metalinguistic negation, a marked kind of negation, which does not affect the aspect of event predicates nor the referentiality of NPs under its scope. Hence the universal quantifier with a wide scope reading, the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading, and the eventive reading of state predicates can occur under the scope of metalinguistic negation. This analysis is extended to other languages.

DEDICATION

to Henry Schapansky

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABL = ablative	NEG = negative particle
ACC = accusative case	NOM = nominative case
AGT = agent	NON-INDIC = non-indicative
ASSERT = assertive	O = objects
COLL = collective	OPT = optative
COMP = comparative	P = plural
COND = conditional	PART = partitive
DAT = dative case	PAT = patient
DEM = demonstrative enclitic	PERF = perfective aspect
DIM = diminutive suffix	PPERF = plus perfect
DUAL = dual number	PROG = progressive particle
EXC = exclamative particle	PRS = present tense
EX Δ T = existential	PRT = sentence particle
F = feminine gender	PST = past tense
FORM = formative morpheme	R = realis
FUT = future tense	REF = referential
GEN = genitive case	REFL = reflexive
HAB = habitual	REL = relative
IMP = impersonal ending	S = singular
IMPF = imperfective aspect	SS = singular subject
INDEF = indefinite	SING = singulative
INDIC = indicative	SUBJ = subjunctive
INF = infinitive	SUP = superlative
INTR = instrumental case	TOP = topic
IPF = imperfect tense	TR = transitive
IPT = imperative	VE = verb ending
IRREAL = irrealis	VERF = verification particle
LOC = locative	1 = first person
M = masculine gender	2 = second person
N = neuter	3 = third person

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

According to Horn (1989:xiii), 'the absolute symmetry definable between affirmative and negative propositions in logic is not reflected by a comparable symmetry in language structure and language use'. Chomsky (1957) gives the first transformational account of negation. In his analysis, negative sentences are derived from their positive counterparts. This approach was questioned. It was agreed, following the work of Katz and Postal (1964) that the application of transformations should not change the meaning of sentences from deep to surface structure. Klima (1964) added a negation node or NEG to the Chomskyan syntactic tree in order to account for sentential as well as constituent negation. In the early 1970s, the *left-to-right* rule was created to account for the interaction between quantifiers and negation (McCawley 1988: 620). But as McCawley notices, there is no simple relationship between quantifier scope, negation and word order (p 622). It follows that a comprehensive treatment of negation in natural languages is not an easy task.

Schapansky's investigation of negation in Celtic (1991) reveals that scope ambiguities as known in English do not exist in some Celtic languages. In these languages (Breton, Welsh and Irish), the scope of negation is grammaticalized, in contrast to English. Furthermore, universal and existential quantifiers cannot appear under the scope of negation in Celtic. They are replaced by negative polarity items. Breton provides further evidence, from word order restrictions, for the asymmetry between affirmative and negative sentences. This research provided the basis for a fellowship proposal submitted to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. However, it soon became apparent that the proposal was too limited by the *Government and Binding* (GB)

framework (Chomsky 1981), and that a theme linking the morphology, syntax and semantics/ pragmatics components was missing. A Relational Grammar (RG) perspective appears to have little to offer with respect to negation.

Further progress in the study of negation requires the combination of another line of research on impersonals (eg., indefinite nominals, unaccusativity, auxiliary selection, etc.). Negation and impersonals are interrelated in Breton. Here as well, asymmetries between affirmative and negative sentences are to be found. Thus we find word order restrictions or *structural asymmetries* involving the preverbal position at the basic sentence level. We also find *semantic/pragmatic asymmetries* relating to referentiality which may or may not feed structural asymmetries. The original RG orientation of the research on impersonals had little to offer with respect to the relationship between impersonals and negation. A new perspective is needed to connect structural and semantic/pragmatic asymmetries relating to negation. In the meantime, the concept of *markedness* became an important aspect of the research, particularly the *markedness of negation*, as discussed in Horn (1989). Negative sentences are considered to be marked vis-a-vis their positive counterparts, considered to be unmarked.

Combining negation with impersonals facilitated the study of the interaction of negation with referentiality. In many languages, sentence arguments behave differently according to whether they show a high or low referentiality, according to the polarity of sentences, positive or negative, and according to the aspect of predicates, event or state. For example, in Russian, subjects of an existential predicate and indefinite objects are respectively marked nominative and accusative in affirmative sentences. In negative sentences however, they are both marked genitive (Babby 1980). Similar phenomena are observed in Finnish and other languages. Subjects of transitive predicates do not participate in this system, which follows an absolute pattern (subjects of intransitive state predicates and objects behaving alike). How negation interacts with referentiality and the aspectual system is what I will unravel. To the best of my knowledge, this topic has not yet been researched.

The approach adopted in this work is rather unconventional. The goal of this work is not to adhere to a particular framework and show how well this framework can account for various phenomena in the language under study. Such an approach is based on a small set of well chosen data which behave according to the theoretical assumptions, while the rest of the data which do not behave according to the theoretical assumptions are avoided. A notorious example of this discussed in this work is the claim made by Anderson & Chung (1977) that double topicalization does not exist in Breton. This claim is adopted by Schafer (1995) in her account of Breton verb-second word order on theory internal ground. However, as shown in chapter two, this claim has no empirical validity.

To find a framework that will offer satisfactory explanations for the phenomena under study is not an easy task. The frameworks that are available have all their strengths and weaknesses and thus can offer only partial accounts. The best way to approach a language is to let the language speak for itself, that is let the language give the tools needed to account for it. This requires a considerable amount of descriptive work that not everyone is ready to undertake. The ultimate goal of this work is then to find a framework that emanates from the language rather than imposing one from the outside; hence the unusual number of descriptive data in this work.

As a system, a language is organized. However, its organization may differ from that pre-established in theoretical frameworks based on dominance relationships. Hence this work is not only descriptive but also theoretical in the sense that it offers some insights as to how a linguistic system can be organised around some key concepts such as the Predicate Domain in Breton. The Predicate Domain is a semantic not a syntactic notion. Hence the structures discussed in this work are semantic structures from which the syntax is interpreted, and not the reverse. A similar view is adopted by Bouchard (1995:26) within the Minimalist Approach (Chomsky 1995) who states that, although syntax might not be driven by semantic features, it is highly determined by semantic structure. My view is that syntax is what comes last, not what comes first. This makes this work less accessible since

it demands from the reader to shift gears. Instead of approaching the language from a top-down perspective in the conventional way, one must approach the language from a bottom-up perspective. Moreover, most of the Breton data presented in this work have not been discussed in the literature. This makes it less easy for the reader to process and understand this work since no other sources for the data in question are available which can serve as reference points. I hope that, this will not prevent the reader from a proper appreciation of this work.

Breton is a Celtic language spoken in the northwest part of France in the region known as *Bretagne* (Brittany). Four major dialects are recognized, *Gwenedeg* (vannetais), the dialect considered in this work, *Kerneveg* (cornouaillais), *Leoneg* (léonais) and *Tregerieg* (trégorois). Breton is a verb-second language with the order of the postverbal elements determined by the item present in preverbal position. This means that Breton is a discourse-oriented language and the discourse context determines which item goes in preverbal position. Hence to a large extent, the semantic structure is directly reflected in the syntax of this language. In Breton, nominals are morphologically unmarked for case, verbs remain unmarked for person and number with overt nominals, and the word order is relatively free given that tensed verbs occupy the second position in the sentence. Of crucial importance is the particle system presenting a set of three particles, two positive, *e/a* and *éh/e*, and one negative, *ne*, occurring between the preverbal item and the verb. These particles impose restrictions on word order possibilities and interact with the verb-second word order. Their syntactic properties are discussed in Schapansky (1992a). Their semantic properties will be discussed in this work. Moreover, Breton displays referentiality constraints that are associated with word order restrictions, auxiliary selection, the semantics of nominal arguments and the polarity of sentences.

In Breton, the word order is pragmatically determined by a referentiality constraint affecting the preverbal positions (chapter three), interacting with presupposition/assertion

(chapter four), and the verb-second or V2 word order (chapter two). No underlying word order is assumed here. Therefore the V2 order is not accounted for in terms of a particular structural configuration defined first for Germanic within GB, and later applied to Breton by Schafer (1992, 1994, 1995). The V2 word order is defined in theoretically neutral terms. This theory-neutral definition can account for the data included in, as well as problematical for, the formal approach (chapter two). Furthermore, to account for the referentiality constraint on the preverbal position, the *Givenness Hierarchy* framework of Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski (1993) is adapted to Breton and expanded to include quantifiers and predicate nouns (chapter three). Finally, the *Causal Chains* framework of Croft (1991b) is adapted to account for the interaction between negation, referentiality and aspect (chapter four).

The data gathered in this work has been collected during the last five years from different sources and included to a greater or lesser extent in previous works (see references). The Breton sources include grammars that are available on the different dialects, text books, dictionaries, journal articles, and other theoretical works, historical material, and some of the available literature. Some personal knowledge and knowledge shared through correspondence with J.Y. Urien in Rennes (Brittany) have also been used. For the purpose of consistency, this study will focus on the Gwenedeg dialect, the dialect I am most familiar with. The Celtic sources include grammars, journal articles as well as theoretical works. The non-Celtic sources include journal articles, theoretical works as well as grammars when available. I am responsible for the data for which no references are provided.

1.1. BACKGROUND

1.1.1. Event versus State

In the literature, sentences are commonly divided into event, process and state sentences (eg., Mourelatos 1981, Parsons 1990, Verkuyl 1993). Event sentences refer to

sentences in which an activity is taking place. This activity necessarily culminates resulting in a state, as in *Two teenagers killed a thirty-year-old man*. The activity culminates, when the man drops dead. State sentences refer to sentences in which a state is described. No activity and no culmination take place, as in *The apples are ripe*. Process sentences refer to sentences in which an activity is taking place (as in event sentences), but where no culmination takes place (as in state sentences), as in *The man wanders in the empty streets*. In the present work, process sentences are classified either as event or state sentences according to whether the activity or the state is emphasized. This represents the well-known split intransitivity. Furthermore, event sentences are also associated with telic verbs such as *kill* or *kick* showing an intrinsic endpoint. Process sentences are associated with atelic verbs showing no endpoint such as *run* or *play*. Telicity is not a verb feature but rather a feature associated with the construction in which the verb enters. Thus verbs like *kill* can be used in atelic contexts such as *kill time* where time does not represent an endpoint, or *kill oneself at work*, where oneself is not a conventional endpoint. Both *kill time* and *kill oneself at work* describe unbounded situations having durative aspect (cf. Heinämäki 1994). As we will see (un)boundedness plays an important role in Breton. Verbs like *run* can be used in telic contexts such as *run ten miles* or *run the marathon*, where *ten miles* and *the marathon* can be considered as extrinsic endpoints. Telicity thus can be intrinsic to some verbs, derived by adding extrinsic endpoints, or suppressed by removing intrinsic endpoints. The common denominator in event and process sentences, is that some activity takes place. Thus, events can be broadly defined as activities in which an animate being is engaged, as opposed to states where no activity is taking place.

Similarly, verbs are classified according to whether they are process or state verbs (Chung & Timberlake 1985:214). This is the basic distinction found in Breton and which is realized by auxiliary selection. Process verbs (or event predicates in this work) take the auxiliary 'to have' whereas state verbs (or state predicates in this work) take the auxiliary 'to be' in the perfect. However, as noted by Chung & Timberlake (op. cit. p 215-16),

process verbs can acquire a stative interpretation by removing the sense of change over time and present the verb as a property of its argument. Conversely, state verbs can acquire an eventive interpretation by adding a sense of actual or possible change. This is also realized in Breton by auxiliary selection. Event predicates can take the auxiliary 'to be' in their stative reading and state predicates can take the auxiliary 'to have' in their eventive reading. However a referentiality constraint affects the availability of the eventive reading of state predicates. The eventive reading of state predicates associated with non-referential subjects is not possible.

1.1.2. Negation, Event/State and Referentiality

In the literature reviewed from both philosophical and linguistic point of views (eg., Davidson 1980, Bach 1986, Parsons 1990, Verkuyl 1993), negation, with the exception of contrastive negation, is virtually absent from the discussion on events. According to Verkuyl (1993:163-64), negation changes the aspectual behavior of sentences with terminative [or culminative] aspect. Negation yields a durative reading which is associated with a state or an unbounded situation, and is thus atemporal. Furthermore, the distinction between collective and distributive interpretation is neutralized in negative sentences, whether specified quantifiers such as numerals, or non-referential quantifiers such as negated quantifiers or negative polarity items are used. For Verkuyl (op. cit. p 166), 'it is intuitively clear why regular [non-contrastive] negation and terminative aspect do not go together: there is no domain for a possible mapping between temporal and atemporal structures'.

According to Givón (1984:331), negation may be grouped with the irrealis rather than with the realis modality for the purpose of predicting the referentiality of nominal arguments. Under the scope of the irrealis modality which is shared by negation, indefinite arguments are interpreted as non-referential. Hence, referential indefinite arguments are not allowed in the scope of negation while non-referential counterparts are. This is crucial in

understanding the behavior of negative polarity items and nominals marked by the preposition *ag* ‘of, from’ in Breton.

Although negative sentences can be morphosyntactically active, they are nevertheless semantically stative, associated with a state (Givón 1978b, Horn 1989) or an unbounded situation following Verkuyl (1993), and associated with irrealis following Givón (1984). This is encoded in the *event structure* of sentences. Adopting Croft's *Causal Chain Structure* (1991b), I claim that the activity aspect inherently present in the event structure in affirmative sentences is absent in negative sentences.¹ Thus, in negative sentences, the event is no longer interpreted as event, but rather as an unbounded situation. The unbounded aspect of negative sentences can take various expressions in the world's languages.²

1.2. MARKEDNESS

Markedness has been a focus of attention in the last decades. Stemming from the Praguean system of binary features (Prague school of linguistics), first developed by Trubetskoy (1930) and adapted to grammatical categories by Jakobson (1931), markedness has been mostly studied from a typological point of view. This has led to the formulation of linguistic universals. More recently, the wave of generative grammarians in their quest for a Universal Grammar apply the notion of markedness to syntax. According to Battistella (1990:62), “syntactic markedness is used in the literature in the sense that a universal syntactic hierarchy is posited parallel to the phonological universal hierarchy. In this sense, syntactic markedness refers to a language independent ranking of syntactic constructs (rules, categories, constraints)”. However, there is no agreement as to what syntactic markedness is. One of the two main approaches in generative grammar is the *universalist*

¹ The idea of using Croft's Causal Chains framework comes from Miller (1995).

² For an overview of negation within the generative framework, see Jackendoff (1969), Baker (1989), Zanuttini (1990), and Haegeman (1995).

view, concerned with a grammar's distance from the initial state given by Universal Grammar. In this view, all the grammars found in the world's languages are seen as departing from an original idealized grammar, and consequently are assessed with respect to that idealized grammar. Grammars which depart the most from the idealized grammar are considered to be more marked than grammars which depart less, which are considered as less marked. The other view is the *core grammar view* concerned with the distance of a construction in the actual grammar of a language from the core grammar for that language (op. cit. p 64). In this view, various syntactic constructions of a particular language are assessed with respect to each other and ranked from the less to the more marked according to some "idealization" of that language grammar.³

With respect to markedness, it is generally assumed that, as opposed to affirmation, negation is a marked phenomenon (see Horn 1989). For example, negative sentences are considered to be marked by the presence of a negative particle. Affirmative sentences are considered to be unmarked, lacking a positive particle. However, markedness is first of all a semantic notion in the Praguean sense of the term (Andrews 1990). It cannot be equated with morphosyntactic markedness or Formal Marking defined in terms of the presence or absence of some feature (here presence or absence of a polarity particle) (Battistella 1990). This view of markedness is also challenged by Croft (1990) who shows that markedness involves more than just binary oppositions.

1.2.1 Concept of Markedness

As noted above, markedness is primarily a relation between two opposite members of a pair. According to Battistella (op. cit. p 25), all oppositions have an inherent non-equivalence defined in terms of the presence or the absence of some feature. For example, it is usually assumed that the singular is unmarked while the plural is marked by the addition of an extra morpheme, like /S/ in English. Furthermore, the markedness values in

³ See also Davison (1984), van Riemsdijk (1987).

a particular language can be determined by a series of criteria. *Optimality* is used to establish linguistic universals. The item that is implying tends to be unmarked while the item that is implied tends to be marked. *Breadth of distribution* states that the unmarked item tends to occur in a wider range of contexts and tends to occur in position of neutralization. *Syncretization* states that the unmarked item tends to have the same or a greater number of variants than the marked item. *Indeterminateness* states that the marked item tends to be more specific, more determinate than its unmarked counterpart. *Simplicity* states that the unmarked item tends to be morphologically less complex than its marked counterpart. *Prototypicality* states that the unmarked item tends to be conceptually less complex.

Markedness, as it applies to grammatical categories, is primarily a semantic notion, where the features that are opposed are of the sort [+/- human], [+/- animate], [+/- definite], etc. These features may or may not be morphologically realized. When they are morphologically realized, we have what Battistella calls *formal marking*, defined as “the relation between two opposite units of linguistic expression such that one is morphologically more complex than the other” (op. cit. p 34). The alignment of formal marking and semantic markedness may hold in different degrees in different parts of the grammar and in different languages.

As pointed out by Croft (1990:68), markedness theories based on the Praguean approach present some inadequacies. On the one hand, many grammatical categories have more than two values. For example, the category number covers, in many languages, the *dual*, *trial*, *paucal* (small number greater than two), as well as the singular and plural. On the other hand, the markedness of grammatical values is dependent on the other categories that intersect with them. For example, the category number may be related to subclasses of nouns in which the singular form is the marked category (also called *singulative*) and the non-singular form is the unmarked counterpart (also called *collective*). Let us illustrate this with Breton which is exceptionally rich in its way of marking number, as seen in (1).

(1) a.	singular	<i>lagad</i>	'eye'	<i>skouarn</i>	'ear'
	plural	<i>lagadeu</i>	'eyes'	<i>skouarneu</i>	'ears'
	dual	<i>deulagad</i>	'eyes (2m)'	<i>diùskouarn</i>	'ears (2f)'
	dual plural	<i>deulagadeu</i>	'eyes'	<i>diùskouarneu</i>	'ears'
b.	collective	<i>logod</i>	'mice'	<i>gwé</i>	'trees'
	singulative	<i>logoden</i>	'mouse'	<i>gwéen</i>	'tree'
	paucal	<i>logodeneu</i>	'few mice'	<i>gwéeneu</i>	'few trees'

When the noun refers to a body part (or anything else) that comes in a pair, such as the eyes or the ears, the dual is used to refer to the eyes or the ears of a person, as in *deulagad* and *diùskouarn* respectively. The number two, *deu-* for masculine and *diù-* for feminine, is prefixed to the noun in question, no plural suffix then appearing. When the eyes or ears of a group of persons are referred to, the plural suffix is added, thus giving the dual plural. In Breton, collective nouns are formed in two ways, either from a non-countable noun in the singular, as *gwé* 'trees', or from an old plural noun in which the plural suffix has lost its plural meaning and has acquired a collective interpretation, as in *logod* 'mice' (from Old Breton *lug* 'mouse' (cf. Welsh *lugod* 'mice')). To this collective noun, a singulative suffix is added *-en* (originally showing gender distinction, now only feminine in Breton) to refer to a particular entity, as in *logoden* 'a mouse' or *gwéen* 'a tree'. From this singulative, a paucal can be formed by adding the plural suffix *-eu* to refer to a small group of mice, as in *logodeneu*, or a small group of trees, as in *gwéeneu* (which can then be counted). In (1)b. as in (1)a., the order of presentation represents the degree of markedness from the least to the more marked item. This is represented by the markedness hierarchy given in (2) from the less to the more marked item in a left-right fashion.

(2) **Markedness Hierarchy: Number Marking in Breton**

- a. *singular* < *plural* < *dual* < *dual plural*
- b. *collective* < *singulative* < *paucal*

In (2)a., the presence of a dual plural implies the presence of a dual. The presence of a dual implies the presence of a plural. And the presence of a plural implies the presence of a

singular. Similarly in (2)b., the presence of a paucal implies the presence of a singulative and the presence of a singulative implies the presence of a collective. These implicational relationships show that, if we follow Battistella's definition of optimality (the item that is implying is unmarked while the item that is implied is marked), the item that is implying, appearing further to the right in (2), should be unmarked while the item that is implied, appearing further to the left in (2), should be marked. Obviously, this is not sustainable. While many languages marked only the plural and may have no dual or dual plural, many languages have a collective but no singulative or paucal, as in English. Hence, the items appearing further to the right tend to be more marked than the items appearing further to the left in (2). Therefore optimality should be redefined as (3).

(3) **Optimality: Revised**

In implicational relationships, the feature values that are implying tend to be marked while the feature values that are implied tend to be unmarked.

This new definition of optimality is further discussed with respect to negative morphemes below.

Characteristics of Breton number marking also include the absence of a plural suffix when the noun is already quantified by a numeral, as seen in the dual. This applies to any numerals, such as *kant* 'hundred' in *kant ti* 'hundred houses' (*ti* 'house'; *tier* 'houses'). This potentially challenges the markedness theory, as observed in (4),

- (4) a. *er levr*_____ 'the book'
 b. *ur levr*_____ 'a book'
 c. *tregont levr*_____ 'thirty books'

where the plural indicated by *tregont* 'thirty' in (4)c. is not more marked than the singular indicated in (4)a. by the definite article *er* 'the' or in (4)b. by the indefinite article *ur* 'a'. In all three cases, the noun *levr* 'book' remains unmarked for plurality. This follows a tendency of the language, which is formulated in (5).

(5) *When an item is marked syntactically, it will not be marked morphologically as well.*

This holds for the other Brythonic languages as far as number marking is involved.⁴ This forces us to reevaluate what formal marking is: does formal marking apply to a single word or does it apply to a phrasal unit? In Breton, formal marking seems to apply to the phrasal unit. This is an important distinction which plays a crucial role in the syntax of the language, as we will see below.

1.2.2. The Concept of Markedness and Negation

With respect to markedness, expressions containing a negative morpheme are considered to be marked as opposed to expressions lacking a positive counterpart which are considered to be unmarked. Without getting into the philosophical debate regarding the ontological status of negation (see Horn 1989 for such a matter), we can sketch out the arguments put forward to support the markedness of negation. They are given in (6).

- (6) a) *affirmation is prior to negation* (Horn 1989:154).
b) *negative terms are derived from neutral (or positive) terms* (op.cit.).
c) *marked categories tend to be harder, and take longer, for children to acquire; so is negation in English* (op. cit. p 161).
d) *negation is more difficult to comprehend than affirmation - a negative sentence may take longer to process, and is less accurately recalled and evaluated relative to a fixed state of affairs than the corresponding positive sentence* (op. cit. p 168).
e) *negative propositions are less informative than their positive counterparts.*

The first argument relates to ontology and need not concern us here. The second argument relates to formal marking, the presence versus the absence of a negative morpheme, and is thus relevant to our discussion. The next two arguments relate to language acquisition and language processing respectively. No studies in this respect are available on Breton (that are known to me). Hence these arguments will not be included in the discussion. The last argument relates to pragmatics and will be discussed in chapter four. Out of the five

⁴ In Irish, number marking is a rather complex issue involving the internal structure of compound numerals. For more details see Duffield (1995).

arguments put forward to support the alleged markedness of negation, only one, formal marking, can be effectively assessed with respect to Breton morphological and syntactic negation. Before considering how formal marking does apply to Breton sentences, let us have a brief look at how it applies at the word level with respect to negative prefixes.

1.2.2.1. *Markedness and Affixes*

At the morphological level, negative words are generally considered as marked with respect to their positive counterparts since they present an affix that positive words lack. Quoting Sommers (1970:6), Horn (op. cit. p 154) notes that “it is an unfortunate ‘accident’ that there is no term **plus-wise* alongside and symmetrical to the occurring *unwise*”. However, not only do we find a negative prefix in Breton but we also find a positive counterpart, which is prefixed to stems that are semantically neutral or negative, as shown in (7).

(7)

<i>derc’hel</i>	‘to hold’	<i>dizalc’h</i>	‘lax, free’	<i>hezalc’h</i>	‘easy to hold’
<i>bout</i>	‘to be’	<i>amvoud</i>	‘non etre’	<i>hevoud</i>	‘bien être’
<i>lenn</i>	‘to read’	<i>amlennek</i>	‘little educated’	<i>helennek</i>	‘erudite’
<i>lusk</i>	‘movement’	<i>dilusk</i>	‘immobile’	<i>helusk</i>	‘mobile’
<i>losk</i>	‘burnt’	<i>dilosk</i>	‘incombustible’	<i>helosk</i>	‘combustible’
<i>lavarout</i>	‘to speak’	<i>dilavar</i>	‘mute’	<i>helavar</i>	‘eloquent’
<i>krediñ</i>	‘to believe’	<i>amgredik</i>	‘suspicious’	<i>hegredik</i>	‘credulous’
<i>koll</i>	‘to lose’	<i>digoll</i>	‘to not lose’	<i>hegoll</i>	‘easy to lose’
<i>karout</i>	‘to like’	<i>digar</i>	‘bad, cruel’	<i>hegar</i>	‘affectuous’
<i>plegañ</i>	‘to fold’	<i>dibleg</i>	‘rigid’	<i>hebleg</i>	‘flexible’
<i>teurel</i>	‘to break’	<i>didorr</i>	‘non-broken’	<i>hedorr</i>	‘breakable’
<i>son</i>	‘song’	<i>disoniezh</i>	‘disonance’	<i>heson</i>	‘harmonious’ ⁵

Which of the two prefixes is unmarked with respect to the other? If we apply the criteria established to determine the markedness values seen earlier, we cannot consider the negative prefix as marked with respect to its positive counterpart. Out of the six criteria described above, only the first three can be reliably applied to Breton. Under *optimality* defined by Battistella, the positive prefix appears to be unmarked: if a language has a

⁵ This list is far from being exhaustive.

positive prefix it will also have a negative prefix. The reverse may not hold, as seen in English lacking a positive prefix. However, Battistella's notion of optimality is problematical here as well. While many languages have a negative affix, very few of them show a positive counterpart. While the presence of a positive affix implies the presence of a negative counterpart, the presence of a negative affix does not imply the presence of a positive counterpart. Hence the item that is implying tends to be marked while the item that is implied tends to be unmarked. Under *breadth of distribution*, the negative prefix appears to be unmarked. The negative prefix can be affixed to stems that are semantically positive, neutral or negative, as shown in (8) whereas the positive prefix can only be affixed to stems that are neutral or negative, as seen above.⁶

(8)		positive stems			negative stems		
<i>gounid</i>	'to gain'	<i>dic'hounid</i>	'not to gain'	<i>koll</i>	'to lose'	<i>digoll</i>	'not to lose'
<i>koant</i>	'pretty'	<i>digoant</i>	'ugly'	<i>vil</i>	'ugly'	<i>divilaet</i>	'not ugly'
<i>komz</i>	'to speak'	<i>digomz</i>	'not to speak'	<i>mud</i>	'mute'	<i>divudet</i>	'not mute'
<i>gwenn</i>	'white'	<i>diwenn</i>	'not white'	<i>du</i>	'black'	<i>dizuet</i>	'not black'
<i>mad</i>	'good'	<i>divad</i>	'not good'	<i>drouk</i>	'bad'	<i>dizrouk</i>	'not bad'
<i>buhez</i>	'life'	<i>divuhez</i>	'lifeless'	<i>marv</i>	'dead'	<i>divervelezh</i>	'resurrection'

Under *syncretization*, the negative prefix appears to be unmarked having more variants, as shown in (9), than its positive counterpart showing only one morpheme, as seen above.

(9) <i>tan</i>	'fire, light'	<i>didan</i>	'unlighted'	<i>distan</i>	'appeasing'
<i>to</i>	'roof'	<i>dido</i>	'roofless'	<i>disto</i>	'roofless'
<i>tro</i>	'tour'	<i>didro</i>	'detourless'	<i>distro</i>	'come back'
<i>blev</i>	'hair'	<i>divlev</i>	'hairless'	<i>disblev</i>	'lost hair'
<i>boued</i>	'substance'	<i>divoued</i>	'substanceless'	<i>disboued</i>	'foodless'
<i>lennegel</i>	'literary'	>	<i>amlennegel</i>	'non-literary'	
<i>tremened</i>	'passed'	>	<i>amdremened</i>	'imperfect (tense)'	
<i>kevredigezhel</i>	'sociable'	>	<i>amgevredigezhel</i>	'insociable, marginal'	
<i>houarn</i>	'iron'	>	<i>amhouarnek</i>	'non-ferrous'	
<i>blaz</i>	'odor, taste'	>	<i>amvlizidegezh</i>	'lack of taste.'	
<i>organek</i>	'organic'	>	<i>anorganek</i>	'inorganic'	

⁶ Schapansky (1994c) claims that negative prefixes can be affixed to stems that are semantically neutral or positive and that the positive prefix can be affixed to stems that are semantically negative or neutral. This is obviously a mistake, as evidenced by the data presented here.

The criterion of *indeterminateness* seems to follow from, or be an instance of, *breadth of distribution*. If the unmarked item is less specific, less determinate, it will occur in a wider range of contexts. Thus it cannot serve as an independent criterion since it is included in another criterion. The criterion of *simplicity* does not apply in this case since both derived negative and positive words are equally complex, a prefix being added. Finally, *prototypicality* is first of all a psychological notion adapted to linguistics. Lakoff (1987) sees prototypes as cognitive reference points, as category members that serve as “best example” of some category or set (Battistella 1990:41). Prototypes can be psychologically measured through testing, and can be linguistically assessed through discourse or text analysis. The criterion of prototypicality follows from the other criteria and cannot serve as an independent criterion.

The above suggests that the negative prefix appears to be less marked than its positive counterpart with respect to optimality defined in (3), breadth of distribution and syncretization. It is not less marked than its positive counterpart with respect to simplicity. Furthermore, both negatively and positively derived words are marked with respect to words which are not derived by the addition of a negative or positive prefix. We can thus establish a markedness hierarchy. This is given in (10) from the less to the more marked item in a left-to-right fashion.

(10). *Markedness Hierarchy*

non-derived words < *negatively derived words* < *positively derived words*

Similar observations can be made with respect to sentence particles.

1.2.2.2. *Markedness and Sentence Particles*

It is generally assumed that, cross-linguistically, negative sentences are more marked than their basic positive counterparts from which they are thought to be derived (see Horn 1989). If we consider English examples, we can see that, whereas the positive sentence in

(11)a. is unmarked, the negative sentence in (11)b. is marked by the presence of the negative particle *not*.

- (11)a. *My brother is coming for dinner.*
 b. *My brother is not coming for dinner.*

If we turn now to Breton, we encounter some difficulties. Unlike English which has a rigid SVO word order, Breton presents a relatively free word order given that the tensed verb appears in second position. This is illustrated in (12) for the Gwenedeg dialect.

- (12)a. Ar Gelted koh e inouré ar mammenneu.
 the Celts old PRT worship.IPF the springs
 'The old Celts worshipped the springs.' (Herrieu 1979:78)
- b. Kourmoul du e weler én néanv.
 clouds black PRT see.PRS.IMP in.the sky
 'Black clouds are seen in the sky.' (op. cit. p 41)
- c. Bemdé é komzer a laeronsi ér hazetteneu.
 every day PRT speak.PRS.IMP of robbery in.the newspapers
 'Every day, they talk about robbery in the newspapers.' (op. cit. p 101)

The subject in (12)a., the direct object in (12)b. and the adverb in (12)c. occur in preverbal position, given the appropriate particle, *e* or *é(h)*. The same holds for negative sentences, as shown in (13).

- (13)a. Er réral ne oent ket ankinet get kement-sé.
 the others NEG be.PST.3P NEG bothered with all-DEM
 'The others were not bothered by all that.' (Guilloux 1992:77)
- b. Kalz a draoù ne ouien ket.
 much of things NEG know.IPF.1S NEG
 'I did not know many things.' (Ar Mason 1986:94)
- c. Er burev ne gavan nemet er renerez.
 in-the office NEG find.PRS.1S except the manager(f)
 'In the office, I find only the manager.' (op. cit. p 124)

While we find two particles in positive sentences in (12) we find only one particle in negative sentences in (13). If we apply the criteria discussed above, we have the following.

Under *optimality* defined in Battistella (if a language has a positive particle it will also have a negative particle), the positive particle appears to be unmarked. However, while all languages mark sentence negation in one way or another, very few languages mark simple affirmative sentences. The presence of positive sentence particles in languages appears to be more marked. This is accounted for by optimality defined in (3). The item that is implying tend to be marked while the item that is implied tend to be unmarked. Under *breadth of distribution*, the sentence particles are not marked with respect to each other since neither has a wider distribution. *Syncretization* does not apply in this case. Although the positive particle shows two variants whereas its negative counterpart shows only one, a second negative particle *na* is used in some dialects in negative relative clauses, negative imperatives, and others. *Simplicity* does not apply in this case. Sentences are marked either with a positive or negative sentence particle. Hence, we cannot ascertain which of the two sets of particles is marked with respect to the other. Nevertheless, the presence of a second negative morpheme *ket* in (13) should be sufficient to indicate the marked status of negative sentences in the language.⁷ However, as we will see below, *ket* can be omitted and thus cannot serve as a reliable index for determining morphological markedness values.

1.2.2.3. *Affixal versus Sentential Negation*

As seen earlier, the marking of person and/or number is effected at the phrase rather than the word level. Thus concordance affixes are not used. When plurality is overtly expressed by a numeral for example, the word thus quantified remains unmarked for plurality, as in (4)c. When the subject is overtly expressed, the verb remains unmarked for the person and number of its subject, as seen in (12)a.

The marking of negation shows a similar pattern. When negation is realized at the word level, it will not be realized at the sentence level, unless a double negation is implied. This is shown in (14) and (15).

⁷ For the origin of KET see Schapansky (1994a).

- (14)a. Adal er gourhemenneu dihuennet e oé bet brehonekat.
 since the orders forbidden PART be.PST been Breton.INF
 'Since the orders, speaking Breton was forbidden .' (Guilloux 1992:123)
- b. Adal er gourhemenneu, ne oé ket bet autréet brehonekat.
 since the orders NEG be.PST NEG been allowed Breton.INF
 'Since the orders, speaking Breton was not allowed.'
- (15)a. Adal er gourhemenneu, ne oé ket bet dihuennet brehonekat.
 since the orders NEG be.PST NEG been forbidden Breton.INF
 'Since the orders, speaking Breton was not forbidden .'
- b. Adal er gourhemenneu, autréet e oé bet brehonekat.
 since the orders allowed PART be.PST been breton.INF
 'Since the orders, speaking Breton was allowed.'

In (14)a., we have the verb *dihuenn* 'to forbid' which is semantically negative. Its positive counterpart is *autréed* 'to authorize'. While *dihuennet* takes the positive particle *e* in (14)a., *autréet* takes the negative particle *ne* in (14)b. Thus, sentence (14)b. is logically equivalent to sentence (14)a. In (15)a. however, the verb *dihuennet* takes the negative particle *ne*, thus implying a double negation which is logically equivalent to an affirmation, as in (15)b.

Although it is natural for many Indo-European languages to mark negation only once, it is not uncommon to find negation marked more than once, as seen in (16) for colloquial French.

- (16) J' ai pas vu personne
 I have not seen nobody
 'I did not see anybody.'

In (16), we find negation marked by the negative particle *pas* which represents sentence negation, and negation marked by the negated quantifier *personne* 'nobody'. When negation is marked only once, as in standard French in (17)a., or as in colloquial French in (17)b., *pas* is not used.

- (17) a. Je n' ai vu personne.
 I not have seen anybody
 'I saw nobody.'

- b. J' ai vu personne
I have seen nobody
'I saw nobody.'

The fact that negation is working at the phrase rather than the word level in Breton has some implications for asymmetries observed between affirmative and negative sentences.

To sum up, Formal Marking cannot define markedness. According to Givón (1978b), it is difficult to establish which member of a binary opposition is marked and which is unmarked by the presence or the absence of some feature. For Givón, sentence negation is, rather, pragmatically marked. A similar view is held by Horn (1989). As we will see, sentence negation is marked morphosyntactically, semantically, and pragmatically. The markedness of sentence negation is expressed by asymmetries, but not the kind of asymmetries associated with Formal Marking. Formal Marking, the most superficial process for marking concepts, cannot alone serve to define markedness. In the remainder of this work, we will concentrate on less obvious asymmetrical relationships observed between affirmative and negative sentences, which show how negative sentences are marked vis-a-vis their affirmative counterparts.

1.3. THEORETICAL CHOICE

1.3.1. Overview

Most works on negation have been carried out either from a formal semantic or from a morphosyntactic point of view. From a formal semantic point of view, negation is studied in respect of its interactions with quantifiers and modals (eg., Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet 1990). The same holds for the *Logical Form* (LF) component of GB (eg., Chomsky 1981). From a morphosyntactic point of view, structural asymmetries between affirmative and negative sentences are studied in as far as getting the right structure is at issue (eg., Chomsky 1957, Klima 1964, Laka 1990, and, for Breton, Schafer 1995). Similarly,

Negative Polarity Items (NPI) have been studied for their interactions with negation. From a semantic point of view, NPIs occur in downward entailing contexts (Ladusaw 1980). From a pragmatic viewpoint, NPIs occur in the immediate scope of negative implicatures (Linebarger 1987). From a formal syntax perspective, NPIs are subject to the principle A of the Binding Theory and occur in non-upward entailing contexts (Progovac 1992, 1994). However, the relation between NPIs and referentiality has not been formally addressed. The genitive of negation created a problem for GB Case Theory. In contrast, Relational Grammarians show little interest in negation except for the account of the genitive of negation. None of these theories has addressed the issues of why these asymmetries exist and what they reflect.

While *(in)definiteness* has been widely studied from a formal point of view (cf. Hawkins 1978, Perlmutter 1978, Heim 1982, Fodor & Sag 1982, Keenan 1987, Safir 1987, Lumsden 1988, Belletti 1988, Chesterman 1991, Diesing 1992, etc), its interaction with both negation and stativeness has not been discussed in detail, with the notable exception of Babby (1980). From a functional perspective, the relation between negation, referentiality and (in)definiteness is addressed in Givón (1978b, 1984). Indefinites may acquire a non-referential interpretation under the scope of opacity-producing modalities which include negation. This analysis is relevant for quantifiers. We will see that, in Celtic, the universal quantifier with a wide scope reading and the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading are perceived as indefinite quantifiers in the scope of negation, and thus are replaced by non-referential counterparts. This analysis is also relevant for the marking of nominal arguments. Non-referential arguments are marked in the scope of negation by a case (as in Finnish or Russian), or by a preposition (as in Breton or French).

1.3.2. Croft's Causal Chains (1991b)

The framework chosen for this study of negation and its the intricate relationship with other semantic components of sentences and nominal arguments is that of *Causal Chains*

proposed by Croft (1991b).⁸ The reasons for this choice are as follows. First, it is neutral with respect to grammatical relations. That is, grammatical relations are rather interpreted from the context according to the functions the nominals play in the sentence, rather than being considered as undefined primitives (as in RG), or being defined in terms of a position in a tree diagram configuration (as in GB), or later the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995). This is important with respect to Breton. In this language, grammatical relations such as subject or object are not overtly marked as such. Both subject and object are morphologically unmarked for case. They do not show agreement with the verb and their order of occurrence is relatively free. How nominals are interpreted as subjects or objects depends to a large extent on the context, as discussed in chapter three. Therefore, assigning a-priori a grammatical relation or a position in the tree structure to a Breton nominal does not reflect with accuracy the role played by the interpretive component at the level of semantics/pragmatics. Second, the framework distinguishes event from state predicates, a recurrent distinction in the world's languages. The distinction between event and state predicates, or simply the distinction between events and states, plays an important role in Breton. It affects auxiliary selection according to whether the subject is or is not referential and according to whether the subject is definite or indefinite, as discussed in chapter three. The distinction between events and states also plays an important role in negative sentences considered in this work as stative (chapter four). The Causal Chain framework is the only framework that can capture this fact. Thirdly, negation can be integrated into this framework. Each segment of the causal chain can be negated and negation of one segment of the chain affects other segments as well. This will allow us to unravel the prismatic nature of negation and the complexity of its realization in the world's languages. Finally, this framework has been developed from typological studies and studies on markedness, an important aspect of this research.

⁸ This framework will be used in chapter four only to illustrate the fact that negative sentences represent unbounded situations and to show how negation can be represented in a system without adding any superfluous devices, which create more problems than can solve.

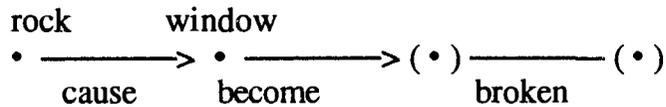
1.3.2.1. Theoretical Perspective

In Croft (1991b:32-33), the primary function of natural language is to communicate information. Thus both the structure of the information -- semantics -- and the structure of communication -- pragmatics and discourse -- contribute to determining basic language structure. The morphosyntactic structure is constituted by three essential components: units of various types (e.g., 'noun', 'verb', 'argument phrase'); the relations of dependencies that hold between the units; and the linear order in which these units appear in the utterance. However, the linear order is delinked from the grammatical dependencies (grammatical relations), as in RG or its subsequent development MAPing Theory (Gerdtz 1992). That is, the linear order in which the participants appear in the causal chain (see (18) and below) may not represent the linear order in which units appear in a sentence, as demonstrated in (20) below. Furthermore, the clause is defined as a syntactic unit made up of the following smaller units: a verb or predicate, one or more argument phrases that are dependent on the verb to varying degrees (and within the argument phrase), a noun and (perhaps) adjectives or other modifying expressions that are dependent on the noun. The three primary morphosyntactic strategies of grammatical dependencies are linear order, a 'deictic' morphological strategy (agreement affixes and elements), and a 'relational' strategy (adpositions and case marking). These strategies are implicit in GB and its subsequent developments, Principles and Parameters (P&P) (Chomsky 1991) and the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995). They are explicit in Gerdtz (1990). So why have we adopted the framework of Croft (1991b) rather than Gerdtz (1992) or Chomsky (1995)? In order to understand what negation is all about, we need a pretheoretical account of the various phenomena relating to negation and to build upon this some kind of representation in a bottom-up fashion. Imposing a ready-made formalism from top-down is inevitably reductive and can only offer a partial account of the phenomena under study.

we need to include here the representation of three different verb types, causative in (21)a., inchoative in (21)b. and stative in (21)c. (op. cit. p 262-63).

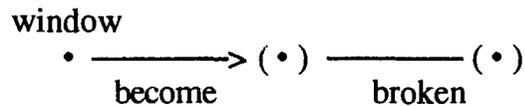
CAUSATIVE

(21)a. The rock broke the window.



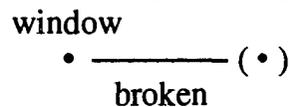
INCHOATIVE

(21)b. The window broke.



STATIVE

(21)c. The window is broken.



The difference between the causative, inchoative, and stative structure is that the inchoative structure lacks the cause arc present in the causative structure. The stative structure lacks the cause arc present in the causative structure and the change of state arc present in both the causative and inchoative structures.

This rather sketchy outline of causal chains gives us the basics needed and will be further elaborated when introducing negation in chapter four.

1.4. ORGANIZATION

This work is organized as follows. Chapter Two discusses structural asymmetries linked to the V2 word order in Breton, which is neither asymmetrical (as in German where it is mainly found in matrix clauses), nor symmetrical (as in Yiddish where it applies to all clauses). Breton V2 is rather articulated at the sentence level, with optional symmetrical V2 constructions. Previous accounts of Breton V2 word order, Schafer (1995) and Schapansky (1992a), show that analyses based on limited data fail to account for the V2

word order. Examining data involving simple as well as complex sentences, articulated as well as symmetrical V2 constructions, affirmative and negative sentences: three preverbal positions are identified, with only two of them available in negative sentences. Breton sentence structure is thus established and the V2 Requirement is defined as *saturation of the predicate domain*. The predicate domain, a key concept in this work, is required to be saturated or bound by some item occurring before the verb. Saturators, or binders, for the predicate domain include the negative particle. When the predicate domain is not saturated by one of the saturators, the preverbal positions are accessed to satisfy the V2 Requirement. Thus, asymmetry between affirmative and negative sentences arises. The types of NP which can serve as binders for the predicate domain, are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Three discusses semantic/pragmatic asymmetries relating to referentiality and discusses which NPs can serve as binders for the predicate domain. The referentiality of NPs is examined in the light of the Givenness Hierarchy framework proposed by Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski (1993) and applied to natural discourse data. NPs which can serve as binders for the predicate domain must be referential or focus. Referentiality thus constrains the placement of preverbal NPs. NPs marked by the preposition *ag* 'of', which is associated with the partitive, can serve as subjects of state predicates and as objects. These NPs are non-referential and cannot appear in preverbal position as foci. This is not predicted by the Referentiality Constraint. Thus, a new definition of the Referentiality Constraint on the placement of preverbal NPs is provided. What can serve as a binder for the predicate domain depends also on auxiliary selection. Modern Gwenedeg presents two auxiliaries, *endout* 'to have' associated with event predicates (or boundedness) and *bout* 'to be' associated with state predicates (or unboundedness) in the perfect. *Bout* 'to be' displays in the present tense, four forms, which demand to be bound by subjects or non-subjects, and which are sensitive to the position and definiteness of their subjects. Two of them do not occur in negative sentences. In contrast, *endout* 'to have' does not show a preferred

binder and demands a referential subject, whether definite or indefinite. Moreover, event predicates can take the auxiliary *bout* ‘to be’ if a stative reading is obtained, and state predicates can take the auxiliary *endout* ‘to have’ if an eventive reading is obtained and the subject is referential. Referentiality, which restricts the set of possible binders for the predicate domain and interacts with auxiliary selection, plays an important role in negation as well.

Chapter Four provides an account of structural and semantic/pragmatic asymmetries pertaining to negative sentences. A theoretical account of sentence negation is provided, adopting Croft’s Causal Chain Structure (1991b), and serves as a basis for a typological study. It shows that sentence negation is suspensive in that it changes the polarity of a sentence, and changes the aspectual behavior of event predicates, which are interpreted as stative. Hence, negative sentences describe unbounded situations. Negation is also associated with the irrealis modality. In the scope of negation, indefinite NPs are interpreted as non-referential. This constraint applies, in Breton, to the universal quantifier with a wide scope reading equivalent to English *everyone not* meaning *no one* and to the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading equivalent to *not someone* meaning *no one*. They are replaced in negative sentences by negative polarity items (NPIs) since Breton does not have the counterpart of English *no one*. The distribution of Breton NPIs follows the distinctions presupposition versus non-presupposition and preverbal versus postverbal position and is instrumental in determining the scope of negation, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic. Non-referential NPs, subjects of state predicates (which are not presupposed) and objects, can be marked in Breton by the preposition *ag* ‘of’ when they represent an incomplete subset of entities. They must appear in postverbal position in the scope of the predicate. The pragmatic markedness of sentence negation relates to the distinction presupposition versus non-presupposition, and to metalinguistic negation. Metalinguistic negation is a device for objecting to a previous utterance on any grounds. It does not affect the polarity of a sentence, does not change the aspect of event predicates, and does not

affect the referentiality of indefinite NPs under its scope. Hence, metalinguistic negation is not suspensive and is associated with bounded situations. Thus, in Breton, the universal quantifier with a wide scope reading, the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading, and the eventive reading of state predicates can appear under the scope of metalinguistic negation. These asymmetries, morphosyntactic and semantic/pragmatic, characterize the markedness of sentence negation.

CHAPTER TWO

NEGATION VERB SECOND WORD ORDER AND STRUCTURAL ASYMMETRIES

The asymmetries observed between affirmative and negative sentences in Breton relate to the verb-second or V2 word order. In the literature, two types of V2 structure are attested, *symmetrical* and *asymmetrical*. The symmetrical V2 structure applies to all clauses, as in Icelandic, Faroese or Yiddish. The asymmetrical V2 structure applies only to matrix clauses and a small set of subordinate clauses, as in German or Dutch (Coté 1995:167-68). Whether symmetrical or asymmetrical, one preverbal position is usually posited with the V2 structure. Breton V2 order has been classified as “asymmetrical”, associated with one preverbal position (Schafer 1995). However, more than one preverbal position must be recognized. A concurrent symmetrical V2 structure is also found in this language. Thus, Breton V2 order is neither symmetrical nor asymmetrical and functions at the sentence rather than the clause level.

This Chapter is organized as follows. Section One discusses structural asymmetries based on data involving one preverbal item and the particle system. The two views of Breton V2 structure, the movement and the non-movement approaches, are compared and contrasted. Examining previous accounts, Schafer (1995) and Schapansky (1992a), it is argued that the strange behaviour of the negative particle cannot be accounted for unless we postulate a second series of asymmetries. These asymmetries involve not the particle system *per se*, but rather the structure of Breton sentences. Section Two discusses structural asymmetries based on data involving more than one preverbal item. Considering co-occurrence restrictions between the preverbal items and the clause type, three preverbal

positions are identified, with only two of them being optionally accessed in negative sentences. With this new set of data, the structure of Breton sentences is established. A unified account of the V2 word order is provided, with the V2 Requirement defined as *Saturation of the Predicate Domain*. Whereas the negative particle saturates the predicate domain, its positive counterparts do not; hence the asymmetries between affirmative and negative sentences. Implications of this proposal are further discussed.

2.1. VERB-SECOND WORD ORDER

As a Celtic language, Breton has been analysed as a verb-initial language with topicalization (e.g., Anderson 1981, Timm 1991). The current Principles and Parameters (P&P) view (Chomsky 1991) is that Breton shows a V2 order in root clauses and a V1 order in negative and subordinate clauses (Schafer 1992 and subsequent works). One preverbal position is usually posited following Anderson & Chung's claim (1977) that double topicalization does not occur in Breton. Data involving more than one preverbal item have been carefully avoided and only "ungrammatical" examples have been shown. In this view, Breton word order is seen as asymmetrical. Breton word order has also been analysed as V2 on the grounds that a verb may never appear sentence initially in the language (e.g., Urien 1982, 1987; Schapansky 1992).¹ What occurs preverbally in affirmative sentences is related to the particle following the preverbal item. Two competing views are found. Either the category of, or the grammatical relation of, the preverbal item determines the choice of the particle following. On the one view, preverbal noun phrases (NPs) precede the particle *a* (*e* in Gwenedeg) while preverbal phrases other than NPs precede the particle *ez* (*éh* in Gwenedeg) (e.g., Anderson 1981, Urien 1982, Schapansky 1992). On the other view, preverbal subjects or objects precede the particle *a/e* while preverbal items other than subjects or objects precede the particle *ez/éh* (e.g., Schafer 1992,

¹ The terms symmetrical and asymmetrical have not been yet applied to Breton.

1995). However, since the negative particle does not follow the distribution of either one of the two particles but shows some overlap between the two, its distribution has not been accounted for (e.g., Anderson 1981, Urien 1982, Schafer 1995), except by Schapansky (1992) taking a different perspective on the matter.

2.1.1. Preverbal Position and Particle system

The V2 word order in Breton is not a new idea per se. It is implicit in all Breton traditional grammar books as well as in the published literature on this language. It is explicit in Schafer (1992) and subsequent works, and in Schapansky (1992) and subsequent works. Different views on Breton V2 word order have been proposed in the literature. The critical data involve differences observed between affirmative and negative sentences. However, the data mainly discussed involve one preverbal position, on the basis of which the particle system has been established. In this section we will examine the particle system associated with sentences involving one preverbal position only. We will then review the literature and compare and contrast the two accounts that refer explicitly to Breton V2 order.

2.1.1.1. *The Particle system*

As a Celtic language, Breton has a system of verbal proclitics also known as preverbal particles which occur between a preverbal item and the following tensed verb. In Irish and Welsh, these particles are considered as relative particles playing the roles of relative pronouns. In Breton however, the relative meaning associated with these particles has been weakened over time and the use of these particles has been extended to all non-relative clauses/sentences.² Thus in modern Gwenedeg, we find three particles: *e* associated with preverbal nouns or relative clauses; *éh* associated with preverbal items other than nouns,

² The particle *e* (*a* in the other dialects) originated as a relative clitic **ai*. The particle *éh* (*ez* in the other dialects) originated as a locative adverb **idhe* 'there' (cf. Fleuriot (1985) for Breton, Moris Jones (1955) for Welsh, Thurneysen (1980) for Irish, and Lewis & Pedersen (1961)).

For a similar view on the particles, see Denez (1974).

and clauses other than relative clauses; and the negative particle *ne*, the only particle that can freely begin a sentence.

2.1.1.1.1. Core Grammatical Relations

As argued by Schapansky (1992a) following Urien (1982), Breton can be characterized as a verb-second language where the order of the postverbal elements is determined by the preverbal item while the verb remains in second position. This is best observed with core grammatical relations, as illustrated in (1).

- (1)a. Un tasadig kafe e hré vad nezé.
 a cup.DIM coffee PRT make.IPF good then
 'A small cup of coffee made one feel good then.' (Jaffré 1986:18)
- b. Delohed ag er ré vrasan e gaver drezé.
 trout of the ones big.SUP PRT find.PRS.IMP through.DEM
 'Some of the biggest trout are found over there.' (Guilloux 1992:185)
- c. Arlerh pisked menud éh emb en touleu étre er vein.
 after fish small PRT go.IPF.1P in.the holes between the rocks
 'We went looking for small fish in the holes between the rocks.' (op. cit. p 16)

We have a preverbal subject *un tasadig kafe* 'a small cup of coffee' in (1)a., and a preverbal direct object *delohed ag er ré vrasan* 'some of the biggest trout' in (1)b. They both occur preceding the particle *e*. Changing the particle *e* for the particle *é* in (1)a. and b. results in the ungrammaticality of these sentences, as seen in (2).

- (2)a. * Un tasadig kafe é hré vad nezé.
 a cup.DIM coffee PRT make.IPF good then
 'A small cup of coffee made one feel good then.'
- b.* Delohed ag er ré vrasan é kaver drezé.
 trout of the ones big.SUP PRT find.PRS.IMP through.DEM
 'Some of the biggest trout are found over there.'

In (1)c., we have a preverbal oblique *arlerh pisked menud* ‘after small fish’ followed by the particle *é*. Changing the particle *é* for the particle *e* in (1)c. results in the ungrammaticality of this sentence, as seen in (3).³

- (3)* Arlerh pisked menud ez emb en touleu étre er vein.⁴
 after fish small PRT go.IPF.1P in.the holes between the rocks
 ‘We went looking for small fish in the holes between the rocks.’

In negative sentences, preverbal subjects are not allowed if the verb is not marked for the person and number of its subject, as in (4)a., unlike preverbal objects, as in (4)b., and preverbal obliques, as in (4)c, which can freely appear before the negated verb.

- (4) a.* Pautred en tan ne glaske_ gopr erbet.
 boys the fire NEG look-for.IPF salary any
 ‘The firefighters did not expect any salary.’

- b. Eun anehé n’ em boé ket.
 fear of.3P NEG 1S have.PST NEG
 ‘I did not fear them.’

(Guilloux 1992:191)

- c. Ur blé arlerh n’ em es ket kavet klohig erbet.
 a year after NEG 1S have.PRS NEG found bell.DIM any
 ‘A year later I did not find any little bell.’ (op. cit. p 22)

In traditional grammars, preverbal subjects in negative sentences are considered as extra-sentential. The real subject is encoded as the personal inflection appearing on the verb. Thus, in negative sentences, preverbal subjects behave like left-dislocated NPs and are discussed in the next subsection (for a similar view cf. Varin 1979 and Stump 1984).

The asymmetries observed so far distinguish affirmative from negative sentences. Preverbal subjects are allowed in affirmative but not in negative sentences, as opposed to preverbal objects, which are allowed in both affirmative and negative sentences.

³ The particles induce mutations on the initial consonant of the following verb. While the particles *e* and *ne* induce lenition, the particle *éh* induces lenition and provection (or mixed mutation). For more details see Schapansky (1994b).

For more detail on negative particles, see Bernini (1987), Croft (1991a), Fleuriot (1964).

⁴ The consonant *z* in *ez* is a linking consonant. In (3), the particle *ez* should not be confused with the particle *ez* found in the other Breton dialects which is realized in Gwenedeg as *éh*.

Furthermore, they distinguish in affirmative sentences the particle *e* from the particle *éh*. While preverbal subjects and objects precede the particle *e* preverbal obliques precede the particle *éh*. This is represented in (5).

(5) **Preverbal Phrases and Particles in Gwenedeg**

<i>Preverbal Phrases</i>			<i>Particles</i>
Obliques	Objects	Subjects	
-	+	+	<i>e</i>
+	-	-	<i>éh</i>
+	+	-	<i>ne</i>

While the particle *e* and *éh* appear to have a complementary distribution, the negative particle *ne* shows some overlap, allowing preverbal obliques like the particle *éh* and allowing preverbal objects like the particle *e*.

This first set of asymmetries involves core grammatical relations. However, nominals bearing peripheral grammatical relations or items belonging to other grammatical categories can appear preverbally as well. More asymmetries in the particle system are found.

2.1.1.1.2 *Non-Core Grammatical Relations*

Non-core grammatical relations include left-dislocated NPs and obliques modifying the predicate rather than the sentence. Items belonging to other grammatical categories are essentially predicative. They include verbs in the infinitive followed by the auxiliary *gober* ‘to do’, past participles, adjectives and predicate modals.

In both affirmative and negative sentences, a left-dislocated NP can appear preverbally, as in (6).

(6)a. Er guigneli e chomen de sellet dohté.
 the swallows PRT stay.IPF.1S to watch.INF from.3P
 ‘The swallows, I stayed and watched them.’ (Guilloux 1992:49)

b. Ruieu er vorh ne oé hanù erbet dehé.
 streets the village NEG be.PST name any to.3P
 ‘The village streets, they had no name.’ (op. cit. p 50)

- c. Pautred en tan ne glaskent gopr erbet.
 boys the fireNEG look-for.IFP.3P salary any
'The firefighters, they did not expect any salary.'
- d. Kadoériou de govesat n' ou hanaùen ket rabe.
 chairs to confess.INF NEG 3P know.IPF.1S NEG entirely
'The confession chairs, I did not know them completely.'

In (6)a. and b., we have a left-dislocated oblique coreferential with a preposition marked for person and number, *dohté* 'from-them' in (6)a. and *dehé* 'to-them' in (6)b. In (6)c., we have a preverbal subject *pautred en tan* 'the firefighters' coreferential with the personal suffix appearing on the verb - *nt* for third person plural. In (6)d., we have a left-dislocated object *kadoériou de govesat* 'the confession chairs' coreferential with a clitic object pronoun prefixed to the verb, *ou* 'them'.⁵ Left-dislocated subjects and objects in affirmative sentences will be discussed in the next section, since a phrase occurring between the left-dislocated subject or object and the following particle is required, and hence they are of little relevance for the discussion here.

Oblique arguments modifying the predicate rather than the sentence can appear preverbally in affirmative but not in negative sentences, as seen in (7).⁶

- (7)a. Get pasianted é tostas ar é goarigeu.
 with patience PRT approach.PST.3S on 3SM biases
'With patience, he approached on his toes.' (op. cit. p 186)
- b.* Get pasianted ne dostas ket ar é goarigeu.
 with patience NEG approach.PST.3S NEG on 3SM biases
'With patience, he did not approach on his toes.'

A verb in the infinitive followed by the auxiliary *gober* 'to do' can appear preverbally in affirmative but not in negative sentences, as shown in (8).

⁵ Gwenedeg is the only dialect which has preserved the clitic object pronouns. In the other dialects, a pronoun constructed from the preposition *a* 'of' marked for person, number and gender is used as direct object pronoun and is found only in postverbal position (see section 3.3. for more details).

⁶ For similar examples, see Schafer (1992).

(8)a. Vennein e hra neoah gobér mat é labour.
 want.INF PRT do.PRS.3S nevertheless make.INF good 3SM work
'Nevertheless, he wants to do well his job.' (Guilloux 1992:15)

b.*Vennein ne hra ket neoah gobér mat é labour.
 want.INF NEG do.PRS.3S NEG nevertheless make good 3SM work
'Nevertheless, he doesn't want to do well his job.'

Finally, past participles, as in (9), adjectives, as in (10), and predicate modals, as in (11), can appear preverbally in affirmative but not in negative sentences.

(9)a. Dastumet é oé bet er fagodeu d'anderù.
 gathered PRT be.PST been the faggots to afternoon
'The faggots were gathered in the afternoon.' (op. cit. p 226)

b.*Dastumet n' oé ket bet er fagodeu d'anderù.
 gathered NEG be.PST NEG been the faggots to afternoon
'The faggots were not gathered in the afternoon.'

(10)a. Hiroh é oé hoah en ofiseu d'er guener
 long.COMP PRT be.PST yet the offices to the friday
'Yet, the Friday offices were longer.' (op. cit. p 22)

b.*Hiroh n' oé ket hoah en ofiseu d'er guener
 long.COMP NEG be.PST yet the offices to the friday
'Yet, the Friday offices were not longer.'

(11)a. Rekiz é vezé bout ur mestr pesketour...
 required PRT be.HAB.IPF be.INF a master fisher
'To be a master fisherman was required...'

b.*Rekiz ne vezé ket bout ur mestr pesketour...
 required NEG be.HAB.IPF NEG be.INF a master fisher
'To be a master fisherman was not required...'

With this second set of data we can represent the full distribution of the particles, as given in (12).

(12) **Preverbal Phrases and Particles in Gwenedeg: Revisited**⁷

Preverbal Phrases							Particles
Oblique	p-oblique	Adjective	V-noun	Ld-noun	Object	Subject	
-	-	-	+	+	+	+	e
+	+	+	-	-	-	-	éh
+	-	-	-	+	+	-	ne

Whereas the particles *e* and *éh* are well behaved, showing a complete complementary distribution, the negative particle *ne* exhibits strange behaviour. The strange behaviour of the negative particle cannot be understood unless we postulate a second series of asymmetries. These asymmetries do not relate to the particle system itself as discussed above. They rather relate to the internal structure of Breton sentences which affects the number of preverbal positions available. Before we do so, we will review two accounts dealing with the preverbal position and the particle system.

2.1.2. Previous Accounts.

The aim of this section is to compare and contrast two accounts of Breton structural asymmetries. The first account, Schafer (1995) *Negation and Verb-Second in Breton*, presents a Principles and Parameters (P&P) approach incorporating the V2 Construct first worked out for Germanic (den Besten 1983) and then for Romance (Rizzi 1990).⁸ The second account, Schapansky (1992a.) *The Preverbal Position in Breton and Relational Visibility*, offers a relational account of Breton V2 word order. What these two approaches have in common is that both deal with the preverbal position and the particle system to explain structural asymmetries.

⁷ P-oblique = oblique modifying the predicate; V-noun = verb in the infinitive followed by the auxiliary *gober* 'to do'; Ld-noun = left-dislocated noun phrase.

⁸ Schafer (1995) is a revised and published version of Schafer (1992).

2.1.2.1. Background

The two main views of Breton V2 word order are the movement and non-movement approaches. The movement approach, held by linguists working within the Chomskyan vein, is based on clause-type distinctions. While Breton exhibits a V1 word order in negative and subordinate clauses, it shows a V2 word order in root clauses (e.g., independent, matrix preceding another clause) (cf., Anderson & Chung 1977; Anderson 1981; Stump 1984, 1989; Hendrick 1988, 1990; Borsley and Stephens 1989; Timm 1989, 1991; Schafer 1992, 1995). In this analysis, the V1 word order is derived from an underlying SVO word order and the V2 word order is obtained from topicalization applied after the V1 word order has been derived. For the non-movement approach (e.g., Urien 1982, Schapansky 1992), the word order of individual clauses is not relevant. The V2 order operates at the sentence rather than the clause level.

2.1.2.1.1. Movement Approach to V2

The movement approach viewing Breton V2 word order as asymmetrical raises several issues: the number of preverbal positions, the position of preverbal items, and the role played by the particles. Following the pioneering work of Anderson & Chung (1977), only one preverbal position is generally recognized. Following their views, double topicalization does not occur in Breton; thus sentences such as (13) are ruled out.⁹

- (13)* Hiziv e Kemper e tebro Yannig krampouezh.
today in Quimper PRT eat.FUT Yannig crepes
'Yannig will eat crepes in Quimper today.' (Anderson & Chung 1977:21)

Their analysis is necessitated on theory-internal grounds. Since the particles occupy the complementizer (C) position, then only one preverbal position becomes available as a landing site for topicalized phrases, the specifier (Spec) position of the complement phrase (CP) in the tree diagram representation of Breton sentence structure. However, Varin

⁹ In Gwenedeg, sentences like (13) are perfectly acceptable, as seen in section 2.2.

(1979), following Morvannou (1976) and traditional Breton grammarians, posits two preverbal positions: the sentence-initial and the pre-sentential positions. Preverbal subjects occur pre-sententially in negative sentences but sentence-initially in affirmative sentences. This view is adopted by Stump (1984) who assumes that only subjects of affirmative sentences occur sentence-initially. Phrases other than subject phrases occur pre-sententially. While the subject in affirmative sentences does not trigger agreement on the verb, it does in negative sentences, as seen in (14) (see also (11)a. p 15).

- (14)a. Er reral e oé_ ankinet get kement-sé.
 the others PRT be.PST bothered by that
'The others were bothered by that.'
- b.* Er reral e oent ankinet get kement-sé.
 the others PRT be.PST.3P bothered by that
'The others were bothered by that.'
- c.* Er reral ne oé_ ket ankinet get kement-sé.
 the others NEG be.PST NEG bothered by that
'The others were not bothered by that.'
- d. Er reral ne oent ket ankinet get kement-sé.
 the others NEG be.PST.3P NEG bothered by that
'The others were not bothered by that.'

This is similar to what left-dislocated NPs do, as in (6) above. The main argument against this analysis is given by Borsley & Stephens (1989). If the subject occurs in a different position in affirmative and negative sentences, then sentences such as (15) cannot be accounted for in terms of the agreement pattern,

- (15) An dud ne gomzent ket met e chome_ sioul.
 the people NEG speak.IPF.3P NEG but PRT stay.IPF quiet
'The people did not speak but remained quiet.' (Stump 1989:458)

where the second conjunct does not show subject agreement. Thus Stump (1989) abandons his two-preverbal-position analysis for the more standard one-preverbal-position analysis on theory internal grounds. Furthermore, Stump (1984) mentions the possibility that

preverbal direct objects, which can optionally bind a resumptive pronoun, as in (16), occupy a position different from that of preverbal subjects.¹⁰

- (16) Ma levr en deus kavet Yann anezhañ.
 my book 3SM have.PRS found Yann 3SM
 'My book, Yann found it.' (Stump 1984:335)

However, given the difficulty of integrating this position into his framework and the lack of relevant data, Stump (1984) concluded that preverbal objects occur pre-sententially.

The role of the preverbal particles has been little discussed in the Government and Binding (GB) literature. Following works on Irish (cf. McCloskey (1979) and subsequent publications) and on Welsh (cf. Awbery (1976), Jones & Thomas (1979)), Breton particles are analysed as complementizers like their Celtic counterparts. In these languages, the particles serve as relative particles in languages lacking relative pronouns. A somewhat different approach is proposed by Schafer (1992, 1995) who sees these particles as polarity particles heading the polarity phrase (Σ P, a variant of the negative phrase NegP). Via verb movement, these particles move into C (complementizer) (cf. (17)). However, an ongoing debate exists over what type of preverbal items can precede these particles. Anderson (1981) assumes that the choice of the particles is determined not by the grammatical relations but rather by the category type of preverbal items: the particle *a* (*e* in Gwenedeg) takes preverbal NPs while the particle *ez* (*éh* in Gwenedeg) takes preverbal non-NPs. No mention is made of the negative particle. Schafer (1992), following Breton grammarians, assumes that it is the grammatical relations that determine the choice of the particles: preverbal subjects/objects precede the particle *a* while preverbal items other than subjects/objects precede the particle *ez*. Here as well, no mention is made of the negative particle. However, Schafer (1995) also admits the possibility that the choice of particles can be determined by the category of the preverbal item, without taking a stand on the issue.

¹⁰ This was brought to my attention by Nancy Hedberg.

The strength of the movement approach is that affirmative and negative sentences are given a unified account. The weakness of this analysis is that it requires too many devices to handle Breton data. Data involving more than one preverbal item and symmetrical V2 constructions are not discussed.

2.1.2.1.2. Non-Movement Approach to V2

The first non-movement approach to Breton V2 word order is provided by Urien (1982, 1987). The V2 word order works at the sentence rather than at the clause level. Whatever the nature of the preverbal item, phrasal or clausal, the main verb remains in second position of the clause or sentence. This is essentially the position adopted by Schapansky (1992a) although complex sentences are not included in her study at that point. Negative sentences may challenge this viewpoint since the V2 word order is only optionally realized in negative sentences. Furthermore, the number of preverbal positions is not directly relevant in Urien's work while Schapansky (1992a) posits two preverbal positions against the standard P&P analysis.

For Urien (1982, 1987), the function of the particles is one that indicates a relationship between the preverbal item and the verb. The particle *a* indicates an anaphoric relationship between a preverbal NP and the following verb, direct if the preverbal NP is subject or direct object, indirect if the preverbal NP is left-dislocated. The particle *ez* signals an absence of anaphoric relationship between a preverbal item and the following verb. The negative particle is not discussed in these terms. Schapansky (1992a) argues that the particles, including the negative particle, are licensing devices for the preverbal position which may or may not have the property of assigning abstract case to the preverbal item. A similar position is taken by Woolford (1991:522) within the movement approach. In her analysis, the particle *a* assigns case to the specifier position of the inflectional phrase (Spec IP), while the particle *e* does not. Here as well, the negative particle is not discussed.

The strength of the non-movement approach to Breton V2 word order is that the V2 word order is given a unified treatment working at the sentence rather than the clause level. The weakness of this analysis is that negative sentences may potentially challenge this view. Furthermore, this approach is not elaborated enough to compete with the more detailed movement approach.

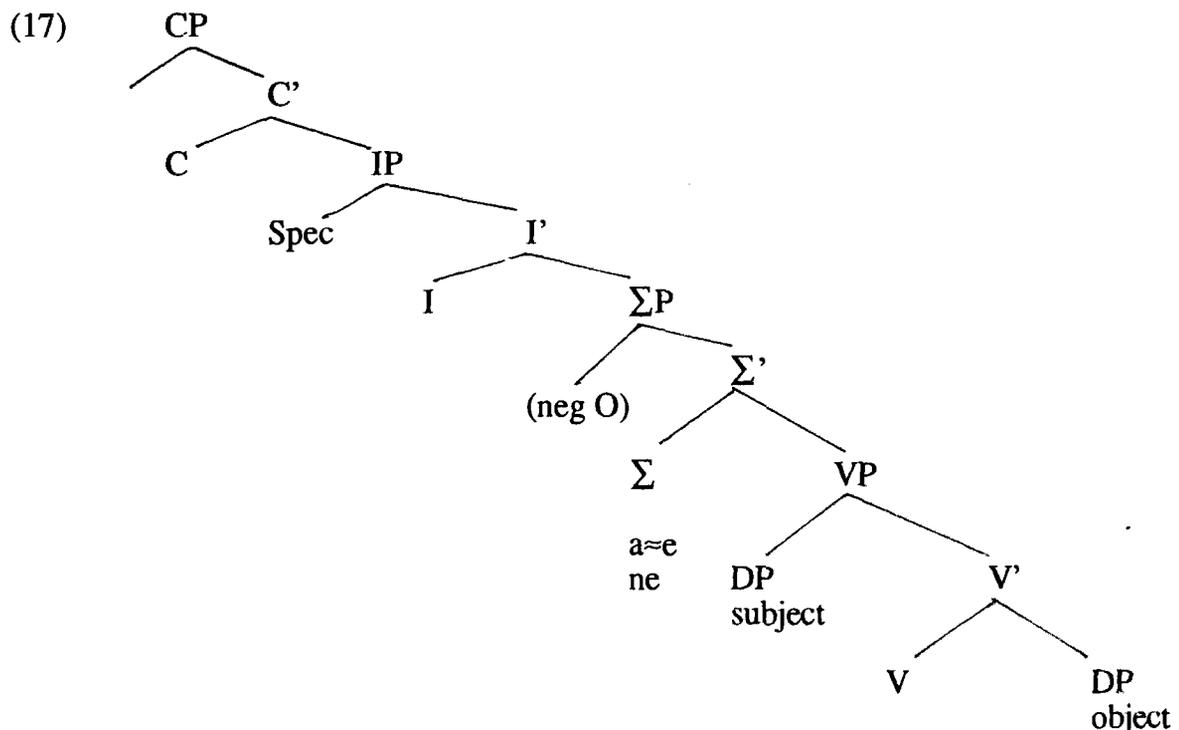
To sum up, the movement and non-movement approaches differ as to whether the V2 word order is a clause-bound or sentence-bound phenomenon. The proponents of the V2 as a clause-bound phenomenon provide a non-unified account of the V2 word order associating word order types with different types of clause, V1 in negative and subordinate clauses, V2 in root clauses. However, they offer a standard line of analysis in which the theory plays an important role in determining what is or is not possible. In contrast, the proponents of the V2 word order as a sentence-bound phenomenon provide a unified account of the V2 word order, considering the word order of individual clauses as irrelevant while emphasizing the central role played by the main verb. Given the diversity of theoretical approaches adopted, no consensus is reached. Too little research has been carried out within the non-movement approach to make conclusive remarks.

In the remaining part of this chapter, I will develop a more comprehensive account of the V2 word order in Breton taking into consideration affirmative as well as negative sentences, simple as well as complex sentences, simple as well as complex V2 constructions. Before we do so, let us examine in more detail Schafer (1995) and Schapansky (1992a).

2.1.2.2. *Schafer 1995.*

Schafer (1995) presents the most up-to-date account of Breton sentence structure within the P&P framework. The author applies the V2 construct to Breton data as well as integrating a polarity phrase, ΣP , first proposed by Laka (1990) as an alternative to the negative phrase, $NegP$, proposed by Pollock (1989). Schafer (op. cit.) views Breton as

having a V2 word order in root clauses and a V1 word order in negative and subordinate clauses. The verb cannot begin a sentence in the language (except in the imperative). It must be preceded by a preverbal particle, whether positive or negative. The preverbal particle may or may not follow a preverbal item. When it follows a preverbal constituent of the same clause, we obtain the V2 order. When it does not follow a preverbal constituent of the same clause, we have the so-called V1 order common to the other Celtic languages Welsh and Irish. The V2 order is derived from an underlying SVO order represented in (17) by the tree diagram.



In her analysis, the verb *V* moves from its deep structure position to Sigma Σ , the head of Sigma Phrase ΣP , (the polarity phrase replacing the negation phrase *NegP*) and picks up one of the particles, then moves to the Inflection *I* (the head of the inflectional phrase *IP*) and picks up inflectional affixes. Then, *I* substitutes to *C* (complementizer) to satisfy the V2 requirement elaborated for Germanic (e.g., Diesing 1990, Rögnvaldson and Thráinsson 1990) and Romance (Rizzi 1990)). The movement from *I* to *C* applies vacuously since the specifier position of *IP* (*Spec IP*) is an argument or *A* position. This position is not a

possible landing site for topicalization or NP movement forming a non-argument or A-bar chain, hence it remains empty in Breton.

A chain is formed when an NP is moved from its deep structure position below the verb phrase VP to a position higher than VP like Spec CP. Since in Breton, NPs do not move to get marked for case, their movement is optional and depends on the context. They do not behave like subjects in English which, according to P&P, move into Spec IP to get assigned nominative case by tense, thus forming an argument or A chain. NP movement in Breton is not considered as a movement of arguments, but rather as a movement of non-arguments. It is thus associated with an A-bar chain.

When the subject is moved to Spec CP from its deep structure position in the specifier position of the verb phrase Spec VP, it leaves a trace behind. Its trace must be antecedent-governed since subjects are not theta-governed by the verb. Although subjects are assigned a thematic role like agent by the verb, they occupy a position higher than V in the tree diagram, being external arguments of the verb. Thus they are not governed by V. Therefore, the subject which is moved must govern its own trace by virtue of being higher in the tree than its trace. Following works by McCloskey, object traces need only be lexically governed, objects being theta-governed by the verb. Objects are assigned a thematic role by the verb, being internal arguments of the verb. Therefore, the object trace is always governed by the verb (for more on government see Chomsky 1981). These two types of government account for subject/object extraction asymmetries in negative sentences.

The preverbal particles originate in Σ . The particles *a* and *e* are realizations of the feature Aff (affirmative) and trigger obligatory movement of some item in postverbal position, thus accounting for the V2 word order in root clauses. Furthermore, the negative particle *ne* is associated with a negative operator *neg O* lexically realized in Breton as *ket*, the second member of the circumlocution *ne...ket* and occupies the specifier position of ΣP . This negative operator blocks antecedent but not lexical government. In contrast to objects

which can appear freely in preverbal position in negative sentences, all phrases requiring antecedent government cannot (e.g., subjects, predicate nouns/adjectives, and obliques modifying the verb).

This account shows several problems in the argumentation that need further consideration. The first problem relates to the particles and their implications for the V2 analysis of the author. Aside from the fact that no explanation is given for the difference in behaviour between the two particles, which could be problematical, the feature Aff lexically realized as *a* and *e* is also found in subordinate clauses, as in (18)a., and relative clauses, as in (18)b., although relative clauses are not included in the discussion.

(18)a. Mona a lavar e oar Yann ar respont.
 Mona PRT say.PRS PRT know.PRS Yann the answer
 ‘Mona says Yann knows the answer.’ (Schafer 1995:138)

b. Mona a skriv al lizher a oar ar respont.
 Mona PRT write.PRS the letter PRT know.PRS the answer
 ‘Mona who writes the letter knows the answer.’

In both cases, the second particle, *e* in (18)a. and *a* in (18)b., should also trigger obligatory movement following the analysis.

Another possible view is to admit that the particles do not trigger obligatory movement but rather ensure that the verb remains in second position of a clause or sentence, as illustrated in (19).

(19) a. [1 Mona a lavar₁ [2e oar₂ Yann ar respont]]
 b. [2 [1 Mona a skriv₁ al lizher] a oar₂ ar respont]

Whereas in (19)a., verb1, *lavar* ‘says’ following *Mona*, is second with respect to clause 1, verb2, *oar* ‘knows’ following clause1 [*Mona a lavar*], is also second with respect to the sentence. Whereas in (19)b., verb1, *skriv* ‘writes’ following *Mona*, is second with respect to clause1, verb2, *oar* ‘knows’ following clause1, [*Mona a skriv al lizher*], is second with respect to the sentence. The logical conclusion to draw from this is that the V2 word order

is applicable in a linear fashion to main as well as subordinate clauses, whether complement clause, as in (19)a., or relative clause, as in (19)b. (cf. section 2.2.2.1 and section 5.1.1).

The second problem relates to the claim that Breton has only one preverbal position following Anderson & Chung (1977). This claim is not empirically grounded. From the examples used to illustrate her point, one possibility is missing. It is given in (20).

- (20) Er gegin Maia he deus graet bara.
in.the kitchen Maia 3SF have.PRS made bread
'Maia made bread in the kitchen.'

As far as I know, this type of example is attested in all Breton dialects (perhaps not in chemical (artificial) Breton, cf. Varin (1979)).¹¹

The last problem relates to negation and preverbal subjects. Given the fact that preverbal subjects bind resumptive pronouns in negative sentences, it should be possible to obtain similar data for affirmative sentences, for example left-dislocated subjects. Data on subject left-dislocation in affirmative sentences are not included in the discussion. They would show that subjects in negative sentences do not differ from left-dislocated subjects in affirmative sentences. They would also show that there exists more than one preverbal position in Breton, as posited by Varin (1979) and Stump (1984) (cf. sentences in (31)).

2.1.2.3. Schapansky 1992a

Schapansky (1992a) presents an alternative account of the preverbal position and the particle system. Taking a Relational Grammar perspective, grammatical relations are seen as undefined primitives. This work explores the principle of Relational Visibility developed by Gerds (1990) and given in (21).

(21). **Relational Visibility Principle**

Each nominal must be relationally identified by some morphosyntactic means, case agreement or word order.

¹¹ The term 'chemical Breton' refers to a language that has been purified from all the "bad influences" of the French language and which was artificially made to resemble its Celtic cousins.

Breton challenges the Relational Visibility Principle. In this language, nominals are morphologically unmarked for case. Verbs remain unmarked for person and number with overt subjects and objects. The word order is relatively free given that the verb remains in second position. Thus Breton does not use overt morphosyntactic means to identify grammatical relations. However, Breton distinguishes between preverbal and postverbal positions and between unmarked nominals and nominals marked by a preposition. Postverbal unmarked nominals are generally identified by word order. The subject follows the verb and the direct object follows the subject. Marked nominals are identified by prepositions. Unmarked nominals in preverbal position must be licensed by the particle *a*, acting like a case assigning device for the preverbal position. Of course, the case thus discharged, nominative/accusative, or non-oblique case, is abstract. Thus, subjects, direct objects, and topics (or left-dislocated NPs) are licensed in preverbal position by the particle *e* and only one of them can appear preverbally at any given time. Preverbal nominals however, are not relationally identified by the particle following. Prepositional phrases (indirect objects, oblique arguments) need not receive case in preverbal position, being already marked by the preposition. They are licensed in that position by the particle *éh* lacking case assigning properties. In negative sentences, the negative particle *ne* optionally assigns abstract accusative case to the preverbal position. Although the particles are given a unified account in terms of case assigning properties, the relational identification of nominals is effected by some other means. Topics are identified through coreferentiality with a personal morpheme bound to a preposition in affirmative sentences, or bound to a verb or a preposition in negative sentences. Subjects and objects are identified by the Definiteness Condition and Subject Precedence Rules given in (22).

(22)a. **Definiteness Condition**

In a sentence containing two unmarked nominals, one preverbal and one postverbal, one definite and one indefinite, the definite nominal must be interpreted as the subject regardless of its position.

b. Subject Precedence

In a sentence containing two unmarked nominals, one preverbal and one postverbal, both definite or both indefinite, the preverbal nominal must be interpreted as the subject.

With this account, all preverbal items that need not receive case are licensed by the particle *éh*. This includes prepositional phrases, predicate nouns/adjectives, past participles. Secondly, all preverbal items that do need to receive case are licensed by the particle *e*. This includes subjects, direct objects, topics, and infinitival clauses considered as a noun-like in RG. Infinitive verbs create a problem. However, given that they display some verbal as well as some nominal properties in Celtic, considered as verb-nouns, they can nevertheless be accounted for here. Finally, only direct objects that do need to receive accusative case can be licensed in preverbal position by the negative particle *ne*.

To sum up, the two approaches discussed above show that a pretheoretical account of the particle system is needed in order to account for word order asymmetries. Although an effort is being made in that sense in Schapansky (1992a), it is insufficient. As we will see, the use of the particles as licensing devices assigning abstract case to the preverbal position does not offer a complete explanation. The two rules, the Definiteness Condition and Subject Precedence, need further consideration in the light of the new data discussed in the next chapter.¹² Schafer (1995) tries to come up with a unified account of the particles. However, this account is dictated by the theory and by a theoretical tradition originating from the earliest work on Celtic within generative grammar. From former complementizers (Stump 1984, 1989; Hendricks 1988, 1990), the particles are now analysed as polarity particles. Aligning the particles on the same schema is a desirable but not a viable option.

What is missing in both approaches is some kind of generalization about the morphosyntactic and/or semantic properties of the particles, although Schapansky (1992a.)

¹² These rules are analysed in this work as rules constraining grammatical relations. See section 3.1. for discussion on this topic.

is on the right track. The main question remaining is: why does the negative particle *ne* behave differently from the particle *e* or *éh*. This will be considered next.

2.2. THE STRUCTURE OF BRETON SENTENCES

In this section we consider data involving more than one preverbal item and on the basis of which three preverbal positions are identified: external, medial, and internal. Each position is associated with phrases having a certain grammatical status. These positions function asymmetrically with respect to sentence polarity and to word order. Only two of these positions can cooccur at any given time. The existence of the third position is thus problematical.

A definition of the V2 word order which does not involve a particular structural configuration à la GB is provided. This non-structural definition allows us to see how the V2 word order works in Breton, and appeals to the concept of *Predicate Domain*. The predicate domain is not a new idea per se. It is present in the generative literature as the verb phrase (VP). However, the predicate domain does not always correspond to the VP as it may in SVO languages of the English type. This approach to Breton V2 word order allows us to understand the differences between affirmative and negative sentences. This approach also allows us to understand the role played by the particles.

2.2.1. Simple V2 and Sentence Structure

2.2.1.1. Co-occurrence Restrictions

So far, we have discussed sentences involving only one preverbal item like the proponents of the structural approach within the P&P framework. We might want to conclude that, after all, Breton has only one preverbal position, as proposed by Schafer (1995). However, this is arguable. Schapansky (1992a) postulates two preverbal positions

on the basis of sentences such as (23), assumed to be ungrammatical in Anderson & Chung (1977).

- (23). Arlerh er veleion me larou ur gir benak diarben er hloherion.
 after the priests 1S say.FUT a word some about the bell-ringers
 'Following the priests, I will say some words about the bell-ringers.'
 (Guilloux 1992:48)

In (23), a prepositional phrase *arlerh er veleion* 'following the priests' in initial position is followed by the subject *me* 'I'. Thus, we have two preverbal items. Schafer (1995:158-9) provides similar examples without discussing their implications for the preverbal position. In her account, initial obliques, as in (23), would occur outside the sentence as an adjunction to CP like left-dislocated NPs do. However, it is not clear how the position adjoined to CP is analysed when no other item intervenes between the initial oblique and the verb, as exemplified in (24).

- (24)a. Arlerh er veleion é larein ur gir benak diarben er hloherion.
 after the priests PRT say.FUT.1S a word some about the bell-ringers
 'Following the priests, I will say some words about the bell-ringers.'
- b. Dehon éh oé bet er blouzenn verr.
 to.3SM PRT be.PST been the straw.SING short
 'He got the short straw.' (Jaffré 1986:34)

Whereas, in (24)a., the initial oblique *arlerh er veleion* 'following the priests' can be analysed as extra-sentential, thus possibly occurring outside CP, *dehon* 'to-him', in (24)b, is an indirect argument of the verb which has been fronted for focussing purposes. As such *dehon* should occur inside CP since, according to GB, it binds a trace in its deep structure position. Whether the initial adjunct in (24)a. occupies a position different from that of the oblique argument in (24)b. is arguable. Although initial adjuncts are very common in sentences like (23), initial oblique arguments are not uncommon, as shown in (25) for spoken Gwenedeg (see next section).

- (25) Get er vugale ral ni hoarieze.
with the children other 1P play.IPF
'We used to play with the other children.'

(Corné 1991:2)

Therefore, two preverbal positions, at least, have to be recognized. What can co-occur in these positions is discussed next.

2.2.1.1.1. Initial Obliques

Schapansky (1992a) shows that when two items occur preverbally, the first one must be a prepositional phrase. This is however, only an approximation. We also find initial left-dislocated and topic NPs (see section 2.2.1.1.2).

When two items co-occur in preverbal position, we most commonly find the sequence [oblique + subject + verb], as illustrated in (23). This is not the only possible sequence in Gwenedeg. We also find the following sequences: [oblique + adjective + verb], as in (26)a., [oblique + past participle + verb], as in (26)b., [oblique + infinitive verb + auxiliary], as in (26)c., [oblique + object + verb], as in (26)d.

- (26)a. A fet er hentelieu, trouzus e oé kentoh en treu.
regarding the lessons noisy PRT be.PST rather the things
'Regarding the lessons, things were rather noisy.' (Guilloux 1992:112)
- b. Goudéen overen getan, gulet e vezé er bautred.
after the mass first seen PRT be.HAB.PST the guys
'After the first mass, the guys were seen.' (op. cit. p 140)
- c. Guéhavé, bout é oé ur gir benak em héver.
sometime be.INF PRT be.PST a word some in-1S attention
'Sometimes there was some word for me.' (op. cit. p 244)
- d. Get ur mestr èl hennéh hiréh hur boé d'er ieu.
with a master like that-one haste 1P have.PST to the Thursday
'With a teacher like that one we were eager for Thursday to come.' (op. cit. p 118)

Reversing the order of occurrence of the preverbal items in (26) results in the ungrammaticality of these sentences, as shown in (27).

- (27)a.* Trouzus a fet er hentelieu, e oé kentoh en treu.
noisy regarding the lessons PRT be.PST rather the things
'With regards to the lessons, the things were rather noisy.'
- b.* Guelet goudé en overen getan, e vezé er bautred.
seen after the mass first PRT be.HAB.PST the guys
'After the first mass, the guys were seen.'
- c.* Bout guéhavé, é oé ur gir benak em héver.
be.INF sometime PRT be.PST a word some in-1S attention
'Sometimes there was some word for me.'
- d.* Hiréh get ur mestr èl hennéh hur boé d'er ieu.
haste with a master like that-one 1P have.PST to the Thursday
'With a teacher like that one, we were eager for Thursday to come.'

While oblique phrases are allowed in negative sentences, non-oblique phrases are not. Hence, sentences showing an initial oblique phrase followed by a non-oblique phrase before the negated verb are ungrammatical, as illustrated in (28).

- (28)a.* Arlerh er veleion, me ne larou ket ur gir benak diarben er hlohexion.
after the abbots 1S NEG say.FUT NEG a word some about the bellringers
'Following the abbots, I will not say some word, about the bellringers.'
- b.* A-fet er hentelieu, trouzus ne oé ket en treu.
about the lessons noisy NEG be.PST NEG the things
'Regarding the lessons, things were not noisy.'
- c.* Goude en overen getan guelet ne vezé ket er bautred.
after the mass first seen NEG be.HAB.IPF NEG the guys
'After the first mass, the guys were not seen.'

Since a preverbal object is allowed in negative sentences, the sequence [oblique + object + neg verb] is allowed, as shown in (29).

- (29) Get ur mestr èl hennéh hiréh n' hur boé d'er ieu.
with a master like that-one haste NEG 1P have.PST to the Thursday
'With a teacher like that one we were not eager for Thursday to come.'

The above data show that when we have two preverbal items, one oblique and one non-oblique, the oblique appears first followed by the non-oblique item. Sentences with two preverbal items are subject to the same word order restrictions as sentences with one

preverbal item. These word order restrictions depend on the restrictions imposed on the item immediately preceding the verb.

2.2.1.1.2. Initial Left-dislocated/Topic NPs

Initial obliques are not the only items permissible in initial position when another item other than the verb follows. Left-dislocated NPs and NPs overtly marked as topic by the topic marker *eit*, the preposition meaning ‘for’ used here with the meaning of ‘as for’, can also appear sentence initially. Left dislocated NPs can be coreferential with a personal morpheme suffixed to a preposition, as seen earlier in (6)a. and b., if the left-dislocated NP is an oblique, or it can be affixed to the verb if the left-dislocated NP is subject, as in (30), or object, as in (31).

(30)a. Marhadizion amonenn ha uieu, deu e oent.
 traders butter and eggs two PRT be.PST.3P
 ‘Butter and eggs merchants, they were two.’ (Guilloux 1992:128)

b. Pautred en tan ne glaskent gopr erbet.
 boys the fire NEG look-for.IPF.3P salary any
 ‘The firefighters did not work for money.’

(31)a. Er grilhañned nezé, mé ou havé er liesan en un tam douar.
 the crickets then 1S 3P find.IPF the most in a piece ground
 ‘The crickets then, I found them most of the time in a corner of land.’
 (op. cit. p 184)

b. Er grilhañned nezé, n’ ou haven ket en un tam douar.
 the crickets then NEG 3P find.IPF NEG in a piece ground
 ‘The crickets then, I did not find them in a corner of land.’

Left-dislocated subjects are coreferential with a personal suffix bound to the verb, *-nt* for third person plural in (30), and left-dislocated objects are coreferential with a clitic pronoun prefixed to the verb, *ou-* third person plural in (31) for Gwenedeg. The sentences in (30)a. and (31)a. pose a potential problem for Schapansky (1992a). However, since the initial NPs are left-dislocated, coreferentiality with a personal morpheme is acting as a licensing

device for the initial position. The initial NP is licensed by coreferentiality while the following NP is licensed by the particle, hence in line with Schapansky (1992a).

Omitting the personal affixes in (30) and (31) results in the ungrammaticality of these sentences, as shown in (32).

(32)a.*Marhadizion amonen ha uieu, deu e oé.
traders butter and eggs two PRT be.PRS
'Butter and eggs merchants, they were two.'

b.* Er grilhañned nezé, mé e gavé er liesan en un tam douar.¹³
the crickets then 1S PRT find.IPF the most in a piece ground
'The crickets then, I found most of the time in a corner of land.'

Reversing the order of occurrence of the preverbal items in (30) and (31) results also in the ungrammaticality of these sentences, as shown in (33).

(33)a.* Deu, marhadizion amonenn ha uieu e oent.
two traders butter and eggs PRT be.PST.3P
'Butter and eggs merchants, they were two.'

b.* Mé, er grilhañned nezé ou havé er liesan en un tam douar.
1S the crickets then 3P find.IPF the most in a piece ground
'The crickets then, I found them most of the time in a corner of land.'

While left-dislocated NPs are allowed in negative sentences, in (30) and (31), phrases other than left-dislocated NPs are not. Hence, sentences showing an initial left-dislocated NP followed by a non-left-dislocated phrase before the negated verb are ungrammatical, as illustrated in (34).

(34)a.*Marhadizion amonenn ha uieu, deu ne oent ket.
traders butter and eggs two NEG be.PST.3P NEG
'Butter and eggs merchants, they were not two.'

b.* Er grilhañned nezé, mé n' ou havé ket er liesan en un tam douar.
the crickets then 1S NEG 3P find.IPF NEG the most in a piece ground
'The crickets then, I did not find them most of the time in a corner of land.'

¹³ This example is ungrammatical with the intended meaning. That is, when the subject does not bear a contrastive focus reading (cf. sentences (45), (47) with the second reading, and (49) this chapter).

Furthermore, left-dislocated NPs can be associated with another NP in a part/whole relationship. In the spoken language, NPs can appear in initial position when they refer to the whole while the NPs referring to the part occur somewhere else in the sentence, as shown in (35).

(35)a. Er guinih, ér bren è vezé wid er zéot.
 the wheat, the bran PRT be.HAB.IPF for the cows
 'As for the wheat, its bran was for the cows.' (Corné 1991:52)

b. Diyad, laket è vezé trew koc'h.
 clothes put PRT be.HAB.IPF things old
 'As for clothes, old things were worn.' (op. cit. p 57)

In (35)a., *guinih* 'wheat' represents the whole while *bren* 'bran' represents its part. In (35)b., *dilyad* 'clothes' represents the whole while *trew koc'h* 'old things' represents its part.

When the left-dislocated subject is a pronoun like *me* 'I' in affirmative sentences, it cannot occur initially even though it is coreferential with a personal morpheme bound to the verb, *-n* for 1st person singular, as in (36).

(36)* mé₁ reseùét e oen₁ bet hemb tam poen erbet.
 1S received PRT be.PST.1S been without piece pain any
 'As for me, I had been received with no difficulty at all.'

It must take a topic marker *eit* 'as for', as evidenced in (37).

(37) Eitein -mé reseùét e oen bet hemb tam poen erbet.
 as for 1S-1S received PRT be.PST.1S been without piece pain any
 'As for me, I had been received with no difficulty at all.' (Guilloux 1992:229)

All types of phrase can occur in external position given that they take the topic marker *eit* 'as for', as shown in (38).

(38)a. Eit er gopereu, kañnet e vezent dirak un nebedig moezed.
 for the vespers sung PRT be.HAB.IPF.3P before a few.DIM women
 'As for the vespers, they were sung in front of a few women.' (op. cit. p 140)

- b. Eit er goleu, n' em es ket anaùet er goleu resin.
 for the light NEG 1S be.PRS NEG known the light resin
 'As for the light, I didn't know the resin light.' (op. cit. p 76)
- c. Eitein-mé, ne gomprenan ket.
 for.1S.1S NEG understand.PRS.1S NEG
 'As for me, I don't understand.' (op. cit. p 145)
- d. Eitein-me, eurus e oen bet.
 for.1S-1S happy PRT be.PST.1S been
 'As for me, I was happy.' (op. cit. p 119)

The result of reversing the order of occurrence of the preverbal items in the above sentences is ungrammatical, as shown in (39).

- (39)a. *Reseùet, eitein -me e oen bet hemb tam poen erbet.
 received for 1S-1S PRT be.PST.1S been without piece pain any
 'As for me, I had been received with no difficulty at all.'
- b.* Kañnet, eit er gospereu e vezent dirak un nebedig moezed.
 sung for the vespers PRT be.HAB.PST.3P before a few.DIM women
 'As for the vespers they were sung in front of a few women.'
- c.* Eurús, eitein-me e oen bet.
 happy for.1S-1S PRT be.PST.1S been
 'As for me, I was happy.'

While preverbal topic NPs are allowed in negative sentences, in (38)a. and b., phrases other than topic NPs are not. Hence, sentences showing an initial topic NP followed by a non-topic phrase before the negated verb are ungrammatical, as illustrated in (40).¹⁴

- (40)a. *Eitein-me reseùet ne oen ket hemb tam poen erbet.
 for.1S-1S received NEG be.PST.1S NEG without piece pain any
 'As for me, I was not received without any difficulty at all.'
- b.* Eit er gospereu, kañned ne vezent ket dirak moézed hembkin.
 for the vespers sung NEG be.HAB.IPF.3P NEG before women only
 'As for the vespers, they were not sung in front of women only.'
- c.* Eitein-me, eurus ne oen ket bet.
 for.1S-1S happy NEG be.PST.1S NEG been
 'As for me, I was not happy.'

¹⁴ Here as well, the ungrammaticality of these sentences depends on the non-focus reading of the item immediately preceding the negative particle.

Here as well, the data show that, when we have two preverbal items, one left-dislocated/topic NP and some other element, the left-dislocated/topic NP appears first, followed by the other element. Sentences with two preverbal items are subject to the same word order restrictions as sentences with one preverbal item. These word order restrictions depend on the restrictions imposed on the item immediately preceding the verb.

2.2.1.1.3. Initial Objects

The data we have examined so far suggest that we are dealing with two preverbal positions. The initial position, which takes obliques, left-dislocated and topic NPs, is available in both affirmative and negative sentences. The preverbal position which takes subjects, verbs (infinitives and past-participles), adjectives, predicate modals and obliques modifying the predicate, is available in affirmative but not in negative sentences. Preverbal objects pose a problem however. Unlike subjects and the other elements, preverbal objects are allowed in both affirmative and negative sentences, whether they do or do not follow an item in initial position, as exemplified in (41).

- (41)a. De getan er leshanù-sé en doé tapet revé é gomportmant.
 first the nickname-DEM 3S have.PST caught according 3SM behavior
 'First, he got that nickname because of his behaviour.' (Guilloux 1992:111)
- b. Evidon-me hoant erbet n' em es ket bet goude de laereh anehé.
 for.1S-1S envy any NEG 1S.have.PRS NEG been after to steal of.3P
 'As for me, I had no envy afterwards to steal any of them.' (op. cit. p 95)

This suggests that preverbal objects occupy a position different from that of preverbal subjects, a position intermediary between the initial and preverbal positions. Evidence for this state of affairs comes from the fact that sentences resulting from reversing the order of occurrence of the preverbal items in (41) are ungrammatical, as is shown in (42).

- (42)a.* Er leshanù-sé de getan en doé tapet revé é gomportmant.
 the nickname-DEM first 3S have.PST caught according 3SM behavior
 'First, he got that nickname because of his behaviour.'

b.* Hoant erbet evidon-me n' em es ket bet goude de laereh anehé.
 envy any for.1S-1S NEG 1S.have.PRS NEG been after to steal of.3P
 'As for me, I had no envy afterwards to steal any of them.'

Theoretically, there is no restriction on the number of items that can appear in initial position, as shown in (43).

(43)a. Guéhavé, én hé gulé sablek ha menek é téh un deloh benak.
 sometime, in 3SF bed sandy and rocky PRT escape.PRS a trout some
 'Sometimes, some trout disappears in its sandy and rocky bed.' (Guilloux 1992:14)

b. Ar en deu du é tiso^h er pazenneu ar un auter
 on the two side PRT reach.INF the steps on a altar

e vé laret arnehi en overenn bred.
 PRT be.HAB.PRS said on.3SF the mass early

'The matins are said on an altar erected on a platform which could be reached by steps located on both sides of this platform.' (op. cit. p 26)

c. Hag en dé kent, goudé koen, rekiz e oé
 and the day before after supper required PRT be.PST
 'And the day before, after supper, it was required

monet de vléatmatein er veleion.
 go.INF to new-year-wish.INF the priests
 to go and wish a happy new year to the priests.'

(op. cit. p 219)

In (43)a., we have two obliques in initial position, a time adverbial, *guéhavé* 'sometimes' followed by a locative phrase *én hé gulé sablek ha menek* 'in its sandy and rocky bed'. In (43)b., we have three items in initial positions, first a locative phrase *ar en deu du* 'on both sides' followed by a non-finite clause *é tiso^h er pazenneu* 'reaching the steps' followed by another locative phrase *ar un auter* 'on an altar'. Sentence (43)c. illustrates the fact that the preverbal position can be filled by some item even though there is more than one item in initial position. In (43)c., we have two obliques in initial position, a time adverbial *en dé kent* 'the day before' followed by another time adverbial *goudé koen* 'after supper' which are followed by a necessity modal, *rekiz* 'required', in preverbal position.

Support for the fact that preverbal objects do not appear in the same position as preverbal subjects relates to the particle system found in the variety of Kerneveg spoken at

Lanijen (Lanvenegen). In this variety of Kerneveg, preverbal subjects precede the particle *a* (*e* in Gwenedeg), as in (44)a., while preverbal objects precede the particle *ez* (*éh* in Gwenedeg), as in (44)b. (cf. Urien 1987, Press 1987, Woolford 1991 and Schapansky 1992a for similar data).

(44)a. Petra a zo war an daol?
 what PRT be.PRS.3S on the table
 'What is on the table?'

b. Petra e lenno ar baotred?
 what PRT read.FUT the boys
 'What will the boys read?'

Further evidence that preverbal objects do not appear in the same preverbal position as subjects comes from double topicalization involving both the subject and the object, as illustrated in (45),

(45) Er melin, en Almätéd èn es dispenet.
 the mill, the Germans 3 have.PRS destroyed
 'The mill, the Germans have destroyed.' (Corné 1991:51)

where *er melin* 'the mill' is the topicalized object preceding the preverbal subject *en Almätéd* 'the Germans', as rendered by the English translation. Sentence (45) is a pure example of double topicalization in Breton, which exists contrary to the claim of Anderson & Chung (1977) or Schafer (1995). Double topicalization involving two NPs poses a problem for Schapansky (1992a). Under her account, the initial NP in (45) is not licensed by coreferentiality with a personal affix bound to the verb nor by the particle (here omitted). The sentence therefore, should be ungrammatical. Another licensing rule is needed to account for double topicalization involving two preverbal NPs. Let us call it the discourse licensing rule defined as (46).

(46) **Discourse Licensing**

In a sentence containing two unmarked preverbal NPs, the first NP can be licensed through coreferentiality with a personal affix or can be licensed in the discourse context if it is the topic (or the focus) of the sentence.

As we will see in the next chapter (section 3.1) the discourse functions Topic and Focus play an important role in the placement of NPs in preverbal position.

Reversing the order of occurrence of the preverbal items in (45) results in the ungrammaticality of these sentences, as shown in (47).

- (47) En Almäted, er melin èn es dispenet.
 the Germans the mill 3 have.PRS destroyed
 *‘The Germans have destroyed the mill.’
 ‘The Germans, the mill has destroyed.’

However, this sentence is acceptable with the second reading ‘The Germans, the mill has destroyed’, where *en Almäted* ‘the Germans’ is interpreted as the direct object.

The possibility for preverbal objects to occur in negative sentences, whether they follow or do not follow an initial item, and the possibility for preverbal objects to appear as first element in constructions involving double topicalization, demonstrate the fact that there are not two but three preverbal positions in Breton, contrary to Schapansky’s claim (1992a). This demonstrates that preverbal objects occur in a position intermediary between the initial and the preverbal position, contrary to Schapansky’s claim (1995), as shown in (48).¹⁵

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------------------|---------|------------------|---|
| (48) | Preverbal Positions | | | |
| | EXTERNAL | MEDIAL | INTERNAL | V |
| | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| | [] | [] | [] | |
| | Obliques | Objects | Subjects | |
| | Left-dislocated NPs | | Adjectives | |
| | Topic NPs | | Past participles | |
| | | | Infinitive verbs | |
| | | | Modals | |
| | | | Attributes | |
| | | | P-obliques | |

This scheme captures the fact that, in negative sentences, all the items appearing in the internal preverbal position are not allowed, the negative particle *ne* filling that position.

¹⁵ Schapansky (1995) claims that the preverbal object occurs in the internal preverbal position while the subject and other items occur in the medial preverbal position. However, this claim cannot be maintained in the light of sentences like (45) and the second reading of (47).

Hence only preverbal objects appearing in medial position and preverbal items appearing in external position can occur in negative sentences.

Further support for the intermediate position comes from double topicalization involving attributes, as illustrated in (49).

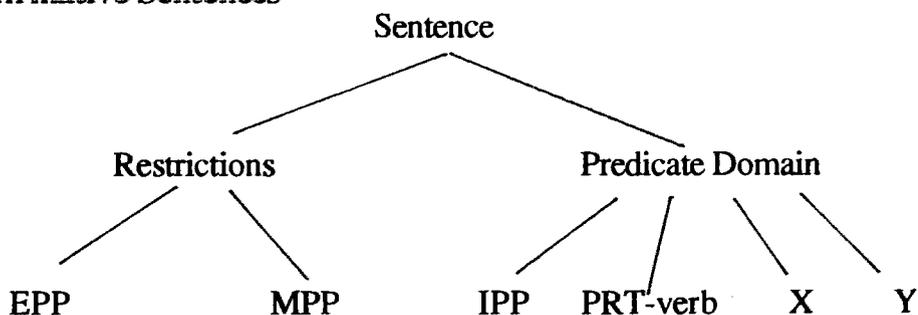
- (49) Menuzer eùe, ean e oé nezé.
 furniture-maker also 3SM PRT be.PST then
 'A furniture-maker also, he was then.' (Guilloux 1992:48)

In (49), we have an initial attribute *menuzer* 'furniture-maker' followed by the subject *ean* 'he' followed by the verb. Although attributes occur in the internal position immediately preceding the verb, they can appear in medial position in contexts determined by the discourse (see (63) below and next chapter). The construction in (49) should not be possible if the intermediary position associated with preverbal objects did not exist.

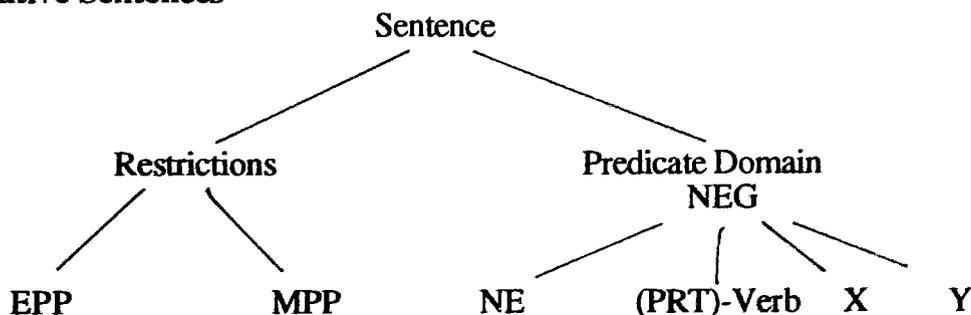
2.2.1.2 Sentence Structure and the V2 Requirement

We can now establish the structure of Breton sentences which is given in (50).

(50)a. Affirmative Sentences



b. Negative Sentences



The above structures show that a Breton sentence divides into two parts, the restrictions, or extensions of the predicate domain, and the predicate domain. The restrictions consist of the external preverbal position (EPP) and the medial preverbal position (MPP). The EPP need not be licensed from within the predicate domain. Hence oblique arguments can appear freely in that position. The MPP however is licensed from within the predicate domain and is restricted to objects. The predicate domain consists of the internal preverbal position (IPP), the complex particle + verb (PRT-Verb) and other argument positions denoted by X and Y. The IPP takes subjects, attributes, verbs in the infinitive, adjectives, past participles, predicate modals and obliques modifying the predicate in affirmative sentences.

The motivation for having the IPP in the predicate domain comes from negative sentences. As observed in (51)b., the negative particle *NE* occupies the IPP; hence none of the items found in the IPP in affirmative sentences (i.e., subjects (not showing agreement with the verb), adjectives, past participles, predicate nouns/adjectives and oblique modifying the predicate) are allowed in that position in negative sentences. In negative sentences, only the positions included in the restrictions remain accessible, the EPP and the MPP.

The motivation for having the negative particle *ne* ‘not’ occupying a different position than its positive counterparts comes from the fact that occasionally, the particle *ez* (*éh* in Gwenedeg) is found after the negative particle, as exemplified in (51).

- (51)a. Hep-se n' ez eus ket a wenidigez.
without.DEM NEG PRT be.EXT.PRS NEG of felicity
‘Without that, there is no felicity.’ (Berthou 1931:58)
- b. N' ez int ket holl ken ha ken eürus.
NEG PRT be.PRS.3P NEG all so and so happy
‘They are not all equally happy.’ (op. cit. p 82)

may correspond to the whole sentence (IP). The idea of predicate domain is instrumental in determining the syntactic scope of negation. This will be further discussed in chapter four. In V2 languages like Breton, the predicate domain includes the IPP. Sentences involving complex V2 constructions will provide further evidence to support this claim.

The preverbal positions relate to the discourse functions Topic and Focus, as discussed in the next chapter. The EPP is mainly a topic position although some focus NPs may occasionally occur in this position. The MPP is mainly a focus position although some topic NPs may occasionally occur in this position. The IPP can take both topic and focus NPs. Furthermore, these positions cannot be considered as scrambling positions. Since scrambling is a clause-bound type phenomenon, it can only occur within the predicate domain, that is in postverbal position in Breton, as illustrated in (55).

- (55)a. *Dalc’het em eus diwar ar soñjoù krouedur-se*
kept 1S.have.PRS about the thoughts child-DEM
karantez padus an nozvezhioù ouzh sklaeder al lamp.
love durable the nights from light the lamp
‘When recalling that child’s thought, I kept a lasting love for the nights spent under the lamp’s light.’
(Ar Mason 1986:28)
- b. *Ne oè ket én ter parrez ag en dro ur jiboésour par dehon.*
NEG be.PST NEG in three.F parish of the tour a hunter equal to.3SM
‘In the three neighborhood parishes, there was not a hunter like him.’
(Jaffré 1986:30)
- c. *Reit en doé me zad d’ein é _____ vontr de hoarn.*
given 3SM. have.PST 1S father to 1S 3SM watch to take-care-of
‘My father gave me his watch to take care of.’
(Guilloux 1992:19)
- d. *Goulennet em boé get me mam ur mouched ag er ré vrasan.*
asked 1S.have.PST with 1S mother a napkin of the ones big.COMP
‘I asked my mother for one of the biggest napkins.’
(op. cit. p 18)
- e. *N’ hellé ket bout léhiet guel er penherig.*
NEG can.IPF NEG be.INF located better the hamlet.DIM
‘The little hamlet could not have been better situated.’
(op. cit. p 17)

In these constructions, the scrambled item is underlined. In all cases, the scrambled items receive emphatic stress.

2.2.2. Complex Sentences and the V2 Requirement

The V2 Requirement defined as saturation of the predicate domain allows us to provide a unified account of Breton V2 word order. As mentioned earlier, it is generally assumed that Breton exhibits a V1 word order in negative and subordinate clauses. As seen above, negative sentences satisfy the V2 Requirement in that the negative particle occupies the position immediately preceding the verb. The negative particle thus saturates the predicate domain, hence satisfies the V2 Requirement as well. Similarly, we may state that complex sentences also satisfy the V2 Requirement.

2.2.2.1. Complex Sentences and the Articulated V2

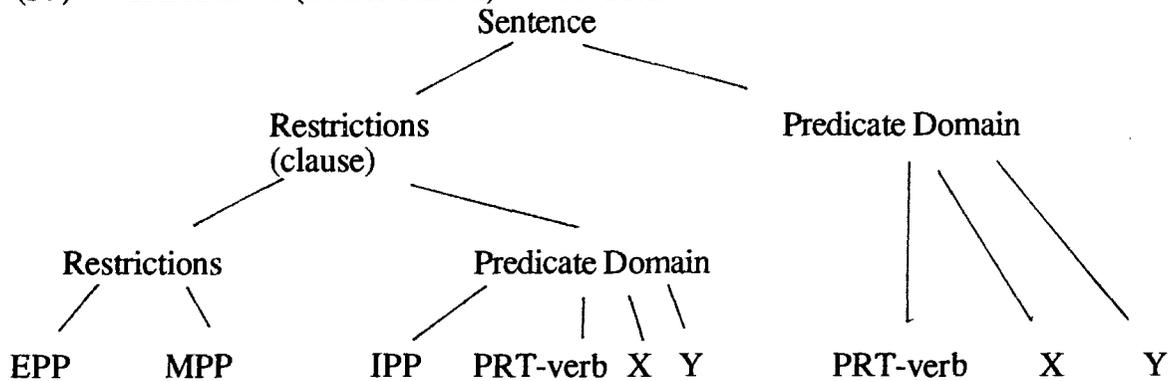
Complex sentences involve at least two clauses, the second of which in linear order is usually associated with the V1 word order, as shown in (56).

- (56)a. N' hellan ket lared ema disi ma labour.
 NEG can.PRS.1S NEG say.INF PRT.be.PRS difficult 1S work
 'I cannot say that my work is difficult.' (Jaffré 1986:9)
- b. Dré m' é ma kaer en amzer, em es streùet
 since that PRT be.PRS nice the weather 1S have.PRS spread
 'Since the weather is beautiful, I spread
- ar er prad er vilhetenneu a gant hag a vil lur.
 on the field the bills of hundred and of thousand lurs
 on the field the bills of hundred and thousand lurs.' (op. cit. p 12)

In (56)a. and b., the second clause begins with a verb which is underlined, thus showing the so-called V1 word order in Breton. Even though the second clause in (56)a. and b. exhibits the V1 order at the clause level, the V2 order is maintained at the sentence level. That is, the first clause in these sentences occupies the preverbal position, thus saturating the predicate domain of the second clause. Therefore, the V2 Requirement is met at the

sentence level. The structure of such sentences, considered as *articulated*, involving some kind of subordination, is represented as (57),

(57) **Articulated (Subordinate) V2 Structure**



where a clause occupies the restrictions of the higher predicate domain, hence saturating that predicate domain.

The articulated V2 structure proposed here to account for sentences like (19)a. and (56)a. may appear surprising. Normally, the clause *e oar Yann ar respont* ‘Yann knows the answer’ in (19)a. and *ema disi ma labour* ‘my work is difficult’ in (57)a. are analysed as complements of the verb ‘to say’. This analysis is based on the traditional view that, in this type of sentence, *say* is the main verb subcategorising for a complement clause. Thus, it appears higher in the tree and takes as its complement a clause. Hence, the second verb appears lower in the tree and is dominated by the higher verb phrase. These dominance relationships reflect to some extent the degree of grammaticalization of semantic structures in languages presenting a rigid word order like English or French. However, in languages like Breton presenting a greater flexibility of word order, the semantic structures may not display the same degree of grammaticalization of semantic structures. As a consequence, the dominance relationships between a main and complement clause may not hold to the same degree in these languages. Such is the case of Gwenedeg which shows that these clauses can reverse in terms of linear order, as shown in (58) and (59).

- (58)a. Laret em es d'oh en doé Yann er B. ur honsort Oann Pier.
 said 1S have.PRS to.2P 3S have.PST Yann Le B. a consort Oann Pier
 'I told you that Yann Le B. had a consort Oann Pier.' (Jaffré 1986:38)
- b. Yann er B.en doé ur honsort Cann Pier, em es laret d'oh.
 Yann Le B. 3S have.PST a consort Oann Pier 1S have.PRS said to.2P
 'I told you that Yann Le B. had a consort Oann Pier.'
- (59)a. Kleuet hon es er suhun tremenet
 heard 1P have.PRS the week past
- é oé bet dijablet parrez Berne ag é diaoul.
 PRT be.PST gotten-rid-of parish Berné of 3.SM devil
- 'We heard the past week that the Berné parish got rid of its devil.' (op. cit. p 58)
- b. Parrez Berne e oé bet dijablet ag é diaoul,
 parish Berné PRT be.PST gotten-rid-of of 3.SM devil
- hon es kleuet er suhun tremenet.
 1P have.PRS heard the week past
- 'We heard the past week that the Berné parish got rid of its devil.'

When the complement clauses appear in initial position for discourse purposes, as in the b-examples, no subordinating conjunctions are used to introduce them. The following clauses are introduced by the particle *éh*, the particle which serves to introduce the complement clauses in the a-examples.¹⁶ Thus, in Gwenedeg, complement and main clauses are not syntactically differentiated from one another. This is supported by the fact that, in the above examples, the intonation break occurs before the particle *éh* in both a- and b-. This shows that the dominance relationships between main and complement clauses do not hold to the same degree in Gwenedeg. Otherwise we would not have expected an intonation break before the particle *éh* in the a-examples.

If the dominance relationships between main and complement clauses are not syntactically and prosodically marked in Gwenedeg, we may wonder whether the labels of main and complement clauses should be used to characterize these types of sentence, or whether there is an alternative approach to describing them. Although I will not argue

¹⁶ Note that, with the auxiliary *endout*, no particle appears preceding the verb.

against the traditional view that verbs like *say* or *hear* in (58) are main verbs taking as their complement a clause, I will suggest that there is an alternative approach available to describe the relationships between the two types of clauses in Gwenedeg. What is important in Breton is not so much the syntactic structures, but rather, given the flexibility of word order, the notion of predicate domain.

When a sentence is composed of two predicate domains which show some relationships such as the ones discussed above, one of the predicate domains will be associated with the sentence while the other predicate domain will be somehow related to this predicate domain. This relationship can be one of subordination. This is the traditional view expressed by the relationship main/complement clauses. This relationship can also be one of *articulation*. This is the one I propose for Breton. Which predicate domain is articulated at the sentence level and which predicate domain is articulated with respect to the other predicate is what I will demonstrate.

In the traditional view, the predicate domain containing the main verb is articulated at the sentence level while the predicate domain associated with the complement clause is articulated with respect to the predicate domain containing the main verb. As seen above, this type of articulation has few syntactic reflexes in Gwenedeg. Given this fact, we may wonder whether the predicate domains may be articulated in some other way.

I would like to suggest here that the predicate domain that is articulated at the sentence level in Breton may not be the predicate domain containing the main verb, but rather the predicate domain associated with the complement clause. This would explain the lack of subordinating conjunction introducing the complement clause. This would also explain the reversibility of word order of the two clauses and the presence of an intonation break before the particle *éh* regardless of the clause type. The motivation for this type of articulation in Breton is not semantic since we would have expected the subordinating articulation as in English or French. It is rather pragmatic. In (58) and (59), the important message to convey is not that *I told you something* in (58) and *we heard something* in (59).

It is rather the fact that *Yann had a consort Oann Pier* in (58)a. and that *the Berné parish got rid of its devil* in (59)a. Both sentences (58)a. and (59)a. serve as introduction to a new story about Yann's friend Oann Pier in (58)a. and about the devil in (59)a. Both sentences also serve as link between the new story and a previous story about Yann's friend Oann Pier and the new story about the devil and the immediately preceding story about Berné's devil. In these cases, the predicate domain containing the most salient information, Yann's friend Oann Pier in (58)a. and the devil in (59)a., is articulated at the sentence level while the predicate domain containing the least salient information, the predicate domain containing the main verb, *tell* in (58) and *hear* in (59), is articulated with respect to the predicate domain containing the most salient information.

Further evidence that the predicate domain containing the most salient information is articulated at the sentence level comes from the fact that, when the predicate domain containing the most salient information also contains the main verb, a subordinating conjunction is necessary to link the two predicate domains, as illustrated in (60)-(62).

- (60)a. Laret em es penaus bout ér léh ketan
 said 1S have.PRS that be.INF in.the place first
 ne vezé ket dalhmat bourrus.
 NEG b.HAB.PST NEG always funny

'I said that to be the best was not always funny.' (Guilloux 1992:113)

- b. Kleuet em boé laret penaus é oé get un droug kalon
 heard 1S have.PST said that PRT be.PST with a pain heart
 en doé koéhet.
 3S have.PST fallen

'I heard say that it was from a heart-attack that he fell.' (op. cit. p 46)

- (61)a. Ne ouiet ket é ma dihuennet
 NEG know.IPT.2P NEG PRT be.PRS forbidden
 kemer treu er reral!
 take.INF things the people-other

'You don't know that it is forbidden to take other people's belongings!'
 (op. cit. p 95)

- b. Me ouie mat penaus ne vezé ket kavet anehé
 1S know.IPF well that NEG be.HAB.IPF NEG found of.3P
- met get ur hemenér.
 but with a tailor

'I knew well that they were found only with a tailor.' (Guilloux 1992:161)

- (62)a. Ne garan ket tam erbet
 NEG like.PRS.1S NEG piece any
- ε vé groeit goap genein.
 PRT be.HAB.PRS done fun with.1S

I don't like at all that it is made fun of me.' (Jaffré 1986:10)

- b. Me garehé ma achiùehé buan an afer-sé.
 1S like.COND that finish.COND quick the affair-DEM
- 'I would like that that affair would finish quickly.'* (Herrieu 1979:105)

The sentences in (60) provide a contrast with the sentences in (58) and (59). The interrogative adverb *penaus* 'how' used here as a subordinating conjunction meaning 'that', indicates here that the important information is contained in the predicate domain containing the main verb, *say* in (60)a. *hear say* in (60)b. and *understand* in (60)c. In (60)a., the narrator tells that it is not funny to be the first in class, and he is going to prove it. In (60)b., the narrator who witnessed the falling of the priest did not know the reason of this accident and emphasized it is second-hand information. In all cases there is no intonation break before *penaus*, thus showing the closer link between the main and complement clause. Similar observations can be made for (61) and (62) where we have a contrast between the use of the particle *éh* and the use of *penaus* 'that' in (61) and a contrast between the use of the particle *éh* and the use of the particle *ma* 'that'. The most salient information in (61)a. is given by the *éh*-clause, *it is forbidden to take other people's belongings*, that is a sin. In the context of (61)a., a four year old boy is at his neighbors place and sees eggs. Since no one is around he decides to bring those eggs to his mother so that she does not have to buy some. But his mother disagrees. The most salient information in (61)b. is given by the main clause, *I knew for a fact that these buttons were*

only found with a tailor. In the context of (61)b., two young boys are playing with buttons. One of them is losing his and goes home to fetch others. He comes back with particular ones that only a son of tailor can get. The most salient information in (62)a. is that *it is made fun of me* in (62)a. In this context, Yann, the main character of the stories, likes to tease people and tell jokes. However, he doesn't like to be made fun of. The most salient information in (62)b. is *my deep desire* to see this affair end well. This sentence came at the end of an April Fool story about a thief who broke into a house. In this case, there is no intonation break before *ma* 'that', hence showing the closer link between the main and complement clause.

According to Guillevic & Le Goff (1986:113), complement clauses introduced by the particle *éh* are found after the following predicates: *laret* 'to say', *touiein* 'to swear', *diskoein* 'to show', *gratat* 'to promise', *kredein* 'to believe', *chonjal* 'to think', *gout* 'to know', *en devout chonj* 'to remember', *bout sur* 'to be certain', *santein* 'to feel', *gueleit* 'to see'. They are found after predicates expressing a judgement on the truth of an affirmation: *guir é* 'it is true', *haval genein/kavet e hra genein* 'it seems to me', *un dra sur é* 'it is obvious', *un dra splann é* 'it is clear'. The particle *éh* can be replaced by *penaus* for clarity purposes. However, Guillevic & Le Goff do not discuss what they mean by clarity.

According to Guillevic & Le Goff, complement clauses introduced by the particle *ma* 'that' are found after predicates expressing volition or action: *vennein* 'to want', *goulen* 'to ask', *me garehé* 'I would like', *gourhemmenein* 'to command', *andurein* 'to suffer', *gober* 'to make'; after predicates expressing a feeling: *bout koutant* 'to be happy', *bout soéhet* 'to be surprised', *endevout ké* 'to regret', *en devout mèh* 'to be ashamed', *hum glem* 'to complain'; after predicates expressing a judgement on the nature of a fact: *ret él rekiz é* 'it is necessary', *mad é* 'it is good', *brau é* 'it is appropriate'. These lists are not exhaustive and the assignment of predicates to a particular class varies from dialect to dialect (e.g., compare Guillevic & le Goff (1986:113-115) for Gwenedeg with Le Clerc (1986:201-204)

for Tregerieg) and from within a dialect (e.g., High and Low Gwenedeg in Guillevic & Le Goff).

What we can deduce from this discussion is that Gwenedeg has two ways of articulating predicate domains. When the predicate domain associated with the complement clause contains the most salient information, it is articulated at the sentence level, it is introduced by the particle *éh* and it is marked by an intonation break. When the predicate domain associated with the complement clause does not contain the most salient information, it is not articulated at the sentence level, but with respect to the other predicate domain relating to the main clause, it is introduced by a subordinating conjunction *penaus* ‘that’ or *ma* ‘that’ and it is not marked by an intonation break.

Further evidence that the predicate domain containing the most salient information is articulated at the sentence level comes from the fact that an optional V2 word order is found when this predicate domain follows another one, as is demonstrated next.¹⁷

2.2.2.2. *Complex Sentences and the Symmetrical V2*

When the predicate domain containing the most salient information follows another predicate domain expressed by a subordinate clause, as in (63)a. and b., or a complement clause as in (63)b. and c., it exhibits an optional V2 word order.

- (63)a. Adal ma oé echiù en overenn ha kaset er hlehier de Rom
 since that be.PST finish the mass and sent the bells to Rome
 ‘After the mass was over and the bells sent to Rome,
- en um streùein e hré er gristenion vad dré gér.
 REFL spread.INF PRT do.IPF the christians good through village
 the good christians dispersed through the village.’ (Jaffré 1986:18)
- b. Mar karet gouiet, me hanu-me e zo er Lé.
 if like.PRS.2P know.INF 1S name.1S PRT be.PRS Le Veau
 ‘If you like to know, my name is Le Veau.’ (op. cit. p 86)

¹⁷ For a similar discussion on Germanic, see Vikner 1994.

- c. Ha m' hel lar d'oh, diaés e vo dehè
 and 1S can.PRS say.INF to.2P difficult PRT be.fut.3S to.3P
 'And I tell you, it will be difficult for them'

me dihun en nozeh-man.
 1S wake-up.INF the night-DEM
 to wake me up this night.'

(op. cit. p 32)

- d. Er hleuet e hran hoah é laret
 3SM hear.INF PRT do.PRS.1S still in say.INF
 'I still hear him telling'

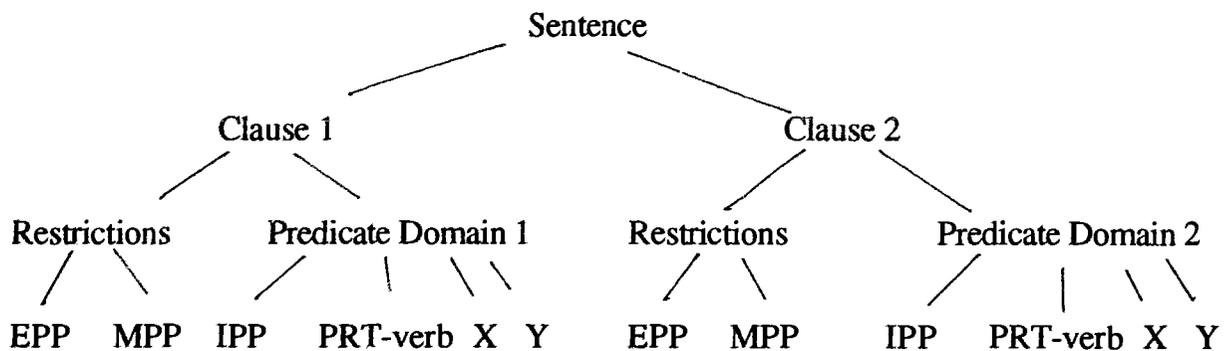
na kalet ha poenius e oé er labour.
 how hard and painful PRT be.PST the work
 how hard and painful the work was.'

(Guilloux 1992:74)

In (63)a, the main clause, following the subordinate clause introduced by *adal ma* 'since that', shows the infinitive verb *en um streùein* 'to disperse' before the auxiliary *hré* 'did'; hence satisfying the V2 requirement at the clause level. In (63)b., the main clause, following the subordinate clause introduced by *mar* 'if', show the subject *me hanu-me* 'my name' in initial position, thus satisfying the V2 order at the clause level. In (63)c., the complement clause, which follows the main clause, also exhibits the V2 order at the clause level with the adjective *diaés* 'difficult' appearing before the auxiliary *vo* 'will be'. In (63)d., the complement clause, which follows the main clause, shows the V2 order at the clause level introduced by the adjective *na kalet ha poenius* 'how hard and painful'. Whereas sentences like (63)a. and b. are common like (63)c. and d. are less common. What governs the V2 order in the complement clause in the latter is not yet clear. Notice that the adjectives *diaes* in (63)c. and *kalet ha poenius* in (63)d. receive an emphatic focus reading. Further research is needed on this type of sentence.

From the above data, we can see that the symmetrical V2 order involves coordinate structures, as shown in (64).

(64) Symmetrical (coordinate) V2 Structure



The V2 word order is also found in subordinate clauses introduced by interrogative adverbs, as shown in (65).

- (65)a. ...penaus ér skol é ré er mestr de len d'omb
 that in.the school PRT give.IPF the teacher to read.INF to.1P

lies ur huerzen.
 often a poem

(Guilloux 1992:74)

'...that in the school the teacher gave us often a poem to read.'

- b. Chetu perak a-gaust d' é ben kalet Filiz e oé
 here why because to 3SM head hard Filiz PRT be.PST
'Here is why, because of his obstination, Filiz had

hemb arsaù deulegad er mestr-skol arnehon.
 without cease DUAL.eye the master-school on.3SM
ceaselessly the eyes of the school-teacher on him.'

(Guilloux 1992:70)

- c. Chetu perak den ne venn moned azé de gousket.
 here why man NEG want.PRS.3S go.INF there to sleep.INF
'Here is why nobody wants to go there and sleep.' (Jaffré 1986:32)

In (65)a., an oblique argument *ér skol* 'in the school' follows the subordinating conjunction *penaus* 'that', thus also showing the V2 order at the clause level. Although *penaus* 'how' is an interrogative adverb, it behaves like an oblique argument rather than as a saturator for the predicate domain, hence phrases can appear between *penaus* and the following verb. Similar phenomena are observed after *perak* 'why', as seen in (65)b. and c.

The symmetrical V2 order is also found after coordinating conjunctions such as *hag* ‘and’ in (66)a., *mes* ‘but’ in (66), or *rag* ‘since, because’ in (66)c.

- (66)a. ...*hag* *hanaùet* e oé en dén eit bout higas
 and known PRT be.PST the man for be.INF odious
 ‘...and the man was known to be cruel.’ (Guilloux 1992:166)
- b. ...*mes* *ur chonj displeijus* en doé goarnet ag er person.
 but a thought displeasing 3S.have.PST kept of the parson
 ‘...but he kept an unpleasing memory of the parson.’ (Guilloux 1992:92)
- c. ...*rag* *prés bras* ‘zo arnein.
 since hurry big (PRT).be.PRS on.1S
 ‘...since I am in great hurry.’ (Jaffré 1986:12)

The difference between the articulated and symmetrical V2 structures is that the articulated V2 structure, as in (57), allows a verb to appear at the initial of its clause, given that another clause precedes it, and allows for recursion. In contrast, the symmetrical V2 structure, as in (64), applies to individual clauses with no possibility for recursion.

This proposal has some important consequences.

2.2.3. Consequences

2.2.3.1. The V2 Requirement and Structural Asymmetries

The first consequence relates to the V2 Requirement. If we define the V2 Requirement in terms of saturation of the predicate domain, we can provide a unified account for the V2 word order in Breton. We can also account for the asymmetries observed between affirmative and negative sentences. In affirmative sentences, one of the three preverbal positions is accessed to satisfy the V2 Requirement. In negative sentences however, the negative particle *ne* ‘not’ appearing in the internal preverbal position saturates the predicate domain, hence the V2 Requirement is met. Thus, the items which normally occur in the internal position in affirmative sentences are not allowed in this position in negative sentences. Furthermore, the other two positions, medial and external, are only optionally accessed in negative sentences, the V2 Requirement being already satisfied by the presence

of the negative particle. Hence, only preverbal objects in medial position and obliques or left-dislocated/topic NPs in external position are permissible under negation. Therefore, the asymmetries observed between affirmative and negative sentences are determined by the number of preverbal positions that are available. The number of available positions depends on how the predicate domain is saturated.

A note of caution is mandatory at this point. This is not to say that, because the internal position is not available in negative sentences, items which would normally occur in that position in affirmative sentences are never allowed in negative sentences. As seen earlier a preverbal subject is allowed in negative sentences if it is left-dislocated, therefore appearing in the external position. Furthermore, the medial position which is usually associated with objects can also take other items under conditions determined by the discourse context, as evidenced in (67).

- (67)a. Spontet nen dint ket bet get un dra pe un al.
 frightened NEG be.PRS.3P NEG been with a thing or an other
'They are not frightened by one thing or another.' (Guilloux 1992:14)
- b. Hardéh ne oen ket en amzér-sé.
 courageous NEG be.PST.1S NEG the time-DEM
'I was not courageous in those days.' (op. cit. p 201)
- c. Penveùet e oé, lahet ne oé ket.
 stunned PRT be.PST.3S killed NEG be.PST.3S NEG
'Stunned he was, killed he was not.' (Jaffré 1986:88)

The preverbal past participles *spontet* 'frightened' in (67)a. and *lahet* 'killed' in (67) c., and the preverbal adjective *hardéh* 'courageous' in (67)b., receive an emphatic focus reading. This suggests that grammatical relations are not assigned once and for all to a particular preverbal position.

This view of the V2 Requirement gives a unified account for both affirmative and negative sentences and for both simple and complex sentences contrary to the view currently held within GB that Breton sentences exhibit a V2 word order in independent clauses and a V1 order in negative and subordinate clauses (e.g., Schafer (1992, 1995)).

2.2.3.2. Negation and Markedness

The second consequence relates to the markedness of negation. As seen above, the negative particle, unlike its positive counterparts, saturates the predicate domain. This asymmetry suggests that the markedness of sentence negation cannot be reduced to Formal Marking. This approach to negation is crucial in many respects. Firstly, it explains the strange behaviour of the negative particle. Whereas the particles *e* and *éh* cannot begin a sentence, the particle *ne* can. Whereas the particles *e* and *éh* show a complete complementary distribution, *e* licensing only preverbal items marked [+ N] and *éh* licensing preverbal items marked [- N], as seen in (27), the negative particle *ne*, being a saturator for the predicate domain, lacks licensing properties altogether. Furthermore, whereas the negative particle implies a saturation of the predicate domain, the positive particles don't. The properties of the particles are summarized in (68).

(68). Properties of Particles

properties	particles	
	positive	negative
licensing device	+	-
clause initial	-	+
saturator	-	+
saturation of predicate domain	-	+

From the above table, it is clear that the positive and negative particles have nothing in common. Thus, Breton proves to be crucial in understanding the markedness of sentence negation, which cannot be equated with formal marking (cf. Battistella 1990). Breton positive particles provide a means for comparing affirmative and negative sentences. In languages lacking positive particles, it is more difficult to compare affirmative and negative sentences. Thus, it is more difficult to establish the markedness of sentence negation. The absence of positive particles does not mean that negation is working at the same level as affirmation does. This will be further developed in chapter four.

2.2.3.3. *Theoretical Implications*

The V2 analysis proposed above for Breton has some important theoretical implications. A bipartite structure to the sentence is not something really new. It is implicit in the GB framework. In languages such as English or French which have a rigid SVO order, the subject has been taken as an external argument of the verb. However, verb initial languages of the Celtic type created a challenge to the view that the subject is always an external argument of the predicate since, in these languages, the subject rarely appears preverbally. This problem was solved by the *Verb Phrase Internal Subject Hypothesis* which says the subject can originate inside the VP, as seen in (17), thus within the predicate domain. However, the exact composition of the predicate domain has to be determined language by language. The predicate domain is instrumental in determining the syntactic scope of negation. However, unlike the VP in which arguments are ordered following GB theory, the predicate domain does not show such ordering of the arguments.

Furthermore, movement of phrases to positions external to the predicate domain which are analysed within P&P in terms of the Binding Theory and the Empty Category Principle can be accounted for here by the number of preverbal positions available in any given language, their cooccurrence restrictions, and by which type of position admits which type of category. The three preverbal positions identified for Gwenedeg are conflated into one in Schafer's account (1992, 1995), Spec CP. In her account the other possible position Spec IP is not available, following the assumption that this position is an A position, thus not available as a landing site for A-bar movement. However, given that Breton has only one type of movement, topicalization classified as A-bar, the distinction A/A-bar may not be relevant. If thus, Spec IP could serve as a landing site for the purpose of topicalization, as posited by Coté (1995) for Old French. Furthermore, the fact that subjects are antecedent-governed and objects lexically governed in Schafer (1992, 1995), reflects the fact that preverbal subjects and preverbal objects occupy different positions in Breton. Finally based

on data involving double topicalization, the claim that there is only one preverbal position in Breton cannot be maintained.

The identification of three preverbal positions in Breton is not unprecedented. As seen earlier, Stump (1984) following Varin (1979) posits two preverbal positions in Breton. He also elucidates the possibility of a third position, that of objects, but has no data to substantiate the claim. The behavior of the object in negative sentences and in double topicalization proves to be instrumental in determining the existence of this third position. Furthermore, Aissen (1992) also posits three preverbal positions in Mayan. She identifies the external topic, internal topic and focus positions. Gardiner (1994) obtains similar results for Shushwap, an Interior Salish language. Both Mayan and Shushwap are VSO languages.

The V2 Requirement defined as saturation of the predicate domain working at both the clause and sentence levels provides an accurate account of V2 constructions in Breton. Instead of associating the V2 Requirement with a particular structural configuration and trying to fit all the data into that structural configuration, two structures, the articulated and the symmetrical V2 structures, are identified with the V2 Requirement. What serves a saturator for the predicate domain is language dependent. In Breton we have preverbal items, mood realized as the optative particle *re* 'that', the irrealis particles *ma* 'that', *mar* 'if', *nag* 'that', and *ne* 'not', and the realis particle *pe* 'when, that'.¹⁸

The structure proposed for Breton sentences and elaborated from the data rather than being forced into the language by a theory, seems to a large extent to account for other languages as well. Furthermore, it provides a simpler, more elegant and more accurate account of Breton structural asymmetries.

¹⁸ In this work, the negative particle *ne* 'not' is associated with the irrealis modality. For more discussion on the topic see chapter four.

2.3 CONCLUSION

To conclude this chapter, we have discussed structural asymmetries observed between affirmative and negative sentences in Breton. These asymmetries relate to the V2 word order and the particle system. Regardless of the clause type, the verb remains in second position of its clause or of the sentence. Whereas the positive particle *e* and *éh* form a complex with the following verb, the negative particle *ne* does not. This is supported by the fact that subjects, predicates (e.g., verbs in the infinitive followed by the auxiliary *gober* ‘to do’, past-participles, adjectives, predicate modals), and obliques modifying the predicate, can appear immediately preceding the verb in affirmative but not in negative sentences. Thus, the negative particle unlike its positive counterparts can occur sentence initially and serves as a saturator for the predicate domain. Furthermore, evidence that the negative particle appears in a position different from that of its positive counterparts relates to the fact that the particle *ez* (*éh* in Gwenedeg) is occasionally found between the negative particle and the following verb. The distributional properties of sentential obliques, left-dislocated/topic NPs and objects allowed us to establish the existence of three preverbal positions, external, medial and internal. Whereas the internal position is not available in negative sentences since the negative particle occurs in this position, the other two positions remain accessible. Thus, preverbal sentential obliques, left-dislocated/topic NPs and objects are found in negative sentences. Evidence that preverbal objects occur in medial position involves negative sentences and double topicalization with two NPs, the first of which is the object. Breton provides evidence that the predicate domain may not be articulated according to dominance relationships, but rather according to information saliency. This is not surprising in a discourse-oriented language.

The analysis proposed here provides a unified account of the verb-second word order in Breton in terms of the V2 Requirement defined as saturation of the predicate domain. It shows as well how the use of negation implies structural asymmetries which reflect one aspect of the markedness of sentence negation. Other types of asymmetries associated with the V2 word order, semantic/pragmatic asymmetries, are considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

REFERENTIALITY AND BOUNDEDNESS THE SYNTAX-SEMANTICS-PRAGMATICS INTERFACE

In this chapter, we will discuss semantic/pragmatic asymmetries pertaining to the V2 Requirement defined in the preceding chapter. Although Breton is relatively flexible in the way the predicate domain is saturated in affirmative sentences, this flexibility is not unconstrained. An attempt has been made by Schapansky (1992a) to capture the constraint on the order of occurrence of NPs in terms of Subject Precedence (cf. section 2.1.2.3). In the light of data discussed below, this rule presents some inadequacies that are best handled by appealing to the notion of referentiality, a semantic property of NPs. Although referentiality is a semantic property of NPs, the degree of referentiality of an NP is determined by the discourse according to Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski (1993). Hence the NP with the higher degree of referentiality is likely to occur preverbally and serve as a saturator or binder for the predicate domain while the NP with the lower degree of referentiality is likely to occur in postverbal position.

In Schapansky (1992a), when a preverbal and a postverbal NPs are both definite or both indefinite, the preverbal NP is interpreted as the subject according to the Subject Precedence rule. However, this approach presents some inadequacies that are best handled by appealing to the notion of referentiality. In Schapansky (*op. cit.*), the indefinite NP may appear preverbally, and thus serve as a binder for the predicate domain, while the definite NP, the subject, appears in postverbal position. This was accounted for by the Definiteness Condition (cf. section 2.1.2.3), which presents some inadequacies that are best handled by appealing to the discourse function Focus. However, one set of NPs can

never be focus, thus can never serve as binders for the predicate domain. These NPs marked by the preposition *ag* 'of' (hereafter Ag-NPs) represent incomplete or unbounded subsets of entities. Referentiality also interacts with auxiliary selection.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section One discusses NPs which serve as binders for the predicate domain. A study of natural discourse reveals that a Referentiality Constraint (REC) on the placement of preverbal NPs restricts the set of possible binders for the predicate domain. Section Two discusses Ag-NPs which can never serve as binders for the predicate domain. This is not predicted by the REC, which is revised to account for Ag-NPs. The aspectual as well as non-aspectual uses of *ag* are discussed. Section Three shows how auxiliary selection interacting with referentiality affects the binding of the predicate domain. The auxiliary *endout* 'to have', associated with events and referential subjects, does not show a preference in the binder. The auxiliary *bout* 'to be', associated with stativity, displays, in the present tense, four forms demanding subject or non-subject binders. The form demanding a subject-binder is not found in negative sentences. The other three forms demanding non-subject-binders, are sensitive to the definiteness of their postverbal subjects, and one of them does not appear in negative sentences. A historical overview of the auxiliary system is provided.

3.1. REFERENTIALITY AND PREVERBAL POSITIONS

The purpose of this section is to discuss NPs which can bind the predicate domain. We will concentrate on sentences containing two overt NPs, one preverbal and one postverbal, in order to see how referentiality determines the placement of NPs in preverbal position, hence to see how referentiality restricts the set of possible binders for the predicate domain.

mind which is not necessarily inferrable to the addressee. An NP is *type identifiable* when it is used non-specifically (for more details see GHZ 1993).

Givón's indefinite non-referential corresponds to GHZ's type identifiable but not referential. Givón's indefinite referential corresponds to GHZ's referential but not uniquely identifiable. And Givón's definite referential corresponds to GHZ's uniquely identifiable. The discourse-linked referentiality scale of GHZ will enable us to understand how referentiality constrains word order in Breton.

As seen in the preceding chapter, Breton morphosyntax does not always allow for the identification of subjects and objects when they both occur as NPs in the same sentence. This is why such sentences are, in principle, avoided, though not totally. Schapansky (1992a) provides two rules, *Subject Precedence* and the *Definiteness Condition*, which serve to identify the subject when the object (or the attribute) is also present. They represent instances of rules constraining grammatical relations. Although these two rules can accurately account for the data under investigation, they are insufficient to account for all possibilities. As we will see, referentiality constrains the placement of NPs in preverbal position. In order to see how referentiality constrains word order in Breton, a study of five Gwenedeg texts including oral discourse is undertaken. The results of this study reveals that the two rules, Subject Precedence and the Definiteness Condition reflect rather accurately how the identification of the subject and object/attribute is effected in the language. However, these two rules interact with the discourse functions Topic and Focus. The relevant definitions are given in (2).

(2) **Topic**

A discourse entity is the topic of the sentence, if and only if in using the sentence the speaker intends to increase the addressee's knowledge about, request information about, or otherwise get the addressee to act with respect to the entity (Gundel 1988).

Comment

A predication is the comment of the sentence, if and only if in using the sentence the speaker intends the predication to be assessed relative to the topic of the sentence (Gundel 1988).

Focus

The position of linguistic prominence in the part of the sentence that represents the comment (Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski 1993, fn 10).

In short, the topic is what the sentence is about, the comment is what is said about the topic, and the focus is the most salient part of the comment.

3.1.2. Rules Constraining Grammatical Relations

Although Subject Precedence and the Definiteness Condition are instances of rules constraining grammatical relations, they represent only a tendency to identify grammatical relations in a language lacking overt morphosyntactic information. They are by no means absolute rules.

3.1.1.1. Subject Precedence versus Topic Precedence

Subject Precedence tells us that when two definite or two indefinite NPs, one preverbal and one postverbal, occur in the same sentence, the preverbal NP has to be interpreted as the subject, as observed in (3).

- (3)a. Er Gelted koh e inouré er mammenneu.
the Celts old PRT worship.IPF the springs
'The ancient Celts worshiped the springs.' (Herrieu 1979:78)
- b. Er hig moh e oé kentoh hor biùans.
the meat pig PRT be.PST rather 1P living
'Pork was first of all our food.' (Guilloux 1992:131)

However, this is not always the case. A definite object may also occur preverbally when a subject follows, as seen in (4).

- (4) En drouz-sé e hré ol er melinieù ér bed abéh.
the noise-DEM PRT do.IPF all the mills in.the world entire
'All the mills of the whole world were making that noise.' (op. cit. p. 15)

If subject precedence is a rule constraining the position of the subject, sentence (4) should be ungrammatical since we have a preverbal definite object followed by a definite subject in postverbal position. Therefore, the rule of Subject Precedence is not absolute. However, we find a common pattern in the above sentences. That is, the preverbal NP, whether the subject, as in (3), or the object, as in (4), is the topic of the sentence. Thus in (3)a., *er Gelted koh* ‘the ancient Celts’ is a Topic. In (3)b., *er hig moh* ‘pork’ has been previously mentioned in the discourse and represents an instance of Topic Shift. The preceding topic was horse meat, as illustrated in (5).

- (5) Biftek-jaù en doe kavet saù ér vorh en dé-sé...
 steak-horse 3S have.PST found rise in.the village the day-DEM
 ‘Horse meat steak was for sale in the village that day...’

Er hig moh...
 the meat pig
 Pork...’

In (4), *en drouz-sé* ‘that noise’ is a Continuing Topic where *trouz* ‘noise’ has already been introduced in the discourse, as illustrated in (6).

- (6) Ha kleuet e vou nezé trouz er velin é valein; en drouz-sé...
 and heard PRT be.FUT then noise the mill in grind.INF the noise-DEM
 ‘And the noise of the mill grinding will be heard; that noise...’

We can therefore state that this precedence rule should be modified to constrain topicality rather than subjecthood. We can thus formalize this constraint on topics as the precedence rule given in (7).

(7) **Topic Precedence**

In a sentence containing two overt definite NPs, one preverbal and one postverbal, the preverbal NP has to be the topic of the sentence regardless of its grammatical relation.

The identification of subjects and objects/attributes cannot be defined in terms of word order rules such as Topic Precedence. Animacy can be invoked to account for (3)a., where

the subject *er Gelted koh* ‘the ancient Celts’ is animate and the object *er mammenneu* ‘the springs’ inanimate. However, this will not do for (3)b. and (4) where subjects and objects are all inanimate. Concrete versus abstract cannot serve to identify a preverbal subject from a postverbal object. In (3)b., we have a preverbal subject *er hig moh* ‘pork’ which is concrete while the postverbal object *biùans* ‘food’ is abstract. In (4), we have a preverbal object *en drouz-sé* ‘that noise’ which is abstract while the postverbal subject *ol er melinieù* ‘all the mills’ is concrete. We can therefore state that grammatical relations such as subject and object/attribute are identified contextually and Topic Precedence is a rule constraining preverbal NPs. However, Topic Precedence cannot account for preverbal indefinite NPs.

3.1.1.2. The Definiteness Condition versus Focus Precedence

The Definiteness Condition tells us that when two NPs occur in the same sentence, one definite and one indefinite, the definite NP has to be interpreted as the subject regardless of its position, as seen in (8).

(8)a. Ur hoér en doé en eutru Touz é Santez Anna.
 a sister 3S have.PST the Mister Touz in Sainte-Anne
 ‘Mister Touz had a sister in Sainte-Anne.’ (Guilloux 1992:48)

b. Er merhed ou doé ur skol ledanoh hoah.
 the girls 3P have.PST a school large.COMP yet.’
 ‘The girls had yet a larger school.’ (op. cit. p 49)

In (8)a., we have a preverbal indefinite object *ur hoér* ‘a sister’ while the postverbal subject is definite, *en eutru Touz* ‘Mister Touz’. *Mister Touz* is the current topic of the discourse while *a sister* is new information put into focus. In (8)b., we have a preverbal definite subject *er merhed* ‘the girls’ while the postverbal object is indefinite *ur skol ledanoh hoah* ‘a school yet larger’. *Er merhed* ‘the girls’ represent an instance of topic shift. However, not all subjects in a definite/indefinite pair are definite, and not all objects in a definite/indefinite pair are indefinite, as evidenced in (9).

- (9)a. Ur réjoéisans bras benak e laké er joé en hon haloneu.
 a rejoicing great some PART put.IPF the joy in our hearts
 'Some great rejoicing put the joy in our hearts.' (Guilloux 1992:147)
- b. Pisked e oé biùans en ol ur huéh ér suhun.
 fish.P PRT be.PST livings the all a time in.the week
 'Fish was the food of all once a week.' (op. cit. p 130)

If the Definiteness Condition is an instance of a rule constraining the identification of the subject, then the sentences in (9) ought to be ungrammatical since the postverbal object *er joé* 'the joy' in (9)a. and the postverbal attribute *biùans en oll* 'the food of all' in (9)b. are both definite, and not subjects. Therefore, the Definiteness Condition must be modified.¹

This is further evidenced in (10).

- (10)a. Ur vraù a hiris e daul deur er len.
 a beautiful of grille PART throw.PRS water the lake
 'A beautiful grille lets the water of the lake flow over.' (Guilloux 1992:17)
- b. Un daulen liùet e ziskoe Izidor ar benneu é zeuhlin.
 a tableau colored PART show.PRS Izidor on heads 3SM DUAL.knee
 'A painting shows Izidor on his knees.' (op. cit. p 28)

In (10)a., we have *ur vraù a hiris* 'a beautiful grille', the subject, while *deur er len* 'the water of the lake', the object has been implicitly introduced in the discourse about the mills. Here, the beautiful grille unique to the *melin Boterù* 'Boterù Mill' is the focus of attention. In (10)b, we have *un daulenn livet* 'a painting', the subject, while *Izidor*, the object, is the current topic of the discourse. *Izidor* on his knees has also been introduced. The legend has it that *epad ma vezé deuhlinet é laret é chapelet...* 'while he was on his knees saying his chapelet...'. *Un daulenn liùet* 'a painting' can only be interpreted as focus, occurring after a series of five-stage-setting topics, as shown in (11).

¹The absence of a definite article before the attribute *biùans en oll* 'the food of all' does not mean that the noun is indefinite. In possessive constructions, the possessive phrase can be fully expressed, as in *er biùans ag en ol* 'the food of all' where the head noun *biùans* takes the definite article *er/en* 'the' and its complement *en ol* takes the preposition *ag* 'of'. The possessive phrase can also only partially be expressed, as above *biùans en ol*. The omission of the preposition *ag* with the complement implies the omission of the article with the head noun. The presence or absence of determiners does not necessarily correlate to the distinction definite/indefinite or specific/non-specific.

- (11) A-drest en auter, en diabarh ag er chapel, é touéh penneu éled diùachellet,
 above the altar in interior of the chapel among heads angels unwinged
'Above the altar, inside the chapel, among the heads of unwinged angels

staget a-glei hag a-zeheu, é sellet get deulegad bras ha divergont,
 attached of left and of right in watching with eyes big and arrogant
hanging to the left and to the right, watching with big and arrogant eyes,

un daulenn liùet...
 a tableau colored
a painting...'

Thus, *ur vraù a hiris* in (10)a., and *un daulenn liùet* in (10)b. are instances of presentational focus. We can therefore state that the condition on definiteness is not really a condition on definiteness but rather a constraint on focality which is formalized as the second precedence rule given in (12).

(12) **Focus Precedence**

In a sentence containing two overt NPs, one definite and one indefinite, one preverbal and one postverbal, the preverbal NP must be the focus of the sentence if indefinite, regardless of its grammatical relation.

These two precedence rules impose restrictions on the position of the topic if the two nominals are definite, and on the position of the focus if the two nominals differ in definiteness. However, they do not identify grammatical relations since both subjects and objects (or attributes) can be topic and both subjects and objects (or attributes) can be focus. Hence Topic Precedence and Focus Precedence are rules constraining preverbal NPs. Ambiguity is likely to arise in a language which does not mark grammatical relations morphosyntactically. The linguistic or extralinguistic context may or may not help resolve ambiguities, as revealed by the study considered next.

3.1.3. Referentiality as Constraining Preverbal NPs

The two rules given above, Topic Precedence and the Focus Precedence, do not refer to grammatical relations. Topic Precedence involves preverbal definite NPs while Focus Precedence involves preverbal indefinite NPs, so that these two rules are independent of

each other. A third possibility, not discussed above, is the presence of two indefinite NPs in the same sentence, which is not accounted for by Topic or Focus Precedence (but is accounted for by Subject Precedence). It seems therefore almost impossible to give a general rule on the placement of NPs in preverbal position that will satisfy Topic Precedence, Focus Precedence, and the third rule not yet discussed. However, a referentiality constraint determines word order in Breton. It is given in (13).

(13) **Referentiality Constraint**

In a sentence containing two overt NPs, one preverbal and one postverbal, the preverbal NP will be more referential, that is its referent will be more accessible in the discourse context.

As for the other rules, the Referentiality Constraint rule does not make reference to grammatical relations. Unlike the other rules, this rule does not make reference to either topic or focus; thus potentially including both of them and potentially including the third rule as well.

To support this Referentiality Constraint, a study involving sentences containing two overt NPs, one preverbal and one postverbal, has been carried out. The corpus consists of five texts written in the Gwenedeg dialect, each containing 60 sentences (or clauses) with the word order NP V NP. The first text is *Yann ar Baluc'henn* (Jaffré 1986), a collection of short stories first published in a local newspaper *La Liberté du Morbihan*, then gathered and edited by D. Douget. The language used is rather informal. The second text is *Hor Bara Pamdiék* (Guilloux 1992). At the age of 70, Guilloux began to write of his childhood memories in French first since he was illiterate in his native language, Breton. He then decided to learn to read and write in his first language, to write of his memories in the language of his childhood. Two passages of Guilloux have been selected for the study. The language used is also rather informal. The fourth text is *Evit Ket ha Netra* (Ar Mason 1986), a historical novel. This is the only text not written in the accepted Gwenedeg spelling system and the language used is rather formal. The last text is *Mélanie, ur vuhé é*

Groay (Come 1991), an oral narrative. This text is a compilation of conversations recorded in 1983-84 as part of a 'travail de maitrise' and was phonetically transcribed. The informant was one of the last native speakers of the variety of Gwenedeg spoken in the island of Groix. These texts represent a good sample of the Gwenedeg dialect.

The NPs, Subject (S), Object (O), Attribute (At) and Left-dislocated (Ld) occur in the five word order patterns: SVO, SVAt, OVS, AtVS and LdVX (X may or may not be the subject). This study reveals that sentences/clauses with the order NP V NP represent only 8% of the 3732 sentences/clauses examined in order to obtain the targeted number of NP V NP tokens, 60 per text, 300 out of 3732, and rank only 7th in the 11 word order patterns identified. From these 300 NP V NP sentences, 245 (83%) show the SV order; 18 (6%) show the OVS order; 17 (5.73%) show the AtVS order; and 20 (6.7%) show the LdVX order, as represented in (14).

(14) **Distribution of Word Order Patterns**

Word orders	Tokens	%	Descriptions
SVO	178	59.3	Subject-initial Transitives
SVAt	67	22.3	Subject-initial Equatives
OVS	18	6.0	Object-initial Transitives
AtVS	17	5.7	Attribute-initial Equatives
LdVX	20	6.7	Left-dislocation-initial
Total	300	100	

Referentiality is a complex phenomenon which may or may not be directly observable. When it is directly observable, it involves Definiteness and Referential Dependence. When it is not directly observable, the discourse context comes into play. The Cognitive Status of the NPs, as found in GHZ (1993), plays an important role in determining referentiality. Not all combinations of NP V NP tokens can be accounted for by Definiteness, Referential Dependence or Cognitive Status. As a final resort, the discourse functions Topic and Focus are available to account for the problematical cases.

3.1.3.1. Definiteness

The first phase of the study involves coding the NPs for definiteness. Since definite NP tokens denote entities which are uniquely identifiable in the discourse context, they are inherently more referential than indefinite NPs which typically are not used to refer to identifiable entities. Definiteness is realized in Breton by personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and determiners, the definite article *er/en* ‘the’ in the singular and plural, the absence of determiners with proper names and in singular possessive constructions, and universally quantified NPs. Indefiniteness is realized by the indefinite article *ur/un* ‘a/an’ in the singular, and the absence of determiners with indefinite plural and predicative singular NPs, negative polarity items, existentially quantified and interrogative NPs. The distribution of definite and indefinite NPs is shown in (15).

(15) **Distribution of Definite and Indefinite NPs**

Preverbal	Postverbal	Initial NPs					%
		S	O	At	Ld		
definite	indefinite	110	0	0	9	119	39.7
indefinite	definite	15	17	15	0	47	15.7
definite	definite	106	1	1	10	118	39.3
indefinite	indefinite	14	0	1	1	16	5.3
total						300	100

When one NP is definite and the other indefinite, the definite NP occurs preverbally 72% of the time, or 119 tokens out of 166, as predicted by the Referentiality Constraint. However, 47 tokens show a preverbal indefinite NP with a postverbal definite NP, a combination which clearly violates the Referentiality Constraint. Moreover, when both NPs are definite (118 tokens) or when both are indefinite (16 tokens), definiteness alone cannot determine whether or not the Referentiality Constraint is met. We thus have a total of 181 tokens which are not automatically accounted for by definiteness. The next step is to code these problematical tokens for Referential Dependence.

3.1.3.2. Referential Dependence

The next phase of the study involves coding of the NPs in the 181 tokens problematical for the Referentiality Constraint for Referential Dependence. Referential Dependence refers to one NP dependent on the other for interpretation of its referent, that is one NP is coreferential with the other. Coreferentiality is expressed by a possessive adjective carrying the person, number and gender features associated with the other NP. Of the 181 tokens, 37 involve the case where one NP is referentially dependent on the other. The Referentiality Constraint predicts that the referentially independent NP will occur preverbally in such cases. This prediction is realized in all 37 cases, as shown in (16).

(16) Distribution of Referentially Independent NPs:

Preverbal	Postverbal	Initial NPs				Total
		S	O	At	Ld	
definite	definite	26	0	0	6	32
indefinite	definite	5	0	0	0	5
indefinite	indefinite	0	0	0	0	0
						37

The table in (16) shows that only Subject and Left-Dislocated preverbal NPs bind referentially-dependent postverbal NPs, and that Referential Dependence accounts for 20% of the 181 cases problematical to the Referentiality Constraint. The sentences in (17) show examples of postverbal NPs which are referentially dependent on preverbal ones.

- (17)a. Ni hor boe hor butun.
 1P 1P.have.PST 1S tobacco
 'We had our tobacco.' (Guilloux 1992:170)
- b. Unan en doé savet é loj d'en dias ag en hent pras.
 One 3S have.PST built 3SM lodge to.the bottom of the road big
 'One had built his lodge at the bottom of the big road.' (op. cit. p 58)
- c. En eutru Prado e oé é ganbr a-gosté.
 the sir Prado PRT be.PST 3SM room near
 'Mr. Prado, his room was near.' (op. cit. p 46)

In (17)a. and b., the postverbal object shows a possessive adjective coreferential with the preverbal subject. Sentence (17)c. shows an example of possessor ascension, where the possessed entity, the postverbal subject *é ganbr* ‘his room’, is coreferential with the possessor *en eutru Prado* ‘Mister Prado’, analysed here as a left-dislocated NP.

From the 181 tokens problematical for the Referentiality Constraint, 144 are not accounted for by Referential Dependence. They need further consideration. The next step of the study involves coding the NPs for Cognitive Status.

3.1.3.3. *Cognitive Status*

As noted earlier, definiteness alone is insufficient for determining relative degree of referentiality in the 134 cases where both NPs are definite or both indefinite. In search of a more finely-tuned method for testing the Referentiality Constraint in such cases, the Givenness Hierarchy framework of Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski (1993) is applied to Breton, and expanded to cover quantificational and predicative NPs in addition to the definite and indefinite NPs discussed in the 1993 paper. The resulting tentative hierarchy is shown in (18).

(18) **Givenness Hierarchy postulated for Breton:**

	in focus>	activated>	familiar>	uniquely identifiable>	referential>	type identifiable>	predicative
<i>clitics</i>	<i>ean</i>	<i>en N-sé</i>	<i>en N</i>	<i>henhen</i>	<i>un N</i>	<i>N</i>	
	<i>hennéh</i>	<i>en N-hont</i>	<i>NN</i>	<i>henhont</i>	<i>unan benak.</i>		
	<i>hennan</i>		<i>pep unan</i>	<i>un N-man-N</i>	<i>N-erbet</i>		
	<i>en N-man</i>				<i>ag-N</i>		

In Gwenedeg, clitic pronouns (suffixed to the verb if the clitic pronoun is subject, prefixed to the verb if the clitic pronoun is object, and affixed to a preposition if the clitic pronoun is oblique) must be at the center of attention in the discourse context, thus be in focus. Independent personal pronouns such as *ean* ‘he/him’, demonstrative pronouns like *hennéh* ‘that one’ or *hennan* ‘this one’, and proximal demonstrative determiner phrases like

en dén-man ‘this man’ have to have been just previously mentioned or activated in the discourse. Medial and distal demonstrative determiner phrases like *en dén-sé* ‘that man’ and *en dén-hont* ‘that man over there’ don’t need to be activated but do have to be known or familiar to the hearer. In the case of definite article phrases like *en ti* ‘the house’ or *er bautred* ‘the boys’, bare singular possessive constructions like *mamm Pier* ‘Peter’s mother’ and universal quantifiers like *pep unan* ‘every one’, the identity of the referent need not be known to the hearer but must be readily inferrable in the discourse context, hence uniquely identifiable. Reduplicated demonstrative pronouns such as *henhen* ‘so and so, medial’ and *henhont* ‘so and so, distal’ and reduplicated proximal demonstrative determiner phrases such as *un dén-man-dén* ‘such a man’ are referential in that the speaker who uses one of them has a specific referent in mind which is not necessarily inferrable to the hearer. The indefinite article *ur/un* ‘a/an’, and existential quantifiers like *unan benak* ‘some one’ are often used specifically in Breton, but they can also be used nonspecifically as type identifiables. Ag-noun phrases and negative polarity items such as *dén erbet* ‘anyone’ are always type-identifiables (see section 3.2). A seventh status is added to the 1993 hierarchy to account for Breton predicate NPs which do not always evoke concrete individual entities, like *chonj* ‘thought’.

The Referentiality Constraint predicts that the NP with higher cognitive status will always occur preverbally in NP-V-NP clauses. That is, the cognitive status of the preverbal NP must be further to the left on the hierarchy than the cognitive status of the postverbal NP. The table in (19) shows that the Referentiality Constraint is met in 88 of the remaining 134 definite-definite and indefinite-indefinite tokens. Tokens where the preverbal NP has a higher cognitive status than the postverbal NP account for a total of 49% of the 181 tokens problematical for the Referentiality Constraint, defined solely on the basis of definiteness.

(19) **Distribution of Preverbal NPs with Higher Cognitive Status**

Preverbal	Postverbal	Initial NPs				Total
		S	O	At	Ld	
						134
definite	indefinite	71	0	0	4	75
definite	definite	0	0	0	0	0
indefinite	indefinite	12	0	0	1	13
						88

The sentences in (20) show some examples of clauses in which the preverbal NP has a higher cognitive status than the postverbal NP.

- (20)a. *Yâ des grét berzél pwarzek.*
 he have.PRS done war fourteen
 'He did the War of 1914.'

(Corne 1991:4)

- b. *Ur bannig e rehé plijadur.*
 a drop.DIM PRT give.COND pleasure
 'Some would give pleasure.'

(Jaffré 1986:18)

- c. *Un dra aral em es goarnet chonj anehon.*
 a thing other 1S have.PRS kept thought of-3SM
 'I remembered another thing.'

(Guilloux 1992:159)

In (20)a., the preverbal subject *yâ* 'he' is an activated topic while the postverbal NP *berzél pwarzek* 'the war of 1914' is familiar. In (20)b., the preverbal subject *ur bannig* 'some' is referential while the postverbal NP *plijadur* 'pleasure' is predicative. Sentence (20)c. shows an example of left-dislocation where the left-dislocated NP *un dra aral* 'another thing' is coreferential with *anehon* 'it'. While *un dra aral* is referential, the postverbal NP *chonj* 'thought' is predicative. In all these sentences, the preverbal NP is more referential than its postverbal counterpart.

To sum up, Referentiality including the concepts of Definiteness, Referential Dependence and Cognitive Status together account for 81.3%, or 244 out of the 300 tokens, as shown in (21).

(21) **NPs Accounted for by Referentiality**

Preverbal	Postverbal	Initial NPs				Total
		S	O	At	Ld	
definite	indefinite	110	0	0	9	119
indefinite	definite	5	0	0	0	5
definite	definite	96	0	0	10	106
indefinite	indefinite	12	0	0	1	13
						244

The remaining 18.7% of the data, summarized in (22), cannot be accounted for either by Definiteness, Referential Dependence or Cognitive Status.

(22) **NPs Unaccounted for by Referentiality**

Preverbal	Postverbal	Initial NPs				Total
		S	O	At	Ld	
definite	definite	10	1	1	0	11
indefinite	definite	10	17	15	0	42
indefinite	indefinite	3	0	1	0	3
						56

A fourth study is required involving the discourse functions Topic and Focus.

3.1.3.4. *Topic and Focus*

The last phase of the study involves coding the NPs for Topic and Focus. The summary results give 62 (20.66%) Foci, 236 (78.66%) Topics, and 2 (0.66%) of tokens not assigned a discourse function (which represent the narrator's intervention in the discourse).

Of the 56 problematical tokens remaining, the 42 clauses with indefinite preverbal and definite postverbal NPs clearly violate the Referentiality Constraint. In all of these cases, the preverbal NP marks a focus of one sort or another. Listed and loosely defined in (23) are the primary subtypes of preverbal focus identified in the corpus under investigation (Hedberg & Schapansky 1996).

(23) **Subtypes of Focus**

an <u>interrogative focus</u>	is expressed by a constituent question word
an <u>information focus</u> :	answers a constituent question
a <u>contrastive focus</u> :	excludes alternatives
a <u>presentational focus</u> :	presents an important unactivated discourse referent
an <u>emphatic focus</u> :	presents interesting, surprising information
an <u>all-comment sentence</u> :	presents an all-news 'what happened' report, has an extrasentential topic, or presents an aphorism

The table in (24) shows the distribution of preverbal focus types in the 42 indefinite-definite NP-V-NP clauses which blatantly violate the Referentiality Constraint.

(24) **Distribution of Preverbal Focus Types: Indefinite-Definite**

Indefinite - Definite	Initial NPs				Total
	S	O	At	Ld	
Interrogative Focus	6	7	1	0	14
Presentational Focus	0	2	0	0	2
Emphatic Focus	1	8	14	0	23
All-Comment	3	0	0	0	3
					42

In (24), 10 of the 42 tokens have preverbal subjects, as in the emphatic focus in (25)a. and all-comment example in (25)b.; 17 have preverbal objects, as in the presentational focus in (26)a. and emphatic focus example in (26)b.; and 15 have preverbal attributes, as in the emphatic in (27)a. and interrogative focus example in (27)b.

(25)a. Un taol klezen en deus treuzet ma c'halon.
a thrust sword 3SM have.PRS pierced 1S heart
'A sword thrust pierced my heart.' (Ar Mason 1986:51)

b. Un emgann berr a gas o diskar da benn.
a fight short PRT send.PRS 3P defeat to end
'A short fight brought about their final defeat.' (op. cit. p 48)

(26)a. Ur hoér en doé en Eutru Touz é Santez Anna.
a sister 3S have.PST the sir Touz in Sainte Anne.
'Mr. Touz had a sister in Sainte Anne.' (Guilloux 1992:48)

b. Ha ke hor boé hon tri.
and regret 1P has.PST 1P three
'And the three of us regretted it.' (op. cit. p 175)

(27)a. Ur gér truhék é Karnasen-man.
 a village miserable be.PRS Karnasen-DEM
'This Karnasen is a miserable village.'

(Jaffré 1986:16)

b. Piv eo ar plac'h yaouank-se?
 who be.PRS the girl young-DEM
'Who is that young girl?'

(Ar Mason 1986:51)

The tables in (28)a. and (28)b. show the distribution of preverbal focus types in the 3 indefinite-indefinite and 11 definite-definite tokens that cannot be accounted for by Referential Dependence or Cognitive Status.

(28)a. **Distribution of Preverbal Focus Types: Indefinite-Indefinite**

indefinite - indefinite	Initial NPs				Total
	S	O	At	Ld	
Interrogative Focus	1	0	1	0	2
All-Comment	1	0	0	0	1
					3

b. **Distribution of Preverbal Focus Types: Definite-Definite**

definite - definite	Initial NPs				Total
	S	O	At	Ld	
Emphatic Focus	3	1	1	0	5
All-Comment	6	0	0	0	6
					11

Again, all 14 of these preverbal NPs mark focus. Here, 11 are subject-initial, as in the all-comment sentences (29)a. and (29)b.; 1 is object-initial, the emphatic focus in (29)c.; and 2 are attribute-initial, as in the emphatic focus (29)d.

(29)a. Unan bennag en doé kollet ur péh a pear real.
 one some 3S have.PST lost a coin of four reals
'Someone lost a coin of four reals.'

(Jaffré 1986:24)

b. Sonjoù ar c'hrouadur n' int ket sonjoù un den yaouank.
 thoughts the child NEG be.PRS.3P NEG thoughts a man young
'The child's thoughts are not the thoughts of a young man' (Ar Mason 1986:53)

3.1.3.5. *Gaps in the Corpus*

Some combinations of preverbal and postverbal NP types are not attested in the corpus under investigation. These are summarized in (32).

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| (32) | a. definite-indefinite | OVS, AtVS |
| | b. indefinite-definite | LdVX |
| | c. indefinite-indefinite | OVS |
| | d. definite-definite | topic O-V-S |
| | e. indefinite-definite | focus S-V-topic O |

The combination in (32)a., a definite object or attribute followed by an indefinite subject, is not attested in the corpus, although this combination obeys the Referentiality Constraint. It seems, however, that sentences of this sort would tend to pose problems for interpretation in that the definite object or attribute would likely be misinterpreted as subject, since definites are more likely than indefinites to express topics, and topics are more likely to be expressed by subjects than by objects or attributes. To avoid such problems in practice, speakers might tend to avoid using these types of sentences.

The combination in (32)b., an indefinite left-dislocated NP followed by a definite NP, is also not attested in the corpus. This combination would violate the Referentiality Constraint. Furthermore, since left-dislocated NPs normally express topics, they are normally definite. One abnormal instance of a left-dislocated indefinite NP is however found in the corpus. It is given above in (20)c. and is used in its discourse context to mark a presentational focus. A strict translation would be: “Another thing, I’ve kept thought of it”. It is interesting that this case does not in fact violate the Referentiality Constraint, the postverbal predicate NP *chonj* ‘thought’ has a lower cognitive status than the left-dislocated referential indefinite.

The combination in (32)c., an indefinite object followed by an indefinite subject, is also not attested in the corpus. Here as well, problems for interpreting such sentences would likely arise. Because there is no systematic morphosyntactic information available in Breton for identifying grammatical relations, such sentences are likely to be ambiguous, and thus

avoided in practice. One example in the corpus shows a preverbal indefinite attribute followed by an indefinite subject, but the preverbal indefinite attribute is an interrogative pronoun in this case. It is given in (27)b. Thus, a preverbal interrogative object followed by an indefinite subject is also a possible combination.

The other two possible combinations in (32)d. and e. exist but are not found in the corpus under study. They are discussed respectively in section 3.1.1.1 (cf. sentence (4)) and section 3.1.1.2. (cf. sentences (9)a. and (10)).

3.1.3.6. *Timm's Study (1991)*

In her study of *The Discourse Pragmatics of NP-Initial Sentences in Breton*, Timm (1991) analyses eleven texts concentrating on NP-initial sentences, whether one or two overt NPs (one preverbal and one postverbal) were present in the sentence. Out of the 388 tokens of NP-initial sentences, 86.6% (336) are SVX, 6.2% are OVX and 7.2% are adverbial initial NPs. This is comparable to the results obtained for Gwenedeg: out of the 300 NP V NP sentences, 83% are SVX, and 6% are OVS. Timm's study (op. cit. 284) includes the coding of initial NPs as Topics (Topic Continuity, Topic Shift and Stage Setting Topic), Foci (Focus, Emphatic and Contrastive), and other. Out of 388 tokens of NP-initial sentences, 37.11% (144) of initial subjects are topics and 37.62% (146) of initial subjects are foci; 1.8% (7) of initial objects are topics and 4.12% (16) of initial objects are foci. This differs from our study where 88.88% (216 tokens out of 243) of initial subjects are topics while only 9.87% (24 tokens) are foci and all initial objects are foci. The relatively even distribution of topics and foci in Timm's data is expected since, in her corpus, many sentences exhibit only one overt NP, and are thus not subject to the Referentiality Constraint formulated in (30).

From the study reported here it appears that, effectively, grammatical relations such as subject, object or attribute, are secondary to Referentiality, Topic and Focus. The

interpretation of these grammatical relations is dependent on the Referentiality Constraint, Topic and Focus. Their placement in preverbal and postverbal positions is also dependent on the Referentiality Constraint, Topic and Focus. Hence, topic NPs are preferred binders for the predicate domain. The Referentiality Constraint formulated in (30) presents some shortcomings. Although it predicts that Ag-NPs will occur in postverbal position, it does not predict that Ag-NPs cannot appear in preverbal position as foci, as discussed next.

3.2. REFERENTIALITY, BOUNDEDNESS AND AG-NOUN PHRASES

In this section, we will discuss NPs that are not eligible to serve as binders for the predicate domain. These NPs, marked by the preposition *ag* meaning ‘of, from, since’, are found in partitive constructions.² In languages with a rich case system like Finnish or Russian, one specific case, the partitive in Finnish and genitive in Russian, plays a similar role to that of the preposition *ag* in Breton. In Finnish, the partitive case is found in constructions involving non-specific NPs (subjects of state predicates and objects), as in (33), and in constructions with an irresultative (incompletive) reading, as in (34).

- (33)a. Kansa tuli torille.
 people.NOM came marketplace-to
 ‘The people came to the marketplace.’ (Karlson 1983:80)
- b. Torille tuli kansaa.
 marketplace-to came people.PART
 ‘People came to the marketplace.’ (op. cit.)
- c. Tuula tapaa vieraat.
 Tuula meets guests.ACC
 ‘Tuula meets the guests.’ (op. cit. p 77)
- d. Tuula tappa vieraita.
 Tuula meets guests.PART
 ‘Tuula meets some guests.’ (op. cit.)

² Ag-NPs associated with sentence negation will be discussed in the next chapter.

- (34)a. Väinö rakansi talon.
 Väinö built house.ACC
 'Väinö built *at*the house.' (op. cit. p 80)
- b. Väinö rakansi taloa.
 Väinö built house.PART
 'Väinö was building *at*the house.' (op. cit.)

Heinämäki (1994) relates the use of the partitive case in Finnish to unboundedness. Sentences involving NPs in the partitive case describe unbounded situations. In this case, the event denoted by the predicate is not complete or has no endpoint. NPs, which can take the partitive case in Finnish, subjects of state predicates and objects, are found both in affirmative and negative sentences. In Russian, the genitive case is found in existential constructions in both affirmative and negative sentences. When associated with negation, the genitive case is also called "genitive of negation". In Breton however, the preposition *ag* cannot be called either "partitive" or "genitive of negation", since it is found in many other contexts. However, the partitive and negative constructs in which it is found show that *ag* is associated with non-referentiality. Therefore I will call *ag* 'non-referring *ag*'. *Ag* is also associated with the incompletive aspect.

The preposition *ag* occurs in a wide variety of contexts, partitive as well as non-partitive. The partitive contexts refer to contexts in which the part/whole relationship is expressed, where the part is marked by the preposition *ag*, while the whole may or may not be expressed. The non-partitive contexts indicate spatial or temporal movements, possession, indefinite reference or modality. All these contexts, partitive as well as non-partitive, relate to the basic semantics of the preposition *ag*, expressing the source, the origin of something. Indefinite reference and modality share with the part/whole relationship (or partitive meaning) another meaning inherent to the preposition *ag*, that of incompleteness.

The syntax and semantics of the preposition *ag* are quite complex. The preposition *ag* can be subcategorized for by a verb or a predicate noun. In this case, *ag* indicates the

source for some action or the source for some psychological state. The preposition *ag* can also appear only in the inflected form and serves as expletive subject pronoun or direct object pronoun. The best dialect to study the preposition *ag* is Gwenedeg. This dialect differs from the others in that, for most of its varieties, the preposition *ag* is not used as object pronoun.

3.2.1. Non-Aspectual Uses of AG

The non-aspectual uses of the preposition *ag* are of two kinds: non-pronominal and pronominal. The non-pronominal uses of *ag* relate to the primary meaning of this preposition associated with the source of something. It is used in contexts denoting a displacement from the source. It is subcategorized for by verbs indicating the source of some event. It is found in possessive constructions indicating the source of something or an inanimate possessor. The pronominal uses of the preposition *ag* derive from the partitive use of this preposition. It is subject to the same cooccurrence restrictions as non-referring *ag*. It is used as a discourse-reference tracking device: as expletive subject pronoun and direct object pronoun.

3.2.1.1. *The Origin of AG*

According to Morris-Jones (1955:401), Breton *ag* (Cornish *a*, Welsh *o*) comes from British **a*, itself coming from Aryan **apo*. It is related to Greek *απο*, Latin *ab*, *abs* and Sanskrit *apá*, and means ‘from, of’. Furthermore, Breton *ac’han/ahan*, found in the inflected form of the preposition or in demonstratives, comes from **ap-sana* ‘away from’. We can thus claim that the primary meaning of the preposition *ag* indicates the source, the origin of something. Hence, the preposition can serve to express movement from one point to another, either in space, as in (35)a., or in time, as in (35)b.

- (35)a. Erauk monet kuit ag er porh.
 before go.INF away from the yard
 'Before leaving the yard.' (Guilloux 1992:219)
- b. Ag er mintin e vezé tud azé ar dro en deur.
 from the morning PRT be.IPF.HAB people there on tour the water
 'Since the morning, people were there around the water.' (op. cit. p 232)

The preposition *ag* serves also to express possession in the form of a genitive marker equivalent to English *of* and is found in the full possessive construction, as in (36), or indicating an inanimate possessor, as in (37).

- (36)a. Er mab ag er mestr-skol
 the son of the master-school
 'The schoolteacher's son'
- b. En deur ag er lenn
 the water of the lake
 'The lake's water'
- (37)a. Er penn anehi
 the head of.3F
 'Its head'
- b. er hreiz anehon
 the middle of.3SM
 'its middle' (op. cit. p 56)

The preposition *ag* can also be subcategorized for by certain verbs or predicates such as *konz* 'to speak' in (38)a., *derc'hel chonj* 'remember' in (38)b., and *lan* 'full' in (38)c.

- (38)a. Eit konz ag ou zreuigeu él ag ou bugale eùé merhat.
 for speak.INF of 3P affairs.DIM like of 3P children also perhaps
 'To speak about their little business like, perhaps, about their children also.' (op. cit. p 114)
- b. Treu em es dalc'het chonj anehé.
 things 1S have.PRS kept thought of.3P
 'Things that I remembered.' (op. cit. p 113)
- c. Er gospreu d'anderù, lan e vezé en iliz a bautred.
 in.the vespers to afternoon full PRT be.HAB.IPF the church of guys
 'In the afternoon vespers, the church was full of guys.' (op. cit. p 224)

Note that, in the above examples, the phrase preceded by the preposition *ag* can occur both in preverbal as well as postverbal position, and is thus not affected by cooccurrence restrictions, unlike phrases bound by the partitive which must occur in postverbal position, as we will see shortly.

3.2.1.2. *AG as Pronoun*

The preposition *ag* to which personal morphemes carrying person, number and gender features are suffixed and which serves as a pronoun is a fairly recent innovation. The need to identify the subject in negative sentences was strongly felt. In this type of sentence, the subject third person singular cannot be expressed as an independent pronoun, since independent pronouns do not occur in postverbal position. It is rather realized as a personal morpheme suffixed to the verb, morphologically unrealized as third person singular. This lack of overt morphosyntactic information was compensated by the pronominal use of the preposition *ag* + *personal suffix* meaning ‘as for X’ which is always optional and emphatic in nature. In the dialects of Breton other than Gwenedeg, the preposition *ag* + *personal suffix* serves as direct object pronoun, a compensation for the loss, in these dialects, of clitic object pronouns which were prefixed to the verb. Whether expletive subject pronoun or direct object pronoun, *ag* + *personal suffix* is found only in postverbal position, like non-referring *ag*. However, unlike partitive *ag*, pronominal *ag* cannot be replaced by a nominal counterpart marked by *ag*. This suggests that, when *ag* + *personal suffix* is used as a pronoun, it is devoid of semantic content.

3.2.1.2.1. *AG as Expletive Subject Pronoun*

The first pronominal use of the preposition *ag* in Breton is as expletive pronoun subject in negative sentences, as illustrated in (39) for Gwenedeg.

- (39)a. Nen dé_i ket koutand anehou_i/*j.
 NEG be.PRS.3S NEG happy 3SM
'He is not happy.'
- b. Ne lar_i ket nitra anehi_i/*j.
 NEG say.PRS.3S NEG anything 3SF
'She says nothing.' (Guillevic and Le Goff 1986:131)
- c. Er goukou e zov_i med ne hra ket néhieu anehi_i/*j.
 the cuckoo PRT lay-eggs.PRS but NEG do.PRS.3S NEG nests 3SF
'The cuckoo lays eggs but doesn't make nests.' (Herrieu 1979:134)

In the above sentences, *ag* is used as expletive pronoun subject of a predicate adjective in (39)a., and of a transitive sentence in (39)b. and c. However, as expletive subject, the pronoun must occur in sentence-final position, as best observed in (39)c. where the direct object *néhieu* 'nests' precedes *anehi* '(as for)her'. The expletive pronoun appears mostly in the third person singular since the third person singular personal morpheme bound to the verb is morphologically unrealized, hence does not carry gender features, unlike the expletive pronoun. Occasionally, the expletive pronoun is found in the plural, as in (40), possibly by analogy to the third person singular.

- (40) Azé éh es un tiad bugalé_i
 there PRT be.PRS.EXT a houseful children
'There, there is a houseful of children
- ha ne dint ket disolit anehé_i/*j.
 and NEG be.PRS.3P NEG turbulent 3P
and they are not turbulent.' (op. cit. p 134)

The use of *ag* as expletive subject pronoun is contingent upon a subject previously mentioned in the discourse. It cannot refer to some other entity, as observed by the coindexing in (39)c. and (40). Thus the preposition *ag* used as expletive pronoun is a discourse device used in negative sentences which enables the listener to establish reference with an entity previously mentioned in the discourse. By analogy, the expletive subject pronoun can occur in affirmative sentences in the variety of Gwenedeg spoken at Sarzeau. This is illustrated in (41).

- (41)a. A p' en duai anei achiwet...
 and when 3S.have.PST 3SF finished
 'And when she had finished...' (Ernault 1878:233)
- b. A p' en due anou chárret kēmi en duai...
 and when 3S.have.IPF 3SM gathered all 3S.have.PST
 'And when he gathered all what he had...' (op. cit. p 59)
- c. 'Houian ket pigours i tei anou.
 know.PRS.1S neg when PRT come.FUT.3S 3SM
 'I don't know when he will come back.' (op. cit.)

Here as well, the expletive subject pronoun serves as a discourse-reference tracking device carrying the gender and number features of the subject, which are not marked on the verb.

3.2.1.2.2. AG as Direct Object Pronoun

In the dialects which show a neutralization of the functions of *ag*, we find this preposition used as a direct object pronoun, as illustrated in (42) for the variety of Gwenedeg spoken at Guémené-sur-Scorff which uses both *ag* + *personal suffix* and clitic object pronouns optionally.³

- (42)a. Ean gasei ahanon de ger.
 3SM send.FUT 1S to house
 'He will take me home.' (McKenna 1978:88)
- b. Laket anehou ar e hed.
 put.IPT.2P 3SM on 3SM side
 'Put it on his side.' (op. cit.)
- c. Me hi helia ahanein.
 1S dog follow.PRS 1S
 'My dog follows me.' (op. cit.)
- d. Ean oeska anehé.
 3SM squeeze.PRS 3P
 'He squeezes them.' (op. cit.)

In this variety of Gwenedeg, we find also clitic object pronouns prefixed to the verb, as seen in (43)a. like in the other varieties of Gwenedeg, such as in (43)b.

³ Gwenedeg is the only dialect which preserves the clitic object pronouns.

- (43)a. M' en guelei tuchant.
 1S 3SM see.FUT soon
'I will see him shortly.' (McKenna 1978:77)
- b. Me er guelé liés.
 1S 3SM see.IPF often
'I saw him often.' (Guilloux 1992:103)

In (43), we find the infix pronoun *en/er* for 3rd person masculine singular prefixed to the verb *guelé* 'to see.' In contrast in (42)a.-d., we find the object pronoun following the verb. Ag + personal suffix is restricted to occur in postverbal position, hence the ungrammaticality of (44).

- (44)a.*Ahanon gasei de ger.
 1S send.FUT.3S to house
'He will take me home.'
- b.*Anehou laket ar é hed.
 3SM put.IPT.2P on 3SM side
'Put it on his side.'
- c.*Ahanein helia me hi.
 1S follow.PRS 1S dog
'My dog follows me.'
- d.*Anehé oeska.
 3P squeeze.PRS.3S
'He squeezes them.'

In this type of construction, the preposition *ag* cannot cooccur with nouns, as seen in (45).

- (45)a. Ean gasei (*ag) er vugale de ger.
 3SM send.FUT of the children to house
'He will take the children home.'
- b. Laket (*ag) er hi ar é hed.
 put.IPT.2P of the dog on 3SM side
'Put the dog on its side.'
- c. Me hi helia (*ag) er pautrig.
 1S dog follow.PRS of the boy.DIM
'My dog follows the little boy.'

- d. Ean oeska (*ag) en avaleu.
 3SM squeeze.PRS of the apples
'He squeezes the apples.'

To sum up, the pronominal uses of the preposition *ag* as expletive subject or direct object pronoun reflect the needs for overt morphosyntactic information in a language which avoids concordance affixes.

3.2.2. Aspectual Uses of AG

The aspectual uses of the preposition *ag* involve partitive constructions, the incompletive aspect and the modality of necessity. Partitive constructions relate to the part/whole relationship where a part is extracted from the whole. In Gwenedeg, the part is indicated by a noun phrase preceded by the preposition *ag* (hereafter Ag-NP). Ag-NPs are restricted to occur in postverbal position and are associated with subjects of state predicates and objects, as opposed to subjects of event predicates which cannot take the partitive. Although Ag-NPs are type-identifiables in the sense of GHZ (1993) (cf. section 3.1), they cannot appear in preverbal position for focussing purposes. This is not accounted for by the REC. They are associated with unboundedness. As such, they are not eligible to serve as binders for the predicate domain, which must be bound. Similar restrictions apply to Ag-NPs associated with the incompletive aspect and the necessity reading.

3.2.2.1. Referentiality and AG

Perhaps the most pervasive use of *ag* is in constructions involving the part/whole relationship, as exemplified in (46).

- (46)a. ...éh an de gas un douseniad anehè genein.
 PRT go.PRS.1S to send.INF a dozen of.3P with.1S
'I will take a dozen of them with me.' (Herrieu 1979:93)
- b. Reit dein ag er bara hont.
 give.IPT.2P to.1S of the bread.DEM
'Give me some of that bread over there.' (Guillevic and Le Goff 1986:163)

- c. Chetu chistr, evet anehoñ.
 here cider drink.IPT.2P of.3SM
'Here is cider, drink some.'

(Herrieu 1979:247)

This use of the partitive relates to existential quantification and the extraction of a part from the whole, a dozen crepes in (46)a. where crepes is previously mentioned in the discourse (see Herrieu 1979:93); a piece of bread in (46)b. where bread represents a quantity of a particular kind (eg., shape, size, colour, flour); or a glass of cider in (46)c. The partitive cannot occur with a definite quantity, as seen in (47).

- (47)a. Reit dein (*ag) er bara hont.
 give.IPT.2P to.1S of the bread.DEM
'Give me that bread over there.'

- b. Chetu er chistr, evet (*anehoñ) ean.
 here the cider drink.IPT.2P of.3SM 3SM
'Here is the cider drink it.'

The partitive is found in a certain number of constructions, with subjects of state predicates, as in (48), of existentials, as in (49), of locatives/possessives, as in (50), of passives/statives, as in (51), and with direct objects, as in (52).

- (48)a. Monet e hré eùé ag er voasined tostan ...
 go.INF PRT do.IPF.3S also of the neighbors close.SUP
'Some of the closest neighbors went also...' (Guilloux 1992:211)

- b. Pe gouéhé anhé ar en douar.
 when fall.IPF.3S of.3P on the ground
'When some of them fell on the ground.' (op. cit. p 207)

- (49)a. Bout e oé ag en tokeu-sé.
 be.INF PRT be.PST.3S of the hats.DEM
'There were some of those hats.' (op. cit. p 145)

- b. Bout e oé anhé ar en daul.
 be.INF PRT be.PST.3S of.3P on the table
'There were some of them on the table.' (op. cit.)

- (50)a. Bout e oé ag er bizeuier-sé ged lod aral.
 be.INF PRT be.PST.3S of the rings.DEM with some other
'Some other (fellows) had some of those rings.'

- b. Bout e oé ag er boutoneu-sé genomb.
 be.INF PRT be.PST.3S of the buttons.DEM with.1P
'We had some of those buttons.'
- (51)a. A-hend-aral guerhet e vezé anhé get ur voez gouh.
 otherwise sold PRT be.HAB.IPF of.3P by a woman old
'Otherwise some of them were sold by an old lady.' (op. cit. p 164)
- b. Laket e vezé pep blé ag er bareu-sé doh en tier.
 put PRT be.HAB.IPF every year of the branches.DEM on the houses
'Every year, some of those branches were put on the houses.' (op. cit. p 237)
- (52)a. Guelet em es ag er hizellerion-sé é labourat.
 seen 1S.have.PRS of the chiselers.DEM in work
'I have seen some of those chiselers working.' (op. cit. p 54)
- b. Mes er goulieu-sé en des kollet ag ou braùité.
 but the feasts.DEM have.PRS lost of 3P beauty
'But, those festivities have lost some of their beauty.' (op. cit. p 264)

However, Ag-NPs are not found preverbally, as in (53)-(57).

- (53)a.* Ag er voasined tostan e yé eùé ...
'Some of the closer neighbors went also...'
- b.* Anehé gouéhé ar en douar.
'Some of them fell on the ground.'
- (54)a.* Ag en tokeu-sé e oé.
'There were some of those hats.'
- b.* Anehé e oé ar en daul...
'There were some of them on the table'
- (55)a.* Ag er bizeuier-sé oé ged lod aral.
'Some other (fellows) had some of those rings.'
- b.* Ag er boutoneu-sé e oé genomb.
'We had some of those buttons.'
- (56)a.* A-hend-aral anhé e vezé guerhet get ur voez gouh.
'Otherwise some of them were sold by an old lady.'
- b.* Ag er bareu-sé e vezé laket pep blé doh en tier.
'Every year, some of those branches were put on the houses.'
- (57)a.* Ag er hizellerion-sé em es guelet é labourat.
'I have seen some of those chiselers working.'

- b.* Mes ag ou braùité en des kollet er goulieu-sé.
'But, those festivities have lost some of their beauty.'

This contrasts with other uses of the preposition *a(g)*, as illustrated in (58).

- (58)a. Ag er mintin e vezé tud aze ar dro en deur
of the morning PRT be.HAB.IPF people there on tour the water
'Since the morning, people were there around the water.' (op. cit. p 232)
- b. Ag er Gruyere e fal d'ein-me konz.
of the gruyere PRT must to.1S-1S speak.INF
'I must talk about the Gruyere (Swiss cheese).' (op. cit. p 90)

In (58)a., we have *ag er mintin*, a time adverbial headed by the preposition *ag* indicating movement in time from the source. In (58)b., we have *ag er gruyere*, subcategorized for by the verb *konz* 'to speak'.

The fact that Ag-NPs associated with the partitive cannot occur preverbally is not predicted by the Referentiality Constraint (hereafter REC) formulated in (30). The difference between Ag-NPs which are type-identifiables and other indefinite NPs is that Ag-NPs cannot occur preverbally for focussing purposes. Thus, they cannot serve to saturate the predicate domain. One possible reason for this state of affairs relates to boundedness (cf. Heinämäki 1994). The sentences in (48)-(52) describe situations where Ag-NPs represent subsets of entities that are not defined in the discourse context, therefore not bounded, while the superset is discourse activated, as evidenced by the demonstrative particle *-sé* suffixed to the noun. Hence these sentences describe situations which have, in some sense, no proper bound or endpoint. Since saturation of the predicate domain implies that the predicate domain must be bound, Ag-NPs, which are unbounded, cannot serve as to bind the predicate domain. Hence, they cannot occur preverbally. In contrast, subjects of event predicates, which are referential, thus representing sets of entities well defined in the discourse context, are not eligible to take the partitive which is associated with unboundedness. We need to revise the REC in order to account for Ag-NPs. This is given in (59).

(59) **Referentiality Constraint II (REC II)**

In a sentence containing a preverbal NP, that NP will be referential, unless it is a focus and is not unbounded.

This new formulation will rule out preverbal Ag-NPs but allow other preverbal indefinite NPs in affirmative sentences. However, negative sentences may potentially challenge the explanation for this rule in negative sentences since preverbal NPs do not serve as saturators for the predicate domain and negative sentences are associated with unbounded situations, as we will see in the next chapter.

3.2.2.2. *AG and Incompletive Aspect*

Inherent to the partitive use of the preposition *a(g)* is the incompletive aspect.⁴ Often it is difficult to differentiate the partitive in the strict sense of the term from the incompletive aspect associated with it. In Gwenedeg however, clitic pronouns are used to indicate that an event is complete, has reached an endpoint. Alternatively, the use of *ag* indicates that the same event is not complete, has not reached an endpoint. Here as well, Ag-NPs, subjects of state predicates and objects, are restricted to occur after the predicate. Consider the following.

(60)a. Ur voez hag en doé um lakeit de huerhein bigorned...
a woman and 3S have.PST REFL put to sell.INF periwinkles
'A woman who began selling periwinkles...'

Ha eh ié er bautred, bras and bihan, unan arlerh un aral,
and PRT go.IPF the guys big and small one after the other
And the guys, big and small, one after the other went

d'ou freinein geti.
to.3P buy.INF with.3SF
to buy them from her.'

(Guilloux 1992:142)

b. Ur lod de huerhein seud ha moh, lod d'ou freinein.
a lot to buy.INF cows and pigs some to.3P buy.INF
'Some to sell pigs and cows, some to buy them.'
(op. cit. p 152)

⁴ In Finnish, sentences associated with an irresultative (or incompletive) reading have their objects marked by the partitive case. See Karlsson (1983).

c. Er huéh-sé en doé goulennet hon iondr geti kampen
 the.time.DEM 3S.have.PST asked 1P uncle with.3SF prepare.INF
 'That time, our uncle had asked her to prepare

ur pisked. Debret e oent bet genomb fritet get chistr bouchet.
 a fish.P eaten PRT-be.PST.3P been with.1P fried with cider corked
 some fish. We ate them fried with corked cider.' (op. cit. p 198)

In (60)a., *bigorned* 'periwinkles' represents an indefinite quantity of periwinkles sold by the woman, and *er bautred* 'the guys' bought all the periwinkles that were for sale. This is expressed by the direct object clitic pronoun *ou* 'them'. Alternatively, we could have had *de breinein anehé* 'to buy (of) them'. The use of *anehé* here would have indicated that not all the periwinkles would have been sold, or alternatively that each man bought some of them; thus, the selling and buying event, at the collective or individual level, would not have been completed to the end. In (60)b., traders are buying and selling pigs and cows. Here *seud* 'cows' and *moh* 'pigs' have a plain indefinite reading. The use of the object clitic *ou* 'them' in *d'ou freinein* 'to buy them' indicates that the pigs and cows that were for sale are effectively sold at the end of the fair. The use of the partitive *anehé* instead of *ou* in *de breinein anehé* 'to buy (of) them' would have signalled that not all the pigs and cows would have been sold. Finally, in (60)c., we have *ur pisked* 'some fish' where the indefinite article *ur* preceding a plural noun has an existential quantifier reading. In this environment, *ur* signals that only a few of the fish caught in the afternoon will be prepared to be eaten right away. In *debret e oent bet genomb* 'they were eaten by us', the subject plural suffix *-nt* in *oent* 'they were' indicates that all the fish that were prepared have been effectively eaten. Using the partitive instead as in *debret e oé bet anehé genomb* 'some of them were eaten by us', would have indicated that not all the fish that were prepared would have been eaten.

In the above examples, the fact that the event of buying and selling periwinkles or pigs and cows, and the event of eating fish are carried out to the end is signalled by the use of object and subject clitics, respectively. In case those events had not been carried to an end,

this would have been signalled by the partitive, as evidenced in (52)b. where the event of losing beauty is not complete. In these sentences, Ag-NPs have a low referentiality. Since they are associated with an incomplete or unbounded situation, they must appear after the predicate. In contrast, clitic pronouns, which are referential, are associated with a complete event or bounded situation. Hence, they can appear immediately to the left or to the right of the predicate according to their grammatical relation. That the partitive in Breton can convey incompleteness is not too surprising. The partitive case in Finnish plays a similar role, as shown in (61).⁵

- (61)a. Lapsi juoksi kilometrin.
 child ran kilometre.ACC
 'The child ran a kilometre.' (Heinämäki 1994:224)
- b. Lapsi juoksee vielä kilometriä.
 child runs still kilometre.PART
 'The child is still running the kilometre.' (op. cit.)

In Finnish NPs taking the partitive case are subject to similar restrictions, as seen in (33) and (34). This will be further discussed in the next chapter with respect to the so-called genitive of negation, which is another instance of the partitive.

3.2.2.3. AG and Necessity

Associated with the incompletive aspect inherent to the partitive use of the preposition *ag*, we find *a(g)* expressing necessity in negative constructions involving the verb 'to be'. This type of sentence yields an impersonal reading and the Ag-phrase is found only in postverbal position in the scope of the predicate, as shown in (62).

- (62) a. Ne oé ket a amzer de gol.
 NEG be.PST NEG of time to lose.INF
 'There was no time to lose.' (op. cit. p 203)

⁵ In Ergative languages, the antipassive construction can serve similar purposes.

a'. *A amzer ne oé ket de gol.
of time NEG be.PST NEG to lose.INF
'There was no time to lose.'

b. Ne oé ket a hortoz.
NEG be.PST NEG of wait.INF
'We should not wait.'

(op. cit.)

b'. *A hortoz ne oé ket.
of wait.INF NEG be.PST NEG
'We should not wait.'

c. Ne vé ket mui a dostat dehé.
NEG be.HAB.PRS NEG more of approach.INF to.3P
'One could no longer approach them.'

(op. cit. p 260)

c'. *A dostat dehé ne vé ket mui.
of approach.INF to.3P NEG be.HAB.PRS NEG more
'One could no longer approach them.'

In (62), the association of *ne oé ket* 'there was not' and *a(g)* yields a modality reading for the sentence, modality expressing necessity. *Lose time* in (62)a., *wait* in (62)b., and *approach them* in (62)c., are no longer permissible given the contextual constraints. Sentences (62)a. and b. are extracted from the same context. *Lose time* and *wait* is out of the question for a young boy when the mass he is supposed to serve has already started and he is still home. In (62)c., you could no longer approach them, the baby chickens, when the mother, enraged, is about to poke you in the eyes with its beak. Therefore, the action or event has to be abruptly brought to a close, thus yielding some incompleteness reading as well. This is further evidenced in (63).

(63) a. En overenneu e oé é-kours
the masses PRT be.PST in progress
'The masses were in progress'

ha ne oé ket a amzer de gol...
and NEG be.PST NEG of time to lose.INF
and there was no time to lose...

Rekiz e oé monet
required PRT be.PST go.INF
Going was required

ha hanter kousket hoah e riden d'en iliz
 and half sleepy still PRT run.IPF.1S to the church
and half asleep I ran to the church. (op. cit. p 203)

b. Ne oé ket d'ain a laret
 NEG be.PST NEG to.1S of say.INF
'I had not to say

“Nann, n' em es ket amzer”...
 No, NEG 1S be.PRS NEG time
“No, I don't have time” ...

Ur hourhemen e oé a-berh me zad.
 an order PRT be.PST of-part my father
It was an order from my father's part. (op. cit. p 184)

The small text in (63)a. gives the context for (62)a., while (63)b is new. Here the father asks his son who is leaving the house to join his friends, to fetch insects for the fishing party the next morning. The son had no other option but to comply with his father's request. Note here that the subject is expressed as an oblique, *d'ain* 'to me' in *ne oé ket d'ain a laret* 'I had not to say'. In (63), we find the necessity reading expressed by *rekiz* 'required' in (63)a. and *hourhemen* 'order' in (63)b.

The constructions involving Ag + necessity can be seen as describing unbounded situations. For some reason, the expected state of affairs is suddenly changed, thus it cannot be carried out to an end.

To sum up, Ag-NPs, found with the partitive, incomplete aspect and necessity reading, are associated with unboundedness. Therefore, they cannot appear preverbally and serve as saturators for the predicate domain. Hence, they must occur in postverbal position. The distribution of Ag-NPs follows the absolutive axis with subjects of state predicates and objects behaving alike, as opposed to subjects of event predicates which cannot take *ag*, being referential and being associated with boundedness. We will see in the next section that both unboundedness and the absolutive axis are also found in relation to auxiliary selection.

3.3. REFERENTIALITY, BOUNDEDNESS AND AUXILIARY SELECTION

In this section, we will discuss how auxiliary selection restricts the set of possible binders for the predicate domain and how this interacts with referentiality. Auxiliary selection, involving the verbs *endout* ‘to have’ and *bout* ‘to be’, follows the event/state distinction.⁶ The distinction event/state has been widely discussed in the literature (see Davidson 1980, Parsons 1992, Verkuyl 1992). Since this distinction prevails in Breton and influences auxiliary selection, further subclassification of events and states is of little interest for this study. The term *event* refers here to some activity that is occurring whether associated with animate beings, as it is usually the case, or with inanimate entities. The term *state* refers to a lack of activity, to a resulting state after the activity has taken place.

The term auxiliary has been associated with a wide range of phenomena observed in the world’s languages. It has been widely discussed in the literature (for an overview see Heine 1993). The term auxiliary is used here as a convenient label for a verb that is dependent on another one (the main verb) and marking tense. The tense/aspect/mood system in Breton is composed of what is traditionally called simple and complex tenses. Simple tenses include the indicative present, imperfect, definite (simple) past, future, conditional, (ancient) past conditional, and imperative, as illustrated in (63) for the synthetic declension of the Gwenedeg verb *karein* ‘to love’.⁷

⁶ The other Breton auxiliaries are *mont* ‘to go’ in *mont de vout* ‘go to be = become, future’, *dont* ‘to come’ in *dont de vout* ‘come to be = become, present or past’, *chom* ‘to stay’ in *chom heb* ‘stay without = not to’, and *gober* ‘to do’ in infinitive verb + *gober*. Breton auxiliaries fall within the main patterns for grammaticalization of tense and aspect: *endout* ‘to have, formerly to be present at’ is associated with location, as well as *chom* ‘to stay’; *mont* ‘to go’ and *dont* ‘to come’ are associated with motion; and *gober* ‘to do’ is associated with action (for more details, see Heine (1993:31)).

⁷ The synthetic conjugation, also known in Gwenedeg as the personal conjugation, refers to the use of personal suffix marking the person and number of the subject when the subject is not overtly expressed in the sentence.

(64)	Present		Imperfect
S	1 karan	'I love'	karen 'I loved'
	2 kares	'you love'	karès 'you loved'
	3 kar	'He/she loves'	karé 'he/she loved'
P	1 karamb	'we love'	karemb 'we loved'
	2 karet	'you love'	kareh 'you love'
	3 karant	'they love'	karent 'they loved'
	Definite Past ⁸		Future
S	1 karezan	'I loved'	karein 'I will love'
	2 karezous	'you loved'	karei 'you will love'
	3 karas	'he/she loved'	karou 'he/she will love'
P	1 karezamb	'we loved'	kareemb 'we will love'
	2 karezeh	'you loved'	kareët 'you will love'
	3 karezant	'they loved'	kareint 'they will love'
	Conditional		(Ancient) Past Conditional
S	1 karehen	'I would love'	karezen 'I would have loved'
	2 karehès	'you would love'	karezès 'you would have loved'
	3 karehé	'he/she would love'	karezé 'he/she would have loved'
P	1 karehemb	'we would love'	karezemb 'we would have loved'
	2 kareheh	'you would love'	karezeh 'you would have loved'
	3 karehent	'they would love'	karezent 'they would have loved'
	Imperative		
S	2 kar	'love!'	
	3 karèt	'let him love!'	
P	1 karamb	'let us love!'	
	2 karet	'love!'	
	3 karent	'let them love!'	

(Guillevic & Le Goff 1986:43)

Complex tenses includes the indefinite past (present perfect), pluperfect, past (anterior) future and past conditional, as illustrated in (65) for active verbs (op. cit.).

(65)	Indefinite Past:	em es karet/karet em es	'I have loved'
	Pluperfect:	em boé karet/karet em boé	'I had loved'
	Past Future:	em bou karet/karet em bou	'I will have loved'
	Past conditional:	em behé karet/karet em behé	'I would have loved'

⁸ Today, the definite past is used in Gwenedeg only in the analytic conjugation, also known as the impersonal conjugation. The analytic conjugation refers to the lack of personal suffix marking the person and number of the subject on the verb when the subject is overtly expressed in the sentence. The analytic form of the verb is similar to that of the third person singular which is unmarked on the verb.

The verbs *bout* ‘to be’ and *endout* ‘to have’ do not appear in the definite past. They show two additional aspectual declensions, the habitual present and the habitual imperfect, as exemplified in (66).

(66) Habitual Present

		bout ‘to be’		endout ‘to have’	
S	1	ben	‘I am used to be’	em bé	‘I am used to have’
	2	bes	‘you are used to be’	ha pé	‘you are used to have’
	3M	bé	‘he/she is used to be’	en devé	‘he is used to have’
	3F			hé devé	‘she is used to have’
P	1	bemb	‘we are used to be’	hur bé	‘we are used to have’
	2	bet	‘you are used to be’	hou pé	‘you are used to have’
	3	bent	‘they are used to be’	ou devé	‘they are used to have’

Habitual Imperfect

S	1	bezen	‘I used to be’	em bezé	‘I used to have’
	2	bezès	‘you used to be’	ha pezé	‘you used to have’
	3M	bezé	‘he/she used to be’	en devezé	‘he used to have’
	3F			hé devezé	‘she used to have’
P	1	bezemb	‘we used to be’	hur bezé	‘we used to have’
	2	bezet	‘you used to be’	hou pezé	‘you used to have’
	3	bezent	‘they used to be’	ou devezé	‘they used to have’

Complex tenses also show these two aspectual declensions in the indefinite past (present perfect) and pluperfect.

Auxiliaries are known in traditional grammars of Breton as *harpverb* ‘helping verb’ (see Kervella 1976). Modern Gwenedeg displays two auxiliaries, *endout* ‘to have’ which demands a referential subject whether definite or indefinite, and *bout* ‘to be’ which is associated with a strong definiteness effect. The choice of the auxiliary is determined by the event/state distinction. The event/state distinction is realized by the classification of predicates as event or state predicates. Event predicates, also known in Breton traditional grammar books as active (Guillevic & Le Goff 1986) or strong (Kervella 1976), take the auxiliary *endout* ‘to have’, and state predicates, also known in traditional grammars as neutral (Guillevic & Le Goff 1986) or weak (Kervella 1976), take the auxiliary *bout* ‘to be’ in the perfect. While event predicates are associated with boundedness, state predicates are

associated with unboundedness. As noted by Heinämäki (1994:209) for Finnish, derivation can change the aspectual character of a non-derived verb. In Breton, auxiliary selection can achieve the same effects. Event predicates can take the auxiliary *bout* 'to be' if a stative rather than eventive reading of the predicate is emphasized, thus yielding an unbounded-situation description for the sentence. State predicates can take the auxiliary *endout* 'to have' in the perfect if an eventive rather than stative reading of the predicate is emphasized, thus yielding a bounded-situation description for the sentence. However, the eventive reading of state predicates is obtained only with referential subjects, and is contrastive.

Before we consider auxiliary selection in modern Gwenedeg, a brief sketch of the historical evolution of the system is necessary.

3.3.1. Historical Background

Among the Celtic languages, Breton is unique in that it shows an auxiliary 'to have' used, as in other Indo-European languages, with past participles. Gwenedeg *endout* 'to have' (*endevout* in the other dialects) comes from Old Breton *dobut* 'to be present' to which possessive clitics have been prefixed to convey possession (Fleuriot 1964:323). *Endout* literally means 'be present at him'. During the middle Breton period, it began to fill the role of the auxiliary 'to have'. In Cornish, we find a verb 'to have', *am būs*, the counterpart of Breton *endout* (Smith 1981)⁹. However, Cornish *am būs* is used only with verbal nouns like its Welsh counterpart *cael*, a reduction of *caffel* 'to get', a cognate of Latin *habeo* and *capio* (Moris Jones 1955:157), and a cognate of Breton *kaver* 'to obtain, to find.' Irish (and perhaps the other Gaelic languages as well) does not show a verb or auxiliary 'to have'. Why is it that Breton developed a fully fledged auxiliary 'to have' while the other Celtic languages did not? The first answer that comes to mind is that Breton was influenced by French. However, the other Celtic languages could well have been similarly influenced by

⁹ Cornish *am būs* corresponds to Breton *em eslam eus* and means 'I have' (lit. 'me is').

English having an auxiliary ‘to have’. The answer is more complex. It involves influence of the neighboring language without any doubt, but also the purposes the auxiliary serves in the language.

3.3.1.1. *Voice in Celtic*

All the Celtic languages had the potential to develop the counterpart of Breton *endevout*. Although all the elements necessary for the creation of an auxiliary system were present in the old period (e.g., Old Irish, Old Welsh, Old Cornish and Old Breton), the auxiliaries themselves did not exist. Voice in Celtic appears to have been a semantic notion working on a continuum rather than a morphosyntactic reality (Schapansky 1993b). No complex tenses are found. No active/passive alternation as we know it today is attested. The passive interpretation of sentences is given by the *-r* inflection suffixed to the verb in the present tenses which indicates an unspecified subject argument. Therefore the sentences showing the *-r* inflection could be interpreted as either impersonal or passive according to the context, as shown in (67)a. for Breton, (67)b. for Welsh, and (67)c. for Irish.¹⁰

(67)a. *dodiprer*
eat.PRS.IMP
‘One eats.’

(Fleuriot 1964:303)

b. *canotor*
sing.PRS.IMP
‘is sung’

(Evans 1989:120)

c. *togair*
go.IPT.IMP
‘Let people/someone go (lit. let be gone).’

(op. cit. p 328)

Moreover, in Old Irish and in Old Welsh, the verb ‘to be’ could be constructed with infixed pronouns to convey possession, as illustrated in (68)a. for Welsh and (68)b. for Irish.

¹⁰ For more details, see Fife (1985) for Welsh, Stenson (1989) for Irish and Schapansky (1993b) for Breton.

For more details on the *-r* inflection, see Kurolewicz 1975; for more details on voice in Celtic, see Statha-Halikas 1977.

(68)a. chwiorydd a' m bu hefyd
 sisters PRT.1S be.PRS.EXT also
 'There were sisters to me/I had also sisters.' (Evans 1989:57)

b. rob. bia
 PRT.2P be.FUT.3S
 'To you shall be/You shall have.' (Thurneysen 1980:261)

Given the scarcity of Old Breton data and the subsequent gap in the historical records (Even 1987), examples of infix pronouns used as indirect objects are not available.¹¹ Nevertheless, this specific use of the verb 'to be' will serve as the basis for the creation of a verb 'to have' in Breton and Cornish.

All the Celtic languages except for Welsh have a past participle. Welsh uses a verbal noun or a verbal adjective as past participle. Irish shows a past participle ending in *-ite* and Cornish also shows a past participle ending in *-ys*, thus corresponding to Breton past participle ending in *-et*, which is derived from an old verbal adjective ending in *-ed* (Fleuriot 1964:314). The creation of past participles from old verbal adjectives meant that complex tenses could be constructed, first with the verb 'to be' used as auxiliary, as attested in the modern Celtic languages. The first distinction emerged on a split-tense system. The simple tenses are associated with the active voice while the complex tenses are associated with the passive voice, since they are constructed with the auxiliary 'to be', as shown in (69)a. for Welsh and (69)b. for Irish.

(69)a yr oedd y ferch wedi marw.
 PRT be.PST the girl after die.INF
 'The girl has died.' (Thorne 1993:338)

b. Tá an leabhar leite agam.
 be.PRS the book read at.1S
 'I have read the book.' (O Siadhail 1989:300)

¹¹ Old Breton, for which few documents are attested, covers the period from the 8th to the 11th century. Middle Breton covers the period from the 15th to the 17th century. Modern Breton begins roughly with the 18th century. For the period covering the 12th to the 14th century, or early Middle Breton, no documents are attested.

Although a passive construction in the form *be + past participle* is attested, Cornish did not develop the split-tense system observed in the other Celtic languages. This explains why Cornish *am büs*, the exact counterpart of Breton *endevout*, never developed into an auxiliary. No complex tenses are found in Cornish.¹² Therefore, there is no need for an auxiliary ‘to have.’

3.3.1.2. *Voice in Breton*

In Breton, however, the need for an auxiliary ‘to have’ was felt. The simple/complex tense-split may have weakened the semantic basis of the voice system by creating a morphosyntactic distinction between the active and stative voices. Since not all the predicates in the perfect are stative, a need to distinguish the predicates (in the perfect) which are active from those which are stative, may have led to the creation of an auxiliary ‘to have’ derived from a possessive construction.

In modern Breton, possession can be expressed in two ways, as seen in (70).

(70)a. Er levr ‘ zo genein.
 the book (PRT) be.PRS with.1S
 ‘The book is with me/ I have the book (on me).’

b. Er levr em - es.
 the book 1S.be.PRS
 ‘The book me-is/I have the book.’

The a-sentence refers to the book that I carry but I may or may not own. The b-sentence can only refer to the book I own. By analogy to the possessive constructions, the verb ‘to have’ could be constructed as an auxiliary in the perfect, as also attested in modern Breton, as illustrated in (71).¹³

¹² The perfect is realized in Cornish by the perfective particle *re* prefixed to verbs in the past tense.

¹³ This gave rise to the so-called ergative construction in Breton (see Anderson 1992:355-57).

- (71)a. Er heveleg 'zo tapet dehon.
the bittern be.PRS caught to.3SM
'He caught the bittern.'
- b. Er heveleg en des tapet.
the bittern 3SM have.PRS caught
'He has caught the bittern.'

With the creation of a new auxiliary, a second distinction emerged, also known as split intransitivity. All intransitive predicates considered as active are constructed with the auxiliary 'to have' and all intransitive predicates considered as stative are constructed with the auxiliary 'to be' in the perfect. With minor changes, the split intransitivity system was still in existence in the late 19th century in Breton (cf. Le Bayon 1878 and Hingant 1868).

3.3.2. Auxiliary Selection and the Event/State Distinction

In modern Gwenedeg, auxiliary selection is determined by the event/state distinction, whether the predicates are event or state predicates, and whether a stative reading for event predicates or an eventive reading for state predicates is obtained. Therefore, auxiliary selection in Gwenedeg no longer has the split intransitivity distinction. Split intransitivity is also referred to in the literature as Unaccusativity. Intransitive verbs divide into two groups, unergative and unaccusative. The subject of an unergative predicate is typically an agent, thus behaving like subjects of transitive predicates. The subject of an unaccusative predicate is typically a theme or patient, thus behaving like the subject of a predicate in the passive, which is usually equated with the object of the corresponding active sentence. Auxiliary selection in Gwenedeg is no longer determined by the distinction between unergative and unaccusative predicates. The auxiliary *endout* 'to have' is associated with event or boundedness whatever the type of the predicate. The auxiliary *bout* 'to be' is associated with state or unboundedness whatever the type of the predicate. Moreover, *bout* 'to be' presents, in the present indicative, five forms which carry aspectual or semantic

information. Some forms do not appear in negative sentences, and some others are sensitive to the position and definiteness of subjects.

3.3.2.1. *Split Intransitivity and Definiteness*

Split systems are best known for their association with ergative languages (cf. Dixon 1994), also known as split ergative languages. One possible source for split ergativity is the tense system. Non-perfect tenses may be associated with an accusative morphology while perfect tenses may be associated with an ergative morphology. The Unaccusative Hypothesis proposed by Perlmutter (1978) sparked a renewed interest in the study of split-tense system. A notorious example is provided by Georgian (cf. Harris 1982, Anderson 1984 and Van Valin 1990). Tense systems tend to split along the intransitive line. Certain types of intransitive verbs may be found with an active morphology while certain other types of intransitive verbs may be found with a passive morphology. In languages with a poor verbal morphology (encoding of the subject/object or agent/patient, encoding of transitivity, etc.), auxiliaries may play a similar role.

3.3.2.2. *The Unaccusative Hypothesis*

First proposed by Perlmutter (1978) within Relational Grammar, the Unaccusative Hypothesis provides the first theoretical account of auxiliary selection. Providing evidence from Italian data, Perlmutter shows that intransitive predicates are classified according to whether they are unergative, taking an initial subject, or to whether they are unaccusative, taking an initial object. Unergative predicates take the auxiliary *avere* 'to have' while unaccusative predicates take the auxiliary *essere* 'to be' in the perfect, hence behaving like predicates in the passive voice. Predicates with initial objects are usually associated with passive sentences (i.e., subjects in passive sentences are considered as direct objects in their active counterparts). Rosen (1984) further supports this claim for Italian. The

Unaccusative Hypothesis has also been posited for French (cf. Olier 1984 and Legendre 1990), and for Breton (Schapansky 1992b, 1993b, 1995).¹⁴

According to Guillevic & Le Goff (1986), Herrieu (1936), Le Clerc (1986) and Kervella (1976), Breton predicates are classified according to whether they are active or strong or to whether they are neutral or weak. Active predicates refer to verbs that are transitive, as in (72)a., ditransitive, as in (72)b. and to active intransitive verbs, as in (72)c.

- (72)a. Ma zad a goulennas ar pred.
 my father PRT ask.PST the meal
 'My father ordered the meal.' (Ar Mason 1986:14)
- b. Ma zad a zispleg d'an Intron Fur lod ag e veajoù
 my father PRT explain.PRS to the Mrs Fur some of 3SM trips
 'My father tells Mrs Fur of some of his trips.' (op. cit. p 50)
- c. Visant e sellè doh er bed.
 Visant PRT watch.IPF from the world
 'Visant was watching the world.' (Jaffré 1986:76)

Neutral predicates refer to the intransitive stative verbs, as exemplified in (73).

- (73) Mem breuder e zas déh.
 1S brother PRT come.PST yesterday
 'My brothers came yesterday.'

Following Guillevic & Le Goff and others (op. cit.), active predicates take the auxiliary *endout* 'to have' in the perfect, as in (74), whereas neutral predicates take the auxiliary *boud* 'to be', as in (75).

- (74)a. Ma zad en deus goulennet ar pred.
 my father 3SM have.PRS asked the meal
 'My father has ordered the meal.'
- b. Ma zad en deus displeget d'an Intron Fur lod ag e veajoù.
 my father 3SM have.PRS explained to the Mrs Fur some of 3SM trips
 'My father has told Mrs Fur of some of his trips.'

¹⁴ For an overview of unaccusativity within GB, see Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995.

c. Visant en des sellet doh er bed.
 Visant 3SM have.PRS watched from the world
 'Visant watched the world.'

(75) Mem breuder e zo deit déh.
 1S brothers PRT be.PRS come yesterday
 'My brothers have come yesterday.'

In his Breton-French dictionary of the Gwenedeg dialect, Ernault (1919) records all verbs as being *a.* or *n.* or a combination of these, *a. et n.* and *n. et a.* However, Ernault does not provide a list of abbreviations. In comparing intransitive verbs like *biùein* 'to live' or *kreskat* 'to grow', *a* verbs, and intransitive verbs like *donet* 'to come' or *mervel* 'to die', *n* verbs, it becomes clear that *a.* signifies *active* and *n.* signifies *neutral*. This information, unique in its kind, must have been strongly felt by Ernault at the time his dictionary was first published in 1919. Today however, this classification does not make much sense given that the changes that have occurred have made the distinction between active and neutral predicates opaque. However, from Ernault's dictionary, a more or less complete list of verbs considered as neutral can be drawn. They fall into different classes. Starting with verbs of motion, we have the following, for example.

(76)	<i>achapein</i>	'to escape'	<i>donet</i>	'to come'
	<i>arriùein</i>	'to arrive'	<i>drivein</i>	'to derive'
	<i>boiajein</i>	'to travel'	<i>flodein</i>	'to float'
	<i>dansal</i>	'to dance'	<i>galopein</i>	'to gallop'
	<i>deridein</i>	'to run'	<i>gournejal</i>	'to fly'
	<i>diavansein</i>	'to step back'	<i>houizein</i>	'to walk backwards'
	<i>dinaouein</i>	'to flow'	<i>kantreal</i>	'to walk'
	<i>distrimpein</i>	'to run away'	<i>kérat</i>	'to come home'
	<i>divarkein</i>	'to disembark'	<i>digérien</i>	'to go out'
	<i>doarein</i>	'to land'	<i>kilein</i>	'to step back'
	...			

Then we have the class of verbs indicating a change of state, as in (77).

(77)	<i>aneùein</i>	'to ripen'	<i>fatein</i>	'to faint'
	<i>bleùein</i>	'to flow'	<i>flouerein</i>	'to soften'
	<i>blodein</i>	'to soften'	<i>frostat</i>	'to lighten (ground)'
	<i>boarat</i>	'to become deaf'	<i>groahein</i>	'to age'

<i>breinen</i>	'to decompose'	<i>habaskat</i>	'to soften, diminish'
<i>delaùein</i>	'to grow leaves'	<i>kelidein</i>	'to germinate'
<i>defoenùein</i>	'to unswell'	<i>klañnat</i>	'to fall sick'
<i>dihoañnein</i>	'to germinate, grow'	<i>kervadein</i>	'to get drunk'
<i>dilignezein</i>	'to degenerate'	<i>koudeùein</i>	'to ripen'
<i>dismuniein</i>	'to perish'	<i>krazein</i>	'to dry, get dried up'
...			

The next class of verbs involves verbs relating to noises. Many of these verbs take the infinitival ending *-al*, associated with noise (Ernault 1991), as in (78).

(78)	<i>bleijal</i>	'to howl'	<i>kaketal</i>	'to chat'
	<i>bondal</i>	'to buzz'	<i>kistal</i>	'to complain like sick animals'
	<i>boudal</i>	'to buzz'	<i>klotal</i>	'to gobble'
	<i>bruhellat</i>	'to roar'	<i>leñùal</i>	'to cry'
	<i>brundellat</i>	'to snore'	<i>miañnal</i>	'to miaow'
	<i>dasonal</i>	'to resound'	<i>tirohal</i>	'to snore'
	<i>difronkal</i>	'to cry one's eyes out'	<i>skrimpal</i>	'to neigh'
	<i>grognał</i>	'to grunt'	<i>hudał</i>	'to cry, yowl'
	<i>hiquetal</i>	'to hiccup'	<i>huchal</i>	'to cry, yowl'
	...			

Another class of verbs, also known as psych verbs, is associated with psychological states, as in (79).

(79)	<i>bloahein</i>	'to shiver'	<i>doutein</i>	'to doubt'
	<i>bourein</i>	'to please'	<i>follein</i>	'to be mad'
	<i>brouilhein</i>	'to confuse'	<i>hetein</i>	'to please'
	<i>chifein</i>	'to worry'	<i>hirisein</i>	'to shiver'
	<i>demantein</i>	'to complain'	<i>imurein</i>	'to vex'
	<i>desesperein</i>	'to despair'	<i>kanvein</i>	'to lament'
	<i>dihetein</i>	'to displease'	<i>languisal</i>	'to languish'
	<i>displij</i>	'to displease'	<i>loñnein</i>	'to get angry'
	<i>distemperein</i>	'to be furious'	<i>mohein</i>	'to pout'
	...			

The next class of verbs involves verbs associated with speech acts/cognitive processes, as in (80).

(80)	<i>anbréet</i>	'to be delirious'	<i>debatal</i>	'to debate'
	<i>arbennein</i>	'to contradict'	<i>devizein</i>	'to speak'
	<i>asentein</i>	'to consent'	<i>distoñnein</i>	'to disagree'

<i>atropein</i>	'to negotiate'	<i>goalbedein</i>	'to swear'
<i>blasfemein</i>	'to blaspheme'	<i>goalgomz</i>	'to speak badly of'
<i>bourdal</i>	'to joke'	<i>guerzein</i>	'to versify'
<i>bretat</i>	'to plead'	<i>ingennein</i>	'to dispute'
<i>chikañnal</i>	'to quarrel'	<i>overennein</i>	'to say the mass'
<i>chipotal</i>	'to bargain'	<i>partantein</i>	'to separate'
<i>chonjal</i>	'to think'	<i>paterat</i>	'to pray'
<i>keinal</i>	'to complain'...		

The last class of verbs comprises performance verbs, as in (81).

(81)	<i>hanvezein</i>	'to feast'	<i>foeñnat</i>	'to cut hay'
	<i>blingal</i>	'to close an eye'	<i>gironkat</i>	'to bathe'
	<i>boéhein</i>	'to vote'	<i>gourein</i>	'to fight'
	<i>bokein</i>	'to kiss'	<i>huibanal</i>	'to whistle'
	<i>bourdein</i>	'to stop short'	<i>jardenein</i>	'to garden'
	<i>bragal</i>	'to parade'	<i>koleat</i>	'to carry salt'
	<i>brezelat</i>	'to fight'	<i>merdeidiein</i>	'to maneuver'
	<i>brodein</i>	'to embroider'	<i>merennein</i>	'to dine'
	<i>chubein</i>	'to sweep'	<i>skolietat</i>	'to hold school'
	<i>dijabein</i>	'to get rid of'	<i>trichein</i>	'to cheat'
	...			

Verb classes of lesser importance are the class of verbs of shining like *fulennein* 'to sparkle', *luhedein* 'to make lightning', *sklingernein* 'to glitter'...; the class of verbs of quest like *behinat* 'to fetch behin (a kind of kelp)', *eistrenat* 'to catch oysters', *huiletat* 'to catch insects'...; and the class of verbs of birthing like *kolineda* 'to give birth to puppies', *oeinein* 'to lamb', *alein* 'to give birth, to calve'...

The classification of Breton verbs into active, neutral or a combination of the two is not surprising even in Celtic. In his discussion of fluid intransitivity in Middle Welsh, Manning (1995) establishes three classes of verbs, based on the type of marking the subject gets in non-finite clauses. The first class comprises verbs like *ymlad* 'fight', *bwyta* 'eat', *gwylaw* 'watch'. In non-finite clauses, their subject is marked by the preposition *o* 'of', the equivalent of the Breton preposition *ag* 'of' discussed earlier. This class of verbs corresponds to Breton active verbs. The second class of verbs comprises verbs like *eisted* 'sit down', *trygyaw* 'stay', *dysgynnu* 'dismount'. In non-finite clauses, their subjects can

be marked either by the preposition *o* or by possessive adjectives, which are usually associated with objects. This class of verbs shows the fluid intransitivity and corresponds to Breton verbs classified as active or neutral depending on the context. The last class of verbs comprises verbs like *marw* 'die', *diangk* 'escape', *dysgwydaw* 'fall down'. In non-finite clauses, their subject is uniquely marked by possessive adjectives, associated with objects. This class correspond to Breton neutral verbs. However, the class membership of the verbs varies from one language to the other.

Breton neutral predicates behave like Italian unaccusative verbs, which occur with the auxiliary *essere* 'to be' in the perfect (see Rosen 1984: 44-45). Thus, the distinction unergative/unaccusative also holds in Breton with the active/unergative predicates taking the auxiliary *endout* 'to have' and the neutral/unaccusative predicates taking the auxiliary *boud* 'to be'. This is further supported by the way participial absolutes behave in Breton. Rosen (1984:48) shows that, in Italian, participial absolutes from initially unaccusative predicates taking the auxiliary *essere* 'to be' are well formed, whereas participial absolutes from initially unergative predicates taking the auxiliary *avere* 'to have' are not. In Breton, we find similar effects in discourse contexts (cf. Schapansky 1992b, 1993a, 1993b). The discourse particle *chetu*, equivalent to French 'voici' or 'voilà' can introduce participial absolutes, as exemplified in (82).

- (82) Chetu me lon astennet heb fichal ar en aoter bras.
 here 1S animal lied without move.INF on the altar great
 'Here my beast (was) lying without moving on the great altar.' (Jaffré 1986:10)

However, participial absolutes of active transitives, as in (83)a., ditransitives, as in (83)b., and active intransitive predicates, as in (83)c., are not possible in the language.

- (83)a.*Chetu Bechej dastumet pep blei.
 here Bechej gathered each wolf
 'Here Bechej (having) gathered each wolf.'

b.*Chetu ean kollet e benn ér pelldon ag er hoed.
 here 3SM lost 3SM head in.the depth of the wood
'Here, him (having) lost his head in the midst of the wood.'

c.*Chetu ean péhet / pellgomzet / kannet.
 here 3SM sinned / telephoned / sung
'Here, him (having) sinned, telephoned, sung.'

In (83), the subject is not allowed to appear. In contrast, participial absolutes of neutral predicates are perfectly acceptable in the language as shown in (84).

(84)a. Chetu kousket er jibouesour endro.
 Here slept the hunter again
'Here the hunter (being) asleep again.' (op. cit. p 32)

b. Chetu Oann oeit d' En Ignel...
 here Oann gone to Inguiniel
'Here, Oann gone to Inguiniel.' (op. cit. p 38)

c. Chetu me degoehet geti,...
 here 1S arrived with.3SF
'Here, me (having) reached it.' (op. cit.)

Similarly, participial absolutes constructed from the direct object are acceptable in Breton, as in (85).

(85)a. Chetu pep blei dastumet.
 Here each wolf gathered.
'Here every wolf (being) gathered.'

b. Chetu é benn kollet ér pelldon ag er hoed.
 Here, 3SM head lost in.the midst of the wood
'Here, his head (being) lost in the midst of the wood.'

The distinction between active and neutral predicates underlies a distinction agent/non-agent with the non-agents, subjects of state (neutral) predicates and objects behaving alike with respect to participial absolute constructions. This provides further evidence for the absolutive axis, where subjects of state predicates and objects are treated alike from a morphosyntactic point of view. Whereas participial absolutes constructed from subjects of state predicates and objects are well formed, participial absolutes constructed from subjects

of event predicates are not. Similarly, subjects of state predicates and objects can take *ag* while subjects of event predicates cannot (cf. section 3.2).

3.3.2.3. *BOUT and Definiteness*

Although the Unaccusative Hypothesis can characterize auxiliary selection in Breton, it represents only one aspect of a more complex system. Breton auxiliary *bout* 'to be' is unique in that it presents five different forms in the present indicative. Some of these forms do not occur in negative sentences, and some of them are sensitive to the position and/or definiteness of NPs. One form *e ve (a vez)*, the habitual predicate, is insensitive to the position and definiteness of the nominals. It need not be reviewed here. The other forms belong to a paradigm and cannot be studied separately. Thus, we find a first series of oppositions given in (86) (see also Urien 1989a, 1989b).

- (86)a. Er vugalé e zo (*é/*é ma/*éh es) fur.
 the children PRT be.PRS wise
 'The children are wise.'
- b. Vugalé e zo (*é/*é ma/*éh es)
 children PRT be.PRS
 'There are children.'
- c. Er vugalé é (*zo/*é ma/*éh es)
 the children be.PRS
 'It is the children.'

In (86) the preverbal subject precedes *e zo*. The form *e zo (a zo)*, formerly the relative form of the verb 'to be', occurs with preverbal subjects only, whether definite, as in (86)a., or indefinite, as in (86)b. For historical reasons (*zo* was not found in negative relative clauses), it does not occur in negative sentences. The difference between (86)a. and b. lies in the definiteness of the subject, definite in (86)a., indefinite in (86)b. The indefinite subject in (86)b. yields an existential interpretation. Schapansky (1993a) argues that sentences like (86)b. show that, although existentiality, syntactically realized by the existential predicate when the subject occurs in postverbal position (see (87)b), is

neutralized when the subject is in preverbal position with only one form *e zo* ‘is’ appearing whether the subject is definite or indefinite, it is not neutralized from a semantic point of view. However, Urien (pc) suggests that it is also semantically neutralized, which is possible since the preverbal indefinite subject in (86)b. can yield a generic reading ‘Children exist’. The form *e zo* is the only form demanding that the predicate be bound by the subject.

In (86)c., a preverbal noun precedes *é*. The form *é* (*eo*) is used with a preceding attribute and a following definite subject which may or may not be overtly expressed. Thus the preverbal noun in (86)c. cannot be the subject. In this sentence, the subject is not overtly expressed and the third person singular is morphologically unmarked. This contrasts with nouns appearing in postverbal position, as illustrated by the second series of oppositions in (87).

- (87)a. *Tretoh* *eo* (**zo/é ma/éh es*) *eget* *me eil* *gedour.*
 thin-COMP be.PRS.3S than 1S second fighter
 ‘*He is thinner than my second assailant.*’ (Ar Mason 1986:48)
- b. *Aze* *éh* *es* (**zo/*é ma/*é*) *ur sorbienn.*
 there PRT be.EXT.PRS a tale
 ‘*There, there is a tale.*’ (Jaffré 1986:176)
- c. *En Oriant* *é* *ma(*zo/*é/*éh es)* *er vatezh* *d’ober* *war* *dro an ti.*
 in Lorient PRT.be.PRS the servant to do.INF on tour the house
 ‘*The servant is in Lorient taking care of the house.*’ (Ar Mason 1986:71)

In (87)a., the preverbal adjective *tretoh* ‘thinner’ precedes *é*. In (87)b., the existential predicate *éh es* ‘there is’ follows the adverb *azé* ‘there’. The form *éh es* (*ez eus*), the existential form of the predicate, can precede indefinite NPs only. In (87)c., the locative phrase *en Oriant* ‘in Lorient’ precedes *é ma*. The form *é ma* (*ema*), a cognate to Welsh *mae* and Cornish *yma*, contains the locative word *ma*. In these languages *y mae/yma* may be followed by definite or indefinite nouns, and may not appear in negation. In Breton however, *é ma* precedes only definite subjects. In Gwenedeg, *é ma* is not found in negation, like its Welsh or Cornish counterpart. Furthermore, it is used to convey a

progressive meaning or to denote a situation (locative, temporal or moral) (Herrieu 1979:33). In (87)c., we see the primary use of *ema* indicating a geographical location of a person or thing. However, this does not represent the only use of *ema*. *Ema* can also signal certainty or a psychological state, as illustrated respectively in (88).

(88)a. Aotrou Kerandro ne guzh da zen emañ ag an <<Emsav>>.
 Sir Kerandro NEG hide.PRS.3S to man PRT.be.PRS.3S of the emsav
 'Mr. Kerandro hides from nobody that he is (a member) of the Emsav.'

(op.cit. p 85)

b. Emañ e zremm habask ha laouen.
 PRT.be.PRS.3S 3SM face soft and happy
 'His face was soft and happy.'

(op. cit. p 70)

Nevertheless, we can occasionally find an indefinite NP following *é ma*, as illustrated in (89).

(89)a. Rekiz é ma ur sorbienn a goh.
 necessary PRT be.PRS.3S a tale of old
 'This must be an old tale.'

(Jaffré 1986:180)

b. Me gred é ma un dra bennag all.
 IS believe.PRS PRT be.PRS.3S a thing some other
 'I believe this is something else.'

(op. cit. p 164)

However, this indefinite NP cannot be interpreted as a subject since this would violate the semantics of *é ma*. Expletive subjects never surface in the language and the third person singular personal morpheme is phonologically unrealized, as in the above examples.

The forms of the verb 'to be', *é ma*, *é*, and *éh es*, incorporate the verbal particle *éh*, which tells that the predicate domain must not be bound by a preverbal subject. Hence, the subject in such sentences cannot serve as a binder for the predicate domain. It cannot occur preverbally, and thus it must appear in postverbal position.

Furthermore, the forms found with postverbal NPs are the forms found in negative sentences. Since negation binds the predicate domain, the subject cannot serve as a binder

for the predicate domain. Hence, it cannot appear preverbally, in the internal preverbal position (see preceding chapter). It must remain in postverbal position, as shown in (90).

- (90)a. N(e) é (*zo/*é ma/*éh es) ket eürus ma breur Herri.
 NEG be.PRS NEG happy my brother Herri
 'My brother Herri is not happy.'
- b. Aze ne des (*zo/*é ma/*ê) ket ur sorbienn.
 there NEG be.PRS.EXT NEG a tale
 'There isn't any tale there.'
- c. En Orient n(e) é (*zo/*é ma/*éh es) ket ar vatezh d'ober war dro an ti.
 in Lorient NEG be.PRS NEG the servant to do on tour the house
 'In Lorient, the servant is not taking care of the house.'

In (90)a., only *é* precedes a definite subject. In (90)b., only *des* (the negative counterpart of *éh es*) precedes an indefinite subject and in (90)c., *é* replaces *é ma* and precedes a definite subject in Gwenedeg. For the Gwenedeg dialect, beside the habitual, only two forms of the of the verb *bout* 'to be' can occur in negative sentences, *é* and *éh es*. This is summarized in (91).

(91) *BOUT and Definiteness*

<i>BOUT</i>	<i>SUBJECTS</i>				<i>SENTENCES</i>	
	preverbal	postverbal	definite	indefinite	positive	negative
e ve	+	+	+	+	+	+
(e) zo	+	-	+	+	+	-
é ma	-	+	+	-	+	-
é	-	+	+	-	+	+
éh es	-	+	-	+	+	+

All the forms discussed above also occur as auxiliaries. This is illustrated in (92) through (96).

- (92)a. N' é ket azéet ar 'r blancheris?
 NEG be.PRS.3S NEG sit on the floor
 'Isn't she sitting on the floor?' (Herrieu 1979:42)

- b. Fall desavet é bet getè
bad raised be.PRS.3S been with.3P
'It (the dog) has been badly raised by them.' (op.cit.)
- (93)a. Ar ur gadoér é ma azéet.
on a chair PRT be.PRS.3S sit
'She is sitting on a chair.' (op. cit. p 42)
- b. Ha larer é ma bet diskoéit Breiz
and say.PRS.IMP PRT be.PRS been shown Brittany
'And it is said that Brittany is recognized
èl bro er gunehdu.
as country the wheat-black
as the country of the buckwheat.' (Jaffré 1986:28)
- (94)a. Velo neùe me faotr zo oeit getoñ.
bike new my boy be.PRS gone with.3SM
'He took away my boy's new bike.' (Herrieu 1979: 98)
- b. Er bed e zo bet kempennet d'om aveit kement-sé
the world PRT be.PRS been arranged to.1P for all.DEM
'The world was arranged to us for all that
get an Aotrou Doue.
by the Lord God
by the Lord.' (Jaffré 1986:84)
- (95)a. Nen des ket kouéhet erh.
NEG be.PRS.EXT NEG fallen snow
'No snow fell.' (Herrieu 1979: 121)
- b. Perak éh es bet lakeit bandenneu gwenn ha du arnehoñ?
why PRT be.PRS.EXT been put stripes white and black on.3SM
'Why were black and white stripes put on it?' (op. cit. p 159)
- (96) Ean e zou um lahet.
3SM PRT be.PRS REFL. killed
'He killed himself.' (Guillevic and Le Goff 1986:50)

Through (92) to (95), the a- sentences illustrate the definite past (present perfect) while the b- sentences exemplify the passive. The last sentence exemplifies the reflexive. Note that sentence (93)a. is the answer to sentence (92)a. As said earlier *é ma* cannot occur in negation in Gwenedeg. In that, Gwenedeg departs from the other dialects, which admit the combination *ne + é ma*.

To sum up, the distinction between active and neutral predicates in Gwenedeg underlies a distinction between event and state predicates where event predicates take the auxiliary *endout* 'to have' and state predicates take the auxiliary *bout* 'to be' in the perfect. Whereas the form *e zo*, incorporating the particle *e*, demands that the predicate domain be bound by a subject and appears only in affirmative sentences, the other forms, incorporating the particle *éh*, tell that the predicate domain must not be bound by the subject, and one of these forms appears only in affirmative sentences.

3.3.3. Auxiliary Selection and Referentiality

Auxiliary selection in modern Gwenedeg is not only determined by the event/state distinction but is also dependent on the referentiality of subjects. The definite article is usually associated with high referentiality while the indefinite article is usually associated with low referentiality. However, referentiality can also be contextually determined. Thus an indefinite subject can be referential in context.

3.3.3.1. BOUT and Event Predicates

As mentioned in the introduction of section 3.3, a change in the aspectual behavior of a non-derived verb can be achieved, in Gwenedeg, via auxiliary selection. Thus, event predicates, which are usually associated with the auxiliary *endout* 'to have', can be constructed with the auxiliary *bout* 'to be' when they describe a state or unbounded situation. Similarly, state predicates, which are usually associated with the auxiliary *bout* 'to be', can be constructed with the auxiliary *endout* 'to have' when they describe an event or bounded situation. Therefore, the auxiliaries *endout* 'to have' and *bout* 'to be' cannot serve to distinguish event from state predicates. They rather serve to distinguish events from states, or bounded from unbounded situations. Similar observations can be made for Italian where certain unaccusative predicates can take the auxiliary *avere* 'to have' in their eventive reading, as discussed next. This is supported by participial absolute constructions

in Breton which can also be obtained from the stative reading of event predicates, as is demonstrated in section 3.3.3.1.2.

3.3.3.1.1. *The Unaccusative Hypothesis Revisited*

As seen in section 3.3.2.1, the Unaccusative Hypothesis proposed by Perlmutter (1978) can account for auxiliary selection according to whether intransitive predicates are unergative or unaccusative. However, this is not without problems. As noted by Rosen (1984), certain unaccusative predicates in Italian can take both auxiliaries, as shown in (97).

- (97)a. Ugo ha corso meglio ieri.
Ugo have.PRS.3S run better yesterday
'Ugo ran better yesterday.' (Rosen 1984:66)
- b. Ugo è corso a casa.
Ugo be.PRS.3S run to home
'Ugo ran home.' (op. cit. p 67)

Rosen (op. cit.) argues that a few Italian verbs of motion like *correre* 'to run' take an initial subject when denoting an activity, and take an initial object when the trajectory covered is emphasized. However, there is no reason to postulate two predicates *correre*, one unergative and one unaccusative. It seems rather that an eventive reading of *correre* is obtained in (97)a. in contrast to (97)b. where the stative reading of *correre* prevails. Thus, for this type of predicate, the event/state distinction can, in Italian, determine auxiliary selection as well. In Gwenedeg, matters are more complex. All predicates considered as event predicates can be constructed with the auxiliary *bout* 'to be' when they are associated with a stative reading. Most of the predicates considered as state predicates can be constructed with the auxiliary *endout* 'to have' when they are associated with an eventive reading, as demonstrated below.

3.3.3.1.2. Participial Absolutes and the Event/State Distinction

To support the Unaccusative Hypothesis, one test provided by Rosen (1984) for Italian and adapted by Schapansky (1993a) for Breton has been discussed earlier. Participial absolute constructions of transitive, ditransitive and unergative predicates are not available in Breton, as seen in (84). However, these participial absolute constructions become possible if the subject is realized as an oblique argument of the form *de X* 'to X', as illustrated in (98).

- (98)a. Chetu pep blei dastumet dehon.
here every wolf gathered to.3SM
'Here (is) he (having) gathered each wolf.'
- b. Chetu é benn kollet dehon ér pelldon ag er hoed.
here 3SM head lost to.3SM in the midst of the wood
'Here (is) he (having) lost his head in the midst of the wood.'
- c. Chetu pehet/ pellgomzet/ kannet dehon.
here sinned/ phoned/ sung to.3SM
'Here (is) he (having) sinned/phoned/sung.'

This is further illustrated in (99).

- (99)a. Chetu lipet ur podad dehé.
here drunk a pitcher to.3P
'Here (are) they (having) drunk a pitcher.' (Jaffré 1986:20)
- b. Chetu groeit d'ein tro er vorh.
here made to.me tour the village
'Here (am) I (having) made a village round.' (op. cit. p 16)

Thus, participial absolute constructions can also be constructed from the stative reading of event predicates, which demands that the subject be realized as an oblique argument. Therefore, participial absolute constructions do not present a test for the Unaccusative Hypothesis, but rather present a test which supports the event/state distinction. Since the above sentences describe unbounded situations, participial absolute constructions present a test for the distinction between bounded and unbounded situations.

The stative reading of event predicates is also observed in sentences containing a tensed predicate, as shown in (100).

- (100)a. Ar en hent e veze kempennet dehé er péh...
 on the way PRT be.HAB.IPF arranged to.3P the piece
 'On the way, they used to agree on what...' (op. cit. p 18)
- b. Trezet é d'om douareu En Nenerzh.
 crossed be.PRS to.1P lands the Nenerzh
 'We crossed the lands of Le Nenerzh.' (op. cit. p 10)
- c. ...e vo gwerhet d'ein me hi kiroh eget mem buoh.
 PRT be.FUT sold to.1S my dog expensive.COMP than my cow
 'I will sell my dog for a better price than my cow.' (op. cit. p 22)

This contrasts with the eventive reading of the same predicates, as seen in (101).

- (101)a. Ar peb unan en doe kanpennet er meliner ur fagodenn koed.
 on each one 3S have.PST arranged the miller a faggot wood
 'On everyone, the miller has put a wood faggot.' (Guilloux 1992:92)
- b. Un taol klezen en deus treuzet ma c'halon.
 a thrust sword 3SM have.PRS crossed my heart
 'A sword thrust pierced my heart.' (Ar Mason 1986:51)
- c. Guerzhnet o deus re ar Fur ti kae an Indez.
 sold 3P have.PRS ones le Fur house quai the Indies
 'The Le Furs have sold their house on the quai of the Indies.' (op. cit. p 113)

Whereas the sentences in (100) describe unbounded situations, the sentences in (101) describe bounded situations. The endpoint or bound is reached when every X has a wood faggot on it in (101)a., when pain is felt in (101)b., and when X bought the house in (101)c.

To sum up, the Unaccusative Hypothesis can not only account for the event/state predicate distinction but also for the stative reading of event predicates. Furthermore, participial absolute constructions can not only distinguish event from state predicates but also the eventive from the stative reading of event predicates. Thus, they can distinguish between bounded and unbounded situations.

3.3.3.2. Referentiality, State Predicates and ENDOUT

While it is possible to obtain a stative reading for event predicates, it is also possible to obtain an eventive reading for state predicates. While there are apparently no constraints on the stative reading of event predicates, the eventive reading of state predicates is subject to a referentiality constraint imposed on the subject.

3.3.3.2.1. ENDOUT and State Predicates

State predicates can be constructed with the auxiliary *bout* 'to be', as in (102) or the auxiliary *endout* 'to have', as in (103).

- (102)a. Koehet e oé intan.
 fallen PRT be.PST.3S widower
 'He became a widower.' (Guilloux 1992:92)
- b. Troeit é en treu a-oudé er bleieu paset.
 turned be-PRS the things since the years passed
 'Things have changed since past years.' (op. cit. p 59)
- (103)a. Get en droug-galon en doé koéhet.
 with the pain-heart 3S have.PST fallen
 'He fell from a heart-attack.' (op. cit. p 46)
- b. Kalavern ma ou des troeit en treu ag er féson-sé.
 it-does-not-matter that 3P have.PRS turned the things of the way-DEM
 'It does not matter whether the things changed that way.' (op. cit. p 268)

The only difference between (102) and (103) is a semantic difference. The sentences in (102) describe unbounded situation and the auxiliary *boud* is used to indicate that the subject is not actively involved in the event. The sentences in (103) describe bounded situations and the auxiliary *endout* is used to indicate that some event is taking place, whether the subject is animate, as in (103)a., or inanimate, as in (103)b. The endpoint or bound is reached when the man fell sick on the ground and required immediate medical treatment in (103)a., when the changes took a certain direction determined by modernization in (103b). This is further illustrated in (104).¹⁵

¹⁵ See Kervella (1976) for examples from the other dialects.

- (104)a. Kerhet em boé ar un tammig guér.
 walked 1S have.PST on a piece.DIM glass
 'I stepped on a piece of glass.' (Guilloux 1992:241)
- b. Baléet em es ér parkeuier.
 walked 1s have.PRS in.the fields
 'I walked in the fields.' (op. cit. p 11)
- c. Neijet en des buan.
 flown 3S.have.PRS quick
 'It (the rooster) flew quickly away.' (Jaffré 1986:208)

These sentences as well describe bounded situations. The endpoint or bound is reached when the boy cut his foot in (104)a., when the boy walked through all the fields in (104)b., and when the rooster escaped free in (104)c.

From the above data, it appears that auxiliary selection is not determined by an absolute distinction between event and state predicates since all the predicates in (103) and (104) are state predicates taking the auxiliary *endout* 'to have' usually associated with event predicates. It is rather determined by the availability of an eventive reading for the state predicates, which is associated with boundedness.

3.3.3.2.2. *ENDOUT and Referentiality*

The availability of an eventive reading for state predicates appears to be dependent on whether the subject is definite or indefinite. The sentences in (103) and (104) show a definite subject. However, an eventive reading for state predicates is impossible if the subject is indefinite, as evidenced in (105).

- (105)a.*Koéhet en des un den.
 fallen 3S have.PRS a man
 'A man fell.'
- b. *Kéret en des ur plah iouank koh.
 went-home 3S have.PRS a girl young old
 'A spinster went back home.'
- c. *Neijet en des ur hog.
 flown 3S have.PRS a rooster
 'A rooster flew.'

This leads Schapansky (1992b, 1995a) to argue that, based on data drawn from Kervella (1976) and involving animate subjects only, the shift in the auxiliary selection is triggered by the notion of Control as discussed in Klaiman (1991). Control, an intrinsic property of animate beings which allows them to survive, is associated with definiteness and animacy. This notion of control predicts that we should not find an eventive reading of state predicates associated with indefinite animate subjects, definite inanimate subjects, and indefinite inanimate subjects.¹⁶ Although the sentences in (105) seem to confirm this prediction, we can nevertheless find data which do not behave according to the prediction, as in (103)b. where the subject is inanimate. This is further illustrated in (106).

- (106)a. En doéré en doé ridet buan dré er maézieu.
the new 3S have.PRS run fast through the lands
'The news ran fast through the country.' (Jaffré 1986:46)
- b. Ur safar hemb par en doé saùet breman ér sal.
a tumult without equal 3SM have.PST risen now in.the room
'An unprecedented tumult has arisen now in the room.' (op. cit. p 213)

In these sentences, whether the inanimate subject is definite, as in (106)a., or indefinite, as in (106)b., the auxiliary *endout* 'to have' appears signalling that some event has taken place, therefore being bound. The endpoint or bound is reached when all the people heard the news in (106)a., and when the noise reached a point of saturation in (106)b. In all these sentences, the subject gets a referential interpretation from the context. This is best illustrated in (106)b. where the subject is indefinite inanimate and obtains its reference from the context in which the speaker intends to refer to a particular noise, therefore being referential in GHZ's terms (1993). Hence, the eventive reading of state predicates is determined by the referentiality of subjects, which is contextually bound. When the subject is non-referential, as in (105), the eventive reading of state predicates is not available. When the subject is referential as in (103), (104) and (106), the eventive reading of state predicates becomes available, as expressed by the presence of the auxiliary

¹⁶ This was brought to my attention by Lori Morris, at the 21st LACUS Forum, Vancouver, B.C.

endout ‘to have’, which indicates the situation described by the sentence is bound. This type of sentence however, yields a contrastive reading which can only appear under the scope of metalinguistic negation (cf. section 4.3.2.1).

In Gwenedeg, reflexive predicates are also constructed with the auxiliary *endout* ‘to have’ in the perfect.

3.3.3.2.3. *ENDOUT and Reflexive Predicates*

In the Relational Grammar literature, reflexive predicates showing a reflexive particle (also known as multiattached reflexives) are considered as passive, taking the auxiliary ‘to be’ in the perfect, as illustrated in (107)a. for Italian, (107)b. for French and (107)c. for Breton (sentence (96) is repeated here for convenience).

(107)a. Il bottone si è staccato.
 the button REFL be.PRS.3S detached
 ‘The button came off.’ (Rosen 1984:52)

b. Les enfants se sont regardés sans rien dire.
 the children REFL be.PRS.3P looked.3P without nothin say.INF
 ‘The children looked at each other without saying anything.’

c. Ean e zo um lahet.
 3S PRT be.PRS REFL killed
 ‘He killed himself.’ (Guillevic & Le Goff 1986:50)

In Breton however, we find reflexive predicates constructed with the auxiliary *endout* ‘to have’ with an animate subject as in (108) or an inanimate subject as in (109).¹⁷

(108)a. Ean en des um lahet.
 3SM 3S have.PRS REFL.killed
 ‘He killed himself.’ (Guillevic and Le Goff 1986:50)

b. En daouzek klujar en doè um vodet ar ur bar.
 the twelve grouse 3S have.PST REFL.gathered on a branch
 ‘The twelve grouses gathered on a branch.’ (Jaffré 1986:54)

¹⁷ Kervella (1976) notes that reflexive verbs can be constructed with the auxiliary *bout* ‘to be’. This suggests that, in some contexts, the stative reading of reflexive predicates still prevails. However, Kervella does not provide any example and I was unable to find any in the literature surveyed.

c. Ean en des um astennet ar ur bern gran segal.
 3SM 3S have.PRS REFL lain.down on a pile grain rye
 'He laid down on a pile of rye grains.' (op. cit. p 34)

(109) En heol en doé um laket de blomein ru ar é boukfil.
 the sun 3S have.PST REFL put to heat.INF red on 3SM neck
 'The sun began to burn his neck.' (op. cit. p 20)

It seems therefore that reflexive predicates are reanalysed in Breton as event predicates, thus having an endpoint. The endpoint is reached when the man dies in (108)a, when the twelve grouses are on the same branch in (108)b., when the man is waiting on the pile of grain in (108)c., and when the neck is sunburned in (109).

In summary, we can give the following table (110) for auxiliary selection in Gwenedeg.

(110) *Auxiliary Selection in Gwenedeg*

<i>Auxiliary</i>	<i>Predicate Type</i>	<i>Semantics</i>	<i>Situation</i>
endout	event	+referential + event	bounded
	state reflexive	+referential +event	bounded
bout	state reflexive	+/-referential - event	unbounded
existential	state	-referential - event	unbounded

The event/state distinction reflects the distinction between bounded and unbounded situations. Therefore, it is semantically based. The distinction event/state will be further discussed in the next chapter in relation to negative sentences which, according to Heinämäki (1994:221), describe unbounded situations. Furthermore, subjects of state (neutral) predicates and objects are treated alike in participial absolute constructions, as seen in section 3.2.3.2, thus providing evidence for the absolutive axis in Breton. However, this interacts with referentiality effects involving auxiliary selection.

To sum up, auxiliary selection is no longer characterized by the distinction event/state (active/neutral) predicates in modern Gwenedeg. The stative reading of event predicates has been present in the language since the perfect/non-perfect split discussed in section 3.3.1. However, since the late 19th century, changes have taken place. The auxiliary *endout* ‘to have’ is increasingly used, making available the eventive reading of state predicates and the reanalysis of (multiattached) reflexive predicates as event predicates. Hence, the auxiliary *endout* makes explicit the availability of bounded-situation descriptions. One possible trigger for the change is the loss of the definite (simple) past, used only in the analytic form in Gwenedeg, i.e. in the 3rd person singular.

One can object that the shift is rather due to a French influence. However, this objection is not well grounded since the active/stative distinction in French is more rigid, as shown in (111).

- (111)a. Je suis (*j'ai) partie.
 1S be.PRS.1S 1S have.PRS.1S left.FS
 ‘I left.’
- b. J' ai (*je suis) couru.
 1S have.PRS.1S 1S be.PRS.1S run
 ‘I ran.’
- c. Je me suis (*je m' ai) lavé.
 1S REFL be.PRS.1S 1S REF have.PRS.1S washed.MS
 ‘I washed myself.’

Whereas French admits only one auxiliary to the exclusion of the other according to the lexical verb, and uses exclusively the auxiliary *être* ‘to be’ with reflexive verbs, Breton admits one or the other auxiliary on a semantic basis with all weak/neutral verbs including reflexive verbs, depending on whether or not eventhood is stressed in the sentence.

That the shift in the auxiliary selection is associated with an eventive reading is not surprising. In a survey of two Middle Breton texts, the *Miroer de la Mort* (MM) (Mirror of Death) written in verses and *Buhez Santez Katell* (BSK) (Life of St Catherine) written in prose, the use of the auxiliary *endevout* (= *endout* ‘to have’) implies some strong

commitment from the subject's point of view, as illustrated in (112) for the first text, and (113) for the second.

(112)a Ha pep lech an pechet ah eux guet en bedeu.
 and every place the sins PRT.2S have.PRS made in.the worlds
 'And everywhere, the sins you have committed in the world.' (MM:670)

b. prested en deues dit.
 lent 3SM have.PRS to.2S
 'He has lent to you.' (MM:1195)

c. An donaesonou man ameux breman hanuet.
 the gifts DEM PRT.1S.have.PRS now named
 'The gifts that I have now named.' (MM:1227)

(113)a. Ha trebuchet hez deues en edificc a orguell.
 and ruined 3SF.have.PRS the edifice of orgueil
 'And she has ruined the "edifice de l'orgueil" .' (BSK:76)

b. Lequeat am eux ma poan ha ma sourcy.
 put PRT.1S have.PRS 1S effort and 1S care
 'I have put my effort and my care...' (BSK:78)

c. Yuit ce oll e meus y dispriset.
 for DEM all PRT.1S.have.PRS 3P despised
 'Despite the fact that I have despised them all.' (BSK:80)

The use of the auxiliary *to have* in Middle Breton asserts the subject's commitment with respect to the predicate, thus emphasizing the eventive reading of the sentence. This is extended in modern Gwenedeg to all contexts associated with events and bounded situations. The event/state and boundedness/unboundedness distinctions will be further discussed in the next chapter with respect to negation.

3.4. CONCLUSION

To conclude, semantic/pragmatic asymmetries discussed in this chapter relate to the choice of the binder for the predicate domain. This choice is determined by referentiality. When two overt NPs are present in the same sentence, the preverbal NP has to be more referential unless it is the focus of the sentence. Hence, topic NPs are preferred binders for

the predicate domain. However, as seen in the preceding chapter, the internal preverbal position is not available in negative sentences, thus reducing the range of application of the Referentiality Constraint. Furthermore, Ag-NPs (subjects of state predicates and objects), which are non-referential, are restricted to occur in postverbal position. Since they are associated with unboundedness, they cannot serve as binders for the predicate domain which is required to be bound. This is also true for Ag-NPs found in negative sentences. Whereas the auxiliary *endout* 'to have', associated with boundedness, shows no preference in the choice of the binder, the auxiliary *bout* 'to be' displays, in the present tense, one form, which demands that the predicate domain be bound by the subject and which appears in affirmative sentences only, and three forms which demand non-subject binders, and one of these forms appears in affirmative sentences only. Finally, referential subjects of state predicates can take the auxiliary *endout* 'to have' in the perfect in sentences describing bounded situations. However, as we will see in the next chapter, they have a contrastive reading, which remains under negation and yields a metalinguistic reading for the negative sentence.

The Givenness Hierarchy framework of GHZ (1993) adapted for Breton and expanded to cover quantifiers and predicate nouns provides a refined procedure to determine referentiality, which is context dependent. The Givenness Hierarchy plays a crucial role in ascertaining the existence of the Referentiality Constraint in contexts of opaque referentiality when the two NPs are either definite or indefinite. The Referentiality Constraint appears to be insufficient to account for the distribution of Ag-NPs in affirmative sentences. The Referentiality Constraint II will also appear equally problematical in accounting for the distribution of Ag-NPs versus NPIs in negative sentences, since preverbal NPs do not serve to bind the predicate domain in these sentences.

CHAPTER FOUR

NEGATION, REFERENTIALITY, AND BOUNDEDNESS: MARKEDNESS AND ASYMMETRY

Negation has fascinated philosophers, logicians and linguists since ancient times. From a philosophical point of view, negation has been left out of the discussion on events (Davidson 1980). Horn (1989) in linguistics assumes that there are no negative events, with however, some reservations. From a formal logic point of view, negation is an operator affecting the truth value of propositions. Therefore, negative propositions are symmetrical to their positive counterparts. This symmetry however, is not found in natural languages. As seen in chapter two for Breton, the negative particle binds the predicate domain, whereas its positive counterparts do not. This means that preverbal NPs serve as binders for the predicate domain in affirmative but not in negative sentences. We saw in chapter three that preverbal NPs which bind the predicate domain must not be unbounded. This means that these NPs can potentially occur preverbally in negative sentences since the predicate domain is already bound by negation. Negative sentences involve another aspect of referentiality, which demands some explanation. In Breton, the universal quantifier with a wide scope reading and the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading are replaced by NPIs in the scope of negation.

This chapter is organised as follows. Section One provides an account for the association of negation with unboundedness, adapting Croft's Causal Chains (1991b). It shows that arcs associated with negation are undirected like stative arcs, whether negation of the initiator, endpoint, transmission force, or causal chain is intended. Supporting empirical data is provided. Section Two discusses negation of the initiator and endpoint,

which are associated with referentiality. Following Givón (1984), indefinite NPs are interpreted non-referentially in the scope of negation, which is associated with the irrealis modality. This rule is further applied to the universal and existential quantifiers which are replaced by NPIs in Breton. These NPIs can appear preverbally whereas Ag-NPs cannot. And Section Three offers an account for the markedness of sentence negation. Negation is marked morpho-syntactically by word order restrictions relating to the V2 requirement in Breton, semantically by its association with unboundedness and irrealis, and pragmatically. The pragmatic markedness of negation relates to presupposition. While the discourse presupposition is maintained under negation, the presupposition of subjects may be suspended. The different scopes of negation can be interpreted metalinguistically. Metalinguistic negation is associated with boundedness.

4.1. SUSPENSIVE NEGATION

From the literature reviewed, some tendencies emerge. For example, the disassociation of negation and events present in Horn (1989) finds support, for example, in Verkuyl (1993) and Forest (1993). It becomes clear that negation affects some semantic components of a sentence: the event structure (Schapansky 1995), the temporal structure (Verkuyl 1993, Klein 1994), and modality (Givón 1984), or other aspects like affectedness (Forest 1993). Furthermore, according to Payne (1985:223), the choice of the negative particle (or particular negation process) can be determined by tense, aspect, mood or by the grammatical category of the predicate, verbal or non-verbal. However, not all sentences are affected equally by negation. Some sentences involving event predicates, as discussed in the preceding chapter, are more deeply affected than sentences involving state predicates. I will call this type of negation affecting some components of a sentence, *suspensive negation*, a term borrowed from Forest (1993). In the remainder of this chapter, I will concentrate on *suspensive negation* since it interacts with the event/state distinction and

referentiality. Other types of negation are found in the literature: contrastive negation (Verkuyl 1993), metalinguistic negation (Horn 1989), or recusative negation (Forest 1993). They will be discussed when relevant.

4.1.1. The Hypothesis

The relation between negation and the event/state distinction is addressed in Horn (1989). In his discussion of negative events, Horn (op. cit. p 54), quoting Stockwell, Schachter and Partee (1973:250-51), states that, in certain cases, the negation of an event may be itself an event like *not paying taxes*, as in (1)a., or *not getting up early*, as in (1)b.

- (1) a. *He often hasn't paid taxes.*
b. *I don't get up early at home.*

Horn notes that, in these cases, the “event” seems to be the breaking of an habitual or expected pattern of activity, semantically speaking. As he mentions, these exceptions ought to be explained. However, he provides no explanation for these exceptional cases.

Furthermore, based on examples like (2) (op. cit.),

- (2) a. *John slowly walks.*
b.* *John is slowly tall.*
c.* *John slowly does not walk.*

Horn (op. cit. p 55) cites Thomason & Stalnaker's conclusion (1978) that *the negative counterpart of an event is a negative state, slowly* being defined only for events and actions. According to the author, the question of whether there are negative events cannot be answered directly by invoking the evidence of natural language, especially in the absence of a consensus as to what constitutes an event.

The relation between negation, aspect and referentiality is addressed in Verkuyl (1993). In his theory on aspectuality, Verkuyl (op. cit. p 163) states that the aspectual behavior of sentences having a terminative aspect (eventive reading in the sense developed in the

preceding chapter) changes under negation. The terminative reading becomes a durative one pertaining to a state or an unbounded situation. Furthermore, the nature of a negated NP without reference to a specific quantity (e.g., no one, nobody,...) makes it impossible to express terminative aspect (op. cit. p 164). That is, negated NPs represent empty sets. Since the set represented by the negated NP is empty, the event or action denoted by the predicate cannot take place if the negated NP is subject, or the event or action denoted by the predicate cannot be completed if the negated NP is object. Negation and terminative aspect cannot go together: there is no domain for a possible mapping between atemporal (negation, unbounded) and temporal (terminative aspect, bounded) structure. However, as he notices, this does not apply to contrastive (or metalinguistic) negation. Givón (1978b:105-06) sees events/actions (agented events) as changes in the state of the universe across a certain time axis (see also Chung & Timberlake 1984 for a similar view). However, the negative event is a background at which no change in the state of the universe has occurred. Thus negation behaves like a state.

Similarly, Givón (1984) classifies negation with the irrealis modality with respect to predicting the referentiality of nominal arguments. Referential indefinite nominal arguments are not allowed in the scope of negation while non-referential arguments are permitted. Klein (1994:43) states that it is not clear what is actually negated in the lexical content of a sentence like *he didn't come*, in particular whether the temporal features of the man's moving are somehow affected by negation. Moreover, negation affects the linkage of the lexical content to time. In this case, it resembles modality since it qualifies the assertion made by the utterance.

From this, we can deduce that negation affects some components of the tense, aspect, mood system or TAM following Givón (1984). However, which of tense, aspect, or mood is affected by negation is unclear. This essentially depends on the language system. For example, Tzotzil, a Mayan Language, adds an irrealis marker *-u-* in negative sentences, thus showing that mood is affected by negation (Aissen 1992). Another Mayan language,

Mam, displays different negative particles which are associated with certain aspects, thus showing that the aspect system is affected by negation (Collins 1994). In languages like French or English, the TAM is not morphologically marked as affected by negation. According to Chung & Timberlake (1984:206), the different temporal locations of an event (past, present, future) are inherently correlated with differences in mood and aspect. A consequence of this correlation is that temporal distinctions may be expressed by morphosyntactic categories that have wider modal or aspectual functions. Therefore, negation of one component of the TAM affects other components as well. This suggests that, since TAM is essentially a feature associated with predicates, negation of the predicate will affect TAM as well even though we may not see any morphological realization of this in certain languages.

4.1.2. Suspensive Negation and Causal Chains: Towards a Theory

4.1.2.1. The Paradox

The idea of explaining suspensive negation using Causal Chains theory appears to be paradoxical. While causal chains represent events or activities that are causally related to one another, negation represents the absence of, or lack of, events or activities, and therefore no causal relation can take place. This is the viewpoint held by Davidson (1980), Parsons (1990), Verkuyl (1993) among others. This viewpoint is compositional in nature, akin to the view of negation in formal logic. If one segment of the chain is negated, the chain as a whole is negated since the negative operator changes the truth value of the proposition. Nevertheless, the Causal Chains approach taken by Croft (1991b) is decompositional in nature. Therefore it should be and it is possible to negate one segment of the chain without negating the whole chain. However, the negated segment may affect other segments of the chain, as we will see.

4.1.2.2. *Negation and Causal Chains*

How can we represent negation within the Causal Chains approach? Obviously we cannot use a negative operator like that found in formal logic for the reasons mentioned above. Therefore, no new elements are introduced in the causal structure proposed by Croft (1991b) and presented in the introduction of this work. As seen in (18) p 24 chapter one, a causal chain consists of arc-linking nodes, •, representing participants in the causal chain. These arc-linking nodes may appear in parentheses, (•) when not attached to an endpoint, as in (21)c. p 26 chapter one. Thus empty parentheses, (), are used here to indicate that the segment of the chain is negated, being either negation of the initiator or negation of the endpoint. As also seen in the introduction, two kinds of arc are available, the directed arc, —>, associated with causation directed towards the endpoint, and the undirected arc, —, associated with states. The undirected arc is used here to indicate negation of the predicate since the activity or process represented by the predicate cannot be carried out to the end. Hence, the distinction between directed and undirected arcs is neutralized in negative sentences in favor of the undirected arc, thus reflecting the change in the aspectual behavior of the negated predicate.

4.1.2.2.1. *Negation of the Initiator*

Negation in the causal chain may be conceived as a missing link or technical deficiency. The missing link can be a deficient initiator X. In this case, the transmission force cannot be generated and therefore cannot reach the endpoint Y, as shown in (3).

(3) X Y
 () ————— •

The deficient initiator is indicated by parentheses with an empty arc-linking node. The undirected arc, —, represents the transmission force which cannot be generated. Therefore it cannot be directed towards the endpoint. In that, it is similar to an undirected

stative arc (see (21) p 26). Languages may choose to mark negation of the initiator, which I call *type I negation*. In this case, special personal affixes may appear on the predicate, as in Chickasaw (cf. Forest (1993:12), according to Payne (1982)). Payne (op. cit. p 359) states that if the Chickasaw verb in the non-negative form takes agent subject affixes, these affixes are replaced by negative agreement affixes in the negative forms, as illustrated in (4).¹

- (4) ak - mali'lo- ka'chi.
 1S.NEG run.NEG FUT.NEG
 'I won't run.' (Payne 1982:359)

In contrast, if the non-negative form of the verb takes patient or dative subject-affixes, these affixes are retained in the negative, and the third person negative affix *ik-* is prefixed to them, as seen in (5).

- (5)a. ik - sa - llo.
 3.NEG 1.Subj.PAT die.NEG
 'I did not die.' (op. cit.)
- b. ik - chim - alhkani'yo.
 3.NEG 2S.NEG forget.NEG
 'You do not forget.' (op. cit.)

The change in the aspectual behavior of the verb *run*, considered as active and the subject of which is negated, is realized here by the special negative agreement of the agent-affix subject, thus signalling that negation of the subject affects the aspect of the verb. From active, it becomes stative. Since agenthood and stativeness are incompatible, the agent affix takes the negative agreement, as in (4). In contrast, a verb like *die*, seen as stative, does not have its aspect changed under negation, hence its patient subject does not need a negative agreement affix, as seen in (5).

¹ In addition, a glottal stop is infixes after the penultimate vowel of the verb root, and the final vowel of the verb root is replaced by *-o*; *ki-* or *k-* is infixes before any tense marker.

- (8) a. Silja joi maido-n.
 Silja drink milk.ACC
 'Silja drinks the milk.'

(Karlsson 1983:79)

- b. Silja joi maito-a.
 Silja drink milk.PART
 'Silja drinks milk.'

(op. cit. p 79)

In negative sentences however, the distinction accusative/partitive is neutralized in favor of the partitive, as shown in (9).

- (9) Silja ei juonut maito-a.
 Silja not.3S drank milk.PART
 'Silja did not drink the/any milk.'

(op. cit.)

The partitive case in Finnish negative sentences correlates with the absence of an endpoint.²

Similar phenomena are observed in Romance languages, as exemplified in (10) for French.

- (10) a. Nancy a acheté des livres
 Nancy has bought books
 b. Nancy n' a pas acheté de livres.
 Nancy not has not bought of books

In (10)a., *des* represents the plural indefinite article while in (10)b., *de* represents the so-called "genitive of negation".

Negation of the initiator or the endpoint may also be realized by negative polarity items or negated quantifiers (see section 4.2.1), or it can be realized by negation associated with nominals, as illustrated in (11) for Wayampi, a Tupo-Guarani language spoken in northern Brazil (Jensen 1994:355).

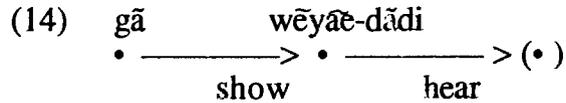
- (11)a. Ja'yr - er - ruā ame tamō kō.
 child-COLL-NEG then grandfather P
 'So then our grandfathers were not children.'

²The negative marker *ei* 'not' is a negative auxiliary marked only for the person and number of its subject in the present tense in Finnish. In other Finno-Ugric languages, *e* can be also marked for other tenses (see Karlsson 1983). The negative auxiliary in Finnish may be related to Evenki negative auxiliary *e* (see Nedyalkov 1994).

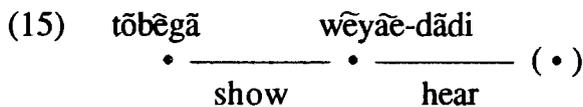
- c. Tōbēgā odōbō-yō-gā ēyē- dābai i-dādi -pa.
 he/she show-while-3S hear-NEG be-3P-Assert
 'Although he/she teaches, they do not listen.'

(op. cit.)

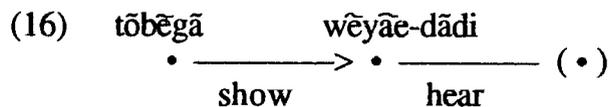
The sentences in (13) show a cause-action construction in Waorani where *odōbō* 'show' is the cause verb and *ēyē* 'hear' the action verb, the head verb of the sentence. Sentence (13)a. can be represented as (14).



In (14), *gā* is the initiator and *wēyāē-dādi* the endpoint. The verb 'teach' is composed of a cause arc 'show' and an action arc 'hear'. Thus in Waorani, the verb 'teach' reflects the two-way relationship involved in the process. These relations, one of showing and the other of listening are causally related. However, it is possible to negate only one of them, as in (13)b. and c. When the cause relation 'show' is negated, as in (13)b., the action relation 'hear' is not realized for obvious reason. When there is no showing, there is no listening. This can be represented as (15).



When the action relation 'hear' is negated, the cause relation 'show' is still realized, as in (13)c. This can be represented as (16).



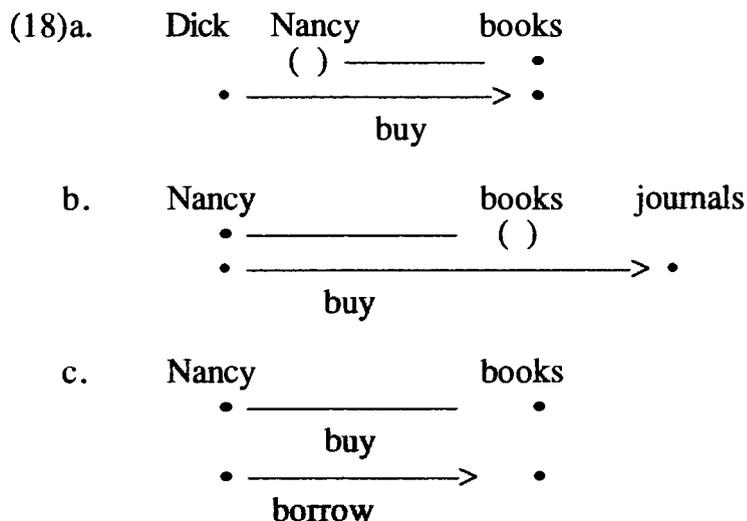
This is possible since the initiator of the cause relation 'show' is not the initiator of the action relation 'hear', as indicated on the cause verb *adōbō-yō-gā* by *yō*, a switch reference marker meaning 'while.' Whereas *wēyāē-dādi* is the endpoint of the cause relation 'show', it is the initiator of the action relation 'hear'. The difference in the negated segment

correlates with differences in meaning. The presence of the inflected copula *i-* 'to be' at the end of the negative sentences shows that negation is perceived as stative. Waorani is one of the few languages which overtly marks negative sentences as stative. Thus, Waorani provides empirical evidence for the semantic decomposition of verbs into a series of causally related events, and supports the hypothesis that negation of event predicates results in the stative interpretation of the predicate.

These three ways of realizing negation may represent different scopes of negation. In languages like English which do not overtly mark negation scope, standard negation, usually associated with predicate negation, serves in different contexts. A sentence like *Nancy did not buy books* may have the different interpretations in (17).

- (17) a. NANCY did not buy books, but DICK did.
 b. Nancy did not buy BOOKS but JOURNALS.
 c. Nancy did not BUY books but BORROWED them.

This is known as contrastive negation. In (17)a., *Nancy* represents a case of deficient initiator, which is corrected by the effective one, *Dick*. In (17)b., *books* represents a case of deficient endpoint which is corrected by the effective one, *journals*. And in (17)c., the deficient force of transmission *buy* is corrected by the effective one, *borrow*. The scopes of contrastive negation can be represented as (18).



In (18), the negated segment appears on the first line, whereas the contrastive segment appears on the second line.

In other languages, the contrastive reading of the scope of negation can be realized by word order changes, as seen in (19) for Bikol, a Philippine language (Givón 1984: 339-40).

- (19)a. Nag - gadán ‘ ang - laláke ning - kanding.
 AGT kill TOP man ACC goat
‘The man killed a goat.’
- b. Da’í nag - gadán ‘ ang - laláke ning - kanding.
 NEG AGT kill TOP man ACC goat
‘The man didn’t kill a goat.’
- c. Da’í ‘ ang - laláke nag - gadán ning - kanding.
 NEG TOP man AGT kill ACC goat
‘The man didn’t kill a goat.’
- d. Da’í ‘ ang - kanding g - in - gadán kang - laláke
 NEG TOP goat ACC kill AGT man
‘The man didn’t kill the goat.’

In Bikol, when the subject gets a contrastive reading, it appears between the negative marker and the verb, which takes the agent suffix, thus agreeing with its subject, as in (19)c. However, when the object gets a contrastive reading, it is topicalized and appears between the negative marker and the verb, which agrees with the topic noun rather than the grammatical subject, as in (19)d. Similar phenomena are observed in Russian with respect to word order changes (Givón 1984:341), as in (20).

- (20)a. Ivan jego ubil.
 Ivan him killed
‘Ivan killed him.’
- b. Ivan jego ne ubil.
 Ivan him NEG killed
‘Ivan didn’t kill him.’
- c. Jego ubil ne Ivan
 him killed NEG Ivan
‘Ivan didn’t kill him.’

- d. Ivan ubil ne jego.
 Ivan killed NEG him
 'Ivan didn't kill him.'

Different languages have different strategies to encode the scope of negation.

4.1.2.2.4. *Negation of the Causal Chain*

These scopal relations can be thought of as partial suspensions where negation bears only on one segment of the clausal chain. Partial suspension may or may not be associated with contrastive negation, as illustrated in (17) and (18). Total suspension of the causal chain may occur when no segment of the causal chain can be connected with another one, as shown in (21).

- (21) X ————— Y
 () ————— ()

In (21), we have X and Y; however, they are not identified as initiator or endpoint, therefore no arc-linking node appears under each one. Furthermore, the transmission force cannot be generated since there is no initiator. Languages may opt to mark negation of the causal chain, which I call *type IV negation*. One such language is Sentani, a Papuan language spoken on the island of New Guinea. According to Hartzler (1994:52), a simple Sentani verb consists of an initial root followed by a series of affixes marking the person and number of the clause subject and object, and aspect, as illustrated in (22).

- (22) Neyae u -ke - eu - mi - le
 he say-PPERF- 3SSR- 3P.O VE
 'He said to them.' (Hartzler 1994:52)

However, when the verb is negated, all affixation is dropped and replaced by a non-temporal (Nt) marker *-iy*. This means that the negative verb is not differentiated for subject or object person and number, realis or aspect, as illustrated in (23).

- (23)a. O - boro - i.
 NEG hear Nt
'I/you/we/hel/she/they didn't/aren't/will not hear.'
- b. E - buke - i.
 NEG turn-back Nt
'I/you/we/hel/she/they isn't/aren't/will not turn back.' (op. cit. p 53)

Negation is achieved by prefixing a vowel homogenous to the vowel in the first syllable of the verb root to the root, and suffixing *-i* to this root. When the verb begins with a vowel, the prefixed vowel is elided (op. cit.). The suffixation of the non-temporal marker to a negated Sentani verb shows that tense is affected by negation, thus providing empirical support for Verkuyl (1993) and Klein (1994).

Another language showing negation of the entire causal chain is Waorani. As seen earlier in (15) and (16), each verbal segment of a cause-action verb can be individually negated in this language, yielding different interpretations for the sentences. However, the whole causal chain can be negated as well. According to Peeke (1994:287), irrealis constructions serve to negate the totality of certain compound verb phrases, especially motion-action, cause-action or motion-cause-action, as illustrated in (24) for a motion-cause-action verb complex.

- (24) Tōbēgā gli odōbō - gā ēyē - dādi - yaa.
 he/she enter show - 3S hear - 3P - IRREAL
'He/she enters and teaches and they learn- not so!
'He/she doesn't enter and teach and therefore they do not learn'

Thus Waorani provides empirical evidence for the association of negation with the irrealis mood. The relation between negation and irrealis will be further discussed in section 4.2 below with respect to referentiality.

Negation of the entire causal chain can also be realized by negative concord, well attested for Hungarian, as shown in (25).

(25)a. Sehal nem lát - t - am senki - t.
 nowhere NEG see.PST.1S nobody.ACC
'I didn't see anybody anywhere.'

b. Nem volt seha sehöl senki se.
 NEG be.PST.3S never nowhere nobody NEG
'There was absolutely nobody there.'

(de Groot 1994:156)

However, when negation does not bear on the whole causal chain, non-negated quantifiers may appear, as seen in (26).

(26)a. Valaki - t nem lát - t - am.
 somebody.ACC NEG see.PST.1S
'There was somebody I did not see.'

b. Nem valaki - t lát - t - am hanem valami - t.
 NEG somebody.ACC see.PST.1S but something.ACC
'I didn't see somebody but something.'

(op. cit.)

In (26)b., negation has a contrastive reading (cf. section 4.3.1.2).

4.1.2.3. *Negation Types and Typology*

The four types of negation proposed here, negation of the initiator, as in Chickasaw, negation of the endpoint, as in Finnish, negation of the transmission force, as in Waorani, or negation of the causal chain, as in Sentani, represent the basic types of negation found in the world's languages. They show that, when one segment of the chain is negated, it affects other segments as well. The main effect is a change in the behavior of the causative arc. From a directed causative arc it becomes an undirected arc, which is stative-like. This illustrates the fact that negation affects the aspect of a sentence.

The four types of negation also provide a basis for typological research. Which types of negation can co-occur in languages? If a language does not mark one type of negation from a morphological point of view, will it use periphrastic means to achieve that type of negation? We can provide some preliminary answers. Although I do not have relevant data for Chickasaw, relevant data for the other languages are available. For example, Finnish

partitive case morphologically marks the negation of the initiator or endpoint. In this language we also find negation of the transmission force, which is marked by the negative auxiliary *e*. On the basis of Finnish and other languages, we can posit that *if a language exhibits type I or type II negation, it will also have type III or type IV negation*. The reverse may not hold. In the language survey carried out, all 30 languages exhibit Type III or Type IV negation. Only one language, Mandarin, shows Type III negation without overtly marking Type I or Type II negation. No language shows Type I or Type II negation without displaying Type III or Type IV negation as well (see appendix B). English does not have the equivalent of Finnish partitive case nor the equivalent of French *de*. However, type I and type II negations are achieved in English by the use of negated quantifiers like *no one, nothing*, etc... or by the use of negative polarity item such as *any*. Furthermore, languages exhibiting type IV negation can achieve type I, II or III negation by means of periphrastic constructions, as shown in (27) for Sentani.

- (27) Neyae na malo ban orayeke.
 they their clothes NEG they:always:walked
 'They used to walk around with no clothes all the time.' (Hartzler 1994:58)

In Sentani, *ban* represents the negation associated with non-verbal elements and negates the item immediately preceding. Another language exhibiting type IV negation is Nadëb, a Maku language spoken in the northwest Amazonas state, Brazil (Weir 1994:291). We should note that Nadëb is an OSV language. One way of realizing negation in this language is by using *dooh*, a negative nominal which could be translated as 'something non-existent'. As noted by Weir (op. cit. p 294), *dooh* appears to be a nominalization of the root of the verb *ba-doh* 'be non-existent'. The sentence being negated becomes a non-finite nominalized clause which is often marked by *bú* 'ablative'. The form of the verb root changes from indicative in affirmative main clauses to non-indicative in the negative (op. cit. p 295), as illustrated in (28).

- (28)a. Kalapée a - óót.
 child Form cry.Indic
 'The child is crying.'
- b. Dooh kalapée a - ód bú.
 neg child Form cry-Non-Indic Abl
 'The child is not crying.'

Other types of negation are found in Nadëb, as shown in (29).

- (29)a. Óów a - wəh doo.
 grandfather Form eat.Indic Ref
 'What grandfather eats.'
- b. Óów na - wəh doo.
 grandfather Neg eat.Indic Ref
 'What grandfather does not eat.'
- (Weir 1994:304)

In (29)b., a negative particle *na-* is prefixed to the verb and does not affect the modality of the verb.³

From the thirty languages surveyed, nine present type IV negation and twenty one show type III negation as the main negation. However, no languages use type I or type II negation if they do not have type III or type IV negation (See language survey in the appendix). Not enough data is available at the moment on Chickasaw to make a positive judgment on this language.

4.1.2.4. *Suspensive versus Recusative Negation*

As seen earlier, suspensive negation (negation which affects the TAM system of a language) is a term borrowed from Forest (1993). Forest distinguishes between recusative and suspensive negation. Recusative negation is a 'type de procédure de marquage négatif tel que l'énoncé négatif se divise en deux parties distinctes: l'une dont la fonction se réduit au marquage négatif lui-même; l'autre étant identique à ce que pourrait être un énoncé positif autonome complet' (type of process for marking negation such that the negative

³Sentence (29)b. may represent a case of contrastive (or metalinguistic) negation. In this case no change in the verbal morphology is expected (cf. section 4.3.1.2).

proposition divides into two parts: the first part being the negative marking itself; the other part being identical to what could be considered as a complete independent positive proposition) (op. cit. p 145). Thus, a sentence like *Il a plu la nuit dernière* ‘It rained last night’ can be considered as the independent positive counterpart to *Il a pas plu la nuit dernière* ‘It didn’t rain last night’. This distinction between suspensive and recusative negation is based on morphosyntactic properties of the two types of negation. According to Forest, recusative negation, the simplest of the two from a morphosyntactic point of view, tends to be the most symmetrical to a positive statement, as in French *J’ai pas lu le livre* ‘I have not read the book’ versus *J’ai lu le livre* ‘I have read the book’. Recusative negation tends to be associated with sentential scope (*la négation incidente à tout l’énoncé*) (op. cit. p 32) and negation of subordinated clauses, as in (30) for French (op. cit. p 34).

- (30)a. Il s’est caché pour pas qu’on le voit.
 he self is hidden for not that one him sees
 ‘He hid in order not to be seen.’
- b. Il s’est caché pour qu’on le voit pas.
 he self is hidden for that one him sees not
 ‘He hid in order that one does not see him.’

The relation between negation and subordinate clauses should be understood as resulting from the fact that the utterer tends to see only propositional content in its globality without paying attention to factuality or assertability (op. cit. p 35). Furthermore, recusative negation is also associated with interro-negation *N’as-tu pas lu ce livre ?* ‘haven’t you read this book?’, with complex coordination *Je n’ai lu ni entendu parler de ce livre* ‘I haven’t read nor heard of this book’ (op. cit.); or with prohibition (op. cit. p 36).

In contrast, some languages mark negation by a change in the verb morphology. This is what Forest calls suspensive negation. Some languages require the obligatory use of a specific aspect, tense or mood in negative sentences. Other languages see the modification or distantiation of the personal affixes paradigm. Other languages may mark suspensive negation by the addition of interrogative, dubitative or testimonial marks to signal the

refusal to take responsibility for the content of the negative utterance (op. cit. p 51). Finally, suspensive negation can increase the degree of stativity of a negative utterance (op. cit. p 52).⁴

Although recusative negation appears to be the most symmetrical to a positive statement from a morphosyntactic point of view in languages like French, it involves the main way of realizing negation, type III in French. However, from a semantic point of view, the alleged symmetry becomes problematical. If we compare the sentences in (31),

- (31)a. J' ai encore lu ce livre.
 I have again read that book
'I read that book once more.'
- b. J' ai pas encore lu ce livre.
 I have not again read that book
'I didn't read that book yet.'

the semantic difference is strongly felt. Whereas (31)a. means that I read the book once more, (31)b. means that I have not read the book yet (I have not started or I have not finished reading it). Similar phenomena are observed in (32).

- (32)a. J' ai lu ce livre plus d'une fois.
 I have read that book more of a time
'I read this book more than once.'
- b. J' ai pas lu ce livre plus d'une fois.
 I have not read that book more of a time
'I did not read this book more than once.'

Whereas (32)a. means that I read that book often, (32)b. means that I read that book at most once. The alleged symmetry becomes even more problematical when quantifiers are involved in the sentence, as seen in (33) and (34).

- (33)a. J' ai vu quelqu'un.
 I have seen somebody

⁴ It is in this sense that suspensive negation is used in this work.

- b.* J' ai pas vu quelqu'un.
 *I have not seen somebody
- c. J' ai vu personne.
 I have seen nobody
- (34)a. Quelqu'un m' a donné ce livre.
 somebody me has given that book
 'Somebody gave me that book.'
- b.* Quelqu'un m' a pas donné ce livre.
 somebody me has not given that book
 *'somebody didn't give me that book.'
- c. Personne m' a donné ce livre.
 nobody me has given that book
 'Nobody gave me that book.'

The referential indefinite quantifier *quelqu'un* 'somebody' is not allowed in the scope of negation, as in (33)b, nor outside the scope of negation, as in (34)b. However, the non-referential quantifier *personne* 'nobody' is allowed to appear after the verb, as in (33)c. or before it, as in (34)c. Since it incorporates negation, no negative particle occurs in (33)c. and (34)c. Therefore, recusative negation is a type of suspensive negation which affects semantic components of a sentence, as expected according to our approach. The presence of modifiers like *encore* 'again' or *plus d'une fois* 'more than once' in French, or the presence of quantifiers like *somebody* supports the view advocated here. This leads us to consider referentiality and negation in Breton.

4.2. REFERENTIALITY AND NEGATION

The purpose of this section is to discuss referentiality associated with negation of the initiator and negation of the endpoint which are expressed by negated quantifiers, negative polarity items, or by a case or adposition. The issue of the relationship between referentiality and negation has been treated from various points of view. Negative Polarity Items (NPI) have received the bulk of attention. For example, Ladusaw (1980) views NPIs

as a pure semantic phenomenon which is licensed by expressions that have the logical property of being downward entailing with respect to expressions in their scope. Thus NPIs such as English *any* are not only found in negation but also in questions, conditionals, relative clauses, etc. Linebarger (1987) proposes a syntactico-pragmatic account of NPIs. NPIs are licensed by negative implicature and must occur within the immediate scope of that negative implicature. Progovac (1992, 1994) proposes within GB a semantico-syntactic account for NPIs. NPIs are subject to the principle A of the Binding Theory. They are locally licensed by a polarity operator which is overtly realized in negative sentences. The polarity operator is covert in sentences other than negatives and is licensed in the COMP position of non-upward entailing clauses. When the language displays non-local (= long distance) NPIs, these NPIs raise at the Logical Form to be bound locally by the operator. In this work, NPIs are quantifiers associated with non-referentiality. In the Givenness Hierarchy proposed for Breton (see (18) section 3.1), NPIs are considered as type-identifiables which depend on the irrealis modality for their interpretation, that is negation, questions, conditionals, etc. In that, I follow Givón (1984). Furthermore, the relationship between referentiality and negation has been studied with respect to the determiner system, for example Givón (1984) for English, or with respect to the case system, for example Babby (1980) for Russian, Lisaukas (1976) for Lithuanian, or Moravscik (1978) for a typological perspective. However, no attempt has been made to relate these various phenomena.

In this section I will provide a unified account of these phenomena within the theoretical approach presented in section one.

4.2.1. Negation and Quantification

Givón (1984:331) notes that under the scope of the irrealis modality, noun arguments may receive a non-referential interpretation. Thus a three-way contrast is obtained, as shown in (35).

- (35) a. *Mary was looking for the book.*
 b. *Mary was looking for a book she lost yesterday.*
 c. *Mary was looking for a book to read.*

In (35)a., the nominal *book* gets a referential definite interpretation as indicated by the definite article *the*. In (35)b., *book* gets a referential indefinite interpretation, where *book* represents a specific entity. And in (35)c., *book* gets a non-referential interpretation where no book in particular is targeted. However, when the sentences under the scope of the realis or irrealis modality are negated, the referential indefinite interpretation is no longer available (op. cit. p 332), thus (35)b. does not have a negative counterpart. Let us call this a constraint on the referential interpretation of indefinites formulated in (36).

- (36) **Constraint on the Referential Interpretation of Indefinites (CRII)**
In the scope of negation, indefinites are interpreted as non-referential.

I take this constraint to be relevant for quantifiers, as seen in (33) and (34) for French and English and for the marking of nominal arguments (see section 4.2.2). However, quantifier scope may interact with negation scope. Co-occurrence restrictions may thus apply, as will be demonstrated next for Breton.

Thus, a sentence like *I didn't see a car in the street* can only mean *I saw no car in the street* as opposed to *there is a specific car and I didn't see it in the street*. In Breton, we also find referential indefinites either marked by the indefinite article *ur/un* 'a/an' in the singular, as in (37)a., or unmarked in the plural, as seen in (37)b. and c.

- (37)a. Hennen e zalhé un dachennig ér vorh.
 this.one PRT hold.IPF a lot.DIM in.the village
 'This one held a small lot in the village.' (Guilloux 1992:165)
- b. Unan anehé e stleijé pousined ar hé léh.
 one of.3P PRT drag.IPF baby.chicken after.3SF
 'One of them dragged baby-chicken after it.' (op. cit. p 172)
- c. Taulenneu liùet e zisko un nebed ag er mirakleu
 tableaux colored PRT show.PRS a few of the miracles
 'Paintings show some of the miracles'

groeit get St. Izidor.
 made by St Izidor
made by St Izidor.

(op. cit. p 28)

According to our approach, we should expect that, in Breton negative sentences, indefinites are interpreted as non-referential, as seen in (38)a. for a direct object and (38)b. and c. for subjects.

(38)a. N' em es guelet ur voutheilhad guin ér gér.
 NEG 1S have.PRS seen a bottle wine in.the house
'I have not seen a bottle of wine at home.' (op. cit. p 133)

b. Eitein-me ne oé ket léhieu bourrusoh.
 for.1S-1S NEG be.PST NEG places enjoyable.COMP
'As for me, there were no places more enjoyable.' (op. cit. p 63)

c. Ne vezé ket kleuet ur gelionen.
 NEG be.HAB.IPF NEG heard a fly.
'No fly was heard (i.e. no noise was heard).' (op. cit. p 47)

Although bottles of wine and enjoyable places and flies exist in the Breton world, their referents are denied in the above context.

To sum up, indefinite NPs are interpreted as non-referential in the scope of negation in Breton.

4.2.1.1. NPIs and Neutralization of Universal/Existential Quantification

Breton has a set of quantifiers, *peb* 'every', the universal quantifier, *un X bennak* 'some', the existential quantifier, and *erbet* 'any', a type-identifiable quantifier or NPI. As noted by Schapansky (1991), in Celtic, when *everyone not* means *no one*, then the equivalent of *no one* is used and when *not someone* means *no one* then the equivalent of *no one* is used as well. Thus the universal quantifier with a wide scope reading, and the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading do not appear in negative sentences. They are replaced by NPIs, since English *no one* does not have a Celtic counterpart. Thus, in

Breton, the universal quantifier *peb* ‘every’ is replaced by the NPI *erbet* ‘any’ in negative sentences, as shown in (39).

- (39)a. D h   helle peb unan kleuet er hlehier.
yesterday PRT can.IPF everyone hear.INF the bells
‘Yesterday, everyone could hear the bells.’
- b.*D h ne helle ket peb unan kleuet er hlehier.
yesterday NEG can.IPF NEG everyone hear.INF the bells
‘Yesterday, everyone couldn’t hear the bells.’
- c.*Peb unan ne helle ket kleuet er hlehier.
everyone NEG can.IPF NEG hear.INF the bells
‘Everyone couldn’t hear the bells.’
- d. D n erbet ne helle ket kleuet er hlehier.
man any NEG can.IPF NEG hear.INF the bells
‘No one could hear the bells.’

The fact that the universal quantifier *peb unan* ‘everyone’ with a wide scope reading cannot appear after the negated verb in (39)b. nor before the negative particle in (39)c. suggests that it cannot receive a non-referential interpretation. Therefore, it is replaced by the non-referential quantifier *d n erbet* ‘anyone’, as in (39)d. Similar phenomena are observed for the existential quantifier *unan bennak* ‘someone’, as in (40).

- (40)a. Guelet em es unan bennak.
seen 1S have.PRS one some
‘I saw someone.’
- b.*N’ em es ket guelet unan bennak.
NEG 1S have.PRS NEG seen one some
*‘I did not see someone.’
- c.*Unan bennak n’ em es ket guelet.
one some NEG 1S have.PRS NEG seen
*‘I didn’t see someone.’
- d. N’ em es ket guelet d n erbet
NEG 1S have.PRS NEG seen man any
‘I didn’t see anyone.’

In (40), the existential quantifier *unan bennak* ‘someone’ is not allowed after the negated verb, as in (40)b., nor before the negative particle, as in (40)c. In contrast, the non-

referential quantifier *dén erbet* ‘anyone’ is allowed after the negated verb, as in (40)d. How can we explain the fact that the universal quantifier with a wide scope reading and the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading are replaced in negative sentences by NPIs? In Breton, both the universal quantifier with a wide scope reading and the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading are perceived as indefinite quantifiers in the scope of negation. Thus they are replaced by non-referential counterparts, as suggested by the CRII if the CRII applies to quantifiers. However, this analysis creates a problem.

As observed when comparing (39)d. with (40)d., the distribution of the NPI *dén erbet* ‘anyone’ appears to be subject to occurrence restrictions according to whether it is the subject or the object of the sentence. As subject, *dén erbet* tends to occur in preverbal position, as in (39)d. As object, *dén erbet* tends to occur in postverbal position, as in (40)d. How can we explain the contrast in the distributional properties of subject-NPIs and object-NPI? Schapansky (1991) proposes a semantic constraint, the *Empty Subject Set Constraint* (ESSC) defined as, *in a negative sentence, the set of subjects must be non-null*. This relates to the notion of presupposition. When the subject-NPI is presupposed, a set of entities which it quantifies over has already been established in the discourse context. In this sense presupposed subjects are referential. In this case, the subject-NPI in (39)d. does not represent an empty set but indicates that the event or action described by the predicate cannot be initiated by any member of the presupposed set. In order to be interpreted as presupposed, the subject-NPI tends to occur in preverbal position, where it is left-dislocated and thus can be coindexed with the personal morpheme bound to the verb, as shown in (41).

- (41) Dén erbet_i nen dehè_i ket gellet kavoued é boued.
 man any NEG.3S have.COND NEG could find.INF 3SM food
 ‘Nobody would have been able to find his food.’ (Jaffré 1986:176)

Since the preverbal subject-NPI is left-dislocated, it appears in the external position, the position associated with presupposition. This is further supported by the fact that non-presupposed subjects appear in postverbal position, as evidenced in (42).

- (42)a. Ne oé ket ti-post erbet é Melrand.
 NEG be.PST NEG house-post any in Melran
'There wasn't any post-office in Melran.' (Guilloux 1992:53)
- b. Hemb ma vehé bet fondet blank erbet.
 without that be.COND been spent blank any
'Without any nickel having been spent.' (op. cit. p 20)
- c. Ne oé ket tam bara erbet geté.
 NEG be.PST NEG piece bread any with.3P
'They didn't have any piece of bread.' (op. cit. p 72)
- d. Betak nezé ne oé ket arriù droug erbet genein.
 until then NEG be.PST ket arrived harm any with.1S
'Until then, I didn't get hurt at all.' (op. cit. p 36)

In (42)a., we have the subject of an existential sentence, in (42)b. the subject of a passive sentence, in (42)c. the subject of a possessive-locative sentence, and in (42)d. the subject of a state predicate. In these sentences, the subject is not presupposed. Hence, the subject-NPI represents here an empty set, and thus is not presupposed. To be interpreted non-referentially, the subject-NPI occurs in postverbal position, in accordance with the Referentiality Constraint (REC II) (cf. section 3.2).

Similar phenomena are observed for another NPI, *hañni (hani)* 'anyone', as shown in (43).

- (43)a. Hani nen des gellet kavout er housket.
 anyone NEG.3S have.PRS could find.INF the sleep.
'No one was able to sleep.' (Jaffré 1986:46)
- b. Ha biskoah hañni ahanomb nen dé bet hoantus...
 and never anyone of.1P NEG be.PRS.3S been envious
'And never has anyone of us been envious...' (op. cit. p 133)
- c. Ne vehé ket bet tapet hañni.
 NEG be.COND NEG been caught anyone
'No one would be caught.' (Guilloux 1992:143)

- d. Ne garé ket hañni gober er labour poenius-sé.
 NEG like.IPF NEG anyone do.INF the work painful-DEM
'No one likes to do that painful job.' (Guilloux 1992:255)

When *hañni (hani)* is presupposed, it occurs in preverbal position, as in (43)a. and b.

When *hañni (hani)* is not presupposed, it occurs in postverbal position, as in (43)c. and d.

Further evidence that non-presupposed subjects occur in postverbal position is provided below.

- (44) Er gelionenn-se ne dapo ket dluzhenn erbet.
 the fly-DEM NEG catch.FUT NEG trout any
'Lit.: That fly, no trout will catch.' (Ar Mason 1986:55)

The sentence in (44) shows how the Referentiality Constraint (REC I) formulated in (30) section 3.1 applies to negative sentences as well. The preverbal NP *er gelionenn-se* 'that fly' is the preverbal object while the postverbal NP *dluzhenn erbet* 'any trout' is the subject. The literal meaning of the sentence is *That fly, no trout will catch* while the intended meaning is *That girl, no man will have*. Following GHZ (1993), *er gelionenn-se* 'that fly' is an activated topic while *dluzhenn erbet* 'any trout' is a type-identifiable, where no particular referent is intended by the speaker.

There also appears to be a constraint on the position of objects quantified by NPIs (hereafter object-NPIs). They normally appear in postverbal position, as in (45).

- (45)a. Ne zoujent ket den.
 NEG fear.IPF.3P NEG man
'They didn't fear anybody.' (op. cit. p 216)
- b. Ne gaven mui harp erbet breman a-berzh Jili.
 NEG find.IPF.1S more help any now from Jili
'Now, I didn't find any more help from Jili.' (Ar Mason 1986:56)
- c. N' em boé goulennet nitra get hañni.
 NEG 1S have.PST asked anything with anyone
'I did not ask anyone anything.' (Guilloux 1992:191)

Nevertheless, preverbal object-NPIs are allowed if they have an emphatic focus reading, as seen in (46).

- (46)a. Fusulhenn erbet n' em boe.
 rifle any NEG 1S have.PST
 'No rifle, I had.' (Jaffré 1986:88)
- b. Mes reskond erbet n' ou des bet biskoah geton.
 but response any NEG 3P have.PRS been never with.3SM
 'But they never got any response from him.' (Guilloux 1992:29)
- c. Nitra n' em boé de houlen get hañni.
 anything NEG 1S have.PST to ask.INF with anyone
 'Nothing I asked to no one.' (op. cit. p 189)

The sentence in (46)c. provides a nice contrast with sentence (45)c. Preverbal object-NPIs are, in principle, avoided. A pragmatic constraint seems to be at work. Since objects are normally part of the assertion, they appear in postverbal position in negative sentences. When the object is a NPI, it is interpreted non-referentially and is subject to the REC II.

These examples discussed so far are crucial to establishing the scope of negation in Breton. If non-presupposed NPIs occur in postverbal position, they appear in the syntactic scope of negation, which is determined by the predicate domain. If NPIs can occur in preverbal position, they appear in the semantic scope of negation. If we take the CR II, a semantic rule, to apply to quantifiers, it can explain the fact that NPIs can occur preverbally in Breton unlike in English, but only if the semantic scope of negation includes the preverbal positions in Breton. If presupposed NPIs occur in the external position, then this position is not included in the pragmatic scope of negation. Although NPIs are non-referring expressions, presupposed NPIs quantify over sets of entities which have been established in the discourse context. Hence the only position where they can get a presupposition reading is in the external position, the position associated with presupposition.

The different scope of negation can be represented as (47).

(47) *Scope of Negation*

Preverbal Positions		NEG	Postverbal Position
external presupposition	medial emphatic focus		non-presupposition
		<u>syntactic scope</u>	
<u>semantic scope</u>		<u>pragmatic scope</u>	

The distributional pattern of the NPI *nitra* ‘anything’ differs from that of *dén (erbet)* ‘anybody’ or *hañni* ‘anyone’. As object, it occurs mostly in postverbal position unless marked for emphasis, as seen by the minimal pair of sentences (46)c. and (47). As subject, it is found only with subjects of state predicates and can occur preverbally or postverbally, as illustrated in (48).

- (48)a. Ne oé ket nitra.
NEG be.PST NEG anything.
‘It was nothing.’ (op. cit. p 162)
- b. Nitra ne oé d’ ober.
anything NEG be.PST to do.INF
‘There was nothing to do.’ (op. cit. p 35)
- c. Nitra e oé ou kulet én devalen.
nothing PRT be.PST 3P see.INF in.the descent
‘It was nothing to see them going downhill.’ (op. cit. p 45)

When *nitra* occurs preverbally, it may acquire a negative interpretation, as seen in (49)c. by the absence of the negative particle *ne* and the presence of the positive counterpart *e*. *Nitra* is a reduced form of **nep tra* ‘nothing’, with *nep* the old negated quantifier coming from IE **nekwe*. *Nep* is a NPI in modern Breton. However, it is no longer used with human arguments in Gwenedeg, where it is replaced by *dén (erbet)* or *hañni*, as seen above. The form *nitra* is still used with inanimate arguments and may preserve its negative meaning sentence initially only. Similarly, the NPIs *dén (erbet)* and *hañni* came to acquire a negative

meaning and may be found sentence initially without the negative circumlocution *ne... ket*, as evidenced in (49).

- (49)a. Hañni en des gouïet a-oudé ma ou doé kavet mat en tri deloh.
 no one3S have.PRS known since that 3P have.PST found goodthe three trouts
 'No one knew since if they liked the three trout.' (op. cit. p 94)
- b. Den oa kotät de vonet d' er brezel.
 nobody be.PST happy to go.INF to the war
 'Nobody was happy to go to the war.' (Corne 1991:4)

Other NPIs are found uniquely in postverbal position: *ur bram* 'a fart' in (50)a., *grik* 'word' in (50)b., *gir* 'word' in (50)c., and *tam* 'piece' in (50)d.

- (50)a. Get pehedeu ne dalent ket ur bram.
 with sins NEG be.worth.IPF.3P NEG a fart
 'With sins which were not worth a fart .' (Guilloux 1992:91)
- b. Ne vezé kleuet grik erbet.
 NEG be.HAB.IPF heard word any
 'No word was heard.' (op. cit. p 120)
- c. Ne laran ket gir.
 NEG say.PRS.1S NEG word
 'I don't say a word/cf. *F je ne dis mot.*'
- d. Ne oé ket tam tan erbet.
 NEG be.PST NEG piece fire any
 'There was no fire at all.' (op. cit. p 119)

Note that these NPIs can be doubled by *erbet*. The NPIs *bram* 'fart', *grik* 'word', *gir* 'word', and *tam* 'piece' have a nominal origin and are still used as independent nouns while *erbet* 'in the world' has a prepositional origin (see Schapansky 1994a).

To sum up, Gwenedeg presents a three-way contrast with respect to NPIs and referentiality:

- i- Subject-NPIs which are presupposed must occur preverbally
- ii- Subject-NPIs which are not presupposed must occur postverbally
- iii- Object-NPIs, which are asserted, must occur postverbally unless marked for emphatic focus

Therefore, in Breton, there is a causal relation between preverbal position and presupposition, and postverbal position and assertion. The distribution of NPIs also interacts with the REC II and Breton sentence structure.

4.2.1.2. *Non-Neutralized Quantification*

The universal quantifier *pep* ‘every’ with a narrow scope reading ‘not everyone’ is allowed to appear in negative sentences, as seen in (51).

(51)a. Mes pep tra n’ en des ket kollet
 but everything NEG 3S have.PRS NEG lost
 ‘But not everything has lost

 ag er péh en des groeit dein.
 of the piece 3S have.PRS done to.1S
 their meaningfulness for me.’

(Guilloux 1992: 267)

b. Ne oé ket hoah peb unan.
 NEG be.PST.3S NEG yet everyone
 ‘It was not yet everyone.’

(op. cit. p 90)

In (51), the universal quantifier with a narrow scope reading is allowed to appear preverbally, as in (51)a., or postverbally, as in (51)b. This suggests that *pep tra* in (51)a. and *peb unan* in (51)b. quantify over a set of entities which has been established in the discourse context and negation indicates that a subset of entities did not take part in the event in (51)a. and that a subset of entities was not concerned with something in (51)b.

The existential quantifier *un bennak* ‘someone’ with a wide scope reading is allowed to appear in negative sentences. In this case it appears preverbally, as shown in (52).

(52) Unan bennak n’ en des ket kavet é choéj.
 one some NEG 3S have.PRS NEG found 3SM choice
 ‘Someone didn’t find his choice.’

(Jaffré 1986:218)

In this case, the speaker intends to refer to a particular person. In the context of (52), a set of young men and women dating each other is established in the discourse. Almost everyone found a partner with the exception of one person. Hence *unan bennak* quantifies

over a subset of entities that is presupposed. The only place it can be interpreted referentially is in the external position, the position associated with presupposition.

We also find examples of a narrow scope existential quantifier appearing after the negated verb, as in (53).

- (53)a. Ne vezé ket prizet un arrest benak epad er labour.
 NEG be.HAB.IPF NEG appreciated a pause some during the work
 'Breaks were not welcome during the work.' (Guilloux 1992:180)
- b. Biskoah n' em es ket kavet unan benak a ré er Saus àr me hent.
 never NEG 1S have.PRS NEG found some one of those Le Sauce on my way
 'Never, I found someone of the Le Sauce on my way.' (op. cit. p 162)

These sentences create a problem for our claim that in the scope of negation the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading is replaced by a non-referential NPI. One possible explanation is that *un X bennak* is not in the scope of negation but in the scope of the following phrase *epad er labour* in (53)a. and *a ré er Saus* in (53)b. In the context of (53)a, a combine was rented collectively by farmers during the harvest. Workers had no control over the machine and had to keep up with the mechanical rhythm. Thus, no one could take a break, not even a five-minute one, while the machine was working. In contrast, when the harvest was done manually, people could take breaks, have a glass of cider, throw a joke or two. Therefore, the work in (53)a. refers to a highly specific type of work and *un arrest benak* 'some break' is in its scope. In the context of (53)b., the narrator whose parents shared an attic with the Le Sauce, went in the attic to fetch wood. Each time he did it, he took two or three apples of the Le Sauce without being ever seen by one of them. Here as well, *unan benak* 'someone' is in the scope of the modifier and refers to any member of the family le Sauce.

When the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading is no longer in the scope of its modifier, it gets a wide scope reading, as evidenced in (54).

(54)a. Un arrest benak ne vezé ket prizet epad er labour.
 a pause some NEG 1S have.PRS NEG found during the work
'Some break was not welcome during the work.'

b. Unan benak n' em es ket kavet ag ré er Saus
 some one NEG 1S have.PRS NEG found of people Le Saux
 biskoah àr me hent.
 never on my way

'I never found someone of the Le Sauce family on my way.'

Sentence (54)a. means that there is a specific kind of break which was not allowed during the work. Sentence (54)b. means that there is a specific member of the Le Sauce family that the narrator never saw on his way. Hence the existential quantifier in (54)a. and b. gets a referential interpretation in its wide scope reading.

To sum up, the universal quantifier with wide scope reading and the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading are replaced in negative sentences by non-referential NPIs. The distribution of NPIs is subject to word order restrictions according to whether they are presupposed, thus appearing in preverbal position, or non-presupposed, thus appearing in postverbal position. In contrast, the universal quantifier with a narrow scope reading and the existential quantifier with a wide scope reading are allowed to appear in negative sentences.

4.2.2. Referentiality, Negation, and AG-NPs

Referentiality effects associated with negation are also observed with respect to the marking of nominal arguments. As seen in the preceding chapter section 3.2, Breton preposition *ag* 'of, from', is used to indicate the non-referentiality of subjects of state predicates and objects. As seen in section 4.1.2.2.2, the partitive case in Finnish is used to indicate the non-referentiality of subjects of state predicates and objects in negative

sentences. In languages which do not have a rich case system, a preposition is used to achieve the same effect as the preposition *de* 'of' in French, as in (55) and (56).

- (55)a. J' ai vu des (*d) oiseaux migrants.
 I have seen INDEF-P of birds migrating-P
'I saw migrating birds.'
- b. Je n' ai pas vu (*des) d' oiseaux migrants.
 I NEG have NEG seen INDEF-P of birds migrating-P
'I did not see migrating birds.'
- (56)a. Il est venu du (*de) monde.
 It is come INDEF.S.M of people
'People came.'
- b. Il n' est pas venu (*du) de monde.
 it NEG is NEG come INDEF.S.M of people
'People did not come.'

In (55), we have a regular transitive sentence, while, in (56), we have an existential sentence. In affirmative sentences, only the indefinite article *des*, as in (55)a. or *du*, as in (56)a. can appear. In this case, the NP gets a referential interpretation in the sense of GHZ (1993). In negative sentences, only *de* 'of' can appear, as in (55)b and (56)b. In this case, the NP gets a non-referential interpretation.

Furthermore, subjects of event predicates cannot follow *de*, as in (57), nor can subjects of state predicates not involved in an existential construction, as in (58).

- (57)a. Des (*d') oiseaux migrants ont survolé le pays.
 INDEF.P of birds migrating.P have.P flown.over the country
'Some migrating birds flew over the country.'
- b. Des (*d') oiseaux migrants n' ont pas survolé le pays.
 INDEF.P of birds migrating.P NEG have.P NEG flown.over the country
'Some migrating birds didn't fly over the country.'
- (58)a. Des (*de) gens sont venus.
 INDEF.P of people are come
'Some people came.'
- b. Des (*de) gens ne sont pas venus.
 INDEF.P of people NEG are NEG come
'Some people didn't come.'

In these sentences, the subject is presupposed, hence it is not allowed to take *de* associated with non-referentiality. Note that, in French, presupposed subjects occur before the verb, as in (57) and (58), whereas non-presupposed subjects occur after it, as in (56).

We find similar phenomena in Breton with Ag-NPs, as illustrated in (59)a. and b. for subjects of state predicates, in (59)c. and d. for existentials, in (59)e. and f. for possessives/locatives, and in (59)g. and h. for passives.

- (59)a. Ne vank ket a <<rom plous>> barh en davarn-man.
 NEG lack.PRS NEG of rum excellent in the tavern-DEM
 'Excellent rum is not lacking in this tavern.' (Jaffré 1986:214)
- b. Ne chom nameit ag en delohed-sé desaùet...
 NEG stay.PRS except of the trout-DEM raised
 'There remain only those trout raised...' (Guilloux 1992:266)
- c. Hag ér broieu-sé ne oè ket a gehier-jibouésourien.
 and in.the countries-DEM NEGbe.PST.EXT NEG of cats-hunters
 'And in those countries, there were no mousers.' (Jaffré 1986:46)
- d. Ne oe ket ag er loñnedigeu-sé é ruieu er vorh.
 NEG be.PST.EXT NEG of the animals-DEM in streets the village
 'There were no such animals in the village streets.' (Guilloux 1992:184)
- e. Ne vezé ket genemb ag er hoarieu-sé.
 NEG be.HAB.IPF.3S NEG with.1P of the games-DEM
 'We didn't have those games.' (op. cit p 161)
- f. Ne vezé ket geté ag er glustreu kizellet.
 NEG be.IPF.HBT.3S NEG with.3P of the furniture chiselled
 'They had no chiselled furniture.'
- g. Ne vezé ket guelet ag er boutoneu-sé é nep léh.
 NEG be.HAB.IPF.3S NEG seen of the buttons-DEM in any place
 'Those buttons were not seen anywhere.' (op. cit. p 161)
- h. Ne vou ket mui kavet ag en tier-sé.
 NEG be.FUT.3S NEG more found of the houses-DEM
 'Those houses will no longer be found.'

However, they are not allowed to appear preverbally, as in (60).

- (60)a.* A <rom plous> ne vank ket barh er davarn-man.
 of rum excellent NEG lack.PRS.3S NEG in the tavern-DEM
 'Excellent rum is not lacking in this tavern.'

- b.* Nameit ag en delohed-sé ne chom desaùet...
 except of the trout-DEM NEG stay.PRS raised
'There remains only those trout raised...'
- c.* A gehier-jibouésourien ne oè ket ér broieu-sé.
 of cats-hunters NEG be.PST.3S NEG in.the countries-DEM
'There were no mousers in those countries.'
- d.* Ag er loñnedigeu-sé ne oe ket é ruieu er vorh.
 of the animals-DEM NEG be.PST.EXT NEG in streets the village
'There were no such animals in the village streets.'
- e.* Ag er hoarieu-sé ne vezé ket genemb.
 of the games-DEM NEG be.HAB.IPF.3S NEG with.1P
'We didn't have those games.'
- f.* Ag er glustreu kizellet. ne vezé ket geté.
 of the furniture chiselled NEG be.IPF.HBT.3S NEG with.3P
'They had no chiselled furniture.'
- g.* Ag er boutoneu-sé ne vezé ket guelet é nep léh.
 of the buttons-DEM NEG be.HAB.IPF.3S NEG seen in any place
'Those buttons were not seen anywhere.'
- h.* Ag en tier-sé ne vou ket mui kavet.
 of the houses-DEM NEG be.FUT.3S NEG more found
'Those houses will no longer be found.'

Here as well, the Referentiality Constraint on the preverbal position provides an explanation for the impossibility of the sentences in (60). Subjects of state predicates taking the preposition *ag* associated with non-referentiality cannot appear preverbally. The same is true for objects, as exemplified in (61).

- (61)a. Ne huerhamb ket anehé.
 NEG sell.PRS.1P NEG of.3P
'We don't sell any of them.' (Guilloux 1992:64)
- b. N' em es ket guelet ag er boutoneu-sé é nep léh.
 NEG 1S have.PRS NEG seen of the buttons-DEM in any place
'I didn't see any of those buttons anywhere.'
- c. N' en des ket kollet er gouilieu-sé ag ou braùité.
 NEG 3S have PRS NEG lost the festivities-DEM of 3P beauty
'Those festivities didn't lose any of their beauty.'

They are allowed to appear after the negated verb but not before the negative particle, as shown in (62).

- (62)a.* Anehé ne huerhamb ket.
of.3P NEG sell.PRS.1P NEG
'We don't sell them.'
- b.* Ag er boutoneu-sé n' em es ket guelet é nep léh.
of the buttons-DEM NEG 1S have.PRS NEG seen in any place
'I didn't see those buttons anywhere.'
- c.* Ag ou braùité n' en des ket kollet er gouilieu-sé.
of 3P beauty NEG 3S have.PRS NEG lost the festivities-DEM
'Those festivities didn't lose their beauty.'

Subjects of event predicates cannot follow *ag* either in postverbal position, as in (63)a. or in preverbal position as seen in (63)b.

- (63)a. Ne zant ket (*ag) ur hi bihan.
NEG bite.PRS NEG of a dog small
'A small dog doesn't bite.'
- b. (*Ag) ur hi bihan ne zant ket.
of a dog small NEG bite.PRS.3S NEG
'A small dog doesn't bite.'

The notion of presupposition seems to account for this fact. It seems that subjects of event predicates are always presupposed, hence they are referential, and therefore, they cannot be marked by *ag*.

One problem remains to be solved. Although Ag-NPs are non-referential, they should be able to appear in preverbal position as foci such as object-NPIs do, since preverbal NPs do not serve to bind the predicate domain in negative sentences. The REC II accounts for the difference between NPIs and Ag-NPs. NPIs represent sets of entities well defined in the discourse context, non-null if the subject is presupposed or null if the subject is not presupposed. In contrast, Ag-NPs represent subsets which are not defined in the discourse context although the supersets are, as indicated by the demonstrative particle *sé*, appearing

in some of the above examples. Since Ag-NPs are thus unbounded, they cannot occur preverbally.

To sum up, Ag-NPs which represent subsets of entities, which are not defined in the discourse context. As such they are subject to the REC II and cannot appear in preverbal position.

4.3. NEGATION AND REFERENTIALITY: MARKEDNESS AND ASYMMETRY

This section provides an account of the markedness of sentence negation. As seen in chapter one, the markedness of sentence negation cannot be equated with syntactic markedness or formal marking (cf. Battistella 1990). Formal marking represents only one aspect of a more complex system involving morphosyntax, semantics and pragmatics. As pointed out by Givón (1978b:103), when two items exhibit a binary property (such as affirmation and negation), it is difficult to ascertain which item is marked by the presence of the property, and which item is marked by the absence of the property. From a morphosyntactic point of view, we have seen that, in Breton, negation interacts with the V2 Requirement defined as saturation of the predicate domain, and the availability of the preverbal positions. From a semantic point of view, sentence negation changes the aspectual behavior of event predicates, yielding a stative or unbounded situations reading for those predicates. Furthermore, the irrealis modality associated with sentence negation is responsible for the Constraint on the Referential Interpretation of Indefinites. We can thus claim that sentence negation as a marked phenomenon affects the word order of sentences, the aspectual behavior of event predicates and the referentiality of NPs. Other aspects of sentence negation involve pragmatics.

4.3.1. Markedness and Pragmatics

The pragmatic markedness of sentence negation relates to discourse markedness.⁵ Givón (1978b:70) considers negative speech acts as presuppositionally more marked than their affirmative counterparts. Subjects, being presupposed, are outside the scope of negation (op. cit. p 88). According to Horn (1989:201) who follows Apostel (1972), “Negative propositions are typically, but not necessarily, less informative and less specific than positive propositions...the real asymmetry is located not in the relation of negative to positive propositions, but in the relation of (speaker) denials to assertions”. When negation is not used to deny a proposition but rather to achieve certain affects, it is called metalinguistic negation. Since metalinguistic negation is not used to deny a proposition, it constitutes a marked kind of negation.

4.3.1.1. *Presupposition*

According to Horn (1989:203), affirmation serves to introduce new propositions into the discourse, while negation is directed at propositions already mentioned in the discourse. This view is shared by Givón (1984:324) who assumes that a negative declarative speech act normally does not add new information about the verb, subject, object(s), or other participants. Payne (1985:199) makes a similar statement. Negative sentences are most frequently used to deny propositions which are contextually given rather than introduce a new proposition. If only the asserted part of the proposition is denied while the presupposition remains outside the scope of negation, then presupposed subjects are outside the pragmatic scope of negation. Hence, they cannot be negated.

4.3.1.2. *Subjects and Negated Quantifiers*

This apparent conclusion seems to contradict our claim that negation of the subject (or initiator) is a possible type of negation in natural language (see section 4.1.2.2.1). If the

⁵ This term is borrowed from Horn (1989:199).

idea of presupposed subjects can predict that a sentence like **anyone did not come* is not possible in English, it fails to predict that a sentence like *no one came* in English is perfectly grammatical. The obvious way out is to claim that negation in *no one came* has sentential scope. Therefore, the proposition as a whole is denied and not only the predicate. This is the view adopted by Givón (1978b:87) in distinguishing internal from external negation. When negation bears only on the predicate, we have internal negation, the most common across languages. When negation bears on the proposition, we have external negation, as illustrated in (65).

(65) *The king of France is not bald.*

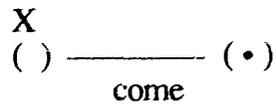
In (65), negation is ambiguous between internal and external negation. Under internal negation, only the predicate *is bald* is denied. Therefore the existence of the subject *the king of France* is presupposed. What the sentence means then is that there is a king of France but he is not bald. Under external negation, the proposition as a whole is denied. That is, the existence of the king of France is not presupposed (if France is a republic), hence negation has sentential scope.

According to Givón (1978b:88-7), although external negation suspends the referentiality of subjects it nevertheless retains the discourse presupposition associated with negation. However, the question remains as to whether *no one* in *no one came* is or is not presupposed. This sentence is ambiguous between two interpretations: a) there is a set of Xs such that no x came; b) there is no x such that x came. This ambiguity is not predicted by the idea that subjects are always presupposed. In our account, a) and b) have two different representations, as shown in (66).

(66)a. *no one came* : there is a set of Xs such that no x came

$$\begin{array}{c} X \\ \bullet \text{-----} (\bullet) \\ \text{come} \end{array}$$

b. *no one came* : there is no x such that x came



When the existence of X is presupposed, the initiator X is realized as an arc-linking node, as in (66)a. However, when the existence of X is not presupposed the initiator X is not realized as an arc-linking node, as in (66)b. Thus, type I negation corresponds here to a subject that is not presupposed, that is, that has no referent. Although English offers little evidence, other languages such as Breton, which present a greater flexibility of word order, can overtly express the difference between presupposed and non-presupposed subjects. As seen in section 4.2.1.1, subject-NPIs which are not presupposed occur after the negated verb, like object-NPIs do, and unlike subject-NPIs which are presupposed, and which occur in preverbal position. Further evidence comes from the distribution of nominal arguments marked by non-referring *ag* in Breton. As seen in section 4.2.2.2, subjects of event predicates never take non-referring *ag* whereas subjects of state predicates do when they are not presupposed like objects, but they must occur after the negated verb. Similar phenomena are observed in Finnish and Russian.

In Finnish, when subjects of state predicates are presupposed, they take the nominative case, as seen in (67).

(67) Auto ei ole kadulla.
 car.NOM NEG.3S be.PRS.3S street.LOC
 'The car is not in the street.' (Karlsson 1981:79)

What sentence (67) means is that there is a car but the car is not in the street. This contrasts with sentence (6)b. where the existence of the car is not presupposed, hence *car* takes the partitive case. Similar phenomena are observed with NPIs, as shown in (68).

(68)a. Ke/i/kään ei ole näkynyt.
 anyone.PART.P NEG.3S be.PRS.3S to.be.seen
 'No one was to be seen.' (op. cit. p 125)

- b. Kukaan ei usko minua.
 anyone.NCM.S NEG.3S believe.PRS.3S 1S
'No one believes me.'

(op. cit.)

In (68)a., the existence of a group of persons is not presupposed, hence the NPI *kei/kään* 'anyone' takes the partitive case. This contrasts with the NPI *kukaan* 'anyone' in (68)b. which takes the nominative case. Hence it indicates that the existence of a group of persons is presupposed.

Similar observations can be made for Russian, as shown in (69).

- (69)a. Ni odnoj sobaki ne pokazalos'.
 NEG single dog.GEN.F.S NEG appeared.N.S.
'Not a single dog appeared.'

(Babby 1980:6)

- b. Sobaka bol'se ne pokazalas'.
 dog.NOM.F.S. again NEG appeared.F.S.
'The dog did not appear again.'

(op. cit.)

When subjects of state predicates are not presupposed, they take the genitive case. The verb displays agreement with the neuter gender and not with the gender and number of the subject, as seen in (69)a. where *dog* is feminine. When subjects of state predicates are presupposed, they take the nominative case and the verb agrees in gender and number with the subject, as in (69)b.

To sum up, under external negation the entire proposition is denied. Hence, the presupposition of the subject is suspended. Under internal negation the predicate is negated. Hence the presupposition of the subject is retained. Furthermore, the distinction presupposition versus non-presupposition can account for the distribution of cases, nominative versus partitive in Finnish, nominative versus genitive in Russian. It can also account for the distribution of NPs in Breton, unmarked NPs versus NPs marked by AG.

4.3.1.3. *Metalinguistic Negation*

According to Horn (1989:392), “whenever negation is used metalinguistically to deny the appropriateness of using a predicate which would yield a true but misleading assertion (one which would induce false conventional or conversational implicata), it operates, in effect, on another level from that of the rest of the clause in which it is superficially situated”. This leads Horn (op. cit. p 397) to conclude that “because metalinguistic negation does not operate at the same rhetorical or grammatical level as the clause in which it occurs, it will fail to display those traits which are characteristic of the more fully integrated object-level negator”. These traits, according to Horn, are incorporation of negation, triggering of NPIs, and the conjunction *but* used in concessives.

If we analyse metalinguistic negation as not suspensive in that it does not affect the aspect of event predicates, it does not affect the referential interpretation of indefinites under its scope, and does not change the polarity of a sentence, we can explain the fact that metalinguistic negation will fail to incorporate, will fail to trigger NPIs and will not occur with concessive *but*. Let us consider first the first trait of metalinguistic negation, its failure to incorporate.

4.3.1.3.1. *Metalinguistic Negation and Polarity*

Horn (op. cit.) provides three tests to diagnose metalinguistic negation. The first test is the failure of metalinguistic negation to incorporate (into a word), as illustrated in (70).

- (70)a. *The Queen of England is not happy- she is ecstatic.*
b.* *The Queen of England is unhappy- she is ecstatic.*
c. *It is not possible for you to leave now- it is necessary.*
d.* *It is impossible for you to leave now- it is necessary.*

The failure of metalinguistic negation to incorporate has a semantic basis. According to Horn (op. cit.), since metalinguistic negation operates at another level from the rest of the clause in which it is situated, the metalinguistic operator cannot incorporate

morphologically as the *un-* or *In-* prefix, as opposed to negatives which involve ordinary, truth-functional uses of the negation. If we admit that metalinguistic negation is not suspensive, then we can explain the difference between (70)a. and b. and (70)c. and d. Lexical negation, a particular instance of suspensive negation, affects the polarity of the predicate in that *ecstatic* in (70)b. and *necessary* in (70)d. are disallowed in the reassertion component. Since metalinguistic negation does not change the polarity of a sentence, it cannot be used with the polarity changing lexical negation. Therefore, it cannot incorporate. When a concept like negation is lexicalized, it cannot be used for other purposes than the ones for which it has been lexicalized. Its uses are fixed once and for all.

4.3.1.3.2. *Metalinguistic Negation and Referentiality*

The second test proposed by Horn: metalinguistic negation does not trigger NPIs, as shown in (71) (op. cit. p 398-99).

- (71)a. *Chlamydia is not “sometimes” misdiagnosed - it is frequently misdiagnosed.*
b. *You ate some mushrooms - I did not eat “some mushrooms”.*
c. *He doesn’t have “some assets” hidden away.*

In these examples, *some* appears in the scope of metalinguistic negation. Horn (op. cit. p 392) suggests that because metalinguistic negation operates at another level from the clause in which it appears, it cannot trigger NPIs. In our terms, metalinguistic negation is not suspensive in that it does not affect the referential interpretation of indefinites under its scope. Hence, the CRII is not relevant since metalinguistic negation is not associated with the irrealis modality, unlike suspensive negation.

In Breton we find a few examples of the universal quantifier with a wide scope reading and the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading in the scope of negation. This, as seen earlier, should not be allowed. Let us consider first the universal quantifier.

- (72) Ha pep familh n' en doe ket unan kar soudar ér reter?
 and every family NEG 3S have.PST NEG one relative soldier in.the orient
 'And isn't it the case that every family has a relative soldier in the orient (war)?'
 (Guilloux 1992:258)

In (72) the universal quantifier *pep familh* 'every family' has a wide scope reading. This is best seen in the French translation *et chaque famille n'a-t-elle pas un parent soldat à la guerre?* where *chaque famille* 'every family' has scope over negation. The intended meaning is that every family has a relative soldier in the war. Thus, if *pep familh* 'every family' has a wide scope reading, it should be replaced by the non-referential counterpart *familh erbet* 'any family'. This creates a problem for our claim that in Breton the universal quantifier with a wide scope reading is replaced by a NPI in negative sentences. This can be explained only if we admit that the sentence is in the scope of two irrealis modalities, interrogation and negation. It seems that the presence of these two irrealis plays a role in allowing the universal quantifier with a wide scope reading to appear preverbally and keep its wide scope reading. The universal quantifier with a wide scope reading in negative sentences is associated with a metalinguistic use of negation. Interro-negation is used here not to seek a yes or no answer, but to make an assertion, the question coming at the end of a long descriptive paragraph about the war. Bretons died by the hundreds and every family, having a father, brother or cousin on the front, was affected by the war (WWI).

The existential quantifier also is allowed to appear in postverbal position, as illustrated in (73).

- (73)a. Ma ne oé staget ur jaù benak doh en ti.
 if NEG be.PST attached a horse some from the house
 'If some horse was not attached to the house.' (op. cit. p 58)
- b. Mar ne oé en dro d'ur penher, ur paizant benak.
 if NEG be.PST around to a farm a farmer some
 'If there was not, near a hamlet, some farmer.' (op. cit. p 188)
- c. Ma ne zehé ket unan benak.
 if NEG come.COND NEG one some
 'If someone would not come.' (op. cit. p 195)

The existential quantifier *un...bennak* ‘someone’ with a narrow scope reading is normally replaced by a non-referential NPI in the scope of negation. This creates a problem for our claim that the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading is replaced by a NPI in negative sentences. Again, this can be explained only if we admit that these sentences are in the scope of metalinguistic negation. Note that here as well, the existential quantifier is in the scope of two irrealis modalities, one expressed by negation and one expressed by the irrealis particles, *ma* ‘if’ in (73)a. and c. and *mar* ‘if’ in (73)b. Therefore, it seems that, here as well, the presence of two irrealis modalities in the same clause plays a role in allowing the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading to acquire a non-referential interpretation. In the context of (73)a., one could recognize the nearness of a blacksmith shop by the smell of fresh horse droppings, if there were no droppings on the ground, then a horse, attached to the shop, was dropping, getting impatient to be taken by the blacksmith to get new horseshoes. In the context of (73)b., the narrator and his father went fishing very early in the morning. To get to the river, they were crossing empty fields. If the fields were not deserted, then a farmer was out working near his farm. In the context of (73)c., people were fishing illegally. Someone was charged to see if a representative of the law, in one of his rounds of inspections, was coming. In all cases, the identity of the horse, farmer, or inspector is not revealed, since these sentences represent recurrent states of affairs, hence the non-referential interpretation of the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading. Negation is used here metalinguistically in the sense that the subordinate clause introduced by *ma* ‘if’ or *mar* ‘if’ is not negated but refers to a hypothetical situation which does not have to be realized.

From the data discussed above, it appears that the presence of a double irrealis in the same clause, negation and some other irrealis, the Constraint on the Referential Interpretation of Indefinites is cancelled and negation gets interpreted metalinguistically in the sense that it is not used to deny a proposition. It is rather used to make an assertion when used in conjunction with interrogation, as in (72), or it is used to refer to hypothetical

situations which do not have to be realized when used in conjunction with another irrealis particle, as in (73). This can be formalized as (74).

(74) **CRII Cancellation Rule**

In the presence of two irrealis in the same clause, negation and some other irrealis, the Constraint on the Referential Interpretation of Indefinites is cancelled when negation is interpreted metalinguistically.

A related phenomenon in Russian involves adverbial NPs which can take either the accusative or the genitive case, as illustrated in (75) for distance adverbials, and in (76) for time adverbials.

(75)a. On ne proexal ni odnu milju.
 he NEG TR.drove NEG one.ACC mile.ACC
'He didn't drive a single mile.' (King 1993: 33)

b. On ne proexal ni odnoj mili.
 he NEG TR.drove NEG one.GEN mile.GEN
'He didn't drive a single mile.' (op. cit.)

(76)a. Ja ni odnu minutu ne spal.
 I NEG one.ACC minute.ACC NEG slept
'I didn't sleep a minute.' (op. cit. p 34)

b. Ja ni odnoj minuty ne spal.
 I NEG one.GEN minute.GEN NEG slept
'I didn't sleep a single minute.' (op. cit.)

How can we explain the distribution of case in the above examples. According to Horn (1989:438), a Russian NP in the scope of contrastive negation is never marked by the genitive of negation, as shown in (77) and (78).

(77)a. V nego v rubax ne bylo slovarja.
 to him in hands NEG was dictionary.GEN
'He did not have a dictionary in his hands.' (Horn 1989:438)

b. V nego v rubax byl ne slovar (a tom enciklopedii).
 to him in hands was NEG dictionary.ACC but volume encyclopedia
'He did not have in his hands a dictionary (but a volume of the encyclopedia).'

(78)a. Brat ne est mjasa.
 brother NEG eats meat.GEN
'My brother does not eat meat.' (op. cit.)

- b. Brat ne est mjaso (a zrët).
 brother NEG eats meat.ACC but gobbles
 'My brother does not eat meat (but gobbles it).' (op. cit.)

We can therefore assume that in (75) and (76) the adverbials marked by the accusative case are in the scope of contrastive negation, where the sentence can be interpreted as *he drove more than a one mile* in (75)a. and *he slept more than one minute* in (76)a.

That contrastive negation fails to trigger the genitive of negation in Russian is predicted by our approach since metalinguistic negation does not affect the referentiality of NPs under its scope.

4.3.1.3.3. Metalinguistic Negation and BUT

The last test proposed by Horn: metalinguistic negation cannot occur with one variety of *but* clause (op. cit. p 403-04). In English, *but* has at least four meanings, one which is contrastive and used metalinguistically, as in (79)a., and one which is concessive and used descriptively, as in (79)b.

- (79)a. We don't have three children but four (*but two)
 b. We don't have three children but we do have two (*but we do have four)

The metalinguistic use of *but* cannot occur with concessive *but*, as in (79)b. According to Horn (op. cit.), these two uses of *but* correlate with the two uses of negation, descriptive and metalinguistic. However, as he notes, other languages may use two different conjunctions for that purpose, like German *aber/sondern* or Spanish *pero/sino*. In Breton too, we find two different conjunctions, *mes* (or *met*) corresponding to contrastive *but*, as shown in (80)a. and (81)a., and *nemet* corresponding to descriptive *but*, as shown in (80)b. and (81)b.

- (80)a. Ne oé ket er hemener un dén mes ur hemener
 NEG be.PST NEG the tailor a man but a tailor
 'The tailor was not a man but a tailor.'

- b. Ne oé ket er hemener un doue nemet un den.
 NEG be.PST NEG the tailor a god but a man
'The tailor was not a god, only a man.'
- (81)a. N' o des ket tri a vugalé mes (*nemet) pear anehé.
 NEG 3P have.PRS NEG three of children but but four of.3P
'They do not have three children but four.'
- b. N' o des ket tri a vugalé nemet deu anehé.
 NEG 3P have.PRS NEG three of children but two of.3P
'They do not have three children only two.'

In Breton, *met* 'but' can be used descriptively as well, as exemplified in (82) and (83).

- (82)a. Ti Poded n' é ket un ti bras mes ur manér.
 house Poded NEG be.PRS.3S NEG a house big but a manor
'Poded's house is not a big house but a manor.'
- b. Ti Poded n' é ket ur manér nemet un ti bras.
 house Poded NEG be.PRS.3S NEG a manor but a house big
'Poded's house is not a manor only a big house.'
- c. Ti Poded n' é ket ur maner mes un ti bras ha nitra kin.
 house Poded NEG be.PRS.3S NEG a manor but a house big and nothing else
'Poded's house is not a manor but a big house and nothing else.'
- (83)a. Er hoarieu-sé n'int ket hoarieu eit pautred mes eit pautred ha merhed.
 the games-DEM NEG be.PRS.3P NEG games for boys but for boys and girls
'These games are not games for boys but for boys and girls.'
- b. Er hoarieu-sé n'int ket hoarieu eit pautred nemet eit merhed.
 the games-DEM NEG be.PRS.3P NEG games for boys but for girls
'These games are not games for boys only for girls.'
- c. Er hoarieu-sé n'int ket hoarieu eit pautred
 the games-DEM NEG be.PRS.3P NEG games for boys
'These games are not games for boys
 mes eit merhed ha hañni kin.
 but for girls and nobody else
but for girls and nobody else.'

Whereas *met* has a metalinguistic reading in (82)a., and (83)a., it has a descriptive reading in (82)c. and (83)c., which is encoded by the negative word *nitra kin* 'nothing else' in (83)c. and by the negative word *hañni kin* 'nobody else' in (84)c. in the reassertion clause. This is further illustrated in (84).

- (84)a Er hemener n' é ket un dén a vicher mes un dén a nitra.
 the tailor NEG be.PRS.3S NEG a man of skill but a man of nothing
'The tailor is not a skilled but a worthless man.'
- b. Ti Podec n' é ket un ti mes ur loj a nitra.
 house Podec NEG be.PRS.3S NEG a house but a lodge of nothing
'Podec's house is not a house but a worthless lodge.'

In the above examples the negative word *a nitra* 'of nothing = worthless' is in the direct scope of *mes* which is the equivalent of *nemet* in this context.

4.3.1.3.4. Metalinguistic Negation and Aspect

One last problem remains to be solved. Since negation changes the aspect of event predicates, we should expect all subjects to behave alike in negative sentences regardless of the event/state distinction. We saw in section 3.2.3.2.2 that the eventive reading of state predicates is obtained only for referential subjects whether definite, as in (103), (104) and (106)a., or indefinite, as in (106)b. Since negation changes the aspect of event predicates, the eventive reading of state predicates should not obtain in negative sentences. However, this is not the case, as evidenced in (85) (Urien p.c.).

- (85)a. N' en doé ket koéhet get en droug-galon.
 NEG 3S have.PST NEG fallen with the pain-heart
'He did not fall from a heart-attack.'
- b. Kalavern n ou des ket troeit en treu ag er féson-sé.
 it-does-not-matter NEG 3P have.PRS NEG turned the things oftheway-DEM
'It does not matter whether the things did not turn out that way.'
- c. N'em boé ket kerhet ar un tammig guér.
 NEG 1S have.PST NEG walked on a piece.DIM glass
'I did not step on a piece of glass.'
- d. N' em es ket baléet ér parkeuier.
 NEG 1s have.PRS NEG walked in.the fields
'I did not walk in the fields.'
- e. N' en des ket neijet buan.
 NEG 3S have.PRS NEG flown quick
'It (the rooster) did not fly quickly away.'

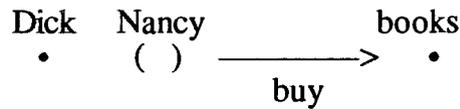
- f. En doéré n' en doé ket ridet buan dré er maézieu.
 the new NEG 3S have.PRS NEG run fast through the lands
'The news did not run fast through the country.'
- g. Ur safar hemb par n' en doé ket saùet breman ér sal.
 a tumult without equal NEG 3S have.PST NEG risen now in.the room
'An unprecedented tumult did not arise now in the room.'

Negation here is not the simple descriptive negation or suspensive negation but the contrastive metalinguistic or non-suspensive negation. The context which gave rise to the eventive reading of these state predicates is under the immediate scope of a contrastive element, which implies that the sentence has an implicit bound. For example, sentence (85)a. implies that the man fell for a reason other than a hard-attack, and sentence (85)g. implies that some unprecedented noise arose at some other time or other place. Hence the eventive reading of state predicates describes bounded situations which are maintained under negation. Therefore, in negative sentences, eventive reading of state predicates can only be interpreted metalinguistically since metalinguistic negation is associated with boundedness, as opposed to descriptive negation which is associated with unboundedness. This provides indirect evidence that, in Breton, aspect is affected by negation. If this is correct then we need to distinguish between event predicates and the eventive reading of state predicates since they are associated with two different kinds of negation, suspensive and non-suspensive respectively.

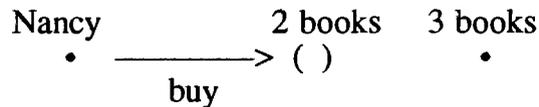
To sum up, since metalinguistic negation is suspensive it does not affect the aspect of event predicates, as observed in Breton in sentences involving auxiliary selection. It does not affect the referentiality of indefinites under its scope. Hence the universal and existential quantifiers are allowed to appear in the scope of metalinguistic negation and the accusative case is permitted in the scope of metalinguistic negation in Russian. Finally, it does not affect the polarity of a sentence. Hence, metalinguistic negation cannot incorporate. Metalinguistic negation is also associated with different scopes of negation relating to the

four types of negation posited in this work (see section 4.1). If this hypothesis is correct, then we need to accommodate this into our representation given in (18) and revised in (86).

(86)a. Nancy did not buy books, but Dick did.



b. Nancy did not buy two but three books.



In (86)a., *Nancy* is not the intended initiator, hence it is represented by the empty arc-linking node. However, the event is not negated since the intended initiator is *Dick*. Hence the causative arc representing the event keeps its direction, thus showing no change of aspect. Similarly in (86)b., since *2 books* is not the intended endpoint it is represented with an empty arc-linking node. However, the causative arc keeps also its direction since it has an endpoint, the intended *3 books*, thus showing no change of aspect. Thus metalinguistic negation describes bounded situations as indicated by the directed arc, in contrast to descriptive negation which describes unbounded situations as indicated by the undirected arc.

4.4. CONCLUSION

To conclude this chapter, we establish two kinds of negation, suspensive negation which is associated with the regular descriptive use of negation, and non-suspensive negation which is associated with the metalinguistic use of negation. Taking a Causal Chain approach, we established four types of negations: negation of the initiator or type I negation, negation of the endpoint or type II negation, negation of the transmission force or type III negation, and negation of the causal chain or type IV negation. Negation of the

initiator or type I negation is found only with non-presupposed subjects. Type III or type IV negation is associated with presupposed subjects and indicates that there is no causal relationship between the presupposed subject and the predication. Hence the subject itself is not negated, being outside the scope of negation. This holds as well for negated quantifiers and NPI-taking arguments. Chickasaw data pose a problem for this view. However, we may see negative agreement with the agent affix as a particular realization of type III negation in this language. Negation of the endpoint or type II negation is associated with non-referential arguments appearing as negated quantifiers (eg., English, French), as NPIs (eg., Breton, English), or displaying a special case (eg., Finnish, Russian) or a special adposition (eg., Breton, French). Negation of the verbal segment or type III negation is possibly the most common type of negation and can be associated with the different scope of negation. Negation of the causal chain or type IV negation is associated with sentential scope, that is when no causal relation between the diverse segments of the chain is obtained (eg., Sentani). This type of negation can also be realized by negative concord (eg., Hungarian). The strongest support for this approach is provided by Waorani complex predicates, which show that a verbal segment can be negated without negating the next verbal segment, or the entire causal chain can be negated. Typologically speaking, the four types of negation are realized in the world's languages. This approach allows us to distinguish suspensive negation associated with the aspectual change of event predicates, from metalinguistic negation which lacks this property.

The association of negation with the irrealis modality changes the referentiality of indefinite arguments under its scope. Indefinites are interpreted as non-referential. This constraint applies to determiners, quantifiers, as well as cases/adpositions. As seen for Breton, this interacts with the event versus state, presupposition versus non-presupposition and preverbal versus postverbal position distinctions. The distribution of NPIs in Breton is instrumental in determining the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic scope of negation.

Finally, as a marked phenomenon, suspensive negation changes the aspect of predicates from event to state. Under the irrealis modality inherently associated with sentence negation, indefinite arguments can only be interpreted as non-referential. Furthermore, metalinguistic negation, as a marked kind of negation, does not affect the polarity of a sentence, does not change the aspectual behavior of event predicates, and does not affect the referentiality of indefinite arguments under its scope. Therefore, negation is marked morphosyntactically, semantically, and pragmatically.

CONCLUSION

The central thesis of this work is that the markedness of sentence negation is about asymmetry but not the kind of asymmetry associated with Formal Marking. In the course of this study, we argued for three kinds of asymmetry: morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic. Morphosyntactic asymmetries relate to the V2 Requirement defined as saturation of the predicate domain. Whereas the negative particle binds the predicate domain, its positive counterparts do not. The internal preverbal position is available in affirmative but not in negative sentences. This means that preverbal NPs (and other items) serve to bind the predicate domain in affirmative but not in negative sentences. Moreover, whereas the auxiliary *endout* 'to have' shows no preference in the binder, the auxiliary *bout* 'to be' displays in the present tense four forms which demand a specific binder. One form demands a subject binder and is not found in negative sentences. The other three forms demand a non-subject binder and one of them does not appear in negative sentences in the Gwenedeg dialect.

Semantic asymmetries pertain to the referentiality of NPs, and the aspectual behavior of predicates. Only referential NPs can appear preverbally (and bind the predicate domain in affirmative sentences). In the scope of negation associated with the irrealis modality, indefinite NPs are interpreted as non-referential. Hence the universal quantifier with a wide scope reading and the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading are replaced by NPIs in Breton. While affirmative sentences describe bounded or unbounded situations, negative sentences describe unbounded situations only.

Pragmatic asymmetries relate to presupposition and to metalinguistic negation. While positive propositions serve to introduce new information, new propositions, negative propositions serve to introduced information about propositions already mentioned in the

discourse. While the preverbal position is associated with presupposition and the postverbal position is associated with non-presupposition in negative sentences, this is not necessarily the case in affirmative sentences, given that the predicate domain is required to be bound by some item other than the negative particle. Hence any item part of the assertion will do. Presupposed subjects, unlike non-presupposed subjects, cannot be negated. When presupposed subjects take a NPI, they occur preverbally unlike non-presupposed subjects marked by a NPI which appear in postverbal position. Presupposed subjects cannot take the preposition *Ag*, while non-presupposed subjects can. Finally, metalinguistic negation is associated with boundedness and thus is not suspensive, unlike descriptive (suspensive) negation.

The contributions made by this work are numerous. The first set of contributions are made by the study of concepts such as the concepts of Predicate Domain, Referentiality and Auxiliary Selection. As seen in chapter two, the concept of predicate domain provides a means to delimit the syntactic scope of negation in Breton in that the negative particle which serve as a saturator for the predicate domain can begin a sentence unlike its positive counterparts which cannot. This syntactic scope can be thought of as the nuclear scope of the sentence as found in Diesing (1992) in her study of (in)definiteness in English. The notion of saturation of the predicate domain provides a principled means to give a unified account for Breton V2 word order. This may hold for other word order possibilities as well. We may view SVO languages as having their predicate domain saturated by the subject in initial position in affirmative sentences and by negation in negative sentences. This might explain the difference between English *no one came* which is acceptable versus *anyone didn't come* which is not acceptable.

As seen in chapter three, referentiality provides a means of accounting for word order restrictions in Breton sentences involving two NPs, one preverbal and one postverbal. It also provides a means to account for the possible set of preverbal NPs. This is true of both affirmative and negative sentences. Referentiality as providing a means of constraining the

placement of NPs is likely to be found in other languages, as in Finnish. When the subject is referential it occurs before the verb in *Auto on kadulla* ‘The car is in the street’. when the subject is not referential it occurs after the verb in *Kadulla on auto* ‘There is a car in the street’. In chapter four, we saw that referentiality affects the marking of NPs. Non-referential unbounded NPs are marked by the preposition *ag* ‘of’ in Breton. In languages with a rich case system, non-referential NPs are marked by a specific case, partitive in Finnish or genitive in Russian. This may interact with presupposition, as best observed in Finnish. When the subject-NPI is presupposed, it takes the nominative case. When the subject-NPI is not presupposed it takes the partitive case. The interaction of referentiality and case marking shows that case marking is not only determined by syntax but also by semantics --referential NP versus non-referential NP-- and pragmatics --presupposed NP versus non-presupposed NP.

In chapter three, we saw auxiliary selection in Breton is determined by the distinction boundedness/unboundedness regardless of whether the predicate is an event or a state predicate. In languages like Breton where auxiliary selection is not completely grammaticalized, the choice of the auxiliary may reflect aspectual differences. These aspectual differences are also found in English in pairs of sentences such as *they have done the work* and *they are done with the work* where the first sentence describes a bounded situation while the second one describes an unbounded situation. Therefore auxiliary selection is a way to express the aspect of a predicate. As seen in this chapter, auxiliary selection interacts with referentiality. The auxiliary *endout* ‘to have’ takes referential subjects only while the auxiliary *bout* ‘to be’ may not. Whether this holds for other languages is to be determined.

The second set of contributions includes contributions made by quantified NPs: Ag-NPs, universally and existentially quantified NPs, and NPIs. Ag-NPs can be considered as existentially quantified NPs. However, they are non-referential and unbounded. As such they cannot occur in preverbal position. Hence, they are instrumental in determining the

Referentiality Constraint on preverbal NPs (REC II) which applies in negative sentences as well. In French we find similar restrictions with NPs marked by the preposition *de* 'of' the equivalent of Breton *ag* in *il n'y a pas de problème* 'there is no problem' and *je n'ai vu de ces boutons nulle part* 'I didn't see any of those buttons anywhere.' Whether similar restrictions apply in languages where non-referentiality and/or unboundedness are realized by a case (e.g., partitive in Finnish or genitive in Russian) remains to be determined.

As seen in chapter four, the universal quantifier with a wide scope reading and the existential quantifier with a narrow scope reading are replaced by NPIs in Breton negative sentences, thus showing that they are perceived as indefinites. This allowed us to establish that the Constraint on the Referential Interpretation of Indefinites (CRII) apply to quantifiers as well as NPs. Similar phenomena are observed in English or French. However, how the CRII applies in these and other languages remains to be determined.

In this chapter, the distribution of Breton NPIs helped us to determine the scope of negation --syntactic when non-presupposed NPIs occur after the negated verb, semantic when NPIs occur before the negated verb, and pragmatic when presupposed NPIs occur in the external position. In languages like English showing both negated quantifiers and NPIs, the scope of negation may be less easily determined since a negated quantifier in subject position is ambiguous between a presupposed and non-presupposed reading. In other languages some restrictions may apply like the clause-mate condition as found in Serbo-Croatian (Progovac 1994). In languages which do not have negated quantifiers or NPIs but which use indefinite, non-specific or other non-referring expressions instead (see language survey), the scope of negation interacting with word order remains to be determined.

The third set of contributions includes contributions made by the dialect of Gwenedeg with respect to Breton and the contributions of Breton with respect to linguistics. Gwenedeg is the least known dialect and therefore, the least studied of all Breton dialects. However, its contributions towards an understanding of Breton are nonetheless important.

Gwenedeg discourse data provides evidence that there is more than one preverbal position, with data involving two preverbal NPs in particular. Therefore, analyses based on one preverbal position only need to be modified in order to accommodate the empirical evidence. Gwenedeg, which has not generalized the use of *ag + personal suffix* as direct object pronoun, provides a unique opportunity to study partitive constructions in Breton. Gwenedeg, for which the change in the auxiliary selection is documented, provides a unique opportunity to study auxiliary selection in Breton, to study how it is determined in the modern language where the evidence for it is rather messy. Other Breton dialects may present different stages of this evolution or may present variations of the Gwenedeg system. Many of the data presented in this work have not been discussed in the literature. Hence, they provide some insight as to how the grammatical system of Breton is organized.

Breton provides a unique opportunity to study a verb-second language. Although the V2 word order has been defined formally in terms of a particular structural configuration which is based on Germanic evidence (cf. Schafer 1995), Breton data, showing not one but three preverbal positions, shows that the V2 word order cannot be defined in those terms. Therefore, Breton V2 word order departs from the V2 word order found in Germanic languages with respect to the V2 structural configuration. It is interesting to note that, as a Celtic language, Breton is associated with VSO languages, while some Germanic languages are SOV languages. While the presence of positive particles, former relative particles, provides evidence that Breton V2 word order evolves from reduced cleft sentences (see appendix A), it may not be so for the Germanic V2 word order. The presence of positive particles in Breton also provides a unique opportunity to compare affirmative and negative sentences and to ascertain that the markedness of negation cannot be reduced to Formal Marking. Breton affirmative and negative sentences are both formally marked by the presence of a particle. The alternation between particle and subordinating conjunction in complement clauses provides some evidence that Breton sentence structure

may not be organized semantically according to the classical main/complement clause distinction. It may rather be organized pragmatically according to information saliency. However, this latter analysis needs further consideration particularly with respect to prosodic information as reflected by acoustic analysis.

Since Breton auxiliary selection is determined by the semantic distinction boundedness/unboundedness, we should have expected that only the auxiliary *bout* 'to be' associated with unboundedness would appear in negative sentences, which describe unbounded situations. However, this is not the case. Therefore, to a certain extent, auxiliary selection is grammaticalized in this language. Similarly, the eventive reading of state predicates expressed by the auxiliary *endout* 'to have' should not be obtained in negative sentences. However, this is not the case. The eventive reading of state predicates which is contrastive in nature is maintained under the scope of negation which is interpreted metalinguistically. Since metalinguistic negation does not affect the aspect of predicates, Breton provides indirect evidence that suspensive negation affects the aspect of predicates in languages which do not encode aspectual information in the verb morphology.

The fourth set of contributions includes the contributions made by the approach adopted in this work, and by the two frameworks, the Givenness Hierarchy framework of Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski (1993) and the Causal Chains framework of Croft (1991). The unconventional approach adopted in this work allows us to cover a variety of phenomena which are not directly related to one another: the V2 word order, referentiality, auxiliary selection and negation. Since they are all interacting with one another, they are unified under the concept of Predicate Domain which plays a key role in Breton grammar. Thus, this approach provides us with a better understanding of the Breton language. The wide range and the amount of data covered allows us to provide explanations for the phenomena under study to a greater degree than formal approaches limited to a small set of well chosen data which fit the theoretical assumptions. Since the data discussed in this work are

documented in the literature of the language, questions regarding the legitimacy or acceptability of such or such a sentence are not likely to arise.

Without the Givenness Hierarchy framework of Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski (1993), it would have been difficult to study the restrictions on word order possibilities which are discourse determined, in particular with respect to the placement of preverbal NPs (REC II) and in sentences involving two NPs, one preverbal and one postverbal (REC I). These restrictions apply in negative sentences as well. Schapansky's attempt (1992a) to capture this in terms of Subject Precedence and the Definiteness Condition leads to erroneous conclusion. It would also have been difficult to study auxiliary selection which interacts with referentiality. Schapansky's earlier attempts to capture this interaction in terms of definiteness also leads to misleading conclusions (see references). Therefore, the Givenness Hierarchy provides a principled means to study referentiality in all its aspects.

The Causal Chains framework of Croft (1991) provides a means to represent the suspensive character of negation. It shows that when a segment of the chain is negated (initiator, transmission of force, endpoint), other segments of the chain are affected as well. In all cases, the transmission of force is marked as affected by an undirected arc, the arc associated with states, thus representing that the aspect of predicates is affected by negation. In the case of metalinguistic negation, it shows that the transmission of force remains unchanged keeping its directed arc, the arc associated with causation. Therefore, it represents that metalinguistic negation is not suspensive. Thus, the Causal Chains framework provides a means of representing the contrast between suspensive (descriptive) and metalinguistic (non-suspensive) negation. This is the only framework that can do this. Whether this framework can be used to represent, for example, auxiliary selection remains to be determined (for an account of case marking within this framework, see Croft 1991).

The last set of contributions are contributions made by this work. This work provides us with a better understanding of the V2 word order in Breton by showing that the V2 word order operates at the sentence rather than the clause level. Hence, all sentences,

whether monoclausal or biclausal, exhibit the V2 word order. When we have a sequence main/complement clauses, the main clause shows the V2 order at the clause level while the complement clause displays the V2 order at the sentence level, given that the main clause occupies the initial position of the complement clause for the purpose of the V2 order. The notion of saturation of the predicate domain allows us to capture the difference between affirmative and negative sentences. The item preceding the verb is considered as a saturator for the predicate domain whether it is a subordinating conjunction, the negative particle, an NP or something else. Hence the negative particle counts as the first item for the V2 order, unlike its positive counterparts. Whether this analysis can be extended to other V2 languages remains to be determined.

This work provides us with a better understanding of negation. It shows that negation works at different levels in different parts of the grammar. It shows that negation is suspensive in that it changes the polarity of sentences. This is expressed in one way or another in all languages. It changes the aspect of predicates. Although some languages do not directly indicate this change in the verb morphology, some other languages do (cf. Waorani section 4.1.2.2.3). Indirect evidence for this change has been discussed for English (cf. section 4.1.1) and for Breton (cf. section 4.3.1.3.4). Negation associated with the irrealis modality affects the referential interpretation of indefinites under its scope. This is best expressed by the use of NPIs or other non-referring expressions (cf. language survey). Thus all languages express to a lesser or greater extent the suspensive character of negation. This suspensive character might explain why negation is harder to process and take longer to acquire (cf. section 1.2.2). This work also shows how metalinguistic negation differs from descriptive (non-suspensive) negation. Since metalinguistic negation

is not use to deny a proposition, it does not change the polarity of sentences, does not change the aspect of predicates and does not affect the referential interpretation of indefinites under its scope. Hence metalinguistic negation is not suspensive. Finally, this work shows how the markedness of negation implies asymmetries that are observed at the morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels.

APPENDIX A

THE V2 WORD ORDER IN CELTIC

Although Breton is most notoriously known for its V2 word order, V2 constructions are also found in other Celtic languages like Irish, Welsh and Cornish. Irish exhibits “narrative fronting” in negative sentences. Welsh shows “abnormal” and “mixed” sentences. Besides a V1 word order, Cornish displays a V2 word order as well.

In Irish negative sentences, an item can be fronted for the purpose of emphasis, as shown in (1)a. for the subject of an existential sentence, in (1)b. for the direct object, and in (1)c. for the subject of a complement clause.

- (1)a. Éifeacht ní ins an ghníomh sin.
 effect NEG.EXT in the action DEM
'There is no effect in the action.' (Ó Siadháil 1989:210)
- b. Síul ní rabhadar ag tóigeáil de.
 eye NEG be.PST.IMP PROG take.INF to.3SM
'They were not taking an eye of him.' (op. cit.)
- c. Nár gheall tú dhom deoir nach rachadh
 NEG-PST promise 2S to.1S drop NEG go.COND
'Didn't you promise me that a drop would not go
ar do bhéal go ceann fada an lá.
 on 2S mouth for many the day
on your mouth for many days.' (op. cit.)

In Welsh “abnormal” sentences, an unemphatic subject occupies the initial position in affirmative sentences. It is followed by an optional (relative) particle and the verb agrees in person and number with the initial subject (Thorne 1993:369), as illustrated in (2)a. for biblical Welsh, and in (2)b. for modern Welsh.

(2)a. A' i ddidgyblion a ddaethant ato.
 and 3S disciples PRT come.PST.3P to.3SM
 'And his disciples came to him.' (Thorne 1993:369)

b. Chwi welwch fy mhwynt gobeithio.
 2P see.PRS.2P 1S point hope
 'You see my point I hope.' (op. cit.)

In Welsh "mixed" sentences, any element of the clause may be marked for emphasis. It then appears clause initially (op. cit. p 370), as illustrated in (3)a. for a subject, in (3)b. for a direct object, in (3)c. for an adverb, (3)d. for an adjective and (3)e. for a verb phrase.

(3)a. Afon Teifi a orlifodd ei glannau.
 river Teifi PRT overflow.PST.3S 3S banks
 'River Teifi overflowed its banks.' (op. cit.)

b. Ci a welodd y ffermwr.
 dog PRT see.PST.3S the farmer
 'A dog, the farmer saw.' (op. cit. p 371)

c. Ddoe y gweithiodd.
 yesterday PRT work.PST.3S
 'Yesterday, he worked.' (op. cit.)

d. Da y gwnaethost.
 good PRT do.PST.2S
 'Well, you did.' (op. cit.)

e. Darllen y llyfr a wnaeth hi.
 read.INF the book PRT do.PST.3S 3SF
 'Read the book, she did.' (op. cit. p 372)

Mixed sentences can be considered as reduced cleft clauses where the copula is deleted.

This is best observed in mixed sentences involving the verb 'to be', as illustrated in (4).

(4)a. Ci sydd wedi lladd yr oen.
 dog be.PRS.REL.3S after kill.INF the lamb
 'A dog has killed the lamb.' (op. cit.)

b. Nid dau frawd oeddynt.
 NEG two brother be.PST.3P
 'They were not two brothers.' (op. cit. p 349)

In (4)a., the form of the verb ‘to be’ *sydd* ‘is-relative’ is the form associated with relative clauses and equivalent to Breton *zo* ‘is’. In (4)b., the negative particle *nid* shows a final *d*, the residue of a particle found before the verb ‘to be’ and ‘to go’, as in Breton (cf. section 2.2.1.1.4, (52)-(54)). Thus the presence of this negative particle indicates that the copula has been deleted. This is also supported by the fact that, in Celtic, the negative particle never occurs before a noun. Hence the sentences in (3) and (4) have to be interpreted as reduced cleft clauses.

Cornish, very closely related to Breton, shows an optional V2 word order, as exemplified in (5)a. with an initial predicate noun, in (5)b. with an initial adjective, in (5) with an initial passive agent, in (5)d. with an initial direct object, and in (5)e. with an initial verb phrase.

- (5)a. Drok yu genef hy hos claf.
 pain be.PRS with.1S 3SF be.PRS sick
 ‘I fear that she is sick.’ (Smith 1981:48)
- b. Marow y- fythons.
 dead PRT be.FUT.3P
 ‘Dead, they shall be.’ (op. cit. p 47)
- c. Gans nader yth- of gwenys.
 with snake PRT be.PRS stung
 ‘By a snake, I am stung.’ (op. cit.)
- d. Deu dhen a gefyth ena.
 two man PRT find.FUT.2S there
 ‘Two men, you’ll find there.’ (op. cit.)
- e. Gül ges ahanaf a wreth.
 make.INF fun of.1S PRT do.PRS.2S
 ‘Make fun of me, you do.’ (op. cit. p 73)

Furthermore, the V2 order is also found in negative sentences in Cornish, as shown in (6)a. with an initial verb phrase and in (6)b. with an initial subject.

- (6)a. Gwertha an chy-ma ny yllons.
 sell.INF the house.DEM NEG can.PRS.3P
 ‘Sell this house they cannot.’ (op. cit. p 30)

b. An vebyon ny vyn studhya.
 the boys NEG will.PRS study.INF
 'The boys won't study.'

(op. cit. p 29)

Note that the Gwenedeg counterpart of (6)a. is not allowed (cf. (8) section 2.1.1.1.2), and that the Breton counterpart of (6)b. is not available. Initial subjects in Breton negative sentences are considered as left-dislocated NPs. Thus, the negated verb shows person and number agreement with the initial subject (cf. (4)a. and (6)b. section 2.2.1.1.2).

The data provided above on Celtic V2 constructions show that Breton V2 word order is not as a strange phenomenon as it appears to be. All the Celtic languages have the potential to develop a V2 word order like Breton or Cornish. The Welsh data is particularly crucial in this respect. What is considered as “abnormal” sentences in modern Welsh was current in Old Breton (cf. Fleuriot 1964). The presence of “mixed” or reduced cleft sentences in Welsh gives some insights as to how Breton and Cornish V2 word order may have developed. Evidence we have to support the idea that Breton V2 word order evolved from reduced cleft sentences is the presence of *zo* ‘is’, formerly the equivalent of Welsh *sydd* ‘is-relative’. Breton ending *-o* is a residue of a relative enclitic (cf. Fleuriot 1964, Lewis & Pedersen 1961). The particle system in both Breton and Cornish provides further evidence that the V2 word order evolved from reduced cleft sentences. These particles were used as relative particles in the old period, and their Irish or Welsh counterparts are still used as relative particles. Finally, Breton independent pronouns, used mostly in preverbal position, do not show case alternation. Only an invariant form is used whether the pronoun is subject or object. This can only be explained if Breton V2 word order evolved from reduced cleft sentences.

APPENDIX B
LANGUAGE SURVEY

The aim of this survey is to provide a typological basis for further research on negation and its effects on morphosyntax, semantics and pragmatics. If negation has been extensively studied in languages like English (e.g., Tottie 1994), systematic studies on negation are not always available for other languages. This survey includes Indo-European as well as non-Indo-European languages. Languages have been classified as Type A languages when they display Type IV negation (or negation of the causal chain). Languages have been classified as Type B languages when they display Type III negation (or negation of the transmission force) (cf. section 4.1.2). The classification of negation into Type III or Type IV is based on the language word order (verb medial or verb peripheral language) and on the position of the negative marker with respect to the word order of the language. At this stage, it is difficult to determine, in the absence of positive evidence, whether a language has Type IV or Type III negation. The classification provided below is therefore only tentative. Positive evidence can consist of the use of two different negative markers to indicate the difference between Type III and Type IV negation. Positive evidence can also consist of a radical change of the verb morphosyntax or a radical change in sentence structure (e.g., negative sentences do not have affirmative counterparts). When available, the case system of the language is given. The type of negative marker is also recorded (e.g., particle, word, circumlocution, affix, auxiliary). The major effects of negation on the sentence are given as well (e.g., effects on time, aspect, mood, voice, effects on personal inflection, and effects on word order). Finally, for Type A Languages, negation Type I, II and III is recorded. For Type B languages, negation Type I, II and IV is given. This is summarized in Table (1) and Table (2).

RESULTS

1. Type A Languages

Of the nine SOV languages represented in this survey, two of them, Ngiyambaa (Australian) and Papago (Uto-Aztecan), show the negative marker occurring sentence initially. Hence they have been classified as Type A Languages. Of the seven VSO languages, two of them, Hawaiian and Tongan, display a tense morpheme in sentence initial position. The negative marker appears before the tense morpheme in Hawaiian but after it in Tongan. Hence Hawaiian has been classified as Type A language while Tongan has been classified as Type B language. Of the eleven SVO languages, three of them show a circumlocution enclosing the sentence, Bafut (Bantu), Kresh (Central Sudanic), Sentani (Papuan) and Lewo (Oceanic), one language, Sentani (Papuan), displays a loss of time-aspect-mood inflection and a loss of personal inflection (cf. (23) section 4.1.2.2.4), and one language, Berbice Dutch (Guyanese Creole), shows a particle in sentence final position. Thus these languages have been classified as Type A languages. The only OSV language, Nadëb (Amazonian), shows a circumlocution enclosing the sentence. Hence Nadëb has also been classified as Type A language.

Type A Languages may realize Type III negation with the same negative marker as that used to marked type IV negation, as in Bafut, Hawaiian, Lewo, Ngiyambaa, Papago and Sentani. Type A languages may also realize Type III negation with a negative marker different from that used to mark Type IV negation, as in Kresh and Nadëb. Whereas Kresh uses a particle to achieve Type IV negation, it uses an auxiliary to mark Type III negation. Whereas Nadëb uses a circumlocution to achieve Type IV negation, it uses a prefix to mark Type III negation. In Ngiyambaa, Type III negation is realized by topicalizing the subject, which then appears before the negative marker outside the scope of negation. In Hawaiian, the same negative marker is used to marked all four types of negation.

2. Type B Languages

Type B languages represent 21 out of the 30 languages. The main negative marker is a particle usually prefixed to the verb. It is found in eleven out of the twenty one languages. Four languages show a negative auxiliary, Evenki (Manchu-Tungusic), Finnish (Finno-Ugric), Mandarin (Chinese) and Waorani (Amazonian, unclassified). Three languages show a negative affix, Babole (Bantu), Mparntwe Arrernte (Australian) and Tuyuca (Tucanoan). And two languages show a negative circumlocution, Breton (Celtic) and Wayampi (Tupo-Guarani). In general, Type B languages do not show type IV negation unless the subject is realized as a negated quantifier, as in English (Germanic), French (Romance), German (Germanic), and Hungarian (Finno-Ugric). Waorani is exceptional in marking type IV negation by the use of the irrealis suffix (cf. (24) section 4.1.2.2.4)).

3. Effects of Negation

The effects of negation on the sentence are not always directly observable. They may involve subtle variations which require systematic study of negation in a given language. From the information available for the languages included in this survey, we can note that negation affects the word order of sentences not only in Breton but also in Bafut which display a SVO order in affirmative sentences and a SOV order in negative sentences. Negation also affects the time-aspect-mood-voice system as in Bafut, Berbice Dutch, Lewo, Nadëb, Sentani, Babole, Itza Maya (Mayan) and Mam (Mayan). When negation is realized as an auxiliary, the negated verb loses its personal inflection, as in Evenki and Finnish, or the negative clause is fully nominalized, as in Waorani. Although Mandarin shows negative auxiliaries, the verb remains unmarked for person and number even in affirmative sentences.

4. Referentiality

Referentiality effects are expressed by Type I and Type II negation. Type I negation or negation of the initiator is associated with negation of non-presupposed subjects. Whether negation of the initiator always implies negation of the causal chain remains to be determined. Type I and Type II negation can be realized by the use of negated quantifiers (NQs) (four languages) and negative polarity items (NPIs) (six languages). NQs and NPIs appear to be characteristic of the languages of Europe. The other languages realize Type I and Type II negation by the use of indefinite nouns (eight languages), non-referential words, as in Nadëb, non-specific nouns as in Itza Maya and Mam, or words marked as unspecified in Tuyuca. Type I and Type II negation can also be realized by a negative auxiliary, as in Kresh, by a negative adverb, as in Sentani, by a negative suffix, as in Wayampi, by a particle, as in Waorani, or by the placement of a negative marker, as in Mandarin. Therefore all languages surveyed in this work show referentiality effects. Referentiality effects associated with the marking of nominals as discussed in chapter four with respect to Breton, French, Finnish, and Russian, are also found in Babole.

5. Findings

This survey reveals that all the languages examined here have a concept of referentiality. The three-way distinction of Givón (1978), definite referential, indefinite referential and indefinite non-referential (type identifiable) is present in these languages in various guises. For example, Tuyuca distinguishes between specific, non-specific and unspecified. In this language, definite objects take a specificity marker while indefinite objects do not. Tuyuca's equivalent of a negated quantifier is realized by a noun to which a suffix glossed 'unspecified' is added. In Nadëb, nouns are unmarked for definiteness although indefinite pronouns are used. In this language, the equivalent of an existential quantifier with a specific reading is realized as a referential marker and the equivalent of a negated quantifier is realized as a non-referential marker.

This survey also reveals that predicates or sentences are affected by negation. In many languages, verbs in the imperative take a negative marker different from that used for sentence negation. In many languages, existential predicates show a special negative form. This has not been taken into account in this survey. Of interest is the incompatibility of the perfective aspect with sentence negation in Berbice Dutch and Itza Maya which uses the irrealis marker instead. The loss of time-aspect-mood inflection as well as the loss of personal inflection of the Sentani negated predicate is rather unique. Nadëb negated sentences do not have affirmative counterparts. Nadëb negated sentences are non-verbal equative clauses occurring in the non-indicative mood. The non-indicative mood is also used in conditional, imperatives and interrogative clauses.

6. Concluding Remarks

The findings support the hypothesis that sentence negation is suspensive (i.e., it affects some components of the morphosyntactic and semantic make-up of predicates, nouns, and sentences). The findings support as well the classification of negation into four types according to the Causal Chain approach.

1- TYPE A LANGUAGES (WITH TYPE IV NEGATION)

Languages	WO	Case	Neg Marker	Effects	NEG I	NEG II	NEG III
Bafut	SVO		circumlocution	aspect/VO	indefinites	indefinites	
Berbice Dutch	SVO		particle	- perfective	indefinites	indefinites	particle
Hawaiian	VSO		word		word	word	word
Kresh	SVO		particle		auxiliary	auxiliary	auxiliary
Lewo	SVO		circumlocution	mood	indefinites	indefinites	
Nadëb	OSV		circumlocution	sentence	non-referentials	non-referentials	prefix
Ngiyambaa	SOV	ergative	word		indefinites	indefinites	
Papago	SOV		word		indefinites	indefinites	
Sentani	SVO		circumlocution	- inflection	adverb	adverb	

2- TYPE B LANGUAGES (WITH TYPE III NEGATION)

Languages	WO	Case	Neg Marker	Effects	NEG I	NEG II	NEG IV
Babole	SVO		infixes	aspect	adverb	adverb	
Breton	V2		circumlocution	word order	NPIs	NPIs	
Cornish	V1/V2		particle		NPIs	NPIs	
English	SVO	accusative	particle		NPIs/NQs	NPIs/NQs	NQs
Evenki	SOV	accusative	auxiliaries	- inflection	indefinites	indefinites	
Finnish	SOV	accusative	auxiliary	- inflection	NPIs	NPIs	
French	SVO		particle		NQs	NQs	NQs
German	SOV	accusative	particle		NQs	NQs	NQs
Hungarian	free	accusative	particles		NQs	NQs	NQs
Irish	VSO	accusative	particle		NPIs	NPIs	
Itza Maya	VSO	ergative	particle	- perfective	non-specific	non-specific	
Mam	VSO	ergative	particles	aspect	non-specific	non-specific	
Mandarin	SVO		auxiliaries				
Mparitwe	SOV	ergative	suffix		indefinites	indefinites	
Artemte							
Russian	SVO	accusative	particle		NPIs	NPIs	
Tongan	VSO		word		indefinites	indefinites	
Tuyuca	SOV		affix		unspecified	unspecified	
Waorani	SVO		auxiliary		particle	particle	irrealis
Wayampi	SOV		circumlocution		suffix	suffix	
Welsh	VSO		particle		NPIs	NPIs	
Zazaki	SOV	direct/oblique	particle		indefinites	indefinites	

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